Title

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By

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Abstract

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“Living in a Culture of the Past” is a microhistorical study of a dossier of fifty-one cuneiform texts written or owned by Iqīšā, son of Ištar-šum-ereš, of the Ekur-zakir clan. Iqīšā lived and worked in the southern Mesopotamian city of Uruk in the late fourth century BCE, during the transition from the end of Achaemenid dominion in the region to the rise of the Hellenistic successor kingdoms. Following the example of theorist of microhistory Carlo Ginzburg, this dissertation reconstructs Iqīšā's particular perspective on the complex, contradictory time in which he lived. As a member of Uruk's urban elite, Iqīšā was deeply invested in the preservation of the privileged status of his class under a new regime. As a teacher of young scribes, Iqīšā endeavored to pass on and preserve essential elements of cuneiform culture and ensure its vibrancy. As a priest of the Rēš temple, Iqīšā balanced the continuation of tradition with intellectual experimentation and innovation. My analysis of Iqīšā's dossier demonstrates the complexity and diversity of Hellenistic Babylonia, the continued vibrancy of cuneiform culture in the late period of Mesopotamian history, the importance of regional differences to our understanding of the transition between the Achaemenid and Seleukid regimes, and the possibilities that new methodologies open up for the history of the ancient Middle East.

List of Abbreviations

A	Siglum of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, University of Chicago
ABC	Albert K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1975.
ACT	Otto Neugebauer, *Astronomical Cuneiform Text*s (3 vols). London: Lund Humphries,1955.
ADART	Abraham Sachs and Hermann Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia* (7 vols). Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1988--.
AfO	Archiv für Orientsforschung
AHw	Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
ANET	J. B. Prichard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950--.
AO	Siglum of the Musée du Louvre (Antiquités orientales)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altest Testament
Ashm.	Siglum of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Enderichte. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1987--.
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
Beih.	Beiheft
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique
BCHP	Irving Finkel, R. J. van der Spek & Reinhard Pingruber, *Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period.*
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BM	Siglum of the British Museum

BMCR	Bryn Mawr Classical Review
BNJ	Brill's New Jacoby, edited by Ian Worthington
Bod S.	Siglum of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (21 vols.) Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956-2010.
CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History. Cambridge
CCP	Cuneiform Commentaries Project (see online http://ccp.yale.edu)
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (see online http://cdli.ucla.edu)
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.
Cyr.	Johann N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon.* Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1890.
DAI	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
FGrH	Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen* Historiker. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923-1958.
IM	Siglum of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
K	Siglum of the Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum, London

KAR	Erich Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* I/II. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1919--.
LBAT	Abraham Sachs, Theophilus Pinches & Johann Strassmaier, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*. Providence: Brown Universitty Press, 1955.
MC	Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Chroniques mésopotamiennes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993.
MLC	Morgan Library Collection, siglum of the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon
MNAO	Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
Or.	Orientalia
OrNS	Orientalia, Nova Series
P.Oxy	The Oxyrynchus Papyri. London, 1898--.
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
RIMB	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Babylonian Periods.
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Neo-Assyrian Period. Toronto, 1996--.
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Berlin and Leipzig, 1932--.
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SpTU	Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk. Vol. I: Hermann Hunger, 1976; Vol. II-V, Egbert von Weiher, 1983-1998. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.

STT	The Sultantepe Tablets. London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara
TCL	Textes Cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre
TU	Tablettes d'Uruk
UVB	Vorläufiger Bericht über die...Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka
VAT	Siglum of the Berlin Museum collections (Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Tontageln.)
W	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Uruk (Warka)
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie

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Chapter 1
Reconstructing the Life of an Ancient Scribe: Evidence, Methods, and Intentions

> *"The scribes who wrote these many thousands of tablets not only are the fountainhead of all our information about Mesopotamia, but they are also the medium through which it reaches us. Their choice of subject matter as well as the stylistic forms that they devised for their messages determine what we, today, may learn about Mesopotamian civilization."*
>
> A. Leo Oppenheim[1]

The figure of the scholar is essential to any discussion of ancient Mesopotamian culture. Decades of research have allowed Assyriologists to paint a general portrait of the Mesopotamian scholar that can then be placed into historical narratives. The Mesopotamian scholar is Sumerian, Assyrian, or Babylonian. He is a man from a good, old family, whose history can be traced back generations. He is a descendant of a famous scribe of long ago or of the mythical *apkallu,* the primordial part-man, part-fish sages. He lives in one of the great Mesopotamian cities, such as Nineveh, Babylon, Nippur, Sippar, Borsippa, or Uruk. He has gone through a rigorous scribal education focused primarily on memorization and the copying of traditional cuneiform texts. He is a scribe, a copyist, and sometimes a codifier and editor—but not an author. He may be a member of an exclusive priesthood, and he may work in a palace or a temple. He is adjacent to power.

This portrait may be broadly correct. It may be a useful composite to employ in broader historical narratives. But what about the individual scholars from whom this composite picture was created? In this dissertation, I will focus on the life and work of a particular scholar who

1 A. Leo Oppenheim, "The Position of the Intellectual in Mesopotamian Society," *Daedalus* 104 no. 2 (1975): 37.

lived in a particular house in the southern Mesopotamian city of Uruk. His name was Iqīšā. Iqīšā's *floruit* can be placed in the second half of the fourth century BCE, although we do not know the exact dates of his birth or death. The dossier of texts associated with Iqīšā and the contexts in which those texts were found give an impression of the man and his activities. In his house, which was excavated by a team of German archaeologists led by Jürgen Schmidt in the 1969-1972 seasons, Iqīšā kept a colle of texts that attest to a variety of scholarly interests. He also wrote some texts that were later moved to the Rēš temple, the huge temple complex dedicated to the Mesopotamian god Anu and his spouse Antu.[2] From the authorship clauses in the colophons of the texts he scribed, we know that Iqīšā was a member of the Ekur-zakir clan, whose members claimed an ancient and prestigious scribal lineage. He was the son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, and had a son that he in turn named after his father. The titles that Iqīšā claims in his colophons indicate that he was a scribe, a priest, and a scholar. He worked as an *āšipu,* a type of medical practitioner who focused on healing through incantations, apotropaic rituals, and poultices.[3] The names of the apprentices who sometimes copied texts for him show that Iqīšā was a member of a network of influential Urukean families, and taught the sons of some of those families the scribal arts. Iqīšā lived in the early Hellenistic period, a turbulent time of transition and political turmoil in which the successors of Alexander the Great jockeyed for control of the region. The texts in Iqīšā's dossier demonstrate how a member of Uruk's scholarly elite balanced the continuation of the grand and ancient cuneiform tradition with new innovations adapted to his changing situation.

2 Hermann Hunger, "Astrological tablets from Late Babylonian Uruk," in *Scholars and Scholarship in Late Babylonian Uruk,* edited by C. Proust and J. Steele (Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2019), 173.

3 Troels Arbøll, *Medicine in Ancient Assur: A Microhistorical Study of the Neo-Assyrian Healer Kiṣir-Aššur* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 4, 7-8.

A portrait of Iqīša's life, even one that is sketchy in places, can give us a human-scale glimpse into Hellenistic Uruk. What are the advantages of this perspective? What can be learned by looking at a particular individual, rather than studying the trends in a group? Can observations of such a reduced scale reveal something that broader historical narratives do not? These sorts of questions are the principal concern of microhistory. The work perhaps most associated with microhistory is Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* (1976), which tells the story of the life, trial, and death of an Italian miller named Domenico Scandella, called Menocchio. Menocchio was born in 1532 in Montereale, in northeast Italy. He was a vigorous and eccentric thinker who espoused his idiosyncratic personal theology to anyone who would listen. Menocchio was put on trial for heresy twice: first in 1583 and then again in 1599. At the conclusion of his second trial, Menocchio was declared a heresiarch and put to death.

Ginzburg uses the extensive records of the trials to try to understand Menocchio's life and world. What emerges is, first, an intimate and affecting portrait of a unique and curious man who thought deeply about God, the universe, and his place in it. The records of Menocchio's trial are dotted with little human idiosyncrasies; he disagrees with his son about whether or not he needs a lawyer, misremembers titles of books and mixes up the names of their protagonists, argues with his friends and neighbors. As two witnesses in his trial attested: " 'He is always arguing with somebody about the faith just for the sake of arguing—even with the priest,' Francesco Fasseta testified to the vicar general. And another witness, Domenico Melchiori, added: 'He will argue with anyone, and when he started to debate with me I said to him: 'I am a shoemaker and you a miller, and you are not an educated man, so what's the use of talking about it?'"[4] In bringing out

4 Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 2.

the humanity of a member of the peasant class, Ginzburg's work stands in stark contrast to historiographic methods that "maintain that the reintegration of the subordinate classes into general history can only be accomplished through number and anonymity, by means of demography and sociology, the quantitative study of past societies." *The Cheese and the Worms* "extends the historic concept of the individual in the direction of the lower classes."[5]

In addition to this ethical intervention that seeks to reorient the focus of historiographical research, Ginzburg also demonstrates the value of the individual to social and intellectual history. The problem of sources looms large over inquiries into the culture or "mentalities"[6] of the lower classes. But an investigation into the life of an individual may be an answer to this problem.

> "[Menocchio] cannot be considered a 'typical' peasant (in the sense of 'average' or 'in the statistical majority') of his age: this is clear from the relative isolation in the town. In the eyes of his fellows, Menocchio was a man somewhat different from others. But this distinctiveness had very definite limits. As with language, culture offers to the individual a horizon of latent possibilities—a flexible and invisible cage in which he can exercise his own conditional liberty. With rare clarity and understanding, Menocchio articulated the language that history put at his disposal. Thus, it becomes possible to trace in his disclosures in a particularly distinct, almost exaggerated form, a series of convergent elements, which, in a similar group of sources that are contemporary or slightly later, appear lost or are barely mentioned. A few soundings confirm the existence of traits reducible to a common peasant culture. In conclusion, even a limited case (and Menocchio is certainly this) can be representative: in a negative sense, because it helps to explain what should be understood, in a given situation, as being 'in the statistical majority'; or, positively, because it permits us to define the latent possibilities of something (popular culture) otherwise known to use only through fragmentary and distorted documents,"[7]

Menocchio, ever argumentative, seems to have treated his first trial as an opportunity to expound upon his unique ideas to the religious authorities of his day. In his declarations Ginzburg sees a creative combination of the books that Menocchio read, oral culture, and

5 Ibid. xxvii.
6 Ginzburg objects to the usefulness of writing a history of mentalities; see p. xxix-xxxi.
7 Ibid., xxviii.

Menocchio's own individual ideas. “Menocchio mulled over and elaborated on his readings outside of any preexistent framework. And his most extraordinary declarations originated from contact with such innocuous texts as Mandeville's *Travels* or the *Historia del Giudicio.* It was not the book as such, but the encounter between the printed page and oral culture that formed an explosive mixture in Menocchio's head.”[8]

That encounter between the books Menocchio read and the world in which he lived created “a screen that he unconsciously placed between himself and the printed page: a filter that emphasized certain words while obscuring others, that stretched the meaning of a word, taking it out of context, that acted on Menocchio's memory and distorted the very words of the text. And this screen, the key to his reading, continually leads us back to a culture that is very different from the one expressed on the printed page.”[9] That screen is composed in part by an undercurrent of “peasant radicalism” that can also be detected in the work of other amateur theologians.[10] Therefore, a close study of the records of Menocchio's trial also leads Ginzburg to a greater understanding of the ever-elusive peasant culture. Even an individual as idiosyncratic as Menocchio can be a key to a better understanding of the world in which he lived.

The Cheese and the Worms is often considered to be the essential text of microhistory. Ginzburg, however, has been careful to point out that microhistory was in independent development before his book. The term “microhistory” first appeared in a scholarly context probably in 1959 in George R. Stewart's book *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Charge at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863*. In the early 1960s the Mexican scholar Luis González y González published a microhistorical account of the small village in which he was born, entitled

8 Ibid., 49.
9 Ibid., 31.
10 Ibid., 108 ff.

Pueblo in vila. González y González's work popularized microhistorical methods in Europe. Ginzburg, Giovanni Levi, and Simona Cerutti later devoted a series, entitled *Microhistorie*, to the subject.[11] Engagement with microhistory as a discipline, both positive and negative, reached a peak in the 1990s. While it never completely went away, in the past ten years or so, interest in microhistory has risen again, particularly in the field of ancient history.[12]

Over the six decades of its development, microhistory has faced many critiques and undergone several splits and evolutions. Many of these developments were born of attempts to answer one essential problem: exceptionality. What can an individual life, essentially an anecdote, meaningfully tell us about social or cultural history? In other words, what are the possible relationships between "micro" and "history"? According to Giovanni Levi, "microhistory as a practice is essentially based on the reduction of the scale of observation."[13] Microhistorical studies zoom in on a historical narrative to conduct a thorough investigation on one individual (or family, or archive, or other suitably small focus). The reduction of scale of observation does not mean the reduction of the scope or significance of conclusions, or the reduction in the complexity of a historical narrative. This new scale of inquiry does, however, reorient the historical narrative towards the personal, the specific, the contradictory, the agentive. A microhistorical narrative does not ignore larger historical processes and forces; instead, it centers the individual (etc.) and examines the ways in which that individual navigates, shapes, and is shaped by their social contexts. Microhistory offers an alternative historiography in which

11 Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or three things I know about it", in *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life Writing,* ed. Hans Renders and Brinne de Hall (Leiden: Brill 2014), 139-145.

12 Sigurður G. Magnússon and István Szijártó, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2013), 12 ff.

13 Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory", in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing,* ed. Peter Burke (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Statue University Press, 2001), 99.

"all social action is seen to be the result of an individual's constant negotiation, manipulation, choices, and decisions in the face of a normative reality which, though pervasive, nonetheless offers many possibilities for personal interpretations and freedoms."[14] Individuals are "the subjects, not objects, of history."[15]

Levi emphasizes that microhistory as a historiographical methodology differs from other methodologies in that it is focused on practice rather than on theory. "It is no accident that the debate over microhistory has not been based on theoretical texts or manifestos. Microhistory is essentially a historiographical practice whereas its theoretical references are varied and, in a sense, eclectic. The method is in fact concerned first and foremost with the actual detailed procedures which constitute the historians work."[16] The aim of microhistory as a practice is to craft "a more realistic description of human behavior."[17] The mid-twentieth century witnessed the destabilization of history as a field. Was it even possible, given the limits of historical evidence, knowledge, and human reason, to understand or even to give a basically satisfactory account of the past?[18] Microhistory seeks to mediate between a pessimistic, nihilistic view of history in which nothing about the past can be understood in any meaningful way and an overly optimistic, positivist one in which historical truth is concrete, unchanging, and always attainable.

What are the benefits of building microhistorical narratives? What can microhistorical inquiry reveal that other types of historical inquiry do not? Giovanni Levi claims that "the unifying principle of all microhistorical research is the belief that microscopic observation will reveal factors previously unobserved. … Phenomena previously considered to be sufficiently

14 Levi "On Microhistory," 94
15 John Brewer, "Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life," *Cultural and Social History* 7.1 (2010): 89.
16 Levi, "On Microhistory," 97.
17 Ibid., 98.
18 Hayden White, "The Burden of History," *History and Theory 5* no. 2 (1966): 111-134.

described and understood assume completely new meanings by altering the scale of observation. It is then possible to use these results to draw far wider generalizations although the initial observations were made within relatively narrow dimensions and as experiments rather than examples."[19] Roger Chartier goes a step further: "It is on this reduced scale, and probably only on this scale, that we can understand, without deterministic reduction, the relationships between systems of beliefs, of values and representations on the one hand, and social affiliations on another."[20]

But how exactly does reducing the scale of observation allow for these new insights? Matti Peltonen has written on the concept of the "exceptional typical" to explain how microhistorical approaches can achieve the goals that Levi set out for them. The exceptional typical demonstrates how the "macro" (societal trends, structures, and forces) interfaces with the "micro" (the individual, the moment, the particular, the peculiar), and vice versa. "The link between micro and macro level is not a simple reduction or aggregation. The movement from one level or sphere to another is qualitative, and generates new information."[21] This new information comes from the exploration of the "monadic double bind" between macro and the micro.[22] "By focusing on clues, margins, and monads historians show the way in concrete detail how actual entities, personal experiences, or events can relate the micro with the macro [*sic*]."[23]

19 Levi, "On Microhistory," 101

20 Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History or Sociocultural History?" in *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals & New Perspectives*, ed. Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 32.

21 Matti Peltonen, "Clues, Margins, and Monads: the Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research," *History and Theory* 40 (2001): 357.

22 Peltonen, "Clues, Margins, and Monads" 357-358; with reference to Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1999) 388-392, 462-475

23 Peltonen, "Clues, Margins, and Monads," 359.

Which brings us back to Iqīšā. A microhistorical approach is not just a novel approach to the Iqīšā material; it is a *uniquely appropriate* approach. Troels Pank Arbøll's study of the career of Kiṣir-Aššur, an *āšipu* in Neo-Assyrian Aššur, has demonstrated how microhistorical approaches can advance our understanding of Mesopotamian intellectual history. Arbøll's thorough examination of the stages of Kiṣir-Aššur's career lead to new hypotheses about the place of vetinary and pediatric practices in Mesopotamian medicine, the relationship between written and oral medical knowledge, and whether or not a "Mesopotamian conception of internal underlying processes existed."[24] In my study of Iqīšā's dossier, I will put forward my own hypotheses about the health of cuneiform culture in the early Hellenistic period and the roles and attitudes of the Urukean scholarly elite in the transition between the Achaemenid and Seleukid regimes.

The applicability of microhistory here can be further demonstrated by the comparison of Iqīšā's case to Menocchio's. First, the issue of source bias and distribution looms large in both cases. The "peasant culture" that Ginzburg most wanted to examine definitionally could not be directly preserved in the historical record—it was oral, flexible, radical, and largely invisible to the elite. So instead Ginzburg searched for the "screen" of Menocchio's readings of the texts in his possession, as it was preserved in the records of his testimony. In this screen, formed by the encounter of oral culture and written texts in the mind of one man, Ginzburg was able to detect echoes of the "peasant radicalism" that was at the center of his historical inquiry. Menocchio the individual acts as a cypher for his world, revealing what is invisible through his interactions with it.

24 Troels Arbøll, *Medicine in Ancient Assur: A Microhistorical Study of the Neo-Assyrian Healer Kiṣir-Aššur,* 264-268.

The issue of sources is also a perennial problem in the study of the Hellenistic Middle East. What gets preserved and what does not is essentially random. Of course, some materials are more durable than others, and some production and storage contexts are more secure than others. Cuneiform records written on clay and stored in a temple storeroom, for example, are more likely to survive than a letter written on parchment and sent to a military commander on the front lines of a war. But within the category of durable objects, the survival and later discovery, classification, and preservation of any object is a matter of chance. Furthermore, the priorities of twentieth century archaeologists and Assyriologists in determining how to preserve, publish, and present different types of evidence have profoundly shaped the historical record. This means that there will always be problems of source distribution bias and gaps in the archaeological and textual records. A microhistorical approach can sidestep those problems. Ginzburg argued that "[microhistory] accepts the limitations [of sources] while exploring their gnoseological implications and transforming them into a narrative element."[25] In the case of Iqīšā, the "gnoseological implications" have to do with how knowledge was produced and preserved in ancient Babylonia and the role of individuals and institutions in that process. What is included and what is missing from Iqīšā's collection can reveal the part he played in the production of knowledge and intellectual culture, and therefore also reveal the process of production itself. It may also reveal Iqīšā's priorities, commitments, and the intellectual strategies he used to navigate his world. Like Menocchio, Iqīšā can be a cypher to a part of history that is otherwise invisible to us.

In addition, the case of Menocchio and the case of Iqīšā both confront the issue of exceptionality and typicality in an individual. As Ginzburg emphatically points out, Menocchio

25 Ginzburg, "Microhistory," 159.

was not a typical early modern Italian peasant. He was somewhat isolated from his small community; he was literate; and as a miller, he was a member of a sort of uneasy middle class, slightly above other peasants. Similarly, Iqīšā was hardly a typical Babylonian. He was a well-connected, consecrated priest. He was not a king or a governor, but he was a relatively wealthy man with a prestigious lineage. A study of Iqīšā's life is therefore not a history from below, nor is it an *Alltagsgeschichte*. But it might be "representative" in both the positive and the negative way, as Menocchio's life is for Ginzburg.

As discussed above, an experimental focus on one man and his family does not necessarily mean the abandonment of larger questions of social and historical context. Rather, it offers a new perspective on those questions. As summarized by Ginzburg, "a close-up look permits us to grasp what eludes a comprehensive viewing, and vice versa."[26] What, then, is missing from the comprehensive viewing of scribes and scholarship in Hellenistic Uruk? Specific and active agents, and the detail, texture, and nuance that their inclusion brings to historical narratives.

The texts we read were all written and copied by a particular person; the houses we excavate were built and lived in by particular families and their slaves; the rituals we reconstruct from various sources were performed again and again by particular priests using materials produced, prepared, and delivered by particular people. But those people are often lost in the historical record or subsumed into a larger institution. Inserting the *person* back into the study of the textual and archaeological remains of Hellenistic Uruk reminds us that each piece of material that we study was *created* by an agent or agents with intention for a particular purpose or purposes. Microhistory recognizes that "any social structure is the result of interaction and of

26 Ginzburg, "Microhistory," 155.

numerous individual strategies, a fabric that can only be reconstituted from close observation."[27] A close study of Iqīšā reveals some of his individual strategies, and the ways in which they aligned with or ran perpendicular to his social context. The emphasis on agency and intention that a microhistorical approach facilitates creates new perspectives on already-studied and published material and opens up the possibility of new avenues for historical inquiry that focus on the specific, the personal, and the human.

In his 1966 essay "The Burden of History," Hayden V. White observed that the discipline of history was in crisis. Caught between social science and art, history as it was being practiced in the Western world did not succeed at either. European historiography sought to find "just the facts" of the past, but could not present a satisfactory theory of what a "historical fact" actually was. In 1973, White expanded his critique and some of his proposed solutions into a book, *Metahistory.* For White, a historical work is formed by the following process: raw data is input into a mode of emplotment, which is expressed and analyzed in a mode of argument. The mode of argument is shaped by a mode of ideological implication. Crucially, this means that there is "an irreducible ideological component in every historical account of reality."[28] Furthermore, White asserts that no mode is more "realistic" than another.[29]

White's argument against the idea of objective history is intentionally extreme. While I would not go so far as to say that no mode is more realistic than others, I think White's emphasis on the ideology of methods and practices is crucial for any historiographical project. There is great value, I believe, in the ideology of microhistory. Microhistory's central ideological claim is a move towards "humanist realism": the expression of the complexity of reality through a focus

27 Ibid., 155.
28 H. V. White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 27.
29 Ibid., xii.

on everyday life and human experience. Central to this search for the real is the transformation of the subjects of history from objects to agents. Dorothy Smith criticized more positivist and conventional approaches because they "convert people from subjects to objects of investigation."[30] Microhistory attempts to correct course by intentionally emphasizing subjects of history as agents, by reminding us of the humanity of the people of the past. There is a risk of over-identification, of sympathizing too much and thereby creating an account just as flawed as an overly positivist one.[31] But if over-identification can be balanced with sympathy, humanist realism opens up new possibilities for the history of Hellenistic Babylonia.

The present study is devoted to exploring some of those possibilities. In the second chapter, I survey some major trends in scholarship on the history of the fourth century BCE, the conquests of Alexander, and the early Hellenistic period. I also explain how my study of Iqīšā fits into these larger historiographical trends.

The third chapter provides an overview of the archaeological contexts of the cuneiform texts that were written or owned by Iqīšā. I give a brief history of the excavations of Iqīšā's house in Uruk, known colloquially as the "House of the *Āšipu,*" and discuss some of the challenges of interpreting the archaeological evidence. I discuss some of the methodological concerns that arise from building a dossier around a particular individual.

In chapter four, I survey the colophons preserved in Iqīšā's texts. A colophon is a normally brief section of text appended to the end of a canonical composition, often separated from the body of the text by a ruling or big space, that provides metadata about the tablet. Typical colophons include the name of the scribe who copied it, his clan, and his professional

30 Dorothy E. Smith, *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1990), 311. Quoted in John Brewer, "Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life," *Cultural and Social History,* 7.1, 100.

31 Brewer, "Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life," 104.

titles; more elaborate colophons could also include the incipit of the composition, the date the tablet was copied, information about its production context, and even protective curses. Forty-three of Iqīšā's texts have substantial, readable colophons; they provide valuable information on the *Sitz im Leben* of the dossier.

Finally, in chapter five I turn to the contents of Iqīšā's texts. The bulk of the chapter is devoted to a close reading of fourteen texts from the dossier: a selection that includes his Sumero-Akkadian bilingual texts, some of his more unique astrological texts, and his commentaries on the text known as the "*Āšipu*'s Handbook." Examination of these texts reveals how Iqīšā carefully balanced tradition and innovation in his work. The portrait of Iqīšā that can be composed from his texts also gives us a glimpse at the individual strategies he used to weather the changes of the early Hellenistic period; in turn, an analysis of Iqīšā's survival strategies requires us to turn back to larger historical questions concerning change, tradition, and power.

Chapter 2
Iqīšā and the Historiography of the Fourth Century BCE

The subject of this microhistorical study, Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir,[32] lived in Babylonia in the second half of the fourth century BCE. Dates recorded in the colophons of a handful tablets that Iqīšā wrote or owned place his *floruit* as a scribe from 322 to 315 BCE.[33] Iqīšā therefore lived through the Macedonian king Alexander the Great's conquest of Babylon in 331 BCE; the death of the Persian king Darius III in 330 BCE and the subsequent end of the Achaemenid empire; Alexander's sudden death in Babylon in 323 BCE; and the scramble for power between Alexander's generals that eventually lead to the foundation of the Seleukid kingdom.

In his seminal 1981 study of the years immediately following the death of Alexander the Great, Édouard Will wrote that "to the best of our knowledge, the announcement of Alexander's death aroused no disturbance among the nations of Asia. This inertia is remarkable but, though its interpretation is a delicate matter, it would no doubt be wrong to see it as no more than a general indifference. In the vast stretches of Mesopotamia and Syria the indigenous inhabitants were accustomed to a subjection often stretching back over centuries, and the death of a new conqueror was nothing to cause an upsurge of 'nationalism'. It would no doubt be desirable to draw distinctions – what did Tyre think? what was the atmosphere in Babylon? - but the

32 In Assyriological notation, a single forward slash denotes direct patrilineal descent, and two forward slashes denote clan ancestry. So Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir indicates that Iqīšā was the son of Ištar-šum-ēreš and a member of the clan of Ekur-zakir.

33 See the fourth chapter for more details.

documents available do not enable us to answer such questions."[34] In the four decades since the publication of Will's article, the picture has changed significantly. The publication of a wealth of cuneiform texts written in the aftermath of Alexander's death from the cities of southern Mesopotamia has broken the supposed silence of the native populations and challenged the notion that the peoples of the ancient Middle East were indolent and accustomed to oppression.[35] Yet the interpretation of the cuneiform evidence and the merging of the cuneiform and classical traditions in pursuit of historical insights into the period remain tricky tasks. In general, the scribes of Hellenistic Babylonia did not comment directly on the events transpiring around them; Iqīšā is no exception.[36] Through an examination of the content of the dozens of cuneiform tablets Iqīšā wrote and owned and a reconstruction of the contexts in which those texts were scribed, it is possible to make Iqīšā stand as a witness, indirect but contemporary, to the Babylonian perspective on this complex and still-enigmatic period in history. Just as Menocchio's depositions allowed Carlo Ginzburg to glimpse the "screen" of peasant culture through which Menocchio interpreted what he read, an examination of Iqīšā's work may lead us to new insights about Babylonian scribal culture and the strategies that were available to members of Uruk's elite to navigate the turbulent period of history in which they lived.

Life in Babylonia in the fifty year period between 350 BCE and 300 BCE is of significant and enduring interest to both classical historians and historians of the Ancient Middle East. As Pierre Briant and Francis Joannès wrote in their introduction to a volume dedicated to the period, "le choix d'une période d'un demi-siècle, 350-300, devrait permettre de définir et de caractériser ce que nous avons appelé «transition»: terme qui exprime à la fois un constat de départ, ou une

34 Édouard Will, "The Succession to Alexander," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. by F. W. Walbank, A. E. Astin, M. W. Frederiksen, and R. M. Ogilvie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 29.
35 Tom Boiy, "Assyriology and the History of the Hellenistic Period," *Topoi* 15 (2007): 7-20.
36 Wilfred G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11 (1957): 1-14.

hypothèse de travail, et un programme de recherches."[37] Furthermore, both Joannès and Amélie Kuhrt acknowledge "the prime importance of Babylonia in tracing social and political change."[38] Joannès argues that, in particular, Uruk, Ur, and Larsa are invaluable sources of information on the period of transition:

> "Pourquoi alors examiner particulièrement le Sud? (Le terme de «Sud» désigne ici la région Ur-Uruk-Larsa.) Parce qu'en dehors de quelques mouvements isolés, il apparaît comme en retrait par rapport au déroulement des événements: les conséquences de la conquête y parviennent «amorties», mais dégagées en même temps de l'aspect purement événementiel. Il devient alors possible d'y démêler ce qui est évolution sur le long terme et phénomène ponctuel: les deux composantes se distinguent mieux que si l'ensemble est troublé par le courant événementiel."[39]

In his article, Joannès takes a more zoomed-out view, using documentary evidence from Ur and Uruk to compare and contrast factors of continuity versus evidence of rupture. My microhistorical approach will, I hope, add more texture and detail to our understanding of this period, as well as encourage reflection on the place of individual actors in building historical narratives. In what areas of his life did Iqīšā choose to embrace change, and it what areas did he instead try to maintain continuity? What factors may have influenced his choices?

A reconstruction of Iqīšā's life and work has bearing on several still unresolved questions about the period of transition between the Achaemenids and the Seleukids. First, to what extent did Alexander's defeat of Darius create a rupture with the Achaemenid and earlier periods, and to what extent did pre-Alexander and even Pre-Achaemenid institutions, policies, and culture persist? What roles did local elites like Iqīšā play in the transition? Finally, does it make sense to

37 Pierre Briant & Francis Joannès, "Introduction," in *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques,* ed. P. Briant & F. Joannès (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 13.

38 Amélie Kuhrt, "Concluding Remarks," in *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques,* ed. P. Briant & F. Joannès (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 471-472.

39 Francis Joannès, "La Babylonie méridionale: continuité, déclin ou rupture?" in *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques,* ed. P. Briant & F. Joannès (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 102.

still talk of "Hellenization" or "Achaemenidization" in the ancient Middle East? If these paradigms should be indeed moth-balled, what should replace them? Iqīšā gives us an opportunity to glimpse the contemporary perspective of a member of Uruk's local elite on these issues.

An overview of the historiography of the period of transition between 350 and 300 BCE will highlight the ways in which my study of Iqīšā can generate productive historical insights on this period. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there was a gulf in understanding between classical historians working from Greek and Roman literary, epigraphical, and documentary sources and historians of the ancient Middle East who worked on Achaemenid and Late Babylonian material. In order to understand how these vastly different understandings of the fourth century came to be and how we might bring these different perspectives into productive accord, it is necessary to first explain the different types of evidence with which these historians were working and the intellectual frameworks in which they were operating.

I. J.G. Droysen and the classical perspectives

Any discussion of the modern historiography of the fourth century BCE must acknowledge the influence of Johan Gustav Droysen (1808-1884). In 1833, Droysen published his *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen.* This work would set the tone for over a century of work on Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic world which, according to Droysen, Alexander created.[40] The gist of Droysen's argument is as follows. Through his conquests, Alexander the

40 Wilfred Nippel, *Johann Gustav Droysen: Ein Leben zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008), 8. As Droysen wrote in his preface to the second edition of *Geshichte des Hellenismus,* "Der Name Alexander bezeichnet das Ende einer Weltepoche, den Anfang einer neuen." See also A. Brian Bosworth, "John Gustav Droysen, Alexander the Great, and the Creation of the Hellenistic Age," in *Alexander and his successors: Essays from the Antipodes,* ed. P. Wheatley & R. Hannah (Claremont: Regina, 2009), 1-4.

Great introduced Greek culture, language, and values on the native populations of the ancient Middle East. The imposition of Greek-ness onto the native populations invigorated their stagnant cultures and led to the creation of a new, Hellenistic culture. This process was termed Hellenization. Droysen later reworked *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* into the first volume of the unfinished three-volume series *Geschichte des Hellenismus,* which was revised into a second edition in 1877-1878. The second and third volume of *Geschichte des Hellenismus* dealt with the history of Alexander's successors, covering roughly the period of 323-221 BCE. Planned but never completed subsequent volumes would have dealt with the political history of the Mediterranean world from 221 BCE until the death of Cleopatra VII in 30 BCE; volumes on cultural history would have spanned the period from 323 BCE to the seventh century CE.

Droysen's massive work popularized his conception of Hellenism and Hellenization. But the term Hellenism was already used among scholars of early Christianity. In Acts of the Apostles 6, Ἑλληνισταί are contrasted with Ἑβραῖοι. Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) disseminated the idea that Ἑλληνισταί were specifically Jewish speakers using Greek in a synagogue service. According to Arnaldo Momigliano:

> "The originality of Droysen was to take Hellenism to mean, not specifically the way of thinking of Jews under the influence of Greek language and thought, but generally the language and way of thinking of all populations which had been conquered by Alexander and subjected to Greek influence. In other words, he used the word Hellenism to indicate the intermediary and transitional period between classical Greece and Christianity. … Hellenism was to Droysen essentially that stage in the evolution of paganism which led from classical Greece to Christianity—not via Judaism, but via oriental religions. It was a stage in the evolution of paganism which resulted from the contact between Orientals and Greeks in the empire created by Alexander and subdivided by his successors. So conceived, Hellenism had two aspects. It was a cultural movement which produced a new synthesis of Oriental and Greek ideas. It was also a political development which resulted

> in the constitution of a system of states in which Oriental natives were governed by a Graeco-Macedonian aristocracy."[41]

This cultural and political combination was, to the devout Droysen, divinely providenced to create the conditions in which Christianity could take root and flourish.

Momigliano sees in Droysen's thinking an echo of his one-time teacher, Hegel: "Droysen mediated on Hegel and accepted his basic presupposition that history moves forward by thesis, antithesis, and synthesis."[42] Hellenism is the synthesis between East and West, between the free, European Greco-Macedonians and the submissive native populations. This synthesis is achieved through the conquests and subsequent policies of Alexander the Great, who rules as an "absolute, enlightened monarch."[43] The mass marriages that Alexander arranged at Opis between his Macedonian officers and Persian women were, to Droysen, a perfect crystallization of Alexander's Hellenizing project.[44]

Droysen's vision of a synthesis between East and West spearheaded by Alexander was extremely influential. The spread of the use of the term "Hellenistic" to describe both the period between 323 BCE – 30 BCE and the political situation in which Greco-Macedonian dynasties ruled over and influenced native populations is a testament to the impact of Droysen's ideas. Many studies of Droysen's work and its place in the history of classical studies have been produced.[45] The work of the German historians Hermann Usener, Franz Cumont, and Richard

41 Momigliano, "Droysen Between Greeks and Jews," 142-143. See also Breno Battistin Sebastiani, "Droysen's concept of Hellenism between philology and history," *Aitia* (online) 5 (2015). URL: http://journals.openedition.org/aitia/1336.

42 Momigliano, "Droysen Between Greeks and Jews," 141-142.

43 Bosworth, "John Gustav Droysen, Alexander the Great, and the Creation of the Hellenistic Age," 11-19.

44 A. Brian Bosworth, "Alexander and the Creation of the Hellenistic Age," in *the Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World,* ed. G Bugh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 14-16.

45 Including Otto Hintze, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 48 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1904), 82-115; Rudolph Hübner, "J. G. Droysens Vorlesungen über Politik," *Zeitschrift für Politik* 10 (1917): 325-376; Hildegard Astholz, *Das Problem "Geschichte" untersucht bei J. G. Droysen* (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering, 1933); Helmut Diwald, *Das historische Erkennen* (Leiden: Brill, 1955), 50-76; Wolfgang Hock, *Liberales Denken im Zeitalter der Paulskirche. Droysen und die Frankfurter Mitte* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1957); Peter

Reitzenstein all show Droysen's influence in the way that they discuss syncretism and the history of religion in the anceint Mediterranean world.[46] Outside of the German academic sphere, the British historian W. W. Tarn offered a portrait of Alexander as the great unifier of the indolent East and the free, vigorous West that clearly drew on Droysen in his books *Hellenistic Civilization*, *Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind,* and *Alexander the Great* vol. I and II.[47] Carl Schneider's debt to Droysen is evident in the title of his 1967 study *Kulturgeschicte des Hellenismus*; his formulation of Hellenism as the transformation of Greece and Greek-ness into a cultural force stems from Jacob Burckhardt's modifications of Droysen's models in *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* iv.[48] Nicholas G. L. Hammond's *The Macedonian State: Origins, Institutions, and History* generally aligns with Droysen's image of Alexander.[49] In the introduction to *Creating a Hellenistic World,* Andrew Erskine and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones argue for a revised definition of Hellenism that still combines political and cultural elements, claiming that it is "the fragmented character of power in parallel with a coherence that comes from the acknowledgement of a common Graeco-Macedonian culture that helps to make the Hellenistic world distinctive."[50] Erskine and Llewellyn-Jones have stripped away some of Droysen's Orientalist excesses, but the

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Hünermann, *Der Durchbruch geschichtlichen Denkens im 19. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg: Herder, 1967), 49-132.

46 Momigliano, "Droysen Between Greeks and Jews," 151-153.

47 W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1927); *Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1933); and *Alexander the Great vol. I and II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948). Momigliano points out that Tarn's work was also greatly influenced by British colonial policies: "W. W. Tarn indeed saw his Graeco-Macedonians as precocious Englishmen and Scotsmen settling on colonial land. He idealized the Greek kingdoms of Bactria and India as the predecessors of the British Raj." ("Droysen Between Greeks and Jews," 152.)

48 Carl Schneider, *Kulturgeschicte des Hellenismus* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1902). See also Oswyn Murray's critical review of Schneider in *The Classical Review* 19 (1969): 69-72.

49 Nicholas G. L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State: Origins, Institutions and History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

50 Andrew Erskine and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, eds., *Creating a Hellenistic World* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2011), xvi.

heart of their argument is still that the conquest of Alexander the Great resulted in political and cultural change that fundamentally reshaped the ancient Middle East.

But the acceptance of Droysen's vision of *Hellenismus* is by no means complete. Benedetto Bravo's *Philologie, histoire, philosophie de l'histoire. Étude sur J. G. Droysen, historien de l'antiquité* spurred a reconsideration of Droysen's relationship to Hegel and his legacy.[51] Arnaldo Momigliano's "J. G. Droysen between Greeks and Jews" examined how Droysen's model of Hellenistic culture was shaped by his political commitments to the Prussian national project and a cultural taboo against acknowledging the role of ancient Judaism in the development of early Christianity. Momigliano's admiration of Droysen is evident, but he is also aware of his shortcomings. He predicts correctly that Droysen's image of Alexander as a benevolent colonizer would not survive contact with the decolonization movements of the later twentieth century and the development of post-colonial theory. The essays collected in *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia After Alexander* advocate for a less hellenocentric vision of Hellenism, one that examines how Greek and non-Greek cultures interacted in the wake of Alexander's conquests without privileging the Greek point of view.[52]

Other scholars are sharper in their criticisms. Pierre Briant opined that Droysen "deserved less dogmatic disciples," and argued that Droysen's view that "the Macedonian conquest had shaken up the political, economic, and cultural structures of 'Asia' from top to bottom" is no

51 Benedetto Bravo, *Philologie, histoire, philosophie de l'histoire. Étude sur J. G. Droysen, historien de l'antiquité* (Warsaw: Comité des Sciences de la culture antique, Académie polonaise des Sciences, 1968). See also the reviews by Claude Mossé in *Revue des Études Anciennes* 71 no. 4 (1969): 440-442 and Arnaldo Momigliano, "Hellenismus und Gnosis," *Saeculum* 21 (1970): 185-188.

52 Amélie Kuhrt & Susan Sherwin-White, eds., *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia After Alexander* (London: Duckwort, 1987).

longer tenable.[53] A. Brian Bosworth has written two essays pointing out that, despite Droysen's grand rhetoric, there is not actually a lot of evidence for a synthesis of Greco-Macedonian culture and the cultures of the ancient Middle East led by Alexander the Great. Ultimately, Bosworth doubts the utility of the term "Hellenistic" beyond chronology. "It is singularly misleading to represent Alexander as the conscious architect of a new epoch of history."[54]

Droysen's legacy today is ambiguous. On the one hand, it cannot be denied that his conception of *Hellenismus* shaped over a century of historiography of the ancient Mediterranean world in the fourth through first centuries BCE. On the other hand, it is increasingly clear that Droysen's understanding of the ancient cultures of the Middle East was deeply flawed and that his vision of Alexander as a divinely providenced reformer of the world does not stand up to scrutiny. Ultimately, it seems that Droysen's *Geschichte des Hellenismus* is more informative about the intellectual culture of the nineteenth century CE than the reality of the fourth century BCE.

Should the entire concept of Hellenization and the idea of a Hellenistic culture be thrown out as well? Recent studies offer diverging paths forward. In the realm of art history and archaeology, hybridity and entanglement, rather than Hellenization, have become prominent theoretical models for discussing the material culture of the ancient Middle East in the fourth through first centuries BCE.[55] Stephanie Langin-Hooper's recent book *Figurines in Hellenistic*

53 Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 2.

54 Bosworth, "John Gustav Droysen, Alexander the Great, and the Creation of the Hellenistic Age," 20, 27. See also Bosworth, "Alexander the Great and the Creation of the Hellenistic Age," 9-27.

55 See, for example, Michael Dietler, "Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement. Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter," in *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology,* ed. J. G. Cusack (Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations Press, 1998) 288-315; J. Nederveen Pieterse, "Hybridity, So What? The Anti-Hybridity Backlash and the Riddles of Recognition," *Theory, Culture and Society* 18 (2001): 219-245; A. Kouremenos, S. Chandrasekaran, & R. Rossi, eds., *From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East* (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2011); and Philipp Stockhammer, "From Hybridity to Entanglement, from Essentialism to Practice,"

Babylonia: Miniaturization and Cultural Hybridity applies theories of miniaturization and hybridity to groups of terracotta figurines from Babylon, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Uruk, and Nippur. The hybrid forms of the terracottas produced in these cities after the conquest of Alexander the Great embody the gradual melding of Greco-Macedonian and Mesopotamian cultures.[56] This is not Hellenization, in which Greek influence remakes and reforms a stagnant native culture; rather, it is a mutual transformation.

Kathryn Stevens advocates for the possibility of a non-hellenocentric Hellenistic intellectual history in her book *Between Greece and Babylonia: Hellenistic Intellectual History in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). Stevens searches for "parallel features of Greek and Babylonian intellectual culture which are 'Hellenistic' in the strong sense of the word. By this, I mean features that arise from the defining political and cultural phenomena of the period, but are not limited to Hellenic or Hellenised groups or spheres of activity. … By identifying and studying these characteristically 'Hellenistic' features of intellectual life, we can begin to write intellectual history which is also 'Hellenistic' in the fullest sense."[57] Stevens' pursuit of a truly Hellenistic intellectual culture takes her through a series of topics and case studies, including Babylonian astronomy, the lost *Babyloniaka* of Berossus, the Graeco-Babyloniaca tablets, and the careers of some individual scribes. Stevens finds commonalities between all of these examples; but are these commonalities really a manifestation of a particularly Hellenistic intellectual culture in Babylonia? My study of Iqīšā provides a

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in *Archaeology and Cultural Mixture,* ed. W. P. Van Pelt (Cambridge: Archaeological Review from Cmabridge), 11-28. For a perspective from the realm of colonial theory, see Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).

56 Stephanie Langin-Hooper, *Figurines in Hellenistic Babylonia: Miniaturization and Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

57 Kathryn Stevens, *Between Greece and Babylonia: Hellenistic Intellectual History in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 16.

counterpoint to Stevens' examples; I will therefore return to this issue in more detail in the fourth and fifth chapters.

II. Old and New Views of the End of the Achaemenid Empire

Most historians throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who studied the ancient Mediterranean world in the fourth century BCE focused on the literary sources in Greek and Latin that gave accounts of the last years of the Achaemenid empire, the campaigns of Alexander the Great, his death, and the wars of the successors. Greek inscriptions were sometimes addressed if they could elucidate a particular economic or political question; later, documentary papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt were incoporated in a similar way. Studies of the material culture of the ancient Middle East in the fourth century largely centered around detecting any hints of Greekness, in accordance with the model of Hellenization inherited from Droysen. But the lion's share of scholarly attention was given to the interpretation and critical evaluation of the classical historiography of the fourth century BCE.[58]

There are several principal Greek literary sources for the late Achaemenid period: the *Persica* of Ctesias, who served as a physician for Artaxerxes II, which principally survives in quotations, summaries, and epitomes in later authors like Photius; the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, which recounts Xenophon's experiences in a mercenary band under the failed usurper Cyrus the Younger and his subsequent journey back to Greece after Cyrus' death at Cunaxa; the *Cyropaedia,* also by Xenophon, a literary biography of Cyrus the Great; the *Hellenica* of

58 For critical overviews of this "hellenocentric" trend in scholarship, see Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 1-12, 693-697, 852-872; and Giusto Traina, "Hellenism in the East: some historiographical remarks," *Electrum* 6 (2002), 15-24. The work of

Xenophon, which narrrates Greek and Persian history from 411 BCE to the Battle of Mantineia in 362 BCE; and finally Dinon, who authored a somewhat sensationalist history of Persia which survives only in brief fragments and references. Herodotus' accounts of the the causes of the Greco-Persian wars and the cultures of the Achaemenid empire in his *Histories* are very influential on later accounts. The *Histories* is therefore often included in studies of the last days of the Achaemenids and the fourth century BCE, although Herodotus died before the end of the fifth century BCE. Finally, in the second century CE Plutarch authored a *Life* of Artaxerxes II, drawing extensively on Ctesias, Dinon, and Xenophon.[59]

Pierre Briant, Arnaldo Momiliagno, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, and Amélie Kuhrt have convincingly argued that the traditional focus on Greek sources led to several crucial misunderstandings of the state of the Achaemenid empire in the fourth century BCE and the relationship between the Achaemenid Great Kings and the peoples and cities that they ruled. The majority opinion for the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries was that the Achaemenid empire was in a state of decline in the fourth century BCE.[60] Several reasons were put forward for this decline: overtaxation of the subject satrapies by the central power, which lead to an opulent royal court and languishing provinces; the personal failings of Persian kings and the royal family; and unrest caused by dynastic squabbles. But, as Momigliano observes, Ctesias and the other ancient Greek historiographers "only saw the imperial tip of the iceberg and were not interested in what kept the empire together."[61] For example, Ctesias' account of the reign of

59 Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Decadence in the empire or decadence in the sources? From source to synthesis: Ctesias," in *Achaemenid History* I: *Sources, Structures, and Synthesis,* ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Leiden: Nederlands instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987), 33-36.

