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## The social world of the Babylonian priest

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## APPENDIX 1

### **Quantitative analysis of priestly marriages in Borsippa**

#### **Introduction**

The Borsippa corpus yields 102 attestations in which marital unions are more or less explicitly expressed, i.e. ‘Y wife of X’ or ‘Y mother of Z, son of X’. However, not all of them can be used. For two unions the family name of the husband is missing, while for nineteen others the family name of the wife has been lost or simply omitted. One can only speculate about the nature of these unions and they have therefore not been incorporated into the analysis. We can be virtually sure, however, that it does not concern individuals from the lower strata of society, which lack ancestral family names altogether. These references do only identify the husband or wife by personal name and do not only omit the family but also the father’s name, suggesting that full filiation was simply not necessary and the individual were well known to the parties concerned. This leaves us with a dataset of 81 fully documented unions.

In this analysis I will look into the marriage alliance of the individual priesthoods, taking special notice of the marriages arranged within the prebendary groups, those arranged with other prebendary groups, and those arranged with non-prebendary outsiders. Figures will be summarised at the end of each section. I will begin with the group that spawned most marital unions, the temple-enterer families, followed by the brewers, the bakers, the butchers, the oxherds and ending with the reed workers family for which there is only little information.

#### **1. Temple-enterers**

The corpus informs us on the marriage of seventeen male and twenty-two female members belonging to the temple-enterer clans. It should be noted that information on

this group is quite abundant, considering the fact that we have only one archive from a temple-enterer family, namely the Ea-ilūtu-bani archive. For other temple-enterer families from Borsippa, see Ch. 0.7.1.

### 1a. Intra-prebendary unions

With eight alliances arranged within the group of temple-enterers, almost 50% of the male and almost 40% of the female members engaged in intra-prebendary marriages. These percentages are however somewhat misleading, since they are largely based on two marriage-chains from a single archive cluster. The first cycle consists of three consecutive marriages within the Ilī-bāni clan. According to TCL 12/13 85 man ‘Y’ of the Ilī-bāni clan was married to woman ‘X’ of the same kin group.<sup>939</sup> This marriage was not blessed with longevity, seeing that only few months later the husband married his late wife’s sister, his sister-in-law. The last episode is described some fourteen years later, when the Ilī-bānis called upon the brother of the recently deceased husband ‘Y’ to uphold the alliance and marry his sister-in-law.

The second chain is represented by two documents and concerns the alliance between the Ea-ilūtu-bani and the Ilī-bāni families. The case presents itself in TCL 12/13 174, when woman ‘X’ from the Ilī-bāni clan divided her entire property.<sup>940</sup> She transferred the first half of the property to her son by man ‘Y’; the second half was assigned to man ‘Z’, her husband. It has been demonstrated by F. Joannès that ‘Y’ and ‘Z’ were related, the former being the older brother of the latter, and that the wife was thus previously married to her second husband’s older brother (1989: 41). The last testimony suggests that the wife divided her property in anticipation of her death since only two months later, man ‘Z’ is married to a new woman, the paternal niece of his late wife ‘X’.

### 1b. Inter-prebendary unions

Almost 30%, or five out of the seventeen unions, were arranged between male temple-enterers and women from other prebendary background. These marriages were usually arranged with prominent priestly groups that ranked just below the temple enterers: brewers (1x),<sup>941</sup> butchers (1x),<sup>942</sup> and bakers (2x).<sup>943</sup> The notability of these families is

<sup>939</sup> Joannès 1989: 52.

<sup>940</sup> Joannès 1989: 41.

<sup>941</sup> Ea-ilūtu-bani ∞ Šikkûa (BM 26264)

<sup>942</sup> Kidin-Nanāya ∞ Ibnāya (BM 96151)

underlined when we look at the individuals in question. Šikkûa was a family of brewers that enjoyed a brief period of distinction when it provided two consecutive chief temple administrators (*šatammu*) of Ezida between 539-537 BCE.<sup>944</sup> Prosopographical evidence suggests that the woman marrying into the Ea-ilūtu-bani family was indeed the grand- and great-granddaughter of these *šatammus*.<sup>945</sup> The wife from the butcher family belonged to a branch of the Ibnāya clan that had supplied at least one governor (*šākin-ṭēmi*) of Borsippa.<sup>946</sup> The two alliances with prebendary bakers were both arranged with the prominent Kidin-Sîn family. Temple-enterers thus married the most illustrious members of lower-ranking clans. One apparent exception is the marriage between a temple-enterer and a daughter from the Rē'i-alpi clan.<sup>947</sup>

Female members of temple-enterer families engaged far more often in this type of marriage. For them, 46%, or ten out of twenty-two marriages, were arranged with lower prebendary families. Temple-enterer families tended to marry their daughters to families that occupied the rung just below themselves: brewers (6x),<sup>948</sup> butchers (1x),<sup>949</sup> bakers (1x).<sup>950</sup> Other marriages were arranged between a man of the Nappāhus and a woman from the Atkuppu family,<sup>951</sup> and between man of the Arad-Ea family and a wife from the Rē'i-alpi clan.<sup>952</sup>

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<sup>943</sup> Kidin-Nanāya ∞ Kidin-Sîn (BM 25589); Ea-ilūtu-bani ∞ Kidin-Sîn (TuM 2/3 48).

<sup>944</sup> See Waerzeggers 2010: 73 for references.

<sup>945</sup> The woman in question is <sup>1</sup>Šaddinnātu/Nabû-šumu-iddin/Nabû-mukîn-zēri (*šatammu*)/Nabû-mukîn-apli (*šatammu*)/Šulā of the Šikkûa clan.

<sup>946</sup> Her grandfather (and perhaps also her great-grandfather) functioned in this position. The daughter in question is <sup>1</sup>Gigītu/Nabû-šumu-ukîn/Nabû-nādīn-šumi (governor)/Mušēzib-Marduk (governor) of the Ibnāya clan. See Waerzeggers 2010: 68 for references. For the Ibnāya (A) archive see Jursa 2005: 83-84 and Waerzeggers 2010: 525ff.

<sup>947</sup> Arkāt-ilāni-damqā ∞ Rē'i-alpi (BM 96166).

<sup>948</sup> Hušābu ∞ Ea-ilūtu-bani (BM 82640 = AH XV no. 45); Hušābu ∞ Ilī-bāni (NBC 8404 and L 1627); Ilia ∞ Arkāt-ilāni(-damqā) (BM 26473); Ilia ∞ Iddin-Papsukkal (BM 26473); Ilšu-abūšu ∞ Nūr-Papsukkal (Smith Coll. No. 92), Mannu-gērūšu ∞ Ša-diš-luh (BM 87308).

<sup>949</sup> Ilšu-abūšu ∞ Naggāru (BM 28863 = AH XV no. 115).

<sup>950</sup> Esagil-mansum ∞ Iddin-Papsukkal (BM 29379 published in Zadok 2005).

<sup>951</sup> OECT 12 A 158.

<sup>952</sup> Roth 1989 no. 22 and BM 26707.

### 1c. Extra-prebendary unions

There are four marriages (24%) between temple-enterers and women from families that have no prebendary background, or whose affiliation to the Ezida temple cannot presently be established: the Barihi, the Pahhāru, the Rab-banê and the Siātu families. The Barihi family is a local Borsippean clan with only very few attestations in the corpus;<sup>953</sup> the three other clans occur repeatedly. Seeing that they were well connected, the Siātus may well have played an important role in Borsippa's priestly community.<sup>954</sup> The same can be said about the Pahhāru clan.<sup>955</sup> The Rab-banê family provided a bride to the Naggāru family.<sup>956</sup>

Turning to the alliances arranged for female members of the temple-enterer clans, we get a similar picture. Less than 20%, or four out of twenty-two women, were married into clans who did not belong to the prebendary circle of Borsippa: Bēl-eṭēru (2x),<sup>957</sup> Rē'i-sisê (1x),<sup>958</sup> and an obscure family whose name ends on '[x]-zēri' (1x).<sup>959</sup> So far no member of the Bēl-eṭēru family is attested as priest of Ezida, but the family did occupy high positions in sanctuaries of other Babylonian towns.<sup>960</sup>

<sup>953</sup> The Barihis provided women to the Egibi family (*Camb* 315) and the temple-enterer family of the Nūr-Papsukkals (*Camb* 120, *Camb* 338).

<sup>954</sup> The Siātu family gave brides to butcher and temple-enterer families, respectively Ibnāya (BM 96151; VS 5 25) and Iddin-Papsukkal (BM 94691; VS 4 70). The family itself received a wife from a prominent butcher branch of the Ilšu-abūšu family (BM 28865 = AH XV no. 116; VS 5 28).

<sup>955</sup> It received a wife from Esagil-mansum (BM 29067; BM 28861) and provided a bride to Arkāt-ilāni-damqā (Wunsch 2002 no. 116).

<sup>956</sup> BM 94504.

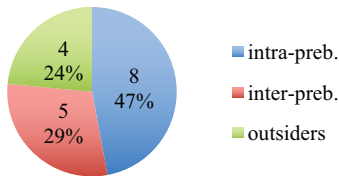
<sup>957</sup> Bēl-eṭēru ∞ Ilī-bāni (BM 94548); Bēl-eṭēru ∞ Nappāhu (BM 94696).

<sup>958</sup> Rē'i-sisê ∞ Nūr-Papsukkal (BM 27858).

