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in the First Millennium BC“

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| NCBT 647 | 126 | YOS 21 207 | 302 |
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Abbreviations and conventions

Filiation

The typical tripartite filiation of the Neo-Babylonian period is rendered as name/father's name/family name or, when father's name is omitted, as name//family name.

Dating

The dating of the tablets follows the format: day-month-year king's name. The month is expressed in large Roman numerals. The accession year is expressed as "acc". The king's name is abbreviated.

The Babylonian months are:

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------------|------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| I | <i>nisannu</i> | (March/April) | VII | <i>tašrītu</i> | (September/October) |
| II | <i>ayyāru</i> | (April/May) | VIII | <i>araḥsamnu</i> | (October/November) |
| III | <i>simānu</i> | (May/June) | IX | <i>kislīmu</i> | (November/December) |
| IV | <i>du'ūzu</i> | (June/July) | X | <i>ṭebētu</i> | (December/January) |
| V | <i>abu</i> | (July/August) | XI | <i>šabātu</i> | (January/February) |
| VI | <i>ulūlu</i> | (August/September) | XII | <i>addāru</i> | (February/March) |
| VIa | intercalary <i>ulūlu</i> | | XIIa | intercalary <i>addāru</i> | |

The following list contains the king's names (starting with Assurbanipal) with their abbreviated forms and their regnal periods converted to Julian calendar (all of them are BC). The conversions follow Parker and Dubberstein 1956:

| | | |
|---------|-----------------------|---------|
| Mai | Marduk-apla-iddina II | 721-710 |
| ... | | |
| Asb | Assurbanipal | 681-669 |
| Ššu | Šamaš-šum-ukīn | 668-648 |
| Kan | Kandalānu | 648-627 |
| Sši | Sīn-šarru-iškun | 628-612 |
| Npl | Nabopolassar | 626-605 |
| Nbk | Nebuchadnezzar II | 604-562 |
| Ami | Amīl-Marduk | 561-560 |
| Ner | Neriglissar | 559-556 |
| Lab | Lābāši-Marduk | 556 |
| Nbn | Nabonidus | 555-539 |
| Cyr | Cyrus | 538-530 |
| Camb | Cambyses | 529-522 |
| Bar | Bardia | 522 |
| Nbk III | Nebuchadnezzar III | 522 |
| Nbk IV | Nebuchadnezzar IV | 521 |
| Dar | Darius I | 521-486 |
| Xer | Xerxes I | 485-465 |

Weights and measures

Weight:

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------|--------|----------|
| <i>biltu</i> | talent | = 60 m | ≈ 30 kg |
| <i>manû</i> (m) | mina | = 60 š | ≈ 500 g |
| <i>šiqu</i> (š) | shekel | | ≈ 8.33 g |

Capacity:

| | | | |
|--------|--------------|----------|--------------|
| 1 gur | <i>kurru</i> | = 5 PI | ≈ 180 litres |
| 1 PI | <i>pānu</i> | = 6 bán | ≈ 36 litres |
| 1 bán | <i>sūtu</i> | = 6 sila | ≈ 6 litres |
| 1 sila | <i>qû</i> | = 10 GAR | ≈ 1 litre |
| 1 GAR | <i>akalu</i> | | ≈ 1/10 litre |

Capacity measures are expressed using positional notation, e.g. 1;2.3.4 = 1 *kurru* 2 *pānu* 3 *sūtu* 4 *qû*.

mašīhu

The *mašīhu* was a type of measuring container. In Sippar the regular *mašīhu* had the capacity of 1 *pānu*, i.e. approximately 36 litres (Jursa 1995a: 151). However, in the context of the *imittu*-deliveries the *mašīhu* was assigned a fictitious lower value of 30 litres. This was usually expressed in terms of the number of *mašīhu*-measures which ‘fit’ into one *kurru* (180 litres), for instance: *kī (pī) 6 mašīhu ana 1 gur*. Sometimes this measure was explicitly designated as *mašīhu ša imitti* (Jursa 1995a: 151⁺³⁰⁵). As is made clear by Jursa, this meant that a gardener had to fill the *mašīhu*-measure six times in order to pay one *kurru* of dates. The value of 30 litres for the *imittu-mašīhu* was only nominal, while it in fact retained its standard size of 36 litres. This implied that for each *kurru* of dates charged against him the gardener delivered 216 litres instead of 180, i.e. 20 % more.

In Uruk a *mašīhu* of 1 *pānu* (= 36 litres) is frequently attested and seems to be the standard value. However, a range of other values, all but one larger than the standard-*mašīhu* are attested (see below). A *mašīhu* of 35 litres is attested once in 18 Npl (NBC 4838 l. 3: ^{dugr}*ma-ši¹-hu šá 1 pi 1 sila-àm-lá*; Beaulieu 2002: 105); the *mašīhu* used by the temple in 43 Nbk (NCBT 620), for instance, had a capacity of 45 litres (Beaulieu 1989b); and according to YOS 17 122, a *mašīhu ša Eanna* carried 48 litres.

It is not certain whether this measure should be equated with the *mašīhu ša Bēlti ša Uruk*, which is used frequently in the texts related to the agricultural production of Eanna, especially in the *imittu*-context.¹ The size of the *mašīhu* of the Lady of Uruk and in turn the scope of metrological manipulations, if indeed any were applied, cannot be ascertained for the time being. The only available text which may have provided this information is damaged at the crucial passage. According to YOS 17 36, an *imittu* debt note for dates, the dates were to be delivered *ina ma-ši-^{hi} šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} / ^rx¹ ma-ši-^{hi} a-ki-i 1 gur* (ll. 4-5). The damaged part of the text contained a numeral of which at least three wedges are visible; however, even two attempts at collation undertaken by myself and E. E. Payne on separate occasions could not provide any clarity. Unfortunately, without certainty on this numeral any further deliberation is pointless.

35 *qû* NBC 4838² (18 Npl) l. 3: ^{dugr}*ma-ši¹-hu šá 1 pi 1 sila-àm lá zú-lum-ma*

36 *qû (ša 1 pi)* NBC 4527
 NBC 4684 (32 Nbk)
 NBC 4523 (18 Npl)
 NCBT 183 (15 Npl)
 NCBT 197 (15 Nbk)
 PTS 2756 (15 Npl)
 PTS 3279 (4 Nbk)³
 YBC 4028 (13 Npl)⁴

¹ A *mašīhu ša Ištar* is attested once in the *imittu* debt-note for dates YBC 6868 from Neriglissar’s reign (year broken off). It is possibly identical with the more common measure of the Lady of Uruk.

² Text quoted by Beaulieu 2002: 105.

³ Edited by Beaulieu 2002: 107f.

⁴ Edited by Beaulieu 2002: 103ff.

| | |
|----------------|--|
| | YOS 17 159 (18 Nbk) |
| | YOS 19 170 (5 Nbn) |
| 43 <i>qû</i> | YBC 9652 (20 Nbk) |
| 43.5 <i>qû</i> | YBC 9652 (20 Nbk) |
| 45 <i>qû</i> | NCBT 620 (43 Nbk) (= <i>m. ša Eanna</i>) YOS 17 150 (19 Nbk) ll. 4-5: 274 <i>ma-ši-ḫi ki-i</i> / 68;2.3 (šc-bar) |
| 48 <i>qû</i> | NBC 4927 (16 (Nbk)) <i>m. ša</i> 0;1.2-àm šc-giš-ì YOS 17 122 (3 Nbk) ll. 1-3: 232 ^{giš} <i>ma-šiḫ šá</i> šc-bar / <i>ina</i> ^{giš} <i>ma-šiḫ šá</i> é-an-na <i>šá</i> 0;1.2-àm / pab 61;4.3 ⁵ šc-bar |
| 51 <i>qû</i> ? | YOS 17 140 (18 Nbk) ll. 1-2: 17 ʾ2 ¹ - <i>ta</i> šu ^{II-meš} ^{giš} <i>ma-ši-ḫu šá</i> šc-bar / <i>ku-um</i> 5 gur šc-bar |

Length:

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|
| 14 <i>ammatu</i> (kùš, “cubit”) | = 1 NINDA | ≈ 7 m |
| 7 <i>ammatu</i> | = 1 <i>qanû</i> (gi, “reed”) | ≈ 3.5 m |
| 3.5 <i>ammatu</i> | = 1 <i>nikkas</i> | ≈ 1.75 m |
| 1 <i>ammatu</i> | = 24 <i>ubānu</i> (šu-si, “finger”) | ≈ 0.5 m |
| 1/24 <i>ammatu</i> | = 1 <i>ubānu</i> | ≈ 0.02 m |

Surface:

Seed measure, Uruk system (Babylon system is in brackets)

| seed measure | square cubits | square meters |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1 <i>kurru</i> | = 50,000 (54,000) | = 12,500 (13,500) |
| 1 <i>pānu</i> | = 10,000 (10,800) | = 2,500 (2,700) |
| 1 <i>sūtu</i> | = 1,666.666 (1,800) | = 416.666 (450) |
| 1 <i>qû</i> | = 277.777 (300) | = 69.444 (75) |
| 1 <i>akalu</i> | = 27.777 (30) | = 6.944 (7.5) |
| 1/10 <i>akalu</i> (= 108 šc) | = 2.777 (3) | = 0.694 (0.75) |

Symbols and abbreviations

| | |
|-------|--|
| [] | marks broken and/or restored signs and passages |
| ⌈ ⌋ | marks partially preserved signs |
| < > | marks omitted signs in the cuneiform text |
| << >> | marks redundant signs in the cuneiform text |
| { } | marks information not explicitly stated, but implied by the text |
| ! | marks emended sign |
| ? | marks uncertain reading of a sign |
| * | marks reading improved by collation |
| BŠU | <i>Bēltu ša Uruk</i> (= Lady of Uruk) |
| GN | geographic name |
| IU | <i>Ištar Uruk</i> (= Ištar of Uruk) |
| le.e. | left edge of a tablet |
| lo.e. | lower edge of a tablet |

⁵ This figure should be corrected to 61;4.2.

| | |
|------|------------------------------------|
| NB | Neo-Babylonian |
| n.p. | marks the omission of a patronymic |
| obv. | obverse of a tablet |
| PD | place of drafting of a document |
| PN | personal name |
| PNs | personal names |
| rev. | reverse of a tablet |
| u.e. | upper edge of a tablet |

Text *sigla* used here follow the standard Assyriological conventions and can be found, for instance, in the list of abbreviations of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD). In addition to these, the following *sigla* are used for texts published and/or edited in the specified publications:

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>AfK</i> 2 | Text in Schwenzner 1924-25 |
| AOAT 358 | Text in Kleber 2008 |
| <i>AoF</i> 31 | Text in Kessler 2004 |
| AUWE 5 | Text in Gehlken 1990 |
| AUWE 11 | Text in Gehlken 1996 |
| <i>BaM</i> 30 | Text in Kessler 1999 |
| CAHU | Text in Doty 1977 |
| CD | Text in Sack 1994 |
| Dillard | Text in Dillard 1975 |
| EHE | Text in Durand 1982 |
| <i>Fs. Greenfield</i> | Text in Geller 1995 |
| <i>Iraq</i> 13, 95ff. | Text in Figulla 1951 |
| <i>Iraq</i> 59 | Text in Jursa 1997 |
| JCS 28 | Text in Stigers 1976 |
| JCS 36 | Text in Ellis 1984 |
| JEOL 33 | Text in Bongenaar 1993-94 |
| Knopf, SC | Text in Knopf 1939 |
| Montserrat | Text in Wunsch 1997 |
| NBDM | Text in Moore 1939 |
| NU | Text in Hunger 1970 |
| OIP 122 | Text in Weisberg 2003 |
| Or 67 | Text in Beaulieu 1998 |
| RA 19, 86f. | Text in Thureau-Dangin 1922 |
| RA 23, 13ff. | Text in Boissier 1926 |
| RA 24, 38 | Text in Scheil 1927 |
| RA 54, 86f. | Text in Labat 1960 |
| RA 76, 158 | Text in Frame 1982 |
| SAKF | Text in Oberhuber 1960 |
| Spar, <i>Studies</i> | Text in Spar 1972 |
| Truro | Text in Walker 1973 |
| WZKM 94 | Text in Jursa 2004a |

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1. Introduction

Agriculture, together with animal husbandry, was the mainstay of Mesopotamian economy. In Babylonia agriculture was at all times dependent on an extensive network of irrigation canals. It rested on two pillars: on the one hand on cereal cultivation, which primarily produced barley, but also wheat, spelt and sesame, and on horticulture, which focussed on date production,⁶ on the other. Cereal farming was an extensive agricultural regime – the input of resources such as human and animal labour, seed, and water was comparably low relative to the cultivated area. By contrast, horticulture was an intensive form of agriculture with a higher input of capital and labour per unit of land, but at the same time with higher returns. In the first millennium BC agriculture was intensified. In arable farming the average yields per unit of land rose by some twenty-four percent in comparison to the Ur III and Old-Babylonian periods: more seed was expended per unit of land, which indicates that the spacing between the furrows was reduced compared to earlier periods.⁷ Another possibility to raise agricultural productivity was to focus on a more intensive form of agriculture, namely horticulture. This strategy was particularly popular with private urban landowners, but could also be applied by large institutional landowners.

An interplay of different factors enabled and drove the change observed for the agricultural practices of the sixth century BC. The (minor) climate change around 900 BC which influenced the amount of precipitation in Anatolia and west Iran had an effect on the amount of water carried by the Euphrates and the Tigris. As a result, there was a richer supply of water and the conditions for irrigation agriculture were more favourable than in the previous centuries.⁸ Technological development following the onset of the Iron Age (from ca. 1300 BC) also played a role here. Iron was easier to obtain and easier to work than tin or bronze. Even though the technological innovations of this period were not radical, they nevertheless enabled a more widespread use of agricultural iron tools and iron ploughshares.⁹ The intensification of agriculture can also be seen as a response to population growth which is also attested for Babylonia in the first millennium BC. Adams conducted an archaeological survey in Iraq recording the numbers and sizes of ancient settlements for different historical periods. The results of this study indicated more than a five-fold increase in population during a period of five to seven hundred years in the first millennium BC (1981: 178). During the ‘Middle-Babylonian’ period (according to Adams this was the time span from 1150 to 700 BC) the total occupied site area was 616 hectares. During the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid period this figure rose to 1,769 hectares culminating in the Seleucid-Parthian period with a total occupied area of just under 3,000 hectares.¹⁰ However, Adams’ analysis was fraught by several limitations: the dating of the pottery on which the whole study was based is by no means certain (this was acknowledged by Adams himself, 1981: 47ff.). Furthermore, the surveyed region did not include some of the major Babylonian urban centres, such as Babylon, Sippar, Borsippa, Kutha, Dilbat and Kiš, as well as the areas in the west and south-west Babylonia inhabited by Chaldean tribes (Brinkman 1984b: 176). For these reasons Adams’ results are not necessarily representative. While there is sound evidence for a long-term decline in population and occupation during the ‘Middle-Babylonian’ period, a decline which culminated and was subsequently reversed in the eighth century, the suggested subsequent increase in population of more than five times is too high.¹¹ Although the rate of the population growth in the Neo-Babylonian period remains unquantifiable, it is nevertheless taken as a fact of the Babylonian history.

These, and other, factors affected not only the agriculture but the Babylonian society and economy as a whole. The far-reaching developments evident in the first millennium, and especially

⁶ Fruit trees, vegetables and cereals were also present in the date plantations.

⁷ Jursa 2010b: 49f.

⁸ Jursa 2010b: 34f.

⁹ Jursa 2010b: 48.

¹⁰ Adams calculates the occupation area in this period as 3,201 hectares, but this figure should be modified to 2,955 hectares as Jursa points out (2010b: 39 note 164).

¹¹ Brinkman *ibid.*: 178; see also Jursa 2010b: 39ff. who supports Brinkman’s conclusions.

the sixth century BC, were investigated by Jursa in his 2010 all-encompassing socio-economic depiction of first millennium Babylonia (2010b). The following study examines the temple agriculture of the first millennium BC as one facet of this particular socio-economic context. The focus is on the southern Babylonian city of Uruk and the agriculture of the main Urukian sanctuary, the temple Eanna,¹² which was dedicated to the goddess Ištar. The primary sources utilised in this study are the tablets which were produced by the temple's administrative apparatus, which constituted the so-called Eanna archive. This was a 'dead archive', discarded already in the antiquity.¹³ It encompasses over 8,000 tablets and fragments which stem mainly from the antiquities market and are housed in the collections of the Yale University, the Princeton Theological Seminary, the Louvre, the British Museum and Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin.¹⁴ Additionally, about 4,000 tablets and fragments were recovered by the German excavations in Uruk during the fifties of the previous century.¹⁵ They are stored in the collections of the University of Heidelberg, in the Baghdad Museum and the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. For the present study some 6,000 tablets were surveyed of which over 1,080 were directly relevant for the study of agriculture. The period under investigation is indicated by the scope of the archive: it encompasses the reigns of the kings of the Chaldean dynasty and of the first few Achaemenid rulers, i.e. roughly the time from Nabopolassar (626-605 BC) to Darius I. (521-486 BC). The archive contains a small number of earlier documents from the late Neo-Assyrian period,¹⁶ but the dated texts only start to be abundant from the middle of the reign of Nabopolassar (ca. from 615 BC). Where relevant these earlier documents were also taken into consideration in the following study. There is a clear break in the documentation in the second regnal year of Darius I. with only a trickle of later texts which peters out in Darius's 29th regnal year. This break was not a result of a destruction of the Eanna temple¹⁷ or of a discontinuation of the archival practices. Rather it was probably connected to the settling of accounts with Gimillu, one of the temple's agricultural contractors, as was suggested by van Driel (1998: 68ff.). A survey of a sample of 5,738 Eanna tablets supports the suggestion of an administrative clean up in the second regnal year of Darius. Most of the tablets in the sample – 1,967 – were not datable: either they were not dated, or the date was lost in a break and they could not be assigned to any ruler with certainty. Some thirty tablets were dated to Assyrian rulers (of which twenty were from the reign of Kandalānu). For the Chaldean and Achaemenid era most tablets stem from Nebuchadnezzar's reign – 1,611. This is not surprising considering the length of this king's rule. For a period of forty-three regnal years this would imply an average of approximately thirty-seven tablets per year. What is striking though, is that there are fifty-six tablets from Nebuchadnezzar IV's rule, which lasted only some six months. At this rate, this would imply a theoretical average incidence of some ninety-three tablets per year – this is a 2.5 times higher 'density' than for Nebuchadnezzar's rule. The average annual number of tablets was calculated or extrapolated for other rulers as well. The results are presented in the table below:

| Ruler | no. of tablets | incidence of tablets per year¹⁸ |
|--------------|-----------------------|---|
| Npl | 302 | 14 |
| Nbk | 1,611 | 37 |
| Ami | 64 | 32 |

¹² The Akkadian form of the temple name is *ayakku* according to Beaulieu 2002b. For the sake of convention, the Sumerian form Eanna is used throughout this study.

¹³ On the find circumstances and the difficulties in reconstructing the archive owed to the unsatisfactory documentation of the finds and to the fact that most of the tablets stem from illicit digs see Gehlken 1990: 6f. and van Driel 1998.

¹⁴ Smaller numbers of Eanna tablets can also be found in collections in Florence, St. Petersburg, New York, Birmingham and Montserrat. Kessler 1991: 8f. gives an overview of the publications of texts from the Eanna archive.

¹⁵ Gehlken published 240 of these tablets and fragments in 1990 and 1996.

¹⁶ These stem mostly from Kandalānu's reign, 648-627 BC, with just a few tablets from Šamaš-šum-ukīn's reign, 668-648 BC.

¹⁷ The temple was destroyed later, probably under Xerxes (see Waerzeggers 2003-04).

¹⁸ The figures in this column are rounded off. For kings who ruled for less than a year (Lābāši-Marduk, Bardia, Nebuchadnezzar IV) the rate of tablets per year was extrapolated and is thus hypothetical. The reign of Darius is taken to last 29 years for the purpose of calculation, as the archive ends after his 29th regnal year.

| | | |
|--------|-----|----|
| Ner | 78 | 26 |
| Lab | 1 | 5 |
| Nbn | 985 | 58 |
| Cyr | 244 | 27 |
| Camb | 332 | 42 |
| Bar | 6 | 12 |
| Nbk IV | 56 | 93 |
| Dar | 61 | 2 |

Table 1: Temporal distribution of texts in the Eanna archive

Another interesting point is that of the fifty-six texts from the time of Nebuchadnezzar IV only three do not relate to Gimillu or Eanna's agriculture. At least forty-nine texts directly concern Gimillu and the date cultivation under his responsibility. To these we can add another eight texts from the first two regnal years of Darius.¹⁹ This was the last large 'file' disposed of by the temple administration and it indicates a partial²⁰ clean up of the documentation connected to this agricultural contractor whose career ended in 2 Dar.²¹ A thorough examination of the composition of the Eanna archive, of the distribution of texts and files, will not be attempted here as it goes beyond the scope of this study. This preliminary analysis only serves to shed light on some of the administrative practices responsible for the formation of the Eanna archive and to remind us that our perception is ultimately skewed. The fact that there is a substantial number of documents concerning date gardening, but almost none concerning arable cultivation during Nebuchadnezzar IV's reign, for instance,²² can easily lead to erroneous conclusions unless the archival practices and the composition of the archive are kept in mind.

The following study builds up on previous scholarly work²³ and uses both published and unpublished cuneiform tablets as sources. The first part deals with the organisation of agricultural work in the Eanna temple. Different types of agricultural workers, ploughmen, gardeners, sharecroppers, are treated in individual chapters. The focus is on the people involved, their social status, their duties, and generally their relationship to the institution employing them. After treating the workers who represent the lowest level of the agricultural organisation, the people in higher

¹⁹ See attestations of Gimillu on p. 244.

²⁰ A 'file' concerning Gimillu's activities on arable land has not come down to us at all.

²¹ A relatively high incidence of tablets can be observed also for Nabonidus's reign. Of the 985 extant texts only about 227 are connected to agricultural matters. However, the composition of this clearly heterogeneous group of texts and the identification of different 'files' is a work which still remains to be done.

²² By contrast, for Cyrus's reign we have some information on arable cultivation but practically none on horticulture.

²³ Only a few of the relevant studies can be cited here. The afore mentioned Jursa 2010b is a comprehensive study on the economy and society of Babylonia in the first millennium BC. Van Driel 2002 is another examination of the socio-economic questions of the first millennium Babylonia, with special focus on taxation practices. Van Driel also dedicated a number of articles to the subject of agriculture in the Neo-Babylonian period in general (1987-88, 1988, 1990, 1999). As for the agriculture of the Uruk region, Cocquerillat conducted an extensive study of the date cultivation and the rent farm system employed by the Eanna temple. This was published in a monograph in 1968 and accompanied by a series of complementary articles in the following years (1981, 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 19859). She also investigated the prebendary gardeners of the Eanna temple (1973-74). F. Joannès addressed matters of topography, the temple agriculture and the rent farm system in Uruk (1982) and surveyed the irrigation system (2002). Kümmel undertook an extensive prosopographic study of the organisation of labour and the administration of the Eanna temple (1979). Kleber investigated the relationship between the Eanna temple and the royal administration (2008). The only other comparable archive from the first millennium Babylonia stems from the Ebabbar temple in the north-Babylonian city Sippar. The archive of the temple dedicated to the god Šamaš counts approximately 35,000 tablets (these constitute in fact two distinct archives – an early (from the last decades of Assyrian rule to the early Chaldean period) and a later one (from the middle of Nebuchadnezzar's reign to the second year of Xerxes) (Jursa 2005: 116ff.)) and is subject of several important studies (e.g. Bongenaar 1997, MacGinnis 1995, 2012). Different aspects of Ebabbar's agriculture were treated exhaustively in Jursa 1995a. Da Riva (2002) also examined aspects of the temple agriculture based on the material from the 'early' Ebabbar archive.

hierarchic positions, different types of agricultural managers, are examined. The individual chapters are accompanied by prosopographies of the people in these positions. Special interest is given to rent farming, a type of organisation of the agricultural production characteristic for the first millennium BC. All of the known rent farmers are treated in individual chapters in which their social backgrounds and careers are described and in which lists of attestations are supplied. The second part of the study examines the land lease contracts found in the archive. Of the forty known land lease contracts twenty editions of hitherto unpublished texts are presented. Formal aspects of these contracts are discussed, as well as the terminology used in them and the duties and obligations of the involved parties. The third part of this study deals with the topography and land use patterns. The general settings of the Urukian hinterlands are described, as well as the temple estates situated there. This includes estimates on the total size of the temple's land holdings and its income in agricultural products. Furthermore, several cadastral texts are introduced and their significance is discussed. Estimates are also made on the size of the plots and their productivity, also in comparison to other regions in Babylonia. All of this allows for conclusions on the type of agricultural regime employed by the Eanna temple which can be contrasted to other regimes identified for other regions in Babylonia. The concluding chapter is followed by a set of appendices. Appendix 1 offers editions of seventeen texts which were not incorporated in the body of the text, but which are discussed there. In total seventy-nine texts are edited in this study, of which forty-five texts were previously unpublished. Further appendices include a tabular analysis of two important accounts recording the temple income in agricultural commodities (OIP 122 82 and TCL 13 227; Appendix 2), a tabular reconstruction of the agricultural calendar (Appendix 3), a list of documents belonging to the private archive of the rent farmer Šum-ukīn (Appendix 4), and a tabular lists of the *imittu* debt notes for dates (Appendix 5).

2. Organisation of labour

2.1. Ploughmen (*ikkarū*)

On the lowest level of the organisation of the temple agriculture, among the people who did the actual work on the land, one finds a group of workers called the *ikkarus*. This term, which has been discussed on many occasions before,²⁴ is usually written with the logogram *engar* which can be also read as *apin* = *epinnu*, “plough”. This can give rise to ambiguity, and certainly has done so in the past, if a determinative (lú for *ikkaru* or *giš* for *epinnu*) is not provided.²⁵ *ikkaru* is generally understood to designate a “ploughman”. Though an *ikkaru* engaged in other agricultural activities involved in the cultivation of grain, ploughing was the most time-consuming, work-intensive, and hence the most typical activity. This is reflected by the logogram *engar/apin*. In the context of the temple agriculture the term *ikkaru* is translated in this study as “ploughman” rather than “temple ploughman”,²⁶ since no such affiliation to the temple is implicit in the word *per se*. The connection to the temple could be expressed with an additional *ša Bēlti ša Uruk* (e.g. BIN 1 157), *ša Ištar Uruk* (BIN 1 156) or *ša Eanna* (*BaM* 30, no. 3 = BM 113434).²⁷ However, these additional designations were most of the time omitted. In the majority of the situations reflected by our documentation this type of information was redundant from the point of view of the temple.

2.1.1. Status

A large portion of the *ikkarus* working for the temple was recruited from the stratum of temple dependants, from among the temple oblates (*širkus*), to be precise. Occasionally the ploughmen were explicitly designated as *širkus* in the texts.²⁸ The appearance of such *širku-ikkarus* vs. “simple” *ikkarus* has led Dandamayev (1984: 590ff.) to the assumption that one should distinguish between these two classes of agricultural workers, despite the fact that he himself found prosopographic evidence for individuals referred to as only *ikkaru* on some and *širku-ikkaru* on other occasions (*ibid*: 614⁵⁹).²⁹ The designation *širku* expressed an individual’s dependency on the

²⁴ For instance Dandamayev 1972: 548ff.; *idem* 1984: 585ff., on the distinction between *ikkarus* and *errēšus*, and 590ff., on *ikkarus* in general, with earlier literature on the subject; Cocquerillat 1984b: 144; van Driel 1988: 133ff.; Kümmel 1979: 97ff. gives an overview of the agricultural labourers of Eanna with a short discussion of their obligations (*sūtu*, *imittu* and *zittu*). Van Driel (1990: 224ff.) deals with the practical aspects of the arable agriculture and the activities of the ploughmen (workload, tools and techniques employed, organisation of labour). An exhaustive description of the *ikkarus*, their status and activities, based on the evidence from the Ebabbar of Sippar and complemented by a prosopography of the ploughmen, is provided by Jursa 1995a: 7ff. Finally, van Driel (2002: 224f.) re-addressed the status of the ploughmen and discussed their, in his view, contractual relationship to the temple. See also Ehrenkranz 1936: 19, who had already then correctly recognised that the difference between *ikkarus* and *errēšus* did not lie in the type of their activities, as had been assumed by Schwenzner (1924-25: 119, he understood the *errēšu* to be someone tending a vegetable garden, *Gemüsegärtner*) and later also Ebeling (1954: 47), but in their relationship to the landowner.

²⁵ The confusion was particularly acute in the case of the official *rab ikkarāti* (lú gal *engar*^{meš}) whose title had been misread as *rab epinnēti* and whose function had been misinterpreted accordingly (see p. 114). There has also been ambiguity in the usage of the terms *ikkaru* and *errēšu* by some scholars. In the older literature one might find the logogram *engar* transcribed as *errēšu* (e.g. in Ebeling 1930-34: *passim*). The reading *ikkaru* for *engar* in the Neo-Babylonian period is indicated by the syllabic spellings in *Nbn.* 576 and 577 coinciding with the logographic writing in a parallel phrase appearing in *Nbn.* 445 (the texts are from the Nūr-Sîn archive). This was observed by van Driel 1988: 134.

²⁶ Note that Jursa translates *ikkaru* in the context of the agriculture of Ebabbar as *Tempelbauer* (1995a: 7).

²⁷ Other gods in Uruk apparently also owned arable land and had their own ploughmen. In the *imittu* list YBC 4165 (not dated) one person is designated as *ikkaru ša Ušur-amāssu*. For this deity from the entourage of Ištar and Nanāya see Beaulieu 2003: 226ff.

²⁸ Cf. the prosopographies of the *rab ešertis* for instance, p. 93; see also Dandamayev 1984: 590ff.

²⁹ This has already been noted by Jursa 1995a: 7⁺³³. For *širkus* in the temple agriculture see now also Ragen 2006: 143ff. and on their role as cultivators see pp. 161ff. According to Ragen the *širkus* “were a relatively

temple, in other words, his legal status. This type of information was irrelevant for most of the transactions recorded in the administrative texts and so it comes as no surprise that the ploughmen usually lacked this designation. They were characterised as *širkus* in cases in which their legal status was relevant, i.e. in legal documents.³⁰ As Jursa (1995a: 7f.) noted, against Dandamayev, there is no such thing as an “*ikkaru*-status”. *ikkaru* is primarily a professional title without any legal connotations *a priori*. The *ikkarus*’ dependency on the temple stems from their *širkūtu*-status. However, while it is wrong to suppose that an *ikkaru* not otherwise designated as a *širku* had automatically a different status from all the other temple oblates, at the same time the assumption that all the ploughmen working for the temple were *širkus* is incorrect. Some evidence for the temple’s practice of hiring labour from outside its organisation to do the ploughing is offered by GC 2 246 (not dated):

GC 2 246

obv. 1. ^lla-ba-ši
^{ld}na-na-a-ú-šal-li
^lmu-^dag pab 3 dumu^{meš} šá
^ldin-su^ú engar šá
 5. ^{ld}en-su a-šú šá^l sum-na-a
 r3^l dumu^{meš} šá^{ld} en-[x]
 lo.c. r3^l dumu^{meš} šá^{ld} en-su
 rev. [ina] muḥ-ḫi^{giš} apin
 a-ga-nu-tu kù-babbar
 10. ^{ld}en-su i-maḥ-ḫar
^ldù-^d15 3 dumu^{meš} -šú
 šá^{uru} šá-pi-ia
 it-<ti>-šú-nu kù-babbar i-maḥ-ḫar

“Lābāši, Nanāya-ušalli, Iddin-Nabû, in total three sons of Balāssu, the ploughman of Bēl-erība, son of Iddināya; three sons of Bēl-[x]; three sons of Bēl-erība: these are (the men) in charge of plough(s). Bēl-erība will receive the money. Ibni-Ištar (and) his three sons from Šapīa are (also) with them. He will receive the money.”

Though the text is highly cursory, the only feasible interpretation is that the men listed, fathers with their sons, constituted four teams and were hired by the temple to work the ploughs. Bēl-erība, son of Iddināya, who acted apparently as their representative, was to receive their remuneration in silver. He not only ‘had’ a plough team of his own, comprised of Balāssu and his three sons, perhaps his slaves, but himself operated a plough with his sons. Ibni-Ištar and his sons, people from a presumably different locality, which was specifically noted, were to work together with Bēl-erība’s teams and to be remunerated together with them. This exceptional case of ploughmen paid in silver indicates that these were external labourers hired by the temple for agricultural work. Unfortunately, the amount of silver is not stated, but this nevertheless suggests that hired

new (and unwanted) addition” in the temple agriculture (p. 149) which was the result of royal innovation p. 153). This view, based mainly on the letter YOS 3 200, is not convincing. The letter merely describes the conflict which arose between (independent) cultivators working for the temple (small-scale contractors perhaps) and the *širkus* who were allotted land in the same region. From the standpoint of the cultivators who had been planting orchards there for 13 years, the newly arrived *širkus* were unwelcome intruders. However, for all we know, this was an odd incident and was not representative of the general role of the *širkus* in Eanna’s agriculture.

³⁰ For instance in documents dealing with the flight of ploughmen (e.g. YOS 7 102 (acc Camb), Dandamayev 1984: 494f.; see also YOS 7 152 (3 Camb) and YOS 7 137 (3 Camb), Dandamayev *ibid.*: 491ff.). The restricted use of the designation of the ploughmen’s legal status accounts for the fact that in the Ebabbar archive, which contains a comparatively small number of legal texts, *ikkarus* are extremely rarely labelled *širku* (Jursa 1995a: 7). (An example for an *ikkaru* designated as *širku* in the Ebabbar archive is the list of date disbursements BM 114818 from the time of Nabonidus. This text records dates given out to *širkus*, listing the recipients by name and occasionally professional titles. One of these, Êter, appears with the title *ikkaru*.)

ploughmen worked for a standardised fee.³¹ In this context one should also note the labour contract YOS 19 71:

- YOS 19 71 10-IV-12 Nbn
- obv. 1. ^{r1d}na-na-a-kam u ¹dingir-i-la-da-³ [dumu^{mcš}]
 šá ¹i-za-na-pir-ti a-na <<ina>> igi ¹ib-n[a-a]
 a-šú šá ¹ba-la-tu šá muḫ-ḫi su-ut-ti
 šá ^dgašan+unug[?] al^{sic}-li-ku-ma[?] ki-a-am iq-bi-ma¹
5. um-ma¹ dul¹-lu ina igi-ka ni-ip¹-šú
¹dù-a i-še^{sic}-iš^{sic}-šú-nu-tu 4 [g]u₄ 1+en li-šá-nu
 1+en ap-ta^{sic}-ti 2 ma-a[r]-a¹-ti
 i-na-da-áš-šú-nu-tu <dul>-lu ina š[à] ip-pu-ru
 20 gur še-numun lib-bi-ú ik-ka-[r]i^{mcš}
10. šá ^{r1d}gašan+unug[?] i-na-da-áš-šú-nu-tu
 u i-ma-áš-ḫi^{sic}-iš^{sic} i-ma-ḫar-šú-nu-tu
- rev. pu-ut [...]
 šá gu₄ [...]
 i-tu- [...]
15. ¹na-din [...]
 a-šú šá ^{1d}innin-^rx¹- [...] ^{1d}
 u ^{1u}umbisag ¹dan-nu-^d [...] ^{1d}
 uru hu-ri-za-ti šá ¹ta-qi[š^dgu[?]-la[?]]
 ší-i-ḫu šá ^dgašan+unug[?] iti šu ud 10-k[am]
20. mu 12-<kam> ^{1d}ag-i¹ lugal tin-tir^{ki}

‘Nanāya-ēreš and Il-ilada’, [sons[?]] of Iza-napirti went³² to Ibnāya, son of Balātu, the rent farmer of the *Lady of Uruk* (?³³), and said as follows: ‘We want to perform³⁴ (agricultural) work for you.’ Ibnāya listened³⁵ to them (and accepted their offer). He will give them four oxen, one ploughshare,

³¹ Note that according to the legal record YOS 7 102 (acc Camb), the infamous rent farmer Gimillu, son of Innin-šum-ibni (for whose career see pp. 235ff.), got hold of a fugitive ploughman of the Lady of Uruk and leased him out to a private person for an annual fee of 5 shekels of silver. The money was to be given to Gimillu. This amount can be compared to 5 *kurru* of barley which was the annual ration of a ploughman according to the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ (see below).

³² The verb is written with an initial *al-* instead of the expected *il-* (l. 4). This, unless we are dealing with a plain scribal error, could be an example of ‘vowel indifference’ frequently observed in CVC (consonant-vowel-consonant) and to a lesser extent CV signs in the Neo-Babylonian period (Streck 2001: 81f.). This phenomenon, which is understood to be the result of the increasing bi-literacy of the scribes of this period (i.e. their proficiency in Akkadian cuneiform and Aramaic alphabet script), is here then exceptionally attested for a VC sign. The text is on the whole replete with misshapen signs (for instance *ma* in ll. 4 and 5, *dul* in l. 5) and odd or broken writings which will be discussed individually. Further peculiarities include redundant (*ina* in l. 2) and forgotten signs (*dul* in l. 8 and *kam* in l. 20) and unusual syllabic writings (e.g. l. 3: *su-ut-ti* for *sūti*, l. 9: *ik-ka-[r]i^{mcš}*).

³³ The divine name written in ll. 4, 10 and 19 is problematic. The sign following DINGIR is MURUB₄, however, this combination does not result in a divine name. The god Mummu, written ^dúmun (= DÉ), would graphically come close to what is in the text, but is otherwise unattested in the pantheon of Uruk at this time. Beaulieu opts for the reading ^dedin, Šerua, which is a goddess originally worshipped in Assyria (2003: 323f.). The problem with this reading is that the sign EDIN does not resemble what is actually written on the tablet. Even if one took into consideration the scribe’s peculiar style exhibited in his graphic renderings of the signs *ma* or *dul*, for example, this would still be the only attestation of Šerua in the texts from Eanna. With respect to the context, one would expect here the Lady of Uruk. Ibnāya (= Ibni-Ištar), son of Balātu, was a *širku* of the Lady of Uruk, who in 11 Nbn rented some temple land for cereal cultivation (YOS 6 150). In another text, SAKF 155 (13 Nbn), he appears with the title *ša muḫḫi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk* (for this rent farmer see pp. 203ff.). Has the scribe perhaps created a ligature ^dgašan+unug here?

³⁴ Note the writing *ni-ip-šú* (l. 5) for *nīpuš*. A comparable example for the ‘non-notation of vowels’ can be found in Streck 2001: 84 *sub* 5.2.2.2.

³⁵ Note the defective writing of the verb *šemû* in l. 6 (for *išmēšunūtu*).

one *appatu*-tool and two spades.³⁶ They will do³⁷ the work there. He will give them 20 *kurru* of land,³⁸ like the ploughmen of the Lady of Uruk (get), and he will measure³⁹ (and) receive (barley) from them. [They] guarantee for [...] of the oxen [...].

[Witnesses: ...] Nādin [...],

[PN] son of Ištar-[x ...],

Scribe: Dān-[GN ...];

Ḫurizātu-ša-Taqīš-[Gula²], estate of the Lady of Uruk; 10-IV-12 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

In this text two men, who apparently did not belong to the temple workforce, approached the rent farmer Ibni-Ištar (Ibnāya), son of Balātu, and offered to work for him. According to this contract the rent farmer was to provide them with draught animals and tools and they were to cultivate the land in the same manner as *ikkarus*. The document makes no stipulations for the remuneration of the two workers. This probably had to do with the fact that they did not have their own means of production – the tools and the draught animals were provided by the rent farmer. It is conceivable that they were going to be compensated for their work in the same manner as the temple ploughmen (see below).

The availability of one’s own means of production clearly mattered to the temple administration.⁴⁰ Whether an *ikkaru* was a *širku* or not was of little relevance for the agricultural production, since they all worked under the same conditions. For this reason this status was not stressed in the administrative documents recording the day to day activities of the *ikkarus*. But a real distinction was made between the *ikkarus*, whether they were temple dependants or outsiders hired for ploughing, and the *errēšus*, since the circumstances under which they were employed were quite different. Although their activities were basically the same, the *errēšus* (“sharecroppers”⁴¹) had their own means of production and consequently they could keep a fraction of the yield for themselves. The *ikkarus* on the other hand had to deliver (almost) the entire yield of the plot assigned to them.⁴²

³⁶ The writings of the tools in l. 7 are peculiar. *ma-a[r]-a-ti* for *marrāt(i)* is an example of a morphophonological ‘broken’ writing (cf. Streck 2001: 85 *sub* 6.2.4). The writing *ap-ta-ti* (or *ap-ta^{ti}*) for *appat(i)* can be explained as a combination of three graphic phenomena, as recorded and discussed by Streck (2001). He notes that vowels are sometimes not noted following CVC and VC signs (2001: 83f.) and the initial *ap* in our text should probably be understood in this way, i.e. as standing for */appal/* (note the comparable example quoted by Streck *ibid.*: *ma-an-da-at-šú* for *mandattašu*). The next sign, *ta*, is used vowel-indifferently, i.e. only the consonant value is decisive, */t/*. The last sign can be interpreted as a complement to the preceding sign (Note, however, that these are generally found CVC or ‘vowel-indifferent’ VC signs (Streck 2001: 82 *sub* 2. and 83f. *sub* 4.)).

³⁷ Note the writing *ip-pu-ru* for *ippušū* in l. 8. Von Soden listed some Neo-Babylonian examples for rendering *š* as *r* preceding palatal and dental stops (1995a: 39), however, a case of an intervocalic *š* written as *r* has so far not been attested. This can be explained by assuming that *r* and *š* (or sibilants in general) had a similar point of articulation (alveolar) as well as a similar type of closure (fricative). The Akkadian *r* would have sounded in the later period much like the Czech ř (Jursa 2003: 236). The opposite case of *r* being rendered as *š* in writing, both preceding palatal and dental stops and intervocalically, is even better attested (von Soden 1995a: 44, Jursa 2003: 235f.; see also Hackl 2008: 86f.⁺¹²). Note also the one case of */šš/* being written as *rš* in the word *mukaššitu: mu-kar-ši-ti* (quoted by Jursa 2003: 235).

³⁸ Alternatively “seed” could be meant here.

³⁹ The writing of the verb, the present tense of *mašāhu* (with an accusative suffix, perhaps referring to barley), *imaššah-š(i)*, as *i-ma-áš-ḫi-iš* can also be explained by the phenomena of ‘non-notation of vowels’ (*áš* stands for */aššal/*) and the ‘vowel indifference’ of the signs *ḫi* and *iš* (see Streck 2001: 81ff.).

⁴⁰ By comparison one can turn to the (semi-)private sector in the 5th century Nippur as represented by the Murašû archive. The leases of agricultural land attested in this archive demonstrate that land itself was cheap. The ploughs, draught animals, ploughmen, and water were the expensive factors that directly influenced the rate of the rents. If the means of production were supplied by the lessors the rents were consistently higher in proportion to the equipment/work force provided (Stolper 1985: 125ff.; 2005).

⁴¹ Actually the term simply means “cultivator”. The translation “sharecropper” is derived from their factual status of a lessee of temple land who delivered only a portion of the yield to the temple as rent and kept the rest for himself.

⁴² For the distinction between *ikkarus* and *errēšus* see the already quoted literature in note 24, especially Dandamayev 1985: 585ff., Kümmel 1979: 97ff. and Jursa 1995a: 7ff.

Occasionally one finds *ikkarus* in the temple records who are designated as “ploughman of PN/professional title” indicating that they could be employed for personal agricultural activities of the people/officials in question. In YBC 3493 (not dated) two persons and in BIN 1 142 (date lost) one person is designated as *ikkaru ša šākin tēmi*; in YOS 19 75 (1 Nbn) one person, a ploughman of the resident (*ikkaru ša qīpi*), appears. In several other texts the *ikkarus* are said “to be of” a certain named individual: GC 2 246 (PN *ikkaru ša Bēl-erība/Iddināya*, the text is edited above), YOS 3 110 (PN *rē’ūšu u ikkaršu* (of *Ša-Nabû-mannu*)), AUWE 5 86 (40 Nbk, PN *ikkaru ša Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim*), BIN 1 166 (2 Ner, *ikkaru ša Šum-ukīn*), YOS 19 75 (1 Nbn, PN *ikkaru ša Šum-ukīn*). We also find *ikkarus* under the responsibility (*ša qāt*) of certain individuals: of Nādin in YOS 7 152 (3 Camb), of Etellu in TCL 13 180 (1 Dar) and perhaps of Šulāya in NBDM 89 (not dated (Cyr/Camb⁴³)). These three men can be identified with the overseers of the plough teams, *rab epinnis*,⁴⁴ bearing the same names. Some of the other named individuals could conceivably also be assigned to different levels of the agricultural management, though all of these identifications are uncertain, as we are usually missing the patronymics. Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim from AUWE 5 86 could thus be identified with the *rab ešerti* and the *rab ikkarāti* of the same name (see p. 116) and Šum-ukīn from BIN 1 166 and YOS 19 75 could be the large-scale rent farmer from the Basia family (see pp. 158ff.). However, for Bēl-erība, son of Iddināya (GC 2 246), Ša-Nabû-mannu⁴⁵ (YOS 3 110) and Nergal-uballit⁴⁶ (BIN 1 44) not even such tentative identifications are possible. The status of the *ikkarus* in question is highly uncertain. In some cases those will have been ‘regular’ temple ploughmen working under the responsibility of certain agricultural officials, though it is still not clear why this relationship was stressed in these particular instances. In others they could have been anything from personal slaves or hired labourers of the individuals/officials in question, who were entrusted with the ploughing of their masters’ fields, to perhaps even small-scale tenants or settlers on the land belonging to private parties. The possibility that these were temple ploughmen who were put at the service of the temple officials cannot be entirely excluded either. Be that as it may, a further twist in the line of dependencies and responsibilities is introduced by their interaction with the temple. In some⁴⁷ of the attestations these ‘private’ *ikkarus* seem to have had obligations toward the temple as their deliveries of agricultural produce to Eanna indicate. It seems that they were discharging these obligations on behalf of their ‘masters’, who had probably leased land from the temple.⁴⁸

To sum up, the term *ikkaru* had no legal implications. What the people designated by this term had in common, was the work with a plough. Other than that, *ikkarus* that appear in the Eanna texts do not represent a homogeneous group: Temple oblates as well as free persons hired by the temple are described as *ikkarus*, as well as slaves or hirelings of contractors working for the temple. As a rule, the temple had to provide the tools and the draught animals to the *ikkarus*. They, in return, had to deliver almost the entire yield of the land they worked.

⁴³ The text should be dated either to the end of Cyrus’s or the beginning of Cambyses’s reign, as the governor of Babylonia, Gūbaru, appears in it. Šulāya is not given a patronymic (l. 24), so this attestation is not certain.

⁴⁴ The *rab epinni* Nādin, son of Innin-zēr-ibni, was attested from 14 Nbn until 1 Nbk IV. The *rab epinni* Etellu, son of Zēria, was attested from 8 Nbn until 6 Camb (or 1 Dar with this attestation). Their colleague Šulāya, son of Sîn-nādin-šumi, was attested from 2 Ner until 1 Nbk IV (see the chapter on *rab epinnis*, p. 96).

⁴⁵ A certain Ša-Nabû-mannu, perhaps the same person judging by the rare name, appears also in the letter YOS 3 163, however, in a broken context.

⁴⁶ At least it can be assumed that Nergal-uballit did not belong to the temple organisation, since the authors of this letter complain about him taking the water from the canal belonging to the Lady of Uruk, to which he obviously had no right.

⁴⁷ E.g. in YBC 3493, AUWE 5 86, BIN 1 166, YOS 19 75.

⁴⁸ A similar three-level arrangement can be observed in the archive of Itti-Šamaš-balātu, son of Lâbāši, an entrepreneur from Larsa (Beaulieu 2000: 43ff.): according to the work contract NCBT 1021 (edited *ibid.*: 47) Itti-Šamaš-balātu employed (l. 5: ^rū¹-še-ziz) his *ikkaru* and his (and another person’s) gardener for work on land, which belonged to the state administration. That this was crown land is evident from the stipulation on the shares of the harvest: the labourers (the *ikkaru* and the *nukuribbu*) were entitled to a half share of what remained after the king had taken his share (we are not told how much this was). As Beaulieu observed, this transaction was “tantamount to sublease” of crown land (*ibid.*: 47). (Ploughmen of Itti-Šamaš-balātu and other individuals appear also in YOS 19 69; however, the details of this work contract are not entirely clear owing to the state of preservation of the tablet.)

2.1.2. Organisation

2.1.2.1. The plough team

The plough was the basic tool of the ploughmen; hence the basic work units were organised around it. We call these work units plough teams or teams for short. The term conveniently used for them in Akkadian was *epinnu*, plough.⁴⁹ Each plough team consisted therefore of a plough, of draught animals⁵⁰ and men, *ikkarus*, who operated it and drove the animals. The number of men and animals working in a team varied, but as transpires from the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ (see below) and some rent contracts, there existed a norm for the composition of a plough team. Ideally four men, four oxen and two cows were part of a team.⁵¹ The oxen were used for pulling the plough, though it is not clear whether all four were used simultaneously. Van Driel suggested that only two oxen at a time were harnessed and did the work. Thus two teams of oxen could be used alternately which resulted in increased performance (1990: 227; see also below).⁵² Oxen trained for pulling a plough appear occasionally with the designation *ummānu*.⁵³ The purpose of the cows was to keep the number of the draught animals up to strength with their offspring. It was explicitly stated in some of the rent contracts that the oxen provided by the temple were “made of iron”, in other words, that they were supposed to be imperishable, at least for accounting purposes. It was consequently the tenant’s responsibility to replace the dead animals.⁵⁴ However, in the absence of adequate numbers of oxen, cows could be used for pulling the ploughs. Cows trained for this task were designated as *šadditus*.⁵⁵

Frequently, however, the standard for a plough team was not attained. Particularly the ‘practical’ texts from the Ebabbar of Sippar give evidence for this. Texts recording inspections of the plough teams, usually conducted shortly before the ploughing season, demonstrate that the ideal of four men, four oxen and two cows was rarely reached in practice (Jursa 1995a: 17). The administration of Ebabbar even introduced terms such as “half-plough” (*mišil epinni*) or “two-thirds-plough” to designate under-strength teams with respect to both animals and men, indicating teams of lower productivity. The fractions may even have been related to the quota expected from these teams.⁵⁶ Somewhat surprisingly teams consisting of more than four men are also known from both Sippar and Uruk. For instance in OIP 122 172 from Eanna, a list of 53 *ikkarus* distributed in ten plough teams, one encounters teams consisting of either three or six people. It is conceivable that not all of the people listed were fully productive as some of them may have been children (their age is not noted, though).

The individual duties of the members of a plough team are not spelled out explicitly in our texts. During the planting season the work of at least three men was required: one would drive the

⁴⁹ That *epinnu* referred both to the plough itself and the work unit, the plough team, was already noted by Kümmel 1979: 99f. The plough implied by this term was a seeder plough (see for instance Hruška 2003-05: 510ff. and Potts 1997: 78f.). It was made mainly of wood, but the ploughshare was usually made of iron in this period (for archaeological finds of iron ploughshares see Seidl 2003-05: 514).

⁵⁰ In the course of Mesopotamian history donkeys, mules, horses (Weszeli 2003-05: 475) and bovines were used for the traction of ploughs. In the temple records of the Neo-Babylonian period, however, only oxen and cows are attested as draught animals.

⁵¹ YOS 6 103 (7 Nbn), YOS 6 150 (11 Nbn), TCL 13 182 (2 Dar). However, note that according to Šum-ukīn’s and Kalbāya’s rent contract (YOS 6 11 (1 Nbn) + duplicates) a team consisted of four men, four oxen and only one cow.

⁵² It is generally known that each additional animal harnessed reduces the speed of a plough team (Renger 1990: 271). However, evidence from sub-Saharan Africa shows that using two pairs of oxen instead of just one could extend the daily working hours by approximately 20% (Renger 1990: 271f.).

⁵³ Cf. van Driel 1995: 224-226, Jursa 1995a: 17.

⁵⁴ E.g. the lines 20f. of the ‘Edict’ (YOS 6 103) read: $gu_4^{meš} ul i-mut-ti / šá an-bar šu-nu$ (“The oxen will not die; they are (made) of iron”). In YOS 6 11, the cows are stated to be intended for the upkeep (literally “repair”) of the oxen, line 10: $1 me áb-gal^{mc} a-na bat-qa šá 4 me gu_4^{mc}$.

⁵⁵ Van Driel 1995: 224-226, Jursa 1995a: 17⁺⁶⁰. For more terms for oxen and cows used as draught animals see Weszeli 2007: 393f.

⁵⁶ Jursa 1995a: 18. 139⁺²⁸³.

oxen (this could be a boy), one would steady the plough (this had to be an adult in full strength) and one would apply the seed (van Driel 1990: 227). Very frequently, but not exclusively, family members, fathers and sons, uncles, etc., constituted a plough team. Most of the evidence for this comes again from the inspection lists (*amirtu*) from Sippar.⁵⁷ According to these lists the teams consisted of three to four people of which one to two were adults. Old people (*šību*), fully productive workers (*itbāru*⁵⁸) and children, differentiated by age, appear in one of these lists (CT 56 481+⁵⁹). This particular text informs us that children of five years or older already counted as *itbārus*, i.e. had to work.

Very rarely are such details available from the documentation from Eanna. BIN 1 157 (not dated, but on prosopographic grounds probably from Nebuchadnezzar's reign) is a list of 46 ploughmen of the Lady of Uruk; however, no further information, other than patronymics, is given. These *ikkarus* were probably the representatives of individual plough teams.⁶⁰ Another list of the ploughmen, the already mentioned OIP 122 172 (not dated, but prosopographically to be placed in Nebuchadnezzar's reign), gives a more detailed picture. The leader of each team⁶¹ was accompanied by his son(s) and brother(s). Frequently members of different families appear together in the teams listed here. The list AUWE 11 205 (40 Nbk) was originally the most detailed as it provided both the information on the family ties as well as the age(-class) of the person in question. Unfortunately the fragmentary state of the text renders it almost useless for prosopographic purposes. Nevertheless, we are informed that, similarly to the plough teams in Sippar, in Uruk they consisted of old people (^(lu)igi = *šību*), fully productive grown-ups (lú = *amīlu*), young men⁶² (*rabū*, written ^(lu)gal or syllabically), and children distinguished by age. Among them two⁺, six and ten year-olds are attested.⁶³

Inspections of ploughmen and plough teams must have occurred on a regular basis in Uruk also, even though this type of texts is underrepresented in the predominantly legally oriented part of the Eanna archive available to us. It should be noted, however, that the high temple administration ordered an overseer of the ploughmen to bring all the *ikkarus* of the Lady of Uruk from a certain locality, together with their sons and brothers, their 'substitutes' (*kutallātu*⁶⁴), and the additional men (*īpānu*⁶⁵), who are with them, and show them to the chief administrator of Eanna (YOS 17 33,⁶⁶ 19 Nbk). The purpose of this summons may have been an inspection of the agricultural workers.⁶⁷ At any rate it is evident that beside family members 'outsiders', whichever their

⁵⁷ Jursa 1995a: 8f. For Uruk see below.

⁵⁸ See van Driel 2002: 209 with earlier literature.

⁵⁹ Jursa 1995a: 8f.

⁶⁰ This seems very likely in the light of the fact that most of the men listed were not related. Only four of the 37 extant patronymics are repeated (one three times and three two times each), and this is not necessarily a proof of these people belonging to the same family as the names in question are rather common. In texts listing members of individual plough teams the incidence of familial relations is much higher.

⁶¹ Marked in this text with a prefixed large *Personenkeil*.

⁶² Following Gehlken's translation of the term (1996: 45).

⁶³ This can hardly be taken for an indication that the children from Uruk had a 'nicer' childhood than their peers from Sippar, who apparently counted with the fully productive workers from their fifth year on.

⁶⁴ According to CAD K: 607 *kutallātu* expressed an "obligation to serve as a reservist in the royal army", an obligation which probably arose from fief holdings such as bow-land or the like. This taxation-related term was probably not intended in our text (see Abraham 2004: 425; van Driel 2002: 247-249; for non-taxation related occurrences of *kutallātu* see *ibid.*: 248⁺⁸⁹).

⁶⁵ A collation of the text confirms the reading *ī-pa-nu* in line 5 rather than *qī-pa-nu* ("commissioners"), which is indicated in the copy. The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary records for the word *īpu*, "attachment, addition", only the attestations in a mathematical context and in relation to buildings as annexes (CAD T: 112f.). In our text it refers to people, designating extra personnel. The term appears in the taxation context in some Egibi documents edited by Abraham 2004: no. 6 (l. 2) on pp. 212ff. and no. 15 (l. 5) on pp. 230ff. It designates the people obliged to perform the *ilku* and the bow-service: in this context the documents usually refer to a specific person (PN) accompanied by his *īpānū*, an anonymous group of people. (Abraham briefly discusses the term on p. 213; however, she opts for the emendation to *qīpānu* and translates it as "administrators"; however, see van Driel 2002: 240f. with note 59. See also Jursa 1999: 106⁴⁴⁷.)

⁶⁶ The text is edited on p. 88.

⁶⁷ However, other reasons, which unfortunately elude us, are perhaps more probable. For one it is questionable whether the chief temple administrator (*šatammu*) would have personally conducted an *amirtu*,

particular functions may have been, could be associated with the ploughmen. A similar situation is found in TCL 13 152 (2 Camb). Here the *ikkarus*, who were at the same time the overseers of the plough teams,⁶⁸ were summoned for some reason to Babylon, but were obliged to make sure that their brothers, sons and workers (*šābū*) guarded the barley while they were away.⁶⁹

2.1.2.2. Overseers

The exact number of the ploughmen and the plough teams of Eanna is not known and it may have varied over time. The list BIN 1 157 (see above) seems to indicate that at some point in Nebuchadnezzar's reign there were only 46 plough teams. At the beginning of Nabonidus's reign a rent contract speaks of hundred plough teams, or in other words 400 *ikkarus*. This was the contingent the temple promised to provide to the rent farmers Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya (YOS 6 11 + duplicates, 1 Nbn). These conspicuously round figures were probably to an extent fictitious. They were calculated on the basis of the surface area leased to these two rent farmers and did not represent the actual situation. There is no way of knowing what the actual figures were. It is possible that there were in fact more ploughmen, since in 3 Nbn two more rent farms in addition to Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's were established (YOS 6 40 and 41). Admittedly these contracts give no stipulations on plough teams, possibly indicating that it was the responsibility of the rent farmers to organise the work-force and the means of production. It should be noted, however, that at the beginning of Darius's reign when the temple administration dismissed the rent farmer Gimillu who had fifty plough teams at his disposal, it promised his successor Bēl-gimlanni to raise the contingent to hundred teams in the following year (TCL 13 182, 2 Dar), even though the area under cultivation was much smaller than Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's.⁷⁰ At this time some ploughmen may have also be employed under the direct supervision of the temple officials *rab epinnis* (see pp.96ff.). In other words, the temple probably had more than fifty plough teams at its disposal and there must have been at least a theoretical chance for it to recruit hundred plough teams. For the time being all speculations on the exact numbers of ploughmen cannot go beyond these rough estimates.

Their number was at any rate high enough in order to exact several levels of supervision. At the head of each plough team there was one individual who represented it for administrative purposes. This is usually the person who appears in our texts, e.g. as the person making a delivery of agricultural produce in *imittu* lists or as the debtor in *imittu* debt notes. If at all, these people are normally designated as *ikkarus* only. However, in some instances in the texts from Sippar they are attested with the title *rab epinni*.⁷¹ In Uruk the 'heads of plough teams' appear only as *ikkarus*. Only once do we hear of a *bēl epinni*, who could well have been the equivalent of a Sipparean *rab epinni*. In YOS 7 102⁷² (acc Camb) a certain Rēhētū, a ploughman and a *širku* of Ištar of Uruk, testified before the *šatammu* and the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna to have fled from the plough of Šamaš-mukīn-apli, the son of Sīn-nādin-šumi, ploughman of the Lady of Uruk, his *bēl epinni*.⁷³

Besides each having a representative within the plough team (*bēl epinni*?), the teams were subordinated to local overseers. These were recruited from among their own ranks. In Sippar they

if one is to take the wording of the text literally. Furthermore, the text was written in the ninth month, i.e. in the middle of the ploughing and sowing season. This was not a favourable moment for conducting an inspection as it would interrupt the ongoing work on the fields. A regular inspection should have ideally happened before the ploughing season for the purpose of taking stock of the available resources.

⁶⁸ See the chapter on *rab epinni* (p. 96) and below.

⁶⁹ For a partial edition of the text see Kümmel 1979: 100f. The text was written in the first month, which implies that the barley had not been harvested yet and needed to be guarded (l. 15: *ma-aš-šar-tu₄ šá še-bar*) either against pest, flooding or simply theft.

⁷⁰ Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rented 6,000 *kurru* of land while Gimillu and after him Bēl-gimlanni had 1,000 *kurru* of land at their disposal.

⁷¹ Jursa 1995a: 9. They should not be confused with the Urukean officials *rab epinnis* (see chapter 96 and below), who were attested during the Achaemenid period and were in charge of several plough teams.

⁷² For a translation of the text see Dandamayev 1984: 494f.

⁷³ YOS 7 102 l. 4-6: ... *ul-tu ugu* ^{gis}apin / *šá* ^{ld}utu-gin-ibila dumu-šú *šá* ^{ld}30-na-din-mu ^{lu}engar *šá* ^dgašan *šá* unug^{ki} en ^{gis}apin-ia / *aḥ-li-iq-ma* ...

did not have a specific title,⁷⁴ but in Uruk they appear as “overseers of ten” (*rab ešertis*) during Nebuchadnezzar’s reign or as “overseers of plough (teams)” (*rab epinnis*) during the Achaemenid rule. Following OIP 122 172 one can conclude that at least the *rab ešertis* were in charge of ten teams⁷⁵ (no such lists are attested for the *rab epinnis*). Despite the meagre evidence this title probably also reflected their responsibilities over ploughmen when employed for non-agricultural work (and organised in groups of ten, decuries, as was common practice at the time).⁷⁶ Their duties were at any rate very similar to those of the *rab epinnis* (for details see the pertinent chapters on these ‘officials’), the main being assuming the responsibility for the deliveries of agricultural produce from their respective localities.

The so-called “canal inspectors”, the *gugallus*, were another type of officials under whose authority the ploughmen stood. They, too, were usually hired from among the ploughmen or gardeners. Apart from the obvious, namely their responsibility for various tasks concerning the irrigation system, the upkeep of the old and the creation of new irrigation canals, dikes, etc.,⁷⁷ it is not clear to what extent their activities and duties with respect to ploughmen differed from those of the *rab ešertis/epinnis*.⁷⁸

At the top of the hierarchy of the agricultural officials was one “overseer of the ploughmen” (*rab ikkarāti*), who was a ploughman himself. This official is known from both Sippar and Uruk.⁷⁹ Apparently he had a longer tradition in the temple organisation: his first so far known attestation stems from the 20th year of Kandalānu.⁸⁰ However, with the introduction of the large-scale rent farms, this official was rendered obsolete, his responsibilities being taken over by the rent farmer. The Urukian rent farmer Šum-ukīn even appeared occasionally with this title in the first years of Nabonidus’s reign. While the rent farmers clearly supplanted the *rab ikkarāti*, it is not clear whether the intermediate structure of overseers was kept up. Though some of these people still occasionally appear in our sources during the period of large-scale rent farms, they do not do so in any official function. As they probably dealt directly with the rent farmer, rather than the temple administration, it is only natural that they are not visible in the documentation of this time.

2.1.2.3. The ‘Edict’, the workload of *ikkarus*, and some quantitative considerations

A good starting point for a discussion of the obligations of the ploughmen is the so-called ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ (YOS 6 103, 7 Nbn),⁸¹ a document dealing with the estates of the god Bēl of Babylon which had been distributed to rent farmers (*rab sūtis* in this text) by the crown prince

⁷⁴ Jursa 1995a: 10.

⁷⁵ Line 54 reads: pab 10 ^{giš}apin^{meš} ina igi ^{ld}u-gur-sūḫ-sur a-šú šá ¹za-bi-da-a. This Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter is known from BIN 1 112 (19 Nbk) as a *rab ešerti*. Cf. also AUWE 11 205, of which the last line (rev. III l. 8’) reads: [šá or lú] 10-ti šá ¹dū^d15. Ibni-Ištar, son of Nabû-šum-ibni, is attested as a *rab ešerti* in YBC 4000 (34 Nbn, Janković 2005: 167ff.).

⁷⁶ Cf., for instance, the letter YOS 21 115 discussed in the note 151. Note that *rab ešertis* appeared not only in the agricultural but also in other spheres of the temple organisation (Bongenaar 1997: 130). They appear in Sippar only once in connection with the ploughmen, however, the context is not clearly agricultural (*Nbk* 458; cf. van Driel 1990: 234 and Jursa 1995a: 22).

⁷⁷ See Janković 2007.

⁷⁸ The *gugallus* are treated in detail in a separate chapter, p. 118.

⁷⁹ For Sippar see Jursa 1995a: 11. 24f. and for Uruk see below p. 114.

⁸⁰ *AJO* 16: 42 no. 8, quoted in Jursa 1995a: 11.

⁸¹ An edition of the text can be found in Cocquerillat 1968: 37. 108 and van Driel 1987-88: 61ff.; see also the discussion in Joannès 1982: 142ff.; see Jursa 1995a: 137f. for a summary and the applicability of the model in Sippar and generally in practice. Some of Cocquerillat’s reconstructions of the broken portions of the text, especially of the numerical values, are dubious, particularly the area of 125 *kurru* per plough team. The interpretation and reconstructions proposed by van Driel (1987-88: 62ff.; 1990: 224f.) certainly make a more coherent picture, though the text is still problematic owing to breaks and its irregular phrasing (for a ‘catalogue of errors’ see van Driel 1987-88: 62⁴). Most recently van Driel (2002: 166ff., especially p. 170) returned to this text and re-interpreted some parts of it, in particular the arable section (ll. 15-30). However, he did not comment on these changes in the light of his earlier interpretations and on certain aspects of this part of the text (e.g. the total costs and their implications for the *ikkarus*).

Belšazzar. At this time he was heading the government in Babylon while his father, the king Nabonidus, was in Teima. The text is divided in two sections and lists in general terms (no particular localities or people are named) the quotas of the gardeners, on the one, and the *ikkarus*, on the other hand: the size of the plots, the means of production (tools, draught animals, ploughmen, seed) assigned to them, the expected revenues, and the administrative fees. This memorandum,⁸² though it concerned the estates of Bēl, was considered a useful accounting model and was probably for this reason copied and kept in the Eanna archive.

The text has been edited and discussed on numerous occasions in the past, but nevertheless, it is still not perfectly understandable. The arithmetic of the section concerning the arable cultivation in particular poses some problems. First we will turn to this section, which is presented here in translation:

YOS 6 103 ll. 15-30:

“[Per plough] they⁸³ gave 25 *kurru* of arable land. Per each *kurru* (of land the ploughman) will give 12 *kurru* of barley as net rent. Additionally 5 *kurru* of land are gra[n]ted for costs and for rations of the governor, scribes, measurers and gate keepers. For one plough 4 oxen, 2 cows (and) 4 [ploughmen] are provided. The oxen will not die; they are (made) of iron. Per *kurru* they will add to the rent 11½ litres of barley or dates for rations and give them to Esagil; they must give the barley and dates net in Esagil. Per *kurru* they will give 3½ litres as rations to the governor, the scribes, the measurers and the gate keepers over and above their rent. In the first year they will give [per plough] 25 *kurru* of barley for seed, and [20 *kurru* for] rations of the ploughmen. [In total] they will give 45 *kurru* of barley.”

According to this section a plough team consisting of one plough, four oxen, two cows and four ploughmen was assigned an area of 25 *kurru* of land for cultivation. In the first year of the lease they were provided with 25 *kurru* of barley seed (including fodder for the cattle⁸⁴) and 20 *kurru* of barley for the rations of the *ikkarus*.⁸⁵ The yield per 1 *kurru* of land was estimated at 12 *kurru* of barley, in other words, for the entire plot of 25 *kurru* of land one could expect the returns of 300 *kurru* of barley.

In order to cover the running costs (seed, rations, administrative taxes) another 5 *kurru* of land were provided.⁸⁶ This is where my interpretation (and van Driel’s most recent one (2002: 170), though this is not stressed or commented further by him) diverges from the generally accepted previous interpretations proposed by van Driel (1987-88: 64; 1990: 224f.). According to these, 5 *kurru* of land were set aside from among the already granted 25 *kurru*, meaning that the temple received the revenue from 20 *kurru* of land, i.e. 240 *kurru* of barley.⁸⁷ However, this is not what the text says. It states clearly that 25 *kurru* of land were given, for which a 12-fold revenue was expected, and (l. 17) that 5 *kurru* were provided for the costs and rations of various officials. In total then 30 *kurru* of land were granted to each plough team. The revenue of these extra 5 *kurru* of

⁸² Note that the text lacks the typical legal form, i.e. a witness list or a date formula, unlike the ‘Edict of Ammišaduqa’, for instance. For ‘Edict’ being a misnomer in this particular case see van Driel 1987-88: 61.

⁸³ “They” refers to the rent farmers (*rab sūtis*).

⁸⁴ This is nowhere stated explicitly, but Powell (1984: 64) suggested this interpretation in general for the Neo-Babylonian period since otherwise one would end up with an inexplicably high ratio of seed to land. He further assumes that half of the provided barley was used for sowing and the other half was used as fodder for draught animals. For seed to fodder ratios see below.

⁸⁵ This figure is reconstructed. As the text stipulates 25 *kurru* for seed for the first year of the lease, and at the end of the text records 45 *kurru*, it was van Driel’s idea to see this last figure as the total and reconstruct 20 *kurru* for rations of the ploughmen in the previous line (ll. 27-30: ... mu-an-na *mab-ri-ti* / [ana^{gis}apin] 25 gur še-bar ana še-^lnumun¹ / [20 gur a-na] šuk^{hi-a} šá^{lu}ngar^{mc} i-^lnam-di-nu¹ / [Ø pap] 45 gur še-bar i-nam-[di-nu]).

⁸⁶ Note that the seed is not provided for this extra plot in the first year.

⁸⁷ Van Driel’s translation of this passage from 1987-88 (p. 63) reads: “[Per plough] they will give 25 *kurru* of arable. Per *kurru* (of land) the farmer will give 12 *kurru* of barley as net rent, but 5 *kurru* of land is granted for costs and for rations of the governor, scribes, measurers and gatekeepers.” (The original text (YOS 6 103 ll. 15-19) reads as follows: [ana^{gis}apin] 25 gur še-numun *me-ri-šú id-di-nu* / [a-na 1] gur 1-en 12 ana 1 gur še-bar *ga-mir-tú* / ^li-nam¹-*din* ù 5 gur še-numun a-na *gi-mir* / šuk^{hi-a-mes} ^{lu}en¹-nam^{lu}umbisag^{mc} ^{lu}man-di-di^{mc} / u^{lu}ni-du^{mc} n[a-din].)

land, i.e. 60 *kurru* of barley, calculated using the yield factor 12, was available to the plough team for the annual expenses. These were comprised of seed, rations of the ploughmen and administrative costs including rations of the officials. The seed (and fodder) amounted to 25 *kurru* for the main plot and 5 *kurru* for the extra land. The rations of the ploughmen would have amounted to 20 *kurru*, to follow van Driel's reconstruction.⁸⁸ The administrative costs, rations for the *bēl pīhāti*, the measurers (*mādidus*) and the gatekeepers (*atūs*), amounted to 0;0.2.3 (0;0.1.5½ + 0;0.0.3½⁸⁹) barley per 1 *kurru* of barley, i.e. 1/12 or 8.3 % of the barley revenue. Presumably this percentage referred to the amount of barley delivered to the temple as rent and the administrative costs add up to 0;0.2.3 × 300 = 25 *kurru* of barley.

| | costs in <i>kurru</i> |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| seed + fodder | 30 |
| rations of ploughmen | 20 |
| administrative costs | 25 |
| total | 75 |

The total costs were consequently 75 *kurru* of barley. The barley provided by the extra plot of 5 *kurru* amounted to 60 *kurru* on average, following the model given by the 'Edict' (yield factor 12). This means that according to this model the *ikkarus* had a deficit of around 15 *kurru* of barley which they somehow had to make up for.⁹⁰ This deficit was, however, only virtual. Whether there was a deficit at all depended on the productivity of land. With a yield factor 12 or less there certainly would have been one. However, this is just an average value. In fact, higher factors, of 15 and higher (up to 30), are also well attested in the 'practical' texts from Sippar (see below). The plot of 5 *kurru* with the yield factor 15 would cover the costs exactly (5 × 15 = 75).⁹¹ In essence, the model used by the temple administration was deliberately constructed so as not to work out neatly and make it all too easy for the rent farmers and the ploughmen,⁹² but rather provide an incentive for them to strive to achieve the highest possible productivity of land. The productivity had to be above the average if they were to generate enough surpluses to cover the running costs and make profit too.

⁸⁸ I.e., 5 *kurru* of barley per man per year, or 75 litres per man per month, which was less than the more frequent monthly ration of 180 litres for the adult temple workers (Jursa 2008a: 292 and *passim*; Bongenaar 1997: 297²⁶²), but more than the occasionally attested 30 litre ration for workers in Uruk (Gehlken 1990: 81f.). This amount was at any rate more than enough to sustain a male adult, as the monthly costs of living amounted to about 50 litres of barley (Janković 2008: 441). The barley ideally intended for the ploughmen by the 'Edict' was in fact hardly more than a subsistence allowance, as opposed to the larger rations (e.g. the typical monthly 1 *kurru* ration) which can be considered as wages.

⁸⁹ The two separate amounts had to do with the internal accounting of the Esagil temple. This is evident from the section on date orchards in which one finds the same fractions as administrative costs: 1 *sūtu* 5½ *qū* and 3½ *qū* per one *kurru* of dates (in total 15 litres per *kurru* or 1/12 of the rent). Lines 10-11 state that 0;0.1.5½ dates, the rations of the governor, scribes, measurers and gatekeepers, will be retained in the silo (*kalakku*), while 0;0.0.3½ dates, the rations of these same officials will be given to them and they will consume them (immediately) (ll. 12-14). Whatever the significance of these different treatments of the administrative costs, the same procedure seems to have been applied to the fees due from arable land.

⁹⁰ These issues are not dealt with by van Driel in his latest analysis of the text (2002: 170). However, according to his earlier interpretations (van Driel 1987-88: 64; 1990: 224f.) this amount exceeds the total costs calculated by him by 10 *kurru*. He assumed that seed and fodder would amount to 25 *kurru*, rations of the ploughmen to 20 *kurru* and administrative costs to 20 *kurru* (0;0.2.3 × 240 = 20), i.e. in total 65 *kurru*. According to this model, the *ikkarus* only had a deficit of 5 *kurru* (this was equivalent, for instance, to the seed for the plot reserved for the costs), which, if correct, is certainly a more attractive scheme for the ploughmen.

⁹¹ And not only that. If the same factor were applied to the main plot, it would produce 25 × 15 = 375 *kurru* of barley. Of these, 300 *kurru* would be delivered to the temple, which left the rent farmer with a profit of 75 *kurru* or 20%. (Calculated over the entire plot of 30 *kurru* with the deduction of running costs, the profit of the rent farmer would have amounted to 16.67% of the yield.)

⁹² This is not only visible in the example of running costs, but also in the fact that in the first year the temple did not provide the seed for the additional 5 *kurru* of land.

2.1.2.4. Sowing rates and yields

In the institutional context in the Neo-Babylonian period the ‘seed’ expended was equivalent to the amount of land on which it was to be sown. Already in the Kassite period “the seeding rate becomes a definition of surface” (Powell 1984: 58). In other words for 1 *kurru* of land (in the temples of Uruk and Sippar 50,000 square cubits or ca. 1.25 ha) 1 *kurru* of seed (180 litres) was given out. This is equivalent to 144 litres per hectare and is a fairly high ratio. Though the Neo-Babylonian texts never state this explicitly, unlike, for instance, the so-called seed and fodder texts (see for instance Maekawa 1984: 75f.), these 180 litres must have included barley which was not sown but used for other purposes, most probably for fodder of the draught animals. Powell assumed a 1:1 seed to fodder ratio (1984: 64), meaning that per each *kurru* of land 90 litres of barley were sown out (= 72 l/ha) and 90 litres were used as fodder of the oxen.

Other seed to fodder ratios are also attested in the Ur III period, e.g. 2:1 or 6:5 (Jursa 2008b: 622). Powell speaks of half-feed in this context (1984: 48), implying that in the 2:1 seed to fodder ratio in fact only half of the fodder was included, the other half presumably being the responsibility of the ploughmen (thus also Civil 1994: 82).⁹³

As for the actual amount of barley sown out, there was no one generally applicable sowing rate per unit of area. This is demonstrated by the various sowing rates attested in the Ur III period, which usually ranged from 240 sila/bùr to 360 sila/bùr (37 to 55.6 l/ha).⁹⁴ Various factors such as quality of soil or availability of irrigation water played a role.⁹⁵ Furthermore, the different furrow intervals also influenced the sowing rates.⁹⁶ Despite these variations a rate of 300 sila per bùr of land (with 10 furrows per nindan, i.e. furrow spacing of 60 cm) which is equivalent to 46 l/ha could be taken as an institutional norm in the Ur III period.⁹⁷ This sowing rate is very low compared to the modern data from Iraq⁹⁸ and can be explained by the efficient use of seed when working with a seeder plough as opposed to broadcast sowing. In terms of length of furrow, the standard of 300 sila/bùr can be translated into 1 gín (= 1/60 sila) of seed per 1 nindan (= ca. 6 m) length of furrow (Maekawa 1984: 76). Interestingly, this same rate is mentioned also in the ‘Farmer’s Instructions’ (l. 51 following Civil’s 1994 edition).

The Neo-Babylonian equivalent of 1 *kurru* of ‘seed’ to 1 *kurru* of land implied, if we assume a seed to fodder ratio of 1:1, a sowing rate of approximately 72 litres per hectare. This is an increase of roughly 56 % over the common Ur III rate of 46 litres per hectare, which has been interpreted as a sign of intensification of agriculture (and even deterioration of the soil quality due to increasing soil salinity⁹⁹). Powell explained this phenomenon by assuming that the furrow intervals were reduced in the Neo-Babylonian period to 41.6 cm, which resulted in approximately 14.4 furrows per nindan. This represented an increase of 44 % in furrow length in comparison to the standard 10 furrows per nindan of the Ur III period. Not only were there more furrows per unit

⁹³ Note that in a text from pre-Sargonic Lagaš (VS 14 184) a very different ratio is attested, namely 1:2 seed to fodder. The text distinguishes between the more difficult work of land reclamation, which probably included several rounds of ploughing and harrowing, and the final ploughing and sowing. According to it, the more difficult work required double the amount of fodder, while in the final, less strenuous work-step, namely the sowing, the expenditure of seed and fodder was 1:1 (Hruška 1984).

⁹⁴ Jursa 2008b: 622; see also Powell 1984: 48 table I.

⁹⁵ The higher the quality of soil and the more water was available the more densely could be sown. Where the conditions were not ideal less seed was put into ground and the deficits of the soil and other external conditions were made up for by providing more space for the individual plants. In this way their roots could expand to a greater extent than those of the more thickly sown barley and more tillering could occur, which brought the yields to approximately the same level as the yields on better quality soils, with denser sowing (See Powell 1984: 49 and Halstead 1990: 188).

⁹⁶ See for instance table 5 in Pettinato and Watzoldt (1975: 278f.) which compares the sowing rates from Lagaš, Umma and Nippur. Note, however, that for conversion purposes they use the equivalent 1 sila = 0.84 litre. Powell argues against this insisting on a 1 sila = 1 litre conversion rate (1984: 33), which is also used here. It should be further noted that the relatively high sowing rates from Lagaš represented in table 5 included animal fodder and the rates are in fact comparable to those from Umma and Nippur.

⁹⁷ Maekawa 1984: 76; Halstead 1990: 187.

⁹⁸ Modern broadcast sowing uses from 50 to 128 kg/ha as opposed to the 28.5 to 32 kg/ha (depending on the conversion rate for one litre of barley to one kilogram) in the Ur III period (Halstead 1990: 187).

⁹⁹ However, see Powell 1985 who convincingly argues against this interpretation.

of area, but it seems that the sowing per length of furrow was more intensive than the Ur III standard of 1 gín of barley per 1 nindan length of furrow. When this standard is applied to a plot with a surface area of 1 *kurru* and with 14.4 furrows per nindan, the seed expended at this rate would amount to 83.47 litres per *kurru* or 66.78 litres per hectare (= ca. 41.4 kg/ha), which was slightly less than the alleged 72 litres per hectare sown out in this period.

However, these are speculations. As was already mentioned, the texts are reticent about the inclusion of fodder in the expenditure which is simply termed ‘seed’ (*zēru*, še-numun), let alone the actual ratio of seed to fodder. Circumstances such as soil quality, availability of irrigation water and grazing ground for the animals, differing furrow intervals, etc., commanded a certain margin of flexibility and the actual distribution of seed and fodder was left to the ploughmen’s discretion. In other words, we cannot determine the actual amount of seed sown out per unit of land in the Neo-Babylonian institutional context, but have to rely on these speculative ratios.

It is nevertheless certain that the Neo-Babylonian institutions applied a more intense regime of sowing than their Ur III predecessors, although to what degree can hardly be verified. Whether the motivation for the intensified sowing was a conscious effort on the part of the temple administration to raise productivity, whether it was influenced by an (ongoing) deterioration of soil quality, or whether it was a natural consequence of the higher efficiency of iron ploughshares, as opposed to wooden ones used in earlier periods, must remain speculative. What is evident, however, is that the intensified sowing practices were accompanied by an increase in the average yield per unit of area on the land of the Neo-Babylonian institutions. This can be demonstrated for the land of the Ebabbar of Sippar in particular (Jursa 1995a: 165, 2010b: 49).

Although the figures proposed by the ‘Edict’ must have been understood as guidelines – something like a generally applicable yield factor (here: 12) cannot have existed since yields were largely influenced by such variables as the quality of soil and seed, availability of water and climatic conditions – they must have been based on practical experience. From Uruk there is only a small number of comparable data and it all comes from rent contracts, i.e. more or less theoretical models (see the table below and also the more detailed table on p. 263). The lowest attested factor is 4.3 (YOS 6 40, 3 Nbn). The text is not listed in the table below, as no stipulations for workforce and equipment are given in it. This, as well as the fact that the land in question was probably of inferior quality, accounts for the low returns expected from it. The yield factor 8 is anticipated by YOS 6 150 (11 Nbn), 8.3 (or 10?¹⁰⁰) by YOS 6 11 (1 Nbn), 10 by TCL 13 182 (2 Dar) and 12¹⁰¹ by PTS 2344 (1 Ner). From Sippar, on the other hand, a greater variety of yield factors is known, mainly from practical administrative texts. These yield factors were considered a proper administrative category, designated in the texts as *bán-šè* or *1-en x* (*x* being the factor number, the expression meaning then “*x*-fold” with respect to area/seed). The factors range from 2 to 30, with most attestations falling in the range 8 to 15. The average yield factor derived from these ‘practical’ figures is, perhaps not coincidentally, 12 (Jursa 1995a: 138, 160ff.).

Jursa showed that the average yield per hectare was 1,728 litres of barley (= ca. 1,071 kg/ha).¹⁰² This represents a 1:24 seed to yield ratio. By comparison, the Ur III and Old-Babylonian standard of seed to yield ratio of 1:30 gives an average of 1,389 litres of barley per hectare (= ca. 861 kg/ha). The Sippar yields exhibit a 24 % increase per unit of area in comparison to Old-

¹⁰⁰ YOS 6 11, Šum-ukīn’s and Kalbāya’s rent contract stipulated a rent of 25,000 *kurru* of barley for 3,000 *kurru* of land split up between 100 plough teams. In other words, there were 100 plots of 30 *kurru* with a rent of 250 *kurru* of barley each. These 30 *kurru* of land are reminiscent of the 25 + 5 *kurru* from the ‘Edict’. It is not known whether an ‘auxiliary’ plot of 5 *kurru* was included in the 30 *kurru* plots of Šum-ukīn’s and Kalbāya’s rent farm. If this were the case and they were to be used for covering the running costs (of which, however, there is no mention in the contract) rather than the rent, then the yield factor assumed by this contract was 10. Alternatively, if the entire plot of 30 *kurru* was used for covering the rent payment, then the yield factor was somewhat lower, namely 8.3.

¹⁰¹ A factor 15 is also possible in this text if calculated as the ratio of rent to seed, which in this case was not equivalent to the area rented (rent: 600 *kurru*, area: 50 *kurru*, seed: 40 *kurru*; the text is edited below; see also note 131).

¹⁰² Jursa 1995: 165.

Babylonian and Ur III standards which is quite significant.¹⁰³ Compared to modern (20th century) yields from Iraq, which average around 1,355 litres per hectare (= ca. 840 kg/ha), the Sippar yields are even higher.¹⁰⁴

For Uruk we do not have any practical data which would allow us to derive average yields, as is possible to do for Sippar, but we do have general accounting models presented in the rent contracts. Thus Šum-ukīn's rent contract (YOS 6 11 and duplicates) offers us a set of figures which can be compared to the Sippar data and the Ur III and the Old-Babylonian models. The contract makes provisions for 3,000 *kurru* of land (= 3,750 ha) to be cultivated from which the temple would receive annually 25,000 *kurru* of barley. This was clearly not the entire yield. Additional 3,000 *kurru* of barley had to be provided for the running costs for seed and fodder and if we assumed that the rent farmer also made a profit, the yield must have been over 28,000 *kurru* (= 5,040,000 litres). However, since we do not know what the profit margin was, we have to work with this figure. This translates into an average 'yield' of 1,344 litres per hectare (or ca. 833.3 kg/ha), which is fairly close to the Ur III and Old-Babylonian models. The seed to 'yield' ratio is approximately 1:19. Of course this does not represent the actual yields, but only the fixed running costs (rent + seed + fodder) and the yields could have been much higher as the data from Sippar demonstrates. In fact the 'Edict of Belšazzar' exhibits the same rate of productivity as attested in the 'practical' texts from Sippar. It assumes 12-fold returns from a plot of 25 *kurru* which translates into 1,728 litres of barley per hectare. This is significant, as it demonstrates that the temple administrations in the Neo-Babylonian period were well aware of the potential productivity of the land, at least in northern Babylonia. The Uruk administration, at least in the case of Šum-ukīn, used a more conservative model. The fact that he theoretically had a chance at a larger profit margin on account of soil productivity may explain why he accepted to take on such a large amount of land (6,000 *kurru* to be worked in a two year fallow cycle) when only a very inadequate number of plough teams had been provided by the temple. What is more, the use of a conservative model in Uruk may also be taken as an indicator for a generally less intensive regime of agriculture than the one exercised in the north.

2.1.2.5. The ploughing workload

Thus also the 25 *kurru* of land (ca. 31.25 ha) per plough team must have been founded on what was tested in practice and was considered an acceptable, even if a very heavy, workload. The same quotas appear in the rent contracts PTS 2344 (1 Ner) and YOS 6 150 (11 Nbn) from Uruk (see table below). Van Driel argued that these quotas verged on the impossible (1990: 226f., see also below), but despite his reservations we are informed by our documentation, that even more could be demanded of the ploughmen. Effectively, the plough teams of the 'Edict' had to work 30 *kurru* of land (ca. 37.5 ha) and this is a workload we also find in Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent contract (YOS 6 11 + duplicates, 1 Nbn). It stipulates that 3,000 *kurru* of land (half of the entire granted area, which was to be worked in a two-year fallow cycle) were to be cultivated by 100 plough teams. In other words, each plough team was allotted an area of 30 *kurru*.¹⁰⁵ There is

¹⁰³ That the seed to yield ratio is lower in Sippar is not surprising, since an increase in seed does not produce a directly proportional increase in yields. Modern experiments quoted by Powell (1985: 36) show for instance that doubling the seed from 25 kg/ha to 50 kg/ha will only result in an increase of 11-14% in yield.

¹⁰⁴ All of this data is presented comprehensively in table 2 in Jursa 2010b: 49.

¹⁰⁵ Note that in the Ur III period plough teams consisting of three men could be assigned plots of 6 to 8 *būr*, or approximately 39 to 52 hectares (Maekawa 1984: 82). The existence of such large plots and the implicit workload can only be explained with the relatively wide furrow spacing in mind (generally between 50 and 75 cm; see Powell 1984: 47 and Civil 1994: 81f.). Weszeli collected data for seasonal ploughing quotas from different regions and periods and some of these are in an equally high range as the Ur III and the Neo-Babylonian highest values: in the Old-Babylonian evidence plots of 108 *iku* (38.88 ha) are common, but also 135 *iku* (48.6 ha) is attested. The teams consisted of 6 oxen (and sometimes cows) and four men. The norm for freshly reclaimed land seems to be between 45 and 50 *iku* (16.2-18 ha). Mari plough teams, consisting of 7-8 oxen and 14-16 persons, were allocated plots of 70-150 *iku* (25.2-54 ha). Middle Assyrian plough teams with only two oxen ploughed plots of 40 *iku* (14.4 ha), and so on (Weszeli 2007: 394f.). Not surprisingly these figures show that the larger the teams were in terms of animal and man power the larger the plots

perhaps even some evidence from a practical text corroborating this rate. OIP 122 77 is unfortunately not dated, but there is some indication on prosopographic grounds that it could be placed in the reign of Nabonidus. It lists issues of barley seed to ploughmen. Apparently each of them received seed allotments for several plough teams to judge by the amounts issued. These amounts were invariably multiples of 30 and, following the typical 1:1 seed to area ratio, were intended for plots of 30 *kurru* surface area. It is very tempting to see in these ploughmen the men employed on Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent farm, although this is not stated explicitly. As for the contracts PTS 2344 and YOS 6 150, which both concern plots of 25 *kurru* of land, they may have implicitly allowed for additional plots for covering the running costs – land was abundant after all.

However, smaller workloads are also attested in the Uruk material. The plough teams working on Gimillu's rent farm were assigned 20 *kurru* (ca. 25 ha) of land. The same rate is also attested in the work contract YOS 19 71 (12 Nbn), edited above.¹⁰⁶ This was still a difficult task. For this reason and probably also as a consequence of his failure to deliver the required rent Gimillu complained to the temple authorities asking for an increase in work force which would have resulted in the reduction of the workload to 10 *kurru* (ca. 12.5 ha) per team. The temple discharged Gimillu from the position of a rent farmer, but promised to grant the requested additional workers, oxen and ploughs to his successor Bēl-gimlanni. Since our documentation peters out at this point in time, we do not know whether the temple kept its promise. This uncertainty notwithstanding, it is clear that even such a comparably low rate of 10 *kurru* of land per plough team was potentially acceptable for the Eanna administration. By comparison, a workload of 20 *kurru* of land per plough team is known from rent contracts from Sippar (Jursa 1995a: 137). However, practical administrative texts give evidence for considerably lower rates, between 10 and 15 *kurru* (i.e. between 12.5 and 18.75 ha) per team (*ibid.*: 19. 138).

| text | date | area (<i>kurru</i>) | plough teams | area per plough (<i>kurru</i>) | yield factor |
|---------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| PTS 2344 | 8-II-1 Ner | 50 | 2 | 25 | 12 ¹⁰⁷ |
| YOS 6 11 | 28-I-1 Nbn | 3,000 | 100 | 30 | 8.3 (or 10? ¹⁰⁸) |
| YOS 6 103 (‘Edict’) | I-7 Nbn | 25+5 | 1 | 25+5 | 12 |
| YOS 6 150 | 28-[x]-11 Nbn | 625 | 25 | 25 | 8 |
| YOS 19 71 | 10-IV-12 Nbn | 20 | 1 | 20 | - |
| TCL 13 182 ¹⁰⁹ | 13-IV-2 Dar | 1,000 ¹¹⁰ | 50 | 20 | 10 |
| | | 1,000 | 100 | 10 | 10 |

Table 2: Workload of plough teams according to rent contracts

Van Driel tried to calculate how time-consuming the quotas attested in the rent contracts were (1990: 227). He assumed that a pair of oxen could plough 0.25 hectares in a day,¹¹¹ and that at

assigned to them were and that freshly reclaimed land was more work-intensive so consequently less of it could be cultivated in a season. The Old-Babylonian model with a plough team of six animals and four men and the corresponding ploughing quota is fairly consistent with the one we find in the Neo-Babylonian institutional administrative context, which indicates a certain degree of continuity in agricultural practices.

¹⁰⁶ Here two men seeking to work for the rent farmer Ibni-Ištar (Ibnāya) received 20 *kurru* of seed/land “like the *ikkarus* of the Lady of Uruk” in addition to the tools and draught animals.

¹⁰⁷ This factor represents, as all the others in this column, the ratio between the rent and the area cultivated. In this case the rent was 600 and the area 50 *kurru*. However, in this text the seed supplied exceptionally does not equal the cultivated area but amounts to 40 *kurru*. If the yield factor is taken to be the result of the rent to seed ratio, which would not make a difference in the other examples in the table, here it would be 15.

¹⁰⁸ See note 100.

¹⁰⁹ The first row indicates the conditions under which the rent farmer Gimillu had to work, while the second row is a prognosis of the conditions under which his successor Bēl-gimlanni would have continued operating the farm, in case the temple administration kept its promise to increase the contingent of plough teams.

¹¹⁰ The worked area is derived from the amount of seed supplied which presumably occurred at a 1:1 rate.

¹¹¹ This rate may well have been based on some traditional standard representing a day's ploughing with a pair of oxen. For instance, the classical Roman standard of *iugerum*, “yoke”, was a surface measure roughly

least three rounds of ploughing were necessary. Based on these assumptions van Driel arrived at 360 days of work for a plot of 30 *kurru*, 300 days for 25 *kurru* and 120 days for 10 *kurru*. These results are not necessarily correct. The ploughing-rate postulated is probably too low (see previous footnote). The surface area alone is not precise enough an indicator for the time required for ploughing. Beside other factors which influenced the work-load, such as the topography, the quality of soil, etc., the spacing of the furrows could make a big difference in terms of the distance that a plough team needed to cover. In the Ur III period several different furrow intervals were in use. As Powell (1984: 46f.) notes, eight to twelve furrows per nindan (approximately 6 m) are attested, in other words furrow intervals between 75 cm and 50 cm.¹¹² The difference between the two extreme values of furrow spacing represents an increase of as much as 50 % in terms of distance travelled or seed expended.

As could be expected, the Neo-Babylonian written documentation does not provide us with details on furrow intervals explicitly. However, following the considerations on the grain seed expended per surface area Powell could derive for the Neo-Babylonian period a furrow interval of 20 fingers or 41.6 cm.¹¹³ The furrow interval is generally valuable information as it allows us to determine the distance which a team had to plough. For the purpose of calculation it can be assumed that a plot of 1 *kurru* (ca. 1.25 ha) was a rectangle with a frontage of 50 m and a flank of 250 m. Taking the interval calculated by Powell, this plot would contain slightly over 120 furrows, the total length of which would be around 30 km. A plot of 30 *kurru* would therefore have 3,600 furrows with a total length of 900 km.¹¹⁴ Following further Powell (1984: 53), who makes an estimate that 1 *bēru* (ca. 10.8 km) was the distance which could be ploughed in a day, it turns out that it would take just over 83 days to plough a plot of 30 *kurru* surface area. Three rounds of ploughing (two preparatory ones and a final one for sowing) would take 250 days. This is much less than the 360 days calculated by van Driel (1990: 227), but eight months of ploughing is still too high a work load and certainly an impracticable one. By comparison, plots of 10 *kurru* (ca. 12.5 ha) which Gimillu would have preferred for his plough teams and which are attested in practical texts from Sippar (see above), would take under three months to plough and sow at this rate. Following work loads are obtained for plots of size from 30 to 10 *kurru*:

equivalent to 0.25 hectares and was the area which could be ploughed with one yoke of oxen within a day. However, the rate of ploughing is influenced by a whole range of different (often regional) factors, and accordingly many different ploughing standards are known (for an overview of the factors influencing the labour output of draught animals see Renger 1990: 268ff.). Thus, for instance, the traditional European land measure, the acre (comparable to the South-German *Joch*), a surface which could be ploughed in a day, has no absolute value in metric terms, but exhibits a great deal of local variation averaging around 0.4 hectares. The same daily rate of 0.4 hectares for one ploughman working with two mules is quoted by Charles for modern Iraq (1990: 51). However, he also cites the lower rate of 0.25 ha/7 hours (*ibid.*). In the Ur III period, a higher standard seems to have been in use. According to Civil (1994: 86) 2 iku or 0.72 hectares were commonly ploughed in a day. In the metrology of the Kassite/early Neo-Babylonian period the land measure *šimdu* (“yoke”) may have represented a day’s work of ploughing (Powell 1987-90: 482). It had the surface of 2.25 iku (0.81 ha), and was equivalent to 1 *bēru* (= 10.8 km) in terms of distance which had to be covered by the plough team (*ibid.*).

¹¹² The so-called ‘Farmer’s Instructions’, a Sumerian text from the Old-Babylonian period which records a farmer’s advice to his son concerning cereal cultivation, prescribe eight furrows per nindan (line 46; see for instance Civil’s (1994) edition and treatment of this text). However, according to Civil (1994: 81f.) this furrow interval was in fact rarely in use in the Ur III period. The ‘practical’ texts show that on average the ten furrows per nindan interval (ca. 60 cm) was the one most commonly used. The relatively wide spacing between the furrows (note that intervals of 23-25 cm are also possible according to Powell 1984: 53) was probably typical for southern Mesopotamia as it was convenient for the furrow irrigation generally practiced in the region (*ibid.* p. 47; see also Postgate 1994: 167ff. with figure 8:5 for the continuation of this practice in modern times).

¹¹³ Powell 1984: 64. The narrowing of the furrow intervals would imply an increase of 20% in the sowing rate in the Neo-Babylonian period relative to the highest Ur III rate (*ibid.*) and is a sign of (a gradual) intensification of agriculture. However, it should be kept in mind that the furrow interval of 41.6 cm is based on the assumption that the seed to fodder ratio was 1:1. For a possibility of other ratios see below.

¹¹⁴ In fact these figures are slightly higher, namely approximately 3,606 furrows with a total length of ca. 901,425 m, but are rounded here for the sake of simplicity.

| size of plot in <i>kurru</i> | 30 (37.5 ha) | 25 (31.25 ha) | 20 (25 ha) | 15 (18.75 ha) | 10 (12.5 ha) |
|--|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| number of furrows | 3,600 | 3,000 | 2,400 | 1,800 | 1,200 |
| total length of furrows | 900 km | 750 km | 600 km | 450 km | 300 km |
| days (months) needed for ploughing and sowing ¹¹⁵ | 250 (8.33) | 208.33 (6.94) | 166.67 (5.56) | 125 (4.17) | 83.33 (2.78) |

Table 3: Ploughing time (furrow interval 41.6 cm, ploughing speed 1.8 km/h)

However, three rounds of ploughing were not all the work that had to be performed on a field. Although this is nowhere explicitly stated in the Neo-Babylonian sources, several rounds of harrowing had to be conducted before the final ploughing and sowing. In the Ur III period between one and five rounds of harrowing were common practice and ‘The Farmer’s Instructions’ prescribe three rounds of harrowing (see Civil 1994: 77). According to Civil (*ibid.*) between 4.5 and 6 iku (i.e. 1.62 and 2.16 ha) could be harrowed in a day. If we use for our purposes an average of these values (i.e. 1.89 ha/day) and assume three rounds of harrowing, this would add another 60 days of work for the team cultivating a 30 *kurru* plot. The harrowing input in days (and months) for other smaller plots is indicated in the following table:

| size of plot in <i>kurru</i> | 30 (37.5 ha) | 25 (31.25 ha) | 20 (25 ha) | 15 (18.75 ha) | 10 (12.5 ha) |
|--|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| days (months) needed for ploughing and sowing ¹¹⁶ | 250 (8.33) | 208.33 (6.94) | 166.67 (5.56) | 125 (4.17) | 83.33 (2.78) |
| days (months) needed for harrowing | 60 (2) | 50 (1.65) | 40 (1.32) | 30 (1) | 20 (0.67) |
| total time need in days (months) | 310 (10.33) | 258.33 (8.59) | 206.67 (6.88) | 155 (5.17) | 103.33 (3.45) |

Table 4: Ploughing and harrowing time (furrow interval 41.6 cm, ploughing speed 1.8 km/h)

Another variable is the ploughing speed. The model used by Powell, namely 10.8 km ploughed in a day would imply a ploughing speed of 1.8 km/h in a 6 hour workday. Potts notes a 2.2 km/h average ploughing speed for a pair of oxen, which is derived from studies in sub-Saharan Africa (1997: 83, 85). If we assumed that the Babylonian ploughs also worked with this speed and that one workday comprised of at least 6 hours of effective ploughing then 900 km which had to be ploughed in a 30 *kurru* plot would take approximately 68 days. Three rounds of ploughing would result in 204 days, plus 60 days of harrowing, totalling in 264 days. The following results are obtained:

| size of plot in <i>kurru</i> | 30 (37.5 ha) | 25 (31.25 ha) | 20 (25 ha) | 15 (18.75 ha) | 10 (12.5 ha) |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| time for ploughing at the rate of 2.2 km/h for 6 h/day in days (months) | 204 (6.8) | 170.45 (5.68) | 136.36 (4.56) | 102.27 (3.41) | 68.18 (2.27) |
| days (months) needed for harrowing | 60 (2) | 50 (1.65) | 40 (1.32) | 30 (1) | 20 (0.67) |
| total time need in days (months) | 264 (8.8) | 220.45 (7.33) | 176.36 (5.88) | 132.27 (4.41) | 88.18 (2.94) |

Table 5: Ploughing and harrowing time (furrow interval 41.6 cm, ploughing speed 2.2 km/h)

Civil on the other hand notes average ploughing speeds from 3.6 to 4.3 km/h obtained experimentally with a replica of the prehistoric ard (1994: 77). Even the lower value of 3.6 km/h, i.e. the double of the ploughing speed used in the first model, would produce a dramatic difference in terms of time consumed, and make plots of 20 *kurru* a perfectly acceptable work-load:

¹¹⁵ This included three rounds of ploughing and is calculated on the assumption that a plough team worked 10.8 km in a day.

¹¹⁶ This included three rounds of ploughing and is calculated on the assumption that a plough team worked 10.8 km in a day.

| size of plot in <i>kurru</i> | 30 (37.5 ha) | 25 (31.25 ha) | 20 (25 ha) | 15 (18.75 ha) | 10 (12.5 ha) |
|---|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| time for ploughing at the rate of 3.6 km/h for 6 h/day in days (months) | 125 (4.17) | 104.17 (3.47) | 83.33 (2.78) | 62.5 (2.08) | 41.67 (1.39) |
| days (months) needed for harrowing | 60 (2) | 50 (1.65) | 40 (1.32) | 30 (1) | 20 (0.67) |
| total time need in days (months) | 185 (6.17) | 154.17 (5.12) | 123.33 (4.1) | 92.5 (3.08) | 61.67 (2.06) |

Table 6: Ploughing and harrowing time (furrow interval 41.6 cm, ploughing speed 3.6 km/h)

However, it is questionable whether these ploughing speeds are applicable to Mesopotamian conditions, especially considering the speeds for African plough teams quoted by Potts (1997: 83). As was mentioned, a yoke of two oxen would plough at a speed of 2.2 km/h, but this would be reduced to 1.8 km/h if another pair of oxen was added, which correlates nicely with the model presented in tables 3 and 4. Hruška (1995: 35) notes average ploughing speeds of 2.0 to 2.3 km/h for a pair of oxen yoked to a wooden ard. The speed range from 1.8 to 2.2 km/h is probably realistic for the ancient Babylonian setting. Whether the Neo-Babylonian plough teams used all four oxen simultaneously, or as suggested by van Driel as two alternating teams (1990: 227), is not known to us. Be that as it may, van Driel's suggestion that using two pairs of oxen alternately could even double the area ploughed (*ibid.*) does not seem plausible, though it is beyond doubt that productivity would be increased in this way. This increase, however, can hardly be quantified.

With the given parameters (furrow spacing: 41.6 cm and ploughing speed: 1.8 km/h), as represented in tables 3 and 4, it is clear that only the plots of 10 *kurru* surface area represented a reasonable workload if one is to assume that ploughing took no longer than four months. The length of the ploughing season is not explicitly mentioned in the administrative texts.¹¹⁷ It could extend over several months. The Ur III seed and fodder texts, for instance, record issues of grain for two to three months (Hruška 2007: 61). A reference to four months of ploughing is given in a Sumerian literary composition, "The dispute between the hoe and the plough" in lines 107-108.¹¹⁸ Here the hoe prides itself of being used all year round, while the plough is active only during four months and lies idle for the remaining eight. The last round of ploughing and sowing was probably conducted with the first autumn rains in October and November (eighth month).¹¹⁹ By the end of November the ploughing season was over (Hruška 1990: 468). This implies that it could have started at the end of July or beginning of August (fifth month). This would, however, result in an overlap with other agricultural tasks such as harvesting, transportation, threshing and storage of grain which started at the end of the first month (April) and took about five months to complete according to Hruška (1990: 467). The texts from the Eanna archive which record issues of oxen for ploughing or barley seed for sowing (see below) span a period between the fourth and the tenth month, indicating that the ploughing and sowing season extended for several months within this time frame.¹²⁰

A change in any of the assumed parameters would naturally result in the change of the efficiency of the plough teams. Raising the ploughing speed from 1.8 to 2.2 km/h (table 5) would make plots of 15 *kurru* almost manageable and doubling the speed to 3.6 km/h would make even the plot of 20 *kurru* seem reasonable. But whether such a drastic increase in speed, as in the second example, was in fact possible, remains doubtful.

The furrow intervals, on the other hand, could be more easily manipulated. The relatively narrow interval of 41.6 cm postulated by Powell based on metrological considerations is not attested in practice and could have been a metrological fiction for all we know. The wider spacing between the furrows which is attested either explicitly or can be deduced from the Ur III

¹¹⁷ This is also true for the Ur III Period (Hruška 1990: 468).

¹¹⁸ See Vanstiphout 1984: 245²⁵ (and pp. 239-251 for a formal discussion of the text).

¹¹⁹ According to Hruška the common practice among the peasants of the modern day south-Iraq is to sow as late as mid November (1990: 473).

¹²⁰ See Appendix 3 for a reconstruction of the agricultural calendar.

documentation, for instance 75 cm (8 furrows per nindan) or 60 cm (10 furrows per nindan), would imply a shorter distance to be ploughed per unit of surface area and thus a reduced workload.

The following tables demonstrate the time needed for preparing the soil and sowing with these modified parameters:

| size of plot in <i>kurru</i> | 30 (37.5 ha) | 25 (31.25 ha) | 20 (25 ha) | 15 (18.75 ha) | 10 (12.5 ha) |
|---|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|--------------|
| number of furrows | 2,000 | 1,667 | 1,333 | 1,000 | 667 |
| total length of furrows | 500 km | 417 km | 333.25 km | 250 km | 166.75 km |
| days (months) needed for ploughing and sowing | 139 (4.63) | 116 (3.86) | 93 (3.09) | 69.44 (2.31) | 46.32 (1.54) |
| days (months) needed for harrowing | 60 (2) | 50 (1.65) | 40 (1.32) | 30 (1) | 20 (0.67) |
| total time need in days (months) | 199 (6.63) | 166 (5.51) | 133 (4.41) | 99.44 (3.31) | 66.32 (2.21) |

Table 7: 8 furrows per nindan (interval 75 cm) at a speed of 1.8 km/h

With the interval of 75 cm and at a ploughing speed of 1.8 km/h the plot of 20 *kurru* would seem barely manageable. This changes when the speed is raised to 2.2 km/h, and a plot of 20 *kurru* or more is pushed into the realm of the possible:

| size of plot in <i>kurru</i> | 30 (37.5 ha) | 25 (31.25 ha) | 20 (25 ha) | 15 (18.75 ha) | 10 (12.5 ha) |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| number of furrows | 2,000 | 1,667 | 1,333 | 1,000 | 667 |
| total length of furrows | 500 km | 417 km | 333.25 km | 250 km | 166.75 km |
| days (months) needed for ploughing and sowing | 113.64 (3.79) | 94.77 (3.16) | 75.74 (2.52) | 56.82 (1.89) | 37.9 (1.26) |
| days (months) needed for harrowing | 60 (2) | 50 (1.65) | 40 (1.32) | 30 (1) | 20 (0.67) |
| total time need in days (months) | 173.64 (5.79) | 144.77 (4.81) | 115.74 (3.84) | 86.82 (2.89) | 57.9 (1.93) |

Table 8: 8 furrows per nindan (interval 75 cm) at a speed of 2.2 km/h

Using a model with 10 furrows per nindan (i.e. interval of 60 cm), which appears to have been the most commonly used standard in the Ur III period (Civil 1994: 82), produces different results. In this case only about 15 *kurru* or slightly more seem realistic:

| size of plot in <i>kurru</i> | 30 (37.5 ha) | 25 (31.25 ha) | 20 (25 ha) | 15 (18.75 ha) | 10 (12.5 ha) |
|---|---------------|---------------|------------|---------------|--------------|
| number of furrows | 2,500 | 2,083 | 1,667 | 1,250 | 833 |
| total length of furrows | 625 km | 521 km | 417 km | 312.5 km | 208.33 km |
| days (months) needed for ploughing and sowing | 173.61 (5.79) | 144.68 (4.82) | 116 (3.86) | 86.81 (2.89) | 57.87 (1.93) |
| days (months) needed for harrowing | 60 (2) | 50 (1.65) | 40 (1.32) | 30 (1) | 20 (0.67) |
| total time need in days (months) | 233.61 (7.79) | 194.68 (6.47) | 156 (5.18) | 116.81 (3.89) | 77.87 (2.6) |

Table 9: 10 furrows per nindan (interval 60 cm) at a speed of 1.8 km/h

Raising the ploughing speed to 2.2 km/h would make 20 *kurru* seem more realistic, though only manageable in four and a half months. The maximum that could be cultivated at this rate within four months would be around 18 *kurru* of land:

| size of plot in <i>kurru</i> | 30 (37.5 ha) | 25 (31.25 ha) | 20 (25 ha) | 15 (18.75 ha) | 10 (12.5 ha) |
|--|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| number of furrows | 2,500 | 2,083 | 1,667 | 1,250 | 833 |
| total length of furrows | 625 km | 521 km | 417 km | 312.5 km | 208.33 km |
| days (months) needed for ploughing and | 142.05 (4.73) | 118.41 (3.95) | 94.77 (3.16) | 71.02 (2.37) | 47.35 (1.58) |

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| sowing | | | | | |
| days (months) needed for harrowing | 60 (2) | 50 (1.65) | 40 (1.32) | 30 (1) | 20 (0.67) |
| total time need in days (months) | 202.05 (6.73) | 168.41 (5.6) | 134.77(4.48) | 101.02 (3.37) | 67.35 (2.25) |

Table 10: 10 furrows per nindan (interval 60 cm) at a speed of 2.2 km/h

These various models show that under most conditions a plot of 20 *kurru* was just outside the limit of what could have been managed in one season. A plot of this size would imply an enormous effort on the part of the ploughing team and most likely a less intensive mode of cultivation (wider furrow intervals). Plots of 15 *kurru* seem under most conditions acceptable and it is therefore not surprising that in Sippar this was in fact the average plot size (see above).

With respect to the large-scale rent contracts which seem to imply much larger plots per plough team, it has to be kept in mind that these ratios (30 *kurru* or 25 *kurru* per plough team) only went as far as the temple's own workforce was concerned. In reality the temple estates could not have been cultivated to the extent the temple administration had in mind unless additional workforce was provided through sub-leasing or hiring ploughmen. This was the task of the rent farmers. Thus Šum-ukīn probably had to double the number of the plough teams provided by the temple by sub-leasing land or hiring additional labour. Another consideration to be made is that the yield factors used in these contracts were comparably low: for instance, 8.3 in YOS 6 11 or 8 in YOS 6 150, which is about 30 % less than the average yield factor 12 known from Sippar. In other words, the rent farmers had more leeway and were not forced to cultivate the soil as intensively as this seems to have been the case in northern Babylonia at that time. This must have been taken into consideration both by the rent farmer and the temple administration responsible for these seemingly unrealistic contracts.

Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that the ploughmen had extremely demanding workloads. It does not come as a surprise then that some of them, just like the temple oblates who lived under similarly harsh conditions, occasionally tried to flee. The reports of unsuccessful escape attempts and shackling of *širkus* and *ikkarus* have come down to us in letters and legal documents.¹²¹ The ploughmen in Sippar had another alternative for dealing with their excessive workloads. They could sub-lease parts of their plots to sharecroppers. This transpires from administrative texts from Ebabbar which record the deliveries of agricultural produce or the inspections of cultivated fields. It is evident from them that some *ikkarus* “had” their *errēšus*, i.e. that they let them cultivate parts of the plots assigned to them (Jursa 1995a: 15f.). The administration of Eanna was apparently not as tolerant toward this kind of practice. In YBC 4000 (34 Nbk) the ploughmen and their supervisors are explicitly warned against such actions. Under the threat of capital punishment they were forbidden to sub-lease parts of their plots to the *errēšus* or share their means of production (ploughs and draught animals) with them.¹²² However, despite the ploughmen's unenviable position, there were still people who were apparently worse off and who of their own free will – if one can speak of a free will in face of poverty – applied for work under the same conditions as the *ikkarus* (cf. YOS 19 71, edited above).

2.1.2.6. A contractual relationship?

As was demonstrated by the ‘Edict’ and various rent contracts, the quota of a plough team was more or less standardised, at least in theory. The agricultural management of the temple and later the rent farmers were bound by certain parameters, such as the amount of the land leased, plough teams provided and rent expected, when allotting plots to the ploughmen at their

¹²¹ E.g. YOS 21 72, YOS 3 146, YOS 7 102 (acc Camb), YOS 7 137 (3 Camb), YOS 7 152 (3 Camb). See also the chapter on attempted escapes of the *širkus* in Dandamayev 1984: 490ff.

¹²² The text is edited and discussed by Janković 2005: 167ff.

disposal.¹²³ Over and above this, the constant control through the institution in form of yield estimation procedures conducted by the temple (*imittu*) and lastly the regulative measures such as the ‘Edict’ probably had the additional purpose to protect the *ikkarus* from the highhandedness of the rent farmers, who may have been tempted to drive them even harder for their own profit. Be that as it may, while the rent contracts defined the rights and obligations of the rent farmers more or less clearly, the question arises what mechanisms were used to determine the rights and duties of the *ikkarus*. Customary practice based on experience is a viable option and would explain the missing documentation for land allotment schemes and obligations on the lowest level. However, a few rent contracts involving *ikkarus* as lessees are available to us. Three documents come from Sippar. In CT 55 88¹²⁴ (date lost) the ploughman Šamaš-iddin, who had either at the same time or at a later point the function of an “overseer of the ploughmen” (*rab ikkarāti*), rented 50 *kurru* of land for a fixed rent. Owing to the fragmentary state of the tablet nothing can be said about the size of his rent or the number of plough teams supplied to him. The text BM 60389 (6 Nbn; Jursa 1995a: 143 no. 51) is a rent contract (*ana errēšūti*, “for cultivation”) for an unspecified amount of land in a certain locality for a period of five years. The *ikkaru* of Šamaš who leased the land was to pay an annual rent of net 25 *kurru* of barley. Though the size of the plot is not specified, this cannot have been a very large plot or very productive land. The third contract BM 74439 (16 Nbn; Jursa 1995a: 133f. no. 43) is a lease of a vineyard of the size 0;2.2 *kurru* and of an unspecified amount of arable land.¹²⁵ The lessee, an *ikkaru* of Šamaš, had to deliver annually 13 *kurru* of grapes (10 *kurru* in the first year) and the tenfold returns of one half of the arable land at his disposal. He was not provided with tools and was granted the yield of 1 *kurru* of land as compensation. No stipulations are made for the provision of draught animals and workforce, but it appears that some workforce came with the property. The text mentions settlers (*aššābus*¹²⁶) and ‘planters’ (*zāqipānus*) half of which, corresponding to half of the arable land for which rent was payable, should perform the work in connection to their *ilku* and *urāšu* duties.¹²⁷ It was the lessee’s responsibility to ensure that these obligations toward the state were fulfilled.

Now a rent contract from Eanna involving a temple ploughman, Nanāya-aḥ-iddin, son of Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter,¹²⁸ as lessee, and Šum-ukīn, the later *fermier général*, who is designated here as the messenger of the king, as lessor of temple land, is available to us:

PTS 2344 8-II-1 Ner
 obv. 1. ^{ld}na-na-a-šēš-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}u-gur-ina-sūḥ-sur
^{lu}engar šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú
 a-na ^lmu-gin a-šú šá ^{ld}en-numun a ^lba-si-iá
^{lu}a-kin šá ^{ld}u-gur-lugal-urù lugal tin-tir^{ki} en-šú
 5. ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma ^{lu}engar^{meš} a-ki-i
 a-mir-ti šá ina ugu ^{giš}da šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
 šá 2 ^{giš}apin^{meš} ù 8 gu^{meš} 50 gur
 še-numun qaq-qar 40 gur še-bar a-na še-numun
 bi-nam-ma ina mu-an-na 6 me gur gam-mir-tu₄
 10. ^rina é^l-an-na a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} lud-din
^lmu-gin ^riš^l-me-šu-ma šá 2 ^{giš}apin^{me}
 gu^{meš} [ù] ^rlu^lengar^{meš} 50 gur še-numun qaq-qar
 lo.e. 40 gur š[c-bar a-n]a še-numun ^rid-di^l-nu-šú
 ina mu-a[n-na] ^r6^l me še-bar gam-mir-ti

¹²³ No documents to this effect have come down to us, though. These considerations apply equally for the periods when there were no rent farmers.

¹²⁴ See Jursa 1995a: 24.

¹²⁵ Note that this contract concerns land in the Ḫābūr region, i.e. a long way away from Sippar and the direct supervision of the Ebabbar, and may for this reason have been atypical. For the localisation of Ebabbar’s land holdings on the Ḫābūr in Syria, rather than in Babylonia, see now Jursa 2010b: 348.

¹²⁶ See Jursa 1995a: 8 and van Driel 2002: 207f.

¹²⁷ For these taxation terms see van Driel 2002: 254ff. 264ff. and below. See also MacGinnis 2012: 27ff.

¹²⁸ The father of the lessee was perhaps the same person as Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, son of Zabidāya, an overseer and a ploughman himself, who temporarily had the functions of a *rab ešerti* (BIN 1 112, 19 Nbk) and a *gugallu* (YBC 4000, 34 Nbk) (see p. 95).

- rev. 15. *ina* é-[an-na] *ina*^{giš} *ma-ši-ḫi* *ša*^d *gašan* *ša* unug^{ki}
i-na[m]-din pu-ut me-e^l *mu-gin na-ši*
 2 ^{lu} *ú-ra-šú ba-ti-il*
^{ld} *na-na-a-šeš-mu a-na*^l *mu-gin* ^r *i*^l-[na] *m-din*
 (one blank line)
^{lu} *mu-kin-nu* ^{ld} *ag-din-su-e a-šú* *ša*^{ld} *ag-sur*
 20. a ^{ld} *30-ti-ér* ^{lr} *d* *in-nin*
a-šú *ša*^{ld} *en-mu a*^l *kur-i*^{ld} *ag-gin-a*
a-šú *ša*^{ld} *ag-numun-ba-ša* a ^{lu} *ša*-mun^{hi-a} *-šú*
u^{lu} *umbisag* ^l *zalág-e-a a-šú* *ša*^l *ba-ša* unug^{ki}
*iti gu*₄ *ud 8-kam mu 1-kam*^{ld} *u-gur-lugal-urù*
 25. *lugal tin-tir*^{ki}

“Nanāya-aḫ-iddin, son of Nergal-ina-tēšî-ēṭer, a ploughman of the Lady of Uruk, of his own free will said to Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, the messenger of Neriglissar, the king of Babylon, his lord, as follows: ‘Give me ploughmen for two ploughs in accordance to the inspection (recorded) in the register of the Lady of Uruk, eight oxen, 50 *kurru* of land and 40 *kurru* of barley for seed and yearly I will deliver net¹²⁹ 600 *kurru* of barley to Eanna to the Lady of Uruk.’ Šum-ukīn listened to him and gave him the oxen [and] the ploughmen for two ploughs, 50 *kurru* of land and 40 *kurru* of barley [for] seed. Yearly he will deliver net ^r600¹ *kurru* of barley to E[anna] using the measure of the Lady of Uruk. Šum-ukīn guarantees for the water (supply). Nanāya-iddin will provide two ...¹³⁰ *urāšu*-workers to Šum-ukīn.

Witnesses: Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son of Nabû-ēṭer, descendant of Sîn-leqe-unninnī
 Arad-Innin, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Kurī
 Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of Nabû-zēr-iqīša, descendant of *ša-tābtīšu*

Scribe: Nūrea, son of Iqīša
 Uruk; 8-II-1 Ner, king of Babylon.”

Though the extant documentation is not explicit, it appears that Šum-ukīn had already at this point been a lessee of temple land and had sub-leased some of it to the *ikkaru* Nanāya-aḫ-iddin. These 50 *kurru* of land were to be cultivated by two plough teams, which amounted to a workload of 25 *kurru* of land and 300 *kurru* of barley as rent per team. This quota is consistent with what is known from the ‘Edict’ and some other rent contracts. The same can be said about the yield factor which was 12, based on the ratio of rent to cultivated area. The only discrepancy to the standard model was seemingly the provision of 40 *kurru* of seed only, instead of the expected 50 *kurru* in keeping with the typical seed to land ratio (1:1). It is not clear whether this indicated that only 20 *kurru* of land were to be cultivated by each team, with the remaining five *kurru* perhaps set aside for the personal use and the running costs of the plough team (including administrative fees?).¹³¹ Eight oxen and an unknown number of *ikkarus* were to be provided to Nanāya-aḫ-iddin to operate two ploughs. It is interesting to note that the *ikkarus* were to be assigned to the ploughs with reference to the temple’s inspection register.

This interesting document raises the question of how land was distributed to the ploughmen. Jursa notes that generally individual plough teams were bound to certain localities, but not necessarily to the plots they were cultivating. The scope of their activities and obligations could be determined annually as is indicated by *Nbk.* 452+ (Jursa 1995a: 13). In PTS 2344 we see (presumably) a rent farmer engaged with the task of assigning the land to two plough teams under

¹²⁹ For *gamru* with the meaning “net, without (further) deductions” see Jursa 1995a: 151.

¹³⁰ The form *ba-ti-il* (l. 17) is not easily explicable. One possibility would be to connect it to the word *batūlu* which designated a “young man (adolescent)” according to CAD B: 174. The problem is the vowel *ū* rendered as *i* in the text (unless we are dealing with ‘vowel indifferent’ signs in the sense of Streck 2001: 81f.). The other, probably less likely, possibility would be to interpret the word as the stative of *baṭālu*, “inactive”. We expect here the plural form *baṭlū*. The rendering in the text could be explained with the use of ‘vowel indifference’ and ‘non-notation of vowels’. However, the problem with this interpretation would be the syntax of the sentence and the writing of the emphatic *t* with the sign *ti*.

¹³¹ Note that at this rate the yield factor would amount to 15, which is a well attested value in ‘practical’ texts from Sippar.

the direction of one *ikkaru*. Should this contract be considered an exceptional arrangement or did all the plough teams working for a rent farmer have to make a written agreement of this kind? In the event that PTS 2344 was a special case, which is likely, clearly not many documents of this kind can be expected to crop up. Nanāya-aḥ-iddin, the temple ploughman, was not only responsible for his own plough, but was to manage two teams. By this he stood out from the masses of *ikkarus*, be they temple oblates or hired labour, who just worked the land “like the ploughmen of the Lady of Uruk” (cf. YOS 19 71, p. 31).

Van Driel, without knowing this text from Uruk and basing his conclusions on the Sippar material, in particular the rent contracts of the *ikkarus* presented by Jursa (1995a), states that “the institutional *ikkaru* was a proper tenant [...] not only in Sippar, but occasionally also in exemplary Babylon. The rent farmer of the institutional land in this manner had a modest, and probably older, “little brother”, who belonged to an early phase of the system he operated.”¹³² Jursa, on the other hand, maintains that these rent contracts represent special cases which may not be applicable to the temple’s entire agricultural workforce. These were assigned land according to customary practice. He is also reluctant to see in the *ikkarus* minor entrepreneurs – even in the cases of the contracts – as it is questionable to what extent they had the freedom to choose and make decisions to get contractually involved, phrases such as *ina ḥūd libbišu* notwithstanding. This is in fact a recurring question especially concerning the organisation of the agricultural production before the appearance of large-scale rent farmers who came from outside the institutional structure. We are confronted with this problem particularly in the case of the overseers of the ploughmen (*rab ešerti/epinni, rab ikkarāti*) and the ‘officials’ such as *gugallus*, who were recruited from among the *ikkarus* (and *nukuribbus*) and who not only supervised the agricultural labour put under their control but also assumed personal liability for their dues in the manner of the later *fermiers généraux*, only on a much smaller scale.

The ploughmen working for the temple were generally bound by customary practice – there was no need to set in writing duties and rights that have been in use for generations (and that concerned a predominantly illiterate segment of the population). The evidence shows, however, that there were also ploughmen who took on additional responsibilities, responsibilities which bore entrepreneurial traits despite the fact that the (temple) *ikkarus* were not independent economic agents. These additional responsibilities could be, and were, contractually fixed. In a sense, van Driel is right to call the *ikkaru* the “little brother” of the later rent farmers, although this should be restricted to (a few?) special cases like the one attested in the contract PTS 2344 and the similar Sippar evidence.

2.1.3. Agricultural tasks

2.1.3.1. Obligations

The main task of the *ikkarus* was, needless to say, the growing of cereals for the temple. Their obligation toward the temple, the crops they had to deliver, was a more or less fixed amount called *sūtu*, which is generally understood and translated as “rent”. The term also appears in the context of the *fermiers généraux* designating the fixed amount of agricultural produce due to the temple and determined by their rent contracts. The term itself is included in the title “rent farmer”: *ša muḥḥi sūti*. The translation of *sūtu* as “rent” in this context is suitable, but it is perhaps not entirely fitting when referring to the *ikkarus*, who were not (always) tenants of temple land by their own choice. A broader understanding of the term such as “obligation” is probably more appropriate in connection to the *ikkarus*. However, such a translation obscures the connotations pertaining to the scope of this due. For this reason the term is usually not translated in the following. It was an amount determined on the basis of the surface area cultivated and the yield factor, which could depend on the quality of soil, availability of water, etc., with possible annual variations. In the case of the rent farmers the *sūtu* was fixed contractually and was valid for several years. The situation is somewhat obscure in the case of the ploughmen – we can conjecture that probably an annual

¹³² Van Driel 2002: 225. Cf. also *ibid.*: 315.

agreement was made between the *ikkaru* and the temple or a rent farmer they were subordinated to, based on customary practice. The most important parameter will have been the surface area of the land under cultivation and the quality of the soil.

Although they had a fixed obligation, the *ikkarus* were subjected to an annual *imittu* procedure or “yield estimation”. This estimation conducted by a board of temple officials, scribes and estimators (*ēmidus*), took place shortly before the harvest, usually in the second month. These estimates resulted in *imittu* lists anticipating the crop revenues of the temple and sometimes even individual debt notes charged against individual *ikkarus*, presumably as representatives of their plough teams. Such debt notes are particularly well attested for the date orchards of Eanna, but there is also a small number of those concerning the arable production under the large-scale rent farmer Šum-ukīn. These include YOS 6 45, 47, 55, TEBR 38 and PTS 2863 all from the second month of the third year of Nabonidus.¹³³ As an example YOS 6 55 is edited here:

- YOS 6 55 13-II-3 Nbn
- obv. 1. 2 me 75 gur še-bar sag-du zag^{gis} bān
 šá^{ld} en-šeš^{mc}-mu^{lu} engar šá ina^{garin} im-ṭu-nu
 ní-ga^d gašan šá unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a
 šá^{gis} bān šá^l mu-gin a-šú šá^l en-numun
5. a^l ba-si-ia^{lu} šá ugu^{gis} bān
 šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} ina ugu^{ld} en-šeš^{mc}-mu
 a-šú šá^{ld} ag-kam ina iti gu₄ ina^{gis} ma-ših
 šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din
 e-lat ú-íl-tì maḥ-ri-tu₄
- lo.e. 10. šá ina muḥ-ḥi-šú
 rev. ^{lu}mu-gin ^{ld}na-na-a-mu a-šú
 šá^l ki^d amar-utu-din ^{lr}-^din-nin
 a-šú šá^{ld} ag-mu-dù ^lgi-mil-lu a-šú
 šá^l a-ḥu-lap-^dinnin ^{ld}utu-numun-giš a-šú
15. šá^{ld} utu-mu-giš
^{lu}umbisag ^lba-la-ṭu a-šú šá^l mu-še-zib-^den
^rgarin^l bir-tu₄ šá ba-za-a-a ší-i-ḥu
 [šá] ^rd¹gašan šá unug^{ki} iti gu₄ ud 13-kam
 [m]u 3-kam ^dag-ní-tuk
20. lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“275 *kurru* of barley, the principal of the impost, the *sūtu*-obligation of Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, the ploughman from Imṭunu, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, pertaining to the *sūtu* of Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk, are the debt of Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Nabû-ēreš. He will deliver (the barley) in the second month using the measure of the Lady of Uruk. (This is) apart from the previous debt notes charged against him.

Witnesses: Nanāya-iddin, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu
 Arad-Innin, son of Nabû-šum-ibni
 Gimillu, son of Aḥulap-Ištar
 Šamaš-zēr-līšir, son of Šamaš-šum-līšir

Scribe: Balātu, son of Mušēzib-Bēl;

Birtu-ša-Bazāya, estate of the Lady of Uruk; 13-II-3 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

At first sight it may seem contradictory for the *ikkarus* to have had a fixed (*sūtu*) and at the same time a variable annually estimated obligation (*imittu*), but there is an explanation for this. In contrast to the shares (*zittu*, *šibšu*) delivered by the sharecroppers to the temple, which were a fraction of the yield, the *sūtu* of the ploughmen represented more or less the entire yield of the plot assigned to them (after the deduction of administrative costs, rations, etc.). But unlike the rent

¹³³ Following debt notes for barley pertaining to the rent of Šum-ukīn have a similar form, but do not explicitly mention *ikkarus* as debtors: YOS 6 24 (I-1 Nbn), YOS 6 43 (IV-2 Nbn), YOS 6 84 (II-3 Nbn). TCL 12 108 is a similar *imittu* debt note for barley from the rent farm of Ibnāya.

(*sūtu*) of the *fermiers généraux*, which was predetermined in absolute figures by the rent contracts, the *sūtu* of the *ikkarus* was a fixed obligation only insofar as it was a multiple of the area cultivated (or the seed provided). As Jursa (1995a: 14) noted, the yield factor by which the area cultivated was multiplied in order to calculate the obligation of a ploughman had to be determined individually on an annual basis during an *imittu* procedure, general models like the ‘Edict’ notwithstanding. Furthermore, the yield factor could vary from year to year as observed for the *ikkaru* Appanu from Sippar (Jursa 1995a: 14⁵⁵).

2.1.3.2. Crops

In addition to barley (*uṭṭatu*, še-bar), which was the most important cereal they produced, the ploughmen also delivered spelt (še-zíz-àm), wheat (še-gig-ba) and cress (*sahlû*) to the temple. These were winter crops and frequently appear together in the *imittu* lists recording completed or anticipated deliveries of the *ikkarus* (and the *errēšus*).¹³⁴ Sesame (še-giš-i), which was a summer crop, also appears among the staples grown by the *ikkarus*. The evidence from Sippar shows that the main producers of this summer crop for Ebabbar were the *errēšus* and the gardeners (it was grown by them below the date palms).¹³⁵ In Uruk, however, most attestations indicate that the barley and sesame production had to be managed by the same group of agricultural labourers.¹³⁶ Issues of sesame for seed took place in the fourth month, i.e. after the barley harvest, according to the texts from Eanna (PTS 2550 (IV-5 Nbk), GC 2 281 (IV-11 (Nbk)), CD 51 (IV-19 (Nbk))).¹³⁷ At around this time the planting would have occurred. Harvesting of the sesame could be done 70 to 100 days after the planting, i.e. between the sixth and the seventh month. There is no evidence for harvesting in our material, but we do have yield estimations which would have been conducted shortly before the harvest. In Uruk these were carried out in the sixth (PTS 3021¹³⁸ (10 Npl)) and the seventh month (PTS 2312 (1 Ner)).¹³⁹ According to the *imittu* debt note PTS 2312, sesame was the *sūtu*-obligation of the ploughmen:

PTS 2312 10-VII-1 Ner
 obv. 1. 28 gur 2_p 3_b še-giš-i^{giš} bán šá
 ld ag-šeš^{meš}-gi
 18 gur šá^{ld} na-na-a-šeš-mu
 14 gur šá^{ld} si-lim^d-en
 5. 4 gur šá^{ld} šá-ra-²-dingir^{meš} 2-¹ta[?] ká[?]1^{meš}
 pab 1+šú 5 gur 2_p 3_b še-giš-i sag-du
 i-mit-tu⁴ bán šá^{ld} engar^{meš}
 ʾnig¹-ga^d gašan šá unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a
 [ina^{giš}] bán šá^{ld} mu-gin a-šú šá^{ld} en-numun
 lo.e. 10. [a¹b]a-si-ia^{ld} en pi-qit-ti šá ʾlugal²1
 [ina ugu¹s]i-lim^d-en a-šú šá^{ld} a-a¹
 rev. [ina iti a]pin ina^{giš} ma-ši-ḥu šá^d gašan šá ʾunug^{ki}1
 [ina é-an]-na i-nam-din e-lat

¹³⁴ E.g. TCL 13 180 (spelt and wheat); UCP 9/2 25, NCBT 650, NCBT 652 (spelt, wheat and cress).

¹³⁵ Jursa 1995a: 178.

¹³⁶ Note that even in several rent contracts concerning arable land sesame deliveries were expected in addition to the barley rent: VS 20 88 (35 Nbk, edited on p. 152), PTS 2821 (5[?] Nbn), TCL 12 90 (8 Nbn). *kasia* which is also generally associated with the date cultivation was perhaps also grown/harvested by the *ikkarus*. There are no explicit attestations of this plant in the context of the obligations of the ploughmen, but some rent farmers who were mainly concerned with cereal cultivation also had to deliver *kasia* to the temple (e.g. Nergal-nāšir, according to VS 20 88 and GC 1 418, or Ilē'i-Marduk according to BIN 2 130).

¹³⁷ One text from Ebabbar records the issue of sesame for seed in the third month (*Nbn.* 226; Jursa 1995a: 176).

¹³⁸ This is an *imittu* list for sesame, with the caption *šamašammū imittu ša ikkarāti* (line 1).

¹³⁹ The evidence from Sippar correlates well with the Eanna texts. Here yield estimations for sesame are attested between the sixth and the eighth month, with the majority taking place in the seventh month (Jursa 1995a: 176).

- [ú-ìl-t]ì šá^{lú} er-re-še-e
 15. [šá ina muḫ]-ḫi-šú^{lú} mu-kin-nu
 [g¹i-mi]l-lu a-šú šá¹ ba-la-ṭu
 [x-x-n]u[?] a-šú šá^{1d} en-šeš^{meš}-mu
 [m]u-še-zib-^den a-šú šá¹ numun-ia
 [lú]jumbisag¹ ba-la-ṭu a-šú šá¹ mu-še-zib-^den
 20. [garin]id-^din-nin ši-i-ḫu
 šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} iti du₆
 ud 10-kam mu 1-kam
 u.e. ^{1d}u-gur-lugal-ùru lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“28;2.3 sesame, *sūtu* of Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim, 18 *kurru* of Nanāya-aḫ-iddin, 14 *kurru* of Silim-Bēl, 4 *kurru* of Šarā’-il, two entries; in total: 65;2.3 sesame,¹⁴⁰ the principal of the impost, the *sūtu*-obligation of the ploughmen, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, pertaining to the *sūtu* of Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, the commissioner of the king, are the debt of Silim-Bēl, son of Aplāya. He will deliver (the sesame) to Eanna in the eighth month using the measure of the Lady of Uruk. (This is) apart from the debt notes of the sharecroppers which are charged against him.

Witnesses: Gimillu, son of Balāṭu
 [PN], son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin
 Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Zēria

Scribe: Balāṭu, son of Mušēzib-Bēl

Nār-Innin, estate of the Lady of Uruk; 10-VII-1 Ner, king of Babylon.”

Deliveries of sesame by *ikkarus* are attested in YOS 314 (IX-4 Nbk) and YOS 17 326 (X-11 Nbk). Texts from Sippar record sesame deliveries between the seventh and tenth month, of which the majority occurred in the eighth month (Jursa 1995a: 176).

2.1.3.3. Ploughing, sowing and harvesting

At any rate, the sesame harvest had to be completed before the autumn ploughing and barley sowing season. There is no direct evidence for these activities, but issues of barley seed and draught animals give some clues for the time-frame of these tasks.

Before the ploughing started, the *ikkarus* received the draught animals from the temple, as receipts documenting the issues of oxen indicate. In Sippar these receipts are usually dated to the fourth or fifth month (Jursa 1995a: 19⁺⁶²). There are so far only two relevant texts from Uruk which are dated to the sixth and seventh month. BIN 1 112 (VI-19 Nbk; p. 86) is a receipt for 62 oxen taken by four *rab ešertis*. Though the text does not explicitly state this, these oxen were probably intended for the plough teams of *ikkarus*. NBC 4840 (VII-19 (Npl)) records issues of oxen to *ikkarus*:

NBC 4840 17-VII-19 (Npl)

- obv. 1. gu₄^{me} šá a-na^{lú} engar^{meš} sum-nu
 šid iti du₆ ud 17-kam mu 19-kam
 21 gu₄^{meš} šá¹ mu-gin a¹ za-bi-da-a
 a-na^{lú} engar^{me} id-di-nu
 5. 1 gu₄¹ nad-na-a a¹ e-reš
 1 ¹mu-mu a¹ id-di-ia
 1 ¹sum-na-šeš a¹ e-reš
 1 ¹ag-numun-dù a¹ šá^d ag-šu-ú
 1 ^{1d}en-din-iṭ a¹ la-qí-pi
 10. 1 ¹gi^d amar-utu šá é¹ a-a
 1 ^{1d}ag-dù-uš a¹ i^den
 1 ¹šá^d ag-šu-ú šá¹ tin-tir^{ki}[-a-a]

¹⁴⁰ The actual sum of the listed amounts is 64;2.3.

rev. [1[?] 1]sil-la-a a 1re-mut 1u¹ [x]
 (ca. 10 lines uninscribed)
 3 1^{id}en-1x¹ a 1^{id}en-mu
 15. 2 1^{id}idim-dù-uš a 1a-ḥu-na-a
 1 1^{id}níg-du

“Oxen that were given to the ploughmen (and) entered (in the books), 17-VII-19:

21 oxen which Šum-ukīn, son of Zabidāya,¹⁴¹ gave to the ploughmen; 1 ox – Nadnāya, son of Ēreš; 1 (ox) – Šum-iddin, son of Iddia; 1 – Nādin-aḥi, son of Ēreš; 1 – Nabû-zēr-ibni, son of Ša-Nabû-šū; 1 – Bēl-uballit, son of Lāqīp; 1 – Mušallim-Marduk of the house of Aplāya; 1 – Nabû-īpuš, son of Nā'id-Bēl; 1 – Ša-Nabû-šū of Bābilāya; [1] – Šillāya, son of Rēmūt, 1and¹ [x]; 3 – Bēl-x, son of Bēl-iddin; 2 – Ea-īpuš, son of Aḥunāya; 1 – Kudurru.”

During the ploughing season some of the animals died and their carcasses were delivered to the temple. This was also recorded in short receipts or lists, which usually date between the ninth and the eleventh month.¹⁴² In the following example some of the men delivering the carcasses are the ones who reappear several years later as recipients of oxen in NBC 4840 (see above):

NCBT 1079 20-X-14 (Npl)
 obv. 1. 1 gu₄ pag-ri
 1^{id}en-din-iṭ a 1 (rest uninscribed)
 1 1^{id}ag-numun-gin a 1^{id}man-na-i-lu[?]
 1 1^{id}mu-gin a 1^{id}za-bi-da
 5. 1 1^{id}ag-1numun/mu¹-dù a 1^{id}šeš^{mc}-e-a
 lo.e. 1 1^{id}šá¹ dumu-šú šá 1^{id}di-1iá¹
 šá ud 19-kam
 rev. pab 5 gu₄ pag-gar-nu
 1^{id}engar^{mc} maḥ-ru-ú
 10. 1 1^{id}en-pab^{mc}-su a 1^{id}ag-sur
 pab 6 gu₄ pag-gar-nu
 iti ab ud 20-kam mu 14-kam

“1 carcass of an ox – (received from) Bēl-uballit, son of ...;¹⁴³ 1 – Nabû-zēr-ukīn, son of Mannu-il; 1 – Šum-ukīn, son of Zabidāya; 1 – Nabû-zēr-ibni, son of Aḥḥēa; 1 – of the son of Iddia, which was (brought) on the 19th day;¹⁴⁴ in total 5: carcasses of oxen were received from the *ikkarus*. 1 – Bēl-aḥḥē-erība, son of Nabû-ēṭer;¹⁴⁵ in total: 6 carcasses of oxen. 20-X-14.”

After the ploughing season, the animals were taken by the temple from the *ikkarus*.¹⁴⁶ The text NBC 4940 (27⁺-X-20 Nbk) lists oxen which were received from *ikkarus*. This would indicate that the ploughing had been completed by the end of the tenth month. NBC 4649, unfortunately without a date, could also be an example for this practice:

¹⁴¹ This Šum-ukīn was to all likelihood also a ploughman, if we accept his identification with the *ikkaru* with the same name and patronymic who appears in NCBT 1079 (edited below). It is apparent from NBC 4840, however, that he had a somewhat higher position, at least since 19 Npl, as he was responsible for the distribution of the draught animals to the ploughmen.

¹⁴² NCBT 807 (IX-1), NCBT 1079 (X-14 (Npl)), PTS 2772 (XI-12 Nbk). The animal in a text published by Dillard, FLP 1529 (VI-14 Nbk) will have died just before the ploughing started. Two receipts for dead draught animals are attested in the Ebabbar archive and are dated to the ninth and the tenth month (Jursa 1995a: 19).

¹⁴³ The scribe left this spot blank. The patronymic could have been Lāqīp. This would then be the same person as in NBC 4840 (l. 9), edited above.

¹⁴⁴ The scribe could obviously not remember the name of the person who brought a carcass of an ox one day before the writing up of this receipt, but he still knew that this was a son of a certain Iddia.

¹⁴⁵ This entry was added subsequently.

¹⁴⁶ Jursa (1995a: 19) assumed that once the ploughing had been finished the oxen were distributed to the herders and kept with the rest of the temple's cattle.

NBC 4649

obv. 1. gu₄^{meš} tap-ti-ri šá mu 15-kam ina šu^{II} lú engar^{meš}
ab-ku-nu mu-ni
 1 ^lre-en-šú-dingir a-šú šá ^lnumun-ú-tu
 1 ^{ld}en-šeš-mu a ^llu-ú-šeš-ú-a
 1 ^lšá-rid a ^{ld}na-na-a-siskur-siskur
 1 ^{ld}en-ú-sep-pi a ^lšil-la-a

(rev. blank)

“Gelded oxen that were taken from the ploughmen in the 15th year:

1 – Rēnšu-il, son of Zērūtu; 1 – Bēl-aḥ-iddin, son of Lū-aḥu’a ; 1 – Šarīd, son of Nanāya-ušalli; 1 – Bēl-useppi, son of Šillāya.”

Issues of seed to ploughmen (and people not explicitly designated as such) for sowing were carried out in Sippar between the seventh and the tenth month (Jursa 1995a: 19f.⁺⁶⁵; see also van Driel 1990: 239f. for other, some even later, attestations). From Uruk there are not that many attestations of barley being issued for sowing. The already mentioned text OIP 122 77 which records issues of barley seed to a large number of individuals is not dated. Another three dated texts from Eanna, however, fall into the same temporal frame as the Ebabbar documents. In *AnOr* 8 42,¹⁴⁷ dated to the seventh month of 4 Cyr, 40 *kurru* of barley were issued by the rent farmer Nabū-udammiq, to a certain Ištar-zēr-ibni, probably an *ikkaru*, for the seed of his ploughs. YOS 7 139,¹⁴⁸ from the tenth month of 3 Camb, records the issue of spelt for seed to the *ikkarus*. The recipients are known from other sources as *rab epinnis*. They will have probably redistributed the seed among the plough teams under their responsibility. BIN 1 154 (29-VIII-[x] Nbk) records the issue of dates for seed to people, who are known from other sources as overseers of the ploughmen (*rab ešertis*), and the *ikkarus* (ll. 1-4: [zú]-lum-ma šá a-na še-numun ^rx¹ / [x x] a-na ^{ld}u-gur-ina-sùḥ-^rsur¹ / [^ldù²-^dinnin² a²] ^{ld}ag-mu-dù u ^lengar^{1me} / [sum-na]-ti iti apin ud 29-kam; individual entries with amounts of seed and personal names follow). It is quite unlikely that the dates were used for planting date orchards. Rather, the temple may have suffered a shortage of barley at this time, but had plenty of dates as the date harvest would just have been completed (the text was written in the eighth month). Hence the temple authorities issued dates with the intention that they be exchanged for barley by the recipients themselves.

There is no direct evidence for the harvesting of barley from the Eanna and the Ebabbar archives. However, documents related to the yield estimation procedure (*imittu* lists and debt notes) dated to the first and the second month, indicate that the barley harvest must have taken place between the end of the first and the third month.¹⁴⁹

2.1.4. Non-agricultural tasks

2.1.4.1. Work projects

Occasionally we hear of the *ikkarus* employed at various non-agricultural projects. These included work on the irrigation system (e.g. on the Nār-šarri and on a local canal in the district Angillu as is evident from the letter YOS 21 71, or an unspecified canal in YOS 6 246 (VII-11 Nbn)), (construction) work in Babylon (YBC 4173 (VI-1 (Nbk IV))), work in Raqqat-Šamaš (GC 1 103 (IX-38 Nbk)), work on the palace in Matanan (YOS 7 187¹⁵⁰ (IV-6 Camb)), production of

¹⁴⁷ The text is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 51. 113f.

¹⁴⁸ The text is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 51. 114.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. the agricultural calendar reconstructed in the Appendix 3 and the one worked out by Landsberger 1949: 284ff. See also Salonen 1968: 190ff. and especially p. 196.

¹⁵⁰ For an edition of the text see Henkelman and Kleber 2007: 164f.

bricks (PTS 2008 (undated letter)), etc. When employed at these projects the *ikkarus* were organised in *ešertus*, units of ten people, as was common practice.¹⁵¹ Though there is usually no explicit evidence for this, a number of these work assignments will have been connected to the service for the state which the temple had to provide (see also below). Apparently the agricultural calendar was not taken into consideration in these projects. The dated texts show that the *ikkarus* were frequently deployed during the labour-intensive ploughing season – an interesting observation, considering the lack of manpower which the temples suffered during the Neo-Babylonian period. The temple may not have had much choice in these cases but to conform to the schedule of the state administration.

In connection with these non-agricultural assignments there are several attestations of *ikkarus* receiving rations. These included beer (GC 1 103 (IX-38 Nbk) and perhaps also YOS 7 174 (IX-4 Camb), edited on p. 386), flour (NCBT 708¹⁵² (I-40 Nbk)), bread (NCBT 2336¹⁵³ (V-40 Nbk)) and date rations (YBC 4173 (VI-1 (RN)), PTS 2107 (IX-18 Nbk), NBC 4612¹⁵⁴ (XII-1 Camb)). The situation is similar in Sippar. The ploughmen could be deployed for various projects and received rations in return (Jursa 1995a: 11. 22f.).

2.1.4.2. Taxation-related obligations

Occasionally we hear about obligations which were imposed on the temple and were to be discharged by the *ikkarus*. These include the rations of the governor (*bēl pīhāti*) of Esagil, the bow-service (*qaštu*)¹⁵⁵ and the more general types of service such as *ilku*, *urāšu* and *dullu*.

The obligations toward the state which were to be paid in kind, the rations of the governor (*bēl pīhāti*)¹⁵⁶, are referred to in the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’. The amount of these rations was a fraction of the yield from both the arable land and the orchards. This fraction, according to the ‘Edict’, was 1/12 (or 8 1/3 %) of the yield or 2 *sūtu* 3 *qū* per each *kurru* delivered. However, this amount included also the rations of other officials, *ṭupšarrū*, *mādidū* and *atū*. The rations of the scribes, measurers and gatekeepers probably had to do with the administrative tasks surrounding the agricultural production of the temple, such as compiling *imittu* lists and debt notes, estimation of yields, weighing and storing of harvested commodities, and were intended for the temple’s own employees entrusted with these tasks. The rations of the governor, on the other hand, were meant for an official of the state administration and can be seen in the context of taxation. Two later documents from the sphere of the large-scale rent farms mention the rations of the *bēl pīhāti* of Esagil and shed more light on the whole matter.

TCL 13 182¹⁵⁷ (2 Dar), a contract recording the transfer of Gimillu’s rent farm to Bēl-gimlanni, makes stipulations on the obligations of the new rent farmer. At this occasion it mentions in general terms the provision of the rations of the *bēl pīhāti* of Esagil, scribes, measurers and gatekeepers. Since the context of these obligations is the same as in the ‘Edict’ it seems more than likely that the governor referred to by the ‘Edict’ was in fact the *bēl pīhāti* of Esagil.

¹⁵¹ This is indicated by the letter YOS 21 115, in which the author of the letter complains that there is no work for 5 ploughmen of an *ešertu*-unit under his responsibility (ll. 7-10: *ina lib-bi 1+et 10-ti / 5^{li} engar^{mes} / šá šu-ia qaq-qa-ra / ina igi-šú-nu ia-a-nu*). In this context *qaqqaru* probably meant that some digging rather than agricultural cultivation was involved.

¹⁵² According to this text they were sent on an expedition (*madāktu*).

¹⁵³ These bread rations were for the *ikkarus* who carried grain. This operation probably was not a part of their regular agricultural activities.

¹⁵⁴ This text is edited on p. 106. The *rab epinnis* who had received the date rations for the ploughmen are obliged to return these dates (converted to barley) to the temple since the *ikkarus* were idle (*samū*).

¹⁵⁵ MacGinnis recently studied the bow-service on the basis of the evidence from the Ebabbar archive from Sippar (2012). On the role of the *ikkarus* in connection to this service see especially p. 5f.

¹⁵⁶ For this official, who was one of the main suppliers of barley and dates for the palace in Babylon, see Jursa 2010a: 74ff. and van Driel 2002: 167. 176⁺³¹. For *bēl pīhāti* in connection with the dues from agricultural land from Sippar see also Jursa 1995a: 138f. and 2010b: 68f.

¹⁵⁷ See p. 239.

The debt note *AnOr* 8 63¹⁵⁸ (9 Cyr) records the debt of the rent farmer Ardia, son of Nabû-bân-aḫi, descendant of Rēmût-Ea, consisting of 179;1.4 *kurru* of dates, the remainder of his rent, and 400 *kurru* of dates, the rations of Ardia, son of Marduk-zēr-ibni, the *bēl pīḫāti* of Esagil. These rations are said to amount to 1 *sūtu* per each *kurru* (of the rent), i.e. 1/30 or 3 1/3 % of the rent. In Ardia's case, the rent was 12,000 *kurru* of dates which fits well with the additional 400 *kurru* charged against him and which the temple had apparently already paid to the governor of Esagil on his behalf. Though we are dealing here with date cultivation rather than arable land, the obligations of the gardeners with respect to the extra costs and rations are the same as those of the *ikkarus* as far as the 'Edict' goes. The gardeners are also obliged to pay 1/12 of the yield (or 0;0.2.3 per *kurru*) for the services and rations of the *bēl pīḫāti*, scribes, measurers and gatekeepers. Relying on *AnOr* 8 63 we can deduce that the governor of Esagil was to receive 1 *sūtu* (6 litres) per each *kurru* of dates or barley delivered to the temple,¹⁵⁹ this tax being based on the temple's revenue in agricultural produce, which in turn was established by the amount of land under cultivation. In this respect the basic orchards (1 *kurru* of land) and arable plots (25 *kurru* of land) were used as a model for calculating not only the revenues of the temple, but also of the state. In fact, this was probably the main motive for the compiling of a document such as the 'Edict'. In the case of Eanna during Nabonidus's reign, while Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent farm was in place, the state administration could expect around 1,166;3.2 *kurru* (i.e. 210,000 litres) of barley and dates per year based on the annual revenue of 35,000 *kurru* of barley and dates due from Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya¹⁶⁰ and assuming that the rate of 1 *sūtu* per *kurru* attested in the ninth year of Cyrus is applicable here. These figures should be taken as approximations only, since the actual returns of the temple cannot be determined with certainty due to additional sources of income (there were other minor rent farmers and sharecroppers engaged at the same time) and were in fact wildly variable from year to year as is demonstrated by TCL 13 227 (see Appendix 2).

The administrative text YBC 4164 (6 (Cyr or Camb)) listing incoming and outgoing commodities and silver, notes that 3 1/3 minas of silver, the price of 240 *kurru* of barley, following the exchange rate of 1;1 *kurru* of barley per one shekel of silver, were sent to the *bēl pīḫāti* of Esagil as rations due from 7,200 *kurru* of barley, the *sūtu* of the *ikkarus* for the sixth year.¹⁶¹ Here the rate of the rations of the *bēl pīḫāti* is also one *sūtu* per each *kurru*, i.e. 1/30 of the rent. The same rate is found in a similar text, PTS 2126 (5 (Camb)), according to which 0;1.1 of sesame were given to the *bēl pīḫāti* of Esagil for a rent of 7 *kurru* of sesame for the fifth year.

The governor of Esagil was entitled to a portion of the agricultural produce of the temple, which could be delivered in kind or converted to silver. Not only the agricultural production was taxed, but also, it appears, the cattle employed in this production. According to the letter YOS 3 9 (later Nebuchadnezzar's or Neriglissar's reign¹⁶²) Ibni-Ištar, perhaps a *rab ešerti*, was instructed to collect one shekel of silver from the *ikkarus* per each 'reserve'¹⁶³ ox which he had given to them. The silver was to be given to the *bēl pīḫāti* of Esagil by the sender of the letter Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim,

¹⁵⁸ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 73. 127. See also here p. 222.

¹⁵⁹ The remaining 1 *sūtu* 3 *qū* per *kurru* were reserved for the scribes, measurers and gatekeepers. Assuming that equal numbers of these professionals were employed each group would receive 3 litres per *kurru*, or 1/60 of the rent.

¹⁶⁰ Although no obligations for costs and rations are stipulated in Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent contract (YOS 6 11 + duplicates) we can assume that these were nevertheless expected of them, as they were no invention of the 'Edict'. Texts from Sippar give evidence that these dues were known even before Nabonidus's reign (Jursa 1995a: 138⁺²⁸⁰) and so it seems plausible that they were not explicitly recorded in all the rent contracts as they were generally known to the involved parties.

¹⁶¹ YBC 4164 ll. 5-8: 3 1/3 ma-na kù-babbar *šá* 2 me 40 gur šc-bar *ki-i pi-i* / 1 gur 1 ṛpi¹ šc-bar *a-na* 1 gín kù-babbar šuk^{hi-a} *šá* 7 lim 2 me gur šc-bar / ^{giš}bán *šá* ^{lu}engar^{mc} *šá* mu 6-kam *ina* šu^{ll} ¹gu-za-nu u¹ki^d-ag-igi-ia *a-na* ^{ld}en-sum-a ^{lu}en-nam é-sag-íl *šu-bul*.

¹⁶² Jursa (2010b: 69³²⁴) suggests dating the letter to the early reign of Nabonidus; however, if the author of the letter and the addressee – Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim and Ibni-Ištar – are identified with the agricultural officials *rab ikkarāti* and *rab ešerti* respectively then a slightly earlier dating (to Neriglissar's or to the end of Nebuchadnezzar's reign) is more adequate.

¹⁶³ The text speaks of *alpū uškūtu* (ll. 23f.), literally "late(r) oxen". These were perhaps oxen delivered to the ploughmen at a later stage (after the beginning of the ploughing season?) as a reserve or as a replacement for animals which had died during the ploughing.

probably the *rab ikkarāti*.¹⁶⁴ The implications of this text are not clear. It would appear that the basis for taxation could be the draught animals (a special kind of oxen?), but as there are no other attestations of this practice and the exact connotations of the term *uškū* in this context are unclear it remains questionable whether this indeed was a regular form of taxation or just an *ad hoc* payment.

Besides the dues in kind, the temple ploughmen were burdened with services for the crown as well. Together with the gardeners and shepherds of the temple they were obliged to serve as archers in the royal army. It was the responsibility of the rent farmers to organise and supply men for this service from among the *ikkarus* put at their disposal. This is evident from some rent contracts from Sippar. The text BRM 1 101 (6 Dar; Jursa 1995a: 103ff.), which concerns the splitting of a rent farm in two equal parts between two men, sets forth the obligations for the new rent farmer: besides being responsible for half of the land and rent, he also got the responsibility for half of the bow-service and the equipping of the ploughmen and gardeners and for half of the *urāšu*-service.¹⁶⁵ The previously mentioned contract BM 74439 (16 Nbn; Jursa 1995a: 133) stipulates the obligation of the lessee, an *ikkaru*, to organise half of the settlers and agricultural workers assigned to him with the land he rented for work (*dullu*) entailed in the *ilku*- and *urāšu*-service.¹⁶⁶

From Uruk there is some more evidence for the *urāšu*-service of the *ikkarus*.¹⁶⁷ In the letter YOS 21 33¹⁶⁸ Ibni-Ištar wrote to Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim as follows:

“Amurru-mukīn-apli is holding me back because of the *urāšus*. May the lord rally all the *urāšus* of Ibni-Ištar, son of Silim-Bēl, and of the ploughmen who are there and send them. One *dēkū*-official should head them. Otherwise, he will not let us go and we will not be able to do the work. The *urāšus* should arrive soon!”¹⁶⁹

The author of the letter can probably be identified with Ibni-Ištar, son of Nabû-šum-ibni, one of the agricultural overseers active during Nebuchadnezzar’s reign (at least from 31 Nbk until acc Ner). He was attested with the title *gugallu ša Bēlti ša Uruk* in 31 Nbk in YBC 9448¹⁷⁰ and *rab ešerti* in 34 Nbk in YBC 4000.¹⁷¹ The addressee is probably identical with Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammīq, an *ikkaru* attested from 26 Nbk to 1 Ner, who also took on various supervising functions. In YBC 4000 (34 Nbk) he appears as a *rab ešerti*, and in BIN 1 123 (acc Ner) he bears the title of the “overseer of the ploughmen” (*rab ikkarāti*). Amurru-mukīn-apli mentioned in the text was probably the son of Amurru-šar-ušur, a *gugallu* of the provincial administration of the Sealand, who was active in the Uruk region and had connections to Eanna.¹⁷² According to this letter Amurru-mukīn-apli retained Ibni-Ištar on account of the *urāšu*-workers, which the temple was obliged to provide to this official of the state administration, presumably for work on the irrigation

¹⁶⁴ YOS 3 9 ll. 23-31: ^{gu4}*al-pi / uš-ku-tu / ša a-na* ^{lú}*engar^{meš} / ta-ad-din ina ugu* ^{gu4}*al-pi / 1 gín kù-babbar ša ina 1 gín bit-qa / a-na* ^{lú}*engar^{meš} mu-ḥur-ri / kù-babbar i-š[am]-ma a-na /* ^{lú}*en nam šá é-sag-gil / lud-din.*

¹⁶⁵ “Die Hälfte des Bogen(dienstes) der Tempelbauern und Tempelgärtner zu Lasten des Bulṭaja wird Šamaš-kašir (die Bauern und Gärtner) für den Dienst beim König dem Obersten der Bogenschützen des Ebabbar leisten lassen (wörtl. “geben”). Die Garantie für das sachgemäße Ausrüsten des Bogen(dienstes) gemäß dem Anteil am Bogen[dienst] [...] des Gouverneurs (?) übernimmt Šamaš-kašir. Für die Hälfte des *urāšu*-Dienstes garantiert er (gleichfalls).” (Jursa 1995a: 121).

¹⁶⁶ “Die Hälfte der dort ansässigen Leute und der Gartenarbeiter steht ihm (d. h. dem Pächter) zur Verfügung. Den Arbeitsdienst für die Hälfte der *ilku*- und *urāšu*-Verpflichtung wird er (sie) leisten (lassen).” (Jursa 1995a: 121).

¹⁶⁷ Note that there is evidence for the *urāšu*-service of the *ikkarus* from the private sector as well. This is demonstrated by a text from the Rē’i-alpi file from Borsippa (VS 6 150; quoted by van Driel 2002: 265f.).

¹⁶⁸ To be dated between the third decade of Nebuchadnezzar’s and the beginning of Neriglissar’s reign on prosopographic grounds.

¹⁶⁹ YOS 21 33 (YBC 3563) ll. 6-23: ^{ld}*kur-gal-gin-a / a-na muḥ-ḥi ú-ra-šú / kul-la-an-ni / ú-ra-šú šá* ¹*dù-ri^dinnin² / ra¹ si-lim-^den / u šá* ^{lú}*engar^{meš} / a-kan-na-ka / gab¹-bi en / lid-ka-am-ma / liš-pu-ru 1-en /* ^{lú}*de-ku-ú / ina sag-du-šú-nu / lil-lik-¹ki¹ / ia-a-nu-ú / ul ú-maš-šar-an-a-šú / dul-la ul* ¹*ni-ip¹-pu-¹uš¹ / kap-da ú-ra-šú / li-ik-šu-du-¹nu¹*

¹⁷⁰ Edited by Janković 2007: 221ff.

¹⁷¹ Edited by Janković 2005: 167ff.

¹⁷² See p. 127 and Janković 2007: 229ff.

system, to judge by his role as *gugallu*.¹⁷³ These workers were apparently missing. For this reason Ibni-Ištar wrote to Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim asking for the *urāšus* of a certain Ibni-Ištar, son of Silim-Bēl, who is not otherwise known, and of the *ikkarus* to be sent with a *dēkū* (“summoner”) heading them.

That the *ikkarus* were obliged to provide *urāšus* is also evident from the contract PTS 2344 (edited above) from the first year of Neriglissar’s reign. The lessee, an *ikkaru*, who leased 50 *kurru* of land which were to be cultivated by two plough teams, had to provide two *urāšus*. Apparently one *urāšu* per plough team was the norm.¹⁷⁴

In TCL 13 150 (edited on p. 105) from the second year of Cambyses Aqria, son of Nabû-dalā, who is known from other sources as a *širku* and an *ikkaru* (BM 113252), a *gugallu* (YOS 7 186) or a *rab epinni* (TCL 13 152), is obliged by the temple administration to provide 10 *urāšus* from among the *ikkarus* under his responsibility for work on a canal whenever Nabû-balāṭ-šarri-iqbī, a rent farmer on Nār-Piqūdu (*ša muḫḫi sūti ša muḫḫi Nār-Piqūdu*), probably a state official,¹⁷⁵ calls for them. Though there is no direct evidence for the number of plough teams under the control of the *rab epinnis*, one could conjecture that, by analogy to the *rab ešertis*, who during Nebuchadnezzar’s reign had the same responsibilities and duties as later the *rab epinnis*, they also were in charge of ten ploughs each. Provided that this is correct, TCL 13 150 would again present us with a ratio of one *urāšu* to one plough team.

2.1.5. Summary

The term *ikkaru*, “ploughman”, had no legal connotation *per se*. The temple employed its dependants, the *širkus*, as *ikkarus*. However, it could also hire free persons to work for it as ploughmen. Furthermore, the term *ikkaru* also applied to the slaves or hirelings of the agricultural contractors working for the temple. In other words, *ikkaru* was a general term applied to people working with a plough irrespective of their legal status or institutional affiliation.

In the context of temple agriculture the *ikkarus* were provided with land and means of production by the temple. In turn, they had to deliver almost the entire yield of their plots to the temple.

The *ikkarus* were organised in plough teams. As a norm these teams consisted of four ploughmen, four oxen and two cows. The oxen served as draught animals and the purpose of the cows was to keep the number of the animals up to strength with their offspring. In practice the norm of four ploughmen, four oxen and two cows was not always reached – numerous under-strength plough teams are attested. Frequently family members constituted a plough team, which could also include old men and children. The head of a plough team interacted with the temple administration as the representative of his team and is therefore the best attested in the written documentation. He is usually designated simply as *ikkaru*, although there is one attestation of the term *bēl epinni* for the head of a plough team.¹⁷⁶

The exact number of ploughmen and plough teams available to the temple is not known. During Nebuchadnezzar’s time the temple had at least 46 plough teams and during Darius’s reign it probably employed more than fifty teams. Although the rent contracts from Nabonidus’s and Darius’s reigns speak of hundred plough teams, i.e. 400 ploughmen, which the temple was to provide to the rent farmers, it is questionable whether this was possible in practice.

The plough teams were subordinated to a number of local overseers (*rab ešertis*, *rab epinnis* and *gugallus*) who were recruited from the ranks of agricultural workers and one overseer of the ploughmen (*rab ikkarāti*). During the time of the large-scale rent farms the office of the *rab ikkarāti* was supplanted by the rent farmers and the *ikkarus* stood under the authority of these contractors.

¹⁷³ Perhaps this affair is even directly connected to YBC 9448 (Janković 2007: 221ff.), which mentions the construction of a dam (*mušannītu*) under the direction of the *gugallu* Ibni-Ištar.

¹⁷⁴ The tax basis in some cases may have been real estate as is maintained by van Driel on account of evidence from Borsippa (2002: 264). These different types of taxation should probably be attributed to the different social spheres, private vs. institutional, to which they were applied.

¹⁷⁵ See p. 250.

¹⁷⁶ In Sippar the head of a plough team is usually designated as *rab epinni*.

The plough teams had very high work loads: plots with a surface area ranging from 20 *kurru* (25 ha) to 30 *kurru* (37.5 ha) were assigned to them according to the rent contracts from the Eanna archive. It was virtually impossible to conduct the necessary work on plots of this size in a reasonable time frame. In fact, practical texts from Sippar show that the plough teams on average tilled plots between 10 *kurru* (12.5 ha) and 15 *kurru* (18.75 ha). There is even some evidence that the temple authorities of Eanna considered a work load of 10 *kurru* of land per plough team acceptable.¹⁷⁷ The work loads which appear in the rent contracts were clearly not adequate to the work force provided by the temple – the necessity for the rent farmer to organise and employ additional work force is implicit in these texts.

The obligations of the *ikkarus* were generally based on customary practice and were not recorded in written contracts. There were, however, some ploughmen who took on additional responsibilities which were contractually regulated. The ploughmen in these exceptional cases can be seen as small scale entrepreneurs.

Their main responsibility was the production of winter crops (barley, spelt, wheat and cress), but also of the summer crop sesame.

Apart from agricultural tasks, the *ikkarus*, as long as they were also temple dependants, were employed at various projects, such as construction work, brick production, and work on the irrigation system. They were organised in units of ten under the supervision of the *rab ešertis*. The ploughmen also had several taxation related obligations: they are attested in connection with the bow- and the *ilku*-service. They were obliged to supply *urāšu*-workers at a rate of one *urāšu* per plough team and they had to pay administrative fees: rations of *bēl pīhāti* at a rate of 1 *sūtu* per 1 *kurru* of rent. They also had to pay for administrative services, i.e. the rations of the scribes, measurers, and gate-keepers which amounted to 1 *sūtu* 3 *qû* per 1 *kurru* of rent.

¹⁷⁷ TCL 13 182.

2.2. Sharecroppers (*errēšū*)

Another category of agricultural workers frequently contrasted with the ploughmen (*ikkarus*) were the *errēšus*.¹⁷⁸ The term *errēšu*, always written syllabically, literally means “cultivator” and was in the past occasionally confused with the term *ikkaru*, which also designated a worker engaged in arable cultivation.¹⁷⁹ Already Ehrenkranz (1936: 19) recognised that the difference between *ikkarus* and *errēšus* did not lie in the type of their activities but in their relationship to the landowner. In the context of the temple agriculture *ikkarus* were ploughmen, most frequently temple dependants, who did not possess any means of production, tools or draught animals, but were provided with these by the temple. They were obliged to deliver to the temple more or less the entire yield of the plots assigned to them. Usually a small portion of the plot was reserved for covering the running costs, seed, animal feed and ‘rations’ of the ploughmen. Since *ikkarus* were temple dependants the temple could dispose of this work force as it wished. They could also be employed at non-agricultural work projects by the temple, and on these occasions the *ikkarus* were entitled to rations like all the other temple dependants. *errēšus* on the other hand, had their own means of production and worked as tenants on temple land. The temple was entitled to a specified share of the harvest, while the *errēšus* kept the remainder. For this reason the term is best understood as “sharecropper”. Since they were not temple dependants they could not be engaged by the temple in any non-agricultural projects the way *ikkarus* could. The shares in the context of land tenure are designated as *zittu* (“share”) or *šibšu* (“(harvest) share”). The two terms are partially synonymous. The former is more general and can refer to different types of divisions (e.g. in the prebendary or inheritance context), while the latter term is exclusively used in the agricultural context for winter crops, sesame and *kasia*.¹⁸⁰

On the whole *errēšus* are not well attested in the Eanna archive.¹⁸¹ They did not belong to the temple personnel and were for the most part of no concern to the administrative apparatus. What indeed was of concern to the temple administration were their deliveries of agricultural products. Thus specific individuals designated as *errēšus* generally only appear in lists of deliveries, usually side by side with *ikkarus*. From these lists it transpires that the *errēšus* were involved in the cultivation of arable land and made deliveries of barley, spelt, wheat, sesame, cress and *kasia* – in other words, all the major crops cultivated on the estates of Eanna except the dates. Even though date orchards were on rare occasions rented out on sharecropping terms,¹⁸² the tenants of these orchards were never designated as *errēšus*. This term is restricted to the context of cereal cultivation. The sharecropping gardeners, unless they were *rab banê* in charge of the prebendary orchards, did not have a specific designation distinguishing them from the ‘regular’ *nukuribbus*. Most gardeners, however, were in part also sharecroppers. The land below the date palms which could be planted with barley, sesame or other cereals and vegetables was usually subjected to sharecropping terms. For instance, in the orchard lease *ana nukuribbūti*, BIN 1 117,¹⁸³ the tenant is obliged, besides tending to the orchard and the date palms, to work the land below the palm trees. For the plants grown here he is to pay a one tenth share¹⁸⁴ to the lessor. This dual character of the obligations of the *nukuribbus* is also reflected in some *imittu* debt notes for dates. While the main

¹⁷⁸ For their role in the agriculture of Ebabbar of Sippar see Jursa 1995a: 81ff. See also Kümmel 1979: 97ff. and Dandamayev 1984: 585ff. See also here pp. 296ff. for a discussion of the sharecropping contracts.

¹⁷⁹ In the older literature, for instance, one finds from time to time the term *errēšu* as the transcription of the logogram ^(lú)engar (e.g. in Ebeling 1930-34: *passim*).

¹⁸⁰ For a detailed discussion of the share terminology and typology see p. 298.

¹⁸¹ The same could be observed for the Ebabbar archive (Jursa 1995a: 81).

¹⁸² This was normally the case with the prebendary *hallatu*-orchards (YOS 7 162, BM 114444, YBC 4149) and the not fully productive orchards in the case of *zāqipūtu*-contracts, i.e. contracts for planting date orchards (e.g. YOS 6 33 and 67) or vineyards (PTS 2134) (see p. 286). A private orchard lease “for gardening”, *ana nukuribbūti* (YBC 4143), also stipulates a rent payment in form of a share (see p. 310).

¹⁸³ For an edition see Cocquerillat 1968: 47. 112.

¹⁸⁴ *ešrū zittu* (l.18: 10-ú ħa-la) is probably different from the expressions *šibšu ešrū*, “(customary) share (and) tithe”, or *mišil ešrū*, “half(-share and) tithe”, attested in the Ebabbar archive, and indicates a tenth-share. In all the examples in which the tithe rather than the fraction was implied, the word *ešrū* follows the term for share or half(-share) (cf. Jursa 1995a: 82).

object of the debt note were the dates, whose amount, determined by a yield estimation procedure, probably represented a larger portion of the entire yield, plants grown below the date palms, for which only a share had to be paid to the temple, were also accounted for in an additional clause:¹⁸⁵

- BM 114643 26-VI-7 Camb
- obv. 1. 260 gur zú-lum-ma zag a-ša šá^{uru} la-giš^{bán}
 é rit-tu₄ šá¹ ár-rab [a-šú šá PN níg-ga^d gašan šá] unug^{ki}
 u^d na-na-a šá [giš^{bán} šá¹ ir-ia a-šú šá¹] ag-dù-urù
 a¹ re-mut-^d [bad ina muh-^{hi} PN]-mu a-šú
5. šá^{ld} ag-[x-x a PN ina iti du₆^{or apin}] ina ha-ša-ri
 ina^{giš} ma-ši-[^{hi} šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} ina m]uh-^{hi} 1-ta
 rit-tu₄ it-ti 1 gur 0;0.1.3½ sila ki-šir
 e-sit-^rtu₄¹ din^d en bil-tu₄ šá hu-šab tu-^{hal}-la
 lib-lib-bi u man-ga-ga i-nam-din
- lo.e. 10. ¹muk-ké-e-a a-šú šá^{ld} innin-na-numun-til
 u^{ld} dan-nu-šeš^{meš}-šú-dù a-šú šá^{ld} ag-su
- rev. pu-ut e-^{te}-ru šá zú-lum-ma na-šu-ú
 e-lat 1 gur še-giš-i 2-ta meš-^{hat} šá ka-as-si-ia
 0;0.2 šam-ba-lil-tu₄ ha-la šá^r šu-pal^{giš} gišimmar šá ina igi-šú
15. ^{lu}mu-kin₇^{ld} ag-a-mu a-šú šá^{ld} en-din-i^{ta} a^{lu} ša-mun^{hi-a}-šú
^{ld} šu-mu-mu a-šú šá¹ na-din a¹ su-ti-i
¹šu-^dutu a-šú šá^{ld} ag-kar-zi^{meš} a¹ e-gi-bi
^{ld} ag-en-šú-nu a-šú šá^{ld} innin-mu-kam a^{ld} bad-dingir-ú-tú-dú
^{lu}umbisag^{ld} utu-gin-ibila a-šú šá¹ é-an-na-na-din-mu
20. a¹ ba-bu-ú-tu^{uru} é-¹gar-mu ši-i-^{hi}
 u.e. šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} iti kin ud 26-kam
 mu 7-kam ¹kam-bu-zi-ia
- le.e. lugal e^{ki} lugal kur-kur

“260 *kurru* of dates, impost of the plot in Lasūtu, *bīt ritti* of Arrab, [son of PN], [property of the Lady of] Uruk and Nanāya, from [the rent farm of Ardia, son of] Nabû-bān-aḫi, descendant of Rēmūt-[Ea, are the debt of PN], son of Nabû[-x, descendant of PN]. He will give the dates in the month [VII^{or VIII}], all at once using the measure [of the Lady of Uruk.] With each *kurru* (of dates) he will give 0;0.1.3½ (dates) as *kišir esitti balātu ana Bēl* fee, a load of wood, (a?) basket, leaflets and fibre. Mukkēa, son of Innin-zēr-ušabši and Dannu-aḫḫēšu-ibni, son of Nabû-eriba, guarantee for the payment of the dates. (This is) apart from 1 *kurru* of sesame, two measures of *kasia* (and) 2 *sūtu* of fenugreek, the share (from the land) below the date palms which is at his disposal.

Witnesses: Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Bēl-uballit, descendant of Ša-ṭābtīšu,
 Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Nādin, descendant of Sutī,
 Gimil-Šamaš, son of Nabû-ēter-napšāti, descendant of Egibi,
 Nabû-bēlšunu, son of Innin-šum-ēreš, descendant of Ea-ilūta-bāni,
 Scribe: Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Eanna-nādin-šumi, descendant of Babūtu;
 Bīt-Šākin-šumi; 26-VI-7 Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

Beside the two *imittu* debt notes for dates which also mention the shares of the cereals grown in the orchards, several debt notes dealing exclusively with share-obligations, designated either as *zittu* or *šibšu*, have come down to us.¹⁸⁶ These debt notes deal without exception with barley or other cereals, but not dates, and are formulated like the more common *imittu* debt notes, with the exception that the commodities owed are not designated as *imittu* of a plot, but rather *zittu* or *šibšu*. The debtors in these texts do not appear with any particular title and are not explicitly called *errēšus*, but it is more than probable that they were sharecroppers. In the sharecropping land

¹⁸⁵ This type of clause is quite exceptional. Beside the example presented below it is so far only attested once more in BM 114641 (edited on p. 77): “(This is) apart from 5 *kurru* of *kasia*, the share from (the land) below the date palms” (ll. 13f.: *e-lat / 5 gur ka-as-si-ia šib-šú šá šu-pal^{giš} gišimmar*).

¹⁸⁶ E.g. BIN 1 97, NCBT 1012, PTS 2937, UCP 10/8, 244f., YBC 9144, 9161, 9213, etc.

leases the tenants also do not appear with the title *errēšu*. The relative scarcity of attestations of individual *errēšus* is not surprising considering that *errēšu* is not a professional title but rather a status resulting from a land tenure arrangement.

In terms of work they were conducting for the temple, the *errēšus* did not differ much from the *ikkarus*. They were embedded in the same organisational structure as the temple's own agricultural personnel. Occasionally they tilled previously uncultivated land¹⁸⁷ and were instructed by the temple administration to use specific tools.¹⁸⁸ As far as it is evident from the rent contracts, the temple never provided them with tools or draught animals. The harvest shares they were obliged to deliver to the temple differed according to the type of work they had to conduct. The more strenuous the work was, the smaller the share of the temple was.¹⁸⁹

Just like the ploughmen, the sharecroppers also stood under the supervision of the various overseers in the agricultural sector, such as the *rab epinnis* or large-scale rent farmers, *ša muḫḫi sūtis*. These 'supervisors' were generally concerned with the sharecroppers' deliveries of agricultural commodities, since it was their responsibility to make sure they reached the temple. The pending deliveries were recorded in debt notes (see above) following a yield estimation (*imittu*) carried out by the temple's estimators (*ēmīdus*) and subsequently collected by the supervisors and delivered to the temple.¹⁹⁰

Sharecroppers, particularly the *errēšus*, were employed on the land which could not be tilled by the temple's own workforce. In one letter (YOS 3 84 ll. 28-33)¹⁹¹ the *qīpu* instructs the overseer of the ploughmen (*rab ikkarāti*) to install overseers of plough teams in the irrigation districts so that they may cultivate these. Whatever exceeded their resources the *qīpu* intended to assign to *errēšus* for cultivation (ll. 31-33: *ú šá al-la / dul-li-šú at-tar / a-na^{lu} er-re-še-e lu-šá-aš-bit*). Similarly, in the rent contract YOS 6 150¹⁹² provisions are made for the land which cannot be cultivated using the resources provided to the rent farmer Ibni-Ištar. This land was to be tilled by the *errēšus*.¹⁹³ Another document (BM 113252, see p. 101 for an edition of the text), which comes from a period when no large-scale rent farmers for cereal cultivation were working for Eanna, deals with the organisation of labour, in particular the plough teams, in specific localities under the supervision of the overseers of the plough teams, *rab epinnis*.¹⁹⁴ It was one of their duties according to this text to install *errēšus* where needed in a common effort: *lu er-re-še-e it-ti a-ḫa-meš ú-šá¹-za-zu* (l. 25). Not very many leases *ana errēšūti* are known to us, but the extant rent contracts inform us that beside the *qīpu* (PTS 2134) also the *šatammu* (YBC 3543) or the large-scale rent farmers, *ša muḫḫi sūti* (e.g. YBC 3750, YOS 21 207), could lease out temple land for sharecropping.

The sharecroppers were used as a supplement to the temple's own agricultural workforce which could obviously not deal with all of the temple's estates. Even though the income from the land tilled by the sharecroppers was lower than the income from the land worked directly by the temple's own agricultural personnel, the discrepancy between the land and the workforce available must have been high enough to make the temple resort to this scheme of land management. This system can also be observed in the Ebabbar of Sippar.¹⁹⁵ Jursa (1995a: 84) estimated that two thirds of the temple land in Āl-Šamaš, a locality with extensive arable holdings of the Ebabbar temple,

¹⁸⁷ According to the rent contracts BM 114559 (p. 301) and YOS 21 207 (p. 302).

¹⁸⁸ For instance, the *mayyāru*-plough ("Umbruchpflug") in YOS 21 207 and 208 (see p. 272).

¹⁸⁹ E.g. according to YOS 21 207 the sharecropper was to pay a half-share for regular land (*bīt dulli*) and a third-share for previously uncultivated land (*bīt taptē*) (see also p. 301).

¹⁹⁰ See for instance TCL 13 209 edited on p. 97.

¹⁹¹ See Cocquerillat's edition of the letter (1968: 92. 136).

¹⁹² See Cocquerillat 1968: 42. 109f. and here p. 203.

¹⁹³ "The land which exceeds his rent farm (*sūtu*) will be worked by *errēšus*; [estimators] of Eanna will make the yield estimates and they will pay a share to Eanna" (YOS 6 150 ll. 14-16: ... *pi-i šul-pu / [šá eli]* ^{giš}*bán-šú at-ru* ^{lu}*er-re-še-e ina lib-bi ir-ri-šú / [e-mi-de]-e šá é-an-na im-mi-du ù ḫa-la a-na é-an-na i-nam-di-nu*).

¹⁹⁴ Here these individuals appear with a title *bēl gimil*, or so (^{lu}*en gi-mil*), which is unattested elsewhere and which cannot be interpreted with any degree of certainty. However, nine of the ten overseers appearing in this text are well known from other sources and their function as overseers of temple plough teams is certain.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. for instance *Cyr.* 26 in Jursa 1995a: 137.

were cultivated by *errēšus*. In other words, even though they are not well attested in the documentation, their number and importance for the temple agriculture was by no means negligible. What is more, the ubiquity of the sharecroppers of Ebabbar went so far that they were even working on plots assigned to the *ikkarus*. This is evident from a text recording deliveries of *errēšus* from the land of the *ikkarus*¹⁹⁶ or from a survey of plots assigned to ploughmen and tilled (in part) by sharecroppers.¹⁹⁷ While this seems to have been common practice in Sippar, it is not entirely clear how the work division between *ikkarus* and *errēšus* was regulated in Uruk. There seem to have been some problems in this area as some legal documents demonstrate. In YBC 4000¹⁹⁸ (34 Nbk) the *gugallu*, four *rab ešertis* and temple farmers are warned under the threat of death penalty against giving out land from their allotments or draught animals to sharecroppers. The background of this affair is not known, but we can assume that the distribution of the temple land and work resources got out of hand undermining the temple's policies and resulting in the necessity for the temple administration to take firmer control in this matter. Years later, during Cambyses' reign, there were again problems concerning the management of the temple's own workforce and the sharecroppers. BIN 2 108¹⁹⁹ records an oath of three *rab epinnis* who pledge not to conceal the land of the Lady of Uruk or impose obligations of the temple farmers on the sharecroppers and *vice versa*.

Despite all the problems which may have accompanied the management of the internal and external agricultural workforce, it is beyond doubt that sharecroppers made important contributions to the temple's income in agricultural commodities. The account OIP 122 82 which lists Eanna's total agricultural income for the second year of Nabonidus's reign records substantial amounts of cereals delivered by the sharecroppers: 3,355 *kurru* of barley, 60 *kurru* of sesame, 840 *kurru* of *kasia* and 0;1.4 of cress. Unfortunately the text does not provide a total sum, the space for this was left blank by the scribe, and it cannot be derived from the individual entries because some of them, in particular the *ešrû*-income, give the amounts of barley and dates together. However, the *errēšus*' deliveries can be compared to the *sūtu*-income of the second year of Nabonidus supplied by the rent farmer Šum-ukīn (l. 2), namely 25,000 *kurru* of barley. These 3,355 *kurru* of barley from the sharecroppers represent 13.4 % of what was expected (and delivered in the second year) from Šum-ukīn's rent farm. In another similar account dealing with the temple's income over several years, TCL 13 227,²⁰⁰ the data from the fifth year can be used for comparing the income from the *errēšus* to the total income.²⁰¹ Line 26 records that the sharecroppers delivered 1,171;0.5 of barley, 130 *kurru* of spelt and 18 *kurru* of sesame in the fifth year, while the total income in this year was 11,890;3.2 of barley, 943 *kurru* of spelt and 93 *kurru* of sesame (ll. 40f.). This means that *errēšus* in the fifth year of Nabonidus supplied 9.8 % of barley, 13.8 % of spelt and 19.4 % of sesame relative to the total income in these commodities. The figures from these accounts can be taken to indicate that the sharecroppers focused on the more work-intensive summer crops.

It is also interesting to note that the deliveries of the sharecroppers were not included in the *sūtu*-deliveries of the large-scale rent farmer Šum-ukīn. While he was certainly forced to sub-lease parts of the land at his disposal because he was not provided an adequate workforce by the temple, it seems that there was a certain number of sharecroppers directly supervised by the temple and not included in Šum-ukīn's rent farm.

No estimates concerning the total number of sharecroppers working for Eanna can be made at present. From Sippar we know, however, that their numbers could be quite substantial. The largest group of *errēšus* in one locality counted 24 individuals, while in total at least 60 *errēšus* are attested in one *imittu* list (Cyr. 34+; see Jursa 1995a: 84). Jursa deduced further from this text that

¹⁹⁶ BM 60160 ll. 5'f.: šc-bar [šīl-i[b-šū] eš-ru-ú šá lú¹er-re-še-[e šá] [ina é²gišbán^{meš}] / šá¹ cnga[r^{me}]š (Jursa 1995a: 15).

¹⁹⁷ CT 56 505+, see Jursa 1995a: 16 for an edition of the text.

¹⁹⁸ Janković 2005: 167ff.

¹⁹⁹ See Kümmel 1979: 98. 107⁸¹, Cocquerillat 1968: 60. 121f., Sandowicz 2012: 275f. See also here p. 139.

²⁰⁰ See for instance Moore 1935: 230ff., van Driel 1990: 248f. and here Appendix 2.

²⁰¹ Deliveries of the sharecroppers are recorded also for the year four: 3,753 *kurru* of barley, 247 *kurru* of spelt, 35;1.4 of sesame and even 71;2.3 of dates (ll. 10f.). The presence of dates here is exceptional. Unfortunately the total income for the year four (ll. 21f.) includes also the deficit from the year three and cannot be used for our purposes.

the *errēšus* must have tilled two thirds of the land represented in this list, while the *ikkarus* dealt with only one third (*ibid.*). Therefore, despite the scarce attestations of the *errēšus* their significance for the temple agriculture should not be underestimated. Nevertheless, the impression we get from the written documentation is that in Uruk the *errēšus* played a more marginal role than in Sippar.

To sum up, *errēšus* were cultivators on arable land holdings of the temple. Their agricultural activities were similar to those of the *ikkarus*. A major difference, however, was that the *errēšus* had their own means of production and that they worked under sharecropping terms. The size of the share they had to deliver to the temple varied depending on the type of work conducted in the fields.

Their efforts concentrated on the production of summer and winter cereals. There is some indication that in Uruk they focused on the more intensive forms of agriculture such as sesame and *kasia* cultivation.

In Sippar a considerable portion of the Ebabbar's land holdings was worked by *errēšus*. For Uruk we lack adequate evidence; however, it appears that the number of *errēšus* employed by the Eanna temple was comparably less significant.

2.3. Gardeners (*nukuribbū*)²⁰²

2.3.1. Documentation and status

People in charge of the individual date orchards were called *nukuribbus* (usually written logographically: ^lnu-^{gi}š^lkiri₆), the gardeners. The term *nukuribbu* does not appear frequently in the Eanna texts and one often has to turn to the Ebabbar archive from Sippar for further insights concerning their status and organisation. In Uruk one finds the term *nukuribbu* sporadically in administrative receipts and court proceedings involving individuals specifically designated as gardeners and in letters usually referring to them as groups of unnamed people. The term also occasionally appears in the captions (or summaries) of lists of date imposts (*imittu* lists) and deliveries. However, there is a much larger number of texts in which the designation *nukuribbu* is not mentioned, but which must have concerned gardeners. The majority of *imittu* and date delivery lists should be counted here in analogy to those lists which mention *nukuribbus* explicitly. The large group of *imittu* debt notes for dates in which the debtors lack any further designation should also be added here, since some of the debtors from the *imittu uiltus* appeared also in the lists of imposts and deliveries. Consequently they must have been gardeners. A further fact in support of the assumption that the debtors in the *imittu* debt notes were *nukuribbus* is that they were frequently designated as recipients of *sissinnu*, “gardener’s salary”, in these texts. Orchard leases (*ana nukuribbūti*) and leases of land for orchard planting (*ana zāqipūti*) should also be counted among the documents relevant for our understanding of the gardeners, although the tenants are not designated as *nukuribbus* in these documents and their social status (free person, temple dependant, etc.) is also not explicitly mentioned. It seems that both the ‘temple gardeners’ and those employed from the outside worked under generally the same conditions and that the temple administration made no distinction between them.

The expression *nukuribbu ša Šamaš* is attested in the texts from the Ebabbar of Sippar. According to Jursa “the gardener of Šamaš” will have been equivalent to the *ikkaru ša Šamaš* (temple ploughman) in terms of status. In other words, these gardeners were temple dependants (perhaps even *širkus* in analogy to the temple ploughmen).²⁰³ The gardeners of Šamaš were occasionally employed by the temple for non-agricultural work, which also speaks in favour of seeing them as temple dependants. There is no reason to assume that the situation was substantially different in Eanna, especially in the light of one explicit attestation of “the gardeners of the Lady of Uruk” in an *imittu* debt note (TCL 12 66 ll. 9f: *nukuribbū ša Bēlti ša Uruk*) and some hints of employment of the *nukuribbus* for non-agricultural work (see below).

Despite these few explicit cases, the documents recording the management of the temple estates from both temple archives do not differentiate between the temple gardeners and the tenants of the orchards “for orchard-tending” (*ana nukuribbūti*). As far as we can tell, the tenants and the temple gardeners appeared in the administrative documentation (*imittu* and delivery lists) and the debt notes without distinction. This was probably the case because they worked under the same conditions.

Even among the tenants there were differences in status which mostly elude us, though. They were not all temple outsiders. While in most of the cases their legal status is not specified, in one instance the tenant of temple land *ana nukuribbūti* is designated as a *širku* of the Lady of Uruk (YOS 7 47²⁰⁴). According to this contract the *širku* leased 5 *kurru* of land. This area was too large for a single orchard. The *širku* cannot have worked this plot on his own, if he did the work himself

²⁰² For the gardeners of the Ebabbar of Sippar see Jursa 1995a: 35ff. The Urukian gardeners have not been given a specific treatment as a professional group either by Kümmel 1979 in the chapter on the agriculture of Uruk or by Cocquerillat 1968 in her study of the date orchards and date cultivation of Eanna. The reason for this is probably the relative scarcity and the ambiguity of the relevant documentation.

²⁰³ Jursa 1995a: 35. He understands the expression as ‘Tempelgärtner’ as opposed to orchard tenants.

²⁰⁴ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 46f. 111f.

at all. Possibly he subleased the land (or parts of it) to several gardeners. In other words, this is further evidence for entrepreneurial activities of a temple dependant.

Furthermore, we can note that people of different professions could also work as gardeners or at least have temple orchards entrusted to them. They usually appear in the *imittu* lists. Among these, the bow-makers (*sasinnu*, e.g. in YOS 6 32, YOS 7 95, 124) and the smiths (*nappāhu*, e.g. in YOS 7 95, NCBT 399, PTS 3035) are the most numerous. A ploughman (*ikkaru*, TCL 12 59), a bird-herder (*re'i iššūri*, TEBR 40), and a carpenter (*nagāru*, YOS 7 95), among others, are also attested in the lists. But also members of more prominent professions such as a baker (*nuḥatimmu*, YOS 17 300) and an architect (*arad ekalli*, YOS 7 95) are attested. Even royal officials appear in the lists (*ša rēši*, in TCL 13 146 and NBC 4837;²⁰⁵ note also the mention of a delivery from a plot of the *šanū*-official in NCBT 4795). However, since these texts are cursory, we can only guess at the circumstances under which these people were assigned temple orchards. In some instances, e.g. in the case of the royal official or the architect, these will have been tenants who did not personally cultivate the land.²⁰⁶ In others, they may have received the land from the temple as part of a subsistence scheme.²⁰⁷

In sum, our documentation usually does not allow us to make a distinction between orchard-holders and the actual orchard-workers. The group of gardeners/orchard-holders thus appears heterogeneous: temple dependants, (unqualified?) *širkus* or craftsmen, could be assigned temple orchards, as well as free citizens and people of higher social standing. Their legal or social status is of no consequence for their duties toward the temple. There is nothing like the dichotomy *ikkaru* – *errēšu* among the date gardeners, as both the internal and the external *nukuribbus* worked under the same conditions.

2.3.2. Organisation

Here again we must turn to the Ebabbar of Sippar for the information on the organisation of the gardeners. Fragments of inspection lists of the gardeners of Šamaš have come down to us from this archive. Thanks to them we know that several people worked in an orchard under the direction of a ‘main’ gardener, the person who was the main responsible and who probably appeared in the *imittu* lists, debt notes, and so on.²⁰⁸ The size of these groups of workers was variable. Groups of seven, eight, ten and even 15 workers are attested in one text. They sometimes consisted of members of the same family, sons and brothers of the main gardener.²⁰⁹ Children of three to five years of age, fully productive workers (*itbārus*) and women, as well as fugitive workers (*halqu*) appear in these lists. This shows that, as in the case of plough teams, families worked together in the orchards. Furthermore, based on prosopographic evidence, Jursa could demonstrate that the profession of a gardener was hereditary (1995a: 36).

On a higher level of organisation, the gardeners (and their orchards) were bound to certain localities and to the *gugallus* administering these. They are usually referred to as a collective in these cases (e.g. *nukuribbū ša Huššētu-ša-Nabū-šum-līšir* in YOS 17 42). In the *imittu* or date delivery lists the individual gardeners are also grouped in separate sections assigned to certain localities. In consequence they were under the responsibility of the *gugallus* who were in charge of these regions. The *gugallus* were responsible for the impost of the gardeners. They were to make sure that it reached the temple. Furthermore they were to extract from the gardeners a tax called *ḥabi uḥīni*, at least from the Achaemenid period on (explicitly so in YOS 7 38, see p. 131). In return for their services they received a payment in kind from the gardeners – 1 *kurru* of dates from

²⁰⁵ Note that there is a lease of temple land to a *ša rēš šarri* for orchard-planting (PTS 2089, see p. 269).

²⁰⁶ This is evident for instance from the entry in YOS 7 95, which concerns the *imittu* of the architect, but which had been delivered by another person, probably the actual gardener: (amount) *ša* Nanāya-iddin, *arad ekalli*, *ina qāt* Suqāya/Gimillu.

²⁰⁷ Notably, the bow-makers, who are elsewhere attested as holders of *bīt rittis* (see p. 287).

²⁰⁸ In one of these lists (BM 63348 I 14') Jursa proposes to read “^rl^ugal ^giš^škiri₆1 (?)” after a personal name, juxtaposing the title *rab kīri* (“Gartenaufseher”) to the *rab epinni* of the ploughmen (1995a: 35f.).

²⁰⁹ Jursa 1995a: 36. The situation was similar in Uruk: the tenants in NBC 4889 are two brothers and in Spar, *Studies*, no. 8 father and son. The tenant in the private orchard lease from Uruk, YBC 4143, was obliged to bring his two brothers to do the work in the orchard together with him.

each orchard (p. 128). From the Ebabbar of Sippar we know that the *gugallu* also played a role in organising the gardeners for non-agricultural work (Jursa 1995a: 36).

In one instance, we find gardeners under the responsibility of the *rab ešertis* (“overseers of ten”, see p. 83), who were generally in charge of the management of the temple plough teams. In the balanced account TCL 12 59 (see below) recording *imittu* deliveries and date disbursements, the imposts of the gardeners of certain localities are said to be at the disposal (*ina pān*²¹⁰) of individuals who are attested as agricultural officials in other texts (*rab ešerti*, *rab ikkarāti*, *gugallu*). However, since other individuals, who did not have an obvious connection to the official management of the temple agriculture,²¹¹ also appear in this role, it is conceivable that their responsibility for the gardeners and their imposts stemmed from a contractual relationship with the temple from which they presumably leased orchards *en gros*.

During the time when a large-scale rent farmer for dates (Ardia/Nabû-bān-aḥi/Rēmût-Ea) was active for the temple, the gardeners were, as could be expected, put under his responsibility. On several occasions they were explicitly referred to as *nukuribbū ša qāt Ardia* (YOS 7 84, 124, 142). There is no such information for other rent farmers, but it is beyond doubt that the gardeners stood under their direction whenever these were present and active in the temple agriculture.

2.3.3. Tasks

2.3.3.1. Cultivation and work in the orchards

The stages a date orchard ran through, from planting to harvesting, have been described by Cocquerillat based on the modern practices, since the ancient sources are mostly reticent in this respect (1968: 32ff.). Her description will not be repeated here.

Most of the information we do get about the work done in the orchards comes from the orchard leases.²¹² Frequently it was designated by the general term *dullu*, “work”. But from time to time we do get more specific information. If the orchard contained young date palms these were to be ‘raised’ (*rubbū*) and taken care of (*suddudu*). Occasionally additional palms had to be planted (*zaqāpu*) in the orchard. Sometimes they were specified as Dilmun date palms (*asnū*). The gardeners were obliged to submit the orchard to a yield estimation (*imittu*) while the dates were still on the palms and then to harvest them (*uḥīhī ina muḥḥi gišimmarī emēdu u nakāsu*). The harvesting (*nakāsu*) took place from September to the beginning of October (i.e. months VI-VII). At this point, a selection of high quality dates (*makkasū*), which were reserved for cultic purposes, was made. These dates which were of better quality due to a better exposure to the sunlight and which were probably hand-picked individually (Cocquerillat 1968: 34) composed about 10 % of the impost due from the orchard (see below).

The land beneath the date palms or adjacent to them also had to be cultivated. This was expressed as doing work or digging beneath the date palms (*dulla ina šupāl gišimmarī epēšu* or *herūta ina šupāl gišimmarī herū*). Here cereals such as barley, sesame or *kasia* could be planted, but also vegetables and even fruit trees (*šikitta u gapnī šakānu*). The lease contracts occasionally stipulate the planting of willows (*ḥilēpī šakānu*) along the canal banks adjacent to the orchards. The preparatory work involved removing shrubbery (*abatta nasāku*) or clods of earth (*paškāni našū*), as is specified in the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’, and ‘opening’ the previously uncultivated land (*taptē puttū*). The cultivation itself was done using spades (*marru*) or ploughs (*epinnu*). This is known from the stipulations concerning the remuneration of the gardener: he was allowed to keep a portion of the yield of the date palms in proportion to the surface area cultivated. For the land worked up with a spade the gardener would receive a larger portion of dates, since this was more strenuous than the work with a plough. The provision of tools was probably the duty of the temple, at least in the case

²¹⁰ The expression implies an outstanding obligation.

²¹¹ I.e., the slave of the *qīpu* Nabû-aḥ-iddin and a certain Bēl-uballit, who may have been a prebendary baker (see below).

²¹² For details and references see the section *ana nukuribbūti* in the chapter on land leases (pp. 306ff.) and also the overview of the obligations of the tenants in the table on p. 314.

of temple gardeners. Several administrative texts from the Eanna archive record receipts or deliveries of (iron) spades from/to the *nukuribbus* (CD 46, GC 2 225, JCS 28 no. 42), though it cannot be excluded that these tools were used for non-agricultural construction work. The private orchard lease YBC 4143 (edited on p. 310), however, is more explicit. Here the tenants were provided with tools by the lessor – iron spades, one iron hoe and one iron sickle, and it is beyond doubt that these were to be used for orchard work.

The tenant/gardener was responsible for building and maintaining the irrigation facilities for the orchard. He was required to dig the irrigation canals and supply them with water (*nārāti herû u mē šušbutu*). By this, probably only the secondary outlets and ditches were implied, not the main canals. These were dug under the direction of the temple officials (*gugallus*) or, exceptionally, the large-scale rent farmers (TCL 13 182, TCL 12 90) using the temple's resources.

The regular type of irrigation, about which the texts are not explicit, was probably accomplished by flooding. Rarely the gardeners were supposed to irrigate their plots by buckets (*zēra dalû*). Furthermore they were to build an orchard wall (*igār kirî epēšu*) which, besides having a protective function, may have been significant for irrigation purposes, for containing the water within the plot when it was being flooded.

The gardeners were obliged to keep watch of the orchards and the plants growing there (*pūt maššarti (ša uḫīnī) našû*). The fronds and the shoots of the palms were to be protected (*libbī u ḫaruttī našāru*) and the illicit felling of date palms (*dāku ša gišimmarī*) was to be avoided. In case this happened a fine of 1 mina of silver per palm tree had to be paid. For any other plant torn out from the orchard 10 shekels of silver were the fine according to one orchard lease (BM 114450). In fact, a case of illicit date palm felling occurred during Cyrus's reign. This was recorded in YOS 7 68.²¹³ Nabû-udammiq, who was the rent farmer responsible for the orchard in question, was to bring the gardeners who had allegedly cut the date palms and present them to the temple authorities or alternatively pay three minas of silver for the three felled palm trees.

2.3.3.2. Payment obligations

The 'Edict of Belšazzar' (YOS 6 103, 7 Nbn), which has been discussed in the context of arable cultivation (p. 38), also makes stipulations for the tenants of the orchards of the god Bēl. It represented a general accounting model introduced to the temple by the royal administration (whether this model was in fact implemented by the temples and if so, to which extent, is another matter). Though the 'Edict' was in essence a theoretical model, which concerned a higher level of agricultural management – the large-scale rent farmers, it is still possible to gain some insights on the obligations of the gardeners through it. After all, the rent farmers met their obligations by delegating these to the individual gardeners. Following mostly van Driel's edition of the text,²¹⁴ the relevant passage is given here in translation:

YOS 6 103 II. 4-14:

"For each (surface) *kurru* of date plantations²¹⁵ 40 *kurru* of dates (are to be delivered); this includes 5 *kurru* of dates for the remuneration of the gardeners, who dig the ditches and perform the digging, who build the garden walls and remove the clods of earth, which the crown prince left up to them.²¹⁶ [For] the costs and the rations of the governor, [the scribes], the measurers and the gate keepers: [per each *kurru*] (of dates) 11½ litres (of dates) is (the payment for) their services, [which]²¹⁷ is kept in the silo; [per each] *kurru* (of dates) 3½ litres (of dates) are the rations, [which]

²¹³ The text was edited by San Nicolò 1932: 345f. This was not a unique incident. See p. 213 with note 751 for further attestations.

²¹⁴ Van Driel 1987-88: 61ff. See also van Driel 2002: 166ff.

²¹⁵ L. 4: še-numun *zaq-pi*, lit. "planted land".

²¹⁶ This remark refers to the *sissinnu* of the gardeners.

²¹⁷ It is suggested here to reconstruct only [*šá*] at the beginning of line 11. Since this is the lower edge of the tablet it is possible that nothing else was missing in this line. The suggested reconstruction of van Driel, [sug-

he (the crown prince) allocated²¹⁸ [for the gov]ernor, the scribes, the measurers and the [gate keepers] so that they (the officials) may consume (them)”.

According to this text the rent farmer was obliged to deliver 40 *kurru* of dates per each *kurru* of land planted with date palms. The remuneration of the gardener (*sissinnu*), namely 5 *kurru* of dates, was included in this amount. In other words, the temple was to receive on average 35 *kurru* of dates from a plot of 1 *kurru*. In addition to this, however, taxes for the central administration in Babylon and service payments for the officials involved in the administration of the temple’s date production were to be provided by the rent farmer. A part of these, 11½ litres per *kurru* of dates intended for the service fees was to be deposited in the temple’s storage facilities, while the other part, 3½ litres per *kurru*, the rations of the governor, the scribes, the measurers and the gate keepers, was to be given to these officials immediately.²¹⁹ In total these fees amounted to 15 litres of dates per each *kurru* of dates delivered, i.e. 1/12 or 8.33 %. The basis for calculating the fees is not spelled out in the text. It could have been the amount mentioned at the beginning of the section, the 40 *kurru* of dates (the impost and the *sissinnu*). By contrast, it should be noted that the amount from the Eanna debt notes, the *imittu*, did not include the *sissinnu* and the administrative fees depended on the *imittu* alone. Thus, this amount could also have been 35 *kurru* of dates.

The implication of these additional fees is that the 40 *kurru* did not represent the entire yield of the exemplary plot of 1 *kurru*. A certain margin had to exist over and above this amount in order to allow for the service and ration payments and also to enable the rent farmer to make a profit. In other words, the yield consisted of the net delivery of 35 *kurru* of dates, 5 *kurru* of dates as *sissinnu*, 8.33 % for rations and service (3.332 *kurru* if this percentage is calculated over 40 *kurru* or 2.9155 if it is calculated over 35 *kurru*, the impost without the *sissinnu*), and an unknown amount as profit of the rent farmer.

It would be interesting to know in which relation the actual yield stood to the net delivery of 35 *kurru*, which is equivalent to the impost, *imittu*, charged against the gardeners. The ‘Edict’, however, does not provide information on the total yield, perhaps in view of the fact that date yields were highly variable. They did not depend solely on the surface area of the orchard, but more importantly on the density of palm trees in an orchard and their stage of productivity. The flexible margin between the fixed delivery and the total yield was hence the concern of the rent farmer. Any sort of prediction on the total yield and profits must therefore be regarded as a highly constructed model dependent on approximations which were certainly not entirely random but which could still diverge greatly from reality. All these reservations notwithstanding, we can attempt to make an estimate on the profit which could be made in an ideal orchard. First of all, this depended on the actual total yield. The question is therefore which portion of the yield was represented by the impost of 35 *kurru*. Several common ratios which appear in various sharecropping agreements have been taken and tested. On the assumption that the impost of 35 *kurru* was a certain percentage of the harvest, the entire yield was calculated. Then the *sissinnu* of 5 *kurru* was put into relation to the yield. The same was done for the fees (8.33 %). As the ‘Edict’ is not clear whether these were calculated on the basis of the delivery of 40 *kurru* (impost + *sissinnu*) or just the impost of 35 *kurru* both possibilities are taken into consideration. Finally, knowing which percentage of the yield was taken up by the *sissinnu* and the fees, it was possible to calculate the remainder to which the rent farmer would have been entitled.

šú-nu] does not seem likely, because the text deals with the rations of the officials in the next section (ll. 12-14).

²¹⁸ If one is to follow van Driel’s reconstruction of the text, the preterit in the main clause could be understood here as a form of precative (though this usage of the preterit is most frequent in Neo-Babylonian letters, rarely it also appears in contracts (Streck 1995: 127)). It is proposed here alternatively to reconstruct the beginning of line 13 and read the whole passage as “[*šá ana** ^{1ú}en]-nam ... (other officials) *id-din-nu-ma ik-ka-lu-ú*” (instead of van Driel’s [*šá* ^{1ú}en]-nam...), thus ‘creating’ a subordinate clause. Furthermore the subject of the preterit *iddinuma* is understood to be the crown prince, and not the rent farmers (or gardeners?) as assumed by van Driel.

²¹⁹ This is probably what was implied by the verb *ikkalū* (“they will consume”). It meant that these rations, unlike the service payments, were given immediately to the recipients and were not stored by the temple.

| | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| impost ²²⁰ as % of the yield (or as a share) | 83.33 % (5/6) | 80 % (4/5) | 75 % (3/4) | 66.67 % (2/3) | 50 % (1/2) |
| total yield | 42 <i>kurru</i> | 43.75 <i>kurru</i> | 46.67 <i>kurru</i> | 52.5 <i>kurru</i> | 70 <i>kurru</i> |
| <i>sissinnu</i> ²²¹ as % of the yield | 11.9 % | 11.43 % | 10.71 % | 9.52 % | 7.14 % |
| fees ²²² as % of the yield | 6.94 % (7.93 %) | 6.64 % (7.62 %) | 6.23 % (7.14 %) | 5.55 % (6.35 %) | 4.17 % (4.76 %) |
| profit ²²³ of the rent farmer | -2.17 % (-3.16 %) | 1.9 % (0.95 %) | 8.04 % (7.15 %) | 18.26 % (17.46 %) | 41.7 % (38.1 %) |

Table 11: Impost and profit for an orchard of a size of 1 *kurru* according to the ‘Edict’

It is not possible to say with any degree of certainty, which, if any, of the above five models was applicable. At any rate it can be concluded that an impost which constituted more than 80 % of the total yield represented a difficult goal to attain: anything over and above this percentage would imply no profit and even a deficit for the rent farmer. The question is whether the *imittu* was tied to a certain percentage at all. One could object that it would have been easier to express the obligations of the gardeners/rent farmers in terms of shares if this were the case. However, one should not forget that the ‘Edict’ was a model constructed for the purpose of making predictions for the large-scale rent farms. The main objective of these was to provide a fixed net income of agricultural produce for the temple. For this reason, the ‘Edict’ had to be based on fixed amounts and for this reason also there is no mention of the yield estimation procedure in this text, even though we know that in reality it was regularly conducted for individual plots within the large-scale rent farms. It is more than likely that the accounting model from the ‘Edict’ relied on a system which had been tried out in the past and which proved viable. One such system known from the pre-rent-farm era from Eanna is the cultivation of the orchards against a quarter-share. The temple received 75 % of the date harvest, while 25 % were left to the gardeners.²²⁴ This system was employed by the *nukuribus* on Nār-šarri, Takkīru, Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya and in Til-agurrēti in the first regnal year of Amīl-Marduk according to the account TCL 12 59 (for a partial edition and discussion see below). It is possible, though of course this can hardly be verified, that a system based on the quarter-share for the gardeners underlay the ‘Edict’.

As for the other models, the yields represented by them all fall within the range of the possible according to modern data. Jursa notes harvest rates of 56-74 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* of surface area for large-scale production in modern Algeria, for instance. Average date yield per palm tree amounts to about 26.6 litres in small scale productions. This translates to 23-32 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* of land. In our cases this rate would imply approximately 284 (83.33 %), 296 (80 %), 316 (75 %), 355 (66.67 %) and 474 (50 %) palm trees per *kurru* of land. The most favourable density of palms in a date orchard is 187.5 per *kurru*, but higher numbers of trees from 250 to 500 are also quite common (Jursa 1995a: 150). According to one text from Uruk (*AnOr* 9 19) the average density in several temple orchards was about 300 palms per *kurru*. At a rate of 26.6 litres per tree this would imply a total yield of 44.33 *kurru* of dates. This means that the models following a two thirds- (66.67 %) and a half-share (50 %) are less realistic than the remaining three. The problem with the five sixths-share model (83.33 %) is the apparent deficit, though, as was mentioned before, a ‘virtual’ deficit could also be noted in the ‘Edict’s’ model for cereal cultivation. The more appealing models are those according to which the impost was between 80 and 75 % of the total harvest. The latter percentage would have been more favourable for the rent farmers (and the gardeners), since it would provide a wider margin for profit. Average orchard

²²⁰ In the case of the ‘Edict’ the impost was a fixed amount of 35 *kurru* of dates. The percentages chosen represent several common ratios. The portion of the yield to be delivered to the temple is represented by these percentages and the fractions in brackets.

²²¹ The *sissinnu* was also a fixed amount, namely 5 *kurru*, according to the ‘Edict’.

²²² The fees are calculated on the basis of the impost: 8.33% of 35 *kurru* amounted to 2.9155 *kurru*. The alternative possibility of the fees based on the delivery of 40 *kurru* (this amounted to 3.332 *kurru*) are given in the brackets.