60 See Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Introduction," in *Achaemenid History I: Sources, Structures, Synthesis,* ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Brill: Leiden, 1987) for a discussion of this trend in scholarship.

61 Arnaldo Momigliano, "Persian empire and Greek freedom," in *The Idea of Freedom: essays in honor of Isaiah Berlin,* ed. A. Ryan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 150-151.

Artaxerxes II dwells on the opulence of the court, the foibles of the Great King, and the scheming of queens, princesses, and eunuchs; but modern scholars must not take Ctesias at face value. Ctesias may indeed have been an eye witness to the court of Artaxerxes II, but he still had his own biases and cultural conditioning that shaped his account. His depictions of scheming queens, for example, fall suspiciously well into established Herodotean *topoi.*[62] Sancisi-Weerdenburg therefore concludes that "Ctesias is probably at best considered as an unskilled informant who has preserved more of the literary tradition than of the factual history of Persia."[63]

However, Matthew Waters has recently reevaluated Ctesias and his relationship to Mesopotamian, Elamite, and Iranian traditions. Waters argues that "Ctesias' *Persica* is not simply a product of the author's active imagination. While many of its theamtic elements can, and of course should, be traced within Greek tradition, several are also at home—indeed, find their origins in—Near Eastern traditions. Some thematic elements of the *Persica* make better sense (or make sense, period) when considered in conjunction with the Near Eastern context."[64] Ctesias' depiction (preserved via Diodorus of Sicily) of the legendary Assyrian queen Semiramis, for example, is a "composite literary figure...in the Mesopotamian tradition of kingship," which borrows themes and motifs from the Sargon legends.[65] Waters rehabilitates Ctesias as a source by demonstrating that his *Persica* has value as a rich patchwork of literary traditions that reflects the diversity of the Persian court. Ctesias may not have been telling "true" history, but his *Persica* can still give us a valuable glimpse into the cosmopolitan culture of the Persian court.[66] More

62 Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Exit Atossa: Images of Women in Greek Histriography on Persia," in *Images of Women in Antiquity,* ed. A. Cameron & A. Kuhrt (London: Routledge, 1983), 20-33.
63 Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Decadence in the empire or decadence in the sources?", 36ff.
64 Matthew Waters, *Ctesias' Persica and its Near Eastern Context* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2017), xi-xii.
65 Ibid., 45-59.
66 Ibid., 102-104.

generally, Waters' book is an testament to the necessity of combining Greek and Near Eastern sources in order to fully understand the complex, multicultural Achaemenid empire.

In an effort to move away from a hellenocentric approach that gives too much prominence to Greek authors, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg has advocated for modern scholars to use a variety of different sources—archaeological, epigraphical, art historical, as well as texts in Akkadian cuneiform, Old Persian, Aramaic, and the other languages of the Achaemenid empire—to investigate the "intricate pattern of interactions between rulers and ruled on various levels".[67] In the nineteen-seventies, Pierre Briant attempted to investigate the organization of the empire on its own terms. He combined analysis of Greek texts relating to Alexander and his successors with studies of ancient Middle Eastern material and eventually came to the conclusion that the tributary mode of production determined the shape of economic, social, and cultural life in the Achaemenid empire. Briant's project would eventually be turned into *Rois, tributs et paysans: études sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien*.[68] In 1980, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenberg set up the Achaemenid History Workshops at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, with the goal of addressing "the problems raised in interpreting the diversity of sources available for Achaemenid history, the temptation to fit them into a picture congruent with that derived from Greek narratives, and the inevitable ensuing sterility in terms of historical understanding."[69] The first Achaemenid history workshop was oriented around four questions:

1) "What interaction took place between the central state and the peripheral regions, as reflected in the archaeological material of specific regions?"

67 Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Decadence in the empire or decadence in the sources?", 35-36, with reference to Peter Moorey, "The Iranian Contribution to Achaemenid Material Culture," *Iran* 23 (1985): 21-37.

68 Pierre Briant, *Rois, tributs et paysans: études sur les formations tributaires de Moyen-Orient ancien* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982).

69 Amélie Kuhrt, "Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenberg," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, 2009.

2) "How is the presence of the central state perceptible in local written traditions?"
3) "How reliable are the Greek and Old Testament historiographic traditions?"
4) "How should all these divergent and disparate data be assembled into an overall synthesis of the Persian empire?"[70]

These questions set the terms for the following decades of research into the Achaemenid empire. Subsequent meetings of the Achaemenid history workshop have investigated how best to handle the Greek sources on the Achaemenid empire (vol. II), theoretical and methodological approaches to Achaemenid history (vol. III), the relationships between center and periphery (vol. IV), new approaches to various regions (vol. VI), the history of the historiography of the Achaemenid period (vol. V and VII), and the perennially thorny question of continuity and change (vol. VIII).

Over the course of a decade, a rough scholarly consensus on the Achaemenid empire developed. Pierre Briant's *From Cyrus to Alexander,* which expands on the work he did in *Rois, tributs, et paysans,* articulates the key points of the "New Achaemenid" school. The Achaemenid empire was marked by "extraordinary ethnocultural diversity and a thriving variety of forms of local organization."[71] The central authority of the empire, the Great King, "intervened frequently and dynamically" and encouraged an "intense process of acculturation" in the local elites who formed the backbone of regional bureaucracies.[72] The king relied on appointed provincial governors, called satraps, to successfully govern, to manage resources and collect taxes, and even to levy troops; in turn, the satraps relied on royal favor for their power and position. Gift-giving and tribute were important expressions of this intricate balance of royal favor and

70 Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Introduction," in *Achaemenid History I*, xiii-xiv.
71 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 1-2.
72 Ibid., 2.

dependence; hence the existence of the opulent royal treasuries that seemed so excessive to ancient Greek historiographers.[73] Matthew Stolper's study of the Murašû archive added much needed detail and nuance to our understanding of the dynamics between the Great King and his subjects.[74]

Finally, and most crucially for this study, is the issue of Alexander the Great and the fall of the Achaemenid empire. Briant argues, against Droysen, that Alexander did not completely disrupt and destroy the Achaemenid empire; rather, he and his successors took over and adapted much of the existing Achaemenid system and infrastructure. "Extraordinary continuities characterize the history of the Near East between the conquests of Cyrus and the death of Alexander." Briant sometimes expresses this idea with the intentionally provocative claim that Alexander was really the last Achaemenid.[75] Furthermore, Briant argues that there is reason to doubt the narrative put forward by Plutarch and Arrian (see below) that the Babylonians welcomed Alexander as a liberator. "The defection of the leaders [of Babylonia] to Alexander did not occur because they were pressured by the enthusiasm of a population that craved liberation; the surrender was conditional, because it was based on negotiations that the Babylonians certainly came to with great caution."[76]

The New Achaemenid historians emphasize the importance of considering different types of evidence from all over the Achaemenid empire when trying to build a historical synthesis. It is

73 Ibid., 165-352; see also Matthew Waters, "The Achaemenid Persian Empire: From the Medes to Alexander," in *The Oxford World History of Empire,* ed. P. Bang, C. A. Bailey & W. Scheidel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 111-136.

74 Matthew Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1985).

75 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 2. For a dissenting view, see Christopher Tuplin, "The Seleucids and their Achaemenid predecessors: A Persian inheritance?" in *Ancient Greece and ancient Iran: Cross-cultural encounters,* ed. S. M. R. Darbandi & A. Zournatzi (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008), 109-136.

76 Ibid., 864.

fitting, then, that recent challenges to some of the conclusions put forward by Kuhrt and Briant have come from scholars who focus on Babylonian evidence. Karlheinz Kessler and Caroline Waerzeggers' studies of life in Babylonia before and after the revolts against Xerxes demonstrate that the relationship between the Great King and his subjects was not always stable and mutually beneficial; the Achaemenids could, and did, respond to unrest or threats of revolt with violence.[77] In the introduction to an edited volume on Xerxes and Babylonia, Waerzeggers argues against taking too sunny of a view of the Achaemenid empire's administration; after all, it was fundamentally an imperial enterprise built on violence and extraction of resources.[78] In his study of Babylonian priestly literature composed after the conquest of Alexander the Great, Michael Jursa argues for a partial swing of the pendulum back towards change, rather than continuity. Jursa argues that "there must have been significant disaffection among Babylonian elites on the eve of Alexander's arrival. That this disaffection was nurtured further by the significant economic problems the country experienced in this period cannot be proven, but it is highly likely."[79] My study of Iqīšā has bearing on all of these issues; I will therefore return to these issues in more detail in chapters three, four, and five.

III. The Alexander Historians

77 Karlheinz Kessler, "Urkäische Familien versus babylonische Familien. Die Namengebung in Uruk, die Degradierung der Kulte von Eanna und der Aufstieg des Gottes Anu," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 31 (2004): 237-262; Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Revolts Against Xerxes and the 'End of the Archives," *Archiv für Orientsforschung* 50 (2003/2004): 150-173.

78 Caroline Waerzeggers, "Introduction: Debating Xerxes' Rule in Babylonia," in *Xerxes and Babylonia: The Cuneiform Evidence,* ed. M. Seire & C. Waerzeggers (Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2018), 1-18.

79 Michael Jursa, "Wooing the victor with words: Babylonian priestly literature as a response to the Macedonian conquest," in *The Legitimation of Conquest: Monarchical Representation and the Art of the Government in the Empire of Alexander the Great,* ed. K. Trampendach & A. Meeus (Stuttgart: Franz Zeitner Verlag, 2020), 165-177.

Historians of the fourth century BCE have also traditionally devoted a lot of attention to the Greek and Roman accounts of the life, campaigns, and death of Alexander the Great (r. 336-323 BCE).[80] There is, however, a great deal of distance between Alexander himself and the surviving ancient accounts of his life and deeds. As Elizabeth Baynham explained, "Alexander III of Macedon, who arguably inspired more writing than any other historical figure in the ancient Graeco-Roman world, also remains one of the most elusive and mysterious, obscured and distorted by the very complexity of the literary tradition that surrounds him."[81] Five substantial accounts from ancient historians survive: from Diodorus of Sicily, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Plutarch, Arrian of Nicomedia, and Justin. In addition, there are a huge number of fragments, paraphrases, and epitomes of otherwise lost works that survive; and still more are being discovered, as more papyri are published.[82] In this section, I will endeavor to untangle the most substantial threads of the classical historiography of Alexander the Great and the second half of the fourth century BCE more generally.

Alexander the Great was accompanied on his campaign by a number of writers and historians. Callisthenes of Olynthus (*FGrH* 124), a relative and colleague of Aristotle and a prolific scholar in his own right, is sometimes described as Alexander's official historian. Callisthenes' work has since been lost; Callisthenes himself was reportedly executed by Alexander after 327 BCE, due to his involvement in the Pages' Conspiracy.[83] But Callisthenes

80 For overviews of this historiographical trend, see: Jesper Carlsen, ed., *Alexander the Great: reality and myth* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1993) and Edward Anson, ed., *Alexander the Great: Themes and Issues* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

81 Elizabeth Baynham, "The Ancient Evidence for Alexander the Great," in *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great,* ed. J. Roisman (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 3.

82 Ibid., 3-29

83 Robert D. Milns, "Callisthenes on Alexander," *Mediterranean Archaeology* 19/20 (2006/2007): 233-237. Milns is critical of scholars who accept without skepticism or reservation Plutarch's account of Callisthenes' career, character, and role as "official historian" and propagandist.

still serves as the basis of much of later ancient authors' accounts of Alexander's life and campaign.[84] He is one of the sources of Ptolemy I Soter (*FGrH* 138), a companion of Alexander, the author of memoirs of Alexander's campaign, and the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egpyt. Callisthenes is also referenced by Aristobulus of Cassandreia (*FGrH* 139), another companion of Alexander who wrote a very complimentary biography of the conqueror. Another of Alexander's generals, the admiral Nearchus (*FGrH* 133), wrote a first-hand account of Alexander's voyage from India that was extensively used by both the Roman geographer Strabo and the historian Arrian (see below). Onesicritus of Asypalaea (*FGrH* 134), Medius of Larissa (*FGrH* 129), Polyclitus of Larissa (*FGrH* 128) and Chares of Mitylene (*FGrH* 125) also accompanied Alexander on campaign and wrote about his exploits. The works of all of these ancient writers survive only in fragmentary references in later authors.[85]

Callisthenes, Ptolemy, and Aristobulus are the main foundation for the surviving narrative account of Alexander's life and campaigns that was deemed the most accurate and reliable by scholars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: *The Anabasis of Alexander*, composed by the ancient historian Arrian of Nicomedia in the second century CE.[86] According to Arrian himself, up until his time “Alexander's achievements...have never been adequately commemorated in

84 For a more full account of the state of scholarship on Callisthenes, see Luisa Prandi, *Callistene: Uno storico tra Aristotele e i re Macedoni* (Milan: Jaca, 1985), and Luisa Prandi, *Fortuna e realtà dell’opera di Clitarco* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1996).

85 Elizabeth Baynham, “The ancient evidence for Alexander the Great,” in *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great,* ed. J. Roisman (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 3-5. For more comprehensive treatments of what we know of these ancient authors, see: Lionel Pearson, *The lost histories of Alexander the Great* (New York: American Philological Association, 1960); Paul Pédech, *Historiens, compagnons d'Alexandre: Callisthène, Onéscrite, Néarque, Ptolémée, Aristobule* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984); and Klaus Meister, *Die griechische Geschictsschreibung von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Hellenismus* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1990). On Nearchus specifically, see A. B. Bosworth, “Nearchus in Susiana,” in *Alexander der Grosse: Eine Welteroberung und ihr Hintergrund*, ed. W. Will (Amsterdam: Bonn, 1998), 541-567.

86 Graham Shipley, *The Greek World After Alexander* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 5-7. But see also A. B. Bosworth's more critical assessment of Arrian's reliability and his “two most characteristic types of error: misunderstanding of a single source and imperfect reconciliation of variant traditions”: “Errors in Arrian,” *Classical Quarterly* 26 no. 1 (1976): 117-139.

prose or verse. The field is therefore open for him to do for the Macedonian king what Pindar had done for the Deinomenid tyrants and Xenophon for the march of the Ten Thousand."[87] In the preface of his work, Arrian explicitly names Ptolemy and Aristobulus as his principle sources; he explains that he chose them because they were both eye-witnesses to Alexander's campaigns and because they wrote after Alexander's death, which in Arrian's view made them more likely to be accurate.[88] He also seems to have drawn extensively on Nearchus, particularly in books six and seven.[89] The *Anabasis* covers the events of 336 to 323 BCE, beginning with Alexander's accession to the Macedonian throne, his campaigns agains the Achaemenids, the aborted Indian campaign, Alexander's conflicts with his soldiers and advisors, and Alexander's eventual death in Babylon. Arrian's work is indeed a narrative historical account of Alexander's campaigns; but it is also a literary work that engages with established generic *topoi* and the larger historical tradition around Alexander, sometimes at the expense of true accuracy.[90] Nevertheless, Arrian was the most trusted source for many historians of the early Hellenistic period.[91] In addition to the *Anabasis,* Arrian wrote two other works dealing with Alexander. His *Indike* is a short history of Alexander's expedition into India, and seems to use Nearchus as a source. *The Events After Alexander* seems to have covered the period immediately following Alexander's death; this work is known only from a few fragments of a commentary on it by Photios.

87 A. B. Bosworth, "Errors in Arrian," 117-118, with reference to Arr. *An.* 1. 12.2-3.
88 Baynham, "The Ancient Evidence for Alexander the Great," 7, with ref. to Arr. *Praef.* 2.
89 Ibid., 20.
90 Hugo Montgomery, 'The Greek Historians of Alexander as Literature," in *Alexander the Great: Reality and Myth,* ed. J. Carlsen (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1993); A. B. Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander: Studies in Historical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxfrod University Press, 1988).
91 See, for example, J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* vol. I, 383-6; Ulrich Wilchen, "Ὑπομνηματισμοί," *Philologus* 53 (1894), 80-126; Ernst Kornemann, *Die Alexandergeschichte des Königs Ptolemaios I von Aegypten* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1935), with critical review in *Gnomon* 13 (1937): 483-492 by Hermann Strasbuger, who nonetheless accepts that Arrian has a firm basis in fact; W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), especially vol. II, pp. 1-2, 263-264, 374; Jakob Seibert, *Alexander der Grosse* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), with bibliography; and Graham Shipley, *The Greek World After Alexander* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

Another early historian of Alexander, Cleitarchus of Alexandria, is the wellspring of an alternate stream of classical historiography. When exactly Cleitarchus lived and his relationship to the other Alexander historians and to Alexander himself is still a matter of much debate. The "high" dating of Cleitarchus, favored by Luisa Prandi, Elizabeth Baynham, Waldemar Heckel, and Andrea Zambrini, places Cleitarchus in the late fourth or early third century BCE. The "low" dating, preferred by R. A. Hazzard and Victor Parker puts Cleitarchus in the second half of the third century BCE, during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The Oxyrnchus papyrus *POxy* LXXI. 4808, published in 2007, states that Cleitarchus was the tutor of Ptolemy IV Philopater (born c. 224 BCE and r. 222-205 BCE); Prandi argues, however, that there is reason to doubt that the anonymous author of *POxy* LXXI. 4808 got his dates exactly right.

> "The fact that *POxy* LXXI. 4808 has only recently been discovered does not make it more important or invalidating for the outcome of the data we have at hand, not least because it seems to be the product of a non-official private cultural environment. The possibility that the writer was wrong is not very remote, if one considers the number of inaccuracies commonly recognised by modern scholars in the famous list of Alexandrian librarians and princes' tutors in *POxy* X. 1231, including, among others, the claim that Apollonius Rhodius taught Ptolemy I and that Aristarchus taught Philopater's sons. … If [*POxy* LXXI. 4808] had been published at the beginning of the 19th century, it would have already been included by Jacoby among his *testimonia* about Cleitarchus and discussed in the same way as the rest, as should be done now. Probably, if the author of the *Fragmente* had had the possibility to consider this papyrus also, he would have concluded that the ancient tradition appeared to be contradictory and that the chronological placement of the histiran was therefore difficult. I think it is also possible to conclude reasonably in favor of the hypothesis of high dating, which is supported by the greater amount of evidence."[92]

Cleitarchus' accounts of Alexander's life and campaigns, ostensibly compiled from first-hand accounts, form the basis of the less reliable vulgate tradition, which includes Book 17 of the

92 Luisa Prandi, "New evidence for the dating of Cleitarchus (*POxy* LXXI. 4808)?" *Histos* 6 (2012), 23-24. For an argument for the "low" dating, see Victor Parker, "Source-critical reflections on Cleitarchus' work," in *Alexander & his successors: essays from the Antipodes,* ed. P. Wheatley & H. Robert (Claremont: Regina Books, 2009), 28-55.

Bibliotheke of Diodorus of Sicily; Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Histories of Alexander the Great*, the surviving text of which is corrupt and full of gaps; and Books 11-12 of Justin's Epitome of Pompeius Trogus.[93] Plutarch's *Life of Alexander,* a moral biography which he pairs with a biography of Julius Caesar as part of his series of *Parallel Lives,* seems to have drawn from Cleitarchus as well as from Callisthenes, Ptolemy, and Aristobulus. Plutarch references and discusses Alexander in several other *Lives* (*Demosthenes, Phocion, Eumenes,* and *Demetrius*); he also wrote two philosophical essays, *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri* I and II, on Alexander's character and personal destiny. In addition to these specialized works, the Roman geographer Strabo (63 BCE- c. 24 CE) mentions Alexander in his work, especially in relation to India. Anecdotes about Alexander, mostly of dubious veracity, also abound in the literature of the second Sophistic, preserved in Athenaues, Lucian, and Philostratus.[94]

Finally, there is the *Metz Epitome,* a text from the fourth or fifth century CE which contains an epitome of Alexander's reign that seems to draw on Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch. The final part of the *Metz Epitome,* however, seems to form a completely separate tradition. This section deals with Alexander's death, and seems to overlap with the earliest versions of the Alexander Romance, a mythologized version of Alexander's life that enjoyed great popularity in late antiquity and beyond. “It is perhaps something of an irony—or more likely, an indication of public taste—that this sprawling, messy, frequently absurd (on his travels Alexander encounters fleas as big as tortoises, lobsters the size of ships, men without heads and various other marvels)

93 But see Baynham, “The Ancient Evidence for Alexander the Great,” 20-23 for a criticism of the idea of a cleanly separate vulgate tradition. Curtius, for example, seems to also be familiar with some of Arrian's sources.
94 Baynham, “The Ancient Evidence for Alexander the Great,” 10-15.

but hugely entertaining account spawned a vast body of derivative literature across several continents and cultures, and had an impact greatly exceeding that of any formal history."[95]

So much for the ancient accounts of Alexander the Great. While historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries put a great deal of emphasis on the ancient Greek and Roman historians—the work of W. W. Tarn is a prominent example—more recent studies tend to take a more varied approach that incorporates epigraphical and archaeological evidence as well as material from the native cultures of the ancient Middle East. This change in course was spurred in part by the criticisms of A. Brian Bosworth, Pierre Briant, Amélie Kuhrt, and Susan Sherwin-White, who have pointed out the inaccuracies and distortions in the accounts of the canonical Alexander historians (even the supposedly accurate Arrian) and argued for the necessity of comparing and evaluating different types of evidence together in pursuit of a more accurate understanding of the ancient world.[96]

Other critical analyses of ancient historiography have stressed that ancient and modern audiences have different expectations with regards to the accuracy of historical narratives.

> "Ancient authors had a different perspective on the writing of history from us, especially in relation to the embellishment of a framework of fact. 'Telling the truth,' although a principle repeatedly and emphatically endorsed by ancient historians and critics themselves was in practice fuzzy and ambiguous, embracing merely freedom from bias or at best different 'kinds' of truth. Thus the distinction between fact and fiction was very easily blurred."[97]

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95 Baynham, "The Ancient Evidence for Alexander the Great," 15-16. See also Richard Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1991), 1-23.

96 See A. Brian Bosworth, *Conquest and empire: the reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Pierre Briant, *Alexander the Great and his empire: a short introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Amélie Kuhrt & Susan Sherwin-White, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: a new approach to the Seleucid empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

97 Baynham, "The Ancient Evidence for Alexander the Great," 27-28. See also J. R. Fears, "Review of *Alexander the Great: The Unique History of Quintus Curtius*," *American Journal of Philology* 122 (2001): 447-451; C. Gill and T. P. Wiseman 1993, *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World;* and G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction As History* (Berkeley: Univeristy of California Press, 1994).

For example, Briant draws attention to the consistent portrayal of Alexander, by the Alexander historians, as a popular, benevolent conqueror who restored local traditions. “The consistency is the result of Macedonian propaganda that had the goal of legitimizing Alexander's authority.”[98] The Alexander historians have a clear ideological bent; in order to get a more complete or nuanced picture, additional sources must be consulted.

IV. The Cuneiform Evidence

More recent approaches to the history of Alexander the Great and the transition between the Achaemenid empire and the Successor kingdoms take into account a wider variety of sources. Cuneiform material is slowly being integrated into the scholarship on the historiography of the fourth century BCE.[99] As more cuneiform tablets are excavated, edited, and published, our understanding of life in the ancient Middle East in the fourth century is expanded and deepened. Landmark publications include: CT 49, a collection of legal and administrative texts from Hellenistic Babylon; NCTU, tablets excavated from Uruk by a German team in 1933-1934 and 1935-1936 and held in Berlin; BaM Beih. 2, tablets excavated from Uruk by a German team in 1959-1960 and kept in the Iraq museum; SpTU 1-5, tablets excavated from Uruk by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut between 1969 and 1972 and also kept in the Iraq museum; OECT 9, tablets from the collection of the Ashmolean Museum Oxford that had circulated on the antiquities market in the early twentieth century; BiMes 24, tablets from the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute which had also been purchased from the antiquities market in the

98 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 854.

99 Tom Boiy, “Assyriology and the History of the Hellenistic Period,” *Topoi* 15/1 (2007): 7-20. Boiy criticizes Graham Shipley's *The Greek World After Alexander* (New York: Routledge, 2000) for focusing too narrowly on the Greek world and failing to consider the available cuneiform material.

early twentieth century; and CM 12, tablets from the Harvard Semitic Museum which had also been purchased from the antiquities market in the early twentieth century.

Joachim Oelsner put together an overview of this material in *Materialen zur babylonischen Gesellschaft und Kultur in hellenisticher Zeit.*[100] The publication of late Babylonian material in smaller collections followed, including: Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Textes admininistratifs inédits d'époque hellénistique provenant des archives du Bīt Rēš," *RA* 83 (1989): 53-80; Francis Joannès, "Une chronique judiciaire d'époque hellénistique et le châtiment des sacrilèges à Babylone," in *Assyriologica et Semitica*, AOAT 252, eds. J. Marzahn & H. Nuemann (Münster: Verlag, 2000), 193-211; Francis Joannès, "Les débuts de l'époque hellénistique à Larsa," in *Études mésopotamiennes, Bibliothèque de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iraq 10,* eds. C. Breniquiet & C. Kepinski (Paris: Europe Research Center, 2001), 249-264; Michael Jursa, "Neu-und Spätbabylonische Texte aus den Sammlungen der Birmingham Museums und Art Gallery," *Iraq* 59 (1997): 97-175; Michael Jursa, *Der Tempelzehnt in Babylonien vom siebenten bis zum dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, AOAT 254 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998); Michael Jursa, "Florilegium babylniacum: Neue Texte aus hellenistischer und spätachämenidischer Zeit," in *Mining the Archives*, ed. C. Wunsch (Dresden: ISLET, 2002), 107-130; Karlheinz Kessler, "Ein arsakidenzeitliche Urkunde aus Warka," BaM 15 (1984): 273-281; Karlkeinz Kessler, "Hellenistische Tempelverwaltungstexte," in *Assyriologica et Semitica*, AOAT 252, eds. J. Marzahn & H. Nuemann (Münster: Verlag, 2000), 213-241; Gilbert J. P. McEwan, "A Seleucid Tablet in the Redpath Museum," *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia* 4 (1986): 35-36; Matthew Stolper, *Late Achaemenid, Early Macedonian, and*

100 Joachim Oelsner, *Materialen zur babylonischen Gesellschaft und Kultur in hellenisticher Zeit* (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1986).

Early Seleucid Records of Deposit and Related Texts, AION Suppl. 77 (Naples: Instituto Universitario Orientalie, 1993). More recently, material from the Yale collection was published by L. Timothy Doty as YOS 20 (2012).

Hermann Hunger's publication of the Babylonian astronomical diaries, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, vol. 1-7 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1988-2014), based on a manuscript by the late Abrams Sachs, was another important milestone in the publication and dissemination of material from first millennium BCE Babylonia.[101] The diaries, all of which come from Babylon,[102] record daily observations of the sky, and include brief references to other ominous occurances or events of importance. The dates of the diaries span from 652 BCE to 63 BCE; however, only five diaries predate the fourth century BCE. Crucially for the study of the fourth century BCE, the Astronomical Diaries record brief contemporary Babylonian accounts of the battle of Gaugamela (ADART I -330) death of Alexander the Great (ADART I -322B), and the continued renovations of the Esagila temple in Babylon, initiated by Alexander and continued after his death (ADART I -321).[103]

There also exists a cuneiform historiographic tradition in the first millennium BCE, referred to as the Babylonian Chronicles. As Caroline Waerzeggers explains:

> "The 'Babylonian Chronicles' are a miscellaneous, ill-defined group of texts. Written in a terse, compact style, they offer short chronological accounts of the life and death of

101 For an up-to-date overview of the historical questions surrounding the Astronomical Diaries, see Johannes Haubold, John Steele, & Kathryn Stevens, eds., *Keeping Watch in Babylon: The Astronomical Diaries in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

102 ADART III No. -99C is potentially an exception. It covers three years and records different astronomical phenomena than the diaries from Babylon. This diary therefore seems to come from a different tradition--perhaps an Urukean one? See Christopher Tuplin, "Logging History in Achaemenid, Hellenistic, and Parthian Babylonia: Historical Entries in Dated Astronomical Diaries," in *Keeping Watch in Babylon,* 79-80.

103 Ibid, 79-119. See also R. J. van der Spek, "The Astronomical Diaries as a Source for Achaemenid and Seleucid History," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 50 no. ½ (1993): 92-101.

> kings, of rebellions and military conflicts, of religious festivals and desecrations, of plagues and famines. Some records are contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the events they describe, while others tell of the distant past and reproduce established traditions about the early history of Babylonia. Some tablets were carefully redacted and have the appearance of library records, whereas others are quick notes written in the physical shape of everyday business records. And while certain chronicles focus on military events or religious topics, others betray no specific interest in their selection of facts."[104]

Few of the chronicles have a secure provenance, but Waerzeggers argues that most chronicles were probably produced in Babylon and Borsippa, then circulated more widely throughout Assyria and Babylonia.[105]

In 1975, Albert K. Grayson published *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, abbreviated as ABC, in which he compiled the twenty-four chronicle texts known to him.[106] In 1993, Jean-Jacques Glassner published an additional fifteen chronicles, as well as new editions of some of the texts published by Grayson, in *Chroniques Mésopotamiennes*, abbreviated as MC.[107] A new edition of the chronicles from the Hellenistic period, including eight previously unpublished chronicles, is being prepared by Irving Finkel, R. J. van der Spek, and Reinhard Pirngruber, and will be titled *Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period,* abbreviated as BCHP. (Provisional versions of Finkel and van der Spek's editions are available at livius.org.) Today, the number of chronicles has grown to forty-seven; however, as Waerzeggers notes, "the exact number is unclear because the genre is ill-defined."[108] Most relevant to the historiography of the fourth century are ABC 9, which records Artaxerxes III's capture of Sidon; BCHP 1, which records Darius' defeat and Alexander's pursuit of Bessus; BCHP 2, a very fragmentary text which seems to record Alexander's re-entry into Babylon; BCHP 3, known as the Diadochi Chronicle,

104 Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Chronicles: Classification and Provenance," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 71 no. 2 (2012): 285.
105 Ibid., 287-294.
106 Albert K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (*Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1975).
107 Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Chroniques Mesopotamiennes* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993).
108 Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Chronicles," 287.

which chronicles some of the early conflicts between Alexander's successors; BCHP 4, a very fragmentary text which seems to mention Artaxerxes III, Alexander, and a building project at the Esagila temple; BCHP 5, which chronicles the foundation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris; BCHP 6, which mentions an incident in which a Seleukid prince, probably Antiochus I, trips over some rubble in front of the Esagila; and BCHP 9, which records the death of Seleukos I.[109]

There are a handful of additional cuneiform literary-historical texts that are very important to our understanding of the fourth century BCE and Babylonian scribal culture of the early Hellenistic period. These texts seem to be original literary creations of Babylonian scribes in the Hellenistic period.[110]

The first text is the Uruk King List, also referred to as King List 5 and ANET^{3} 566.[111] This text, which was excavated from Uruk in the 1950s and published as BagM. Beih, 2, 88, belongs to the wider genre of Mesopotamian king lists.[112] It lists the kings of Babylonia and their regnal years from Kandalanu (r. 647-627 BCE) to Seleukos II (r. 246-225). The Uruk King List is therefore a useful corroboration of other sources for the dating and chronology of the early Hellenistic period.

The second text, known as the Uruk Prophecy (published as SpTU 1, 3), was excavated from a house in quadrant Ue XVIII-1 in the southeastern part of Uruk in 1969.[113] The subject of

109 R. J. van der Spek, "Darius III, Alexander the Great and Babylonian scholarship," in *Ach.Hist XIII*, ed. W. Henkelman & A. Kuhrt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut vor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), 289-311.

110 Michael Jursa, "Wooing the victor with words: Babylonian priestly literature as a response to the Macedonian conquest," in *The Legitimation of Conquest: Monarchical Representation and the Art of the Government in the Empire of Alexander the Great,* ed. K. Trampendach & A. Meeus (Stuttgart: Franz Zeitner Verlag, 2020), 165-177.

111 Albert K. Grayson, "Assyrian and Babylonian King Lists," in *Lišan mithurti* (Festschrift von Soden), ed. M. Dietrich & W. Röllig (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1969)

112 Albert K. Grayson, "Königlisten und Chroniken," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6, eds. Ebeling Erich et. al (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980-1986), 103-114.

113 Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "The Historical Background of the Uruk Prophecy," in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo,* ed. M. Cohen et. al. (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993), 41-52.

this dissertation, Iqīšā, in fact lived in the house in which the Uruk Prophecy was discovered; however, its lack of colophon and disturbed excavation context mean that it cannot be definitively assigned to him. In the tradition of other Akkadian prophecy texts, the Uruk Prophecy tells of a cycle of good and bad kings that will end with the rise of a new, just king in Uruk, whose rule will last forever.[114] The "predictions" in the Uruk prophecy are not really predictions; rather, similar to the biblical Book of Daniel, these are *vaticinia ex eventu* prophecies that recast historical events that had already happened in a new light. None of the kings in the Uruk Prophecy are named, and several attempts have been made by modern scholars to connect various historical rulers with the good and bad kings mentioned in the prophecy. Ultimately, the Uruk Prophecy can be understood as both literary history and an expression of a political agenda. The elite scribal class of Uruk express their expectations of a good ruler and their hope that their current king—most likely Antiochus I—will live up to their expectations.[115]

The third text, BM 40623, was published by A. K. Grayson in 1975 under the name "The Dynastic Prophecy."[116] The beginning of the text is heavily damaged; but the remaining fragments and the traces of the colophon suggest that the text begins with a scene-setting passage that attribute the *vaticinia ex eventu* predictions that follow to the Babylonian scholar Munnabitu,

114 See also Albert K. Grayson and Wilfred G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies," *Journal of Cuneiform STudies* 18 (1964): 7-30; William W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses," *Isreal Exploration Journal* 16 (1966), 231-242; Robert D. Biggs, "More Babylonian Prophecies," *Iraq* 29 (1967): 117-132; Wilfred G. Lambert, "History and the Gods: A Review Article," *Orientalia, Nova Series* 39 (1970): 170-177; Robert D. Biggs, "The Babylonian Prophecies and Astrological Tradition in Mesopotamia," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 37 (1985): 86-90; Maria deJ. Ellis, "Observations on Mesopotamian Oracles and Prophetic Texts: Literary and Historiographic Considerations," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 41 (1989): 127-86; and R. J. van der Spek, "Darius III, Alexander the Great and Babylonian Scholarship," in *Ach. Hist XIII*, ed. W. Henkelman & A. Kuhrt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut vor heet Nabije Oosten, 2003), 289-346.

115 Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "The Historical Background of the Uruk Prophecy," 44-52. See also the discussions in Jursa, n. 71.

116 Albert K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 28-36.

a court astronomer under the Neo-Assyrian rulers Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.[117] Like the Uruk Prophecy, the Dynastic Prophecy tells of a cycle of ascensions and falls of good and bad kings, but only columns II, V, and VI are substantially preserved. Column V has been the subject of much debate, because it seems to tell an alternate version of history in which Darius III prevailed at Gaugamela, returned triumphantly to Babylon, and granted the Babylonians tax exemption. The Dynastic Prophecy is therefore understood as an expression of hostility towards Alexander in favor of Darius III. This conclusion has significant ramifications for our understanding of the relationship between local elites and their Greco-Macedonian overlords in the early Hellenistic period.[118] But the interpretation of this passage is plagued by a number of issues. No date is preserved in the text's colophon, and it does not have a secure archaeological context, making it difficult to date accurately. Crucial parts of the tablet have been eroded away, and the remaining text presents some grammatical issues. Furthermore, a conterfactual prophecy would be unique in the cuneiform tradition.

Several alternate readings have therefore been suggested. Mark Geller argues that the section refers not to Darius and Alexander, but to the war between Antigonus and Seleukos from 310-307 BCE; this reading was endorsed by Matthew Stolper.[119] R. J. van der Spek advances the

117 van der Spek, "Darius III, Alexander the Great and Babylonian Scholarship," 323.

118 This interpretation is supported by Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts,* 36; Helmer Ringgren. "Akkadian apocalypses," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East,* ed. D. Hellholm (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983), 379-386; Gabriele Marasco, "La 'Profezia Dinastica' e la resistenza babilonese alla reconquista di Alessandro," *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa* 15 no. 2 (1985): 529-538; Susan Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Babylonia: A case study for the installation and the development of Greek rule," in *Hellenism in the East,* ed. A. Kuhrt & S. Sherwin-White (Berkeley: Univeristy of California Press), 1-31; Susan Sherwin-White & Amélie Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: a new approach to the Seleucid empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 8-9; Andreas Mehl, "Zwischen West und Ost / Janseits von West und Ost: Das Reich der Seleukiden," in *Zwischen Ost und West. Studien zur Geschichte des Seleukidenreiches,* ed. K. Brodersen (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 1999), 9-44; Ulf Scharrer, "Seleukos I und das babylonische Königtum," in Brodersen (ed.), *Zwischen Ost und West*: 95-128.

119 Mark Geller, "Babylonian Astronomical Diaries and Corrections of Diodorus," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53 (1990): 1-7. See also Matthew Stolper, "Mesopotamia, 482-330 B.C.," in *Cambridge Ancient History,* 2nd ed., vol. 4, ed. D. M. Lewis et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 234-260.

view that, rather than being anti-Seleukid propaganda: “the purpose of this composition is to give a view and a homily on the vicissitudes of temporal power.”

> “For the author of the Dynastic Prophecy it was not all blind fate which determined the success of a dynasty or a particular rule. A favorable policy towards Babylon, in particular regarding her temple and its cult, her right to tax exemption, and possibly also the recognition of the city as a, or the, central city of the empire, might appease the gods, Marduk foremost among them.”[120]

The Dynastic Prophecy is therefore a statement by the Babylonian priestly class on what type of rulers Alexander and his successors should be.

Van der Spek offers two different reinterpretations of col. V l. 13-19. In the first, Alexander is the subject of *ukaṣṣarma* in line 14, and the reference to the overthrowing of the Hanaean (i.e. Macedonian) army is the result of an error by a scribe, who intended to write *Gu-ti-i,* “the Gutians” (i.e. the Persians) instead of *Ha-ni-i,* “the Haneans.” [121] In van der Spek's second reinterpretation, these lines, unlike the other *vaticinia ex eventu* predictions in the text, are an authentic prediction of the future. This prediction “would be a reminder to the newly installed dynasty from the land of Hani, that like the dynasties of Assyria, Elam (Persia), Haran (Nabonidus), 'later (but soon!)' this new power would also reach its end. A new king will come, destroy the Hanaean army and take “his” (this must be Alexander's) booty.” This reading is in line with van der Spek's interpretation of the overall thrust of the Dynastic Prophecy as a warning about the vicissitudes of fate and an expression of the Babylonian priesthood's views on kingship. This reading is also “negative for Alexander, or at least a warning.”[122]

Finally, Matthew Neujahr also suggests that this puzzling passage is a moment of authentic prediction, and attributes its inclusion in the Dynastic Prophecy as a consequence of

120 R. J. van der Spek, “Darius III, Alexander the Great and Babylonian Scholarship,” 326.
121 Ibid., 327-331.
122 Ibid., 331-332.

the conservative nature of the cuneiform tradition. This combination of *vaticinia ex eventu* and real prophecy has a parallel in the Book of Daniel. Although the prediction did not ultimately come true, later scribes felt that it was an important part of the tradition, and therefore preserved and even updated it.[123]

Ultimately, it is outside the scope of this dissertation to try to solve the puzzle of the Dynastic Prophecy. I tend to agree with van der Spek's second solution. But the key takeaway for this dissertation is that the Dynastic Prophecy, the Uruk Prophecy, and the Uruk King List are all reactions of Babylonian scribes to the political events transpiring around them. In contrast to Will's claims above, the local elites of Babylonia were not silent. They expressed their expectations of their new rulers through these new compositions, and, more indirectly, through their careful maintanence of some streams of the cuneiform tradition. These texts are therefore an essential part of the ancient histioriography of the fourth century BCE, and must be brought into conversation with the classical sources.

Finally, I must make a brief mention of the work of another Babylonian scribe of the early Hellenistic period: Bēl-re'u-šunu, known by the Greek version of his name, Berossos (*BNJ* 680).[124] R. J. van der Spek identifies Berossos as a priest of the Esagila in the first half of the third century BCE.[125] Berossos reportedly wrote a history of Babylon three parts, called the *Babyloniaka,* which translated Babylonian history and cuneiform culture into Greek for a Hellenistic audience. The original text of the *Babyloniaka* has since been lost, and survives only in paraphrases in later authors. The most substantial accounts of what was written in the

123 Matthew Neujahr, "When Darius Defeated Alexander: Composition and Redaction in the Dynastic Prophecy," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 64 no. 2 (2005), 101-108.

124 Geert de Breucker, "Berossos of Babylon (680), in *Brill's New Jacoby,* ed. I. Worthington (Brill Online, 2016).

125 R. J. van der Spek, "The *šatammus* of Esagila in the Seleucid and Parthian Periods," in *Assyriologica et Semitica* (*Festschrift Joachim Oelsner)*, ed. J. Marzahn & H. Neumann (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000), 437-446.

Babyloniaka come from the first century CE Jewish writer Josephus, the early Christian author Eusebius, and the Byzantine chronicler George Syncellos.[126]

In theory, the *Babyloniaka* is a goldmine for historians of the intellectual culture of Hellenistic Babylonia; as Kathryn Stevens states, "it is the only surviving work of its kind from Hellenistic Babylonia, making it a particularly valuable source for the study of cross-cultural contact between Babylonian and Greek intellectual culture."[127] But in practice, the issue is more complicated. None of Berossus' original text actually survives. The paraphrases of his work in Eusebius and George Syncellos hold some kernels of Babylonian intellectual culture; but they also contain reports of allegorical readings that sound suspiciously Neo-Platonic, completely unlike anything else in the cuneiform tradition. Ultimately, Berossus himself is a ghost. The ancient discourses on his work can tell us quite a lot about later Greek, Roman, Jewish, and early Christian perceptions and receptions of Babylonian intellectual culture. But they are not a reliable source for Hellenistic Babylonian culture itself.

It is not always easy to combine the classical accounts with sources from the ancient Middle East, but it is necessary for a complete understanding of the events of Alexander's conquests and their aftermaths. The substitute king incident in Alexander's court, described in varying versions in several classical sources,[128] is a good example of how combining classical

126 On Berossus, see Robert Drews, "The Babylonian Chronicles and Berossus," *Iraq* 37 (1975): 39-55; Amélie Kuhrt, "Berossus' *Babyloniaca* and Seleucid Rule in Babylonia," in *Hellenism and the East,* 32-56; Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Berossus on Late Babylonian History," *Oriental Studies Special Issue* (2006), 116-149; R. J. van der Spek, "Berossus as a Babylonian Chronicler and Greek Historian," in *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society,* ed. R. J. van der Spek (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2008), 277-318; Johannes Haubold, mGiovanni Lanfranchi, Robert Rollinger & John Steele, eds., *The World of Berossus* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013); Johannes Bach, "Berossos, Antiochos und die Babyloniaka," *Ancient West and East* 12 (2013), 157-180; John Dillery, *Clio's Other Sons: Berossus and Manetho* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015); and Kathryn Stevens, *Between Greece and Babylonia,* esp. 94-143.

127 Kathryn Stevens, *Between Greece and Babylonia,* 95.

128 Appian, *Bella Civila* II.153; Arrian, *Anab.* VII.16.5-18.6, Curtius Rufus X.4.6, Diodorus Siculus XVII.112, Justinian XII.13.3 ff., and Plutarch, *Alex.* 73,

and non-classical sources can be productive. The gist of the story is as follows. On the eve of Alexander's entry into Babylon, Babylonian astronomers foretold the king's doom and took several ritual steps to avert it. They instructed Alexander to enter the city through a different route.[129] Later, after his arrival in Babylon, Alexander entered the throne room of the palace to find a condemned criminal sitting on the throne, dressed in royal raiment and wearing a diadem on his head. Arrian incorrectly identifies this as a Persian custom (VII.24.3); Diodorus, on the other hand, understands the incident as a reaction to the omens about Alexander's death (XVII.116.2-4).[130]

To a reader familiar with Babylonian divination and ritual practices, it is clear that the classical authors are describing a slightly garbled version of a substitute king ritual, which would be undertaken by Babylonian priests in order to avert the evil portended by an eclipse. R. J. van der Spek goes so far as to identify two predicted eclipses that would have occurred in 324 and 323 BCE to which the Babylonian priests could have been reacting.[131] Thus an incident that would be mysterious and even bizarre if understood only through the classical sources is elucidated through the incorporation of the cuneiform tradition. This incident also indicates that priests of Babylon accepted Alexander as a legitimate ruler, at least to the extent that they performed rituals on his behalf and for his benefit.

V. Conclusion

In the final pages of *From Cyrus to Alexander,* at the conclusion of his efforts to explain why the Achaemenid empire might have been so vulnerable to Macedonian agression, Pierre

129 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 862-863; van der Spek, "Darius III, Alexander the Great and Babylonian Scholarship," 332-336.
130 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 863.
131 van der Spek, "Darius III, Alexander the Great and Babylonian Scholarship," 336-342.

Briant wrote that “as always, historical reality is contradictory.”[132] Briant's study of the Achaemenid empire sought to overturn the idea that Alexander the Great triumphed over a stagnant culture in decline, and he found compelling evidence to that effect. But at the same time, it also seems irrefutable that Mazaeus, satrap of Babylon, and the Babylonian elite switched their allegiances to Alexander without much of a fight. How can we reconcile the apparent dissatisfaction of the Babylonian elite with the also apparent success and relative popularity of the Achaemenid administration? This contradiction lies right at the heart of our understanding of the fourth century BCE.

I cannot claim that this dissertation will be able to fully resolve this issue. But, as Giovanni Levi, Matti Peltonen, and Carlo Ginzburg have argued, microhistory can be a particularly suitable tool for tackling historical contradictions.[133] Zooming in on the actions, choices, and reactions of one person allows us to see and tease out the various threads that make up the contradictory tangle of their historical reality. In Iqīšā's case, a close-up examination of his life and work reveal to us some of the choices he made to navigate the transition between the Achaemenid and Hellenistic period. Iqīšā's particular choices can in turn reveal social, cultural, and political forces that would otherwise be obscured, misunderstood, or under-emphasized in the larger historical picture. In this way, the knot of contradictions in the history of the fourth century BCE can begin to be unpicked.

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132 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 870.

133 Giovanni Levi, “On Microhistory,” in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing,* ed. P. Burke (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 97-119; Matti Peltonen, “Clues Margins, and Monads: the Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research,” *History and Theory* 40 (2001): 347-359; Carlo Ginzburg, “Microhistory: *Two or three things I know about it,”* in *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life Writing*, ed. B. de Hall and H. Renders (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 139-145. See Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion of the theory and practice of microhistory.