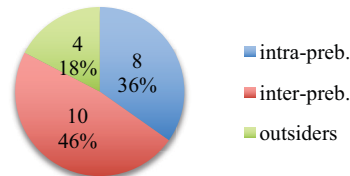
<sup>959</sup> [x]-zēri ∞ Iddin-Papsukkal (Roth 1989 no. 21).

<sup>960</sup> Sippar: the temple-enterer's prebend (cultic singer, *nārūtu*) of the sanctuary of Šarrat-Sippar seems to have been completely in their hands (Bongenaar 1997: 242ff., 289). Babylon: the family is attested selling an *ērib-bītis/nārūtu* prebend (Baker 2004 nos. 54, 55, 56 and 57). Dilbat: Bēl-eṭēru functioned as measurers (*mādīdu*) of Uraš in Eimbianu (VS 5 105 and VS 5 75). That they also took part in higher temple functions is clear from e.g. VS 5 108, an exchange of a piece of land against an *ērib-bītī* prebend in Dilbat involving the temple authorities.

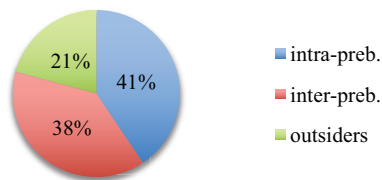
**Marriages Temple-enterers (♂)**



**Marriages Temple enterers (♀)**



**Total: Marriages Temple-enterers (♂ + ♀)**



## 2. Brewers

With nine archives the brewers of Borsippa are the best-attested group in the corpus (see Ch. 0.7.2.). Moreover, the archives appear to be a representative sample, informing us on both prominent and ‘peripheral’ brewer clans. This analysis includes the marriage of thirty-three brewers: nineteen male and fourteen female members. Note that more than one-third of these unions are attested in the Ilia archives.

### 2a. Intra-prebendary unions

The most striking feature of the marriage pattern of the brewers is the high number of unions within the professional group. Our data indicates that more than 60% of all their marriages were arranged within the professional group. Especially noteworthy is the bond between the Ilia (A) and the Ilšu-abūšu families, who engaged in a conscious alliance policy.<sup>961</sup> In short, the Ilia family was made up by three branches, headed by the three sons of the first attested member, Šillā. In the third generation all three branches arranged a marriage with a daughter from the Ilšu-abūšu clan,<sup>962</sup> thus joining the entire Ilia (A)

<sup>961</sup> Waerzeggers 2010: 95.

<sup>962</sup> The founder of the Ilia (A) branch, Šillā, had three sons: Šulā, (Itti-Nabû-)Balātu and Šāpik-zēri. Each had a son that married a woman from the Ilšu-abūšu family: 1) Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti/Šulā/ilia ∞ <sup>f</sup>Amtia//Ilšu-

family to the Ilšu-abūšu clan. While the Ilia family widened its horizon to other brewer families during subsequent generations,<sup>963</sup> the alliance with the Ilšu-abūšus was solidified with another marriage in the fifth generation.<sup>964</sup>

Another interesting notion is that the marriages among brewers were concluded between families of similar status. For example, Lā-kuppuru, a clan that was only limitedly involved in the brewer's process of Ezida, was married to a family whose role in this profession was equally marginal, the Allānus.<sup>965</sup> On the other hand, prominent families like the Ilia gave and received wives from important clans such as Kudurrānu<sup>966</sup> and Ša-nāšišu.<sup>967</sup>

## 2b. Inter-prebendary unions

Eight male and four female members of brewer clans were married to families of other prebendary groups – 42% and 29% respectively. With six out of seven arranged in this way, there was a clear tendency among the brewers to take their wives from the higher-ranking temple-enterers. Two further unions were arranged with bakers<sup>968</sup> and oxherds.<sup>969</sup> Turning to the opposite sex, our data seems to suggest that brewer families often gave their daughters in marriage to more junior prebendary families.<sup>970</sup>

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abūšu (VS 5 126), 2) Nabū-ušallim/Balāṭu/Ilia ∞ <sup>f</sup>Tuqṣītu/Ilšu-abūšu (BM 102308 = AH XV no. 18), 3) Marduk-nādin-ahi/Šāpik-zēri ∞ <sup>f</sup>Qudāšu/Ilšu-abūšu (e.g. BM 87267).

<sup>963</sup> Marduk-šumu-ibni the main protagonist of the Ilia (A) archive married his daughter to the Kudurrānu family (BM 87265).

<sup>964</sup> BM 102261.

<sup>965</sup> Lā-kuppuru ∞ Allānu (BM 29385); the same document mentions a union within the Lā-kuppuru clan.

<sup>966</sup> BM 87265.

<sup>967</sup> E.g. BL 874. The remaining union are: Kudurrānu ∞ Ahiya'ūtu (A 120, Joannès 1989: 62, 281) and Ilia ∞ Ilia (BM 26544).

<sup>968</sup> Ilia ∞ Esagil-mansum (BM 26731).

<sup>969</sup> Kudurrānu ∞ Rē'i-alpi (BM 96259).

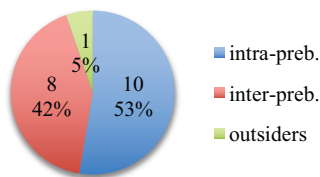
<sup>970</sup> 1x into higher prebendary group: [ērib-bīti] Ea-ilūtu-bani ∞ Šikkūa (BM 26264). 3x into lower prebendary group: [baker] Bēliya'u ∞ Ilia (BM 26483); [barber] Gallābu ∞ Ilia (Zadok IOS 18 no. 1); [oxherd] Rē'i-alpi ∞ Ardūtu (BM 29375).



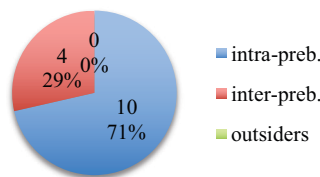
## 2c. Extra-prebendary unions

There is only one marriage between a brewer and non-prebendary outsider family. A son of the minor brewer clan of Lā-kuppuru married the daughter of the Rišāya family.<sup>971</sup> Note, however, that the latter seems to have originated from the nearby city of Dilbat, where its members are attested as prebendary bakers and occur in various prebend-related texts.<sup>972</sup>

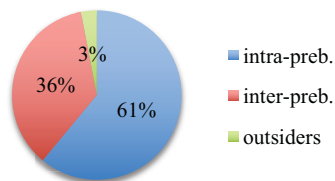
### Marriages Brewers (♂)



### Marriages Brewers (♀)



### Total: Marriages Brewers (♂ + ♀)



## 3. Bakers

The corpus bears evidence to the marriages of ten male and eight female members of prebendary baker. For an overview of the local families of bakers and our main source on this group, see Ch. 0.7.3. It is interesting to find a confirmation of the Kidin-Sîn's central position among the prebendary bakers in the fact that they figure most prominent in our sample of marriages even though their family archive has not been recovered.

<sup>971</sup> BM 103458.

<sup>972</sup> BM 77508+, VS 5 21, VS 5 83 and VS 5 161.

### 3a. Intra-prebendary unions

Except for the Nabû-mukîn-apli clan, all baker families are known to have engaged in intra-prebendary marriages. The Kidin-Sîn clan figures most prominently in this respect. Two marriages were arranged within the clan,<sup>973</sup> and one with the Šēpê-īlias.<sup>974</sup> Another alliance within the prebendary group was forged between the Bēliya'û and the Esagil-mansum clans.<sup>975</sup> Due to the small quantity of this sample, these four marriages account for 40% of this group's male and 50% of this group's female marriages respectively.

### 3b. Inter-prebendary unions

There are in total six individuals – three men and three women – who married individuals from outside the own professional group. One baker was married to a woman from the prebendary barber, or Gallābu clan.<sup>976</sup> Others married individuals from brewer (2x)<sup>977</sup> and temple-enterer families (3x).<sup>978</sup>

### 3c. Extra-prebendary unions

Three men and one woman were married to individuals whose family background remains unknown. The three men received their wives from the Kāšir,<sup>979</sup> Nabûnnāya<sup>980</sup> and Šillāya families.<sup>981</sup> Finally, a baker's daughter was married to the Pahlāru family.<sup>982</sup>

<sup>973</sup> The first marriage is attested in BM 94697 and BM 82654, the second in BM 29021.

<sup>974</sup> BM 82608.

<sup>975</sup> Bēliya'û ∞ Esagil-mansum (e.g. VS 5 26 and BM 96102).

<sup>976</sup> Kidin-Sîn ∞ Gallābu (BM 85447). For the prebendary involvement of the Gallābu clan, see Waerzeggers 2010: 79<sup>+352</sup>.

<sup>977</sup> Male bakers: Bēliya'û ∞ Ilia (BM 26384). Female bakers: Ilia ∞ Esagil-mansum (BM 26731).

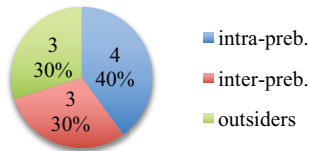
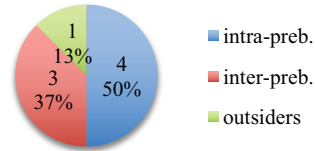
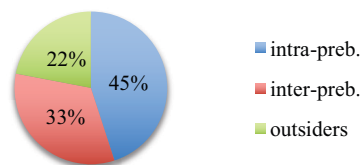
<sup>978</sup> Male bakers: Esagil-mansum ∞ Iddin-Papsukkal (BM 29379, cf. Zadok 2005). Female bakers: Ea-ilūtubani ∞ Kidin-Sîn (TuM 2/3 48, Joannès 1989: 33.); Kidin-Nanāya ∞ Kidin-Sîn (BM 25589).