²²³ The possible profits are based on the administrative fees of 2.9155 *kurru*. The alternative results based on the fees of 3.332 *kurru* are shown in the brackets. See previous note.

²²⁴ We are not informed whether the gardeners were obliged to pay any fees during this period, though this certainly seems probable.

productivity of 46.67 *kurru* per surface *kurru* is nevertheless quite high, even if not impossible. This is comparable to the productivity of the orchards of the Borsippean urban elite: The average *imittu* per surface *kurru* was about 48 *kurru* of dates (Jursa 2010b: 373f.). The institutional orchards were less productive. For the orchards of the Ebabbar of Sippar Jursa calculated an average *imittu* of 26.78 *kurru* of dates per surface *kurru* (*ibid.*: 352). The Urukean orchards produced an average *imittu* of 26.69 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* of land (p. 363). These figures, however, represent the *imittu*, not the entire yield. The entire productivity of the institutional orchards, following the most realistic 75 to 80 % models, was then probably between 34 and 36 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* of land (or from 4.896 to 5.184 litres per hectare).

The terminology from the ‘practical’ texts from Eanna, which are relevant to the question of the obligations of the gardeners, is not always the same as the one used in the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’. This is not so surprising considering that, in addition to potential regional and diachronic differences, we are dealing with two different levels of organisation when comparing the evidence from Eanna and the ‘Edict’. Nevertheless, it is doubtless that the Eanna temple employed comparable administrative schemes as the ones proposed by the central administration in Babylon. The main obligation of the gardener, the delivery of dates produced in his orchard, is termed as *imittu* or *imitti eqli*, “impost”, which can be equated to the amount of 35 *kurru* from the ‘Edict’ and which represented a larger portion of the total harvest. As is described in the chapter on the yield estimators (*ēmidus*, p. 137), a commission usually composed of scribes visited all the orchards shortly before the harvest, made estimates for each of these regarding the amount of dates due to the temple, the remuneration of the gardener, and administrative fees, and composed the relevant documentation (*imittu* debt notes, lists).²²⁵ The impost represented the net delivery of dates, not including the *sissinnu* and the other fees. The texts (from Nabonidus’s reign onwards) frequently record whether the *sissinnu* had been paid (*eṭer*) or received (*maḥir*), and often they give the exact amount of this payment, clearly separating it from the amount of dates owed, stated at the beginning of the debt note. *makkasū*, selected high quality dates, on the other hand, were included in the *imittu*. Stipulations for *makkasū* start appearing in debt notes from 3 Nbn. In YOS 6 36 (3 Nbn) it is stated that pro 100 *kurru* of dates 10 *kurru* were to be *makkasū* dates (ll. 13-14: *ina muḥ-ḥi 1 me gur 10 gur zú-lum-ma / a-na ma-ak-ka-su ú-ṣab-bat*). This expression appears once more in an unpublished text (YBC 7377, [x Nbn]). More frequently the exact amount of *makkasū* is given in the texts (e.g. *ina libbi x gur zú-lum-ma ana makkasī* or *ina libbi x gur makkasū*), which was on average 10 % of the *imittu*.

The modes of delivery of the impost were usually regulated in the debt notes. The dates were to be delivered either in the seventh or eighth month, immediately after the harvest, using the measure (*mašīḥu*) of the Lady of Uruk.²²⁶ It was usually stipulated that this was to be carried out at once (*ina muḥḥi ištēt ritti*, “at one hand”), i.e. not in instalments, though this inevitably happened from time to time.²²⁷ The place of delivery, if noted in the debt notes, was most frequently designated as *ḥašāru*, “enclosure”.²²⁸ This was probably some sort of makeshift enclosure set up annually, perhaps near a watercourse for transportation purposes.²²⁹ There were probably several *ḥašārus* set up in different localities as collection spots for a number of near-by orchards, from which the dates would subsequently be transported to the temple or other storage facilities. Alternatively the debt notes could state that the deliveries were to be made at a specified location.

²²⁵ The necessity for an annual estimation procedure speaks against the applicability of a general model such as the ‘Edict’ on the level of individual orchards/gardeners (on the level of the rent farmers it may have been a valid model after all).

²²⁶ Whether metrological manipulations played a role here as in Sippar is not entirely clear. See p. 294 for further details.

²²⁷ This is suggested by the receipts or debt notes for “the remainder of the impost” (*rēḥet imitti*), e.g. YOS 6 204, YOS 19 87, TEBR 43, etc.

²²⁸ *ḥašāru* is already attested in 21 Nbk (YOS 17 36) and appears throughout the entire duration of the archive.

²²⁹ The letter JEOL 33, no. 18 mentions the setting up of a *ḥašāru* by a messenger of a person who could have been a scribe or a yield estimator (l. 11: *ḥa-ša-ri i-te-pu-uš*).

This was usually the locality in which the orchard was situated, but sometimes also the temple appears as place of delivery.

In addition to the *imittu*, including the *makkasu* dates, the debt notes stipulate other obligations and fees payable by the gardeners. For once, there was a range of by-products which had to be delivered. They are attested at least since 2 Nbn (YOS 6 44) and appear regularly in the files from Cambyses's and Nebuchadnezzar IV's reigns. These were *tuhallu*, a kind of basket made from palm leaves (Landsberger 1967: 48), *liblibbu*, "leaflets" (*ibid*: 46f.) and *mangāgu*, "fibre" ("Bast", *ibid*: 45f.). The exact amount of these by-products never appears in the texts. They simply state that per 1 *kurru* of dates *tuhallu*, *liblibbu* and *mangāgu* were to be delivered (*itti* (or *ina muhhi*) 1 gur *tuhalla liblibba u mangāga inamdin*). From the reign of Cambyses onwards, these three by-products are supplemented by a "load of wood", *biltu ša hušābi*.²³⁰ Again we do not know the exact size of this load. Since it does not seem likely that one piece each of *tuhallu*, *liblibbu* and *mangāgu* were to be delivered together with each *kurru* of dates, at least in the case of leaflets and fibres this seems absurd, we have to assume that there was a conventional agreement on how much of these by-products went with 1 *kurru* of dates.²³¹

Another payment which had to be made by the gardeners was called *kaspu ša habi uḫīni* (literally "silver of the pots of date preserve"). It appears in the *imittu* debt notes from the time of Cambyses and is also attested during Nebuchadnezzar IV, but is already known from the year 4 Cyr, from the *gugallūtu*-contract YOS 7 38 (see p. 131). The nature and size of this payment is not known. The texts usually only refer to it as still being outstanding (*elāt kaspi ša habi uḫīni* (e.g. GC 2 114, 117, YOS 7 104, etc.), or once *kaspu ša habi uḫīni ina pānišu* referring to the gardener (GC 2 112)). From the *gugallūtu*-contract YOS 7 38 we know, however, that this payment was to be collected from the gardeners by the *gugallu* official and was (only in this particular case?) to be used for (the purchase of) cattle. It is not clear whether all the gardeners were obliged to make this payment, since it does not appear in the majority of the debt notes which have come down to us.

Frequently the texts speak of the dates or the rations of the *gugallu*. This was a regular payment with a fixed amount, usually 1 *kurru* of dates per orchard/gardener (p. 128).

From Cambyses's reign onwards, the texts start mentioning additional fees which are comparable to the service and ration payments which appear in the 'Edict'.²³² The *kišru* and *kurummatu* payments are regarded as obligations of the large-scale rent farmers (*rab sūtis*) by the 'Edict'. The rent farmers charged these against the individual gardeners (or small scale tenants). During the accession and the first year of Cambyses, rations (*kurummātu*) appear together with the by-products which the gardeners had to deliver. Their composition and quantity are not further specified. It is simply stated that they are to be given, or that they are apart from (*elāt*) other dues (the *imittu* and by-products). In the second year of Cambyses the terminology changed. The fee was now called *kišir esitti (u) balātu (ana) Bēl*.²³³ The mention of the god Bēl, who may be seen as the beneficiary of at least a part of this fee, implies the involvement of the central administration in Babylon.²³⁴ The size of this fee was calculated on the basis of the impost. Per each *kurru* of dates 0;0.1.4½ dates (= 10.5 l), i.e. additional 5.83 % of the impost, were to be delivered.

Under Nebuchadnezzar IV yet another change occurred. The expression *kišir esitti (u) balātu (ana) Bēl* disappeared and was substituted by *kurummātu*, known from the beginning of Cambyses's reign. The size of the fee also changed. Now 0;0.2.3 *kurru* of dates (= 15 l) were to be

²³⁰ For the interpretation of *hušābu* as dry wooden parts of the palm trees that could be used as fire wood see Landsberger 1967: 48f.

²³¹ Perhaps one *tuhallu*-basket filled with leaflets and fibre was to be delivered per each *kurru* of dates.

²³² As van Driel notes, the fact that the *imittu uiltus* do not contain any stipulations on these taxes prior to Cambyses's reign does not necessarily mean that these taxes were not being levied previously (2002: 173).

²³³ *kišru* can designate a rent (payment) for a house or in the context of hire of persons, or alternatively a service or tax payment usually dedicated to an institution, most commonly a deity/temple (CAD K: 438f.). *esittu* is a "pestle" (CAD E: 337). It is not clear what it exactly signifies in connection with *kišru*. The CAD does not translate *esittu* in this expression.

²³⁴ The same fee was apparently also levied in Sippar; note the mention of *kišru u balātu ana Bēl* in CT 56 225 (van Driel 2002: 175f.).

paid per each *kurru*. This is equivalent to the 8.33 % fees of the ‘Edict’. Van Driel suggests that this rise in Uruk was only “a partial adaptation to what was habitual elsewhere, notably in the Babylon area” and that “this form of taxation was virtually stable from Nabonidus to the coming of Darius, that is, if we assume that the purpose of the various payments was identical” (2002: 174).

The following table gives an overview of the payment obligations as proposed by the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ on the one, and stated in the *imittu* debt notes from the Eanna archive on the other hand:

| | ‘Edict’ | debt notes from Eanna |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| main obligation | 35 <i>kurru</i> + 5 <i>kurru</i> <i>sissinnu</i> | <i>imittu</i> (not including <i>sissinnu</i>) |
| service & ration fees | 8.33 % (<i>kišru u kurummātu</i>) | Camb: 5.83 % (<i>kišir esitti...</i>) Nbk IV: 8.33 % (<i>kurummātu</i>) |
| <i>gugallūtu</i> -fee | - | 1 <i>kurru</i> |
| <i>ḥabi uḥīni</i> (?) ²³⁵ | - | (x silver) |
| by-products | - | per 1 <i>kurru</i> of dates: <i>tuḥallu</i> , <i>liblibbu</i> , <i>mangāgu</i> , <i>biltu ša ḥuṣābi</i> |

Table 12: Fees of the gardeners

If we tried to translate the obligations of the gardeners into the model proposed by the ‘Edict’, and with regard to the relative size of the *imittu*, the following picture would emerge for Cambyses’s reign:

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| impost ²³⁶ as % of the yield | 83.33 % | 80 % | 75 % | 66.67 % | 50 % |
| total yield | 42 <i>kurru</i> | 43.75 <i>kurru</i> | 46.67 <i>kurru</i> | 52.5 <i>kurru</i> | 70 <i>kurru</i> |
| <i>sissinnu</i> ²³⁷ as % of the yield | 11.9 % | 11.43 % | 10.71 % | 9.52 % | 7.14 % |
| <i>gugallūtu</i> ²³⁸ as % of the yield | 2.38 % | 2.29 % | 2.14 % | 1.9 % | 1.43 % |
| fees ²³⁹ as % of the yield | 4.86 % | 4.66 % | 4.37 % | 3.89 % | 2.92 % |
| profit of the rent farmer | -2.47 % | 1.62 % | 7.78 % | 18.02 % | 38.51 % |

Table 13: Impost and fees during Cambyses

The by-products could not be taken into account, nor the *ḥabi uḥīni* payment, of which we know very little. Though the service and ration fees are lower than the ones proposed by the ‘Edict’ the presence of an additional *gugallūtu*-fee in Uruk, evens out the results for the profit of the rent farmer, which are on average still slightly higher than the results in the ‘Edict’-model. A rise in the fees during Nebuchadnezzar IV’s reign to the level of the ‘Edict’ (from 5.83 % to 8.33 %) shows a drop in the profit-share of the rent farmer, so much so that now the 80 %-model also resulted in a deficit:

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| impost as % of the yield | 83.33 % | 80 % | 75 % | 66.67 % | 50 % |
| total yield | 42 <i>kurru</i> | 43.75 <i>kurru</i> | 46.67 <i>kurru</i> | 52.5 <i>kurru</i> | 70 <i>kurru</i> |
| <i>sissinnu</i> as % of the yield | 11.9 % | 11.43 % | 10.71 % | 9.52 % | 7.14 % |
| <i>gugallūtu</i> as % of the yield | 2.38 % | 2.29 % | 2.14 % | 1.9 % | 1.43 % |
| fees ²⁴⁰ as % of the yield | 6.94 % | 6.66 % | 6,25 % | 5.55 % | 4.17 % |

²³⁵ It is not clear whether this fee, which had to be paid in silver, was levied regularly and if not, it is unknown under which circumstances it was imposed on the gardeners. Furthermore, we are never told how much *ḥabi uḥīni* added up to, which probably means that its amount was customary or at any rate known to the involved parties.

²³⁶ The calculations are based on the average impost of 35 *kurru* of dates as proposed by the ‘Edict’.

²³⁷ Here also we take over the average *sissinnu* of 5 *kurru* which appears in the ‘Edict’.

²³⁸ The *gugallūtu*-payment was a fixed amount of 1 *kurru* of dates per orchard.

²³⁹ During Cambyses’s time the service and ration fees amounted to 5.83% of the impost, i.e. 2.04 *kurru* based on an impost of 35 *kurru*.

²⁴⁰ During Nebuchadnezzar IV’s reign the payable rations amounted to 8.33% of the impost, i.e. 2.92 *kurru* based on an impost of 35 *kurru*.

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|-------|---------|---------|
| profit of the rent farmer | -4.55 % | -0.38 % | 5.9 % | 16.36 % | 37.26 % |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|-------|---------|---------|

Table 14: Impost and fees during Nebuchadnezzar IV

2.3.3.4. Non-agricultural work

The evidence for employment of the gardeners in work projects conducted by the temple is scarce in the Eanna archive. From Sippar we know that the gardeners worked on the expansion of the irrigation system and that they were also employed in the brick production (Jursa 1995a: 40). The few hints we get from the texts from Eanna are enough to suggest that the situation was not substantially different here. In the letters YOS 3 19, 33 and 110 *nukuribbus* appear in the context of digging and generally work in the steppe (digging assignments, *mešhātu*, are mentioned in YOS 3 33 and 110, and in YOS 3 19 the gardeners are summoned for the work in the steppe).²⁴¹ In the ration list TCL 12 93 gardeners appear next to brick makers as recipients of dates, implying that they were possibly employed together at brick making. Generally, the appearances of gardeners as recipients of rations suggest that they occasionally had to perform work in non-agricultural projects. The performance of military service, which is known for the gardeners of the Ebabbar of Sippar (Jursa 1995a: 40f.), is not attested for their Urukian counterparts, but should not be ruled out. The practice of entrusting the sheep from the flocks of Ebabbar to the gardeners (Jursa 1995a: 40) is also not known from Uruk.

2.3.4. Remuneration

The gardeners could be remunerated in several ways. Frequently they were entitled to a kind of salary, *sissinnu*. In addition, they could keep a part of the produce of the orchard. This usually consisted of the crops cultivated below the date palms. In special cases, which will be discussed below, they had the usufruct of the date palms as well. However, there is also evidence for orchards cultivated under explicit sharecropping terms, according to which the gardeners could keep a share of the date harvest as compensation for their work.

2.3.4.1. *sissinnu*

The *sissinnu* was paid out to the gardeners in proportion to the type of land and work conducted below the date palms. Generally *bīt marri*, land worked with a spade, and *bīt epinni*, land worked with a plough, were distinguished. The work with a spade was physically more strenuous and was valued more than the work conducted on *bīt epinni*. For *bīt marri* the gardeners could expect to get 4 or 5 *kurru* of dates and for *bīt epinni* 3 or 4 *kurru* per each surface *kurru* worked. In one case a uniform rate for *sissinnu*, namely 4 *kurru* per *kurru* area, is recorded (BM 114450). One of the orchard leases states that the gardener was to receive the *sissinnu* like his neighbours without indicating a specific amount (YOS 7 51) and the ‘Edict’ specifies 5 *kurru* of dates as an average *sissinnu* for a surface of 1 *kurru*.

The *sissinnu* appeared regularly in the orchard leases *ana nukuribbūti*, however, not in the leases of the *hallatu*-orchards, which were sharecropping arrangements, and in the planting contracts (*ana zāqipūti*). This was the case because the gardeners in these leases either kept a part of the harvest as their share or had the usufruct of the orchard for a certain period of time.

2.3.4.2. Share of a part of the orchard’s produce

In addition to the *sissinnu* the gardeners could keep a share of their orchards’ produce. The stipulations for these shares are found mainly in the lease contracts. In the majority of cases they

²⁴¹ The three letters are edited by Cocquerillat 1968.

Beside the *kasia*, which was identified by Stol (1994: 175ff.) as *cuscuta* and which was used in beer production, other summer crops such as sesame and fenugreek were also grown by the gardeners. The *imittu* debt note BM 114643 (7 Camb) contains a clause similar to the one in the previous text: “apart from 1 *kurru* of sesame, two measures of *kasia* (and) 2 *sūtu* of fenugreek (*šambaliltu*), the share (from the land) below the date palms which is at his disposal” (ll. 13-14: *e-lat 1 gur še-giš-ì 2-ta meš-ḥat šá ka-as-si-ia / 0;0.2 šam-ba-lil-tu₄ ḥa-la šá ṽšū-pal^{giš} gišimmar šá ina igi-šú*) (for an edition see p. 63).

Occasionally the gardeners were compensated for their work by the production from the entire orchard or from individual date palms. This usually happened with orchards in their early stage, i.e. orchards which had to be planted and which were not fully productive for a number of years and orchards which contained young palm trees which also had not reached their full productivity but required special care. The orchard in YOS 7 47, for instance, contained mature and young date palms. The fully productive palms were to be subjected to an *imittu* procedure according to which the impost would be delivered. Of the young palms, however, the gardener had the usufruct for five years, until they too became fully productive and subject to *imittu*.²⁴² The *zāqipūtu*-contracts generally stipulate a period, five (YOS 17 6) or ten years (YOS 6 33, 67, PTS 2089), during which the gardener had the usufruct of the entire orchard.

2.3.5. Sharecropping

As Jursa observed in his study of land lease contracts, the leases of orchards under sharecropping terms were rare (2004b: 178). There are, however, several examples from Uruk of orchards cultivated by sharecroppers. Interestingly, the *zāqipūtu*-contracts usually laid down sharecropping terms after the expiry of the ‘usufruct period’. YOS 6 33 and 67 both mention a share of 1/3 for the tenant, after the ten years, which the orchard needed to mature, passed. YOS 17 6 mentions a half-share after five years, albeit in a broken context. This share could have referred only to the crops below the date palms rather than the entire date production. PTS 2134, a contract for planting a vineyard, also stipulates a half-share from the beginning (without any arrangements for a previous ‘usufruct period’). A couple of *nukuribbūtu*-leases can be counted here as well, though they can be regarded as special cases. YBC 4143 was a private lease according to which the tenant was to keep 1/6 of the yield. The institutional texts are all leases of prebendary *ḥallatu*-orchards (BM 114444, YBC 4149, YOS 7 162) in which a share of 1/4 (in the London text) or 1/5 (in the Yale texts) was to be kept by the tenant of the orchard.

However, an account of *imittu* deliveries composed retrospectively probably in acc Ner for the years 42-43 Nbk and 1 Ami, TCL 12 59, gives rise to the notion that sharecropping in temple orchards was in fact more widespread than previously thought (at least during the period before the appearance of Šum-ukīn and the consecutive large-scale rent farmers). The text is divided in four sections, corresponding to different localities, and deals with the date obligations of the men in charge of these localities. The subject of the first section is the date impost from the orchards along Nār-šarri and the canal Takkīru, from 1 Ami. This impost was the responsibility of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, who was originally a ploughman, who became a supervisor of ten plough teams (*rab ešerti*) at some point during Nebuchadnezzar’s reign and was later promoted to become the top agricultural manager of the temple, the overseer of the ploughmen (*rab ikkarāti*).²⁴³ The second section deals with the impost from the place Til-agurrēti, which was under the supervision of Ibni-Ištar, son of Nabû-šum-ibni, who was another *rab ešerti* and a *gugallu* (see p. 93), and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the slave of the *qīpu*. Though no date is given for this section, it presumably also concerned the first year of Amīl-Marduk. The next two sections relate to the impost of the orchards on Ḥarru-ša-Nadnāya. The first of the sections deals with the impost of the years 42 and 43 of Nebuchadnezzar and the second one with the year 1, probably of Amīl-Marduk. The responsibility for the orchards on Ḥarru-ša-Nadnāya is shared by Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Ea-

²⁴² This was in addition to a share in produce from arable land to which he was also entitled.

²⁴³ For this individual see p. 116.

iddin,²⁴⁴ and Zēria, son of Nabû-iddin,²⁴⁵ during the years 42 and 43 of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. In 1 Ami Zēria holds this responsibility alone.

TCL 12 59 (IX-acc Ner²⁴⁶)

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|---|--|
| 1 Ami | ll. 1-6 ll. 13-14 | 701 gur zú-lum-ma sag-du i-mit-ti šá mu 1-kam / lú ^d -amar-utu lugal tin-tir ^{ki} šá lú ^{nu-giš} -kiri ^{meš} šá ugu íd-lugal / ù ^{id} tak-ki-ru e-lat zú-lum-ma šá du ₆ -a-gur-re-e-tú / ù ^{id} har-ri-šá ^l -sum-na-a ina igi ^{id} ag-šes ^{meš} -gi a ^{id} ag-kal / ina lib-bi 175;1.1.3 4-ú ha-la šá lú ^{nu-giš} -kiri ^{meš} / re-e-ḫi 525;3.4.3 ina igi ^{id} ag-šes ^{meš} -gi... disbursements/deliveries... pab 175;2.3 zú-lum-ma igi-ir / re-ḫi 350;1.1.3 zú-lum-ma ina igi ^{id} ag-šes ^{meš} -gi | 701 kurru dates, <i>qaqqad imitti</i> , from 1 Ami, king of Babylon, of the gardeners from Nār-šarri and Takkīru, apart from the dates from Til-agurrēti and Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya, are at the disposal of Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim/Nabû-udammiq; of these 175;1.1.3 are the quarter-share of the gardeners; the remainder of 525;3.4.3 is at the disposal of Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim... disbursements/deliveries... in total: 175;2.3 dates were received; the remainder of 350;1.1.3 dates is at the disposal of Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim |
| (1 Ami) | ll. 15-18 ll. 22-25 | 202;3.2 šá du ₆ -a-gur-<<a>>-re-e-ti ina igi ^{id} dū ^d -innin / a ^{id} ag-mu-dù u ^{id} ag-šes ^{meš} -mu lú ^{qa} -la šá lú ^{qi} -i-pi / ina lib-bi 50;3.2 4-ú ha-la šá lú ^{nu-giš} -kiri ^{meš} / re-e-ḫi 152 gur zú-lum-ma... individual deliveries... pab 30;4.1 zú-lum-ma šá a-na pad ^{hi-a-meš} a-na / re-mut lú ^{mu-šá} -kil gu ₄ ^{meš} id-di-nu maḫ-ru / re-e-ḫi 121;0.5 zú-lum-ma ina pa-[nī] / lú ^d -innin ù ^{id} ag-šes ^{meš} -mu | 202;3.2 from Til-agurrēti are at the disposal of Ibni-Ištar/Nabû-šum-ibni and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the slave of the <i>qīpu</i> ; of these 50;3.2 are the quarter-share of the gardeners; the remainder is 152 kurru of dates; individual deliveries... in total: 30;4.1 dates, which they gave for rations to Rēmūt, the ox feeder, were received; the remainder of 121;0.5 dates is at the disposal of Ibni-Ištar and Nabû-aḫ-iddin |
| 42-43 Nbk | ll. 26-29 ll. 43-44 | [1 lim 2] me 80 gur zú-lum-ma i-mit-ti šá ^{id} har-ri-šá ^l [sum-na-a / šá] mu 42-kam u mu 43-kam šá ú-il-ti / ina muḫ-ḫi ^{id} en-din-iṭ a ^{id} bad-mu u ^l numun-ia a-šú šá / lú ^{id} ag-mu e-li-ti ... various disbursements for rations ... pab 739;1 zú-lum-ma maḫ-ru / re-e-ḫi 540;4.1 zú-lum-ma ina igi-šú-nu | [1,280] dates, <i>imittu</i> from Ḫarru-ša-[Nadnāya [?] for] the years 42 and 43 of the debt note charged against Bēl-uballit/Ea-iddin and Zēria/Nabû-iddin... various disbursements for rations ... in total: 739;1 dates were received; the remainder of 540;4.1 dates is at their disposal |
| 1 (Ami) | ll. 45-48 l. 56 | 482;0.5 zú-lum-ma i-mit-ti šá ^{id} har-ri-šá ^l -sum-na-a / šá mu 1-kam ina igi ^l numun-ia a ^{id} ag-mu / ina lib-bi 120;2.4 4-ú ha-la šá lú ^{nu-giš} -kiri ^{meš} / re-e-ḫi 361;3 ina igi ^l numun-ia; disbursements... pab 173 gur [...] re-e-ḫi 185;3[...] | 482;0.5 dates <i>imittu</i> from Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya for the year 1 are at the disposal of Zēria/Nabû-iddin; of these 120;2.4 are the quarter-share of the gardeners; the remainder of 361;3 is at the disposal of Zēria; disbursements... in total: 173 [...] the remainder is 185;3[...] |

Each section gives the amount of the impost owed, followed by a list of disbursements (for rations and so on) on behalf of the temple or individual deliveries of dates which had already reached the temple. Subsequently the balance is made and the outstanding dates are noted as *ina*

²⁴⁴ He is not otherwise attested in the management of temple agriculture. Perhaps he should be identified with the prebendary baker of the same name, from the family Amīl-Ea (attested in prebendary context in AUWE 8 47 (date broken), YOS 19 133 (1 Nbn), YOS 19 136 (3 Nbn) and as a witness in PTS 3069 (28 Nbk) and YBC 7420 (acc Ner)). The appearance in TCL 12 59 could imply that he was also active as tenant of temple land on a larger scale.

²⁴⁵ For other attestations of Zēria see note 269.

²⁴⁶ The list is not dated, but in line 12 one individual delivery was dated to the month IX of acc Ner, giving the *terminus post quem* for this text.

pān PN (= the person(s) responsible for the locality in question). In three of the sections, namely those concerning the first year of Amīl-Marduk, a quarter of the initial sum is subtracted as the quarter-share of the gardeners (*rebû zittu ša nukuribbī*). Only in the first section, though it must have been implied in the second and the fourth one as well, this initial sum is designated as *qaqqad imitti*, i.e. the result of the yield estimation procedure on the basis of which the shares were to be calculated (see Jursa 1995a: 148) and which probably represented the entire yield of the orchards. The expression *qaqqad imitti* appears in the caption of another list from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, AUWE 11 171. The first two lines read: *zú-lum-ma sag-du zag¹ šá ugu íd [...] / ^dag-níg-du-ùru l[ugal tin-tir^{ki}]*. The expression appears also next to an individual entry in NBC 4653, a list dated to 32 Nbk (ll. 1-3: 2;2.3 *zú-lum-ma sag-du zag / šá^{1d}en-mu a¹mun-na-bi-ti / ina igi^{1d}en-din-i¹a^{1d}en-šeš^{mc}-su*) and in the subscript of a list from 6 Npl YBC 6935 (l. 17: *sag-du zag ina su-ú-tu šá é-an-na i-nam-din-nu*). It is not clear how much one should read into these several cases. The implication of TCL 12 59 at any rate is that the gardeners on Nār-šarri, Takkīru, Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya and in Til-agurrēti cultivated the orchards under sharecropping terms and that the temple was to receive 3/4 of the date harvest from these localities. The fact that entire localities were worked under the same conditions speaks against the assumption that this was an exceptional case. It is not clear if the omission of the remark on shares of the gardeners for years 42 and 43 Nbk is in any way significant. In any case, the quarter-share of a gardener is attested once more in a short *imittu* list from 25 Nbk, which is edited below.

| | | | |
|-------|----------|---|--|
| | NBC 4739 | | 21-VI-25 Nbk |
| obv. | 1. | <i>zú-lum-ma i-mit-ti</i> | |
| | | <i>níg-ga^dinnin unug^{ki} u^dna-na-a</i> | |
| | | <i>iti kin ud 21-kam mu 25-kam</i> | |
| | | <i>^{1d}ag-níg-du-urù lugal tin-tir^{ki}</i> | |
| | 5. | 33 | <i>¹šú-la-a 4-ú ḫa-la-šú</i> |
| | | | <i>a¹šá-^dag-šú-ú</i> |
| | | <i>ina bād-šá¹ia-a-ti-ru</i> | |
| lo.c. | [x]+3 | | <i>¹din-su</i> |
| | | | <i>a¹šú-la-a</i> |
| rev. | 10. | <i>ina</i> | <i>^{garin}la-su-tu</i> |

“Dates, impost, property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya; 21-VI-25 Nbk, king of Babylon. 33 (*kurru*) Šulāya, son of Ša-Nabû-šū, from Dūru-ša-Iafīru. A quarter-share is his. [x]+3 Balāssu, son of Šulāya, from Lasūtu.”

Though other sharecropping ratios are known, primarily from *zāqipūtu*-contracts (see above), it is tempting to assume that a quarter-share to which the gardeners were entitled was generally the norm before the introduction of the large-scale rent farms. This is of course highly speculative. Even if this were the case, we are not informed about the extra costs and fees imposed on the gardeners before the era of the rent farmers. Thus, the profit margin of the gardeners remains unknown. At any rate it can be assumed that the gardeners who kept a quarter-share of the date harvest did not receive any additional remuneration such as *sissinnu*. It remains to be seen whether a system based on the quarter-share for the gardeners also underlay the later accounting model represented by the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’.

2.3.6. Summary

The written documentation makes it very difficult to distinguish between the orchard tenants and the people doing the work in the orchards of the Eanna temple as there are no distinct designations for them. Furthermore, the gardeners (*nukuribbus*) were a heterogeneous group – they

could be temple dependants, *širkus*, craftsmen or free citizens. People of higher social standing,²⁴⁷ as well as *širkus*, are attested as tenants of temple orchards. The temple administration did not make any distinctions based on the legal or social status of its gardeners/tenants as they all worked under the same conditions.

The evidence from Sippar demonstrates that several people²⁴⁸ worked together in an orchard under a ‘main’ gardener. Frequently they were members of the same family. The gardeners were bound to specific localities and stood under the supervision of the *gugallus* in charge of these localities. Other agricultural officials (*rab ešertis*, *rab ikkarāti*) are sporadically also attested as the gardeners’ superiors. The large-scale rent farmers also exercised authority over the gardeners during the period of the large-scale rent farms.

Occasionally, the gardeners, like the institutional ploughmen, were employed at non-agricultural work projects such as canal-digging or brick-making. However, their main task was the production of dates and the tending of date orchards. An estimation procedure which determined the impost (*imittu*) to be delivered from each orchard was conducted by special temple officials, the estimators (*ēmidus*). Following this the dates were harvested in the sixth or seventh month and delivered in the seventh or eighth month. 10 % of the impost were selected high quality dates (*makkasū*). The impost did not represent the entire yield of the orchard as there were other administrative fees which the gardeners had to cover over and above the *imittu*. We are not informed on this ratio; however, it seems probable that the impost amounted to between three quarters and five sixths of the entire yield. The land below the date palms was also cultivated by the gardeners. Cereals, vegetables and fruit trees could be planted here. Not much is known about the deliveries of these products to the temple, but it appears that the gardeners were entitled to a share in these products.

In addition to the deliveries of dates and other commodities grown below the palm trees the gardeners had to supply the temple with certain by-products: a type of basket made of palm leaves (*tuhallu*), leaflets (*liblibbu*), fibre (*mangāgu*), and a load of wood (*biltu ša hušābi*). They also had to pay certain administrative fees. According to the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ the rent farmer had to pay 0;0.2.3 (15 l) of dates as service fees and rations (*kišru u kurummātu*) of the governor, the scribes, the measurers, and the gate-keepers per each *kurru* of dates delivered. This amounted to about 8.33 % of the delivered dates. The *imittu* lists and debt notes from the Eanna archive also record such service fees, although the terminology and the quantities differ somewhat. During Cambyses’s reign these fees were called in the *imittu* debt notes *kišir esitti (u) balāḫu (ana) Bēl* and amounted to 5.83 % of the impost. Under Nebuchadnezzar VI these fees appeared in the *imittu* debt notes simply as rations (*kurummātu*) and amounted to 8.33 % of the impost which was probably equivalent to the fees recorded in the ‘Edict’. Over and above these payments the gardeners of Eanna also had to deliver 1 *kurru* of dates per orchard as a fee for the *gugallu*-official. This fee does not appear in the ‘Edict’.

The gardeners could be remunerated for their work in different ways. The most ubiquitous was a payment of a gardener’s salary, *sissinnu*. According to the ‘Edict’ the *sissinnu* for an orchard with the surface area of 1 *kurru* was 5 *kurru* of dates. Texts from Uruk show that *sissinnu* could vary depending on the type of work conducted in the orchards. Amounts from 3 to 5 *kurru* of dates per surface *kurru* are attested. The more strenuous work was rewarded with a higher *sissinnu*. In addition to this remuneration the gardeners were also entitled to a share of the products grown below the palm trees. Shares of 1/2, 2/3 and 4/5 are attested.

Sometimes the gardeners would get the usufruct of an entire or a part of an orchard for a fixed number of years. This was usually the case with newly planted orchards, or plantations containing young palm trees, i.e. orchards which had not reached their full productivity. The usufruct of such orchards could extend for five to ten years.

Contracts from the Eanna archive which record orchard leases under sharecropping terms are extremely rare and can be attributed to exceptional circumstances. However, there are two texts, an account of dates and a short *imittu* list,²⁴⁹ which indicate that before the large-scale rent farms were set up in Eanna some gardeners were entitled to a quarter-share from their date

²⁴⁷ They, however, probably employed others to do the actual gardening for them.

²⁴⁸ Groups of seven, eight, ten or even 15 persons are attested (Jursa 1995a: 36).

²⁴⁹ TCL 12 59 and NBC 4739, see above.

orchards. It is not clear whether these attestations represent exceptional cases or a more widely applicable practice. At any rate sharecropping as a form of date cultivation on temple estates should not be entirely excluded, at least for the period before the large-scale rent farms. The possibility that the accounting models of the large-scale rent farms were based on this quarter-share system should also be taken into consideration.

2.4. Overseer of ten (*rab ešerti*)

The *rab ešerti*, literally “overseer of ten”, is well attested in other sectors of temple economy, notably in the organisation of animal husbandry and public works,²⁵⁰ but his presence in the agricultural sector has not been recognized so far. One *rab ešerti* heading a group of *ikkarus* is mentioned in a text from Sippar listing personal names, but the context is not clearly agricultural (*Nbk.* 458 [not dated]). The temple ploughmen appearing in this list could have been employed for public works, as was regularly the case, so Jursa was reluctant to place the *rab ešerti* alongside other agricultural functionaries (1995a: 22). The *rab ešertis* known from Uruk were registered by Kümmel in the prosopography of people working in the sector of animal husbandry. For some of them, doubtless, this classification is fitting, but a number of these *rab ešertis* ought most certainly to be placed in the agricultural sector. Some of the confusion may be attributed to the occasional mentions of these functionaries together with cattle. In some cases the cattle can be assumed to have been used as draught animals for ploughing. But some *rab ešertis* with well-established careers in the agricultural sector are also known to have taken active part in animal husbandry.²⁵¹ It is not unusual to find individuals working in both of these sectors of the temple economy at the same time. The land which was not under immediate cultivation, for instance during fallow, was very often used as pasture for temple herds.²⁵²

Following individuals are known with the title *rab ešerti*:

| | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni | 25-VI-19 Nbk | BIN 1 112 |
| Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter/Zabidāya | 25-VI-19 Nbk | BIN 1 112 |
| Nabû-šum-ibni/Šūzubu | 25-VI-19 Nbk 3-VII-34 Nbk | BIN 1 112 YBC 4000 |
| Ibni-Ištar/Nabû-šum-ibni | 3-VII-34 Nbk | YBC 4000 |
| Silim-Bēl/Aplāya | 25-VI-19 Nbk 3-VII-34 Nbk | BIN 1 112 YBC 4000 |
| Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim/Nabû-udammiq | 3-VII-34 Nbk | YBC 4000 |

It is difficult to draw general conclusions about the nature of the *rab ešerti*'s duties with attestations of this title in two texts only. However, the six individuals who appear as *rab ešertis* in these two texts are amply attested in other documents, usually without a title. Occasionally they are identified as ploughmen (*ikkaru*). Some of them also appear with titles designating other agricultural officials. From these records it can be deduced that the *rab ešertis* were recruited from

²⁵⁰ Bongenaar 1997: 130; Kümmel 1979: 51f.

²⁵¹ Silim-Bēl, son of Aplāya, is known to have had arrears in goats and sheep ([x] Nbn, UCP 9/2 36), and Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, who is also attested with the title *rab ikkarāti*, had a large herd of 2,617 heads of small cattle at his disposal (41 Nbk, GC 1 252). Other occurrences of small cattle in our evidence give indirect proof of these functionaries' active involvement in animal husbandry. For instance, GC 1 63 (10⁺ Nbk), sadly damaged, mentions a debt of goats and sheep, which is to be paid to the temple instead of 200 [x...] of Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter (a man known as *rab ešerti* from other sources). The number 200 with the following break most likely refers to an amount of agricultural produce, for which Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter was responsible. This interpretation puts the text again in the agricultural context. Nevertheless, it also indicates that Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter had access to small cattle in one way or another.

²⁵² In this context land lease contracts for pasture of temple herds should be mentioned (YOS 6 26 (1 Nbn), PTS 2249(3 Nbn)). The tenants, herdsmen (*nāqidus*) of the Lady of Uruk, were given land on which to pasture the herds under their responsibility. They were also obliged to ensure that some of this land was cultivated, since they had to deliver fixed amounts of barley as rent. For these texts see p. 312.

the ranks of the ploughmen. This is, for instance, demonstrated by an undated list of 46 *ikkarus* (BIN 1 157), in which Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni, Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter/Zabidāya and Silim-Bēl/[Aplāya²⁵³] appear. The *rab ešertis*' activities as ploughmen also transpire from texts in which they appear as recipients of seed grain (e.g. Silim-Bēl/Aplāya in PTS 2550, Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni in PTS 2793) and from lists of deliveries of agricultural produce (e.g. Silim-Bēl/Aplāya in UCP 9/2 25). Being ploughmen they most probably also had the status of *širkus*. This is clearly demonstrated in UCP 9/2 36, which deals with the status of Silim-Bēl/Aplāya; at this occasion his *širkūtu*-tablet is explicitly mentioned.

Several *rab ešertis* could be employed at the same time. Both YBC 4000 and BIN 1 112 demonstrate that at least four of these officials worked simultaneously. There is no way of telling whether there were other, so far unattested, *rab ešertis*.

The appearance of some of these individuals with titles of other, presumably higher, agricultural officials demonstrates the possibility of promotion for some of them. Thus, Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim appears as *rab ikkarāti*, “overseer of the ploughmen”, in acc Ner (BIN 1 123). Ibni-Ištar and Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter are attested as *gugallus* in 31 Nbk (YBC 9448²⁵³) and 34 Nbk (YBC 4000²⁵⁴) respectively, but here the evidence concerning the seniority of the offices is not unequivocal. For one, the two people move in opposite directions: Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter up and Ibni-Ištar down the career ladder.²⁵⁵ It is difficult to grasp the consequences of these changes of title. At least no visible effects can be found in the ensuing documentation. This is especially clear for Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, whose attestations after his appearance as *gugallu* do not show a marked difference in his activities and responsibilities to the preceding period. Even relative to his *rab ešerti* colleagues, he does not seem to hold a superior position; he is named on a par with them, most frequently together with Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim in this period. Similarly, the consequences of Ibni-Ištar's demotion cannot be fully understood. VS 20 88 (35 Nbk), to be sure, gives the impression of a fall from grace.²⁵⁶ An area in Naḥbutu previously entrusted jointly to Ibni-Ištar and Nabû-šum-ibni is leased out to another person. But what looks like dissolution of a land lease could have had any number of reasons and may not have necessarily been connected to Ibni-Ištar's performance. In fact, Ibni-Ištar's activities continue well into the accession year of Neriglissar. In 35 Nbk he is still in possession of land leased in Til-agurrēti (PTS 3012 and NCBT 101) and evidence from acc Ner shows that he was responsible, together with another person, for the total deliveries of dates from Til-agurrēti (TCL 12 59), and that he had leased land in Kār-Nanāya (YBC 3830).

Once again, the different administrative categories do not seem to leave distinct traces in the textual evidence. Relying solely on this data it would appear that there was no actual difference between the *gugallus* and the *rab ešertis* and that the two titles were interchangeable. While there must have been considerable and frequent overlaps in their responsibilities, the system being flexible enough to allow for these, these offices still must be treated as distinctive ones. However, owing to the limitations imposed by our documentation, particularly the frequent omission of the protagonists' titles, it is not always possible to make a confident distinction between the responsibilities of these functionaries and assign the duties evident from the texts in question to any one particular agricultural official. Bearing this in mind we can proceed with the information that can be gleaned about the activities of the *rab ešertis*.

2.4.1. Obligations

A *rab ešerti*, being literally an “overseer of ten”, is usually responsible for a unit of ten people. In arable agriculture, a basic work unit is not an individual ploughman, but rather a plough team and so it is feasible that the *rab ešertis* each supervised ten plough teams. This assumption

²⁵³ Edited by Janković 2007: 221ff.

²⁵⁴ Edited by Janković 2005: 167ff.

²⁵⁵ Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter is first attested as a *rab ešerti* (19 Nbk) and then as a *gugallu* (34 Nbk), while the opposite is true for Ibni-Ištar (*gugallu* in 31 Nbk and *rab ešerti* in 34 Nbk). For details see the prosopographical section.

²⁵⁶ For an edition of the text see p. 152.

resonates in an undated text (OIP 122 172), in which 53 people are listed and distributed in ten plough teams, which are said to be at the disposal of Nergal-ina-tēšî-ēter (l. 54: pap 10^{giš} apin^{meš} ina igi N.), who was, according to BIN 1 112 (19 Nbk), a *rab ešerti*. Note that Nergal-ina-tēšî-ēter and his own team are also included in this list.

Another similar text (YBC 3858) lists only five men, each representing a plough team, at the disposal of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, another individual known as a *rab ešerti* from YBC 4000 (34 Nbk):

YBC 3858 25-XII-42 Nbk
 obv. 1. ^{ld}ag-šeš^{meš}-gi a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-sig₅-iq
^{ld}in-nin-mu-ùru a-šú šá ^{ld}u-gur-kar-er
^lap-la-a a-šú šá ^lki-nu-na-a-a
^{ld}in-nin-numun-gál-ši a-šú šá ^{ld}utu-numun-ba-šá
 5. ^{ld}ag-muq-qú-e-lip a-šú šá ^{ld}dù-tú-šú
 (ca. four blank lines)
 rev. pab (space for ca. two signs left blank) ^{giš}apin^{meš} ina pa-ni
^{ld}ag-šeš^{meš}-gi a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-kal
 iti še ud 25-kam mu 42-kam
^dag-níg-du-ú-šur lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, Innin-šum-ušur, son of Nergal-ēter, Aplāya, son of Kīnūnāya, Innin-zēr-ušabši, son of Šamaš-zēr-iqīša, Nabû-muqqelpû, son of Bānītušu ...
 A total of ... ploughs under the responsibility of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq.
 25-XII-42 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

This text was clearly not completed by the scribe, as is evident from a blank space of several lines on the obverse following line 5 and the gap in which the total number of ploughs at the disposal of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim was supposed to be written (l. 6). There is sufficient space in the gap, including the edge of the tablet, to allow for at least another five personal names, which were for some reason left out. As in OIP 122 172 the person responsible for the plough teams appears listed among these himself. This indicates that his responsibilities were not solely organisational, but that he actively took part in the land tilling.

In Sippar there does not seem to exist a special term for a person in charge of several plough teams, even though there are clear indications that such people existed. These people, who were ploughmen themselves, were usually in charge of the teams of a certain locality (Jursa 1995a: 10). The number of teams under their responsibility does not transpire from the Sippar texts. The only occurrence of a *rab ešerti* together with ploughmen from Sippar, Nbk. 458 mentioned earlier, lists ten people (including the *rab ešerti*). However, there is no way of telling whether this text should be put in an agricultural context and if thereby the people listed represented their plough teams, or if those were simply ten individuals that were going to be employed at some other non-agricultural project.

The texts mentioning the *rab ešertis* are reticent about their actual tasks and responsibilities. There is in fact only one text from Uruk in which these officials appear in an undisputedly agricultural context. This is YBC 4000 (34 Nbk), which has been edited by Janković 2005: 167ff. It is a record of a public proclamation of orders given by the royal official Nabû-šar-ušur through his commissioner, a temple scribe Nabû-bān-aḥi, son of Ibnāya, descendant of Ekur-zakir, to the *gugallu*, four *rab ešertis* and a number of *ikkarus* of the Lady of Uruk. At this occasion they were warned against the illicit sharing of land and draught animals between the ploughmen and sharecroppers under the threat of capital punishment. Though no details concerning the practical tasks of these officials are revealed by this text, it indicates their seniority in relation to the ploughmen. Furthermore, their appearance in a context involving arable land and draught animals implies that these officials' responsibilities included some sort of supervision of agricultural work. This is not to exclude the prospect of the *rab ešertis*' responsibilities for ploughmen employed at

non-agricultural projects, which was assumed by Jursa (1995a: 22), and which is still possible and probable.

The only other text in which agricultural *rab ešertis* appear with this title is BIN 1 112 (19 Nbk). It records the number of oxen at the disposal of four *rab ešertis*. These numbers were apparently booked in an account which was given to the temple administrator:

BIN 1 112²⁵⁷ 25-VI-19 Nbk

obv. 1. ʀ19*1 gu₄^{mc} šá^{ld} ag-mu-dù a ʀšú¹-[zu-bu]
 16 gu₄^{mc} šá^{ld} u-gur-ina-sùḥ-sur a ʀza-bi-da¹-a
 11 gu₄^{mc} šá^{ld} si-lim-^den a ʀa-a
 16 gu₄^{mc} šá^{ld} bul-luṭ-a a ʀna-na-a-dù
 5. pab 1+šú 2 gu₄^{mcš} šá^{lu} gal 10-ti^{mcš}
 il-tu-ru-ú-ma a-na
 ʀ^{lu}šà-tam id-di-nu

lo.e. ʀgu₄^{1mc} e-la-at-ti šá 1+šú [2 a₄]

rev. ina igi-šú-nu it-ta-na-ma-r[u]
 10. 1+en 30 a-na^d gašan šá unug^{ki}
 i-nam-di-nu
 ʀ^{lu}mu-kin-nu^{ld} ag-pab a ʀza-bi-da-a
 ʀ^{ld}ag-dù-šcš a ʀ^{ld}amar-utu-[su]r
 ʀ^{ld}dù-^dinnin a ʀ^{ld}en-gi
 15. ʀ^{lu}umbisag^{ld} ag-dù-šcš a ʀ^{ld}dù¹-[a]
 unug^{ki} iti kin ud 25-[kam]

u.e. [m]u 19-kam^d ag-níg-du-ùru
 lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“19 oxen of Nabû-šum-ibni, son of Šū[zubu], 16 oxen of Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, son of Zabidāya, 11 oxen of Silim-Bēl, son of Aplāya, 16 oxen of Bulluṭāya, son of Nanāya-ibni; in sum: 62 oxen that the *rab ešertis* registered (on a tablet/in an account) and gave (these records) to the *šatammu*.²⁵⁸ If oxen, exceeding the 6[2] (registered ones), are seen at their disposal, they will pay each one thirty-fold to the Lady of Uruk.

Witnesses: Nabû-nāšir, son of Zabidāya,
 Nabû-bān-aḥi, son of Marduk-ēter,
 Ibni-Ištar, son of Bēl-ušallim,
 Scribe: Nabû-bān-aḥi, son of Ibn[āya];
 Uruk; 25-VI-19 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

Although the text in itself has no obvious connection to the agriculture of Eanna, it is possible to firmly place the four individuals appearing in it in the agricultural sector on prosopographic grounds. It is conceivable that the oxen mentioned in this text were used for ploughing.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ The text is also edited by San Nicolò 1949: 300. In the first line he reads 19 (!) gu₄^{mc}, rather than ʀ16¹ gu₄^{mc}, which is indicated by the copy. A collation confirmed the reading 19, which results in the correct sum of 62 in line 5.

²⁵⁸ This expression is comparable to the phrase *šuzzuzuma ana ... nadānu*, with *šaṭāru* and *šuzzuzu* being equivalent and meaning “to enter/register (in an account)” and expressing the need to give proof of this registration to a party concerned but not present at the transaction. See Baker 2004: 76⁺⁴⁵² for comments and further literature on this phrase.

²⁵⁹ Other occurrences of people, without titles in these particular cases, but elsewhere attested as *rab ešertis*, in connection with cattle are: YBC 3856 (28 Nbk), a sale document for two cows, of which one had previously been put at the disposal of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim/Nabû-udammīq by the *rab būli*; YOS 17 57 (11 Nbk), a receipt of a cow carcass delivered by Silim-Bēl/Aplāya; GC 1 3 (1 Nbk), a receipt of eight cow and oxen hides delivered by Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni; NBC 4940 (20 Nbk), a list of cows and oxen received from the ploughmen among which Silim-Bēl/Apl[āya] appears.

The *rab ešertis* also had responsibilities toward the temple concerning deliveries of agricultural produce. Some of these obligations stem from their *ikkaru*-status. As was already mentioned, their deliveries of barley or dates are recorded in several *imittu* lists. According to NCBT 1090 (not dated), for instance, Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter and two other people (Nabû-balāssu-iqbi and Nanāya-aḥ-iddin/Nanāya-ušalli) delivered or had to deliver 110 *kurru* of dates from Bīt-Gilānu.

But they also took on the responsibility for the deliveries of the other ploughmen and sharecroppers or even entire localities. The tabulated *imittu* list NCBT 650 (15 Nbk) records the responsibility of Bulluṭāya (using the expression *ša qāt*) over barley, spelt, wheat, and cress, *imittu* of the ploughmen and *šibšū* of the sharecroppers:

NCBT 650

11-I-15 Nbk

| | | |
|-------|-----|--|
| obv. | 1. | še-bar še-zíz-àm gig-ba <i>saḥ-le-e</i> zag šá ^{lú} engar ^{meš} níg-ga ^d innin ^r unug ^{1ki} u ^d na-na-a šá šu ^{II} ^r bul ^l -lut-a šá ina igi ^{ld} utu-<din>-su-iq-bi |
| | 5. | 110 gur 20 gur [^{ld} in]nin-na-mu-pap a ^{ld} u-gur-sur ina id-eš-šú a-di ^{ld} 37;2.3 šib-šú šá ^{lú} er-re-še-e ^l |
| | | 130 37;1.5 [^{ld} u-gur-mu a ^l šá ^d ag-šú-u ina ki-min en 15 še-bar šib-šú šá ^{lú} er-re-še-e |
| | 10. | 40 [^{ld} ag-mu-kam a ^l zi-i-bi ina ^{id} har-ri šá ^l sum-na-a |
| | | 130 5 [^{ld} ag-mu-kam ina du ₆ a-gur-re-e-ti |
| | | 30 20 [^l din-su a ^l šil-la-a ina ^{id} har-ri [^l šá ^l sum- ^r na-a ^l |
| | 15. | [^r 30 ^l] [^r 4 ^l] [^r l ^l dù-a ^l a ^r [^r šá ^l - ^d ag-šú-u [ina ^{id} ha]r-ri šá ^l sum-na-a |
| | | [^r 35 ^l] [x] [^{ld} x-(x)]-gi a ^{ld} en-su [ina ^r garin ^l na-ši-ba-a-ta |
| | | 120[+x] x [^{ld} ag-muk-ku-e-lip a ^{ld} ag-x ina ^{garin} bi-ra-a-ta |
| lo.e. | 20. | [^r pab ^l 6 [me x x x (x)] [^r x ^l še- ^r bar ^l 87;1.5 še-zíz-àm [^r x ^l [x x x x x x x] [^r 19 ² ;3.5 ^l |
| rev. | | [...] še-zí[z]-àm [^r x ^l še-bar u [^r še-zíz ^l -à[m] re- ^r ha ^l -nu šá ^{lú} engar ^{meš} 48 [^l bul- ^r lut ^l -a [^r a ^l [^{ld} na-na-a-dù |
| | 25. | 61;4 [^{ld} en-[x] x x [^l šu-ma-a 11;4.1 [^l gar-mu a ^l šil-la-a 12;3.2 [^{ld} amar-utu- ^r su a ^l [^l é-an-na-dù 22;1.4.3 [^{ld} en-dù a ^{ld} en-mu 7 [^l haš-di-ia a ^{ld} ag-mu-gar-un |
| | 30. | 10;3.1 [^{ld} ag-šes ^{meš} -su a ^{ld} u-gur-dù 40;2.1.3 [^{ld} utu-su a ^{ld} u-gur-mu 82;2. ^r 5 ^l [^{ld} ag-mu-dù a ^l šu-zu-bu pab 297;3.4 še-bar re- ^r ha-nu šá ^{lú} engar ^{meš} |
| u.e. | 35. | šá šu ^{II} ^r bul ^l -lut-a iti bár ud 11-kam mu 15-kam ^d ag-níg-du-urù lugal tin-tir ^{ki} |

“Barley, spelt, wheat and cress, *imittu* of the ploughmen, property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya, at the responsibility of Bulluṭāya, which is at the disposal of Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi.²⁶⁰”

²⁶⁰ Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi is not known from other documents. His role in this text is not clear either. It would appear that he was in charge of the entire *imittu* due from the ploughmen, but the exact nature of his position remains obscure.

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|---|
| 110 <i>kurru</i> | 20 <i>kurru</i> | Innin-šum-ušur, son of Nergal-ēter, in Nāru-eššu; plus 37;2.3, <i>šibšu</i> of the sharecroppers. |
| 130 | 37;1.5 | Nergal-iddin, son of Ša-Nabû-šû, in <i>ditto</i> ; plus 15 (<i>kurru</i>) barley, <i>šibšu</i> of the sharecroppers. |
| 40 | | Nabû-šum-ēreš, son of Zībi, in Harru-ša-Nadnāya; |
| 130 | 4 | Nabû-šum-ēreš in Til-agurrēti. |
| 30 | 20 | Balāssu, son of Šillāya, in Harru-ša-Nadnāya. |
| 30 | 4 | Ibnāya, son of Ša-Nabû-šû, in Harru-ša-Nadnāya. |
| 35 | [x] | [x]-ušallim, son of Bēl-erība, in Našibāta. |
| 110[+x | x] | Nabû-mukku-clip, son of Nabû-x, in Bīrāta. |
| In sum: 6[00+x ... | |] barley, 87;1.5 spelt, [x...] 19 [?] ;1.5 spelt [x]. |

Barley and spelt, the arrears of the ploughmen:

| | | |
|----------|--|---|
| 48 | | Bulluṭāya, son of Nanāya-ibni. |
| 61;4 | | Bēl-[x], son [?] of [?] Šumāya. |
| 11;4.1 | | Šākin-šumi, son of Šillāya. |
| 12;3.2 | | Marduk-erība, son of Eanna-ibni. |
| 22;1.4.3 | | Bēl-ibni, son of Bēl-iddin. |
| 7 | | Hašdia, son of Nabû-šum-iškun. |
| 10;3.1 | | Nabû-ahhē-erība, son of Nergal-ibni. |
| 40;2.1.3 | | Šamaš-erība, son of Nergal-iddin. |
| 82;2.5 | | Nabû-šum-ibni, son of Šūzubu. |

In sum: 297;3.4 barley, the arrears of the ploughmen, who are at the responsibility of Bulluṭāya. 11-I-15 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

The heading of BIN 1 154 (Nbk, year broken) records the issue of dates in stead of barley seed to Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, Ibni-Ištar/Nabû-šum-ibni, both known as *rab ešertis* from other sources, and to several ploughmen.²⁶¹ Despite having no particular titles, the fact that their names are given in the heading, while the others are subsumed under *ikkarus*, indicates that the two of them held some responsibility over the rest of the ploughmen.

The two of them also appear in YBC 9574 (33 Nbk) as recipients of goat hair for sacks – these were probably used for the transportation of grain.

More evidence for a *rab ešerti*'s responsibility over ploughmen is offered by YOS 17 33 (19 Nbk). Here Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, who is not explicitly called a *rab ešerti*, but is known as such from BIN 1 112, which was written only about three months before this document, was asked to summon before the *šatammu* the *ikkarus* of the Lady of Uruk, their sons, brothers, substitutes etc. within a period of 25 days. In case he hid some of the ploughmen, he would have had to pay a thirty-fold penalty to the temple. The traces at the end of line 5 are significant, as they potentially determine the extent of Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter's responsibility. It is suggested here to read them as a place name (Kār-Eanna) which seems congruent with the remaining visible wedges. This addition, referring to the ploughmen and their associates, sets the bounds of Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter's responsibility to this particular locality.

YOS 17 33

20-IX-19 Nbk

- obv. 1. ta ud 20-kam šá iti gan en ud 15-kam
 šá iti ab ^{ld}u-gur-ina-sùh-sur a ^lza-bi-da-[a]
 pab ^{lu}engar^{mes} šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ma-la ^rba-šú^l-[ú]
 šá-šú-nu dumu^{mes}-šú-<nu> šeš-šú-nu ku-tal-la-a-tú[?]-šú-nu
5. ù ^{ti}*-pa-nu šá it-ti-šú-nu šá ina ^rkar é-an^l-[na]
 ib-ba-<ka>-am-ma a-na ^{ld}ag-šeš^{mes}-mu
 a ^{ld}u-gur-gi a ^lzálag-^d30 ^{lu}šà-tam
 é-an-na ú-kal-lam ki-i mam-m[a]
- lo.e. a-na pa-ši-ru il-ta-k[a-an]

²⁶¹ BIN 1 154, 1-4: [zú]-lum-ma šá a-na še-numun ^rx^l/ [x (x)] a-na ^{ld}u-gur-ina-sùh-^rsur^l/ [^ldù-^d15] ^ra^l ^{ld}ag-mu-dù u ^{lu}engar^{mes}/ [sum-na]-ti iti apin ud 29-[k]am.

10. 1+en 30 a-na^d gašan šá unug^{k[ⁱ]}
 ʾi^l-nam-di-in
 rev. ʾú^lmu-kin-nu ʾba-la-tu a ʾmu-ʾa^l
 a ʾmu-^dpap-sukkal ʾtu-numun-ba-šá
 a ʾen-gi a ʾkur-i ʾkar-^den
 15. a ʾa-a a ʾár-rab-tú
 ʾú^lumbisag ʾag-dù-šeš a ʾdù-ʾa^l
 a ʾé-kur-za-kir kar é-ʾan^l-[na]
 (two blank lines)
 u.e. iti gan ud 20-kam mu 19-kam
 ʾag-níg-du-ùru lugal tin-tir^{k[ⁱ]}

“From the 20th day of the 9th month until the 15th day of the 10th month Nergal-ina-tēšî-ēter, son²⁶² of Zabidāya, will bring all the ploughmen of the Lady of Uruk, as many as there are, their sons, their brothers, their substitutes and the extra men²⁶³ who are with them, (all) who are in Kār-Eanna, and will show them to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Nergal-ušallim, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, the chief administrator of Eanna. If he hides anyone, he will pay thirty-fold to the Lady of Uruk.

Witnesses: Balātu, son of Šumāya, descendant of Iddin-Papsukkal,
 Šamaš-zēr-iqīša, son of Bēl-ušallim, descendant of Kurī,
 Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Aplāya, descendant of Arrabtu,
 Scribe: Nabû-bān-aḥi, son of Ibnāya, descendant of Ekur-zakir;
 Kār-Eanna; 20-IX-19 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

The reason for this summons is not revealed by the text. An inspection of the available agricultural workers springs to mind; however, the ninth and the tenth month do not seem favourable for conducting such an inspection, as the ploughing and sowing work would have to be interrupted.²⁶⁴

Some of the *rab ešertis* had *sūtu*-obligations, i.e. were obliged to pay the rent (*sūtu*). This is evident from the texts recording deliveries of agricultural produce as part of their *sūtu*.

- NCBT 101 27-XII-35 Nbk
 obv. 1. 57 gur 1_p 1_b 3 sila še-bar
 2 gur 2_p 3_b še-zíz-àm
 ʾpab^l 59 gur 3_p 4_b 3 sila
 [še]-bar ina iti kin m[u] 34-kam
 5. ʾag-[níg-du]-ʾùru^l lugal tin-tir^{ki}
 ʾna-d[in] a-šú šá ʾnad-na-a
 ʾkar-^den a ʾa-a
 lo.e. ʾamar-utu-su a ʾen-mu
 rev. ina^{giš} bān šá ʾdù-^d15
 10. a ʾag-mu-dù ina^{garin} du₆ a-gur-re-e-tú
 ina é ʾdù-^d15 im-šu-ḥu
 ina lib-bi 51 gur 4_p 3_b 3 sila še-bar
 2 gur 2_p 3_b še-zíz-àm a-na níg-ga
 na-šá-a-ta 1 gur 3_p 4_b 3 sila
 15. ʾugal ka-a-ri it-ta-ši
 2 gur 2_b 3 sila ina ka-lak-ku
 u.e. un-da-tu iti še ud 27-kam
 mu 35-kam ʾag-níg-du-ùru

²⁶² Note that all throughout the text the scribe used the shortened version of the logogram for filiation, namely “a” instead of the usual “a-šú šá”.

²⁶³ For a discussion of this word see note 65. A collation of the text confirms the reading *ṭi-pa-nu* rather than *qí-pa-nu* indicated by the copy.

²⁶⁴ See also note 67.

l.e.e. lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“In the sixth month of 34 Nbk, king of Babylon, Nādin, son of Nadnāya, Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Aplāya, (and) Marduk-erība, son of Bēl-iddin, measured out 57;1.1.3 barley (and) 2;2.3 spelt, in sum: 59;3.4.3 grain from the *sūtu*-obligation of Ibni-Ištar, son of Nabû-šum-ibni, in Til-agurrēti, in the house of Ibni-Ištar. Of these: 51;4.3.3 barley (and) 2;2.3 spelt were delivered to the temple storehouse, the chief of the harbour took 1;3.4.3 (and) 2;0.2.3 were lost²⁶⁵ in the silo. 27-XII-35 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

The figures do not add up. There is a difference of 1;2.3 (i.e. 270 litres of grain) between the measured out 59;3.4.3 and the delivered 58;1.1.3 grain (including the grain delivered to the storehouse, the grain taken by the chief of the harbour (*rab kārī*), and the grain lost in the silo). The missing amount is therefore larger than the one recorded by the scribe in line 16 by 270 litres. The *rab kārī* received about 3.22 % of the grain delivered.²⁶⁶

The instances in which their *sūtu*-obligations are mentioned may indicate a contractual relationship between these people and the temple. This type of relationship is attested for the Sipparean agricultural official Šamaš-iddin (see Jursa 1995a: 24f.). No contracts or land leases are available for the Urukian officials. Perhaps written contracts were not necessary. Since they were temple dependants it is conceivable that their obligations were set according to customary practices. However, additional arrangements as those attested for Šamaš-iddin from Sippar cannot be entirely excluded either. In general, no distinction was made between their official duties and their ‘private’ obligations. They were managers working for the temple who at the same time worked for their personal profit. Being institutional officials they had the opportunity (or were even expected) to make profit but were also personally liable for any arrears.²⁶⁷

Some of the known *rab ešertis* were also responsible for date deliveries. TCL 12 59²⁶⁸ (acc Ner) shows that Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim was in charge of the *imittu* obligations for dates of the gardeners from Nār-šarri and Takkīru. The same sort of responsibility is attested in this text for Ibni-Ištar for the land in Til-agurrēti. However, other people not previously attested with a similar function appear in this text as well: a certain Zēria, son of Nabû-iddin, is responsible for the *imittu* dates from Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya²⁶⁹, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the slave of the *qīpu*, assumes the responsibility for date deliveries jointly with Ibni-Ištar. Here again it is not clear whether these obligations stemmed from their regular activities as agricultural official or from contractual arrangements.

2.4.2. Non-agricultural work

The people attested as *rab ešertis* were also engaged in the management of the irrigation system. In the letter BIN 1 44,²⁷⁰ addressed by Silim-Bēl, Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter and Nabû-šum-ibni

²⁶⁵ *un-da-tu* is a D-stem perfect of *maṭû*, “to reduce, diminish”, meaning that the original amount of grain was reduced by 2;0.2.3 (i.e. 450 litres) in the silo in which it was stored before the delivery to the temple. This loss amounted to some 4% of the grain originally measured out. It is not clear whether this amount was within the normal loss range.

²⁶⁶ On this official see p. 133. For transportation costs and the various related fees see Weszeli 2010: 140ff.

²⁶⁷ For the dual role of the institutional officials see the discussion on p. 252.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Moore’s edition of the text, 1935: 64ff. and also here p. 79.

²⁶⁹ His other attestations indicate a status of a sharecropper in the region of Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya (YBC 9251, 41 Nbk: a *zittu* debt note for dates, in which he figures as the debtor). According to BIN 1 166 (2 Ner) he delivered *kasia* pertaining to the *sūtu* of Šum-ukīn in Aššurītu. He appears as a debtor in NBDM 4 (3 Ner), a debt note for dates pertaining to the rent farm of Šum-ukīn, and as a witness in BIN 1 97 (1 Nbn), a *zittu* debt note for barley, also pertaining to the rent farm of Šum-ukīn. In YOS 6 94 (3 Nbn) he is attested as a commissioner (*bēl piqitti*) of Šum-ukīn. His other possible attestations are in TEBR 40 (1 Nbn) and YOS 6 43 (2 Nbn). See also Joannès 1982: 163¹.

²⁷⁰ The letter is not dated, but placing it in the second or third decade of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign seems plausible. For an edition of the letter see Ebeling 1930-34: 196ff.

to the *šatammu*, the three men report illicit use of water from a temple canal by a certain Nergal-uballiṭ, who had given this water to his ploughman (*ikkaru*). Even after negotiating, the messenger of Nergal-uballiṭ gave the water to the sharecroppers.²⁷¹ “Although five canals run from the Nār-šarri, he only takes water from the one belonging to the Lady of Uruk!”²⁷² At a loss for further action, they asked the *šatammu* to refer the case to a certain Nergal-šar-ušur, perhaps the later king who was active as a royal official in the Uruk region at the end of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign.

They not only supervised the irrigation practices, but also ran the digging works. In ll. 23ff. of BIN 1 44 they say that no water had been taken from Nāru-ša-Bīt-ili, a canal which they were digging. In another letter, BIN 1 60 (ll. 16-20), Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, probably the *šatammu*, asks the temple scribe Nabû-bān-aḥi, among other things, to send Bulluṭāya, Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter and Nabû-šum-ibni and give them spades and other tools they need for work on the irrigation network (*dullu ša nāri*).

The letter YOS 21 33²⁷³ also demonstrates the authority of these officials over agricultural workers and their obligation to organise and conduct non-agricultural work. The sender Ibni-Ištar, who can probably be identified as the *gugallu* and the *rab ešerti* of the same name, wrote to Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, probably also to be identified with an agricultural official (*rab ikkarāti*, see below), asking him to assemble *urāšu*-workers of the ploughmen. Ibni-Ištar was engaged in some sort of work (*dullu*) according to this letter, perhaps on the irrigation canals. Whether this occurred in his function as a *rab ešerti* or as a *gugallu* is not clear.

2.4.3. Other activities

The *rab ešertis* were not only engaged in the agricultural sector. Some of them extended their activities to animal husbandry as was mentioned above. Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, is known to have made a contract for pasturing donkeys (YBC 3739) according to which he was to share the offspring with the animals’ owner. From GC 1 252 we know that he also had a flock of 2,617 sheep and goats at his disposal. UCP 9/2 36 mentions the arrears of small and large cattle beside barley and dates charged against Silim-Bēl, son of Aplāya. These were to all likelihood their own personal enterprises which were not directly connected to their duties as agricultural functionaries. However, access to land, which could potentially be used for pasture (during fallow, or untilled land), and other resources (e.g. fodder), that resulted from their involvement in agriculture on a higher level, certainly made their ventures in animal husbandry easier.

The personal resources of at least some of these people were considerable. Thus we are informed by TCL 12 38 (22 Nbk) that Silim-Bēl, son of Aplāya, had, in spite of his status of a temple oblate²⁷⁴ and a temple ploughman, the means to purchase land with a frontage of 600 cubits along the Nār-Bānītu. The price was presumably 4 minas of silver, since the text names 2 minas as price of a plot of 300 cubits (l. 15ff).²⁷⁵ He was also in the possession of at least one slave, as is evident from *AnOr* 8 50. It is a matter for conjecture whether Silim-Bēl’s wealth arose from his activities in the office of a *rab ešerti*. Be that as it may, it was of advantage to the temple that its subjects had personal assets. This way the temple could hope for compensation, in case they failed to fulfil their obligations. OIP 122 169 (1 Nbn), which lists plots of land in Bīt-Ḥallaka measured out to the *širkus* by the royal official Nabû-šar-ušur, also records a plot which was received from Silim-Bēl, son of Aplāya, and allocated to another person. It is conceivable that this land was acquired by the temple in lieu of his outstanding debts. This is explicitly the case in Montserrat 1 rev. 20’ff., which describes a field taken from Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, instead of

²⁷¹ It appears that the land of Nergal-uballiṭ was tilled both by (his own) ploughman and by sharecroppers. It is unfortunately not known who this Nergal-uballiṭ was and in what relationship he stood to the temple.

²⁷² BIN 1 44 ll. 26-31: *a-mur* 5 id^{mcš} / *ul-tu* id-lugal / *il-la-ka-nu* / *me-e ša mam-ma* / *iš-ši al-la* / *ša^d gašan ša unug^{ki}*.

²⁷³ For a partial translation see p. 59.

²⁷⁴ It is evident from UCP 9/1/2 36 that he was a *širku*.

²⁷⁵ The text deals with the status of land purchased by Silim-Bēl. Half of it (300 cubits) turned out to be royal land, and Silim-Bēl was granted 200 cubits of land on Takkīru and a debt note as a compensation for it by the seller, Gimillu, son of Kudurru.

his arrears (field ... *ku-um re-e-ḫi šá ugu-šú a-na/ é-an-na na-šá-a*). A similar situation may be the background of *AnOr* 8 50 (5 Cyr), a summons of a certain Ardia, son of Šākin-šumi, descendant of Sîn-tabni, to Uruk to settle the matter of the status of a slave. This slave had been received by his father Šākin-šumi from Silim-Bēl, who, as is stressed by the text, was indebted to the Lady of Uruk (l. 5f: *ša rēḫānu ša Bēlti ša Uruk ina muḫḫišu*). It is not stated in this document whether the slave was bought by Šākin-šumi, or by which other means he came into his possession,²⁷⁶ but it is obvious that the temple had laid claim to this slave, as (former) property of its debtor, at least until his status had been settled by the royal judges. In case Ardia failed to appear in Uruk, the text stipulates that he would have to give the slave to the temple and pay his *mandattu* for the period he had been in his possession.

2.4.4. Summary

The *rab ešertis* were overseers of the plough teams working on temple land. They are attested during the period before the large-scale rent farms were set up in Eanna. These agricultural officials were temple dependants, *širkus*, and could be recruited from the ranks of the *ikkarus*. While *rab ešertis* were also active in the sector of animal husbandry, at least five individuals working in the temple's agricultural sector are attested with this title.

The exact number of the agricultural *rab ešertis* working for the temple at one time is not known. At least four of them were employed at the same time according to our sources. Their activities often overlapped with those of other agricultural officials, like the *gugallus*, but it appears that they were subordinated to the overseer of the ploughmen, the *rab ikkarāti*.

The *rab ešertis* were each in charge of ten plough teams. This group of ten plough teams usually included their own team, as they also took active part in temple agriculture. They received oxen, presumably to be used as draught animals, and issues of seed on behalf of the plough teams. They were responsible for the ploughmen and their cereal deliveries. Sometimes their responsibility extended to entire localities. In one case they were even in charge of the date deliveries of the gardeners. These activities took on entrepreneurial traits, although no contracts regulating their obligations toward the temple have been found.

The *rab ešertis* were also in charge of supervising non-agricultural types of work such as digging and maintenance of the irrigation system.

Some of these officials were also actively involved in animal husbandry and cattle breeding. Even though they were temple dependants some of them managed to accumulate considerable personal wealth, such as slaves and plots of land, probably through their entrepreneurial activities. The temple occasionally confiscated these in lieu of their debts and arrears.

²⁷⁶ Probably both Šākin-šumi and Silim-Bēl were dead by this time.

2.4.5. Attestations²⁷⁷ of the *rab ešerti*:Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni²⁷⁸

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| BIN 1 60: 12 | - | n.p. | |
| BIN 1 157: 1 | - | | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| GC 1 3 ²⁷⁹ : 6f. | 2 ^[+x] -VII-1 Nbk | | |
| NCBT 879: 7 | 23-I-3 Nbk | | |
| PTS 2793: 4 | 8-VI-12 Nbk | | |
| PTS 2650: 2f. | 27-X-13 Nbk | | |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 6: 9 | 9-VI-14 Nbk | | (witness) |
| NCBT 650: 3, 24, 35 | 11-I-15 Nbk | | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| YOS 17 68: 3 | [x]-[x]-16 Nbk | | |
| BIN 1 112: 4 | 25-VI-19 Nbk | | <i>rab ešerti</i> |

Ibni-Ištar/Nabû-šum-ibni

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|--|--------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| GC 2 354: 3, 17 | - | | |
| YOS 3 9 ²⁸⁰ : 1 [?] , 47f. | - | n.p. | |
| ? YOS 3 76 ²⁸¹ : 2 | - | n.p. | |
| YOS 21 33: 1 | - | n.p. | |
| BIN 1 154: 21, 23, 31 | 29-VIII-[x] Nbk | | |
| YBC 9448 ²⁸² : 3 | 22-X-31 Nbk ¹ | | <i>gugallu ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| YBC 9574: 4 | 20-X-33 Nbk | | |
| YBC 4000 ²⁸³ : 4 | 3-VII-34 Nbk | | <i>rab ešerti</i> |
| VS 20 88: 4 | 5-VIII-35 Nbk | | |
| PTS 3012: 3 | 24-X-35 Nbk | | |
| NCBT 101: 9f. | 27-XII-35 Nbk | | |
| ? AUWE 11 205 ²⁸⁴ : rev. 8' | 11-[x]-40 Nbk | n.p. | |
| TCL 12 59: 15f., 25 | acc Ner | | |
| YBC 3830: 1f. | 1-VII-acc Ner | | |

²⁷⁷ The first and the second column list the attestation and the date. Uncertain attestations are preceded by a question mark. The third column notes the cases in which the person in question appears without a patronymic (n.p. stands for “no patronymic”). The fourth column records any attested titles or functions.

²⁷⁸ Kümmel 1979: 58.

²⁷⁹ This is a receipt for oxen hides from B. It is not sure whether this attestation belongs here, or if it is another person. In the letter(order) NBC 4630 (18[?] [Nbk[?]]) B. appears among shepherds (*nāqīdu*) at whose disposal oxen were put. YOS 17 68 (16 Nbk) is a receipt for small cattle presumably for offerings, received from a Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni. These may indicate that a homonymous person worked at the same time in animal husbandry.

²⁸⁰ This letter, as well YOS 3 76, was addressed to I. by Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim (probably N./Nabû-udammiq) and concern mostly agricultural matters and irrigation. It is not certain whether the addressee of these letters should be identified with the *gugallu* and *rab ešerti* of the same name, since the letter YOS 3 9: 47f. mentions another [Ib]ni-Ištar, son of [Nabû[?]]-šum-ibni, who could well be this official, but, at the same time, not the same person as the addressee.

²⁸¹ See previous note.

²⁸² Edited by Janković 2007: 221ff.

²⁸³ The text is edited by Janković 2005: 167ff.

²⁸⁴ This attestation is not entirely certain due to the missing patronymic, though possible on account of context. It a list of ploughmen, presumably organised by plough teams, giving their family ties and age (class). In the last extant line one reads, following Gehlken's reconstruction, [šá or lú] 10-ti šá¹ dū^d 15 (“[people of] the decury of Ibni-Ištar”).

Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim/Nabû-udammīq²⁸⁵

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| AfO 44/45, 165: 10 | - | n.p. | |
| YOS 3 9: 1 | - | n.p. | |
| YOS 3 12: 2 | - | n.p. | |
| YOS 3 30: 2 | - | n.p. | |
| YOS 3 76: 1 | - | n.p. | |
| YOS 3 84: 2 | - | n.p. | (<i>rab ikkarāti</i>) |
| YOS 3 142: 2, 6 | - | n.p. | |
| YOS 21 33: 2 | - | n.p. | |
| OIP 122 172: 4 | - | | |
| ? BIN 1 154: 14, 18 | 29-VIII-[x] Nbk | n.p. | |
| VS 20 134: 7, rev. 7' | 18-[x]-26 Nbk | n.p. | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| UCP 9/2 25: 9 | 3-[x]-28 Nbk | | |
| YBC 3856: 4 | 11-VIII-28 Nbk | | |
| YBC 9315: 2f. | 18-IX-30 ^[+x] Nbk | | |
| YBC 4000: 4f. | 3-VII-34 Nbk | | <i>rab ešerti</i> |
| YBC 9138: 5 | [x]-XI-34 Nbk | n.p. | |
| YBC 4100: 5, 20 | 3-XI-34 Nbk | n.p. | |
| VS 20 88: 6 | 5-VIII-35 Nbk | n.p. | |
| YBC 3941: 2 | -(38-42 Nbk) | n.p. | |
| YBC 3739: 4, 8, 12 | 21-VIII-40 Nbk | | |
| NCBT 820: 3f. | 22-X-40 Nbk | | |
| GC 1 252: 13 | 13-III-41 Nbk | | |
| YBC 3819: 6, 7, 9, 13, 15, 17, 19 | 22-IV-42 Nbk | | |
| YBC 3858: 1, 7 | 25-XII-42 Nbk | | |
| YBC 9161: 10, 12, 22 | 16-XIIa-42 Nbk | | |
| TCL 12 59: 4, 6, 8, 14 | acc Ner | | |
| BIN 1 123: 3f. | 22-[x]-acc Ner | | <i>rab ikkarāti</i> |
| BIN 2 120: 7f. | 2-VII-acc Ner | | |
| YBC 6868: 3f. | 4-VIII-[x] Ner | | |
| ? PTS 2312: 2 | 10-VII-1 Ner | n.p. | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| Montserrat 1: rev. 20' | -(13 Nbn or later) | | |

Nabû-šum-ibni/Šūzūbu²⁸⁶

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| BIN 1 44: 3 | - | n.p. | |
| BIN 1 60: 13 | - | n.p. | |
| BIN 1 154: 3 | 29-VIII-[x] Nbk | | |
| ? BIN 1 156: 10, 12 23 | 13-I-8 (Nbk) | n.p. | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| NCBT 650: 32 | 11-I-15 Nbk | | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| YOS 17 123: 3 | 5-II-19 Nbk | | |
| BIN 1 112: 1 | 25-VI-19 Nbk | | <i>rab ešerti</i> |
| ? NBC 4940: 14 | 27 ^[+x] -X-20 Nbk | n.p. | |
| PTS 3069: 17 | 8-[x]-28 Nbk | | (witness) |
| YBC 4000: 5 | 3-VII-34 Nbk | | <i>rab ešerti</i> |
| VS 20 88: 4 | 5-VIII-35 Nbk | | |
| YBC 9251: 6 | 30-XII-[41 [?]] Nbk | | |

²⁸⁵ An *errēšu* of this name, but with no patronymic, is known from YOS 17 325 (8 Nbk). It is unlikely that this is the same person.

²⁸⁶ Kümmel 1979: 68.

Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, son of Zabidāya²⁸⁷

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|---------------------|------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| BIN 1 44: 2 | - | n.p. | |
| BIN 1 60: 12 | - | n.p. | |
| BIN 1 157: 2 | - | | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| NCBT 1090: 2f. | - | | |
| OIP 122 172: 1, 54 | - | | |
| BIN 1 154: 2, 5, 20 | 29-VIII-[x] Nbk | n.p. | |
| GC 1 63: 11 | 16-IV-10 ^[+x] Nbk | | |
| BIN 1 112: 2 | 25-VI-19 Nbk | | <i>rab ešerti</i> |
| YOS 17 33: 2 | 20-IX-19 Nbk | | |
| YBC 3856: 11f. | 11-VIII-28 Nbk | | (witness) |
| YBC 9574: 3 | 20-X-33 Nbk | | |
| YBC 4000: 2f. | 3-VII-34 Nbk | | <i>gugallu</i> |
| YBC 9138: 4 | [x]-XI-34 Nbk | n.p. | |
| YBC 4100: 5, 20 | 3-XI-34 Nbk | n.p. | |
| VS 20 88: 6 | 5-VIII-35 Nbk | n.p. | |
| NCBT 158: 5f. | 27-III-40 Nbk | | <i>ikkaru</i> |

Silim-Bēl/Aplāya²⁸⁸

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|---|--------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| ? BIN 1 35: 1 | - | n.p. | |
| BIN 1 44: 1 | - | n.p. | |
| ? BIN 1 157: 32 | - | [x] | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| GC 2 354: 15 | - | | |
| ? BIN 1 154: 22 | 29-VIII-[x] Nbk | n.p. | |
| PTS 2550: 3 | 30-IV [?] -5 Nbk | | |
| YOS 17 57: 2 | 9-XI-11 Nbk | | |
| YOS 17 121: 2f. | 6-II-12 Nbk | | |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 6: 10 | 9-VI-14 Nbk | | (witness) |
| BIN 1 112: 3 | 25-VI-19 Nbk | | <i>rab ešerti</i> |
| NBC 4940: 2 | 27 ^[+x] -X-20 Nbk | | |
| TCL 12 38: 3f., 4f., 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20 | 25-III-22 Nbk | | |
| UCP 9/2 25: 4 | 3-[x]-28 Nbk | | |
| TCL 12 46: 4 | 22-XII-32 Nbk | | |
| YBC 4000: 3 | 3-VII-34 Nbk | | <i>rab ešerti</i> |
| YBC 3830: 13 | 1-VII-acc Ner | | (witness) |
| ? PTS 2312: 4 | 10-VII-1 Ner | | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| YOS 6 4: 11f. | 6-VII-acc Nbn | | (witness) |
| UCP 9/2 36: 6, 9, 13, 15, 18 | 10 ^[+x] -II-[x] Nbn | | |
| YOS 6 22: 9 | 5-II-1 Nbn | | (witness) |
| OIP 122 169: 11 | 23-II-1 Nbn | | |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 50: 5 | 18-XI-5 Cyr | | |

²⁸⁷ Kümmel 1979: 72. His other possible attestations, both without a patronymic, could be in NBC 4775 (23 Nbk), YBC 9567 (39 Nbk) and PTS 2008 (not dated).

²⁸⁸ Kümmel 1979: 74. The appearance of Silim-Bēl in *AnOr* 8 50 from 5 Cyr is to all likelihood posthumous. See above for details.

2.5. Overseer of the plough (*rab epinni*)

As little information on the organisation of the temple agriculture for the time of Cyrus's reign as there may be, there is an abundance of texts from the time of Cambyses testifying to the activities of a group of men with functions very similar to those of the *rab ešertis* of the earlier periods. These people, who were *širkus* and ploughmen, usually appear without a title. However, twice they are attested with the title *rab epinni*, “overseer of the plough”. On several occasions ten of these people appear together in texts, which indicates that the temple administration considered them to represent a distinct group of agricultural managers. For these reasons this group of people will be referred to here as the *rab epinnis*.²⁸⁹

| | YOS 3 17 TCL 9 129 (not dated) | BIN 2 108 ([x] Camb) <i>rab epinni</i> | NBC 4612 (1 Camb) | TCL 13 152 (2 Camb) <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni</i> | BM 113252 (4 Camb) <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|----------------------|--|--|
| Agria/Nabû-dalā | x | | x | x | x |
| Sukkāya/ Nanāya-ēreš | x | | x | x | |
| Nā'id-Ištar/ Arad-Innin | x | | x | x | x |
| Mukkēa/ Innin-zēr-ušabši | x | | x | x | x |
| Nanāya-ēreš/ Mukkēa | x | x | x | x | x |
| Šadūnu/Libluṭ | x | x | x | x | x |
| Etellu/Zēria | x | | x | x | x |
| Šulāya/ Sîn-nādin-šumi | x | | x | x | x |
| Innin-aḥḥē-iddin/ Innin-šum-ušur | | | x | x | x |
| Nādin/ Innin-zēr-ibni | x | | x | x | x |
| Nikkāya/ Nabû-šar-ušur | | | | | x |
| Ina-šilli-Nanāya/ Innin-šum-ušur | x | x | | | |

Table 15: *rab epinnis*

The title *rab epinni* is well known from Sippar, from the Ebabbar archive. Its use there differs, though, from the one we encounter in Uruk. In Sippar a *rab epinni* designates the leader of a plough team. This person, probably the eldest member of the team, usually had to deal with the administrative apparatus as a representative of his team and is thus the individual who most frequently appears in the written documentation (Jursa 1995a: 9f.). These people obviously existed in Uruk also, but here they were not given a specific title. They are only ever referred to as *ikkarus*.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ The table below shows which individuals appear in a given text (indicated by an x). The titles noted in the first row below the text reference apply to all the individuals attested in that text.

²⁹⁰ There is, however, one attestation of a *bēl epinni* in YOS 7 102, which could be identified with the leader of a plough team (see p. 36).

2.5.1. Obligations

The *rab epinni* of Eanna had a larger sphere of influence than his titular namesake from Sippar. He was not only in charge of his own plough team, but was responsible for the ploughmen and sharecroppers of certain localities and their dues to the temple.²⁹¹ This is exemplified by TCL 13 209 (not dated), an accounting text, which records in four individual entries the amounts of barley, spelt and wheat collected by Nā'id-Ištar, Šulāya, Nādin and Sukkāya respectively from *ikkarus* and *errēšus*. Apart from the amounts which were at the disposal of Nergal-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-erība,²⁹² and which he was supposed to transport to Eanna, the dues of the ploughmen and the sharecroppers were at the disposal of these four individuals, who are known as *rab epinnis* from other texts.

TCL 13 209

- obv. 1. 4 me 40 gur 4_p 4_b še-bar 11 gur še-zíz-àm
 3_p 4_b 3 sila še-gig-ba šá^{gis} bân šá^{lú} engar^{mc}
 ù ḥa-la šá it-ti^{lú} er-re-še-e
 šá^{lⁱ-dⁱ} innin a^{lⁱ-dⁱ} in-nin i-si-ru ina igi^{lⁱ-dⁱ} innin
5. ina šà 4 me 21 gur 5_b še-bar 24_g 3_b še-zíz-àm
 2_p 3_b še-gig-ba a-na ze-bé-lu a-na é-an-na
 ina igi^{ld} igi-du-šeš-mu a^{ld} ag-su
 re-e-ḥi 6 gur 4 pi 3 sila še-bar ina igi^{lⁱ-dⁱ} innin
 e-lat še-bar ar-ki-tu₄ šá ina šu^{ll} lú engar^{mcš}
10. ù^{lú} er-re-še-e i-si-ru
 1 me 50 gur 1 pi 3 sila še-bar 10 gur še-zíz-àm
 pab 1 me 1+šu gur 1 pi 3 sila še-bar u še-zíz-àm šá^{gis} bân
 šá^{lú} engar^{mc} ù ḥa-la šá it-ti^{lú} er-re-še-e
 šá^{lⁱ-dⁱ} šu-la-a i-si-ru e-lat 6 gur še-bar šá^{lⁱ-dⁱ} šu-la-a
15. ina šu^{ll} lú utu-lugal-ùru^{lú} er-re-šú iš-šá-a
 pab 1 me 1+šu 6 gur 1 pi 3 sila ina igi^{lⁱ-dⁱ} šu-la-a
 ina šà 1 me 36 gur 3_p 2_b še-bar 10_g še-zíz-àm
 pab 1 me 46 gur 3_p 2_b a-na ze-bé-lu
 a-na é-an-na ina igi^{ld} igi-du-šeš-mu a^{ld} ag-su
20. re-e-ḥi 19 gur 2_p 4_b 3 sila še-bar ina igi^{lⁱ-dⁱ} šu-la-a
 1 me 1+šu gur 3_p 2_b še-bar 3 gur še-zíz-àm
 2 gur še-gig-ba šá^{gis} bân šá^{lú} engar^{mc}
 ù ḥa-la šá it-ti^{lú} er-re-še-e šá^{lⁱ-dⁱ} na-dī-nu
 [i]-si-ru a-na ze-bé-lu a-na é-an-na
25. ina igi^{ld} igi-du-šeš-mu a^{ld} ag-su
 rev. [50]+3 gur 4 pi še-bar šá^{gis} bân šá^{lú} engar^{mc}
 ṽ^l ḥa-la šá it-ti^{lú} er-re-še-e šá^{lⁱ-dⁱ} suk^l-ka-a-a^l
 i-si-ru ina igi^{lⁱ-dⁱ} suk^l-ka-a-a
 ina šà 36 gur 5_b še-bar a-na ze-bé-lu
30. a-na é-an-na ina igi^{ld} igi-du-šeš-mu a^{ld} [g-su]
 re-e-ḥi 17 gur 3_p 1_b ina igi^{lⁱ-dⁱ} suk^l-ka-a-a^l

“440;4.4 of barley, 11 *kurru* of spelt, 0;3.4.3 of wheat of the *sūtu*-obligation of the ploughmen and the shares (of the temple due from) the sharecroppers, which Nā'id-Ištar, son of Arad-Innin,

²⁹¹ Direct evidence for their responsibility for several plough teams is offered by BM 113252. The text is edited below.

²⁹² The exact function of Nergal-aḥ-iddin is not clear. He is also known from *AnOr* 8 60 (9 Cyr), in which he delivers barley pertaining to the *sūtu* of the rent farmer Ilē'i-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Êtir, together with [PN]/Zēria, and from YOS 21 205 (acc Dar), in which he acts as a *mār banē* in a legal proceeding concerning the digging of a canal (for this text see below).

collected, are at the disposal of Nā'id-Ištar. From this 421;0.5 of barley, 24;0.3 of spelt and 0;2.3 of wheat are at the disposal of Nergal-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-erība, for transportation to Eanna. The remainder of 6;4.0.3 of barley is at the disposal of Nā'id-Ištar. Apart from the later barley, which he will have collected from the ploughmen and the sharecroppers.

150;1.0.3 of barley, 10 *kurru* of spelt, in total 160;1.0.3 of barley and spelt of the *sūtu*-obligation of the ploughmen and the shares (of the temple due from) the sharecroppers, which Šulāya collected. Apart from 6 *kurru* of barley, which Šulāya took from Šamaš-šar-ušur, the sharecropper. In total 166;1.0.3 (of barley) are at the disposal of Šulāya. From this 136;3.2 of barley (and) 10 *kurru* of spelt, in total 146;3.2 are at the disposal of Nergal-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-erība, for transportation to Eanna. The remainder of 19;2.4.3 of barley is at the disposal of Šulāya.

160;3.2 of barley, 3 *kurru* of spelt, 2 *kurru* of wheat of the *sūtu*-obligation of the ploughmen and the shares (of the temple due from) the sharecroppers, which Nādin collected, are at the disposal of Nergal-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-erība, for transportation to Eanna.

[5]3;4 of barley of the *sūtu*-obligation of the ploughmen and the shares (of the temple due from) the sharecroppers, which Sukkāya collected, are at the disposal of Sukkāya. From this 36;0.5 of barley are at the disposal of Nergal-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-erība, for transportation to Eanna. The remainder of 17;3.1 is at the disposal of Sukkāya.”

The responsibility over the deliveries of agricultural products of the ploughmen and the sharecroppers transpire also from NCBT 652 (3 Camb), a debt note for arable products. This text is unique as it is a kind of a collective *imittu* debt note for the dues of the *ikkarus* and the *errēšus*. The total amount is charged against Agria, a well attested *rab epinni*, who is himself actively involved in arable cultivation as is evident from the entry in line 11.

NCBT 652

9⁺-[x]-3 Camb

- obv. 1. [...]

[...]
5. 55 gur še-bar 1⁺ gur¹ [...]

pab 3 me 195¹ gur še-bar 19¹ gur še-z[iz-àm ...]

70 gur še-bar 2[?]_b¹ saḥ-le-e šá^{ld} na-na-^{ra}1[...]

pab 4 me 1+šu 5 gur še-bar 19 gur še-zíz-^{àm}1^{ra} x x¹ [x x x x (x)] šá^{lu} engar^{mc}

40 gur [š]c-bar 5_b saḥ-le-e^{ld} utu-^{ra}pin¹-eš ina du₆ a-gur-^{re}1-[e-tu₄]
10. 22 gur še-bar šá^{ld} utu-e-^{du}1-ú-šur

40 gur še-bar <<x>> šá¹ ag-ri-ia

1+šu gur še-bar šá¹ gu-za-nu

30 gur še-bar šá¹ har-^{ra}1-nu-^den

pab 1 me 92 gur še-bar 5_b saḥ-le-e ina 1 lim šá du₆ ^{ra}a-gur-^{re}1-e-tu₄
- rev. 15. pab-ma 6 me 57 gur še-bar 19 gur še-zíz-àm 2_p 3_b še-gig-^{ra}ba¹

ù 1_p 1_b saḥ-le-e šá^{lu} engar^{mc}

1 me 15 gur 1 pi še-bar 17 gur 2_p 3_b še-zíz-àm 1 gur 3_p 2_b še-gig-ba

ù 1_b saḥ-le-e šá^{lu} er-re-še-e pab-ma 7 me 72 gur 1 pi še-bar

36 gur 2_p 3_b še-zíz-àm 2 gur 5_b še-gig-ba ù 1_p 2_b saḥ-le-e ní-ga^d innin unug^{ki} u^d na-na-
- a
20. ina ugu¹ ag-ri-ia a-šú šá^{ld} ag-da-la-a' ina iti sig₄ še-bar-a₄

7 me 72 gur 1 pi 36 gur 2_p 3_b še-zíz-àm 2 gur 5_b še-gig-ba

ù 1_p 2_b saḥ-le-e ina^{gis} ma-ši-ḥu šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} i-^{ra}nam¹-din

^{lu}mu-kin-nu¹ gi-mil-lu a-šú šá¹ a-ḥu-lap-^dinnin a¹ ku-ri-[i]

¹ib-na-a a-šú šá¹ en-numun a¹ šu-^dna-n[a-a]
25. ^{ld}utu-ib-ni¹ a-šú šá¹ gi-mil-l[u Ø]

[^{lu}]umbisag¹ na-di-nu a-šú šá^{ld} en-šeš^{mcš}-ba-šá a¹ [e-gi-bi]

[ur]u du₆ udun^{mc} ši-i-ḥu šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} [iti x]

[ud x]+^{ra}9¹-kam mu 3-kam¹ kam¹-bu-^{ra}z¹[i-ia]
- u.c. [lugal] tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur]

[Ø¹]

“[...] 90 *kurru* of barley, 1⁺ *kurru* of [...]; 55 *kurru* of barley, 15 *kurru* of spelt [...]; in sum: 395 *kurru* of barley, 19 *kurru* of spelt [...]. 70 *kurru* of barley, 2 *sūtu* of cress of Nanāya-[x]; in sum 465 *kurru* of barley, 19 *kurru* of spelt [...] of the ploughmen. 40 *kurru* of barley, 5 *sūtu* of cress (of) Šamaš-ēreš in Til-agurrēti. 22 *kurru* of barley of Šamaš-ēd-ušur. 40 *kurru* of barley of Agria. 60 *kurru* of barley of Guzānu. 30 *kurru* of barley of Ḫarrān-Bēl. In sum: 192 *kurru* of barley, 5 *sūtu* of cress in the *limu* of Til-agurrēti.

In total: 657 *kurru* of barley, 19 *kurru* of spelt, 0;2.3 of wheat and 0;1.1 of cress, from the ploughmen. 115;1 of barley, 17;2.3 of spelt, 1;3.2 of wheat and 1 *sūtu* of cress, from the sharecroppers.

Grand total: 772;1 of barley, 36;2.3 of spelt, 2;0.5 of wheat and 0;1.2 of cress, property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya, are the debt of Agria, son of Nabû-dalā. In the third month he will pay these 772;1 of barley, 36;2.3 of spelt, 2;0.5 of wheat and 0;1.2 of cress using the measure of the Lady of Uruk.

Witnesses: Gimillu, son of Aḫulap-Ištar, descendant of Kurī,
Ibnāya, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
Šamaš-ibni, son of Gimillu,

Scribe: Nādin, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi;

Til-atūnāti, estate of the Lady of Uruk. 9⁺-[x]-3 Camb, [king] of Babylon, [king of the lands].”

Occasionally there were problems concerning illegal transactions with the barley due to the temple. In a case of alleged embezzlement Etellu, son of Zēria, one of the *rab epinnis*, was to be held personally liable if it was proven that another (otherwise unknown) individual sold temple barley in his presence:

PTS 2231 19-X-8 Nbn

obv. 1. *ina u₄-mu^{lú} mu-kin-nu lu-ú*
lú ba-ti-qu it-tal-kam-ma
a-na¹ e-tel-lu₄ a-šú šá¹ numun-iá
uk-tin-nu šá še-bar šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki}
5. *iš-sur a-šú šá^{ld} ag-sur-zi^{meš}*
ina igi-šú a-na kù-babbar id-di-nu
ma-la a-^rna¹
lo.e. *ṛkù¹-babbar sum-na-ti*
rev. [1+e]n 30 *e-tel-lu₄*
10. *a-na^d gašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din*
lú mu-kin-nu^{ld} u-gur-mu-mu
a-šú šá¹ ina-sùḫ-sur a¹ hu-un-zu-ú
ld innin-gin-a a-šú šá¹ numun-iá
ḫaš-da-a a-šú šá¹ id-di-iá
15. *lú umbisag^{ld} in-nin-numun-gál-ši*
ṛa-šú¹ šá^{ld} na-na-a-siskur-siskur
u.e. [u]nug^{ki} iti ab ud 20-1-lá-kam
mu 8-kam *ag-i lugal tin-tir^{rki¹}*

“The day a witness or an informer testifies against Etellu, son of Zēria, that Iššūr, son of Nabû-ēter-napšāti, sold barley belonging to the Lady of Uruk in his presence, Etellu will have to repay as much barley as was sold thirty-fold to the Lady of Uruk.

Witnesses: Nergal-šum-iddin, son of Ina-tēšī-ēter, descendant of Ḫunzū,
Ištar-mukīn-apli, son of Zēria,
Ḫašdāya, son of Iddia,

Scribe: Innin-zēr-ušabši, son of Nanāya-karābi;

Uruk; 19-X-8 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

The *rab epinnis*' responsibility for the deliveries of the *ikkarus* and the *errēšus* is sometimes also expressed using the term *sūtu* ("rent"). The *imittu* list TCL 13 180 (1 Dar) illustrates this in its introductory lines: "Barley, spelt and wheat, [*sūtu*'] of the ploughmen and shares (due from) the sharecroppers, pertaining to the *sūtu* of Agria, son of Nabû-dalā",²⁹³ with a phraseology typically used to express the responsibility of a rent farmer.

Their role as intermediaries between the temple and the sharecroppers is also evident from a number of debt notes with the *ša qāt* expression. These texts are structured like the *imittu* debt notes, with the exception that they invariably concern the dues of the sharecroppers (*zittu*).²⁹⁴ The barley due, the property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, is said to be at the responsibility (*ša qāt*) of PN₁, and charged against PN₂. The first person, from other sources known as a *rab epinni*, is usually without a title, but is sometimes designated as *ikkaru* and a *širku* of Ištar of Uruk.²⁹⁵

NCBT 1012 26-I-4 Camb
 obv. 1. 13 gur še-bar ḥa-la níg-ga^dinnin unug^{ki}[i]
 u^dna-na-a šá šu^{li} ag-ri-ia a-šú
 šá^{ld}ag-da-la-a' ina muḥ-ḥi^lba-šá
 a-šú šá^lšal-ti-dingir ina iti gu⁴ še-bar-a⁴ 13 gur
 5. ina^{giš}ma-ši-ḥ[u š]á^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
 ina muḥ-ḥi maš-^rkát^l-tu⁴ i-nam-din
 e-lat šuk^{bi-a} šá^{lu}gú-gal
 rev. ina gub-zu šá^{ld}ag-gin-a^{lu}šà-tam é-an-na
 a-šú šá^lna-dì-nu a^lda-bi-bi
 10. ^{lu}mu-kin-nu^{ld}amar-utu-dub-numun a-šú šá^ldin a^lmi-šir-a-a
^lgi-mil-lu a-šú šá^la-ḥu-lap-^dinnin a^lku-ri-i
^{ld}ag-en-šú-nu a-šú šá^{ld}innin-^rmu^l-kam a^{ld}idim-dingir-ú-tu-dù
^{ld}utu-dù a-šú šá^lšu^lmu-mu a-šú šá^lir-^dna-na-a
^rl^uumbisag^{ld}amar-utu-pap a-šú šá^{ld}di-kud-šeš^{meš}-mu
 15. a^lši-gu-ú-a^{ld}bit-qa šá^{ld}en-sur ši-i-^rḥu^l
 le.e. šá^dgašan šá unug^{ki} iti bár ud 26-k[am]
 mu 4-kam^lkam-bu-zi-ia
 lugal e^{ki}kur^{meš}

"13 *kurru* barley, share, property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya, at the hands of Agria, son of Nabû-dalā, are the debt of Iqīša, son of Šālti-il. In the second month he will repay the 13 *kurru* of barley with the measure of the Lady of Uruk at the depot. Apart from the *gugallu*-fee.

In the presence of Nabû-mukīn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī.

Witnesses: Marduk-šāpik-zēri, son of Balātu, descendant of Miširāya,
 Gimillu, son of Aḥulap-Ištar, descendant of Kurī,
 Nabû-bēlšunu, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendant of Ea-ilūta-bāni,
 Šamaš-ibni, son of Gimillu,
 Šum-iddin, son of Arad-Nanāya,

Scribe: Marduk-nāšir, son of Madān-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Šigūa;

Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, estate of the Lady of Uruk; 26-I-4 Camb, king of Babylon (and) of Lands."

²⁹³ TCL 13 180, ll.1-4: še-bar še-ziz-àm u^rše^l-gig-ba^rx^l/šá^{lu}engar^{meš}ù ḥa-la šá <<x>>/^{lu}er-re-še-e^ršá^lgiš^{bán}šá^lag-ri-ia^l/a-šú šá^{ld}ag-da-la-a'. The traces at the end of line 1 cannot be interpreted in a satisfactory way. A collation is needed to ensure a reading. Probably a term designating a type of obligation was intended. The traces at the end of line 2 are either the remains of an erasure, or are a continuation of whatever was written at the end of the line above it.

²⁹⁴ Texts of this type are: NCBT 1012 (4 Camb), YOS 7 169 (4 Camb), YOS 7 180 (5 Camb), TCL 13 166 (5 Camb), UCP 10/8 244 (5 Camb). There are of course other texts with the *ša qāt* expression. Some of these are debt notes, very often for silver, but sometimes also for agricultural products such as barley or dates. These cases, however, do not belong to an agricultural context, as typical elements, such as *zittu* or *imittu* as appositions to the owed commodity, or stipulations for the *gugallūtu*-payment, are missing.

²⁹⁵ Thus in YOS 7 180, TCL 13 166 and UCP 10/8 244, all from the second month of 5 Camb, and concerning Mukkēa, son of Innin-zēr-ušabši.

The use of the *ša qāt* expression in connection with agricultural officials is also known from earlier periods, from NCBT 650 (15 Nbk), where it is used to express the responsibility of the *rab ešerti* Bulluṭāya, son of Nanāya-ibni, over the dues of *ikkarus* and *errēšus*.²⁹⁶ Above all, it is attested in a similar context in texts from Isin and Sippar referring to the *gugallus*.²⁹⁷ Indeed, Agria is himself attested as a *gugallu* once (YOS 7 186 (6 Camb)), but this is of no particular significance here. The use of the same terminology for different officials just reflects the lack of rigidity in this system, where overlaps of duties and functions were not uncommon.²⁹⁸ What remains, though, is the question of the liability of the person “at the hand” of whom the barley debts were placed. In other words, the question is whether these debt notes expressed their tasks as temple officials or their duties as contractors. As with the agricultural officials of the earlier periods a contractual relationship with the temple cannot be entirely excluded. No contracts are known for any of the *rab epinnis*, with the exception of BM 113252 (4 Camb), which in itself is not comparable to any of the land lease contracts known so far:

BM 113252

18-IV-4 Camb

- obv. 1. ^le-tel-lu a-šú šá ^lze-ri-ia ù ^lmuk-ke-e-a a-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-numun-gál-ši
^{lú}engar^{mc} ^{lú}rig⁷^{mc} ^dinnin unug^{ki} ^{lú}en^{meš} gi-mil še-numun šá é ^dag še-numun šá ^{garin}ÁŠ-DA
še-numun šá ^{uru}hu-uš-še-e-tu₄ šá ^lda-di-ia 1-en ^{giš}apin šá ^le-tel-lu ina ^{garin}ši-in-gu
ù re-ḥe-et ^{giš}apin^{mc} šá ^le-tel-lu ina é ú-ru-ba-nu ina ^{garin}an-gil-lu₄ it-ti
5. ^lmuk-ke-e-a il-la-ku-u’ dul-lu it-ti a-ḥa-meš ip-pu-šu-u’ a-ki-i ^{giš}bán
šá lugal ina ugu ^{giš}apin^{mc} iš-ku-nu ^{giš}bán a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-di-nu 1-en pu-ut
2-i na-šu-ú
^lag-ri-ia a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-da-la-a’ ù ^lša-du-nu a-šú šá ^llib-lu lu^{lú} ^{lú}engar^{mc}
^{lú}rig⁷^{mc} ^dinnin unug^{ki} ^{lú}en^{meš} gi-mil še-numun šá ^{garin}ši-in-gu še-numun šá hu-ú-pu šá
^{uru}ša-kil-ta
ù re-ḥe-et ^{giš}apin^{mc} šá ^lag-ri-ia ina ^{uru}hu-uš-še-e-tu₄ šá ^lḥa-aḥ-ḥu-ru
10. it-ti ^lša-du-nu il-la-ku-u’ dul-lu it-ti a-ḥa-meš ip-pu-šu-u’ a-ki-*<i>* ^{giš}bán
šá lugal ina ugu ^{giš}apin^{mc} iš-ku-nu ^{giš}bán a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din-nu 1-en pu-ut
2-i na-šu-ú
^{ld}in-nin-šeš^{meš}-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-mu-ùru ù ^{ld}na-na-a-kam a-šú šá ^lmuk-ke-e-a
^{lú}engar^{mc} ^{lú}rig⁷^{mc} ^dinnin unug^{ki} ^{lú}en^{meš} gi-mil 1-en ^{giš}apin šá ^{ld}in-nin-šeš^{meš}-mu
ina ^{garin}ÁŠ-DA ù re-ḥe-et ^{giš}apin^{mc} šá ^{ld}in-nin-šeš^{meš}-mu ina ta-bi-nu šá ^lmu-gin
15. ù ina bi-rit di-ma-a-ta ina ^{garin}an-gil-lu₄ it-ti ^{ld}na-na-a-kam il-la-ku-u’
dul-lu it-ti a-ḥa-meš ip-pu-šu-u’ a-ki-i ^{giš}bán šá lugal ina muḥ-ḥi ^{giš}apin^{mc}
iš-ku-nu ^{giš}bán a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din-nu 1-en pu-ut 2-i na-šu-ú
rev. ^lšu-la^l-a a-šú šá ^{ld}30-sum-mu u ^li-^dinnin a-šú šá ^lir-^din-nin ^{lú}engar^{mc} ^{lú}rig⁷^{mc} ^dinnin unug^{ki}
^{lú}en^{meš} gi-mil še-numun šá ina ^{garin}ru-da-a-a ina pa-ni-šu-nu ù re-ḥe-et ^{giš}apin^{mc} -šu-nu
20. ina ^{garin}ra-a-ṭu dul-lu it-ti a-ḥa-meš ip-pu-šu-u’ a-ki-i ^{giš}bán šá lugal ina ugu ^{giš}apin^{mc}
iš-ku-nu ^{giš}bán a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din-nu 1-en pu-ut 2-i na-šu-ú
^lna-di-nu a-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-numun-ù u ^lnik-ka-a-a a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-lugal-ùru ^{lú}engar^{mc}
^{lú}rig⁷^{mc} ^dinnin unug^{ki} še-numun šá ina ^{kur}su-man-dar ina pa-ni-šu-nu dul-lu it-ti a-ḥa-
meš
ip-pu-šu-u’ a-ki-i ^{giš}bán šá lugal ina ugu ^{giš}apin^{mc} iš-ku-nu ^{giš}bán a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
25. i-nam-din-nu 1-en pu-ut 2-i na-šu-ú ^{lú}er-re-še-e it-ti a-ḥa-meš ú-šá^l-za-zu
gi-mir[?] it-ti a-ḥa-meš is-si-ir ù na-mir-tu₄ šá lugal it-ti a-ḥa-meš i-nam-din-nu
ina gub-zu šá ^{ld}ag-gin-ibila ^{lú}ša-tam é-an-na a-šú šá ^lna-di-nu a ^lda-bi-bi
^{ld}ag-šeš-sum-na ^{lú}sag lugal ^{lú}en pi-qit-tu₄ é-an-na
^{lú}mu-kin-nu ^{ld}30-apin-eš a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-mu-si-sá a ^lib-ni-dingir
30. ^{ld}ag-ibila-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}en-ú-bal-liṭ a ^{lú}ša-mun^{hi-a}-šú
^{ld}kur-gal-lugal-ùru a-šú šá ^lta-li-mu

²⁹⁶ See p. 87.²⁹⁷ See Jursa 1995a: 50.²⁹⁸ For the *gugallus* of the Achaemenid period in Uruk see p. 128.

^{lú}dub-sar ¹na-di-nu a-šú šá ^{ld}en-šeš^{meš}-rba-šá¹ a ¹e-gi-bi
 unug^{ki} iti šu ud 18-kam mu 4-kam ¹kam-bu-zi-ia
 lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur

“Etellu, son of Zēria, and Mukkēa, son of Innin-zēr-ušabši, the ploughmen, *širkus* of Ištar of Uruk, *bēl gimils*: arable land in Bīt-Nabû, ÁŠ-DA, and Ғuššētu-ša-Dadia, one plough team of Etellu in Šingu and the rest of the plough teams of Etellu in Bīt-urubānu in Angillu (are at their disposal). They will go together with Mukkēa. They will till (the land) together. They will give the *sūtu* to the Lady of Uruk according to the *sūtu* that the king imposed on the plough teams. They stand surety for one another.

Agria, son of Nabû-dalā, and Šadūnu, son of Libluṭ, the ploughmen, *širkus* of Ištar of Uruk, *bēl gimils*: arable land in Šingu, in *hūpu* of Šakillat, and the rest of the plough teams of Agria in Ғuššētu-ša-Ғaḥḥuru (are at their disposal). They will go together with Šadūnu. They will till (the land) together. They will give the *sūtu* to the Lady of Uruk according to the *sūtu* that the king imposed on the plough teams. They stand surety for one another.

Innin-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Innin-šum-ušur, and Nanāya-ēreš, son of Mukkēa, the ploughmen, *širkus* of Ištar of Uruk, *bēl gimils*: one plough team of Innin-aḥḥē-iddin in ÁŠ-DA and the remaining plough teams of Innin-aḥḥē-iddin in Tabīnu-ša-Šum-ukīn and between the watchtowers in Angillu (are at their disposal). They will go together with Nanāya-ēreš. They will till (the land) together. They will give the *sūtu* to the Lady of Uruk according to the *sūtu* that the king imposed on the plough teams. They stand surety for one another.

Šulāya, son of Sīn-nādin-šumi, and Nā'id-Ištar, son of Arad-Innin, the ploughmen, *širkus* of Ištar of Uruk, *bēl gimils*: arable land which is in Rudāya is at their disposal and the rest of their plough teams in Rātu. They will till (the land) together. They will give the *sūtu* to the Lady of Uruk according to the *sūtu* that the king imposed on the plough teams. They stand surety for one another.

Nādin, son of Innin-zēr-ibni, and Nikkāya, son of Nabû-šar-ušur, the ploughmen, *širkus* of Ištar of Uruk: arable land which is in Sumandar is at their disposal. They will till (the land) together. They will give the *sūtu* to the Lady of Uruk according to the *sūtu* that the king imposed on the plough teams. They stand surety for one another.

They will employ sharecroppers, collect the *gimru* and deliver the present of the king together.

In the presence of Nabû-mukīn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna.

Witnesses: Sīn-ēreš, son of Nabû-šum-līšir, descendant of Ibni-il,
 Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Bēl-uballit, descendant of Ša-ṭābtišu,
 Amurru-šar-ušur, son of Tālim,

Scribe: Nādin, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi;

Uruk; 18-IV-4 Camb, king of Babylon, king of the lands.”

This document concerns ten people, nine of which are known from other texts as can be seen in the table above. Only Nikkāya, son of Nabû-šar-ušur, seems to be a newcomer to this group and is not known from other sources. The text is divided in five fairly parallel sections. Each one of the sections treats two of these people together outlining their obligations toward the temple. They are in turn designated as ploughmen, *širkus* of Ištar of Uruk, and *bēl gimils*. The last title is not attested elsewhere, and cannot be interpreted with certainty. Deriving the word *gimil* from *gimillu* does not help our understanding of the phrase. “A person who owes somebody a favour”, *bēl gimilli*, as attested once (CAD G: 75), does not make any sense in an agricultural or an organisational context. Resorting to *gimlu*, a “resting ox (designation of an ox not to be used for hard work)” (CAD G: 76), offers no productive insights either. It remains conjectural in which way the title relates to the office of *rab epinni*.

The text is put in fairly general terms. Neither are the areas assigned to these *bēl gimils* precisely delineated, nor is the number of plough teams under their responsibility, nor are their dues to the temple specified in figures, as is the case in regular land-lease contracts. This was probably so because this text was not the original arrangement – these individuals are known to

have carried this kind of responsibility at least since the beginning of Cambyses's reign²⁹⁹ – and the specifics such as the land and the plough teams at their disposal were already known to them and the temple administration. There were obviously no changes concerning these matters, so there was no need to be more specific about them in the text. Even the scope of their obligations is summarily stipulated, which indicates that the document is referring to a customary practice without introducing any novelties. The text simply states that each plough team should do the work according to the *sūtu* which was assigned to the plough teams by the king. This evokes the well known 'Edict of Belšazzar',³⁰⁰ which attests the royal involvement in the organisation of the temple agriculture. It was an attempt to increase productivity by creating a model outlining the workload imposed on and the output expected of a plough team. According to this model, a plough team was supposed to till 25 *kurru* of land and obtain a twelve-fold yield (i.e. 300 *kurru* of barley). Perhaps it is this norm that BM 113252 is alluding to with the phrase *sūtu ša šarru iškunu*, unless the Achaemenid royal administration implemented a different model. Although there is no evidence for this as yet, it does not seem entirely improbable in the light of other interventions in the temple agriculture conducted by the Achaemenids.³⁰¹ At any rate, it is interesting to observe that the temple administration actually implemented the measures proposed (or imposed?) by the crown. However, this does not seem to be the crux of this document. It appears that the motive for this contract was a reorganisation of labour, resulting in a relocation of plough teams and merging of the workforce into teams under the authority of a pair of *rab gimils*. What prompted the temple administration to this move remains unknown.

We can deduce from BM 113252, however, that the *rab gimils*, and presumably also the *rab epinnis*, since we are dealing with more or less the same set of ten individuals, were in charge of several plough teams in several localities. Furthermore, it was their duty to impose a workload on them, i.e. assign them an appropriate plot of land according to a current norm dictated by the crown, and make sure their *sūtu* reached the temple. Where necessary they were to take on sharecroppers to work the temple land. Apparently they were also responsible for setting the impost (*imittu* obligation) for the ploughmen and the sharecroppers, in the manner of the yield estimators (*ēmidus*). That this allocation of obligations and labour could sometimes go wrong is documented by BIN 2 108³⁰² ([x] Camb). The text records an oath of three *rab epinnis* expressing their intention not to conceal the land of the Lady of Uruk or impose obligations of the ploughmen on the sharecroppers and *vice versa*. The situation is similar to that in YBC 4000³⁰³ (34 Nbk). Here a *gugallu* and four *rab ešertis* together with the ploughmen of a certain locality are warned against sharing the land of the Lady of Uruk and the draught animals between the *ikkarus* and the *errēšus* under the threat of a death penalty. The hiding of the land appears as another illicit activity in this text.³⁰⁴

2.5.2. Non-agricultural work

The *rab epinnis* were not only involved in the management of the agricultural production of the temple. Just like the *rab ešertis* of the Chaldean period, they were also responsible for non-agricultural activities such as digging of canals and grinding of flour.

Public works are the background of the letters YOS 3 17 and TCL 9 129, two almost duplicates, written by Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna, to the *šatammu* and Nādin, a temple scribe, respectively.³⁰⁵ Etellu, son of Zēria, explicitly asks to be assigned digging work on a canal in a locality called Bīt-Dabābi, as a compensation for his debts toward the temple. The other *rab*

²⁹⁹ They were appointed as *rab epinnis* by Gūbaru at an earlier point according to TCL 13 152 (2 Camb). For details see below.

³⁰⁰ YOS 6 103. For a commentary on the text see for instance van Driel 1990: 224f. and here p. 38 and 70.

³⁰¹ Note, for instance, the setting up of Ardia's rent farm for dates (p. 221) and the appointment of the *rab epinnis* (discussed in this chapter), both initiated by Gūbaru.

³⁰² The text was edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 60. 121f. and Sandowicz 2012: 275f. See also here p. 139.

³⁰³ Janković 2005: 167ff.

³⁰⁴ It is not obvious what the act of hiding land actually means. A misrepresentation of the amount of arable land under cultivation, and in turn of the yields pending, may have been implied by this.

³⁰⁵ Cocquerillat juxtaposed the two texts 1968: 101f.⁺¹⁷¹.

epinnis appearing in the text, designated as *ikkarus* here, are mentioned in the context of the settling of accounts with them, of hiring workers and of problems concerning the lack of food, i.e. rations for the workers.

A text from the beginning of the reign of Darius, probably later than these letters, shows the large-scale rent farmer Gimillu, son of Innin-šum-ibni, involved in organising canal-digging through three men, of which at least one is known as a *rab epinni* from other sources:

YOS 21 205 [x]-X-acc Dar

obv. 1. ^lé-an-na-li-pi-ú-šur a-šú šá ^lim-[x x]
 a ^lki-din-^damar-utu ^{ld}innin-na-numun-ba-šá a š[ú šá ^lx x]
^lki-din a-šú šá ^lta-lim
^{ld}bad-šeš^{meš}-ba-šá a-šú šá ^{ld}bad-šeš^{meš}-m[u]

5. ^lir-^dinnin-na a-šú šá ^lnumun-ia
^{ld}igi-du-šeš-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-su
^lša-pi-i-kal-bi a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-šeš-m[u]

(one blank line)

^{lú}dumu-dū^{meš} šá ina pa-ni-šú-nu ^lgi-m[il-lu]
 a-šú šá ^{ld}innin-na-mu-dū ^{lú}ša muḥ-ḥi ^{giš}bán

10. šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} a-na ^li-^d[15]
 lo.e. a-šú šá ^lir-^dinnin-na ^{ld}da[n-nu-šeš^{meš}-šú-dū]
 a-šú šá ^{ld}u a ^la-gi-<ri>-ia a-šú šá ^l[^dag²-da²-la²-a²]

rev. iq-bu-ú um-ma dul-la-ku-nu ina mu[ḥ-ḥi]
 id-šá-^{lú}ša-tam a-na ḥe-ru-tu₄ lu-^rḥir^l-[ri²]
 15. ^li-^d15 ^{ld}dan-nu-šeš^{meš}-šú-dū u ^la-gi-ri-ia
 ina ^den ^dag u lugal a-na ^lgi-mil-lu it-te-mu-ú
 ki-i še-numun šá ni-ir-ri-šú i-ba-aš-šu dul-la-nu
 la ni-ig-mu-ru ul-tu ud 10-kam šá iti ab ^rq^l[aq²-qar²]
 la ni-is-su-ḥu id-šá-^{lú}ša-tam sur-ri-ma [x x x]

(one blank line)

20. ^{lú}dumu-dū^{meš} šú-nu-ma mu-kin-né-e [Ø]
^{lú}umbisag ^{ld}innin-na-mu-urū a-šú šá ^{ld}r^x^l-[x x (x)]
 uru é ^lša-am-il iti ab u[d x-kam]
 mu sag-^rnam-lugal ^lda^l-ri-i[á-muš]
 lugal e^{ki} u kur-kur

“Eanna-līp-ušur, son of Im-[x], descendant of Kidin-Marduk,

Innin-zēr-iqīša, son of [PN],

Kidin, son of Talīm,

Ea-aḥḥē-iqīša, son of Ea-aḥḥē-iddin,

Arad-Innin, son of Zēria,

Nergal-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-erība,

Ša-pī-kalbi, son of Nabû-aḥ-iddin,

(these are) the *mār banē*, in whose presence Gimillu, son of Innin-šum-ibni, *ša muḥḥi sūti* of the Lady of Uruk, said to Nā'id-Ištar, son of Arad-Innin, Dannu-aḥḥēšu-ibni, son of Ibnāya, and Agiria,³⁰⁶ son of [Nabû-dalā²], as follows: ‘I will ... your digging work on the Nāru-ša-šatammi.’ Nā'id-Ištar, Dannu-aḥḥēšu-ibni and Agiria swore by Bēl, Nabû and the king to Gimillu: ‘There is no arable land that we still have to till. We have finished our work. Since the 10-X we have been digging [earth²]. We will surely [...] the Nāru-ša-šatammi.’

The *mār banē* were witnesses. Scribe: Innin-šum-ušur, son of [x];

Bīt-Šama-il; [x]-X-acc Dar, king of Babylon and of lands.”

³⁰⁶ It is not certain whether Agiria should be considered a variant of the name Agria. In case this identification is correct, two of the three individuals responsible for the digging are previously attested as *rab epinnis*. Dannu-aḥḥēšu-ibni, son of Ibnāya, is not known from other sources.

Gimillu's declaration to Nā'id-Ištar, Agiria and Danna-ahhēšu-ibni is not clear. If one chooses to derive the verb from *hiāru* it would mean something along the lines of: 'I will choose the (amount of) digging work on the Nāru-ša-šatammi for you'. This does not make much sense considering the three men's reply, which sounds rather defensive. Another possibility would be to derive the verb from *herû* and understand the phrase as a sarcastic question, accusing the three men of negligence: 'Shall I do your digging work on the Nāru-ša-šatammi?' (with an emphasis on "I"). However, while this sort of rhetoric could easily be found in a letter, its appearance in a legal record would seem somewhat odd. Be that as it may, at least the oath of the three individuals is straightforward. They claim that they had finished cultivating the fields and were engaged in digging works since a certain date. Their intentions for the Nāru-ša-šatammi in particular are obscured by a break in the text.

While the tone of some statements in this document is unclear, it is enough to illustrate that the *rab epinnis* were responsible for the digging of canals and were answerable to the highest agricultural official – the large-scale rent farmer, *ša muḫhi sūti*. In the absence of the large-scale rent farmers they dealt directly with the highest officials of the temple administration, *bēl piqitti*, *šatammu*, or temple scribes, as is demonstrated by the letters YOS 3 17 and TCL 9 129.

Conducting public works and supervising their workforce were not the only duties of the *rab epinnis* in the public works sector. They were also obliged to rally the workers whenever asked by the temple. Their work units consisted of the ploughmen, who were already under their responsibility for arable cultivation, and of settlers from the villages of the Uruk hinterland. Their obligation to assemble the workers is best demonstrated by TCL 13 150:³⁰⁷

TCL 13 150 14-III-2 Camb
 obv. 1. 10 ^{lú}ú-ra-šú šá ^{lú}engar^{lme} ^{lú}erín šu^{II}-šú
 šu-ul-su-du-ú-tu ^lag-ri-ia dumu-šú šá ^{ld}ag-da-la-a'
 i-de-ek-ke-e-ma a-na ^{id}ḫar-ri kip-pí
 i-nam-din u₄-mu šá ^{ld}ag-din-<<su>>-lugal-e ^{lú}šá ugu ^{giš}bán
 5. šá ugu id ^{umu}pi-qu-du a-na ugu ^{lú}ú-ra-šú i-šap-par-ru
 ù ^{lú}ú-ra-šú la it-tan-nu
 ḫi-ṭu šá ^lgu-bar-ru ^{lú}nam tin-tir^{ki}
 ù e-bir id i-šad-da-ad
 rev. ^{lú}mu-kin-nu ^lib-na-a dumu-šú šá ^len-numun
 10. dumu ^lšu-d^lna-na-a ^lir-ia dumu-šú
 šá ^{ld}utu-mu-gin dumu ^{lú}man-di-di
^{lú}umbisag ^lgi-mil-lu dumu-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-numun-mu
^{umu}maš-kan-dingir šī-i-ḫu šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
 iti sig₄ ud 14-kam mu 2-kam
 15. ^lkam-bu-zi-ia lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Agria, son of Nabû-dalā, will rally 10 equipped³⁰⁸ *urāšu*-workers from among the ploughmen³⁰⁹ under his responsibility, and deliver them for (work on) Ḫarri-kibbi. If he does not deliver them when Nabû-balāṭ-šarri-iqbi, the rent farmer of Nār-Piqūdu, writes (asking) for the *urāšus*, he will bear the punishment of Gūbaru, the governor of Babylon and Across-the-river.

Witnesses: Ibnāya, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
 Ardia, son of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, descendant of Mandidu,

³⁰⁷ The text has been edited and translated by Moore (1935: 150f). and Cocquerillat (1968: 100) already, but since the present interpretation varies substantially from these editions the text was re-edited here.

³⁰⁸ The interpretation of *šu-ul-su-du-ú-tu* as a derivative of *šušdušu*, which is adopted by Cocquerillat 1968: 100, does not make sense, as ten people can hardly be satisfactorily “divided into groups of six”. As was noted by van Driel 2002: 268¹³⁶, deriving the word from *šuršudu* “equipped” is far more fitting.

³⁰⁹ The sign in line 1 is actually uru. Van Driel proposes either emending the sign to engar or reading ^{lú}uru as *ālāiu* (2002: 268¹³⁶). However, the word *ālāiu*, “(dependant) villager”, is not attested in any Babylonian sources. It appears sporadically in Old-, Middle- and Neo-Assyrian as well as Nuzi texts (Fadhil – Radner 1996: 423-427 discuss this word, equating it with *glebae adscriptus*). Since *ālāiu* is only ever written syllabically and the sign uru is to my knowledge not attested with a determinative ^{lú} elsewhere, the emendation to engar seems to be a better solution.

Scribe: Gimillu, son of Innin-zēr-iddin;
Maškan-ili, estate of the Lady of Uruk; 14-III-2 Camb, king of Babylon.”

urāšus were workers employed at public works, the *urāšu*-service of the king. The temple was also obliged to provide *urāšus* for the royal building projects and so one finds temple personnel such as the ploughmen, gardeners and shepherds with this designation (Jursa 1995a: 121. 185). Van Driel noted that the royal administration would occasionally “lend” these workers to the temple for its own projects (1989: 208ff. and especially 211; see also *idem* 2002: 264ff.). The *urāšus* in this text are supposed to work on a canal for a rent farmer in the area of Nār-Piqūdu. It is not specified for which institution, but it seems likely that this work was called for by the royal administration and that Nabû-balāṭ-šarri-iqbi was a rent farmer on royal land, since he is previously attested as a *mašennu*, a high-ranking royal official, in TCL 13 227 (probably from 7 Nbn) and his attestations do not indicate a contractual relationship between him and Eanna.³¹⁰ This text is therefore an order of the temple administration authorizing the royal administration to call on a *rab epinni* directly in order to assemble and equip a work unit consisting of ten ploughmen.

The *rab epinnis* were also in charge of the rations of their workers. The ploughmen, who were supposed to provide for themselves while they were engaged in agricultural work, were entitled to rations when employed at non-agricultural projects. The *urāšus* were entitled to these anyway.

NBC 4612 (1 Camb) records a case of idle ploughmen. The date rations for these *ikkarus* were handed over to the ten *rab epinnis*, presumably for the purpose of distributing these among their workers. However, since the *ikkarus* did no work, the temple requested the 200 *kurru* of dates, or alternatively barley, to be returned. The text mentions another amount of barley or dates from the accession year of Cambyses² and commodities for the rations of *urāšus*, but due to the breaks this section is not fully understood.

- NBC 4612 10⁺-XII-1 Camb
 obv. 1. 2 me gur zú-lum-¹ma¹ níg-[ga] ^dinnin unug^{ki} ^rú² ^{[d}na]-¹na-a¹
 šá a-na šuk^{hi-a-meš} šá ^{lu}engar^{meš} sa-mu-tu
 a-na ¹šu-la-a a-šú šá ^{ld}30-na-din-mu ¹e-tel-lu
 a-šú šá ¹ze-ri-ia ¹i-^d15 a-šú šá ¹ir-^dinnin-na
 5. ¹suk²-ka-a a-<šú> šá ^{ld}na-na-a-kam ¹ag-ri-ia
 a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-da-la-a² ^{ld}na-na-a-kam a ¹muk-ke-e-a
¹muk-ke-e-a a-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-numun-gál-ši
^{ld}in-nin-šeš^{meš}-mu a ^{ld}in-nin-mu-ùru
^[1]šá-du-nu a¹-šú šá ¹lib-luṭ u ¹na-din a-šú šá ^{ld}innin-na-numun-¹dù¹
 10. [x x (x)] ¹sum¹-na zú-lum-ma-a₄ 2 me gur
 [šá a-na šuk^{hi}]-¹ra-meš¹ šá ^{lu}engar^{me} sa-mu-tu
 [sum-na x (x)] še-bar-a₄ 2 me gur
 lo.e. ^{[lu}engar²]-¹meš¹ ina iti sig₄ a-na níg-[ga]
 [i-nam-d]i-nu e-lat 1 me gu[r]
 rev. 15. [x x x x x mu] ¹sag¹-nam-lugal-la
 [x x x x x] me ù 1+šú gur
 [x x x (x) a]-na šuk^{hi-a-me} šá ^{lu}ú-ra-šú
 [x x x]-nu-tu i-na gub-zu
^{[ld}ag-gin]-¹a¹ ^{lu}šá-tam é-an-na a-šú šá ¹na-din
 20. [a ¹da-bi]-bi ^{ld}ag-šeš-mu ^{lu}sag lugal
^{[lu}en pi-q]it-¹tu₄ ¹é-an-na ^{lu}mu-kin-nu
^{[1}ir]-¹amar-utu a-šú šá ¹numun-ia a ¹e-gi-bi
^{ld}utu-gin-a a-šú šá ^{ld}di-kud-šeš^{meš}-¹mu¹
 a ¹ši-gu-ú-a ¹la-a-ba-ši-^damar-¹utu a¹-[šú]
 25. šá ¹ir-^den dumu ¹e-gi-bi ¹na-[din]
 u.e. dub-sar dumu-šú šá ^{ld}en-šeš^{meš}-ba-šá [Ø]
 dumu ¹e-gi-bi unug^{ki} iti še ud ¹10¹[+x-kam]

³¹⁰ See p. 250.

mu 1-kam ¹ka-am¹-bu-zi-ia lugal tin-tir^[ki]
[u] kur-kur

“200 *kurru* of dates, property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya, that were (intended) for the rations of the idle ploughmen, were given [...] to Šulāya, son of Sîn-nādin-šumi, Etellu, son of Zēria, Nā'id-Ištar, son of Arad-Innin, Sukkāya, son of Nanāya-ēreš, Agria, son of Nabû-dalā, Nanāya-ēreš, son of Mukkēa, Mukkēa, son of Innin-zēr-ušabši, Innin-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Innin-šum-ušur, Šadūnu, son of Libluṭ, and Nādin, son of Innin-zēr-ibni. The [ploughmen³¹¹] will give the 200 *kurru* of dates [that were given] for the rations of the idle ploughmen, [or] 200 *kurru* of barley, in the third month to the treasury. Apart from 100 *kurru* [...] accession year [...] and 60 *kurru* [...] for the rations of the *urāšus* [...].

In the presence of [Nabû-mukīn]-apli, chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, [descendant of Dābi]bī, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal [commis]sioner of Eanna.

Witnesses: [Arad]-Marduk, son of Zēria, descendant of Egibi,
Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Madān-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Šigūa,
Lābāši-Marduk, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Egibi,

Scribe: Nā[di]n, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi;
Uruk; 10⁺-XII-1 Camb, king of Babylon and of lands.”

The background of this incident remains inevitably obscure, but perhaps TCL 13 152³¹² (2 Camb) allows us a glimpse into its further consequences. According to this document, which was composed less than a month after NBC 4612, the same ten *rab epinnis* are ordered by the *šatammu* and a royal official³¹³ to leave their sons, brothers and workers to guard the barley, and go to Babylon by the 25th day of that month. The text does not say what they are to do or whom they should see in Babylon. Though this is pure speculation, it is conceivable that they were being sent to some representative of the royal administration to answer for the work that had not been done and which the *ikkarus* under their responsibility were supposed to do.

Another point of interest in this text is the mention of Gūbaru's intervention in the installing of these men in the position of *rab epinnis*. After listing the names of the ten individuals, the text goes on to characterize them as “ploughmen, *širkus*, *rab epinnis* of the Lady of Uruk, which were installed over the ploughs of the Lady of Uruk at the order of Gūbaru, the governor of Babylon and Across-the-river”.³¹⁴ Obviously the state administration was not only interested in the large-scale rent farmers.³¹⁵ It interfered in the work of the lower levels of agricultural management as well.

YOS 7 174³¹⁶ (4 Camb) is possibly another record of the *rab epinnis*' responsibility over the rations of their workers. The text is a debt note for 24 empty old barrels charged against Šulāya, son of Sîn-nādin-šumi.³¹⁷ The barrels are said to come from the villagers (*aššābus*³¹⁸) of Našibata and Birata and the *ikkarus* under his responsibility (*šāb qātišu*³¹⁹). Šulāya is supposed to collect the barrels and deliver them to the *bēl piqitti*. Though it is not explicitly stated, these barrels were likely the vessels used for supplying beer rations to the workers. It is conceivable that these villagers and ploughmen were employed by the temple at some project at a certain point in the past and received beer rations. The vessels in which the beer was delivered were to be returned to the

³¹¹ This reconstruction is uncertain. Alternatively one could read [^{lu}gal apin] in the lacuna. At any rate, a term subsuming the responsible individuals previously named was written here.

³¹² For a translation of the pertinent passage see Kümmel 1979: 100.

³¹³ See Kümmel 1979: 100¹². Nabû-aḥ-iddin is otherwise known as *bēl piqitti Eanna*.

³¹⁴ TCL 13 152 ll. 9-13: ^{lu}engar^{meš}/ ^{lu}rig^{meš} ^{lu}gal ^{giš}apin^{meš} ^{ša} d[gašan ^{ša}] unug^{ki}/ ^{ša} ina qi-bi ^{ša} ¹gu-ba-ru ^{lu}nam [tin-t]ir^{ki}/ ^u e-bir id ina ugu ^{giš}apin^{meš}/ ^{ša} dgašan ^{ša} unug^{ki} paq-du-u'.

³¹⁵ Gūbaru, for instance, also installed Ardia as the temple's rent farmer for dates (p. 221).

³¹⁶ The text is edited in the Appendix 1.

³¹⁷ He is known as a *rab epinni* from other texts. Here he is designated only as a ploughman and a *širku* of the Lady of Uruk.

³¹⁸ These were villagers living on the estates belonging to the temple which could be drafted by the temple as additional workforce for agricultural work (Jursa 1995a: 8⁺³⁵. 133f.) or other activities, such as milling (see below; see also van Driel 2002: 207f.). This group of people was distinct from the ploughmen and gardeners.

³¹⁹ For this term see van Driel 2002: 213⁺⁹².

temple now by a person who was to all likelihood in charge of the workers and the distribution of the rations in the first place.

Another responsibility of the *rab epinnis* involved flour production and delivery. This was a task they held in common with many other temple dependants. VS 20 49 (6 Camb) is an account recording quantities of flour delivered by the ploughmen and other temple workers and its subsequent distribution for rations and various other purposes. Of the ten *ikkarus*³²⁰ named in this text nine are known from other texts as *rab epinnis*.³²¹ It seems plausible, that they acted here as the representatives of the ploughmen under their responsibility and delivered their dues as well. This assumption seems even more likely when the amounts of flour they delivered are compared to the deliveries of the other temple dependants listed in the text. The second group of people delivered from 3 to 1 *kurru* of flour per person. Though the quantities of flour delivered by the *rab epinnis* vary strongly, from 3;2.3 to 49 *kurru* per person, in most cases they largely exceed the individual deliveries of the other temple workers.

In this context YOS 7 186 (6 Camb³²²) should also be mentioned. This text records an agreement between the villagers (*aššābus*) of a place called Šingu and the temple authorities to grind flour under the supervision of Agria, son of Nabû-dalā, at the same rate as the other villagers from the settlements of the Lady of Uruk. Agria is designated as a *gugallu* in this document (See p. 133 for further comments and references to this text).

2.5.3. Other activities

The *rab epinnis* were not only involved in arable cultivation and supervision of public works. They also appeared as debtors or witnesses in *imittu* debt notes for dates from the rent-farms of Ardia and Gimillu (as debtors: JCS 28, no. 27, YOS 7 136; as witnesses: BM 114644) and in the lists recording the deliveries of dates (NCBT 678, YOS 21 217). This indicates that on top of their other activities as ploughmen and agricultural officials they cultivated date orchards as well.³²³ In a few cases the *rab epinnis* are attested as guarantors in the *imittu* debt notes in additional clauses giving surety for the payment of dates (YOS 7 105, BM 114643). These in itself unique occurrences of guarantee clauses in *imittu* debt notes may be an indicator for their elevated position among other gardeners, possibly on account of their status as temple officials. At any rate, the appearance of these people in the role of guarantors suggests that they were considered to have the means to cover the debts of their fellow gardeners.³²⁴

2.5.4. Summary

The *rab epinnis* were a group of agricultural officials who were attested during Cambyses's reign. They were temple dependants (*širkus*) and were recruited from the ranks of the ploughmen. Their function is similar to that of the *rab ešertis* of the Chaldean period. *rab ešertis* are not attested during the Achaemenid era, so it is probable that these two designations were used to refer to the same level of management of the temple agriculture.

³²⁰ The designation *ikkaru* appears in the introductory lines of the text: "Flour that PN₁ and PN₂ measured out from the ploughmen", and in line 15, summing up the previous list of deliveries: "the total of the ploughmen". The names in the list itself (11.5-14) are not followed by a professional title.

³²¹ These nine people (listed without a patronymic in the text) are: Etellu, Šulāya, Agria, Nādin, Sukkāya, Nā'id-Ištar, Mukkēa, Ina-šilli-Nanāya and Nanāya-ēreš. The tenth person, Nanāya-iddin, cannot be identified with certainty due to the lack of a patronymic and his rather common name.

³²² The document was written in the first month, while VS 20 49 dates to the fifth month of 6 Camb.

³²³ Having multiple tasks in different branches of the temple economy was not unusual. By comparison, the *rab ešertis* of the Chaldean period, who had similar duties to the *rab epinnis*, engaged both in arable and date grove cultivation. On top of that some of them even had undertakings in animal husbandry.

³²⁴ It is safe to conclude that at least some of the *rab epinnis* were well off. According to YOS 6 207 (17 Nbn) Nādin, son of Innin-zēr-ibni, handed over his slave to the rent farmer Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, from the family of Bāsia, in order to settle a debt of 40 *kurru* of barley. Similar cases, testifying to the *rab ešertis*' personal wealth, were discussed on p. 91.

Ten *rab epinnis* were employed at the same time. They were each in charge of their own plough team and in addition to this of ploughmen and sharecroppers of certain localities. Unfortunately the texts are reticent about the number of plough teams under their responsibility.³²⁵

We are informed by one text that the *rab epinnis* were installed over the ploughs by the governor of Babylon, Gūbaru. They stood under the authority of the large-scale rent farmers. In the absence of these, they were directly answerable to top members of the temple administration, the *šatammu*, the *bēl piqitti*, and the temple scribe.

The *rab epinnis* were in charge of overlooking the ploughing work in the localities assigned to them and were responsible for the grain deliveries of the ploughmen and the sharecroppers. They could also assign land to the sharecroppers and impose obligations on them in accordance with the customary norms. Their duties also involved non-agricultural tasks. They were responsible for rallying the temple ploughmen, *urāšus* or settlers on temple land for different projects such as canal-digging or grinding of flour. They were also in charge of the distribution of rations to the ploughmen employed at these public works.

Some of the *rab epinnis* were also active in the temple's horticulture within the large-scale rent farm system: they are attested as debtors in *imittu* debt notes for dates and in lists recording deliveries of dates.

2.5.5. Attestations³²⁶ of the *rab epinnis*:

Agria/Nabû-dalā

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|--|
| ? PTS 2203: 2 | - | n.p. | - |
| TCL 9 129: [23] ³²⁷ | - | n.p. | - |
| VS 20 61 ³²⁸ : 6 | - | n.p. | - |
| YBC 3778: 5 | - | n.p. | - |
| YOS 3 17: 15 | - | n.p. | - |
| NBC 4612: 5f. | 10 ⁺ -XII-1 Camb | | - |
| TCL 13 152: 7f. | 12-I-2 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| TCL 13 150: 2 | 14-III-2 Camb | | - |
| NCBT 652: 11, 20 | 9 ⁺ -[x]-3 Camb | | - |
| NCBT 1012: 2f. | 26-I-4 Camb | | - |
| BM 113252: 7, 9 | 18-IV-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |
| YOS 7 186: 11f., 16 | 23-I-6 Camb | | <i>gugallu ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| VS 20 49: 7 | V-6 Camb | n.p. | (<i>ikkaru</i>) |
| YOS 7 191: 14 | 7 Camb | | |
| YOS 21 205 ³²⁹ : 12, 15 | [x]-X-acc Dar | [x] | - |
| BM 114467: 17 | 29-VI-1 Nbk IV | | -(witness) |
| TCL 13 180: 3f., 13 | 1 Dar | | - |

³²⁵ Should we assume that, in analogy to the *rab ešertis*, the *rab epinni* were responsible for ten plough teams each? If this were so, this would indicate that the temple indeed had 100 plough teams at its disposal. This, however, is highly speculative.

³²⁶ The first and the second column list the attestation and the date. Uncertain attestations are preceded by a question mark. The third column notes the cases in which the person in question appears without a patronymic (n.p. stands for "no patronymic"). The fourth column records any attested titles or functions.

³²⁷ Agria's name in line 23 is reconstructed following the parallel passage in YOS 3 17 (ll.15ff.).

³²⁸ It is not certain whether this fragment should be counted to the attestations of Agria. The name is recorded partially in line 6 ([¹a]g-ri-ia), but apart from the agricultural context (date arrears and *imittu* of fields are mentioned) there is not much there to help identify this individual.

³²⁹ The name is written as: ¹a-gi-<ri>-ia a-šú šá [¹PN] (l. 12) and ¹a-gi-ri-ia (l. 15). His appearance next to Nā'id-Ištar/Arad-Innin, who is also known from this milicu, makes his identification with Agria possible.

Etellu/Zēria

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|--|
| TCL 9 129: 8 | - | | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| ? YOS 21 181 ³³⁰ : 13' | - | n.p. | - |
| YOS 3 17: 8f. | - | | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| ? YOS 3 24 ³³¹ : 2 | - | n.p. | - |
| NCBT 678: 20 | 4-VII | | - |
| PTS 2231: 3, 9 | 19-X-8 Nbn | | - |
| ? BM 114523 ³³² : 11 | 20-V-10 Nbn | n.p. | - |
| NBC 4612: 3f. | 10 ⁺ -XII-1 Camb | | - |
| TCL 13 152: 3 | 12-I-2 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| YOS 7 124: 17 | 5-XI-2 Camb | | <i>(nukuribbu)</i> |
| YOS 7 139: 9 | X-3 Camb | n.p. | <i>(ikkaru)</i> |
| BM 113252: 1, 3, 4 | 18-IV-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |
| ? BM 114640 ³³³ : 11 | 25-VI-5 Camb | n.p. | - |
| VS 20 49: 5 | V-6 Camb | n.p. | <i>(ikkaru)</i> |
| TCL 13 180: 17 | 1 Dar | n.p. | - |

Ina-šilli-Nanāya/Innin-šum-ušur

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|----------------|---------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| ? BIN 1 90: 6 | - | n.p. | - |
| TCL 9 129: 22 | - | n.p. | - |
| YOS 3 17: 15 | - | n.p. | - |
| ? YOS 3 29: 8 | - | n.p. | - |
| ? YOS 7 38: 14 | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | n.p. | - |
| BIN 2 108: 1 | 4-XI-[x] Camb | | <i>rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| YOS 7 139: 7 | X-3 Camb | n.p. | <i>(ikkaru)</i> |
| VS 20 49: 13 | V-6 Camb | n.p. | <i>(ikkaru)</i> |

Innin-aḥḥē-iddin/Innin-šum-ušur

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|--|
| YBC 3778 ³³⁴ : 12 | - | n.p. | - |
| NBC 4612: 8 | 10 ⁺ -XII-1 Camb | | - |
| TCL 13 151: 4f. | 12-I-2 Camb | | - |
| TCL 13 152: 5f. | 12-I-2 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| BM 113252: 12, 13, 14 | 18-IV-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |
| ? PTS 2555: 13 | 1 Nbk IV | n.p. | - |

Mukkēa/Innin-zēr-ušabši

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|---------------|------|-----------|-------|
| ? TCL 9 95: 1 | - | n.p. | - |

³³⁰ It is not certain whether this identification is correct. At any rate, E. is quoted in this letter to have said that his *sūtu* was ruined.

³³¹ This attestation is not certain. It is a letter of Kurbanni-Marduk, possibly the chief administrator of Eanna (attested from 13-16 Nbn, Kümmel 1979:143) addressed to E. He is given orders by the sender concerning deliveries of barley to certain individuals.

³³² This attestation is not certain. The text, a short record of deliveries of barley or dates from four individuals, notes that 80 *kurru* of dates were received from E.

³³³ This is another uncertain attestation of E. He does not figure actively in this text. Rather, it is his son, the ploughman Šamaš-iddin, who is guaranteed for by two individuals, because of barley arrears charged against his father Etellu.

³³⁴ In this list of barley deliveries Innin-aḥḥē-iddin's 40 *kurru* are stated to come from (*ina*) Babylon and he is listed separately from Sukkāya, Nādin, Šulāya and Agria, whose barley deliveries are said to be a part of their *sūtu*-payment. Therefore it is not sure whether the identification of this individual with the *rab epinni* of the same name is correct.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------|--|
| TCL 9 129: 3 | - | n.p. | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| YOS 3 17: 3 | - | n.p. | - |
| YOS 3 107: 18, 25 | - | n.p. | - |
| ? TEBR 42: 7, 11 | - [Nbn] | n.p. | - |
| ? <i>AnOr</i> 8 54: 2 | 3-X-6 Cyr | n.p. | - |
| NBC 4612: 7 | 10 ⁺ -XII-1 Camb | | - |
| ? BIN 1 168: 6 | 2 Camb | n.p. | - |
| TCL 13 152: 3f. | 12-I-2 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| YOS 7 122: 13 | 15-III-2 Camb | | - (witness) |
| YOS 7 139: 10 | X-3 Camb | n.p. | (<i>ikkaru</i>) |
| BM 113252: 1, 5 | 18-IV-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |
| TCL 13 166: 3 | 7-II-5 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku</i> |
| YOS 7 180: 2f. | 7-II-5 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku</i> |
| UCP 10/8 p. 244: 3 | 8-II-5 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku</i> |
| VS 20 49: 12 | V-6 Camb | n.p. | (<i>ikkaru</i>) |
| BM 114643: 10 | 26-VI-7 Camb | | - |
| BM 114467: 16 | 29-VI-1 Nbk IV | | - (witness) |

Nādin/Innin-zēr-ibni

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--|
| TCL 9 129: 3 | - | n.p. | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| TCL 13 209: 23 | - | n.p. | - |
| YBC 3778: 3 | - | n.p. | - |
| YOS 3 17: 3 | - | n.p. | - |
| YOS 3 107: 29 | - | n.p. | - |
| ? YOS 3 164: 2 | - | n.p. | - |
| NCBT 678: 11 | 4-VII | | - |
| ? <i>AnOr</i> 8 32: 14 | I-14 Nbn | n.p. | - |
| YOS 6 207: 1, 11f. | 1-IV-17 Nbn | | - |
| NBC 4612: 9 | 10 ⁺ -XII-1 Camb | | - |
| TCL 13 152: 6 | 12-I-2 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| ? YOS 7 197: 30 | IV-4 Camb | n.p. | - |
| BM 113252: 22 | 18-IV-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |
| BM 113434: 2 | 9-VIII-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku</i> |
| BIN 1 102: 5 | 4-VI-5 Camb | | - |
| VS 20 49: 8 | V-6 Camb | n.p. | (<i>ikkaru</i>) |
| CD 45: 2 | 11-IX-6 Camb | n.p. | - |
| YOS 21 217: 12 | 1 Nbk IV | | - |

Nā'id-Ištar/Arad-Innin

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--|
| TCL 9 129: 3 | - | n.p. | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| TCL 13 209: 3, 8 | - | | - |
| YOS 3 17: 3 | - | n.p. | - |
| YOS 3 107: 19 | - | n.p. | - |
| ? YOS 3 197: 1 | - | n.p. | - |
| YOS 7 105: 8, 10 | 21-VI-acc Camb | | - |
| JCS 28, no. 27: 5f. | 21-VIa-acc Camb | | - |
| YBC 11634: 5 | 8-VI-[x] Camb | | - |
| NBC 4612: 4 | 10 ⁺ -XII-1 Camb | | - |
| TCL 13 151: 3 | 12-I-2 Camb | | - |
| TCL 13 152: 5 | 12-I-2 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| YOS 7 124: 11 | 5-XI-2 Camb | | (<i>nukuribbu</i>) |
| ? BM 113264: 8 | -(3-4 Camb) | n.p. | - |
| YOS 7 139: 11 | X-3 Camb | n.p. | (<i>ikkaru</i>) |

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|------|---------------------------------|
| YOS 7 169: 3 | [x]-I-4 Camb | - | |
| BM 113252: 18 | 18-IV-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |
| BM 113434: 3 | 9-VIII-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku</i> |
| VS 20 49: 10 | V-6 Camb | n.p. | <i>(ikkaru)</i> |
| YOS 21 219: 8 | 1 Nbk IV | | - |
| BM 114644: 16 | 3-VI-1 Nbk IV | | -(witness) |
| YOS 21 205: 10f., 15 | [x]-X-acc Dar | | - |

Nanāya-ēreš/Mukkēa

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--|
| TCL 9 129: 20 | - | n.p. | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| YOS 3 17: [22] ³³⁵ | - | - | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| ? YOS 21 117: 1 | - | n.p. | - |
| BIN 2 108: 2 | 4-XI-[x] Camb | | <i>rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| NBC 4612: 6 | 10 ⁺ -XII-1 Camb | | - |
| TCL 13 152: 7 | 12-I-2 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| BM 113252: 12, 15 | 18-IV-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |
| VS 20 49: 14 | V-6 Camb | n.p. | <i>(ikkaru)</i> |
| CD 45: 2 | 11-IX-6 Camb | n.p. | - |
| YOS 17 300: 6 | 1 Nbk IV | | - |

Nikkāya/Nabû-šar-ušur

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|---------------|--------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| BM 113252: 22 | 18-IV-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |

Sukkāya/Nanāya-ēreš

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--|
| YOS 21 72: 11 | - | n.p. | - |
| TCL 9 129: 15 | - | n.p. | - |
| TCL 13 209: 27, 31 | - | n.p. | - |
| ? VS 20 135: 7 | - | n.p. | - |
| YBC 3778: 2 | - | n.p. | - |
| YOS 3 17: 18 | - | n.p. | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| NBC 4612: 5 | 10 ⁺ -XII-1 Camb | | - |
| TCL 13 152: 9 | 12-I-2 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| YOS 7 139: 6 | X-3 Camb | n.p. | <i>(ikkaru)</i> |
| ? YBC 4164: 2 | 6 [Camb] | n.p. | - |
| VS 20 49: 9 | V-6 Camb | n.p. | <i>(ikkaru)</i> |

Šadūnu/Libluṭ

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--|
| TCL 9 129: 4 | - | n.p. | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| YOS 3 17: 4 | - | n.p. | - |
| BIN 2 108: 3 | 4-XI-[x] Camb | | <i>rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| NBC 4612 ³³⁶ : 9 | 10 ⁺ -XII-1 Camb | | - |
| TCL 13 152: 8 | 12-I-2 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| BM 113252: 7, 10 | 18-IV-4 Camb | | <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |

Šulāya/Sîn-nādin-šumi

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|---------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|
| ? NBDM 89: 24 | - | n.p. | - |

³³⁵ This reconstruction is based on the parallel letter TCL 9 129.

³³⁶ The name in line 9 is badly damaged, but traces of the sign *nu* are still visible, and the patronymic is fully legible.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------|--|
| YOS 21 72: 6f. | - | - | - |
| NCBT 1219: 4f. | - | - | - |
| TCL 9 129: 4 | - | n.p. | <i>ikkaru</i> |
| TCL 13 209: 14, 16, 20 | - | n.p. | - |
| YBC 3778: 4 | - | n.p. | - |
| YOS 3 17: 3 | - | n.p. | - |
| NCBT 678: 3 | 4-VII | - | - |
| ? YBC 3750 ³³⁷ : 28 | 4-XI-2 Ner | - | -(witness) |
| JCS 28, no. 27: 4f. | 21-VIa-acc Camb | - | - |
| TCL 13 151: 4 | 12-I-2 Camb | - | - |
| TCL 13 152: 4 | 12-I-2 Camb | - | <i>ikkaru, širku, rab epinni ša BU</i> |
| YOS 7 136 ³³⁸ : 5, 12, 13 | 9-VI-2 Camb | - | - |
| YOS 7 124: 13 | 5-XI-2 Camb | - | <i>(nukuribbu)</i> |
| NBC 4612: 3 | 10 ⁺ -XII-2 Camb | - | - |
| YOS 7 139: 8 | X-3 Camb | n.p. | <i>(ikkaru)</i> |
| BM 113252: 18 | 18-IV-4 Camb | - | <i>ikkaru, širku, bēl gimil</i> |
| YOS 7 174: 6f. | 1-IX-4 Camb | - | <i>ikkaru, širku</i> |
| VS 20 49: 6 | V-6 Camb | n.p. | <i>(ikkaru)</i> |
| YOS 21 217: 7 | 1 Nbk IV | - | - |

³³⁷ YBC 3750 is edited on p. 298. Šulāya, son of Sîn-nādin-šumi, appears as a witness in this land lease contract from 2 Ner. It is not certain whether he should be identified with our Šulāya, as his next attestation is from acc Camb and this would result in an unusually long gap in the documentation.

³³⁸ In this *imittu* debt note for dates from the rent farm of Ardia Šulāya is the debtor together with his brothers Ištar-zēr-ibni, Guzānu, and Šamaš-iqīša. Guzānu and Ištar-zēr-ibni appear also in the *imittu* list YOS 21 217. Of these three brothers Guzānu was possibly also involved in the supervision of the *ikkarus* on some level (cf. YOS 21 71, YBC 3164), but he is never attested with a title.

2.6. Overseer of the ploughmen (*rab ikkarāti*)

rab ikkarāti, the overseer of the ploughmen, is another member of the agricultural management we find in Uruk and Sippar. A lot of confusion about the reading of this title has arisen from the fact that the sign APIN can be read *engar*, standing for *ikkaru* (“ploughman”), but also *apin*, for Akkadian *epinnu* (“plough”). The scribes’ inconsistent use of the determinatives ^{giš} and ^{lú} and the phonetic complements only added to the confusion. This is especially evident in the earlier works on Neo-Babylonian agriculture. Cocquerillat, for instance, reads this title as *rab epinnēti*,³³⁹ not distinguishing between this official and the *rab epinni*. Several scholars found this interpretation duly disconcerting,³⁴⁰ however, it was Jursa (1995a: 11⁴⁵. 87¹⁸⁷) who was able to stress the difference between a *rab epinni*³⁴¹ and a *rab ikkarāti* and secure the reading of the latter official with a couple of explicit syllabic writings from Sippar.

Only two people are attested with this title in Uruk. One of them is Nabû-ahhē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, who was at the same time a ploughman and was also attested with the title *rab ešerti*. He appears, as was demonstrated in the chapter on *rab ešertis*, already during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, but with this particular title he is found in Neriglissar’s accession year. The other person bearing the title of a *rab ikkarāti* was Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, the well known large-scale rent farmer of Eanna.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| Nabû-ahhē-šullim/Nabû-udammiq | BIN 1 123: 3f. | 22-[x]-acc Ner | ^{lú} gal engar- <i>ti</i> |
| Šum-ukīn/Bēl-zēri/Basia | TCL 12 73: 17 | 8-II-1 Nbn | ^{lú} gal engar ^{meš} |
| | YOS 6 40: 13 | 23-VI-3 Nbn | ^{lú} gal engar ^{meš} |

From the evidence from the Ebabbar archive we know that the *rab ikkarāti* was superior to the ploughmen and the local foremen. Only one person could be identified as a *rab ikkarāti* in Sippar with some certainty. This was Šamaš-iddin, son of Balātu. Several lists of barley deliveries show that he was responsible for bringing in the *sūtu*-dues of the ploughmen of several localities. He was responsible for the irrigation of the temple fields and also had the authority to lease these out to sharecroppers. On top of that, Šamaš-iddin had a contractual relationship with the temple: according to CT 55 88 he leased 50 *kurru* of temple land (Jursa 1995a: 24f.). Texts recording his *šibšu*- and *ešrū*-obligations indicate that he also had a sharecropping arrangement with the temple. In other words, on top of being a temple official Šamaš-iddin was also a rent farmer and a sharecropper, and he even sub-leased some of this land, which was designated as his *bīt sūti*.³⁴²

Nabû-ahhē-šullim, the first attested *rab ikkarāti* of Eanna, appears with this title only in one text: BIN 1 123 (acc Ner) is a debt note for dates pertaining to the *sūtu* of Nabû-ahhē-šullim.³⁴³ The form of the text is parallel to the structure of the later *imittu* debt notes associated with the rent farms of the large-scale rent farmers. It is not clear whether Nabû-ahhē-šullim, just like Šamaš-iddin in Sippar, had an additional contractual relationship with the temple and if so whether this debt note resulted from his status as a rent farmer. This question was probably of no relevance for the temple administration, as it did not seem to distinguish between the official and ‘private’ obligations of its employees.

³³⁹ Cocquerillat 1984b: 144f⁴. She takes this title to designate a “super-fermier” and to be a forerunner of the large-scale rent farmer. Jursa argued against this view (1995a: 87⁺¹⁸⁷). See below and p. 252 for a discussion of the origins of the rent farmers.

³⁴⁰ Joannès 1982: 127ff. does not decide on any one particular reading, but leaves the title in its Sumerian form. See also Kümmel’s discussion 1979: 99ff.

³⁴¹ In Sippar this title designated a foreman of a plough team, i.e. little more than a simple *ikkaru*. Note, however, that in Uruk the *rab epinnis* were on a higher level of agricultural management (see previous chapter).

³⁴² For details see Jursa 1995a: 11. 24f.

³⁴³ This text was edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 55f. 116.

YOS 3 84, a letter addressed to Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim by Sîn-iddin, presumably the *qīpu* of Eanna, gives information on some of the duties of a *rab ikkarāti*.³⁴⁴ Here the addressee is only indirectly referred to by this title. “What sort of a *rab ikkarāti* is it, that does not take care of the work and his districts?” is one of the rebukes Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim had to take from the *qīpu*. He is compared to a certain Ibāya, son of Ḥanṭušu, a person unattested elsewhere, who was apparently also not capable of collecting water and irrigating the fields. Furthermore, Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim is reproached for not having 20 ox-drivers (*kullizu*) with him, for not paying the *kišru ana Bēl* tax³⁴⁵ with his colleagues and for failing to supervise the districts (*tamirtus*), collect water reserves and irrigate the fields. The *qīpu* instructs him then to install a *bēl ikkarāti* (en^{lu}engar^{me})³⁴⁶ to each district of the Lady of Uruk in Rudāya and Sumandar so that they may till the land. What exceeds their possibilities, the *qīpu* declared to assign to the sharecroppers. It follows from this letter that the *rab ikkarāti* was in charge of the irrigation of the temple estates and that he was supposed to organise their cultivation. The mention of *his* districts (*garin^{mcs}-šú*) in line 7 and later (ll. 26f.) of the districts Rudāya and Sumandar, in particular, may indicate that he was assigned to these to supervise them, while other people, Ibāya for instance, were in charge of other districts. This is, however, no firm evidence that several *rab ikkarātis* were active at the same time. Ibāya may have been one of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim’s predecessors in this office, and “his districts” could well have meant all of the temple districts. The mention of two particular *tamirtus* in lines 26f., may only indicate that these two were in need of a special treatment, while the others were causing no problems. Be that as it may, the matter of the geographical scope of responsibility of a *rab ikkarāti* cannot be resolved with only two documents as evidence.

The texts mentioning Šum-ukīn as a *rab ikkarāti* are not very informative. Both TCL 12 73 and YOS 6 40 are land lease contracts. The lessees are a certain Innin-šum-ušur, son of Nanāya-ēreš, in the Louvre text, and Sîn-ibni, son of Šamaš-udammiq, descendant of Re’i-alpi, together with Arad-Innin, son of Ibni-Ištar, in the Yale text. Šum-ukīn appears in both texts in additional stipulations, which make provisions for overlaps in payments and the leased land that may occur between him and the current lessees.

At the time Šum-ukīn³⁴⁷ appeared with this title (1 and 3 Nbn) he had already started working as a large-scale rent farmer (*ša muḥḥi sūti*) for Eanna. The implications are that he was entrusted with a task of supervising the temple land and ploughmen, a task which had hitherto been undertaken by the temple administration. While it may seem slightly odd that an outsider to the temple household should be entrusted with such an office, this was by no means inappropriate, considering that his lease contract had already given him the managerial authority over large portions of Eanna’s land holdings and the men working on them. With a *ša muḥḥi sūti* in place, a *rab ikkarāti* was clearly redundant, and the interchanging use of both titles only shows that they were applied to one and the same function, until the letter finally fell out of use. The positions of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim and Šum-ukīn as *rab ikkarāti* are, however, not identical, even though factually there was no difference in terms of obligations and liabilities. Šum-ukīn was an outsider and his personal liability stemmed from his contractual relationship with the temple, not from being an ostensible temple official. Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim was embedded in the temple agriculture already on a lower level as a ploughman, but also as a holder of temple offices (*rab ešerti*, *rab ikkarāti*) from which his personal liability to the temple arose.

In general, the written documentation gives an impression that the management categories of the Neo-Babylonian temples are not set in a very rigid structure, at least in the sphere of temple agriculture. Responsibilities of different agricultural officials overlap widely. There is only a vague sense of specialization and hierarchical stratification. A very general distribution sets the ploughmen, gardeners and sharecroppers at the bottom, *šatammu*, *qīpu* and the temple scribes at the

³⁴⁴ For an edition of the text see Joannès 1982: 127f. and Cocquerillat 1968: 92. 136. The letter should be dated to the reign of Neriglissar relying on the appearance of the *qīpu* Sîn-iddin.

³⁴⁵ In the *imittu* debt notes from the reign of Cambyses one encounters frequently a variant of this term: *kišir esitti balātu ana Bēl*. For the nature of this tax see now van Driel 2002: 172ff.

³⁴⁶ This official appears only here. He was, as it seems, introduced *ad hoc* to the structure of the agricultural management by the *qīpu* in order to improve it. Since he is not attested elsewhere, it is impossible to tell whether this measure was in fact implemented.

³⁴⁷ A detailed description of his career can be found in the chapter on the rent farmers.

top, and *rab ešertis*, *gugallus* and *rab ikkarāti* in the middle of the administrative hierarchy. Though the written documentation does not give us a strong sense of a vertical structure in this intermediary management level, there is still some indication that the *rab ikkarāti* was superior to the *rab ešertis* and the *gugallus*. YOS 21 33 is a letter that a certain Ibni-Ištar wrote to a certain Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim. The letter contains a plea of the sender to have *urāšus* of the *ikkarus* sent to him by the addressee. The context allows to identify the sender as Ibni-Ištar, son of Nabû-šum-ibni, who is attested as a *gugallu* and a *rab ešerti* of the Lady of Uruk (see p. 93), and the addressee is to all probability the *rab ikkarāti*. Ibni-Ištar addresses his former peer as “my lord”, which indicates Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim’s superior position and is evidence for a hierarchy among the agricultural officials.³⁴⁸

Another feature of this system is the lack of a distinction between official duties and private enterprises. Hence the temple officials could, and were probably encouraged to, make a profit over and above their duties toward the temple and thus accumulate personal material wealth. In this sense their activities bore entrepreneurial traits. Being temple dependants they were no independent economic agents, but already van Driel characterised them as proto-entrepreneurs (1999: 216). This practice was advantageous for both parties and was certainly encouraged by the temple. Not only did the temple benefit from having more motivated employees who, driven by the prospect of personal gain, strove to fulfil their duties toward it. It also had the possibility to seize their personal property in case they failed to meet the requirements of the temple.

The first agricultural “entrepreneurs” engaged by the temple were its own employees. It is to these people that one should look in order to find the forerunners of the large-scale rent farmers and not necessarily to the specific temple officials such as the *rab ikkarāti*. This is a shift in emphasis rather than substance: the proto-entrepreneurial aspect of their activities was not something specific to any one particular official; rather it is what most, if not all, institutional officials had in common and can probably be extended to the lowest level of the agricultural hierarchy, namely the ploughmen and the gardeners.³⁴⁹

To sum up the evidence from Sippar and Uruk, the *rab ikkarāti* was the top agricultural official of the temple. He was in charge of the agricultural production on the temple estates. This included the responsibility for the delivery of the agricultural products imposed on the individual cultivators and the responsibility for the irrigation system. Furthermore the *rab ikkarāti* had the authority over personnel and land: he could recruit (*urāšu*-)workers, appoint overseers of ploughs, sub-lease land of the temple. The *rab ikkarāti* probably at the same time entertained a contractual relationship with the temple. In general this official was recruited from the ranks of the temple ploughmen, but in case of Šum-ukīn an independent entrepreneur was assigned to this office. In Uruk this office was supplanted by that of the large-scale rent farmer (*ša muḥḥi sūti*) and is only attested during Neriglissar’s and the first three years of Nabonidus’s reign. In Sippar this official is attested during a much longer span, from Kandalānu’s to Darius’s reign (Jursa 1995a: 11).

2.6.1. Excursus: The career of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim³⁵⁰

We have encountered this person already in the chapter on the *rab ešertis*. He had started out as a ploughman. One of his first attestations is in VS 20 134 (26 Nbk) where he is designated as an *ikkaru*. He appears in a list of deliveries of barley, spelt, wheat and cress (UCP 9/2 25; 28 Nbk). According to YBC 3856 (30⁺ Nbk) he also supplied the temple with dates. In 34 Nbk (YBC 4000) he is attested with the title *rab ešerti*, in a legal case concerning fraudulent distribution of temple land between the ploughmen and the sharecroppers (Janković 2005: 167ff.). His responsibility as a *rab ešerti*, an official who was presumably in charge of ten plough teams, is reflected in YBC 3858 (p. 85) from 42 Nbk, an unfinished list of plough teams under his responsibility. This text demonstrates that at this time he was still actively working with a plough, as his own team is included in the list. YBC 9138 and YBC 4100 both from 34 Nbk are debt notes for barley and dates

³⁴⁸ For further remarks on the letter see p. 59.

³⁴⁹ For the understanding of institutional offices as a kind of prebend see p. 252.

³⁵⁰ A list of his attestations can be found in the prosopography of the *rab ešertis*.

in which he acts jointly with Nergal-ina-tēši-ēter, a *rab ešerti* and a *gugallu*, and Nabû-ibni³⁵¹ as an intermediary between the temple and the debtor. Both deliveries were to be made at the canal Takkīru. In the lease contract VS 20 88 (35 Nbk) he is again closely associated with Nergal-ina-tēši-ēter. From this text it follows that they were in charge of land in the area of Naḥbutu. They had to share their plough teams with Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni, the new tenant. Toward the end of Nebuchadnezzar's reign Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim appears more frequently in the context of animal husbandry. YBC 3739 (40 Nbk) and GC 1 252 (41 Nbk), a contract Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim made for pasturing the donkeys of a certain Bēl-nādin-apli, son of Zēr-Bābili, descendant of Ilē'i-Marduk, and a *Standardurkunde* listing 2,617 heads of small cattle at his disposal, respectively, have been mentioned in connection with the private businesses of the *rab ešertis* (p. 91). All the while he continued his agricultural activities as is seen from the above mentioned YBC 3858 (p. 85; 42 Nbk) and YBC 9161 (edited in the Appendix 1; 42 Nbk), a debt note for dates, *zittu* of two sharecroppers, which are to be delivered to Eanna. The document stipulates that in case they failed to deliver the dates, they were to make the payment in barley to Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim. In the accession year of Neriglissar he is attested with the title *rab ikkarāti* for the first time in an *imittu* debt note for dates (BIN 1 123). YBC 6868 ([x] Ner) is an *imittu* debt note for dates pertaining to his *sūtu*, a text with the same structure as BIN 1 123 (see above). In this text he is not given a title. According to TCL 12 59 (acc Ner), an *imittu* list for dates, he is responsible for the deliveries of temple gardeners and sharecroppers from the estates on the Nār-šarri and the Takkīru. In a letter (YOS 21 33) written to him by Ibni-Ištar, who is to all likelihood to be identified with a *rab ešerti* and a *gugallu* of the same name (see p. 59), he is requested to draft *urāšu*-workers of the ploughmen and send them to the author of the letter. In PTS 2312 (1 Ner), a collective debt note for sesame, *sūtu* of the *ikkarus*, he appears together with Nanāya-aḥ-iddin, Silim-Bēl and Šar-ilāni as a debtor. Their obligations are said to pertain to the *sūtu* of Šum-ukīn. At the latest in 1 Nbn³⁵² Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim's office of *rab ikkarāti* is taken over by the rent farmer Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia. He is also mentioned in a letter (*AfO* 44/45, 156)³⁵³ which Marduk-šum-ušur wrote to his uncle Šum-ukīn. He is mentioned in a broken context, but it is apparent that the king had sent to the temple administrators written instructions concerning Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim. Perhaps this had something to do with the end of his career as a *rab ikkarāti*. Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim's latest attestation is in a cadastral text (Montserrat 1: rev. 20'ff.). The text can be dated to 13 Nbn or later, since this year appears in one of the entries as the year of the purchase of a certain property. It informs us that he was indebted to the temple, probably as a result of his activities in the agricultural or the animal husbandry sector, but that he also had personal assets in form of a plot of the size of approximately 4.5 hectares. This plot, designated as *kālū*,³⁵⁴ but with 30 fruit-bearing palm trees, situated next to Nār-damqat and the royal road to Larsa, is stated to have been appropriated by the temple as a compensation for his arrears. Further evidence for his possessions stems from two closely related texts, YBC 3941 (not dated) and YBC 3819 (42 Nbk). The first text is a list of objects taken out of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim's house in 38 Nbk by a certain Zēr-ibni. The second is formulated as a debt note listing these same objects and charging them against Zēr-ibni. He is also obliged to bring his three accomplices and hand them over to Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim. The removed property included three donkeys, two *guzguzānu* (?), an oven, textiles and weapons.

Clearly Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, who started out as a ploughman in 26 Nbk had a fairly successful career. From an *ikkaru* he was promoted to a *rab ešerti* (34 Nbk) and then to a *rab ikkarāti* (acc Ner). He was replaced in this office by the rent farmer Šum-ukīn at the latest in the first year of Nabonidus. Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim was active in arable cultivation and date production, but also in animal husbandry, and managed to accumulate considerable personal assets during his active career. However, he also accumulated debts which the temple settled by confiscating his orchard plot.

End of excursus

³⁵¹ Nabû-ibni (no patronymic) appears only in YBC 4100. His identity is unknown.

³⁵² Perhaps he lost this office already in 1 Ner. According to the above mentioned PTS 2312 at this time he was an *ikkaru* under the responsibility of the rent farmer Šum-ukīn.

³⁵³ A new edition of the letter can be found in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011: 202.

³⁵⁴ This is a term for land of inferior quality which could be reclaimed for the cultivation of date orchards (van Driel 1990: 222f.).

2.7. Estate managers (*gugallū*)

The term *gugallu* is attested at least since the Old-Akkadian period and is conventionally rendered in English as “canal inspector”.³⁵⁵ This translation, however, is too narrow. A broader understanding of the term, e.g. “estate manager”, fits the scope of a *gugallu*’s activities better. The *gugallus* are well attested in the texts from Eanna and Ebabbar, but their appearance in the documentation from the 1st millennium B.C. is by no means restricted to the temple archives. They frequently appear in the texts from private archives, usually as people working on royal estates and (indirectly) representing the interests of the crown.³⁵⁶ There is even some indication that they could be employed by private individuals on private estates.³⁵⁷ In keeping with the general subject matter of this study, the following remarks will be restricted to the *gugallus* in a temple environment, unless otherwise specified.

The most complete treatment of the institutional (temple) *gugallus* to date can be found in Jursa 1995a: 49ff. His description of their organisation and duties draws mostly on the evidence from the Ebabbar of Sippar from the period of the Achaemenid rule. To sum up Jursa’s findings, it can be said that the *gugallus* were recruited from the ranks of the gardeners, some of which even went on to become rent farmers (*fermiers généraux*) for the temple (*ibid.*: 50). It is, however, still unclear whether outsiders to the temple household, i.e. private entrepreneurs, could take on the ‘office’ of a *gugallu* (*ibid.*: 49). In general, the nature of their activities, which indeed bear some entrepreneurial traits, remains ambiguous: were the *gugallus* primarily temple functionaries or have their responsibilities during the 1st millennium B.C. evolved to tax farming (*ibid.*: 51)? At any rate it could be observed that the *gugallus* acted as intermediaries between the gardeners and the rent farmers or, in the absence of rent farmers, directly the land owner, i.e. the temple. They were responsible for groups of gardeners, usually associated with a certain locality, and their date deliveries in particular (*ibid.*: 50). This is explicitly evident from a list from the Ebabbar archive which names 16 people (gardeners) under the responsibility (*ša qāt*) of a *gugallu* (*ibid.*: 49). These units of agricultural workers were not only of relevance in the management of date grove cultivation. They were also deployed under the supervision of a *gugallu* as work gangs for non-agricultural work. Thus the *gugallus* appear in *imittu* lists recording deliveries of dates due to the temple, occasionally both in the individual entries with dues from their own plots and as the persons responsible for the total amount expected from the gardeners appearing in the list (*ibid.*: 50), but also in contracts concerning the performance of public works (*ibid.*: 182). Not surprisingly, these public works entailed the upkeep and the expansion of the irrigation system, as a small number of pertinent documents demonstrates (*ibid.*: 53. 182). The *gugallus* are also occasionally attested as the addressees of letter orders in which they are instructed by the temple authorities to give out dates or barley to certain authorised recipients (*ibid.*: 51). This demonstrates that the *gugallus* could be responsible for the storage of large quantities of agricultural products off the temple’s central storage facilities.

The *gugallus*’ main responsibilities were also briefly described by Cocquerillat 1968: 67, who, basing her interpretation on the Uruk evidence from the Achaemenid period, rendered the term as *collecteur-garde-messier* (“collector-keeper-measurer”),³⁵⁸ alluding to their duties to collect agricultural produce, measure, store and guard it.

The attestations of the *gugallus* are not evenly distributed over time. From the time of Cyrus on there is a large number of texts mentioning this official, with only a trickle of attestations

³⁵⁵ For other translations see Salonen 1968: 339. For a brief discussion of *gugallu*’s functions and responsibilities and for earlier literature on the subject see Janković 2007: 219f. See also Jursa and Waerzeggers 2009: 240ff., especially with regard to the evidence from Borsippa.

³⁵⁶ A *gugallu ša šarri* is attested in the Eanna letter YOS 21 17 concerning the setting up of the borders of some irrigation districts. Note also the attestation of one, or perhaps two, royal *gugallus* (*gugallu ša šarri*, BM 120024: 24) in the Late-Achaemenid Tattannu archive (Jursa and Stolper 2007: 258).

³⁵⁷ Van Driel 2002: 180 (cf. *Nbk.* 244 and perhaps also VS 3 24).

³⁵⁸ See also Cocquerillat’s remarks on the *gugallus* in 1984b: 167 including additional evidence from new texts. Note that the second text quoted by her, JCS 28, no. 44, does not belong to the Eanna archive, but probably to the archive of Silim-Bēl/Arrabi, a royal rent farmer from Isin.

of *gugallus* predating the Achaemenid period.³⁵⁹ Kümmel lists in his prosopography for Uruk only *gugallus* attested from Cyrus to Cambyses, with the exception of the one attested in 1 Nbk (1979: 103). This man is, however, not a member of the temple household but of the estate of the *simmagir*-official (*bīt simmagir*). While most of the evidence for *gugallus* both from Uruk and Sippar comes from the time of the Achaemenid rulers, chiefly in the context of the *gugallūtu*-payments recorded in the *imittu* debt notes, it has been assumed that these officials, or at least people carrying out their functions, existed in the temples also prior to this period. It is therefore not surprising that several recently discovered texts from the Eanna archive support this assumption. During Nabonidus's reign no *gugallus* are attested in the two temple archives.³⁶⁰ This can perhaps be attributed to the reorganisation of the management of agriculture caused by the establishment of the large-scale rent farms. The rent farmers were themselves responsible for the collection, storing and transportation of agricultural produce. Whichever way they organised these activities, it was of marginal importance to the temple administration, and so it is not surprising that they and the people carrying them out do not, or only rarely, appear in the temple's documentation. That the tasks of *gugallus* still had to be carried out need not be stressed, and indeed, people entrusted with such tasks, though without a particular title, could be identified in the Ebabbar at the time of Nabonidus. These same people, in fact, appear later, after the dissolution of the large-scale rent farms as *gugallus* (Jursa 1995a: 49).

In the following pages the period of agricultural management preceding the introduction of the large-scale rent farms will be referred to as the early phase and the *gugallus* active in it as the "early" *gugallus* in contrast to the late phase of the Achaemenid period.

2.7.1. The early phase

Everything we have known so far about the temple *gugallus* came from the Achaemenid period. This is also true for the evidence from Sippar. Now eight³⁶¹ new documents from the time of Nebuchadnezzar in which *gugallus* appear could be identified. Together with Truro 11 (= *AfO* 24: 125) which was known to Kümmel (1979: 103) there are then altogether nine texts from the Eanna archive from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar mentioning *gugallus*:

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| NBC 4575 | - |
| CD 5 ³⁶² | 6-IX-1 Nbk |
| Truro 11 ³⁶³ | 9-IX-1 Nbk |
| YBC 9221 | 16-XII-18 Nbk |
| YBC 9144 | 25-I-22 Nbk |
| PTS 2850 | 19-XI-26 Nbk |
| YBC 9448 ³⁶⁴ | 22-X-31 Nbk ¹ |
| YBC 9213 | 27-VI-34 Nbk |
| YBC 4000 ³⁶⁵ | 3-VII-34 Nbk |

³⁵⁹ These were, as Jursa noted, not necessarily *gugallus* that were to be assigned to the temple administration. One at least is a *gugallu* of the royal official *mašennu* (1995a: 49).

³⁶⁰ The *gugallus* and the *gugallūtu*-payments, however, do appear in this period in the texts from some private archives, most notably Egibi from Babylon and Ea-ilūta-bāni from Borsippa. For the attestations see van Driel 2002: 181f. (TCL 12 97 (10 Nbn) can be added to the attestations from Borsippa.)

³⁶¹ These are five hitherto unpublished ones and three published texts (Sack CD 5, YBC 4000, YBC 9448), which were not included in Kümmel's prosopography as they were published at a later date.

³⁶² This text, together with the closely related Truro 11, has been recently re-edited and discussed by Janković and Weszeli *in press*.

³⁶³ See previous note.

³⁶⁴ Published and edited by Janković 2007: 221ff.

³⁶⁵ Published and edited by Janković 2005: 167ff.

The *gugallus* appearing in these texts are not all members of the Eanna household. Some of them come from the households of royal officials. The institutional affiliation of others yet is not indicated in the texts, nor can it be determined prosopographically:³⁶⁶

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Nabû-nāšir/Aḫ-lišir | 6-IX-1 Nbk 9-IX-1 Nbk | CD 5 Truro 11 | <i>gugallu ša bīt simmagir</i> <i>gugallu ša simmagir</i> |
| Marduk Marduk/Amurru-ušēzib | - 16-XII-18 Nbk | NBC 4575 YBC 9221 | <i>gugallu ša šakin māti</i> - ('xxxxx' ¹ <i>ša gugallūtu ša šakin māti</i> <i>ina pān M.</i>) |
| Nabû-zēr-ibni | 25-I-22 Nbk | YBC 9144 | <i>gugallu</i> |
| Amurru-šar-ušur/Ḫašdia | 19-XI-26 Nbk [x]-[x]-27 Nbk | PTS 2850 NCBT 647 | <i>gugallu</i> <i>gugallu ša šakin māti</i> |
| Amurru-mukīn- apli/Amurru-šar-ušur | 22-X-31 Nbk ¹ | YBC 9448 | <i>gugallu ša šakin māti (bēl piqitti ša</i> <i>Ḫanni-il, šāpiru¹² ša qēmēti ša šarri)</i> |
| Ibni-Ištar/Nabû-šum- ibni | 22-X-31 Nbk ¹ | YBC 9448 | <i>gugallu ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| Nergal-šum-ušur | 27-VI-34 Nbk | YBC 9213 | <i>gugallu</i> |
| Nergal-ina-tēšī- ēṭer/Zabidāya | 3-VII-34 Nbk | YBC 4000 | <i>gugallu</i> |

Table 16: The “early” *gugallus*

Of the people listed above three can be identified as external *gugallus*, i.e. *gugallus* working for institutions other than the Eanna temple: Nabû-nāšir worked for (*bīt*) *simmagir*, and Marduk,³⁶⁷ Amurru-šar-ušur,³⁶⁸ and Amurru-mukīn-apli worked for *šakin māti*. Two people listed in the table can be identified as *gugallus* of Eanna: Ibni-Ištar and Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēṭer.³⁶⁹ The institutional affiliation of the others can not be determined. The attestations of Nergal-šum-ušur and Nabû-zēr-ibni as *gugallus* do not record their patronymics, so it is impossible to identify them with any degree of certainty. Both names appear in other texts of the period and the people bearing them are sometimes designated as *ikkarus*,³⁷⁰ however, since these are not uncommon names, it is doubtful

³⁶⁶ The new texts, especially those in which the external *gugallus* appear, though not always relevant for the agriculture of Eanna, are of particular interest for illuminating the connections of the temple to the local royal institutions.

³⁶⁷ Marduk from NBC 4575 is probably identical with the person with the same name and the patronymic Amurru-ušēzib from YBC 9221. The latter text does not explicitly designate him as a *gugallu ša šakin māti*, as is the case in the former document, but even though the text is badly damaged and unintelligible, a connection to this office can be established thanks to the expression in ll. 1f.: 'xxxxx'¹ *ša gugallūtu ša šakin māti ina pān M.* The *šakin māti* in question, as well as in YBC 9448, is to all probability the governor of the Sealand, whose entourage had some connections to the sanctuary of Amurru, Ekurgal. This is suggested by the onomastics in these texts, notably the personal names containing the divine name Amurru. For the sanctuary of Amurru, the location of which is not known, but which one should look for in the southern part of Babylonia generally designated as the Sealand see Beaulieu 2003: 327ff.

³⁶⁸ Amurru-šar-ušur is not attested with a patronymic in PTS 2850 and his identification with Amurru-šar-ušur, son of Ḫašdia, from NCBT 647 is conjectural, though probable. It is not certain, though likely, that there is a familial connection between him and Amurru-mukīn-apli, the *gugallu* of the *šakin māti*, whose father bears the same name.

³⁶⁹ These two men are also known at other times with the title *rab ešerti*.

³⁷⁰ Nergal-šum-ušur in PTS 2107 (18 Nbk) and Nabû-zēru-ibni in YOS 17 326 (11 Nbk) and NBC 4940 (20 Nbk).

if these attestations should be attributed to the individuals in question.³⁷¹ It is therefore possible that these two men belonged to Eanna's internal organisation, but it is by no means certain.

2.7.1.1. Arable cultivation

Apart from the obvious, that the *gugallus* were in fact active during the early phase, little is revealed by the texts about their activities. Primarily, their involvement in the cultivation of arable land can be confirmed. The later, Achaemenid, evidence led to the assumption that they were chiefly concerned with the management of the cultivation of date orchards. So far there was only one instance in our evidence that gave some indication for their connection to arable cultivation and barley: *Cyr.* 225 (6 *Cyr*) from Sippar, a survey of arable land under the responsibility of a *gugallu*.³⁷² While most of the new evidence for the early phase is not unambiguous with respect to their activities and even more importantly, their institutional affiliation, it in fact tilts the scales in favour of their involvement in the arable cultivation. Among the texts in which these officials appear with a title there is not one mentioning dates or the cultivation of date orchards. Probably the most important text in this group is YBC 4000 (published in Janković 2005: 167ff.) which shows that the *gugallus* were closely involved in the management of the arable cultivation. It records an order prohibiting the arbitrary sharing of agricultural resources between ploughmen and sharecroppers. The order, which was addressed to the ploughmen, was delivered to them in the presence of a group of overseers: four *rab ešertis* and one *gugallu*. Consequently it is clear that the *gugallus* had at some level the responsibility for supervising the *ikkarus* and the *errēšus* and their land allotments.³⁷³ On the example of Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, who appears in this document, it is also evident that a simple *ikkaru* could advance (via the post of a *rab ešerti*) to the position of a *gugallu*.³⁷⁴ Furthermore, two of the texts involve barley *šibšu*-obligations (YBC 9144 and 9213) and PTS 2850 deals with barley of unspecified origin, thus giving more indirect evidence for the *gugallus*' involvement in the arable cultivation.

- YBC 9144 25-I-22 Nbk
 obv. 1. [x+]23 gur še-bar šī-ib-šú šá [x (x) ^{lú}unu]g^{ki}-a-a
 [x x] x šá mu 22-kam (line squeezed in)
 níg-ga ^dinnin unug^{ki} u ^dna-n[a-a]
 ra-šū-tu šá ugu ^{lú}r unug^{ki}1-[a-a?]
 5. šá ^{ld}ag-numun-dù ^{lú}gú-gal sum-nu (line squeezed in)
 ina ugu ^{ld}amar-utu-gar^l(text: za)-mu a-šú šá [Ø]
^{ld}utu-mu-gin a ^lé-sag-^ril^l-a-a
 še-bar ga-mir-ti ina ^{gis}ma-ši-ḥu
 šá é-an-na ina é-an-na
 10. i-nam-din
 rev. ^{lú}mu-kin-nu ^{ld}utu-mu-gin
 a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-<<erasure>>-numun-dù a ^{lú}šitim
^lšū-la-a a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-mu-dù a ^{lú}sanga-^dutu
 (one blank line)
 u ^{lú}umbisag ^ldù-^d15 a-šú šá
 15. ^{ld}ag-numun-gin a ^{lú}azlag
 unug^{ki} iti bár ud 25-kam

³⁷¹ These could have been different people altogether. There were certainly at least three individuals going by the name Nabû-zēru-ibni, since at least three different patronymics are attested for it during Nebuchadnezzar's reign.

³⁷² *Cyr.* 225, 1-2: [me]š-ḥat še-numun še-bar zag šá ^{garim}gi-lu-šú níg-ga ^dutu / šá é^l ^ldub-numun ^{lú}gú-gal (see Jursa 1995a: 50).

³⁷³ YBC 9448 possibly also points in this direction by mentioning, unfortunately in a badly damaged section, sharecropping in connection to the royal land, which was possibly to be organised by the temple *gugallu* (see below for a translation of the text; a full edition can be found in Janković 2007: 221ff.).

³⁷⁴ See the prosopographical entry for Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter in the chapter on *rab ešerti*.

mu 22-kam ^dag-níg-du-urù
u.e. [lu]gal tin-tir^{ki}

“23⁺ *kurru* of barley, share of [... the Ur]ukeans, [...] of the 22nd year, property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya, credit charged against the Urukeans, which Nabû-zēr-ibni, the *gugallu*, had given, is the debt of Marduk-šākin-šumi, son of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, descendant of Esagilāya. He will pay the entire barley with the measure of Eanna in Eanna.

Witnesses: Šamaš-šum-ukīn, son of Nabû-zēr-ibni, descendant of Itinnu,
Šulāya, son of Nabû-šum-ibni, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš,

Scribe: Ibni-Ištar, son of Nabû-zēr-ukīn, descendant of Ašlāku;
Uruk; 25-I-22 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

The text is difficult. The protagonists are not known from other sources, and the background of the transaction is obscure. It would appear that the citizens of Uruk were involved in sharecropping (indicated by the use of the term *šibšū*) on land owned by Eanna. At any rate, the object of the debt, 23⁺ *kurru* of barley, are said to be the property of Ištar and Nanāya and are ultimately to be delivered to the temple. One person, Marduk-šākin-šumi, assumed responsibility for this debt, perhaps as a representative of the group of citizens, or alternatively as their sub-tenant. The *gugallu* Nabû-zēr-ibni appears in a line which is a later addition (l. 5), as the signs are smaller, somewhat squashed and are not stretching over the entire length of the line. His role in this transaction is not clear. The text only states that he had given the barley owed. However, we are not informed to whom and for what reason this delivery was made. Perhaps the *gugallu* had given the barley to the temple from his personal reserves on behalf of the Urukeans. Now they were obliged to deliver the barley through their representative (or sub-tenant?) in Eanna. If this interpretation were correct, however, it would be odd that the text failed to note that the barley which was to be paid by Marduk-šākin-šumi would go on the ‘account’ of the *gugallu* Nabû-zēr-ibni. According to the text the delivery was to be made in Eanna, which makes it more probable that the ultimate recipient of the barley was the temple. In this case, an alternative interpretation could be that the *gugallu* had given the barley on behalf of the temple to the debtors, the Urukeans. However, further speculations on the background of the transaction cannot be justified. In any case, the text demonstrates a connection between the *gugallu* and the temple’s arable cultivation. The same can be said of the following debt note:

YBC 9213 27-VI-34 Nbk

obv. 1. 1 me šc-bar níg-ga ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
u ^dna-na-a ina šib-šú šá qaq-qar
šá ^{garin}du₆-kù-gi šá ^{lú}ban
šá ta ká šá ^{lú}gar kur šu-tah-ḥu-su-nu
5. ina ugu ^{ld}in-nin-mu-dù
a-šú šá ^{ld}din-su ina iti gu₄
lo.e. ina ^{gis}ma-[š]i-ḥu šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
ugu íd-lugal ^{ld}u-gur-mu-urù
^{lú}gú-gal i-nam-din-ma ^{ld}ag-lugal-^rurù^l
rev. 10. a-na gi-né-e šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} <<[x]>>
i-nam-din-su šc-bar šá a-di unug^{ki}
i-nam-din-ú-ma a-na é-šú i-nam-šú-šú
^{lú}mu-kín-nu ^{ld}u-gur-gi
a-šú šá ^lib-bi-ia a ^lza-an-né-a
15. ^{ld}ag-ba-šá a-šú šá ^{ld}amar-utu-pab
^{ld}en-nigin-ir a-šú šá ^{ld}en-a-^x a > ^{lú}[x]^l
^{lú}umbisag ^{ld}ag-dù-šcš a-šú šá ^ldù-a
u.e. a ^lé-kur-za-kir ^{garin}na-ḥal-lu₄
iti kin ud 27-kam mu 34-kam
20. ^dag-níg-du-urù lugal tin-tir^{ki}
le.e. e-lat eš-ru-ú šá a-na
ugu eš-ru-ú i-nam-di-^rnu^l

“100 (*kurru*) of barley, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, part of the share from the land in Til-ḥurāši (assigned to) the archers, who had been released from the service of *šakin māti*, is the debt of Innin-šum-ibni, son of Balāssu. In the 2nd month Nergal-šum-ušur, the *gugallu*, will pay it with the measure of the Lady of Uruk at Nār-šarri, and Nabû-šar-ušur will issue it for the regular offerings of the Lady of Uruk. It is the barley which he (Nergal-šum-ušur) will deliver as far as Uruk and carry it to his (Nabû-šar-ušur’s) house.

Witnesses: Nergal-ušallim, son of Ibbia, descendant of Zannēa,
Nabû-iqīša, son of Marduk-nāšir,
Bēl-upaḥḥir, son of Bēl-aplu-x, descendant of x,

Scribe: Nabû-bān-aḥi, son of Ibnāya, descendant of Ekur-zakir;
Naḥallu; 27-VI-34 Nbk, king of Babylon.

Apart from the tithe(-payment), which they will make (at a later date).”

This document, and perhaps also the previous one, is vaguely related to the later *imittu/šibšu* debt notes. In contrast to these, more circumstantial information is offered by this text. Thus we can infer that temple land was leased out for sharecropping to archers, who were previously in the service³⁷⁵ of the royal official *šakin māti*. A part of the share (*šibšu*) was charged against a certain Innin-šum-ibni, son of Balāssu, who was either one of these archers or their sub-tenant. Why the *gugallu* Nergal-šum-ušur had to pay this barley is a matter for speculation. Perhaps this section only indicates that the debtor, for some reason, could not transport the barley from Til-ḥurāši to Nār-šarri, and this task had to be carried out by the *gugallu*. Assuming that he was a temple official, perhaps the text only records an exceptional obligation, since, normally, the debtors in the *imittu* context were supposed to deliver the agricultural produce to a determined place, usually the bank of some watercourse, where it was collected, stored or transported to other destinations. The text additionally notes the use to which the barley was to be put, namely, the regular offerings. It also stipulates that the barley delivered to the city should be deposited in the house of Nabû-šar-ušur,³⁷⁶ who was going to redistribute the barley for the offerings.

2.7.1.2. Irrigation

That the *gugallu* had certain responsibilities with respect to the irrigation system was known from the Sippar evidence. Not surprisingly, evidence for such activities in Uruk can be found now in one of the new texts, YBC 9448. In a matter concerning the prevention of flooding of royal land a *gugallu* representing the royal provincial administration (*šakin māti*) approached a temple *gugallu* as the individual in charge of a dam building project. The text, which has been fully edited in Janković 2007: 221ff., is presented here in translation only:

“Amurru-mukīn-apli, son of Amurru-šar-ušur, *gugallu* of the *šakin māti*, *bēl piqitti* of Ḥanni-il, overseer³⁷⁷ of the female millers of the king, said to Ibni-Ištar, son Nabû-šum-ibni, the *gugallu* of the Lady of Uruk, as follows: ‘Do not flood[?] the *līmu* of the king, which is between the districts of the Lady of Uruk, in Bīt-māḥiṣi, in which you are raising a *mušennītu*-dam; do not let it turn into a marsh [...] raise therein and [...] sharecropping [...]. Yearly he shall give two sheep [...], the *gimru* of the land, to Amurru-mukīn-apli. Whoever breaches (the contract) shall pay 12 minas of silver.

Witnesses; Scribe: Balātu, son of Ibni-Ištar;

Til-agurrēti, estate of the Lady of Uruk; 22-X-31 Nbk³⁷⁸, king of Babylon.”

³⁷⁵ For the interpretation of “being in the gate of an official” as an expression for “doing service” for this official see Jursa and Stolper 2007: 262⁺⁶².

³⁷⁶ He could be identical with the royal official (*ša reš šarri*) and the later royal commissioner of Eanna (*bēl piqitti Eanna*) who was active at that time (Janković 2005: 170. 181).

³⁷⁷ The text has a clear lugal-sign here, but something along the lines of *šāpiru* must have been intended by the scribe; taking it to stand literally for “king” does not make much sense in this context (cf. Janković 2007: 223f.).

³⁷⁸ The name of the king, Nabû-šum-ukīn, which is written clearly, must be a scribal error for Nebuchadnezzar.

The particular interest of this text lies in the evidence for the interaction between the royal and the temple administration. The extant part of the text is a formal record of the order given by Amurru-mukīn-apli to Ibni-Ištar, the temple *gugallu*, not to let the royal land turn into a marsh as a result of a dam construction. Amurru-mukīn-apli was the *gugallu* of the governor of the land (*šakin māti*³⁷⁹) and at the same time the commissioner (*bēl piqitti*) of a certain Ḫanni-il, who was the overseer of the female millers of the king. This Amurru-mukīn-apli appeared in several texts of the Eanna archive showing that he was involved with the temple on more than one occasion.³⁸⁰ The letter YOS 21 33 should probably be added to Amurru-mukīn-apli's attestations.³⁸¹ The author of the letter, a certain Ibni-Ištar, who could well be the same Ibni-Ištar attested as a *gugallu* of the Lady of Uruk in YBC 9448 and elsewhere as a *rab ešerti*, complained about being held back by Amurru-mukīn-apli (no patronymic nor title are given) on account of the *urāšu*-workers and not being able to do his work because of this. For this reason he asked his superior Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim (probably the overseer of the ploughmen, see p. 116) to have *urāšu*-workers summoned and sent to him. Nothing is said in the letter about the type of work or the locality in which it was being conducted, so that it is not possible to correlate it with the dam building project mentioned in YBC 9448.

In the case described by YBC 9448, the matter at stake was royal land, a *līmu* of the king,³⁸² which was situated between the estates of Eanna. The royal administration seemed to be concerned about the building activities undertaken (or planned) by the temple, and headed apparently by the temple's *gugallu* Ibni-Ištar. The building involved raising a *mušannītu*-dam – a structure which usually ran parallel to the watercourse and whose purpose was to protect the fields lying beyond it from getting flooded.³⁸³ The royal land was, it appears, situated in such a way that the new construction put it under a threat of becoming water-logged – an undesirable state for land as it would render it unsuitable for cultivation. More than a third of the text is damaged or entirely missing, so it can only be speculated what other issues were discussed by the two *gugallus*, but the traces and extant portions indicate that arrangements were made on the treatment of, probably, this very plot of land. The mention of sharecropping (l. 9) and a yearly payment of two sheep and a *gimru*-‘tax’³⁸⁴ for the land, which were to be given to Amurru-mukīn-apli, are perhaps indicating that this land was left for use by the temple or the *gugallu* personally. The nature of this transaction can only be guessed at. A lease of land for the purpose of subletting it to sharecroppers springs to mind. If this indeed were the case, one would expect to find stipulations on the rent payable to Amurru-mukīn-apli, as a representative of the royal administration, in the damaged portions of the text.

³⁷⁹ This was probably a shortened version of the title *šakin māt tāmti*, governor of the Sealands (Janković 2007: 230).

³⁸⁰ See Janković 2007: 229ff. and p. 127.

³⁸¹ For a partial translation see p. 59.

³⁸² *līmus* designated larger units of land which probably originated from land division schemes instigated by the state authorities and typically benefited large institutions like the temples, or in this case the royal administration. For a discussion of the term see p. 284.

³⁸³ Cf. Salonen 1963: 449ff. and van Driel 1988: 138f. Another instance of *mušannītu* in connection with the verb *našū* is found in a land lease contract from Nippur ROMCT 2 9, quoted by Jursa 1995a: 184. One of the duties of the lessee in this contract was to raise (*našū*) a *mušannītu*-dam along the front side of the field. (According to other texts this dam could also run at a right angle to the watercourse thus creating a boundary between two fields (*ibid.*)).

³⁸⁴ On the nature of this payment see most recently Abraham 2004: 32f. 84ff. and van Driel 2002: 171f. According to the evidence from private archives *gimru* used to be levied from tenants on royal land in particular. These attestations record only payments in agricultural produce, not livestock as in our text. (*gimru* was also used with the more general meaning “costs”, especially in the accounting texts of the temple archives. Its appearance in the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ should be understood in this sense.)

2.7.1.3. Activities of the external *gugallu*

As was seen in the previously discussed text, occasionally the interests of the provincial administration and the temple clashed in the areas in which the crown and temple estates lay side by side. Special arrangements had to be made in such cases by which the *gugallu* of the provincial administration could protect the interests of the crown and perhaps even use his authority to deal with (problematic?) land by passing it on to the temple. However, different institutions could also have common interests. YOS 7 156 (3 Camb), which has been edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 50. 113, is a nice example for three institutions jointly attempting to solve a problem affecting them all. It is a contract for guarding the cultivated land against wild asses and gazelles, animals which posed a threat to the crops. The six men employed to do the guarding were to watch over the land of the Lady of Uruk, of Šamaš of Larsa and of the king and the archers. The terms of the contract were negotiated with the *šatammu* of Eanna, the *qīpu* of Ebabbar and the *gugallu* of the irrigation district Angillu, Ea-abī. Ea-abī, was probably a *gugallu* of the provincial administration, the land of the king and the archers being most probably his domain.³⁸⁵ How, if at all, the costs for the remuneration of the six watchmen were to be split between the three institutions is not clarified by the text.

Other attestations of the external *gugallu* and their connections to the temple are less informative as they tend to be restricted to debt notes or receipts. The background of the two closely parallel receipts for silver from 1 Nbk (Sack CD 5 and Truro 11) seems to be a purchase of barley by the *gugallu* of *bīt simmagir* on behalf of Eanna.³⁸⁶ NBC 4575 (not dated, probably first half of Nebuchadnezzar's reign) in which a *gugallu* of *šakin māti* is mentioned, is a list of entries recording the removal or the issuing of sheep of the Lady of Uruk by/to certain individuals. The *gugallu* of the *šakin māti* appears among these people without further details.³⁸⁷ An example of the activities of possibly yet another *gugallu* of the *šakin māti* is presented by the following text:

PTS 2850 19-XI-26 Nbk
 obv. 1. *ki-i* 4 me še-bar *šá ina* igi
 ^{ld}kur-gal-lugal-urù ^{lu}*gú-gal-lu*₄
 mu 25-kam *ig-mur-ú-ma*
 a-na ^lnumun-*ia* a-šú *šá* ^{ld}ag-pab
 5. a ^llú-^dbad u ^lkab-ti-*ia*
 a-šú *šá* ^lre-mut-^dgu-*la*
 a ^lši-gu-ú-a i-^lti-ru
 lo.e. še-bar *ma-la* ina *šà-bi a-na*
 mu 26-kam *ta-bi-tu*
 rev. 10. *ina* ugu 1 gur 1 pi *a-na é-an-na*
 ^li-^lti-ru
 (line erased)
 ^rlu^l*mu-kin-[nu* ^{ld}a]g-š^{meš}-^din
 ^ra^l-šú *šá* [x-x-x-x] a ^lš^včš-^dù-^li ^(written over erasure)
 ^lgi-[*mil-lu* a]-^ršú^l-*šá* ^lnumun-*ia*
 15. a ^lši-^rgu-ú^l-a ^lna-di-*nu*
 a-<šú *šá*> ^{ld}uraš-mu-urù a ^{ld}en-e-^rte-^rru^l
 ^{ld}ag-su a-šú *šá* ^lsu-pe-e-^den
 u.e. a ^lna-an-na-a-a ^ldin-su a-šú *šá* ^lmu-[x]
 a ^lna-ba-a-a ^{lu}umbisag ^{ld}ag-^dù-š^včš

³⁸⁵ The land of the Lady of Uruk and of Šamaš can easily be associated with the *šatammu* of Eanna and the *qīpu* of Ebabbar, which leaves the land of the king and the archers for Ea-abī. Note also that he is not given a patronymic, an omission customary for royal officials mentioned in the texts of the Eanna archive.

³⁸⁶ For a new edition of these texts see Janković and Weszeli *in press*.

³⁸⁷ The same *gugallu* probably appears in YBC 9221 (18 Nbk), but the text is in too poor a condition to make any sense of the preserved traces.

20. a-šú šá¹dù-a a¹é-kur-za-kir
 le.c. unug^{ki} [iti] zíz ud 20-1-lá-kam
 ʾmu¹ 26-kam^dag-níg-du-urù
 lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“If (from) 400 (*kurru*) of barley, which are at the disposal of Amurru-šar-ušur, the *gugallu*, (and which) in the 25th year he had delivered in full and paid to Zēria, son of Nabû-nāšir, descendant of Amīl-Ea, and Kabtia, son of Rēmūt-Gula, descendant of Šigūa, any barley remains (undelivered) until the 26th year, they will pay 1 *pānu* per 1 *kurru* (as interest) to Eanna.

Witnesses: [Na]bû-aḥḥē-bullit, son of [x], descendant of Aḥ-bāni,
 Gimillu, son of Zēria, descendant of Šigūa,
 Nādin, son of Uraš-šum-ušur, descendant of Bēl-ēter,
 Nabû-erība, son of Supē-Bēl, descendant of Nannāya,
 Ballāssu, son of Iddin-[x], descendant of Nabāya,
 Scribe: Nabû-bān-aḥi, son of Ibnāya, descendant of Ekur-zakir;
 Uruk; 19-XI-26 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

The verb in line 3 could also be derived from *kamāru*, meaning “to pile up”. However, this would not substantially change the understanding of the text. Syntactically the text is problematic. The scribe failed to connect the conditional clause in ll. 1-7 to the following sentence. Instead of an apodosis, an independent clause follows in ll. 8ff. The protagonists are not known from other sources³⁸⁸ and the background of this text cannot be reconstructed with certainty. The *gugallu* could be the man of the same name designated as the *gugallu* of the *šakin māti* in NCBT 647 (27 Nbk, see below). This high official could in turn be identified with the governor of the Sealand, as was conjectured above. Zēria and Kabtia, though not attested elsewhere, certainly belonged to the urban elite of Uruk which had strong connections to the temple.³⁸⁹ They were given the barley delivered by the *gugallu* and were obliged, under the threat of having to pay interest on the amount, not to let it “stay overnight” until the 26th year. This effectively means that the barley, which probably belonged to the temple and was given to them on its behalf, was not to remain in their care until that time without being put to any use. It is remarkable though that the document was composed at the end of the 11th month of the 26th year. By this time, it should have been clear whether the barley had been passed on by the two individuals or whether it had been left to “sleep”. It seems that the latter case in fact ensued and that this conditional verdict was written up subsequently in order to ensure the temple received some compensation for its dormant capital. Nonetheless, the text does not give any clues as to the background of the *gugallu*’s delivery of this barley to start with.

Another document (NCBT 647) from the following year, probably involving the same *gugallu*, may offer an explanation for his deliveries of barley to Eanna.

NCBT 647 [x]-I-27 Nbk
 obv. 1. [x x x ma]-na ʾkù-babbar níg-ga^{d1}gašan šá unug^{ki}
 [ù^d]na-na-a ina muḥ-ḥi^{1d}ag-ʾta¹lim-mu
 [a-šú šá]^{1d}im-mu-mu^{1d}ag-šeš¹-[x-x-(x)]
 a-šú šá^{1d}ag-šu-uz-ziz-an-ni^{1u2}-ʾú šá kur tam¹-ti^{ki}
 5. u^{1d}kur-gal-lugal-ùru a-šú šá¹ḥaš-di-ia^{1u}gú-gal
 ʾšá^{1u}gar kur šá ina unug^{ki} ina iti šu še-bar
 ʾa¹-ki-i ki-lam šá iti gu⁴ u iti sig⁴
 i-nam-di-nu še-bar šá ina muḥ-ḥi^{1d}tak-ki-[ru]
 ina id sa-par-ra-a-tú še-bar šá ina muḥ-ḥi¹
 10. ʾid¹-lugal ul-tu id ʾx x¹ [x x] ʾx x (x)¹
 lo.c. [x x x (x)]¹-^d[x x x x (x)]

³⁸⁸ Apart from possibly the *gugallu* (see below) and the scribe, who is a well known temple scribe (cf. Janković 2005: 170. 180 and Joannès 1987: 151).

³⁸⁹ Several members of the Amīl-Ea and the Šigūa family are attested as temple scribes and prebendaries (cf. Kümmel 1979: 127.133).

- [x x (x)] bar [x x x] ʿx¹ [x x x (x)]
- rev. [traces]
[traces]
15. *ina* gub-zu *ša*¹ ag² ʿl-lugal/šes² ʿl-[x] ʿl¹ e[n² x x x (x)] ʿx x¹
^{lú}*mu-kin-nu* ʿl¹ kur-ʿgal-lugal¹-ùru ʿl¹ gal é-gal
ša ina uru *da-ni*-ʿx bad² ʿl¹ é-sag¹-íl-*bu-di-ia*
^{lú} gal é *ša* ʿl¹ ag-numu[n-x¹ ^{lú} gal gír^{II-mes}
^{lú} ag^{or innin} ʿl¹-dù-numun ʿl¹ gar [x x (x)] ʿx x x¹ im é-zi-da
20. [x] ʿx x¹ ʿl¹ ag-sur ʿa¹-šú *ša* ʿl¹ [x x x]-dub-numun
[u^{lú}umbi]sag¹ ta-qiš-ʿl¹[gu]-la
- u.e. [a¹é]-kur-za-kir tin-tir^{ki} iti bār
[ud x-kam m]u 27-kam ʿl¹ ag-níg-du-ùru
[x x (x)] ʿx x (x)¹ sum [lugal t]in-tir^{ki}
- le.e. 25. [x x x (x)] ʿx¹ la ti *ša* ʿx¹ [x]
[x x x x *ina*] igi ʿl¹ ag-ʿx¹-[x]
[x x x x x] 16 *ša* [x (x)]

“[x] minas of silver, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, are the debt of Nabû-talīm, [son of] Adad-šum-iddin, Nabû-aḥ-[x], son of Nabû-šuzzizzanni, the *šanû*-official of the Sealand, and Amurru-šar-ušur, son of Ḫašdia, the *gugallu* of the *šakin māti* who is in Uruk. In the fourth month they will deliver barley according to the price of the second and the third month. The barley from (the land on) the Takkīru, from Nār-saparrātu, the barley from (the land on) the Nār-šarri, from the [x]-canal [until ...] Nāʿid-[x ...].

In the presence of Nabû-[x], *bēl* [x].

Witnesses: Amurru-šar-ušur, overseer of the palace which is in Dani-[x],
Esagil-būdia, the steward of Nabû-zēr-[x], the *rab patrī*,
Nabû^{or Istar}-bān-zēri, *šakin* [x ...] Ezida [...],
Nabû-ēter, son of [x]-šāpik-zēri,

Scribe: Taqīš-Gula, [descendant of E]kur-zākir;

Babylon; [x]-I-27 Nbk, [king of] Babylon.

... (too fragmentary for a translation).”

