

Karduniaš. Babylonia Under the Kassites

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Vorwort

Im vorliegenden Band werden die Ergebnisse einer internationalen Tagung zum Thema „Babylonien in der Kassitenzeit“ präsentiert, die vom 30. Juni bis 2. Juli 2011 an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) München stattgefunden hat.

Die Idee zu dieser Tagung entstand spontan während eines mittäglichen Gesprächs mit Professor Mirko Novák (seinerzeit Geschäftsführer des Departments für Kulturwissenschaften und Altertumskunde an der LMU) im Englischen Garten in München, bei dem wir uns über unsere damals laufenden Dissertationsvorhaben – beide zu kassitenzeitlichen Themen – unterhielten. Dabei stellten wir wieder einmal bedauernd fest, dass die Kassitenzeit sowohl in der Assyriologie als auch in der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie nur von wenigen, meist isoliert arbeitenden Forschern betrieben wird. Obwohl es sich um eine lange währende wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Blütezeit handelt, ist die Dichte der Publikationen im Vergleich zu den gleichzeitigen nordmesopotamischen, anatolischen, syrischen oder levantinischen Kulturen eher gering und es existiert bislang keine umfangreiche zusammenfassende Darstellung, mit der man sich etwa einen Überblick über verschiedene Aspekte dieser Epoche und den aktuellen Stand der Forschung dazu verschaffen könnte. Gleichzeitig ergab das Gespräch aber auch, dass im Zuge von neuen Grabungsprojekten und der nun endlich erfolgenden intensiven Aufarbeitung von älterem, bislang unpublizierten Grabungsmaterial (z. B. Babylon) in jüngster Zeit ein vermehrtes Interesse an der Epoche entstanden ist und eine Reihe von (insbesondere jungen Nachwuchs-)Wissenschaftlern zur Kassitenzeit arbeitet. So entstand die Idee, diese Forscher erstmals zusammenzubringen, sich bei einer gemeinsamen Tagung auszutauschen und durch eine Publikation der Ergebnisse ein Überblickswerk zum aktuellen Forschungsstand zur Kassitenzeit zu schaffen, um diese Epoche wieder stärker in den Fokus – auch von Nicht-Spezialisten – zu rücken.

Diese Idee stieß bei den Lehrstuhlinhabern unserer beiden damaligen Institute, Professor Michael Roaf (Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie) und Professor Walther Sallaberger (Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie) auf sehr großes Interesse, zumal es eine Konferenz zu diesem Thema bislang nicht gegeben hatte. Mit ihrer Unterstützung beantragten wir eine finanzielle Förderung durch die Fritz Thyssen-Stiftung und das Graduiertenkolleg der DFG „Formen von Prestige in Kulturen des Altertums“ (GK 1144) an der LMU München. Dank der großzügig bewilligten Mittel durch die genannten Institutionen und das Department für Kulturwissenschaften und Altertumskunde, für die wir an dieser Stelle ganz herzlich danken möchten, konnten wir zusätzlich zu einer Anzahl von bereits in München arbeitenden Wissenschaftlern auch etliche Gäste von auswärts zu der Tagung einladen. Die Resonanz seitens der angeschriebenen Forscher war zu unserer großen Freude durchweg positiv und erlaubte es uns, ein sehr vielfältiges Programm zusammenzustellen, in dem zahlreiche unterschiedliche Facetten der Kassitenzeit beleuchtet werden konnten.

Bevor wir auf die Inhalte der Tagung und damit auch des vorliegenden Bandes näher eingehen, möchten wir an dieser Stelle auch noch allen weiteren an ihrer Organisation beteiligten Personen unseren herzlichen Dank aussprechen. Zu nennen sind hier an erster Stelle Sandra Zerbin (die damalige Sekretärin des Instituts für Assyriologie und Hethitologie) und Sybille Nusser (*dito* des Instituts für Vorderasiatische Archäologie), welche einen Großteil der administrativen Aufgaben (wie etwa die Organisation der Tagungsräume und der Unterkünfte für die auswärtigen Teilnehmer sowie die späteren Abrechnungen der Kosten) übernommen haben. Die Evangelische Studentengemeinde der LMU München und ihr damaliger Hochschulpfarrer Peter Marinkovic stellten uns freundlicherweise ihre Räumlichkeiten für die Tagung zur Verfügung, die uns ein Zusammentreffen in unkomplizierter und angenehmer Atmosphäre erlaubten. Tatkräftige Unterstützung während der Durchführung der Tagung erhielten wir von den studentischen Hilfskräften Sonja Kroll, Thomas Neumann und Hannah Mönninghoff, welche sich aufmerksam um das leibliche Wohl der Anwesenden kümmerten. Ein großer Dank gilt schließlich auch den Teilnehmern, die

durch ihre interessanten Vorträge und die regen Diskussionen erheblich zu dem Gelingen der Tagung beitrugen.

Die Tagung begann am Abend des 30. Juni 2011 mit einem einleitenden Festvortrag von Professor John A. Brinkman zum aktuellen Stand der Kassitenforschung im Hauptgebäude der LMU. Die beiden folgenden Tage, im Rahmen derer die Vorträge der übrigen Teilnehmer präsentiert wurden, waren im Wesentlichen in thematische Sektionen gegliedert. So wurde zunächst unter chronologisch-historischem Fokus das Augenmerk auf den Wandel des „Kassiten“-Begriffs gelegt und die Frühe Kassitenzeit ausführlich diskutiert. Anschließend wurden vor allem anhand von schriftlichen Quellen verschiedene Aspekte des Lebens wie Verwaltung, Gesellschaft, Rechtswesen, Götterwelt und Ideologie und die Entwicklung der kanonischen Literatur im kassitenzeitlichen Babylonien genauer unter die Lupe genommen. Dem folgten mit Fokus auf die archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften der Kassitenzeit verschiedene Beiträge zu Kunst, Architektur, Bestattungssitten und Keramik-Tradition sowie die Präsentation neuer Ergebnisse aus Aufarbeitungen zu den wichtigen kassitenzeitlichen Fundorten Dür-Kurigalzu und Isin. Der letzte Abschnitt der Tagung war schließlich der Ausdehnung des Kassitenreiches und den Beziehungen des kassitenzeitlichen Babyloniens mit seinen Nachbarländern gewidmet. Im vorliegenden Konferenzband werden die genannten Beiträge – mit Ausnahme dessen von Leonhard Sassmannshausen – in leicht abgeänderter Reihenfolge präsentiert.

Im Anschluss an die 20-minütigen Vorträge wurde jeweils Zeit für eine ebensolange Diskussion derselben eingeräumt. Mit dem Ansinnen, eine breite Informationsbasis für einen regen Austausch zu schaffen, waren alle Sprecher darum gebeten worden, bereits vorab eine schriftliche Version ihrer Vorträge einzureichen, die den anderen Teilnehmern zur Vorbereitung zur Verfügung gestellt wurde. Der dadurch sehr rege Austausch zwischen den beteiligten Wissenschaftlern führte dazu, dass zahlreiche der geknüpften neuen Kontakte auch nach der Tagung erhalten blieben. Die fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit spiegelt sich auch im vorliegenden Tagungsband wider, insbesondere in den vielen Querverweisen und Danksagungen innerhalb der präsentierten Beiträge. Etliche der Artikel wurden von den Autoren nach der Tagung noch einmal umfassend überarbeitet und um zusätzliche Aspekte erweitert, die sich im Laufe der Diskussionen oder einer späteren Korrespondenz zwischen verschiedenen Wissenschaftlern ergeben haben. Ganz besonders hervorgetan hat sich in dieser Hinsicht Professor Michael Roaf, der lange Zeit gemeinsam mit uns als Herausgeber fungierte und sich erst kurz vor Erscheinen des Bandes aus persönlichen Gründen von der Herausgeberschaft zurückgezogen hat. Ihm gilt an dieser Stelle unser herzlichster Dank für seine wiederholte, enorm sorgfältige und kritische Lektüre der Beiträge, die diesbezügliche Korrespondenz mit den Autoren und sein unermüdliches Engagement.

Die zahlreichen Ergänzungen und Überarbeitungen haben allerdings auch zu einer deutlich späteren Veröffentlichung des Bandes geführt, als es unser enthusiastischer Plan ursprünglich vorsah. Daher spiegeln unter Umständen diejenigen Artikel, bei denen kein Überarbeitungsbedarf und/oder -wunsch seitens der Autoren bestand, nicht mehr den aktuellsten Forschungsstand wider. Für die Verzögerung und die daraus resultierenden Unannehmlichkeiten möchten wir uns bei allen Beitragenden entschuldigen und noch einmal explizit darauf hinweisen, dass jegliche Kritik in dieser Hinsicht uns Herausgebern, nicht aber den Autoren anzulasten ist. Gleichzeitig danken wir hiermit noch einmal allen Autoren für ihre Expertise, die produktive, geduldige Zusammenarbeit und ihre Offenheit gegenüber Vorschlägen der Herausgeber, die aus dem Versuch heraus entstanden sind, ein möglichst stimmiges Werk vorzulegen.

In diesem Kontext seien auch die Schwierigkeiten nicht verschwiegen, vor die wir uns als Herausgeber gestellt sahen: Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass bezüglich der Kassitenzeit viele Grundsatzzfragen noch ungelöst sind und dass bei unserer Tagung Wissenschaftler aus verschiedenen Ländern, Fachrichtungen, Generationen und Schulen aufeinandertrafen, war es nicht möglich, dem ursprünglich angestrebten Ideal der (formalen) Konsistenz absolut gerecht zu werden. Wir haben uns bemüht, soweit als möglich einheitliche Standards zu verwenden (auch, um es dem Leser zu erleichtern, Querbezüge zwischen den einzelnen Beiträgen nachzuvollziehen), im Zweifel

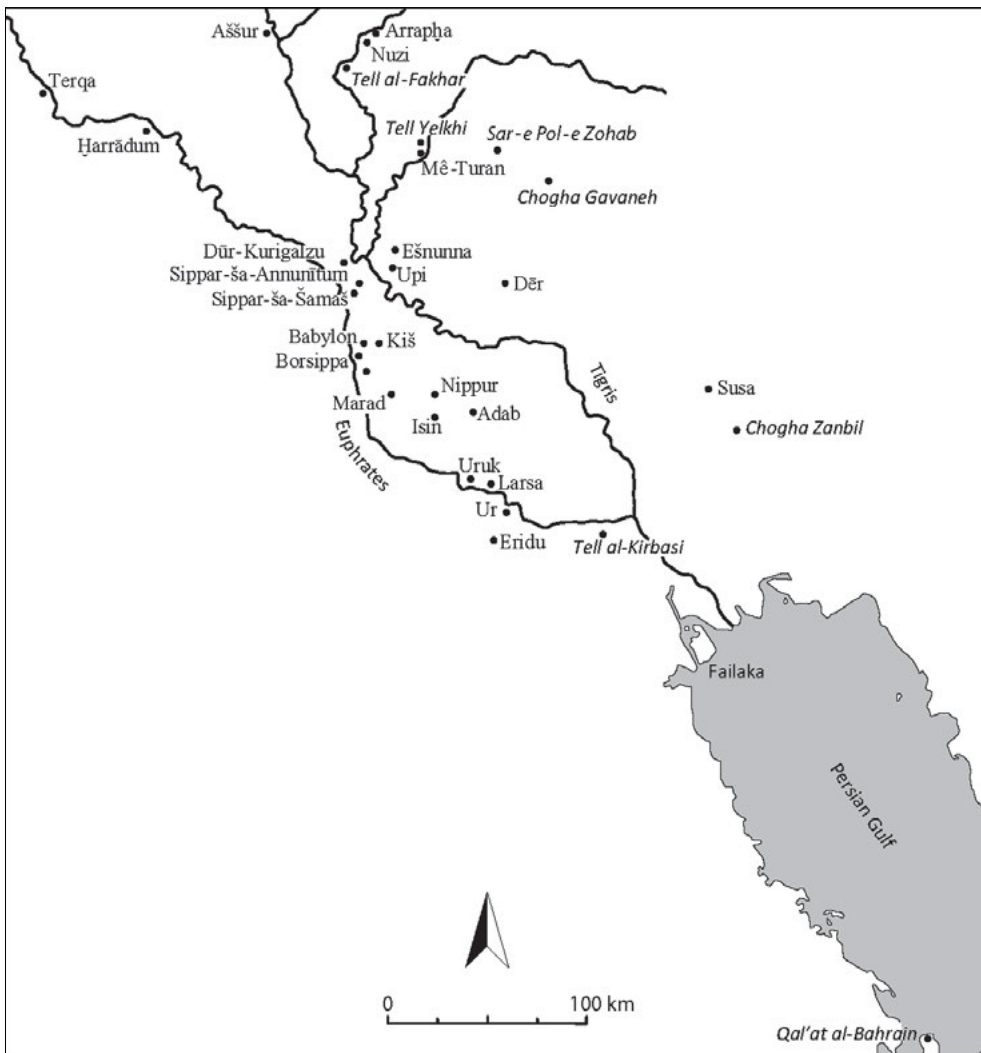
jedoch auch abweichenden Meinungen Raum gelassen. Generell wurden für die erste Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends der Zweckmäßigkeit halber die Daten nach den Ansätzen der Mittleren Chronologie (vgl. Roaf 2012) verwendet und speziell für die Kassitenzeit MSKH 1 (Brinkman 1976; s. auch Tabelle auf S. 36) zur Grundlage genommen. Weichen die Beiträge einzelner Autoren von diesen Systemen aus inhaltlichen Gründen ab, wird im jeweiligen Artikel eingangs darauf hingewiesen. Auch bei der Schreibung von Personen-, Orts-, Götter- und Tempelnamen – die sich im Wesentlichen nach MSKH 1, den RIM-Bänden, Hölscher (1996), Sassmannshausen (2001a) und PNA, bzw. TAVO, RIA und George (1993) richtet –, wurde im Zweifel Rücksicht auf die Forschungsmeinungen der Autoren genommen; abweichende Namensformen werden (ggf. mit Querverweisen versehen) im Index jeweils unter einem Haupteintrag zusammengeführt. Professor Brinkmans Beitrag wurde auf seinen expliziten Wunsch hin unverändert übernommen; er ist deshalb auch als einziger Artikel mit einer separaten Abkürzungsliste und Bibliographie versehen. Alle dort aufgeführten bibliographischen Angaben wurden aber auch in die Gesamtbibliographie bzw. Liste der verwendeten Abkürzungen aufgenommen, die am Ende des Bandes zu finden sind. Die Abbildungen zu den einzelnen Beiträgen wurden von den jeweiligen Autoren bereitgestellt; sie sind, soweit keine andere Quelle angegeben ist, ihr geistiges Eigentum. Formal folgt der Band den Regeln der Reihe „Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie: Ergänzungsbände zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie“ (UAVA), in die unser Manuskript von den Herausgebern Walther Sallaberger, Antoine Cavigneaux, Theo van den Hout und Adelheid Otto freundlicherweise zur Publikation aufgenommen wurde. Ihnen gilt unsere Verbundenheit und unser Dank, ebenso wie den Mitarbeitern des Verlages De Gruyter, die fachkundig die Herstellung des Bandes übernommen haben. Manfred Lerchl (Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie der LMU München) half tatkräftig bei der Gestaltung der Abbildungen und Karten mit, Frans van Koppen (mittlerweile am Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie der LMU München) übernahm freundlicherweise die Aufgabe der finalen Überarbeitung des Manuskripts. Ihnen beiden möchten wir an dieser Stelle ganz herzlichen Dank aussprechen.