<sup>979</sup> Nabû-mukîn-apli ∞ Kāšir (BM 25588).

<sup>980</sup> Kidin-Sîn ∞ Nabûnnāya (BM 25589). Note that the Kāšir family might have had some links to the service of the prebendary baker, too. Bēl-iddin//Kāšir, whose daughter was married to the Nabû-mukîn-aplis, is attested on one earlier occasion in a document dealing with the prebendary income of Šaddinnu//Bēliya'û (BM 29512).

<sup>981</sup> Bēliya'û ∞ Šillāya (e.g. BM 96313 and BM 21976).

<sup>982</sup> Pahlāru ∞ Esagil-mansum (BM 29067; BM 28861). Note that the woman from the Esagil-mansum clan was previously married to Balassu//Bēliya'û; it thus represents her second marriage.

**Marriages Bakers (♂)****Marriages Bakers (♀)****Total: Marriages Bakers (♂ + ♀)****4. Butchers**

Four families have so far been identified as butchers of Ezida: Eppēš-ilī, Eṭēru, Ibnāya and Ilšu-abūšu.<sup>983</sup> While we have several smaller archives from the Ibnāya clan,<sup>984</sup> there is only little information on marriage alliances. We know of the marriage of three male and four female members.

**4a. Intra-prebendary unions**

The union between two members of the Ibnāya clan is so far the only known marriage arranged within this professional group.<sup>985</sup>

**4b. Inter-prebendary unions**

Two unions were arranged with other prebendary groups. Once a woman was received from the Naggāru family in marriage.<sup>986</sup> In the other instance, a woman from the Ibnāya

<sup>983</sup> Waerzeggers 2010: 79. The Eppēš-ilī and Eṭēru families seem to have owned butcher prebends in Ezida passively, performing the temple service through agents only (Waerzeggers 2010: 79<sup>+349</sup>). They probably had stronger ties to the temples in Babylon. Note that the Ilšu-abūšu is a family that had strong ties to the priesthood of the brewers, too.

<sup>984</sup> Jursa 2005: 83-84; Waerzeggers 2010: 19 and 525ff.

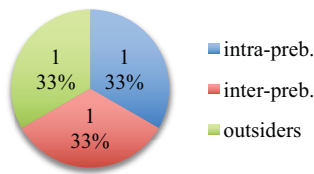
<sup>985</sup> Ibnāya ∞ Ibnāya (VS 4 176).

family and granddaughter of a governor of Borsippa, was married to the Kidin-Nanāyas.<sup>987</sup>

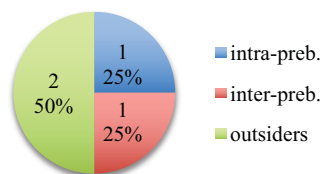
#### 4c. Extra-prebendary unions

It seems surprising that most marriages of this group were arranged with families that can be classified as non-prebendary (3x). The governor's son of the Ibnāya clan married a woman from the Siātu family.<sup>988</sup> The latter also received a woman from another butcher family, namely the Ilšu-abūšus.<sup>989</sup> This must have been an important alliance since the woman was the daughter of the *šāpiru*-overseer of all the butchers of the Ezida temple.<sup>990</sup> A final marriage involved a woman from the Ibnāya and a man from the Šāhit-ginê clans. This family is thus far only attested as judge in Borsippa (VS 4 32).<sup>991</sup>

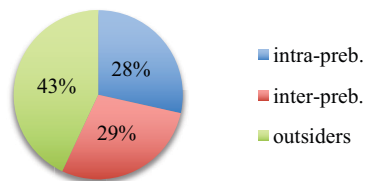
**Marriages Butchers (♂)**



**Marriages Butchers (♀)**



**Total: Marriages Butchers (♂ + ♀)**



<sup>986</sup> Ilšu-abūšu ∞ Naggāru (BM 28863 = AH XV no. 115.)

<sup>987</sup> Kidin-Nanāya ∞ Ibnāya (BM 96151).

<sup>988</sup> Ibnāya ∞ Siātu (VS 5 25 and BM 96151).

<sup>989</sup> Siātu ∞ Ilšu-abūšu (BM 28865 = AH XV no. 116; VS 5 28).

<sup>990</sup> Ilāt was the daughter of Ezida-šumu-ukīn/Ilšu-abūšu who occupied the function of *šāpiru* of the butchers (ca. 583 BCE), see Waerzeggers 2010: 254<sup>+900</sup>.

<sup>991</sup> Šāhit-ginê ∞ Ibnāya (Waerzeggers 2010: 127).

## 5. Oxherds

It has already been mentioned in the introduction that the prebend of the oxherds (*rē'i-alpūtu*) was entirely dominated by the Rē'i-alpi clan (see Ch. 0.7.4.). This means that the marriages we take into consideration here belong to one clan only. There are in total ten marriages involving members of the Rē'i-alpis.

### 5a. Intra-prebendary unions

There is no evidence that the Rē'i-alpi clan arranged marriages within the prebendary group, or in this case among members of the same family.

### 5b. Inter-prebendary unions

There are five marriages (50%) with other prebendary families. The oxherds received brides from both the brewers<sup>992</sup> and temple-enterers.<sup>993</sup> The first woman came from the Ardūtu clan, a minor brewer clan that is attested only a couple of times in relation to this trade.<sup>994</sup> The second woman came from the Arad-Ea family. While this clan appears as early as the Kassite period<sup>995</sup> and occupied high positions in Borsippa during the eighth century BCE,<sup>996</sup> it seemed to have lost its prominence in the local religious sphere by the time of this union.<sup>997</sup> Families that obtained women from the Rē'i-alpis are the Arkāti-ilāni-damqā,<sup>998</sup> Kudurrānu<sup>999</sup> and Gallābu<sup>1000</sup> families. These were prominent families belonging to the ranks of temple-enterers, brewers and barbers, respectively.

<sup>992</sup> Rē'i-alpi ∞ Ardūtu (BM 29375).

<sup>993</sup> Rē'i-alpi ∞ Arad-Ea (Roth 1989 no 22 and BM 26707).

<sup>994</sup> Waerzeggers 2010: 84. Note that in the three attestations the Ardūtu family works in close tandem with the Mannu-gērūšu clan, another rather peripheral family.

<sup>995</sup> Nielsen 2011: 73.

<sup>996</sup> VS 1 36.

<sup>997</sup> The Arad-Ea family might have been more successful in the royal administration. In Borsippa members worked in tandem with the local 'canal inspector' (VS 6 160, Dar 33). In Babylon they occupied the position of royal resident (*qīpu*) of the Esagil temple (VS 6 155, Dar 29), cf. Nielsen 2011: 73f.

<sup>998</sup> Arkāt-ilāni-damqā ∞ Rē'i-alpi (BM 94606 = AH XV no. 143).

<sup>999</sup> Kudurrānu ∞ Rē'i-alpi (BM 96259).

<sup>1000</sup> Gallābu ∞ Rē'i-alpi (BM 94696).

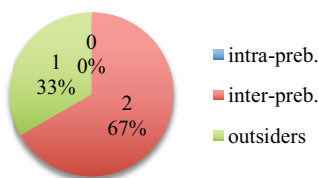
### 5c. Extra-prebendary unions

The Rē'i-alpi family arranged relatively many marriages with families outside of the prebendary circle. Firstly, the family received a woman from the Mubannû clan.<sup>1001</sup>

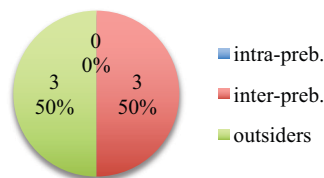
While it is not impossible that the latter was involved in the homonymous 'arranger-of-the-sacrificial-table' (*mubannûtu*) prebend, this is not substantiated in the corpus.

Secondly, families that obtained daughters from the Oxherd family were the Maqartus,<sup>1002</sup> Rišāyas,<sup>1003</sup> and Šarrahus.<sup>1004</sup>

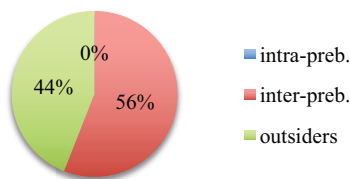
**Marriages Oxherds ( ♂ )**



**Marriages Oxherds ( ♀ )**



**Total: Marriages Oxherds ( ♂ + ♀ )**



### 6. Reed-workers

The information on this prebendary group is provided by the Atkuppu family archive (see Ch. 0.7.5.). Unfortunately there is very little known about the marriage alliances for this clan. The archive informs us only on the marriage of two male members. On the one hand, the reed-workers received a bride from the Adad-nāširs, a family with no apparent ties to the temple.<sup>1005</sup> On the other hand, it received a daughter from the Nappāhus.<sup>1006</sup>

<sup>1001</sup> Rē'i-alpi ∞ Mubannû (e.g. BM 94698).

<sup>1002</sup> Maqartu ∞ Rē'i-alpi (BM 26487).

<sup>1003</sup> Rišāya ∞ Rē'i-alpi (EAH 203).

<sup>1004</sup> Šarrahu ∞ Rē'i-alpi (e.g. EAH 213 and BM 101980//BM 82607).

<sup>1005</sup> Atkuppu ∞ Adad-nāšir (BM 82629, AfO 36/37 no. 13).