The text is damaged which hampers our understanding. The debt charged against three individuals, one of which is the *šanû*-official of the Sealand, is expressed as an amount of silver belonging to the Eanna temple. It is to be repaid in barley according to the exchange rate for months II and III (i.e. at a price current during or just after the harvest). This probably indicates that the text records Eanna’s purchase of barley from these individuals. Unfortunately, the remainder of the text is unintelligible. Different canals in the vicinity of Uruk are mentioned. These remarks could possibly concern the provenience of the barley. Alternatively, the barley could have come from the Sealand, considering that the debtors, some of them at least, were related to it. Beside the *šanû* of the Sealand, the *gugallu* of the *šakin māti*, Amurru-šar-ušur, may also have been connected to this region. It has been argued that the title *šakin māti* is a shorter version of *šakin māt tâmti*, “governor of the Sealand” (Janković 2007: 230). Interestingly this *gugallu* seems to have been stationed at Uruk, probably as the governor’s representative. This is indicated by the remark *ša ina Uruk* (l. 6). This would imply that the *gugallus*, especially those of the state administration, were not necessarily only local agricultural officials, but could hold legal and administrative responsibilities on a cross-regional level.

Amurru-mukīn-apli, the *gugallu* of the *šakin māti* and possibly the son of the *gugallu* Amurru-šar-ušur who appears in the texts just treated, continued in the footsteps of his purported father. Beside the above discussed YBC 9448 and the letter YOS 21 33, he is attested in another four documents.³⁹⁰ He appears as a debtor in BM 114509 (ʿ16^{1or 26} Nbk), a debt note for 70 *kurru* of barley, property of Eanna, which is described as barley given for the rations of the female

³⁹⁰ These have been described and commented on by Janković 2007: 230ff. 237ff.

millers.³⁹¹ In NCBT 996 ([38 Nbk]) he appears again in the role of a debtor together with three other persons, this time owing Eanna 1 mina 20 shekels of silver. In case they failed to repay the silver by the first month, they were to pay 190 *kurru* of barley instead. Amurru-mukīn-apli is also the debtor in AOAT 358, no. 39 (= YBC 3530, 38^{or later} Nbk), a debt note for 1,418 *kurru* of barley and 4 minas and 9 shekels of silver. This considerable sum is comprised of a number of individual entries of debts from a period from 35 to 38 Nbk, among which also the 1 mina 20 shekels of silver from NCBT 996 is recorded.³⁹² YBC 9161 (42 Nbk), a *zittu* debt note for dates, also mentions an Amurru-mukīn-apli, however, without a patronymic, so the identification is not certain. According to ll. 8f. he owed an unspecified amount of barley to the temple which he had delivered as dates.³⁹³

Though the nature of these transactions cannot be ascertained, some of these texts, especially the ones involving the *gugallus* Amurru-šar-ušur and Amurru-mukīn-apli, can be viewed in the context of Eanna's relations to the institutions of the Sealand, its purchases of agricultural staples from this region, in particular.³⁹⁴

2.7.2. The late phase

As was mentioned earlier, during the reign of Nabonidus there are no attestations of the *gugallus* in the Eanna archive. Sporadic mentions of this official start appearing during the reign of Cyrus, but the bulk of our evidence comes from the reigns of Cambyses and Nebuchadnezzar IV, from the numerous *imittu* debt notes pertaining to the rent farms of Ardia and Gimillu respectively. Following *gugallus* are known by name:

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------------|----------------|---|
| Nanāya-ēreš/Gimillu | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | YOS 7 38 | - (<i>gugallūtu</i> contract) |
| Talīm/Nabû-nāšir | 18-XI-1 Camb | JCS 28, no. 15 | <i>gugallu ša limi ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša Harru-ša-Nadnāya</i> |
| Ea-abī | 4-XI-3 Camb | YOS 7 156 | <i>gugallu ša Angillu</i> |
| Aqria/Nabû-dalā | 23-I-6 Camb | YOS 7 186 | <i>gugallu ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |

Table 17: The “late” *gugallus*

All except Ea-abī belonged to the temple administration and were in charge of the temple estates. Ea-abī was most probably a *gugallu* of the provincial administration in charge of the royal land and the land given to the archers in a land-for-service scheme. Before turning to the above listed documents, however, we will discuss the more general evidence from the numerous *imittu* debt notes.

2.7.2.1. *gugallu*-payment

The *gugallus* were entitled to an income in agricultural produce from the individuals cultivating gardens and fields situated along the canals under their responsibility. Van Driel recognised that these payments were meant to compensate the services of the *gugallus* since they were occasionally called *kurummatu* (“rations”).³⁹⁵ Though most of their attestations stem from *imittu* debt notes for dates and their “special connection” to the date plantations (owing to the date

³⁹¹ This text is edited in Janković 2007: 237ff.

³⁹² According to another entry in this text he owed Eanna 1,192 *kurru* of barley together with the *qīpu* of the Sealand.

³⁹³ The text is edited in the Appendix 1.

³⁹⁴ For the evidence for the Sealand found in the Eanna archive see Beaulieu 2002a and Jursa 2010b: 91ff. Eanna's purchases of barley from the Sealand are listed in Jursa 2010b: 93.

³⁹⁵ Nevertheless, and despite the lack of any evidence, van Driel considers the idea that these had something to do with payments for water rights (2002: 179). Attestations of actual payments for water from Sippar are quoted by MacGinnis 2005-06: 316³.

orchards' higher water requirements and their situation along the banks of the irrigation canals) is often stressed in the secondary literature,³⁹⁶ the *gugallus* were not only to receive income from the orchards, but from the arable land as well. This is attested in a small number of debt notes charged against sharecroppers working on the arable land of the temple.³⁹⁷ Whether it is significant that these texts concerned only sharecroppers and not the ploughmen cannot be decided at the moment. The payments for the *gugallus* started being explicitly mentioned in the middle of Cambyses's reign (probably not earlier than 4 Camb). In the *imittu* debt notes for dates a remark was made, usually at the end of the document just before the witness list, that a certain amount of dates for the *gugallu* had not been included in the amount determined as the impost of a given plot and was consequently to be paid extra. This is usually expressed as: *e-lat* x gur (zú-lum-ma) *šá*^{lu}gú-gal. The most common amount attested is 1 *kurru* of dates, but occasionally 2 *kurru* and once even 4 (see the table below) are attested. The texts concerning the shares of the temple due from the sharecroppers never specify an amount of barley. They simply state in general terms: *e-lat* *šuk*^{bi-a} *šá*^{lu}gú-gal. It is not clear whether the appearance of the *gugallus* in the *imittu* debt notes during the fourth year of Cambyses's reign should be attributed to some change in the practice of the agricultural management or rather to a change in the formulary of these debt notes. The *gugallus* were certainly entitled to rations also prior to 4 Camb; however, the obligations of the gardeners (and sharecroppers) with respect to these were stated in more general terms, without further specifications (usually *e-lat* *šuk*^{bi-a-meš}). Though neither the size of the rations is stated nor for whom they were intended, it is possible that the *gugallus*' prerogatives, perhaps in addition to other dues (notably, *kišir esitti*³⁹⁸), were subsumed under these loosely termed obligations. The *kišir esitti*-obligation depended on the size of the impost. For each *kurru* of the impost 1 *sūtu* and 4.5 or 3.5 *qû* of dates were to be delivered. There is no way of telling whether the rations of the *gugallu* were determined in a similar way and whether the new formulary implied a new system for setting the size of these rations.³⁹⁹ Be that as it may, the table below clearly demonstrates that from 4 Camb on the rations of the *gugallus* were not proportional to the size of a plantation and the revenue expected from it. A fixed amount, namely, 1 *kurru* of dates, was expected from each individual orchard. Even for the debt notes in which 2 or 4 *kurru* of dates were to be provided to the *gugallu* it can be shown that the imposts recorded in them were considered to concern separate administrative units: either it would specifically be stated that the dates come from different gardens or the *imittu* would be charged against two debtors, again implying that separate administrative units were involved.⁴⁰⁰

| Text | Date | <i>imittu</i> (<i>kurru</i>) | <i>gugallūtu</i> -payment (<i>kurru</i>) |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|--|
| YOS 7 175 | 2-VI-4 Camb | 13;2.3 | 1 |
| BIN 1 116 | 26-V-5 Camb | 12 | 1 |
| BIN 1 102 | 4-VI-5 Camb | 110 ⁴⁰¹ | 2 |
| Truro 17 | 19-VI-6 Camb | 58 | 1 |
| NCBT 829 | 5-[x]-7 Camb | 32 ⁺ | 1 |
| JCS 28, no. 35 | 2-VII-7 Camb | 95 | 1 |
| BM 114487 | 4-VII-7 Camb | 47 | 1 |
| BM 113429 | 6-VII-7 Camb | 65 | 1 |
| YOS 21 210 | 1 Nbk IV | 66 | 1 |
| YOS 17 299 | 24-[x]-1 Nbk IV | 42 ⁴⁰² | 2 |

³⁹⁶ E.g. van Driel 2002: 179.

³⁹⁷ E.g. YOS 7 169, 180, UCP 10/8 244f.

³⁹⁸ Cf. van Driel 2002: 172ff.

³⁹⁹ Note that according to the 'Edict of Belšazzar' (see p. 70) the rations for various (agricultural) officials to be paid by the gardeners were directly dependent on the impost to be delivered by them (15 *qû* per each *kurru* of dates). *gugallus*, however, do not appear among the officials entitled to these rations.

⁴⁰⁰ Note, however, that the appearance of two debtors in an *imittu* debt note did not necessarily imply that their impost was considered as composed of two separate entities. In YOS 17 286, YOS 17 288 and BM 114570, for instance, the two debtors are charged only with one *kurru* of dates for the *gugallu*.

⁴⁰¹ The impost is charged against two persons, indicating perhaps that their garden was possibly regarded as comprising of two separate entities. Probably for this reason the *gugallūtu*-payment amounted to 2 *kurru*.

| | | | |
|------------|------------------|--------------------|---|
| YOS 17 37 | 30-[x]-1 Nbk IV | 40 | 1 |
| YOS 17 286 | 16-V-1 Nbk IV | 43 | 1 |
| YOS 21 206 | 16-V-1 Nbk IV | 63 | 1 |
| YOS 17 35 | 18-V-1 Nbk IV | 14 | 1 |
| YOS 17 287 | 24-V-1 Nbk IV | 18 | 1 |
| YOS 17 288 | 26-V-1 Nbk IV | 10 | 1 |
| BM 114636 | 26-V-1 Nbk IV | 15 | 1 |
| BM 114650 | 1-VI-1 Nbk IV | 61 | 1 |
| TCL 12 22 | 2-VI-1 Nbk IV | 55 | 1 |
| YOS 17 289 | 2-VI-1 Nbk IV | 36 | 1 |
| YOS 17 291 | 8-VI-1 Nbk IV | 150 ⁴⁰³ | 2 |
| YOS 17 292 | 13-VI-1 Nbk IV | 27 | 1 |
| BM 114467 | 29-VI-1 Nbk IV | 145 | 1 |
| TCL 12 23 | 1-VII-1 Nbk IV | 40 | 1 |
| BM 113423 | 2-VII-1 Nbk IV | 108 | 1 |
| BM 114637 | 2-VII-1 Nbk IV | 23 | 1 |
| BM 114570 | 2-VII-[1] Nbk IV | 157 | 1 |
| YOS 17 293 | 3-VII-1 Nbk IV | 130 ⁴⁰⁴ | 2 |
| YOS 17 294 | 3-VII-1 Nbk IV | 186 ⁴⁰⁵ | 2 |
| YOS 17 295 | 3-VII-1 Nbk IV | 55 | 1 |
| BM 114620 | 3-VII-1 Nbk IV | 125 | 1 |
| YOS 17 297 | 5-VII-1 Nbk IV | 160 | 1 |
| YOS 21 212 | 5-VII-1 Nbk IV | 110 | 1 |
| BM 113352 | 5-VII-1 Nbk IV | 147 | 1 |
| BM 113422 | 5-VII-1 Nbk IV | 43 | 1 |
| YOS 17 298 | 6-VII-1 Nbk IV | 130 ⁴⁰⁶ | 4 |
| BM 113364 | 6-VII-1 Nbk IV | 45 | 1 |
| BIN 1 99 | 13-VII-1 Nbk IV | 35 | 1 |

Table 18: *gugallu*-payment

It should also be noted that not all the *imittu* debt notes attested after 4 Camb included a remark concerning the rations of the *gugallu*.⁴⁰⁷ These occasional omissions probably do not imply that in certain cases the *gugallu* were not entitled to an income from the date orchards or that this income was included in the amount determined as the impost. They only serve to support the assumption that this was a customary payment familiar to all the parties involved which did not necessarily need to be spelled out in the *imittu* debt notes.

That the *gugallu* were people with considerable resources thanks to these payments had already been assumed by Jursa (1995a: 52). The actual extent of their yearly income arising from these payments could only be determined if one knew the number of orchards for which a *gugallu* was responsible. However, this is precisely the kind of information we do not have.⁴⁰⁸ Another implication of this flat rate system is that it weighed more heavily on the gardeners who tended smaller orchards. Should this system be seen as a conscious attempt to encourage gardeners to take on larger plots of land?

⁴⁰² This amount is composed of 24 *kurru* and 18 *kurru* of dates from two different plots. It is charged against one person only.

⁴⁰³ The impost is charged against one person, but the dates stem from two gardens situated right and left of the Aššuritu-canal.

⁴⁰⁴ This amount is comprised of 115 *kurru* from a big plot (a-šà gal-ú) and 15 *kurru* from the small palm trees (^{gīš}gīšimmar tur-tur^{meš}), including 2 *kurru* of a certain Kalbāya. Two debtors are listed for these dates.

⁴⁰⁵ Two brothers are listed as debtors in this *imittu uiltu*.

⁴⁰⁶ Only one debtor is listed, but the impost is said to pertain to an unspecified number of gardens: a-šà^{meš} é rit-tu₄ šá^{lú} u-mug^{meš}. It is conceivable that this impost pertained to four plots.

⁴⁰⁷ E.g. BIN 1 103, 110, 119, 128, 129, YOS 7 181, 195, BM 113384, BM 113430, BM 114641, BM 114643, BM 114645.

⁴⁰⁸ Note also that we are lacking quantitative information on the *gugallūtu*-payments from the arable land altogether.

2.7.2.2. Duties and responsibilities

One of the most important and informative documents concerning the duties and responsibilities of the *gugallus* is certainly YOS 7 38 (4 Cyr), a contract establishing the duties and delineating the sphere of responsibility of an individual who ventured to perform the *gugallūtu*-service. The text has been edited by Cocquerillat (1968: 67. 123) and Joannès (1982: 13f.) and will be presented here in translation only:

“Nidinti-Bēl, the chief administrator of Eanna, (and) Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna, entrusted the date plantations of the Lady of Uruk, *bīt ritti* of Innin-zēr-ibni, son of Rēmūt, to Nanāya-ēreš, son of Gimillu, for (the carrying out of) the *gugallūtu*-service. Nanāya-ēreš shall deliver to Eanna as much dates as are imposed by Eanna, according to the impost which the yield estimators of Eanna will determine. *ḥabū uḥīnu* which Nanāya-ēreš will exact from the gardeners he will give for cattle and sheep and he will provide one half of the ‘gift of the king’⁴⁰⁹ which is imposed on Nidintu.⁴¹⁰ He will do the work on the plots. *bīt ritti* of Marduk-šum-ušur, Ina-šilli-Nanāya and Nanāya-ibni which is left of the Ḥarru-ša-Lābāši is at the disposal of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, and the *līmu* of Lasūtu, *bīt ritti* of Arrab and Innin-zēr-ušabši, are at Nanāya-ēreš’s disposal instead.

In the presence of Nidinti-Bēl, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nabû-mukīn-zēri, descendant of Dābibī, (and) Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna. Witnesses; Nādin, Kīnāya, Mūranu, Balātu, the scribes of Eanna; Uruk; 3-VIII-4 Cyr, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

The ‘leasing’ of the *gugallūtu*-service was tied to a specified portion of the temple estates, as would be the case in the regular rent contracts concerning agricultural land, but contrary to these, no rent, neither as a fixed sum nor as a share in the yield, was stipulated by this document. However, Nanāya-ēreš’s duties as a *gugallu* were outlined. His main task would be the delivery of the date yield to the temple in accordance with the imposts established by the yield estimators. Furthermore, he had to obtain *ḥabū uḥīnu*, a kind of tax,⁴¹¹ from the gardeners, which was to be used for (purchasing) cattle and sheep, and discharge a part of the obligations imposed on the land by the royal administration (*nāmurtu ša šarri*). This obligation he had to share with a certain Nidintu whose identity cannot be ascertained, but who apparently also held some responsibility for the land in question, either as a tenant or another *gugallu*. Another unidentifiable individual, Marduk-šāpik-zēri, retained the responsibility over some land in the region assigned to Nanāya-ēreš. For this reason Nanāya-ēreš was compensated with land from another locality. Indeed, the main purpose of this text may have been, as van Driel suggested, to create “an arrangement which solves a number of problems between him [Nanāya-ēreš] and his colleagues. [...] This is rather an attempt to solve a number of administrative complications than a contract” (2002:182⁵⁶).

However, proper *gugallūtu*-leases are also attested. BM 76034, a text from the Ebabbar of Sippar from the reign of Darius, is a formal *gugallūtu*-contract between a number of individuals and the administration of the Ebabbar. In this text, published and edited by MacGinnis (1998: 213f.

⁴⁰⁹ Note that Cocquerillat misread this passage (l. 11) as *na-āš-par-ti* (1968: 132). This had been observed by Joannès who proposed the reading *te-lit-ti* (1982: 13; this reading has been adopted by van Driel 2002: 182). However, the initial sign is clearly a NA followed by a partially damaged sign consisting of oblique wedges and a final single vertical wedge. The last sign, a TI, is undisputed. It is proposed here to read the partially damaged sign as MUR, a reading perfectly supported by the visible traces (unlike LID, which does not contain any vertical wedges). Thus, the word in question would be *nāmurtu ša šarri*, “present of the king”, a concept attested with varying forms in several other texts as well (e.g. PTS 2044 (rent contract of Ardia edited on p. 221), W 17718x, YOS 3 9, 26, YBC 3750). Little can be said about this obligation, other than that it usually consisted of livestock, cattle or sheep, and that tenants of land could be subjected to it.

⁴¹⁰ This means that Nanāya-ēreš will share this obligation at equal parts with Nidintu.

⁴¹¹ Cf. Landsberger (1967: 55) rejects the interpretation of the dictionaries that these were dates of low quality used for cattle fodder. Since the basic meaning of *ḥabū* is a type of vessel, Landsberger understands the expression as “pots of dates preserve”, which shifted its meaning to designate a kind of tax. He translates the relevant passage in YOS 7 38 as: “(The tax called) pots of dates preserve, which PN will exact from the gardeners, he will spend for (acquiring) cattle and sheep...”.

no. 7), these individuals, whose names are not extant due to large breaks on the tablet, asked the *šangû*, *qīpu*, and the scribes of Ebabbar to give them a certain irrigation district (*tamirtu*) in order to perform the *gugallūtu* duties there (l. 5': ^{lú}gú-gal-ut-su lu*-[pu*-uš*], following a collation and reconstructions (marked with *) by Jursa (2004b: 182). In return they were to deliver dates to the temple annually.⁴¹² Further obligations concerning the deliveries of the date palm by-products and the digging of irrigation ditches are also stipulated. Other known *gugallūtu*-contracts do not stem from the temple milieu: VS 5 122 (2 Dar) from the Tattannu archive records the lease of *gugallūtu ša suluppī*; BM 28933 and BM 29035//96285, two texts from Borsippa dated to Amīl-Marduk's and Neriglissar's reign are *gugallūtu*-contracts in which the lessor was the governor of Borsippa.⁴¹³

It is interesting to note that Nanāya-ēreš, the main protagonist of YOS 7 38, appears after some four years as the messenger of the chief temple administrator and the royal commissioner of Eanna, entrusted with the important task of collecting the dates pertaining to the rent farm of the *fermier général* Ardia.⁴¹⁴ Later he went on to become a *rab kārī*, “chief of the harbour”, of the Lady of Uruk. He is attested with this title, together with his colleague Šamaš-erība, son of Nabû-aḥ-iddin, in the first (JCS 28, no. 15, see below) and in the fourth year of Cambyses (YOS 7 171). JCS 28, no. 15 is an example of the interaction between a local *gugallu* and the two chiefs of the harbour.

JCS 28, no. 15 18-XI-1 Camb

- obv. 1. ^{lú}ag-numun-dù a-šú šá ^{lú}x-x-x^l-lugal-<x[?]>
^{lú}é-an-na-mu a-šú šá ^{lú}na-di-nu
^{ki}ag-mu-gin a-šú šá ^{lú}en-šeš^{meš}-^{lú}su^l
^{lú}šu^d-utu a-šú šá ^{lú}mu-še-zib^d-amar-utu
5. ^{lú}la-ba-ši a-šú šá ^{lú}ag-mu-gin
^{lú}utu-šeš-mu a-šú šá ^{lú}ki-na-a
^{lú}dumu dù^{meš} šá ina pa-ni-šú-nu ^{lú}ta-lim-mu
a-šú šá ^{lú}ag-na-šir ^{lú}gú-gal
šá 1 lim šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
10. šá ^{lú}har-ri-šá-^{lú}sum-na-a
- lo.e. [1]+šú 5 gur 4_p 1_b zú-lum-ma zag-lu a-šá
[šá] ^{lú}ba-šá-a ul-tu é ^{lú}ba-šá-a a-šú
- rev. ^{lú}šá ^{lú}šeš-mu im-šu-uḥ-ḥu-ma
a-na ^{lú}na-na-a-kam a-šú šá ^{lú}gi-mil-lu
15. ^{lú}utu-su a-šú šá ^{lú}ag-šeš-mu
^{lú}gal ka-ra-nu šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} id-din-nu
- (one blank line)
- ^{lú}umbisag ^{lú}ki-din^d-amar-utu a-šú šá ^{lú}amar-utu-mu-ùru
a ^{lú}ba-si-ia ší-i-ḥu šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
šá uru[?] ^{lú}har-ri šá ^{lú}sum-na-a iti zíz^l
20. ud 18-kam mu 1-kam ^{lú}kam-bu-zi-ia
lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur kur^{meš}

“Nabû-zēr-ibni, son of [x]-šar-<x[?]>,”

Eanna-iddin, son of Nādin,

Nabû-šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-erība,

Gimil-Šamaš, son of Mušēzib-Marduk,

Lābāši, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn,

Šamaš-aḥ-iddin, son of Kīnāya,

⁴¹² This portion of the text is damaged and MacGinnis's reconstruction of the line 11' including specific amounts of dates and barley to be delivered is highly questionable.

⁴¹³ Jursa and Waerzeggers 2009: 242f. In one case the rent was a sum of money (2 minas of silver), and in the other 415 *kurru* of dates.

⁴¹⁴ This is according to *AnOr* 8 62 and YOS 7 84 both from 8 Cyr.

(these are) the *mār banê* in whose presence Talīm, son of Nabû-nāšir, the *gugallu* of the *līmu* of the Lady of Uruk in Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya, measured and delivered to Nanāya-ēreš, son of Gimillu, and Šamaš-erība, son of Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chiefs of the harbour of the Lady of Uruk, 65;4.1 of dates from the house of Iqīšāya, son of Aḫ-iddin, the *imittu* of the plot of Iqīšāya.

Scribe: Kidin-Marduk, son of Marduk-šum-ušur, descendant of Basia;

Estate of the Lady of Uruk of Āl-Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya; 18-XI-1 Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

Though we cannot be sure about the background of this transaction, it can be conjectured that Iqīšāya, a gardener or a tenant of a temple orchard, for some reason failed to deliver his date impost on time but kept the dates in his house (or on his estate). The *gugallu* Talīm who was in charge of an estate on the canal Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya, in which presumably Iqīšāya’s plot was situated, measured the required amount from Iqīšāya and delivered it to the two *rab kārīs*, Nanāya-ēreš and Šamaš-erība. The *rab kārī*, as an official of the royal administration, was predominantly engaged in the collection of taxes incurred by the use of watercourses for transport.⁴¹⁵ Though there is no real evidence for the temple’s own *rab kārīs*’ collection of taxes, it is clear that they were engaged in the transport of the agricultural products to the temple⁴¹⁶ and for this service a fee was charged.⁴¹⁷ Hence, in the case described by JCS 28, no. 15, it seems that the *gugallu*’s task was to measure and collect the agricultural produce and deliver it to the *rab kārīs* who were in charge of making arrangements for its transport to the temple or some other storage facilities.

In addition to the impost and the rent (*imittu* and *sūtu*), the *gugallus* were responsible for the collection of other types of obligations imposed on the land or the rural population. This transpires from YOS 7 186 (6 Camb), a text according to which an arrangement was made between the temple administrators and the settlers (*aššābus*) of the village Šingu to grind flour of a certain quality (*hirigallu*) under the supervision of the *gugallu* Aqria in the same manner as the settlers of the other villages of the Lady of Uruk.⁴¹⁸ The flour is said to be imposed on Eanna (ll. 8f: *šá ina muḫ-ḫi / é-an-na na-as-ku*), perhaps meaning that this was an obligation the temple had to fulfil toward the crown. The *gugallu* of the Lady of Uruk, Aqria, son of Nabû-dalā, is known from other texts to have been a temple oblate and a temple ploughman, who at some point also exercised the duties of an overseer of the ploughs (*rab epinni*) and was involved in the management of the arable cultivation.

2.7.3. Summary

In order to sum up the basic facts about the *gugallus* it is best to combine and look at the evidence from both the Eanna and the Ebabbar, as the data from these two archives tend to complement each other.⁴¹⁹ These “estate managers” could be recruited from the ranks of the temple oblates, the *ikkarus* and the *nukuribbus*. They were in charge of groups of agricultural workers and their fields and orchards, which probably had a common topographic feature (i.e. they were

⁴¹⁵ On the *kāru*-tax, the term replaced by the word *miksu* in the Achaemenid period according to van Driel, see van Driel 2002: 274ff. and Abraham 2004: 32f. (on *miksu*). According to Bongenaar the attestations of the *rab kārī* from Sippar all refer to an official of the royal administration “who collected taxes and dues from the trade” (1997: 136). For the *rab kārī* see Weszeli 2009: 165. For different transportation costs and fees see Weszeli 2010: 140ff.

⁴¹⁶ TCL 13 157 (3 Camb) is the most explicit in this respect. The text is a bail protocol in which two individuals guarantee to the *šatammu* and the *bēl piqitti* to bring Nanāya-ēreš and Šamaš-erība to them by a certain date. The two men are designated as “those who bring the dates, property of Ištar of Uruk, to Eanna” (ll. 5f.: *šá zú-lum-ma ní-g-ga^dinnin unug^{ki} / a-na é-an-na ú-qar-rab-bu-ú-nu*).

⁴¹⁷ According to NCBT 101 (35 Nbk) the fee of the *rab kārī* was about 3.22% of grain transported from Til-agurrēti to the temple storehouse. (The text is edited on p. 89.)

⁴¹⁸ The text has been edited by San Nicolò 1935: 369f. See also the comments in Janković 2007: 213⁺³⁸ with further literature on this text. On *aššābus* see also Jursa 1995a: 8⁺³⁵.

⁴¹⁹ There is no reason to assume that the situation in the two temples would have been fundamentally different.

situated on a specific canal, in a certain village, etc.). They were responsible for the deliveries of agricultural products due to the temple from the localities assigned to them. This entailed measuring, collecting, storing and perhaps also transporting of agricultural staples. There is some evidence that the *gugallus* interacted with the chiefs of the harbour, who managed the transportation of agricultural products. The groups of gardeners (or ploughmen) assigned to the *gugallus* were of relevance also when it came to organising non-agricultural operations. The *gugallus* were obliged to supply and probably oversee these workers employed on various projects. In particular, they were responsible for managing the upkeep and the construction of the irrigation system. Other tasks of the *gugallus* included the supervision of the rural population and collecting taxes from them on behalf of the temple.

For their services the *gugallus* were entitled to a special income in kind directly from the people cultivating the fields and the orchards. How the size of these ‘rations’ was determined prior to the middle of Cambyses’s reign is not known. From 4 Camb onwards a *gugallu* was to receive 1 *kurru* of dates for every orchard from the area under his responsibility. This amount was not included in the impost charged against the gardeners and was to be provided in addition to it. There is no information on the size of the *gugallūtu*-fee collected from the arable land.

The *gugallus*’ relative position in the hierarchy of agricultural management is one aspect of this function which is not always clear. Roughly speaking, they were the intermediaries between the lowest echelon of the agricultural production, the ploughmen and the gardeners, and the highest temple authorities.⁴²⁰ However, further refinement of this picture is difficult. One is tempted to interpret the sequence of functionaries listed in YBC 4000⁴²¹ as bearing on this particular issue. In lines 2f. one *gugallu* is named, followed by four *rab ešertis* (ll. 3-5) and 15 *ikkarus* (ll. 6-13). This provides a clear hierarchical sequence from top down, as is usually the case in the Neo-Babylonian documents. While this sort of arrangement seems plausible, there is unfortunately no other evidence to further support it. Interestingly, the data provided by other texts in which these five individuals (the *gugallu* and the four *rab ešertis* from YBC 4000) appear, gives no sign of a difference in status between them, but rather indicates some overlap in their responsibilities and duties.⁴²² If this assumption is nevertheless accepted, the question arises whether there only was one *gugallu* working for the temple at a time or several. In the light of the evidence from the Ebabbar, which clearly demonstrates that several *gugallus* were employed at the same time, the latter option seems more likely.⁴²³ Not least because of the extent of Eanna’s estates, entrusting their supervision to more than one person would have been a more sensible and practical solution.

Not infrequently some of the *gugallus* in our documentation are also attested with other titles and functions within the agricultural management. Some of them were overseers of the plough teams (*rab ešerti*, *rab epinni*) before becoming *gugallus*, others went on to become rent farmers or chiefs of the harbour (*rab kāri*) in the course of their career. As was stressed earlier, the nature of our sources makes it very difficult to distinguish between the responsibilities of the *gugallus* and some of these other agricultural officials, and some major overlaps in their duties are visible. Further details on the activities of the *gugallus* who are attested with the title *rab ešerti* or *rab epinni* are included in the relevant chapters.

⁴²⁰ During the time when the temple employed *fermiers généraux* the *gugallus* were presumably subordinated to these. However, due to a lack of pertinent evidence it cannot be said whether their activities differed in any way from the periods when no rent farmers were employed by the temple.

⁴²¹ Janković 2005: 167ff.

⁴²² See above p. 84 and 115.

⁴²³ If Nergal-šum-ušur from YBC 9213 should turn out to be a *gugallu* of Eanna, as is probable, then there were at least two of these officials attested for 34 Nbk (he and Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter), unless there was a switch of term during the six days that lay between the issuing dates of the two texts.

2.7.4. Attestations⁴²⁴ of the *gugallu*:

Amurru-mukīn-apli/Amurru-šar-ušur

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|--|---|-----------|--|
| YOS 21 33: 6 | - | n.p. | - |
| BM 114509 ⁴²⁵ : 3f. | 14-I-16 ¹ or 16 ² Nbk | | - |
| YBC 9448 ⁴²⁶ : 1f., rev. 2' | 22-X-31 Nbk ¹ | | <i>gugallu ša šakin māti (bēl piqitti of Ḫanni-il, šāpiru¹⁹ ša qēmēti ša šarri)</i> |
| NCBT 996: 3f., 13, 16 | 6-[x]-[38] Nbk | | - |
| AOAT 358, no. 39: 4, 7, 10, 14, 22 | (38 ^{or later} Nbk) | | - |
| YBC 9161: 8 | 16-XIIa-42 Nbk | n.p. | - |

Amurru-šar-ušur/Ḫašdia

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|---------------|----------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| PTS 2850: 2 | 19-XI-26 Nbk | n.p. | <i>gugallu</i> |
| NCBT 647: 5f. | [x]-[x]-27 Nbk | | <i>gugallu (ša) šakin māti</i> |

Aqria/Nabû-dalā

cf. attestations of the *rab epinnis*

Ea-abī

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|------------------------|-------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| YOS 7 156: 4f., 11, 16 | 4-XI-3 Camb | n.p. | <i>gugallu ša Angillu</i> |

Ibni-Ištar/Nabû-šum-ibni

cf. attestations of the *rab ešertis*

Marduk/Amurru-ušēzib

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|---------------|---------------|-----------|------------------------------|
| NBC 4575: 8f. | - | n.p. | <i>gugallu ša šakin māti</i> |
| YBC 9221: 2f. | 16-XII-18 Nbk | | - |

Nabû-nāšir/Aḫ-līšir

| Text | Date | Title |
|----------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| Sack CD 5: 6f. | 6-IX-1 Nbk | <i>gugallu ša bīt simmagir</i> |
| Truro 11: 8f. | 9-IX-1 Nbk | <i>gugallu ša simmagir</i> |

Nabû-zēr-ibni⁴²⁷

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|
| YBC 9144: 5 | 25-I-22 Nbk | n.p. | <i>gugallu</i> |

Nanāya-ēreš/Gimillu

| Text | Date | Title |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| YOS 7 68: 14f. | [x]-[x]-[x] Cyr | - (witness) |
| YOS 7 38: 4, 8, 10 | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | - (<i>gugallūtu</i> -contract) |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 62: 8f., 12 | 13-XI-8 Cyr | <i>mār šipri ša šatammi u bēl piqitti Eanna</i> |
| YOS 7 84: 18 | 26-XI-8 ⁴²⁸ Cyr | <i>mār šipri ša šatammi u bēl piqitti Eanna</i> |
| JCS 28, no. 15: 14 | 18-XI-1 Camb | <i>rab kāri ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| YOS 7 109: 17 | 15-XII-1 Camb | - (witness) |
| BM 114472: 12f | 19-XII 1 Camb | - (witness) |

⁴²⁴ The first and the second column list the attestation and the date. Uncertain attestations are preceded by a question mark. The third column notes the cases in which the person in question appears without a patronymic (n.p. stands for “no patronymic”). The fourth column records any attested titles or functions.

⁴²⁵ Janković 2007: 237ff.

⁴²⁶ Janković 2007: 221ff.

⁴²⁷ His other possible attestations are in YOS 7 326 (18-X-11 Nbk) and NBC 4940 (27⁺-X-20 Nbk).

⁴²⁸ Cf. note 803.

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| YOS 7 124: 30f. | 5-XI-2 Camb | scribe |
| TCL 13 157: 3 | 3-IV-3 Camb | - |
| YOS 7 171: 6f. | 13-VIII-4 Camb | <i>rab k̄ari</i> |
| BM 114613: 17 | 17-II-acc Bar | scribe |
| YBC 7436: 4 | 28-XIIa-acc Dar | - |
| NCBT 1062: 13f. | [1] Nbk IV | - |
| YOS 17 287: 16 | 24-V-1 Nbk IV | -(witness) |
| BM 114636: 18 | 26-V-1 Nbk IV | -(witness) |
| YOS 17 292: 15 | 13-VI-1 Nbk IV | -(witness) |
| BM 114467: 15 | 29-VI-1 Nbk IV | -(witness) |
| PTS 2050: 2f. | 2 Dar | - |

Nergal-ina-tēši-ēter/Zabidāja
cf. attestations of the *rab ešertis*

Nergal-šum-ušur⁴²⁹

| Text | Date | Filiation | Title |
|---------------|--------------|------------------|----------------|
| YBC 9213: 8f. | 27-VI-34 Nbk | n.p. | <i>gugallu</i> |

Talīm/Nabû-nāšir

| Text | Date | Title |
|---------------------|--------------|---|
| JCS 28, no. 15: 7f. | 18-XI-1 Camb | <i>gugallu ša līmi ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša Ḥarru-ša-Nadnāya</i> |

⁴²⁹ He is perhaps also attested in PTS 2107 (05-IX-18 Nbk).

2.8. Yield estimators (*ēmidū*)

The process of yield estimation,⁴³⁰ *imittu*,⁴³¹ was one of the basic administrative mechanisms employed by the temple for the purpose of planning and controlling its income in agricultural products stemming from its estates. It allowed the temple to make a prognosis on the incoming harvest and at the same time established the obligations of the people tilling its land. Both the ploughmen, gardeners and the sharecroppers were subjected to the *imittu* procedure annually and the practice was continued during the era of large-scale rent farms. It was conducted by a commission consisting of up to six people, scribes and estimators (*ēmidus*), who inspected the fields and gardens and the crops growing therein shortly before the harvest. In this way they could evaluate the size of the prospective harvest and establish the dues of the individual agricultural workers (and their teams) which would be written down in debt notes or lists of deliveries. In other words, the shares due from the sharecroppers (*šibšu*, *zittu*) and the obligations of the ploughmen⁴³² and the gardeners were determined. At the same time, the written documentation made sure that no swindles to the benefit of the tillers/gardeners, such as embezzlement of (a part of) the harvest could be carried out. Consequently the temple was in no need of any further supervision of its estates and the crops until after the harvest.⁴³³ By the same token, the tillers/gardeners, assuming they were given a fair evaluation of their fields/gardens, could be protected against the high-handedness of their superiors (overseers or rent farmers under whose authority they stood) who might have been tempted to extort unreasonably high amounts of agricultural produce from them.

It has generally been assumed that the *ēmidus* were people with a background in agriculture who had the experience necessary for conducting these estimations. The other members of the estimation commission, the scribes, had the task to record their colleagues' predictions in lists or debt notes.⁴³⁴ In fact little can be said about the background of these people as only a small number of estimators are attested.⁴³⁵ Kümmel was right in saying that the title *ēmidu* did not designate a profession but an *ad hoc* function, but making a strict division between their and the associated scribes' functions is probably not justified (1979: 107). This was already observed by Cocquerillat who noted that some of the *ēmidus* were scribes at the same time and that their tasks were interchangeable (1968: 53). Interestingly, we cannot detect anything of the alleged agricultural background for the *ēmidus* and the scribes of the estimation commissions in a context other than the *imittu* procedure: the only agriculture-related texts they appear in are the *imittu* debt notes and the oaths they made before the higher temple administration. In their other attestations they usually act as witnesses in various temple court records. An exception is Sîn-ibni, son of Šamaš-udammiq, from the Rē'i-alpi family, attested as an *ēmidu* in 13 Nbn (*AnOr* 8 30). His most frequent attestations are as a witness in a number of documents in the period from 38 Nbk (YBC 4143) to the reign of Cyrus ([x] Cyr, BM 114447),⁴³⁶ but his connection to the agricultural sector transpires from a land lease contract from 3 Nbn, in which he participated (YOS 6 40⁴³⁷). Two of the yield

⁴³⁰ On *imittu* in general see Petschow 1976-80: 65ff. Cocquerillat 1968: 51ff. also deals with different aspects of the *estimation forfaitaire*.

⁴³¹ The term *imittu* is derived from the verb *emēdu* "to impose". Note that it can also designate the obligation resulting from the yield estimation, "the impost". In this function it appears in the numerous debt notes for dates or barley (*imittu* debt notes).

⁴³² For the need to make yield estimations for the *ikkarus* as well who had a more or less fixed obligation see p. 49.

⁴³³ An exception is posed by the contract for the guarding of fields and crops against wild asses, YOS 7 156 (3 Camb), which has been edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 50. 113. (for comments see also here p. 125).

⁴³⁴ Kümmel 1979: 107.

⁴³⁵ See already Kümmel's prosopography (1979: 107f.) to which little new data can be added.

⁴³⁶ His last mention is from 8 Cyr (YOS 7 79); however, this must have been posthumous. For a list of attestations of Sîn-ibni and comments on his career see p. 201.

⁴³⁷ The text was edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 40. 109, and is discussed here on p. 200. According to this rent contract Sîn-ibni, together with Arad-Innin, son of Ibni-Ištar, leased over 865 *kurru* of low quality land from the temple, which was to be worked in a three year fallow cycle and for which 1,240 *kurru* of barley were the rent. The rent also included some cattle and sheep, which indicates that part of the land was to be used for the

estimators in PTS 3000 (7 Nbn) are members of the Rab-banê family. This could perhaps suggest that at least their families, if not they themselves,⁴³⁸ were at some point involved in prebendary horticulture. In this text they are not given the title *ēmidu*, but are designated as *mār banê*, “free citizens”. The following table shows the composition of the estimation commissions as evident from four similar texts recording the oaths of the estimators, which will be discussed below:

| | PTS 3000 15-V-7 Nbn | YOS 6 232 20 ⁺ -I-12 Nbn | AnOr 8 30 9-I-13 Nbn | TCL 13 177 ⁴³⁹ 29-IV-[4] Camb |
|--|------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|
| Nabû-bûn-šûtur/Nabû-crîba/Rab-banê | <i>mār banê</i> | | | |
| Šādûnu/Bêl-ušallim/Āl-lûmur | <i>mār banê</i> | | | |
| Šamaš-iddin/Bêl-îpuš/Rab-banê | <i>mār banê</i> | | | |
| Gimillu/Aḫulap-Ištar/(Ījunzû) ⁴⁴⁰ | | <i>ēmidu</i> | <i>ēmidu</i> | |
| Šamaš-zêr-lišir/Šamaš-šum-lišir | | <i>ēmidu</i> | <i>ēmidu</i> | |
| Marduk-nāšir/Rēmût/Adad-še’c | | <i>ēmidu</i> | | |
| Lūši-ana-nûr/Nabû-aḫḫê-bullit/(Dābibî) | | <i>ṭupšarru</i> | <i>ṭupšarru</i> | |
| Balātu/Mušēzib-Bêl/(Gimil-Nanāya) ⁴⁴¹ | | <i>ṭupšarru</i> | <i>ṭupšarru</i> | |
| Nabû-aḫ-iddin/Īharbāšu | | <i>ṭupšarru</i> | | |
| Sîn-ibni/Šamaš-udammiq/Rē’i-alpi | | | <i>ēmidu</i> | |
| Mušēzib-Bêl/Balāssu/Amīl-Ea ⁴⁴² | | | | x |
| Marduk-šum-iddin/Nādin/Sūtī | | | | x |
| Gimillu/Aḫulap-Ištar/Kurī | | | | x |
| Nabû-bêlšunu/Ištar-šum-ēreš/Ea-ilūta-bani | | | | x |

Table 19: Yield estimators

All in all, the impression is that the members of the estimation commissions could be recruited from the same group of men who participated in the temple court proceedings, i.e. men who frequently appear among the witnesses in the legal documents from the Eanna archive. In addition to these, the rent farmers could apparently engage people from their own entourage to make the yield estimations. While the rent farmer Šum-ukîn was away in 3 Nbn, perhaps on business in Babylon, he had two of his ‘commissioners’ (*bêl piqnēti*), Zēria, son of Nabû-iddin, and Nanāya-iddin, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, determine the barley impost for the ploughmen (YOS 6 78⁴⁴³). Apparently Šum-ukîn did not approve of the way this estimation was conducted as he

purposes of animal husbandry. This was probably in connection to Sîn-ibni’s dairyman’s prebend (*re’ût šizbi*).

⁴³⁸ Nabû-bûn-šûtur/Nabû-crîba/Rab-banê is, for instance, not attested in a prebendary context but rather as a scribe in a house sale contract from 23 Nbk (YBC 7415, published and edited in Beaulieu 1998a:175ff.; read the name of the scribe in line 41 as: ^{1d}ag-[bu-u]n*-šû*-tur* r a*1 ^{1d}ag-su).

⁴³⁹ The people swearing the oath in this text are not given any particular designation or professional title.

⁴⁴⁰ Gimillu appears in YOS 6 232 without a family name. Theoretically an identification with Gimillu from the Kurī family could also be possible, but due to the temporal proximity of the two texts it appears much more likely that this was Gimillu/Ījunzû who is attested one year later in AnOr 8 30.

⁴⁴¹ Balātu’s family name is not recorded in YOS 6 232 and AnOr 8 30. However, a person called Balātu, son of Šuzubu, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya, who appears in AnOr 8 31 (13 Nbn), is said to have been doing the *imittu* procedure for a certain orchard since 10 Nbn (ll. 5f: *ul-tu mu 10-kam / ^dag-ni-tuk lugal tin-tir^{ki} im-mi-dan-ni...*). The two Balātus could have in fact been the same person if it is assumed that Šuzubu was a hypochoristic variant of Mušēzib-Bêl. For an edition of AnOr 8 31 see below.

⁴⁴² The name of this person is mostly reconstructed (TCL 13 177, 1: ¹m[u]-š[e-zib-^den dumu-šú šá ¹din-su dumu] ¹lú-^dé-[a]) following Cocquerillat (1968: 115) after an individual who appeared in the witness lists of several *imittu* debt notes from the reign of Cambyses.

⁴⁴³ The text is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 60. 121. The signs ^{lú}e-mi-de-e in line 4 as transliterated by Cocquerillat are not visible on the tablet, which is damaged in this spot. After the sign lú, only the bottom portions of three signs are visible, followed by a break accommodating three to four signs. The visible traces do not support Cocquerillat’s transliteration. A reconstruction “^{lú}en pi-iq¹-[né-e-tú šá] Šum-ukîn” seems better. This is the title the two men appear with in a follow up document written some days later, in which they are charged with a part of the arrears of the barley impost (YOS 6 94). The two ‘commissioners’ of Šum-ukîn do not appear with the title *ēmidu*, even though they act as estimators on at least one occasion, and

debated with them in court. The two men said in their defence that they had determined the barley impost and the corresponding debt notes without Šum-ukīn's presence and in agreement with the ploughmen.⁴⁴⁴ Perhaps Šum-ukīn would have participated in the process himself had he been in Uruk at the time. This is what his nephew and successor, the rent farmer Kalbāya, seems to have done in 2 Cyr according to TEBR 43 (written in 5 Cyr).⁴⁴⁵ But direct involvement of the rent farmer in the estimation process as evident in this case may have been exceptional and induced by special circumstances. Kalbāya was trying to pin down a debtor who had failed to deliver his impost for several years. Perhaps for this reason he had to revert to such an unusual course of action.

Other agricultural officials could apparently also be entrusted with the task of yield estimation. To judge by BIN 2 108⁴⁴⁶ (4-XI-[x] Camb) the overseers of plough teams (*rab epinnis*) determined the impost for the ploughmen and sharecroppers. In this text three *rab epinnis*, not designated in the text as *ēmidus* or attested as such elsewhere, swore that they would not hide any of the arable land of the Lady of Uruk or impose the obligations of the ploughmen on the sharecroppers and *vice versa*.⁴⁴⁷

We also hear of the prebendary gardeners (*rab banē*) with this function. In sub-leases of their prebendary, *hallatu*, orchards some contracts stipulate that the lessor would conduct the yield estimation for the lessee (e.g. in YBC 4149 and YOS 7 162, see p. 291 and Cocquerillat 1968: 46. 111).

Not only the estimators from the entourage of the large-scale rent farmer Šum-ukīn caused problems. Even the employment of temple's own estimators was no guarantee for problem-free yield estimations. This is evident from *AnOr* 8 31, a text which was written in 13 Nbn, more than three months after *AnOr* 8 30, one of the documents recording the oaths of the estimators. *AnOr* 8 31 probably concerns one of the protagonists from *AnOr* 8 30, the scribe Balātu.⁴⁴⁸ He is not given a title in this text, but is clearly responsible for the yield estimation carried out for a date orchard for a period of more than two years:

AnOr 8 31 20-IV-13 Nbn
 obv. 1. a-šà^{meš} ḥa-la šá^{ld} en-sur a-šú šá^{ld} amar-utu-mmu-kam
 é maš-ka-nu šá^d gašan šá^{unug^{ki}} šá^{ld} ag-ina-sùḥ-sur
 a-šú šá^{ld} in-nin-mu-ùru a¹ ki-din-^d amar-utu
 iq-bu-ú um-ma¹ ba-la-ṭu a-šú šá¹ šu-zu-bu
 5. a¹ šu-^d na-na-a ul-tu mu 10-kam
^d ag-ní-tuk lugal tin-tir^{ki} im-mi-dan-ni-ma
 a-nak-kis-ma¹ buru¹⁴ a-nam-da-áš-šú^{ld} ag-ina-sùḥ-sur
¹ ba-la-ṭu ú-ka-a-ni-ma a-na
¹ numun-iá^{lu} ša-tam é-an-na a-šú
 10. šá¹ ib-na-a a¹ e-gi-bi ù
 lo.e. ^{lu} dub-sar^{meš} šá¹ é-an-na i-nam-din
 rev. ki-i la i-din-nu a-šà ma-la
^{ld} ag-ina-sùḥ-sur ik-ki-su a-na é-an-na i-nam-din
^{lu} mu-kin-nu ^{ld} di-kud-šeš^{meš} -mu a-šú
 15. šá¹ gi-mil-lu a¹ ši-gu-ú-a

the entries in Kümmel's prosopography (1979: 108), who apparently followed Cocquerillat's transliteration, should be corrected accordingly.

⁴⁴⁴ YOS 6 78 ll. 17-18: šc-bar^{lu} engar^{meš} ina la qa-ri-bi šá¹ mu-gin a-ki-i / pi-i-šú-nu ni-te-mi-id ù ú-ìl-ti^{meš} ina muḥ-ḥi-šú-nu nu-te-èl.

⁴⁴⁵ For a discussion of the text see p. 195.

⁴⁴⁶ The text was edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 60. 121f. The correct reading of the lines 8-9, which were misread by her, is to be found in Kümmel 1979: 98 and 107⁸¹ and below. Note, however, that Kümmel translates the oath in the past tense, which is incorrect since this is in fact a negative *promissory* oath expressing an intention.

⁴⁴⁷ Ll. 8-10: ki-i šc-numun šá^{gis} bán šá^d gašan šá^{unug^{ki}} a-na pa¹-ši-ru ni-iš-[ku-nu] / šá^{lu} engar a-na muḥ-ḥi^{lu} er-re-šú ni-it-te-e[n-du] / šá^{lu} er-re-šú a-na^{lu} engar ni-it-[te-en-du].

⁴⁴⁸ For the identification cf. note 441.

- ^{ld}*in-nin*-mu-ùru a-šú šá^l *sum-na*-^dag
a ^l*ki-din*-^damar-utu ^{ld}ag-numun-gin a-šú
šá^l ag-kàd a ^l*ár-r-ab-tu*₄ ^lir-^dinnin-*na*
a-šú šá^l dù-^dinnin a ^lšu-^d*na-na-a* ^{lu}umbisag
20. ^l*na-di-nu* a-šú šá^l en-šes^{mcš}-ba-šá
a ^l*e-gi-bi* unug^{ki} iti šu
ud 20-kam mu 13-kam ^dag-ní-tuk
lugal tin-tir^{ki} ^l*sil-la-a* a-šú
šá^l *e-re-šú* a ^l*ki-din*-^damar-utu *pu-ut*
le.e. 25. ^{ld}ag-*ina*-sùḥ-sur *na-ši*

“Orchards, share of Bēl-ēter, son of Marduk-šum-ēreš, pledge (given as security) to the Lady of Uruk, about which Nabû-ina-tēšî-ēter, son of Innin-šum-ušur, descendant of Kidin-Marduk, said as follows: ‘Balātu, son of Šūzubu, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya, has been conducting the *imittu* procedure for me since the 10th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and I have been harvesting and giving him the yield.’ Nabû-ina-tēšî-ēter will prove Balātu’s (guilt) and will hand (him) over to Zēria, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Ibnāya, descendant of Egibi, and the scribes of Eanna. If he does not hand (him) over, he will deliver to Eanna (dates from) all the plots that Nabû-ina-tēšî-ēter harvested.

Witnesses: Madān-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Gimillu, descendant of Šigū’a,
Innin-šum-ušur, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of Kidin-Marduk,
Nabû-zēr-ukīn, son of Nabû-kāšir, descendant of Arrabtu,
Arad-Innin, son of Ibni-Ištar, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
Scribe: Nādin, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi;
Uruk; 20-IV-13 Nbn, king of Babylon.
Šillāya, son of Erēšu, descendant of Kidin-Marduk, guarantees for Ina-tēšî-ēter.”

The background of this text is not elucidated and so it is not clear what the problem concerning the estimator Balātu exactly was. The orchard in question belonged to a certain Bēl-ēter, but the temple had the right to use it since it was pledged to it, probably because of Bēl-ēter’s indebtedness toward the temple. Balātu has been conducting the yield estimation for the orchard since the tenth regnal year of Nabonidus, according to Nabû-ina-tēšî-ēter, the person in charge of this orchard. Nabû-ina-tēšî-ēter claims further to have harvested and delivered the dates to Balātu. It is not stated what exactly Balātu was accused of. Perhaps he was not passing the dates on to the temple. Nabû-ina-tēšî-ēter’s claim does not appear to constitute enough evidence against Balātu. Rather, he is obliged to prove his guilt (e.g. with the help of other witnesses) and hand him over to the temple authorities.

It is noteworthy that the officials entrusted with the task of yield estimation, and among them this very same Balātu, occasionally had to swear oaths assuring the temple authorities that they would conduct this procedure properly and conscientiously. BIN 2 108, mentioned above, is only one in a row of similar texts. It has already been observed by Ebeling (1954) and Oppenheim (1941: 262) that YOS 6 232 (12 Nbn), *AnOr* 8 30 (13 Nbn) and TCL 13 177 ([4] Camb) belonged together and were treated accordingly.⁴⁴⁹ Now the unpublished text PTS 3000 (7 Nbn) can be added to this group. BIN 2 108 does not use the same terminology as these four texts but is nevertheless linked to them thematically.⁴⁵⁰ Some of the texts concern the yield estimation of the arable land (YOS 6 232, *AnOr* 8 30, BIN 2 108), others of the date orchards (TCL 13 177, PTS 3000). But these oaths all have in common that they were made before the harvest and most probably before the estimations were conducted.

⁴⁴⁹ Oppenheim (1941: 262f.) discussed the idiomatic terms used in the oaths and Ebeling dedicated an article to the three texts (1954). Cocquerillat also treated the three texts (1968: 51ff.) and most recently Sandowicz discussed them as well (2012: 83f.).

⁴⁵⁰ This had only been noticed by Kümmel (1979: 107) despite his misunderstanding of the tense of the oath.

First, the new text, PTS 3000, will be presented. The text was not finished, as is indicated by the missing list of witnesses and the name of the scribe. Perhaps it was a scribal exercise.⁴⁵¹

PTS 3000 15-V-7 Nbn

obv. 1. ^{ld}ag-bu-un-šu-tur a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-su a ^{lú}gal dù
^lšá-du-nu a-šú šá ^{ld}en-gi a ^luru-lu-mur
^{ld}utu-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}en-dù-uš a ^{lú}gal-dù
^{lú}dumu dù^{meš} šá ú-^{hi}-nu šá a-šà
5. šá ^lbul-luṭ a-šú šá ^{ld}en-su a ^lši-gu-ú-a
šá ina unug^{ki} šá ina igi ^{ld}en-šeš^{me}-mu
^{lú}sag i-mi-du mu dingir^{meš}
ina ^den ^dag ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
u ^dna-na-a a-na ^{ld}ag-lugal-ùru
10. ^{rlú}sag lugal ^{lú}en pi-qit-tu₄ é-an-na
rev. i-še-lu-ú ki-i igi^{ll} ni-ta-ad-<ru>
ù le-e-tu₄ ni-it-ta-du-ú
a-di-i u-^{hi}-ni šá in-nak-ki-su-ma
i-šal-li-mu-ú ina lib-bi ni-im-mi-du

(ca. three blank lines)

15. iti ne ud 15-kam mu 7-kam

^dag-ní-tuk lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Nabû-bûn-šûtur, son of Nabû-erîba, descendant of Rab-banê, Šâdûnu, son of Bêl-ušallim, descendant of Āl-lûmur, Šamaš-iddin, son of Bêl-îpuš, descendant of Rab-banê, the *mar banê* who will make an estimation on the dates from the field of Bulluṭ, son of Bêl-erîba, descendant of Šigûa, which is in Uruk and which is at the disposal of Bêl-aḥḥê-iddin, the *ša rēši*, swore by the gods Bêl, Nabû, the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya to Nabû-šar-ušur, the royal commissioner of Eanna (as follows): ‘We will not *fear* the eyes and be negligent (lit. drop (our) cheeks). We will make an assessment on the dates which are to be harvested in totality.’
15-V-7 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

Two idiomatic expressions, *lêta nadû*, “to drop the cheek”, and *îne adâru*, “to *fear* the eyes”, were used in the oaths of the estimators in three other texts (YOS 6 232, *AnOr* 8 30 and TCL 13 177) in addition to the one just presented. Here only the oaths of the three texts will be repeated:

YOS 6 232: 18-25

... ki-i še-numun šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} giš^{ban}^{meš} / šá ina pa-ni ^{lú}engar^{me} ù ^{lú}er-re-še-e šá ^{ld}ag-lugal-ùru
/ ^{lú}qí-i-pi u ^{lú}ša-tam it-ti ^{lú}umbisag^{meš} šá é-an-na / iš-pu-ru-na-a-ši mim-ma a-na na-de-e le-e-tu₄ /
ina lib-bi ni-te-ép-šú igi^{ll} ni-ad:ta-ru ù le-e-tu₄ / ni-it-ta-du-ú a-di mim-ma šá ik-kaš-šá-du-ú-ma /
^{giš}ban šá-lim-tu₄ a-na é-an-na te-er-ru-bu i-mit-ti / ni-im-mi-du ...

“Concerning the arable land of the Lady of Uruk (and) the *sûtu*-obligation of the ploughmen and the sharecroppers, about which Nabû-šar-ušur, the *qîpu*, and the *šatammu* together with the scribes of Eanna wrote to us, we will do nothing to cause negligence concerning this (matter). We will not *fear* the eyes and be negligent. We will make the yield estimation for everything which can be harvested (lit. ‘reached’) and the complete *sûtu* which can enter Eanna.”

AnOr 8 30: 15-22

... ki-i še-numun šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} / ^{giš}ban^{meš} šá ina pa-ni ^{lú}engar^{meš} ù ^{lú}er-re-še-e / šá ni-im-mi-du
ù ni-ma-šá-ḥu mim-ma [ma[?]-la[?]] / a-na na-de-e le-e-tu₄ ina lib-bi ni-te-ép-šú / igi^{ll} ni-ta-da-ru ù le-

⁴⁵¹ There are at any rate two mistakes in the line 11 which may suggest that the text was written by an inexperienced scribe. The verbal form at the beginning of the line (Š-stem of *elû*), should of course have a prefix *u-* not *i-*. The scribe also forgot to write the last sign of the verbal form at the end of the line, so that it had to be emended on the basis of parallel passages (*ni-ta-ad-<ru>*).

e-tu₄ ni-it-ta-du-ú / a-di mim-ma šá ik-ka-áš-šá-du-ú-ma še-bar šá-li-in-du / a-na é-an-na te-er-ru-bu še-numun *ni-ma-áš-šá-ḫu / ù i-mit-tu₄ ni-im-mi-du ...*

“Concerning the arable land of the Lady of Uruk (and) the *sūtu*-obligation of the ploughmen and the sharecroppers, for which we are doing the yield estimation and which we are measuring, we will do nothing to cause negligence concerning this (matter). We will not *fear* the eyes and be negligent. We will measure the fields and make the yield estimation for everything which can be harvested (lit. ‘reached’) and the complete barley which can enter Eanna.”

TCL 13 177: 6-15

... *ki-i zú-lum-ma / nig-ga^d innin unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a šá^{giš} bán šá^l ir-ia / dumu-šú šá^{ld} ag-dù-šeš dumu^l re-mut-^d é-a šá mu 4-kam / ^l kam-bu-zi-ia lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur šá it-ti / ^l ir-ia dumu-šú šá^{ld} ag-dù-šeš ni-il-la-ku-ma / i-mit-ti ni-im-mi-du mim-ma le-e-ti ina lib-bi / ni-id-du-ú šu-ga-ru-ú a-na ugu / ni-it-ta-šu-ú a-di i-mit-tu₄ šá tak-kaš-šá-du-ma / a-na é-an-na te-er-ru-bu ni-im-ma-ru ù^{lu} nu-^{giš} kiri₆ ni-iḫ-te-bil...*

“Concerning the dates, property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya, pertaining to the rent farm of Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḫi, descendant of Rēmūt-Ea, for the year 4 of Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands, on account of which we will go with Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḫi, and make a yield estimation, we will not be negligent about it. We will not take *šugarrû* for (our service). We will look over the impost which can be reached and which can enter Eanna. Furthermore, we will not do damage to the gardeners.”⁴⁵²

The expression *lēta nadû* was discussed by Oppenheim 1941: 262f. While it could be used in the sense of inclining the cheek as a “gesture of somebody who looks or listens with the utmost attention”, hence meaning “to be attentive”, it could also have the exact opposite connotation of being negligent.⁴⁵³ Oppenheim misunderstood the grammatical structure of the oath translating it as a positive assertoric oath. Furthermore he opted for the former meaning of the expression (“to be attentive”) and derived the verbal form of the second phrase involving the eyes from the verb *watāru*, understanding it as “to open eyes widely”, another way of expressing being attentive.⁴⁵⁴ Ebeling, who edited the three published texts (1954), realised that this was a negative promissory oath and translated it accordingly. However, he failed to notice that it was followed immediately by a positive promissory oath introduced by (*kī*) *adi*.⁴⁵⁵ Instead he interpreted the word *adi* introducing the second part of the oath as a temporal conjunction, “until”.⁴⁵⁶ As for the idiomatic expressions appearing in the oath, he rightly interpreted *lēta nadû* as “to be negligent”. He derived the verb of the second phrase from *adāru*, “to be dark; to fear”,⁴⁵⁷ and rendered it as “die Augen scheuen”, meaning “mit Rücksicht auf die Persönlichkeit (wohl besser auf den zu erwartenden Bachschisch) verfahren” (Ebeling 1954: 49).⁴⁵⁸ The implication is that the *ēmidus* would do their work conscientiously without being impressed by potential presents (bribes?). This seems possible in the

⁴⁵² It is particularly interesting how the scribe of this text skips from a negative to a positive and back to a negative promissory oath. The last negative oath (*u nukuribbī niḫtebil*) is not specifically set off from the preceding positive one.

⁴⁵³ Oppenheim 1941: 262.

⁴⁵⁴ He translates lines 21-25 of YOS 6 232, for instance, as: “we really did everything to be attentive: we opened widely (our) eyes and inclined the cheek until everything which belonged (to it), the complete amount of the rent had entered the temple Eanna; thus we imposed the tax!” (Oppenheim 1941: 262). Not surprisingly, since Oppenheim was the editor-in-chief of the CAD at the time, this is the translation adopted by this dictionary (CAD L: 150).

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. von Soden 1995: 294. A construction *kī* + perfect tense expresses a negative promissory oath, whereas *kī adi* + present tense a positive promissory oath. In our texts the positive promissory oath is only apparently introduced by *adi* alone. *kī* introducing the negative oath must have served both clauses.

⁴⁵⁶ The same mistake was made by Oppenheim.

⁴⁵⁷ Von Soden lists the verb with two distinct meanings under one entry in the AHw (p. 11). CAD, however, makes two separate entries: *adāru* A, “to be worried, disturbed; to become obscured” (CAD A I: 103ff.), and *adāru* B, “to fear, to respect, to be afraid of someone” (CAD A I: 108f.).

⁴⁵⁸ This interpretation was accepted with some hesitation by von Soden in the Akkadian dictionary (AHw: 11).

light of TCL 13 177, in which the *ēmidus*, instead of using the phrase *inē adāru*, claim that they will not accept/take any *šugarrû* for their services. The term *šugarrû* designates in this period a product of processed dates. Originally it may have been a basket of fruits, but the meaning of the term was extended to all kinds of gifts⁴⁵⁹ (Landsberger 1967: 44f. 47f.). Nevertheless, the semantic leap from “fear” to “being impressed by bribes” does not seem very plausible. Perhaps one should rather think along the lines of being intimidated by onlookers, i.e. the agricultural workers whose fields and gardens were being assessed. They certainly outnumbered the estimation commissions and it is easily conceivable that they could from time to time form angry mobs infuriated by the unfairly(?) high obligations imposed on them, threatening the estimators and getting them to make yield estimates more to their advantage and to the disadvantage of the temple.⁴⁶⁰ Nevertheless, one wonders about the futility of asking these officials, who probably did not really have the option to strike back or defend themselves in case they were attacked, to swear courage as if they were recruits joining an army. The phrase is difficult. Cocquerillat, who correctly interpreted the structure of the oaths of the three texts,⁴⁶¹ understood it as “to obscure the eyes”. Though this option seems attractive, since it could be understood as another expression of negligence and inattentiveness parallel to “the dropping of the cheek”, it has to be discarded because it does not work grammatically. The verb *adāru* in the sense of “to be dark, obscure” is intransitive⁴⁶² and the form in our texts clearly is transitive.

Whatever the exact connotations of the phrase, the bottom line is that the temple authorities needed reassurance that the estimation procedure for both the arable land and the gardens cultivated by both the internal (ploughmen and gardeners) and the external personnel (sharecroppers) would be conducted with utmost care and without any irregularities, including accepting bribes (TCL 13 177) and thus undermining the temple’s objectives in terms of the incoming yield. Conversely, the agricultural workers were not to be treated unfairly and harmed in the course of the procedure. In all of the texts it is stressed in the positive promissory oaths that the estimations would be made on the complete prospective harvest. None of the temple fields and gardens were to be ‘forgotten’ or left out of the procedure for whichever reason, thus minimizing the temple’s income. This is probably where BIN 2 108, in which there is mention of “hiding” the land of the Lady of Uruk, ties in. A question which remains unanswered is whether these oaths were performed on a regular basis at the occasion of the annual ‘swearing in’ of the estimation commission or whether they were prompted sporadically by specific circumstances. Sandowicz, at any rate, understands them to be “oaths of office” (2012: 83).

To sum up, the yield estimators (*ēmidus*) were people in charge of making an estimate (*imittu*) of a prospective yield in the orchards and the fields of the temple. The term *ēmidu* did not designate a profession, but rather an *ad hoc* function. The *imittu* procedure was conducted annually and these estimates were used to determine the obligations of the ploughmen, the sharecroppers, and the gardeners. Three distinct groups of personnel are attested as yield estimators: 1. temple’s agricultural officials (*rab epinnis*, *rab banê*), 2. the rent farmer and his entourage, or 3. an *ad hoc* commission consisting of temple scribes and *mār banê*. The *rab epinnis* are attested with this function at a time when there was no large-scale rent farm and the arable holdings were managed internally by temple officials. The *rab banê* took on this task in the context of the management of their own *hallatu* orchards. The *imittu* procedure became the responsibility of the rent farmer (and his associates) once this mode of management of temple land was employed, i.e. with the first large-scale rent farmer, Šum-ukīn. This is at least implied by YOS 6 78 from 4 Nbn, discussed above. However, this text also shows that there were some irregularities concerning this procedure. This was probably not a singular incident. Perhaps for this reason the temple administration decided to employ estimation commissions recruited from its own ranks. This way the temple could have more control over the procedure which directly influenced the size of its income in

⁴⁵⁹ In the Neo-Babylonian rental contracts it can designate a supplementary payment in kind or in silver.

⁴⁶⁰ An angry group of gardeners threatening an official is described in YOS 21 27 (see Jursa 2010b: 94⁺⁵⁰⁶ for a partial edition of the letter).

⁴⁶¹ 1968: 51ff. and esp. 52¹²³.

⁴⁶² Faces, hearts or sick people become dark, for instance, or heavenly bodies during an eclipse (cf. CAD A I: 103ff., AHw: 11).

agricultural staples. However, even the employment of temple's own estimators was no guarantee for problem-free yield estimations as is evident from *AnOr* 8 31. It remains unclear whether the oaths of the members of the estimation commission in which they swear to fulfil their duties conscientiously were regularly conducted "oaths of office" or whether they were provoked by certain incidents as the one reflected in *AnOr* 8 31.

2.9. Rent farmers (*ša muḫḫi sūti*)

2.9.1. Introduction

The system of the “rent farm” has been the subject of several studies in the past. A discussion of the leases of temple land on the basis of the material from the Ebabbar of Sippar appeared already in 1890 (Peiser 1890: xviiff.). In 1924-25 Schwenzner published and discussed one of the most important land lease contracts from the Eanna archive.⁴⁶³ In 1936 Ehrenkranz dealt with the subject while addressing certain aspects of the land lease documents from Eanna. Cocquerillat dedicated one part of her study of the date cultivation of the Eanna temple of Uruk to this phenomenon (1968: 37ff.), while Jursa examined the situation in the Ebabbar of Sippar (1995a: 85ff.). Van Driel dealt with different aspects of this system on several occasions. In particular his remarks on the so-called ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ (YOS 6 103) and the accounting models underlying the rent farm documents (1987-88: 61ff; 1990: 224ff.), on exploitation through “farming out of rights” (1989: 204ff. and particularly pp. 213-217), as well as on the agricultural entrepreneurs (1999: 213ff.) should be noted here. Joannès also contributed greatly to our understanding of the rent farm system especially in Uruk (1982: 126ff.; 2000b: 37-40).⁴⁶⁴

The concept expressed in Akkadian by the titles *ša (ina) muḫḫi sūti*, *rab sūti* or *bēl sūti* was translated in German as *Generalpächter* (Ebeling 1957: 38) and in French as *fermier général*⁴⁶⁵ (Cocquerillat 1968: 12 and *passim*).⁴⁶⁶ Jursa noted, however, that the translation *Generalpächter* is somewhat misleading, as it only does justice to the rare cases in which one person gained control over the total cultivation of a particular crop,⁴⁶⁷ as in the case of Ana-amāt-Bēl-atkal, the rent farmer of Šamaš from Sippar, who was responsible for the entire date production of the Ebabbar.⁴⁶⁸ In Uruk only the date orchards could be subject to a *Generalpacht* in the true sense of the word: the rent farmer Ardia, for instance, was responsible for all the date groves of Eanna, except the *ḫallatu* orchards according to his rent contract PTS 2044.⁴⁶⁹ The arable holdings of Eanna were too large to be managed by one rent farmer alone (see below). In most cases the *ša muḫḫi sūti* simply leased large tracts of temple land and not entire crop cultures and so the term could be rendered more fittingly as *Großpächter*. In this respect the English translation “rent farmer” is neutral and, as Jursa notes (1995a: 85), probably the best term for describing this phenomenon. It is the translation used throughout this study.

Literally, the Akkadian title *ša muḫḫi sūti* means a “person in charge of the rent”. Occasionally it could appear with additions containing the name of a deity (e.g., *ša Bēlti ša Uruk*, *ša Šamaš*, *ša Bēl*), a locality (e.g., *ša Angillu*, etc. (see table below)) or a crop (*ša uṭṭeti*, *ša suluppī*). It should be noted that the term *sūtu* (^{gi}bán), “the rent”, could stand for two different types of obligations in our texts, a variable and a fixed one. On the one hand it designated the obligation of a simple ploughman (or gardener) toward the temple. It was the amount of barley/dates determined by the *imittu* procedure which the *ikkaru/nukuribbu* was to pay to the temple. Though there were standardized guidelines as to what was expected of a ploughman and his team or a gardener (viz. ‘The Edict of Belšazzar’) this was in fact a variable obligation, determined every year shortly before the harvest, since the yield could vary depending on a variety of factors such as the quality of soil or seed, the availability of water, the climatic conditions and so on. The other type of rent

⁴⁶³ *AfK* 2, p. 107ff. = VAT 8418, Šum-ukīn’s and Kalbāya’s rent contract, the duplicate of YOS 6 11.

⁴⁶⁴ See also the remarks on rent farmers on institutional land in Jursa 2010b: 194ff.

⁴⁶⁵ This term stems from the concept of the *ferme générale*, an administrative system of the *Ancien Régime* France designed for collection of taxes of all kinds, which as Cocquerillat notes, bares very little resemblance to the Babylonian rent farm system (1968: 12).

⁴⁶⁶ The title *ša muḫḫi sūti* is translated by Ebeling in the glossary to the Neo-Babylonian letters as *Vorsteher der(s) Pachtabgabe(namtes)* (1953: 205), while Ehrenkranz in an earlier study used the term *Oberpächter* (1936: 12).

⁴⁶⁷ Jursa 1995a: 85.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Jursa 1995a: 87ff.

⁴⁶⁹ Although this was nowhere explicitly stated, this was probably the case in Šum-ukīn’s and Kalbāya’s, as well as Gimillu’s and Bēl-gimlanni’s rent farm, to judge by the size of the date revenues expected from them.

represented a fixed amount which was to be paid annually and which was determined in the rent contract. It was this *sūtu* which was used in the context of the rent farm. It was a fixed amount despite the fact that a part of its constituents – the individual *sūtu* obligations of the ploughmen and the harvest shares (*zittu*) of the sharecroppers – were variable as a result of the annual *imittu* procedures. To a certain degree, this margin of variation posed a risk for the rent farmer and enabled him to make profit or caused him to incur arrears.

Rent farmers in the context of the temple archives were entrepreneurs, who either stemmed from the institution from which they leased the land or were outsiders.⁴⁷⁰ Van Driel describes the agricultural entrepreneur as “someone who does not belong to the (institutional) hierarchy and who (voluntarily) accepts the position of an agricultural manager without thereby becoming a member of the organisation within which he will act [...] or who (without becoming an official) undertakes tasks within the organisation to which he belongs which are not in the normal run of the duties of his (usual/previous) function” (1999: 213f.). The rent farmers leased land from the temple for a fixed annual rent which was to be paid in agricultural produce, but had no intention of personally cultivating the fields and the orchards at their disposal as is evident from the amounts of land leased. They were to take up an intermediary role between the agricultural workers and the landlord – the temple. Together with the land⁴⁷¹ the temple sometimes provided labour (*ikkarus*), tools and draught animals needed to cultivate at least a part of the leased land. For the remaining land the rent farmers had to organise the tools and the labour themselves. Among other things which the temple supplied to the rent farmer was the seed for cereal cultivation, usually only for the first year and as a rule only for the area under cultivation, not the entire rented land.⁴⁷² Sometimes also food rations for the plough teams were provided. Metal for the repairs of the tools and cows, which were meant to keep up the numbers of the plough oxen with their offspring, were also supplied by the temple.

As mentioned above, the rent farmer had to acquire labour in addition to what was provided by the temple. This could be done by engaging sharecroppers (*errēšus*) who delivered only a part of their harvest or by sub-leasing plots of land to minor contractors⁴⁷³ who had to deliver fixed amounts of agricultural commodities. By sub-leasing the rent farmer delegated the responsibility for organising labour to these tenants. But there is also evidence that the rent farmers themselves employed agricultural workers who were to work the land under the same conditions as the temple ploughmen and who had no own means of production. The only such work contract known to us is the one commissioned by the rent farmer Ibni-Ištar (Ibnāya), son of Balātu, YOS 19

⁴⁷⁰ There is evidence for several *širkus* and even a *šatammu* of the temple in the function of a rent farmer (see the table below).

⁴⁷¹ And, one should add, water, as the temple estates generally had access to watercourses.

⁴⁷² This meant that the fallow cycles were taken into consideration. Šum-ukīn, for instance, who was in charge of 6,000 *kurru* of arable land received only 3,000 *kurru* of barley seed, as only half of the land was to be cultivated each year. The other half was to be left fallow (YOS 6 11). (Although the ratio of seed to cultivated area was 1:1, not all the seed was in fact sown. This would have been excessive, as was demonstrated by Powell (1984: 64). A part of this barley was probably used for fodder of the draught animals.)

⁴⁷³ The only examples for this practice known to me are PTS 2344 from 1 Ner and PTS 2821 from 5 (or 15) Nbn (for an edition of these texts see p. 49 and p. 155). According to PTS 2344 Šum-ukīn, who at that point did not yet carry the title *ša muḫḫī sūti* but nevertheless already had temple land at his disposal, leased out a plot of 50 *kurru* for an annual rent (*ana sūti*) of 600 *kurru* of barley to a certain Nanāya-aḫ-iddin, a temple ploughman. The size of the plot which by far exceeds the common workload of a plough team (e.g. 25 *kurru* according to the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’) indicates that this lease did not just represent the normal obligation of an *ikkaru* but can be rated as entrepreneurial activity. It does not seem very likely that the plot of 50 *kurru* was to be tilled in a two year fallow cycle, i.e. only 25 *kurru* per year, as the output per *kurru* of land with respect to the expected rent of 600 *kurru* would have been 24-fold. This figure is too high, unless it is to be assumed that the land was exceptionally fertile and productive. The average crop output is usually half that much, i.e. 12-fold. PTS 2821 is a contract which records the sub-leasing of a part of the rent farm of Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni, to a certain Bēlšunu. Bēlšunu’s rent was counted as a constituent of Nergal-nāšir’s rent obligation. This sub-lease unlike the one in PTS 2344 was not authorised by the original tenant but by the temple authorities, probably because Nergal-nāšir, unlike Šum-ukīn, was a temple dependant and for this reason apparently less autonomous in managing his rent farm.

71⁴⁷⁴ (12 Nbn). According to this contract, the two individuals who applied for work were to cultivate 20 *kurru* of land, like the temple ploughmen, and were to be provided with seed, four oxen, a ploughshare and other tools by the rent farmer.⁴⁷⁵ The fact that the rent farmer had to provide the means of production is a good example for his own investments in his business.⁴⁷⁶ Finally, there is a number of leases of date orchards which were to be worked under the same conditions as the orchards of the (temple) gardeners: the date obligation was to be determined at the annual yield estimation (*imittu*) and the remuneration (*sissinnu*) was comprised of a customary amount of dates depending on the type and amount of work carried out in the orchard.⁴⁷⁷ In sum, the rent farmer could have four types of agricultural workers under his responsibility: the workforce provided by the temple (ploughmen or gardeners), sharecroppers, hired workers (ploughmen or gardeners) and tenants (sub-contractors). In terms of means of production, it appears that the rent farmer had to invest from his own stock only in the case of contracted workers, who did not possess the tools and the draught animals required for the work. The sharecroppers presumably had their own means of production, and the tenants either had them or had to find a way to organise them. The *ikkarus* provided by the temple usually came together with the tools and the plough oxen. This was the ideal case, at any rate. Follow-up rent contracts such as YOS 6 150 or TCL 13 182 show that occasionally the temple failed to provide the requisite numbers of *ikkarus* and had to make up for them at a later date. The evidence from Sippar, on the other hand, shows that providing adequate numbers not only of the *ikkarus*, but also of the oxen could pose a problem for the temple and that the plough teams were frequently under strength (Jursa 1995a: 17f.). In practice then the rent farmer will have had to rely on his private assets in this area also. Especially considering the unrealistically high workloads per plough team as suggested by the accounting models found in the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ and the rent contracts it seems that investments on the part of the rent farmer were expected even if not explicitly stated in the contracts.⁴⁷⁸ The ‘Edict’ (YOS 6 103) and the rent contract YOS 6 150 required a plough team to work an area of 25 *kurru* (= 31.25 ha), while Šum-ukīn’s rent contract (YOS 6 11) stipulates an area of 30 *kurru* (= 37.5 ha) per team. Gimillu’s plough teams were apparently expected to work 20 *kurru* (= 25 ha) of land (TCL 13 182).⁴⁷⁹ He refused to work under such conditions and demanded an increase in workforce which would have resulted in an area of 10 *kurru* (= 12.5 ha) per team.⁴⁸⁰ In order to put the entire land at his disposal under cultivation and meet the rent target set by the temple administration, the rent farmer had to find a way to enlarge his workforce and increase the means of production. Despite this inherent difficulty, there must have been a possibility for the rent

⁴⁷⁴ See p. 31 for an edition of the text.

⁴⁷⁵ The text does not mention the remuneration of these workers. It is probable that they were to be remunerated in the same way as the temple ploughmen, who usually had a part of the plot at their disposal for personal use.

⁴⁷⁶ The necessity to do so in order for the rent farm system to function was assumed by van Driel on more than one occasion (1989: 216, 217; 1990: 226). He also discussed the existence of private assets as a prerequisite for the involvement in agricultural enterprises based on the evidence from the Murašû and the institutional archives of Ebabbar and Eanna (1999: 215ff.). Though such investments of the rent farmers in their business are rarely visible in our documentation, van Driel mentions BRM 1 101 from the Ebabbar archive (Jursa 1995a: 103f.) in this context (van Driel 1999: 218f.). The text records an agreement between a rent farmer and another person in which the newcomer asked for half of the other one’s farm. In return for this he was to pay half the rent and additionally repay the arrears which the original rent farmer had incurred. This contract is a nice example of one rent farmer’s attempt at attracting an external capital investment for his rent farm by obliging his new partner to settle his old debts in connection with the rent farm and shows in general the rent farmer’s requirement to invest from his own stock (Jursa 1995a: 105f.). The above mentioned work contract YOS 19 71 is further evidence for investments in rent farms, however, on a more basic level by organising the labour and equipment.

⁴⁷⁷ For examples of these contracts see table 35.

⁴⁷⁸ Van Driel 1987-88: 64; 1989: 216; 1990: 224ff.

⁴⁷⁹ This is also the standard workload of a plough team proposed by the work contract YOS 19 71 (12 Nbn) mentioned above. Here, however, it appears that only two individuals (as opposed to four *ikkarus* of the institutional accounting models) were to operate a plough.

⁴⁸⁰ According to van Driel an area of 10 *kurru* was “within the limits of what was barely possible” (1989: 216). The evidence from Sippar shows that in practice the plough teams were assigned plots with a surface area from 10 to 15 *kurru* (Jursa 1995a: 138).

farmer to make profit, as otherwise there would be no motivation for taking up a lease of this scale. This can at least be assumed for the rent farmers who were not members of the temple household. However, it must be noted that it is hardly possible to find evidence for the profitability of the rent farm in our documentation. The question of the motivation of the rent farmers remains difficult. It can be assumed that there was a possibility for the rent farmers to make profit. At the same time it is legitimate to ask to what extent the impulse to take on a rent farm was voluntary to begin with. While a greater degree of voluntariness can be assumed for the external rent farmers, the influence (and coercion?) of the state administration notwithstanding, it is conceivable that temple's internal rent farmers were pressured into a contractual relationship by the temple administration or at least had little or no say with respect to the conditions of the rent contract.⁴⁸¹ Unfortunately, the extent of this temple- and possibly also state-induced coercion cannot be gauged with the help of the available evidence.

Finally, we can address the matter of the benefits for the temple brought on by the rent farming system. The main advantage of the rent farm system was the influx of capital from outside the institution. The rent farmer not only invested in the production from his own stock, but was held personally liable for any potential outstanding dues. His assets, which often included real estate, slaves and cattle, could be confiscated by the temple in case of his failure to pay his rent. This, together with the chronic lack of manpower, probably one of the Neo-Babylonian temples' gravest deficits,⁴⁸² was in fact one of the main motives for the temple administration to 'privatize' the management of its agricultural sector. The temple had much more land than could be cultivated by the ploughmen and the oxen it had at its disposal. Solely relying on its internal resources in manpower and draught animals would mean that parts of this land would remain uncultivated. This was countered on the one hand by assigning larger plots to the ploughmen in an attempt to get the maximum work output out of them (which was probably not very effective) and, on the other, by leasing out land to sharecroppers who would deliver a fraction of the harvest to the temple. However, by putting the ploughmen under enormous pressure these measures occasionally backfired⁴⁸³ and left room for improvement in general. In order to cope with these problems and help to intensify its agricultural production the temple employed rent farmers. By doing this it ensured a net income in agricultural produce and rid itself of the need to organise and supervise the agricultural workers, which was now the responsibility of the rent farmer. A good example for such a development is the disappearance of the official in charge of the ploughmen (*rab ikkarāti*) after the rent farmer Šum-ukīn, who probably had all the available ploughmen at his disposal, supplanted his official duties.⁴⁸⁴ However, it is debatable to which extent the temple benefited from a leaner bureaucratic structure now that certain aspects of management were in the hands of the rent farmer. The temple still retained a keen interest in how the rent farmer managed his farm: sub-leases were still most frequently sanctioned by the temple administration, as the sub-lease contracts authorized by the temple administrator, temple scribes or the royal commissioner of Eanna demonstrate (see Table on pp. 320ff.). Furthermore, the officials in charge of the *imittu* procedure, of collecting, weighing and transporting the barley or dates due from the rent farmers were frequently temple scribes. It seems that the temple was reluctant to relinquish the control over the administrative procedures monitoring the processes on which a large portion of its income depended. The role of the royal administration in the context of the *ferme générale*, namely the involvement in the setting up of the framework for the proper functioning of the rent farms and the endorsement of certain individuals as rent farmers, will be discussed in detail in the concluding chapter of this section of the book.

The following is a list of all the rent farmers (column 1) known from the Eanna archive stating their minimal terms in office (column 2) and titles where attested (column 4; the titles cited

⁴⁸¹ Jursa considers the possibility "that tax and rent farming in Babylonia in general might [...] have been on the way to undergoing a similar development as in Hellenistic Egypt, where it changed from a 'freely' undertaken entrepreneurial activity to an onerous duty conceived as 'liturgy'" (2010b: 291f. note 1751).

⁴⁸² Cf. Janković 2005: 174f.

⁴⁸³ See the incidents described in YBC 4000 (34 Nbk) (Janković 2005: 167ff.).

⁴⁸⁴ See p. 115.

in brackets are the additional titles these people were attested with). The third column indicates which sphere of agricultural production they were responsible for: b(arley) stands for arable agriculture and d(ates) for date cultivation.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----|---|
| Nergal-nāšir/Nanāya-ibni | 35 Nbk - 13 Nbn | b | |
| Šum-ukīn/Bēl-zēri/Basia | 1 - 7 Nbn | b+d | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| Kalbāya/Iqīša/Basia | 1 Nbn - 1 Cyr | b+d | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| Arad-Innin/Ibni-Ištar | 3 Nbn | b | |
| Sîn-ibni/Šamaš-udammiq/Rē'i-alpi | 3 Nbn | b | |
| Nabû-mušētiq-uddê/Nabû-šum-iddin | 3 Nbn | b | |
| Nergal-īpuš | 8 Nbn - 2 Cyr | b | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša Angillu</i> |
| Ibni-Ištar/Balātu | 11 Nbn - 4 Cyr | b | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> (<i>širku</i>) |
| Bānia/Bulluṭāya | 12 Nbn | b | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| Zērbibi/Nabû-ēter-napšāti | 12 ^{+?} -13 Nbn | b | (<i>ša ina muḥḥi mūšânē</i>) |
| Nabû-udammiq/Nabû-ēter/Gimil-Nanāya | 4 Cyr | b+d | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| Ile'i-Marduk/Nabû-šum-ukīn/Etēru | 6 Cyr - 1 Camb | b | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti (ša uṭṭeti) ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| Ardia/Nabû-bān-aḥi/Rēmūt-Ea | 8 Cyr - 7 Camb | d | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša suluppī ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| Nabû-bān-aḥi/Kalbāya/Basia | acc - 1 Camb | d | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša suluppī ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> |
| Mūrānu/Šamaš-iddin | 1 Camb | d | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša suluppī</i> |
| Dīḥummu | 2 - 4 Camb | b+d | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša Bīt-Amukanu</i> |
| Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi | 2 Camb | ? | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša muḥḥi Nār-Piqūdu</i> |
| Gimillu/Innin-šum-ibni | acc - 2 Dar | b+d | <i>ša muḥḥi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk</i> (<i>širku</i>) |
| Bēl-gimlanni/Madān-ēreš | 2 Dar | b+d | (<i>ša muḥḥi quppi Eanna, širku</i>) |
| Šullum | 29 Dar | b+d | (<i>šatam Eanna</i>) |

Table 20: Rent farmers

The career of each individual rent farmer is treated in detail in the following chapters. As is evident from the table, not all the rent farmers are attested with the title *ša muḥḥi sūti*, even though there can be little doubt about the nature of their activities. This is particularly clear in the case of the first known rent farmer Nergal-nāšir, who had leased large tracts of temple land,⁴⁸⁵ but never appeared with a title designating him as a rent farmer.⁴⁸⁶ Some of the rent farmers appear with other titles (*ša muḥḥi mūšânē*,⁴⁸⁷ *ša muḥḥi quppi*, *šatammu*) which shows that these people could be engaged in multiple functions concerning land and water management or could pair their work as rent farmers with tasks within the temple administration. Not only free citizens could venture into the rent farming business, but also temple oblates (*širkus*). At least three of the known rent farmers could be identified as *širkus* of the Lady of Uruk. The social background of others still can not be determined at the present state of our documentation. Some of the temple's rent farmers are natives of Uruk (e.g., Arad-Innin from the family Gimil-Nanāya, and Sîn-ibni, from the Rē'i-alpi family), while others come from elsewhere in Babylonia (e.g., Šum-ukīn and his nephew Kalbāya).⁴⁸⁸

The terms of office listed for the rent farmers are minimal, i.e. only those periods are included for which we have reliable attestations of their activities in the rent farming business. Most of the individuals appearing in the table are in fact attested for longer periods in the Eanna

⁴⁸⁵ Three lease-contracts are known for him: VS 20 88 (35 Nbk), YOS 6 41 (3 Nbn), TCL 12 90 (8 Nbn); for a discussion of these texts see below.

⁴⁸⁶ Similarly, the first rent farmer of the Ebabbar in Sippar, Ana-amāt-Bēl-atkal (4-16 Nbn), is never attested with the title of a rent farmer (Jursa 1995a: 87).

⁴⁸⁷ "Official in charge of the canal outlets" or similar; see below, chapter on Zērbibi.

⁴⁸⁸ See Joannès 2000a: 36ff. and especially p. 40 on the question of the native origin of the rent farmers.

archive. They usually start appearing in the texts of the temple archive before they commenced with their rent farming career, and some of them are even attested after their rent farms were dissolved. The actual periods of attestation of the individual rent farmers are noted in the individual chapters dedicated to them and are also visible in the prosopographic tables included at the end of each of these chapters. As for the dates for their terms of office, these may still have to be modified with the appearance of new relevant textual material. It is evident from the table that several rent farmers could be active at the same time. It appears that in the third regnal year of Nabonidus up to six rent farms existed side by side.⁴⁸⁹ Though these varied in size considerably⁴⁹⁰ it becomes clear that the scope of Eanna's estates was such that there was no one single businessman around at the time that had the adequate assets and the confidence to venture the management of the temple estates in their entirety.

As was noted, some of the titles mention the type of crop – barley or dates – suggesting what part of the agricultural production the rent farmer specialized in. Others include toponyms giving evidence for a geographic specialisation of the rent farmers in question. The institutional affiliation of these 'local' rent farmers is somewhat problematic, though. Not one of them (Nergal-īpuš, Diḥummu and Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi) is attested with a patronymic and at least one of the 'local' rent farmers can be related to the royal administration at some point. Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi is attested as a *mašennu*, a high royal official with certain responsibilities concerning the maintenance of the irrigation system and the royal estates⁴⁹¹ in TCL 13 227 (7 Nbn) and as a rent farmer of Nār-Piqūdu in TCL 13 150 (2 Camb).⁴⁹² It is not clear whether these 'local' rent farmers were in fact employed by Eanna or some other institution and whose land they managed. Before this can be clarified, hopefully with the aid of new evidence from the unpublished material, they will be included in the list of the rent farmers of Eanna.

⁴⁸⁹ Note also that there were three rent farmers for dates in the first year of Cambyses – Ardia, Nabû-bān-aḫi and Mūrānu.

⁴⁹⁰ Compare, for instance, Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's annual rent of 35,000 *kurru* of barley and dates (YOS 6 11) to Arad-Innin's and Sîn-ibni's rent of 1,240 *kurru* of barley (YOS 6 40) and Nergal-nāšir's 1,000⁺ *kurru* of barley (YOS 6 41).

⁴⁹¹ According to Jursa he was "oberster Bevollmächtigter für landwirtschaftliche Angelegenheiten" (2010b: 80).

⁴⁹² Neither of the texts gives a patronymic, but considering the unusual, albeit programmatic, name it seems compelling to assume that the two attestations refer to the same individual.

2.9.2. *Nergal-nāšir*

In 1990 Dandamayev presented a brief sketch of the career of an individual by the name of Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni, a person active in Eanna's animal husbandry and agricultural sector.⁴⁹³ The two different spheres of activities indicate according to Kümmel (1979: 72. 105) that those were two different individuals. This is possible, but is not necessarily so. The two tasks could well have been combined and executed by a single person. This is in fact suggested by one of the rent contracts of Nergal-nāšir (TCL 12 90), which in addition to usual stipulations with respect to agricultural production also makes specific provisions for the grazing of sheep on the fields leased out to him. Dandamayev considers it more likely that all of these attestations concern one individual (1990: 90) and this is the view adopted in the following.

The first certain attestation of Nergal-nāšir is from 24 Nbk, from a receipt of barley for rations (GC 1 165⁴⁹⁴). One possibly earlier attestation could be in YOS 17 39.⁴⁹⁵ The date is damaged and the year could be read as '19' Nbk, but the [2]9th year could also fit the traces and the spacing of the damaged section. Nergal-nāšir's first appearance in a clearly agricultural context is from 35 Nbk, in his first land lease contract (VS 20 88). His last attestation is from 14 Nbn (BIN 1 174). A Nergal-nāšir, without a patronymic, appears also in 16 Nbn, in a text concerning tools and work materials for canal digging (YOS 6 218), but it is not entirely certain whether he should be identified with out rent farmer.⁴⁹⁶ From 6 Cyr (CD 78) we have so far the latest attestation of his name in our documentation. Here he is not an active protagonist, but rather his daughter 'x¹-a, in whose patronymic he appears. The text itself deals with the status of a slave woman, which had been previously bought from Nergal-nāšir's daughter and another man.

Nergal-nāšir never appears with the title *ša muhhi sūti*, but the scope of his agricultural enterprises (see below) certainly qualify him as such. He was probably a dependant of the temple,⁴⁹⁷ though he is never explicitly designated as a *širku*. In a text from 1 Nbn listing houses provided for the temple oblates and granted by the royal commissioner, Nergal-nāšir's family appears among the beneficiaries of this allocation scheme (OIP 122 169). Furthermore, his professional background within the sector of animal husbandry also points in this direction.

Apart from his attestations in documents concerning animal husbandry, which will not be discussed here,⁴⁹⁸ Nergal-nāšir appears in a range of other texts, which are not directly connected to his activities as a rent farmer. He acted as a witness on a couple of occasions: in 43 Nbk, in a debt note for barley belonging to the royal official Nabû-šarrūssu-ukīn (YBC 3737), in 3 Ner, in a bail document (TCL 12 69), and in 7 Nbn, in an *imittu* debt note for dates pertaining to the rent farm of Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya (YOS 6 107). In 40 Nbk he acted as a guarantor in a debt note together with two other men for the payment of barley owed by Arad-Innin, son of Ibni-Ištar, who was also a rent farmer (see p. 200), and his brother Balātu (YBC 3729). It may appear odd to find a *širku* in the role of a witness; however, these occurrences may indicate a rise in Nergal-nāšir's standing within the temple hierarchy owing to his activities as a rent farmer. Furthermore it should be noted that all the cases he witnessed, with the exception of TCL 12 69, which is too damaged to be precisely

⁴⁹³ It should be noted that more attestations, especially from unpublished texts, could be identified since 1990. Spar (1972: 89ff.) also discussed Nergal-nāšir's career. See also Cocquerillat's discussion of Nergal-nāšir's rent contracts (1968: 39ff.)

⁴⁹⁴ The text should probably be placed in the context of animal husbandry (see also next footnote).

⁴⁹⁵ The text lists nine people including Nergal-nāšir. The others were apparently under his responsibility. This is probably connected to his activities in the sector of animal husbandry, where he had a similar function as a *rab ešerti*, though he never explicitly appears with the title (unless GC 1 165 line 8 (*u^{lu}gal 10-ti^{meš}*) is interpreted as including the previously mentioned Nergal-nāšir): for instance, he received the rations of ten men in GC 1 191 (Kümmel 1979: 72).

⁴⁹⁶ Note however that in 12 Nbn a group of men broke into Nergal-nāšir's house and stole some iron tools and work clothes according to *AnOr* 8 27. It is not surprising that he would be involved in canal digging projects, for instance, since the upkeep of the irrigation system was one of the responsibilities of rent farmers. With this in mind the identification of Nergal-nāšir from YOS 6 218 with our rent farmer seems plausible.

⁴⁹⁷ This is suggested by his receipt of rations from the temple (GC 1 165).

⁴⁹⁸ For these see Kümmel 1979: 72⁺¹⁵¹. YBC 9226 (41 Nbk) and Dillard, FLP 1581 (8 Nbn) can be added to these attestations.

classified, had an agricultural background and may well have been directly relevant to his rent farming business. For this reason Nergal-nāšir's presence at those proceedings is not surprising.

A private text from 1 Ami, recording Nergal-nāšir's sale of a slave woman and her daughter for 44 shekels of silver, has also come down to us (GC 2 95).⁴⁹⁹ Incidentally, this same slave woman, Ana-makkanišu, appears again in 11 Nbn in YOS 6 176 as a fugitive. The man who had purchased the slave in the first place, Šamaš-šar-ušur, son of Ḫumḫum-aḫ-iddin, also appears in the second text, but the woman is designated as the slave of Nergal-nāšir there. According to this text Nergal-nāšir had paid 12 shekels of silver to a certain Nabû-mukku-elip and was obliged to return the slave woman to him. The only way to understand this is that Nergal-nāšir had regained possession of Ana-makkanišu sometime between 1 Ami and 11 Nbn, had sold her to Nabû-mukku-elip, after which she fled to her previous owner Šamaš-šar-ušur.

Nergal-nāšir acted as a debtor in two private debt notes for barley from 7 and 8 Nbn (BM 114588 and 114598). The creditors in both texts were Nabû-balātu-ēreš, son of Dādia, and Nabû-lū-salim, the slave of the royal commissioner Nabû-šar-ušur. The amounts of barley owed were 22 and 40 *kurru* respectively and were to be delivered at harvest time. Unfortunately, the exact nature of the connection between Nergal-nāšir and his creditors is concealed by the terse format of these documents.⁵⁰⁰ It is not possible to claim with a great degree of certainty from whose private archive these texts stemmed. Both the debtor Nergal-nāšir and either one of the creditors are possible candidates in this case. However, as other private documents of Nergal-nāšir are known (GC 2 95, YOS 6 176) he seems to be the more likely archive owner. The presence of his private documents among the texts of the temple archive can be explained by the temple administration's practice of appropriating the private archives of its debtors in order to lay claims on their assets as means of debt settlement.⁵⁰¹ This would imply that Nergal-nāšir was indebted to the temple, i.e. that his enterprises, be they in the agricultural or the animal husbandry sector, resulted in arrears. Unfortunately no documents recording the final settling of accounts with Nergal-nāšir which could verify this assumption have come down to us.

As for his agricultural activities in association with Eanna, Nergal-nāšir dealt mainly with arable land. This is evident from his three rent contracts that are known to us so far.⁵⁰² The first one, VS 20 88, is from 35 Nbk and concerns land that had previously been under the responsibility of Ibni-Ištar and Nabû-šum-ibni, two *rab ešertis*, temple officials in charge of the temple's arable production (see p. 152).⁵⁰³ The text is badly preserved, leaving many gaps in its interpretation. From what can be reconstructed it appears that Nergal-nāšir had some kind of an arrangement for sharing the workforce and the ploughs with Nergal-ina-tēšî-ēter and Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim, another two *rab ešertis*. His rent consisted of over 4,000 *kurru* of barley, which was in part to be delivered as sesame, *kasia* and a third product, cress perhaps. In addition to this he was to provide the temple annually with ten lambs. This obligation was probably related to his activities in the animal husbandry sector. Not only does the early date of his rent contract show that Cocquerillat's statement that Nergal-nāšir was one of the many imitators of Šum-ukīn (1968: 94) is unjustified, but considering the size of his rent it would be safe to claim that he was the first large-scale rent farmer of Eanna.

VS 20 88

5-VIII-35 Nbk

obv. 1. ^{ld}u-gur-na-šir a-šú šá ^{ld}na-na-a-[dù a-na ^{ld}30-mu]
^{lu}qí-i-pi šá é-an-na ù ^{lu}cn^[meš] pi-iq-né-e-ti]
 šá é-an-na ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma ^lqaq-q^l[ar x x]
 šá ^{ld}dù-^d15 a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-mu-dù u ^{ld}ag-mu-dù [a-šú šá ^lšu-zu-bu]

⁴⁹⁹ The text also informs us that he was married to a woman called Ḫīpāya.

⁵⁰⁰ A tenant-landlord relationship between Nergal-nāšir and the agents of Nabû-šar-ušur is a possibility, the debt notes expressing his rent obligation. In this case the leased land cannot have been of substantial size to judge by the owed amount. This, however, is purely conjectural. Be that as it may, the two texts indicate that Nabû-šar-ušur, the *ša reš šarri bēl piqitti* of Eanna, privately engaged in agricultural production through his agents and entertained business relationship with temple associates.

⁵⁰¹ This practice can be observed especially for the rent farmer Šum-ukīn (see below p. 182ff.).

⁵⁰² VS 20 88 (35 Nbk), YOS 6 41 (3 Nbn) and TCL 12 90 (8 Nbn).

⁵⁰³ VS 20 was published in 1978. This rent contract was therefore not known to Cocquerillat. It was also not included in Kümmel 1979: 105 and was overlooked by Dandamayev 1990 in his paper on Nergal-nāšir.

5. ^{giš}apin u ^{lú}engar^{meš} šá ina ^{garin}na-aḥ-bu-ut-tú šá ^{garin}an-gil-lu₄ [x x]
 「šá i¹t-ti^{ld} u-gur-ina-sùḥ-sur u^{ld} ag-šeš^{meš}-gi ú-za-a³-zu [x¹] [x še-numun]
 šá 「mu¹-lu šá¹ dū^d-innin u^{ld} ag-mu-dù u qaq-qar šá ^{garin}ši-li-[iḥ-tu₄]
 ta iti apin mu 35¹-kam bi-in-na-nim-ma ta iti bār [mu 36-kam]
 a-di 「5¹-ta mu-an-na^{meš} mu-an-na 4 [lim + x gur še-bar]
10. ga-mir-ti ina ^{giš}ma-ši-ḥu šá ^dgašan šá¹ [unug^{ki} ina ugu a^{meš} gal]
 lud-din ù ina mu-an-na 1+en u[du-bar-gal]
 a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} lud-din [ld30-mu^{lú} qí-i-pi]
 「ù^{lú} en^{meš} pi-iq-né-e-[ti iš-mu-šú-ma]
 [i]d-din-nu-niš-ši ta iti [bār] mu 3[6-kam^d ag-níg-du-ùru]
- lo.e. 15. lugal tin-tir^{ki} 「mu-an¹-n[a 4] lim [+ x gur še-bar]
 ina ^{giš}ma-ši-ḥu 「šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} [ina ugu a^{meš} gal u]
- rev. 10 udu-bar-gal ina é-an-[na ga-mir-ti i-nam-din (?)]
 ina lib-bi 1 me ka-si-ia 50 [x x x x (x)]
 「še¹-giš-ì i-na é-an-na 「i¹-[nam-din e-lat ú-il-ti^{meš}]
20. 「mah¹-re-e-ti šá ina ugu-šú [x x x x x]
 šá a-ša^{meš} ul [x] tab³ šú še-numun šá mu-lu šá [x x x x x]
 ina igi-šú ina gub-zu [šá] ^{ld}30-mu^{lú} [qí-i-pi x x x]
^{ld}ag-kib-「su¹-lugal-ùru^{lú} [x x x^{lú} mu-kin-nu]
^{ld}ag-šeš^{meš}-din a-šú šá¹ [PN a PN]
25. ¹gi-mil-lu a-šú šá¹ [PN a PN PN]
 a-šú šá¹ a-a a [PN PN a-šú šá PN]
 「a¹ e-gi-bi¹ 「[PN a-šú šá PN a PN]
 「^{ld}amar-utu¹-su a-šú šá [PN a PN]
 [x-x-x]-ia a-「šú šá¹ [PN PN a-šú šá PN]
30. 「a¹ e¹-gi-bi¹ 「[PN a-šú šá PN]
 「a^{lú}x¹ munus x bi [PN a-šú šá PN]
 a ^{ld}30-tab-ni^{ld} in-n[in-x a-šú šá PN]
- u.e. ^{lú}umbisag ^{ld}ag-dù-šeš a-šú šá¹ ib-[na-a a¹ é-kur-za-kir]
 unug^{ki} iti apin ud 5-kam mu 35-kam [d^dag-níg-du-ùru]
35. lugal tin-tir^{ki} 「

“Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-[ibni, spoke to Sîn-iddin], the resident of Eanna, and to the officials of Eanna as follows: ‘Starting from the 8th month of the 35th year, give me the land [...]⁵⁰⁴ of Ibni-Ištar, son of Nabû-šum-ibni, and Nabû-šum-ibni, [son of Šüzubu], the ploughs and the farmers that are in Naḥbutu, that [...] Angillu, that I am sharing with Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēṭer and Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, [the land] of Ibni-Ištar and Nabû-šum-ibni (situated) on high ground⁵⁰⁵ and the land in Šilīḫtu [...]. From the 1st month of the year 36, for five years I will deliver yearly 4000 [+x] of barley in total, using the measure of the Lady of Uruk [at the big watercourses], and yearly I will give one l[amb] to the Lady of Uruk.’ Sîn-iddin, the resident, and the temple officials listened to him and gave him (the land). From the 1st month of the 36th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, he will deliver to Eanna yearly 4000 + [x kurru] of barley using the measure of the Lady of Uruk [at the big watercourses] and will give ten lambs. Of this amount he will deliver to Eanna 100⁵⁰⁶ kasia, 50 [+? x and x] sesame. Apart from the earlier debt notes that are charged against him [...] of fields [...] land (situated) on high ground of [...] is at his disposal. In the presence of Sîn-iddin, the resident of Eanna, and Nabû-kibsu-šarri-ušur, the [x].⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁴ Something along the lines of “rent farm” (*bīt sūti*) could be reconstructed here.

⁵⁰⁵ The signs in l. 7 and 21 (še-numun šá) MU-LU are written clearly. Perhaps this was to signify *mūlū*, a hill or high ground (see CAD M2: 193), indicating arable land situated on a hill. However, the spelling *mu-lu* seems unusual as the dictionaries only records plene writings with an additional vowel sign marking the final contracted vowel. This interpretation remains uncertain.

⁵⁰⁶ No unit follows the numeral in the text. It is conceivable that either *kurru* or *mešḫatu* was implied here.

⁵⁰⁷ The title of Nabû-kibsu-šarri-ušur is lost in a break. He could not be identified, but judging by the element *šarru* typical for the names of royal officials, he too must have been a member of the (local?) state administration. His presence at the conclusion of this contract demonstrates the interest of the royal administration in the temple economy.

Witnesses: Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, son of [PN, descendant of PN],
 Gimillu, son of [PN, descendant of PN],
 [PN], son of Aplāya, descendant of [PN],
 [PN, son of PN], descendant of Egibi,
 [PN, son of PN, descendant of PN],
 Marduk-erība, son of [PN, descendant of PN],
 [x]-ia, son of [PN],
 [PN, son of PN], descendant of Egibi,
 [PN, son of PN], descendant of ^{lu}x,
 [PN, son of PN], descendant of Sîn-tabni,
 Innin-[x, son of PN],
 Scribe: Nabû-bān-aḥi, son of Ibnā[ya, descendant of Ekur-zakir].
 Uruk; 5-VIII-35 [Nbk], king of Babylon.”

This contract applied for a period of five years starting from the eight month of 35 Nbk, i.e. it expired in 40 Nbk. We do not know whether it was renewed or whether Nergal-nāšir was assigned land in another part of the Uruk hinterlands at that time, as no land leases have come down to us from that period. There is evidence, however, that he continued working for the temple as an agricultural entrepreneur. In 42 Nbk he appears in two *imittu* lists for barley. NCBT 361 records the deliveries from Lasūtu and Kakkabtu. In this text Nergal-nāšir is responsible for an amount of barley (broken off) and for the deliveries of the sharecroppers from these two localities. His identification in PTS 2363 is not certain, as he is given no patronymic. Here he is responsible for a delivery of 18 *kurru* of barley from the district Rāṭu. There is another uncertain attestation from 2 Ner (BIN 1 131), a list of *maššartu* and ration disbursements, in which a Nergal-nāšir, also without a patronymic, is named as the supplier of barley.

It is not clear what happened to his farm immediately after the creation of Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent farm in 1 Nbn. Generally the evidence for the period between 40 Nbk and 3 Nbk is vague. It cannot be determined whether he remained in charge of some land and if so whether his rent farm retained its scope from 35 Nbk or whether it had been reduced and/or relocated. Was he even put under Šum-ukīn's direct responsibility?

From the tenth month of 1 Nbn come two debt notes for barley belonging to Eanna, in which he acts as an intermediary between the temple and the debtors (YOS 19 30 and Spar, *Studies*, no. 9). Both debt notes are similarly phrased. They state that the barley, which is the property of the Lady of Uruk, is at the disposal of (*ina pān*) Nergal-nāšir and is charged against PN. Though these debt notes are structurally reminiscent of *imittu* debt notes, in which the intermediary part is played by the rent farmer, the fact that they were both dated to the tenth month indicates that they could not have been written during a regular *imittu* procedure. Regrettably, the connotations of these two texts regarding Nergal-nāšir's status as an agricultural entrepreneur are ambiguous.

Nergal-nāšir's second extant rent contract (YOS 6 41) comes from the third year of Nabonidus. The text, which has been edited by Cocquerillat (1968: 39. 108f.), informs us that he had leased land in the Sumandar region, from the district Aššurītu to the district Ḫidū. The contract explicitly states that this was land which had not been included in Šum-ukīn's farm. By analogy one could assume that in the period from 40 Nbk to 3 Nbn he worked side by side with Šum-ukīn, not under his responsibility, in case he was active in temple agriculture at that time. His new rent contract shows a diminished responsibility when compared to his rent farm from 35 Nbk: the new rent consisted of over 1,000 *kurru* of barley, 60 *kurru* of sesame and 20 *kurru* of cress. This was perhaps the result of Šum-ukīn's dominance in the temple's arable sector.

Nergal-nāšir was also engaged in date production on a smaller scale. His date orchards were located in the areas under Šum-ukīn's responsibility. In 3 Nbn he appears in an *imittu* list for dates pertaining to the rent farm of Šum-ukīn with a delivery of 6;2.3 *kurru* from Kakkabtu and 62 *kurru* from Lasūtu (YOS 6 35). Furthermore, in 7 Nbn he acted as a witness in one of the *imittu* debt notes for dates from the *sūtu* of Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya (YOS 6 107).

In 5 (or [1]5?) Nbn part of his farm was sub-leased to a certain Bēlšunu, son of Marduk.⁵⁰⁸ It is interesting to note that the sub-leasing had been authorised by the royal commissioner and

⁵⁰⁸ For this individual see also note 511.

temple officials, while Nergal-nāšir was present at the proceedings only as a witness. This is probably owed to his status as a temple dependant. Bēlšunu's farm was not independent. His annual rent of 300 *kurru* of barley and 5 *kurru* of sesame was considered to constitute a part of Nergal-nāšir's rent (ll. 15f.).

PTS 2821 20-IV-5^{or [1]5} Nbn

- obv. 1. ^len-šú-nu a-šú šá ^lmar-duk a-na ^{ld}ag-lugal-ùru
^{lú}sag lugal ^{lú}en pi-qit-ti é-an-na
^ù ^{lú}en^{meš} pi-iq-né-e-ti šá é-an-na iq-bi
um-ma qaq-qar gi-iz-ze-e-tú šá id^din-nin
5. ^ù qaq-qar šá ^{garim}raq-qát^dutu a-ḫu-ul-la-^ra₄¹
ina qaq-qar^{mc} šá a-na ^{giš}bán a-na ^{ld}u-gur-pab
a-šú šá ^{ld}na-na-a-dù ta-ad-di-nu
bi-in-na-nim-ma mu-an-na 3 me gur
[šc]-bar ^ù 5 gur šc-giš-ì ina ^{giš}ma-ši-ḫu
- lo.e. 10. [^{šá} ^d]gašan šá unug^{ki} ina ugu me-e gal^{meš}
a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} lud-din ^{ld}ag-lugal-ùru
^{lú}sag lugal u ^{lú}en^{meš} piq-né-e-tú
- rev. ^{iš}me-šú-ma ^rid^l-di-nu-niš-ši mu-an-na
3 me gur šc-bar ^ù 5 gur šc-giš-ì
15. ina ^{giš}ma-ši-ḫu šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ina ^{giš}bán
šá ^{ld}u-gur-pab i-nam-din
ina gub-zu šá ^{ld}ag-lugal-ùru ^{lú}sag lugal
^{lú}en pi-qit-ti é-an-na
^{lú}mu-kin-nu ^{ld}di-kud-šcš^{meš}-mu a-šú
20. šá ^lgi-mil-lu a ^lši-gu-ú-a
^{ld}ag-kar-zi^{meš} a-šú šá ^lir^den a ^{ld}dù-^ria¹
- u.e. ^{ld}dù-ia a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-din-su-e a ^{ld}30-ti-ér
^{ld}u-gur-pab a-šú šá ^{ld}na-na-a-dù
- le.e. ^rlú¹umbisag ^lšú-ma-a a-šú šá ^{ld}dù^d[nnin a]
25. [^{lú}tú]g-babbar unug^{ki} iti šu ud 20-[kam]
[^{mu} 10/Ø[?]+]^r5¹-kam ^dag-ní-tuk lugal tin-tir^{k[i]}

“Bēlšunu, son of Marduk, spoke to Nabû-šar-ušur, the royal commissioner of Eanna, and the commissioners of Eanna as follows: ‘Give me land in the *gizzetu*⁵⁰⁹ of Nār-Innin and land in the district Raqqat-Šamaš across (the river), from the land you had leased to Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni, and I will deliver yearly to the Lady of Uruk 300 *kurru* of barley and 5 *kurru* of sesame, using the measure of the Lady of Uruk, at the big watercourses.’ Nabû-šar-ušur, the royal official, and the commissioners of Eanna listened to him and gave him (the land). He will give yearly 300 *kurru* of barley and 5 *kurru* of sesame using the measure of the Lady of Uruk as part of Nergal-nāšir's rent.

In the presence of Nabû-šar-ušur, the royal commissioner of Eanna.

Witnesses: Madān-aḫḫē-iddin, son of Gimillu, descendant of Šigūa,
Nabû-ēter-napšāti, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Bānia,
Bānia, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, descendant of Sîn-leqe-unninnī,
Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni,

Scribe: Šumāya, son of Ibni-I[štar, descendant of Pu]šāya;

Uruk; 20-IV-5^{or [1]5} Nbn, king of Babylon.”

⁵⁰⁹ The meaning of the word *gizzatu* is difficult to grasp. While it originally referred to land confiscated by the royal authorities (according to *kudurru* inscriptions), this interpretation is not entirely applicable to its use during the Neo-Babylonian period, as in several instances it designated land belonging to the temple. The term has most recently been discussed by van Driel 2002: 195f. (for earlier literature see *ibid.*: 195²⁸) without reaching a conclusion, though. It can be assumed, however, that the term implied a certain juridical status of the land.

In 8 Nbn Nergal-nāšir leased another lot of land (TCL 12 90⁵¹⁰) from the temple. This time he took over the land which had been leased previously by the rent farmer Kalbāya. Kalbāya's motivation for giving up this land was probably his need to concentrate on the farm which had been managed by his uncle Šum-ukīn up to that point and was now under his sole responsibility (p. 189). The land which is the subject of TCL 12 90 was situated in the Sumandar region, from the district Til-ḥurāši to the Euphrates, in the district Rudāya and in the district Angillu. Kalbāya's rent for this land amounted to 3,000 *kurru* of barley. Nergal-nāšir promised to top that and deliver annually 3,500 *kurru*. Some of this rent was to be paid in sesame. Parts of this farm had been sub-leased to other individuals previously. The text clarifies their obligations with respect to Nergal-nāšir and the temple. The revenue of the land which had been leased out to Gimillu, son of Ardāya, and Bēlšunu, son of Marduk,⁵¹¹ was to be paid in Eanna and deducted from the rent payable by Nergal-nāšir (ll. 12ff.). Some land had been allocated to a certain Šamaš-šum-iddin, son of Amīl-Nanāya, who was provided with ploughmen for cultivation, and to the *rab būli* Innin-šar-ušur,⁵¹² but apparently under different conditions. Their impost was to be determined by the temple and deducted from Nergal-nāšir's rent (ll. 15ff.). It is not clear whether Nergal-nāšir leased this land in addition to the land he had from before, or whether his old leases had expired and these 3,500 *kurru* of barley constituted his only responsibility from this time on.

Be that as it may, another rent arrangement must have been made between Nergal-nāšir and the temple authorities some time between 8 and 12 Nbn. A debt note for *kasia*, the share of a certain Nabû-mušētiq-uddē, pertaining to the *sūtu* of Nergal-nāšir and Zērbibi, son of Nabû-ēter-napšāti, was written in 12^{+?} Nbn (GC 1 418):

GC 1 418

14-[x]-12^{+?} Nbn

- obv. 1. 2-ta meš-ḥa-ta šá ka¹-a[s-si-ia]
ḥa-la qaḡ-qar šá ši-i-ḥu [šá é^{ld}30-a-šá-rid]
níg-ga^d gašan šá unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a
šá^{gib} bán šá^{ld} u-gur-pab a-šú šá^{ld} [na-na]-a-dù
5. u¹ numun-bi-bi a-šú šá^{ld} ag-kar-zi^{meš}
ina muḥ-ḥi^{ld} ag-mu-še-tiq-ud-da
a-šú šá¹ [u-gu]r-dù ina iti gan
i-na[m-di]n e-lat 4 gur
lo.e. ka-as-si-ia ḥa-la šá ina u[gu]
rev. 10. ¹ki¹-ne¹-na-a-a a-šú
šá^{ld} u-gur-dù e-lat ú-íl-ti igi-[ti]
^{lu}mu-kīn-nu¹ [ag]-numun-[gál]-šī
a-šú šá¹ ina-sùḥ-sur a^{ld} en-¹a¹-ùru
¹é-an-na-li-pi-ùru [a]-¹šú¹
15. šá¹ dùg-ga-ia a¹ ki-din^d amar-utu
^{lu}umbisag¹ ba-la-ḥu a-šú
šá¹ mu-še-zib^d en ši-i-ḥu
šá é^{ld}30-šá:a-rid [šī[?]-i[?]-ḥu[?] šá[?]]
^dgašan šá unug^{ki} iti [x]
u.e. 20. ud 14-kam mu 12[+x/Ø[?]-kam]
le.e. [a]g-ní-tuk
lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“2 measures of *kasia*, share of the land from the estate of Bīt-Sîn-ašarīd, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, pertaining to the rent of Nergal-nāšir, son of [Nanā]ya-ibni, and Zērbibi, son of

⁵¹⁰ Cocquerillat 1968: 40f.; Moore 1935: 92ff.

⁵¹¹ This is the same individual who appears as the lessee in the sub-lease of Nergal-nāšir's farm PTS 2821 (see above) and probably also in YOS 6 67 (4 Nbn), a lease of land for planting an orchard (*ana zāqipūti*). If this identification is correct, the text would provide his full name: Nabû-bēlšunu/Marduk/Kurī. YOS 6 67 is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 46. 110f.

⁵¹² For this individual see Kümmel 1979: 62.

Nabû-ēter-napšāti, are charged against Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, son of [Nergal]-ibni. In the ninth month he will give (the *kasia*). (This is) apart from 4 *kurru* of *kasia*, share charged [against] Kinēnāya, son of Nergal-ibni. (This is also) apart from the earlier debt note.

Witnesses: [Nabû]-zēr-[ušab]ši, son of Ina-tēšî-ēter, descendant of Bēl-aplu-ušur,
Eanna-lip-ušur, son of Ṭābia, descendant of Kidin-Marduk,

Scribe: Balātu, son of Mušēzib-Bēl;

Estate of Bīt-Sîn-ašarīd, [estate[?]] of the Lady of Uruk; 14-[x]-12^{+?} Nbn, king of Babylon.”

Apparently Nergal-nāšir managed a farm in partnership with this Zērbibi, of whom little is known (see p. 211 for an outline of his career). Nothing more can be said about this farm. Zērbibi is attested once more in 13 Nbn in a legal dispute with the rent farmer Ibnāya, son of Balātu, concerning newly reclaimed land (SAKF 155⁵¹³). Zērbibi appears here with the title *ša ina muḫḫi mūšānē* (i.e. the official in charge of the canal outlets). Nergal-nāšir also appears in this text. However, the context is unclear due to the bad state of preservation of the tablet. Here he was designated as Zērbibi's partner, *šutāpu* (l. 23). It is not clear whether Nergal-nāšir also shared Zērbibi's responsibilities for the irrigation system. This would not be inconsistent with some of his last attestations: namely, *AnOr* 8 27 (12 Nbn), which describes the investigation of a theft of (digging) tools and work clothes from Nergal-nāšir's house, and YOS 6 218 (16 Nbn), in which, if the identification with our Nergal-nāšir, who is not given a patronymic here, is correct, he appears in connection with tools. However, these tools could have been used for agricultural work as well, which renders these considerations hypothetical.

Be that as it may, GC 1 418 (12^{+?} Nbn) is the last attestation of Nergal-nāšir in a clearly agricultural context. No documentation for the settling of accounts with him has come down to us. The scant evidence we have makes an assessment of the success and the scope of his business difficult. He made several arrangements with the temple for farming its land, but of these only three contracts are known today. His first rent contract entailed an obligation of more than 4,000 *kurru* of barley, the second one more than 1,000 *kurru* and the third one 3,500 *kurru*. As a rent farmer of the temple he was active from 35 Nbk the latest until at least 12 Nbn, which is longer than Šum-ukīn's or any other rent farmer's career. It is not known, however, whether the arrangements in his various rent contracts were cumulative or not. Even if this were not the case, the significant scope of his rent farm from 35 Nbk paved the ground for even more ambitious enterprises which were to culminate in the era of Šum-ukīn. The length of his career suggests at any rate that the temple administration was satisfied with the output of his enterprises.

2.9.2.1. Attestations⁵¹⁴ of Nergal-nāšir:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|----------------------|---------------------------|--|
| UCP 9/2 47: 1f. | - | fragmentary, disbursements/deliveries of (wool?) |
| TCL 13 231: 33, 36f. | - | account of barley |
| YOS 21 42: 12f. | - | letter |
| ? YOS 3 166: 13 | - | letter (n.p.) |
| ? YOS 3 181: 1 | - | letter order (n.p.) |
| GC 1 191: 3 | 23-VI-[x] Nbk | silver disbursements |
| YOS 17 39: 1, 10f. | 17-IV-19 ³ Nbk | list of PNs |
| GC 1 165: 7 | 5-VI-24 Nbk | barley disbursement |
| VS 20 88: 1 | 5-VIII-35 Nbk | rent contract |
| PTS 2855: 3 | 16-VI-36 Nbk | debt note for barley |
| GC 1 84: 2f. | [x]-XI-37 Nbk | account of cattle |
| YBC 3729: 7 | 17-VIII-40 Nbk | debt note for barley (guarantor) |
| YBC 9226: 20 | 7-I-41 Nbk | bail protocol (witness) |
| NCBT 361: 13, 17, 19 | 21-I-42 Nbk | <i>imittu</i> list for barley |
| ?PTS 2363: 11 | 25-I-42 Nbk | <i>imittu</i> list for barley (n.p., 18 gur, Rātu) |

⁵¹³ For an edition of the text see p. 206.

⁵¹⁴ Attestations preceded by a question mark are uncertain. The remark n.p. indicates attestations without a patronymic.

| | | |
|---|----------------------------|--|
| YBC 3737: 11f. | 20-I-43 Nbk | debt note for barley (witness) |
| GC 2 95: 1, 9 | 17-[x]-1 Ami | slave sale |
| ? BIN 1 131: 1, 21 | 1-IV-2 Ner | barley disbursements for rations and <i>maššartu</i> (n.p.) |
| TCL 12 69: 10 | 10-XII-3 Ner | bail protocol (witness) |
| OIP 122 169: 6 | 23-II-1 Nbn | ledger of plots of land |
| YOS 19 30: 2f. | 24-X-1 Nbn | debt note for barley |
| Spar, <i>Studies</i> , no. 9: 2f. | 25-X-1 Nbn | debt note for barley |
| YOS 6 41: 1 | 11-II-3 Nbn | rent contract |
| YOS 6 35: 13 | 5-XI-3 Nbn | <i>imittu</i> list for dates |
| YOS 19 63: 8f., 12 | 6-[x]-4 Nbn | transfer of a barley debt |
| GC 1 389: 3f., 7 | 24-II-4 Nbn | receipt for silver |
| YOS 19 169: 2f. | 4-X-4 Nbn | receipt for sesame |
| PTS 2821: 6f., 16, 27 | 20-IV-5 [?] Nbn | sub-lease of land |
| YOS 6 107: 13f. | 28-V-7 Nbn | <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates (witness) |
| BM 114588: 5 | 29-VIII-7 Nbn | debt note for barley |
| TCL 12 90: 1, 11, 15, 19f., 24 | 10-V-8 Nbn | rent contract |
| Dillard, FLP 1581: 7f. | 17-V-8 Nbn | account of cattle |
| BM 114598: 4 | 27-XI-8 Nbn | debt note for barley |
| YOS 6 176: 2f. | 6-V-11 Nbn | receipt for silver, concerning fugitive slave |
| GC 1 418: 4 | 14-[x]-12 ⁺ Nbn | <i>zittu</i> debt note for <i>kasia</i> |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 27: 3f., 8, 16 | 10-IV-12 Nbn | legal, concerning burglary |
| SAKF 155: 23-25 | [x]-[x]-13 Nbn | legal dispute over newly reclaimed land |
| BIN 1 174: 51 | 27-IV-14 Nbn | list of ewes exchanged for silver or barley |
| ? YOS 6 218: 18 [?] , 37, 40, 42, 50 | 16 Nbn | silver and wool disbursements for iron tools |
| CD 78: 17 | 13-XIIa-6 Cyr | legal, concerning status of a slave |
| ? PTS 3007: 3 | [x]-VI-2 Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates (concerns a plot stretching from the plot of PN to the plot of Nergal-nāšir, n.p.) |

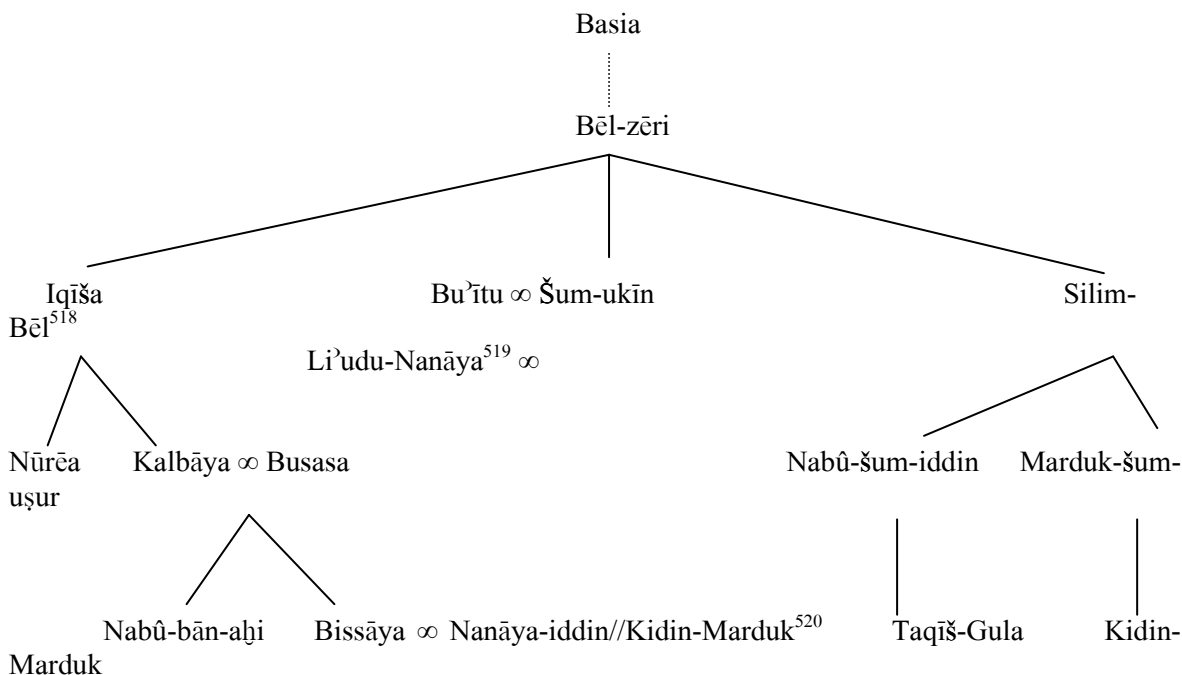
2.9.3. Šum-ukīn

Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, was the first large-scale rent farmer of Eanna. The course of his career has been described before, on the basis of the material then known.⁵¹⁵ In the meantime, a number of unpublished documents have become available to us, giving us a better insight in Šum-ukīn's exploits, in particular concerning his life before the rent farm business with Eanna. Among the unpublished material from the Yale Babylonian Collection, the Princeton Theological Seminary and the British Museum, dispersed among the Eanna tablets, a number of documents surfaced which concern Šum-ukīn's private activities, presenting us with a part of his private archive. Although such private documents were also known from the published material the idea of a private archive is fairly recent owing to its special status as a sub-group within the Eanna archive.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁵ E.g. by Cocquerillat 1968: 92ff. and Joannès 1982: 130ff. A concise description of Šum-ukīn's activities is offered by Geller 1995: 536ff., however, there are some inaccuracies here which are discussed below in connection with his marital status. Furthermore, the attestation which allegedly places Šum-ukīn in the circle of the Babylonian businessman Iddin-Marduk (Geller 1995: 537⁺⁸) is in fact a reference to another person (a Šum-ukīn, son of Zēria, without a family name). See also Tolini 2002: 30ff. on the last stages of Šum-ukīn's career.

⁵¹⁶ The status of the archive is treated in more detail below. A rough sketch of the Basia archive can be found in Jursa 2005a: 141f. See now also the study of Šum-ukīn's letter dossier published by Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011. An outline of Šum-ukīn's activities is given on p. 177ff.

Besides giving us an insight into Šum-ukīn's business profile, the part of his private archive available to us now, together with the relevant Eanna texts, provides the following picture of the Basia family tree:⁵¹⁷



As is evident, Šum-ukīn had at least two brothers, Iqīša and Silim-Bēl. Furthermore a certain Rēmūt, descendant of Basia, appears in a *ḥarrānu*-contract (TCL 12 40 (23 Nbk)) from Babylon. According to this text the silver that Šum-ukīn invested in a business venture with a certain Zababa-šum-iddin came from the *ḥarrānu* of Rēmūt, descendant of Basia. If at all related to this strand of the Basia family, Rēmūt could have been either Šum-ukīn's brother or cousin, or alternatively a member of the older generation, i.e. an uncle. Practically nothing is known about this older generation, the father of Šum-ukīn and his siblings. Bēl-zēri appears only in the patronymic of the three brothers, never as a protagonist in any of the texts that have come down to us.⁵²¹

Iqīša, Šum-ukīn's brother, appears as a witness in a document written in Babylon in 19 Nbk (PTS 2893). The matter at hand is not clear, as the pertinent passages are damaged, however, the legible portions of the text indicate that this was an agreement between a certain Šillāya and Šum-ukīn (no patronymics). This was perhaps Šillāya, son of Sīn-ibni, with whom Šum-ukīn later engaged in a *ḥarrānu*-venture (YBC 11459 (acc Amī)) and in an agricultural enterprise at the estate of the palace scribe (PTS 2046 and BIN 2 109 (both acc Amī)). Iqīša appears also in *OrAn* 25, 30 no. 1 (PTS 2864 (23 Nbk)), a sale document for a boat written in a place of unknown localization

⁵¹⁷ Kümmel's reconstruction of the Basia family tree (1979: 106) could be considerably augmented. Brief remarks considering Šum-ukīn's family, especially in the context of his letter dossier, can be found in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011: 187f.

⁵¹⁸ Silim-Bēl possibly had two more sons, Šamaš-zēr-ušabši and Nergal-šum-ušur. For a discussion see below.

⁵¹⁹ The relationship between Li'udu-Nanāya and Šum-ukīn and his wife is not well understood. It appears that at least since 8 Nbn she dwelt in their household. Possibly she was Šum-ukīn's second wife. This is discussed in more detail below.

⁵²⁰ Nanāya-iddin, Bissāya's husband, stems from a prominent local family of temple scribes. He was the son of Ibnāya and the grandson of Iddin-Nabû, from the Kidin-Marduk family as is evident from YOS 7 59 (6 Cyr). (Ibnāya, Nanāya-iddin's father, is also attested as a protagonist in YOS 6 108 (15 Nbn).) At least three scribes are known from the Kidin-Marduk family (Kümmel 1979: 132), however, neither Nanāya-ibni, nor his father, are so far attested with this professional title.

⁵²¹ Note that Bēl-zēri's name could be written alternately with and without the divine determinative.

(the place is called Bāb-Nār-šarrāni⁵²²). Here he acts as the seller and Šum-ukīn is the scribe of this text. Iqīša is also attested as a witness in 2275 (20^[+x] Nbk), a debt note for silver, the rent of a house, charged against Šum-ukīn. The text was written in Babylon. His last active attestation known to us is from around 30 Nbk (YBC 9263⁵²²), from a text probably written at Babylon. This was a receipt for silver for the *ilku*-service, which the *šākin tēmi* of Babylon, Marduk-ēter, received from Iqīša and Šum-ukīn. All other occurrences of Iqīša are in the patronymics of his two sons, Nūrēa and Kalbāya.

Šum-ukīn's other brother, Silim-Bēl, first appears in acc Nbn (YOS 6 4)⁵²³ in a text recording that five individuals were put at his disposal for irrigation work (*ana dalē*). This document, which was written in Kār-Nanāya, indicates that at this time Silim-Bēl was involved in agricultural activities in the Uruk region.⁵²⁴ It is not clear whether these activities were in any way connected to the temple agriculture. The name of one of the irrigation workers contains the theophoric element Nanāya, which may place him in the temple milieu and may indicate that he and his companions were supplied to Silim-Bēl by Eanna in order to work for him. It is equally, if not more, probable that the text referred to Silim-Bēl's private agricultural activities. Apart from the name with the Nanāya element there is nothing to connect the text to Eanna. The absence of information on the filiation or the legal status of the five workers in this text is also unusual for a legal temple record. The name of the scribe of this text constitutes another point of interest. It appears as Šamaš-zēr-ušabši, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Silim-Bēl. The last part of the filiation is probably erroneous since Silim-Bēl is not attested as a family name. The mistake can be explained as a dittography. The question remains what the actual family name was, but the textual sources do not offer an answer to it. In the accession year of Nabonidus Šamaš-zēr-ušabši, son of Silim-Bēl, appears as a debtor in an *imittu* debt note for barley pertaining to the *sūtu* of Šum-ukīn (YOS 19 85) and he is also the scribe of this text. Interestingly, Silim-Bēl, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, appears first among the witnesses in this debt note. A scribe Šamaš-zēr-ušabši, son of Silim-Bēl, is attested once more in a temple record from 1 Nbn (YOS 19 90, a legal dispute concerning small cattle), however, again without a family name. One could surmise that Šamaš-zēr-ušabši was also a member of the Basia family and that he had written this document (YOS 6 4) for his father.⁵²⁵ However, our evidence is not conclusive, making this assumption highly conjectural.

As was mentioned above Silim-Bēl appears as a witness in an *imittu* debt note involving his brother Šum-ukīn as rent farmer and perhaps his son Šamaš-zēr-ušabši, if this identification is correct, as debtor. One more attestation as a witness a year earlier, in acc Nbn (YOS 19 6), shows him moving in the circles of Urukian elite. This private document records a sale of slaves by members of the *asū* family to a descendant of the Kurī family.⁵²⁶ Silim-Bēl appears in a letter written by the *šatammu* Bānia to Šum-ukīn (YOS 21 18). He is mentioned here together with his nephew Kalbāya. Another possible attestation of Silim-Bēl is in TCL 12 75 from 1 Nbn. This text records deliveries of agricultural produce to the *šatammu* of Eanna. Silim-Bēl, son of Bēl-zēri, but without a family name, is recorded to have delivered 20 *kurru* of barley. The people making the deliveries are subsumed under *šābu* (workers), which makes the identification⁵²⁷ with Šum-ukīn's brother uncertain.

Šum-ukīn's wife Bu'itu, daughter of Ša-pī-Bēl, is known from three texts:⁵²⁸ the first is an undated letter of Kalbāya, Šum-ukīn's nephew, addressed to her, in which he assured her that

⁵²² The text is not dated, but the year 30 Nbk is mentioned in it.

⁵²³ The text is edited in the Appendix 1.

⁵²⁴ By this time, the strand of the Basia family in question will have moved to the Uruk region. This probably happened at the very beginning of Neriglissar's reign.

⁵²⁵ A similar practice can be observed between Šum-ukīn and his nephews or grand-nephews, who are attested as scribes of documents from his private archive (see below).

⁵²⁶ Other prominent families appearing in the text include Babūtu, Hunzū, Ēda-ēter, Ekur-zakir and Rēmūt-Ea.

⁵²⁷ The letter is edited as no. 19 in Hackl, Jakovic and Jursa 2011, and can be roughly dated to the period from 1 Ner to 1 Nbn (*ibid.*: 183).

⁵²⁸ Another possible attestation is in a letter (YOS 21 36) written by a certain Innin-zēr-ušabši to Bu'itu concerning garments and *kidinnū*. Yet another possible attestation is in PTS 2957 (2 Nbn), a text which

everything was going fine since she and Šum-ukīn had been away (YOS 3 22⁵²⁹); the second is a legal text from 8 Nbn concerning the status of two slave-girls born of a *zakītu* of Eanna (YOS 6 129⁵³⁰). According to this text Bu'ītu inscribed one of the girls' hands with her own name and the hand of the other with the name of a certain Li'udu-Nanāya.⁵³¹ Bu'ītu's third attestation is in another legal document from 5^{or} 6 Cyr, the subject of which is difficult to understand, owing to its bad state of preservation (*Fs. Greenfield*, p. 532ff. = CPLWC 036422, from the Cleveland Public Library, published and edited by Geller 1995: 532ff.). The main protagonist of the text is Li'udu, daughter of Šamaš-bān-aḥi, son of Nabû-nādin-[šumi], descendant of [Kurī]. She is probably the same person as Li'udu-Nanāya from YOS 6 129, to judge by her rare name. Geller offers no reconstruction of the patronymic and reads Li'udu's family name as [x]-ili² (1995: 534). The sign AN, however, is part of the logogram *garza* (*paršu*), not of the family name, which is completely lost in the break in l. 1 and which I propose to reconstruct as Kurī. This reconstruction is based on PTS 2818 (4 Nbn), a legal record concerning sheep and cattle and coincidentally also involving Šum-ukīn. Šamaš-bān-aḥi, son of Nabû-nādin-šumi, descendant of Kurī is the scribe of this text.⁵³² It is proposed here to reconstruct the first two lines of the Cleveland text as follows (the signs which are at variance with Geller's reconstruction are marked with an asterisk): [mi¹li-u]-du-u' dumu^{mi¹} šá^{ld}utu-dù-šēš 'dumu-šú¹ šá^{ld}ag-na-din-[mu dumu* 'kur*-i* šá* gar]za*⁵³³ a-na/ [bit*-a*]-nu⁵³⁴ li-qa-a-ta..., "Li'udu, daughter of Šamaš-bān-aḥi, son of Nabû-nādin-[šumi, descendant of Kurī, who] performed ritu[als in the sanct]uaries...". The case investigated in this text concerns Li'udu's entering the sanctuaries and apparently taking part in the cult. It is specifically remarked in ll. 13-15 that she wore a *dīdū*-garment at this occasion and that she entered the *bīt ḥilši* of Eanna, a sanctuary associated with Urka'ītu, Ušur-amāssu, Nanāya and Nabû.⁵³⁵ The main issue seems to be Li'udu's eligibility to perform rituals in the temple sanctuaries, a matter investigated by the highest temple administrators (*šatammu* and *bēl piqitti*), the temple enterers (*ērib bītis*) and the *kiništu* of Eanna. It is not clear how the mention of the *dīdū*-garment was significant. Was this an indication of an inappropriate dress for the cult practice?⁵³⁶ At any rate the verdict of the temple council (ll. 16-18), which may have shed some light on this question, remains unknown to us, owing to a break on the tablet in l. 18. Bu'ītu and Šum-ukīn are mentioned in order to set the stage

concerns female slaves. The name of a woman, a slave owner, is broken off, but could be read as B[u'ītu] (see below).

⁵²⁹ This letter is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 94. 137. A new edition can be found in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011: 217. The words "my mother", which Kalbāya uses when addressing Bu'ītu, should not be understood literally, but as a demonstration of his respect for her.

⁵³⁰ This text was edited and commented on by Tolini 2002: 30ff.

⁵³¹ Bu'ītu is designated as Šum-ukīn's wife in this text, but Li'udu-Nanāya lacks any designation whatsoever. Her identity is somewhat problematic, though she must be the same person as Li'udu from the Cleveland text published by Geller 1995: 532ff. (see below).

⁵³² Šamaš-bān-aḥi is to my knowledge not attested elsewhere as a scribe and does not appear in Kümmel's prosopography. However, the family Kurī was prominent among Eanna's administrative personnel, having produced, not including Šamaš-bān-aḥi, at least seven temple scribes (Kümmel 1979: 133). Šamaš-bān-aḥi from *AnOr* 9 8 (3 Nbn), quoted by Geller 1995: 534, is in fact a different person, a builder (*ittinu*), who together with his colleagues receives date rations.

⁵³³ *garza* (= PA-AN; the element AN is clearly visible on the tablet and is in Geller's transliteration) is the usual logograph for *paršū* (a general term for "rite, cult (practice)"), which is written syllabically in ll. 13-14.

⁵³⁴ The phrase *paršī ana bītānu* [...], mentioned in l. 14, prompted this reconstruction. (Conversely, the break in this line should contain some form of the verb *leqū*, e.g., 3.f.sg. stative.) Geller's reconstruction at the beginning of l. 2 [ukkin-šú]-nu is not convincing. Besides constituting the only attestation of the expression *ana puḥri leqū* ("to take to the assembly"), this reconstruction is not plausible because the possessive pronoun -šumu has nothing to refer to at this point in the text. On the other hand, the phrase *paršī leqū*, "to perform a ritual", is well attested (see for instance CAD P: 197) and fits the context.

⁵³⁵ Beaulieu 2003: 29ff. This was also the place where (medicinal) oils and potions were prepared (Joannès 2006: 73ff.).

⁵³⁶ The *dīdū* was a piece of female clothing. According to CAD D: 136 it was "a strip of fabric wound around the hips and between the legs [...] and fastened with a knot". Note that there were certain specifications how a *dīdū* should be worn by women in a sanctuary (*ibid.*: 135), i.e. it was not entirely tabooed in the sacral context.

for Li'udu, probably in support of her claims in connection with a *harû*-ritual.⁵³⁷ However, the nature of their relationship is still not evident from the remaining text owing to the many breaks on the tablet. Geller suggests an interpretation by which Li'udu can be identified as Šum-ukīn's second wife, which he had married because his and Bu'itu's matrimony remained childless.⁵³⁸ This indeed fits well with the evidence from YOS 6 129, which indicates that Li'udu lived in Šum-ukīn's household at least since 8 Nbn. The only problem with this interpretation, which is mostly based on reconstructed passages, is that Šum-ukīn is described as Bu'itu's former husband in l. 9 ([da]m igi-ú), which implies that she remarried later. Had the intention been to express the fact that Šum-ukīn remarried, the emphasis would have been placed on the fact that Bu'itu was the former/earlier wife.⁵³⁹ Be that as it may, the most plausible explanation is to identify Li'udu as Šum-ukīn's second wife. In addition to solving the problem of childlessness, marrying a girl from a prominent Urukian family can be seen as an attempt to penetrate and get integrated in the local elite, a desirable prospect for an outsider with big business ambitions.

The document offers us other interesting information on Šum-ukīn. If our understanding of the text (following Geller's reconstructions and interpretations) is correct, it would imply that Šum-ukīn participated in the cult practice in connection with the *harû*-ritual.⁵⁴⁰ It is not clear whether this ritual entailed an income, as is the case with temple prebends. At any rate it appears that Li'udu referred to her status as Šum-ukīn's widow in her claim to partake in the cult practice.⁵⁴¹

The time of Šum-ukīn's death is also mentioned in this text in ll. 9-10: *ár-ki mu 10-kam šá l¹mu-<gi-na>*⁵⁴² / [a-n]a šim-tu₄ il-li-¹ku...¹. Geller understands this section ("Ten years after Šum-ukīn went to his fate...", p. 534) as a temporal setting for Li'udu's entering the sanctuaries, i.e. in reference to the time when this incident occurred and the document at hand was written, namely to 5 Cyr (or perhaps 6 Cyr). In other words, according to Geller's interpretation Šum-ukīn died ten years before this incident, i.e. around 12 Nbn. However, following the remark on Šum-ukīn's death the text goes on to describe how Li'udu had not remarried, not that she entered the sanctuaries at

⁵³⁷ Very little is known about the *harû*-ritual (see, for instance, Linszen 2004: 119). From the Hellenistic period it is known that the king performed this religious ceremony on the eighth day of *nisanu* during the New Year festival in front of the Holy Gate of Esagil (*ibid.*: 84). There are several attestations for the *harû* of the king from the Neo-Babylonian Uruk (e.g., GC 2 269, YOS 3 3, *Iraq* 59, no. 19), and the texts make it clear that this ritual included offerings (beer, barley, sheep). Apparently other persons could also take part in this ritual or could have it performed on their behalf *in absentia* as is demonstrated by the letter TCL 9 115 (The addressee of this letter, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, is in fact not identical with the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna (Nabû-aḥ-iddin), as suggested by Geller 1995: 535; a person by the name of Šum-ukīn, who also appears in this letter in connection with *harû* (l. 11), is not necessarily our Šum-ukīn).

⁵³⁸ That this second union also remained childless, as suggested in l. 9 of the text, can be seen as an indication for male sterility or sexual impotence (Geller 1995: 537).

⁵³⁹ That Bu'itu was not repudiated is evident from YOS 6 129 (8 Nbn). Designated as Šum-ukīn's wife, she appears here together with Li'udu, apparently in a superior position, as she inscribed the hand of a slave-girl with Li'udu's name. This is not surprising if Li'udu was indeed the second wife, who would have probably also been (much) younger than Bu'itu. Besides, childlessness was generally not a ground for divorcing – in such circumstances one could revert to adoption or taking on a second wife.

⁵⁴⁰ There is, however, no evidence that Šum-ukīn or the members of his family owned prebends.

⁵⁴¹ Women in the temple cult, apart from the priestesses and other members of the cultic personnel, are attested in the Neo-Babylonian period as holders of prebends only exceptionally and in connection with their male relatives. They never bought prebends on their own initiative but acquired them passively "as endowments from their husbands, fathers, brothers or mothers" (Wacrzeggers 2010: 92). This happened chiefly when the woman was either the only descendant of her father, a prebendary, or when she was the wife or a widow of a prebendary with no male offspring (*ibid.*: 93). It seems then that the right to participate in the *harû*-ritual could be transferred to family members as was the case with prebends. At least this is apparently what Li'udu attempted to base her claim on. It should be noted that her father is also mentioned in this context in the Cleveland text, with what seems like an explicit negation of his participation in the *harû*-ritual: Geller (1995: 534) understands the line as "...Šamaš-bān-aḥi, who had no *share* in the *harû*-ritual rite [...]" following his reconstruction of a stative of *zāzu* in line 13: ...Šamaš-bān-aḥi *šá ina ḥa-re-e par-ši la z[i-za-at]*...]. Note, however, that a feminine third person singular is not congruent with *paršū*; we would rather expect a third person masculine plural here.

⁵⁴² These signs are written around the right edge of the tablet. The emendation of the missing signs of Šum-ukīn's name is suggested by Geller in the transliteration of the text; however, on the copy of the tablet made by him no signs are recorded after *šá* (1995: 541) – this was probably an oversight of the copyist.

that point in time. Furthermore, there is a gap in l.10 preceded by “*a-di 3 [...]*” which Geller does not attempt to interpret. It is suggested here to reconstruct and understand this phrase as follows: *ár-ki mu 10-kam šá¹ mu-<gi-na> / [a-n]a šim-tu₄ il-li-¹ku a-di 3¹ m[u¹*-an*-na*^{mi}li-²u-du-ú dumu^{mi}-a*-ni* šá]* ^{1d}utu-dù-šeš / [a]-na dam-ú-tu la tu-ši-ib-ma [...], “After the 10th year (of Nabonidus), when Šum-ukīn died, for three years Li²udu, daughter of Šamaš-bān-aḥi, had not (re-)married...”. Whichever consequences Li²udu’s implicit remarrying may have had for her case, this remark offers an explicit date of Šum-ukīn’s death, namely the 10th regnal year of Nabonidus. This fits well with other evidence for Šum-ukīn’s agricultural activities, which suggests that his nephew Kalbāya took over his rent farm around 8 Nbn. In other words, Šum-ukīn retired from his entrepreneurial activities, perhaps owing to an illness, some two years before his death in 10 Nbn.

While Šum-ukīn was not blessed with offspring, his brothers were luckier in this respect. Iqīša had two sons, Nūrēa and Kalbāya. Nūrēa is attested twice as a scribe of documents from Šum-ukīn’s private archive: in YBC 3518⁵⁴³ (2 Ami), a work contract from Ḥarrubat, according to which part of the land at Šum-ukīn’s disposal is put at the disposal of another person, and in BM 114585 (3 Ner), which is written at Uruk and records Šum-ukīn’s purchase of a slave.⁵⁴⁴ He was also the scribe of PTS 2344 (1 Ner), a lease of temple land in which Šum-ukīn acted as the lessor (the text is edited on p. 49). He is also attested in the legal record PTS 2957 from the second regnal year of, probably, Nabonidus⁵⁴⁵ which was written in Borsippa. Here he and a certain Nergal-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of [x],⁵⁴⁶ testified in front of the official *ša pān ekalli* about a certain slave-woman, saying that she was not with their uncle Šum-ukīn. Iqīša’s other son, Kalbāya, who was married to a certain Busasa and had at least two children,⁵⁴⁷ is above all known for continuing in his uncle’s footsteps as a *fermier général* of Eanna. The same applies to Kalbāya’s son Nabû-bān-aḥi, who is dealt with on pp. 227ff. Prior to his appearance in the texts of the Eanna archive as Šum-ukīn’s associate, Kalbāya is attested in his uncle’s private archive as a witness on a couple of occasions in texts from Ḥarrubat (BIN 2 109 (acc Ami) and YBC 3518 (2 Ami)).

Silim-Bēl also had at least two⁵⁴⁸ sons, Marduk-šum-ušur and Nabû-šum-iddin, who in turn had a son each – Kidin-Marduk and Taqīš-Gula. Marduk-šum-ušur, a temple scribe, is first attested as a witness in a text from the Eanna archive from 2 Ner (YBC 3750, edited on p. 298), in which Šum-ukīn, in his function as the commissioner of the king (*bēl piqitti šarri*), acts as a lessor of temple land in a land lease contract for sharecropping. He then appears in 3 Ner in a debt note for 10 *kurru* of dates, property of the Lady of Uruk, as a witness (NBC 4517, written in Til-agurrēti, to be published in YOS 16). His next attestation is also as a witness in acc Lab in a text from his uncle’s archive, a promissory note for oxen belonging to Šum-ukīn, written in Babylon, but specifying the place of delivery of the animals as Uruk (NBC 4534, to be published in YOS 16). Some time between 1 Ner and 1 Nbn Marduk-šum-ušur wrote a letter to his uncle Šum-ukīn (*AfO* 44/45, 165⁵⁴⁹). The letter is damaged, but it appears that in it he shared insider information with his uncle concerning the overseer of ploughmen (*rab ikkarāti*), Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, about whom the king had written to the temple administrators. This seems highly controversial considering that Šum-ukīn took over the function of *rab ikkarāti* from Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim around that time.⁵⁵⁰ In 13 Nbn he is attested as the scribe of an *imittu* debt note for the rent farmer Ibnāya, son of Balātu (TCL 12 108).⁵⁵¹ He appears as a witness in YOS 6 221 (16 Nbn), a legal record concerning the arrears of a temple shepherd. Marduk-šum-ušur worked not only as a temple scribe, but was also

⁵⁴³ The text is reserved for publication in YOS 16.

⁵⁴⁴ In this document a certain Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Nabû-šum-iškun, descendant of Basia, appears among the witnesses. However, since this is his only attestation at present, his place in the Basia family cannot be determined.

⁵⁴⁵ The name of the ruler is broken and only the first element, ^dag, is extant on the tablet.

⁵⁴⁶ Should the family name be reconstructed to Basia? If so, this text would provide us with the so far only attestations of another one of Šum-ukīn’s nephews.

⁵⁴⁷ A detailed description of his family is given on p. 187.

⁵⁴⁸ Note that there is a possibility that he had two more sons, namely Šamaš-zēr-ušabši, attested in YOS 6 4, and Nergal-šum-ušur, attested in PTS 2957. In both cases the erroneous (?) or lacking patronymics prevent a reliable identification of these men.

⁵⁴⁹ A new edition of the letter can be found in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011: 202.

⁵⁵⁰ Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011: 186f.

⁵⁵¹ For this rent farmer see p. 203.

involved in agricultural production under the rent farmer Ile'i-Marduk.⁵⁵² This is evident from BIN 2 130 (acc Camb), a document recording the hardship sale of Marduk-šum-ušur's houses for 6 minas of silver in order to cover his debt of *kasia* pertaining to the *sūtu* of Ile'i-Marduk. His next attestation is from 1 Camb (YOS 7 113) in a legal document concerning a debt of 160 *kurru* of dates. The debtor, Kiribtu, son of Arad-Innin, states that he had given a part of the dates (10 *kurru*) to Marduk-šum-ušur and a part to another scribe, a certain Ardia, son of Eanna-šum-ibni,⁵⁵³ and is obliged to bring the receipts so they could be entered in the temple registry. The last attestation of Marduk-šum-ušur is from 2 Camb in a debt note for 10 *kurru* of barley, exchange for dates (BM 113431⁵⁵⁴). The dates are said to be the impost (*imittu*) of the field of Kiribtu, son of Arad-Innin, pertaining to the *sūtu* of Bānia, son of Kalbāya, which had been received from Kiribtu. Now the equivalent amount in barley is charged against Marduk-šum-ušur. Marduk-šum-ušur had received the dates from Kiribtu at an earlier time, but failed for some reason to transfer them to the temple store-houses. In fact, these are the same 10 *kurru* of dates, for which Kiribtu testified in YOS 7 113 (see above) that he had given them to Marduk-šum-ušur.⁵⁵⁵ His association with the scribe Ardia, son of Eanna-šum-ibni, his appearance as a scribe of an *imittu* debt note and this last attestation indicate that he was one of the scribes involved in the administrative processes related to the agricultural sector of the temple. These scribes were not only in charge of issuing promissory notes for the imposts, but they were also involved with the measuring and probably also the transport of agricultural commodities. That these procedures did not always run in one straight line (farmer delivers commodities to temple scribe, who measures them and transports them directly to the temple granaries) is demonstrated by texts such as BM 113431 and YOS 7 113. The causes for these delays on the way of agricultural commodities from the producer to the temple are not revealed by the texts, but some sort of speculation with these goods on the part of the intermediaries, the scribes, can be assumed.

Marduk-šum-ušur had a son, Kidin-Marduk, who was also a scribe. His only attestation is in a temple record, a receipt for dates from 1 Camb, which was written by him (JCS 28, no. 15).

Silim-Bēl's other son, Nabû-šum-iddin, is attested only as the sender of a letter to his uncle Šum-ukīn (BM 116697⁵⁵⁶), in which he writes about water withdrawal from a canal and complains about his powerlessness in a certain matter, and as a witness in BM 114439 (1 Camb), a document written in Til-agurrēti concerning the guarding of the temple's date plantations. His son Taqīš-Gula was a scribe and was apparently stationed in Babylon at the beginning of Nabonidus' reign. He appears as a scribe of two texts written in the capital. YOS 6 5 (acc Nbn) belongs to Šum-ukīn's private archive. It records his purchase of a slave, a barber, for 58 shekels of silver. The seller of the slave is also obliged to produce a third person, a debtor of Šum-ukīn, by a certain date. It seems likely that this was a hardship sale brought on by an outstanding debt of the seller toward Šum-ukīn. YOS 6 60 (3 Nbn), also written by Taqīš-Gula in Babylon, concerns the status of a slave of a certain Innin-šum-ušur, son of Aplāya, which had been given to a certain Latubaššinni by the authority of the *sartennu* and the judges. It is not clear how this text is connected to the Eanna archive. Taqīš-Gula is also attested as the author of a letter to Šum-ukīn sent from Babylon (YOS 3 46⁵⁵⁷), in which he informs his great-uncle on a runaway slavewoman, writes about a delivery of barley and about Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's impending visit to Babylon and the royal court.

Evidently, this branch of the Basia family, i.e. Silim-Bēl's sons and grandsons, were well integrated into the administrative apparatus of Eanna. With the exception of Nabû-šum-iddin, they are all attested as (temple) scribes, but even his appearance as a witness in a temple record speaks in favour of his close connection to the administration of Eanna. A particularly strong tendency

⁵⁵² Ile'i-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Eṭēru, is treated in more detail on p. 213.

⁵⁵³ He is attested with this title in WZKM 94, no. 1 (4 Cyr) and TCL 13 168 (5 Camb). His other attestations without a professional title, other than YOS 7 113, are: YOS 3 29, YOS 7 85 (4 Cyr), YOS 7 95 (8 Cyr), BM 114472 (1 Camb), NCBT 952 (1 Camb), YOS 7 124 (2 Camb), YOS 7 131 (2 Camb) and YOS 7 142 (3 Camb). In YOS 7 85 and BM 114472 he appears as a witness. All other documents concern the transport or measuring of dates delivered by the gardeners, or his own date debts resulting from these activities.

⁵⁵⁴ The text is edited on p. 232.

⁵⁵⁵ YOS 7 113 is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 84f. 133f. See also the discussion of this text and BM 113441 in the chapter on Nabû-bān-aḫi.

⁵⁵⁶ Edited as no. 11 in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011.

⁵⁵⁷ Edited as no. 15 in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011.

toward the agricultural sector in combination with scribal activity can be observed in the case of Marduk-šum-ušur.

2.9.3.1. The Basia archive

As was mentioned above, a number of texts (over forty) could be identified among the Eanna tablets which are clearly private in character, i.e. concerning private business and activities of Šum-ukīn.⁵⁵⁸ Most of these texts predate Šum-ukīn's involvement with the Eanna temple, but a few texts are concurrent with his time as Eanna's *fermier général*. The earliest dated document from this private archive is YOS 17 23, a debt note for silver written in Babylon, from 17 Nbk.⁵⁵⁹ Šum-ukīn's private texts do not include any family documents such as marriage contracts, dowry or inheritance related matters. Property related documents are rare – there are two house leases and three purchases of slaves – but no house purchase or sale documents are among this material. There is only one administrative text (NBC 4569 (not dated)) and several letters which can be assigned to the Basia archive. The largest portion of the extant private texts bears evidence to Šum-ukīn's business activities. Debt notes for barley are among the most frequently attested texts, followed by documents related to his agricultural activities. A small number of *harrānu* contracts, including both debt notes and investments initiating the formation of *harrānu* partnerships, and promissory notes for silver have also come down to us. Prebend-related material is missing from this archive. This prompts the assumption that Šum-ukīn was not involved in the cultic life of Eanna or other sanctuaries before his time in Uruk. However, one should not forget the implications of the Cleveland text discussed above, concerning Šum-ukīn's possible involvement in a *harû*-ritual.

The status of the Basia archive particularly in connection with the Eanna archive is discussed on p. 184.

2.9.3.1.1. Šum-ukīn's property

The information on Šum-ukīn's property is unfortunately quite patchy owing to the scarcity of relevant material. In itself this is not surprising considering that we have access only to a part of his private archive. However, some texts from the Eanna archive also contribute to the picture of Šum-ukīn's property, as it was of great interest to the temple, particularly during the phase of the settling of accounts at the end of his career as a *fermier général*.

2.9.3.1.1.1. Slaves

Three purchases of slaves are documented at the time when Šum-ukīn and his family had settled in the Uruk region. For some reason these texts are clustered around the beginning of Nabonidus's reign, but it is not clear whether this is in any sense significant or a pure coincidence. Two of these three texts seem to have had a debt recovery background. It is conceivable that at the onset of his career as a large-scale rent farmer for Eanna Šum-ukīn attempted to collect his outstanding assets and pool his resources for the great undertaking ahead of him. In the course of this pooling of resources he may have acquired these slaves.

⁵⁵⁸ For a catalogue of tablets from Šum-ukīn's private archive known so far see Appendix 4. Private letters are not included in this list. They are published as part of Šum-ukīn's letter dossier in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011, which also includes his correspondence with the temple administrators. In some cases a clear distinction between his private and 'official' letters is not possible and was therefore not attempted by the editors of this dossier, who furthermore point out that such a distinction would in a sense be artificial as all of the documents from the Basia archive were ultimately incorporated into the Eanna archive (*ibid.*: 180). It is to be expected that the number of Šum-ukīn's private documents will rise, as more pertinent texts are bound to be discovered among the unpublished material.

⁵⁵⁹ A certain Nabû-rêhtu-ušur, son of Arad-Gula, appears in the text as creditor and Bêl-ušallim, son of Aḫḫe-ukīn, as debtor. Šum-ukīn was the scribe of the tablet.

BM 114585 (3 Ner, written in Uruk) is a receipt of silver, the remainder of the price of a male slave bought by Šum-ukīn. *AnOr* 8 19⁵⁶⁰ (acc Nbn, written in Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter) records his purchase of four slaves, a woman, her two sons, and her infant daughter, for 1 5/6 minas of silver, the price of 100 *kurru* of barley. Šum-ukīn undertook to pay the debt of 100 *kurru* of barley charged against Aḥḥē-iddin, son of Bēl-ēter, the seller of the slaves, to Nabû-zēr-līšir, the commissioner (*bēl piqitti*) of the district Angillu,⁵⁶¹ and received the slaves in return. The background of the third slave sale (YOS 6 5 (acc Nbn), written in Babylon) also seems to imply the seller's indebtedness to Šum-ukīn. There are no stipulations on the receipt of the price (56 shekels) of the slave, who was a barber; but more importantly, the seller is obliged by an additional clause to hand over a certain Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of Sīn-ana-bītišu, to Šum-ukīn on account of his debt notes. This stipulation implies that Šum-ukīn and the seller did not perform this transaction as equals, but rather that latter was under some sort of obligation toward the former.

Additionally the two slave girls of disputed status from YOS 6 129⁵⁶² (8 Nbn) should be mentioned. They belonged to Šum-ukīn's wife Bu'itu and Li'udu-Nanāya (his second wife?), but the temple also laid claim to them.

Another text concerning slaves is PTS 2957. This is a legal document written in Borsippa in 2 N[bn] which records the testimony of Šum-ukīn's nephew Nūrēa and a certain Nergal-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bēl,⁵⁶³ concerning female slaves. The text is not perfectly understandable, but it appears that they testify in the presence of the royal official *ša pān ekalli*, who is not named in the text, saying that there are no female slaves at Šum-ukīn's disposal, except for Tarintu, the slave girl of a woman whose name is lost in a break. This woman was perhaps Bu'itu, Šum-ukīn's wife: the name following the determinative *mī* begins with the sign *še* followed by a break; as *še* is a component of the sign *bu*, the woman in question may have been Bu'itu, and the slave girl a part of her dowry. The rest of the text is too fragmentary. It is interesting to note that Šum-ukīn was also linked to Borsippa. He was not present in Borsippa himself at the time this text was written (2 Nbn), as he was represented by his nephews at the proceedings; however, from one earlier text dated to 22 Nbk there is evidence that in the past he had (business?) connections to Borsippa: PTS 2515 is a debt note for 20 *kurru* of barley in which Šum-ukīn had the role of the guarantor for the payment.

2.9.3.1.1.2. Livestock

This is an interesting matter regarding the context of Šum-ukīn's entrepreneurial activity as a *fermier général* and the implicit contribution of his own stock of draught animals. However, while the texts do show Šum-ukīn was in possession of cattle, nothing can be said about the size of his stock, due to the limitations of the textual evidence.

NBC 4534⁵⁶⁴ (acc Lab) is a debt note for four oxen of Šum-ukīn. The text, which was written in Babylon, stipulates that the debtor should deliver the cattle in Uruk. At this time Šum-ukīn had already settled in Uruk, and the text may indicate that, while on a visit to Babylon, he was trying to move his assets in cattle to his new area of residence, the place where the animals were needed for his agricultural activities. BM 114676 (1 Nbn) is a sale document for a two year old ox, which Šum-ukīn buys for 5 *kurru* of barley. This text, written in Tamḥaṭū, a district of the Lady of Uruk, may be another case of settling of debts disguised as a sale.

A text from the temple archive informs us that Šum-ukīn also owned horses. GC 1 269⁵⁶⁵ (8 Nbn) is a receipt for a partial payment for one of the horses, which were taken from Šum-ukīn. It appears that the temple appropriated his horses, probably in the course of a settling of accounts (see p. 182), and sold them. This particular one was sold for 3 5/6 minas of silver.

⁵⁶⁰ For an edition of the text see Appendix 1.

⁵⁶¹ This was perhaps a royal official, as the barley owed is stated to be for the remainders of the king.

⁵⁶² Edited by Tolini 2002: 30ff. See also above.

⁵⁶³ The possibility that this too was a nephew of Šum-ukīn was discussed above.

⁵⁶⁴ The text is to be published in YOS 16.

⁵⁶⁵ The text is edited by Dougherty 1923: 30.

2.9.3.1.1.3. Real estate

From among Šum-ukīn's private texts only two lease contracts speak of his immoveable property. The subject matter of YOS 6 85 (4 Nbn, written in Uruk) is the lease of Šum-ukīn's house of unspecified localisation (only a neighbour's name is given) for an annual fee of 8 shekels of silver. GC 1 413 (5 Nbn, written in Uruk) is formulated as a debt note for an amount of [x] shekels of silver and one two year old sheep. This rental fee for the houses of Šum-ukīn situated in Kurbat⁵⁶⁶ is to be paid within a year.

Two texts from the Eanna archive tell us more about his property in the city of Uruk proper. GC 1 292⁵⁶⁷ (8 Nbn) is a receipt for 6 minas 3 shekels of silver, the price of a house of Šum-ukīn, delivered by a certain Šadūnu, son of Nabû-šum-lišir. Another legal document written some time later, *AnOr* 8 70 (3 Camb),⁵⁶⁸ also mentions a house of Šum-ukīn, perhaps this very same one. It is a text which deals with two properties, houses in Uruk belonging to Šum-ukīn and another individual, which were sold by the temple to Ištar-šum-ēreš and Eanna-šadūnu, sons of Nabû-zēr-lišir, descendants of Šangū-Ninurta, for a total of 11 minas 6 shekels of silver. The purpose of this apparently only nominal sale was the supply of the temple with merchandise (*mēreštu*). The matter of contention was the fact that the temple neither received any money nor merchandise from the two brothers, while the houses were left unattended, stood derelict and had lost in value. The temple administration was therefore set on formulating a new obligation for Ištar-šum-ēreš and Eanna-šadūnu based on these circumstances. The undisputable resemblance of the names of the protagonist of GC 1 292 and of one of the brothers from *AnOr* 8 70 strongly suggests that those are one and the same person. The variance in the paternal names, regarding the middle element *-šum-* and *-zēr-*, can probably be remedied with a collation of the texts, considering that the signs *mu* and *numun* can be easily confused. While there seems to be little doubt about the identity of Šadūnu and Eanna-šadūnu, it is not clear whether the two texts speak of the same property. Šum-ukīn's house, which is said to be located in the Egaḥalanki-district⁵⁶⁹ of the city, was valued at 6 minas 6 shekels of silver according to *AnOr* 8 70, i.e. 3 shekels more than the house in GC 1 292. While this difference in price could be explained as an error of the scribe or the copyist, it is difficult to understand why the temple would issue a receipt for a payment that had actually never been made, as is claimed in the later text. If one is to assume that both texts are dealing with the same house, which seems very likely, the question of the purpose of this legal fiction still remains to be answered.

Šum-ukīn not only owned houses, he also rented them. So far we know of at least two. In the twenties of Nebuchadnezzar (the date is damaged) a debt note for 22 shekels of silver charged against Šum-ukīn demonstrates that he had rented a house from a certain Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, son of Zēr-Bābili, from the Šangū-Bēlet-Nīnua family. The text (PTS 2275) does not say where the house was situated, but it may have been in Babylon, as the document was written in this city.

The other house Šum-ukīn rented was situated in Uruk or its environs. PTS 2218 ([3] Ner) is a receipt for a part of a rent payment for a house which Šum-ukīn had rented from Balātu, son of Nabû-bān-aḥi, from the Dābibī family, from the third month of 3 Ner. The receipt was a legal fiction which stood for another money transfer which was mentioned in an additional clause. Šum-ukīn had in fact given the silver to Nabû-mukīn-zēri, son of Nādin, also from the Dābibī-family. This Nabû-mukīn-zēri is at this point not yet attested as a member of the temple administration. However, toward the end of Nabonidus's reign he appears as one the highest officials of the temple administration, namely as the *šatammu*. The purpose of the transaction between the future *šatammu* and Šum-ukīn is not elucidated by the text.

⁵⁶⁶ Kurbat is located on the Euphrates and possibly the Ḥarri-kibbi canal north-west of Uruk (Cocquerillat 1968: 19).

⁵⁶⁷ See p. 183 for an edition of this text.

⁵⁶⁸ The text is edited in the Appendix 1.

⁵⁶⁹ *AnOr* 8 70. The exact location of this district of Uruk is not known. GC 1 292 only notes the name of the neighbour, a certain Bānia, son of Nadnāya.

2.9.3.1.2. Debt notes

2.9.3.1.2.1. Silver

So far only three promissory notes for silver could be identified among Šum-ukīn's private documents, not counting the *ḥarrānu*-related material and house rentals which are treated elsewhere in this chapter.⁵⁷⁰ In all of these texts, two of which were written in Babylon (TCL 12 48, GC 1 167) and one in Ālu-ša-rab-x (PTS 3041), Šum-ukīn acts as the creditor. In TCL 12 48 (33 Nbk) ʿ35²¹ shekels of silver were charged against Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi, son of Nabû-zēr-ibni, descendant of Imbi-pānia. GC 1 167 (34 Nbk) records the amount of 7 1/2 shekels of silver owed by Rēḫētu, son of Balātu. PTS 3041 (23 Nbk) shows that Šum-ukīn acted as creditor to an agricultural producer. The debtor was given 11 1/24 shekels of silver by Šum-ukīn. In return he was obliged to deliver 3 *sūtu* of barley per shekel of silver by the third month, i.e. immediately after the harvest.

Indirect evidence for a debt of 2 minas 13 1/3 shekels of silver comes from 8 Nbn from a temple receipt for a partial payment by the debtor Uballissu-Gula, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Šangû-parakki (BM 114599, see below for an edition). The money originally belonged to Šum-ukīn as the text states, but the debt had been transferred to the temple, presumably to cover Šum-ukīn's arrears, and consequently the temple collected this partial payment from his debtor.

2.9.3.1.2.2. Barley

The evidence for barley obligations is more substantial. There are at least 16 debt notes for barley from the Basia archive.⁵⁷¹ As with the promissory notes for silver, Šum-ukīn acts as the creditor in all of these texts, with the exception of only one case in which he is the debtor.⁵⁷² The documents span from 20 Nbk to the reign of Nabonidus. The amounts in question are generally small: half of the texts record debts of 5 *kurru* of barley or less. The largest amounts owed to Šum-ukīn are ʿ50²¹ (CD 92 (x Nbn)) and 33⁺ *kurru* of barley (PTS 2220 (1 Ami)). A viable assumption would be that at least some of these texts came from an agricultural context. However, given their sketchy nature, there is no conclusive evidence to help identify the background of these transactions.

2.9.3.1.3. *ḥarrānu*-ventures

Only four *ḥarrānu* documents appear among Šum-ukīn's tablets. This makes it difficult to make any generalisations on the scope of his involvement in this kind of commercial activities. The first two documents were written in 21 Nbk, in the ninth and twelfth month respectively (PTS 3231 and PTS 2621), and are both of the debt note type.⁵⁷³ In both of these texts a certain Nanāya-ēreš, son of Šulāya, is the creditor for barley (5 *kurru* and 2 *kurru* respectively) which belongs to the *ḥarrānu* of Šum-ukīn. It follows that this Nanāya-ēreš was Šum-ukīn's agent. The debtors were inhabitants of rural areas, ʕuṣṣētu-ša-Ruṣapāya of unknown localisation⁵⁷⁴ (PTS 3231) and Bāb-

⁵⁷⁰ YOS 17 23 (17 Nbk) is a promissory note for silver which apparently also belongs to the Basia archive. However, there is no visible connection between Šum-ukīn and the active parties, i.e. the creditor and the debtor. He only had the function of the scribe of this text.

⁵⁷¹ For a list of debt notes see Appendix 4. The *ḥarrānu*-related debt notes for barley are not included here. They are treated in the section on Šum-ukīn's *ḥarrānu* activities. One debt note for dates has also come down to us. NCBT 352 (36 Nbk) records a debt of 11⁺ *kurru* of dates and additional 2 shekels of silver belonging to Šum-ukīn, which were to be delivered in Babylon.

⁵⁷² PTS 3297 is a text written in Babylon in 21 Nbk. (I am grateful to E. E. Payne for bringing this text to my attention.) The creditor is a certain Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of Ninurta-ʿx¹, to whom Šum-ukīn, who is also the scribe of this text, owes 4 *kurru* of barley.

⁵⁷³ Similar cases are briefly discussed by Lanz 1976: 113f. in the context of the status of the *ḥarrānu*-assets (see also *ibid.* note 793 for other text examples).

⁵⁷⁴ A West Semitic tribe of the name Ruṣapi is listed in Zadok 1985: 263. A place Ruṣapu (attested with the determinatives *uru* and *kur*) was in the vicinity of Naṣībīni (modern Nusaybin on the Turkish-Syrian border)

Nār-Dērat (PTS 2621) which was in the Nippur region.⁵⁷⁵ That barley was the object of these loans may imply that Šum-ukīn and his agent were agricultural speculators.

The next *harrānu* document is TCL 12 40⁵⁷⁶ from 23 Nbk, which was composed in Babylon. In this formation of a business venture Šum-ukīn, as before, appears as an investor. His agent is a certain Zababa-šum-iddin, son of Bēl-īpuš, descendant of Šangû-Bēlet-Nīnua. This Zababa-šum-iddin is attested in another three texts over the next twenty-six years in connection with the Basia family: in 34 Nbk as a scribe of a debt note for barley belonging to Šum-ukīn (NCBT 941⁵⁷⁷); in the same year, again as a scribe, in a debt note for silver belonging to Šum-ukīn written in Babylon (GC 1 167); and in acc Nbn as a witness in a document recording the employment of irrigation workers undertaken by Šum-ukīn's brother Silim-Bēl in the Uruk region (YOS 6 4, see above).⁵⁷⁸ The three minas of silver which Šum-ukīn invests in TCL 12 40 are said to come from the *harrānu* of Rēmūt, descendant of Basia.⁵⁷⁹ This would imply that Šum-ukīn had an earlier agreement with his relative Rēmūt as his agent and was using this money to form his own business venture.⁵⁸⁰ The advantage for Šum-ukīn by delegating the actual work to someone else is obvious. Not so obvious is the benefit for the original investor who could expect to get a smaller percentage of the profit through this new arrangement, as some of it would go to the middleman, i.e. Šum-ukīn.⁵⁸¹ However, since the original arrangement between Rēmūt and Šum-ukīn is not known, there is no point in pursuing this matter any further.

The fourth document (YBC 11459⁵⁸²) from acc Ami, written in Ḥarrubat, records Šum-ukīn's investment of ten shekels of silver, the price of a donkey, in a *harrānu*-business with Šillāya, son of Sīn-ibni, for a period of three years.⁵⁸³ The agent Šillāya is another person with whom Šum-ukīn had business on more than one occasion. In acc Ami, in particular, two texts witness their involvement in an agricultural enterprise with a palace scribe (PTS 2046 and BIN 2 109). The undated administrative text NBC 4569, in which Šum-ukīn's and Šillāya's barley deliveries, or dues, are recorded, is also part of this 'palace scribe dossier'.^{584 585}

Thus we see Šum-ukīn acting mainly as an investor in *harrānu*-businesses. There is an indirect reference to him as an agent of one of his relatives (TCL 12 40), but this seems to have been only nominal, as he reinvested the money entrusted to him thus taking on the role of an investor again. His business associates could be either family members (Rēmūt) or people with which he had contact for longer periods of time and entertained other business relations (Zababa-šum-iddin, Šillāya). The amounts in question are not very high with the exception of the three

according to Zadok, *ibid.* It is not probable that Ḥuṣṣētu-ša-Ruṣapāya should be equated with Ruṣapu. There are no clues as to the topographic relationship of the two places, i.e. their proximity to each other remains cannot be determined, but it can be assumed that they were inhabited by the members of the same West Semitic tribe. (The debtors, the guarantor and some of the witnesses in PTS 3231 bear non-Akkadian names. At least in the case of the guarantor it can be identified as a West Semitic name: 'Atā-il). To all likelihood Ḥuṣṣētu-ša-Ruṣapāya should be localised in Babylonia and can be seen as another case of '*toponymie en miroir*' which can be explained by migrations (or rather deportations and forced settling?) of West Semitic ethnic groups (the term is used by Charpin 2003 for cases of homonymous toponyms in the Old-Babylonian period).

⁵⁷⁵ Zadok 1985: 60. 369.

⁵⁷⁶ This contract is type A according to the categorization of Lanz 1976. See Appendix 1 for an edition of this text.

⁵⁷⁷ The place of issue of this text is lost in a break on the tablet.

⁵⁷⁸ Zababa-šum-iddin appears also in BIN 1 122 ([x] Nbk) together with his brother Šulāya, however, due to the bad state of preservation of this tablet, little can be said about the contents of this contract.

⁵⁷⁹ His position in the Basia family has been briefly discussed above.

⁵⁸⁰ Lanz 1976: 40f.

⁵⁸¹ The issue of the "Tochterunternehmen" (subsidiary) in this context has been discussed by Lanz 1976: 146f., however, without a solution to this problem.

⁵⁸² This text also corresponds to Lanz's type A.

⁵⁸³ Did this document record an investment of a donkey rather than silver?

⁵⁸⁴ For more details see p. 170.

⁵⁸⁵ A person identified as Šillāya, without a patronymic, appears also in 19 Nbk in a contract of unclear contents involving Šum-ukīn as a protagonist and one of his brothers as a witness (PTS 2839). His identification with Šillāya, son of Sīn-ibni, is not certain.

minas of silver in TCL 12 40. This could have been a special case, however, since Šum-ukīn acted here as a middleman and invested the capital of one of his relatives.

2.9.3.1.4. Agricultural activities

Šum-ukīn's agricultural activities connected to the Eanna temple are very well documented and have been the subject of several studies in the past. As with his other endeavours from before his time as Eanna's *fermier général*, little was known of his involvement in the domain of agriculture outside of Eanna. Now several unpublished texts allow us an insight in this sphere of his activities.

Apart from the numerous promissory notes for barley, the earliest dated text showing Šum-ukīn in connection with agricultural commodities was written in Babylon in 37 Nbk (PTS 2501⁵⁸⁶). This contract records the fact that the dates belonging to Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Kīnāya, descendant of *gallābu*, were taken by Kīnāya, son of Rāši-il, without Šum-ukīn's consent. The text stipulates that when doing the accounting for the year 37 with Šum-ukīn, Marduk-šum-ušur, will not make a deduction (*šunquttu*) of these. This probably means that these dates were not to be charged against Šum-ukīn. In other words, Šum-ukīn did not want to be made responsible for the dates that someone else took, perhaps the father of Marduk-šum-ušur. Be that as it may, Šum-ukīn appears to have been accountable to Marduk-šum-ušur. In other words he may have worked as an agricultural contractor for him.

PTS 2937 from 40⁺ Nbk is more straightforward. It is a debt note for barley, the share (*šibšu*) from a field of Šum-ukīn. The debtor, Šum-iddin, son of Šulāya, is to pay the barley in the second month, i.e. at harvest time, using the measure (*mašīhu*) of Zēr-Bābili.⁵⁸⁷ The text was composed at Nāru-eššu, indicating the localisation of the field. The hydronym Nāru-eššu, however, can be assigned to at least two waterways, one near Babylon and the other in the Uruk region.⁵⁸⁸ Since Šum-ukīn moved to Uruk in the beginning of Neriglissar's reign, the former localisation seems more probable, unless we are dealing with an altogether different locality.⁵⁸⁹ The text shows that Šum-ukīn leased out a field to a sharecropper. Contrary to the literal implication of the designation of the field as "of Šum-ukīn" (a-ša šá¹mu-gin), it was not necessarily his property. This was probably just an abbreviated way of saying "at the disposal of" (*ša ina pān*) Šum-ukīn. The mention of the measure of Zēr-Bābili with which the barley was to be paid implies that he was the actual creditor and ultimately the owner of the field. Šum-ukīn had an intermediary position, meaning that he sub-leased the land, which he had rented from Zēr-Bābili. PTS 2937 is so far the earliest unequivocal instance of Šum-ukīn's entrepreneurial activities in the domain of agriculture.⁵⁹⁰ This text alone does not illuminate the scope of these activities, though, (the amount of barley in question is under 5 *kurru*) and so it is not possible to relate them to his later dealings with the Eanna temple, or, prior to that, the palace scribe.

The small 'palace scribe dossier' consists of three texts, of which one was published in BIN 2. Two are dated to the accession year of Amīl-Marduk and one of the texts is without a date. PTS 2046⁵⁹¹ and BIN 2 109⁵⁹² are parallel texts, but not exact duplicates. PTS 2046 was written in Babylon on 15-VII-acc Amī, whereas BIN 2 109 was composed at Ḥarrubat five days later. The documents were written by two different scribes and each one has a different set of witnesses, but the main body of the text is largely parallel with only minor differences in the phrasing. The subject matter is the receipt of a partial payment for a debt of 700 *kurru* of barley owed by Šum-ukīn and

⁵⁸⁶ The text is edited in the Appendix 1.

⁵⁸⁷ The text does not offer any identification of this individual other than his personal name.

⁵⁸⁸ Zadok 1985: 387f.

⁵⁸⁹ Considering the general character of this hydronym, it would not be all too surprising if more than two water courses in Babylonia went by it.

⁵⁹⁰ Another document which could be juxtaposed to this text is PTS 2220 (1 Amī), which was also written at Nāru-eššu. The pertinent portion of this debt note for barley is damaged, so it is impossible to say whether it comes from an agricultural context (ll. 1-2: 33⁺ [gur...] še-bar *i-na/* [...] šá¹mu-g[in]...). The break before Šum-ukīn's name may have included the word *sūtu* or some equivalent thereof.

⁵⁹¹ This text is to be published and edited by K. Kessler.

⁵⁹² The text is edited in Appendix 1.

Šillāya, son of Sīn-ibni. The barley is said to come from the land in Ḥarrubat, which belongs to the palace scribe Šamaš-šar-ušur. Of this amount 580 *kurru* of barley were delivered by Šum-ukīn to Bēl-eṭranni, the steward (*rab bīti*) of the palace scribe. The text goes on to clarify that this amount of barley is the equivalent of 5 minas of silver which had been given to the palace scribe.

What follows from these two texts is the fact that Šum-ukīn and Šillāya worked together as agricultural entrepreneurs in Ḥarrubat. The implication is that they rented the land of a high royal official, the palace scribe,⁵⁹³ who was not there at the time (but probably in Babylon), and had an estate manager to overlook his holdings. The reason for the composition of these receipts was Šum-ukīn's handing over of 5 minas of silver to the palace scribe. This probably happened in Babylon considering that this is where the first receipt was written, that the palace scribe held his office here and that Šum-ukīn frequently visited the capital on business. The silver was converted into barley and subtracted from Šum-ukīn's and Šillāya's debt, which probably constituted the rent for the fields. The receipt was formulated as though Bēl-eṭranni, the estates manager of the palace scribe, actually received barley from Šum-ukīn. Another receipt was written five days later in Ḥarrubat (presumably when Šum-ukīn returned there from Babylon), the place where the final accounting for the revenues from the palace scribe's estates from this area would have been done and for which this sort of documentation was necessary.

NBC 4569, an undated administrative note, also deals with Šum-ukīn's and Šillāya's obligations toward the palace scribe. The royal official appears only with his title in this text. It is possible though that this was Šamaš-šar-ušur, the same temple scribe as in BIN 2 109 and PTS 2046.

NBC 4569

u.e. 1. *šá^lma-a-li-ki-a-ma^{giš}apin šá^lmu-gin*
 obv. 1 me 50 ḥa-la *šá^{lu}umbisag é-gal*
šá^lmu-gin 1 me 30 gur ḥa-la
ká šá-nu-ú
 5. *ká 3-šú šá^lmu-gin*
u^lšil-la-a 52 gur
 lo.e. ḥa-la *šá^{lu}umbisag é-gal*
 rev. *14^l gur pa-ni uru*
ḥa-la šá^{lu}umbisag é-gal
 10. *pab 3 me 46 gur še-bar*
é⁷giš^{apin}meš
[šá^l] mu-gin ḥa-la
[šá^{lu}]umbisag é-gal

“150 *kurru* (of barley), the share of the palace scribe, are due from Malik-Iaw, the plough(man) of Šum-ukīn. Second item: 130 *kurru* (of barley), the share, are due from Šum-ukīn. Third item: 52 *kurru* (of barley), the share of the palace scribe, are due from Šum-ukīn and Šillāya. 14 *kurru* (of barley), just outside the city, are the share of the palace scribe. In total: 346 *kurru* of barley, (from) the fields⁵⁹⁴ (at the disposal) of Šum-ukīn, are the share of the palace scribe.”

The text is loosely structured. The four factually parallel entries recording the amounts of barley due from PN/locality, the share (*zittu*) of the palace scribe, are all formulated differently. They are followed by a summation of barley due from the arable land (at the disposal) of Šum-ukīn, the share of the palace scribe. It follows from the text that Šum-ukīn had a sharecropping arrangement with the palace scribe. That Šum-ukīn's involvement was on an entrepreneurial level is indicated by the high amounts of barley and the explicit naming of a ploughman working for him

⁵⁹³ Jursa and Payne (2005: 120ff.) discusses the function of this official and gives a list of people attested with this title. According to them a *tušar ekalli* was not one of the many simple scribes which must have been employed in the palace. The term rather designated a high official of the state administration. It was not uncommon for these officials to be in possession, or in charge, of extended land holdings on which they did not dwell themselves. Other people, like the steward Bēl-eṭranni in our case, were in charge of these estates on a day-to-day basis and the land could be subject to rent farming.

⁵⁹⁴ The term *bīt epinni* specifically designates land tilled with a plough.

(Malik-Iaw). Furthermore, it can be inferred that Šum-ukīn and Šillāya were not equal partners in this venture and that the former held greater responsibility.⁵⁹⁵ This is implied by Šillāya's and Šum-ukīn's joint obligation to deliver only 52 *kurru*, in contrast to Šum-ukīn's sole responsibility for at least 280 *kurru*. Additionally, only Šum-ukīn is named as the person in charge of the arable land in the summation of the amounts.

Another text which provides evidence for Šum-ukīn's activities in Ḥarrubat is the work contract YBC 3518⁵⁹⁶ from 2 Ami. It concerns the land which belongs to a certain Nabû-zēr-ibni (the patronymic is lost in a break) and is at the disposal of Šum-ukīn. Part of the land is given to Sukkāya (without a patronymic), who is supposed to employ sharecroppers and guarantee for the work on it. Apparently there were two levels of intermediaries (Šum-ukīn, Sukkāya) between the land owner (Nabû-zēr-ibni) and the agricultural workers (sharecroppers). Unfortunately nothing more can be said about the scope of this undertaking.

2.9.3.1.5. Šum-ukīn's movements

As the above mentioned texts demonstrate, Ḥarrubat emerges as a place in which some of Šum-ukīn's activities, particularly the agricultural ones, were concentrated. His first precisely datable attestation in Ḥarrubat is from 27 Nbk in a debt note for barley (PTS 2234). Another debt note for barley, GCBC 575 (20⁺ Nbk), also from the twenties of Nebuchadnezzar,⁵⁹⁷ was written here. Two more promissory notes for barley are known from 40 and 41 Nbk (PTS 2868 and PTS 2109 respectively), to be followed by a *ḥarrānu*-contract between Šum-ukīn as investor and Šillāya, son of Sīn-ibni, as agent in acc Ami (YBC 11459). Šum-ukīn's further attestations at Ḥarrubat include the already discussed texts of 'the palace scribe dossier' (PTS 2046 and BIN 2 109) from acc Ami and the work contract concerning arable land from 2 Ami (YBC 3518). The presence of his nephews is also attested at Ḥarrubat. In acc Ami Kalbāya appears as a witness in BIN 2 109. His second appearance as witness is in 2 Ami in YBC 3518, the text, which was written by his brother Nūrēa. While the close relationship of Šum-ukīn to his nephews can hardly be disputed and is not surprising in the light of his not having any offspring, their appearance in several of his documents need not suggest more than that they accompanied their uncle on his business journeys. There is not enough evidence to pinpoint Šum-ukīn's and his brothers' families' place of residence for the period before they moved to the Uruk region.⁵⁹⁸ While Ḥarrubat seems like quite an attractive locality for this, Babylon appears equally probable, especially in the thirties of Nebuchadnezzar, as the majority of documents from this period were issued there (see Appendix 4 for an overview of texts and their places of issue). However, all of this material may simply reflect Šum-ukīn's movements prompted by his business ventures.⁵⁹⁹ The location of his 'headquarters' remains unknown for the time being. Other places frequented by Šum-ukīn include Borsippa (PTS 2515 (22 Nbk)), Nāru-cššu, probably in the region of Babylon (see above), Bāb-Nār-Dērat (PTS 2621 (21 Nbk)) and Ālu-ša-ummāni on Nāru-ša-Nergal-dān (YBC 9130 (28 Nbk)), both in the Nippur region.⁶⁰⁰ As for the localisation of Ḥarrubat, Zadok lists two entries for what is in my opinion one single locality: Ḥarrūbati, in the Uruk region, and Ḥarubatu, in the Nippur region (1985: 154f.). The only Eanna-related text mentioning this place is TCL 12 20 (17 Npl), a text recording the income of barley, spelt and wheat from Ḥarrubat and other localities, some as remote as Ur. BIN 2 109 listed by Zadok within this entry is in fact a private text from the Basia archive. In fact, all other mentions of Ḥarrubat found in the Eanna archive come from among Šum-ukīn's private texts written before the time when he settled in Uruk. The other entry (Ḥarubatu) is

⁵⁹⁵ Šum-ukīn's higher position is also reflected by their *ḥarrānu*-arrangement from acc Ami, in which he is the investor and Šillāya the agent (YBC 11459, see above).

⁵⁹⁶ This tablet is to be published in YOS 16.

⁵⁹⁷ The year in the date formula is partially broken.

⁵⁹⁸ The real estate related documents come from their Uruk phase only.

⁵⁹⁹ That he undertook several business trips to the capital is evident from his Babylon texts which were written at the time when he was already settled in Uruk (see Appendix 4).

⁶⁰⁰ Zadok 1985: 369. 378.

attested in a Murašû text (TMH 2/3 147: 7, 14), and here the town is localised on Nāru-ša-Nergal-dān, which is most likely the same watercourse as the above mentioned Nāru-ša-Nergal-dān from one of Šum-ukīn's promissory notes for barley (YBC 9130). Thus it appears that the fields from the Ḫarrubat area were a source of barley for Eanna at least for a period during Nabopolassar's reign, but this does not clarify its localisation. Ḫarrubat's connection to the Nippur region seems probable, also considering that Šum-ukīn had business in this area on more than one occasion.

2.9.3.2 Arrival at Uruk

Šum-ukīn's arrival at Uruk is best indicated by his appearance in the texts of the Eanna archive proper. When this relocation precisely happened remains obscured by a gap in our material between 2 Ami (month lost in a break) and the second month of 1 Ner, i.e. a period of about a year or less.⁶⁰¹ His first completely dated attestation in a text from the Eanna archive is in PTS 2344 (8-II-1 Ner), a land lease contract between the temple ploughman Nanāya-aḫ-iddin, son of Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, and Šum-ukīn, the messenger of Neriglissar. The farmer addressed Šum-ukīn directly and requested the land of the Lady of Uruk, the necessary seed, ploughs and draught animals. It is remarkable that already at this early stage Šum-ukīn possessed the degree of authority enabling him to lease out temple land. The right to do this was normally reserved for the higher administration of the temple (*qīpu*, *šatammu*, *bēl piqitti*), the top royal administration, including the king and the crown prince,⁶⁰² and later, during Nabonidus's reign, the *fermier général*. It should be noted that at this time there already was a royal official (*ša reš šarri*), Nabû-šar-ušur (attested from 20 Nbk until 13 Nbn), who under Nabonidus became the royal commissioner (*bēl piqitti*) of Eanna (Janković 2005: 170f.), and who would have had the authority to lease out temple land. Therefore Šum-ukīn, who was at this time attested with the title of a commissioner of the king (see below), must have played a different role to this official.⁶⁰³ His next appearance is in the sixth month of the same year in TCL 12 64,⁶⁰⁴ in a similar situation. This is an agreement between two brothers to split between them the land of the Lady of Uruk, three *līmus*, which they took from Šum-ukīn, the commissioner (*bēl piqitti*) of Neriglissar, for the purpose of sharecropping. These texts are interesting for several reasons. First, they show that at this point Šum-ukīn held responsibility over temple land. Since he was not a member of the Eanna administration, but an outsider, and could lease out this land, this responsibility implies a contractual relationship between him and the temple, meaning that he was a rent farmer already at this stage. Second, his connection to the court is demonstrated by his titles, variants⁶⁰⁵ of which he was going to carry all through Neriglissar's reign. We have already seen that he was associated with the royal administration during Amīl-Marduk's reign when he was employed as a rent farmer of the palace scribe. Since that time he had managed to penetrate this structure and become a royal official himself. The nature of his duties toward the king as his commissioner in Uruk is not revealed by the texts, as they, coming from the temple archive,⁶⁰⁶ deal with temple related matters. Thus, only Šum-ukīn's relationship to Eanna is illuminated by the texts. Despite several new unpublished texts from this period our findings do not go very much beyond the conclusion, foreshadowed by his rent contract from 1 Nbn,⁶⁰⁷ that Šum-ukīn was in a contractual relationship with Eanna since at least 1 Ner.

⁶⁰¹ The first known attestation of Šum-ukīn from Uruk is from 1 Ner (PTS 2344). His last attestation before that is from a text written in 2 Ami in Ḫarrubat (YBC 3518).

⁶⁰² During the Achaemenid era Gūbaru is also attested in this function.

⁶⁰³ Note that Cocquerillat attempted equating Šum-ukīn's role as a *bēl piqitti ša šarri* with that of the well attested temple functionary *ša reš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna* (1968: 94). Already Joannès (1982: 131f.) pointed out that this suggestion is erroneous and that the two functions are not related. The term *bēl piqitti* ("commissioner"), which appears in both titles, being fairly general, is not enough to link the two titles (cf. also San Nicolò 1941 p.29⁷²).

⁶⁰⁴ The text is edited in the Appendix 1.

⁶⁰⁵ Attested titles are: *bēl piqitti ša Nergal-šar-ušur*, *mār šipri ša Nergal-šar-ušur* and *bēl piqitti (ša) šarri*.

⁶⁰⁶ There is only one private text from Neriglissar's reign, BM 114585 (3 Ner, written in Uruk), recording Šum-ukīn's purchase of a slave.

⁶⁰⁷ YOS 6 11 and duplicates TEBR 37 and VAT 8418 (= *A/K* 2, p. 107ff.).

The texts (see table below) from the period during which Šum-ukīn was a royal commissioner include debt notes for agricultural products, mostly dates, or equivalents thereof in barley or silver, and one for sesame. These commodities are said to pertain to Šum-ukīn's rent (*sūtu*) and are formally parallel to the *imittu* debt notes from his time as *fermier général*. The debt note for sesame (PTS 2312 (1 Ner), edited on p. 53) demonstrates how individual rent obligations of temple ploughmen/gardeners or other minor agricultural contractors⁶⁰⁸ were superimposed by the rent of Šum-ukīn. There is one *imittu* list among these texts (BIN 1 166 (2 Ner)). It is a list for *kasia* measured out (and taken?) from the messenger of Šum-ukīn,⁶⁰⁹ Nabû-šum-ušur, by two scribes. All of these texts show that Šum-ukīn rented date palm orchards,⁶¹⁰ but the extent of this rent farm can not be reconstructed from the material available to us. The two land leases, PTS 2344 and YBC 3750,⁶¹¹ and the land division contract, TCL 12 64, suggest that he was also in charge of arable land. According to TCL 12 64, several *līmus* were under his responsibility; in PTS 2344 and YBC 3750 he acts as the lessor of temple land. The leases also give evidence for an additional source of his income. The sharecroppers are obliged to present a bull (TCL 12 64) and a bull and a sheep (YBC 3750) to Šum-ukīn. The temple ploughman from PTS 2344, on the other hand, was not obliged to make a present to Šum-ukīn. He was only supposed to supply Šum-ukīn with two *urāšu* workers, which is related to the service obligations of the temple dependants. Was the necessity to provide gifts for the lessor customary or could it indicate that there was a competition between the contenders for sharecropping on temple land?⁶¹² Or was this simply a reflection of Šum-ukīn's high-handed abuse of his position as intermediary between the landlord, the temple, and the sharecroppers?

YBC 4079 (2 Ner) is the only text from this group which does not have an obvious agricultural background. It is a conditional verdict stipulating that if a witness comes by and charges Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nergal-ušēzib, with selling sheep belonging to the Lady of Uruk, then Šum-ukīn will raise a claim (on the sheep). The implications of the text are not clear.⁶¹³

| Text ⁶¹⁴ | Date | Contents | Šum-ukīn's title |
|--------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| NBC 6127 | 23-I-[x] Ner | debt note for date- <i>imittu</i> | <i>bēl piqitti ša šarri</i> |
| YBC 7411 | 22-XI-[x] Ner | land lease | <i>bēl piqitti ša [šarri]</i> |
| <i>Iraq</i> 59, no. 12 | 15-[x]-1 Ner | debt note for date- <i>imittu</i> | <i>bēl piqitti ša šarri</i> |
| PTS 2344 | 8-II-1 Ner | land lease | <i>mār šipri ša Ner</i> |
| TCL 12 64 ⁶¹⁵ | 4-VI-1 Ner | division of land | <i>bēl piqitti ša Ner</i> |
| PTS 2312 | 10-VII-1 Ner | debt note for sesame- <i>imittu</i> | <i>bēl piqitti ša [šarri]</i> |

⁶⁰⁸ There is not enough information to identify these people either as ploughmen, gardeners or sharecroppers. The mention of their *sūtu* would point to their affiliation with the temple, i.e. as temple ploughmen or gardeners. (In the case of sharecroppers one would expect *zittu* or *šibšu* in place of this term). However, it is equally possible that these individuals were sub-lessees of Šum-ukīn, i.e. minor agricultural contractors.

⁶⁰⁹ Here Šum-ukīn is without a patronymic and a title, but there is little doubt about his identity, considering the amount of *kasia* (1,521 *kurru*) involved.

⁶¹⁰ *Kasia* and sesame, both summer crops, were frequently cultivated as sub-cultures in the date groves, rather than on fields of the *ikkarus*, which, unlike the orchards, usually did not have sufficient water supplies required by these crops (Jursa 1995a: 178). The attestations of sesame and *kasia* among this material support the picture of Šum-ukīn's involvement in the cultivation of date palm orchards.

⁶¹¹ YBC 7411, another document from Neriglissar's reign mentioning land (*qaqqaru*), is too damaged to determine what sort of a lease this was and what role Šum-ukīn played in it.

⁶¹² This would stand in opposition to Renger's remark for the situation in the Old Babylonian period, namely that there was no such competition between the prospective land tenants (1994:189).

⁶¹³ YBC 4079 ll. 1-8: *ina u₄-mu lu-ú^{lú} mu-kin-nu lu-ú^{lú} ba-ti-q[u] / it-tal-kam-ma a-na^{ld} ag-šeš^{mes}-gi a-šú šá /^{ld} u-gur-ú-še-zib uk-tin-nu šá u₈ / šá kak-kab-ti še-en-de-ti a-na kù-babbar / a-na man-ma id-di-nu^l mu-gin / a-šú šá^l en-numun a^l ba-si-iá ú-pa-aq-qi-ru / še-e-nu ma-la^{lú} mu-kin-nu ú-kan-nu-uš / 1^{cn} 30 a-na^d gašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din. This is followed by a list of witnesses which included the *qīpu* and the *šatammu* of Eanna. The text was written on 8-X-2 Ner in Bitqu-ša-bēl-ēter.*

⁶¹⁴ This table does not include BM 114585 (13-V-3 Ner), recording Šum-ukīn's purchase of a slave, as it is a private document. He has no title in this text.

⁶¹⁵ For an edition see Appendix 1.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|--|-----------------------------|
| TCL 12 68 ⁶¹⁶ | 15-III-2 Ner | debt note for barley, exchange for dates | - |
| TCL 12 66 ⁶¹⁷ | 26-VI-2 Ner | debt note for date- <i>imittu</i> | <i>bēl piqitti šarri</i> |
| BIN 1 166 | VII-2 Ner | <i>imittu</i> list for <i>kasia</i> | - |
| YBC 4079 | 8-X-2 Ner | legal dispute concerning sheep | - |
| YBC 3750 | 4-XI-2 Ner | land lease | <i>bēl piqitti šarri</i> |
| NBDM 4 | 21-VI-3 Ner | debt note for silver (for dates) | <i>bēl piqitti ša šarri</i> |

Toward the end of Neriglissar's reign the documentation peters out. One private text from acc Lab (NBC 4534, see above) shows that Šum-ukīn was in Babylon at this time. This text, formulated as a debt note, indicates that he was having four oxen from his other estates transported to Uruk, probably in an attempt to concentrate his resources in an area where he had found good conditions for expanding his business. On a different note, it is not surprising that he would spend time in the capital being a royal official himself, and particularly during the unstable and potentially both dangerous and beneficial period of power change at the royal court. However the turbulences of Lābāši-Marduk's short reign and Nabonidus's takeover affected him, it is clear that Šum-ukīn abandoned (involuntarily?) his court career and concentrated on his agricultural business with Eanna. Nevertheless, he was not on bad terms with the new ruler – otherwise his new and expanded rent contract with Eanna would hardly have got the king's sanction.⁶¹⁸

It is not clear what exactly happened during Nabonidus's accession year. There is only one pertinent text from Eanna, a debt note for barley from the rent (*sūtu*) of Šum-ukīn, *ša muḫḫi sūti* of the Lady of Uruk (YOS 19 85, 22-[x]-acc Nbn). It is his first attestation with this title. It is not clear whether a change in his relationship with the temple is suggested by this new title. This type of text, attested for Šum-ukīn already during Neriglissar's reign, in itself does not offer any evidence for such a change.⁶¹⁹

2.9.3.3. The rent contract and the rent farm

The documentation from 1 Nbn starts with two debt notes for barley from the rent of Šum-ukīn (BIN 1 97 (12-I-1 Nbn) and YOS 6 24 (13-I-1 Nbn). In these texts he appears again with the title *ša muḫḫi sūti*. These debt notes are followed by the only rent contract we have for Šum-ukīn (YOS 6 11 with duplicates TEBR 37 and *AJK* 2, p. 107ff. = VAT 8418 (28-I-1 Nbn)).⁶²⁰ However, this will have not been his only rent contract, as it is evident that he was in a contractual relationship with the temple at least since the first year of Neriglissar's reign. According to the rent contract from the first regnal year of Nabonidus Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya addressed the king, who was at that time visiting Larsa, with a request for 6,000 *kurru* of land, in addition to the date palm orchards which were presumably already under their control, 400 ploughmen, 400 oxen and 100 cows. In return they offered to deliver yearly 25,000 *kurru* of barley and 10,000 *kurru* of dates to Eanna. They were granted this request with the stipulations forbidding them to encroach on the

⁶¹⁶ The text is edited in Appendix 1. Šum-ukīn is not given a patronymic here, but given the context, this identification seems very probable. The debt of one person is transferred to another, and converted from dates to barley – for what reason, we are not told. At any rate, Šum-ukīn is supposed to bring the debt note of the original debtor, which is kept in the temple, and hand it over to the new debtor, after he paid the barley to the temple. This was done so that those two could settle this matter between them (these two men are not known from other sources). The text offers some information concerning the practicalities of managing the obligations of the agricultural workers, showing that the (*imittu*) debt notes were kept in the temple and not with the rent farmer as could be assumed (l. 15). It also demonstrates that the rent farmer was instructed by the temple authorities on how to act in special cases.

⁶¹⁷ The text is translated by Cocquerillat 1968: 55.

⁶¹⁸ Note also the continuing royal support for Šum-ukīn's nephew Kalbāya, expressed in the letter YOS 3 2.

⁶¹⁹ There are also two private documents from this year, both concerning the acquisition of slaves as compensation from debtors, one of which was written in the Uruk countryside (*AnOr* 8 19) and the other in Babylon (YOS 6 5), revealing another visit to the capital.

⁶²⁰ See the editions of the texts by Schwenzner 1924-25: 107ff., Dougherty 1929: 117ff., Cocquerillat 1968: 38 and Joannès 1982: 136ff.

prebendary *hallatu*-orchards and to let the cattle at their disposal perish. This implied that they were to use the 100 provided cows for breeding and keeping up the stock. Furthermore Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya were obliged to show the offspring of the cows to a royal messenger, so they would in turn be branded as temple property and returned to them. The land is supposed to be cultivated following a fallow regime, allowing for half of the granted land to be cultivated and half left fallow each year. The temple is to provide 3,000 *kurru* of barley for seed and iron for the repair of tools for the first year of their arrangement.

As Šum-ukīn had played the role of a rent farmer in Uruk since at least 1 Ner, it is not surprising that this new contract refers to land in addition to land which had already been at his disposal. He and his nephew ask for 6,000 *kurru* of arable land in addition to the date palm plantations (YOS 6 11: 3: 6 lim gur še-numun *pi-i šul-[p]i e-lat* še-numun é^{giš}gišimmar). However, this does not necessarily indicate that his agricultural activities during Neriglissar's reign and the accession year of Nabonidus were confined to the cultivation of date palm orchards. His involvement with arable land, evident from leases from Neriglissar's reign (see above) and from the three debt notes for barley (*imittu* and *zittu*) from acc and 1 Nbn preceding this contract (YOS 19 85; BIN 1 97; YOS 6 24), should not be forgotten. These texts offer clear evidence that Šum-ukīn had also rented arable land prior to this rent contract. Evidently the contract was not formulated accurately in this respect. Perhaps the arable land under his control was negligible with regard to size compared to the orchards at his disposal, and was therefore not mentioned in the text. The presumably small amount of land he rented at an earlier date may have now been included in the newly granted 6,000 *kurru*. But what was the role of the king at the setting up of this rent farm? Had its expansion to a surface of 6,000 *kurru* only been made possible by the intervention of the royal administration? This hypothesis is at present not verifiable even though there is undisputable evidence for Šum-ukīn's links to the royal administration. He had business connections in the agricultural sector with the high royal official *tuṣṣar ekalli* (see above). At a later point in his career he even became a member of the royal administration: as an agent (*bēl piqitti/mār šipri*) of Neriglissar he could establish himself as an agricultural entrepreneur in the Uruk region and commence his work for the Eanna temple. Not surprisingly we hear of Šum-ukīn's audience⁶²¹ and correspondence⁶²² with the king. Another link to a member of the royal administration, the courtier (*ša rēš šarri*) Bēl-šar-ušur, is provided by the letter YOS 21 26.⁶²³ In this letter Bēl-šar-ušur appeals to Šum-ukīn to provide arable land for his ploughmen focusing on their close personal relationship and reciprocity by promising to return him any favour. A connection to another courtier, Abī-ul-īde, transpires from the letter YOS 21 143.⁶²⁴ All this certainly indicates that Šum-ukīn built up personal networks within the royal administration. How exactly they were put to use to his advantage remains obscure. It is interesting to note that Šum-ukīn's career did not seem to suffer from the dynastic changes which took place after Amīl-Marduk's short reign. This probably means that also his personal networks survived these political turmoils unscathed.⁶²⁵

Be that as it may, the formation of Šum-ukīn's rent farm as signified by his contract with the king did not commence an altogether "new era" or cause a break in the organisation of the agriculture of Eanna, as one often gets the impression reading the secondary literature on the subject.⁶²⁶ The mechanism of the rent farm (with much older forerunners) had been in use in Eanna since at least Nebuchadnezzar's time, and Šum-ukīn had been in Uruk and in the function of a rent farmer since 1 Ner the latest. Obviously then Nabonidus introduced neither Šum-ukīn nor the rent

⁶²¹ His and Kalbāya's audience with the king in Babylon is mentioned in the letter addressed to Šum-ukīn by his great-nephew Taqīš-Gula (YOS 3 46, edited as no. 15 in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011).

⁶²² A letter (*šipirtu*) of the king addressed to Šum-ukīn is mentioned in the letter YOS 3 162 (edited as no. 18 in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011).

⁶²³ Edited as no. 20 in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011; see also the comments there on p. 171 and 173.

⁶²⁴ Edited as no. 14 in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011.

⁶²⁵ A similar situation can be observed for the Egibis from Babylon (Wunsch 2000b: 100, 104).

⁶²⁶ Cocquerillat, for instance, calls Šum-ukīn the founder of the *ferme générale*, even though she concedes that there were other rent farms for barley albeit of a secondary importance before Šum-ukīn's rent farm (1968: 91). It appears, however, that by this Cocquerillat implied the work of the *rab ikkarāti* and the agricultural *rab ešertis* (Nergal-nāšir's rent contract was not known to her at that time), who were in fact not rent farmers but temple dependants employed in the temple's agricultural sector.

farm system to Eanna.⁶²⁷ The only change for Eanna and probably also Šum-ukīn was constituted by the considerable increase in the scale of the project. Previously he had worked in a similar function for the palace scribe, and if the figures from BIN 2 109 and PTS 2046 are representative of his annual dues toward this official (700 *kurru* of barley), then his new arrangement with Eanna entailed an almost 36 times larger obligation, with regard to barley only. As for Eanna, it previously used members of its internal organisation, *rab ešertis*, *gugallus*, a *rab ikkarāti*, to supervise its agricultural production, but even the work of these temple officials, just as well as of the *ikkarus* and *errēšus* on a more basic level, took on traits of entrepreneurial activities as was argued above (p. 116). Additionally, at least one other rent farmer with substantial obligations was employed by the temple before Šum-ukīn (see e.g., VS 20 88). Thus, neither was the concept of rent farming new, nor was Šum-ukīn a newcomer to Eanna at the time his rent contract was written. He had been around Uruk for at least four years by that time and entertained connections to the royal administration both under Amīl-Marduk and under Neriglissar. It is also conceivable that he enjoyed a good relationship with the temple administration, based on his previous performance regarding the management of temple lands during Neriglissar's rule.⁶²⁸ Presumably both Šum-ukīn's desire to expand his business and the requirements of Eanna's growing agricultural production made this large-scale rent farm a natural next step in the development of this individual's career and the institution's economy. How exactly the royal involvement, for which there must have been manifold reasons, tied in with these private and institutional aspirations remains a difficult question. It is conceivable that it was in part motivated by policies designed to strengthen the regional centres based around temple economies, on the one hand. On the other, the desire to entertain good (business) relationships with the local elites (either indigenous or introduced from elsewhere) in order to secure a political support base must have also played a role. Finally, personal relationships between Šum-ukīn and the members of the royal administration, possibly aimed at maximising personal gain, though difficult to verify, should not be left unconsidered in this context. Thus, the situation was complex; simply assuming that the rent farmer Šum-ukīn was imposed onto the temple⁶²⁹ does not do it justice. It has to be borne in mind that at least three different factors were at play in shaping Šum-ukīn's *ferme générale*: Šum-ukīn's private interests, those of the crown and those of the temple.⁶³⁰ Though it is probably safe to assume that the interests of the crown carried the most weight, the question whose interests prevailed and to what degree is a matter which can hardly be quantified.