Chapter 3
Iqīšā in the "House of the *Āšipu*": The Archaeological Contexts of the Iqīšā Dossier

Our most extensive sources of information on Iqīšā's life are the fifty-one cuneiform texts which can be definitively associated with him. This chapter will introduce this corpus of texts, give an overview of its excavation contexts, and discuss some of the practical and theoretical problems associated with assembling a dossier around a specific individual.

Forty-one of the tablets associated with Iqīšā were scientifically excavated from a residential complex in the southeastern corner of Uruk by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) in the 1969-1972 seasons. This area was originally referred to in excavation reports as the "Parthian mound" ("Parthischer Hügel"), and was designated as square Ue XVIII.[134] The remaining ten tablets in the Iqīšā dossier are of uncertain provenience, but some may have been illicitly excavated from the area of the Rēš temple in the early twentieth century.[135]

Fig. 1 is a table of all the tablets which name Iqīšā as their scribe or owner or otherwise mention him, their museum or excavation numbers, their CDLI numbers, their primary publications, brief descriptions of their contents, and information on their find spots, where available.[136]

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134 Arno Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV.* AUWE 17 *(*Mainz: Von Zabern, 1998), 87ff.

135 Eleanor Robson summarizes the situation of Hellenistic tablets in the Rēš temple thus: "In the late 1950s and early 1960s... [a] German team unearthed some 110 scholarly tablets, plus about thirty administrative records, from a small room near the southeast gateway to the [Rēš] temple, where illicit diggers had worked in earlier decades. The formally excavated tablets, which date to the first half of the third century BC, are clearly the remains of a much larger group that includes many tablets sold on the antiquities market in the early twentieth century and dispersed to museum collections worldwide. Many originally belonged to the Ekur-zakir and Sin-leqi-unnīni families of *āšipu*-healers and *kalû*-lamenters, but it is impossible to reconstruct exactly which of the illicitly excavated tablets were originally stored with the formally excavated ones." Eleanor Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks: A Social Geography of Cuneiform Scholarship in First-Millennium Assyria and Babylonia* (London: UCL Press, 2019), 29. See also Philippe Clancier, *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie dans la deuxième moitié du 1er millénaire av. J.-C.* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 363 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2009), 73-80, 406-409.

136 Hermann Hunger, "Die Tontafeln der XXVII. Kampagne," in *XXVI. und XXVII. Vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinshaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. 1968 und 1969*, ed. J. Schmidt (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1972), 79–97; and Egbert Von Weiher, "Die Tontafelfunde der 29. u. 30. Kampagne," in *XXIX. und XXX.*

Accession Number	CDLI Number	Primary Publication	Find Spot	Description	Owner and/or Scribe
W22378	P348435	SpTU 1, 14	"Ue XVIII 1 südl. v. Schnittgraben Oberflächensch utt."[137]	Small fragment of *Mušš'u* 7	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22383	P348501	SpTU 1, 80	Ue XVIII 1 (no further specification)	*Barûtu* text, *Šumma pān tākalti* 5	Iqīšā/ Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22327	P348511	SpTU 1, 90	"Ue XVIII 1 nördl. v. Schnittgraben"	Commentary on *Enūma Anu Enlil* 56	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Anu-ab-uṣur / Anu-mukin-apli // Kuri
W22246a	P348515	SpTU 1, 94	"Ue XVIII 1 unter Grab 272"	Compendium of price forecasts from celestial observations	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22248	P348517	SpTU 1, 96	"Ue XVIII 1 Schnitt nördl. der Gräber 270-	Astrological varia; relationships between	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir

Vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinshaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. 1970/71 und 1971/72, ed. J. Schmidt (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1979), 95–111.

137 In this table, I retain Hunger and von Weiher's original descriptions of find spots. Their descriptions do not always correspond exactly to the terminology of the preliminary reports made by the excavators, or the later publication by Ricardo Eichmann in 1989. Arno Kose, in his 1998 review of the archaeology of Uruk in the later periods, makes the following remarks on the discrepancies between the various publications of the Uruk material: "Daß die Personen, welche die Ausgrabungen durchführten, die Endpublikation nicht selbst vornahmen, scheint zunächst nur ein unwesentliches Teilproblem be der Durcharbeitung des Grabungsunterlagen zu sein. Es wiegt aber umso schwerer, als die Befunde gemessen an heutigen Standards eine unvollständige und unsystematische schriftliche Fixierung erfuhren. Dies gilt insbesondere für die während der Ausgrabung gemachten Notizen, aber auch für die Vorberichte. Tatsächlich stellen, außer den steingerechten Plänen im Maßstab 1:100, Profilzeichnungen im Maßstab 1:50 und photographischen Aufnahmen, die Vorberichte die wesentlichen schriftlichen Hinterlassenschaften des deutschen Ausgräber von Uruk-Warka dar." (Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV*, 87.)

In particular, Hunger and von Weiher's use of the term "Schicht" requires some clarification. Hunger and von Weiher seem to be using "Schicht" as an abbreviation for the archaeological term Bauschicht, or building level. Kose further clarifies: "Ander ausgedrückt, gehören zu einer Bauschicht alle Überreste, die durch Errichtung, Benutzung und Verfall oder Zerstörung eines Bauwerks entstanden sind. Dazu zählen im einzelnen Füllschicten, Baugruben und deren Füllungen, Fußböden, Reste von Mauern und Installationen, Benuntzungschichten, Brandschichten, Zerstörungs-, Versturz-, und Zerfallschichten eines Gebäudes. Aus eben Gesagtem geht hervor, daß die Bauschicht im übertragezen Sinne ein zeitliches Kontinuum bezeichnet, keinesfalls aber mit der Lagerungseinheit Schicht verwechselt werden darf. Dam Beginn einer neuen Bauschicht geht zwangsläufig die Zerstörung der vorhergehenden durch Abriß oder Verfall voraus." (Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV,* 89-90.)

			274”	constellations[138]	
W22226	P342426	SpTU 1, 128	“Ue XVIII 1, am Fuß von Grab 270, in Höhe der Sarkophagoberfläche”	Record of sale of dates, barley and plants to make beer between Iqīšā and Ina-qibit-Anu. Record of purchase of a brewer's temple prebend by Iqīšā.	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Nidintu-Anu / Anu-uballiṭ.
W22323	P348558	SpTU 1, 139	“Ue XVIII 1, nördl. v. Schnittgraben”	Small fragment; only the colophon is partially preserved.	Owned by Iqīšā; unknown hand
W22663	P348607	SpTU 2, 2	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I”[139]	Bilingual incantation, chapters IV-VI of the series *Saĝ-gig-ga-meš*	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22642	P348610	SpTU 2, 5	“Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I, Schicht II.”	Bilingual incantations, rituals for the opening of a canal.	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22653	P348611	SpTU 2, 6	“Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I, Schicht II.”	Bilingual incantations against the storm demoness Ardat-lîli	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22729/11	P348612	SpTU 2, 7	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, R.C.”[140]	Bilingual incantations against the storm demoness	unknown; end of text broken.

138 “astrologischer Text, zum Teil kryptographisch. Beginnt mit einer Anleitung zur Aufstellung astrologischer Omina. Der Rest des Textes besteht aus solchen Omina, denen gelegentlich kommentarähnliche Angaben beigefügt sind. Eigentümer der Tafel: Iqīšā, Sohn des Ištar-šum-ēreš, lebte um 320 v. Chr.” Hunger, “Die Tontafeln der XXVII,” 80.

139 See note 129 above for Kose's comments on terminology. The use of the preposition “neben” in reference to Schicht I and II is somewhat perplexing. As Kose explains, a (Bau)schicht is a representation of a temporal continuum, of the condition of a structure in space at a particular time. I therefore understand the phrase “Schicht II, neben Schicht I” not as a reference to physical proximity, but rather to mean that the tablet in question could not be definitively assigned to either Bauschicht I or Bauschicht II.

140 The significance of the abbreviations “R.A,” “R.B.,” and “R.C.” are unclear to me. It is possible, following Walter Farber's suggestion, that they stand for “Raum A,” “Raum B,” and “Raum C.” However, the official excavation reports use numbers, not letters, to label rooms.

				Ardat-lîli	
W22730/3	P348623	SpTU 2, 18	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, R.C.”	*Namburbû* ritual, including hymns to Šamaš	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22758/6	P348626	SpTU 2, 21	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, R.C.”	Incantation ritual against bad dreams	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22666/1 + W22666/2	P348627	SpTU 2, 22 + SpTU 3, 85	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, R.C.”	*Namburbû* rituals, incantations with magic stones	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Ištar-šum-ēreš, his son
W22648	P348630	SpTU 2, 25	“Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I, Schicht II”	*Ušburrudû* incantation ritual	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22729/10+ W22554/4d	P348637	SpTU 2, 32	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, R.B.”	*Šumma ālu* excerpts; omens on birds from Tablet 64	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22650	P348639	SpTU 2, 34	“Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I, Schicht II”	*Šumma ālu* excerpts; omens related to washing and bathing	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22644	P348640	SpTU 2, 35	“Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I, Schicht II”	*Šumma ālu* excerpts; omens of the *akītu* festival	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Anu-aḫu-iddin / Nidintu-Anu
W22705/0+1 +2	P348642	SpTU 2, 37	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus, R. A. älterer Zustand”	Commentary on *Šumma izbu* 8-12	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Ištar-šum-ēreš, his son
W22703	P348643	SpTU 2, 38	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus, R. A. älterer Zustand.”	Commentary on *Šumma izbu* 17	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22646	P348648	SpTU 2, 43	“Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus	Horoscopic table	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir

			nördl. neben Schicht I, Schicht II.”		
W22651	P348649	SpTU 2, 44	“Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I, Schicht II.”	Diagnostic omens, *Sakikkû* 16[141]	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Anu-ab-uṣur / Anu-mukin-apli // Kuri
W22668/2	P348668	SpTU 3, 65	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I”	Incantation ritual, *Mušš'u* 2	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22666/2	P348689	SpTU 3, 85	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I”	Anti-witchcraft ritual with magic stones	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22554/0	P348701	SpTU 3, 97	“Ue XVIII 1, Schciht II, Wohnhaus, ob.Fb.”	*Šumma ālu* excerpts 70-71	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Ištar-šum-ēreš / Iqīšā // Ekur-zakir
W22704	P348708	SpTU 3, 104	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus, R. A. älterer Zustand”	*Kalendertext* for the month of Du'uzu, assigning body parts of different animals to each day of the month.	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Ištar-šum-ēreš / Iqīšā // Ekur-zakir
W22619/6+22554/2b	P348709	SpTU 3, 105	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II”	*Kalendertext* for the month of Arahsamnu, assigning body parts of different animals for each day of the month.	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir

141 This tablet is duplicated by W22307/5 = SpTU 1, 37. However, SpTU 1, 37's lack of colophon and the disturbed archaeological context in which it was found (described by Hunger as “Schnittgraben, Südl. Hälfte”, mixed in with fragments dating to the fifth century BCE) means that it cannot definitively be assigned to Iqīšā.

W22577/0	P348727	SpTU 4, 133	"Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus, Schicht II"	Unidentified incantation	unknown; end of text broken.
W22577/1	P348734	SpTU 4, 140	"Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus, Schicht II"	*Ušburrudû* varia, *Maqlû*-like incantations	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Ištar-šum-ēreš / Iqīšā // Ekur-zakir
W22695	P348743	SpTU 4, 150	"Ue XVIII 1, Schicht III"	*Alamdimmû* 6, physiognomic omina	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of PN / Anu-aḫḫe-iddin // Gimil-Anu
W22656/10a	P348751	SpTU 4, 158	"Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I, Schicht II"	DUB.HA.LA omens.	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22666/0	P348752	SpTU 4, 159	"Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I"	Astrological *barûtu.* Omina from liver parts associated with gods, months, and constellations	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W23300	P348755	SpTU 4, 162	"Ue XVIII 1, kleiner Raum der Schicht IV"	Commentary on *Enūma Anu Enlil* 20	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Anu-ab-uṣur / Anu-mukin-apli // Kuri
W22560	P348780	SpTU 4, 188	"Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus, ob.Fb."	Lexical text, *Erimhuš* 5	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22656/14	P348807	SpTU 4, 219	"Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I, Schicht II"[142]	List of stones; partially duplicates SpTU 2, 22 + SpTU 3, 85	end of text missing
W23014	P348807	SpTU 4, 220	"Ue XVIII 1, Füllschutt der Schicht IV –	Building ritual, list of building materials and parts	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Ištar-šum-ēreš / Iqīšā // Ekur-

142 In his summary of the findings of the 29th and 30th DAI campaigns, von Weiher assigns two designations to these fragments: W22656/14a, described as "Fragment unklaren Inhalts. Tafel des Iqīšā"; and W22656/14b, described as "S. zu Nr. 110 = 22666/2!". Later publications combine the fragments into one composite tablet.

			Adale”	for shrines of various deities	zakir
W23293/34	P348830	SpTU 5, 243	“Ue XVIII 1, kleiner Raum der Schicht IV.”	Fragment of a commentary on the “*Āšipu's* Almanac;” partially duplicates BRM 4, 20	end of text missing[143]
W22706/1	P348832	SpTU 5, 245	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht III, R.A. neben gestörter Wasserenlage”	Two-column tablet. Col. I: Fragment of incantation ritual. Col. II: hemerology? Col. III and IV: broken.	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
W22706/4b	P348867	SpTU 5, 285	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht III, R.A. neben gestörter Wasserenlage”	Fragment of legal document involving sale of land	unknown; end of text missing. Iqīšā is mentioned as a party to the sale.
W22662/0	P348890	SpTU 5, 308	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht III, R.A. neben gestörter Wasserenlage”	Legal document involving loan of dates	Witnesses: Tanittu-Anu / Tattannu; Anu-zer-iddin / Nanaya-iddin; Labaši / Nanaya-iddin; Anu-ab-uṣur / Ina-qibit-Anu; Ištar-hiṭua/ Mannu-ki-Delebat; Nidintu-Anu/ Nanaya-iddin. Sealed by: Rihat-Anu, Anu-zer-lišir, Anu-zer-iddin, Anu-ab-uṣur, Anu-balassu-iqbi, Tanittu-Anu.
W 22706/0	P348891	SpTU 5, 309	“Ue XVIII 1, Schicht III, R.A. neben gestörter Wasserenlage”	Loan contract for loan of dates	unknown; end of text missing. Iqīšā is a party to the loan.
Bod S 302	P368468	RA 012, 073-084	unknown	Exhaltation of Ištar	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Ištar-šum-

143 This text has no colophon, and it was found along side texts that were most likely part of a different archive. It is assigned to the Iqīšā dossier because it closely duplicates BRM 4, 20, which preserves a colophon that names Iqīšā as its scribe.

					ēreš / Iqīšā // Ekur-zakir.
AO 06463	P363682	TCL 6, 9	unknown	*Šumma ālu* 120, omens of the *akītu* festival	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
AO 06464	P363690	TCL 6, 17	unknown	Lunar omens and commentary on *Enūma Anu Enlil* 8	Iqīšā // Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
AO 06469	P363706	TCL 6, 34	unknown	*Qutāru* 1, fumigations against Antašubba	Owned by Iqīšā; hand of Ištar-šum-ēreš / Iqīšā // Ekur-zakir
AO 06471	P363722	TCL 6, 50	unknown	*Namburbû* against evil related to the mounting of a chariot	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš, // Ekur-zakir
--	P415763	CM 31 139	unknown	*Šumma izbu* 8 commentary	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš //Ekur-zakir
MNAO 11677	--	Or. 59 (1990), 14-33	unknown	Lexical list[144]	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
MLC 01886	P363411	BRM 4, 19	unknown	Commentary on the *"Āšipu's* Almanac"	end of text missing
MLC 01859	P296512	BRM 4, 20	unknown	Commentary on the "*Āšipu*'s Almanac"	Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir
MLC 01863	P296515	BRM 4, 32	unknown	medical commentary	end of text missing[145]

I. Archive, library, or dossier?

Before analyzing the excavation contexts of Iqīšā's texts, I must make a note about my use of the terms "archive," "library," and "dossier." Assyriologists historically have been somewhat loose with their use of "archive" and "library," treating them as largely interchangeable when dealing with a given assortment of texts. But there are actually significant

144 See Werner Meyer, "Listen aus Ebla und Uruk," *Orientalia, Nova Series* 74 no. 2 (2005): 157-164.

145 In the absence of a colophon and a secure provenience, BRM 4, 19 and BRM 4, 32 are assigned to the Iqīšā dossier based on their similarities to BRM 4, 20. For more, see Eckart Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries: Origins of Interpretation* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2011), 31ff, 128.

differences in the technical meaning of the terms, and their correct application highlights important aspects of the content and context of the texts under consideration, the types of analysis that can be conducted on them, and the state of the archaeological evidence associated with them.

In her introduction to an edited volume on the topic, Maria Brosius developed a working definition of an "archive" for use in Assyriology, with the caveat that those working in different disciplines might need to tweak the definition to better fit their material. An archive, per Brosius, is both a physical place within a public space or a private building or complex *and* a collection of documents stored in that place that reflect a deliberate choice or selection of documents.[146] ("Documents" here, as elsewhere, refers to legal, economic, administrative, or private texts that exist only in one or two copies—that is to say, not omen texts, medical compendiums, literary texts or other texts of tradition that are copied and re-copied.)[147] This definition emphasizes the archive as a physical space, not as a metaphysical assemblage of knowledge.

Brosius' definition is very much in line with the definition that Olaf Pedersén developed in his 1998 survey of archives and libraries in the ancient Middle East. An archive is "a collection of texts, each text documenting a message or a statement, for example, letters, legal, economic and administrative documents. In an archive there is usually just one copy of each text, although occasionally a few copies may exist."[148] Even more than Brosius, Pedersén emphasizes shared physical space; for him, texts that were not deposited together cannot be considered part of an archive. Pedersén also narrows the focus further onto non-literary and non-canonical texts.

146 Maria Brosius, *Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-keeping in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10

147 Olaf Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East, 1500-300 BC* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1998), 3

148 Ibid.

Furthermore, Pedersén's definition, in particular its second element, also draws attention to the transient nature of archives. Archives are functional places—the texts they contain move in and out of the archive as needed depending on their purpose. A document like a debt note, for example, may leave the archive when the debt is repaid. A deed to a house might stay in an archive for generations, but a sale contract for a slave might only remain for a single lifetime.

In contrast, in her 2018 chapter on Babylonian archives before and after Xerxes, Caroline Waerzeggers emphasizes the secondary and even metaphysical aspects of archives while deemphasizing the archive as a specific and contained physical space. Referencing the larger field of archive studies, Waerzeggers argues that "the archive is not simply a place where knowledge is preserved but also a place where knowledge is produced and shaped by power relations current at the time."[149] The ways in which archives produce knowledge (and the extent to which those processes are visible to us) are determined by factors like their shape, structure, size, density, length, uniformity, and diversity; the presence of multi-archive clusters; in what state ("living" or "dead") the archive was deposited. What is missing from an archive can also be crucial to understanding the archive as an object of historical inquiry. What is *not* chosen for preservation can be just as enlightening as what is.[150]

However, the particularities of many Mesopotamian "archives," including the assemblage of texts studied in this dissertation, make many of the questions posed by archive studies impossible to answer. Ancient Mesopotamian archives are shaped not only by factors at the time of their creation (e.g. a colonial administrator replacing the existing record-keeping system with a new, incompatible one), but also by the vagaries of preservation conditions, changing

149 Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Network of Resistance: Archives and Political Action in Babylonia Before 484 BCE," in *Xerxes and Babylonia* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 277. Paris: Peeters, 2018), 91

150 Waerzeggers, "Network," 91-103

environmental conditions (e.g. the shifting of the Euphrates river which inundated the western part of Babylon), natural and human disasters, changing excavation practices, illicit excavations, and pure luck. In other words, the state of many Mesopotamian archives today can tell us much the history of Iraq in the twentieth century, the development of Assyriology as a discipline, and the power relations that shaped both; but they can tell us less about the archive's place in its ancient context. Nevertheless, Waerzegger's exhortation to treat Mesopotamian archives as historical objects that are in and of themselves subjects of inquiry, rather than as just sources of historical data, is useful. The limits imposed by preservation factors should not prevent us from attempting more abstract inquiries into the material we do have.

So much for an Assyriological definition of an archive. Pedersén draws a distinction between an "archive" and a "library" that, although not made by all scholars working on the topic, is useful for this study. A library, like an archive, is both a collection of texts and the place in which the collection was stored. But as opposed to an archive, a library is "a collection of texts normally with multiple copies for use in different places at different times, and includes, e.g., literary, historical, religious, and scientific texts."[151] In other words, libraries may be said to consist of "texts of tradition," while archives are collections of documents. But the division between a library and an archive can be permeable; some archive texts can make their way into libraries, or some library texts can be stored in an archive. But "this does not change the overall designation of the collection as 'archive' or 'library.' … When library texts are found in an archive, the designation 'archive with library' (or 'archive with library section') is used, and when

151 Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries,* 3

archive texts are found in a library, the designation 'library with archive' (or 'library with archive section') is used."[152]

The final term to be defined is "dossier." Unlike the terms "library" and "archive," which can be said to reflect an ancient reality, the term "dossier" is purely a second-order, scholarly category. It refers simply to all of the known texts that mention a particular person or family. This usage of "dossier" is common in Papyrology, although it is not as frequently used in Assyriology. (Michael Jursa's work is a prominent exception.) For example, studies of Achaemenid Uruk sometimes mention the "archive" of the Gimil-Nanaya clan. The "Gimil-Nanaya archive" consists of approximately two hundred tablets, some of which were scientifically excavated and some of which were excavated illicitly and sold on the antiquities market. This assemblage of texts could more properly be called the Gimil-Nanaya dossier, because it is not clear that all the texts were ever stored in the same place. Rather, they have been grouped together by modern scholars because they all deal with the same family.

So what category are we dealing with here? The archaeological evidence from square Ue XVIII, presented below, suggests that many of Iqīšā's texts were stored together, and then later disposed. In this disposal phase, some of Iqīšā's texts were mixed together with texts from the private library and archive of the house's previous occupants, the Šangû-Ninurta clan. Since Iqīšā's texts are primarily texts of tradition, we can call the collection Iqīša's library. To the library we can add the documents W22706/4b = SpTU 5, 285, W22662/0 = SpTU 5 308, and WW22706/0 = SpTU V 309. To that collection, we can also add the illicitly excavated texts that were mostly likely a part of the Rēš temple library. Taken all together, these texts form the Iqīšā dossier.

152 Ibid., 3

II. Living and Working in the "House of the *Āšipu"*

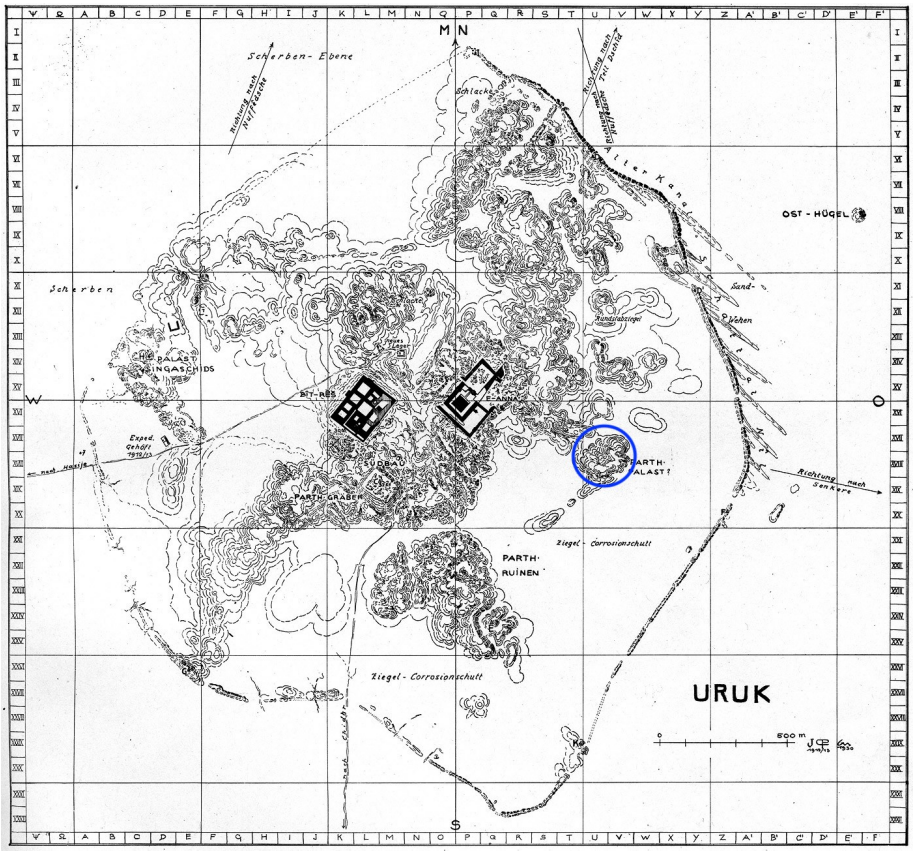

Fig. 2. Site plan of Uruk, with square Ue XVIII highlighted in blue. Taken from Arno Kose, *Uruk Uruk. Architektur IV.* AUWE 17 (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1998).

The excavation of square Ue XVIII in Uruk began in 1969, as part of the twenty-seventh campaign of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut led by Jurgen Schmidt. Schmidt and his team had already been investigating an adjacent structure in square Va XVIII, which they called the "Parthian Villa." (See Fig 2.) A 2.20 m wide and 15.5 m long trench was dug in the neighboring mound Ue XVIII in order to gain a better understanding of the stratigraphy of the "Parthian Villa" and to establish a ceramic sequence for Uruk in the late periods. (Sketches from

excavation notes of the twenty-seventh campaign indicate that three additional test trenches were also dug in the area, but no reference is made to these additional trenches in official publications.) The area for the trench was chosen because of the number of slipper sarcophagi (Pantoffelsarkophage) visible on the surface.[153]

At the southwest end of the trench, in the immediate vicinity of the graves, excavators uncovered approximately thirty-five cuneiform tablets, along with other ceramics and terracottas.[154] The tablets included sign lists, omen lists, astrological texts, magical texts, a fragment of a Nergal myth, and legal documents recording sales of land, agricultural products, and prebend shares. One of the legal documents (W22325, published by Hermann Hunger as SpTU 1, 129) was dated to 359/8 BCE; another (W22226 = SpTU 1, 128) to 317 BCE. Eight of these tablets (specifically, W22226 = SpTU 1, 128, W22246a = SpTU 1, 94, W22248 = SpTU 1, 96, W22327 = SpTU 1, 90, W22322 = SpTU 1, 138, W22323 = SpTU 1, 139, W22378 = SpTU 1, 14, and W22383 = SpTU 1, 80) had preserved colophons that indicated they belonged to the same man: Iqīšā, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, of the Ekur-zakir clan, an *āšipu* priest. It seemed that the later grave pits had pierced right through an the remains of an ancient house with a private archive.[155]

The discovery of such a cache of tablets prompted a more thorough investigation of the area. In the twenty-ninth campaign, excavators opened a 24 x 27 m area on both sides of the test trench in Ue XVIII-1. Excavations in the area continued in the thirtieth campaign; a 10 x 17 m area southeast of the test trench, referred to as Ue XVIII-1 Ost, was cleared, and two new areas,

153 Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV*, 375-376.
154 These tablets are: W22227, W22226, W22234a, W22246a-c, W22256/0-10, W22248, W22257, W22327, W22322, W22325, W22323, W22340a-c, W22339, W22324, W22336, W22337, W22338, W22342, W22343, W22344, W22345, W22378, and W22383.
155 Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV.,* 374-376.

Va XVIII-1 Ost and Va XVIII-1 West, were opened. These excavations yielded additional deposits of tablets, including evidence of an additional discarded private archive. Figs. 3, 4, and 5 are illustrations of the reconstructed building plan of the structure in Ue XVIII across the late Achaemenid/Early Hellenistic (Bauschicht IV), Hellenistic (Bauschicht III), and early Parthian (Bauschicht II) phases of its development.

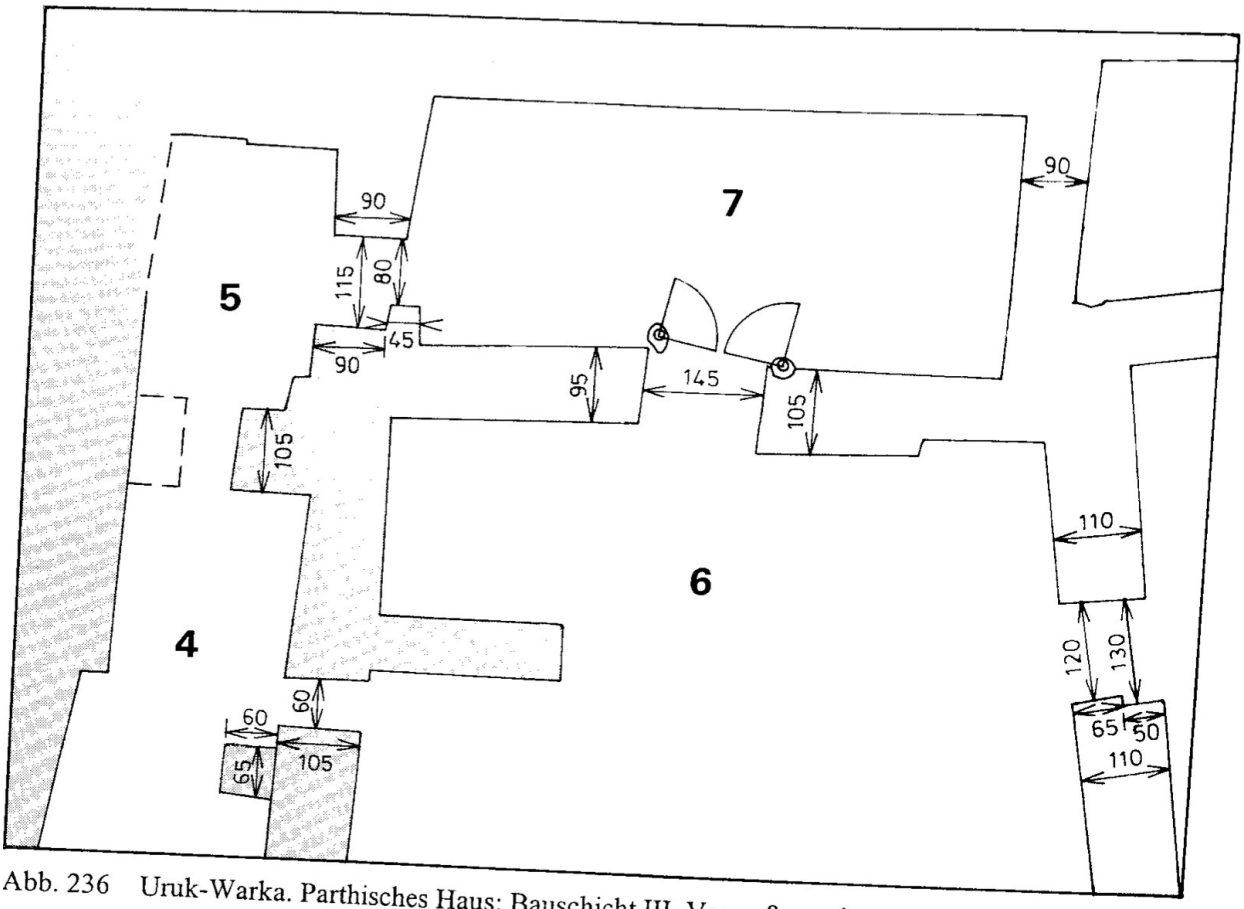

Abb. 236 Uruk-Warka. Parthisches Haus: Bauschicht III. Vermaßung der Türen von Raum 4-7 aus dem Aufnahmeplan im M. 1:100 abgegriffen. M. 1:100.

Fig. 3. Illustration of Ue XVIII 1 at Bauschicht IV. Taken from Arno Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV*. AUWE 17 (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1998)Fig. 4. Illustration of Ue XVIII 1 at Bauschicht III. Taken from Arno Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV*. AUWE 17 (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1998).

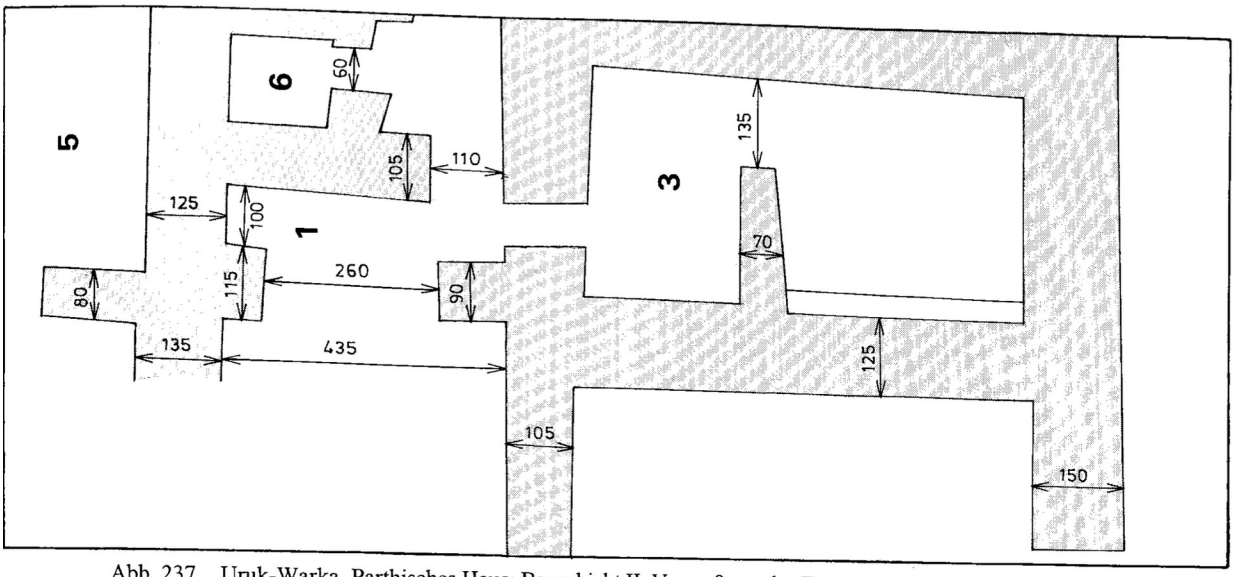

Abb. 237 Uruk-Warka. Parthisches Haus: Bauschicht II. Vermaßung der Tür von Raum 1, 3 und 6 aus dem Aufnahmeplan im M. 1:100 abgegriffen. M. 1:100.

Fig. 4. Illustration of Ue XVIII 1 at Bauschicht II. Taken from Arno Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV*. AUWE 17 (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1998).

Ultimately, eight Bauschichten could be distinguished in Ue/Va XVIII. Fig. 5 is a profile illustration showing the different building layers. Bauschicht I is dated to the middle Parthian period (70 BCE-70 CE); only sparse traces of this layer remain, and not much can be gleaned from them. Bauschicht IIa is early Parthian. Bauschichten IIb and III are Seleukid. Most of the tablets of Iqīšā and the Ekur-zakir clan can be associated with these layers. Bauschicht IV seems to be late Achaemenid or early Seleukid, based on the stylistic dating of ceramic finds. Dozens of discarded texts, mostly belonging to Šamaš-iddin of the Šangû-Ninurta clan and his family, were also uncovered in Room 4 at this level. Schmidt assigned Bauschicht V, VI, VII, and VIII to the Neo-Babylonian period, on the basis of the Neo-Babylonian double-top graves (Doppeltopgräber) and diagnostic ceramic types found in Bauschicht VIII. Unfortunately, neither

the graves nor the ceramics were fully documented, and are therefore missing from both Ricardo Eichmann's publication and the publication of the ceramic finds.[156]

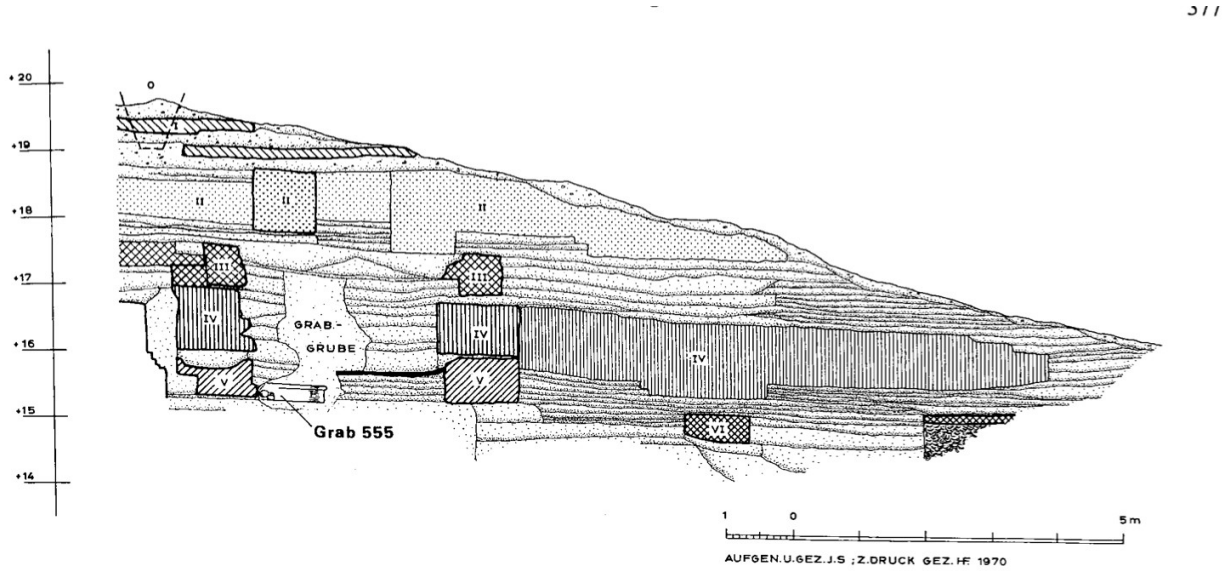

Abb. 228 Uruk-Warka. Parthische Häuser in Planquadrat Ue/Va,b 18-1,2: Profil 137 mit Bauschichtenbezeichnung in römischen Zahlen. M. 1:100.

Fig. 5. Profile Illustration of Ue/Va, b XVIII. Taken from Arno Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV*. AUWE 17 (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1998).

In the following decades, the materials excavated from Ue XVIII, in particular the dozens of cuneiform tablets, was further organized and analyzed. It is now possible to give a general overview of daily life in the residential complex uncovered in Ue XVIII in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods.

From approximately 443-385 BCE, the house was occupied by members of the Šangû-Ninurta clan. Like Iqīšā and his family, Šamaš-iddin // Šangû-Ninurta and his sons were *āšipu* priests, sometimes transliterated as *mašmaššu* priests. The *āšipu* was a priest who used his knowledge of omens and incantations to drive away illness and perform purifications.

156 Kose, *Uruk, Architektur IV.,* 376-377; Julia Krul, *The Revival of the Anu Cult and the Nocturnal Fire Ceremony at Late Babylonian Uruk* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 23-24. Per Kose, the dating estimates are essentially based off of the correlation of house burials with associated building layer.

Accordingly, the residential complex in Ue XVIII is sometimes called the "House of the *Āšipu"* in secondary literature.[157] The name of the Šangû-Ninurta clan, which literally translates to "priest of Ninurta," may indicate that the family had an origin in the city of Nippur; the center of worship of Ninurta prior to the reign of Aššurbanipal II was the Ešumeša in Nippur.[158]

Of particular importance to our understanding of life in the house at this time is the area designated as Room 4. Four construction stages (Baustadium) can be distinguished in Room 4; they provide valuable hints about the daily life and work of the Šangû-Ninurta clan and their household. Shortly after the construction of the room (stage IVd), a small, free-standing room was built into it (stage IVc). After a contained, local fire, the walls of Room 4 had to be repaired (stage IVb). Traces of a fire horizon can be seen on the southwest and northeast walls of the room. The room was filled with loose rubble and fire-damaged material. Finally, the doors at the southwest and southeast of the room were bricked up, and the room was leveled as part of the construction of Bauschicht III (stage IVa).

Dozens of clay tablets were found in this area. In Kose's description, "sie lagen hier teils in verkippten Stapeln zu ebener Erde, teils in Vorratsgefäßen aus grober Keramikware, die innen mit Bitumen ausgestrichen waren."[159] Some of the tablets, and the jars that contained them, were well-preserved, while others were almost completely crushed. The tablets in the jars date to the late Achaemenid period and can be associated through their colophons with members of the Šangû-Ninurta clan: Šamaš-iddin, his sons Anu-ikṣur and Rīmūt-Anu, and his grandson Anu-ušallim. Of the approximately sixty well-preserved tablets, thirty contained incantations, rituals, or omen texts; sixteen were lexical lists; four were literary texts; four were astrology texts; four

157 Philippe Clancier, *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie dans la deuxiène motié du 1er millénaire av. J.-C.* AOAT 363 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2009), 61
158 Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks*, 229.
159 Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV,* 385.

were mathematical texts; and one was an astronomical text. Several of these texts had specifically medical applications; all belonged to the intellectual domain of *āšipu.*[160]

In addition to the scholarly texts, there were approximately twenty administrative documents found in the rubble of Room 4 at Bauschicht IV. Most of these documents were debt notes and contracts concerning another prominent family in Uruk, the Gimil-Nanāya clan, who held prebends on the temple gardens (*rab banûtu).*[161] (The entire known archival assemblage of the Gimil-Nanāya clan consists of about two hundred tablets, some of which were found elsewhere in the "House of the *Āšipu"* and many of which were unearthed by illicit excavations and sold on the antiquities market.)[162] The administrative documents in Room 4 covers a long stretch of time (595-416 BCE), but the distribution is weighted towards documents associated with Erība of the Gimil-Nanāya clan, who was active in the late sixth century.[163]

Room 4, particularly in construction stage IVc, seems at first to be a largely intact private archive. But the archaeological evidence complicates matters. None of the tablets excavated from this area could be stratigraphically assigned to stage IVc. Furthermore, the tablets that were discovered in Room 4 were almost certainly deposited there much later, when there was no longer a use for them. Kose summarizes the situation thus:

> "Sämtliche Tontafeln von hier sind ungebrannt und lagen auf der Brandschicht, die vor Stadium IV b enstand, wurden also eindeutig später hierher verbracht. Ihre Fundlache in losem Füllschutt und ohne zugehörigen Fußboden macht deutlich, daß sie vergraben, nicht aber zugänglich archievert worden waren. Infolgedessen nimmt D. Sack an, daß

160 Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* 229-231.

161 Christine Proust & John Steele 2019, "Introduction: Scholars, Scholarly Archives and the Practice of Scholarship in Late Babylonian Uruk," in *Scholars and Scholarship in Late Babylonian Uruk,* ed. C. Proust and J. Steele (Cham: Springer, 2019), 32

162 Michael Jursa, *Aspects of the economic history of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC* (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2010), 157

163 Uri Gabbay and Enrique Jimenez, "Cultural Imports and Local Products in the Commentaries from Uruk. The Case of the Gimil-Sîn Family," in *Scholars and Scholarship in Late Babylonian Uruk,* ed. Christine Proust & John Steele (Cham: Springer, 2019), 53-89.

> zwar an diesen Texten kein Interesse mehr bestand, daß aber ihre Bedeutung noch bekannt war."[164]

Sometime in the early fourth century BCE, Bauschicht IV was leveled and buried under a thick layer of packed earth before the construction of Bauschicht III. The stumps of the walls were used as foundations for the new construction. The area designated as Courtyard 6 in Bauschicht III was built over Courtyard 1 in Bauschicht IV; Room 7 in Bauschicht III was built over Room 2 in Bauschicht IV, Room 5 over Room 3, and Room 4 over Room 4. Three legal documents involving Iqīšā and the Ekur-zakir clan—W22706/4b = SpTU 5, 285, W22662/0 = SpTU 5, 308, and W22706/0 = SpTU 5, 309—were associated with Bauschicht III by von Weiher; however, he also notes that they were found in a disturbed context.[165] The transition between Bauschicht IV and Bauschicht III seems to correspond with a change in ownership of the house. The Šangû-Ninurta clan moved out, and the Ekur-zakir clan moved in. The Ekur-zakirs were also scribes and members of the *āšipu* priesthood. Their clan name, which translates to "The Ekur temple names," may also point to a shared Nippurean origin; the Ekur was the main temple to the god Enlil and his household in Nippur.

An extension, designated as Rooms 8 and 9 of Bauschicht III, was built to the southwest of the central Courtyard 6. In Room 8, excavators uncovered a destroyed, brick-lined pit, next to which was a work surface made of brick and covered by asphalt. Large amounts of roughly shaped lumps of dark brown, very fine clay were found in the area, along with a number broken stylus points, fragments, and clay tablets. Room 8 therefore seems to have been the workplace of the scribes who lived in the house at this time: Iqīšā and his family. Some of the tablets discovered in this area were clearly practice texts, created in the early stages of scribal

164 Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV,* 384.
165 von Weiher, "Die Tontafelfunde der 29. u. 30. Kampagne," 99, 101.

education--roughly formed, covered in practice rows of signs. Other areas of the house seem to have been dedicated to processing clay tablets.[166] The "House of the *Āšipu"* was, therefore, not only the home of the Ekur-zakir clan and their household; it was also a workplace, a place where scribes like Iqīšā instructed students in the scribal arts, and a place where his cuneiform tablets were fabricated, copied, and stored.

Due to slope erosion and disruption from later burials, it is only possible to draw a very fragmentary picture of the "House of the *Āšipu"* in Bauschicht II. Unfortunately, this is also the area from which most of the tablets belonging to Iqīšā were excavated. Before the construction of Bauschicht II, the area was terraced. The higher walls of Bauschicht III were cut down, and the rooms were filled with rubble up to the top edge. Bauschicht II can be further divided into two construction stages, Baustadium IIb and IIa. Baustadium IIb dates to the late Hellenistic period; Baustadium IIa is early Parthian. In Baustadium IIb, a circular brick fire pit and brick shelf were constructed in Room 1. A number of burned clay tablets were also found in the fill rubble of this stage. In Baustadium IIa, a large oven, the superstructure of which was destroyed by the digging of later graves, was constructed in Room 3. This oven may have been used to fire and process clay tablets. In Room 1, a large niche was built into the northwest wall. This niche was filled with burnt tablets of different sizes. Another group of clay tablets was found in the rubble in the southwest corner of Room 1; additional tablets, mostly fired, were found scattered on the floors of the other rooms. Some of these tablets were owned by Iqīšā; some, by his son Ištar-šum-ēreš; others, by his descendent Anu-ikṣur. Many are too damaged to discern their contents or scribe. It seems, then, that Iqīšā's descendants continued on in the family business of *āšipūtu* for several generations after his death. But as Uruk declined over the Parthian period, so

166 Ibid., 385-387.

too did the Ekur-zakir clan. Their house was eventually abandoned, and its archives haphazardly discarded.