Natürlich kann der vorliegende Band die Kassitenzeit nicht erschöpfend behandeln, aber vielleicht doch immerhin einen ausgewogenen Überblick zu neueren Untersuchungen und einen aktuellen Forschungsstand zur Kassitenzeit bieten. Wir als Herausgeberinnen, aber auch als die passionierten Kassitenforscherinnen, die wir sind, hoffen, Denkanstöße für eine erneute ernsthafte Auseinandersetzung mit einem Thema zu schaffen, das zu oft und zu lange beinahe nebensächlich behandelt wurde. Wir würden uns wünschen, die Kassitenzeit wieder stärker in das Bewusstsein der Wissenschaften vom Alten Orient zu rücken und mit diesem Band zu vielfältigen neuen Forschungen anzuregen – wofür es noch jede Menge Raum und Material gibt, wie Professor Brinkman in seinem Beitrag in diesem Band so klar herausstellt. Daher freut es uns umso mehr, dass für die 62. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Philadelphia von einigen der damaligen Teilnehmer ein neuer Workshop zur Kassitenzeit angekündigt worden ist – zu einer der faszinierendsten, doch immer noch am wenigsten gut erforschten Perioden des Alten Orients.

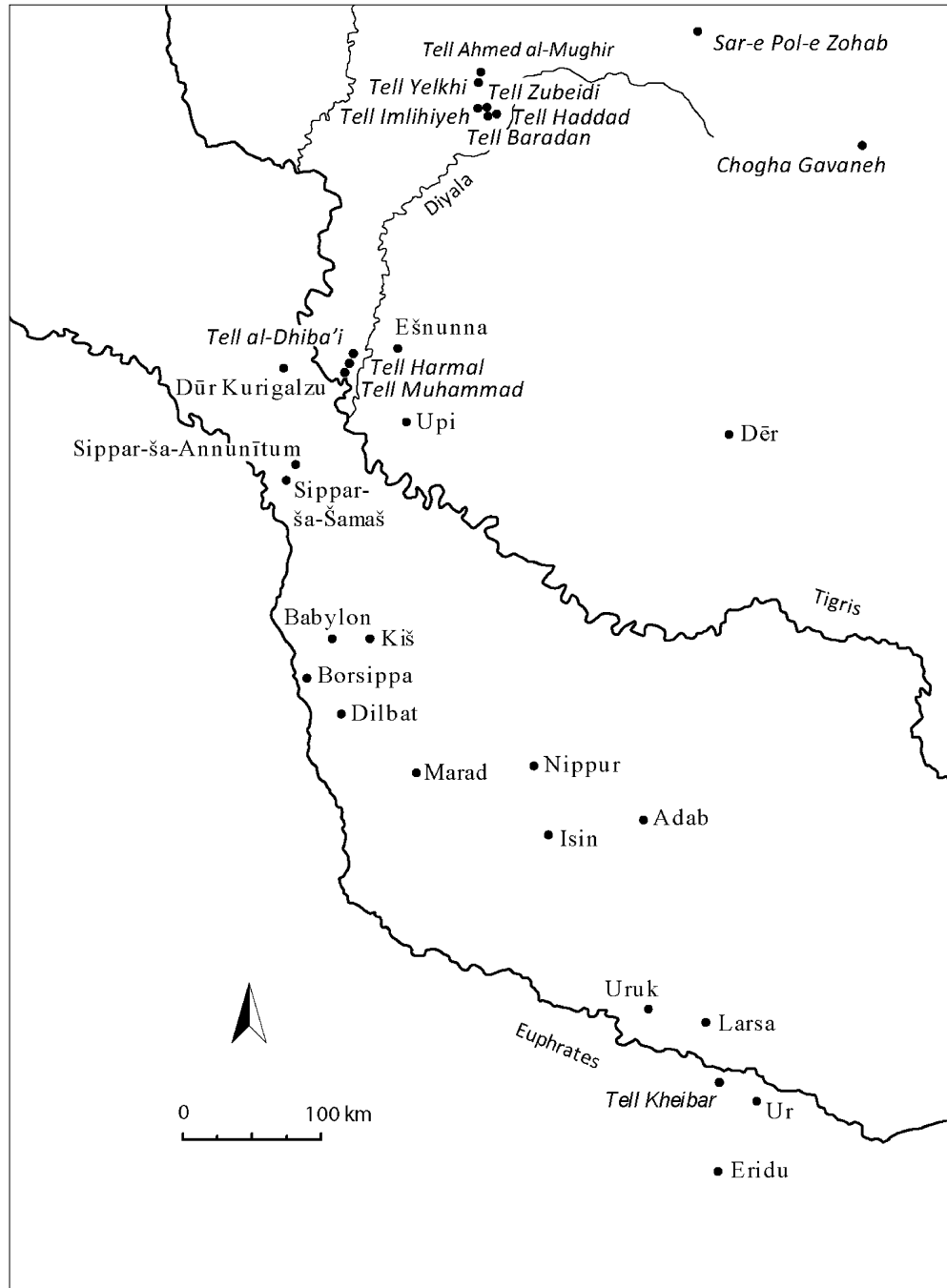
Alexa Bartelmus und Katja Sternitzke



Karte 1: Verbreitungsgebiet kassitischer Funde im Mittelmeerraum und Vorderen Orient (Zeichnung: Manfred Lerchl).



Karte 2: Die Ausdehnung des kassitischen Herrschaftsgebiets (Zeichnung: Manfred Lerchl).



Karte 3: Wichtige Siedlungen im Kerngebiet des Kassitenreichs (Zeichnung: Manfred Lerchl).

J. A. Brinkman

1 Babylonia under the Kassites: Some Aspects for Consideration¹

Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

*For Veronica
March 23, 2012*

Outline

- I. Introduction
- II. A History of Babylonia under the Kassites
 - II. A An Early History of the Kassites (before 1415 B.C.)
 - II. B The Middle Kassite Period (1415–1225 B.C.)
 - II. B.1 The International Scene
 - II. B.2 The Land of Babylonia
 - II. B.3 Fragments of a Political History
 - II. C The Final Years of the Kassite Dynasty (1225–1155 B.C.)
- III. Quaestiones Disputatae: A Selection of Historical and Historiographical Problems
- IV. Conclusion
- V. Chronological Table
- VI. Abbreviations
- VII. Bibliography

I Introduction

The history of independent Babylon and its kingdom can be traced for more than thirteen centuries, from 1894 to 539 B.C.² Over this time span, its political history can be divided into the following phases:

- A. 1894–1595: the First Dynasty of Babylon (or Old Babylonian period, best-known figure: Hammurabi)
- B. 1595–1155: the Kassite dynasty
- C. 1155–729: sundry, mostly short-lived dynasties (Post-Kassite period)
- D. 729–626: the period of Assyrian domination
- E. 626–539: the Neo-Babylonian dynasty (best-known figure: Nebuchadnezzar II).

¹ In treating such a broad subject, I have arbitrarily selected some topics rather than others for discussion —without wishing to imply that what I have chosen is more important than other features of the period. Many interpretations offered in this paper can be disputed, but I have generally tried to keep contention (and bibliography) to a minimum. Use of the term “Babylonia” to designate southern Mesopotamia in this period is of course anachronistic, since it did not come into use until much later.

I would like to thank James Armstrong, Alexa Bartelmus, Antoine Cavigneaux, Theo van den Hout, Maynard Maidman, David Owen, Jeremiah Peterson, Robert Ritner, Carole Roche-Hawley, Foy Scalf, Andrea Seri, Jonathan Tenney, and Karel Van Lerberghe for their kindness in sharing material, supplying bibliography, and/or answering questions. I am particularly grateful to Daniel Nevez for taking time out of his busy schedule to critique a final draft of this article. This publication is based on the paper delivered at the conference in Munich on the evening of June 30, 2011 and submitted for publication in early April 2012. With the exception of a reference to an article then in preparation and later published (Abraham-Gabbay 2013), I have not attempted to update or substantively revise this presentation.

² The dates for the First Dynasty of Babylon employed here are those of the so-called middle chronology, used for reference only since they have no particular claim to validity. This is discussed further in section III below.

Periods A, D, and E have an abundance of primary documentation and have been studied intensively; up-to-date book-length treatments on their major features are available.³ In contrast, the intervening periods (B and C), though they occupy more than eight and a half centuries and constitute a major portion (64 %) of the overall time span,⁴ are less well known. Period C has been studied in detail,⁵ but has little textual coverage; so any reconstruction of its history is inevitably sketchy. The time of the Kassite dynasty (B) has left a plethora of documents; but it remains inadequately investigated, in part because so much of the pertinent material has remained unpublished.

It is the earlier of these two lesser-known eras, the Kassite period, with which this conference is concerned. But we should bear in mind that two minor dynasties in the following period, the Second Dynasty of the Sealand (1025–1005) and the Bāzi Dynasty (1004–985) had at least nominal affiliation with Kassites.⁶ Could these dynasties reflect a Kassite revival or a nostalgia for past glory? There is little contemporary evidence from which to judge; but this possibility should not be summarily dismissed, even though we shall not be considering it further here. Under this interpretation, the Kassites could be seen as holding power from roughly the sixteenth century until 985 B.C., with the Second Dynasty of Isin (1157–1026) viewed as an interrupting interlude. Even under the Isin dynasty, persons with Kassite names continued to serve in high office and exercise influence in the land.⁷

Scholars who wish to investigate the history of the Kassites have a wide range of Babylonian sources available, both archeological and textual. The excavated archeological materials come principally from four cities: Babylon, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Ur, and Nippur (with Nippur providing by far the most abundant yield); but Larsa, Isin, Uruk, and small sites in the Diyala region provide additional evidence, as do supplementary material from Bahrain and spoils from Susa. Archeological surface surveys have covered less than one-third of the alluvial plain of southern Mesopotamia, but they provide useful information on patterns of settlement and watercourses in this period. There is a small body of evidence for the study of architecture, fine arts, and craftwork.⁸ The written records, both contemporary and later, offer an abundance of materials. More than fifteen thousand texts are known from Babylonia during the time of the dynasty itself: royal commemorative, votive, and possession inscriptions, correspondence (international and domestic), legal and administrative documents, and scholarly materials (literary, lexical, scientific, omens, etc.). The domestic correspondence and the legal and administrative documentation, when well dated, tend to cluster in time and place, with Nippur c. 1360–1223 furnishing the overwhelming majority of the presently available evidence. Later texts—chronological, historiographic, literary, and lexical, as well as putative copies of earlier Kassite texts—help by providing the name of the dynasty, a basic

3 E.g., Charpin et al. 2004, Frame 1992, Jursa 2010.

4 This percentage will vary depending on the chronology accepted: the high chronology (65 %), low chronology (62 %), ultra-low chronology (61 %). But, in each case, these two intermediate periods occupy between three-fifths and two-thirds of the total time span—a not inconsiderable amount.

5 E.g., Brinkman 1968 and 1982b. Much new material for the end of this phase was added in Cole 1996a.

6 The Bāzi dynasty (Bīt-Bāzi) is named after a Kassite tribal house; Ea-mukīn-zēri of the Sealand II dynasty is connected explicitly with the Kassite house Bīt-Ḥašmar. The founder of the Sealand II dynasty, Simbar-Šipak, has a Kassite name; the theophoric element in Širikti-Šuqamuna is Kassite (as by implication is the theophoric reference in Kaššū-nādin-aḫḫē). What these connections mean is difficult to estimate, since most of the relevant historical material about the two dynasties comes from terse chronicle entries. Further bibliography and discussion: Brinkman 1968:148–164, Brinkman 1982b:288, 295–297.

7 Brinkman 1968:247–258. The only hostile reference to Kassites under the Isin II dynasty is in BBSt 6 i 10, where Nebuchadnezzar I is given the title *šālilu Kašši* (“despoiler of the Kassites”)—but this is in a text which praises the bravery of a Kassite military official and grants extensive privileges to him and his territory.

8 Many important subjects such as Kassite origins and the architecture, arts, religion, and cultural life of the period will not be discussed even in passing in this article; some of these topics are covered elsewhere in this conference volume.

chronological framework, some rudiments of the political and military history, and literary interpretations of moments of crisis.

This presentation is composed of two principal parts. The first part (numbered II) offers a general summary of what is known about the history of Babylonia under the Kassites—a selective and idiosyncratic sketch,⁹ trying to minimize overlap with other papers in this conference and pointing out some promising areas for future investigation. The second part (III) calls attention to some historical and historiographical questions facing scholars concerned with this period and discusses a few opportunities for research that would advance our understanding within this underdeveloped field.

II A History of Babylonia under the Kassites

II.A An Early History of the Kassites (before 1415 B.C.)