<sup>1006</sup> OECT 12 A 158.

While this family is known to have provided two local temple-enterers of Ninlil in the past,<sup>1007</sup> it is possible that it also was involved in the prebendary service of the smith (*nappāhu*). In that case the alliance between Atkuppū and Nappāhu would represent a marriage within the ranks of temple craftsmen.

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<sup>1007</sup> Waerzeggers 2010: 76.





## APPENDIX 2

### Annotated list of *hanšû* land in Borsippa

*hanšû ša...*<sup>1008</sup>

- 1) ***bīt Abunāya*** (or, ***Adnāya***): one hears of this estates in the famous case of high treason committed against Nebuchadnezzar II (Weidner 1956: 1-5), dated to Nbk 11. The Abunāya family seems to have lost this land already before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II. The history recounted in this text tells us that this *hanšû* was taken from the traitor of the Rēš-ummāni family and returned to the Ezida temple to which it had previously belonged. It was then given to an individual of the Šigûa clan.
- 1b) ***Nabû-remēni//Abunāya*** (or, ***Adnāya***): an individual of the Ša-ṭābtīšu clan (and his uncle) sold a part of this *hanšû* estate to the Kidin-Sîn clan in the early Neo-Babylonian period (VS 5, 140; date lost).
- 2) ***bīt Apkallu***: this property is recorded between the reigns of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and Nabonidus (ca. 664-548 BCE). The first attestation of this *hanšû* dates to Ššu 04 at the occasion of an inheritance division in the Aqar-Nabû family (A 83). This text probably entered the archive of the Ea-ilūtu-bani family as retroact when a member acquired the land; it is found in their possession between circa Nbk 21<sup>+</sup> (YBC 9194) and Nbk 40 (YBC 9189). At one point a share of this *hanšû* was held by the Ilī-bānis (a clan related to the Ea-ilūtu-bani through marriage) as one can see from text BM 96263 (Nbn 08). Note that most documents dealing with this property do not use the term *hanšû* (e.g. TuM 2/3 151, TCL 12 56; OECT 12 A 180).
- 3) ***bīt Ašgandu*** (or, ***Šukandu***): this property occurs for the first time in an inheritance division of the Ilia family in the reign of Nabonidus (BM 94587, Nbn 13, note that here the term *hanšû* is not used). Various texts record the subsequent management of this land by

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<sup>1008</sup> Note that references to most of these *hanšû* units can be found in Zadok 2006.

the family (e.g. BM 95042, HSM 1904.4.23, Zadok 2006: 440). The Ilias acquired an additional share from the Nappāhu family in Dar 06 (BM 95042).

- 4) **bīt Atkuppū**: this *hanšū* is mentioned once in Nbk 11 (TCL 12 30). The text records the sale of three larger plots in this *hanšū* unit by the Nanāhus to a clan, whose name is unfortunately not preserved. Members of the Atkuppū family feature as neighbours of two of the sold plots.
- 5) **bīt Bābāya**: this *hanšū* estate is only mentioned once in a cultivation contract from the Gallābu family archive (BM 96291, Nbn 12). Note that the scribe comes from the Bābāya clan, suggesting that this clan kept an interest in their eponymous land.
- 6) **bīt mār Bā'iru**: land in this land unit is bought by the Rē'i-alpis from an individual without family name in Dar 12 (BM 26510). The completion of payment was still due a year and a half later (BM 94540, Dar 14). The land might have been sold together with various other pieces of property to an unknown buyer in Dar 20 (BM 26576 = AH XV no. 192).
- 7) **bīt Banê-ša-ilia**: in BM 93001 (Kan 07), two plots of land in this *hanšū* are exchanged between relatives of the Banê-ša-ilia clan.
- 7b) **Šumā/Banê-ša-ilia**: this estate is mentioned once in a cultivation contract arranged within the Banê-ša-ilia family (BM 27854, Kan 19).
- 8) **Nabû-šumu-iškun/Bārû**: a share in this *hanšū* was bought by the Adad-nāširs from the Barû clan sometimes before Nbk 14 (BM 26392). This field probably came into the possession of the Atkuppū family upon marrying a daughter of the Adad-nāšir family. Cf. Abraham [forthcoming].
- 9) **bīt Basia**: in Nbn 09 a woman from the Basia family donated her dowry field in this *hanšū* to her son, descendant of the same clan (BM 21975). At least one of the gardens in this *hanšū* was used as dowry property for a woman of the Šillāya family, married to Šaddinnu/Bēliya'u. The Basia family however still owned certain rights to the land, and members occasionally appear as co-owners or creditors in *imittu* texts. While the Bēliya'us seem to have had their own interest in this area (BM 28912, Dar 20), various texts bear witness to the fact that the dowry field of the Šillāyas came under management of the Bēliya'u family after marriage (e.g. BM 28961, Cam 07; BM 28952, Dar 10<sup>2</sup>; BM 96337, Dar 27). Ownership of this *hanšū* unit was obviously complex with as many as three clans holding rights to it simultaneously: Basia, Bēliya'u and Šillāya (e.g. BM 96389, date lost).
- 10) **bīt Bēlāya**: a garden in this *hanšū* was held as a pledge for a debt of silver by the Gallābu family in Nbn 10 (BM 96239). Unfortunately, the family name of the debtor is lost. The Kudurrānu family might also have owned a piece of land in this unit as early as Nbn 13

(BM 22064, term *hanšû* not used), if indeed it concerns the same plot mentioned in BM 22012 (Nbk IV 01, term *hanšû* used).

- 11) ***bīt Bēliya’u***: this estate is mentioned in BM 28904, dated to Nbk 33. It is thought to mark the arrival of the Bēliya’u family in the Borsippa milieu (Waerzeggers 2010: 207-208). The text records how the Bēliya’u clan receives lands in the *hanšû* [PN] *ša Kidin-Sîn*, from a fellow baker clan. While the designation of *hanšû* is not (yet) attached to this newly created property, called only *bīt Bēliya’u*, the text does seem to refer to it as ‘this *hanšû*’ (ll. 1-2: 11 ha.la.meš *šá é* <sup>m</sup>en-ia-[ú...] ina 50-a<sub>4</sub>). Incidentally, the fact that the Bēliya’u clan, a newcomer in town and the latest addition to the prebendary bakers of Nabû, receives land in or next to estates held by other baker clans (Kidin-Sîn and Esagil-mansum), suggests a link between *hanšû* property and professional identity. One wonders whether the allocation of *hanšû* land was not related to or conditional on the performance of certain services, at least in its original stage. This could also be inferred from the use of *māru* and *aplu* (‘son’ or even ‘member’) in the designation of *hanšû* units attached to various professional (family) names: e.g. *hanšû ša mār Bā’iru* (fisherman), *hanšû ša mār Lāsimu* (express messenger/scout) and *hanšû ša apil Nappāhu* (smith).
- 12) ***bīt Bibbê***: this unit is mentioned in TuM 2/3 137 (Camb 02). The owner is from the Ilī-bāni family. The family name Bibbê is only attested three times in the corpus and is found more often as a personal name of Chaldean individuals like for example the royal magnate called Bibêa, son of Dakūru, in the Hofkalendar of king Nebuchadnezzar II (e.g. Beaulieu 2013a: 34).
- 13) ***bīt Bitahhi***: BM 26504//BM 26481 (Cam [x]) documents the exchange of fields between two relatives of the Rē’i-alpi clan. A plot in the *hanšû ša Rē’i-sisê* and some additional silver were exchanged against a larger plot in the *hanšû ša bīt Bitahhi*. While the family name Bitahhi is only attested twice in the Borsippa corpus, there is prosopographical evidence suggesting that it was an alternative spelling for the somewhat better known family name of Barihi.
- 14) ***Kāšir//Ēdu-ēṭir***: a plot in this unit was reclaimed by a member of the homonymous clan through the exchange of a field with the Išpāru family in BM 17599 (Npl 09). Note that the Ēdu-ēṭir clan still held neighbouring plots.
- 15) ***bīt Esagil***: in Nbk 39 a plot in this *hanšû* was owned by the Babāyas (VS 3, 24). This text records the payment of an amount of dates for the services to the local *gugallu*-official. The fact that this documents belongs to the Atkuppū archive suggests that this family had a

stake in this land as well. That this *hanšû* refers to the Esagil temple and not to a family is suggested by the absence of a *Personenkeil*.