Apart from sporadic private texts (for these see Appendix 4), the documentation concerning Šum-ukīn for the first seven years of Nabonidus's reign is fairly uniform. The majority of the material is composed of *imittu* (or *zittu*) debt notes for barley and dates. There are also several *imittu* lists, receipts for agricultural products, and once, iron,⁶³¹ accounting ledgers and land leases among these texts.

As was discussed above, when Šum-ukīn first appeared in Uruk he went by the title of a royal commissioner (*bēl piqitti (ša) šarri*). Soon afterwards he abandoned his court career and concentrated on his agricultural business in Uruk, which he had started up while in this function. In

⁶²⁷ This is also true for Ana-amāt-Bēl-atkal, the rent farmer of the Ebabbar of Sippar, who was present and active in the temple agriculture several years prior to his rent contract sanctioned by Nabonidus (Jursa 1995a: 89f.).

⁶²⁸ Of course, his good relationship with the temple administration, for instance, the royal official Nabû-šar-ušur, who under Nabonidus became the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna, could have been of a purely personal nature, and may have originated from his connection to the court. But other explanations are also possible. Our evidence allows us no more than speculations on this subject.

⁶²⁹ Jursa, for instance, suggests that the temples "had been forced to enter a business relationship with a royal protégé" and understood this to be an "unwanted arrangement" (2004c: 184 n. 104).

⁶³⁰ To these factors one could also add the private interests of the members of the royal administration. However, these are hardly verifiable, as was noted earlier. Whether this type of interests can also be assumed for the temple administration remains a question which cannot be answered at the present.

⁶³¹ YOS 19 310 (1 Nbn); The text in fact deals with the oil for oil pressers. Additionally, in smaller script, it mentions Šum-ukīn's delivery of 6 talents 40 minas of iron to the treasury as exchange (*ana šupēlti*), but for what, the text does not state. The iron in question could have been part of the supplies for the repair of agricultural tools, which was at his disposal. Šum-ukīn is designated here as *rab ikkarāti*.

acc Nbn he is for the first time attested with the title *ša muḫḫi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk* (YOS 19 85), which he kept all throughout his active career.⁶³² On three occasions, however, he is attested with another title, *rab ikkarāti*, a title generally associated with the internal organisation of the temple agriculture.⁶³³ Two attestations are from 1 Nbn, a tithe (*ešrū*) lease contract (TCL 12 73; for an edition see Appendix 1 and also Jursa 1998: 7f. 21)⁶³⁴ and an account of remaining oil of the oil pressers with an additional remark about Šum-ukīn's delivery of iron (YOS 19 310). A third land lease contract with the mention of Šum-ukīn as *rab ikkarāti* comes from 3 Nbn (YOS 6 40).⁶³⁵ The services of Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, the only person known with this title before Šum-ukīn, had been rendered obsolete by the first year of Neriglissar's reign, when Šum-ukīn arrived at Uruk and started working in Eanna's agricultural sector. According to our documentation after this point Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim does not have more responsibility than a simple *ikkaru*. The significance of the use of this title is not evident. It appears that no factual difference in Šum-ukīn's tasks and responsibilities was implied by the two different titles.

2.9.3.4. *imittu* debt notes and lists

The information from the *imittu* debt notes pertaining to Šum-ukīn's rent farm is of a limited use for us. The existence of debt notes in the archive of a creditor is generally taken to indicate that these debts were not settled. In case of payment of a debt the document recording this obligation was normally either handed over to the debtor or simply destroyed. This was, however, not always the case. The creditor sometimes kept copies of the debt notes even after the debts had been settled. Therefore, the extant *imittu* debt notes do not necessarily give evidence for obligations of ploughmen and sharecroppers which were not settled. Judging by these texts alone one would get a seriously skewed picture with respect to the success of a rent farmer. The texts have obviously not come down to us in their entire number. Furthermore, it is to be assumed that a selection of the documents which were no longer of interest to the temple administration took place in the antiquity (as was the case with the debt notes from Šum-ukīn's private archive) and so the sample present to us is in no way representative. This is further supported by the fact that the evidence offered by these debt notes is not congruent with the evidence found in *imittu* lists and accounts. The distribution of *imittu* debt notes over the first eight years of Nabonidus's reign is as follows:⁶³⁶

| year (Nbn) | acc | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|------------------------------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| no. of debt notes for barley | 1 | 3 | 2 | 7 | - | 1 | - | - |
| no. of debt notes for dates | - | 2 | 1 | 7 | - | 1 | 1 | 11 |

Table 21: Distribution of *imittu* debt notes from acc to 7 Nbn

Note that according to the account TCL 13 227,⁶³⁷ which records temple income in agricultural commodities over a period of five years (3 - 7 Nbn), Šum-ukīn's arrears in barley for 4 Nbn would have amounted to roughly 6,500 *kurru*, but not one *imittu* debt note for barley has come down to us from this year. Furthermore, there are *imittu* debt notes for dates, for instance, from the years in which according to TCL 13 227 no arrears in dates were accumulated (year 3 and 6). Note

⁶³² There is possibly even one posthumous reference to him with this title in 11 Nbn (YOS 6 242).

⁶³³ For this functionary see pp. 114ff.

⁶³⁴ Šum-ukīn is not among the main protagonists in this contract. He appears here in an additional clause (ll. 17-20). This stipulation concerned overlapping areas of responsibility of the rent farmer Šum-ukīn and the new lessor of *ešrū*-land, Innin-šum-ušur: Šum-ukīn's deliveries of barley and dates from the land which is recorded in the debt notes of Innin-šum-ušur will count as Innin-šum-ušur's rent payment.

⁶³⁵ Joannès adds YOS 6 35 (3 Nbn), an *imittu* list, to these attestations (1982: 131), following the reconstruction of Cocquerillat 1968: 74. 127. However, the remaining traces of the damaged title do not support the reading *rab ikkarāti*.

⁶³⁶ These attestations do not include texts in which the regnal year or the commodity owed are lost in a break and cannot be reconstructed we any degree of certainty.

⁶³⁷ For a discussion of the text with a tabulated representation of the entries see van Driel 1990: 248f. See also here Appendix 2.

also that the *imittu* list from 5 Nbn (YOS 6 63⁶³⁸) records the amount of dates from the rent farm of Šum-ukīn, which were measured out by scribes, as 10,170;2.0.3 dates. TCL 13 227, however, records for this year an amount of 9,845;2 dates as coming from the rent farm of Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya. Obviously 325;0.0.3 of dates went missing in the meantime, but we can only guess at a possible explanation. Perhaps some administrative costs needed to be deducted from these dates before reaching the temple granaries. Alternatively, the missing amount may have been withdrawn by Šum-ukīn, one of his subordinates, or the responsible scribes after the measuring, assuming that the dates were not immediately transported to the temple, but remained in the countryside for some time longer. Whichever the case, the point is that these *imittu* texts are of only limited value for quantifying the success of Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent farm.

However, one interesting piece of information stems from the formulaic designation of the rent farm which is found in every *imittu* debt note. Although the rent farm was granted to Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya together, the nephew appears before 7 Nbn only once in a debt note for dates alongside his uncle as the holder of the rent farm (PTS 2036 (1 Nbn)).⁶³⁹ While it can be explained as a convention of the scribes, for space- and time-saving reasons, to record only the senior lease holder as a representative of both, it is surprising to see Kalbāya mentioned after his uncle in every single debt note⁶⁴⁰ from 7 Nbn. Perhaps his mentions in the debt notes were after all a reflection of his increased active involvement in the management of the farm. The reason for this increase in Kalbāya's responsibility was not Šum-ukīn's temporary absence. So far there is no evidence for his absence from Uruk for year 7. We do know, however, that Šum-ukīn was away from Uruk before, e.g., in 3 Nbn, and this is generally not reflected in the debt notes. Only one debt note for dates from the *sūtu* of Šum-ukīn says in an additional stipulation that the dates are to be delivered to Kalbāya (YOS 6 25 (3 Nbn)), all other debt notes from 3 Nbn only mention Šum-ukīn. A document from 4 Nbn (YOS 6 78) explicitly states that Šum-ukīn was away during 3 Nbn and that the yield estimators Zēria, son of Nabû-iddin, and Nanāya-iddin, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, took care of his arable business in his absence. (Il. 16ff.: mu 3-kam^d ag-ni-tuk/ lugal tin-tir^{ki} še-bar^{lu} engar^{mes} ina la qa-ri-bi šá^l mu-gin a-ki-i/ pi-i-šú-nu ni-te-mi-id...).⁶⁴¹ We can also make an assumption that Šum-ukīn was in fact in Babylon during 3 Nbn (the duration of his stay can not be reconstructed) based on YOS 19 155, written in month VI of 3 Nbn in Babylon, a receipt for 370 *kurru* of barley from the rent farm of Šum-ukīn, which was placed in a storehouse (*kalakku*) at the disposal of a certain 'Ardia'. The text is not explicit about Šum-ukīn's presence in Babylon, but it seems likely in the light of his certain absence from Uruk, his previous (private) and subsequent connections to Babylon, as expressed for instance by the *imittu* list for dates from 5 Nbn (YOS 6 63). The entries list amounts of dates measured out by relevant temple officials and among other miscellaneous entries "90 *kurru*, which he had given to Bēl-ēter, descendant of Amīl-Nabû, in Babylon" (Il. 12f.). The subject of this sentence can only be Šum-ukīn, who is named in the heading of this list.

As was shown for years 3 and probably also 5 Nbn, while Šum-ukīn was away from Uruk on business, there are no such indications for Kalbāya's increased responsibility as are visible in the debt notes from year 7. That said, Kalbāya's sudden presence in these texts remains a problem to deal with. It is clear that it is not possible to resolve it with any degree of certainty at the present state of our information, but it can be conjectured that at this stage Šum-ukīn was for some reason retreating from his position in favour of his nephew. Perhaps his health was not permitting him to take an active part in the management of the rent farm – by this time he must have been relatively old and frail. 39 years passed between his first attestation as a scribe of a debt note from Babylon in

⁶³⁸ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 75. 128.

⁶³⁹ He did appear next to his uncle, though, in 6 Nbn, in a receipt for sesame pertaining to their *sūtu* (YOS 6 21).

⁶⁴⁰ The *imittu* debt note YOS 6 82 (7 Nbn) is the only one for which this is not certain because the tablet is broken after the mention of Šum-ukīn's name. However, it seems quite likely that Kalbāya was mentioned in the break.

⁶⁴¹ This is corroborated by YOS 6 94 (3 Nbn), a debt note for arrears in barley, in which these two men appear as the commissioners (*bēl piqitti*) of Šum-ukīn with the function of yield estimators and collectors of barley obligations. Both texts are edited by Cocquerillat, however, without her noticing their interrelation (1968: 60. 121. 76. 129).

17 Nbk (YOS 17 23) and 7 Nbn.⁶⁴² Not knowing his exact age at this first attestation one can only guess that he must have been well over 50 by 10 Nbn when he died according to the text from the Cleveland Public Library published by Geller (1995: 532ff.). An alternative, albeit less likely possibility is that his health and age may have not been the issue at all, but that he may have decided to concentrate on another line of business, perhaps in some place other than Uruk.

2.9.3.5. The success of the rent farm

Whichever course the events may have taken, an important text written in, probably not coincidentally, 7 Nbn comes to mind. The already mentioned TCL 13 227 was compiled probably some time after the barley harvest and before the date harvest in 7 Nbn, and it records the income in dates, barley and other agricultural products for a period of five years.⁶⁴³ The text includes the income from the rent farm of Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya, from the sharecroppers,⁶⁴⁴ from the officials in charge of the tithe, from the *rab banê*, the income (*erbu*) of the gate, etc. It is clear that the text does not represent a record of the entire income of Eanna, as other rent farmers which were employed by the temple at the same time as Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya are not mentioned. Unfortunately, this makes it impossible to assess the importance of their rent farm for the overall income of agricultural commodities. However, if the figures in this text are representative of the total output of Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent farm for the years 3 to 7, then a certain pattern concerning the degree of their success can be discerned.

It is clear, for instance, that the date production posed a smaller problem. Their yearly target of 10,000 *kurru*, set forth by their rent contract, is usually met or even exceeded. A relatively small deficit of less than 155 *kurru* is recorded for year 5. The target for year 4 was only met by importing dates from Marad and the Sealand (in total 5,028;0.5 *kurru* minus 1,316 *kurru* for transport costs), though. The implication of these external deliveries is that Šum-ukīn invested money, or other commodities, to purchase these dates. Some of the people responsible for the weighing of the dates in these localities are also known from other sources, which indicate a practice conducted on a regular basis.⁶⁴⁵

The yearly obligation of 25,000 *kurru* of barley seems to have been more problematic. Only about two fifths of the required amount were delivered in the years 5 and 6, and slightly more than three fifths in the years 4 and 7. In the face of these figures van Driel concludes “that the rent farm system was an official chimaera, something out of reach in real life” (1990: 249). While serious deficits in barley deliveries, as far as our evidence goes, started to surface in 4 Nbn and continued through 7 Nbn (there are no pertinent texts for 1 and 3 Nbn), the obligation imposed by the temple on Šum-ukīn was at least once not so out of reach after all: in 2 Nbn he delivered the exact required amount – 25,000 *kurru* of barley. This piece of information is gained from OIP 122

⁶⁴² By comparison, the active working life for men in the Neo-Babylonian period spanned on average only 23 years. Šum-ukīn was obviously well above the average life expectancy – only about a fifth of men reached the age of 45 (Gehlken 2005: 107).

⁶⁴³ Some of the years are only partially covered: for the year 3 only the date income from the rent farm of Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya is recorded, while the opposite is the case for year 7 – here the date income is not included.

⁶⁴⁴ As van Driel has noted, it is possible that these were sharecroppers situated on the land belonging to Šum-ukīn's rent farm, and not all the *errēšus* employed on the temple estates (1990: 249).

⁶⁴⁵ Nidintu, son of Aḥḥēšu, for instance, who measured the dates in Marad together with Nanāya-aḥ-iddin, son of Nergal-uballit, appears also in YOS 6 167 (<6> Nbn). This text includes testimonies of several individuals concerning the dates which were at their disposal and which were taken by Ša-Nabû-išallim (the slave of the royal commissioner to Eanna). Nidintu, who is designated as the one who transports barley and dates from the steppe to Eanna, also testifies that Ša-Nabû-išallim took from him some of the dates of the Lady of Uruk which he was transporting from Marad to Eanna. Nidintu also appears in a ration list (YOS 6 32 (2 Nbn)) with the title *musahḥiru* (according to the dictionaries: “Aufkäufer”; “agent, deputy, representative (of a higher official)”). He appears with the same title in BM 114499 (7 Nbn), according to which he received 5 *sūtu* of barley and ʿx¹, to all likelihood as travel provisions, and was sent to Babylon. Two attestations from 3 Cyr (*AnOr* 8 40 and BM 114610) show him renting boats “for barley”, meaning probably for transportation of barley.

82, which records the temple income of agricultural commodities and its disbursements for 2 Nbn. It is perhaps significant that this barley was discharged at the beginning of his career as a large-scale rent farmer. It is conceivable that he had barley reserves (or capital in some form or other) from his earlier agricultural undertakings, which he could use to top up the actually harvested barley so as to meet his rent obligation. However, that year the target for dates was not met. Šum-ukīn managed to deliver only 7,130 *kurru*.

Thus, the overall picture for the years for which we have complete data sets, for the combined *sūtu* due in barley and dates (i.e. 35,000 *kurru*) is as follows: in 2 Nbn *ca.* 92 %, in 4 Nbn *ca.* 80 %, in 5 Nbn *ca.* 58 % and in 6 Nbn *ca.* 59 % of the required *sūtu* were delivered.⁶⁴⁶ Perhaps reaching the target for barley in 2 Nbn was only made possible for Šum-ukīn by investing and purchasing barley externally, as was done with the dates in 4 Nbn. Evidence for this has yet to be discovered. Van Driel is probably right in supposing that both the obligations set by Šum-ukīn's rent contract and, more generally, by the 'Edict of Belšazzar' were unrealistic from the outset.⁶⁴⁷ As Jursa points out small-scale prognostication based on practical experience worked reasonably well. Problems arose, however, when these models were applied to larger areas as was the case with the *ferme générale*. Here often the goals set by the temple administration were too high. This was in part owed to different factors that influenced the productivity, such as variable soil quality, water availability or climatic fluctuations, which had not been taken into account. In part, however, these unrealistic models may have been a conscious effort of the temples, which "had been forced to enter into a business relationship with a royal protégé, (...) to get as much out of this unwanted arrangement as ever they could" (Jursa 2004c: 184 n. 104). Leaving aside the question to which degree the crown imposed the rent farmers on the temples against their will, it comes as no surprise that the temples embarked upon such a business. By setting unrealistically high targets for the people working for them, they had little to lose. While the temples hoped to squeeze the maximum out of their subjects they could also expect to force them into a state of higher dependency. This process was finalised at the final settling of accounts with the debtor, ending usually with the confiscation of his property, sometimes even including members of his family.

The temple dependants seem to have had little choice but to do what they were told by the temple, even if its demands were unrealistic.⁶⁴⁸ The question remains why the external entrepreneurs agreed to work under such unfavourable conditions, when all they seem to have entailed was a slow slide into poverty. Certain unquantifiable factors must have played a role here: the rent farmer's personal capital which he could potentially invest in the undertaking, the availability of free, non-affiliated work force which could be employed to the advantage of the rent farmer (as in YOS 19 71, for instance), and so on. Furthermore, at least some of the rent farmers (Šum-ukīn was certainly among these) could count on the support of the royal administration when it came to their accountability toward the temple.⁶⁴⁹ Though cases of confiscations of property of the temples' debtors are attested, we still do not know how rigorous the temples were in enforcing the payments of debts. This is perhaps something that especially the rent farmers with royal backing speculated with.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁶ For 1 Nbn we have no data at all. For 3 Nbn, TCL 13 227 offers us a figure for dates – 10,020 *kurru*, i.e. slightly more than 100 % of the date *sūtu*, and for 7 Nbn, the text records a delivery of 17,000 *kurru* plus 2,000 *kurru* of barley from the land rented additionally by Kalbāya. If the two amounts are taken together as Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's deliveries they would make up 76 % of the barley *sūtu*. If the 2,000 *kurru* were credited to a separate account, for which we do not have any evidence, by the way, only 68 % of the barley *sūtu* would have been cleared for 7 Nbn (see Appendix 2).

⁶⁴⁷ For "prognostication" in institutional economy in general, its "use of simplifying models or 'rules of thumb'" see Jursa 2004c: 183f.

⁶⁴⁸ An aspect of this unfavourable situation of the ploughmen has been discussed by Janković 2005: 167ff.

⁶⁴⁹ Note the letter of Nabonidus to the temple administrators, who had complained about the rent farmer Kalbāya's arrears of 44,063 *kurru* of barley and dates, in which he orders them to leave Kalbāya alone and simply accept any payments he makes (YOS 3 2; see p. 189).

⁶⁵⁰ Somewhat surprisingly in the case of Šum-ukīn the temple administration seems to have been quite thorough in this respect (see below). This degree of meticulousness is not attested for the other rent farmers; however, this may be attributed to archival considerations.

Be that as it may, the recapitulation of the income from Šum-ukīn's farm (TCL 13 227), perhaps prompted by his deteriorating health, seems to have resulted in another series of events in 8 Nbn, which can be subsumed under the caption:

2.9.3.6. Settling of accounts

Unfortunately, no final account juxtaposing Šum-ukīn's credit and debit toward Eanna has come down to us. It seems very likely that such a document had been made toward the end of 7 Nbn or the beginning of 8 Nbn. This is indicated by a group of texts from 8 Nbn, which all seem to be motivated by the temple's need to recover Šum-ukīn's outstanding dues.

Most of these texts have already been introduced in the section on Šum-ukīn's property, as it is this property that was the most interesting for the temple at this stage. These assets were invariably appropriated by the temple. Thus BM 114599 from the fifth month of 8 Nbn, a receipt for a partial payment of silver, offers evidence for a transfer of a silver debt, owed to Šum-ukīn, to the temple as the new creditor. The reasons for this transfer are not stated, as indeed they are not in any of the following cases. The settling of accounts between Šum-ukīn and the temple appears as a plausible explanation for this particular cluster of texts.

BM 114599

3-V-8 Nbn

- obv. 1. 1 ma-na ¹kù-babbar¹ *re-ḥe-et*
 2 ma-na 13 gín *šal-šú* 1 gín kù-babbar
¹ša¹ mu-gi-na a-šú ¹ša¹ en-numun a ¹ba-as-si-ia
¹ša ina muḥ-ḥi ¹ú-bal-lit-su-^dgu-la
5. ní-g-ga ^dgašan ¹ša unug^{ki} u ^dna-na-a
 ina muḥ-ḥi ¹ú-bal-lit-su-^dgu-la
 [a-šú ¹ša] ¹si-^rlim^{1-d} en a ^{lu}sanga-bára
 [ina iti x i]-*nam-din*
- rev. [i]-na gub⁷-zu ¹ša ^{ld}ag-lugal-ùru ^{lu}sag lugal
10. ^{lu}en pi-*qit-ti* é-an-na
^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{ld}di-kud-šeš^{meš}-mu
 a-šú ¹ša ¹gi-mil-lu a ¹ši-gu-ú-a
 [^dag]-sur-zi^{me} a-šú ¹ša ¹ir-^d en a ¹e-gi-bi
¹na-din a-šú ¹ša ^{ld}ag-pab^{me}-ba-ša a ¹e-gi-bi
15. ¹šu-ma-a a-šú ¹ša ^{ld}du-^d15 a ^{lu}tug-babbar
^{lu}umbisag ^{ld}na-na-a-mu a-šú
¹ša ^{ld}ag-dù-šeš a ¹é-kur-za-kir
- u.e. unug^{ki} iti ne ud 3-kam
 mu 8-kam ^dag-ni-tuk lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“1 mina of silver, the remainder of 2 minas 13 1/3 shekels of silver, belonging to Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, that were the debt of Uballissu-Gula, is the property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya. It is the debt of Uballissu-Gula, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Šangū-parakki. He will pay (the money) [in the tenth month].

In the presence of Nabû-šar-ušur, the royal commissioner of Eanna.

Witnesses: Madān-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Gimillu, descendant of Šigūa,
 Nabû-ēter-napšāti, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Egibi,
 Nādin, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi,
 Šumāya, son of Ibni-Ištar, descendant of Pušāya,

Scribe: Nanāya-iddin, son of Nabû-bāni-aḥi, descendant of Ekur-zakir;
 Uruk; 3-V-8 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

What follows in the sixth month is a sale of Šum-ukīn's horses conducted by the temple. This is shown by GC 1 269,⁶⁵¹ a receipt of an instalment for one of Šum-ukīn's horses, which were brought from him (to the temple). The text does not state how many horses those were, but the price of just one was set at 3 5/6 minas, indicating that at the time of the settling of accounts with the temple Šum-ukīn still owned considerable assets.⁶⁵² About four months after the horse sale the temple sold one of Šum-ukīn's houses:

| | |
|----------|---|
| GC 1 292 | 22-X-8 Nbn |
| obv. | 1. 6 ma-na 3 gín kù-babbar šám é ^l mu-gi-na a ^{ld} en-numun šá da é dù-ia ^l a ^l nad-na-a |
| lo.e. | 5. ina šu ^{ll} šá-du-nu a ^{ld} ag-mu-giš na-šá-a |
| rev. | iti ab ud 22-kam mu 8-kam ^d ag-ní-tuk 10. lugal tin-tir ^{ki} |

“6 minas 3 shekel of silver, the price of a house of Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, that is next to the house of Ibnāya, son of Nadnāya, were taken from Šadūnu, son of Nabû-šum-līšir. 22-X-8 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

That this transaction was not as straightforward as the text suggests is indicated by another document, *AnOr* 8 70 (3 Camb). This text points out that the price in fact had not been paid, nor had the temple received any merchandise from Šadūnu and his brother, who had nominally bought this house in order to finance their trading business (see above). The implications of this sale for Šum-ukīn and his family are not revealed by the subsequent documentation. They seem to have remained in Uruk despite the measures taken by the temple and the failure of the rent farm, the work on which was pursued, on a somewhat restricted scale, by Kalbāya, and later his son Nabû-bān-aḫi. There is no evidence whatsoever concerning Šum-ukīn from 9 Nbn and the following year, the year of his death according to the text from the Cleveland Public Library (*Fs. Greenfield*, p. 532ff., Geller 1995). After his death, the temple still tried to recover some of his arrears, by reformulating some of the *imittu* obligations from Šum-ukīn's rent farm in debt notes charged to other individuals, as in YOS 6 242 (11 Nbn).⁶⁵³ Šum-ukīn's confiscated property probably was not enough to settle his debt. It is conceivable that Kalbāya inherited this remaining debt, as he was also responsible for the rent payment according to their rent contract. Consequently Kalbāya was, more or less, forced to continue with the rent farming business in order to work his dues off.

⁶⁵¹ The text is edited by Dougherty 1923: 30. Note that *ruhhu* which Dougherty does not translate simply means “the remaining”, indicating perhaps that the other horses had already been sold. Note also that Bazuzu, son of Šamaš-uballit, and Angillāya^l, son of Balātu, did not receive the silver as the translator suggests, but that this money was in fact received from them (for the use of the stative of *maḥāru* as a passive doubly transitive form in the Eanna administrative texts see for instance Jursa 2005: 46f.). The use of the singular in the stipulation for the payment of the remaining silver (ll. 10f: 1 5/6 ma-na kù-babbar *ina pa-ni-šú-nu/ ina iti gan i-nam-din*) is probably an abbreviation of the phrase *ša qerbu inamdin*.

⁶⁵² FLP 1612 (published by Dillard 1975: 276), written in the fifth month of 8 Nbn, should also be mentioned in this context. It is a receipt for 1 mina 1 shekel of silver from Šum-ukīn which were brought by a certain Bānia, son of Kudurru, and used by the temple for digging a canal. As the document is very cursory, it is not clear how it fits into the process of the settling of accounts.

⁶⁵³ In this text a certain Lābāši-Marduk, son of Šūzubu, is charged with an amount of dates, his *imittu* obligation pertaining to the rent farm of Šum-ukīn and the *imittu* of his brother, Nabû-ēter, for the payment of which he had guaranteed. The text is translated by Joannès 2005: 42f.

2.9.3.7. Status of the Basia archive

Incidentally BM 114599, treated above, offers a clue as to why texts from Šum-ukīn's private archive were found among the tablets of the Eanna archive. This transfer of debt may or may have not been expressed as a separate debt note, but in any case the temple needed the original debt note, with Šum-ukīn as creditor, on which to base its claims on Uballissu-Gula. It is therefore not unthinkable that the temple administration confiscated Šum-ukīn's private archive, treating it as his other assets, in order to sift through it and find debt notes and property deeds that it could utilize as its own capital.

Šum-ukīn's "private archive" that is now before us is only one part of the actual archive, as important missing documents such as real estate deeds, dowry texts, etc. indicate. These documents, including also the debt note on which BM 114599 was based, and doubtless other debt notes which the temple attempted to use as assets, were not found among our material. They were either kept in a place separate from the part of the Eanna archive found so far, or were disposed of in the course of transfer of property.⁶⁵⁴ What we have before us as Šum-ukīn's private archive is probably the portion of the archive which was deemed practically worthless by the temple administration and was discarded. This seems particularly credible considering the usually small amounts of silver and barley as subject of the debt notes.⁶⁵⁵ It probably did not pay off for the temple to track down the debtors and pursue these small amounts in relatively remote regions.

As a consequence it becomes apparent why we are not able to create a complete picture of Šum-ukīn's business profile. The small part of his transactions, which is known to us, is hardly representative of the scope of his activities. For these, we can only offer a rudimentary sketch: Šum-ukīn based his activities, which included investment in *ḥarrānu*-ventures and agricultural production on an entrepreneurial level, in the Babylon and Nippur region. For other possible sources of income, such as money-lending, our documentation does not offer sufficient evidence, while not excluding them. At the present state of our documentation, prebendary activities are not attested and can not be assumed for this strand of Basia family, especially considering their social background.

2.9.3.8. Attestations⁶⁵⁶ of Šum-ukīn:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|-------------------------|---------------|--|
| PTS 2851: 3 | - | unfinished account of silver and barley |
| YBC 7411: 11, 24 | 22-XI-[x] Ner | legal, badly preserved, mentions land |
| PTS 2344: 3, 11, 16, 18 | 8-II-1 Ner | land lease contract |
| TCL 12 64: 5, 16 | 4-VI-1 Ner | division of land |
| TCL 12 68: 16 | 15-III-2 Ner | debt note for barley in exchange for dates |
| YBC 4079: 5f. | 8-X-2 Ner | legal text, concerns sheep of the Lady of Uruk |
| YBC 3750: 2, 7, 21, 23 | 4-XI-2 Ner | sub-lease <i>ana errēšūti</i> |
| NBDM 4: 5f. | 21-VI-3 Ner | debt note for silver |

⁶⁵⁴ E.g. a debt note with Šum-ukīn as creditor may have been destroyed or discarded in case Eanna's claims on the debtor were formulated in a new document. As Eanna sold some of Šum-ukīn's property (horses, a house) it is conceivable that the new owners, in particular in the case of real estate, would get the relevant title deeds from the archive of the original owner and so they would not be found among the Eanna texts.

⁶⁵⁵ The existence of a couple of texts in which the amounts involved were not negligible, like the two *ḥarrānu* contracts, may be justified differently. Perhaps the parties involved were not among the living anymore or too difficult to locate. Alternatively, maybe the texts referred to obligations which were met in the past, but for some reason remained in the archive.

⁶⁵⁶ Here only Šum-ukīn's attestations from the Eanna archive are listed with the exception of the attestations in letters (these are listed in Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011) and in *imittu* debt notes (these can be found in the Appendix 5). Uncertain attestations are preceded by a question mark. A list of documents from Šum-ukīn's private archive and his attestations in it is in the Appendix 4.

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| ? OIP 122 50: 10'f. NBC 4583: 1 | [x]-[x]-[x] Nbn Nbn? | fragmentary rent contract (witness?) ⁶⁵⁷ account listing deliveries(?) of agricultural commodities |
| ? YOS 19 75: 17 TEBR 37: 1, 10f., 15, 17, 22, 24 | 1 Nbn 28-I-1 Nbn | <i>imittu</i> list for barley rent contract |
| <i>AfK</i> 2, p. 107ff.: 1, 10f., 15, 17, 22, 24 | 28-I-1 Nbn | rent contract |
| YOS 6 11: 1, 10f., 15, 17, 22, 24 | 28-I-1 Nbn | rent contract |
| YOS 6 22: 2, 8 | 5-II-1 Nbn | purchase of dates |
| TCL 12 73: 17 | 8-II-1 Nbn | lease of <i>ešrû</i> -land |
| BM 114676: 5f. | 11-VIII-1 Nbn | receipt of oxen instead of arrears of barley |
| YOS 19 310: 9 | 18-XIIa-1 Nbn | account of oil and iron |
| OIP 122 82: 3, 12 | 2 Nbn | account of incoming and outgoing agricultural staples |
| YOS 6 12: 1 | 9-IV-3 Nbn | <i>imittu</i> [?] list for barley |
| YOS 6 94: 2 | 4-V-3 Nbn | debt note for arrears of barley |
| ? YOS 6 16: 3 | 23-V-3 Nbn | sale of [x] through a messenger of Šum-ukīn |
| ? YOS 19 155: 2 | [x]-VI-3 Nbn | receipt for barley |
| YOS 6 40: 13 | 23-VI-3 Nbn | land lease contract |
| YOS 6 35: 1 | 5-XI-3 Nbn | <i>imittu</i> list for dates |
| YOS 6 78: 4, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17 | 8-IV-4 Nbn | legal, concerning the barley deliveries of the ploughmen during Šum-ukīn's absence |
| YOS 19 83: 3 | 1-V-4 Nbn | receipt for dates |
| YOS 6 88: 4f. | 14-VI-4 Nbn | fragmentary legal text |
| PTS 2818: 4, 9, 15 | 16-IX-4 Nbn | legal, concerning cattle |
| YOS 6 67: 6 | 14-XI-4 Nbn | land lease contract |
| YOS 6 63: 1 | - (5 Nbn) | <i>imittu</i> list for dates |
| PTS 2572: 2, 6, 14 | 24-III-5 Nbn | debt note for silver for an embezzled temple cow |
| ? GC 1 327: 6 | 28-VI-5 Nbn | receipt for silver |
| ? YOS 19 170: 4 | 13-IX-5 Nbn | receipt for sesame |
| YBC 4166: 2f. | 6 Nbn | <i>imittu</i> list for dates |
| W 17718 1x ⁶⁵⁸ | 14-[x]-6 Nbn | land lease contract |
| YOS 6 21: 2 | 9-XI-6 Nbn | receipt for sesame |
| TCL 13 227: 7, 9, 17, 18, 25, 36, 38, 43, 55 | - (7 Nbn) | account of incoming agricultural staples from 3 to 7 Nbn |
| YOS 6 129: 3 | 9-IV-8 Nbn | legal text concerning the status of two slaves |
| BM 114599: 3 | 3-V-8 Nbn | debt note for silver |
| TCL 12 90: 5 | 10-V-8 Nbn | land lease contract |
| Dillard, FLP 1612: 1f. | 21-V-8 N[bn] | receipt for silver |
| GC 1 269: 4f. | 4-VI-8 Nbn | receipt for silver, price of a horse of Šum-ukīn |
| GC 1 292: 2f. | 22-X-8 Nbn | receipt for silver for a house of Šum-ukīn |

⁶⁵⁷It is not certain whether this text should be counted to Šum-ukīn's attestations. This document is an unfortunately very fragmentary rent contract. It mentions 10,000 *kurru* of dates in l. 3', as well as 400 ploughmen and 400 [x] in l. 5' (after a collation by M. Jursa read Weisberg's 'lú(?) giš x' in l. 3' as zú*-lu[m*-ma*] and šá meš in l. 5' as 4* me*). Šum-ukīn may have appeared among the witnesses in l.10'-11': [... x] / a-šú šá 'en-numun a 'ba*-[si-ia]. Alternatively, this may have been his brother Silim-Bēl. This text may have recorded the transfer of the rent farm to Kalbāya after his uncle backed out of it around 8 Nbn. This is highly conjectural though.

⁶⁵⁸The text was only available to me as an entry in the Uruk database of the START Project, for which reason I do not know in which line of the text Šum-ukīn appears.

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--|
| YOS 6 242: 1f., 5, 7 | 20 ⁺ -I-11 Nbn | register of debt notes for dates |
| PTS 2655: 2 | 9-XII-12 Nbn | list of various deliveries and disbursements |
| <i>Fs. Greenfield</i> , p. 531ff.: 8, 9 | 14-I-5 ^{or 6?} Cyr | legal, concerning Šum-ukīn's second wife and cult practice |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 70: 5, 14 | 13-VII-3 Camb | legal, concerning Šum-ukīn's houses transferred to the temple property |

2.9.4. *Kalbāya*

The story of the large-scale rent farmers of Eanna continues with another member of the Basia family. After Šum-ukīn's death the office of *ša muḫḫi sūti* of the Lady of Uruk remained in the hands of his nephew Kalbāya. Together they had managed the rent farm since 1 Nbn.

Kalbāya's father Iqīša, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, was, as was shown earlier, Šum-ukīn's brother. His last active attestation known to us is from 30 Nbk (YBC 9263), from a text probably written at Babylon.⁶⁵⁹ Perhaps he died soon afterwards. At any rate, he is conspicuously absent from his brother's archive and the documents concerning his two sons Kalbāya and Nūrēa. These two, however, appear a couple of times in Šum-ukīn's archive in texts from Ḫarrubat and later Uruk, indicating that they moved down south with their uncle's family.

Nūrēa's appearances as a scribe of tablets from Šum-ukīn's private archive and from the temple archive from 2 Ami (YBC 3518, written at Ḫarrubat, private), 1 Ner (PTS 2344, Eanna archive) and 3 Ner (BM 114585, written at Uruk, private) and in a private legal record from 2 Nbn (PTS 2957) concerning the whereabouts of a slave woman are his only attestations known so far. After 2 Nbn his trail is lost.

Kalbāya, on the other hand, had at this point an eventful life still ahead of him. A couple of his first attestations also stem from Šum-ukīn's private archive. He appeared as a witness in contracts documenting his uncle's agricultural activities in acc and 2 Ami (BIN 2 109 and YBC 3518, both written in Ḫarrubat). Later he followed his uncle to Uruk, when the latter moved there at the beginning of Neriglissar's reign. Kalbāya first appeared in the Eanna archive in 2 Ner (YBC 4079⁶⁶⁰) as a witness in a legal document concerning the sale of sheep of contested status.⁶⁶¹

Kalbāya's relationship with his uncle was very close, to say the least. To a lesser extent this is also true for Kalbāya's brother Nūrēa and his cousins, the sons Silim-Bēl, who also appear in the documents from their uncle's archive. The families of Bēl-zēri's sons were close-knit, it appears. However, Kalbāya's partnership with his uncle as agricultural entrepreneur suggests a particularly strong bond between the two of them. This was perhaps a consequence of Iqīša's (premature?) demise and the fact that Šum-ukīn had no male children, i.e. an heir. One almost gets the impression that Kalbāya acted as a surrogate for the son Šum-ukīn never had. He not only followed his uncle around on his business trips appearing as a witness in Šum-ukīn's documents, in the accession year of Nabonidus he became his uncle's business partner as a rent farmer of the Eanna temple and was left in charge of the rent farm when Šum-ukīn was away from Uruk: in a letter (YOS 3 22⁶⁶²) to his aunt, Bu'itu, who was away with Šum-ukīn, he reassured her that everything

⁶⁵⁹ The surface of the tablet is eroded and the text is difficult to read. It appears to have been unfinished – only the obverse is inscribed and a date formula is missing. Nevertheless, the year 30 Nbk appears in the text, which helps place it around this date. The text is a receipt of silver for the *ilku*-service which the *šākin ṭēmi* of Babylon, Marduk-ēter, received from Iqīša and Šum-ukīn. Iqīša's other attestations are: PTS 2893 (19 Nbk), *OrAn* 25, 30 no. 1 (23 Nbk) and PTS 2275 (20^[+x] Nbk). Two times he appears as a witness in the documents of his brother Šum-ukīn (PTS 2275, 2893), and twice he plays an active role: in YBC 9263 (see above) and in *OrAn* 25, 30 no. 1, where he acts as the seller of a boat.

⁶⁶⁰ The text is to be published in YOS 16.

⁶⁶¹ Šum-ukīn, here without a title, but probably in his function as a royal commissioner (*bēl piqitti*) of Neriglissar, was to lay claim on these sheep (on behalf of the temple) in case they were proven to be the property of the Lady of Uruk.

⁶⁶² This letter is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 94. 137 and more recently by Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011: 217.

was going fine at home and reported on the progress of the work in the fields. It is safe to assume that Kalbāya was Šum-ukīn's closest business associate during his time in Uruk.

As for Kalbāya's own family, he was married to a certain Busasa, about whose origins nothing is known. She is attested only once, without a patronymic, toward the end of her husband's career in 7 Cyr (YOS 7 93⁶⁶³). The two of them had at least two children. Their son, Nabû-bān-aḥi, or short Bānia, followed in his father's footsteps as a rent farmer of the temple. His career is treated in more detail in the next chapter. Kalbāya and Busasa also had one daughter, Bissāya, who was married to Nanāya-iddin, son of Ibnāya, descendant of Kidin-Marduk. The professions of Bissāya's husband and father in law are not known. However, the Kidin-Marduks were a prominent Urukian family with at least three temple scribes stemming from it. Possibly this was a strategic marriage with the purpose of anchoring this strand of Basia family, which, as will be remembered, immigrated from the north, more firmly with the Urukian upper class. Bissāya's only appearance in our documentation (YOS 7 59⁶⁶⁴, 6 Cyr) pictures the not so enviable position she found herself in on account of her father's failure in the rent farm business. She was denied her dowry, a slave-woman, which was claimed by the temple from her father-in-law, probably as compensation for Kalbāya's arrears. It is conceivable that this did not make Bissāya particularly popular with the in-laws.

Kalbāya's career as a rent farmer of Eanna started at the beginning of Nabonidus's first regnal year with his and Šum-ukīn's land lease contract (YOS 6 11 and duplicates). The conditions of this contract were described in more detail earlier and will not be repeated here. It will be remembered though that Kalbāya entered this agreement together with his uncle Šum-ukīn as his partner. However, being older and more experienced with agricultural enterprises Šum-ukīn took over the management of the rent farm virtually eclipsing Kalbāya's activities during the first six years of Nabonidus's reign. During this period Kalbāya is attested twice on equal footing with Šum-ukīn: in 1 Nbn in an *imittu* debt note for dates (PTS 2036) and in 6 Nbn in a receipt for sesame pertaining to his and his uncle's *sūtu* (YOS 6 21). Other attestations suggest a subordinate position for Kalbāya. He appears in 3 Nbn (YOS 6 25) in an *imittu* debt note for dates in which only Šum-ukīn is named as the manager of the *sūtu*. Kalbāya's role in this episode is restricted to receiving the date delivery, as an additional clause stipulates (ll. 7-10). In 4 Nbn (YOS 6 88), a fragmentary protocol of some legal dispute, Kalbāya appears as one of the parties involved representing his uncle, who was probably away from Uruk at that time. He is designated as the commissioner, *bēl piqitti*, of Šum-ukīn, the *ša muḥḥi sūti* of the Lady of Uruk. Kalbāya, for his part, started appearing with the title *ša muḥḥi sūti* only since 7 Nbn, here again in association with his uncle.

Other attestations from this period provide evidence for Kalbāya's purchase of a house in 2 Nbn (BIN 1 161). This administrative note, which records the temple's income in silver, lists among different entries the receipt of an instalment of 1 mina 5 shekels of silver from Kalbāya, for the house of a certain Nabû-zēr-ušabši, son of Bēl-ušallim, priced at 2 minas 2 shekels. Despite this formulation, the house will have belonged to the temple, as the temple was the recipient of the money. Nabû-zēr-ušabši was perhaps indebted to the temple, which in turn confiscated his property and then sold it to Kalbāya at a later date.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶³ This document is from the context of the temple's settling of accounts with Kalbāya, who had by this point accumulated considerable arrears as a rent farmer. See below for an edition of the text.

⁶⁶⁴ The text is edited below.

⁶⁶⁵ A shepherd (*nāqīdu*) Nabû-zēr-ušabši, son of Bēl-ušallim, known from an undated text probably from Nebuchadnezzar's reign (*AnOr* 9 17), could be identified with our Nabû-zēr-ušabši (Kümmel 1979: 69¹³⁷). The text lists 27 houses, property of the Lady of Uruk, recording the yearly rent, the names of the previous owners of the houses and the names of the tenants. Nabû-zēr-ušabši appears in l. 41 in a very terse entry ("é^{ld} ag-numun-gāl-ši a^{ld} en-gi^{lu} na-qād") so that it is not clear how he is connected to the house in question. The persons in the other entries in the expression "the house of PN" in all likelihood refer to the previous owners, who for some reason, probably indebtedness, had to cede their property to the temple. In one case (l. 5) the house is designated as pledge (*maškanu*), which also points in this direction. Be that as it may, the introductory lines of the text (l. 1: é^{mcs} nīg-ga [dⁱinnin] unug^{ki}) suggest that the present owner of the houses was the Eanna temple. Nabû-zēr-ušabši was probably also one of the previous owners. His house was perhaps without a tenant which would explain the comparatively short entry in the text. This background information can serve to clarify the transaction described in BIN 1 161. The fact that the house in question no

During the first seven regnal years of Nabonidus Kalbāya at least once took part in the temple's legal proceedings as a witness, a *mār banē* more precisely, in *AnOr* 8 21 (4 Nbn). Later he also appears in the role of a *mār banē* (YOS 6 183, 10 Nbn) or a witness (PTS 2089, 1 Cyr; BIN 2 130, acc Camb) in the texts of the Eanna archive.⁶⁶⁶

The documentation for this period does not give much insight into Kalbāya's agricultural activities, rather it puts him in his uncle's shadow. However, a couple of texts written at later stages of his career show in retrospect that he was indeed actively involved in the rent farming business, and that independently of Šum-ukīn, too.

TCL 13 227, written probably during 7 Nbn, lists the temple's income in agricultural produce from Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent farm, from the share croppers, the *rab banē* and other sources. The sources and amounts of income are listed for individual years from 3 to 7 Nbn. In the seventh year, beside the usual entry of the amount of agricultural products from Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent farm (17,000 *kurru* of barley and spelt), the text also lists a separate amount of 2,000 *kurru* of barley stemming "from the *sūtu* of the remaining land which is at the disposal of Kalbāya."⁶⁶⁷ The implication of this line is that the fields which had not already been assigned to his and his uncle's rent farm were entrusted to Kalbāya as his own rent farm. The amount he delivered was probably not the entire rent, but only a part of it, as the use of the preposition *ina* suggests, leaving us in the dark about its size.

Potentially, another text comes to the rescue at this point. TCL 12 90⁶⁶⁸ (8 Nbn) is a land lease contract between Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni,⁶⁶⁹ and the officials of Eanna, in which he asks for the lands, which were excluded from Šum-ukīn's rent farm and were given to Kalbāya as his farm for an annual rent of 3,000 *kurru* of barley.⁶⁷⁰ Nergal-nāšir offered to pay a rent higher by 500 *kurru* than the one imposed on Kalbāya, i.e. 3,500 *kurru* of barley, and following further stipulations was granted this land.

In case both texts refer to the same rent farm under Kalbāya's responsibility, which seems more than likely, it can be concluded that the original arrangement entailed a rent of 3,000 *kurru* of barley for fields of three distinct localities⁶⁷¹ and that this farm was probably set up during 6 Nbn, or at the beginning of 7 Nbn the latest. The amount Kalbāya delivered in 7 Nbn comprised 2/3 of the rent.⁶⁷² So, while he did not reach the target set by the temple, his farming endeavour was not a complete fiasco either. Nevertheless, his farm was dissolved in 8 Nbn, only a couple of years after its formation, and transferred to Nergal-nāšir. Rather than Kalbāya's failure, the motivation for this state of affairs was perhaps Nergal-nāšir's higher bid for the rent. However, the developments concerning Šum-ukīn's rent farm may also have played a part here. As will be remembered, the temple started settling the accounts with him in 8 Nbn. Possible explanations for this, such as Šum-ukīn's bad health, were discussed earlier, but remain highly speculative. At this time the management of the rent farm may have been transferred entirely on Kalbāya.⁶⁷³ What is certain is

longer belonged to Nabû-zēr-ušabši, but was temple property when it was sold to Kalbāya, was probably omitted from the text as a redundant piece of information.

⁶⁶⁶ He also appears among the witnesses in a private document of the temple scribe Nabû-mušētiq-uddê/Balāssu/Damiqū dealing with a division of inheritance (YOS 6 143, 10 Nbn). This Nabû-mušētiq-uddê was a scribe involved in the administration of the temple's agricultural production (see below) and probably had connections to Kalbāya for this reason. But the text also suggests that Kalbāya was moving in the circles of the Urukian elite: among the witnesses were the members of several prominent local families (Egibi, Kurī, Sîn-leqe-unninnī, Ekur-zakir, etc.). Interestingly one of the witnesses was Innin-šum-ušur/Iddin-Nabû/Kidin-Marduk, the brother of Ibnāya/Kidin-Marduk who was the father of the (future) husband of Kalbāya's daughter.

⁶⁶⁷ TCL 13 227 60: 2 lim gur šc-bar *ina* ^{giš}bán šá re-*hi-it* qaq-qar^{mc} šá *ina* igi ^lkal-ba-a.

⁶⁶⁸ Moore 1935: 92ff.; Cocquerillat 1968: 40f.

⁶⁶⁹ For this rent farmer see p. 151.

⁶⁷⁰ TCL 12 90 4ff.: re-*hi-it* šc-numun šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}/šá ^lmu-gin la iṣ-ba-tu šá a-na mu-an-na 3 lim gur šc-bar a-na ^{giš}bán a-na/ ^lkal-ba-a a-šú šá ^lba-šá ta-ad-di-na.

⁶⁷¹ These fields were situated in the area stretching from the border of the district Til-ḫurāši to the Euphrates, in the district Rudāya until *tamirtu qatnu* and in the district Angillu (TCL 12 90 3f.).

⁶⁷² Incidentally, the amount delivered from his and Šum-ukīn's rent farm that year also came down to 2/3 of the rent. Is this a coincidence?

⁶⁷³ This was perhaps recorded in OIP 122 50 ([x] Nbn). The text is too fragmentary and Kalbāya's name does not appear in the extant portion of the tablet, but his uncle may have been present as a witness (Il. 10'-11'),

that Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya accrued arrears over the seven years they worked as rent farmers for Eanna. For 7 Nbn, in particular, a high number of *imittu* debt notes⁶⁷⁴ may indicate that they ran into difficulties concerning the collecting of the harvests from the gardeners. Kalbāya's inclusion in these debt notes side by side with his uncle, and for the first time with the title *ša muḥḥi sūti*, speaks of his increased involvement in the management of the farm. In the light of this heightened responsibility it is conceivable that Kalbāya himself bailed out of the personal project he had running on the side prompting the temple to look for another tenant.

YOS 3 2,⁶⁷⁵ a famous letter of Nabonidus to the *šatammu* and the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna, sheds some light on the precarious situation Kalbāya found himself in after the death of his uncle in 10 Nbn. The letter is not dated, but can be placed between 14 and 16 Nbn on prosopographic grounds. The two officials had complained to the king about Kalbāya, who had accumulated arrears of 44,063 *kurru* of barley and dates. The king replied to the officials to leave Kalbāya in peace and accept anything he delivers to the temple: "Order of the king to Kurbanni-Marduk and Ilī-rēmāni. I am well, may your hearts be content. Concerning Kalbāya, the rent farmer, about whom you wrote to me as follows: 'He has backlogs of 44,063 *kurru* of barley and dates', no one should hassle him. (Just) accept whatever he brings and gives to you". The apparently unconditional support of the king makes it clear that Kalbāya must have continued in the tradition of his uncle keeping up the good relationships with the court, which Šum-ukīn initiated during Neriglissar's reign, if not even earlier.⁶⁷⁶

Contrary to the view propounded by Cocquerillat (1968: 96) that Kalbāya was out of Šum-ukīn's league, incapable of living up to his achievements, he managed astonishingly well considering the debts accumulated by his "illustrious predecessor", which he in turn inherited. Looking back at TCL 13 227, probably from 7 Nbn, we can calculate the outstanding amounts of Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent farm for the years 4 to 6 Nbn. These arrears add up to over 35,890 *kurru* of barley and dates. If we add to this the 8,000 *kurru* of barley which were not delivered in 7 Nbn we end up with over 43,890 *kurru*. This amount was only a part of the arrears for the first seven years of Nabonidus's reign, as we do not have complete data sets for their deliveries for all the years.

Apparently, at least another seven years passed before the matter of now only Kalbāya's arrears was addressed to the king. In the meantime the settling of accounts had been done with Šum-ukīn and some of his private assets were confiscated to cover the debt. Unfortunately, we cannot determine by what amount the arrears were diminished. At any rate, seven years later Kalbāya's debt added up to 44,063 *kurru*, meaning that it had not grown considerably over the years. If anything, Kalbāya was just as good as his uncle in managing the rent farm, perhaps even better, considering the initial burden of Šum-ukīn's arrears.

Kalbāya remained in the office of the *ša muḥḥi sūti* of the Lady of Uruk for quite some time after the matter of his arrears was referred to the king and even his son Nabû-bān-aḥi was employed by the temple as a rent farmer. This can not solely be attributed to the royal support he doubtlessly enjoyed, as he survived the demise of the Chaldean dynasty and kept his function for some two years after the Achaemenid conquest of Babylonia. He remained the *ša muḥḥi sūti* of the Lady of Uruk until 2 Cyr (YOS 7 14) (effectively, his last year in office was probably 1 Cyr), and

and the mention of 10,000 *kurru* of dates and 400 ploughmen may be indicative of the same conditions as in Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent contract from 1 Nbn. See also note 657.

⁶⁷⁴ There are six *imittu* debt notes dated to 7 Nbn (YOS 6 82, 86, 101, 107; YOS 19 78; PTS 2481) and five with a broken date (YOS 6 185; YOS 19 81, 82; YBC 3466, 11463). These should probably be assigned to this year on account of Kalbāya's appearance as *ša muḥḥi sūti* alongside Šum-ukīn, which is characteristic for the debt notes of 7 Nbn. The *imittu* debt note YOS 6 82 is the only one from the seventh year of Nabonidus in which Kalbāya is not attested because the tablet is broken after the mention of Šum-ukīn's name. It seems most likely that his name was mentioned in the break.

⁶⁷⁵ For an edition of the text see Cocquerillat 1968: 96. 137 and Beaulieu 1989a: 118.

⁶⁷⁶ In a letter (YOS 3 46, see Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011: 207f.) we hear of Kalbāya going to Babylon in order to accompany his uncle at an audience with the king: "As for Kalbāya, his trip to Babylon is all set. (He says): 'I will go to Babylon as soon as Šum-ukīn sets out.' He (also) says: 'Together with Šum-ukīn I will approach the king and (stay) with the king until the [end] of the second year.'" (ll. 6-14). The letter should probably be dated to 2 Nbn (Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011: 182).

was still around until the accession year of Cambyses. These last documents concern the settling of the still open obligations.

The years following Šum-ukīn's settling of accounts had a similar scenario in store for Kalbāya. The only difference seems to be that he took a more active role in this process than his uncle, who was probably hampered by bad health. In Šum-ukīn's case we saw the "temple" or its officials handling his assets and taking action against his debtors. Kalbāya, on the other hand, appeared since 10 Nbn, the year that Šum-ukīn died, in a number of texts showing his efforts to deal with the people who had open obligations toward him, i.e. his debtors and the gardeners and farmers under his responsibility. These texts testify to his attempts to track down his debtors, seize their property in exchange for arrears or confront them in legal trials.

YOS 6 194⁶⁷⁷ (10 Nbn) is a bail protocol concerning the *imittu* for dates from Bāb-Ḫilti in which a certain Bībēa, son of Nabû-udammiq, guarantees to bring a certain Nabû-tattannu-ušur to Kalbāya.⁶⁷⁸ This guarantee was carried out in the presence of Nabû-mušētiq-uddê and Mušēzib-Marduk, both without a patronymic. Bībēa appears in other texts as well and was either a gardener or a sub-lessor of orchards from Kalbāya's rent farm.⁶⁷⁹ Nabû-tattannu-ušur could not be identified as he is not given a patronymic. He too was probably either a gardener or a sub-lessor of Kalbāya. The involvement of Nabû-mušētiq-uddê and Mušēzib-Marduk in this case implies that they also had some responsibilities with regard to the *imittu* payment: apparently they were working as intermediaries between the gardeners and the rent farmer. The two of them already appear in an *imittu* list for dates pertaining to the *sūtu* of Šum-ukīn from the fifth year of Nabonidus (YOS 6 63). They are said to have measured out 1,542 *kurru* of dates in addition to 200 *kurru* from Bīt-Amukanu (ll. 6-9). This implies that Nabû-mušētiq-uddê and Mušēzib-Marduk belonged to the group of temple administrators in charge of measuring (and transporting) the harvested crops. These "measurers" were at the same time temple scribes. Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, son of Balāssu, was the scribe of YOS 6 194, and should probably be equated with Nabû-mušētiq-uddê who appears in the body of the text, albeit without a patronymic.⁶⁸⁰ Nabû-mušētiq-uddê and Mušēzib-Marduk appear in another debt note for dates (PTS 3039, see note 679) written on the same day as YOS 6 194. Nabû-mušētiq-uddê appears one month later in Dillard, FLP 1585 (10¹ Nbn⁶⁸¹), a receipt for 115 *kurru* of barley. A certain Libluṭ, son of Mūrānu, received this barley from him. The peculiarly formulated text states that the barley, which had been charged against Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, was delivered "according to a debt note, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, of Kalbāya, son of

⁶⁷⁷ Cocquerillat 1968: 84. 133.

⁶⁷⁸ Note that Kalbāya appears in this text without a patronymic, and may in fact have not been the rent farmer, son of Iqīša, descendant of Basia, but the scribe Kalbāya, son of Nabû-rēmāni, who is also attested in YOS 6 159 (Cocquerillat 1968: 76. 128f.).

⁶⁷⁹ Bībēa is already attested in this function in an *imittu* debt note for dates from an orchard on Bāb-Ḫilti pertaining to the *sūtu* of Šum-ukīn in 3 Nbn (PTS 2343). He also appears as a witness in a document (PTS 3039) written on the same day as YOS 6 194. This text, a debt note for dates charged against a certain Šamaš-aḷ-ēreš, son of Arad-Nabû, also concerns Nabû-mušētiq-uddê and Mušēzib-Marduk. They act as intermediaries between the temple, to whom the dates belong, and the debtor: the dates are said to be their responsibility (expressed by the phrase *ša qāt*). Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, son of Balāssu, had written both PTS 3039 and YOS 6 194. As for Bībēa, he appears for the last time in 4 Cyr in a debt note for 53 *kurru* of barley in exchange for dates pertaining to Kalbāya's rent farm (YBC 11541). See below for more details on this text.

⁶⁸⁰ This scribe can be identified as a member of the Damiqu family (Kümmel 1979: 120). A part of his private archive has been preserved among the Eanna tablets (Jursa 2005: 142). Kalbāya figured as a witness in one of the documents from his private archive concerning a division of inheritance (YOS 6 143; see also above n. 666). Jursa (*ibid.*) noted that it is often impossible to make a distinction between the temple texts and his private documents, as Nabû-mušētiq-uddê had business relations with the temple. Nevertheless, the presence of his private documents among the Eanna texts is undisputed. The situation is in my opinion similar to that of Šum-ukīn's private archive. The reason for the presence of his private texts in an institutional archive must have been connected to the final settling of accounts with the temple.

⁶⁸¹ Dillard's copy shows one horizontal wedge for the year number. As regards the content it is difficult to imagine what could motivate a transaction like this in 1 Nbn, at the very beginning of Kalbāya's career. Furthermore, one would rather expect a vertical wedge for a year numeral. It is suggested here to emend the sign to 10, as it is not inconceivable that a *Winkelhaken* was mistaken for a horizontal wedge by the copyist. The text should be collated.

Iqīša”: *a-ki-i ú-il-ti₄ ní-g-ga/ ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} u ^dna¹-na¹-a/ šá ¹ur-a a-šú šá ¹ba-šá* (ll. 1-3). What is meant by this cumbersome phrase is that Nabû-mušētiq-uddê had an obligation toward Kalbāya set down in a debt note and concerning barley, which was temple property, as it probably represented the yield of the temple land. This nice illustration of a chain of responsibility indicates again that Nabû-mušētiq-uddê must have had the function of an intermediary between the farmers and Kalbāya. The same can be assumed for Mušēzib-Marduk, whose identity is uncertain.⁶⁸² Whether their responsibilities were connected to their official duties as temple scribes and measurers, or whether they were (at times) involved with Kalbāya privately, as sub-contractors for instance, remains in the dark.

BM 114457 (1[?] Cyr) is another record of Kalbāya’s attempt to track down a debtor. Itti-šēpē-šarri, probably a gardener, did not pay his *imittu* duty and failed to show up before Kalbāya. His creditor, however, managed to get hold of his wife and ordered her to either deliver her husband or pay his debt of 35 *kurru* of dates to the temple.

BM 114457 21⁺-XI-1[?] Cyr
 obv. 1. ud 1-kam šá iti še <<^l>> ^{mi}šá-¹an-na-a¹
 dumu-mí-su šá ¹kaš-šá-a¹ ¹it-ti-gír^{ll}-lugal
 a-šú šá ¹ú-bar-^dag ^{lu}mu-tú-su ta-ab-ba-kam-ma
 a-na ¹kal-ba-a a-šú šá ¹ba-šá šá muḥ-ḥi ^{giš}bán
 5. šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ta-nam-din ki-i
 la ta-ta-ab-ka-am-ma la ta-at-tan-nu
 35 gur zú-lum-ma zag a-šá šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
 šá ^{uru}é ¹šag-ga-a¹ šá ¹kal-ba-a
 a-na muḥ-ḥi ¹ki-gír^{ll}-lugal i-mi-du
 rev. 10. ^{mi}šá-an-na-a a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ta-nam-din
^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{ld}in-nin-mu-urù
 a-šú šá ¹mu-^dag a ¹ki-din-^damar-utu
¹mu-gin a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-sur a ¹é-sag-íl-ía
 (one blank line)
^{lu}umbisag ¹gi-mil-lu a-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-numun-mu
 15. unug^{ki} iti ¹ziz ud 21⁺-kam mu 1[?]-kam¹
¹ku-ra-[áš lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur]

“On 1-XII Šannāya, daughter of Kaššāya, will bring Itti-šēpē-šarri, son of Ubār-Nabû, her husband, and hand him over to Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk. If she does not bring and hand him over, Šannāya will have to pay to the Lady of Uruk 35 *kurru* of dates, *imittu* of a field of the Lady of Uruk from Bīt-Šaggā, which Kalbāya had estimated for Itti-šēpē-šarri.

Witnesses: Innin-šum-ušur, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of Kidin-Marduk,
 Šum-ukīn, son of Nabû-ēter, descendant of Esagilia,

Scribe: Gimillu, son of Innin-zēr-iddin;
 Uruk; 21⁺-XI-1[?] Cyr, [king of Babylon, king of lands.]”

In case Kalbāya managed to pin down a debtor he could hope to seize his property in order to cover the outstanding debts. This is what happens in TEBR 41, a document from 10 Nbn, which records that a slave had been given to Kalbāya by a debtor in exchange for some agricultural commodity. A similar case is also attested in 17 Nbn:

YOS 6 207 1-IV-17 Nbn
 obv. 1. ¹na-din a-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-numun-dù
 ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú ¹a-na-^dinnin-tak-lak ^{lu}qal-la-šú
 a-na 40 gur še-bar ina re-e-ḥi šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
 šá ina muḥ-ḥi-šú šá mu 17-kam ^dag-i lugal e^{ki}
 5. a-na šám gam-ru-tu a-na ¹kal-ba-a

⁶⁸² In the pertinent texts he never appears with a patronymic. Perhaps he can be identified with the temple scribe Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Bēl-uballit, from the Amēl-Ea family (Kümmel 1979: 118).

- a-šú šá¹ba-šá a¹ba-si-ia šá muḫ-ḫi^{giš}bán
 šá^dgašan šá unug^{ki} id-din pu-ut
^{lú}si-ḫu-ú^{lú}pa-qí-ra-nu
^{lú}dumu dù-tú ù ìr lugal-ú-tu
- lo.e. 10. šá ina muḫ-ḫi¹a-na^dinnin-tak-lak
 il-la-²a¹na-din a-šú šá
- rev. ^{ld}in-nin-numun-dù na-ši
^{lú}mu-kín-nu^{1rd}innin¹na-numun-gál-ši a-šú šá
^{ld}na-na-a-^rx¹-[x]-tu¹ki^dutu-din
15. a-šú šá^{ld}ag-mu-gin¹kal-ba-a a-šú šá
^{lú}šeš-li-ia¹ba-šá a-šú šá^{ld}amar-utu-sur
 a¹ba-bu-tú^{lú}šid^{ld}utu-numun-gál-ši
 a-šú šá^{ld}u-gur-ina-sùḫ-sur a¹dan-né-e-a
^{umu}maš-ka-nu iti šu ud 1-kam
20. mu 17-kam^{ld}ag-i lugal e^{ki}

“Nādin, son of Innin-zēr-ibni, of his own volition sold Ana-Ištar-taklak, his slave, for 40 *kurru* of barley, part of the arrears owed to the Lady of Uruk, which are charged against him for 17 Nbn, as its total price, to Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, descendant of Basia, the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk. Nādin, son of Innin-zēr-ibni, bears responsibility for (any) lawsuit or claim or (matter concerning the) status of free citizen or royal slave which arises concerning Ana-Ištar-taklak.

Witnesses: Innin-zēr-ušabši, son of Nanāya-[x]-tu,
 Itti-Šamaš-balātu, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn,
 Kalbāya, son of Aḫ-ilia,
 Iqīša, son of Marduk-ēṭer, descendant of Babutu,

Scribe: Šamaš-zēr-ušabši, son of Nergal-ina-tēši-ēṭer, descendant of Dannēa;
 Maškanu; 1-IV-17 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

All these cases of bails and confiscations on account of indebtedness were probably extremely unpleasant for the involved parties; however, one wonders whether they were not the reflections of the regular mechanisms of a rent farm rather than signs of crisis. At any rate, the rent farm business had gone on as usual. From 15 Nbn there are attestations of deliveries of barley and spelt (YOS 6 209) and dates (TEBR 45) pertaining to the *sūtu* of Kalbāya, indicating that he was still in charge of the arable lands and the orchards of the Lady of Uruk. From 17 Nbn there is one *imittu* debt note for dates from the *sūtu* of Kalbāya, the *ša muḫḫi sūti* of the Lady of Uruk (BM 114477). He is attested with this title at least until the month IX of 2 Cyr (BIN 1 115). During this year he seems to have got into more trouble with the temple administration.

The year started off with a legal record concerning canal digging works (YOS 7 14). The text is difficult to understand due to its bad condition.⁶⁸³ It states that the temple administrator went with Nergal-īpuš, a rent farmer (*ša muḫḫi sūti*), for three days, probably on an inspection tour of the work on the irrigation system. He then gave instructions to Nergal-īpuš concerning the digging of a canal in connection to Kalbāya’s work quota. It seems that Nergal-īpuš took over a part of the work from him. Kalbāya then made a declaration to Nergal-īpuš in the assembly, but its content is unintelligible, since this part of the text is damaged. The implications of the proceedings are not clear. The temple obviously employed other rent farmers who collaborated with Kalbāya in one way or another. This was nothing new, as minor rent farmers had been working for the temple simultaneously with the *fermiers généraux* since Šum-ukīn’s time. Kalbāya’s higher status is indicated by his title *ša muḫḫi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk* and the addition of “of the Lady of Uruk” to his title signifies that he was of higher status than Nergal-īpuš.

Several months later another puzzling document followed. PTS 2692, an *imittu* debt note for dates, although written in 2 Cyr, refers to the *imittu* of the first year (“mu 1-kam”), presumably

⁶⁸³ See the highly hypothetical interpretation of Cocquerillat 1968: 85. 134.

of this same ruler. Unless we are dealing here with a scribal mistake,⁶⁸⁴ it appears that for some reason the obligation had been redrafted one year later. Alternatively, one could imagine that, again for unknown reasons, Kalbāya and his team of harvest estimators failed to issue the debt note in 1 Cyr, so this was done in the following year.

PTS 2692 14-VIa-2 Cyr

obv. 1. 40 gur zú-lum-ma ní-g-ga^d gašán šá unug^{ki}
 u^d na-na-a zag a-šà šá^{uru} é^{ld} ag-mu-giš šá mu 1-kam
 šá^{gib} bán šá¹ kal-ba-a a-šú šá¹ ba-šá
 ina muh-ḥi^{ld} na-na-a-mu a-šú šá¹ dù^d 15
 5. a¹ ku-ri-i ina iti apin zú-lum-ma a₄
 40 gur ina^{uru} é^{ld} ag-mu-giš
 i-nam-din
 rev. ^{lu} mu-kin-nu^{ld} ag-gin-ibila a-šú šá¹ na-din
 a¹ da-bi-bi¹ ir^d in-nin
 10. a-šú šá¹ dù^d 15 a¹ šu^d na-na-a
 gi^d amar-utu a-šú šá¹ ir^d ag a^{lu} é-maš^d ag
^{lu} umbisag¹ ba-la-tu a-šú šá^{ld} 30-dù
 a^{ld} sipa gu₄ unug^{ki}
 iti kin^{ll} ud 14-kam
 u.e. 15. mu 2-kam¹ ku-ra-áš
 lugal e^{ki} lugal kur-kur

“40 *kurru* of dates, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, *imittu* of a field from Bīt-Nabû-šum-līšir, from the year 1 (of Cyrus), pertaining to the rent of Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, are charged against Nanāya-iddin, son of Ibni-Ištar, descendant of Kurī. He will deliver these 40 *kurru* of dates in month VIII in Bīt-Nabû-šum-līšir.

Witnesses: Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī,
 Arad-Innin, son of Ibni-Ištar, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
 Mušallim-Marduk, son of Arad-Nabû, descendant of Šangû-Nabû,

Scribe: Balātu, son of Sîn-ibni, descendant of Re³i-alpi;
 Uruk; 14-VIa-2 Cyr, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

In YOS 7 23⁶⁸⁵ (2 Cyr) Kalbāya was obliged to testify about the whereabouts of 90 *kurru* of dates, *imittu* of a field in Bīt-Sîn-karābī-išme from the year 1 (of Cyrus). He claimed to have given the dates to Imbia, son of Nanāya-ēreš, descendant of Kidin-Marduk, but had received nothing in exchange for them. It is interesting to note that Kalbāya not only had to justify the situation to the highest temple officials, but also to the *šākin tēmi* of Uruk, Šulāya, who was present at the testimony. His presence there was probably connected to the involvement of Imbia, whose exact function at this time is not known, but who was probably associated with the city administration at some level, as it was he who succeeded Šulāya in the office of *šākin tēmi* two years later.⁶⁸⁶

To judge by the two previously discussed texts, it seems that Kalbāya ran into more and more difficulties at the beginning of Cyrus’s reign. As a consequence he lost the function of the temple rent farmer probably by the end of 2 Cyr. There is no direct evidence for a dissolution of his farm, but his loss of the title of a rent farmer in the subsequent texts can be taken to signify this.

⁶⁸⁴ The year in the date of the text (14-VIa-2 Cyr) does not present a problem, as there was an intercalary *ulūlu* in the second regnal year of Cyrus according to Parker and Dubberstein (1956: 29). It is the mention of the year one in line 2 which is potentially problematic.

⁶⁸⁵ Cocquerillat 1968: 85. 134. The text also has a somewhat damaged duplicate, BIN 2 115, which was not recognized by Cocquerillat.

⁶⁸⁶ Kümmel 1979: 140. Note also that Kalbāya was personally involved with the Kidin-Marduk family, as his daughter was married to one of its members.

Even after the loss of the title *ša muḫḫi sūti* in 2 Cyr Kalbāya is attested in the documents of the Eanna archive until at least the accession year of Cambyses.⁶⁸⁷ For the next six years or so he continued settling the accounts with his debtors on behalf of the temple. The case of the debtor, probably a gardener, Aplāya, son of Šamaš-zēr-iqīša, stands out with no less than three texts dealing with his debts. GC 2 98⁶⁸⁸ (3 Cyr) is a receipt for 35 *kurru* of dates. Following the instructions of Kalbāya, Bānia (Nabû-bān-aḫi), his son, received these dates from Aplāya as part of his arrears. This delivery of dates was aside from 16 1/2 shekels of silver, the price of an ox, charged against Aplāya.

Obviously, this did not suffice to cover all of Aplāya's arrears, as the following year the temple administration issued a summons to Aplāya to come to Uruk in order to debate with Kalbāya in the temple court on account of debt notes for dates charged against him:

PTS 3026

13-VI-4 Cyr

- obv. 1. *ú-íl-ti₄ šá zú-lum-ma ní-g-ga^d gašan šá unug^{ki} u^d na-n[a-a]*
šá^{giš} bān šá¹ kal-ba-a [a-šú šá]¹ ba-šá¹ šá ina muḫ-ḫi¹ ap-la-[a]
a-šú šá¹ utu-numun-ba-šá šá¹ kal-[ba-a šá]¹ re¹-e-ḫu <<šá>> ina muḫ-ḫi-šú¹ [ana]
ni-din-tu₄-^den^{lú} šà-tam é-[an-na] a-šú šá¹ ag-gin-numun
5. *a¹ da-bi-bi¹ ag-šeš-mu^{lú} sag lugal¹ en¹ pi-qit-tu₄ é-a[n-na]*
ú^{lú} umbisag^{meš} šá é-an-na id-di-ni¹ a-na¹ ud¹ kam
šá iti du₆ ap-la-a a-na unug^{ki} il-la¹-kam-ma
ina gub-zu šá¹ ni-din-tu₄-^den^{lú} šà-[tam] é-an-na
ag-šeš-mu^{lú} sag lugal¹ en¹ [pi-qit-tu₄ é-an-na]
10. *ú^{lú} umbisag^{meš} šá é-an-na it¹-ti¹ kal-ba¹-a [di-i-nu]*
- lo.e. *i-dab₅-bu-ub ki-i la it¹-tal¹-ku a-k[i-i ú-íl-ti₄]*
- rev. *šá zú-lum-ma šá¹ kal-ba-a šá ina m[uh-ḫi-šú e-le-tu₄]*
zú-lum-ma a-na^d gašan šá unug^{ki} [i-nam-din]
- (one blank line)
- lú mu-kin-nu¹ zálag-^d30 a-šú šá¹ ag-dù-šē a¹ [zálag-^d30]*
15. *lú amar-utu-na-šir a-šú šá¹ re-mut a¹ [im-še-e'-a]*
šú-la-a a-šú šá¹ ag-mu-gin a¹ gal¹ dū¹
ki-na-a a-šú šá¹ ag-din-su-e a¹ man-d[i-di]
[lú]umbisag¹ gi-mil-lu a-šú šá¹ in-nin-numun-m[u]
uru la-^{giš}bān iti kin ud 13-kam mu 4-kam
20. *ku-ra-áš lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur*

“Concerning the debt notes for dates, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, from the rent farm of Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, which are charged against Aplāya, son of Šamaš-zēr-iqīša, and which Kalbāya, against whom arrears are charged, gave to Nidinti-Bēl, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nabû-mukīn-zēri, descendant of Dābibī, to Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna, and to the scribes of Eanna: On 1-VII Aplāya will come to Uruk and in the presence of Nidinti-Bēl, the chief administrator of Eanna, Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna, and the scribes of Eanna plead [his case] against Kalbāya. If he does not come, he will have to give dates to the Lady of Uruk according to the debt notes for dates of Kalbāya, which [are charged] against [him].

Witnesses: Nūr-Sîn, son of Nabû-bān-aḫi, descendant of [Nūr-Sîn],
 Marduk-nāšir, son of Rēmūt, descendant of [Adad-še'a],
 Šulāya, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Rab-banē,
 Kīnāya, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, descendant of Mandidu,

Scribe: Gimillu, son of Innin-zēr-iddin;

Lasūtu; 13-VI-4 Cyr, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

⁶⁸⁷ His last known attestation is in BIN 2 130 (acc Camb) where he acts as a witness. In other words he was still around six years after the time proposed by Cocquerillat for his disappearance (1968: 97).

⁶⁸⁸ The text is edited by Dougherty 1933: 28f. Note that the place of issue of the text (l. 13) should be read as: *uru-šá-é'-šad-da-an*, i.e. Ālu-ša-Bīt-Šaddān. This was probably the same place as the one listed in Zadok (1985: 104) under Bīt-Šaddajnu (TCL 13 183: 7: *uru-é'-šad-da-a-nu*).

The following year the temple issued a debt note for 60 *kurru* of dates to Aplāya (TEBR 43, 5 Cyr). The text stipulates that the dates are from a debt note of Kalbāya, the arrears of [an *imittu*] from 13⁺ Nbn (the year is unfortunately broken and could be anything between 13 and 17 Nbn), which he imposed on Aplāya in 2 Cyr. This small dossier illustrates some of the difficulties of the rent farmers and ultimately the temple administration in dealing with agricultural producers who for some reason failed to meet their obligations. It could take years to pin them down with debt notes and even so the temple had little guarantee that they would eventually pay up.

There was more settling of accounts with Kalbāya's debtors in 4 Cyr: YBC 11541 converts the debt of dates of a certain Bībēa⁶⁸⁹ (he was already mentioned on p. 190) into barley and makes stipulations for a payment in two instalments in the fourth and the eighth month in Uruk and Bāb-Ḫilti respectively. The text is edited in the Appendix 1.

By the end of 6 Cyr the temple administration appears to have lost its patience with Kalbāya. In NCBT 540 he had to swear an oath that within nine days he would bring all the debt notes charged against the (agricultural) workers, presumably so that the temple could finalize the accounting with him, the ploughmen and the gardeners:

NCBT 540 8-XI-6 Cyr
 obv. 1. ¹kal-ba-a a-šú šá ¹ba-šá a ¹ba-si-ia
 i-na ^den u ^dag ù a-dé-e šá lugal
 (one line erased)
¹a-na¹ ^{ld}ag-gin-ibila ^{lú}ša-tam é-an-na
 a-šú šá ¹na-di-nu a ¹da-bi-bi ù
 5. ^{ld}ag-šeš-mu ^{lú}sag lugal ^{lú}en sig₅
 é-an-na it-te-mi
 lo.e. ki-i a-di ud 15-kam šá iti zíz
 rev. ú-íl-ti₄^{meš} šá ra-šu-tu ina muḫ-ḫi
^{lú}érin^{meš} ú-i'-¹il¹ a-na-áš-šá-am-ma
 10. a-nam-dak-ku-nu-šú ár-ki ú-íl-ti₄
 šá ina gub-zu šá ¹ki-^damar-utu-din ^{lú}di-kud it-ti-šú
 e-le-tu₄ ^{lú}mu-kin-nu ¹si-lim-dingir ^{lú}sag lugal
 šá ugu qup-pu šá é-an-na ¹na-di-nu a-šú
 šá ^{ld}en-šeš^{meš}-ba-šá a ¹e-gi-bi
 15. ¹ir-^damar-utu a-šú šá ^{ld}amar-utu-[m]u-mu a ¹rd^{en}1-a-urù
^{lú}umbisag ¹pir-²u a-šú šá ¹é-¹an-na¹-mu-dù
 u.e. unug^{ki} iti zíz ud 8-kam mu 6-kam
¹ku-raš lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur

“Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, descendant of Basia, swore by Bēl, Nabû and the majesty of the king before Nabû-mukīn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābībī, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna (as follows): ‘By 15-XI I will bring the debt notes, concerning the claims (of the temple) charged against the (agricultural) workers and give them to

⁶⁸⁹ Bībēa is already attested in this function in an *imittu* debt note for dates from an orchard on Bāb-Ḫilti pertaining to the *sūtu* of Šum-ukīn in 3 Nbn (PTS 2343). He also appears as a witness in a document (PTS 3039) written on the same day as YOS 6 194. This text, a debt note for dates charged against a certain Šamaš-aḫ-ēreš, son of Arad-Nabû, also concerns Nabû-mušeṭtiq-uddê and Mušeṭtib-Marduk. They act as intermediaries between the temple, to whom the dates belong, and the debtor: the dates are said to be their responsibility (expressed by the phrase *ša qāt*). Nabû-mušeṭtiq-uddê, son of Balāssu, had written both PTS 3039 and YOS 6 194. As for Bībēa, he appears for the last time in 4 Cyr in a debt note for 53 *kurru* of barley in exchange for dates pertaining to Kalbāya's rent farm (YBC 11541). See below for more details on this text.

you.’ (This is) instead⁶⁹⁰ of the debt notes, that were charged against him in the presence of Itti-Marduk-balātu, the judge.⁶⁹¹

Witnesses: Silim-ilī, the royal official in charge of the cash box of Eanna,
Nādin, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi,
Arad-Marduk, son of Marduk-šum-iddin, descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur,
Scribe: Pir’u, son of Eanna-šum-ibni;
Uruk; 8-XI-6 Cyr, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

Less than a month later the temple finally cracked down on Kalbāya attempting to seize his private property. The temple administration turned to the father-in-law of Bissāya, Kalbāya’s daughter, and asked of him to hand over to the temple a slave woman, which she had received from her father as dowry. The fact that the temple turned to Bissāya’s father-in-law rather than her husband is not so peculiar. It was common practice for men in Babylonia to marry after their father’s death and found a new household with their part of the inheritance. Exceptions to this were possible. In the case of a marriage of a man whose father was still alive, the bride automatically joined the household of her father-in-law and the dowry she brought with her merged with the father-in-law’s property.⁶⁹² As a rule, the dowry would be transferred together with the groom’s inheritance to the common property of the married couple only after the groom’s father’s death. Bissāya’s father-in-law was obviously still alive and therefore he was the one in charge of the slave woman. For this reason the temple turned to him and asked him either to deliver the slave to the temple, or give another slave as substitution, and pay the *mandattu* for the period the slave was in his possession:

YOS 7 59

1-XII-6 Cyr

- obv. 1. ud 10-kam šá iti še ¹ib-na-a dumu-šú
šá ¹mu-^dag a ¹ki-din-^damar-utu
^{mi}ina-dan-na-tu₄-al-si-iš ^{mi}géme
šá ¹kal-ba-a a-šú šá ¹ba-šá šá re-e-ḥi
5. šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ina muḥ-ḥi-šú <šá> ¹kal-ba-a
it-ti ^{mi}bi-is-sa-a dumu^{mi}-<<su>>-šú
a-na ^{1d}na-na-a-mu dumu ¹ib-na-a a-na nu-dun-né-e
id-di-nu ib-ba-kam-ma a-na ^{1d}ag-gin-ibila
^{1lú}šà-tam é-an-na a-šú šá ¹na-din a ¹da-bi-bi
- lo.e. 10. ù ^{1d}ag-šēš-mu ^{1lú}sag lugal
en pi-qit-tu₄ é-an-na i-nam-din
- rev. ki-i ud 10-kam la i-tab-kam-ma la i-tan-nu
ul-tu ugu u₄-mu šá ^{1lú}a-me-lut-tu₄
ina igi-šú lú-tú ù man-dat-ti-šú
15. a-na ní-g-ga ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din
^{1lú}mu-kin-nu ¹si-lim-dingir ^{1lú}sag lugal (erasure: šá [ug]u)
šá ugu qu-up-pi šá é-an-na
^{1d}utu-gin-a a-šú šá ^{1d}di-kud-šēš^{me}-mu
a ¹ši-gu-ú-a ¹mu-ra-nu a-šú šá
20. ^{1d}ag-sur a ¹é-sag-gil-a
u.e. ^{1lú}umbisag ^{1d}ag-a-mu a-šú šá ^{1d}en-din-i[*f*]
[a] ^{1lú}šá-¹mun ^{1lú}šá-¹mun ^{1lú}šá-¹mun ^{1lú}šá-¹mun ^{1lú}šá-¹mun ^{1lú}šá-¹mun ^{1lú}šá-¹mun ^{1lú}šá-¹mun ^{1lú}šá-¹mun ^{1lú}šá-¹mun
¹ku-^{ra}raš lugal tin-tir^{ki}
25. lugal kur kur

⁶⁹⁰ For *arku* with the meaning “instead of” see Jursa 1995b: 54.

⁶⁹¹ This indicates that Kalbāya was already in a court on account of this matter and was convicted. Now he was supposed to let the temple authorities have the debt notes instead of a payment.

⁶⁹² The couple thus “remained economically (as well as socially and legally) dependent upon the groom’s father” (Roth 1989: 9).

“On the 10th day of month XII Ibnāya, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of Kidin-Marduk, will bring Ina-dannati-alsiš, the slave woman of Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, against whom arrears of the Lady of Uruk are charged, and whom Kalbāya gave together with Bissāya, his daughter, to Nanāya-iddin, son of Ibnāya, as (her) dowry, and will give her (the slave woman) to Nabû-mukīn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna. If on the 10th he does not bring her and give her (to them), he will provide a slave (as replacement) and make a compensatory payment (*mandattu*) to the treasury of the Lady of Uruk, from the day that the slave (woman) had been at his disposal.

Witnesses: Silim-ili, royal official in charge of the basket of Eanna,
 Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Madān-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Šigūa,
 Mūrānu, son of Nabû-ēter, descendant of Esagilāya,

Scribe: Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Bel-uballiṭ, descendant of Ša-ṭābtišu;
 Uruk; 1-XII-6 Cyr, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

What is interesting is that the temple considered the slave woman to still be Kalbāya’s property, which it could lay its hands on for the purpose of discharging his debts, despite the fact that she had already been delivered to the in-laws’ household. While to us this action on behalf of the temple may seem arbitrary and particularly unfair toward Bissāya, perhaps it is possible to reconcile with the legal practice of the time with regard to §9 of the Neo-Babylonian law:

(Concerning) a man who has orally declared the dowry for his daughter, or has written a tablet (to that effect) for her, and later his total estate has decreased – he may give his daughter a dowry in accordance with the remaining assets of his estate. The father-in-law and the groom may not (otherwise) change the mutually agreed upon terms.⁶⁹³

Whether the temple intended to base its claims on this law and whether in the end it obtained the slave cannot be ascertained. What is certain is that Bissāya was not the only woman to have suffered on account of Kalbāya’s business failure. Her mother Busasa was probably struck even harder by the measures of the temple. Ironically, just as Kalbāya had intimidated the wife of a debtor a few years earlier,⁶⁹⁴ now his wife could feel the pressure exerted by the temple, which was in pursuit of their common property. The temple administration made a certain Kiribtu, son of Arad-Innin,⁶⁹⁵ and his wife swear an oath to the effect that they were not in the possession of any property belonging to Kalbāya and his wife Busasa. The temple probably seized what it could from Kalbāya, but this not being enough to cover his debts, it suspected that he might have given some of his belongings to a third party for safekeeping. Therefore the temple inquired of Kiribtu and his wife about this property, who promptly denied being in its possession. The exact relationship of this man, who was a scribe and who was also engaged in date cultivation, with Kalbāya is not clear.

YOS 7 93

22-VIII-7 Cyr

- obv. 1. ¹ki-rib-tu₄ a-šú šá ¹ir-^din-nin ù
^{mi}ba-ba-a dam-šú ina ^den u ^dag ù
 a-de-e šá ¹ku-ra-áš lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur kur
 it-te-mu-ú ki-i mim-ma šá níg-ka₉ níg-gál-la
 5. níg-ga ù tar-ku-ut-tu₄ šá ¹kal-ba-a a-šú

⁶⁹³ Translation taken from Roth 1989: 31.

⁶⁹⁴ BM 114457, see above.

⁶⁹⁵ A man of the same name and patronymic is attested in four more documents. Some of these attestations could possibly be identical with the individual in our text. In 1 Camb he appears with the family name Rabbanê and is the scribe of a receipt for dates (YOS 7 119). The next attestation is from the same year (YOS 7 113) and shows that he had a date *imittu* obligation toward the temple. He claimed to have delivered a part of these dates to two other scribes, Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bêl, Kalbāya’s cousin, and Ardia, son of Eanna-šum-ibni. In 2 Camb (BM 113431) Marduk-šum-ušur is charged with the dates, which he had previously taken from Kiribtu. This text refers to the same amount of dates, about which Kiribtu testified in YOS 7 113 (see below for a discussion of these texts). A Kiribtu, son of Arad-Innin, is also attested as early as 11 Nbn in a debt note for barley (GC 1 279), in which he appears as the creditor. It is not certain whether this attestation also belongs here.

- $\acute{s}a$ ¹ba- $\acute{s}a$ $\acute{s}a$ re-e- $\acute{h}i$ $\acute{s}a$ ^dgašan $\acute{s}a$ unug^{ki} ina mu \acute{h} - $\acute{h}i$ - $\acute{s}u$
 \acute{u} ^{mi}bu-sa-sa dam- $\acute{s}u$ ina pa-ni-ni
 i-ba- $\acute{a}\check{s}$ - $\acute{s}u$ - \acute{u} (crasure)
 rev. ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{ld}utu-din-i \acute{t} a- $\acute{s}u$ $\acute{s}a$ ¹na-di-nu
 10. a ¹lu- \acute{u} ^{ld}amar-utu-dub-numun a- $\acute{s}u$ $\acute{s}a$ ¹ba-la- $\acute{t}u$
 a ¹mi- $\acute{s}ir$ -ra-a-a ¹mu- $\acute{s}e$ -zib-^den a- $\acute{s}u$ $\acute{s}a$ ¹ba-la \acute{t} -su
 a ¹lu-^d \acute{e} -a ¹ir-ia a- $\acute{s}u$ $\acute{s}a$ ¹ki-na-a
 a ¹e-gi-bi ^{lu}umbisag ¹pir- \acute{u} a- $\acute{s}u$
 $\acute{s}a$ ¹ \acute{e} -an-na-mu-d \acute{u} unug^{ki} iti apin ud 22-kam
 15. mu 7-kam ¹ku-ra- $\acute{a}\check{s}$ lugal tin-tir^{ki}
 lugal kur kur

“Kiribtu, son of Arad-Innin, and Babāya, his wife, swore by Bēl, Nabû and the majesty of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of lands, (as follows): We certainly do not have any assets, possessions, goods and deposits⁶⁹⁶ belonging to Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, against whom arrears of the Lady of Uruk are charged, and Busasa, his wife.

Witnesses: Šamaš-uballit, son of Nādin, descendant of Amīlū,
 Marduk-šāpik-zēri, son of Balātu, descendant of Miširāya,
 Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Balāssu, descendant of Amīl-Ea,
 Ardia, son of Kīnāya, descendant of Egibi,

Scribe: Pir’u, son of Eanna-šum-ibni;
 Uruk; 22-VIII-7 Cyr, king of Babylon, king of Lands.”

Kalbāya’s penultimate attestation, from 8 Cyr, is in a badly damaged document recording a legal dispute between him and a certain Arad-Sîn, son of Nabû-šukun-rēmu (NCBT 875). Arad-Sîn mentions slaves which he had given to Kalbāya for the property (*ana makkūr*) of Eanna. This must have been in connection with an *imittu* debt, or some such obligation Arad-Sîn had toward the temple, which he claimed to have discharged by handing slaves over to Kalbāya. Due to the state of preservation of the text, the interpretation of the following lines is difficult. It can be made out, though, that Kalbāya was summoned and prompted to debate with Arad-Sîn. Finally, the *mār banē* asked Arad-Sîn to bring his debt notes for their inspection, which he failed to do. Thus the disputes with his debtors and the temple went on for Kalbāya at least until 8 Cyr. After this attestation he only appears once more in the Eanna archive as a witness in BIN 2 130 in the accession year of Cambyses. Interestingly this document concerned the hardship sale of a house of his cousin Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bēl, who worked as a temple scribe in the agricultural sector and who incurred debts in *kasia* amounting to 6 minas of silver.⁶⁹⁷ All subsequent attestations of Kalbāya are in the patronymic of Nabû-bān-aḫi, who succeeded him in the rent farming business, even if to a smaller extent.

2.9.4.1. Attestations⁶⁹⁸ of Kalbāya:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|-------------------|------|----------|
| YOS 21 160: 6, 13 | - | letter |
| YOS 21 18: 7 | - | letter |
| YOS 21 44: 1 | - | letter |
| YOS 3 22: 1 | - | letter |

⁶⁹⁶ Wunsch (2000a II: 200f.) explains *tarkuttu* as a *taprust* form of *šakānu*: “Das „Niedergelegte“ könnte [...] sowohl ein Schriftstück, als auch ein Vermögensobjekt bezeichnen.” Hence the translation “deposit”.

⁶⁹⁷ For more details on this text see p. 217.

⁶⁹⁸ Kalbāya’s attestations in *imittu* debt notes (some 15 texts) are not listed in this table. They can be found in the Appendix 5. There is a number of tablets with an agricultural context in which a Kalbāya, without a patronymic, appears. It is not certain whether he should be identified with the rent farmer in (some of) these attestations, as it would be also possible to identify him with the scribe-measurer Kalbāya, son of Nabû-rēmāni (appearing e.g. in YOS 6 159), who was active at the time. These texts are: PTS 2851, TCL 12 95; YOS 3 21, 169; 6 194; 19 203; 21 89.

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| YOS 3 46: 6 | - | letter |
| BIN 2 109: 12 | 20-VII-acc Ami | receipt for barley, Šum-ukīn's private archive (witness) |
| YBC 3518: 9 | 4-[x]-2 Ami | work contract, Šum-ukīn's private archive (witness) |
| YBC 4079: 12f. | 8-X-2 Ner | legal, concerning sheep (witness) |
| NBC 4583: 1 | -(Nbn) | account listing deliveries(?) of agricultural commodities |
| YOS 6 11: 1, 11, 15, 28-I-1 | Nbn | rent contract |
| 17, 23, 24 | | |
| TEBR 37: 1, 11, 15, 28-I-1 | Nbn | rent contract |
| 17, 23, 24 | | |
| <i>A/K</i> 2, p. 107ff.: 1, 11, 28-I-1 | Nbn | rent contract |
| 15, , 17, 23, 24 | | |
| Dillard, FLP 1585: 3 | 14-VI-1 Nbn | receipt of barley |
| BIN 1 161: 4, 5 | 15-II-2 Nbn | receipt for silver |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 21: 2 | 17-V-4 Nbn | legal, concerning a denouncement (witness) |
| YOS 6 88: 3 | 14-VI-4 Nbn | legal, fragmentary |
| YOS 6 21: 2 | 9-XI-6 Nbn | receipt for sesame |
| TCL 13 227: 7, 9, 25, - (7 Nbn) | | account of incoming agricultural staples from 3 to 7 Nbn |
| 43, 55, 60 | | |
| YOS 19 209: 3 | 28-I-7 ⁺ Nbn | receipt of silver for iron |
| TCL 12 90: 6 | 10-V-8 Nbn | land lease contract |
| YOS 6 243: 32f. | 3-VIII-8 Nbn | inventory of cadavers and hides |
| AOAT 358, no. 10: 6 | 20-XII-8 Nbn | statement concerning the payment of a brick-tax (witness) |
| YOS 6 111: 1 | 17-X-9 Nbn | receipt for barley |
| TEBR 42: 3 | [x-x-10 ⁺ Nbn] | transfer of slave in lieu of barley arrears |
| ? YOS 6 194: 4, 11 | 30-V-10 Nbn | bail protocol |
| TEBR 41: 5 | 22-VIa-10 Nbn | transfer of slave in lieu of a [barley/date] debt |
| YOS 6 143: 18 | 3-X-10 Nbn | inheritance document, Damiq archive (witness) |
| YOS 6 183: 5 | 23 ⁺ -X-10 Nbn | legal, concerning theft of an ox and an assault (witness) |
| YOS 6 159: 10f. | 27-XII-10 Nbn | debt note for dates and barley |
| YOS 6 242: 5 | 20-I-11 Nbn | register of debt notes for dates |
| YOS 19 24: 1f., 8, 10 | 13-XII-12 Nbn | debt note for silver |
| YOS 3 2: 7 | -(14-16 Nbn) | letter |
| YOS 6 209: 16, 23 | 9-VIII-15 Nbn | account of deliveries and disbursements of various commodities |
| TEBR 45: 2f. | 14-VIII-15 Nbn | account of various disbursements |
| YOS 6 207: 5f. | 1-IV-17 Nbn | transfer of slave in lieu of barley arrears |
| BM 114457: 4, 8 | 21 ⁺ -XI-1 [?] Cyr | summons for a debtor |
| PTS 2089: 23 | 8-VII-1 Cyr | land lease contract (witness) |
| YOS 7 14: 7, 10 | 4 ⁺ -III-2 Cyr | legal, concerning digging work |
| BIN 2 115: 1 | 26-IX-2 Cyr | testimony on the whereabouts of an amount of dates; duplicate of YOS 7 23 |
| YOS 7 23: 1 | 2[6]-IX-2 Cyr | testimony on the whereabouts of an amount of dates; duplicate of BIN 2 115 |
| GC 2 98: 7 | 20-I-3 Cyr | receipt for dates |
| YBC 11541: 2 | 23-III-4 Cyr | debt note for barley in exchange for dates |
| PTS 3026: 2, 3, 10, 12 | 13-VI-4 Cyr | summons for a debtor |
| TEBR 43: 1f., 4 | 24-III-5 Cyr | debt note for dates |
| NCBT 540: 1 | 8-XI-6 Cyr | oath, concerning the delivery of debt notes to the temple administrators |

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|--|
| YOS 7 59: 4, 5 | 1-XII-6 Cyr | legal, concerning the status of a slave from the dowry of Kalbāya's daughter |
| YOS 7 93: 5f. | 22-VIII-7 Cyr | oath, concerning Kalbāya's property and arrears |
| NCBT 875: 3, 4, 7 | 10-IX-8 [Cyr] | legal dispute concerning slaves and debt notes |
| BIN 2 130: 37 | 20-VIa-acc Camb | house sale (witness) |

2.9.5. Arad-Innin

Another person who had rented arable land from Eanna was Arad-Innin, son of Ibni-Ištar. In some texts Arad-Innin is attested with a family name, in others he appears without one. It seems that these were two persons that went by this name that should be distinguished. One of them was attested from 12 Nbn until 4 Cyr and was a member of the Gimil-Nanāya family. In most of his attestations he acted as a witness.⁶⁹⁹ He also appeared as a scribe⁷⁰⁰ and a guarantor⁷⁰¹ for debtors of the temple, who usually stemmed from other prominent Urukian families. The other Arad-Innin, who was attested from 33 Nbk until 6 Cyr, was involved in agriculture and is the one of interest for us. He never appears with a family name, probably because he did not have one. His first attestation is from 33 Nbk in a private text (YBC 9173), which records his purchase of two slaves. A text from the twelfth month of 35 Nbk (PTS 2209) lists different arrears and barley debts from 34 and 35 Nbk owed by Arad-Innin. These add up to a debt of over 338 *kurru* of barley. One day later, a debt note for 30 *kurru* of barley charged against him was written up. This barley is said to have been in addition to the earlier debt notes charged against him and his father Ibni-Ištar, indicating that his father had possibly also been involved in the temple agriculture at some level.⁷⁰² This can be claimed for Arad-Innin's brother Balātu with a greater amount of certainty. The two of them appear as debtors in 40 Nbk in a debt note for 150 *kurru* of barley in exchange for spelt (YBC 3729). In YOS 7 57, a receipt for dates, the impost of fields, written in 6 Cyr⁷⁰³, the two of them together with Arad-Innin's son, Šamaš-līp-ušur, delivered 133;4.3 *kurru* of dates.⁷⁰⁴

In his attestations from 43 Nbk and 1 Nbn Arad-Innin acts as a witness: NCBT 1059 is an *imittu* debt note for dates and YOS 6 22 is a receipt for silver, the price of dates.

The most interesting text concerning Arad-Innin's agricultural activities is a land lease contract from 3 Nbn (YOS 6 40⁷⁰⁵). Together with Sîn-ibni, son of Šamaš-udammīq, from the Rē'i-alpi family, Arad-Innin leased 865;1.4 *kurru* of temple land on the Nār-šarri. It was specified that this was the land which had not already been taken by Šum-ukīn. The land that was assigned to Arad-Innin and Sîn-ibni was apparently of low quality. Only part of it is designated as arable land (*būt dulli*⁷⁰⁶). Indeed, the two rent farmers said that they were going to work 288;1.4 *kurru* of land,

⁶⁹⁹ YOS 6 222, 230; BM 114450; YOS 7 7; PTS 2692; YOS 7 18; BM 113409; YOS 7 33; *AnOr* 8 41; YOS 7 38.

⁷⁰⁰ YOS 6 152; JCS 28, no. 8. In YOS 6 202, an oath to deliver dates or barley by a man indebted to the temple is addressed to him (no professional title is given) and probably another scribe, Nabû-aḥ-iddin, son of Ḥarbāšu (see note 738 for more details on this man).

⁷⁰¹ YOS 7 3; BM 114445; YOS 7 34; *AnOr* 8 45.

⁷⁰² Since Arad-Innin's father does not appear with a patronymic in this text, finding out about his activities is difficult. He could possibly be identified with Ibni-Ištar, son of Nabû-šum-ibni, who was a *rab ešerti* and a *gugallu* of the Lady of Uruk and who also rented out temple land (see p. 93).

⁷⁰³ This was Arad-Innin's last attestation.

⁷⁰⁴ Cocquerillat edited this text (1968: 81. 131). Note that ll. 4-5 should read: ^lir-^dinnin-na ^lba-la-ḫu / dumu[^{mcs}! š]á ^ldū-^dinnin, identifying both men as the sons of Ibni-Ištar and not just Balātu, as suggested by Cocquerillat's edition. Other attestations of Balātu are: YBC 9448 (31 Nbk), YOS 19 150 ([x] Nbn), YOS 6 132 (10 Nbn) and YOS 7 95 (8 Cyr). He is the scribe of YBC 9448 and YOS 6 132; YOS 19 150 and YOS 7 95 record his deliveries of dates.

⁷⁰⁵ The text was edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 40. 109.

⁷⁰⁶ For this term and the interpretation as "land under cultivation" see van Driel 1990: 221. See also here p. 272.

i.e. a third of the farm, in a three year fallow cycle,⁷⁰⁷ and deliver yearly 1,240 *kurru* of barley. This implied a relatively low yield factor of 4.3, which was probably due to the inferior quality of the land. Beside the *bīt dulli*, their farm was said to contain *kaslu*, *kālû*, *gabibu* (ll. 4f.), *bīt mē* and *bīt nizli* (ll. 18f.), i.e. low quality land, waterlogged areas and land not suitable for cultivation of cereals.⁷⁰⁸ This land was to be put at the disposal of a *rab būli* for the pasturing of temple herds (ll. 19ff.). The two rent farmers were probably going to put this land to the same use for their own purposes, as they promised to deliver to the temple one ox and fifteen sheep in addition to the barley rent they were paying.

Arad-Innin's performance as a rent farmer in partnership with Sîn-ibni cannot be assessed, as no pertinent information for their activities is extant. In an unpublished debt note for barley and spelt (*šibšu* for the third year of Nabonidus's reign) Arad-Innin appears as a debtor (PTS 2938). Here he is not associated with Sîn-ibni, but seems to be subordinated to a certain Tēšî-ēter, son of Nanāya-aḥ-iddin.⁷⁰⁹

For more than twelve years Arad-Innin is not attested in our documentation. He appears next in 15 Nbn in a text recording different transactions with various commodities (YOS 19 297).⁷¹⁰ He is listed with an amount of barley, either as a recipient or a supplier. In 16 Nbn he acts as a witness in a conditional verdict concerning the size of a date impost and the resulting obligation of a gardener (YOS 6 177).

Arad-Innin's last known attestation is from 6 Cyr, a receipt for dates mentioned above (YOS 7 57), according to which he together with his brother Balātu and his son Šamaš-līp-ušur delivered 133;4.3 *kurru* of dates, the *imittu* of a plot located in or near Til-agurrēti.

2.9.5.1. Attestations of Arad-Innin:

| <i>Text</i> | Date | Contents |
|----------------------|-------------------|--|
| GC 2 354: 6, 12 | - | receipt for barley |
| YBC 9173: 6f. | 12-XII-33 Nbk | slave purchase |
| PTS 2209: 12 | 12-XII-35 Nbk | account of barley debts and arrears for 34 and 35 Nbk |
| YBC 9225: 3 | 13-XII-35 Nbk | debt note for barley |
| YBC 3729: 3 | 17-VIII-40 Nbk | debt note for barley in exchange for spelt |
| NCBT 1059: 16 | 27-V-43 Nbk | <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates (witness) |
| PTS 2938: 6 | 23-[x]-[x] Nbn | <i>šibšu</i> debt note for barley and spelt |
| YOS 6 22: 10 | 5-II-1 Nbn | receipt for silver (witness) |
| YOS 6 40: 1f. | 23-VI-3 Nbn | rent contract |
| ? VS 20 133 rev. 10' | [x]-[x]-15 [Nbn?] | account of agricultural products |
| YOS 19 297: 16 | 16-X-15 Nbn | deliveries and disbursements of various commodities |
| TCL 12 112: 26 | 21-X-15 Nbn | deliveries and disbursements of various commodities |
| YOS 6 177: 19f. | 7-VII-16 Nbn | statement concerning <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates (witness) |
| YOS 7 57: 4f. | 20-XII-6 Cyr | receipt for dates |

2.9.6. Sîn-ibni

Sîn-ibni, son of Šamaš-udammīq, descendant of Rē'i-alpi,⁷¹¹ Arad-Innin's partner, is attested from 38 Nbk until Cyrus's reign.⁷¹² In a document from 8 Cyr (YOS 7 79⁷¹³) he is

⁷⁰⁷ This meant that after a year of cultivation the land would be left fallow for two years.

⁷⁰⁸ Van Driel 1990: 222f. See also here pp. 275ff. for these terms.

⁷⁰⁹ The owed amount of 30 *kurru* of barley and 20 *kurru* of spelt is said to be at the responsibility (*ina qāt*) of Tēšî-ēter.

⁷¹⁰ He should perhaps also be identified with a man appearing in a fragmentary account (VS 20 133) of agricultural commodities and transportation costs datable to 15th regnal year of Nabonidus (or later).

⁷¹¹ Cf. Kümmel 1979: 82. 105f.

mentioned as the owner of a dairyman's prebend (*rē'ût šizbi*). The text records that Sîn-ibni's shares in this prebend had been transferred to three other individuals, also from the Rē'i-alpi family. This perhaps indicates that by that time (12-III-8 Cyr) Sîn-ibni had passed away. Other evidence for prebendary activities is offered by documents in which he appears as a recipient of *maššartu*: GC 1 387 (11 Nbn) and *AnOr* 9 21 (date broken).⁷¹⁴ Most frequently, however, Sîn-ibni appears as a witness in temple documents (see table below).

The only evidence for Sîn-ibni's entrepreneurial activities in the agricultural sector comes from the already mentioned land lease contract YOS 6 40 from 3 Nbn (see above for a discussion). He also had the function of a yield estimator (*ēmidu*) in 13 Nbn. He appears with this title together with two other individuals and two scribes in charge of measuring barley in a text recording their oath to fulfil their duties properly (*AnOr* 8 30⁷¹⁵).

Sîn-ibni's last active attestation is from Cyrus's reign (year broken off) as a witness in a promissory note for 52 raw hides from the temple property (BM 114447).

2.9.6.1. Attestations of Sîn-ibni:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| <i>AnOr</i> 9 21 rev. 12' | - | fragmentary <i>maššartu</i> list |
| YBC 4143: 28 | 5-VII-38 Nbk | land lease <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> (witness) |
| GC 2 195: 6 | 15 ⁺ -IV [?] -40 Nbk | legal, statement concerning status of a slave (witness) |
| <i>AnOr</i> 9 15: 27 | 18-V-2 [Nbn [?]] | hardship sale of a house (witness) |
| YOS 6 40: 1 | 23-VI-3 Nbn | rent contract |
| GC 1 387: 14 | 15-XI-11 Nbn | disbursements of barley for <i>maššartu</i> |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 30: 1 | 9-I-13 Nbn | oath of <i>ēmidus</i> and scribes in charge of measuring concerning their duties |
| BM 114603: 3 | 10-V-14 Nbn | oath concerning a garment (witness) |
| TCL 12 112: 25 | 21-X-15 Nbn | deliveries and disbursements of various commodities |
| BM 114447: 13 | [x]-[x]-[x] Cyr | debt note for leather (witness) |
| YOS 7 79: 1f. | 12-III-8 Cyr | legal, regulations concerning a dairyman's prebend |

2.9.7. Nabû-mušētiq-uddê

The status of Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, son of Nabû-šum-iddin,⁷¹⁶ as a rent farmer is evident from the rent contract of Sîn-ibni and Arad-Innin from 3 Nbn (YOS 6 40, see p. 200). The land which is leased to them is explicitly stated not to include the land which had been given in rent to Nabû-mušētiq-uddê: *e-lat šc-numun šá a-na^{giš} bân a-na^{ld} ag-mu-še-ti-iq-ud-da / a-šú šá^{ld} ag-mu-mu na-ad-nu* (ll. 14f.). The fact that he had rented arable land from the temple for a fixed rent (*sūtu*) is the only information we have on his agricultural activities.

Furthermore he was involved in animal husbandry as a herder of oxen and sheep. This was probably his original and primary line of work. According to 36⁺ Nbk (AUWE 5 53) he was in charge of a herd of oxen. At a later date, in 10 Nbn, he appears as an "overseer of ten" (*rab ešerti*)

⁷¹² The date of his last active attestation (in BM 114447) is broken off – only the king's name, Cyrus, is still visible.

⁷¹³ The text records that Sîn-ibni's shares in this prebend had been transferred to three other individuals, also from the Rē'i-alpi family. For an edition and a discussion of the document see San Nicoló 1934: 186ff. and Beaulieu 2003: 164f. See also van Driel 2002: 122 for comments on this text.

⁷¹⁴ His appearance in a list with a certain amount of barley or dates in TCL 12 112 (15 Nbn) could also be interpreted as a receipt of *maššartu*.

⁷¹⁵ The text was edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 52. 114 and Ebeling 1954: 49f. PTS 3000 (7 Nbn), YOS 6 232 (12 Nbn) and TCL 13 177 ([4] Camb) record similar cases of oaths made by yield estimators and scribes-measurers. For a discussion of the published texts see Ebeling 1954: 46ff. and Oppenheim 1941: 262.

⁷¹⁶ Cf. also Kümmel 1979: 68.

obliged to levy archers of the shepherds of the Lady of Uruk (YOS 6 151⁷¹⁷). In 16 Nbn he is designated as a shepherd of the Lady of Uruk (*nāqīdu ša Bēlti ša Uruk*). According to this text he had arrears of small and large cattle due to the temple (YOS 6 221).

2.9.7.1. Attestations of Nabû-mušētiq-uddê:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|-----------------|--|---|
| AUWE 5 53: 10f. | 20 ⁺ -X-36 ⁺ Nbk | sequestering of a part of a cattle herd |
| YOS 6 40: 14f. | 23-VI-3 Nbn | rent contract |
| YOS 6 151: 5 | 13-V-10 Nbn | legal, concerning levying of archers |
| YOS 6 221: 3 | 7-XII-16 Nbn | legal, concerning cattle |

2.9.8. *Ibni-Ištar (Ibnāya)*

Ibni-Ištar, son of Balātu, was a temple oblate (*širku* of the Lady of Uruk), who appears in our documentation from 11 Nbn until 4 Cyr. His first attestation so far known, YOS 6 150 (11 Nbn), is a rent contract for 625 *kurru* of land granted to him by the crown prince Belšazzar. The text, which was edited by Cocquerillat (1968: 42. 109f.),⁷¹⁸ is given here in translation only:

“Ibni-Ištar, son of Balātu, an oblate of the Lady of Uruk, made a request to Bēl-šar-ušur, the crown prince, his lord: ‘May the crown prince, my lord, give me 625 *kurru* of cultivated land from the arable land of the Lady of Uruk which is in Sumandar, as well as 100 ploughmen, 100 oxen and 50 cows, and I will deliver to Eanna yearly in total 5,000 *kurru* of barley using the royal measure.’

Bēl-šar-ušur, the crown prince, his lord, listened and gave to Ibni-Ištar, son of Balātu 625 *kurru* of cultivated land from the arable land, which is in Sumandar, as well as 100 ploughmen, 100 oxen and 50 cows. Yearly he will deliver to Eanna in total 5,000 (*kurru*) of barley using the royal measure. He will (also) deliver 3,000 bundles of straw to the depot.

Furthermore, (concerning) the 2,081 *kurru* of arable land, the domain⁷¹⁹ of the Lady of Uruk, which is at his disposal: he will [relinqu]ish from the land at his disposal as much land as he cultivates in a fallow cycle with the plough teams at his disposal to the domain of the Lady of Uruk. Of these 2,081 *kurru* of arable domain land, whatever exceeds⁷²⁰ (the size of) his rent farm sharecroppers will cultivate. [The yield estimators] of Eanna will make yield estimates (for them) and they will deliver their share to Eanna. The oxen and the cows [of the 25] plough (teams)⁷²¹ that are at his disposal shall not die; they are [(made of) iron⁷²²]. The young of the cows of the Lady of Uruk, which are born while at his disposal, he will show to Nabû-šar-ušur, the royal official, and the

⁷¹⁷ Cf. Kleber 2008: 210f.

⁷¹⁸ An earlier edition of this text can be found in Dougherty 1929: 119ff.

⁷¹⁹ The term used here is *nakkandu*. It designates “land held in reserve” either by the temple or some royal institution, i.e. land which was “available for assignation” for cultivation (van Driel 2002: 197).

⁷²⁰ A better reconstruction for the beginning of l. 15 than [*muḥ-ḥi*] as suggested by Cocquerillat (1968: 110) would be [*šá eli*].

⁷²¹ Cocquerillat reads in line 17 “[...] ^{lú}engar^{meš}”. In fact the sign *lú* is not extant in the text and it is doubtful that it should be reconstructed here. The purpose of this clause is to establish the responsibility of the rent farmer to keep the resources provided by the temple undiminished. Usually the draught animals are meant by this and this is reflected in the formulation “they shall not die”. The ploughs in this clause stand for plough teams, of which the draught animals were chief constituents, which is expressed by the prepositional phrase *ina libbi*. In the gap at the beginning of the line one could reconstruct the number of the provided plough teams (i.e. 25) introduced with the relative particle *šá*. The entire line should be read as follows: [*šá 25^{giš}japin^{meš} šá ina pa-ni-šú gu₄^{meš} ú ab-gal ina lib-bi ul i-mut-tu₄*].

⁷²² The beginning of l. 18 should be reconstructed as [*šá an-ba*]r *šú-nu*. This phrase, which implies that the draught animals are the rent farmer’s responsibility and are imperishable as far as the temple administration is concerned, also appears in YOS 6 103: 20-21.

scribes of Eanna; they will brand them with the mark of the Lady of Uruk and return them to him. He will keep the ploughs in good repair.

In the first year 625 *kurru* of barley for seed, 5 talents 20 minas of iron and 120 *kurru* for the rations of 30 ploughmen [...] that were given to Ibni-[Ištar, son of Ba]lātu, for the completion of 25 plough teams, [will be provided] by Eanna.

Per 1 *kurru* 1.5 *qû* barley for the rations of the scribes, the me[asurers and the gatekeepers⁷²³], apart from x...

Witnesses:⁷²³ Nabû-ahhē-bullit, [*šakin māti*],
 Nabû-šullum-šarri, [*rab šaqê*],
 Sîn-erība, [^ú...],
 Nabû-šum-iškun, [^ú...],
 Bānia, [^ú...],
 Itti-Šamaš-balātu, [^ú*šanû ša rab ša rēši*],
 Nabû-šar-ušur, [*ša rēš šarri bēl [piqitti Eanna]*];

Scribe: Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Nabû-ušabši;
 [Place of Issue]; Date: 27-[x]-11 Nbn, king [of Babylon].”

According to this contract Ibni-Ištar was given 625 *kurru* of land which he was supposed to cultivate and deliver 5,000 *kurru* of barley yearly. This rent implied a yield factor 8, which was less than what was expected of Šum-ukīn (8.3; e.g., YOS 6 11) and the rent farmers of Bēl according to the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ (12; YOS 6 103). The ploughs, farmers and cattle provided made up 25 plough teams consisting of four farmers, four oxen and two cows. The area to be worked by a team amounted to 25 *kurru* of land. This figure conforms to the standard given in the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’. There is also a stipulation for an additional payment of 3,000 bundles of straw, which has no parallels in any other known rent contracts from Eanna.⁷²⁴

Further stipulations in the text (ll. 11-14) make it clear that this was not the original arrangement between Ibni-Ištar and the temple. 2,081 *kurru* of land were already at his disposal, presumably for agricultural exploitation,⁷²⁵ at the time when this contract was written. For some reason, we are not informed which, Ibni-Ištar was allocated 625 *kurru* of land in the Sumandar region and had to return to the temple this same amount of land from the 2,081 *kurru* already at his disposal. This land was probably located elsewhere, though it is not stated where. Practically nothing had changed for Ibni-Ištar concerning the amount of land at his disposal. Whether there were any changes concerning the location of the land (this seems probable), the size of his rent and the intensity of cultivation (e.g., fallow vs. non-fallow regime, type of fallow) is another matter, on which one can only speculate.⁷²⁶

⁷²³ The witnesses present at the allotment of Ibni-Ištar’s rent farm are noteworthy. Unfortunately, this portion of the text is damaged, but it is remarkable that the witnesses were only listed with their given name (only the scribe appears with a patronymic). The omission of the patronymics suggests that these were individuals of high standing, probably high ranking state officials. In the broken portion of the tablet their official titles were recorded. The title of Nabû-šar-ušur, the royal commissioner of Eanna, is partially extant; all the other titles are lost in a break. M. Jursa proposed identifying some of these witnesses with the state officials *šakin māti*, *rab šaqê* and *šanû ša rab ša rēši* (2011: 19²⁴). His suggestions were adopted here. The crown prince Belšazzar sanctioned the installing of Ibni-Ištar as a rent farmer, while his entourage and the royal commissioner of Eanna, as a representative of the temple, acted as witnesses. In this respect, this document is similar to the rent contract of Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya.

⁷²⁴ Debt notes for barley and bundles of straw are, however, known from Uruk (Kessler 1992: 468f.) and Sippar (Jursa 1995a: 13f.). See also Kessler 1999: 166 for the obligation of two ploughmen to deliver 2,000 bundles of straw and 2,000 loads of hay to a royal palace in the vicinity of Uruk.

⁷²⁵ Other uses for the land can also be envisaged (depending on its quality the land could be used for pasture, fishing or bird-catching grounds, etc.). There is, however, no evidence for such alternative usage of land in Ibni-Ištar’s dossier.

⁷²⁶ Cocquerillat assumed that Ibni-Ištar also had a rent arrangement with the temple predating YOS 6 150, according to which he cultivated 2,706 *kurru* of land (2,081 *kurru* plus 625 *kurru*) without a fallow system. By simple arithmetic she extrapolated a rent of 21,648 *kurru* of barley per year (1968: 42. 95). Following the same logic she assumed that the temple provided Ibni-Ištar with 432 farmers, 432 oxen and 216 cows (*ibid.* 95). According to her, the contract YOS 6 150 expressed Belšazzar’s discontent with Ibni-Ištar’s performance for which reason his farm was reduced from 2,081 to 625 *kurru* of land, thus commencing the

The temple provided Ibni-Ištar for the initial year of their contractual relationship with 625 *kurru* of barley seed (l. 22), which is a clear indication that of all the land at his disposal only the corresponding surface area, i.e. 625 *kurru* of land, was to be cultivated.⁷²⁷ This implied that he was supposed to work the land in a three year fallow cycle, which would still leave a remainder of 206 *kurru* of land (2,081 - 3 × 625 = 206).⁷²⁸ This surplus land was to be allocated to sharecroppers for cultivation, as was also suggested by the contract in line 15. In addition to barley seed ca. 160 kg of iron for repairs of the agricultural tools and 120 *kurru* of barley for the rations of 30 ploughmen, which were put at his disposal for the “completion” of 25 plough teams, were supplied to him. Unfortunately, there is a break following the word *ikkaru*, making the understanding of this passage difficult (ll. 23-24: 120 gur še-bar a-na šuk^{hi-a} šá 30^ú engar^{meš} ...] šá a-na / šul-lu-mu šá 25^{giš} apin^{meš} a-na¹ ib-ni-[^dinnin a-šú šá¹ ba]-la-ṭu na-ad-nu). It appears that up to that point Ibni-Ištar’s plough teams were understaffed. Stemming from his earlier arrangement with the temple he presumably already had 70 men at his disposal. At this occasion the missing 30 *ikkarus* needed to man 25 plough teams and their rations for the first year were given to him.⁷²⁹

This is the only attestation we have of Ibni-Ištar, son of Balātu. Subsequently a certain Ibnāya, son of Balātu, who is on some occasions designated as *ša muḥḥi sūti* (YOS 19 71, SAKF 155), starts appearing in our documentation. Cocquerillat sees in him a successor of Ibni-Ištar, or perhaps his brother (1968: 97). It seems, however, much more likely that these two are one and the same person, Ibnāya being the abbreviated form of the name Ibni-Ištar.

In his next attestation Ibni-Ištar, alias Ibnāya, appears in a contract for agricultural work (YOS 19 71; 12 Nbn).⁷³⁰ Two men, brothers, address him with a request to do agricultural work for him. Following this agreement Ibni-Ištar was to provide them with a ploughshare, an *appatu*-tool,⁷³¹ two spades and 20 *kurru* of land which they were to cultivate under the same conditions as the temple ploughmen (*libbū ikkarāti ša Bēlti ša Uruk*). The text is a nice illustration for a way in which the rent farmers could deal with the problem of scarce manpower. As was stressed earlier the rent farmers were expected to contribute resources such as tools, draught animals and their fodder and perhaps also seed from their own stock. They were also supposed to organise the workforce needed to cultivate the land at their disposal, which could not be provided by the temple due to a general lack of institutional labour. Some of the land could be sub-leased to smaller entrepreneurs. With this land the responsibility for organising the labour was delegated by the rent farmer to another party. But, as this text shows, the rent farmer could also make direct arrangements with agricultural workers. The two individuals in this text did not belong to the temple workforce. They were outsiders to the temple, probably of West-Semitic origin to judge by their names.⁷³² They were not tenants on temple land nor were they employed as sharecroppers, probably because they lacked the resources needed for such an enterprise. Instead, they were supplied with the necessary work implements by the rent farmer Ibni-Ištar and were employed under the same conditions as the temple ploughmen. This meant that they worked for a subsistence allowance and could not expect to make much profit from this arrangement.

process of the “dislocation des fermes générales” (*ibid.* 95f.). There is, however, no evidence whatsoever for Ibni-Ištar’s earlier activities and bad performance in the temple agriculture and thus, Cocquerillat’s interpretation is untenable.

⁷²⁷ Van Driel suggests that the fact that the seed was provided only now indicates that no sowing had been done on the land previously at Ibni-Ištar’s disposal (1990: 236).

⁷²⁸ Cf. already van Driel 1990: 236 for this interpretation. A three year fallow cycle is also attested in YOS 6 40.

⁷²⁹ Also according to the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ rations were provided for the ploughmen in the first year. Note that these amounted to 4 *kurru* per man in YOS 6 150. The amount of barley provided for rations according to the ‘Edict’ is not extant but is reconstructed by van Driel (1987-88) as 5 *kurru* per ploughman (see also above p. 38 and note 85).

⁷³⁰ The text is edited on p. 31.

⁷³¹ Van Driel suggests that *appatu* was the iron tip of a tool (1990: 236f.).

⁷³² While one of the two brothers has a proper Babylonian name (Nanāya-ēreš), the other one is called Il-ilda’. Their father’s name is Iza-napirti.

From 12 Nbn there is one more attestation of Ibnāya. According to the receipt YOS 6 182 (17-VII-12 Nbn) he delivered 14 *kurru* of barley in Nāru-cššu to Bunene-šmānī, the slave of a certain Tabnēa, following the orders of the temple administrator and two temple scribes.⁷³³

He appears next in 13 Nbn in a legal dispute (SAKF 155) concerning newly reclaimed land and involving beside him Zērbibi and his partner, the rent farmer Nergal-nāšir. The text which was published and transliterated by Oberhuber (1960: 104f.) has been collated by M. Jursa, providing numerous corrections to Oberhuber's readings and considerably improving our understanding of the contents. The improved readings based on Jursa's collation are marked with an asterisk in the transliteration:

- SAKF 155 12-[x]-13 Nbn
- obv. 1. [^l*gab-bi-dingir*^{mcš}-lugal-ùru] [^l*qí**-*i**-*pi***šá** *é**-*an**-*na**^l *a-a-ga-a-šú*
 [^l*šá* ugu *q*]*u**-^r*up**-*pu**^l *šá* lugal [^l*in**-*nin**-*mu*-ùru *a-šú* *šá* ^l*mu**-^d*ag**
 [^l*ki-din*-^d*am*]^r*ar-utu*^l *utu**-*mu*-*mu* *a-šú* *šá* [^l*ag*-*din-su-e* *a* ^l*30-ti-ér*
 [^l*ag*]-^r*mu*^l *a-šú* *šá* [^d*dù*]-^d*15 a* [^l*é*-*kur-za-kir* ^l*ag*-*din-su-e*
5. [*a-šú* *šá* ^l*dù*]-*a* *a* [^l*é*-*kur-za-kir* ^l*u*-*gur-mu-mu* *a-šú* *šá* ^l*ina*-*sùh*-*sur*
 [^l*hu*]-*un**-*zu**-^ú^l*15-šeš*-*mu* *a-šú* *šá* [^l*ap-la-a* *a* ^l*lu**-*uš-tam-mar*-^d*im**
 [^l*dumu*] ^{dù}^{mcš} *šá* *ina* *gub-zu-šú-nu* ^l*numun-ia* ^l*šà*-*tam* *é*-*an-na*
 [*a-šú* *šá* ^l*i*]*b-na-a* *a* [^l*e-gi-bi* ^l*ib-na-a* *a-šú* *šá* ^l*ba-la-tu*
 [^l*ri*]^g⁷ *šá* ugu ^g^{is} *bán* *šá* ^d*gašan* *šá* *unug*^{ki} ^ù^l*numun-bi-bi*
10. [^r*a**-^{šú}* *šá**^l ^l*ag*-*kar-zi*^{mc} *šá* *ina* *muḫ-ḫi* *mu-ša-né-e* *šá* ^d*gašan* *šá* *unug*^{ki}
ina *ukkin** *ú-šá**-*áz*-*zi-iz-zu-šú-nu-ti-ma* *iq-ba-áš-šú-nu-tu*
um-ma *dumu** *lugal** *š**i**-*pir**-*tu*₄* *il**-*tap-ra** *um-ma* ^l*numun-bi-bi*
*iq**-*ta**-*ba**-*a**^u *um-ma* *š**c*-*numun** (erasure*) *šá* *ina* *é* [^l*sag-ga**-^r*a*]²^l
ina *š**c*-*numun* *šá* ^d*gašan* *šá* *unug*^{ki} *šá* *mu-ša-né-e* *šá* *ina** *pa**-*ni**-*ia**
- rev. 15. ^g^{is} *apin*-*a** *a-na* *lib-bi* *ki**-*i** *a**-*«a»*-*bu**-*ku** ^l*dù**-*a** ^g^{is} *apin*-*a** *ul**-*tu** *lib**-*bi**
*ul-te-e**-*li** *um**-*ma* ^l*dù*-*a* *ab**-*kam**-^r*ma*^l *a**-*šá*-*a**-*lu** ^l*numun-ia* ^l*šà*-*tam* *é*-*an-na*
^l*numun-bi-bi* ^ù^l*ib**-*na**-*a***i**-*bu**-*kam**-*ma** *ina** *ukkin** *uš**-*zi-iz** *um**-*ma** ^r*x x x*^l
^l*numun-bi-bi* *iq-bi* *um-ma* *ma-a-a-ri** *ina* ^g^{is} *apin**-*ia** *ki-i* *ad-ku**-^ú
^l*dù*-*a* *ma-a-a-ri-ia* *i-te-ek-ma-an-ni* ^l*ib-na-a* *iq-bi* *um-ma*
20. [^l*numun*-*bi-bi*]^u *ma-a-a-ri* *ul* *id-ki** ^ù^l*ma-a-a-ri-šú* *ul* *e**-*ki**-*in-šú**
 [^l*é*-*an-n*]*a*-*mu-dù* *a-šú* *šá* [^l*šeš*^{mcš}-*šá*-^r*a*]^l ^l*umbisag* ^ù^l*ag-š**cš*-*mu* *a-šú* *šá* [^l*har**-*ba**-*šu*
 [^l*šá* ^l*numun*]-*ia* ^l*šà*-*tam* *é*-*an-na* *ina* *iti* *du*₆* *mu* 12-*kam* ^d*ag*-*ní*-*tuk* [^r*lugal* *tin-tir*]^{ki}
 [*a-na* ^l*u*-*gur-na*]-^r*šir*^l *a** ^l*na**-*na**-*a**-*dù** ^l*šú**-*ta**-*pi** *šá* ^l*numun-bi-bi* *iš-p*[*u-ra*-*ma*]
25. [^l*é*-*an-na*-*mu-dù* *u*] ^l*ag-š**cš*-*mu* *ú*-*kal-li-mu-ma* ^l*u*-[*gur-pab*]
 [*ina* *ukkin* ^u*ú-šá*]-*az**-*zi-zu* ^l*é*-*an-na*-*mu-dù* *u* ^l*ag-š**cš*-*mu*
 [*ina* ^d*gašan* *šá*] *unug*^{ki} ^d*na-na-a* ^ù*a-de-e*
 [^l*šá* ^d*ag*-*ní*-*tuk* *lugal* *tin-tir*]^{ki} *u* ^l*en*-*lugal-ùru* *a-šú* *it-mu-ú*
 [*ki-i* *x x x lu*]-^ú^l*u** *en**gar**-*šú* *lu-ú* ^l*a**-*kin**-*šú** *ina** *š**c**-*numun**
30. [*x x x x x i*]^r*q*²*1-bu-ú* *um-ma* *ina* *é* [^l*sag-ga**-^r*a*]²
 [*x x x x x ma*]-^r*a**-*a**^l-*ri-šú* *ina* *lib-bi* *ni-mu-ru* *u** *mim**-*ma**
 [*x x x x x*] ^r*x*^l ^l*umbisag** ^l*na**-*di-nu* *a-šú* *šá* [^l*en*-*š**cš*^{mc}]-[*ba-šá*]
 [*a* ^l*e-gi-bi* *unug*^{ki} *i*]^{ti}* [*x u*]^d* 12*-[*kam mu*] 13-*kam*
 [^d*ag*-*ní*]-*tuk* [^r*lugal* *tin-tir*]^{ki}
- u.e. 13-*kam*

“[Gabbi-ilī-šar-ušur], the resident of Eanna,
 Ayyigāšu, [the official in charge of the cash] box of the king,
 Innin-šum-ušur, son of Iddin-Nabû, [descendant of Kidin-Mar]duk,

⁷³³ There is a parallel to this text, BM 114602 (edited on p. 209), written two days earlier (15-VII-12 Nbn). It records the receipt of 14 *kurru* of barley by the same recipient as in YOS 6 182, also at the orders of the *šatammu* and the same two scribes. The barley is, however, received from Bānia, son of Bulluṭāya, another rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk, who may have been Ibnī-Ištar's partner (see below). Had Ibnāya paid the 14 *kurru* on behalf of Bānia, or were these two independent transactions?

Šamaš-šum-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, descendant of Sîn-leqe-unninnī,
 [Nabû]-iddin, son of [Ibni]-Ištar, descendant of Ekur-zakir,
 Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, [son of Ibnā]ya, descendant of Ekur-zakir,
 Nergal-šum-iddin, son of Ina-tēšī-ēter, [descendant of Hū]nzû,
 Ištar-aḥ-iddin, son of Aplāya, descendant of Luštammar-Adad,
 (these are) [the *mar*] *bānē* in whose presence Zēria, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Ibnāya, descendant of Egibi, made Ibnāya, son of Balātu, [the oblate], the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk, and Zērbibi, son of Nabû-ēter-napšāti, the official in charge of the canal outlets of the Lady of Uruk, stand in the assembly and said to them as follows: ‘The crown prince sent me a letter saying: “Zērbibi said as follows: ‘(As for) the land, which is in Bīt-Saggāya, which is part of the land of Lady of Uruk for whose canal outlets I am responsible: when I brought my plough there Ibnāya evicted it from there, saying: “Bring (it) here and I will inquire (about it)!”’”’
 Zēria, the chief administrator of Eanna, brought Zērbibi and Ibnāya and made them stand in the assembly and said (to them): ‘x x x¹.’
 Zērbibi said as follows: ‘When I reclaimed land with my plough, Ibnāya took my newly reclaimed land from me.’
 Ibnāya said as follows: ‘Zērbibi did not reclaim any land and I did not take away any newly reclaimed land from him.’
 [(As for) Eanna]a-šum-ibni, son of Aḥḥēšāya, the scribe, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, son of Ḥarbāšu, [which Zēr]ia, the chief administrator of Eanna, sent in the month VII of the 12th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, [to Nergal-nā]šir, son of Nanāya-ibni, the partner of Zērbibi: Nergal-nāšir showed [to Eanna-šum-ibni and] Nabû-aḥ-iddin [the land] which he had reclaimed and [they made] Ne[rgal-nāšir st]and [in the assembly]. Eanna-šum-ibni and Nabû-aḥ-iddin swore [by the Lady of] Uruk, Nanāya and the majesty [of Nabonidus, king of Babyl]on: ‘[... (n)eith]er his ploughman (n)or his messenger on the land [... sa]id as follows: “In Bīt-Saggāya [...] we have (not) seen his newly reclaimed land” and whatever [...].’
 Scribe: Nādin, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-[iqīša, descendant of Egibi];
 [Uruk;] 12-[x]-13 [Nb]n, [king of Babylon].”

The background of this document was a dispute between two agricultural entrepreneurs, Ibnāya and Zērbibi, concerning Zērbibi’s right to cultivate land in a locality called Bīt-Saggāya.⁷³⁴ Zērbibi complained to the crown prince Belšazzar first, but he referred the case back to the temple court of Eanna. The proceedings, which the *šatammu* Zēria led, are recorded in this document. The *šatammu* read out the letter of the crown prince in the assembly, quoting Zērbibi’s complaint about his plough (teams) being evicted by Ibnāya⁷³⁵ from Bīt-Saggāya, in which he had some responsibility over the irrigation system.⁷³⁶ Following this, the two parties were asked by the *šatammu* to state their case in the assembly. Zērbibi declared that once he started reclaiming land with his plough, i.e. working up land which had previously not been agriculturally used, Ibnāya took the land⁷³⁷ away from him. Ibnāya simply denied both the assertion that Zērbibi worked up the land and that he took it from him.

⁷³⁴ Its localisation is not known.

⁷³⁵ The words with which Ibnāya expelled Zērbibi’s ploughs, namely *abkamma ašāl*, are not perfectly understandable in this context. While *ašāl*, “I will ask”, is probably an elliptic way of saying that he will inquire with the authorities about the situation, *abkamma*, “bring here”, is problematic. In the given context one would expect Ibnāya to request of Zērbibi to remove his plough teams from the land under dispute, which is the exact opposite of what a ventive form of the verb *abāku* normally signifies.

⁷³⁶ He had the function of a *ša ina muḥḥi mūšānē* of the Lady of Uruk. See p. 211 for further details on Zērbibi.

⁷³⁷ *mayyāru* is understood in this context as newly reclaimed land. In general the term can be used to designate both the land and the type of plough used for reclaiming land (see CAD M/1: 121). It does not seem very likely that the case would have been referred to the crown prince if it only concerned such a minor incident as the removal of an agricultural tool from a certain field (however, cf. van Driel 1990: 221f. who is not convinced by the suggested interpretation of the CAD; his hesitance to accept *mayyāru* as a term for a category of land was probably induced by his poor understanding of SAKF 155, owing to the rather inaccurate copy of the text).

Two scribes, Eanna-šum-ibni, son of Aḥḥēšāya, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, son of Ḥarbāšu,⁷³⁸ were then called upon to clarify the matter. They had previously, in the month VII of year 12 Nbn, i.e. several months⁷³⁹ prior to the current proceedings, been sent by the *šatammu* to examine the situation. They were sent to Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni, another rent farmer working for Eanna (see p. 151), who is designated in this text as the partner of Zērbibi. He showed them the land which he had reclaimed, presumably in collaboration with Zērbibi, and was also brought to the assembly, if our reconstruction is correct. However, his testimony is not recorded in this document. What is recorded is an oath made by the two scribes, the contents of which are not perfectly understandable owing to large breaks at the beginning of each line in this portion of the text. The impression one gets from the legible remains is that they interrogated the ploughmen and messengers of one of the involved parties, probably Zērbibi, and stated under oath what these had reported to them with respect to the newly reclaimed land in Bīt-Saggāya. As crucial portions of the text are missing, it is not revealed to us whether the ploughmen and the messengers corroborated Zērbibi's or Ibnāya's testimony. The text only records the statements of the two parties and the scribes sent to investigate the case and we are not informed about the outcome of the proceedings.

Be that as it may, even though our documentation for Ibnāya is rather scanty, no disruption in his work as a rent farmer as a consequence of this incident is visible so far. From the same year (13 Nbn) there is one *imittu* debt note for barley pertaining to his rent, which was written in Kār-Eanna (TCL 12 108).

In 14 Nbn Ibnāya appears in the superscript of a list of disbursements of barley (*AnOr* 8 32). 170 *kurru* of barley pertaining to his *sūtu* for 13 Nbn are said to have been measured out by two individuals, probably scribes.

A legal text (YOS 6 173) written several months later (VI-14 Nbn) offers evidence for problems concerning delayed payments from agricultural workers. Here a certain Šamaš-iddin, son of Aḥūnu, a sharecropper, is asked to come by a certain date and settle his accounts for barley *imittu* dues for the year 13 Nbn with Ibnāya and Bānia, son of Bulluṭāya. In case he failed to come to Eanna for the settling of accounts he would have to pay 55 *kurru* of barley and [x+]2 *pānu* 1 *sūtu* of cress to the Lady of Uruk, not including the share of 50 *kurru* of barley and 10 *kurru* of spelt for the year 14. Bānia, son of Bulluṭāya, was another rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk as is indicated by BM 114602 from 10 Nbn (see p. 209). It is not clear whether the two men started working as partners at some point and under what conditions. A partnership would seem to be indicated by this text.

For several years we hear nothing about Ibnāya. His next attestation is from 4 Cyr (BM 114573). This is also his last so far known attestation. The text records the removal of 92 *kurru* 1 *pānu* of barley from two depots in Ālu-ša-Amāssu-ušur by two individuals at the orders of the temple administrator and the royal commissioner of Eanna. The barley is said to stem from the land which is at the disposal of (*ina pāni*) Ibnāya and does not include the 'earlier' 30 *kurru* of barley from his *sūtu*.

⁷³⁸ The two scribes had responsibilities in the administration of the temple's agricultural production. Eanna-šum-ibni is attested as a scribe of a number of documents between 21⁺ Nbk and 11 Nbn (BIN 1 100, GC 1 231, 237, 248, PTS 2477, 2746, 2849, 2855, 2969, 2976, 2985, YOS 6 135); he appears as a witness in a text from 39 Nbk (YBC 9524) and without a professional title in Knopf, SC 21 and YOS 19 222; he is perhaps also attested (without a patronymic) in BIN 1 166 (2 Ner), an *imittu* list for *kasia*, as the official in charge of measuring. Nabû-aḥ-iddin is never explicitly designated as a scribe. In 1 Nbn (YOS 19 160) a person [under his responsibility⁷] is given barley rations; in 12 Nbn (YOS 6 232) he is listed among six estimators and scribes in charge of measuring the land for the ploughmen and estimating the yield of the sharecroppers (the text is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 52. 114); in 16 Nbn (YOS 6 202) a man indebted to the temple takes an oath before him and another person (the scribe Arad-Innin/Ibni-Ištar/Gimil-Nanāya) about a delivery of dates or barley to Eanna; his last attestation is from 2 Cyr (YOS 7 22), in a legal proceedings concerning some missing barley, in which he states to have measured a certain amount of barley from Bānia, son Bulluṭāya (for this rent farmer see p. 209) and given it for bird fodder (for an edition see Cocquerillat 1968: 85. 134).

⁷³⁹ SAKF 155 is dated to 12-[x]-13 Nbn. The month name is broken off; therefore at least six months had passed since the inspection of the two scribes which took place in the seventh month of year 12.

To sum up, Ibni-Ištar, son of Balātu, more frequently attested as Ibnāya, was a temple oblate and a rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk in charge of arable cultivation. He is attested since 11 Nbn until 4 Cyr. His original agreement with the temple concerning his rent farm has not come down to us. However, a follow-up contract from 11 Nbn (YOS 6 150) informs us that he had 2,081 *kurru* of land at his disposal. He cultivated this land in a three-year fallow cycle (i.e. 625 *kurru* of land per year) and his rent amounted to 5,000 *kurru* of barley and 3000 bundles of straw. Further attestations, such as contracts for work assignments (YOS 19 71), *imittu* debt notes (TCL 12 108), deliveries and withdrawals of barley from his rent (YOS 6 182, *AnOr* 8 32, BM 114573), demonstrate regular rent farming activities. As was frequently the case with other rent farmers, too, not everything ran smoothly for Ibni-Ištar. Around 12 Nbn he clashed with another agricultural entrepreneur, Zērbibi, in connection with the latter's right to cultivate land in a certain region (SAKF 155). He also had problems with a sharecropper, who failed to deliver his due in barley (YOS 6 173). From YOS 6 173 we learn that Ibni-Ištar possibly worked in a partnership with the rent farmer Bānia, son of Bulluṭāya, since a sharecropper is supposed to settle his accounts with the two of them. However, the nature of their relationship remains obscure and it is unclear how it affected Ibni-Ištar's status or the scope of his rent farm. Furthermore, the relatively scant material available for Ibni-Ištar does not allow for any conclusions on the success of his agricultural enterprise.

2.9.8.1. Attestations of Ibni-Ištar:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|------------------------|--|---|
| YOS 6 150: 1, 8, 24 | 28-[x]-11 Nbn | rent contract |
| YOS 19 71: 2f. | 10-IV-12 Nbn | contract for agricultural work |
| YOS 6 182: 6 | 17-VII-12 Nbn | receipt for barley |
| SAKF 155: 8, 15-17, 19 | 12-[x]-13 Nbn | legal dispute over newly cultivated land |
| TCL 12 108: 4 | 6- ¹ I ¹ -13 Nbn | <i>imittu</i> debt note for barley |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 32: 1f. | I-14 Nbn | disbursements of barley |
| YOS 6 173: 5 | 27-VI-14 Nbn | legal, concerning a delayed <i>imittu</i> payment |
| BM 114573: 3 | 15-VII-4 Cyr | receipt for barley |

2.9.9. Bānia

A rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk for barley by the name of Bānia, son of Bulluṭāya, appears for the first time in 12 Nbn (BM 114602). He may be attested earlier, though, already in 43 Nbk (YBC 3737) and also in 10 Nbn (TEBR 41). The identification in these two texts is based on his name and patronymic. In neither of the cases is there any indication of his activity as a rent farmer. In the Yale text he appears as one of the six debtors of barley, which belonged to a royal official (*ša rēš šarri*) and which was given to them for expenses (*ana nišhi*) through a certain Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim. The text does not provide any details on the use to which this barley was supposed to be put. In the attestation from 10 Nbn (TEBR 41), we encounter a Bānia, son of B[ulluṭāya?], who handed over a slave of his to the rent farmer Kalbāya, in order to cover his arrears of over 100 *kurru* of either dates or barley (the type of commodity is broken off). If the identification is correct this is at least an indication of his involvement in the agriculture of Eanna under another rent farmer.

In 12 Nbn, however, Bānia appears with the title *ša muḥhi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk* in a receipt for barley, which was received from him at the order of *šatammu* and two scribes (BM 114602). A parallel text is known for the rent farmer Ibnāya, son of Balātu (YOS 6 182), which was written only two days later on the 17th (see above). This receipt involves the same amount of barley (14 *kurru*), which were handed over to the same person, Bunene-šemānni, as in BM 114602:

BM 114602 15-VII-12 Nbn
 obv. 1. 14 gur še-bar ^{1d}*bu-ne-ne-ši-man-ni*
^{1ú}*gal-la šá* ¹*tab-né-e-a a-šú šá* ^{1r}*ha-an¹-tu-šú*

- ina* [na]-áš-par-ti šá¹ numun-ia^{lú} šà-tam é-an-na
¹na¹-di-nu a^{ld} en-šeš^{mcš}-ba-šá
5. ¹ki-na-a a¹ numun-ia^{lú} umbisag^{mc}
 šá é-an-na *ina* šu^{II} ¹ba-ni-ia
 a-šú šá¹ bul-luṭ-a šá ugu^{giš} bān
 šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} *ina* íd-eš-šú
 ma-ḫi-ir
- rev. 10. ^{lú}mu-kīn-nu ¹i-ba-a a-šú
 šá¹ ḫa-an-ṭu-uš-šú^{ld} innin-na-numun-ba-šá
 a^{ld} ag-šeš-mu^{ld} innin-šeš-mu
 a^{ld} ag-ke-šir^{lú} umbisag
¹ir^d in-nin a-šú
15. šá¹ numun-ia^{lú} uru íd-eš-šú
 iti du₆ ud 15-kam mu 12-kam
^{ld}ag-i lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Bunēne-šemāni, the slave of Tabnēa, son of Ḫanṭušu, received 14 *kurru* of barley at the orders of Zēria, the chief administrator of Eanna, Nādin, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša, (and) Kīnāya, son of Zēria, the scribes of Eanna, from Bānia, son of Bulluṭāya, the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk, on the Nāru-eššu.

Witnesses: Ibāya, son of Ḫanṭušu,
 Innin-zēr-iqīša, son of Nabû-aḫ-iddin,
 Ištar-aḫ-iddin, son of Nabû-kēšir,

Scribe: Arad-Innin, son of Zēria;
 Āl-Nāru-eššu; 15-VII-12 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

No rent contract for Bānia’s farm has come down to us, but judging from his attestations which invariably concern barley, he was involved in arable cultivation. In 14 Nbn a certain Šamaš-iddin, a sharecropper, was required to show up by a certain date and settle his accounts for a barley impost with Bānia and Ibnāya, son of Balāṭu (YOS 6 173). Ibnāya (Ibni-Ištar) was another rent farmer (see above). This text suggests that these two rent farmers worked together at this time.⁷⁴⁰

From the following year, 15 Nbn, a debt note recording the transfer of a debt of barley arrears, which were charged against Bānia, to another person has come down to us:

BM 114604 3-XI-15 Nbn

- obv. 1. 7 gur še-bar *ina re-e-ḫi* šá *ina muḫ-ḫi*
 šá¹ ba-ni-ia a-šú šá¹ bul-luṭ-ṭa-a
 níg-ga^d gašan šá unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a
ina muḫ-ḫi re-mut a¹ i^d šú
5. *ina* iti sig₄ še-bar *ina muḫ-ḫi*
 íd-lugal i-nam-din
 e-lat re-ḫe-e-nu šá áb-gu₄^{hi-a}
 šá *ina muḫ-ḫi-šú*
- rev. *ina* gub-zu¹ dingir-re-man-ni^{lú} sag lugal
10. ^{lú}en pi-qit-ti é-an-na
^{lú}mu-kīn-nu^{ld} di-kud-šeš^{mcš}-mu
 a-šú šá¹ gi-mil-lu a¹ šī-gu-ú-a
¹na-din a^{ld} en-šeš^{mcš}-ba-šá
^{lú}umbisag^{ld} utu-numun-ba-šá a-šú šá^{ld} innin-na-mu-ùru

⁷⁴⁰ YOS 6 149 is another possible attestation of Bānia from this year, which has no visible connection with agricultural production of the temple. This is a list of people following the scheme PN₁ bēl piqitti u PN₂ bēl isqāti itti PN₃. There are four such entries in the text. Bānia appears as PN₃ in the first entry (ll. 1-4: [¹]na-na-a-mu a¹ ir^d na-na-a/^{lú} en pi-qit-ti <u>^{ld} a-num-numun-[m]u/^{lú} en is-šu^{II} it-ti¹ dū-ia¹/ a-šú šá¹ bul-luṭ¹-a). Neither his connection to the two previously listed men is obvious, nor are the connotations of this text. The mention of shares may indicate a connection to the prebendary system; however, the prosopography of the people involved does not offer any evidence for such a connection.

15. unug^{ki} iti zíz ud 3-kam
mu 15-kam ^dag-i lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“7 *kurru* of barley, from the arrears charged against Bānia, son of Bulluṭāya, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, are charged against Rēmūt, son of Nā'id-Marduk.⁷⁴¹ In month III he will deliver the barley on the Nār-šarri. (That is) not including the arrears in cattle charged against him.

In the presence of Ili-rēmanni, the royal commissioner of Eanna.

Witnesses: Madān-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Gimillu, descendant of Šigūa,
Nādin, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša,

Scribe: Šamaš-zēr-iqīša, son of Innin-šum-ušur;

Uruk; 3-XI-15 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

After this attestation, which does not reveal anything about the background of this transaction and potential difficulties Bānia may have had with the discharging of his obligations toward Eanna, there is a gap of more than four years in our documentation for this rent farmer. His next, and at the same time last, attestation is from 2 Cyr (YOS 7 22⁷⁴²). Bānia was not necessarily actively involved in agricultural production at this time. The text concerns an inquiry into the whereabouts of an amount of barley which had neither been delivered to the temple nor to the cultivators for seed. It records statements of various people to this effect, among others of Nabû-aḥ-iddin, son of Ḥarbāšu,⁷⁴³ who stated that he had received 100 *kurru* of barley from Bānia in Bīt-barī and passed it on for poultry fodder.

To conclude, Bānia was active as a rent farmer for the temple at least since 12 Nbn. He may have been the partner of the rent farmer (and *širku*) Ibni-Ištar. However, the key points concerning his rent farm, its scope and success, as well as the time of its dissolution, remain unknown. Similarly, nothing can be said about his social background.

2.9.9.1. Attestations of Bānia:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|------------------|---------------|--|
| ? YBC 3737: 4 | 20-I-43 Nbk | debt note for barley |
| ? TEBR 41: 1, 6 | 22-VIa-10 Nbn | transfer of slave in lieu of a [barley/date] debt |
| BM 114602: 6f. | 5-VII-12 Nbn | receipt for barley |
| ? YOS 6 149: 3f. | 20-I-14 Nbn | list of PN's in groups of three |
| YOS 6 173: 4 | 27-VI-14 Nbn | legal, concerning settling of accounts for barley impost |
| BM 114604: 2 | 3-XI-15 Nbn | debt note for barley |
| YOS 7 22: 16 | 29-IX-2 Cyr | legal, concerning the whereabouts of barley |

2.9.10. Zērbibi

Another one of the poorly documented rent farmers of Eanna was Zērbibi, son of Nabû-ēter-napšāti. The only text which gives evidence for his rent farming activities is a debt note for *kasia*, the share (*zittu*) of a sharecropper, pertaining to Nergal-nāšir's⁷⁴⁴ and Zērbibi's *sūtu* (GC 1 418,⁷⁴⁵ 12^{+?} Nbn). Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni, was another one of Eanna's rent farmers (see the chapter on Nergal-nāšir, p. 151). This would indicate the existence of an arable farm jointly managed by the two men.

⁷⁴¹ Rēmūt, who was involved in animal husbandry (Kümmel 1979: 73), appears once as a witness in an *imittu* debt note for barley pertaining to the rent farm of Šum-ukīn (YOS 6 24). He is otherwise not attested in an agricultural context and his relationship with Bānia is unclear.

⁷⁴² The text is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 85. 134.

⁷⁴³ He was a scribe involved in the administration of the agricultural production (see note 738).

⁷⁴⁴ For the rent farmer Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni, see p. 151.

⁷⁴⁵ The text is edited on p. 156.

Zērbibi's next attestation is from 13 Nbn (SAKF 155⁷⁴⁶), where he is designated as a *ša ina muḫḫi mūšānē* of the Lady of Uruk. This title is not attested elsewhere, but implies a responsibility for the irrigation system of Eanna, as *mūšū* was some sort of an outlet on a canal. This text records a dispute between Zērbibi and Ibnāya, the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk, concerning land. The text is not perfectly clear, but it appears that Zērbibi accused Ibnāya of taking away the land he had reclaimed in the locality Bīt-Saggāya, in which he was active as the *ša ina muḫḫi mūšānē*. Following Zērbibi's claim which he had submitted to the crown prince, Zērbibi and Ibnāya were made to confront each other in the assembly by the temple administrator. Ibnāya denied taking away the newly reclaimed land. Afterwards the scribe Eanna-šum-ibni, son of Aḫḫēšāya, and a certain Nabû-aḫ-iddin, son of Ḫarbāšu,⁷⁴⁷ testified mentioning Zērbibi's partner, *šutāpu* (l. 23), the rent farmer Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni. His role in this affair is not clear, as this section of the text is damaged.

Another attestation of Zērbibi is in YOS 6 187 ([x] Nbn), an administrative note recording his receipt of 12 iron spades for digging work (*ana ḫerrūti*). The digging may have been connected to the work on the irrigation system, which he would have conducted as the person in charge of the canal outlets.

2.9.10.1. Attestations of Zērbibi:

| Text ⁷⁴⁸ | Date | Contents |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| YOS 6 187: 3f. | 14-IX-[x] Nbn | receipt for 12 iron spades |
| GC 1 418: 5 | 14-[x]-12 ⁺⁷ Nbn | <i>zittu</i> debt note for <i>kasia</i> |
| SAKF 155: 9f., 12, 17f., 20, 23 | [x]-[x]-13 Nbn | legal dispute over newly broken land |

2.9.11. Nabû-udammiq

Another rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk active during the first half of Cyrus's reign was Nabû-udammiq, son of Nabû-ēter, from the prominent Urukian family Gimil-Nanāya. His first attestation from the Eanna archive known to us is from 7 Nbn (JCS 28, no. 30) and is not connected to his agricultural activities. The text is a debt note for 17 shekels of silver belonging to the Lady of Uruk and which were charged against a certain Kalbāya, son of Nabû-ēter, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya, i.e. probably Nabû-udammiq's brother. After the payment clause and before the list of witnesses the following phrase is inserted: *šābū šarri ša Rēmūt-Bēl/Bēl-uballit/Gimil-Nanāya u Nabû-udammiq/Nabû-ēter/Gimil-Nanāya*.⁷⁴⁹ The taxation term *šāb šarri*, which designates a conscript of the king, a person fulfilling an obligation toward the crown, or a person hired by another in order to be employed at a royal project of a public or military nature in his stead, has been discussed by van Driel (2002: 245). In this instance the inserted phrase would seem to indicate that the temple provided the men to fulfil the royal duties of the Gimil-Nanāyas and charged them 17 shekels of silver for it. The transaction was carried out in Sippar, the place where this debt note was issued. As it is known that the dependants of Eanna occasionally took part in public works in the Sippar region (cf. for instance YOS 6 171, GC 1 350, NCBT 186, YBC 9151, PTS 2122, 2206, etc.) it is conceivable that the "king's men" supplied to the Gimil-Nanāyas came from this contingent of externally employed temple workers.

⁷⁴⁶ For an edition of this text see p. 206.

⁷⁴⁷ He was probably also a scribe involved in the management of the temple's agriculture (see note 738).

⁷⁴⁸ Note that a Zērbibi, son of Nabû-ēter-napšāti, appears as the scribe of the text PTS 2046 (acc Ami), which belongs to the private archive of the rent farmer Šum-ukīn. The text which was written in Ḫarrubat, a locality probably north of Uruk, records a partial payment of Šum-ukīn's rent for the estate of the temple scribe (on this text and its duplicate see p. 170). It is not certain whether the scribe of this text should be identified with our Zērbibi.

⁷⁴⁹ JCS 28, no. 30: 5ff.: lú^{id} érin^{mes} lugal šá¹ re-mut^d-en / a-šú šá^{ld} en-din-iṭ a¹ šu^d-na-na-a / u^{ld} ag-kal a-šú šá^{ld} ag-sur / a¹ šu^d-na-na-a.

Nabû-udammiq's next attestation from 16 Nbn (Dillard, FLP 1603) bears evidence for his involvement in date cultivation. The text is a bail protocol in which a father guarantees to bring his son to Nabû-udammiq because of a date palm which had been felled on a plot of Nabû-udammiq. If he failed to bring his son, who was either a suspect in this case or the person responsible for the orchard in which this incident occurred, i.e. a gardener, he would have to pay Nabû-udammiq one mina of silver for the felling of the palm. It is not clear whether this document refers to temple property, as there is no mention of the Lady of Uruk, Eanna or its officials. Furthermore the plot in question is characterised as Nabû-udammiq's and he is also designated as the beneficiary of the penalty payment and not Eanna or the Lady of Uruk, as is normally the case in this type of texts.

At any rate, this was not the only instance in which date palms had illicitly been felled on the land at Nabû-udammiq's disposal. During Cyrus's reign (the year is broken off) another such incident is recorded (YOS 7 68⁷⁵⁰). However, in this case the felled date palms were the property of the Eanna temple, as they grew on a plot designated as belonging to the Lady of Uruk. Nabû-udammiq himself was made responsible to bring the perpetrator to the royal commissioner of Eanna or otherwise pay three minas of silver for the three felled palm trees.⁷⁵¹

Nabû-udammiq's only other attestation in an agricultural context is from 4 Cyr in a receipt for 40 *kurru* of barley (*AnOr* 8 42⁷⁵²). Nabû-udammiq, who is designated here as a rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk (*ša muḫḫi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk*), gave the barley for seed for the ploughs (*a-na še-numun šá^{giš} apin^{meš} -šú*) to a certain Ištar-zēr-ibni, son of Ša-Nabû-šū, in the locality Bīrāta.

In addition to this Nabû-udammiq also appeared as a witness in several legal texts from Eanna in the period between 2 and 4 Cyr.⁷⁵³

The attestations related to the temple agriculture (YOS 7 68, *AnOr* 8 42 and perhaps also Dillard, FLP 1603) indicate that Nabû-udammiq was in charge of arable land and date orchards of the Lady of Uruk. However, the size of his rent farm is unknown, as are the conditions under which he worked for the temple, since no rent contracts have come down to us. Equally little can be said about the temporal scope and the success of his agricultural undertakings.

2.9.11.1. Attestations of Nabû-udammiq:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| JCS 28, no. 30: 7f. | 7-XI-7 Nbn | debt note for silver |
| Dillard, FLP 1603: 3f., 6, 10 | 7-XI-16 Nbn | legal, concerning felling of date palms |
| YOS 7 68: 2 | [x]-[x]-[x] Cyr | legal, concerning felling of date palms |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 39: 18f. | 29-XI-2 Cyr | legal, concerning illicit purchase of temple barley and dates (witness) |
| YOS 7 35: 24f. | 27-XI-3 Cyr | legal, concerning small cattle (witness) |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 42: 3ff. | 18-VII-4 Cyr | receipt of barley for seed |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 43: 4 | 1-VIII-4 Cyr | legal, concerning cattle (witness) |
| YOS 7 38: 25 | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | rent of garden <i>ana gugallūti</i> (witness) |

2.9.12. *Ile'i-Marduk*

Ile'i-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Eṭēru was a rent farmer for barley during the second half of Cyrus's reign. He is attested in the texts of the Eanna archive at least from 4 Cyr until 7 Camb. He appears in connection with a rent farm for barley between 6 Cyr and 1

⁷⁵⁰ The text is edited by San Nicolò 1932: 345f.

⁷⁵¹ The same rate of one mina of silver per date palm felled as in FLP 1603 and YOS 7 68 is recorded in TCL 12 89 (8 Nbn), which was also edited by San Nicolò 1932: 346f. The fine of one mina of silver for each felled date palm is stipulated in the orchard lease BM 114450 ll. 10-11 (see p. 309 for an edition). Note that the fine for felling a date palm in the Codex Hammurabi is half a mina (§59).

⁷⁵² The text is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 51. 113f. Note the erroneous reconstruction of Nabû-udammiq's patronymic in l.5 as ^{ld}ag-[gin-a]. It should of course be read as ^{ld}ag-[sur^{or kar-(er)}].

⁷⁵³ In the years from 2 to 4 Cyr Nabû-udammiq appears also as a witness in several legal texts from Eanna: *AnOr* 8 39 (2 Cyr), YOS 7 35 (3 Cyr), *AnOr* 8 43 (4 Cyr), YOS 7 38 (4 Cyr).

Camb, but he experienced difficulties running it already in Cambyses's accession year, if not earlier.

Very little can be said about Ile'i-Marduk's family. His father Nabû-šum-ukīn is not otherwise known. However, we know that Ile'i-Marduk had a brother, Kidin-Marduk, and probably a cousin, Bēl-iddin, who guaranteed before the authorities of Eanna that he would go to Babylon in 5 Camb (YOS 7 177, see below). Kidin-Marduk appears in three more texts from Cyrus's and Cambyses's reign. In *AnOr* 8 54 (6 Cyr) he is a member of a commission which counted bricks produced for the temple by a certain Mukkēa and which consisted of, among others, the overseer of the temple slaves (*rab širkē*) and two scribes.⁷⁵⁴ In RA 23, 13ff. (8 Cyr) he testified together with two other men in the assembly that the cultic singers (*kālū*) carried out a bronze drum (*lilissu*), placed it in the gate of the temple and proclaimed a lunar eclipse.⁷⁵⁵ In the third year of Cambyses he acted as a witness in a document recording a bail for people who bought cattle from the temple and still owed it money (YOS 7 157).⁷⁵⁶ Though Kidin-Marduk was obviously connected to the temple administration in some way, his exact function in it cannot be surmised. Even less is known about Bēl-iddin, son of Iqīša-Marduk, descendant of Eṭēru, whose only appearance is as a guarantor for, presumably, his cousin, Ile'i-Marduk (YOS 7 177).⁷⁵⁷ According to BM 114556 (not dated, see below for an edition of the text) Ile'i-Marduk was married to a certain Busasa, daughter of Iqīša-Marduk. She was perhaps Bēl-iddin's sister, i.e. Ile'i-Marduk's cousin.⁷⁵⁸ We know also that Ile'i-Marduk had at least one son. He appears in one of the receipts for barley pertaining to his father's *sūtu* as the person who delivered it (YOS 7 53, 6 Cyr). His name is partially damaged in this text, but could possibly be restored to Nabû-[šum]-lišir.

Before his first attestation as a rent farmer, Ile'i-Marduk appeared as a witness in five legal documents from the Eanna archive in 4 and 5 Cyr. They concerned cattle,⁷⁵⁹ arrears of wool⁷⁶⁰ and the status of slaves.⁷⁶¹ After starting up the rent farming business he did not stop taking part in the proceedings of the temple court as a witness. In the intercalary *addāru* of 6 Cyr he heads the list of *mār banē* witnessing a formal statement concerning the sale of a female slave (CD 78).⁷⁶² In 8 Cyr

⁷⁵⁴ One of these men, Mūrānu, son of Nabû-ēter, descendant of Esagilia, was the scribe of two unpublished debt notes for silver from the Eanna archive (BM 114670 and YBC 17067). He appears among the witnesses in YOS 7 44 and 59. The other one, Marduk-ēter, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of Amīl-Ea, was the scribe of an unpublished debt note for barley and silver belonging to Eanna (BM 114456). He also acted as a witness in several documents from Eanna (YOS 7 31, 41, 115, BM 113250 and NCBT 685).

⁷⁵⁵ The testimonies of the cultic singers regarding this incident are recorded in another text three days later (YOS 7 71). An unpublished text written four days later (BM 114470) mentioning the duties of a certain Bānia, son of Kidinnu, concerning the bronze drum, also belongs to this small dossier.

⁷⁵⁶ Kidin-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, however, without a family name, appears as a witness also in GC 1 276 (16 Nbn), a debt note for one *pānu* of barley belonging to Bēl-nā'id, son of Bānitu-ēreš, and charged against Ina-qāt-Nabû-šakin, the slave of Agagašu. It is not certain whether this is an attestation of Ile'i-Marduk's brother.

⁷⁵⁷ Iqīša-Marduk himself could have been a brother or a cousin of Nabû-šum-ukīn, Ile'i-Marduk's father. Another member of the Eṭēru family is known – Rēmūt-Bēl, son of Iqīša-Marduk, descendant of Eṭēru. He was probably Bēl-iddin's brother. He appears twice in acc Camb as a witness in *imittu* debt notes for dates pertaining to the rent farm of Ardia (GC 2 114 and YOS 7 105). There is no direct connection between Rēmūt-Bēl and Ile'i-Marduk, who later in his career also acted as a witness in the *imittu* debt notes from Ardia's farm (see below).

⁷⁵⁸ Consanguineous endogamy was not uncommon in the urban propertied families in the Neo-Babylonian period as was demonstrated by Wacrzeggers 2002: 319ff.

⁷⁵⁹ TCL 13 132 (4 Cyr) is an inquiry into a sale of a sheep and a goat from the pen of a certain shepherd. *AnOr* 8 43 (4 Cyr) records the report of *rab būlis* who had received orders from Gūbaru concerning the arrears of the temple herders. YOS 7 29 (4 Cyr) deals with arrears of cattle from 3 and 4 Cyr charged against a certain Bunanu, son of Aḥḥēšāya.

⁷⁶⁰ BM 113250 (5 Cyr) records the transfer of a slave to the temple property by a man who had arrears of wool.

⁷⁶¹ UCP 9/2 37 (5 Cyr) investigates a case of a temple slave allegedly kept in a private household.

⁷⁶² The text is partially damaged and the name of the slave woman cannot be read. As is evident from the photo, the name is followed by the signs *géme-a* (l. 13) rather than *gu-a* read by Sack. His reading of the first witness's name (l. 1) should also be emended from ^rir^l-^damar-utu to [^d]a-^damar-utu. The place of issue should be read as Til-atūnāti (l. 20: [^{uru} or ^{garim}]du₆[!]-a-tu-na-ti). It had so far been attested only with logographic writing du₆-udun^{meš} and is recorded by Zadok *sub* Til-atūnē (1985: 309).

he acted as a witness in a case concerning the arrears of several ox herders (PTS 2084). He continued to appear in the sources in this way during the reign of Cambyses, even after his rent farming career presumably ended. He was a witness in 2 Camb in a document recording a bail connected to a debt of dates owed to the temple by a certain Bānia, son of Innin-[x] (GC 2 408). In the seventh year of Cambyses he witnessed at least five *imittu* debt notes for dates from the rent farm of Ardia.⁷⁶³ This implies that at the last visible stage of his career (these debt notes from 7 Camb are his last known attestations) Ile'i-Marduk was a member of the yield estimation commission, which consisted of temple scribes and estimators (see pp. 137ff.). His exact function during the estimation process is not known. His previous involvement as a witness in cases concerning animal husbandry and slaves of contested status, however, indicates that, at least initially, he was not specialised in agricultural administration. It is clear, though, that he must have belonged to the temple administration at some level.

Ile'i-Marduk's activities as a rent farmer are generally not well documented. It is not clear when exactly his rent farm for barley was founded, nor is its size known, as his rent contract has not come down to us. However, in a text from the sixth month of 6 Cyr (YOS 7 53⁷⁶⁴) we find the first so far known mention of his rent farm (*sūtu*). It is a receipt for 273;4.1 *kurru* of barley from the rent of Ile'i-Marduk, which were received by [PN], son of Eanna-būdia, from Nabû-[šum]-līšir, Ile'i-Marduk's son, on the orders of the temple administration. 6 Cyr is therefore the latest possible date for the commencement of his rent farming activities. An earlier date is conceivable, though, as we know that Kalbāya stopped being a rent farmer for Eanna by the end of 2 Cyr, thus leaving a gap of about four years with no attested large-scale rent farmer.⁷⁶⁵ He apparently concentrated on the cultivation of arable land only. All of his rent farm related attestations concern products from arable land, mostly barley and once *kasia*. Beside several mentions of his *sūtu*, Ile'i-Marduk appears three times with the title of a rent farmer: twice as a *ša (ina) muḫḫi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk* (*AnOr* 8 60, 9 Cyr; *AnOr* 8 66, 1 Camb) and once as *ša muḫḫi sūti ša uṭṭati ša Bēlti ša Uruk* (BIN 2 130, acc Camb). The longer title is a better indicator of his sphere of influence.

BM 114597 is another attestation of Ile'i-Marduk's rent farm which should be dated to 6 Cyr.⁷⁶⁶ It is an arrangement for guarding barley from his rent farm, which the royal commissioner of Eanna measured out and deposited in a granary of a certain locality (signs of the place name are illegible). The person who guaranteed to guard this barley, Innin-aḫḫē-iddin, son of Innin-zēr-ušabši, who is not known from other sources, is not allowed to let anyone open the granary, and presumably remove the barley, without the consent of the *šatammu* and the *bēl piqitti*:

- BM 114597 12-[x]-6 [Cyr]
- obv. 1. *pu-ut ma-aš-šar-tu₄ šá* ^r314⁷¹ g[ur še-bar]
 níg-ga^d gašan *šá* unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a *šá* ^gis[bán]
*šá*¹ da-d^d amar-utu a-šú *šá*^{ld} ag-mu-gin a¹ e¹-[tè-ru]
šá^{ld} ag-šeš-mu^{lu} sag lugal^{lu} en *pi-qit-ti* [é-an-na]
5. *im-šu-ḫu-ma ina ka-a-ram*⁷ ^ruru x x x¹ [x x]
id-du-ú^{ld} in-nin-šeš^{meš}-mu
 a-šú *šá*^{ld} in-nin-numun-gál-ši
 na-ši *šá* la^{ld} ag-gin-a
- lo.e. ^{lu}ša-tam è-an-na ù
10. ^{ld}ag-šeš-mu^{lu} en *pi-qit-tu₄* é-an-na

⁷⁶³ These are: JCS 28, no. 35, NCBT 829, BM 114487, BM 113429 and BM 113430. NCBT 552 should probably also be placed among these attestations. This *imittu* debt note is dated to Cambyses's reign but the year is broken off. It should probably be reconstructed to [7] Camb, because in NCBT 552 the same witnesses and the same scribe appear as in the other *imittu* debt notes dated to 7 Camb.

⁷⁶⁴ The text is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 82. 131.

⁷⁶⁵ Note that in Sippar also no large-scale rent farmer is attested at the beginning of Cyrus's reign at least until 6 Cyr (Jursa 1995a: 96).

⁷⁶⁶ The king's name and the month are lost in a break, but a restoration to Cyrus seems like a viable option. A less likely date, but not entirely impossible, would be 6 Camb. This later date would indicate a much longer duration of Ile'i-Marduk's farm than is reflected by the, albeit sparse, documentation available for him. (Note that Ile'i-Marduk also figures as a witness in this text.)

- rev. *man-ma* še-bar *ip-tu-ú hi-tu šá* lugal
i-šad-da-ad
^{lu}*mu-kin*₇ ¹da-^damar-utu a-šú šá ^{1d}ag-mu-gin
a [¹e-^t]è-ru ^{1d}ag-numun-gin a-šú šá
15. [^{1d}ag]-*ka-sir* a ¹ár-rab-ti
¹[x x x] a-šú šá ^{1d}ag-¹kar⁷¹ [a x x x x]
^{lu}umbisag ¹gi-mil-lu [a-šú šá ^{1d}in-nin-numun-mu]
^{umu}[x x x iti x]
u.e. ud 12-kam mu 6-kam [¹ku-raš lugal tin-tir^{ki}]
20. lugal [kur-kur]

“Innin-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Innin-zēr-ušabši, guarantees for the guarding of ¹314¹ *kurru* of barley, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, pertaining to the rent of Ile’i-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Eṭēru, which Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna, measured out and deposited in a granary in ... Anyone who opens (the granary and removes) the barley without the consent of Nabû-mukīn-apli, the administrator of Eanna, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna, shall incur the punishment of the king.

Witnesses: Ile’i-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of [Eṭ]ēru,
Nabû-zēr-ukīn, son of [Nabû]-kāšir, descendant of Arrabtu,
[PN], son of Nabû-ēṭer⁷, [descendant of PN],

Scribe: Gimillu, [son of Innin-zēr-iddin];
[GN]; 12-[x]-6 [Cyr, king of Babylon], king [of lands].”

Interestingly, a text very similar to this one was written in the fourth month of 9 Cyr, i.e. shortly after the harvest (*AnOr* 8 64⁷⁶⁷). It is another arrangement for guarding barley pertaining to Ile’i-Marduk’s rent farm. This time the royal commissioner of Eanna and a temple scribe measured out 110 *kurru* of barley and deposited it in a granary in Rāṭu. Three men, probably locals of this district,⁷⁶⁸ guaranteed for the guarding of the barley. They were prohibited to give this barley to anyone without the consent⁷⁶⁹ of the *šatammu*, the *bēl piqitti* or the temple scribes. The significance of these two contracts is not readily evident. The amounts of barley to be guarded are not very substantial. The ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ sets a delivery of 240 *kurru* of barley as the standard workload of a plough team. The 314 and 110 *kurru* from these two texts could have therefore been the deliveries of two teams from fields of varying sizes. This consideration, as well as the personal involvement of the highest temple officials, would suggest that these were *ad hoc* arrangements. It is at any rate difficult to imagine that contracts similar to these were drawn up for the barley deliveries of each individual plough team.⁷⁷⁰

After the first two attestations of Ile’i-Marduk’s rent farm from 6 Cyr (YOS 7 53 and BM 114597) we hear nothing of it for almost three years.⁷⁷¹ Its next mention comes from the fourth

⁷⁶⁷ This text was also edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 67. 123.

⁷⁶⁸ Nidintu, son of Nanāya-ēreš and Nūrēa, son of Bēl-zēri are not known from other sources. Nidintu, son of Nabû-bān-aḥi, may be attested once more in the above mentioned CD 78 (6 Cyr) written in Til-atūnāti, in which Ile’i-Marduk appears as a witness. In this text a person who had sold a slave woman to Nidintu described the circumstances by which this slave came into his family’s possession. This was apparently a case of contested status in which the temple probably had some claims on the slave.

⁷⁶⁹ Note that the copy of the text is misleading in l. 11 in that it stretches out the components of the sign *la* making it look like the signs *aš* and *šu*. Cocquerillat, who follows the copy as it is, reads here: še-bar *šá ina šu* PN ^{lu}ša-tam, instead of še-bar *šá la* PN ^{lu}ša-tam, and translates it as “barley which is at the hands of PN...” (1968: 67. 123). Her translation and transliteration should be corrected accordingly.

⁷⁷⁰ Perhaps these two *maššartu*-contracts could be placed in a similar context as the letter YOS 3 137 written by Ile’i-Marduk to the *šatammu* and the *bēl piqitti*. Here he complains about locusts and birds destroying the harvest and other problems concerning the measuring and transporting of barley. Though some of his complaints were probably mere rhetoric, they were certainly founded on real logistic problems. However, since the text is not dated it is not possible to associate it to any particular stage of his career.

⁷⁷¹ Ile’i-Marduk is attested once in the meantime, however, only as a witness in the context of animal husbandry (PTS 2084, 8 Cyr).

month of 9 Cyr, in a receipt for 130;2.4 *kurru* of barley from his rent farm (*AnOr* 8 60⁷⁷²), similar to the above mentioned YOS 7 53. Four days later a contract for guarding barley from his farm (*AnOr* 8 64), which was discussed above, was written. Following this document, just over two months later, first signs of crisis concerning Ile'i-Marduk's farm showed. BIN 2 130,⁷⁷³ written in the intercalary *ulūlu* of Cambyses's accession year, records a hardship sale of a house of Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Basia. The house was transferred to the temple property in order to meet the debt of 6 minas of silver, the price of *kasia*, recorded in a debt note of Ile'i-Marduk, the temple's rent farmer for barley, and which was charged against Marduk-šum-ušur. This Marduk-šum-ušur was the nephew of the first *fermier général* Šum-ukīn and has been discussed in the context of Šum-ukīn's family (p. 163). As was mentioned earlier, Marduk-šum-ušur was a scribe⁷⁷⁴ involved in the administrative processes concerning temple agriculture, such as measuring, storing or transporting the agricultural produce.⁷⁷⁵ While his exact activities can not be traced it is clear that in the course of his duties he must have had substantial quantities of agricultural products at his disposal. It is conceivable that he would speculate with these commodities for his personal gain. Occasionally he got the commodities directly from the producers, as in YOS 7 113.⁷⁷⁶ In this case, however, it appears that he bought an amount of *kasia* worth six minas of silver from the rent farmer without actually paying this money to him, to which effect a debt note was written. The text provides evidence for an additional source of income for the rent farmer. Not only could he benefit from any surplus in the production, he could also lend the products due to the temple to third parties, and, depending on the agreement, earn interest or part of the profit from the investment. The transaction between Ile'i-Marduk and Marduk-šum-ušur apparently entailed the rent farmer's profit from the interest on the silver (l.21). It is clear that these speculations were not without a risk for the parties involved, of which they were quite aware, as a pledge of Marduk-šum-ušur's houses in Babylon and Uruk and all of his property in city and steppe suggests (ll.17f.). Ultimately, the last link in the chain of agricultural enterprises was made accountable for the missing *kasia*. The property, which Marduk-šum-ušur had lost to the temple, was reckoned up against the barley which Ile'i-Marduk was obliged to deliver to the temple as his rent.

The latest attestation for Ile'i-Marduk's rent farm comes from 1 Camb (*AnOr* 8 66⁷⁷⁷). It is a receipt for barley, which was taken out of the house of a *tašlišu*⁷⁷⁸ at his own orders and was given by the chief temple administrator and the royal commissioner of Eanna to another individual. The person who received the barley was a certain Mukīn-[x], son of Sīn-ibni, and is not known from other sources. More or less the same can be said of the *tašlišu* Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Barīk-il,⁷⁷⁹ thus leaving the background of this transaction in the dark. The remark that the 30 *kurru* of barley stem from the *sūtu* of Ile'i-Marduk, the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk, is, for our purposes, the only matter of interest in this text.

This last attestation of Ile'i-Marduk's farm does not suggest the existence of any difficulties for his farming business. However, at some point in his career, he must have found himself in dire straits indeed, as is illustrated by BM 114556. This text is only a draft with no date or witnesses, but it is more than likely that it was either used for the drawing up of an official document or was an unfinished scribal exercise based on a real document.⁷⁸⁰ The text records the measurements of a

⁷⁷² The text is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 82. 132.

⁷⁷³ For an edition of the text see Appendix 1.

⁷⁷⁴ He wrote the *imittu* debt note TCL 12 108 (13 Nbn).

⁷⁷⁵ This is indicated by texts such as YOS 7 113 and BM 113431 (see above p. 164).

⁷⁷⁶ This text is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 84. 133.

⁷⁷⁷ For an edition of the text see Appendix 1.

⁷⁷⁸ For this military category see MacGinnis 2012: 16ff.

⁷⁷⁹ He appears in one more text as the owner of a property adjoining on two sides the house of Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Basia, which was transferred to the temple on account of his debt of *kasia* (BIN 2 130: 6. 8; see above and Appendix 1 for an edition of the text).

⁷⁸⁰ In other words, the tablet may have been produced as part of scribal training as a copy of a real document, but was left unfinished for some reason. This may also explain the curious sequence of signs ID DA UŠ A on the lower edge of the tablet which should probably be rated as a nonsensical scribble. Numerous gaps and omissions which appear in the text also suggest this was not work of an expert: In the lines 3, 4 and 9 the

house belonging to Ile'i-Marduk and his wife Busasa that was transferred to the property of Eanna in order to cover a part of the barley arrears charged against him. The house was subsequently sold by the temple to a certain Šum-ukīn, son of Marduk-ēreš, for 12 minas and 20 shekels of silver:

BM 114556

- obv. 1. 41 kùš uš an-ú im-2 da e-sír qàt-nu mu[?]-rtaq[?] lú⁷⁸¹₁
 41 kùš uš ki-ta-ú im-1 da é^{ld} ag-numun-gál-šī
 a^l(erasure) ù da gi^{mc} šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki}
 šá^{ld} na-na-a-mu a^lUK-KUD-dingir^{lú} rig^{mc} ina šà áš-bu
5. u^le-ter-šú^{ld} má-la₄
 50 kùš sag-ki an-ta im-4 da gi^{mc}
 šá^l mu-^rra[?] nu níg-ga lugal šá šu^{ll} ni-din-tu₄ lú^l šá ugu é^{mc}
 50 kùš sag-ki ki-ta im-4^{sic}
 da é^l šu-la-a a^l re-mut
- lo.e. 10. ID DA UŠ A
 rev. šu-nigin-nigin 42 gi^{mc} ù 2 šu-si
 mi-ši-iḫ-ti gi^{mc} šu-a-ti
 é^l da-^d amar-utu dumu-šú šá^{ld} ag-mu-gin dumu^l kar
 ù^{mi} bu-sa-sa dam-šú dumu^{mi} šá^l ba-šá-^d amar-utu
15. šá ina še-bar re-e-ḫi šá ugu^l da-^d amar-utu
 ina šu^{ll} da-^d amar-utu a-na níg-ga é-an-na
 im-^r ma-nu^l ú ki-i 12 1/3 ma-na kù-babbar
^l mu-gin a-šú šá^{ld} amar-utu-kam dumu^l <x>
 ul-tu níg-ga é-an-na ki-lam
20. im-bi-e i-šam kù-babbar-a₄
 12 1/3 ma-na <na>-din

“41 cubits (is the length of) the upper flank to the north, next to a narrow street, a thoroughfare for the people; 41 cubits (is the length of) the lower flank to the south, next to the house of Nabû-zēr-ušabši, son of (erasure) and next to the plot of the Lady of Uruk, in which Nanāya-iddin, son of UK-KUD-ili, and Ēteršu, the boatman, both of whom are temple oblates, live; 50 cubits (is the length of) the upper frontage to the west, next to the plot of Mūrānu, property of the king, which is under the responsibility of Nidintu, the *ša muḫḫi bītāni*-official; 50 cubits (is the length of) the lower frontage to the west^{sic}, next to the house of Šulāya, son of Rēmūt. (ID DA UŠ A) In total: 42 reeds and 2 fingers are the measurements of this plot. (It is) the house of Ile'i-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Eṭēru, and Busasa, his wife, daughter of Iqīša-Marduk, which was transferred from Ile'i-Marduk to the property of Eanna as a part of barley arrears charged against Ile'i-Marduk. Šum-ukīn, son of Marduk-ēreš, descendant of (empty space), named 12 minas 20 shekels of silver as the price and bought (the house) from Eanna. These 12 minas 20 shekels of silver were paid.”

It is particularly unfortunate that the text is not dated, making it impossible to determine when the temple administration commenced with the final settling of accounts with Ile'i-Marduk. Be that as it may, by the fourth month of the fifth year of Cambyses, Ile'i-Marduk seems to have been in trouble. The temple administration intended to send him to Nabūgu in Babylon as is evident from YOS 7 177⁷⁸² (5 Camb), in which his brother Kidin-Marduk and cousin Bēl-iddin had to guarantee to the *šatammu* that he would indeed go to Babylon. The reason for the summons to the royal administration in the capital is not given by the text. It can be surmised that he was to be

short “a” is used instead of “a-šú šá” or “dumu-šú šá” for the filiations, which can appear in administrative notes, but is not normally used in legal contracts in this function. The names in line 3 and 18 are missing. The contents of line 5 should for syntactical and contextual reasons be inserted before^{lú} rig^{mc} in line 4. An error is made either in line 6 or 8, in both of which the same point of the compass (im-4) appears. Line 21 can hardly be interpreted in a meaningful way without resorting to an emendation. This seems to be a case of haplography, which can be remedied by inserting <na> before the last sign “din”.

⁷⁸¹ The end of the line should be collated.

⁷⁸² For an edition of the text see Appendix 1.

sent there on account of his arrears, as it happened frequently that the temple administration would send people with unfulfilled obligations toward the temple to the royal court in Babylon. However, Ile'i-Marduk's arrears, if this indeed was the reason for going to the capital, may not have necessarily stemmed from his rent farm for barley. At some point during Cambyses's reign he also cultivated a date orchard on the Takkīru-canal which was a part of Ardia's rent farm for dates. This is evident from an *imittu* debt note for 95 *kurru* of dates charged against Ile'i-Marduk (BIN 1 98). The year numeral in the date formula is damaged. The copy shows traces of two vertical wedges, so the text could be from any year from 2 Camb onwards. Ile'i-Marduk probably did not do the actual work in the orchard himself, but had gardeners working for him. In all likelihood he sub-leased an orchard from the rent farmer Ardia, thus continuing his agricultural activities after the end of his rent farm for barley, however, on a much smaller scale.

The summons to Babylon in 5 Camb (YOS 7 177) may also have been connected to this new line of activities. There is no way of ascertaining this for now. At any rate, we still see Ile'i-Marduk active as a member of the yield estimation commission in several texts from 7 Camb (see above). Whatever happened in Babylon and with his rent farm in general, he managed to weather these crises and remain integrated in the administrative apparatus of Eanna at least until 7 Camb, although his failure in the rent farming business led to the loss of his rather valuable property.

2.9.12.1. Attestations of Ile'i-Marduk:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| YOS 3 137: 1 | - | letter |
| BM 114556: 13, 15, 16 | - | house sale |
| TCL 13 132: 19 | 18-V-4 Cyr | legal text concerning cattle (witness) |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 43: 2f. | 1-VIII-4 Cyr | legal text concerning cattle (witness) |
| YOS 7 29: 16 | 3-XI-4 Cyr | legal text concerning cattle (witness) |
| BM 113250: 12 | 6-V-5 Cyr | legal text concerning arrears of wool (witness) |
| UCP 9/2 37: 12f. | 13-V-5 Cyr | legal text concerning the status of a slave (witness) |
| BM 114597: 3, 13f. | 12-[x]-6 [Cyr] | contract for guarding barley |
| YOS 7 53: 2f., 5 | 3-VI-6 Cyr | receipt for barley |
| CD 78: 1 | 13-XIIa-6 Cyr | legal text concerning the status of a slave (witness) |
| PTS 2084: 25 | 27-IV-8 Cyr | legal text concerning cattle (witness) |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 60: 2f. | 21-IV-9 Cyr | receipt for barley |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 64: 3 | 25-IV-9 Cyr | contract for guarding barley |
| BIN 2 130: 14ff., 19, 21 | 2-VIa-acc Camb | house sale |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 66: 4f. | 1-III-1 Camb | receipt for barley |
| GC 2 408: 11f. | 20-IX-2 Camb | legal text concerning a bail and a debt of dates (witness) |
| BIN 1 98: 5 | 23-VI-2 ⁺ Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates, <i>sūtu</i> of Ardia (debtor) |
| YOS 7 177: 1 | 8-IV-5 Camb | legal text concerning a bail for Ile'i-Marduk |
| NCBT 552: 12 | 1-VII-[7] Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates, <i>sūtu</i> of Ardia (witness) |
| JCS 28, no. 35: 11 | 2-VII-7 Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates, <i>sūtu</i> of Ardia (witness) |
| BM 114487: 12 | 4-VII-7 Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates, <i>sūtu</i> of Ardia (witness) |
| NCBT 829: 11f. | 5-[VII]-7 Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates, <i>sūtu</i> of Ardia (witness) |
| BM 113429: 12f. | 6-VII-7 Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates, <i>sūtu</i> of Ardia (witness) |
| BM 113430: 11f. | 6-VII-7 Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note for dates, <i>sūtu</i> of Ardia (witness) |

2.9.13. Ardia

After Kalbāya's rent farm for barley and dates had been dissolved around 2 Cyr, a split between the management of the arable land on the one hand and the date orchards on the other is noticeable. The situation is not perfectly clear due to a rather small amount of pertinent documents from Cyrus's reign, but the general tendency seems to have been a fragmentation of the rent farm system through the employment of a number of individuals with smaller areas of responsibility. It appears that not only the barley and date cultivation were managed separately, but that the

responsibility over these two branches of agricultural production was split between several temple officials and minor rent farmers.

The management of the arable land and date orchards would not be put under the responsibility of one single person again until the beginning of Darius's reign. But even before Gimillu, son of Innin-šum-ibni, took control over the major part of Eanna's agriculturally productive land, one man succeeded in uniting the temple's orchards into one rent farm. This man was Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḫi, descendant of Rēmūt-Ea, and his appointment as the rent farmer responsible for all the temple orchards, with the exception of the prebendary *hallatu*-orchards, can now be dated to the second month of 8 Cyr.⁷⁸³

We are not in the possession of texts from Ardia's private archive, as was the case with Šum-ukīn, and thus we have no information about his background. We do not know whether he was indigenous to Uruk or not. Even ascertaining his first appearance in the Eanna archive is problematic. A certain Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḫi (without a family name), appears already in 12 Nbn in two texts (both written in the intercalary *addaru*). YOS 6 203 is a conditional verdict concerning Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Nabû-mukīn-apli, and Ibni-ilu'a, son of Sīn-aḫ-iddin, two people not known from other sources, in a case of suspected embezzlement. If a witness proved that they received gold in addition to the gold and the debt notes which they took from nine individuals and gave to the temple administrator and the royal commissioner, they would have to pay a thirty-fold fine for the amount exceeding these debt notes. Ardia appears as one of the nine people from whom the gold and the debt notes for gold were received. These men's connection to the Eanna is not clear,⁷⁸⁴ but it is apparent that they had some sort of obligation toward the temple. The fact that they delivered both the gold and the corresponding debt notes to Nabû-apla-iddin and Ibni-ilu'a is remarkable. It indicates that they were not simply debtors, because in this case the debt notes would not have been in their keeping. Perhaps they were in the intermediary position between the temple, the actual creditor, and the debtors, from which they obtained the gold, which they then gave to the two men standing under investigation in this text.⁷⁸⁵

The other attestation of Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḫi, from 12 Nbn is in YOS 6 210.⁷⁸⁶ This is an account with a number of entries recording the deliveries and the disbursements of silver. Ardia received one quarter of a shekel of silver for the carcasses of one goose and one duck. This attestation notwithstanding, no connection with the poultry industry of Eanna could be established for the rent farmer Ardia. While it is possible that both YOS 6 203 and 210 refer to the same Ardia, it is by no means certain that this was the same person as the later rent farmer of this name.

The first certain attestation of the rent farmer Ardia is in BIN 1 111, an *imittu* debt note for dates pertaining to his rent farm. The text is dated to the fifth month of 2 Cyr, implying that by this time he had entered into a contractual relationship with the temple as a rent farmer. What is disconcerting, though, is that there are no other attestations of Ardia for the next six years, i.e. until 8 Cyr. Moreover, his first attestation from 8 Cyr is in fact his rent contract, the contract establishing his rent farm for dates. While this contract does not necessarily preclude an earlier agreement, perhaps one concerning a smaller portion of the temple's orchards,⁷⁸⁷ it is remarkable that the scribe and the witnesses appearing in the *imittu* debt note from 2 Cyr are the same as in several

⁷⁸³ This is according to his rent contract PTS 2044, which is edited below.

⁷⁸⁴ Beside Ardia five of them appear in other sources as well: Anu-aḫ-iddin, son of Mušēzib, is attested in YOS 6 223 (12 Nbn) according to which he purchased gold for silver; Nanāya-iddin, son of Gimillu, appears in YOS 6 190, YOS 19 198 and YOS 19 199, all from 7 Nbn, as a recipient of oil; Šadūnu, son of Šulāya, appears in YOS 6 210 (12 Nbn), in an account of silver deliveries and disbursements, as a recipient of 1.5 shekels of silver; Dūr-apli is attested in YOS 19 302 (13 Nbn), a text concerning malt and barley, as a commissioner (*bēl piqitti*) of a certain Nabû-zēr-ibni.

⁷⁸⁵ Note that during the intercalary *addaru* of 12 Nbn the temple investigated another case of suspected embezzlement of gold (cf. YOS 6 223, a record of an interrogation (*maš'altu*) of Iddin-Tišpak, son of Ibni-Ištar, and YOS 6 230, a bail protocol concerning this same individual), which may have been connected to our text.

⁷⁸⁶ Šadūnu, son of Šulāya, one of the nine people in YOS 6 203, also appears in this text (see note 784).

⁷⁸⁷ The rent farmer Šum-ukīn appeared in a similar situation. He was attested in three *imittu* debt notes in acc and 1 Nbn with the title *ša muḫḫi sūti*, before his and Kalbāya's rent contract had even been written. Furthermore, there is evidence for his involvement in Eanna's agriculture on an entrepreneurial level already during Neriglissar's reign.

imittu debt notes from the second year of Cambyses. Other than in BIN 1 111, the scribe Nabû-šum-ukīn, son of Nādin-aḫi, descendant of Gaḫul, appears as the scribe of at least seven *imittu* debt notes all of which were dated to 2 Camb.⁷⁸⁸ The two witnesses, Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Nādin, descendant of Sūtia, and Nabû-bēlšunu, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendant of Ea-ilūta-bāni, appear as sole witnesses in six other *imittu* debt notes from Ardia's rent farm, five of which are dated with certainty to 2 Camb.⁷⁸⁹ Nabû-bēlšunu was himself a scribe of two *imittu* debt notes from 2 Camb, in both of which Marduk-šum-iddin appears as a witness.⁷⁹⁰ Clearly Nabû-šum-ukīn, Marduk-šum-iddin and Nabû-bēlšunu were involved in the yield estimation process on Ardia's rent farm.⁷⁹¹ During 2 Camb these three men were, on at least five occasions, members of one estimation committee. Their attestation in BIN 1 111 from 2 Cyr is exceptional, especially considering that the scribe Nabû-šum-ukīn was otherwise attested only in 2 Camb. Taking also into account the gap of some six years between this and Ardia's next attestation as a rent farmer of Eanna (PTS 2044, 8 Cyr), one wonders whether the king's name in BIN 1 111 should not be in fact emended to Cambyses.⁷⁹² Assuming a scribal error⁷⁹³ here would greatly help to make a uniform picture of Ardia's involvement in the agriculture of Eanna, starting with his rent contract at the beginning of 8 Cyr and ending in 7 Camb with a set of *imittu* debt notes for that year. Alternatively, one would simply have to acknowledge the gap of six years in the documentation for Ardia,⁷⁹⁴ and assume that he was involved in the temple agriculture as a rent farmer already in 2 Cyr, however, probably on a smaller scale.

Be this emendation justified or not, Ardia's responsibility for Eanna's date orchards was established in 8 Cyr by the rent contract PTS 2044. Only the *hallatu*-orchards are excluded from his control, as was customary in the institutional rent farm arrangements.

PTS 2044

6-II-8 Cyr

- obv. 1. šc-numun^{giš} gišimmar zaq-pi níg-[g]a^d gašan šá unug^{ki} ma-l[a ba-šu-ú] e-lat šc-numun^{giš} kiri⁶ hal-la-t[u₄ šá] ina igi^{lú} gal dù^[meš⁸ Id] ag-gin-ibila^{lú} šà-tam é-an-na dumu-šú šá¹ na-d[i]-nu dumu¹ da-b[i-bi ú^{ld} ag-šcš-mu]^{lú} sag lugal^{lú} en pi-qit-tu₄ é-an-na a-na mu-an-na [a 12 lim gur zú-lum]-ma²
5. a-na^{giš} bán i-na qí-ba-a-t[a šá] gu-ba-ru^{lú} n[am tin-tir^{ki}] ú^{kur} e-bir íd a-na¹ ir-i[a du]mu-šú šá^{ld} ag-^rdù-šc¹[š dumu¹ re-mut^dbad] id-di-nu i-^rna mu¹-an-na¹ 12 li¹[m g]ur zú-lum-ma¹ [x x x¹] [x x x x x (x)]¹ [x x (x)]¹ i-nam-din¹ [x x x¹] [x x] [x x (x)]¹ h[e-r]u-tu i-^{he}-er [x x x x (x)] a^{me} ú-šá-aš-bat¹ it-ti¹ 1 gur zú-lum-ma lib-li[b-bi ú man-ga-ga]
10. i-nam-din zú-lum-ma-a₄ 1[2] lim gur i-na mu-an-[na x x x (x)]

⁷⁸⁸ TEBR 39; NCBT 991; YOS 7 136; NCBT 957; YOS 7 134; BIN 1 98; 105; CD 84 (Sack misread the scribe's name, but a consultation of a photograph of the tablet confirms him to be Nabû-šum-ukīn, son of Nādin-aḫi, descendant of Gaḫul). BIN 1 115 was also written by this scribe, but the year is broken off. A reconstruction of the date of this text as 27-VI-[2] Camb seems very probable.

⁷⁸⁹ TEBR 39; NCBT 991; YOS 7 136; BIN 1 105; CD 84; BIN 1 115 ([2²] Camb; see previous note). Note also that all of these texts were written by the scribe Nabû-šum-ukīn. Marduk-šum-iddin appears also in BIN 1 98 (2 Camb), written by this scribe, however, accompanied by two other witnesses.

⁷⁹⁰ A certain Arad-Bēl, son of Nabû-mušeṭtiq-uddē, descendant of Egibi, accompanies him as a witness in these two texts (GC 2 407; YOS 7 135). Note that Nabû-bēlšunu was active as a scribe of *imittu* debt notes for Ardia's rent farm not only during 2 Camb, but from 1 until 4 Camb. These other attestations are: NCBT 952 (1 Camb); TCL 13 155 (3 Camb); NCBT 541 (3 Camb); BIN 1 110 (4 Camb); YOS 7 175 (4 Camb).

⁷⁹¹ Marduk-šum-iddin and Nabû-bēlšunu and two other individuals stated explicitly in TCL 13 177 ([4] Camb), in an oath, that they would make the yield estimates together with Ardia in 4 Camb (translation in Cocquerillat 1968: 52f.).

⁷⁹² The text has been collated and the royal name in the date formula is indeed that of Cyrus. If the date of BIN 1 111 were emended to [2]6-V-2 Camb¹, then it would have been written on the same day as NCBT 991 and TEBR 39. Besides having the same set of witnesses and the same scribe, all three texts concerned fields on the Nāru-eššu, which further supports this emendation.

⁷⁹³ Scribal errors in the date formula are not uncommon. See, for instance, YBC 9448 (edited in Janković 2007), which was dated to the 31st year of Nabû-šum-ukīn (^{ld}ag-mu-gin). This was clearly an error for Nabû-kudurri-ušur.

⁷⁹⁴ Note that there is also a gap in the documentation for the rent farmer Nabû-bān-aḫi, from the Basia family, between 3 Cyr and acc Camb.

- re-e-ḫi ina lib-bi ul ú-[x x]ᵀᵀ x¹ gu₄^{mc} ù ud[u-níta^{mc} a-na]
na-mur-tu₄ šá lugal šá ugu zú-lu[m-m]a i-na mu-an-na a-n[a lugal[?]]
ᵀᵀ i¹-nam-din*
- rev. ^{lú}m[u-kin-nu PN dumu-šú šá PN d]umu ^{lú}-d[x]
15. ^l[PN dumu-šú šá PN dumu] ^lbu¹-ú-ṣ[u]
ᵀᵀ ^l[PN dumu-šú šá ^{ld}am]ar-utu-numun-dù dumu ^le-ᵀᵀ gi¹-bi
ᵀᵀ ^l[PN dumu-šú šá ^{ld}amar-utu[?]-mu[?]-m]u[?] ^ldumu^l ^{ld}en-ibila-ùru
ᵀᵀ ^l[PN dumu-šú šá ^{ld}amar-utu]-mu-mu dumu ^{ld}en-ibila-ùru
ᵀᵀ ^l[PN dumu-šú šá x-x-(x)-]ᵀᵀ x¹ dumu ^llú-dé-a
20. ^lᵀᵀ ^dag-numun]-ᵀᵀ si¹-sá dumu-šú šá ^lgu[b]-^damar-utu dumu ^{lú}šá-mun^{hi-a}-šú
- (one blank line)
^lna-din ^{lú}d]ub-sar dumu-šú šá ^{ld}en-šēš^{mcš}-ba-šá dumu ^le-gi-bi (erasure)
[unug^{ki} it]i gu₄ ud 6-kam mu 8-kam ^lku-ra-áš lugal tin-tir^{ki}
[Ø] lugal kur-kur

“Nabû-mukîn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna, gave the land planted with date palms, property of the Lady of Uruk, as much as there is, except the *hallatu*-orchards which are at the disposal of the *rab banê*, at the orders of Gūbaru, the satrap of Babylon and Across-the-River, for yearly [12,000 *kurru* of dates] for a *sūtu*-lease to Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḫi, [descendant of Rēmūt-Ea]. Yearly he shall deliver 12,000 *kurru* of dates [...]. [...] he shall do the digging [...] he shall supply water. For each *kurru* of dates he shall deliver offshoots [and fibbers]. These 12,000 *kurru* of dates, yearly, [...]. He will not [...] arrears there from. [x] oxen and sheep he shall give yearly to [the king[?]] as present of the king, which is (imposed as tax) on the dates.

Witnesses: [PN, son of PN], descendant of Amīl-[x],
[Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Bēl-uballit,] descendant of Pūšu,
[Ina-Esagil-mukîn-apli, son of Ma]rduk-zēr-ibni, descendant of Egibi,
[PN,⁷⁹⁵ son of Marduk-šum-id]dīn[?], descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur,
[PN,⁷⁹⁶ son of Marduk]-šum-iddin, descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur,
[PN, son of PN,] descendant of Amīl-Ea,
[Nabû-zēr]-līšir, son of Muk[īn]-Marduk, descendant of Ša-ṭābtīšu,

Scribe: Nādin, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi;
Uruk; 6-II-8 Cyr, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

As with other major rent farmers, the court was involved in the establishing of Ardia’s rent farm. In his case Gūbaru, the satrap of Babylonia, gave out the order to this effect. As we have no evidence for Ardia’s connection to the court, it remains unclear from which direction the initiative for his employment came. The orders of Gūbaru mentioned in the text could either imply that he actively supported Ardia’s enterprise or that he simply endorsed the temple’s candidate for this post. Either way, the temple’s dependency on the court in important matters such as the instalment of a major rent farmer is once again evident.

The contract stipulates that all the temple orchards, except the *hallatu*-orchards, were given to Ardia for an annual rent of 12,000 *kurru* of dates. This figure appears also in *AnOr* 8 63⁷⁹⁷ from the first month of 9 Cyr, a debt note for 400 *kurru* of dates charged against Ardia. The text begins by stating the amount of dates which Ardia had already delivered as his rent payment for 8 Cyr, namely 11,820;3.2 *kurru* of the expected 12,000 *kurru*. The 400 *kurru* charged against him were the dates which the temple advanced on his behalf for the rations of the *bēl pihāti* of Esagil⁷⁹⁸. The

⁷⁹⁵ See next note.

⁷⁹⁶ This person could be either one of the three sons of Marduk-šum-iddin: Arad-Marduk, Bēl-nādin-apli or Nabû-nādin-apli.

⁷⁹⁷ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 73. 127.

⁷⁹⁸ The rations of the *bēl pihāti* of Esagil are also mentioned, together with the rations of scribes, measurers and gatekeepers, in TCL 13 182, the text recording the transfer of Gimillu’s rent farm to Bēl-gimlanni in 2 Dar. The *bēl pihāti* from the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ (YOS 6 103) who is, again, together with the scribes, measurers and gatekeepers, a recipient of rations connected to date plantations, is probably a reference to the same official. Apart from these attestations a *bēl pihāti* of Esagil appears in the Eanna archive also in the

text goes on to clarify that this amount of dates was derived from a due of one *sūtu* per each *kurru* of dates for the rations of this official. This was part of a standard tax imposed on rent farms for dates. It generally included rations for other officials, the scribes, measurers and gatekeepers,⁷⁹⁹ as well. In this instance the payment of rations for only one official was made. It is conceivable that the others would have been paid on a separate occasion. Following van Driel's (1987-88) interpretation of the 'Edict of Belšazzar', the administrative tax set aside for services and rations of these officials amounted to 1/12 of the yearly rent. In Ardia's case this would have been 1,000 *kurru* of dates, meaning that after the subtraction of the rations of the *bēl pīhāti* 600 *kurru* were left for the services and rations of the scribes, measurers and gatekeepers.

Other than the rent payment, the obligations listed by the rent contract include the maintenance of the irrigation system, the delivery of secondary products of the date palm and the payment of a royal tax ("royal gift")⁸⁰⁰ consisting of cattle. There is no mention of the rations of the *bēl pīhāti* and other officials involved in the date production (the scribes, the measurers and the gatekeepers) in the extant parts of the text. Since this was a customary obligation of the temple rent farmers it was probably not explicitly recorded in the contract. Perhaps the regulations for this payment were in the break at the end of l. 7. Alternatively, this break could have contained the details related to the mode of payment of the rent (e.g., *ina mašīhi ša Bēlti ša Uruk ina Eanna*).

During his first year in business as a large-scale rent farmer, Ardia was relatively successful. The debt note from the beginning of 9 Cyr mentioned above (*AnOr* 8 63) demonstrates that he delivered to the temple 11,820;3.2 *kurru*, i.e. approximately 98.5 % of his yearly rent. A number of receipts drafted as *imittu* lists with individual entries of deliveries of gardeners from 8 Cyr record large amounts of dates received by scribes-measurers: YOS 7 95 (IX-8 Cyr),⁸⁰¹ *AnOr* 8 62 (XI-8 Cyr),⁸⁰² YOS 7 84 (XI-8¹ Cyr),⁸⁰³ BM 114549 (XII-8 Cyr). There must have been other *imittu* lists and receipts, because the total of the deliveries derived from these texts is short of the amount Ardia delivered according to *AnOr* 8 63 by over 4,243 *kurru*.

While Ardia managed to pay off almost the entire rent for 8 Cyr, he still had the considerable debt of 400 *kurru* of dates, which were given by the temple on his behalf for the rations of the governor of Esagil (*AnOr* 8 63). There is no indication whether he managed to clear this obligation. At any rate, the accession year of Cambyses witnessed a peculiar development, expressed in a text written probably toward the end of this year.⁸⁰⁴ PTS 2075 has been edited and discussed in the chapter on the rent farmer Nabû-bân-aḫi. This legal proceedings records the order

letter YOS 3 9 (Nbk²), in BM 114552 (1 Nbn) and its duplicate BM 114555, in PTS 2126 (5 (Camb²)) and YBC 4164 (6 (Camb²)). (A *bēl pīhāti* of Esagil also appears in *Dar.* 58 (2 Dar) and *Dar.* 315 (11 Dar). The former text also concerns his rations which were delivered in form of wool.)

⁷⁹⁹ See previous note. In Sippar these officials were frequently accompanied by the *qīpu* (Jursa 1995a: 138f.).

⁸⁰⁰ The tax *nāmurtu* (or *nāmuštu*) *ša šarri* does not appear in the 'Edict of Belšazzar', but it is attested in two other texts concerning temple orchards: according to a rent contract for a date orchard from 6 Nbn (W 17718x) the tenant is obliged to deliver five sheep as *nāmurtu ša šarri*; stipulations for the payment of this tax, however, without specifying the commodity and the amount, are made in YOS 7 38 (4 Cyr), a rent contract for date orchards leased *ana gugallūti* (edited by Joannès 1982: 13f.; cf. also Cocquerillat (1968: 67. 123), who misread *nāmurtu* as *našpartu*. Interestingly, van Driel also misread this term as *te-lit-ti* (2002: 182). He does not treat *nāmurtu* in his study on taxation.) This tax was not necessarily connected to the date orchards and the king in person. Other officials could also be the beneficiaries of the gift. In 2 Ner, in a rent contract concerning arable land for sharecropping (YBC 3750), Šum-ukīn, the later rent farmer who acted here as the lessor, was to receive one bull and one sheep from the tenant as his *nāmurtu*. In another rent contract (TCL 12 64, 1 Ner) Šum-ukīn, again as lessor of temple land, was to receive an bull. In this text, however, the term *nāmurtu* is not explicitly used. Both texts stem from the period during which Šum-ukīn was a royal official (*bēl piqitti ša šarri*). Nabû-mukīn-zēri, the sender of the letter YOS 3 26, probably the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna, writes about sheep needed for his *nāmurtu*. This term appears also in connection with another high temple official in 20 Npl (GC 2 40) as *nāmurtu ša qīpi*. Sheep for the *nāmurtu* of the first month are mentioned in the letter YOS 3 9.

⁸⁰¹ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 68. 124.

⁸⁰² Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 72. 126.

⁸⁰³ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 72. 126. Note that the copy has erroneously year 9 in the date formula (l. 29). In the eleventh month of his ninth regnal year Cyrus would have been dead for some six months, so the year numeral in this text should be read as 8, which was confirmed by a collation.

⁸⁰⁴ The day and month are broken off.

of the administrator and the royal commissioner of Eanna to three scribes to bring the *imittu* debt notes pertaining to the rent farm of Ardia. These *imittu* debt notes are said to have been entrusted to the rent farmer Nabû-bân-aḫi, son of Kalbāya, descendant of Basia, who was probably just a minor entrepreneur at that time, instead of Ardia in the accession year of Cambyses. These tablets had not been physically entrusted to Nabû-bân-aḫi, but were stored in containers in the house of a fourth scribe. The three scribes then took these containers with the debt notes, delivered them to the administrator and the royal commissioner of Eanna, after which they gave (those same?) debt notes and their copies to Nabû-bân-aḫi. Two of the scribes ordered to bring the *imittu* debt notes to the temple officials, namely Mušēzib-Bēl and Itti-Nabû-balāṭu, were engaged in the administrative processes involved in the yield estimation and the management of the deliveries of dates from Ardia's rent farm. So was the scribe Rēmūt, in whose house the debt notes were stored. The third scribe entrusted with the delivery of the debt notes, Lābāši-Marduk, was not linked to Ardia. He was a college scribe (*tuṣṣar Eanna*), i.e. a scribe of higher ranking, who was apparently sent to supervise the other two.

Two interesting questions arise from this text. Why were the *imittu* debt notes pertaining to Ardia's rent farm entrusted to another rent farmer? And what did this apparent transfer of responsibility entail for Ardia and Nabû-bân-aḫi? As regards the first question, the text informs us solely that these *imittu* debt notes had been entrusted to Nabû-bân-aḫi instead of (*kūm*) Ardia. Unfortunately, there is no further evidence to elucidate this situation. Were all the debt notes from Ardia's rent farm to be transferred to Nabû-bân-aḫi? Did this transfer imply that Nabû-bân-aḫi would have been personally liable for the dues recorded in these debt notes, and could have profited from any surplus, just as if the rent farm were his? Was in fact the transfer of Ardia's rent farm to Nabû-bân-aḫi implied by this text? A transfer of a rent farm from one person to another usually marks the termination of the former rent farmer's career and is caused by either his inability to conduct the business any longer, due to death, ill health, etc, or generally his failure.⁸⁰⁵ However, Ardia's performance during the year preceding this affair was not exactly poor and his career, as is known, continued until 7 Camb. There are also cases of a rent farmer giving up a part of his farm to another rent farmer in order to reduce his overwhelming responsibility. This is what Kalbāya did when his uncle Šum-ukīn retired from the rent farming business. When he started managing on his own a farm with the rent of 35,000 *kurru* of barley and dates, he decided to give up a smaller farm with the rent of 3,000 *kurru* of barley, which he was running on the side while his uncle was still taking care of the big farm. A similar case was recorded for the rent farmer Bulṭāya, son of Marduk-erība, descendant of Isinnāya, from Ebabbar in Sippar. According to BRM 1 101⁸⁰⁶ (6 Dar) he gave up half of his farm to a certain Šamaš-kāšir, son of Nabû-mukīn-apli, descendant of Isinnāya. The text gives a detailed account of the shared responsibilities of the two rent farmers. In addition to his part of the rent Šamaš-kāšir was to pay 1,000 *kurru* of dates in order to cover the arrears accumulated by Bulṭāya. These arrears are an indicator of Bulṭāya's unsatisfactory management of the farm, which was probably the reason why it was split at the orders of the satrap Uštānu. Perhaps something similar was going on between Ardia and Nabû-bân-aḫi. In our text also the satrap Gūbaru was involved, but he is mentioned in connection with the debt notes which Ardia imposed on the gardeners, not the debt notes which were to be transferred to Nabû-bân-aḫi. Perhaps Ardia decided (voluntarily or at the orders of Gūbaru?) that he had too much on his hands and had to cede some of his responsibility to Nabû-bân-aḫi, who for his part was looking to expand his business. If this were the case, one could expect that a separate contract recording this transfer had been made earlier. It would have contained details on the height of the rent to be paid by the two rent farmers and perhaps the size of the areas under their control. The motivation for the proceedings presented in PTS 2075 was probably a delay in the transfer of the debt notes to Nabû-bân-aḫi. This document is not particularly specific when referring to the *imittu* debt notes in the introductory part of the text. We are informed, however, that the three scribes brought two containers with debt notes to the temple officials. Without knowing the actual size of the containers and the number of debt notes Ardia's rent farm 'produced', it is not possible to tell what fraction of

⁸⁰⁵ See the case of Gimillu and Bēl-gimlanni (TCL 13 182), p. 239.

⁸⁰⁶ Jursa 1995a: 103f.

Ardia's tablets was entrusted to Nabû-bān-aḫi.⁸⁰⁷ One of the containers, a reed basket, was closed and sealed by Ardia, indicating perhaps a selection of the orchards he had made in order to give them up to Nabû-bān-aḫi. The other container was not sealed by him, but the tablets it contained were all geographically linked. They all concerned orchards situated on the other (left?) bank of Nār-šarri, possibly suggesting that Ardia relinquished these localities as well.

This interpretation is of course highly speculative. What we do have as evidence, are some twelve *imittu* debt notes pertaining to Ardia's rent farm from acc Camb. Perhaps these were the tablets that the high temple officials demanded from the three scribes, i.e. the ones which were to be transferred to Nabû-bān-aḫi. Or they were simply the obligations of the gardeners belonging to the remainder of Ardia's rent farm. Be that as it may, the first year of Cambyses is very poorly documented for Ardia. There are possibly only two texts, a list of *imittu* arrears from 1²¹ Camb (TCL 13 146)⁸⁰⁸, and an *imittu* debt note (NCBT 952, 1²¹ Camb), both incidentally with a damaged year numeral. As for Nabû-bān-aḫi, most of his attestations, mainly *imittu* debt notes and receipts pertaining to his rent farm,⁸⁰⁹ are from 1 Camb. One wonders if this distribution of attestations is in any way indicative of the scope of these rent farmers' activities as a consequence of the events described in PTS 2075.