As the above overview demonstrates, it is difficult to determine the precise relationship between the Šangû-Ninurta and Ekur-zakir clans and their archives. The references to Ninurta and the Ekur temple in their respective names point to a shared origin in Nippur, and members of each family were involved in the same profession, but it is not clear whether the families had any further legal, personal, or professional relationships. But the two families did share intellectual and professional interests.[167] Could Iqīšā and his descendants have made use of the reference texts written by the family of *āšipu* who occupied their house before they did? Or, as Kose suggests, did they have no use for them and discard them? This issue has ramifications for our understanding of the content and structure of Iqīšā's dossier, as it impacts which texts are included and which are excluded.

The archaeology of the "House of the *Āšipu*" makes this question difficult to answer. It is not always possible to distinguish between the tablet collections of the two families, or to assign a particular tablet to one collection or the other based on its find spot. Later shafts dug for tombs puncture Bauschichten II, III, and IV; while the sequencing of the area as a whole is still clear, these shafts seem to have mixed up some material from the two separate occupation phases. For example, W 23300 = SpTU 4, 162 was found in Room 4 in Bauschicht IV. Judging from find spot alone, this tablet should belong to the Šangû-Ninurta archive. Bauschicht IV is dated to the late Achaemenid period, and many other tablets scribed or owned by members of the Šangû-Ninurta clan were found in Room 4. However, the colophon of SpTU 4, 162 clearly identifies it as being "Tablet of Iqīšā, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendent of Ekur-zakir, *āšipu*. Hand of Anu-

167 Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* 229.

aba-uṣur, son of Anu-mukīn-apli, son of Kurī. Uruk. Ulūlu, day 3, [year 2 of] Phillip, king of all the lands," i.e. 321 BCE.[168] SpTU 4, 162 may have been originally deposited in Bauschicht II or III, with the majority of Iqīšā's tablets, but ended up in Bauschicht IV when the area was disturbed by the later construction of a tomb. Therefore, find spot alone is not enough to definitively assign tablets without colophons to one phase (and therefore one family) or another.[169]

Additionally, there are some indirect signs that Iqīšā may have appropriated some of the Šangû-Ninurta clan's tablets for his own use. The tablets W 22646 = SpTU 2, 43 and W 23281 = SpTU 4, 173 are important pieces of evidence. W 23281 = SpTU 4, 173 is a mathematical text that was excavated from Room 4 in Bauschicht IV. It contains metrological equivalences for measurements of length, surface, time, and distance, and a reciprocal tablet for large numbers. Its colophon is too damaged to read more than a few words; however, its subject matter and find spot in Room 4 with other mathematical tablets that can be definitively attributed to the Šangû-Ninurta clan by their colophons led Christine Proust to also connect W 23281 = SpTU 4, 173 with the Šangû-Ninurta clan.[170] Crucially, W 23281 = SpTU 4, 173 is partially duplicated by W 22646 = SpTU 2, 43. W 22646 = SpTU 2, 43 was found in a disturbed context in Bauschicht II of Ue XVIII. Its colophon of indicates that it was owned by Iqīšā. Section II of W 22646 = SpTU 2, 43, which describes the growth of an unborn baby inside a mother's womb, contains a duplicate of the metrological table from SpTU 4, 173. It seems that Iqīšā was able to use

168 Unless otherwise noted, all transliterations and translations in this chapter are adapted from Hermann Hunger & Egbert von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk* vol. 1-5 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1976-1998).
169 Proust & Steele, *Scholars and Scholarship,* 8-9, 13.
170 Christine Proust, "A Mathematical Collection Found in the 'House of the *āšipus'.* The Art of Metrology in Achaemenid Uruk," in *Scholars and Scholarship,* 89-100.

information from a mathematical tablet from the Šangû-Ninurta collection in a new, medical context.

There is another text in the Iqīšā dossier that also shows a remarkable corrrespondance with a text from the Šangû-Ninurta collection. W 22577,1 = SpTU 4, 140 is a small fragment that was excavated from Bauschicht II of Ue XVIII. It contains a selection of incantations from the *Ušburruda* series of anti-witchcraft rituals. The series was standardized into a collection of sixty-three tablets in the Neo-Assyrian period; SpTU 4, 140 seems to be in the same single-column, large-script format as the tablets of the series from Aššurbanipal's library.[171] Its colophon states that it was owned by Iqīšā and is in the hand of his son, Ištar-šum-ēreš. It begins with an incantation (EN_2): *an-nu-u₂ bi-ib-lu₄ an-nu-*[*u₂ bibbulu*], "this is the day of the disappearance of the moon, this is the day of the disappearance of the moon." The tablet continues with incantations against a sorceress; many of the lines of the incantations are also attested in the Neo-Assyrian tablets Sm. 756, Rm. 252, and VAT 10572 + VAT 10852 + VAT 10615 = KAR 81. The final line on the reverse before the colophon refers to "its ritual: tin, $GAN.U_5$-plant, *elikulla*-plant, *anhullû*-plant (and) lupine [you string on a band of red wool.]" ($DU_3.DU_3.BI$ ^{na_4}AN.NA ^{giš}$GAN.U_5$ ^{u_2}*eli-kulla* ^{u_2}AN.ḪUL.LA ^{u_2}*tar-*[*muš (ina ṭurri tabarri tašakkan*)]."[172] Further instructions for ritual procedures are not included in SpTU 4, 140. The focus of the tablet is clearly on the incantation; the reference to the ritual is more of an explanatory note that links SpTU 4, 140 with the wider corpus of anti-witchcraft rituals.

SpTU 5, 241 was excavated from Bauschict III of Ue XVIII; no further information is given by von Weiher on its find spot or excavation context. The obverse of the tablet is very

171 Tzvi Abusch and David Schwemer, *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 13.
172 The line is partially restored based on its Neo-Assyrian parallels.

damaged, but seems to contain an anti-witchcraft incantation, including petitions to the gods Sîn, Šamaš, and Belet-ayyaki, an aspect of Ištar. The start of the reverse is missing, but it seems to contain ritual instructions on how to dispel witchcraft using a figurine in a reed tube.[173] The colophon of SpTU 5, 241 begins with the incipit of the same incantation recorded in SpTU 4, 140: EN_2 *an-nu-u₂ bi-ib-lu an-nu-u₂ bi-ib-bu-lu₄,* "Incantation: this is the day of the invisibility of the moon, this is the day of the invisibility of the moon." It seems, then, that the reverse of SpTU 5, 241 records the ritual that was to be performed with the incantations in SpTU 4, 140. Yet the colophon of SpTU 5, 241 states that it was written by Anu-ikṣur, son of Šamaš-iddin, of the Šangû-Ninurta clan. SpTU 4, 140 and SpTU 5, 241, therefore, represent two halves of one ritual procedure, but where copied by different men a generation apart.

There are two possible explanations for the relationship between SpTU 4, 140 and SpTU 5, 241. The first is that the two texts bear no relation to each other, but rather are both descended from the same Neo-Assyrian tradition. Both Anu-ikṣur and Iqīšā were *āšipu;* anti-witchcraft rituals would have been important tools in their exorcistic arsenals. Each man could have been engaging separately with the corpus of Neo-Assyrian anti-witchcraft texts, rather than Iqīšā drawing on Anu-ikṣur's work. But this explanation does not account for how SpTU 5, 241 ended up in Bauschicht III of the "House of the *Āšipu*." The second possibility, and the one that I find more likely, is that Iqīšā appropriated Anu-ikṣur's text for his own collection. Iqīšā wrote SpTU 4, 140 as a companion text to SpTU 5, 241. Taken together, SpTu 4, 140 and SpTU 5, 241 give a complete and detailed set of instructions for how to dispel the effects of witchcraft. A few generations later, as Bauschicht III was being demolished to construct Bauschicht II of the

173 Tzvi Abusc, Daniel Schwemmer, Mikko Luukko, & Greta Van Buylaere, *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 233-237.

"House of the *Āšipu*," Iqīšā's descendants may have decided to preserve the text written by their ancestor and discard the text written by a scribe from a different family. This would account for how SpTU 5, 241 ended up in Bauschicht III and SpTU 4, 140 ended up in Bauschicht II. In any case, SpTU 4, 140 and SpTU 5, 241 demonstrate that the distinctions between the tablet collections in the "House of the *Āšipu*" are not always clear.

In summary, it seems that the boundaries between the libraries and archives of the Šangû-Ninurta clan and the Ekur-zakir clan in the "House of the *Āšipu"* were porous. The correspondence between the texts discussed above is evidence for some type of relationship between Iqīšā and the archive of the previous occupants of the "House of the *Āšipu*," even if the specifics of that relationship must remain unclear. Iqīšā and his descendants do seem to have made occasional use of their predecessors' texts. Perhaps when Iqīšā moved into the house in Ue XVIII, he took an inventory of the texts the Šangû-Ninurta clan had left behind. He may have incorporated the texts that were useful to him into his own collection, and discarded or put into deep storage the ones he had no interest in. Iqīšā's later descendants may have continued this process, preserving, storing, and discarding groups of texts in the process of archival management that Pedersén described above. Such a scenario would account for the presence of texts like SpTU 2, 43 in Iqīšā's archive, and for the discovery of several texts associated with the Šangû-Ninurta family outside of the storage structures from Phase IVc and IVd of Room 4 in Bauschicht IV.

The Ekur-zakirs also produced hundreds of texts of their own; as their collection grew, texts that were no longer needed were discarded, reused as building material, or put into storage. This dynamic process of creation, storage, and disposal of texts continued throughout the

Hellenistic period. Eventually, when the "House of the *Āšipu*" was finally abadoned in the middle Parthian period, little care was given to the storage or disposal of the cuneiform archives. Graves dug in the area centuries later further mixed up the contents of the archives.

In light of this confusion, I have taken a conservative approach to reconstructing a dossier of texts associated with Iqīšā. I have included only texts that can be definitively linked to Iqīšā, either through their colophons, a mention of him in their contents, or because they directly duplicate or reference a text that Iqīšā wrote or owned. The resulting group of fifty texts is still a sizeable dossier. My method has certainly filtered out some texts that were in fact written or owned by Iqīšā; but in my opinion, it is better to have an incomplete dossier than to distort our understanding of Iqīšā's life and work by accidentally including texts that were written by someone else.

Furthermore, my study of a tighter dossier focused on one individual is a useful complement to recent studies on the intellectual culture of Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylonia. Eleanor Robson's recent monograph, *Ancient Knowledge Networks: A Social Geography of Cuneiform Scholarship in First-Millennium Assyria and Babylonia* is a very zoomed-out exploration of the changes in cuneiform scholarship and intellectual culture in the first millennium BCE.[174] In chapter six, Robson conducts a wide-ranging statistical analysis of the genres of texts that appear in archives and libraries of Babylonia after 500 BCE, with a particular emphasis on texts that were produced and/or stored outside of the temple. Her analysis includes a discussion of the Šangû-Ninurta and Ekur-zakir tablets; in particular, she is interested in seeing how the intellectual world of the *āšipu* and the *kalû* changed in the wake of the

174 Eleanor Robso, *Ancient Knowledge Networks: A Social Geograpy of Cuneiform Scholarship in First-Millennium Assyria and Babylonia* (London: UCL Press, 2019).

Babylonian revolts against Xerxes and the conquest of Alexander the Great. Robson's work is detailed and exacting, but very broad in scope. Her book covers a vast geographical and temporal range. In contrast, my work focuses its historical analysis on a much smaller span of time: approximately 330-300 BCE, a crucial time of transition between the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods. I hope that my study adds some detail and texture to our understanding of this complex, turbulent, and still incompletely understood period.

Several of the essays in *Scribes and Scholarship in Late Babylonian Uruk,* edited by Christine Proust and John Steele, deal with material from the "House of the *Āšipu,*" including texts that I have included in the Iqīšā dossier.[175] But the essays collected in Proust and Steele's volume are generally focused on a particular genre or type of text. For example, in his essay "Astrological Texts from Late Babylonian Uruk," Hermann Hunger conducts a survey of the approximately sixty astrological texts from Uruk, including texts scribed by Iqīšā and by Anu-ikṣur of the Šangû-Ninurta clan. I hope that my work can complement Hunger's work and the other studies in Proust and Steele's book by offering a useful alternate perspective that emphasizes the role of individual, unique scribes in knowledge production.

175 Christine Proust & John Steele, *Scribes and Scholarship in Late Babylonian Uruk* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2019). These essays are: Christine Proust and John Steele, "Introduction: Scholars, Scholarly Archives and the Practice of Scholarshipin Late Babylonian Uruk," 1-52; Christine Proust, "A Mathematical Collection Found in the 'House of the *āšipus*'. The Art of Metrology in Achaemenid Uruk," 89-145; John Steele, "Astronomical Activity in the 'House of the *āšipus*' in Uruk," 147-170; and Hermann Hunger, "Astrological Texts from Late Babylonian Uruk," 171-186. Julia Krul discusses the work of later generations of the Ekur-zakir clan in her article, " 'Star-Anu, Lord of Heaven: The Influence of the Celestial Sciences on Temple Rituals in Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon," 219-234.

III. Conclusion

My project in this chapter thus far has been to introduce the contents and contexts of the Iqīšā dossier, to demonstrate the complexity of the archaeological evidence relating to it, and to emphasize the limits of what we are able to know. Now it is time to focus on what we *do* know.

The excavations in Ue XVIII indicate that Iqīšā lived in a fairly large, well-appointed dwelling. Like many ancient Babylonians, Iqīšā worked where he lived. In the area designated as Room 8 in Bauschicht III, Iqīšā seems to have molded, copied, and fired his tablets. His house also functioned as a school; Iqīšā taught his son and other young scribes from elite families the scribal arts there. The detritus of their training was later used as fill rubble. Some of Iqīšā's texts were kept and preserved by his descendants after his death; but eventually, after a few generations, those texts too were discarded when the house was abandoned.

Our knowledge of Iqīšā today is, essentially, an accident of history. His house was excavated because the archaeologists working on the site were looking for something else. The majority of his tablets survived into the modern day not as carefully preserved heirlooms, but as fill rubble and debris. My ability to link Iqīšā to the tablets he wrote or owned also depends on the tablets' state of preservation. But the randomness behind Iqīšā's presence in the historical record is part of what makes him a good candidate for a microhistorical analysis. Carlo Ginzburg argues that microhistory "accepts the limitations [of sources] while exploring their gnoseological implications and transforming them into a narrative element."[176] In the case of Iqīšā, our sources on his life and work are limited by the vagaries of preservation. What we have is essentially a random sample of Iqīšā's work. But, as Fig. 1 shows, it is a rich sample that includes texts from a

176 Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or three things I know about it", in *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life Writing,* ed. Hans Renders and Brinne de Hall (Leiden: BRILL 2014), 159.

variety of genres and formats, including astrological texts, terrestrial omen texts, *barûtu* (liver exstipicy), *namburbû* (apotropaic rituals), bilingual incantations, legal documents, and even unique texts that are difficult to cleanly classify. A microhistorical approach is not quantitative or statistical; it does not require a complete data set for its analysis. A sampling of an individual's work can still demonstrate Matti Peltonen's "exceptional typical."[177] The "macro" can interface with the "micro" even within an individual text; the fifty texts that make up the Iqīšā dossier offer more than enough material for analysis.

177 See Chapter One for a more thorough discussion of Ginzburg and Peltonen's ideas.

Chapter 4
Reconstructing Iqīšā's World: the Colophons of the Iqīšā Dossier

Thus far I have built a profile of the dossier of texts from which we know of Iqīšā. But what about the profile of the man himself? What can Iqīšā's collection of texts tell us about his life and the time in which he lived? Who were his family members, and the members of his community? What was his social status? What did his days consist of? Some answers to these questions can be found in the forty-three texts with substantial colophons in the Iqīša dossier.[178]

In Assyriology, a colophon is a brief section of text appended to the end of a tablet that records information about the tablet's scribe and its production context. Some colophons are simple, recording only the scribe's name and clan; others are more elaborate, and include the date, an extended genealogy, lists of the scribe's professional titles, information on how the tablet was made, the genre of text, and protective curses. Forty-three of the fifty texts in the Iqīšā dossier preserve substantial, readable colophons. The colophon of W22703 = SpTU 2, 38,[179] a commentary on the canonical omen series *Šumma izbu,* is an example of such a complex colophon. It reads:

UL *šu-ut* KA *u maš-a-a-al-ti*! $ša_2$ *pi-i um-ma-nu* $ša_2$ lib_3*-bi*
BE *iz-bu* TUN_3-$šu_2$ *ina maš-kan*$_2$ MUR-$šu_2$ $ša_2$ 15
GAR^{at} 18^{u_2} mal_2-sut_x(BAN_2)
BE *iz-bu* NU AL.TIL BE U_8 *si-li-is-su* GU_7 $^{im}GI_3$.DA

$^{m}BA^{ša_2\text{-}a}$ bu_{12}-kur_2 ^{m}{d}INANA-MU-KAM

178 Hermann Hunger included the colophons from the Iqīšā dossier known to him in his 1968 volume *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (Herstellung: Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1968). Those texts are: RA 12, 75, TU 34, TU 17, and BRM 4, 20. The publication of the tablets excavated from Square Ue XVIII by the 1969-1972 German excavations significantly expanded the picture. Walter Farber gave a brief overview of some of the colophons in the Iqīšā dossier just after the initial publications of the material. See Walter Farber, "Neues aus Uruk: Zur 'Bibliothek des Iqīša," *Die Welt des Orients* bd. 18 (1987): 26-42. This chapter expands on Farber's work, pulling in additional texts that he did not discuss and mining the colophons for information that is useful in establishing the *Sitz im Leben* of Iqīšā and his texts.

179 For ease of comparison between excavation reports, primary publications, and secondary publications, I include both the excavation accession number (or museum number for tablets without a secure provenance) and the primary publication in the first mention of a tablet.

ŠA$_3$.BAL.BAL ^{m}E$_2$.KUR-*za-kir*
^{lu_2}MAŠ.MAŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki}-*u$_2$* NU *pa-liḫ* {d}*a-nu* {d}EN.LIL$_2$
{d}*e$_2$-a lit-bal-šu$_2$ ša$_2$* ^{i}TUM$_3$-*šu$_2$* {d}IŠKUR *lit-bal-šu$_2$*
^{iti}ŠU U$_4$ 14-KAM MU 6-KAM ^{m}*pi-il-pi-is-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

Lemmata, commentary, and questioning from
an expert, relating to "If an anomaly's stomach is located
at the place of its right lung" 18th "reading" of (the series) "If an anomaly."
Not finished. "If a ewe eats its afterbirth."

One column tablet of Iqīšā, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendant of Ekur-zakir, *āšipu* priest, Tiranean.[180]

If a person who does not fear Anu, Enlil and Ea carries (the tablet) off,
he who carried it off, may Adad carry him off!

14th of Du'uzu, 6th year of Philip, king of all the countries.[181]

Each element of this colophon tells us something important about Iqīšā's daily life. In this chapter, I will go through each element in detail, bringing in examples from other colophons where appropriate. I will consider how Iqīšā chose to identify himself, possible reasons why Iqīšā included the information that he did, and analyze what each of those elements of his self-identification tell us about Iqīšā's social status, professional life, and values. Then, I will turn to a discussion of what Iqīšā's life in particular can tell us about the history of Uruk in the early Hellenistic period.

I. Elements of the Colophon: the Date

Let us start with the date at the end of the colophon of W22703 = SpTU 2, 38: 14th of Du'uzu (month six), sixth year of Philip, king of all the countries. This date is an obviously

180 "Tirana" is an alternate name for Uruk; see Section IV below for a more detailed discussion of the term.
181 Unless otherwise noted, all transliterations and translations in this chapter are adapted from Hermann Hunger & Egbert von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk* vol. 1-5 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1976-1998).

valuable piece of information; it allows us to anchor Iqīšā's career in a precise spot on the timeline of Hellenistic history. The 14th of Du'uzu in the sixth year of Philip is August 1, 318 BCE.[182]

"Philip, king of all the countries" refers to Philip III Arrhidaeus, the older half-brother of Alexander the Great. After Alexander's sudden death in Babylon in 323 BCE, Philip III Arrhidaeus briefly ruled alongside Alexander IV, Alexander's infant son by his Baktrian wife Roxane. But Philip III Arrhidaeus was not able to hold his half-brother's sizeable empire for long. He was killed in 317 BCE, in the violent power struggles over the control of Alexander's empire.[183]

Three other tablets in Iqīšā's collection are precisely datable. W22554 = SpTU 3, 97, a commentary on the omen series *Šumma ālu,* is dated to twenty-sixth day of Abu in the sixth year of Philip III Arrhidaeus's reign. W23300 = SpTU 4, 162, a commentary on the astronomical handbook *Enūma Anu Enlil,* is dated to the third day of Ulūlu in the second year of Philip's reign. Finally, Bod S 302 = RA 12, 73-84, a literary text known as the Exaltation of Ištar, is dated to the twenty-third day of Nisannu in the eighth year of Philip's reign. Despite the date on this tablet, there was no eighth year of Philip Arrhidaeus; he was killed in October of 317 BCE, the sixth year of his reign. But the scribe of RA 12, 73-84—Iqīšā's son, Ištar-šum-ēreš—seems to have declined to take a stance on who exactly was ruling Alexander's empire in 315 BCE and instead

182 For an overview of the various (and often conflicting) dating schemes used in the late Achaemenid and early Hellenistic periods, see Tom Boiy, "Aspects chronologiques de la période de transition (350-300)," in *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers. 350-300 av. J.-C.),* ed. P. Briant & F. Joannès (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 37-100.

183 Édouard Will, "The Succession to Alexander," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. by F. W. Walbank, A. E. Astin, M. W. Frederiksen, and R. M. Ogilvie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 23–61. Will's account draws on fragments of Arrian (*Diad*. fr. 1.), Dexippus (fr. 1.1) , Diodorus Siculus (XVIII.2), Justin (XIII.2-4.4), Plutarch (*Eum.* 3.1), and Appian (*Syr.* 52).

used an obsolete dating scheme.[184] Therefore, the *floruit* of Iqīšā's career as a scribe can be placed circa 322-315 BCE, in the bloody, chaotic times directly following the death of Alexander the Great.

A full political and social history of early Hellenistic Uruk is far beyond the scope of this dissertation. But there are three series of events that require special mention here, because many historians identify them as critical to the social and intellectual history of Uruk's elite in the fourth century BCE. They are: the decline of the Eanna temple in the wake of the Babylonian revolts against Darius in 521 BCE and against Xerxes in 484 BCE; the subsequent rise of the Rēš temple and Anu cult in Uruk; and the arrival of Alexander the Great in Babylon in 331 BCE.

The Eanna temple, dedicated to the goddesses Ištar and Nanaya, was once the cultic center of Uruk. The proem of the Standard Babylonian version of the Epic of Gilgamesh famously describes the temple's place in Urukean history and society:

> "He (Gilgamesh) built the wall of Uruk-the-Sheepfold,
> of holy Eanna, the pure storehouse.
> See its wall which is like a strand of wool,
> view its parapet which nobody can replicate!
> Take the stairway that has been there since ancient times,
> and draw near to Eanna, the seat of Ištar,
> that no later king can replicate, nor any man."[185]

184 For further detail on the conflicting regnal year counts in 317-311 BCE, see n. 75; Boris Chrubasik and Kathryn Stevens, "The Seleucid Era and Early Hellenistic Imperialism," *Historia* 71 (2002): 150-187; and Tom Boiy, "Local and Imperial Dates at the Beginning of the Hellenistic Period," *Electrum* 18 (2010), 9-22. As Boiy shows, Iqīšā and Ištar-šum-ēreš are not the only scribes to avoid the question of who had the right to rule after the death of Philip Arrhidaeus. The tablet AION Suppl. 77, 79, is dated to the eigth year Philip, and demotic documents from Egypt continue to use Philip's regnal years until February of 316 BCE. "Especially for Babylonia this can not have been caused by the delay of the message of Philip's death from Macedonia to Babylonia. There must have been political reasons to keep dating to a long deceased king." (Boiy, "Local and Imperial Dates," 17.)

185 SB Gilgamesh I.11-17. Edition and translation by Andrew George, in *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, critical edition, and cuneiform texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Here, the Eanna temple is the work of the legendary king himself, and is as central to the identity of Uruk as the city's walls.

The prominence of the Eanna temple was not purely poetic device, either. The Eanna sanctuary lay in the center of the city, and, by 484 BCE, had already been a place of continuous cult activity for two thousand years. (Circa 2110 BCE, the king Ur-Namma built a temple on the site with fired bricks stamped with a building inscription and his name; to do so, he had to raze and clear away older sanctuary structures.)[186] Heather Baker has demonstrated that, in the first millennium BCE, "the great Eanna temple was the city's social and economic center, around which the lives of its inhabitants revolved, not least because of its role as a major landowner." It was a center of interregional trade, exporting wool to Babylon and the Sealand in exchange for silver, gold, and grain. Furthermore, as the center of the city's religious life, the temple also employed the priests, scribes, skilled craftspeople, and laborers who performed the work necessary for the performance of the elaborate rituals through which the gods were worshipped.[187]

But some time in the late Achaemenid period, the role of the Eanna (and the priestly families associated with it) suddenly declined. In its place rose the Rēš sanctuary dedicated to the sky god Anu and his consort Antu.[188] The grandest phase of this temple, phase 2ε, was

186 Margarete van Ess, "The Eanna Sanctuary in Uruk," in *Uruk: First City of the Ancient World,* edited by Nicola Crüsemann, Margarete van Ess, Markus Hilgert, Beate Salje, and Timothy Potts, (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2019), 205-206.

187 Heather Baker, "Economy and Administration in Babylonia," in *Uruk: First City of the Ancient World*, 256-257. See also Michael Kozuh's work on the Eanna temple as a center of local economic activity, particularly his nuancing of the temple-as-household metaphor. Michael Kozuh, "Temple, Economy, and Religion in First Millennium Babylonia," *Religion Compass* 2 (2008), 1-20.

188 For a more detailed account of the construction of the Rēš temple, see Arno Kose, "The Seleucid Resh Sanctuary," in *Uruk: First City of the Ancient World,* 312-319.

constructed under Anu-uballiṭ Nikarchos of the Aḫ'utu clan in 244 BCE.[189] Nikarchos incorporated the earlier existing shrines into his new complex and built a massive new construction that was nearly five times as large as the Esagila in Babylon dedicated to Marduk. The worship of Ištar, along with Nanaya, also moved from the Eanna to the new Irigal temple, directly across from the new Anu ziqqurrat. Anu-uballiṭ Kephalon, also of the Aḫ'utu clan, extensively renovated the Irigal temple on a monumental scale in 201 BCE.[190]

Given the centrality of the temple to life in ancient Uruk, these were massive changes. As Paul-Alain Beaulieu writes, "one fact has stood at the core of the discussions on the changes which occurred at Uruk during the Achaemenid era: the rise of the god Anu to the top of the local pantheon and the reorganization of the civic religion of Uruk around the near hegemonic cult of that god."[191] Ištar did not disappear from Uruk—her continued presence in ritual texts and the sheer size of the Irigal are evidence for that—but Anu became the supreme god around whom worship was organized.

Texts from the Rēš temple archives offer evidence of concrete changes in ritual practice in the wake of these developments. AO 6451 = TU 38 is a ritual text detailing the procedures for the daily offerings at the Rēš temple, copied circa 155 BCE.[192] The number, frequency, and richness of the offerings described in the text present a clear hierarchy of gods, in which Anu is

189 On the practice of Babylonians taking a Greek second name, see: Tom Boiy, "Akkadian-Greek Double Names in Hellenistic Babylonia," in *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia. Papers Read at the 48th Recontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 1–4 July 2002,* ed. W. H. van Soldt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabike Oosten, 2002) 47–60; Laurie Pearce, "Sealed Identities," in *Opening the Tablet Box: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Benjamin R. Foster,* ed. S. Melville and A. Slotsky (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 301-328; and Susan Sherwin-White, "Aristeas Ardibelteios: Some Aspects of the Use of Double Names in Seleucid Babylonia," *ZPE* 50 (1983), 209–221.

190 Julia Krul, *The Revival of the Anu Cult and the Noctural Fire Ceremony at Late Babylonian Uruk* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 46; Arno Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV*. AUWE 17 (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1998), 95 fig. 33.

191 Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Uruk Before and After Xerxes: the Onomastic and Institutional Rise of the God Anu," in *Xerxes and Babylonia: The Cuneiform Evidence,* ed. C Waerzeggers and M. Seire (Paris: Peeters, 2018), 189.

192 Marc Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practices,* CM 25 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 172-183.

at the top, followed by his spouse Antu, then Ištar and Nanaya, and then all of the other gods. When an offering is offered to a group of gods, the group is always described as "Anu, Antu, and the other gods," giving Anu precedence over the other gods. Anu also receives the greatest number and the greatest variety of offerings of any single deity. Only Anu recieves *izallu* wine, drawn wine, and milk. Anu and his consort Antu both receive *labku* beer, *nāšu* beer, *barley* beer, and *zarbabu* beer, but Ištar, Nanaya, and the other gods do not.

AO 6451 = TU 38 also allows us to compare "apples to apples" (or rather, loaves to loaves). Across all of the meals that are part of the daily offerings, Anu recieves thirty *ṣibtu* loaves; Antu, Ištar, and Nanaya all also receive thirty *ṣibtu* loaves each; the wings of the cella of Anu and Antu (*aḫanu ša papaḫa* ^{d}60) receive sixteen; the seat of Anu (*šubat* ^{d}60) and the household gods of the cella of Antu (DINGIR E_2 *ša* E_2 *papaḫa Antu*) receive twelve; the two tiaras of Anu (AGA *ša* ^{d}*Anu*) receive four; and the other gods residing in Uruk receive seventy-five loaves distributed in their own temples. Although Anu, Antu, Ištar, and Nanaya all receive the same number of *ṣibtu* loaves as individuals, Anu is still supreme, because *ṣibtu* loaves are also offered to his accoutrement and to his temple.

Another ritual text from Hellenistic Uruk, AO 6460 = TU 41, gives instructions for the proper performance of a nocturnal fire ceremony. AO 6460 = TU 41 was illegally excavated and thus cannot be given a precise date or context. But since most of the other texts dealing with regular ritual procedures at the Rēš temple are associated with descendants of the Ekur-zakir clan, AO 6460 = TU 41 was likely copied by a member of that clan as well. Julia Krul argues that the most likely owner and scribe of the text is Šamaš-ēṭir // Ekur-zakir, who also copied TU

38 and TU 39-40 circa 155 BCE. Anu-aḫu-ušabši / Kidin-Anu // Ekur-zakir, who lived a generation earlier, is also a possibility.[193]

The ritual described in AO 6460 = TU 41 seems unique to Hellenistic Uruk. The ritual takes place at night. It begins with a procession of minor deities to the Rēš temple. The action then moves to the roof of the ziggurat sanctuary, where Anu and Antu in their heavenly aspects, Sîn, Šamaš, and the five planets receive offerings and hymns. The centerpiece of the ritual is the lighting of a torch, which has been ritually activated as an object of worship associated with Anu in his heavenly aspect. The torch is processed around the Bīt Rēš, then used to light bonfires around the city. "All of these events are centred on the transmission of the Torch's fire to the medium of the bonfire and its subsequent distribution in several stages throughout the city." The ritual ends with the exstinguishing of the torch, the end of the night's vigil, and the resumption of the daily offerings in the morning.[194]

In her extensive study of the text, Krul has shown that the nocturnal fire ceremony is a renewal ritual that was performed as part of an *eššešu* ceremony celebrating the phases of the moon, most likely during the winter solstice. But it is Anu, not Sîn, Šamaš, or Ištar (sometimes called the "torch of heaven"), who is the focus of this ritual.

> "An associative relationship was established between the fire of the Torch, Anu of Heaven and Anu and Antu of the Bīt Rēš through the presentation of the Torch to those deities and the wording of the hymns that were sung at different moments during the celebrations. The systematic distribution of the fire of the Torch by means of bonfires from the Bīt Rēš to the other temples, then to the houses of the citizens of Uruk and finally throughout the public spaces of the city emphasised the hierarchical relationship between the people and the gods, and at the same time between all living beings, gods included, and the supreme god Anu, allfather and ruler of the universe."[195]

193 Krul, *Revival of the Anu Cult,* 107.
194 Ibid., 141-143
195 Ibid., 256

The nocturnal fire ceremony is therefore further evidence of the rise of Anu to supremacy over the other gods of Uruk.

Prebendary texts from Hellenistic Uruk further support the cultic supremacy of Anu. MLC 02140 = BRM 2, 40 and Ashm 1923-0066 = OECT 9 61 both give a list of fourteen deities in this order: Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ea, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk, Papsukkal, Amasagnudi, Ištar, Bēlit-ṣēri, Nanaya, Bēlit-ša-Rēš, Šarrahītu. This order is maintained throughout the other one hundred and thirty-three prebendary texts from Hellenistic Uruk, no matter what combination of deities occurs in each text. Beaulieu argues that the set order of deities listed in prebendary texts reflects their place in the cultic hierarchy.[196] Here again Anu and Antu are at the top. More strikingly, Papsukkal and Amasagnudi, relatively minor gods who are the viziers of Anu and Antu, are listed above Ištar and Nanaya. Anu and Antu's high status has also raised the status of their entourage.

The onomasticon of Hellenistic Uruk also shows a rise in Anu's status. Anu was rarely used as a theophoric element of names in the onomasticon of Uruk in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. But texts dating to the reign of Darius I (522-486 BCE) show prominent families in Uruk of Urukean (rather than Babylonian) origin starting to use Anu as a theophoric element in their names. The Ekur-zakir, Gimil-Nanaya, and Šangû-Ninurta clans in particular had a clear preference for Anu names.[197]

It is difficult to determine when exactly the massive cultic reorgnization in Uruk began in earnest. But the text YBC 11632 gives us a *terminus ante quem* of 433 BCE for the institutional shift towards Anu. This text, which is part of the Tattannu archive from Borsippa but concerns a

196 Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Antiquarian Theology in Seleucid Uruk," *ASJ* 14 (1992), 56.

197 Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Uruk Before and After Xerxes: the Onomastic and Institutional Rise of the God Anu," in *Xerxes and Babylonia: The Cuneiform Evidence,* ed. C Waerzeggers and M. Seire (Paris: Peeters, 2018), 189-205.

transaction that took place in Uruk, is a promissary note on barley that is described as "the property of Anu" (*makkūr Anu*); the barley must be repaid by a fixed date according to the "measuring standard of Anu" (*mašīḫu ša Anu*). W19276 + W19134, which is part of a collection of six texts found in a clay jar that date to either the reign of Artaxerxes I (465-424 BCE) or Artaxerxes II (404-359 BCE), also references *makkūr Anu*. "The designation *makkūr Anu* is common in the Seleucid period, signifying that the god Anu had then become the notional owner of the temples of Uruk and their estates. During that period *makkūr Anu* had completely replaced the earlier designations *makkūr Ištar ša Uruk u Nanaya* 'property of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya' and its variants found in records from the Eanna archive in the seventh and sixth century."[198]

Thus it seems that, although the worship of Anu at Uruk reached its most extravagant phase in the second half of the third century BCE, the cultic reorganization of worship at Uruk away from Ištar and towards Anu was already under way in 433 BCE. So what precipitated these changes? Most historians agree that the Babylonian revolts against Darius I in 521 and against Xerxes in 484 BCE played a pivotal role.

Shortly after the death of Cambyses (r. 530-522 BCE), two different men, each calling themselves Nebuchadnezzar and claiming descent from the last Neo-Babylonian king, Nabonidus, claimed the throne in Babylon. The scribes of the Eanna temple in Uruk and the Ebabbar temple at Borsippa legitimized the rebels by acknowledging their reigns in the way that tablets were dated.[199] The rebellions were short-lived—each was captured and executed within months, and Darius I regained control of his empire. But the relationship between the Achaemenid rulers and the urban Babylonian elite they ruled was irrevocably damaged. The

198 Beaulieu, "Uruk Before and After Xerxes," 192-196, with reference to McEwan 1981, 121-122 on the use of the phrase *makkūr* DN.

199 Stefan Zawadzki, "Bardiya, Darius, and the Babylonian usurpers in the light of his Bisitun Inscription and Babylonian Sources," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 27 (1994): 127-145.

administrators of the Eanna ousted Gimillu, an infamously corrupt official with deep ties to the Achaemenid provincial government in Babylon, from his position as *ša muhhi rēhāni* (lit., "one over the balances").[200] In response, "Darius I commissioned an official new script for writing the Old Persian language, an innovation that must have been interpreted—and perhaps was intended—as a direct snub to the Babylonian cuneiform literati." The new script was used in the massive monumental rock carving at Behistun celebrating Darius' defeat of the two Nebuchadnezzars. "The message was unequivocal: the old order was over and Achaemenid Persia now dominated Babylonia both militarily and culturally."[201]

Tensions between the Achaemenid administration and their Babylonian subjects came to a boil again in 484 BCE. Šamaš-eriba, a Babylonian upstart, was declared king in Sippar, and later in Babylon and Kish as well. A rival second king, Bēl-šimānni, rose up in Borsippa and Dilbat; but Bēl-šimānni soon ceded to Šamaš-eriba, and Borsippa and Dilbat also declared that Šamaš-eriba was their king. Both rebellions were, again, short lived; Xerxes defeated the rebels within a few months, and was able to regain control over Babylonia. Although none of the uprisings against the Achaemenids lasted particularly long, they still had profound effects on the social fabric of Uruk and other Babylonian cities. Twenty-three Babylonian archives from Borsippa, Babylon, Sippar, and Dilbat all come to a sudden end circa 484 BCE.[202] "The outcome [of the revolts] was devastating for the cuneiform-literate urbanites of northern Babylonia. The

200 Michael Kozuh, *The Sacrificial Economy: Assessors, Contractors and Thieves in the Management of Sacrifical Sheep at the Eanna Temple of Uruk (ca. 625-520 BC)* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 171-175.

201 Eleanor Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* (London: UCL Press, 2019), 174. See also Tom Boiy, *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 99-104.

202 Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Revolts Against Xerxes and the 'End of the Archives'," *Archiv für Orientsforschung* 50 (2003/2004): 150-173. Most of the archives that did survive the "end of the archives" in 484 BCE—namely, the Gallabu ad Sin-ili archives from Ur, the Gimil-Nanaya archive from Uruk, and the Bēl-uballiṭ archive from Cutha—come from cities in the southeast that did not support Šamaš-eriba. The Zababa-šarra-usur archive from Babylon survives because of its owner's close association with the Persians; Zababa-šarra-usur served as steward of the estate of the crown prince.

elite families of Babylon, Borsippa, Sippar, Dilbat and Kiš were all removed from positions of power—and maybe worse."[203]

Unlike other Babylonian cities, Uruk did not support Šamaš-eriba. It therefore felt the ramifications of the revolt in a different way from Babylon and other cities. In response to the revolt, the Achaemenid administration rooted out the Babylon-allied families that had been connected to the Eanna temple in Uruk. In their absence, a different group of families with a strong local Urukean identity were able to rise. The process of "elite shift" is summarized by Caroline Waerzeggers:

> "The dismissal of old, Babylon-based families allowed new groups to assert themselves in the city and to design and implement their own cultural program. The Eanna temple was dismantled in due course and replaced with a new place of worship, based on a local theology entirely different from the Babylon-oriented ideas that had prevailed previously. While this shift inaugurated the ascent of one group, it meant the dramatic end of another."[204]

As a member of the Ekur-zakir clan, who were not of Babylonian origin and who had, since the reign of Darius I, associated themselves with the god Anu, Iqīšā would have been one of the beneficiaries of this social upheaval and reorganization several generations later.

There was, of course, another major event in the 4th century BCE. The Greco-Macedonian king Alexander the Great conquered Babylonia in 331 BCE, wresting control of the area away from Darius III. Later Greco-Roman traditions claim that the Babylonians joyfully welcomed Alexander into their city themselves, glad to be free from the Achaemenids; the truth is, of course, less straightforward.[205]

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203 Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* 175.

204 Caroline Waerzeggers, "Introduction: Debating Xerxes' Rule in Babylonia," in *Xerxes and Babylonia: The Cuneiform Evidence,*" ed. C Waerzeggers and M. Seire (Paris: Peeters, 2018), 6-7. See also Karlheinz Kessler, "Urkäische Familien versus babylonische Familien. Die Namengebung in Uruk, die Degradierung der Kulte von Eanna und der Aufstieg des Gottes Anu," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 31 (2004): 237-262.

205 Boiy*, Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon,* 104-117.

In the 1980s, Susan Sherwin-White and Amelie Kuhrt spearheaded a transformation in the historiography of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic Middle East. At the center of this transformation was a reconsideration of the character of the Achaemenid empire and the relationship between the Achaemenid and Seleukid dynasties. The crux of their argument can be summarized as follows: The Achaemenid empire was a composite empire. Its success came from its system of nested, stable local bureaucracies under the control of the royal center. Alexander the Great did not totally disrupt this system; rather, he took it over and adapted it for himself.[206] John Ma, following Pierre Briant, analyzed this system as an interplay between unity and diversity. "Diversity was subsumed within an imperial discourse where local multiplicity could be made to speak of unity and dominance."[207]

Alexander died suddenly in Babylon in 323 BCE. After a series of bloody conflicts between other successors to Alexander's power, some of Alexander's former generals divided his empire up into what would become the Hellenistic kingdoms. One of those generals, Seleukos, eventually won control of Babylonia in 312 BCE; his descendants used this date as the start of the Seleukid dynasty. Like the Achaemenids before them, the Seleukid kings had to harness the "local multiplicity" of Babylonian cities into the service of imperial unity. Furthermore, they also had to maintain the balance of power between city and kingdom necessary for stability. To make themselves legible as rulers to their subjects, the Seleukid kings took on the trappings of earlier Babylonian kings. They supported local institutions through acts of euergetism and occasionally participated in religious festivals.[208] The Borsippa Cylinder of Antiochus I is a remarkable

206 Amelie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987)
207 John Ma, "Kings and Kingship," in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World,* edited by Andrew Erskine (Walden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2013), 177-178.
208 Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon*, 18-19.

example of a Seleukid king using a classically Babylonian form of royal propaganda to support his claims of legitimacy.[209]

In a recent reconsideration of the nature of Hellenistic kingship and the relationship between the Greco-Macedonian rulers and their subjects, John Ma identified four "strands in the genealogy" of the successor kingdoms. These genealogical strands explain the organization and structure of the successor kingdoms, and also patterned the ways in which king and state interacted with their native subjects. The first is the Macedonian strand. The rulers of many of the Hellenistic dynasties were of Macedonian origin, as were many members of the aristocracy. Furthermore, "the state that started the whole process of state formation in the Hellenistic world was the kingdom of Macedonia, and its characteristics left their mark on the states that emerged after the death of Alexander." Like the Macedonian kingdom, the Hellenistic kingdoms were "monarchical, aristocratic, civic, and national."[210]

The second genealogical strand is Achaemenid. "Alexander and the successor dynasts and kings took over the structures and strategies of administration, control, and interaction developed by the Achaemenid empire." The Achaemenids had developed an elaborate centralized bureaucracy "with remarkably flexible discourses of negotiation in dealing with local communities; these features are clearly visible in the Hellenistic states, and have been interpreted as signs of continuity between the Achaemenid and the Hellenistic." However, Ma argues that Alexander's plan to co-opt the Persian imperial elites ended with his death. Therefore, Ma

209 Paul Kosmin, "Seeing Double in Seleucid Babylonia: Rereading the Borsippa Cylinder of Antiochus I," in *Patterns of the Past: Epitedeumata in the Greek Tradition,* ed. *A. Moreno and R. Thomas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 173-198. For another view, see Amelie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, "Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology: The Cylinder of Antiochus I from Borsippa," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991): 71-86.

210 John Ma, "Hellenistic Empires," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Ancient State,* ed. W. Scheidel and P. Bang (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 330-332.

claims, "there can be no question of complete, straight continuities: the Iranian heartlands of the Achaemenid empire became provincial backwaters in the Seleukid empire. As well as Achaemenid continuities, the history of the Hellenistic empires is also a record of simplifications, developments, and ruptures—or simply bricolage."[211]

The third genealogical strand identified by Ma is the memory of the pre-Achaemenid states of the ancient Middle East. "If the Seleukids and Ptolemies followed the Achaemenid practice of chameleon-like adaptability in dealing with diverse local constituencies, their nature as locally embedded power-bases forced them to promote, very strongly, and to accept local religious and social roles."[212] The Borsippa Cylinder, discussed above, is a prominent example of a Seleukid king taking on the guise of a proper Mesopotamian ruler. The careful negotiation between the past and the present, between heritage and current political reality, gives rise to the (now cliché, but still accurate) concept of unity in diversity in the Seleukid kingdom.

The final genealogical strand of the Hellenistic successor kingdoms is the shared Greek identity and culture of the ruling class. Ma argues:

> "The ruling group in the Hellenistic states was not just made of Macedonians but also of Greeks. … The kingdoms also competed more generally for recognition and distinction on a Pan-Hellenic scene, for instance as civic or religious benefactors, or as defenders of Greeks and Greekness against a barbarian Other. … This Aegean tropism of the Hellenistic states was both a reflection of the importance of Greekness in their genealogy and a parameter that shaped the nature and workings of these states. The various forms of interaction between the state and local elites in Babylonia and in Egpyt, along the Near Eastern model, were also deeply and dynamically influenced by the Greek identity and cultural attitues of the rulers."[213]

Taken together, these four genealogical strands created the "hybrid cultural effects and paradoxes" that characterize the Hellenistic kingdoms.[214] As a citizen of Uruk and a member of

211 Ibid., 333-334.
212 Ibid., 334.
213 Ibid., 335.
214 Ibid., 335.

the priesthood of the Rēš temple, an important institution, Iqīšā interacted with the different strands in different ways. A microhistorical study of Iqīšā's dossier shows how he positioned himself in relation to the currents of power that these strands represent. The fall of the Persian empire, the arrival of Alexander the Great, the wars of succession, and the establishment of the Seleukid kingdom all would have happened during Iqīša's lifetime. The extent to which these events affected the lives of the people of Uruk is still debated. The elite priestly class to which Iqīšā belonged had already weathered the fall of the Neo-Babylonian empire, the rise of the Achaemenids, and the aftershocks of the Babylonian revolts against Darius I and Xerxes. Would these new Greco-Macedonian rulers bring drastic change and disruption? Or would they be more of the same, another round of foreign rulers? Would the strategies that allowed Iqīšā's ancestors to survive the transitions and challenges of the long sixth century work for Iqīšā as well, or would he have to change and adapt? The narrative of Iqīšā's life and work has some bearing on these questions; I will therefore return to this issue later in the chapter.

