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c/o Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien
Spitalgasse 2, Hof 4
A-1090 Wien, Österreich

Eigentümer und Verleger: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, A-1090 Wien (Österreich).
Druck: Ferdinand Berger & Söhne Gesellschaft m.b.H., A-3580 Horn (Österreich).
ISSN 0066-6440

ARCHIV FÜR ORIENTFORSCHUNG

Internationale Zeitschrift
für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient

Begründet von Ernst Weidner, fortgeführt von H. Hirsch

Herausgegeben von

Hermann Hunger, Michael Jursa und Gebhard J. Selz

Redaktion: Michaela Weszeli

EINUNDFÜNFZIGSTER BAND

2005/2006

Selbstverlag des Instituts für Orientalistik der Universität Wien
Druck: F. Berger & Söhne G.m.b.H., Horn

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Der „Heilige Baum“

Von Ursula Seidl und Walther Sallaberger (München)

Ursula Seidl, Palma – Palmette – Palmettenbaum ..... S. 54-61
Walther Sallaberger, ^{gi}*urigallu* in Ritualen: Textevidenz zur Identifizierung des ‘Heiligen Baumes’ ..... S. 61-74

Palma – Palmette – Palmettenbaum

Von Ursula Seidl* (München)

ΣΩ. εἰ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον σφαλεὶς ὁ τιθέμενος τἆλλα ἤδη πρὸς τοῦτ' ἐβιάζετο καὶ αὐτῷ συμφωνεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, ὥσπερ τῶν διαγραμμάτων ἐνίοτε τοῦ πρώτου σμικροῦ καὶ ἀδήλου ψεύδους γενομένου, τὰ λοιπὰ πάμπολλα ἤδη ὄντα ἑπόμενα ὁμολογεῖν ἀλλήλοις.

Platon, Kratylos 436 c/d.

Der assyrische Palmettenbaum, der aus einem Pfosten mit bekrönender Palmette und einem Kranz von Palmetten, aber auch von Zapfen und Granatäpfeln besteht, ist seit seinem massenhaften Auftauchen im Nordwest-Palast Assurnaṣirpals II. in den Jahren 1846 und 1847 immer wieder behandelt worden (Abb. 1).[1] Das Motiv dieses „Baumes“ zwischen zwei Genien mit einem Eimer in der einen Hand und einem konischen Gegenstand in der anderen wird, seitdem Edward B. Tylor 1890 eine formale Ähnlichkeit des Konus mit dem männlichen Fruchtstand der Palme aufgefallen war,[2] am häufigsten als stilisierte Darstellung der künstlichen Befruchtung der Palme gedeutet.[3] Diese Deutung hat sich so fest in der Argumentation verankert, daß sie auch im Umkehrschluß verwendet wird: der Palmettenbaum stelle eine Palme dar, weil der Konus in der Hand der *apkallū* der männliche Samen der Dattelpalme sei.[4] Gelegentlich wird das Verhältnis „Baum“ – „Genien“ auch umgekehrt gesehen: Für C. J. Gadd geht vom Baum die magische Kraft aus, die der König entweder direkt durch Berühren, oder aber mittelbar durch Übertragung durch die „Genien“ empfange.[5]

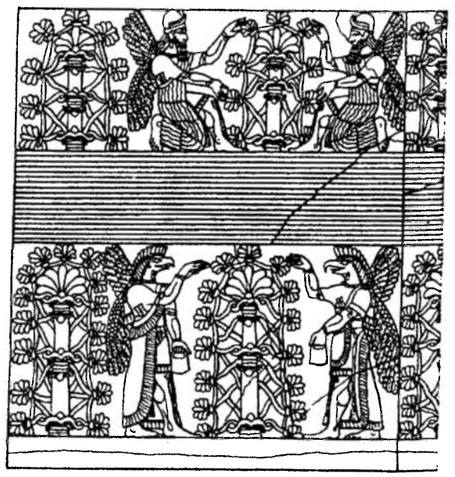

Abb. 1. Orthostatenrelief aus Raum I im Nordwest-Palast Nimrud: „Palmettenbäume“ und Genien (nach S. M. Paley – R. P. Sobolewski, *BaF* 10 [1987] Taf. 1).

Seit Dieter Kolbe 1981[6] und, wohl unabhängig davon, Barbara Parker Mallowan 1983[7] die dargestellten Genien überzeugend als *apkallū* identifizierten, konnte auch deren Werkzeug benannt werden: der Eimer *banduddû* und der „Konus“ *mullilu*, die beide bei rituellen Reinigungen verwendet werden, wobei *mullilu*, der Reiniger, nur die Funktion bezeichnet, aber keine Auskunft über Form und Material gibt.[8]

Die Reinigungsfunktion der Geräte in den Händen der *apkallū* wurde von U. Magen folgerichtig auch bei den Szenen auf den Orthostatenplatten im Palast Assurnaṣirpals II. anerkannt, allerdings nahm sie bewußt Abstand von einem eigenen Deutungsversuch des „Sakralbaums“.[9]

J. M. Russell brach dann das gewohnte Schema Genius – Baum – Genius auf, indem er darauf hinwies, daß diese meist vorausgesetzte Einheit eher der modernen Abbildungskonvention als dem antiken Bildprogramm entspringe, und daß beide Elemente sehr wohl unabhängig voneinander eigene Funktionen haben; so sei ein wichtiger Platz des „stylized tree“ bei Assurnaṣirpal II. wie auch bei Tiglatpilesar III. und Sargon II. in den Ecken von Räumen. Er zeigte, daß der „stylized tree“ ebenso wie die *apkallu*-Figuren an kritischen Stellen der Architektur, wie Eingängen, Lichtschächten und Raumecken als Apotropaia eingesetzt wurden.[10]

Die meisten Bearbeiter gehen davon aus, daß es sich bei dem „heiligen Baum“ um eine stilisierte Dattelpalme handle.[11] Was aber haben der assyrische Palmettenbaum und die Palme gemeinsam – außer dem gleichlautenden Wortstamm in fast allen modernen Sprachen, der von lat. *palma* = ‘flache Hand’ hergeleitet ist?[12] In der Beschreibung der Ornamentik wird die Bezeichnung Palmette noch lange unmittelbar auf *palma* = ‘flache Hand’ ohne den Umweg über den Baum *palma* zurückgeführt.[13] Wo immer Palme und Palmettenbaum gemeinsam dargestellt sind, wie z. B. auf dem sog. Stein Lord Aberdeens und den tönernen Prismen Asarhaddons[14] und auf Schmuckplättchen aus Nimrud,[15] sind zwei vollständig verschiedene Gebilde zu sehen. Die Palmenkrone ist an ihren Wedeln und Früchten leicht als solche zu erkennen. Die Palmette (Abb. 2) besteht aber aus kompakt fächerförmig über

Abb. 2. Wandmalerei im Nordwest-Palast Nimrud: Palmette mit schwarz-weiß bzw. blau-rot gesparrten Zungen (nach A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* I [1849] Taf. 86,3).

Voluten ausgelegten zungenförmigen Elementen, die mit Sparrenmuster verziert sind, das der natürlichen Gliederung der Palmwedel konträr ist: Die Winkel der Sparren öffnen sich nach innen. Bei farbiger Gestaltung sind die einzelnen Zungen entweder mit abwechselnd schwarzen und weißen bzw. blauen und roten Sparren gefüllt, benachbarte Zungen sind unterschiedlich gefärbt.

Schon 1893 hat Alois Riegl gezeigt, daß die Palmette der Zeit Assurnaṣirpals II. nichts mit der Palme gemein hat,[16] sondern auf die ägyptische Palmette zurückgeht, die ihrerseits ein Konstrukt aus verschiedenen Ansichten der Lotusblüte sei.[17] Gleichzeitig beklagte er, daß der Weg der Übernahme nicht nachvollzogen werden könne, weil die zu seiner Zeit bekannten Darstellungen von Palmettpflanzen aus dem syrisch-phönizischen Gebiet jünger als die mesopotamischen waren. Diese Lücke konnte B. Hrouda 1964 mit Hilfe des inzwischen aufgetauchten Materials schließen.[18] Er

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*) Für Hilfe und Diskussion danke ich vielmals Hanna Philipp und Walther Sallaberger.

[1]) Ausführliche Darlegung: Mariana Giovino, *The Assyrian Sacred Tree: A History of Interpretations*, demnächst in der Reihe OBO.

[2]) E. B. Tylor, „The Winged Figures of the Assyrian and Other Ancient Monuments“, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 12, 1890, 383-393; Taf. I-IV.

[3]) Jüngste Darlegungen: W. G. Lambert, „The Background of the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Tree“, in: S. Parpola – R. M. Whiting, *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East* (= CRRAI XLVII, 2002) 321-326; B. N. Porter, *Trees, Kings, and Politics* (2003; s. in diesem Band S. 365-367).

[4]) F. von Luschan, *Entstehung und Herkunft der Jonischen Säule* (1912) 24-29, gegen O. Puchstein, *Die ionische Säule* (1907).

[5]) C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* (1948) 91f.

[6]) D. Kolbe, *Die Reliefprogramme religiös-mythologischen Charakters in neuassyrischen Palästen. Die Figurentypen, ihre Benennung und Bedeutung* (1981) 14-30.

[7]) B. Parker Mallowan, „Magic and Ritual in the Northwest Palace Reliefs“, in: P. O. Harper – H. Pittman (ed.), *Essays on Near Eastern Art and Archaeology in Honor of Charles Kyrle Wilkinson* (1983) 33-39; weiter ausgeführt von F. A. M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits*, CM 1 (1992) 73-77 und *passim*.

[8]) CAD *s. v.*; E. Bleibtreu, *Die Flora der neuassyrischen Reliefs* (1980) 61-65, deutet den Konus als Koniferenzapfen; A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains* II (1849) 470: „cone of the pine“; weiter ausgeführt bei Wiggermann (Anm. 7) 67.

[9]) U. Magen, *Assyrische Königsdarstellungen – Aspekte der Herrschaft. Eine Typologie* (= *BaF* 9, 1986) 73-81.

[10]) J. M. Russell, „The Program of the Palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud: Issues in the Research and Presentation of Assyrian Art“, AJA 102, 1998, 655-715, „Stylized Tree“: S. 687-697; ähnlich auch die Beschreibung bei Layard (Anm. 8) 5: „a series of winged figures, separated by the sacred tree“.

[11]) So auch Russell (Anm. 10) 687. 692 und *passim*; U. Magen (Anm. 9) enthält sich einer Zuweisung.

[12]) F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* ([18]1960; 1. Aufl. 1883) 528: „Palme ... nach lat. *palma* ‘flache Hand’ benannt, ... Lat. *palma* steht einige dutzendmal in der Bibel und gelangte durch sie in die Sprachen der Welt.“

[13]) F. S. Meyer, *Handbuch der Ornamentik* ([12]1927; 1. Aufl. 1888) 161: „Wie die Finger einer Hand (palma, die flache Hand) sich ausbreiten, reiht sich eine gewöhnlich ungerade Zahl von schmalen, ganzrandigen Blättern zu einer symmetrischen Figur“.

[14]) I. L. Finkel – J. E. Reade, ZA 86, 1996, 244-268, Abb. 2. 19. 21; M. Roaf – A. Zgoll, ZA 91, 2001, 264-295, Abb. 1. 2.

[15]) J. und D. Oates, *Nimrud* (2001) Umschlag.

[16]) A. Riegl, *Stilfragen. Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (1893) 48-111: Altorientalisches (Egyptisches, Mesopotamisches, Phönikisches und Persisches); S. 91: „Vollständig verfehlt wäre es aber, an die Palme als das natürliche Vorbild der assyrischen Palmette zu denken“; ähnlich auch schon A. Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff* I (1886) 10.

[17]) Hierbei ist zu beachten, daß Riegl Lotus und Papyrus in der ägyptischen Ornamentik in eins zusammenzieht.

[18]) B. Hrouda, „Zur Herkunft des assyrischen Lebensbaumes“, *BaM* 3, 1964, 41-51; ohne Bezug auf Riegl, sich auf O.

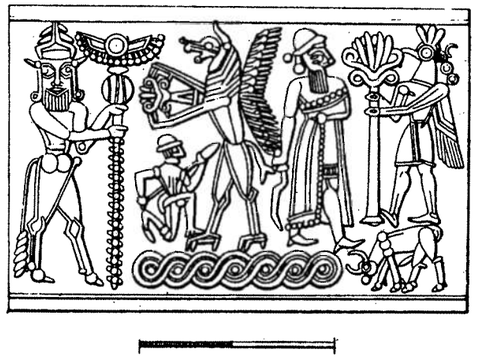

Abb. 3. Mitanni-zeitliches Siegelbild: „Palmettenbaum" und Vogelkopf-*apkallu* (nach F. Lajard, [Anm. 43] Taf. 57,5).

zeigt, daß der Palmetten-Volutenbaum in der Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends durch die Vermittlung der Mitanni-zeitlichen Kunst von Syrien nach Assyrien gelangte. Als älteste Darstellungen in Syrien verwies er auf zwei altsyrische Siegel, von denen eines in Schicht VII von Alalakh gefunden wurde,[19] das andere, aus einem Grab in Ugarit, dem klassisch-syrischen Stil zugerechnet wird.[20]

Soviel ich sehe, sind Hroudas Darlegungen fast unbemerkt geblieben; nur B. Parker Mallowan konterte mit dem Hinweis auf Architekturschmuck des zweiten Jahrtausends in Form von Palmen, die als Vorläufer der Palmette zu gelten hätten.[21] Doch besonders ihr Hinweis auf die als Palmstämme stilisierten Halbsäulen am altassyrischen Tempel in Tell Rimaḫ legt den Finger auf den Wesensunterschied zwischen Palme und Palmettenbaum; denn dieser, so häufig in assyrischen Palästen anzutreffen, begegnet in keinem altorientalischen Tempel (s. auch unten Sallaberger S. 74), im Unterschied zur Palme. In Tell Rimaḫ sind außer dem angesprochenen Fassadenschmuck am Tempel zwei Palmen in Kombination mit einer fürbittenden Göttin auf einem Steinblock dargestellt, der nach T. Howard-Carter am Tempeleingang sowohl der alt- wie auch der mittelassyrischen Phase angebracht war.[22] Aus mittelelamischer Zeit stammt der Reliefschmuck des Inšušinak-Tempels in Susa, der Palmbäume zusammen mit Stiermenschen und fürbittenden Göttinnen zeigt.[23] Diese Kombinationen verdeutlichen darüber hinaus den Wesensunterschied zwischen der Palme mit *kusarikku* und ^{d}LAMA und dem Palmettenbaum mit *apkallū*. Im ersten Jahrtausend sind Pfosten mit dem typischen Schuppenmuster von Palmstämmen sowohl in Babylonien: auf der sog. Sonnentafel aus Sippar,[24] als auch in Assyrien: am Eingang zum Sin-Tempel in Khorsabad belegt.[25] Textlich überliefert ist die Wichtigkeit von Palmen für Tempel durch die Benennung eines Jahres des Gungunum nach der Stiftung zweier kupferner Palmen in dem Utu-Tempel von Larsa[26] und die Ausschmückung des Salomonischen Tempels mit Palmdarstellungen.[27] Die Palme führte durch alle Zeiten ein eigenes Leben[28] und hat sich keineswegs im ersten Jahrtausend in Kompositbäume verwandelt.

„Palmett(en)baum", „Heiliger Baum", „Sakralbaum", „Weltenbaum", „Lebensbaum", „Symbolic Tree", „Stylized Tree", „Kompositbaum": Genau wie „Palmette" führt auch „Baum" als Bezeichnung für das künstliche Gebilde in der Kunst des zweiten und ersten Jahrtausends in die Irre. Die assyrischen Künstler gaben sich alle Mühe zu zeigen, daß das mittlere Element des Gebildes kein Baumstamm, sondern ein mit Bindungen und Klammern zusammengehaltener Pfosten ist.[29] Schon die ältesten Darstellungen eines „Palmettbaums" in der klassisch-syrischen Glyptik zeigen einen mit Ringen umwundenen Pfahl (Abb. 4).[30]

Puchstein (*Die ionische Säule* [1907] 13-17) berufend, sieht B. Hrouda den Papyrus als Ausgangspflanze.

[19]) Hrouda, *BaM* 3, 1964, 48f. Taf. 7,4; endgültig publiziert und ausführlich kommentiert: D. Collon, *The Alalakh Cylinder Seals* (= BAR 123, 1982) 66f. Nr. 36 (Nr. 37 ähnlich).

[20]) P. Amiet, *Corpus des cylindres de Ras Shamra-Ougarit* II (1992) Nr. 41; A. Otto, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik* (1999) Nr. 356.

[21]) Parker Mallowan (Anm. 7) 38; außerdem läßt sie die künstlichen Palmen, die Tiglatpileser in seinem Palast-Baubericht auf den Türmen aufstellen ließ, als Inspiration für den Palmettenkranz der „heiligen Bäume" der Wandmalereien in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta dienen.

[22]) T. Howard-Carter, *Iraq* 45, 1983, 64-72.

[23]) P. O. Harper, in: P. O. Harper u. a., *The Royal City of Susa* (1992) 141-144 Nr. 88.

[24]) *BBSt.* Nr. 36; U. Seidl, ZA 91, 2001, 120-132.

[25]) E. Fontan (ed.), *De Khorsabad à Paris* (1994) 56 Abb. 10; 205 Abb. 9.

[26]) K. Volk, *RlA* X (2004) 290 *s. v.* Palme § 7.

[27]) I Könige 6, 29f. 32-35; als späte Nachfahren von Tempelpalmen mag man die als Palmen stilisierten Säulen der Nicolaikirche in Leipzig ansehen.

[28]) Das gilt auch für die Palme der Ištar: die Palme ist auf akkadischen Siegeln (R. M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* [1965] Abb. 383) und auf dem Wandgemälde in Hof 106 in Mari (*Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* XIV [1975] Taf. 187) genauso naturalistisch dargestellt wie auf neuassyrischen Siegeln (D. Collon, *Catalogue of Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Cylinder Seals* V [2001] Nr. 240).

[29]) Riegl (Anm. 16) 99f.: „Was uns aber als vermutlicher heiliger Baum der Assyrer entgegentritt, verdient gar nicht die Bezeichnung eines Baumes. Es ist dies vielmehr ein möbelartig zusammengesetztes Gebilde, bestehend aus zwei viereckigen Schäften, die so wie an den assyrischen Möbeln mittels Hülsen untereinander verbunden sind."

[30]) Otto (Anm. 20) Nr. 353. 354.

Abb. 4. Altsyrisches Siegelbild: Fächerpfosten und Flügelsonne (Photo D. Collon, von A. Otto zur Verfügung gestellt).

Der Fächer-Volutenpfosten (so, um möglichst bei der reinen Beschreibung zu bleiben) ist zur Hauptsache in drei Zusammenhängen dargestellt: gemeinsam mit Tieren, mit Genien und mit der Flügelsonne.

Tiere beim Fächer-Volutenpfosten sind seit altsyrischer Zeit belegt,[31] treten besonders häufig in der Glyptik der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten[32] und gelegentlich in der ersten Hälfte des ersten Jahrtausends[33] auf. Die Bedeutung des „Palmettenbaums" für die Tiere scheint mir ein mittelassyrisches Rollsiegelbild zu verdeutlichen, auf dem im Zentrum ein „Palmettenbaum" aufgerichtet ist, auf dem eine Ziege steht, die von einem Anzu und einem anderen Felidenmischwesen bedroht wird, aber anscheinend durch ihren Platz geschützt ist (Abb. 5).[34]

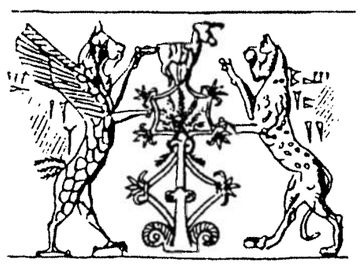

Abb. 5. Mittelassyrisches Siegelbild: Ziege auf „Palmettenbaum" (nach Matthews [Anm. 32] Abb. 414).

Es gibt unterschiedliche Arten von Genien, die optisch mit dem Fächer-Volutenpfosten verbunden sind. Im ersten Jahrtausend sind am häufigsten die *apkallū* mit Konus und Eimer dargestellt,[35] die, wie Russell gezeigt hat, nicht in Beziehung zu dem „Baum" stehen, sondern hinzu addiert sind, um ähnlich zu funktionieren. Entsprechendes dürfen wir wohl bei den Genien mit grüßend erhobener Hand[36] und denen mit einem *mašḫulduppu* im Arm[37] annehmen. Eine weitere Art scheint den „Baum" zu streicheln. Im NW-Palast sind das die knienden Genien im oberen Fries von Raum I,[38] die mit ihren Fingern die äußeren Palmetten berühren (Abb. 1); sie unterscheiden sich von den *apkallū* durch ihr Obergewand aus Falbelstoff, das in Nimrud außerdem von drei grüßenden Genien, einem „Herrn der Tiere", einem Genius mit *mašḫulduppu* und dem kämpfenden Ninurta-Genius getragen wird.[39] Wichtiger für die Charakterisierung dieser neben einem „Baum" knienden Genien ist aber vielleicht, daß es sich bei dem Gewandstoff um dieselbe Textur wie bei „Flügeln" und „Schwanz" der Flügelsonne des

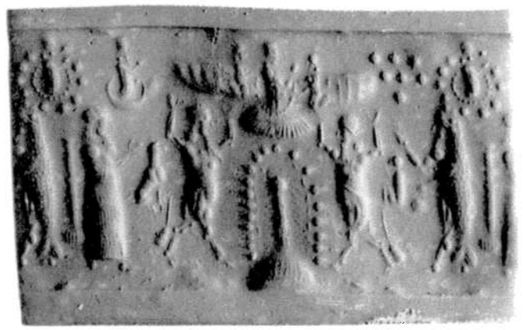

Abb. 6. Neuassyrisches Siegelbild: „Palmettenbaum" und Gottheiten in der Flügelsonne (nach J. G. Volk, *Habib Anavian Collection* [1979] Nr. 226).

[31]) Collon (Anm. 19) Nr. 36. 37 (Alalakh VII).

[32]) Z. B. D. Stein, *The Seal Impressions* (= *Archiv des Šilwa-teššup* 8, 1993) Nr. 55. 164. 175. 194. 232. 234. 243. 405. 416. 438. 564. 635. 710. 782; D. M. Matthews, *Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Late Second Millennium B. C.* (= OBO SA 8, 1990) Nr. 211-218. 328. 329. 335. 452. 455. 456. 475.

[33]) Z. B. Collon (Anm. 28) Nr. 184. 188. 190. 191; Ziegelgemälde in Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud (*Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* XIV [1975] Taf. XIX).

[34]) Matthews (Anm. 32) Nr. 414; in schlichterer Form Nr. 416; der Palmettenkranz, der einen Flügelstier umgibt, könnte dasselbe ausdrücken (*ibid.* Nr. 411).

[35]) Auf Reliefplatten im NW-Palast von Nimrud und auf Siegeln: E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* I (= CANES I, 1948) Nr. 770; O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* (= AO 17/18, 1920) Nr. 476.

[36]) NW-Palast Raum I-16; Raum L-20 (ohne Baum): A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* I (1849) Taf. 7; J. Meuszyński, *Die Rekonstruktion der Reliefdarstellungen und ihrer Anordnung im NW-Palast von Kalḫu* (*Nimrud*) I (= *BaF* 2, 1981) Taf. 15.

[37]) Collon (Anm. 28) Nr. 180.

[38]) S. M. Paley – R. P. Sobolewski, *The Reconstruction of the Relief Representations and Their Positions in the Northwest-Palace at Kalḫu* (*Nimrud*) II (= *BaF* 10, 1987) Taf. 1. 2.

[39]) J. Meuszyński, *Iraq* 38, 1976, 43; außerdem bei einigen Göttern auf Siegeln: z. B. CANES I, Nr. 689-693. 695. 697; Collon (Anm. 28) Nr. 232. 233. 285. 290-292.

neunten Jahrhunderts handelt. Wir dürfen in ihnen wohl die gleichen Wesen erkennen, die auf einigen Siegeln neben dem „Kompositbaum" mit Flügelsonne knien.[40] Möglicherweise handelt es sich um dasselbe Paar, das gelegentlich die anthropomorphe Götterprotome in den Flügeln der Flügelsonne begleitet (Abb. 6). Vorläufer sind wahrscheinlich die beiden Knienden, die auf einem mittelassyrischen Siegel den Rock des Sonnengottes pflegen (Abb. 7).[41]

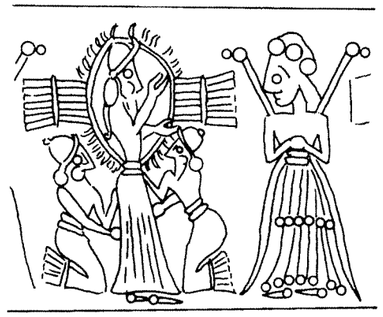

Abb. 7. Mittelassyrisches Siegelbild: Gott im Flügelring und zwei Adjutanten (Zeichnung von Verf., nach Amiet [Anm. 41] Nr. 413).

Ein ähnlich enges Verhältnis zum Fächer-Volutenpfosten scheinen im zweiten Jahrtausend Vogelkopfgenien gehabt zu haben. In der Wandmalerei von Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta streicht ein solcher Genius an die äußeren Palmetten,[42] auf einem Siegel der Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends faßt er den Pfosten mit beiden Händen (Abb. 3);[43] in denselben Themenkreis mag auch ein Siegel in New York gehören, auf dem das Wesen mit beiden Händen einen Zapfen ergriffen hat.[44] Da diese Greifenmenschen innerhalb der mittelassyrischen Glyptik häufig die Sonne stützen,[45] gehören wohl auch sie zum Umkreis von Šamaš.

Eine wichtige Funktion des Fächer-Volutenpfostens scheint das Erscheinen der Flügelsonne darüber zu sein.[46] Dieses Motiv ist seit altsyrischer Zeit in der Glyptik belegt (Abb. 4),[47] begegnet auf mitannizeitlichen[48] und mittelassyrischen[49] Siegeln und ist besonders häufig auf neuassyrischen Denkmälern dargestellt (Abb. 6. 8).[50] Hier nun treten Menschen hinzu, die ihre

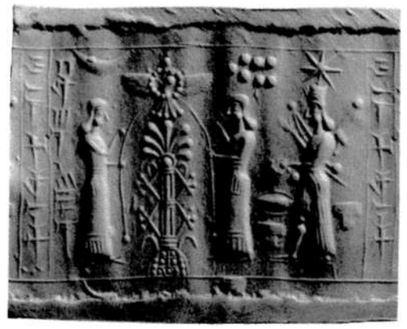

Abb. 8. Neuassyrisches Siegelbild: „Palmettenbaum" und Gottheit in der Flügelsonne (Bibel + Orient Museum, Fribourg; Photo B. Grunewald).

Hände betend zur Flügelsonne erheben, nicht der „heilige Baum" ist das Ziel der Adoration, wie durch moderne Beschreibungen häufig suggeriert wird,[51] sondern die Gottheit, die durch die Flügelsonne symbolisiert wird. Durch die Flügelsonne werden darüber hinaus *kusarikkū*, die Assistenten des Šamaš, ins Bild gebracht, während der bloße „Palmettenbaum" nur mit unterschiedlichen *apkallū* vergesellschaftet ist.

[40]) CANES I, Nr. 641. 727-731; A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (1940) Nr. 632. 676; H. Keel-Leu – B. Teissier, *Die vorderasiatischen Rollsiegel der Sammlung «Bibel+Orient» der Universität Freiburg Schweiz* (2004) Nr. 217; bei einigen ist der Rock durch waagerecht abstehende Linien charakterisiert.

[41]) P. Amiet, *Bas-reliefs imaginaires de l'Ancien Orient* (1973) Nr. 413.

[42]) W. Andrae, *Die farbige Keramik aus Assur* (1923) Taf. 3.

[43]) F. Lajard, *Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra* (1867) Taf. 57, 5 (= Weber, Anm. 35, Nr. 255). Ein zweiter, kleinerer Palmetten-Volutenbaum wird von einem aufgerichteten Löwenmischwesen getragen, der von einem kleinen Knienden erstochen wird; hier könnte die Gefährdung des Fächer-Volutenpfostens visualisiert sein.

[44]) CANES I, Nr. 609; ähnlich Matthews (Anm. 32) Nr. 488.

[45]) Matthews (Anm. 32) Nr. 454. 458. 460. 461. 463.

[46]) Gelegentlich befinden sich andere Himmelskörper an der Stelle: Mond (Collon [Anm. 28] Nr. 361; Weber [Anm. 35] Nr. 336), Stern (Keel-Leu – Teissier [Anm. 40] Nr. 229).

[47]) Otto (Anm. 20) Nr. 205. 293. 353. 354; Weber (Anm. 35) Nr. 256.

[48]) Matthews (Anm. 32) Nr. 483. 485. 602; Stein (Anm. 32) Nr. 5. 14. 130. 134. 164. 403. 404. 541. 776 (außerdem in der Nuzi-Glyptik häufig über einem einfachen Pfosten).

[49]) T. Beran, ZA 52, 1957, 141-215, Abb. 2. 3. 84.

[50]) Z. B. auf Siegeln: CANES I, Nr. 640-649. 771-773; Collon (Anm. 28) 79-117; Nr. 151-176. 184. 210. 211. 271-275. 362; Reliefs im Thronsaal Assurnaṣirpals II.: Layard (Anm. 36) Taf. 25; Zeichnungen auf Gewändern: *ibid.* Taf. 6. 39 A; R. D. Barnett – A. Lorenzini, *Assyrische Skulpturen im British Museum* (1975) Taf. 105. 106. 116. 118. 127.

[51]) Z. B. „Tree Scene" (B. N. Porter in dem S. 365-367 besprochenen Buch S. 7 Abb. 2 Taf. 33); „King and 'sacred tree'" (I. Winter, in: P. O. Harper – H. Pittman [ed.], *Essays on Near Eastern Art and Archaeology in Honor of Charles Kyrle Wilkinson* [1983] 18 Abb. 3); „König mit Lebensbaum" (W. Orthmann, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* XIV [1975] Taf. 198); „Stylized tree and kings" (M. Roaf – A. Zgoll, ZA 91, 2002, 274 Abb. 7). Es ist nach „Palme" und „Baum" der dritte verbale Fehlgriff, der das Verständnis des Palmetten-Volutenpfostens erschwert hat.

Es fragt sich nun, ob dieser Nicht-Baum, der nicht im Zentrum kultischer Handlungen steht, in der Literatur zu finden ist. Den wesentlichen Hinweis dazu haben m. E. I. L. Finkel und J. E. Reade innerhalb ihrer Bearbeitung assyrischer Hieroglyphen gegeben, der „sacred tree" sei ein *urigallu*.[52] Unabhängig von der Gültigkeit oder Ungültigkeit ihrer Lesung der Hieroglyphen führt diese Benennung endlich von dem Holzweg herunter, auf dem man den Namen immer unter den mit GIŠ determinierten Wörtern gesucht hat; denn das in der Magie verwendete *urigallu* wird, wie B. Pongratz-Leisten gezeigt hat, mit dem Zeichen GI = „Schilf" determiniert.[53]

In frühgeschichtlicher Zeit gehörten die großen Schilfmasten, wie Schilfringbündel, Bügelschaft und Ringträger, zu den urin(URI_3).[54] In dieser Tradition mögen die im zweiten und ersten Jahrtausend in der Magie verwendeten Standarten ^{GI}*urigallū* stehen, die mit dem Zeichen für „Schilf" determiniert sind.[55]

W. Sallaberger hat es dankenswerterweise übernommen, den Begriff ^{GI}*urigallu* in der Keilschriftliteratur zu untersuchen, s. u. S. 61-74. Zum Aussehen der ^{GI}*urigallū* ergibt seine Textauswertung durchaus Hinweise auf den „Kompositbaum": ein gebündelter Stamm mit Verknotung von Geflecht; darüber hinaus finden sich Hinweise auf die farbliche Ausgestaltung (Sallaberger, S. 71-72). Zur Funktion ergibt die Untersuchung, daß es die wichtigste Aufgabe der ^{GI}*urigallū* ist, einen rituellen Raum (nicht nur eine Fläche) abzugrenzen, das Böse abzuwehren und das Gute hereinzulassen. Urigallus werden sowohl bei offiziellen als auch bei privaten Ritualen verwendet, aber entsprechend ihrer Funktion nicht im Tempel. Wie verhält sich die Verwendung der Urigallus zu der des „Palmettenbaums"?

Spätestens seit der Mitanni-Zeit gibt es die Sitte, Palastwände innen mit „Palmetten" zu überziehen, wie die Wandmalereien in Nuzi belegen.[56] In Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta sind es dann kunstvolle „Palmettenbäume", die von Vogel-*apkallū* begleitet sein können.[57] Die bekanntesten „Palmettenbäume" befinden sich auf Wand-Orthostaten neuassyrischer Paläste. Ihre wichtigsten Standplätze sind von Assurnaṣirpal II. bis Sargon II. die Raumecken,[58] die durch das Böse gefährdet sind und des besonderen Schutzes bedürfen, während die noch gefährlicheren Eingänge innen durch Apkallus magisch gesichert sind.

Im NW-Palast in Nimrud sind die Wände einiger Räume mit den Fächer-Volutenpfosten, die sich mit *apkallu*-Figuren abwechseln, ganz überzogen.

Einen besonderen, in sich geschlossenen Komplex bildet der Ostflügel (Räume G bis O), der über Raum F vom Thronraum her zugänglich ist.[59] Die beiden ersten Räume, vom Typ einer Thronraumfolge (G+N und H) sind mit Darstellungen des Königs mit Apkallus und Höflingen geschmückt. Das Bildprogramm von H+N führt M. A. Brandes zur Deutung dieses Raumes als „salle de lustration".[60] Die sieben dahinter liegenden Räume (I bis M, O, R) sind mit Steinplatten bzw. Ziegeln gepflastert und teilweise mit Abflußvorrichtungen versehen, dienten also wohl tatsächlich Reinigungsriten. Die Wände der beiden äußeren, L-förmigen Räume (I und L), die ohne Zugänge von außen sind und den Komplex nach außen klammerförmig abschließen, sind dicht mit Fächer-Volutenpfosten und *apkallū* überzogen. Dieser Ostflügel ist ein in sich geschlossener Palastteil, der anscheinend ganz der rituellen Reinigung des Königs diente.[61]

Auch nach dem Untergang des assyrischen Reiches war es anscheinend noch gebräuchlich, die Innenwände mit Fächer-Volutenpfosten zu überziehen. Die bekannte Ziegelmalerei Nebukadnesars II. in Babylon an der

[52]) I. L. Finkel – J. E. Reade, „Assyrian Hieroglyphs", ZA 86, 1996, 244-268; hier: 259 auf Grund der gleichen Zeichenform für ŠEŠ und URI_1. M. Roaf – A. Zgoll, ZA 91, 2001, 274 Anm. 30 lehnen diese Benennung ab, schon wegen ihrer eigenen abweichenden Deutung der „Astroglyph stylized tree" als Gott Assur.

[53]) Zusammengestellt und diskutiert: B. Pongratz-Leisten, „Mesopotamische Standarten in literarischen Zeugnissen", *BaM* 23, 1992, 299-340; A 2. uri(gal) (S. 306-308); B 2. *urigallu*, *urinnu* und *itḫuru* (S. 318-330) und Wiggermann (Anm. 7) 70-73.

[54]) P. Steinkeller, „Inanna's Archaic Symbol", in: J. Braun u. a. (ed.), *Written on Clay and Stone* (= *Festschrift K. Szarzynska*, 1998) 87-100.

[55]) Pongratz-Leisten (Anm. 53) 323-330, arbeitet den Unterschied zwischen ^{GI}*urigallu*, ^{d}*urigallu* und *urigallu* ohne Determinativ heraus, wobei Letzteres für die Götterstandarten in den Kriegsberichten steht (S. 330-339 zu $^{d}URI_3$.GAL = Nergal).

[56]) R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* (1939) 57f. Taf. 128 H. 129 D.

[57]) W. Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur* (1923) 7-10 Taf. 1-4; aus Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta stammt auch eine Siegelabrollung mit einer unendlichen Reihe von Volutenpfosten: C. Fischer, MDOG 131, 1999, 144 Abb. 31. 32.

[58]) Russell (Anm. 10) 689f. In abgekürzter Form scheinen die Pfosten des königlichen Baldachins bei den Feldzügen dieselbe Funktion zu haben, Layard (Anm. 36) Taf. 30 (Assurnaṣirpal II.): Pfosten mit dem typischen Sparrenmuster und, oben angebunden, die gerippten gebogenen Elemente; L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gate of Shalmaneser* (1915) Taf. 35; R. D. Barnett, *Assyrische Palastreliefs* (Prag o. J.) Taf. 154f.: an den Pfosten sind die gebogenen Elemente, wie im Palast, unten, oben und in der Mitte angebunden; das Dach ist – auch bei zahlreichen summarischen Wiedergaben – mit herabhängenden Granatäpfeln versehen.

[59]) Russell (Anm. 10) 671-697.

[60]) M. A. Brandes, „La salle dite „G" du palais d'Assurnasirpal II à Kalakh, lieu de céremonie rituelle", in: CRRAI XVII, 1969 [1970] 147-154.

[61]) Könnte es nicht sein, daß der König sich in seinem Palast Räume errichtete, in denen jederzeit gerade notwendig gewordene *bīt rimki* Ritualteile vollzogen werden konnten, ohne daß er sich vorher einer gefährlichen Reise in unbewohntes Land unterziehen mußte?

Thronraumfassade,[62] d. h. an der Südmauer von Hof H der Südburg, könnte möglicherweise alle Hofwände geschmückt haben, denn die in kleinen Fragmenten im Hof gefundenen Dekorationen wurden von den Ausgräbern wohl nur deswegen allein auf die Südmauer konzentriert, weil diese bei Koldewey wegen des dahinter gewölbt rekonstruierten Saales alle anderen überragte, was aber mit der jetzt angenommenen Flachdekke des Thronsaals nicht mehr der Fall ist.

„Palmettenbäume" schützen den Menschen nicht nur in einem weiten Umkreis, wie er durch die Wände eines Raumes begrenzt wird, sondern auch in einem engeren, wie ihn Möbel darstellen. Die in syrischem Stil gearbeiteten Stühle aus dem Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud sind an ihrer Rückenlehne fast alle mit Apkallus verziert,[63] die Palmetten- und Lotusgeschlinge halten, einige davon sind von „Palmettenbäumen" gerahmt[64] und eine Lehne ist ausschließlich mit drei „Palmettenbäumen" geschmückt.[65] Dies Bildprogramm erinnert an die Rituale 3 und 4 bei W. Sallaberger (S. 66-71). Die Dekoration von Möbeln mit „Palmettenbäumen" scheint in Syrien eine Tradition seit dem zweiten Jahrtausend gehabt zu haben, worauf die Elfenbeinplatten aus Ugarit verweisen, die zu einem Rechteck von ungefähr 1 m Länge zusammengefügt sind.[66] Diese Tafel, die ursprünglich wohl am Fußende eines Bettes ägyptischen Typs angebracht war, war beidseitig an beiden Enden mit „Palmettbäumen" geschmückt.

Ein rein assyrisches Möbelstück mit „Palmettenbäumen" kennen wir von einer Darstellung aus Khorsabad;[67] leider ist die Art des Möbels nicht eindeutig ersichtlich.

Noch enger umfangen „Palmettenbäume" den Menschen, wenn sie auf dessen Kleidung dargestellt sind. Die frühesten Belege dazu sind wohl Könige der II. Dynastie von Isin auf drei Kudurrus.[68] Innerhalb der Ritualszenen im NW-Palast tragen König und Höflinge häufig Gewänder, die mit dem „Palmettenbaum" in unterschiedlichen Zusammenstellungen verziert sind.[69]

In all den geschilderten Zusammenhängen begegnet der „Palmettenbaum" massiert, doch gibt es ein Motiv, in dem er einzeln dargestellt ist: der „Palmettenbaum", über dem die Flügelsonne schwebt, die von Menschen adoriert wird (s. oben S. 58). Dieses Motiv, mit dem verdoppelten König als Beter, ist im Thronsaal des NW-Palastes zweimal, an prominenten Stellen, dargestellt[70] und schmückt die königliche Brust von Assurnaṣirpal II.[71] und Assurbanipal[72]. Auf dieses Motiv scheint es in den Ritualen keinen direkten Hinweis zu geben. Der Grund dafür könnte sein, daß nicht die Adoration vor einem konkreten Gegenstand dargestellt ist, der aus „Palmettenbaum" mit darauf montierter Flügelsonne besteht, wie die Sonnenstandarten im zweiten Jahrtausend (vgl. Abb. 3), die E. Porada behandelt hat, und von denen sie die Flügelsonne absetzt, die über dem „heiligen Baum" schwebt.[73] Es erscheint eher so, als sei mit der Flügelsonne über dem „Palmettenbaum" (Abb. 6. 8; Anm. 50) das Erscheinen des Sonnengottes visualisiert. Da sich die Mesopotamier bei zahlreichen, unterschiedlichen religiösen Handlungen mit Gebeten an Šamaš, den Gott der Entscheidung, zur Zeit des Sonnenaufgangs wandten,[74] könnte man erwägen, ob das Motiv „Beter bei der über dem 'Palmettenbaum' schwebenden Flügelsonne" nicht ein solches Gebet darstellt. Das würde bedeuten, daß die Visualisierung der Šamaš-Gebete eines der wichtigen Themen in der neuassyrischen Glyptik bildet und daß im Thronsaal von Nimrud Assurnaṣirpal II. zweimal ein solches Gebet sprechend dargestellt ist.

Der Fächer-Volutenpfosten ist ein ursprünglich kunstvoll aus Schilf geknüpftes Kultmittel, das rituell eingesetzt wird. Er gewährt Mensch und Tier magischen Schutz und bietet dem Sonnengott einen Erscheinungsplatz.

Die Weichen zu den üblichen Deutungen des Fächer-Volutenpfostens – „Palmettenbaum", „Heiliger Baum" usw. – wurden gestellt, als mit der Benennung

[62]) W. Andrae, „Die glasierten Ziegel von der Südburg des Kasr", MDOG 13, 1902, 1-12; W. Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon* (1925[4]) 103-107 Abb. 64. 65; ders., MDOG 69, 1931, 9; E. Heinrich – U. Seidl, MDOG 99, 1968, 35-39, Klapptafel; B. Hrouda, „Zur Thronraumfassade der Südburg in Babylon", in: *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 22 (1986) 119-127 Fig. 3; E. Strommenger, in: *Wiedererstehendes Babylon, Eine antike Weltstadt im Blick der Forschung* (Ausstellung Berlin 1991) 49-64; K. Karstens, „Überlegungen zur Rekonstruktion der Fassade am Thronsaal Nebukadnezars II. in Babylon", MDOG 127, 1995, 57-81, Faltplan.

[63]) M. Mallowan – G. Herrmann, *Furniture from SW.7 Fort Shalmaneser* (= *Ivories from Nimrud* III, 1974); G. Herrmann, in: G. Herrmann (ed.), *The Furniture of Western Asia: Ancient and Traditional* (1996) 153-164 Taf. 36-39.

[64]) Mallowan – Herrmann (Anm. 63) Nr. 2. 21. 22.

[65]) Mallowan – Herrmann (Anm. 63) Nr. 95.

[66]) C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Syria* 31, 1954, 51-59; A. Caubet – M. Yon, in: G. Herrmann (ed.), *The Furniture of Western Asia: Ancient and Traditional* (1996) 70f. Abb. 3.