For 2 Camb we have again more documents relevant to Ardia. Beside one lease of an orchard *ana nukuribbūti* (NBC 4889), there are two *imittu* lists (YOS 7 124 and BIN 1 168) and at least ten *imittu* debt notes.⁸¹⁰ The last document from this year was an oath by Nanāya-ēreš, son of Gimillu, to bring in the dates from Ardia's rent farm to Eanna (NCBT 550). This Nanāya-ēreš was a scribe⁸¹¹ and a messenger of the administrator of Eanna in charge of the deliveries of dates from Ardia's gardeners.⁸¹²

The third year of Cambyses is again rather poorly documented. There is only one *imittu* debt note (TCL 13 155⁸¹³) and a debt note for 200 *kurru* of dates charged against Ardia, son of Eanna-šum-ibni (YOS 7 142⁸¹⁴), who was one of the scribes involved in the collection of the dates from the gardeners from Ardia's rent farm.⁸¹⁵ These 200 *kurru* of dates are said to be apart from the (dates from the) receipt of the rent farmer Ardia, which he had not delivered to Eanna.

The fourth year of Cambyses's reign is represented by four *imittu* debt notes,⁸¹⁶ one debt note for 5,000 loads of wood (*hušābu*) for the royal palace in the vicinity of Eanna charged against Ardia (YOS 7 168)⁸¹⁷ and an oath by four scribes assuring the temple officials that they would go together with Ardia and make the harvest estimates for 4 Camb in a proper manner (TCL 13 177⁸¹⁸).

The surviving record from Cambyses's fifth year is dominated by *imittu* debt notes.⁸¹⁹ Other than these eight texts there is an *imittu* list (NBC 4912), a lease of an orchard *ana*

⁸⁰⁷ A very rough estimate could use a model orchard producing 40 *kurru* of dates (according to the 'Edict'), by which the rent of 12,000 *kurru* would be divided, leaving 300 orchards, and consequently 300 debt notes. But not even this crude approximation is of much help, as we do not know how many tablets could fit into those two containers.

⁸⁰⁸ Cocquerillat 1968: 70f. 125.

⁸⁰⁹ See table on p. 234.

⁸¹⁰ See Appendix 5.

⁸¹¹ He wrote the *imittu* list YOS 7 124 (2 Camb).

⁸¹² *AnOr* 8 62, YOS 7 84. He acts as a witness in TCL 12 23. He is also known as a *gugallu* in earlier times (YOS 7 38, JCS 28, no. 5). See also Kümmel 1979: 103. 122f.

⁸¹³ Cocquerillat 1968: 57. 119.

⁸¹⁴ Cocquerillat 1968: 82. 132.

⁸¹⁵ YOS 7 95 (8 Cyr); YOS 7 124 (2 Camb). For other attestations see Kümmel 1979: 111. 134. Beside measuring and collecting the dates from Ardia's farm he also had his own *imittu* obligation. This is demonstrated by the *imittu* debt note from 1 Camb (NCBT 952) charged against him and the remark in ll. 10f. of YOS 7 142: *e-lat zú-lum-ma zag a-šà/ šá mu 3-kam šá ina pa-ni-šú*. His orchard was situated on Nāru-cššu according to NCBT 952.

⁸¹⁶ See Appendix 5.

⁸¹⁷ Kessler 1999: 166. See also the edition of Cocquerillat 1968: 73. 127.

⁸¹⁸ Cocquerillat 1968: 52f. 115. Ebeling (1954) discussed the idiomatic phrases in this text.

⁸¹⁹ See Appendix 5.

nukuribbūti (BIN 1 117⁸²⁰) and a list of disbursements of dates from Ardia's farm to the prebendaries of Eanna (*AnOr* 9 9).

The sixth year of Cambyses is represented by only one single *imittu* debt note (Truro 17).

In the seventh year of Cambyses we find nine *imittu* debt notes in addition to one *imittu* list (YOS 7 191⁸²¹). This is the last evidence for Ardia during his active period. He is mentioned for the last time in the intercalary *addaru* of Darius's accession year in *AnOr* 9 11. This is a debt note for barley charged against a certain Zēria, son of Nabû-tukulti-edu, probably a gardener. The barley was to be paid in exchange for dates, which were the impost of a garden pertaining to the rent farm of Ardia for the fifth year of Cambyses.

Clearly, most of the textual material we have for Ardia is related to the administration of the income from his rent farm. Of some 80 attestations of Ardia, 58 documents are *imittu* debt notes. Most of the remaining texts are also *imittu* related. They include *imittu* lists and receipts, debt notes for the arrears of the gardeners and texts concerning the obligations of the scribes-measurers. Apart from the rent payments we are informed about some other obligations a rent farmer had toward the royal administration – the provision of rations for the *bēl pīhāti* of Esagil⁸²² and supplying the royal palace in Uruk with wood (*hušābu*).⁸²³ Beside Ardia's rent contract from acc Camb (PTS 2044), three sub-leases of orchards have come down to us from the time of his rent farm.⁸²⁴

The existence of such a large number of *imittu* debt notes in the Eanna archive may signify that these dues were not paid to the temple. However, there are no other clear signs of crisis for Ardia's rent farm. In particular, there is no evidence for the settling of accounts between the temple and this rent farmer.⁸²⁵ We do have a couple of debt notes and oaths⁸²⁶ related to the obligations of the temple personnel involved in Ardia's farm – scribes, measurers and yield estimators. These men were a crucial link between the temple, the rent farmer and the gardeners. They not only determined the dues of individual gardeners, but were in charge of receiving and forwarding their date deliveries. It is not in the least surprising that they too could become a source of problems for the rent farmer, and ultimately the temple, beside the non-paying gardeners.

What one could interpret as a sign of crisis occurred toward the beginning of Ardia's career as a rent farmer for dates of the Lady of Uruk. At this time his rent farm was reduced and a part of his responsibility was transferred to Nabû-bān-aḥi (PTS 2075, acc Camb). It remains unclear what prompted this step. At any rate, it cannot have been Ardia's bad performance, since the year preceding this incident (in 8 Cyr) he had delivered at least 98.5 % of his rent. The consequences of this intervention for Ardia's farm, e.g., any difference in the level of his rent payment and the size of the area under his responsibility, remain equally inscrutable.

An attempt to make an assessment of the success of Ardia's rent farm with only the kind of documentation presently available verges on the impossible. Even the numerous *imittu* debt notes are not a clear indicator of his failure. In acc Camb, the year for which we have the most debt notes (12), the cumulative debt is slightly over 432 *kurru* of dates, which is less than 4 % of the yearly rent. A much larger number of debt notes would be needed in order to come close to the level of the arrears accumulated by Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya, for instance.⁸²⁷ For the time being there is no way of knowing whether more of these texts recording outstanding dues should be expected among the unpublished material, or not, indicating that Ardia's business was in fact fairly successful. For the same reason we can not determine why his farm was terminated at the end of Cambyses's reign. It is not possible to decide whether the temple transferred Ardia's rent farm to Gimillu because of his unsatisfactory management of the farm, whether he voluntarily retired from the business, or whether his death put an end to his career.

⁸²⁰ Cocquerillat 1968: 47. 112.

⁸²¹ Cocquerillat 1968: 70. 125.

⁸²² *AnOr* 8 63.

⁸²³ YOS 7 168.

⁸²⁴ BIN 1 125 ([x] Camb); NBC 4889 (2 Camb); BIN 1 117 (5 Camb).

⁸²⁵ It will be remembered that this phase was clearly visible for Šum-ukīn, Kalbāya and Gimillu.

⁸²⁶ TCL 13 177; NCBT 550; YOS 7 142; see also TCL 13 146.

⁸²⁷ Note, however, that the number of extant *imittu* debt notes for Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's farm is also proportionally small.

2.9.13.1. Attestations⁸²⁸ of Ardia:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| ? YOS 3 83: 1 | - | letter |
| ? YOS 6 203: 6 | 5-XIIa-12 Nbn | legal, concerning embezzlement of gold |
| ? YOS 6 210: 26 | 13-XIIa-12 Nbn | account of various deliveries and disbursements |
| PTS 2044: 6 | 6-II-8 Cyr | rent contract |
| YOS 7 95: 2f. | 13-IX-8 Cyr | <i>imittu</i> list |
| YOS 7 72: 3f., 7, 11, 16 | 28-X-8 Cyr | debt note for arrears of dates |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 62: 2f., 11, 13 | 13-XI-8 Cyr | receipt for dates |
| YOS 7 84: 16f., 23 | 26-XI-8 ¹ Cyr | receipt for dates |
| BM 114549: 2f., 9, 12 | 7-XII-8 Cyr | receipt for dates |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 63: 3, 8, 10, 13 | 21-I-9 Cyr | receipt for dates |
| BIN 1 125: 3f., 11 | [x-x-x Camb] | sub-lease <i>ana nukuribbūtu</i> |
| PTS 2075: 13-15, 19, 21, 22, 24 | [x]-[x]-acc Camb | legal, concerning a transfer of debt notes from Ardia to Nabû-bān-aḥi |
| TCL 13 146: 2f. | 1 Camb | list of arrears of dates |
| CD 64: 11, 13 | 2 Camb | account of barley and silver disbursements |
| BIN 1 168: 3f. | 2 Camb | <i>imittu</i> list |
| NBC 4889: 4f., 9 | 2-VI-2 Camb | sub-lease <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> |
| YOS 7 124: 3f., 27 | 5-XI-2 Camb | receipt for dates |
| NCBT 550: 6 | 12 ⁺ -XII-2 Camb | oath concerning delivery of dates |
| YOS 7 142: 2f., 5f. | 13-VII-3 Camb | debt note for dates |
| TCL 13 177: 7f., 10 | 29-IV-[4] Camb | legal, concerning the duties of scribes and measurers |
| YOS 7 168: 3 | 9-VIII-4 Camb | debt note for wood (<i>huṣābu</i>) |
| NBC 4912: 3f. | 5 Camb | <i>imittu</i> list |
| BIN 1 117: 1f., 9, 19 | 27-VI-5 Camb | sub-lease <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> |
| <i>AnOr</i> 9 9: 2 | 2-VIII-5 Camb | list of date disbursements |
| YOS 7 191: 2f. | 7 Camb | <i>imittu</i> list |
| <i>AnOr</i> 9 11: 4 | 18-XIIa-acc Dar | debt note for barley in exchange for <i>imittu</i> dates from 5 Camb |

2.9.14. Nabû-bān-aḥi (Bānia)

Nabû-bān-aḥi was, as was mentioned, the son of the rent farmer Kalbāya, and a member of the Basia family. He had a rent farm for dates simultaneously with the rent farmer Ardia, at least from acc Camb until 1 Camb. Another name of a rent farmer for dates, Bānia, son of Kalbāya (without a family name), crops up in the texts during the same period. Cocquerillat (1968: 97) considered these to be two different individuals, each with a lease of temple orchards. It is more probable, however, that the two names referred to one person, the short version of the name, Bānia, being a hypocoristic form built from the middle element of the full name.⁸²⁹

Bānia's first attestation is in YOS 6 177⁸³⁰ (16 Nbn), a conditional verdict concerning a delivery of dates belonging to the Lady of Uruk. Šillāya, son of Šarīd, probably a gardener, claims that Bānia, son of Kalbāya, had estimated for him in 15 Nbn a yield of 130 *kurru* of dates for his field in Kurbat. The text continues with provisions for an additional penalty payment of dates in case a witness proves that an amount greater than 130 *kurru* had originally been imposed on

⁸²⁸ In addition to these texts Ardia is also attested in some 58 *imittu* debt notes for dates. These are not listed here, but can be found in the table of *imittu* debt notes in Appendix 5.

⁸²⁹ For the distribution of the two versions of the name across the attestations for this rent farmer see the table at the end of this chapter.

⁸³⁰ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 83. 133.

Šillāya. It remains unclear whether Bānia was at this time (15 Nbn) already in charge of a rent farm of his own, or whether he simply had a function of a harvest estimator (Cocquerillat 1968: 97). It is conceivable that he worked as an estimator on his father's rent farm, who at this point was still in the business. It is equally possible that he personally rented some land, either as a sub-lease from Kalbāya, or independently of him, directly from the temple. This seems possible, especially in the light of some later date *imittu* debt notes pertaining to his rent farm, which concerned fields in the Kurbat area.⁸³¹ Kurbat was clearly a region under his responsibility as a rent farmer during 1 Camb and perhaps this responsibility dates back to as early as 15 Nbn, since this is where Šillāya's field, for which he made a yield estimate, was situated. However, this can hardly be resolved relying on the meagre sources presently at our disposal.

The next attestation is from 3 Cyr (GC 2 98). It sheds some light on Bānia's and his father's relationship. By this time Kalbāya had in all probability lost the rent farm and was put under pressure by the temple to deal with the farmers and the gardeners and collect their outstanding debts. GC 2 98⁸³² is a receipt for dates, which Bānia, following the instructions of his father Kalbāya, collected from one of his father's debtors. The text was written in Ālu-ša-Bīt-šaddān, perhaps to be equated with the place Bīt-šaddayan, a locality on the Euphrates river.⁸³³ While the text indicates that Bānia helped out his father with clearing the debts of the agricultural workers, the question is raised again whether his connection to the localities on the Euphrates⁸³⁴ in 15 Nbn and 3 Cyr reflects in any way his own entrepreneurial activities as a rent farmer.

There are no firm indications as to when exactly Bānia entered the rent farming business, as no lease contract for him is extant and prior to Cambyses's reign we only have the two ambiguous attestations discussed above. The *imittu* debt notes pertaining to his *sūtu* all come from the first year of Cambyses, but his first appearance with the title of a rent farmer, albeit partially damaged, is from acc Camb, from a very interesting, if not perfectly comprehensible text:

PTS 2075

[x]-[x]-acc Camb

- obv. 1. ^{ld}utu-gin-ibila dumu-šú šá ^{ld}di-kud-šeš^{meš}-mu dumu ^lši-gu-ú-[a]
^{ld}[amar-utu]-mu-^rú¹-sur dumu-šú šá ^{ld}en-din-iš dumu ^lpu-ú-šu
^{ld}amar-utu¹-mu-^rib-ni¹ dumu-šú šá ^{ld}en-šeš-gál-ši dumu ^llu-é-a
^{ld}ag-na-din-^ribila¹ dumu-šú šá ^lba-ni-ia dumu ^{lu}šu-ḥa
5. ^{ld}en-na-din-^ribila¹ dumu-šú šá ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-mu dumu ^{ld}en-ibila-ùru
^{ld}amar-utu-šá-pik-numun dumu-šú šá ^lba-la-tu dumu ^lmi-šir-a-a
^{ld}a-nu-um-^rnumun¹-gál-^rši¹ dumu-šú šá ^lé-an-na-^rmu¹-mu dumu ^rda¹-i-qa
^{ld}a-nu-um-^rnumun-^rib¹-ni¹ dumu-šú šá ^{ld}ag-kar-er dumu ^{ld}ag-šar-^hi¹-dingir^{meš}
^{lu}dumu dù^{meš} šá ina [ú]-^ršu¹-uz-zi-šú-nu ^{ld}ag-^rgin¹-ibila ^{lu}ša-tam é-an-na <<erasure>>
10. dumu-šú šá ^lna-di-nu dumu ^rda-bi¹-bi ^rú¹ ^{ld}ag-šeš-mu ^{lu}sag lugal ^{lu}en pi-qit-tu⁴ é-an-na
^ra-na ^lla-a-ba-ši¹-^ramar-utu¹ dumu-šú šá ^rir¹-^ren¹ dumu ^le-gi-bi ^ù ^lmu-še-zib¹-^ren
dumu-šú šá ^lba-laṭ-su
dumu [^llu]-^ré-a iṭ-ti ^lki-^rag-din dumu-šú šá ^ltab-né-e-a dumu ^rur-^ršeš-ki ^{lu}dub-sar
šá[?] [^li]-^ria a-na ugu ú-^ril-e-tu⁴ ^ršá¹ zú-lum-ma zag a-šá^{meš} ní-g-ga ^dinnin unug^{ki}
^{giš}[bán] šá mu sag-nam-lugal-la ^lka-am-bu-zi-ia lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur šá ina igi ^lir-
ia
15. [dumu-šú šá ^{ld}a]g-dù-šeš dumu<<-šú šá>> ^lre-mut-^ré-a šá ^lir-ia e-^rli¹ ^{lu}r^{meš}nu-^{giš}1kiri^{meš}
[^liš-ku-nu ina ú-šu-uz]-^rzi šá¹ ^lgu-ba-ru ^{lu}nam tin-tir^{ki} ^ù ^{kur}e-bir-íd^{ki}
[^ù ina gub-zi šá[?]] ^{ld}ag-^rgin-ibila¹ ^{lu}ša-tam é-an-na ^ù ^{ld}ag-šeš-mu ^{lu}sag lugal
^{lu}en pi-qit-tu⁴ é-an-na iš-p[u-ru]

⁸³¹ GC 2 119, YOS 7 117, BM 114466, all from 1 Camb.

⁸³² The text is edited by Dougherty 1933: 28f. He misunderstood the *elât* clause in ll. 1-2 as a payment of 16 1/2 shekels of silver in addition to the 35 *kurru* of dates delivered. This amount of silver was in fact excluded from the delivery of dates and remained the debt of Aplāya. Note also that the place name in l. 13 should be read as *uru šá é' šad-da-an*.

⁸³³ See Zadok 1985: 104 *sub* Bīt-Šaddajnu. Apart from TCL 13 183 (2 Dar) quoted by Zadok, this place name appears also in NCBT 541 (3 Camb), a damaged *imittu* debt note for dates, probably pertaining to Ardia's rent farm. The place name is written in both cases as ^{uru}é-šad-da-a-nu.

⁸³⁴ Kurbat was also situated on this river.

- rev. [um-ma ú-il]-^re¹-tu₄ šá zú-lum-ma zag a-šá^{meš} šá mu sag-nam-lugal-la ina šu^{II} ^rir¹-[ia
xx]
20. [na-šá-a a]-na^{ld} ag-dù-šeš dumu-šú šá¹ kal-ba-a dumu¹ ba-as-si-ia^{lu} šá ugu [^{giš}bán šá]
[zú-lum-ma[?]] ^rku¹-um¹ ^rir-ia paq-du in-na-a[?] iš-pu-ru-ma 1+en^{gi} šad-d[u]
šá [ú-il-e]-tu₄ šá zag-tu₄ šá zú-lum-ma ina lib-bi šá-ak-nu šá ina^{na4} kišib šá ^rir-^ria¹ [kan-
ku]
ù 1 qu-up-pu šá re-^{hi}-it ú-il-e-tu₄ šá zú-lum-ma zag a-šá^{meš} šá a-^{hu}-u[l-la-a]
[šá[?]] id-lugal šá ina^{na4} kišib šá ^rir-ia la ka-an-gu¹ la-a-ba-šī-^damar-utu
25. ^rmu-še-zib-^den ù ^rki-^dag-din ^rul-tu¹ é¹ re-mu-tu dumu-šú šá^{ld} ag-ik-[^rsur]
dumu¹ da-bi-bi ina šu^{II} ^{mi}re-i[?]-in-[du] dam¹ re-mu-tu iš-^{su}-nim-ma
a-na^{ld} ag-gin-ibila^{lu} šá-tam é-[an]-na ù^{ld} ag-šeš-mu^{lu} sag lugal^{lu} en sig₅
id-di-nu-ma ú-[il-e]-^rtu₄¹ é [x x]-ku-nu ù gab-ri^{meš} ú-il-e-tu₄
ki-i pi-i ši-pir-t[u₄ x x] x [x x a]-na^{ld} ag-dù-šeš id-di-nu
(one blank line)
30. ^{ld}utu-gin-ibila [^{lu}dub]-sar a-šú šá¹ na-di-nu a [^re-gi-bi]
traces of an erasure ^run¹[ug^{ki} iti x ud x-kam]
mu sag-nam-lugal-la ¹ka-[am-bu-zi-ia lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur]

“Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Madān-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Šigūa, Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Bēl-uballit, descendant of Pūšu, Marduk-šum-ibni, son of Bēl-aḥ-ušabši, descendant of Amīl-Ea, Nabû-nādin-apli, son of Bānia, descendant of Bā’iru, Bēl-nādin-apli, son of Marduk-šum-iddin, descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur, Marduk-šāpik-zēri, son of Balātu, descendant of Miširāya, Anu-zēr-ušabši, son of Eanna-nādin-šumi, descendant of Dā’iqu, Anu-zēr-ibni, son of Nabû-ēter, descendant of Nabû-šarḫi-ilī, are the *mār banē* in whose presence Nabû-mukīn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna, wr[ote] to Lābāši-Marduk, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Egibi, and Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Balāssu, descendant of Amīl-Ea, with Itti-Nabû-balātu, son of Tabnēa, descendant of Kalbi-Nanna, the scribe of [Ar]dia, concerning the debt notes for dates, *imittu* of the fields, property of the Lady of Uruk, s[utu] for the accession year of Cambyses, for which Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḥi, descendant of Rēmūt-Ea, is responsible (and) which Ardia [imposed] on the gardeners, [in the presence] of Gūbaru, the governor of Babylon and Across-the-river, [and in the presence of[?]] Nabû-mukīn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna; they wrote [as follows]: ‘Give (us) the debt notes for dates, *imittu* of the fields, which were [taken] from Ardia in the accession year and entrusted to Nabû-bān-aḥi, son of Kalbāya, descendant of Basia, the *ša muḥḫi* [sūti ša suluppī?] instead of Ardia’. Thereupon Lābāši-Marduk, Mušēzib-Bēl and Itti-Nabû-balātu took one container in which the debt notes for the *imittu* of dates were placed, which was [sealed] with the seal of Ardia, and one box with the remaining debt notes for dates, *imittu* of the fields from the other bank of Nār-šarri, not sealed with Ardia’s seal, from the house of Rēmūt, son of Nabû-ikšur, descendant of Dābibī, from Rē’indu, Rēmūt’s wife, and they gave them to Nabû-mukīn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner. The debt notes of [...] and the copies of the debt notes, following the written orders of [...], they gave to Nabû-bān-aḥi.

Scribe: Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Nādin, descendant of [Egibi];

Uruk; [x]-[x]-acc Camb, [king of Babylon, king of lands.]”

This temple court proceedings describes in fact two different affairs, namely the giving out of written orders of the *šatammu* and the *bēl piqitti* to three scribes concerning the debt notes, and their consequent execution of these orders. Though the text may give an impression that the giving out of orders by the high temple officials and the actions undertaken by the scribes took place more or less simultaneously, in the presence of the *mār banē*, only the delivery of the debt notes in fact was performed before the assembly. The description of the written orders, which must have been given out at an earlier date in form of a letter, was included in this protocol as background information. The text introduces the letter order, by naming its senders and addressees (ll. 9-13)

and describing the debt notes to which it referred (ll. 13-18), followed by a direct quotation from the letter (ll. 19-21). It was probably read out in the assembly. The debt notes to be brought concerned the dates, *imittu* of the fields of the Lady of Uruk for Cambyses's accession year, pertaining to the rent farm of Ardia, son of Nabû-bân-aḥi, descendant of Rēmût-Ea, who, as is known from other sources, was a rent farmer for dates since at least 8 Cyr. The quoted letter gives the additional information that these debt notes had been entrusted to Nabû-bân-aḥi, son of Kalbāya, descendant of Basia, instead of Ardia in acc Camb. Nabû-bân-aḥi is designated here as *ša muḥḥi* [*sūti ša suluppī*], i.e. a rent farmer for dates,⁸³⁵ indicating the latest possible date for the start of his employment as a rent farmer. Unfortunately, we are not given any background information for this unique course of action undertaken by the temple administration. We have no explanation for what seems to have been a transfer of responsibilities from one rent farmer to another. This transfer was only temporary in character. Ardia, who was a rent farmer in charge of a major portion of the temple's orchards at least since 8 Cyr, remained in this position until 7 Camb. Whatever the reason for the transfer of the debt notes from Ardia to Nabû-bân-aḥi, his work as a rent farmer for dates was not terminated, as a number of debt notes in Ardia's name from subsequent years indicates. It should be noted that the transfer of debt notes as expressed by the letter order was only nominal at that point in time. The following sections of the text inform us that they were in fact in the house of another scribe, Rēmût, from which they were taken and delivered to the *šatammu* and the *bēl piqitti*. Only after this, had the debt notes, or rather their copies, been actually handed over to Nabû-bân-aḥi by the three scribes (ll. 28-29).

The introductory part of the protocol finishes in line 21 with the end of the citation of the letter. The text goes on to describe Lâbâši-Marduk's, Mušēzib-Bēl's and Itti-Nabû-balātu's ensuing action. Of the three protagonists, only Mušēzib-Bēl is not attested with a title,⁸³⁶ while the other two appear as scribes. However, the context of this and his other attestations (see below) makes the scribal profession a plausible choice for him, too. Lâbâši-Marduk, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Egibi, is the best attested of the three with at least 35 appearances in the Eanna archive.⁸³⁷ He appears in the period from 12 Nbn to 7 Camb. In most of these texts his role is that of a witness.⁸³⁸ In CD 64 (2^{or 3} Camb) he is designated as a scribe of Eanna, i.e. a college scribe (*tupšar Eanna*). He was not linked to Ardia directly and was probably sent to supervise the other two scribes. Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Balāssu, descendant of Amīl-Ea, appears also mainly as a witness in the period from 17 Nbn to 2 Dar.⁸³⁹ Four times he is the witness in the *imittu* debt notes pertaining to the *sūtu* of Ardia,⁸⁴⁰ which makes the assumption plausible that he was a member of the commission of the scribes-estimators present at the yield estimation procedure. Note that his name should probably be reconstructed in the first line of TCL 13 177 ([4] Camb), as was suggested by

⁸³⁵ The reconstruction of the title relies on his later attestations as *ša muḥḥi sūti ša suluppī ša Bēlti ša Uruk* (YOS 7 117; BM 114466; NCBT 1084). Once Nabû-bân-aḥi appears with the title *ša muḥḥi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk* in GC 2 119, giving an alternative for the reconstruction.

⁸³⁶ The designation from l. 12f.: ¹⁰dub-sar *šá*⁷[i]²r²-ia probably refers only to Itti-Nabû-balātu, as the title is in singular and he is the only one of the three ever attested to have compiled texts (*imittu* debt notes) for Ardia. This relationship to Ardia is what this peculiar designation was supposed to signify, not that Itti-Nabû-balātu was his personal scribe. He was in fact a temple scribe (see below for details), who had been 'assigned' by the temple to Ardia for some of the administrative tasks entailed in the management of a rent farm.

⁸³⁷ 12 Nbn: *Iraq* 59, no. 8. 15 Nbn: BM 113480. 17 Nbn: BM 114486. [x] Cyr: NCBT 1048. Acc Cyr: BM 114446. 1 Cyr: YOS 7 10. 2 Cyr: PTS 2086. 3 Cyr: YOS 7 18; 26; 36; BM 113409; NCBT 685. 4 Cyr: *AnOr* 8 46. 5 Cyr: *AnOr* 8 49; BIN 2 111. 8 Cyr: BIN 1 118. Acc Camb: YOS 7 97; JCS 28, no. 34; BM 114544; BIN 2 130; PTS 2075. 1 Camb: YOS 7 107; 115; GC 2 113. 2 Camb: CD 64; *Iraq* 13, 95ff. 3 Camb: *AnOr* 8 71; YOS 7 137; 149; 155; NCBT 1022; BM 113249. 4 Camb: TCL 13 177. 7 Camb: YOS 7 192; *AnOr* 8 79.

⁸³⁸ The exceptions are PTS 2075, the present text, YOS 7 10, in which his son is accused of theft of temple property, *Iraq* 59, no. 8, in which he is a guarantor for a person indebted to the temple, and the administrative text CD 64, a list of silver and barley disbursements, in which he appears together with other scribes and high temple officials in connection with a delivery of silver.

⁸³⁹ 17 Nbn: BM 114465. 7 Cyr: YOS 7 93. 8 Cyr: YOS 7 71. Acc Camb: BIN 2 114; PTS 2075. 1 Camb: YOS 7 107; 111. 2 Camb: GC 2 357; NCBT 648; PTS 2825. 2⁺ Camb: BIN 1 98. 3 Camb: YOS 7 137. 4 Camb: YOS 7 171; 172; 175; BIN 1 110. 5 Camb: YOS 7 176. 1 Nbk IV: YOS 17 302. 2 Dar: TCL 13 182; YNER 1, 2.

⁸⁴⁰ GC 2 357 (2 Camb); BIN 1 98 (2⁺ Camb); BIN 1 110 (4 Camb); YOS 7 175 (4 Camb). Once he even appears as the debtor in one of the *imittu* debt notes from Ardia's rent farm (PTS 2825, 2 Camb).

Cocquerillat (1968: 52f. 115). The text records an oath of four men, presumably yield estimators (*ēmidus*), concerning their duties in the *imittu* procedure for Ardia's rent farm. Finally, Itti-Nabû-balātu, son of Tabnea, descendant of Kalbi-Nanna, was a temple scribe who also had a strong connection to Ardia and his rent farm. He appears as a scribe of texts from [x] Cyr to 2 Dar,⁸⁴¹ but most of his attestations are from acc Camb. In this year he had written at least eight *imittu* debt notes pertaining to Ardia's *sūtu*,⁸⁴² and it is probably these tablets that the temple administrator and the royal commissioner asked for. In fact, twelve *imittu* debt notes dated to acc Camb have come down to us from the Eanna archive so far. Eight of these were written by Itti-Nabû-balātu and one by Rēmūt-Bēl, son of Nabû-ikšur, descendant of Dābibī, a scribe who also appears in our text, with the short version of his name – Rēmūt. The tablets were taken by Lābāši-Marduk, Mušēzib-Bēl and Itti-Nabû-balātu from Rēmūt's house, from his wife, as he was apparently not present. Two containers with debt notes were taken from his house: a reed container sealed with Ardia's seal and a box containing the remaining debt notes concerning the fields from the other bank (i.e. the east bank?) of Nār-šarri, which was not sealed by Ardia. The administrative significance of a container sealed with the seal of the rent farmer as opposed to an unsealed one is difficult to understand. Perhaps the lack of a sealing indicates that the second set of documents was not related to Ardia's rent farm. This assumption is highly hypothetical, though. Be that as it may, the tablets were stored in the house of a scribe, who had been involved in the *imittu* procedure,⁸⁴³ were taken from there and delivered to the temple administrator and the royal commissioner, for what purpose, we are not told. In addition to this, the three scribes gave some debt notes and (?) the copies of debt notes to Nabû-bān-aḥi, following certain orders. The words specifying the nature of the debt notes given to Nabû-bān-aḥi and the orders which brought on this transfer are lost in breaks, leaving us with little to help our understanding of his role in this situation and his connection to Ardia's rent farm. As luck would have it, this is at present the only known attestation of Nabû-bān-aḥi from acc Camb, and the evidence from the following years of Cambyses's reign fails to illuminate this problem any further.

At the beginning of 1 Camb, a certain Rēmūt-Bēl, son of Nusku-iddin,⁸⁴⁴ was accused by the gardeners in the temple assembly to have collected the dates of their *imittu* from them (BIN 1 113⁸⁴⁵). In his defence Rēmūt-Bēl claimed to have delivered the dates to Bānia's house and that they were intended for the beer of premium quality.⁸⁴⁶ The dates referred to in this text, which was dated to the first month of 1 Camb, must be the harvest of the previous year (acc Camb). This confirms the assumption based on the partially damaged title in line 20 of PTS 2075 that Nabû-bān-aḥi was a rent farmer for dates at that time.

As was mentioned, several *imittu* debt notes pertaining to Nabû-bān-aḥi's *sūtu* have come down to us from 1 Camb, giving evidence for his activity as a rent farmer during this year. In the seventh month three debt notes of standard structure, related to the *imittu* obligations from orchards

⁸⁴¹ [x] Cyr: YOS 7 85. Acc Camb: GC 2 112; 114; 116; 117; 118; YOS 7 104; 105; JCS 28, no. 25; no. 27; PTS 2075; 1 Camb: BM 114439. 5 Camb: *AnOr* 9 9. 2 Dar: TCL 13 182

⁸⁴² GC 2 112; 114; 116; 117; 118; YOS 7 105; JCS 28, no. 25; no. 27. In acc Camb he also appears as a debtor of dates in one such debt note (YOS 7 104) and is attested in PTS 2075, the text under discussion here.

⁸⁴³ Rēmūt-Bēl was, as was mentioned, the scribe of one *imittu* debt note from Ardia's rent farm in acc Camb (JCS 28, no. 56). He also appeared as a witness in several other texts: in a lease contract for gardening from 5 Cyr (YOS 7 51; edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 46. 111); in a debt note for the remainder of a date *imittu* obligation pertaining to Ardia's *sūtu* in 8 Cyr (YOS 7 72; edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 81. 131); in a record of court proceedings concerning the debt of a person in charge of collecting the dates from the gardeners in 1 Camb (YOS 7 113; edited by Cocquerillat, 1968: 84f. 133f.); in a receipt for deliveries of dates from Ardia's rent farm in 2 Camb (YOS 7 124; edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 71. 125f.). Another possible attestation of Rēmūt-Bēl is from 14 Nbn (YOS 19 52), in a debt note for silver, in which he appears as a co-debtor.

⁸⁴⁴ He is not attested elsewhere, but was probably in charge of collecting the date harvest from the gardeners for the temple, as was suggested by Cocquerillat 1968: 84.

⁸⁴⁵ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 84. 133.

⁸⁴⁶ Does this indicate that Bānia was involved in beer brewing as well? There is no other evidence to suggest that he was, therefore it seems more likely that he was simply supposed to forward the dates to the temple brewers. It should be noted, however, that Bānia's great-uncle, the rent farmer Šum-ukīn, may have been engaged in beer brewing if his identification with the sender of the letter YOS 21 151 is correct (Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011: 188, 216).

situated in Kurbat, were written in this locality: GC 2 119,⁸⁴⁷ YOS 7 117 (edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 58. 120) and BM 114466.

Also from the seventh month of 1 Camb is NCBT 994, a receipt for 40 *kurru* of dates, *imittu* for the first year of Cambyses, written in Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter. A certain Balātu, son of Ištār-nādin-aḫi, received these dates from Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son of Ibni-Ištār, at the orders of Nabû-bān-aḫi.⁸⁴⁸ Neither Balātu nor Nabû-balāssu-iqbi are known from other sources. The transaction recorded here was probably not part of the standard accounting procedures in the rent farm management since this kind of receipts is generally not very frequent. However, as the exact relationship of the three men is not known, nothing can be said about the background of this transaction.

After the series of *imittu* debt notes and a receipt from the seventh month of 1 Camb, a debt note written in the eleventh month of the same year follows. NCBT 1084, written at Nāru-cššu, records the debt of 6;3.2 dates, the remainder of an *imittu* obligation from 1 Camb, pertaining to Nabû-bān-aḫi's rent farm. The debtor was obliged to deliver the dates during the same month (XI) on the watercourse Takkīru. Apparently, the debtor had not been able to deliver his *imittu* in full at the time of the collection of the harvest, and a new, rather close dead-line was given to him for the delivery of the missing amount. This was probably done at the occasion of the yearly final accounting for dates, which was usually conducted during the months XI and XII.

The assessment of another affair by the temple court (YOS 7 113⁸⁴⁹) was to all likelihood also motivated by this final accounting. This legal text, written probably in month XII⁸⁵⁰ of 1 Camb, deals with outstanding 160 *kurru* of dates due from Kiribtu, son of Arad-Innin, and Šamaš-uballit, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim. Šamaš-uballit is attested only in one more text. He makes a delivery of dates for the rent farm of Ardia in 8 Cyr (YOS 7 95). Kiribtu, who was a scribe, was evidently also involved in date cultivation.⁸⁵¹ He claimed in this text to have delivered 109 *kurru* of dates to Ardia, son of Eanna-šum-ibni, and 10 *kurru* to Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bēl. Both of these men were scribes involved with measuring and collecting the dates from the gardeners.⁸⁵² For the remaining 41 *kurru* Kiribtu was asked to bring receipts and documents according to the amount of dates, which he had delivered to Bānia.⁸⁵³ If he failed to do so, he would have to deliver the 160 *kurru* of dates to the temple.

This episode had a sequel less than two months later. In BM 113431 (2 Camb) 10 *kurru* of dates, which Kiribtu talked about in YOS 7 113, were charged against Marduk-šum-ušur. These dates, which were the *imittu* obligation of Kiribtu, pertaining to Bānia's rent farm, had been taken from him by Marduk-šum-ušur. Now this amount was converted into its equivalent in barley, which was imposed on Marduk-šum-ušur and was expected to be delivered after the barley harvest in month IV:

BM 113431 3-II-2 Camb
 obv. 1. 10 gur še-bar šu-pel-tu₄ šá 10 gur
 zú-lum-ma i-na zú-lum-ma
 i-mit-tu₄ a-ša šá ¹ki-rib-tu₄
 dumu-šú šá ¹ir-^din-nin šá ^{giš}bán
 5. šá ¹dù-ia dumu-šú šá ¹kal-ba-a
 šá mu 1-kam ¹kam-bu-zi-ia
 lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur šá ina šu^{II} ¹ki-rib-tu₄
 dumu-šú šá ¹ir-^dinnin-na iš-šu-ú

⁸⁴⁷ The month name is lost in a break, but the seventh month seems like a probable reconstruction, as this was the usual time of the year for the *imittu* procedure.

⁸⁴⁸ NCBT 994 ll. 1-8: 40 gur z[ú-lum-m]a zag-lu [a-ša¹/ šá mu 1-kam ¹kam-bu-zi-ia lugal [tin¹-[tir^k]/ lugal kur-kur ¹din a-šú šá ^{1d}15-^rna-din-šeš¹/ ina na-áš-par-tu₄ šá ^{1dr}ag¹-dù-šeš a-šú šá/ ¹kal-ba-a a ¹ba-si-ia ina šu^{II}/^{1d}ag-din-su-e a-šú šá ^{1d}dù-^dinnin/ ina ^{giš}ma-ši-ḫu šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}/ ma-ḫi-ir.

⁸⁴⁹ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 84f. 133f. The break in l. 3 could be reconstructed as: [zag a-ša]. See also the discussion of Marduk-šum-ušur's affairs on p. 163.

⁸⁵⁰ The tablet is damaged here, but the traces correspond to the sign še.

⁸⁵¹ For a list of his attestations see note 695.

⁸⁵² See above (p. 163f.) for more information.

⁸⁵³ Though without a patronymic or a title, this was certainly our rent farmer.

- níg-ga^d innin unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a
- lo.e. 10. ina muḫ-ḫi^{ld} amar-utu-mu-urù dumu-šú šá
 rev. ^lsi-lim-^d en dumu ^lba-as-si-ia
 ina iti šu še-bar a₄ 10 gur
 ina^{gi8} ma-ši-ḫu šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki}
 ina é-an-na i-nam-din
15. ina gub-zu šá^{ld} ag-gin-ibila
^{lú}ša-tam é-an-na dumu-šú šá^l na-din
 dumu ^lda-bi-bi^{ld} ag-šeš-mu
^{lú}sag lugal en pi-qit-tu₄ é-an-na
^{lú}mu-gin₇^{ld} ag-a-mu dumu-šú šá
20. ^{ld}en-din-iṭ dumu ^{lú}mun^{bi-a}-šú
^{ld}ag-gin-a dumu-šú šá^{ld} amar-utu-mu-mu
 dumu ^l[din]^{ld} utu-gin-a dub-sar
- u.e. dumu-šú [šá^l] na-din dumu ^le-gi-bi
 le.e. unug^{ki} iti gu₄ ud 3-kam
25. mu 2-kam ^lkam-bu-zi-ia
 lugal e^{ki} lugal kur-kur

“10 *kurru* of barley, in exchange for 10 *kurru* of dates, from the dates of the *imittu* obligation from the plot of Kiribtu, son of Arad-Innin, pertaining to the *sūtu* of Bānia, son of Kalbāya, from the first year of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of Lands, which he had taken from Kiribtu, son of Arad-Innin, the property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya, are owed by Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Basia. In month IV he will deliver these 10 *kurru* of barley in Eanna using the measure of the Lady of Uruk.

In the presence of Nabû-mukīn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibi, (and) Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna.

Witnesses: Nabû-aplu-iddin, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of Ša-ṭābtišu,
 Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of Marduk-šum-iddin, descendant of [Balātu],

Scribe: Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Nādin, descendant of Egibi;

Uruk; 3-II-2 Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

Bānia’s latest attestation comes therefore from 2 Camb and refers to his *sūtu* for the first year of Cambyses. This means that the only concrete evidence for his rent farm comes from a period less than two years long (acc Camb - 1 Camb). While it seems likely that his rent farm terminated after 1 Camb, we have no information to help us determine when it was founded. This could have happened as early as 15 Nbn. For the time being there is no way of telling the length of Nabû-bān-aḫi’s career as a rent farmer and accounting for the scarcity of his attestations during Cyrus’s reign.

Not much can be said about the regional extent of his rent farm either. The orchards of Kurbat, situated on the Euphrates and Ḫarri-kibbi, which appear most frequently in the *imittu* debt notes, were certainly under his responsibility. Occasionally other places such as Takkīru, Nāru-eššu and Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēṭer also appear in the texts. The relative frequency of the attestations of a place name is, especially with such a small sample of texts as is available for Nabû-bān-aḫi, not necessarily an indicator for the greater importance of this place.⁸⁵⁴ At any rate, the patchy evidence does not allow us to form a picture of Nabû-bān-aḫi’s rent farm and grasp its scale. The uncertainty is exacerbated by the lack of information on his annual dues. We do know, however, that in 8 Cyr Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḫi, descendant of Rēmūt-Ea, leased temple orchards for the annual rent of 12,000 *kurru* of dates. By comparison, Šum-ukīn’s and Kalbāya’s rent for the orchards was 10,000 *kurru* annually, meaning that Ardia was the major rent farmer for dates since 8 Cyr, and whoever else had a rent farm at the same time must have conducted his business on a much smaller scale. It follows that Nabû-bān-aḫi was just a minor rent farmer, at least during the period in which Ardia was active. We can say nothing about his entrepreneurial activities for a stretch of some five to six

⁸⁵⁴ Kurbat was perhaps a place he neglected, while taking better care of other localities, which resulted in more outstanding debts from this region and by consequence more of its attestations in the documentation.

years, from 2 Cyr until 8 Cyr, just after the dissolution of Kalbāya's rent farm and before Ardia's involvement in date cultivation on a big scale. Without further evidence it is impossible to say to what extent Nabû-bān-aḥi's rent farm was a continuation of his father's legacy, both in terms of scope of the farm and his success in managing it.

2.9.14.1. Attestations of Nabû-bān-aḥi:

| Text ⁸⁵⁵ | Date | Contents | Name ⁸⁵⁶ |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| YOS 6 177: 4f. | 7-VII-16 Nbn | legal, concerning date <i>imittu</i> obligation | B |
| GC 2 98: 3 | 20-I-3 Cyr | receipt for dates on behalf of Kalbāya/Iqīša | B |
| PTS 2075: 20, 29 | [x-x]-acc Camb | legal, concerning delivery and transfer of debt notes | N |
| BIN 1 113: 4, 9 | 30-I-1 Camb | legal, concerning collecting and delivery of dates | B |
| YOS 7 117: 3f. | 8-VII-1 Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note | N |
| NCBT 994: 4f. | 8-VII-1 Camb | receipt for dates for the <i>imittu</i> of 1 Camb | N |
| GC 2 119: 3f. | 15-[VII]-1 Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note | N |
| BM 114466: 3f. | 16-VII-1 Camb | <i>imittu</i> debt note | N |
| NCBT 1084: 5f. | 11-XI-1 Camb | debt note for arrears of <i>imittu</i> | N |
| YOS 7 113: 13 | [x]-[XII] ² -1 Camb | legal, concerning collecting and delivery of dates | B |
| BM 113431: 5 | 3-II-2 Camb | debt note for barley in exchange for dates | B |

2.9.15. *Mūrānu*

Mūrānu, son of Šamaš-iddin, appears as a rent farmer for dates (*ša muḥḥi sūti ša suluppī*) in 1 Camb in a witnessed receipt for dates (YOS 7 112). The text states that 220 *kurru* of dates, fodder for cattle, were received by four individuals from (*ina qāt*) Mūrānu.⁸⁵⁷ This rent farmer is not known from other sources and so nothing can be said about his background and the scope of his enterprise. It should be noted, however, that he appears to have been active at the same time as two other rent farmers for dates, namely Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḥi, and Nabû-bān-aḥi (Bānia), son of Kalbāya, from the Basia family (for these rent farmers see above).

2.9.15.1. Attestations of Mūrānu:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|
| YOS 7 112: 8 | 22-X-1 Camb | receipt for dates |

⁸⁵⁵ Another possible attestation is in the undated BM 114618, a list of thirteen workers put at the disposal of Bānia, son of Kalbāya. One of the men appearing in the text, Širik-Kusu, son of Balāṭu, can probably be identified with the scribe of the same name attested from 5 Cyr until 5 Camb (NBDM 89; YOS 7 44; BIN 1 169; YOS 7 179; BM 113395), giving a rough time frame for this text. The letter GC 2 387 (undated), quoted by Cocquerillat (1968: 97) as an attestation of Bānia was in fact written by a certain Ibnāya (¹dū-a) to ¹d[x]-šar-ušur. This was not necessarily the crown prince Bēl-šar-ušur as Cocquerillat suggests. While the sender can not be identified, the recipient's name could be reconstructed as [Nabû]-šar-ušur, who was the first royal commissioner of Eanna, who took great interest in its agriculture (Janković 2005: 170). Granted, this identification is not certain, but it appears much more likely that a temple official, rather than the crown prince, would have got detailed accounts on gardeners and farmers and the activities in the Uruk hinterlands as presented in this letter.

⁸⁵⁶ This column gives the writing of Nabû-bān-aḥi's name in the text. B stands for the short and N for the long version of the name.

⁸⁵⁷ It is not clear why this transaction was recorded as legal document rather than an administrative receipt.

2.9.16. *Gimillu*

Ever since the edition of YOS 7 7 (1 Cyr), a text which San Nicolò dubbed “the monster trial” (1933: 61ff.), Assyriologists have been intrigued by its main protagonist Gimillu, son of Innin-šum-ibni, and dedicated several studies to him.⁸⁵⁸ In this document (YOS 7 7), a text of 148 lines, Gimillu, who worked at that time for the temple as a collector of arrears of the herdsmen (*ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*), had been accused of twelve counts of appropriating temple property, sheep, goats and cows, and had been fined with a thirty-fold payment. In addition to this there are other texts which record individual cases with similar accusations;⁸⁵⁹ however, despite these accusations he managed to stay in this position from at least 17 Nbn until 6 Camb. The fact that Gimillu continued to advance his career seemingly uninterrupted by these charges has been puzzling to the scholars, who attributed to him an array of unflattering titles (e.g., a “clever and brazen swindler”,⁸⁶⁰ a “Gauler *extraordinaire*”,⁸⁶¹ etc.). Now, more recently Kozuh (2006: 116ff.) pointed out that these negative judgements of Gimillu’s character are perhaps not entirely justified. After reassessing the charges raised against him he came to the conclusion that “Gimillu’s supposed larceny was neither grand nor extraordinary” (Kozuh 2006: 119). In his function as a *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni* there is only one document which records a conviction on the charges of misappropriating temple property (YOS 7 7).⁸⁶² According to Kozuh, it was rather Gimillu’s close relationship with the royal administration which made him an unpopular figure with the temple authorities and brought on a number of accusations against him.⁸⁶³ It is conceivable that he was also not particularly popular with the

⁸⁵⁸ San Nicolò 1933: 61ff., *id.* 1954: 366f., Kümmel 1979: 104⁺⁴⁷, Cocquerillat 1968: 102ff., Dandamayev 1984: 533ff., Joannès 2000a: 225ff. Jursa 2004a: 109ff., Kozuh 2006: 108ff., Ragen 2006: 479ff.

⁸⁵⁹ Kozuh (2006: 117) lists other instances of individual charges against Gimillu: TCL 13 125, 134, YOS 7 31 and 35. However, it should be born in mind that not all the texts in which it is stated that Gimillu took cattle or sheep from the herdsmen constitute charges against him. Some of these documents only refer to his regular activities as the collector of arrears. In TCL 13 134 (4 Cyr) the shepherd Kīnāya/Nabū-aḫ-iddin testifies that a sheep that was entrusted to him by another individual and was supposed to be delivered to Eanna was taken from him by Gimillu who in turn failed to deliver it to the temple. The other examples of accusations against Gimillu quoted by Kozuh (TCL 13 125, YOS 7 31 and 35) are in fact not examples of misappropriations of temple animals. He is reported in these texts to have taken sheep and cattle from various individuals. These animals were temple property, as they were marked with a star branding, and it was Gimillu’s duty to collect them on behalf of the temple. There is no mention of him taking or keeping these animals illicitly; in these cases Gimillu was simply doing his job of a collector of arrears and was not under accusation. However, in addition to TCL 13 134 (4 Cyr), there are other texts which record accusations against Gimillu: in BM 114572 (acc Camb) he is said to have kept a donkey which was to be delivered to the temple and used it as a pack animal; in YOS 7 102 (acc Camb) he is accused of hiring out a runaway *širku* (for an edition and a discussion of the text see San Nicolò 1933: 73ff. and Joannès 2000a: 226f.); according to YOS 7 96 (acc Camb) he unlawfully (*ina šigilti*) took two carcasses of oxen and seven hides; BM 113408 (3 Camb) records a misappropriation of two cows. In PTS 2290 (4 Camb) it is stated that Gimillu had used temple oxen for ploughing and that these had died before the plough. It is not clear whether this case also implied that he kept and used the temple cattle unlawfully or whether the purpose of the statement was simply to account for the missing cattle.

⁸⁶⁰ Dandamayev 1984: 533.

⁸⁶¹ Jursa 2004a: 109.

⁸⁶² He is accused of misappropriating three cows and ten sheep and goats (Kozuh 2006: 117), of taking away a *šir’am*-garment and of accepting two shekels of silver as bribe from an indebted herdsman. For these offences he was imposed a thirty-fold fine: 92 cows, 302 heads of small cattle and 1 mina 10 shekels of silver (for the bribe and the garment). The figures presented by the fine (line 147) do not match up exactly with the individual counts of misappropriated cattle (this is discussed by San Nicolò 1933: 71 note 4).

⁸⁶³ Jursa suggests that the office of the *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni* was an innovation initiated by the royal administration (2004a: 123). Kozuh spins this further: “If Gimillu was given a royal mandate to organize and register the Eanna’s animals kept on the hoof with its herdsmen, to extract animals from the herdsmen in a way that perhaps allowed him to take some animals as profit, and to hunt down and use force against delinquent herdsmen and cattle thieves, it is quite possible that this overarching power brought about the indignation and resentment of the resident temple authorities. It is also possible that he was viewed as a collaborator with the Persian occupiers. In fact, (...) the vilification of Gimillu in texts such as YOS 7 7

temple dependants because of his presumably high-handed treatment of the people with whom he had contact in his function as *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*. While the documents recording charges against Gimillu are no conclusive evidence for his offences,⁸⁶⁴ it is safe to assume that at least some of the allegations against him were justified. At the same time, he was supported by a member of the royal administration, at least until he got engaged in the temple agriculture, which made it possible for him to have a fairly long career despite his offences and being unpopular with the temple administration. Already San Nicolò assumed that he must have had a powerful patron (1933: 73). Van Driel came to the same conclusion: “How is it possible that a simple *širku*, Gimillu, perhaps with his wider family, could defy the dignitaries of an institution like Eanna? That would seem possible only if the man had protectors” (1998: 67). This patron was probably Nabû-šarru-ušur, the *ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti* of Eanna: from a recently published text (PTS 2269 = AOAT 358, no. 10, see below) we know that Gimillu was the messenger (*mār šipri*) of this official in 8 Nbn. Nabû-šarru-ušur was in this position from 1 to 13 Nbn. This means that Gimillu must have found other patrons who supported him, particularly during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses when he worked as the *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni* for the temple.⁸⁶⁵ His relatively short-lived career as a rent farmer at the beginning of Darius’s reign suggests that he had lost this support at this time.

In this context Gimillu’s family and social status are also of interest. Jursa’s article published in 2004 in WZKM 94 is of particular relevance for this matter as it contains five previously unpublished texts of which four shed more light on his family and private affairs. Gimillu had a brother, Iddināya who appears in a temple court interrogation in 2 Dar (TCL 13 181, see below), and who was also involved in date cultivation (TCL 13 183). Both of them were *širkus*. So far only four instances are known in which Gimillu is designated as a *širku*.⁸⁶⁶ Interestingly, he appears with this designation for the first time in 8 Cyr, i.e. in the second half of his active career which spanned at least some 29 years (from 8 Nbn until 2 Dar). Not much can be said about Gimillu’s father Innin-šum-ibni: Jursa (2004a: 119) suggests identifying him with Innin-šum-ibni/Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim/*naggāru* from BM 114628 from 2 Cyr. Here he appears as a date-*imittu* debtor of Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Madān-aḫḫē-iddin/Šigūa, a holder of a brewer’s prebend. According to Jursa, he may also be attested in BM 114494 (10 Nbn), albeit without a family name. Here Innin-šum-ibni hired a man for agricultural work on a plot of the Lady of Uruk which was at his disposal. Gimillu’s mother Aḫāssunu appears in one of the texts published by Jursa (WZKM 94, no. 1, 4 Cyr). She was involved, at least in one instance, in handling of the sheep of the temple. In this text four women, wives of the herdsmen of the regular offerings, testify that Aḫāssunu entrusted them with two sheep and a lamb. It is not clear whether this case represented an illegal action on her part and how this was connected to her son’s activities. While Gimillu’s mother seems to have been a temple dependant, judging by the lack of filiation in this text (Jursa 2004a: 112), he and his brother

resulted from an attempt to rein in a heavy-handed, Babylon-supported bureaucrat. If Gimillu was a royal agent and was thought to be compiling fiscal information about the Eanna for the crown, and/or if his royal connections insulated him from the usual ways by which the Eanna controlled its authorities (demotions, loss of prebends, social pressure, etc.), then it is possible that the resident temple authorities kept him in check by treating him as a common cattle thief when specific allegations of misappropriation arose” (2006: 124). Ragen comes to a similar conclusion independently of Kozuh. He speaks of a power struggle between the temple and the court which is reflected in the temple’s “deliberate campaign to undermine Gimillu by portraying him as a thief in front of royal officials” who were frequently present at the court hearings involving Gimillu (2006: 506f.).

⁸⁶⁴ There is at least some indication that not all the accusations raised against him were warranted: in the case recorded in WZKM 94, no. 5 (Jursa 2004a: 126ff.) a witness accused Gimillu of hiring a hitman to kill the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna, Sīn-šar-ušur. This allegation is refuted by another witness whose testimony is also recorded in this text. Furthermore, Jursa noted that the royal commissioner is attested as alive and active four months after this court hearing (2004a: 129).

⁸⁶⁵ Gimillu’s connection to the state administration in Babylon is reflected in YOS 7 70 from 8 Cyr. In this text he reports to the temple authorities on the instructions he received from the Babylonian governor Gūbaru concerning the duties of the temple *širkus*. In other words, Gimillu played here the role of the middleman between the temple and the state administration, rather than the royal commissioner of the temple. The text is partially translated and discussed by Stolper 2003: 267ff. For a full edition and a discussion see Ragen 2006: 94ff. See also Kozuh 2006: 123f.

⁸⁶⁶ YOS 7 70 (8 Cyr), YOS 7 149 (3 Camb), TCL 13 182 (2 Dar), YNER 1 2 (2 Dar).

may have in fact stemmed from an upper class family. In one debt note recording Gimillu's purchase of a slave he is designated as a descendant of the *naggāru* family (WZKM 94, no. 3, acc Cyr). In case this person is identical with our Gimillu, this would be a singular attestation of a *širku* with a family name. Jursa, who considers this identification probable, suggested as a possible explanation that Gimillu and his brother Iddināya could have been dedicated to the temple by their family for religious or economic reasons, e.g., indebtedness (2004a: 118).⁸⁶⁷ Perhaps this dedication occurred later in their lives, if one is to attach some importance to the relatively late attestation of Gimillu's *širkūtu*-status from 8 Cyr.

We know from PTS 3045 that Gimillu rented a house from the temple property sometime during the first five years of Cyrus's reign.⁸⁶⁸ This may be taken as another indication of Gimillu's privileged status.⁸⁶⁹ He was married to a certain Ilata, daughter of Nūrēa, as is evident from WZKM 94, no. 2 from 5 Camb (Jursa 2004a: 113ff.). This private document, possibly from Gimillu's private archive, was a debt note for one mina of silver, which belonged to Ilata; her husband and two other men were the debtors. Ilata was entitled to the interest on her capital, while the three debtors were going to share equally any prospective profit, indicating that they must have undertaken some sort of business partnership. His wife's possession of this not so negligible amount of silver is yet another atypical circumstance for the *širku* milieu, but is not so unusual considering the possibility that Gimillu stemmed from an Urukian upper class family.

During his active career, which, as was mentioned, lasted for almost three decades, Gimillu had at least three different functions: he first acted as an agent of the royal commissioner of Eanna as a tax collector and was then consecutively employed in two different branches of the temple economy as collector of arrears of the animal husbandry and as rent farmer. Gimillu's first so far known attestation is from the eighth year of Nabonidus, from the text PTS 2269, which was published by Kleber in AOAT 358 (2008: 99f.) as no. 10. This text records a statement of the goldsmith Šamaš-ana-bītišu that another party, Zēria/Ibnāya/Egibi,⁸⁷⁰ was going to make a silver payment to Gimillu within four or five days from the drafting of the document. The payment in question was a kind of tax for bricks imposed on the temple enterers and the priest council (*kinaštu*) of Eanna. Gimillu is designated here as the messenger (*mār šipri*) of the royal commissioner of Eanna who collects the payment claims for bricks imposed on the priests.⁸⁷¹ Already this first attestation shows him in a position of considerable responsibility and suggests a close relationship between him and the royal representative in the temple, a relationship which may have proven useful for his further career. Unfortunately not much more can be said about Gimillu's activities as a tax collector as there is no pertinent documentation. This attestation is followed by gap in the documentation of some nine years: he next appears in the Eanna archive at the end of Nabonidus's reign (YOS 6 208) in 17 Nbn. Here he already took on his next function in the temple's animal husbandry sector. His main task was to enforce the delivery of cattle, sheep and wool owed to the temple by shepherds and cattle herders and occasionally to bring the indebted herders to the temple, probably for the purpose of the settling of accounts. In this context he

⁸⁶⁷ Ragen considers this identification to be unlikely as this would be a singular case of a *širku* with lineage. Furthermore, it is not possible to link the protagonists in this text with our Gimillu with any degree of certainty. Instead, he suggests that this was simply a case of homonymy (2006:502). While it remains uncertain whether our Gimillu indeed was a member of the *naggāru*-family, it is beyond doubt that he enjoyed a special status among the *širkus*.

⁸⁶⁸ The year is broken off, but the text can be roughly dated to 1-5 Cyr, because the house was rented to Gimillu by the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna, Nabû-ah-iddin, and the *šatammu*, Nidinti-Bēl, and the letter official was in office during this time span (Kleber 2008: 34).

⁸⁶⁹ Ragen speaks in this context of elite *širkūtu* (2006: 469ff.). In other words, the *širku* society was stratified including "upper and lower class" *širkus*. The upper class *širkus* were often employed in mid-managerial positions and usually had close ties with the royal administration (*ibid.*: 477).

⁸⁷⁰ Zēria was the *šatammu* of Eanna with two terms of office. He was the *šatammu* from 2 Ami to 1 Ner and was reinstated in 11 Nbn until 13 Nbn (Kleber 2008: 33f.). At the time of this document (8 Nbn) he was not in office.

⁸⁷¹ AOAT 358 no. 10 ll. 16-20: ¹gi-mil-lu a-šú šá ^{1d}in-nin-na-mu-dù / ^{1ú}a-kin šá ^{1d}ag-lugal-urù ^{1ú}sag lugal ^{1ú}en pi-qit-ti¹ / é-an-na šá ú-si-ir-tu₄ šá kù-babbar šá a-gur-ru kù-babbar / šá ina ugu ^{1ú}ku₄-é^{me} ù ^{1ú}ki-na-ás¹-ti / šá é-an-na is-si-ir.

appears with the title *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*, literally “one in charge of the arrears”.⁸⁷² The temple administration would make accounts of the owed animals and wool (*tuppi rēḫāni*) according to which Gimillu would collect these debts on behalf of the temple. A document from 4 Cyr records Gimillu’s refusal to accept one such tablet from the temple administration and *de facto* the obligation expressed by it (WZKM 94, no. 4 = BM 113293, Jursa 2004a: 119ff.). The reason for this was probably an unrealistically high target set for him by the temple. The account of the arrears (*tuppi rēḫāni*) is also mentioned in YOS 7 198 (6 Camb). The text records how Gimillu was summoned to the temple assembly and asked to collect and deliver to the temple the arrears recorded in this account. Here too Gimillu tried to evade his duties by fleeing; however, he got caught. It is not clear what implications this episode had for his further career. Incidentally, this is his last attestation in the function of a *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*, in which he had remained for over 16 years. Gimillu’s activities as the *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni* are of little relevance for the study of Eanna’s agriculture and will not be dealt with here any further.⁸⁷³

The exact date of Gimillu’s employment as Eanna’s rent farmer is not known. His rent contract has not come down to us. He appears as *ša muḫḫi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk* for the first time in the tenth month of Darius’s accession year, in a document concerning the responsibilities of three men, probably *rab epinnis*, in a canal digging project (YOS 21 205).⁸⁷⁴ Ardīa, the previous rent farmer, appears for the last time actively in the *imittu* debt notes from 7 Camb, indicating that the rent farm for dates was transferred from him to Gimillu either at the very end of Cambyses’s reign or during Darius’s accession year, before the tenth month. Prior to this, his last attestation is from 6 Camb (YOS 7 198), still in the function of *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*. There is, therefore, no evidence for Gimillu’s activities for a period of about two years. This is unfortunate, as during this period he would have wrapped up his business as *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni* and took another career path. Without any pertinent evidence one can only speculate about his success in the area of animal husbandry and ultimately about the motivation for switching over to the agricultural sector.

At this point Gimillu was not a newcomer to Eanna’s agricultural sphere. He is attested already in 3 Camb in one *imittu* list of date deliveries (NCBT 399) as a supplier of 20 *kurru* of dates. At this time Ardīa was in charge of the rent farm for dates. This implies that Gimillu was responsible for a date palm orchard of the Lady of Uruk, either as a gardener or as a sub-lessee.⁸⁷⁵ Another document from 4 Camb (PTS 2290⁸⁷⁶) gives evidence for his activities on arable land. The main concern of the temple administration expressed in this text was the death of oxen belonging to the Lady of Uruk, about which one *širku* testified. The oxen were used by Gimillu for ploughing in Kapru-ša-nāqidāti according to this testimony. While it is known that Eanna owned land in this locality, there is no indication as to the nature of Gimillu’s activities in this area. In other words, it is impossible to say whether he was working on institutional or private land.⁸⁷⁷ In the latter case his use of temple cattle may have been illicit and could represent evidence for the abuse of his office of *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*. At least in the case of the date orchard in NCBT 399, his obligation toward the temple makes it clear that he was responsible for temple land. However, these obligations were incomparably smaller than those which he later had as a *fermier général*. His responsibility amounted to no more than that of a simple ploughman or gardener.

At the start of Darius’s rule he obtained the control over the entire date plantations of the temple and a large part of its arable land as *ša muḫḫi sūti*. His career as a rent farmer was surprisingly short lived, in contrast to his previous “success” as a *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*. He was in charge of the revenues of Eanna’s land for probably no more than two years.

The area under Gimillu’s responsibility was second in size only to Šum-ukīn’s and Kalbāya’s rent farm. He was provided with 1,000 *kurru* of barley for seed, 200 draught animals (and ploughmen?) and iron for the ploughs in return for which he was to deliver 12,000 *kurru* of dates and 10,000 *kurru* of barley yearly. These figures stem from a text recording the dissolution of

⁸⁷² He is attested with this title for the first time in 2 Cyr (BM 114587).

⁸⁷³ For a discussion of this part of Gimillu’s career see Jursa 2004a: 122ff. and Kozuh 2006: 108ff.

⁸⁷⁴ The text is edited on p. 104.

⁸⁷⁵ In the latter, more probable, case other people would have done the actual work in the garden.

⁸⁷⁶ The text will be published by G. Frame.

⁸⁷⁷ Gimillu does appear in connection with this locality on one more occasion. YOS 21 209 (1 Nbk IV), a private document recording his purchase of some wooden objects, was also written there.

his rent farm and its transfer to Bēl-gimlanni, son of Madān-ēreš, a *širku* and the official in charge of the cash box (*ša muḫḫi quppi*), in 2 Dar (TCL 13 182). As the text is edited elsewhere⁸⁷⁸ it will be presented here in translation only:

“Bēl-gimlanni, the one in charge of the cash box of Eanna, son of Madān-ēreš, said of his free will to Bēl-iddin, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Sīn-ēreš, descendant of Ibni-il, to Nergal-šar-ušur, the *qīpu*, and to Barīk-ilī, the royal commissioner of Eanna, as follows: ‘(As regards) 10,000 *kurru* of barley and 12,000 *kurru* of dates, the rent concerning which Gimillu, the *širku* of Ištār of Uruk, son of Innin-šum-ibni, to whom you gave 1,000 *kurru* of barley for seed, 200 oxen for the ploughs, which are at his disposal, and iron for the repairs of the ploughs, (and) who did not comply with this rent of 10,000 *kurru* of barley and 12,000 *kurru* of dates, said as follows: ‘Give me 400 ploughmen, 600 heads of cattle, and 1,000 *kurru* of barley for seed, and I will pay you 10,000 *kurru* of barley and 12,000 *kurru* of dates. Otherwise I will not pay (you the rent). You can give the rent farm to whom ever you want.’” Then Bēl-gimlanni, the *širku* of Ištār of Uruk, the one in charge of the cash box of Eanna, son of Madān-ēreš, who of his own free will had requested the rent farm, said as follows: ‘Give to me in the first year 1,000 *kurru* of barley for seed, 200 heads of oxen for the ploughs and more or less (the same number of) ploughmen, and I will deliver for the property of Eanna 10,000 *kurru* of barley to the threshing floors and 12,000 *kurru* of dates to the enclosures; in the first year I will also deliver to the fattening stables ten flawless bulls for the regular offerings of the Lady of Uruk.’

Bēl-iddin, Nergal-šar-ušur and Barīk-ilī spoke in the assembly of Babylonians and Urukeans, of the temple enterers of Ištār of Uruk, and of the priest council of Eanna, following Bēl-gimlanni’s speech. They imposed on him a yearly payment of 10,000 *kurru* of barley and 12,000 *kurru* of dates for the property of Eanna. In the seventh month of 2 Dar he shall deliver ten flawless bulls to the fattening stables, aside from the 22,000 *kurru* of barley and dates, the rent which is imposed on him. In the second year, in the fourth month, Bēl-iddin, Nergal-šar-ušur, and Barīk-ilī will give from the property of Ištār of Uruk to Bēl-gimlanni, the rent farmer, 200 oxen, the remainder of 400 oxen, 50 workers, old men,⁸⁷⁹ children, for the ploughs, the cattle, and the ploughmen, which are at his disposal. He will do the required work. He will not take away any cattle or ploughmen from the property of Ištār of Uruk, aside from these (aforementioned), however much rental area is at his disposal. By the end of the year he shall pay 10,000 *kurru* of barley and 12,000 *kurru* of dates to the property of Eanna. (This is) aside from the *ḫallatu*-orchards, which are at the disposal of the prebendary gardeners, and the arable land which will be given as remainder to the property of Eanna. He shall dig the large canals (with funding) from Eanna. He shall deliver the 12,000 *kurru* of dates at one time. (This is) aside from the rations of the governor of Esagil, the scribes, the gatekeepers, and the measurers, which Bēl-gimlanni must deliver. On the fields and in the waterlogged areas sheep and cattle of the Lady of Uruk will graze. The rent farm is at the disposal of Bēl-gimlanni from the fourth month of the second year (of Darius). Per each *kurru* of dates he will deliver a load of twigs, buds and palm fronds.

(Witnesses...) 13-IV-2 Dar, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

While Gimillu controlled the entire date production of the temple, except the *ḫallatu* orchards, he rented less than a third⁸⁸⁰ of the temple’s arable land; the rest was probably placed under direct exploitation through temple ploughmen, who were supervised by the officials recruited from their own ranks, the *rab epinnis*. TCL 13 182 informs us that Gimillu was unsatisfied with the conditions under which he was to manage his farm. The need to invest from his own stock seems to have been the main point of contention: while the provided amount of seed seems to have been

⁸⁷⁸ For an edition of the text see Moore 1935: 187, Cocquerillat 1968: 43. Van Driel discussed the text and commented on some of its aspects on several occasions: 1990: 246, 1999: 216f.

⁸⁷⁹ The line 20 enumerates the additional workers which are to be supplied as follows: “50 ^{lú}ša-bi ^{lú}igi ^{lú}libir ^{lú}ša-ḫar”. It is not clear what the exact difference between *šibu* (igi) and *labiru* (libir) is; both words have the basic meaning “old”. Cocquerillat suggests interpreting *labiru* as “une personne « débile »” (1968: 43 note 114).

⁸⁸⁰ This figure is derived from the comparison of the amount of seed provided to Gimillu and Šum-ukīn, namely, 1,000 and 3,000 *kurru* of barley respectively. While Šum-ukīn had most of Eanna’s arable land under his control, it is evident from other rent contracts which were drawn up during Nabonidus’s reign (e.g. YOS 6 40 and 41 (both from 3 Nbn), TCL 12 90 (8 Nbn)) that he had not rented all of the temple’s arable holdings.

adequate,⁸⁸¹ Gimillu complained about the number of oxen and workers put at his disposal. The new rent farmer Bēl-gimlanni quotes Gimillu as saying that he would only be capable of paying the requisite rent if he were provided with 400 farmers and 600 oxen. Otherwise he would not pay the rent and the temple administrators could give the farm to whomever they pleased. This in fact happened. Bēl-gimlanni proposed to rent the farm under the unfavourable conditions criticized by Gimillu and even offered to provide ten flawless bulls for the regular offerings of the Lady of Uruk in the first year on top of the rent payment. The temple administration accepted his offer and let him the farm for five years; however, it conceded to provide him with another 200 draught animals and 50 workers in the second year. Evidently the problem of the productivity of the arable land brought about by an inadequate contingent of manpower and draught animals was ultimately the cause of the failure of Gimillu's rent farm and its subsequent transfer to Bēl-gimlanni. For an area of 1,000 *kurru* (ca. 1,250 ha) and the 200 draught animals, i.e. 50 plough teams, this meant an area of 20 *kurru* (ca. 25ha) per plough. By comparison, the 'Edict of Belšazzar' set an area of 25 *kurru* per plough team and the plough teams of Šum-ukīn had to tackle even 30 *kurru* of land. Van Driel has shown that 25 *kurru* stipulated by the 'Edict' were a very high work-load, verging on the impossible (1990: 224ff.). With the temple's concession of another 200 oxen in the second year of Bēl-gimlanni's contract the ploughing area would have been halved, i.e. 10 *kurru* (ca. 12.5ha) per team. This would have been a reasonable work-load. The temple was willing to provide another 50 men for the new rent farmer in the second year. However, there is not much we can say about this parameter, as we do not know what the size of the contingent originally put at Gimillu's disposal was.⁸⁸² It seems as though Gimillu's complaints were not unjustified when even the temple administration was ready to make concessions to his successor. However, Gimillu's misappropriation of temple dates and withholding of documentation necessary for the rent collection (see below) were unacceptable, and the temple was more than willing to comply with his insolent proposal to hand the farm over to someone else.

Considering that the main problem Gimillu faced was an inadequate workforce for the tilling of the arable land, the more peculiar it is to find no texts connected to the administration of the production of barley, such as *imittu* debt notes for barley or lists of barley deliveries. What is more, the documentation we have for Gimillu's activities as a rent farmer is dominated by a large number of *imittu* debt notes for dates from Darius's first year (dated to 1 Nbk IV). These constitute about 77 % of the extant material relevant to his rent farming career. The conclusion is then that our documentation does not adequately represent the problems which Gimillu's farm was facing. The high concentration of the *imittu* debt notes for dates and the problems in the area of date cultivation, which may have been implied by their existence, on the other, are not reflected in TCL 13 182, the document in which Gimillu airs his dissatisfaction with the conditions of his rent farm. Clearly the material that has come down to us is far from complete and therefore it is very difficult to assess the extent of Gimillu's failure in the rent farming business. The bulk of the debt notes for dates which have come down to us reflects the archival practices, rather than problems with the management of the rent farm. Van Driel (1998: 68) suggested that these texts may have been

⁸⁸¹ This amount of seed, 1,000 *kurru*, may have been adequate only in theory, though. In the letter YOS 3 8 Gimillu complains to an official (the title is damaged; Cocquerillat (1968: 103. 140) suggests reading it ^{lu}šitaš tin(?) -tir(?)^{ki(?)}) about various problems: that there is no barley in Eanna that year (ll. 5-6); that only 1,100 *kurru* of barley, which the addressee took for regular offerings, have been imposed as yield estimate on his rent farm (ll. 7-10); that no help is coming from Babylon where he sent 5 minas of silver (for barley purchases?) (ll. 12-17). He points out that he asked for barley for seed (from the Eanna officials?) but was refused on the grounds that they were held in Ur (ll. 24-26) and that he was assigned 500 *kurru* of barley for seed in the presence of the addressee (ll. 34-36). Does this last remark refer to the endorsement of Gimillu's rent farm through a high Babylonian official, the addressee of the letter? If so, the amount of seed assigned to him would have been doubled in the meantime to 1,000 *kurru*, as is evident from TCL 13 182. Be that as it may, the exact connotations of the letter are not clear; however, it demonstrates that there were serious problems concerning the barley production of Gimillu's rent farm.

⁸⁸² The model plough team from the 'Edict of Belšazzar' consisted of four oxen and four men. Following this model one could assume that around 200 men were originally at Gimillu's disposal operating with 200 oxen in 50 teams. Additional 50 men and 200 oxen promised to Bēl-gimlanni, however, would create a disproportion between the human and the animal workforce. It should be noted, though, that the additional 50 men were not ploughmen: the temple could only offer to provide old men and children, which were presumably to be used as auxiliary workers; the experienced, qualified ploughmen were still in short supply.

discarded together with other tablets in the *Gartenhof* area of the temple after Gimillu's affairs had been wound up and the texts had lost their significance for the temple administration.⁸⁸³

Apart from a small group of texts from the end of Gimillu's career at Eanna which concerned the disclosing of his machinations and the dissolution of his farm (see below), the documentation we have for his activities as a rent farmer are fairly unexciting. Among these texts there are three *imittu* lists for dates (YOS 21 211, YOS 17 300 (1 Nbk IV), TCL 13 183⁸⁸⁴ (2 Dar)) and six land lease contracts (two leases for sharecropping: YOS 21 207 and 208, both from the fifth month of 1 Nbk IV; two orchard leases for gardening: YOS 21 214 (1 Nbk IV), Spar, *Studies*, no. 8 (1 Dar); and two leases of orchards with stipulations for cultivation of the arable land beneath the palm trees: NCBT 630 (1 [Nbk IV] and NCBT 677 (year and king's name lost, probably [1 Nbk IV])). There is also a private document⁸⁸⁵ (YOS 21 209, 1 Nbk IV) recording his purchase of a wooden chest (*šiddatu*) and two other objects⁸⁸⁶ for half a mina of silver, and the already mentioned YOS 21 205 from the tenth month of acc Dar, in which Gimillu appears for the first time with the title *ša muḫḫi sūti*. Though the text is not perfectly clear, it sheds some light on the hierarchy of agricultural officials at that time. In this court protocol Gimillu accused three *rab epinnis*, who were presumably in charge of the management of the arable land not included in Gimillu's rent farm, of negligence with regard to canal digging. The upkeep of the irrigation system was one of the duties of a rent farmer usually recorded in the rent contract.⁸⁸⁷ The *rab epinnis* had similar obligations toward the temple. They were not only in charge of supervising the ploughmen's agricultural activities, but were responsible for rallying them for public works as well. In YOS 21 205 they had to justify their actions to Gimillu. This suggests that they were answerable to him as the highest agricultural official at the time. The text gives evidence for the interaction of the system of direct management of arable land through temple officials, which had been in use during Cambyses's reign when there were no large-scale rent farmers for barley, and the rent farm system.

Even before Gimillu's conflict with the temple administration on account of his rent farm started he found himself in a rather unpleasant situation. In a record of a court proceedings (WZKM 94, no. 5 = YBC 6932⁸⁸⁸) from the 18th day of the first month of 1 Dar a *širku* Zumbu, son of Rēmūt, testified before the assembly that he was told by Anu-zēr-ušabši, son of Lābāši, another *širku*, that: "Gimillu, the rent farmer of Ištar of Uruk, had drawn up a contract for the assassination of Sîn-šar-ušur, the royal commissioner of Eanna" (ll. 16-18). Then Anu-zēr-ušabši testified under oath that he had never heard anything about such a contract nor had he talked about it to Zumbu. This is all the information that the text gives us, but it is known from other sources that Sîn-šar-ušur was not assassinated in the first month of Darius's first year: he appeared four months later in another legal text (YOS 15 10, 5-V-1 Nbk IV). It is, however, not clear whether there had been a failed attempt at assassinating the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna. Indeed, such attempts did occasionally happen.⁸⁸⁹ At any rate, Gimillu seems to have been cleared of these charges, as there are no visible disruptions in his career at this point: following this incident several sub-leases of land belonging to his rent farm were made (YOS 21 207, YOS 21 208 and YOS 21 214), *imittu* debt notes (see

⁸⁸³ So far 46 *imittu* debt notes for dates could be identified (see Appendix 5). The cumulative impost in these texts amounts to 2,669 *kurru* of dates, which was about 22 % of Gimillu's yearly rent. Were these the tablets which Gimillu had hidden from the temple administration (cf. TCL 13 181, below), which the temple eventually reclaimed and discarded after finishing the accounting for Gimillu's rent farm? Or were the imposts from these debt notes regularly settled and for that reason of no interest for the temple administration?

⁸⁸⁴ This particular list was compiled after the dissolution of Gimillu's farm during the process of the settling of accounts and belongs in fact to the afore mentioned dossier.

⁸⁸⁵ The existence of Gimillu's private documents in the Eanna archive may be connected to the process of settling of accounts as was seen in Šum-ukīn's case. Beside YOS 21 209 two other private texts are known to us: a debt note for silver belonging to Gimillu's wife, WZKM 94, no. 2 (5 Camb), and his purchase of a slave, WZKM 94, no. 3 (acc Cyr), both published by Jursa 2004a: 113ff. 116f.

⁸⁸⁶ The signs are not clear, but could be read either as ^{giš}ku-si-še-e or ^{giš}ma-si-še-e. Either way, the meaning of the word is not known to me.

⁸⁸⁷ See for instance TCL 13 182, the transfer of Gimillu's rent farm to Bēl-gimlanni, in which it is stipulated that the lessee will dig a large canal with the funds of Eanna (l. 26).

⁸⁸⁸ Published and edited by Jursa 2004a: 126ff.

⁸⁸⁹ See TCL 12 117 (16 Nbn).

Appendix 5) and *imittu* lists (YOS 21 211 and YOS 17 300) were compiled, which suggests a regular progression of his rent farming business.

The reasons for charging Gimillu with an attempted assassination are a matter of pure speculation. It is not difficult to imagine that he was not particularly popular among the dependants of Eanna ever since his employment as a debt collector for the temple and that some of these people could have been spreading rumours about him. It remains questionable, though, whether Gimillu himself contributed to the rise of such rumours. Perhaps he was already at this point on bad terms with the temple administration, the *bēl piqitti* in particular, because of the unfavourable conditions of his rent contract, as Jursa suggested (2004a: 129). Be that as it may, during the first year of Darius some serious malpractices with regard to the rent farm for dates must have occurred, as a consequence of which the dates did not reach the temple. The temple administration investigated this in the first months of 2 Dar.

The first document we have from Darius's second year is from the third month: Truro 16 records that in the assembly of *mār banê* Gimillu returned to Nabû-tāriš, son of [x], descendant of Eṭēru, one mina of silver and a silver vessel weighing 51 shekels, which had been entrusted to him. The background of this matter is not known to us⁸⁹⁰ and its connotations for Gimillu's career are not clear. However, the next text, written on 12-IV-2 Dar, provides straightforward evidence for an offence (YNER 1 2). In it Gimillu swore not to have sold or given away as present the dates pertaining to the rent of the first year of Darius to anyone, except for the 90 *kurru* of dates to which he had confessed (earlier?): [¹gi-mil-lu (...) / (...) it-te-me ki-i zú-lum-ma / ^{gi8}bán šá mu 1-kam ¹da-ri-ia-a-mu-uš (...) / (...) a-na kù-babbar ad-di-in ù a-na re-e'-mu-t[u] / a-na man-ma a-re-e-me e-lat 90 gur zú-lum-ma / šá ¹gi-mil-lu e-li rama-ni-šú ú-ki-in (YNER 1 2: 1-7). The text is concluded with a conditional verdict, which stipulated the usual penalty, a thirty-fold payment of the owed dates in case a witness appeared who would testify against Gimillu. He admitted, presumably at earlier proceedings, to having misappropriated 90 *kurru* of dates. These probably stemmed from his rent farm and were supposed to be delivered to the temple. Gimillu denied having sold any other dates. Whether he was saying the truth or not, it is clear that the temple had tangible evidence at least for an amount of 90 *kurru* of dates. We are not told how he was penalised for this offence. This information would have been contained in a separate document which has not come down to us and may have entailed a thirty-fold penalty payment, i.e. 2,700 *kurru* of dates. At this point Gimillu's relationship with the temple administration was badly deteriorated. Only one day after this incident his rent farm was dissolved and transferred to Bēl-gimlanni (TCL 13 182, 13-IV-2 Dar).

For about two months we have no news about Gimillu. His next appearance is in a text written at the beginning of the sixth month of 2 Dar (TCL 13 181), which records the interrogation of his brother Iddināya by the temple administrators. The document is presented here in translation because Moore (1935: 185ff.), who edited the text, misunderstood some sections.⁸⁹¹

“Bēl-iddin, the administrator of Eanna, son of Sîn-ēreš, descendant of Epeš-ilī, and Barakki-ilī, the royal commissioner of Eanna, said to Iddināya, son of Innin-šum-ibni, the *širku* of Ištar of Uruk, as follows: ‘Certainly⁸⁹² there are (either) debt notes for dates and *break*,⁸⁹³ the impost of

⁸⁹⁰ Nabû-tāriš could be identical with the individual of the same name with the title butcher of Bēl and Esagil (*tābiḫu ša Bēl u Esagil*), who appears in the letter YOS 3 8: 15f. in connection with five minas of silver which Gimillu gave to three other men.

⁸⁹¹ See also the translation of this text by Joannès 2000a: 227 and the edition by Ragen 2006: 488ff..

⁸⁹² For the adverbial use of *ibašši* with the meaning “it is certain, certainly” see CAD B: 155. Note also Jursa's translation of this passage: “there must certainly be promissory notes for dates and break (read: barley), the impost on the fields belonging to the Lady of Uruk and Nanaja, under your care; or do you know where they have been put?” (Waezegggers (with a contribution by Jursa) 2008: 30).

⁸⁹³ A *hepi*-remark (literally “broken”) was used to record any breaks in the original manuscript when copying cuneiform tablets. Its appearance in a text is a clear sign that the text is a copy, usually made in the course of a scribal training. In TCL 13 181 there are four such remarks (ll. 4. 6. 19. 20), which indicates that the tablet is a copy and perhaps the product of an apprentice scribe. Interestingly, all of these remarks appear in the same part of a recurring phrase, namely: “debt notes and *break*”. In line 5 the “debt notes and *break*” are further designated as “the impost of plots, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya”, suggesting that the word obscured by the *hepi*-remark probably referred to some other kind of document connected to the yield

plots, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, at your disposal, or you know where they are being kept. The container⁸⁹⁴ with the debt notes and *break*, which are the property (of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya), which your wife Andia had deposited in the house of Kudurrānu, the slave of Rukanna, to whom do they belong?’ Iddināya swore in the assembly of the *mār banê* by Bēl, Nabû and Darius, king of Babylon, king of lands: ‘In the container⁸⁹⁵ with the debt notes, which Andia, my wife, deposited in the house of Kudurrānu, there is no property of the Lady of Uruk. Those are my debt notes.’ Then Bēl-iddin, the administrator of Eanna, and Barakki-ilī said to Iddināya as follows: ‘Why did you not give us the debt notes, which Gimillu, your brother, entrusted to you? We could not collect the dates.’ Iddināya said in the assembly of the *mār banê* as follows: ‘Gimillu, who had entrusted the debt notes and *break* to me, had written (to me) as follows: “Do not give the debt notes and *break* to anyone without my consent!”’
Uruk; 6-VI-2 Dar, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

Gimillu’s brother Iddināya was questioned about the debt notes which his wife deposited in the house of a privately owned slave and which the temple administration suspected were the property of the Lady of Uruk. He denied this under oath claiming that those debt notes were his property. Then the *šatammu* and the *bēl piqitti* reproached him for withholding the debt notes, which Gimillu had entrusted to him, thus making it impossible for them to collect the dates. To this he only replied that he had written instructions from Gimillu not to hand over the debt notes to anyone without his consent. These may have been the *imittu* debt notes from the first year of Darius (i.e. 1 Nbk IV) which have come down to us in a considerable number.⁸⁹⁶ It is conceivable that Gimillu intended to disrupt the temple administration in collecting these dates in order to do so himself and keep/sell them. Gimillu appears not to have been present at the proceedings. It seems that he was away from Uruk some time prior to this interrogation. This would explain the necessity to send written instructions to his brother about the debt notes in his keeping. Van Driel suggested that “Gimillu had absconded and had hidden his administration” (1998: 67), perhaps after realising that he would not be able to fulfil his rent obligations toward the temple.

Another document written in Gimillu’s absence was TCL 13 183. It was written on 6-VI-2 Dar, i.e. on the same day as the previously discussed interrogation of his brother, TCL 13 181. These two documents provide us with Gimillu’s last two attestations. TCL 13 183 is a short list recording the amounts of dates which Gimillu had collected as part of the impost for the first year of Darius. The heading reads: zú-lum-ma níg-ga dⁱinnin unug^{ki}/ šá ¹gi-mil-lu ul-tu zag a-šā^{mc}/ šá mu 1-kam ¹da-ri-ia-muš lugal tin-tir^{ki}/ lugal kur-kur iš-šu-ú iti kin ud 6-kam mu 2-kam (ll. 1-4). Only five entries are listed of which one records a payment in silver (1 mina) and two túg-kur-ra garments instead of dates. The other four deliveries amount to 130 *kurru* of dates (of which 15 *kurru* stemmed from Gimillu’s brother Iddināya). The significance of this text is hard to grasp; it is not possible to say whether these dates were (the only ones?) delivered to the temple as part of

estimation procedure. Terms like *lê’u* (wooden ledger) or *giṭtu* (receipt) spring to mind as possible reconstructions. Perhaps it is just a coincidence that all four *hepi*-remarks in this text appear in one particular recurring phrase and apparently refer to the same word. However, it also seems possible that the apprentice scribe could not read or understand the signs in the original (owing to his incapacity rather than the state of preservation of the tablet), and spared himself the embarrassment of having to ask his teacher for help by inserting this remark.

⁸⁹⁴ The signs are damaged in this part of the text, but a collation of the tablet at the Louvre resulted in the following reading: ‘gi nu uḥ¹ su šá ú-il-ti. The word we are looking for therefore must be ^{gi}*nushu*, a “(reed) container” (see CAD N II: 319 and AHW: 805 *sub nushu* with a late Babylonian variant *nushu*). Other types of containers, boxes and baskets, for storing clay tablets are also attested. In PTS 2075, for instance, we have encountered wooden (*quppu*) and reed (*šaddu*) containers used for keeping *imittu* debt notes (see p. 228). A similar phrasing is used again in TCL 13 181 in line 11 (see below). The visible traces suggest that one should probably reconstruct the same word as the one at the beginning of line 11 (*ki-i gi nu su e[?] šá ú-il-ti...*). Unfortunately, the signs in this line, which are legible and faithfully reproduced in Contenau’s copy, do not make much sense.

⁸⁹⁵ The signs at the beginning of line 11 read: *ki-i gi nu su e[?] šá ú-il-ti*. The sequence of four signs starting with *gi* does not seem to make much sense as written. In response to the interrogation by the temple administrators Iddināya picks up their phrasing. Therefore it is more than likely that here a garbled writing of the word *nushu/nushu* (with the determinative *gi*) which appears in line 6 is present (see also previous note).

⁸⁹⁶ Some 46 of those debt notes are known so far. See Appendix 5.

Gimillu's rent payment for 1 Dar, or whether they were the dates which he had collected, but failed to deliver to Eanna. Be that as it may, the text must have been connected to the final accounting done for Gimillu's rent farm for dates.

Unfortunately, this is the last attestation we have for Gimillu, as this period in general marks a break in the documentation of Eanna. Van Driel has suggested that the settling of accounts with Gimillu was connected to this break and that "we are dealing with a clean up of the office after certain problems had been resolved and a kind of *tabula rasa* had been created. In turn that would require a general making up of accounts, which would have been retained and which are, indeed, not present" (1998: 68). This process may have in fact provided us with what we call now the Eanna archive (*ibid.*: 68ff.). As van Driel rightly noted, this clean up did not signify the end of the administrative routine (*ibid.*: 67). Furthermore, the *causa* Gimillu was probably not closed by the middle of Darius's second year when this clean up took place, even if he was no longer around at that time.⁸⁹⁷ The presence of a large file of *imittu* debt notes for dates from Gimillu's rent farm may indicate "the winding up of his affairs", as van Driel suggests (*ibid.*: 68); however, this was probably restricted to the accounting for the date production. The absence of documents concerning the barley production is quite striking, considering that Gimillu himself complained about massive problems in this sphere of agricultural production. This indicates that the final accounting in this area was still ongoing when the date files were discarded. Thus the final stages of Gimillu's career in Eanna which concerned the settling of his accounts with respect to barley cultivation, which must have gone on even in his absence, remain undisclosed to us.

2.9.16.1. Attestations⁸⁹⁸ of Gimillu:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| NCBT 642: 1, 10 | - | incomplete legal text recording Gimillu's oath, concerning a watch duty |
| TCL 9 104: 2 | - | letter |
| YBC 4019: 3f. | - | list of various deliveries and disbursements |
| YOS 3 8: 1 | - | letter |
| YOS 3 19: 24f. | - | letter |
| VS 20 78: 3, rev. 7 ^c | 9-III-2 [x] | fragmentary, concerning the delivery of a donkey |
| AOAT 358, no. 10: 6 | 20-XII-8 Nbn | statement concerning the payment of a brick-tax |
| YOS 6 208: 6f. | 9-III-17 Nbn | legal, concerning cattle |
| PTS 3045: 8 | [x]-I ^{III} -[x] Cyr | house rental |
| ? WZKM 94, no. 3: 5 | 20-XII-acc Cyr | debt note for silver |
| YOS 7 7: 2, <i>passim</i> | 3-VI-1 Cyr | legal, concerning animal husbandry |
| TCL 13 125: 7 | 8-VIII-1 Cyr | legal, concerning animal husbandry |
| BM 114587: 8f. | 7-XII-2 Cyr | debt note for cattle (witness) |
| JCS 28, no. 2: 8 | 16-IX-3 Cyr | list of four persons in fetters who had been handed over to Gimillu |
| YOS 7 35: 2, <i>passim</i> | 27-XI-3 Cyr | legal, concerning animal husbandry |
| WZKM 94, no. 4: 14, 16, 20, 22 | 19-V-4 Cyr | legal, concerning animal husbandry |
| YOS 7 31: 5 | 11-VIII-4 Cyr | legal, concerning animal husbandry |
| TCL 13 134: 7 | 25-VIII-4 Cyr | legal, concerning animal husbandry |

⁸⁹⁷ It should be noted that the settlement of accounts accompanying a dissolution of a rent farm could take years. The rent farmer Kalbāya, for instance, who had lost his rent farm around 2 Cyr, appeared in the texts of the Eanna archive for the next six years collecting the arrears pertaining to his rent farm and having legal disputes with the farmers/gardeners.

⁸⁹⁸ The majority of these attestations stems from the temple archive proper. However, there are three texts (also included here) which record Gimillu's private activities and which originally must have belonged to his private archive: WZKM 94, no. 2 and no. 3, YOS 21 209. Gimillu's attestations in *imittu* debt notes are not included in this table. These texts are listed in Appendix 5.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|---|
| WZKM 94, no. 1: 13 | 8-IX-4 Cyr | legal testimony, concerning sheep |
| YOS 7 46: 4 | 17-IX-5 Cyr | account of cattle and sheep |
| BM 114542: 4, 15, 20 | [x-x-6 Cyr] | legal, concerning animal husbandry |
| YOS 7 58: 1 | 12-XII-6 Cyr | bail protocol |
| YOS 7 73: 14f. | [x]-VIII-8 Cyr | bail protocol |
| YOS 7 70: 3, 10 | 13-VIII-8 Cyr | legal, concerning Gūbarus orders to the temple administration with regard to the <i>širkus</i> |
| BM 114572: 6 | 27-IX-acc Camb | statement, concerning animal husbandry |
| YOS 7 102: 7, 10, 13, 19, 25 | 27-IX-acc Camb | legal, concerning a runaway <i>širku</i> |
| YOS 7 96: 22 | 28-IX-acc Camb | legal, concerning cattle |
| YOS 7 111: 1 | 13-V-1 Camb | bail protocol |
| NCBT 399: 27 | 3 Camb | <i>imittu</i> list for dates |
| YOS 7 149: 1 | 19-VI-3 Camb | legal, concerning animal husbandry |
| BM 113408: 16 | 3-VIII-3 Camb | legal, concerning animal husbandry |
| NCBT 1022: 11, 13 | 25-X-3 Camb | legal, concerning animal husbandry |
| PTS 2290: 6f. | 25-V-4 Camb | legal, testimony concerning plough oxen |
| WZKM 94, no. 2: 2, 3, 7, 9, 12 | 2-VI-5 Camb | debt note for silver |
| YOS 7 198: 10, 16 | 18-X-6 Camb | legal, concerning animal husbandry |
| YOS 21 205: 9f., 17 | [x]-X-acc Dar | legal, concerning work on a canal |
| Spar, <i>Studies</i> , no. 8: 6 | 4-I-1 Dar | lease of an orchard |
| WZKM 94, no. 5: 16, 23 | 18-I-1 Dar | legal testimony, concerning an alleged contract killing |
| YOS 17 300: 3 | 1 Nbk IV | <i>imittu</i> list for dates |
| YOS 21 211: 3 | 1 Nbk IV | <i>imittu</i> list for dates |
| YOS 21 214: 6, 7, 15 | [x]-[x]-1 Nbk IV | lease of an orchard |
| NCBT 677: 2', 17', 18' | 23-V-[1 Nbk IV] | lease of an orchard |
| YOS 21 207: 3 | 26-V-1 Nbk IV | land lease contract |
| YOS 21 208: 5', 6' | 30-V-1 Nbk IV | land lease contract |
| NCBT 630: 4, 5, 11 | 4-VI-1 [Nbk IV] | land lease contract |
| YOS 21 209: 6, 9f. | 5-VI-1 Nbk IV | sale contract for wooden objects |
| Truro 16: 6, 12 | 22-III-2 Dar | legal, recording Gimillu's pay back of an amount of silver and the returning of a silver vessel |
| YNER 1 2: 1, 7 | 12-IV-2 Dar | legal, Gimillu's oath concerning the selling or giving away of dates of the temple |
| TCL 13 182: 4 | 13-IV-2 Dar | rent contract |
| TCL 13 181: 16, 18 | 6-VI-2 Dar | legal, interrogation concerning the whereabouts of <i>imittu</i> debt notes |
| TCL 13 183: 2 | 6-VI-2 Dar | account of <i>imittu</i> dates taken by Gimillu |

2.9.17. Bēl-gimlanni

Bēl-gimlanni, son of Madān-ēreš, replaced the rent farmer Gimillu in this office in 2 Dar. This is evident from the contract TCL 13 182 which has been translated and discussed in the previous chapter. However, Bēl-gimlanni appears in the texts of the Eanna archive already in the second year of Cambyses (YOS 7 129). He was a *širku* of the Lady of Uruk and the son of the brewer Madān-ēreš, who was probably also a *širku* (Kleber 2005: 313). Bēl-gimlanni's father was

engaged in brewing beer for profane purposes (as opposed to prebendary brewers) and is attested in this function from 2 to 11 Nbn (Kleber *ibid.*). At the beginning of his career Bēl-gimlanni apparently followed in his father's steps. In 2 Camb (YOS 7 129) he is attested in a document stating his obligation to deliver by a certain date 200 vats of quality beer for the royal palace in Abanu.⁸⁹⁹ He was to brew this beer from the dates which the temple gave him for the provisioning of the king.

In his next attestation from 4 Camb (*AnOr* 8 74) Bēl-gimlanni appears without a patronymic and a title. Therefore this identification with our Bēl-gimlanni is quite uncertain. The text deals with a girl, Nuptāya, who had been sold by her father, a copper-smith and a *širku* of the Lady of Uruk. This sale was unlawful, probably because the girl too was a temple oblate. After being returned to the temple Nuptāya was entrusted to Bēl-gimlanni (l. 11: *ina pān* Bēl-gimlanni *paqdat*). If this identification is correct, then it appears that Bēl-gimlanni advanced from his brewer's career and held greater responsibilities within the temple administration.

In his next attestation (YBC 4173) he appears with the title *ša muḫḫi quppi*, "official in charge of the cash-box". This official was in a broader sense in charge of temple resources and temple income in precious metals. The term *quppu*, "basket, box, case", (originally) designated a container set up at the entrance to the temple for donations of the visitors to the sanctuary, and the *ša muḫḫi quppi* was the person responsible for this container and the income that came with it (Kleber 2008: 28f.). In YBC 4173, a list of various silver and wool expenditures, Bēl-gimlanni acts in one entry as the source of silver for which date rations for the cattle fatteners were bought: ll. 1-3: 10 gín kù-babbar *a-na* 12 gur zú-lum-ma / *ina pad*^{mc lu} *mu-<šá>-kil* gu₄ *šuk^l-lu-lu^{mc}* / ^{ld}*en-šu-an-na šá muḫ-ḫi qu-up-pu* ("10 shekel silver for 12 *kurru* of dates, as part of the rations of the fatteners of the flawless bulls, (received from) Bēl-gimlanni, the one in charge of the cash-box").

Bēl-gimlanni appears with the title *ša muḫḫi quppi* also in the rent contract TCL 13 182; however, this text does not elucidate the functions of this official in any way. The letter YOS 3 156,⁹⁰⁰ on the other hand, may offer some clues in this respect. It is a letter sent by Nabû-mukīn-apli to Arad-Marduk and Iddināya. The sender of the letter could be identical with the *šatammu* Nabû-mukīn-apli, who is attested from 6 Cyr to 6 Camb and Arad-Marduk could be the temple scribe (*tupšar Eanna*) attested from 4 Cyr to 6 Camb.⁹⁰¹ Iddināya could not be identified. Among other things Nabû-mukīn-apli requests that a certain Ninurta-nāšir be sent to him as soon as possible and that he be supplied with one shekel of silver for his travel provisions. The silver is to be taken from Bēl-gimlanni: 1 gín kù-babbar / *ina šu^{ll} id-en-gi-mil-an-na / i-šá-nim-ma a-na / ši-di-ti-šú in-na-šú* (ll. 16-19). Thus, if the identification with our Bēl-gimlanni here is correct, this could be another illustration of his activities as a *ša muḫḫi quppi* similar to those exemplified in YBC 4173. In other words, the *ša muḫḫi quppi* served as a treasurer, perhaps in situations when *ad hoc* expenditures arose. This is at least the impression one gets from YBC 4173 and YOS 3 156; however, it is not sure whether his function should be thus narrowed down on the basis of only two texts.

Be that as it may, Bēl-gimlanni's career did not stop at this fairly responsible post. Still in his function of a *ša muḫḫi quppi* in 2 Dar he became the *ša muḫḫi sūti* taking over the rent farm from the *širku* Gimillu, whose relationship with the temple authorities had by then been damaged beyond repair. This incident recorded in TCL 13 182 has been discussed in detail above (see p. 239). From the fourth month of the second regnal year of Darius Bēl-gimlanni was in control of arable land and orchards of the Lady of Uruk for which he annually had to deliver 10,000 *kurru* of barley and 12,000 *kurru* of dates.⁹⁰² He not only accepted to work under the conditions which Gimillu rejected (in other words to till an area of 1,000 *kurru* with only 200 heads of cattle, which would make 20 *kurru* of land per plough team), he also offered a donation of ten flawless bulls for

⁸⁹⁹ It was one of the Eanna temple's obligations to supply the royal palace in Abanu with food and other commodities for the consumption of the king and his entourage when they resided there. This palace served as a stopover for the king when travelling between his residences. This has been discussed by San Nicolò 1949: 323ff. and now more recently by Kleber 2008: 85ff. The text YOS 7 129 which deals with the beer provisions for this palace has been translated by Kleber 2005: 314.

⁹⁰⁰ Edited by Ebeling 1930-34: 126f.

⁹⁰¹ For these officials see Kleber 2008: 34 and 36 respectively.

⁹⁰² This was in addition to the rations of the governor of Esagil, the scribes, the gatekeepers, and the measurers.

the regular offerings of the Lady of Uruk. This act of ingratiation indicates that Bēl-gimlanni was a wealthy man when he undertook the responsibility of managing the rent farm, which was probably a prerequisite for such an enterprise in the first place. On the whole, it appears that Bēl-gimlanni entertained very good relationships with the temple authorities.⁹⁰³ The concessions that were refused to Gimillu were gladly granted to the new rent farmer: the temple authorities promised to provide him with another 200 heads of cattle and 50 additional workers in the second year of his lease, which would practically half the work load of the plough teams. Whether they followed through with this offer is not known. The further development of Bēl-gimlanni's rent farm also remains in the dark for archival reasons. However, in the letter YOS 3 40⁹⁰⁴ there is some indication that at least for one year Bēl-gimlanni managed to meet his annual rent for barley. The sender of the letter, Bēl-nādin-apli, could not be identified. He writes to Bēl-gimlanni and quotes the *šatammu* at the beginning of the letter, who had told him that Bēl-gimlanni had delivered 10,000 *kurru* of barley in the previous year: ^{lu}šà-tam a-kan-na / iq-ta-ba-a um-ma 10 lim gur še-bar / šad-da-qad ^{id}en-gi-mil-an-nu / a-na é-an-na it-ta-din (ll. 4-7). Bēl-nādin-apli goes on to ask Bēl-gimlanni to deliver the remaining barley for rations, which he had sent for earlier and of which only a portion had been paid out. The magnitude of Bēl-gimlanni's delivery of barley, namely 10,000 *kurru*, makes it practically certain that this letter referred to his rent payment and that the letter should be dated to after Darius's second regnal year. Interestingly, even though Bēl-gimlanni is said to have delivered the 10,000 *kurru* to Eanna he still could dispose of and withhold some of this barley which had been intended for rations. Does this mean that the delivery to the temple was an administrative fiction and that the barley was in fact kept elsewhere, e.g., in local granaries? Or does the issuing of barley for rations have something to do with Bēl-gimlanni's other function, that of the *ša muḫḫi quppi*? Unfortunately, at the present state of our documentation these questions cannot be answered.

2.9.17.1. Attestations of Bēl-gimlanni:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|--|
| YOS 3 116: 10, 14 | - (Camb) | letter |
| YOS 3 156: 17 | - (Camb) | letter |
| YOS 7 129: 2f. | 11-III-2 Camb | legal, concerning obligation to deliver beer |
| ? <i>AnOr</i> 8 74: 11 | 7-IV-4 Camb | legal, concerning an unlawful sale of a <i>širkatu</i> |
| YBC 4173: 3 | 24-VI-1 (Nbk IV) | list of silver and wool disbursements |
| TCL 13 182: 1, 9, 15, 22, 28, 29 | 13-IV-2 Dar | rent contract |
| YOS 3 40: 2, 6 | - (> 2Dar) | letter |

2.9.18. Šullum

After a gap of some 27 years the rent farm is again mentioned in the texts of the Eanna archive: the *sūtu* appears in our documentation again in 29 Dar in connection with an individual called Šullum, who is also designated as the *šatammu* of Eanna. He is attested in two texts, both of which are dated to the 29th regnal year of Darius. No filiation is attested for Šullum.

YBC 4021 records a delivery of dates to the bakers in the year 29 (of Darius). The dates are said to stem from the rent farm (*sūtu*) of Šullum, the *šatammu* of Eanna. Beaulieu (2003: 260 note

⁹⁰³ These good relationships are perhaps also reflected in the letter YOS 3 116, if the identification with our Bēl-gimlanni is correct. The letter was written by the overseer of the temple oblates (*rab širkē*), Innin-aḫḫē-iddin, to Nādin, who should probably be identified with the high ranking scribe of Eanna who was active from 12 Nbn to 4 Camb (Kleber 2008: 35). Innin-aḫḫē-iddin complained about the lack of esteem shown to him despite his faithful service: "For twenty years I have kept watch for all of you. (But) I am not worth as much in your eyes as Bēl-gimlanni. It is on the orders of Bēl-gimlanni that my house is being ruined, (and) the people of my household are in detention" (ll. 6-18) (translation by Stolper 2003: 286).

⁹⁰⁴ The letter is edited by Ebeling 1930-34: 34ff. and Cocquerillat 1968: 104. 140.

169) quotes the heading of this text as: zú-lum-ma šá a-na ma-ak-ka-su / šá iti ʿzizʿ mu 29-ʿkam^{gi8ʷ} ʿbán šá ʿšul-lu-mu / ʿšà-tam é-an-na ʿšáʿ ʿ60-šes^{meš}-su / a-na ʿmuhaldim^{meš} i-din-nu (“Dates which Anu-aḥḥē-erība had given as *makkasu* to the bakers in the eleventh month of the 29th year from the *sūtu* of Šullum, the chief administrator of Eanna”).

A list of *maššartu* disbursements, *AoF* 31, p. 253 (= PTS 2180⁹⁰⁵), also records provisions of barley to the bakers from the rent of Šullum. In this text, however, he appears without a title. The heading of this text reads: še-bar šá a-na maš-šar-tu₄ šá iti šu iti ne / iti kin¹ mu 29-kam ʿda-ri-ia-a-muš / lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur ʿdu-um-muq / ina^{gi8ʷ} ʿbán šá ʿšul-lu-mu a-na ʿmu^{meš} sum-na (“Barley which Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Dummuq, gave as *maššartu* for the fourth, fifth and sixth month of the 29th year of Darius, king of Babylon, king of lands, to the bakers from the *sūtu* of Šullum”). The total amount of barley disbursed was over 573 *kurru*.

Though Šullum is not attested with the title *ša muḥḥi sūti*, it is evident that he was directly involved with agricultural production on a managerial level.⁹⁰⁶ He probably rented both arable land and date orchards as he supplied the temple with both barley and dates. Unfortunately not much more can be said about Šullum’s rent farm, its scope and the conditions under which he worked. However, these attestations demonstrate a degree of continuity for the system of the *ferme générale* in Eanna after the clean up of the temple archive.

2.9.18.1. Attestations of Šullum:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|--------------------------|-------------|---|
| YBC 4021: 2 | XI-29 (Dar) | list of dates given out as <i>makkasu</i> to the bakers |
| <i>AoF</i> 31, p. 253: 4 | 29 Dar | list of barley given out as <i>maššartu</i> to the bakers |

2.9.19. Local rent farmers

2.9.19.1. Nergal-īpuš

Another local rent farmer, Nergal-īpuš, was in charge of the district Angillu (*ša muḥḥi sūti ša Angillu*) according to BM 114454 from 8 Nbn. The text records a debt of 30 *kurru* of barley and 30 *kurru* of spelt (in exchange for 60 *kurru* of spelt), the property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya, which were given to Nergal-īpuš’s messenger Sāniq at his orders and which were charged against this messenger.

The next attestation of Nergal-īpuš, if this is indeed the same person, comes from 2 Cyr from a not entirely clear legal text concerning digging obligations of the rent farmers (YOS 7 14⁹⁰⁷). Nergal-īpuš, again without a patronymic, is designated only as *ša muḥḥi sūti* here. It appears that he shared obligations for canal digging with the rent farmer Kalbāya, from the Basia family.

Again, as is the case with all of these meagrely attested rent farmers, little can be said about Nergal-īpuš’s social background and the scope of his enterprise. It is not even clear whether he was farming temple land. On the one hand, this seems possible since Eanna owned land in the district Angillu. On the other, it is equally possible that he was a local rent farmer responsible for land which did not belong to the temple, who was perhaps connected to the royal administration in this area.

2.9.19.1.1. Attestations of Nergal-īpuš:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|------|------|----------|
|------|------|----------|

⁹⁰⁵ The text is edited by Kessler 2004: 253ff. in *Altorientalische Forschungen* 31.

⁹⁰⁶ It is not very likely that he should have been imposed a rent payment at the level of a simple cultivator being the administrator of the temple and considering the amounts of commodities he provided.

⁹⁰⁷ The text is edited by Cocquerillat (1968: 85. 134); see also above p. 189 for comments on this text.

BM 114454: 4
YOS 7 14: 5, 11

28-X-8 Nbn debt note for barley
4^{or 5}-III-2 Cyr legal, concerning digging obligations

2.9.19.2. Diḥummu

Only two attestations of Diḥummu, both without a patronymic, from 2 Camb (NCBT 666) and 4 Camb (YOS 7 165) are known so far. In NCBT 666 he is designated as a rent farmer of Bīt-Amukanu (*ša muḥḥi sūti ša Bīt-Amukanu*), which was a Chaldean area in southern Babylonia. The text itself is a debt note for 150 *kurru* of dates and barley each, property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya, which are charged against a certain Bānia, son of Innin-šum-[x], descendant of Gimil-Nanāya. These 300 *kurru* were the tithe (*ešrū*) of the *mār banê* of Bīt-Amukanu, which is described as the area between Babylon and Uruk delimited by Takkīru and Nār-šarri up to the “*ešrū* of Diḥummu”. This probably refers to the land from which the *ešrū*-tax was to be levied and it implies that Diḥummu was responsible for collecting the tithe in this region:

NCBT 666

14-IX-2 Camb

- obv. 1. 1 me 50 gur še-bar 1 me 50 gur zú-lum-ma pab 3 me gur
še-bar ù zú-lum-ma eš-ru-ú šá^{lú} dumu dù-i^{meš}
šá kur é¹a-muk-a-nu ul-tu unug^{ki} a-di tin-tir^{ki}
^{id}tak-ki-ru ù íd-lugal la e-bi-ri a-di
5. eš-ru-ú šá^{lú} di-ḥu-um-mu^{lú} šá ugu^{giš} bán
šá é¹a-muk-a-nu ní-ga^d innin unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a
ina ugu¹ ba-ni-ia dumu-šú šá^{ld} in-nin-mu-ú-[x]
dumu¹ šu-na-na-a ina¹ itⁱ gu⁴ u itⁱ du⁶
[zú-lu]m-ma pab 3 me gur še-bar ù zú-lum-ma
10. [a-na ní-ga] é-an-na i-nam-din
[x x x x x] x¹ šá itⁱ du⁶ mu 2-kam
lo.e. [kam-bu-zi-i] a lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-k[ur]
[x x x x x x x] x¹ zú-lum-ma
rev. [x x x x x x x] kur é¹a-muk-a-nu
15. [^{lú}mu-kin-nu] ba-ni-ia [a-šú šá x x x x]
[a x x x] en-na-din-ibila a-šú šá¹ ir^d en a¹ ki-^din¹ -[amar-utu]
[x x x] a-šú šá^{ld} amar-utu-mu-mu a [x x] dù [x x]
[x x x x x] x¹ a¹ [x x x]
^{ld}15-numun-[x ...]
20. ^{ld}utu-numun-m[u x x] x¹ [x ...]
¹na-di-nu dub-sar šá [é-an-na a-šú šá^{ld}e]n-šeš^{meš}-[ba-šá]
a¹e-gi-bi¹ [r^dama]r-utu dub-sar šá é-[an-na a-šú šá^{ld}amar-utu-mu-mu]
a^{ld}en-a-ùru unug^{ki} itⁱ gan ud 14-kam
mu 2-kam¹ kam-bu-zi-ia lugal tin-tir^{ki}
u.e. 25. lugal kur-kur

“150 *kurru* of barley, 150 *kurru* of dates, in total 300 *kurru* of barley and dates, the tithe of the *mār banê* from the area of Bīt-Amukanu, (stretching) from Uruk to Babylon, (from) Takkīru and the near bank⁹⁰⁸ of Nār-šarri up to the *ešrū*-(land) of Diḥummu, the rent farmer of Bīt-Amukanu, the property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, are charged against Bānia, son of Innin-šum-[x], descendant of Gimil-Nanāya. In the second month he will deliver the barley and in the seventh month the dates, in total 300 *kurru* of barley and dates, to Eanna. [...] of the seventh month of the second regnal year of [Cambys]es, king of Babylon, king of Lands. [...] the dates [...] the area of Bīt-Amukanu [...].

[Witnesses:] Bānia, [son of x, descendant of x],

⁹⁰⁸ The text reads here “Nār-šarri lā ebēri/ebir”, implying that the *ešrū*-area did not extend beyond the Nār-šarri, i.e. with respect to the Takkīru which was south-west of the royal canal, not beyond its left bank.

Bēl-nādin-apli, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Kidin-[Marduk],
 [x], son of Marduk-šum-iddin, descendant of [x]-bān-[x],
 [x, son of x], descendant of [x],
 Ištar-zēr-[x, son of x, descendant of x],
 Šamaš-zēr-id[din, son of x, descendant of x],
 Scribes: Nādin, *tuššar* [Eanna, son of Bēl]-aḥḥē-[iqīša], descendant of Egibi,
 Iddin-[Mar]duk, *tuššar* E[anna, son of Marduk-šum-iddin, descendant of
 Bēl-apla-ušur;
 Uruk; 14-IX-2 Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

In YOS 7 165⁹⁰⁹ (4 Camb) Diḥummu appears only as a *ša muḥḥi sūti*; however, a break after the title could have contained the addition [*ša Bīt-Amukanu*]. The text records an oath of a certain Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit who claims to have given the barley intended for the flour for the meal of the king⁹¹⁰ to a certain Nabû-aḥ-iddin.⁹¹¹ The barley had been measured out by Diḥummu on the order of the *sēpiru* Itti-Nabû-balātu. Unfortunately the identity of most of the protagonists is uncertain and the background of this matter is not clear. The flour delivery was intended for the king and it is conceivable that this text refers to the obligation of the temple to supply the royal palace in Abanu, which was probably one of the stops along the king’s journey from Susa to Babylon.⁹¹²

Not much is revealed by these texts about the terms under which Diḥummu was conducting his business. In NCBT 666, in particular, one gets the impression that he collected the tithe in Bīt-Amukanu for the Eanna temple, though the land may not have necessarily been temple property.⁹¹³ In YOS 7 165 he measured out barley for the flour of the king, which is delivered via another person (Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit) to the temple. At the same time, to judge by his title, he was a local rent farmer who worked in the area of Bīt-Amukanu. It is not clear whether Diḥummu was directly connected to the temple in this function or whether he was perhaps employed by some royal institution. Since the evidence is so scarce this remains highly speculative. At any rate it is interesting to note the interaction between the temple and the surrounding tribal areas, which were not necessarily under its administration.

2.9.19.2.1. Attestations of Diḥummu:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|--------------|--------------|---|
| NCBT 666: 5 | 14-IX-2 Camb | debt note for dates and barley |
| YOS 7 165: 5 | 24-V-4 Camb | oath concerning the whereabouts of barley |

2.9.19.3. Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi

Another local rent farmer was Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi, who is not attested with a patronymic. He appears as the rent farmer on Nār-Piqūdu (*ša muḥḥi sūti ša muḥḥi Nār-Piqūdu*) in the second

⁹⁰⁹ The text is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 84. 133.

⁹¹⁰ Line 6-7: “... a-na zid-da a-na [*nap-ta-nu*] / *ša lugal*”. This reconstruction is suggested by Cocquerillat. An alternative reconstruction could be *šušbuttu*.

⁹¹¹ This may have been the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna. His name is followed by the sign lú and a break in the text. Before the break only two horizontal wedges are visible which could be the beginning of the sign sag. Cocquerillat suggests reconstructing the title as ^{lú}[sag lugal]; however, there seems to be no space for the full title and the verbal form (reconstructed as [*at-ta-din*] by Cocquerillat), unless the scribe wrote around the edge of the tablet.

⁹¹² Several texts from the second regnal year of Cambyses attest the temple’s obligation to supply the palace in Abanu with beer, flour, sheep and goats and so on (see Kleber 2008: 88ff.).

⁹¹³ See Jursa 1998: 8f.

regnal year of Cambyses in TCL 13 150.⁹¹⁴ According to Zadok (1985: 351) this watercourse flowed east of Babylon and then southwards toward Nippur and Uruk. This may indicate that the responsibilities of the rent farmer of Nār-Piqūdu covered a large territory. TCL 13 150 records the obligation of Agria, son of Nabû-dalā, who is elsewhere attested as a *rab epinni*, to levy ten *urāšu*-workers from the ploughmen for the work on the canal Ḫarri-kibbi; he is obliged to deliver these workers whenever Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi, the rent farmer of Nār-Piqūdu, writes asking for them. Judging by the element *šarru* in the rent farmer's name, an element typical for the names of royal officials, it seems probable that Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi was a member of the royal administration. The text demonstrates then how the temple was obliged to provide workers from its contingent of ploughmen for the employment at royal digging projects and how Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi was involved in the organisation of this work.

Furthermore, the not so common name allows for the assumption that this rent farmer was the same person as Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi, who is attested with the title *mašennu* in the third regnal year of Nabonidus in TCL 13 227. The *mašennu* was a high royal official with responsibilities for the maintenance of the irrigation system and the royal estates.⁹¹⁵ According to TCL 13 227, an account of temple income in agricultural products, Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi, had large amounts of agricultural staples at his disposal: “6,645 *kurru* of barley, dates and spelt and 2,000 *kurru* of *kasia*, the ar[rears] of barley, spelt and dates, which at the drawing up of accounts in the tenth month of the third year of Nabo[nidus], king of Babylon, [remained] at the disposal of Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi, the *mašennu*, in Babylon”.⁹¹⁶ The connection between the temple and the *mašennu* is not elucidated in the text. It appears, however, that the temple was entitled to the commodities reckoned as this official's arrears.

The author of the letter BIN 1 8 is probably the same Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi attested in the two Louvre texts. Here he writes to Nādin, who could perhaps be identified with the Eanna scribe Nādin, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša, from the Egibi family (attested from 12 Nbn to 4 Camb, see Kleber 2008: 35). In this letter⁹¹⁷ he asks for workers (*šābu*) to be sent to him to take up work (*mešḫa šabātu*). Possibly this implied digging work on an irrigation canal and would fit well with Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi's responsibilities illustrated by TCL 13 150.

2.9.19.3.1. Attestations of Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi:

| Text | Date | Contents |
|-----------------|---------------|--|
| BIN 1 8: 1 | - | letter |
| TCL 13 227: 5 | - (7 Nbn) | account of incoming agricultural staples from 3 to 7 Nbn |
| TCL 13 150: 4f. | 14-III-2 Camb | legal, concerning obligations of a <i>rab epinni</i> to levy workers |

⁹¹⁴ The text has been edited by Moore (1935: 150f.), translated by Cocquerillat (1968: 100) and re-edited here on p. 105.

⁹¹⁵ For the *mašennu* see now Jursa 2010b: 80f. with references to earlier studies on this official. According to Jursa he was “oberster Bevollmächtigter für landwirtschaftliche Angelegenheiten” (p.: 80).

⁹¹⁶ TCL 13 227, ll. 3-5: 6,645 gur šc-bar zú-lum-ma u šc-zíz-àm ù 2,000 gur gazi^{sar} r[e-ḫe-et] / šc-bar šc-zíz-àm u zú-lum-ma šá ina e-peš níg-ka, šá ina iti ab mu 3-kam^d ag-[i] / lugal tin-tir^{ki} ina igi^{ld} ag-din-lugal-iq-bi^{li} agrig ina tin-tir^{ki} [re-ḫi].

⁹¹⁷ BIN 1 8 is edited in Ebeling 1930-34: 164f. and Cocquerillat 1968: 100f. 139.

2.9.20. Rent farmers – Summary and Conclusions

Cocquerillat dedicated the third part of her study on the date cultivation in Uruk to the evolution of the rent farm system in Eanna, describing the origins and the forerunners of the rent farm, its creation and break up and finally its re-creation (1968: 91ff.). A closer look at the evidence, which is, granted, now more complete, shows that neither her division of the stages of the system's development is justified, nor are her interpretations of the royal interference in the organisation of the temple agriculture tenable. According to Cocquerillat's overall assessment of the rent farm in Uruk, this was a successful system (*ibid.*: 104). It is not clear on which criteria this assessment was based. As regards the present state of information, a quantification of the success of the rent farm in Eanna is not possible: except for TCL 13 227, no accounts are available from the temple archive. The goals set by the temple administration, especially for barley cultivation, were over-enthusiastic considering the amount of work force and the means of production supplied by the temple. Apparently, the rent farmer was expected to provide up to 50 % of the human and animal labour. The rent contracts are not explicit about this figure, but a comparison of the prescribed workloads (20 - 30 *kurru* of land per plough team) and the actual manageable workloads found in the texts from Sippar (10 - 15 *kurru*) allows for this conclusion. In other words, the successful meeting of the goals for arable farming depended on the ability of the rent farmer to provide additional work force, draught animals and tools. This line of the rent farmer's work, however, remains beyond the scope of our documentation. The figures which appear in the rent contracts, the *sūtu*-obligations, are not indicative of the actual income of the temple. However, the account TCL 13 227 suggests that the prognostication for date farming was more realistic than the one for barley cultivation. Or rather, that the rent farmers put in more effort to reach the quota for date deliveries, probably at the expense of arable cultivation (see below). In addition to these rather general remarks on the success of the rent farm, it can be pointed out that the system was generally stable and exhibited a large degree of continuity. In this somewhat restricted sense one can agree with Cocquerillat and speak of a successful system. The creation of the rent farm system, however, is more difficult to pinpoint than is suggested by her (*ibid.*: 91).⁹¹⁸

2.9.20.1. Origins of the rent farm system

It has been speculated on the origins of the rent farm and its forerunners on several occasions. Cocquerillat (1968: 92) sought to find them in the structures of the internal organisation to which certain temple officials, “chefs du culture”,⁹¹⁹ belonged. Joannès (1982: 127ff.) followed in a similar vein looking for the proto-rent farmer in the official *lú gal apin^{mc(s)/i}* (i.e. *rab ikkarāti*). This idea was again picked up by Cocquerillat at a later stage, when she suggested that the “super-farmier” (i.e. *rab ikkarāti*) was the forerunner of the *ša muḫḫi sūti* (1984a: 145). Jursa challenged this interpretation by pointing out that there is no conceptual connection between the two functionaries as the former was a member of the temple staff with whom the temple farmed its own land, while the latter was an entrepreneur managing indirectly the institution's agricultural production (1995a: 87, cf. also p. 25). In theory this observation rings true; however, it exaggerates a distinction between an entrepreneur and a temple official which in practice was not as sharply drawn. While the temple officials were no independent economic agents, and thus can be hardly qualified as entrepreneurs, their activities nevertheless bore entrepreneurial traits. These officials were frequently risk takers (whether voluntary or not is a different matter) with a dual role – they were managers employed by the temple that at the same time worked for personal profit and also carried personal liability. This is in accord with a model for institutional officials of the Ur III period developed by Wilcke (2006: 113) and summarized by Jursa (2010b: 292): “Officials are

⁹¹⁸ That Šum-ukīn was not the “founder” of the rent farm system has already been discussed (p. 176). See also below.

⁹¹⁹ The translation of the title is imprecise as Cocquerillat uses it to refer to two different types of officials, namely the *rab ikkarāti* and the *bēl epinni* (the former official is occasionally rendered by her as “super-farmier”, for instance, on p. 99).

entitled to profit in person from the sector of institutional business for which they are responsible provided they fulfil their obligation vis-à-vis the institution. Offices, according to Wilcke, should be conceptualised as ‘prebends’ (*beneficia*) from which it was acceptable, even expected, to draw personal gain.” The temple officials in the agricultural sector were designated already by van Driel as proto-entrepreneurs. He also noted that the temple administration “prepared the ground for more extensive entrepreneurial activities by granting bigger and bigger leases” to these officials, the proto-entrepreneurs (1999: 216). In this light, it is understandable why Joannès and Cocquerillat thought to have found the proto-rent farmers among the temple officials, the *rab ikkarāti* in particular.

The internal organisation of the temple agriculture and its various officials such as the *rab ešerti*, the *gugallu* and the *rab ikkarāti* have been discussed in individual chapters. It has been shown that these officials had *sūtu* obligations toward the temple. The *rab ešertis* and the *rab ikkarāti*,⁹²⁰ in particular, had to manage land and plough teams which were assigned to them and had to deliver a presumably fixed rent.⁹²¹ Perhaps there were even instances of voluntary (additional) leasing of land on the part of these officials.⁹²² At any rate, these temple officials managed the cultivation of the temple land in a similar manner as the later *ša muḫḫi sūti*, but certainly on a much smaller scale. The main difference lay in the amount of personal assets they could invest in the cultivation of the land entrusted to them.⁹²³ One could argue then that these agricultural managers were in fact the first rent farmers, if one defines a rent farmer as a person who leases land for a fixed rent, which he cannot cultivate on his own due to its size, i.e. he has to manage two or more plough teams.⁹²⁴ It is among these agricultural managers, the small-scale rent

⁹²⁰ A number of them appears in Nergal-nāšir’s rent contract from 35 Nbk (VS 20 88, see p. 152 for an edition). Nergal-nāšir took over the land which had previously been managed by Ibni-Ištar, son of Nabû-šum-ibni, and Nabû-šum-ibni, son of Šüzūbu. Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter and Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim are also mentioned in connection to plough teams which are shared between them and the new rent farmer. All of these people are known from other sources as *rab ešertis*. Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim is later also attested with the title *rab ikkarāti*, and Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter and Ibni-Ištar also appear as *gugallus*.

⁹²¹ This is suggested by the use of the term *sūtu* in connection to their deliveries of agricultural products. The size of the rent, and their obligations in general, were apparently not contractually fixed. This was not necessary as these people were temple dependents, they belonged to the internal administration, and their obligations were based on customary practice.

⁹²² No such contracts are known for any of the agricultural officials of Eanna, but there is one from the Ebabbar of Sippar. According to CT 55 88 (date broken) Šamaš-iddin, son of Balātu, a ploughman of Šamaš, who is known from other texts also as a *rab ikkarāti* (Jursa 1995a: 24f.), leased from the temple 50 *kurru* of land for cultivation against a fixed rent (the amount is lost in a break). This was probably not the only rent contract of Šamaš-iddin. It appears that he also had a sharecropping agreement with the temple, at least at the beginning of his career. This is indicated by an *imittu* list (Nbk. 131) in which he appears with a *šibšu*- and an *ešrū*-obligation, which is at the same time his first attestation from the Ebabbar-archive (Jursa 1995a: 24). He was therefore not only responsible for the collection and delivery of the *sūtu* obligations of his fellow *ikkarus* in his function of a *rab ikkarāti*, but he also entertained a contractual relationship with the temple.

⁹²³ These temple officials were not entirely without means. We know of at least two agricultural *rab ešertis*, who were originally simple temple ploughmen and *širkus*, who had considerable property, real estate and slaves. This property ended up in the temple’s possession on account of their debts toward the temple. Silim-Bēl, son of Aplāya, had a plot of land (600 cubits are given as one measurement) worth 4 minas of silver according to TCL 12 38 and at least one slave according to *AnOr* 8 50. Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, who was also a *rab ikkarāti* for a while, owned a date orchard according to the text Montserrat 1. However, their personal assets were limited compared to those of an independent entrepreneur such as Šum-ukīn, for instance.

⁹²⁴ There were, of course, big differences in the scale of the rent farm. While Šum-ukīn had 6,000 *kurru* of land and 100 plough teams at his disposal, Šamaš-iddin, the *rab ikkarāti* from Ebabbar, would have needed only two to three plough teams for his plot of 50 *kurru* by the standard accounting models. It is not clear where (or whether) one should draw the line between small- and large-scale rent farmers. As a hypothesis, if one took the title *ša muḫḫi sūti* to indicate the large-scale rent farmer, then this line could lie somewhere around an annual rent of 5,000 *kurru* of barley. The *ša muḫḫi sūti* Ibni-Ištar, son of Balātu, for instance, had to pay a rent of that size and had 25 ploughs under him according to his contract from 11 Nbn (YOS 6 150). Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni, however, had an annual rent of over 4,000 *kurru* of barley in 35 Nbk (VS 20 88), and in subsequent years he managed other, smaller farms, but he never appeared with the title *ša muḫḫi sūti*.

farmers, that one should look for the precursors of the *ša muḫḫi sūti*. Rather, one should characterise Šamaš-iddin, the *rab ikkarāti* from Ebabbar, his counterpart from Eanna, Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim, and his colleagues as these proto-entrepreneurs who paved the way for the larger leases granted first to people who were connected to the temple administration, like Nergal-nāšir, and subsequently to outsiders, like the Basias.

So, the precursors for the organisational changes which were exhibited in the large-scale rent farm of Šum-ukīn (and Ana-amāt-Bēl-atkal in Ebabbar) are not to be found in the activities of the officials of the temple's direct exploitation of its land, but in the responsibilities taken on by the small-scale rent farmers of that time. Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni, was a rent farmer, whose rent contract VS 20 88 (35 Nbk) is the earliest such contract we have from Eanna. His rent farm marked a transition from the exploitation of temple land through temple officials/small-scale rent farmers (or van Driel's proto-entrepreneurs) to its management by entrepreneurs from outside the system. Though Nergal-nāšir's institutional affiliation is not certain – there is a possibility that he was a temple oblate and he may have been involved in Eanna's animal husbandry – there is no evidence that he was a member of the temple's direct agricultural management. It appears that he joined this sector of the temple's economy as a 'semi-outsider' taking over an area previously managed by two individuals, who were also temple officials (*rab ešertis*). From this rent contract we also learn that at the same time as Nergal-nāšir's rent farm was set up other *rab ešertis* remained active (Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim and Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter), probably as proto-entrepreneurs.

2.9.20.2. Creation and development of the large-scale rent farms

With the appearance of Šum-ukīn of the Basia family and his nephew Kalbāya in Eanna the management of the temple agriculture was revolutionised, not so much conceptually, as in terms of scale. Another novelty was the fact that the two contractors did not belong to any of the temple's internal structures (or the Urukian city elite), but were in fact natives of Babylon.⁹²⁵ Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya, who was nominally his uncle's partner since 1 Nbn and inherited the business around 8 Nbn, were the first individuals to carry the title *ša muḫḫi sūti*. They were in charge of a large portion of the temple's arable holdings (6,000 *kurru* of land) and probably all the date orchards belonging to Eanna, except the prebendary *hallatu*-orchards. The annual rent consisted of 25,000 *kurru* of barley and 10,000 *kurru* of dates and they had a contingent of 100 plough teams at their disposal (see below, table on p. 263). The size of their farm was not matched by any of the previous or subsequent rent farmers.

However, Šum-ukīn's rise to this position was gradual and is illuminated to a degree by a part of his private archive which was found among the Eanna tablets. Šum-ukīn, who was originally from Babylon and was also active in the Nippur region, started off his career in Uruk as a royal official (*bēl piqitti ša šarri*) under the rule of Neriglissar. Already during this time it appears that he was in a contractual relationship with Eanna, though no contract has come down to us. This makes it impossible to determine the scope of his farm at this point. But even prior to his arrival at Uruk Šum-ukīn engaged in agricultural activities on an entrepreneurial level, as his private documents indicate. In particular, he worked on the arable holdings of the palace scribe in the Nippur area, to all probability as a rent farmer. It is evident that both his involvement in agricultural entrepreneurship and his connections to the royal administration predated his activities in Eanna and facilitated the establishment and subsequent expansion of his rent farm in Uruk.

Although our information on Šum-ukīn's personal assets is incomplete, we can see that beside real estate and slaves he also owned cattle (p. 166), which may have been used as draught animals. Van Driel (1999: 220) addressed the question of the entrepreneurs' personal assets and the possibility of a systematic creation of the means of production needed for their enterprises. In the case of Šum-ukīn our data is too scarce to allow for any conclusions to this effect, but the possibility of such a business strategy cannot be excluded either. Šum-ukīn's personal assets are also interesting for another reason. Most of the mentions of his property are in the context of his

⁹²⁵ Already van Driel noted that "the Neo-Babylonian-Achaemenid period represents a further step by engaging outsiders" as opposed to the earlier periods when "people within the system act[ed] as entrepreneurs" (1999: 222).

settling of accounts with the temple during 8 Nbn at which occasion some of his assets were appropriated by the temple. This is a clear indicator of the fact that entrepreneurs were indeed personally liable for their business and that they personally bore the risks they undertook.⁹²⁶

Kalbāya, Šum-ukīn's nephew and partner, is not very prominent in our sources until 7 Nbn when he starts appearing in the *imittu* debt notes together with his uncle. At this point Šum-ukīn was probably retiring from the business due to bad health or some other reason. Before he took over his uncle's farm, Kalbāya established a rent farm of his own around 6 Nbn with an annual rent of 3,000 *kurru* of barley.⁹²⁷ However, in 8 Nbn this farm was transferred to Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanāya-ibni. The reason for this transfer was probably not so much Kalbāya's bad performance, for which we do not have any concrete evidence, as the 'inheritance' of Šum-ukīn's farm presumably together with the arrears that accrued over the years. According to the account TCL 13 227 in the period between 3 and 7 Nbn a backlog of over 43,890 *kurru* of barley and dates was accumulated by Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya. Some seven years later, between 14 and 16 Nbn, Kalbāya's arrears of 44,063 *kurru* are mentioned in a royal letter (YOS 3 2). Though part of the initial debt was covered by Šum-ukīn's property which was confiscated in the course of the settling of accounts, Kalbāya's arrears have not grown considerably over time, indicating that he was probably just as good as, if not better than, his uncle in managing the farm. Nevertheless, Kalbāya also went through the process of the settling of accounts during Cyrus's reign, as a result of which the temple laid claims on some of his property. His service as a *ša muḥḥi sūti* ended sometime between 1 and 2 Cyr.

General remarks about the success of Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent farm are difficult to make as we lack adequate data in form of final accounts. What we can say with a degree of certainty is that the date production in general seemed to pose fewer problems for the rent farmers than the arable cultivation. According to TCL 13 227⁹²⁸ they usually managed to reach or even exceed their annual quota for dates, but they had serious deficits (from 32 % to 62 % of the rent) in their barley dues. The temple's expectations with regard to the arable cultivation were clearly unrealistic, especially considering the workforce it provided. In other words, the temple expected high investments from the rent farmers in order to overcome the deficits in labour. Perhaps the two rent farmers opted to concentrate on the more intensive and more profitable branch of agriculture knowing that they would never be capable of fully reaching the quotas imposed on them. Despite these difficulties Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's farm operated for over 17 years and even Kalbāya's son, Nabû-bān-aḥi, was involved in the date production as a rent farmer at the beginning of Cambyses's reign. However, in light of the debts he inherited from his uncle, the question arises to what extent was Kalbāya's contractual relationship to the temple voluntary. The same can be asked for his son, Nabû-bān-aḥi.

Though Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent farm was quite extensive Eanna possessed more arable land which it could pass on to other tenants. Nergal-nāšir, who had worked for Eanna as a rent farmer at least since 35 Nbk (VS 20 88), was still active in this function, however with comparably small holdings until 13 Nbn. Over time he made two more rent contracts with the temple: in 3 Nbn (YOS 6 41) he was granted land for a rent of over 1,000 *kurru* of barley and in 8 Nbn (TCL 12 90) he took over the land which was previously at Kalbāya's disposal for an annual rent of 3,500 *kurru* of barley.⁹²⁹ In 12⁺ Nbn (GC 1 418) he worked the land in a partnership with a certain Zērbibi, son of Nabû-ēter-napšāti, who was also attested as the official in charge of the canal outlets (*ša ina muḥḥi mūšânē*, SAKF 155). In 3 Nbn we hear of three other rent farmers in the rent contract YOS 6 40. Arad-Innin, son of Ibni-Ištar, and Sîn-ibni, son of Šamaš-udammiq, from the Rē'i-alpi family, leased over 865 *kurru* of low quality land for an annual rent of 1,240 *kurru* of barley, one ox and 15 sheep. The document mentions an already existing rent farm of a certain Nabû-mušētiq-uddē, son of Nabû-šum-iddin, of whom nothing else is known. Nergal-īpuš, a local rent farmer from the district Angillu, is also attested contemporaneously with Kalbāya's rent farm

⁹²⁶ Against Renger's suggestion that the risks of entrepreneurs "were in reality born by the government or by the institution granting the lease concerned." This oral remark from a discussion at the Berlin Rencontre is quoted by van Driel (1999: 213⁵), who is not convinced by it either.

⁹²⁷ The rent contract recording this lease has not come down to us. This information is deduced from TCL 12 90 and TCL 13 227.

⁹²⁸ See the tabular representation of the pertinent data in Appendix 2.

⁹²⁹ Nergal-nāšir promised to pay 500 *kurru* on top of Kalbāya's original rent.

from 8 Nbn until 2 Cyr. In 11 Nbn Ibni-Ištar (Ibnāya), son of Balātu, a *širku* of the Lady of Uruk, set up his rent farm of 2,081 *kurru* of arable land for a rent of 5,000 *kurru* of barley and 3,000 bundles of straw (YOS 6 150). His activities as a rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk are attested until 4 Cyr. At more or less the same time a certain Bānia, son of Bulluṭāya, was active as a rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk in the arable agriculture (12 Nbn).

To sum up, in 3 Nbn four more rent farmers were active beside Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya: Nergal-nāšir, Arad-Innin, Sīn-ibni and Nabû-mušētiq-uddê. In the period around 11 Nbn Kalbāya was active simultaneously with Ibni-Ištar, Nergal-nāšir, the local rent farmer Nergal-īpuš, and possibly also Bānia and Zērbibi. At all times, parallel to the large rent farm of Šum-ukīn and later Kalbāya,⁹³⁰ there existed secondary minor rent farms,⁹³¹ which were frequently set up on land of inferior quality. This can be seen as a sign for an attempt of the temple to expand its arable production. As for the date orchards, it seems that all of them, except the prebendary *ḫallatu* orchards, were in the hands of Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya. However, to a smaller extent, the temple continued expanding its date plantations as well by having new orchards planted. This is indicated by a lease of 2;2.3 *kurru* of land *ana zāqipānūti* in 4 Nbn (YOS 6 67) granted to a certain Nabû-bēlšunu, son of Marduk, from the Kurī family.

After the dissolution of Kalbāya's farm sometime at the end of 1 Cyr or the beginning of 2 Cyr, Ibni-Ištar's arable farm still ran until 4 Cyr. There is no evidence for any other farms between 1 and 4 Cyr. Especially the management of the temple's date orchards remains in the dark during this period. Nabû-udammiq, son of Nabû-ēter, from the Gimil-Nanāya family, is attested as a rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk in 4 Cyr. He may have continued Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's legacy, as he managed the production of both arable land and date orchards. However, the extent of his farm and the exact date of its foundation are not known, because no rent contracts of Nabû-udammiq have come down to us and his activities are generally poorly attested. It is possible that he became a *ša muḫḫi sūti* even before 4 Cyr, i.e. immediately after the dissolution of Kalbāya's farm, as he appears in the documents of the Eanna archive already during Nabonidus's reign. The gap of some three years between his and Kalbāya's farm, during which the management of the temple land, and particularly the orchards, is unaccounted for, could be just a result of a coincidental break in our sources.⁹³²

We do not know for how long Nabû-udammiq was a rent farmer and how successful he was in this function. In the sixth regnal year of Cyrus, however, Ile'i-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Eṭēru, appeared. He was to be a rent farmer for barley until at least 1 Camb. Again, owing to the lack of pertinent information, practically nothing can be said about the date of foundation, the scope and the success⁹³³ of Ile'i-Marduk's farm.

⁹³⁰ It is assumed that Kalbāya's rent farm retained the same extent as his uncle's since there is no evidence to the contrary. This is against Cocquerillat (1968: 96) who suggests that Kalbāya's date farm was reduced because of the establishment of Ardia's farm for dates at the beginning of Cyrus's reign. It has been argued above that Ardia became active as a rent farmer in 8 Cyr only and that the earlier date of one *imittu* debt note (BIN 1 111, 2 Cyr) must be a scribal error for 2 Camb.

⁹³¹ Indeed, five of these secondary rent farmers are not attested with the title *ša muḫḫi sūti* (Nergal-nāšir, Arad-Innin, Sīn-ibni, Nabû-mušētiq-uddê and Zērbibi), which is perhaps indicative of the size of their farms.

⁹³² Note, however, that in the Ebabbar of Sippar, after the disappearance of the rent farmer Ana-amāt-Bēl-atkal, during the first half of Cyrus's reign the temple reverted to direct management of its date orchards (under the supervision of the *gugallus*), as was the practice before the large-scale rent farm era. The arable land was divided up between various *Großpächter*. The next rent farmer for orchards and arable land, Šāpik-zēri, who became a *ša muḫḫi sūti* in 7 Cyr, was active in the temple prior to this as a *gugallu* and a *Großpächter* (Jursa 1995a: 96, cf. also p. 114f.). The situation in Uruk is less clear, as there is generally a very small number of pertinent documents from the first half of Cyrus's rule. As for the date cultivation, only a couple of leases of individual orchards have come down to us, without the mention of any higher authority such as a rent farmer (from [x] Cyr: BM 114450; Cyr 1: PTS 2089; Cyr 4: AUWE 11 214, YOS 7 38; Cyr 5: YOS 7 51; Cyr 5⁺: YOS 7 47). Particularly interesting is YOS 7 38 from 4 Cyr (for an edition see Cocquerillat 1968: 67, 123, and Joannès 1982: 13f.), a lease of orchards for the performance of the *gugallu*-service (*ana gugallūtu*). Should these leases be interpreted as the restoration of the direct mode of exploitation of the temple orchards?

⁹³³ He did accrue some arrears, it appears, as a house belonging to him had been appropriated by the temple at some point (BM 114556, not dated, see p. 218).

In 8 Cyr Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḥi, descendant of Rēmūt-Ea, established his rent farm for dates. According to his rent contract (PTS 2044, see p. 221) he was granted all the date plantations of Eanna, except the *ḥallatu*-orchards, on the orders of Gūbaru for a yearly rent of 12,000 *kurru* of dates. Despite the explicit statement putting all the temple orchards under his responsibility, there were for a short time at the beginning of Cambyses's rule two other rent farmers for dates in Eanna. Nabû-bān-aḥi (Bānia), son of the rent farmer Kalbāya, from the Basia family, is attested in this function from acc to 1 Camb and Mūrānu, son of Šamaš-iddin, only in 1 Camb. While nothing can be said about Mūrānu, other than that he was a *ša muḥḥi sūti ša suluppī*, Nabû-bān-aḥi's attestations indicate that in 1 Camb he may have briefly taken over (a part of?) Ardia's farm. This is implied by a legal record from acc Camb (PTS 2075, see p. 228) concerning the transfer of the *imittu* debt notes pertaining to Ardia's farm to Nabû-bān-aḥi and subsequent mentions of Nabû-bān-aḥi's *sūtu* in the *imittu* debt notes for dates from 1 Camb. Though the exact implications of these texts are not entirely clear, Ardia continues to manage his farm, it would seem, in a fairly stable manner until 7 Camb, while Nabû-bān-aḥi stops appearing in our sources after 1 Camb.

This period is of particular importance for the organisation of the arable agriculture, as a significant change occurred at the time in this area. As was said, Ile'i-Marduk's activities as a rent farmer probably ended in 1 Camb (though he is still attested until 7 Camb). From this year on, either all or a part of the temple's arable land was exploited directly with a system of supervisors recruited from the ranks of the temple ploughmen. It was a system not unlike the one in use during Nebuchadnezzar's reign before the era of the large-scale rent farms. At the time of Cambyses the officials overlooking the arable production were called the *rab epinnis*,⁹³⁴ the overseers of the ploughs, and it seems that there were usually ten⁹³⁵ of them working simultaneously. During Cambyses's reign two local rent farmers, Diḥummu (2 - 4 Camb) of the district Bīt-Amukanu and Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi (2 Camb) of Nār-Piqūdu, are attested. However, their status and relationship to the temple is not clear. It is possible that they were not connected to Eanna at all, but that they managed royal estates, for instance.

There is no further evidence for any other rent farmers working parallel with the *rab epinnis* until 1 Dar, i.e. 1 Nbk IV, when the *širku* Gimillu, the son of Innin-šum-ibni, appeared as a rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk. He re-united the date and the arable farms under his responsibility and was in charge of most of the date plantations (his date rent was 12,000 *kurru*) and probably less than a half of the available arable land (barley rent: 10,000 *kurru*). This may indicate that a part of the temple's arable holdings was still exploited directly. His rent contract has not come down to us, but it was presumably made at some point during Darius's accession year. Gimillu's career as a rent farmer was not very long. He had problems managing the arable lands with the contingent of workers and draught animals at his disposal: in 2 Dar he complained about it to the temple authorities asking for more ploughmen and cattle. But prior to this, in 1 Dar, and probably as a result of these difficulties, he obstructed the collection of the date harvest, by hiding the *imittu* debt notes (TCL 13 181). It is not surprising then, and especially taking into account his bad relationship with the temple authorities, that they ignored Gimillu's plea and decided to transfer his farm to someone else.

He was succeeded in 2 Dar by another *širku*, who was at the same time the official in charge of the cash box of Eanna (*ša muḥḥi quppi*), Bēl-gimlanni, son of Madān-ēreš. According to TCL 13 182 he took over Gimillu's rent farm under the same conditions, promising to deliver ten bulls in addition to the rent of 12,000 *kurru* of dates and 10,000 *kurru* of barley in the first year. In return he was supposed to receive from the temple the contingent of 400 oxen and additional 50 workers in the second year, which shows the temple's willingness to decrease the workload per plough team to a manageable 10 *kurru* of land per team (see below).

Nothing can be said about the further development of the rent farm system in Eanna and Bēl-gimlanni's performance, as the trickle of texts which come from the archive after Darius's second year have no bearing on this subject. After some 27 years, in 29 Dar, there are again two more mentions of a rent farm, of the *sūtu* of Šullum, the *šatammu* of Eanna, to be precise. The chief administrator of the temple became directly involved with agricultural production, apparently as a

⁹³⁴ Under Nebuchadnezzar the equivalent officials were called the *rab ešertis*.

⁹³⁵ Not twenty, as stated by Cocquerillat (1968: 99).

rent farmer.⁹³⁶ Ultimately, not much can be said about the nature of Šullum's activities. The scope of the rent farm presumably under his responsibility is not known and it can only be speculated on the motives which led the *šatammu* to take on a rent farm. Should Šullum's engagement as a rent farmer be seen as an attempt of the temple administration to gain direct control over its agricultural production? Or was this a reaction to some crisis which resulted in the lack of eligible candidates for the position of a *ša muḫḫi sūti* leaving only the temple administrator as a last resort? Alternatively, Šullum may have been an enterprising spirit who took on this responsibility for personal reasons, even though this may have been at odds with his social position.⁹³⁷ By comparison, in the Ebabbar of Sippar the rent farm system remained fairly stable with minor interruptions for as long as the evidence from the temple archive reached, i.e. until 2 Xer (cf. Jursa 1995a: 114f.). Can the same degree of stability be assumed for Eanna? To all likelihood this question should be answered in the affirmative.

2.9.20.3. General trends

The rent farm system in Eanna is attested in the documentation during a period of some fifty years. In the beginning it underwent a fairly gradual development. Starting off by engaging agricultural officials (*rab ešertis*, *rab ikkarāti*), who in their role as proto-entrepreneurs can be seen as the precursors of the rent farmers, and later members of the temple household from other economic sectors (Nergal-nāšir), the temple went on to entrust a large portion of its agricultural estates to total outsiders (Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya). The progress from internal to external rent farmers went hand in hand with an increase in responsibilities and the size of the leased land. This development, however, did not proceed in a linear fashion during the fifty years for which we have written documentation. Large rent farms were not exclusively the prerogative of the outsiders. Gimillu, who was a temple oblate, was in charge of a rent farm second in size only to the farm of Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya. Outsiders were employed exceptionally rarely and at varying intervals. In the meantime the temple entrusted its land to individuals affiliated to it or reverted to a direct mode of exploitation. Furthermore, internal and external rent farmers were frequently engaged at the same time by the temple.

The establishment of outsiders in Eanna's agriculture, especially Šum-ukīn, was most certainly aided by their connections to the royal institutions. However, one should not underestimate the entrepreneur's personal initiative and finally the temple's need for a 'capital injection' from the outside, provided by an individual with the necessary means and willing to take on such a big responsibility. Far from simply being 'introduced' to Eanna's rent farming business by the king, both the progress of Šum-ukīn's entrepreneurial career for a period of at least 28 years before his arrival at Uruk and the developments inside the organisation of the temple agriculture converged to create perfect conditions for the setting up of a large-scale rent farm under Šum-ukīn's responsibility.

By the same token, it would be wrong to see the employment of the temple's own personnel as rent farmers as an expression of some official strategy of the temple administration designed to diminish the influence of the king. Cocquerillat interprets the employment of the *širku* Ibni-Ištar as a measure intended to counter the royal influence, exercised through the external rent farmers (1968: 95). This is hardly convincing. The temple was not in a position to oppose any personnel policies of the king as it was heavily dependent on him.⁹³⁸ In fact, the royal

⁹³⁶ Šullum is not attested with the title *ša muḫḫi sūti*; however, disbursements of dates to the prebendaries from his *sūtu* are mentioned in the texts. This indicates that he rented land from the temple.

⁹³⁷ It should be noted, however, that among the rent farmers of Eanna there was at least one prebendary, namely Sīn-ibni, from the Rē'i-alpi family. For a discussion of the social status of the rent farmers see below.

⁹³⁸ The opposite view held by Ragen is likewise not convincing. He suggests that the appointment of *širkus* as rent farmers had a political background and was initiated by the royal administration for the purpose of weakening "the hold of the temple hierarchy and prominent Uruk families over temple lands" (2006: 154). This again exaggerates the power struggle between the temple and the crown. Indeed, the *širku* Gimillu enjoyed the support of the royal administration. However, this special relationship should not be seen as paradigmatic for all the *širkus* in managerial positions. Bēl-gimlanni, for instance, enjoyed a good relationship with the temple administration.

administration did not insist on employing outsiders as rent farmers. The appointment of this same *širku* Ibni-Ištar, for instance, was sanctioned by the crown prince.⁹³⁹ Moreover, most of the rent farmers of Eanna, where the documentation allows for any conclusions about their origins, were connected to the temple at some level – either as dependants, *širkus*, or in the case of free citizens as members of the temple organization, of the administration (yield estimators or even a *šatammu*), or, in one case, of the priestly caste (a prebendary). The temple dependants were frequently active in other sectors of the temple economy (animal husbandry) or held other offices (*ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*, *ša muḫḫi quppi*). Genuine outsiders in the employ of the temple were rare and rather an exception. The most prominent ones were Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya. However, already Kalbāya's son, Nabû-bān-aḫi, cannot be considered as a complete stranger to the temple anymore. He was probably a native Urukian, and by the time of his employment as a rent farmer, a part of his family, his uncles and cousins, had been well integrated in the administration of Eanna, mostly as scribes. The origins of Ardia, from the Rēmūt-Ea family, the rent farmer for dates, are unclear: he may have belonged to the local urban elite, but he may as well have been a total outsider – there is no obvious connection to the temple here. Of the 'internal' rent farmers several *širkus* are known: Ibni-Ištar, Gimillu, and Bēl-gimlanni, and perhaps also Nergal-nāšir. Gimillu and Bēl-gimlanni had other functions within the temple administration as well, as the officials in charge of the arrears (*ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*) and in charge of the cash box (*ša muḫḫi quppi*), respectively. Nergal-nāšir was furthermore involved in the temple's animal husbandry before he got engaged in agricultural management. The social status of Nabû-mušētiq-uddê is not known, but it is known that he also worked in the sector of the temple's animal husbandry. Free citizens, members of the local elite, were also employed as rent farmers. Beside Nabû-bān-aḫi, and perhaps also Ardia, these were: Sîn-ibni, from the Rē'i-alpi family, Nabû-udammiq, from the Gimil-Nanāya family, and Ile'i-Marduk, from the Eṭēru family. Sîn-ibni was at the same time a priest (he held the dairyman's prebend), and is even attested as a yield estimator (*ēmidu*), and Ile'i-Marduk seems to have been involved in the temple administration on a lower or an intermediary level: before becoming a rent farmer he was present at numerous temple court proceedings as a witness and toward the end of his career he was a member of the yield estimation commission. For Nabû-udammiq there is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way connected to the temple. However, he does stem from a family from which numerous temple scribes originated, and his father⁹⁴⁰ may also have been a temple scribe. Other rent farmers with uncertain institutional affiliation and social status were: Arad-Innin, Bānia, Zērbibi and Mūrānu. This information is summarized in the table below:⁹⁴¹

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Nergal-nāšir/Nanāya-ibni | 35 Nbk - 13 Nbn | temple dependant; animal husbandry |
| Šum-ukīn/Bēl-zēri/Basia | 1 - 7 Nbn | outsider |
| Kalbāya/Iqīša/Basia | 1 Nbn - 1 Cyr | outsider |
| Arad-Innin/Ibni-Ištar | 3 Nbn | - |
| Sîn-ibni/Šamaš-udammiq/Rē'i-alpi | 3 Nbn | local elite; prebendary, <i>ēmidu</i> |
| Nabû-mušētiq-uddê/Nabû-šum-iddin | 3 Nbn | -; animal husbandry |
| Ibni-Ištar/Balātu | 11 Nbn - 4 Cyr | <i>širku</i> |
| Bānia/Bulluṭāya | 12 Nbn | - |
| Zērbibi/Nabû-ēter-naṣṣāti | 12 ⁷ - 13 Nbn | - |
| Nabû-udammiq/Nabû-ēter/Gimil-Nanāya | 4 Cyr | local elite; family integrated in temple administration |
| Ile'i-Marduk/Nabû-šum-ukīn/Eṭēru | 6 Cyr - 1 Camb | local elite; member of the temple administration |
| Ardia/Nabû-bān-aḫi/Rēmūt-Ea | 8 Cyr - 7 Camb | outsider/local elite (?) |

⁹³⁹ Note, however, that Cocquerillat claimed that the crown prince Belšazzar was responsible for the fragmentation of the rent farms (1968: 95f.). She assumed that this process was started in 11 Nbn when Belšazzar withdrew a part of Ibni-Ištar's farm because he was unhappy with the rent farmer's performance: of the original 2,081 *kurru* Ibni-Ištar was left with a farm of only 625 *kurru* of land. This interpretation, based on YOS 6 150, is wrong. As was shown on p. 203 this contract in fact attests the constitution of Ibni-Ištar's rent farm. He had in total 2,081 *kurru* of land at his disposal; of this he annually worked only 625 *kurru*, as the land was subjected to a three year fallow cycle.

⁹⁴⁰ Nabû-ēter(-naṣṣāti), son of Innin-tabni-ušur (Kümmel 1979: 120).

⁹⁴¹ The local rent farmers Nergal-īpuš, Diḫummu and Nabû-balāt-šarri-iqbi, who may have been connected to some royal institution, are not included in the table.

| | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|---|
| Nabû-bân-aḫi/Kalbāya/Basia | acc - 1 Camb | local elite; family integrated in temple administration |
| Mūrānu/Šamaš-iddin | 1 Camb | - |
| Gimillu/Innin-šum-ibni | acc - 2 Dar | <i>širku; ša muḫḫi rēḫāni</i> |
| Bēl-gimlanni/Madān-ēreš | 2 Dar | <i>širku; ša muḫḫi quppi Eanna</i> |
| Šullum | 29 Dar | <i>šatam Eanna</i> |

Table 22: Social background and institutional affiliation of the rent farmers

The interest the king took in the temples was officially grounded in the royal ideology – caring and providing for the households of the gods belonged to the principal duties of a king. However, economic and political considerations were also at play here. Aiding and strengthening the economies of the temples, benefited the state economy in the long run through incoming taxes. By appointing royal officials to the temple administration (*qīpu*, *bēl piqitti*) and loyal individuals to economically important posts (e.g., rent farmers) the king ensured a greater control of the provincial centres in political and in economic terms.

The royal involvement in the temple agriculture was manifold: the kings reinstated land to the temple; members of the royal family donated land to the gods; the royal administration interfered in the management of the temple agriculture by granting land leases to external or endorsing internal rent farmers, or by proposing administrative models aimed at improving the efficiency of agricultural production (the ‘Edict’). Some land leases were granted directly by the king (Nabonidus in YOS 6 11), or the crown prince (Belšazzar in YOS 6 150), or were instigated on the orders of the satrap of Babylon during the Achaemenid era (Gūbaru in PTS 2044). In other cases, the royal involvement is visible in the presence of royal officials as witnesses at the setting up of rent farms (Nabû-kibsu-šarri-ušur in VS 20 88, or Ayigašu in YOS 6 40,⁹⁴² state officials were present as witnesses also in YOS 6 11 and 150).⁹⁴³

Even though the employment of external rent farmers, as in the case of Šum-ukīn, may have served to consolidate the power of the king in the region,⁹⁴⁴ these measures benefited above all the temples. The royal concern for the temple agriculture is also visible in the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’, although it is questionable to which extent these prescriptions were implemented by the temples. As far as is visible from the sources, Eanna usually followed different standards when assigning land to rent farmers. Only the rent contract of Ibni-Ištar followed the standards of the ‘Edict’ (see table below). It is certainly no coincidence that this land lease was endorsed by Belšazzar himself.

The support the king showed for some of the rent farmers, e.g., for Kalbāya with respect to his arrears (YOS 3 2), may have been considered intrusive and was certainly challenging for the temple administration. In the end, however, the temple managed to go through a process of settling of accounts with Kalbāya, despite the backing of the king that he initially enjoyed.

The royal court was the authority to which the temple administration turned when in need of solutions for certain problems: the complaints about Kalbāya’s arrears, for instance, were addressed to the king (YOS 3 2). However, the agricultural entrepreneurs could also complain directly to the court. This was the case with Zērbibi, who wrote to the crown prince Belšazzar about a land dispute he had with another rent farmer, Ibni-Ištar (SAKF 155).⁹⁴⁵

The “fragmentation” of the rent farm, to use Cocquerillat’s term, did happen during Cyrus’s reign. As was mentioned above, a split in separate farms for dates and barley occurred in 8 Cyr. This was followed by the re-introduction of the more direct form of management of the arable cultivation through *bēl epinnis* in 1 Camb. There is no evidence to suggest that the cause for the

⁹⁴² The title of Nabû-kibsu-šarri-ušur is lost in a break; but he must have been a royal official, to judge by his name. Ayigašu is designated in the text as *ša rēš šarri*, and from 4 Nbn he is also attested as the official in charge of the cash box of the king (*ša muḫḫi quppi ša šarri*; Kleber 2008: 37).

⁹⁴³ However, there was a number of rent contracts which were not made in the presence of any royal officials other than the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna (YOS 6 41, TCL 12 90, TCL 13 182).

⁹⁴⁴ Neriglissar had usurped the throne and sought to create a support base in Uruk. For this reason he not only helped Šum-ukīn start his business relationship with Eanna, but he also installed a new *šatammu*, a *qīpu* and a *šākin ṭēmi* (see Kleber 2008: 12).

⁹⁴⁵ This particular case was, however, referred back to the temple administration.

fragmentation of the rent farms lay in some official policy: neither of the king, seeking to punish a rent farmer for his bad performance, nor of the temple, attempting to diminish the royal influence on temple agriculture. Perhaps it was simply a matter of human resources. It is conceivable that there were no individuals around with an adequate amount of personal assets (or royal backing, especially with the new Achaemenid dynasty in power) who would embark on such a demanding and risky business as the management of temple lands. For this reason the temple may have been forced to split the farm into smaller, better manageable pieces. The process of fragmentation was reversed again in the accession year of Darius when the *širku* Gimillu was employed as a rent farmer for barley and dates. Whether he was particularly courageous for taking on the lease, or whether he was forced to do it by the temple administration, we cannot tell. At any rate, his rent farm was somewhat smaller than the one managed by Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya. Nevertheless, the fact that the temple reverted back to this form of exploitation after an interim of direct management speaks in favour of the rent farm as a successful system.

Finally, a trend that one sees over the years during which the rent farm system was in place is a gradual virtual decrease of the workload of a plough team. The decrease from Šum-ukīn's 30 *kurru* of land per team, via 25 *kurru* professed by the 'Edict' and found in the rent contract of Ibni-Ištar in 11 Nbn (YOS 6 150), to 20 *kurru* required of Gimillu's plough teams and finally the 10 *kurru* which were promised to his successor Bēl-gimlanni (see table on p. 263), was a sign that over time the temple was making concessions to its rent farmers. As a consequence, the strain on their personal assets was gradually reduced. This was in itself a sign that the entrepreneurs were willing (or able) to invest less and less in the rent farming business. Uruk, a city at the periphery of the Babylonian kingdom quite distant from the main trade and communication routes, was economically underdeveloped when compared to the capital Babylon and the cities in its vicinity, Sippar and Borsippa. This is reflected by the rather traditional regime based on arable cultivation followed by the Eanna temple (see p. 373). This agricultural regime had less potential for growth than the temple agriculture of the Ebabbar of Sippar, for instance, which concentrated on the more intensive date cultivation. Hence Uruk and Eanna were probably not the most attractive sites for people willing to invest in agriculture. The limited assets of those entrepreneurs who remained loyal to this region may have forced the temple to make compromises (cf. TCL 13 182). As for the ploughmen, their workload probably remained constant over time. It is to be assumed that they were always forced to work to their maximum. However, the actual amount of land they worked was most certainly smaller than what can be assumed on the basis of the rent contracts, as these implicitly counted with additional workforce provided by the rent farmer. The lack of manpower for arable cultivation (both of temple ploughmen and of adequate substitutes provided by the rent farmers) was indeed the biggest impediment for the rent farming business and the temple agriculture in general. As a consequence, the goals set by the rent contracts could hardly be met by the rent farmers.

Another important development was a decrease of the rent payment for Gimillu's rent farm: he had to pay annually 10,000 *kurru* of barley, as opposed to Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's 25,000 *kurru*. This probably indicates that the amount of arable land under his responsibility decreased compared to Šum-ukīn's farm. At the same time it raises several crucial questions: If Gimillu was in charge of only a fraction of the temple's arable land (e.g., 1,000 *kurru*, or 2,000 *kurru* if fallowing is taken into consideration) what happened to the remaining land? Was it cultivated directly by temple's own *rab epinnis*? Or was this land in the process of being converted to date plantations? Does this also mean that the temple had to do with a considerably smaller income in barley? If so, how was this deficit compensated? Unfortunately, for archival reasons there is no possibility to answer these questions. These developments occurred at a moment when our documentation stops and so there is no evidence for their consequences.

The date cultivation seems to have been unproblematic on the whole. There are hardly any accounts apart from TCL 13 227. This text, which records the income in agricultural products stemming from Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's farm and from other sources for a number of years, demonstrates that their rent obligation for dates was more realistic than their barley quota. Several *imittu* lists concerning Ardia's rent farm for dates show that he was also more or less on target with his date deliveries. Furthermore, Ardia's, and subsequently Gimillu's, rent obligation in dates amounted to 12,000 *kurru* of dates, which was 2,000 *kurru* or 20 % more than the rent of Šum-ukīn

and Kalbāya. Here the opposite trend to arable agriculture is visible: a rise in the rent payment is probably indicative of a growth in productivity of date cultivation. Whether this growth was possible only at the expense of arable cultivation remains unclear. Having in mind that date plantations are generally more work intensive than cereal fields and considering the ubiquitous lack of manpower in the temple this at least seem plausible. It seems feasible that the rent farmers consciously focused on the date production as it was more profitable than the arable cultivation. At any rate it appears that Eanna was modernizing its economy by concentrating on a more intensive form of agriculture and thus following, even if with a delay, the example of the Ebabbar temple of Sippar. The basis for this change in Eanna may well be attributed to the investment and management strategies of the rent farmers.

| text | VS 20 88 | YOS 6 11 (+ duplicates) | YOS 6 41 | YOS 6 40 | - (TCL 12 90) | TCL 12 90 | YOS 6 150 | PTS 2044 | - (TCL 13 182) | TCL 13 182 |
|---|----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|--------------|---|---|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| date | 5-VIII-35 Nbk | 28-I-1 Nbn | 23-VI-3 Nbn | 23-VI-3 Nbn | (6 Nbn) | 10-V-8 Nbn | 28-[x]-11 Nbn | 6-II-8 Cyr | (acc Dar) | 13-IV-2 Dar |
| rent farmer | Nergal-nāšir | Šum-ukīn + Kalbāya | Nergal-nāšir | Arad-Innin + Šin-ibni | Kalbāya | Nergal-nāšir | Ibni-īštar | Ardia | Gimillu | Bēl-gimlianni |
| type of crop | b(arley) | b + d(atcs) | b | b | b | b | b | d | b + d | b + d |
| rent (in <i>kurru</i>) | 4,000 ⁺ b | 25,000 b + 10,000 d | 1,000 ⁺ b + 60 s + 20 c | 1,240 b + 1 ox + 15 sheep | 3,000 b | 3,500 b | 5,000 b + 3,000 bundles of straw | 12,000 d | 10,000 b + 12,000 d | 10,000 b + 12,000 d |
| surface area (in <i>kurru</i>) | - | 6,000 + date plantations | - | 865;1.4 | - | - | 2,081 | - (all orchards, except <i>ballatu</i>) | - | - |
| yield factor | - | 8.3 ^{vii} | - | 4.3 ^{vi} | - | - | 8 ^v | - | 10 ⁱⁱⁱ | 10 |
| no. of farmers | - | 400 | - | - | - | - | 100 | - | x | x + 50 ⁱ |
| no. of oxen | - | 400 | - | - | - | - | 100 | - | 200 | 400 ⁱⁱ |
| no. of ploughs | - | 100 | - | - | - | - | 25 | - | 50 | 100 |
| land per plough | - | 30 <i>kurru</i> | - | - | - | - | 25 <i>kurru</i> | - | 20 <i>kurru</i> ^{iv} | 10 <i>kurru</i> |

Table 23: Eanna's rent farmers and their rent contracts

Explanatory notes:

ⁱ The contract stipulates the provision of additional 50 workers and 200 oxen in the following year.

ⁱⁱ See previous note.

ⁱⁱⁱ The yield factor is derived from the amount of seed provided by the temple, i.e. 1,000 *kurru*. At the same time this figure would indicate that 1,000 *kurru* of land were worked, but since we do not know under which fallow cycle, it is impossible to compute the total amount of land put at Gimillu's and consequently Bēl-gimlanni's disposal.

^{iv} Again this figure is derived from the area worked as indicated by the amount of seed provided.

^v Of the 2,081 *kurru* of land only 625 *kurru* were worked (in a three year cycle, with the surplus allotted to the share croppers). Using this figure the yield factor and the workload per plough team were calculated.

^{vi} The text states that the land will be cultivated in a three year fallow cycle, i.e. of the total amount only 288;1.4 *kurru* will be worked yearly (l. 6f.). The yield factor of *ca.* 4.3 is derived from this figure.

^{vii} Only 3,000 *kurru* of land had actually been worked yearly, since the land was under a two year fallow cycle. This is also the amount of seed provided to the rent farmers. From these figures one derives the yield factor of 8.3 and the workload of 30 *kurru* of land per plough team.

3. Land lease contracts

The following chapter will deal with the land lease contracts attested in the Eanna archive. Though many of these contracts have formed the basis for numerous studies of the Neo-Babylonian land lease practices in the past,⁹⁴⁶ a number of new previously unpublished texts justify another look at them. So far 45 land lease contracts (including duplicates, special types and two private contracts) spanning a period from 3 Nbk to 2 Dar have been identified among the Eanna material. They are listed in the table at the end of the chapter, including the information on the formal type of contract, the type of land and lease, the payable rent, the tenant and the lessor. Of these, 20 texts, some of which – like the contract for Ardia’s general farm for dates – very important, come from the unpublished material.

3.1. Formal aspects⁹⁴⁷

All the land lease contracts have a number of features in common. Just as all the other types of legal documents they end with a list of witnesses, the scribe and the place and date of drafting. In addition to this obligatory information, the main body of the contract contains facts, with varying degrees of detail, on the leased land (size, location, type of land), the identity of the tenant and the lessor (sometimes only implicitly⁹⁴⁸), the type of lease, the stipulated rent (type, quantity) and the obligations of the tenant. Additional optional clauses (e.g., against a breach of contract) could also be included. However, the way these documents were formally constructed could vary. One can distinguish roughly two styles for the Neo-Babylonian land lease contracts: a subjective style, found in what is called *Zwiegesprächsurkunde*⁹⁴⁹ and characterised by the inclusion of direct speech, and an objective style, which was limited to the formulations in the third person. The documents written in the objective style can in turn be formulated *ex latere conductoris*, i.e. from the point of view of the tenant, or *ex latere locatoris*, i.e. from the point of view of the lessor.⁹⁵⁰ The distribution of these styles varies over time and locally. In Uruk we find the *Zwiegesprächs*-type (ca. 24 contracts) attested since 3 Nbk (YOS 17 7) all throughout the sample with an emphasis on the Chaldean era. The slightly less numerous objective type (ca. 16 contracts) starts appearing increasingly during the time of the Achaemenid rulers, though it is sporadically attested even earlier (e.g., in YBC 3543, 23 Nbk).⁹⁵¹ It is interesting to note that the objective type *ex latere conductoris*, which is so common in Sippar,⁹⁵² does not appear in the Uruk sample at all.

⁹⁴⁶ In addition to occasional studies dealing with individual texts, which will not be listed here, Cocquerillat edited and discussed a number of the agriculturally relevant land leases from Eanna known at that time (1968: 37-51). An overview of the Neo-Babylonian lease contracts from both the institutional and the private sector, including the texts from the Murašû archive can be found in Ries 1976 (for a more recent and concise overview see Jursa 2004b). The comparable material from Sippar received a detailed treatment by Jursa 1995a: 117-146.

⁹⁴⁷ For a brief summary see Jursa 2004b: 175. A more thorough study of the form of these contracts can be found in Ries 1976: 5ff. and 55ff.

⁹⁴⁸ The lessor is not always explicitly recorded in cases in which this information was assumed to be self evident (e.g., in some leases of temple land).

⁹⁴⁹ See for instance Petschow 1965: 103ff.

⁹⁵⁰ Ries 1976: 5ff. 57ff.; Jursa 2004b: 175.

⁹⁵¹ This distribution stands in clear opposition to the generalisation made by Jursa 2004b: 175 “Bis zur frühen Achämenidenzeit ist die subjektive Stilisierung als *Zwiegesprächsurkunden* seltener und vor allem Verträgen vorbehalten, in denen bedeutende Ländereien vergeben werden.” As evidence for local/temporal variation he notes, however, that in the later Achaemenid Murašû archive from Nippur the *Zwiegesprächs*-type is more common.

⁹⁵² This type may indeed be a peculiarity of the Ebabbar material, as generally the contracts formulated *ex latere locatoris* are more common.

1. The *Zwiegesprächsurkunde* normally starts out by stating in the third person that the tenant addressed the lessor, either the temple officials or, in case of sub-leasing, the higher-order tenants, e.g., the general contractors (*ša muḫḫi sūti*):

“[Tenant] went to [lessor] and said as follows” (PN₁ (tenant) *ana* PN₂... (lessor(s)) *illikma kiam iqbi*⁹⁵³).

Then follows the direct speech in which the tenant describes the object of lease, asks for it to be given to him, sometimes stating the type of work to be conducted or the type of rent to be paid, concluding with the promise to carry out the necessary work on this land:

“Give me [object of lease] for [purpose of lease] and I will do the work therein” (object of lease (e.g., *zēru pī šulpi, kirû*, etc.; location of the plot; other legally relevant information: *bīt ritti ša* PN, *ša sūti ša* PN, etc.) purpose of lease (*ana nukuribbūti, errēšūti, sūti*, etc.) *binamma dullu ina libbi lūpuš*).

The text then reverts to the third person, stating that the lessor accepted (*šemû*) the tenant’s plea and gave (*nadānu*) him the requested land. Usually this part of the document is a repetition of the facts concerning the land, type of lease and rent, which appeared in the direct speech, but additional information including the work obligations, more detailed stipulations on the size and composition of the rent and possible remuneration of the tenant could also be given.

This type is labelled as 1.a in the table listing the land lease documents from Uruk which is given at the end of this chapter. A slight variant is attested in the cases in which the king or the crown-prince were directly involved in the proceedings (e.g., YOS 6 11 and YOS 6 150). Befitting the more formal circumstances, the language of the contracts reveals a more subservient attitude of the supplicants. The request was not simply stated (*qabû*) in the presence of the king/crown-prince. Rather, the petitioners supplicated (*sullû*) him for granting the lease. Furthermore, the imperative form of *nadānu* is not used in the direct speech, but rather a humbler (third person) precative form (“may the king/crown-prince our/my lord give us/me”⁹⁵⁴). This type is marked as 1.b in the table.

Another variant of the *Zwiegesprächs*-type (marked as 1.c) is found in one document recording probably a private arrangement (YBC 4143). The distinctive feature of this form is the appearance of the first person of the verb *uzuzzu* (“to occupy, to take up position”) instead of the usual imperative of *nadānu*.⁹⁵⁵ The use of this verb is usually associated with the objective style contracts, *ex latere conductoris*, found in significant numbers in the Ebabbar archive from Sippar.⁹⁵⁶

2. The form of the objective style contracts has been treated in detail by Ries 1976: 55ff. and will not be presented here again. Generally it can be said that the same type of information as in the *Zwiegesprächs*-type is provided by these documents⁹⁵⁷ while the wording of the text is kept in the third person. As was already noted, only the *ex latere locatoris* type appears among the Eanna material, characteristically stating that a lessor (a representative of the temple or a rent farmer) gave (*iddin*) land to a tenant. What follows are the detailed obligations of the tenant and, when applicable, stipulations on his remuneration, guarantee clauses, etc. This type is marked as 2.a in the table of rent contracts. A variant can be found in YOS 7 38 and BM 114450, in which the preterit form of *paqādu* (*ipqid*) is used instead of *nadānu*. This is marked in the table as 2.b.

⁹⁵³ This phrase is frequently constructed omitting the verb *alāku*.

⁹⁵⁴ YOS 6 11, 5: ... lugal en-a-ni lid-di-na-an-ši-ma; YOS 6 150, 4: ... dumu lugal en-a lid-din-nam-ma. Parallel formulations can be found in BM 61744, the lease contract of the Ebabbar rent farmer Ana-amāt-Bēl-atkal (Jursa 1995a: 88).

⁹⁵⁵ YBC 4143 uses a precative form of *uzuzzu* (ll. 6-7: *ina* (land...) *a-na* ^{lú}nu-^{giš}kiri₆-ú-tu / lu-uz-ziz-ma).

⁹⁵⁶ Jursa 2004b: 175; Jursa 1995a: 117²²⁵; see also Ries 1976: 61.

⁹⁵⁷ As Ries noted, the style of the *Zwiegesprächsurkunden* is simply an elaboration of the objective style (“Das Zwiegesprächsformular ist pachtrechtlich nichts anderes als die Erweiterung des objektiven Formulars um den in direkter Rede stilisierten Teil und die Schilderung des Vertragsangebotes und der Vertragsannahme.” 1976: 7).

3.2. Lessors

Since our texts essentially concern the land which was temple property, usually expressed as (*makkūru*) *ša Bēlti ša Uruk (u Nanāya)*,⁹⁵⁸ the role of the lessor was frequently taken up by a representative of this institution. Thus in about a half of the texts we find members of the higher temple administration, the administrator (*šatammu*), the resident (*qīpu*), the royal commissioner (*ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna*, in this chapter *bēl piqitti* for short) or the temple scribe(s) (*ṭupšar(rū) Eanna*), acting on behalf of the ‘landladies’, Ištar and Nanāya. These officials could appear in the contracts on their own,⁹⁵⁹ accompanied by their colleagues⁹⁶⁰ or by an *ad hoc* group of temple officials designated as *bēl piqnēti*.⁹⁶¹ The *bēl piqitti* is the only official who does not act alone – he is either accompanied by other high temple officials (*šatammu*, *qīpu*, the scribes) or the *bēl piqnēti*.

Sub-leases of temple land are also attested and in these cases we often find the original tenants, notably those known as “rent farmers” or “general contractors” (*ša muḫḫi sūti*) who had large tracts of temple land at their disposal for farming purposes, acting as lessors. One of the first large-scale rent farmers, Šum-ukīn, from the Basia family, is attested as early as 1 Nbn, i.e. before his major contract with the temple for 6,000 *kurru* of arable land from 1 Nbn, renting out arable land of the temple both for a fixed rent (*ana sūti*) to temple ploughmen (PTS 2344, edited on p. 49), and for sharecropping (YBC 3750). In 6 Nbn Šum-ukīn acts as a lessor of a date orchard (W 17718 1x). Ardīa, from the Rēmūt-Ea family, the rent farmer for dates, is attested three times as lessor of date orchards for the task of orchard tending (*ana nukuribbūti*).⁹⁶² The rent farmer Gimillu, son of Ištar-šum-ibni, is represented with six rent contracts, two of which were hitherto unpublished and three unedited, concerning both orchards *ana nukuribbūti* (NCBT 630, NCBT 677, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8, YOS 21 214), and arable land for sharecropping (YOS 21 207, 208).⁹⁶³

Similarly, the people in charge of the prebendary *ḫallatu*-orchards, the *rab banēs*, also appear as lessors. These orchards, which were formally temple property and were entrusted to this special class of prebendaries for the purpose of providing dates and fruit for the offerings to the deities, could be inherited or even sold by the *rab banēs*. Consequently, the existence of sub-leases of the *ḫallatu*-orchards by their ‘holders’ is unsurprising.⁹⁶⁴

In a few special cases we encounter the top members of the state administration acting as lessors of temple land. The king Nabonidus was addressed in his first regnal year while on a visit to

⁹⁵⁸ An exception is probably YBC 4143 (38 Nbk, see below for an edition) which seems to be a private arrangement concerning an orchard of a certain Innin-šar-ušur (perhaps to be identified with the temple’s *rab būli*) and his father Nergal-ušallim.

⁹⁵⁹ E.g., *šatammu*: YOS 7 51, YOS 17 6, YBC 3543; *qīpu*: PTS 2134; *ṭupšar Eanna*: BM 114559.

⁹⁶⁰ E.g., *qīpu* and *šatammu*: YOS 17 7; *šatammu* and *bēl piqitti*: YOS 7 47, PTS 2044; *šatammu*, *bēl piqitti* and *ṭupšarrū ša Eanna*: PTS 2089; *šatammu*, *qīpu* and *bēl piqitti*: TCL 13 182. Note that the order in which these officials appear was significant with respect to their ranking within the temple administration. For the Ebabbar of Sippar Bongenaar (1997: 6f.; cf. also Jursa 1995a: 117) noted the order of the two top officials, the *qīpu* and the *šangū*. See now also Da Riva 2002: 53f. who rightly questioned such a rigid scheme. The sequence provided by Kümmel (1979: 138) for Uruk and Eanna is too simplistic as is shown by Kleber 2008: 7ff. The evidence for the ranking of these officials from the land lease contracts is not very dense, as the cases in which more than one of the high officials is present are not that frequent. However, their relative order of appearance which is visible in these texts generally conforms to the observations made by Kleber based on a much larger corpus of texts.

⁹⁶¹ E.g., *qīpu* and *bēl piqnēti*: VS 20 88; *ša rēš šarri* (who became later *bēl piqitti*) and *bēl piqnēti*: TCL 12 73, YOS 6 26; *bēl piqitti* and *bēl piqnēti*: PTS 2249, PTS 2821, TCL 12 90; *bēl piqitti*, *qīpu* and *bēl piqnēti*: YOS 6 33.

⁹⁶² BIN 1 117, 125, NBC 4889.

⁹⁶³ The rent farmer Ibnāya, son of Balātu, is also attested as a “lease”-giver in YOS 19 71 (12 Nbn), a contract for the performance of agricultural work (*ana dulli*), not an actual land-lease contract. The text is edited on p. 31.

⁹⁶⁴ For *ḫallatu*-orchards in general see Cocquerillat 1973/74 and below.

Larsa by two members of the Basia clan, Šum-ukīn and his nephew Kalbāya: they asked to rent 6,000 *kurru* of land of the Lady of Uruk and the king granted their request (YOS 6 11 and duplicates).⁹⁶⁵ The crown-prince Belšazzar appears in the same role in 11 Nbn in YOS 6 150 granting temple land to the *širku* Ibni-Ištar, son of Balāṭu, against a fixed rent (*sūtu*) of 5,000 *kurru* of barley. Similar involvement of the state administration in the temple's organisation of agriculture can be observed during Persian rule. Ardia, the rent farmer for dates of the Lady of Uruk, was given the temple's entire date plantations in lease by the *šatammu* and the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna in 8 Cyr (PTS 2044). However, this lease was explicitly stated to have been conducted at the orders of Gūbaru, the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River. All these contracts had in common that large areas and revenues were involved which warranted the special interest of the state. Note, however, that the equally important transfer of Gimillu's rent farm to Bēl-gimlanni (TCL 13 182, 2 Dar) was not sanctioned by the king or any of his officials.⁹⁶⁶

3.3. Tenants

The list of the people who are known to us from the rent contracts as lessees of temple land is certainly not exhaustive. Not all the contracts have come down to us and some tenants, as, for instance, the *fermier général* Gimillu, are only known from other documents. It must be assumed that a number of the temple's tenants are not known to us.

The lessees could act on their own, or jointly with another person (or rarely two, as in YBC 4143), to whom they could, but need not, be related (brothers, fathers and sons, and once an uncle and a nephew are attested in joint ventures).

No women are attested as tenants in the rent contracts which are available to us. It is, however, probable that they too appeared in this role (albeit on a smaller scale), since some women are known to have had *imittu* obligations for date orchards, which may imply that they were the tenants of these.⁹⁶⁷

As for the male tenants, they tend to come from various social strata. Men with tripartite names, i.e. of higher social standing, both from the local Urukian elite (e.g., Kurī, Ekur-zakir) and from the outside (e.g., Basia), appear among the tenants of Eanna. A number of tenants with only a patronymic is also attested, and it is these who are most difficult, sometimes even impossible, to trace prosopographically. In addition to these, unfree or semi-free individuals, mostly temple dependants, could also lease land from the temple. Among these we find ploughmen (*ikkarus*),⁹⁶⁸ *širkus*⁹⁶⁹ and a slave of the royal commissioner of Eanna (*qallu ša PN ša rēš šarri (bēl piqitti Eanna)*).⁹⁷⁰ Information on the profession or official function of the tenants is rarely given. Beside one *ikkaru*, two herdsmen (*nāqidus*) are attested as lessees (YOS 6 26 and PTS 2249). Two official titles, namely, one royal official (*ša rēš šarri*) and one official in charge of the cash box (*ša muḫḫi quppi*)⁹⁷¹ are also attested as tenants on temple land in PTS 2089 and TCL 13 182 respectively.

The social status of a tenant had no implications for the scale of his lease. The *širkus* Gimillu and Bēl-gimlanni (cf. TCL 13 182), for instance, were responsible for most of the temple's date plantations and large stretches of its arable land.⁹⁷² It seems rather that the tenant's personal

⁹⁶⁵ This is paralleled by the creation of a rent farm for dates in Sippar at the beginning of Nabonidus' reign (BM 61774, [3⁷] Nbn; edited by Jursa 1995a: 88). According to this similarly structured lease contract, Nabonidus granted Ana-amāt-Bēl-atkal a lease of the date plantations of Šamaš.

⁹⁶⁶ The interests of the king were in this case presumably watched over by the resident temple officials (*qīpu* and *bēl piqitti*).

⁹⁶⁷ Two women appear as debtors in the *imittu* debt notes for dates BIN 1 111 and BM 114466. In the latter text the woman is charged jointly with a man not obviously related to her. Another woman is attested with an obligation for an impost delivery of dates in the *imittu* list YOS 21 219 (= NCBT 861).

⁹⁶⁸ PTS 2344.

⁹⁶⁹ YOS 6 150, YOS 7 47 and TCL 13 182.

⁹⁷⁰ YOS 6 33. Note that the *bēl piqitti*, the master of this slave, grants him the lease together with the *qīpu* and the *bēl piqnēti*.

⁹⁷¹ This person, Bēl-gimlanni, was also a *širku*.

⁹⁷² Note also that the *širku* Ibni-Ištar leased 2,081 *kurru* of arable land and was responsible for 25 plough teams according to YOS 6 150. Another *širku* leased an orchard with an area of 5 *kurru* (YOS 7 47), which

resources, which even in the case of some temple oblates could be considerable, influenced the size of his enterprise.

3.4. Land

The main focus of the lease documents was on the land and it was their objective to describe and define this land in terms of its legal status, its quality and location and sometimes its size. Hence an array of expressions appears in our texts, including general, administrative and legal terms as well as terminology related to the quality of the soil and to the types of cultivation and work conducted on the land.

3.4.1. Size and location of land

The size of the plots or field complexes leased out is rarely given in the texts.⁹⁷³ Where the size is noted, it is usually given in the seed system (expressing the area of the fields in terms of the seed volume presumably needed for sowing the field and covering the costs⁹⁷⁴ accrued during this work) and it is attested for both relatively small (or rather average) date plantations (2;2.3 *kurru* in YOS 6 67) and large stretches of arable land (6,000 *kurru* in YOS 6 11), for arable land leased against a fixed rent (*ana sūti*), for planting date palms (*ana zāqipūti*) and for orchard-tending (*ana nukuribbūti*):

| Text | Surface area of land in <i>kurru</i> | Type of lease |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|--|
| YOS 6 67 | 2;2.3 | <i>ana zāqipūti</i> (+ <i>errēšūti</i> after 10 years) |
| YOS 7 47 | 5 | <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> |
| PTS 2344 | 50 | <i>ana sūti</i> |
| YOS 6 40 | 865;1.4 | <i>ana sūti</i> |
| YOS 6 150 | 2,081 | <i>ana sūti</i> |
| YOS 6 11 | 6,000 | <i>ana sūti</i> |

Table 24: Size of land recorded in lease contracts

The only exception is PTS 2089, a lease of land composed of two adjacent plots for orchard planting, which gives the lengths of all the sides and the surface area in the so-called seed system:

| | | |
|-------|--|-------------|
| | | 8-VII-1 Cyr |
| obv. | 1. [...] ¹ šá ^d gašan šá ^d unug ^{1ki} x ¹ [x x x x x] | |
| | šá [... 70 ² +] 5 ina 1 kùš uš an-ta im ¹ -m[ar-t]u | |
| | da ^{giš} k[iri ₆ hal-la-tu ₄ šá ina igi ¹]ba-la-tu ¹ a-šú ¹ šá ^{1d} ag-bu- ¹ un-šu-tur ¹ | |
| | 1+šu 3 ina 1 kùš uš ki-ta im-kur]- ¹ ra ¹ da ¹ x ¹ ú x ¹ x ¹ nu | |
| | 5. 1+šu 5 ina 1 kùš ¹ sag-ki an-ta im-si]-sá da ¹ x ¹ [x x x x (x)] | |
| | 55 ina 1 kùš sag-ki ¹ ki-ta im-[u ₁₈ -lu da x x x x] | |
| | pab 2 _b [3 ² sila x] x ¹ x ¹ [x] it x ¹ [mi]-ši-ih-tu ₄ [igi ² -tú ² x x] | |
| | 25 ina 1 [kùš] uš ¹ an ¹ -ta im [si]-sá da še-numun x [x x x x] | |
| | 25 ina 1 kùš uš ¹ [ki]- ¹ ta ¹ im u ₁₈ ¹ -lu da m[i]-ši-ih- ¹ tu ₄ ¹ [igi ² -tú x x] | |
| | 10. 10 ina 1 kùš sag-ki an-ta im ¹ mar-tu da é nak- ¹ kan ¹ -du šá ^{1u} pa-[kab]-du ina lib-bi úš-bi | |
| | 10 ina 1 kùš sag ¹ -[ki ki-ta] im ¹ kur-ra da ^{giš} kiri ₆ hal-la-tu ₄ | |
| | šá ina pa-ni ¹ [x x] x ¹ [...] x ¹ x ¹ | |
| | pab 9 ninda ^{hi-a} šá še-numun 2-i-[tú] mi- ¹ š ¹ i-ih-tu ₄ | |
| lo.e. | pab [pab] 2 _b 3 ² [šil]a 9 ni[nda ^{bi-a}] še-numun | |
| rev. | 15. ^{1d} ag-gin-numun ^{1u} šā-tam é-an-na a-šú šá ¹ na-din a ¹ da-bi-bi | |

was certainly much larger than the average. (According to van Driel (1988: 133) the majority of the orchards will not have exceeded a surface of 2-3 *kurru*.)

⁹⁷³ See also Ries 1976: 26f.

⁹⁷⁴ In particular, the fodder for draught animals (Powell 1984: 64).

- ^{ld}ag-šcš-mu ^{lu}sag lugal [^{lu}]en *pi-qit-tu*₄ é-an-na
^{lu}um[^{meš}bisag] ^{meš}šá é-an-^rna¹ a-na za-*qí-pa-nu-ú-tu* [0]
a-na ¹si-lim-dingir ^{lu}sag lugal *id-di-nu* ^{giš}as-né-e
^{giš}[^{giš}imma]r² *ina lib-^rbi¹ i-zaq-qáp mim-ma ma-la*
20. *ina šu-pal* [x] ta² x x [... ^{giš}as-]né-e ip-pu-šú
a-di 10-ta mu-an-na^{meš} pa-ni-[šú² i]-da-gal
ina gub-zu šá ^{ld}a-[^{nu}lugal-ùru ^{lu}qí-i-pi šá é-an-na
¹kal-ba-a a-šú šá ¹ba-šá a ¹ba-si-ia ^{ld}utu-numun-ba-šá
a-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-lugal-ùru ¹r-ia a-šú šá ^{ld}utu-mu-gin
25. a ^{ld}man-di-di ^{lu}umbisag ¹gi-mil-lu a-šú
šá ^{ld}in-nin-num[un]-^rmu¹ unug^{ki} iti du₆ ud 8-kam
mu 1-[kam ¹ku]-raš ¹lugal¹ kur-[kur]

“[...] of the Lady of Uruk [... 70²+]5 cubits, the upper flank to the west, next to the [*hallatu*-orchard which is at the disposal of] Balātu, son of Nabû-bün-šūtur,⁹⁷⁵ 63 cubits, [the lower flank to the east], next to ..., 65 cubits, the upper frontage to the north, next to [...], 55 cubits, the lower frontage to the [south, next to ...], in total: 2 *sūtu* [3² *qū* ... - the first] measurement.

25 cubits, the upper flank to the north, next to the land [...], 25 cubits, the lower flank to the south, next to [the first²] plot (literally: measurement), 10 cubits, the upper frontage to the west next to the *nakkandu*-land on which the *širkus* are settled, 10 cubits, the [lower] frontage to the east, next to the *hallatu*-orchard, which is at the disposal of [PN]; in total: 9 *akalu* surface area, the second measurement.

Grand total: 2 *sūtu* 3² [*qū*] 9 *aka*[*lu*...].⁹⁷⁶

Nabû-mukîn-zēri, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī, Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna, and the scribes of Eanna gave (this plot) for the purpose of (orchard) planting to Silim-ili, the royal official. He will plant Dilmun date palms and [date palms²] there. Everything he cultivates below [...] Dilmun dates will be at his disposal for ten years.

In the presence of: A[^{nu}šar-ušur], the resident of Eanna,
Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, descendant of Basia,
Šamaš-zēr-iqīša, son of Innin-šar-ušur,
Ardia, son of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, descendant of Mandidu;

Scribe: Gimillu, son of Innin-zēr-iddin;

Uruk; 8-VII-1 Cyr, king of lands.”

Such detail in location and the measurements of the plot is quite exceptional for rent contracts.⁹⁷⁷

The reason for this may have been on the one hand the fairly small surface area of the plots, in total 0;0.2.3.9 (= ca. 1,104 m²). On the other, this could have been the proximity of the loosely defined *nakkandu*-land⁹⁷⁸ on the west, and of the prebendary *hallatu*-orchards, on the east, with our plots as a buffer in between. This could have potentially given rise to territorial disputes. Assuming that the two plots were newly assigned for planting from the *nakkandu*-land which had previously not been put to any particular use (this is not explicitly stated, but may have been noted in the broken section at the beginning of the text), noting the exact measurements of the sides of the plots would make sense.

⁹⁷⁵ This is probably the same person as Balātu/Nabû-bün-šūtur/Rab-banê who appears as a witness in YBC 4149 (see p. 291), a lease of a *hallatu*-orchard from the reign of Cambyses.

⁹⁷⁶ The conversion of the surface area into the seed system was approximate as far as we can tell. Only the measurements of the second plot are completely extant. The plot with the sides of 10 and 25 cubits would have had a surface area of 250 square cubits or 8.33 *akalu*. In the text this was rounded up to 9 *akalu*. The situation for the larger plot is more difficult as the surface area, the number of sila in particular, is either broken off (l. 7) or unclear because of breaks on the tablet (l. 14). Furthermore, the numerals signifying the length of the western flank are partially broken (l. 2). If the surface area of this plot was 2 *sūtu* 3 *qū*, as is suggested in the transliteration, then the length of the western flank can be reconstructed to 75 cubits.

⁹⁷⁷ Cf. Jursa 2004b: 173. For a similarly detailed demarcation of a plot compare BM 79543, a *zāqipānūtu*-contract from Ebabbar (Jursa 1995a: 122). The lengths of sides are given in cubits, and the surface area in the seed-measure.

⁹⁷⁸ Approximately “land held in reserve for assignation”, see below.

The information on the location of the leased temple land can be very vague at times. Usually at least one major topographical feature will be specified in the contract. For instance, it can be stated that the leased land is situated on a certain canal (e.g., BM 114559, YBC 4149) or in a certain place (or places) (e.g., YOS 6 26, VS 20 88, TCL 12 90). Additionally one of the neighbours (e.g., YOS 6 33, NBC 4889, YBC 3750) or two features (two canal intakes or secondary canals: YOS 17 6, YBC 4143; two neighbouring plots or administrative areas: PTS 2249, YOS 21 214) delimiting or bordering on the two (long) sides of the plot could be named. The lower border of the plots, i.e. the side located the furthest away from the canal on which the plot lies, is practically never identified (an exception is Spar, *Studies*, no. 8). It appears that most of the time natural limitations were of relevance here.⁹⁷⁹ Sometimes, however, no localisation whatsoever is given in the texts. This is particularly the case in the *ferme générale* contracts, i.e. contracts dealing with extended areas of agricultural land (YOS 6 11, TCL 13 182) or entire agricultural cultures (all of the temple's date orchards, except the *hallatu*-orchards: TCL 13 182, PTS 2044). But occasionally also smaller leases (50 *kurru* in PTS 2344; see also YOS 19 71) lack a localisation of the land. It is clear, however, that the temple and its rent farmers were not as unspecific about the land as these contracts may suggest. Certain land lease documents, especially from the first half of Nabonidus's reign from the time when Šum-ukīn had a major lease on temple land, specify that the land in question had not been already assigned to this rent farmer, indicating that this type of information was probably booked in other (administrative) documents,⁹⁸⁰ which have not come down to us, rather than lease contracts (*qaqqaru ša ina sūti ša Šum-ukīn lā šaṭru*, YOS 6 67: 6).⁹⁸¹

3.4.2. Terminology for land

Two general terms for land are *qaqqaru* and *zēru* (še-numun). They could be used more or less synonymously. Though *qaqqaru* appears less frequently in the rent contracts, it designates land which could be leased out, just as *zēru*, for different purposes.⁹⁸² In the lease contracts *qaqqaru* could designate land suitable for planting date palms or grapevines (in the *zāqipūtu*-contracts YOS 6 33, 67, YOS 17 6 and PTS 2134). Apparently the term is not used to designate land leased out for orchard tending (*ana nukuribbūti*). Only in one case *qaqqaru* refers to an existing orchard.⁹⁸³ The specific terms for orchards (*bīt kirī*, *bīt gišimmari*, etc.) are only used in apposition to *zēru* (and once *eglu* in BM 114444). The two terms could also appear together in one text in apposition to each other. In PTS 2344 the tenant asked for 50 gur / še-numun *qaq-qar* (ll. 7-8, also in l. 12), and in YOS 6 67 for 2;2.3 še-numun ... (localisation) / *qaq-qar šá*^dgašan *šá* unug^{ki} (ll. 3-5).

The two terms could be applied to both arable land and date orchards in different stages of cultivation and they had no particular connotations concerning the quality of the land, apart from the above mentioned restrictions for the use of the term *qaqqaru*. In other words, they could not only include agriculturally productive land (*bīt gišimmari*, *bīt dulli/bīt mēreši*) or land ready for development (*bīt taptê*, land leased *ana zāqipūti*), but also land of lower quality, some of which unsuitable for cultivation (*kaslu*, *kālû*, *gabibu*, *bīt mē*, *bīt nizli*), which was generally used for pasturing cattle and sheep as is evident from YOS 6 26, YOS 6 40 and PTS 2249. According to YOS 6 33 some *qaqqaru* of the Lady of Uruk consisted of *kaslu* and *kālû* types of land (see below for these) but could be turned into a date plantation.

⁹⁷⁹ The lower portions of the basins were usually composed of lower quality, sometimes waterlogged, land and the further one went away from the irrigation canal, which most commonly ran parallel to the upper front of a field, the less suitable the land became for cultivation.

⁹⁸⁰ No such text is known from Uruk, but a ledger recording the lengths of the sides and the neighbours of the plots assigned to a rent farmer has come down to us from Sippar (Jursa 1995a: 110ff. (BM 74646 = no. 30)).

⁹⁸¹ Note also the equivalent, but in terms of administrative record less explicit expression *zēru ... ša Šum-ukīn ... lā išbatu* from YOS 6 40 ll. 11-14.

⁹⁸² E.g., in YOS 6 33 and YOS 17 6 for orchard planting (*ana zāqipūti*), in VS 20 88 and PTS 2821 as arable for a fixed rent (*ana sūti*), in TCL 12 64 and BM 114559 as arable (in the latter text as *bīt taptê*) for sharecropping.

⁹⁸³ *AnOr* 9 11 ll. 12-15: še-numun *pi-i šul-pu* / *ù*^{giš}*gišimmari qaq-qar*^{lū}*ban šá* PN. Here *qaqqaru* refers to a bow fief, land on which both cereals and dates were cultivated.

Another general term, *eqlu* (a-ša) is usually translated as “field”. However, since it could signify both arable land and date orchards, a translation “plot” is more accurate. It designated smaller units of land and probably referred to particular, perhaps specifically delimited parcels.

3.4.2.1. Arable land

pī šulpi was the general term used for arable land, i.e. land intended for cereal cultivation.⁹⁸⁴ It was usually preceded by the word *zēru*. It could be leased out against a fixed rent (*ana sūti*),⁹⁸⁵ for sharecropping (*ana errešūti*) and for developing (*ana taptê*).⁹⁸⁶

The land designated as *pī šulpi* could be further defined in terms of the stage of cultivation or grade of productivity. For instance, it could be characterised as *bīt dulli* or *bīt mēreši*.⁹⁸⁷ These two terms were interchangeable and they implied cultivated and fully productive arable land.⁹⁸⁸ The term *eršu* which appears in YBC 3543 also designated cultivated, i.e. ploughed and sown land.

Another sub-category of *pī šulpi* was *taptû* (or *bīt taptê*), usually translated as “freshly broken land” (van Driel 1990: 220f.) or “Neubbruchland” (Ries 1976: 27; Jursa 1995a: 141). It represented previously uncultivated land, i.e. land which had not been ploughed but was intended to be cultivated. In the following, the translation “unbroken”, i.e. (previously) unploughed, land is preferred to van Driel’s “freshly broken land” in order to stress the fact that no tilling had been conducted on the land prior to the lease. In the texts *taptû* was contrasted with *bīt dulli* and since it required more strenuous work than the already developed land, the share to be paid for it to the temple was smaller than for the productive land.⁹⁸⁹ The word *mayyāru* could designate both a type of plough and the land which was worked up (*dekû*) with this kind of plough. The *mayyāru*-ploughing was probably conducted after the initial procedure of “opening” of land. According to Jursa, in terms of the stage of cultivation, *mayyāru*-land should be placed between *bīt mēreši/bīt dulli* and *taptû* (1995a: 141). However, note that in YOS 21 207, edited below, the only work procedure, stipulated for land designated as *pī šulpi bīt dulli u taptê* was, apart from the general *dulla epēšu*, *mayyāra dekû* (ll.6-7). Should this be taken for an indication that the terms *bīt taptê* and *mayyāru* could be used more or less synonymously?

Other terms for land of lower productivity were *apītu* (YBC 4143) and *barrātu* (NCBT 677). According to CAD A II: 170f. *apītu* designates “inarable land”.⁹⁹⁰ Most of the attestations of this term are from the Middle-Babylonian period, but one attestation (YOS 9 80), perhaps from Sîn-šar-iškun’s reign, is also registered by the CAD. However, in the light of the new occurrence in YBC 4143, in which *apītu* was clearly to be subjected to agricultural cultivation,⁹⁹¹ a modification of the proposed translation (at least for the Neo-Babylonian period) seems in order. Rather than “inarable”, *apītu* seems to have designated previously uncultivated land. A further characteristic of this land was that it was overgrown with shrubbery, since the text stipulates that this was to be removed (*abatta nasāku*). A similar type of land will have been intended by the term *barrātu* (see AHw: 107 *sub barru* III “unbebautes Land”⁹⁹²). NCBT 677 makes stipulations for shares to be paid

⁹⁸⁴ Cf. Ries 1976: 27ff.; van Driel 1990: 220f. The word *šulpu*, with the basic meaning “stalk”, was used also in the sense of “area under cultivation, cultivated field” in the Old-Babylonian period (CAD Š III: 256f.). “The meaning “area under cultivation” (as opposed to newly broken ground) may derive from the meaning stalk; the cultivated area is measured in terms of stalks (*ana pī šulpim/šulpišu*). In NB, the phrase *pī šulpi* was reinterpreted to designate grain fields as opposed to date palm groves” (CAD Š III: 276).

⁹⁸⁵ E.g., YOS 6 11, YOS 6 150.

⁹⁸⁶ Both in YOS 21 207, for instance.

⁹⁸⁷ YOS 6 150 2-3: 625 gur še-numun é me-re-šú / ina še-numun pi-i šul-pu šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki}; YOS 21 207 1: [x] gur še-numun pi-i šul-pu é dul-lu^r ù^l tap-tu-ú.

⁹⁸⁸ See Jursa 1995a: 141, van Driel 1990: 220f.

⁹⁸⁹ In YOS 21 207 (see note 987). See also Jursa 1995a: 126.

⁹⁹⁰ Von Soden connects the term *apītu* etymologically to *apu*, “reed” (AHw: 58). Perhaps this was land overgrown with reeds which needed to be cleared before cultivation was possible.

⁹⁹¹ The tenants are to have usufruct of the cultivated *apītu*-land for four years (YBC 4143 16f.: *a-pi-tu₄ ma-la_{1d} ag-numun-mu / ù šeš^{mes}-šú ip-pu-šu...*).

⁹⁹² Against CAD B: 252ff. *birītu* “in-between terrain, balk”; cf. von Soden 1977: 185 (comes from the Aramaic *barrā*, *bārā* “freies Land”). Cf. also Stolper 1992: 132f.: “The term originally occurs in contexts that

for parts of the *barrātu*-land located in front of the leased orchard which were cultivated by the tenant.⁹⁹³ It is at the moment not possible to determine what the differences, if there were any, between the land designated by the terms *taptû*, *apītu* and *barrātu* were. In the texts in which *apītu* and *barrātu* appear as designations for arable land, as opposed to date orchards, which were the main concern of these two leases, the activities to be conducted on the arable were *mayyāra dekû*, *taptê puttû* and *abatta nasāku* (working up the *mayyāru*-land, “breaking/opening” the previously unploughed land and removing shrubbery) according to YBC 4143 and *taptê puttû* according to NCBT 677, activities generally connected to *taptû*-land. Therefore it is even conceivable that the three terms could be used synonymously.

3.4.2.2. Date orchards

The general terms for date orchards are *kirû* (usually written logographically ^{giš}kiri₆) and *bīt gišimmarī* (é ^{giš}gišimmar), which frequently appear in combination with other terms for land or date plantations. *kirû* alone is attested in the private lease YBC 4143 (see p. 310). *zēru bīt kirī* appears in Šum-ukīn’s and Kalbāya’s rent contract YOS 6 11 (+ duplicates) where it is contrasted with arable land (*zēru pī šulpi*). *zēru bīt gišimmarī* is attested in the lease BIN 1 117. Another way of designating date orchards was *zēru gišimmarī zaqpu*, i.e. “land planted with date palms” (AUWE 11 214, YOS 7 38, PTS 2044), or simply *zēru zaqpu*, “planted land” (NCBT 360, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8).

Prebendary orchards are identified by adding the term *hallatu*: the designation *eqlu kirû gišimmarī zaqpu kirû hallatu* is attested in BM 114444 and *zēru kirû hallatu* in YOS 7 162 and YBC 4149.

Rarely, general terms for land are used alone when referring to date plantations. In NBC 4889 *zēru* was leased out for the purpose of orchard tending (*ana nukuribbūti*) and in YOS 17 7 a plot (*eqlu*) of the Lady of Uruk was leased against a fixed rent in dates.⁹⁹⁴

Sometimes the texts specify that there were young date palms in the orchards. In YOS 7 47 and 51 this is expressed as *zēru gišimmarū šeḥḥerūtu ina zēri* (literally “land: young date palms are on the land”). This type of information was important since these palms were not mature and not fully productive. Hence, the prospective revenues from these plots were lower.

In between the date palms there was ample space⁹⁹⁵ for planting cereals, vegetables or even fruit trees. This is evident from the frequent stipulations for work (*dullu*) or digging (*herūtu*) which had to be conducted underneath the date palms (*ina šupāl gišimmarī*) using spades and/or ploughs.⁹⁹⁶ Alternative stipulations entailed the obligations of the tenant to make (vegetable) plantations, i.e. garden plots (*šikittu*), or plant fruit trees (*gapnu*) there (e.g., YOS 21 214). That there were orchards with arable land as their integral part, is visible from YOS 7 47. This land is designated as *zēru gišimmarū šeḥrūtu u pī šulpi ina zēri* (literally “land: small date palms and arable are on the land”). Arable land included in orchard leases was sometimes situated in front of the date palms. In NCBT 630, for instance, the leased land is described as *zēru zaqpu u pānassu pī šulpi* (“planted land and arable land in front of it”). The lease NCBT 677 mentions uncultivated land in front of the date palms which could be worked up.⁹⁹⁷ Not knowing the point of view of the speaker, it is difficult to picture exactly where this land was situated. NCBT 630 mentions, unfortunately in a somewhat damaged section, an area in front of the (orchard) on the banks of the irrigation canals. After a break the text continues with the conditions for shares due from different types of arable land cultivated. This probably indicates that arable land could be found also on the

refer to date orchards, often explicitly parallel to *zaqpu*, [...] but is not restricted to those contexts; in BE 8/1, 132: 5 and 14, it subsumes *pī šulpu*, the usual term for grain fields, and it refers to property leased for cereal agriculture on sharecropping terms (*ana errēšūti*). ” The term *birrātu* “unerschlossenes Land?” could be a variant of *barrātu* (Jursa 2004b: 173).

⁹⁹³ Ll. 10’f.: <še>-numun *ma-la ina bar-ra-ti pa-na-at* ^{giš}gišimmar / *ip-pu-šú*...

⁹⁹⁴ *eqlu* is the common term for date orchards in the *imittu* debt notes for dates.

⁹⁹⁵ In the Old Babylonian sources this space between the date palms, in which barley could be cultivated, was called *teriqtum* (ki-ud) (Stol 2004b: 172). No specific term for this space is known from the NB period.

⁹⁹⁶ See for instance BIN 1 117, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8, NBC 4889, NCBT 630, 677.

⁹⁹⁷ NCBT 677 10’f.: *zēru mala ina barrāti pānat gišimmarī / ippušu*.

strip of land between the orchard and the canal located on the levee. These instances of arable in front of the orchards should be viewed as exceptions to the generally assumed layout of the southern Mesopotamian field systems with orchards up on the levees and grain fields stretching behind them in the basins (e.g., van Driel 1988: 131).

NCBT 630

4-VI-1 [Nbk IV]

- obv. 1. *še-numun zaq-pi ù pa-na-at-su pi-i šul-pu*
é rit-tu₄ šá¹ ki-na-a a-šú šá¹ re-mut gú id-lugal šá e-li
é-šá-am-ma-il níg-ga^d gašan šá unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a šá^{giš} bán
šá¹ gi-mil-lu a-šú šá^{1d} innin-na-mu-dù^{lú} šá muḫ-ḫi^{giš} bán šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki}
5. *šá¹ gi-mil-lu a-na^{lú} nu-^{giš} kiri₆-ú-tu a-na¹ ba-la-tu a-šú*
šá^{1d} innin-na-numun-bad id-din dul-lu ina lib-bi ip-pu-uš tap-tu-ú
ú-pat-t[u₄] ḫe¹-ru-tu ina šu-pal^{giš} gišimmar i-ḫe-er-re
íd^{mcš} -šú i-ḫe-er-re-e-ma me-e ú-šá-aš-bat
ḫe-ru-tu ma-la ina šu-pal^{giš} gišimmar i-ḫe-er-ru-ú
10. *é^{giš} mar-ri ina muḫ-ḫi 1 gur 5 gur u é^{giš} apin ina muḫ-ḫi*
1 gur 4 gur zú-lum-ma sis-sin-nu¹ gi-mil-lu a-na
ba-la-tu i-nam-din pu-ut ma-aš-šar-tu₄ šá lib-bi
ḫa-ru-ut-tu₄ da-a-ku šá^{giš} gišimmar u^{giš} ḫi-le-pi
šá pa-na-at-šú¹ ba-la-tu na-ši pa-na-at a-šà
- lo.e. 15. *gú id-lugal ù id^{mcš} šá ina a-šà^{giš} ḫi-¹le-pi¹*
i-¹šak²-kan¹ še-numun ma-la ina pa-na-at-šú¹ ir²-ri²-šú²
- rev. *é¹ da¹-[lu] é¹ tap¹-tu-ú 5-šú é¹ me-¹e šu¹¹*
é¹ tap-tu-ú¹ šal-šú ḫa-la a-na^d gašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din
1 gur še-numun ina 1 lim šá x x x (x) gú id-lugal¹ din
20. *ip-pu-šu-ma¹ 4-ú ḫa-la a-na^d gašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din¹*
1-en-nu^{ta-ám} šá-ṭa-ru il-qu-ú
lú mu-kin₇ [...]
id¹ innin-numun-dù² [...]
 [...]
- (three blank lines)
25. *lú umbisag¹ sil-la-a a-šú šá^{1d} innin¹-na-mu-ùru a¹ ki¹-din^d amar-utu*
 [...] x x^{ki} iti kin ud 4-kam mu 1-kam
 [^{1d} ag-níg-du-ùru] lugal e^{ki} u kur-kur

“Gimillu gave to Balātu, son of Innin-zēr-lišir, the land planted (with date palms) with arable land in front of it, *bīt ritti* of Kināya, son of Rēmūt, (situated on) the bank of Nār-šarri above⁹⁹⁸ Bīt-Šama’il, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, pertaining to the rent farm (*sūtu*) of Gimillu, son of Innin-šum-ibni, the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk, for the purpose of orchard-tending. He will do the work there. He will break the unbroken land. He will do the digging under the date palms. He will dig its (the orchard’s) irrigation canals and supply them with water. For as much digging as he does below the date palms Gimillu will give to Balātu as *sissinnu 5 kurru* (of dates) per each surface *kurru* (worked) with a spade and 4 *kurru* of dates per each surface *kurru* (worked) with a plough. Balātu guarantees for the guarding of the fronds and shoots (and against) the felling of date palms and willows which (grow) in front of them. In front of the plot, on the bank of Nār-šarri and (along) the irrigation canals which are on the plot he will plant willows. For as much land as he cultivates¹ in front of it (the orchard) he will give to the Lady of Uruk 1/5 (of the harvest) for the unbroken land irrigated by buckets, (and) 1/3 (of the harvest) as share for the unbroken land with readily available water.⁹⁹⁹ Balātu will cultivate 1 *kurru* of land in the *līmu* ... on the bank of Nār-šarri and will give 1/4 (of the harvest) as share to the Lady of Uruk. Each took (a copy of) the document.