II. Elements of the Colophon: the Name

The authorship clause of the colophon of W22703 = SpTU 2, 38 reveals the basics of Iqīšā's personal name, family, clan, and associations. Colophons of other tablets in his dossier help expand our picture. "Many Neo-Babylonian names take the form of a sentence consisting of a subject (usually a deity), an object (usually the newborn child), and a verb. ... In the first millennium BCE, it became increasingly common for scribes to spell the subject, object, and/or verb of personal names with logograms (Sumerograms)."[215] Iqīšā's name follows this pattern. It

215 Cornell Thissen, "Reading Neo-Babylonian Names," in *Personal Names in Cuneiform Texts from Babylonia (c. 750–100 BCE): An Introduction*, edited by Caroline Waerzeggers and Melanie M. Groß (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024): 93.

is most commonly written as $^{m}BA^{ša_2\text{-}a}$; the BA sign is read as a Sumerogram for the verb *qiāšu,* meaning "to give." Phonetic suffixes are added to the Sumerogram to clarify its pronounciation. "Iqīšā" is most likely a hypocoristic form of a longer name in the pattern of Anu-Iqīša, "Anu has granted me (a son, life, etc.)." Iqīšā's father was named Ištar-šum-ēreš, "Ištar requested the name," most commonly written as ^{md}INANA-MU-KAM$_2$. We also know that Iqīšā had a son whom he named Ištar-šum-ēreš, for his father. Ištar-šum-ēreš the younger followed in Iqīšā's footsteps as a scribe, priest, and teacher.

Iqīšā was a member of the Ekur-zakir clan, whose name literally translates to "the Ekur temple names." The tradition of including a clan name in a person's full name—and the "institution of ancestry" that this type of geneaological reckoning supports—seems to have originated in the Kassite period.[216] The reference to the Ekur suggests that the clan may have originated in Nippur, but by the seventh century BCE, the Ekur-zakir clan was well-established in Uruk. Members of the clan appear as prebendaries of the Eanna temple as goldsmiths, oxherds, and scribes at this time.[217]

The prosopography of Uruk in the first millennium BCE indicates that the Ekur-zakir clan benefited from the elite shift in Uruk following the Babylonian revolt against Xerxes in the fifth century. Members of the clan held important offices in the newly prominent Rēš temple, and continued to play major roles in temple worship and administration for generations. Matthieu Ossendrijver's 2011 study of social networks in late Babylonian astronomy is full of Ekur-zakirs. For example, a certain Anu-aḫa-ušabši / Kidin-Anu // Ekur-zakir, known from five tablets copied between 252/251 BCE and 248/247 BCE, held the titles of *āšipu, aḫu rabû,* and *ṭupšar Enūma*

216 W. G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11 (1957): 1-2.
217 Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* 229.

Anu Enlil at the Rēš temple. As mentioned above, a member of the Ekur-zakir clan copied AO 6460 = TU 41, the nocturnal fire ceremony ritual text.

The colophon of AO 6451 = TU 38 is an even more emphatic statement of the continued importance of the Ekur-zakir clan to the Rēš temple, and therefore to Uruk. It contains an complex historiola worth reproducing here in full:

> ...*ki-i pi-i ṭup-pi*.MEŠ
> *ša₂* {md}AG-A-URU₃ LUGAL KUR *tam-ti₃* TA *qe₂-reb* UNUG^{ki} *iš-lu-lu-ma*
> *i-nu-uš* ^{m}*Kidin-Anu* ^{lu_2}UNUG^{ki}-*a*
> ^{lu_2}MAŠ.MAŠ ^{d}LX *u An-tu₄* ^{lu_2}ŠA₃.BAL.BAL ^{m}*E₂-kur-za-kir* ^{lu_2}ŠEŠ.GAL-*i ša₂*
> E₂.SAG *ṭup-pi*.MEŠ MU.MEŠ
> *ina* KUR ELAM.MA^{ki} *ip-pal-lis-ma ina* BALA-*e* ^{m}*Se-lu-ku u* ^{m}*An-ti-'-i-ku-su*
> LUGAL.MEŠ
> *iš-ṭur-u₂-ma a-na qe₂-reb* UNUG^{ki} *u₂-bi-il*
>
> "In accordance with the contents of the tablets
> which Nabopolassar, king of the Sealand, carried off from Uruk. And at that
> time(?), Kidin-Anu from Uruk,
> the exorcist (*āšipu*) of Anu and Antu, descendant of Ekur-zakir, the high
> priest (*aḫu rabû*) of the Rēš temple
> saw these tablets in the land of Elam during the reign of Seleukos and Antiochus
> the kings,
> he copied and brought (them) to Uruk.[218]

Here we see that, approximately one hundred and fifty years after Iqīšā's *floruit*, another member of the Ekur-zakir clan is presented as the protector and progenitor of ritual knowledge essential to the worship of Anu. He is not only an *āšipu* and *aḫu rabû*, two important priestly offices. He also retrieved important ancient knowledge that had been stolen centuries earlier. This is the type of role that kings often play in dedicatory inscriptions. The Ekur-zakir clan is therefore portrayed here as crucial to the Anu cult and inextricably tied to its practice and offices.

218 Text and translation by Marc Linssen, in *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon*, 175-183.

A small number of documents associated with Iqīšā show some of the legal and economic relationships that the Ekur-zakir clan formed with other families. Four legal documents (W22226/0 = SpTU 1, 128; W22706/4b = SpTU 5, 285; W22662,0 = SpTU 5, 308; W22706/0 = SpTU 5, 309) directly attest to the ties Iqīšā formed with other influential Urukean families.

W22226/0 = SpTU 1, 128 records a sale of dates, barley, and plants to make beer, dated to 318 BCE. Several key sections of the tablet are damaged, but it seems that Iqīšā is selling the goods to a certain Ina-qibit-Anu. Philippe Clancier understands this transaction as being part of the purchase of a brewer's temple prebend, on the basis of obv. l. 4-8.[219] Unfortunately, that area of the text is heavily damaged, and some of the readings are unclear, impeding further analysis.

W22706/4b = SpTU 5, 285 is significantly damaged, but it seems to be a fragment of a legal document regarding the sale of land. The names that are preserved have some connections to other, more complete texts. Anu-mar-ittannu may also appear as a witness in SpTU 1, 128, but the section is damaged. The "son of Nidintu-Anu" may be Anu-aḫ-iddin, who will appear again below as a student of Iqīšā. Nidintu-Anu is a very common name; Anu-aḫ-iddin's father may have been the *kalû* who was a member of the Sîn-leqe-unnīni clan or the *āšipu* of Anu and Antu who was also descended from the Ekur-zakir clan.[220]

219 Philippe Clancier, "SpTU 1, 128", Geography of Knowledge Corpus, Corpus of Ancient Mesopotamian Scholarship, ORACC, 2008. http://oracc.org/cams/gkab/P342426. SpTU 1, 128 has features that are somewhat unusual for a prebend text. It is a "dialogue document", a type of contract framed as a conversation. The use of the phrase "*bi-in-nam-ma"* in l. 5 is characteristic of this type of contract. Clancier classifies SpTU 1, 128 as a prebend contract because of the goods involved and the mention of brewing, which was a common prebendary task. Although it is not stated directly in the text, it seems that the party receiving the goods, Ina-qibit-Anu, would be performing the prebend. I am grateful to Laurie Pearce for discussing this text with me over email on May 11, 2023.

220 Eleanor Robson, 'Scribes, scholars and ancestors', The Geography of Knowledge, The GKAB Project, 2019 http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/gkab/scribesscholarsandancestors/

Even more interesting is the inclusion of Labaši, the son of Anu-belšunu, who is identified as a *sepīru,* or parchment scribe.[221] Labaši appears as a witness in MLC 2163 = YOS 20, 16, a legal text recording the sale of a finished house on temple property dated to 285 BCE.[222] Philippe Clancier has dealt with the status of the *sepīru* scribe extensively. He summarizes his findings thus: "The *sepīru* and his activities are reasonably well known from clay tablets, which portray him as a key link between the temples and the civil administration and justice system. The *sepīru* was not part of the old urban notability and did not use the cuneiform script; his preferred language was Aramaic and/or Greek."[223] Labaši's appearance in YOS 20, 16 fits perfectly within Clancier's paradigm: he is a witness, a mediator between the Babylonian world of the temple and the Greco-Macedonian world of law and administration. But SpTU 5, 285 complicates things. Here, Labaši seems to be a party of the sale, not just an outside observer. He has formed a connection through a legal relationship with the Ekur-zakir clan (and potentially the Sîn-leqe-unnīni clan as well). Unfortunately SpTU 5, 285 is too fragmentary to allow for more substantial analysis; but the small section that we do have suggests that the relationship between Labaši the *sepīru* and the "old urban notability" may have been closer than Clancier originally suggested.

Finally, W22662/0 = SpTU 5, 308 records a loan of dates and lease of arable land between Iqīšā and several other parties. W22706/0 = SpTU 5, 309 seems to be an additional copy

221 Labaši the parchment scribe who appears in this text seems to be a different person than Labaši/ Anu-zera-iddin // Ekur-zakir, who bought several prebends from members of the Ekur-zakir and Ḫunzu clans c. 265-255 BCE. That Labaši had a grandson also named Labaši, who appears in a prebend sale dated to 217/16. See Eleanor Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* 234-235 with further reference to Paola Corò, *Prebende templari in età Seleucide.* History of the Ancient Near East. Monographs 8 (Padua: Sargon, 2005).

222 Philippe Clancier, comment on "Labaši" entry. Eleanor Robson, 'Scribes, scholars and ancestors',The Geography of Knowledge, The GKAB Project, 2019 http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/gkab/scribesscholarsandancestors/

223 Philippe Clancier, "Cuneiform Culture's Last Guardians," in T*he Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture,* edited by Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (2011; online edn, Oxford Academic, 18 Sept. 2012), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199557301.013.0026

recording the same sale. The text is dated to 10 Ulūlu, 11 SE, or 301 BCE. The sale is witnessed by a long list of individuals: Tanittu-Anu, son of Tattannu; Anu-zer-iddin, son of Nanaya-iddin; Labaši, son of Nanaya-iddin; Anu-ab-uṣur, son of Ina-qibit-Anu; Ištar-hiṭua, son of Mannu-ki-Delebat. The text was written by Nidintu-Anu, son of Nanaya-iddin. Several of these names are familiar from other Hellenistic sales contracts; Labaši appears again, this time as a witness.

Although each of these texts is incomplete, when taken together they paint a picture of the social landscape in which Iqīšā lived. Iqīšā's circle was small, exclusive, and inter-connected; the same names and families appear across different documents in different roles. Members of the circle were economically privileged land-owners and descendants of established families. Many were also priests. This picture will be expanded and given more detail in the following sections, as some names that appear here will pop up again.

III. Elements of the Colophon: Gentilics and Local Identity

Six of the colophons in the Iqīšā dossier include a reference to the city of Uruk, where Iqīšā lived. Two of the tablets (W22554 = SpTU 3, 97, excerpts from *Šumma alu,* and W23300 = SpTU 4, 162, a commentary on *Enuma Anu Enlil* 20) reference Uruk as part of what we might think of as the tablet's metadata—information such as the date of composition and place in a series that served an organizational purpose and allowed the tablet to be placed in its proper context. SpTU 3, 97 is described as "written and properly executed from a writing board, copy of Uruk." (*ištu* ^{giš}DA GABA.RI UNUG$^{!\,ki224}$ SAR-*ma uppuš*) SpTU 4, 162 ends with the tag: "Uruk. 3 Ulūlu, second year of Philip, king of all the lands." (UNUG^{ki} ^{iti}KIN U_4 3-KAM MU 2-

224 Sic: AB^{ki}

KAM ^{m}*Pilpissu* LUGAL KUR.KUR). Both of these texts were written by Iqīšā's students—the first by his son Ištar-šum-ēreš, the second by Anu-ab-uṣur / Anu-mukin-apli // Kuri.

In two tablets, Iqīšā identifies himself by the gentilic "Urukean" (UNUG$^{ki\text{-}u_2}$). First, there is W22246a = SpTU 1, 94, the astrological price forecasting text. In its colophon, Iqīšā describes himself as "*āšipu,* Urukean, *ērib bīti* of Anu and Antu." Next there is CM 31, 138-139, a commentary on the eighth tablet of *Šumma izbu* held in a private collection. In its colophon, Iqīšā identifies himself as "*āšipu,* Urukean."

In three other texts from his library, Iqīšā identifies himself as a "Tiranean" (TIR.AN.NA ^{ki}-u_2). W22703 = SpTU 2, 38, quoted in full above, includes the lines:

^{IM}GI$_3$.DA ^{m}BA$^{ša_2\text{-}a}$ *bu$_{12}$-kur$_2$* ^{md}INANA-MU-KAM ŠA$_3$.BAL.BAL
^{m}E$_2$.KUR-*za-kir*
^{lu_2}MAŠ.MAŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki}-u_2

"One column tablet of Iqīšā, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš,
descendant of Ekur-zakir,
āšipu, Tiranean."

W22248 = SpTU 1, 96 is a tablet of astrological varia that is heavily damaged. However, the traces of the reverse suggest the reading:

[^{im}]GI$_3$.DA ^{m}BA$^{ša_2\text{-}a}$ *bu-*⸢[*kur$_2$* ... ŠA$_3$].BAL.[BAL]
^{m}E$_2$.KUR-*za-kir* ^{lu_2}MAŠ.MAŠ ⸢TIR.AN.NA⸣ ^{ki}-u_2

"Oblong tablet of Iqiša, son of […] descendant of
Ekur-zakir, *āšipu*, Tiranean."

Finally, there is the unprovenanced text MNAO 11677, published as *OrNS* 59 (1990), 14-33. Its colophon reads:

ki-i KA DUB GABA.RI E^{ki} *ša$_2$* DUB EGER-*šu$_2$*
NU SAR-*u* DU-*ma* IGI.KAR$_2$ IM ^{m}BA$^{ša_2\text{-}a}$ *bu-kur$_2$*
^{md}INANNA-MU-KAM ŠA$_3$.BAL.BAL ^{m}E$_2$-*kur-za-kir*

^{lu_2}MAŠ.MAŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki}-u_2

"According to the wording of an original tablet from Babylon.
The tablet following it was not written. Collated and checked.
Tablet of Iqīšā, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendent of Ekur-zakir,
āšipu, Tiranean."[225]

TIR.AN.NA^{ki} is a rare alternate logograph for Uruk. The origins of this name are unclear. There is no obvious link, etymological or otherwise, between TIR.AN.NA^{ki} and UNUG^{ki} or ^{uru}UNUG^{ki} , which are the more common logographic writings for Uruk.[226] The most explicit connections between TIR.AN.NA^{ki} and Uruk comes from two Hellenistic ritual texts. The first is AO 6460 = TU 41. The relevant section, rev. l. 14-15, reads:

...^{lu_2}SANGA. MEŠ *ša*$_2$ E$_2$.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki} *šaniš* ^{lu_2}KU$_4$-E$_2$
DINGIR.MEŠ DU$_3$.A.BI
nur TA GI.IZI.LA$_2$ *iqadduma ana* E$_2$ DINGIR.MEŠ-*šunu* IL$_2$-*šima*

"...The *šangû*-priests of the temples of Tiranna (and) secondly the temple enterers of all the temples
will light a fire from the Torch and they will carry (it) to their temple."[227]

The second text is AO 6451 = TU 38. The relevant portion of its colophon reads:

^{giš}DA GARZA ^{d}LX-u_2-tu_2 ŠU.LUḪ.ḪA KU$_3$.MEŠ *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-u_2-tu_2 *a-di*
ŠU.LUḪ.ḪA DINGIR.RA *ša*$_3$ E$_2$ *re-eš* EŠ$_3$.GAL
E$_2$.AN.NA u_3 E$_2$.MEŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki} *al-ka-ka-at* ^{lu_2}MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ
^{lu_2}GALA.MEŠ *u* ^{lu_2}NAR.MEŠ u_3 DUMU.MEŠ *um-man-nu*

225 Transliteration and translation adapted from Werner Mayer, "Lexikalische Listen aus Ebla und Uruk," *Orientalia, Nova Series* 74 no. 2 (2005): 157-164.

226 W.G. Lambert, "Manzi'at," *RlA* 7: 344-346. ^{d}TIR.AN.NA is a goddess of the rainbow; her Sumerian name Tiranna could be translated as "Bow of Heaven," but Lambert believes this to be a late, artificial etymology. Lambert also doubts the suggestions of J. J. Stamm and Kraus that {d}TIR.AN.NA might refer to Ištar of Uruk, finding "nothing to support this idea." ^{mul}TIR.AN.NA is also the name of a constellation, attested in several sign lists and compendiums. BM 034851 = LBAT 1576 ii 7, a list of fixed-star names for planets from Hellenistic Babylon, gives: $^{mul.d}$TIR.AN.NA ^{d}MIN (= d.DILI.BAD), "Rainbow-star is a name for Venus."

227 Text and translation from Marc Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon* CM 25 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 245-251.

"Wax-table (containing) the rites for the Anu-worship, the pure *šuluḫḫu* purification rites, the ritual regulations of kingship, including(?) the divine *šuluḫḫu* purification rites of the Rēš temple, the Ešgal temple,
the Eanna temple, and the (other) temples of Tiranna, the ritual activities of the exorcists, the lamentation priests, the singers, and the craftsmen."[228]

These usages suggests that the Tiranna was a sacred precinct in Uruk

The use of the gentilic TIR.AN.NA^{ki}-u_2 is rare, but it seems to have become more popular in the Hellenistic period. It occurs in the colophon of TU 32, a text describing the dimensions and layout of the Esagila temple in Babylon, owned by Anu-belšunu / Anu-balaṭsu-iqbi // Aḫ'utu and copied by Anu-belšunu / Nidintu-Anu // Sîn-leqe-unnīni and dated to December 12, 229 BCE.[229] In the colophon of Neugebauer ACT no. 194 (AO 6492 = TCL 6, 25), an astronomical text, Anu-abi-utteri / Anu-belšunu // Sîn-leqe-unnīni clan identifies himself as *ṭupsar Enūma Anu Enlil,* a *kalû* of Anu and Antu, and a Tiranean (TIR.RA.NAki-u_2). In Neugebauer ACT no. 163 (U 135), another astronomical text, the same scribe identifies himself again as a Tiranean. Finally, there is AO 06448 + VAT 07847 = TCL 6, 12+, an illustrated microzodiac from Seleukid Uruk. Its colophon reads:

TA UGU ^{giš}DA SUMUN^{bar} GABA.RI UNUG^{ki} SAR-*ma* IGI.TAB
ṭuppi ^{md}60.EN-*šunu* ^{lu_2}GALA ^{d}60 *māru ša* ^{m}NIG$_2$.SUM.MU-^{d}60 *māru* ^{md}30.TI.ER TIR.AN.NA^{ki}-*u qāt* ^{md}60.AD.GUR A-*šu* ^{lu_2}UMBISAG U$_4$ ^{d}60 EN.LIL...
$^{[...M]}$*Anti'ikusu* LUGAL MUD ^{d}60 ^{d}EN.LIL *u* ^{d}IDIM *ina šurqa la* TUM-*šu*

"Written and checked from an old writing board, a copy from Uruk.
Tablet of Anu-belšunu, lamentation priest of Anu, son of Nidintu-Anu, son of Sîn-leqe-unnīni, the Tiranaean. Hand of Anu-ab-uter, his son, scribe of "*Enuma Anu Enlil"*...
… Antiochus, king. He who reveres Anu, Enlil, and Ea shall not take it away by means of theft.[230]

228 Text and translation from Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon,* 172-179
229 Jean-Vincent Scheil, *Esagil ou le temple de Bêl-Marduk à Babylone (*Mémoires de l'Institut de France: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 39, 1914), 301 rev. 12.
230 Transliteration and translation by Greta Van Buylaere for the AHRC-funded GKAB project, 2010. http://oracc.org/cams/gkab/P363685

I can detect no correlations between the uses of “Tiranean” in colophons and the content or production contexts of the texts onto which those colophons are appended. Rather, it seems that Iqīšā, as well as Anu-belšunu / Nidintu-Anu // Sîn-leqe-unnīni, Anu-abi-utteri / Anu-belšunu // Sîn-leqe-unnīni, and Anu-belšunu / Anu-balaṭṣu-iqbi // Aḫ'utu, were engaging in the classic Babylonian scribal activity of showing off one's skill and erudition through esoteric word choice. Personal preference seems to be the only Iqīšā's only motivator for choosing to identify himself as an Urukean in some texts and a Tiranean in others.

Iqīšā's use of the gentilics “Urukean” and “Tiranean” closely links him to the city of Uruk. We could think of this as regional pride; but we could also push that concept further, to see regional pride as a manifestation of a more complex political and social situation. Eleanor Robson observed that “by the mid-Seleukid period, all twenty or so of the best attested owners and/or scribes from all four known scholarly families (Ah'utu, Ekur-zakir, Hunzu, Sîn-leqe-unnīni) regularly identify themselves as 'Urukeans.' It was clearly majority practice in Uruk by this time, although scholars from other Seleucid cities rarely labelled themselves as a 'Babylonian,' 'Borsippan,' or the equivalent.”[231]

For most of its long history, Mesopotamia was a land of city states, each with its own local identity and patron deity. Some city states were able to consolidate power and extend their influence over wider regions at different points in history; but, generally speaking, cities still maintained a distinct local identity even when they were under the control of another city or empire. Why, then, did Iqīšā and the other scribes of Hellenistic Uruk express so much more regional pride than their contemporaries in Babylon and Borsippa, the other Mesopotamian cities

231 Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* 184, with reference to note 161. The exception to this trend seems to be scribes from Der, who identify themselves as Dereans on five of their six surviving tablets.

from which a substantial number of texts from the Hellenistic period survive? The answer, again, may have to do with the Babylonian revolts against Darius in 521 and against Xerxes in 484.

As discussed above, the Achaemenid administration responded swiftly and brutally to the revolts against Xerxes. In Uruk, elite families with ties to Babylon were ousted from positions of power. In their place rose a new group of elite families who emphasized their local, Urukean identity. Iqīšā, as a member of the Ekur-zakir clan, was a member of this second group. As Paul-Alain Beaulieu has argued, the reprisals against supporters of the rebels effectively ended Babylonian cultural hegemony in Uruk. There was now space for the cultivation of a vibrant local Urukean identity, complete with its own institutions, history, theology, and naming customs. This new Urukean elite could assert that their culture, traditions, and institutions were equal to those of Babylon. But increased local pride benefitted the Achaemenid administration as well:

> "[The Achaemenids] may have tacitly encouraged the elite families of Uruk in the creation of a renewed civic religion that was independent from Babylon and could even pose as a competitor. In this manner, and as all imperial powers tend to do, they nurtured smaller, local constituencies in order to discourage the persistence of larger territorial units such as the former Babylonian empire, units that were more likely to tear apart the fabric of the vast Persian realm."[232]

The use of gentilics by Iqīšā and his contemporaries shows that Urukean localism was still very appealing to the scribal elite of the fourth century BCE, even in a different political context.

Eleanor Robson has also connected the use of gentilics with much larger trends in the relationship between Seleukid kings and their subject cities. The use of gentilics, along with local trends in orthography, an interest in local ancestors and heroes, an Uruk-specific theology that deemphasize the role of the Babylonian gods Marduk and Nabu, and the production of texts such

232 Beaulieu, "Uruk Before and After Xerxes," 205.

as the Uruk Prophecy, the Dynastic Prophecy, and the Uruk Chronicle (W22289 = SpTU 1, 2)[233] that are concerned with discourses around kingship, are all ways in which "the scholars of Late Babylonian Uruk articulated their strong sense of local identity and independence from royal support."[234]

IV. Elements of the Colophon: Masters and Students

As a scribe and scholar himself, Iqīšā was part of the network of teaching and learning that connected the priestly families of Uruk, both to each other and to a wider network of Babylonian scholarship. These relationships are often represented in the authorship clauses of colophons through a specific formula. The colophon of a text copied by a student will often (but not always) include a phrase about how the text was produced and its relationship to an earlier edition; e.g. *kīma labīrīšu šaṭirma bari,* "written and checked according to its original." Student texts will also make a distinction between the *owner* of the text, indicated by the phrase *ṭuppi* PN, "tablet of PN," and the *scribe* of the text, indicated by the phrase *qāt* PN, "hand of PN." In these formulae, the owner of the tablet is the senior scribe and teacher, and the scribe of the tablet is the student.[235]

Thirteen of the colophons in the Iqīšā dossier preserve versions of these formulae. (A fourteenth, AO 6471 = TCL 6, 50, may have been written for Iqīšā by a student perhaps named Anu-uballiṭ, but its colophon is too damaged to be sure.) The most common teacher-student

233 According the its colophon, the text was copied from a writing board by Anu-balass-iqbi for his father Anu-aḫ-ušabši / Kidin-Anu // Ekur-zakir on 21 Abu, 60 SE (251 BCE). Anu-aḫ-ušabši is further identified as an *āšipu, aḫu rabû* of the Rēš temple, and as an Urukean. I discuss the Uruk Prophecy and the Dynastic Prophecy in more detail in the second chapter.

234 Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* 183-192.

235 Eleanor Robson, "The Production and Dissemination of Scholarly Knowledge", in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture,* edited by Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (2011; online edn, Oxford Academic, 18 Sept. 2012), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199557301.013.0026

relationship represented in the corpus is the one between Iqīšā and his son Ištar-šum-ēreš; that relationship accounts for nine of the thirteen attestations. W22653 = SpTU 2, 6 is a bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian incantation against the storm demoness Ardat-lilî. Its colophon says that it was "made good and checked. Written and checked according to its original" (*uppuš u* IGI TAB / GIM SUMUN-*šu* SAR-*ma baru*). W22666/1 + W22666/2 = SpTU 2, 22 + SpTU 3, 85 is a compendium of incantations and magic stones that could be used to protect a patient from evil and disease. Its colophon states that it was "written and checked according to a copy from Babylon" (*kīma* KA ^{giš}DA GABA.RI TIN.TIR^{ki} GUB-*ma* IGI.TAB) W22705/0+1+2 = SpTU 2, 37 is a commentary on tablets 8-12 of the omen series *Šumma izbu.* W22554 = SpTU 3, 97 is a collection of excerpts from the omen series *Šumma ālu* that all deal with omens from animals eating clothes; the colophon states that it was "written and properly executed from a writing board, copy of Uruk." (*ištu* ^{giš}DA GABA.RI UNUG$^{!ki}$ SAR-*ma uppuš*). W22704 = SpTU 3, 104 is a Kalendertext for the month of Du'uzu that equates the body parts of sacrificial animals for each day of the month. W22577/1 = SpTU 4, 140, the right side of which is completely broken off, contains excerpts from the apotropaic incantation series *Ušburrudû.* The colophon of W23014 = SpTU 4, 220 is badly damaged, but it is possible to reconstruct the names Iqīšā and Ištar-šum-ēreš. AO 06469 = TCL 6, 34 is contains a series of incantations and rituals against the demon Antašubba. Lastly there is Bod. S 302 = RA 12, 73-84, the fourth tablet of the so-called Exaltation of Ištar, a late Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual literary text in praise of Ištar.

Four other colophons of texts from his dossier demonstrate the teacher-student relationships that Iqīšā formed with sons of other families. The most significant seems to be between Iqīšā and Anu-ab-uṣur, son of Anu-mukin-apli, of the Kuri clan. W22327 = SpTU 1, 90

is a commentary on tablet 56 of the astronomical series *Enūma Anu Enlil.* The colophon of the text identifies it as the tablet of Iqīšā / Ištar-šum-ēreš // Ekur-zakir, in the hand of Anu-ab-uṣur / Anu-mukin-apli // Kuri. W22651 = SpTU 2, 44, excerpts from the fifteenth tablet of the diagnostic omen series *Enūma ana bīt marṣi āšipu illiku,* said to be checked against an old writing board (TA ^{giš}DA LIBIR)[236], is also owned by Iqīšā and written in the hand of Anu-ab-uṣur. W23300 = SpTU 4, 162, a commentary on the twentieth tablet of the astronomical series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, was also owned by Iqīšā and written by Anu-ab-uṣur. This tablet is dated to the third day of Ulūlu in the second year of Philip Arrhidaeus, 322 BCE.

The Kuri clan appears several other times in the onomasticon of Uruk. A certain Anu-apal-iddin / Anu-šum-lišir // Kuri is the owner of W23267 = SpTU 3, 74, an excerpt from the anti-witchcraft incantation series *Maqlû*. The Kuri clan also appears in four documents from Achaemenid Uruk. W22585/5 = SpTU 2, 56 is a debt note for an exchange of silver between a member of the Kuri clan and a member of the Sîn-leqe-unnīni clan.[237] The scribe of the note is Libluṭ / Marduk-naṣir // Gimil-Nanaya, and it is dated to 28 Ulūlu, 562 BCE. W23007 = SpTU 4, 222A and W22798 = SpTU 4, 222B are duplicates of each other. They record the sale of the *rab banûtu* prebend of Beltu-ša-Uruk for portions of arable land on the Ḫarriṣu canal; a member of the Kuri clan is listed as a witness.[238] The transaction is dated to year 16 of Darius I (506 BCE).

236 Going from von Weiher's hand copy, the sign appears to be GIN_2. In his 2008 edition, Clancier suggests that the sign is instead a misshapen u_3, to be read LIBIR as a Sumerogram for *labīru.* See http://oracc.org/cams/gkab/P348649

237 Arad-Ištar / Bel-iddin // Kuri lent money to Nabu-balassu-iqbi / Nabu-eṭir // Sîn-leqe-unnīni, incumbent on Arad-Ištar, Nabu-balassu-iqbi, Nabu-ban-aḫi / Arad-Nabu // [illegible clan name], Nabu-šum-iṣur / Mardu-naṣir // Kuri, Bel-ibni / Nergal-ipuš // [illegible clan name] and Nadin / Bel-le'i // Sîn-leqe-unnīni. The transaction was witnessed by Arad-Ištar / Tabne'a // Nangariya, Ištar-Iqiša / Amel-Nanaya // Paḫari, Silim-Bel / Nabu-šaqu-ana-ili // Nagaru, and Nergal-iddin / Iqbaya.

238 Šamaš-zer-lišir / Šamaš-iddin // Rab-bani sold a share of the prebend to Isu / Mukin-apli // Gimil-Nanaya. The sale was witnessed by Nabu-apla-iddin / Tabne // Bel-lumur, Ša-pi-Anu / Šamaš-eṭir // Rab-banî, Anu-balassu-iqbi / Šamaš-zer-ukin // Pirušu, Anu-ikṣur / Kudurranu // Nur-Sîn, Šamaš-eṭir / Anu-dan // Kuri, Anu-zer-iddin / Ḫaḫḫuru, Nanaya-iddin / Nidintu-Anu // Rab-banî, Libluṭ / Šamaš-zer-ibni // Balassu, and four other people whose full names are broken.

Finally, W23293/7 = SpTU 5, 300 records the sale of a slave named Latubašini and a parcel of land by Tattannu / Šamašaya to Eriba / Kinaya // Gimil-Nanaya in the 3rd year of Xerxes (484 BCE). The sale was recorded on 21 Šabaṭu in year 9 of Xerxes (477 BCE) by Šamaš-iqišanni / Pir'u, and witnessed by members of the Kuri, Gimil-Nanaya, Ḫunzu, and Šangû-Ninurta clans.[239]

One tablet in Iqīšā's dossier attests to a different student-teacher relationship. W22644 = SpTU 2, 35 is a series of excerpts from the omen series *Šumma alu,* dealing with omens that occur during the *akītu* festival. Its colophon states that it is owned by Iqīšā and is in the hand of Anu-aḫ-iddin, son of Nidintu-Anu. Anu-aḫ-iddin does not appear elsewhere in the corpus; there are, however, several prominent Nidintu-Anus. There are two likely candidates for the Nidintu-Anu who is the father of Anu-aḫ-iddin. The first is Nidintu-Anu / Itti-Anu-nuḫšu // Sîn-leqe-unnīni, a *kalû* priest of Anu. He is the owner of two prayer texts: AO 06496 = TCL 06, 57, a *balaĝ* to Enlil dated to 338 BCE, and W20030/009 = BagM Beih. 2, 17, a *balaĝ* to Gula dated to 322 BCE. The second candidate is Nidintu-Anu / Anu-belšunu // Ekur-zakir, an *āšipu* of Anu and Antu. He is the owner of W22729/07 = SpTU 2, 33, a compilation of *Šumma alu* omens dealing with foxes written by his grandson Mannu-iqapu, also an *āšipu* of Anu and Antu. (The date of this tablet is broken, but it is most likely early Hellenistic.)

Taken together, what do these student-teacher relationships tell us about Iqīšā's career? On the whole, the trends we see here match what we know of scribal education in earlier periods of Babylonian history. Advanced scribal education stayed within a small group of families connected by legal and economic as well as social relationships. The Kuri family's web of associations is evidence of this. Members of the family appear as witnesses or parties of a sale

239 The full list of witnesses is: Šamaš-ēreš / Dumuq // Kuri, Anu-šum-ibni / Šuzubu // Gimil-Nanaya, Guzanu / Anu-ahhe-eriba // Ḫunzu, Anu-bel-zeri / Šamaš-iqišanni // Šangû-Ninurta, Balaṭu / Ardiya // Kuri, Sîn-aḫḫe-iddin / Nadinu // Kidin-Marduk, Mukkea / Kinaya // Ḫanbi, and Nidintu / Kulbibi // Gimil-Nanaya.

alongside several members of the Gimil-Nanaya, Sîn-leqe-unnīni, and Ḫunzu families. In fact, the prosopography of Uruk in the fourth century BCE further reinforces the observations that W.G. Lambert made in his seminal 1957 article "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity:"

> "Unless the colophons are brief, the owners and writers (of the tablets) trace their descent back to one of four persons: Sîn-leqe-unnīni, Ahi'aūtu, Ekur-zakir, or Ḫunzu'u. … In the 56 Uruk texts of BRM. II, which cover the years 300-140 B.C. and are thus contemporary with the colophons, 13 persons claim to be descendants of Sin-liqi-unnīni, 24 of Ahi'aūtu, 30 of Ekur-zakir, and 31 of Hunzu'u."[240]

To this list we can also add the Kuri and Gimil-Nanaya families, although they were perhaps less prolific than the other major families.

Furthermore, the colophons of the Iqīšā dossier demonstrate that young scribes were trained either by older family members, as was the case with Ištar-šum-ēreš, or by older members of clans with which their family was connected, as was the case with the Kuri clan. Caroline Waerzeggers observed a similar dynamic in Neo-Babylonian Borsippa.[241] Eleanor Robson has shown that scribes and tablets—and the knowledge that they created--moved between elite networks in different cities in the Neo-Assyrian period, as in the case of the Kiṣir-Aššur family of 7th c. BCE Aššur and the Huzirina archive. She notes that the social network of late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Uruk was "much tighter, however: over six generations we see the members of just four scholarly families, all closely associated with Anu's temple Rēš, collaborating in the training of their sons."[242]

The content of the student texts in the Iqīšā dossier conforms with what we know of the Babylonian scribal curriculum and also demonstrates the flexibility exercised by individual

240 W. G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11 (1957): 3-4.
241 Caroline Waerzeggers, *The Ezida Temple of Borsippa: Priesthood, Cult, Archives.* Achaemenid History XV (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2010).
242 Eleanor Robson, "The Production and Dissemination of Scholarly Knowledge", in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture,* edited by Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (2011; online edn, Oxford Academic, 18 Sept. 2012), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199557301.013.0026

scribes. Early scribal education focused on practicing forming wedges, then signs. Eventually scribes-in-training learned to copy several traditional core texts in their entirety. In the later phase of their education, apprentice scribes wrote longer and more complex traditional texts, including incantations, hymns, literary texts, and lexical lists, at the instruction of their masters.[243]

The texts in the Iqīšā dossier all come from this second phase of scribal education, and may even demonstrate a more advanced stage of education in which a scribe learned to specialize in their chosen field. Iqīšā seems to have been teaching his students the craft of a scribe specializing in *āšipūtu,* as it existed in the second half of the 4th c. BCE. An *āšipu* needed to be well versed in the celestial omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil;* in divination from unprovoked omens from the series *Šumma ālu* and *Šumma izbu;* in diagnostics from the omen series *Enūma ana bīt marṣi āšipu illiku* (also called *Sakikkû*); and in how to repel evil and disease using incantations, rituals, and magic stones. He also needed training in theology and literature, as demonstrated by the presence of Bod S 302 = RA 12, 73-84.

These lessons would build the apprentice scribe's "scholarly literacy," which included advanced knowledge of literary heritage and canonical texts known only to other members of the scholarly community, as well as familiarity with Sumerian, a specialized language of hymns, incantations, and rare orthographies that had not been spoken for millennia. Scholarly literacy was a crucial element of what Niek Veldhuis termed "elite cultural literacy." "Formal scribal education was not primarily focused on the practical skills of reading and writing, but rather on the formation of a scribal identity that transcended boundaries of time and place."[244] By

243 Petra Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babyloniem im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr,* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 275 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 2001), 44-52.

244 Niek Veldhuis, "Levels of Literacy," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture,* edited by Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (2011; online edn, Oxford Academic, 18 Sept. 2012),

instructing his students on omen series that had been copied for hundreds of years and which were built on the accumulated knowledge and observations of generations, Iqīšā was both participating in and ensuring the continuation of scribal heritage and identity. He lived in turbulent times that saw the fall of the Achaemenids, the deaths of Alexander the Great and Philip III Arrhidaeus, and the shaky rise of the Seleukid kings; but as a scribe, he was part of a stable, unbroken lineage that stretched back through history across dozens of rulers and would continue into the future.

V. Elements of the Colophon: Transmission, Canonicity and Authority

The colophons of thirteen texts in Iqīšā's dossier reference the way the text was transmitted and its relationship to the larger course of the cuneiform tradition. As an example, the colophon of W22327 = SpTU 1, 90 reads:

> ^{mul}UGA KASKAL ^{d}UTU KUR^{ud} *x* […]
> *ṣa-a-tu₂ u šu-ut* KA *mal₂-su-ut* EŠ₂.GAR₃ U₄ AN ^{d}EN.LIL₂
> TA ^{giš}DA SAR-*ma up-puš₄*
> IM ^{m}BA$^{šaₓ-a}$ *bu-kur₂* ^{md}INANA.MU.KAM₂ ŠA₃.BAL.BAL ^{m}E₂.KUR-*za-kir* [ŠU]
> ^{md}60-AD-ŠEŠ DUMU *šaₓ* ^{md}60-DU-A A ^{m}*kur-i* UNUG^{ki} ^{iti}KIN U₄ *x* […]
> ^{m}*pi-il-pi-is-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR
>
> "The Raven reaches the path of the Sun: … Commentary and oral tradition; reading out from the Series "When Anu, Enlil" […] written and properly executed from a writing board. Tablet of Iqīšā, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendant of Ekur-zakir. [Hand of] Anu-ab-uṣur, son of Anu-mukin-apli, descendant of Kuri. Uruk, Ulūlu, day *x* […] Philip, king of all lands."

SpTU 1, 90 is a commentary on tablet 56 of the astronomical omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil.* Each line of the text is devoted to an explanation of a corresponding line in *Enūma Anu Enlil*.

https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199557301.001.0001

Some of these explanations are philological, giving glosses on a tricky word of phrase. Others explain an astronomical point, as at l. 3, which reads:

> *ša₂-ru-ru* IGI-*ma* : ^{d}UDU.IDIM *ina* ^{iti}KIN 2-KAM *it-tan-mar* : AN *ina* UR.A IGI-*ma*
>
> "A planet keeps appearing in second Ulūlu: (this means) Mars appears in Leo."

Textual commentaries have a rich history in the first millennium BCE.[245] Two of the phrases in the colophon of SpTU 1, 90 point to its place in the cuneiform canon. First is the phrase *ṣâtu u šūt pî,* "commentary and oral tradition," in the second line of the colophon.[246] This phrase indicates the source of some of the explanations in SpTU 1, 90 were from an alternate oral tradition. Another phrase, *ultu le'i ušaṭṭir-ma uppuš,* "written and properly executed from a writing board," indicates the method of transmission of that tradition.

Four other texts in Iqīšā's dossier are include the tag *ṣâtu u šut pî* in their colophons: W22703 = SpTU 2, 38, a commentary on the seventeenth tablet of the omen series *Šumma Izbu;* AO 06464 = TCL 6, 17, a commentary on the eighth tablet of *Enūma Anu Enlil*; CM 31, 139, a commentary on the eighth tablet of *Šumma Izbu;* and BRM 4, 20, a commentary on the so-called "Āšipu's Almanac" that will be discussed in more detail in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. SpTU 2, 38 and CM 31, 139 are also designated as *maš'altu ša pî ummânu,* "questioning of the expert's speech."

There are eight other colophons in Iqīšā's dossier that directly reference the method of transmission of the text. W22246a = SpTU 1, 94, a text that uses astrology to predict the prices of grain, W22653 = SpTU 2, 6, a Sumero-Akkadian bilingual incantation against the demoness

245 For a general introduction to the subject, see Eckart Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries: Origins of Interpretation.* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2011), 3-23. Frahm comments on SpTU 1, 90 in particular at pp. 30, 52, 145, 150-151, 293, 334, and 412. See also Ulrike Steinert, ed., *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues: Medicine, Magic and Divination* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018).

246 See Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries,* 48-55 for a discussion of the term *šâtu.*

Ardat-lîli, and W22656/10a = SpTU 4, 158 have all been "written and checked according to its original" (*kīma labīrišu šaṭāru-ma barû*) according to their colophons. Like SpTU 1, 90, W22651 = SpTU 2, 44, the sixteenth tablet of the series *Sakkiku,* and W22554 = SpTU 3, 97, excerpts from the terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu,* have also been "written and properly executed from a writing board." In four cases, the source from which the tablet in Iqīšā's dossier was copied is said to be from a particular city. W 22666,1 + W 22666,2 = SpTU 2, 22 + SpTU 3, 85, a series of *namburbû* rituals using magic stones, and Or. 59 (1990), 14-33, a lexical list, are said to be from Babylon. W22650 = SpTu 2, 34, another set of excerts from *Šumma ālu,* is said to be from Nippur. Finally, SpTu 3, 97 is said to be from Uruk.

These colophons demonstrate the importance of tradition in establishing the authority of a cuneiform text. As Lambert claimed—and later scholars have confirmed—this authority did not come from a texts "canonicity" per se. "There is a Babylonian conception of canonicity...that the sum of revealed knowledge was given once for all by the antediluvian sages. … There is however in the traditions which we have examined no suggestion of a systematic selection of literary works, nor of a conscious attempt to produce authoritative editions of works which were passed on. The very word 'canon' is unfortunate in suggesting this kind of activity."[247] Instead, a particular text's authority came from the antiquity of its sources and its place in the larger tradition. As Francesca Rochberg explains:

> "The cuneiform 'stream of tradition' was of a composite nature, comprised of at least three distinct traditions: the literary works termed *iškaru*, our presumed 'canonical texts,' or official editions, the extraneous sources termed *aḫû*, and an oral tradition (*ša pī ummâni)* known only through references to it by the scribe-scholars. Commentaries (*mukallimtu*), explanatory word lists (*ṣâtu*), excerpts (*liqtu*), and other forms of scholia comprise still another aspect of the scribal tradition."[248]

247 Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," 9.

This concept of a robust tradition with distinct and organized strands was especially important to the Mesopotamian omen tradition, which essentially "operated on the basis of the traditional interpretation of precedents."[249] It is fitting, then, that the majority of the texts in Iqīšā's dossier that reference their relationship to an older edition or their method of transmission are omen texts.

The descriptors written in colophons explained here are one way of codifying a cuneiform canon. But in a 2015 article, Rochberg also advocated for moving beyond an approach to canonicity in cuneiform culture that focuses entirely on "textual characteristics such as wording and authorship."[250] Drawing on the work of Gerald Bruns, Rochberg argues that discourses around canonicity are really discourses about the ideology of power and its expressions:

> "The power of the canonical text was not due solely to its textual structure or because its wording was standardized. Nor was it simply because it was attached to hoary antiquity. As a vehicle for traditional norms and values, cosmic and political ideals, a text could be valued by and binding upon the members of the literature community that used it. … The corpus of *ṭupšarrūtu,* i.e. omen texts, incantations, and lamentations, was forceful for and binding upon the scholarly communities because it afforded an ideological objective, namely, to preserve a body of knowledge instrumental in safeguarding what was construed as divine order."[251]

Ṭupšarrūtu is defined in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* as "scribal learning, scholarship." It is an abstract noun derived from *ṭupšarru,* "scribe," itself derived from the Sumerian DUB.SAR. More precisely, *ṭupšarrūtu* can be understood as "the term for the component scribal scholarly

248 Francesca Rochberg, "The Assumed 29th *Aḫu* Tablet of *Enūma Anu Enlil,*" in *In the Path of the Moon: Babylonian Celestial Divination and its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 86.

249 Francesca Rochberg, "Canonicity in Cuneiform Texts," in *In the Path of the Moon: Babylonian Celestial Divination and its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 71.

250 Francesca Rochberg, "Canon and Power in Cuneiform Scribal Scholarship," in *Problems of Canonicity and Identity Formation in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia,* ed. K. Ryholt & G. Barjamovic (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015), 217.

251 Rochberg, "Canon and Power in Cuneiform Scribal Scholarship," 227. See also Gerald Bruns, "Canon and Power in the Hebrew Scriptures," in *Canons,* ed. R. von Hallberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 65-84.

disciplines that organized knowledge of the phenomenal world and the practices that depended upon that organization."[252] Thus *ṭupšarrūtu* includes astronomy, celestial and terrestrial omens, and medical texts, as well as the incantations, lamentations, and ritual texts involved in the practice of medicine or divination or the warding off of evil signified by various omens. *Ṭupšarrūtu* is an essential part of the cuneiform canon in the canon's narrow and broad definitions. In his dossier, Iqīšā has thirty-nine texts *ṭupšarrūtu* texts, including omen texts, incantations, ritual texts, and commentaries.

What are the specific "norms and values, cosmic and political ideals" codified in the canonical texts in Iqīšā's dossier? On the most fundamental level, these texts record the foundations of the Babylonian world view: the precepts that govern the relationships and interacts betweeen humans and the world around them, the gods, and the cosmos. But Iqīšā also lived in a time in which there were a variety of competing world views from which to choose: Babylonian, Persian, Greek, Macedonian. By working to maintain the various tributaries of the composite stream of tradition of the cuneiform canon, Iqīšā and his students assert the continued value, vibrancy, and relevancy of the Babylonian world view in particular. By copying canonical texts and teaching them to his students, Iqīšā both strengthens his conneection to the Babylonian past and ensures that the knowledge, norms, and values of the past will continue to be relevant in the Hellenistic future.