The earliest history of the Kassites as presently known can be divided into two chronological segments: (a) the latter half of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and (b) the period from the end of that dynasty until the accession of Kara-indaš (c. 1415).¹⁰ The first of these segments has a generally accepted length of approximately 145–147 years, from late in the first decade of the reign of Samsu-iluna (1742 or 1741 according to the chronology employed here) down to the end of the reign of Samsu-ditāna (c. 1595 or perhaps slightly earlier). No matter which chronology (high/middle/low or another variant) one postulates for the Old Babylonian dynasty, the relative length of the later Old Babylonian kings' reigns has not been convincingly contested. The length of the second chronological segment remains the subject of serious dispute, depending on the absolute dates assigned to the fall of the Old Babylonian dynasty on the one hand and the beginning of the reign of Kara-indaš¹¹ on the other. Current scholarship would estimate the length of this time span at anywhere from a few decades to two and a half centuries, with the middle chronology setting it at about 180 years. This is a considerable range and obviously affects historical scenarios proposed for this period.

In this section then, I shall discuss the early Kassites in an essentially chronological framework: (1) attestations dating clearly before the end of the Babylon I dynasty (1595), (2) attestations that cannot be dated precisely, but which could fall either before or after 1595, and (3) attestations that fall most probably after 1595 and before 1415. Within each of these subdivisions, the subject order will be roughly geographical, beginning with Babylonia proper and then spreading out in an approximate west, north, east, south sequence—where evidence is available. I shall conclude the section with a brief treatment of the political history of the early Kassites.

We begin then with evidence from the First Dynasty of Babylon from lower Mesopotamia itself. The earliest reliable contemporary reference to Kassites occurs in the date formula “year (in which) Samsu-iluna ripped out the foundation of the Kassite army at Kikalla,” a name assigned to the ninth

⁹ With illustrative rather than exhaustive bibliography.

¹⁰ Technically speaking, the consideration of Babylonia “under” the Kassites (the preposition used in the title of this article as well as in the title of part II) would not logically apply to the whole of the period covered in this presentation, i.e., from 1742/1741 to 1155. Part of Babylonia presumably came *under* Kassite control sometime not too long after 1595 (the end of the Babylon I dynasty) and the rest at some point during the fifteenth century (with the demise of the Sealand I dynasty). We have preferred to extend our treatment back into the eighteenth century in order to discuss the known antecedents of the dynasty of the Kassites and to throw into relief their rise to power.

¹¹ Perhaps Kassite king no. 15, who according to the Synchronistic History i 1'–4' was a contemporary of Aššur-bēl-nišešu, c. 1415 (with all due reservations as to the Assyrian dates as well).

year of Samsu-iluna (1741),¹² referring to an event which took place either early in that year or in the preceding year (1742).¹³ This military statement contrasts sharply with the earlier peaceful year names employed by Samsu-iluna since the beginning of his reign, describing—after the customary throne-accession and debt-alleviation commemorations—primarily canal construction or temple benefactions. This entry sets the tone for the following year names (years 10–14), which reflect conflict and dissatisfaction with the rule of Babylon among many major cities. One can speculate about possible connections, if any, between the disruption caused by the newly emergent Kassites and the more or less contemporary widespread rebellion across lower Mesopotamia.¹⁴ In any case, these challenges to Samsu-iluna's authority, even if in some instances temporarily reversed, led to a notable weakening of the political power of the Babylon dynasty, which never regained the same status as achieved under Hammurabi.

The rest of the increasingly abundant source material about the Kassites, particularly administrative texts and letters, that can be linked with the First Dynasty of Babylon has been adequately adumbrated in the paper delivered by van Koppen at this conference (2011), which included discussion based on still unpublished texts. Many of the Kassites in and around Babylonia seem to have been connected with the military, sometimes explicitly designated as infantry or chariotry.¹⁵ Kassite officials, among other, more prestigious titles, include persons labelled *rabbū tarbaši*, “chiefs of the cattle pen.”¹⁶ The texts also distinguish Kassite subgroups, e.g., “Houses” (either of the Kassites in general or of various individuals)¹⁷ and *ÉRIN kašši bimaṭi*;¹⁸ they also mention an interpreter (*turgumannum*) associated with the Kassites.¹⁹ Further research is needed to determine who and what these early “Kassites” were—whether they represented an ethnic group (or groups) or were distinguished by other criteria (e.g., occupation, life style, skills), whether they spoke a distinctive language, whether they were migrants or indigenous, what was their social structure and hierarchy of organization, etc.²⁰ It is better to sift carefully through the evidence than to attempt prematurely to squeeze them into whatever happens to be the currently fashionable theoretical or historical framework.

Outside Babylonia proper, at Terqa, on the middle Euphrates, several texts from the late Old Babylonian period are dated with year names mentioning a king with the Kassite name Kaštiliašu.²¹

¹² *mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e ugnim ka-aš-šu-ú* K1.KAL^{ki} gišsuḥuš-bi íb-ta-bu-ra Horsnell 1999b:192–193; some texts write *ka-aš-šu-ú^{ki}*. For the location of Kikalla, see Pientka 1998:368.

¹³ Charpin in Charpin et al. 2004:340.

¹⁴ The Kassites were not viewed as allies or abettors, since they also appear as enemies in a year name of Rīm-Sîn II; see Charpin in Charpin et al. 2004:340, with further bibliography.

¹⁵ E.g., AbB 10 150:11; see also Van Lerberghe 1995, Pientka 1998:258–259.

¹⁶ OLA 21 20:29. Kassites were to show a continuing interest in animal husbandry, as is reflected in some later horse and cattle texts which keep breeding records, with distinctive Kassite-language terminology describing physical characteristics (e.g., Balkan 1954:11–33 and Brinkman 1996), and in the title *kaššû* for a higher official in the Middle Babylonian herding hierarchy (Brinkman 2004:297).

¹⁷ E.g., BE 6/2 136:19. See also Balkan 1954:46, 72; De Smet 1990:3, Van Lerberghe 1995:386, De Graef 1999 no. 111:6, Pientka 1998:258.

¹⁸ E.g., Van Lerberghe and Voet 2010; see also van Koppen's paper elsewhere in this volume.

¹⁹ *LÚ tu-ur-gu-ma-an-num ša iš-tu É.ḪI.A ÉRIN ka-aš-ši-i il-li-k[am]* AbB 7 no. 47:11–12, “an interpreter who came to me from the ‘Houses’ of the Kassite troops” (without specifying which languages were being translated). Compare OLA 21 20:14, a text which deals with Kassites in at least one earlier passage.

²⁰ Note also the literary reference to *érin ka-aš-šu-ú* in the excerpt tablet which its editor dates to the late Old Babylonian or early Kassite period (Michalowski 1981, with the pertinent reference in line 10).

²¹ The evidence for this king has been summarized in Podany 2002:43–51. Further texts bearing Kaštiliašu year names have now been published in Rouault 2011, nos. 5-6, 6-1, 6-2, and possibly 7-5; note also the sealing 5-17. No. 6-2 contains the interesting date “year (in which) King Kaštiliašu struck the Sutan(s)”: *MU ka-aš-ti-li-ia-šu LUGAL su-te-e-em im-ḥa-šu*.

Attempts to identify this king with one of the early rulers of the Kassite dynasty with the same name have been inconclusive.²²

Farther afield, in the west and in the north, two other areas with Kassite-related presence likely to have been contemporary with the later rulers of the Babylon I dynasty are Alalaḥ in western Syria and Tigonānu in Anatolia. In level VII at Alalaḥ, an account text (AT 412:6–7) mentions one ^mlu-tu-uk-in-da LÚ ka-aš-ši-i.²³ Also there are two references to a female weaver or weavers described as SAL.UŠ.BAR ka-aš-ši and SAL.UŠ.BAR ka-aš-še-em in another account (AT 238:20, 38), as well as to another similarly designated person in the phrase a-na SAL ka-aš-ši-i (AT 248:9).²⁴ At Tigonānu, perhaps near present-day Diyarbakır, a troop roster of King Tunip-Teššub which has been dated to about the time of Ḫattušili I records at least two Kassite names, Šagarakti and Pula-Ḫali, with a few more names perhaps to be interpreted as Kassite.²⁵

We move now to other early attestations of Kassites that are more difficult to position chronologically and could have taken place before and/or after the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon. At Tell Muhammad in the Diyala region, tablets were excavated which record the presence of persons with Kassite names²⁶ and mention a sequence of more than forty years calculated after an event that has been interpreted as the “resettlement” of Babylon (allegedly after the raid on that site by the Hittites).²⁷ It has been proposed that two names mentioned in year dates on these tablets should be identified with the damaged names of early Kassite monarchs of the dynasty in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117,²⁸ though this proposal is open to serious doubt.²⁹

²² Note, however, the canal named ^{id} Ḫa-bur-i-ba-al-bu-ga-āš mentioned in a Ḫammurapiḥ year name in a Ḫana text (Podany 2002:135 text 13:30) as well as other affinities with later real-estate practices and designations in Kassite Babylonia (Podany 1997). We may also observe that the penalty of having (hot) bitumen poured on a person's head (or into a person's mouth) is mentioned both at Ḫana and in Kassite Babylonian legal texts (Podany 2002:234–236; CBS 10733 rev. 8–9; PhBab 1799 (2,2) = B. 151 rev. 1–2, read from the photo in Pedersén 2005:94, fig. 44).

²³ The element *lutuk-* is apparently unparalleled; *-inda* could be compared to *-indaš* or *-indar*, but even that is doubtful.

²⁴ The case endings on *kašši* and *kašši/e(m)* would be expected to indicate the genitive in AT 238; but the spelling is unusual, raising some doubt as to interpretation. The gender non-congruence of the different female designations (in AT 238 and AT 248) with the masculine adjectival forms has yet to be resolved. Could one be dealing with a title rather than an ethnic descriptor in these two texts (and also in AT 412)?

²⁵ There seem to be two different individuals named Pula-Ḫali. For the text, see Salvini 1996:25 iv 54, 26 v 9, 33 viii 51, with further commentary in Richter 1998:126–127. For comments on the date of Tunip-Teššub, see Pruzsinszky 2009:163–164.

²⁶ Or at least names similar to Kassite, e.g., *bur-na-za-ah*. See the more detailed analysis in Sassmannshausen 2000:421–424.

²⁷ Dates in the format MU.n.KAM.MA ša KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI uš-bu (with the number “n” in the formula reaching as high as 41).

²⁸ Boese 2008. A selection of these dates first appeared in Alubaid 1983; see also Gasche et al. 1998:84–87.

²⁹ The two names proposed were Šipta'ulzi and Ḫurbazum (Boese 2008:203–205). *Ši-ip-ta-ul-zi* (the reading in IM 92720:50, better preserved than the *šī-ip-^{ta}-ul-z[i?]* in IM 92728:21) does not fit the traces in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 for either the first or the fourth sign in the name of the seventh king (the first sign begins with a horizontal wedge and cannot be a *ši*; the fourth sign has a vertical wedge in its upper right corner [readings according to the excavation photo and my collations]). For the other royal name, there has been considerable disagreement about how the occurrences of the name are to be read and even about which Tell Muhammad texts are relevant here. Boese cites only IM 90602 and 90606 and reads both attestations as Ḫurbazum (emended from *Ḫu-ur-du(?)*-[*t*]um and *Ḫu-ur-du-šum*, with various handwritten corrections, in the original publication in Alubaid 1983). Gasche et al. 1998:86 interpreted the name in IM 90602 and 90606 as Ḫurdazum, with a different name in IM 92721 and 92725 read as Ḫurbaḥ (agreeing with Alubaid 1983 as to the latter). Sassmannshausen 2004a:302–304 read the name in IM 90602 and 90606 as *Ḫu-ur-ba-tum*, the name in 92721 as *Ḫu-ur-ba-aḥ*, and the name in 92725 as *Ḫur-ba-aḥ*. Finally, van Koppen 2010:458 and n. 12 read all four occurrences of the name(s) as *ḫu-ur-ba-aḥ*. The cuneiform copies of the tablets in Alubaid 1983 do not provide conclusive evidence in favor of one or other of these conflicting opinions; this can probably be settled only by collation of the originals. In the meantime, the basic suggestion by Boese 2008 could be squared with the ^mḪAR⁻ba-^(x)-x⁻ in the synchronistic kinglist; but names beginning *ḫur/ḫar-ba-* can also be restored in other ways (e.g.,

We move now to attestations of Kassites that probably postdate 1595 and the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Within Mesopotamia proper, the most important body of evidence comes from the far south, where an independent dynasty—the First Dynasty of the Sealand—had arisen already in the time of Samsu-iluna. Later Babylonian and Assyrian kinglists position this Sealand dynasty immediately before the first recorded Kassite ruler, Gandaš or Gaddaš.³⁰ Whatever chronological orthodoxy one chooses to follow, it is generally assumed at present that all three of these dynasties—Babylon I, Sealand I, and Kassite—overlapped by at least a few years; and a prime concern of chronologers and historians has been to determine the extent of their concurrence. But direct Kassite involvement with the Sealand and its dynasty is not known before the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon. It has sometimes been inferred that one or more of the Sealand monarchs would have had to rule over Babylon at some point after 1595 to warrant inclusion of their dynasty in the later kinglist tradition; but as yet there is no independent evidence to support this.

What is more significant is the many new references to persons with Kassite names mentioned in the recently published contemporary textual evidence for some of the later rulers of this Sealand dynasty, 474 archival texts edited by Stephanie Dalley in CUSAS 9.³¹ Some of these texts are associated explicitly with date formulae linked to Pešgaldaramēš and Ayadaragalama,³² whom Kinglist A lists as the seventh and eighth kings of the dynasty.³³ These archival texts refer to persons with Kassite personal names, a “House” connected with Kassites (É *ka-aš-ši-i*),³⁴ and once simply to *a-na ka-aš-ši-i* (“to the Kassite(s)”).³⁵ Persons with Kassite names form a small group, less than 1.4 %, of the population mentioned in the texts.³⁶ But they occur on at least 25 tablets spread over a variety of transaction types and attested in at least 9 (possibly 10) of the 13 more commonly attested years in the archive.³⁷ Only one of these persons bears a title (KIN.GI₄.A, “messenger”);³⁸ and, in most cases, they occur by themselves in a text rather than linked with other persons with Kassite names.³⁹ The most common name, Burna-Saḥ, occurs in 10 texts; the next most common names are Ugin-Saḥ (5 texts), Bunna-Ḫarbe (4), Girsin-Saḥ (3), and Šigin-Saḥ (3). Saḥ is by far the most commonly attested

Balkan 1954:54). At present, these suggested revised readings do not seem adequately supported by the evidence and shall not be discussed further here.