- 16) *bīt Esagil-mansum*:** this unit is found in two documents recording a transfer of property within the homonymous family. In BM 29379 (Cam 07) a woman donates a garden in *bīt Esagil-mansum* to her son. In BM 28902 (Dar 01) two individuals from the same family exchange date palm gardens (parts of the ancestral patrimony, *bīt abišu*). A share of this estate came into the possession of the Ea-ilūtu-bani family, in whose archive it is found in Nbk III 00 (YOS 17 8, see Joannès 1989: 326). Between Dar 09 and Dar 26, a plot in this *hanšû* (probably as part of the dowry of the Šillāya family, see *hanšû bīt Basia* above) was held by the Basia, Bēliya'u and Šillāya families (e.g. VS 3 104, 09; BM 28984, Dar 14; BM 29432, Dar 21; BM 28989, Dar 26; BM 96186, Dar x).
- 17) *bīt Gallābu*:** parts of this estate were already lost to the ancestral family during or even before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, when it was controlled by the Ea-ilūtu-banis (YBC 9158). After being divided and partly sold to the Iddin-Papsukkal family, a member of the Gallābu clan was able to reclaim some of his ancestral land during the reign of Nabonidus (BM 96351). This land was subsequently sold off to the Mannu-gērūšus (BM 29401). According to Zadok 2006: 431, the Ilia family also owned a share of land in this *hanšû* unit.
- 18) *tamirtu humamātu*:** land in this *hanšû* was sold by a member of the Gallābu family to the Mudammīq-Marduk family. However, in BM 96267 (Nbn 06) this transaction was successfully contested and reclaimed by a brother of the seller.
- 19) *Ahu-ēreš/Huršanāya*:** this estate is mentioned in BM 87239 (Nbk 11). In this text, a member of the Nabû-šemê family sells two *kur* of land stretching over this *hanšû* and the *hanšû ša-Nabû-ētir/Purattāya*, for the staggering amount of seventy-two minas of silver to the Pahhāru family. The Huršanāya family is attested only once in the corpus (BM 28826).
- 20) *bīt Hušābu*:** in the earliest documentation of this unit, the land is (temporarily) held by Banê-ša-ilia as collateral for a debt of silver due from a member of the Hušābu family (TuM 2/3 106 Nbk 15). Another dossier documents the acquisition of a garden in this *hanšû* by the Rē'i-alpis. The first text shows that a member of the Adad-ibni clan bought part of this land from the Mubannû clan, who had previously bought it from the Asalluhimansums (before Cam 06, VS 5 48). This share was then sold to a member of the Atkuppū family (BM 85239 and BM 26623, Dar 03). In a document dated one year later, it is, however, revealed that the Atkuppū acted only as a proxy for the actual buyer from the

Rē'i-alpi family (BM 82619). Documentation for this land continues until Dar 18 (e.g. BM 82713, BM 94716, BM 102022).

- 21) Iddin-Amurru:** the earliest secured attestation of this *hanšû* comes from BM 26487 (Nbk 22). Rēmūt-Gula//Rē'i-alpi requests his son-in-law from the Maqartu family to assign property to his wife. He assigns to her the ownership of a house and a garden on the *nār-Mihir* in the *hanšû ša Iddin-<sup>d</sup>x*. While the reading of the name is unsure, this is one of the few *hanšûs* in Borsippa named after an individual without a family name. Contrary to, for example, Uruk where Iddin-Amurru can denote an ancestral name, in Borsippa it is only attested as a personal name. That it should be interpreted as such in this case too, is suggested by the lack of the term *bīt*, 'house' or 'family'. Moreover, in Dar 00 Nabû-mukîn-zēri//Rē'i-alpi showed further interest in this (*hanšû*) area and exchanged three slaves with the Allānu family against a garden in the vicinity of the *nār-Mihir* in the Iddin-Amurru area (BM 94546, *hanšû* not mentioned).
- 22) bīt Iddin-Papsukkal:** according to AB 241 (Cyr 06), a man from the Aqar-Nabû family and his wife from the Hušābu family sell four plots in this *hanšû* to the Ahiya'ūtus. The text further specifies that the property was held undivided with the Nūr-Papsukkal and the Išparu families. Moreover, the Iddin-Papsukkal still owned neighbouring plots. Another neighbour is Nabû-mukîn-zēri//Rē'i-alpi, who would later buy this land from the Ahiya'ūtu family (BM 82764 Dar 02).
- 22b) Saggillu//Iddin-Papsukkal:** this *hanšû* is attested in BM 26493 (ca. Nbk 08). The Raksu family sold the land to an individual of the Adad-nāšir clan. The buyer already owned a neighbouring plot. This text probably belongs to the Atkuppū archive and it is likely that this field entered into their possession through the marriage alliance with the Adad-nāšir family.
- 23) bīt (Ea-)ilūtu-bani:** this *hanšû* is mentioned in two cultivation related contracts (NBC 8362, AmM 02; BM 94780, Nbn 13) involving Zēru-Bābili//Ea-ilūtu-bani and his son, respectively. Some parts of this *hanšû* were presumably lost to the ancestral family at an earlier phase, since in Nbk 18 the Ilī-bāni family (linked to the Ea-ilūtu-banis by marriage) bought a plot in this *hanšû* from the Damēqu family (TuM 2/3 15).
- 23b) Illûa//Ea-ilūtu-bani:** this estate was kept largely within the Ea-ilūtu-bani family from the reign of Šamaš-šumu-ukîn until at least the reign of Cyrus. The first period of documentation is characterised by a series of sales of smaller shares between relatives (e.g. YBC 11426, Ššu 12; NBC 8297, Ššu 12; OECT 12 A 131; Ššu 12). The land was kept by Puhhuru//Ea-ilūtu-bani until the reign of Nabopolassar (note that in most texts the term

*hanšû* is not used, e.g. TuM 2/3 133, Kan 04; TuM 2/3 134, Nbp 07). In Nbp 16 Puhuru divided this property among his sons (TuM 2/3 5), who successfully passed it down to his grandson and great-grandson (e.g. TuM 2/3 195, Nbk 01; TuM 2/3 135, Ner 03; 94780, Nbn 13; BM 94692, Cyr 06). This dossier has been discussed extensively by Joannès 1989: 65f. and Nielsen 2011: 91f.

**23c) Nādin-ahi/(Ea-)ilūtu-bani:** evidence on this *hanšû* came into existence when the Ea-ilūtu-bani family sold various plots to the Iddin-Papsukkal family around the 660s BCE (TuM 2/3 17, TCL 12 9, TuM 2/3 11). It was sold on to an individual of the Nappāhu clan only a short time later (TuM 2/3 12, Ššu 10). The land eventually ended up in the possession of the Gallābus. It was only sometime during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, circa fifty years later, that the Ea-ilūtu-bani family re-assembled this property (A 163).

**23d) Suppê-Bēl/(Ea-)ilūtu-bani:** in Ššu 12 Puhuru/Ea-ilūtu-bani exchanged parts of this *hanšû* against a plot in the *hanšû ša bīt Pahhāru* owned by the *šāpiru* of the brewers from the Ilia family (TuM 2/3 23//MAH 16232; see edition Joannès 1989: 174 and corrections Nielsen 2011: 92<sup>+310</sup>). Puhuru already owned a neighbouring field and it has been stressed previously that this transaction was part of a coherent strategy to assemble a bloc of several pieces of land (Joannès 1989: 66-67). However, that the ancestral family remained in control of most of the *hanšû Suppê-Bēl/(Ea-)ilūtu-bani* is clear from a later transaction. In TCL 12 16 (Kan 06), Puhuru sold a plot in this unit to a relative; both owned neighbouring plots.

**24) bīt Iššakku:** a garden in this *hanšû* was kept as pledge by the Kudurrānu family for a debt of silver against the Iššakku in Dar 27 (BM 29007). The land was at that time held by members of the Iššakku and the Purkullu families.

**25) bīt Kidin-Sîn:** an orchard located here was part of the property transferred by Nabû-mukîn-zēri/Rē'i-alpi to his grandson, and subsequently claimed by his own son, Rēmūt-Nabû (e.g. BM 26514, Dar 05; BM 26492//BE 8 108, Dar 06). The land was held undivided with a member of the Kidin-Sîn clan.

**25b) Nabû-šumu-līšir (or, -ukīn)//Kidin-Sîn:** this *hanšû* is mentioned first in a complicated division of dowry property in Cam 07 (BM 94697). In this document Nabû-šumu-ušur//Kidin-Sîn grants a garden in this unit to his daughter and her husband (Gimillu//Kidin-Sîn) as dowry. It is not exactly clear why, but a member of the Bēliya'u also receives a share in this *hanšû*. The story continues a year later when Gimillu sells part of his land to Nabû-mukîn-zēri/Rē'i-alpi (BM 82656). The presence of a royal scribe (*tuṣšar šarri*) suggests that this sale was not completely voluntary. The transaction dragged

on for another year when a re-confirmation of the sale was written (BM 82654). It seems, however, that Gimillu still owned some land in this *hanšû* (this time not belonging to his wife's dowry), which he later sold to the same buyer in Dar 02 (EAH 212).