[67]) J. Curtis, in: Herrmann (Anm. 66) 167-180 Taf. 50 b (Tisch?, Bett?).

[68]) *BBSt* Nr. VII Taf. LIV. Nr. IX Taf. LXXIV (zur Datierung: Seidl, BKR 95f.); W. G. Lambert, *Syria* 58, 1981, 173-185 Abb. 5.

[69]) Layard (Anm. 36) Taf. 5. 6. 8. 9. 34. 44,2; 45,3; 47,4; 50,6; J. Vorys Canby, *Iraq* 23, 1971, 31-35 Taf. XVIII b.

[70]) Meuszyński (Anm. 36) Taf. 1. 2.

[71]) Layard (Anm. 36) Taf. 6; Vorys Canby s. Anm. 69.

[72]) R. D. Barnett – A. Lorenzini, *Assyrische Skulpturen im British Museum* (1975) Taf. 105. 127. 128; außerdem auf Brust und Ärmeln seiner Wagenbesatzung: Taf. 106. 118.

[73]) E. Porada, „Standards and Stools on Sealings of Nuzi and Other Examples of Mitannian Glyptic Art", in: *Le temple et le culte* (= CRRAI XX, 1975) 164-172.

[74]) S. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung* (*BaF* 18, 1994) 60 und *passim*; M. Krebernik, ZA 91, 2001, 238-252.

des Fächers über Voluten als Palmette die Palme assoziiert wurde, statt des beiden Worten gemeinsam zu Grunde liegenden *palma* („flache Hand"), und das Gebilde damit in die Bedeutungssphäre des Baumes geriet.[75] Der Komplex „Palmette – Palme – Heiliger Baum" ist eine gute Illustrierung für Platons Beobachtung (s. o.), wie aus einem kleinen, versteckten Fehlgriff ein vielfältiges, in sich schlüssiges – aber falsches – System erstehen kann.

Leider konnte ich den Artikel von Mariana Giovino, „Assyrian Trees as Cult Objects", in P. Taylor (ed.), *The Iconography of Cylinder Seals* (= *Warburg Institute Colloquia* 9, 2006) 110-125 Fig. 198-224, nicht mehr berücksichtigen. Die Autorin kommt darin zu dem Ergebnis, in dem „Assyrian tree a piece of cult furniture, something that could be set up, and, when necessary, taken down and stored" zu sehen. Diese Deutung läßt sich gut mit unserer Benennung des „Heiligen Baums" als ^{GI}*urigallu* verbinden: Die für verschiedene Riten benötigten Urigallus wurden nicht jedesmal neu hergestellt, sondern lagerten in einer Art Sakristei bis sie gebraucht wurden.

^{gi}*urigallu* in Ritualen: Textevidenz zur Identifizierung des 'Heiligen Baumes'

Von Walther Sallaberger (München)

Überzeugend hat Ursula Seidl[1] den bildlich dargestellten sogenannten 'Heiligen Baum' als ein artifizielles Gebilde, einen Palmettenbaum, beschrieben, so daß sich die Gleichsetzung mit einem 'Baum' erübrigt. Durch ihren Vorschlag, diesen Palmettenbaum mit dem ^{gi}*urigallu* gleichzusetzen, wird ein in steter Wiederholung auftretendes Motiv der Bildkunst mit einem in Gruppen auftretenden Objekt oder Bild magischer Rituale verbunden, wobei letzteres im Gegensatz zu den allermeisten Figuren der Ritualtexte noch nicht in assyrischen Reliefs oder anderen Bildträgern identifiziert war. Im folgenden werden wichtige Textzeugen, vor allem Ritualtexte des 1. Jt.s, besprochen, um diese Identifikation argumentativ zu stützen und die Funktion des ^{gi}*urigallu* zu beschreiben.

Der ^{gi}*urigallu* wurde von Frans Wiggermann[2] als Attribut der fischgestaltigen *apkallū* „Weisen" behandelt, die im Ritual zum magischen Schutz des Hauses (KAR 298) im Wohnraum vergraben werden (dazu S. 66). Das Wort *uri(n)gallu* stammt aus dem Sumerischen, wo urin gal „großes Emblem" bedeutet;[3] solche „Embleme" wurden „aufgerichtet" (dù). Auch wenn Wiggermann die Deutung als Rohrbündel in Ritualen zunächst für wahrscheinlich hält (CM 1, S. 71), so schlägt er schließlich fragend für *urigallu* aufgrund der Siebenzahl eine Gruppe von sieben tierköpfigen Dämonen auf Lamaštu-Amuletten vor (CM 1, S. 72f.); in der Hand von *apkallū* aber seien sie wohl doch ein Rohrstab oder -bündel. Im gleichen Jahr 1992 sichtete auch B. Pongratz-Leisten die Textzeugnisse zu *urigallu*.[4] Wichtig ist ihre auf C. Walker zurückgehende Beobachtung (*BaM* 23, 324), daß in den Ritualen ^{gi}*urigallu* immer mit gi „Rohr" determiniert ist, wäh-

[75]) Der erste, der vorschlug, in der „flower" eine Darstellung des „head of a palm-tree" zu sehen, war anscheinend G. Rawlinson, *The Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* I (1885) 344-6 Anm. 27; wesentlich war ihm die Kombination der Palmbaumkrone mit Widderhörnern, die er in den gebogenen, gerippten, bis heute unerklärten Elementen erkannte, die an den Pfosten gebunden sein können. Layard (Anm. 8) 294, sprach von „gracefull ornament, commonly called honeysuckle"; W. Andrae, MDOG 13, 1902, 3, nannte den Blattfächer der Thronfassade in Babylon „Rosette". Wohin es wohl hätte führen können, wären diese Benennungen wörtlich genommen worden? Die Rosette, die – wohl in formaler Anlehnung an den Stern – gelegentlich Ištar und das Geißblatt, das in der europäischen Bildkunst eheliche Treue symbolisiert, hätten zusammen vielleicht alles von der freien Liebe bis zur bürgerlichen Ehe versinnbildlicht. Der Begriff Palmette wurde in der Ornamentik des 19. Jahrhunderts auf *palma* = „flache Hand" zurückgeführt s. Anm. 12 und 13.

[1]) Dieser Beitrag beruht auf den Anmerkungen zu den Textzeugnissen, die Ursula Seidl in einer früheren Fassung ihres Aufsatzes besprochen hatte. Ihr freundliches Angebot, diese Anmerkungen auszuarbeiten, habe ich gerne und dankbar angenommen. Ausdrücklich sei betont, daß sowohl die Gleichsetzung des Palmettenbaums mit ^{gi}*urigallu* als auch die Aufnahme der wichtigsten Literatur (Wiggermann, Pongratz-Leisten) schon von U. Seidl stammen. Ein genauerer Blick auf die wichtigsten Rituale, insbesondere auch aufgrund neu veröffentlichter Texte, stützt aber die These noch stärker ab und erlaubt eine weiterführende Charakterisierung von ^{gi}*urigallu*.

[2]) F. A. M. Wiggermann, *Protective Spirits*. CM 1 (1992) 70-73.

[3]) Zu urin (ùri) „Emblem" und šu-nir „Standarte" s. P. Steinkeller, in K. Łyczkowska – M. Popko – P. Steinkeller, *Written on Clay and Stone. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Krystyna Starzyńska on the Occasion of Her 80th Birthday* (*Festschrift Szarzynska*, 1998) 88f. Es handelt sich wohl nicht um zwei verschiedene Arten von Objekten, sondern zwei verschiedene Begriffe: die Repräsentation in der tragbaren „Standarte" und das unveränderliche „Emblem".

[4]) B. Pongratz-Leisten – K. Deller – E. Bleibtreu, „Götterstreitwagen und Götterstandarten: [...]", *BaM* 23 (1992) 21-356, hier 323-328.

rend ^{d}*urigallu* die Götterstandarte meint. Das Determinativ führte denn auch U. Seidl zu ihrer Identifikation. Das Determinativ gi erscheint selbst dann, wenn ^{gi}*urigallus* aus Gips auf die Wand gezeichnet werden (wie in *Bīt mēseri*, unten **4.**). In der Gegenstandsliste ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* IX 286-288 (MSL 7, 50) werden neben ^{gi}urin-gal auch gi GAM-ma „gebogenes Rohr" und gi ḫum^{bu-um}-ma „abgekneicktes Rohr" mit *uringallu* geglichen, Hinweis auf dessen Herstellung und Material. Das übliche Verbum für die Installation eines ^{gi}*urigallu* ist *zaqāpu* oder häufiger D *zuqqupu* „aufrichten".[5]

In unterschiedlichen Ritualen begegnen ^{gi}*urigallus*, die einzeln oder öfter in Gruppen aufgerichtet werden. B. Pongratz-Leisten faßt die allgemeine Auffassung so zusammen: „Diese Stangen aus Rohr [*sc.* die ^{gi}*urigallus*] können zu mehreren aufgestellt sein, so daß sie eine Art Rohrhütte oder magischen Kreis(?) bilden", in dem sich der Verunreinigte während des Zeitraums der Marginalität für Reinigungs- und Lösungsrituale aufhalte (*BaM* 23, 324).

Die Funktion läßt sich aber heute genauer bestimmen. Im folgenden werden zuerst die wichtigsten Zeugnisse, nämlich *Mīs pî* zur Herstellung und *Bīt mēseri* zur Funktion, jeweils mit vergleichbaren Texten, ausführlicher besprochen, dann ergänzend einige wichtige Rituale zitiert.[6]

Offizielle Rituale: Bīt rimki *und* Mīs pî

1. *Bīt rimki* „Haus der Waschung", Reinigung des Königs

Das umfangreiche, komplexe Ritual von *Bīt rimki*,[7] üblicherweise „Badehaus" übersetzt, behandelt die Reinigung des Königs, die an einem temporären Ritualplatz in der 'Steppe' stattfindet. Die dominierende Gottheit des Rituals ist der Sonnengott Šamaš, dem die auf altbabylonischen Vorläufern beruhenden Gebete im eigentlichen Zentralteil von *Bīt rimki* gewidmet sind.[8]

Nach den ersten Reinigungen und Handlungen im Palast verläßt der Beschwörer die Stadt, um in der 'Steppe' den für das Ritual nötigen Ritualplatz einzurichten. Leider ist der Ritualtext hier nicht vollständig erhalten (meine Bearbeitung weicht in Details von der Übersetzung W. Farbers ab):

BBR 26 iii 19-25:

19 ^{LÚ}MAŠ.MAŠ *ina* KÁ TILLA$_4$ È-*ma* UDU.NÍT[A SÍZKUR]
20 *ina* KÁ É.GAL BAL-*qí ina* MÚD MÁŠ-*ṣi šu-a-tu*$_4$ I.[DIB. (BAR.(MEŠ))]
21 DIB BAR.MEŠ *u sib-bi-e* 15 *u* 2,30 *šá* KÁ É.GAL [...]
22 ^{LÚ}MAŠ.MAŠ *ana* EDIN È-*ma* É *rim-ki* DÙ-*uš* [ŠUTUG.MEŠ]
23 *ana* ^{d}*é-a* ^{d}UTU *u* ^{d}ASAR.LÚ.ḪI [ŠUB-*di*]
24 ^{gi}ÙRI.GAL *šá* LUGAL *ina* ŠÀ D[U-*zu*$^{?}$]
25 GUB-*ap* É TU$_5$ *ina* ŠÀ *tu-s*[*a*$^{?}$-*dar*$^{?}$]

Der Beschwörer geht aus dem Außentor hinaus und ein [Opfer]schaf
opfert er am Palasttor. Mit dem Blut dieses Böckchens [*bestreicht*] er die [(äußere(n)?) Schwell]e(n),
die äußeren Türjoche[9] und die Pfosten rechts und links der Palasttüren.
Der Beschwörer geht in die Steppe hinaus und macht ein 'Badehaus'. [Schilfschreine][10]
für Ea, Šamaš und Marduk [legt er an].
(Einen) ^{gi}*urigallu*-(Kreis), in den der König *trit*[*t*](?),[11] richtet er auf. Das (Ritual) 'Badehaus' [*führ*]st du darin [*der Reihe nach durch*].

Die Kultplätze der Götter, *šutukkū* („Schilfschreine")[12], liegen im *Bīt rimki*; rechts und links der *šutukkū* werden beim Hauptritual „Opferzurüstungen" (*riksu*) aufgebaut (BBR 26 iv 16-26). Dort erscheint auch das *Bīt rimki* sicher als Bauwerk, nicht als Bezeichnung des Rituals: „Der König ... nimmt im Badehaus Platz" (*šarru ... ina bīt rimki uššab*; BBR 26 iv 36). Auf diese Situation nimmt die akkadische Šamaš-Beschwörung im '2. Haus' von *Bīt rimki* Bezug (Šamaš 41: 1-3):[13]

1 Beschwörung: Šamaš, König von Himmel und Erde, Herr von Recht und Gerechtigkeit,
2 der Reiniger des Himmels ... bist du,
3 Šamaš, im Schilfschrein des 'Badehauses' (*ina šutukki bīt ri*[*mki*]) stehe ich vor Dir!

Mit dieser Aussage in Zeile 3 verstehen wir den oben zitierten Ritualabschnitt besser: iii 22 leitet den Bau mit der allgemeinen Aussage „du machst das 'Badehaus'" ein; die Durchführung dieses Baus umfaßt das Anlegen von *šutukkus* als temporären Kultstätten und von (im Kreis) aufgerichteten ^{gi}*urigallus* (in iii 22-25). Das *Bīt rimki* ist also ein offener Platz mit *šutukkus*, umgeben von ^{gi}*urigallus*.[14] Dieses Verständnis wird durch die Formulierungen in *Mīs pî* unterstützt (s. unten).

Am Kultort folgen nun *šuʾilla*-Gebete an die Götter der *materia magica*, Kusu, Ningirima und Nisaba, sowie an alle großen Götter. Anschließend, vor dem zentralen Ritual der 'sieben Häuser', bei dem sumerische Kiʾutukam-Gebete und akkadische Gebete an den Sonnengott rezitiert werden, erscheint noch einmal ^{gi}*urigallu* im Ritualtext.

BBR 26 iv 47-50 (in Übersetzung teilweise ergänzt nach *SpTU* 2, 12 ii 34f.):

47 [x x x BA]L-*qí ul-tu* KÉŠ.[MEŠ *šalmā*]
48 [x x x x] UGU LUGAL DU-*ak-ma*
49 [x x x x]^{r}x^{1}.DU-*ma ina* ^{gi}ÙRI.GAL
50 [x x x én lugal] šà ge-bi kù-ga

[...] opferst du. Nachdem die Opferzurüstungen [fertig sind],
[...] gehst du zu Häupten des Königs und
[... ...]st du und *im* ^{gi}*urigallu*(-Kreis)
[... Die Beschwörung: lugal] šà ge-bi kù-ga [rezitierst du.]

Auch wenn sich der Text nicht rekonstruieren läßt, so sind wir hier doch sicher im Zentrum des Rituals; hier tritt der König auf. Die anschließende Beschwörung lugal-(e) šà ge-bi kù-ga[15] beinhaltet die Anrufung der großen Götter durch den König, und sie kommt auch dann vor, wenn anstelle aller sieben Stationen nur das 'Dritte Haus' durchgeführt wird, das dem universell einsetzbaren Ersatzbild des Königs gewidmet ist und dem deshalb nicht zufällig ein besonderer Stellenwert in der Texttradition zukommt. Im Ninive-Ritual (BBR 26) steht die Beschwörung vor den 'sieben Häusern', in den Texten zum 'Dritten Haus' aus Ninive[16] und aus Uruk (*SpTU* 2, 12) dagegen danach; im Uruk-Text wird der ^{gi}*urigallu* nicht genannt.

Das *Bīt rimki*, der königliche Ritualplatz in der Steppe vor Šamaš, wird also durch einen Kreis von ^{gi}*urigallus* gebildet; zum *Bīt rimki* gehören auch die Kultstätten, *šutukkus*. In einem solchen Kreis kann sich der König auch sieben Tage lang aufhalten.[17] Daß der Kreis idealer Weise aus 14 ^{gi}*urigallus* besteht, zeigen *Bīt mēseri* (unten **4.**) und ein Ritual, in dem bei Mondfinsternis ein Kiʾutukam-Gebet an die untergehende Sonne gerichtet wird.[18]

2. *Mīs pî* „Mundwaschung": Einführung der neuen Kultstatue

Mīs pî „Mundwaschung", das Ritual zur Einführung einer neuen Kultstatue,[19] beginnt mit dem Berei-

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[5]) CAD Z, 54 *zaqāpu* 3. b) 1'. Dies widerspricht einer Bedeutung „Rohrhütte". Zum Verbum auch N. J. C. Kouwenberg, *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb* (1997) 235 (mit weiteren Belegen), wonach allerdings gerade bei ^{gi}*urigallu* der D-Stamm nicht immer durch ein pluralisches Objekt bedingt wird.

[6]) Diese Auswahl ist möglich und nötig, weil einzelne Belegstellen zu *urigallu* leicht nachzulesen sind: *AHw.* 1429f. *s. v. urigallu*; *AHw.* und CAD *s. v. zaqāpu*; S. Parpola, LAS 2 (= AOAT 5/2, 1983) 198f.; Wiggermann und Pongratz-Leisten (s. oben). Ziel ist es, über das Sammeln von 'Belegstellen' hinaus jeweils Charakteristika des Ritualkontexts zu erkennen und herauszuarbeiten.

[7]) Die wichtigsten neueren Beiträge zur Serie *Bīt rimki*, deren Publikation durch R. Borger lange angekündigt ist, stammen von W. Farber: „Ritualtafel der Serie 'bīt rimki' (Badehaus)", TUAT II/2 (1987) 245-255; „*Bīt rimki* – ein assyrisches Ritual?", CRAI 39 (= HSAO 6, 1997) 41-46.

[8]) Zuletzt M. Krebernik, „Ein ki-^{d}utu-Gebet aus der Hilprecht Sammlung", ZA 91 (2001) 238-252.

[9]) DIB = *dibbu*/*dappu* „Türjoch"; s. A. Salonen, *Türen* 53.

[10]) Die Ergänzung *šutukkī ... nadû* beruht auf *Mīs pî*, Ninive-Ritual NR 7f. (C. Walker – M. Dick, SAALT 1 [2001] 37/53), das deutliche Parallelen im Herrichten des Kultplatzes aufweist; s. dazu unten **2.**

[11]) Problematisch ist das Verb in 24: DU = *alāku, izuzzu, kunnu, zuqqupu* (in *Bīt rimki*). Die Übersetzung, die sich an der Einrichtung der Kultstätte in *Mīs pî* orientiert, folgt eigentlich W. Farber: „Eine Rohrhütte, in der der König st[ehen kann]"; möglich wäre vielleicht noch: „Den ^{gi}*urigallu* des Königs *setz*[*t du*] innen hin [und]". Nur der König selbst kann nicht handeln, da er noch nicht aus der Stadt gekommen ist (Hinweis A. Bartelmus).

[12]) Die Übersetzung „Schilfschrein" für *šutukku* orientiert sich an *AHw.* „eine Rohrhütte für Riten" (mit Lit.), CAD Š/III, 411: „1. (a reed hut used in rituals), 2. reed bundle", doch soll zudem die Funktion als temporärer Kultplatz einer Gottheit anklingen, die ihm im Gegensatz zu ^{gi}*urigallu* zukommt. Vorstellbar ist auch ein kleiner umzäunter Platz aus Rohr; der Unterbau besteht jedenfalls aus Lehm (*Mīs pî*, SAALT 1, 91/94: 1-8), darüber Rohr (*ibid.* 92f./94f.: 11-20); ein *šutukku* besitzt einen Zugang („Tor", KAR 91 Rs. 19). Weiters etwa (jeweils mit Lit.) J. Laessøe, *Bīt rimki* 44 Anm. 103; E. Reiner, *Šurpu* 61 *ad* 87; W. R. Mayer, UFBG 174 Anm. 65. Das gemeinsame Vorkommen mit ^{gi}*urigallu* ebenso wie die Herstellung aus Rohr führen zur Gleichsetzung der beiden Begriffe *šutukku* und *urigallu* in der Kommentarserie Mur-gud (Ḫg) zu Ḫḫ IX 372, MSL 7, 70: 52c (in der sumerischen Spalte aber ^{gi}šú-a „Hocker").

[13]) Šamaš 41 nach UFBG 415, bearbeitet von Laessøe, *Bīt rimki* 37ff.

[14]) Die griffige Übersetzung „Badehaus" für *Bīt rimki* ist immer vor dem Hintergrund zu sehen, daß es sich um einen (offenen) „Raum der Waschung" handelt (s. oben). Die „sieben Häuser" des Rituals sind m. E. weniger als Bauwerke zu verstehen, sondern sie bezeichnen Stationen, Abschnitte, die unterschiedlichen Übeln gewidmet sind (vgl. sumerisch é „Haus" als Station der Mondphasen); dabei müssen nicht alle sieben Stationen durchlaufen werden, wie z. B. die Textzeugen für das „3. Haus" zeigen (s. unten). Das genaue räumliche Verhältnis der zusammengehörigen *šutukkus* und ^{gi}*urigallus* geht aus dem Text nicht hervor; man mag sich durchaus vorstellen, daß sie aneinander angrenzen.

[15]) R. Borger, JCS 21, 10ff.: 10+aff.; s. nun *SpTU* 3, 66: 1-99.

[16]) R. Borger, „Das dritte 'Haus' der Serie *bīt rimki*", JCS 21 (1967) 1-21, Nachträge in ZA 61 (1971) 84-88.

[17]) Vgl. den Brief LAS 203 = SAA 10, 277, wonach sich der König für Reinigungsriten (*takpirāte*), für *Šuʾilla*-Gebete vor den Göttern der Nacht und für *Namburbi* gegen alles Übel sieben Tage „inmitten des ^{gi}*urigallu*-(Kreises) aufhält"; s. dazu S. Parpola, LAS 2, 198f.

[18]) *SpTU* 4, 128, Beginn mit *Kiʾutukam* (// HGS 59f., Nr. 7), unter den Ritualvorbereitungen zur Nacht der Finsternis die 14 ^{gi}*urigallus* (Z. 37 PAP *an-nu-ú* GI$_6$ *šá* AN.G[I$_6$] „dies alles (für) die Nacht der Finsternis"); unklar ist, ob die davor genannte Wolle zu deren Ausschmückung dient.

[19]) Edition von C. Walker und M. Dick, SAALT 1 (2001).

ten eines Ortes für den Empfang der neuen Statue in einem Garten am Flußufer. Die ausführliche Ninive-Version des Rituals lautet hier folgendermaßen (SAALT 1, 36-38/52-54: 1-17):

1 Wenn du den Mund einer Gottheit waschen willst –:
2 An einem günstigen Tag gehst du in der Dämmerung in die Steppe zum Garten am Flußufer und
3 betrachtest den Sonnenaufgang und bezeichnest (den Ort) mit einer Grenzmarke (*kudurru*).
4 Du kehrst zur Stadt zurück und betrachtest das Zugewiesene (*sc.* Material). Nach einer halben Doppelstunde des Tages kehrst du zur Steppe zurück.
5 Die Ballen von Rohr nimmst du in Empfang.
6 ^{gi}*urigallus* machst du. Einen Kreis bildest du und
7 legst Schilfschreine für Ea, Šamaš und Marduk an[20].
8 Die Beschwörung „Heiliges Rohr, langes Rohr, Rohr aus dem heiligen Röhricht",
9 und die Beschwörung „Dein heiliger Lehm, Asar(luḫi) hat im Abzu ein Auge darauf geworfen",
10 rezitierst du dreimal vor den Schilfschreinen (*šutukkū*).

11 [Ein Haus[21]] für Kusu, Ningirima, Dingirmaḫ legst du an.
12 Um dieses Gotteshaus[22] herum [...]
13 Tamariske, Palmblätter ('Palmherz'), Zedern legst du hin.
14 Bunte Wolle ... Häuser [...]
15 Die Beschwörung: „Rohr, im Abzu gewachsen" für den ^{gi}[*urigallu*],
16 die Beschwörung: „Rohr, im Inneren rein, gut" für den Rohr[pfosten][23],
17 die Beschwörung: „Mehl, in Fürstlichkeit gestreut" für den Mehlkreis [rezitierst du.]

Ab Z. 18 Riten am Fluß.

Der Ritualplatz wird in der 'Steppe', d. h. im freien Land außerhalb der Stadt, errichtet. Wie die Beschwörungen anzeigen, die die magischen Handlungen mit den entsprechenden Worten begleiten, werden am Ende des Abschnitts ^{gi}*urigallu*, Rohrpfosten und Mehlkreis als Begrenzung des Ritualorts eingerichtet (Z. 15-17). Deshalb ist in Z. 6 „^{gi}*urigallus* machst du" als Vorschau auf die folgenden Handlungen bis Z. 15-17 aufzufassen; diese Zeile 6 entspricht übrigens dem „das *Bīt rimki* machst du" des gleichnamigen Rituals (s. oben **1.** zu BBR 26 iii 22).

Die Verwendung der Materialien in Z. 13 (und 14?) betreffend ließen sich die folgenden zwei, drei Möglichkeiten anführen: a) für einen Pflanzenteppich wie in den *namburbi*-Ritualen (S. M. Maul, *BaF* 18, 62f.), wobei aber das charakteristische Seifenkraut (*maštakal*) fehlt und die Zeder nicht hierhergehört; b) zur Verzierung von ^{gi}*urigallus* und Schilfschreinen, auch wenn die Beschwörungen nichts in dieser Richtung sagen und das Verb *nadû* „hinwerfen, anlegen" keine eindeutige Interpretation zuläßt (vgl. unten **6.**). Es handelt sich aber wohl nicht um c) Materialien für das Weihwasser, das erst später bereitet wird und dem eine ungleich größere Vielfalt an Ingredienzen beigegeben wird (vgl. SAALT 1, 54f.: NR 23-38). Insofern spricht doch einiges für die zweite Möglichkeit (b), die Verzierung der Rohrgebilde).

Die ^{gi}*urigallus* umgrenzen den Ritualort als 'heiligen Ort' gegenüber der umgebenden Steppe: ihre Herstellung beginnt, indem ein Kreis gezogen wird; dieser wird dann mit dem dafür charakteristischen Mehlkreis als Bannkreis gezeichnet.[24] Innerhalb dieses Kreises werden die temporären Kultstätten eingerichtet. Die in Z. 8 und 9 genannten Sprüche zum Bau der Schilfschreine eröffnen in umgekehrter Reihenfolge (Lehm vor Schilfrohr) die Tafel mit den Beschwörungen (STT 198; SAALT 1, 91-93/94f.: 1-8 und 11-20). Es folgen drei sumerische Beschwörungen für den ^{gi}*urigallu*, das „Ausrichten (si sá) von ^{gi}*urigallu*" und „die Rohrbündel aufrichten". Wie in Kultmittelbeschwörungen üblich, betonen die Texte die Herkunft des Schilfrohrs direkt aus dem Abzu Enkis und den Empfang durch Asarluḫi. Im vorliegenden Zusammenhang sind die Texte, die einzigen expliziten Zeugen zur Herstellung der ^{gi}*urigallus* und ihrer Bedeutung, doch wichtig genug, sie zumindest in vollständiger Übersetzung zu zitieren:

Beschwörung für ^{gi}ùri-gal (STT 198 = SAALT 1, 92f./95: 21-33)

21 „Beschwörung: Rohr, aus dem Abzu gebracht,
22 Rohr, im frischen Wasserbecken gefunden,
23 mit Namen von Namma benannt, das Schicksal von Enki entschieden,
24 großes Rohr, *urigallu*, gebogenes Rohr, Rohr der Götter,
25 aus dem reinen Heiligtum Abzu freundlich aufgenommen:
26 Vom Wasser des Euphrat Enkis
27 haben die Enki- und Ninki-Götter
28 das Rohr empfangen, von diesem Rohr haben sie empfangen;
29 Kusu, der erhabene Beschwörungspriester Enlils, möge die *urigallus* [...en]!
30 [...] richtete er sie auf, er [spendete ihnen] die Beschwörung,
31 er reinigte sie, er erleuchtete sie.
32 Die böse Zunge soll beiseite treten!

33 Wortlaut des Spruchs von ^{gi}ùri-gal."

Beschwörung beim Ausrichten von ^{gi}ùri-gal (STT 198 = SAALT 1, 93/95f.: 34-48)[25]

34 „Beschwörung: Rohr, aus dem Abzu gewachsen,
35 Rohr, von Eridu freundlich aufgenommen,
36 Rohr, deine Wurzeln nach unten <...>, aus[!?] dem Wasser [...] herausgekommen,
37 Rohr, vom Feuchtplatz des reinen Rohrs hervorgekommen,
38 Rohr, dessen gesamten Duft der Regen des Himmels verursacht hat,
39 Rohr, dessen Stengel sich weit erstrecken, Rohr von Namma, Rohr von Nanše,
40 Rohr des Lebens, Rohr Nintinugas,
41 Asarluḫi, der Sohn von Eridu, nach der Läuterung hat er es empfangen.
42 Enki brachte es zuerst ins 'Badehaus',
43 die Rohrpfosten (^{gi}gilim), ^{gi}ùri-gal, nahm er.
44 Rohr, das Asarluḫi empfangen hat,
45 nachdem der ^{gi}ùri-gal handverlesen, das Rohr ausgerichtet war,
46 [Kus]u, der erhabene Beschwörungspriester Enlils, <...> (= möge usw., wie Z. 29-31?)
47 [Die böse Zunge] soll beiseite treten!

48 Wortlaut des Spruchs von ^{gi}ùri-gal ausrichten."

Beschwörung beim Aufrichten von Rohrpfosten, (STT 198 = SAALT 1, 93f./96: 49-62)[26]

49 „Beschwörung: Rohr, im Inneren rein, gut,
50 Rohr, das Grundrisse zeichnet für die Götter,
51 ^{gi}ùri-gal von ...,
52 Rohr, im reinen Röhricht ... *zahlreich*(?) ... hingesetzt,
53 Asarluḫi warf einen Blick darauf.
54 Kusu, der erhabene Beschwörungspriester Enlils hat darauf geblickt.
55 Reines Rohr, das der reine Ort ... Röhricht ... großgezogen hat,
56 Sumpf ... gereinigt ...
57 Mit reiner Hand haben *die beiden Götter* es empfangen, Namma ...
58 Wo Rohrpfosten im ... hingesetzt sind, werden ^{gi}ùri-gal gebracht,
59 Die Beschwörungskunst ... von Eridu hat ...
60 Sei es ein böser *Dämon*, sei es ein böser *Geist*, sei es ein böser Nachsteller, ...
61 sei es *Zauber*, böse Hexerei, dann verschwand es an diesem Ort, der Eid tritt ein, Beschwörung [(...)].

62 Wortlaut des Spruchs vom Aufrichten von Rohrpfosten."

Da hier im *Miš-pî*-Ritual wie sonst nie von „Rohrpfosten" oder „Rohrgebinden" (^{gi}gilim) die Rede ist, müssen damit ebenfalls die ^{gi}*urigallus* gemeint sein. Das „Grundrisse zeichnen" (ğiš ḫur-ḫur-re, Z. 50) spielt sicher auf die Umgrenzung des Platzes durch die Rohrgebinde an. Leider ist der einzige Textzeuge zu schlecht erhalten, sonst könnte vielleicht Z. 58 andeuten, daß sich die profanen „Rohrpfosten" im Kontext des Rituals beim Aufrichten zu magisch wirksamen ^{gi}*urigallus* wandeln. Die letzten beiden Zeilen verdeutlichen noch einmal den Sinn des von ^{gi}*urigallus* umgrenzten Ritualplatzes: alles Böse soll fern bleiben, durch einen Bann, hier „Eid" (nam-érim) genannt, ist dieser Kreis gesichert.

Wie in *Bīt rimki* wird ein Kreis aus ^{gi}*urigallus* geschaffen, was von Beschwörungen begleitet wird. Dieser Kreis dient dann der Aufnahme der vom Fluß kommenden neuen Kultstatue.[27]

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[20]) Z. 6-7: *urigallī teppuš. su'urta tusâr-ma šutukkī ana Ea Šamaš u Marduk tanaddi.*

[21]) [É] in Z. 11 ergänzt nach *Bīt rimki* BBR 26 iii 27; Walker – Dick, SAALT 1, 37 stattdessen: [ŠUTUG.MEŠ]. Der Raum am Anfang der Zeile in Ms. B dürfte nach Foto nur für [É] reichen, da Ms. B in Z. 7 (gegen die Publikation) ^{gi}ŠUTUG.ME schreibt.

[22]) Das meint das „Haus" in Z. 12; Walker – Dick, SAALT 1, 53f.: „chapel of that god" bzw. Anm. 47: „perhaps '... the chapel (intended) for that god ...'."

[23]) Die Ergänzungen ^{gi}[ÙRI.GAL] bzw. ^{gi}[GILIM] von Z. 15-16 (nicht in SAALT 1) ergeben sich aus dem Wortlaut der entsprechenden Beschwörungen SAALT 1, 93f. (= STT 198): 34-48 und 49-62; s. dazu sofort.

[24]) In der Serie saĝ-ba saĝ-ba (W. Schramm, GAAL 2 [2001]) wird der Mehlkreis um einen gereinigten Ort oder eine gereinigte Person gelegt, so daß kein Übel mehr eindringen kann.

[25]) Anmerkungen: Von SAALT 1 wurde übernommen: 38: ĝar-ra-{ab}, 40 gi-til'(IG)-la, 42 tu$_5$'(<ŠU>.NAGA), Z. 46 Abkürzung für Z. 29-31. Z. 36: Kopie: gi úr-zu ki-šè a-ke$_4$ ⌜x⌝ è-a; Text korrupt?; Z. 45: ^{gi}ùri-gal nir-ra gi si sá-⌜ta⌝; nir-ra „(hand)verlesen, ausgewählt" orientiert sich an še nir-ra „von der Spreu und kultisch gereinigtes Getreide" nach K. Volk, *Santag* 3, S. 169; si sá „ausrichten, in Ordnung bringen". Der Ablativ wird hier temporal aufgefaßt, doch könnte es auch heißen: „Vom Rohr ... (möge Kusu ...)".

[26]) Z. 49: Zeilenende sikil-⌜la⌝ [0] ⌜sa$_6$⌝-ga mit der Kopie wie im Ritualtext Z.16 (s. oben); Z. 57: diĝir 2-*šu* (= Asarluḫi und Kusu) als fehlerhafte akkadische statt sumerische Form verstanden. Z. 60: ⌜udug⌝ ḫul ⌜gedim⌝ ḫul ...; Z. 61: ⌜níĝ'?⌝-aka-a ...

[27]) SAALT 1, 44/59 Ninive-Ritual: 95f.: *qāt* [*ili taṣabbatma*] *ina kirî ina libbi šutukkī* ^{gi}*urigallī / ila šuāti ina muḫḫi burî ina tapsê kitî tušeššebšu* „[Du nimmst] die Hand [des Gottes] und im Garten, inmitten der Schilfschreine und der ^{gi}*urigallus* setzt du diesen Gott auf eine große Matte in einem linnenen *tapsû*-Tuch hin."; // *ibid.* 71/78: Babylonisches Ritual 12.

Der Schutz des Einzelnen: Šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli parāsu *und* Bīt mēseri

3. *Šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli parāsu* „Den Weg des Bösen vom Haus eines Menschen abhalten" und KAR 298

Das von F. Wiggermann, CM 1, bearbeitete und kommentierte Ritual[28] dient dem prophylaktischen Schutz eines neuen oder gereinigten Hauses. Dazu werden magische Figuren an erster Stelle an den Türen und an allen anderen Öffnungen des Hauses (wie Dach, Abort) deponiert. Die Funktion dieser Figuren wird durch ihr Aussehen als dämonische Mischwesen mit Elementen von Raubtieren wie Löwe, Adler und Schlange angezeigt sowie durch die Farbgebung unterstrichen und zudem durch einen Spruch bekräftigt: entweder in der Beschwörung, die bei Herstellung oder Deponieren der Figuren gesprochen wird, oder durch die Aufschriften auf den Figuren. Außen am Tor versammelt sich eine ganze Armee furchterregender Gestalten zur Abwehr. Die Wächter innerhalb der Durchgänge erhalten einen dauernden Auftrag: Übel und Tod fernzuhalten und Gutes und Leben hereinzuholen. Im Inneren des Hauses, insbesondere im Schlafgemach (*kummu*)[29], dominieren dann die Figuren, die den Bewohnern Leben und Wohlergehen spenden, nämlich die von Ea gesandten *apkallu*s, die „Weisen".[30]

Die im idealtypischen Ritualtext behandelten Bildnisse sind ebenso durch Funde von Tonfiguren in Häusern und Palästen bekannt. Darüber hinaus können die kleinformatigen Bildnisse ins Monumentale überhöht werden und in den assyrischen Palästen für dauernde Präsenz in Reliefs dargestellt sein. Dabei gleichen sich Aussehen und Funktion der einzelnen Typen im Kleinen wie im Großen; ein gutes Beispiel dafür ist der im Ritualtext dem Baderaum zugeordnete *urmaḫlullû* „Löwenkentaur", wohin er auch als großformatiges Palastrelief plaziert wird.[31]

Der Ritualtext und das Exzerpt KAR 298 behandeln Wesen von Tier- bis Menschengestalt, der ^{gi}*urigallu* kann daher in diesem Text gar nicht selbständig, sondern nur als Attribut erscheinen. Er wird den Fisch-*apkallu*s zugeordnet, die in drei Siebenergruppen zusammen mit den anderen „Weisen" erscheinen, nämlich zuerst den „sieben Weisen" in Menschgestalt direkt am Kopfende des Bettes (KAR 298 Vs. 11) und den Vogel-*apkallū*, die ihrer Gestalt entsprechend „im Untergrund des zweiten Stockwerks (wörtlich: 'Raumes') oberhalb des Bettes" (*ina išid bīti šanî ina rēš erši*; *ibid.* 14)[32] deponiert werden. Die *apkallu*s sind mit Attributen, die der magischen Reinigung dienen, ausgestattet: Weidenrute (*eʾru*; Menschengestalt), zapfenförmiger „Reiniger" (*mullilu*) und Eimer (*banduddû*), Palmherz (*libbi gišimmari*)[33] und eben dem „Palmettenbaum" (^{gi}*urigallu*).

Die Fisch-*apkallu*s sind Tonfiguren, weiß mit Gips überzogen, auf die eine Schuppenhaut aus schwarzer Lehmpaste (IM.GI$_6$) gezeichnet ist.

Textzeile in CM 1, 14 // KAR 298	Attribute in der Hand rechts / links	Ort der Deponierung (in KAR 298)
174-178 // Vs. 15f.	*mullilu* / *banduddû*	„an Schwelle zum Schlafgemach (*kummu*)"
178-180 // Vs. 17f.	*libbi gišimmari* / Hand vor Brust	„gegenüber der Tür (*sc.* zum Schlafgemach), hinter dem Stuhl"
181-182 // Vs. 19f.[34]	^{gi}*urigallu* / Hand vor Brust	„in der Mitte des Raums, vor dem Stuhl"

Die drei Gruppen von Fisch-*apkallu*s beginnen also in der Tür zum Schlafraum und sind dann um den Stuhl, den Ehrenplatz des Hausherrn, gruppiert. Sie befinden sich damit im Empfangsraum eines Hauses, der dem privaten Schlafraum (*kummu*) vorgelagert ist. Hier, im Empfangsraum, hat damit auch der ^{gi}*urigallu* seinen Ort.

Allerdings erscheint der von U. Seidl beschriebene „Palmettenbaum" in der Bilderwelt nicht als Attribut des Fisch-*apkallu*.[35] Nach dem Ritualtext halten die Fisch-*apkallu*s beider Gruppen am Ehrenplatz einen pflanzlichen Zweig in der Rechten (*libbi gišimmari* oder ^{gi}*urigallu*); der Zweig der bildlichen Darstellungen in all seinen Variationen ist damit sicher zu vergleichen.[36]

4. *Bīt mēseri*[37] „Haus der Einschließung"

Das Ritual zur magischen Heilung eines von Unglück Verfolgten ist im wesentlichen im Schlafraum eines Hauses angesiedelt. Um das Übel zu vertreiben und den Patienten zu heilen, werden Bildnisse hergestellt bzw. an die Wand gezeichnet; nach Abschluß der Ritualhandlungen werden die Figuren in den Fluß geworfen, die Zeichnungen „entfernt" (*SpTU* 2, 8 iii 14. iv 27).[38] Im Prinzip ist die Verteilung der Figuren ähnlich wie beim soeben behandelten Ritual zum Schutz des Hauses: die *apkallu*s als segenbringende Figuren im Inneren, dämonische Wächter an den Toren. Das Ritual beginnt im Innersten des Hauses im Schlafraum, um von innen nach außen bis zu den Toren das Übel hinauszubringen und beständigen Schutz zu gewährleisten.

Die Beschwörungen rufen nach der Legitimation des Beschwörers zuerst Lugalgirra an, einen Gesandten der Unterwelt, der von der Tür zum Schlafraum aus die böswilligen Geschöpfe der Unterwelt, das Übel, aus dem Schlafraum vertreiben soll (*AfO* 14, 142ff.: 22-130). In der idealtypischen Bilderwelt der Beschwörungen ist anzunehmen, daß es sich um das Krankenbett des Hausherrn im inneren Hauptraum des Hauses handelt. Anschließend lesen wir im Ritualtext (*Bīt mēseri* I):

„Vor den 14 ^{gi}*urigallu*s aus Gips, die auf die Mauer gezeichnet sind, zitierst du die Beschwörung '^{d}Enkum maḫ du$_6$-kù-ga'" ('*ana*' *maḫar* [1]4 ^{gi}*urigallī ša ina igāri eṣrū*, ÉN ^{d}Enkum maḫ du$_6$-kù-ga *tamannu*).[39]

Da hier Bildnisse gezeichnet, nicht plastische Figuren wie in *Šēp lemutti ... parāsu* geformt werden, können auch ^{gi}*urigallu*s auftreten. Die tabellarische Übersicht aus Uruk *SpTU* 3, 69[40] über die beim Ritual *Bīt mēseri* eingesetzen Bildnisse führt allerdings leicht abweichend „14 Bildnisse" an, die einen ^{gi}*urigallu* mit oder in den Händen halten. Einen Vorschlag von F. Wiggermann (CM 1, 79) aufgreifend mag es sich bei den „Bildnissen" um die geflügelten Götter der Palastreliefs handeln, die Reinigungshandlungen durchführen. Die *apkallu*s werden im Text dann in § 14ff. explizit genannt.

§ 1 Überschrift der Tabelle (§ 2-5: Lugalgirra und Meslamtaʾea)					
[Anzahl]	[*Bildnis*?]	ihre Gestalt (*nabnīssunu*, SIG$_7$.ALAN. BI.E^{I}.NE)	Attribut (*maššâtu*)[41]	Standort (*manzāzu*)	Beschwörung (*šiptu*)
§ 6					
14	Bildnisse aus Gips (*ṣalmū ša gaṣṣi*)	mit *schwarzer Paste* bemalt (*ina* IM.GI$_6$ *uqqû*)	einen ^{gi}*urigallu* von Gips halten sie mit ihren Händen (^{gi}*urigalli gaṣṣi ina qātēšunu našû*)	an die Wand an den Seiten des Schlafgemachs sind sie gezeichnet (*ina igār idāti kummi eṣrū*)[42]	^{d}Enkum maḫ du$_6$-kù-ga

Die Beschwörungsserie *Bīt mēseri* II spricht wie die Ritualtafel von den ^{gi}*urigallu*s (*AfO* 14, 146f.: 132f.), und auch der Beschwörungstext selbst wendet sich allein an die 14 ^{gi}*urigallu*s, die mit weißer Gipsfarbe an die Wand gezeichnet sind. Sie befinden sich

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[28]) Vgl. dazu noch *SpTU* 5, 246. 247.