³⁰ Kinglist A and the Assyrian synchronistic kinglist A. 117. In this case, the Assyrian statement most likely derives from a Babylonian tradition—though not directly from Kinglist A (which probably postdates the synchronistic kinglist).

³¹ More Sealand I texts from the same or similar archives are as yet unpublished (CUSAS 9:1).

³² CUSAS 9:10–13.

³³ In a tradition which assigns to the dynasty eleven rulers overall and a combined reign length of 368 years. The names are abbreviated in Kinglist A to Pešgal and Ayadara. A variant tradition in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 adds an otherwise unattested ruler immediately before Pešgaldaramēš. See the documentation as presented in Brinkman 1993b:7. In the absence of synchronisms, it is difficult to place these two kings chronologically relative to the Babylon I and Kassite rulers of Babylon; but, in accordance with the chronology employed here, they would probably fall into the sixteenth century, somewhat after the end of the Babylon I dynasty.

³⁴ CUSAS 9 no. 7:17', 20'. The supposed reference to a god connected with the Kassites, written ^a*a-ši-ib ša É? ka-ši-ir*^{ki} (no. 59:16) requires further confirmation, since the É is doubtful and the spelling of the proper name with a single š and with a final KI determinative is unexpected, in the light of other spellings of the name in this period. The same qualifications attach to a proposed restoration in no. 82:26'.

³⁵ CUSAS 9 no. 55:2.

³⁶ Ten certainly identifiable out of 726 attested personal names (perhaps more may eventually be discerned), CUSAS 9:13.

³⁷ Of the eighteen year names listed by Dalley (CUSAS 9:11–12), one is reconstructed rather than attested (year B) and four more are attested only once (years A, P, Q, R). Year O occurs once in the published archive; but a text in another collection is said to bear the same year date (CUSAS 9:14).

³⁸ No. 455:5.

³⁹ There are two texts (nos. 377, 413) which have three persons with Kassite names, six texts (nos. 25, 369, 393, 410, 423, 451) with two such names (and possibly another two texts, nos. 387 and 407, depending on how the names transliterated *me-li?-ma?-aš-šu-si-el?* and *me-el-me-li-ni-az-zi-ir* are to be interpreted).

theophoric element in the names identified thus far, occurring in fully 50 % of them.⁴⁰ Also of potential interest are non-Kassite personal names⁴¹ which are later known as eponyms of significant Kassite groups: Sarriqu (eponym of a prominent *ḫurādu* in the time of the Kassite dynasty),⁴² as well as Ḫanbu⁴³ and Šabru⁴⁴ (known as family/clan names and later as eponyms for “Houses” in the early post-Kassite period); but the length of time elapsing between these Sealand occurrences and the later attestations attenuates the likelihood of such interrelationships.⁴⁵ In general, men with Kassite names in these texts appear in peaceful contexts, though one letter in the archive mentions a person or persons who may have approached a Kassite group with hostile intent.⁴⁶

Farther west, in Syria, the as yet poorly attested rise of the later prominent state of Mittani may have taken place shortly after the end of the Babylon I dynasty; but its chronology is even less known and less certain than that of Babylonia. There were several generations of rulers before Tušratta, the Amarna correspondent; and the earlier of these should have overlapped with early Kassites—even if no direct connections are yet known. One of the earliest Egyptian-Babylonian contacts of the Late Bronze Age is recorded in the fifteenth-century annals of Thutmose III after an Egyptian campaign through Mittani, when the Egyptians reached the Euphrates and received the “tribute” (*inw*) of Babylonia (*sʾngr*). As for Ḫatti in Anatolia, after the Hittite raid on Babylon under Muṣili I, the sources are uninformative about direct contacts between the two lands until the time of Šuppiliuma I in the fourteenth century.⁴⁷ During this interval, both Ḫatti and Babylon had become more restricted local powers.

In the north, for Assyria, a synchronism is recorded—out of sequence—in the Synchronistic History between the Kassite ruler no. 10, Burna-Buriaš I, and the Assyrian Puzur-Aššur III with the usual phrases about a formal agreement and the ratification of a border between the two lands.⁴⁸ At Nuzi, when it was still under the sway of the Mittanian empire, persons with Kassite names flourished for several generations before the reign of Aššur-uballiṭ I, reaching back into the fifteenth century before the advent of Kara-indaš.⁴⁹ This seems to be one of the best-attested areas for Kassites at that time, with a noted concentration of this group in the towns Temtena(š), Šurini(we), and Purulli(we). Multi-generational Kassite families have been noted, persons with Kassite names served in high office, and it has been suggested that the distinctive Kassite House or clan/tribe

⁴⁰ Ḫarbe is also attested, but less frequently.

⁴¹ Textual references listed in CUSAS 9:295 (for Sarriqu), 289 (for Ḫambu, Ḫanbu), 297 (for Šabrum).

⁴² Usually written with the masculine personal determinative (CBS 10958 rev. 13', Ni. 6471:20, Ni. 6815:8', Ni. 11074 rev. 18) and often occurring parallel to the *ḫurād* "sa-mi-di (cf. MUN 452 rev. 2'). In the roster UM 29-15-728:18', the writing [ḫ]u-rad ZAR-ri-qi occurs (with [ḫ]u-rad sa-mi-di in the preceding line), thus showing clear evidence for ZAR to be read *sar*, also in domestic Middle Babylonian (a value lacking in the standard syllabary publications to date).

⁴³ E.g., Hölscher 1996:80; Nashef 1982:59 (s.v. Bit-Ḫanbi); Brinkman 1968:252; the patronym also occurs in Peiser 1905 no. 97 rev. 9'.

⁴⁴ E.g., Hölscher 1996:195; Nashef 1982:71 (s.v. Bit-Šapri); Brinkman 1968:254; the patronym is also attested at Ur: UET 7 4 rev. 18, 66:3.

⁴⁵ It is nonetheless at least a curious coincidence that each of these three later eponymous names occurs as a patronym in a single relatively short text, no. 396:2, 11, 12.

⁴⁶ This interpretation would depend on how one translates the verb *gummuru* in text no. 7, which twice has the phrase *ana é ka-aš-ši-i gummuri*, once in the context of someone having sent instructions (*ištapar*) to perform this action and once in the context of unnamed persons having come to carry it out (*šunu aššu é ka-aš-ši-i gummuri illikūni*), rev. 18'-22'. *gummuru* can mean “to annihilate” or “to destroy,” though it can also have a less drastic significance.

⁴⁷ Though, according to an interpretation of the literary Marduk prophecy, the twenty-four-year sojourn of Marduk in the land of the Hittites would presumably have taken place at this time (Borger 1971:5-6 i 13-22).

⁴⁸ Synchronistic History i 5'-7', an episode listed mistakenly after an incident involving Kara-indaš and Aššur-bēl-nišešu (i 1'-4'), which would have taken place at least half a century later.

⁴⁹ Further research would need to be undertaken to determine which phases of the history of the Kassites at Nuzi would fall before the time of Kara-indaš.

structure can be detected.⁵⁰ Relations both with the land of the Kassites (KUR *kuššu(h)he*) and with the land of Akkad (KUR *Akkadī*) have also been described and would bear closer examination.⁵¹

In the more distant north, in the Caucasus, but in a later archeological level at Metsamor near Yerevan, was found a stone frog weight bearing an inscription of Ulam-Bu(ra)riaš.⁵² It is unclear when or how the object reached this resting place.

To the south, the island of Bahrain, ancient Dilmun or Tilmun, has yielded more than seventy cuneiform tablets from this period, dated examples coming from late in the Sealand dynasty and then from their successor kings in the Kassite dynasty, the range of attestations reflecting the change in political control over far southern Mesopotamia. The majority of these texts are economic or administrative, though lexical tablets, scholastic exercises, and a letter have also been identified.⁵³ The one date published thus far is from the fourth year of Agum (MU KI 4 *a-gu-um*),⁵⁴ probably the Agum (III) mentioned as conducting a military campaign in the Sealand⁵⁵ after the withdrawal of the last Sealand king to Elam. Most of the texts are as yet unpublished.⁵⁶

The nature of the relationship of Bahrain to Babylonia is still undetermined. It is uncertain whether the monumental building at Qal'at al-Bahrain should be viewed as a trading center or as an administrative palace. Did the well-documented Babylonian presence on this part of the island, evidenced by distinctive Kassite-period pottery, represent a provincial administration controlling the whole island⁵⁷ or just an active local trading post, astride the eastern lapis-lazuli route so important to Babylonian commerce at this time?⁵⁸ Babylonian interest in Dilmun would continue into the time of the Nippur archives (beginning in the fourteenth century), from which come three letters from Ili-ippašra, a correspondent on Dilmun, reporting on the (non-)availability of the prized local dates and the activities of hostile Aḫlamû groups.⁵⁹ Otherwise there is little mention of Dilmun in contemporary Babylonian texts. However, in the thirteenth century, Tukulti-Ninurta I, after his defeat of Kaštiliašu IV and his takeover of Babylonia, added the honorific “King of Dilmun and Meluḫḫa” to his titulary,⁶⁰ presumably echoing the historical claim of his newly conquered land to territory in the Persian Gulf.

50 E.g., Dosch and Deller 1981; Maidman 1984; Maidman 2010.

51 References in Fincke 1993:3–4 (for Akkad), 160–162 (for Kuššu(h)he). See also Müller 1994:221. It should be noted that some of the earliest scribes attested at Nuzi were Babylonian and that the family of Apil-Sîn continued to supply scribes for a considerable time during the period of the Nuzi archives.

52 Khanzadyan et al. 1983; Stein 2000:129–130.

53 Eidem 1997; André-Salvini and Lombard 1997; André-Salvini 1999.

54 André-Salvini and Lombard 1997:167.

55 Grayson 1975a:156 Chronicle 20B rev. 15–18 = Glassner 2004:272–273 no. 40.

56 A. Cavigneaux has been preparing an edition.

57 Inferred from the title sometimes translated “governor” (*šakkanakku*) of Dilmun attributed to Ūši-ana-nūrišu, great-grandfather of Uballissu-Marduk, in a seal inscription of the latter (Brinkman 1993a:90 line 9). Uballissu-Marduk served as an official in the time of a Kurigalzu (I/II). If the reference should be to the first Kurigalzu, the great-grandfather would certainly be dated in this early period before 1415; if the second Kurigalzu is meant, the great-grandfather could have lived before 1415, but this is less certain.

58 Pertinent archeological literature on the Bahrain excavations (Danish and later French) includes Højlund and Andersen 1997 and Lombard 1999. For Kassite remains and inscriptions from Failaka, see Glassner 1984 and the summary in Potts 1990:261–297, with citation of earlier bibliography. For aspects of trade and commerce specifically relating to lapis lazuli, Olijdam 1997 can still be consulted with profit (though some observations on the political situation and trade routes may now be superseded by newer evidence).

59 The two principal letters, published in Cornwall 1952, were supposedly written to one Illiliya or Illiya (the name of the addressee is damaged in each letter), who has sometimes been identified with Enlil-kidinnī, governor of Nippur in the time of Burna-Buriaš II (this identification should be further investigated). Another letter in the same group is BE 17 88, where the name of the addressee is better preserved; but little text is extant after the salutation. Note that in Ni. 641 rev. 4, the final signs are to be read *ú-ḫi-ne*, “early dates” (not as a verb or as part of a personal name).

60 Grayson 1987:275 A.O.78.24:15.

In sum, in the more than three centuries that precede the reign of Kara-indaš, it is remarkable how geographically extensive the evidence is for Kassites or Kassite connections, even outside Babylonia. Though numerically sparse in these regions, Kassite presence is unexpectedly wide-ranging in this early period.

The reconstruction of the early political history of the Kassite dynasty, both before and after the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, is at present an exercise in subjectivity, depending on how one interprets and positions many variables amidst evidence of debatable reliability. The first-millennium document Kinglist A gives the total number of kings of the dynasty as 36 and their combined lengths of reign as 576 years, 9 months.⁶¹ The number of kings has not usually been disputed, and it is now generally assumed that fourteen—or possibly fifteen⁶²—of these kings would have ruled before the accession of Kara-indaš. Kinglist A and the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 each furnish the names of the first six of these kings, but with divergences.⁶³ The names of the next three rulers (nos. 7–9) are partially preserved in the synchronistic kinglist; but only a few of the signs are sufficiently readable, and speculation about the identity of these monarchs has not been lacking, even if unconvincing.⁶⁴ The identity of king no. 10, Burna-Buriaš I, seems reasonably well established from the synchronistic kinglist. The identity of some of the next kings (nos. 11–14/15) can be guessed at: Kaštiliašu III, possibly Ulam-Buriaš, and Agum (III), each mentioned in that order in the laconic Chronicle 20B,⁶⁵ though without explicit royal titles.⁶⁶ Note particularly the indirect prominence of Kaštiliašu III, for whom no action is recorded in the chronicle but through whom the other two named rulers are assigned their relationship to the ruling family.

When it comes to reconstructing political developments of the period, there is very little to go on. Which of the Kassite rulers was the first to gain control over Babylon or, expressed from another perspective, how many of these rulers may have ruled in a place other than Babylon (or were minor chieftains)? The answer to that question at the moment may in part depend on which chronology one favors, since there is no reliable direct evidence. Should one accept the authenticity of either the Gandaš text⁶⁷ or the so-called Agum-kakrime inscription,⁶⁸ both of which are known only from later, first-millennium copies? Especially for the Agum text, there has been considerable difference of opinion. Only with materials for some of the later kings in this phase are we likely to have contemporary royal inscriptions: a new text of Kaštiliašu III (being prepared for publication by Kathleen Abraham and Uri Gabbay) and two very short texts of Ulam-Burariaš (Ulam-Buriaš).⁶⁹ The last Agum is thus far attested as ruler only in the date formulae of economic texts from Bahrain.