Witnesses: [...] Ištar-zēr-ibni² [...],

Scribe: Šillāya, son of Innin-šum-ušur, descendant of Kidin-Marduk;

⁹⁹⁸ If the point of view was from Uruk then above means “north of”.

⁹⁹⁹ For *bīt mē qāti* see below.

x (= place of drafting); 4-VI-1 [Nbk IV], king of Babylon and of lands.”

3.4.2.3. Low quality land

A number of terms signifying land of low quality and productivity are known from the land lease contracts (*apītu*, *barrātu*, *kaslu*, *kālū*, *gabību*, *ḥummuṭu*, *appāru*, *bīt mē*, *bīt nizli*, *manzalti mē*).¹⁰⁰⁰ Though the exact meaning of most of these words is difficult to determine, as is demonstrated by the relevant entries in the dictionaries, it is beyond doubt that the land in question was of limited use for the temple agriculture. *apītu* and *barrātu* were discussed on p. 272. *appāru* designated a swampy terrain.¹⁰⁰¹ Similarly, permanently or periodically waterlogged areas were probably implied by the terms *bīt mē*,¹⁰⁰² *bīt nizli*¹⁰⁰³ and *manzalti mē*.¹⁰⁰⁴ *ḥummuṭu* (TCL 12 90) may perhaps have designated a barren and arid region to judge by basic meaning of the root **ḥmṭ* (CAD H: 64, *ḥamāṭu* B: “to burn, scorch”¹⁰⁰⁵). However, it can not have been all too barren since cattle and sheep were to be pastured in this area according to TCL 12 90: 22f. The term *kālū* was used in the Middle-Babylonian period to signify a “dike (surrounding fields to keep the irrigation water inside the field)” (CAD K: 104), but in the Neo-Babylonian period the meaning of the word has changed to signify a kind of land, “a type of marshy ground affected by salinity” (CAD K: 104),¹⁰⁰⁶ often adjacent to date orchards (van Driel 1988: 140; 1990: 222). According to CAD K: 244 *kaslu* was “land drained by ditches”. This interpretation was based on the connection with Aramaic *kislā*, “Graben, Furche” made by von Soden (1966: 12). However, there is no evidence in our material whatsoever for this type of land being in any way connected to drainage ditches. Finally, for lack of a better understanding, *gabību* is rendered as “land suitable for pasture” in CAD G: 6.

Usually these types of land appear in the context of cattle and sheep herding which is sometimes mentioned in the land lease contracts. The tenants were occasionally asked by the

¹⁰⁰⁰ These terms have been discussed by van Driel 1990: 222f. See also Jursa 1995a: 141 and Da Riva 2002: 88f..

¹⁰⁰¹ The word appears in TCL 12 90; “reed marsh, reed bed, lagoon” (CAD A II: 179).

¹⁰⁰² Apart from YOS 6 40 in which *bīt mē* is attested, it appears also in a lease from Sippar BM 60454 (Jursa 1995a: 145f.). Jursa rightly opts against the interpretation of CAD M II: 156, “land suitable for flood irrigation”, and translates it as ‘Wassersfeld’ (p. 146). The attestation from the Murašû archive (BE 9 7) recorded by CAD M II: 156 *sub bīt mē* should be deleted from this entry and the translation of *bīt mē* modified to “waterlogged soil” or similar. The Murašû text mentions in fact *bīt mē qāti*, not just *bīt mē*. The former term was connected to the circumstances related to the irrigation (for a discussion see below) and while one could argue that *bīt mē qāti* could be interpreted as “land suitable for flood irrigation”, this is certainly not a correct translation for the term *bīt mē*.

¹⁰⁰³ The word appears in YOS 6 40 and TCL 12 90. According to CAD N II: 304 *bīt nizli* was “drained land”, from *nazālu*, “to pour, drain”. In view of its low utility for agricultural cultivation *per se*, it is more likely that *bīt nizli* was land, probably at the lower end of the cultivated fields, used for diverting surplus irrigation water from the fields, i.e. for draining them, and with van Driel 1990: 223 “a waterlogged or seasonably waterlogged area”.

¹⁰⁰⁴ The word appears in TCL 13 182 and was semantically related to *nizlu*. CAD M I: 230 gives the translation “drainage” for this term. See also previous note.

¹⁰⁰⁵ The CAD H: 235 does not offer a translation for *ḥummuṭu* in TCL 12 90 (“uncertain meaning”). In YOS 3 200 the term seems to designate a type of tree (l. 5: ^{gīš}*ḥum-mu-ṭu* ni-tuk^{ki}-e ù ^{gīš}*a-lu*). The CAD H: 235 translates here “early (bearing) Telmun-palms” based on the meaning of *ḥamāṭu* A, “to haste, be quick” (CAD H: 62).

¹⁰⁰⁶ On p. 105 the CAD remarks that “most refs. to *kālū* come from Uruk and denote a marshy soil which because of salinization is no longer suitable for growing barley but only for planting date groves and other kinds of trees that endure salinity and for pasturing”. The salinization of the soil is in fact never explicitly mentioned in our texts. This inference is probably based on the lack of evidence for the use of *kālū* for the cultivation of salt-intolerant cereals and on YOS 6 33 according to which *kaslu* and *kālū* land were to be turned into a date orchard. (Note that van Driel (1990: 223) proposed reading *é-mun*, “salty soil”, in the Egibi text *Cyr.* 3 at the end of line 3, as a type of land sold together with cultivated (*mērešu*) and lower quality land (*kālū u gabību*). However, Wunsch (2000 II: 161f.), who collated the text, opposed this reading, suggesting that these signs were in fact the remains of an erasure and should be read: {*ga*-bi*-[bi]*}.) On *kālū* land see also Da Riva 2002: 88f.

temple authorities to let the temple cattle and sheep graze on the land apparently not used for agricultural purposes. Therefore it can be assumed that some sort of wildy growing vegetation which could provide food for the animals covered these types of land. According to TCL 12 90 *kaslu*, *ḫummuṭu*, *kālû*, *appāru* and *bīt nizli* were to be used for pasturing livestock (ll. 22f.). In YOS 6 40 the range *kaslu*, *kālû*, *gabību*, *bīt mē* and *bīt nizli* (ll. 18f.) and in TCL 13 182 *zēru* ¹*kas*²-*lu* ^u*man-zal-tu*₄ *me-e* (l. 28) are intended for the same purpose. In PTS 2249 *kaslu*, *kālû* and *gabību* (ll. 6f.) were to be used as grazing grounds by a herdsman who rented the land specifically for the purpose of acquiring pasture for his herd. Nevertheless, the herdsman had to make a rent payment in barley:

- PTS 2249 23-VI-[3²¹⁰⁰⁷] Nbn
- obv. 1. [... (1/2 line broken) a]-šú šá ^{ld}ag-mu-mu ^{lu}na-qàd (erasure)
¹šá¹ [^dgašan šá unug^{ki} a-na ^{ld}ag]-lugal-ùru ^{lu}sag lugal ^{lu}en pi-qit-tú é-an-na
^u ^{lu}en^{meš} pi-iq-n[é]-¹e¹-tu₄ šá é-an-na iq-bi um-ma še-numun
šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} šá [i-na] ši-i-ḫu gal-ú šá é-^{ld}30-[a-šá-rid]
5. šá ul-tu ugu id-[lugal[?] e[?]-le[?]]-¹e[?]¹-nu a-di ^{uru}ḫu-uš-še-¹e¹-[tu₄]
šá ^{ld}ag-dù-šeš bi-i[n-na-nim]-ma i-na ka-sa-al ka-[lu-ú]
^u ga-bi-bi ma-l[a ina lib]-bi še-e-ni ^u áb-gu₄[^{hi-a-meš}]
[š]á ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} šá ¹ina pa¹-[ni-]ia ina lib-bi lu-ur³u [x x x]
¹é¹ dul-lu šá ina lib-bi ina mu-[a]n-na 3 me 1+šú gur še-bar ina ma-š[i-ḫu]
10. [š]á ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ina ugu [a]^{meš} 1¹ gu₄ [5 udu] a-na [^dgašan šá unug^{ki}]
[l]ud-din ^{ld}ag-lugal-ùru ^u [^{lu}en]^{meš} pi-iq-né-e-tu₄ šá [é-an-na]
iš-mu-ši-ma ina še-numu[n šá ina ši-i-ḫu] šá ^dgašan šá [unug^{ki}]
šá é-^{ld}30-a-šá-rid u[l-tu ugu id-lugal e-le-e-nu]
a-di ^{uru}ḫu-uš-še-[e-tu₄ šá ^{ld}ag-dù-šeš ...]
- lo.e. 15. i-na ši-i-ḫu šá ¹x x¹ [...]
i-na mu-an-na 3 me 1+šú gur š[e-bar ina ^{giš}ma-ši-ḫu šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}]
[ina ug]u a^{meš} 1 gu₄ 5 u[du a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ...]
- rev. [i-n]am-din (erasure) še-e-nu ¹u¹ áb-gu₄^{hi-a} [šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}]
¹šá¹ ina igi-šú ina lib-bi ik-ka-lu e-lat re-ḫa-n[u šá ina ugu-šú]
20. ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{ld}en-din-iṭ a-šú šá ¹gi-^damar-utu a [¹šu-^dna-na-a]
^{ld}in-nin-lugal-ùru a-šú šá ^{ld}ru¹-[gur-gi a ^{ld}30-ti-a]-¹igi¹
¹ina-sùḫ-kar-er a-šú šá ¹gar-mu [a ^{ld}30-ti-a]-igi
^{ld}di-kud-šeš^{me}-mu a-[šú šá ¹gi-mil]-¹lu¹ ¹a¹ [¹ši-gu-ú-a
^{ld}ag-kar-zi^{meš} a-šú šá [¹ir-^dc]n a ¹e-gi-bi
25. ^{ld}ag-dù-šeš a-šú šá ¹rdag¹-din-su-c a ^{ld}30-ti-a-ig[i]
^{ld}in-nin-mu-ùru a-šú šá ¹mu-^dag a ¹ki-din-^damar-utu
^{ld}ag-gi a-šú šá ¹níg-du a ^{lu}sipa-sá-dug₄
^{lu}dub-sar ¹na-di-nu a-šú šá ^{ld}en-šeš^{meš}-ba-šá
[a] ¹e-gi-bi unug^{ki} iti kin ud 23-kam
30. [mu 3[?]-k]am ^dag-ní-tuk lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“[PN], son of Nabû-šum-iddin, herdsman [of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya], said to Nabû-šar-ušur, the royal commissioner of Eanna, and the officials of Eanna as follows: ‘Give me land of the Lady of Uruk, which is in the large estate of Bīt-Sîn-ašarīd, from the upper Nār-šarri to Ḫuṣṣētu-ša-Nabû-bān-aḫi, and I will pasture the small and large cattle of the Lady of Uruk, which is at my disposal, on the low quality land, as much as there is. [...]. (From) the cultivated land there I will give to the Lady of Uruk yearly 360 *kurru* barley using the measure of the Lady of Uruk at the (navigable) watercourses, one bull (and) [five sheep].’ Nabû-šar-ušur and the officials of Eanna accepted and gave him the arable land which is on the estate of the Lady of Uruk in Bīt-Sîn-ašarīd, from [the upper Nār-šarri] to the Ḫuṣṣētu-ša-Nabû-bān-aḫi ...] on the estate of [...]. Yearly he will give [to the Lady of Uruk ...] 360 *kurru* of barley [using the measure of the Lady of Uruk] at the (navigable) watercourses, one bull and five [sheep]. Small and large cattle [of the Lady of Uruk],

¹⁰⁰⁷ The reconstruction of the year is not certain. It is based on YOS 6 33, 40 and 41, texts written in 3 Nbn by the same scribe and with partly the same witnesses as in PTS 2249.

which is at his disposal, will graze there. (This is) apart from the arrears [which are charged against him].

Witnesses: Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Mušallim-Marduk, descendant of [Gimil-Nanāya],
 Innin-šar-ušur, son [Nergal-ušallim, descendant of Sîn-leqe-unninnī],
 Ina-tēšī-ēter, son of Šākin-šumi, [descendant of Sîn-leqe-unninnī],
 Madān-aḥḥē-iddin, [son of Gimillu], descendant of Šigūa,
 Nabû-ēter-napšāti, son of [Arad-B]ēl, descendant of Egibi,
 Nabû-bān-aḥi, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, descendant of Sîn-leqe-unninnī,
 Innin-šum-ušur, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of Kidin-Marduk,
 Nabû-ušallim, son of Kudurru, descendant of Rē'i-sattukki;
 Scribe: Nādin, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi;
 Uruk; 23-VI-[3²] Nbn, king of Babylon.”

Besides providing for the temple's livestock, the temple administration expected a revenue in cereals from the land it leased out to the herdsman.¹⁰⁰⁸ The lease must have therefore included also some productive land. The rent in cereals was not considerable – 360 *kurru* of barley; however, this was at any rate more than one plough team could manage.¹⁰⁰⁹ By contrast, the impost in cattle, one bull and five sheep, was very low. This should probably be seen as an extra payment on top of the barley rent. The herdsman's actual cattle impost must have been regulated by a separate herding contract.

Unfortunately, we do not know how extensive the leased land was. For this reason nothing can be said about its productivity: it could have been a small, but productive plot; alternatively, and this seems more probable, the land in question could have been extensive, allowing for ample grazing grounds, but not very productive (hence the relatively low rent). Some of the rent contracts, especially those concerning larger stretches of land leased against a fixed rent (*ana sūti*) make it evident that low quality land was often adjacent to the productive arable land, probably further down in the basins, and was (automatically?) included in the leases to be put to other uses (e.g., pasture) by the tenants (TCL 12 90, YOS 6 40, TCL 13 182).

Van Driel (1990: 223) speculated whether the order in which the various types of low quality land were listed in the texts was significant. Possibly it was a sign for progressively decreasing productivity of the land, however, this is difficult to verify. While some types of land seem to have been in a (permanently?) waterlogged condition, to judge by their names, and hence unsuitable for cultivation, other types, notably *kaslu* and *kālū*, were reclaimable for agricultural purposes. This is indicated by YOS 6 33, a contract for orchard planting (*ana zāqipūti*), according to which land (*qaqqaru*) of the Lady of Uruk, further characterised as *kasal u kālū* (l. 4f.), was to be planted with Dilmun date palms after removing the wildy growing shrubbery (*abattu*¹⁰¹⁰).

3.4.2.4. Terms for land related to tillage and irrigation techniques

The terms *bīt marri*, “land worked with a spade”, and *bīt epinni*, “land worked with a plough”,¹⁰¹¹ appear in the context of the cultivation of the land beneath the date palms. For this work the gardener was to receive remuneration (*sissinnu*) in dates in proportion to the area worked. For the more strenuous work with the spade he was rewarded with a bigger amount of dates than

¹⁰⁰⁸ A comparable lease of land for pasture with a fixed rent in barley is YOS 6 26. None of the above discussed terms for land appear in this text, though. The land leased out is designated as a *šihu* of the Lady of Uruk.

¹⁰⁰⁹ According to a general accounting model applied in Šum-ukīn's rent contract, for instance, 250 *kurru* of barley were expected from one plough team. It has already been discussed that these accounting models imposed heavy loads on the plough teams.

¹⁰¹⁰ Cf. Jursa 1995a: 123 with further literature. Jursa comes to the conclusion that *abattu* must have been an organic material, not “lime(stone)” as proposed by the CAD (A I: 40f.), growing wildy on canal banks and in untended gardens. It was probably a mixture of shrubs and reeds which needed to be removed.

¹⁰¹¹ Occurrences, for instance, in: YOS 7 47, BIN 1 117, 125, NBC 4889, NCBT 630, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8.

for the land worked with a plough, as is exemplified by NBC 4889, a contract for orchard-tending (see also below):

NBC 4889

2-VI-2 Camb

- obv. 1. *še-numun šá i-na íd eš-šú é rit-ti*
šá^{ld} en-šeš^{meš}-su šá ús-sa-du¹ šeš-lu-mur
a-šú šá¹ dingir^{meš}-tak-la-ku ní-ga^d gašan šá unug^{ki}
u^d na-na-a šá^{giš} bán šá¹ ír-ia
5. *ṛa-šú šá¹ ag-dù-šeš a¹ re-mut^d-bad*
ṛa-na¹ nú^{giš} kiri⁶ a-na¹ šeš-ia-a-li-da
ṛu^{1d} za-ba₄-ba₄-lugal-ùru dumu^{meš}
[šá¹] šu-zu-bu id-din dul-lu ina lib-bi
ip-pu-šu-ma a-na¹ ír-ia ú-kal-lam-u⁷
10. *ṛid^{meš} me-e ú-šá-aš-ba-tu-u⁷*
[lib-bi] i¹ ṛu¹ ḥa-ru-ṛut-tu₄¹ i-na-aš-šar-u⁷
dul-lu ma-la ina šu-pa-lu^{giš} gišimmar ip-pu-šu-u⁷
ṛina an-bar mar-ri¹ ina ugu 1 gur 5 gur
ṛina^{giš} apin¹ ina ugu 1 gur 4 gur sis-sin-nu i-nam-din-su-nu-tu
15. *[sis-sin-n]u šá mu 2-kam e-ṛir¹-ru-u⁷*
ṛ1-en^{ta-am} šá-ṛa-ri il-qu-ú
lúmu-kin-nu^{ld} ag-en-šú-nu a-šú šá^{ld} innin-mu-kam
a^{1d} bad¹-di[ngir-t]u-ṛdù¹ ír^d-en a-šú šá
ṛag-dib-ud-da a¹ e-gi-bi
20. *lúumbisag^{ld} ag-mu-gin a-šú šá¹ ṛsum-na¹-šeš*
a^{lú} ga-ḥùl^{uru} na-ḥal-lu₄ iti kin
ud 2-kam mu 2-kam¹ kam-bu-zi-ia
- u.e. *lugal e^{ki} lugal kur-kur^{me}*

“(Ardia) gave to Aḥ-yālid and Zababa-šar-ušur, the sons of Šūzubu, the land which is on Nāru-eššu, *bīt ritti* of Bēl-aḥḥē-eriba, next to (the plot of) Aḥ-lūmur, son of Ilī-taklāk, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, pertaining to the rent farm of Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḥi, descendant of Rēmūt-Ea, for the purpose of orchard-tending. They will do the work there and show it to Ardia. They will supply the irrigation canals with water. They will protect the fronds and shoots. For as much work as they do below the date palms he will give them as *sissinnu* 5 *kurru* (of dates) per each surface *kurru* (worked) with iron spades, and 4 *kurru* (of dates) per each surface *kurru* (worked) with a plough. [*sissinnu*] for the second year (of Cambyses) is paid. Each took (a copy of) the document.

Witnesses: Nabû-bēlšunu, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendant of Ea-ilūta-bāni,

Arad-Bēl, son of Nabû-mušētiq-uddē, descendant of Egibi,

Scribe: Nabû-šum-ukīn, son of Nādin-aḥi, descendant of Gaḥlu;

Naḥallu; 2-VI-2 Camb, king of Babylon (and) of lands.”

The terms *bīt dāli* and *bīt mē qāti* are related to the irrigation practices and appear mostly in the context of arable cultivation.¹⁰¹² The latter term, which has so far been attested in only one published text from the late Achaemenid Murašû archive from Nippur (BE 9 7), has not been properly identified in the earlier studies of this archive. It is incorrectly quoted as *bīt mē* in the secondary literature¹⁰¹³ and the CAD M II: 156 (see note 1002). Now the same term appears in three new texts from Eanna (YOS 21 208, NCBT 630 and 677) and a variant of the expression can be found in YBC 3543. These different types of irrigation had an effect on the productivity of the land and entailed different degrees of effort on the part of the cultivators. For this reason the two categories of land were treated differently by the temple administration when it came to determining the harvest shares to be paid for them. Manual irrigation by buckets, which is implied

¹⁰¹² This arable land could, however, be adjacent to date orchards as NCBT 630 and 677 demonstrate.

¹⁰¹³ E.g., Stolper 1985: 50; Læssøe 1953: 7⁸.

by the word *dālu*,¹⁰¹⁴ required a greater effort to judge by the harvest shares expected from the land treated in this way. The share that the temple received from *bīt dāli* is generally smaller than the share from *bīt mē qāti*. In the Murašû text, the tenant was to deliver 1/3 of the harvest plus 1 shekel of silver per each *kurru* of surface area for the *bīt mē qāti*.¹⁰¹⁵ For the *bīt dāli* he had to deliver 1/4 of the harvest and 2/3 of a shekel per *kurru* of surface area worked. In the Eanna text YOS 21 208 the ratio is 1/2 share for *bīt mē qāti* and 1/3 share for *dālu*-land:

YOS 21 208 30-V-1 Nbk IV

obv. 1. []r^{x1} im 3
 [ús-sa-d]u še-numun r^{šá1} lú^r iá¹-š^u-tu-ú-a a-di
 [muḥ]-ḥi ma-kal-le-e šá^{lú} i-bu-la-a-a
 šá ina^{uru} ú-bul ní^g-r^{ga1} d^{gašan} šá unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a
 5. šá^{giš} b^{án} šá¹ gi-mil-lu a-šú šá^{1d} innin-na-mu-dù
 lú^š muḥ-ḥi^{giš} b^{án} šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} gi-mil-lu
 a-na^{lú} er-re-š^u-tu a-na¹ mu^d-u-gur
 a-šú šá^{1d} u-gur-da-a-nu id-din dul-lu ina lib-bi
 ip-pu-uš ma-a-a-ri i-de-ek-ku
 10. še-numun ma-la ina lib-bi ir-ri-šú
 lo.e. é da-lu šal-šú ḥa-la ú
 é me-e šu^{II} a-ḥi ḥa-la
 rev. a-na^d gašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din
 1+en^{ta-ám} šá-ṭa-ru il-qu-ú

(one blank line)

15. lú^{mu}-r^{kin}7¹ gi¹-mil-lu a-šú šá¹ a-ḥu-lap^{d15}
 [a] ḥu-[un-zu]-r^{ú1} 1d a-nu-um-numun-gál-šⁱ
 [a-šú šá¹ mar-duk a¹ šu^d na-r^{na1}-a
 [1d na-na-a-k]am a-šú šá¹ gi-mil-lu¹
 [lú^{umbisag} 1d innin-na]-mu-ùru a-šú šá¹ [d]u-gur-ú-še-zib
 20. [a¹ ki-din^d amar-utu GN i]ṭi ne ud 30-kam mu 1-kam
 [1d ag-nig-du-ùr]u lugal e^{ki} u kur-^{kur1}

“Gimillu gave to Iddin-Nergal, son of Nergal-dān, [...] to the east next to the land of the Yašuteans¹⁰¹⁶ until the *makallū*¹⁰¹⁷ of the Ibuleans¹⁰¹⁸ which are in the city Ubul,¹⁰¹⁹ property of the

¹⁰¹⁴ *dālu* designated a bucket and the irrigation conducted using buckets (CAD D: 56f.; cf. also YOS 6 4, a private(?) contract for *dālu*-irrigation edited in the Appendix 1). It could also refer to the land irrigated in such manner in the expressions *bīt dāli* or simply *dālu* (e.g., in NCBT 677 (see below) and the *imittu* lists YOS 17 44 (l. 3 after collation: še-bar sag-du zag šá da-lu¹ nig-d[u[?]]) and NCBT 361 (l. 2: še-bar zag šá da-la šá^{uru} la-su-tu)).

¹⁰¹⁵ Against CAD D: 57 which translates the passage from BE 9 7 l. 9-10: ina še-numun é a^{meš} šu^{II} šal-šú ḥa-la a^{meš} / u ina é da-lu r⁴¹-ú ḥa-la a^{meš} ni-id-din as “we shall pay (you) the water due (lit. the share of the water) (at the ratio of) two-thirds from the field (irrigated) by canals and one third for the field (irrigated) by drawing water”. “šu^{II} šal-šú” does not mean “two-thirds” and “r⁴¹-ú” which the CAD appears to have read as “3-ú” is not “one third”, but “one quarter”. Furthermore, the CAD omits the continuation of the text which reads: u ana 1 gur še-numun é a^{meš} šu^{II} 1 gín kù-babbar u ana 1 gur še-numun / r^{é1} da-lu 2^{ia} šu^{II-meš} kù-babbar ... / ni-id-din. Stolper recognised the correct figures for the shares, without commenting on the translation of the CAD, or the question of what “*qāti*” may signify in this context: “they are to pay one third of the crop watered by direct flow (É A.MEŠ = *bīt mē*) and one fourth of the crop from land watered by bucket irrigation (*bīt dāli*). In addition, they are to pay one shekel of silver for each *kur* of area of the former land, and two-thirds shekel for each *kur* of the latter” (1985: 50). (Augapfel in his edition of the text comments on *qāti*, on its syntactical misplacement presumably as part of a numerical fraction expression, however, he does not translate the text accordingly (1917: 81f.)).

¹⁰¹⁶ lú^{iá}-š^u-tu-ú-a or alternatively lú^a-š^u-tu-ú-a probably designates some heretofore unattested ethnic group.

¹⁰¹⁷ *makallū* was a drainage ditch at the far end of a field running parallel to its lower short side (van Driel 1988: 139; Jursa 1995a: 184).

¹⁰¹⁸ See Zadok 1985: 178. uru(-lú)Ibulē and uruIbulu are mentioned in texts from Nippur and Uruk. The Ibuleans should perhaps be identified with the Aramaic tribe Ubulu mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian sources (Brinkman 1968: 270f.).

Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, pertaining to the rent farm of Gimillu, son of Innin-šum-ibni, the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk, for sharecropping. He will do the work there. He will work up the *mayyāru*-land. For as much land as he cultivates there, he will give for the land irrigated by buckets a third (of the harvest as) share and for the land with readily available water half (of the harvest as) share to the Lady of Uruk. Each took (a copy of) the document.

Witnesses: Gimillu, son of Aḫulap-Ištar, descendant of Hunzû,
Anu-zēr-ušabši, [son of Marduk], descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
[Nanāya]-ēreš, son of Gimillu,

[Scribe: Innin]-šum-ušur, son of Nergal-ušēzib, [descendant of Kidin-Marduk];
[GN]; 30-V-1 [Nb]k IV, king of Babylon and of lands.”

The same ratio, 1/2 share for *būt mē qāti* and 1/3 share for *dālu*-land, can be found in the orchard lease NCBT 677:

NCBT 677 23⁺-V-[1 Nbk IV]
obv. 1' [u^d]na-na-a [šá^{giš}bán šá¹gi-mil-lu a-šú šá^{ld}innin-na-mu-dù]
[šá m]uḫ-ḫi^{giš}bán [šá^dgašan šá unug^{ki}1gi-mil-lu]
a-na e-pe-šu [dul^l-li²a-na^{ld}30-dingir a-šú šá PN]
id-din dul^llu¹ ina [ib-bi i-pu-uš]
5' tap-tu-ú ú-pat-[tu ḫe-ru-tu ina šu-pal^{giš}gišimmar i-ḫe-er-re]
id^{meš}-šú i-ḫe-[er-re-ma me-e u-šá-aš-bat]
ḫe-ru-tu ma-l[a ina šu-pal^{giš}gišimmar i-ḫe-er-ru-ú]
é^{giš}mar-ri an-[bar ina muḫ-ḫi 1 gur 5] gur
é^{giš}apin ina muḫ-ḫi 1 gur [4] gur zú-lum-ma sis-sin-nu¹šu a-na
10' ^{ld}30-dingir i-nam-din <še>-numun ma-la ina bar-ra-ti pa-na-at^{giš}gišimmar
ip-pu-šú é me-e šu^{ll}a-ḫi ḫa-la ú da^llu¹
lo.e. šal-šú ḫa-la a-na^dgašan šá unug^{ki}i-nam-din
pu-ut e-pe-šu šá dul-lu ma-šar-tu₄
šá lib-bi ḫa-ru-ut-tu₄ u da-a-ku šá^{giš}gišimmar
rev. 15' ^{ld}30-dingir na-ši (erasure) zú-lum-ma
ú-il-ti^{meš}ma-la^{ld}30-dingir i-²i-il-ma a-na^{lu}na-qád^{meš}
i-nam-di-nu ki-i pi-i ú-il-ti šá¹šu <ina> muḫ-ḫi^{ld}30-dingir i-²i-lu
¹šu ina lib-bi ú-šú-uz^{lu}mu-kin₇ú-bar a-šú šá¹ra-ḫi-im-me²
¹gin-a a-šú šá¹ra-ḫi-im-me
20' ^{ld}na-na-a-kam a-šú šá¹gi-mil-lu¹ir^dutu a-šú
šá¹šu-la-a¹šeš-igi a-šú šá^{ld}in-nin-LUGAL-RIT
(one blank line)
^{lu}umbisag^{ld}innin-na-mu-ùru a-šú šá^{ld}u-gur-ú-še-zib a¹ki-d[in^damar-utu]
^{um}ur^deš-šú¹ iti ne ud 23⁺[-kam mu 1-kam]
(remainder of rev. and u.e. broken off)

“[Gimillu] gave [to Sîn-ili, son of PN¹⁰²⁰], [...], property of the Lady of Uruk and] Nanāya, [from the rent farm of Gimillu, son of Innin-šum-ibni,] for the purpose of performing [work²]. He will do the (necessary) work there. He will cultivate the unbroken land. [He will do the digging below the date palms.] He will dig its (orchard’s) irrigation canals [and supply them with water.] For as much digging [as he does below the date palms] Gimillu will give to Sîn-ili as *sissinnu* [5 *kurru* (of dates) per each surface *kurru*] (worked) with an iron spade, and [4] *kurru* (of dates) per each surface *kurru* (worked) with a plough. For as much of the previously uncultivated land in front of the date palms as he cultivates, he will give to the Lady of Uruk a half (of the harvest as) share for the land with

¹⁰¹⁹ ^{um}Ubul is not recorded in Zadok 1985, however, ^{lu}ú-bu-lu₄ are (p. 317). This place should probably be connected to the aforementioned Ibuleans (the initial phoneme may have been an umlaut); see previous note.

¹⁰²⁰ Perhaps this Sîn-ili can be identified with Sîn-ili, son of Ana-Eanna-turru, who appears in the *imittu* list for dates, YOS 21 219 (= NCBT 861, 1 Nbk IV), pertaining to Gimillu’s rent farm. A Sîn-ili, without a patronymic, appears in the similar *imittu* list YOS 21 211 (= NCBT 662, 1 Nbk IV). Both texts concern dates from the orchards on Nāru-eššu.

readily available water, and a third (of the harvest as) share for the land irrigated by buckets. Sîn-ili guarantees for the performance of the (necessary) work, for the guarding of the fronds and shoots and (against) the felling of date palms. Gimillu will have a right to the dates from the debt notes, which Sîn-ili will charge (against) and give to the herdsmen, in accordance to the debt notes which Gimillu will charge against Sîn-ili.

Witnesses: Ubār, son of Raḥīm,

Kīnāya, son of Raḥīm,

Nanāya-ēreš, son of Gimillu,

Arad-Šamaš, son of Šulāya,

Aḥ-lūmur, son of Innin-ašarīttu¹⁰²¹,

Scribe: Innin-šum-ušur, son of Nergal-ušēzib, descendant of Kid[in-Marduk];

Nāru-eššu; 23⁺-V-[1 Nbk IV, king of Babylon, king of lands.]”

In the similar but somewhat damaged *nukuribbūtu* contract NCBT 630 another category of land (*bīt taptē*) appears next to *bīt mē qāti* and *bīt dāli*. Here a 1/5 share for *taptū*-land irrigated by buckets (l. 17: ¹é da¹-[a-lu] ¹é tap¹-tu-ú), and a 1/3 share for *taptū*-land which was at the same time *bīt mē qāti* (ll. 17-18: é me-¹e šu¹¹ / ¹é tap-tu-ú¹) was to be paid. Clearly the work on the *bīt mē qāti* was less strenuous than on *bīt dāli* and the productivity of *bīt mē qāti* seems to have been higher, as a larger share was to be paid for the *bīt mē qāti*. This had already been observed by the scholars working on the Murašû texts, who proposed interpreting the term as “land irrigated by flooding”. While irrigation by flooding cannot be excluded for this type of land, this being a common method of irrigation, the term probably signifies the availability of water, rather than a particular irrigation technique. Literally, the “water of the hand” indicated precisely that water was at hand, i.e. readily available.¹⁰²²

The last text which will be presented in this context is older than the other three (it is dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II) and the expression *mē ša qāti* is used in it instead of *bīt mē qāti*. Furthermore, *bīt dāli* is not mentioned, but the text stipulates that the land was to be irrigated by buckets (l. 6: *zēra idallū*). In this text also, there are stipulations on different shares to be paid to the temple. For the land cultivated in the twenty third year (note that the lease was made in the third month of the same year) a fifth of the harvest was to be delivered to the temple. But then the text differentiates between the land in which the work had been done and (the land) *ša mē ša qāti*. The work mentioned will have implied the irrigation by buckets referred to in line 6. For this land a 1/6 of the harvest was the share of the temple. For the land with readily available water a share of 1/3 was to be paid:

YBC 3543

1-III-23 Nbk

obv. 1. [a-šà]^{meš} šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} ul-tu ki-in-šu
 a-di 1 lim šu-pa-lu-ú šá ina ugu ḥar-ri-ša-¹la-a-ba-ši
 šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} id^{1d} amar-utu-dub-numun a-šú šá^{1d} amar-utu-mu-ùru
 a^{1d} gal-dù^{1u} šà-tam é-an-na a-na¹ ap-la-a
 5. a-šú šá^{1d} ag-kal a^{1u} sipa u^{1d} ag-gi a-šú šá¹ šu-la-a
 a^{1d} tūg-babbar a-na e-re-šú-tu id-din še-numun šá¹ i²¹-da-al-lu-ú
 er-šú šá mu 23-kam er-šú 5-šú u še-numun šá dul-lu ina lib-bi
 ip-pu-šú 6-šú šá me-e šá šu¹¹ 3-šú ši-ib-šú (erasure)
 a-na^d gašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-di-nu pu-ut e-p[e-šú]
 10. šá dul-lu¹ ap-la-a u^{1d} a[g-gi na-šu-ú]
 rev. ^{1u}mu-kīn-nu^{1d} [...]
 a^{1d} utu-ba-a-ri [...]
 a-šú šá^{1d} amar-utu-eri-ba [...]

¹⁰²¹ The last two elements of the name ^{1d}in-nin-LUGAL-RIT are perhaps a cryptographic writing of the word (a)šarīttu.

¹⁰²² *mē qāti*, “basin (of metal) for washing the hands (after meal)”, CAD M II: 155, has doubtless nothing to do with our *bīt mē qāti*. Rather, one should connect this expression to a certain usage of the word *qātu* employed to designate (an object) at the disposal of or available to someone ((object) *ša qāt* PN (or personal pronoun suffix)), see CAD Q: 190 and AHw: 910.

- a-šú šá^{ld} amar-utu-numun-dù a^l[...]
 15. a-šú šá^{ld} amar-utu-numun-dù a^{ld} en-ibila-ùru^l it-^rti-sig-^dag^l
 a-šú šá^{ld} en-re-man-ni a^l e-gi-bi^{ld} en-šú-nu
 a-šú šá^{ld} ag-šes^{mes}-mu a^l e-gi-bi
 u^{lu} umbisag^l di-kud-^d amar-utu a-šú šá^l re-mut
 a^{lu} gal-1-lim unug^{ki} iti sig⁴ ud 1-kam
 20. [mu] 23-kam^{ld} ag-níg-du-ùru lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Marduk-šāpik-zēri, son of Marduk-šum-iddin, descendant of Rab-banê, the chief administrator of Eanna, gave [the fields] of the Lady of Uruk, from the *kinšu*¹⁰²³ to the lower *līmu*,¹⁰²⁴ which are on the canal Ḫarru-ša-Lābāši, (property) of the Lady of Uruk, to Aplāya, son of Nabû-udammiq, descendant of Rē’û, and Nabû-ušallim, son of Šulāya, descendant of Ašlāku, for cultivation. They will irrigate the land by buckets. (For) the land which was cultivated in the year 23 they will give one fifth, (then) for the land which they work up (and irrigate by buckets?) they will give one sixth, and for (the land) with readily available water they will give one third (of the harvest as) share to the Lady of Uruk. Aplāya and Nabû-ušallim guarantee for the performance of the (necessary) work.

Witnesses: [PN, son of PN], descendant of Šamaš-bāri,
 [PN], son of Marduk-erība, [descendant of PN],
 [PN], son of Marduk-zēr-ibni, descendant of [PN],
 [PN], son of Marduk-zēr-ibni, descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur,
 Itti-enši-Nabû, son of Bēl-rēmāni, descendant of Egibi,
 Bēlšunu, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Egibi,
 Scribe: Dayān-Marduk, son of Rēmût, descendant of Rab-līmi;
 Uruk; 1-III-23 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

3.4.2.5. Administrative and legal categories

3.4.2.5.1. *šīhu*

The meaning of the term *šīhu* is not entirely clear. The AHW: 1232 translates as “Gehöft, Domäne” while the CAD Š II: 418f. attempts no exact translation (“a type of real estate?”). Apart from one occurrence in a *kudurru* of the 9th century Babylonian king Marduk-zākir-šumi¹⁰²⁵ all the attestations of the word *šīhu* come from the Eanna archive and refer to temple property.¹⁰²⁶ It usually appears with the supplement *ša Bēlti ša Uruk*¹⁰²⁷ in the Eanna texts and in the majority of its occurrences it accompanies another geographical designation. Most frequently it appears as an apposition to a place name in the clause recording the place of drafting at the end of a document: GN, *šīhu ša Bēlti ša Uruk*. Among these geographical names, the names of places (with or without the determinative uru, place names starting with Bīt-..., quays (Kār-...), etc.), canals or *tamirtus*, in other words, the names of places in the rural hinterlands of Uruk appear.¹⁰²⁸ The documents in which this phrase can be found are typically debt notes or lists of agricultural products (*imittu* or *zittu/šibšu* debt notes or lists). However, it is by no means restricted to the texts from the sphere of agriculture.¹⁰²⁹ The term *šīhu* can also be used in the phrase *šīhu (ša Bēlti ša Uruk) ša GN*. Some of

¹⁰²³ This term, which is normally translated as “knee, shin or calf of leg” (CAD K: 373), will have designated some sort of topographic feature, a part of, or perhaps a structure on an irrigation canal.

¹⁰²⁴ Cf. Janković 2007: 224f.

¹⁰²⁵ VAS 1 35 r. 39; a field is said to be adjacent to *ši-ḫi šá^duraš*.

¹⁰²⁶ “... *šīhu* refers to a type of agricultural district located along water courses and is part of the temple’s real estate holdings” (CAD Š II: 419).

¹⁰²⁷ Once *šīhu ša Ištar Uruk* is attested (YOS 7 172).

¹⁰²⁸ Just a selection of these can be given here: Bīrat, Birtu-ša-Bazāya, Bīt-bārī, Bīt-Nabû, Bīt-Šama-il, Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya, Kār-Eanna, Kār-Nanāya, Maškan-ilī, Našibāta, Šiliḫtu, Takkīru, Til-agurrēti.

¹⁰²⁹ E.g., BIN 2 116 concerns small cattle, YOS 6 96 *maššartu* disbursements, YOS 6 119 a bail protocol, and BM 114472 the lease of a house.

the geographical names used are the same as the ones appearing in the previously discussed phrase¹⁰³⁰ indicating that there is no factual difference between the two expressions. Their purpose seems to be to indicate that the land in the localities in question belonged to the administrative sphere of the temple. Not all the land in a *šihu* belonged to the temple, however. According to YBC 4143 (p. 310), a private lease contract, a privately owned orchard could be situated in a *šihu* of the Lady of Uruk.

An entire *šihu* of the Lady of Uruk could be leased. This is recorded in YBC 3750 in which two individuals jointly rent one *šihu* of the Lady of Uruk situated on the Nār-Bānitu and neighbouring the estate of a certain Šillāya for sharecropping. In PTS 2249 (p. 276) a herdsman rented land of the Lady of Uruk situated in the big *šihu* of Bīt-Sîn-ašarīd¹⁰³¹ for the purpose of pasturing sheep and cattle. From this text we know that a *šihu* could be composed of both agriculturally productive land (*bīt dulli* (l. 9)) and of land of lower quality (*kasal kālū u gabību* (ll. 6-7)) which, in this particular case, was used for pasturing livestock.

The relationship between the terms *tamirtu* and *šihu* is not clear. Irrigation districts (*tamirtu*, see below) are sometimes referred to as the *šihu* of the Lady of Uruk (e.g., ^{garin}*Bīrat šihu ša Bēlti ša Uruk*, PTS 3008). However, there are at least two attestations of *šihu* being preceded by the sign *garin*, *tamirtu*, which should probably be understood as a determinative in these cases: the place of drafting in YOS 6 119 (8 Nbn) 16f.: *uru-^{id}bit-qu / šá-^{ld}en-sur ^{garin}ši-i-^{hu} šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}* and the place of drafting in YBC 4100 (34 Nbk) 16: *^{garin}ši-i-^{hi} šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}*. It would seem that the terms could be used as partial synonyms, with *tamirtu* having more concrete connotations of a geographical area enclosed by irrigation canals and *šihu* representing a purely administrative entity.

Exceptionally, *šihu* could appear as an independent toponym as well. In YBC 4100 the expression ^{garin}*šihu ša Bēlti ša Uruk* was used to designate the place of drafting in the closing date formula of this debt note for barley. *šihu* alone with the determinative *uru* and designating a place from which barley deliveries originated is attested in GC 2 216 (ll. 1. 14 ^{uru}*ši-i-^{hu}*).

Considering all of the above, we can conclude that *šihu* was an administrative/legal category applied to the land belonging to the temple, best translated as “estate”.¹⁰³² The term was probably more or less equivalent to the more general *makkūru*, “property”, but its use was restricted to real estate of the temple.

3.4.2.5.2. *tamirtu*¹⁰³³

The term *tamirtu* (usually written logographically: *garin*) is not very frequent in the land lease contracts, where it only appears in the passages that give information on the localisation of the rented land.¹⁰³⁴ It is usually followed by a geographical name, and as such is a constituent part of the toponym, though it is not sure whether it was pronounced or just served as a determinative. The term is conventionally translated as “irrigation district”. It designated larger geographical units in the rural areas around the cities. According to van Driel a *tamirtu* was “a rural district based on a common hydrological feature” (1988: 143), i.e. an irrigation canal or a river. Originally *tamirtu* probably referred to a topographical feature, a “basin” enclosed by the intersecting irrigation canals and rivers, which could be partially or periodically waterlogged, and occasionally it still appeared with this meaning in the Neo-Babylonian texts.¹⁰³⁵

¹⁰³⁰ E.g., Bīt-bārī, Kār-Nanāya, Til-agurrēti.

¹⁰³¹ Ll. 3-4: *zēru / ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša [ina] šihu rabū ša Bīt-Sîn-ašarīd*. In ll. 12-13 the same land is referred to as: *zēru [ša ina šihu] ša Bēlti ša [Uruk] / ša Bīt-Sîn-ašarīd*. A *šihu ša Bīt-Sîn-ašarīd* is also attested in GC 1 418 (12⁺ Nbn).

¹⁰³² Note, however, the exception of privately owned land within an estate of the Lady of Uruk in YBC 4143.

¹⁰³³ See now Janković 2007: 226f. with earlier literature and CAD T: 119ff.

¹⁰³⁴ E.g., YOS 6 40: 13; YOS 6 41: 5; YOS 6 150: 3, 7; TCL 12 64: 3.

¹⁰³⁵ See van Driel 1988: 143, Cole 1994: 92f.; Janković 2007: 226f., Jursa 2004b: 176.

3.4.2.5.3. *līmu*

Another administrative term for land was *līmu*, “thousand”, written either syllabically or logographically as a numeral (1 lim).¹⁰³⁶ It was used for institutional land.¹⁰³⁷ Beside the *līmus* of the temple, a royal *līmu* is attested in YBC 9448 (edited in Janković 2007: 219ff.). The term probably went back to some land division scheme introduced by a central authority and could have been related to the dimensions of the plots, perhaps the length of the frontage or the surface area (cf. Peat 1983: 126f.). Note, however, that the dimensions of some *līmus* which are known to us do not necessarily conform to this theory. The east and the west sides of the *līmu* situated near the Šamaš-gate of Uruk recorded in the cadastral text PTS 2076 (rev. ll. 9’-13’) both measure 1,425 cubits, the southern frontage is 1,420 cubits and the northern one is only ʿ450ʿ or ʿ550ʿ cubits long. The *līmu* in *AnOr* 9 19 (ll. 1-5) had a rectangular shape with the sides with the length of 26,300 and 2,800 cubits. *līmus* were usually situated on canals and in the *tamirtus*¹⁰³⁸ and parts of them could be leased out.¹⁰³⁹

3.4.2.5.4. *nakkandu*¹⁰⁴⁰

nakkandu (*nakkamtu*) is derived from the verb *nakāmu*, “to cover”. It could simply mean a “storehouse”, usually expressed as *bīt nakkandi*,¹⁰⁴¹ but it was also a term for land, occasionally specified as belonging to the king (*ša šarri*).¹⁰⁴² It is not always apparent to which institution a *nakkandu* belonged when it is not further specified. However, there are clear cases in which this term designated land which belonged to the temple.¹⁰⁴³ In YOS 6 150 the land characterised as *zēru bīt mēreši nakkandu ša Bēlti ša Uruk* (l. 11) is said to be at the disposal of a tenant who was supposed to cultivate parts of it and leave others fallow. Though this passage bears some difficulties, it would seem that he was supposed to leave parts of the land not currently in use to the temple as *nakkandu* (ll. 13f.),¹⁰⁴⁴ presumably so that the temple could put it to other use. According to Montserrat 1 land planted with date palms which reverted to temple property was to be registered as *nakkandu*. PTS 2089 informs us that temple oblates (*širkus*) could be settled (*ašābu*) on the *nakkandu*-land; however, the implications of this are not evident. (Did the temple receive a rent from these *širkus* for this land, as it did from those settled on urban properties belonging to it, or was this land assigned to them as subsistence fields?) Van Driel comes to the conclusion that this was “land (belonging to an estate) available for assignation” for some sort of exploitation and proposes for *nakkandu* the meaning “land held in reserve” either by the temple or some royal institution (2002: 197).

¹⁰³⁶ For general remarks and attestations see Janković 2007: 224f. Note that the dictionaries, which translate *līmu* as “region, neighbourhood” (CAD L: 198) or “Umkreis” (AHw: 554), derive the word not from the numeral “thousand”, but from *lawû*, “to encircle, surround, etc.” CAD L: 69. Many writings using numeral signs speak against this interpretation (Janković 2007: 224¹²); however, these writings could be based on a *Volksetymologie*.

¹⁰³⁷ There is no evidence so far that also private individuals could own *līmus*. Rarely *līmu* appears in connection to personal names (e.g., *līmu ša Šar-iqbi* in YOS 21 207: 2), but these instances also concern institutional land.

¹⁰³⁸ E.g., *līmu šupālu ša ina muhhi Harru-ša-Lābāši* (YBC 3543), *līmu ša bīt ili ša ina garin Aššurūtu* (PTS 3032), *līmu ša garin Rātu* (YOS 19 86).

¹⁰³⁹ E.g., *qaqqaru ša limāti* (1 lim^{meš}) *ša Bēlti ša Uruk* (TCL 12 64), *zēru pī šulpi bīt dulli u taptē [ša] ina limi ša Šar-iqbi makkūr Bēlti ša Uruk* (YOS 21 207). Note also that *bīt rittis* could be situated in the *līmus* according to YOS 7 38. On *bīt ritti* see below.

¹⁰⁴⁰ See van Driel 2002: 197ff.; 1988: 137; Cocquerillat 1968: 20³⁸.

¹⁰⁴¹ In the sense of “storehouse”, but without *bīt*, it appears for instance in NBC 4786, Beaulieu 2005: 66f. On the other hand, *bīt nakkandi* clearly designates a type of land in CT 55 83 (Jursa 1995a: 144).

¹⁰⁴² Especially in the Murašû archive, see Stolper 1985: 89f.; see also the attestations collected by van Driel 2002: 198f.

¹⁰⁴³ YOS 6 150 and Montserrat 1 from Eanna, and CT 55 83 (Jursa 1995a: 144) from Ebabbar of Sippar. (Nār-nakkandi mentioned in JCS 28 no. 21 should probably be understood as a specific hydronym.)

¹⁰⁴⁴ The text is broken in l. 14: [ú-maš]-šar.

3.4.2.5.5. *gizzētu*

The term *gizzētu* (*gizzātu*) has most recently been discussed by van Driel 2002: 195f. (for earlier literature see *ibid.*: 195²⁸). However, he did not reach a definitive conclusion. While it originally may have referred to land confiscated by the royal authorities (according to *kudurru* inscriptions), this interpretation is not entirely applicable to its use during the Neo-Babylonian period, as van Driel notes. The word appears in three land lease contracts from Eanna. In YOS 6 40 it refers to an area on the Nār-šarri bordering on the leased land and was not necessarily temple property.¹⁰⁴⁵ In YOS 6 67, a lease *ana zāqipūti*, the land which was to be planted was situated in the *gizzētu* of Nār-Innin (ll. 3f.) and was property of the Lady of Uruk. In PTS 2821 probably the same tenant¹⁰⁴⁶ as in YOS 6 67 rented arable land against a fixed sum in the same area, namely *gizzētu* of Nār-Innin (l. 4: *qaq-qar gi-iz-ze-e-tu šá id^d-innin*). Clearly *gizzētu* could refer to temple property. Royal *gizzētu* (*gizzāt šarri*) is attested once in an Egibi text from Babylon (TCL 13 190), but also *gizzētu ša* PN¹⁰⁴⁷ or a group of people¹⁰⁴⁸ are known. One orchard was designated as *gizzētu* in the cadastral text PTS 2076 rev. l. 20': ^{g^{is}}kiri₆¹ *gi-iz-ze-e-tu₄ šá i-na še-numun^{g^{is}}kiri₆ šá^{ld} a-nu-šeš-[mu u^{ld}utu-numun-si]-[šá¹*. It appears that here *gizzētu* was a part of a larger complex of land. Anu-ah-iddin and his brother Šamaš-šum-līšir, two prebendary gardeners, were holders of an orchard which was adjacent to the *gizzētu*. While the orchard of the two brothers had direct access to a canal, the *gizzētu*, which was also entrusted to them, did not. It lay on an empty riverbed, which implies a second-rate quality of land and at any rate a diminished suitability for a date plantation in this case. It remains unclear at the present state of our information whether the term *gizzētu* had general implications for the quality of the land.

3.4.2.5.6. *bīt ritti*

The still not completely understood expression *bīt ritti* was the subject of many studies in the past.¹⁰⁴⁹ Literally the “hand house”, *bīt ritti* is a term applied to agricultural land, both grain fields and orchards,¹⁰⁵⁰ which has been in use in Babylonia from the Neo-Babylonian to the Hellenistic period. Contrary to the assertions in some older literature (e.g., Joannès 1982: 15, Stolper 1985: 25⁹⁷) it was not a part of the system originally introduced by the Persians. This has already been noticed by Dandamayev (1986: 466) after the publication of Neo-Babylonian texts from the British Museum in the volumes CT 55, 56 and 57 (in particular the text CT 55 75, a lease from the reign of Nabonidus (year destroyed) mentioning a *bīt ritti*). Jursa listed other attestations of *bīt rittis* from the Ebabbar archive dating from well before the Achaemenid rule (1995a: 120²²⁹). The rent contract from Uruk (PTS 2134, edited below) from 43 Nbk can be added to this list.

Plots of land designated as *bīt ritti* were frequently stated to be the property (*makkūru*) of a deity (i.e. a temple)¹⁰⁵¹ and were at the same time attributed to certain individuals (*bīt ritti* (*ša*) PN)

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ll. 11f.: *še-numun šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} šá ugu id-lugal / šá ul-tu ugu <1> lim šá gi-iz-ze-e-tu₄ šá^{ld} la⁻e-tu-ú-a / a-di ugu^{garin} ha-mar-šá¹ ia-al-li-qa.*

¹⁰⁴⁶ In YOS 6 67 he appears as Nabû-bēlšunu/Marduk/Kurī and in PTS 2821 with the shorter version of his name, Bēlšunu/Marduk.

¹⁰⁴⁷ See the attestations from the Murašû archive and the Hellenistic period listed by van Driel 2002: 196. YOS 21 216, an *imittu* list for dates from Eanna from 1 Nbk IV, can be added to these attestations. One of the entries reads (l. 14f.): *60 gur é rit-ti šá^{ld} na-na-a-[x (x)] / u gi-iz-ze-e-ti šá^{ld} ru-gur¹-pab.*

¹⁰⁴⁸ E.g., *gizzātu ša rē'i* (^{ld}sipa^{meš}) *ša Āl-Šamaš* appears as a geographical name in a text from Sippar (CT 57 5); *gizzētu ša^{ld} la⁻e-tu-ú-a* from YOS 6 40, has been mentioned. It cannot be excluded that this is also a geographical name. (*gizzētu* is attested in Uruk in a geographical name in TEBR 39 in line 2: ^{ld}amirtu^{ld} Gizzētu on Nāru-cššu.)

¹⁰⁴⁹ See now most recently MacGinnis 2012: 25f. and van Driel 2002: 305ff. with older literature on the subject listed in note 36.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Note, however, that in the Hellenistic period *bīt ritti* could also refer to urban properties. In one Hellenistic text from Uruk, for instance, a store room of the temple could be sold *ana bīt rittūti* (text 2, van der Spek 1995: 204ff.).

¹⁰⁵¹ Perhaps also of the king; note the attestation from Sippar VS 5 55, quoted by van Driel 202: 307. See also Jursa 1998: 13ff. for crown land as part of a complex *bīt ritti* next to temple land.

who could occupy, exploit or transfer them to a third party for exploitation.¹⁰⁵² As far as we can tell, all the *bīt ritti* were established on institutional land and there is no doubt that the actual owners were the institutions.¹⁰⁵³ However, the ‘holders’ of the *bīt ritti* had extensive rights over them. They were entitled to lease, pledge, divide, testate and even sell (sales are attested in the Hellenistic period) this land “as if private property”.¹⁰⁵⁴ Petschow explained this with the concept of the divided ownership: “... bei *bīt ritti* und *hallatu* scheint das Eigentum als funktionell beschränktes Eigentum geteilt gewesen zu sein zwischen Tempel oder König einer- und den Inhabern andererseits” (1956: 147). The temple ceded certain rights of use to the holder of a *bīt ritti* in return for some service or payment (in kind), but it retained an *Eigentumsrest*. Thus the temple could establish a *bīt ritti* and also withdraw it from its holder. In Sippar a case is attested of the temple authorities withdrawing the lease of a *bīt ritti* from one holder who failed to pay his dues (his *sūtu*) to the temple and transferring it to another individual.¹⁰⁵⁵

Through PTS 2134 we can for the first time witness the formation of a *bīt ritti*. Formally the text is no different from the ‘regular’ planting and sharecropping contracts. The tenant¹⁰⁵⁶ asked for land, a *bīt ritti*, in order to plant grapevines where the soil is suitable, in a region which seems to have been under development since other planters (*zāqipānus*) were active there (l. 6). No temporal limitations were imposed on the lease and the only obligation of the tenant toward the temple, besides planting grapevines, was a half-share of the yield.

PTS 2134

17-IV-43 Nbk

- obv. 1. ¹ab-^rna¹-a³ a-šú šá ^{ld}im-ma-a-a-da
a-na igi ^{rld}130-mu ^{lu}qí-i-pi šá é-an-na
il-lik-ma ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma
i-na qaq-qar šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} šá ina ugu
5. ^{id}har-ri-šá-¹sum-na-a pa-na-at
a-šá^{meš} šá ^{lu}za-qí-pa-né-e a-šar
a-^rna za-qáp¹ šá ^{gis}geštin ta-a-bu é kišib še-numun
bi-^rin¹-nam-ma (crasure)
^{gis}rgeštin¹ ina lib-bi a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} lu-uz-qup
lo.e. 10. ^{ld}30-mu iš-me-šu-ú-ma é kišib
ina ugu ^{id}har-ri-šá-¹sum-na-a ul-tu mi-^ršir¹
rev. e-lu-ú a-di-^ri¹ mi-šir šap-[lu-ú]
i-na pa-na-at a-¹šá^mes šá ^{lu}za-qí-pa-^rné-e¹
a-šar ^{gis}gišimmar ina lib-bi ia-a-nu a-na
15. ¹ab-na-a id-din a-šar a-na za-qáp ta-a-bu
^{gis}geštin i-zaq-qáp a-^{hi} ha-la it-ti ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
ik-kal
(one blank line)
^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-din-su-e
a ¹šu-^dna-na-a ¹gi-mil-lu a-šú šá ¹numun-ia
20. a ¹ši-gu-ú-a ¹kar-^den a-šú šá ¹a-a a ¹ár-rab-tú
¹pir-^u a-šú šá ¹mu-a a ¹mu-^dpap-sukkal ¹na-din
a-šú šá ¹gi-mil-lu a ¹dan-né-e-a
^{ld}amar-utu-mu-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}u-gur-pab a ^{ld}en-a-pab
u.e. ^{ld}en-din-iš a-šú šá ^{ld}bad-mu a ¹lu-^dbad

¹⁰⁵² Cf. BM 60237 and BM 61126 (Jursa 1995a: 124 and 128), two leases of *bīt ritti* land in which the holders of the *bīt ritti* act as lessors.

¹⁰⁵³ Van der Spek notes that no designation for land such as: “*makkūr PN, bīt ritti PN*” is ever attested (1995: 192).

¹⁰⁵⁴ In the Hellenistic time these rights of use could be so extensive (including the right to sell a *bīt ritti*) that the holder of a *bīt ritti* “*de facto* became owner” (van der Spek 1995: 191f.).

¹⁰⁵⁵ BM 75542 (= no. 46), Jursa 1995a: 120, 139f. Therefore the question posed by van der Spek (1995: 192), namely, “whether the temple was in a position to withdraw the possession” of a *bīt ritti*, can be answered in the affirmative thanks to this text.

¹⁰⁵⁶ The fact that he has a foreign name is probably not significant. The majority of the holders of *bīt ritti* have Babylonian names (see the table below).

25. ^{lú}umbisag ^{lú}ag-dù-šeš a-šú šá ^{lú}dù-a a ^{lú}é-kur-za-kir
 unug^{ki} iti šu ud 17-kam mu 43-kam
 le.e. ^{lú}ag-níg-du-ùru lugal tin-^{lú}tir^{ki}

“Abnā, son of Addu-mād, went to Sîn-iddin, the resident of Eanna, and said as follows: ‘Give me land (as) a *bīt ritti*, from the land of the Lady of Uruk, which is on Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya, in front of the plots of the planters, wherever it is suitable for planting grapevines, and I will plant grapevines there for the Lady of Uruk.’ Sîn-iddin consented and gave to Abnā a *bīt ritti* on the Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya, from the upper border to the lower border, in front of the plots of the planters, where there are no date palms. Wherever it is suitable for planting he will plant grapevines. He will consume a half-share ((with the Lady of Uruk)).

Witnesses: Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
 Gimillu, son of Zēria, descendant of Šīgūa,
 Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Aplāya, descendant of Arrabtu,
 Pir’u, son of Šumāya (or Iddināya/Nadnāya), descendant of Iddin-Papsukkal,
 Nādin, son of Gimillu, descendant of Dannēa,
 Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Nergal-nāšir, descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur,
 Bēl-uballīt, son of Ea-iddin, descendant of Amīl-Ea,

Scribe: Nabû-bān-aḫi, son of Ibnāya, descendant of Ekur-zakir;
 Uruk; 17-IV-43 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

Generally, the question of the duties incumbent on the holder of a *bīt ritti* is still open. PTS 2134 hardly illuminates the matter. The impression this text and also some texts from the Ebabbar of Sippar give us, is that there was no difference between a *bīt ritti* and regular tenancy land, as far as the imposed obligations go. Here the arrangement was for sharecropping, but *bīt rittis* with a *sūtu* obligation are also known from Ebabbar. The Hellenistic sale or lease documents mention duties toward the temple, without being specific, however. The general term for doing service, *palāhu*, is used in these texts. The texts from the Murašû archive from the later Achaemenid period do not mention any fiscal or service encumbrances on *bīt rittis*.¹⁰⁵⁷ According to some texts from Sippar the tithe (*ešrû*) was occasionally imposed on *bīt rittis* and, infrequently, military duties appear in connection with these properties (Jursa 1995a: 120²³¹; 1998: 13ff.). These were, however, duties incumbent on *bīt qaštis* (bow fiefs), which could constitute a complex *bīt ritti*, and had nothing to do with the *bīt ritti per se* (Jursa 1998: 13ff.). Furthermore, *bīt rittis* could apparently be composed of temple and state land (*ibid.*).

Joannès (1982: 11ff., esp. 15f.) considered relating the *bīt rittis* to the system of subsistence fields well known from the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, according to which the members of a temple or a palace household would get subsistence (šuku) fields as reward for a service they performed for the institution.¹⁰⁵⁸ In case they could not cultivate their šuku-fields due to some obligation toward the crown (e.g., military campaign), the holders of these fields could rent them out.¹⁰⁵⁹ Jursa (1995a: 120f.) followed this idea by stating: “Das *bīt ritti* auf Tempelland läßt sich nach wie vor am besten als eine Art Versorgungsland von Tempelangehörigen, mit einer (moderaten?) Abgabe belastet und vielleicht mit gewissen Funktionen verbunden, verstehen.”¹⁰⁶⁰

The examples from Eanna of *bīt rittis* at the disposal of groups of craftsmen, the bow makers (^{lú}zadim^{meš}, YOS 17 298) and perhaps the smiths (*nappāhu*,¹⁰⁶¹ NBC 4833) would seem to support this interpretation. However, for the most part the holders of *bīt rittis* known by name cannot be

¹⁰⁵⁷ Stolper 1985: 25⁹⁷; but see Jursa 1998: 13⁴⁵ on BE 9 45/TMH 2/3 143.

¹⁰⁵⁸ At the same time this practice took the pressure off the ration system, since members of institutional households were entitled either to rations or subsistence fields.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Cf. for instance Stol 2004a: 732ff.; Sallaberger 1999: 292 (*gána šuku* – subsistence fields of the temple officials and personnel in the Ur III period).

¹⁰⁶⁰ See also his remarks on p. 196. Also in his book on the temple tithe Jursa describes *bīt ritti* as “eine Art ‘Lehen’ oder ‘Versorgungsfeld’, also Land, das von einem institutionellen Haushalt jemandem zu seinem Unterhalt zugesprochen wurde” (1998: 13).

¹⁰⁶¹ See note 1074.

identified, since they are usually not given a filiation. It is impossible to establish whether they belonged to the temple household at all, let alone if they had any ‘functions’ in the temple.¹⁰⁶²

The evidence from Eanna is, at any rate, rather uniform. It comes from a relatively short time span: apart from a lease contract from 43 Nbk (PTS 2134), all the texts in which *bīt ritti*s are mentioned can be dated to the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses and Nebuchadnezzar IV. They appear in one letter, four *imittu* lists for dates, five lease contracts concerning orchards and ten *imittu* debt notes for dates.¹⁰⁶³ The texts only show *bīt ritti*s in the context of the agriculturally used temple land and the dues there from.¹⁰⁶⁴ In the *imittu* lists usually an amount of dates, indicated as stemming from a *bīt ritti* of PN/profession, was (to be) delivered by another person. In the *imittu* debt notes the owed amount of dates is generally stated to be from a plot (*eqlu*) in a certain locality, which was the *bīt ritti* of PN and which usually belonged to the ‘general farm’ (*sūtu*) of PN₂ (the large-scale rent farmer). The dates were charged against yet another person (PN₃) who probably tended the orchard himself and who had no apparent connection to the holder of the *bīt ritti*. How this type of constellation could emerge, is evident from lease contracts such as NBC 4889 and NCBT 630 in which the *fremier général* sub-leased *bīt ritti*s of certain individuals to third parties. As far as the witness lists are extant, we can observe that the holders of the *bīt ritti*s were not present at these transactions. It is not known under which circumstances the *fermiers généraux* received the responsibility over and the right to sub-lease these *bīt ritti*s. Possibly they automatically got this right by virtue of their rent farm granted by the temple authorities.¹⁰⁶⁵ In such an arrangement, the temple would receive the date rent (*sūtu*) consisting of individual imposts (*imittu*), the *fremier général* would presumably make profit on any surplus production, and the gardener would receive dates as remuneration (*sissinnu*). Only the holder of the *bīt ritti* would end up without an obvious gain, which would defeat the purpose of both tenancy land and a *šuku*-type property. That is, unless the customary share of the holder of the *bīt ritti* was (automatically) taken into account and paid out to him (without leaving a trace in the written documentation).

As far as the evidence from Eanna goes, there seem to have been at least two ways in which a holder of a *bīt ritti* could use this property. On the one hand, a text like PTS 2134 demonstrates that he had the right to exploit the land and enjoy a part of the yield like a regular tenant.¹⁰⁶⁶ The existence of the ‘passive’ *bīt ritti* holders, on the other, is also evident. However, it poses the question of the rights and benefits that holding a *bīt ritti* implied, not to mention the obligations toward the temple (if any specific ones were implicit at all). While one cannot hope to find a solution to this problem at the present state of the information, one wonders if “this ‘neutrality’ regarding obligations and rights represents the essence of the term *bīt ritti*” and if it was not intentional (van Driel 2002: 307). Perhaps *bīt ritti* was indeed “a kind of catch all phrase” meaning “no more than ‘holdings (as far as they are) in the hands of PN’”, as van Driel suggested (2002: 307).

| Text | Date | Name | Patronymic | Location of the <i>bīt ritti</i> ¹⁰⁶⁷ | Text type ¹⁰⁶⁸ |
|------------|---------------|--------------------------|------------|--|---------------------------|
| YOS 21 206 | 15-V-1 Nbk IV | [x] | ([x]) | Gadētu | a |
| PTS 2134 | 17-IV-43 Nbk | Abnāʾ | Addu-mād | Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya | b |
| YOS 21 78 | - | Aḫ-iddin-Marduk | | - | letter |
| BIN 1 103 | 1-VI-5 Camb | Arad-Anu ¹⁰⁶⁹ | Erēbšu | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | a |

¹⁰⁶² Note, however, that the holder of a *bīt ritti* of Šamaš (Sippar), a certain Marduka, was a *širku* of Šamaš (*Dar.* 427).

¹⁰⁶³ See the table below.

¹⁰⁶⁴ In case of Eanna there is only evidence for *bīt ritti*s as (date) orchards, but this must be a coincidence. From the Ebabbar of Sippar we know of *bīt ritti*s on arable land.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Cf. YOS 7 38, in which the temple authorities leased out of someone’s *bīt ritti* for carrying out the *gugallu*-service (*ana gugallūti*) to another individual.

¹⁰⁶⁶ This is perhaps also the case with Šamaš-uballiṭ from YOS 21 219 (see note 1077). Note also that Arad-Anu, the ‘passive’ holder of a *bīt ritti* in BIN 1 103, was himself active in the temple agriculture as is demonstrated by an *imittu* debt note for dates (NCBT 858) in which he appears as the debtor (see note 1069).

¹⁰⁶⁷ In this column PD stands for place of drafting of the document.

¹⁰⁶⁸ “a” stands for *imittu* debt notes for dates, “b” for land lease contracts and “c” for *imittu* lists for dates.

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--------------|---|---|
| BM 114643 | 26-VI-7 Camb | Arrabu | | Lasūtu (PD: Bīt-Šakin-šumi) | a |
| YOS 7 38 | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | Arrabu | | <i>līmu</i> of Lasūtu | b |
| NCBT 562 | 4-VI-[x] Camb | Balāṭu ¹⁰⁷⁰ | Nabû-bân-aḫi | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | a |
| NBC 4889 | 2-VI-2 Camb | Bēl-aḫḫē-erība | | Nāru-cššu (PD: Naḫallu) | b |
| BIN 1 103 | 1-VI-5 Camb | Bēl-ēter | Nabû-bân-aḫi | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | a |
| JCS 28 no. 57 | [x]-V-[x] Camb | Bēl-iddin | | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | a |
| YOS 21 214 | [x]-[x]-1 Nbk IV | Bēl-iddin | Bābilāya | Dūr-Ugūm(?) (PD: Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter) | b |
| YOS 7 38 | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | Ina-šilli-Nanāya | | <i>līmu</i> of Ḫarru-ša-Lābāši | b |
| YOS 7 38 | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | Innin-zēr-ušabši | | <i>līmu</i> of Lasūtu | b |
| YOS 7 38 | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | Ištar-zēr-ibni | Rēmūt | - (PD: Uruk) | b |
| YOS 7 195 | 15-VI-7 Camb | Ištar-zēr-ibni | | Nār-šarri(?) (PD: Bāb-Nār-Aššurītu) | a |
| NCBT 630 | 4-VI-1 [Nbk IV] | Kīnāya | Rēmūt | on Nār-šarri above Bīt-Šama-il | b |
| YOS 7 38 | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | Marduk-šum-ušur | | in <i>līmu</i> of Ḫarru-ša-Lābāši | b |
| YOS 21 214 | [x]-[x]-1 Nbk IV | Nabû-ēreš | | Dūr-Ugūm(?) (PD: Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter) | b |
| NBC 4579 | 1 Nbk IV | Nanāya-[x] ¹⁰⁷¹ | | - | c |
| YOS 7 51 ¹⁰⁷² | 28-VI-5 Cyr | Nanāya-ēreš | | Ḫarri-kibbi (PD: Kurbat) | b |
| YOS 7 38 | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | Nanāya-ibni | | in <i>līmu</i> of Ḫarru-ša-Lābāši | b |
| NBC 4833 ¹⁰⁷³ | 5 Camb | <i>nappāḫu</i> ¹⁰⁷⁴ | | - ¹⁰⁷⁵ | c |
| NBC 4912 | 5 Camb | Silim-ili | | - ¹⁰⁷⁶ | c |
| BM 113400 | 25-VII-1 Nbk IV | Šin-iddin | | Dūr-Ugūm (PD: Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter) | a |
| YOS 21 219 | 1 Nbk IV | Šin-zēr-iddin | | ^{uru} Nāru-cššu | c |
| BIN 1 111 | 16-V-2 Cyr ^{or} Camb! | Šamaš-ibni | | Nāru-cššu | a |
| YOS 21 219 | 1 Nbk IV | Šamaš-uballit ¹⁰⁷⁷ | | ^{uru} Nāru-cššu | c |
| BIN 1 105 | 20-VI-2 Camb | ^l [ú [?] -pa [?]]-qu | | Nāru-ša-Bīt-ili (PD: Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter) | a |
| YOS 17 298 | 6-VII-1 Nbk IV | ^{lu} zadim ^{meš} | | on Takkīru (PD: Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter) | a |
| TCL 12 23 | 1-VII-1 Nbk IV | Zēria | | Nār-Bitqu (PD: Kār-Eanna) | a |

Table 25: Holders of *bīt rittis*

¹⁰⁶⁹ Arad-Anu/Erēbšu is debtor in the *imittu* debt note for dates NCBT 858 (Nbk IV) from the rent farm of Gimillu drafted in [Kār]-Nanāya on Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter.

¹⁰⁷⁰ This *imittu* debt note for dates from the farm of Ardia, describes the property from which the dates are due as: a-ša / [é] *rit-ti šá^lba-la-tu a-šú šá^{ld}ag-dù-šeš* / [é[?]] *gišimmar tur-tur šá^lba-ša-a^{lu}šu-ša-an-ni* (ll. 1-3). The role of this Iqīšāya is not entirely clear. He was perhaps responsible for the delivery of dates.

¹⁰⁷¹ The entry in ll. 14-15: *1+šu gur é rit-ti šá^{ld}na-na-a-[x-(x)] / ù gi-iz-ze-e-ti šá^{ld}ru-gur^l-pab*.

¹⁰⁷² Note that the tenant Nabû-šum-iddin requested from the temple authorities to be given the *bīt ritti* of his father Nanāya-ēreš for the purpose of orchard tending. Unfortunately the background of this lease is not known and so the implications for heredity of this type of land are not clear.

¹⁰⁷³ The heading of this *imittu* list for dates reads as follows: *zú-lum-ma zag-lu a-ša^{meš} šá^{lu}zadim^{meš} / šá mu 5-kam^lkam-bu-zi-ia lugal e^{ki} lugal kur-kur* (ll. 1-2).

¹⁰⁷⁴ The entry in l. 35 of this *imittu* list for dates is: *1 gur é rit-tu^{lu}simug^{ld}utu-mu^{lu}sipa ku x*. The end of the line is unfortunately not clear, but it appears that Šamaš-iddin, a shepherd, was responsible for the delivery of the dates due from the *bīt ritti* of the smith(s[?]).

¹⁰⁷⁵ The following toponyms appear in the list: Nāru-ša-Bīt-ili, Kakkabtu and Āl-Iltammir.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Most of the other entries in this section of this *imittu* list for dates name Nār-šatammi as the place of origin of the dates due. However, Nār-Aššurītu is also mentioned.

¹⁰⁷⁷ The son of Šamaš-uballit, Didēa, is responsible for the delivery of the impost of 14 *kurru* of dates according to this *imittu* list. This is perhaps an indication that they worked in the orchard themselves.

3.4.2.5.7. *hallatu*

hallatu-orchards were a special type of orchards found in some of the lease documents.¹⁰⁷⁸ They belonged to the temple and were put at the disposal of the prebendaries called *rab banê*, whose duty was to supply the temple with products from these orchards for the cultic meals of the gods.¹⁰⁷⁹ The prebendaries had extensive rights over the *hallatu*-orchards and could lease them out to other parties. So far one such lease was known from Uruk, YOS 7 162 from 3 Camb, but now two new texts can be added: BM 114444 (16 Nbn) and YBC 4149 ([3] Camb). Generally it can be observed that the lessors were members of the Rab-banê family. They were probably the prebendaries to whom the *hallatu*-orchards were entrusted.¹⁰⁸⁰ In two of the texts, YOS 7 162 and YBC 4149, the tenant was a certain Luttu'a, son of Nabû-aḥ-iddin, who is not otherwise known. In the latter text he is joined by Šamaš-zēr-iddin, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, another otherwise unknown individual. Interestingly, in BM 114444 the tenant is another member of the Rab-banê family. One wonders if he was also a prebendary. Furthermore, a conspicuous number of members of the Rab-banê family witnessed these leases. These were perhaps colleagues of the involved parties. Furthermore, the family ties may also have justified their presence at these transactions.

The orchards were leased for the purpose of orchard-tending (*ana nukuribbūti*) for a limited period of time, either three (YBC 4149) or four years (YOS 7 162, BM 114444), and on sharecropping terms. In BM 114444 the tenant was to receive one fourth and in YOS 7 162 and YBC 4149 one fifth of the yield of the plot ([fraction] *ina ebūr eqli*). This presumably implied the yield of all the plants growing in the orchard, though we only hear of dates explicitly. First, BM 114444 will be presented:

BM 114444 25-V-16 Nbn
 obv. 1. a-šà^{giš} kiri₆^{giš} gišimmar zaq-pi^{giš} kiri₆ ḥal-la-tu₄
 šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} u^d na-na-a šá^{ld} innin-na-mu-gar-un
 ù^{ld} na-na-a-^dutu-ia a^{meš} šá^l šu
 a^{lu} gal-dù šá ká^{rid} ḥar-ri-šá^l gub-ba-a
 5. a-na^{ld} [60-zálag-dingir]^{meš} a-šú šá^{ld} u-gur-sur a^{lu} gal-dù
 a-na^{lu} [nu-^{giš}]^{ld} kiri₆^{ld} ú-tu a-di 4-ta
 mu-an-na^{meš} id-di-nu i-ga^l (text: ta)-ru^{giš} kiri₆
 ip-pu-uš gi-iš-su i-nak-kis?
 lo.e. 4-ú ina buru₁₄ a-šà ḥa-la
 10. šá^{ld} 60-zálag-dingir^{meš} it-ti^{ld} innin-na-mu-gar-un
 rev. ù^{ld} na-na-a-^dutu-a ik-kal
 na-bal-kát-ta-nu 5 gín kù-<babbar> i-tur-ru
^{lu}mu-kin-nu^{ld} a-nu-šeš-mu a-šú šá
^{ld}en-da a^{lu} gal-dù^{ld} 60-su a-šú
 15. šá^l i-^d 15 a^l am-^d a-nu <<dub>>
^lba-laṭ-su a-šú šá^l ba-šá-^d amar-utu a^{lu} má-laḥ₄
^{lu}umbisag^l ir-^d innin-na a-šú šá^{ld} ag-mu-mu
 a^{ld} 30-tab-ni unug^{ki} iti ne
 u.e. ud 25-kam mu 16-kam^{ld} ag-i
 20. lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“The plot of land, an orchard planted with date palms, a *hallatu*-orchard of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, of Innin-šum-iškun and Nanāya-šamšia, the sons of Gimillu, descendant of Rab-banê, which is (situated) on the intake of Ḥarru-ša-Gubbāya, they gave for the purpose of orchard-

¹⁰⁷⁸ On the *rab banê* and the *hallatu*-orchards see Cocquerillat 1973-74: 96ff. For the situation in Sippar see Jursa 1995a: 57ff. (with earlier literature on the subject) and Da Riva 2002: 136ff.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See YOS 6 222 in which a *rab banê* was accused of delivering bad quality dates and pomegranates for the cultic meals and was put in shackles.

¹⁰⁸⁰ The *rab-banūtu* prebendaries attested in the Eanna archive all seem to stem from the Rab-banê family (Kümmel 1979: 95). Though conversely, not all the members of the Rab-banê family were necessarily *rab-banūtu* prebendaries.

tending for four years to Anu-nūr-ilī, son of Nergal-ēter, descendant of Rab-banê. He will build the orchard wall and cut the (thorny) bushes. One quarter of the yield of the plot is the share of Anu-nūr-ilī, which he will consume ((with Innin-šum-iškun and Nanāya-Šamšia)). Whoever transgresses (the agreement) will pay 5 shekels of silver.

Witnesses: Anu-aḥ-iddin, son of Bēl-lē'i, descendant of Rab-banê,
 Anu-erība, son of Nā'id-Ištar, descendant of Rīm-Anu,
 Balāssu, son of Iqīša-Marduk, descendant of Malāḥu,
 Scribe: Arad-Innin, son of Nabû-šum-iddin, descendant of Sîn-tabni;
 Uruk; 25-V-16 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

The tenant was expected to build a garden wall. This was a task usually included in planting-contracts (*ana zāqipūti*, e.g., YOS 17 6, YOS 6 33). Furthermore he was to cut bushes (*gišsu*) growing on the plot. This task, which is not otherwise attested in the institutional land lease contracts, resembles the more frequent task of removing shrubbery (*abatta nasāku*) also found as preparatory work for planting orchards (e.g., YOS 6 33) or generally in orchard-tending contracts (e.g., YOS 7 47). It appears that the orchard in BM 114444 was overgrown and neglected. Other tasks, common for the *nukuribbūtu*-contracts, are required from the tenants in YBC 4149 and YOS 7 162. They are to supply the irrigation canals with water, protect the dates and the shoots and fronds of the palms. Furthermore it is stipulated that the yield-estimation (*imittu*) of the date yield was to be conducted while the fruit was still on the palms (including the young, not fully productive palms in YBC 4149) after which the dates were to be harvested (*nakāsu*):

- YBC 4149 24-VIII-[3¹⁰⁸¹] Camb
- obv. 1. še-numun ^{giš}kiri₆ ḥal-la-ti šá ^dinnin [gaš]an šá unug^{ki} šá ina muḥ-ḥi
 íd-lugal ugu-ú šá ^{ld}in-nin-numun-dù a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-ga-mil
 a ^{lu}gal-dù a-na ^{lu}nu-^{giš}kiri₆-ú-tu a-na ^{lu}lu-ut-tu-ú-a
 a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-šeš-mu ú ^{ld}utu-numun-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-šeš^{meš}-bul-liḥ id-din ^{ld}ḥar-ri-ti-šú
5. a^{meš} ú-šá-aš-bat-u' lib-bi ú ḥa-ru-ut-tu₄
 i-na-ša-ar-u' pu-ut ma-aš-šar-tu₄ šá ú-ḥi-in-nu
 na-[šu]-ú a-di 3 mu-an-na^{meš} a-šà ina igi
^{lu}lu-ut-tu-ú-a ú ^{ld}utu-numun-mu 5 ḥa-la ina e-bu-uš a-šà
^{lu}lu-ut-tu-ú-a ú ^{ld}utu-numun-mu ki ^{ld}in-nin-numun-dù
10. ik-kal-u' ú-ḥi-in-nu ina muḥ-ḥi ^{giš}gišimmar tur
 i-miḏ^d-si-ma i-nak-ki-is
- rev. ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{ld}en-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}u-gur-mu
 a ^{lu}pap-pa-a-a ^{ld}zálag-e-a a-šú šá ^{ld}u^{d?}-gur[?]-mu[?]₁
 a ^{lu}gal-dù ^{ld}ba-la-tu a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-bu-un-šu-tur
15. a ^{lu}gal-dù ^{ld}re-mut^d-en a-šú šá ^{ld}dù-ia
 a ^{ld}gal-dù ^{ld}60-^{ld}utu-ia a-šú šá ^{ld}dù^d-innin
 [a¹ ^{ld}kur-i ^{ld}ba-l[a-tu ^{ld}umbisag a-šú šá
^{ld}in-n[in-numun-mu unug^k]i iti apin
 ud 24-kam [mu 3]-kam ^{ld}kam-bu-zi-ia
20. lugal tin-t[ir^k]i lugal kur-kur

“(Concerning) the land, a *ḥallatu*-orchard of Ištar, the Lady of Uruk, which is on the upper Nār-šarri, which Innin-zēr-ibni, son of Nabû-gāmil, descendant of Rab-banê, gave for the purpose of orchard-tending to Luttu'a, son of Nabû-aḥ-iddin, and Šamaš-zēr-iddin, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit. They will supply its irrigation canals with water. They will protect the fronds and shoots. They guarantee for the guarding of the fresh dates. For three years the plot is at Luttu'a's and Šamaš-zēr-

¹⁰⁸¹ The date is reconstructed on the basis of YOS 7 162 in which the same tenant, scribe and witnesses appear. The only variation in the witness lists of the two texts was in the second witness: in YBC 4149 this was Nūrēa/Nergal-iddin[?]/Rab-banê and in YOS 7 162 this was Innin-zēr-ibni/Nabû-gāmil/Rab-banê. The two texts are, however, not parallel (YOS 7 162 is edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 46. 111). In YOS 7 162 Luttu'a leased a *ḥallatu*-orchard from a certain Balātu/Šulāya/Rab-banê. The orchard was, as in YBC 4149, situated on the upper Nār-šarri.

iddin's disposal. 1/5-share from the yield¹⁰⁸² of the plot Luttu'a and Šamaš-zēr-iddin will consume ((with Innin-zēr-ibni)). He will conduct the *imittu* procedure (also) for the dates on the young date palms and will harvest (them).¹⁰⁸³

Witnesses: Bēl-iddin, son of Nergal-iddin, descendant of Pappāya,
Nūrēa, son of Nergal-iddin[?], descendant of Rab-banê,
Balātu, son of Nabû-būn-šūtūr, descendant of Rab-banê,
Rēmūt-Bēl, son of Bānia, descendant of Rab-banê,
Anu-Šamšia, son of Ibni-Ištar, descendant of Kurī,

Scribe: Balātu, son of Innin-[zēr-iddin];
[Uruk]; 24-VIII-[3] Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

3.5. Types of leases

The leases can be classified according to the type of rent that was to be paid and according to the type of work and cultivation depending on the type of land leased. There are of course overlaps between these two categories and also hybrid forms of leases within one category.

3.5.1. According to rent:

3.5.1.1. *ana sūti*

A lease *ana sūti* “for (a fixed) rent” designates a lease of land against a fixed rent determined in the contract and expressed in absolute figures.¹⁰⁸⁴ The following attestations are known from Eanna:

| Text | Date | Land | Rent |
|--------------------------|---------------|---|---|
| YOS 17 7 | 10-XI-3 Nbk | <i>eqlu ša BšU</i> | 120 <i>kurru</i> dates |
| VS 20 88 | 5-VIII-38 Nbk | <i>qaqqaru</i> | 4,000 [+ x <i>kurru</i> barley], 100 <i>kurru kasia</i> , [x] sesame, [x cress or spelt] + 10 lambs |
| PTS 2344 | 8-II-1 Ner | 50 <i>kurru zēru qaqqaru</i> | 600 <i>kurru</i> barley |
| YOS 6 11 ¹⁰⁸⁵ | 28-I-1 Nbn | 6,000 <i>kurru zēru pī šulpi (elat zēru bīt kirī)</i> | 25,000 <i>kurru</i> barley + 10,000 <i>kurru</i> dates |
| TCL 12 73 | 8-II-1 Nbn | <i>ešrū ša BšU</i> ¹⁰⁸⁶ | 500 <i>kurru</i> barley & dates |
| YOS 6 26 | 12-III-1 Nbn | <i>zēru ša BšU</i> | 400 <i>kurru</i> barley + 1 flawless bull + 10 sheep |
| YOS 6 41 | 11-II-3 Nbn | <i>zēru ša BšU</i> | 1,000 [+ x <i>kurru</i> barley] + 60 <i>kurru</i> sesame + 20 <i>kurru</i> cress |

¹⁰⁸² *ebūš* in line 8 stands for *ebūr*. The intervocalic *r* was frequently articulated as some sort of sibilant and was sometimes rendered in the cuneiform script with signs containing the consonant *š* or *z* (Jursa 2003: 235f.). In this case the *r* is postvocalic. However, *ebūš* is followed by the word *eqli*. The articulation of this *status constructus* compound may well have been a sandhi with an expulsion of the initial glottal stop in *eqli* thus placing the final consonant of the *nomen regens* in an intervocalic environment.

¹⁰⁸³ The subject of this clause is probably the lessor.

¹⁰⁸⁴ For examples of different ways of expressing the *sūtu*, e.g., as a multiple of the cultivated area, see Jursa 2004b: 177.

¹⁰⁸⁵ And duplicates TEBR 37 and AfK 2, p. 107ff.

¹⁰⁸⁶ The object of this lease is not directly land, but the tithe (*ešrū*) of the Lady of Uruk, incumbent on certain specifically delimited areas (e.g., on the land stretching from Uruk to Babylon and from Nār-šarri to the Euphrates, and the fields of the Lady of Uruk in certain localities (ll. 4-9)).

| | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| YOS 6 40 | 23-VI-3 Nbn | 865;1.4 zēru ša BšU | 1,240 kurru barley + 1 bull + 15 sheep |
| PTS 2249 | 23-VI-[3 ²] Nbn | zēru ša BšU | 360 kurru barley + 1 ² bull + 5 [sheep] |
| PTS 2821 | 20-IV-5 ² Nbn | qaqqaru | 300 kurru barley + 5 kurru sesame |
| TCL 12 90 | 10-V-8 Nbn | zēru ša BšU | 3,500 kurru barley (= 3,350 barley + 50 kurru sesame) |
| YOS 6 150 | 28-[x]-11 Nbn | 2,081 kurru zēru ... ša BšU | 5,000 kurru barley + 3,000 bundles of straw |
| PTS 2044 | 6-II-8 Cyr | zēru gišimmarī zaqpu makkūr BšU | 12,000 kurru dates |
| TCL 13 182 | 13-IV-2 Dar | - | 10,000 kurru barley + 12,000 kurru dates + 10 flawless bulls in the first year |

Table 26: Land leases *ana sūti*

The term *sūtu* itself rarely appears in the contracts.¹⁰⁸⁷ Instead, the fixed amount of agricultural produce is recorded as rent for which the lease is granted. After stating his request, in the *Zwiegesprächs*-type contracts, the tenant usually expressed the intention of annually delivering so-and-so much agricultural products to the Lady of Uruk. In the one attested contract *ex latere locatoris* (PTS 2044) this was formulated in the third person as part of the clause recording the granting of the land and repeated as one of the obligations of the tenant. This type of rent appears mostly in connection with arable land. But, date plantations were also exploited *ana sūti*, especially on a larger scale in the so-called “general farm” arrangements (barley and dates: YOS 6 11 and TCL 13 182; only dates: PTS 2044). On the other hand, rent *ana sūti* practically does not appear in the small-scale leases of date orchards. Normally, the revenues from the orchards were established annually during a yield-estimation procedure (*imittu*) and were variable. The only exception is YOS 17 7 according to which a plot (*eqlu*) of the Lady of Uruk in a certain locality was leased for 120 kurru of dates annually:

YOS 17 7 10-XI-3 Nbk
 obv. 1. ^lir-a a-šú šá ^{ld}na-na-a-kam a-na ^rpa-ni^{erased?}₁
^{ld}maš-lugal-pab ^{lu}qí-i-pi ^{ld}ag-na-din-mu ^{lu}ša-tam
 (ca. 8 signs erased) *il-lik-ma*
ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma a-ša šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
 5. *šá ina ^{uru}ha-an-na-ra-bi bi-na-nim-ma*
šat-ti 1 me 20 gur zú-lum-ma a-na
^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ^{ld}lud-din ^{ld}maš-lugal-ùru
^{ld}ag-na-din-mu (ca. 5 signs erased) *iš-me-šu-ma*
a-ša šá ^{uru}ha-an-na-ra-bi i-din-nu-ši²
 lo.e. 10. *šat-ti 1 me 20 gur zú-lum-m[a a-na]*
^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ^lir-a i-n[*am-din*]
 rev. ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^lníg-du a-šú šá ^lgin-numun a ^lhun^{um}-zu-ú
^{ld}ag-sur-zi^{mc} a-šú šá ^{ld}en-đa a ^lši-gu-ú-a
^lmu-šib-ši a-šú šá ^lnumun-gin a ^lki-din^damar-utu
 15. ^{ld}ag-numun-dù a-šú šá ^lba-ša a ^{lu}gal-dù
^lníg-du a-šú šá ^lšu-ma-a a ^{lu}sipa-sá-duk₄
^{ld}ag-kal a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-numun-gin a ^lé-kur-za-kir
^{lu}umbisag ^{ld}amar-utu-sur a-šú šá ^{ld}en-mu-gar-un

¹⁰⁸⁷ In PTS 2044 the lease was granted for yearly 12,000 kurru of dates, against a fixed rent (ll. 4f.: *a-na mu-an-n[a 12 lim gur zú-lum]-ma / a-na ^{gis}bán*). In PTS 2821, a sub-lease of arable land, the tenant referred to a previous arrangement and asked for land to be given to him from the land which had been given against a fixed rent to Nergal-nāšir (ll. 6f.: *šá a-na ^{gis}bán a-na ^{ld}u-gur-pab / a-šú šá ^{ld}na-na-a-dù ta-ad-di-nu*). In TCL 12 90 the expression *zēra ana sūti nadānu* also appears in reference to earlier arrangements (ll. 12-13: *še-numun šá ul-tu é-an-na a-na ^{gis}bán a-na PN₁ / ù PN₂ na-ad-nu*).

[a^ld]a-bi-bi^{lú}umbisag é-an-na unug^{ki}
 u.e. 20. ʾiti¹ zíz ud 10-kam mu ʾ3¹-kam^dag-níg-du-ùru
 lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Ardāya, son of Nanāya-ēreš, went to Ninurta-šar-ušur, the resident, (and) Nabû-nādin-šumi, the chief temple administrator, and said as follows: ‘Give me the plot of the Lady of Uruk which is in Ḫannarabi, and yearly I will give 120 *kurru* of dates to the Lady of Uruk.’ Ninurta-šar-ušur (and) Nabû-nādin-šumi accepted and gave him the plot in Ḫannarabi. Yearly Ardāya will give 120 *kurru* of dates to the Lady of Uruk.

Witnesses: Kudurru, son of Mukīn-zēri, descendant of Ḫunzû,
 Nabû-ēter-napšāti, son of Bēl-lē’i, descendant of Šigūa,
 Mušebši, son of Zēr-ukīn, descendant of Kidin-Marduk,
 Nabû-zēr-ibni, son of Iqīša, descendant of Rab-banê,
 Kudurru, son of Šumāya, descendant of Rē’i-sattukki,
 Nabû-udammiq, son of Nabû-zēr-ukīn, descendant of Ekur-zakir,

Scribe: Marduk-ēter, son of Bēl-šum-iškun, descendant of Dābibī, the temple scribe;
 Uruk; 10-XI-3 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

This text, as most of the other *ana sūti* leases, does not give much information on the obligations of the tenant. Other than the payment of rent, which can range from the relatively modest 120 *kurru* of dates (as here) to the imposing 35,000 *kurru* of barley and dates (YOS 6 11), nothing else is recorded in this text. From time to time the texts make stipulations on the mode of the rent payments. The rent was frequently to be paid using the measure (*mašīhu*) of the Lady of Uruk (YOS 6 11, TCL 12 73, YOS 6 26, PTS 2249, PTS 2344, PTS 2821, VS 20 88, TCL 12 90). This was specifically stated because there were different *mašīhu*-measures with different capacities in use in Eanna.¹⁰⁸⁸ It is, however, not certain whether metrological manipulations played a role in Eanna, as was the case in the Ebabbar of Sippar.¹⁰⁸⁹ In the land lease YOS 6 150 which was endorsed by the crown prince Belšazzar it is exceptionally stated that the barley was to be delivered using the *mašīhu ša šarri* (ll. 5, 9).¹⁰⁹⁰

The dates and the barley were to be delivered “at the big waters”, *ina muḫḫi mē rabūti* (TCL 12 73, YOS 6 26, YOS 6 41, PTS 2821), or simply “at the waters”, *ina muḫḫi mē* (YOS 6 11, YOS 6 40, PTS 2249). This expression designates the place of delivery, i.e. at large, navigable watercourses.¹⁰⁹¹ This was of relevance for the further transportation of the agricultural products to

¹⁰⁸⁸ The standard size of the *mašīhu* seems to have been 36 *qū* (at least this is the most commonly attested size: YOS 17 159, YOS 19 170, NBC 4684, NCBT 183, 197, PTS 2756). However, a *mašīhu* of 45 *qū* was also in use (YOS 17 150, NCBT 620). It is unfortunately still not known what the size of the *mašīhu ša Bēlti ša Uruk* was.

¹⁰⁸⁹ From Sippar it is known that a ‘regular’ *mašīhu* had a capacity of 1 *pānu*, i.e. 6 *sūtu* (= 36 litres). The *mašīhu* which appears in the *imittu* lists for dates, however, was assigned a fictitious capacity of 5 *sūtu* (= 30 litres). Thus, in order to deliver 1 *kurru* of dates, the gardener had to fill the *mašīhu*-vessel six instead of only five times. In other words, he had to pay one extra *mašīhu* per each *kurru* of dates he had to deliver, i.e. 20 % more (Jursa 1995a: 151f.).

¹⁰⁹⁰ The size of this measure is not certain. In BM 114513, a debt note for sesame, it is stated that the payment was to be made using the *ma-ši-ḫu ša 1 pi / [šá] lugal* (ll. 5-6). Does this mean that the *mašīhu ša šarri* had the capacity of 1 *pānu* (i.e. 36 *qū*) or was a special *pānu ša šarri* (of unknown capacity) intended in this text?

¹⁰⁹¹ Cocquerillat translates the relevant passages as “hautes eaux”, to be understood as “flooding season”, probably following AHw: 937 which mentions “Hochwasser”. In southern Mesopotamia the flooding season would have been in II-III month (May-June), i.e. during or shortly after the barley harvest. While it could be a suitable moment for barley deliveries, it is somewhat problematic that in YOS 6 11 and TCL 12 73 (and also in the debt note YOS 6 159), both barley and dates were supposed to be delivered *ina muḫḫi mē (rabūti)*. Delivering both crops at the same time would have been a logistical challenge to say the least, since their harvesting seasons lay roughly half a year apart. The flooding season would have been some months before the date harvest and if this means that the dates harvested in the autumn of the previous year were to be delivered together with the barley during the II-III month, then it would also imply that they were to be stored by the gardeners or rent farmers for about a half a year, which seems rather impractical both for the temple and the tenants/gardeners. Already San Nicolò (1948: 282) understood the expression to designate the place

storage facilities or the temple, as the transportation was probably conducted by water. It is, however, not clear whether the temple or the tenants bore the shipping costs. Other leases *ana sūti* stipulate that the agricultural products were to be delivered in the temple: *ina Eanna* (YOS 6 150, PTS 2344, TCL 12 90). Here it seems the tenants bore the shipping costs.

Another rent payment related directive is found in TCL 13 182. Here it is stated that the dates were to be delivered at once (*ina ištēt ritti*), which is a very frequent stipulation in the *imittu* debt notes for dates.

Occasionally, however, we hear of other obligations of the tenant concerning the use of land, irrigation works, additional taxes and dues, and the care for and upkeep of the means of production. Some of the land was cultivated in a fallow system. The fallow,¹⁰⁹² for which a two-year (YOS 6 11) and a three-year cycle (YOS 6 40, YOS 6 150) are attested, was usually indicated with the term *nabalkattu*.¹⁰⁹³ Additionally, in YOS 6 11 it is stated that half of the land would be left to rest each year (l. 9: *ina mu-an-na mi-šil še-numun ú-pa-áš-šá-ḫa*¹⁰⁹⁴). One text stipulates that land which could not be cultivated directly, i.e. using the temple's own plough teams, was to be given to sharecroppers for cultivation (YOS 6 150). Parts of the land which were apparently not used for agricultural production were to be put at the disposal of temple herds for grazing (YOS 6 40, TCL 12 90, TCL 13 182).

In PTS 2044, a lease of all of the temple's date plantations, for instance, there is talk of the digging work (*herūta herū*) and supplying the irrigation canals with water, obligations typical for orchard leases. The tenant in TCL 12 90 is responsible for the regulation of the water flow/level in the main irrigation canal (Nār-šarri) on the land at his disposal (ll. 19-20: *pu-ut bi-it-qu u ki-rik-tú šá id-lugal / a-na ma-la še-numun šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} šá ina pa-ni-šú^{ld} u-gur-na-šir na-ši*). The tenant in TCL 13 182 is obliged to dig large, i.e. navigable, canals at the cost of the temple (l. 26: *id gal-ti ul-tu ní-ga é-an-na i-ḫe-ru-ú*).

Taxation-related obligations are recorded in PTS 2344 and PTS 2044. The tenant in the former text was obliged to provide two equipped *urāšu*-workers¹⁰⁹⁵ to the lessor and the tenant in PTS 2044 had to deliver cattle as a "present" (*nāmurtu*) of the king. Other dues of the tenants in addition to the rent, which mostly consisted of by-products of the cereal and date cultivation, could include bundles of straw (YOS 6 150¹⁰⁹⁶), which was a valuable building material, and parts of the date palm (e.g., *mangāgu*, *liblibbū* ("bast, fronds")¹⁰⁹⁷ in PTS 2044).

Finally, the last type of obligations found in *sūtu*-contracts concern the means of production. They are characteristic for leases of arable land *ana sūti*, especially the large-scale ones, and appear practically only in these texts.¹⁰⁹⁸ The means of production, consisting of barley for seed (and animal fodder), manpower (*ikkarus*), draught animals (oxen and cows), tools

of delivery. It is somewhat unusual that the texts use the word water, rather than waterway (*nāru*, *ḫarru*, or similar), in this context. San Nicolò considered the possibility that *mē rabūti* (or simply *mē*) designated a standing body of water as opposed to flowing water. As an example for flowing water he cited GC 2 102 in which it is stated that watch-posts are located on a big river (l. 9: *kadānu ša muḫḫi nāri rabūti*). However, this example comes from a different context and cannot be contrasted with the payment stipulations from the land lease contracts. Note also that Joannès 1982: 138 translates the relevant passage from Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent contract (TEBR 37 l. 19) as "au bord des canaux" and understands the phrase to designate the delivery at a canal which is navigable the whole year round (p. 162).

¹⁰⁹² For fallow see van Driel 1990: 235ff.

¹⁰⁹³ Cf. AHw: 694 *nabalkattu* – "Überschreitung". For the NB attestations in the context of arable cultivation, the dictionary opts for the translation "was darüber hinausgeht". However, understanding the term as "passing over", i.e. "leaving out, omitting", fits this context better than "exceeding", since a part of the land was to be left out of cultivation. The CAD N I:10 interprets the term as "part of a field left fallow".

¹⁰⁹⁴ The translation "Boden umbrechen??" suggested by AHw: 841 for *puššuḫu* in the agricultural context must be rejected for YOS 6 11, since the basic meaning of the verb, "beruhigen", fits better. For other occurrences of the verb in connection to date orchards in texts from Borsippa see van Driel 1990: 236. Here, this was an action to be avoided by the gardeners. Van Driel considers the possibility of the verb signifying "leaving the tree barren" or "not performing (artificial) pollination" in these cases.

¹⁰⁹⁵ These were workers employed in state service for various digging or construction works. References are made to these occasions in connection with the ploughmen (see p. 59f.).

¹⁰⁹⁶ This attestation should be added to the ones listed by Jursa 2004b: 177.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Cf. Landsberger 1967: 45ff.

¹⁰⁹⁸ PTS 2344, YOS 6 11, YOS 6 150, TCL 13 182.

(ploughs, spades, and so on) and iron for the repair of tools, and occasionally of rations for the ploughmen, were an investment on the part of lessor, the temple. The tenants who, though not explicitly, were also expected to invest in their agricultural enterprise, as this was probably the only way to reach the annual goals set by the contract and make profit, were obliged to take care of the temple's assets. The numbers of livestock were to be kept up. The texts occasionally state that the cows and oxen are "made of iron" and that "they shall not die".¹⁰⁹⁹ For this purpose cows were provided. With their offspring the tenants could keep the numbers of the draught animals up to strength.¹¹⁰⁰ Since these animals were temple property it was stipulated that the tenant would show the offspring to a representative of the temple, usually the *bēl piqitti*, who would have them branded with the mark of the Lady of Uruk and return them to the tenant (YOS 6 11 ll. 12-15; YOS 6 150 ll. 18-21). The ploughs (and other tools¹¹⁰¹) provided were to be kept in good repair.¹¹⁰² This was probably to be done with the iron which was also provided by the temple.¹¹⁰³

3.5.1.2. *ana errēšūti*¹¹⁰⁴

Though the expression *ana errēšūti* literally means "for cultivation", all the leases in which the term *errēšūtu* appears were sharecropping agreements, according to which the tenant kept a part of the harvest and delivered the other part to the lessor. The expression therefore referred to the form of the rent paid rather than to a specific type of cultivation (Jursa 2004b: 177f.). It could be used in connection with different types of arable land which were to be treated differently according to their stage of productivity. But also orchards could be subjected to sharecropping arrangements. In these cases, however, the term *errēšūtu* was not used as it was reserved for arable farming.

Only four leases, all of which concern arable land, are explicitly designated as *ana errēšūti*.¹¹⁰⁵

| Text | Date | Type of land | Rent |
|----------|--------------|----------------------|---|
| YBC 3543 | 1-III-23 Nbk | <i>eqlētu ša BšU</i> | 1/5 in the year 23 Nbk, (then) 1/6 and 1/3 <i>zittu</i> |

¹⁰⁹⁹ YOS 6 11 l. 12: *gu₄^{mc} ù áb-gal ina lib-bi ul i-mut-ti*; YOS 6 150 ll. 17-18: *gu₄^{mcš} ù áb-gal ina lib-bi ul i-mut-tu₄ / [šá an-ba]rⁱ šú-nu*. Cf. also the 'Edict of Belšazzar', YOS 6 3 ll. 20-21: *gu₄^{mcš} ul i-mut-ti / šá an-bar šu-nu*.

¹¹⁰⁰ YOS 6 11 ll. 10-11: 100 *áb-gal^{mc} a-na bat-qa šá 400 gu₄^{mc} a-na PN₁ / ù PN₂ (tenants) id-din*.

¹¹⁰¹ See van Driel 1990: 231f. From Uruk one could also add the work contract YOS 19 71 according to which two men were to receive four oxen, one ploughshare (*lišānu*), one *appatu*-tool and two spades (*marru*) (and 20 *kurru* of barley seed). The private orchard lease YBC 4143 is also interesting in this context. The three men who were to cultivate the orchard and the soil below the palms were to receive three iron spades, one iron hoe, and one iron sickle (l. 24: 3 *giš^{mar} an-bar^{mcš} 1+en qul-mu-ú an-bar 1+en nig-gal-la an-bar*), and food and wool rations from the lessor. That spades and even ploughs were used for the cultivation of the ground below the date palms is also known from numerous other orchard leases from the clauses on the remuneration (*sissinnu*) of the gardener.

¹¹⁰² YOS 6 11 ll. 15-16: *bat-qa / šá^{giš} apin^{mcš} ina lib-bi i-šab-ba-ti*; YOS 6 150 l. 21: *bat-qa^{giš} apin^{mc} -šú ina lib-bi i-šab-bat*.

¹¹⁰³ In YOS 6 11 (l. 21) 10 talents of iron and in YOS 6 150 (l. 22) 5 talents 20 minas of iron were provided. Cf. van Driel's considerations on the weight of the iron supplied by the temple and the weight of the tools (1990: 232). He comes to the conclusion that this iron was to be used for repairs and additions to the existing tools, rather than for the production of new ones.

¹¹⁰⁴ See Ries 1976: 78ff.; Jursa 1995a: 81ff.; Jursa 2004b: 177ff.

¹¹⁰⁵ TCL 12 64 also mentions land leased *ana errēšūti*; however, the text itself is not a lease, but rather a division of the leased property between two tenants by means of lot. The arrangement concerns land previously leased to two brothers for sharecropping. It enumerates the plots in question, but apart from deliveries of cattle as present for the lessor Šum-ukīn, who by all appearances acted on behalf of Eanna, no obligations or stipulations on the rent are recorded in the text. This is not surprising as the rent must have been of marginal concern in this document, the primary purpose of which was to establish a division of the leased plots. The rent will have been determined by the actual lease contract, or following common practice in case there was no written contract to begin with.

| | | | |
|------------|---------------|---|--|
| | | | for different types of land |
| YBC 3750 | 4-XI-2 Ner | 1 <i>šīhu</i> <i>ša BšU</i> | <i>zittu qaqqari aki</i> ¹¹⁰⁶ <i>errēšē ša ina qaqqari ša BšU zēra irrišū</i> (+ 1 bull & 1 sheep as present of Šum-ukin) |
| YOS 21 207 | 26-V-1 Nbk IV | <i>zēru pī šulpi bīt dulli u taptū... makkūr BšU u Nanāya</i> | <i>aḫi zitti</i> for <i>bīt dulli</i> + 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for <i>bīt taptē</i> |
| YOS 21 208 | 30-V-1 Nbk IV | [x] <i>makkūr BšU u Nanāya</i> | 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for <i>bīt dāli</i> + <i>aḫi zitti</i> for <i>bīt mē qāti</i> |

Table 27: Land leases *ana errēšūti*

Some other leases obviously concern sharecropping arrangements, but the term *errēšūtu* is not explicitly used in these texts. The tenant in BM 114559, a lease of ‘unbroken’ land (*taptū*) in which the word *errēšūtu* does not appear, for instance, had to pay one quarter of the harvest as rent. As was noted, *errēšūtu* is also never mentioned in orchard leases, even when these were to be cultivated under sharecropping terms. Rather, these leases were classified as either *ana nukuribbūti* or *ana zāqipūti*:¹¹⁰⁶

| Text | Date | Type of land and lease | Rent |
|-----------|------------------|--|--|
| YBC 4143 | 5-VII-38 Nbk | <i>kirū (kirīkunu ša ina šīhu ša BšU), ana nukuribbūti</i> | 5/6 <i>zittu</i> dates (usufruct of previously uncultivated land for 4 years) |
| PTS 2134 | 17-IV-43 Nbk | <i>bīt ritti zēru (ina qaqqari ša BšU), {ana zāqipūti}</i> ¹¹⁰⁷ | <i>aḫi zitti</i> |
| YOS 6 33 | 19-IX-3 Nbn | <i>qaqqaru ša BšU, {ana zāqipūti}</i> | 2/3 <i>zittu</i> dates (usufruct for 10 years, then 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for tenant) |
| YOS 6 67 | 14-XI-4 Nbn | 2;2.3 <i>zēru ... qaqqaru ša BšU, ana zāqipūti</i> | 2/3 <i>zittu</i> dates (usufruct for 10 years, then 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for tenant) |
| BM 114444 | 25-V-16 Nbn | <i>eqlu kirū gišimmarī zaqpu kirū ḫallatu ša BšU u Nanāya, ana nukuribbūti</i> | 3/4 <i>zittu</i> |
| YBC 4149 | 24-VIII-[3] Camb | <i>zēru kirū ḫallatu ša Ištar BšU, ana nukuribbūti</i> (for 3 years) | 4/5 <i>zittu</i> |
| YOS 7 162 | 24-VIII-3 Camb | <i>zēru kirū ḫallatu ša Ištar BšU, ana nukuribbūti</i> (for 4 years) | 4/5 <i>zittu</i> |

Table 28: Orchard leases with sharecropping arrangements

Furthermore, the sharecropping terms, without the explicit use of the word *errēšūtu*, appear frequently in orchard leases and are applied to the crops grown below the date palms, whereas the date output of the orchard was subjected to an *imittu* procedure (see below).

A leased plot could contain land of different qualities, and for these, shares at different rates could be called for. Thus, in YOS 21 207 the shares for previously cultivated (*bīt dulli*) and uncultivated land (*bīt taptē*) differ. For *bīt dulli*, which was more productive and easier to till, a half-share was to be paid, while for the *bīt taptē* a third of the harvest was the share of the lessor. In YBC 3543 a uniform rate of one-fifth of the harvest as share is to be paid for the first year (the year in which the lease was made), followed by two different rates, namely, one-sixth-share for land which was probably irrigated by buckets, and a third-share for land with readily available water (i.e. land which could be irrigated by flooding, which was less arduous than bucket-irrigation).

¹¹⁰⁶ Jursa 2004b: 178 notes that leases of orchards cultivated under sharecropping terms were extremely rare. The examples discussed in the following can be added to the attestations recorded by him. The sharecropping arrangement in the lease of a *ḫallatu*-orchard, YOS 7 162, referred to, against Jursa, the entire orchard production, not just the crops grown below the date palms.

¹¹⁰⁷ Remarks in { } are information not explicitly stated in the text, but implied by it.

Generally, smaller shares were due from the land which entailed more strenuous work (e.g., a third-share from *bīt dāli*, as opposed to half-share from *bīt mē qāti* in YOS 21 208 and NCBT 677).¹¹⁰⁸

The shares were expressed using the terms *zittu* or *šibšu*, sometimes with additions of words designating land (e.g., *zitti qaqqari, šibšu eqli*).¹¹⁰⁹ *zittu* (ḥa-la), “share”, was the more general term used also in non-agricultural contexts. In the agricultural context it could be applied to dues in barley and other cereals, as well as dates. It could designate the share of both the landowner and of the sharecropper.¹¹¹⁰ *šibšu* had the more specific connotation of “(harvest) share (paid as rent)”¹¹¹¹ and it was applied only to cereals, be they planted on cereal fields or on the land below the date palms, but never to dates. The two terms could be used as partial synonyms and placed in apposition to one another (e.g., *1/4 zittu šibšu ša qaqqari* in BM 114559). The size of the share was specified by placing a fraction before the word *zittu*. A half-share was always expressed as *aḥi zitti* (*a-ḥi* ḥa-la). Other attested shares include: 1/3, 2/3, 1/4, 3/4, 1/5, 4/5, 1/6, 5/6 and 1/10. The shares could be expressed from the point of view of the tenant (the tenant will consume (lit. “eat”, *ikkal*) x-share (“with the lessor”), i.e. the tenant will receive an x-share) or the lessor (the tenant will give an x-share to the lessor). This usually depended on the size of the share: There was a tendency to use the fractions with the numerator 1 wherever possible, as this was simpler to express in writing. Thus, if the share of the lessor was, for instance, 5/6, this would be expressed in terms of the share of the tenant, i.e. 1/6. Sometimes the shares were not further specified by a fraction. *šibšu eqli* appears for instance in YOS 7 51 and in numerous debt notes.¹¹¹² These instances indicate that there existed a customary rate for shares in agricultural leases. In all of these cases the size of the actual share was unspecified. This is also the case in the lease YBC 3750, according to which the share was to be paid in the same way as was done by other sharecroppers, who work on the land of the Lady of Uruk (*zitti qaqqari akī errēšē ša ina qaqqari ša Bēlti ša Uruk zēra irrišū*):

YBC 3750

4-XI-2 Ner

- obv. 1. ^lnu-ḥa-a a-šú šá ^{ld}a[g]-šú^{ll}-ša-bat u ^ldingir^{mes}-na-tan a ^lman-nu-li-qim
a-na igi ^lmu-gin a-šú šá ^{ld}en-numun [a] ^lba-si-ia
^{lu}en pi-qit-ti šá lugal il-lik-ma ki-a-am iq-bi
um-ma 1 ši-i-ḥ[u šá] ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} šá id-dù-ti ^rina ús^l-sa-du
5. ^lšil-la-a i-bi-in-na-ši-ma še-numun ina lib-bi
ni-ri-iš-i-ma ḥa-la qaq-qar a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
ni-id-din ^lmu-gin iš-me-e-šú-nu-ti-ma 1 ši-i-ḥu
šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} šá id-dù-ti ina ús-sa-du ^lšil-la-a
a-na ^{lu}er-re-šu-tu a-na ^lnu-ḥa-a u ^ldingir-na-tan
10. ul-tu iti bār šá mu 2-kam ^{ld}u-gur-lugal-ùru
lugal tin-tir^{ki} id-din še-numun ma-la ina lib-bi
a-na e-reš ta-a-bi ir-ri-[šú-ma]
še-numun ma-la ina lib-bi a-na ^re^l-[reš la]
- lo.e. ta-bu-ú-ma ^lnu-ḥa-a ^ldingir^{mes}-n[a-ta]n
15. ú-maš-šar-ši:ú-ma la ir-ri-ši
a-na er-ši ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} il-li
- rev. a-na la er-ši ^lnu-ḥa-a u ^ldingir-na-tan
il-lu-ú ḥa-la qaq-qar a-ki-i (erasure)
^{lu}er-re-še-e šá ina qaq-qar šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
20. še-numun i-ri-ši a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-di-nu
^{garin?}BUR šá la ^lmu-gin ul i-ri-ši-ú
1+en gu₄ šu-^rku^l-lu-^rlu^l šá 2-ú-tu ú-qát-tu-ú
ù 1 udu gal-ú a-na na-muš-ti šá ^lmu-gin
i-nam-di-nu e-lat ^{gis}gišimmar^m[^{es}š]á a-na i-mit-ti

¹¹⁰⁸ For different share rates for different crops see Jursa 2004b: 178.

¹¹⁰⁹ For a discussion of the terms see Jursa 1995a: 81ff. with earlier literature. Note that the term *mišil ešrú*, “half-share (plus) tithe”, does not appear in the Eanna texts.

¹¹¹⁰ Jursa 1995a: 83.

¹¹¹¹ Jursa 1995a: 82: „(Ernte-)Anteil (als Pachtabgabe)“.

¹¹¹² E.g. BIN 1 97, YBC 9161, NCBT 1012 etc.

25. *im-mi*¹ (text: *du-du-šú-nu-tu*)
 (one blank line)
^{lú}*mu-kin*₇ ^{lú}*ba-la-tu* a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-^{rx}1 a ^{lú}i-sur-gi-na
^{ld}amar-utu-mu-ùru a-šú šá ^lsi-lim-^den a ^lba-si-ia
^lšu-la-a a-šú šá ^{ld}30-na-din-mu
 u.e. ^{ld}in-nin-numun-bad a-šú šá ^lgar-mu ^{lú}umbisag ^lba-la-tu
 le.e. 30. ^la-šú šá ^lmu-[š]e-zib-^den unug^{ki} iti zíz ud 4-kam
 mu 2-kam ^{ld}u-gur-lugal-ùru
 lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Nūhāya, son of Nabû-qāt-šabat, and Il-natan, son of Mannu-liqīm, went to Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, the agent of the king, and said as follows: ‘Give us one estate of the Lady of Uruk, which is on Nār-Bānītu (and) next to (the plot of) Šillāya. We will cultivate the land there and will give a share (of the harvest) of the land to the Lady of Uruk.’ Šum-ukīn consented and gave to Nūhāya and Il-natan one estate of the Lady of Uruk, which is on Nār-Bānītu (and) next to (the plot of) Šillāya, for sharecropping from the first month of the second year of Neriglissar.¹¹¹³ They will cultivate as much land there as is suitable for cultivation and the land which is [not] suitable for cultivation they will leave and will not cultivate. The Lady of Uruk will *take over* the cultivated land, and Nūhāya and Il-natan will *take over* the uncultivated land.¹¹¹⁴ They will give a share (of the harvest) of the land to the Lady of Uruk in the same way as (the other) sharecroppers who cultivate land of the Lady of Uruk. They will not cultivate the x-irrigation district¹¹¹⁵ without Šum-ukīn(’s consent). They will give one two-year-old¹¹¹⁶ flawless bull and one fully grown sheep as present of Šum-ukīn. (This is) apart from the date palms which he (Šum-ukīn) will subject to the yield estimation procedure for them.¹¹¹⁷

Witnesses: Balātu, son of Nabû-x, descendant of Šāhit-ginê,
 Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Basia,
 Šulāya, son of Sîn-nādin-šumi,
 Innin-zēr-līšir, son of Šākin-šumi,
 Scribe: Balātu, son of Mušēzib-Bēl;
 Uruk; 4-XI-2 Ner, king of Babylon.”

There are no indicators in the texts from Eanna what the size of a standard, customary, share might have been. On the basis of one text from the Ebabbar of Sippar, which seems to indicate a parallelism between the expressions *mišil ešrû* and *šibšu ešrû*,¹¹¹⁸ Jursa proposed that a half-share could be implied by the occurrences of *šibšu* without a fraction specifying its size. However, he conceded that more evidence would be needed in order to make a stronger argument for this interpretation (1995a: 82).

¹¹¹³ The text was drafted on 4-XI-2 Ner, i.e. some ten months after the commencement of the lease (I-2 Ner). That lease contracts could be made without (or prior to) the existence of written documents has been noted by Ries 1976: 59⁴⁰¹.

¹¹¹⁴ See CAD E: 125 for this interpretation of *elû*. This stipulation had the objective to ensure that all of the land which was suitable for agricultural use was cultivated by the two tenants for the benefit of the temple. The remaining land, which was probably of lower quality, was to be left to the tenants for their own use, conceivably animal husbandry. This seems plausible because they were supposed to deliver cattle to the lessor as an additional due.

¹¹¹⁵ The identification of ^{garin?}BUR is not known to me.

¹¹¹⁶ Literally: “a flawless bull which completed (its) second (year)”. *2-ú-tu* (**šanūtu*) must stand for the ordinal *šanītu*.

¹¹¹⁷ Apparently, there were also (a few?) date palms on the plot which Šum-ukīn was to subject to an *imittu* procedure.

¹¹¹⁸ Jursa (1995a: 81f.) interprets these expressions as “half-(share and) tithe” and “*šibšu* (and) tithe” respectively.

3.5.1.3. *imittu*¹¹¹⁹

A third type of rent payment, to be distinguished from the fixed rent (*sūtu*) and the shares (*zittu*, *šibšu*), was entitled *imittu*. This term designated both the procedure of yield-estimation and the resulting impost on the cultivator. The yield-estimation was conducted shortly before the harvest both on arable land and in the date orchards by a special commission consisting of estimators (*ēmidus*), scribes, or sometimes individuals simply designated as free citizens (*mār banê*) without any professional specifications. The purpose of the yield-estimation was to determine the prospective output of the temple's fields and orchards and thus avoid any embezzlement of the crops during or shortly after the harvest. Furthermore, it was significant for determining the size of the obligations of the ploughmen, gardeners and sharecroppers.

In the sense of an “impost”, *imittu* could, however, be used in reference to different types of rent payments, especially in *imittu debt* notes. It could, namely, stand in apposition to the shares of the sharecroppers (*zittu*, *šibšu*), and the *sūtu* of the ploughmen.¹¹²⁰ Somewhat confusingly, *imittu* also designated the dues of the gardeners, which were different from the *sūtu*-obligations of the *ikkarus* and the shares of the *errēšus*.¹¹²¹

The absolute size of the shares of the sharecroppers, which were a fraction of the yield, could only have been determined on the basis of a yield-estimation. The evidence from other archives shows that in the debt notes written on this occasion the dues of the sharecroppers were designated as “*šibšu eqli, imittu*”.¹¹²² It is, however, somewhat surprising that *imittu* is never mentioned in the leases in connection to the rent paid by the sharecroppers. At any rate, *imittu* is never mentioned in the leases of arable land *ana errēšūti*. However, it does appear in the *nukuribbūtu*-leases of the *hallatu*-orchards, which were technically sharecropping arrangements.

The gardeners had to deliver the impost (*imittu*) on their orchards determined during a yield-estimation and were to receive a salary in dates (*sissinnu*), calculated on the basis of the size and type of land worked below the date palms. It is assumed that the impost (*imittu*) of an orchard which was to be delivered to the temple consisted of the main part of, if not the entire, yield of the orchard minus the *sissinnu* (Jursa 2004b: 179, with earlier literature).¹¹²³

The term *imittu* itself rarely appears in the lease contracts and when it does, only in the *nukuribbūtu*-leases (YBC 4149, YOS 7 47, 51, 162) and one *gugallūtu*-lease (YOS 7 38). Sometimes it is stated that the procedure would be conducted by Eanna (*ultu Eanna*, YOS 7 38, 47 and 51).¹¹²⁴ The *hallatu*-orchard leases stipulated that the impost on the dates was to be done while these were still on the palms, i.e. before the harvest, after which they should be harvested (e.g., YOS 7 162 ll. 14-15: *ú-ḫi-in-nu ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{giš}gišimmar *i-mi*^{id}-*si-ma* / *i-nak-ki-is*).¹¹²⁵ The great majority of the *nukuribbūtu*-contracts in fact only tacitly implied that the orchards were to be subjected to an *imittu* procedure. The only specific stipulations on rent payments one finds in them concern the arable land below the palms which was to be tilled at sharecropping terms.

¹¹¹⁹ Cf. Ries 1976: 90ff.; Jursa 2004b: 179f.; also Jursa 1995a: 147ff. For a comparable practice from the OB period (*šukunnū*) cf. Cocquerillat 1967: 212ff. See also here Appendix 5.

¹¹²⁰ For attestations of *imittu* in connection to *šibšu* see Ries 1976: 79. None of these examples are from Eanna, though. For *imittu* in apposition to *sūtu* see YOS 6 55, a debt note for barley charged against an *ikkaru* (ll. 1-2: 2 me 75 gur še-bar sag-du zag ^{giš}bán / *šá*^{ld}en-šeš^{mc}-mu^{lu}engar; edited on p. 52).

¹¹²¹ The obligations of the gardeners are, with one exception, never designated as *sūtu* or *zittu* in the texts, but only as *imittu*. However, in TCL 12 59, a list of date deliveries, the gardeners were entitled to a quarter-share (*zittu*) of the orchard production.

¹¹²² E.g., “x *kurru* barley, *šibšu* of the field, *imittu* ... charged against PN (= sharecropper)”; for attestations see the notes 541, 542 and 543 in Ries 1976: 79.

¹¹²³ However, note the already mentioned *imittu* list TCL 12 59 (1 Ami) in which the gardeners of Eanna kept one quarter of the estimated harvest for themselves, and there was no talk of *sissinnu*.

¹¹²⁴ YOS 7 38 is quite specific. The text states further that the yield estimators would make the *imittu* according to which the dates were to be paid to the temple (ll. 6-9: *zú-lum-ma ma-la ul-tu é-an-na i-nem-mi-du* / *a-ki-i i-mit-tu₄ šá*^{lu}*e-mi-de-e šá é-an-na* / *im-mi-du* PN (tenant) *zú-lum-ma a-na* / *é-an-na i-nam-di-in*).

¹¹²⁵ YBC 4149 also mentions young date palms (l. 10: ^{giš}gišimmar tur) which should be subjected to an *imittu* procedure. By contrast, YOS 7 47, a lease of an orchard with some mature and some young palms, specifies that only the yield of the mature, fruit bearing date palms (l. 13: ^{giš}gišimmar *iš-ši bil-tu₄*) should be estimated in the first five years.

3.5.2. According to type of cultivation:

Here we can differentiate between the land leased for development, i.e. for breaking the soil for the purpose of cereal cultivation (*ana taptê*) and for creating new (date) orchards (*ana zāqipūti*) on the one, and for the cultivation of already productive land (*ana nukuribbūti* in case of orchards¹¹²⁶) on the other hand.

3.5.2.1. *ana taptê*¹¹²⁷

Lease contracts for developing arable land (*ana taptê*, literally “for opening”) are not well represented in the Eanna material. Only two such documents have come down to us, of which one concerns land composed of both previously cultivated (*bīt dulli*) and uncultivated (*bīt taptê*) land:

| Text | Date | Land | Rent |
|------------|-----------------|--|--|
| BM 114559 | 20-VII-[x] Camb | <i>qaqqaru ša BšU bīt taptê</i> | <i>1/4 zittu šibšu ša qaqqari</i> |
| YOS 21 207 | 26-V-1 Nbk IV | <i>zēru pī šulpi bīt dulli u taptê ... makkūr BšU u Nanāya</i> | <i>aḫi zitti for bīt dulli + 1/3 zittu for bīt taptê</i> |

Table 29: Land leases *ana taptê*

Both contracts are sharecropping agreements and the shares were to be paid immediately to the temple. In BM 114559 the share amounted to a quarter of the yield:

BM 114559 20-VII-[x] Camb

obv. 1. ^{ld}na-na-a-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-mu-ùru
a ^lé-[kur-za]-^rkir^r a-na igi ^{ld}na-din
a-šú šá ^{ld}en-šeš^{mes} ^rsu^r a ^le-gi-bi
il-lik-ma ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma
5. *qaq-qar é tap-tu-ú šá gú id^d-in-nin*
qaq-qar šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} i-bi-nam-ma
dul-lu ina lib-bi lu-pu-uš ^{ld}na-din
iš-me-šú-ma qaq-qar é tap-tu-ú
i-daš-šu 4-ú ḫa-la ^ršib-šú^l
10. ^ršá^l qaq-qar a-na ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
i-nam-din
rev. [^{lu}mu]-kin-nu ^lgi^l-mil^l-lu a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-mu-mu
[a ^lšu-^d]na-na-a ^{ld}utu-šeš-mu
[a-šú šá ^lutu-mu-mu a ^lam[?]-^da-nu
15. [^{lu}umbisag ^lutu-dù a-šú šá ^lgi-mil-lu
(one blank line)
[unug^{ki}] iti du₆ ud 20-kam
[mu x]-kam ^lkam-bu-zi-iá
[lugal] tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur

“Nanāya-iddin, son of Innin-šum-ušur, descendant of Ekur-zakir, went to Nādin, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-eriba, descendant of Egibi, and said as follows: ‘Give me uncultivated land on the bank of Nār-Innin, land of the Lady of Uruk, and I will do the work there.’ Nādin accepted and gave him uncultivated land. He will give one quarter-share as harvest share of the land to the Lady of Uruk.

Witnesses: Gimillu, son of Nabû-šum-iddin, descendant of [Gimil]-Nanāya,

¹¹²⁶ For productive arable land no specific terms other than the general *dullu* are used. Instead, these types of leases are defined in terms of the rent, i.e. *ana sūti* or *ana errēšūti*.

¹¹²⁷ Rics 1976: 68ff.; Jursa 1995a: 140ff.; Jursa 2004b: 176f.

Šamaš-aḥ-iddin, [son of] Šamaš-šum-iddin, descendant of Rīm-Anu,
 [Scribe:] Šamaš-ibni, son of Gimillu;
 [Uruk²]; 20-VII-[x] Camb; [king] of Babylon, king of lands.”

The text is not informative about the tasks to be undertaken on *taptû*-land. The tenant is obliged to do the work in the field and deliver a quarter-share to the temple. The contract implies that the amount of land to be worked was not limited and that the tenant was to pay rent for as much land as he was capable of tilling. YOS 21 207 is more informative on the activities on *taptû*-land: It reports that the *mayyāru*-land was to be worked up (*dekû*). Furthermore, two rates for rent are stipulated: a half-share for the cultivated land (*bīt dulli*) and a third-share for the previously uncultivated land (*bīt taptê*). This means that here land in different stages of productivity was leased:

YOS 21 207 26-V-1 Nbk IV
 obv. 1. [x] gur še-numun *pi-i šul-pu é dul-lu* ¹u¹ *tap-tu-ú*
¹i¹-na 1 lim *šá* ¹lugal-e níg-ga ^dgašan *šá unug*^{ki}
u ^dna-na-a *šá* ^{giš}bán *šá* ¹gi-mil-lu a-šú *šá* ^{ld}innin-na-mu-dù
^{lu}šá *muḥ-ḥi* ^{giš}bán *šá* ^dgašan *šá unug*^{ki} ¹gi-mil-lu
 5. a-na ^{lu}er-reš-ú-tu₄ a-na ¹ta-lim a-šú *šá* ¹mu-gin
id-din dul-lu ina lib-bi ip-pu-uš ma-a-a-ri
i-de-ek-ku še-numun *é dul-lu šá lib-bi ip-pu-uš*
a-ḥi ḥa-la ú é tap-tu-ú
šal-šú ḥa-la a-na ^dgašan *šá unug*^{ki} *i-nam-din*
 10. 1-en¹[^{a-a}]ⁿ *šá-ṭa-ru il-qu-ú*
 lo.e. *pu-ut [e-p]e-šu šá dul-lu* ¹ta-lim *na-ši*
 rev. ^{lu}mu-kin₇ ¹gi-mil-lu a-šú *šá* ¹a-ḥu-lap-^d15
a ¹ḥu-un-zu-ú ^{ld}a-nu-um-numun-gál-ši
a-šú šá ¹mar-duk a ¹šu-^dna-na-a ^{ld}na-¹na¹-a-kam
 15. a-šú *šá* ¹gi-mil-lu
 (two blank lines)
^{lu}umbisag ^{ld}innin-na-mu-ùru a-šú *šá* ^{ld}u-gur-¹ú-še-zib¹
 [a] ¹ki-din-^damar-utu uru *íd eš-[šú] iti ne*
 ud 26-kam mu 1-kam <<mu 1-kam>>
^{ld}ag-níg-du-ùru *lugal e*^{ki} *u kur-kur*

“Gimillu gave to Talīm, son of Šum-ukīn, [x] *kurru* of arable land, (including both) cultivated and previously uncultivated land, which is situated in the *līmu* of Šar-iqbi, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, pertaining to the rent farm of Gimillu, son of Innin-šum-ibni, the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk, for sharecropping. He will do the work there. He will work up the *mayyāru*-land. For the cultivated land on which he works he will give half (of the harvest as) share and for the previously uncultivated land a third (of the harvest) as share to the Lady of Uruk. Each took (a copy of) the document. Talīm guarantees for the performance of the (necessary) work.

Witnesses: Gimillu, son of Aḥulap-Ištar, descendant of Ḥunzû,
 Anu-zēr-ušabši, son of Marduk, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
 Nanāya-ēreš, son of Gimillu,

Scribe: Innin-šum-ušur, son of Nergal-ušēzib, descendant of Kidin-Marduk;
 Nāru-eššu; 26-V-1 Nbk IV, king of Babylon and of lands.”

Apart from these two documents we hear of uncultivated land in orchard leases *ana nukuribbūti*. This land could be leased as part of existing orchards. It was referred to in these contracts either generally as “arable land” (*pi šulpi* in NCBT 630) or explicitly as previously uncultivated land (*bīt taptê* in NCBT 630, *apītu* in YBC 4143 and *barrātu* in NCBT 677). In addition to the rent paid immediately, as in the two *taptû*-contracts, an alternative mode for rent payments is known from one of these orchard leases, similar to the one from the *zāqipūtu*-contracts (see below). In YBC 4143, the tenant is supposed to cultivate the *apītu* land adjacent² to the orchard he leased and have the usufruct of this land for four years. No stipulations are made for the

period after these four years. Similarly, in the lease *Camb.102*¹¹²⁸ from Sippar it is recorded that the rent payments were to commence after three years. During the period of three years, the land was to be “opened” and cultivated, and all the produce of the field went to the cultivator. Jursa (1995a: 141) suggests that the actual work of “opening” the land took about two years, as in the Old-Babylonian *teptītu*-leases,¹¹²⁹ and consisted of two phases. In the first year the soil would be broken (*taptē puttū*), then the hard, big lumps of earth would be removed (*paškī našū*) and the first sowing would be conducted. The second season entailed a second round of ploughing ((*mayyāra*) *dekū*), “crumbling” of the soil (*pašāru*) and the first regular sowing (*zaqāpu*). Such a range of work procedures as presented in *Camb. 102* is not known from the Uruk texts. Apart from the solitary *mayyāra dekū* from YOS 21 207,¹¹³⁰ however, some orchard leases which included previously uncultivated arable land mention also the ‘opening’ of the soil (*taptē puttū*)¹¹³¹ and the removal of shrubbery (*abatta nasāku*)¹¹³². The sequence recorded in YBC 4143 was working up the *mayyāru*-land, opening the soil and removing shrubbery (ll. 11-12: *mayyāra idekkū, taptū upattū, abattu inamsukū*). The order in which these procedures are listed was probably not significant. One would in fact expect the work to progress in exactly the opposite direction. Namely, the wild-growing vegetation would have to be removed first, so that the first round of ploughing, the ‘opening’ of the soil could be carried out. This would be followed by a second round of ploughing, expressed as *mayyāra dekū*, if one is to follow Jursa’s interpretation of the term (1995a: 141). However, the exact implications of the word *mayyāru* are not clear, as was discussed earlier (see p. 272). The attestation of *mayyāru* in YOS 21 207 as a designation of land may indicate that the term could be used synonymously to *bīt taptē* mentioned at the beginning of this text.

3.5.2.2. *ana zāqipūti*¹¹³³

Five contracts “for planting” have come down to us from the Eanna archive:

| Text | Date | Land | Rent |
|----------|---------------|--|--|
| YOS 17 6 | 23-III-21 Nbk | <i>qaqqaru ša BšU</i> | usufruct for 5 years then <i>aḫi zitti</i> (?) |
| PTS 2134 | 17-IV-43 Nbk | <i>bīt ritti zēru ina qaqqari ša BšU</i> | <i>aḫi zitti</i> |
| YOS 6 33 | 19-IX-3 Nbn | <i>qaqqaru ša BšU</i> | usufruct for 10 years then 2/3 <i>zittu</i> dates |
| YOS 6 67 | 14-XI-4 Nbn | 2;2.3 <i>zēru ... qaqqaru ša BšU</i> | usufruct for 10 years then 2/3 <i>zittu</i> dates |
| PTS 2089 | 8-VII-1 Cyr | exact measures of the plot, <i>zēru</i> | - (usufruct for 10 years on everything he grows below the palms) |

Table 30: Land leases *ana zāqipūti*

These contracts concern planting of date orchards. Only in one case (PTS 2134) grapevines (*karānu*) were to be planted. This is so far the first and only lease contract for the planting of grapevines from Eanna. Contracts for planting fruit tree orchards, which are relatively common among the texts from Ebabbar in Sippar (Jursa 1995a: 129ff.), are also not attested for Eanna.¹¹³⁴

¹¹²⁸ Edited by Ries 1976: 149; cf. Jursa 1995a: 140f.

¹¹²⁹ Stol 2004b: 170. According to these leases no rent was to be paid in the first two years, and in the third a share of one fifth of the harvest was due to the lessor.

¹¹³⁰ The same procedure appears also in a similar context in YOS 21 208, a lease *ana errešūti* (edited on p. 279).

¹¹³¹ BIN 1 125, NCBT 630, NCBT 677, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8, YBC 4143.

¹¹³² YBC 4143.

¹¹³³ Cf. Cocquerillat 1968: 45f.; Ries 1976: 69ff.; Jursa 1995a: 122ff.; Jursa 2004b: 175f.

¹¹³⁴ Note, however, that fruit trees (*gapnu*, written *ga-pa-nu*) were to be planted in an already existing orchard leased *ana nukuribbūti* (YOS 21 214 l. 9-10: *ši-kit-ti 'ū' ga-pa-nu / ina lib-bi i-šak-kan*).

The land in these leases was designated either as *zēru* or *qaqqaru* or both, as is to be expected for undeveloped land. In one case (YOS 6 33) the land is further specified as *kasal u kālū*, i.e. low quality, perhaps periodically waterlogged, land. In another document (PTS 2134) the tenant was supposed to carry out the planting where there were no date palms and where the land was suitable (*tābu*), in an area where other planters (*zāqipānus*) were active, in other words, in an area under development.

The date palms in newly planted orchards would reach maturity only after about ten years. For this period the tenants would usually be granted the usufruct of the arable land included in the orchard (below the palms or next to them) and of whatever the young date palms might yield as a compensation for their work.¹¹³⁵ In YOS 6 33 this is expressed as: “For ten years, everything that he cultivates there will be at the disposal of (the tenant) as compensation for (his) work” (ll. 11-13: *a-di 10-ta mu-an-na^{meš} mim-ma ma-la / ina lib-bi ip-pu-šu ku-um e-pi-šú šá dul-lu igi PN / id-da-gal*). After the palms reached maturity and became fully productive the tenant would have to start paying rent for the orchard. In the examples from Uruk the rent was always a share of the yield: one half and two thirds are attested here.¹¹³⁶ Only PTS 2134, the lease for grapevine planting, does not stipulate a ‘maturing’ period for the plantations, but calls for rent payments of a half share from the start. According to YOS 17 6, which is presented below, the tenant was to have usufruct of the plantation for five years, after which a half-share, probably of the entire orchard production, was to be given to the temple:

- YOS 17 6 23-III-21 Nbk
 obv. 1. ^{ld}ag-numun-ba-šá a-šú šá ¹šeš^{meš}-e-a a ¹kur-i a-na
 pa-ni ^{ld}amar-utu-dub-numun a-šú šá ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-ùru a ^{lu}gal-dù
^{lu}šà-tam é-an-na il-lik-ma ki-a-am iq-bi
 um-ma qaq-qar šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} gú id-lugal ul-tu ugu id ba-ru (?)
 5. a-di ká id-a-šur-ri-ti a-na ^rugu⁷ kar-é-an-na
 a-na za-qí-pu-tu bi-in-nam-ma dul-lu ina lib-bi lu-pu-uš
^{ld}amar-utu-dub-numun iš-me-šu-ma qaq-qar a-na za-qí-pu-tu
 [i]d-da-áš-ši a-di 5-ta mu-an-na^{meš} mim-ma ma-la
 [ina li]b-bi il-la-a⁷ pa-ni ^{ld}ag-numun-ba-šá id-da-gal
 10. [a-bat]-tu₄ ina lib-bi i-na-as-suk ši-kit-ti ina lib-bi
 [i-ša]k-^rkan¹ i-ga-ri ^{giš}kiri₆ ip¹-pu-uš id [x/0]
 lo.e. [x x x (x)] ^rx àr⁷-ku⁷ 5-ta mu^{meš}
 [x x x (x)] ^rx x¹ [x il]-^rla¹-a⁷ a-^{hi} ha-la
 [...] ^rx¹ ù ina igi
 rev. 15. [...] ^rta¹-mir-ti ib-ni
^{lu}mu-kin-nu PN a-šú šá PN] a ¹ši-gu-ú-a
 [PN a-šú šá PN] a ^{ld}en-a-ùru
 [dù-ia a-šú šá ¹]tab-né-e-a a ^{lu}šu-^ha
 [na]-din a-šú šá ^{ld}u-gur-pab a ^{lu}uš-bar
 20. [^{ld}ag⁷]-sur a-šú šá ¹sum-na-a a ¹sag-gil-ia
 [^{ld}en]-šeš^{meš}-ba-šá a-šú šá ¹kar-^damar-utu a ¹e-gi-bi
 [¹mu-š]e-zib-^den a-šú šá ¹ap-la-a a ¹ár-rab-ti
 [¹]^ramar-utu¹-mu-giš a-šú šá ¹re-mut a ^{ld}en-ú-sat
^{ld}utu-kal a-šú šá ¹ba-šá-a a ^{lu}sipa
 25. u ^{lu}umbisag ^{ld}u-gur-din-i⁷ a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-mu-kam a ^{lu}sanga-bára
^{umu}kar-é-an-na iti sig₄ ud 23-kam

¹¹³⁵ This is only specifically stated in YOS 7 47, a lease of an orchard (*ana nukuribbūti*), in which there were also young date palms. The gardener had the usufruct of these for five years. After this period they were to be submitted to the *imittu* procedure like the other mature date palms in the orchard (“for five years he will tend the young date palms there and will consume whatever grows there [...] after five years [he will give] the yield (of these palms) to Eanna according to the im[post] determined by Eanna”, ll. 15-18: ^{giš}gišimmar tur-tur šá ina lib-bi a-di 5 mu-an-na^{meš}] / ú-rab-bi ^rebur⁷ mim-mu šá ina lib-bi il-la-a ik-kal [...] / [...] egir 5-ta mu-an-na^{me} a-ki-i i-[mit-tu šá] / [ul]-tu é-an-na i-nem-mi-di ebur a-na é-an-na [i-nam-din]).

¹¹³⁶ PTS 2089 does not record any terms on the payment of rent after ten years. Perhaps the lease was to expire after ten years anyway, making such stipulations unnecessary.

ʿmu¹ 21-kam ʿ^dag¹-nig-du-uru lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Nabû-zēr-iqīša, son of Aḥḥēa, descendant of Kurī, went to Marduk-šāpik-zēri, son of Marduk-šum-ušur, descendant of Rab-banê, the chief administrator of Eanna, and said as follows: ‘Give me the land of the Lady of Uruk on the bank of Nār-šarri from the x-canal to the intake of the Nār-Aššurītu facing⁷ Kār-Eanna for the purpose of planting (date palms) and I will do the work there.’ Marduk-šāpik-zēri accepted and gave him the land for planting. For five years whatever grows there will be at Nabû-zēr-iqīša’s disposal. He will remove [the shrubbery] from there. He will make a plantation there. He will build an orchard wall. [He will ...] canal(s). After⁷ five years, [for whatever⁷] grows [...] he will [give] one half (of the harvest) as share [to the Lady of Uruk⁷] and in front ... [...] irrigation district he built.

Witnesses: [PN, son of PN], descendant of Šigūa,
 [PN, son of PN], descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur,
 [Bānia, son of] Tabnēa, descendant of Bā’iru,
 Nādin, son of Nergal-nāšir, descendant of Išparu,
 [Nabû⁷]-ēter, son of Nadnāya (or Iddināya), descendant of Sagilia,
 [Bēl]-aḥḥē-iqīša, son of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of Egibi,
 Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Aplāya, descendant of Arrabtu,
 Marduk-šum-līšir, son of Rēmūt, descendant of Bēl-usāt,
 Šamaš-udammīq, Iqīšāya, descendant of Rē’û;

Scribe: Nergal-uballit, son of Nabû-šum-ēreš, descendant of Šangû-parakki;
 Kār-Eanna; 23-III-21 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

The text does not stipulate the planting of date palms among the tasks expected from the tenant. This can be taken to indicate that (some) palms, which were still immature, had been planted there earlier, and would explain the relatively short ‘maturing’ period.¹¹³⁷ The planting (*zaqāpu*) of date palms was, of course, the main task of the tenant in these documents (e.g., YOS 6 67 l.10-11: ^{gi8}gišimmar *i-zaq-qap ù / dul-lu ina lib-bi ip-pu-uš*, “he (the tenant) will plant the date palms and do the (necessary) work there”). The palms to be planted are sometimes specified to be Dilmun date palms (YOS 6 33, PTS 2089). Apart from these, and the above mentioned grapevines (PTS 2134), we also hear of willows (*hilēpu*) which were to be planted along the canal banks (in addition to date palms in YOS 6 67¹¹³⁸).

Some *zāqipūtu*-contracts also mention the creation of a “plantation” (*šikitta šakānu*) as one of the major tasks (YOS 17 6, YOS 6 33, YOS 6 67). These plantations were to all likelihood to be found below the date palms (and the fruit trees) and contained vegetables (though we do not hear of any of these specifically).¹¹³⁹

Other tasks mentioned by our texts include the clearing of the terrain in preparation for cultivation, i.e. “removing of (wildly growing) shrubbery” (*abatta nasāku*) in YOS 17 6 and YOS 6 33, the building of a garden wall (*igār kirī epēšu* in YOS 17 6 or *igāra lamū* in YOS 6 33),¹¹⁴⁰ and the creation of irrigation canals (YOS 6 67 l. 12: *id^{mcs}-šú i-ḥe-er-re-e-ma me-e ú-šá-aš-bat*, “he will dig its canals and supply them with water”).

¹¹³⁷ Cf. YOS 7 47 discussed in note 1135.

¹¹³⁸ YOS 6 67 l. 13: ^{gi8}hi-le-pi ina ugu id-šú i-šak-kan. Planting of willows in an already existing orchard is attested in NCBT 630 and in the private lease YBC 4143.

¹¹³⁹ Cf. Stol 1987: 65 and CAD Š II: 431 “plantation, garden plot” in connection with onions (in the texts from the Nūr-Sîn archive) and vegetables (*buqul* (an Aramaic loanword) in the letter CT 22 79). Cf. also Jursa 1995a: 130. In the *nukuribbūtu*-lease YOS 21 214 *šikittu* and fruit trees are to be planted in the date orchard (l. 9-10: *ši-kit-ti ʿu¹ ga-pa-nu / ina lib-bi i-šak-kan*). Note that a *šikittu* could also contain grapevines (BM 63900 l. 7, Jursa 1995a: 135).

¹¹⁴⁰ See Jursa 1995a: 130²⁶³.

3.5.2.3. *ana nukuribbūti*¹¹⁴¹

Sixteen orchard leases *ana nukuribbūti*, “for orchard-tending”, are known from the Eanna archive. One of these texts is a private arrangement (YBC 4143, see below) and three concern *hallatu*-orchards (BM 114444, YBC 4149, YOS 7 162), which have been treated earlier.

| Text | Date | Type of land | Rent |
|------------------------------|---|---|--|
| YBC 4143 | 5-VII-38 Nbk | <i>kirū (kirīkunu ša ina šīhu ša BšU)</i> | 5/6 <i>zittu</i> dates (usufruct of previously uncultivated land for 4 years) |
| W 17718 lx | 14-[x]-6 Nbn | [orchard] | mentions <i>šibšu</i> and 5 sheep as <i>nāmurtu ša šarri</i> |
| BM 114444 | 25-V-16 Nbn | <i>eqlu kirū gišimmarī zaqpu kirū hallatu ša BšU u Nanāya</i> | 3/4 <i>zittu</i> |
| BM 114450 | [x-x-x] Cyr | [orchard] | - {dates according to <i>imittu</i> } |
| AUWE 11 214 | 11-VI-4 Cyr | <i>zēru gišimmarī zaqpu ša BšU</i> | [x] |
| YOS 7 47 | 3 ⁺ -XIIa-5 ⁺ Cyr | <i>5 kurru zēru gišimmarū šeḫrūtu u pī šulpi ina zēri makkūr IU</i> | dates from 12 productive palms according to <i>imittu</i> + <i>ešrū šibšu</i> for <i>pī šulpi</i> (usufruct of small palms for 5 years, then yield according to <i>imittu</i> goes to Eanna) |
| YOS 7 51 | 28-VI-5 Cyr | <i>zēru gišimmarū šeḫrūtu ina zēri makkūr IU (bīt ritti of the tenant's father)</i> | dates according to <i>imittu</i> + <i>šibšu eqli</i> for the barley from <i>pī šulpi</i> |
| BIN 1 125 | [x-x-x Camb] | [orchard] | {dates according to <i>imittu</i> } + 1/5 <i>zittu qaqqari</i> for land below the palms irrigated by buckets |
| NBC 4889 | 2-VI-2 Camb | <i>zēru (bīt ritti ša PN) ... makkūr BšU u Nanāya</i> | {dates according to <i>imittu</i> } |
| YBC 4149 | 24-VIII-[3] Camb | <i>zēru kirū hallatu ša Ištar BšU, (for 3 years)</i> | 4/5 <i>zittu</i> |
| YOS 7 162 | 24-VIII-3 Camb | <i>zēru kirū hallatu ša Ištar BšU, (for 4 years)</i> | 4/5 <i>zittu</i> |
| BIN 1 117 | 27-VI-5 Camb | <i>zēru bīt gišimmarī</i> | {dates according to <i>imittu</i> } + <i>ešrū zittu</i> for land below palms |
| Spar, <i>Studies</i> , no. 8 | 4-I-1 Dar | <i>zēru zaqpu makkūr BšU u Nanāya</i> | {dates according to <i>imittu</i> } |
| YOS 21 214 | [x]-[x]-1 Nbk IV | [orchard] | {dates according to <i>imittu</i> } |
| NCBT 677 | 23-V-[1 Nbk IV] | [orchard] | {dates according to <i>imittu</i> } + <i>aḫi zitti</i> for <i>bīt mé qāti</i> + 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for <i>dālu</i> |
| NCBT 630 | 4-VI-1 [Nbk IV] | <i>zēru zaqpu u pānassu pī šulpi... makkūr BšU u Nanāya (bīt ritti ša PN)</i> | {dates according to <i>imittu</i> } + 1/5 (share) for <i>bīt dāli</i> , <i>bīt taptê</i> , + 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for <i>bīt mé qāti</i> , <i>bīt taptê</i> |

Table 31: Orchard leases *ana nukuribbūti*

¹¹⁴¹ See Cocquerillat 1968: 46ff.; Ries 1976: 67ff.; Jursa 2004b: 176; Jursa 1995a: 124ff.

The attested leases of temple land span a period from 6 Nbn to 1 Dar, with an emphasis on the Achaemenid period. The temple officials, the *fermiers généraux* (*ša muḫḫi sūti*) and the *rab banē* prebendaries appear as lessors of orchards. Interestingly, during the reigns of Nabonidus, Cambyses and Darius (and Nebuchadnezzar IV) the lessors were without exception the *ša muḫḫi sūti*, Šum-ukīn, Ardia and Gimillu. Only during Cyrus's reign, before Ardia was granted his rent farm for dates and while there were no rent farmers for dates in office, we find temple officials in the function of the lessors. This nicely demonstrates that the administration of the date plantations, especially the employment of gardeners, was chiefly in the hands of the large-scale rent farmers, as far as these were present.

The specifications of the leases could concern only date orchards (e.g., AUWE 11 214, BM 114450, NCBT 4889, YOS 21 214 and the *hallatu*-leases) or date orchards together with arable land below the date palms or adjacent to them (e.g., BIN 1 117, 125, NCBT 630, 677, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8, YOS 7 47, 51, W 17718 1x). As for the rent payments, these were by and large to be determined by the *imittu* procedure and probably consisted of the entire yield of the orchard (minus the remuneration of the gardener and other administrative costs). Only the *hallatu*-orchards and the private orchard from YBC 4143 were leased out under sharecropping terms. However, in the documents involving both orchards and arable land, a share of the harvest of the arable was to be paid in addition to the impost (*imittu*) on the date palms. These shares could be charged using different rates depending on the availability of water and the type of irrigation conducted (e.g., NCBT 630 and 677, see above).

The gardeners received a 'salary' (*sissinnu*) for their efforts and this was regularly noted in the contracts.¹¹⁴² It was calculated on the basis of the type of work they conducted and the invested effort per each *kurru* of surface area cultivated. Thus the work on the land tilled with a spade, called *bīt marri*, was valued more than the work on the land tilled with a plough, *bīt epinni*, since it was more arduous. For *bīt marri* four or five *kurru* of dates and for *bīt epinni* three or four *kurru* of dates respectively were the remuneration per *kurru* of area worked.¹¹⁴³ One uniform rate is recorded in BM 114450 (ll. 15-16): for each surface *kurru* worked, four *kurru* of dates were the *sissinnu*. According to YOS 7 51 the *sissinnu* was to be paid out in the same way as the *sissinnu* of the neighbouring gardeners (ll. 13-14: *dul-lu ma-la ina lib-bi ip-pu-šú ki-i pi-i* ¹⁰us-sa-du^{mes} / *sissin-nu i-na-áš-šú*). The *sissinnu* was probably subtracted from the date harvest which was due to the temple under the designation *imittu*.

The obligations of the gardeners were usually designated as "work", *dullu* (e.g., *dulla ina libbi epēšu* in: NBC 4889, NCBT 630, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8). Sometimes they were obliged to show this work to the lessor (NBC 4889, in this case to the *ša muḫḫi sūti* Ardia: *dul-lu ina lib-bi / ip-pu-šú-ma a-na* ¹ir-ia ú-kal-lam-u' (ll. 8-9)). Orchards which contained young date palms needed special care of the tenant. In YOS 7 47 this is expressed as 'raising' (*rubbû*) the date palms (l. 12: ⁸⁸gišimmar tur-tur šá ina lib-bi ú-rab-bi). In YOS 7 51, a lease of another orchard with young date palms, the tenant had to guarantee for taking care (*suddudu*) of the palms and also planting (*zaqāpu*) palms (in addition to guarding the orchard and doing work there (ll. 9-11)).

Similarly, the work on the arable land in the orchards could be put in general terms, as doing the work below the date palms (*dulla ina šupāl gišimmarī epēšu* (BIN 1 117, NBC 4889)) or digging below the date palms (*ḫerûta ina šupāl gišimmarī ḫerû* (NCBT 630, 677, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8)). This could be further differentiated as removing shrubbery (*abatta nasāku* (YOS 7 47)), 'opening' the previously uncultivated land (*taptê puttû* (BIN 1 125, NCBT 630, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8)), or making a vegetable plantation and planting fruit trees (*šikitta u gapnī šakānu* (YOS 21 214)). Sometimes the land below the palms required irrigation by buckets (*zēra dalû* (BIN 1 125)). That the land in the orchards could also be irrigated by gravity flow (i.e. flooding) is indicated by the texts which mention *bīt mē qāti* in contrast to *bīt dāli* (e.g., NCBT 630 and 677, see above). As for the irrigation work in the orchards in general, the obligation to dig the irrigation canals and

¹¹⁴² *sissinnu* is normally not attested in the orchard leases under sharecropping terms or in the *zāqipūtu*-contracts, since in these cases the gardeners either kept a part of the harvest or had the usufruct of the orchard for a certain period of time.

¹¹⁴³ This information stems from BIN 1 117, 125, NBC 4889, NCBT 630, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8 and YOS 7 47. In other relevant texts the figures are lost on account of damage of the tablets (e.g., AUWE 11 214, NCBT 677, YOS 21 214).

supply them with water was one of the most common tasks of the tenants recorded in the *nukuribbūtu*-contracts (*nārāti herū u mē šušbutu* (BIN 1 117, 125, NBC 4889, NCBT 630, YOS 21 214, Spar, *Studies*, no. 8)).

Some of these obligations are recorded in the following lease:

- YOS 21 214 [x]-[x]-1 Nbk IV
- obv. 1. [... n]íg-ga^d gašan šá unug^{ki} r^u1^d [na-na-a]
 [...] gur¹ ana bād ú-gu-mu é² ka-[x x (x)]
 [...] r^u1² zaq-pi ul-tu muḥ-ḥi mi-šir
 [... é r]it-ti šá^{ld} ag-uru₄-eš << u-x >> (erasure)¹¹⁴⁴
5. [ù] r^a-di muḥ-ḥi a-šà é rit-ti šá^{ld} en-mu a-šú šá¹ r^{tin}-tir^{ki}-a-a¹
 r^{šá}1^{giš} bān šá¹ gi-mil-lu a-šú šá^{ld} innin-na-mu-dù
 gi-mil-lu a-na^{lu} nu-k[ir]₆-ú-tu a-[na¹] r^d130-šeš-bul-liṭ
 a-šú šá¹ šeš-la-kun-nu id-din é k[a²-x]-am-ma
 i-zaq-PI-ma ši-kit-ti r^u1 ga-pa-nu
10. ina lib-bi i-šak-kan-r^{ma} x¹ [x x] r^x1 kát-til-lu i-la-mi-iš
 id^{meš}-šú i-her-r[u-ma me-e] ú-še-ša-bat
 he-ru-ú-tu r^{ma}1-[la ina šu-pal^{giš} gišimmar i]-r^{he}-er¹-[ru]-r^u1
 é^{an-bar} mar-r[i ina muḥ-ḥi 1 gur x gur]
- lo.e. ù é^{giš} a[pin ina muḥ-ḥi 1 gur x gur sis-sin-nu]
15. r^{gi}-mil-l[u a-na^{ld}30-šeš-bul-liṭ i-nam-din]
- rev. pu-ut ma-aš-šar¹-t[i ša lib-bi u ha-ru-ut-tu₄]
 ù da-a-ku šá^{giš} gi[šimmar^{ld}30-šeš-bul-liṭ] r^{na}-šⁱ
 na-bal-kát-ta-nu 1 [ma-n]a kù-babbar i-nam-din
 mu-kin₇^{ld} en-kam a-šú šá¹ din-su^{ld}60-a-na-é-šú
20. a-šú šá^{ld}60-šeš-mu a¹ su^d-a-nu-um [r^(x)-i] s²-kun
 a-šú šá¹ ha-za-pi r^d1utu-su a-šú šá^{ld} a[g²-gi]n-a
 umbisag^{lu} r^{ir}-ia a-šú šá^{ld} innin-na-mu-ùru a¹ ki-din^dšú
 r^{bit}-qu¹ šá¹ r^{en}1-sur ši-i-ḥu šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki}
 [iti x ud x-ka]m mu 1-kam^{ld} ag-níg-du-ùru
25. [Ø] lugal e^{ki} u kur-kur
 [a-di x m]u-an-na^{meš} a-šà ina i[gi]-šú

“Gimillu gave to Sîn-aḥ-bullit, son of Aḥ-lakūn, [...], property of the Lady of Uruk and [Nanāya, ...] ... Dūr-Ugūm ... [...] planted (with date palms), from the border of [...] *bīt ritti* of Nabū-ēreš, to the plot, *bīt ritti* of Bēl-iddin, son of Bābilāya, (land) pertaining to the rent farm of Gimillu, son of Innin-šum-ibni, for the purpose of orchard-tending. He will plant¹¹⁴⁵ ... and will make a (vegetable) plantation and plant fruit trees¹¹⁴⁶ there, and will surround it [with a wall²] ...¹¹⁴⁷ He will dig its (the orchard’s) irrigation canals and supply¹¹⁴⁸ them [with water]. For as much digging [as he does below the date palms] Gimillu [will give to Sîn-aḥ-bullit as *sissinnu* x *kurru* (of dates) per each surface *kurru*] (worked) with an iron spade, [and x *kurru* (of dates) per each surface *kurru*] (worked) with a plough. [Sîn-aḥ-bullit] guarantees for the guarding of [the fronds and shoots] and

¹¹⁴⁴ The erased sign was probably ù, of which the first part, the *Winkelhaken*, is still visible. The scribe probably wrote the sign ù again at the beginning of line 5. However, this cannot be verified due to a break in the text.

¹¹⁴⁵ The writing *i-zaq-PI-ma* must stand for *izaqqap-ma*. The scribe was probably influenced by the expression (é) *zaq-pi*, which frequently appears in orchard leases. The object of the planting was noted at the end of line 8, but cannot be identified due to a break in the text.

¹¹⁴⁶ *ga-pa-nu* must stand for *gapnu*, “fruit tree”. The term occurs frequently in the leases of from the Ebabbar of Sippar, on its own or in connection with fruits such as apples, pomegranates, grapes and figs; cf. Jursa 1995a: 132ff.

¹¹⁴⁷ The sequence of signs *kát-til-lu* (l. 10) followed by the word *lamû*, “to encircle, surround”, does not make any obvious sense. *lamû* usually appears together with *igāru*, “wall”, in stipulations for building such a structure around the orchard. Perhaps *igāru* should be reconstructed in the gap in l. 10 following the word *išakkanma*.

¹¹⁴⁸ Note the defective orthography for *ušašbat*.

(against) the felling of date [palms]. Whoever transgresses (the agreement) will pay 1 [mina] of silver.

Witnesses: Bēl-ēreš, son of Balāssu,
Anu-ana-bītišu, son of Anu-aḥ-iddin, descendant of Erība-Anu,
[x]-iškun[?], son of Ḥazapi,
Šamaš-erība, son of Nabû-mukīn-apli,

Scribe: Ardia, son of Innin-šum-ušur, descendant of Kidin-Marduk;
Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, estate of the Lady of Uruk; [x]-[x]-1 Nbk IV, king of Babylon and of lands.
The plot is at his disposal [for x ye]ars.”

In addition to these duties, the tenants were obliged to keep watch of the orchard (*pūt našāri ša maššarti ... našû* (YOS 7 51)). In particular they were to guard the shoots and fronds of the palms and guarantee that no felling of palms or other trees took place in the orchards (e.g., NCBT 630 ll. 12-14: *pu-ut ma-aš-šar-tu₄ šá lib-bi / ḥa-ru-ut-tu₄ da-a-ku šá* ^{giš}gišimmar *u* ^{giš}hi-le-pi / *šá pa-na-at-šû* (tenant) *na-ši*, “the tenant guarantees for the guarding of the fronds and shoots (and against) the felling of date palms and willows which (grow) in front of them”). BM 114450 even stipulates pecuniary fines for any damage on the vegetation of the orchard. For each felled palm one mina of silver and for any (plant) torn out of the orchard ten shekels of silver had to be paid to the Lady of Uruk.¹¹⁴⁹

- BM 114450 [x-x-x] Cyr
- obv. 1. ¹ni-din-ti-^rd¹[en ^{lú}šà-tam é-an-na]
a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-gin-[numun a ¹da-bi-bi] ^rx¹
^rldag-šeš-mu ^{lú}sag¹ lugal ^{lú}e[n pi-qit-ti] ^ré¹-an-na
^rù x x¹ [x x (x)] ^ršá é x x x¹ [x x x (x)] x ši-i-ḥu
5. šá ^rdgašan šá unug^{ki}¹ [a-na]
^{lú}nu-^{giš}kiri₆-ú-tu a-na ¹si-lim-dingir a-šú šá
^{ld}na-na-a-kam ip-qí-du ^{ld}meš i-ḥe-re-e-ma
a<<-ḥa>>^{meš} ú-šá-aš[?]-bat[?] dul-lu ina šu-pa-lu ^{giš}gišimmar
ip-pu-^ršú¹ [pu-ut ḥe]-ru-ut-tu₄
10. da-a-ku [šá ^{giš}gišimmar] na-ši šá ^{giš}gišimmar
i-du-ku 1 ma-na ^rkù-babbar¹ ù šá
ta lib-bi i-na-sa-ḥu ^r10 gín kù¹-babbar a-na
^dgašan šá unug^{ki} i-nam-din
- rev. ^dul-lu ma-la ina šu-pa-lu ^{giš}gišimmar ip-pu-šú
15. a-na 1 gur 4 gur zú-lum-ma sis-sin-nu
i-nam-di-nu-ni-iš-šú
^{lú}mu-kīn-nu ^{ld}ag¹-gin-a a-šú šá ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-mu a ^rdin¹
^{ld}ag-si₅-iq a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-sur a ¹šu-^dna-na-a
¹ir-^din-nin a-šú šá ^{ld}dù¹5 a ¹šu-^dna-na-a¹
20. ^{ld}utu-numun-ba-šá a-šú šá ^{ld}in-ni[n-mu]-^rùru¹
a ^{ld}30-ti-ér ^rir¹-[ia a-šú šá]
^{ld}utu-mu-gin a ^rlúman-dī-dī¹
^{lú}umbisag ¹gi-mil-^rlu¹ [a-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-numun-mu]
- u.c. unug^{ki} iti [x ud x-kam mu x-kam]
25. ¹ku-raš [lugal e^{ki} lugal kur-kur]

“Nidinti-[Bēl, the administrator of Eanna], son of Nabû-mukīn-[zēri, descendant of Dābibī], Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal [commissioner] of Eanna, and [...], entrusted to Silim-ili, son of Nanāya-ēreš, [...] estate of the Lady of Uruk [...] for the purpose of orchard-tending. He will dig the irrigation canals and supply them with water. He will do the work beneath the date palms. He guarantees for the digging (and against) the felling [of date palms]. Whoever fells a date palm will pay 10 minas of silver and whoever tears something out from there (viz. from the orchard) will pay 10[?] shekels of

¹¹⁴⁹ For actual cases of illicit felling of date palms which were charged with a fine of one mina of silver per palm tree see p. 213 with note 751.

silver to the Lady of Uruk. For the work he does beneath the date palms they will give him 4 *kurru* of dates per 1 *kurru* (of surface area) as *sissinnu*.

Witnesses: Nabû-mukîn-apli, son of Marduk-šum-iddin, descendant of Balātu,
Nabû-udammiq, son of Nabû-ēter, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
Arad-Innin, son of Ibni-Ištar, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
Šamaš-zēr-iqīša, son of Innin-šum-ušur, descendant of Sîn-leqe-unninnī,
Ardia, son of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, descendant of Mandidu;

Scribe: Gimillu, [son of Innin-zēr-iddin];
Uruk; [x-x-x] Cyr, [king of Babylon, king of lands.]”

The next document which will be presented here is exceptional in more than one way. It is a private lease of an orchard. The lessor Innin-šum-ušur, son of Nergal-ušallim, should probably be identified with the individual of the same name from the Sîn-leqe-unninnī family, who was a *rab būli* of Eanna, attested from 38 Nbk to 9 Nbn (see Kümmel 1979: 62). He leased out the orchard of his father which was situated in an estate of the Lady of Uruk to a certain Nabû-zēr-iddin, son of Šillāya, for orchard-tending (*ana nukuribbūti*). The contract was a sharecropping agreement, which is quite rare for orchard leases. As is indicated in ll. 21-22 the tenant was to receive one sixth of the date yield for his efforts. In addition to this, for a period of four years he had the usufruct of previously uncultivated land, from which the wildly growing vegetation had to be removed and which had to be ‘opened’ and ploughed (ll. 11-12). The tenant was obliged to bring two of his brothers and do the work in the orchard together with them. The provision of (additional) work force was apparently generally a duty of the orchard tenants, but this was never explicitly stated in the institutional contracts, unlike here. Another exceptional feature of this text is the provision of rations in the first year and tools (three spades, one hoe and one sicle) for the tenant and his two brothers by the lessor. Normally one would expect the tenant in a sharecropping arrangement to supply the means of production. This practice which is sometimes found in the institutional *sūtu*-leases may be explained by noting that the share of the tenants was rather small (one sixth of the date harvest). Besides, the rations provided were not substantial. The barley rations, for instance, were enough to cover a period of five to six months.¹¹⁵⁰ The cress and salt rations could cover a period of about four months, to follow the standard found in the texts concerning travel provisions.¹¹⁵¹ The sesame seed provided would amount to about two litres of oil¹¹⁵² which would allow for about two monthly rations per man in this case (i.e. 0.33 litres). Therefore it is clear that these rations were not intended to provide for the tenant and his brothers for a full year, but were rather meant to help them out at the start:

YBC 4143 5-VII-38 Nbk

obv. 1. ^{ld}ag-numun-mu a-šú šá ¹šil-la-a a-na pa-an
^{ld}in-nin-lugal-ùru a-šú šá ^{ld}u-gur-gi il-lik-ma
ka-a-am iq-bi um-ma ina ^{giš}kiri₆-ku-nu
šá i-na ši-i-ḥu šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
5. šá gú id-lugal šá ul-tu ká id eš-šú e-le-nu-ú
a-di-i ká id šá é dingir^{meš} a-na ^{lu}nu-^{giš}kiri₆-ú-tu
lu-uz-ziz-ma dul-lu ina lib-bi lu-pu-uš ^{ld}in-ni[n-lug]al-pab
iš-me-šú-ma ina ^{giš}kiri₆-šú-nu šá gú id-lugal ú-šá-az-ziz-zu
^{ld}ag-numun-mu 2 šeš^{meš}-šú ib-bak-kam-ma
10. it-it-šú dul-lu ina ^{giš}kiri₆ šá ^{ld}u-gur-gi
ip-pu-šu-u⁷ ma-a-a-ri i-de-ku-ú tap-tu-ú
ú-pat-tu-ú a-bat-tu₄ i-nam-suk-ku-u⁷
lib-bi ù ḥa-ru-ut-tu i-nam-ša-ru
lo.e. ^{giš}ḥe-el-pi ina ugu id^{meš} i-šak-kan

¹¹⁵⁰ This is calculated on the basis of monthly rations of 60 or 75 litres of barley, which can be found in YOS 6 150 (120 *kurru* of barley for 30 *ikkarus* (per year)) and in the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ (20 *kurru* of barley for a plough team, i.e. 5 *kurru* of barley per man per year).

¹¹⁵¹ The monthly standard in Uruk seems to have been 1 litre of salt and cress each (Janković 2008: 445f.).

¹¹⁵² The sesame to oil ratio was usually 6:1 (Janković 2008: 447).

15. ^{ld}ag-numun-mu *pu-ut e-peš šá dul-lu* 2 ^{šes}^{meš}-šú
it-ti-šú na-ši a-pi-tu₄ ma-la ^{ld}ag-numun-mu
 rev. *ù šes^{meš}-šú *ip-pu-šu-ma a-bat-ti ina lib-bi*
i-nam-suk-ku-u ^{šes}numun *ma-la ina é a-bat-ti*
šá i-nam-suk-u ^{ir-ri-šu-u} *pa-an* ^{ld}ag-numun-mu*
20. *ù šes^{meš}-šú *a-di-i* 5 ^{mu}^{meš} *id-dag-gal*
i-na šu-pa-lu ^{giš}gišimmar *zaq-pa-tu dul-lu ip-pu-šu-ma*
6-šú i-na zú-lum-ma ik-kal-lu-u *i-na mu-an-na maḥ-ri-^rtú¹*
 6 gur *šes-bar* 2_b *saḥ-le-e* 2_b *šes-giš-i* 2_b *ta-ab-tú* 5 *ma-na sík*^{hi-a}
 3 ^{giš}mar an-bar^{meš} 1+*en qul-mu-ú* an-bar 1+*en níg-gal-la* an-bar*
25. ^{ld}*in-nin-lugal-ùru a-na* ^{ld}ag-numun-mu *u šes^{meš}-šú
i-nam-din na-bal-kát-ta-nu 1 *ma-na kù-babbar i-tur-ru*
^{lu}*mu-kin*₇ ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-giš *a-šú šá* ^{re-mut} ^{ld}en-ú-sat
^{ld}30-dù *a-šú šá* ^{ld}utu-kal dumu ^{lu}sipa ^{gu}₄^{mc}
^{ld}en-kam *a-šú šá* ^{ld}amar-utu-kam ^{lu}é-maš ^dim*
30. [^l] ^{ld}ag-numun-mu *a-šú šá* ^{ld}dù-a ^{re-mut}dingir *a-šú šá* ^{ld}šu-la-a
^{ld}*na-na-a-šes*-mu *a-šú šá* ^{ld}ir-a ^{ld}utu-dù
 u.e. *a-šú šá* ^{ld}mar-duk ^{ld}ag-pab *a-šú šá* ^{ld}unug^{ki}-a-a
^{lu}umbisag ^{ld}dù-^dinnin *a-šú šá* ^{ld}re-mut ^{urru}*na-ḥal-lu₄*
 iti ^{du}₆ ud 5-kam mu 38-kam
- le.e. 35. ^{ld}ag-níg-du-ùru ^{ld}ir-^dinnin-na
 lugal tin-tir^{ki} a ^{ld}ag-mu-ùru
^{ld}ag-mu-ùru a ^{ld}šù-pab

“Nabû-zēr-iddin, son of Šillāya, went to Innin-šar-ušur, son of Nergal-ušallim, and said as follows: ‘May I be installed in your (plural) orchard, which is in the estate of the Lady of Uruk, which is situated on the bank of Nār-šarri from the intake of the upper Nāru-eššu to the intake of Nāru-ša-Bīt-ili, for the purpose of orchard-tending and do the work there.’ Innin-šar-ušur consented and installed him in their orchard, which is on the bank of Nār-šarri. Nabû-zēr-iddin will bring his two brothers and they will work with him in the orchard of Nergal-ušallim.¹¹⁵³ They will work up the *mayyāru*-land and break the unploughed land. They will remove the shrubbery. They will protect the fronds and shoots (of the date palms). They will plant willows along the canal banks. Nabû-zēr-iddin guarantees for the performance of (the necessary) work together with his two brothers. As for the previously uncultivated land (*apītu*) which Nabû-zēr-iddin and his two brothers work up and from which they remove the shrubbery: all the land with shrubbery which they clear and cultivate will be at Nabû-zēr-iddin’s and his brothers’ disposal for five years. Under the planted date palms they will do the work and will receive 1/6 of the date (yield). Innin-šar-ušur will give 6 *kurru* of barley, 2 *sūtu* of cress, 2 *sūtu* of sesame, 2 *sūtu* of salt, 5 minas of wool, three iron spades, one iron hoe, and one iron sickle to Nabû-zēr-iddin and his brothers. Whoever transgresses (the agreement) will pay 1 mina of silver.

Witnesses: Marduk-šum-līšir, son of Rēmūt, descendant of Bēl-usāt,
 Sîn-ibni, son of Šamaš-udammiq, descendant of Rē’i-alpi,
 Bēl-ēreš, son of Marduk-ēreš, descendant of Šangû-Adad,
 Nabû-zēr-iddin, son of Ibnāya,
 Rēmūt-ili, son of Šulāya,
 Nanāya-aḥ-iddin, son of Ardāya,
 Šamaš-ibni, son of Marduk,
 Nabû-nāšir, son of Uškāya,
 Arad-Innin, son of Nabû-šum-ušur,
 Nabû-šum-ušur, son of Marduk-nāšir;¹¹⁵⁴

Scribe: Ibni-Ištar, son of Rēmūt;
 Naḥallu; 5-VII-38 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

¹¹⁵³ This was probably the lessor’s father.

¹¹⁵⁴ The last two witnesses have been added on the left edge disregarding the regular line arrangement: their names are written parallel to a part of the date formula, as is indicated in the transliteration.

3.5.3. Special types of leases

Some of the land lease contracts are different from the other texts discussed above in that they are not made for the purpose of land cultivation, or at least not primarily. Among these one finds leases of offices (*gugallūtu*) or rights to collect obligations incumbent on land (*ešrū*) and leases of land for pasturing livestock.

Two leases of pasture land are known from Eanna. PTS 2249 has been edited above (p. 276) and YOS 6 26 has been edited and discussed by San Nicolò (1948: 279ff.). The tenants both in YOS 6 26 and PTS 2249 are herdsmen (*nāqīdus*) of the Lady of Uruk who had temple herds at their disposal. The size of the land they rented cannot be determined, but it is probable that it was extensive. It included some productive land but was probably composed mostly of agriculturally unused (or rather useless?) land where the animals could graze. PTS 2249 is explicit about this. It mentions *bīt dulli* for which a barley rent was to be paid and *kasal kālū u gabību* on which the cattle was to be pastured. The main objective of these leases was to provide the herdsmen with pasture for their herds. Interestingly, even though the herds in question were ultimately temple property, the temple administration did not automatically provide the herdsmen with grazing grounds.¹¹⁵⁵ It granted them some land, but at the same time it expected a fixed rent in barley for the right to use this land. The rent was not very high (360 *kurru* in PTS 2249 and 400 *kurru* of barley in YOS 6 26),¹¹⁵⁶ but this probably had to do with the low quality of the granted land. In addition to this the temple was also to receive payments in livestock (1 bull and 5 sheep in PTS 2249 and 1 bull and 10 sheep in YOS 6 26). It is more than likely that these livestock-payments were over and above their obligations arising from their status as herdsmen of the Lady of Uruk. According to the herding contract YOS 6 155, for instance, the temple expected an annual revenue of 66.83 % of the initial number of ewes in the herd.¹¹⁵⁷ By comparison, the *nāqīdu* in YOS 6 26 had 2,000 heads of small cattle at his disposal. The obligation to pay annually ten sheep represents only 0.5 % of the entire herd. The figures are difficult to compare, because we do not know how many ewes there were in the herd from YOS 6 26. But if the ratio of ewes here is anything like in YOS 6 155 (1,065 ewes to a herd of 2,050 heads of small cattle), still the obligation to deliver ten sheep was far below the requirements that would have been imposed by a herding contract.¹¹⁵⁸ Clearly, the temple was not going to give away its land for nothing, even though the livelihood of its own livestock depended on it. It was obviously in a position to exert pressure on the people contractually bound to it by imposing additional obligations on them. These two texts may serve to demonstrate that the temple used every possible occasion to maximise its returns in agricultural products (and cattle) by expanding the land under cultivation. The fact that the temple reverted to herdsmen for expanding its agricultural production may be a reflection of the general shortage of workforce, which plagued the temple at the time (see Janković 2005: 174f.). On the other hand, the herdsmen's need to embark upon such an arrangement may indicate that land, at least such which was useful for agriculture and animal husbandry, was not available in large quantities.

¹¹⁵⁵ The *nāqīdu* in YOS 6 26 explicitly complained about not having a place (*maškattu*) for the animals and having to keep them in the steppe, which for some reason was deemed unfavourable (wild animals, territorial conflicts with other pastoralists, or simply lack of appropriate fodder?).

¹¹⁵⁶ By comparison, a 'model plough team' of the 'Edict of Belšazzar' was supposed to deliver annually 250 *kurru* of barley. These herdsmen's leases then would not have required the work of more than two plough teams.

¹¹⁵⁷ The text is edited by von Bolla 1940: 125ff.; see also van Driel 1993: 223.

¹¹⁵⁸ To follow the ratio of YOS 6 155, the herd in YOS 6 26 would have hypothetically had approximately 1,039 ewes. The annual return from these should have been about 694 sheep (66.83 %).

Two other atypical leases of land from Eanna do not entail any cultivation of this land but rather the collection of payments due from it. YOS 7 38¹¹⁵⁹ (4 Cyr) is a lease of date plantations, a *bīt ritti* of a certain individual, for the performance of the *gugallu*-service (*ana gugallūti*). The tenant was supposed to deliver the dates due from the orchards in the area under his responsibility. These dates were the impost (*imittu*) determined by the yield-estimation commission of the temple. In addition to this he had to discharge other dues, collect *ḫabū uḫīnu* from the gardeners, a kind of supplement payment, and pay a half of the obligation called *nāmurtu ša šarri* for the land (see note 800 and p. 319). The text also deals with the territorial rights of the holders of the *bīt rittis* affected by this lease, and it states that the tenant would do the (necessary) work on the plots (ll. 13-14: *dullu ina a-ša^{mc} / ip-pu-uš*). Though this phrase is quite common in the regular land leases, here it does not imply that the tenant was to engage in the cultivation of the orchards or the organisation of labour (by sub-leasing, for instance). Rather it should be understood in a more general sense of doing what is necessary in order to ensure that the imposts of the individual plots would be delivered to the temple.¹¹⁶⁰

The other text is TCL 12 73 (1 Nbn), a lease of land for the purpose of collecting the tithe (*ešrū*) incumbent on this land and due to the Lady of Uruk.¹¹⁶¹ The agricultural tithe was generally due from the temple land leased out to sharecroppers.¹¹⁶² It usually (but not always) represented one-tenth of the yield and was to be paid in addition to a share of the harvest (Jursa 1998: 4ff.).¹¹⁶³ In TCL 12 73, the tenant, Innin-šum-ušur, son of Nanāya-ēreš, is assigned a large area, from Uruk to Babylon and from the Euphrates to the Nār-šarri, from which to collect the tithe of the Lady of Uruk. Further specific localities are named which were in the vicinity of Uruk.¹¹⁶⁴ As Jursa noted, not all the land in this area belonged to the temple and was subjected to the tithe payments (1998: 8), since the returns would have been too small: the lease stipulated 500 *kurru* of barley and dates as annual rent. Unlike the previously discussed lease of the *gugallūtu*-service which was to be paid according to the annually determined impost (*imittu*), this contract had a fixed sum as rent (*sūtu*). The text specifies that it was to be paid using the measure of the Lady of Uruk at the big watercourses and makes provisions in case the current *fermier général*, Šum-ukīn, collected barley and dates from the land allotted to Innin-šum-ušur, since their territories would have probably overlapped. No work obligations are recorded in the text, as the main concern of Innin-šum-ušur

¹¹⁵⁹ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 67. 123 and Joannès 1982: 13f. A translation of the text is also given here on p. 131.

¹¹⁶⁰ A comparable text is known from the Ebabbar of Sippar (BM 76043, MacGinnis 1998: 213f.). The text is badly damaged, but it is evident from it that both date orchards and arable land of Šamaš were leased out to an uncertain number of individuals who were to deliver the dates and barley to the temple in addition to date by-products. Apparently also some digging was part of the obligations of the tenants. See also VS 5 122, a lease contract for *gugallūtu*, from the Tattannu archive. For *gugallūtu* contracts from Borsippa see Jursa and Wacrzegggers 2009: 240ff.

¹¹⁶¹ The text was edited by Moore 1935: 76ff. and re-edited here in the Appendix 1. See also Jursa's comments on the text (1998: 7f. 21). For a thorough treatment of the tithe, *ešrū*, based chiefly on the documents from the Ebabbar of Sippar, see Jursa 1998.

¹¹⁶² Note that *ešrū* (or alternatively *erbu*) payments could also be made by people not directly related to the temple's agricultural sector (e.g., shepherds, fowlers, officials or members of the royal family; see Jursa 1998: 61ff.).

¹¹⁶³ According to Jursa (1998: 8f.) other types of land could also be subjected to a tithe payment to the temple. This land was not temple property or was not under the direct control of the temple administration and was only nominally temple property. Among these types of land one finds estates of state and military officials and members of the royal family, *bīt rittis* and *bīt qaštis* and settlements of non-Babylonian ethnic groups. Jursa offers a hypothetical explanation for the right of the temple to draw *ešrū*-payments from this land on p. 85: Since the Ebabbar had more land than it could cultivate using its own resources, the royal administration allotted some of the unused temple land to the members of the military, mercenaries or deportees, reserving the right to collect the tithe from these estates for the temple.

¹¹⁶⁴ The place names are preceded by "100 of ..." (e.g., 1 me šá^{garin} šá-kil-lat 1 me šá^{garin} ku-ša-a 1 me šá^{garin} nam-zu-ú, etc. (l. 7)). The meaning of this expression is not entirely clear. Joannès (1982: 121f.) associated this text to a list of properties TBER pl. 31 which uses a similar expression, and suggested understanding the numerals as the length (in cubits) of the frontage of properties in given localities (p. 120). Possibly there could be a connection with the *ḫanšū*- and *līmu*-types of land and these properties also may have originated from some land division scheme (see also here p. 358).

would have been the collection of tithe from the land which had already been assigned for agricultural cultivation.¹¹⁶⁵

The two texts are both examples of leasing of income rights from the temple land without having to engage in the (organisation of) agricultural production. However, the two leases involve different modes of rent payment and in consequence different types of income for the tenants. In the *gugallūtu*-contract the rent was variable. It was the annually determined *imittu*. There was no possibility for the tenant to extract more from the gardeners, as *imittu* implied that most of the harvest went to the temple. The gardeners received a more or less fixed salary (*sissinnu*) based on the area tilled and the type of work conducted there. Similarly, the income of the *gugallu* was more or less fixed and was based on the area under his responsibility and the number of orchards there (1 *kurru* of dates per orchard was the *gugallūtu*-payment¹¹⁶⁶). The *ešrū*-contract was an arrangement for a fixed rent. In this respect and in terms of the profit of the tenant it bears more resemblance to the regular *sūtu*-leases. By collecting more from the cultivators of the land than the temple expected to receive as tithe, the tenant had the opportunity to make a profit for himself. In other words, his potential income depended on the productivity of the land. The *ša muḫḫi sūtis* were expected to invest in the development of the land from their own resources thus maximising the possibility for a gain. It is not clear to what extent, if at all, the *ša muḫḫi ešrī* could actively influence the returns of the land under their responsibility, and in turn their own profit.

3.6. Overview of the obligations of the tenant

Rent

delivery

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>ina mašīḫi ša BšU</i> | YOS 6 11, TCL 12 73, YOS 6 26, PTS 2821, VS 20 88, PTS 2344, PTS 2249, TCL 12 90 |
| <i>ina mašīḫi ša šarri</i> | YOS 6 150 |
| <i>ina muḫḫi mē rabūti</i> | TCL 12 73, YOS 6 26, PTS 2821, YOS 6 41 |
| <i>ina muḫḫi mē</i> | YOS 6 11, YOS 6 40, PTS 2249 |
| <i>ina Eanna</i> | YOS 6 150, PTS 2344, TCL 12 90 |
| <i>sullupī ina ištēt ritti nadānu</i> | TCL 13 182 |

additional dues

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| cattle | VS 20 88, TCL 12 64, YBC 3750, YOS 6 26, YOS 6 40, PTS 2249, PTS 2044, TCL 13 182 |
| bundles of straw | YOS 6 150 |
| date palm by-products | PTS 2044 |
| provision of <i>urāšu</i> -workers | PTS 2344 |

Work

cultivation and preparatory work

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>dulla ina libbi epēšu</i> | NBC 4889, NCBT 630, YOS 21 207, 208, Spar, <i>Studies</i> , no. 8 |
| <i>dulla ina šupāl gišimmarī epēšu</i> | BIN 1 117, NBC 4889 |
| <i>ḫerūta ina šupāl gišimmarī ḫerū</i> | NCBT 677, NCBT 630, Spar, <i>Studies</i> , no. 8 |
| <i>gišimmarī šehḫerūti rubbū</i> | YOS 7 47 |
| <i>mayyāra dekū</i> | YBC 4143, YOS 21 207, 208 |
| <i>taptē puttū</i> | YBC 4143, BIN 1 125, NCBT 630, Spar, <i>Studies</i> , no. 8 |
| <i>(zēra) erēšu</i> | YOS 21 208, YBC 3750 (<i>mala in libbi ana erēši ṭābu irriš</i>) |
| <i>abatta nasāku</i> | YBC 4143, YOS 6 33, YOS 7 47 |
| <i>gišša nakāsu</i> | BM 114444 |
| <i>igār kirī epēšu</i> (or <i>igāri lamū</i>) | BM 114444, YOS 17 6, YOS 6 33 |

¹¹⁶⁵ No parallel contracts are known from Sippar. BM 101334 published by MacGinnis 1998: 214 as no. 8 is a special case (as Jursa 1998: 21 notes), since the land in question is the *būt ritti* of the tenant. Here, the tenant is also expected to pay a fixed sum as rent (ll. 6-9: *eš-ru-ú níg-ga^dutu é ri-it-ti-ia / [i] bi-in-nim-ma ina mu-an-na a-na é¹-[babbar-ra] / [x] me 60 gur zú-lum-ma 2 gur 3_p 2_b še-[bar] / [lud-din]...*).

¹¹⁶⁶ This is not stipulated by the contract, but the *gugallūtu*-payment is known mainly from *imittu* debt notes for dates; see p. 128.

| | |
|---|---|
| providing the workforce | YBC 4143, ¹¹⁶⁷ YOS 6 150 ¹¹⁶⁸ |
| planting | |
| <i>gišimmari zaqāpu</i> | YOS 6 33, YOS 6 67, [PTS 2089] |
| <i>asnê zaqāpu</i> | PTS 2089 |
| <i>ḫilēpi zaqāpu/šakānu</i> | YBC 4143, YOS 6 67, NCBT 630 |
| <i>karāna zaqāpu</i> | PTS 2134 |
| <i>šikitta šakānu</i> | YOS 6 67, YOS 17 6, YOS 21 214 |
| harvesting | |
| <i>uḫīni nakāsu</i> | YBC 4149, YOS 7 162 |
| irrigation | |
| <i>zēra dalū</i> | BIN 1 125, ?YBC 3543 |
| <i>nārāti ḫerū u mē šuṣbutu</i> | YOS 6 67, BIN 1 125, YOS 7 162, BIN 1 117, NBC 4889, NCBT 630, YOS 21 214, Spar, <i>Studies</i> , no. 8, PTS 2044 |
| <i>ḫarrātišu mē šuṣbutu</i> | YBC 4149 |
| <i>nārāti rabāti ultu makkūr Eanna ḫerū</i> | TCL 13 182 |
| <i>pūt bitqi u kirikti nār šarri našū</i> | TCL 12 90 |
| protection of the plants | |
| <i>libbi u ḫarutti našāru</i> | NCBT 677, YBC 4143, BIN 1 125, YOS 7 162, BIN 1 117, NBC 4889, Spar, <i>Studies</i> , no. 8 (NCBT 630) |
| <i>dāku ša gišimmari</i> | NCBT 677, NCBT 630 (<i>u ḫilēpi</i>), YOS 21 214, BM 114450 |
| <i>pūt maṣṣarti našū</i> | YOS 7 51, YOS 21 214, NCBT 630 |
| <i>pūt maṣṣarti ša uḫīni našū</i> | YBC 4149, YOS 7 162 |
| Other obligations | |
| let cattle graze on unused land | YOS 6 40, TCL 12 90, TCL 13 182 |
| draught animals not to die, offspring to be shown to a representative of the temple | YOS 6 11, YOS 6 150 |
| keep tools in good repair | YOS 6 11, YOS 6 150 |

3.7. Overview of the obligations/services of the lessor

providing means of production

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| water | PTS 2344 (<i>pūt mē Šum-ukīn (lessor) naši</i>) |
| seed | PTS 2344, YOS 6 11, YOS 6 150, YOS 19 71, TCL 13 182 |
| <i>ikkarus</i> | PTS 2344, YOS 6 11, YOS 6 150, TCL 13 182 (VS 20 88?) |
| draught animals | PTS 2344, YOS 6 11, YOS 6 150, TCL 13 182 |
| tools | YBC 4143, YOS 19 71 (YOS 6 11, YOS 6 150, PTS 2344, TCL 13 182) ¹¹⁶⁹ |
| iron | YOS 6 11, YOS 6 150 |
| rations | YBC 4143, YOS 6 150 |

remuneration of the tenant (*sissinnu*)

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>sissinnu</i> like the neighbours | YOS 7 51 |
| <i>bīt marri</i> : 4 <i>kurru</i> dates; <i>bīt epinni</i> : 3 <i>kurru</i> dates | YOS 7 47, BIN 1 125, BIN 1 117 |
| <i>bīt marri</i> : 5 <i>kurru</i> dates; <i>bīt epinni</i> : 4 <i>kurru</i> dates | NBC 4889, NCBT 630, Spar, <i>Studies</i> , no. 8 |
| <i>ana</i> 1 gur 4 gur <i>suluppū sissinnu</i> | BM 114450 |

conducting the *imittu* procedure

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| (<i>uḫīni ina muḫḫi</i>) <i>gišimmari emēdu</i> | YBC 3750, YBC 4149, YOS 7 162 |
|---|-------------------------------|

¹¹⁶⁷ The tenant has to bring his two brothers along in order to tend the orchard together with him.

¹¹⁶⁸ The tenant has to employ *errēšus* where necessary.

¹¹⁶⁹ In these texts the provision of tools (ploughs) is implicit.

3.8. The duration of the leases

Leases lasting from one to 60 years and once even *in perpetuity* (*ana ūmē šāti*) are attested in the Neo-Babylonian documents (Ries 1976: 114; Jursa 2004b: 180). In Uruk the extant leases are limited to a duration from three to five (or perhaps ten) years. But generally the duration of the leases is rarely stated in the texts. As is evident from the table below, the number of contracts which have an absolute limitation on the duration of the lease is relatively small. Among these contracts are three leases of prebendary *hallatu*-orchards limited to three or four years and one lease of arable land for a fixed rent limited to five years.¹¹⁷⁰ More frequent are the temporal limitations connected to a change of conditions of a lease, which in turn was related to a change in ‘status’ of a property. This type of limitation is typically found in *zāqipūtu*-contracts, i.e. leases of properties which change their productivity status over time, usually within a period from five to ten years.¹¹⁷¹ Generally starting off as land with no agricultural output, after about ten years the most, after the planting, the necessary work and the tending of the young date palms had been carried out, this land would become a fully productive date orchard. At this point the lease conditions would change. While during the first stage the tenant had the usufruct of the entire orchard, or parts of these (of just the young date palms, in case the orchard was only partially productive as in YOS 7 47), once it became fully productive, the annual rent payments would have to commence (or the rent had to be paid at a different rate in case parts of the property had already been productive).

| Text | Duration | Type of lease | Special conditions |
|-----------|--------------|--|---|
| YBC 4149 | 3 years | <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> (<i>hallatu</i> -orchard) | |
| BM 114444 | 4 years | <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> (<i>hallatu</i> -orchard) | |
| YOS 7 162 | 4 years | <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> (<i>hallatu</i> -orchard) | |
| VS 20 88 | 5 years | <i>ana sūti</i> | |
| PTS 2089 | 10 years (?) | <i>ana zāqipūti</i> | usufruct for 10 years for what grows below the palms |
| YOS 6 33 | | <i>ana zāqipūti</i> | usufruct for 10 years, then 2/3 share to temple |
| YOS 6 67 | | <i>ana zāqipūti</i> | usufruct for 10 years, then 2/3 share to temple |
| YOS 17 6 | | <i>ana zāqipūti</i> | usufruct for 5 years, then 1/2 ⁷ share to temple |
| YOS 7 47 | | <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> | usufruct of young palms for 5 years, then <i>imittu</i> |
| YBC 4143 | | <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> | usufruct of previously uncultivated land (<i>apītu</i>) for 5 years |

Table 32: Duration of the leases

Nonetheless, the temporal limitations in the *zāqipūtu*-contracts do not indicate the expiration of a lease, and even the contracts with a definitive expiry date do not necessarily imply that they could not have been (tacitly) prolonged at the end of the term. What is more, the question of the numerous contracts without any stipulations on the duration of the lease remains uncertain. Ries (1976: 116f.) considered this question, arriving at the conclusion that such leases most probably automatically lapsed after a year, though there was always the possibility to tacitly prolong the lease. This, however, can hardly be substantiated.

¹¹⁷⁰ PTS 2089 is not entirely clear. The contract for planting date palms gives a limitation of ten years for the usufruct of everything cultivated below the date palms. Other *zāqipūtu*-contracts which also give a limitation of ten years for the usufruct of the orchard usually stipulate at what rate the rent was to be paid after this period. This is not the case in PTS 2089 and therefore it is conceivable that the lease was intended to expire after the ten years. However, an accidental omission of the new conditions in the text or even a tacit reliance on customary rent forms (shares or *imittu*) are possible in this case.

¹¹⁷¹ The previously uncultivated land in YBC 4143 apparently took four years to reach full productivity.

3.9. Conclusion

In conclusion, can anything be said about developments and the general agricultural strategies of the temple on the basis of the land lease contracts? Looking at the distribution of the contracts over time with respect to the type of land leased and the type of work to be conducted may give some clues in this respect. A preponderance of leases of date orchards might indicate a more intensive form, while conversely a preponderance of arable leases would point in the direction of a more extensive form of agriculture. Furthermore, leases of land for reclamation or setting up of new plantations can be taken as a sign of expansion of the temple's arable holdings and its agricultural production.

| leases | Nbk | Ner | Nbn | Cyr | Camb | Nbk IV | Dar | total ¹¹⁷² |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------------------|
| <i>sūtu</i> | 2 | 1 | 9 | 1 | | | 1 | 14 |
| <i>nukuribbūtu</i> | | | 1 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 14 |
| <i>errēšūtu</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | | 3 | 2 | | 10 |
| <i>zāqipūtu</i> | 2 | | 2 | 1 | | | | 5 |
| <i>taptū</i> | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| arable land | 2 | 3 | 7 | | 1 | 2 | | 15 |
| orchard | 3 | | 4 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 22 |
| a + o | | | 2 | | | | 1 | 3 |
| total¹¹⁷³ | 5 | 3 | 13 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 40 |

Table 33: Number and distribution of different types of land lease contracts

Unfortunately, there are only forty documents at our disposal, covering a period from 3 Nbk to 2 Dar (some 83 years). The material is not dense enough to allow for any definite conclusions. One can observe a slight preference for date orchards as opposed to arable land (22 vs. 15 contracts); however, this may be explained by the fact that arable land tended to be leased out *en gros* by the temple much more frequently than orchards, which would result in a higher number of orchard leases. Of course, this discrepancy in numbers could also be the consequence of accidents of discovery.

Both arable land and orchard leases are more or less evenly represented across the time sample at our disposal. There is no indication then that the temple was attempting to intensify its agricultural production through a shift toward horticulture. A point of interest is the peak during the reign of Nabonidus when arable land leases and leases *ana sūti* are attested more frequently. Generally, it can be observed that the majority of all the lease contracts from Eanna (32.5 %) come from this period. If nothing else, this cluster indicates an increased activity in the temple's agricultural sector, especially involving outsourcing. The interest and the involvement of the state administration during Nabonidus's reign played a decisive role in this process.¹¹⁷⁴ Notably, some of the largest leases were granted by the king or the crown-prince. What is more, the majority of the leases from Nabonidus's reign were authorised by the royal representative in the temple, *ša rēš*

¹¹⁷² The numbers of the documents listed in the first part of the column treating different types of leases do not add up to the total of 40, because some documents could combine two types of leases relative to the rent and the type of work to be conducted (e.g., *zāqipūtu* and *errēšūtu*, *nukuribbūtu* and *errēšūtu*, *taptū* and *errēšūtu*).

¹¹⁷³ The table does not include the private lease YBC 4143 (38 Nbk) and the *gugallūtu*-contract YOS 7 38 (4 Cyr), but it does include TCL 12 64 (1 Ner), which is a document recording a division of rented property between two tenants.

¹¹⁷⁴ This was a cross-regional trend. Note the comparable land leases from the Ebabbar archive and the 'Edict' of Belšazzar, which give evidence for the involvement of the crown in the temple agriculture during this period.

šarri bēl piqitti Eanna.¹¹⁷⁵ However, placing the number of rent contracts in relation to the duration of the reigns of the rulers it becomes evident that the greatest density of land lease contracts (almost two thirds) comes from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV, i.e. from the end of the archive.

| Ruler | Nbk | Ner | Nbn | Cyr | Camb | Nbk IV | Dar |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|
| total no. of leases | 5 | 3 | 13 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 2 |
| no. leases per regnal year ¹¹⁷⁶ | 0.12 | 1 | 0.76 | 0.67 | 0.75 | 8.33 | 0.03 |
| leases per regnal year in % | 1.03 | 8.58 | 6.52 | 5.75 | 6.43 | 71.44 | 0.26 |

Table 34: General distribution of land lease contracts

In this sense the distribution of the lease contracts reflects the general distribution of texts within the Eanna archive (cf. Table 1) and is in no way indicative of a particular diachronic development. This is visible in the following diagram, which juxtaposes the total number of texts (in percent) per regnal year of a given ruler to the number of leases (in percent) per regnal year of that ruler:

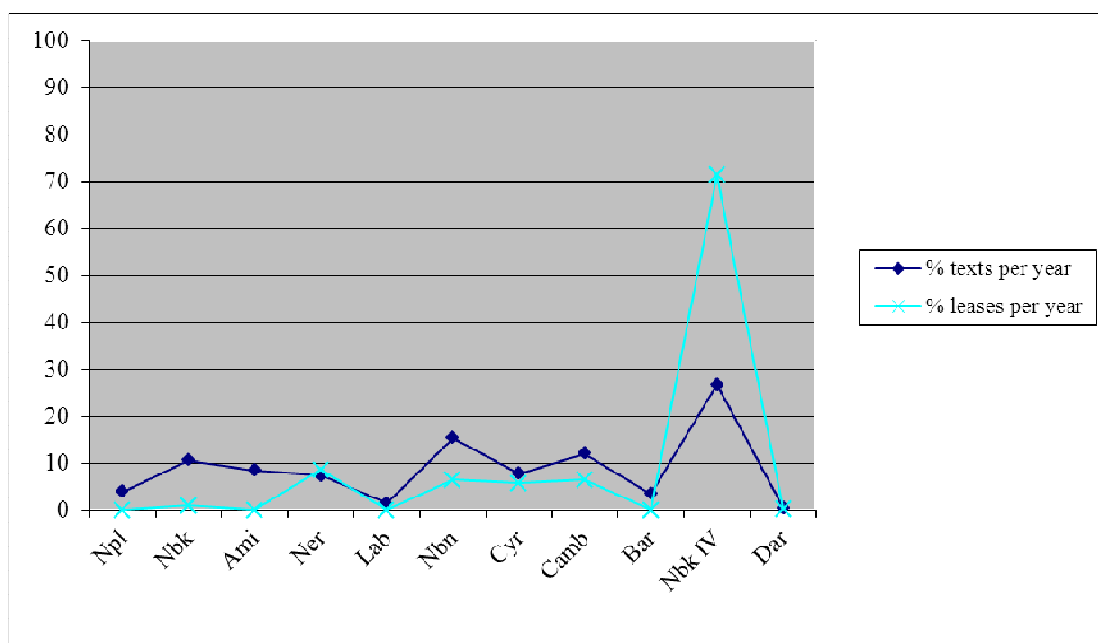


Figure 1: General distribution of land lease contracts and texts in the Eanna archive

As for the expansion of the land under cultivation, there is evidence (*taptû-* and *zāqipūtu-* contracts¹¹⁷⁷) that this was being done, but not much more than that can be said. The texts are too few to allow any attempts at quantification or conclusions on the possible diachronic trends.

The availability of cultivated/cultivable land ties in with the question of expansion. Overall, land was not the limiting factor for the Babylonian agriculture. The rural areas which were not exhaustively cultivated could have been turned into cultivable land by expanding the irrigation system. However, in practice this cannot have been that simple. In fact it seems that the temple estates were indeed limited, most probably by a lack of infrastructure. In the lease contracts there

¹¹⁷⁵ This trend may have started earlier though, with the *qīpu* during Nebuchadnezzar's, and the rent farmer Šum-ukīn, who was a royal representative (*bēl piqitti ša šarri*) at the time, during Neriglissar's reign. The *šatammu* appeared in the leases in the twenties of Nebuchadnezzar and later only from Cyrus's reign onwards. It should be noted, however, that from Cyrus onwards *šatammu* appeared in all the leases authorised by the temple officials. Should one interpret this as heightening (or regaining) of control of the temple's own affairs by the local temple personnel?

¹¹⁷⁶ For Darius only the first twenty-nine regnal years were taken into account, as the archive ends at this time.

¹¹⁷⁷ Contracts *ana taptû*: BM 114550 ([x] Camb), YOS 21 207 (1 Nbk IV); contracts *ana zāqipūti*: YOS 17 6 (21 Nbk), PTS 2134 (43 Nbk; this was a lease for planting grapevines), YOS 6 33 (3 Nbn), YOS 6 67 (4 Nbn), PTS 2089 (1 Cyr).

are several instances of gifts for the lessors stipulated by the contracts¹¹⁷⁸ or competitive rent payments.¹¹⁷⁹ These indicate that the temple was in a position to put tenants under pressure and that land leases were in demand. Was this the result of a limitation on agriculturally useful land? The option to expand the cultivable lands was still present, but in reality this would have been possible only with the support of the king who had the means to carry out such large projects. Private entrepreneurs had to rely on the already existent infrastructure of the temple estates. Indeed, they were responsible for the upkeep of the irrigation system as the pertinent stipulations in numerous rent contracts demonstrate.¹¹⁸⁰ This included the digging of (minor) irrigation ditches; however, the larger irrigation canals were to be dug using the resources of the temple, as is stipulated in one rent contract.¹¹⁸¹ It is uncertain to which extent the temple was self-sufficient in this respect and to which it depended on investments from the outside, notably the king, for the expansion of its estates.¹¹⁸²

To sum up, the land lease contracts give some evidence for an ongoing expansion of temple estates through reclamation of arable land and creation of new date orchards. The evidence is too sparse, however, to allow for a quantification or the assessment of the intensity of these efforts. The few occasional instances of leases *ana taptê* and *ana zāqipūti* do not necessarily imply far-reaching attempts at expansion of temple estates and land amelioration. It is conceivable that the temple relied on the input of the external rent farmers to this effect. As a result a large rent farm and a number of smaller ones were created during Nabonidus's reign. This increased activity concerning the outsourcing in the realm of temple agriculture was prompted by the state administration. These royal policies were not necessarily innovative, similar modes of outsourcing had been applied by the temples before; however, the scale at which the land was leased out was something hitherto unseen. Nevertheless, the success of these policies was doubtful. On the one hand, the rent farmers were not supplied by the temple with an adequate number of ploughmen and draught animals and clearly had difficulties in organising additional workforce. On the other, agriculturally useful land was apparently limited. It would have probably been more sensible to invest in the expansion of the irrigation network, as was done in the Sippar region during Nebuchadnezzar's reign. The logistical support and the funding for a project of a similar magnitude could only have come from the king; however, no such investments were made in the Uruk region during the time span covered by the Eanna archive. For this reason the expansion of the temple estates probably only happened on a minor scale.

¹¹⁷⁸ In VS 20 88 the tenant is obliged to make a gift of ten lambs to the temple; in TCL 13 182 the tenant has to deliver ten flawless bulls for the offerings to the temple. Stipulations for presents of cattle in other rent contracts include: one bull and fifteen sheep (YOS 6 40), one flawless bull and ten sheep (YOS 6 26), one bull and five sheep (PTS 2249). This cattle was intended for the temple. But the lessor in TCL 12 64 and YBC 3750, Šum-ukīn, who was a royal official at the time leasing out temple land, was also entitled to gifts in cattle (one bull and one bull and one sheep respectively). Cattle as present of the king (*nāmurtu ša šarri*) is also attested: five sheep in W 17718 x and [x] bulls and sheep in PTS 2044.

¹¹⁷⁹ In TCL 12 90 the prospective new tenant, Nergal-nāšir/Nanāya-ibni, offers to top the rent (3,000 *kurru* of barley) which the previous tenant, Kalbāya/Iqīša/Basia, had to pay for the land in question by ca. 17 % and deliver 3,500 *kurru* of barley. In TCL 13 182, the transfer of the general rent farm from Gimillu to Bēl-gimlanni, the new tenant accepts to undertake this work under not so favourable conditions which the previous tenant complained about. TCL 12 73 also records the transfer of a lease of *ešrû*-land from one lessor to another. It is not clear how the temple benefited from this transfer. It appears that the new tenant rented a much larger area than his predecessor and paid a higher rent accordingly.

¹¹⁸⁰ See p. 314.

¹¹⁸¹ *nārāti rabāti ultu makkūr Eanna herû*, TCL 13 182.

¹¹⁸² The digging of the royal canal north of Sippar funded by Nebuchadnezzar largely benefited the Ebabbar temple which gained new agricultural estates in this region. For Uruk no comparable royally sponsored digging or building activities are attested, at least not during the period covered by the archive.

3.10. Overview of the land lease contracts – Table 35:

| Text ¹¹⁸³ | Date | Type ¹¹⁸⁴ | Type of land and lease |
|---|---------------|----------------------|--|
| YOS 17 7 (p. 293) | 10-XI-3 Nbk | 1.a | <i>eq̄lu ša BšU, {ana sūti}</i> ¹¹⁸⁵ |
| YOS 17 6 (p. 304) | 23-III-21 Nbk | 1.a | <i>qaqqaru ša BšU, ana zāqipūti</i> |
| YBC 3543 (p. 281) | 1-III-23 Nbk | 2.a | <i>eq̄lētu ša BšU, ana errēšūti</i> |
| VS 20 88 (p. 152) | 5-VIII-38 Nbk | 1.a | <i>qaqqaru, {ana sūti}</i> |
| YBC 4143 (p. 310) | 5-VII-38 Nbk | 1.c | <i>kirû (kirikunu ša ina šīhu ša BšU), ana nukuribbūti {sharecropping}</i> |
| PTS 2134 (p. 286) | 17-IV-43 Nbk | 1.a | <i>bīt ritti zēru (ina qaqqari ša BšU), {ana zāqipūti & sharecropping}</i> |
| PTS 2344 (p. 49) | 8-II-1 Ner | 1.a | <i>50 kurru zēru qaqqaru, {ana sūti}</i> |
| YBC 3750 (p. 298) | 4-XI-2 Ner | 1.a | <i>1 šīhu ša BšU, ana errēšūti</i> |
| TEBR 37 ¹¹⁸⁶ = YOS 6 11= <i>AfK</i> 2, p. 107ff. ¹¹⁸⁷ | 28-I-1 Nbn | 1.b | <i>6,000 kurru zēru pī šulpi (elat zēru bīt kirî), {ana sūti}</i> |
| TCL 12 73 ¹¹⁸⁸ | 8-II-1 Nbn | 1.a | <i>ešrû ša BšU, {ana sūti}</i> |
| YOS 6 26 ¹¹⁸⁹ | 12-III-1 Nbn | 1.a | <i>zēru ša BšU (for keeping cattle and sheep of BšU there), {ana sūti}</i> |
| YOS 6 41 ¹¹⁹⁰ | 11-II-3 Nbn | 1.a | <i>zēru ša BšU, {ana sūti}</i> |
| YOS 6 40 ¹¹⁹¹ | 23-VI-3 Nbn | 1.a | <i>865;1.4 zēru ša BšU, {ana sūti}</i> |

¹¹⁸³ OIP 122 50 is probably another rent contract, but is not included in the table due to its bad state of preservation. The conditions of the contract and the identity of the tenant are not known. The text mentions 10,000 *kurru* of dates and 400 ploughmen, as well as the name of the king Nabonidus. Among the witnesses a member of the Basia family appears (ll. 10²-11⁷ [...] / a-šū šá 'en-numun a 'ba*-[si*-ia*...]; I am grateful to M. Jursa for kindly allowing me to use his collation of this text). This may have been Šum-ukīn or his brother Silim-Bēl. To judge by the amount of dates and the number of ploughmen, the conditions may have been the same as in Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent contract. This text may have recorded the transfer of the rent farm to Kalbāya after his uncle backed out of it around 8 Nbn. This is highly conjectural though.

¹¹⁸⁴ For the formal aspects of the leases see p.265f. The types 1.a, 1.b, and 1.c are all variants of the *Zwiesgesprächs*-type: 1.a uses the imperative and 1.b the precativ of *nadānu*; 1.c uses the precativ of *šuzzuzu*. Type 2 contracts are formulated *ex latere locatoris*, 2.a using the preterit of *nadānu* and 2.b the preterit of *paqādu*.

¹¹⁸⁵ Remarks in { } are information not explicitly stated in the text, but implied by it.

¹¹⁸⁶ Cf. Joannès 1982: 136ff. for an edition.

¹¹⁸⁷ The text is edited together with YOS 6 11 by Schwenzner 1924-25: 107ff; cf. also Cocquerillat 1968: 38f.

¹¹⁸⁸ Edited by Moore 1935: 76ff. and in the Appendix 1.

¹¹⁸⁹ Edited by San Nicolò 1948: 279ff.

¹¹⁹⁰ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 39f. 108f.