- 25c) [PN]/Kidin-Sîn:** this is the estate where members of the Bēliya'u family received land from the Kidin-Sîns in Nbk 33, see *hanšû ša bīt Bēliya'u* (above). It might be identical to the *hanšû* discussed before (25b).
- 26) bīt Kudurru u bīt <sup>f</sup>Le'itu:** the dossier from the Ilia (A) family dealing with these units has been discussed by Jursa *et al.* 2010: 368-371. The four sons of Šulā//Ilia inherited land in this area in the reign of Nabonidus. The eldest brother sold part of this property to his siblings who initially kept it undivided (e.g. BM102289, Nbn 12; BM 26532, Nbn 13; BM 17657, Nbn 13). The rest of the documentation concerns the management of this land by especially one of the three brothers, Marduk-šumu-ibni (e.g. BM 17641//VS 3, 196, Cam 02; BM 25718, Dar 02; BM 102012, Dar 08; BM 102307, Dar 15). It is interesting to note that this unit is only explicitly called a *hanšû* once (BM 25718). The land is usually said to be located in the *eblu* (meaning unsure) *ša bīt Kudurru u bīt <sup>f</sup>Le'itu*.
- 27) bīt Kurgarrê:** based on parallel attestation this *hanšû* name has been restored by Zadok 2006: 442. The first attestation of this estate comes from the marriage contract between the Arad-Ea and the Rē'i-alpi families dated to Dar 01 (Roth 1989: no. 22). This land is later said to be located on the canal (*harru*) of the *bīt Kurgarrê* and probably sold by the Rē'i-alpi family to an unknown buyer in Dar 20 (BM 26576 = AH XV no. 192).
- 28) bīt Lahāšu:** this *hanšû* is mentioned only once in Nbk 11 (TCL 12 30) as a neighbouring estates of the *hanšû ša bīt Atkuppu*, see above.
- 29) bīt mār Lāsimu:** a garden here is sold by the Lāsimu clan to Šaddinnu//Bēliya'u in Dar 10 (BM 96289). While the term *hanšû* is not used in this text, it can be restored from the *imittu* text BM 96299 (Dar 22). Šaddinnu only completed his payment in Dar 20, when the remainder was given to the Lāsimu family (BM 29113). There are thus far only two individuals attested with the family name Lāsimu in the Borsippa corpus.
- 30) bīt Mubannû:** a field belonging to the dowry of <sup>f</sup>Nanā-bulliṭiš//Mubannû, wife of Nabû-mukîn-zēri//Rē'i-alpi, was located in this *hanšû*. It is only attested in a short period, between Dar 05 and Dar 09. In Dar 05 the couple assigned this plot first to their daughter <sup>f</sup>Inbā (BM 101980//BM 82607) and then to their grandson Lābāši-Marduk (BM 26514). This transaction was later cancelled to the benefit Rēmût-Nabû, their son (BM 26492//BE 8 108 Dar 06). This land is mentioned once more when Rēmût-Nabû used it as a pledge for 5/6 minas of silver in Dar 09 (BM 82728).

- 31) Nabû-mutakkil(?):** this unit is mentioned in a very fragmented text in Cyr 06 (VS 5 36). It probably belonged to the Ilia (A) family.
- 32) bīt Naggāru:** land in this *hanšû* was held as a pledge by the Gallābu family for a debt of barley, dates and silver drawn against a member of the Maššar-abulli family in Nbn 15 (BM 85641). According to the *imittu* text BM 96315 (Dar 18) Šaddinnu/Bēliya’u owned a garden here as well. He also obtained ownership of another field here in return for the old-age care of a member of the Kāširu clan (BM 25630//BM 25653, Dar 20).
- 32b) Nummuru//Naggāru:** three members of the Naggāru family sold this unit, apparently in its entirety to the Ilia family in Ššu 04 (*RA* 10 no. 46) for only 5 shekels of silver. It should be noted that no dimensions are given, however.
- 33) bīt apil Nappāhu:** land in this unit was used as dowry property of <sup>f</sup>Ahattu//Arad-Ea, who married into the Rē’i-alpi clan in Dar 01 (Roth 1989: no. 22). The management of this plot (still held with some other members of the Arad-Ea family, according to e.g. BM 26707 and BM 26561//BM 94879) is recorded until Dar 29 (e.g. BM 26335). This property was however temporarily pledged to the Ea-imbi family in Babylon around Dar 19 (BM 26624//BM 102002 and BM 94685).
- 34) bīt Nikkāya:** this *hanšû* is mentioned as neighbouring estates of the *hanšû ša bīt Atkuppū* in Nbk 11 (TCL 12 30), see above.
- 35) bīt Pahlāru:** land in this unit was originally bought from the Damēqu family by the *šāpiru* of brewers (Ilia family). The latter then exchanged it in Ššu 12 against a plot in *hanšû Suppê-Bēl//*(Ea-)ilūtu-bani, see above.
- 36) mār Pa-ni-a-su-šu-du(?):** this land was part of the dowry of <sup>f</sup>Ahattu//Arad-Ea, who married into the Rē’i-alpi clan around Dar 01 (Roth 1989: no. 22). The reading of this name is unsure.
- 37) Nabû-ēṭir//Purattāya:** see *hanšû ša Ahu-ēreš//Huršanāya* above.
- 38) Rabî:** this *hanšû* is mentioned once in an *imittu* text from the Ilī-bāni archive (see Joannès 1989: 87 and 269).
- 39) bīt Rē’i-alpi:** this *hanšû* is documented through numerous transfers of property within the Rē’i-alpi family, between Nbn 00 and Dar 29. It is first attested in Nbn 00 when an individual from the Arkāt-ilāni-damqā family bought land from <sup>f</sup>Amat-Ninlil//Rē’i-alpi, as proxy for Nabû-mukīn-zēri//Rē’i-alpi (BM 25627). A year later Nabû-mukīn-zēri made use of another proxy to buy a different plot of land here from his relatives (BM 26636 and BM 109871). The presence of a royal scribe at the latter transaction suggests an involuntary sale, perhaps as a result of indebtedness. A final transaction is found in BM 26571 (= AH



XV no. 147, Nbn 08), which records the exchange of two days of the oxherd's prebend against a field in this *hanšû*. This *hanšû* seems to have been kept firmly in the family until Dar 29 (BM 86442).

- 39b) Nabû-zēru-ibni/Nabû-aplu-iddin/Rē'i-alpi:** an orchard in this unit was sold in Nbn 04 by Nabû-ušebši//Rē'i-alpi (perhaps the grandson of the individual, who gave his name to this *hanšû*) to <sup>f</sup>Ṭabātu//Maqartu (Rē'i-alpi from her mother's side) in order to pay off a long-standing debt to the Ezida temple (BE 8 44//BM 94562). The fact that it was written in the presence of the royal scribe suggests that there was pressure from higher up. According to the quittance text BM 26687//BM 26656 <sup>f</sup>Ṭabātu paid the full price to Nabû-ušebši in Nbn 05. However, a few years later disagreement arose about the exact boundaries of the field. Unfortunately, from the document that records its settlement it is not entirely clear, who the real owner was in Nbn 10 (BM 26648); it tells us that the land was bought by Nabû-mukīn-zēri//Rē'i-alpi and <sup>f</sup>Ṭabātu, jointly.
- 40) bīt Rē'i-sisê:** a plot in this *hanšû* was exchanged by a member of the Ēdu-ēṭir family against land in the *hanšû ša Kāšir//Ēdu-ēṭir* owned by the Išparus in Npl 09 (BM 17599). In the reign of Nabonidus the Šagimmu family sold a share to the Hušābus (BE 8 43). This transaction was later cancelled and the land was bought by another individual, whose name is lost (BM 26474). In the reign of Cambyses, shares in this *hanšû* came under control of the Rē'i-alpi family. BM 26504//BM 26481 (Cam [x]) records the exchange of two fields within Rē'i-alpi clan: a field in the *hanšû ša Rē'i-sisê* was exchanged against a plot in the *hanšû ša bīt Bitahhi*. The land was later sold to the Šarrahus, a family related to the Rē'i-alpi family by marriage.
- 41) bīt Rišāya:** this *hanšû* is attested as a dowry field in BM 29375 ([Ach?] 04), a document, which records the division of dowry gifts among three generations of the Ardūtu family. Seeing that one of the daughters married into the Rē'i-alpi family, it is likely that this land followed her into the new conjugal household.
- 42) bīt Šillāya:** land in this *hanšû* is attested in the Bēliya'u archive between Dar 09 (BM 96309) and Dar 18 (VS 3 119). It is very likely that the Šillāya clan held this land until it married one of its daughters to the Šaddinnu//Bēliya'u, sometime around the reign of Cambyses, using it as dowry property.
- 43) Ša-Nabû-šû:** a field in this *hanšû* was bought by the Egibis from Babylon in Nbn 08, perhaps from the Arad-Ea family (Wunsch 2000: no. 116).
- 44) bīt Ṭābihu:** Šaddinnu//Bēliya'u bought a date grove in this estate in Dar 20 from the Ibnāya family (VS 5 92). It is interesting to see that members of the Ibnāya family, who

APPENDIX 2

traditionally performed the function of the prebendary butcher of Nabû, also held land in the *hanšû* of the butcher (*tābihu*).

## APPENDIX 3

### Property sales in the Borsippa corpus

#### Sales of *hanšû* land

Museum No.	Date	Seller	Buyer	Prof. seller	Prof. buyer
A 163	[zNbk]	Gallābu	Ea-iltū-bani	barber	ērib-bīti
AB 241	Cyr 06	Huṣābu ∞ Aqar- Nabū	Ahiya' ūtu	brewer ∞ ērib-bīti	brewer / ērib-bīti
BE 8 43	Nbn 03	Šagimmu	Huṣābu		brewer
BM 25627	[Nbn] 00	Arkāt-ilāni-d. (proxy)	Re'i-alpi	ērib-bīti	oxherd
BM 26474	Nbn 03	Šagimmu	[ ]		
BM 26493	Nbk [08]	Raksu	Adad-nāšir		
BM 26499	Nbn 01	Re'i-alpi	Nūr-Papsukkal		
BM 26510	Dar 12	(no fam.)	Re'i-alpi	oxherd	ērib-bīti
BM 26567	Dar 05	Nappāhu	Ilia (A)	ērib-bīti / craftsman	brewer
BM 29401	Cam 02	Gallābu	Mannu-gērūšu	barber	brewer
BM 82656	Dar [00]	Kidin-Sin	Re'i-alpi	baker	oxherd
BM 82764	Dar 02	Ahiya' ūtu	Re'i-alpi	brewer / ērib-bīti	oxherd
BM 85239	Dar 03	Adad-ibni (proxy)	Re'i-alpi		oxherd
BM 87239	Nbk 11	Nabū-šemē	Pahhāru		
BM 94552	[Cam/Dar]	Re'i-alpi	Šarahu	oxherd	