⁶¹ The regnal-year total will not be discussed further here, since a literal or near literal acceptance of the figure would imply that Gandaš, the first ruler of the dynasty according to Kinglist A, would have acceded to kingship (or some sort of local political preeminence) sometime in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. There is no contemporary evidence for or against such a supposition, but this estimate would fall not too far in time from the date for the eighth or ninth year of Samsu-iluna, at least according to the Middle Chronology (which should be regarded as a coincidence rather than a basis for argument, in our current state of chronological uncertainty). Among recent writers, Janssen 2011 proposes to accept the dynastic total literally.

⁶² The difference in numbering is explained in MSKH 1:14.

⁶³ I.e., Abi-Rattaš appears as king no. 5 in Kinglist A and as no. 4 in the synchronistic kinglist. The name of king no. 4 is unreadable in Kinglist A; a Kaštiliašu appears as king no. 5 in the synchronistic kinglist. See MSKH 1:9–10 for discussion.

⁶⁴ E.g., Astour 1986, Boese 2008. See p. 5 and n. 29 above.

⁶⁵ Grayson 1975a:156 Chronicle 20B rev. 12–18 = Glassner 2004:272–273 no. 40.

⁶⁶ New material, currently being prepared for publication by Kathleen Abraham and Uri Gabbay [now published in Abraham-Gabbay 2013] and by Antoine Cavigneaux, will suggest further refinements in the study of the sequence of Kassite kings in the phases immediately before the reign of Burna-Buriaš I and after the collapse of the Sealand I dynasty.

⁶⁷ BM 77438, bibliography in MSKH 1:127–128 H.3.1, with a later transliteration and translation in Stein 2000:149–150.

⁶⁸ Basic text-edition bibliography in MSKH 1:97 D^b.3.1; transliteration and translation in Stein 2000:150–165.

⁶⁹ [This text of Kaštiliašu III has been published since this article was first submitted: Abraham and Gabbay 2013.] The texts of Ulam-Burariaš are as follows: (a) VA Bab. 645, an inscribed knob excavated at Babylon (MSKH 1:318–319 X.2.1); (b) an inscribed frog weight excavated at Metsamor (Khanzadyan et al. 1983).

Political achievements that can be ascribed to the Kassites of this time are: (1) their takeover of the city of Babylon and the surrounding area (circumstances unknown), and (2) their expansion into the southern part of the land after the displacement of the Sealand I dynasty (circumstances only hinted at in Chronicle 20B),⁷⁰ thereby unifying southern and northern lower Mesopotamia under their rule. This unification of southern Iraq into a single territorial state at some point in the fifteenth century represents a lasting contribution of the Kassites to the historical development of Babylonia. Henceforth the dominant political narrative would be one of a single coherent state, replacing the competing small statelets of the Old Babylonian period. Over the next nine hundred years, there would be various minor divagations—rebellions against the ruling house, short-lived inter-city squabbles, and even phases of weakened central authority—; but the unified monarchy and its administrative units in the provinces would remain the paradigm of political power in the land as long as Babylonia remained independent.

II.B The Middle Kassite Period (1415–1225 B.C.)

II.B.1 The International Scene

Babylonian horizons in this period seem to have expanded since the heyday of the Old Babylonian dynasty. After the Kassites had consolidated their grip on Babylonia, the kingdom of Babylon found itself part of a broader Near Eastern community with shared intellectual, economic, and diplomatic interests. Decades of relative political stability had resulted in the Levant serving as a crossroads where major political powers (Egypt, Mittani, Ḫatti, Babylon, and eventually Assyria) were able to communicate freely and directly with one another across the territories of cooperating minor polities. This time of relative peace and widespread interaction among at least nominal equals was unique in the history of the ancient Near East.

The Babylonian language with its cuneiform script was in use as a scholarly and diplomatic means of communication across an even wider region: from Egypt in the southwest through Palestine and Syria, up to Ḫatti in Anatolia, out to Cyprus, down the middle Euphrates, up to Assyria and the region east of the Tigris, spreading into Elam in southwestern Iran, and reaching down into the Persian Gulf as far as Bahrain. Scribes across the area were trained in Babylonian cuneiform and copied traditional scholastic and literary texts as part of their education.⁷¹ The vernacular languages in each land continued in everyday use, and many of these were set down in writing—sometimes in an adapted cuneiform script. The impact of this shared intellectual culture has yet to be fully appreciated.

Babylonia was also part of a broad economic network. In the Late Bronze Age, goods in the guise of trade, tribute, and gifts moved widely over the same core area around the eastern Mediterranean, but extending into Greece (and perhaps into the Caucasus). To gauge Babylonia's participation in this system, we can look first at a sampling of Babylonian items carried into foreign lands. In Greece, in excavations at Thebes, a dozen Kassite cylinder seals were found in a level dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century—all made of lapis lazuli and all but one bearing a cuneiform inscription.⁷² For Egypt, textual evidence indicates receipt of goods from Babylonia:

⁷⁰ Grayson 1975a:156 Chronicle 20B rev. 12–18 = Glassner 2004:272–273 no. 40. The narrative describes: (a) the flight of Ea-gamil, the last king of the Sealand dynasty, to Elam; (b) the conquest of the Sealand by Ulam-Buriaš and his army; (c) a campaign of Agum in the Sealand, in which he captures Dūr-Enlil and destroys Enlil's temple there.

⁷¹ Discussed most recently by van Soldt 2011; see also Beckman 1983, Izre'el 1997, Pedersén 1998:120–123, Peterson 2006 (for direct transmission from contemporary Babylonia to the western tradition in the Kassite period), Rutz 2006:67–77 (scholarly influences between Elam and Babylonia in the second half of the second millennium).

⁷² Porada 1981–82.

lapis lazuli and other semi-precious stones, horses, silver and bronze ornaments.⁷³ At Ḫattuša, the Hittite capital, inventories list gold, jewelry, and textiles from Babylonia; a Hittite royal letter to a Babylonian ruler tells of lapis lazuli and horses sent from Babylonia and speaks of Babylonian experts loaned or to be loaned to the Hittite court: physicians, an incantation-priest, and a stone-carver (to be used in making reliefs or statuary).⁷⁴ In the Caucasus, at Metsamor, 35 km southwest of Yerevan, in a later second-millennium context, excavators found two objects bearing Babylonian inscriptions of the Kassite period: (1) a brown and white agate weight in the shape of a frog with a text of Ulam-Burariaš (an early fifteenth-century ruler); and (2) a carnelian seal with Egyptian and Babylonian motifs and a legend in Egyptian hieroglyphs reading:

(1) *k3-rw-k-l-t*

(2) *imy-r3 wr n s3-n-g-r*

“Kurigalzu, great overseer of Sangar (= Babylonia)”⁷⁵

In Assyria, various Babylonian objects have been found or are attested textually at Assur, Nineveh, and Nimrud: an eye stone, a knob (small macehead?), a votive bead, and many Babylonian tablets (especially literary texts).⁷⁶ In the Persian Gulf, Failaka has yielded Kassite tablets and seals; and Bahrain has an abundance of Kassite-style pottery, more than seventy Kassite tablets, and a fragment of what has sometimes been interpreted as a building inscription.⁷⁷ From Iran, there is a scattering of materials: a vessel of Kadašman-Enlil found at Hasanlu; inscribed daggers, beads, eye stones, and a seal from Luristan; and a statue, small stone objects, and kudurrus from Susa (some of these undoubtedly booty).⁷⁸ Just recently a fragmentary agate object with a heavily damaged inscription said to be Middle Babylonian has been uncovered in excavations at Tas-Silg on Malta.⁷⁹ The objects from Metsamor and on Malta turned up in imprecisely dated later levels (possibly the eleventh or tenth century for Metsamor, possibly a first-millennium B.C. context for Malta); so it is impossible at present to determine when they came to these sites, at these times or earlier. All in all, this is a list of variegated objects, doubtless incomplete, and some of it representing forced transfers.⁸⁰ But it does show dispersal of Babylonian goods over a wide area and incidentally confirms the role of Babylonia as an entrepot for lapis lazuli, whence it made its way west—particularly to Syria, Ḫatti, Egypt, and Greece.

The inventory of objects in Babylonia from identifiable foreign areas is more meager. Obviously items such as gold, silver, copper, iron, lapis lazuli, and certain types of stone would have had to be imported; but there is difficulty pinpointing their most likely sources. Otherwise there are few materials of identifiable foreign origin. Coming ultimately from the Aegean area was a Mycenaean-style oxhide ingot, excavated in an early twelfth-century level in the palace at Tell al-Abyad (Dūr-Kurigalzu).⁸¹ Excavations at Babylon yielded Egyptian or Egyptian-style scarabs and pen-

⁷³ E.g., EA 7, EA 9, EA 13.

⁷⁴ Siegelová 1986:725 (basic reference index for inventories). Letter: KBo 1 10 + KUB 3 72; Hagenbuchner 1989:281–300 no. 204; Beckman 1999:138–143.

⁷⁵ Khanzadyan et al. 1983 (the frog weight, from the fifteenth century); Khanzadyan and Piotrovskii 1984 (seal with hieroglyphic inscription). For the “l” value for the aleph sign, see Hoch 1994:432. Many thanks to Robert Ritner for checking the Egyptian transliteration and providing the reference to Hoch.

⁷⁶ This small sample is restricted mostly to items described in MSKH 1:47–48. The Babylonian tablets are mentioned in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic.

⁷⁷ References above on p. 8 and nn. 53–60. At least some of this material dates from before 1415.

⁷⁸ E.g., MSKH 1:48, to be supplemented by Schmidt et al. 1989 and Engel et al. 2008 (with additional bibliography).

⁷⁹ Mayer 2011.

⁸⁰ Perhaps even more illuminating for this purpose is the distribution of Kassite-period pottery outside Babylonia discussed in Armstrong’s paper in this volume.

⁸¹ Fullest description of the evidence: Brinkman 1987:35–36. This is the easternmost place where such an ingot was found.

dants in the shape of lotus blossoms.⁸² Found on the surface at Badrah (Dēr) was an inscribed brick portraying an Egyptian figure with an Egyptian-style headdress (the brick would not have been an import, but the craftsman may have been).⁸³ At Nippur, an inventory of property refers to Egyptian jewelry (*kililu*);⁸⁴ an Egyptian in residence there is mentioned in another text.⁸⁵ An Amarna inventory documents gold, silver, bronze, ivory, furniture made of precious wood, linen textiles, and oil sent from Egypt to Babylonia.⁸⁶ It is particularly noteworthy that the metals used as the standard of exchange in Babylonia over these centuries—gold (both red and white), silver, and copper—were all ultimately brought in from outside.⁸⁷ Iron was relatively rare, being restricted to jewelry and precious objects.⁸⁸

When we turn our attention from goods exchanged to traders who would have facilitated the transfer of materials, we narrow our focus and raise other problems. First, the Akkadian word often translated as “merchant”—*tamkāru*—could just as well be rendered as “commercial agent” or “trader.” Babylonian merchants are attested as working in Egypt, Canaan, Syria (Ugarit, Carchemish, Amurru, Emar), Ḫatti, and Assyria.⁸⁹ When these traders worked within the main administrative areas of the great powers (Egypt, Ḫatti, and Assyria), they seem to have proceeded relatively smoothly about their business. When, however, Babylonian merchants or royal messengers were travelling through vassal states of lesser rank—notably Canaan, Ugarit, Amurru, and Carchemish—they were on occasion subject to harassment: lawsuits, robbery, even murder; such poor treatment was the subject of Babylonian letters to the Egyptian court and to the Hittite court, asking these great powers to rectify the misdeeds of their nominal subordinates.⁹⁰ We are not well informed about the goods in which such merchants were dealing. The Amarna correspondence mentions a request from Burna-Buriaš that a merchant named Šalmu bring back ivory carvings.⁹¹ A Middle Assyrian economic text tells of a Babylonian merchant who conveyed a talent of tin (or lead? AN.NA) from Ḫatti to Assur.⁹² Babylonian merchants in foreign lands could work as agents of their king, dealing with royal goods for royal profit; but foreign trade was not a royal monopoly.

Turning now to merchants working within Babylonia, we encounter them in legal documents, accounts, and letters from Dūr-Kurigalzu, Babylon, Nippur, Ur, Tell Baradan, and the as yet unidentified locale of the Peiser archive.⁹³ Sales of slaves, especially of children and of foreigners, constitute a significant part of their trade. Purchasers could be either private citizens or government officials (the latter presumably acting in their public capacity).⁹⁴ Merchants dealt also in other commodities: cattle, wool, and metals; in return for these items, they accepted in payment: gold, bronze, textiles, wood, and grain—some of these perhaps for resale.⁹⁵ Assyrian merchants also

⁸² Reuther 1926:13, 18, etc.

⁸³ Smith 1932.

⁸⁴ PBS 2/2 120:37 (1 KI.MIN *mi-iš-ri-i*—with the KI.MIN resuming *ki-lil* from a preceding line).

⁸⁵ ^mnu-ma-^rsu⁷ *mi-iš-ra-a-ū* in Ni. 158:24, an account dated in Nazi-Maruttaš, year 23 (=1285 B.C.).

⁸⁶ EA 14.

⁸⁷ An introduction to the gold and silver standards in use during this period may be found in Müller 1982, with citation of older literature. For the distinction between “red” gold and “white” gold in such standards, see Gurney 1983:15. For the introduction of a copper standard in Babylonia in the early twelfth century, see Brinkman 1987.

⁸⁸ E.g., PBS 2/2 120:25–26, 46.

⁸⁹ EA 8, 11. KBo 1 10 rev. 9–25 + KUB 3 72; Hagenbuchner 1989:281–300 no. 204; Beckman 1999:138–143. Freydank 1979.

⁹⁰ EA 7, 8; KBo 1 10 rev. 9–25 (with literature as in the preceding note).

⁹¹ EA 11 rev. 8–12 (on condition that Šalmu had not already left the Egyptian capital).