[29]) *kummu* ist der private innerste Raum, der auch als Schlafraum dient. Die Übersetzung „Schlafgemach" trägt dem Gebrauch des Wortes in literarischen Texten Rechnung.

[30]) Zu den Figuren am Tor s. Wiggermann, CM 1, 58-64; zu den *apkallu*s im Schlafgemach s. *ibid.* 65-79. Die folgende Zusammenfassung beruht auf diesem Abschnitt.

[31]) Wiggermann, CM 1, 98. Wiggermann schränkt die enge Zugehörigkeit einer Figur zu einem bestimmten Raum ein, denn die idealtypische Form des Rituals erfordert in der Praxis Anpassungen. Eindeutig lassen sich aber für die Figuren spezifische Aufgabenbereiche feststellen; ein *apkallu* hat vor dem Tor ebenso wenig verloren wie ein Hund unter dem Bett.

[32]) Siehe zu dieser Angabe Wiggermann, CM 1, 48; für die Deutung als „zweites Stockwerk" spricht meines Erachtens unbedingt, daß hier ausnahmsweise „der Untergrund, das Fundament" (SUḪUŠ) genannt ist.

[33]) K. Volk, „Palme", *RlA* 10/3-4 (2004) 286f.

[34]) // *SpTU* 5, 246 v' 14f.

[35]) Zu einem Vogelgenius, der einen ^{gi}*urigallu* in Händen hält, s. U. Seidl, S. 58.

[36]) Zu den Attributen der „Weisen" s. Wiggermann, CM 1, 66-79; manche der Zweige dürften dagegen auf die „Weidenrute" (*eʾru*) des Beschwörers zurückgehen, insbesondere wenn sie von einer Figur zusammen mit einem Zicklein (*mašḫulduppû*) gehalten werden.

[37]) Hier stütze ich mich vor allem auf G. Meier, „Die zweite Tafel der Serie bīt mēseri", *AfO* 14 (1941-44) 139ff.; R. Borger, „Die Beschwörungsserie Bīt mēseri und die Himmelfahrt Henochs", JNES 33 (1974) 183-196; Wiggermann, CM 1, 105f.; *SpTU* 3, 69. Eine Edition von R. Borger ist seit Jahrzehnten angekündigt.

[38]) Das Verbum *rubbû*, das für das „Entfernen" der Zeichnungen hier und der Ritualrückstände in BRM 4, 6: 31'f. gebraucht wird, ist einfach als 'faktitiver' D-Stamm zu *rabû* „untergehen" zu verstehen, also: „zum Verschwinden bringen". Die Wbb. sind ungenau: in CAD R 394 wird ein eigenes Lemma *rubbû* angesetzt: „to submerge, to douse", dort 2. (uncert. mng.) auch *SpTU* 2, 8 iv 27 zitiert; *AHw.* 940, *rabû* IV D: „untertauchen"; ich orientiere mich an der Einordnung bei Kouwenberg, *Gemination* 246. 298.

[39]) Ritualtafel (Bīt mēseri I iv Ende), BBR 53: 14f.; vgl. in *Bīt mēseri* II 132 (*AfO* 14, 146f.) *ana maḫar* 14 ^{gi}*urigallī gaṣṣi kīam tamannu* (folgt Beschwörung).

[40]) Die Zählung der Abschnitte folgt der Edition von E. von Weiher, *SpTU* 3, S. 64ff. Die letzte Spalte habe ich hier ausgelassen: Ihre Überschrift ist nicht erhalten und sie enthält nur Zahlenangaben, in unserem § 6: 7-ʳÀMˡ. Angabe der Größe der Figuren?

[41]) *maššâtu* ist Plural zu *maššītu* „Herantragung" (*AHw.*) und bezeichnet Gegenstände, die die Figuren vor allem in den Händen halten, oder die Handhaltung.

[42]) Statt von Weiher *it-ti* lese ich Á-*ti* = *idāti* (für *idāt*) in Übereinstimmung mit der zugehörigen Beschwörung *AfO* 14, 148: 167 „(14 große ^{gi}*urigallu*s) richtete ich an den Seiten des Bettes des Kranken auf" (*idāt* // DA *erši marṣi uzaqqip*).

„an den Seiten des Bettes des Kranken“ (166f.; s. unten); dem entspricht die Angabe „im Schlafgemach“ (*kummu*) von *SpTU* 3, 69 § 6.

Die in Ritual und Übersicht zitierte Beschwörung ^{d}Enkum maḫ du$_6$-kù-ga benennt die 14 ^{gi}*urigallus* mit Namen und Epitheta; durch diese Worte wird ihnen auch für das Ritual ihre spezifische Macht verliehen. Die in zwei Versionen überlieferte Beschwörung liefert die beste Funktionsbeschreibung der ^{gi}*urigallus*, also der an den Raumwänden gezeichneten ‘Heiligen Bäume’, so daß sich hier eine vollständige Wiederholung des Textes anbietet.

Bīt mēseri II 134-182, Beschwörung bei den 14 ^{gi}*urigallus*, die mit Gips an die Wände um das Krankenbett gezeichnet wurden:[43]

134	**1.** én	
	^{d}enkum maḫ du$_6$-kù-ga	ub-ba al-gub-ba
135	*Enkum ṣīru šubt[u elletu*	*ša ina tu]bqi izzazzu*
136	**2.** lugal gaba-ri nu-tuku-a ^{gi}urin-gal dub-saĝ-ĝá	á gáb-ba al-gub-ba
137	*bēlu ša māḫira lā īšû urigallu maḫru*	*ša ina šumēli izzazzu*
138	**3.** ki-bi nam-tìl-la	lú gaba-ri-bi-šè al-gub-ba
	ittīšu balāṭa	*ša ana meḫretīšu izzazzu*
140	**4.** kar zi en an-dùl nam-tìl-la	lú gaba-ri al-gub-ba
141	*ēṭir napišti bēl ṣulūl balāṭi*	*ša ina meḫret <...> izzazzu*
142	**5.** lú dul en-te-na ki tuš-a	[...] al-gub-ba
143	*ša ina šubat tanīḫti* [...	*ša ...] izzazzu*
144	**6.** gub nam-tìl-la-k[e$_4$ ...	... a]l-gub-ba
145	*mukīn bal[āṭi*	*ša ... bā]bi izzazzu*
146	**7.** tu$_6$-bi nam-t[ìl-la ...	...] al-gub-ba
147	*tûšu b[alāṭu ...*	*ša ...] x bābi izzazzu*
148	**8.** ^{d}en-líl-bàn-da en nam tar-[tar-ra	s]aĝ-ĝá-a-ni-šè al-gub-ba
149	*Ea bēlu muš[īm šīmāti]*	*ša ina rēšīšu izzazzu*
150	**9.** ^{d}asar-lú-ḫi tu$_6$ du$_{11}$-ga-[a-ni-ta n]am-tìl-la	á-zi-da-šè al-gub-ba
151	*Marduk ša ina* MIN-*šu* (= *têšu*?) *balāṭu*	*ša ina imnīšu izzazzu*
152	**10.** ^{d}utu-lu$_7^{lu}$ á-sàg sar-re-da	á-gáb-bu-šè al-gub-ba
153	*Ninurta ṭārid asakki*	*ša ina šumēlīšu izzazzu*
154	**11.** ^{d}ḫuš-ku/ka-a saĝ-⌜ki gíd?⌝	[...]
155	*Nergal muna»ir ⌜ra?⌝-[x]-e*	*ša ina maḫrī[šu izzazzu]*
156	**12.** ^{d}nuska uru$_3$ ad-ḫal ^{d}en-líl	a-ga-bi-šè al-gub-ba
157	*Nuska nāṣir pirišti Enlil*	*ša ana arkīšu izzazzu*
158	**13.** ^{d}ara sugal$_7$ zi abzu-(ke$_4$)	ká á-zi-da-šè al-gub-ba
159	*Usmû sukkallu kīnu ša apsî*	*ša ina imitti bābi izzazzu*
160/2	**14.** ^{d}di-ku$_5$ du$_{11}$-ga níĝ-sig$_5$-ga sugal$_7$ é-saĝ-íl-la-ke$_4$	á gáb-bu-šè ká al-gub-ba
161/3	*Madānu qāb damiqti sukkal Esagil*	*ša ina šumēl bābi izzazzu*
164	14 ^{ge}urin-gal gal-gal-e-ne an-dùl-bi-e-ne nam-tìl-la	
165	14 *urigallū rabbûtu ša ṣulūlšunu balāṭu*	
166	da lú nú [l]ú-dur$_{11}$-ra-ke$_4$ mu-ni-in-gub-gub-bu	
167	*idāt erši marṣi uzaqqip*	

Zweite Beschwörung bei den 14 ^{gi}*urigallus*, „die rechts und [links ...] stehen“ (JNES 33, 196: 183+x+12):

168	én	
	= **1.** ^{d}enkum maḫ du$_6$ kù-ga	ub-ba al-gub-ba
169	*Enkum ṣīru šubtu elletu*	*ša ina tubqi izzazzu*
170/2	~ **8.** ^{d}en-ki d[umu] eridu-ga-ke$_4$ mu-zu kur-kur-ra bulug$_3$-ga	gaba-ri-bi-šè á zi-da al-gub-b[a]
171/3	*E[a mā]r Eridu šumka ina mātāti šurbû*	*ana meḫretīšu ina imitti izza[z]*
174/6	= **2.** lugal gaba-ri nu-tuku-a ^{ge}ùri-gal	MIN [...] / dub-ús-bi á gáb-bu a[l-gub-ba]
175/7	*bēlu ša māḫira lā īšû urigallu*	*ša* [...] / *ana duppussîšu ina šumē[li izzazzu]*
178	~ **9.** ^{d}asar-lú-ḫi abgal diĝir-re-e-ne-meš	gaba-ri-b[i-...]
179	*Marduk apkal ilī*	[...]
180	~ **4.** zi-šà-ĝál šúm-mu [...	...]
181	*nādin napišti* [...	...]
182	~ **3.** e-ne-da nam-tìl-la [...	...]
183	*ittīš[u balāṭu ...*	...]

Fortsetzung (s. JNES 33, 196) sehr lückenhaft.

Beschwörung:

1.	(134f.) Erhabener Enkum vom reinen [Wohn]sitz (sum: vom Duku):	der in der Ecke steht.
2.	Herr, der keinen Widerpart hat, vorderster *urigallu*:	der an der linken Seite steht.
3.	Bei ihm ist Leben:	der ihm (sum.: dem Menschen) gegenüber steht.
4.	Lebensretter, Herr des Schutzes über das Leben:	der (sum. dem Menschen) gegenüber steht.
5.	Der an einem Wohnsitz der Ruhe *wohnen läßt*(?):	der ... steht.
6.	Der Leben festsetzt:	der [*rechts*?] der Tür steht.
7.	Dessen Beschwörung Le[ben ...]:	der [*links*?] der Tür steht.
8.	Ea, Herr, der die Geschicke entscheidet:	der ihm zu Häupten steht.
9.	Marduk, von dessen Beschwörung Leben stammt:	der zu seiner Rechten steht.
10.	Ninurta, der den Asakku vertreibt:	der zu seiner Linken steht.
11.	Nergal, der ... erschlägt	der vor [ihm] steht].
12.	Nuska, Bewahrer des Geheimnisses Enlils:	der hinter ihm steht.
13.	Usmû, der rechte Wesir des Apsû:	der rechts der Tür steht.
14.	Madānu, der Gutes spricht, der Wesir des Esagil:	der links der Tür steht.
(164f.)	(Diese) 14 großen *urigallus*, unter deren Schutz das Leben ist,	
(166f.)	habe ich an den Seiten des Bettes des Kranken aufgerichtet.	

Beschwörung:

= **1.**	Erhabener Enkum vom reinen [Wohn]sitz:	der in der Ecke steht.
~ **8.**	Du, dessen Namen Ea, der Sohn von Eridu, in den Ländern groß gemacht hat:	der ihm gegenüber zur Rechten steht.
= **2.**	Herr, der keinen Widerpart hat, *urigallu*:	*idem* [...], der an zweiter Stelle zur Linken steht.
~ **9.**	Marduk, Weiser (*apkallu*) der Götter:	der gegenüber [... steht].
~ **4.**	Der Lebensodem gibt [(...)]:	[...]
~ **3.**	Bei ihm ist Leben [(...)]:	[...]

Obwohl die ^{gi}*urigallu*-Figuren mit Gips an die Wand gezeichnet sind, werden sie wie ^{gi}*urigallus* aus Rohr behandelt: sie behalten das Determinativ, sie „stehen“ da (*izuzzu*), der Beschwörer hat sie „aufgerichtet“ (*zuqqupu*, Z. 167). Ihre gemeinsame Funktion ist es, Leben zu spenden und Schutz zu gewähren (Z. 164f.).

In der ersten Fassung der Beschwörung werden die 14 ^{gi}*urigallus* in zwei Siebenergruppen aufgeteilt. Beide Reihen (1.-7. bzw. 8.-14.) weisen eine im Detail unterschiedliche Abfolge auf, sogar die Terminologie bei der Standortangabe unterscheidet sich.[44] Die Funktion der ersten sieben (1.-7.) ist es, Leben zu spenden; die zweite Siebenergruppe (8.-14.) verkörpert die Macht von Göttern, nämlich der Beschwörungsgötter Ea und Marduk, der Krieger Ninurta und Nergal, der Wesire Nuska und Usmû, sowie von Madānu, dem kriegerischen Marduk-Aspekt und Richter. In der zweiten Fassung (Z. 168ff.) scheinen die beiden Gruppen eher nach Standort als nach Funktion verteilt zu sein.

Zum Ort der Figuren an den Wänden des Raumes um den Kranken herum und auf beiden Seiten der Tür lassen sich einige Beobachtungen anfügen. Auf der rechten Seite von Krankem und Tür steht das Ea-Gefolge (9. Marduk und 13. Usmû), während auf der Linken, der Unheilsseite, die kriegerischen Götter Ninurta (10.) und Madānu (14.) für Schutz durch Abwehr sorgen. Auch der ^{gi}*urigallu* zur Linken aus der

[43]) Nach Meier, *AfO* 14, 146-149, mit Nachträgen bei Borger, JNES 33, 195f.; die 14 ^{gi}*urigallus* sind durchgezählt; Name und Standort sind hier der Übersichtlichkeit halber abweichend vom Text auseinandergezogen. Die Übersetzung folgt aus gutem Grund vorrangig dem akkadischen Text.

[44]) Wurden hier zwei ursprünglich unabhängige Reihen zusammengefügt?

ersten Gruppe (2.) zeichnet sich dementsprechend durch Wehrfunktion aus, und Madānus Beschwörungsworten würde man dann diejenigen von 7. an die Seite stellen. Der Unterweltsgott Nergal (11.) sollte wohl gegenüber, das heißt 'unten' zu Füßen des bettlägrigen Kranken situiert sein. Die Angaben „in der Ecke" (1.), „zu Häupten" (8.) und „hinter ihm" (12.) dürften sich alle auf die Wand hinter dem Kranken beziehen; hier befinden sich dann Enkum, der einzige eigentliche Name eines ^{gi}*urigallu*, sozusagen ihr 'Anführer', der Weisheitsgott Ea und Nuska als Bote von Enlil. Direkt hinter dem Kranken, idealtypisch dem Hausherrn im privaten Schlafraum seines Hauses, befinden sich also die drei ^{gi}*urigallus* versammelt, denen man jeweils einen höchsten Rang zusprechen möchte.[45]

Nach den sieben Geflügelten im oberen Bereich der Wände, die den Raum vor eindringendem Übel bewahren sollten, folgen mehrere kriegerische Wächter an den Toren. Gipsbilder in den Türdurchgängen sind wieder mit ^{gi}*urigallus* ausgestattet, wie am deutlichsten die Tabelle *SpTU* 3, 69 angibt:

SpTU 3, 69 § 13:					
[Anzahl]	[*Bildnis*?]	ihre Gestalt	Attribut	Standort	Beschwörung
14	Bildnisse von denen aus Gips (*ṣalmū šūt gaṣṣi*)	mit *schwarzer Paste* bemalt (*ina* IM.GI$_6$ *uqqû*)	rechts mit geballter Faust links halten sie einen ^{gi}*urigallu* von Gips (*ina imnīšunu umāša kiṣṣurū, ina šumēlīšunu* ^{gi}*urigalli gaṣṣi našû*)	im Inneren von 2 Toren: an der rechten Laibung sind 4, an der linken Laibung sind 3 gezeichnet (*ina libbi* 2 *bābī*: *ina sippi imni* 4, *ina sippi šumēli* 3 *eṣrū*)	gaba-gi lú erim$_2$-ma

Die Figuren in der Tür sind also unterschiedlich charakterisiert: mit geballter Faust (GEŠBU$_2$ = *umāšu*) auf der einen Seite, mit ^{gi}*urigallu* an der anderen. Die auf den ersten Blick verwirrende Rechts-Links-Verteilung entspricht dem üblichen Schema bei diesen Figuren, da die Seiten hier vom Betrachter aus angegeben werden: die „rechte" Seite ist die (nach unserem Verständnis) Linke, die kämpferisch nach außen das Übel abwehrt, die „Linke" dann unsere Rechte, die im Haus Leben bewirkt. Diese doppelte Funktion des apotropäischen Schutzes nach außen und des Segens für das Innere kennen wir von zahlreichen Türfiguren.[46]

Der bildlichen Charakterisierung entsprechend ist in der zugehörigen Beschwörung von *Bīt mēseri* die kriegerische Funktion der ^{gi}*urigallus* stärker hervorgehoben. Wie im zuvor besprochenen Abschnitt nennt die Beschwörung wieder allein die ^{gi}*urigallus*, die „Bildnisse" der Tabelle *SpTU* 3, 69 kommen nicht vor.

Bīt mēseri III/IV, *SpTU* 2, 8 ii 7-13 (Sumerische und akkadische Fassung gegen Text in zwei Spalten):

7	*... ana maḫar* 14 ^{gi}*urigallī gaṣṣi ša ina libbi bābi imni u* [*šumēli*] *eṣr*[*ū tamannu*]	„..., rezitierst du vor den 14 ^{gi}*urigallus* aus Gips, die im Inneren des Tores rechts und [links] [gez]eichnet [sind]:
8	én	Beschwörung:
	gaba gi lú er[im$_2$-ma]	*mutēr irti ajjābu* (1.) Der den Feind zurückwirft,
9	sù-ud-áğ-ğá IM UD kár-kár-e[š]	*nūri namru muttanbiṭu* (2.) leuchtendes, dauernd strahlendes Licht,
10	gaba gi lú ḫul-˹ğál˺	*mutēr irti lemnu* (3.) der den Bösen zurückwirft,
11	zà ság maškim ḫul lú ká-na	*sākip rābiṣi lemnu ša bābi* (4.) der den bösen Sachwalter wegstößt, (5.) der der Türöffnung,
12	lú si-ğar-ra lú abul-la	*ša šigāri ša abulla* (6.) der des Riegels, (7.) der des Tores:
13	7 ^{gi}urin-gal [...]	*sebet urigallū ša gaṣṣa* die sieben ^{gi}*urigallus* aus Gips."

Von den teilweise kämpferischen Namen (1., 3., 4.) ausgehend schließt Wiggermann (CM 1, 71f.) auf die Funktion der ^{gi}*urigallus* als Schützer des Lebens gegen eindringendes Übel. Dabei verweist er auf die Identifikation in einem mystischen Kommentar zu einem Heilritual:

^{gi}*urigallū ša ina rēš marṣi zuqqupū, ilū sebetti, ilū rabbûtum, mārū Išḫara šunu*
„Die ^{gi}*urigallus*, die am Kopf des Kranken aufgerichtet sind, sind die Sieben Götter, die großen Götter, die Söhne von Išḫara sind sie".[47]

[45]) Zu verweisen ist auch auf die verwandte *utukkū lemnūtu*-Beschwörung O. Gurney, AAA 22, 76ff., deren Zusammenhang mit *Bīt mēseri* Wiggermann, CM 1, 113-115, feststellte. In diesem Text (meist nach CT 16, 38 iv) wird am Kopf des Bettes des Kranken ein Sühnezicklein angebunden (AAA 22, 92: 192) und ein ^{gi}*urigallu* aufgerichtet (*ibid.* 194).

[46]) Deutlich beim *laḫmu*, vgl. auch *kusarikku*, *ṣalam bīni ša* 1 *ammatu lānšu*; dazu Wiggermann, CM 1, *s. v.*; Sallaberger, ZA 90 (2000) 247 Anm. 45.

[47]) N. Strassmaier, ZA 6, 241ff. Sp. I 131: 20f.; dazu Wiggermann, CM 1, 115; s. die Bearbeitung von A. Livingstone, MMEW 172f., unter dem Titel „Ritual for Curing a Sick Man".

Die kriegerische Siebengottheit spiegelt die Wächterfunktion wieder, wenn nicht nur, wie A. Livingstone vermutet (MMEW 174), die Siebenzahl Anlaß für die Gleichsetzung bildet. Interessant ist nun die Parallele MMEW 176f.: 28:

rikis ḫurda/ātim : DINGIR.IMIN.BI
„Verknotung von Geflecht[48]: die Sieben Götter"

Man möchte hieraus eine indirekte Gleichung ^{gi}*urigallu* = *rikis ḫurda/ātim* ableiten; diese Bezeichnung mit dem „Knoten, Verknüpfen" entspricht jedenfalls sehr gut dem von U. Seidl beschriebenen Palmettenbaum.

Einzelne weitere Rituale

5. Totengeist-Ritual BAM 323: 89ff.:[49]

Das Ritual zur Heilung eines vom Totengeist verfolgten Todkranken[50] findet in der Vollmondnacht auf dem Dach des Hauses statt. Dem Patienten wird die Stirn aufgeritzt. Weiter heißt es: „Du läßt ihn im ^{gi}*urigallu*-(Kreis) Platz nehmen" (*ina* ŠÀ ^{gi}ÙRI.GAL TUŠ-*eb-šu*, Z. 95); sein Blick geht nach Norden. Wenn am Morgen der Mond unter- und die Sonne aufgeht, spricht der Todkranke nach dem Opfer ein Gebet an Mondgott und Sonnengott. „Siebenmal spricht er es und geht aus dem ^{gi}*urigallu*-(Kreis) heraus" (7-*šu* DU$_{11}$.GA-*ma iš-tu* ^{gi}ÙRI.GAL È-*ma*, Z. 103); sein Ritualgewand legt er ab und ein reines, weißes an, der Beschwörer ruft noch einmal Mond- und Sonnengott an.

6. Ritual vor dem Sternbild Wagen, PBS 1/2, 121 Rs. 6-13 und AMT 4, 44:[51]

Ein Ritual gegen „Lebensabschneidung" (*zikurudû*) wendet sich an das Sternbild Großer Wagen (^{mul}MAR.GÍD.DA).[52] Das Ritual findet des Nachts auf dem Dach vor dem Sternbild statt. Die beiden Texte sind keine exakten Duplikate, beschreiben aber offensichtlich dasselbe Ritual.

PBS 1/2, 121 Ritual Rs. 7-13:

7 KÌD.KÌD.BI [*ina mūši?*] ÙR A KÙ SUD
8 *ana* IGI ^{mul}MAR.GÍD.DA ^{gi}ŠUTUG ŠUB-*di*
9 ^{gi}ÙRI.GAL *tu-za-qáp* SIKI ḪÉ.ME.DA
10 SIKI ZA.GÌN.NA SIKI GA.RÍG.AK.A *tu-la-aḫ*
11 *ina* ŠÀ ^{gi}ÙRI.GAL GI.DU$_8$ DU-*an*
12 [ ] ˹x x˺ a tu ta ḪI ˹x˺ KA [ ] 3-*šú* SID-*nu*
13 [(x)] KI.ZA.ZA

7 „Die Ritualhandlungen dazu: [*In der Nacht*] besprengst du das Dach mit reinem Wasser.
8 Vor dem Großen Wagen legst du einen Schilfschrein an.
9 ^{gi}*urigallu* richtest du auf. Mit roter Wolle,
10 blauer Wolle, gekämmter Wolle verzierst du (ihn).
11 Inmitten des ^{gi}*urigallu*(-Areals) setzt du ein Tragaltärchen hin.
12 [...] ... rezitierst du dreimal.
13 [(?)] Du wirfst dich nieder."

AMT 44, 4:[53]

1 DIŠ LÚ ^{uzu}SA ZAG *u* GÙB *uš-tab-ba-lu*$_4$ MÚD *ina pi-i-šú* [
2 *mi-iḫ-ḫa* U$_4$.3.KÁM DU-*ku ana* LÚ BI *ana* IGI ^{mul}MAR.GÍD.D[A
3 DIŠ U$_4$.10.KÁM GÍD.DA-*ma* BA.ÚŠ ŠU ZI.KU$_5$.RU.DA [
4 [*a-n*]*a* ŠU ZI.KU$_5$.RU.DA KAR-*šú ina* GI$_6$ *ina ka-ma-aš* GÌR ^{gi}PAD.UD *ina ú-ri ana* IGI [
5 [x x (x)] ^{gi}PAD.UD ^{gi}ÙRI.GAL *a-na* IM LÍMMU.BA *tu-za-qa-ap* A.GÚB.[BA
6 [ZÌ.SUR].˹RA˺ *i-ta-ti-šú te-ṣir* ŠÀ ^{gi}PAD.UD SIKI ḪÉ.ME.DA [
7 [^{gi}]ÙRI.GAL *tu-ul-la-aḫ* LÚ TÚG *za-ka-a* [
8 [^{L}]^{Ú}MU$_7$.MU$_7$ DIB.BA-*ma ana* ŠÀ ^{gi}PAD.UD *tu*-˹x˺-[
9 [*nam-ḫa*-]*ra ta-sà-ḫa-ap-ma* ZÚ.LUM.MA ZÌ.EŠA *ta*-[
10 [ ] ^{dug}*qa-a tu-ka-an ana* IGI [^{mul}MAR.GÍD.DA?
11 [ ]-*a a-na* TÍL *di-ni di-ni* [
12 [ ] *ina* KI BI BAL-*qí* ˹x˺ [
13 [ ] ˹x˺ ki ˹x˺ [

1 „Wenn ein Mann die Muskeln rechts und links durcheinanderbringt, Blut aus seinem Mund [...]

[48]) Der Versuch, *ḫurda/ātum* mit „Geflecht" zu übersetzen, beruht auf der Überlegung, daß die in den Wbb. *sub ḫurdu*, *ḫurdatu* (mit den Nachträgen in *AHw.* III!) angeführten Bedeutungen wie „Matte" (an Tür, auf Dach), „Querholz" und „(weibliche und männliche) Scham" sich wohl auf eine Grundbedeutung „Geflecht" zurückführen lassen; bei der euphemistischen Bezeichnung für die Scham wäre dann das 'Geflecht' eigentlich das Schamhaar.

[49]) BAM 323 = KAR 184 = *TuL* 78-86 Nr. 21.

[50]) Zu den dramatischen Symptomen s. J. A. Scurlock – B. R. Andersen, *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine* (2005) 326: 13. 223, die Kopfschmerzen, Tinnitus, Nacken- und Rückenschmerzen und Muskelschwäche als Symptome für eine virale Meningoencephalitis ansehen.

[51]) Die Zusammengehörigkeit dieser beiden Texte ergab sich beim Überprüfen der *urigallu*-Belege. PBS 1/2, 121 wurde erstmals von H. F. Lutz, *ibid.* S. 24ff., bearbeitet.

[52]) PBS 1/2: 1 - Rs. 6; das Gebet ist „^{mul}Ereqqu 1" bei W. R. Mayer, UFBG 429.

[53]) Z. 1-4 bearbeitet bei Scurlock – Andersen (Anm. 50) 564: Ap. 71; Übersetzung auch R. C. Thompson, AJSL 47 (1930/31) 21f. Ergänzung Z. 9 nach CAD S 33.

2 Bier, wenn 3 Tage vorbeigegangen sind, für diesen Mann vor dem Großen Wagen [libierst du ...]
3 Wenn es sich aber 10 Tage hinzieht, dann stirbt er; es ist die 'Hand des Lebensabschneidens (*zikurudû*)' [...]
4 Um die 'Hand des Lebensabschneidens (*zikurudû*)' von ihm zu entfernen: In der Nacht unter *Beugen* des Beines(?) den *šutukku*-Schilfschrein am Dach vor [dem Großen Wagen? ...]
5 [... neben?/vor? dem?] Schilfschrein richtest du ^{gi}*urigallu* nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen auf. Das Weihwassergefäß [stellst du auf ...]
6 Rundherum zeichnest du [einen Mehlkreis(?)]; innen ist der Schilfschrein. Mit roter Wolle [...]
7 [(...) ^{gi}]*urigallu* verzierst du. Den Mann [bekleidest du] mit einem reinen Gewand [...]
8 [...] *den Beschwörer läßt du vorübergehen*(?) und zum Inneren des Schilfschreines [...]st du [...]
9 [ein Aufnahmegef]äß bedeckst du und Datteln, Feinmehl [streust] du [...]
10 [.....] ein Litergefäß stellst du hin. Vor dem [Sternbild Wagen sprichst du(??):]
11 ['.....] entscheide meinen Fall zum Leben! [...']
12 [.....] an dieser Stelle libierst du [...]"

Das Aufrichten der ^{gi}*urigallus* auf dem Dach (s. **5.**) und die Ausrichtung nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen (s. **7.**) begegnen auch andernorts. Offensichtlich berichtet dieses Ritual davon, daß die ^{gi}*urigallus* mit bunter Wolle geschmückt werden, auch wenn die Textlücken letztlich noch keine ganz eindeutige Entscheidung zulassen. Das würde jedenfalls die Deutung unterstützen, daß im *Mīs pî*-Ritual (oben **2.**, S. 63f.) Materialien zur Ausgestaltung der ^{gi}*urigallus* bereitgelegt werden.

7. Namburbi-Rituale:

Feld-*Namburbi BaF* 18, 367ff. (zuvor publiziert: AMT 7, 8; CT 39, 8; CTN 4, 134; STT 242): Unter den von S. M. Maul, *BaF* 18 (1994), bearbeiteten *Namburbi*-Ritualen weist allein das gegen „das Übel von Feld und Obstgarten" ^{gi}*urigallus* auf. Die Handlung beginnt folgendermaßen:

„4 ^{gi}*urigallus* machst du; du bestreichst sie mit Asphalt, Gips und Zedernöl. In den vier Ecken von Feld und Obstgarten pflanzt du sie am Morgen auf" (4 ^{gi}*urigallī teppuš / ittâ gaṣṣa u šaman erēni talappassunūti / ina šārī erbetti ša eqli u kirî ina šēri tuzaqqapšunūti*; *BaF* 18, 368f./371: 9'-11').

Am Abend werden die Opfer bereitet, für Ea und Marduk und für die Götter von Feld und Garten. Nach Gebet und Abräumen der Opfertische wirft man die 4 ^{gi}*urigallus* und die Opferbrote in den Fluß (*BaF* 188, 370/372: 25'f.).

In den *Namburbi*-Lösungsritualen wird üblicher Weise kein ^{gi}*urigallu* verwendet. Daß das hier der Fall ist, hängt deshalb sicher mit dem Thema zusammen, dem Übel, das vom Feld ausgeht, während sonst der Patient mit einem Mehlkreis umgeben wird. Für unseren Zusammenhang wichtig ist dabei auch die singuläre Behandlung der ^{gi}*urigallus* mit Asphalt, Gips und Zedernöl (vgl. dazu U. Seidl, S. 55; s. auch **6.**).

Anfügen läßt sich das vergleichbare Aufrichten von ^{gi}*urigallus* bei einem Ritual gegen Maul- und Klauenseuche in der Viehhürde (4 R^2 18* Nr. 6).

Schlangen-*Namburbi* K 6142 Rs.?[54]: Nach einer sumerischen(!) Beschwörung mit der Unterschrift (Z. 12') [NA]M.BÚR.BI ḪU[L MUŠ.MEŠ] „Löseritual gegen das Übel von Schlangen" folgt das Ritual:

(13') „[...] wäscht du. Schlange [...] (14') [Dattel]n, Feinmehl [streust du] über [...]. (15') [...] richtest du her. Nach den [vier] Wind[richtungen] richtest [du ^{gi}*urigallus*] (16') auf. Dieser/n Mensch [...] in die ^{gi}[*urigallus*] hinein. (17') [...] vor die Schlange [...] (18') läßt du ihn hintreten und [sprichst die Beschwörung ...]"

Auf derselben Tafel findet sich noch ein *Namburbi*-Ritual gegen Schlangen,[55] ohne daß ^{gi}*urigallus* genannt wären; ein Grund für die Abweichung läßt sich hier nicht erkennen.

8. Ḫulbazizi-Beschwörungsritual *SpTU* 3, 83 Rs. 13-18:

In dieser „Beschwörungstafel zur Abkehr von Übel und zwar mit Hilfe von Pflanzen und Mineralien" (E. von Weiher, *SpTU* 3, S. 110) werden *Ḫulbazizi*-Beschwörungen mit Ritualen verbunden. In *Ḫulbazizi* spielt Ninurta eine dominante Rolle; der Ritualabschnitt, in dem in dieser Tafel einmalig ein(?) ^{gi}*urigallu* „aufgerichtet" wird (Rs. 17), wendet sich hingegen an Šulpaea. Ist damit Šulpaea als Namen Jupiters gemeint, so daß das Auftreten des ^{gi}*urigallu* damit zu verbinden wäre (vgl. oben **5.** und **6.**)?[56]

9. Seleukidische Rituale:

Nächtliche Riten im Bīt Rēš in Uruk, *RAcc.* 69/120/124 (AO 6460) Rs. 26f.:[57] Am Abend werden die Tempel geschlossen, die Menschen zünden Feuer

[54]) R. Caplice, *Or.* 36, 27-31 + Tab. IV (Foto).

[55]) „Rs." nach Caplice a. O., bei Maul, *BaF* 18, 271ff. als „Vs." bearbeitet.

[56]) Solange die von I. Finkel zu erwartende Publikation der Serie nicht vorliegt, können solche Fragen nicht beantwortet werden.

[57]) Die neueste Bearbeitung findet sich bei M. J. H. Linssen, *The cults of Uruk and Babylon*. CM 25 (2004) 245ff.

an und opfern den Göttern. Die Vorbereitungen für die Nacht schließen damit: „Die Torwächter richten ^{gi}*urigallus* links und rechts vom Tor auf (r. 26f. *maṣṣarū abullāti urigallē imna u šumēla / ša abullāti uzaqqapū*). Holzfeuer zünden sie bis zum Hellwerden in den Toren an."

Die ^{gi}*urigallus* stehen an den Türen, wie etwa auch im Haus in *Bīt mēseri* (**4.**); aber nun beschützen sie die gesamte nachtschlafende Stadt.

Mondfinsternisritual BRM 4, 6: 31'f.:[58] Während der Mondfinsternis finden in der Stadt, die keiner verlassen darf, Klagen statt. Am nächsten Tag werden die Paraphernalia entfernt, *garakku*-Räucherständer und Asche im Fluß versenkt. „Am nächsten Tag, bevor der Sonnengott aufleuchtet, öffnest du die Tore, die du versiegelt hast. ^{gi}*urigallu*, Mehlkreis, weiße und schwarze Kordel entfernst du und wirfst sie in den Fluß" (*ina šanî ūmu lām Šamaš innapḫa bābī ša tukannik tepette urigalla zisurrâ / ulin peṣû u ṣalma turabba ana nāri tanaddi*).

Wie im Uruk-Ritual standen hier die ^{gi}*urigallus* (oder ein ^{gi}*urigallu*) am Tor, worunter wegen der expliziten Anweisungen für die Stadt im vorangehenden Abschnitt das Stadttor gemeint ist. Der oder die ^{gi}*urigallu*(s) werden mit der Grenze des Mehlkreises entfernt, dazu die wohl ebenfalls abgrenzenden Wollfäden, wenn die drohende Gefahr vorbeigegangen ist. Im Text ist allerdings das Aufstellen der Installationen nicht erhalten.

Zusammenfassung und Rückblick

Aussehen, Herstellung und Gebrauch

Die Identifikation des ^{gi}*urigallu* mit dem Palmettenbaum, dem sogenannten 'Heiligen Baum', durch U. Seidl ging vom Material Schilfrohr aus. Eine pfahlartige Gestalt legt die stereotype Kombination mit dem Verb *zuqqupu* „aufrichten" zwingend nahe. In *Mīs pî* (**2.**) wird Rohr bereitgelegt und die Herkunft des Materials gepriesen. Die Bezeichnung als „Rohrpfosten" (^{gi}gilim, **2.**), die indirekte Gleichsetzung mit „Verknotung von Geflecht" (S. 71) und die lexikalischen Gleichungen (S. 61) ließen sich noch anführen. Das Schilfgebinde war wohl verziert, mit bunten Fäden (**6.**; vgl. Anm. 18), vielleicht auch mit verschiedenen Ästen (**2.**) bzw. weiß und schwarz und mit Öl bestrichen (**7.**). Im Haus werden ^{gi}*urigallus* mit Gips an die Wand gezeichnet (**4.**).

[58]) = *TuL* 94: 31; vgl. Linssen, CM 25, 307/310 und S. 113 zur Stelle (allerdings meint er, daß die ^{gi}*urigallus* in den Tempel gebracht worden seien; dafür gibt es aber keinen Hinweis); zum Verb *turabba* (zu *rubbû*) s. oben Anm. 38.

Ein *urigallu* wird kaum je ganz allein gebraucht (**8.**?). Selbst wenn es in der *utukkū lemnūtu*-Beschwörung heißt, „einen ^{gi}*urigallu* pflanzte ich zu seinen Häupten auf" (AAA 22, 92: 194), ist aus dem Ritualkontext von *Bīt mēseri* deutlich, daß dies einer von 14 ^{gi}*urigallus* ist (**4.**).

Im Haus werden die ^{gi}*urigallus* in den privaten Innenräumen um das Bett des Kranken an die Wände gezeichnet (**4.**). Hier, in den Privaträumen, erscheinen ^{gi}*urigallus* zusammen mit den „Weisen", den *apkallus*, oder namenlosen Genien.

Den Türöffnungen gilt die besondere Aufmerksamkeit der Rituale; ^{gi}*urigallus* stehen als Wächter und Türhüter am Zugang zum Empfangsraum (**4.**: sieben ^{gi}*urigallus*). Entsprechend werden sie links und rechts der Tore einer Stadt zu Zeiten magischer Gefährdung, errichtet: des Nachts und bei Mondfinsternis (**9.**). Umgrenzen sie einen vorgegebenen Platz unter freiem Himmel, dann genügt es, die vier Ecken oder die Seiten nach den Himmelsrichtungen zu markieren: am Dach (**6.**; vgl. **5.**), am Feld oder in der Hürde (**7.**). In der 'Steppe' schließlich kann man mit ^{gi}*urigallus* einen runden Ritualplatz abstecken, der zusätzlich mit einem Mehlkreis (*zisurrû*) abgesichert wird (**1.**, **2.**): hier markiert es den Ort der ankommenden Kultstatue in *Mīs pî* (**2.**), den des Königs in *Bīt rimki* (**1.**). Trotz der Handlung auf dem offenen Land ist dann der Unterschied zum geschützten Innenraum des Hauses, dem Zentrum des Lebens, nicht mehr so groß.

Der mit ^{gi}*urigallus* markierte Platz erlaubt darin rituelle Handlungen (**1.**, **2.**), ein Tragaltärchen wird hineingestellt (**6.**, PBS 1/2, 121 Rs. 11), darin hantiert man mit einem „Räucherständer" (*nappaṭu*; KAR 90: 20).

Unter diesen Voraussetzungen bildet meines Erachtens das stärkste Argument zugunsten der Identifikation von U. Seidl, daß das gemeinsame Vorkommen von Gruppen von Palmettenbäumen (^{gi}*urigallu*) mit „Weisen" (*apkallu*) und anderen segenspendenden Figuren im Ritual *Bīt mēseri* (**4.**) in den Innenräumen eines Hauses dem Reliefschmuck assyrischer Paläste entspricht, wo sich auch sonst Entsprechungen zu den Figuren der Rituale (**3.**, **4.**) finden. Und in *Bīt mēseri* (**4.**) werden ^{gi}*urigallus* als einzige Schilfobjekte an die Wände gezeichnet.

Eine Diskrepanz scheint zwischen der Herstellung aus Rohr (**2.**) und dem kunstvollen 'Heiligen Baum' der Kunst zu bestehen. Doch im Umkreis des Königs (vgl. auch **1.**), darüber hinaus in der Verstetigung im Relief oder anderen Formen der Darstellung, werden sicher kunstvollste Gebilde als Vorbilder gewählt worden sein.

Nach Abschluß eines Rituals werden die temporären Einrichtungen, darunter die ^{gi}*urigallus*, entfernt und in den Fluß geworfen (**4.**, **7.**, **9.**).

Funktion

Wie die Aufstellung der ^{gi}*urigallus* zeigt, dienen sie der Umgrenzung eines rituellen Raumes. Während der Mehlkreis nur eine Grenze am Boden zieht, formen die ^{gi}*urigallus* durch ihre Höhe tatsächlich einen Raum: an die Wände gezeichnet ebenso wie im Kreis in der Steppe. In gleicher Weise bestimmen sie die Raumgrenzen an den Türöffnungen.

Die eine Funktion des ^{gi}*urigallu* ist dementsprechend die des 'Torwächters': der das Böse abwehrt und das Gute hereinläßt (**2.**, **4.**). In dieser doppelten Funktion unterscheidet er sich deutlich von den rein apotropäisch wirkenden kriegerischen Mischwesen im Außentor (**3.**, **4.**). Als 'Torwächter' wird er im Privathaus (**2.**) wie im öffentlichen Raum (**9.**) eingesetzt.

Ganz zentral ist die Wirkung im Inneren des Hauses, wo ^{gi}*urigallus* gemeinsam mit den friedfertigen „Weisen" auftreten. Exorzistische Reinigung und apotropäischer Schutz allein genügen nämlich nicht: das Innere wäre so zwar vom Übel befreit, damit aber 'leer', nicht mit Lebenskraft erfüllt.[59] Diese Lebenskraft vermitteln Ea und seine Gesandten, allen voran die *apkallus* von Erde, Luft und Wasser. Deshalb sind die *apkallus* um den Patienten an seinem Bett versammelt, befinden sie sich in den innersten Räumen. Mit ihnen zusammen wirken die ^{gi}*urigallus*, die lebensspendende Kraft ausströmen, wie sie in ihren Namen beschworen wird (s. insbesondere **4.**). In den großen Ritualen *Bīt rimki* oder *Mīs pî* oder in Reinigungsritualen werden nicht wie in den Ritualen zum Schutz des Hauses und des Einzelnen (**3.**, **4.**) Bildnisse eingesetzt. Dort wird man deshalb nie *apkallu*-Figuren begegnen können. Durch die Kombination aus *Bīt mēseri* (**4.**) wissen wir aber, daß ein ^{gi}*urigallu* dort eine dem *apkallu* vergleichbare Funktion ausüben kann: als lebensspendender Gesandter Eas. Auch wenn durch den Kreis von ^{gi}*urigallus* ein Ritualplatz abgegrenzt wird, wird also ihre Lebenskraft beschworen (**2.**, SAALT 1, 93: 40, Rohr Nintinugas).