Museum No.	Date	Seller	Buyer	Prof. seller	Prof. buyer
BM 94562//BE 8 44	Nbn 04	Rē'i- <i>alpi</i>	Mubannū	oxherd	mubannū
BM 94662	Dar 04	Nabū-mukīn- <i>apli</i> (proxy)	Rē'i- <i>alpi</i>	baker	oxherd
BM 96218	> Dar 04	Kidin- <i>Sîn</i>	Bēliya'u	baker	baker
BM 96267	Nbn 06	Gallābu	Mudammīq- <i>Marduk</i>	barber	
BM 96289	Dar 10	Lāsīmu	Bēliya'u	ērib- <i>bīti</i>	baker
BM 96351	Nbn 14	Ea- <i>ilūtu-bani</i>	Gallābu	ērib- <i>bīti</i> / craftsman	barber
R4 10 no. 46	Ššu 04	Naggāru	Ilia	ērib- <i>bīti</i>	brewer
TCL 12 9	Ššu 07	Ea- <i>ilūtu-bani</i>	Iddin- <i>Papsukkal</i>	ērib- <i>bīti</i>	ērib- <i>bīti</i>
TuM 2/3 12	Ššu 10	Iddin- <i>Papsukkal</i>	Nappāhu	ērib- <i>bīti</i>	ērib- <i>bīti</i> / craftsman
TuM 2/3 15	Nbk 18	Damēqu	Ilī-bāni		ērib- <i>bīti</i>
VS 5 140	[Np]/Nbk]	Ša- <i>īabtišu</i>	Kidin- <i>Sîn</i>		baker
VS 5 48	> Camb 04	Asaluhī- <i>mansum</i>	Mubannū		mubannū
VS 5 48	Camb 04	Mubannū	Adad- <i>ibni</i>		
VS 5 92	Dar 20	Ibnāya	Bēliya'u	mubannū	baker
YBC 9189	Nbk 19	Gallābu	Ilī-bāni	butcher	ērib- <i>bīti</i>

Sales of non-*hansū* land

Museum No.	Date	Seller	Buyer	Prof. seller	Prof. buyer
Amherst 256	Dar 05	[ ]	Pahhāru		
BM 101981	Dar 17	Rē'i- <i>alpi</i>	Siātu	oxherd	
BM 25588	Dar 21	Arad- <i>Nergal</i>	Kāšir		
BM 26520	Dar 18	Rē'i- <i>alpi</i>	Marduku	oxherd	
BM 26623	Dar 03	Adad- <i>ibni</i>	Atkuppū		reed-worker
BM 26656//BM 26687	Nbn 05	Rē'i- <i>alpi</i>	Maqartu	oxherd	
BM 29090	Cyr 06	Gallābu	Pahhāru	barber	
BM 29117	Dar 11	Babātu	Bēliya'u		baker
BM 29478	> Nbn 02	Mubannū	Šikkūa	mubannū	brewer
BM 29478	Nbn 02	Šikkūa (proxy)	Ibnāya	brewer	butcher
BM 29666	Dar [X]	Bēl- <i>ušungal</i>	Bēliya'u		baker

Museum No.	Date	Kidin-Sin ∞ Šepé-ilia [ ]	<sup>u</sup> Ri'-i [ ] (+ Kidin-Sin) [ ]	baker ∞ baker	baker (?)
BM 82608	≥Dar 20	Kidin-Sin ∞ Šepé-ilia	<sup>u</sup> Ri'-i [ ] (+ Kidin-Sin)	baker ∞ baker	baker (?)
BM 82612	Nbn 04	[ ]	[ ]		
BM 82619	Dar 14	Atkuppū (proxy)	Rē'i-alpi	reed-worker	oxherd
BM 85542	Nbn 16	Ea-ilūtu-bani	Gallābu	ērib-bīti	barber
BM 85643	Nbn 12	Ša-našišu	Gallābu	brewer (?)	barber
BM 87274	[late Dar]	Bā'iru (woman)	Nappāhu		ērib-bīti / craftsman
BM 87289	Dar 19	Kinia	Lā-kuppuru		brewer
BM 94677	Dar 13	Dannēa	Rē'i-alpi		oxherd
BM 94739	Dar 14	Ilia (D)	Iddin-Papsukkal	brewer	ērib-bīti
BM 95003	Nbn 10 <sup>+</sup>	Ilia (A)	Rē'i-alpi	brewer	oxherd
BM 96113	Dar 14	Šillāya	Iddinā		
BM 96371	Nbn 09	[ ]-Nabūt	Gallābu		barber
VS 4 176	Dar 29	Ibnāya	Lā-kuppuru	butcher	brewer
VS 5 91	Dar 19	Lā-kuppuru	Lā-kuppuru	brewer	brewer
VS 6 105	Cyr 08	Rē'i-alpi	Pahhāru	oxherd	

## Sales of housing plots

Museum No.	Date	Seller	Buyer	Prof. seller	Prof. buyer
BE 8 115	Dar 27	Sippé ∞ Itinnu	Siātu		
BM 21938	Dar 15	Eppēš-ilī	Bēliya'u	butcher	baker
BM 25100	Dar 09	Bēliya'u	Bēliya'u	baker	baker
BM 25589	Dar 03	Kidin-Sin	Bēliya'u	baker	baker
BM 25712//BM 82790	Nbn 04	Rē'i-alpi	Maqartu	oxherd	
BM 26231	Cyr [X]	Ur-Nannā	Rē'i-alpi		oxherd
BM 26500	Dar 28	Kudurrānu	[ ]	brewer	
BM 26503	Dar 27	Ilišu-abūšu	[ ]	brewer	
BM 26528	Nši 10	Nabū-ētir	Mišrāya		
BM 27746 + BM 109363	Dar 27	Naggāru	Basia	ērib-bīti / craftsman	

BM 27785	Cam [x]	Nappāhu	Bēliya'u	ērib-bīti / craftsman	baker
BM 28963	Dar 03	[ ]	Bēliya'u		baker
BM 29019	Dar 06	Imbu-īnia (?)	Bēliya'u		baker
BM 29185	Nbk 40	Etel-pī	Kudurrānu		brewer
BM 82632	Dar 01	Rē'i-alpi	Rē'i-alpi	oxherd	oxherd
BM 82679	Nbn 05 <sup>+</sup>	Gallābu	Iliā	barber	brewer
BM 85312	Ner 01	(no fam.)	Aikuppu		reed-worker
BM 87358	Nbn 11	Nūr-Papsukkal	Iliā (D)	ērib-bīti	brewer
BM 94557	[< Nbn]	Arad-Ea	Iliā	ērib-bīti	brewer
BM 94593	[late Nbk]	Kutimmu (?)	Itimmu (?)		
BM 94633	[> Nbn]	Arkāt-ilāni-d. ∞ Iddin-Pap.	Ilī-bāni	ērib-bīti ∞ ērib-bīti	ērib-bīti
BM 96143	Dar 20	Sāmu	Bēliya'u		baker
BM 96255	[Dar] (?)	Suqāya	Bēliya'u		baker
BM 96294	Dar 14	Šangū-Nannā	Bēliya'u		baker
Camb 233	Cam 04	Ša-haṭṭu-ēreš (woman)	[ ]		
Dar 367	Dar 13	Pahhāru	Egibi (Babylon)		baker
Iraq 59 no. 55	[early Dar]	[ ]	Bēliya'u		ērib-bīti
LB 886	[Dar]	Pahhāru (woman)	Iddin-Papsukkal		
VS 4 98	Dar 03	Rē'i-sisē	Šigūa		
VS 5 6	Nbk 13	Ninurta-ušallim	Kidin-Nanāya		ērib-bīti
VS 5 96	Dar 25	(no fam.)	Iddin-Pap. (woman)		ērib-bīti
BM 82740	[Nbn 04 / Cam]	Ea-ilūtu-bani	Iliā (D)	ērib-bīti	brewer
BM 85364	Ner 03	Arkāt-ilāni-d.	(royal merchant)	ērib-bīti	

## ABBREVIATIONS

A	tablets in the Bodleian Library Collection, Oxford
AB	tablets in the Bodleian Library Collection, Oxford
ABC	A.K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> , Locust Valley 1975
ABL	R.F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyoujik Collection of the British Museum</i> , 14 vols, London – Chicago 1892-1914
Abp	reign of Assurbanipal (668- <i>ca.</i> 627 BCE)
ADFU	Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka
<i>AfO</i>	Archiv für Orientforschung
AH XV	C. Waerzeggers, <i>The Ezida Temple of Borsippa: Priesthood, Cult, Archives</i> (Achaemenid History 15), Leiden 2010
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , Wiesbaden 1965-1981
Amherst	tablets from the former collection of Lord Amherst
AmM	reign of Amēl-Marduk (562-560 BCE)
<i>AnOr</i>	Analecta Orientalia
<i>AnOr</i> 8	A. Pohl, <i>Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen 1. Teil</i> ( <i>AnOr</i> 8), Rome 1933
<i>AnOr</i> 9	A. Pohl, <i>Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen 2. Teil</i> ( <i>AnOr</i> 9), Rome 1934
Anš	reign of Aššur-nādin-šumi (699-694 BCE)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>AoF</i>	Altorientalische Forschungen
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