VII. Elements of the Colophon: Priesthoods

We have seen that Iqīšā was part of a tightly-knit and exclusive network of privileged Urukean families. This group of clans wielded a great amount of political, economic, and social

252 Francesca Rochberg, "*ṭupšarrūtu* and the Historiography of Science," *Claroscuro* 20 vol. 2 (2021), 2.

power. Much of this power came from their close association with the city's temples. The Babylonian temple was a very powerful and privileged institution. As Philippe Clancier pointed out, "those representing the temples in cultic, legal, and administrative matters profited both in material terms and in status," through the income attached to the performance of temple duties, access to valuable real estate owned by the temple, and other, less formal avenues.[253] The honor and social capital afforded to the servants of the gods should not be underestimated, either. Furthermore, the longevity and stability of the temple, its "institutional permanence," gave it prestige and authority. It lasted beyond the lifespan of kings, and even survived changes in dynasties. The priests[254] who made up the temple's central administration could therefore wield an enduring authority that was separate from the authority of the king.[255]

The temple also acquired a unique type of power through its involvement of people from all social classes, from slave to king, in the business of worshipping the gods. Michael Kozuh gives this overview of the ways in which the temple acted as a "large-scale economy" and mobilized large numbers of people:

> "Like any other large-scale agrarian operation involving multiple specialized personnel, such as quartering an army, Babylonian temples needed a secondary staff to maintain and support their sacred personnel. This secondary staff was an

253 Philippe Clancier, "Cuneiform Culture's Last Guardians," 757.

254 There has been significant discussion in Assyriology as to whether or not the terms "priest" and "priesthood" are useful ones to use in a Babylonian context. See, for example: Amélie Kuhrt, "Nabonidus and the Babylonian priesthood," in *Pagan priests: religion and power in the ancient world,* ed. M. Beard and J.A. North (London: Duckworth, 1990) 119-155; Walther Sallaberger and F. Huber Vulliet, "Priester I. A. Mesopotamien," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 10 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005) 617-640; Caroline Waerzeggers, *The Ezida temple of Borsippa: Priesthood, cult, archives,* Achaemenid History 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2010). Clancier, in n.28 above, prefers the term "clergy." Some scholars use "priest" to refer to those who perform ritual acts, and "prebendaries" or "prebend-holders" for those who perform the menial labor required to support the operation of the temple (e.g. reed-workers.) I agree with Waerzeggers use of the term: "'The Babylonian priesthood' is a multi-faceted institution that is difficult to define precisely. It is wrong to differentiate the various groups involved in the cult according to our notions of what constitutes a priest; I retain the term in order to make it clear that the activities of all groups partake of the sacred." (Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Priesthood in the Long Sixth Century," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 54 no. 2 (2011), 60.)

255 Michael Kozuh, "Temple, Economy, and Religion in First Millennium Babylonia," *Religion Compass* 2 (2008), 9-11.

> assortment of individuals. It ranged from literate scribes and skilled metal workers to lowly ditch diggers and flour millers,[256] between whom worked bakers, brewers, butchers, craftsmen, farmers, reed workers, and shepherds (among many others). Within each of these groups reigned its own hierarchy of management; middle-managers might hold sway over a few related groups at a time, and then overlaying the whole sysstem was a group of temple managers, elite citizens, and royal representatives. At the core of all this was a highly complex economy, with divisions of labor, diverse payment relationships, craft specializations, hierarchical relationships, and income inequalities in addition to social services."[257]

The Babylonian temple therefore operated in a balance between inclusion and exclusivity that granted its priests material and immaterial benefits. The proper worship of the gods required the labor and production of large numbers of people; those people had to be managed by a priestly bureaucracy. Yet the actual access to the temple and the gods was extremely regulated and granted to only a small fraction of the city's elite, the old priestly families. Priests therefore wielded both considerable executive power and social prestige.

There is a wealth of scholarship on the structure and administration of Babylonian temples in the first millennium BCE. Landmark studies include Caroline Waerzeggers' work on the Ezida temple at Borsippa and A. C. V. M. Bongenaar's study of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar. These studies allow us to build a basic framework of the Babylonian priesthood. On the basis of this scholarship and with the general shape of the institution of the Babylonian temple in mind, we can then get a better sense of Iqīšā's place as an individual actor within it.

256 It is important to note that some menial tasks, such as reed working and milling, performed inside the temple could only be performed by prebend holders in the service of the temple—in other words, by members of priestly families. Labor that supported temple activities, such as farming and animal husbandry, but was performed *outside* of the temple, however, could be performed by workers who did not hold prebends. On the inside/outside distinction in Babylonian temples, which is not precisely literal, see A. C. V. M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and its Prosopography,* Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archeologish Institut te Isanbul, vol. 80 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1997).

257 Kozuh, "Temple, Economy, and Religion," 4, with reference to Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple,* 118 and Nicholas Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History* (London: Routledge, 1992), 135.

An important source of the social power of the priesthood was its exclusivity. Access to the temple granted a multitude of benefits; but membership in the Babylonian priesthood was extremely difficult to attain. Babylonian temples were closed to the public—the right to worship in front of the gods was reserved for priests and kings. "Several zones of increasing sacrality encapsulated the inner sanctuary of Babylonian temples, and crossing these zones was an important privilege that distinguished the priesthood from other groups in society."[258]

In order to access such a special, sacred space, a prospective priest had to meet a number of requirements, known to us from ritual texts. A priest was required to be male. "Qualification depended on the candidate's physical, mental, social, and legal status. … Physically, the candidate had to be well-formed, showing no bodily defects, no signs of skin disease or illness. Mentally, he was expected to be devoted to his lord, not prone to criminal behavior. Socially, the candidate had to descend from a consecrated priest."[259] This last requirement in particular had significant ramifications for the make-up of the Babylonian priesthood, restricting it to a relatively small number of well-established, elite families.

In addition to those requirements, membership in the Babylonian priesthood was also "dependent upon ownership of a 'prebend'--a legal title that constituted a share (Babylonian *isqu*) of a particular area of the cult." An owner of a prebend was entitled to shares of temple income

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258 Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Priesthood in the Long Sixth Century," 64, with reference to J. Z. Smith, *To take place: toward theory in ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 49.

259 Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Priesthood in the Long Sixth Century BC," 66. For more detailed accounts of the rules of admission and the texts from which they are known to us, see: Rykle Borger, "Die Weihe eines Enlil-Priesters," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 30 (1973), 163-176; W. G. Lambert, "The Qualifications of Babylonian Diviners," in *Eine Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994,* ed. S. Maul (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 141-158; Anne Löhnert, "The installation of priests according to Neo-Assyrian documents," *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 16 (2007), 273-286; C. Waerzeggers, with a contribution by M. Jursa, "On the initiation of Babylonian priests," *Zeitschrift für altorientalische und Biblische Reghtsgeschichte* 14 (2008) 1-23; Anne Löhnert, "Reconsidering the consecration of priests in ancient Mesopotamia," in Y*our praise is sweet. A memorial volume for Jeremy Black from students, colleagues and friends,* ed. H. D. Baker et. al (eds), (London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq, 2010), 183-191.

in exchange for service to the temple on set days of the month or year. Prebends could be further subdivided into fractional shares, conceptualized as days per month that the duty was performed. "For example, in 547 BC a certain Nabû-ēṭir, inhabitant of Borsippa, owned five days per month of the reedworker's prebend in Ezida, the temple of Nabû. This share amounted to a sixth of the total prebend."[260] Prebends could be bought and sold between priestly families; it was also not uncommon for an older priest to adopt another successor, although that successor would also have to be the son of a priest.[261]

The strict requirements of the priesthood created an exclusive community of priests and their families. Because pure descent from a consecrated priest was a central requirement of the priesthood, access to the priesthood stayed in a small circle of families. These families were furthermore closely connected to each other through a web of other legal and economic relationships. Members of this community tended to intermarry, enter loan contracts with each other, and buy and sell real estate to each other. The requirements for the performance of prebends meant that prebends could *only* be bought and sold between members of this community. The adoption process mentioned above could also only occur within the community. Such legal and economic relationships ensured the flourishing (or at least survival) of priestly families, and therefore the survival of the priesthood.[262]

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260 Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Priesthood in the Long Sixth Century BC," 63.

261 Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Priesthood in the Long Sixth Century BC," 66. Kessler (1991) and others have argued that the prebendary system underwent significant changes in the Hellenistic period—prices for a prebendary share skyrocketed, and the shares themselves were increasingly fractionalized. Pirngruber and Waerzeggers, however, have disputed this claim, which was based on a misreading of prebend contract formulas. Changes in prebend prices in the Hellenistic period were not nearly as drastic as previously thought (by a factor of 1.5, rather than by more than 10) and aligned generally with changes in price and availability of certain goods in times of war versus times of peace. See Reinhard Pirngruber and Caroline Waerzeggers, "Prebend Prices in First-Millennium B.C. Babylonia," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 63 (2011), 111-144; rebutting Karlheinz Kessler, *Uruk. Urkunden aus Privathäusen I. Die Wohnhäuser westlich des Eanna-Tempelbereichs. AUWE 8,* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1991).

262 Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Priesthood in the Long Sixth Century," 63-67.

We know that Iqīšā was a fully consecrated priest. SpTU 1, 128, discussed above, records the purchase of a brewer's prebend by Iqīšā from Ina-qibit-Anu. In the colophon of SpTU 2, 38, also quoted above, as well as twenty-three other texts in his dossier, Iqīšā claims the title of *āšipu*, sometimes also transliterated as *mašmaššu* or loosely translated as "exorcist" or "incantation priest." The *āšipu* was a priest with expertise in exorcistic rituals and medicine, as well as the types of divination and incantations necessary for the proper performance of those rituals. Other texts in Iqīša's library attest to the breadth and depth of knowledge required for an *āšipu* priest: for example, he also owned texts related to *bārûtu,* or divination, especially by exstipicy; celestial divination from the omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil*; and *namburbû,* or apotropaic rituals to ward off evil or avert bad events.

In the colophon of W 22246a = SpTU 1, 94, instructions for how to use astrology to predict the price of grain, Iqīšā claims another important cultic title: *ērib bīti* (^{lu_2}KU$_4$.E$_2$) ^{d}*Anu u Antu,* or temple enterer of Anu and Antu.

> GIM SUMUN-*šu$_2$* SAR-*ma ba-ru*
> IM ^{m}BA$^{ša_2\text{-}a}$ *bu$_{12}$-kur* ^{md}INANA-MU-KAM$_2$
> ŠA$_3$.BAL.BAL ^{m}E$_2$-KUR-*za-kir*
> ^{lu_2}MAŠ.MAŠ UNUG$^{ki\ u_2\ lu_2}$KU$_4$.E$_2$ ^{d}*Anu u An-tu$_4$*
>
> Written and checked according to its original.
> Tablet of Iqīšā, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendent of Ekur-zakir
> *āšipu*, Urukean, *ērib bīti* of Anu and Antu.

Contra the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, which identifies the *ērib bīti* title as a rank, A. C. V. M. Bongenaar has convingly argued that *ērib bīti* was in fact a prebendary office; "*ērib bīti* is not a general word, class, position or honorific title, but has just one meaning: 'the owner of an *ērib bītūtu* prebend.'"[263] Ownership of an *ērib bītūtu* prebend granted one access to the innermost,

263 A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar,* 146f.

most restricted areas of the temple. Priests whose duties involved close contact with the gods and their statues, including *āšipus* and *kalûs* as well as master craftsmen such as carpenters (*nagārru)*, jewellers (*kabšarru*), and goldsmiths (*kutimmu*), therefore often held this prebend along with their other titles.[264]

Holders of the *ērib bītūtu* prebend seem to have played a central role in major rituals in the Hellenistic period. AO 6460 = TU 41, referenced above, describes an *ērib bīti* making a libation before the gods with a golden bowl and taking part in the procession of Anu and the Sceptre of Kingship, along with the *āšipu*. VAT 7849 = KAR 132, another text from Hellenistic Uruk, describes the route that Anu's statue takes to the *akītu* temple outside the city during the *akītu* festival. At 22ff., the temple enterers accompany the king to the Irigal and lift up the water basin for the washing of hands of Ištar.

Caroline Waerzeggers connects the position of the *ērib bīti* to the concept of sacred space, as developed by J. Z. Smith in his wide-raning 1987 study of ritual and space *To Take Place*. Per Waerzeggers, "several zones of increasing sacrality encapsulated the inner sanctuary of Babylonian temples, and crossing these zones was an important privilege that distinguished the priesthood from other groups of society. … *Ērib bīti,* 'temple enterer,' was the title carried by the most high-ranking priests who had unrestricted access to all areas of the temple." The innermost part of the temple, the cella where the cult image of the temple's principle deity was kept, was accessible only to the *ērib bīti.*[265] Bongenaar's argument that the *ērib bīti* title was not a rank but rather an office of a specific prebend does not preclude the validity of Waerzeggers' arguments about the status of holders of that priesthood. Her observation on the dynamics of privilege,

264 Linssen, *Cults of Uruk and Babylon* 17, with references.
265 Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Priesthood," 64-65.

access, and power in the work of the *ērib bīti* is particularly pertinent. "Only members of a few privileged families had the right to enter the courtyard [of the temple]. In other words, the courtyard was an ideal venue of exclusive social display, as the peripheral areas of the temple compound were more accessible to people from different social backgrounds."[266] Every time he entered the innermost part of the temple, Iqīšā was asserting his membership in a small, exclusive group of priests who had access to the most secret, most sacred, and most important parts of Babylonian worship.

What can Iqīšā's inclusion of his priestly titles in his colophons tell us? He identifies himself as an *āšipu* in at least twenty-three of his colophons; he may also use his title in six others, but the relevant sections of the tablets are broken. It is his second-most used identifier, after his family name. Iqīšā's use of his priestly titles does not seem to correlate with the content of the texts. The texts in which he uses his titles encompass a range of genres: astrological texts; incantations and rituals; omen series and commentaries; horoscopic tables; a commentary on the "Āšipu's Almanac," and the Elevation of Ištar. The incantations and terrestrial omen series fit under the traditional domain of the *āšipu*; the astrological texts and commentaries on *Enūma Anu Enlil* fit under the expanded Hellenistic paradigm. The Elevation of Ištar, a bilingual literary text, is not connected to *āšipūtu* specifically, but is instead a part of scribal culture more generally. Furthermore, Iqīšā does not mention his priesthood in all of his texts that pertain to *āšipūtu;* his title is absent, for example, from the colophon of W22378 = SpTU 1, 14, excerpts from the incantation series *Muššu'u*.

The use of Iqīšā's priestly title does not seem to be connected to a particular production context, either. W22327 = SpTU 1, 90, a commentary on *Enūma Anu Enlil* 56, was written for

266 Ibid., 66.

Iqīšā by Anu-ab-uṣur when the later was an advanced scribal student. Iqīšā is not identified as an *āšipu* in that text's colophon. But he is identified as an *āšipu* in the other texts written for him by his advanced students.

In one text, W22246a = SpTU 1, 94, which gives instructions on how to use zodiacal astrology to predict the price of grain, Iqīšā also identifies himself as an *ērib bīti* ^{d}*Anu u Antu* as well as an *āšipu.* It is not clear why Iqīšā would include his *ērib bīti* title on this particular text. Astrological price forecasting is not related to the duties of the *ērib bīti*. It is possible that this text is simply from a later part of Iqīšā's life than most of his other texts, and that he did not hold the *ērib bīti* prebend until that time.

The frequency of his use of priestly titles indicates that membership in the priesthood was an essential aspect of Iqīšā's social positioning. When he uses his priestly titles, Iqīšā is asserting his membership in an exclusive social circle accessible only to a people descended from a particular group of families. His priestly title is also a reminder of his family's particular history and heritage. By the Hellenistic period, particular priestly offices were even more strongly associated with specific families. "Only members of the Ekur-zakir, Gimil-Anu and Ḫunzu families were *āšipus,* contrary to the seven ancestors of Urukean *āšipus* [in the Neo-Babylonian period]. Descendants of Sîn-leqqe-unnīni had a complete monopoly on *kalûtu."*[267] This aspect of Iqīšā's use of his *āšipu* title is further reinforced by its place in the colophon formula. The sequence invariably goes: Iqīšā, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendent of Ekur-zakir, *āšipu*. His status as *āšipu* is an essential part of his descent from the Ekur-zakir clan, and vice versa.

There is a frustrating lack of concrete evidence pertaining to the relationship between the Babylonian priesthood and their new Greco-Macedonian rulers in the early Hellenistic period.

267 Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks*, 233.

The story of a botched substitute king ritual performed by Babylonian priests on behalf of Alexander the Great, told in slightly different versions by Diodorus of Sicily, Plutarch, and Arrian, might have a seed of truth to it; but that seed is surrounded by a thick chaff of legend and moralizing, as befits the genre that all three of those writers were working in.[268] The Seleukid kings appear in brief references in the Astronomical Diaries and the Babylonian Chronicles; for example, BCHP 6, the Ruin of Esagila chronicle (BM 32248 + 32456 + 32477 + 32543 + 76-11-17) mentions Antiochus I tripping over some rubble at the base of the Esagila and ordering it to be removed. The most direct proof that we have of a Seleukid king taking an interest in cuneiform culture is the famous Borsippa Cylinder of Antiochus I; but this well-discussed texts was composed after Iqīšā's time, and comes from Borsippa, not Uruk.[269]

It is possible that interactions between the first Seleukid kings and the priests of Uruk were recorded in Greek or Aramaic on leather or another medium that did not survive. But, as Philippe Clancier's study of the roles of the *ṭupšarru* and *sepīru* scribes in Hellenistic Uruk has shown, temple business was generally conducted in cuneiform and on tablets. When the temple administration had to interact with state officials, as when, for example, temple personnel entered into contracts with outsiders, two copies of the relevant legal document were often made: one in cuneiform on clay, and one in Greek or Aramaic on leather.[270] If Seleukos I or Antiochus I had taken an active interest in the temples of Uruk and their priests, we would expect to see some references in the cuneiform record. But we find very little.

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268 For an argument for the historicity of this incident and an attempt to reconstruct its circumstances, see R. J. van der Spek, "Darius III, Alexander the Great, and Babylonian Scholarship," in *Ach.Hist XIII,* ed. W. Henkelman & A. Kuhrt (Leiden: Instituut vor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), 289-346.

269 For an overview of the (scanty) evidence of direct interaction between Seleukid rulers and Babylonian priests, see Kathryn Stevens, *Between Greece and Babylonia: Hellenistic Intellectual History in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) 217-251

270 Philippe Clancier, "Cuneiform Culture's Last Guardians," 762-767.

In fact, it seems that the Seleukids did not directly participate in one of the most iconic and symbolically important acts of Babylonian kingship in Uruk: restoring and rebuilding a temple. As mentioned above, Anu-uballiṭ Nikarchos of the Aḫ'utu clan, *šanu* of Uruk, renovated the Rēš temple in the mid-third century BCE. In the manner of Mesopotamian rulers of the past, Anu-uballiṭ Nikarchos commemorated his building project with a dedicatory cylinder inscription (YBC 2169 = YOS 1, 52), dated to 68 SE, or 244 BCE. In the inscription, Anu-uballit Nikarchos claims that Antiochus I bestowed his second name upon him (*ša* ^{m}*An-ti-'-i-ku-su šar mâtâti*^{meš} ^{m}*Ni-ki-qa-ar-qu-su šumi-šu ša-nu-u₂ iš-kun-nu*);[271] but, crucially, the inscription depicts Anu-uballiṭ Nikarchos himself rebuilding the temple, placing the doors in the threshhold, and welcoming Anu and Antu into their new shrine. The fifteenth line of the inscription states that the renovations of the temple were undertaken for the life of the kings Antiochus and Seleukos, suggesting some degree of royal patronage; but the kings themselves are not directly involved. This is a start contrast with the image of earlier Mesopotamian rulers, who would be celebrated as temple builders. In YOS 1, 52, the kings are distant benefactors; the actual kingly act is undertaken by an Urukean bureaucrat.

So where does this leave Iqīšā and his colleagues? The evidence of the effects of the apparent lack of royal interest in the Urukean priesthood can be interpreted in two different ways. On the one hand, we can take the approach favored by Eleanor Robson, and see the withdrawal of royal patronage as one of the early death knells of cuneiform culture. Starting in the Achaemenid period, Babylonian priests like Iqīšā had to compete first with Persian *magi* and

271 Text and translation from Albert T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection,* Yale Oriental Series 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915), no. 52.

then with Greek *sophoi*. This competition did lead to some innovative scholarship, particularly in the field of astrology. But Robson argues:

> "It is clear, though, that in the long run [the *āšipus* and *kalûs* of Uruk] were fighting a losing battle with multicultural modernity. Although the vagaries of preservation mean that cuneiform tablets dominate the surviving textual record, archaeological and historical evidence points clearly to the increasing dominance of new ways of thinking, circulating in other media and other languages. Educated urbanites now had an unprecedented abundance of philosophical and theological choice about how to conceptualise the divine, about the natural world, about society's and the individual's relationships to them. And they increasingly chose not to patronise cuneiform scholarship or the temples that supported it."[272]

On the other hand, we could also interpret the lack of Seleukid interest in the temples of Uruk as an opportunity for Iqīšā and his colleagues. Local urban elites could rise up to take the place of the absent Seleukid kings, gaining power and influence and even a degree of autonomy in their own communities. From this perspective, the early Hellenistic period in Uruk looks like a late flourishing of scribal culture, rather than the beginning of its end.

Both interpretations of the evidence have their strengths (and their supporters). But I am inclined to support the second interpretation—or rather, I believe that the second interpretation more accurately reflects the way that Iqīšā articulates his own situation in his colophons. The impression we get from Iqīšā's colophons is of a man who was proud of his family, his history, his status, and his profession. Iqīšā projects a sense of security; whether this sense of security is a genuine reflection of his situation or a reactionary defense mechanism against change, is ultimately impossible to know.

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272 Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* 244, with reference to Lucinda Dirven, "Religious continuity and change in Parthian Mesopotamia: A note on the survival of Babylonian traditions," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* 1 (2014): 201-229. Robson also agrees with Dirven's contentions that "Babylonian culture was never confined to temples and cuneiform and that the Babylonian deities had always led a life outside their traditional homes as well. When the centres dwindled, people responded by concentrating on existing and new cults, based on old traditions but focused at the local and personal level."

VII. Elements of the Colophon: Protective Clauses and the Meaning of Secret Knowledge

Twelve of the tablets in the Iqīšā dossier have colophons that include a prohibition against damaging or stealing the tablet. They are: W22378 = SpTU 1, 14, excerpts from the incantation series *Muššu'u*; W22653 = SpTU 2, 6, bilingual incantations against Ardat-lilî; W22705/0+1+2 = SpTU 2, 37, a commentary on *Šumma izbu*; W22703 = SpTU 2, 38, another commentary on *Šumma izbu*; W22554 = SpTU 3, 97, excerpts from *Šumma ālu*; W22704 =SpTU 3, 104, a Kalendertext for the month of Du'uzu; W22577/1 = SpTU 4, 140, excerpts from the apotropaic incantation series *Ušburrudû*; W22656/10C = SpTU 4, 147, a fragment of a colophon appended to an unknown text; W22656/10a = SpTU 4, 158, a series of DUB.ḪA.LA omens; W23014 = SpTU 4, 220, a text that combines a building ritual and building materials for shrines for various deities; AO 6469 = TCL 6, 34, *Qutāru* fumigations against Antašubba; AO 6471 = TCL 6, 50, a *namburbû* against evil related to the mounting of a chariot; and Bod S 302 = RA 12, 75, the Elevation of Ištar.

The colophon of W22703 = SpTU 2, 38, quoted in full above, contains a good example of this type of prohibition. The relevant section reads:

> …<<nu>> *paliḫ* ^{d}*Anu* ^{d}*Enlil*
> *u* ^{d}*Ea* <nu> *litbalšu ša i*-TUM$_3$-*šu* ^{d}IM *litbalšu*
>
> "Whoever reveres Anu, Enlil, and Ea
> shall <not> take it away. Whoever takes it away, may Adad take him away."[273]

Other texts in the dossier add or subtract some elements. SpTU 2, 6, SpTU 3, 97, and RA 12, 73-84 include an injunction that whoever takes a tablet to bring it back promptly to its proper place. SpTU 2, 6, SpTU 4, 220, RA 12, 75, and SpTU 4, 140 reference Šala, the consort of Adad; SpTU

273 Edition and translation by Kathryn Stevens. But see Jiménez above for a different understanding of the misplaced NU.

3, 97 and TCL 6, 50 use the phrase *paliḫ Anu u Antu*; and AO 06469 = TCL 6, 34 contains the unique prohibition *paliḫ* ^{d}ME.ME *lišaqir,* "whoever reveres Gula, may he treasure it." Only SpTU 4, 147 preserves the phrasing ZU-a *ana* ZU-a *lilkallim* NU ZU-*a ayya īmur,* "one who knows may show one who knows; one who does not know may not see." The colophon of RA 12, 73-84 is complex enough to reproduce in full:

> NUN ^{d}NU-DIM$_2$-MUD-DA NAM-BI-ŠE$_3$ I$_3$-ḪUL$_2$ BAR-BI UL-LA AM$_3^!$ (AN-)MI-IB$_2$-ZIG$_3$
> IM.GID$_2$.DA ^{m}BA-$^{šà_2\text{-}a}$ *bu*$_{12}$-*kur*$_2$ ^{md}INANA-MU-KAM$_2$ ŠA$_3$.BAL.BAL ^{m}E$_2$.KUR-*za-kir* ^{lu_2}MAŠ.MAŠ *qat*$_3$ ^{md}INANA-MU-KAM$_2$
> DUMU-A.NI *pa-liḫ* ^{d}Anu ^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ *u* ^{d}IDIM *la*$_3$ TUM$_3$-*šu*$_2$ *ina me-reš-ti-šu*$_2$ *la u*$_2$*-šam-qiš-šu*$_2$
> *ina* MUL$_2$-*šu*$_2$ *ana* E$_2$ UMUN-*šu*$_2$ ḪE$_2$.GUR-*šu*$_2$ *ša*$_2$ ^{i}TUM$_3$-*šu*$_2$ ^{d}IŠKUR *u* ^{d}*Ša-la lit-bal-šu*$_2$
> ^{iti}BARA$_2$ U$_4$ 23-KAM$_2$ MU 8-KAM ^{m}*Pi-il-pi-is-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR
>
> "Prince Nudimmud rejoiced because of this, his liver rose in joy.
> Long tablet of Iqīšā, heir of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendent of Ekur-zakir, *āšipu.* Hand of Ištar-šum-ēreš,
> His son. One who reveres Anu, Enlil, and Ea will not take it away, one who borrows it must not intentionally allow it to become lost.
> At its proper time he shall return it to the house of its owner. He who does take it, may Adad and Šala take him away.
> Month of Nisannu, 23rd day, 8th year of Philip, king of all the lands."[274]

Kathryn Stevens argues that these protective colophons are part of the same family as what Rykle Borger called *Geheimwissen,* or secret knowledge, colophons.[275] But there are some differences between the protective formulae found in the colophons of the Iqīšā dossier and the classic *Geheimwissen* colophons that need to be teased out. Unlike a true *Geheimwissen* colophon, the colophons in the Iqīšā dossier generally do not contain the secrecy formulae (*mūdû mūdâ likallim,* "One who knows may show one who knows"; *lā mūdû lā immar,* "One who does

274 Text and translation by Jeremiah Peterson for the Bilinguals in Late Mesopotamian Scholarship project. http://oracc.org/blms. See also Blahoslav Hruška, "Das spätbabylonische Lehrgedict 'Inannas Erhöhung," *Archiv Orientalny* 37 (1960): 473-522.

275 Kathryn Stevens, "Secrets in the Library: Protected Knowledge and Professional Identity in Late Babylonian Uruk," *Iraq* LXXV (2013), 212-216.

not know may not see"; *ikkib ilī rabûti* "Restriction of the great gods," or *pirišti* ^{d}DN, "restriction of DN") that Borger and later Alan Lenzi thought necessary. The very fragmentary SpTU 4, 147 is the only exception to this trend. In his rebuttal to Stevens' article, Lenzi contends that the concept of secrecy *in particular* is useful for "for understanding the sociology of Mesopotamian scholarship" because it is a "specific and distinctive kind of protection." Lenzi also adds that "modern social science has shown [secrecy] to be useful in understanding the dynamics of social protection." While Lenzi acknowledges that his position and Stevens' position are not mutually exclusive, he does insist on the usefulness of secrecy as an analytical category.[276]

The twelve colophons in the Iqīšā dossier listed above are clearly concerned with protecting the tablets and the knowledge contained within them. But these colophons do not seem at all concerned with secrecy or with the status of the reader of the tablet. Instead, the physical location and safety of the tablet is paramount; if the tablet is kept safe and guarded, the knowledge itself will also be safe. The protective colophons in the Iqīšā dossier instead refer to potential readers with the phrase *paliḫ* DN, "one who reveres DN." That phrase appeals to the piety of the reader in an appeal to the keep the tablet safe, rather than restricting access to the tablet and the knowledge it contains to scribes of the right rank. A version of the *mūdû / lā mūdû* formula appears only once in the Iqīšā dossier, in the very fragmentary SpTU 4, 147. But SpTU 4, 147 also contains a prohibition against moving or stealing the tablet: *la* u_2*-šam-kiš-šu*$_2$ *ina* TE-*šu*$_2$ *ana* E_2 UMUN-*šu*$_2$ ḪE.GUR-*šu*$_2$, "He shall not let it get lost, he shall return it to the house of his lord."

276 Alan Lenzi, "Advertising Secrecy, Creating Power in Ancient Mesopotamia: How Scholars Used Secrecy in Scribal Education to Build and Perpetuate Their Social Prestige," *Antiguo Oriental*e 11 (2013), 13-42.

The general lack of interest in secrecy combined with the emphasis on the physical location and safety of the tablet demonstrated in the protective colophons of the Iqīšā dossier shows that Iqīšā was interacting with Lenzi's "dynamics of social protection" in a distinctive way. Secrecy could be a useful for ensuring the protection and tablets and the continuation of scribal knowledge, but it was generally not the strategy Iqīšā chose to use. Instead, Iqīšā focused on the physical safety of the tablet itself. The brotherhood of cuneiform scribes in early Hellenistic Uruk was already small and exclusive; access to knowledge written in cuneiform did not need to be further restricted. But a lost, stolen, or damaged tablet was a gap in the stream of tradition, and a threat to the continued survival and propagation of cuneiform culture that needed to be guarded against.

Stevens has also argued that the use of protective colophons for texts of different genres in the Ekur-zakir corpus more broadly specifically show the "flexibility and creativity" of Mesopotamian scholars.[277] The choices that Iqīšā and his descendants made about which tablets to protect and which to leave unprotected reflected changes in the boundaries of their professional knowledge in the Hellenistic period. Protective formulae in the Ekur-zakir corpus are heavily correlated with tablets containing knowledge that was central to the profession of the *āšipu*: *namburbu* rituals, terrestrial omens, and diagnostic series. But Iqīšā and his sons also protected texts having to do with celestial astronomy, which was outside the traditional bounds of *āšipûtu.* This trend would continue into the later Hellenistic corpus from the Rēš temple, where priests who bore the title of *āšipu* and *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* protected astronomical tablets as well as medical ones.[278]

277 Stevens, "Secrets in the Library," 228.

278 Ibid. Stevens also demonstrates how some supposed inconsistencies in the protection trends actually reflect another aspect of the tablet's production. Tablets by junior students are not protected; tablets by more advanced students often are, as is the case in W22703 = SpTU 2, 38.

Broadly speaking, then, Iqīšā's use of protective clauses in his colophons are evidence of a shift in what it meant to be an *āšipu.* The intellectual domain of the *āšipu* seems to have expanded in the second half of the first millennium BCE to include traditional celestial divination, as well as the newer disciplines of astrology and hemerology. But Eleanor Robson has argued that, as the scope of *āšipūtu* was increasing, membership in the profession was decreasing. The assemblage and destruction of the library of Aššurbanipal and the Achaemenid response to the Babylonian revolts against Xerxes created "survival bottlenecks" for cuneiform culture that eventually led to its extinction.[279] "As scholarly communities elsewhere died out, the opportunities for intellectual exchange, in writing or in person, diminished all the time. What were once intra-Babylonian networks, spanning north and south, collapsed down to regional hubs, as reflected in the restricted circulation of compositions and practitioners, and a consequent reduction in the range of divine patrons."[280] At a time when, in Robson's words, "the worlds of the *āšipu* and *kalû* were steadily shrinking," it seems that ensuring the continued preservation and transmission of the tablets and the knowledge they contained was more important to Iqīšā than enforcing a scribal hiearchy or protecting trade secrets. By safeguarding the physical tablets in his collection with protective clauses and prohibitions, Iqīšā was ensuring that his knowledge and professional expertise would be passed down to future *āšipu*. The profession might be smaller and more exclusive, but it would survive.

279 Eleanor Robson, "Do not disperse the collection! Motivations and strategies for protecting cuneiform scholarship in the first millennium BC," in *Sharing and Hiding Religious Knowledge in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. M. Popović, L. Roig Lanzillotta and C. Wilde (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 8-45.
280 Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks*, 244.

VIII. Conclusions: Colophons, Continuity, and Rupture

Colophons allow modern historians to determine when, where, and by whom a text was copied, to place a tablet in a series, and to reconstruct prosopographies and ancient social networks. Colophons served ancient scribes in these ways, too. But at its most essential level, the composition of a colophon is an act by a scribe of self identification. A colophon is a personal stamp on a text by its copyist, a place where the individual and the personal makes its mark on the traditional. It is the most explicit way in which a scribe can express his own identity in his work. When Iqīšā wrote his colophons, what exactly was he saying about himself?

The variance in the content of Iqīšā's colophons demonstrates that he actively chose to represent himself in different ways at different times or in different contexts, even though some of the factors behind those decisions are still opaque to us. But two themes occur again and again throughout his colophons. Iqīšā always represents his family, both through explicit reference to his descent from the Ekur-zakir clan and through reference to his position as an *āšipu*, which in the Hellenistic period had essentially become a hereditary office. Iqīšā also often demonstrates his membership in the small, elite social group of scribes who were members of a long lineage of scholars and who had access to special knowledge and who preserved and partook in cuneiform culture.

In his colophons, Iqīšā works to present himself as a "typical" Babylonian scribe, a member of a group with ancient origins and a stable, unbroken line of tradition. The elements of his colophon that Iqīšā uses to express his identity—his clan name, his priestly titles, his gentilics, his teacher-student relationships, his use of protective clauses, and his relationship to the transmission of the canon—were also used by previous generations of Urukean scribes

before him, to much the same effect. The online Geography of Knowledge in Assyria and Babylonia (GKAB) project, part of the Corpus of Ancient Mesopotamian Scholarship, allows us to quickly browse the preserved colophons of the Šangû-Ninurta clan, who occupied the "House of the *Āšipu*" in the Achaemenid period. The colophons of the Šangû-Ninurtas generally comprise of the same elements that Iqīšā uses in his colophons. For example, Anu-ikṣur / Šamaš-iddin // Šangû-Ninurta wrote the following colophon on his copy of the first tablet of *Šumma izbu*:

> BE MUNUS U_3.TU-*ma* SAG.DU UR.MAḪ GAR LUGAL *dan-nu* <*ina*> KUR.$GAL_2^{ši}$
> ŠU.NIGIN 1 UŠ 59-AM_3 MU ŠID-BI DUB 1-KAM.MA BE *iz-bu* $EŠ_2$.GAR_3 BE MUNUS $PEŠ_4$-*ma* $ša_3$ $ŠA_3$-$ša_3$ ER_2
> la_3 AL.TIL GABA.RI UNUG^{ki} GIM SUMUN-$šu_2$ SAR-*ma ba-ri* DUB ^{md}*a-nu-ik-ṣur*
> DUMU $ša_2$ ^{md}UTU-MU DUMU ^{lu_2}SANGA-^{d}MAŠ ^{lu_2}MAŠ.MAŠ BAN_3.DA qa-at_2 ^{md}*a-nu*-GI DUMU-$šu_2$
> MUD $AN.ŠAR_2$ *u* ^{d}$KI.ŠAR_2$ la_3 TUM_3
>
> " 'If a woman gives birth and (the baby) is provided with a lion's head: there will be a mighty king in the land.
>
> Total 1 sixty 59 lines, counted; tablet 1 (of the series): 'If an anomoloy' (from) the Series: 'If a woman is pregnant and her foetus cries.' Not completed.
>
> Copy of Uruk, written and checked according to its original. Tablet of Anu-ikṣur, son of Šamaš-iddin, descendant of Šangi-Ninurta, junior *āšipu*. Hand of Anu-mušallim, his son.
>
> He who reveres Anšar and Kišar shall not take the tablet away."

Anu-ikṣur uses the same elements in this colophon as Iqīšā uses in his, presenting the same impression of family and regional pride, of membership in an exclusive social class, and of connection to tradition. Iqīšā is therefore presenting a strong sense of continuity with the past in both the content of his colophons and their form.

One of the perennial issues in the historiography of the Hellenistic world is the question of the transition between the Achaemenid empire and the Hellenistic kingdoms. To what extent did Alexander and his successors disrupt the existing Achaemenid systems of power, and to what extent did they co-opt and adapt them to their own needs? Historians in the New Achaemenid school advocate for strong continuity between the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods in Babylonia.[281] In an article devoted to exploring the question of continuity, rupture, or decline in Ur, Uruk, and Larsa, Francis Joannès identified five obvservable consequences of Alexander's conquest evident in the documentary and archaeological evidence: the increased circulation of silver currency, but without a real shift to a monetized economy; the transfer of land to new owners; a possible economic crisis caused by the wars between the Successors; a significant increase in slave purchases in some Uruk families; and changes in the balance of power between temples and royal administration, with the urban elite of the cities flocking to the temples. But at the same time, Joannès concludes that there was a strong current of continuity between the Achaemenid and Seleukid periods. Most of the structures of administration and power persisted, and the Seleukids in fact legitimized themselves to their Babylonian subjects by casting themselves as Achaemenid and Mesopotamian kings.[282]

281 Seminal publications on this topic include: Pierre Briant, *Rois, tributs et paysans: études sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien.* Center de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne, 43 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982); Amelie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander* (London: Duckworth, 1987); Briant, "The Seleucid Kingdom, the Achaemenid empire and the history of the Near East in the first millennium BC," in *Religion and Religious Practice in the Selecid Kingdom.* Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 1, ed. P. Bilde et. al (Arhaus: Arhaus University Press, 1990); Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002a). See chapter two for a more detailed discussion of this historiographic trend. Contra Briant 2002a, see Hans-Ulrich Wiemer, "Alexander – der letzte Achaimenide? Eroberungspolitik, lokale Eliten und altorientalische Traditionen im Jahr 323," *Historische Zeitschrif* 284 (2007): 281–309.

282 Francis Joannès, "La Babylonie méridionale: continuité, déclin ou rupture?" in *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques,* ed. P. Briant & F. Joannès (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 128-130.

Joannès conclusions are disputed by Christopher Tuplin, who argues that "Alexander was a conqueror *par excellence,* and conquerors are apt to want both to insist upon caesura (to win plaudits from disadvantaged erstwhile subjects) and upon continuity (to avoid instability and to win plaudits from advantaged erstwhile subjects, for whom a continuing role in managing and profiting from imperial power takes precedence over affront at a change of royal identity)." Tuplin acknowledges that there is some evidence of continuity, but ultimately concludes that "unless appeal to the Achaemenids (whether through a carefully spun version of Alexander or simply over his head) had a large and explicity role in creating stability, continuity seems unlikely to be a major part of the picture."[283]

John Ma's model of the four genealogical strands of the Seleukid kingdom—Achaemenid, Mesopotamian, Greek, and Macedonian—both acknowledges the elements of continuity and argues that the conquest of Alexander did create a new type of social and political order.[284] Ma's position represents a mediation between positions that argue for continuity and positions that argue for rupture and change. This middle position aims to capture the full complexity and diversity of the period.

We can think of Ma's four genealogical strands as the invisible substrate in which Iqīšā lived and worked. By examining how Iqīšā interfaces (or does not interface) with each of these strands when identifying himself in his colophons, we can glimpse how the perspective of a member of Uruk's urban elite on the question of continuity versus change. In other words, did Iqīšā meaningfully represent himself as a citizen of a Babylonian kingdom, an Achaemenid one, or a Greek or Macedonian one?

283 Christopher Tuplin, "The Seleucids and their Achaemenid predecessors: A Persian inheritance?" in *Ancient Greece and ancient Iran: Cross-cultural encounters,* ed. S. M. R. Darbandi & A. Zournatzi (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundatin, 2008), 109-110.

284 Ma, "Hellenistic Empires," 325-335.

The overwhelming impression we get from Iqīšā's colophons is of stable, uninterupted continuity with the generations that immediately preceded him. Iqīšā furthermore consistently emphasizes his ties to a specifically Babylonian past in his invocation of his scribal genealogy, his use of priestly titles, and his references to his role in the maintanence and propogation of the cuneiform canon. A reader of Iqīšā's colophons with no knowledge of the timeline of ancient Middle Eastern history would never suspect that Iqīšā was living and working through a major dynastic change. Instead, Iqīšā's colophons express strong continuity with both the distant Babylonian past of Uruk and with its more immediate Achaemenid past, in which a strong, local Urukean identity seems to have been encouraged and honored. There are no hints of Ma's Greek or Macedonian strands.

The impression of continuity with past given by Iqīšā's colophons stands in stark contrast with Michael Jursa's recent analysis of the reaction of the priests of the Esagila to Alexander's arrival. Jursa argues that the dossier of cuneiform texts produced by the priests of the Esagila from the fourth centure BCE to the first century BCE "reflect their evolving views of their position in a changing political and socio-economic setting." Jursa argues that, in the original literary products of the priesthood of the Esagila:

> "the Babylonian priesthood engaged in an imaginative, literary (re-)construction if its past and of its role in the present and the future. ...This flower of creativity in the late period must reflect a new climate, possible a climate of hope, in which it seemed plausible that something could be achieved with this type of literary production. Seleucid euergetism vis-á-vis the Babylonian temple institutions supports this reading of the evidence. There is a stark contrast to the late Persian period, marked as it is by the inaccessibility, or absence, of the Great King, and by the overall lack of interest of the rulers in the Babylonian temple instutitions. The watershed here is Alexander's conquest."[285]

285 Michael Jursa, "Wooing the victor with words: Babylonian priestly literature as a response to the Macedonian conquest," in *The Legitimation of Conquest. Monarchical Representation and the Art of Government in the Empire of Alexander the Great,* eds. Kail Trampendach and Alexander Meeus (Stuttgart: Franz Zeitner Verlag, 2020), 165-177.

Jursa's analysis of the situation of the priesthood in Babylon is compelling. But it is striking that there is no "watershed moment" detectable in Iqīšā's colophons. Unlike the priests of the Esagila, Iqīšā is not looking to craft a new identity; rather, he is expressing his identity in thoroughly traditional terms, in a manner that establishes a strong sense of continuity between Iqīšā and the generations of Urukean priests who came directly before him. This difference is a reflection of the disparate statuses of Babylon and Uruk under the last Achaemenids and of the ways that Alexander's conquest was experienced by those outside of the imperial core.

This study of Iqīšā's colophons in detail is therefore also a reminder that fourth-century Babylonia was not a monolith and an argument in favor of an increased recognition of regional diversity. Uruk was not Babylon. It had its own history, its own traditions, even its own theology that elevated Anu and Antu above the other gods. The rise in status and power of a local Urukean elite following the ousting of Babylon-based families in the aftermath of the revolts against Xerxes must have only heightened these regional differences. The colophons of the Iqīšā dossier are evidence that the Urukean elite had a different reaction to the arrival of Alexander the Great and his successors than the elite of Babylon. Iqīšā, it seems from his colophons, was not looking for a break with the past. Instead, he seems invested in ensuring continuity with the Achaemenid period, and with the prestige, privileges, and regional independence he and his family had enjoyed under that regime.

Whether the picture painted by Iqīšā's colophons is an accurate representation of the political situation in Uruk circa 315 BCE or a counterfactual expression of Iqīšā's desire for stability, we ultimately cannot know. Nevertheless, the study of Iqīšā's colophons presents a useful counter-narrative from an Urukean perspective to historiographies of the Hellenistic

world. A microhistorical approach focused on an individual actor allows us to see how these big overarching historical contexts—continuity and change, rupture and stasis, local, regional, and imperial identities—were interacted with and experienced by an individual. This perspective in turns adds detail, texture, and nuance to our understanding of a complex period. The contradictions of the late Hellenistic period become more manageable and resolvable when viewed from this perspective. Iqīšā, at least, was not living in a new age. Instead, he identified himself as a member of a culture of the past.

Chapter 5
Iqīšā's Work: The Intellectual Cultures of Early Hellenistic Uruk

Thus far, I have attempted to reconstruct, as much as possible, the contexts in which Iqīšā and his students, namely his son Ištar-šum-ēreš, Anu-ab-uṣur / Anu-mukin-apli // Kuri, and Anu-aḫ-iddin / Nidintu-Anu, produced the texts that make up his dossier. It is now time to turn to the content of the texts themselves.[286] Just as Ginzburg could detect in Menocchio's accounts of his own reading a screen of peasant theology and radical individual interpretations, perhaps we will be able to see in Iqīšā's texts a glimpse of the individual intellectual world that was created in and sustained by those texts. In turn, a reconstruction of Iqīšā's intellectual world may reveal the individual strategies Iqīšā used to survive in the early Hellenistic period.

Eleanor Robson has already mapped out the presence of different genres represented in the texts associated with Iqīšā and other members of the Ekur-zakir clan. (As discussed in Chapter Three, the manner of disposal of the Ekur-zakir family archives and the archaeological context in which those texts were found make it difficult to definitively assign texts without colophons to a particular member of the family.) Of the two hundred and twenty nine texts that Robson connects with the Ekur-zakirs, she found the following distribution of genre by percentage (Fig. 6):

286 Unless otherwise noted, all transliterations and translations in this chapter are adapted from Hermann Hunger & Egbert von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk* vol. 1-5 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1976-1998).

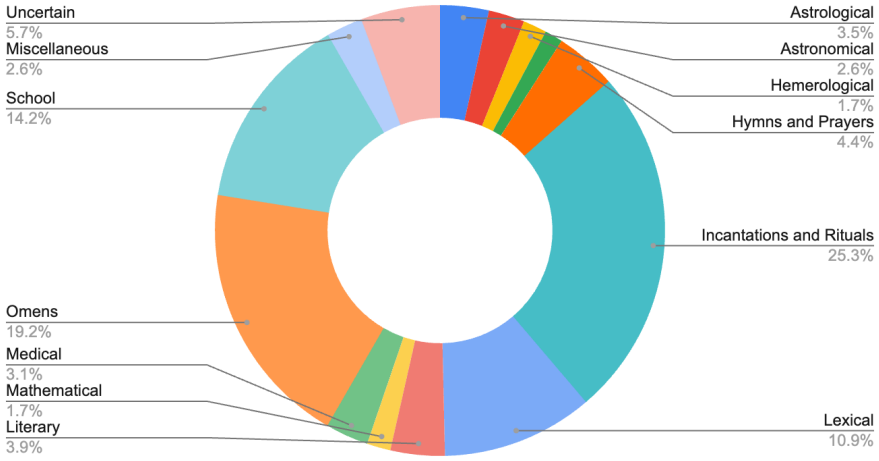

Fig. 6. Genre distribution in the Ekur-zakir dossier. Chart generated from data presented by Eleanor Robson in *Ancient Knowledge Networks* (London: UCL Press, 2019), 231. I have retained Robson's genre divisions and labels.