⁹² Freydank 1979.

⁹³ A collection of references may be found in Sassmannshausen 2001a:70–72. For Ur, note UET 7 16 rev. 4.

⁹⁴ Petschow 1983.

⁹⁵ For an example, see the next paragraph in the text, where a traders’ archive found at Babylon is described.

occasionally worked within Babylonia; and there is a record of them acquiring textiles from royal storehouses at Dūr-Kurigalzu.⁹⁶

Of particular interest is an early-twelfth-century private archive excavated in the Merkes residential quarter in Babylon—consisting of at least 32 tablets plus fragments. The main agents in the archive are two *tamkāru*, Gula-ili and Sîn-(m)uballiṭ. Here we can obtain a glimpse into how such private trading firms functioned. There are partnership contracts drawn up in which between four and eight men contributed amounts in gold or copper to finance expeditions/caravans being sent to Ḫatti (*māt Ḫatti*) and to Lullubu (*māt Lullubayī*). There are records of local deals—money being lent, items being purchased, intricate bookkeeping ledgers (recording credits and debits with various clients). A wide variety of goods passed through the hands of this firm: gold, silver, tin (or lead, AN.NA), copper, ivory, luxury textiles, cows, sheep, wool, grain, oil, red dye, and alum. The dated transactions are spread over 27 years (1183–1157) and extend even into the short reign of the last king of the dynasty, Enlil-nādin-aḫi.⁹⁷

Were there larger business firms or organizations of merchants? There are only the barest hints. There are rare attestations at Nippur of an overseer/supervisor of merchants in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.⁹⁸ Much later, in the late eleventh century, during the time of possible revival of Kassite power under the Second Sealand dynasty, there is a House of the Merchants in the far south of Babylonia which dealt in slaves; and three young brothers were redeemed from it in a legal transaction.⁹⁹ The evidence is at present exiguous.

We turn now to the diplomatic dimension of the oikoumene of the ancient Near East in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, a topic much worked over in recent publications¹⁰⁰—so that not much needs to be said here. By the mid-fourteenth century, the Egyptian court was receiving written communications from the other four principal powers dominating the area: Ḫatti, Mittani, Babylon, and Assyria. The royal courts were exchanging ambassadors and letters (almost all in Babylonian cuneiform), princess brides, prestige gifts, and skilled craftsmen. These activities are well illustrated in the Amarna archive found in an abandoned Egyptian capital: 28 letters and 4 gift inventories sent between the major courts.¹⁰¹ This archive represents not the heyday of relations between these powers, but a phase of apparent decline—just before an eclipse, at least of Babylonian documentation. Correspondence between some of these courts would later revive, but very few later letters are as yet attested to or from the Kassite court.

II.B.2 The Land of Babylonia

Material conditions in Babylonia itself during the best-attested years of the Kassite dynasty (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.) have yet to be adequately studied.¹⁰² Surface survey data point to an overall population decline since the late Old Babylonian period (1800–1600 B.C.): approxi-

⁹⁶ IM 49992:26–32 (photograph in Baqir 1945a:pl. 22, tablet on left side of illustration); Faist 2001:167, with citation of earlier literature; Brinkman 2001, with collations. The Babylonians at Dūr-Kurigalzu also made a purchase from at least one Assyrian merchant named Šamaš-mudammiq, according to available documentation: Gurney 1953 no. 27:2.

⁹⁷ Pedersén 2005:83–85 Archive M5. See also p. 28 and n. 249 below.

⁹⁸ UGULA DAM.ĜĀR[(.MEŠ?)], the title of a witness in Ni. 3199 rev. 8' (an earlier legal text from the reign of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I); UGULA DAM.ĜĀR.MEŠ UM 29-15-246:15 (real estate text, mentioning Nazi-Maruttaš year 13 [= 1295]).

⁹⁹ BBSt 27; Brinkman 1989a. Cf. the É LÚ.DAM.ĜĀR in UET 7 16 rev. 4.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., Cohen and Westbrook 2000, Liverani 2001a, Van De Mieroop 2007a, all with abundant citations of earlier literature.

¹⁰¹ EA 1–12, 15–17, 19–21, 23–24, 26–29, 41–44 (letters) and EA 13–14, 22, 25 (inventories). The status of the fragments originally counted as EA 18 is uncertain.

¹⁰² The description in this section will be based for the most part on evidence which dates from approximately this period (Kara-indaš to Kaštiliašu IV, or 1415–1225). Where evidence for an opinion advanced here is drawn substantially from material outside this time range, that will be explicitly noted.

mately 27 % less settled area in the Nippur-Uruk corridor and 39 % less in the Lower Diyala, with a proportionately greater percentage of the population now in settlements of less than 10 hectares.¹⁰³ In the far south around Ur and Eridu, the settled area experienced a less severe shrinkage, only about 9.6 % compared to the late Old Babylonian period.¹⁰⁴ There is surprisingly little known as yet about such basic topics as contemporary political history, the economy, and society—because of the clustering of texts in restricted locales and times, because of the arctate subject matter covered by the documentation, and because so many tablets remain unpublished. In the paragraphs that follow, I shall indicate some areas worthy of further investigation, especially where documentary or archeological evidence is available that would reward more detailed research.

Babylonia itself during this period remained heavily dependent on active management of its water resources. The Tigris and Euphrates rivers seem to be about equally mentioned in the textual material now available, and an extensive network of canals was built out from them. Waterways were important not only for irrigation, but also for transport and communication. Nippur, the best-documented site from both a textual and an archeological point of view (including surveys), was serviced by a new network of canals running roughly west-northwest to east-southeast, a 45-degree shift from the Old Babylonian period when the system ran roughly north-northwest to south-southeast with the slight natural slope of the land.¹⁰⁵ The new configuration, as it ran transversely across that slope, was more prone to silting up; so heightened attention was now required for supervision of the canals and other irrigation works.¹⁰⁶ These developments seem to have been beneficial, since in the immediate vicinity of Nippur (i.e., within 15 km of the city) the settled area rose by 54 % compared to the Old Babylonian period. The growth was especially marked in the smallest category of settlements, villages between 0.1 and 2.0 hectares tripling in number and almost doubling their proportion of the total settled hectareage. Particularly to the immediate south and southeast around Nippur new settlements sprang up: in the Old Babylonian period this region had represented only 22 % of the settled area; now it represented 56 % of the total, with roughly three-quarters of this (74 %) in newly built villages.¹⁰⁷

Within Babylonia, there were two capitals or at least royal residential cities: Babylon and Dūr-Kurigalzu. The latter had been refounded and dramatically enhanced¹⁰⁸ by Kurigalzu I during his great building boom in the early fourteenth century¹⁰⁹ in a strategic location near where the

¹⁰³ Adams 1965:50–55 and tables 13–14, Adams 1981:142 table 13 and 172–173; for an analysis of the trend of ruralization, see Brinkman 1984a:172–174. The comparisons obviously are between the late Old Babylonian period at its height (c. 1800–1600 B.C.) and the time of greatest expansion in the Kassite period; not all settlements recorded in the surveys for a certain period would necessarily have been concurrent. It must be remembered that these and other surface surveys covered less than a third of the alluvial plain of southern Mesopotamia; but the information especially on the cultivation zone immediately west of the region can be expanded from maps, satellite photos and other means (see Hritz 2004 for bibliography on other surveys and on additional informational techniques).

¹⁰⁴ Wright 1981:331–332.

¹⁰⁵ Armstrong and Brandt 1994. As the authors point out, the new watercourses were not natural and would have required human labor to construct.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., van Soldt 1988; see also Kraus 1968, especially texts 1–2 (prohibition formulae).

¹⁰⁷ Calculated from Adams 1981; partly summarized in Tenney 2011:139–140. It would be of particular interest to study the urban-village hierarchy in this period, including garrisons (*birtu*) and the proliferation of *ḥurādu* settlements, sometimes associated with Kassite groups. (*ḥurādu* itself is originally a Hurrian word, which also survives in later Uartian.) Note also the introductory remarks by Nashef 1992 and by Kolinski 2001:32 (the latter about *dimtu* and *dunnu* settlements). For the city of Nippur proper at this time, see Gibson 1992:44–47.

¹⁰⁸ Though no pre-Kassite traces have as yet been found in excavations, the site seems to have had an older name, Parsâ, attested in temple lists (Moran 1960, George 1993:45, with citation of earlier bibliography).

¹⁰⁹ For the first extensive excavations on the site, see especially Baqir 1944, 1945a, and 1946a (covering the palace and temple areas as uncovered at that time). For temple buildings, see Bartelmus 2010, including fuller bibliography. One wonders how the extraordinary spate of building here and elsewhere was financed by Kurigalzu I (his inscriptions are uninformative). A contributing factor was probably the commercial relations with Egypt and the west, which should have been flourishing at this time (for Egypt, there is some indication in EA 11 rev. 19).

Tigris, Euphrates, and Diyala rivers come close together. Royal activity at both sites is attested intermittently during the period; but no clear pattern of which monarchs resided where, when, or for what purpose has as yet been discerned. Nor do we know how the two royal cities interacted with each other.¹¹⁰ Nippur in its role as both a religious and commercial center was in frequent contact with each, but its connections with Dūr-Kurigalzu are at present better known.¹¹¹ Some of the contemporary palace and temple areas at Dūr-Kurigalzu have been excavated, but thus far only a small section of a mostly residential quarter has been unearthed at Babylon.¹¹² Very little royal international correspondence has been discovered in Babylonia itself.¹¹³ Two tablet fragments were excavated in the palace at Dūr-Kurigalzu in a small passage between room 71 and the ramp-chamber 62, level IC:¹¹⁴ a letter from a Hittite king to a queen of Babylonia¹¹⁵ and a letter from an Elamite king to one of the Kassite kings named Kadašman-Enlil.¹¹⁶ Another royal letter, found at Nippur, was apparently written from the Assyrian king Enlil-nārārī to a local official.¹¹⁷

There has been little detailed study as yet of the functioning of the government in this period: the monarchy, the palace and royal court, the central administration, the governors and their provinces,¹¹⁸ the levying of taxes and other duties,¹¹⁹ and the judicial apparatus.¹²⁰ This is an area ripe for research, especially the development of the legal system: more than 400 legal tablets and frag-

110 IM 49992 (DK₃-9) and IM 50025 (DK₃-11), documents concerned with textiles issued from the stores (NÍG.GA) at Dūr-Kurigalzu, are dated respectively at Dūr-Kurigalzu on VIII-15?-MU.3.KAM.'2'.KAM of Marduk-apla-iddina I and at Babylon on V-25-year 6 of the same king. The textiles in each case were issued under the supervision of the same official, Munnabittu, the *bēl piḫati*, and through the agency (*ša qāt* or *ina qāt*) of the same scribes, Rīmūt-Baba and Šamaš-nādin-šumi. The same two scribes had been involved in another distribution of textiles according to a third text (IM 50023 = DK₃-8) dated at Dūr-Kurigalzu on XI-4-MU.1.KAM.2.KAM in the same reign; but this tablet was sealed by Šamaš-bēl-ilī, the governor (GAR-in) of Dūr-Kurigalzu. All three texts are published in photo in Baqir 1945a:pl. 22, fig. 24; IM 50023 was also published in Gurney 1949:137 and 146 no. 7. We do not know whether this means that some royal officials were active at both Dūr-Kurigalzu and Babylon or that documents concerning the Dūr-Kurigalzu store-houses could be drawn up at either site. All three tablets were found in Dūr-Kurigalzu at the entrance to room 2 of the palace, level IA (described without much detail in Baqir 1945a:9).

111 Perhaps because most of the written material from the Babylon excavations has yet to be studied.

112 The Merkes tablets are covered in Reuther 1926; Pedersén 2005:69–106, with useful maps. Stray texts from Amran and the Kasr and unidentified spots are dealt with in Pedersén 2005:107–108. The recent lowering of the water levels in the Euphrates, resulting from the diversion of flow by the many upstream dams, particularly in Turkey, may make it possible in the future to excavate some of the earlier levels at Babylon, including Kassite, more fully.

113 Ḫattušili III in his letter to Kadašman-Enlil II muses, undoubtedly with a touch of sarcasm, whether his earlier letters to Babylonia had been retained and appropriately filed (KBo 1 10:19 +, with literature as in n. 74 above).

114 Baqir 1946a:pl. 9, near courtyard B. On p. 89 of the same article, Baqir states that the Hittite-Babylonian letter came from room 71; but that information is contradicted by the Dūr-Kurigalzu field book (in Arabic) and the Iraq Museum register (in English), which both indicate that the small passage between rooms 71 and 62 was the place where the letters were found. Unfortunately both letters were assigned the same excavation number (DK₄-57) and the same museum number (IM 50966), without differentiation.

115 Published in photo in Baqir 1946a:pl. 18, fig. 13 with a transliteration in Hagenbuchner 1989:300–302 no. 205.

116 Gurney 1949:141–142 and 149 no. 12. Kadašman-Enlil II seems the more likely of the two homonymous monarchs to be proposed as the letter's addressee.

117 Ni. 669, published by von Soden 1957–58:370–371, with a further note and collation in Brinkman 1974:406 n. 83.

118 Brinkman 1974, a short paper on the monarchy delivered at the 1971 Rencontre, is now mostly out of date. This paper dealt very briefly also with province organization. For a more detailed view of the provincial system under the succeeding Second Dynasty of Isin, see Brinkman 1963, though how much of this might have been foreshadowed under the Kassite dynasty (especially concerning the institution of the gubernatorial *bēl bīti*) has yet to be determined. A provisional list of provinces is offered in Sassmannshausen 2001a:22–23, though this too will have to be revised substantially as research progresses.

119 Two studies helpful for beginning to understand aspects of the taxation systems in place are Ellis 1976:109–132 and Kraus 1968 (the latter covering also similar situations under the Second Dynasty of Isin).