¹¹⁹¹ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 40. 109.

| Rent | Tenant | Lessor |
|--|---|---|
| dates: 120 <i>kurru</i> | Ardāya/Nanāya-ēreš | <i>qīpu & šatammu</i> |
| - (usufruct for 5 years, <i>aḫi zitti</i> mentioned in broken context) | Nabû-zēr-iqīša/Aḫḫēa/Kurī | <i>šatammu</i> |
| barley: 1/5, 1/6 and 1/3 <i>zittu</i> | Aplāya/Nabû-udammīq/Rēʾû & Nabû-ušallim/Šulāya/ašlāku | <i>šatammu</i> |
| barley: 4,000 [+ x <i>kurru</i>], <i>kasia</i> : 100 <i>kurru</i> , sesame: [x], [<i>saḫlû</i> or spelt: x]; 10 lambs | Nergal-nāšir/Nanāya-ibni (previous tenants: Ibni-Ištar/Nabû-šum-ibni & Nabû-šum-ibni) | <i>qīpu & bēlû piqnēti</i> |
| dates: 5/6 <i>zittu</i> (usufruct of previously uncultivated land for 4 years) | Nabû-zēr-iddin/Šillāya (& 2 brothers) | Innin-šar-ušur/Nergal-ušallim[/Šîn-leqe-unninnī, <i>rab būli</i> (?)] |
| grapes: <i>aḫi zitti</i> | Abnāʾ/Addu-mād | <i>qīpu</i> |
| barley: 600 <i>kurru</i> | Nanāya-aḫ-iddin/Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, <i>ikkaru ša BšU</i> | Šum-ukīn, <i>mār šipri ša Neriglissar</i> |
| <i>zitti qaqqari akī^{lu} errēšē ša ina qaqqari ša BšU zēra irrišū</i> (+ 1 bull & 1 sheep as present of Šum-ukīn) | Nuḫāya/Nabû-qātē-šabat & Il-natan/Mannu-likim | Šum-ukīn, <i>bēl piqitti ša šarri</i> |
| barley: 25,000 <i>kurru</i> , dates: 10,000 <i>kurru</i> | Šum-ukīn/Bēl-zēri/Basia & Kalbāya/Iqīša/Basia | Nabonidus |
| barley & dates: 500 <i>kurru</i> | Innin-šum-ušur/Nanāya-ēreš | <i>ša rēš šarri & bēlû piqnēti</i> |
| barley: 400 <i>kurru</i> , 1 flawless bull, 10 sheep | [x]/Nanāya-ēreš, <i>nāqīdu ša BšU</i> | <i>ša rēš šarri & bēlû piqnēti</i> |
| barley: 1,000 [+ x <i>kurru</i>], sesame: 60 <i>kurru</i> , cress: 20 <i>kurru</i> | Nergal-nāšir/Nanāya-ibni | <i>bēl piqitti & bēlû piqnēti</i> |
| barley: 1,240 <i>kurru</i> , 1 bull, 15 sheep | Šîn-ibni/Šamaš-udammīq/Rēʾi-alpi & Arad-Innin/Ibni-Ištar | <i>bēl piqitti & bēlû piqnēti</i> |

| Text | Date | Type | Type of land and lease |
|---------------------------|---|------------------|---|
| PTS 2249 (p. 276) | 23-VI-[3 ²] Nbn | 1.a | <i>zēru ša BšU</i> (for pasturing cattle & sheep), { <i>ana sūti</i> } |
| YOS 6 33 ¹¹⁹² | 19-IX-3 Nbn | 1.a | <i>qaqqaru ša BšU</i> , { <i>ana zāqipūti</i> , sharecropping} |
| YOS 6 67 ¹¹⁹³ | 14-XI-4 Nbn | 1.a | 2;2.3 <i>zēru ... qaqqaru ša BšU</i> , <i>ana zāqipūti</i> {sharecropping} |
| PTS 2821 (p. 155) | 20-IV-5 ² Nbn | 1.a | <i>qaqqaru (ina qaqqari ša ana sūti ana PN taddinū)</i> , { <i>ana sūti</i> } |
| W 17718 lx | 14-[x]-6 Nbn | ? | ? (orchard) |
| TCL 12 90 ¹¹⁹⁴ | 10-V-8 Nbn | 1.a | <i>zēru ša BšU</i> , { <i>ana sūti</i> } |
| YOS 6 150 ¹¹⁹⁵ | 28-[x]-11 Nbn | 1.b | 2,081 <i>kurru zēru bīt mērešu ina zēri pī šulpi ša BšU</i> , { <i>ana sūti</i> } |
| BM 114444 (p. 290) | 25-V-16 Nbn | 2.a | <i>eqlu kirū gišimmarī zaqpu kirū hallatu ša BšU u Nanāya</i> , <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> {sharecropping} |
| BM 114450 (p. 309) | [x-x-x] Cyr | 2.b | [x], <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> |
| PTS 2089 (p. 269) | 8-VII-1 Cyr | 2.a | exact measures of plot, <i>zēru</i> , <i>ana zāqipānūti</i> |
| AUWE 11 214 | 11-VI-4 Cyr | 2.a ² | <i>zēru gišimmarī zaqpu ša BšU</i> , <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> |
| YOS 7 38 ¹¹⁹⁶ | 3-VIII-4 Cyr | 2.b | <i>zēru gišimmarī zaqpu ša BšU (bīt ritti ša PN)</i> , <i>ana gugallūti</i> |
| YOS 7 47 ¹¹⁹⁷ | 3 ⁺ -XIIa-5 ⁺ Cyr | 1.a | 5 <i>kurru zēru gišimmarū šeḫrūtu u pī šulpi ina zēri makkūr IU</i> , <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> {+ <i>ana errēšūti</i> } |
| YOS 7 51 ¹¹⁹⁸ | 28-VI-5 Cyr | 1.a | <i>zēru gišimmarū šeḫrūtu ina zēri makkūr IU (bīt ritti of the tenant's father)</i> , <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> {+ <i>ana errēšūti</i> } |
| PTS 2044 (p. 221) | 6-II-8 Cyr | 2.a | <i>zēru gišimmarī zaqpu makkūr BšU</i> , <i>ana sūti</i> |
| BIN 1 125 ¹¹⁹⁹ | [x-x-x Camb] | 2.a | [x], <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> {+ <i>ana errēšūti</i> } |
| BM 114559 (p. 301) | 20-VII-[x] Camb | 1.a | <i>qaqqaru ša BšU bīt taptē</i> , { <i>ana errēšūti</i> , <i>ana taptē</i> } |

¹¹⁹² Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 45. 110. In line 5 read “šá ina 1 lim” instead of Cocquerillat’s “šá^(giš) bān igi(!)”.
¹¹⁹³ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 46. 110f.

¹¹⁹⁴ Edited by Moore 1935: 92ff; cf. also Cocquerillat 1968: 40f.
¹¹⁹⁵ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 42. 109f.

¹¹⁹⁶ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 67. 123 and Joannès 1982: 13f.; see also the translation and discussion here on p. 131.

¹¹⁹⁷ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 46f. 111f.

¹¹⁹⁸ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 46. 111.

¹¹⁹⁹ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 47. 112.

| Rent | Tenant | Lessor |
|---|---|--|
| barley: 360 <i>kurru</i> (from the <i>būt dulli</i>), 1 ² bull, 5 [sheep] | [x]/Nabû-šum-iddin, <i>nāqidu ša BšU</i> | <i>bēl piqitti & bēlū piqnēti</i> |
| dates: 2/3 <i>zittu</i> (usufruct for 10 years, then 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for tenant) | Ša-Nabû-išallim, <i>qallu ša Nabû-šar-ušur, ša rēš šarri</i> | <i>bēl piqitti, qīpu & bēlū piqnēti</i> |
| dates: 2/3 <i>zittu</i> (usufruct for 10 years, then 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for tenant) | Nabû-bēlšunu/Marduk/Kurī | <i>bēl piqitti & bēlū piqnēti</i> |
| barley: 300 <i>kurru</i> , sesame: 5 <i>kurru</i> | Bēlšunu/Marduk (= Nabû-bēlšunu/Marduk/Kurī(?)) | <i>bēl piqitti & bēlū piqnēti</i> |
| dates; <i>šibšu</i> mentioned as well as 5 sheep <i>nāmurtu ša šarri</i> | Ibnāya/Nanāya-iddin (Bānia/Nanāya-iddin) | Šum-ukīn/Bēl-zēri, <i>š.m.s.</i> |
| barley: 3,500 <i>kurru</i> (= 3,350 <i>kurru</i> barley + 50 <i>kurru</i> sesame) | Nergal-nāšir/Nanāya-ibni (previous tenant: Kalbāya/Iqīša/Basia) | <i>bēl piqitti & bēlū piqnēti</i> |
| barley: 5,000 <i>kurru</i> , 3,000 bundles of straw | Ibni-Ištar/Balātu, <i>širku ša BšU</i> | Belšazzar |
| dates: 3/4 <i>zittu</i> (i.e. 1/4 of the harvest is the share of the tenant) | Anu-nūr-ili/Nergal-ēter/Rab-banê | Innin-šum-iškun/Gimillu/Rab-banê & his brother Nanāya-Šamšia |
| - {dates: according to <i>imittu</i> } | Silim-ili/Nanāya-ēreš | <i>šatammu, bēl piqitti & [x]</i> |
| - (usufruct of everything he grows below the palms for 10 years) | Silim-ili, <i>ša rēš šarri</i> | <i>šatammu, bēl piqitti & tušarrū ša Eanna</i> |
| [x] | Nanāya-iddin/Iddin-Nabû | [x] |
| dates: according to <i>imittu</i> | Nanāya-ēreš/Gimillu | <i>šatammu & bēl piqitti</i> |
| dates from 12 productive palms according to <i>imittu</i> + <i>ešrū šibšu</i> for <i>pī šulpi</i> (usufruct of young palms for 5 years, then yield according to <i>imittu</i>) | Innin-šum-ušur/Ša-pīšu, <i>širku ša IU</i> | <i>šatammu & bēl piqitti</i> |
| dates: according to <i>imittu</i> , barley: <i>šibšu eqli</i> from <i>pī šulpi</i> | Nabû-šum-iddin/[x/x] | <i>šatammu</i> |
| dates: 12,000 <i>kurru</i> | Ardia/Nabû-bān-aḥi/Rēmūt-Ea | <i>šatammu & bēl piqitti (ina qībāt Gūbaru)</i> |
| {dates: according to <i>imittu</i> } + 1/5 <i>zitti qaqqari</i> for land below the palms irrigated by buckets | Nanāya-iddin/Ambanu & Nidintu/Nanāya-aḥ-iddin | [Ardia/Nabû-bāni-aḥi/Rēmūt-Ea, <i>š.m.s.</i>] |
| barley: 1/4 <i>zittu šibšu ša qaqqari</i> | Nanāya-iddin/Innin-šum-ušur/Ekur-zakir | Nādin/Bēl-aḥḥ-erība/Egibi [<i>tušar Eanna</i>] |

| Text | Date | Type | Type of land and lease |
|------------------------------|------------------|------|---|
| NBC 4889 (p. 278) | 2-VI-2 Camb | 2.a | <i>zēru (bīt ritti ša PN) ... makkūr BšU u Nanāya, ana nukuribbūti</i> |
| YBC 4149 (p. 291) | 24-VIII-[3] Camb | 2.a | <i>zēru kirū ḥallatu ša Ištar BšU, ana nukuribbūti</i> (for 3 years) {sharecropping} |
| YOS 7 162 ¹²⁰⁰ | 24-VIII-3 Camb | 2.a | <i>zēru kirū ḥallatu ša Ištar BšU, ana nukuribbūti</i> (for 4 years) {sharecropping} |
| BIN 1 117 ¹²⁰¹ | 27-VI-5 Camb | 1.a | <i>zēru bīt gišimmarī, ana nukuribbūti</i> {+ <i>ana errešūti</i> } |
| YOS 21 214 (p. 308) | [x]-[x]-1 Nbk IV | 2.a | [orchard], <i>ana nukuribbūti</i> |
| NCBT 677 (p. 280) | 23-V-[1 Nbk IV] | 2.a | [orchard], [<i>ana nukuribbūti?</i>] {+ <i>ana errešūti</i> } |
| YOS 21 207 (p. 302) | 26-V-1 Nbk IV | 2.a | <i>zēru pī šulpi bīt dulli u taptē ... makkūr BšU u Nanāya, ana errešūti</i> |
| YOS 21 208 (p. 279) | 30-V-1 Nbk IV | 2.a | [x] <i>makkūr BšU u Nanāya, ana errešūti</i> |
| NCBT 630 (p. 274) | 4-VI-1 [Nbk IV] | 2.a | <i>zēru zaqpu u pānassu pī šulpi... makkūr BšU u Nanāya (bīt ritti ša PN), ana nukuribbūti</i> {+ <i>ana errešūti</i> } |
| Spar, <i>Studies</i> , no. 8 | 4-I-1 Dar | 2.a | <i>zēru zaqpu makkūr BšU u Nanāya, ana nukuribbūti</i> |
| TCL 13 182 ¹²⁰² | 13-IV-2 Dar | 1.a | - { <i>ana sūti</i> } |

¹²⁰⁰ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 46. 111. In line 14 read “*i-mid^{id}-si-ma*” instead of Cocquerillat’s “*i-mid^{id}-u₄(?)-ma*”.

¹²⁰¹ Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 47. 112.

¹²⁰² Edited by Moore 1935: 186ff; see also Cocquerillat 1968: 43 and here p. 239.

| Rent | Tenant | Lessor |
|--|--|--|
| {dates: according to <i>imittu</i> } | Aḥ-yālid & Zababa-šar-ušur, sons of Šūzubu | [Ardia/Nabû-bāni-aḥi/Rēmūt-Ea, <i>š.m.s.</i>] |
| dates: 4/5 <i>zittu</i> | Luttu'a/Nabû-aḥ-iddin & Šamaš-zēr-iddin/Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ | Innin-zēr-ibni/Nabû-gāmil/Rab-banê |
| dates: 4/5 <i>zittu</i> | Luttu'a/Nabû-aḥ-iddin | Arad-Innin// Rab-banê |
| {dates: according to <i>imittu</i> } + <i>ešrû zittu</i> for land below palms | Balātu/Šillāya | Ardia/Nabû-bāni-aḥi/Rēmūt-Ea, <i>š.m.s. ša suluppī</i> |
| {dates: according to <i>imittu</i> } | Sîn-aḥ-bulliṭ/Aḥ-lakūn | Gimillu/Innin-šum-ibni, <i>š.m.s.</i> |
| {dates: according to <i>imittu</i> } + <i>aḥi zitti</i> for <i>bīt mē qāti</i> + 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for <i>dālu</i> | Sîn-ili/[x] | [Gimillu/Innin-šum-ibni, <i>š.m.s.</i>] |
| barley: <i>aḥi zitti</i> for <i>bīt dulli</i> + 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for <i>bīt taptê</i> | Talim/Šum-ukīn | Gimillu/Innin-šum-ibni, <i>š.m.s.</i> |
| 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for <i>bīt dāli</i> + <i>aḥi zitti</i> for <i>bīt mē qāti</i> | Iddin-Nergal/Nergal-dān | Gimillu/Innin-šum-ibni, <i>š.m.s.</i> |
| {dates: according to <i>imittu</i> } + 1/5 (share) for <i>bīt dāli</i> , <i>bīt taptê</i> + 1/3 <i>zittu</i> for <i>bīt mē qāti</i> , <i>bīt taptê</i> | Balātu/Innin-zēr-ušabši | Gimillu/Innin-šum-ibni, <i>š.m.s.</i> |
| {dates: according to <i>imittu</i> } | Šamaš-aḥ-iddin/Innin-zēr-ibni & Anu-apla-iddin, his son | Gimillu/Innin-šum-ibni, <i>š.m.s.</i> |
| barley: 10,000 <i>kurru</i> , dates: 12,000 <i>kurru</i> , in the first year 10 flawless bulls | Bēl-gimlanni/Madān-ēreš, <i>širik IU, ša muḥḥi quppi Eanna</i> | <i>šatammu, qīpu & bēl piqitti</i> |

4. Aspects of Urukian topography: Eanna's estates¹²⁰³

4.1. The general geographical setting

A reconstruction of the Urukian topography based on textual material has been attempted by Cocquerillat 1968 and in her follow-up articles in *Revue d'Assyriologie* (1981, 1983, 1984a). In her articles on the *imittu* debt notes for dates from the rent farm of Ardia and Gimillu (1981 and 1983) Cocquerillat pointed out a regularity with which place names, i.e. places in which the orchards were situated as well as the places in which the debt notes were drafted, appeared in these texts. This regularity reflects the practice of the yield estimation commissions to follow year after year a certain route when visiting and inspecting the individual orchards. The string of place names emerging from the texts was used by Cocquerillat to show the relative position of these places along the commission's itinerary. However, new texts show that the routes taken by the estimation commission were not strictly linear. Some of the places were revisited after a couple of days, for instance, and not always the same itinerary was followed, simply because the estates were not all strung in a line along a single canal, but some of them extended into adjacent areas.¹²⁰⁴ While Cocquerillat is frequently right about the rough localisation of the sites, there are still numerous difficulties posed by (seemingly?) conflicting information provided by the texts for some sites or simply insufficient data for others. Some of her localisations are based on rather skimpy evidence, or, one would get the impression, hunches even. Unfortunately, in her maps she does not distinguish between the more soundly based and the hypothetical reconstructions, which diminishes their usefulness. The uncertainty entailed in such detailed reconstruction of the Urukian topography is demonstrated by Cocquerillat herself, who emended and changed some of her previously proposed localisations in the articles which she wrote some years after the publication of her thesis.¹²⁰⁵ Thus Cocquerillat's reconstructions cannot be accepted at face value, but should rather be taken as suggestions regarding the general area where certain localities should be looked for.

Joannès (1982: 115ff.) also objected to Cocquerillat's reconstructions pointing out the gaps in her map, in particular to the east of the city. He gives the general outline of the Uruk countryside by describing the larger water-courses (p. 117) and discusses the geographical categories (e.g., *tamirtu*, p. 117f.) and toponymic elements (e.g., *bītu*, *dūru*, *ḥuṣṣētu*, etc; p. 118f.) which appear in the textual evidence. He also notes the frequent phenomenon of the alternating use of geographical categories (canal (*íd* or *ḥarru*), settlement (*uru*) and district (*garin*)) for one and the same locality on p. 119f. Finally Zadok in his catalogue of textually attested toponyms from the Neo-Babylonian period, *Répertoire Géographique* (1985), uses mainly the insights of Cocquerillat and Joannès when it comes to the proposed localisation of the sights. Falkenstein's study of the topography of Uruk of the Seleucid period should also be mentioned (Falkenstein 1941). Though there is no attempt at a reconstruction of the city plan, it provides a useful collection of names of city gates, quarters, streets, and so on, with some information on their relative localisation.

An archaeological approach describing the developments in the hinterlands of Uruk can be found in Adams and Nissen 1972. Adams' surface reconnaissance was designed to reveal settlement and irrigation patterns from the middle of the fourth millennium to well into the modern times (20th century AD). The Neo-Babylonian and the Seleucid periods are treated together, including the last two centuries of the Neo-Assyrian rule (this covers the period from roughly 800

¹²⁰³ Portions of this chapter were previously published in Janković 2010. The quoted passages are individually marked.

¹²⁰⁴ As the most representative data-set see the table with the *imittu* debt notes pertaining to the rent farm of Gimillu from 1 Nbk IV in the Appendix 5.

¹²⁰⁵ For instance, Kār-Nanāya, which she placed within the city close to the temple mound in her monograph (1968) later she localised outside the city on the royal canal (1983: 165). In yet another article (1984a) she argued against her previously proposed localisation of the district Ḥarrātu, changing it from south of the city to the north (1984a: 57¹⁸; see also the schematic map on p. 62). In order to do so, however, she had to revert to emendations of some clearly written portions of the text (*AnOr* 9 19) which is problematic in itself.

to 120 BC; Adams and Nissen 1972: 55-57). The Neo-Babylonian period is characterised by numerous small and widely scattered settlements which generally seem to have persisted into later times. In many places the “overlying layers of later debris” made the evaluation of the surface area occupied during the Neo-Babylonian time difficult (p. 55). The authors faced a similar problem with respect to the irrigation system: “The later levee deposits obscure those of the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods” (p. 57). Hence the map sketched for the Neo-Babylonian period (fig. 19, p. 56) is rather disappointing as it leaves whole areas blank and offers little detail. Nevertheless, the authors presume continuity in site and canal locations and a similarity to patterns from later times, in particular the Parthian period. The map drawn for this period (fig. 20, p. 60) shows a denser canal network around the city. It is assumed that the Uruk countryside in the Neo-Babylonian period, too, especially around the city, was characterised by an extensive network of artificial irrigation canals, “a largely dendritic system in which a few straight, main canals supplied many lateral offtakes” (p. 57). This is indeed the picture one would expect based on the textual evidence from the Eanna archive. However, while this pattern seems more than likely, it still cannot be combined successfully with all the toponyms which have come down to us, nor is it realistic to expect to achieve this goal with the kind of information available to us.

In consideration of all this, a graphic reconstruction of the Uruk hinterlands will not be attempted here, partly because it would duplicate to a large extent the work of Cocquerillat and partly because of the limitations of our evidence, which would only allow for hypothetical localisations for a substantial number of sites. Suffice it here to give a rough outline of the Uruk countryside which was circumscribed by three major watercourses, Euphrates, Takkīru and Nār-šarri. The following rough sketch of the estates of Eanna will cover the regions to the north of Uruk, to the west and south-west. Estates to the east or south of the city could not be identified, not because they did not exist¹²⁰⁶ but because our localisations hinge on the watercourses of which only the major ones, namely Nār-šarri in the north, Euphrates in the west and Takkīru probably in the south-west, could be identified with some degree of certainty.

4.1.1. Euphrates

The Euphrates (Purattu)¹²⁰⁷ which flowed to the west of Uruk marked the western border of the Uruk hinterlands. It seems that the land which lay directly on its banks was of marginal importance for the temple agriculture. Only a small number of sites which lay on the Euphrates could be identified (e.g., Kurbat, Bīt-Zugunabu, perhaps also Gadētu) and their importance for the temple agriculture seems to have been limited.¹²⁰⁸ With the exception of one, namely the Takkīru-canal (YOS 7 172), all the offshoots of the Euphrates in the Uruk region also seem to have been of marginal importance for the temple agriculture. These were probably situated to the north and included: Ḫarru-ša-Nabû-šum-līšir, on which sharecroppers were employed for grain production (GC 2 387) and from which also *kasia* was delivered (BIN 1 166), Ḫarru-ša-Marduk-apla-iddina, on which *hanšû*-allotments were created in the eighth century (*AnOr* 9 1) though it is not certain that temple estates were there as well, and perhaps also Ḫarri-kibbi, on which temple land was leased for gardening (YOS 7 51).

¹²⁰⁶ Note the map in Adams and Nissen which shows a well developed network of irrigation canals to the east of Uruk. Ironically their map exhibits a gap to the west of the city because this region could not be surveyed owing to the presence of cultivated land and seasonal swamps there (1981: 56f.).

¹²⁰⁷ For a reconstruction of the course of Euphrates see for instance van Driel 1988: 125f. and see the map on p. 151.

¹²⁰⁸ In Kurbat dates, sesame and *kasia* were being produced and the contractors Nabû-bān-aḫī, Ardīa and Gimillu were active there. For Bīt-Zugunabu there is only one attestation for barley production by sharecroppers (GC 2 387).

4.1.2. Takkīru

Takkīru, on the other hand, was of paramount importance for the temple agriculture, especially the date production.¹²⁰⁹ The exact course of this Euphrates offshoot cannot be determined. Cocquerillat suggested that it approached the city from the west or the south-west, which is plausible, even if not verifiable.¹²¹⁰ Furthermore Cocquerillat assumed that the Takkīru ended within the city walls (1968: 16), which is also not certain. This was based on a text which mentioned that Takkīru flowed toward the irrigation district Rudāya (YOS 6 35), and another text which implied that Rudāya was inside the city (TCL 12 8). The *imittu* list YOS 6 35 states that a certain amount of dates was from an area stretching “from Dūr-Ugumu to the canal Ḫarru-ša-Lâbāši, along the bank of Takkīru, toward Rudāya” (ll. 46-48: pab 834;2.1.3 *ul-tu* bād¹ *ú-gu-um* / *a-di* ugu^{id} *ḫar-ri-ša¹la-a-ba-ši* gú^{id} *tak-ki-ru* / *a-na* ^{garin}*ru-da-a-a*).¹²¹¹ The early land sale document TCL 12 8 (1 Šamaš-šum-ukīn) concerns a grain field whose one frontage bordered Rudāya and the other one the royal canal which was within Uruk (l. 7-8: *sag-ki šap⁷-li-ti ru-da-a-a* / *sag-ki an-ú¹ id-lugal šá qir-bi unug^{ki}*). The situation of the lower frontage suggests that Rudāya was in this instance a watercourse¹²¹² which, at least in part, ran parallel to the royal canal. To make things more confusing the introductory lines describe the plot as being in the Uruk region (*pīḫāt Uruk*). This terminology was commonly used for plots which were not within the city itself.¹²¹³ Furthermore, the district Rudāya, designated as *qallu*, i.e. the Lesser Rudāya,¹²¹⁴ which appears in the cadastral text RA 54, 86-87, is said to be some 6 km away from the royal highway and thus can hardly be found within the city as suggested by Cocquerillat (1968: 17, see also the map on plate 3b).¹²¹⁵

Despite these uncertainties concerning the course of Takkīru, we know that it fed several canals. A number of settlements significant mainly for the date production can be associated to it or its offshoots. The canals which branched off of Takkīru were Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, Nāru-ša-Silim-Bēl, Nār-Lasūtu, Ḫarru-ša-Lâbāši, Namri-saparrātu and perhaps also Nāru-ša-Bīt-ili and Nār-bīni. The quay Kār-Nanāya and the settlement/estate Bīt-Nabû-ahḫē-šullim were directly on the Takkīru. Other places which were situated on the Takkīru or one of its offshoots were Dūr-Ugumu, Gizzētu-ša-Nergal-nāšir, Kakkabtu, Lasūtu, Dūru-ša-Iatiru, Milḫanu. In this region, Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, a settlement probably situated on the homonymous canal, and Kār-Nanāya, which must have been relatively close by, were the major administrative centres in which most of the debt notes for dates from the surrounding estates were composed. However, even settlements north of Uruk which were

¹²⁰⁹ Cereal production seems to have been of marginal importance in this area – there are only a few attestations which point to the presence of sharecroppers in Lasūtu, Kakkabtu and around Ḫarru-ša-Lâbāši and Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter. Ploughmen (*ikkarus*) are attested in Dūru-ša-Iatiru with deliveries of sesame.

¹²¹⁰ The suggested identifications with modern riverbeds (Cocquerillat 1968: 16) can likewise not be verified.

¹²¹¹ The other text which Cocquerillat quotes to prove the connection between Takkīru and Rudāya (1968: 16), the letter YOS 3 30, in fact does not warrant such a connection. The two geographical names are mentioned in different contexts, and furthermore it seems that the Rudāya mentioned here, though written without a determinative, was a watercourse, as the addressee was instructed to “open” it for the purpose of irrigation.

¹²¹² See previous note.

¹²¹³ Perhaps this field was only partially within the city, crossing the city border as the city walls were probably not in place in their entirety at this time.

¹²¹⁴ Note that Cocquerillat erroneously understands *GAL-la* to designate the Greater Rudāya. The one without further designation was the Lesser Rudāya according to her (1968: 17).

¹²¹⁵ The section (ll. 6-8) describes a piece of land with the surface area of 840 *kurru* within the irrigation district Šakillatu, which appears to be delimited by the royal highway and the district Rudāya: “3,500 (cubits) – frontage, 12,000 (cubits) – flank, from the royal highway to the lesser Rudāya; in total: 840 *kurru* within the district Šakillatu belonging to Ištar of Uruk” (3 lim 5 me *sag-ki* 12 lim uš *ul-tu* kaskal lugal / *a-di-i* ^{garin}*ru-da-a-a* *GAL-la* pab 8 me 40 gur / *ina* ^{garin}*ša-ki-il-li-ti* ¹*šá* ^d*innin* unug^{ki}).

normally associated with the Nār-šarri, occasionally depended on these administrative centres.¹²¹⁶ Contact between the two regions, around the Takkīru in the (south-)west and the Nār-šarri in the north, may have been provided by the canal Nāru-ša-Bīt-ili, which can be associated to both areas.¹²¹⁷

4.1.3. Nār-šarri

The royal canal, Nār-šarri, was another major waterway on which the Uruk agriculture depended. It flowed from north to south, from the Nippur region toward Uruk, probably in an abandoned bed of the Euphrates known today as Šaṭṭ el-Nīl (Cocquerillat 1968: 16), and entered the city from the north. According to Cocquerillat, the royal canal terminated within the city walls (1968: 16), however, this too is hypothetical. It is equally possible that it continued eastwards following the course of the royal highway which connected Uruk and Larsa (cf. *ḥarrān šarri ša Larsa*¹²¹⁸). After all, the Nār-šarri ran parallel to *ḥarrān šarri* in the region north of the city¹²¹⁹ and may well have continued in this course. Alternatively, it is conceivable that it carried on past Uruk following roughly the same north-south course as above the city to join the Euphrates at some point further south. This seems possible in view of the map drawn by Adams and Nissen (1972: 56) which marks the traces of an ancient waterway in roughly this location.¹²²⁰ In the textual sources the royal canal is sometimes designated as “upper” (*elū* or *elēnu*) which Cocquerillat understood to designate the portion which flowed within the city (1968: 16). This, however, is incorrect. Nār-šarri-elū designated its course above, i.e. north, of the city.¹²²¹ There are also two attestations of a “lower” Nār-šarri (*šaplu*), however, they are not conclusive with respect to the localisation of this portion of the canal (UCP 9/1 74: 4-5; NCBT 638: 1). By analogy, it can be assumed that this was the part of the watercourse which left the city and continued south- or eastward.

Numerous places and watercourses were associated with the royal canal. The texts leave little doubt that the canals Aššurītu, Nāru-eššu, Nāru-ša-Bīt-ili and Nār-Baru(?) were its offshoots. Ḥarru-ša-Nadnāya was also closely related to the royal canal, though there is no unequivocal proof that they were connected. The same can be said for Ḥiltu and to a lesser extent Nār-Innin.¹²²² The places Kār-Eanna, Naḥallu and Šanāpu lay directly on the royal canal. Other places which must have been in the vicinity of Nār-šarri or one of its offshoots include: Bīt-Nabû, Birāta, Našibāta, Nuḥānu, Kapru-ša-nāqidāti, Bīt-Šama-il and perhaps also Bāb-maḥīri. The estates in the region of the royal canal were on the whole used both for barley and date production.

¹²¹⁶ Note, for instance, the debt note PTS 2243 which was written in Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter and which concerns an orchard in Naḥallu, a place situated north of Uruk. The debt note BM 114467 which concerns an orchard in Bāb-maḥīri, probably also situated north of Uruk, was written in Kār-Nanāya.

¹²¹⁷ That is, unless “Nāru-ša-Bīt-ili” is a generic term for any canal belonging to the temple. It appears in one *imittu* list for dates which records the income from various places along the Takkīru. It also appears in several *imittu* debt notes as the place in which the orchards in question were situated, while the place of drafting is always Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter (BIN 1 102, 105, CD 84, NCBT 829, BM 113422). Its connection to Nār-šarri is provided by the lease contract YBC 4143 (see p. 310) which implies that Nāru-ša-Bīt-ili was its offshoot.

¹²¹⁸ Montserrat 1. 23': kaskal^{ll} lugal šā ud-unug^{ki}.

¹²¹⁹ Note, for instance, the sale document YBC 7429 which describes a plot with frontages situated on the upper Nār-šarri and *ḥarrān šarri*, thus indicating that they ran parallel to each other.

¹²²⁰ However, this map also shows a watercourse east of the city leading toward Larsa which is compatible with the previous suggestion.

¹²²¹ The above-mentioned sale contract YBC 7429, which concerns a plot with one frontage on the upper Nār-šarri, states in the caption that the property is in the Uruk region (nam unug^{ki}) and not within the city. The cadastre Montserrat 1 explicitly states that properties situated on Nār-šarri-elū are in front of the city (*muhhi āli*) in ll. 10'-14' and ll. 15'-19'.

¹²²² This canal was in fact close to the royal highway according to YOS 6 14, which in turn ran, at least partially, parallel to the royal canal.

4.1.4. Barley production centres

As was noted earlier, the region around the Nār-šarri is known for both barley and date production and the agricultural regime of the Takkīru and its catchment area focused almost exclusively on date plantations. However, a number of important sites and districts which specialised in barley production are also known. These included Angillu,¹²²³ Bīt-bārī, Rātu, Til-agurrēti,¹²²⁴ Til-ḥurāši and others. These places are usually difficult to localise as they are rarely related to any of the major watercourses. This apparent dissociation from waterways can in part be explained by the fact that barley fields were generally not situated directly on the canals, unlike date orchards which require a more intensive irrigation, but rather further down the levees. What is more, it is conceivable that these places had a prominence of their own, being large production centres, and for this reason did not require specifications to their localisation in the written documentation. Then again some of the barley production centres appear in connection with both the Takkīru and the Nār-šarri. Since these were important routes of transportation for the harvested crops, it is conceivable that barley from these places was also transported to the city along these waterways. Furthermore this could be taken as an indicator for the localisation of these sites in the western and the north-western section of the Uruk countryside, an area roughly delimited by the Takkīru and the Nār-šarri (and the Euphrates further to the west), i.e. somewhere in between these watercourses. Besides being very rough, these proposed localisations are quite hypothetical. It has to be acknowledged that for most of these places the evidence for localisation remains inadequate at the present state of our information.

YOS 17 45, a short *imittu* list from the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, can serve as an example, even if not entirely typical, for the amounts of barley produced in these centres. The text presents us with a list of barley imposts (*imittu*) from different localities and is dated to the first month of the second year of Nebuchadnezzar. To judge by the date, the figures in this list probably represent estimates of the grain yield made before the harvest. No caption or vertical rulings typical for the tabulated *imittu* lists are present. Nevertheless, the obverse of the tablet is closely related to this type of document. It records imposts of three ploughmen from Til-ḥurāši and, in a section marked off by a horizontal line, of four sharecroppers. The most interesting part of the text is on the reverse of the tablet. Originally the date formula was set at the bottom of the tablet and most of the reverse was left empty. At a later point six lines of text were inserted in the gap (the signs are smaller and impressed more lightly here). Fairly high figures followed by place names are recorded in these lines. These numbers are probably capacity measures of barley. It is not clear whether these figures represent pre-harvest estimates or the barley harvested in and/or delivered from these places. The administrative purpose of this memo remains unclear. Perhaps it was to be used as a kind of checklist for some larger account of barley income, or simply as a help for the scribe to get a rough idea of the amount of barley available. Unfortunately the signs are not well preserved and reading the place names is very difficult or even impossible. There is no obvious connection to the imposts from Til-ḥurāši recorded on the obverse. Whatever the significance of these entries may be, it seems probable that they reflect realistic amounts, either fairly accurate harvest estimates or actual harvested barley, i.e. amounts which the scribe may have copied from individual (tabulated) *imittu* lists. The figures suggest that we are not dealing with wildly hypothetical amounts which would typically be rounded. However, since the lower capacity units do not appear either (as is the case on the obverse of the tablet), it seems more likely that these were harvest estimates rather than actual harvested amounts. Either way, the text gives us an idea of the possible magnitude of Eanna's barley income in 2 Nbk:

YOS 17 45

27-I-2 Nbk

obv. 1. 2 me 20 gur še-bar *i-mit-ti šá* ^{ld}ag-da a ^lz[i]-^ri^l-bi
 1 me 1+šú <<erasure>> gur zag x ^ršá ^len-šú-nu^l a ^{ld}ag-ú-še-zib

¹²²³ Against Cocquerillat (1968: 17), Angillu was not within the city walls. A private sale document TCL 12 12 associates it with the upper Nār-šarri, which means that it was north of the city.

¹²²⁴ This region did not only concentrate on cereals but also had a strong date production.

- 1 me ¹re-mut a ¹x^{1-d}en
 pab 4 me 80 šc-bar i-mit-ti šá ^{1d}engar¹ šá ^{garin}du₆-kù-gi
5. 44 gur ¹ap-kal-lu₄ ^{1d}er-re-šú
 2 ^{1d}u-gur-mu a-šú šá ^{1d}ag-numun-giš
 10 ^{1d}ag-pab a-šú šá ^{1d}ag-x(-x)¹
- lo.e. 12 ¹en-šú-nu a-šú šá ^{1d}ag-[x]
 pab ¹68¹ šc-bar u šc-zíz-à[m]
 10. šá ^{1d}er-re-še-e
- rev.
 (one blank line)
 3 lim 2 me 21 ^{garin}re-x-x(-x)¹⁻²
 1 lim 6 me 85 šá ^{garin}na[?]-¹š[?]-ba[?]1-a[?]-ta[?]
 1 lim 4 me 93 šá tu[?]-ra[?]-nu
 4 me 95 šá bi-ra-na-tú u ra-a-tu
 15. 2 lim 4 me 1+šú 2 šá ¹du₆-udun^{me₁}
 1 lim 3 šá ¹x x giš šú¹ sum pab¹²²⁵
 iti bár ud 27-kam mu 2-kam
^dag-níg-du-pab lugal ¹tin-tir^{ki}

“220 *kurru* of barley, impost of Nabû-lē’i, son of Zībi;
 160 *kurru*, impost of Bēlšunu, son of Nabû-ušēzib;
 100, Rēmūt, son of x-Bēl;
 In total: 480 (*kurru* of) barley, impost of the ploughmen from Til-ḥurāši.

44 *kurru*, Apkallu, the sharecropper;
 2, Nergal-iddin, son of Nabû-zēr-lišir;
 10, Nabû-nāšir, son of Nabû-x;
 12, Bēlšunu, son of Nabû-[x];
 In total: 68 (*kurru* of) barley and spelt from the sharecroppers.

3,221 (from) Re-...
 1,685 from Našibāta[?]
 1,493 from Ṭuranu[?]
 495 from Biranatu and Rātu;
 2,462 from Til-atūnāti[?]
 1,003 from ...

27-I-2 Nbk, king of Babylon.”

Already some of the imposts on the obverse of the tablet are not negligible. Nabû-lē’i’s impost of 220 *kurru* of barley implies a plot of a size comparable to the models of institutional planning used by the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ or the large-scale land leases, i.e. plots with a surface between 20 and 30 *kurru* which were to be tilled by one plough team. At a yield factor of 10, for instance, Nabû-lē’i’s plot could have had a surface of 22 *kurru*. The imposts of the other two ploughmen, and respectively their plots, were smaller. The really large figures, however, are recorded on the reverse of the tablet. In total, these amounts, including the *imittu* and the share of the sharecroppers from Til-ḥurāši from the obverse, add up to 10,907 *kurru* of barley. By comparison, Šum-ukīn’s rent was 25,000 *kurru* of barley and Gimillu’s 10,000 *kurru*. In other words, the total recorded in YOS 17 45, barley stemming from only eight localities, was just under 44 % of Šum-ukīn’s rent. At the same time it surpassed Gimillu’s rent by 907 *kurru*. We cannot tell with much certainty whether the 10,907 *kurru* were Eanna’s total barley income in 2 Nbk or just a part of it. The latter seems more probable considering the relatively small number of localities

¹²²⁵ This sequence of signs also appears in the list of *līmus* BM 114571 (see below for an edition) in line 4: 1 lim 1 me giš šú sum pab šá ¹bu-ub-bu-ú-a. I have no suggestion for a reading or an interpretation.

recorded in the text. But even if this had been the total barley income for 2 Nbk it goes to show that Eanna was doing comparably well even without the institution of the *ferme générale*: a few decades after its introduction one of its last and certainly most notorious proponents, the rent farmer Gimillu, was failing at providing the temple with less than what the temple apparently managed on its own in 2 Nbk.

4.2. *Development and growth*¹²²⁶

In his major study of Babylonian economy Jursa demonstrated that the hinterlands of Sippar and the estates of the Ebabbar temple underwent a dynamic development (2010b: 322ff.). They had a relatively late start but they benefited immensely from royal investment and experienced a dynamic growth through a shift toward horticulture. A large-scale canal building project north of the city, which probably begun early in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, is responsible for most of the changes within the Ebabbar's agricultural economy visible in the sources. The digging of the Nār-šarri which connected the Euphrates with the Tigris opened up a large area of previously unexploited or at best under-exploited land for increasingly intensive cultivation. The work began at the latest early in Nebuchadnezzar's reign, continued on a large scale until the very end of Nabonidus's reign. Generally, Ebabbar's estates on the Nār-šarri began bearing fruit only after the beginning of the reign of Nabonidus, and even then they consisted mostly of arable land with occasional sesame plots. These can be seen as attempts to intensify land use to some degree. The temple estates in Gilūšu, which are first mentioned at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, were primarily a grain producing centre. The land was farmed by temple's own ploughmen and a larger part was rented out to sharecroppers. However, date orchards started appearing in Gilūšu during the reign of Darius, which must be understood as a sign of further intensification of agrarian production in this area. A similar development can be observed for other settlements along the Nār-šarri, e.g. Ḫallab and Laḫarat, used originally for cereal cultivation. Here also date orchards started appearing in the reign of Darius. Probably one of the last estates on the Nār-šarri to become productive was Raqqat-Šamaš. Though it appears already from the reign Nebuchadnezzar on in the context of public works (in the texts from Eanna of Uruk), deliveries of sharecroppers from this area are attested in the Ebabbar texts only from the reign of Cyrus onwards.¹²²⁷ The progressive expansion of the temple's holdings through the reclamation of new land along the Nār-šarri is clearly visible in the sources. The strong focus on grain farming in this region during the reign of Nabonidus and in the first years of Achaemenid rule is owed to the fact that on these newly-established estates date gardens had first to be planted. Indeed, in the early Achaemenid period, during the reign of Darius in particular, the references to date gardening on the Nār-šarri become increasingly more numerous. This is a certain sign of the progressive intensification of agriculture through a shift to horticulture.

When looking for signs of agricultural intensification, very soon it becomes evident that the data from Uruk does not mirror a development as the one attested for Sippar. Our data is inconclusive, at best. Indeed, there are places which are first attested with barley deliveries for the temple and which later start appearing in the context of date production. However, the inverse pattern is also attested: places which first appear in the texts as date producing centres, at a later date also appear as barley suppliers.¹²²⁸ Already relatively early, at the end of the seventh century, date and sesame producers working for Eanna are attested in the temple documentation.¹²²⁹ With a delay of several years, which is certainly purely coincidental, the first deliveries of barley start appearing in the archive.¹²³⁰ Though, of course, a (steady?) growth in agricultural production can

¹²²⁶ Parts of the following section already appeared in print in Janković 2010: 420ff.

¹²²⁷ This may be owed to difficulties caused by its particular topographical characteristics – the name suggests after all a swampy or at least seasonally inundated area.

¹²²⁸ This is the case for instance in the district Rudāya and the canal Aššurītu.

¹²²⁹ Dates from Kakkabtu (which is located on the canal Takkīru) and Dūru-ša-Iatiru appear in 6 Npl in a short *imittu* list (YBC 6935) and sesame from Kurbat (located on the Euphrates north-west of the city) and Dūru-ša-Iatiru in 10 Npl in a list recording the deliveries of the ploughmen (PTS 3021).

¹²³⁰ Barley from Angillu in 15 Npl (PTS 2756) and Sumandar in 17 Npl (TCL 12 20). Note that the ploughmen are already mentioned in 10 Npl as producers of sesame (PTS 3021).

be assumed for the ensuing period, it is simply not tangible in our sources, as could be demonstrated for Sippar. Generally, the attestations are not dense enough to ensure that the emerging patterns are not merely an effect of the find coincidence. Furthermore, it is questionable how much weight can be placed on an argument which is based on the higher frequency of attestations of date groves and date deliveries. While this may work well for the evidence from the Ebabbar archive, the Eanna archive poses a special case: toward the end of the archive a disproportionately high number of texts dealing with date gardening has come down to us. The specific make-up of the archive should be attributed to the circumstances which brought about its reorganisation in the second year of Darius, a veritable crisis probably caused by a shortage of manpower in the agricultural sector.¹²³¹ This crisis culminated when one of the general contractors, Gimillu, son of Innin-šumu-ibni, withheld the *imittu*-related documentation from the temple authorities. The upshot of this incident was that the last major file of the Eanna archive consisted of precisely these withheld documents concerning date gardening, while the corresponding file concerning the arable cultivation, which was apparently the more problematic sector of the temple agriculture, had not been sorted out at that time and has not come down to us at all.¹²³² As a consequence the written material toward the end of the archive is largely misbalanced in favour of date cultivation. Rather than a reflection of a structural development which could be interpreted as an intensification of the temple agriculture, this slant in the documentation is the result of the reorganisation of the archive.

Overall, no rapid developments are visible in our documentation. On the one hand, the textual material from the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century is simply not dense enough to allow for a quantitative comparison with the later period, e.g., the comparably well documented era of the general contractors which started roughly at the same time as the reign of Nabonidus and lasted until the end of the archive. On the other, no major building projects ameliorating the rural hinterlands of Uruk are directly attested for the sixth century.¹²³³ What royally sponsored construction work took place, must have done so before this time. At least in one instance there is indirect evidence for a canal (re-)construction by a Babylonian king in the eighth century: the canal of Marduk-apla-iddina (Ḫarru-ša-Marduk-apla-iddina, attested in *AnOr* 9 1, ABL 747 and YOS 3 74), which branched off of Euphrates somewhere north of Uruk, was probably (re-)dug by the king of this name who was in power from 721 to 710 BC. What is more, land along this canal was restructured into *ḫanšû*-units and allotted to 91 individuals, designated as *rab ḫanšê* according to *AnOr* 9 1, a text dated to the fourth year of Marduk-apla-iddina. Other texts recording *ḫanšû*-allotments give evidence for royal efforts in the eighth and seventh century to reorganise the countryside around Uruk.¹²³⁴ However, it is not clear if and how the temple was affected by this restructuring.

Further restructuring of the Uruk countryside which directly benefited Eanna was undertaken in the seventh century by Assurbanipal during the Assyrian domination (*AnOr* 9 2). On this occasion orchards, mostly within the city or just outside it, were taken from the Urukeans and returned to the temple of Ninurta, a sanctuary dependent on Eanna.¹²³⁵

Evidence for the expansion of temple estates in the sixth century through royal grants comes from three other cadastral texts according to which the Chaldean kings and members of their families donated land to Ištār of Uruk. These texts are treated in more detail below. The following

¹²³¹ Though this cannot be the sole explanation for the composition of the archive, as it contained other files not related to the organisation of the temple agriculture.

¹²³² See p. 244.

¹²³³ There certainly were changes on a smaller scale whose impact cannot be gauged, though. For instance, a settlement, perhaps including also a canal(-annex), called Aššurītu-ša-Bulluṭāya was created at the end of Cyrus's reign (it is attested from 8 Cyr to 1 Nbk IV) on the already existent canal Aššurītu (attested from 21 Nbk to 1 Nbk IV).

¹²³⁴ For these texts see below.

¹²³⁵ The text records seven orchards which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, returned after an inspection (*masnaqtu*) of Uruk to Ninurta of Uruk (*AnOr* 9 2: 62-63). They were returned from the Urukeans. The implication is that the citizens encroached on the land belonging to the temple. For a discussion of this passage see below. The same episode is also referred to in PTS 2076 rev. 23-24.

is an overview of land grants made by kings, members of the royal family and high officials of the state administration.¹²³⁶

RA 19, 86-87¹²³⁷

The text records an early land donation of a governor of Sealand, Kaššû-bêl-zêri. The beneficiary was the goddess Ušur-amāssu. The granted land with a surface area of 12 *kurru* was situated on the Nār-šarri at the Adad-gate.

• RT 36, 188-90 no. 24¹²³⁸

A governor of Ur, Sîn-šar-ušur, donated land to Ištar and Nanāya for the good health of the king Šamaš-šum-ukīn. The frontage of the plot was 660 cubits long. It bordered a certain Atrāya, and stretched to the estates of the *simmagir*-official. The flanks of the plot stretched from the Euphrates to the town Sūrānu. Their length is not given.

• Montserrat 1

(ll. 15'-19')

This passage deals with the orchard of Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin, *šatammu*, which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had given to the Lady of Uruk. It was situated to the right of the upper Nār-šarri in front of the city (i.e. just north of Uruk). The orchard had a surface of 3;0.4.4 and was planted with date palms.

• RA 54, 86-87

(ll. 4'-5')

This text mentions a plot ([... x] +100 frontage, 2000 (cubits) flank) on Nār-šarri which Kaššāya, the princess, gave to Ištar of Uruk. The length of the frontage is damaged. Assuming that it was 1,100 cubits long, which was a typical frontage for a *limu*-plot, for instance, then the surface area of the plot could have had a surface area of 44 *kurru*.

• PTS 2076

(ll. 5'-9')

The prince Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu¹²³⁹ donated to the Lady of Uruk a large orchard with a surface area of over 21 *kurru*, of which 9 *kurru* were planted with date palms. The orchard was situated next to the royal highway in the vicinity of the Šamaš-gate.

(rev. ll. 9-14)

Another grant of the prince Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu to the Lady of Uruk was an orchard close to the Meslamtaea-gate. It had a surface area of 1;2.4.4.8, of which 0;4.2 were planted with date palms.

The temple did not only rely on royal grants for the enlargement of its estates. Several sale contracts recording land purchases undertaken by Eanna are known.¹²⁴⁰ Additionally, not

¹²³⁶ A land grant to Ištar of Uruk from the Kassite period, dubbed “The Donation of Kurigalzu” by (Foster 2005: 365), is recorded in CT 36 pl. 6-7. The size of the donated land is quite impressive, namely 60 *šāru* (= 524.88 square kilometres). This together with the fact that the inscription is only attested as copy on variant tablets has led some scholars to question the authenticity of the text (*ibid.*). For an edition of the text see Ungnad 1923: 19ff. See also the translation and further bibliographical remarks in Foster 2005: 365f.

¹²³⁷ This was a Neo-Babylonian copy of a text which was engraved on a cylinder seal which was hung around the neck of the statue of the goddess Ušur-amāssu (this can be deduced from the colophon). The donation recorded in this text could possibly be dated to the 11th or the 10th century (Beaulieu 2000: 30). The text was originally published by Thureau-Dangin 1922: 86f., then by Frame 1995: 84f. and finally by Beaulieu 2000: 29f.

¹²³⁸ A duplicate of this text was published in TCL 12 13. For an edition and references to earlier editions of these texts see Frame 1995: 258f.

¹²³⁹ For this prince see p. 348.

¹²⁴⁰ E.g. the temple purchased three uncultivated plots in Uruk in YBC 3955 (6 Kan) (JCS 36, no. 8), a cereal field on Nār-šarri in BIN 1 130 (15 Npl), land close to Larsa in YBC 9169 (16 Npl), and so on.

infrequently the temple confiscated urban or rural property of its debtors, typically people involved in some business with it.¹²⁴¹

While the temple may have been expanding its estates through royal grants, purchases or confiscations of the properties of their debtors, this did not automatically mean that the agricultural production was being expanded, as the land could have been left fallow or put to other uses. Only the contracts for reclamation of land, either for cereal cultivation (*ana taptê*) or planting date orchards (*ana zāqipūti*), give us unequivocal evidence for agricultural expansion. These documents are unfortunately scarce. Of some 40 extant land lease contracts from 3 Nbk to 2 Dar only seven land reclamation leases are known to us. Two *zāqipūtu*-contracts from Nebuchadnezzar's and Nabonidus's reign each and one from Cyrus's reign, and one lease *ana taptê* from Cambyses's and Nebuchadnezzar IV's reign each are known.¹²⁴² This is little more than anecdotal evidence which does not render itself to quantification. However, it shows that all throughout the sixth century efforts to raise the productivity of land were an ongoing process.

4.3. A quantitative estimate of Eanna's estates¹²⁴³

Making estimates for the size of the temple estates and their output is not easily done and can only amount to rough approximations. At least for the time of Nabonidus when the temple employed a general contractor we can make a few suggestions about the temple's arable holdings. From the land lease contract (YOS 6 11) of the general contractor Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, from the Basia family, we know that the temple owned at least 6,000 *kurru* (7,500 ha) of arable land. Other rent contracts attested during Nabonidus's reign suggest that Eanna held more land on top of this. The lease YOS 6 40 from the third year of Nabonidus concerns over 865 *kurru* of land. According to YOS 6 41, a land lease recorded on the same day as YOS 6 40, the tenant was granted a plot of unknown size for which he had to pay a rent of over 1,000 *kurru* of barley, 60 *kurru* of sesame and 20 *kurru* of cress. Using the same land to rent ratio as in YOS 6 40 we can assume a surface area of roughly 770 *kurru* for the plot in YOS 6 41. Still more land must have been available to the temple as is evident from the lease TCL 12 90 from 8 Nbn. This contract concerns the land which had previously been granted to Šum-ukīn's nephew Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, presumably in addition to the 6,000 *kurru* of land. The amount of land is not given in the contract, but the rent is: Kalbāya was obliged to pay 3,000 *kurru* of barley annually.¹²⁴⁴ Under the assumption that Kalbāya rented the land on similar conditions as his uncle (see below) this would enable us to derive the surface area of the land at his disposal. Given the same surface to rent ratio as in YOS 6 11 this would make approximately 720 *kurru* of arable land. Adding these figures up the total surface area of Eanna's arable estates can be estimated at approximately 8,355 *kurru* of land (ca. 10,444 ha).¹²⁴⁵

¹²⁴¹ A case of confiscated property is recorded, for instance, in the cadastre Montserrat 1 rev. ll. 20'-24'. A plot (3;3) of a certain Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, was seized by the temple as a compensation for his arrears. From other texts we know that this was a temple dependant (*širku*) engaged in the management of the cereal production as an overseer of the ploughmen. Another confiscation is recorded in PTS 2076 (rev. ll. 30'-37'). Here 2;1.1.0.3.3 of orchard were taken by the temple instead of the outstanding debt in cattle.

¹²⁴² For more details see the chapter on land lease contracts.

¹²⁴³ The following section already appeared in print in Janković 2010: 425ff.

¹²⁴⁴ Note that the new tenant of this same land promised to pay a higher rent, namely 3,500 *kurru* of barley, which may indicate that the land was not being farmed very intensively in the first place.

¹²⁴⁵ Note that Cocquerillat also attempted an estimate of the arable holdings of Eanna and arrived at almost 13,000 *kurru* of land (12,922 *kurru*; 1981: 169). This figure is certainly too high, because she indiscriminately added up the values from all known rent contracts. For instance, YOS 6 150, which concerns 2,081 *kurru* of land (not 2,706 as assumed by Cocquerillat), should not be included in this calculation since it was written in 11 Nbn, after the rent farms of Šum-ukīn and possibly of other small-scale tenants had been dissolved. This means that this land may well have been included in one of the earlier leases. Furthermore, her estimates for size of the leased land derived from the amount of rent are inexplicably high (1,250 *kurru* for YOS 6 41 and 2,100 *kurru* for TCL 12 90).

For the 6,000 *kurru* of land, which were to be cultivated in a two-year fallow cycle (i.e. each year 3,000 *kurru* were to be tilled), Šum-ukīn had to pay a rent of 25,000 *kurru* of barley. However, the temple administration was apparently over-optimistic with respect to the expected returns. In terms of simple arithmetic 6,000 *kurru*, or, since half of it was left fallow, rather 3,000 *kurru* of land could have easily produced this amount of barley, but the decisive factor was the workforce.¹²⁴⁶ The temple could (in theory) provide only 400 workers and draught-animals that could operate 100 plough teams. The workload per plough team amounted to the impossible surface area of 30 *kurru* (37.5 ha). Of course, it was the duty of the general contractor to overcome this deficit by subletting the land, employing sharecroppers and so on. Whatever Šum-ukīn's efforts were, he still could not reach this high target. Only at the start of his arrangement with the temple was Šum-ukīn able to pay the expected 25,000 *kurru* of barley.¹²⁴⁷ He probably had to cover a part of this rent payment from his own reserves. In the following years he only managed to pay from 38 to 68 % of the required amount. The account TCL 13 227¹²⁴⁸ listing the temple's income in agricultural commodities from 3 to 7 Nbn gives the following figures for Šum-ukīn's barley rent payments: in 4 Nbn 16,647;1.1.3 (66.6 % of the expected rent), in 5 Nbn 10,568;0.5 (42.3 %), in 6 Nbn 9,570;4.3 (38.3 %) and in 7 Nbn 17,000 *kurru* of barley (68 %) were delivered. In the seventh year of Nabonidus Kalbāya also delivered 2,000 *kurru* of barley. This was presumably the rent for the land he had leased according to TCL 12 90 and for which a rent of 3,000 *kurru* of barley was being expected. Though it is very difficult to make an estimate for the total barley income of the temple, the figures from TCL 13 227 suggests that the actual productivity of the temple estates lay considerably below the predictions of its accountants. To go by the estimate for the size of the estates of Eanna proposed above (8,355 *kurru* of land) and the land productivity assumed by Šum-ukīn's rent contract YOS 6 11, the total output of the temple land could amount to almost 35,000 *kurru* of barley. However, this figure could be reached only if adequate work force was available. We know that this was not the case and the account TCL 12 227 demonstrates the effect of this deficit only too well. With the efficiency of Šum-ukīn's rent farm in mind, which is evident from this account, it seems that 19,000 to 20,000 *kurru* of barley were probably the maximum that Eanna could realistically expect from its estates during the reign of Nabonidus.

After a period of direct exploitation of arable land through temple's own ploughmen without the involvement of a general contractor, another contractor, Gimillu, appeared at the end of Cambyses's reign and took up only 1,000 *kurru* of temple land for a rent of 10,000 *kurru* of barley (TCL 12 182). Whether this implied a drastic decrease in barley income for the temple is not certain, because it is possible that at that time the temple still had other land under direct exploitation. Still the problem of scarce work-force was pressing. Gimillu had only 50 plough teams at his disposal and formally complained about this to the temple administration since the workload per plough team was very high – 20 *kurru* (25 ha) of land (TCL 12 182). The temple administration acknowledged that by conceding to double the work force for the contractor who succeeded Gimillu. Whether the temple could follow through with this promise, is yet another matter. We are not informed about this because the archive breaks off at this point. It is at any rate clear, that the main problem which hampered the temple's cereal production, scarce manpower, had not been tackled successfully from the time of the Chaldean rule at least until Darius's reign.

With respect to the date production, the forecasts of the temple administration seem to have been more realistic. At the beginning of Nabonidus's reign Šum-ukīn rented all of the temple's date plantations with the exception of the prebendary orchards of the *rab banê*. The surface area is not recorded in the contract, but the rent amounted to 10,000 *kurru* of dates. Most of the time Šum-ukīn was able to reach this objective and sometimes even surpass it. Only in the second year of Nabonidus was there a considerable deficit when he managed to pay only 7,130 *kurru* (OIP 122 82). The account TCL 13 227 records following rent payments: 10,020 *kurru* in 3 Nbn, over 11,427

¹²⁴⁶ For this general problem see for instance Janković 2005. The quality and productivity of land was yet another factor, however, we have no information about this.

¹²⁴⁷ This is evident from the balanced account of incoming and outgoing agricultural commodities for 2 Nbn (OIP 122 82).

¹²⁴⁸ See van Driel 1990: 248ff. for a discussion of this text and the tabular representation of the text here in Appendix 2.

in 4 Nbn, over 9,845 in 5 Nbn and 11,050 in 6 Nbn. Ardia, son of Nabû-bān-aḫi, descendant of Rēmūt-Ea, the next contractor who rented all of the temple's date plantations (except the prebendary orchards) some 25 years later at the end of Cyrus's reign (PTS 2044, 8 Cyr) had to pay a 20 % higher rent, namely 12,000 *kurru* of dates. Whether this raise should be interpreted as a sign of agricultural growth, brought about by the creation of more orchards, for instance, or simply as a reflection of the temple's strong position and its ability to put its contractors under pressure by increasing the rent payments for its land, it nevertheless shows a potential for growth in the date production. At the very beginning of his enterprise as a contractor for date plantations Ardia was just under 180 *kurru* of dates short of this target.¹²⁴⁹ How he fared in the following years, we do not know. But the same amount of rent was imposed on the next contractor, Gimillu, some nine years later, probably indicating that this was an acceptable figure. For the period before the reign of Nabonidus we have no information on the temple's income in dates which could lend themselves to comparison. But from the remarks above it can be concluded that during Nabonidus's rule the temple could expect over 10,000 *kurru* of dates yearly and from the end of Cyrus's reign 12,000 *kurru* of dates not including the dates from the prebendary gardeners on which we have hardly any information. The size of the land covered by date plantations is not known, but a very rough approximation can be made on the basis of an average date output per surface *kurru*. To use the model found in the so called 'Edict of Belšazzar' (YOS 6 103), which assumed that 35 *kurru* of dates were an average yield¹²⁵⁰ of an orchard of 1 *kurru* surface area, the revenue of 10,000 or 12,000 *kurru* of dates would have required the existence of orchards with an area of approximately 286 *kurru* (357 ha) or 343 *kurru* (429 ha) respectively.¹²⁵¹ Thus the total of Eanna's agricultural land can be roughly estimated at a minimum of 8,700 *kurru* (ca. 10,875 ha).

4.4. Cadastral texts, land division schemes and related texts

This group of texts is of particular interest because they offer a range of insights concerning the Urukian topography. Besides throwing light on purely topographical issues some of them also illuminate parts of the Urukian history which are not covered by the Eanna archive. They show the royal involvement in the reorganisation of the Uruk countryside and the temple properties at an early stage (eighth and seventh century) which is generally beyond the scope of the archive. In addition to this, some of the extant cadastres offer information on the agrarian regimes in place, land use patterns and the social make-up of the Uruk hinterlands.

The term 'cadastral' is used loosely here. The texts subsumed under this caption can formally vary to a considerable degree. The variations in the type of information and the amount of detail provided in the texts are readily observable. Determining the *Sitz im Leben* of these texts and the potential differences in this respect, however, is more difficult.

¹²⁴⁹ This is according to a debt note from the ninth year of Cyrus (*AnOr* 8 63; edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 73. 127) which states that Ardia had delivered to the temple 11,820;3.2 of dates as his rent payment for the previous year.

¹²⁵⁰ For an edition and a discussion of this text see van Driel 1987-88; see also 2002: 166ff. The 'Edict' in fact gives 40 *kurru* as the yield per 1 *kurru* of orchard. However, the remuneration of the gardener, the *sissinnu* of 5 *kurru* was included in this amount. From the *imittu* debt notes from Uruk we know that the *sissinnu* was not included in the rent payments, but was paid extra to the gardeners.

¹²⁵¹ Cocquerillat suggests that the date orchards included in the *ferme générale* covered an area of at least 300 *kurru*, basing her calculation on the average 40 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* (1981: 168).

4.4.1. *AnOr 9 2*¹²⁵² (not dated; after 2 Kan¹²⁵³)

The text registers 49 orchards of Ištar and Nanāya which are in the neighbourhood of Uruk or within the city itself. Following the caption the orchards are listed giving the length of one frontage in cubits and the name of an individual. The introductory lines of the text identify these men as gardeners and farmers (*iššakkus*¹²⁵⁴). Unfortunately the text is not clear here, it reads “^únu-gi^škiri₆ šá AN ŠU TI¹²⁵⁵ ú énsi^{meš}” (l. 2), leaving us in the dark about the identity of these people, their social status or institutional affiliation. Only the first names of these individuals are listed in the text. In the similar text *AnOr 9 3* (see below), in which some of these men reappear, they are listed with their patronymics. However, no other attestations of these men could be found. The conjecture that these were members of the Urukian elite rewarded by the Assyrian king with these orchards because of their loyalty during the rebellion of Šamaš-šum-ukīn is not supported by the prosopographic data. An alternative assumption is that these men were lower-class agricultural workers assigned by the king to work on the temple land (perhaps for a share in the harvest?) in an attempt to help strengthen the temple’s economy. The mention of *nukuribbus* and *iššakkus* in the caption speaks in its favour.

The frontage lengths of the listed orchards range from 40 to 600 cubits; most common are 100 and 200 cubits.¹²⁵⁶ Most of the frontage lengths exhibit rounded figures. This indicates that these orchards stem from a centralised division scheme.

The listed entries were organised in seven sections, each followed by a subscript. This summary included the number of orchards in the preceding list, or their total frontage, or both, and gave information on their location. The first group consisted of 11 orchards with a total of 1,300 cubits of frontage situated above (i.e. north of) the city. The second group counted seven orchards with 1,800 cubits of frontage which belonged to the god Gilgameš.¹²⁵⁷ The third group records three orchards on the upper Nār-šarri with 1,100 cubits of frontage. There were four orchards in the fourth section with 700 cubits of frontage. They were situated at the gate of Adad. The fifth group contained eight orchards below (i.e. south of) the city with a total frontage of 1,180 cubits. In the sixth group there were eight orchards with a frontage of 720 cubits, which are said to belong to the orchards of Bīt Ea. It is not clear whether this was a topographical piece of information or whether it expressed that the orchards counted (at least nominally) to the property of the Ea temple. The seventh section contained seven orchards, three of which were inside the city, behind the Ninurta temple and next to the city wall, or on the canal Ḫarru-ša-Aškaītu, which must have run close to the Ninurta temple. The other four were outside the city situated on the city moat (Ḫarīšu) and the canal Ḫarru-Ninurta just across the city wall behind the Ninurta temple.¹²⁵⁸

¹²⁵² Cocquerillat edited the text partially (1968: 23⁴³.106f.) and discussed it (1984a: 55). See also Beaulieu for a discussion of the text and some new readings based on collations (2000: 32ff.).

¹²⁵³ For a suggestion that *AnOr 9 2* was composed at the same time as *AnOr 9 3*, which was written in 2 Kan, see Beaulieu 2000: 36f. It is argued here that *AnOr 9 2* was written slightly later than *AnOr 9 3*. The time gap between the two texts cannot be determined with much precision, but it was certainly not longer than a single generation. See below for a discussion.

¹²⁵⁴ This term could designate territorial rulers or a type of farmer according to CAD I/J: 262ff. As a designation for a farmer it went out of use in the early NB period to be replaced by the term *ikkaru* (*ibid.* p. 267).

¹²⁵⁵ The significance of this sign sequence eludes me.

¹²⁵⁶ There are 13 orchards with a frontage of 100 and nine with a frontage of 200 cubits.

¹²⁵⁷ For the deified legendary king of Uruk, Gilgameš, see Beaulieu 2003: 340. Not much is known about him in the Neo-Babylonian period. It is not known whether he had a separate sanctuary or whether he was worshiped in Eanna.

¹²⁵⁸ Beaulieu (2000: 34f.) provides an edition of this portion of the text (ll. 53-63). The first three entries of this section give measurements for both the flanks (uš) and the frontages (sag) of the orchards. The other four orchards are listed with only one measurement, without further specification. The text records a total frontage of 800 cubits (l. 60). The figures in the text, however, add up to 1,124 cubits for the seven orchards. The explicitly specified frontages of the first three plots add up to only 524 cubits. Unless this was a scribal error, a possible explanation is given by Beaulieu (2000: 35²²): he suggests that the four unspecified measurements were in fact flank lengths. The unspecified frontages then must have had an average length of 69 cubits.

The fourth and the seventh section are of particular interest. The orchards in the fourth section are said to be recorded on a lapis lazuli cylinder seal of the goddess Ušur-amāssu.¹²⁵⁹ It is stated here that Assurbanipal had taken (lit. returned) the orchards from the Urukeans and made gardeners occupy them. Note that Beaulieu interprets this passage¹²⁶⁰ differently: (orchards which) “Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, returned to the people of Uruk and entrusted to the gardeners” (2000: 33), speculating on the possibility that the orchards had been misappropriated by Aramaic or Chaldean tribesmen, perhaps during the unstable times of the Šamaš-šum-ukīn rebellion, and returned to their rightful owners, namely the citizens of Uruk and the temples once the rebellion had been crushed in Assurbanipal’s 20th regnal year (*ibid.*: 39f.). The orchards listed in the seventh section are also said to have been returned by Assurbanipal from the Urukeans. This time, however, it is specified that this was done during an inspection (*masnaqtu*) of Uruk and that the orchards had been given to Ninurta of Uruk.¹²⁶¹ This event was dated tentatively by Beaulieu to Assurbanipal’s 20th year (*ibid.*). He understands this passage to refer to orchards “which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, after checking (the cadastre of properties) in Uruk, returned to the people of Uruk and gave to the god Ninurta of Uruk” (2000: 35). Beaulieu’s interpretation of both phrases is problematic. The fact that the king entrusted the orchards to the gardeners in the first case or that he gave them to the god Ninurta in the second, contradicts the supposed restitution of the orchards to the citizens of Uruk. It can hardly be imagined why a king would restore private property only to infringe on the rights of the owners by assigning the plots to (dependent?) agricultural workers and why this would pass without a further comment in the text. Similarly, it makes little sense that property returned to the citizens would at the same time be given over to a temple, since, leaving aside special forms of property such as prebendary orchards or *bīt-rittis*, at this time a clear distinction was made between private and institutional property.¹²⁶² The interpretation hinges on the understanding of the preposition *ina qāt*. It has an ablative-separative meaning and the Urukeans in the expression *ina qāt urukāya* cannot be translated as a dative object, as proposed by Beaulieu.¹²⁶³ The phrase can only signify that the land had been taken “from the Urukeans” and restituted to the temple property.¹²⁶⁴ In the seventh section the beneficiary of the returned land, the god Ninurta, was explicitly noted. Here he is not directly dependent on the verb *turru* but stands in conjunction with the verb *nadānu*. The dative object is not explicitly stated in the fourth section. By analogy, however, we can assume that the beneficiary here was the goddess Ušur-amāssu. While Beaulieu’s considerations concerning the dating of Assurbanipal’s restitution of misappropriated land are on the whole still valid, it would appear that the urban population of Uruk, rather than some unruly tribesmen, encroached upon the properties of the gods at some point prior to Assurbanipal’s *masnaqtu* of Uruk.

Another interesting aspect of this text is the fact that estates of several deities are listed in it (Ušur-amāssu, Gilgameš, Ea and Ninurta), but the caption of the text identifies them as belonging to Ištar and Nanāya. This probably means that the Eanna temple, being the largest in the city, administered the properties of other gods, whose sanctuaries, if they were separate households at all, rather than shrines within the Eanna precinct, depended on it in some way or another. Thus it is

¹²⁵⁹ This interpretation is the result of the improved reading provided by Beaulieu’s collations of the text (2000: 33). See also Beaulieu’s discussion of the possibility of recording land grants on cylinder seals in the light of another text dealing with an earlier (10th-11th century BC) land donation to Ušur-amāssu (2000: 31). The colophon of this document (RA 19, 86-87; see note 1237) states that the text represents “that which is on a cylinder seal which belongs to the necklace of the goddess Ušur-amāssu”.

¹²⁶⁰ *AnOr* 9 2 ll. 32-33: Assurbanipal ... *ina šu^{II} lú^{II} unug^{ki}-a-a / ū^l-ter-ram^l-ma^l lú^l nu⁻giš^l kiri⁶ meš^l ú-šá-ŕaš^l-bi-tu*.

¹²⁶¹ *AnOr* 9 2 ll. 62-63: Assurbanipal ... *ina mas-naq-ti šá unug^{ki} / ina šu^{II} lú^{II} unug^{ki}-a-a ū^l-ter-ram-ma a-na^d nin-urta šá unug^{ki} id-di-nu*.

¹²⁶² That the people were aware of a distinction between private and institutional property (and the necessity of keeping written documentation as evidence for one’s claims) is demonstrated for instance by YOS 19 92, a text edited by Beaulieu 2000: 37f., which records a dispute over land between the temple and a private individual.

¹²⁶³ The dative object of *turru* is invariably introduced by the preposition *ana* according to the attestations recorded in CAD T: 266f.

¹²⁶⁴ Note that Cocquerillat 1968: 24⁴³ understands and translates this expression correctly (Her translation of the lines 31-32, however, is incorrect in the light of the collations made by Beaulieu). CAD T: 267 also understands the phrase in this way.

known that the temple of Ušur-amāssu was within the Eanna temple complex (Beaulieu 2003: 252). Ninurta had a separate sanctuary, but his estates seem to have belonged to him only nominally. They were in fact administered by the Eanna temple and were practically the property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya. This is demonstrated by an unpublished *imittu* debt note for dates (PTS 3175) quoted by Beaulieu (2003: 302) which states that the plot from which the impost is due is “located on (the estates of) the temple of Ninurta” and is the property of Ištar of Uruk (ll. 1-3: [x]+2 gur zú-lum-ma sag-du ʾzag¹ / ʾšá¹ [a]-šà šá ina é^dmaš níg¹-ga / ʾd^dinnin¹ unug^{ki}). As for the cult of Gilgameš in Uruk – practically nothing is known about it (see note 1257). The cult of Ea and his apparently independent sanctuary in Uruk are also briefly discussed by Beaulieu (2003: 337f.). Our text demonstrates that the estates of these deities, of which some were worshipped within Eanna and others had separate sanctuaries, stood under the control of the administration of Eanna.

4.4.2. *AnOr* 9 3¹²⁶⁵ (2 Kan)

This text is formally very similar to the previously discussed *AnOr* 9 2. The caption is unfortunately damaged. Line 1 reads: ^{giš}kiri₆^{meš} šá é dingir meš [...]. The sign meš could be understood as a plural marker. The phrase would mean then: “Orchards of the temples [...]”. Alternatively meš which is written just before the break could be read as the beginning of the word *mešhatu/mešhātu* which also fits in the context of cadastral texts. In this case the caption would read: “Orchards of the temple, measu[rement(s) ...]”. This is followed by a list of orchards, organised in sections, giving the frontage in cubits and the personal name of an individual in some way responsible for it. This text records 52 orchards, of which seven were large plots. Most frequently the frontages of the orchards were 100 or 200 cubits, but there were some smaller and larger ones as well. Some of the properties were considerably larger than the others, with frontages of 1,000 cubits in four instances, 2,000 cubits in two instances, and 4,000 cubits in one instance. The largest of these were not attributed to any individuals, but are just given a location.

Some of the personal names and even entire orchard groups from specific locations from *AnOr* 9 2 reappear in this text (see the table below). *AnOr* 9 3 is divided into five sections, with a caption and a colophon (by contrast, *AnOr* 9 2 has seven sections). The first section includes ten orchards (possibly totalling 1,300 cubits of frontage¹²⁶⁶) from “above the city”. The second one lists seven orchards (1,600 cubits) of the god Gilgameš. The third section enumerates 10 orchards (1,120 cubits) from “below the city”. The fourth section contains nine orchards (680 cubits) of the Ea temple. The fifth section is not uniform, but records 16 orchards (and larger plots) from various localities: the Akītu-house of the steppe, Bīt-Mārat-Sîn, Birtu-ša-Bazāya, Bīt-Zabūnu, Bīt-Saggāya on the canal Nār-šangī, Bīt-Sîn-karābi-išme, the canals Ḫarru-ša-Rēmūt, Nār-šarri, Nār-Bānītu, Nāru-eššetu, Ḫarru-ṭābu and Nār-Amurru.

The text also has a colophon. The scribe Nabû-ušallim//Sîn-leqe-unninnī, is a *kalû*-singer of Ištar, a scribe of Eanna and the *šangû* of Nusku. This provides the only obvious connection to the Eanna temple, since this temple or its main goddesses are not otherwise mentioned in the text. Together with the fact that some of the orchards appearing in this text are almost certainly identical with some from the cadastre *AnOr* 9 2, which names Ištar and Nanāya as owners of these orchards, it is more than likely that the estates enumerated in *AnOr* 9 3 also belonged to Eanna.

The following table shows how the sections of the two texts co-relate. Small variations in the number of orchards in the given section or in the total length of the frontages can be observed; however, no particular trend could be established. The total frontage length is smaller in several cases in *AnOr* 9 3 (sections II, III, IV), but the number of orchards in the given localities varies in both directions: there are fewer orchards in section II, but more in sections III and IV in comparison to the corresponding sections of *AnOr* 9 2. Thus the variations in frontage length cannot be correlated with the changing number of orchards in a direct way:

¹²⁶⁵ The text is partially edited by Cocquerillat (1968: 24⁴⁴. 107) and discussed by her (1984a: 55). It is also briefly commented on by Beaulieu (2000: 36f.).

¹²⁶⁶ A portion of the figures for the frontage lengths is damaged. Following reconstructions seem possible: l. 4: 1 me [Ø]; l. 5: 1 me [Ø]; l. 6: 5[0 Ø]; l. 7: 5[0 Ø]; l. 8: 1 [me Ø]; l. 9: 1 [me Ø]; l. 10: 2 [me Ø]; l. 11: 2 [me Ø].

| orchards | section of text | | no. of orchards | | frontage length | |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>AnOr</i> 9 2 | <i>AnOr</i> 9 3 | <i>AnOr</i> 9 2 | <i>AnOr</i> 9 3 | <i>AnOr</i> 9 2 | <i>AnOr</i> 9 3 |
| above the city | I ll. 3-14 | I ll. 2-12 | 11 | 10 | 1,300 | (1,300 ^y) |
| of Gilgameš | II ll. 15-22 | II ll. 13-20 | 7 | 7 | 1,800 | 1,600 |
| on upper Nār-šarri | III ll. 23-26 | - | 3 | - | 1,100 | - |
| of Ušur-amāssu | IV ll. 27-33 | - | 4 | - | 700 | - |
| below the city | V ll. 34-43 | III ll. 20-31 | 8 | 10 | 1,180 | 1,120 |
| of Bīt Ea | VI ll. 44-52 | IV ll. 33-42 | 8 | 9 | 720 | 690 |
| of Ninurta (on Ḫarīšu) | VII ll. 53-63 | - | 7 | - | 1,124 | - |
| miscellaneous | - | V ll. 43-60 | - | 16 | - | 13,900 |

Table 36: Orchards in *AnOr* 9 2 and *AnOr* 9 3

Not only are the same regions represented in both texts, but, as was noted earlier, a number of orchards and individuals responsible for them appear in both texts. This is exemplified in the following samples:

- Orchards above the city

AnOr 9 2, section I

l. 8: 50 Bēl-aḫ-iddin/Marduk
 l. 9: 50 Aḫ-lirši
 l. 11: 100 Bēl-īpuš
 l. 12: 200 Erēšu
 l. 14: pab 11 ^{giš}kiri₆^{mcš} 1,300 *mi-ši-iḫ-ti qa-q-a-ru šá ugu uru*

“In total: 11 orchards; (total frontage:) 1,300 (cubits); measurement of land, which is above the city.”

AnOr 9 3, section I

l. 6: 5[0 Ø] Marduk/Dummuq
 l. 7: 5[0 Ø] Aḫ-lirši/Multarriḫ-Adad¹²⁶⁷
 l. 9: 1[00 Ø] Bēl-īpuš/Nabû-šum-iškun
 l. 10: 2[00 Ø] Erēšu/Rēmūt
 l. 12: pab [10 ^{giš}kiri₆]^{mcš} ugu uru

“In total: [10 orchard]s above the city.” (Total frontage: 1,300² cubits)

- Orchards of Gilgameš

AnOr 9 2, section II

l. 21: 500 Bēl-erība
 l. 22: pab 7 ^{giš}kiri₆^{mcš} 1,800 *mi-ši-iḫ-ti qa-q-a-ru* ^{giš}kiri₆ ^dgiš^{bil-ka!-mes¹}

“In total: 7 orchards; (total frontage:) 1,800 (cubits); measurement of the land, orchards of Gilgameš.”

¹²⁶⁷ The name Multarriḫ-Adad (*multarriḫ* is a Dt participle of *šarāḫu*) appears as a patronymic twice in *AnOr* 9 3, in line 7 and 23. The first sign, mul, has a somewhat peculiar form. Originally the sign was comprised of three dingir signs. In the later periods this was usually written as a combination of the sign nap followed by one dingir sign. In *AnOr* 9 3 the first part of the sign looks like zálag followed by dingir embedded between two horizontal wedges (this is shown in the copy and is verified by a collation using a photo of the tablet). In other words, the number and the orientation of the wedges correspond to the sign mul; their arrangement, however, is deviant. While the sign mul was rendered accurately, the copy exhibits some errors and omissions following this sign (both in line 7 and 23). The following signs appear in the copy: ¹mul-tar-ri-ri-iḫ. After consulting a photo of the tablet the reading of the name could be corrected to ¹mul-tar-ri-iḫ-^diškun. Though the signs are clear the copyist for some reason inserted a redundant ri and omitted ^diškun at the end of the line.

AnOr 9 3, section II

- l. 13: 500 Bēl-crība/Dummuq
 l. 20: pab 7 ^{giš}kiri₆^{meš} d ^{giš}bil-ka!-mes : ...¹²⁶⁸
 “In total: 7 orchards of Gilgameš.” (Total frontage: 1,600 cubits)

• Orchards below the city*AnOr* 9 2, section V

- l. 34: ^{giš}kiri₆^{meš} šá ki-ta uru mu-ne
 “Orchards which are below the city; his name¹²⁶⁹.”
 l. 35: 100 Bēl-īpuš
 l. 36: 100 Nabû-ušalli
 l. 37: 100 Aḥ-lirši
 l. 43: pab 8 ^{giš}kiri₆^{meš} 1,180 *mi-ši-iḥ-ti* ¹qaq-qa-ru¹ šá ki-ta uru
 “In total: 8 orchards; (total frontage:) 1,180 (cubits); measurement of the land which is below the city.”

AnOr 9 3, section III

- l. 20: ... : ^{giš}kiri₆ šá ki-ta uru mu-ni
 “Orchards which are below the city; his name:”
 l. 21: 100 Bēl-īpuš/Nabû-šum-iškun
 l. 22: 100 Nabû-ušalli/Šamšia
 l. 23: 100 Šulāya/Multarriḥ-Adad¹²⁷⁰
 l. 31: pab 10 ^{giš}kiri₆^{meš} [šá ki-ta ur]u
 In total 10 orchards [which are below the cit]y.” (Total frontage: 1,120 cubits)

• Orchards of Bīt Ea*AnOr* 9 2, section VI

- l. 44: 40 Šumāya
 l. 50: 200 Erēšu
 l. 51: 70 Bēl-crība
 l. 52: pab 8 ^{giš}kiri₆^{meš} 720 sag-ki qaq-qa-ru šá ^{giš}kiri₆ é^dé-a
 “In total: 8 orchards; (total) frontage: 720 (cubits); land of the orchards of Bīt Ea.”

AnOr 9 3 section IV

- l. 37: 100 Šumāya/Ittabši
 l. 39: 100 Erēšu/Rēmūt
 l. 40: 70 ^{giš}kiri₆ šá^d ūru-a-mat-su Bēl-crība/Dummuq
 l. 42: pab 9 ^{giš}kiri₆^{meš} é^dé-a
 “In total: 9 orchards of Bīt Ea.” (Total frontage: 680 cubits)

The fact that certain individuals are attested in both texts indicates that the chronological gap between the two texts cannot have been very large. The appearance of a certain Marduk, son of

¹²⁶⁸ This portion of the line is followed by three *Winkelhaken* placed one above the other signifying a caesura in this place. What follows (^{giš}kiri₆ šá ki-ta uru mu-ni) should be understood as a caption for the next section (section III). In fact, this same caption appears in *AnOr* 9 2 in a separate line (l. 34) introducing the corresponding section V.

¹²⁶⁹ This remark refers to the following list of people to which the orchards are entrusted.

¹²⁷⁰ Šulāya and Aḥ-lirši were probably brothers, since in *AnOr* 9 3: 7 (section I) Aḥ-lirši has the same patronymic (for the reading see note 1267) as Šulāya. Here the orchard was swapped between the two brothers for some reason.

Dummuq, in section I of *AnOr* 9 3 (l. 6) with a plot of 5[0] cubits “above the city” and of a certain Bēl-aḥ-iddin, son of Marduk, in the corresponding section of *AnOr* 9 2 (l. 8) with a plot of 50 cubits in the same region of the Uruk countryside, suggests that the plot in *AnOr* 9 3 was most probably transferred from father to son in *AnOr* 9 2.¹²⁷¹ In this case *AnOr* 9 2 must have been composed slightly later than *AnOr* 9 3, namely probably shortly after Assurbanipal’s twenty-third regnal year (= 2 Kan).

4.4.3. *AnOr* 9 19¹²⁷² (not dated; probably Nbn)

Unfortunately this land register is not dated, but it can be placed in the reign of Nabonidus on prosopographical grounds (see below). The text differs from the other two *AnOr* land registers in several formal aspects. It does not have a caption or a subscript and it is divided in sections which treat properties of widely varying sizes, from single orchards to entire irrigation districts. In general, however, it focuses on larger types of estates such as *limus* and *šihus*. The properties are treated in greater detail than in the other two *AnOr* texts: generally the dimensions and orientation of all the sides are given together with neighbours or adjacent topographical features. Frequently, the total surface area in seed-measure and the number of date palms planted on the property are also recorded. The text does not in any way allude to Eanna or its gods, nor is the owner of the land in any of the sections of the text mentioned.¹²⁷³ This information must have been obvious to whichever person or institution drew up this document. Judging by the quantities of land recorded, it is beyond doubt that the text is dealing with institutional, either temple or crown, properties. However, Eanna seems the more likely candidate on account of the archival context.

The first section (ll. 1-6) deals with the *limu* of the irrigation district Ḫarrātu, which is in front of Dūr-Ugūm. In the west it borders on the canal (Nār-)Ḫarrātu and the land of men designated as *māhišū*.¹²⁷⁴ In the east it borders on (the land of) the *šangū* and the *nakkandu*-land. These flanks are 26,300 cubits long. Both frontages measure 2,700 cubits. One of them borders on the Takkīru in the north and the other one on Bāb-Ḫilti and the land of the *māhišus* in the south. This is followed by a summary (l. 6) which has not been completed by the scribe: pab (gap) *ina lib-bi* še-numun *šá ina šu^{II} lu^{lu} ma-ḫi-se tur-ru*. The gap should have contained the total surface area of this *limu*, which was 1420;1 (or some 1,775.25 ha). This land, or at least a part of it, in case one more set of figures was supposed to be entered in the gap, was returned from the *māhišus*.¹²⁷⁵ The implications of this brief remark are not clear. The instigator and the beneficiary of this restitution are not explicitly stated. It can be assumed that the land in question had been returned to the temple property (perhaps through royal action as is attested in *AnOr* 9 2). However, why and when the *māhišus* encroached on temple land and when the restitution took place cannot be ascertained.

¹²⁷¹ That we are dealing with the same plot here is also suggested by its position within the sequence of the listed orchards in both texts.

¹²⁷² Edited by Cocquerillat 1968: 20ff. 105f. and discussed in 1984a: 56ff.

¹²⁷³ A possible exception is a short section (ll. 45-46) dealing with the land of Bīt-Nabû (še-numun *šá é^d ag*). It is not clear whether this should be understood as the temple of Nabû or simply a toponym.

¹²⁷⁴ Cocquerillat sees in the *māhišū* settlers of the Urukian hinterlands whose main task was the reclamation of the land for agricultural production (“défricheurs”, 1968: 20³⁶; 1984a: 70). While *māhišū* can denote a ploughman (working with a *mayyāru*-plough), this usage seems to be restricted to the Old-Babylonian period (though the verb *māḫāšu* appears once in an agricultural albeit unclear context in *Dar.* 273: 16 (cf. CAD Š/2: 339 *sub* *šetirtu*)). Equivalents from lexical lists (e.g., *lu^gisban tag-ga*) suggest that *māhišus* were equipped with bows (this is also noted by Cocquerillat 1968: 20³⁶) and could designate hunters or military personnel (CAD M/1: 102). For the Neo-Babylonian period the term is translated as “military scout” by the CAD. It is suggested there (p. 103) that the *māhišū* are not the same in this period as the archers who are designated as *lu^{(g)isban}*. Furthermore a text from Nippur implies that the *māhišus* were organized in *ḫaṭrus* (PBS 2/1 41:3). This indicates that the land they occupied may well have been a kind of military-fief, a part of the land-for-service system employed by the crown at that time.

¹²⁷⁵ Note that Cocquerillat 1968: 21 understands TUR-RU at the end of l. 6, not as a stative of the verb *turru*, but as the adjective *šeḫru* (tur-ru), thus interpreting the summary as “ensemble des terres arables de cette circonscription qui sont aux mains de jeunes défricheurs”. This interpretation, however, can be excluded because of the incongruence of numerus of the adjective *šeḫru* and the noun *māhišū*.

The text then deals with another smaller plot adjacent to the one just described, apparently separated from it by the canal *Īiltu* (ll. 7-10). It was situated south of *Bāb-Īilti* and occupied a surface of 70;1 *kurru* (2,700×1,300 cubits = 87.75 ha). A portion of this land was measured and characterised as date orchards (l. 10: ... *ina lib-bi meš-ḥat*¹ še-numun^{giš} *kiri₆ zaq-pu*). The following five sections of the text (ll. 11-32) describe five adjacent date orchards. These orchards were perhaps part of the larger plot situated south of *Bāb-Īilti* which was described in ll. 7-10. They are introduced as “^{giš}*kiri₆* (in one case: a-šà) *šá PN*”. The identity of these people could not be established with much certainty. Their names are: *Ubār-Nanāya/Nabû-šum-iddin*, *Nabû-tukulti-ēdu/Qurdāya*, *Bēltu-ēreš/Abugāya* (? ¹*a-bu-ga-a*), *Ṭāb-Uruk/Aqrāya* and *Nabû-nāšir/Nabû-[x]*. Only *Nabû-tukulti-ēdu* could be identified in another text. He appears in the debt note *AnOr* 9 11 (acc *Dar*) as the father of *Zēria*, a gardener (or sub-lessee) under *Ardia*, *Eanna*’s rent farmer for dates. The debt in dates is transposed into 13;1 barley and is to be repaid at harvest time using the measure of the Lady of Uruk in the settlement *Bāb-Īilti*. The date debt is in fact an *imittu* obligation which stems from the fifth regnal year of *Cambyses*¹²⁷⁶, which *Zēria* obviously did not deliver on time. The text gives us a point of reference for the temporal setting of *AnOr* 9 19: as the maximum temporal gap between the two texts is one generation, *AnOr* 9 19 can be dated to the reign of *Nabonidus*. Another point of interest is the identity of *Zēria*, and therefore also of his father and his fellow companions in *AnOr* 9 19. *Zēria* was clearly entrusted with an orchard which belonged to the temple and was part of *Ardia*’s rent farm for dates. Similarly then, the five orchards described in the cadastral text *AnOr* 9 19 could be temple land entrusted to gardeners or sub-lessees of large-scale rent farmers. Perhaps the orchard of *Nabû-tukulti-ēdu* was the same as the one referred to in *AnOr* 9 11, the use of which must have simply been transferred to his son *Zēria*. The appearance of *Bāb-Īilti* as place of delivery for the owed barley in *AnOr* 9 11 may support this identification. However, it should be noted that *Zēria* also held arable land and a date orchard in this area as a bow fief. According to the debt note this land was mortgaged as security for the debt.¹²⁷⁷ The existence of bow fiefs in this area, in the hands of the son of one of the protagonists, makes it seem equally possible that the orchards described in *AnOr* 9 19 were bow fiefs or similar land-for-service types of properties, i.e. land distributed by the crown. Again, the only thing that speaks in favour of *Eanna* as the owner of the land listed in *AnOr* 9 19 is the archival context of the tablet.

These five orchards were of uniform size 0;3.3 (350×100 cubits = 8,750 m²), which is indicative of institutional planning, be it the palace or the temple. These sections also state how many (mature and young) date palms were planted on the plots, which demonstrates that the density of planting was about 286 (ll. 11-14) or 300 palms per surface *kurru* (ll. 15-18 and 19-22).¹²⁷⁸

The next section (ll. 33-38) is not entirely clear. It gives three sets of measurements, starting with a smaller plot with a surface area of 280 *kurru* (2,000×7,000 cubits = 350 ha). It is designated as *bīt* ¹*x*¹, perhaps *bīt dulli* as suggested by *Cocquerillat* (1968: 105; é ¹*dul*² for é *dul*-(*lu*) at the end of line 33), i.e. arable land. The description of this plot occupies only one line and no details on the neighbours or the orientation of the sides is given. The next measured plot is larger (with a surface area of some 600 *kurru* or approximately 750 ha) and is described in more detail. It is referred to as *šīhu ša qatnu rabû* (l. 34: *ši-i-ḥi šá šu¹¹-nu gal-i*). This description, “the narrow, large estate”, to all likelihood refers to the shape of the property.¹²⁷⁹ Its flanks which are 12,000

¹²⁷⁶ The text does not name the monarch, but *Cambyses* is the only possible candidate, since *Ardia* was the rent farmer from 8 *Cyr* to 7 *Camb*.

¹²⁷⁷ *AnOr* 9 11 ll. 12-15: še-numun *pi-i šul-pu / ù* ^{giš}*gišimmar qaq-qar* ^{lu}*ban šá* ¹*numun-ia / šá ina* ^{uru}*rka¹-id¹hi-il-ti maš-kan-nu / šá* ^d*gašan šá unug^{ki}*.

¹²⁷⁸ See also *Cocquerillat* 1968: 22. The figures for the last two sections are not clear. In l. 26 100 mature and a number of young palms are recorded. The copy only shows two *DIŠ* signs for the second numeral which *Cocquerillat* interprets as 120. This kind of notation seems unusual. A collation is necessary to help decide whether this interpretation should be accepted or whether the copy should be emended to 1 *me*¹ in this place. The pertinent spot in the last section is damaged (l. 31). The copy shows 50 mature palm trees followed by a *DIŠ* and a break. *Cocquerillat*’s reconstruction to [160] young palm trees is purely hypothetical.

¹²⁷⁹ It measures roughly 6,000×1,250 metres. Note that *Cocquerillat* translates this phrase as “exploitations petites et grandes” (1968: 21).

cubits long¹²⁸⁰ border in the east and west on plots of named individuals and a *nakkandu* (in the west). The northern frontage of 3,000 cubits lies on Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya and the southern one (2,000 cubits) is next to the settlement Šingu and the tells (l. 37: da šī-in-gu u du₆^{meš}).¹²⁸¹ The last part of this section is not entirely clear. It reads: 4 lim uš a^{meš} ma-li re-e-ḫi ka-lu-ú (l. 38), i.e. a plot with a flank of 4,000 cubits was waterlogged, while the rest of the land is characterised as *kālû*, lower quality land. Perhaps this should be understood as further specification of the previously described 600 *kurru* plot. In this case the remaining *kālû* land would have a flank length of 8,000 cubits and would represent two thirds of the entire plot. In other words, of the 600 *kurru* of land, one third was presumably uncultivable because of waterlogging, while the other two thirds were not cultivated, but could be reclaimed for date cultivation. However, it is still not clear how the first plot with a surface area of 280 *kurru* (l. 33) is connected to the rest of the plots described in this section.

A place not otherwise attested is the subject of the next section (ll. 39-44). A *līmu ša hulhullu* (6,800×1,100 cubits = 187 ha) borders with its western frontage on the Euphrates and with its eastern one on the land of the *māḫiṣus*. The northern and the southern flanks border on the *nakkandu* and the (land of) the *šangû* and the *nakkandu* respectively. Of the total surface of 149;3 *kurru* (a gap was left empty for this figure in l. 44) 10 *kurru* were é 'x¹-lu. Cocquerillat (1968: 106) reads é *dul(?)*-lu, but the traces do not conform with the sign *dul*. They would rather suggest a more elongated sign, perhaps *da*. The land in question could then be *būt dāli*, land irrigated by buckets, or in other words land without direct access to an irrigation canal.

The following section is short (ll. 45-46) and concerns the land of the Nabû temple according to the caption (l. 45: še-numun šá é ^dag). Possibly Bīt-Nabû should be understood as a toponym here. It just gives the measurement of 800 cubits (= 400 m) for the northern frontage and informs us that the northern and the southern frontage bordered on a *nakkandu*.

The next section deals with the *līmu* or *šīhu*¹²⁸² of Bāb-maḫīri in Bīt-Amukanu which is on all sides surrounded by *nakkandu*-land (ll. 47-55). Of this land (3,850×350 cubits = 26;4.4.3 or approximately 33.69 ha; the total surface area was again left out by the scribe) 2;0.3 (= 2.625 ha) are planted with 630 date palms and 1;0.5 (= 1.46 ha) of land with 350 palms. In both cases this amounted to 300 date palms per *kurru* of land. An area of 2;2.1.3 (350×350 cubits = 3.06 ha) is said to be *kālû* (land of lower quality which could be reclaimed for date cultivation).

Land planted with date palms in the estate of Šakillatu is treated next (ll. 56-61). Some 3;4.1.3 of land (700×275 cubits = 4.81 ha) are planted with 500 date palms which gives a relatively low average of 130 date palms per *kurru* of land. The neighbouring plot with a surface of 2;2.3 (500×250 cubits = 3.13 ha) is designated as *kaslu*, another term for uncultivated land or land of lower quality.

4.4.4. RA 54, 86-87¹²⁸³ (no date extant; Nbk or later)

This fragmentary land register is similar to the preceding one in that it deals with larger types of properties. They are, however, explicitly designated as belonging to Ištar of Uruk. This register is not as detailed as *AnOr* 9 19 since it omits the orientation of the sides of the plots and records the measurements for just one set of sides, i.e. one frontage and one flank.

The first estate (ll. 1-3) is situated to the right of Nār-šarri. The frontage of [1,300 cubits] was on the canal and the flank of 2,000 cubits (bordered on) the settlement Šanābu. This estate had a total surface area of 52 *kurru* of land (= 65 ha).

The next section (ll. 4-5) describes the property donated by the princess Kaššāya¹²⁸⁴ to Ištar of Uruk. The size of the frontage, which is on Nār-šarri, is unfortunately broken off ([x]+100) and the flank was 2,000 cubits long. The total surface area of this plot is not given.

¹²⁸⁰ Cocquerillat erroneously reads these numerals as “u 2,000” (1968: 105). The side measurements are generally not introduced by an *u*, nor are the flank measurements in this very section.

¹²⁸¹ The “tells” signified perhaps smaller (abandoned?) settlements.

¹²⁸² The text reads: IGI-I-MU šá ká ki-lam ina é a-muk-a-nu (l. 47). This could be an unusual writing for *līmu*: lim^{-i-mu} or *lī-i-mu* (the reading *lī* was in use in the first millennium according to von Soden/Röllig 1976: 51). Alternatively this could be a garbled writing intended to express the word *šīhu* (*šī-i-ḫu*¹/*ḫi*¹).

¹²⁸³ The text was published by Labat 1960 and discussed by Cocquerillat 1968: 23 and 1984a: 60.

¹²⁸⁴ Kaššāya was a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, see Beaulieu 1998a with further references to this princess.

The following section (ll. 6-8) describes a plot in the district Šakillatu with a frontage of 3,500 cubits and a flank of 12,000 cubits stretching from the royal highway to the district Lesser Rudāya. This amounted to 840 *kurru* of land (= 1,050 ha) of Ištār of Uruk in Šakillatu.

The next section (ll. 9-10) deals with a property with a frontage (its length is lost in a break) bordering on the district lesser Rudāya. The length of the flank is 5,000 cubits, and the total surface measures over 200 *kurru* (the numeral is damaged), i.e. over 250 hectares.

The rest of the text is badly damaged. Only the place name Ғушшәту is still decipherable in line 11.

4.4.5. *Montserrat 1* (no date extant; 13 Nbn or later¹²⁸⁵)

This fragmentary text was published and edited by Wunsch 1997: 141ff. It deals with properties of Eanna outside and within the city, including orchards and larger estates (e.g., a *šihu*) and giving detailed information on the side measurements, orientation and neighbours. There is no date in the extant portion of the text, but a purchase of a plot in the thirteenth year of Nabonidus is mentioned, which gives the *terminus post quem* for the composition of this text.

The first extant section (ll. 1'-5') is badly damaged. It deals with a plot bordering on a canal in the west. The name of the canal is broken off, but could have been Ғarru-ša-Nanāya, which would place the plot in the vicinity of the plot treated in the following section. Its surface area was 3;4.0.1 (= 4.76 ha).

The second section (ll. 6'-9'), which is also badly broken gives the measurements of a plot (of approximately 0.96 ha) of a certain Balāssu, which was bought for silver in 13 Nbn. The purchaser was presumably the Eanna temple. Its northern and southern flanks were 450 cubits long and bordered temple land (*libbū eqli*).¹²⁸⁶ The length of the western frontage was 85 cubits and it bordered on the drainage ditch of the *hanšū*-properties (*makallū ša hanšē*). The eastern frontage was next to Ғarru-ša-Nanāya.

The well preserved third section (ll. 10'-14'), concerns an estate on the upper Nār-šarri, above the city. The northern flank of 8,250 cubits was next to a *nakkandu*. The southern flank of [8],000 cubits was next to a *nakkandu* and a plot of a certain Innin-zēr-iqīša, son of Nergal-ēter. The frontages both measured 1,100 cubits. The western one lay on the canal Nār-eleppēti and the eastern one on the Nār-šarri. The total surface area of this plot was 167;3.4.3 (= 209.69 ha). A portion of this land, namely 24;1 *kurru* (= 30.25 ha), was planted with date palms and occupied by the prebendary gardeners *rab banē*. Further remarks indicate that this area was to be inspected (*ana amāri*) and the remainder of the planted land was to be registered (*ana šaṭāri*) as *nakkandu*.

An orchard of the *šatammu* Nabū-ahhē-iddin,¹²⁸⁷ a donation of the king Nebuchadnezzar to the Lady of Uruk, is the subject of the next section (ll. 15'-19'). Its eastern flank was situated on the

¹²⁸⁵ Note the possibility that this text formed a join with PTS 2076 (p. 348) for which a later dating (4 Cyr or later) must be assumed (see note 1291).

¹²⁸⁶ Instead of a reference to a neighbour, a person (or rather his estate) or a topographical feature, some plot surveys have the remark *eqlu libbū eqli* or its abbreviated form *libbū eqli*. The CAD translates the expression as “field (which was before) part of the (same) field” (CAD L: 173). The meaning of this expression was discussed by Steinmetzer (1934: 203ff.). In particular in land sale documents this could indicate that the purchased plot bordered on the land which already belonged to the purchaser. This typically happened when landowners expanded their property “at the expense” of their neighbours. The purchased plot and the adjoining land had a common border which was expressed with (*eqlu*) *libbū eqli* and which at the moment of purchase ceased to be a border. This expression also appears in the context of purchases of two or more contiguous plots, where again it designates their common border. This was particularly the case with plots of irregular shape which had been split up for surveying purposes into two or more regularly shaped polygons. In such cases the expression (*eqlu*) *libbū eqli* was used to indicate the side adjoined by the next surveyed polygon (Wunsch 2000 I: 28f.). The term *libbū eqli* also appears in our land registers several times. In some cases the second use of the term, i.e. in case of contiguous plots or sub-plots (PTS 2076: sections nine and twelve), is applicable. Most of the time, however, this usage of the term does not fit as the surveyed plots are not direct neighbours with the subsequently listed plots. In these cases *libbū eqli* simply indicates that the surveyed plot, which was temple property, had the same owner as that particular neighbouring plot. In other words, it indicated that here temple land bordered on temple land.

¹²⁸⁷ It is not clear exactly which terms of ownership are expressed by the phrase: *kirū ša Nabū-ahhē-iddin šatammi ša Nabū-kudur-ušur šar Bābili ana Bēlti ša Uruk iddinu*. On the one hand it is evident that the

upper Nār-šarri above the city and the southern frontage on Ḫarru-ša-Abul-Adad, which was apparently an offshoot of the right bank of the royal canal and which probably flowed close to the Adad-gate of the city. The northern frontage bordered on the property of Innin-zēr-iqīša, son of Nergal-ēter. This was probably the same neighbour as in the previous section,¹²⁸⁸ meaning that the ‘orchard of the *šatammu*’ was situated south of the estate from the third section and west of the upper Nār-šarri, with just the property of Innin-zēr-iqīša in between. The total surface area of the orchard was 3;0.4.4 (= 3.94 ha).

The fifth section (ll. 20'-24') deals with the plot of a certain Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammīq, which had been confiscated by the temple as compensation for the arrears charged against him. This man is known from other sources as a ploughman (*ikkaru*) and an overseer of the ploughmen (*rab ikkarāti*)¹²⁸⁹ and the arrears in question most probably stem from his agricultural activities. The plot with a surface of 3;3 *kurru* (500×360 cubits = 4.5 ha) was apparently not very productive. It was designated as *zēru kālū* and it was only partially planted with date palms: only 3 *sūtu* of the land (= 1,250 m²) were planted with 30 palm trees. This, however, corresponds to the regular planting density, found for instance in *AnOr* 9 19, of 300 palms per *kurru* of land. Nevertheless, this was a well situated plot. In the north it bordered on the canal Nār-damqat, in the south on the *hallatu*-orchards, which probably means it was close to the city, in the west on the property of the provincial governor *šakin māti* and in the east on the royal highway which led to Larsa (*ḫarrān šarri ša Larsa*).

The next section (ll. 25'-28') is damaged. It deals with a property within the city, left of the Šamaš-gate, and next to the houses of the Urukians, i.e. private houses. It is mentioned in a broken context that the measurements (of the plot) have not changed, apart from a plot of 0;0.1.3 (= 625 m²) of a certain Ētirtu, which, it seems, has been appropriated by her. At the end of the section it is remarked that this was recorded according to an old ledger (l. 28': *a-ki-i* ^{gis} *da sumun šá-tir*). Similar remarks reappear in the ninth section (ll. 34'-37') which is also broken and concerns a plot next to Nār-Bānītu. At the end of section nine the remark *ana dabābi*, “to be contested (in court)”, is still visible meaning that the status of the property was for some reason disputed.

The remainder of the tablet, sections seven to nine, is badly damaged. However, an interesting remark from the eighth section should be mentioned here. In l. 31' which refers to a plot on the Nār-Bānītu, it is stated that the measurements were taken “according to his tablet” (*ki-i pi-i* ^{im} *dub-šú ma-ši-iḫ*) indicating that the entries in these land registers could be made based on written documentation, without actual surveys. At other times surveys were considered necessary as is indicated by the remark *ana amāri* found in section three.

orchard had been donated to the Lady of Uruk by Nebuchadnezzar. On the other, the plot is designated as ‘belonging’ to the *šatammu* indicating some type of ownership of this land on his part. There are two possible explanations: The land, which was temple property donated by the king, may have subsequently been entrusted to the *šatammu* as a kind of benefice. The *šatammu* Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Nergal-ušallim, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, is attested from 4 Nbk (YBC 7429) to at least 19 Nbk (e.g. YOS 17 33) and the donation may have happened during his term of office. As Wunsch notes (1997: 145), the name of the *šatammu* may have remained connected to the plot long after his death (our text stems from a period after Nabonidus’ thirteenth regnal year) because it came into the possession of the temple while he was in office. Personal names and official titles occasionally get stuck to topographic features creating proper toponyms (cf. for instance Ḫarru-ša-Lābāši, Tabīnu-ša-Šum-ukīn, Nār-šarri, etc.). The eponymous individuals probably played a decisive role in the creation/development of the topographic features in question. Whether this was the case with this particular orchard and the *šatammu* cannot be decided. The other explanation, suggested by Kleber 2008: 33¹²⁹, is that the orchard was indeed property of the *šatammu*. At some point he may have been expropriated by the king, perhaps after being suspended from the office of *šatammu*. Subsequently the king donated the orchard to the temple. These are just speculations as there is no actual evidence for a suspension of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin (note, however, that there is some indication of conflict between Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin and the *qīpu* of Eanna, Ninurta-šar-ušur, who represented the interests of the king in the temple, Kleber 2008: 121ff.). If the orchard indeed originally belonged to the *šatammu* then the inclusion of this information in our text should be understood as a ‘genealogy’ of the plot. This could be important information for the potentially controversial terms of ownership.

¹²⁸⁸ This individual is not attested elsewhere.

¹²⁸⁹ See pp. 114ff. Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim is attested with the title *rab ikkarāti* in acc Ner (BIN 1 123), but he has been active in the temple agriculture at least since 26 Nbk (VS 20 134) and also had the function of a *rab ešerti* (“overseer of ten plough teams”) in 34 Nbk (YBC 4000, published by Janković 2005).

4.4.6. PTS 2076¹²⁹⁰ (no date extant; 4 Cyr or later)

This text is very similar to Montserrat 1. Not only the content and the handwriting (as far as could be discerned from the photos) but also the shapes of these two tablet fragments suggest that they could be joined. I have not had a chance to see the original in Spain, but C. Wunsch published a photo of the tablet was used to check whether the two texts can be joined. The photos of the two fragments were scaled and put together. Even though the shape of the break matched well it became obvious that they do not form a direct join. The text on both fragments is organised in sections of two or, more frequently, more lines which are divided by incised horizontal lines. The sections on the two fragments together with their division lines do not match up when put together. If the two fragments nevertheless stemmed from one tablet, then several lines are missing between them. This would result in a peculiar format of a large and very elongated tablet. It should be noted furthermore, that the two fragments match up in such a way that the obverse of the one and the reverse of the other tablet are on one side. What I classified as the obverse of PTS 2076, because of its more flattened surface, matches up with what Wunsch classified as reverse. As I did not have a chance to inspect the Montserrat tablet there is no way of telling whether the obverse-reverse classification should be swapped for this tablet, or whether this is definitive proof that the two fragments did not belong to one tablet. At the very least they may have belonged to a series of cadastral texts.

Just like Montserrat 1 the Princeton text deals with orchards or occasionally larger plots (e.g., *šīhu*). The two texts exhibit a similar amount of detail: localisation, size and orientation of the plots are noted. In addition to this, they sometimes give information on the size of land actually planted with date palms.

Top part of the tablet is broken off. An unknown number of lines went missing. The first partially extant section (ll. 1'-4') is in a desolate state of preservation. Not much can be said about its contents other than that it concerned a property with an eastern frontage on the canal Nār-Bānītu.

The second section (ll. 5'-9') is also very fragmentary. It describes an orchard, apparently a donation of the prince (dumu l[ugal]) Itti-Šamaš-balātu to the Lady of Uruk. Another land donation of this prince is recorded on the reverse of the tablet in section eight. This is to my knowledge the first attestation of the prince Itti-Šamaš-balātu. According to Beaulieu, if a son or a daughter of a king is mentioned without specifying the king's name, they must have been the offspring of the ruling king (1998a: 173⁴). As the text mentions Nabonidus's 15th regnal year in line 36' could this mean that Itti-Šamaš-balātu was a hitherto unattested son of Nabonidus?¹²⁹¹ Its western frontage was next to the royal highway of the Šamaš-gate (rev. l. 7': *harrān šarri [ša ká]-gal^dutu*).¹²⁹² The plot was of considerable size – over 22 *kurru* surface area (22⁺; 1.4.2.5 = over 27.5 ha) of which at least 9 *kurru* (= 11.25 ha) were probably planted with date palms.

The third section (ll. 10'-14') concerns a *līmu* situated right and left of the Šamaš-gate on the city moat (Ḫarīšu). The western flank (1,425 cubits) was next to [PN], a *šakin māti*. The eastern flank (1,425 cubits) was next to the plot of a certain Lābāši/Mūrānu. The southern frontage (1,420

¹²⁹⁰ The text is edited in the Appendix 1. A few brief comments on the text were made already by Beaulieu 2000: 35, who noted the reference to Assurbanipal's restitution of land to the god Ninurta (section ten), which also appears in the earlier cadastre *AnOr* 9 2.

¹²⁹¹ Unless it is presumed that a son of one of the Achaemenid rulers assumed a Babylonian name, for which, however, there is no evidence. If Itti-Šamaš-balātu was indeed a son of Nabonidus, and Beaulieu's assumption on the use of names of the members of the royal family is correct, this would imply that the text was composed toward the end of Nabonidus's reign, i.e. between his 15th and 17th regnal year, and not later. However, this is refuted by the appearance of the *šākin tēmi* Imbia as one of the neighbours in section three. Imbia is attested in this office only from 4 Cyr to 6 Camb (Kümmel 1979: 140; Kleber 2008: 39). Before him Nādin, son of Balātu, was the *šākin tēmi* of Uruk from 13 Nbn to 1 Cyr, followed by Šulāya/Tābia/Ḫunzū in 2 Cyr and Nabū-šar-ušur/Būnānu in 3 Cyr (Kleber *ibid.*). Therefore the text cannot be dated prior to 4 Cyr and Beaulieu's theory about the members of the ruling royal family and their appearance in texts is at least in this case not applicable.

¹²⁹² This was the part of the highway which passed through the Šamaš-gate and which perhaps led to Larsa.

cubits) was next to Imbia, the *šākin tēmi*,¹²⁹³ and what seems to be temple property (*libbū eqli*; this portion of the text is damaged). The northern frontage was shorter: it was 550 cubits long (the neighbours are broken off). This complicated the calculation somewhat so the scribe left the line giving the total surface area blank. The surface of this *limu* amounted to about 28;0.2.1.0.5 *kurru* of land (= 35.09 ha).

The fourth section (ll. 15'-20') describes an orchard left of Nār-Bānītu, which was at the disposal of Anu-aḥ-iddin and Šamaš-zēr-līšir, the sons of Šamaš-iddin, two prebendary gardeners (*rab banē*). The details on the sides and neighbours are very fragmentary, it can only be deduced that the eastern frontage was on the Nār-Bānītu. At the end of this section there is mention of land which was (recorded) in the ledger of the *rab banē* (l. 18': še-numun *ina* ^{giš}da *šá* ^{lu}gal *dū*^{mc}), indicating that separate documentation concerning the land allotted to the prebendary gardeners was kept by the temple administration.¹²⁹⁴ This is followed by a remark about the land at the Šamaš-gate which was at the disposal of a certain Bēl-īpuš, the *rab banē*. Perhaps this meant that the plot in question, the orchard at the disposal of the two brothers Anu-aḥ-iddin and Šamaš-zēr-līšir, was (erroneously?) assigned to the prebendary gardener Bēl-īpuš in the land register of the *rab banē*.

The next section (ll. 21'-30') also treats land assigned to the two brothers, the prebendary gardeners Anu-aḥ-iddin and Šamaš-zēr-līšir. This orchard is designated as *gizzētu*, part of the orchard of the two brothers (l. 21': ^{giš}kiri₆¹ *gi-iz-ze-tu*₄ *šá* *ina* še-numun ^{giš}kiri₆ *šá* PN₁ *u* PN₂). The specific legal or administrative connotations of the term *gizzētu* are unfortunately not known to us. It may have implied property which had been confiscated by an administrative institution.¹²⁹⁵ Be that as it may, this *gizzētu*-orchard is situated opposite “the royal highway of the Kanisurra-gate” (*ḥarrān šarri ša abul Kanisurra*). Four neighbours are listed as adjacent to the western flank: Iqīša-Marduk, son of Arad-Gula, Arad-Innin, son of Amīl-Nabû, Anu-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, and Arad-Innin, son of Bēl-iddin. These plots are said to be counted as the property of the king (l. 25': *a-na* níg-ga *lug*[al] ^{im}ma-nu-ú¹). It appears that this land, which belonged to the crown, was entrusted to certain individuals for use. The three latter neighbours also appear in this function in the seventh section of the tablet. Here also the neighbouring plots were counted to the property of the king, which makes it probable that we are dealing with the same set of plots, meaning that the orchards in sections five and seven shared these neighbours. Beside these individual plots the west side also bordered on other temple land (*libbū eqli*), an empty river bed (*nāru nadû*) and *akkullātu*-land.¹²⁹⁶ One neighbour, a certain Balātu, son of Nabû-ēter, is listed as adjacent to the eastern flank. The northern frontage bordered on an empty river bed and *akkullātu* and the southern frontage on plots which are at the disposal of the two brothers, the prebendary gardeners Anu-aḥ-iddin and Šamaš-zēr-līšir, who appear as holders of the orchards in section four. It is then quite likely that this *gizzētu*-orchard was adjacent to orchard described in the previous section and was situated to the north of it.¹²⁹⁷ The *gizzētu*-orchard measured in total approximately 1;4.0.0.3.2 (= 2.25 ha).

The last extant section on the obverse of the tablet (ll. 31'-38') deals with the orchard of a certain Nādin, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, and Šulāya, son of Aḥulap-Ištar, which was situated on the

¹²⁹³ See note 1291.

¹²⁹⁴ No such texts are known from Eanna. However, from the Ebabbar of Sippar several texts containing more or less detailed surveys of land allotted to the *rab banē* have been identified (see Da Riva 2002: 141ff. for an edition and discussion of these texts).

¹²⁹⁵ For a discussion of this term see p. 285.

¹²⁹⁶ The term *akkullātu* designates clods of earth found on fields which were to be removed or broken up in the course of cultivation. It could also be used to designate a type of cereal fields (CAD A/1: 275f.) But contrary to what one might suspect on the grounds of *akkullātu* being something unwelcome which had to be carried away, these were not necessarily neglected fields with low productivity. This is demonstrated by one text from Sippar (CT 56 536) according to which the yield rates for the *akkullātu*-fields were to be determined by the relatively high factors of 11, 16 and even 23 (or rather 13?) (Jursa 1995a: 165).

¹²⁹⁷ The canal Nār-Bānītu ran along a north-south axis in this area. It ran to the east of the orchard in section four. This orchard was situated directly on the Nār-Bānītu. The orchard in the fifth section, however, did not have direct access to this watercourse. This means that it must have made a turn eastwards at the border of the two orchards.

left bank of the lower Nār-Bānītu. The northern flank was on the canal Nār-Bānītu.¹²⁹⁸ The neighbouring plots to the south and the west were assigned to a certain Šillāya, son of Bānia, but counted to the property of the king. The neighbours along the eastern frontage were a certain Šamaš-šum-līšir and his brothers, the sons of Silim-Bēl. These were probably the uncles of Šulāya, to whom (a part of) the plot in question originally belonged. The text goes on to clarify that the land (in total approximately 2;1.1.0.3.3 (= 2.79 ha)) was confiscated in 15 Nbn from Nādin and Šulāya as property of Eanna instead of the cattle arrears of Nādin's father, and Šulāya's grandfather, Silim-Bēl. This demonstrates nicely how debts were transferred from generation to generation and could even be 'inherited' from grandfathers.

The seventh section (ll. rev. 1-8), which is the first one on the reverse of the tablet, is not entirely clear. The property, perhaps an orchard (the signs are broken off), attributed to a certain Ina-qāt-[x], son of Bēl-ab-ušur, is said to have been measured according to his tablet (*kī tuppišu maših*).¹²⁹⁹ Unlike the other sections, however, this one does not give the complete information on the length of sides of the plot or their orientation. Only one flank of 40 cubits is mentioned. It bordered on the city moat (Ḫarīšu) and the wall-street (l. 6: *sūq dūri*). This was then a relatively small plot (with one flank of approximately 20 m) in the immediate vicinity of the city. Several neighbours are listed, however, without giving their exact situation relative to our plot. One of the neighbouring plots is a *hallatu*-orchard at the disposal of a certain Šamaš-iddin, son of Bēl-īpuš. An additional remark specifies that this property (i.e. the *hallatu*-orchard) was registered as neighbouring the *nakkandu* of Ištār of Uruk. This probably means that the plot of Ina-qāt-[x] appears in another document, perhaps in another one of the temple's land registers, as temple's *nakkandu*-land. Clearly the status of Ina-qāt-[x]'s property was at stake here. This is confirmed by the following remark: "to be enquired into and registered" (l. rev. 3: *ana mašālti u šaṭāri*). Other neighbours of the property are listed by name. These include Anu-aḫ-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, Arad-Innin, son of Amīl-Nabû, and Arad-Innin, son of Bēl-iddin and these plots are said to be counted as property of the king. As was noted, these three individuals already appear in section five as neighbours of the orchard described there. Therefore it is possible that the plots in section five and seven were not far from each other. The remainder of the section is not clear. Again the remarks *kī pī tuppišu* and *ana šaṭāri* appear.

The next section (ll. rev. 9-14) is less complicated. It concerns an orchard to the left of the Meslamtaea-gate, yet another donation of the prince (*mar šarri*) Itti-Šamaš-balātu (cf. section two). The western flank of the orchard (450 cubits) was next to the (city) wall and the eastern flank (350 cubits) next to the canal Nār-Lamassu. The northern frontage (210 cubits) was next to a certain Arrab, son of Bēl-usāt. This plot counted to the property of the king (*ša ana makkūr šarri immanû*). The southern frontage (120 cubits) was next to 2 *sūtu* of land designated as (*zēru*) *aškuttu*¹³⁰⁰ and three houses of the shepherds of the regular offerings (*rēṭi sattukki*). In total this orchard had the surface of 1;2.4.4.8 (= 1.95 ha), and of this 0;4.2 of land (= 1.08 ha) were planted.¹³⁰¹

The ninth section (ll. rev. 15-22) records an orchard left of the canal Ḫarru-ša-Nanāya. It was situated at the junction of this canal with the wall-street, i.e. close to the city wall. Whether it was inside or outside the city we cannot tell, because we do not know whether the wall-street followed the inner or the outer perimeter of the city wall. The temple appropriated this orchard from a certain Nanāya-ēreš, son of Nabû-ušallim, in place of his cattle arrears. As the orchard had an irregular shape, the measurements were taken separately for two portions of this plot. First the measurements of the larger portion were recorded. Its (western) flank (310 cubits) was next to the wall-street. The eastern flank (160 cubits) bordered on the houses of the Urukeans, i.e. private houses. The northern frontage (270 cubits) bordered on the *aškuttu* and the second portion of the plot (this is implied by the remark *libbū eqlī*), and the southern frontage (220 cubits) was next to the property of a certain Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša, son of Nabû-bēl-šumāti, descendant of Sîn-tabni. The surface area of the first part of the orchard was 1;0.4.3.3 (= 1.44 ha). The portion of the plot

¹²⁹⁸ Note that here the canal runs here along an east-west axis. See previous note.

¹²⁹⁹ Note the similar expression (*kī pī tuppišu maših*) from Montserrat 1 (l. 31').

¹³⁰⁰ According to CAD A/2: 444f. *aškuttu* was "an earth structure in fields and around houses". The AHW (p. 81) offers the following interpretation: "bei Grundstücken etwa Trennmauer". Van Driel (1988: 144), however, notes that *aškuttu* was part of the original field and that "its dimensions exclude a construction like a wall". According to Wunsch (2000 I: 71) this was a "spitz zulaufende oder unebene Fläche".

¹³⁰¹ The remark *zaqpu* implies that the land was planted with date palms.

measured second was located north of the first. The western [frontage] (100[+x/0] cubits) was next to the wall-street and the eastern one ([x] cubits) was next to the houses of the Urukeans. Its northern flank (100 or 110 cubits) was on the canal Ḫarru-ša-Nanāya. The southern flank (90 cubits) was next to a part of the plot previously measured (*libbū eqli*). This portion of the orchard had the surface area of 1 *pānu* (= 0.25 ha)¹³⁰² and the total area amounted to 1;1.4.3.3 (= 1.69 ha), of which 0;4.4 (= 1.17 ha) were planted.

The beginning of the tenth section (ll. rev. 23-24) is lost in a break, some six to eight signs are totally or partially damaged. It is not certain how this gap should best be reconstructed, but it is conceivable that orchards were mentioned here together with details on their localisation or total surface area. The remainder of the phrase can be reconstructed following *AnOr* 9 2 l. 62f. as: [...] *ša Aššur-bāni-apli ina mas[naqti] ša U[ruk ina q]āt Uškāya uterramma ana Ninurta ša Uruk [iddinu]*. In other words, this short section refers to the restitution of orchards undertaken by the king Assurbanipal, perhaps around his 20th regnal year as Beaulieu suggested (see above).¹³⁰³ The land was taken from the Urukeans and given to the god Ninurta of Uruk, whose property was apparently administrated by the Eanna temple. The wording of this section which follows the earlier tablet *AnOr* 9 2 closely, suggests that the scribe of PTS 2076 had access to this older land register on which he based this entry. It is interesting to note that even after so much time it was still remembered and considered noteworthy that particular estates of the temple were restored to it by an Assyrian king. This is perhaps a sign that the status of those properties again became (or was still) disputed in the sixth century.

The exact localisation of the orchard treated in the next section (ll. rev. 25-28) is uncertain. The text states that it is situated *ana Uruk*, “toward Uruk”. Perhaps we are dealing here with an ellipsis for *ana muḫḫi*, *ana imitti/šumēli* or the like. The text clarifies further that the orchard was to the right of the canal Ḫarru-ša-Aškaṛtu. On three sides it was surrounded by the houses of the Urukeans and the eastern flank was next to the wall-street. The plot had a surface of 0;0.5.1.2 (= 0.22 ha) and was entirely planted.

The twelfth section (ll. 29-36) deals with another orchard to the right of the canal Ḫarru-ša-Aškaṛtu. It was measured in two stages. The northern flank (190 cubits) of the first portion of the plot was next to the *aškuttu* and the second portion. The [southern] flank (200 cubits) was next to the property of [x], son of Marduk-šum-ibni, which counted to the property of the king, and next to the house [of x]. The western frontage (150 cubits) was next to a narrow street which runs between the orchards and the eastern frontage was next to the canal Ḫarru-ša-Aškaṛtu. The surface area of the first portion of the orchard was 0;2.4.[x] (= over 0.67 ha). The measurements of the second portion, which was north of the first portion, are badly damaged. Its western side was also on the (narrow) street between the orchards, and the northern side bordered on unbuilt plots. In total this orchard had a surface area of just over 0;3.0.1 (= 0.76 ha).

The last (partially) extant section of this tablet (ll. rev. 37-40) is badly damaged. It can be discerned that the property in question was located left of the Ninurta temple and the western side bordered on a street, perhaps the wall-street.

The ownership of the plots recorded in Montserrat 1 and PTS 2076 is for the most part not spelled out. Perhaps such information would have been found in a caption or a colophon, had those been existent and extant. Nevertheless, it is assumed here that all the entries in the two tablet fragments concerned properties of the Eanna temple. This is specifically stated only in five cases: Montserrat 1, section four, deals with Nebuchadnezzar’s donation of an orchard to the Lady of Uruk, and section five records a plot which was confiscated by the temple in place of arrears accrued by the original owner (*kūm rēḫi ša muḫḫišu ana Eanna našā*); in PTS 2076 two orchards were donated to the Lady of Uruk by the prince Itti-Šamaš-balātu in the sections two and eight respectively, and in section six one orchard was confiscated by the temple on account of arrears in cattle.

Other entries of the two texts do not mention the temple explicitly as the owner of the land in question, but there are some hints that point in this direction. For instance, section nine of PTS

¹³⁰² This could be reconstructed from the total area and the sub-total for the first portion of the orchard.

¹³⁰³ Beaulieu quotes this passage already in 1998a: 193²⁹ in the context of his discussion of the royal land grants to Eanna.

2076 deals with an orchard also confiscated on account of a backlog in cattle. Neither the Eanna nor the Lady of Uruk, nor anyone else is mentioned as the confiscating party, but it is more than likely that this entry was parallel to those explicitly mentioning the temple. Otherwise, the omission of this kind of information would hardly be explicable. Section ten of PTS 2076 mentions the land returned by the Assyrian king Assurbanipal to the god Ninurta. This episode has already been discussed above in the context of *AnOr* 9 2. As was noted there, the estates of the Ninurta temple in Uruk were managed by the Eanna temple and treated more or less as its own property. The orchards in sections four and five of PTS 2076 are associated with two *rab banê*, the brothers Anu-aḫ-iddin and Šamaš-šum-līšir. In one instance this relationship is expressed as *kirû ša* PN_{1,2} (PTS 2076, 21'), only to appear a couple of lines later as *zēru ša ina pān* PN_{1,2} (PTS 2076, 28'f.). This second instance suggests that this was not private property of the two brothers. It was only put at their disposal, most probably by the temple, since these two prebendary gardeners were associated to this institution. The subject of section three of Montserrat 1 is a larger plot, a *šīhu*. The owner is not named, but since a part of this property was assigned to the prebendary gardeners, it can safely be assumed that this too was temple land. The text specifies further that the property was to be inspected (l. 14': *ana amāri*) and the remainder of the planted land, i.e. the land not taken by the *rab banê*, to be registered (in the books) as *nakkandu*, i.e. “reserve”-land (l. 14': *rēhet zēri zaqqi ana nakkandu ana šaṭāri*). These instructions were intended for the institution which managed this land, in all probability the temple, which can also be taken as another indication that this text was part of the Eanna archive and the land treated in it temple property.

Some of the other entries are less clear on the ownership of the plots. Section two of Montserrat 1 is badly broken, but it seems to deal with the land of a certain Balāssu (l. 8': *zēru ša Balāssu* [...]). It is not clear whether the (original) ownership status is intended by this, as the text breaks off after the personal name. It resumes to state that the land was bought (*ana kaspi maḥra*) in the thirteenth year of Nabonidus without naming the buyer. This was probably the temple. Section seven of PTS 2076 treats the land of a certain Ina-qāt-[x], a property which on two sides neighbored the land of Eanna (a *hallatu*-orchard and *nakkandu*-land of Ištar of Uruk) and which had disputed borders as is indicated by the phrase *ana mašālti u šaṭāri* (rev. l. 3). The closing remark of this section perhaps reveals its status: *še-numun-šú šá igi* (rev. l. 8). The logogram *igi* could be taken to stand for *amāru* and the whole expression for “his land, which had been inspected” (*ša amra*). However, it could just as well stand for *maḥāru*, and mean “his land, which had been received”, perhaps short for *ša ana kaspi maḥra* as in section two of Montserrat 1. By analogy one could assume that here also the beneficiary of this transfer was the temple. This is all quite speculative, and perhaps this was at least one instance of private property within this otherwise temple-oriented register which was only booked in because of the disputed border with the temple land. Be that as it may, other entries do not give any specification on the ownership of the plots they deal with. The omission of this kind of information speaks for the temple as the owner, since this could have been deemed redundant in the more straightforward cases, i.e. cases not involving land donations or confiscations of private property.

While it is fairly certain that Montserrat 1 and PTS 2076 deal with land which is either temple property or to which the temple laid claim, the question of the localisation of the land and the systematics of the texts remains open. Some of the properties are explicitly stated to be outside the city (e.g., Montserrat 1, sections three and four, on the upper Nār-šarri, *muḥḥi āli*), others were inside the city (*ina qabalti āli*, Montserrat 1, section six). In most of the cases, however, the text is ambiguous in this respect. Usually the properties are associated to some prominent feature, a city gate, the city wall or moat, or a canal, without specifying the localisation with respect to the perimeter of the city. Therefore we can hardly go beyond stating that the properties described in Montserrat 1 and PTS 2076 were situated either within the city itself or just outside it.

Despite the fact that the localisation of the gates¹³⁰⁴ and some of the canals is mainly unknown, it is nevertheless possible to discern a pattern governing the arrangement of the entries on the tablets. Generally plots situated in the same region were grouped together in the text. The repeated appearance of the Šamaš-gate and the Nār-Bānītu as information on localisation on the

¹³⁰⁴ Falkenstein provides a catalogue of gates and city quarters of Uruk, but refrains from attempting to localise them (1941: 50ff.)

obverse of PTS 2076 is conspicuous (sections one to four, six; this information is also summarized in the table below). We are informed by the text that the royal highway passed through the Šamaš-gate (*ḥarrān šarri ša abul Šamaš* in section two, line 8') and that the city moat (Ḥarīšu) also flowed in the region of this gate (section three).¹³⁰⁵ A connection between the Šamaš-gate and the canal Nār-Bānītu is provided in section four. The localisation of Nār-Bānītu is not known, but it appears that it flowed in the vicinity of the Šamaš-gate. The property described in section four, an orchard of the *rab banê*, had its eastern frontage on this canal. At the same time the text states that it was recorded in the ledger of the prebendary orchards of the Šamaš-gate (ll. 19'-20'). This indicates a certain proximity of this gate and the Nār-Bānītu.¹³⁰⁶ This canal must have also run close to the Kanisurra-gate,¹³⁰⁷ which appears in section five. At any rate, the road which led through this gate (*ḥarrānu ša abul Kanisurra*) may have been in the vicinity of Nār-Bānītu, because the property in section four, which was situated west of this canal, was probably adjacent to the property in section five, which was in front of the road of the Kanisurra-gate. We have no explicit information on the localisation of the Šamaš-gate (or Nār-Bānītu), however, assuming that this was the gate through which the god Šamaš, or rather his statue, came on his visits to Uruk from Larsa, we should look for this gate on the eastern perimeter of the city. In this case the properties described on the obverse of PTS 2076 were situated in the eastern segment of the city and its hinterlands. It should be noted that the plots on the 'reverse' of Montserrat 1, which possibly joins with the obverse of PTS 2076, were also associated with this general region: the Šamaš-gate appears in section six and the plots in sections eight and nine were close to the Nār-Bānītu. The plot in section five bordered on the royal highway to Larsa (*ḥarrān šarri ša Larsa*), which fits nicely with placing these properties to the east of Uruk. This was perhaps the same road as *ḥarrān šarri ša abul Šamaš* mentioned in section two of PTS 2076.

The situation on the reverse of PTS 2076 is less clear. Here the city moat (Ḥarīšu; section seven) and the wall-street (*sūq dūri*; sections seven and nine), the Meslamtaea-gate and Nār-Lamassu (section eight), Ḥarru-ša-Nanāya (section nine), Ḥarru-ša-Aška'ītu (sections eleven and twelve) and the Ninurta temple (section thirteen¹³⁰⁸) appear. The exact localisation of the Ninurta temple¹³⁰⁹ within Uruk is not known. However, it appears that it was situated close to the city wall and in turn relatively close to the Ḥarīšu and the wall-street which presumably ran along the city wall. This is suggested by *AnOr* 9 2 (ll. 53ff.) which describes orchards of Ninurta situated among other places behind the Ninurta temple and next to the (city) wall (l. 53), or on the Ḥarīšu (l. 60). One of these orchards is on Ḥarru-ša-Aška'ītu (l. 55), which is perhaps an indicator that this canal was also in the vicinity of the Ninurta temple. Next to nothing is known about the Meslamtaea-gate and Nār-Lamassu¹³¹⁰ which are mentioned in section eight. The Meslamtaea-gate (listed in Falkenstein 1941: 50) was opposite the settlement Biranātu according to the private land sale TCL 13 249. The localisation of this place, too, is uncertain. The sold plot is said to border on [x] lugal šá a-na ú-dan-nu. Cocquerillat (1968: 20³⁵) suggests restoring *ḥarrān* in the gap and placing Udannu north of Uruk. If this localisation is correct, then the plot bordered on a section of the royal highway north of the city and the Meslamtaea-gate should be placed on the northern (or north-eastern) perimeter of the city. Ḥarru-ša-Nanāya is known to have flown within the city of Uruk (RA 24, 38: 2f.) and outside it (*AnOr* 9 7: 3). The part of the canal which appears in the text in section nine was in the vicinity of the city wall. More accurate localisation of these canals and places is not possible. It should be noted, however, that on the matching side of the fragment

¹³⁰⁵ It is generally assumed that the Ḥarīšu followed the city's perimeter; however, it is not known whether it extended along the entire circumference of the city or just a part of it.

¹³⁰⁶ That is, unless the fact that the orchard was entered in the wrong ledger, namely the one dealing with the land close to the Šamaš-gate, was of concern here. It seems more likely, however, that the point of contention here was that the orchard was registered under the name of a certain Bēl-īpuš, a *rab banê*, and not An-aḥ-iddin and Šamaš-zēr-lišir, two brothers, prebendary gardeners, to whom the orchard in question rightfully belonged (at least from the perspective of PTS 2076). In other words, not the localisation of the orchard was disputed, but its attribution to this Bēl-īpuš.

¹³⁰⁷ For this little known goddess and her cult in Uruk see Beaulieu 2003: 316ff.

¹³⁰⁸ Note that section ten treats properties returned by Assurbanipal to the god Ninurta, but without giving their localisation.

¹³⁰⁹ This was a small sanctuary independent of the Eanna temple (Beaulieu 2003: 301).

¹³¹⁰ Nār-Lamassu is attested elsewhere only in TCL 12 32: 26.

Montserrat 1 (obv.) Ḫarru-ša-Nanāya is also mentioned (section two), as well as Nār-šarri (sections three and four). According to Cocquerillat (1968: 24) Ḫarru-ša-Aškaʾitu, which flowed within Uruk (*AnOr* 8 2: 2f.), was a tributary of Nār-šarri; however, I do not see any evidence for this suggestion. Nevertheless, in the light of our text it can be assumed that the two canals have been in some way connected or at least ran in each other's proximity. Section four of Montserrat 1 specifies that the property was outside the city on the upper Nār-šarri (and at the same time on Ḫarru-ša-Abul-Adad, which indicates that the Adad-gate was also close by). At least this property then was north of Uruk. Perhaps this should be taken as an indicator that the other plots described on the reverse of PTS 2076 and the obverse of Montserrat 1 were north of Uruk or in the north(-eastern) region of the city.

A link between the properties recorded on the two sides of PTS 2076 is perhaps provided by the sections five (obv.) and seven (rev.). As was noted earlier the properties described in these two sections shared some of the neighbours. This indicates that they were situated close to each other.

One of the arrangement principles of these cadastral texts was of a topographic nature then: One side of the tablet listed properties (south-)east and the other north(-east) of Uruk, or within the corresponding parts of the city. However, were the texts systematic in listing all the temple properties in the given regions? This question cannot be answered easily. In my opinion this was not the case. The clue for this is provided by the remarks *ana šaṭāri*, *ana amāri* and *ana dabābi* which are found repeatedly in the texts (for an overview of these remarks see the last column of the table below). The remark "to be registered" (*ana šaṭāri*) implied that the properties in question were to be entered into some sort of register, either into a complete register of the temple land (if there was such a document), or perhaps into central cadastres kept by the city administration. The status of the disputed properties had to be settled before they could be entered in the cadastral books. This is what the remarks "to be inspected" (*ana amāri*), "to be enquired into" (*ana mašālti*) and "to be debated (in court)" (*ana dabābi*) are alluding to. Further remarks found in the text such as *kī pī ṭuppišu maših* ("measured according to his tablet") and *akī lē'i labīri šaṭir* ("registered according to an old ledger") suggest that the properties in question had not been actually surveyed, which too could give rise to future disputes. A look at the table below makes it obvious that almost all the properties listed in the two texts had a disputed, or at least potentially controversial, status. This includes land restitutions and donations by various kings or members of the royal family, confiscations on account of indebtedness, questionable borders, change of designation of purpose, etc. In just a few cases the status of the listed properties is not obviously problematic (PTS 2076, sections three, five, eleven and twelve). It appears therefore that these land registers were designed to record special cases only, cases that would (potentially) require further clarification and action. Therefore it is not likely that the texts were representative of the temple's entire land holdings in the given regions.¹³¹¹ It seems possible, although this is purely speculative, that these land registers were written in anticipation of a general census undertaken by the city or state administration. This must have occurred periodically; however, we cannot say when it happened precisely (it may have happened at least once after 4 Cyr) since the texts are not dated and it is not certain whether they (at least the ones with greater formal similarity, i.e. *AnOr* 9 19, RA 54, 86f., Montserrat 1 and PTS 2076) were compiled on one or on separate occasions.

| Text | Section | Owner | Localisation | Status peculiarities/remarks |
|--------------|----------|-----------|--|---|
| Montserrat 1 | 1 (obv.) | [?] | west flank on Ḫarru-[x] | [?] |
| | 2 | (Temple?) | east flank on Ḫarru-ša-Nanāya | bought for silver in 13 Nbn (from Balāssu(?)) |
| | 3 | (Temple) | in front of the upper Nār-šarri and in front of the city (i.e. north of Uruk); western frontage on Nār-ēleppēti, eastern frontage on Nār-šarri | part of the land occupied by <i>rab banē</i> , to be inspected (<i>ana amāri</i>); the rest to be entered as <i>nakkandu (ana šaṭāri)</i> |

¹³¹¹ That the temple had other properties in the regions treated by the texts is suggested by some of the cases in which the listed plot's neighbours were referred to as *libbū eqli*. This implied that the given plots bordered on temple properties which were not further considered by the texts.

| | | | | |
|----------|----------|-----------|---|---|
| | 4 | Temple | right (i.e. west) of the upper Nār-šarri, in front of the city; eastern flank on Nār-šarri, southern frontage on Ḫarru-ša-Abul-Adad | donation of Nebuchadnezzar |
| | 5 (rev.) | Temple | northern flank on Nār-damqat; eastern frontage on royal highway to Larsa | confiscated by Eanna on account of debt |
| | 6 | [?] | inside the city, left of Šamaš-gate | (plot's) measurements have not changed (<i>mešḫassu ul tašnū</i>); entered according to the old ledger (<i>akī lē'i labīri šaṭir</i>) |
| | 7 | [?] | [?] | to be entered (<i>ana šaṭāri</i>) |
| | 8 | [?] | close to Nār-Bānītu | measured according to his tablet (<i>kī pī tuppišu maših</i>); to be entered (<i>ana šaṭāri</i>) |
| | 9 | [?] | close to Nār-Bānītu | (plot's) measurements have not changed (<i>mešḫassu ul tašnū</i>); entered according to the old ledger (<i>[akī] lē'i labīri šaṭra</i>); to be contested (<i>ana dabābi</i>) |
| PTS 2076 | 1 (obv.) | [?] | close to Nār-Bānītu | [?] |
| | 2 | Temple | close to Šamaš-gate and royal highway; western frontage on the royal highway of the Šamaš-gate | donation of prince Itti-Šamaš-balātu |
| | 3 | (Temple?) | left and right of Šamaš-gate, on the bank of city moat (Ḫarīšu) | - |
| | 4 | (Temple) | left of Nār-Bānītu (eastern frontage on Nār-Bānītu); close to Šamaš-gate (?) | property entered in the ledger of the <i>rab banē</i> under the name of another person (not the prebendary gardeners in charge) |
| | 5 | (Temple) | in front of the road of Kanisurra-gate | - |
| | 6 | Temple | left of the lower Nār-Bānītu | confiscated by Eanna on account of debt |
| | 7 (rev.) | (Temple?) | on the city moat (Ḫarīšu) and next to the wall-street | plot borders to be enquired into and entered (<i>ana mašālti u šaṭāri</i>); to be entered according to his tablet (<i>kī pī tuppišu ana šaṭāri</i>); his land which had been bought (?) (<i>zēršu ša igi</i>) |
| | 8 | Temple | left of Meslamtaea-gate; western flank next to the (city) wall; eastern flank next to Nār-Lamassu | donation of prince Itti-Šamaš-balātu |
| | 9 | (Temple) | left of Ḫarru-ša-Nanāya; northern flank on Ḫarru-ša-Nanāya | confiscated on account of debt |
| | 10 | Temple | - | Assurbanipal's restitution of orchards to Ninurta of Uruk |
| | 11 | ? | in front (?) of Uruk; to the right of Ḫarru-ša-Aška'itu | - |
| | 12 | ? | to the right of Ḫarru-ša-Aška'itu; eastern frontage on Ḫarru-ša-Aška'itu | - |
| | 13 | [?] | left of Ninurta temple; western side on wall-street | [?] |

Table 37: Montserrat 1 and PTS 2076

An interesting aspect of the cadastral texts,¹³¹² in particular Montserrat 1 and PTS 2076 which concentrate on the urban agricultural properties and the areas just outside the city, is that they give us a glimpse of the agrarian and to a lesser extent social make-up of these regions. As could be expected, inside and just outside the city, date orchards were prevalent. There was

¹³¹² The following section already appeared in print in Janković 2010: 423f.

apparently no arable land here. At least that is the impression one gets from the available land sale documents and cadastral texts. Properties of the prebendary gardeners, the *rab banê*, were typically found close to the city,¹³¹³ a situation which is also known from Sippar. The orchards inside the city could be surrounded by private houses (houses of the Urukeans)¹³¹⁴ or they could be adjacent to other plots, canals and streets. These cadastres focus on the temple property and it has to be kept in mind that their scope and perspective are therefore limited. Nevertheless, the impression produced by them is that the social composition of, at least some, neighbourhoods in and around the city was fairly mixed. The temple estates bordered on the private properties of the Urukeans, plots of the members of the city administration (e.g., *šākin tēmi*¹³¹⁵) or royal estates which had been entrusted to certain individuals.¹³¹⁶ As an example, an interesting constellation is presented by the (confiscated) property of the temple oblate Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, which bordered on a canal, the royal highway, the prebendary orchard of a *rab banê*, and the plot of the provincial governor (*šakin māti*).¹³¹⁷

4.4.6.1. Intensity of farming¹³¹⁸

What is remarkable is that not all the land in and close to the city was farmed very intensively. At least this can be claimed for the land which belonged to the temple during Nabonidus's reign (or later).¹³¹⁹ This is in sharp contrast to what is known about the orchards of the Borsippa urban elite, which were relatively small but produced high returns, meaning that they were farmed fairly intensively.¹³²⁰ For some of the orchards listed in the cadastres from Eanna it is mentioned that only a portion of the plot was in fact planted with date palms. Some plots were qualified as *kālû*. This was a term used for unproductive, perhaps waterlogged, land which could, however, be converted into date plantations. For instance, of the plot with a surface of 3;3, *zēru kālû*, in Montserrat 1 ll. 20'-24', only 0;0.3 had been planted. Just outside the city on the Nār-šarri there was a considerable stretch of unused land, *nakkandu*. This term designated land held in reserve by the king or the temples and which could be assigned for use to their dependants. Of the available 167;3.4.3 (210 ha) only 24;1 (30.25 ha) had been taken by the prebendary gardeners and were presumably converted into orchards. The remainder of the land was to be assigned to *nakkandu* which was surrounding this plot (Montserrat 1 ll. 10'-14'). The following table lists the known examples of only partially exploited land:

| Text and designation of plot ¹³²¹ | Size of plot | Planted plot | % planted |
|--|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| PTS 2076 | | | |
| <i>kirû</i> | 1;2.4.4.8 | 0;4.2 | 55.77 |
| <i>kirû</i> | 1;1.4.3.3 | 0;4.4 | 68.89 |
| <i>kirû</i> | 21 ⁺ ;1.4.2.5 | 9 <i>kurru</i> [+ x/0] | 40.91 |
| Montserrat 1 | | | |
| <i>šihu</i> | 167;3.4.3 | 24;1 | 14.43 |
| <i>eqlu</i> (<i>zēru kālû</i>) | 3;3 | 0;0.3 | 2.78 |
| AnOr 9 19 ¹³²² | | | |

¹³¹³ See for instance the sections III and V in Montserrat 1, as well as ll. 14'-29' in PTS 2076.

¹³¹⁴ For instance in PTS 2076 in ll. 25-28.

¹³¹⁵ PTS 2076 ll. rev. 9'-13'.

¹³¹⁶ The text would name the neighbour, but remark that the plot counted to the property of the king (*a-na nīg-ga lugal im-ma-nu-û*; e.g. PTS 2076 rev. ll. 30'-37').

¹³¹⁷ Montserrat 1 rev. ll. 20'-24'.

¹³¹⁸ The following section already appeared in print in Janković 2010: 424ff.

¹³¹⁹ The two cadastres are not dated, but Montserrat 1 mentions the 13th and PTS 2076 the 15th year of Nabonidus, which gives the post quem dates for these texts.

¹³²⁰ Jursa 2010b: 360ff.

¹³²¹ *kirû* designates a date orchard; *eqlu* is a neutral term "plot" and could be applied to both cereal fields and orchards; *šihu* and *līmu* designate larger administrative units: *šihu* could be rendered as "estate" and *līmu*, literally "thousand", were large estates which perhaps originated from land allotment schemes similar to the *hanšû*-system.

¹³²² This text deals with the land further away from the city unlike the other two.

| | | | |
|-------------|----------|---------------|-------|
| <i>līmu</i> | 1420;1 | 70;1 | 4.94 |
| <i>līmu</i> | 26;4.4.3 | 2;0.3 + 1;0.5 | 12.13 |

Table 38: Intensity of farming

While the temple may have been expanding its estates through royal grants, purchases or confiscations of the properties of their debtors, this did not automatically mean that the agricultural production was being expanded, as the land could have been left fallow or put to other uses. Only the contracts for reclamation of land, either for cereal cultivation (*ana taptê*) or planting date orchards (*ana zāqipūti*), give us unequivocal evidence for agricultural expansion. These documents are unfortunately scarce. Of some 40 extant land lease contracts from 3 Nbk to 2 Dar only seven land reclamation leases are known to us. Two *zāqipūtu*-contracts from Nebuchadnezzar's and Nabonidus's reign each and one from Cyrus's reign, and one lease *ana taptê* from Cambyses's and Nebuchadnezzar IV's reign each are known.¹³²³ This is little more than anecdotal evidence which does not render itself to quantification. However, it shows that all throughout the sixth century efforts to raise the productivity of land were an ongoing process.

4.4.7. *līmu*-lists and related texts

A small number of texts from Uruk, and presumably the Eanna archive, list of properties which are designated as *līmu* – “thousand”.¹³²⁴ Originally the name is probably derived from the dimensions of these properties: typically their frontages measured 1,000 or 1,100 cubits.¹³²⁵ The additional 100 cubits in the latter frontage length resulted from differing metrologies used by the royal and the temple administrations. It appears that the royal cubit was slightly larger than the temple cubit, and the royal *līmu* corresponded to 1,100 cubits of the temple.¹³²⁶ A considerable number of *līmu*-plots have a frontage of 1,100 cubits. This can be taken for an indicator of their origin. Though this is nowhere explicitly stated, the *līmus* may have been allocated to the temple by the crown in land allotment schemes comparable to the *hanšû*-system (see below). In a discussion of the *hanšû* and *ešertu* systems van Driel detected a connection with the *līmus* suggesting that “on the other side of the scale in a land division came the *limû*, “thousand”, which was assigned, it would seem, to (urban) institutions” (2002: 298). For lack of evidence it cannot be decided for the time being whether the *līmus* originated from royal land grants, from the temple's internal land division schemes or from some combination of the two.

References to *līmu*-plots appear sporadically in rent contracts and texts recording *imittu* obligations.¹³²⁷ Systematic lists of *līmus* are very rare. One of these is TCL 13 230, which has been edited by Joannès 1982: 124. The text is not dated, has no caption or subscript and is tersely formulated. The entries follow the simple scheme “1,000 *ša* ____ (geographic name)”. There are 19 entries of this sort. Presumably “thousand” refers to plots of standardized size in the given localities, possibly with a frontage of a length of 1,000 cubits. The text is not very informative. For one it is not certain whether we are dealing here with the property of Eanna at all. Secondly, if this is assumed to be the case on account of archival context, we do not know whether the *līmu*-plots represented the total land that Eanna owned in these localities or just specific plots singled out from there for a reason unknown to us. Thus the value of this text for our knowledge concerning the Eanna properties is fairly limited.

Another undated list of *līmus*, BM 114571, is more instructive. The properties recorded in this text are explicitly designated as belonging to the Lady of Uruk. They are situated in various

¹³²³ For these contracts see p. 301 and 303.

¹³²⁴ For a preliminary discussion of this term see Janković 2007: 224f. See also here p. 284.

¹³²⁵ Note, however, that there are also properties designated as *līmus* which do not conform to this standardized frontage length. For instance, the *līmu* described in the third section of PTS 2076 (ll. 10'-14') has flanks of 1,425 cubits and frontages of 1,420 and 550 cubits. The *līmu* in the first section of *AnOr* 9 19 (ll. 1-6) has a flank of 26,300 cubits and a frontage of 2,700 cubits. The *līmu* described in the lines 39-44 of the same texts, however, has a frontage 1,100 cubits (and a flank of 6,800 cubits).

¹³²⁶ Cocquerillat suggested this (1968: 25⁴⁵) on the basis of a remark at the end of line 4 of *AnOr* 9 1, a *hanšû*-allotment text from the fourth year of Marduk-apla-iddina II, which reads: 1 lim 1 me é dingir 1 lim lugal (“1,100 (cubits of) the temple (corresponds to) 1,000 (cubits of) the king”).

¹³²⁷ For attestations of *līmu*-land see Peat 1983: 125 and Janković 2007 with note 11.

localities in a general area called Puqūdu (the variant Piqūdu is also attested), a tribal area in southern Babylonia (see Zadok 1985: 249ff.). A badly preserved duplicate of this text (YBC 11584) could be identified in the Yale Babylonian Collection. Here only the edition of the British Museum text will be offered:

BM 114571 not dated
 obv. 1. 1 lim^{meš} šá^d gašan šá unug^{ki} šá ina^{kur} pu-qu-du la maš-ḥa
 1 lim 1 me^{garin} ma-ag-da-a-nu 3 lim i-šad-da-ad
 1 lim^{garin} la-su-tu 2 lim i-šad-da-ad
 1 lim 1 me^{giš} šinig-šá¹ bu-ub-bu-ú-a 3 lim i-šad-da-ad
 5. 1 lim 1 me lugal-iq-bi a-di šá la me-e i-šad-da-ad
 1 lim 1 me šá anše^{meš} pa-na-at du₆ ḥi-im-ma-ru
 2 lim i-šad-da-ad
 1 lim 1 me ta-ka-du 2 lim i-šad-da-ad
 1 lim 1 me man-ki-ti 3 lim i-šad-da-ad
 (rev. blank)

“The *līmu*-plots of the Lady of Uruk, which are in Māt-Puqūdu, (and which) have not been measured:

1,100 (cubits, frontage of a plot in) Magdānu, stretches for 3,000 (cubits)
 1,000 (cubits, frontage of a plot in) Lasūtu, stretches for 2,000 (cubits)
 1,100 (cubits, frontage of a plot in) Bīnu-ša-Bubbū’a, stretches for 3,000 (cubits)
 1,100 (cubits, frontage of a plot in) Šarru-iqbi, stretches until there is no water
 1,100 (cubits, frontage of a plot in) Immērū (?) in front of Til-ḥimmari, stretches for 2,000 (cubits)
 1,100 (cubits, frontage of a plot in) Takādu, stretches for 2,000 (cubits)
 1,100 (cubits, frontage of a plot in) Mankiti, stretches for 3,000 (cubits).”

In each entry the first figure, 1,100 or in one case only 1,000 (l. 3), to all probability represents the length of the frontage measured in cubits. The second figure, ranging from two to three thousand cubits, represents the length of the flank of the plot. Only in one instance the exact length of the flank is not given, but it is stated that the plot stretches until there was no water (l. 5: *adi ša lā mē išaddad*). Presumably water for irrigation was meant by this.

The remark *lā mašḥā* (“not measured”) in the first line is surprising, considering that the figures that follow seem to be pairs of plot measurements. Perhaps the remark meant to signify that no actual survey had been conducted on the site and the round figures provided by the text are to some extent fictitious.

It is not clear whether this list included only specific plots of the temple in given localities or all the land Eanna possessed there. Be that as it may, potentially over 407.5 ha of temple land are recorded in this list.¹³²⁸ Of the places appearing in the text only Lasūtu is well attested. This was a settlement situated south of Uruk on the canal Takkīru. Here Eanna owned at least 40 *kurru* of land (= 50 ha).

TBER pl. 31, edited by Joannès 1982: 121f., is formally similar to the *līmu*-lists. However, the properties recorded in this text are not *līmus*, but apparently smaller units – “hundreds” (*meat*). This list, just like TCL 13 230, has no caption or subscript and follows the scheme: “x me ____ (geographic name)” – e.g., “1 me^{garin} bir-ḥi-ni” (l. 33). Some 32 properties appear in the text introduced by a numeral, either one hundred or a multiple thereof,¹³²⁹ which presumably designates the length of its frontage. This is the only register of “hundreds” known to us.¹³³⁰ Its value for the reconstruction of the temple’s agricultural properties and the agricultural hinterlands of Uruk is,

¹³²⁸ The entry for Šarru-iqbi (l. 5) was not taken into consideration as the length of the flank is not specified.

¹³²⁹ The numeral 100 appears most frequently, namely eleven times, followed by 200, eight times, and 400, four times. The numerals 300, 1,000, 1,200 and the exceptional 260 (l. 17) appear one time each.

¹³³⁰ A short list of “hundreds” from various localities does appear, however, in the rent contract TCL 12 73 (1 Nbn) which is edited in the Appendix 1. The contract enumerates the properties leased out for the purpose of collecting the tithe (*ešrū*) and some of them appear in the form “1 me ša ____ (geographical name)”. Already Joannès noted this parallelism (1982: 122f.).

just like that of TCL 13 230, mostly limited to providing an inventory of places in which the temple probably owned land. But does this text provide clues for another type of a land division scheme? If so, the underlying basic unit would seem to be 100 cubits, the length of the frontage. The larger frontages, the multiples of 100, were probably secondary creations formed by the merging of several basic plots. Thus a logical step between the *hanšûs* and the *limus* is provided by the “hundreds”. However, it should be kept in mind that *hanšûs* often had frontages which were multiples of 100 (being itself a multiple of 50) and so it is not certain that we are dealing here with a special system after all.

4.4.8 Measurements of fields

One more text should be cited in the context of land registers: BIN 1 158 (not dated), which records measurements of fields from at least three, probably four, localities.¹³³¹ It is not a cadastral text in a strict sense as it is not concerned with the exact localisation of the plots which would be provided by stating the plots’ neighbours, the exact measurements of the sides and their orientation. Only the surface area in seed measure is given, followed by a personal name. These people were either the cultivators or in some way responsible for the plots (e.g., tenants). Only in lines 22, 29, 30 and perhaps 32 are the listed people designated as ploughmen. Other professions may have also been attested in lines 25, 26 and 31. Here the determinative *lú* appears, but owing to the tablet’s state of preservation the following professions (or ethnic designations?) cannot be read. The sign traces, however, speak against reading *engar* in these instances. The text is organised in four sections, grouping the field measurements around different localities. Each of the sections has an introductory line naming the locality in question (e.g., line 1: *mešḫāt zēri ša šīḫi ša Ḫarru-ša-Lâbâši*, “measurements of the arable land in the district of Ḫarru-ša-Lâbâši”), followed by the measurements and a summary line stating the total surface of the measured land in the given locality.¹³³² The text is presented here in transliteration, but it will be refrained from a complete translation because of the text’s sketchy structure. Only the introductory and summary lines are translated:

| | |
|--|---|
| BIN 1 158 | not dated |
| obv. 1. <i>meš-ḫat</i> še-numun <i>šá šī-i-ḫu šá ḫar-ri šá</i> ¹ <i>la-ḫba</i> ¹ -šī | |
| 10 gur še-numun <i>šá</i> ^(text: a) šu | ¹ <i>d</i> _{innin} - <i>na</i> -numun- <i>dù</i> |
| 3 (gur) | ¹ <i>d</i> _ù - ^d <i>innin</i> |
| 3 pi | ¹ <i>du</i> - <i>muq</i> |
| 5. pab 13 gur 3 pi | še-numun <i>ḫar-ri</i> < <i>šá</i> > ¹ <i>la-a-ba-ši</i> |
| <i>meš-ḫat</i> še-numun <i>šá ina du</i> ₆ ¹ <i>šu-la-a</i> | |
| 22 gur | ¹ <i>d</i> _{ùg} - <i>ga-unug</i> ^{ki} |
| 20 gur | ¹ <i>d</i> _u - <i>gur-dù-uš</i> |
| 3;1.3 | ¹ <i>kal-ba-a</i> |
| 10. 23 | ¹ <i>d</i> _{ag} - <i>dù-šeš</i> |
| 3 (gur) 1 pi | ¹ <i>d</i> _{utu} - <i>mu-mu</i> |
| 2;1.3 é <i>da-la</i> << <i>diš</i> >> | : 2- <i>u ká</i> |
| 4 pi | ¹ <i>d</i> _{ag} - <i>kil-la-an-ni</i> |
| 0;3.2 | ¹ <i>d</i> _{ag} - <i>šu</i> ^{ll} - <i>šu-ša-bat</i> |
| 15. 2;1.3 | ¹ <i>nu-ḫa-a</i> |
| pab 76;2.3 še-numun <i>ina du</i> ₆ ¹ <i>šu-la-a</i> | |
| <i>ina lib-bi</i> 2;2 ^{sic} .3 <i>da-la</i> | |
| <i>meš-ḫat</i> še-numun <i>šá</i> ¹ <i>d</i> _{innin} - <i>na</i> | |
| 3 (gur) | ¹ <i>ir</i> - ^d <i>gu-la</i> |
| 20. 2;3.2 | ¹ <i>ar-rab-bi</i> |
| 0;3.5 [?] 1333 | ¹ <i>d</i> _{in} - <i>su</i> |
| 5 (gur) | ¹ <i>d</i> _{ag} - <i>gin-a u</i> ¹ <i>si-lim</i> - ^d <i>en</i> ¹ <i>lu</i> - <i>enga</i> [r] |

¹³³¹ A fourth locality probably appears in the partially damaged line 36.

¹³³² A summary line is missing for the last section.

¹³³³ Alternatively this sign could be read *pi*¹. This entry would record a plot of 0;3 in this case.

| | | |
|------|---|---|
| | 1 (gur) 1 pi | ¹ zálag- <i>e-a</i> |
| rev. | 3 (gur) še-numun | ¹ r ^x 1 [x x x (x)] sizkur |
| | 25. 1;1.3 še-numun | ^{lú} r ^x x x ¹ [x x x] |
| | 4;2.3 | ^{lú} r ^x x x ¹ [x x (x)]- <i>an-ni-tu</i> ₄ |
| | 2 pi | ¹ [x x x (x)] |
| | 1 gur | ¹ r ^x x x bi ¹ [x x] |
| | 3 (gur) | ^{ld} r ^{utu} 2 ¹ -[x (x) u] ¹ <i>na-din</i> ^{lú} engar |
| | 30. 3;3.4 | ¹ [x x x (x) ^{lú}]engar |
| | 1;2.3 | ^{lú} r ^x da ¹ [x x x x x (x)] r ^x 1 |
| | 1 (gur) | ^{lú} r ^{engar} 2 ¹ [x x x x x (x)] |
| | pab 3 šú r ^x x ¹ [x (x)] 4 ² me ² [x x x x (x) id- ^d]innin- <i>na</i> | |
| | pab r ² 6 ¹ š[c]-r ^{numun} x ^{lú} engar ¹ [x x x (x)] bu ² x | |
| | 35. ^r ina šà x ¹ [x x x x] | |
| | <i>meš</i> - ^r hat x x ¹ [x x] r ^x x x x ki ² 1 <i>šá ha-ar-ši-ia</i> | |
| | 5 r ^x x x x x ¹ [x x] x a | |
| | 3;1 ² .3 ² ¹ [x] r ^x x ¹ [x] | |

“(1)Measurements of the arable land from the district of Ḫarru-ša-Lâbâši:

10 *kurru* under the responsibility of Innin-zēr-ibni

... (3 plots)

(5)In sum: 13;3 – arable land (from) Ḫarru-ša-Lâbâši.

(6)Measurements of the arable land from Til-Šulāya:

... (9 plots)

(16)In sum: 76;2.3¹³³⁴ – arable land from Til-Šulāya; (17)of this 2;2.3 is land irrigated by buckets.

(18)Measurements of the arable land on Nār-Innin:

... (14 plots)

(33)In sum: ? [32;0.2 or 31;4.3¹³³⁵] [... arable land on Nār]-Innin.

(34)In sum: 26 (plots), arable land [...] ploughmen [...]

(35)Measurements [...] ¹³³⁶

... (2 plots)”

Over 130 *kurru* of land are registered in this text. Though *zēru* is a general term designating any type of agricultural land, judging by the size of the plots in this text we are dealing here with cereal fields. A couple of quite large fields are listed in the survey: a plot of 10 *kurru* in Ḫarru-ša-Lâbâši (ll. 2) and plots of 22, 20 and 23 *kurru* in Til-Šulāya (ll. 7-8, 10). These last three plot sizes come close to the models of institutional planning attested in the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ or in some of the rent contracts, which stipulated areas between 20 and 30 *kurru* as units to be tilled by one plough team. However, the majority of the plots listed in BIN 1 158 are much smaller, ranging from 5 *kurru* to 2 *pānu*. This is probably representative of the situation in the Uruk countryside in general: there were a small number of large plots with numerous smaller plots in between.

The connection of the surveyed land to the Eanna temple is not clarified by the text. It is not stated whether the land belonged to the temple, though this is quite plausible considering the archival context of the tablet and the fact that Eanna owned land in all of the localities mentioned. Furthermore it is not clear whether this land, if indeed temple property, was subject to the *imittu* procedure. Nevertheless, this document is vaguely reminiscent of a group of texts from Sippar which Jursa termed “*imittu*-Vermessungen” (1995a: 160ff.). They give the dimensions of two sides of the plot in cubits or its surface in seed measure and the name of the responsible cultivator/tenant. As a special feature these texts include the yield factors which are stated for each plot. Multiplying

¹³³⁴ The individual entries add up to 76;2.5.

¹³³⁵ The total surface area of plots in the area of Nār-Innin depends on the reading of the value in line 21: this plot had the size of either 0;3.5 or 0;3 and the sum of the plots was 32;0.2 or 31;4.3 respectively. It is not clear to me how either sum can be reconciled with the visible traces, namely: 3 šú r^x x¹ [x...].

¹³³⁶ The meaning of *ḫaršû*, a term which can be placed in an agricultural context according to AHW p. 328, which appears in line 36 is unclear.

the surface area with the yield factor would enable the temple administration to calculate the prospective yield and make prognoses on the temple's barley income. Yield factors are not featured in BIN 1 158. Aside from assigning specific plots to cultivators/tenants it is beyond speculation whether our text had an accounting purpose similar to that of the Sipparcan “*imittu-Vermessungen*”.

As with the cadastral texts, and assuming that the properties in BIN 1 158 indeed belonged to the temple, we are not in a position to say whether the listed plots represented the total amount of land held by the temple in the given localities. However, the value of this text lies mostly in the fact that it gives us a whole range of sizes of plots used to all probability for arable cultivation and thus furthers our knowledge on land use patterns in Uruk. This aspect is discussed further in the chapter on land use patterns.

4.5. Size of plots and productivity¹³³⁷

Plot measurements are unfortunately not near as frequent in the Eanna material as in the Ebabbar archive. Individual orchard measurements can be found in the cadastral texts; however, they are too few to be statistically reliable (only 18 usable data sets could be identified). In addition to these there is only one text recording plot measurements of probably arable land in three localities north of Uruk (BIN 1 158). Twenty-six plot sizes are recorded in BIN 1 158, the smallest being 2 *pānu* (5,000 m²) and the largest 23 *kurru* (28.75 ha).¹³³⁸ Approximately 77 % of the plots are smaller than 4 *kurru* (5 ha). The distribution of the plot sizes from BIN 1 158 is presented in the following table:

| Size (<i>kurru</i>) | Number of attestations | Percentage |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------|
| $s \leq 1$ | 5 | 19.23 |
| $1 < s \leq 2$ | 5 | 19.23 |
| $2 < s \leq 3$ | 3 | 11.54 |
| $3 < s \leq 4$ | 7 | 26.92 |
| $4 < s \leq 5$ | 2 | 7.7 |
| $5 < s \leq 10$ | 1 | 3.85 |
| $10 < s \leq 20$ | 1 | 3.85 |
| $20 < s \leq 30$ | 2 | 7.7 |
| total: | 26 | 100 |

Table 39: Size of plots in BIN 1 158

The mean is 4;3.4 (5.91 ha) and the median, which is probably more reliable because of the fact that more than three quarters of the sample lie below the arithmetic mean, is roughly 2;4.1.1 (3.55 ha). This is comparable to the plot sizes from Sippar which were on average somewhat smaller (2 *kurru*).¹³³⁹

For orchards an even smaller sample of 18 values is available. The data comes from the cadastral texts Montserrat 1, PTS 2076 and *AnOr* 9 19. The values for the entire plots, not just the planted portions, have been taken into consideration and the extreme value of over 21 *kurru* for an orchard donated to the temple by a prince, which appears in the cadastre PTS 2076, has been left out as it would distort the results too much. The smallest orchard in the sample has a surface of 0;0.5.1.2 (2,125 m²) while the largest measures 3;4.1.3 (4.81 ha). Almost 78 % of the plots in the sample are smaller than 2.5 *kurru* (3.13 ha) while the majority falls into the range from 0.5 to 1 *kurru* (6,250 m² to 1.25 ha):

¹³³⁷ The following section already appeared in print in Janković 2010: 429ff.

¹³³⁸ Other larger plots attested in this list: 10, 20 and 22 *kurru*. They are all attested one time each.

¹³³⁹ Jursa 2010b: 349.

| Size | Number of attestations | Percentage |
|--------------------|------------------------|------------|
| $s \leq 0;2.3$ | 1 | 5.56 |
| $0;2.3 < s \leq 1$ | 6 | 33.33 |
| $1 < s \leq 1;2.3$ | 2 | 11.11 |
| $1;2.3 < s \leq 2$ | 2 | 11.11 |
| $2 < s \leq 2;2.3$ | 3 | 16.67 |
| $2;2.3 < s \leq 3$ | - | - |
| $3 < s \leq 3;2.3$ | 1 | 5.56 |
| $3;2.3 < s \leq 4$ | 3 | 16.67 |
| total: | 18 | 100 |

Table 40: Size of orchards based on cadastral texts

The mean size is 1;3.4.3 (2.19 ha), while the median is 1;2.1.5 (1.83 ha). These values are slightly smaller than the average of 1;4.2 established for Sippar (based on 93 data sets) but still stand the comparison.¹³⁴⁰

The Eanna archive is very rich in *imittu*-related documents, especially concerning dates. Numerous values for *imittu* deliveries have come down to us from lists of deliveries and individual debt notes. Altogether, this sample encompasses just under 500 usable figures from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (II) to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV. The distribution of this data set is presented below:

| <i>imittu in kurru</i> | Number of attestations | Percentage |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------|
| $i \leq 10$ | 106 | 21.24 |
| $10 < i \leq 20$ | 95 | 19.04 |
| $20 < i \leq 30$ | 52 | 10.42 |
| $30 < i \leq 40$ | 44 | 8.82 |
| $40 < i \leq 50$ | 40 | 8.02 |
| $50 < i \leq 60$ | 35 | 7.01 |
| $60 < i \leq 70$ | 25 | 5.01 |
| $70 < i \leq 80$ | 18 | 3.61 |
| $80 < i \leq 90$ | 9 | 1.80 |
| $90 < i \leq 100$ | 8 | 1.60 |
| $100 < i \leq 110$ | 17 | 3.41 |
| $110 < i \leq 120$ | 11 | 2.20 |
| $120 < i \leq 130$ | 7 | 1.40 |
| $130 < i \leq 140$ | 4 | 0.80 |
| $140 < i \leq 150$ | 4 | 0.80 |
| $150 < i \leq 200$ | 20 | 4.00 |
| $200 < i \leq 300$ | 3 | 0.60 |
| $300 < i \leq 400$ | 1 | 0.20 |
| total: | 499 | 100 |

Table 41: Size of *imittu* deliveries

The smallest *imittu* value is 3 *sūtu*, the largest 350 *kurru*. More than a fifth of the *imittu* deliveries falls into the lowest range of up to 10 *kurru* and seems to have come from relatively modest-sized orchards. But about 15 % of the values lie above the 100 *kurru* mark, indicating the presence of

¹³⁴⁰ Jursa 2010b: 351.

orchards of impressive size. These high amounts probably came from orchard-complexes sub-leased by small-scale contractors, and not from individual gardeners. The mean *imittu* delivery is roughly 44 *kurru* and the median 28 *kurru*.

This data, numerous though it is, does not tell us much about the size of the orchards and their productivity. Unfortunately, unlike in Sippar (Jursa 2010b: 352 with note 2066), from Uruk we do not have any texts correlating the *imittu* delivered and the size of the orchard. What we occasionally do get in the *imittu* debt notes and lists for dates beside the *imittu* values are the gardeners' salaries. This salary, called *sissinnu*, was directly proportional to the surface area below the date palms worked by the gardener. According to the 'Edict of Belšazzar', for one surface *kurru* worked, the gardener would get 5 *kurru* of dates as his remuneration. In Uruk there is no such flat-rate. Here it was differentiated between the types of work conducted. For the more strenuous labour with a spade the gardener would usually get 4 *kurru* of dates and for the land cultivated with a plough only 3 *kurru* per each *kurru* of surface area. If we then take 3.5 *kurru* to be the average *sissinnu* per surface *kurru*, then this figure can be brought into relation with the actually attested 52 *sissinnu* values and the corresponding orchard sizes can be worked out:¹³⁴¹

| Size | Number of attestations | Percentage |
|--------------------|------------------------|------------|
| $s \leq 0;2.3$ | 5 | 9.62 |
| $0;2.3 < s \leq 1$ | 18 | 34.62 |
| $1 < s \leq 1;2.3$ | 17 | 32.69 |
| $1;2.3 < s \leq 2$ | 3 | 5.77 |
| $2 < s \leq 2;2.3$ | 1 | 1.92 |
| $2;2.3 < s \leq 3$ | 5 | 9.62 |
| $3 < s \leq 7;2.3$ | 3 | 5.77 |
| total: | 52 | 100 |

Table 42: Size of orchards based on *sissinnu*

The smallest *sissinnu* of 1 *kurru* would suggest an orchard of 0;1.3 and the largest *sissinnu* of 25 *kurru* an orchard(-complex) of 7;0.3.1. Over 75 % of the sample indicate orchards smaller than 1.5 *kurru*. The mean size is 1;2.1.3 (ca. 1.79 ha) and the median is 1;0.4.1 (1.43 ha). Since the *sissinnu* values are always coupled with the *imittu* amounts of the corresponding orchards, the extrapolated orchard sizes can be correlated with the *imittu* values to find out the average productivity of the orchards. The mean *imittu* per surface *kurru* thus calculated amounts to 31.97 *kurru*. The median is 26.69 *kurru*. This compares very well to the average (*imittu*) productivity established for the Ebabbar orchards, namely 26.78 *kurru* of dates per surface *kurru*.¹³⁴²

If these average productivity rates are linked to the average *imittu* deliveries attested in all the pertinent lists and debt notes (it will be remembered that the mean was 44 and the median 28 *kurru*) the average size of the orchards would be 1;1.5.1 (1.72 ha) and 1;0.1.3 (1.31 ha) respectively.

The average size of the Eanna's date orchards reconstructed on the basis of the extant cadastral material and the attested *sissinnu* and *imittu* values can be summarised as follows:

¹³⁴¹ Something similar had also been attempted by Cocquerillat 1968: 89f. She used the *sissinnu*-values known to her and the corresponding *imittu* values (15 data-sets) in order to determine the average yield per *kurru* of land and arrived at 44 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* of land (p. 90). However, she based her calculations on the false assumption that the *sissinnu* amounted to 7 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* of surface area. This figure was obtained by adding up the 3 *kurru* for plough work and 4 *kurru* for spade work which appear in the rent contracts (1968: 49), disregarding that these were in fact alternative possibilities. Cocquerillat's error had already been noted by Jursa 1995a: 149³⁰¹ who suggested that halving her result for average date yield would give a more realistic figure.

¹³⁴² Jursa 2010b: 352.

| size of orchards | based on cadastral texts | based on <i>sissinnu</i> (3.5 <i>kurru/kurru</i>) | based on <i>imittu</i> ¹³⁴³ |
|------------------|--------------------------|--|--|
| mean | 1;3.4.3 (2.19 ha) | 1;2.1.3 (1.79 ha) | 1;1.5.1 (1.72 ha) |
| median | 1;2.1.5 (1.83 ha) | 1;0.4.1 (1.43 ha) | 1;0.1.3 (1.31 ha) |
| size of data-set | 18 | 52 | 499 |

Table 43: Size of orchards

Even though it is based on two approximations, the average *sissinnu* and the average productivity rate, the last set of values (“based on *imittu*”), the median in particular, is probably the most reliable indicator of the average orchard size on the temple estates of Eanna, owing to the considerable size of the data-set. The average orchards, slightly larger than 1 *kurru*, are smaller than the average found in Ebabbar. Still they fall into the same approximate range as the institutional Sippar orchards and stand in sharp contrast to the fragmented but very productive patrimonies of the cergy from the Borsippa region.¹³⁴⁴

4.6. Excursus: *ḥanšû*-allotments¹³⁴⁵

Examples of systematic restructuring of urban hinterlands undertaken by the palace are provided by the practice of colonising large tracts of land, called *ḥanšû*. Numerous attestations of this *ḥanšû*-land can be found in the texts from several major Babylonian cities. The pertinent attestations have been collected and discussed by van Driel (2002: 297ff.).¹³⁴⁶ The word *ḥanšû*, with the basic meaning “fifty”, can be used to designate different administrative entities and its meaning in such instances depends on the administrative context as van Driel points out (2002: 297). On the one hand this term could designate a (work) gang of fifty men directed by a *rab ḥanšê*, “overseer of fifty”.¹³⁴⁷ On the other it could refer to plots of land allotted to individuals called in these instances also *rab ḥanšê*. A possible connection between the “overseer of fifty” and the allotted *ḥanšû*-land is discussed below.

It is this so-called *ḥanšû*-land which is of interest for us in the general framework of the Urukian topography. The nature of the *ḥanšû*-properties is not entirely clear and their or their owners’ connection to Eanna is not illuminated by our texts. There is no clear evidence to associate this land and the people to which it had been allotted with the temple. It should be noted that two of the *ḥanšû*-lists from Uruk (BIN 1 159 and NBC 4848) have been copied by a person who was probably a temple scribe. His name is Nergal-ina-tēšî-ēter, son of Marduk-šākin-šumi, descendant of Šin-leqe-unninnî according to BIN 1 159. In NBC 4848 he appears only as the son of Šākin-šumi. While he is not attested elsewhere the fact that Nergal-ina-tēšî-ēter stems from a prominent scribal family makes it probable that he too was a temple scribe. However, even if this is so, it is not entirely clear whether these tablets belonged to the administrative files of the Eanna archive (and if so, why?) or were just part of the scribal syllabus.¹³⁴⁸ Perhaps it is significant with respect to the temple’s special interest in these texts that BIN 1 159 records four larger plots among the

¹³⁴³ And the rate of productivity derived from the *sissinnu-imittu* correlation.

¹³⁴⁴ For the orchards of Borsippa see Jursa 2010b: 360ff. He calculated the mean size of the Borsippean orchards as 0;1.5.3 (5,170.5 square metres) and the median as 0;1.2 (3,604.5 square metres) (*ibid.*: 366). The average *imittu* per surface *kurru* was about 48 *kurru* of dates (*ibid.*: 373f.).

¹³⁴⁵ This topic has been treated in detail by Peat 1983 and more recently by van Driel 2002: 297ff. See also the brief remarks made by Brinkman 1995: 25, Jursa 2010b: 321f., and MacGinnis 2012: 33f.

¹³⁴⁶ Two new attestations from Kiš presented and discussed by Nielsen (2010: 95ff.) should be added to van Driel’s catalogue of *ḥanšû* attestations.

¹³⁴⁷ See for instance Kleber 2008: 115f. on the organisation of building projects for which Eanna had to provide the workforce and the *rab ḥanšê* as headmen of workers in this context.

¹³⁴⁸ Unless SBTU 4 223, another *ḥanšû* related division of land, should be considered a stray find (Oelsner 1995: 385), it too could have been part of a scholar’s library like the vast majority of tablets found in the *Planquadrat* U 18 in Uruk.

ḥanšû-plots allotted to individuals listed by name. These larger plots were apparently allotted to the temple.¹³⁴⁹ Three of them have a frontage of 1,100 cubits which is a size typical for the so called *līmu*-properties. Only one of the plots is apparently larger exhibiting a frontage of 1,600 cubits (l. 43). Does this mean that during this particular land division scheme plots were allotted both to individual beneficiaries and the temple? Be that as it may, the particular interest of the *ḥanšû*-texts lies in the fact that they offer good evidence for the developments in the rural hinterlands of Uruk (and other major Babylonian cities) at a time when no data is available from the Eanna archive. They show the attempts of the royal administration to strengthen the urban centres and in turn its control of the countryside.

The evidence for the shape and size of *ḥanšû*-land which comes from Eanna, the lists of *ḥanšû* allotments in particular, show that these plots were generally rectangular and of a uniform size within any given division scheme. These texts are: *AnOr* 9 1 and NBC 4848 (with the duplicate Crozer 201), both written in the fourth year of Marduk-apla-iddina II, BIN 1 159 (8 Kan) and YBC 11566 (15 Kan). They will be discussed in more detail below. The frontage of each individual *ḥanšû*-plot was usually situated next to a watercourse. Its length is stated in the texts in absolute terms, in cubits. In the *ḥanšû*-lists from Uruk the following frontage lengths are attested: 70 cubits (NBC 4848), 150 cubits (*AnOr* 9 1), 300 cubits (YBC 11566) and 400 cubits (BIN 1 159). Occasionally plots with larger frontages appear in these lists. These are almost invariably multiples of the standard frontage lengths appearing in the individual lists. This means that for some reason certain beneficiaries received multiple *ḥanšû*-plots within one allotment scheme. Thus, for instance, the first two beneficiaries in the list BIN 1 159 who are recorded with plots with an 800 cubit frontage will have received two *ḥanšû*-plots à 400 cubits each. The length of the flank is usually stated in relative terms. The plots are said to stretch until some topographical boundary such as a drainage ditch, *makallû* (*AnOr* 9 1), or a canal (BIN 1 159) at the lower end of the fields. In Uruk the length of the flank is given only once in absolute terms: NBC 4848 states that the plots stretch for 5,000 cubits. Typically the *ḥanšû*-plots were narrow, elongated, but not unsubstantial stretches of land. Those in NBC 4848, for instance, measured 70×5,000 cubits which is roughly equivalent to a surface of 8.75 hectares.¹³⁵⁰

It has been speculated that the magnitude “fifty” played a role in naming these properties *ḥanšû*, since in many cases the length of the frontage represented a multiple of 50 cubits (van Driel 2002: 297).¹³⁵¹ Van Driel also considered the possibility that the *ḥanšû* land division schemes were based on allotments of fifty uniform plots of land whose size varied from scheme to scheme (*ibid.* p. 298). While it is true that the size of the *ḥanšû*-plots varied from scheme to scheme, van Driel’s assumption as regards the quantity of the allotted plots is not entirely supported by our texts. *AnOr* 9 1 and NBC 4848 record the distribution of 91 *ḥanšû*-plots each and BIN 1 159 has 42¹³⁵² entries. YBC 11566 with its 49 entries comes closest to this conjectured model. There have also been attempts to find a connection between the *rab ḥanšê* as headman of fifty workers and the *rab ḥanšê* as holder of *ḥanšû*-land. However, van Driel discards the assumption that the alleged fifty underlings of the *rab ḥanšê* were assigned equal parts of the *ḥanšû* plots for cultivation on account of the narrow shape of the plots. The extreme example quoted by him (*ibid.* p. 298¹²), a *ḥanšû*-plot

¹³⁴⁹ BIN 1 159, line 7: 1 lim 1 me é dingir ina ^{garin}ḥi-ib-ṭu-ni; line 20: 1 lim 1 me é dingir ina ^{garin}ḥu-da-da; line 30: 1 lim 1 me id-sa-ḥi-ri; line 43: 1 lim 6 me é dingir ina é-^{lū}ḥal).

¹³⁵⁰ Another flank length of a *ḥanšû* is known from an early text from Babylon, TCL 12 11 (Šamaš-šum-ukīn 14). Here the frontage was 250 cubits, while the flank had a length of 1 *bēru*, i.e. 21,600 cubits or 10.8 km (l. 3). The plot was extremely elongated and had a surface area of 100 *kurru* or 135 ha.

¹³⁵¹ The private sale document for *ḥanšû*-land from Babylon, TCL 12 11, fits in particularly nicely with this assumption (see also Jursa’s comments on this text, 2010b: 321¹⁸⁶⁵). In it two *ḥanšû*-plots and one *ešrû*-plot are sold. The *ešrû* has a frontage of 50 cubits, while the frontages of the two *ḥanšû*s measure 250 cubits each. In other words, the *ḥanšû* could be subdivided into five *ešrû*s with a frontage of 50 cubits each. However, none of the frontages attested in the Uruk *ḥanšû*-lists are exactly 250 cubits long, although most of them are multiples of 50: 150 (*AnOr* 9 1), 300 (YBC 11566) and 400 (BIN 1 159). The frontage of 70 cubits which appears in NBC 4848 is clearly an exception.

¹³⁵² Of these 42 entries four concern larger plots of the temple (perhaps *līmus*) and another one a similarly large plot associated with the estate of a certain Aḥḥēšāya, son of Nanāya-ušalli, perhaps the *šākin ṭēmi* under Šamaš-šum-ukīn (l. 44). In other words, only 37 entries concern actual *ḥanšû*-plots.

with a frontage which measured only four furrows (this could amount to anywhere between 1.2 and 3.2 metres) in a text from Dilbat, OECT 10 395, does not in fact represent the entire *hanšû*-plot but only a part of it.¹³⁵³ This indicates that sub-divisions of *hanšû*-land were indeed possible and should not be dismissed so lightly.¹³⁵⁴ Perhaps such subdivisions of *hanšû*-land were recorded in SBTU 4 223, an undated list of shares on Ḫarru-ša-Lâbâši, a canal south(-east) of Uruk. Unfortunately, we are not informed about the size of these shares. Furthermore, the understanding of the text is hampered by several breaks and the rather laconic phrasing. The caption, consisting of two lines separated from the rest of the text by a horizontal ruling, is damaged, but mentions shares (ḫa-la^{meš}), a certain Šumāya and Aḫḫēa. It is followed by a list of seven entries in the form of: ḫa-la šá PN₁ a-šú šá PN₂.¹³⁵⁵ This is summarized in lines 10-11 as: ḫa-la^{meš} šá 50-e šá šu-ma-a šá šeš^{meš}-[e]-[a] sum[?]-na[?]¹³⁵⁶ / šá ugu^{id} ḫar-ri šá la-ba-^ršī^l, “shares of the *hanšû* of Šumāya, which was/were (?) given by Aḫḫēa, (and) which is/are situated on Ḫarru-ša-Lâbâši”. It is not clear who this Aḫḫēa was. It is also not clear what the relationship between him and Šumāya, presumably the holder of the *hanšû*-land, and the seven individuals listed was. Should we emend the text to šu-ma-a a šeš^{meš}-[e]-[a][?]¹³⁵⁷ Did he allot the *hanšû*-land to Šumāya or was he responsible for the distribution of the shares? Two more similar sections follow, each recording the shares of two individuals (in one case they were brothers). The text is summarized in lines 17-18 as follows: pap pap 11 lú^lugula^{meš} šá 50-^re šá šu-ma-^l[a Ø] / šá ugu^{id} ḫar-ri šá la-ba-^ršī^l, “in total 11 overseers of *hanšû* of Šumāya, which is situated on Ḫarru-ša-Lâbâši”.¹³⁵⁸ Was Šumāya a *rab hanšê*, i.e. the person in charge of a work-force of fifty (and the corresponding piece of land) and the listed men his underlings? If so, then it is puzzling to find them designated as *aklū* where one would expect an unqualified workforce, or should we assume that only the overseers of the workers (perhaps *eširtu* units?) were entrusted land?¹³⁵⁹ Indeed, the text is puzzling to say the least. Perhaps these *aklū* should simply be equated with *rab hanšê* – this at least is what BIN 1 159 implies.

It should be noted that *rab hanšê* could receive plots in different localities or up to two *hanšû*-plots within the same division scheme. Thus, for instance, the set of 91 *rab hanšê* that appears in *AnOr* 9 1 receive plots à 150 cubits frontage on the canal Ḫarru-ša-Marduk-apla-iddina. The same lot receives plots à 70 cubits frontage in a different locality according to NBC 4848. This adds up to 220 cubits of frontage per beneficiary. If a uniform flank of 5,000 cubits, as recorded in NBC 4848, is assumed for all of these plots, then their surface would amount to approximately 27.5 hectares for each *rab hanšê*. In the list BIN 1 159 some of the *rab hanšê* appear twice. The frontage of the plots assigned to them totals from 600 to 800 cubits. Fourteen individuals from BIN 1 159 appear also as beneficiaries in YBC 11566 and their properties total a frontage of 700 cubits (400 + 300 cubits respectively). In two instances two individuals are assigned three plots: Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Nergal-ibni, receives 400 + 400 cubits in BIN 1 159 (ll. 6 and 8) and 300 cubits in YBC 11566 (l. 40), in total 1,100 cubits; Nā'id-Marduk, the *šākin tēmi*, receives two plots à 300 cubits in YBC 11566 (ll. 30 and 52) and 400 cubits in BIN 1 159 (l. 18), i.e. in total 1,000 cubits. Hypothetically then the plots with, for instance, a cumulative frontage of 700 cubits and a presumed flank of 5,000 cubits would provide a surface area of 87.5 hectares, an area certainly not

¹³⁵³ The pertinent portion of the text is phrased as follows: pap 4 [šī]-ir-e-ti ina^{garin}GN / ina 50-e šá PN (OECT 10 395ll. 9-10). The preposition *ina* in this instance has a partitive connotation, i.e. “in total four furrows in the irrigation district GN, part of the *hanšû* of PN”.

¹³⁵⁴ See note 1351.

¹³⁵⁵ “ḫa-la šá” appears only in the first entry. The other entries consist only of personal names.

¹³⁵⁶ This restoration is suggested by Oelsner 1995: 385.

¹³⁵⁷ Then this section should be understood as: “shares of the *hanšû* which was/were (?) given by Šumāya, son of Aḫḫēa, (and) which is/are situated on Ḫarru-ša-Lâbâši”.

¹³⁵⁸ Oelsner (1995: 385) tentatively suggests reading the unclear signs in line 17 following the numeral 11 as lú^l50^l-e^l. I prefer reading here lú^lugula^l, as this reading would involve a smaller emendation of the copy and the spacing of the signs hardly allows enough room for the numeral 50 after the sign lú. Furthermore the title *aklu* is already attested in the context of *hanšû*-allotments in BIN 1 159 in lines 1 and 47. The introductory lines of this list read: “Plots of the steppe, division of the overseers (zu-²-ú-zu šá lú^lugula^{meš}), which (stretch) from the head of Bīt-Zabunu to *humelātu* (and) which were given to 32 *rab hanšê* ...” (see below for a transliteration of this part of the text).

¹³⁵⁹ These overseers, however, would presumably have been called *rab ešertis*.

manageable by one person (or family) alone.¹³⁶⁰ Division in sub-plots would be viable and necessary in these cases if the land was intended to be cultivated in its entirety. Alternatively some sort of communally organized cultivation has to be envisaged for an area of this size. 87.5 hectares, for instance, could be divided in fifty plots à 1.75 hectares.¹³⁶¹ Such a plot could not necessarily provide the sustenance of a family,¹³⁶² but perhaps this was not the purpose of *ḥanšû*-land to begin with. If it is assumed that the *ḥanšûs* were meant to provide the sustenance only for the 50 men under the supervision of a *rab ḥanšê*, perhaps even only for the duration of the military or work mission they were engaged in, then 1.75 hectares of land per person would certainly be enough.¹³⁶³ It would be enough to also cover the costs of cultivation (e.g., under sharecropping terms) and even allow for a profit of the *rab ḥanšê*. However, this is all just a conjecture based on the size of these plots. There is in fact no evidence whatsoever that the *rab ḥanšê* had any alimony obligations toward the men under his control. Furthermore, this hypothetical model must be treated with caution for other reasons as well. Firstly, the flank length of 5,000 cubits is attested only once in the caption of a text and in connection with comparably narrow plots. Even if long flanks cannot be considered as exceptional for land division scheme such as *ḥanšû*, there is no evidence to support the assumption that this figure is representative for all the *ḥanšû* plots.¹³⁶⁴ The second concern is the practicability of cultivation. Given the extremely elongated shape of the plots the question must be raised how feasible it was to cultivate and evenly irrigate the entire stretch of land if the only source of water was at the upper end of the plot.¹³⁶⁵ In other words we cannot be sure that the entire plot was indeed put under cultivation.

¹³⁶⁰ Assuming the same flank length (5,000 cubits) Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Nergal-ibni, would have had ca. 114.6 hectares and the *šākin ṭēmi* Nā'id-Marduk 104.2 hectares of land at their disposal.

¹³⁶¹ Note that a subdivision of the *ḥanšû* described in the text from Babylon, TCL 12 11, would provide 50 plots à 2.7 ha.

¹³⁶² That is assuming an average nuclear family consisted of four members. As a subsistence field 1.75 hectares could cover the costs of living of almost three persons (see also the following note). This is under the assumption that the monthly costs of living amounted to 50 litres of barley per person (cf. Janković 2008: 441), and that the productivity of the land was calculable using the 8.3 yield factor found for instance in Šum-ukīn's rent contract. This, however, is a comparably low yield factor. A higher factor, for instance, the average factor of 12 found in the Sippar documentation (Jursa 1995: 138), would ensure a yield high enough to provide for an entire family.

¹³⁶³ Using the relatively low factor of 8.3 a plot of 1.75 hectares could be expected to produce just less than 2,100 litres of barley per year. This is more than enough to cover the basic living costs of one person for a year (600 litres of barley) or to pay a monthly wage of 1 *kurru* of barley for almost an entire year (2,160 litres).

¹³⁶⁴ The narrow shape of fields with extremely elongated flanks was a typical feature of institutionally organized land colonisation efforts and *ḥanšû* allotment schemes certainly fall within this category. With this in mind a 5,000 cubits long flank for a *ḥanšû* plot does not seem exceptional at all. However, was this a typical length for a *ḥanšû* plot? It should be noted that the *ḥanšû* in TCL 12 11 had an even longer flank, namely 21,600 cubits (= 10.8 km). (Other comparable flank lengths are known from Neo-Babylonian and especially Ur III sources; see for instance Fig. 26 in Liverani 1996: 40 which lists some examples from the two periods.)

¹³⁶⁵ Liverani pointed out the benefits of the elongated field shapes with respect to ploughing and irrigation (1990: 171). On the one hand this field shape is time and energy saving as regards the ploughing. As there are fewer but longer furrows (aligned with the long flank of the field) this means that the cumbersome process of turning the plough at the end of the plot needs to be carried out less frequently. On the other hand the elongated shape of the fields, with the flank more or less perpendicular to a watercourse and the narrow frontage bordering directly on it, ensured that more fields had access to water necessary for irrigation (and subsequently for transportation of agricultural produce). According to Liverani (*ibid.*) the elongated shape of the plots is an indicator that furrow irrigation was being practiced. In other words, water was distributed onto the fields along the lines of the furrows which ran perpendicular to a canal. While furrow irrigation can indeed be practiced efficiently on long runs of gently sloping land, only furrow lengths from 50 to 300 metres are convenient for this type of irrigation (Charles 1988: 17). Other methods of irrigation must have been applied beyond this range then. In modern day Iraq (in the 50's of the last century) a combination of two irrigation methods could be observed: furrow irrigation on palm trees, vegetables and cotton, and 'controlled flood irrigation' (i.e. border or basin irrigation) on winter cereals, legumes and oil seeds (Charles 1988: 19, Buringh 1960: 249). While it is conceivable that basin irrigation was being practiced further down the levees,

Thus none of the considerations presented above are conclusive. More material is needed before we can resolve these questions. In the meantime we can concentrate on the information available in the texts. As for the initiators of these division schemes it is beyond any doubt that they originated from the state administration. According to the subscript of YBC 11566 the land allotted to the *rab hanšê* is a “present” of the king: *an-na-a-ta qa-q-a-ra-a-ta šá 45^{lú} gal 50^{meš} re-mut lugal*, “This is the land of 45 *rab hanšê*, present of the king” (YBC 11566 l. 57). The caption of *AnOr* 9 1 states that the *rab hanšê* seized the land in the presence of the king Marduk-apla-iddina II.¹³⁶⁶ In the subscript of this same text it is said that the 91 *rab hanšê* were allotted their plots by a certain Ina-qībi-Bēl-abluṭ, the *kerdippu*: *¹ina-qī-bi-^den-ab-luṭ ^{lú}kir₄-dib ú-šá-aṣ-bi-tu*, “Ina-qībi-Bēl-abluṭ, the *kerdippu*, let (them) take (the land) (i.e. installed them on the land)” (*AnOr* 9 1 l. 100). The related text NBC 4848 also mentions Ina-qībi-Bēl-abluṭ in the subscript in a short remark following the date formula; however, he is not given an official title here. He is simply the person under whose authority the division scheme took place: *it-ti ¹i-na-qī-bi-^den-ab-luṭ*, “with (the authorisation of) Ina-qībi-Bēl-abluṭ” (NBC 4848 l. 40). The *kerdippu* (*kartappu*) was a professional title which goes back to the Ur III *ú-íl kir₄-dab₅*, designating personnel that works with mules. The term itself is related to the practice of leading these animals by the nose, a nose-ring or a rope pulled through it, more precisely.¹³⁶⁷ While originally the term designated a simple “groom (for leading donkeys and horses...)” it evolved into a profession of the military sphere¹³⁶⁸ and later into a high official of the state administration¹³⁶⁹ (cf. CAD K: 225). This Ina-qībi-Bēl-abluṭ, who was responsible for at least two land division schemes in the fourth year of Marduk-apla-iddina II, certainly was a high state official. If the identification proposed by Cocquerillat (1984a: 51⁺⁵) is correct, then he was also the *ḫazannu* of Babylon at some point in his career.¹³⁷⁰ Other *ḫanšû*-lists available to us do not mention the officials responsible for these division schemes, but it is beyond doubt that these too would have stemmed from the realm of the state administration.

The beneficiaries of these division schemes were, where identifiable, members of the local urban elites. This is especially evident from the Borsippa material. Here the *ḫanšû* properties were associated with the prominent city families, many of which provided prebendary services to the local temples.¹³⁷¹ In land sale or lease documents as well as in *imittu*-related texts, the land in question is frequently located in *ḫanšûs* of prominent families or of particular members of these families. This is usually expressed as “*ḫanšû ša (bīt) PN*” where PN can either designate a family or an individual from a certain family. As texts from Borsippa demonstrate, sales and leases of land located in the *ḫanšûs* were conducted under the same conditions as those of regular privately owned land without mention of any particular obligations connected to the *ḫanšû*-properties (but see below).

The *ḫanšû*-texts from Uruk, which provide long lists of personal names, do not allow an identification of the recipients of the *ḫanšû*-land. However, there is some evidence from the private

certain factors such as soil type and permeability, land slope and irrigation stream size, all unknown to us, could still pose limitations in terms of maximum surface area irrigable using this method.

¹³⁶⁶ In BM 46799+, a sale of two *ḫanšû*-plots from Kiš published by Nielsen (2010: 98ff.), it is stated that the *ḫanšûs* were situated in a *zu’uztu* of Marduk-apla-iddina II, i.e. land apportioned by this king.

¹³⁶⁷ See for instance Heimpel 1994: 10f. See also the translation of the Akkadian loanword *kartappu* in the AHW (p. 451) as “Pferde-, Zugtierführer”.

¹³⁶⁸ According to Sassmannshausen (2001: 54f.) the *kartappu* (and its Kassite equivalent *sakrumaš*) in the middle Babylonian period designated a chariot soldier (“Streitwagenkämpfer”).

¹³⁶⁹ According to Brinkman (1968: 305) in post-Kassite Babylonia the *kerdippu* is attested from the early twelfth century through to the late ninth, most of the time as a witness in *kudurru* and once in a clause against future claims on a *kudurru*. His official function is not known, but he must have been an important official as he invariably appears toward the top of the witness list, even preceding the governors of Isin and Babylon. The sequence of officials in the clause against future claims in the *kudurru* inscription of Marduk-zākir-šumi (published by Thureau-Dangin 1919), for instance, names the king in the first place, followed by the prince (*mar šarri*), the royal official (*ša rēš šarri*), *kerdippu*, the provincial governor (*pīḫātu*), etc. (col. ii ll. 20ff.). While his high position within the hierarchy of the state administration is beyond doubt, the nature of his function remains speculative. His frequent appearance in *kudurru* and in our *ḫanšû*-text as the land-allotting instance, indicates that he was in some way involved in the administration of the state land.

¹³⁷⁰ As Cocquerillat (1984a: 51⁺⁵) notes, a certain Ina-qībi-Bēl-ab-<luṭ> appears in a *kudurru* of Marduk-apla-iddina II with this title (VAS I, 37 col. v l. 5).

¹³⁷¹ For attestations see van Driel 2002: 301ff.

archive of the Rīm-An family indicating that this family was in possession of *ḥanšû*-land.¹³⁷² In general the people in the *ḥanšû*-lists are named with only a patronymic, omitting the family name, in case there was one at all.¹³⁷³ Furthermore, this prosopographical information is of limited use because these texts are generally outside the chronological scope of the Eanna archive and contemporary private documents are scarce. No further characterisation of these people is given, in form of professional titles or the like, with one important exception. In the hitherto unpublished text YBC 11566 (15 Kan) in line 30 a certain Nā'id-Marduk, the *šākin tēmi*, appears. He probably reappears again in line 52 of the same text, here without a title but with the patronymic Ūm-19-ušur (or -nāšir; the exact reading of the name ¹u₄-20-1-lá-kam-pab is uncertain). Nā'id-Marduk, son of ¹u₄-20-1-lá-kam-pab, also appears in line 18 of BIN 1 159 (8 Kan) and already Kümmel (1979: 139) suggested identifying him with the *šākin tēmi* of Uruk of the same name.¹³⁷⁴ Considering the unusual patronymic this seems quite likely. According to Beaulieu (1997: 380) Nā'id-Marduk was one of the "leaders of the pro-Assyrian faction in Uruk".¹³⁷⁵ The land allotments recorded in BIN 1 159 and YBC 11566 may be seen as rewards for Nā'id-Marduk's loyalty to the Assyrian regime and/or as an attempt of the Assyrian king to consolidate his control in the Uruk region. As for Nā'id-Marduk, he promptly disappears from the documentation and probably also the political scene after Nabopolassar took over the Babylonian throne. In the function of the governor of Uruk he was replaced in Nabopolassar's accession year by a supporter of this ruler, An-aḥ-iddin.¹³⁷⁶ Van Driel suggested that the purpose of the royal restructuring of the urban land-holding, of which the *ḥanšû*-land was an important part, was to counter the effects of the "tribalisation of the country caused by the entry of new population elements and the decline of the towns with their autochthonous population" (2002: 297). This was done by strengthening the urban population's agricultural basis. At the same time this allowed the royal authorities to create a support base for their own political interests in and around the cities rendering them more controllable. Perhaps this was the primary objective of the royal land division schemes.

Another aspect of the royal land allotment schemes in general were special obligations toward the king as attested for the land-for-service systems represented by the *qaštu* and the later *ḥadru*-holdings. Service obligations may also have been tied to the *ḥanšû*-land. However, neither in the numerous *ḥanšû*-land sales and leases from Borsippa nor in the allotment documents from Uruk is there any mention of service obligations. An exception may be an early text from Nippur: As observed by van Driel (2002: 297), TuM 2/3 132 (36 Assurbanipal) associates the *ilku*-service with the *ḥanšû*-land. Here one party says to the other: "Give me half of your share in the royal division scheme in the *ḥanšû* of Nabû-zēr-ibni and I will do the service (attached to the land) together with you".¹³⁷⁷ There is no later evidence for service obligations in connection to *ḥanšû*-land. But there are numerous indications that the *rab ḥanšê* were indeed involved in the collection of *ilku*-payments.¹³⁷⁸ The question remains how these men were connected to the *ḥanšû*-land.

In sum, it is conceivable that at least originally *ḥanšû*-land entailed service for the crown. Perhaps these obligations became void once the Assyrian rulers were ousted from Babylonia. The

¹³⁷² This is evident from the land sale documents YBC 4031//BM 114527 (13 Nbk) and YBC 3947 (18 Nbk). The main protagonists of this archive were not prebendaries of the temple. They were, however, involved with the temple in the animal husbandry sector.

¹³⁷³ The systematic use of three-tier genealogies in texts from Uruk started relatively late according to Nielsen (2011: 187f.). The first such attestation is for the scribe of a land sale document (YBC 7407), Zēr-Bābili from the Itinnu-family, and is dated to the reign of Kandalānu.

¹³⁷⁴ He is attested as *šākin tēmi* of Uruk in the role of a witness in two sale documents from the archive of Nabû-ušallim (Hunger 1970) both from the 17th year of Kandalānu (NU 2 l. 29, sale of an unbuilt plot; NU 6 l. 31, sale of a part of a baker's prebend). He also appears in the letters ABL 815 and 1387.

¹³⁷⁵ This is the impression one gains especially from the letters ABL 815 and 1387 addressed to Assurbanipal (for a discussion see Dietrich 1970: 90f.).

¹³⁷⁶ See Beaulieu (1997: 381) for further changes in the office of the governor of Uruk during the first few unstable years of Nabopolassar's reign.

¹³⁷⁷ TuM 2/3 132 ll. 2-5: ... ḥa-la-ka ina zu²-uz-ti lugal / ina 50²-še-e šá^{1d} ag-numun-dù a-ḥu ina lib-bi / bi-nam-ma il-ku-šú it-ti-ka / lul-lik.

¹³⁷⁸ A private text from Sippar (BM 79128 (19 Dar), published by Jursa 1999: 251ff.) identifies a *bēl ḥanšê* as the official responsible for the bow-service. Further evidence is collected by Jursa and Waerzeggers 2009: 249f.

evidence from Sippar, however, is problematic.¹³⁷⁹ While some *hanšû*-properties are attested in connection with certain individuals (*hanšû ša PN*¹³⁸⁰), they are never associated with the local families as is the case in Borsippa. What is more, it appears that all the attested *hanšû*-properties in the Sippar region were administrated by the Ebabbar temple. This stands in contrast to what is known about this type of property from other cities. While it is possible that some of these properties came into the possession of the temple through purchases or confiscations, the fact that all the known *hanšûs* from Sippar were associated with the temple cannot be accounted for. Van Driel suggests that the *hanšû*-scheme in Sippar was set up at a time when this type of land division was a thing of the past (2002: 300). This may serve as an explanation for the atypical situation in Sippar. It would at any rate be consistent with the generally late development of the Sippar countryside relative to the other Babylonian cities.¹³⁸¹

4.6.1. Overview of the *hanšû*-texts from Uruk

- *AnOr* 9 1¹³⁸² (4 Mai)

The text lists 91 *rab hanšê*. (91 entries)

ll. 1-4: ^{lú}gal 50^{meš} *šá ina pa-ni* ^{Id}amar-utu-ibila-mu / lugal tin-tir^{ki} ^{gú}^{Id}har-ri-šá-^{Id}amar-utu-ibila-mu / *ul-tu ugu mi-šir šá é-zu-gu-na-bu* / 1 me 50-*a*₄ *qaq-qa-ru šab-tu* 1 lim 1 me é dingir 1 lim lugal

“*rab hanšê*, who in the presence of Marduk-apla-iddina (II), king of Babylon, seized (each) 150 (cubits) of land on the bank of Ḫarru-ša-Marduk-apla-iddina, from the boundary of Bit-Zugunabu. 1,100 (cubits) of the temple (equals) 1,000 (cubits) of the king.”

ll. 96-100: pab 91 ^{lú}gal 50^{meš} *šá ul-tu* ^{Id}har-ri / *šá* ^{Id}amar-utu-ibila-mu 1 me 50-*a*₄ *qaq-qa-ru šab-tu-ú-ma* / *a-di ugu ma-kal-le-e šá* 50^{meš} *šá* ^{Id}har-ri-šá-^{Id}ag-mu-si-sá / *i-šad-da-du* mu 4-kam ^{Id}amar-utu-a-mu lugal tin-tir^{ki} / ^{lú}ina-qí-bi-^den-ab-luṭ ^{lú}kir₄-dib *ú-šá-aš-bi-tu*

“In total 91 *rab hanšê* who each seized 150 (cubits of) land from Ḫarru-ša-Marduk-apla-iddina; (the plots) stretch until the drainage ditch of the *hanšû* of Ḫarru-ša-Nabû-šum-lišir. 4th year of Marduk-apla-iddina (II), king of Babylon. Ina-qíbi-Bēl-abluṭ, the *kerdippu*, installed (them on the land).”

- NBC 4848 (4 Mai)
(+ duplicate Crozer 201¹³⁸³)

The text lists 91 *rab hanšê*. This text was closely related to *AnOr* 9 1 but not a duplicate according to Goetze (1947), who only published its opening and closing lines.¹³⁸⁴ The remarks *hepi eššu* which appear in the text indicate that it was a copy.

¹³⁷⁹ For a discussion of this evidence see van Driel 2002: 300.

¹³⁸⁰ For attestations see van Driel 2002: 304.

¹³⁸¹ Jursa 2010b: 358f.

¹³⁸² Cocquerillat partially edited (1968: 25⁴⁵. 107) and discussed (1984a: 50ff.) this text.

¹³⁸³ I have not had a chance to see this text. According to Goetze (1947), Crozer 201 is a duplicate of NBC 4848. Its beginning and end are lost, and only a fragment of one of the closing lines was published by Goetze (*ibid.*).

¹³⁸⁴ Cocquerillat (1984a: 50³) transliterated and translated the lines published by Goetze. Some of her readings should be corrected, though. In l. 35 read: *šá* 1*+en ^{lú}gal 50-e. The signs *lib-bi* which she reads at the end of this line do not correspond to the traces copied by Goetze, nor do they make much sense in this context. Perhaps they were the remnants of an erasure. In l. 37 read *mi-šir an*-ta*-rⁱ*1*. Line 38 is difficult. Cocquerillat's proposed *i(?)mad(?)da(?)dù(?)* at the beginning of the line is improbable for several reasons. The visible traces do not come near these signs, there is hardly enough space for all these signs in the broken part of the line and the writing with the sign *dù* for a syllabic *du* would be highly anomalous.

ll. 1-2: ^{lú}gal 50^{meš} *šá ul-tu har-ri šá é dingir i-na he-pi eš-šú* / 70-a₄ sag-ki 5 lim *he-pi eš-šú*

“*rab hanšê* who from Harru-ša-Bīt-ili in ... (new break) 70 (cubits) frontage, 5,000 cubits ...¹³⁸⁵ (new break).”

ll. 35-41: 91 ^{lú}gal 50^{meš} *šá 1+en* ^{lú}gal 50-e 5;4.1 *še-<numun>* (erasure) / *he-pi eš-šú ina* ^{garin}*hu¹-da-du ul-tu du₆-^{garin}da-qa-lu₄ / a-di mi-šir an-ta-i šá ina* ^{garin}*ta²-ú-ti* / ^{ʿx x (x)}*mī¹-šī-ih¹ ʿšá zu¹-uz-e-ti* [luga]l / unug^{ki} *iti apin ud 4-kam mu 4-kam* ^{id}*amar-utu-a-mu lugal tin-tir^{ki} / it-ti* ¹*na-qi-bi^d en-ab-lu^t / im* ^{id}*u-gur-ina-sūh-sur a-šú šá* ¹*gar-mu pa-lih^d ag nu-tūm-šú*

“91 *rab hanšê*, of which each *rab hanšê* (received/seized) 5;4.1¹³⁸⁶ of land (new break) in Hūdadu, from Til-daqalu until the upper border, which is in Ta²ūta; ... the measurement of the divisions of the king.

Uruk, 4-VIII-4 Marduk-apla-iddina (II), king of Babylon.

With (the authorisation of) Ina-qībi-Bēl-ablu^t.

Tablet of Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, son of Šākin-šumi. He who reveres Nabû must not remove it.”

- SBTU 4 223 (not dated; perhaps Kan¹³⁸⁷)

The text lists 11 overseers (^{lú}ugula) entitled to shares within the *hanšû* of Šumāya.¹³⁸⁸

ll. 1-2: ^{ha-la}*meš šá [...]* / *šá* ¹*šu-ma-a* [x x x *šá*] ¹*šeš^{meš}-e-a* ^ʿ*sum²-na²*^{ʿ1}

“Shares of [...] of Šumāya [... which] was given by Ahḫēa.”

ll. 10-11: ^{ha-la}*meš šá 50-e šá* ¹*šu-ma-a šá* ¹*šeš^{meš}-e-a* ^ʿ*sum²-na²*^{ʿ1} / *šá ugu* ^{id}*har-ri-šá¹-la-ba-^ʿšī¹*

“Shares of the *hanšû* of Šumāya, which was given by Ahḫēa, (and) which is situated on Harru-ša-Lābāši.”

ll. 17-18: *pap pap 11* ^{lú}*ugula^{meš} šá 50-^ʿe šá* ¹*šu-ma¹-[a (x)] / šá ugu* ^{id}*har-ri-šá¹-la-ba-^ʿšī¹*

“In total 11 overseers of *hanšû* of Šumāya, which is situated on Harru-ša-Lābāši”

What follows in Cocquerillat’s view are the signs *šī-ih na-šir* 2;2 <ki>^{im} which she translates as “en exploitation et surveillance: 2 1/5 kur de terre”. After a collation the reading of this line can be improved to: ^ʿ*x x (x) mī¹-šī-ih¹ ʿšá* zu¹-uz*-e*-ū* [luga]l*.