We can compare the genre distribution of all texts associated with the Ekur-zakir clan with the genre distribution of the texts that can be definitively linked to Iqīšā.

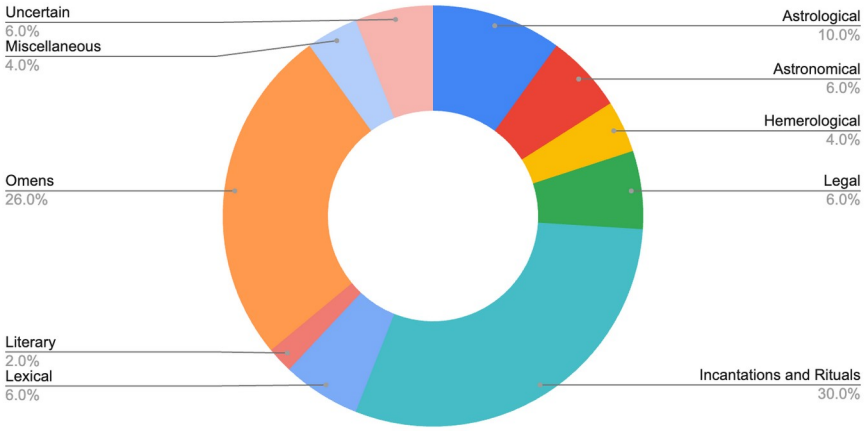

Fig. 7. Genre distribution in the Iqīšā dossier.

The genre distribution of this subset of the Ekur-zakir dossier largely fits with Robson's findings. Rituals and incantations and terrestrial omen series are the two largest categories. Astronomical and astrological texts are more heavily represented in the Iqīšā dossier. But the most noticeable discrepancy is in the “School” label. Approximately thirty-two of the two hundred and twenty

nine texts assigned to the Ekur-zakir are classified as school texts; none of those texts can be associated with Iqīšā.

The lack of "School" texts in the Iqīšā dossier has several explanations. The sign writing exercises that Robson describes as "School" texts come from a very early stage in scribal education. They are essentially practice sheets; they have no real use beyond practice to develop the motor skills of sign formation. These texts are therefore not carefully archived or stored in the way that, say, a more advanced student's copy of a tablet of *Enūma Anu Enlil* might be. Instead they are reused, discarded, or used as fill rubble. Consequently, the copies of scribal exercises that do happen to survive to the modern day are often badly damaged. Furthermore, this type of text often does not include a colophon. The state and excavation context of W 22671/1b = SpTU 5, 276, one of the "School" texts included in Robson's chart, illustrate these points. Egbert von Weiher describes the find spot of the tablet as: "Ue XVIII 1, südl. Schicht I, Verfallschutt der Schicht III." So while SpTU 5, 276 can be assigned to the second occupation phase of the house, it cannot be more precisely dated or assigned to a particular member of the Ekur-zakir clan. The text is significantly damaged; the start and end of both the obverse and the reverse are missing.

The differences between my chart and Robson's chart are a reminder that we are working with an incomplete data set. What I call the Iqīšā dossier is essentially a random sample of Iqīšā's work. While it is far from the complete picture, comparison between the two charts above suggests that the Iqīšā dossier is a generally representative sample. Robson confronts the difficulties posed by an incomplete dataset by taking a zoomed out view, comparing relative distribution of genre between large groups of texts in order to build a narrative about continuity

and change in Babylonian scholarship over time. In this chapter, I will take a different approach. I will analyze in detail a selection of texts from the Iqīšā dossier that I believe have a particular relevance to the intellectual strategies Iqīšā used to navigate his changing world. Iqīšā's Sumero-Akkadian bilingual texts encourage us to consider the ways he used and engaged with tradition and cuneiform culture. His commentaries on the compendium known as the *"Āšipu's* Handbook" attest to the changing intellectual landscape of his profession. Finally, his astrological texts, particularly those texts that are unique in their format or content, demonstrate Iqīšā's innovation and intellectual flexibility.

I. W 22729/2 = SpTU 2, 28 and Bod S 302 = RA 12, 73-84, the "Elevation of Ištar"

Iqīšā's dossier includes six Sumero-Akkadian bilinguals: five incantation and ritual texts (including two pairs from the same series) and one literary text.[287] I will first consider the literary text, Bod S 302 = RA 12, 73-84. This tablet was first published by Stephen Langdon in 1915. It is held in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum; there is no information available about its excavation or provenience. The tablet itself is well-preserved, with only a few surface abrasions. It can be associated with Iqīšā by its detailed colophon, which reads:

IM.GID$_2$.DA ^{m}BA$^{ša_2\text{-}a}$ *bu$_{12}$-kur$_2$* ^{md}INANA-MU-KAM$_2$ ŠA$_3$.BAL.BAL
^{m}E$_2$.KUR-*za-kir*^{lu_2}MAŠ.MAŠ *qat$_3$* ^{md}INANA-MU-KAM$_2$
DUMU-A.NI *pa-liḫ* ^{d}*a-nu* ^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ *u* ^{d}IDIM *la$_3$* TUM$_3$-*šu$_2$ ina me-reš-ti-šu$_2$ la u$_2$-šam-qiš-šu$_2$*
ina MUL$_2$-*šu$_2$ ana* E$_2$ UMUN-*šu$_2$* ḪE$_2$.GUR-*šu$_2$ ša$_2$* ^{i}TUM$_3$-*šu$_2$* ^{d}IŠKUR *u* ^{d}*ša-la lit-bal- šu$_2$*

287 The distinction between an incantation and a literary text is not clear-cut. Daisuke Shibata includes an exemplar of the Elevation of Ištar, K 3259, in his study of *šu'ila* prayers, and argues compositions of that type had a role in *āšipūtu.* See Daisuke Shibata, *Šu'ila: Die sumerischen Handerhebungsgebete aus dem Repertoire des Klagesänger* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021), 19-21, 247-250. Enrique Jiménez further argues that the format of a recently-discovered exemplar from Nippur, HS 1916, also classifies it as a *šu'ila* prayer. See Enrique Jiménez, *Middle and Neo-Babylonian Literary Texts in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection, Jena* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2022), 69-74.

^{iti}BARA$_2$ U$_4$ 23-KAM$_2$ MU 8-KAM$_2$ ^{m}*pi!-il-pi-is-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

> "Long tablet of Iqīšā, son of Ištar-šuma-ēreš, descendant of Ekur-zakir, the *āšipu* priest. Hand of Ištar-šuma-ēreš, his son. The one who reveres Anu, Ellil, and Ea will not take it away, he will not deliberately let it be lost. On the same evening he should return it to the house of its owner. Whoever takes it away, may Adad and Šala take him away. Month of Nisannu, 23rd day, eighth year of Philip, king of the lands."[288]

Bod S 302 is a copy of the fourth tablet of a literary text known as the Elevation (or sometimes Exaltation) of Ištar. Blahoslav Hruška published a collated edition of the Elevation of Ištar in 1969; in 2013, Daniel Foxvog produced a new translation and collation that was not officially published but which is available on his academia.edu page. A new exemplar from Nippur held in the Frau Professor Hilprecht collection was recently published by Enrique Jiménez.[289] All known exemplars of the Elevation of Ištar have recently been re-edited and translated by Jeremiah Peterson for the Bilinguals in Late Mesopotamian Scholarship project, as part of The Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus project (ORACC).

The Elevation of Ištar is a bilingual Sumerian and Akkadian poem celebrating the goddess Ištar. In the *Catalogue of Text and Authors,* the Elevation of Ištar is attributed to a scribe named Taqīš-Gula, who lived during the reign of king Nazi-Marruttaš (1307-1282 BCE).[290] Several features of the composition, however, such as the "indiscriminate" usage of *Emesal* and its emphasis on Ištar's high position in the pantheon, suggest that it may be a Neo-Assyrian composition.[291] The series originally consisted of at least five tablets; the exemplars known today mostly cover tablets III and IV. From the small chunk of tablet I preserved in W 22729/2 =

288 Text and translation edited by Jeremiah Peterson for the Bilinguals in Late Mesopotamian Scholarship project. http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/blms/

289 Jiménez, *Middle and Neo-Babylonian Literary Texts in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection,* 69-74.

290 Ibid., 70.

291 Niek Veldhuis, "Translation in the Elevation of Ištar," in *The Scaffolding of Our Thoughts: Essays on Assyriology and the History of Science in Honor of Francesca Rochberg,* ed. C. Jay Crisostomo, E. Escobar, T. & N. Veldhuis (Boston: Brill, 2018), 199-201.

SpTU 2, 28, it seems that the great gods call a council to discuss Ištar's station and duties. Tablet II is completely lost. Tablet III narrates how Anu, with the approval of the other great gods, grants Ištar his favor and elevates her to have power over heaven and earth. Anu's speech here emphasizes the astral aspects of both Ištar and himself. In part A of tablet IV, Enlil, called Nunamnir, rejoices in Ištar's new status, and gives his own speech praising her. The beginning of Enlil's speech is very fragmentary; the text resumes in part B with a long praise of Ištar that focuses on her prowess in battle. Enlil concludes his speech by saying "Lady, my weighty command, the divine power that cannot be asked for (by anyone else), whatever is mine I have assigned to you / Like me, may Enki, king of the Abzu, care for you faithfully." RA 12, 73-84 also preserves the catchline "Prince Nudimmud rejoiced because of this, his liver rose in joy." Taken together, this suggests that the Exaltation of Ištar may have had a fifth tablet, most likely containing a speech of praise by Ea, that has now been lost.

There are at least thirteen exemplars of the Exaltation of Ištar, all of which date to the first millennium BCE. There are four Neo-Assyrian tablets from Nineveh, two Neo-Babylonian tablets from Uruk, one Neo-Babylonian tablet from Nippur, four Hellenistic tablets also from Uruk (including Iqīšā's copy), and a final tablet from Neo-Babylonian Babylon. In his notebooks, W.G. Lambert suggested that a fourteenth Neo-Assyrian tablet, K 4940 + K 5118 + K 6020, could also belong to the composition; it is a fragment of a prayer or speech to Ningal, the spouse of Sîn, perhaps an episode from the lost tablet II.[292]

One of the other three tablets from Hellenistic Uruk may have also belonged to Iqīšā. W 22729, 2 = SpTU 2, 28, the only attestation to tablet I, was excavated from Iqīšā's house. (Von

292 Veldhuis, "Translation in the Elevation of Ištar," 183-185. For the Nippur exemplar, see Jiménez, *Middle and Neo-Babylonian Literary Texts in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection,* 69-74.

Weiher describes its find spot as "Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II R.C.") The obverse of the tablet is completely destroyed. There are no photographs of this tablet, only hand copies, so it is not possible to compare the ductus with RA 12, 73-84. There are traces of a colophon, which Daniel Foxvog reconstructs as follows:

[*x (x)* ^{md}]INANA-MU-KAM$_2$ ^{lu_2}ŠU$_2$ ^{d}*a-nu u an-tu$_4$ bu$_{12}$-kur$_2$* ^{m}*ba-la-*ṭu […]

"…Ištar-šum-ēreš, *kalû* of Anu and Antu, son of Balaṭu..."[293]

The Ištar-šum-ēreš named in this tablet is clearly not the Ištar-šum-ēreš who was Iqīšā's son. The Balaṭu mentioned here may also be the owner of W 23313/3 = SpTU 5, 265, a fragmentary astrological text that was also excavated from Iqīšā's house, from the "kleiner Raum der Schicht IV" that yielded dozens of other highly fragmented tablets. Arno Kose dates Bauschicht IV of the "House of the *Āšipu"* to the late Achaemenid or early Seleukid period; colophons of some of the texts found at this level support that dating.[294] Therefore, the Ištar-šum-ēreš who appears in this tablet may actually have been Iqīšā's father. It seems to me that Iqīšā possessed at least two copies of the Elevation of Ištar: SpTU 2, 28, part of a copy written or owned by his father and kept in the family archives, and RA 12, 73-84, copied by his son and perhaps also kept in the family archives.

The Elevation of Ištar belongs to the class of bilingual Sumerian and Akkadian text that Niek Veldhuis refers to as "bilingual-born compositions;" "a mixed bag of prayers and hymns, royal inscriptions, and Eduba texts." The Elevation of Ištar is not a classical Sumerian text to which an Akkadian translation has been added; rather, it is a first millennium composition that was always intended to be bilingual. "The Sumerian of the bilingual-born [texts] may use

293 Translation and transliteration by Daniel Foxvog for the CDLI project.
294 Arno Kose, *Uruk. Architektur IV. AUWE* 17 (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1998), 376ff.

morphology and syntax that deviates considerably from classical Sumerian. In addition, these texts tend to use rare and artificial Sumerian lexemes, apparently taken from lexical lists and produced by analogy. Moreover, a number of these texts use *Emesal* at places where such forms are not expected."[295] Examining the particularities of the use of Sumerian in Iqīšā's copies of the Elevation of Ištar reveals how Iqīšā (and his student, his son) was deeply committed to both preserving the cuneiform intellectual tradition and adapting it to match his current circumstance. It also hints at the purposes that this text served in Iqīšā's collection.

In his analysis of the use of translation in the Elevation of Ištar, Niek Veldhuis draws attention to two rare Sumerian phrases that occur in RA 12, 73-84. The first ten lines of the obverse celebrate Ištar's glory and prowess in battle; line 2 contains the Sumerian word ti-saḫ$_4$, a rare word for "fight" or "battle:"

> ^{d}inana ti-saḫ$_4$ ĝeš-la$_2$ ešemen$_2$$^{eš\text{-}me\text{-}en\text{-}gin_7}$-gin$_7$ u$_3$-mi-ni-ib$_2$-sar-sar
> *^{d}iš-tar a-na-an-ti u tu-qu-un-ta ki-ma kip-pe-e šu-tak-pi-ma*
>
> "Inana, make war and battle whirl around like a skipping rope!"[296]

The same phraseology is attested in line 6 of the reverse of the unpublished tablet 1880-07-19, 281 (P452027), which was excavated from Neo-Assyrian Kuyunjik and is kept in the British Museum. Veldhuis notes that ti-saḫ$_4$ does not occur in the classical Sumerian corpus; the only other known attestation of ti-saḫ$_4$ used to mean *anantu* occurs in the bilingual royal inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I (RIMB 2.02.04.01 rev. ii 1). However, ti-saḫ$_4$ = *anantu* does occur in the lexical list Erimhuš with the following equivalencies (Erimhuš II, 241-243; MSL 17: 40):

> ti-saḫ$_4$ = *anantu*
> ti-saḫ$_4$ = *tuquntu*

295 Veldhuis, "Translation in the Elevation of Ištar," 186.
296 Ibid., 193.

ti-sah$_4$-sah$_4$ = *ašgagu*

Furthermore, the more complete context of the occurrence of ti-saḫ$_4$ = *anantu* points to another connection to the lexical tradition. As Veldhuis explains, the word ti-saḫ$_4$ in the Elevation of Ištar that describes the goddess's exultation as being like a girl playing games (obv. 2-5):

> ^{d}inana ti-saḫ$_4$ ĝeš-la$_2$ ešemen$_2$$^{eš\text{-}[me]\text{-}en\text{-}gin_7}gin_7$ u$_3$-mi-ni-ib$_2$-sar-sar
> *^{d}iš-tar a-na-an-ti u tu-qu-un-ta ki-ma kip-pe-e šu-tak-pi-ma1*
> "Ištar, make war and battle whirl around like a skipping rope!"
>
> $^{e\text{-}lag}$ ĝeš^{eš}ellag u ĝeš^{eš}du$_3$ ^{du}-a-gin$_7$ nin me$_3$-a teš$_2$-a ra sig$_{10}$-sig$_{10}$-ga-ba-ni-ib$_2$
> *ki-ma pu-uk-ku u$_3$ me$_2$-ek-ke-e be-let ta-ḫa-zi šu-tam-ḫi-ṣu tam-ḫa-ru*
> "Like ball and mallet, lady of battle, let battles clash!"
>
> amalu a-da-min$_3$ $^{me\text{-}en}$-na bi-za šu tag-ga-gin$_7$ šen-šen-na^{a} us$_2$-sa-ab
> *i-lat te-ṣe-e-ti ki-ma me-lul-tu$_2$ pa-as-si re-de-e qab-lu*
> "Goddess of strife, pursue battle like playing with dolls!"
>
> ^{d}in-nin ki ĝeš^{eš}tukul sag$_3$-ga zi-in-gi ra-ra-da-gin$_7$ igi suḫ$_3$-suḫ$_3$ ra-ra-ab
> *^{d}MIN<(IN.NIN)> a-šar tam-ḫu-uṣ kak-ku u dab$_2$-de-e ki-ma ki-ṣal-la me$_2$-li-li saḫ-maš-tu$_2$3*
> "Lady, where weapons clash, play with the chaos like knucklebones!"[297]

As Veldhuis explains, three of the four games mentioned in the Exaltation of Ištar appear in a continuous four-line section in the lexical list Antagal F (243-246; MSL 17: 219):

tur.diš$^{hi\text{-}bi\text{-}iz}$.kar	*mēlulu*	to play
eš$_2$.hul$_2$$^{e\text{-}še\text{-}min}$ sar-ra	MIN *ša kippê*	to play with a skipping rope
ĝeš^{eš}bi-za šu tag-ga	MIN *ša passi*	to play with dolls
zi-in-gi ĝiri$_3$ ra-ra	MIN *ša$_2$ ta-x-x*	to play knucklebones

"Skipping rope, dolls, and knucklebones appear in the Elevation of Ištar in the same or almost the same expressions, suggesting that there is a direct relationship between Antagal F and the

297 Text and translation by Jeremiah Peterson for the BLMS project. http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/blms/corpus

Elevation of Ištar."[298] Antagal F is known only from 1st millennium sources; all but one Neo-Babylonian exemplar are from Neo-Assyrian Nineveh.[299]

The use of such seemingly rare phrases is a demonstration of the erudition and familiarity with the cuneiform tradition of the scribe—in this case, Iqīšā and his son Ištar-šum-ēreš. There is a sense of clever playfulness in the way that RA 12, 73-84 transforms the dry, technical lists of the lexical tradition into a lively and vibrant description of the goddess Ištar.[300] Furthermore, the creative use of Antagal F in RA 12, 73-84 may also be a reflection of its production context and its role in Iqīšā's archive. As discussed in Chapter Four, the phrase "tablet of PN...hand of PN_2" in a colophon can be an indication of a teacher-student relationship. By copying this text, which requires a deep knowledge of Sumerian and a familiarity the Neo-Assyrian intellectual culture that flourished in Aššurbanipal's court, Iqīšā's son Ištar-šum-ēreš demonstrated his mastery of *ṭupšarrūtu* to his father and teacher.

Ṭupšarrūtu is an Akkadian term for the scribal arts. It is an abstract noun derived from *ṭupšarru*, "scribe," itself derived from the Sumerian DUB.SAR. Francesca Rochberg argued that *ṭupšarrūtu* can be understood as "the term for the component scribal scholarly disciplines that organized knowledge of the phenomenal world and the practices that depended upon that organization."[301] Narrowly, *ṭupšarrūtu* includes omens, medical texts, incantations, lamentations, and ritual texts; more broadly, it also includes the knowledge of Akkadian and Sumerian morphology, vocabulary, and literature required for the proper understanding and interpretation of cuneiform texts.

298 Veldhuis, "Translation in the Elevation of Ištar," 194.
299 Niek Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition*. GMTR 6 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), 361-363.
300 See also Miguel Civil, "Feeding Dumuzi's sheep: The lexicon as a source of literary inspiration," in *Language, literature, and history: Philological and historical studies presented to Erica Reiner,* ed. F. Rochberg (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1987), 37-55.
301 Francesca Rochberg, "*ṭupšarrūtu* and the Historiography of Science," *Claroscuro* 20 vol. 2 (2021), 2.

So what world views and ideologies are expressed through RA 12, 73-84? To get to the answer, we might ask the question another way: why might Iqīšā have set his son to copying this composition? The bilingual format and rare vocabulary of the Elevation of Ištar would have allowed Ištar-šum-ēreš to demonstrate his mastery of both Sumerian and Akkadian. RA 12, 73-84 is proof that Iqīšā successfully guarded the cuneiform tradition and transmitted it to the next generation. Furthermore, as Daisuke Shibata has argued, the Elevation of Ištar could be recited in a ritual context as a *šu'ila* prayer by an *āšipu* priest.[302] Copying the Elevation of Ištar was therefore also a way of ensuring the survival of *āšipūtu.*

The Elevation of Ištar also expresses a theology that, while it had its origins in the Neo-Assyrian court, would also have been very appealing to the priestly class of Uruk. In tablet III, preserved in TCL 6, 51 obv. 10, Ištar is associated with both the primordial goddess Kišar and with Antu, Anu's wife; later, at obv. l. 17, Anu is identified with Anšar, Kišar's counterpart. An-šar$_2$ can also be read as a writing for Aššur, the supreme god of Assyria.[303] These associations "not only placed Anu and Ištar at the hoary beginning of time, among the earliest divine ancestors, but it also created the possibility of reading the text as one about the two main gods of Assyria: Aššur and Ištar."[304] In the context of Hellenistic Uruk, these associations have a different valence. As discussed in Chapter Four, Anu had replaced Ištar as the supreme god of Uruk some time in the late fifth or early fourth century. Accordingly, the status of Antu, Anu's wife, also rose significantly. Anšar and Kišar were regarded as Anu's progenitors; as a divine couple, they mirrored Anu and Antu. Although they have an origin in an Assyria-centric theology, the divine equivalencies between Ištar, Antu, and Kišar in the Elevation of Ištar still fit perfectly into this

302 Shibata, *Šu'ila,* 19-21.
303 Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "The Cult of AN.ŠAR$_2$/Aššur in Babylonia after the Fall of the Assyrian Empire," *SAAB* 11 (1997): 55-73.
304 Veldhuis, "Translation in the Elevation of Ištar," 200.

scheme. Ištar can once again be elevated, this time through her connections to the new supreme god.

The popularity of the Elevation of Ištar among the Urukean priestly class, including Iqīšā, is therefore an example of how the cuneiform intellectual tradition could be both durable and flexible, enduring and innovative. Iqīšā, his father, and his son could copy a text with an Assyria-centric theology; but in its new context, that same text now supports and expresses an Urukean theology. This balance between enduring tradition and creative adaption seems to be essential to Iqīšā's intellectual world view.

II. W 22642 = SpTU 2, 5, an archaic bilingual incantation

W 22642 = SpTU 2, 5 is another bilingual text in Iqīšā's dossier which illustrates how Iqīšā balanced tradition with innovation and adjustment as he took part in his contemporary cuneiform culture. Von Weiher recorded the find spot of SpTU 2, 5 as "Wohnhaus: Ue XVIII/I, nördl. neben Schicht I, Schict II." There is limited information on the physical condition of the tablet; von Weiher's autograph copy is the only available image. But it seems that the tablet is largely complete, with only a small area chipped off in the bottom right corner of the obverse. The tablet records an incantation and ritual that were performed when opening or repairing a canal. The first sixty-five or so lines of the tablet records a bilingual incantation in Sumerian and Akkadian, described as "ka-enim-ma i_7 ka ŋal$_2$ taka$_4$-a-ke$_4$," "wording of a spell for opening the mouth of a river," that praises the river for its beauty and power, associates it with the Apsû, grants it a divine origin, and calls upon Marduk to bless it. The second half of the

reverse contains the associated ritual ($KID_2.KID_2.BI$), performed at the bank of a river. If the ritual is performed correctly, "A *iš-ši-ru*$_3$*,"* "the water will flow orderly again."

The colophon of W 22642 = SpTU 2, 5 refers to it as: "DIŠ UDU-ḪI.A GABA.RI *maḫ-ra-ma ka-ra-ṣa la i-kal-la-aʾ ba-ru," "* 'If the sheep.' First copy, but it does not hold back abrasions. Checked." It does indeed appear to be an imperfect draft—it seems that Iqīšā even made the cuneiform equivalent of a typo in his colophon. He identifies himself as "ŠA$_3$.BAL.BAL <A> $^{m}e_2$*-kur-za-kir,*" accidentally inserting a sign in what Joachim Oelsner identifies as a doublet.[305]

Unlike RA 12, 73-84, the Elevation of Ištar, which alternated between Sumerian and Akkadian in an orderly way, line by line, the Akkadian translations in W 22642 = SpTU 2, 5 are often interspersed with the Sumerian in the same line. As an example, l. 26'-27' reads:

> ^{d}asal-lu$_2$-ḫi ^{d}AMAR.UTU *ma-ri e-ri-du* dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-ke$_4$
> ^{dug}a-gub$_2$-ba ina e-gub-be$_2$-e *ša*$_2$ *qe*$_2$*-reb ap-si-i el-li*$_2$ ša$_3$ abzu ku$_3$-ga-ta
>
> "Marduk, son of Eridu-
> with the holy water vessel from the heart of pure Apsû (purify him)."

The mixing of Sumerian and Akkadian within the same line is not uncommon in bilingual texts from Uruk in the late Babylonian period. But even so, at times the splicing in SpTU 2, 5 seems almost haphazard. Sometimes words are missing from or added to the Akkadian translation, such that the meaning of the phrase can only be understood by reading the Sumerian and Akkadian together. For example, l. '9 of the obverse reads:

> da-da-bi *i-da-ti-šu*$_2$: *ḫa-si-sa-ti-šu*$_2$ dim-dim-bi
>
> "(Sum.:) Whose arms are his fortifications. (Akk.:) Whose qualities : his wisdom."

305 Joachim Oelsner, "Review of von Weiher SpTU 3," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 86 (1991): n. 74.

At other points, the switch between Sumerian and Akkadian is more orderly, as at obv. l. 20'-25':

> a nam-ti-la a da-ri$_2$ i$_7$-bi mu-un-de$_2$-e-ne
> *me-e ba-la-ṭu me-e da-ru-tu$_2$ na-a-ri ša$_2$-a-ša$_2$ u$_2$-ša$_2$-bi-lu*
> ša$_3$-tur$_3$-bi ĝal$_2$ ba-ni-in-taka$_4$ nam gal mu-un-tar-re-e-ne
> *qer-bi-is-sa ip-tu-ma šim-tu$_2$ ra-biš i-šim-mu-ši*
> ^{d}a-nun-na diĝir-gal-gal-e-ne nam mi-ni-ib$_2$-tar-re-e-ne
> ^{d}MIN ^{d}MIN *šim-tu$_2$ i-šim-mu*
>
> *"*(Ea, Adad, Enbilulu, Ninazu, Enkimdu, and Sumuqan) let this very river pour out (Akk.: carry) water of life, everlasting water. They opened his interior, they decided a great fate for him. The Anuna, the great gods, decided the fate."

Based on von Weiher's autograph copy, the sign spacing is fairly regular and aligns with grammatical morphemes. But it seems that Iqīšā ran out of space on the reverse of the tablet and had to squeeze in some phrases. The overall impression of the composition of the tablet aligns with the information given in the colophon: this is a rough draft.

W 22642 = SpTU 2, 5 is part of the long tradition of exorcistic texts related to agriculture. Other examples of texts in this genre include incantations against pests and blessings for new canals. There are a number of first millennium exemplars of this type of text, but the rituals, incantations, and procedures described in them are of much older origin; Ur-III administrative documents from Umma, Lagaš, and Girsu record similar practices. Antoine Cavigneaux and Farouk al-Rawi have pointed out that the particular ritual described in SpTU 2, 5, an apotropaic ritual performed during the filling of a canal, matches up with situations described in Ur-III administrative texts. This suggests that SpTU 2, 5 may be understood as a later manifestation of a tradition that had existed for almost two thousand years.[306]

SpTU 2, 5 gives a different perspective how Iqīšā engaged with and took part in the tradition of cuneiform culture than RA 12, 73-84, the Elevation of Ištar. RA 12, 73-84 is a

306 Antoine Cavigneaux & Farouk al-Rawi, "Liturgies exorcistiques agraires (Textes de Tell Haddad IX)," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 92 (2002): 1-8.

demonstration of the elite cultural literacy of Iqīšā's, and his son and student Ištar-šum-ēreš. The tradition it is most closely tied to is that of the Neo-Assyrian palace library; its relevance to Iqīšā's life comes from the Ištar and Anu-centric theology it expresses, the erudition required to copy it, and its connection to *āšipūtu*. RA 12, 73-84 is not perfect classical Sumerian, but its orthographies and use of *Emesal* are in line with the Neo-Assyrian scholarly tradition. This is a text of tradition in the fullest sense.

The sense we get from SpTU 2, 5 is somewhat different. The tradition it is a part of is a much older one, but it is still connected to *āšipūtu* and the duties of Iqīšā's profession. As an *āšipu,* the performance of *namburbû* like the one described in SpTU 2, 5 was squarely within Iqīšā's wheelhouse.[307] If the canals of Uruk ever needed clearing out or repairing, Iqīšā may have been called on to perform the Sumerian incantation that he translated in this text. There are more mistakes than in SpTU 2, 5 than in RA 12, 73-84, as well, but that fits with the fact that SpTU 2, 5 is one stage of a work in progress. Overall, we get the impression that SpTU 2, 5 is a text that was created to be used: as a rough draft to be recopied and refined, and as a reference to be consulted if circumstances ever called for the ritual and incantations it records. SpTU 2, 5, for all its imperfections, demonstrates that the Sumerian incantation tradition was still living in Iqīšā's time, and that Iqīšā did his part to nurture it.

III. W 22663 = SpTU 2, 2 and W 22668/2 = SpTU 3, 65, late copies of SAĜ.GIG.GA.MEŠ

Two additional bilingual texts in Iqīšā's dossier give another perspective on how cuneiform intellectual culture in the Hellenistic period was both enduring and malleable. W 22663 = SpTU 2, 2 is a copy of chapters IV-VI of the incantation and ritual series

307 Ibid.

SAĜ.GIG.GA.MEŠ, which contains treatments for headaches and other head ailments. SAĜ.GIG.GA.MEŠ is itself often excerpted in the larger medical series *Mušš̌u'u.* (W 22378 = SpTU 1, 14, a small fragment also in Iqīšā's collection, comes from a different part of the series *Mušš̌u'u*, but it is too damaged for any substantial analysis.) Egbert von Weiher described the find spot of SpTU 2, 2 as: "Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I." The tablet is mostly whole and readable, with only a few chips and abrasions. Iqīšā does however seem to have misjudged how much space he would need to write; the last few lines of the composition are squeezed onto the bottom and left edges of the reverse, and there is no separation between the end of the canonical text and the start of the colophon.

W 22668/2 = SpTU 3, 65 is in a much more fragmentary condition than SpTU 2, 2. Part of the left side and a large chunk from the bottom of the tablet have been broken away. Approximately twenty lines remain on the obverse and the reverse. Von Weiher describes the tablet's find spot as: "Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I." The first two lines of the obverse of SpTU 3, 65 duplicate l. 14' of column III of SpTU 2, 2. They read:

> en_2 saĝ-gig an-ta mu-un-kéše ki-a sag_3-ga mu-un-da-ab-zi
> *di-ʾu ina AN-e ra-kis ina KI-ti*$_3$ *in-na-as-si-iḫ*
>
> "Incantation: the headache is bound in heaven it is ripped out from the earth."[308]

SpTU 3, 65 continues on with the incantation; SpTU 2, 2 records one bilingual line (perhaps the last line of the incantation?) and then skips ahead to the incantation en_2 saĝ-gig lu_2-ra šu mu-un-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$, chapter five of SAĜ.GIG.GA.MEŠ. The rest of SpTU 3, 65 covers more incantations and rituals to treat ailments in the head and neck, overlapping with the second chapter of *Mušš̌u'u*.

308 Text and translation by Enrique Jiménez and Sophie Cohen as part of the Cuneiform Artefacts of Iraq in Context (CAIC) project. https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/IM.77036.

The *Muššu'u* and SAĜ.GIG.GA.MEŠ series are very ancient. Both series have their origins in Ur III incantations and are relatively well-attested in Neo-Assyrian copies from Kyunjik. In fact, Iqīšā's tablets largely duplicate TMH NF 6, a tablet from the Frau Professor Hilprecht collection,[309] and cover the same material as K 3169+ = CT 17, 19-24, a tablet from the "Library of Aššurbanipal" held in the British Museum.[310] The texts are not exact copies; they differ in their formatting and in their sentence construction and division. Some material included in a certain text is omitted in the others, and vice versa. But SpTU 2, 2, SpTU 3, 65, and K 3169+ do represent different points in the same tradition, separated by approximately three hundred years. By comparing the three texts, we can see an example of how that tradition was both maintained and altered by Iqīšā and other scribes.

The obverse of SpTU 3, 65 overlaps precisely with K 3169+ iii.147-168, allowing us to directly compare their orthographies. In general, the differences between the two attestations conform to our expectations of a Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian scholarly text. The Sumerian generally matches, although the texts sometimes differ in their verb forms. Iqīšā is looser with his case endings than the scribe of K 3169+; he also uses more Sumerograms in the Akkadian translations. Both texts have occasional idiosyncratic or even incorrect writings. K 3169+ iii. 149-152 and SpTU 3, 65 3-6 are a good demonstration of the type of differences:

A šul a_2.tuku a_2.na mu.un.da.til
N [šul] a_2.tuku a_2.bi <nu> mu.un.da.ab.til

A *$ša_2$ eṭ-li be-el e-mu-qi_2 e-mu-qi_2-$šu_2$ uq-ta-at-ti*
N *[$ša_2$] eṭ-lu* EN *e-mu-qa e-mu-qa-a-$šu_2$ uq-ta-at-ti*

309 Johannes van Dijk and Mark Geller, *Ur III Incantations from the Frau Professor Hilprecht-Collection, Jena* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 1.

310 Portions of SpTU 2, 2, SpTU 3, 65 and K 3169+ texts are edited and published in Barbara Böck, *Das Handbuch Muššuʾu "Einreibung". Eine Serie sumerischer und akkadischer Beschwörungen aus dem 1. Jt. vor Chr.* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientícas, 2007), 113-131. K 3169+ is source A in Böck's score, SpTU 3, 65 is source N, and SpTU 2, 2 is source O.

A ki.sikil sig$_5$.ga a$_2$.na nu.mu.un.ši.in.gi$_4$.gi$_4$
N [ki si]kil sig$_5$.ga <na> a$_2$.bi nu.mu.un.ši.in.gi$_4$.gi$_4$

A *ša$_2$ ar-da-ti da-me-iq-ti is-sa ul u$_2$-ta-ra*
N *[ša$_2$] ar$_2$-dat da-mi-iq-tum is-sa ul u$_2$-ta-ar*

"(The headache) managed to rob the strong young man of his strength,
it did not let the beautiful young woman regain her strength."[311]

It is clear from these comparisons that both Akkadian and Sumerian had undergone some linguistic changes in the three centuries separating these compositions. But the meaning of the incantation remains clear.

The similarities and differences between SpTU 2, 2 and K 3169+ give a similar impression. SpTu 2, 2 does contain some mistakes in its Akkadian translations. Gor example, at l. 31 of column I, Iqīšā translates saĝ-zu as *qaqqasu*, accidentally substituting the third person singular possessive pronoun for the second person singular possessive pronoun. Furthermore, at l. 19-22, Iqīšā replaces the (relatively rare) Sumerian modal verbal prefix ša- with *šu:*

en$_2$ saĝ-gig lu$_2$-ra šu mu-un-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$
mu-ru-uṣ qaq-qa-du ana LU$_2$ *iš-ša$_2$-kin-ma*
saĝ-gig gu$_2$-sa gig lu$_2$-ra šu mu-un-ĝá-ĝá
di-ʾu mu-ru-uṣ ana LU$_2$ *iš-ša$_2$-kin-ma*

"Headache disease is a reality for the man, headache and neck tendon complaint is a reality for the man"[312]

The Sumerian modal verbal prefix does not have an Akkadian equivalent; the *šu* therefore goes untranslated in the Akkadian line.

311 Böck, *Das Handbuch Muššuʾu,* 115-116, 127.
312 Text and translation by Enrique Jiménez and Sophie Cohen as part of the Cuneiform Artefacts of Iraq in Context (CAIC) project. https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/IM.77036.

In light of these idiosyncrasies, Johannes van Dijk and Mark Geller refer to SpTU 2, 2 as a "rather inferior" late text. But we do not have to view the changes so negatively. It is true that some of the nuances of Sumerian grammar seem to have been lost on Iqīšā. This is only to be expected—by Iqīšā's time, Sumerian had not been spoken for well over a thousand years. It had become essentially a liturgical language of tradition. The fact that Iqīša owned, copied, and translated any Sumerian incantations at all is a sign of the durability of the cuneiform tradition and the importance Iqīšā and his colleagues gave it. When Iqīšā performed these incantations and rituals over a headache-stricken patient, he probably made some mistakes; but he was still repeating (and, because of his Akkadian translations, understanding) phrases that had been spoken by other *āšipu* for generations.

IV. W22653 = SpTU 2, 6 and W.22729/11 = SpTU 2, 7, incantations against the demoness Ardat-Lilî

To conclude my discussion of Iqīšā's bilingual texts, I will briefly address W22653 = SpTU 2, 6 and W22729/11 = SpTU 2, 7, two incantations against the demoness Ardat-Lilî. These two texts display many of the same characteristics as the other bilinguals discussed above, and are therefore provide a good opportunity to summarize and synthesize my observations. SpTU 2, 6 was excavated from "Ue XVIII 1, Wohnhaus nördl. neben Schicht I, Schicht II;" according to its colophon, it was owned by Iqīšā and copied by his son Ištar-šum-ēreš. There is no colophon preserved for SpTU 2, 7, because the bottom of the tablet has broken away. But based on its

content and layout, SpTU 2, 7 can also reasonably be included in Iqīšā's dossier. Egbert von Weiher describes the tablet's find spot as "Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, R.C."[313]

SpTU 2, 6 and SpTU 2, 7 both record bilingual incantations against the demoness Ardat-Lilî. Both tablets are formatted as tables, with the Sumerian written in the left-hand column and the Akkadian translation written on the right. There are a number of known duplicates of this text, including several Neo-Assyrian exemplars from Kyunjik.[314] Furthermore, similar incantations procedures against Ardat-Lilî are attested as far back as the Old Babylonian period. YBC 9841 = YOS 11, 92 is one such incantation; interestingly, it is monolingually Akkadian. Walter Farber comments:

> "Ein Vergleich der älteren, einsprachig-akkadischen Beschwörung YOS 11,92 mit den heute bekannten jüngeren [SpTU 2, 6 and SpTU 2, 7], wegen ihrer zweisprachigen Form wohl direkt auf sumerischer Tradition fußenden Texten ergibt nun zwar keine wörtlichen Parallelstellen, wie wir sie aus aB Vorläufern etwa der Lamaštu-Serie oder der Baby-Beschwörungen kennen. An einigen Stellen sind jedoch die Motive der aB und jB Texte so ähnlich, daß dadurch auch das Verständnis des älteren Textes z.T. erheblich gefördert wird."[315]

Based on the material from Kyunjik, it seems likely to me that Iqīšā was pulling from a Neo-Assyrian tradition, rather than a Sumerian one per se, when he instructed his son to copy SpTU 2, 6 and SpTU 2, 7.

As with the other bilingual incantations in the Iqīšā dossier, the relationship between the Sumerian incantations and their Akkadian translations in these texts shows some idiosyncrasies. In fact, "many of the *ardat lilî* fragments were originally classified by Bezold in his Catalogue as

313 As discussed in the third chapter, the meaning of the designation "R.C" is unclear. Walter Farber reasonably suggests that von Weiher might mean "Raum C." But the excavation reports of Ue XVIII use numbers, not letters, to designate the rooms within Iqīšā's house; it is therefore still not completely clear what von Weiher means. See also Walter Farber, "Neues aus Uruk: Zur "Bibliothek des Iqīša," *Die Welt des Orients* 18 (1987): 26-28.

314 Mark Geller, "New Duplicates to SBTU II," *Archiv für Orientsforschung* 35 (1988): 7-21.

315 Walter Farber, "(W)ardat-lilîm," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 79 (1989): 14-15.

'grammatical paradigms,' which may not be far from the truth, since the Akkadian translation is often too literal."[316] The very difficult second line of SpTU 2, 6 is an illustrative example:

> lu$_2$ lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$ edin-na mu-un-ĝen im gu$_2$-gu$_2$-na ḫe$_2$-en-DU
> *a-na li-li-i ša$_2$ ina!* EDIN *i-šar-ra-bu zi-qi-qi-tu$_2$ al<-la>-ki-tu$_2$* IB-*lu-ku*
>
> "You took yourself to Lilî in the step, you were carried off in his shattering wind. (Akk: you, errant ghost...to Lilî who walks about in the step.)"[317]

SpTU 2, 6 is the only attestation for this particular line; but later sections of Geller's score (e.g. l. 17-19) show that some of the unusual grammatical and orthographic features of the text are present in the Neo-Assyrian exemplars as well. SpTU 2, 6 and SpTU 2, 7, therefore, are not simply examples of Iqīšā's lack of fluency with Sumerian; instead, they demonstrate how Iqīšā was plugged into the Neo-Assyrian intellectual tradition.

There is a tension in our understanding of SpTU 2, 6 and SpTU 2, 7 between tradition and change. This tension is present in Iqīšā's other bilingual texts as well. From one angle, his bilingual texts seem to suggest that Iqīšā was a man clinging to a distant, august tradition that he did not fully understand. His flawed Sumerian and messy Akkadian are a symptom of a decline in the health of the cuneiform tradition in its final life stages. But from another angle, Iqīšā's bilingual texts attest to the vibrancy and health of the cuneiform tradition. His particular way of writing Sumerian and Akkadian is not simply wrong (or at least, not in all cases); rather, it is a reflection of his direct connection to the Neo-Assyrian Sumerian tradition and the Library of Aššurbanipal. He is transmitting the quirks of that tradition, which had diverged somewhat from classical, Ur-III Sumerian. Iqīšā, and the Neo-Assyrian scribes who came before him, may have jettisoned some Sumerian verbal prefixes because they had no equivalent in Akkadian. But they

316 Geller, "New Duplicates," 7.
317 Text and translation from Geller, "New Duplicates," 8, with reference to note 2.

still preserved most of the meaning of those ancient texts, to the extent that scholars today can make connections between Iqīšā's tablets and texts composed in the Old Babylonian and Ur-III period.

V. MLC 01859 = BRM 4, 20, an astrological commentary on the "*Āšipu*'s Almanac"

If the bilingual texts in Iqīšā's dossier can give us a perspective on how he maintained and contributed to the more traditional aspects of cuneiform culture, the unique astrological texts in his dossier demonstrate how Iqīšā balanced traditional knowledge and innovation.

In the Neo-Assyrian period, diviner-scribes employed the metaphor that the gods wrote messages in the stars (and on the liver) that could be interpreted by those with the right knowledge. The fates of kings, peoples, and countries were divined through these celestial omens. "Despite changes in textual formalities and even specific content and methods, the coherence of Babylonian astrology may be found in the persistent belief that the sky could be read as symbolic for the human realm, as expressed in the metaphor of the heavenly writing."[318] But starting in the fifth century BCE, a crucial shift occurred: diviners began to use celestial omens to read the fates of ordinary people. "Belonging to this period is not only the expansion of celestial divination beyond the scope of its prior concerns about state and king to a new branch of astrology whose objective concern was the individual rather than the king or the state, but also the development of mathematical astronomy." Thus the Babylonian horoscope, and a whole new world of astrological scholarship, was born.[319] Babylonian horoscopes, predictions of an individual's fortunes from celestial signs, all start with the person's date of birth. "Because not

318 Francesca Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 98-99.

319 For more detail, see Francesca Rochberg, *Babylonian Horoscopes.* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society vol. 88 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1998).

every planet would necessarily be above the horizon at the moment of birth, nor obviously would every birth occur at night, observation of the heavens for the purpose of interpretation was no longer sufficient. The development of various computational methods of obtaining astronomical data on which astrology depended was an innovation of roughly the same period as the appearance of horoscopy, that is, mid-first millennium."[320]

We do not know for sure what factors may have led to these intellectual developments. In the Neo-Assyrian period, experts in celestial divination reported their findings directly to the king. Evidence from the Neo-Babylonian period is scantier, but it seems that royal support for scholars and experts continued through the long sixth century. Nabonidus regularly consulted diviners and other experts in cultic matters. Two letter-orders from the time of Cyrus (Cyr. 103 and CT 55:321) record royal orders to provide rations to the experts (*ummânu*) who were overseeing the restoration of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar. But in the later Achaemenid and early Seleukid periods, the situation seems to change. "As to the employment of the scholars who dealt with celestial sciences, from the Achaemenid times onward, we may suppose that they were no longer employed by the king, at least, there is no evidence to that effect. On the other hand, whether they were all in the service of the major temples is also difficult to pin down, although the available evidence points in this direction."[321]

This shift in the production context of ancient scholarship on celestial divination corresponds with a shift in the types of texts that the scholars produced. The canonical celestial

320 Ibid., 101-102.

321 Francesca Rochberg, "Scribes and Scholars," in *In the Path of the Moon: Babylonian Celestial Divination and Its Legacy,* Studies in Ancient Magic and Divination 6, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 237-256. For an additional account of the relationship between experts in divination and kings in the first millennium BCE, see Mathieu Ossendrijver, "Performative Aspects of Assyrian Celestial Divination and Babylonian Astronomical Diaries," in *Manuscripts and Performances in Religions, Arts, and Sciences,* Studies in Manuscript Cultures 36, ed. Antonella Brita, Janina Karolewski, Matthieu Husson, Laure Miolo & Hanna Wimmer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2024), 39-54.

omen text *Enūma Anu Enlil* continued to be copied in the Seleukid period; Iqīšā, in fact, owned several commentaries on the series.[322] But new, innovative types of texts began to be produced, as well—namely, horoscopic astrology. "Little is known about the institutional and social setting of horoscopic astrology, which emerged in the fifth century BCE. Some Babylonian temple astronomers apparently used their predictions to produce horoscopes for private citizens."[323] In the second half of the first millennium BCE, the long tradition of Mesopotamian celestial divination was in flux. Iqīšā participated in this fluid tradition through preserving, copying, and even combining texts in innovative ways.