Der ^{gi}*urigallu* wirkt lebensspendend, nicht exorzistisch; er ist kein Werkzeug des Exorzisten, direkter Kontakt mit Personen erfolgt nicht.[60] In Reinigungsritualen erscheint er eigentlich sehr selten. Wenn er die Fläche des Feldes oder der Hürde abgrenzt (**7.**), dann soll zwar auch das Übel diesen Bannkreis nicht überschreiten, doch wohl vor allem neues Leben in der Krankheit ermöglicht werden. In Reinigungsritualen spürt man deshalb ebenfalls die lebensspendende Rolle, wenn der König in größter Gefahr ins *Bīt rimki* eintritt (**1.**) oder sich ein Todkranker auf dem Dach den Riten unterzieht (**6.**).

Im Gegensatz zum Mehlkreis, der ausschließlich als Grenze fungiert, vermitteln ^{gi}*urigallus* die Präsenz der Götter. Am deutlichsten zeigen das die Götternamen von sieben ^{gi}*urigallus* in *Bīt mēseri* (**4.**). Im *Bīt rimki* wendet sich der König an den Sonnengott Šamaš (**1.**); im Ritual auf dem Dach werden Mond und Sonne (**7.**) oder das Sternbild des Wagen angerufen (**6.**), ein anderes Mal vielleicht Jupiter (**8.**).

Die in *Bīt rimki* (**1.**) angedeutete und in *Mīs pî* bestätigte (**2.**) Differenzierung der beiden Schilfbauten in Ritualen ist meines Erachtens bedeutsam für das Verständnis: die ^{gi}*urigallus* umgrenzen einen Ritualplatz, aber sie bilden kein Heiligtum; die temporäre Kultstätte im Ritual ist der „Schilfschrein", *šutukku*. Dementsprechend findet man ^{gi}*urigallus* in den Innenräumen des Hauses oder an den Stadttoren, aber eben nicht beim oder im Tempel. Das Auftreten des 'Heiligen Baumes' im Palast entspricht dem genau.

Im frühen Mesopotamien ist das „Emblem" (urin) durchaus mit dem Tempel verbunden; die Tempelbauhymne Gudeas ist das beste Zeugnis dafür. Allerdings gab es offensichtlich bis in altbabylonische Zeit noch nicht den ^{gi}urin-gal/*uri(n)gallu* mit dem Determinativ gi „Rohr", der in Ritualen eingesetzt wird, auch wenn selbstverständlich dem Schilfrohr Enkis immer eine zentrale Rolle in der Magie zukam. Womöglich wurde also die spezifische Funktion des ^{gi}*urigallu* zusammen mit der entsprechenden Bildgestalt erst in nachaltbabylonischer Zeit gefunden.

Ein pfahlartig aufgerichtetes Gebilde aus Rohr, das in größerer Zahl Räume begrenzt und Türen flankiert, das im Inneren den Schutz des Lebens bewirkt, von göttlicher Kraft aber nie Kultstätte, begleitet von Genien und „Weisen", den *apkallus*, präsent bei Gebeten an Šamaš und an Gestirne, so lassen sich sowohl der ^{gi}*urigallu* aufgrund der Textzeugnisse als auch der Palmettenbaum der Bildwelt beschreiben.

[59]) Zu dieser Beobachtung vgl. auch Maul, *BaF* 18, 6.

[60]) Vgl. schon Wiggermann, CM 1, 71. Der fragend angeführte Beleg CT 16, 7: 245, eine *utukkū lemnūtu*-Beschwörung im Legitimationstyp, gehört nach der Kopie nicht hierher; ein ⌜GAL⌝ nach ^{gi}urin ist nicht möglich.

The Tower of Babel: archaeology, history and cuneiform texts[1]

By A. R. George (London)

Such is the fame of the myth of the Tower of Babel related in Genesis 11 that the publication of a new monograph on the building generally thought to have inspired the myth is an important event. It is necessarily an occasion for the academic disciplines that deal with the ancient Near East – archaeology, ancient history and Assyriology – to present their subject to the wider world. Stemming from the author's excavations on the structure's core and foundations in 1962, Schmid's magnificent book on the ziqqurrat or temple-tower of Babylon is consequently much more than a final report of the kind conventional in Near Eastern archaeology. Based on the evidence of texts as well as the results of excavation, it is a history of the study and representation of the building in all its aspects, from biblical myth to mediaeval fantasy to archaeological problem.

The first chapter presents myth and fantasy, discussing the classical and biblical traditions of the tower, the reports of early European travellers in Mesopotamia, the imaginative depictions of mediaeval and Renaissance European painters and engravers, and the history of modern enquiry into the ruined temple towers of Assyria and Babylonia up to the first scientific excavations (for the impact of the tower on mediaeval and later artists see now Albrecht 1999).

Chapter 2 turns to more reliable evidence, presenting the E-sangil Tablet, a famous cuneiform document copied out by a scribal apprentice called Anu-bēlšunu in 229 BC, and quoting from Friedrich Wetzel's preliminary accounts of his excavations of the foundations of Babylon's ziqqurrat in 1913. It then examines in detail the reconstructions of the ziqqurrat of Babylon put forward on the basis of this evidence by subsequent scholars, from Koldewey and Dombart to Martiny and Busink. A turning point was the publication in 1938 of Wetzel's final report of the excavations, supplemented by F. H. Weissbach's authoritative edition of the E-sangil Tablet (Wetzel and Weissbach 1938). This generated a rash of further reconstructions, from von Soden to Siegler; at the same time archaeological investigation of ziqqurrats at other Mesopotamian sites increased modern understanding of the historical development of these buildings across three millennia. At the end of the chapter Schmid observes how little modern scholars agreed on such vital matters as the date of the ruined building excavated by Wetzel and the date of composition of the text later copied by Anu-bēlšunu. Worse was the failure of some reconstructions even to keep to the known dimensions.

In Chapter 3 Schmid turns to his own place in the history of this extraordinary building, describing the excavations of 1962 and presenting their results in every possible detail. This account supersedes his much cited preliminary reports (Schmid 1981, 1990, n. d.). Though the building had been levelled in antiquity, the first excavators had recognized two structures: the baked-brick mantle and the mud-brick core. Koldewey and Wetzel identified the mantle as the work of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II, and the core as the work of Esarhaddon or a previous builder. Careful survey and measurement of the ruined infrastructure led Schmid to identify the remains of three successive buildings, not two. The oldest structure was a tower of mud brick measuring about 65 m square at its base, which had suffered heavy damage. Superimposed on this core was a mantle of more mud brick anchored into the older structure with timber beams and measuring about 73 m square at its base. The brickwork of this mantle and the older core had later been cut back below ground to about 60 m square; the residual shelf of compressed mud brick (the so-called 'Tonbettung') then served as a partial platform for a more durable mantle of baked brick measuring about 91 m square at its base. Completely new was the discovery of later ruins on the levelled core, including the infrastructure of a large secular building separated from the mud bricks of the tower by a shallow aggregate of destruction debris. Schmid considers this building to be contemporary probably with the Parthian-period dwelling houses excavated in 1900 some 150 m to the south, on the northern flank of the mound Amran ibn Ali. In 1967-8 further exploration of the ziqqurrat's core and immediate surroundings added more detail to this picture (Schmidt 1973: 165).

The dimensions of the tower's baked-brick mantle, mostly robbed but still traceable, are generally supposed to confirm the identity of the ruined edifice in its last rebuilding with the tower described in Anu-bēlšunu's tablet, for the measurements of the base given there are a close match for the 91 m square revealed by excavation (see further below). But

[1]) Review article of Hansjörg Schmid, *Der Tempelturm Etemenanki in Babylon*. ix, 154 pp., 42 pls., 18 plans, 1 folded insert. Mainz am Rhein, 1995 (= *Baghdader Forschungen* 17).

Schmid's meticulous survey of the mantle also threw up a way to reconcile conflicting data concerning the stairways. The dimensions and angles of these, as established by excavation, did not seem to coincide with landings at the same height as the terrace-levels reported by the tablet. Schmid's solution lies in supposing that the heights of the stages given by the E-sangil Tablet include (a) a parapet wall that matches in height the comparable wall either side of the stairways, and (b), for the first stage only, the buried infrastructure of the mantle, i.e. the depth that it extended below the bottom of the stairways. He notes also the implication that the cuneiform text is not a description of an actual building but an outline in words of an architect's intentions (*Entwurfsbeschreibung*). In support Schmid calls attention to ancient examples of clay plans held to depict ziqqurrats in both horizontal and vertical planes, which may also be instances of architectural design. One of these is actually used by Schmid (1995: 86-7) as a corroboration of his 73 m square tower, following its identification as Marduk's ziqqurrat by Liane Jakob-Rost (1984: 59: ^{é}*siq-ra-te/ti šá* ^{d}AMAR.UTU 'ziqqurrat of Marduk'). Some years ago I collated the epigraph that led to this identification and found this reading of what are very difficult traces to be unlikely, though I did not alight on an alternative decipherment. The diagram is, in any case, clearly schematic, and even if it represents a ziqqurrat (which is by no means certain), it is best not adduced as evidence for any real structure.

Chapter 4 presents a brief history of the ziqqurrat of Babylon, quoting extensively from the inscriptions of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, and continues with a discussion of the Neo-Babylonian rebuilding and the ziqqurrat's subsequent decay and destruction. Schmid's thesis is that the baked-brick mantle of 91 m square represents the work of King Nabopolassar of Babylon, finished by his son, Nebuchadnezzar II (so already Koldewey and Wetzel); the mud-brick mantle of 73 m square is the edifice constructed by King Esarhaddon of Assyria and his son, Ashurbanipal; and the mud-brick core represents the damaged remnants of an earlier tower that Esarhaddon's father, Sennacherib, demolished during his sack of Babylon in 689 BC. The validity of this thesis will be examined below.

The subject of Chapter 5 is the question of raised temples and the means of reaching them, with especial attention paid to the location of the stairways in the ruined ziqqurrat of Ur. This background informs a detailed discussion of Schmid's own reconstruction of the ziqqurrat of Babylon in Chapter 6. As before, the essential source for his reconstruction is the E-sangil Tablet, which not only presents ideal dimensions of the tower's base (§§ 4-5) and terraces (§ 7), but also gives lengths and breadths of chambers of the temple that sat on the tower's summit (§ 6). And, as before, the assumption is that the structure described in the E-sangil Tablet actually became a reality. The volume is concluded with a short summary and copious illustrations and plans.

Schmid's book is in many ways a model report of an archaeological excavation, giving a full account of relevant scholarship and previous research in neighbouring disciplines as well as western Asiatic archaeology, and addressing with considerable insight and ingenuity the potential of a building ruined to its foundations nevertheless to yield important clues for the reconstruction of its superstructure. In using ancient documentary evidence, however, the author has sometimes relied on out-of-date scholarship, and this undermines some of his hypotheses concerning, especially, the building's history. The rest of this article will survey the documentary evidence, as it now stands, for the temple tower of Babylon, and reconsider its history and archaeology in the light of this evidence.

The evidence for the ziqqurrat of Babylon in cuneiform texts

Before 1876, when George Smith made the first translation of the E-sangil Tablet, the principal documentary evidence for the details of construction of Babylon's ziqqurrat was the account of the tower of eight storeys in Herodotus's *Babylônios logos*. Herodotus's description of Babylon is still taken seriously by some, although the growing volume of cuneiform texts that relate to Babylon shows his account to be shot through with inaccuracies that can be put down to hearsay and even fantasy (Rollinger 1993, 1998; scholarly reaction to Rollinger's work, mostly favourable, is summarized by Oelsner 1999-2000: 377-8 with fn. 40). As far as the ziqqurrat is concerned, Herodotus's report, whether based on a personal inspection or not, is for this reason inadmissible as evidence of first resort, in spite of the many attempts to reconcile it with other sources.[2] It must give way to the evidence of cuneiform texts, as too must second-hand references to the tower in later classical writers, the report of a 'tower whose top may reach unto heaven' in Genesis 11, and elaborations on this in biblical scholia and the pseudepigrapha.

The decipherment of the E-sangil Tablet confirmed most commentators in the view that the mythical Tower of Babel was a memory of a real building, a staged temple-tower that the Babylonians knew by the Sumerian ceremonial name of E-temen-anki 'House of the Foundation Platform of Heaven and Underworld' (for a critique of this assumption see Uehlinger 1990). Apart from the E-sangil Tablet, the cuneiform evidence for E-temen-anki under this name comprises the inscriptions of royal builders, a mention in the poem of Erra, appearance in the litany of temple names of Babylon and other cities that regularly occurs in first-millennium copies of liturgical texts, and entries in scholarly lists of temples, temple gates and other sacred locations (George 1992: 298-300, 1993a: 149, gazetteer entry 1088). To these must be added (a) the reference to Marduk and Zarpanītu of é.te.me.en.an.ki (var. é.te.me.na.an.ki) in Late Babylonian copies of a cultic calendar (BRM IV 25 // SBH VII, ed. Unger 1931: 260-1) and (b) an entry in the list of seven seats of Marduk collected in one of the scholarly compendia of heptads: *šu-bat* ^{d}*bēl*(en) *šá* é.te.me.[en.an.ki] 'seat of Bēl in E-temen-[anki]' (Lambert 1997: 75, 15). Some of these texts will be cited below in discussing the ziqqurrat's history.

Here I add first some comments on the E-sangil Tablet. In writing up his book, Schmid was evidently unable to consult the most recent edition of this document, where the text is improved in some instances by the discovery of a second manuscript, a scribal exercise tablet from Babylon (MS B in the edition of George 1992: 109-19 no. 13). There he would also have found a brief introduction which characterizes the text on formal grounds as belonging to the mathematical tradition and suspects it of containing hypothetical dimensions, not actual measurements. As noted above, Schmid himself describes it as an *Entwurfsbeschreibung*. Philology thus agrees with archaeology: the E-sangil Tablet presents an ideal of how the tower was meant to look, and does not constitute a physical survey of a built structure.

In my view, however, the text's formal mathematical nature precludes it from being quite what Schmid thinks it is, a practical document of architectural planning (Schmid 1995: 61-3). The use of language from academic arithmetic,[3] the interest in the combined area of two courtyards of the neighbouring temple E-sangil as material for a mathematical exercise (§§ 1-3), the presence in the same document of linear measurements based on different cubit-standards, and the presentation of the dimensions of the base of E-temen-anki as examples of how such measurements can be variously converted into area expressed in the respective capacity-surface systems, all these features indicate that the text is still more abstract and academic than an architect's plan. The suspicion must be that as an extrapolation of arithmetical and geometric problems taking as its subject idealized dimensions of Marduk's temple precinct and ziqqurrat, the text of the E-sangil Tablet originated as a compilation of training exercises in mathematics for would-be surveyors.

The text may have come to have other significance. Glassner (2002) has found in it a more profound purpose, observing a cosmological allusion in the matching size of the ziqqurrat and the ark of Ūta-napišti in SB Gilgameš XI, both having bases of one *ikû* and both subdivided on the vertical plane into seven storeys. As he notes, the *ikû* is also the key dimension in the first section of the E-sangil Tablet, being the notional area of the Grand Court (*kisalmaḫ*). But there is more to it than that, for the *ikû* was also held to be visible in the night sky, where it was the great square of Pegasus, the celestial counterpart of both E-sangil and Babylon (George 1992: 244).[4] The fact that measurements given in the text are quoted in a Late Babylonian commentary (George 1992 no. 62) shows that its subject matter was known to learned scholars and used in the exposition of difficult contexts outside mathematics. Clearly there was much speculation about the deeper significance of the dimensions of the ziqqurrat that was transmitted orally and is lost to us.

At this point it is useful to consider the date of the text inscribed on the E-sangil Tablet. Not all of it has to have been written at the same time; what concern us here are the sections that report the measurement of

[2]) For example, several proposals have been put forward to explain Herodotus's eight storeys in terms of a seven-staged tower, chiefly by (a) arguing from the cuneiform evidence that the shrine forming the seventh stage itself comprised two storeys (Heinrich 1982: 308; George 1992: 431-3), (b) supposing that the ziqqurrat's superstructure was so ruinous that it gave onlookers the impression of numbering eight stages instead of seven (Böhl 1962: 113; Schmid 1981: 134), and (c) referring to the Greek habit of counting ground-level as the first storey (see MacGinnis 1986: 71-2). This last explanation has been resurrected by von Soden (1996: 84): 'die Griechen beim Zählen der Stockwerke eines Großbauwerkes die (vor allem beim Lehmuntergrund, wie zumeist in Babylonien) notwendigerweise sehr starke und über die Unterkante des Bauwerks waagerecht hinausragende Grundplatte mitzählten'. Leaving aside the problematical issue of whether Herodotus's account can really be interpreted to mean a seven-storey tower standing on a 'Grundplatte' – he writes explicitly of eight super-imposed 'towers' (*pyrgoi*) – there is no archaeological evidence that E-temen-anki did actually rest on a structure that might be described in such terms. By Herodotus's time the ziqqurrat's footings and the 'Tonbettung' on which they rested were in any case deep below the surface and certainly invisible to him or his informant (on the stratigraphy see below). Proposal (a) is the solution that rests least on unwarranted assumption.

[3]) E.g. ll. 16 and 20: *mimdāti kigalli* é.te.me.en.an.ki *šiddu u pūtu ana amārī*[*ka*] 'the dimensions of the base of E-temen-anki, length and breadth, for [you] to find the result', i.e. the area.

[4]) In a highly original and thought-provoking study, Allinger-Csollich (1998: 280-3) has presented a case for interpreting the area of the main building of E-sangil as also one *ikû*, thus translating the ancient symbolism into reality. However, his argument is undermined by the metrology: to achieve the required area, he is forced to include part (but only part) of the temple's eastern annexe.

the tower's base (§§ 4, 5, 7). Some have followed Koldewey in maintaining that the text describes a building more or less contemporary with Anu-bēlšunu, i.e. a Seleucid rebuilding (see Downey 1988: 12). There is no archaeological evidence for a Seleucid ziqqurrat, however. The internal evidence of the text speaks for a much earlier date of composition. Believing as he does (a) that the text derives from those responsible for planning the ziqqurrat's rebuilding, and (b) that the measurement it gives for the base of the ziqqurrat matches the dimensions of the baked-brick mantle he identifies as no older than Nabopolassar, Schmid (1995: 84) necessarily dates the text to the reign of this late-seventh-century king.

The best hard evidence for the date of the composition of the E-sangil Tablet is its metrology. Powell describes it as a 'Seleucid copy of older material going back to late Kassite or early NB' (Powell 1989: 468). In my edition I assert that the text, with its incongruous use of both long and standard cubits, was probably a product of the 'late eighth or early seventh century' (George 1992: 110). This statement rests on Powell's findings that (a) the longer cubit standard first appears under Nazimaruttaš (1307-1282) and is last attested in the time of Merodach-baladan II (721-710), which explains why he calls it the Kassite-early Neo-Babylonian system, and (b) the Neo-Babylonian reed-based system first occurs under Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (667-648) (Powell 1982: 112). Exercises in architectural planning at the end of the seventh century would not sensibly have used the antiquated cubit-standard of a bygone era. This is not just a hunch. It so happens that we have a fragment of a survey of the walls of Babylon that dates securely to the period between Nabopolassar's strengthening of the city's defences and Nebuchadnezzar's continuation of that work (George 1992 no. 15; 1993b: 743-6). In so far as it is preserved, the text uses only the Neo-Babylonian cubit-standard equivalent to approximately 50 cm, with no reference to the longer cubit employed alongside the shorter unit in the E-sangil Tablet.

It is doubtful that the older cubit-standard was of any practical use by the time of Nabopolassar. Nevertheless, if the structure with a base of 91 m could be proved to be no older than Nabopolassar, as Schmid supposes, one would have to accept that his reign was indeed the *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the E-sangil Tablet. However, we shall see in the next section that the ziqqurrat with a base of 91 m was at least as old as Esarhaddon. If the E-sangil Tablet is to be associated with an actual rebuilding, then the reign of this early seventh-century king, being nearer the last-known attestation of the longer cubit in a practical context, stands out as a more possible occasion for its drafting.

On the other hand, if the text's primary context was one of academic training rather than practical architecture, the date of its original compilation need not be tied to any historical event such as a rebuilding. The survival of the E-sangil Tablet in Late Babylonian Babylon and Seleucid Uruk demonstrates that the longer cubit-standard was understood and used as a pedagogical tool in academic circles long after it fell out of use in practical surveying. There is other evidence that Late Babylonian schooling included familiarization with antique metrology (Powell 1989: 482-3). In the end, a date of compilation of the E-sangil Tablet after the early seventh century cannot be dismissed out of hand, even if it strikes one as highly improbable.

The newly published manuscript from Babylon helps to correct false understandings that derive from Anu-bēlšunu's copy in the section on the *nuḫar*, the temple that crowned the ziqqurrat (§ 6; for details see George 1992: 428-9). Other documentary evidence published at the same time can be brought to bear on the temple. Schmid's architectural reconstruction of the tower is broadly conventional, with the temple building sitting on the terrace of the sixth stage and thereby forming its seventh stage (Schmid 1995: pls. 40-2). Schmid's temple has four exterior gates, one in each façade. This lay-out reflects the wording of Nebuchadnezzar II's cliff inscriptions at Wadi Brisa, where the four gates of the ziqqurrat are summarized as *bābātīšu šadlāti itāt* é.teme[n.an.ki] 'the ziqqurrat's massive gates, around E-temen-[anki]' (George 1992: 89). A list of the same four gates surviving in a Late Babylonian copy renders Schmid's arrangement of gates unlikely, however, for the explanatory comments it appends to each name in turn do not suggest four gates on the same level:

Ka-nun-abzu = the gate of the upper bronze door;
Ka-nun-ḫegal = the gate of the lower bronze door;
Ka-unir = the gate of the ziqqurrat temple that opens southward;
Ka-E-temen-anki = the gate of the ziqqurrat temple that opens westward:
Total: four gates of the ziqqurrat temple.

George 1992 no. 6, 9-13;
cf. Allinger-Csollich 1998: 283-8

My understanding of the list's descriptions of these gates is that only the last two are entrance gates giving access into the temple from the top terrace; the two others are gates at different points ('upper' and 'lower') on the stairways (George 1992: 89-90; cf. Allinger-Csollich 1998: 288). Only Ka-nun-abzu is attested elsewhere, in a fragmentary ritual that describes cultic rites in E-sangil and *bīt ziqrat* 'the ziqqurrat temple' (George 1992: 227 no. 40).

The most important evidence for the superstructure of the tower is certainly the newest: a broken Neo-Babylonian stele now in the Schøyen Collection. Though it is not yet properly published, a photograph has been available for some time on an internet website (Schøyen 2003). The stele depicts a king standing before a seven-storey ziqqurrat drawn in outline and labelled [é].tem[en].an.⌜ki⌝ [*z*]*i-qú-ra-at bābili* (ká.dingir.ra)^{ki} 'E-temen-anki, ziqqurrat of Babylon'. The tower is as high as it is wide. Accompanying the relief are two fragmentary ground-plans, one of them no doubt a plan of the temple that crowned the tower, and a fragmentary text, part of which is very reminiscent of Nebuchadnezzar II's foundation cylinders of E-temen-anki. How this extraordinary monument further impacts on our understanding of §§ 4-7 of the E-sangil Tablet must await the eventual scientific publication of the stele.

The ziqqurrat of Babylon from Sennacherib to Nebuchadnezzar II

The cuneiform texts that bear most nearly on the history of E-temen-anki are inscriptions of the seventh and sixth centuries left by three successive Sargonid kings of Assyria, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (together 704-627), and by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II, the first two kings of the last native dynasty of Babylon (together 625-562). A history of the building that seeks to match royal inscriptions with archaeological reality must necessarily begin with this era. Only when the structural remains and the texts are placed in the correct association can one turn to the more problematic history of the ziqqurrat before Sennacherib and after Nebuchadnezzar.

Sennacherib claimed to have torn down *ziq-qur-rat libitti*(sig$_4$) *u eperī*(saḫar)^{bá} 'a ziqqurrat of brick and earth' along with other sanctuaries during his sack of Babylon in 689 BC (III R 14, 51, ed. Luckenbill 1924: 84; cf. Frahm 1997: 151-4 'Die Bavian-Inschriften'). The debris was dumped in the river. For lack of hard evidence of another ziqqurrat in Babylon Sennacherib's phrase is universally taken to refer to E-temen-anki.[5] How much of its superstructure was really demolished is obscured by the hyperbole conventional in reporting triumph; it is safe to assume that, at the very least, Sennacherib's wreckers rendered the tower unusable but it seems improbable that they went so far as to level it completely. Esarhaddon began the task of its reconstruction following his accession nine years later (Borger 1956: 24 Ep. 34), work that is also reported in several letters informing the king of progress made in rebuilding Babylon's various monuments (Cole and Machinist 1998 nos. 161-70, 173-80). These and other letters relating to the return of cult-statues to the rebuilt sanctuaries of Babylon give a glimpse of the historical and political setting of Esarhaddon's project to restore Babylon (Streck 2002). Both Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal commemorated their work on E-temen-anki on bricks that may once have been part of the tower's structure (or at least were intended as such), though found in secondary contexts (Frame 1995 nos. B.6.31.4-9, B.6.32.8, 10 and 11). Cylinder inscriptions of Nabopolassar and his successor describe their construction of the tower seemingly from its base to the temple that stood on its top (Nbp 1, Nbk 17, ed. Weissbach 1938: 41-8).[6] Other texts that report details of Nebuchadnezzar's completion of the tower include bricks intended for its structure (Weissbach 1938: 48-9), the fragmentary Wadi Brisa inscriptions (Nbk 19, Weissbach 1906: 13-34) and a similar text on a clay tablet (George 1988: 139-50).

Attestations of E-temen-anki in other texts, i.e. the poem of Erra, liturgical texts and lists, do not add certain knowledge of the tower's history, because while we know these texts from Neo-Assyrian and later copies, the dates of their original composition are uncertain. Some are likely to predate Sennacherib by many centuries, so that they speak for E-temen-anki's existence in the second millennium. They are discussed in the next section. The poem of Erra probably dates to the ninth century, when the long reigns of Nabû-apla-iddina and his son Marduk-zākir-šumi I offered respite from the anarchy and civil war and

[5]) The only evidence for another tower occurs in the list of gates of E-sangil and its precinct published in George 1992 no. 6, where a Ka-unir 'Gate of the Ziqqurrat' is booked as one of the ceremonial entrances of E-tur-kalamma, the temple of Ištar as Lady of Babylon (George 1992: 94-5, l. 22; 397). Allinger-Csollich (1998: 288) thinks Ištar's Ka-unir might be the same as the south gate of the ziqqurrat temple, entered at l. 11 of the same list, and that all the gates of the list in the intervening lines are to be associated with E-temen-anki and its surrounding courtyard. These include gates of the temples of Ea and Madānu, as well as Ištar. All these temples were indeed located near E-sangil but not, so far as we can tell on present evidence, on the courtyard of the ziqqurrat. The E-kar-zaginna of Ea was situated in a garden near the river (George 1992: 303), E-tur-kalamma probably in the southern part of the great temple complex, for its south gate adjoined a residential area (George 1992: 307). Today this area of Babylon lies deep beneath the ruin-mound named after the shrine of Amran ibn Ali that sits on top of it; the presence of a ruined small-scale ziqqurrat in this enormous tell is fully possible, but cannot be confirmed either.

[6]) For improvements on Weissbach's edition of Nbp 1 see below. Our knowledge of the text of Nbk 17 has been slightly improved by the recent discovery of a ninth fragment, Babylon no. 105A. The lines at the end of col. ii of this exemplar plug at least part of the third lacuna in Weissbach's edition, adding to the list of places that provided Nebuchadnezzar's workforce (cuneiform given by Al-Rawi n. d.: 24): ii 1' [^{kur}]*ú-ga-*[*ar-*^{d}...] 2' *na-ap-ḫa-ar* x [x x x] / *ša-ap-li-tim* 3' *iš-tu re-e-ši-ša* 4' *a-di iš-di-ša* 5' nibru^{ki} *ì-si-in*^{ki} [iii ...

gave grounds for optimism over Babylonia's future power, but this remains to be proved.[7]

As noted above, Schmid interprets the archaeological evidence to witness a history of three successive structures, (a) the mud-brick core with base of 65 m square, (b) a mud-brick mantle with base of 73 m square, and (c) a baked-brick mantle with base of 91 m square (Schmid 1981: 116-17; 1995: 69-74). These he identifies with (a) the tower destroyed by Sennacherib, (b) the rebuilding of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, and (c) a comprehensive reconstruction by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar (Schmid 1995: 78, n. d.: 46). Identification (c) is the position that Koldewey and Wetzel took, more by default than on hard evidence. Identifications (a) and (b) are very much open to question.

Schmid himself acknowledges a problem with identification (b), for Esarhaddon already cites the dimensions of the sides of the base of E-temen-anki as *ašlu ṣuppān* 'a rope and a half' (Borger 1956: 24 Ep. 34), i.e. 180 cubits each. As Weissbach observed long ago, this is exactly the equivalent of the figure given in three different styles in the E-sangil Tablet: 3 *ṣuppān* by the *aslu*-standard (§ 4) = 10 *nindan* by the *arû*-standard (§ 5) = 15 *nindan* [by the Neo-Babylonian standard] (§ 7), all of which approximate to 90 m (Powell 1982: 109-10; George 1992: 111-12). On this evidence Esarhaddon's ziqqurrat occupied the same base area as the building in its final version, with base 91 m square, and cannot have been the mud-brick tower of 73 m square.

Schmid revives Koldewey's response to this difficulty, asserting the existence of a special cubit-standard of approximately 40 cm alongside the normal standard of approximately 50 cm, so that Esarhaddon's *ašlu ṣuppān* approximates not 90 m but 72 m, conveniently close to the base dimension of structure (b). There are two objections that stand in the way of this solution. First, the putative short cubit-standard is a mirage. In Assyria its existence rests on a hypothetical understanding of the significance of the walls of Khorsabad and the brick-standard used there. The modern authority on ancient Mesopotamian metrology dismisses this 40 cm cubit as resting on assumptions that are 'doubtful (and some untenable)' (Powell 1989: 474). The Neo-Babylonian cubit of 24 fingers (*ubānu*) also offers no solution, for it was not shorter than the Old Babylonian 50 cm cubit of 30 fingers; it was evidently the finger whose length was variable (Powell 1989: 469-70, contra CAD A/II 75). Second, immediately after stating the dimensions of the base of E-temen-anki as *ašlu ṣuppān* 'a rope and a half', Esarhaddon uses the *ašlu* as a unit of linear measure in reporting the dimensions of another monument of Babylon: the city's walls (Borger 1956: 25 Ep. 35 vi 35). With regard to the walls Esarhaddon's *ašlu* is certainly one that accords with the Neo-Babylonian cubit-standard of 50 cm (George 1992: 135-6). It is most unlikely that his inscription would employ two different cubit-standards in adjacent sentences without explicitly differentiating between them, and Koldewey's hypothesis must be rejected on this count too. Both objections have already been pointed out in a more prompt review of Schmid's book (Miglus 1996: 299).

A further objection to Schmid's identification (b) seems to have escaped attention, probably because it is hidden in translation and arises only with a reading of the Babylonian texts. Schmid attributes to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal a tower of mud brick. As already mentioned, the work of both kings on E-temen-anki is known from inscriptions stamped on baked bricks. In these inscriptions both kings report explicitly that the work was carried out with *a-gur-ri* 'baked brick' not with *libittu* 'mud brick'. Schmid relies on Weissbach (1938: 39-40), who misleadingly rendered *agurru* as 'Ziegel' instead of 'Backstein'. Correction of this error corroborates the conclusion drawn from the metrology, that if the mud-brick structure of 73 m square hidden beneath the mantle of baked brick was a finished structure, it must represent some building older than Esarhaddon's reign. The history of the tower with a base of 91 m square is thus more complex than Schmid supposes.

At this point it is worth considering the state of the structure as it stood before Nabopolassar started work. His inscription reports only that *ullānū'a unnušat šuqūpat* 'before my day it was very weak and badly buckled' (Nbp 1 i 32-3; the text is given more fully below). Schmid supposes that the ziqqurrat begun by Esarhaddon had been completed by Ashurbanipal: 'Etemenanki ..., dessen Wiederaufbau wohl Assurbanipal vollendete' (Schmid 1995: 84). This is a commonly held belief, propagated especially by Dombart (1930: 21) and Unger (1931: 191; 1932: 365). Unger goes so far as to give the date of completion as 668 BC, Ashurbanipal's first full regnal year. This is the date only of the completion of E-sangil, however. Heinrich (1982: 307) reports completion in 652, the year Ashurbanipal lost control of Babylon to his brother, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. None of this is supported by any cuneiform evidence. Nor is Unger's further claim that the tower was again demolished when Babylon fell to the Assyrians in 648 BC, after the suppression of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's revolt. In both matters Unger was followed unquestioningly by Parrot (1949: 70), but more modern commentators have not usually concurred. One authority, Evelyn Klengel-Brandt (1982: 89), notes only that it is difficult to prove that Ashurbanipal really finished the tower. Others, such as the late Wolfram von Soden (1996: 82) and Peter Miglus (1999: 282), do not dwell on the point but clearly read the evidence to mean that he did not. An historical enquiry is in order.

According to the extant building inscriptions the main effort of the Assyrians was directed towards (a) repairing the city's defences and (b) rebuilding and equipping the great temples of Babylon – first and foremost Marduk's huge cult-centre, E-sangil, in preparation for the return of the god's statue in 669-668 BC, but also the adjacent sanctuaries of Ea and Ishtar as Lady of Babylon, and temples of the Mother Goddess and Gula elsewhere in the city. The letters of Urad-aḫḫēšu and others who reported to Esarhaddon on construction work in Babylon give the impression that in this regard E-sangil and other temples took precedence over E-temen-anki. The ziqqurrat is mentioned only once, in a letter where the writer asks the king to release Didî from his duties overseeing the construction of E-sangil so that he can help with work on the ziqqurrat's foundations (Cole and Machinist 1998 no. 161 obv. 12' - rev. 11; Streck 2002: 225). The implication is that work on other structures was already well advanced when the king and his architects turned their minds to beginning work on the tower. It seems that the colossal structure of E-temen-anki was not the highest priority; there may not have been much time to do more than start on its restoration before Esarhaddon died, twelve years after his accession.

Ashurbanipal's work on E-sangil was commemorated not only on bricks and foundation inscriptions from Babylon. Numerous inscriptions of his from elsewhere mention with obvious pride how he completed Marduk's temple. If he had really completed the huge task of finishing E-temen-anki too we might expect to read about it somewhere, for the conclusion of work on Marduk's ziqqurrat would have been a similarly major achievement. As it is, all we have to assert Ashurbanipal's claim to have worked on the ziqqurrat are the few baked bricks cited above. These bear his name and standard phrases, speaking only of construction work using baked bricks (*agurrī ušalbin*) and general rebuilding (*eššiš ušēpiš*). Indeed, a sceptic would understand these bricks as evidence only of an intention to continue Esarhaddon's work on E-temen-anki: we have no proof that they were put to that use and not another, for bricks were sometimes diverted from one building site to another, according to need.

The suspicion is that Ashurbanipal's near silence as regards work on the ziqqurrat means his reign saw comparatively little progress on the construction of E-temen-anki. Thus, when his army took Babylon in 648 BC, the tower was unfinished and did not present a prominent target for would-be desecrators; in any case it seems that while the victors looted Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's palace with great thoroughness, on this occasion so far from damaging the city's religious buildings the Assyrians set about restoring their purity and income (V R 4 41-96, ed. Borger 1996: 43-5, etc.; Frame 1992: 156). The proper functioning of many temples had been interrupted by the terrible famine that decimated the city's population during two long years of siege, and the buildings themselves stood polluted by the deadly plague that fed on the corpses of the unburied dead. Mindful that early in his reign he himself had invested much in the restoration of Babylon's cult-centres, as Sennacherib had not, Ashurbanipal drew back from repeating the savage desecration inflicted on the city by his grandfather.

It was left to later kings to complete the work that Esarhaddon had begun and his son had left unfinished. By the time of Nabopolassar's accession in 626 BC a residual stump of mud brick was partly clad in a mantle of baked brick. Neither part would have been in the best condition. Water penetrating the exposed core would have caused the exterior mantle of baked bricks to bulge here and there, just as Nabopolassar's inscription observes, necessitating repair, perhaps below ground-level as well as above. The effects of weather erosion on an unfinished ziqqurrat are more fully described in the inscription on cylinders deposited by Nebuchadnezzar in the ziqqurrat of Borsippa, where rainstorms are identified as the cause of major damage to mud brick and baked brick alike (I R 51 no. 1 i 27 - ii 4, ed. Langdon 1912: 20-1 Nbk 11). It is just such an eroded state that Nabopolassar's phrases describe.

In his understanding of the building's history, Schmid supposes that Nabopolassar wrapped what remained of the old core and mantle of mud brick with a baked-brick mantle that enlarged the ziqqurat's base dimensions by some 18 m. The baked-brick mantle was therefore completely new, from the foundations up, though on its inside edge it rested on the 'Tonbettung', a deep subterranean ledge left when the old mud-brick mantle was cut back by the trench dug for the new mantle. Seeking corroboration Schmid cites Nabopolassar's claim to have anchored his building *ina irat kigalle* 'on the breast of the *kigallu*' and the reiteration of this statement by Nebuchadnezzar. Like others before him, he asserts that this and similar phrases mean Nabopolassar must have rebuilt the ziqqurrat from its very base, starting with the foundations (Schmid 1981: 121; 1995: 85). However, Esarhaddon's mantle was already 91 m and was already baked brick. Accordingly it is necessary to re-open the question of whether the phraseology of Nabopolassar's E-temen-

[7]) See generally Cagni 1969: 37-45. In favour of Nabû-apla-iddina's reign as the likely date of composition are Lambert 1957-8: 396-400; Brinkman 1968: 191. The case for Marduk-zākir-šumi is presented by Bottéro 1985: 254-61. A dissenting view is that of von Soden (1971: 255-6; 1987: 67-9), who argues for a date in the eighth century. For the line that mentions E-temen-anki see George 1992: 271.

anki inscription necessarily demands to be understood in this way.

Having reported the decayed state of the ziqqurrat at Babylon, Nabopolassar's text goes on to relate how Marduk commissioned him *išissa ina irat kigalle ana šuršudi rēšīša šamāmī ana šitnuni* 'to ground its bottom on the breast of the "Great Place" (i.e. the netherworld), to make its top vie with the heavens' (Nbp 1 i 34-7). This is a common cliché: many great buildings are said to bridge the gap between the lowermost and uppermost levels of the cosmos (George 1992: 318-19; Edzard 1987). The text's use of these phrases does not signify that Nabopolassar himself brought this about, only that its author was well versed in the traditional imagery of temple building.

Next the inscription tells in great detail how in the king's great wisdom the building work was preceded by consultation with learned scholars and by careful survey (ii 12-32). The object of both exercises was to establish the proper, divinely determined dimensions of the tower and the actual measurements of the structure on the ground; the information so gained was checked for truth with the gods by extispicy (ii 33-41). Only then was the entire site ritually purified by exorcism to re-establish its sacred status (ii 42-6). We are left in little doubt that Nabopolassar sought to establish that what had gone before was correct and pure, and suitable for using as a base for his own work.

It is then that Nabopolassar's inscription turns to the matter of the ziqqurrat's foundations (ii 47-61). It does not report the clearing away of brickwork (*dekû*) or the reaching of groundwater (*šupul mê*), as some Neo-Babylonian building inscriptions do. What the text says is that he 'made firm its *temmēnu* on the *kigallu rēštû* and laid out' various precious materials 'in its foundations', pouring libations of oil and resin 'under the brickwork'; a canephorous figurine or stele representing the king as builder was then placed in the *temmēnu* (ii 47-61). The most difficult word is *temmēnu*, because it can signify a range of things. Its Sumerian antecedent, *temen*, has been attributed meanings including 'area marked out with pegs and cord', 'foundation peg', 'foundation deposit' and 'foundation'.[8] This last meaning is more exactly 'foundation platform', for it developed from signifying a rectangular or square plot marked out for excavation, to denoting a platform of mud brick or other material built thereon as the base of a monumental building.[9] The corners and other key points of such a platform were marked by foundation deposits incorporated within the structure. These deposits once comprised, among other objects, metal pegs symbolic of an original connection with plot-survey, land-ownership or both. By the first millennium inscribed clay cylinders, prisms and barrels were the norm, built into the superstructure as well as the foundations; these too were *temmēnu* (Ellis 1968: 149-50).

The platform, the area that it occupied, the deposits and inscribed objects that defined that area and established its ownership: all these could be signified by the word *temmēnu*. The presence of a *temmēnu* does not by definition exclude the existence of a deeper structure (e.g. *tamlû* 'layer of fill'). And according to Nabopolassar a deeper structure there was indeed: the *kigallu rēštû*. This phrase can denote the primordial netherworld, as *kigallu* certainly does in i 34, but it can also signify the ancient infrastructure of the ziqqurrat, for the same word is used by the E-sangil Tablet to denote the bottom of the tower's first storey. If the reference is to the netherworld, it is again a cliché; if it is to part of the ziqqurrat, it means that Nabopolassar built on a pre-existing structure.

The phrases 'in the ziqqurrat's foundations' (ii 51 *ina ušššīša*) and 'under the brickwork' (ii 55 *šaplān libnāti*) describe more exactly the location within the tower's structure of Nabopolassar's foundation deposits and the ritual libations that accompanied them. The deposition of inscribed objects and precious substances, such as gold, silver and perfumed oil, was a traditional and probably obligatory practice in building religious structures. The two adverbial phrases just cited indicate that, on starting the task of building the tower, Nabopolassar placed the valuable materials in question in the depths of the old brickwork and made libations that seeped into the lowest courses of bricks. This need have entailed only a very limited penetration to ground-level or below.

Two such places of penetration were evidently located low in the baked-brick mantle, for both of Nabopolassar's extant foundation cylinders came to light in the 1880s as a result of the demolition of the subterranean mantle by people mining for bricks. There were certainly others. Weissbach reports the recollection of local inhabitants in 1901, that four cylinders had been found in the 1880s, one in the middle of each

[8]) See in detail Dunham 1986, who documents the use of Sum. *temen* in Ur III field plans, and sets out the connection between surveyors' pegs and foundations.

[9]) Dunham's explanation of this development is that 'from the Uruk period onward there was a custom to make foundations which contained rooms and spaces repeating the ground plan of the temple above. Now, if this subterranean ground plan was the *temen*, which the *temen*-pegs fastened down or marked out, as it were, it was also the foundation terrace or platform of the temple' (Dunham 1986: 61); but she does not quite alight on 'foundation platform' as a translation of *temen*. For that we defer to Falkenstein 1966: 236-9; for the composition of such a platform and the verbs that describe its construction, repair and decay, see the evidence presented in the discussion of Akk. *temmēnu* by Baumgartner 1925: 247-53.

side (Weissbach 1938: 41). The insertion of foundation cylinders into old brickwork accords with the custom of royal builders and renovators. The practice can unquestionably be documented for Babylon's ziqqurrat in the time of Nabopolassar's successor. We know that Nebuchadnezzar II's cylinders were also introduced into existing brickwork, for at least two of them came to light in the lower courses of the baked-brick mantle, one found by local people, and so probably dug out in the 1880s, the other overlooked at that time and eventually excavated by the German expedition at the structure's north-east corner, in the trench where the mantle had been (Wetzel and Weissbach 1938: 33, 44-5, Exemplars A and C; Bergamini 1977: 141). There has never been any question of any construction of the lower parts of the mantle in Nebuchadnezzar's reign. His cylinders can only have been inserted at this depth by cutting into the brickwork laid by a predecessor, just as I have proposed was done for Nabopolassar's cylinders and other foundation deposits.