¹³⁸⁵ This must have been the length of the flank.

¹³⁸⁶ The surface area of 5;4.1 corresponds to 70×5,000 cubits (or 8.75 ha) in the seed-measure system used in the seventh century according to which 1 *kurru* = 60,000 square cubits.

¹³⁸⁷ As the other tablets found in the *Planquadrat* U18 are generally dated to the Hellenistic period, Beaulieu wondered whether the *hanšû*-allotments still played a role at this time (and SBTU 4 223 should be dated to the Hellenistic period), or whether the tablet at hand was “kept as a curiosity” (1998b: 315). Whatever the reason for the presence of this text among tablets of such a late date may be, it certainly deserves an earlier dating: as Oelsner notes (1995: 385), *hanšû*-properties are attested only up until the early fifth century. The prosopographic enquiry was not particularly fruitful. Only one of the individuals could potentially be identified in another text: Ša-Nabû-šū, son of Nabû-ušēzib, also appears in AUWE 5 40 from 16 Kan. Here he is responsible for a cattle herd counting 203 heads. It is questionable whether these two attestations concern one and the same person, as the names in question are not uncommon. Some of the patronymics from SBTU 4 223 could be identified in the other *hanšû*-allotment texts (e.g. Nanāya-īpuš (*AnOr* 9 1: 71), Balāssu (*AnOr* 9 1: 25, 62; *BIN* 1 159: 32), Ina-tēšī-ēter (*BIN* 1 159: 10; *YBC* 11566: 10), Kudurru (*AnOr* 9 1: 23, 43, 56; *BIN* 1 159: 40; *YBC* 11566: 46, 55). Again, these names are not uncommon and so no meaningful identification could be made. (It should also be noted that, for instance, there are at least five different Kudurrus in these three *hanšû*-texts and even if Kudurru, father of Ardāya, from SBTU 4 223: 14 were to appear in one of these texts, we could not say which one exactly he was.) Thus, for dating purposes the only clue, even if not a very solid one, is provided by the identification of Ša-Nabû-šū in AUWE 5 40.

¹³⁸⁸ Note that in line 14 the *hanšû* of a certain Ardāya, son of Kudurru, is mentioned in connection with the shares of a certain Iqīša and Aplāya. However, in the final summary these two men are counted with the 11 *aklū* of the *hanšû* of Šumāya.

- BIN 1 159¹³⁸⁹ (8 Kan)

As Cocquerillat noticed this text and NBC 4848 were copied by the same scribe (1984a: 50f.). The caption of the text speaks of 32 *rab hanšê*, but in the text there are in fact the names of 34 different individuals with three names repeated once. There are four more entries recording larger estates of the temple (e.g., l. 7: 1,100 é dingir^{garin} *hi-ib-tu-ni*; the other three similar entries are recorded in ll. 20, 30 and 43). Another entry records a similarly large plot, a present of the king, associated with the estate of a certain Aḥḥēšāya, son of Nanāya-ušalli, who can perhaps be identified with Aḥḥēšāya, who was the *šākin tēmi* of Uruk from the sixth year of Esarhaddon to the second year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn¹³⁹⁰ (l. 44: 1,000 *ḥu-me-la-ti šá é šeš^{meš}-šá-a a-šú šá^{ld} na-na-a-sizkur-sizkur re-mut* lugal). In total there are 42 entries. It should be further noted that 17 individuals from this text reappear in YBC 11566 (see below).

ll. 1-3: a-šà edin zu²-ú-zu šá^{lu} ugula^{meš} šá ul-tu qaq-qa-du é za-bu-nu / a-di ḥu-me-la-ti šá a-na 32^{lu} gal^{meš} 50^{meš} a-na 1-en 50¹-ú / 4 me ina 1 kuš sum-nu mu 8-kam¹ kan-da-la-nu lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Plots of the steppe,¹³⁹¹ division of the overseers, which (stretch) from the top of Bīt-Zabunu to *ḥumelātu*¹³⁹² (and) which were given to 32 *rab hanšê* (at a rate of) 400 (cubits of frontage) per *hanšú*. Year 8 of Kandalānu, king of Babylon.”

ll. 46-49: an-nu-tu^{lu} gal^{meš} 50^{meš} šá ul-tu ugu se-kir / šá^{lu} ugula^{meš} šab-tu-ma a-di muḥ-ḥi id-eš-še-ti i-šad-da-du / ṭup-pi^{ld} u-gur-ina-sùḥ-sur a-šú šá^{ld} amar-utu-gar-mu / a^{ld} 30-ti-a-ši pa-liḥ^d ag la i-tab-bal-šú

“These are the *rab hanšê*, who seized (the land) from the dam of the overseers stretching until Nāru-eššetu.

Tablet of Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēter, son of Marduk-šākin-šumi, descendant of Sîn-leqe-unninnī. He who reveres Nabû must not remove it.”

- YBC 11566 (15[?] Kan)

The text has 49 entries in which 48 different individuals are listed (one person appears twice). The summary of the text, however, speaks of 45 *rab hanšê*. Of these 17 individuals already appear in BIN 1 159.

¹³⁸⁹ The text is partially edited (1968: 25⁴⁶. 107) and discussed (1984a: 50ff.) by Cocquerillat.

¹³⁹⁰ See Kümmel 1979: 139²²² and Frame 1992: 279. If the identification of this Aḥḥēšāya with the *šākin tēmi* is correct, the entry in l. 44 would indicate a land donation either by Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal or Šamaš-šum-ukīn to this official. This of course would have happened a long time before the land allotment scheme described in BIN 1 159 which is dated to 8 Kan. So why was this property listed in a division scheme which was apparently initiated at a much later date, namely in 8 Kan? Or does the date of the text not indicate the date of the allotment scheme? Were in fact all the allotments distributed at a date prior to the composition of the text, say sometime during Assurbanipal’s reign? If this were so, was the present list composed subsequently as a type of land survey? This could probably also explain the presence of temple properties within the list. On the other hand, the caption and the subscript of the text do not speak in favour of interpreting the text as a land survey. While no satisfactory answer can be found to these questions they can simply be evaded if we assume that Aḥḥēšāya, who was granted land, is not to be identified with the *šākin tēmi*. However, then the question of the temple properties within this *hanšú*-scheme still remains open.

¹³⁹¹ According to Brinkman (1995: 24) the term *eqel šēri*, “steppeland”, which appears in purchases of land intended for cultivation, probably referred to land which was situated “outside the previous village-town-city agricultural network”. The implication in our case is that this land had not been put to any (officially acknowledged) use prior to the division scheme.

¹³⁹² This word appears only in this text in ll. 2 and 44. While it seems that the word was used as a designation for some type of land or estate its exact meaning and origin are unclear.

ll. 1-5: [...] / [a-ša] edin ʿzu-uz-tu x x x (x)¹ šá ʿx x x¹ ina 1 kùš 50-ú šá 1-en lú / ša [x] ú ʿḥa-la-šú x x¹ a ʿx¹ ti šá^{lú} gal 50-e ul-tu ugu mi-šir / šá 1 lim šá é dingir ʿx x x¹ a x x 3 me x ʿdiri¹ šá é ʿšes^{meš}-šá-a / a^{ld} na-na-a-ʿsizkur-sizkur šá é^{lú} gal ú-re¹-e mu 15²-kam ʿkan-da-la-nu¹ lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“... [plots] of the steppe, division ... cubits (per) ḥanšû per person ... his share ... of *rab ḥanšê* from the border of the *limu* of the temple ... 300 ... excess of the estate of Aḥḥēšāya, son of Nanāya-ušalli, of the estate of the *rab-urê*. 15² Kan, king of Babylon.”

ll. 57-59: an-na-a-ta qa-q-a-ra-a-ta šá 45^{lú} gal 50^{meš} re-mut lugal / ul-tu ká id-lugal ul-tu mi-šir šá 1 lim šá é dingir / a-di é^{lú} gal ú-re-e šab-tu

“These are the lands of 45 *rab ḥanšê*, the present of the king. They seized (lands) from the intake on (?) the Nār-šarri, from the border of the *limu* of the temple, until the estate of the *rab-urê*.”

End of excursus

4.7. Summary¹³⁹³

The topographical files from Ebabbar show that the hinterlands of Sippar experienced a comparatively late development (Jursa 2010b: 358f.). This had mainly political reasons, namely the wars between the Assyrians and Babylonians in the seventh century which afflicted this area greatly. Only after Nabopolassar was firmly in power, could the royally funded canal-digging and re-structuring of land commence. Despite the relatively late start the agricultural sector of Ebabbar benefited immensely from royal investment and experienced a dynamic growth through a shift toward horticulture. No such dynamic development is discernible from the comparable sixth century files from the Eanna temple of Uruk. While it can be demonstrated that the main sanctuary of the southern Babylonian city expanded its estates continuously, from the late seventh century at least until the start of the Persian rule, be it through purchases, confiscations or royal grants of land, a trend toward an intensification of production by focusing on horticulture as in the Ebabbar of Sippar could not be detected. If Eanna ever experienced a similar period of growth due to royal involvement, this must have predated the archive and could be reflected in the land reorganization schemes undertaken by the kings in the eighth and the seventh century.

Despite some structural similarities – the average field and orchard sizes as well as the average orchard productivity were similar in both temples, for instance – there were some major differences between the agricultural regimes of Eanna and Ebabbar and in consequence of the land-use patterns in the hinterlands of their respective cities. While Eanna owned over six times more land than the Ebabbar (roughly 8,700 *kurru* vs. 1,400 *kurru*), the two temples had a similar income in dates (over 12,000 *kurru*). This means that relatively speaking Eanna invested much less in horticulture than its northern counterpart. The date to barley ratio from Eanna (according to the arrangement of the general contractor) was 1:2.5. In Ebabbar the situation was opposite: the date income was more than twice the barley income. In terms of land the date orchards (more than 286 - 343 *kurru*) occupied from 3.3 % to 3.9 % of Eanna’s estates. The mainstay of Eanna’s agriculture was clearly the cereal production, even though there were serious problems in this sector, mainly due to the lack of adequate work force. In consequence, it can be concluded that the estates of Eanna, though more extensive than those of Ebabbar, were much less intensively farmed.¹³⁹⁴ Still there are signs of growth for Eanna, too. Unless we are dealing with wishful prognostications of the temple administration, there seems to have been a 20 % increase in the date production from the beginning of Nabonidus’s reign until the end of Cyrus’s rule, to judge by the rents payable by the general contractors. Furthermore, occasional contracts for (small-scale) reclamation of land, both for the purpose of cereal and date cultivation, are attested from Nebuchadnezzar’s reign on, indicating a continuous, even if not very intensive, process of land amelioration.

¹³⁹³ Parts of the following section already appeared in print in Janković 2010: 435f.

¹³⁹⁴ This is also betrayed by the cadastral texts which record considerable stretches of unused land in the direct hinterland of Uruk.

In general, Eanna concentrated on a more traditional form of agriculture, perhaps because of its somewhat isolated position in the south, away from the core of the empire. The impetus of the extensive royal investments such as the building of the royal palace in Babylon or the construction of the royal canal north of Sippar under Nebuchadnezzar certainly was not as keenly felt as in the northern Babylonian cities.

5. Summary and Conclusion

5.1. The Organisation of labour

The organisation of the temple agriculture entailed several levels of responsibilities. The cultivators, the people who tilled the land and planted and tended the orchards can be found at the lowest tier of the hierarchy. Their main responsibility was tied to the plot of land assigned to them: to produce agricultural commodities on it for the supply of the temple. At the next organisational level one finds an array of agricultural managers and overseers who were responsible for groups of cultivators, usually tied to specific localities. These overseers were not only responsible for the collective deliveries of agricultural produce of the cultivators under their authority but were also obliged to organise work gangs consisting of these men and head them in non-agricultural projects (e.g. building projects, canal digging, etc.). On the highest level of the hierarchy were the top officials of the temple, the *šatammu*, the *qīpu*, and the royal commissioner (*bēl piqitti*), who occasionally got personally involved in the practical issues of the agricultural management.¹³⁹⁵ A group of ‘accountants’ recruited from among the temple scribes was also involved in the organisation of the temple agriculture. Some of them, for instance, were in charge of making prognoses of the yields, which determined the obligations of the cultivators.¹³⁹⁶ They can be seen as an auxiliary branch of the management, as they were not subordinated to the managers and the overseers, but also held no authority over them.

The hierarchy of the organisation of the temple agriculture from top down looked as follows:

- top temple officials
(*šatammu*, *qīpu*, *bēl piqitti*, *tušsar* Eanna)
- managers and overseers
(*ša muḥḥi sūti*, *rab ikkarāti*, *gugallus*, *rab epinnis*, *rab ešertis*)
- cultivators
(*ikkarus*, *errēšus*, *nukuribbus*)
- yield estimators
(*ēmidus*)

We can distinguish between the internal and the external personnel. The internal personnel were members of the temple staff and could be officials, prebendaries or temple dependants, *širkus*. The external personnel were outsiders who were not socially or legally connected to the temple. The top tier of the agricultural hierarchy and the ‘accountants’ were staffed exclusively by the temple personnel – the high temple officials and the scribes.¹³⁹⁷ However, at the lower two levels we find both internal and external personnel, i.e. both members of the temple household and outsiders. As a consequence, especially at the level of the cultivators, the agricultural exploitation could take on a direct or an indirect form.

¹³⁹⁵ These officials were responsible for numerous leases of temple land, for instance. Their involvement in organisational matters is also exemplified in the letter YOS 3 84: here the *qīpu* of Eanna gives instructions to the overseer of the ploughmen concerning the organisation of the labour in the various irrigation districts (see Cocquerillat 1968: 92, 136 for an edition).

¹³⁹⁶ On a more general note, the ‘accountants’ were responsible for documenting various aspects of the agricultural production and it is this documentation which represents the primary sources for the present study.

¹³⁹⁷ The special status of the officials introduced by the royal administration to the temple, the *qīpu* and the *bēl piqitti*, is disregarded here as it was of little consequence for the organisation of the temple agriculture. In this context these officials acted on behalf of the temple and in its best interest.

The sharecroppers (*errēšus*) were the agents of the indirect agriculture. They worked on arable land like the *ikkarus*, but frequently they focused their efforts on the sesame and *kasia* cultivation, i.e. on the more intensive forms of agriculture. The sharecroppers were no more than simple peasants who worked the land themselves, or with their families. Unlike their institutional counterparts, the *ikkarus*, the *errēšus* were free individuals and were never deployed by the temple administration for non-agricultural work. The *errēšus* were allotted temple land, but could not depend on the temple for the organisation of the workforce and the means of production – this was their duty. In return they were to pay only a share of the harvest to the temple. By contrast, the temple provided the *ikkarus* with the means of production (tools and draught animals), but they had to deliver almost the entire yield of the land assigned to them. Jursa demonstrated that the Ebabbar of Sippar relied heavily on the work of the sharecroppers. About two thirds of the temple land were cultivated by the *errēšus* (Jursa 1995a: 84). Unfortunately, there is no comparable quantitative data for Uruk. While it is clear that the Eanna temple also employed *errēšus*, it appears that their contribution was far less significant than in the agriculture of Ebabbar.

In the sphere of horticulture there is no terminological opposition between the internal and the external gardeners: both are referred to with the term *nukuribbu*. There was no dichotomy here like the one reflected by the pair *ikkaru* – *errēšu* in the area of arable cultivation. This is probably owed to the circumstance that the temple's own gardeners worked under the same conditions as the external gardeners.¹³⁹⁸

The internal personnel at the level of the overseers and the cultivators usually implied a *širkūtu*-status. In other words, these men were un-free individuals who economically and legally depended on the temple. This also means that the temple administration could dispose of their internal labour as it wished and that they could additionally be deployed for various non-agricultural projects. Among the cultivators we find the ploughmen and the gardeners (*ikkarus* and *nukuribbus*). The overseers were usually recruited from the ranks of these cultivators and could fill the posts of the overseers of the plough teams (*rab ešertis* and *rab epinnis*), the “estate managers” (*gugallus*), and the overseer of the ploughmen (*rab ikkarāti*). The *rab ešertis* (“overseers of ten (plough teams)”) are attested during Nebuchadnezzar's reign, while the *rab epinnis* (“overseers of ploughs”) appear during the Achaemenid rule. The individuals attested with these two titles had similar responsibilities, which indicates that the two titles were used in different periods to designate the same type of official. There was only one *rab ikkarāti* at a time and he was the top agricultural manager at this intermediary level. By contrast, several *rab ešertis/epinnis* and *gugallus* were attested simultaneously and were subordinated to the overseer of the ploughmen. Although the duties and the activities of the *rab ešertis/epinnis* and the *gugallus* frequently overlapped it appears that the *gugallus* were superior to these overseers. In other words, the hierarchy of the internal intermediary management was arranged from top down as follows:

- overseer of the ploughmen (*rab ikkarāti*)
- estate managers (*gugallus*)
- overseers of ten/ploughs (*rab ešertis/epinnis*)

The ploughmen, *ikkarus*, could be recruited from the ranks of the temple's dependants, *širkus*; however, also outsiders (free persons or private slaves) could be hired by the temple to do the ploughing. When the temple provided them with the means of production these people were also designated as *ikkarus* and they worked under the same conditions as the temple ploughmen. The social or legal status of the cultivators was not of primary importance for the temple, but whether they were in possession of their own means of production or not. For this reason a distinction between an *ikkaru* and an *errēšu* was far more significant than between, say, a free hired worker employed as a ploughman and a *širku* working as a ploughman.

The main task of the *ikkarus* was the production of the winter crops, barley, spelt, and wheat, and of the summer crop sesame.¹³⁹⁹ For the winter crop cultivation the ploughing season

¹³⁹⁸ In individual cases it is frequently impossible to decide whether a certain gardener belonged to the temple personnel or not.

¹³⁹⁹ In Sippar the cultivation of sesame was the task of the sharecroppers and the gardeners -- the *ikkarus* are almost unattested as sesame producers (Jursa 1995a: 178).

lasted probably some four months and was set within the period from the fifth to the tenth month. The harvesting was conducted from the end of the first to the third month. To judge by the dates of the texts recording the issues of sesame for seed, this crop was sown in the fourth month. It was harvested in a period from the sixth to the seventh month.

The ploughmen were organised in plough teams. These teams ideally consisted of four men, four oxen used for drawing the plough, and two cows intended for sustaining the required number of the draught animals with their offspring. The plough team was headed by a foreman who usually appears in the written documentation on behalf of his team.¹⁴⁰⁰

This type of plough team was an administrative norm which was often not reached in practice. Manpower and draught animals were scarce and many plough teams were under-strength.¹⁴⁰¹ The exact number of ploughmen and teams that Eanna had at its disposal is not known. Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's rent contract speaks of 100 plough teams, i.e. 400 ploughmen; however, it is questionable whether the temple could really provide them with this work force. A later rent farmer, Gimillu, had to make do with half that number, namely, 50 plough teams. He complained about it demanding that the number of plough teams be doubled. The temple authorities only consented to raise the number of plough teams to 100 for the rent farmer Bēl-gimlanni who succeeded Gimillu. There is, however, no evidence to prove that the temple actually fulfilled its promise to Bēl-gimlanni. By comparison, Jursa estimated that the Ebabbar of Sippar employed only 30 to 40 plough teams as the inspection lists from the time of Nabonidus record a maximum of 120 ploughmen (1995a: 191). In Uruk there was a minimum of 50 plough teams. Their number was almost certainly higher, but it is questionable whether it reached 100.

The plough team was a basic unit used by the temple administration to determine the work load and the output of its agricultural workforce. Plots of land were assigned per team. In rent contracts and a cross-regional administrative model, the so-called 'Edict of Belšazzar', the plot size varied from 20 to 30 *kurru* (25 - 37.5 ha). These were heavy work-loads which could not be managed by the plough teams in a reasonable amount of time. In fact, the evidence from Sippar which stems from practical texts shows that the plough teams on average tilled between 10 and 15 *kurru* of land (12.5 - 18.75 ha). This discrepancy only goes to show that the temple could provide only about a half of the necessary workforce. It was the duty of the rent farmer to organise and finance the remaining labour.

The evidence for plot sizes from the Eanna archive is scarce. One text (BIN 1 158) lists plot measurements. While larger plots of 10, 20, 22 and 23 *kurru* appear in this text, the majority (77 %) of the recorded measurements is smaller than 4 *kurru* (5 ha). The median value is 2;4.1.1 (3.55 ha). The evidence for plot sizes from Sippar is more abundant. Here the average plot had the surface of 2 *kurru*. The situation was apparently not very different from the one in Uruk. The implication of these relatively small surface areas is that a plough team had to work on more than one plot in a single ploughing season.

In the accounting models the yield was directly proportional to the size of the land. Other factors which may have influenced the productivity of land were not taken into consideration for prognostication purposes. The 'Edict of Belšazzar' prescribes twelve-fold returns, i.e. 12 *kurru* of barley per 1 *kurru* of tilled land. The yield factor 12 is also confirmed as an average value by the practical evidence from Sippar. Here yield factors between 2 and 30 are attested, but those ranging from 10 to 15 are the most common ones. In other words, the average yield was about 1,728 litres of barley per hectare. This is about 24 % more than the average yields recorded in the Ur III and the Old Babylonian period. This increase is understood as evidence for an intensification of agriculture in the Neo-Babylonian period (Jursa 2010b: 48ff.). On the one hand, technological innovation indicated by the use of iron for tools and ploughshares probably raised the efficiency of agricultural work. On the other, the sowing was conducted more intensively (i.e. the spacing between the furrows was decreased, more seed was expended per unit of surface area, and there were more furrows per unit of surface area than in the previous periods). These factors influenced

¹⁴⁰⁰ In Sippar these foremen were designated as *rab epinnis*. In Uruk they are usually not given a special title other than *ikkaru*. The title *bēl epinni* is attested once (YOS 7 102) and is probably equivalent to the Sipparean *rab epinni*.

¹⁴⁰¹ This is explicitly attested for the Ebabbar of Sippar (Jursa 1995a: 17). The situation was probably similar in Uruk.

the increased productivity of the Neo-Babylonian period. There is no practical evidence for yields from Uruk. The only relevant information is provided by the rent contracts. The yield factors recorded therein fall within the range of the average yields found in Sippar. One exception is the rent contract of Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya for the largest rent farm ever set up in Eanna (or in Babylonia for all we know): for a surface area of 6,000 *kurru* (7,500 ha) of which only one half was to be tilled while the other half was to be left fallow the temple expected a revenue of 25,000 *kurru* of barley. This meant that a fairly low yield factor of 8.33 was applied. The rent of 25,000 *kurru* of barley did not represent the entire expected yield from 3,000 *kurru* of land. There were other running costs beside the rent which needed to be covered, namely the seed and animal fodder for the following ploughing season. These would have amounted to another 3,000 *kurru* of barley. Presumably the rent farmer could make a profit on top of the running costs; however, we have no information whatsoever on his profit margin. The running costs alone (without the profit of the rent farmer) implied a productivity of 1,344 litres of barley per hectare. This is lower than the average productivity of the Eabbar land and comes fairly close to the Ur III and Old-Babylonian models. This comparably low productivity does not necessarily indicate that land in the south of Babylonia, in the region of Uruk, was generally less productive than land in the north. It may in fact be a reflection of the special conditions under which Šum-ukīn and his nephew Kalbāya agreed to work for the temple and which allowed for a larger margin of profit. As was noted, other rent contracts from the Eanna archive record the same average level of productivity (yield factor 12) as the one attested for the hinterlands of Sippar or in the ‘Edict’.

The gardeners, *nukuribbus*, were in charge of the temple orchards. Their main task was to produce dates for the temple, either by tending existing orchards or by creating new date plantations. They also cultivated the land below the date palms and planted fruit trees, vegetables and cereals there. The people who appear as debtors in the *imittu* debt notes for dates usually cannot be identified with much certainty. Some of them bore tripartite names, indicating that they stemmed from higher social strata. These were probably tenants of the temple orchards who did not actually work in them. Others, generally without a family name, may have been the gardeners working in the orchards. The documentation does not make a distinction here. Furthermore no distinction was made between the external and internal gardeners – they all worked under the same conditions. Occasionally we hear of gardeners employed at non-agricultural work such as canal-digging or brick-making. These gardeners were presumably temple dependants.

Seven or more people, frequently members of one family, worked in one orchard under a ‘main’ gardener.¹⁴⁰² The gardeners were tied to specific localities and stood under the authority of the agricultural managers and overseers (*gugallus*, *rab ešertis*, *rab ikkarāti*, and the large-scale rent farmers).

An annual estimation procedure conducted by temple scribes and estimators (*ēmidus*) predicted the yield and the impost (*imittu*) which the gardeners had to deliver to the temple. This was done by inspecting the temple’s orchards shortly before the date harvest in the sixth or the seventh month. At this occasion the impost for each orchard was recorded in a debt note charged against the gardener responsible for the given orchard. The impost did not represent the entire yield of the orchard as there were other costs and administrative fees which needed to be covered over and above the amount of dates owed to the temple. In order to allow for the additional costs and even a profit of the orchard tenant, the *imittu* must have amounted to between 75 and 80% of the entire yield.

According to the ‘Edict of Belšazzar’ an average orchard with a surface area of 1 *kurru* produced an *imittu* of 35 *kurru* (plus 5 *kurru* as the remuneration of the gardener). This meant a total productivity between 43.75 and 46.67 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* of surface.¹⁴⁰³ While this level of productivity is not unrealistic – in fact the productivity of the private orchards from the hinterlands of Borsippa was even higher with an average *imittu* of 48 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* of land¹⁴⁰⁴ – the institutional orchards generally did not reach it. The data from Uruk and Sippar suggest average *imittus* of approximately 27 *kurru* of dates. The total productivity of the

¹⁴⁰² This is especially evident in the documentation from the Eabbar of Sippar (Jursa 1995a: 36).

¹⁴⁰³ These figures are obtained on the assumption that the *imittu* was between 75 and 80% of the entire yield.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Jursa 2010b: 373f.

institutional orchards was then between 34 and 36 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* of land (or from 4.896 to 5.184 litres per hectare). The average size of the institutional orchard plots in Uruk was just over 1 *kurru* (1;0.1.3 = 1.31 ha). This is somewhat smaller but still comparable to the average orchards from Sippar which had a surface area of 1;4.2 (Jursa 2010b: 351).

We are not informed about the deliveries of products grown below the date palms, but it appears that the gardeners were entitled to a share in them. In addition to these and the impost, the gardeners also had to deliver date palm by-products to the temple: a basket made of palm leaves, leaflets, fibre, and a load of wood. They also had to pay certain administrative fees which amounted to 5.83% of the impost during the time of Cambyses and to 8.33% during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV. The same amount of 8.33% of the impost is also recorded in the 'Edict of Belšazzar'. Over and above these payments the gardeners of Eanna also had to deliver 1 *kurru* of dates per orchard as a fee for the *gugallu*-official.

As remuneration the gardeners usually received a salary in dates, *sissinnu*. This could vary between 3 and 5 *kurru* of dates per *kurru* of surface depending on the type of work conducted. In addition to this the gardeners could keep a share of the produce grown below the date palms. In certain circumstances, in particular when the orchards were newly planted or when they contained young, not fully productive date palms, the gardener was allowed a usufruct of the entire or a part of the orchard for a period from five to ten years. There is also some indication that sharecropping existed as a form of cultivation of temple orchards. Two texts from the Eanna archive (TCL 12 59 and NBC 4739) suggest that the gardeners were entitled to a quarter-share from the orchards at their disposal. It is not clear whether these two instances should be considered as exceptional or rather as the norm before the appearance of the large-scale rent farms. Sharecropping in the context of date cultivation is at any rate not attested in the Ebabbar of Sippar.

5.2. Modes of exploitation

The employment of internal and external personnel and the corresponding modes of exploitation, i.e. direct vs. indirect, follows an old Mesopotamian tradition. Jursa demonstrated that the two categories for land used in the Old-Sumerian, Ur-III and Old-Babylonian temples can also be found in the Neo-Babylonian institutions (1995a: 195): *gán-níg-en-na* or *gán-gu₄*, the third millennium categories for directly exploited land, correspond to the land worked by the temples' own *ikkarus* in the first millennium; *gán-apin-lá* or *gán-níg-gál-la*, land worked by external personnel under sharecropping terms, corresponds to the land leased out to the *errēšus*. A third category of institutional land, *šuku*, designating plots allotted to the members of an institution for subsistence purposes could not be easily identified in the temples of the first millennium, though it probably did exist. Jursa found clear evidence for land (without any particular designation) allocated to the temple enterers (*ērib bītis*) of Ebabbar in the locality Til-gubbi (1995a: 231). Furthermore Joannès suggested that the *bīt rittis* could be related to the subsistence land designated as *šuku* in the third millennium institutions (1982: 15f.).

There is a sense of continuity with regard to the modes of exploitation extending over three millennia of Mesopotamian history. This is supported both by the evidence from Ebabbar and from Eanna. Nevertheless, the quantitative distribution of these types of exploitation changed considerably over time as Jursa demonstrated for the Ebabbar temple. He compared this Neo-Babylonian temple with the Ur III Nam-ha-ni temple in Lagaš. In the Ur III temple some 67 % of the estates were exploited directly, 8 % were leased out and 25 % were allocated to temple personnel as subsistence land. The proportional distribution in the Ebabbar of Sippar was significantly different. While the role of the subsistence land could not be quantified, only about a third of the temple's estates were exploited directly and approximately two thirds were exploited by sharecroppers. This heavy reliance on external workforce is a reflection of the manpower problem and it indicates that the Ebabbar temple operated in a different socio-economic setting than its third millennium counterpart (Jursa 1995a: 196f.). The evidence for the importance of the sharecroppers for the Eanna temple is scanty. Nevertheless, it offers a different picture, even though this temple too suffered from a lack of an adequate workforce. The role of the *errēšus* was apparently not as prominent in Eanna. According to the account TCL 13 227 in the fifth regnal year of Nabonidus they only supplied 9.8 % of barley, 13.8 % of spelt and 19.4 % of sesame relative to the total

income for that year. Although this evidence stems from a period when large-scale rent farmers managed the temple agriculture and the actual scale of the sharecroppers' contribution may have been obscured by the collective *sūtu* delivered by the rent farmers, the presence of the *errēšus* in the texts from Eanna, especially the *imittu* lists, is not as ubiquitous as in the comparable texts from the Ebabbar archive. Thus it appears that the Eanna temple retained a more traditional approach with regard to the modes of exploitation.

An innovation of the first millennium temples was the employment of the large-scale rent farmers (*ša muḥḥi sūti*).¹⁴⁰⁵ These contractors rented large tracts of land for a net annual rent payment in agricultural produce. They played an intermediary role between the landlord, i.e. the temple, and the agricultural workers. Depending on the scope of their rent farms, the temple occasionally put its own workforce, temple ploughmen and gardeners, cattle and agricultural tools at their disposal. This was generally not enough to meet the obligations toward the temple so the rent farmers had to organise additional workforce by subletting the temple land, either to small-scale contractors or to sharecroppers, or by hiring agricultural workers, thus supervising both the internal and the external workforce. The rent farm system was conceptualised in a way that the rent farmer was supposed to provide up to 50 % of the work force and the means of production. In a sense, the rent farm system was a hybrid form combining the direct and the indirect agricultural exploitation.¹⁴⁰⁶

The temple relied heavily on the agricultural income from the rent farms. The account TCL 13 227 demonstrates that the rent paid by Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya from 2 to 7 Nbn amounted to between ca. 83 and 90 % of the temple's total income in dates and cereals even if some of these commodities were not produced on the temple estates but had to be purchased elsewhere.¹⁴⁰⁷

The emergence of the rent farm system, especially at a scale unattested prior to Nabonidus's reign, points to two major structural weaknesses of the Neo-Babylonian temples. On the one hand, they did not have enough labour – both manpower and draught animals were deficient. On the other, the temples were under-capitalised (cf. Jursa 2010b: 768). The rent farm system was designed to counter these weaknesses. The temples were dependent on the inflow of capital from the outside. This could be provided by the king (e.g. land donations, development of infrastructure, especially irrigation canals; all this enabled the expansion of the temple estates) or by agricultural contractors, whose primary duty involved tackling the labour problem. No significant royal investments in the infrastructure of the Uruk countryside are attested for the duration of the archive. The major challenges of the temple agriculture, it appears, were delegated to the rent farmers. The largest investments were expected from independent businessmen like Šum-ukīn. However, Eanna also had to rely on its own enterprising personnel, who were not necessarily free economic agents and who could probably contribute less to the temple agriculture in terms of capital inflow. The reason for this was no official policy of the temple (e.g. an attempt to gain more control over its agricultural production by employing temple affiliates as rent farmers as was suggested by Cocquerillat 1968: 95), but rather the result of a lack of adequate investors. Uruk was economically underdeveloped in comparison to the northern Babylonian cities; the temple agriculture followed a traditional extensive regime which left little opportunity for fast growth. For this reason it was probably not as attractive a location for investors as the capital and the cities in its vicinity.

¹⁴⁰⁵ As Jursa (1995a: 196) notes, quoting van Driel (1989: 213ff.), rent farming was a typical phenomenon of the Neo-Babylonian period. It was a variant of the widespread practice of farming out of rights to collect income in various branches of economy, and some of its aspects may have had their forerunners in the Old-Babylonian *Palastgeschäft* (see, for instance, Renger 2004).

¹⁴⁰⁶ The social background of the rent farmers reflects this duality on another level. The two most famous rent farmers of Eanna who managed the largest rent farm known so far, Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya, were outsiders who moved to Uruk from Babylon. However, not all the *ša muḥḥi sūtis* were independent businessmen who came from outside the temple structure. In fact, most of them were in one way or another connected to the temple, as temple officials or dependants, or they belonged to the local urban elite with family ties which extended to the temple.

¹⁴⁰⁷ In 4 Nbn 3,712 *kurru* of dates (32 % of that year's rent for dates) were purchased in the Sealand and Marad.

5.3. *Agricultural regime and growth*

Eanna expanded its estates continuously from the late seventh century at least until the start of the Persian rule. This was done mainly through purchases, confiscations or royal grants of land. The land lease contracts also give some evidence for an on-going expansion of agriculturally used land through reclamation of arable land and creation of new date orchards. However, the process of land acquisition and amelioration, although steady, was apparently not very intensive. The temple chiefly relied on the input of the rent farmers for growth. As a result, a large rent farm and a number of smaller ones were created during Nabonidus's reign with the support of the royal administration. However, the success of these policies was not very far-reaching. Although the rent farm system was relatively stable, the rent farmers were weighed down with inadequate numbers of labourers and draught animals. Furthermore, agriculturally useful land was limited.

A royal investment in the expansion of the irrigation network would have probably had a greater impact on the growth of the temple agriculture. This can be demonstrated with the example of the Ebabbar of Sippar (Jursa 2010b: 355ff.). This temple's agriculture underwent a comparatively late but dynamic development after Nabopolassar consolidated his rule in Babylonia and the royally sponsored canal-digging began. The (re-)construction of canals, in particular the Nār-Šamaš, enabled the creation of prebendary orchards in the immediate hinterland of the city only at the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Prior to that, the members of the Ebabbar priesthood held land south of the city, on the Nār-mašenni. The region of the Nār-mašenni also experienced the beneficial involvement of the king through the setting up of the *ḥansû*-properties under Nabopolassar and early in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. This royal action probably gave the impulse for the intensification of production reflected in the creation of date plantations which appear as fully productive already during the time of Nabonidus. The most dramatic development in the Sippar countryside, however, was induced by a large-scale reclamation project begun probably at the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's rule. The construction of the royal canal, the Nār-šarri, north of Sippar linking the Euphrates with the Tigris, provided the temple with a whole new area into which to expand its agricultural activities. The estates along the Nār-šarri typically start appearing in the documentation during the reign of Nabonidus as centres of cereal cultivation. Occasional references to sesame deliveries from this area demonstrate the attempts to intensify the production. Subsequent appearances of date orchards during the reign of Darius demonstrate that the process of intensification was an on-going one in the region.

No such dynamic development can be observed for the estates of Eanna. The royal restructuring of the Uruk hinterlands falls outside the scope of the Eanna archive. No major royal investments in the infrastructure of the Uruk countryside are attested in the archive. But more importantly, even though Eanna and Ebabbar exhibit substantial structural similarities – the organisation of agricultural production, the average field and orchard sizes as well as the average productivity were similar in both temples – there were some major differences between their agricultural regimes. The most striking observation is that the two temples had similar annual incomes in dates (over 12,000 *kurru*) even though Eanna's estates were more than six times larger than Ebabbar's (approximately 8,700 *kurru* vs. 1,400 *kurru*). In other words, Eanna invested much less in horticulture than Ebabbar. The mainstay of Eanna's agriculture was the more extensive cereal cultivation. According to the rent contract of Šum-ukīn Eanna expected an annual income of 2.5 times more barley than dates. In Ebabbar this ratio was just the opposite: the date income was more than double the barley income. Ebabbar intensified its agriculture by a shift towards horticulture while Eanna employed a more conservative, traditional agricultural regime based primarily on cereal cultivation. The reason for this traditional approach has already been mentioned: Eanna had a somewhat isolated position in the south, far away from the core of the empire and the main trade and communication routes. And while the capital Babylon and the cities in its vicinity profited on various levels from the royal building projects, the effects of these royal investments were not far-reaching enough as to promote the growth of the Uruk temple agriculture comparable to that of Ebabbar, for instance.

Nevertheless, a certain amount of growth and perhaps a trend toward intensification can be observed for Eanna, too. Eanna's income in dates from the general contractors was 10,000 *kurru* during Nabonidus's reign. The rent increased to 12,000 *kurru* at the end of Cyrus's reign. This indicated a 20 % increase in the date production. Conversely, the barley quota imposed on the

large-scale contractors decreased over time, indicating that they were willing (or able) to invest less and less in arable agriculture. In general, the date cultivation on the estates of Eanna appears less problematic than the cereal production. The account TCL 13 227 shows that Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya usually had no problems to deliver the date rent, but most of the time they fell short of the barley target. Considering the chronic lack of work force that plagued Eanna, and the fact that horticulture is more work-intensive than cereal cultivation, it appears that the contractors intentionally laid greater emphasis on the date production. It was, after all, more profitable in terms of yield per surface area and more likely to produce a surplus.¹⁴⁰⁸ There is no clear evidence which demonstrates that the increase of the temple's date income attested for the Achaemenid period happened at the expense of cereal cultivation; however, the performance of the rent farmers Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya and the generally restrained resources of the temple point in this direction. It appears that the Eanna temple followed the example of its northern counterpart by shifting the emphasis on the date production. Unfortunately it is not possible to assess to which extent this shift occurred as the scope of the archive limits our understanding of this development. However, it is interesting to note that the driving forces behind this change were not the royal investments and the development of the infrastructure as was the case in the Sippar countryside, but rather the strategies of the rent farmers. Consequently this development was somewhat delayed and probably not as profound as in the north of the country.

In his survey of the institutional economy Jursa concludes that “the model of the ‘closed’ redistributive system of an ideally self-sufficient institutional household is not applicable to the sixth-century temple households” (2010b: 770). The examination of the agriculture of Eanna offers plenty of evidence to support this conclusion. The temple's agricultural production could not cover the temple's requirements in agricultural commodities, rather it had to engage in monetised exchange with the outside world.¹⁴⁰⁹ Its own workforce was not sufficient for conducting the necessary agricultural work – a part of the temple estates had to be ceded to external cultivators.¹⁴¹⁰ It depended on the investments from the outside – from the king or from the agricultural contractors it employed. In other words, the temple agriculture was set in an open economic system. All in all, in the sixth century the temples were still big economic players and important landowners, but they stopped dominating the economic lives of their cities.

Eanna was embedded within a society undergoing dynamic economic growth.¹⁴¹¹ However, not all the regions of Babylonia experienced this change at the same rate. Owing to its position at the periphery of the empire the development of the temple economy as reflected in the sphere of agriculture was comparably slow and limited. In contrast to the Ebabbar temple of Sippar, Eanna relied on the more traditional modes of exploitation, it laid greater emphasis on an extensive agrarian regime and undertook more moderate attempts at intensification. The particular patterns of Eanna's agrarian development fit well within the *Agrarkreise* model developed by Johann von Thünen in the mid-nineteenth century and discussed by Jursa in the context of Babylonia.¹⁴¹² In Jursa's words, “proximity to a city and its consumers should cause commercialisation and intensification of agricultural production, whereas agrarian regimes aiming at self-sufficiency of producers and characterised by extensive production are more common as distance from the urban centre increases” (2010b: 784). As an institution on the margin of the Babylonian empire Eanna's

¹⁴⁰⁸ A surplus in date deliveries is indeed attested for the years 3, 4 and 6 Nbn according to TCL 13 227.

¹⁴⁰⁹ For the time of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar significant purchases of barley from the Sealand are attested for Eanna (Jursa 2010b: 93). There is at least one attestation of a considerable amount of dates imported from the Sealand and Marad by the rent farmers Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya (TCL 13 227). The temple's well developed sector of animal husbandry provided its cash crop – wool. The Ebabbar temple, on the other hand, had to purchase sheep and cattle for the regular offerings. Its cash crop were the dates (Jursa 2010b: 573).

¹⁴¹⁰ Still to a lesser extent than was done in the Ebabbar of Sippar.

¹⁴¹¹ Note the ‘commercialisation model’ applied by Jursa to Babylonia of the sixth century BC (2010b: 44ff. and 784ff.). According to this model the interplay of factors such as population growth and urbanisation, intensification and market-orientation of agricultural production, monetisation of economic exchange, increased labour specialisation, among others, is understood to indicate intensive economic growth.

¹⁴¹² See Jursa 2010b: 43f.

agriculture is a good example for regional variation in economic development existent in Babylonia in the sixth century BC.

6. Appendices

6.1. Appendix 1: Additional text editions

- AnOr 8 50¹⁴¹³ 18-XI-5 Cyr
- obv. 1. ud 7-kam *šá* iti še mu 5-kam ¹*kur-áš* lugal tin-tir^{k[i]}
 lugal kur kur ¹*ir-ia* a-šú *šá* ¹*gar-mu* a ^{ld}*30-tab-ni* [Ø]
a-na unug^{ki} *il-la-kam-ma di-i-ni šá lú-tú*
šá ¹*gar-mu* a-šú *šá* ^{ld}*dù-innin* a ^{ld}*30-tab-ni* ad *šá* ¹*ir-ia*
5. *i-na* šu^{ll} ¹*si-lim-d* en a-šú *šá* ¹*a-a* *šá re-e-ḫu*
šá ^d*gašan* *šá* unug^{ki} *ina muḫ-ḫi-šú im-ḫu-ru it-ti* [Ø]
¹*ni-din-tu₄*-^d en ^{lú}*šà-tam* é-an-na a-šú *šá* ^{ld}*ag-gin-numun* a ¹*da-bi-bi*
^{ld}*ag-šeš-mu* ^{lú}*sag* lugal ^{lú} en *pi-qit-tu₄* é-an-na
ina pa-ni ^{lú}*di-kud^{meš}* *šá* lugal *i-dab-bu-ub*
10. *ki-i la it-tal-ku ul-tu muḫ-ḫi*
- lo.e. *u₄-mu šá lú-tú ina pa-ni-šú lú-tú*
^{ld}*man-da-at-tu₄* *a-na* ^d*gašan* *šá* unug^{ki}
i-nam-din
- rev. ^{lú}*mu-kin-nu* ^{ld}*ag-gin-ibila* a-šú *šá* ¹*na-din* a ¹*da-bi-bi*
15. ^{ld}*utu-tab-ni-ùru* a-šú *šá* ^{ld}*amar-utu-dub-numun* a ^{ld}*30-ti-a-ši*
^{ld}*innin-šeš-mu* a-šú *šá* ^{ld}*in-nin-numun-ba-šá* a ^{lú}*sipa-sá-duk₄*
^{ld}*utu-gin-ibila* ^{lú}*umbisag* a-šú *šá* ¹*na-din* a ¹*e-gì-bi*
 unug^{ki} iti zíz ud 18-kam mu 5-kam ¹*ku-raš*
 lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur kur

“On the 7th day of the XIIth month of the 5th year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the lands, Ardía, son of Šākin-šumi, descendant of Sîn-tabni, will go to Uruk and litigate against Nidinti-Bēl, son of Nabû-mukîn-zēri, descendant of Dābibī, the chief administrator of Eanna, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the royal commissioner to Eanna, before the royal judges, concerning the slave that Šākin-šumi, son of Ibni-Ištar, descendant of Sîn-tabni, Ardía’s father, had received from Silim-Bēl, son of Aplāya, who has arrears of the Lady of Uruk at his charge. If he does not come, he will pay to the Lady of Uruk the quitrent of the slave for the period he had him at his disposal and will return him.

Witnesses: Nabû-mukîn-apli, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī,
 Šamaš-tabni-ušur, son of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, descendant of Sîn-leqe-unninnī,
 Ištar-aḫ-iddin, son of Innin-zēr-iqīša, descendant of Rē’i-sattukki,

Scribe: Šamaš-mukîn-apli, son of Nādin, descendant of Egibi;

Uruk; 18-XI-5 Cyr, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

YBC 9161¹⁴¹⁴ 16-XIIa-42 Nbk

- u.e. *ina* ^{giš}*bán* *šá* ^{ld}*ag-šeš^{meš}-gi* a-šú *šá* ^{ld}*ag-^rkal¹*
- obv. 1. 45 gur zú-lum-ma ní-g-ga ^d*gašan* *šá* unug^{rki¹}
^d*na-na-a* ḫa-la a-šà *šá* ¹*numun-ia* (erasure)
 a-šú *šá* ¹*ki-ne-[n]a-a* u ^{ld}*ag-en-dingir^{meš}* a-šú *šá*
^{ld}*na-na-a-kam ina muḫ-ḫi* ¹*numun-ia* a-šú *šá* ¹*ki-ne-^rna¹-a-a*
5. u ^{ld}*ag-en-dingir^{meš}* a-šú *šá* ^{ld}*na-na-a-kam* ud 20-kam
šá iti še-kin-tar zú-lum-ma *gam-ru-tu*
ina é-an-na *i-nam-din-ni ki-^ri¹ la it-tan-ni*
a-ki-i zú-lum-^r*ma¹* *šá* ^{ld}*kur-gal-gin-ibila*
^r*a¹-na* še-bar *it-tan-ni* še-bar *a-na*
10. ^{ld}*ag-šeš^{meš}-gi i-nam-din-ni*

¹⁴¹³ The text is discussed on p. 92.

¹⁴¹⁴ The text is discussed on p. 117.

- lo.e. $\text{re-}\dot{\text{h}}\text{i}^1\text{-i } \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}} \text{ 45 gur zú-}\text{r}^1\text{lum-ma}^1$
 $[\text{i-na}]\text{-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}\text{-am-ma a-na}^{\text{ld}}\text{ag-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{e}}\dot{\text{s}}^{\text{mcs}}\text{-g}[\text{i}]$
 $[\emptyset] \text{i-nam-din-ni}$
- rev. $[\text{u}]^{\text{u}}\text{mu-gin}^1 \text{mar-duk a-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}} \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^1 \text{din-su}$
 15. $\text{utu-mu-gi}\dot{\text{s}} \text{a-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}} \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^{\text{ld}} \text{utu-dù-}\text{r}^1\text{us}^1$
 $u^{\text{lu}} \text{umbisag} \langle\langle \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}} \rangle\rangle^1 \text{gar-mu a-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}} \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^1 \text{dù-}^{\text{d}}15$
 $\text{u}^{\text{ru}} \dot{\text{s}}\text{i-i-hu } \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^{\text{d}} \text{gašan } \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^{\text{r}} \text{unug}^{\text{ki}} \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}} \text{mu}\dot{\text{h}}\text{-}\dot{\text{h}}\text{i}$
 $\text{id} \text{bit-qa } \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^{\text{ld}} \text{en-sur iti } \dot{\text{s}}\text{e-kin-tar}$
 ud 16-kam mu 42-kam
20. $\text{pa-níg-du-ùru lugal tin-tir}^{\text{ki}}$
 $10^{\text{ld}} \text{ti-pi-i}^{\text{mcs}} \text{it-tir-ra}$

“45 *kurru* of dates, pertaining to the *sūtu* of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, share of Zēria, son of Kīnēnāya, and Nabû-bēl-ilī, son of Nanāya-ēreš, are the debt of Zēria, son of Kīnēnāya, and Nabû-bēl-ilī, son of Nanāya-ēreš. On the 20th day of the XIIth intercalary month they will deliver all the dates to Eanna. If they do not deliver (the dates), they shall deliver barley to Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim according to the dates which Amurru-mukīn-apli had delivered instead of barley.¹⁴¹⁵ They will take the remainder of 45 *kurru* of dates and give it to Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim.

Witnesses: Marduk, son of Balāssu,
 Šamaš-šum-līšir, son of Šamaš-īpuš,

Scribe: Šākin-šumi, son of Ibni-Ištar;

Estate of the Lady of Uruk, which is situated on Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter; 16-XIIa-42 Nbk, king of Babylon.

10 *īpus*¹⁴¹⁶ will pay.”

YOS 7 174¹⁴¹⁷

1-IX-4 Camb

- obv. 1. 14 $\text{dug}^{\text{dug}} \text{dan-nu-tu ri-qu-tu la-bi-ru-}\text{r}^1\text{tu}^1$
 $\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}} \text{ina } \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}}^{\text{II}} \text{á}\dot{\text{s}}\text{-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}\text{-bé-e } \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^{\text{uru}} \text{na-}\dot{\text{s}}\text{i-ba-a-ta a-di}$
 2 $\text{dan-nu-tu } \text{r}^1 \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^1 \text{á}\dot{\text{s}}\text{-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}\text{-bé-e } \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^{\text{uru}} \text{bi-ra-a-ta } \dot{\text{u}}$
 10 $\text{dug}^{\text{dug}} \text{dan-nu-tu } \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^{\text{lu}} \text{engar}^{\text{mcs}} \text{erín}^{\text{mcs}} \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}}^{\text{II}} \text{-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}} \text{pab 24 } \text{dug}^{\text{dug}} \text{dan-nu-tu}$
5. $\text{ri-qu-tu la-bi-ru-tu níg-ga}^{\text{d}} \text{innin unug}^{\text{ki}}$
 $u^{\text{d}} \text{na-na-a ina mu}\dot{\text{h}}\text{-}\dot{\text{h}}\text{i}^1 \text{šú-la-a a-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}}$
 $\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^{\text{ld}} 30\text{-sum-mu } \text{lu}^{\text{lu}} \text{engar } \text{lu}^{\text{lu}} \text{rig}_7^{\text{d}} \text{innin unug}^{\text{ki}}$
 ud 5-kam $\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}} \langle\langle \text{ina} \rangle\rangle$ iti gan *i-na-áš-ši-ma*
- lo.e. $\text{i-na}^{\text{uru}} \text{ú-dan-nu a-na}$
- rev. 10. $\text{r}^1 \text{r}^1 \text{d}^{\text{d}} \text{ag-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{e}}\dot{\text{s}}\text{-mu } \text{lu}^{\text{lu}} \text{sag lugal } \text{lu}^{\text{lu}} \text{en sig}_5 \text{é-an-na}$
 $\text{r}^1 \text{i-nam-din}^1 \text{e-lat re-}\dot{\text{h}}\text{a-a-nu ina mu}\dot{\text{h}}\text{-}\dot{\text{h}}\text{i-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}}$
 $\text{lu}^{\text{lu}} \text{mu-kin-nu } \text{r}^1 \text{šú-la-a a-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}} \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^1 [\text{r}^1] \text{re-mu-tu}$
 $\text{a}^1 \text{ku-ri-i } \text{r}^1 \text{e-re-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}} \text{a-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}} \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^1 \text{ú-bar-eš-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}}$
 $\text{id} \text{di-kud-lugal-urù a-}\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{u}} \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^{\text{ld}} \text{amar-utu-na-}\dot{\text{s}}\text{i-r}$

¹⁴¹⁵ Amurru-mukīn-apli should probably be identified with the *gugallu* of the governor of the Sealand who was involved with Eanna and its agricultural officials on several occasions (p. 127). It appears that he owed barley to the temple but had delivered this amount instead as dates. The two debtors, Zēria and Nabû-bēl-ilī, are obliged to deliver 45 *kurru* of dates by a certain date. Failing this they are supposed to deliver barley instead, namely, precisely the amount of barley which Amurru-mukīn-apli should have delivered. This is probably what is indicated by the phrase *a-ki-i zú-lum-}\text{r}^1\text{ma}^1 \dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{a}}^{\text{ld}} \text{kur-gal-gin-ibila} / \text{r}^1 \text{a}^1\text{-na } \dot{\text{s}}\text{e-bar it-tan-ni} in ll. 8f. The amount of barley originally owed by Amurru-mukīn-apli was apparently smaller than the debt of Zēria and Nabû-bēl-ilī. For this reason they are to deliver the remainder of their debt (as dates?) to Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, who was an agricultural official and the person in charge of the dues of the ploughmen and the sharecroppers (p. 116).*

¹⁴¹⁶ This could be the same category of people that appears in YOS 17 33: 5 (p. 88), designating extra workers attached to the ploughmen (for a discussion of the term see note 65). It is not clear how they fit into the context of this debt note.

¹⁴¹⁷ The text is discussed on p. 107.

15. ^{lú}umbisag ^lgi-mil-lu a-šú šá ^{ld}in-nin-numun-mu
^{uru}na-ši-ba-a-ta ši-i-ḫu šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
 iti gan ud 1-kam mu 4-kam ^lkam-bu-^rzi-ia^l
 lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur

“14 empty, old vats, which were at the disposal of the villagers of Našībāta, including two vats of the villagers of Bīrāta, and 10 vats of the ploughmen, his workers; in total 24 empty, old vats, property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya, are owed by Šulāya, son of Sīn-nādin-šumi, the ploughman (and) oblate of Ištar of Uruk. On the fifth day of the ninth month he will take (the vats) and give them in Udannu to Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna. (This is) apart from his arrears.

Witnesses: Šulāya, son of Rēmūt, descendant of Kurī,
 Ērišu, son of Ubār-cššu,
 Madān-šar-ušur, son of Marduk-nāšir,

Scribe: Gimillu, son of Innin-zēr-iddin;
 Našībāta, estate of the Lady of Uruk; 1-IX-4 Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

YOS 6 4¹⁴¹⁸

6-VII-acc Nbn

- obv. 1. ^{ld}u-gur-mu ^lna-din ^{ld}utu-dù
^{ld}ag-sipa-ú-a ^{ld}na-na-a-mu
 a-na da-lu ina igi ^lsi-lim-^den
 a-šú šá ^len-numun a ^lba-si-ia
 5. iz-zi-zu-u⁷ dul-lu šá ^lsi-lim-^den
 ip-pu-uš-šu-u⁷ ni-is-ḫi
 u šuk^{hi-a} a-ki-i ^{lú}<a>.ba^lmeš
 i-nam-da-áš-šú-nu-tu šá e-lat
 ina u₄-mu i-baṭ-i-lu ^{lú}ḫun-gá
 10. muḫ-ḫi ^{lú}da-li-šú ú-šá-az-za-az
 rev. ^{lú}mu-kin-nu ^lsi-lim-^den
 a-šú šá ^la-a
^{ld}za-ba₄-ba₄-mu-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}en-dù-uš
 a ^{lú}sanga-^dgašan-ni-^rn^lú-a
 15. ^{lú}umbisag ^{ld}utu-numun-bad a-šú šá
^lsi-lim-^den ^rdumu^l ^lsi-lim-^den
^{uru}kar-^dna-na-a iti du₆
 ud 6-kam mu sag-nam-lugal-la
^{ld}ag-i lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Nergal-šum-iddin, Nādin, Šamaš-ibni, Nabû-rē^u’a (and) Nanāya-iddin are placed at the disposal of Silim-Bēl, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, for irrigation by buckets.¹⁴¹⁹ They will do the work for Silim-Bēl. He will pay them expenses and rations as is (customary for) water drawers. He will charge (the wage of) a hireling to the water drawer who misses work on more than one day.

Witnesses: Silim-Bēl, son of Aplāya,
 Zababa-šum-iddin, son of Bēl-īpuš, descendant of Šangû-Bēlet-Nīnua,

Scribe: Šamaš-zēr-ušabši, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Silim-Bēl¹⁴²⁰;
 Kār-Nanāya; 6-VII-acc Nbn, king of Babylon.”

AnOr 8 70¹⁴²¹

13-VII-3 Camb

¹⁴¹⁸ See p. 160.

¹⁴¹⁹ *dālu* signifies a “bucket” or irrigation by drawing water from a well or a canal using buckets.

¹⁴²⁰ For the possibility that this was a scribal error for Basia and that Šamaš-zēr-ušabši was another nephew of the rent farmer Šum-ukīn see p. 160.

- obv. 1. 𐎠𐎵^{1d}amar-utu-eri-ba dumu šá¹ap-la-a šá ki-ti₄ ká-gal^dmes-lam-ta-è-a
 šá ina mu 7^{1d}ag-ní-tuk a-na 5 ma-na kù-babbar a-na mi-reš-tu₄
 ul-tu ní-g-ga é-an-na a-na^{1d}innin-mu-kam u¹é-an-na-šá-du-nu
 dumu^{meš} šá^{1d}ag-numun-giš a^{1ú}é-<maš>^dmaš sum-na é ép-šú sip-pi rak-su
5. ki-ti₄ é-ga-ḫal-an-ki šá¹mu-gin a-šú šá¹en-numun šá a-na 6 ma-na 𐎠𐎵⁶gín kù-babbar
 a-na mi-reš-ti ul-tu ní-g-ga a-na^{1d}innin-mu-kam u¹é-an-na-šá-du-nu sum-na
 pap 11 ma-na 6 gín kù-babbar šá ul-tu ní-g-ga é-an-na a-na mi-reš-tu₄ a-na^{1d}innin-mu-
 kam
 u¹é-an-na-šá-du-nu na-ad-nu-ma mi-reš-ti a-na é-an-na la id-di-nu-u'
 é^{meš}ši-na-a-ta a-di u₄-mu an-na ina pa-ni-šú-nu u ina igi^{1d}a-nu-mu-sig₅-iq
10. dumu šá¹é-an-na-šá-du-nu é^{meš}ina pa-ni-šú-nu im-qu-ta-ma
 giš^{giš}ig giš-ùr u gi ma-la ina lib-bi zi-bi-il
 é^{meš}in-na-ab-ta ár-ki ina iti du₆ mu 3-kam¹kam-bu-zi-ia
 lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur é^{1d}amar-utu-eri-ba šá ki-ti₄ ká-gal^dmes-lam-ta-è-a
 a-na 2 ma-na kù-babbar ù é¹mu-gin šá ki-ti₄ é-ga-ḫal-an-ki
15. a-na 4 1/2 ma-na kù-babbar ip-par-su pap 6 1/2 ma-na kù-babbar
 šám é^{meš}ši-na-a-ta šá ina lib-bi 1 ma-na kù-babbar ra-šú-tu
 [šá ugu]^{1d}30-apin-eš a-šú šá^{1d}ag-mu-giš a¹dù-dingir^{meš}
- rev. [𐎠𐎵^{1d}30-šeš-su]m-na u dam^{1d}ag-mu-kam šá é maš-ka-nu šab-ta-a^{1d}30-šeš-sum-na
 [id²-di²-in²] re-ḫe-et kù-babbar ú-ìl-ti₄ ní-g-ga^dinnin unug^{ki}
20. [šá ugu^{1d}innin-mu]-kam u¹é-an-na-šá-du-nu^{1d}a-nu-mu-sig₅-iq
 [dumu¹é-an]-na-šá-du-nu a-na ní-g-ga é-an-na ma-ḫi-ir
 [x x x] é^{meš}ši-na-a-ta a-na ní-g-ga é-an-na it-te-ḫi-is
 [mim-ma^{im}]kišib^{meš} u rik-su^{meš} a-šar in-nam-ma-ru šá ní-g-ga é-an-na šú-nu
- (one blank line)
- [igi^{1d}ag-gin]-ibila^{1ú}šà-tam é-an-na a-šú šá¹na-din a¹da-bi-bi
25. [𐎠𐎵^{1d}ag-šeš-mu]^{1ú}en pi-qit-ti é-an-na
 [𐎠𐎵^{1d}mu-kin-nu]^{1d}amar-utu-mu-mu a-šú šá^{1d}ag-šeš^{meš}-bul-liṭ a¹ba-la-ṭu
 [𐎠𐎵^{1d}ir-šú a]-šú šá¹numun-ia a¹e-gi-bi^{1d}30-kam a-šú
 [šá^{1d}ag-mu-giš] a¹dù-dingir^{meš} 𐎠𐎵^{1d}utu-gin-ibila a-šú šá^{1d}di-kud-šeš^{meš}-mu a¹ši-gu-ú-a
 [𐎠𐎵^{1d}din a-šú šá]^{1d}en-šeš^{meš}-ba-šá a¹e-gi-bi^{1d}la-a-ba-ši^damar-utu
30. [a-šú¹] [šá^{1d}ir^den] a¹e-gi-bi^{1d}en-na-din-ibila a-šú šá^{1d}amar-utu-mu-mu
 [a^{1d}]r^{en}-ibila-ùru¹ 𐎠𐎵^{1d}ir-ia a-šú šá¹gar-mu a¹šú^dna-na-a
 𐎠𐎵^{1d}in¹-nin-mu-ùru a-šú šá¹gi-mil-lu a¹kur-i
 [𐎠𐎵^{1d}ag-gin-ibila]^{1ú}dub-sar a-šú šá^{1d}amar-utu-mu-mu a¹ba-la-ṭu
- u.c. unug^{ki} iti du₆ ud 13-kam mu 3-kam¹kam-bu-zi-ia
 lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur

“(Concerning) the house of Marduk-erība, son of Aplāya, in the district of the Meslamtaea gate, which had been given in 7 Nbn from the property of Eanna for 5 minas of silver for merchandise (*mēreštu*)¹⁴²² to Ištar-šum-ēreš and Eanna-šadūnu, sons of Nabû-zēr-lišir, descendants of Šangû-Ninurta, (and) the built house with doorframes in place in the Egaḫalanki district, belonging to Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, which had been given from the property of Eanna for 6 minas 6 sekel of silver for merchandise to Ištar-šum-ēreš and Eanna-šadūnu,¹⁴²³ in total 11 minas 6 shekel of silver, which had been given to Ištar-šum-ēreš and Eanna-šadūnu from the property of Eanna for merchandise, (for which) they, however, had not delivered any merchandise to Eanna. The two houses were until this day at their disposal and at the disposal of An-šum-mudammīq, son of Eanna-šadūnu. The houses collapsed while at their disposal and the doors, the beams, and wickerwork, everything that was in them, was carried away. The houses became ruins. Then, in the seventh month of 3 Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands, (for) the house of Marduk-erība, in the district of the Meslamtaea gate, (a new price of) 2 minas of silver was determined, and (for) the house of Šum-ukīn, in the Egaḫalanki district, (a new price of) 4 1/2 minas of silver (was

¹⁴²¹ The text is discussed on p. 167.

¹⁴²² I.e. for trading purposes.

¹⁴²³ In other words, the two men were given houses instead of cash in order to purchase goods for the temple.

determined). In sum, 6 1/2 minas of silver is the price of the two houses. Of this (amount) 1 mina of silver, the claim [against] Sîn-ēreš, son of Nabû-šum-lišir, descendant of Ibni-il, [Sîn-aḥ-iddi]n, and the wife of Nabû-šum-ēreš, who had siezed the house given as pledge, Sîn-aḥ-iddin [gave? (to the temple)]. The remainder of the silver from the debt note, property of Ištar of Uruk, [charged against Innin-šum]-ēreš and Eanna-šadûnu, was received from An-šum-mudammiq, [son of] Eanna-šadûnu, for the property of Eanna. [...] the two houses have reverted to the property of Eanna. [All] sealed documents and contracts (concerning this matter), wherever they may be found, belong to the property of Eanna.

[In the presence of Nabû- mukīn]-apli, the administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī, (and) [Nabû-aḥ-iddin], the royal commissioner of Eanna.

[Witnesses:] Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, descendant of Balātu, [Arad-Marduk], son of Zēria, descendant of Egibi, Sîn-ēreš, son of [Nabû-šum-lišir], descendant of Ibni-il, Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Madān-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Šigūa, [Nādin, son of] Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi, Lābāši-Marduk, son of [Arad-Bēl], descendant of Egibi, Bēl-nādin-apli, son of Marduk-šum-iddin, descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur, Ardīa, son of Šākin-šumi, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya, Innin-šum-ušur, son of Gimillu, descendant of Kurī,

Scribe: Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of Marduk-šum-ušur, descendant of Balātu; Uruk; 13-VII-3 Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

AnOr 8 19¹⁴²⁴

15-VI-acc Nbn

- obv. 1. ^lšeš^{meš}-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}en-sur ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú
^{mi}ḥa-du-ú-ba-a ^{mi}gal-lat-su ^la-na-^dag-bu-ni-ia
dumu-šú gal-ú ^{ld}en-e-ṭè-<ri> -^dutu dumu-šú tar-den-ni
^ù ^{mi<d>}na-na-a-ḥi-tin-in-ni dumu^{mi}-su šá ši-zib
5. pap 4 a-me-lu-tú a-na 1 5/6 ma-na kù-babbar šám
1 me gur še-bar šá a-na re-e-ḥi šá lugal šá ina muḥ-ḥi-šú
a-na ^{ld}ag-numun-giš^{lú} en pi-qit-ti šá ^{garin}an-gil-lu₄
id-di-nu a-na šám gam-ru-tu a-na
^lmu-gin a-šú šá ^{ld}en-numun a ^lba-si-ia id-din
10. pu-ut si-ḥu-ú pa-qir-a-nu ^{lú}dumu-dù-ú-tu
^ù ^{lú}ir lugal-^rú-tu^l šá ina ugu ^{mi}ḥa-du-ú-ba-a
^la-na-^dag-bu-ni-ia <<a>> ^{ld}en-e-ṭè-<ri> -^dutu
^ù ^{mid}na-na-a-ḥi-tin-in-ni šá il-la-a
^{ld}ag-numun-gin a-šú šá ^lman-^rna^l-da-mu-^rú^l [ù]
- lo.e. 15. ^la-a a-šú šá ^lsum-na-a a ^lé-kur-za-[kir]
rev. ina šu^{ll} ^lmu-gin na-šú-ú ^lšeš^{meš}-^rmu ^ù^l
^{ld}ag-numun-gin ina ^den u ^dag ^ù ina a-de-e
šá ^dag-i lugal tin-tir^{ki} it-te-mu-ú ki-i
a-me-lu-tú šá ni-du a-na ^lmu-gin ni-id-di-nu
20. ^{lú}mu-gin ^lmu-še-zib-^damar-utu a-šú šá ^lina-sùḥ-sur
a ^lir-^{<d>}gir₄-kù ^{ld}amar-utu-pap a-šú šá ^{ld}30-šeš-mu
a ^lbu-ú-šú ^lre-mut a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-lugal-šeš^{me}-šú
a ^lkur-i ^lé-sag-gil a-šú šá ^lad-ra-am
^{ld}innin-mu-kam a-šú šá ^lníg-du a ^lšu-^dna-na-a
25. ^{lú}umbisag ^lba-la-ṭu a-šú šá ^lmu-še-zib-^den
bit-qa šá ^{ld}en-sur ši-i-ḥu šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
iti kin ud 15-kam mu sag-nam-lugal-la
u.e. ^dag-i lugal tin-tir^{ki}

¹⁴²⁴ The text is discussed on p. 166.

“Aḥḥē-iddin, son of Bēl-ēter, sold of his own volition for the full price to Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, Ḥadūbāya, his slave-woman, Ana-Nabū-būnia, her elder son, Bēl-eṭēri-Šamaš,¹⁴²⁵ her younger son, and Nanāya-ḥitnīni, her suckling daughter, in total four slaves, for 1 5/6 minas of silver, the equivalent of 100 *kurru* of barley, which he gave¹⁴²⁶ to Nabū-zēr-lišir, the commissioner of the Angillu-district, for the *remainders of the king*,¹⁴²⁷ which are charged against him. Nabū-zēr-ukīn, son of Manna-damū, and Aplāya, son of Iddināya, descendant of Ekur-zakir, bear responsibility before Šum-ukīn, for (any) lawsuit or claim (concerning) the status of free citizen or the status of royal slave which may arise for Ḥadūbāya, Ana-Nabū-būnia, Bēl-eṭēri-Šamaš and Nanāya-ḥitnīni. Aḥḥē-iddin and Nabū-zēr-ukīn swore by Bēl, Nabū and by the majesty of Nabonidus as follows: “We did not give to Šum-ukīn slaves for whom there is (any kind of) claim.¹⁴²⁸”

Witnesses: Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Ina-tēšī-ēter, descendant of Arad-Nergal,
Marduk-nāšir, son of Sīn-aḥ-iddin, descendant of Būšu,
Rēmūt, son of Nabū-šar-aḥḥēšu, descendant of Kurī,
Esagil, son of Ab-rām,
Ištar-šum-ēreš, son of Kudurru, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,

Scribe: Balātu, son of Mušēzib-Bēl;

Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, estate of the Lady of Uruk; 15-VI-acc Nbn, king of Babylon.”

TCL 12 40¹⁴²⁹

10⁺-rIII[?]1-23 Nbk

1. 3 ma-na kù-babbar šá¹ mu¹ (text: šu)-gi-na
a-šú šá¹ en-numun a¹ ba¹ (text: šu)-si-ia ina muḥ-ḥi
^{ld}za-ba₄-ba₄-mu-mu a-šú šá^{ld} en-dù-uš
a^{ld} sanga-^dgašan-ni-nú-a a-na
5. kaskal^{ll} mim-ma ma-la ina uru u edin
a-ḥi ina ú-tur^{ld} za-ba₄-ba₄-mu-mu
it-ti¹ mu-gin ik-kal¹ kù-babbar¹

¹⁴²⁵ The name is written both times, in line 3 and 12, as ^{ld}en-e-NE-^dutu. Names with the element *īnu* (“eye”) are attested (i.e. Sīn-īn-mātim, Šamaš-īn-ālišu; CAD I-J: 156), however, not in connection with two gods. It is proposed here to read the name as Bēl-eṭēri-Šamaš, which is a well attested name. The emendation of the middle element to *e-tē-<ri>* is perhaps not even necessary, if it is considered that in the Neo-Babylonian period the consonant *r* was articulated as some sort of sibilant (Jursa 2003: 235). Assuming a loss of the final vowel *i* in *eṭēri*, *r* would come to stand next to the initial *š* of Šamaš. As the two consonants were pronounced similarly, they could merge in the articulation and a scribe not necessarily familiar with the etymology and the regular orthography of the name could render it as ^{ld}en-e-tē-^dutu.

¹⁴²⁶ Aḥḥē-iddin in fact did not give the 100 *kurru* of barley to Nabū-zēr-lišir. Šum-ukīn probably undertook to pay this obligation for him and was subsequently compensated for it by Aḥḥē-iddin, who ‘sold’ him his four slaves. The sale was a legal fiction then: Šum-ukīn received the slaves in exchange for the 100 *kurru* of barley which he paid to Nabū-zēr-lišir on Aḥḥē-iddin’s behalf. Thus the obligation of Aḥḥē-iddin toward Nabū-zēr-lišir was met at the time of drafting of the document. For this reason the text is formulated as if Aḥḥē-iddin had delivered (*iddin*) the barley himself. As far as he was concerned, he had indeed discharged this obligation.

¹⁴²⁷ The *remainders of the king* were the “leftovers” of the offerings in the temple which remained after the gods “consumed” their daily meals. The king was apparently entitled to a ‘ration’, a share of the divine meals. This is indicated by the attestations of people responsible for the king’s rations (*ša kurummat šarri*). These men were in charge of bringing a basket containing the “leftovers” of the offerings (cakes, oil, Dilmun-dates, beer, salt) from the temple to the king. For more details see Kleber 2008:292ff. It is not clear why Aḥḥē-iddin was obliged to deliver 100 *kurru* of barley for the *remainders of the king*. Perhaps he was one of the people in charge of the rations of the king. However, he does not appear among the people attested as *ša kurummat šarri* listed by Kleber 2008:306ff. If he was nevertheless one of the *ša kurummat šarri*, the possibility to discharge this obligation simply by delivering a certain quantity of a cashcrop rather than the actual “leftovers”, suggests that this practice lost its religious-cultic character – which it must have had originally – and eroded to yet another form of taxation. Alternatively, the “remainders” could have designated here the arrears of another kind of obligation due to the king.

¹⁴²⁸ The term *nīdu* designates a (legal) claim, a query or an objection and, according to Jursa, it should be connected to the use of the verb *nadū* in the sense of “to accuse” (Waerzeggers and Jursa 2008: 30).

¹⁴²⁹ The text has previously been edited by Moore 1935: 48f. It is discussed on p. 159.

- ša la* ¹mu-gin *a-na e-t^fe-q¹u*
ul i-te-ti-iq
 10. ^{lú}mu-kin-nu ^{ld}en-šeš^{meš}-su
a-šú šá ^{ld}u-gur-din-iṭ *a* ¹na-an-na-a-a
^lgi-mil-lu *a-šú šá* ^{ld}en-mu *a* ^{lú}šu-ḥa
^lšu-la-a *a-šú šá* ^{ld}en-dù-uš
a ^{lú}sanga-^dgašan-ni-nú-a *u* ^{lú}umbisag
 15. ^{ld}za-ba₄-ba₄-mu-[*mu a-šú šá* ^{ld}en-dù-uš]
^{ld}r^lsanga^{1-d}gašan-ni-nú-a tin-tir^{ki}
 iti s[ig₄? ud x/Ø]+10-kam mu 23-kam
^{ld}ag-níg-du-ùru lugal tin-tir^{ki}
 kù-babbar *ša* kaskal^{ll} *ša* ¹re-mut
 20. dumu ¹ba-si-ia

“3 minas of silver belonging to Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, are charged against Zababa-šum-iddin, son of Bēl-ēpuš, descendant of Šangû-Bēlet-Nīnua. (The money is used) for the purpose of a *ḥarrānu*-business. Zababa-šum-iddin will share half of the profits (he makes) in the city or in the steppe with Šum-ukīn. He will not use the silver for expenses without Šum-ukīn’s consent.

Witnesses: Bēl-aḥḥē-erība, son of Nergal-uballit, descendant of Nannāya,
 Gimillu, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Bā’iru,
 Šulāya, son of Bēl-ēpuš, descendant of Šangû-Bēlet-Nīnua,

Scribe: Zababa-šum-iddin, son of Bēl-ēpuš, descendant of Šangû-Bēlet-Nīnua;
 Babylon; 10⁺-III[?]-23 Nbk, king of Babylon.

It is the silver from the *ḥarrānu*-business of Rēmūt, descendant of Basia.”

PTS 2501¹⁴³⁰

[x]-I-37 Nbk

obv. 1. zú-lum-ma *ša* ^{ld}amar-utu-m[u-ùru *a-šú šá* ¹ki-na-a]

a ^{lú}šu-i *ul-la* ^ršá¹
^lki-na-a *a-šú šá* ¹ra-šil-dingir
ša la ¹mu-gin *ip-tu-²rma¹*

5. *iš-šu-ú* ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-ùru
a-šú šá ¹ki-na-a <a> ^{lú}šu[?]-i
ina e-^rpu¹-uš níg-ka₉ *ša*
 mu 37-kam *it-ti*
^lmu-gin *a-šú šá* ^{ld}en-numun <<a>>

10. *ana šu-un-qu-tu*
ul i-pu-uš (+ erasure)

rev. *ina* gub *ša* ¹mu-ra-nu *a-šú šá*
^lšá-^dag-šu-u *a* ¹á-gál-^di[n[?]-nī]n[?]
^lre-mut <<a>> *a-šú šá* ¹dù-ia

15. *a* ¹mu-še-zib ¹sum-na-šeš *a-šú šá*
^lba-šá-^damar-utu *a* ^{lú}šu-i
^{ld}amar-utu-su *a-šú šá* ¹ni-^rdin¹-[x-x]-^rx¹
^lba-ni-ia *a-šú šá* ¹ba-la-tu
^lir-^den *a-šú šá* ^{ld}utu-[x-(x)]

20. tin-tir^{ki} iti bár ud [x-kam]
 mu 37-kam ^{ld}ag-[níg-du-ùru]
 lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“(Concerning) the dates belonging to Marduk-š[um-ušur, son of Kīnāya], descendant of Gallābu, ...¹⁴³¹ which Kīnāya, son of Rāši-il,¹⁴³² took after opening (a storage room/a container)¹⁴³³ without

¹⁴³⁰ The text is discussed on p. 170.

Šum-ukīn's consent: Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Kīnāya, descendant of Gallābu, will not make a deduction (of these dates) at the settling of accounts for the year 37 with Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri.

In the presence of: Mūrānu, son of Ša-Nabû-šū, descendant of Lē'i-Innin?¹⁴³¹,
Rēmūt, son of Bānia, descendant of Mušēzib,
Iddin-aḥ, son of Iqīša-Marduk, descendant of Gallābu,
Marduk-erība, son of Nidin[ti-x],
Bānia, son of Balātu,

[Scribe:] Arad-Bēl, son of Šamaš-[x];
Babylon; [x]-I-37, Nbk, king of Babylon.”

BIN 2 109¹⁴³⁴

20-VII-acc Ami

- obv. 1. *ina ú-íl-ti₄ šá 7 me* ^rše¹-bar *šá ina qaqqar*
šá ^{uu}har-ru-ba-ti *šá* ^{ld}utu¹-lugal-ùru
^{lu}umbisag é-gal *ina ugu* ¹mu-gi-na
a-šú šá ¹en-numun a ¹ba-si-ia u ¹šil-la-a
5. *a-šú šá* ^{ld}30-dù *ina lib-bi 5 me 80 gur*
še-bar šám 5 ma-na kù-babbar šá a-na
^{ld}utu-lugal-ùru ^{lu}umbisag é-gal *sum-nu*
^{ld}en-e-tè-^rra¹-[an-ni] ^rgal é¹
[*šá* ^{ld}utu-lugal-ùru ^{lu}umbisag é-gal *ina šu*]^{II}
- rev. 10. ¹mu-gin [*ma-ḥi-ir* *še-bar šám 5 ma-na*]
kù-babbar šá a-na [^{ld}utu-lugal-ùru s] *um-nu*
^{lu}mu-kin-n[u] ¹šil-la-^ra a-šú *šá* ¹x¹ [(x) a] ¹ši-gu-ú-a
¹numun-ia a-šú *šá* ^{ld}amar-utu-lugal-a-ni ¹kal-ba-a a-šú *šá* ¹ba-šá
u ^{lu}umbisag ¹sum-na-šeš a-šú *šá* ¹ir-dag a ¹aš-sur
15. ^{uu}har-ru-ba-ti *iti du₆ ud 20-kam*
mu sag-nam-lugal ¹lu^d-amar-utu
lugal tin-tir^{ki}
- le.c. [x (x) ¹] ¹mu-gin u ^{ld}en-šeš^{meš}-mu
[*a-na* ¹] ^rag-dù[?] ^u?¹ ¹zálag-^dutu¹ ^{lu}umbisag é-gal
20. *sum-nu*

“From the debt note for 700 (*kurru*) of barley, which is from the land in Ḥarrubat, which (belongs to) Šamaš-šar-ušur, the palace scribe, (and which) is charged against Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Basia, and Šillāya, son of Sīn-ibni, from this amount Bēl-eṭranni, the steward [of Šamaš-šar-ušur, the palace scribe, received from]¹⁴³⁵ Šum-ukīn 580 *kurru* of barley, the equivalent of 5 minas of silver which were given to Šamaš-šar-ušur, the palace scribe. [The barley is the equivalent of the 5 minas] of silver which were given to [Šamaš-šar-ušur].

Witnesses: Šillāya, son of [PN, descendant of] Šigūa,
Zēria, son of Marduk-šarrāni,
Kalbāya, son of Iqīša,

Scribe: Nādin-aḥi, son of Arad-Nabû, descendant of Ēd-ēter;
Ḥarrubat; 20-VII-acc Ami, king of Babylon.

[x] (which) Šum-ukīn and Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin gave to Nabû-ibni?[?] and[?] Nūr-Šamaš¹, the palace scribe.”

¹⁴³¹ The significance of the particle *ulla* in this context eludes me. Perhaps it is a defective form of the expression *ultu ulla*, “since distant time” (cf. CAD U: 74), i.e. “long time ago”.

¹⁴³² The writing ¹ra-šil-dingir for Rāši-il is also attested in BE 8/1 10: 1, 13, 14. Cf. CAD R: 194 for variant writings of the name.

¹⁴³³ *petû* is occasionally used elliptically with just the commodity specified. The opening of a container or a storage facility (and the subsequent removing of the commodity) is implied (see CAD P: 345).

¹⁴³⁴ The text is discussed on p. 170.

¹⁴³⁵ The reconstructions are based on the parallel text PTS 2046. This text is reserved for publication by K. Kessler.

TCL 12 64¹⁴³⁶

4-VI-1 Ner

- obv. 1. [^{1d}ag]-dù-šeš a-šú šá¹ ap-la-a a-na
 [¹ib]-na-a a-šú šá¹ ap-la-¹a¹ ki-a-am iq-bi
 [u]m-ma qa-qar šá¹ 1 lim^{meš} šá^d gašan šá¹ unug^{ki} 1 lim šá¹ garin-<šá>- edin-an-[tu₄]
 1 lim šá^{1d} har-ri-šá¹-la-ba-a-ši ù 1 lim šá¹ du₆-šú-la-a
5. šá ina šu¹¹ mu-gin a-šú šá¹ en-numun a¹ ba-si-ia^{lu} en pi-qit-ti
 šá^d u-gur-lugal-urù lugal tin-tir^{ki} a-na^{lu} er-re-šu-tu
 [ni-is-b]a-tu ina bi-ri-i-ni nu-za-i-zi-ma
 [dul-lu ina] lib-bi ni-pu-uš ù man-dat-ti-šú-nu
 [ni-id-din šá[?]] 1 lim¹ šá¹ garin-šá¹-edin-an-tu₄ 1 lim šá^{1d} har-ri-šá¹-la-ba-ši
10. [x (x) ha[?]-la[?] u šá¹ 1 lim] 1 šá¹ du₆-šú-la-a
 [x ha[?]-la[?] pu-ri lu]-u ni-is-su-uk šá¹ 1 lim
 [šá¹ garin-šá¹-edin]-an-tu₄ ù 1 lim^{1d} har-ri
 rev. [šá¹-la-ba-a-ši] a-na pu-ri-šú i-ma-aq-qu-tu
 [x x (x)]-ri^{meš} i-nam-din ù šá¹ 1 lim
15. šá du₆-šú-la-a a-na pu-ri-šú i-ma-aq-qu-tú
 1+en gu₄ šu-du₇ a-na¹ mu-gin a-šú šá¹ en-numun i-nam-[din]
 1 lim šá¹ garin-šá¹-edin-an-tu₄ ù 1 lim šá^{1d} har-ri-šá¹-la-ba-a-ši
 a-na pu-ú-ru šá¹ dù-a in-da-qut ù 1 lim
 šá du₆-šú-la-a a-na pu-ú-ru šá^{1d} ag-dù-šeš in-[da-qut]
20. ^{lu}mu-gin ¹ba-ni-ia a-šú šá^{1d} en-¹mu¹ a¹ kur-i¹ x¹ [x/Ø]
^{1d}ag-sur a-šú šá¹ ap-la-[a x x (x)] 1 x x x¹ [x/Ø]
¹ir-^den a-šú šá^{1d} en-[x (x)] 1 x¹ [x x x x]
^{lu}umbisag^{1d} a-nu-um-sig₅-iq a-šú [šá x x] dingir [x x]
 1 lim šá^d gašan šá¹ unug^{ki} šá¹ du₆-šú-la-a iti kin ud 4-kam
25. mu 1-kam^d u-gur-lugal-urù lugal tin-tir^{ki}
 u.c. [ki-i] pi-i ú-il-tú šá¹ mu-gin
 [šá ina ugu-šú-nu] 1 i-te¹-[lu]

“Nabû-bān-aḫi, son of Aplāya, said to Ibnāya, son of Aplāya, as follows: ‘We will split up between us the land from the *līmu*-properties of the Lady of Uruk, the *līmu* in Tamirtu-ša-Šēr-Antu, the *līmu* in Ḥarru-ša-Lābāši, and the *līmu* in Til-Šulāya, which we took from Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri, the commissioner of Neriglissar, the king of Babylon, for sharecropping. We will do [the work] there and [deliver] their *rent*:¹⁴³⁷ [x-share for] the *līmu* in Tamirtu-ša-Šēr-Antu (and) the *līmu* in Ḥarru-ša-Lābāši, [and x-share for the *līmu*] in Til-Šulāya. [Let us] cast [the lot]. The one to whose lot the *līmu* [in Tamirtu-ša-Šēr]-Antu and the *līmu* in Ḥarru-[ša-Lābāši] fall will give [...]. The one to whose lot the *līmu* in Til-Šulāya falls will give a flawless bull to Šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-zēri.’ The *līmu* in Tamirtu-ša-Šēr-Antu and the *līmu* in Ḥarru-ša-Lābāši fell to the lot of Ibnāya, and the *līmu* in Til-Šulāya fell to the share of Nabû-bān-aḫi.

Witnesses: Bānia, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Kurī,
 Nabû-ēter, son of Aplāya, [descendant of PN],
 Arad-Bēl, son of Bēl-[x, descendant of PN],
 Scribe: Anu-udammiq, son [of PN, descendant of PN];

¹⁴³⁶ The text was previously edited by Moore 1935: 68ff. Some alternative interpretations of the damaged passages presented here. It is also discussed on p. 393.

¹⁴³⁷ It is not clear what the *mandattu*-payment signifies in this context. In the Neo-Babylonian period it usually refers to the compensatory payments to the owners of slaves or temple oblates, i.e. quitrent. (The word *mandattu* could also be used in the sense of a “reward” (Jursa 2010b: 230. 683): The craftsmen were sometimes allowed to keep a portion of the raw materials given to them by the customers who commissioned the production of a certain item; the raw material that the craftsmen kept was designated as *mandattu*.) This term is also attested in a few Late-Babylonian texts as a rent payment for fields or an additional fee for rented land. The CAD M I: 15 puts the attestation from TCL 12 64 in this context. Though this use of the word seems highly exceptional for the Neo-Babylonian period, it is adopted here for the lack of a better alternative. Hence, *mandattišunu* is taken to designate the rent payments from the three *līmu*-properties (-*šunu* refers to the *līmus*). This interpretation effected the following reconstructions at the beginning of lines 10 and 11: It is assumed that here the types of the shares for the specific *līmus* payable by the sharecroppers are stipulated.

līmu of the Lady of Uruk in Til-Šulāya; 4-VI-1 Ner, king of Babylon.
[According] to the debt notes of Šum-ukīn [which are] charged [against them].”

TCL 12 68¹⁴³⁸

15-III-2 Ner

- obv. 1. 1 me gur še-bar šu-pel-ti šá
1 me gur zú-lum-ma šá^{ld}é-a-lu-mur
ina ugu^{id}bit-qa-šá-^{ld}en-sur
ik-ki-su níg-ga^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
5. u^dna-na-a [ina ugu]u
^{ld}na-na-a-šeš-mu a-šú
šá¹a-na-^dag-tak-lak ud 20-kam
šá iti sig₄ ina^{gis}ma-ši-*hu*
šá^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ina é-an-na
10. a-na¹mu-še-zib-^damar¹-utu^{lu}qí-i-pi
šá é-an-na u¹dù-ia
^{lu}šà-tam é-an-na
i-nam-din
- rev. ú-*il-ti*₄ šá 1 me gur še-bar šá ina ugu
15. ^{ld}é-a-lu-mur šá ina é-an-na
¹mu-gin i-na-áš-šá-am-ma a-na
^{ld}na-na-a-šeš-mu *i-nam-din*
^{lu}mu-kin-nu^{ld}utu-su a-šú
šá^{ld}ag-t[*aq*]-bi-si-sá
20. ¹ia-*hu-tu* a-šú šá¹ki-ne-na-a-a
^{lu}umbisag¹ba-la-tu a-šú
šá¹mu-še-zib-^den kar-^dna-na-a
ši-i-*hu* šá^dgašan šá unug^{ki}
iti sig₄ ud 15-kam mu 2-kam
25. ^du-gur-lugal-urù
lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“100 *kurru* of barley, in exchange for 100 *kurru* of dates which Ea-lūmur harvested in Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya, are the debt of Nanāya-aḥ-iddin, son of Ana-Nabû-taklāk. On the 20th of the third month using the measure of the Lady of Uruk he will deliver (the barley) in Eanna to Mušēzib-Marduk, the *qīpu* of Eanna, and to Bānia, the *šatammu* of Eanna. Šum-ukīn will bring the debt note concerning 100 *kurru* of barley charged against Ea-lūmur, which is in Eanna, and give it to Nanāya-aḥ-iddin.

Witnesses: Šamaš-erība, son of Nabû-taqbi-lišir,
Iaḥuṭu, son of Kīnenāya,

Scribe: Balātu, son of Mušēzib-Bēl;

Kār-Nanāya, estate of the Lady of Uruk; 15-III-2 Ner, king of Babylon.”

TCL 12 73¹⁴³⁹

8-II-1 Nbn

- obv. 1. ^{ld}in-nin-mu-ùru a-šú šá^{ld}na-na-a-kam a-na pa-ni
^{ld}ag-lugal-ùru^{lu}sag lugal ù^{lu}en^{meš} pi-iq-né-e-ti
šá é-an-na il-lik-ma ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma eš-ru-ú
šá^dgašan šá unug^{ki} šá ul-tu unug^{ki} a-di tin-tir^{ki} ul-tu

¹⁴³⁸ Cf. note 616. The text was edited by Moore 1935: 72f.

¹⁴³⁹ The text was edited by Moore 1935: 76ff. but since it was collated and our understanding of the text has much improved since 1935 it is re-edited here. The improved readings are marked with an asterisk. It could be also observed that at the beginning of the first four lines of the reverse the damaged portions could accommodate more signs (from two to four) than is indicated in the copy. The reconstructions made here took this extra space into consideration. Note also the discussion of the text on p. 313.

5. *muḥ-ḥi* id-lugal *a-di muḥ-ḥi* id *pur-rat-ti a-ša šá* dgašan *šá unug*ki
šá ina bād-šá-é-da-ku-ru 1 me *šá* garin *ḥi-šu-ba-ti* 1 me *šá* garin *raq-qa-nu*
 1 me *šá* garin *šá-ḥiḥ-lat* 1 me *šá* garin *ku-ša-a-a* 1 me *šá* garin *nam-zu-ú*
 1 me *šá* ká-ki-lam 1 me *šá ḥu-uṣ-se-e-ti-šá-dumu-lugal qaq-qar šá* id amar-utu-a-ùru
eš-ru-ú šá é-a-muk-a-nu šá ina igi id *du-ia a-šú šá* id *na-na-a-mu*
10. *bi*1-in-nam-ma ina mu-an-na 5 me gur še-bar ù zú-lum-ma
 [ina] giš* *ma-ši-ḥu šá* dgašan *šá unug*ki ina ugu *me-e gal* meš *a-na*
 [dgaša]n *šá unug*ki *lud-din* id ag-lugal-ùru lu sag lugal ù
 [lu en] meš *pi-iq-<né> -e-ti šá é-an-na iš-mu-šu-ma*
 [id-din-n]u-niš-šú ina mu-an-na 5 me gur še-bar ù
15. [zú-lum-ma] ina giš *ma-ši-ḥu šá* dgašan *šá unug*ki [ina]
 [ugu me]-e gal meš *a-na* dgašan *šá unug*ki *i-nam-[din še-bar u]*
 rev. [zú-lum]-ma *ma-la* 1 mu-gin lu gal engar meš *šá* dgašan *šá un[ug]*ki*
 [ul-tu] r *raq*1-qar meš *šá ina ú-íl-ti₄ ina muḥ-ḥi* id *in-nin-mu-ùru*
 [i]-nam-šu-ú ina giš *bán-šú it-ti-šú i-nam-din su-ḥ¹-[su[?] š[?]-i[?]]*
20. [*e-lat re*]-*ḥa-nu u e-piš níg-ka₉ maḥ-ru-tu šá ina igi* id *in-nin-mu-ùru*
 [ina gub]- *ḥ¹zu** *šá gab-bi-dingir* meš -lugal-ùru lu *qí-i-pi šá é-an-na*
 id ag-šeš meš -*din-iṭ a-šú šá šá* dgaš-*šú-ú* lu umbisag é
 lu *mu-kín-nu* id *en-na-din a-šú šá* 1 numun-tin-tir^{ki} a 1 da^d amar-utu
 id ag-sur-zí meš *a-šú šá* id *en-ba-šá a* id *en-a-ùru* id amar-utu-numun-dù
25. *a-šú šá* 1 *e-tel-lu a* 1 *e-gi-bi* r *na*1-din *a-šú šá* 1 *a-a a* 1 šeš meš -*ú*
 1 *šil-la-a a-šú šá* 1 *din-su a* id ag-sur
 lu umbisag id ag-gin-a *a-šú šá* 1 numun-ia unug^{ki} iti gu₄ ud 8-kam
 mu 1-kam d ag-ní-tuk lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Innin-šum-ušur, son of Nanāya-ēreš, went to Nabû-šar-ušur, the royal official, and to the Eanna officials, and said as follows: ‘Give me the tithe of the Lady of Uruk, which (extends) from Uruk to Babylon, from Nār-šarri to the Euphrates, the plots of the Lady of Uruk, which are in Dūru-ša-Bīt-Dakūru, a *meat*¹⁴⁴⁰ of Ḥišubati, a *meat* of Raqqanu, a *meat* of Šakillatu, a *meat* of Kušāya, a *meat* of Namzū, a *meat* of Bāb-maḥīri, a *meat* of Ḥuṣṣētu-ša-mar-šarri, land of Marduk-apla-ušur, the tithe of Bīt-Amukānu, which is at the disposal of Bānia, son of Nanāya-ibni,¹⁴⁴¹ and I will deliver to the Lady of Uruk per year 500 *kurru* of barley and dates using the measure of the Lady of Uruk at the big watercourses.’ Nabû-šar-ušur, the royal official, and the officials of Eanna, consented and gave it to him. Per year he will deliver to the Lady of Uruk 500 *kurru* of barley [and dates] using the measure of the Lady of Uruk [at] the big watercourses. [Barley and dates], as much as Šum-ukīn, the overseer of the ploughmen of the Lady of Uruk, takes [from] the land, which is in the debt notes charged against Innin-šum-ušur, he (Innin-šum-ušur) will deliver together with him (Šum-ukīn) as part of his rent payment (*sūtu*). [It is his] rent [payment].¹⁴⁴² (This is) apart from the arrears and earlier accounts at the disposal of Innin-šum-ušur.

In the presence of Gabbi-ilāni-šar-ušur, the resident of Eanna, (and) Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, son of Ša-Nabû-šū, the temple scribe.

Witnesses: Bēl-nādin-apli, son of Zēr-Bābili, descendant of Ile’i-Marduk
 Nabû-ēter-napšāti, son of Bēl-iqīša, descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur
 Marduk-zēr-ibni, son of Etellu, descendant of Egibi
 Nādin, son of Aplāya, descendant of Aḥḥū
 Šillāya, son of Balāssu, descendant of Nabû-ēter

¹⁴⁴⁰ This term, literally “one hundred”, designated a type of property and may have been similar to the “thousands” and “fifties” attested elsewhere. For a discussion see p. 358.

¹⁴⁴¹ Both Marduk-apla-ušur in line 8 and Bānia, son of Nanāya-ibni, in line 9 cannot be identified. The nature of Marduk-apla-ušur’s connection to the land expressed by *ša* is not clear. Was he the owner or the lessor of the land? Or was *qaqqaru ša Marduk-apla-ušur* simply a toponym? At least in the case of Bānia it appears that he was a lessor of land in Bīt-Ammukānu and that Innin-šum-ušur took over his lease.

¹⁴⁴² This stipulation concerns the overlapping areas of responsibility of the rent farmer Šum-ukīn and Innin-šum-ušur. Whatever commodities Šum-ukīn took from the localities under Innin-šum-ušur’s responsibility (they would appear in the debt notes pertaining to his *sūtu*) would count as the rent payment of Innin-šum-ušur.

Scribe: Nabû-mukîn-apli, son of Zēria;
Uruk; 8-II-1 Nbn, king of Babylon.”

BIN 2 130¹⁴⁴³

20-VIa-acc Camb

- obv. 1. 28 6 kùš ù 8 šu-si gi^{meš} é ép-šú
ù ab-ta ki-ti é-gál-hal-an-ki šá qé-reb unug^{ki}
45 kùš uš an-ú im-kur-ra da su-ú-qu rap-šú
mu-ta-qu^{lu}un^{meš}
5. 45 kùš uš ki-ú im-mar-tu da é
^lkar-d en dumu-šú šá ^lba-ri-ki-dingir
33 kùš sag-ki an-ta im-si-sá da é
^lkar-d en dumu-šú šá ^lba-ri-ki-dingir
30 kùš sag-ki ki-ta im-u¹⁸-lu da é
10. ^lina-gissu_x-a dumu-šú šá ^{ld}ag-mu-še-ti-iq-ud-da
pab 28 6 kùš ù 8 šu-si gi^{meš} mi-ših-tu₄
é šu-a-ti é ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-ú-šur dumu-šú šá ^lsi-lim-d en
dumu ^lba-as-si-ia ki-i 6 ma-na kù-babbar pe-šu-ú
šam ka-si-ia ú-íl-ti šá ^{ld}amar-utu dumu-šú
15. šá ^{ld}ag-mu-gin dumu ^le-tè-ru šá ugu^{giš}bán
šá še-bar šá ^dgašan šá unug^{ki} šá e-li ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-ú-šur
dumu-šú šá ^lsi-lim-d en dumu ^lba-as-si-ia šá ^{meš}-šú šá ina tin-tir^{ki} u unug^{ki}
u mim-ma-a-šú šá uru u edin maš-ka-nu šab-tu₄ ina še-bar šá ugu
^{ld}amar-utu a-na ní-g-ga é-an-na id-di-in
20. ^{lu}šà-tam u ^{ld}ag-šeš-mu ú-íl-ti šá kù-babbar-a₄
6 ma-na a-di hu-bul-lu₄ šá ^{ld}amar-utu šá e-li
^{ld}amar-utu-mu-ùru a-na ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-ùru
id-di-nu
- rev. i-na gub-zu šá ^{ld}ag-<gin>-ibila ^{lu}šà-tam é-an-na dumu-šú
25. šá ^lna-di-nu dumu ^{ld}da-bi-bi
^{ld}ag-šeš-mu ^{lu}sag lugal ^{lu}en pi-qit-tu₄ é-an-na
igi ^lir-d amar-utu dumu-šú¹ šá ^lze-ri-ia dumu ^le-gi-bi
^{ld}utu-gin-ibila dumu-šú šá ^{ld}di-kud-šeš^{meš}-mu dumu ^lši-gu¹-ú-a
^lla-a-ba-ši-d amar-utu dumu-šú šá ^lir-d en dumu ^le-gi-bi
30. ^{ld}en-na-din-ibila dumu-šú šá ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-mu dumu ^{ld}en-a-ùru
^lir-d in-nin dumu-šú šá ^lgar-mu dumu ^lšu-d na-na-a
^{ld}ag-din-iš dumu-šú šá ^lina-é-sag-il-numun dumu ^llu-d é-a
^{ld}en-su-pe-e-mu-hur dumu-šú šá ^lki-d amar-utu-din dumu ^{ld}en-a-ùru
^{ld}ag-en-šú-nu dumu-šú šá ^lna-di-nu dumu ^lšéš^{1,2}-ú-tu
35. ^{ld}in-nin-mu-ùru dumu-šú šá ^lgi-mil-lu dumu <^l>ku-ri-i
^{ld}utu-dù-šeš dumu-šú šá ^lib-ni-d¹⁵ dumu ^lšu-d na-na-a
^lkal-ba-a dumu-šú šá ^lba-šá dumu ^lba-as-si-ia
^lna-di-nu ^{lu}dub-sar dumu-šú šá ^{ld}en-šeš^{meš}-ba-šá
dumu ^le-gi-bi unug^{ki} iti kin-2-kam ud 20-kam
40. mu sag-nam-lugal-la ^lkam-bu-zi-ia
lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur

“28 reeds 6 cubits and 8 fingers – a built and derelict house in the Egahalanki-district in Uruk:
45 cubits: upper flank to the east, next to a wide street, thoroughfare of the people; 45 cubits:
lower flank to the west, next to the house of Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Barik-il; 33 cubits: upper frontage
to the north, next to the house of Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Barik-il; 30 cubits: lower frontage to the
south, next to the house of Ina-šillāya, son of Nabû-mušešētiq-uddē; in total: 28 reeds 6 cubits and 8

¹⁴⁴³ The text is discussed on p. 217.

fingers is the measurement of this house. The house of Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Basia, equivalent to 6 minas of white silver, price of *kasia*, (from) a debt note of Ile'i-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Eṭēru, the rent farmer for barley of the Lady of Uruk, which are charged against Marduk-šum-ušur, son of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Basia, and for which his houses in Uruk and Babylon and all of his possessions in city and in steppe were pledged, he (Marduk-šum-ušur) transferred to the temple property (instead of) a part of the barley which is charged against Ile'i-Marduk. The chief temple administrator and Nabû-aḥ-iddin gave the debt note for these 6 minas plus the interest belonging to Ile'i-Marduk and which were charged against Marduk-šum-ušur to Marduk-šum-ušur.

In the presence of Nabû-mukīn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābībī, (and) Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna.

Witnesses: Arad-Marduk, son of Zēria, descendant of Egibi,
 Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Madān-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Šigūa,
 Lābāši-Marduk, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Egibi,
 Bēl-nādin-apli, son of Marduk-šum-iddin, descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur,
 Arad-Innin, son of Šākin-šumi, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
 Nabû-uballit, son of Ina-Esagil-zēr, descendant of Amīl-Ea,
 Bēl-supê-muḥur, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur,
 Nabû-bēlšunu, son of Nādin, descendant of Aḥūtu,
 Innin-šum-ušur, son of Gimillu, descendant of Kurī,
 Šamaš-bān-aḥi, son of Ibni-Ištar, descendant of Gimil-Nanāya,
 Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, descendant of Basia,

Scribe: Nādin, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi;
 Uruk; 20-VIa-acc Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

AnOr 8 66¹⁴⁴⁴

1-III-1 Camb

- obv. 1. 30 gur še-bar *ina ši-pir-ti šá¹ mu-še-zib^den*
a-šú šá¹ba-ri-ki-dingir^{lu}taš-li-šú
ul-tu é¹mu-še-zib^den šá¹ina unug^{ki}
šá^{gis}bán <šá¹da>^damar-utu a-šú šá^{1d}ag-mu¹-gin
5. a¹e-ṭe-ru šá¹ugu^{gis}bán šá^dgašan šá¹unug^{ki}
¹gin-[x (x)] a-šú šá^{1d}30-ib-ni *ina šu^{II}*
^{1d}ag-[gin-ibi]la^{lu}šà-tam é-an-na
u^{1d}ag-šeš-mu^{lu}sag lugal^{lu}en pi-qit
é-an-na ma-ḥi-ir
- rev. 10. ^{1sic}*mu-kin-nu^{1d}en-na-din-ibila*
a-šú šá¹ba-ni-ia a^{lu}šu-ḥa
^{1d}amar-utu-sur a-šú šá^{1d}en-din-iṭ
a^{1lu}-r^{d1}[é-a] re-mut^den a-šú šá¹
¹e-gi-bi a¹pa-š[c]^{ki} ^{lu}umbisag
15. ¹šu a-šú šá^{1d}ag-mu-mu a¹ḥu-un-zu-ú
unug^{ki}iti sig₄ud 1-kam mu 1-kam
¹kam-bu-zi-ia lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur
1+en-na-ta-a-²il-te-qu-ú

“Mukīn-[x], son of Sīn-ibni, received from Nabû-[mukīn-ap]li, the chief administrator of Eanna, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the royal commissioner of Eanna, at the orders of Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Barik-il, the *tašlišu*-official, 30 *kurru* of barley pertaining to the rent of Ile'i-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Eṭēru, the rent farmer of the Lady of Uruk, from the house of Mušēzib-Bēl, which is in Uruk.¹⁴⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴⁴ The text is discussed on p. 217.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Not much is known about the *tašlišu* Mušēzib-Bēl. His house, which is situated within the city of Uruk, may be the same one mentioned above in BIN 2 130: 6. 8 (p. 396).

Witnesses: Bēl-nādin-apli, son of Bānia, descendant of Bā'iru,
Marduk-ēṭer, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of Amīl-Ea,
Rēmūt-Bēl, son of Egibi, descendant of Isināya,
Scribe: Gimillu, son of Nabû-šum-iddin, descendant of Ḫunzû;
Uruk; 1-III-1 Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands.
They took one (copy) each.”

YOS 7 177¹⁴⁴⁶

8-IV-5 Camb

- obv. 1. *pu-ut*¹ *da*^d *amar-utu* ¹*a*¹ *šú* *ša*^{1d} *ag-mu-gin* *a*¹ *e-tè-ru*
ki-din^d *amar-utu* *a-šú* *ša*^{1d} *ag-mu-gin* *a*¹ *e-tè-ru*
u^{1d} *en-mu* *a-šú* *ša*¹ *ba-ša*^d *amar-utu* *a*¹ *e-tè-ru*
a-na *a-la-ku* *a-na* *tin-tir*^{ki} *ina* *šu*¹¹ *ag-gin-a*
5. ^{1ú}*ša-tam* *é-an-na* *a-šú* *ša*¹ *na-din* *a*¹ *da-bi-bi*
na-šu-ú *i-na* *iti* *šu* *a-na* *tin-tir*^{ki}
a-na *pa-ni*¹ *na-bu-gu* *il-la-ku* *ki-i*
a-na *a-šar* *ša*¹ *nam-ma* *it-tal-ku* *hi-tu*
*ša*¹ *gu-bar-ru*^{1ú} *en* *nam* *tin-tir*^{ki} *u* [*e-bir* *íd*]
10. *i-šad-da-du*
rev. ^{1ú}*mu-kin-nu*^{1r} *d* *amar-utu* *a-šú* *ša*¹ [*numun-ia*]
*a*¹ *e-gi-bi*^{1d} *utu-gin-a* *a-šú* *ša*^{1d} [*di-kud-šeš*^{mc} *-m*] *u*
*a*¹ *ši-gu-ú-a*^{1d} *en-sum-a* *a-šú* *ša*^{1d} [*amar-utu-mu*] *mu*
a^{1d} *en-a-ùru*^{1d} *ag-gin-a* *a-šú* *ša*^{1d} [*mar-utu-m*] *u-mu*
15. *a*¹ *ba-la-tu*^{1ú} *umbisag*^{1d} *ag-mu-še-tiq* ¹*ud-d*^{1a}
a-šú *ša*¹ *zálag-e-a* *a*¹ *mu*^d *pap-sukkal* *unug*^{ki}
iti *šu* ¹*ud*¹ *8-kam* *mu* *5-kam* ¹*kam-bu-zi-ia*
lugal *tin-tir*^{ki} *lugal* *kur-kur*

“Kidīn-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Eṭēru, and Bēl-iddin, son of Iqīša-Marduk, descendant of Eṭēru, guarantee for Ilē'i-Marduk, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of Eṭēru, to Nabû-mukīn-apli, the chief administrator of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābībī, that he (Ilē'i-Marduk) will go to Babylon. In the fourth month he will go before Nabūgu in Babylon. If he goes somewhere else, they will incur the punishment of Gūbaru, the governor of Babylon and Across-the-River.

Witnesses: Arad-Marduk, son of [Zēria], descendant of Egibi,
Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of [Madān-aḥḥē-id]din, descendant of Šigūa,
Bēl-nādin-apli, son of [Marduk-šum]-iddin, descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur,
Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of M[arduk-š]um-iddin, descendant of Balātu,
Scribe: Nabû-mušētiq-uddē, son of Nūrēa, descendant of Iddin-Papsukkal;
Uruk; 8-IV-5 Camb, king of Babylon, king of lands.”

YBC 11541¹⁴⁴⁷

23-III-4 Cyr

- obv. 1. 53 *gur* *še-bar* *šu-pel-tu*₄ *zú-lum-ma* *ša* [x x x x]
ú-il-ti *ša*¹ *kal-ba-a* *a-šú* *ša*¹ *ba-ša* *a*¹ *ba-si-ia*
*ša*¹ *ina* *muḥ-ḥi*¹ *bi-bé-e-a* *níg-ga*^d *gašan* *ša*¹ *unug*^{ki} ¹*u*^{d1} [*na-na-a*]
ina *muḥ-ḥi*¹ *bi-bé-e-a* *a-šú* *ša*^{1d} *ag-kal* *ina* *iti* *šu*
5. 26 *gur* 2_{pi} 3_{bán} *ina* *unug*^{ki} *ù* *ina* *iti* *apin* 26 *gur* 2_{pi} 3_{bán}
ina *ká-ḥi-il-tu*₄ *ina*^{gīs} *ma-si-ḥu* *ša*^d *gašan* *ša*¹ *unug*^{ki}
*i-nam-din*¹ *mu-še-zib*^d *en* *a-šú* *ša*^{1d} *ag-sig*₅ *iq*
pu-ut *e-tè-ri* *ša* (*erasure*) *še-bar* *a*₄

¹⁴⁴⁶ The text is discussed on p. 218.¹⁴⁴⁷ See p. 195.

53 gur *na-ši*
 rev. 10. [^{lú}m]u-kin-nu ^{ld}amar-utu-mu-mu a-šú šá ^{ld}ag-šeš^{mcš}-din-iṭ
 ṛa¹ ^{ld}ba-la-tu ^{ld}ag-gin-ibila a-šú šá ^{ld}na-di-nu
 a¹ ^{ld}da-bi-bi ^{ld}en-na-din-ibila a-šú šá ^{ld}ir-^den
 a¹ ^{ld}ki-din-^d30 ^{ld}šu-zu-bu a-šú šá ^{ld}níg-du
 a^{lú} ^{ld}sipa-sá-dug₄

(one blank line)

15. ^{lú}umbisag ^{ld}na-di-nu a-šú šá ^{ld}en-šeš^{mcš}-ba-šá a¹ ^{ld}e-gi-bi
 unug^{ki} ^{ld}iti sig₄ ud 23-kam mu 4-kam
^{ld}kur-áš lugal tin-tir^{ki} luga[l kur-kur]

“53 *kurru* of barley in exchange for dates, which [... from the] debt note of Kalbāya, son of Iqīša, descendant of Basia, which was the debt of Bībēa, property of the Lady of Uruk and [Nanāya], are the debt of Bībēa, son of Nabû-udammiq. Using the measure of the Lady of Uruk he will deliver to the Lady of Uruk 26;2.3 in the IVth month in Uruk and 26;2.3 in the VIIIth month in Bāb-Ḫilti as part of the arrears charged against Kalbāya. Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Nabû-udammiq, guarantees for the payment of these 53 *kurru* of barley.

Witnesses: Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit, descendant of Balātu,
 Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī,
 Bēl-nādin-apli, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Kidin-Sîn,
 Šūzubu, son of Kudurru, descendant of Re²i-sattukki,

Scribe: Nādin, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša, descendant of Egibi;
 Uruk; 23-III-4 Cyr, king of Babylon, king [of lands].”

PTS 2076¹⁴⁴⁸

(several lines missing)

obv. I 1'. [x...]
 [x...] ṛx¹ ki² a² ṛx¹ [x...]
 [x... ^{ld}gu¹-la-numun-gál-ši ṛx¹ [x...]
 ṛ2 me x¹ sag-ki im-3 gú id^d ^{ld}dù-t[_{u4} x...]
 II 5'. ^{giš}kiri₆ šá ^{ld}ki-^dutu-din dumu l[ugal] ṛa-na ^{d1}gašan šá [unug^{ki} id-di-nu]
 ṛ1¹ lim 65 uš im-2 da [x x] (blank) [x...]
 [x x] ṛ^{ld}a-nu-x-x¹-a ^{ld}ag-[x-x] ṛa¹-šú šá ^{ld}šu-[x...]
 [x x x x (x)] im-4 da kaskal lugal [šá k]á-gal^dutu [x...]
 pab 2ṛ²ṛ¹ ṛgur¹ ṛ1_p 4_b 2 qa 5 ninda še-numu[n ina šà] 9 [g]ur še-nu[mun zaq-pu]
 III 10'. *li-i-mu a-na zag ù* 150 [šá ká-g]al^dutu gú ^{ld}ba-r[i-si]
 1 lim 4 me 25 uš im-ṛ4¹ da ṛ¹[x-x]-šeš^{lú}gar ṛkur¹ 1 lim 4 me 25 u[š]
 [im]-ṛ3 uš-sa¹-du ^{ld}la-a-ba-š[i a¹m]u-ra-nu ṛ5¹ me 50 sag ṛim-2¹ [x...]
 1 lim 4 ṛme 20 sag¹ im-1 da [im-bi]-ia ^{ld}gar² uš₄ ù da ṛšà¹ ṛa¹-[šà]
 pab (blank)
 IV 15'. ^{giš}kiri₆ šá a-na 150 šá id [ṛ^ddù]-ṛtu₄¹ [šá ina ig]i ^{ld}a-nu-šeš-mu u¹ [ṛ^dutu-numun-si-sá]
 [a^{mc} šá ṛ¹ṛ^d[utu]-ṛmu ^{ld}gal dù¹[^{mc}] 1 me ṛ33¹ uš im-2 uš-sa-[du šà² a²-šà²]
 [x x x x uš im-1 uš]-ṛsa-du¹ ṛba-[x...] ṛx¹
 [x x x sag i]m-ṛ3 gú¹ id^d ^{ld}dù-tu₄¹ ṛ1 me 32 sag¹ [im-4 da š]à ṛa¹-šà
 [pab x x (x)] ṛ1 qa¹ 2 ninda še-numun (erasure) ina ^{giš}da šá ^{ld}gal dù^{mc} [x x x še]-numun
 20'. šá k[á-gal] ṛ^dutu a-na ugu ^{ld}en-dù-uš^{lú}gal dù ṛš¹[a²-at²-ru²]
 V ^{giš}kiri₆¹ gi-iz-ze-e-tu₄ šá i-na še-numun ^{giš}kiri₆ šá ^{ld}a-nu-šeš-[mu u^{ld}utu-numun-si]-ṛsá¹
 a-na ugu kaskal^{ll} šá ká-gal^dka-ni-sur-ra 6 me 1+šu 5 u[š] i[m]-4 [x x]
 uš-sa-du ṛba-šá^damar-utu a¹ ṛir-^dgu-la ṛir-^din-nin a¹ ^{ld}lú-^dag
 uš-sa-du šà a-šà uš-sa-du ^{ld}a-nu-šeš-mu a^{ld}ag-din-su-e
 25'. uš-sa-du ṛir-^din-nin a^{ld}en-mu šá a-na níg-ga lug[al] ṛim-ma-nu-ú¹
 ù uš-sa-du id na-du-ú ù ak-kul-la-[tu₄] ṛx¹ [x x (x)] šá

¹⁴⁴⁸ The text is discussed on pp. 348ff.

- 7 me uš im-3 uš-sa-du ¹din a ^{1d}ag-sur 1 me 30[sag i]m-2 uš-sa-du íd šub-ú u ak-kul-lat
 1 me 32 sag-ki uš-sa-du šà a-šà šc-numun *šá ina* igi ^{1d}a-nu-šcš-mu
 ù ^{1d}utu-numun-si-sá a ^{me}šá ^{1d}utu-mu ^{1ú}gal dù^{me}
- 30'. **pab (blank)**
- VI ^{giš}kiri₆ *šá ¹na-din* a ^{1d}innin-mu-kam gú íd ^ddù-tu₄ *šap-li-tu₄ a-na* 150
 8 me 38 uš im-1 uš-sa-du ¹šil-la-a a ¹dù-ia *šá a-na* níg-ga lugal šid-ú
 8 me 1+šu 5 uš gú íd ^ddù-tu₄ 1 me 35 sag-ki im-4 uš-sa-du ¹šil-la-a
šá a-na níg-ga lugal šid-ú 1 me 27 ù *ú-tu* sag-ki uš-sa-du ^{r1d}utu-mu-si-sá
- 35'. ù šcš^[cs]-šú dumu^{me} *šá ¹si-lim-d* en a ¹mu-gin pab (blank) šc-numun
šá[?] ¹na-din a ^{1rd}innin¹-mu-kam u ¹šu-la-a a ¹a-hu-lap-dⁱⁿⁿⁱⁿ *šá ina* mu 15-kam ^{1d}ag-i
 [ku-um] re-e-*hi* *šá* áb-gu₄^{bi-a} *šá* ugu ^{1d}innin-mu-kam ad *šá ¹na-di-nu*
[ú[?] ¹si-lim-d]c]n ad-ad *šá ¹šu-la-a a-na níg-ga é-an-na na-šá-a*
- rev. VII 1. [x x] *šá ¹ina*-^{rš}u¹¹-[x x] a ^{1d}en-ad-urù *ki-i* ^{im}dub-šú *ma-ši-iš*
uš-sa¹-du šc-numun [^{giš}kiri₆] *hal-la-tu₄ šá ina* igi ^{1d}utu-mu a ^{1d}en-dù-uš *šá ša¹-ra*
a-na u[š-sa-d]u *nak-kan*-^{rdu} *šá* ^dinnin unug^{ki} *a-na ma-šá-a-a-al-tu₄* ù *šá-¹ta-ri*
 uš-sa-^{rdu} ^{1d}a-nu-šcš-m[u] a ^{1d}ag-din-su-e uš-sa-du ¹ir-^din-nin a ¹lú-^dag
 5. ù uš-sa-du ¹ir-^din-nin a ^{1d}en-mu *šá a-na* níg-ga lugal *im-ma-nu-ú*
 40 uš an-t[a[?] x x uš-s]a-du *ki-ta-ú* gú ^{1d}ha-ri-ši ù da sila bàd
 uš-sa-du [¹ir-^din-nin] a ^{1d}en-mu u ^{1d}a-nu-šcš-mu a ^{1d}ag-din-su-e
^{im}dub *a-na* [x x x] lu[?] *ki-i pi-i* ^{im}dub-šú *a-na ša-ta-ri* šc-numun-šú *šá* igi
- VIII ^{giš}kiri₆ *šá a-na šu-me-lu* *šá¹ ká-gal* ^dmes-lam-ta-è-a *šá* ¹ki-^dutu-din dumu lugal
 10. a-^{rna} ^dgašan *šá* unug^{ki} *id-di-nu* 4 me 50 uš im-4 da bàd
 3 me 50 uš im-3 da íd ^dlamma 2 me 70 sag-ki im-2 da ¹ár-rab
 a ^{1d}en-ú-sat *šá a-na* níg-ga lugal *im-ma-nu-ú* da ^{1d}en-ke-šir a ¹amar-utu-numun-dù
^{1ú}dumu ^rtin¹-tir^{ki}
 1 me 20 sag-ki im-1 da 2^(bán) šc-numun *áš-kut-tu₄* ù 3 ^éme ^{šá} ^{1ú}sipa^{me} *šá* udu *sá-du*[g₄ *ina*]
 šà *áš-bu*
 pab 1^(gur) 2^(pi) 4^(bán) 4 sila 8 ninda *ina* šà 4^(pi) 2^(bán) šc-numun *zaq-pu*
- IX 15. ^{giš}kiri₆ *šá a-na šu-me-lu* *šá* ^{1d}har-ri *šá* << ^{1d}har-ri *šá*>> ^dna-na-a *šá* ku-^rum¹ re-e-[h]i
šá áb-gu₄^{bi-a} *ina* šu¹¹ ^{1d}na-na-a-kam a ^{1d}ag-gi *na-šá-a* 3 ^rme¹ 10 uš <im-4 da> sila bàd
 1 me 1+šu uš im-3 da ^éme ^{šá} ^{1ú}unug^{ki}-a-a 2 me 70 ^rsag¹-ki im-2 da *áš-kut-tu₄* šà a-šà
 2 me 20 sag-ki im-1 da ^{1d}en-pab^{me}-ba-šá a ^{1d}ag-en-mu^{meš} a ^{1d}30-tab-ni
 pab 1 gur 4^(bán) 3 sila 3 ninda šc-numun 1-et meš-*ha-ti*
 20. 1 me 10 ^ruš *áš-kut¹-ti* im-2 gú ^{1d}har-ri *šá* ^dna-na-a 90 uš im-1 da ^ršà a-šà¹
 1 ^rme¹ [(x) sag-ki i]m-4 da sila bàd 1 me sag-ki im-3 da ^éme ^{šá} ^{1ú}unug^{ki}-^ra-a¹
^rpab¹ [1 pi šc-numun *šá* *áš-k*]ut-tu₄ pab-ma 1 gur 1^(pi) 4^(bán) 3 sila 3 ninda šc-numun *ina*
 šà 4^(pi) 4^(bán) šc-numun z[*aq-pu*]
- X [x x x (x)] ^rx x x x¹ *šá* ^{1d}šár-dù-ibila lugal kur *aš-šur^{ki} ina ma-as*-[*na-aq-ti*]
^ršá unug¹^{ki} *ina* š[^u ^{1ú}unug^{ki}-a-a *ú-ter-ram-ma a-na* ^dmaš *šá* ^runug¹^{ki} x ...]
- XI 25. ^{giš}kiri₆ *šá a-na* ^runug¹^{ki} *šá a-na i-mit-tu₄* ^ršá¹ [^{1d}har-ri *šá* ^dáš-k]a-a-^ri¹-[tu₄]
 1 me 1+šu 5 im-4 da ^éme ^{šá} ^{1ú}unug^{ki}-a-a [x x u]^rš im¹-3 da sila š[^u ^{1ú}-nu[?]]
 1+šu sag-ki im-2 da ^éme ^{šá} ^{1ú}unug^{ki}-a-a 4^r5¹ [i]m-1 da ^éme ^ršá¹ [^{1ú}unug^{ki}-a[?]-a[?]]
 pab 5^(bán) 1 sila 2 ninda šc-numun *zaq-pu*
- XII ^{giš}kiri₆ *šá a-na i-mit-tu₄* *šá* ^{1d}har-ri *šá* ^dáš-^rka¹-a-a-^ri¹-[tu₄ x...]
 30. 1 me 90 uš im-2 da *áš-kut-tu₄* šà a-šà 2 me uš i[m-1 da x...]
 a ^{1d}amar-utu-mu-dù *šá a-na* níg-ga lugal *im-ma-nu-ú* ù ^é[x ...]
 1 me 50 sag-ki im-4 da sila *qát-nu* *šá bi-rit* ^{giš}kiri₆^{meš} x sag-ki im-3]
 da ^{1d}har-ri *šá* ^dáš-ka-a-a-i-tu₄ pab 2_p 4_b [Ø/x 1-et meš-*ha-ti*]
 [1⁺?] me 10 uš *áš-kut-ti* im-2 da ^éme *ki-š*[*ub-bu* x uš im-1 da šà a-šà]
 35. [x s]ag-ki im-4 da sila *šá bi-rit* ^{giš}kiri₆^{meš} [x sag-ki im-3 da x ...]
 [pab x šc]-numun *šá* *áš-kut-tu₄* pab-ma 3_p 1 qa 2^{[+?}] ninda šc-numun *ina* šà x šc-numun
zaq-pu
- XIII [^{giš}kiri₆ *šá*] ^ra¹-na 150 *šá* ^é^dnin-urta ^rx¹ [x...]
 [x...]-pab^{me}-mu a ¹šⁱ-gu-ú-^ra¹ [x...]
 [x...] ^rim¹-4 da sila b[àd x...]
 40. [x...] ^rx x x¹ [x...]

(rest broken off)

“Section I:

[...] Gula-zēr-ušabši [...]

200⁺ (cubits) eastern frontage on the Nār-Bānītu [...]

Section II:

Orchard, which the prince Itti-Šamaš-balātu [gave] to the Lady of [Uruk]:

1,065 (cubits) northern [flank] next to [...];

[...] Anu-[x], Nabû-[x], son of Šu-[x];

[x] western [frontage] next to the royal highway of the Šamaš-gate [...];

In total: 22⁺; 1.4.2.5 of land; [of this] 9 *kurru* of land [are planted].

Section III:

līmu to the right and left of the Šamaš-gate on the city moat:

1,425 (cubits) western flank next to [PN]-aḥi/ušur, the *šākin māti*;

1,425 (cubits) east flank next to Lābāši, [son of] Mūranu;

550 (cubits) northern frontage [next to ...];

1,420 (cubits) southern frontage next to [Imbia], the *šākin tēmi*, and next to a temple [plot¹⁴⁴⁹];

In total: ... (left blank)

Section IV:

Orchard to the left of Nār-Bānītu, [which is at the disposal of] Anu-aḥ-iddin and [Šamaš-zēr-līšir, sons of Šamaš]-iddin, the prebendary gardeners:

133 (cubits) northern flank next to [a temple plot[?]];

[x (cubits) southern flank] next to Ba-[x ...];

[x (cubits)] eastern [frontage] on Nār-Bānītu;

132 (cubits) [western] frontage next to a temple plot;

[In total: x +] 1 *qû* 2 *akalu* of land in the ledger (*lē'u*) of the prebendary gardeners [...], land at the Šamaš-gate, which is [registered (in the ledger)] for Bēl-īpuš, the prebendary gardener.

Section V:

Orchard, *gizzētu*,¹⁴⁵⁰ which is part of the orchard of Anu-aḥ-[iddin and Šamaš-zēr-līšir]ir, (situated) opposite the highway of the Kanisurra-gate:

665 (cubits) western [flank ...] next to Iqīša-Marduk, son of Arad-Gula, Arad-Innin, son of Amīl-Nabû, next to temple land, next to Anu-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, next to Arad-Innin, son of Bēl-iddin, (plots) which count to the property of the king, and next to an empty river bed and (a plot covered with) clods of earth [...];

700 (cubits) eastern flank next to Balātu, son of Nabû-ēter;

130 (cubits) northern [frontage] next to the empty river bed and (a plot covered with) clods of earth;

132 (cubits southern) frontage next to a temple plot, the land at the disposal of Anu-aḥ-iddin and Šamaš-zēr-līšir, sons of Šamaš-iddin, the prebendary gardeners;¹⁴⁵¹

In total: ... (left blank)

Section VI:

Orchard of Nādin, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, on the lower Nār-Bānītu, to the left:

¹⁴⁴⁹ For a discussion of the term *libbū eqli* see note 1286.

¹⁴⁵⁰ For this term see p. 285.

¹⁴⁵¹ The plot described in section V may have been adjacent to the one in section IV. Both of them were assigned to the same two brothers, who were prebendary gardeners. The common border could have been the northern flank of the plot in section IV and the southern frontage of the plot in section V. In this case *libbū eqli* would designate the common border of the two plots. Nār-Bānītu which runs east of the plot in section IV does not border on the plot in section V. This means that there either was another plot between the canal and the plot in section V, or that the canal made a right turn at the height of this plot.

838 (cubits) southern flank next to Šillāya, son of Bānia, (a plot) which counts to the property of the king;

865 (cubits northern) flank on Nār-Bānītu;

135 (cubits) western frontage next to Šillāya, (a plot) which counts to the property of the king;

127.5 (cubits eastern) frontage next to Šamaš-šum-līšir and his brothers, the sons of Silim-Bēl, the son of Šum-ukīn;

In total: ... (left blank), land of Nādin, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš and Šulāya, son of Aḥulap-Ištar, which was confiscated for the property of Eanna in 15 Nbn instead of the cattle arrears of Ištar-šum-ēreš, father of Nādin, [and of] Silim-Bēl, grandfather of Šulāya.

Section VII:

[...] of Ina-qāt-[x], son of Bēl-ab-ušur, measured according to his tablet:

next to the prebendary orchard which is at the disposal of Šamaš-iddin, son of Bēl-īpuš, which is registered as the neighbour of the *nakkandu*-land of Ištar of Uruk; to be inquired into and registered;

next to Anu-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, next to Arad-Innin, son of Amīl-Nabû, and next to Arad-Innin, son of Bēl-iddin, (plots) which count to the property of the king;

40 (cubits) upper⁷ flank [...] next to the lower bank of the city moat, and next to the wall-street;

next to [Arad-Innin], son of Bēl-iddin, and Anu-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi;

Tablet for [...], to be registered according to his tablet; it is his land, which was received/seen.

Section VIII:

Orchard left of the Meslamtaea-gate, which the prince Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu gave to the Lady of Uruk:

450 (cubits) western flank next to the wall;

350 (cubits) eastern flank next to Nār-Lamassu;

270 (cubits) northern frontage next to Arrab, son of Bēl-usāt, (plot) which counts to the property of the king, (and) next to Bēl-kēšir, son of Marduk-zēr-ibni, the Babylonian;

120 (cubits) southern frontage next to 2 *sūtu* of land, the *aškuttu*,¹⁴⁵² and three houses in which shepherds of the regular offerings live;

In total: 1;2.4.4.8; of this 0;4.2 of land are planted (with date palms).

Section IX:

Orchard left of Ḥarru-ša-Nanāya; taken instead of cattle arrears from Nanāya-ēreš, son of Nabû-ušallim:

310 (cubits western) flank (next to) the wall-street;

160 (cubits) eastern flank next to the houses of the Urukeans;

270 (cubits) northern frontage next to *aškuttu*, the other part of the plot;

220 (cubits) southern frontage next to Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša, son of Nabû-bēl-šumāti, descendant of Sîn-tabni;

In total: 1;0.4.3.3 of land, first measurement;

110 (cubits) northern flank of the *aškuttu* on Ḥarru-ša-Nanāya;

90 (cubits) southern flank next to the other part of the plot;

100⁺⁷ (cubits) western [frontage] next to the wall-street;

100 (cubits) eastern frontage next to the houses of the Urukeans;

In total: [1 *pānu*, land of] the *aškuttu*;

Grand-total: 1;1.4.3.3, of land, of which 0;4.4 of land are [planted].

Section X:

[...] which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, (took) from the Urukeans at the ins[pection] of Uruk and returned to Ninurta of Uruk¹⁴⁵³ [...].

Section XI:

Orchard, opposite¹⁴⁵⁴ Uruk, which is to the right of [Ḥarru-ša-]Aškaṛtu:

¹⁴⁵² For this term see note 1300.

¹⁴⁵³ The reconstructions follow *AnOr* 9 2 l. 62f.

165 (cubits) western (flank) next to the houses of the Urukeans;
 [x] (cubits) eastern flank next to the [narrow] street;
 60 (cubits) northern frontage next to the houses of the Urukeans;
 45 (cubits) southern (frontage) next to the houses of [the Urukeans?];
 In total: 0;0.5.1.2 planted land.

Section XII:

Orchard to the right of ʿJarru-ša-Aškaʾitu [...]:
 190 (cubits) northern flank next to *aškuttu*, other part of the plot;
 200 (cubits) [southern] flank [next to PN], son of Marduk-šum-ibni, (a plot) which counts to the property of the king and the house[...];
 150 (cubits) western frontage next to the narrow street which runs between [the orchards];
 [x (cubits) eastern frontage] next to ʿJarru-ša-Aškaʾitu;
 In total: 0;2.4.[Ø/x, first measurement];
 110^{+?} (cubits) northern flank of the *aškuttu* next to unbuilt plots;
 [x (cubits) southern flank next to the other part of the plot];
 [x] (cubits) western frontage next to the street which runs between the orchards;
 [x (cubits) eastern frontage next to...];
 [In total: x], land of the *aškuttu*;
 Grand total: 0;3.0.1.2^{+?} [of land, of which x of land are planted].

Section XIII:

[Orchard] to the left of the Ninurta temple [...]
 [...] -aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Šigūa [...]
 [...] western [flank/frontage] next to the wall-street [...]
 [...] (rest of the tablet broken off)”

¹⁴⁵⁴ The expression *ana Uruk* is unclear. Perhaps it is an ellipsis for *ana muḥḥi Uruk*, in which case a localisation in front of or opposite the city, is implied.

6.2. Appendix 2: OIP 122 82 and TCL 13 227

The table below summarises the information concerning the rent deliveries of the rent farmers Šum-ukīn and Kalbāya which can be gleaned from the two accounts OIP 122 82 and TCL 13 227.¹⁴⁵⁵ The former text concerns the temple's income in agricultural products from 2 Nbn, while the latter text deals with a period from 3 to 7 Nbn. The table lists rent deliveries in *kurru* according to commodity (b = barley; sp = spelt; d = dates; se = sesame). The delivered rent is expressed as the percentage of the total required rent (% of the expected total *sūtu*). On the basis of the required rent (25,000 *kurru* of barley and 10,000 *kurru* of dates) a balance is calculated as well as the cumulative arrears for the period from 2 to 7 Nbn. The table also lists the temple's total income (*erbu*) in agricultural commodities for the given years as stated in the two accounts and puts the rent payments of the two rent farmers in relation to this income (% of *erbu*).

It should be noted that TCL 13 227 is not a complete account: The barley rent for 3 Nbn and the date rent for 7 Nbn are not recorded. Furthermore, the income for 3 and 4 Nbn is lumped together and the sum is stated to be the remainder of the income (ll. 21ff: pab ... *re-ḥi-it er-bi ù* ^{gi8} *bán šá mu 3-kam u mu 4-kam*). For this reason the calculated arrears and percentages should be seen as approximations only.

| | Nbn 2 | Nbn 3 | Nbn 4 | Nbn 5 | Nbn 6 | Nbn 7 | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---|---|--|--|----------------|
| OIP 122 82 <i>sūtu</i> of Šum-ukīn & Kalbāya | 25,000 b + sp 7,130 d | - | - | - | - | - | |
| TCL 13 227 <i>sūtu</i> of Šum-ukīn & Kalbāya | - | 10,020 d | 15,198 b 1,106;1.1.3 sp 350 <i>kasia</i> 7,715;2.3 d 2,000;0.5 d (Sealand) ¹⁴⁵⁷ 1,712 d (Marad) | 9,568;0.5 b 784 sp 72 se (= 216 b) 9,845;2 d | 8,951 b 568 sp 17;1.3 se (= 51;4.3 b) 11,050 d | 15,800 b 1,200 sp (2,000 b from Kalbāya's <i>sūtu</i>) ¹⁴⁵⁶ | |
| Σ <i>sūtu</i> barley, spelt... | 25,000 (100 %) ¹⁴⁵⁸ | - | 16,654;1.1.3 (66.6 %) | 10,568;0.5 (42.3 %) | 9,570;4.3 (38.3 %) | 17,000 (68 %) | |
| Σ <i>sūtu</i> dates | 7,130 (71.3 %) | 10,020 (100.2 %) | 11,427;3.2 (114.3 %) | 9,845;2 (98.5 %) | 11,050 (110.5 %) | - | |
| Σ <i>sūtu</i> | 32,130 | 10,020 | 28,081;4.3.3 | 20,413;2.5 | 20,620;4.3 | 17,000 | total arrears: |
| balance | -2,870 | - | - | -14,586;2.1 | -14,379;0.3 | -18,000 | -49,835;2.4 |
| % of the expected total <i>sūtu</i> | 91.8 % | - | 80.2 % | 58.3 % | 58.9 % | (48.6 %) | |
| <i>erbu</i> | > 38,495 ¹⁴⁵⁹ | 53,372;3.3.3 | | 24,013;2.5 | 23,008;4.1 | 20,454 | |
| % of <i>erbu</i> | < 83.5 % | - | | 85 % | 89.6 % | 83.1 % | |

¹⁴⁵⁵ For an edition of TCL 13 227 see Moore 1935: 230ff. See also van Driel 1990: 248f.

¹⁴⁵⁶ It is assumed here that the 2,000 *kurru* of barley delivered by Kalbāya did not count as part of Šum-ukīn's and Kalbāya's joint rent of 25,000 *kurru* but rather that they were treated separately (see p. 188).

¹⁴⁵⁷ In 4 Nbn the rent farmers had purchased additional dates in the Sealand and in Marad. These probably went toward the payment of their rent for dates.

¹⁴⁵⁸ These figures in brackets represented the percentage of the barley or date rent delivered to the temple.

¹⁴⁵⁹ As the text is damaged the exact amount of the *erbu* for 2 Nbn is not known.

6.3. Appendix 3: Agricultural calendar according to Neo-Babylonian institutional texts from Uruk

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VIII | IX | X | XI | XII |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | Mar/Apr | Apr/May | May/June | June/July | July/Aug | Aug/Sept | Sept/Oct | Oct/Nov | Nov/Dec | Dec/Jan | Jan/Feb | Feb/Mar |
| winter crops | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | barley <i>imittu</i> | barley <i>imittu</i> | | (issue of oxen) ¹⁴⁶¹ | (issue of oxen) | issue of oxen | issue of oxen | ploughing | ploughing | ploughing | | |
| | | | | | (ploughing) | ploughing | ploughing | issue of seed | issue of seed | issue of seed | (ploughing) | |
| | | | | | | | (sowing) | sowing | sowing | (sowing) | | |
| | barley harvest | barley harvest | barley harvest | (threshing) | | | | | | | | |
| summer crops | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | (issue of sesame seed) | issue of sesame seed | | sesame <i>imittu</i> | sesame ¹⁴⁶⁰ <i>imittu</i> | sesame <i>imittu</i> | deliveries of sesame | deliveries of sesame | | |
| | | | | | | | deliveries of sesame | deliveries of sesame | deliveries of sesame | deliveries of sesame | | |
| dates | | | | | date <i>imittu</i> | date <i>imittu</i> | date <i>imittu</i> | | | | | |
| | | | | | (date harvest) | date harvest | date harvest | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | date deliveries | date deliveries | date deliveries | date deliveries | date deliveries |

¹⁴⁶⁰ Bold entries indicate that a predominant number of attestations come from this month (e.g. *imittu* debt notes for dates are attested mostly in the sixth and the seventh month).

¹⁴⁶¹ Entries in parentheses indicate a small number of attestations.

6.4. Appendix 4: Catalogue of tablets from the Basia archive

| Text | Date | Contents | Place of drafting ¹⁴⁶² |
|--|-----------------------------|---|---|
| NBC 4569 | - | related to agriculture (palace scribe dossier) | - |
| YOS 17 23 | 9-XIIa-17 Nbk | debt note for silver | Babylon |
| PTS 2839 | 16-I-19 Nbk | contract (badly preserved) | Babylon |
| PTS 2275 | [x]-II-20 ⁺ Nbk | debt note for silver, price of a house | Babylon |
| GCBC 575 | 5-XII-20 ⁺ Nbk | debt note for barley | Ḫarrubat |
| PTS 2993 | 6-IX-20 Nbk | debt note for barley | Ḫx ¹ |
| PTS 3231 | 20-IX-21 Nbk | <i>ḫarrānu</i> -contract | Huṣṣētu-ša-Ruṣapāya |
| PTS 3297 | 7-XI-21 Nbk | debt note for barley | Babylon |
| PTS 2621 | 30-XII-21 Nbk | <i>ḫarrānu</i> -contract | Bāb-Nār-Dērat |
| PTS 2515 | 23-I-22 Nbk | debt note for barley | Borsippa |
| TCL 12 40 | 10 ⁺ -[x]-23 Nbk | <i>ḫarrānu</i> -contract | Babylon |
| <i>OrAn</i> 25, 30 No. 1 (PTS 2864) | 11-III-23 Nbk | boat sale | Bāb-Nār-Šarrāni |
| PTS 3041 | 15-XII-23 Nbk | debt note for silver | Ālu-ša-rab-mungi |
| PTS 2533 | 13-I-24 Nbk | debt note for dates | Babylon |
| PTS 2234 | 8-[x]-27 Nbk | debt note for barley | Ḫarrubat |
| YBC 9130 | 11-XII-28 Nbk | debt note for barley | Ālu-ša-ummānu on Nāru-ša-Nergal-dān |
| FLP 1544 | 23-IX-33 Nbk | debt note for barley | Babylon |
| TCL 12 48 | 28-XII-33 Nbk | debt note for silver | Babylon |
| NCBT 941 | [x]-VII-34 Nbk | debt note for sesame | [x] |
| GC 1 167 | 4-IX-34 Nbk | debt note for silver | Babylon |
| CD 89 | 1-III-35 Nbk | debt note for barley | Nār-Baṣṣu in Ālu-ša- Bēl-ēter |
| NCBT 352 | 3-X-36 Nbk | debt note for dates and silver | Babylon |
| PTS 2501 | [x]-I-37 Nbk | related to agriculture | Babylon |
| NBC 6181 | 24-V-38 Nbk | debt note for barley | Babylon*; Bīt-Abdi- Bēl?? |
| PTS 2719 | 25-VI-39 Nbk | debt note for barley | Ālu-ša-ṭupšar-ekalli*; Ḫarru-ša-Ṭāb-Adad(?) |
| PTS 2937 | 17-I-40 ⁺ Nbk | debt note for barley | Nāru-eššu |
| PTS 2868 | 1-I-40 Nbk | debt note for barley | Ḫarrubat |
| OIP 122 31 | 13-I-41 Nbk | debt note for barley | Bāb-Nār-Zizannu*; Nāru-ša-Nabû-Ḫx ¹ |
| PTS 2109 | 24-XII-41 Nbk | debt note for barley | Ḫarrubat |
| CD 93 | [x-x]-acc Ami | debt note for barley | Adab-il |
| YBC 11459 | [x-x]-acc Ami | <i>ḫarrānu</i> -contract | Ḫarrubat |
| PTS 2046 | 15-VII-acc Ami | receipt of silver/barley (palace scribe dossier) | Ḫarrubat*; Babylon |

¹⁴⁶² In some texts the place of drafting of the document and the place of payment of the transacted commodity are not the same. Where there is a different “place of payment”, the place name is marked with an asterisk.

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| BIN 2 109 | 20-VII-acc Ami | receipt of silver/barley (palace scribe dossier) | Ḫarrubat |
| PTS 2220 | 23-1-1 Ami | debt note for barley | Nāru-eššu |
| YBC 3518 | 4-[x]-2 Ami | work contract concerning arable land | Ḫarrubat |
| BM 114585 | 13-V-3 Ner | purchase of slave | Uruk |
| PTS 2218 | 12-VIII-[3] Ner | receipt of silver (house rent) | [Uruk] |
| NBC 4534 | 23-I-acc Lab | debt note for oxen | Uruk*; Babylon |
| <i>AnOr</i> 8 19 | 15-VI-acc Nbn | purchase of slave | Angillu |
| YOS 6 5 | 7-XI-acc Nbn | purchase of slave | Babylon |
| CD 92 | 29-XI-[x] Nbn | debt note for barley | Ālu-ša-Nabû-bēl-ili*; Ḫudada |
| BM 114676 | 11-VIII-1 Nbn | purchase of oxen | Tamḫatû |
| PTS 2957 | [x]-I [?] -2 Nb[n] | legal, concerning female slaves | Borsippa |
| ? YBC 3450 | 17-[x]-4 Nbn | hire of a person | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter(?) |
| YOS 6 85 | [x]-X-4 Nbn | house rent contract | Uruk |
| GC 1 413 | 7-XII-5 Nbn | debt note for silver (house rent) | Kurbat |

6.5. Appendix 5: Catalogue of the *imittu* debt notes

In order to determine and keep track of the obligations of the ploughmen, gardeners and sharecroppers, the temple administration conducted annual yield estimations. A commission of yield estimators (*ēmidus*) inspected the fields and orchards shortly before the harvest, estimated the prospective yield and determined the impost, *imittu*, which was to be paid to the temple. This impost was set down in written form as a debt note. In case of the sharecroppers the debt was designated as “share”, *zittu*, rather than *imittu*. This share too was determined by an *imittu* procedure.

The formulary of the *imittu* debt notes evolved over time. As in any debt note formulary, the amount and type of commodity owed, the name of the debtor and the creditor were the essential features. The debt note closed with a list of witnesses, the scribe, the place and date of drafting. The owed commodity is usually designated as either the impost or the share, sometimes also as pertaining to a rent payment (*sūtu*). Other information could also be included in the debt note: the person who had the responsibility over the debtor and his obligation could also be named. During the time when rent farms existed, this person was the rent farmer. At other times these could have been agricultural officials like the *rab ikkarāti*. The localisation of the plot on which the yield estimation was conducted could also be noted. The time and place of delivery of the owed commodities were also frequently specified in the debt notes. The place of delivery was either the temple (*bīt ili*, Eanna), an enclosure (*ḥašāru*), or generally the locality in which the plot in question was situated. Other stipulations included provisions for payments of additional fees, taxes, and extra obligations. These included the deliveries of high quality dates (*makkasū*) and of date palm by-products: *tuhallu*, a kind of basket made from palm leaves, *liblibbū* (“leaflets”) and *mangāgu* (“fibre”); the *gugallu*-fee, and taxes designated as rations (*kurummātu*) or *kišir esitti (u) balātu (ana) Bēl*. Frequently the debt notes also recorded whether the gardener had been paid his salary (*sissinnu*).

The earlier debt notes generally offer less information and were not as standardised as the later ones. The stipulations for the additional fees, for instance, only start appearing during Neriglissar’s reign. The most standardised and complete *imittu* debt notes stem from Cambyses’s and Nebuchadnezzar IV’s reigns.

In the tables below the *imittu* debt notes are organised chronologically and according to commodity: debt notes concerning barley and cereals are grouped separately from those concerning dates. A much smaller number of debt notes for barley has come down to us, mainly from the reign of Nabonidus, while debt notes for dates are more numerous. This distribution can be attributed to archival reasons. Owing to the amount of information the tables stretch over two pages. They include information on the text (publication), the date, the type and amount of owed commodity (in *kurru*), the responsible official or rent farmer,¹⁴⁶³ the debtor,¹⁴⁶⁴ the scribe, the plot (its localisation or other characteristics), the time and place of the payment of the debt, the place of drafting of the document and, where applicable, the extras, i.e. additional stipulations on by-products, administrative fees, salaries, etc.

¹⁴⁶³ The names of the rent farmers are abbreviated using the initial letter: Š for Šum-ukīn, K for Kalbāya, A for Ardīa, N for Nabû-bān-aḥi and G for Gimillu.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Female debtors are marked with a superscript f before the name.

imittu debt notes for dates from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar

| Text | Date | Responsibility of | Amount | Debtor |
|------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| PTS 2934 | [x-x-x] Nbk | - | 57 | Nādin/du-ú-ma-nu-eš-šú, Qu-ru-ú-x/Arad-Nabû, Kīnia/du-ú-ma-nu-eš-šú, Zēria/Nabû-iddin, Ea-iddin/Raḫā |
| YOS 17 364 | 25-VI-11 Nbk | - | 37 | Šulāya/Ša-Nabû-šū |
| YOS 17 36 | 8-VIa-21 Nbk | - | 120 | Nabû-šum-iškun/Nabû-zēr-iqīša u Ša-Nabû-šū/Šum-iddin |
| YOS 17 38 | 16-VIa-21 Nbk | - | 11 | [x] |
| YBC 11617 | 13 ⁺ -VIII-26 [Nbk] | - | 24;2.2 | [x] |
| GC 1 231 | 27-VIa-[4]1 Nbk | - | 5 [?] ;1 | Nabû-balāssu-iqbi/Nanāya-ēreš |
| GC 1 248 | [x]-VIa-41 Nbk | - | 3;2.3 | Innin-mukīn-apli/Nabû-zēr-iqīša |
| YBC 9161 | 16-XIIa-42 Nbk | Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim/ Nabû-udammiq | 45 | Zēria/Kidināya, Nabû-bēl-ilī/Nanāya-ēreš |
| NCBT 1059 | 27-V-43 Nbk | - | 1,280 | [x]/Ea-iddin/Amīl-Ea, [x]/Nabû-iddin |

| Scribe | Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting |
|---|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| [x]/Mukīn-zēri | Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya | 20-X ² ; | šīḫu [x] |
| no scribe or witnesses! | Dūru-ša-Iatīru | <i>bīt ili</i> | - |
| Bēl-aḫ-iddin/Bunēne-ibni/Nagāru | - | <i>ina ḫašāri</i> | Kuttain |
| Nabû-bān-aḫi/Ibnāya/Ekur-zakir | [x] | [x] | Uruk |
| Bēl-balāssu-iqbi/Bēl-[x] | [x] | [x] | [x] |
| Eanna-šum-ibni/Aḫḫēšāya | - | VIII; Eanna | Kār-Eanna |
| Eanna-šum-ibni/Aḫḫēšāya | - | VIII; Eanna | Kār-Eanna |
| Šākin-šumi/Ibni-Ištar | - | 20-XIIa; Eanna | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter |
| Marduk-šum-iddin/Nergal-nāšir/Bēl-apla-ušur | Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya | VIII; [Ḫarru-]ša-Nadnāya | Bīt-ana-pān-ili |

imittu debt notes for barley from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar

| Text | Date | Responsibility of | Amount | Debtor |
|--------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|---|
| YBC 4092 ¹⁴⁶⁵ | 10-VI-34 Nbk | - | 9;3 B for 6 D | Bēl-iddin/Balātu/Asû |
| YBC 9213 | 27-VI-34 Nbk | - | 100 B | Innin-šum-ušur/Balāssu |
| PTS 3012 | 24-X-35 Nbk | - | 15 B for D | Nergal-īpuš & Nanāya-aḥ-iddin, sons of Nabû-zēr-līšir |
| YBC 4056 | 1-IX-37 Nbk | - | 11;3 B for 7;3.4 D | Nabû-ēter-napšāti/Šarid/Rab-banê |

imittu debt notes for dates from the reign of Neriglissar

| Text | Date | Responsibility of | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| NBC 6127 | 23-VI-00 ¹⁴⁶⁶ Ner | Š | 10 | Zēria/Aḥḥēšu | Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl |
| YBC 6868 | 4-VIII-[x] Ner | Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim/Nabû-udammiq | 185 | sons of Nergal-īpuš 6 Marduk/Balāssu | [x]/Marduk-erība |
| BIN 1 123 | 22-[x]-acc Ner | Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim/Nabû-udammiq | 4 | Ardia/Šar-ēter | Bunānu/Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit |
| <i>Iraq</i> 59, no. 12 | 15-[x]-1 Ner | Š | 95 | Nabû-[x]/Ibnāya, Mūrānu/Šir[iktu] | Eanna-lip-ušur/Ibni-Ištar/Pušāya |
| TCL 12 66 | 26-VI-2 Ner | Š | 9;1.3 | 'Rišāya/Nabû-šum-ibni | Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl |
| PTS 2422 | 18-VII-2 Ner | - | 8;2.3 | Kāšir/Šulāya | Nabû [?] -mukīn-apli/Zēria |

¹⁴⁶⁵ This and another two documents (YBC 4092, PTS 3012, YBC 4056) record obligations to pay barley in exchange for dates. They were drafted after the date harvest, but for some reason the debtors could not discharge their obligation in dates and so the debt was converted to barley and was to be repaid after the barley harvest the following year. Note that the conversion rate was not 1 : 1 in the two Yale texts.

¹⁴⁶⁶ The year numeral was omitted by the scribe.

| Scribe | Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Eanna-šum-ibni/Aḫḫēšāya | - | II; Eanna | Uruk |
| Nabû-bān-aḫi/Ibnāya/Ekur-zakir | (in Til-ḫurāši) | II; Nār-šarri | Naḫallu |
| Anu-šum-ibni/Ibni-Ištar/Puṣāya | - | III; Eanna | Til-agurrēti |
| Ištar-mukīn-apli [?] /Zēria | - | III; Eanna | Uruk |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|---------------|-------------------------|-------------------|---|
| Naḫallu | VIII; Naḫallu | Naḫallu | <i>ina muḫḫi 1 kurru tuḫalla liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; 5 kurru sissinušu eḫer</i> |
| - | <i>ina ḫašāri</i> | [x] | - |
| - | - | Kār-Nanāya | - |
| Ḫarru-ša-Dālê | VIII; Eanna | Kār-Nanāya | <i>ina libbi 20 kurru makkasū; ina muḫḫi 1 kurru tuḫalla u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| Naḫallu | VIII | Kār-Eanna | - |
| Nār-Bānītu | - | Uruk | - |

imittu debt notes for barley from the reign of Nabonidus

| Text | Date | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor |
|-----------|--------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|---|
| PTS 3008 | [x-x-x] Nb[n] | Š+K | [x] | Ša-Nabû-šû/Bēl-nāšir [?] , <i>ikkaru</i> , & Marduk-erība/Kudurru, <i>ikkaru</i> |
| YOS 19 85 | 22-II ¹ -acc Nbn | Š | [x] | Šamaš-zēr-ušabši/Silim-Bēl |
| YOS 19 86 | 18-[x]-1 Nbn | Š | 330 | Nabû-mukin-apli/[x]-erība |
| BIN 1 97 | 12-I-1 Nbn | Š | 35 (<i>zittu</i>) | Kalbāya/Nergal-šum-ibni |
| YOS 6 24 | 11 ^{+1 or 2} -I-1 Nbn | Š | 22 ⁺ | Nabû-zēr-iddin/Šamaš-iddin |
| YOS 6 43 | 1-IV-2 Nbn | Š | 380 | Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim/Balātu |
| YOS 19 87 | 12-XII-2 Nbn | Š | 70 | Balātu/Nabû-šum-ušur |
| YBC 3522 | 3-[x]-3 Nbn | Š | [x] | [x]/Nabû-šum-ēreš |
| YOS 6 84 | 5-II-3 Nbn | Š | 200 | Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim/Balātu |
| YOS 6 47 | 10-II-3 Nbn | Š | 266 | Nazia/Nergal-nāšir, <i>ikkaru</i> |
| YOS 6 55 | 13-II-3 Nbn | Š | 275 | Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin/Nabû-ēreš, <i>ikkaru</i> |
| PTS 2863 | 13-II-3 Nbn | Š | 312 | Šamaš-ēd-ušur/Mušēzib-Bēl |
| TEBR 38 | 17-[II]-3 Nbn | Š | 352 | Nanāya-iddin/Balātu, <i>ikkaru</i> |
| YOS 6 45 | 25-II-3 Nbn | Š | 260 | Šamaš-īpuš/Ardāya, <i>ikkaru</i> |
| VS 20 69 | 19-[x]-5 Nbn | Š | 23 | Ḥašdia/Iqīšāya [?] |

| Scribe | Plot | Date and Place of Payment | Place of Drafting |
|--|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Balātu/[x] | Bīrat | II | Bīrat |
| Šamaš-zēr-ušabši/Silim-Bēl | - | III; Takkīru | Maškan-il |
| Anu-mukīn-apli/[Innin-tabni-ušur/]Gimil-Nanāya | Rātu | III | ^{uru} [x] |
| Anu-mukīn-apli/Innin-tabni-ušur/Gimil-Nanāya | - | III; Nār-Šakillat | Bīt-Šama-il |
| Anu-mukīn-apli/Innin-tabni-ušur/Gimil-Nanāya | [x] | III | Bīt-Šama-il |
| Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl | Bīt-Nabû | [x] | Til-x |
| Aplāya/Nabû-ēter | - | II | Nār-Innin |
| Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl | [x] | [x] | Maškan-il |
| [Balātu]/Mušēzib-Bēl | Bīt-Nabû u Aššurītu | [x] | Aššurītu |
| Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl | Bīt-bārī | II | Bīt-bārī |
| Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl | Imtūnu | II | Birtu-ša-Bazāya |
| Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl | Imtūnu | II | Birtu-ša-Bazāya |
| [Balātu]/Mušēzib-Bēl | Taḥudāya | II | Ta[ḥudāya] |
| Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl | Tabīnu-ša-Šum-ukīn | II | Tabīnu-ša-Šum-ukīn |
| Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl | - | [x] | Uruk |

imittu debt notes for dates from the reign of Nabonidus

| Text | Date | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------------|------------------|---|
| YBC 11582 | - | Š | [x] | [x]/Ardia |
| YBC 7377 | - | Š | [x]+6 | Kīnia/Šum-iddin |
| YBC 6843 | - | Š | [x] | Nabû-ēter-napšati/ ¹ x-x-x ¹ |
| YBC 11455 | - | Š | [x] | Rēmūt/Nergal-ušallim |
| YOS 6 199 | 6-VI-[x] Nbn | Š | [x] | Ištar-zēr-ibni/Nabû-bēlšunu |
| YBC 7374 | 8-VI-1 ⁺ Nbn | Š | [x] | Šulāya/Marduk-[x], Basia/Marduk-šum-ibni |
| CD 101 | 7-VI-1 Nbn | Š | 8 | Nabû-bān-aḥi/Aplāya |
| PTS 2036 | 19-VII-1 Nbn | Š+K | 50 ⁷¹ | Šākin-šumi/Šillāya |
| YOS 6 44 | 28-V-2 Nbn | Š | [x] | Bēl-aḥ-ušabši/Marduk-iddin |
| YOS 6 49 | [x]-VI-3 Nbn | Š | 50 | Sîn-zēr-ušabši/Rēmūt, Ištar-zēr-ibni/Sîn-nādin-šumi |
| YOS 6 158 | 10-VI-3 Nbn | Š | [x] | Šamaš-zēr-iqīša/Itti-Šamaš-balātu |
| YOS 6 25 | 15-VI-3 Nbn | Š | 64 | Nabû-kāšir/ ¹ x-x-x ¹ |
| YOS 6 36 | 16-VI-3 Nbn | Š | 65 | Iddin-Marduk/Nabû-erība |
| PTS 2343 | 17-VI-3 Nbn | Š | 42 | Bībēa/Nabû-udammīq |

| Scribe | Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Delivery | Extras |
|--|----------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| [x] | [x] | VIII; Kapru- ša-[Naqidāti] | [x] | [x] |
| [Balātu]/Arad- Gula/Gimil-Nanāya | Ḫarru-ša- Nadnāya | VIII; Ḫarru- ša-Nadnāya | Ḫarru-[ša- Nadnāya] | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī [u] mangāga inamdin; ina muḫḫi [100] (kurru) 10 kurru suluppī ana makkasī ušabbat</i> |
| Balātu/[x] | [x] | VII | [x] | <i>ina muḫḫi 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| Balātu/[x] | [x] | VII | [x] | <i>ina muḫḫi 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; [sissinnu] eḫer</i> |
| Innin-tabni- uṣur/Arad- Gula/Gimil-Nanāya | [x] | VIII | Bitqu-ša-Bēl- ēḫer | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; [...]</i> |
| Balātu/Arad- Gula/Gimil-Nanāya | Kār-Eanna | VIII; Kār- Eanna | Kār-Eanna | - |
| Anu-mukīn- apli/Innin-tabni- uṣur/Gimil-Nanāya | Nār-Innin | IX; Nār-Innin | Uruk | - |
| Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl | Bāb-Maḫīri | [x] | Bitqu-ša-Bēl- ēḫer | - |
| Balātu/Mušēzib-Bēl | [x] | VII | Kurbat | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; sissinnušu eḫer</i> |
| Balātu/[Arad- Gula]/Gimil- Na[nāya] | Aššurītu | VIII; Aššurītu | Aššu[rītu] | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdinū</i> |
| [Balā]tu/Arad- Gula/[Gimil]- Nanāya | Nāru-eššu | VIII; Nāru- eššu | Nāru-eššu | <i>sissinnušu eḫer</i> |
| Balātu/Arad-Gula | Ḫarru-ša- Nadnāya | VIII; Ḫarru- ša-Nadnāya | Ḫarru-ša- Nadnāya | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; sissinnušu eḫer</i> |
| Balātu/Arad- Gula/Gimil-Nanāya | Ḫarru-ša- Nadnāya | VIII; Ḫarru- ša-Nadnāya | Ḫarru-ša- Nadnāya | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; ina muḫḫi 100 kurru 10 kurru suluppī ana makkasī ušabbat</i> |
| Balātu/Arad-Gula | Bāb-Ḫilti | VIII; Bāb- Ḫilti | Bāb-Ḫilti | - |

| Text | Date | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor |
|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------|--|
| Dillard 37 (FLP 1561) | 28-VI-3 Nbn | Š | 90 | Bazuzu/Nabû-zēr-iqīša, Ša-Nabû-šû/Šum-iddin(?), Etellu/Nabû-zēr-iqīša |
| PTS 2292 | 30-VI-3 Nbn | Š | 20 | Nergal-iddin/Badi-il |
| YOS 19 76 | 27-VI-5 Nbn | Š | 110 | Nabû-nāšir/Nabû-zēr-līšir, Nabû-ušuršu/Gula-zēr-ibni |
| YOS 6 65 | 12-VI-6 Nbn | Š | 28 | Nanāya-aḥ-iddin/Ba-[x...] |
| YOS 19 82 | [x-x-7] Nbn | Š+K | [x] | Nabû-mukīn-apli/Bēl-īpuš/Kurī, Lūši-ana-nūri/Zēria |
| YOS 6 82 | 8-[x]-7 Nbn | Š | 7 | [x] |
| YBC 11463 | 1-[x]-7 [Nbn] | Š+K | [x] | Nanāya-ēreš/Bā'u-ēreš |
| YOS 19 78 | 15-[x]-7 Nbn | Š+K | 27 | Nabû-zēr-ukīn/Šillāya |
| YBC 3466 | 17-V-[7] Nbn | Š+K | [x];4.2.4 | Bānia/Tarībi |
| PTS 2481 | 18-V-7 Nbn | Š+K | [x] | Nabû-šum-ušur/Nabû-aḥ-iddin, Kudur[ru ²]/Arad-Innin |
| YOS 6 107 | 28-V-7 Nbn | Š+K | 44 | [x ¹] slave (<i>qallu</i>) of Šākin-šumi |
| YOS 6 101 | 28-V-7 Nbn | Š+K | 168 | Innin-ina-tēšī-ēter/Marduk-šāpik-zēri/Nagāru, Anu-zēr-ibni/Nabû-zēr-ušabši |
| YOS 19 81 | 11-VI-[7] Nbn | Š+K | 32 | Ištar-zēr-ibni/[Šamaš ¹ -zēr-ušabši |
| YOS 6 86 | 15-VI-7 Nbn | Š+K | [x]+6 | Šamaš-erība/Ḥašdia |
| YOS 6 185 | 24-VI-[7] Nbn | Š+K | 108 | Nabû-nāšir/Nabû-zēr-ukīn |

| Scribe | Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Delivery | Extras |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu/Nabû-šum-ukīn | [Dūru]-ša-Bīt-Dakūru | [x] | Dūru-ša-Bīt - Dakūru | - |
| Nabû-mukīn-apli/Rēḫētu | Bitqu-Ladannu | VIII | Bitqu-Ladannu | - |
| Innin-šum-ušur/Nergal-ušēzib/Kidin-Marduk | Bitqu | VIII | Bitqu | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; ina libbi 10 kurru suluppī ana makkasī, sissinnušunu ana atāwi</i> |
| Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu/Nabû-šum-ukīn | Kār-Nanāya | VII | Kār-Nanāya | <i>ina libbi 2 kurru makkasū; [ina muḫḫi] 1 kurru tuḫalla, [liblibbī u] mangāga inamdin; [sissinnu] eṭer</i> |
| [x] | [x] | VII | [x] | <i>ina libbi [x] suluppī ana makkasī [...]; ina muḫḫi 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; [sissinnu] eṭer</i> |
| Balāṭu/Mušēzib-Bēl | Dūru-Gidānu | [x] | [x] | [x] |
| Balāṭu/Mušēzib-Bēl | [x] | [x] | [x] | [x] |
| [Balāṭu]/Mušēzib-Bēl | Naḫallu | VII; | [x] | <i>sissinnu eṭer; ina muḫḫi 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; ina libbi 3 kurru makkasū</i> |
| Balāṭu/Mušēzib-Bēl | [x] | VII | [Uruk?] | <i>sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| Balāṭu/Mušēzib-Bēl | Abul-Adad | [x] | [Uruk?] | <i>sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| Balāṭu/Mušēzib-Bēl | [x] | [x] | Kār-Nanāya, ša muḫḫi Takkīru | <i>itti [1 kurru] tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; ina libbi 14 kurru makkasū; [sissinnu] eṭer</i> |
| Innin-šum-ušur/Nergal-ušēzib/Kidin-Marduk | Bāb-Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēṭer | VII | Kār-Nanāya | <i>itti [1 kurru] tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; ina libbi 17 kurru makkasū</i> |
| Balāṭu/Mušēzib-Bēl | Aššurītu | VII | Aššurītu | <i>ina muḫḫi 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| Balāṭu/Mušēzib-Bēl | Naḫallu | VII | Naḫallu | <i>ina muḫḫi 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga, ina libbi sis[sinnu] eṭer, ina libbi 28 [kurru makkasū]</i> |
| Nanāya-aḫ-iddin/Nabû-šum-ibni | Bitqu-ša-Lābā[ši] | VIII | Dūru-ša-Bīt-Dakūru | <i>sissinnu eṭer; itti 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |

imittu debt notes for dates from the reign of Cambyses

Date uncertain

| Text | Date | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|----------------|----------------------------------|-------------|--------|--|--|
| AUWE 11 215 | [x]-VI-[x] Camb | A | [x] | [x] | [x/x/]Bā'iru |
| JCS 28, no. 56 | [x]-VI[a ²]-[x] Camb | A | 62 | Anu-ikšur/Innin-šum-ušur | [x]/Nabû-ikšur/[x] |
| EHE 451 | [x-x-x] Camb | A | [x] | Bēl-ibni/Nabû-dīn-īpuš u Ib ^f nāya ¹ /Bēl-ušallim | [x] |
| VS 20 66 | 11-[x-x] Camb | A | 20 | [x]/Nanāya-ēreš | [Itti-Nabû-balātu /]Tabnēa[/Ur-Nanna] |
| JCS 28, no. 57 | [x]-V-[x] Camb | A | 42 | Bēl-iddin/Bānia/[x] | Šamaš-mu[kīn-apl]i/Eanna-[nādin-šumi/Babū]tu |
| VS 20 63 | [x]-VIa-[acc ²] Camb | [A] | 50 | Ištar-lūmur/[x] | Itti-Nabû-balātu /[Tabnēa]/Ur-Na[nna] |
| YBC 11634 | 8-VI-[x] Camb | A | [x] | Nā'id-Ištar/Arad-Innin | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin-aḫi/[Ga]ḫul |
| AUWE 5 70 | 13 ⁺ -VI-[x] Camb | A | [x] | Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin/Bēl-usāt/Bēl-usāt | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |
| BIN 1 115 | 27 ⁺² -VI-[x] Camb | A | [x] | Ḫa-[x]-ba-qu/Bānia | Nabû-šum-ukīn /Nādin-aḫi/Gaḫul |
| NCBT 552 | 1-VII-[x] Camb | A | [x] | Dannu-aḫḫēšu-ibni/Innin-šum-ušur | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |
| VS 20 64 | 12-[x-x] Camb | A | [x] | Nabû-šum-iddin/Nabû-[x] | Nanāya-aḫ-iddin/[Ša]maš-apla-ušur |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of drafting | Extras |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| [x] | [x] | [Kapru-ša-nā]qidāti | - |
| | VIII | [^d Namri]-Saparrāta | <i>itti 1 kurru tuħalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| [x] | [x] | [x] | [x] |
| | [x] | Aššurītu | [x...] <i>liblibbī, [...]</i> |
| <i>bīt ritti ša Bēl-iddin</i> | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter] | <i>itti [1 kurru] 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| [x] | [x] | [x] | <i>itti 1 kurru [tuħalla], liblibbī u mangāga [u bilta] ša hušābi elāt [...] inamdin; kù-b. ša habi [uħīni] ina pānišu</i> |
| Kapru-ša-nāqidāti | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kapru-ša-nāqidāti | <i>itti 1 kurru bilta, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga, gipī, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl; 5 kurrusissinnu maħir</i> |
| [x] | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuħalla, liblibbī, mangāga inamdin; elāt 2 kurruša gugalli</i> |
| Takkīru | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru bilta, tuħalla, liblibbī mangāga, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl inamdin; 1 kurru sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| Ḫarru-ša-Lābāši | [x]; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | [...] <i>.5 qū kišir esitti [...] bilta ša hušābi, tuħalla [...] inamdin [...] ša gugalli</i> |
| | VIII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu | <i>itti <1 kurru> 0;0.1.4[½ kišir esit]ti u din ana ^dc[n, bilta ša hušābi, tuħalla, liblibbī, mangāga] inamdin</i> |

acc Camb

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------|--------|--|---|
| YOS 7 98 | VIa-4 | A | 1;1.4 | Nabû-dūr-ēdu/Nabû-šum-iškun | Anu-mukîn-apli/ Nabû-zēr-iqīša |
| JCS 28, no. 25 | VIa-10 | A | 66 | Iqīšāya/Kīnāya/Egibi | Itti-Nabû-balātu/ Tabnēa/Ur-Nanna |
| GC 2 116 | VIa-10 | A | 28;2.3 | Šamaš-aḫ-iddin/Lūšum, Ina-šilli-Nanāya/Innin-zēr-ušabši | Itti-Nabû-balātu/ Tabnēa/Ur-Nanna |
| GC 2 118 | VIa-12 | A | 13;2.3 | Kīnāya/Rēmūt/Ekur-zakir | Itti-Nabû-balātu/ Tabnēa/Ur-Nanna |
| GC 2 112 | VIa-13 | A | 24;2.3 | Dannu-aḫḫēšu-ibni /Nanāya-iddin | Itti-Nabû-balātu/ Tabnēa/Ur-Nanna |
| GC 2 117 | VIa-15 | A | 34 | Ardia/Šamaš-šum-ukīn/Mandīdu, Nanāya-iddin/Nergal-ušēzib | Itti-Nabû-balātu/ Tabnēa/Ur-Nanna |
| GC 2 218 | VIa-20 ^{+?} | A | 5 | Ardia/Nabû-iddin | Itti-Šamaš-balātu/[x]-zēr-ukīn |
| GC 2 114 | VIa-21 | A | 12 | Ardia/Nergal-aḫ-iddin | Itti-Nabû-balātu/ Tabnēa/Ur-Nanna |
| JCS 28, no. 27 | VIa-21 | A | 16 | Šulāya/Sîn-nādin-šumi, Nā'id-Ištar/Arad-Innin | Itti-Nabû-balātu/ Tabnēa/Ur-Nanna |
| YOS 7 105 | VIa-21 | A | 20 | Nanāya-šamšia/Nabû-aḫ-iddin | Itti-Nabû-balātu /Tabnēa/Ur-Nanna |
| YOS 7 104 | [x]-25 | A | 150 | Itti-Nabû-balātu/ Tabnēa/Ur-Nanna | Marduk-šāpik- zēri/[Balātu]/Miširāya |
| GC 2 115 | VII-29 | A | 30 | Kamazza/Nāid-ilī | Gimillu/Innin-zēr-iddin |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Birāt; <i>bīt ritti ša Lābāši/Nabû-zēr-iddin</i> | VIII | Birātu | - |
| - | VIII | Naḥallu | <i>ina muḥḥi 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga, bilta, elāt kurummāti</i> |
| Nāru-ša-Bīt-ilī | VIII | Ālu-ša-Nabû-bān-aḥi | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga, bilta ša ḥuṣābi u kurummāti</i> |
| - | VIII | Bīt-Šama-il | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga, bilta, elāt kurummāti</i> |
| - | VIII | Naḥallu | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga, bilta ša ḥuṣābi elāt kurummāti inamdin; kaspi ša ḥabi uḥīni ina pānišu</i> |
| [x] | VIII | Nāru-cššu | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī, bilta ša ḥuṣābi, spi ša ḥabi uḥīni, elāt kurummāti, inamdin</i> |
| Ālu-ša-tašlīšī | VII | Bī[r]ā[tu] | - |
| Aššurītu | VIII; <i>ina ḥašāri</i> | Kapru-ša-naqidāti | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī, [mangāga] u bilta ša ḥuṣābi, [kaspi ša ḥa]bi uḥīni, elāt kurummāti, inamdin</i> |
| Aššurītu | VIII | Kapru-ša-naqidāti | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī u bilta ša ḥuṣābi, kaspi ša ḥabi uḥīni, elāt kurummāti, inamdinū</i> |
| Našibāta | VIII | Kapru-ša-naqidāti | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga, kaspi ša ḥabi uḥīni, elāt kurummāti, inamdin; 3 kurrusissinnu eṭer</i> |
| Bāb-Nār-Bitqu | VIII | La[sūtu] | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga, elāt kaspi ša ḥabi uḥīni u kurummāti, inamdin</i> |
| Ekallatu | VIII; Ekallatu | Kahillini | - |

1 Camb

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|---|---|
| GC 2 119 | [x]-15 | N | 40 | Mannu-akī-ilia/Šillāya | [GN-x]/Iššūru |
| NCBT 952 | V-16 | A | 59;3 | Ardia/Eanna-šum-ibni | Nabû-bēlšunu/ Ištar-šum-ēreš/ Ea-il[ūta-bāni] |
| YOS 7 117 | VII-8 | N | 30 | Šamaš-aḥ-iddin/Arad-Bēl | Innin-šum-ušur/ Nergal-šar-ušur |
| BM 114466 | VII-16 | N | 40 | Bēl-kāšir/Nabû-zēr-ušabši/ Ea-patanu, [†] Arrabtu/Šillāya | Šamaš-balāssu- iqbi/Iššūru ¹ |
| NCBT 1084 | XI-11 | N | 6;3.2 (<i>rēhit imitti</i>) | Lūši-ana-nūri[/x] | Innin-šum- ušur/Nergal-šar-ušur |

2 Camb

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------|---|---|
| BIN 1 111 | V-[2]6 | A | [x] | Šarrāya/Nabû-balāssu-iqbi | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin- aḥi/Gaḥul |
| TEBR 39 | V-26 | A | 14 | Anu-aḥ-iddin/Tērik- šarrūssu | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin- aḥi/Gaḥul |
| NCBT 991 | V-26 | A | 32;2.3 | Aḥḥē-[x]/Ibnāya | Nabû-šum-ukīn/ Nādin-aḥi/Gaḥul |
| PTS 3007 | VI-[x] | A | [x] | Šamaš-udammīq/Nergal- uballīṭ | Nabû-šum-ukīn/ Nādin-aḥi/Gaḥul |
| GC 2 407 | VI-4 | A | 60 | Madān-šar-ušur/Natan | Nabû-bēlšunu/ Ištar-šum-ēreš/ Ea-ilūta-bāni |
| YOS 7 136 | VI-9 | A | 42 | Šulāya, Ištar-zēr-ibni, Guzānu, & Šamaš-iqīša, sons of Sīn-nādin-šumi | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin- aḥi/Gaḥul |
| YOS 7 135 | VI-9 | A | 62 | Bēlšunu/Nūrēa, Šamaš- mukīn-apli/x, Dannu- aḥḥēšu-ibni/Nabû-lē'i | Nabû-bēlšunu/ Ištar-šum-ēreš/ Ea-ilūta-bāni |
| NCBT 420 | VI-10 ¹⁴⁶⁷ | N | 32 | [x]/Nādin/[x], Lābāši/[x] | Nabû-šum-u[kīn/Nādin- aḥi]/Gaḥul |

¹⁴⁶⁷ The year and the name of the king are broken off, but on account of the scribe and the localisation of the plot this text can be assigned to Cambyes's second year.

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---|
| Kurbat ² | VIII | Kurbat ² | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; elāt kaspi ša ḥabi uḥīni u kurummāti</i> |
| Nāru-eššetū | VII; <i>ina ḥašāri</i> | [x] | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu Bēl inamdin</i> |
| Kurbat | VIII | Kurbat | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga inamdin; sissinnu eṭer; elāt kaspi ša ḥabi uḥīni u kurummāti</i> |
| Kurbat | VIII | Kurbat | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga, bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdinū; elāt kaspi ḥabi uḥīni u kurummāti</i> |
| Nāru-eššu | [x]; Takkīru | Nāru-eššu | - |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| [Nāru-e]ššu, <i>bīt ritti ša Šamaš-ibni</i> | VII; <i>ina ḥašāri</i> | Nāru-eššu | <i>itti 1 kurru ¹bilta¹, tuḥalla, ¹liblibbī mangāga¹, gipī, [0;0.1.4 ½ kišir es]itti u din ana ^d[en inamdin]</i> |
| Nāru-eššu, Gizzētu | VII | Nāru-eššu | <i>itti 1 kurru bilta, tuḥalla, liblibbī mangāga, gipī, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl inamdin</i> |
| Nāru-eššu | VII; <i>ina ḥašāri</i> | Nāru-eššu | <i>itti 1 kurru [bilta], tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga, gipī, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u din ša ^den inamdin</i> |
| Kakkabtu | VII; <i>ina ḥašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēṭer | <i>itti 1 kurru bilta, tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u din ana ^den inamdin, 5 kurru sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| Ḥiltu | VII ; <i>ina ḥašāri</i> | Aššurītu | <i>itti 2¹ kurru bilta, tuḥalla, liblibbī mangāga, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u din [ana ^den] i[namdin]; 10 kurru sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| Aššurītu, next to the royal road | VII; <i>ina ḥašāri</i> | Aššurītu-ša-Bulluṭāya | <i>itti <1 kurru> 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl, bilta, tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga inamdinū</i> |
| Aššurītu-ša-Bulluṭāya | VII | Bī[t-Nab]û | <i>itti bilti, tuḥalli, liblibbī, mangāgi 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl inamdinū; 8 kurru sisinnu eṭrū</i> |
| Aššurītu | VII | Ḥar[ru-x] | <i>bilta [ša ḥuṣābi], mangāga; 1_b 4.5 qa [...] u din ana ^den; 3 kurru [...]</i> |

2 Camb

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|-----------|----------------------|-------------|--------|---|-----------------------------------|
| NCBT 957 | VI-18 | A | 2 | Bānia/[x] | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin-aḫi/Gaḫul |
| YOS 7 134 | VI-18 | A | 44 | Anu-aḫ-iddin/Nabû-aḫḫē-erība, Šamaš-bēl-ilī/Marduk | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin-aḫi/Gaḫul |
| BIN 1 98 | VI-23 | A | 95 | Ile'i-Marduk/Nabû-šum-ukīn/Eṭēru | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin-aḫi/Gaḫul |
| GC 2 357 | VI-24 | A | 4;2.3 | Nabû-ēṭer/Rēmūt | Marduk-šāpik-zēri/Balātu/Miṣirāya |
| PTS 2825 | VI-24 | A | 81 | Mušēzib-Bēl/Balāssu/Amīl-Ea (individual debtors are 3 <i>ikkarus</i> : Šamaš-erība, Iddin-Amurru, Inmin-šum-ibni) | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin-aḫi/Gaḫul |
| BIN 1 105 | VI-124 ⁷¹ | A | [x] | Šulāya/Šamaš-zēr-iqīša | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin-aḫi/Gaḫul |
| CD 84 | VI-27 | A | 21 | Rēmūt & Ardīa, sons of Šākin-šumi/Sîn-tabni | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin-aḫi/Gaḫul |
| PTS 2810 | VIII-1 | A | [x] | Nabû-aḫ-iddin/Ina-šilli-Nanāya | Nabû-šum-ukīn/Nādin-aḫi/Gaḫul |

3 Camb

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|------------|------------------|-------------|--------|----------------------|---|
| TCL 13 155 | VI-8 | A | 16 | Kīnenāya/Nergal-ibni | Nabû-bēlšunu/Ištar-šum-ēreš/ Ea-ilūta-bāni |
| NCBT 541 | VII-14 | [A] | [x] | Šamaš-mukīn-apli | Nabû-bēlšunu/Ištar-šum-ēreš/ Ea-ilūta-bāni |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------|---|
| Bit-gubbu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru bilt[a, tuḫalla, liblibbī], mangāga [...] inamdin; elāt 5_b [...] ša kūm suluppī imitti ša m[u x-kam]; 2 kurru sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| Purattu <i>adi muḫḫi</i> Ḫarri-kibbi | [x]; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti [1 kurru] tuḫalla, liblibbī, mangāga [...] kišir esitti u [din ana^den] inamdinū; 4⁺¹ or² kurru sissinnu eṭ[er]</i> |
| Takkīru | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru bilta, tuḫalla, liblibbī mangāga, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balāṭu ana Bēl inamdin; 10 kurru sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| - | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru bilta, tuḫalla, liblibbī mangāga, [x] 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balāṭu ana Bēl inamdin; [x]+2;2.3 kurru sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| - | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru bilta, tuḫalla, liblibbī mangāga, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balāṭu ana Bēl inamdin; 4 kurru sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| Nāru-ša-Bīt-ili, <i>bīt ritti ša</i> [x]-qu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru bilta, tuḫalla, liblibbī mangāga, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balāṭu ana Bēl inamdin</i> |
| Nāru-ša-Bīt-ilī | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru bilta, tuḫalla, liblibbī mangāga, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balāṭu ana Bēl inamdinū; 3 kurru sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| [Nār-I]nnin | VIII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Uruk | <i>itti 1 kurru bilta, tuḫalla, liblibbī mangāga, 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balāṭu ana Bēl inamdin; 5 kurru sissinnu eṭer</i> |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Nār-šarri | VII | Ḫarru-ša-Nadnāya ²¹ | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balāṭu Bēl; itti 1 kurru tuḫalla, liblibbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḫuṣābi inamdin</i> |
| Purattu | VIII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bīt-šaddain | <i>itti 1 kurru [0;0.1.4 ½] kišir esitti u balāṭu ana Bēl, bilta ša ḫuṣābi, tuḫalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; 10 kurru sissinnu maḫir</i> |

4 Camb

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|--------|--------------------------------------|---|
| BIN 1 110 | V-11 | A | 13 | Dummuq/Aplāya | Nabû-bēlšunu/ Ištar-šum-ereš/ Ea-ilūta-bāni |
| YOS 7 175 | VI-2 | A | 13;2.3 | Eribāya/Sîn-aḫḫē- bulliṭ/Supê-Bēl | Nabû-bēlšunu/ Ištar-šum-ereš/ Ea-ilūta-bāni |
| NCBT 562 | VI-4 | A | [x] | Ubār/Nabû-ušuršu | Bēl-iqīša/Bānia |
| BM 114590 | VI-12 | A | 38 | Ardia/Innin-šum-ušur | Mušēzib-Bēl/ Zēria/Sîn-šādunu |

5 Camb

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|---------------|------------------|-------------|--------|--|--|
| BIN 1 129 | [x]-5 | A | 1;2 | Nabû-din-[x]/Ina-pa-an-da- nu? | Bēl- iqīša/'Bānia'/Bā'iru |
| BIN 1 128 | V-15 | A | 50 | Šamaš-iqīša/Nabû-ēter | Šamaš-mukīn- apli/'Eanna'-nādin- šumi/Babūtu |
| BIN 1 119 | V-18 | A | 150 | Ea-zēr-iddin/Nabû-bēl-aḫi | Šamaš-mukīn- apli/Eanna-nādin- šumi/Babūtu |
| BIN 1 116 | V-26 | A | 12 | Aḫ-iddin/tar-ba-ru-šū | Šamaš-mukīn- apli/Eanna-nādin- šumi/Babūtu |
| BIN 1 103 | VI-1 | A | 127 | Nabû-ēter-napšāti/[x]- ia/Rēmūt-Bēl, Nabû-balāssu- iqbi/Ša-Nabû-šū | Šamaš-mukīn- apli/Eanna-nādin- šumi/Babūtu |
| BIN 1 102 | VI-4 | A | 110 | Nādin & Anu-iqbi, [sons of x]-ia/Innin-zēr-[x] | Bēl-iqīša/Bānia/Bā'iru |
| YOS 7 181 | VI-23 | A | 19 | Nūnāya/Silim-Bēl | Bēl-iqīša/Bānia/Bā'iru |
| TCL 13 172 | VII-22 | A | 2 | Bānia & Dalanna, sons of Tērik-šarrūssu | Bēl-iqīša/Bānia/Bā'iru |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|---|-------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Nāru-eššetū | VIII | Uruk | <i>itti 1 kurru [1_b 4.5] qū kišir esitti [u balātu ana] Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, [tu]halla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; 2 kurru sissinnu maḥir</i> |
| <i>x adi gišimmarī šehrūti ša Sīn-aḥḥē-bulliṭ</i> | VII | Kapru-ša-naqidāti | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; 2 kurru sissinnu maḥir; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| <i>bīt ritti ša Balātu/Nabû-bān-aḥi</i> | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | [Bīt]qu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| <i>Bīt-rē'ī elunūtu</i> | VIII | ^{uru} šá-[x]-du | - |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| [x] | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bīt-Nā'id-[x] | <i>itti 1 kurru tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| Kurbat | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kurbat | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī, [mangāga] inamdin; elāt [x]</i> |
| Lasūtu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Lasūtu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| Nār-Saḥiru-ša-Nabû-iqīša | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kār-Nanāya | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| ʾBītqu ¹ | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bītqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>[itti 1 kurru 1_b] 4.5 qū kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdinū</i> |
| Nāru-ša-Bīt-ilī | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bītqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; elāt 2 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Nāru-eššu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kapru-ša-naqidāti | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| Šatarrāya | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | ^{uru} ʾx ¹ | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl inamdinū</i> |

6 Camb

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|----------|------------------|-------------|--------|-------------------------|--|
| Truro 17 | VI-19 | A | 58 | Nabû-ēreš/Nabû-dīn-īpuš | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |

7 Camb

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|----------------|------------------|-------------|----------|---|--|
| NCBT 829 | [x]-5 | [x] | 32[+x/0] | Kalbāya/Nabû-re-ʿx ¹ | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |
| BM 113384 | V-11 | A | 10 | Ayya-yada ⁷ /Nabû-šābit | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |
| BM 114641 | V-25 | A | 289 | Innin-šum-iškun/Gimillu/Kurī | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |
| BM 113536 | VI-5 | A | 12 | Ēribāya/Nabû-zēr-ukīn, Aḫ-iddin/Nabû-ēter | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Nādin/Babūtu |
| BM 114645 | VI-14 | A | 100 | Marduk-šum-[x/x]/Sūtia | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |
| YOS 7 195 | VI-14 | A | 19 | Balātu/Innin-zēr-ušabši | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |
| BM 114643 | VI-26 | A | 260 | [Ea-zēr]-iddin/Nabû-[bēl-aḫi] | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |
| JCS 28, no. 35 | VII-2 | A | 95 | Ištar-aḫ-iddin/Innin-zēr-ušabši | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/[Babū]tu |
| BM 114487 | VII-4 | A | 47 | Šamaš-zēr-iddin/Lābāši | [x/x/x] |
| BM 113429 | VII-6 | A | 65 | Marduk-šāpik-zēri/Balātu/Miširāya | Šamaš-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |
| BM 113430 | VII-6 | A | 88 | Nabû-balāssu-iqbi & Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, sons of Marduk-ēter//Mandīdu | [Šamaš]-mukīn-apli/Eanna-nādin-šumi/Babūtu |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Dūr-Ugumu | VII | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti balātu Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---|
| Nāru-ša-Bīt-ilī | VII | Bitqu-ša-[Bēl-ēter] | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti balātu Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Kurbat [?] | VII | Kurbat [?] | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4¹ ½ kišir esitti balātu ana Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| Bīt-Nabû-šum-lišir | VII | Uruk | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti balātu ana Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin; elāt 5 kurru kasia šibšu šupāl gišimmarī</i> |
| a-ša šá 10 mu ^{meš} | VII | Nāru-eššu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti balātu ana Bēl, tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdinū</i> |
| Naḥallu | [x]; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bāb-Aššurītu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.[4] ½ kišir esitti balātu Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| Nār-šarri | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bāb-Aššurītu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti balātu Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| Lasūtu | [x]; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bīt-Šākin-šumi | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti balātu Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī u mangāga inamdin</i> |
| Takkīru | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Takkīru | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti u balātu ana Bēl, [bilta] ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Ḥarru-ša-Lābāši | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Ālu-Nār-saparrātu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti balātu Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Lasūtu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.1.4 ½ kišir esitti balātu Bēl, bilta ša hušābi, tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga inamdinū</i> |

imittu debt notes for dates from the first regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar IV

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|-------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------|---|---|
| VS 20 62 | [x] | G | 10 | Ša-pî-kalbi/Īumḫ[um [?] -x] | [x] |
| AUWE 11 216 | [x] | [G] | [x] | [x] | [Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/] Ki[din-Marduk] |
| YOS 21 210 | [x] | G | 66 | Arad-Anu/Ērebšu | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ [Kidin]-Marduk |
| YOS 17 37 | [x] | G | 40 ⁺ | Bulṭ[āya & PN sons] of Nabû-nāšir | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| YOS 17 299 | [V]-24 | G | 24 + 18 | Innin-šum-ušur/Silim-il | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| YOS 21 206 | V-15 | G | 63 | Anu-zēr-ibni/Ištar-aḫ- iddin/ Rīm-Anu | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| YOS 17 286 | V-16 | G | 43 | Šamaš-zēr-iddin/Ištar-aḫ- iddin/Bā'iru, Šamaš- uballit/ Anu-šum-ibni/ r-? | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-[Marduk] |
| YOS 17 35 | V-18 | G | 14 | Yādā [?] /Nabû-zabadu | Innin-šum-ušur/Nergal-ušur |
| YOS 17 287 | V-24 | G | 18 | Nabû-erība/Zakir | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| YOS 17 288 | V-26 | G | 10 | Ṭābia/Šamaš-udammiq, Šamaš-aḫḫē-erība/Bēl-ibni | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| BM 114636 | V-26 | G | 15 | Nabû-utir, slave (<i>qallu</i>) of Kinnēa | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| BM 114617 | V-26 | G | 16 | Aḫ-lūmur/rx ¹ | Innin-šum-ušur/Nergal- ušēzib |
| BM 114630 | V-29 | G | 60 | Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin/Arad- Innin/Aḫ-iddin [?] , Šamaš- erība/Arad-Innin/Ījunzū | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| BM 114650 | VI-1 | G | 61 | Šum-iddin/Mušallim- Marduk | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| [x] | VII | [x] | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2. [3...] inamdin; ina libbi [...] 1 kurru makkasū [...]; elāt 1 kurru [...] sissinnušu [...]</i> |
| [x] | [x] | [x] | <i>[...] kurummāti, lib[libbī ...] bilta ša [hušābi ...] inamdin; ina libbi [...], sissinnu [...], elāt 1 kurru [ša gugalli]</i> |
| [x] | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, [Kār-Nan]āya | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3, tuḥalla, libbī, mangāga, bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 6 kurru makkasū; 6 kurru sissinnušu ēter; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Aššurītu-ša-Bulluṭāya | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Ḥarru-ša-Nadnāya | <i>itti 1 kurru [...] libbī, mangāga, [...] hušābi inamdin; ina libbi [...], elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli, sissinnu ēter</i> |
| Kār-Eanna | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kār-Eanna, Ālu-ša-Anu-aḥ-iddin | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga, bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 4 kurru makkasū; elāt 2 kurru ša gugalli u kaspi ša ḥa-b[ī² uḥīni]; sissinnušu Innin-šum-usur ēter</i> |
| Gadētu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | [Gadē]tu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilti hušābi inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; Šamaš-zēr-iddin sissinnu ēter</i> |
| Gadētu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Gadētu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli u kaspi ša ḥabi uḥīni; Šamaš-zēr-ibni sissinnušu ēter</i> |
| Kurbat | VII | Kurbat | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga, bilta ša hušābi inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; ina libbi 1;2.2 makkasū; sissinnu ēter</i> |
| Kār-Eanna | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kār-Eanna, Ālu-ša-Anu-aḥ-iddin, Uruk | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga inamdin; ina libbi 1;3.2 makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli u kaspi ša ḥa; sissinnušu Nabû-erība ēter</i> |
| Nāru-eššu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Nāru-eššu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; 1 kurru makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; sissinnušu Ṭābia u Šamaš-aḥḥē-erība ētrū</i> |
| Nāru-eššu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Nāru-eššu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi [inamdin]; ina libbi 1;3.2 makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; sissinnu ēter</i> |
| Nāru-eššu | VII | Nāru-eššu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 1;[x.x] makkasū; ṛelāt 1¹ [kurru] ša gugalli</i> |
| Kakkabtu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kār-Nanāya, Takkīru | <i>itti <1 kurru> 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuḥalla, libbī, mangāga, bilta ša hušābi inamdin; 4 kurru sissinnu ēter; [ina libbi x m]akkasū; elāt 2 kurru [ša gugalli]</i> |
| Kār-Šara | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Nahallu | <i>itti 1 kurru [0;0.2.3] kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u [bilta] ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 6 kurru [makkasū]; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; sissinnušu Šum-iddin ēter</i> |

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|------------|---------------------|----------------|-----------------|---|---|
| TCL 12 22 | VI-2 | G | 55 | Iddināya/Innin-šum-ušur/Šîn-leqe-unninnī | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| YOS 17 289 | VI-2 | G | 36 | Nabû-mukkelîp/Nūrānu | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| YOS 17 290 | VI-3 | G | 7;2.3 | Ardia/Šamaš-uballiṭ | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| BM 114642 | VI-3 | G | 28 | Šamaš-eriba/Ṭāb-x | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidīn-Marduk |
| SAKF 136 | VI-3 | G | 22 | Nabû-kāšir/Šamaš-bān-aḫi | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidīn-Marduk |
| BM 114644 | VI-3 | G | 12 | Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin/Marduk-šum-iddin/Bēl-apla-ušur | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| YOS 17 291 | VI-8 | G | 150 | Šamaš-iqīša/Šîn-aḫ-iddin | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| BM 114438 | VI-12 | G | 18 ⁺ | Bēl-uballiṭ/Īnia | Innin-šum-ušur/Nergal-ušēzib/Kidīn-Marduk |
| PTS 3014 | VI-12 | G | 34 | Kalbāya/Ibni-Ištar, Lābāši/Bānia | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidīn-Marduk |
| YOS 17 292 | VI-13 | G | 27 | Nabû- ^r x ¹ -[x]/Anu-ana-bītišu | Šillāya/Innin-[šum-ušur] |
| PTS 2243 | VI-29 | G | 37 | Šamaš-na- ^r x ¹ /Gimillu | [Šillāya]/Innin-šum-ušur/ [Kidīn-Mar]duk |
| BM 114467 | VI-29 | G | 145 | Tattannu/Ibnāya | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| TCL 12 23 | VII-1 | G | 40 | Kī-Šamaš/Iddinūnu | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| [x] | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | ṚNaḥallu ¹ | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 5;2.2 makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; sissinnu Iddināya eṭer</i> |
| Ḥiri[tu] | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Naḥallu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 3 kurru makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; sissinnušu [eṭer]</i> |
| Bīt-Šalti-il | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bāb-Aššurītu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 1 kurru makkasū; sissinnu Ardia eṭer</i> |
| Šuṣamman | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bāb-Aššurītu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi [...] gugallu [...] eṭer</i> |
| Naḥallu | VII | Bāb-Aššurītu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummata, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi [...]; ina libbi [...]; elāt [...]</i> |
| Ḥariṣu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kapru-ša-naqidāti | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 1 kurru makkasū; sissinnušu Nabū-aḥḫē eṭer</i> |
| Aššurītu | VII | Šakillat | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi; ina libbi 15 kurru makkasū; elāt 2 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Dūru-ša-Gidānu | VII | Ḥarru-ša-Nadnāya | <i>[itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti], libbī, mangāga[u bilta] ša ḥuṣābi; [...]; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; 3 kurru [...] ina libbi ina [...]</i> |
| Ḥarru-ša-Nadnāya | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Ḥarru-ša-Nadnāya | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3, tuḥalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša [ḥuṣābi] inamdin; [...] elāt 2 kurru [ša gugalli]; 2 kurru sissinnu [eṭer]; ina libbi 6 kurru makkasū</i> |
| [x] | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Naḥallu | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, libbī, mangāga u bilti ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 3;2.2 makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Naḥallu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēṭer | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga, bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 3;2.3 makkasū; Ṛelāt 1 kurru¹ ša gugalli; [sissinnu] eṭer</i> |
| Bāb-maḥīri | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kār-Nanāya | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuḥalla, liblibbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 13 kurru makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; sissinnušu Tattannu eṭer</i> |
| Nār-Bitqu, <i>būt ritti ša Zēria</i> | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kār-Nanāya | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuḥalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; sissinnušu Kī-Šamaš eṭer</i> |

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|------------|---------------------|----------------|--------|--|---|
| BM 114637 | VII-2 | G | 23 | Balātu/Šillāya | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| BM 113423 | VII-2 | G | 108 | Ištar-aḥ-iddin/Innin-zēr- ušabši | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| BM 114570 | VII [?] -2 | G | 157 | Nabû-[x]-mu/Nabû-[x], Šillāya/Nergal-iddin | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| YOS 17 293 | VII-3 | G | 130 | Nanāya-aḥ-iddin/Nabû- aḥḥē-erība, Šumāya/Nabû- kēšir | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| YOS 17 294 | VII-3 | G | 186 | Zēria & Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, sons of Bēl-ēreš | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| YOS 17 295 | VII-3 | G | 55 | Nabû-ēreš/Nabû-dīn-īpuš | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Ki[din-Marduk] |
| BM 114620 | VII-3 | G | 125 | Šamaš-zēr-iddin/Lābāši | Šil[lāya]/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| SAKF 153 | VII-3 ⁺ | G | [x] | [x] | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| YOS 17 296 | VII-5 | G | 4;2.3 | Nanāya-aḥ-iddin/Ardia | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| YOS 17 297 | VII-5 | G | 160 | Lābāši/Nanāya-aḥ-iddin | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| YOS 21 213 | VII-5 | G | 7 | Šamaš-aḥ-iddin/Gimillu | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| YOS 21 212 | VII-5 | G | 110 | Nabû-balāssu-iqbi/[x] | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| BM 113352 | VII-5 | G | 147 | Balātu/Šillāya | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| BM 113422 | VII-5 | G | 43 | Ištar-aḥ-iddin/Aḥulap-Ištar | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Takkīru | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 2 kurru makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; sissinnušu Balātu efer</i> |
| Takkīru | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Kār-Nanāya, Bitqu-ša- Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 15 kurru makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; 6 kurru sissinnušu Ištār-aḫ-iddin efer¹</i> |
| Milḫānu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, Kār-Nanāya, | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, [tuħalla, lib]bī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 16 kurru makkasū; 15 kurru sissinnu ul efer; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| <i>līmu ša ḥarrāti</i> | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 13 kurru makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; 13 kurru sissinnušu efrū</i> |
| <i>līmu ša ḥarrāti</i> | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga, bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 18 kurru makkasū; 10 kurru sissinnu efrū; elāt 2 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Dūr-Ugumu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 5 kurru makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; 5 kurru sissinnu Nabû-ēreš efer</i> |
| Takkīru | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-B[ēl-ēter] | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti¹, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 12 kurru makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; sissinnušu Šamaš-zēr-iddin efer, 5 kurru sissinnu efer</i> |
| Takkīru | [x] | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, Kār-Nanāya | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga, bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 1 kurru makkasū; 3 kurru sissinnušu efer; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Bitqu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; 1 kurru sissinnušu efer</i> |
| Bāb- Bitqu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, [K]ār-Nanāya | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 19 (kurru) makkasū; 25 kurru sissinnušu efer; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; elāt gugalli; 1 kurru sis[sinnu efer]</i> |
| Bitqu | [x]; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu | <i>[itti 1] kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, [libbī, mangāga] bilta ša hušābi [inamdin]; ina libbi 1 kurru makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; 5 kurru sissinnušu efer</i> |
| Takkīru | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta inamdin; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; 10 kurru sissinnu efer</i> |
| Nāru-ša-Bīt-ilī | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuħalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša hušābi inamdin; ina libbi 4 kurru makkasū; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli; 5 kurru sissinnušu Ištār-aḫ-iddin efer</i> |

| Text | Date (month-day) | Rent farmer | Amount | Debtor | Scribe |
|------------|---------------------|----------------|--------|------------------------------------|---|
| YOS 17 298 | VII-6 | G | 130 | Šamaš-iddin/Kāšir/Basia | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| BM 113364 | VII-6 | G | 45 | Iddināya/Ibni-Ištar | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |
| BM 114584 | VII-6 ¹ | G | 15 | Iddināya/Innin-šum-ibni | Šillāya/Innin-šum-ušur |
| BIN 1 99 | VII-13 | G | 35 | Nanāya-[ēr]eš ² /Mukkēa | Innin-šum-ušur/Nergal-nāšir |
| BM 113400 | VII-14 | G | 75 | Sîn-aḥḥē-bullit/Aḥ-lakun | Šillāya/[Innin-š]um-ušur/ Kidin-Marduk |

| Plot | Date & Place of Payment | Place of Drafting | Extras |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| Taptīru | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuḥalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 13 kurru makkasū; elāt 4 kurru ša gugalli; 15 kurru sissinnu eṭer</i> |
| [x] | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter, Kār-Nanāya | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuḥalla, libbī, mangāga, u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 4 kurru makkasū; 5 kurru sissinnušu eṭer; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | VII | Bitqu-[ša-Bēl]-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3, tuḥalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin</i> |
| Bāb-Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | VIII | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuḥalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 3;3.3 makkasū; 5 kurru sissinnu eṭer; elāt 1 kurru ša gugalli</i> |
| Dūr-Ugumu | VII; <i>ina hašāri</i> | Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēter | <i>itti 1 kurru 0;0.2.3 kurummāti, tuḥalla, libbī, mangāga u bilta ša ḥuṣābi inamdin; ina libbi 8 kurru makkasū; [x kurru] sissinnušu eṭer; [...]</i> |

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is the representation of several aspects of institutional agriculture of the Eanna temple in the south-Babylonian city of Uruk in the first millennium BC. The primary sources used here, the Neo-Babylonian cuneiform tablets, stem from the archive of the Eanna temple which covers a period from approximately 615 BC to 522 BC. The focus of this study lies within this time frame. Urukian agriculture is examined with respect to the organization of the cultivation of temple lands and the so-called rent farm system in particular, the land lease contracts, as well as the topography and the temple properties in and around the city of Uruk. Accordingly, this study is divided into five parts: 1. Introduction, 2. Organisation of labour, 3. Land lease contracts, 4. Aspects of Urukian topography, and 5. Summary and Conclusion. This is accompanied by a set of appendices including text editions, a reconstruction of the agricultural calendar and catalogues of tablets.

After a general introduction the second part of this thesis (Organisation of labour) follows the development of the management of the temple agriculture starting with the phase preceding the introduction of the large-scale rent farm. The organisation and the roles of different agricultural professions such as ploughmen, sharecroppers, gardeners, and a whole range of overseers is treated in detail. Where appropriate the individual chapters are complemented by prosopographic tables.

The section dealing with the large-scale rent farming is mainly devoted to the rent farmers while tracing the evolution of this system. Previously unpublished texts enhance the picture of this extensively studied phenomenon and even modify it with regard to particular developments in Uruk. Especially the private archive of Shum-ukin, the first large-scale rent farmer, enlarged by a considerable number of new texts, sheds light on his social background, his economic activities and the beginnings of his career. Aspects such as the success of the rent farm system and royal interference in its workings are studied and the role of the rent farmers is put in relation to the main structural weaknesses of the Eanna temple, namely the lack of manpower and under-capitalisation.

In the third part, which deals with the land lease contracts, the formal aspects, typology and terminology of the contracts are examined. A significant number of hitherto unpublished texts (twenty of a total of forty extant land leases) greatly improves our knowledge of this group of texts. An analysis of the temporal distribution of these texts is attempted and its use as evidence for Eanna's agricultural strategies and policies is discussed.

The topographic part gives an outline of the general geographical setting and the more significant land holdings of the temple, taking the watercourses around which these estates were situated as a starting point. A range of cadastral texts is presented and their *Sitz im Leben* is discussed. The land use patterns and the size and productivity of plots on the estates of Eanna are examined. This, together with evidence from the land lease contracts, allows for deliberations on the total size of the temple estates and the temple's income in agricultural commodities.

In the general concluding remarks the organisation of labour and the agricultural regime of the Eanna temple are put into perspective through comparison to other known Babylonian institutions and regions. Despite many structural similarities with respect to the management of agriculture, the development and the regime of Eanna's agriculture is shown to be distinct from the comparable Ebabbar temple in north-Babylonia. The specific circumstances, primarily the temple's isolated position at the margins of the empire, which led to its particular development are outlined.

Zusammenfassung

In dieser Dissertation werden die verschiedenen Aspekte der institutionellen Landwirtschaft des Eanna-Tempels in der süd-babylonischen Stadt Uruk im ersten Jahrtausend vor Christus untersucht. Als Primärquellen wurden die neubabylonischen Keilschrifttafeln, die aus dem Archiv des Eanna-Tempels stammen, verwendet. Das Archiv deckt einen Zeitraum von etwa 615 v. Chr. bis 522 v. Chr. und gibt somit den Zeitrahmen dieser Studie vor. Die urukäische Landwirtschaft wird in Bezug auf die Organisation der Bewirtschaftung von Tempelländereien und insbesondere das sogenannte Generalpacht-System untersucht. Darüber hinaus werden die Pachtverträge, die Topographie und die Tempelländereien in und um die Stadt Uruk erforscht. Folglich gliedert sich diese Studie in fünf Teile: 1. Einleitung, 2. Organisation der Arbeit, 3. Pachtverträge, 4. Aspekte der urukäischen Topographie, und 5. Zusammenfassung. Dies wird durch eine Reihe von Anhängen mit Text-Editionen, einer Rekonstruktion des landwirtschaftlichen Kalenders und Textkatalogen ergänzt.

Nach einer allgemeinen Einleitung folgt der zweite Teil (Organisation der Arbeit), der sich mit der Entwicklung der Tempellandwirtschaft beginnend mit der Phase vor der Einführung der Generalpacht befasst. Die Organisation und die Aufgaben der verschiedenen landwirtschaftlichen Berufe wie Pflüger, Teilpächter, Gärtner, und einer ganzen Reihe von Aufsehern wird ausführlich behandelt. Die einzelnen Kapitel werden zum Teil durch prosopographische Tabellen ergänzt. Der Abschnitt über das Generalpacht-System befasst sich vornehmlich mit den Karrieren der einzelnen Personen, die als Generalpächter belegt sind, und mit der Entwicklung dieses Systems. Bisher unveröffentlichte Texte verbessern unsere Kenntnis dieses ausführlich untersuchten Phänomens. Vor allem das private Archiv des Generalpächters Shum-ukin, welches durch eine beträchtliche Anzahl von nicht publizierten Texten ergänzt werden konnte, wirft neues Licht auf seine soziale Herkunft, seine wirtschaftlichen Tätigkeiten und die Anfänge seiner Karriere. Fragen bezüglich des Erfolges des Generalpacht-Systems sowie der Einmischung der königlichen Administration in die Organisation der Tempellandwirtschaft werden erörtert. Die Rolle der Generalpächter wird in Bezug auf die wichtigsten strukturellen Schwächen des Eanna-Tempels, nämlich Mangel an Arbeitskräften und Kapital, diskutiert.

Der dritte Teil beschäftigt sich mit den Pachtverträgen, mit ihren formalen Aspekten, der Typologie und der Terminologie. Eine beachtliche Anzahl von bisher unveröffentlichten Texten (zwanzig von insgesamt vierzig vorhandenen Pachtverträgen) konnte identifiziert werden. Dadurch wird unser Wissen über diese Gruppe von Texten deutlich verbessert. Der Nutzen einer Analyse der zeitlichen Verteilung dieser Verträge für das Verständnis der landwirtschaftlichen Strategien des Eanna-Tempels wird erörtert.

Der topographische Teil gibt einen Überblick über die allgemeine geographische Lage im Umland von Uruk sowie über die bedeutenderen Ländereien des Tempels. Als Ausgangspunkt für diese Darstellung dienen die Gewässer, rund um welche die Felder und Gärten des Tempels angeordnet waren. Eine Reihe von Katastertexten wird vorgestellt und deren Sitz im Leben wird diskutiert. Unterschiedliche Formen der Landnutzung und die Größe und Produktivität der Grundstücke werden ebenfalls untersucht. Dies, zusammen mit den Hinweisen aus Pachtverträgen, ermöglicht uns Überlegungen zur Gesamtgröße der Tempelländereien und des Einkommens des Tempels in Naturalien anzustellen.

In den allgemeinen abschließenden Bemerkungen wird die Organisation der Arbeit und das landwirtschaftliche Regime des Eanna-Tempels mit der Situation in anderen babylonischen Institutionen und Regionen verglichen. Trotz vieler struktureller Ähnlichkeiten ergeben sich hier auch deutliche Unterschiede bezüglich der Entwicklung und des Regimes von Eannas Landwirtschaft, vor allem etwa im Vergleich zum Ebabbar-Tempel in Nord-Babylonien. Die besonderen Umstände, vornehmlich die isolierte Lage des Tempels am Rand des babylonischen Reiches, die zu dieser speziellen Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft von Eanna geführt haben, werden abschließend dargelegt.

Lebenslauf

Mag.phil. Bojana Janković

Schulbildung

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 1984 - 1992 | Grundschule (Ćirilo i Metodije), Beograd, Serbien |
| 1992 - 1995 | Gymnasium (Danube International School), Wien Abschluss (08.1995), International Baccalaureate |

Studium

| | |
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| 10.1995 - 06.2002 | Diplomstudium an der Universität Wien Studienrichtung: Altsemitische Philologie und Orientalische Archäologie und Fächerkombination anstelle der 2. Studienrichtung Abschluss (06.2002) mit Auszeichnung |
| 10.2002 - | Doktoratsstudium an der Universität Wien Studienrichtung: Altsemitische Philologie und Orientalische Archäologie |

Beruflicher Werdegang

| | |
|--|---|
| Wintersemester 2002 - Sommersemester 2005 | Lektorin am Institut für Orientalistik, Universität Wien |
| 10.2002 - 09.2008 | Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin am FWF-Projekt „Wirtschaftsgeschichte Babyloniens im ersten Jahrtausend vor Christus“ unter der Leitung von Prof. Michael Jursa |
| 03.2009 - 03.2013 | Universitätsassistentin am Institut für Orientalistik Studienrichtung: Altsemitische Philologie und Orientalische Archäologie |

Publikationen

Monographien

Vogelzucht und Vogelfang in Sippar im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 315. Münster, 2004.

Artikel

„Between a rock and a hard place: an aspect of the manpower problem in the agricultural sector of Eanna“. In: H. D. Baker and M. Jursa (eds.). *Approaching the Babylonian Economy. Proceedings of the START Project Symposium Held in Vienna, 1-3 July 2004* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 330. Münster, 2005): 167-181.

„Von *gugallus*, Überschwemmungen und Kronland“. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 97 (2007): 219-242.

„Travel provisions in Babylonia in the first millennium BC“. *Persika* 12 (2008): 411-447.

„Uruk“. In: M. Jursa (with contributions by J. Hackl et al.). *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 377. Münster, 2010): 418-437.

„Das Briefdossier des Šumu-ukin“. *KASKAL* 8 (2011): 161-205. Zusammen mit J. Hackl und M. Jursa.

„Neues zur Verwendung von *mahir* im Eanna-Archiv – eine Anomalie?“ (in Druck). Zusammen mit M. Weszeli.

Lexikoneinträge und Sonstiges

20 Einträge in *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* 3, Part I (H. D. Baker and S. Parpola (Hg.), Helsinki 2002)

Lemma „Vogelzucht“ in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (in Druck).

Vorträge

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 07.2003 | beim 49. <i>Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale</i> in London |
| 09.2003 | am <i>Department for Near Eastern Languages and Civilisations of Yale University</i> |
| 07.2004 | bei der START-Konferenz "Approaching the Babylonian Economy" in Wien |
| 07.2006 | beim 52. <i>Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale</i> in Münster |
| 11.2006 | beim <i>Table Ronde</i> "The Persepolis Fortification Archive in the context of the Achaemenid Empire and its predecessors" in Paris |
| 07.2008 | bei der START-Konferenz "Too much data? Generalisations and model-building in ancient economic history on the basis of large corpora of documentary evidence" in Wien |
| 07.2012 | beim 58. <i>Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale</i> in Leiden |