The first text from Iqīšā's dossier to consider is MLC 01859 = BRM 4, 20, an astrological commentary held in the Yale Babylonian Collection. Due to the lack of provenience, it is impossible to make any inferences about the tablet's production or storage contexts. BRM 4, 20 is a hybrid text with a unique format. It begins with a list of thirty-seven rituals that are linked with constellations of the zodiac in a tabular layout:

ŠA.BAL.BAL	KI.^{mul}UR.A
DI.BAL.LA	KI.^{mul}GU.LA
ŠU.DU$_8$.A.KAM	KI.^{mul}AB.SIN$_2$
NAM.ERIM$_2$.BU$_2$.RU.DA	KI.^{mul}GU.LA

> "Confusion : the sign of the Lion. Injustice : the sign of Gula. To relax the hand : the sign of the Furrow. Curse removal : the sign of Gula."[324]

The beginning of the reverse is somewhat damaged, but the text seems to continue in a similar manner. Interestingly, the expected apotropaic and medical rituals are followed by what appear to be malefic rituals that would cause the same effects that anti-witchcraft rituals protect against:

322 W22327 = SpTU 1, 90; W23300 = SpTU 4, 162; AO 06464 = TCL 6, 17.

323 Ossendrijver, "Performative Aspects of Assyrian Celestial Divination and Babylonian Astronomical Diaries," 50.

324 MUL.GUL.LA can also be read as the zodiacal constellation "The Great One," rather than as a reference to the goddess of healing Gula; see Francesca Rochberg, *In the Path of the Moon: Babylonian Celestial Divination and Its Legacy* (Boston: Brill, 2010), 127-128 and below.

DAM.TAB.BA *pur-ru-di*	KI.^{mul}SUḪUR.MAŠ$_2$
u$_3$ LU$_2$ *ina man-za-zi-šu*	
ZI^{ḫi}	
LU$_2$ *ina qi*$_2$*-ip-ti-šu*$_2$ ZI^{ḫi}	KI.^{mul}LU$_2$.ḪUN.GA$_2$
u$_3$ LU$_2$ *ina* IGI LU$_2$	
GAR^{ni}	

> "To terrify a female companion and to remove a man from his position : the sign of the Goatfish. To remove a man from his position as a representative and to appoint a man in front of another man : the sign of the Hireling."

The preceding list is described as "*gaba-ri*$_3$ ŠEŠ.UNUG^{ki} *u* TIN.TIR^{ki}" "Copy of Ur and Babylon." The remaining twenty-five lines of the reverse are taken up by a commentary (*ṣâtu u šūt pî,* as it is labeled in the colophon or BRM 4, 20) that provides explanations for a number of words or phrases from the preceding list:

U$_4$.DA.KAM	*u*$_4$*-mu a-da-nu*
ŠA$_3$.BAL.BAL	*lib*$_3$*-bi a-na na-bal-ku-tu*$_2$
ŠA$_3$.BAL.BAL	*lib*$_3$*-bi a-na šu-un-nu-u*
DI.BAL.LA	*na-bal-ku-ut di-i-ni*
ŠU DU$_8$.A-KAM	*pa-ṭa-ri ša*$_2$ *qa-ti*

> "Fixed date (means) fixed day. Confusion (means) turning over the insides. Confusion (means) to have a change of heart. Injustice (means) the overturning of a judgement. To relax the hands (means) relaxing of the hands."

Eckhart Frahm discussed the layout of this text in detail as part of his study of Babylonian and Assyrian text commentaries.

> "The relationship between the list and the commentary [in BRM 4, 20] is not as straightforward as it may appear at first glance. The commentary refers only to the rituals, leaving the constellations uncommented, and its first entry is nowhere attested in the list. It appears, in fact, that the base text of the commentary was not the list it is attached to, but rather a predecessor of that list in the vein of STT 300, a text that offers hemerological associations instead of the astral ones provided in BRM 4, 20. However

one accounts for this strange arrangement, it would not be fully accurate to claim that in BRM 4, 20, a text and its commentary are written on the same tablet."[325]

For our purposes, the most interesting aspect of BRM 4, 20 is how it seems to represent an innovative merging of different realms of knowledge. The association of particular constellations with different rituals is a reflection of the expanding domain of astrology. Furthermore, BRM 4, 20 is also a testament to how the process of synthesizing and generating knowledge was not always smooth and seamless. Iqīšā needed to create a commentary explicating the meanings of the Sumerian names of some of these rituals. (His explanations for the constellations seem to have ended up on another tablet, BRM 4, 19; see section VII below.)

VI. MLC 01886 = BRM 4, 19 and W 23293/34 = SpTU 5, 243 and the integration of the zodiac into Babylonian astrology

BRM 4, 20 is very similar to two other texts from Hellenistic Uruk: BRM 4, 19 and SpTU 5, 243. There are no colophons preserved for either texts, but their similarity to BRM 4, 20 makes it very likely that both were part of Iqīšā's dossier.[326] There is no information available on the provenience or find spot of BRM 4, 19. The find spot of SpTU 5, 243 is described by von Weiher as "Ue XVIII 1, kleiner Raum der Schicht IV;" that same area yielded several other texts owned by Iqīšā, as well as texts belonging to other members of the Ekur-zakir family and members of the Šangû-Ninurta family. SpTU 5, 243 is a small and heavily damaged fragment, so it is difficult to do any substantial analysis. But the traces that are readable do seem to match up with BRM 4, 20; for example, the first readable line of SpTU 5, 243 matches l. 5-6 of BRM 4,

325 Eckart Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries: Origins of Interpretation* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2011), 31.
326 Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries,* 31, 128.

20. There is a key difference between BRM 4, 20, SpTU 5, 243, and BRM 4, 19 however: BRM 4, 19 and uses a different terminology when relating rituals to the zodiac.

In order to understand the significance of this difference, a discursion on how Babylonian astronomers organized the sky and mapped the movements of stars, planets, the sun and the moon is necessary. As Francesca Rochberg explains:

> "In Mesopotamia, the most important category of stars was that of those located on or near the ecliptic. The ecliptic traces the annual path of the sun relative to the fixed stars. … The travel of the sun through the path of the stars that lie on or near the ecliptic creates a pattern, or phases, of visibility and invisibility for these stars... The first visible rising on the eastern horizon before sunrise that follows the period of the star's invisibility is known as the heliacal rising."[327]

The heliacal rising of stars were recorded in the astronomical compendium MUL.APIN, which was most likely compiled in the late 2nd millennium BCE.[328] Tracking the heliacal risings of stars is a way of recording, and eventually predicting, their positions at different times of the year. "Omens for the dates of heliacal risings of fixed stars are known from *Enūma Anu Enlil,* but no mention is made of fixed-star phases in horoscopes. The references to ecliptical stars in horoscopes are confined to their use as observational reference points, and defined by a group of stars called *kakkabū minâti* (MUL.ŠID.MEŠ), 'counting stars,' translated as Normal Stars after J. Epping's 'Normalsterne.'"[329] The Normal Stars are therefore a system of recording the positions of celestial bodies. Position relative to the Normal Stars was noted in cubits ($KUŠ_2$, *ammatu*) and fingers (ŠU.SI = *ubānu*); twelve fingers is equal to one degree, and thirty (or sometimes twenty-four) fingers are equal to one cubit.[330]

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327 Francesca Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing,* 123.
328 Hermann Hunger and John Steele, *The Babylonian Astronomical Compendium MUL.APIN* (New York: Routledge, 2019).
329 Francesca Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing,* 125, with reference to Joseph Epping, *Astronomiches aus Babylon* (Freiburg im Briesgau, Stimmen aus Maria Laach, Ergänzungsheft 44, 1989), 115.
330 Ibid.

But some time in the second half of the first millennium BCE, another system for recording the relative position of the sun, moon, and the planets at a particular time was developed: the zodiac. The earliest direct references to the zodiac occur in astronomical diary texts from the fifth century BCE and in a Babylonian horoscope dated to 410 BCE.[331] "The zodiac is a beltway through the heavens through which the sun, moon, and planets may be seen to move. In a conception of the sky as a sphere, the zodiac is a circular belt bisected by the ecliptic and extending roughly eight degrees north and south of it."[332] The constellations found in within the zodiacal belt are known as zodiacal constellations. Some of the zodiacal constellations were said by ancient Mesopotamian astronomers to be "in the path of the moon" (*harrān Sin*), due to the way the moon seems to weave its way through them in its monthly course. MUL.APIN I iv 31-37 gives the following list of eighteen zodiacal constellations in the path of the moon:

MUL.MUL (*Zappu*), "The Stars" = the Pleiades
MUL.GU_4.AN.NA (*Alu*), "The Bull of Heaven" = Taurus
MUL.SIPA.ZI.AN.NA (*Šidallu*), "The True Shepherd of Anu" = Orion
MUL.ŠU.GI (*Šību*), "The Old Man" = Perseus
MUL.GAM (*Gamlu*), "The Crook" = Auriga
MUL.MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL (*Tū'amū rabbûtu*), "The Great Twins"
= α and β Geminorum
MUL.AL.LUL (*Allutu*), "The Crab" = Cancer
MUL.UR.GU.LA *(Urgulu*), "The Lion" = Leo
MUL.AB.SIN_2 (*Šer'u)*, "The Furrow" = α + Virginis
MUL.ZI-*ba-ni-tu*$_4$ (*Zibanītu*), "The Scales" = Libra
MUL.GIR_2.TAB (*Zuqaqīpu*), "The Scorpion" = Scorpius
MUL.PA-*bil-sag* (*Pabilsag), "*Pabilsag" = Sagittarius
MUL.SUHUR.$MAŠ_2$, "The Goat-fish" = Capricorn

331 Ibid., 130.

332 Ibid. But see also Rochberg's follow-up comments: "Nothing in the astronomical cuneiform texts suggests that the Babylonians thought in terms of a celestial sphere. Indeed, no appeal to spatial depictions of any kind is made in Babylonian astronomical texts, whether observational or computational. Certain terms encountered in mythological and cosmological literature may be taken to imply some such conception of celestial circles, but considering the gulf between these mythological texts and the sources in which we find reference to the zodiac, no connection need be made."

MU.GU.LA (GU.LA), “The Great One” = Aquarius
KUN.MEŠ (*Zibbātu*), “Tails” = ω Piscium
MUL.SIM.MAH *(Sinunūtu*), “The Swallow” = western fish of Pisces
MUL.A-*nu-ni-tu* (*Anunītu*) = eastern fish of Pisces
MUL.LU_2.HUN.GA_2 (*Agru*), “The Hired Man” = Aries

The above list is described as: “all these are the gods who stand in the path of the Moon, through whose regions the Moon in the course of a month passes and whom he touches.”[333]

Although the constellations in the path of the moon from MUL.APIN form the basis of the zodiac, they are not identical to it, as the path of the moon included more than the twelve zodiacal constellations. Rochberg theorizes the following stages of development from the list of constellations in the path of the moon in MUL.APIN to the zodiac as it is used in later Babylonian astrological texts:

> “A zodiac consists of twelve 30 degree segments named for twelve elipticall constellations, all of which belonged to the list of stars in the path of the moon found in MUL.APIN Although the names of the zodiacal signs derived from an original relation to the zodiacal constellations, once the signs were defined by longitude rather than the constellation they ceased to have any real relation to the constellations and became a mathematical reference system, representing the 360 degrees of the ecliptic, counted from some defined starting point.
> …The devision of the schematic calendar into twelve months of thirty days each, such as was used in MUL.APIN, the Astrolabes, and *Enūma Anu Enlil,* could be correlated with twelve constellations through which the sun was found to travel in one ideal 'year' of twelve thirty-day months. Because the spring equinox, which was always close to the beginning of the Babylonian year, was to occur in *Nisannu,* then *Nisannu,* or month I, was when the sun was in the constellation Aries (MUL.LU_2.HUNG.GA = *Agru* “the hired man”). For each ideal month, the sun's position in the sky could be identified by the same of a constellation but schematized to correlate the sun's passage through the constellations with the twelve 30-day intervals. The result would be an association of twelve thirty-day months and twelve constellations, later standardized to intervals of thirty degrees along the ecliptic.”

333 Ibid., 127-128.

There are three essential points to be gained from all this that are relevant to our understanding of Iqīšā's intellectual world view. First, starting in around 500 BCE, Babylonian astrologers developed at least two systems—the Normal Star system and the zodiac—to describe and record the positions of celestial bodies.[334] Second, these different systems were used in different circumstances, and the patterns of their use changed over time:

> "The distinction between Normal Star and zodiacal references relates to the distinction between observation and prediction, but does not serve to indicate in all cases either one or the other. Although the system of degrees within the zodiac was useful for computation and prediction, but not for observations as the boundaries of the signs are not visible, the Normal Stars provided a series of visible reference points."[335]

Lastly, and most crucially for our purposes, the integration of these different systems was not seamless. This is where BRM 4, 19 comes in.

BRM 4, 20 and SpTU 5, 243 use the terminology "KI.(constellation name)" when relating a ritual to a sign of the zodiac, as in "KI.^{mul}UR.A". BRM 4, 19 uses a different system, referring to zodiacal signs by degrees. Lines 21-22 of BRM 4, 20 and lines 10-11 of BRM 4, 19 convey the same information, but in very different ways. BRM 4, 20 reads:

MUNUS LU$_2$ *ana* NITA *ša$_2$-nim-ma* IGI-MIN *u* IGI *la na-še-e*	KI ^{mul}MAŠ.TAB.BA GAL.GAL
HUL.GIG	KI ^{mul}GIR$_2$.[TAB]

> "(For) a man's wife not to raise her eyes or eye to another man: the sign of the Great Twins. Hate: the sign of the Scorpion."[336]

334 Interestingly, a text using yet another system was also excavated from Iqīšā's house. W 23313/3 = SpTU 5, 265 was excavated from the same "kleiner Raum in Bauschicht IV" referenced above. Its colophon identifies it as belonging to Balaṭu // Ekur-zakir—perhaps Iqīšā's grandfather? SpTU 5, 265 is a list of birth omens, determined not by the zodiac but by *ziqpu* stars. For more, see Gil Berger's upcoming publications on the use of *ziqpu* stars in Babylonian astronomy and astrology.

335 Ibid., 131.

But BRM 4, 19 presents that information as:

> 11 10 U_4.DA-KAM MUNUS-*ka ana* NITA IGI la_3 IL_2^e11 10 3 10
> MAŠ.MAŠ $ša_2$ GU ZI
> 11 21 U_4.DA-KAM ḪUL.GIG 11 21 8 3 GIR_2.TAB $ša_2$ GU ZI
>
> "(Sign) 11, 10°: fixed date for your wife not to raise her eye to (another) man. (Sign) 11, 10° = (sign) 3, 10°: the Twins (sign 3) are the distance of Gula (sign 11). (Sign) 11, 21°: fixed date for hate. (Sign) 11, 21° = (month) 8, 3°: the Scorpion (sign 8) is the distance of Gula (sign 11)."[337]

Without reference to BRM 4, 20 and SpTU 5, 243, BRM 4, 19 would be almost impossible to interpret. But when we consider all three together, we can draw some conclusions about the intellectual milieu in which Iqīšā was working. I interpret BRM 4, 20, BRM 4, 19, and SpTU 5, 243 to all be explanatory texts derived from the same base text that gave instructions on the most auspicious times of year to perform various rituals. The base text may have been STT 300, a text from Ḫuzurina dated to the 7th century BCE. "In this older version, no zodiac and no stars are present; instead, the text connects the activities of the conjurer with days in the calendar."[338] Clearly the idea that certain rituals should only be performed at certain times was not an invention of the Hellenistic period; the innovation lies in the fact that Iqīšā and other scholars in the Hellenistic period expressed those times in terms of the zodiac. But in Iqīšā's time, this system still required some explanation. Thus we have, in BRM 4, 20 and BRM 4, 19, the same information represented in two different ways. Just as the commentary embedded in BRM 4, 20 gives some philological notes on the names of the rituals, BRM 4, 19 gives some astronomical notes on the constellations, expressing their position in terms of degrees. The presence of both of

336 Text and translation by Eleanor Robson for the GKAB project. https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/gkab/P296512.
337 Text and translation by Eleanor Robson for the GKAB project. https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/gkab/P363411.
338 Hermann Hunger, "Astrological Texts from Late Babylonian Uruk," in *Scholars and Scholarship in Late Babylonian Uruk,* ed. Christine Proust & John Steele (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2019): 184.

these texts in his dossier is evidence of how Iqīšā was working through the innovations that were happening around him.

VII. W22704 = SpTU 3, 104 and W22619/9+22554/2b = SpTU 3, 105, two "Kalendertexte"

Two additional texts in Iqīšā's dossier also innovate upon the established Mesopotamian practice of associating particular rituals with particular times by introducing the zodiac to that established system. The texts are W22704 = SpTU 3, 104 and W22619/9+22554/2b = SpTU 3, 105, termed "Kalendertexte" by E. F. Weidner. Both tablets are relatively whole and complete. The find spot of SpTu 3, 104 is described by von Weiher as "Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus, R. A. älterer Zustand;" the findspot of SpTU 3, 105 is described more laconically as "Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II." SpTU 3, 104 and SpTU 3, 105 are analyzed by Erica Reiner in her influential monograph *Astral Magic in Babylonia*, as part of a larger discussion of hemerologies in the cuneiform tradition.[339]

SpTU 3, 104 and SpTU 3, 105 are both one-column tablets. Each line begins with the name of a month (Du'uzu for SpTU 3, 104 and Arahsamnu for SpTU 3, 105; represented as MIN, "ditto," after the first line), followed by a number representing the day of the month. "These two entries are followed by another pair of entries, also designating a month and day, in which the month is expressed, as elsewhere, by the name of the corresponding zodiacal sign, and the day by the number degree in the sign. From one line to the next the second pair increases by nine signs plus seven degrees (9 x 30 + 7) yielding the number 277. Since no astronomical significance for this number can be found, it has been suggested, among other speculations, that

339 Erica Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1995), 114-118.

it refers to the number of days in a gestation period."[340] This somewhat perplexing section is paired with a list of magical ingredients. For example, the first two lines of SpTU 3, 104 read:

ŠU	1	MAŠ	7	$UŠ_2$ [UDU.$NITA_2I_3$].UDU UDU.$NITA_2$ *u* SIG_2-HI-A UDU.$NITA_2$ ŠEŠ
MIN<(ŠU)>	2	SUḪUR	14	$UŠ_2$ UD_5 I_3.UDU UD_5 *u* SIG_2 UD_5 $ŠEŠ_2$

"Du'uzu : 1 : Twins : 7 : anoint with ram's blood, ram's fat, and ram's wool. Ditto : 2 : Goatfish : 14 : anoint with goat's blood, goat's fat, and goat's hair."

And the first two lines of SpTU 3, 105 read:

APIN	1	NE	7	$UŠ_2$.UR.MAḪ I_3 UDU UR.MAḪ *lu* SIG_2 MIN<(UR.MAḪ)> $ŠEŠ_2$
MIN<(APIN)>2		MUL_2MUL_2	14	$UŠ_2$ GU_4 *lu* I_3.GIŠ GU_4 *lu* SIG_2 MIN<(GU_4)> MIN<($ŠEŠ_2$)>

"Arahsamnu : 1 : Lion : 7 : anoint with lion's blood, lion's fat, ditto (lion's) hair. Ditto (Arahsamnu) : 2 : Bristle : 14 : Ditto ox's blood or ox's fat or ditto (ox's) hair.

As Reiner explains, the cuneiform hemerological tradition long predates Iqīšā and his colleagues; the innovation of the Hellenistic period is the incorporation of the zodiac into that existing tradition. In SpTU 3, 104 and SpTU 3, 105, Iqīšā integrates the zodiac into existing traditions in a particularly creative way. The texts "assign to each of the calendar dates an ointment whose ingredients are related to the zodiacal sign by a pun, either linguistic or purely orthographic, on the name of the sign."[341] Reiner goes on to explain:

> "The punning relationship between the prescription and the corresponding sign of the zodiac can be understood only with reference to the classical zodiac. For example, the recipe prescribed for the first month is prepared from a sheep although the expected zodiacal sign, Aries 'ram,' is not mentioned nor is the Akkadian name of the sign, *Agru*

340 Ibid., 115
341 Reiner, *Astral Magic,* 115.

'hired man' with 'sheep'; MUL.LU, MUL$_2$.LU, or simply LU with the meaning "Aries" is well attested in Seleucid texts."[342]

SpTU 3, 104 and SpTU 3, 105 are therefore another manifestation of the quintessential feature of Iqīšā's worldview, as it can be seen in his texts: the creative blending of innovation and tradition. Iqīšā's Kalendertexte are in some ways deeply traditional: they are a continuation of the hemerological tradition that had existed for hundreds of years. But Iqīšā is also breaking with tradition by introducing the zodiac, a recent invention. Yet the way that Iqīšā integrates the zodiac into the hemerological tradition—the punning relationships—is deeply steeped in the cuneiform tradition.

VIII. Astrological varia: W22246a = SpTU 1, 94, W22646 = SpTU 2, 43 and W22666/0 = SpTU 4, 159

I will close this chapter with brief discussions of some of the other astrological texts in Iqīšā's dossier that demonstrate how he participated in the expansion of astrology into new domains. These texts were the subject of a recent study by Hermann Hunger.[343] These texts are also a representation of the combination of tradition and innovation that animated the intellectual culture of Hellenistic Uruk. As discussed above, the idea that events in the human realm could be understood through reading the stars was central to the traditional practice of Babylonian celestial divination. But in the Hellenistic period, Iqīšā and other scholars began to apply new forms of celestial divination to new areas of life. The texts I will discuss here are examples of Iqīšā pushing the boundaries of what astrology could do.

342 Ibid., 117.

343 Hermann Hunger, "Astrological Texts from Late Babylonian Uruk," in *Scholars and Scholarship in Late Babylonian Uruk,* ed. Christine Proust & John Steele (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2019), 171-186.

W22246a = SpTU 1, 94 is a unique text that explains how to use celestial omens to predict the price of grain. "The approach is not entirely new: high or low prices were occasionally predicted within the framework of *Enūma Anu Enlil,* but no tablet was entirely devoted to the topic."[344] The text opens with the following statement:

> BE-*ma a-na* KI KI.LAM *še-im* ME-*a* GAR-*an* DU ^{d}UDU.IDIM^{meš} KIN.KIN-*ma* IGI.TUḪ. A TUM$_3$ ne$_2$-met-tu$_4$ LAL$_2$-*tu*$_4$ TE-*tu*$_4$ *un-nu-tu u*$_3$ ŠE.ER.ZI *ša*$_2$ ^{d}UDU.IDIM^{meš} *u*$_3$ *lu*$_2$-*maš*$_2$ *ša*$_2$ NIM *u* SIG *ina* ŠA$_3$ SAR-u$_2$ ŠEŠ-*ma a-na* MU.AN.NA-*ka* ME-*a* GAR-*ma* SILIM-*im*
>
> If you want to make a prediction about the region of the equivalent of barley, you search for the movement of the planets, you observe appearance and disappearance, stationary point, opposition, close approach, dimness and brightness of the planets, and in which constellations they begin to be high or low – you make a prediction for the year in question, and it will be right.[345]

As Hermann Hunger points out, Iqīšā's text does not actually follow up on that opening statement; in his discussion of planetary phenomena, Iqīšā only mentions the planet's position within the zodiac. Of the other factors mentioned, only a celestial object's brightness is considered ominous. SpTU 1, 94 therefore represents a blending of different types of analysis: the more ancient traditional interpretation of the brightness or dimness of a planet, and the newer, more innovative realm of interpreting positions of a planet in the zodiac.

W22646 = SpTU 2, 43 is a somewhat enigmatic composite text. The text consists of four sections, a colophon, and a heavily damaged post script. The first section is a still-unexplained table of months, signs of the zodiac, and numbers, the significance of which is unclear. The second section is a metrology that describes the growth of a baby inside its mother's womb, and duplicates part of W 23281 = SpTU 4, 173, a text that most likely belonged to a member of the Šangû-Ninurta clan. The very brief third section describes how to make a bandage from a white

344 Hunger, "Astrological Texts from Late Babylonian Uruk," 182.
345 Text and translation by Hermann Hunger, in "Astrological Texts from Late Babylonian Uruk," 182.

ram's skin, a black bull's hide, a mule's hide, and a red horse's hide. The fourth section is a horoscopic table of infant births and deaths associated with zodiacal signs. This section is duplicated by TU 14, another tablet from Uruk, and LBAT 1600, from Babylon. Hunger notes that, in the text from Babylon, "the names of the zodiacal constellations are not yet the abbreviations common in Late Babylonian texts, but still earlier ones: The first sign is written ^{lu_2}ḪUN.GA$_2$, in third place we have even two constellations: SIPA *u* MAŠ-MAŠ; for the sixth sign the name is AB.SIN$_2$, and the last is AŠ.IKU."[346] The fourth section is followed by a brief colophon that identifies Iqīšā as the tablet's owner. After the colophon, there is a brief, damaged list of ingredients—perhaps from some sort of medical text. "The diverse material collected on this tablet, and some writing errors, makes it appear like an ad hoc compilation."[347] SpTU 2, 43 can thus be understood as another example of Iqīšā working out how to combine more traditional forms of knowledge with newer forms.

The final, and perhaps the most unique, tablet to be discussed is W22666/0 = SpTU 4, 159. SpTU 4, 159 is an attempt to fruitfully combine several different traditional schools of knowledge. It associates parts of the liver (listed in the order in which they are inspected in *barûtu*) with different gods, months, and zodiacal constellations. Some entries also include brief explanatory notes. As an example, the first two lines read:

NA	^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ ^{iti}BARA$_2$ BU […]
	^{d}DUMU.ZI NA *man-za-za* […] KU$_3$
GIR$_2$	^{d}UTU ^{iti}GU$_4$.SI.SA$_2$ ^{mul}GU$_4$.AN.NA […]
	SI.SA$_2$ *e-še-ri ša*$_2$ *a-la-ku* GU$_4$
"The Station	Enlil, Nisannu...
The Path	Šamaš, Ayyaru, the Bull of Heaven … *SI.SA*$_2$, to go well, said of going. GU$_4$..."

346 Ibid., 177ff.
347 Ibid., 181.

Hermann Hunger points out that the constellations mentioned rise heliacally in the months that they are listed after, following the list in MUL.APIN I ii 36.

This text, then, represents a combination of two different schools of knowledge: astrology and *barûtu.* As Hunger writes, "The text is an example of expanding astrology into other areas of prediction … The *āšipu* Iqīšā appears as a creative user of scholarly tradition who modified commentaries and may have invented new techniques of astrological prediction."[348] But there is an additional historical element that makes this text interesting, as well. Eleanor Robson has demonstrated that, in the Neo-Assyrian period, the *barû,* or expert in divination through exstipicy, was closely tied to and supported by the palace. As the relationship between scholars and the royal administration changed over the course of the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid period, the profession of the *barû* disappeared from the cuneiform record.[349] The end of the *barû* profession in Uruk did not, however, mean the complete end of *barûtu.* In fact, Iqīšā owned two other *barûtu* texts: W22383 = SpTU 1, 80 and W22656/10a = SpTU 4, 158. Instead, it seems that *barûtu* became part of the domain of the *āšipu*.[350]

Francesca Rochberg has argued that "the integration of astral with terrestrial divination seems to have been made possible by the development of astrology, that is, by the application of celestial signs for the human being (and the human body) in general, no longer focusing, as did

348 Hunger, "Astrological Texts from Late Babylonian Uruk," 181. Erica Reiner expressed a similar sentiment in *Astral Magic in Babylonia (*Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1995), 79: "Unique as this text is in Babylonian scholarly literature, it testifies to an elaboration of the concept of the stellar influence on the configurations that the liver could exhibit, and thereby to the continued vitality of the Mesopotamian divinatory tradition, while its association between stars and planets and parts of the exta, paralleled in the *Apotelesmatika* of Hephaistio from Hellenistic Egypt, points to the wide-raning cross-currents in the Hellenistic Near East."

349 Eleanor Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* 216-221, 243-245. Curiously, both *barû* and *ašu* continue to exist as professions in Sippar through the late period. It is still unclear why these professions survived in Sippar but not anywhere else in Babylonia.

350 A similar process seems to have happened with the profession of the *āšu.* However, the distinction between the *āšu* and the *āšipu* was never as clear or firm as the distinction between the *āšipu* and the *barû.* See Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks,* 229-231.

Enūma Anu Enlil, on the king, the city, and its population."[351] The astrological texts in the Iqīšā dossier give a glimpse at one scholar's experiments working in this new realm of cuneiform knowledge. In the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods, scholarly knowledge was increasingly concentrated in individuals like Iqīšā. This increasing accumulation of expertise in different realms of knowledge in one person could lead to the type of innovative combinations we see in SpTU 4, 159 and the production of new types of knowledge.

IX. Conclusion

Taken together, what can the texts analyzed in this chapter show us about the intellectual world that Iqīšā both constructed and participated in? Hermann Hunger's description of Iqīšā, quoted above, captures the essential point: Iqīšā was creative and innovative, but the fields in which he was working were defined by, and derived their value from, tradition. Iqīšā's Sumero-Akkadian bilingual texts demonstrate the importance he gave to the cuneiform tradition, but they also attest to the fact that the cuneiform tradition was dynamic and changing, rather than static and dead. Iqīšā's astrological texts combine and expand fields of knowledge in novel ways, but have their basis in the traditional practice of Babylonian celestial divination.

In his ground-breaking 1992 article on the reorganization of the Anu cult in Uruk in the late Achaemenid period, Paul-Alain Beaulieu wrote of the "antiquarian ethos of the late period":

> "The reordering of the pantheon of Uruk involved the incidental revival of deities whose cultes had long fallen into oblivion. Amasagnudi, who had probably ceased to be worshipped even by the time the list An = Anum was compiled, was resurrected only by virtue of being the consort of Papsukkal/Ninšubur, who in turn gained such prominence owing to his quality as vizier of Anu. One may truly speak of 'antiquarian theology' to describe this type of intellectual exercise. The

351 Francesca Rochberg, *Before Nature: Cuneiform Knowledge and the History of Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 74-75

> presumption that this antiquarianism was a consistent, self-conscious program is supported by the inscriptions of Anu-uballiṭ/Kephalon which commemorates the remodeling of the cellas of Anu and Antu in the Bīt Rēš in the year 110 of the Seleucid era (= 202 B.C.) and traces the origins of the temple back to the antediluvian *apkallu* Oannes/Adapa (= u_4-^{d}an). Doubtless the theologians of Uruk believed, to some extent, that the pantheon systematized in An = Anum represented the oldest state of the divine hierarchy, such as it existed in primeval times. These theologians lived, however, in a self-contained world, deliberately oblivious to the surrounding culture which was increasingly non-Babylonian in character because of the admixture of Aramaic, Hellenic and other elements. Their antiquarianism also stems partly from a reaction to the confinement of Babylonian culture to specific areas of public life, chiefly the temple. As can often be observed in comparable situations, the preservation of the threatened, but once dominant, culture is achieved through its artificial and overstated reassertion. These cultural statements rarely fail to betray their artificiality nonetheless, usually because one can easily detect some elements in the culture which were misunderstood (due to their obsolete character) even by the intellectual elites in charge of their preservation. … One may admire the great care with which old texts were still recopied in Seleucid and Parthian times, but this skill to physically reproduce a text did not imply a comparable ability to read it correctly as indicated by the widespread practice in the first millennium to introduce explanatory glosses in scholastic texts. There is ample evidence in first millennium copies of Sumerian literary compositions of the scribes' poor knowledge of the structure and grammar of the language. … This kind of misconception is typical of that period, as it is indeed of all fading cultures."[352]

Beaulieu would likely classify Iqīšā as an antiquarian, a member of an increasingly marginalized and irrelevant elite class clinging to relevancy and power by claiming connection to a tradition he did not truly understand. Beaulieu's description invites us to compare Iqīšā and his colleagues with other beleaguered antiquarians of "fading cultures": Josephus recording the *Antiquitates* of the Judean people in the wake of the failed rebellion against Rome and the destruction of the

352 Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Antiquarian Theology in Seleucid Uruk," *Acta Sumerologica* 14 (1992): 68-69.

second Temple; a Qing dynasty official in the late nineteenth century collecting antiquities and practicing calligraphy as war loomed;[353] one of Alan Cameron's "last pagans of Rome.*"*[354]

Others, both before and after Beaulieu, have labelled the activities of certain Babylonian scholars as antiquarian. In a 1914 article, Albert Clay wrote that "a number of discoveries have been made in Babylonia in recent years to show that there were those in that ancient land who had the same appreciation for antiquities that people have at the present time."[355] Clay was particularly interested in a clay object held in the Penn museum, which seemed to contain on its obverse an impression (or, as Clay called it, a brick-squeeze) of a stone inscription of Sargon I, and on its reverse a description of the inscription by a Neo-Babylonian scribe, Nabû-zēr-lišir, who saw the original in Akkad. Describing the object for the Penn museum journal, Clay wrote that "we are at once reminded of the archaeological interest manifested by Nabonidus...[and] the pious zeal of the royal antiquarian."[356] Clay seems to see in Nabonidus and his scribe a reflection of eighteenth century European antiquarians, who "preferred travel to the emendation of texts and altogether subordinated texts to coins, statues, vases and inscriptions."[357] But Clay's brief studies also bring to the fore two of the key themes of a particularly Babylonian antiquarianism: the power of tradition as a tool of political and religious legitimation and the role of scribes in the preservation and transmission of ancient knowledge.

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353 Qianshen Bai, "Antiquarianism in a Time of Crisis: on the collecting practices of Late-Qing government officials, 1861-1911," in *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives,* ed. A. Schnapp (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2013), 386-403

354 Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). For a discussion of recent scholarship on antiquarianism in Late Antiquity, see Duncan MacRae, "Late Antiquity and the Antiquarian," *Studies in Late Antiquity* vol. 1 no. 4 (2017), 335-358.

355 Albert T. Clay, "Ancient Babylonian Antiquaries," *Art and Archaeology* 1 (1914): 27-31.

356 Albert T. Clay, "An Ancient Antiquary," *The Museum Journal* 3 no. 2 (1912): 23-25. Accessed April 19, 2024. https://www.penn.museum/sites/journal/1216/

357 For a description of the Age of Antiquaries, see Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 285-315.

In the realm of material, rather than written, culture, Irene Winter has reviewed "the actual practice of excavation as both a technique and a strategy for recovering the past in ancient times," particularly in the first millennium BCE. Winter argues that "when the evidence is looked at from the perspective of ancient claims to knowledge, it reinforces the premise that in the first millennium BC at least, under the guise of royal patronage and purpose, the Babylonian past was actively sought *in the field.* The resultant finds then served a variety of purposes that bear a rather striking resemblance to our understanding of the 'uses of the past in the present' today."[358] In her survey of the material, Winter finds many resonances with modern archaeological aims and inquiries.

Gonzalo Rubio took up the question of the relationship between scholarship and antiquarianism in his 2009 article "Scribal secrets and antiquarian nostalgia: tradition and scholarship in ancient Mesopotamia." In a similar vein to Beaulieu, Rubio observed that "the Mesopotamian preoccupation with the past seems to only increase in later periods, and an antiquarian endeavor is evident in the activities of various kings." The bulk of Rubio's analysis is focused on Nabonidus, "the last king of Babylon, [who], as most crepuscular characters, appears shrouded in legend, madness, and mystery."[359] But Rubio also makes some general claims about a pan-Mesopotamian antiquarianism: "Mesopotamians seem to have been extraordinarily concerned with their past. Although they did not articulate historical narratives, they did generate an intellectual discourse that concerned itself with all things ancient."[360] Rubio's broad survey

358 Irene Winter, "Babylonian Archaeologists of the(ir) Mesopotamian Past," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East,* ed. P. Matthiae, A. Enea, L. Peyronel and F. Pinnock (Rome: La Sapienza, 2000); 1787-1800.

359 Gonzalo Rubio, "Scribal secrets and antiquarian nostalgia: tradition and scholarship in ancient Mesopotamia," in *Reconstruyendo el pasado remoto : estudios sobre el Próximo Oriente Antiguo en homenaje a Jorge R. Silva Castillo,* ed. D. A. Barreyra and G. del Olmo Lete (Barcelona: Sabadell, 2009), 153-180. See also Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556-539 B. C.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

360 Rubio, "Scribal secrets and antiquarian nostalgia," 153-154.

covers a variety of materials from different places, times, and contexts: the renovations and building projects of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, the collection of booty, omen texts, *Geheimwissen* clauses and *ša pî ummâni* clauses.[361] Like Beaulieu, Rubio has a pessimistic view of antiquarianism in the first millennium:

> "When cultures and civilizations face periods of withering and decadence, in the autumn of their splendor, they resort to the nostalgia of times gone by in an attempt to maintain their identities. … This antiquarian impulse and obsession, exemplified by Nabonidus, was a last atavistic attempt to recreate the languishing and doomed streams of Mesopotamian tradition. This late antiquarianism overlapped and reinforced the inherently traditionalistic nature of Mesopotamian scholarly traditions in its two streams, the written and the unwritten. Moreover, late antiquarianism is nothing but the last incarnation of the conservative nature of cuneiform traditions."[362]

Beaulieu returned to the concept of Mesopotamian antiquarianism in a 2013 essay, "Mesopotamian Antiquarianism from Sumer to Babylon." He emphasizes the role that texts, inscribed monuments, and other works of art played in the ability of Mesopotamian scribes and kings to access the distant past, particularly in the first millennium BCE, and surveys the collecting practices of various Mesopotamian kings, from the thirteenth century BCE Elamite king Šutruk-Nahhunte to the Neo-Babylonain king Nebuchadnezzar and even a local administrator in Hellenistic Girsu named Adad-nādin-aḫḫe. Beaulieu also points out the archaizing nature of the Sun God Tablet of Nabu-apla-iddina and other public royal inscriptions in the first millennium BCE, including a famous Neo-Babylonian forgery, the so-called Cruciform Monument of Maništušu.[363]

Beaulieu sees two possible explanations for the rise of antiquarian discourse in the first millennium BCE. First, more pessimistically, he suggests that it could be the result of "cultural

361 See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the use of these clauses in the colophons of the Iqīšā dossier.
362 Rubio, "Scribal secrets and antiquarian nostalgia," 172.
363 Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Mesopotamain Antiquarianism from Sumer to Babylon," in *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives,* ed. A. Schnapp (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013): 123-130.

exhaustion, the growing realization of Mesopotamian decline in spite of the hegemonic reach of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires at that time. Such feelings may have been enhanced by the spread of vernacular Aramaic in Mesopotamia, which threatened the traditional language, religion, and culture of both Assyria and Babylonia; antiquarianism may have evolved as a strategy of cultural defence, a last gasp of identity politics, as we might now say."[364] But Beaulieu sees a more optimistic perspective as well, one informed by the intellectual history of the period. "The rapid progress of astronomy after the middle of the eighth century BCE led to a more precise and cumulative computation of historical time. At the same time, the Babylonian Chronicle emerged as a historical genre that ideally provided yearly accounts of historical events." Here, a heavy cultural investment in the past is not understood as the strategy of a moribund civilization. Instead, a culture of the past sustains and is sustained by new types of intellectual inquiry. "In Mesopotamia, confronting the past was always the dominant means of controlling the future."[365]

Do these descriptions of Mesopotamian antiquarianism fit with what we can see of Iqīšā through a close examination of his texts? Yes and no. Iqīšā's engagement with the ancient Babylonian past was indeed marked and self-conscious--this is evident from his colophons, his collection of commentaries, and his choice of texts to copy and keep. Iqīšā placed a high value on tradition and on traditional knowledge; he endeavored to pass on that knowledge to his son and his other students. But I do not detect in Iqīšā's texts the "belatedness," the sense of separation and remove from the past, that is an essential feature of antiquarianism.[366] Nor do I see a nostalgia for a better past or a retreat from an unsatisfactory present. Instead, I see Iqīšā as an

364 Ibid., 133.
365 Ibid., 133-134.
366 Duncan MacRae, "Late Antiquity and the Antiquarian," 336-337, with reference to Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 285-315.

active participant in a living tradition. Iqīšā, it seems to me, saw himself as a direct inheritor of the Neo-Assyrian intellectual tradition; this is evident from the intellectual genealogy of the bilingual texts he copied and edited. He not only preserved the Babylonian divinatory tradition, he added to it with his innovative combinations of different disciplines.

If Iqīšā is not fully an antiquarian, is he instead a Hellenistic intellectual? In her recent monograph *Between Greece and Babylonia: Hellenistic Intellectual History in Cross-Cultural Perspective,* Kathryn Stevens argues that the overarching imperial structure, which brought the cultures of the ancient Mediterranean world into contact in a deeper and more extensive way than ever before, created a new, multipolar Hellenistic intellectual culture.

> "The cuneiform scholars of Hellenistic Babylon and Uruk were part of the same overarching imperial system as Greek intellectuals thousands of miles away, and their lives and work were affected by some of the same events and pressures. If we move beyond the hyper-Hellenic centres which dominate both ancient and modern conceptions of 'Hellenistic' intellectual life, Anu-aḫa-ušabši, Anu-aba-utēr, and the other scholars of Uruk can be situated along their Greek contemporaries within broader patterns and trends in intellectual life in the Hellenistic world. Even when we cannot link Greek and Babylonian scholars through direct contact, their writings can be seen to reflect the impact of the large-scale political and socio-cultural changes."[367]

Stevens finds links between the new "intellectual geographies" of Aristolte and Theophrastus, and the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries and Chronicles. She also sees similarities in the "locally focused intellectual activity" of the Greek and Babylonian scholars. "The Lindos and Uruk Chronicles, and other works of Greek and Akkadian historiography, show us Greek and Babylonian scholars using similar constructions of the past to stress the continuing importance of

367 Kathryn Stevens, *Between Greece and Babylonia: Hellenistic Intellectual History in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 373-375.

their communities in a world where local autonomy and identity might need to be reasserted or reformulated in the face of new imperial powers."[368]

Stevens closes her book with a call to other scholars to also take up "the project of writing intellectual histories of the Hellenistic world with a cross-cultural dimension. … Similar soundings need to be taken of other regions and cultures to test whether the arguments posited here for Seleucid Babylonia have a wider application."[369] My project is also an attempt to write a type of Hellenistic intellectual history of Babylonia, but with a different methodology. Instead of looking for similarities between texts written by different people from different places, I have looked at the career and intellectual output of a single scholar from Uruk. Can we detect, in Iqīšā's work, a monad of Hellenistic intellectual culture?[370]

Ultimately, I think the answer is no. Iqīšā's extensive collection of canonical omen series, commentaries, and bilingual texts testify to a deep investment in the preservation and propagation of traditional cuneiform culture. At the same time, his engagement with new types of astronomy and astrology demonstrate that he was also willing to innovate on tradition. But I do not think that these elements in Iqīšā's work are a reflection of a specifically Hellenistic intellectual culture. A Hellenistic intellectual culture would require a break with the past and the creation of a new intellectual world. In contrast, the texts of the Iqīša dossier are firmly connected to the past. New intellectual flowerings, such as the development and integration of the zodiac, are rooted in an ancient cuneiform tradition. Iqīšā's intellectual culture was vibrant and dynamic, but it was not new. It was still fundamentally an intellectual culture of the past.

368 Ibid., 375.

369 Ibid., 376.

370 On the concept of monads as used in microhistory, see Matti Peltonen, "Clues, Margins, and Monads: The Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research," *History and Theory* 40 (2001): 347-359.

Of course, there were changes in the cuneiform tradition over its millennia-long history. The move of the locus of astronomical scholarship from the palace to the temple, for example, seems to have had significant ramifications for the intellectual culture of Babylonia. It certainly impacted the trajectory of Iqīšā's career. But these changes seem to already have been underway in fifth century BCE. It would be inaccurate, therefore, to see Iqīšā's engagement with astronomy and astrology as an indication of a specifically Hellenistic intellectual culture.

This is not to say that Stevens' conclusions are entirely invalid. It is possible that the Hellenistic intellectual culture that Stevens sees was simply late to come to Uruk. A study of the work of a scholar living in Uruk in the late third century, for example, may yield entirely different results. So, too, might a study of an archive from Babylon or Borsippa. My microhistorical study does not seek to disprove or degrade more comprehensive or general treatments of the period. Rather, through its close focus on one individual and his particular work, choices, and idiosyncracies, my work emphasizes the full diversity and complexity of the ancient Mediterranean world in the fourth century BCE.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

The preceding dissertation has been an attempt to reconstruct the voice of one inhabitant of the early Hellenistic Middle East. This process has not been without its challenges. The "impression of anonymity which cuneiform literature usually leaves with readers" that W. G. Lambert observed is indeed present in Iqīšā's work.[371] But a close examination of the ways that Iqīšā identifies himself in his colophons and a reconstruction of Iqīšā's intellectual world from the content of the texts in his dossier does allow us to sketch a picture of Iqīšā's life and work.

What emerges from this sketch is somewhat surprising. When I started this project, I expected to see the impacts of Greco-Macedonian rule all over the Iqīšā dossier. I also expected to find a reactionary, even radical antiquarianism in Iqīšā's work. What I found, instead, was something more subtle. In his colophons, Iqīšā worked hard to establish a sense of continuity with previous generations of *āšipu,* particularly from the Achaemenid and Neo-Assyrian periods. The ways that Iqīšā conceptualized and expressed his identity seem more influenced by the aftermath of the Babylonian revolts against Xerxes and the subsequent Achaemenid encouragement of regional pride than by the arrival of Alexander. Iqīšā's intellectual world view is indeed deeply steeped in a culture of the past, but he does not exhibit the nostalgic remove typical of the antiquarian. Instead, Iqīšā seems to be an active participant in a living, vibrant tradition of cuneiform culture. The insights gleaned from this microhistorical examination of a dossier associated with a particular individual will, I hope, provide a useful counterpoint to broader historical narratives of the Hellenistic Middle East.

371 W. G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11 no. 1 (1957), 1.

Following the lead of Giovanni Levi, in my introduction I characterized my dissertation as an experiment in microhistory.[372] Now I ask—was the experiment successful? What has this microhistorical approach revealed that was missing, obscured, or underemphasized in existing narratives about the Hellenistic world? My focus on the intellectual and social world of one individual, as revealed through a close reading of the dossier of texts associated with him, has emphasized the complexity and diversity of Hellenistic Babylonia. This complexity and diversity can be accessed through a close examination of the choices an individual actor made when navigating his world. On a microhistorical level, the apparent contradictions of the period resolve themselves into competing social and political forces that specific individuals could interface with in different ways and with varying degrees of success.

For these reasons I believe that microhistory is a particularly effective methodology for exploring Hellenistic history. The work I have done in this dissertation is merely a first step. As more material from the ancient Middle East is published, the opportunites for microhistorical studies of particular individuals grow. My study of Iqīšā could be joined by studies of his predecessors in the "House of the *Āšipu*" or of his descendants who continued to serve at the Rēš temple. The picture could be further diversified and expanded by adding studies of scribes from Ptolemaic Egypt, Antioch, and Asia Minor, or reconstructing the career of a bureaucrat in Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. By building out the stories of individuals from different places, times, and social contexts, we will be able to more fully understand the Hellenistic Mediterranean world in all its intricacies.

372 Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing,* ed. Peter Burke (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Statue University Press, 2001), 101.

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