- ArOr* 33 H. Freydank, Zwei spätbabylonische Urkunden im Prager Keilschriftseminar, *ArOr* 33 (1965), 19-26
- AUWE Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka: Endberichte
- AUWE 5 E. Gehlken, *Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv*, vol. 1 (AUWE 5), Mainz 1990
- AUWE 8 K. Kessler, *Uruk: Urkunden aus Privathäusern: die Wohnhäuser westlich des Eanna-Tempelbereichs*, vol. 1 (AUWE 8), Mainz 1991
- AUWE 11 E. Gehlken, *Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv*, vol. 2 (AUWE 11), Mainz 1996
- AUWE 12 E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18* (Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk 4 = AUWE 12), Mainz a.Rh. 1993
- BaF Baghdader Forschungen
- Bard reign of Bardiya (522 BCE)
- BBSt L.W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets*, London 1912
- BE 8 A.T. Clay, *Legal and Commercial Transactions dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods, Chiefly from Nippur* (The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Series A: Cuneiform Texts 8/1), Philadelphia 1908
- BIN Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies
- BIN 1 C.E. Keiser, *Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, by Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, vol. 1 (BIN 1), New Haven 1917
- BiOr* Bibliotheca Orientalis
- Berens T.G. Pinches, *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection* (Asiatic Society Monographs 16), London 1915
- BRM 1 A.T. Clay, *Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium B.C.* (Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan 1), New York 1912
- BM tablets in the British Museum, London
- BMA M.T. Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements 7th-3rd*



	<i>Centuries BC</i> (AOAT 222), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1989
BRM 1	A.T. Clay, <i>Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium BC</i> (BRM 1), New York 1912
BRM 2	A.T. Clay, <i>Legal documents from Erech, dated in the Seleucid Era</i> (BRM 2), New York 1913
BRM 4	A.T. Clay, <i>Epics, hymns, omens and other texts</i> (BRM 4), New Haven 1923
BSA	Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
C	tablets in the Bodleian Library Collection, Oxford
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago</i> , Chicago 1956-2010
CBS	tablets in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section)
Cam	reign of Cambyses (530-522 BCE)
<i>Camb</i>	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon (529-521 v. Chr.)</i> (Babylonische Hefte 8-9), Leipzig 1890
CHANE	<i>Culture and History of the Ancient Near East</i> , Leiden 2000-
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i> , London 1896-
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
Cyr	reign of Cyrus II (539-530 BCE)
<i>Cyr</i>	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538-529 v. Chr.)</i> (Babylonische Hefte 7), Leipzig 1889
Dar	reign of Darius I (521-486 BCE)
<i>Dar</i>	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon (521-485 v. Chr.)</i> (Babylonische Hefte 10-12), Leipzig 1890
d.l.	date lost
dupl.	duplicate
EAH	tablets in the E.A. Hoffman collection, Yale University, New Haven
Esh	reign of Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE)

ABBREVIATIONS

Evetts <i>App.</i>	B.T.A. Evetts, <i>Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach (BC 562-559), Neriglissar (BC 559-555), and Laborosoarchod (BC 555)</i> . Leipzig 1892
<i>EvM</i>	B.T.A. Evetts, <i>Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar and Laborosoarchod</i> , Leipzig 1892
F	tablets in the Bodleian Library Collection, Oxford
fam.	family
FLP	tablets in the Free Library of Philadelphia
FN	family name
GCCI 1	R.P. Dougherty, <i>Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus</i> (Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions 1), New Haven 1923
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
HdO	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i> , Leiden 1952-
HANE-M/S	<i>History of the Ancient Near East</i> (Monographs/Studies), Padova 1996-
HSM	tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum, Cambridge MA
IOS	Israel Oriental Series
<i>Iraq</i> 59	M. Jursa, Neu- und spätbabylonische Texte aus den Sammlungen der Birmingham Museums und Art Gallery, <i>Iraq</i> 59 (1997), 97-174
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
<i>JCS</i> 39	T.G. Lee, A Receipt from the Reign of Cambyses, <i>JCS</i> 39 (1987), 49-53
JEOL	Jaarberichten Ex Oriente Lux
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHS	Journal of Hellenistic Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSOT	Journal of Studies of the Old Testament
Kan	reign of Kandalānu (647-627 BCE)
KVM	tablets in the Kalamazoo Valley Museum, Kalamazoo

L	tablets in the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul
m	mina (1/2 kg)
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin
MLC	tablets in the Morgan Library Collection, Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven
MOSS	<i>Midden-Oosten Stimuleringsfonds Symposia</i> , Leiden 1999-2004
l., ll.	line, lines
LabM	reign of Lâbâši-Marduk (556 BCE)
LB	tablets in the collection of de Liagre Böhl, Leiden
<i>Liv</i>	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Die babylonischen Inschriften im Museum zu Liverpool nebst anderen aus der Zeit von Nebukadnezar bis Darius, Actes du 6e Congrès International des Orientalistes</i> (Leiden 1885), 569-624, Beilage 1-176
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
NBC	tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection (Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven)
Nbp	reign of king Nabopolassar (626-605 BCE)
Nbk	reign of king Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562 BC)
<i>Nbk</i>	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Nabochodonosor, König von Babylon (604-561 v. Chr.)</i> (Babylonische Hefte 5-6), Leipzig 1889
Nbn	reign of king Nabonidus (556-539 BCE)
<i>Nbn</i>	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (555-538 v. Chr.)</i> (Babylonische Hefte 1-4), Leipzig 1889
Ner	reign of king Neriglissar (560-556 BCE)
<i>Ner</i>	B.T.A. Evetts, <i>Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach (BC 562-559), Neriglissar (BC 559-555), and Laborosoarchod (BC 555)</i> , Leipzig 1892
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
obv.	obverse
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts

ABBREVIATIONS

OECT 10	G.J.P. McEwan, <i>Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum</i> (OECT 10), Oxford 1984
OECT 12	F. Joannès, <i>Les tablettes néo-babyloniennes de la Bodleian Library conservées à l’Ashmolean Museum</i> (OECT 12), Oxford 1990
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
<i>Or</i>	Orientalia (n.s.)
<i>Peek</i>	T.G. Pinches, <i>Inscribed Babylonian Tablets in the Possession of Sir Henry Peek</i> , London 1888
PIHANS	Publications de l’Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PN	personal name
PNA	<i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> , Helsinki 1998-
PTS	tablets in the collection of the Princeton Theological Seminary
r.	reigned
RA	Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale
RA 10	L. Legrain, Collection Louis Cugnin: Catalogue, Transcription et Traduction, RA 10 (1913), 41-68
rev.	reverse
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes
RIMB	<i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods</i> , Toronto 1995-
<i>RLA</i>	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
ROMCT 2	G.J.P. McEwan, <i>The Late Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Ontario Museum</i> (Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts 2), Toronto 1982
RSM	tablets in the Royal Scottish Museum (Edinburgh)
SAA	State archive of Assyria, Helsinki 1988-
SAA 10	S. Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</i> (SAA 10), Helsinki 2003
SAA 18	F.S. Reynolds, <i>The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon and Letters to Assurbanipal and Sin-šarru-iškun from Northern and Central Babylonia</i> (SAA 18), Helsinki 2003

SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
Smith Coll.	C.H. Gordon, <i>Smith College Tablets. 110 Cuneiform Texts Selected from the College Collection</i> , Northampton 1952
SpTU 2	E. von Weiher, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, Vol. 2</i> (ADFU 10), Berlin 1983
SpTU 4	E. von Weiher, <i>Uruk: Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18, Vol. 4</i> (AUWE 12), Mainz 1993
š	sheqel (8.3 g)
Še	reign of Šamaš-erība (484 BCE)
Ššu	reign of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn (667-648 BCE).
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre, Paris 1910-
TCL 9	G. Contenau, <i>Contrats et lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie</i> (TCL 9), Paris 1926
TCL 12	G. Contenau, <i>Contrats néo-babyloniens, vol. 1: De Téglath-Pileser III à Nabonide</i> (TCL 12), Paris 1927
TCL 13	G. Contenau, <i>Contrats néo-babyloniens, vol. 2: Achéménides et Séleucides</i> (TCL 13), Paris 1929
TEBR	F. Joannès, <i>Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente</i> , Paris 1982
TuM 2/3	O. Krückman, <i>Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena</i> , vols. 2-3: <i>Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungs-Texte</i> , Leipzig 1933
UET 4	H.H. Figulla, <i>Business documents of the New-Babylonian period</i> (Ur Excavations, Texts 4), London 1949
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VS 1	J.C. Hinrichs, <i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> , vol. 1, Leipzig 1907
VS 3-6	A. Ungnad, <i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> , vols. 3-6, Leipzig 1907-1908
VS 15	O. Schroeder, <i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> , vol. 15, Leipzig 1916
WdO	Welt des Orients
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

ABBREVIATIONS

Xer	reign of Xerxes (486-465 BCE)
YBC	tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, New Haven – London – Oxford 1915-
YOS 3	A.T. Clay, <i>Neo-Babylonian letters from Erech</i> (YOS 3), New Haven – London – Oxford 1919
YOS 6	R.P. Dougherty, <i>Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus (555-538 BC)</i> (Yale Oriental Series 6), New Haven 1920
YOS 7	A. Tremayne, <i>Records from Erech. Time of Cyrus and Cambyses (538-521 BC)</i> (YOS 7), New Haven – London – Oxford 1925
YOS 17	D.B. Weisberg, <i>Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar</i> (YOS 17), New Haven 1980
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZAR	<i>Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>

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