Having discussed in detail the implications of Nabopolassar's phraseology, it may be useful to give here in full and in modernized transliteration the relevant portion of his inscription, together with a new translation (line numbers from Exemplar A = BE I 84):

i 30 *ì-nu-mi-šu* é.temen.an.ki 31 *zi-iq-qú-ra-at* (B *-ret*) ká.dingir.ra^{ki} 32 *ša ul-la-nu-ú-a* 33 *un-nu-ša-tu šu-qú-pa-at* 34 *išid*(suḫuš)*-sà i-na i-ra-at kigalle*(ki.gal)^{e} 35 *a-na šu-úr-šu-dam* 36 *re-e-ší-ša ša-ma-mi* 37 *a-na ši-it-nu-ni* (B *ší-it-nu-ni*) 38 ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) *be-lam ia-a-ši iq-bí-a* 39 ^{giš}*allī*(al)^{meš} ^{giš}*marrī*(mar)^{meš} *ù* ^{giš}*nalbanāti* (ù.šub)^{meš} 40 *i-na šinni*(zú) *pīri*(am.si) (A am.su) ^{giš}*ušî*(esi) *ù* 41 ^{giš}*musukkanni*(mes.má.gan.na) 42 *lu ab-ni-ma* 43 *um-ma-nim sa-ad-li-a-tim* 44 *di-ku-ut māti*(ma.da)*-ia* 45 *lu ú-ša-aš-ši-im* ii 1 *al-mi-in lu ú-sa-al-bi-in* 2 *li-bi-in-tim* 3 *ú-ša-ap-ti-iq* (B *ú-sa-a*[*p-ti-i*]*q*) 4 *agurra*(sig$_4$.al.ùr.ra) 5 *ki-ma ti-ik sa-me-e* (B *sa-we-e*) 6 *la ma-nu-tim* 7 *ki-ma mi-li-im* 8 *ka-aš-ši-im* 9 *kupra*(esir.UD.DU.a) *ù iṭṭâ*(esir) 10 ^{id}*a-ra-aḫ-tim* 11 *lu ú-sa-az-bi-il*

12 *i-na me-re-šu ša* ^{d}*é-a* 13 *i-na* (B *a-na*) *igigallu*(igi.gál)*-ú-tu ša* ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) 14 *i-na ne-me-qu ša* ^{d}*na-bi-um* 15 *ù* ^{d}*nissaba* 16 *i-na li-ib-bi-im* 17 *šu-un-du-lu* (B om.) 18 *ša ilu*(dingir) *ba-ni-ia* 19 *ú-ša-ar-sa-an-ni* 20 *i-na pa-ak-ki-ia ra-bí-im* (B *-ù*) 21 *ú-ša-ta-ad-di-im-ma* (i.e. *uštaddinma*) 22 *mārī*(dumu)^{meš} *ummâni*(um.me.a) 23 *e-em-qú-tim* 24 *ú-wa-ʾ-er$_4$-ma* 25 *a-ba-aš-lam i-na ginindanakki*(gi.nínda.na)^{kum} 26 *ú-ma-an-di-da* 27 *mi-in-di-a-tam* 28 ^{lú}*šitimgallē*(šitim.gal)^{e} 29 *iš-ta-ad-dú-um* 30 *eb-le-e* 31 *ú-ki-in-nu-um* (B [*ú-ki*]*-in-nu*) 32 *ki-su-úr-ri-im* 33 *wa-ar-ka-at* ^{d}*šamaš* (utu) 34 ^{d}*adad*(iškur) *ù* ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) 35 *ap-ru-us-ma* 36 *e-ma li-ib-ba-am* 37 *ú-uš-ta-ad-di-nu* 38 *ú-ka-ṣi-pu mi-in-di-a-tim* 39 *ilū*(dingir) (B dingir.dingir) *rabûtu*(gal.gal) *i-na pa-ra-si* 40 *wa-ar-ka-tim* 41 *ú-ad-du-nim* 42 *i-na ši-pí-ir* 43 *kakungallu*(ka.kù.gál)*-ú-te* (B *-tu*) 44 *ne-me-qá* ^{d}*é-a ù* ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) 45 *à-aš-ri-im ša-a-te* (B *-tim*) 46 *ú-ul-li-il-ma* 47 *i-na kigalle*(ki.gal)^{e} *re-eš-ti-im* 48 *ú-ki-in te-me-en-ša* (B *te-en-šu*) 49 *ḫurāṣa*(kù.sig$_{17}$) *kaspa*(kù.babbar) *abnāti* (na$_4$.na$_4$) *sa-dú-i* 50 *ù ti-à-am-te* 51 *i-na uš-ši-ša* (B *-šu*) 52 *lu ú-wa-aṣ-ṣi-im* (B *ú-ma-aṣ-ṣi-im*) 53 *ṣa-ap-šum na-we-ru-tim* 54 *šamna*(ì) *ṭāba* (dùg.ga) *riqqī*(šim)^{bá} *ù daʾmata*(im.sig$_7$.sig$_7$) 55 *ša-ap-la-nim libnāti*(sig$_4$.sig$_4$) 56 *lu aš-tap-pá-ak* 57 *ṣalam*(alam) *šar-ru$_4$-ti-ia* (B *-ru-ti-ia*) 58 *ba-bi-il tu-up-ši-kam* 59 *lu ab-ni-ma* 60 *i-na te-me-en-na* 61 *lu aš-ta-ak-ka-an*

62 *a-na* ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) *be-lí-ia* 63 *ki-ša-dam lu ú-ka-an-ni-iš* 64 *lu-ba-ra-am te-di-iq* 65 *šar-ru$_4$-ti-ia* iii 1 *lu-ú* (B *lu*) *ak-nu-un-ma* 2 *libnāti* (sig$_4$.sig$_4$) *ù ṭi-iṭ-ṭam* 3 *i-na qá-qá-di-ia* 4 *lu-ú* (B *lu*) *az-bi-il* 5 *tu-up-ši-ka-a-te* (B *-tim*) *ḫurāṣi* (kù.sig$_{17}$) *ù kaspi*(kù.babbar) (B om.) 6 *lu ú-si$_4$/su$_4$-pí-iš-ma*[10] 7 ^{d}*na-bi-um-ku-du-úr-ra-*^{8}*ú-ṣu-úr* (B *-ri-ú-ṣu-úr*) 9 *bu-uk-ra-am* (B *-ra*) 10 *re-eš-tu-ù* 11 *na-ra-am li-ib-bi-ia* 12 *ṭi-iṭ-ṭam bi-il-la-at* 13 *karāni*(geštin) *šamni*(ì.giš) *ù ḫi-bi-iš-tim* 14 *it-ti um-ma-na-ti-ia* 15 *lu ú-ša-az-bil* (B *-bi-il*) 16 ^{d}*na-bi-um-šu-ma-am-li-ši-ir* (B *-šu-li-ši-ir*) 17 *ta-li-im-šu* 18 *še-er-ra-am ṣi-it libbi*(šà)*-ia* (B *-bi-ia*) 19 *dú-up-pu-su-um* 20 *da-du-ú-a* 21 ^{giš}*alla*(al) ^{giš}*marra*(mar) *lu ú-ša-aṣ-bi-it* 22 *tu-up-ši-kam* 23 *ḫurāṣi*(kù.sig$_{17}$) *ù kaspi*(kù.babbar) 24 *lu e-mi-id-ma* 25 *a-na* ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) *be-lí-ia* 26 *a-na ši-ri-ik-tim* 27 *lu aš-ru-uk-šum*

28 *bīta*(é) *meḫret*(gaba.ri) é.šár.ra 29 *i-na ul-ṣi-im* 30 *ù ri-ší-a-te* (B *-tim*) 31 *lu e-pú-uš-ma* (B *-pu-uš-ma*) *ki-ma sa-dú-im* 32 *re-e-ší-šu* 33 *lu ú-ul-li-im* (B *-lu-im*) 34 *a-na* ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) *be-lí-ia* 35 *ki-i* (B *ki-ma*) *ša u$_4$-um ú-ul-lu-tim* 36 *a-na ta-ab-ri-a-tim* (B *-ra-a-tim*) 37 *lu ú-ša-as-sí-im-šu*

Nbp 1 i 30 - iii 37

At that time my lord Marduk told me in regard to E-temen-anki, the ziqqurrat of Babylon, which before my day was (already) very weak and badly buckled, to ground its bottom on the breast of the netherworld, to make its top vie with the heavens. I fashioned mattocks, spades and brick-moulds from ivory, ebony and *musukkannu*-wood, and set them in the hands of a vast workforce levied from my land. I had

[10]) In justification of this decipherment see the appendix below.

them shape mud bricks without number and mould baked bricks like countless raindrops. I had the River Araḫtu bear asphalt and bitumen like a mighty flood.

Through the sagacity of Ea, through the intelligence of Marduk, through the wisdom of Nabû and Nissaba, by means of the vast mind that the god who created me gave into my possession, I deliberated with my great intellect, I commissioned the wisest experts, and the surveyor established the dimensions with the twelve-cubit rule. The master-builders drew taut the measuring cords, they determined the limits. I sought confirmation by consulting Šamaš, Adad and Marduk and, whenever my mind deliberated (and) I pondered (unsure of) the dimensions, the great gods made (the truth) known to me by the procedure of (oracular) confirmation. Through the craft of exorcism, the wisdom of Ea and Marduk, I purified that place and made firm its foundation platform on its ancient base. In its foundations I laid out gold, silver, gemstones from mountain and sea. Under the brickwork I set heaps of shining *ṣapšu*, sweet-scented oil, aromatics and red earth. I fashioned representations of my royal likeness bearing a soil-basket, and positioned (them) variously[11] in the foundation platform.

I bowed my neck to my lord Marduk. I rolled up my garment, my kingly robe, and carried on my head bricks and earth (i.e. mud bricks). I had soil-baskets made of gold and silver and made Nebuchadnezzar, my firstborn son, beloved of my heart, carry alongside my workmen earth mixed with wine, oil and resin-chips. I made Nabû-šumī-līšir, his brother, a boy, issue of my body, my darling younger son, take up mattock and spade. I burdened him with a soil-basket of gold and silver and bestowed him on my lord Marduk as a gift.

I constructed the building, the replica of E-šarra, in joy and jubilation and raised its top as high as a mountain. For my lord Marduk I made it an object fitting for wonder, just as it was in former times.

To summarize the preceding discussion, nothing in Nabopolassar's inscription suggests anything other than the consolidation of the pre-existing structure of the ziqqurrat with a platform of brick (*temmēnu*), accompanied by proper ritual, in preparation for building on top. This probably entailed the removal of the eroded surfaces of the core and mud-brick mantle and what of the baked-brick mantle was damaged by water penetration, but we are not led to suppose that Nabopolassar built the entire mantle from ground level.

Nebuchadnezzar's reports of his father's work on the ziqqurrat are more concise. In the fullest account the clause *ina irat kigalli ukinnu temmēnša* (Nbk 17 C ii 1-2) 'on the breast of the "Great Place" he fixed its *temmēnu*' echoes Nabopolassar's cylinder but stands this time bereft of any mention of a ritual of deposit. Again, the adverbial phrase is a cliché, but in the absence of other detail it is open to reinterpretation as signifying a foundation *ex novo*. That may have been the intention. Kings' inscriptions were routinely couched in terms that sought to give the most grandiose and favourable impression of royal good works. Where this is suspected we do not have to take their language at face value.

In short, the cuneiform evidence is best interpreted to mean that (a) the start of Nabopolassar's reign found the ziqqurrat far from finished, and (b) he did not dismantle it but repaired the existing baked-brick mantle and mud-brick core as necessary and used them as a platform for his own brickwork.

Before going on we must note the evidence of stratigraphy. In discussing previous studies on the ziqqurrat of Babylon Schmid (1981: 123; 1995: 46) cites Giovanni Bergamini's view that what the excavators found was much older than they thought, perhaps even the work of Hammurapi. On examining the city's stratigraphy as reported by Koldewey, his assistants and later excavators, Bergamini made much of a well-known fact, that the excavated remains of the ziqqurrat were substantially below seventh-century ground levels (Bergamini 1977: 139-50). The whole area around the tower had been raised frequently, presumably to promote good drainage, so that by the time of Nebuchadnezzar II the platform that supported the ziqqurrat's superstructure was more than seven metres lower than the thresholds of the gates of the enclosure wall. By the sixth century nothing of the structure that was excavated could have been above ground level. Bergamini followed Koldewey, Wetzel and others in supposing that the base of the stairways marked the ground-level of the ziqqurrat with the baked-brick mantle. He did not accept that the tower could sensibly have sat in a depression that could not be drained, so for him the stratigraphy meant essentially that the excavated structure was much older than the seventh century, maybe by a thousand years.

A factor that certainly bears on the ziqqurrat's archaeology and may affect the stratigraphical problem is subsidence. The tower was a solid structure of mud brick and baked brick. Schmid (1995: 92) estimates that the entire building comprised at least thirty-two million bricks, and others reckon on more: Vicari (Vicari and Bruschweiler 1985: 56) proposes 36 million, and is followed by Bielinski (1985: 61) and Sauvage (1998: 83). Oddly, Schmid's lower estimate is based on reconstructing a tower of 90 m height, according to the conventional understanding of the E-sangil Tablet, while Vicari's higher figure presupposes a tower of only 11½ *nindan*, about 69 m. Multiplication of the figures calculated by Allinger-Csollich (1998: 306-7) for the lengths and heights of the stages in terms of numbers of bricks produces a total in excess of 45 million. However that may be, the number of bricks was certainly colossal, and the finished building would have weighed several hundred thousand tons.[12] A structure of that weight sitting on waterlogged alluvium must have settled slightly over time, with the result that its original horizon of contact with the surface of the surrounding courtyard, however far up the mantle it was, would soon have no longer coincided with that level. Subsidence, then, can be assumed to have exaggerated the structure's apparent age, by causing it to settle into older levels.

Schmid's response to the stratigraphical problem posed by Bergamini did not take this direction, however. Instead he argued that Nabopolassar sunk the baked-brick mantle deep below contemporaneous ground-level, so that part of the first storey of the tower was subterranean, like the mud-brick core that it enclosed (Schmid 1981: 108-11; 1995: 55-6). The general point is fully credible, that a proportion of the mantle was always subterranean, but, as we have seen, it is not necessary to imagine Nabopolassar's builders working at this depth. His inscription indicates that he built his ziqqurrat on *kigalli rēštî* 'an ancient base'. What Wetzel and Schmid found were not sixth-century remains but this older infrastructure. J. Schmidt (1973: 166) argued that the baked-brick mantle was Esarhaddon's work, a position strengthened by the letter of Urad-aḫḫēšu mentioned above, in which he advises the Assyrian king that time is ripe to begin work on the ziqqurrat's foundations (*uššu*) (Cole and Machinist 1998 no. 161). But the deepest courses of the mantle may have been older still, for as we shall see, it is unlikely that Esarhaddon was the first to build a tower of base 91 m square. He, too, may have laid his brickwork on what remained of an older baked-brick mantle. However, Bergamini's suggestion that all the excavated remains could be Old Babylonian, including the baked-brick mantle, is ruled out as anachronistic, for on metrological grounds a tower of base one *ikû* in the large cubit-standard belongs to the Kassite or early Neo-Babylonian period and not before (see further below).

As Nebuchadnezzar's inscription makes clear, Nabopolassar did not complete the building project, for he raised the tower's baked-brick mantle by a height of only thirty cubits, about 15 m (Nbk 17 c 20, Weissbach 1906: 15; George 1988: 145, 28'). The passages are worded to suggest that Nabopolassar's work began at ground level but, as we have seen, this was not actually the case. Nebuchadnezzar did not wish to give credit to any builder but his father and himself, so his inscriptions glossed over the reality. It was left to him to complete the higher stages. He mobilized an enormous workforce from all over his empire and raised the structure by adding *tamlâ zaqri* "a lofty infill" of another thirty cubits (Nbk 17 d 39-40). Then he built as of old the temple that sat on the summit (*kiṣṣu elû*), clad it in blue-glazed brick and equipped it.

The two figures of thirty cubits in Nebuchadnezzar's inscription have long been a problem, for the written tradition passed down by the E-sangil Tablet is that the ziqqurrat was ten old *nindan* high, i.e. 180 Neo-Babylonian cubits (90 m), of which the temple on top accounted for only 2½ new *nindan*, i.e. thirty Neo-Babylonian cubits (George 1992: 117). If Nabopolassar raised the ziqqurrat's structure to a height of thirty cubits, and Nebuchadnezzar added another thirty cubits before building the shrine of thirty cubits on top, making ninety cubits in all, where were the missing ninety cubits needed to match the total given in the E-sangil Tablet? Schmid's solution is to point out that the two sets of dimensions cited by Nebuchadnezzar were not contiguous: Nabopolassar's thirty cubits were the height by which Nebuchadnezzar's father raised the baked-brick mantle above the ground, and his own thirty cubits were the height by which he himself raised the mud-brick core (Schmid 1981: 127-8; 1995: 81-3).

Schmid's interpretation is surely right but two uncertainties still bear on the problem. First, Nabopolassar's building work did not start from ground level but rested on an older stump of unknown height, so that his thirty cubits (15 m) of baked brick raised the structure to a height of something more than that. If, say, the stump was already ninety cubits (45 m) high and the two kings built on it to a height of a further ninety cubits, the figures would add up to the total given in the E-sangil Tablet. Second, and more to the point, we cannot be sure that Nebuchadnezzar actually

[11]) The verb *aštakkan* is I/3 of serial action (GAG³ § 91f), so there must have been more than one canephorous *ṣalmu*.

[12]) The average weight of excavated bricks from the tower is not known to me but the baked bricks of comparable size used to build Nebuchadnezzar II's Median wall (Habl as Sahr) each weighed about 13 kg (Sauvage 1998: 308 sub 2161). Old Babylonian mathematical texts show that the ideal weight of a square two-third cubit brick of the size used to build the ziqqurrat varied according to whether the brick was fresh, dried or baked: 33⅓, 26⅔ and 22⅔ minas respectively (see Robson 1999: 72, Table 4.9 Type 8). These figures are the approximate equivalents of 17, 13.5 and 11.5 kgs. The ziqqurrat certainly contained more dried bricks than baked, but even allowing an average weight of 12 kgs per brick, 32 million bricks give an aggregate of 384,000 tons.

built a ziqqurrat that truly realized the dimensional scheme given in the E-sangil Tablet. It is generally supposed that the tower's height matched the dimensions of its base on the horizontal plane, because that is what the E-sangil Tablet states as the ideal configuration. This ideal also informs the image of E-temen-anki depicted on Nebuchadnezzar's unpublished stele (Schøyen 2003), but there, too, it may be just that, an ideal. Something similar is reported by Strabo, who writes of a square pyramid with base and height measuring one *stadion* each, but by his time the structure was only a memory that may have been contaminated by a similarly neat idealism. Maybe the finished structure fell some way short of 90 m. If so, all the modern efforts at drawing reconstructions and making scale-models of the Tower of Babel, predicated as they are on some historical realization of the E-sangil Tablet, seek to replicate a building that never quite was.

With the completion of E-temen-anki by Nebuchadnezzar II we arrive at a history of the ziqqurrat of Babylon in the Sargonid and Neo-Babylonian periods that is much less busy than Schmid's. Following Sennacherib's sack of Babylon the tower took nearly a century to rebuild, from *ca* 680 to *ca* 590, and in doing so was a drain on the resources of four of the most powerful rulers in antiquity.[13] If it is supposed that this is an inordinate time to spend on the construction of a single building, one may reflect that many mediaeval European cathedrals took comparable periods of time to finish.[14]

Since the structure begun by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal but finished by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar was already 91 m square at the base, it follows that the 73 m tower hidden within – if indeed it represents a finished stage in the building's evolution – is an older structure. Perhaps it represents the building that Sennacherib damaged during his sack of Babylon, but perhaps not. If one recalls how careful Esarhaddon was to rebuild the neighbouring E-sangil exactly to its former measurements (George 1992: 122-3), one might have expected him also to have set about building E-temen-anki with similarly faithful adherence to the dimensions of the previous structure. Indeed, the phrases he uses in connection with the rebuilding of the tower are *kīma maḫrîmma* 'as before' and *ašar maškanīšu maḫrî* (written *a-šar maš-kán-šú maḫ-ri*, Borger 1956: 24, 32) 'in its previous location', which can both be interpreted to signify exactly that. Moreover, the tower of 91 m, with its symbolic base area of one *ikû*, the image of the constellation Pegasus, the celestial Babylon, displays in its dimensions a metrology that belongs to the Kassite and early Neo-Babylonian period. This, too, points to a date earlier than the seventh century (so too Uehlinger 1990: 220 fn. 88). Schmid's careful identification of two smaller structures enclosed within the last ziqqurrat points to a succession of towers of much greater combined history than sometimes envisaged.

The ziqqurrat of Babylon before Sennacherib

The history of E-temen-anki in the second millennium is a history of almost total silence. The lack of documentary evidence for the ziqqurrat of Babylon in this era is often noted. One reason for this lack is surely a circumstance that applies also to other ziqqurrats, that the foundation inscriptions of early builders remain inaccessible. As already noted, Nabopolassar's two foundation cylinders came on to the antiquities' market in the 1880s, being found by local people digging out the remains of the baked-brick mantle for reuse in building. Those of Nebuchadnezzar's several E-temen-anki cylinders that were excavated in Babylon were found in secondary or disturbed contexts; one came from the trench left when local people removed the baked-brick mantle at the the north-east corner of the tower's base, another from the rubble removed in antiquity to Homera, a third in modern fill to the south of the city, and two more fragments from rubbish dumped on Qasr, the palace mound (Weissbach 1938: 44-5, 86, Berger 1973: 295-7; George forthcoming). The fragment discovered in more recent Iraqi excavations evidently also came from a secondary context (Al-Rawi n. d.: 23 no. 105A). The inscriptions buried as foundation deposits by earlier builders surely lie hidden deeper in the older structures, amid almost a hectare of mud brick.

While such inscriptions remain undiscovered the entries in the temple lists and liturgical texts are the only extant references from this era that name E-temen-anki. These texts survive only in first-millennium copies and cannot be dated securely. The temple list of Babylon (*Tintir* IV) originates perhaps in the time of Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104) or shortly afterwards (George 1992: 6-7); another list may even derive from the Kassite period (George 1993: 45-9 no. 4). The reference to a ziqqurrat at Babylon in the Creation Epic (*Enūma eliš* VI 63: George 1992: 301-2) is more solid evidence, however, for a Middle Assyrian piece of this poem survives to prove the long-held theory that it existed already in the second millennium BC.[15] There is no reason to doubt that this ziqqurrat, described as *ziqqurrat apsî elīte* 'the upper ziqqurrat of the Apsû', was E-temen-anki.[16]

In the absence of any hard evidence Schmid proposes very reasonably that a ziqqurrat was first built by a king of Hammurapi's dynasty (1894-1595), because it is unimaginable that Hammurapi himself could have built a temple tower at nearby Kiš leaving Babylon without one. However, having determined to his own satisfaction that the oldest archaeologically identifiable structure, the mud-brick core of 65 m square, represented the tower torn down by Sennacherib, Schmid does not probe further into the early history of the ziqqurrat. But, as we have seen, the tower was probably already 91 m square when Sennacherib intervened. Who, then, might originally have been responsible for this ziqqurrat of base one *ikû* in the large cubit-standard? And who, before that, might have built the mud-brick towers of bases 73 m and 65 m square?

Von Soden developed a hypothesis that Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104) was the only Babylonian king between the end of the Old Babylonian period and the seventh century who could have planned and begun the construction (or reconstruction) of a ziqqurrat on the scale of E-temen-anki (von Soden 1971: 258-9). The dearth of inscriptions from the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar's predecessors and successors confirmed him in this view (von Soden 1996: 80-8). Certainly this king's patronage of Marduk's cult and sanctuary is well attested, but can it really be that in eight long centuries there was no other ruler of Babylonia who commanded resources enough to build a ziqqurrat at Babylon? The number of surviving inscriptions, king by king, is not a sure guide, for those that we have are mainly chance discoveries and hardly likely to yield a true picture of the whole history of royal construction work in Babylonia. In particular, almost no original building inscriptions have yet been recovered from pre-Sargonid Babylon, not because disproportionately few were written but because the structures in whose foundations they were deposited lie mostly inaccessible beneath the water-table.

The scarcity of second-millennium foundation inscriptions from Babylon means that construction work carried out there by Hammurapi and his dynasty is documented only by year-names and by a solitary building inscription surviving in a later copy. Original copies of foundation inscriptions from this dynasty have been excavated in ample numbers at sites such as Sippar and Kiš, where Old Babylonian levels have been much more fully explored than has been possible at Babylon. If we had no year-names, would we then presume that Hammurapi, Samsuiluna and others neglected Babylon, their royal seat, while lavishing resources on other cities?

The post-Old Babylonian periods at Babylon are characterized until the late eighth century by a still more profound absence of documentation for royal building works, for the practice of reckoning the passage of time by year-names was discontinued early in the period after the fall of Babylon to the Hittite king Mursili I, when it gave way to regnal years. Instead we have to draw on later tradition and on circumstantial evidence. Alongside Nebuchadnezzar I several other kings stand out as rulers who may well have had the time, power and inclination to build or rebuild a ziqqurrat for Marduk at Babylon. An early candidate is a fourteenth-century Kassite king, the indefatigable builder Kurigalzu I, whose good works are recorded at no less than eleven Babylonian cities (Clayden 1996; Sassmannshausen 2004: 68). Later tradition reported monumental building work at Babylon by another Kassite king, Adad-šuma-uṣur (1216-1187), though it is not clear whether it involved a temple or temples, or the city wall, or both (Grayson 1975: 72). Among the other kings of Nebuchadnezzar's dynasty, Marduk-šāpik-zēri (1081-1069) and Adad-apla-iddina (1068-1047) stand out as active builders in Babylon, for fragments of original inscriptions survive to show that both worked on the city wall (George 1992: 344; Frame 1995: 45-6 B.2.7.1, 51 B.2.8.1, 62-3 B.2.8.1001). Adad-apla-iddina was also a patron of Marduk's temple, having dedicated an agate bead to Marduk (Frame 1995: 52-3 B.2.8.3). No building inscriptions at all survive from the ninth-century kings, Nabû-apla-iddina and Marduk-zākir-šumi I, but we know that between them they brought sixty years of stability to Babylonia in the aftermath of the Sutian invasions and were able to turn their attention to matters of cult at Sippar and Babylon (Brinkman 1968: 182-205).

At all events, whether the originator of the 91 m tower reigned in the fourteenth, twelfth, eleventh or

[13]) An apocryphal tradition that the Tower of Babel took 43 years to build is recorded in the Book of Jubilees X 21: 'Forty-three years they were building it. Its width was two hundred and three bricks. And the height of a brick was one third its length. Five thousand, four hundred and thirty-three cubits and two palms its height rose up. And thirteen stades (was its wall)' (transl. Wintermute 1985: 77; cf. Unger 1931: 200 fn. 1; Uehlinger 1990: 105). The period of 43 years exactly matches the length of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and may be an echo of it, but it has no historical value. The other figures in this passage of Jubilees bear no relation to the dimensions of E-temen-anki (contra Schmid 1981: 132; n. d.: 46) and also have no value as useful evidence (so already Uehlinger 1990: 105 fn. 290).

[14]) Bielinski (1985) rejects exactly this comparison and, drawing on Assyrian accounts of the construction of Dūr-Šarrukēn by Sargon II, comes to a reasoned conclusion that the tower of Babylon was built by 2,000 workmen in the space of 15 months, or by 1,650 workmen in 34 months. Nowhere does he attempt to ground his argument in a factual history of Babylon.

[15]) KAR 317, whose date was identified palaeographically by S. M. Maul during his work on the Aššur tablets and kindly communicated privately: '*terminus post quem non* ist sicherlich die Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jt. v. Ch.'

[16]) Von Soden supposed that the ziqqurrat of *Enūma eliš* VI 63 could not have been E-temen-anki, 'wegen des anderen Namens' (von Soden 1983: 92), and so must have been a tower located elsewhere. However, the expression *ziqqurrat apsî elīte* is not truly a name, for ziqqurrats had Sumerian names. Instead it is an Akkadian epithet and as such can refer without difficulty to the building otherwise known by the ceremonial name E-temen-anki; on the exegesis of the epithet see George 1992: 301-2.

ninth century, its smaller precursors recede into the mid-second millennium, perhaps even into the Old Babylonian period, the time when Schmid surmises that a ziqqurrat was first built in Babylon. Our chief source for the history of religious buildings in the Old Babylonian period, the year-names, are mute on the subject of the construction of a temple tower in Babylon, but they necessarily pass on only an abbreviated record of selected events. Their silence is not grounds for discounting the existence of a ziqqurrat already in the early second millennium. When Sabium's eleventh year-name reports his construction of E-sangil, can we really be sure that this work did not also include the building (or rebuilding) of Marduk's ziqqurrat?

Von Soden thought it might, but only if the ziqqurrat was at that time situated much nearer the temple E-sangil and not located as a separate structure 200 m north (von Soden 1971: 254-5). He did not recall that much later E-kar-zaginna, a riverside sanctuary of Ea that lay somewhere west and south of E-sangil proper, was defined in a stele of Ashurbanipal as ⌜*bīt*⌝ ᵈ⌜*é*⌝-[*a*] *šá qé-reb* é.sag.íl 'the temple of Ea in E-sangil' (Frame 1995: 201, 66). Other pertinent evidence is the use in the astronomical diaries and other late documents of the gate name 'Ka-dumu-nunna of E-sangil', with reference to a gate of E-tur-kalamma, the temple of Ishtar as Lady of Babylon, a building separate from E-sangil but nevertheless firmly part of the central quarter of Babylon (George 1992: 397; Hauser 1999: 225-6). These descriptions speak for a dual use of the name E-sangil as (a) specifically the sanctuary of Marduk proper and (b) the wider cluster of religious buildings that made up the religious centre of Babylon (George 1992: 303). As will be shown below, cuneiform sources that report the removal of the 'debris of E-sangil' in the Hellenistic period very probably describe the final demolition of the dilapidated ruin of E-temen-anki, and witness the survival of usage (b) into the last centuries of the first millennium. There is no reason why this less specific usage should not already have been coined in the early second millennium. Accordingly, it is possible that in reporting a building of E-sangil, Sabium's year-name included under that name a ziqqurrat in the same location as the well-known excavated remains of E-temen-anki. If so, the ziqqurrat's invisibility in the historical record outside the seventh and sixth centuries is further explained.

The ziqqurrat of Babylon after Nebuchadnezzar II

A piece of evidence for the later history of E-temen-anki that Schmid was unable to use is a broken clay tablet, until 2001 published only in cuneiform, containing the text of a building inscription of Nabonidus.[17] In obv. 28 of this tablet occurs the phrase *siḫirti E-temen-anki* 'the precinct of E-temen-anki', but the immediate context is broken and its significance remains uncertain. To my eyes a plausible reading of the passage is as follows:

[27] [é.sag.í]l* *a-na* ⌜*šu*⌝*-ul-lu-mi ì-lí* [*u* ᵈ15]
[28] [*a-na na-ṣa-ri*? *i-gar*] *si-ḫi-ir-ti* é.temen.an.ki
*eš**-[*šiš*] [29] [*e-pu-uš* ...

CT 51 75 obv. 27-9, coll.[18]

In order to safeguard E-sangil and [*protect*] the gods [and goddesses (therein) I built] anew [the wall of] the precinct of E-temen-anki.

The overall gist of the introduction preceding these lines is that Nabonidus was assiduous in discharging his responsibilities towards the great cult-centres of Babylon and Borsippa: in obv. 23 I read [*a-na za-na-a*]*n*? é*.sag*.íl* *u** é.zi.da *na-šá-an-ni lìb-bi* 'I desired [to *provision*] E-sagil and E-zida'.[19] The bulk of the part of the text that gave details of the particular building work commemorated by the inscription is broken away, however. Nevertheless, one cannot discount it elaborating on the text's earlier report of a restoration by the last independent ruler of Babylon of the wall or other structures of the ziqqurrat precinct. In this regard note the archaeological evidence for successive raisings of the precinct's wall in the sixth century, as proved by the heights of the respective thresholds of the gates that pierce it (Bergamini 1977: 141-5; Heinrich 1982: 309).

[17]) CT 51 75, noted as mentioning E-temen-anki by George 1992: 299, and booked by Beaulieu 1989: 40 as Nbn G. It is now edited by Schaudig 2001: 474-5.

[18]) Asterisks mark readings that differ from Schaudig's transliteration. A similar passage, though longer, occurs in Nabonidus' cylinder from Borsippa (copy by Schaudig 1995: 248) i 23-7: *e-nu-ma ši-pí-ir* é.zi.da *a-na šu-ul-lu-mu aš-te-'-ú i-ga-ra-ti si-ḫi-ir-ti* é.ur$_4$.me.imin.an.ki *uš-ši ad-di-ma ú-kin te-me-en-ši-in e-eš-šiš e-pú-uš-ma a-na ta-na-da-a-ti aš-tákkan* 'When I sought to bring to a safe conclusion the construction of E-zida (by building) the walls around the precinct of E-ur-me-imin-anki [the ziqqurrat], I set (their) foundations in place and made firm their foundation platform. I built (them) anew and made (them) the object of permanent fame'.

[19]) The infinitive might alternatively be read as *za-na-n*]*a*; Schaudig restores *ud-du-š*]*ú* 'renovate'; *e-pe-š*]*ú* 'build' is also a candidate, as in inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, but when Nabonidus uses the expression *našânni libbī* elsewhere it is in the context of maintaining the cult, not building temples (CT 36 23 ii 14-15): *ana ma-ḫaz ilī*(dingir.dingir) *rabûti*(gal.gal) *ka-li-šu-nu za-na-nu na-ša-an-ni lib-bi* 'I desired to provision all the cult-centres of the great gods'. One further collated reading in CT 51 75 is obv. 14: ᵈutu *u* ᵈ*en**-*líl**.

Nabonidus is known to have spent heavily on the fortifications of Babylon. He built a new quay wall that ran the length of the eastern river bank and thus parallel with the western stretch of the wall that enclosed the ziqqurrat's precinct (Bergamini 1977: 128-30; Beaulieu 1989: 39), and he reinforced the city wall, Imgur-Enlil itself (Beaulieu 1989: 38; Al-Rawi 1991: 5-6). If the passage quoted above is correctly restored it reveals that the purpose of Nabonidus's work, to protect the shrines of the gods in E-sangil, was broadly part of the same project. Evidently the wall around E-temen-anki was part of a larger circuit that also enclosed E-sangil, and probably other adjacent sanctuaries too. A little is known of the precinct wall of E-sangil, though nothing has been excavated: its main gate was Ka-sikilla, east of E-sangil (George 1992: 422), and its north section had been completed a few years earlier, as documented by Neriglissar's cylinder inscription (CT 36 17-20). The enclosure of the ziqqurrat, E-sangil and other temples by a set of linked walls helps to explain how the complex of religious buildings at Babylon's heart was referred to collectively as E-sangil, the name of the most important sanctuary of all.

Schmid's history of the tower ends with an account of its destruction. His excavation of the stump found archaeological evidence for the deliberate demolition of the south stairways, concomitant damage to the adjoining mantle and exposure of the mud-brick interior, evidently some time before the ziqqurrat was levelled (Schmid 1981: 97, 103-4, 117; 1995: 75). He declares responsible the Persian Xerxes I (485-465), on the grounds generally that late classical historians attribute to that king the destruction of Babylonian temples, among them the 'tomb' (Strabo) or 'temple' (Arrian) of Belos in Babylon, and drawing attention in particular to (a) the fact that Herodotus fails to mention the great southern stairway of the ziqqurrat, so that it must have already been destroyed at the time of his visit, and (b) the Greek tradition handed down by Ctesias and Aelian that recalled how Xerxes broke into the 'tomb' of Belos (Schmid 1981: 135-6; 1995: 93). Schmid follows Böhl (1962) in identifying the occasion as the aftermath of Babylonian revolts in 484 and 482 BC.

It now seems certain that the two revolts both took place in 484 BC, Xerxes' second year (Waerzeggers 2003-4). But there is a more serious point of contention. The accounts of Xerxes' treatment of Babylon by classical historians have been exposed as tendentious and without local corroboration (e.g. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987; Rollinger 1998), so that several scholars have already taken Schmid to task for perpetuating Greek propaganda (Rollinger 1993: 63-4 fn. 185; Miglus 1996: 300-1; Wiesehöfer 1999: 180-1 fn. 49). In doing so they did not put forward an alternative explanation for Schmid's evidence of massive damage to the ziqqurrat long before its final demolition, and failed to take account of another awkward archaeological fact that supports his reading of the building's history.

While there is plentiful evidence that E-sangil and many other temples of Babylon continued in use for many centuries, and thus could not have been destroyed by Xerxes, the ziqqurrat certainly had a shorter life. As we shall see, by the early third century its superstructure had been removed to another part of the city, leaving a flat site that was eventually redeveloped late in the Parthian period. References to E-temen-anki in Late Babylonian copies of texts from the scribal tradition do not speak for the ziqqurrat's continuing existence as a sacred location in the Hellenistic and Parthian periods (contra Wetzel 1938: 84, Downey 1988: 10-13). They attest only to the durability of cuneiform scholarship, which continued to produce new copies of ancient texts deep into the first century BC (Oelsner 1986: 201-14; 2002: 12 fn. 27).

In regard to the date of the ziqqurrat's demise as a functioning building, it is interesting to note that one of the foundation cylinders recording Nebuchadnezzar II's completion of E-temen-anki was found at Susa during the first seasons of excavation on the Acropole (Scheil 1900: 123-5; Weissbach 1938: 44; Berger 1973: 295-7 Exemplar 2). Other monuments of Nebuchadnezzar II, specifically a vase and a stone block, were also found at Susa (Langdon 1905-6). At least one other item labelled with the name of Nebuchadnezzar later turned up in the Persepolis treasury, where it was part of a small collection of votive beads, eye-stones, cylinder seals and other objects from seventh and sixth-century Babylonia (Schmidt 1957: 57-63). The deities to whom were dedicated the objects found at Persepolis demonstrate that they came from Borsippa (Nabû, Tašmētu, Sutītu) and Sippar (Šamaš, Aya), as well as Babylon (Zarpanītu). They were surely removed from Babylonian temples by one or more of the great kings of Persia and taken home as booty, as in an earlier age Šutruk-Naḫḫunte of Elam had robbed Babylonian temples of many famous monuments (Harper 1992). Among the later material, however, the cylinder inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II found at Susa stands out as a foundation document among what are otherwise votive objects. It was intended not for pious display but for encasing in the fabric of E-temen-anki. How did it fall into Persian hands?

Because Neo-Babylonian cylinders were almost always embedded in the structure of buildings that were the subject of their text, there is a high probability that Nebuchadnezzar's foundation cylinder of E-temen-anki unearthed at Susa came originally from the ziqqurrat. As noted above, Schmid found that the baked-brick stairways had been destroyed and the

mantle broken open on the south side before the tower was levelled, and attributed this damage to enemy action in reprisal for revolt against Xerxes. It seems to me a very possible scenario that a foundation cylinder would have emerged from the mantle's brickwork when the ziqqurrat's stairways were demolished, and that the later discovery of one on the acropolis mound of Susa can best be explained by its removal there as booty by an Achaemenid king, perhaps as proof that demolition had been effected. The cylinder found at Susa is therefore important evidence that speaks in favour of the demolition of the stairways being carried out under the Persian dominion.[20]

At this point we might revisit Aelian's account of Xerxes and the 'tomb of Belos' at Babylon. There is no doubt that this 'tomb' (*taphos*), described by Strabo as a 'square pyramid' (*pyramis tetragônos*, 16.1.5), is a misconceived reference to the ziqqurrat of Marduk, who was chiefly known in the late period as Bēl. In his *Varia historia* Aelian wrote as follows (after Dombart 1915: 54 and König 1972: 70 fn. 1):

> Xerxes, the son of Darius, broke open the tomb of the venerable Belos and discovered a crystal sarcophagus, in which lay a corpse placed in oil. The sarcophagus was not full, but fell short of brimming by four fingerwidths. Next to the sarcophagus was a short stele, on which was written, "May ill fortune befall the one who opens the tomb and does not refill the sarcophagus!" When Xerxes learned this, he was afraid and ordered oil to be poured in as fast as possible, but it did not become full.

An earlier version of Aelian's story was known to Ctesias, who reports in his *Persika* how Xerxes visited the 'tomb of Belitanas' in Babylon and tried in vain to fill the sarcophagus with oil (König 1972: 10 § 21; Briant 1992: 11), but Aelian offers more detail and must have had other sources. The persistence of this story among the Greeks and Romans explains how they came to believe that the ziqqurrat of Babylon was a tomb, like an Egyptian pyramid. Schmid considers the story to have a kernel of truth, ultimately descending from an account of an historical event, when Xerxes' men made a hole in the ziqqurrat's mantle while demolishing the stairways (Schmid 1981: 136; 1995: 93). In fact, there is more to be said. The 'sarcophagus' containing a 'body' covered in oil and associated with a monumental inscription calling on posterity to re-anoint it: this sounds very Mesopotamian. We know that corpses of kings were laid in oil when placed in their coffins, for this detail is reported in a Neo-Assyrian text about a royal burial (MacGinnis 1987: 1, 8-9).

No real corpse would have been found in Babylon's ziqqurrat during this period, of course. But it did contain human images. Nabopolassar himself tells us that he placed within the ziqqurrat's brickwork representations of his royal self (see above). Some foundation inscriptions required future builders to anoint with oil the stele and foundation deposits of their predecessors. Good examples come from Babylon: for example, the marble stele depicting Ashurbanipal in canephorous pose and inscribed with text commemorating the renovation of E-kar-zaginna, which enjoins a future ruler as follows: *ṣalam šarrūtīya līmur šamna lipšuš* 'May he find my royal likeness and anoint it with oil' (Frame 1995: 199-202 B.6.32.2); and a cylinder recording the same king's work on E-sangil, which states similarly: *musarû'a līmurma šamna lipšuš* 'May he find my inscription and anoint it with oil' (Frame 1995: 206-8 B.6.32.6). Foundation cylinders were usually placed cavities in the brickwork or in boxes made of mud bricks, Arabic *libn* (Ellis 1968: 110-12), sometimes in the company of cylinders deposited by earlier kings, as with the cylinders of Nabopolassar and Nabonidus excavated in 1978 in the city wall of Babylon near the Ištar Gate (Abdul-Razak 1979: 116; Al-Rawi 1985: 2 and pl. 1; n. d.). The discovery of a simple cavity or a *libn* box would not easily give rise to a story about a coffin. Something more distinctive is at issue.

None of the extant canephorous steles of Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn found at Babylon and Borsippa was found interred in a brick structure, though at least one was built into a wall (Reade 1986b: 109). However, we know that stone monuments of this period were placed in terracotta boxes before interment. Part of the elaborate foundation deposit found at Sippar by Hormuzd Rassam in 1881 was Nabû-apla-iddina's famous stone Sun God tablet (*BBSt* 36, Walker and Collon 1980: 102-3), which was enclosed in a trough-like lidded terracotta container together with clay squeezes of the tablet made by Nabopolassar (King 1912: pls. 98-102). Reade refers to the container as a 'foundation box' (1986a: xxiii) and rightly so, for Nabonidus had it buried along with its contents in the foundations of the temple of Šamaš, under a brick-lined cavity containing another stone deposit, the Cruciform Monument, and his own inscribed cylinders (Powell 1991: 21). Lidded boxes for stone inscriptions were known in Akkadian as *tupšennu* (Walker 1981: 192) and could be made of stone or fragrant wood (cedar in SB Gilg. I 24), as well as clay.