120 Some preliminary remarks on the administration of justice at Ur and Nippur are available in Petschow 1974 (mostly interspersed in textual commentary) and Gurney 1983. A detailed study of the court personnel, procedures, penalties, etc. is a prime desideratum.

ments (not counting kudurrus) are available as primary material for consideration. The large-scale remission of debts, the *mišarum* well attested in the Old Babylonian period, may no longer have survived in recognizable form; but there is some evidence for more restricted practices, such as the contemporary literary claim that Kurigalzu exempted the citizens of Babylon from *ilku* duty,¹²¹ the decree of Šagarakti-Šuriaš freeing from slavery (*zakûtu*) women born in Nippur,¹²² and the fourteenth-century manumission (*andurāru*) of a slave family by a provincial governor.¹²³ In the latter part of the period, edicts of the reigning monarch are invoked (*kī rikilti šarri* RN is the standard phrase)¹²⁴ which specify extraordinary penalties, e.g., eating one mina of wool or having bitumen poured in the mouth, to be imposed on future offenders. The river ordeal also continues in use to settle disputes.¹²⁵ Land ownership and land tenure offer another crucial area for research.¹²⁶ One new feature in legal texts seems to be the prominence given to the possibility of brother succession in ownership of real estate as well as of personal property, with “brothers” listed before “sons” among possible future litigants in purchase contracts,¹²⁷ as well as hints that control over certain tracts of land was not always vested without qualification in a single person.¹²⁸ One would like to know more also about *mulūgu* transfers, though these are better known in the context of Kassite clan/family land usage in the immediate post-Kassite period (eleventh and tenth centuries).¹²⁹ The legal system in Kassite Babylonia would repay serious, detailed study, as would the functioning of customary law among distinctively Kassite groups in other periods. It will be important to determine what actually is new in this period and whether any of the changes came about through specifically Kassite influence.¹³⁰

An essential step toward understanding the workings of society and the economy in this period will be the reconstruction of the non-scholarly textual archives, especially from the major sites Babylon, Ur, Dūr-Kurigalzu, and Nippur. Study of the Babylon material now has a promising foundation, thanks to the groundbreaking volume by Pedersén (2005:69–108), which describes in detail some finds of the excavators by textual groups and catalogues many texts in so far as they have

121 Sommerfeld 1985a:2 lines 13–14 (poetic inscription relating to a Kurigalzu). The text actually contains somewhat broader implications: *šākin andurār niši Bābili / muzekkū nišišu ina ilki*. The text has been generally assigned a “Middle Babylonian” date.

122 *ultu šarru Šagarakti-Šuriaš zakûtu nippurêti iškunu* Ni. 2885:5’–6’ (legal text, without preserved date).

123 Ni. 1854, dated in the reign of Kadašman-Enlil I (c. 1374–1360), in which Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (governor of Nippur) freed eighteen slaves: *awilūtu ... andurāršunu iškun*.

124 E.g., UET 7 21 rev. 1–2, UET 7 25 rev. 7–8. The oldest example known thus far comes from the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (Ni. 6198 rev. 8’–10’); and the tradition continues at least until the time of Enlil-nādin-apli (1103–1100) of the Isin II dynasty. For the penalties, see the discussion in Paulus 2009, with citation of earlier literature. Whether these punishments were purely theoretical cannot as yet be determined from available documentation.

125 E.g., UET 5 259 (reedited in Gurney 1983:177–179 no. 73), UET 7 11, CBS 4579, BBSt 3 iv 36–39.

126 Including the consideration that the king himself had to buy land and not simply requisition it (e.g., MDP 10 93 viii 12–14).

127 CAD A/1 198b notes this usage as occurring “passim in NB legal texts dealing with the transfer of real estate”; but the same sequence (brothers before sons) occurs also in Kassite-period legal texts dealing with real estate as well as other property (for example, slaves): e.g., BBSt 3 v 28, MUN 10:14, MUN 11 rev. 2’, UET 7 21:17–18, UET 7 25 rev. 2–3. This may be a development within the period, since at least one legal text from the first half of the fourteenth century seems to retain the traditional order, i.e., sons, followed by brothers (e.g., Ni. 1854:20’ from the time of Kadašman-Enlil I).

128 The most explicit statement of this, in a Kassite-controlled area, is in BBSt 9, which dates from the first half of the tenth century. There in questions of even temporary alienation of land (as part of a dowry settlement) all the surviving brothers of the oldest generation are called upon to give their approval to a proposal being made by the clan chieftain.

129 Rawlinson (1861) no. 70 i 4 (here written *mu-li-gi*, genitive), ii 17; BBSt 9 i 15. In the latter case, one could also speak of a fratriarchy exercising control over the ultimate disposition of land.

130 Including the development of the kudurrus (not strictly legal documents themselves, though sometimes copied from them), which at present are first attested allegedly about 1400 B.C. (i.e., from the reign of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, YBC 2242). It has not been determined whether the text UM 55-21-62 (2 NT 356), published in Sassmannshausen 1994, should be regarded as a forerunner of this type of text.

been located or identified. The Ur tablets for the most part have been published by Gurney,¹³¹ but more detailed archival analysis is desirable.¹³²

The textual material from the 1942–45 Dūr-Kurigalzu excavations has been partially published,¹³³ and a rough synopsis of two archives has been presented in Pedersén 1998:104–107. I can add a few observations here, based in part on research on the tablets and excavation records in Baghdad. These tablets at the moment enjoy a particular importance, since they include the most material published from a Kassite royal residential city and one of the archives is the largest identifiable scientifically excavated collection of texts from a city other than Babylon. Pedersén's larger archive (Dūr-Kurigalzu 1), containing at least 60 tablets and fragments,¹³⁴ was characterized as follows: "almost all texts are administrative records concerning gold and other precious materials given to goldsmiths, for, among other things, the adornment of two palaces."¹³⁵ This assessment is based principally on 22 of the texts published in Gurney 1953, which deal for the most part with quantities of valuable commodities (e.g., gold, silver, lapis lazuli, precious stones) issued to or received back from various craftsmen working on the decoration of the palace complex. But Pedersén's description fits less than half the texts in this group, which also includes textile/garment lists (at least 19 of these), gift inventories, a personnel roster, a legal text, and a scratch pad.¹³⁶ These texts were found together on January 3, 1944 in a small alcove at the west corner of room 4, level II of the palace complex;¹³⁷ and it is not clear that they formed a single working

¹³¹ Gurney 1974, 1983.

¹³² Some preliminary work has been done by Gurney 1983:1–3 and Robson 2001:47–50.

¹³³ Notably by Kramer et al. 1948 (updated by Veldhuis 2008), Gurney 1949, Labat 1952, Gurney 1953. Some of the texts are readable from excavation photos and object descriptions published in Baqir 1944, 1945a, 1946a and elsewhere.

¹³⁴ Pedersén 1998:104 gave the number of texts as "64," based on a statement in Baqir 1945a:12. The Dūr-Kurigalzu field register (DKR) lists only 60 field numbers of tablets found in this area (DK₃-61–116, 118–120, and 123); and the Iraq Museum register (IMR) lists 59 corresponding accession numbers (IM 50022, 50024, 50026–50038, 50042–50049, 50051–50052, 50054–50082, 50097, 50099, 50100, 50102, 50109), with DK₃-107 apparently not accessioned. A few of the pertinent IM museum boxes contained more than one clay fragment not necessarily belonging to the same tablet; in one instance, IM 50102 = DK₃-120, there were more than forty fragments in a single box. Thus it would be difficult to assign a precise number to the "tablets and fragments" found together as described; it could amount to well over 100, if each unjoined fragment was tallied separately. Thus "at least 60" must be regarded as a minimum estimate.

¹³⁵ Pedersén 1998:107.

¹³⁶ These texts for the most part remain unpublished. Gurney 1949, nos. 4–6 edited three of them, though listing an erroneous provenance and an erroneous IM number for no. 4 (which should be IM 50059); see also the following note.

¹³⁷ The surface plan of the palace area published in Pedersén 1998:106 does not show this alcove. For this, one may consult Baqir 1945a:pl. 6, fig. 7 and pl. 9, fig. 10 and the description *ibid.*, pp. 12–13. Pedersén 1998:107 n. 105 correctly calls attention to a discrepancy in the provenances listed for the archive in Gurney's publications: some tablets were said to come from room 4, level II and others from room 15, foundation level (= IV). Gurney's listings of tablet provenances were based on information in the Iraq Museum register (IMR, at that time recorded in English), which on occasion disagreed with the provenances listed in the Dūr-Kurigalzu field register (in Arabic). The conflicts arose because the IMR did not always number the excavated objects in the same sequence as had the DKR (e.g., DK₃-94, DK₃-95, and DK₃-96 became IM 50043, IM 50100, and IM 50042 respectively). The IMR transferred information for each item from the field register separately and as an independent unit; and, in so doing, it sometimes entered a provenance annotation which was equivalent to "ditto" in the DKR sequence (e.g., DK₃-96 came from the same location as DK₃-95) that became incorrect when applied to the corresponding entry for the same object in IMR (i.e., IM 50042, where an inferred ditto relating to the immediately preceding entry would refer to the place where IM 50041 [= DK₃-129] had been found). In this way in the IMR, IM 50042–50049, 50051–50052, and 50054–50082 were all erroneously listed as coming from room 15, level IV of the palace (from which IM 50041, an uninscribed object, had come), when they should have been catalogued as coming from room 4, level II. There were in fact no inscribed materials found in room 15, level IV. In all such instances, preference should be given to the information in DKR, as recorded in timely fashion by the site's excavators. [Note that the inventory tablet described in Gurney 1953:24 no. 24 as "IM 50038+50087" at the beginning of the entry is actually "IM 50083+50087," as becomes clear toward the end of the entry.]

It should also be noted that the text published in Gurney 1953:24 no. 27 (IM 49976 = DK₂-6) was found in courtyard 4 of the temple area, not in "room 4" (which elsewhere in that publication refers to the palace).

archive rather than an incidental collection, perhaps of discarded texts, which were buried when the palace was rebuilt in level I. . . . Pedersén's Dür-Kurigalzu 2 archive, consisting of eight tablets coming from the entrance to room 2 in the palace area,¹³⁸ are all textile/garment inventories, three of them dated to the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina I.¹³⁹ One of them was drafted at Babylon, but with the same officials listed there as during transactions at Dür-Kurigalzu. These textiles/garments, sometimes counted in the thousands,¹⁴⁰ were used for various purposes—e.g., issued to Assyrian merchants, distributed to palace personnel, or paid as part of a hefty purchase price¹⁴¹—, but in most cases the usage is unspecified. An additional textile inventory from the same reign was found in another area of the palace, ramp chamber 48 in unit C.¹⁴² . . . In addition to these two archives/collections, there were at least eight other groups of texts (each consisting of four or more tablets) found together—i.e., in the same room at the same level—in the 1942–45 excavations which deserve future consideration as possible archives.

The published Nippur textual material now has almost comprehensive, if scattered, personal name indices;¹⁴³ but archival studies are almost entirely lacking.¹⁴⁴ The next desirable step here would be to compile a textual catalogue of the readily accessible material in Philadelphia, similar to Pedersén's work for Babylon, preliminary to grouping by archive.¹⁴⁵ The archeological provenience (or locus) of most of the texts from Nippur, excavated on the site between 1889 and 1900, was not adequately recorded;¹⁴⁶ and attempts to reconstruct the original groupings may have to rely heavily on prosopography.¹⁴⁷ It will be important to determine in so far as possible the institutions or persons responsible for the issuance of administrative, legal, and epistolary texts and for what purpose they were written.¹⁴⁸ The governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur is the best-attested official of this time; and he is clearly involved in the supervision of a large unfree labor force, provision of personnel and supplies for the temples, and dealing with representatives from Assyria and messengers from other cities and provinces. Irrigation works, establishments engaged in the production of luxury textiles, and supervision of cattle also seem to fall under his jurisdiction. Among the interested parties are religious officials or institutions (especially the NIN.DINGIR GAL and the

138 Pedersén 1998:107, following Baqir 1945a:12, states that these were found in rooms 8 and 2, level IA, in the palace area. The Dür-Kurigalzu field register says that each of these tablets was found at the “entrance to room 2” (without specifying which entrance was meant).

139 The tablets are numbered from DK₃-6 to DK₃-13 (= IM 50088, 50089, 50023, 49992, 50103, 50025, 50090, and 50091, respectively).

140 IM 50049 (DK₃-77), a heavily damaged text, lists more than ten thousand textiles/garments in just three lines of its inventory.

141 In the text drafted at Babylon (IM 50025 = DK₃-11), one hundred luxury garments (*muḫtillū*) from the stores (NÍG.GA) at Dür-Kurigalzu were being used as the purchase price of an object (or person) which/who cannot readily be identified because of the damaged condition of the text.

142 Baqir 1946a:84 and pl. 17, fig. 11 (tablet on the right side of the photo).

143 Hölscher 1996, supplemented by Sassmannshausen 2001a:466–499. Even Clay 1912a remains useful for still unpublished Philadelphia material (see Brinkman 2003–04:397–398 for details).

144 Other than Pedersén 1998:113–116. It is doubtful that his “Nippur 3” constitutes an archive, since almost all these tablets were found in later fill and for the most part lack prosopographical connections which would indicate a common purpose. Sassmannshausen 2001a also begins to establish prosopographical connections across scattered documentation to point up archival connections.

145 The Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative's on-line listing of Middle Babylonian tablets in Philadelphia, despite some omissions and classification errors, can provide a useful start for such work.

146 Though one may consult archeological records and letters now deposited in the archives of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the CBM registry book for inscriptional materials in the Babylonian Section there (entries in the registry book must be used only with considerable caution). See also the description in Sassmannshausen 2001a:186–187.

147 Distinctive text types, tablet shapes and layout, and handwriting styles may also play a significant role here.

148 Of particular importance will be the more than 700 domestic letters from this period found at Nippur and elsewhere, which sometimes bring vivid immediacy into their description of situations (but often also without much context).

NIN.DINGIR TUR), which own large herds and employ a significant number of laborers on their projects. The relationship of the governor to the religious institutions is as yet not clearly understood. Modern distinctions attempting to separate out public versus private functions of such officials are sometimes ill suited to understanding the workings of ancient society, and one must proceed with care in unraveling the interwoven threads in the complex texture. There are some archives that are clearly those of private citizens, including tablets found together as a group;¹⁴⁹ but these seem at present to be relatively few.