Seen in this new light Aelian's story of a corpse in a sarcophagus of oil reads as a garbled account of the discovery of a Babylonian foundation deposit, including a stele depicting the royal image, resting in a lidded box and still glistening with oil, and accompanied by an inscription that concluded with blessings for a discoverer who conducted the proper ritual and curses for one who did not. Injunctions to anoint foundation stele and other inscribed objects with oil are typical of Assyrian inscriptions. The occasion that gave rise to the story was then not the discovery in the mantle of the cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar that was taken to Susa, for Nebuchadnezzar's inscription does not end with blessings and curses addressed to its discoverer; nor does Nabopolassar's. More probably what was discovered was a composite foundation deposit left in the ziqqurrat's mantle by Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal. Aelian's story has a greater kernel of truth than Schmid observes.

If Aelian's story retains authentic detail in the manner of the components and message of an ancient Mesopotamian foundation deposit, it may well be that it is also correct in other detail, for example in identifying the occasion of the discovery as a forced entry by the Persian king. The additional information gleaned from Aelian supports Schmid's view that the story is an embroidered account of the smashing of the ziqqurrat's stairways and mantle and, combined with the Susan provenance of one of Nebuchadnezzar's cylinders, lends renewed credence to the tradition of Xerxes' vandalism passed down among classical writers. Of course, the name Xerxes may disguise another Persian king but, all in all, it now seems unwise to exonerate the Persians from hastening the building's decline. The fifth-century uprisings in support of Bēl-šimânni and Šamaš-erība again provide a probable historical context for violent reprisal against a building that was not only Babylon's most prominent religious symbol but in time of war probably also a defensive vantage point.

Following the demolition of the stairways and the damage to its mantle, the tower was no longer usable as a cultic location and must steadily have decayed, its collapse hastened by regular exposure of the mud-brick interior to the flood waters of the Euphrates (Schmid 1981: 136). Eventually most of its brickwork was cleared away and dumped very prominently more than one kilometre to the north-east, just inside the city wall. This final act in the building's history seems to have occurred some century and a half after Xerxes. Strabo and Arrian report a levelling of Marduk's sanctuary by Alexander the Great, in preparation for a rebuilding. According to the details given by Strabo ten thousand men spent two months clearing the ruin mound of the ziqqurrat, which he identifies as a square pyramid (see above). However, we cannot be sure beyond doubt that the event is correctly attributed to the reign of Alexander rather than one of his successors.

Cuneiform sources speak of a major effort at this time to refurbish Marduk's cult-centre, for between 327 and 281 an astronomical diary, a chronicle and other impartial records report intermittently the clearance of the debris of E-sangil by Alexander and his immediate successors, Philip III Arrhidaeus (who dumped it across the river in the western half of the city), Alexander IV and Seleucus I Nicator (Oelsner 1999-2000: 377 fn. 39).[21] Among the Seleucid rulers Antiochus I Soter stands out as the figure most willing to spend revenue on perpetuating the sacred buildings of Babylon, as witnessed by an astronomical diary that records the making of bricks for E-sangil in 274 BC and by his own cylinder inscription that speaks of the renovation of the same temple some time before 267 (Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991; Horowitz 1991). Antiochus's work on the cult-centre of Marduk was no cosmetic exercise. An unpublished chronicle of the period 300-292, when Antiochus was still crown prince, records for posterity that he mobilized a workforce of men and elephants, and *eperī*(saḫar)^{bá} *šá* é.sa[g].g[íl *i]d-de-ku-ú* 'they removed the "earth" of E-sangil' (van der Spek and Finkel forthcoming: no. 2 obv. 8').[22] This is a standard phrase used in reference to clearing away debris accumulated in and around a decaying mud-brick building, and it may be that E-sangil was at this time still in serious disrepair. At the same time, one cannot help wondering whether the debris whose removal could best be effected by elephants was actually the decayed superstructure of the neighbouring ziqqurrat.

Even without knowledge of this new evidence Oelsner already assumed nearly two decades ago that the cuneiform sources cited at the beginning of the previous paragraph, though referring to the removal of 'debris from E-sangil', nevertheless corroborate Strabo's report concerning the levelling of the ziqqurrat (Oelsner 1986: 379). This is also the view of van der Spek, who in discussing more recently a mention of the same activity in the astronomical diary of Philip III's second year states that 'it was already known from the chronicles and a few account tablets that the removal of debris of Etemenanki, started by Alexander the Great, continued after his death' (van der Spek 1993: 96). Other evidence that the name E-sangil was used by cuneiform scribes of the first millennium to refer generally to the buildings that formed the religious centre of Babylon has already been noted. It seems that the dilapidated tower was included among them.

[20]) The argument put forward in the preceding paragraph is elaborated more fully in George forthcoming.

[21]) A broken fragment that may also bear witness to such activity is BM 36613, ed. Sachs 1977: 146-7 (reigns of Darius III Arses and Alexander), on which see further Kuhrt 1987: 148; 1990: 126.

[22]) I am indebted to Bert van der Spek for this quotation.

It may be that we should interpret the cuneiform evidence to witness a demolition of the ziqqurrat that proceeded fitfully over several decades, as and when manpower and other resources became available. In any event, early in the Seleucid era one of the huge mounds of ziqqurrat rubble dumped in the eastern city was put to use as an artificial hillside on which was created the tiered seating of a Greek-style theatre. This functioned, among other things, as the place of assembly of the *politai*, i.e. citizenry of Macedonian origin (van der Spek 2001).

The history of the site after the ziqqurrat's demolition is preserved in a patchy archaeological record. Over the Neo-Babylonian precinct wall, probably long ruined, a new wall was erected some time in the Seleucid era, perhaps for defensive purposes (Wetzel *et al.* 1957: 30; Klengel 1962: 47). It did not make the full circuit of its predecessor, for no trace of it was discovered during later excavations in the south (Schmidt 1973: 165). In 1962 Schmid (1981: 105-6; 1995: 76-7) found that the levelled stump of the ziqqurrat served, after an interval, as a low platform for later buildings. The stump was further explored later in the same decade, when traces emerged of an imposing edifice that had subsequently been converted to domestic use (Schmidt 1973: 165). This building, identified by its excavator as the residence of a Sasanian official, was split into makeshift dwellings in the early Islamic period (Schmidt 2002: 283-90). Stefan Hauser (1999: 222) has also noted the presence on the 'Zikkuratstumpf' of late Parthian remains beneath two Islamic building levels. In due course the early mediaeval walls collapsed and their decayed remains hid from view the mighty square of the ziqqurrat's footings. The focus of attention of those who thereafter sought to confirm the biblical tradition of the Tower of Babel and the accounts of Herodotus and other classical authors shifted from Babylon to better-preserved remains, at Birs Nimrud 'the Tower of Nimrod' and at Aqarquf.

Concluding remarks

No detailed history of the ziqqurrat of Babylon informed by the latest research in Assyriology and archaeology has been written for over seventy years; it is hoped that this review article has met a need for a modern treatment of the subject. In particular, progress has been made in the following points.

1. The issue of how to square the account of the building work given in Nabopolassar's cylinder inscription with the archaeological record has been resolved by a close reading of his language. Some improvements in the understanding of the text arose during the process.
2. The baked-brick tower of base 91 m square has been identified as at least as old as Esarhaddon, and modelled on an even older earlier structure of the same base area. The mud-brick mantle and core enclosed within it are thus older still.
3. Ashurbanipal did not finish Esarhaddon's construction project, but left a stump which Nabopolassar used as base for his own building.
4. New evidence has been adduced for work on the tower or its perimeter in the reign of Nabonidus, circumstantially for the building's deliberate disabling in the Persian period, and for the removal of the superstructure by Antiochus.
5. The silence of the earlier and later sources with explicit regard to E-temen-anki has been explained partly by the archaeological situation and partly by the usage of the name E-sangil in reference to the entire religious centre of Babylon.
6. The E-sangil Tablet, formerly understood as offering an accurate physical description of Babylon's ziqqurrat, has been characterized as a document more interested in abstract ideas than real buildings, and in consequence the question has been raised as to whether a ziqqurrat like the one described by it was ever really built.

Appendix: Additional corrections to Weissbach's edition of Nabopolassar's E-temen-anki inscription

Nabopolassar's E-temen-anki inscription is known from two duplicating cylinders (Berger 1973: 142-3 Nbp Zyl. III, 1). Weissbach's transliteration (1938: 41-4) of the combined text represented a considerable improvement on the previous attempt by Langdon (1912: 60-5 Nbp 1) but it is now also out of date. Some corrections were noted by von Soden (1939) and Meissner (1940) soon after Weissbach's publication, and these inform the translation by Hecker (1988), the source used by Schmid. In addition the following improvements can be made (line numbering from BE I 84 = MS A).

i 24 for *^{iš}kakku qanū dannu* (^{giš}tukul gi *da-núm*; Hecker 1988: 491 translates 'der Waffe, dem mächtigen Rohr(pfeil)') read ^{giš}*kakki*(tukul)^{ki} *danni* 'mighty weapon'. The spelling is pseudo-third millennium, like the script. Collation shows that MS B agrees with MS A, despite the misleading copy (Strassmaier 1889: 130 i 26).

i 42, ii 59 for *lu ap-tíq-ma* read *lu ab-ni-ma* (so already CAD Ṣ 81, N/1 201, etc., Uehlinger 1990: 222).

ii 12 for *šip-ri-šu* read *me-re-šu* 'wisdom' (so too CAD M/2 26).

iii 6 for the etymologically troublesome *ú-dar-rik-ma* (Meissner 1940: 10-11: *ú-dar-rig-ma*; von Soden 1939: 80-1: *ú-la!-bi-iš-ma* or *ú-tár-rik* 'beschlug ich', so also Hecker 1988: 492) read instead *u-si$_4$-pí-iš* = *ušēpiš* or *ú-su$_4$-pí-iš-ma* = *ušūpiš* 'I had made', spellings reminiscent of third-millennium practice, the latter at the same time emulating literary Old Babylonian style.[23] Other examples of /šV/ indicated with a sign from the sV range, as in Old Akkadian, are i 27 *su-ba-ru-um* for *šubarû*, i 36 *re-e-si-ša*, i 37 *si-it-nu-ni* (MS B only), i 43 *sa-ad-li-a-tim* for *šadlāti*, ii 1 *ú-sa-al-bi-in*, ii 3 *ú-sa-ap-ti-iq* (MS B only), ii 5 *sa-me-e* // *sa-we-e*, ii 11 *ú-sa-az-bi-il*, ii 19 *ú-ša-ar-sa-an-ni*, ii 49 *sa-dú-i* for *šadî*, iii 30 *ri-si-a-te* for *rīšāti*, iii 31 *sa-dú-im* for *šadî*, iii 32 *re-e-si-šu*, iii 54 *ri-se-e-tim* for *rīšāti*.

A modernized transliteration of the bulk of the inscription (i 30 - iii 37) has been given above. Weissbach's transliteration needs correcting in the following particulars too: i 17 for *zu-ru-uš-šu* read *ṣú-ru-uš-šu*, iii 48 for *as-si-a-tim* read *aṣ-ṣi-a-tim*, iii 56 for *qí-ri-ib-ka* read *qé-re-éb-ka*.

[23]) The sign SI$_4$ is collated on MS B; Strassmaier's copy (1889: 133 ii 113) is misleading. For III/1 preterite **ušupris* with verbs I-' in OB see GAG³ § 97d*, Lambert 1987: 198.

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On the "Atypical Astronomical Cuneiform Text E"

A mean-value scheme for predicting lunar latitude

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1. *Introduction*

When O. Neugebauer (1955) published his *Astronomical Cuneiform Texts* (henceforth: ACT), the main work in deciphering and understanding the "mathematical astronomical texts" was completed. The mathematical computations of the ephemerides of the Seleucid period were fairly well understood and their working thoroughly explained in ACT. Of course, progress has been made since then – many important cuneiform tablets have been found and edited and almost everybody working in the field has contributed and deepened our understanding of the mathematical astronomy and its numerical methods. But we still know quite little about how the methods were developed. In his *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, Neugebauer (1975, p. 348) summarizes the status of knowledge:

> For the cuneiform ephemerides we can penetrate the astronomical significance of the individual steps, as one may expect with any sufficiently complex mathematical structure. But we have practically no concept of the arguments, mathematical as well as astronomical, which guided the inventors of these procedures. This historical problem is still more involved because we have, beside the mathematical-astronomical material, equally extensive records in which many predicted data are embedded without these predictions being based on the contemporary mathematical methods. Hence we are very far from any "history" of Babylonian astronomy and must be satisfied to accept it as a complete system of admirable elegance and efficiency but without really understanding its development.

In other words: we understand the end product but we have rather little knowledge of the interplay between observation, prediction and formation of theory. Therefore, the big question was (and still is), how were these elegant numerical theories developed? As some progress has been made,[1] we are now much better equipped for our investigations.

Since the currently known Babylonian records of observation have been edited,[2] we know what was observed by the Babylonian astronomers, and we can check the accuracy of the observations by means of modern computer codes. Some advanced and sufficiently accurate computer codes have been developed, enabling us to reproduce lunar, planetary and solar (observational) data for the times of interest, *i.e.*, from 600 B.C. onwards.[3] Systematic analyses of such "reproduced observational data" help us to find and reconstruct empirical predicting rules.

Attempting to find the mathematical and astronomical arguments which guided the inventors of the ACT procedures, the focus of interest and of current research is the intermediate state of Babylonian Astronomy. Therefore one investigates which non-mathematical (*i.e.* non-ACT) methods existed for the prediction of astronomical phenomena. It is our hope to figure out how they worked, and to find their eventual connection to the ACT methods. Again some advancements have been made: we know now how lunar phases were predicted by a rather simple but also very easy, elegant and precise method, the "Goal-Year" method.[4] But to date we have found no direct connection between such a method and the ACT schemes. In this connection so-called "atypical" texts have come into focus of research.[5]

The atypical astronomical cuneiform texts were published by Neugebauer and Sachs (1967 and 1969), who characterized the texts as "isolated computations or didactic texts which fall outside the framework of the standard text material", confronting the authors with many difficulties.

[1]) See for instance J. P. Britton's investigations (2002) of period relations and times and of improvements of parameters. See also Steele 2000 on eclipses as well as P. J. Huber and S. De Meis 2004. Other progress was made by Jones (2004) analyzing observed planetary passages by Normal Stars and through Swerdlow's proposal (1998) for the development of the planetary schemes.

[2]) A. J. Sachs and H. Hunger 1988, 1989 and 1996 as well as Hunger 2001.

[3]) E.g. S. S. Moshier 1992. For the moon, special use is made of M. Chapront-Touzé and J. Chapront 1988. Newest version of the code at www.moshier.net: aa200c.zip, 2005.

[4]) See L. Brack-Bernsen 1999 and L. Brack-Bernsen and H. Hunger 2002.

[5]) Following Sachs we use the term "Intermediate Astronomy" to refer to stages later than MUL.APIN and earlier than ACT, see T. G. Pinches, J. N. Strassmaier and A. J. Sachs 1955.

The present paper contains a new reading of the atypical Text E. A preliminary version was presented by L. Brack-Bernsen in 2002.[6]

2. *Text E*

The fifth atypical astronomical cuneiform text, published as "text E" by Neugebauer and Sachs, is a very nice and almost intact tablet belonging to the cuneiform collection of the British Museum. It is registered as BM 41004 and treats lunar latitudes and planetary periods. At this stage we are only interested in the lunar sections (1 and 4) and refer to Neugebauer's and Sachs' transliteration, translation and comments.[7]

At one point, we interpret the text differently from Neugebauer: the first part of the text mentions several times some 5°. Neugebauer sees the 5° as indicating the maximal positive (and negative) lunar latitude, resulting in an amplitude of 10° for the moon's motion in latitude. The second part gives simple arithmetic rules for a schematic linear motion in the latitude of the moon. Neugebauer remarks that the extrema are (inconsistently) chosen here to be ±6°, a parameter which is not as good as the assumed ±5° from the first part of section 1 (p. 203).

Contrarily we propose that each time the 5° is mentioned in section 1 it refers to difference in longitude (and not in latitude) so that the inconsistency of having two different values for the extreme lunar latitude disappears. According to our understanding, the first part of section 1 (line 1 to 8a) gives the schematic motion in "longitude" of the lunar extrema and nodes, and the second part of section 1 (from line 8b on) treats lunar latitude, starting with the statement that the range of variation in latitude is 6 cubits.

To illustrate the different interpretations, we quote the translation given in the Neugebauer – Sachs paper together with a few of their remarks and then (further below) we give our new translation and point at some consequences of the new understanding of the text.

> (1) The passing(?) by(?) (of stars) by the moon. When it reaches the Pleiades at its highest latitude, (then after) 5° it will not reach Regulus; having proceeded 3 bēru (= 90°) (from when it was at maximum latitude), it is at the node. (2) (Then after) 5° it does not reach the Head of Scorpio; having proceeded 3 bēru (= 90°) (from when it was at the node), it is at minimum latitude; (3) then at 5° (variant: 9°) behind Capricorn it will be at the node. It recedes (in nodal motion) 1;40° per month. (4) At the (beginning of the) second year it is $\frac{2}{3}$ bēru (= 20°) behind the Pleiades (5) when the maximum latitude is passed by, ..., at 5° behind Gemini it is at the node; (after) 5°, (8) it does not reach Virgo, it is at minimum latitude. 1;40° (per month, recession of the node), ditto. 6 cubits is the width of the path. (9) For 1 bēru (= 30°), two disks, either going up or down. (10) After 9 years it will be at minimum latitude. ...

The (schematic) movement of the (full) moon is traced here. Lunar positions are given at three month intervals, after which period of time the place of the moon has changed by approximately 3 *bēru* (= 90°) and its latitude has changed from extrema to mean or *vice versa*.

In Neugebauer's Commentary (p. 203) to this text we read: "the motion of the moon in latitude ... is described with reference to stars and constellations, beginning with a maximum positive latitude of 5° in the Pleiades and then following the orbit through consecutive quadrants to the descending node." We agree that the moon starts at high latitude in the region of the Pleiades; but at this place the text gives no measurement for the latitude. Contrary to Neugebauer, we read the 5° as indicating longitude (the position 5° before Regulus). Not until line 8b does the text quantify the movement in latitude: "6 cubits is the width of the path". The lunar latitude is measured in cubits, and its range of variation is 6 cubits. Note that the text uses different units for measuring longitude and latitude: it gives positions in longitude in units of UŠ (1 UŠ = 1°) and *bēru* (1 *bēru* = 30 UŠ), while latitudes are given in units of cubits. Almost all the texts dealing with lunar latitude which we know give the longitude in units of degrees, while the latitude is measured in cubits (this is e.g. the case in the Star Catalog BM 36609 and in the atypical astronomical text F). Therefore we see this different choice of units as very strong support for our interpretation.

In his comments Neugebauer points at other problems: comparing the indication of lunar latitude with the longitude and latitude of the Normal stars (mentioned in the text) leads him to the following remark (p. 204): "A complete mystery remains the meaning of the repeated remark that the moon 'does not reach' (nu kur) a constellation; cf., e.g., the quadrant Pleiades – Regulus where the 'does not reach' is most unexpected in view of the actually good agreements."

We understand the (admittedly difficult) text as presenting a mean value scheme for lunar latitude. Some Normal Stars within the path of the moon (= the zodiacal band) are used to indicate how the lunar nodes and extrema move along the zodiac in the course of time – the positions being given at intervals

[6]) Workshop on "Atypical Astronomical Cuneiform Texts", held at Regensburg University in October 2002.

[7]) Neugebauer and Sachs 1967, 200-205 and 217.

of three months. The approximation used by the text is that the lunar nodes recede 1;40° per month and 20° per year (line 3 and 4). Accordingly, the recession of the nodes over 3 months is 3 × 1;40 UŠ = 5 UŠ and the recession over 1 year (= 12 schematic months) = 1;40 UŠ × 12 = 20 UŠ. The text explains how to find the position of middle and extremal lunar latitude during 3 years and it indicates, for each of these cornerpoints, the distance to the nearest Normal Star.

3. *An observational rule of thumb*

Before giving our translation and interpretation of the text, let us present our heuristic understanding of what is going on here. There are traces of observational experience and practice together with indications which may lead to the construction of a linear zigzag function for the lunar latitude.

The text gives rules for finding the corner-points of the moon's movement in latitude. By "cornerpoint" we mean the points of maximal, middle and minimal latitude. The method is exemplified by assuming that the moon starts with the highest latitude in the region of the Pleiades. Then the movement of the cornerpoints along the path of the moon is followed by means of Normal Stars. A very simple rule of thumb is used: you come from one cornerpoint to the next by going 5° = 5 UŠ back and a right angle (= 3 *bēru*) forward. From maximal latitude to "the node", go 5° less than 90° forward, and the same amount for coming from the node to the position of minimal lunar latitude, etc. (Note: our rule of thumb is just the simple consequence of indications given in line 3 and 4 of the text, that the node recedes 1;40 UŠ per month and 20 UŠ per year.) The position of the cornerpoints is given with respect to the nearest Normal Star. The first part of the text is hence only concerned with "longitude" while latitude is treated further down, from line 8b onwards: the amplitude of the moon's movement in latitude is said to be 6 cubits (= 144 fingers),[8] a value which is known from ACT and many other texts.

At the Regensburg workshop,[6] N. Roughton presented a Late Babylonian Normal and *ziqpu* Star text. Additional fragments of this text, BM 36609+, have been found since then and the whole text has been translated and commented in a common paper by Roughton, Steele and Walker (2004). This very important text has given us a much deeper insight into Normal Stars and *ziqpu* stars and their role within Babylonian astronomy. Some new Normal Stars have been identified – in parts of the zodiac where the reference points (*i.e.* the Normal Stars known so far) were very far apart. One section of the text gives rising times of zodiacal signs by means of culminating *ziqpu* stars. Another section gave (when complete) a full listing of Normal Stars together with their approximate position (in degrees) within the appropriate zodiacal signs. A further section lists the (rounded) distances in *bēru* and UŠ between stars and stargroups. Note that such lists are handy tools for converting positions observed with respect to Normal Stars into zodiacal longitude. And, finally, Sections 12 and 13 contain a list of distances in cubits above and below Normal Stars. J. Steele has shown that the distances above and below the Normal Stars refer to the extreme points of the moon's band of latitude (which within Babylonian astronomy was assumed to be 6 cubits). All this supports our new interpretation of Text E and deepens our understanding. Some of the stars, still visible in the list of Section 12 and 13, are the same as those in our Text E, and the width of the band is equal to 6 cubits as in our text. In the region of the Pleiades, the minimal latitude is listed as 5 cubits below MUL.MUL (= Pleiades) so the maximal latitude would be 1 cubit above that star.[9] It is not hard to imagine the use of such schemes in tracing the movement of the (full) moon when it passes a Normal Star, e.g., Pleiades. The notion that it passes Pleiades implies that the position of the moon in longitude is known while its distance – measured above or below that Normal Star – would give the lunar latitude at that moment.

The text BM 36609 has hence confirmed our assumption that the Normal Stars were used to indicate the positions (in longitude) of the cornerpoints (of lunar latitude), and to trace their movement with time. The list of Normal Stars and their respective distances, together with the section listing the positions of Normal Stars within the zodiacal signs, give witness that (and how) these stars were used to indicate positions (in longitude); Section 12 and 13 giving the distances above and below (a list of) stars have shown how the lunar latitude was traced by means of these stars. For each of these special stars, the Babylonian astronomer knew the interval of 6 cubits within which the variation in lunar latitude took place. Our rule of thumb is completely in line with the astronomical concepts and practices hidden in the schemes of BM 36609. We see

[8]) From Late Babylonian (LB) times onward, 1 cubit was equal to 24 fingers, and 12 fingers was at that time the equivalent of 1°, so we have here a quite high value of 12° for the amplitude of lunar latitude. See p. 284 in J. M. Steele 2003.

[9]) See N. A. Roughton, J. M. Steele and C. B. F. Walker 2004, and a forthcoming paper by Steele (2005), where he argues that the movement of the moon was surveyed along a "zodiacal band" identified by means of Normal Stars. See also Swerdlow 1998, 34 where he was the first to introduce the idea of a "zodiacal band".

Text E as a primer of lunar latitude. The rule of thumb models nature roughly and gives an easy way of surveying the moving cornerpoints by means of normal stars.

In the following section 4, we will present a new translation of the whole Text E. Those parts of the text which are concerned with lunar latitude will be repeated in sections 5 and 6 together with our interpretation and comments.

4. *New translation of Text E*

Upper edge

(3) At the command of Bel and Beltija may it go well.

Obverse

Section 1

(1) The ...[10] of the moon. In the place[11] of Pleiades it reaches highest[12] (latitude). It does not reach Regulus (by) 5°, it goes 3 *bēru* and (is at) middle (latitude).
(2) It does not reach the head of Scorpius (by) 5°, it goes 3 *bēru* and (is at) lowest[13] (latitude).
(3) 5° (variant: 9°) behind Capricorn (it is at) middle (latitude). (Each) month, it recedes 1° 40'.
(4) In the second year, it recedes $\frac{2}{3}$ *bēru* from Pleiades, and
(5) (it) takes up highest (latitude). 5° behind Cancer (it is at) middle (latitude). It does not reach Libra (by) 5° (and is at) lowest (latitude).
(6) It passes (or: takes up)[14] 5° (of) Capricorn, and (is at) middle (latitude). 1° 40', ditto (= it recedes). In 3 years[15],
(7) it does not reach the ribbon of the Fishes (by) 5°, and takes up highest (latitude). 5° behind Gemini (it is at) middle (latitude).
(8) It does not reach Virgo (by) 5° (and it is at) lowest (latitude). (Each) month, 1° 40' ditto (= it recedes). 6 cubits is the width of the path.
(9) When for 1 *bēru* it goes up[16] or goes down two (lunar) disks,
(10) in 9 years it goes up (= reaches highest latitude), in 9 years it goes down (= reaches lowest latitude).
(11) For you to make (= calculate) the highest and lowest point of the moon('s motion): the size of the moon is 12 fingers.
(12) In a month, the moon goes up or goes down one-ninth of it size.
(13) $\frac{1}{9}$ of 12 fingers is a finger and $\frac{1}{3}$ finger. Until 12 months, 16 fingers, (*i.e.*) $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit.
(14) In a year, it goes up or down $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit. You multiply $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit by 9,
(15) in 9 years it goes down 6 cubits, the width of the path, from highest point to lowest point, and
(16) reaches its lowest point. In 9 years, the remainder of the 18 years,
(17) it turns[17] to (*i.e.*, moves to) the highest point, and reaches its highest point. Secondly (variant): 0;2 (*bēru*, *i.e.*) 12 fingers. With the table(?)
(18) you compute it as before. Secondly (variant): 0;2 (*bēru*, *i.e.*) 12 fingers. 0;00,13,20 is one-ninth (of it).
(19) You multiply 0;00,13,20 by 12, and (it is) 0;02,40 (*bēru*, *i.e.*) 16 fingers. $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit
(20) you multiply by 9, (which means) 0;02,40 (*bēru*) times 9 is 0;24 (*bēru*), so it completes 6 cubits, the width of the path,
(21) (and) is at the lowest point. It turns to (move to) the highest point, and for the remainder of the 18 [years, it is the same.]
(22) The moon [returns to the same] place in 82 days.

Section 2

(23) For you to make (= calculate) the close approaches(?). If one first revolution 1 cubit [...]
(24) a planet it passes(?). In the second revolution, what is behind it ... [...]
(25) planet comes close to planet. If a revolution [...]
(26) comes close to a planet. In the second, it moves away(?) $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit [...]

Reverse

Section 3

(1) [The passing]s of Jupiter by the Normal Stars. In 12 years,

[10]) The first sign is slightly damaged. John Steele proposes to read the traces BAR, which according to Sachs' copy is equally possible. According to collation by Ch. Walker, the traces do not support a reading DIB. BAR occurs in ACT in connection with the nodes and the "nodal zone"; its reading is however still unknown.

[11]) This word is used both for "area" and for what we call "position", e.g. in longitude.

[12]) This is a noun meaning "height", "high place".

[13]) Again, this is a noun meaning "depth", "low place".

[14]) The sign can be used both for "to pass" and for "to take, to seize". Both could be meant here.

[15]) Which we take to mean "in the third year".

[16]) The words for "to go up" or "to go down" are from the same root as the ones translated as "highest" and "lowest" point, respectively.

[17]) Lit., it sets its face to.

(2) it lacks [7(?) days] to your year. Secondly, in 12 years it lacks a month to your year.
(3) In 12 years – new break – it passes its place 5° to the east. In 71 years, [you see(?)] (the same) day for the day.
(4) In 83 <years>, it lacks 7 days to your year.
(5) The passings of Venus by the Normal Stars. In 12 (error for: 8) of your year (error for: years), it lacks 4 days to your year.
(6) Secondly: in 16 years, it lacks 2 days to your year. Thirdly: in 48 years, it goes 4 days
(7) on top of your year. Fourthly: in 64 years, it goes 1 day (or) 2 days on top.
(8) In 8 years, Venus moves its place 4 degrees to the west. In 16 years,
(9) Venus moves its place 2 degrees back to the west. In 8 years, it lacks 4 days.
(10) The passings of Mars by the Normal Stars. In 32 years, it lacks 5 days to your year.
(11) Secondly: in 47 years, it goes 4 days on top of your year.
(12) Secondly: in 64 years, it goes 4 days on your year. Thirdly: in 126 years, you see <the same day for the day.>
(13) The passings of Saturn by the Normal Stars. In 59 years, it lacks 6 days to your year.
(14) In 30 years, it will go 9 days on top of your year. In a year, Saturn moves 12 (degrees).
(15) In 30 years, it passes its place to the east by 7° 20'. In 147 <years>, you see the (same) day for the day.
(16) The passings of Mercury by the Normal Stars. In 13 years, it lacks 3 days to your year.
(17) In 46 years, it lacks 1 day to your year. Thirdly: in 125 years, you see the (same) day for the day.

Section 4

(18) In 19 years the moon will come close to the place of the Normal Stars where it came close (before). Where the moon made an eclipse, it will make (one again).
(19) When it took a highest (position) (or) when it took a lowest (position), it will repeat(?)[18] it in your year. You determine the full[19] (months) and the hollow[20] (ones).
(20) In 27 days the moon repeats(?) the place of the Normal Stars. If for a close (approach), it will fall behind 4 *bēru*.
(21) In 82 (days), the moon will repeat(?), day for day, the place of the Normal Stars (where it was). Or else, in 3 months it lacks 8 days.
(22) [In] 7 days highest point, in 7 days middle, in 7 days it takes the lowest point. In 3 months the moon(!) takes up the highest point, remainder(?),
(23) in 3 months middle, in 3 months it takes the lowest point. Going up and going down of the width of the path
(24) of moon and sun, high and low for you to see: in a month, the moon goes 10 degrees up and down.[21]

Upper Edge

(1) Written from a waxed wooden tablet. Tablet of Marduk-šapik-zeri, son of Bel-apla-iddin,
(2) descendant of Mušezib. Hand of Iddin-Bel, son of Marduk-šapik-zeri, descendant of Mušezib.

Comments on the translation

There is an obvious inconsistency in the expressions of this text. E.g., the so-called "corner points", *i.e.* the maximum and minimum latitude and the nodes, are in most instances simply mentioned, without using a verb, e.g. end of line 1: "it (the moon) goes 3 *bēru* and middle (= zero latitude is reached)". Or at the end of line 5: "5° Libra not reached, lowest (latitude)". The very first such statement, however, is NIM KUR "it reaches highest (latitude)". KUR for "reaching" a corner point of latitude is not used elsewhere, but in l. 5 we find NIM DIB-*at* "it takes up the position of highest (latitude)"; the same expression occurs in l. 7. There is simply no consistent terminology. Another problem lies in the same word "to reach", represented in transliteration by KUR. In this text it is always written as a word sign, without indication of its pronunciation in Akkadian. Five times it is said that the moon "5° does not reach" a certain star or constellation, after which extreme latitude or zero latitude takes place. We take this to mean that the moon has not reached the longitude of the star mentioned but has a longitude of 5° less. The relation between "5°" and the star is not specified by the Akkadian expression. If it is taken as "5° of the star", then the star would have an extension in longitude which is only possible if it represents a constellation (and some of the names are indeed constellation names). Then the text would literally say that the moon does not reach a point 5° into that constellation. That would raise the question of constellation boundaries: are they as in the zodiac? So it seems to us more likely that the reference is to single stars, and to a longitude of 5° less than the star's. This assumption is supported by another expression in the text: three times one of the corner points is said to occur "5° behind" a star or constellation, so the moon's longitude is 5° more than the star's. In these

[18]) Such an understanding of the sign GI written here is possible if uncommon.
[19]) Lit., "confirmed".
[20]) Lit., "returned".
[21]) The 10 degrees must be an error for 12 degrees.

cases there is no ambiguity. This interpretation is further supported by the star catalogue published by Roughton, Steele and Walker 2004, where we find in obv. iii 20: TA 5 UŠ *kin-ṣa* NU KUR. From the context there it is evident that this means "5° in front of the star *kin-ṣa*". Finally, there is one expression which is not clear to us: we have translated in line 5 "it passes 5° of Capricorn", but the sign DIB could also mean "it takes up (a position)". Whatever the exact translation, we expect here NU KUR which is used elsewhere in the text, *i.e.* a position in front of Capricorn. This case has to be considered an error, see below. One more grammatical problem is that the deplacement of the moon by 3 *bēru* (or a right angle) is mentioned after the position "5° of a star not reached" is noted; in other words, the position of the moon is described with reference to a star, and only then is the moon said to have moved to it; we would expect it to be the other way around. This movement by 3 *bēru* occurs only in the first two lines, and only twice. It could just as well have been left out, because the position of the moon in longitude is anyway given with reference to stars. The clearest statements are those at the end of each yearly paragraph: in a month, it (*i.e.*, the moon's position at extremal or zero latitude) recedes 1° 40'. From this the scheme can be constructed.

5. *Lunar latitude in Text E, a new interpretation*

The first half (line 1-8a) of section 1 follows the "longitude"-movement of the lunar cornerpoints during a period of three years. The positions (of cornerpoints) along the zodiacal band are indicated by Normal Stars and given at intervals of three months. The second half (line 8b-17) of section 1 delivers the numerical values of lunar latitude. How these two sets of information can be combined to deliver the numerical equivalent of a linear zigzag function shall be treated in section 6.

We start out by testing the data against the approximation mentioned in the text, that the node recedes 1;40 UŠ per month and 20 UŠ per year. The "schematic" or "ideal" full moon moves 1 *bēru* per month and 12 *bēru* per year. Starting at highest latitude, the full moon will (in a first approximation) reach mean latitude after three months, lowest latitude after six months, mean latitude after nine months and be back at high latitude after 12 months; however, a little correction is needed since the node recedes 20 UŠ per year. Accordingly, the recession of the node after three months is 5 UŠ. Therefore, starting at highest latitude, the full moon will reach mean latitude after some 3 months, having moved 3 *bēru* less 5 UŠ = 90 UŠ – 5 UŠ = 85 UŠ. This approximation is equivalent to our rule of thumb.

In Appendix B of Roughton, Steele and Walker 2004 the stars named in the different cuneiform texts are identified and listed together with their celestial coordinates calculated for the time 300 B.C. (pp. 565-570). We use this list for finding the longitude of the cornerpoints as given in section 1 by means of stars. For comparison, in the scheme below, we have also calculated the longitudes of the cornerpoints according to our rule of thumb. We start at the position of high (or maximal) latitude by MUL.MUL which had a longitude of 28° and find the longitude of the following cornerpoints by successive additions of 85°.

Position given by Normal Star	Identification of the star	corresponding longitude		Lunar latitude	Rule of thumb
ki múl.múl	η Tauri	28	= 28°	high	28°
múl.lugal – 5 UŠ	5° from α Leonis	118 – 5	= 113°	middle	113°
sag gír-tab – 5 UŠ	δ + β Scorpii – 5°	211 – 5	= 206°	low	198°
5 UŠ ár máš	5° behind β Cap.	272 + 5	= 277°	middle	283°
[9 UŠ ár máš	9° behind β Cap.	272 + 9	= 281°	middle	283°]
20 UŠ mul.mul	20° from η Tauri	28 – 20	= 8°	high	8°
5 UŠ *ár-ki* alla	5° behind Cancer	95 + 5	= 100°	middle	93°
giš-rín – 5 UŠ	5° from α Lib.?	193 – 5	= 188°	low	178°
5 UŠ máš	5° from β Cap.	272 – 5	= 267°	middle	263°
dur *nu-nu* – 5 UŠ	5° from η Pisc.	355 – 5	= 350°	high	348°
5 UŠ *ár* maš-maš	5° behind γ Gem.	67 + 5	= 72°	middle	73°
absin – 5 UŠ	5° from γ Virginis	159 – 5	= 154°	low	158°

Some comments to the scheme: the place indicated by stars comes quite near to the position found by means of our rule of thumb. Note that the positions in Text E were only given to a precision of 5°, so the agreement between the longitudes in column 3 compared to those in column 5 is reasonably good.

There is one little inconsistency within the Babylonian scheme: from year to year, the cornerpoints will regress by 20 UŠ in comparison to those from the year before, according to the rule. This is true for all but one pair of indicated positions; those given with respect to MÁŠ = Capricorn. In the first year the point of high latitude was at MÚL.MÚL and after 3 steps the text came to middle latitude (ascending node) at 5 UŠ behind MÁŠ (in line 4 of the scheme). In the second year the point of high latitude having regressed by 20 degrees, was at 20 UŠ before MÚL.MÚL, consequently the point of ascending node in year two should also have regressed by 20 UŠ in comparison to its position the year before. It should of course have been 15 UŠ before MÁŠ – or the position in line 4 should have been 15 UŠ behind MÁŠ. Or it could be that the text is just not that accurate. [A parallel text gives the third position in year 1 to be 9 UŠ behind MÁŠ, this is introduced into the scheme in brackets]. We see the inconsistency as a scribal error.

The general agreement leads to the following interpretation: the first part of Section 1 describes how the position of extremal and mean lunar latitude (cornerpoints) can be traced with time by means of some nearby Normal Stars. A simple rule seems to lie behind the positions found: from one cornerpoint go 3 *bēru* less 5 UŠ (= 85°) forward in order to find the next cornerpoint.

The recession of the cornerpoints is 5 UŠ per 3 *bēru*, therefore the recession will be 1;40 UŠ for 1 *bēru*. However, the text says: each month it recedes 1;40 UŠ. Apparently the text does at this place identify the month with the movement of 1 *bēru* = 30 UŠ. This indicates that the text utilizes the ideal year of 12 months of 30 days as a practical approximation to real months (of varying length), and that it (like the Dodekatemoria scheme) lets moon and sun change their positions by 30 UŠ per month.[22]

The second part of this section, lines 8b-17, gives information on the changing latitude, using the units cubits and fingers and an amplitude of 6 cubits:

> "(8) ... 6 cubits is the width of the path. (9) For 1 *bēru* (= 30°), the two disks, either going up or going down. (10) After 9 years it will be at highest latitude, (or) after 9 years it will be at minimum latitude. (11) To compute the maximum or the minimum latitude of the moon: the size of the moon is 12 fingers. (12) In a month the moon goes up or goes down $\frac{1}{9}$ of its size. (13) $\frac{1}{9}$ of 12 fingers is a finger (and) $\frac{1}{3}$ of a finger. During 12 months: 16 fingers, (namely) $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit. (14) (In other words), in a year it goes up or down $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit. Multiply $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit by 9, (15) (with the result that) in 9 years it goes down 6 cubits, the width of the path, from highest latitude to minimum latitude, (16) reaching its minimum latitude. In the 9 years remaining (to) 18 years, (17) it changes direction towards the highest latitude and reaches its highest latitude."

Since 6 cubits is the width of the path, the change from extrema to node or from mean to extrema is 3 cubits and it corresponds to the change in lunar position of 85° (= 3 *bēru* less 5°). Therefore a change in latitude of 1 cubit must take place over 28;20° (= 1 *bēru* less 1;40 UŠ). Over the distance of 1 *bēru* (≈ 1 schematic lunar month), the change in latitude will become a little larger – by an amount corresponding to the change over 1;40 UŠ. The text splits the change in latitude over 1 *bēru* up into two parts saying first in (9): for 1 *bēru*, two discs, either going up or down, and secondly in (12): in a month the moon goes up or goes down $\frac{1}{9}$ of its size = $1\frac{2}{3}$ fingers.[23] Adding the two contributions one gets:

In a month, the moon goes up or down 1 cubit plus $1\frac{2}{3}$ fingers. During 12 months (= the schematic year) the moon goes up or down 12 × (1 cubit + $1\frac{2}{3}$ finger) = 12 cubit (*i.e.*, the whole cycle) plus 12 × $1\frac{2}{3}$ finger. The correction for 12 months, 12 × $1\frac{2}{3}$ finger = 16 fingers = $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit, is found in (13) and identified with the correction for 1 (schematic) year in (14). The changes in latitude after 9 and 18 years are calculated. The simple linear scheme is used for tracing the cornerpoints which are moving slowly with time. After 9 years they have moved so far that a point of highest latitude will after 9 years become the place for lowest latitude; and after 18 years it will again be the position of highest latitude. The period of this latitude function is 18 years.

[22]) The Dodekatemoria was a crude scheme for lunar motion. It is based on the ideal year of 12 months of 30 days during which the sun moves forward one degree per day (and the moon moves 12 degree faster, *i.e.*, 13 degrees per day). On day D of Month M, the sun will be at degree D in sign M. During one month, the sun has moved 30° and the moon 390°, which is one complete revolution plus one sign = 30°. See L. Brack-Bernsen and J. M. Steele 2003, 104 and 118.

[23]) The units of lunar disc have in (13) been converted to cubits and fingers: two lunar discs = 2 UŠ = 24 fingers = 1 cubit, and $\frac{1}{9}$ disc = $\frac{1}{9}$ UŠ = $\frac{1}{9}$ × 12 fingers = $1\frac{1}{3}$ finger. In Late Babylonian times, the lunar disc was calculated as 1 UŠ, and the UŠ put equal to 12 fingers.

The same calculations are worked out in the following lines (17b-21); now by means of a [multiplication] table that uses sexagesimal fractions of *bēru* instead of cubits and fingers. Using the following conversion: the disc of the moon = 12 fingers = 1 UŠ = 0;02 *bēru*, the corrections or changes appropriate for 1 month, 12 months and 9 years are calculated again:

The correction for 1 month equals $\frac{1}{9}$ of the lunar disc = $\frac{1}{9}$ × 0;02 = 0;00,13,20 (*bēru*).

The change after 12 months equals 12 × 0;00,13,20 = 0;02,40 (*bēru*) = 16 fingers.

The change after 9 years equals 9 × 0;02,40 = 0;24 (*bēru*) (= 12 UŠ) = 6 cubits, which is the width of the path.

6. *Mathematical comments and speculations*

Text E gives advice on how to calculate the lunar latitude from month to month by a simple linear scheme (a linear zigzag function which moves retrograde along the ecliptic by a constant amount per lunation). Below we speculate which linear zigzag function would emerge if we use the information from the text for its construction. As already mentioned above, the text seems to make much use of the ideal year, so we shall do that, too.

The recession of the lunar nodes over the period of a year is said to be 20 UŠ. (At the beginning of the next year the maximal latitude will be 20 UŠ before the Pleiades). If we use the schematic year of 12 months of 30 days and identify 30° with the schematic month of 30 days, then we get the values mentioned in the text. The recession of the node per month is 1;40 UŠ = 20 UŠ × $\frac{1}{12}$ and the recession per 3 *bēru* (*i.e.*, per 3 months) equals 5 UŠ.

At a first glance, it may sound quite strange to identify times with positions. Such a practice has, however, been found in different types of cuneiform texts, for example, in some Kalendertext schemes, where the zodiacal sign is replaced by the corresponding month's name.[24] It comes from the fact that the Sun roughly travels 1° each day and 360° per year in combination with a schematic year of 12 months of 30 days = 360 days.[25] Inspired by such a usage, we just read one month as corresponding to a displacement of 30°, and three months as 90°. In this way, the indications given in line 12-17 make sense and can be seen as instructions for finding latitudes according to a linear zigzag function. In a first approximation, the period of lunar latitude is taken to be 360° ≈ 1 year, and its variation over that period of time to amount to 12 cubits, however with a correction of 20° at the end of the year. In line 8 and 9, the text gives the amplitude of the moon's movement in latitude, and its variation after one month:

> Obv. (8) 6 cubits is the width of the path. (9) For 1 *bēru* (= 30° = 1 month), two discs either going up or going down.

As Neugebauer (1967, 203) and more recently also Steele (2003, 284), have pointed out, these statements are coherent if we accept the rather large value of 1 UŠ = ½ cubit for the lunar diameter. If the variation over 360° equals 12 cubits = 2 × 6 cubits, then the variation over 30° (corresponding 1 month) becomes 12 cubits × $\frac{1}{12}$ = 1 cubit = two lunar discs. This is the first approximation, a correction to it is given in line 12. The correction comes from the fact that the latitude period is 20° less than 360°, namely 340°.

If we were to construct a linear zigzag function fitting the parameters given in the text, we would say: over the period of (360 – 20)° = 340° the lunar latitude has run through its spectrum of latitude (from maximal to minimal latitude and back again to maximal latitude) a variation amounting to two times 6 cubits = 12 cubits.

"Our zigzag function" would have a total variation of 12 cubits in lunar latitude over the period of 340°. Note that 340 = 17 × 20, so that 18 periods of 340° equals 17 periods of 360° which is 17 years; but 17 is an odd and not very practical number. The text, however, has the period of 18 years. Clearly, it does not work in the same way as we who know the period to be 340°. It rather uses a method of successive approximation.

In the first approximation the slow backward movement of the nodes is ignored; the latitude is taken to have the period of 360° with a variation of 2 × 6 cubits = 12 cubits. Then the change in nodal position is taken into account by corrections. The approximation (360° change in longitude corresponding to 12 cubits change in latitude) is used for finding corrections appropriate for different periods of time. Knowing that the node has moved backward by 20° each year, the change in latitude per 20° is found to be 12 cubits × $\frac{20}{360}$ = $\frac{12}{18}$ cubits = $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit. This is the correction for 1 year or for 360°. Hence, the variation in lunar latitude over 360° will amount to 12 cubits + the correction of $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit = $12\frac{2}{3}$ cubits = $12\frac{2}{3}$ × 24 fingers = 12 × 24 fingers + 16 fingers = 304 fingers.

[24]) See L. Brack-Bernsen and H. Hunger 1999, 288.

[25]) This ideal year was since the 3rd millennium B.C. used for administration as a means of easy reckoning.

Correspondingly, the change in latitude over 30° equals 1 cubit (written in line 9 as two discs = 2° = 1 cubit) + a correction. The correction amounts to ($\frac{2}{3}$ cubit) × $\frac{1}{12}$ = $\frac{1}{18}$ cubit = $\frac{1}{9}$ lunar disc. This is just what is written in line 12: "In a month the moon goes up or goes down $\frac{1}{9}$ of its size". Thus we have that the total change in lunar latitude over 30° is 1 cubit + $\frac{1}{18}$ cubit = $2\frac{1}{9}$° = $25\frac{1}{3}$ fingers. These data are situated on a linear zigzag function with the amplitude of 6 cubits = 144 fingers.

Let us determine the period, $P_{☊}$, of this linear zigzag function, *i.e.*, the number of degrees over which the variation of 12 cubits = 288 fingers in lunar latitude takes place. The variation in lunar latitude of 304 fingers takes place over 360°. A variation of 288 fingers will hence take place over $\frac{360°}{304}$ × 288 = $\frac{18}{19}$ × 360° ≈ 341.05°. If we identify 360° with a solar year (according to the schematic year, which is used in our calculation), we get the following relations:

$$19\ P_{☊} = 18 \text{ Solar years} = 18\ P_{\odot}$$

To recapitulate: Text E stated that the highest lunar latitude after 1 year would occur 20° earlier than to start with. For calculating changes in lunar latitude, the text started out with the approximation 1 year ⇌ (corresponds to) 360° = 12 *bēru* ⇌ 12 cubits variation in lunar latitude. This approximation is then used for finding the correction ($\frac{2}{3}$ cubit) for the extra 20° = $\frac{2}{3}$ *bēru* (⇌ $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit) which is finally used to correct the first approximation. A similar way of working with approximations can be found in mathematical texts.[26] The height and width of a door is given, its diagonal is to be determined. In a first approximation, the diagonal of the door is found. This first approximation is then utilized for determining a second and better approximation. It is worth mentioning that modern physics also uses this kind of successive approximation in the so-called perturbation theory.

This Babylonian way of working with approximations has a great advantage. The relevant numbers are handy: e.g., the change in lunar latitude after 1 month, *i.e.*, over 30° of longitude amounts to $25\frac{1}{3}$ finger. Had we used "our zigzag function" with the period of 340°, the numbers would have been very odd:

If 340° longitude correspond to 12 cubits = 288 fingers latitude, then we get that 30° longitude correspond to $\frac{288}{340}$ finger latitude × 30 = $\frac{144\times3}{17}$ finger = $25\frac{7}{17}$ finger, and this number is very hard to work with within the Babylonian sexagesimal system. "The Babylonian" and "our" linear zigzag function both have the amplitude of 6 cubits. Their slightly different periods result in the different values for the monthly variation on lunar latitude: the nice Babylonian value is $25\frac{1}{3}$ fingers, versus "our" value of $25\frac{7}{17}$ fingers.

We conclude: if the latitude of the moon is found as a function of its longitude according to the numerical advices given in section 1 of Text E, then one will get values situated on the linear "Babylonian" zigzag function described above. This function can then be combined with a numerical scheme describing the displacement of the full moon from month to month. This would lead to a latitude function for consecutive lunations which is, admittedly, more primitive than but still similar to the latitude function found in ACT. How the lunar latitude is worked out in column E of system A, is explained in detail by Aaboe and Henderson 1975, 196-211.

An alternative interpretation leading to the same results:

We shall briefly mention another way of interpreting the first half of section 1, where for three consecutive years the positions (in longitude) of high, middle, and low lunar latitude were given by means of Normal Stars. The scheme started by indicating positions situated 85° apart. This led to our "rule of thumb" for finding the position of cornerpoints at three-month intervals. We saw the formulations: 5 NU KUR ... 3 *bēru* as a confirmation of the rule of thumb interpretation.

We refer back to the scheme in section 5 of this paper, where we compared the positions given in Section 1 of the Text E to the positions found by means of the rule of thumb. Some of the stars in the scheme could, however, point at another interpretation, so that we perhaps must see the text as a fusion of different but consistent systems. The third position in the second year is 5 UŠ from α Librae = 188°. It is exactly 180° from the starting point of the second year which was located at the longitude of 8° = 20° from η Tauri. This could point at the situation where the moon is observed continually (through all phases) during a single synodic month. If the lunar latitude is surveyed from day to day throughout the synodic month, then the cornerpoints are found to be situated 90° apart. According to this understanding, the scheme gives the position of the cornerpoints for three idealized synodic months, *i.e.*, for the month M of three consecutive years. A few of the positional stars seem to support this reading, although we must admit that the positions are only given very roughly. Therefore both interpretations are plausible.

The alternative reading delivers the concept of a slowly moving "zigzag curve" on the sky, where the cornerpoints were situated 3 *bēru* = 90° apart. A positional change of 90° corresponds to a variation in latitude of 3 cubits. In this idealized case, the full moon moves by 1 *bēru* = 30° each synodic month, resulting in a 1 cubit variation of the lunar latitude. However, during that period of time the "zigzag curve" has also moved by 1;40 UŠ. As a consequence, the variation in latitude would become larger by the amount of $1\frac{1}{3}$ finger. Note that this interpretation is again based on the schematic month during which the moon has moved (360° +) 30°. And the result of the calculations will, of course, be the same as above. The change in lunar latitude after 1 month is found as the sum of two contributions:

1 synodic month ⇌ 1 *bēru* ⇌ 1 cubit variation in lunar latitude,

1;40 UŠ shift of cornerpoints ⇌ $1\frac{1}{3}$ finger variation in lunar latitude,

total change in lunar latitude = 1 cubit + $1\frac{1}{3}$ finger.

The corrections are here interpreted as a consequence of the slow movement of the cornerpoints. They are, as above, found by linear interpolation within that linear zigzag function with period 360° and amplitude 6 cubits which we above called the first approximation to the lunar latitude.

Shift of cornerpoints after 1 year = 20 UŠ ⇌ $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit change in lunar latitude.

Shift of cornerpoints after 1 month = 1;40 UŠ ⇌ $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit × $\frac{1}{12}$ = $1\frac{1}{3}$ finger.

Shift of cornerpoints after 9 years = 180 UŠ ⇌ 6 cubits.

Shift of cornerpoints after 18 years = 360 UŠ ⇌ 12 cubits.

For both interpretations of section 1, we end up with the same numerical values for the lunar latitude. They represent a linear zigzag function moving slowly with time, so that it will be back to the starting situation after 18 years.

7. *Short notes on numbers*

18 years or 19 years?

As shown above, a "Babylonian" zigzag function for lunar latitude, constructed according to instructions given in the text, is based on the following period relation:

$$19\ P_{☊} = 18 \text{ solar years} = 18\ P_{\odot}$$

This may revive the discussion on the 19 years, mentioned in the beginning of section 4, which again takes up the subject of lunar latitude. We read Section 4 as referring back to section 1.

> "(18) In 19 [Periods = 18] years the moon will come close to the place of the Normal Stars where it came close (before). Where the moon made an eclipse, it will make (one again). (19) When it took a highest (position) (or) when it took a lowest (position), it will repeat(?) it in your year. You determine the full (months) and the hollow (ones)."

This part of the text has caused a lot of discussion: Neugebauer (1967, 205) writes that "The mention of the 19-year cycle is surely a mistake for the 18-year eclipse cycle" while Moesgaard (1980) and later Koch (2001) strongly argue for the reading 19 years = 235 synodic months also called Meton's cycle.

Earlier, we tended to agree to Moesgaard's and Koch's arguments; but now we have found support for Neugebauer's proposal to correct the number 19 years to 18 years. Section 4 mentions eclipses and full and hollow months – but clearly also lunar latitude, which, according to Section 1, will repeat after 18 and not after 19 years. But 18 years equals 19 periods (19 $P_{☊}$). It is possible that the much discussed passage in Text E section 4, referring to the latitude function in section 1, was meant to say something like 19 periods of latitude equals 18 years. Hence after 19 periods which equals 18 years, all lunar phenomena which are connected to the latitude will take place (again) at the same place of the sky, according to that model.

Be that as it may, we can even give further support for the reading 18 years: in line (19) the text tells the scribe to determine the length of the month. In the procedure text TU 11, six different methods are collected for predicting the length of a lunar month.[27] Two of these methods use data from lunations taking place 18 years (= 223 synodic months) earlier, but none of the methods mention some 19 years or 235 months. The only really good and elegant Babylonian method for the prediction of the length of lunar months utilizes the Goal-Year method (which is heavily based on the 18 year cycle = 223 months) and it will give the

[26]) See J. Høyrup 2002, where he treats VAT 6598 (6-7) on pp. 268-272.

[27]) See L. Brack-Bernsen 2002.

correct month length in 97 per cent of all cases.[28] This method was well known at the time when Text E was written and it is to assume that its scribe knew and referred to that method.

8. *Conclusions*

Section 1 of Text E is concerned with the latitude movement of the moon. The movement of lunar nodes and extrema is followed over three years according to a simple rule of thumb. In steps of three months, the positions (in longitude) of the cornerpoints are found: go 3 *bēru* minus 5 UŠ forward in order to get from one cornerpoint to the next, *i.e.*, to get from extrema to node and from node to extrema. Normal Stars are used as reference points. Then the amplitude in latitude is said to be 6 cubits, and indications are given how to calculate the lunar latitude according to a simple mean value scheme. Between the lines of section 1 we see a heavy use of the schematic year of 12 months à 30 days and the often occurring identification of times and positions. It is used as a convenient approximation to nature. We try to illustrate how the schematic year and the corresponding schematic movement of the moon may have been utilized as a practical tool for the construction of a linear zigzag latitude function.

Therefore, if our understanding is correct, we have here a text which shows us some of the steps taken by the Babylonians on their way towards a mathematical description of lunar latitude: starting from observation – a simple rule of thumb is found – which serves as a basis for the construction of a linear zigzag function for lunar latitude. Hereby the ideal year and its connection to changing positions of the ideal "full moon" is used as an easy approximation.

Acknowledgements

Lis Brack-Bernsen thanks the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for supporting this work. We appreciate a careful reading of the manuscript by Claire O'Reilly. And we thank John Steele for useful comments and for a duplicate text.

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[28]) See Brack-Bernsen and Hunger 2002, 53.

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Von Joachim Oelsner (Leipzig)

Gott ist ewig,
Das Leben des Menschen ist kurz.
Über uns steht das Siebengestirn,
Der Mond wandelt unter den Sternen.[1]

Im Jahre 1908 gab Fritz Hommel eine Information über ein unlängst in Nippur gefundenes „astronomisches Täfelchen“.[2] Seitdem ist der Text viele Male behandelt worden, und unter den Interpretationen befinden sich auch einige sehr phantasievolle[3]. Allen Äußerungen lagen nur Umschriften bzw. Übersetzungen zu Grunde, denn der Keilschrifttext selbst ist auch heute, fast 100 Jahre danach, noch nicht veröffentlicht. Fotos hat der Vf. schon vor Jahrzehnten in anderem Zusammenhang veröffentlicht.[4] Sie sind zwar bei Borger, HKL 2, 205 sub „Neugebauer, Otto: Quellen und Studien ... (1936)“, vermerkt, späteren Bearbeitern allerdings in der Regel entgangen. So bildet die Grundlage für die Beschäftigung mit dem interessanten Dokument, das Sterne bzw. Sternkonstellationen zum Gegenstand hat, noch immer die Untersuchung, die Otto Neugebauer 1936 vorgelegt hat.[5] Neugebauer, der auch die ältere Literatur kurz resümiert,[6] war Anfang der 30-er Jahre des 20. Jh.s während seiner Besuche in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena, auf das Original gestoßen und hat erstmals dieses selbst einer Bearbeitung zugrundegelegt. Er kommt im Anschluß an Thureau-Dangin zu dem Ergebnis, daß es sich inhaltlich um das Problem der Unterteilung einer Strecke handelt, also um eine mathematische Aufgabe, die am Beispiel stellarer Größen demonstriert wird. Die von Neugebauer am Ende seines Beitrags ausgesprochene Hoffnung auf „analoge Texte“ hat sich insofern erfüllt, als inzwischen zwei in Kujundschik gefundene Fragmente von parallelen Texten identifiziert worden sind, die im folgenden einbezogen werden:

1. Sm 1113 Z. 4'-11' (im folgenden = Exemplar c): Weidner [1957/58];
2. CT 33, 11 = Sm 162, Rs. Z. 1'-10' (im folgenden = Exemplar b): Horowitz [1993], Bearbeitung an einigen Stellen revisionsbedürftig.

Von den seit Neugebauers Bearbeitung erschienenen Untersuchungen des Textes sei – über die beiden soeben genannten Beiträge hinaus – hier nur eine Auswahl angeführt,[7] wobei wir hoffen, daß Wichtiges nicht übersehen wurde:

Neugebauer [1951], 94f., 133f. = [1957], 99f., 139;
Weidner [1957-1971], 74;
van der Waerden [1949], 6f.;
– [1968], 54-56 = [1974], 62f.;
Rochberg-Halton [1983];
Friberg [1987-1990], 574f.;
Becker [1992a];
Becker/Becker [1993];

[1]) Lied südarabischer Beduinen während einer (totalen) Mondfinsternis, nach: W. Thesiger, *Die Brunnen der Wüste. Mit den Beduinen durch das unbekannte Arabien*, 2. Aufl., München – Zürich 1991, 153. Zur Rolle dieser Gestirne vgl. auch H.-P. Müller, „Der Mond und die Plejaden: griechisch-orientalische Parallelen“, *Vetus Testamentum* 51 (2001), 206-218. Aus der Literatur zu letzteren sei ferner erwähnt: M. Albani, „‘Der das Siebengestirn und den Orion macht’ (Am 5,8). Zur Bedeutung der Plejaden in der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte“, in: B. Janowski – M. Köckert (Hrsg.), *Religionsgeschichte Israels. Formale und materielle Aspekte* (*Veröffentlichungen der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie* 15), Gütersloh 1999, 139-207.

[2]) Hommel [1908], 459. Der Mitteilung, die Z. 24-29 des Textes (= Rs. 1-6) wiedergibt, liegt eine Information von H. V. Hilprecht zugrunde.

[3]) Hier sei nur Zecharia Sitchin genannt, s. ders., *Der zwölfte Planet*, Neuausgabe: München 1995, 277 (deutsch erstmals 1979, englisch: *The Twelfth Planet*, 1976).

[4]) Oelsner [1971], 142f.

[5]) Der „Nippur-Text“, in: Neugebauer [1936], 273-277.

[6]) Die wesentlichen Etappen auf dem Wege dahin bilden vor allem Weidner [1915], 128-131 (mit Literaturzusammenstellung), und Thureau-Dangin [1931]. Durch letzteren, dem auch Schott [1934], 309, folgt, wurde dann – um mit den Worten Neugebauers [1936], 273 zu sprechen – „die Diskussion nicht nur in ein weniger erregtes Fahrwasser gebracht, sondern ein ganz neuer und wie mir [O. N.] scheint entscheidender Gesichtpunkt geäußert, nämlich der Vorschlag, die im Text genannten Maßangaben, durch die gewisse Sternbilder verknüpft werden, als Tiefenabstände zu deuten, statt als Winkelabstände zwischen den Sternbildern auf der Himmelskugel.“

[7]) S. auch R. Borger, HKL 1, 361, sowie 2, 205, sub „Neugebauer, Otto: Quellen und Studien ... (1936)“; Rochberg-Halton [1983], 209 Anm. 1. – Robson [1999], 8 Anm. 341, 129 Anm. 8, erwähnt die Tafel, ohne näher darauf einzugehen; bei Nemet-Nejat [1993] fehlt sie.

Horowitz [1993], 150-153;
– [1998] 179-182;
Hunger/Pingree [1999], 53-55 (zusammen mit den Paralleltexten behandelt; dazu Koch [2000/2001], 233 mit Anm. 19);
Koch [2001] (dazu: Koch [2003], 97f.).

Textgrundlage vor Neugebauers Beitrag bildete für die Bearbeiter:

a. Hommel [1908] beruft sich auf eine Mitteilung Hilprechts (Kopie der Rückseite?);
b. Weidner [1915] spricht von einem „von Herrn Professor Hommel freundlichst mitgeteilten Keilschrifttexte“ (S. 128 bei Anm. 5); über die Erstmitteilung hinaus beschreibt er die Rückseite, teilt davon jedoch nur zwei weitere Zeilen des Kolophons mit;
c. Thureau-Dangin (1931) bezieht sich auf Weidners Veröffentlichungen;
d. Schaumberger (1935) muß über zusätzliche Informationen verfügt bzw. Zugang zum Original gehabt haben, wie eine von ihm mitgeteilte Jenaer Inventarnummer sowie die kurze Beschreibung des Textes bezeugen.

Otto Neugebauer hat dann während eines Aufenthalts in Jena 1931[8] die originale Keilschrifttafel kopiert und das Ergebnis auch Fachkollegen, darunter A. Schott,[9] zugänglich gemacht. Außerdem stand ihm für die 1936 veröffentlichte Bearbeitung eine Photographie zur Verfügung (Neugebauer [1936], 273 Anm. 2). Eine vollständige Umschrift und Übersetzung hielt er nicht für erforderlich, da der Text nach einem bestimmten Schema aufgebaut ist. Über die seit Hommel bekannten Zeilen 24-29 (= Rs. 1-6) hinaus wurden Z. 1-14 der Vorderseite sowie die abschließende Formel („Unterschrift“) und der vollständige Kolophon vorgelegt (Rs. 10-14 = Z. 33-37; bei Weidner [1915] nur ein Auszug). Die übrigen Abschnitte (Z. 15-23 sowie Rs. 7-9 = Z. 30-32) werden nur referiert. Alle späteren Ausführungen zum Text beruhen letztlich auf Neugebauers Beitrag von 1936.

Die Texte

Die Jenaer Tafel, von der hier nun auch der Keilschrifttext vorgelegt wird, hat den Vf. seit der Aufnahme seiner Tätigkeit an der „Hilprecht-Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer im Eigentum der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität“ beschäftigt. Vorläufige Umschriften, Übersetzungen und Kopien des Textes hat er schon vor Jahrzehnten angefertigt. Erst jetzt jedoch findet er die Muße, die Ergebnisse vorzulegen. Der Kopie liegt eine erneute Kollation der Tafel zugrunde, wobei sich einige bisherige Lesungen als obsolet erwiesen.

Die Londoner Kujundschik-Fragmente, in denen der hier zur Debatte stehende Text mit andersartigem Material kombiniert ist, wurden vom Verf. im Frühjahr 1997 kollationiert.[10]

Exemplar a = HS 245 (früher HS 229):

Die in Nippur wahrscheinlich in der Kampagne 1899/1900 gefundene Tafel trägt heute die Inventarnummer HS 245 und sollte nur noch unter dieser genannt werden. Die Änderung von HS 229 (so die seit Neugebauer [1936] bekannte Nummer, unter der das Stück auch heute noch häufig zitiert wird) in HS 245 erfolgte bei der Neuordnung der Hilprecht-Sammlung nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg.

Im Kasten, der zur Aufbewahrung der Tafel dient, liegen mehrere Zettel:

1. von der Hand Hilprechts: „Einer der 5 wichtigen Nippurtexte aus meiner Schreibtisch-Schublade“[11];
2. „Hm 29“ und auf der Rückseite von anderer, nicht bekannter Hand „Jena 228“ (unter dieser Nummer bei Kugler/Schaumberger [1935], 354-356);
3. „Hm 29 = HS 229“, vielleicht von der Hand Neugebauers.[12]

Auf den Kasten selbst ist der Vermerk „Astronomische Berechnung“ geschrieben, möglicherweise von der Hand, die auch „Jena 228“ geschrieben hat. Neben der heutigen Inventarnummer „HS 245“ befindet sich auf dem unteren Rand der Tafel noch eine Zahl „5“ (Zählung von Hilprechts „5 wichtigen Texten“?). Ein mit Bleistift auf den linken Rand geschriebener Buchstabe „l“ ist wohl ohne Bedeutung.

[8]) Zu den Umständen desselben s. Neugebauer [1951], 133f. (= [1957], 139).

[9]) Vgl. Schott [1934], 309 mit Anm. 2.

[10]) Die Veröffentlichung der Ergebnisse erfolgt mit Genehmigung der Trustees of the British Museum, London. Den Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern des Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities gebührt Dank für die gewährte Unterstützung.

[11]) Obwohl zu vermuten ist, daß alle fünf Texte nach Jena gelangt sind, ist es nicht gelungen, sie zu identifizieren. Vor allem in den Wirren am Ende des und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, wo auch eine Anzahl von Keilschrifttafeln verschwunden ist, ist ein Teil der ursprünglichen Vermerke verloren gegangen. – Nach einem Zettel bei HS 1272 soll auch dieses Stück zu den „5 wichtigen Nippurtexten“ gehören (dort noch der Vermerk „1/III No. 5“ – wohl auf den Tag des Fundes zu beziehen, d. h. den 1. März 1900). Da es sich hierbei um eine Ur-III-Urkunde ohne Besonderheiten handelt (veröffentlicht von A. Pohl, TMHNF 1-2, Nr. 272), liegt der Verdacht nahe, daß der zur Aufbewahrung dienende Kasten irgendwann vertauscht worden ist. Derartiges läßt sich in mehreren Fällen nachweisen.

[12]) „Hm“ bezieht sich auf eine frühere Bezeichnung mathematischer Texte in Jena (Hm 1-27 entsprechen den Tabellentexten HS 201-227, vgl. die Auflistung MKT II, S. 3). Wie es zu „Jena 228“ gekommen ist, ist nicht ersichtlich, denn HS 228 war in diesem System für Hm 28, einen anderen Text vergeben.

Die Abmessungen betragen: Breite 6,5 cm, Höhe 11,0 cm, Dicke 2,7 cm; Zeilenhöhe etwa 4-5 mm. Bis auf die Unterschrift ist die Tafel liniert.

Exemplar b = Sm 162 (CT 33, 11), Rs. Z. 1'-10':

Bruchstück einer runden Tafel aus grünlichem Ton, gebrannt und teilweise versintert (erhalten ist etwas mehr als ein Drittel; größte Ausdehnung des erhaltenen Stückes: von links nach rechts 6,3 cm, von oben nach unten 7,8 cm; Dicke: am Rand 0,9, am Bruch 2,3 cm). Über dem hier behandelten Text ist eine Zeichnung fragmentarisch erhalten.[13] Die Vorderseite enthält eine kreisförmige Version des sogenannten „Zwölfmaldrei-Astrolabs", Exemplar A.1 bei Walker/Hunger [1977], 34.

Exemplar c = Sm 1113, Z. 4'-11' = Weidner [1957/58]:

Dem fragmentarisch erhaltenen Text gehen einige Zeilen eines unbestimmten, wahrscheinlich ebenfalls astronomischen Textes voraus. Obwohl ein direkter Sandwich-Join nicht möglich ist, hat der Verf. bei der Kollation (Frühjahr 1997) den Eindruck gewonnen, daß das kleine Fragment (Abmessungen: 3,8×4,1× 0,9 cm) vielleicht die Rückseite zu K 14943 bilden könnte (mit 81-7-27, 94 zusammengeschlossen, wo die Rückseite mit Verunreinigungen überdeckt ist, so daß vom Keilschrifttext nichts sichtbar ist; Teil desselben Exemplars ist ferner 83-1-18, 608 mit verlorener bzw. nicht identifizierter Rückseite). Bei diesen als CT 33,12 (Walker/Hunger [1977], 34 sub A.2) veröffentlichten Stücken handelt es sich um ein zweites Exemplar des kreisförmig angeordneten „Zwölfmaldrei-Astrolabs", hier allerdings auf eine rechteckige, vermutlich quadratische Tontafel mit einer Seitenlänge von vielleicht etwa 16 bis 17 cm geschrieben. Wenn sich dies bestätigt (das Stück ist dann gegenüber der Wiedergabe in CT 33 um etwa 45° nach links zu drehen), bedeutet auch dies Verbindung des „Hilprecht-Textes" mit dem runden „Zwölfmaldrei-Astrolab" sowie weiterem Textmaterial. Wenn sich die Zusammengehörigkeit von Sm 1113 und CT 33, 12 bestätigt, ergibt sich aus der zu rekonstruierenden Zeilenlänge von Sm 1113, daß die Rückseite von CT 33, 12 mit mindestens zwei Kolumnen beschrieben war. Das Fragment Sm 1113 wäre dann im rechten Teil der Tafelrückseite einzuordnen, der verlorene Textabschnitt ließe sich im Anschluß daran bis zum Ende der Kolumne unterbringen.[14]

Transliteration

Es folgt zunächst eine Umschrift[15] der drei Exemplare (= Ex.). Um Übereinstimmungen und Abweichungen zu verdeutlichen, werden der „Nippur-Text" (inhaltlich gegliedert) und die neuassyrischen Fragmente in parallelen Kolumnen umschrieben, Ex. c wird durch fette Type gekennzeichnet. Gegenüber gestellt werden bei der Aufgabenstellung die Himmelskörper, im Lösungsteil die sich entsprechenden Rechenoperationen. In Ex. c ist der zweite Teil des Textes bis auf wenige Zeichen am Anfang verloren.

a = HS 245 (früher HS 229)

(1) 19 *ad* ^{d}XXX MUL.MUL

17 *ad* MU[L.MUL] (2) ^{mul}SIPA.AN.NA

14 *ad* ^{mul}SIPA.A[N].N[A] (3) ^{mul}KAK.TAG.GA

11 *ad* ^{mul}KAK.TAG.GA (4) ^{mul}BAN

9 *ad* ^{mul}BAN ^{mul}ŠU.PA

(5) 7 *ad* ^{mul}ŠU.PA ^{mul}GÍR.TAB

(6) 4 *ad* ^{mul}GÍR.TAB ^{mul}AN.TA.GUB

(7) *ak-mur-ma* 2 GÈŠ DANNA

DINGIR ⌜*i*⌝*-na* DUL! DINGIR (8) *ki ma-ṣi ru-ú-uq*

(9) ZA.E KÌ.DA.ZU.DÈ

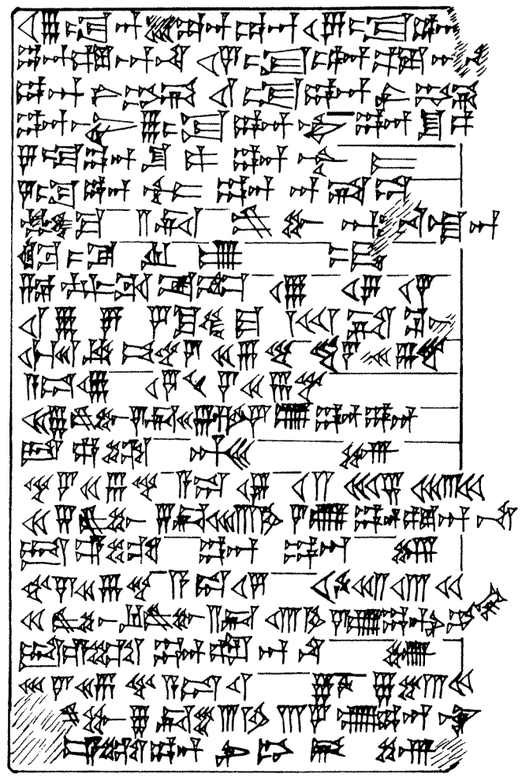
19 17 14 (10) 11 9 7 4 *ku-mur-ma* 1,21 *ta-mar*

(11) IGI 1,21 GÁL.BI 44,26,40

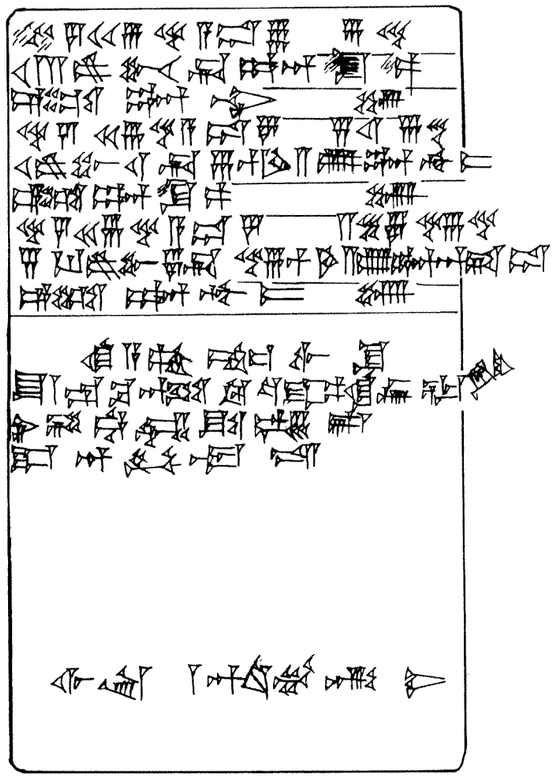
44,26,40 (12) A.RÁ 19
14,```,4,26,40
(13) 28 DANNA 4 GÈŠ 26 1/2 NINDA 2!(Tafel: 4) KÙŠ MUL.MUL (14) *i-na e-li* ^{d}XXX SUD
(15) 44,26,40 A.RÁ 17
12,35,33,20
(16) 25 DANNA 5 GÈŠ 33 NINDA 4 KÙŠ ^{mul}SIPA.AN.NA (17) *i-na e-li* MUL.MUL SUD

b = Sm 162
c = Sm 1113

b (1) [19 *ad* ^{d}Sîn MUL.MUL]
c (4) [19 *a*]*d* ^{d}XXX [^{d}*za-ap-pu*]
b (1) [17 *ad* MUL.MUL ^{d}*ba-a-li*]
c (5) [17] *ad* ^{d}*za-ap-pu* [^{d}*ba-lim*]
b (1) [14 *ad* ^{d}*ba-a-li*] ⌜^{d}⌝*šil-ta-ḫu*
c (6) [12+]2 *ad* ^{d}*ba-lim* [^{d}*šil-ta-ḫu*]
b (1) ⌜13⌝ *ad* ^{d}*šil-ta-ḫi* -----
c (7) [12+]1 *ad* ^{d}*šil-ta-ḫi* -----
b (1) ---------- ^{d}*ni-i-r*[*i*]
c (7) ---------- [^{d}*ni-i-ri*]
b (2) [11 *ad* ^{d}*ni-i-ri* ^{d}GÍR.TAB]
c (8) [11 *a*]*d* ^{d}*ni-i-ri* [^{d}*zu-qa-qí-pu*]
b (2) [7 *ad* ^{d}GÍR.TAB ^{d}*ḫa-ba-ṣi-ra-nu*]
c (9) [7 *ad*] ^{d}*zu-qa-qí-p*[*u* ^{d}...]
b (2) ---------
c (10) ---------
b (2) [... ...] GAR-*in*
c (10) [DINGIR *ina* IGI DING]IR *ki ma-ṣi* G[AR-*in*]
b (2) ---------
c (10) ---------
b (2) GAR.GAR-*šu-nu-ti-ma* 1,21
c (10) [... ...]
b (3) [... ...]
c (11) [IGI 1,21 GÁL.B]I 44,[26,40 ...]
b (3) [44,26,40 A.RÁ 19
...
...
^{d}]XXX *ina* IGI MUL.MUL GAR-*in*
b (4) [44,26,40 A.RÁ 17
...
...
MUL.MUL *ina* IGI ^{mul}*b*]*a-a-li* GAR-*in*



Vorderseite



Rückseite

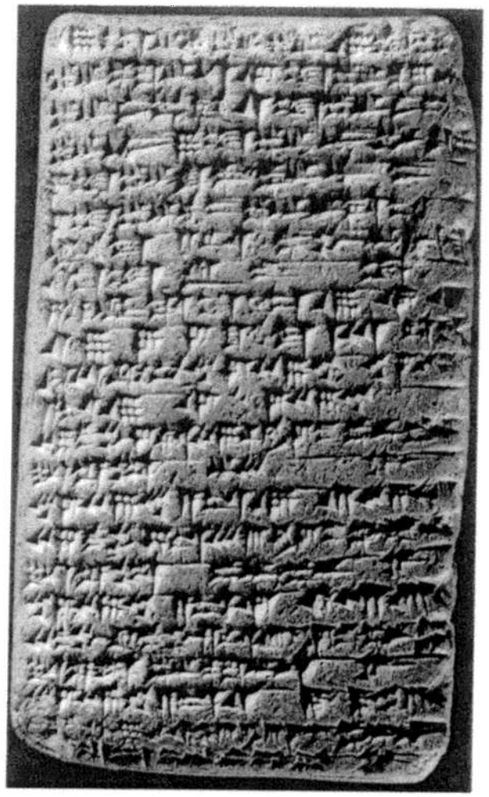
Abb. 1-2: HS 245. Handkopien: Vf.

[13]) Eine (hypothetische) Rekonstruktion bei Schott [1934], 325f. mit Abb. 5.

[14]) Neubearbeitung der „Astrolab"-Abschnitte von SM 162 (Exemplar b) und K 14943 (vielleicht mit Exemplar c zu verbinden) jetzt in Casaburi [2003] unter den Siglen I_1 und I_2 (s. S. 26).

[15]) Zur Lesung des Zeichens UŠ = 60 als GÈŠ (mit den Längenmaßen DANNA „Doppelstunde, Meile" bzw. NINDA verbunden) vgl. Steinkeller [1979] (Bestimmung der Lautung von sumerisch „60" als /gešt/); die Bedenken von F. Rochberg-Halton, *Centaurus* 32 (1989), 168 Endnote 6, gegen eine Lesung des Zeichens GAR als NINDA(N) – s. Horowitz [1993], 152 Anm. 7 – sind im vorliegenden Zusammenhang nicht relevant. Für die sexagesimalen Zahlen wird die traditionelle Wiedergabe (nach Neugebauer) beibehalten, die Umsetzung in das von Friberg vorgeschlagene System dürfte keine Schwierigkeiten bereiten. – Die dem Zeichen KUD/TAR ähnelnden Keileindrücke in Ex. a Z. 12, 18, 21 werden in Transliteration und Übersetzung mit ``` wiedergegeben, zur Interpretation s. u. *sub* „Paläographie und Datierung". Die Ergänzung der Gestirnnamen in b und c schließt sich an die erhaltenen Passagen an.

Vorderseite



Rechter Rand

Rückseite

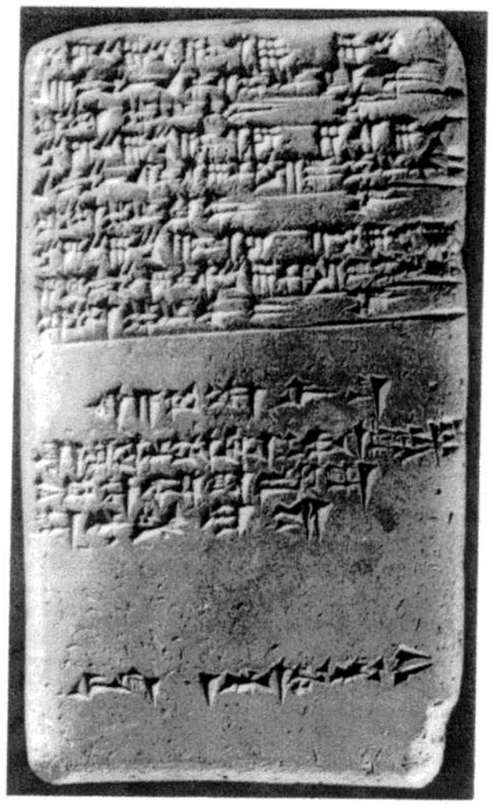


Abb. 3-5. HS 245. Fotos: Günther Schörlitz, Hochschulbildstelle (heute: Fotozentrum) der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena [1968].

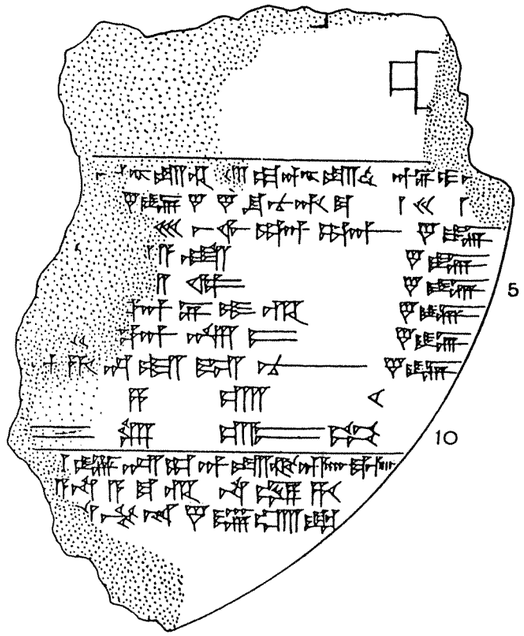


Abb. 6. Sm 162 Rs. (= L. W King, CT 33, 11).

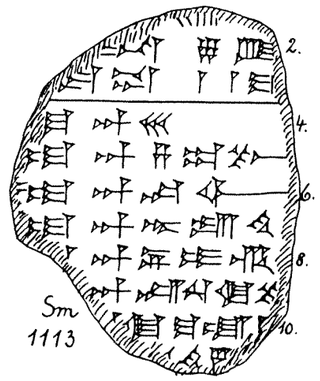


Abb. 7. Sm 1113 (= W. G. Lambert bei E. F. Weidner, *AfO* 18 (1957/58), 393).

(18) 44,26,40 A.RÁ 14
10,``,22,13,20
(19) 20 DANNA 2/3 DANNA 2 GÈŠ 13 NINDA 4 KÙŠ
^{mul}KAK.TAG.GA (20) *i-na e-li* ^{mul}SIPA.AN.NA SUD

(21) 30[+10]+4,26,40 A.RÁ 11
8,``,8,53,20
(22) [16 DA]NNA 8 GÈŠ 53 NINDA {3} 4 KÙŠ
^{mul}BAN (23) [*i-na*] *e-li* ^{mul}KAK.TAG.GA SUD
(24 = Rs. 1) ⌜10⌝+30+4,26,40 A.RÁ 9
6,40
(25 = Rs. 2) 13 DANNA 10 GÈŠ
^{mul}ŠU-PA (26 = Rs. 3) *e-li* ^{mul}BAN SUD
(27 = Rs. 4) 44,26,40 A.RÁ 7
5,11,6,40
(28 = Rs. 5) 10 DANNA 11 GÈŠ 6 1/2 NINDA 2 KÚŠ
^{mul}GÍR.TAB (29 = Rs. 6) *e-li* ^{mul}ŠU.PA SUD
(30 = Rs. 7) 44,26,40 A.RÁ 4
2,57,46,40
(31 = Rs. 8) 5 2/3 DANNA 7 GÈŠ 46 1/2 NINDA 2 KUŠ
^{mul}AN.TA.GUB (32 = Rs. 9) *e-li* ^{mul}GÍR.TAB SUD
Nach Trennstrich und einer unbeschriebenen Zeile:
(33 = Rs. 10) *ki-a-am ne-pe-šu*

b (5) [44,26,40 A.RÁ 14
...
...
^{mul}*ba-a-li ina* IGI ^{mul}KAK.S]I.SÁ GAR-*in*
b (6) [44,26,40 A.RÁ 13
(9,37,46,40)
19 DANNA 7 GÈŠ 46 1/2 NINDA 2 KÙŠ
^{mul}KAK.SI.SÁ *ina* IGI ^{m}]^{ul}*ni-i-ri* GAR-*in*
b (7) [44,26,40 A.RÁ 11
...
...
^{mul}*ni-i-ri ina*] ⌜IGI!⌝ $^{[m]ul}$GÍR.TAB GAR-*in*

b (8) [44,26,40 A.RÁ 7
...
...
^{mul}GÍR.TAB *ina* IGI ^{mu}]^{l}*ḫa-ba-ṣi-ra-nu* GAR-*in*

b (9) [... ...]*ṣa-bit*(-)*u*
b (10) [... GÍR?.T]AB? *ru-ú-qu*

Kolophone

a (HS 245):

(34 = Rs. 11) *qāt*(ŠU) [1]*Eri-ba-*[d]AMAR.UTU ŠÀ.TAM TUR UGULA *ki-sa-al-lu-ḫi*
(35 = Rs. 12) Ì.DU$_8$ KÁ MAḪ *ša* [d]En-líl
(36 = Rs. 13) DUMU [1]DINGIR-ŠEŠ-URU$_4$-*iš*
(37 = Rs. 14) IGI.KÁR [1d]UTU-*mu-bal-liṭ*

b (Sm 162, = Hunger, BAK 93 Nr. 308; nach Trennstrich):

(11) [*mūdû mūdâ likallim lā mukallim lā immar* NÌ.GIG/*ik-kib* [d]É]-⌜a!⌝ LUGAL ZU.AB AN.TA.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
(12) [... ...] *a-na a-ma-ri na-as-ḫi*
(13) [*ṭup-pi* [md]*Nabû-zuqup-kēna mār* [md]AMAR.U]TU-MU-BA-*šá* [lú]DUB.SAR
(14) ([*līp līpi*(ŠÀ.BAL.BAL) [1]*Gab-bi*-DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni*-URU$_4$-*iš* [lú]GAL.DUB.SAR.MEŠ])

In Ex. c (Sm 1113) ist ein etwa vorhanden gewesener Kolophon abgebrochen.