Agriculture continued to play a key role in the economy. Cultivation of the land, both fields and gardens, is a primary consideration. Production and distribution of grain and vegetables are amply attested, as is the movement of side products such as beer, flour, and bread. Animal husbandry formed one of the principal sectors of the economy, and questions of pasturage and herding are of importance. Horses were professionally bred¹⁵⁰ and were a valued export. Sheep and goats supplied wool and goat hair, hides, sinews, ghee, and other commodities. Poultry was widely raised;¹⁵¹ and pigs, dogs, and even a few lions are mentioned in various fodder accounts. From local supplies of wool and goat hair, there was widespread manufacture of textiles, especially luxury goods, sometimes in large workshops connected with the temples.¹⁵² There are also many other craftsmen and laborers attested: carpenters, weapon makers, expert repairers of jewelry, leather and reed workers, potters, military and gate personnel, musicians and entertainers, and food preparers, to name only a few. Interregional trade within Babylonia also thrived.¹⁵³

The role of women in society in this period, though not well documented, would be worth further investigation. At the lower end of the social scale, women among the servile population served as head in the majority (61 %) of simple-family households.¹⁵⁴ Among the general population, women could own land and act as witnesses to legal documents, seal texts, and arrange for the marriage of their children,¹⁵⁵ though they appear in these functions much less frequently than men. Besides serving in religious functions such as high priestess,¹⁵⁶ they could exercise various occupations, including horse-herder, seal-cutter, leather-worker, weaver, and entertainer or musician.¹⁵⁷ Men and women sometimes cited their descent by matronym rather than patronym;¹⁵⁸ and the

149 E.g., 3 NT 142–149, found together in a pot (mentioned briefly as “Nippur 5” in Pedersén 1998:116), all legal texts, dating between 1258 and 1245, i.e., from Kadašman-Enlil II year 6 (including one from year 5⁺[(+1)]) to Šagarakti-Šuriáš year 1. Five of these have been published as MUN 4, 5, 10, 16, and 18. Nearby were found two additional legal texts (3 NT 140–141); one of these is a duplicate of a text found in the pot and the other can be linked by prosopography to the same group (i.e., 3 NT 142–149). These two tablets date from 1255 and 1257 respectively (Kudur-Enlil accession year and Kadašman-Enlil II year 7).

150 For types of records kept about horses, see for example Balkan 1954:11–24. There is also a very fragmentary similar account from Nippur featuring bovines (Brinkman 1996).

151 Note especially more than a dozen archival texts relating to the activities of Gardu (Hölscher: Qardu), a MUŠEN. DÙ, i.e., here a poultryman, in the time of Nazi-Maruttaš.

152 E.g., Ni. 943 (production of luxury textiles under the aegis of the NIN.DINGIR GAL); Aro 1970; Tenney 2011:100–101.

153 Also of interest is the movement of precious objects within Babylonia, e.g., the caravans carrying gold (PBS 1/2 51:22), the items of jewelry sent from Nippur and Dür-Kurigalzu to Arad-bēlti (PBS 13 80), the white gold shipped from Dür-Kurigalzu to Nippur for smelting (UM 29-16-380, an undated bulla originally attached by string to a container(?) reading as follows: (1) 1 1/3 MA 3 GÍN (2) KÙ.ĜI⁺ BABBAR (3) BÀD-ku-ri-gal-zu (4) a-na ĜI⁺-tu-ni).

154 I.e., “a simple family conjugal unit and its dependents” (Tenney 2011:78).

155 A few examples are as follows. Own land: CBS 7892:3 (woman shares as co-heir in real estate); act as witness: CUNES 52-14-003:8 (draft?); seal texts: CUNES 52-10-089, 52-18-807; arrange marriage for her son (‘Ina-pīša-imrīr on behalf of “Adad-muštešir): Bonham’s, Antiquities, auction catalogue, Knightsbridge (London), 14 May 2003, pp. 84–85, no. 235 (published in photo only).

156 Inferred from the common occurrence of NIN.DINGIR GAL and NIN.DINGIR TUR among the Nippur administrative texts.

157 Documented, for the servile class, in Tenney 2011:229–232. The prevalence of women horse-herders is particularly noteworthy.

158 Brinkman 2007.

best-attested kin group at Ur during this period claimed its descent from a woman, Deyyānatu.¹⁵⁹ At the upper end of the scale, Babylonian princesses were married off to pharaohs of Egypt¹⁶⁰ and to kings of Ḫatti.¹⁶¹ Ḫunnubat-Nanaya, daughter of king Meli-Šipak, was awarded several grants of land by her royal father;¹⁶² an image of her, atop a kudurru stele, is the only known example of a pictorial representation of a Kassite-period woman whose identity is known.¹⁶³

On the scholarly side, the Kassite period in Babylonia produced a quantity of learned tablets: lexical lists, religious, medical, mathematical, literary, and omen texts as well as practical writings such as extispicy reports and student exercises. Where their place of origin is known, these tablets come principally from Babylon, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Nippur, and Ur.¹⁶⁴ There is little reliable information about whether any of these texts were the property of temple or palace libraries.¹⁶⁵ Most of the well-provenienced texts were excavated in Babylon, where they formed part of private collections,¹⁶⁶ presumably belonging to scribal families. The Kassite period was the time to which some of the more illustrious Babylonian scribal families, such as that of Arad-Ea (to be discussed in the following paragraph) and Sîn-leqe-unninni, traced their origins¹⁶⁷ and in which noted Babylonian medical practitioners such as Rabâ-ša-Marduk flourished.¹⁶⁸ Still under discussion are such questions as whether the scribal literature of this period—as opposed to that of earlier periods—had a direct impact on scribal traditions of foreign lands (other than Assyria)¹⁶⁹ and whether a process of canonization of some learned series occurred now or at least slightly later.¹⁷⁰ To assess the role of scholarship in this period, it is necessary to establish dating criteria such as the shape and layout of scholarly tablets¹⁷¹ and paleographic usage by different classes of scribes.¹⁷² One would also wish to know how much original literature may have been composed during this time.¹⁷³ This is an area where much fruitful research remains to be undertaken.

¹⁵⁹ Brinkman 2007:6.

¹⁶⁰ EA 1, EA 5; cf. EA 11, EA 13 (dowry list).

¹⁶¹ Beckman 1983:108–110; Bryce 2005:207–210, 286; these deal with the Babylonian wife of Šuppiluliuma I and the Babylonian princess married into the Hittite court in the time of Puduḫepa. Putative marriages of Babylonian princesses to Elamite kings are detailed in a later Babylonian literary text of questionable historical value (VAS 24 91, van Dijk 1986).

¹⁶² MDP 10 87–94.

¹⁶³ MDP 10 pl. 13 no. 1 (figure on the far right).

¹⁶⁴ The colophon in Hunger 1968 no. 292 lists these cities (with the exception of Dūr-Kurigalzu) as furnishing texts for making scholarly extracts, but also adds Sippar, Larsa, Uruk, and Eridu.

¹⁶⁵ Fincke 2003–04:137–139 has summarized the evidence for a possible palace library, but this depends largely on the interpretation of a broken passage in the Tukulti-Ninurta I Epic and the existence of OB/MB tablets in the Aššur temple collection at Assur. The same could also be inferred from a literal reading of Hunger 1968 no. 292, which states that excerpt tablets were given to Nazi-Maruttaš. At Dūr-Kurigalzu, an incantation text was found in the temple complex near the ziggurat (IM 49981, published in Gurney 1953 no. 29, but Gurney fails to note that the road listed as the provenience of this fragment was in the temple area, not near the palace complex—see the description in Baqir 1944:10). No palace remains were excavated in Kassite Babylon, but at Dūr-Kurigalzu two hemerologies were found in the palace: (1) IM 50969, published in Labat 1952 (cf. Baqir 1946a:89 no. 1); (2) IM 50964B, published in Gurney 1953 no. 28.

¹⁶⁶ Pedersén 2005:69–108, especially for the collections M3, M4, M6, M8.

¹⁶⁷ Lambert 1957.

¹⁶⁸ Heeßel 2009.

¹⁶⁹ E.g., van Soldt 2011.

¹⁷⁰ See the study by Heeßel in this volume; cf. Peterson 2006.

¹⁷¹ E.g., Veldhuis 2000, van Soldt 2011:203–205.

¹⁷² Discussed further below in section III. It should be noted that the designation “scribe” (*tupšarru*) in itself did not imply an elevated status within the community; rosters of servile laborers sometimes include scribes among the captive personnel (e.g., Ni. 1624, which includes scribes from Arrapha, and Ni. 6237).

¹⁷³ E.g., the long Kurigalzu I poetic inscription in Sumerian (Kramer et al. 1948, Veldhuis 2008), the Kurigalzu poem and private prayer for royal favor (Sommerfeld 1985a), the recitation of the exploits of Nazi-Maruttaš against Namri (PBS 13 69, known thus far only in a copy from the Achaemenid period).

Among the most prominent scribal groups originating in the Kassite period is the family of Arad-Ea, mentioned above. Members of this family are attested throughout the land—at Ur, Nippur, Babylon, the Diyala, and in a range of kudurrus—serving as provincial officials,¹⁷⁴ scribes, witnesses, mensuration experts, and surveyors. The family traced back its origin to an expert accountant (*ummân nikkassi*) named Arad-Ea, whose son Uballissu-Marduk lived in the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁵ For the Kassite period, not known for the depth of its genealogies, this family sometimes recorded unusually long pedigrees: Uballissu-Marduk traces his filiation back through four generations (including a *šakkanakku* of Dilmun);¹⁷⁶ and Marduk-zākir-šumi, an official in the early twelfth century, did the same.¹⁷⁷ It may not be entirely coincidental—with the rise of this accountant family to prominence—that the Kassite period exhibits some unusual developments in mathematical reckoning or at least expression: surface measures of fields are now cited in (seeding) capacity units,¹⁷⁸ and the ubiquitous *sūtu* measure is attested in a wide variety of sizes, made up of 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, and even $10 \frac{2}{3}$ *qū*.¹⁷⁹

At the same time, the Kassite period witnessed a revision of the Babylonian calendar and some of its time-reckoning formulae. Individual years, previously named after noteworthy events (military, political, or religious), now began to be numbered ordinally within a king's reign. The old system of year names continued in use at Nippur at least as late as the reign of Kurigalzu I.¹⁸⁰ The new system of year numbers began at Nippur at least as early as the reign of Kadašman-Enlil I.¹⁸¹ But the year numbering may have begun even earlier outside Nippur, since a tablet with a MU KI 4 A-gu-um date has been excavated on Bahrain;¹⁸² and at least three reigns intervened between Agum (III) and Kadašman-Enlil I.¹⁸³ The “KI 4” formulation is reminiscent of “MU RN LUGAL.E KI 27” and “MU RN LUGAL.E KI 29(.KAM?)” attested in date formulae of Pešgaldarameš in the First Dynasty of the Sealand.¹⁸⁴ Other date formulae with a similar long sequence of consecutively numbered years are found in the Tell Muhammad tablets with their MU.n.KAM.MA ša KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI uš-bu dates (with “n” going as high as “41”)¹⁸⁵ and in the lengthy commemoration by Rīm-Sîn I of his defeat of Isin, which numbered the subsequent years as high as 31. Whatever the inspiration, the system of ordinal year number plus royal name, e.g., “the eighth year of Burna-Buriaš (MU.8.KAM *bur-na-bu*-

¹⁷⁴ Especially in the office of *bēl pīḫati*.

¹⁷⁵ In the time of a Kurigalzu (either I, who reigned in approximately the first quarter of the fourteenth century, or II, who reigned from 1332 to 1308).

¹⁷⁶ Brinkman 1993a, Lambert 2005 xiv–xv.

¹⁷⁷ BBST 5 i 27–ii 3 (kudurru written in the time of Marduk-apla-iddina I). If the generation count in this inscription should turn out to be accurate (rather than truncated or telescoped), Kurigalzu II (rather than I) would probably be the preferred candidate for the contemporary of Uballissu-Marduk; but this is not a necessary conclusion.

¹⁷⁸ Powell 1982:113 and 1987–90:481–482. This type of surface measurement is used not just in kudurrus, but also in regular administrative and legal documents (e.g., CBS 7277, N 4531). A similar form of reckoning is attested for Old Babylonian Susa. One of the earliest Middle Babylonian texts found at Nippur (published in Sassmannshausen 1994) mentions land surveying undertaken with a surveyor's rope (*wašlam*) and measuring rod (GI.DIŠ.NINDA-kam); but unfortunately the resulting surface measurement is not preserved in the text.

¹⁷⁹ Examples ranging in integers from 5 to 12 are noted in CAD S 421b. The $10 \frac{2}{3}$ *qū sūtu* is found in the ledgers NBC 7972:1 and Gadotti and Sigrist 2011 no. 32:2. Other types of *sūtu* used include GIŠ.BÁN GAL, GIŠ.BÁN ŠE.BA, GIŠ.BÁN iškari, GIŠ.BÁN ginê, GIŠ.BÁN siparri, etc. On at least one occasion, three different standards of measurement are cited in one text (Ni. 1544 refers to both the 5 *qū* and 10 *qū sūtu*, as well as the GIŠ.BÁN GAL—but heavy damage to the text makes it difficult to determine the relationships between the measurements involved).

¹⁸⁰ There are three certain attestations of named years of Kassite kings, one from the time of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, one from Kurigalzu I, and the third from Kadašma[n-x] (restoration uncertain), MSKH 1:402.

¹⁸¹ Ni. 437 is dated in his fifteenth year (MSKH 1:pl. 7 no. 15). His twelfth year is mentioned in N 4531:6.

¹⁸² André-Salvini and Lombard 1997:167.

¹⁸³ I.e., those of Kara-indaš, Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, and Kurigalzu I.

¹⁸⁴ CUSAS 9:10–13. The Sealand I dynasty also had a presence in Bahrain, known from dated tablets scheduled to be published by Cavigneaux.

¹⁸⁵ Original publication: Alubaid 1983. Further discussion of this series may be found, e.g., in Gasche et al. 1998:84–87.