Übersetzung

Inhaltlich besteht der Text aus zwei Teilen, in die im folgenden gegliedert wird: 1. die Aufgabe (HS 245 Z. 1-8), 2. die Lösung (HS 245 Z. 9ff.). Übersetzungen schließen sich soweit möglich wörtlich an das Akkadische an. Bis Ex. a Z. 6 wird dieser Textzeuge zugrundegelegt. Die anschließenden Abschnitte werden getrennt behandelt. Zur Begründung s. u. „Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede zwischen den Exemplaren a, b und c".

1. Teil – die Aufgabe

a Z. 1-6 (Abweichungen von b/c in Klammern zugefügt):

19 mal: Mond : Plejaden (= b/c),
17 mal: Plejaden : Orion (b/c: *bālu*, s. u. sub „Zu den Bezeichnungen der Gestirne"),
14 mal: Orion : Pfeil (= b/c),
11 mal: Pfeil : Bogen (b/c: 13 mal Pfeil : Joch, Bogen fehlt),
9 mal: Bogen : Joch,
7 mal: Joch : Skorpion (b/c: 11 mal: Joch : Skorpion),
4 mal: Skorpion : der „oben stehende" Stern"[16] (b/c: 7 mal: Skorpion : *ḫabaṣirānu*, s. u.).

Ex. a Z. 7f.: Ich habe addiert und zweimal 60 Meilen (sind es). Gott über Gott – wieweit ist er entfernt?

Parallel dazu in Ex. b Z. 2 und Ex. c Z. 10, die sich gegenseitig ergänzen: Gott vor Gott – wieweit ist er gesetzt?

2. Teil – die Lösung

Ex. a Z. 9-33:

9f. Du bei deinem Verfahren: 19(+)14(+)11(+)9(+)7(+)4 addiere und 1,21 (= 81) siehst du.
11f. Das Reziproke von 1,21 (ist gleich) 44,26,40. 44,26,40 mal 19 (ist gleich) 14,‵‵‵,4,26,50:
13f. 28 Meilen, 4×60+26 1/2 (= 266 1/2) NINDA 2 Ellen (sind) die Plejaden über den Mond (hinaus) entfernt.
15 44,26,40 mal 17 (ist gleich) 12,35,33,20:
16f. 25 Meilen, 5×60+33(=333) NINDA 4 Ellen (ist) der Orion über die Plejaden (hinaus) entfernt.
18 44,26,40 mal 14 (ist gleich) 10,‵‵‵,22,13,20:
19f. 20 Meilen, 2/3 Meile, 2×60+13(=133) NINDA 4 Ellen (ist) der Pfeil über den Orion (hinaus) entfernt.
21 44,26,40 mal 11 (ist gleich) 8,‵‵‵,53,20:
22f. 28 Meilen, 8×60+53(=533) NINDA 4 Ellen (ist) der Bogen über den Pfeil (hinaus) entfernt.
24 44,26,40 mal 9 (ist gleich) 6,60:
25f. 13 Meilen, 10×60(=600) NINDA (ist) der Joch(stern) über den Bogen (hinaus) entfernt.
27 44,26,40 mal 7 (ist gleich) 5,11,6,40:
28f. 10 Meilen, 11×60+6 1/2 (= 666 1/2) NINDA 2 Ellen (ist) der Joch(stern) über den Skorpion (hinaus) entfernt.
31 44,26,40 mal 4 (ist gleich) 2,57,46,40:
32f. 5 2/3 Meilen, 7×60+46 1/2 (= 466 1/2) NINDA 2 Ellen (ist) der 'höchste (Stern)' über den Skorpion (hinaus) entfernt.
33 So ist das Verfahren.

In b und c entsprechen:

b Z. 2 Ende (in c Z. 10 Ende verloren, aber wohl ebenso zu ergänzen, s. u.):
Ich habe sie addiert[17] und (es ergibt) 1,21.

c Z. 11 Anfang (dann abgebrochen, in b Z. 3 Anfang wohl ebenso zu ergänzen):
Das Reziproke von 1,21 (ist gleich) 44,26,40.

[16]) Übersetzung im Anschluß an Koch [2001], 69f., s. u. sub „Zu den Bezeichnungen der Gestirne".

[17]) So Horowitz [1993], 154 mit Anm. 11; möglich auch: „addiere sie". Belegnachweis auch bei Høyrup [2002], 435 sub ğar.ğar bzw. ğar.

Ex. b Z. 3-8 (zu Z. 6 s. u.):

3 [44,26,40 mal 19 ...] ist der Mond vor die Plejaden gesetzt.
4 [44,26,40 mal 17 ... sind die Plejaden vor] *bālu* gesetzt.
5 [44,26,40 mal 14 ... ist *bālu* vor den Pfe]il gesetzt.
6 [44,26,40 mal 13 (ist gleich 9,37,46,14) 19 Meilen, 7×60+46=466 NINDA, 8 Ellen ist der Pfeil vor den] Joch(stern) gesetzt.
7 [44,26,40 mal 11 ... ist der Joch(stern) v]or den Skorpion gesetzt.
8 [44,26,40 mal 7 ... ist der Skorpion vor] Centaurus gesetzt.
9 [...] ist genommen und(?)[18]
10 [...] ist entfernt.

Kolophone

Ex. a:

34f. Hand des Erība-Marduk, des jungen Verwalters, des Aufsehers der Vorhofreiniger,
35 Pförtner des „Erhabenen Tores" des Enlil,
36 Sohn des Ilu-aḫa-ēriš.
37 Kollationiert (von) Šamaš-muballiṭ

Ex. b:

11 [Der Eingeweihte soll (die Tafel nur) einem Eingeweihten zeigen, der Nichteingeweihte soll (sie) nicht sehen. Tabu des E]a, des Königs des Apsû, des Höchsten der großen Götter.
12 [(...)]. Zum Lesen ausgezogen.
13 [Tafel des Nabû-zuqup-kēna, Sohnes des Mar]uk-šuma-iqīša, des Schreibers.
(14 [Nachkomme des Gabbi-ilāni-ēreš, des Obersten der Schreiber.])

Paläographie und Datierung

Exemplar a:

Ex. a ist undatiert. Der Aufbau des Textes einschließlich der Unterschrift (Z. 33) entspricht den mathematischen Problemtexten der altbabylonischen Periode. Neben der Paläographie stehen für eine zeitliche Einordnung des vorliegenden Exemplars Struktur und Namensformen des Kolophons zur Verfügung. Nachdem sich bereits Thureau-Dangin ([1931], 87) mit Hinweis auf die fehlende Mimation bei *ki-a-am ne-pe-šu* (Z. 33) gegen eine Datierung in die altbabylonische Zeit ausgesprochen hatte, datierte dann Neugebauer [1936], 276f., die Tafel in die Zeit zwischen 1200 und 1000 v. Chr. Er begründete dies mit dem „Schriftduktus des gesamten Textes" und erinnerte auch an das von Thureau-Dangin vorgebrachte Argument. Der Sachverhalt wird allerdings dadurch relativiert, daß die Mimation auch in altbabylonischen Dokumenten gelegentlich fehlt, in mathematischen Texten z. B. in YBC 4663 (MCT H), Z. 6, 13, 19 und Rs. 25, andererseits die von Herausgeber und Bearbeitern als jünger eingestufte Tafel AO 17264 Rand Z. 3 diese aufweist (MKT 1, 126ff.; S. 126 „Datierung: etwa kassitisch"). Als Indiz für eine nach-altbabylonische Datierung kann jedoch die Schreibung *ne-pe-šu* angeführt werden, da in den altbabylonischen Beispielen in der Regel entweder *né-pe-šum* (Süden) oder *ne-pé-šum* (Norden) geschrieben wird (letzteres auch in AO 17264).

Im einzelnen ist zu bemerken: Das Zeichen GAR/NINDA (Z. 13 und öfter) weist eine Form auf, die vor allem in älteren Texten verwendet wurde (Umzeichnung bei Neugebauer [1936], 276 Fig. 3). Weidner ([1915], 128 Anm. 4) begründete damit eine Datierung in die altbabylonische Periode und berief sich darüber hinaus auch auf das schräggestellte Zeichen GÁN=KÁR in IGI.KÁR Z. 37. Letzteres ist zwar seit dem Ende des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. bezeugt,[19] vor allem jedoch später gebräuchlich, häufig in Kolophonen aus dem 1. Jt. v. Chr.

Beim Zeichen ŠU sind verschiedene Formen zu beobachten: von Z. 4, 5, 25, 29 (Umzeichnung Neugebauer [1936], 274, Bemerkungen zur Lesung mit Fig. 2) unterscheidet sich die Unterschrift Z. 33. Während es an der letzten Stelle jünger wirkt, lassen sich die übrigen Schreibungen ebenso wie die Form des GAR mit altbabylonischen Zeichenformen verbinden.

Für die Zahl „4" wird die jüngere Schreibung 3+1, nicht die ältere 2+2 verwendet. Diese ist jedoch bereits in altbabylonischer Zeit verbreitet.

Das Zeichen DUL Z. 7 beginnt mit einem vorgezogenen waagerechten Keil anstelle des Winkelhakens, so daß es LA ähnelt. Da letzteres keinen Sinn ergibt, wird am ehesten ein Kopierfehler anzunehmen sein. Vielleicht war die Vorlage an dieser Stelle undeutlich und der Schreiber setzte am Zeichenanfang einen waagerechten Keil anstelle des Winkelhakens. Auch die Form des Zeichens ZU Z. 9 ist ungewöhnlich.

Z. 12, 18, 21: wie bereits o., Anm. 15, gesagt, sind beim Ergebnis der Rechenoperationen zwischen erster und zweiter Stelle mehrere, dem Zeichen TAR ähnelnde Keileindrücke gesetzt, (Neugebauer [1936], 275f. mit Anm. 8: KUD). Sie stehen jeweils dann bei Umrechnungen sexagesimaler Schreibungen in Längenmaße, wenn sich bei der Zahl der Meilen kein Über-

[18]) Zur Interpretation s. u. sub „Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede zwischen den Exemplaren a, b und c" am Ende.

[19]) So bei Gudea, Zylinder B VII 13 (Kopie in TCL 8), s. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'Ecriture Cunéiforme*, Paris 1898, 23, Nr. 127 und: *Supplement à la 1re partie*, Paris 1899, 7f. sub Nr. 127; ferner N. Schneider, *Die Keilschriftzeichen der Wirtschaftsurkunden von Ur* III (*Keilschrift-Paläographie* 2), Rom 1935, 40 Nr. 349.

trag aus der folgenden Stelle ergibt. Das ist allerdings auch Z. 27f. der Fall, wo dieses Zeichen jedoch nicht gesetzt ist. Vielleicht liegt das auf derselben Ebene wie die Änderung von *i-na e-li* (Z. 14, 17, 20, 23) zu *e-li* (Z. 26, 29, 32), wo der Schreiber auf der Tafelrückseite Verkürzungen vorgenommen hat, die den Sinn nicht beeinträchtigen.

Auf Trennstrich und einen kleinen unbeschriebenen Zwischenraum folgt die schon genannte Unterschrift (Z. 33), woran drei Zeilen des Kolophons direkt anschließen, während Z. 37 dann nach einem weiteren Zwischenraum folgt.

Der Kolophon besteht aus Nennung des Schreibers (Z. 34-36) mit ausführlicher Titulatur und Filiation sowie Nennung der Person, die die Abschrift kollationiert hat. Hinweise auf die Vorlage fehlen.

Z. 34: Ein ŠÀ.TAM TUR ist ungewöhnlich und – wenn Vf. recht sieht – nur hier bezeugt. Dasselbe gilt für „Aufseher der Vorhofreiniger", obwohl hierbei im Unterschied zum erstgenannten Titel inhaltliche Bedenken kaum bestehen.

Z. 37: IGI.KÁR = akkad. *bari* „kollationiert" ist in altbabylonischer Zeit ungewöhnlich.[20]

Insgesamt gewinnt man den Eindruck, daß sich Z. 1 bis 32 (hier ist die Tafel auch liniert, was in nachaltbabylonischer Zeit bei Tontafeln relativ selten ist) und Z. 33-37 paläographisch unterscheiden. Danach wird die Folgerung erlaubt sein, daß das vorliegende Exemplar in nach-altbabylonischer Zeit von einer älteren Vorlage abgeschrieben wurde, wobei der Haupttext entweder der Vorlage genau folgt oder archaisiert wird. Derartige Unterschiede im Duktus zwischen zeitgenössischer Hand und einem abgeschriebenen Text, sind auch sonst zu beobachten. Bei den Zahlen finden sich zudem Schreiberversehen (Z. 13: 4 statt 2 – vielleicht dadurch zu erklären, daß beim Abschreiben eine undeutliche „2" als 2+2 gelesen wurde?; Z. 22: die zunächst statt 4 geschriebene 3 nicht getilgt).

Solange keine fundierte Paläographie der mittelbabylonischen Zeit zur Verfügung steht, ist es kaum möglich, die Zeit der Niederschrift von HS 245 näher einzugrenzen. Vor allem für die Zeit zwischen 1200 und dem 8. Jh. v. Chr. steht kaum Vergleichsmaterial zu Verfügung. Die o. angeführte Datierung durch Otto Neugebauer läßt sich weder verifizieren noch widerlegen.

Exemplare b/c:

Paläographisch bieten die in Kujundschik gefundenen neuassyrischen Exemplare b und c keine Besonderheiten. Ex. b gehört zu den Tafeln aus der Bibliothek des Nabû-zuqup-kēna aus Kalaḫ.[21]

Z. 11: Zur Ergänzung *ikkib Ea* usw. vgl. Hunger [1968], Nr. 242: *ikkib Ea* [...], Zeilenende nach Horowitz [1993], 155 Anm. 12. Durch die *ikkib*-Formel („Tabu eines Gottes") wird der Text der Kategorie „Geheimwissen" zugeordnet. Entsprechend wurde der Zeilenanfang nach Borger [1957-1971], 189b, ergänzt. Der verfügbare Raum reicht für alle drei Teile der Formel.

Z. 12: Am abgebrochenen Zeilenanfang sind Serientitel und Verweis auf die Vorlage (etwa: [*kī pī ṭuppi*/^{giš}*lē'i* ...] *ana amāri nasḫa* „[gemäß einer Ton-/Wachs-Tafel aus/des ...] zum Lesen ausgezogen") zu erwarten, vielleicht auch nur eines dieser Elemente, obwohl ausreichend Platz für beide zur Verfügung steht. Statt des bei Nabû-zuqup-kēna nur hier zu findenden *amāri* wird in seinen sonstigen Tafeln *tâmarti-šu* verwendet, s. Hunger [1968], Nr. 297, 302, 305, 307, 310.

Ob in einer Z. 14 der Ahnherrnname zu ergänzen ist (Zeile dann nicht bis zum Ende beschrieben), muß offen bleiben, da auf seinen Tafeln sowohl dreigliedrige wie zweigliedrige Filiation bezeugt ist.

Ex. c läßt sich nur auf Grund des Schriftduktus als „neuassyrisch" bestimmen.

Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede zwischen den Exemplaren a, b und c

Gemeinsam ist allen Exemplaren, daß zwischen akkadischen und sumerischen Formen gewechselt werden kann, sowohl innerhalb desselben Textzeugen als auch zwischen diesen. Es ist deshalb nicht auszuschließen, daß die Sumerogramme durchweg akkadisch gelesen wurden. Bis auf die Beschreibung des Sachverhalts in der Aufgabenstellung sind jedoch bei vergleichbarer Strukturierung HS 245 auf der einen und Sm 162 auf der anderen Seite sowie Sm 1113 verschieden formuliert.

Die Aufgabe, die gestellt wird, besteht darin, eine gegebene Strecke in bestimmte Abschnitte zu unterteilen. Diese mathematische Fragestellung wird am Beispiel astraler Objekte realisiert. Zum Charakter der Aufgabe:

a. Längenmaße lassen sich rein numerisch in sexagesimalen Werten ausdrücken; die Entsprechungen sind in den metrologischen Tabellen niedergelegt (vgl. z. B. MKT I 88-90). Vorgegeben sind für die zu unterteilende Strecke 120 Meilen („Doppelstunden") = 2 GÈŠ (= 2×60) DANNA/*bêru* = 1,0,0,0 NINDA.
b. Die Größenordnung wird bestimmt durch die „Normaltabelle" von Reziproken, die bis 1,21 (= 81) mit dem Reziprokwert 44,26,40 reicht (MKT I 8f.; Friberg [1987-1990], 545).
c. Gegenstand sind „irreguläre" Zahlen, auch als „remarkable numbers" bekannt[22] und in den frühesten Reziprokenlisten durch den Vermerk IGI NU gekennzeichnet,[23] während später die entsprechenden Einträge ausgelassen wurden. Die Reihe derselben unterhalb 20 ergibt 81 als Summe von 19, 17, 14, 13, 11 und 7.

Diese Zahlenfolge ist in den Kujundschik-Exemplaren b und c zu rekonstruieren,[24] damit auch hier die Addition 81 (sexagesimal = 1,21) ergibt und die geforderte Strecke zustande kommt. In Ex. a = HS 245 ist 13 in 9 und 4 zerlegt.[25]

Ex. a Z. 1-6 und Parallelen

Abgesehen von den Verschiebungen, die dadurch entstehen, daß der Berechnung entweder sieben oder sechs Zahlen zugrundegelegt werden, und Unterschieden bei einigen Gestirnnamen (s. u.) bzw. deren Schreibung, stimmt die Formulierung in allen drei Exemplaren überein. Das in a und c (in b verloren) jeweils nach den Zahlen stehende Zeichen AD (O. Neugebauer[26] spricht von einem „mir ganz unverständlichen Zusatz") wird in den meisten Umschriften als Sumerogramm behandelt. Meist verzichten die Bearbeiter jedoch auf eine sprachliche Erklärung, da der Sinn der Aussage evident ist. Entsprechend fallen die Übersetzungen aus, so z. B.:

- van der Waerden [1968], 56 (= [1974], 64): „x von (Himmelskörper$_1$) zu (Himmelskörper$_2$)" – bei dieser Formulierung erwartet man im Akkadischen „*ištu ... adi ...*",
- Rochberg-Halton [1983], 212 („Translating freely"): „(Given) x for (the interval) (Himmelskörper$_1$) and (Himmelskörper$_2$)",
- Becker/Becker [1993], 280 (im Anschluß an Rochberg-Halton; vgl. Becker [1992a], 417): „[Gegeben] x für [das Intervall] (Himmelskörper$_1$) und (Himmelskörper$_2$)",
- Horowitz [1993], 151: „x times from (Himmelskörper$_1$) to (Himmelskörper$_2$)",
- Horowitz [1998], 180: „It is x from (Himmelskörper$_1$) to (Himmelskörper$_2$)",
- Friberg [1987-1990] 575: „x beyond(?) (Himmelskörper$_1$) are/is (Himmelskörper$_2$)".

Letzterer scheint sich bewußt gemacht zu haben, daß sich das Zeichen aus dem Sumerischen nicht befriedigend erklären läßt, denn durch die Umschrift *at*<-...> soll wohl eine verstümmelte akkadische Form angedeutet werden. Die Übersetzung „beyond(?)" läßt sich aber kaum begründen.

Horowitz hat in seiner Übersetzung von 1993 (dann allerdings 1998 wieder aufgegeben) darauf verwiesen, daß die akkadische Präposition *adi* dem bei Multiplikationen verwendeten sumerischen Terminus a-rá „x-mal" entspricht.[27]

Wie obige Umschrift zeigt, wird *ad* auch hier akkadisch als verkürzte Form der Präposition *adi* „bis (zu)" in der multiplikativen Verwendung „mal" aufgefaßt, obwohl ein Grund für die Verkürzung von *adi* zu *ad*, die zudem über die verschiedenen Überlieferungsstränge hinweg geht, nicht ersichtlich ist. Dieser Interpretation schließt sich Horowitz [1993] an, wo unseres Erachtens der Sinn der Aufgabe erfaßt ist: zu bestimmen ist einer der Faktoren, mit dem im folgenden dann die Multiplikationen durchgeführt werden sollen. Oder in leichter lesbarer Übersetzung: „19, 17 usw. mal x (ist die / entspricht der Strecke) Himmelskörper$_1$ (zu) Himmelskörper$_2$". x als die zu bestimmende Unbekannte einer einfachen Gleichung wird im Text allerdings nicht ausgedrückt. Konkret ergibt sich der Reziprokwert zu 1,21 = 44,26,40. Daß im Lösungsteil der sumerische Terminus verwendet wird, findet eine Parallele im Wechsel zwischen sumerischen und akkadischen Benennungen der Gestirne. In der Übersetzung oben wird durch einen Gedankenstrich zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß grammatisch im Keilschrifttext jeweils die beiden Himmelkörper asyndetisch nebeneinander gestellt sind.

Im weiteren Verlauf gehen die Formulierungen der Exemplare a bzw. b/c auseinander, obwohl die Grundaussagen identisch sind. Der Abschluß der Aufgabenstellung (in Ex. a Z. 7f.) korrespondiert mit der Ausführung der Rechenoperationen im Lösungsteil (in Ex. a Z. 11ff.).

Die in Ex. a verwendeten Ausdrücke sind im Korpus der mathematischen Texte aus altbabylonischer Zeit häufig bezeugt.[28] Für *ak-mur-ma* 2 GÈŠ DANNA

[20]) Für das einzige bei Hunger [1968], 25-29 Nr. 1-39, verzeichnete Beispiel (Nr. 9 = BE 31, 22) ist eine nachaltbabylonische Datierung wahrscheinlich, s. J. J. Finkelstein, RA 63 (1969), 27. Zur (unsicheren) Lesung BA RI(?) ... im Kolophon der altbabylonischen mathematischen Tafel BM 96957 + VAT 6598, Kol. V 20' vgl. die Diskussion bei Robson [1999], 239f. mit Anm. 25.

[21]) Hunger [1968], 90-96 Nr. 293-313 (CT 33, 11 dort als Nr. 308 mit zweigliedriger Filiation). Zur Person vgl. auch Hunger [1972].

[22]) Høyrup [1993].

[23]) So in dem Tello-Text Istanbul T. 7375 (ITT 4, Tf. 14) und in HS 201 (wohl aus Nippur), s. Oelsner [2001]. Dazu jetzt auch E. Robson, *AfO* 50 [2003/4], 356-360.

[24]) Høyrup [1993], 286, rechnet damit, daß diese Folge bereits in der Ur III-Zeit besonders herausgestellt und seit der frühen altbabylonischen Zeit auch die 4 in diesem Zusammenhang gesehen wurde. – Vgl. auch Sachs [1952], 151-153, mit der Folge 7, 11, 13, 14, 17. In einem Beispiel aus dem 1. Jahrtausend ist die 13 als Kopfzahl einer Multiplikationstabelle bezeugt, s. Nemet-Nejat [2001].

[25]) Erklärungsversuch bei Rochberg-Halton [1983], 215f., dazu Høyrup [1993], 286.

[26]) Neugebauer [1936], 274.

[27]) Horowitz [1993], 151 Anm. 5 mit Verweis auf CAD A/1, 121 sub *adi* A4. Vgl. auch *AHw* 12b sub *adi* 3d. Horowitz ist allerdings darin inkonsequent, daß er das Zeichen AD nicht kursiv wiedergibt. Beispiele für den parallelen Gebrauch von sumer. a.rá und akkad. *adi* jetzt bei Muroi [2002], besonders S. 115 [2], 119 [11, 12].

[28]) Und zwar (teils mit Schreibvarianten) in mehreren der Gruppen, in die sich mathematische Texte einteilen lassen; Nachweise bei Friberg [2000], 159-173, und unter den ent-

(Z. 7) sowie Z. 9 ZA.E KÌ.DA.ZU.DÈ (bzw. die akkad. Entsprechung *atta ina epēšīka*) steht allerdings in b/c kein Platz zur Verfügung, und das anschließende „19 17 14 11 9 7 4 *ku-mur-ma* 1,21 *ta-mar*" (Z. 9f.) muß wegen des verfügbaren Raums in b Z. 2 zu GAR.GAR-*šu-nu-ti-ma* 1,21 verkürzt bzw. verändert worden sein (in c verloren).

Fragestellung und damit korrespondierend die Formulierung der Rechenoperationen werden in a und b/c verschieden ausgedrückt:

Ex. a (Z. 7f.) DINGIR ⌜*i*⌝-*na* DU$_6$ DINGIR (8) *ki ma-ṣi ru-ú-uq*, „Gott über Gott – wieweit ist er entfernt?"

und entsprechend bei den Lösungen Z. 13ff. (mit Logogramm SUD statt *rūq*):

(Himmelskörper$_2$) (*ina*) *eli* (Himmelskörper$_1$) SUD (= *rūq*) „... ist (das Fernerliegende = Himmelskörper$_2$) über (das Näherliegende = Himmelskörper$_1$) hinaus entfernt",

steht in Ex. b Z. 3ff. gegenüber (in c verloren):

(Himmelskörper$_1$) *ina pān*(IGI) (Himmelskörper$_2$) GAR-*in* (= *šakin*)[29] „(das Näherliegende = Himmelskörper$_1$) ist vor (das Fernerliegende = Himmelskörper$_2$) gesetzt".

Von der als Frage formulierten Aufgabenstellung entsprechend Ex. a Z. 7f. ist in b nur das Ende erhalten. In Verbindung mit Ex. c Z. 10 ergibt sich als ergänzte Lesung:

[DINGIR *ina* IGI DING]IR *ki ma-ṣi* G[AR-*in*] „Gott vor Gott – wieweit ist er gesetzt?"

Die Textrekonstruktion basiert auf dem erhaltenen Teil von Ex. c Z. 10 und GAR-*in* nach dem Bruch in Ex. b Z. 2 sowie dem Kontext, d. h. den Formulierungen im Lösungsteil. Es soll allerdings nicht verschwiegen werden, daß dabei vorauszusetzen ist, daß b Z. 2 eng geschrieben war. Die Zeilenlänge von Ex. b ergibt sich aus den Entsprechungen von a Z. 1-6 mit der Parallele c Z. 4-9 gegenüber b Z. 1-2: am Anfang von b 1 sind danach 20 Zeichen zu ergänzen, die gleiche Zahl aber auch in Z. 2, zu der dann noch der Text von c Z. 10 hinzugefügt werden muß. Wenn von übereinstimmendem Text in den Exemplaren b und c ausgegangen wird, wofür alles spricht, ist die obige Formulierung die einzige inhaltlich begründete Möglichkeit.

Die Entsprechung zu a 11 ist in c 11 teilweise erhalten, danach läßt sich hier der Zeilenanfang ergänzen zu: [IGI 1,21 GÁL.B]I 44,[26,40]. Damit ist die Zeile jedoch noch nicht ausgefüllt, so daß hier mindestens auch noch 44,26,40 A.RÁ 19 zu erwarten ist, vielleicht auch mehr. Der Platz reicht entsprechend der zu rekonstruierenden Zeilenlänge für bis zu 6 oder 7 weitere Zeichen aus. Dies ergibt sich aus c Z. 8, ^{d}*zu-qa-qí-pu* (so wohl wegen der Schreibung in Z. 9 zu ergänzen), und Z. 9, wenn dort dieselbe Gestirnbenennung wie in b Z. 8, ^{mul}*ḫa-ba-ṣi-ra-nu*, gestanden hat (da im erhaltenen Teil von Ex. b nur syllabische Schreibungen vorkommen, ist das entsprechende Sumerogramm EN.TE.NA.BAR.ḪUM hier ebensowenig wie in Z. 8 eine Ergänzung GÍR.TAB zu erwarten).

Die Ergänzung des Anfangs von b Z. 3 ist analog vorzunehmen, das Ende der Passage ist am Zeilenende erhalten. Der Schreiber hat in c Z. 3-8 für jeden Einzelposten eine Zeile verwendet, was die Rekonstruktion erleichtert. Erhalten ist allerdings jeweils nur das Satzende. Ergänzungen können entsprechend a Z. 11ff. und der oben besprochenen charakteristischen Formulierung von Ex. c vorgenommen werden mit dem Unterschied, daß statt der Abschnitte für 9 und 4 in Ex. a in Ex. c zwischen 14 und 11 der Faktor 13 einzusetzen ist (um Wiederholungen in der Umschrift zu reduzieren und auch besser zu verdeutlichen, was tatsächlich erhalten ist, wurden in der Transliteration nur an dieser Stelle die entsprechenden Werte eingesetzt).

Allerdings entsteht auch hier ein Problem. Der Platz in Ex. b erscheint zu knapp, um in der Lücke jeweils die vollständigen Entsprechungen zu Ex. a, d. h. sexagesimal ausgedrücktes Ergebnis der Multiplikation und Umrechnung in die Längenmaße, unterzubringen. Wenn man annimmt, daß eines der beiden Elemente ausgelassen wurde, dürfte der Platz aber ausreichen. Vielleicht wurde auf die Sexagesimalzahl verzichtet (in b Z. 6 bei der Rekonstruktion deshalb in Klammer gesetzt und in der Übersetzung in den übrigen Zeilen durch „..." angedeutet).

Eine Ergänzung von b Z. 9f. ist nicht möglich, da keine Parallelstellen bekannt sind. Die Verwendung des Verbums *ṣabātu* (bzw. seiner sumerischen Entsprechung DÍB) „nehmen" als mathematischer Terminus ist zwar nicht selten bezeugt, wegen des fehlenden Kontextes bleibt jedoch offen, ob der Stativ *ṣa-bit* oder das Präteritum des N-Stammes (*iṣ*]-*ṣa-bit*) vorliegt.[30] *u* „und" nach einer Verbalform ist zwar möglich, wenn keine logische Verknüpfung mit dem folgenden Satz hergestellt werden soll (vgl. GAG § 117b; andernfalls ist -*ma* erforderlich, s. GAG § 123a). Einen neuen Satz am Zeilenende zu beginnen, entspricht

sprechenden Lemmata bei Høyrup [2000], 166-171, sowie ders. [2002], 434-439. Auf den Versuch, HS 245 auf Grund bestimmter Merkmale einer Gruppe zuzuordnen, wird hier verzichtet. – Zur Verwendung von GAR.GAR = *kamāru* „addieren" (Ex. b) s. auch o., Anm. 17.

[29]) Zu diesem Gebrauch des Stativs von *šakānu* s. CAD Š/1, 132f. (*šakānu* 3b 4'-5': „to be located at a certain spot"). Im Aufgabenteil erfolgt die Determination der Gestirne nicht durch MUL, sondern durch das Gottesdeterminativ.

[30]) Belege bei Friberg [2000], 159-173, und unter den entsprechenden Lemmata bei Høyrup [2000], 166-171, sowie ders. [2002], 434-439. S. auch MKT II 22 (sub *ṣabātu*); MCT 161 (sub díb), 171 (sub *ṣbt*). Stativ-Belege sind dort nicht verzeichnet, nur einmal (Str. 362 = MKT I 239-243, Rs. 19) in unklarem Kontext ein Präteritum des N-Stammes.

jedoch in der Regel nicht den Gewohnheiten der Schreiber. Man wird deshalb eher an Silbenbrechung denken (GAG § 7b) und die Form als Subjunktiv bzw. 3. Person *pluralis* verstehen (*ṣabtu/ū* bzw. *iṣṣabtu/ū*; bedingt durch die gebrochene Schreibung wurde der Vokal *i* nicht ausgestoßen, wofür die späte Orthographie weitere Beispiele kennt).

Mit *ru-ú-qu* wird ein Schlüsselterminus von Ex. a eingeführt. Horowitz [1993] ergänzte dementsprechend [... *ki ma-ṣi*]-⌜*i*?⌝ *ru-ú-qu*. Dabei ist allerdings zu bedenken:

1. der Zeichenrest vor *ru* wird zu *i* emendiert, was zu einer grammatisch nicht begründeten und sonst nicht bezeugten Plene-Schreibung führt;
2. man erwartet an dieser Stelle keine Frage, sondern am Abschluß des Textes eine Aussage: „soweit (oder ähnlich) ist ... entfernt", falls man nicht annehmen will, daß eine mathematische Aufgabe ohne Lösung vorliegt, der gesamte Text also als Aufgabenstellung zu bewerten ist. Im Blick auf die Verbindung mit anderem astronomischem Material in der neuassyrischen Überlieferung des Textes erscheint das eher unwahrscheinlich, auch wenn in b/c die für Lösungstexte typischen Wendungen (ZA.E KÌ.DA.ZU.DÈ bzw. akkad. *atta ina epēšīka*; *kīam nēpešu*) nicht verwendet werden.

Als Lesung für das nur teilweise erhaltene Zeichen in Ex. c Z. 10 bietet sich am ehesten [TA]B an, was eine Ergänzung analog Ex. a Z. 32 [... *eli* ^{mul}GÍR.T]AB *ru-ú-qu* nahe legt. Völlig unbekannt ist jedoch, wie diese Aussage innerhalb von Ex. c zu verstehen ist.

Zu den Bezeichnungen der Gestirne

In Form einer Tabelle sollen zunächst die Beziehungen zwischen den Gestirnen sowie den Zahlen der Rechenoperationen dargestellt werden. Daran werden einige philologische Bemerkungen zu Sternnamen angeschlossen. Auf eine Diskussion strittiger Identifizierungen wird ebenso verzichtet wie auf Vollständigkeit der Belege. Aus Gründen der Übersichtlichkeit wird die jeweilige Bestimmung aus Koch [2001], 72 Tabelle II und 73 Tabelle III, bzw. (bei *bālu*) Koch [2003], 98f., angeschlossen (wenn vorhanden, werden umgangssprachliche Sternnamen zugefügt). Charakteristisch für Ex. a (HS 245) sind einige ungewöhnliche Schreibungen. Die Umschrift folgt Reiner/Pingree [1981], 10-16.[31]

a		b		c		Bestimmung
^{d}Sîn	19	^{d}Sîn	[19]	^{d}Sîn	[19]	Mond
MUL.MUL	17	MUL.MUL	[17]	^{d}*za-ap-pu*	[17]	Plejaden (η Tauri = Alkyone)
^{mul}SIPA.AN.NA	14	[$^{d/mul}$*b*]*a-a-li*	[14]	^{d}*ba-lim*	[12+]2	a: Orion (β Orionis = Rigel) b/c: α Tauri = Aldebaran
^{mul}KAK.TAG.GA	11	^{d}*šil-ta-ḫi*/^{mul}KAK.SI.SÁ	13	^{d}*šil-ta-ḫi*	[12+]1	Pfeil (α Canis majoris = Sirius)
^{mul}BAN	9	–		–		Bogen (δ Canis majoris)
^{mul}ŠU.PA	7	$^{d/[m]ul}$*ni-i-ri*	11	^{d}*ni-i-ri*	11	Joch (α Bootis = Arktur)
^{mul}GÍR.TAB	4	$^{[d]/[m]ul}$GÍR.TAB	7	^{d}*zu-qa-qí-p*[*u*]	7	Skorpion (α Scorpii = Antares)
^{mul}AN.TA.GUB		$^{[d]/[mu]l}$*ḫa-ba-ṣi-ra-nu*		[...]		a: α Lyrae(?) (s. u.) b: α^{1} Centauri

Philologische Bemerkungen zu den Namen der Gestirne[32]

Sîn [G. 352 (299)]: in der lexikalischen Überlieferung ist als Entsprechung zum Mond die Gleichung MUL.AN.NA „das Himmelgestirn katexochen(?)" zu finden [G. 30 (16)], so in der Götterliste CT 25, 32 Z. 11, und im Sternabschnitt von ḪAR.gud, Rezension B Tf. VI Z. 49 = MSL 11, 41, mit Duplikat *SpTU* 3, 116 Rs. III x+18 (= von Weiher [1988] 237). Die Überlegung, daß im „Hilprecht-Text" die Strecke von diesem Zentrum bis zu einem nicht näher definierten „höchsten Stern (AN.TA.GUB)" mit eindrucksvollen Zwischenstationen bestimmt werden sollte, ist wahrscheinlich aber wohl doch zu spekulativ. – Zu den verschiedenen Aspekten des Mondes s. Stol [1992].

MUL.MUL [G. 279 (121)] / *zappu* [G. 171 (372)]: ob bei der Umschrift MUL.MUL oder besser ^{mul}MUL der Vorzug zu geben ist, läßt sich nicht eindeutig klären, vgl. bei Horowitz [1998], 160 Tabelle Anm. a,

[31]) S. ferner die Listen Hunger/Pingree [1989], 137-146, 157-162; Hunger/Pingree [1999], 271-277 (S. 271 sub „Bow" lies „Canis Maioris" statt „Minoris" im Anschluß Reiner/Pingree [1981], 11); Koch-Westenholz [1995], 207f.; teilweise abweichend Koch [1989], besonders S. 111. Vgl. auch Rochberg-Halton [1983], 217 (nach Anm. 38), und die Übersetzungen von Horowitz [1993], 151ff.

[32]) Auf die Lemmata von Gössmann [1950] wird in eckigen Klammern mit G. (= G[össmann]) und der dortigen Zählung verwiesen (in runden Klammern wird auf den keilschriftlichen Index S. 217-222 Bezug genommen).

den Hinweis auf mu-lu MUL *za-ap-pu* (nach *kak-ka-bu*) in der Serie Aa (= MSL 14, 291, Kol. II 26).

^{mul}SIPA.AN.NA: gegenüber dem üblichen ^{mul}SIPA.ZI.AN.NA „treuer Hirte des Himmels" [G. 348 (170)] als Benennung des Orion ist die verkürzte Form von Ex. a singulär (bei Gössmann nur diese Stelle). Ein Schreibfehler ist unwahrscheinlich, da die Schreibung mehrfach im Text begegnet (Z. 2, 16, 20). Eine Entsprechung läßt sich vielleicht in der Gleichung MUL.SIPA.E.NE *ti-ša-at-ta-lu* (Emar-Version von ḪAR.ra = *ḫubullu* Tafel XXII, s. Arnaud [1985], S. 287 Msk. 74115 Rs. linke Kol. 8' und S. 461 Msk. 74187 Rs. linke Kol. 3' = Arnaud [1987], S. 151 Z. 155'), erkennen, wenn man die (unbegründete) sumerische „Pluralendung" als phonetische Variante zu (üblichem) AN.NA interpetiert.

Akkadisch entspricht ein Lehnwort aus dem Sumerischen: ŠÍTA.DAR (ŠITA.DA.RU) = *šitaddaru* (mit Nebenformen wie *šitaddalu* bzw. *šit/dallu* und anderen Varianten [G. 393 (285)], s. auch die eben genannte Emar-Version); erläutert als *ša ina kakki maḫṣu* „der mit der Waffe Erschlagene", z. B. ḪAR.gud, Rezension B Tf. VI Z. 44 = MSL 11, 41[33]; „Große Sternliste" Z. 163f. = Koch-Westenholz [1995], 194; vgl. auch Koch [1989], 116-119, und Horowitz [2000], 198 zu Z. 17 (weitere Literatur).

$^{mul/d}$*bālu* ersetzt in den aus neuassyrischer Zeit überlieferten Exemplaren b und c ^{mul}SIPA.AN.NA (Ex. a). Beide stimmen an dieser Stelle überein, unterscheiden sich jedoch in der Orthographie.[34] Ein Sternname *bālu* bzw. *balu* begegnet in zwei Zusammenhängen:

1. Name für den Planeten Mars in K 75+237 = *ACh. Suppl.* VII, Z. 9 (nach L. Verderame [2002], IX: „astrologischer Kommentar"), zitiert bei Weidner [1957/58], 394. ^{d}*Si-mut* wird dort erläutert mit ^{mul}*ṣal-bat-a-nu šá-niš* ^{d}*ba-lu* „Mars oder auch *Balu*", in derselben Zeile außerdem Nennung von UD.KA.DU$_8$.A. Sowohl Simut als auch UD.KA.DU$_8$.A (als Fixstern Cygnus und Teil von Cepheus, s. Reiner/Pingree [1981], 15) sind mit *Ṣalbatānu* gleichgesetzt worden (s. „Große Sternliste" Z. 99 und 108 = Koch-Westenholz [1995], 190). Der bekannteste Beleg steht im Sternabschnitt der Serie ḪAR.gud, Rezension B Tf. VI Z. 31 = MSL 11, 40 (verloren in *SpTU* 3, 116) mit der Gleichung: mul.nu.me.a *ba-lum* MIN (= *ṣal-*[*bat-a-nu*]). Sowohl in der „Großen Sternliste" (Spekulation muß bleiben, ob dort in einer der verlorenen Zeilen des Abschnittes Z. 83ff. ebenfalls *bālu* aufgeführt worden war) als auch im entsprechenden Abschnitt von ḪAR.gud wird eine Reihe von Fixsternen mit dem Planeten Mars gleichgesetzt.[35]
2. Der Beschwörungstext BA 10/1, 81 Nr. 7 (mit Duplikaten bearbeitet von M. Stol [1992], 251-255, und zuletzt von J. Koch [2003]) enthält einen Sternmythos,[36] in dem Z. 2 gesagt wird:
   ^{d}*Za-ap-pu e-ra-an-ni* ^{d}*Ba-a-lum ú-li-dan-ni*
   „Die Plejaden haben mich empfangen, *Bālu* hat mich geboren",
   und Z. 4 lautet dort:
   anaššī(ÍL)^{ši} *ubānī*(ŠU.SI.MEŠ)*-ja ina bi-rit* ^{d}*Za-ap-pi u* ^{d}*Ba-a-lum a-šá-kan*
   „Ich erhebe meine Finger – zwischen die Plejaden und *Bālu* lege ich sie".

Im vorliegenden Zusammenhang ist es nicht erforderlich auf den gesamten Text einzugehen. Da *zappu* bekannt ist, bildet nur die Bedeutung von *bālu* ein Problem. Koch [2003], 97-99 (vgl. auch S. 93ff.), kommt bei der Analyse des Textes zu dem Ergebnis, daß α Tauri/Aldebaran gemeint sei.

Die astronomische Bestimmung ist die eine Seite, die andere ist die sprachliche Form. So wie sich die Schreibungen in Sm 162 (Ex. b) = *ba-a-li* und Sm 1113 (Ex. c) = *ba-li*(LIM) unterscheiden, variieren auch im Beschwörungstext die verschiedenen Textzeugen.[37]

Der obigen Umschrift ^{d}*Ba-a-lum* liegt Ex. B zugrunde. Daneben sind als Schreibung bezeugt (Stol [1992], 252): *bal-lu*: Z. 2 A, C, F, Z. 4 A; *bal-li*: Z. 4 C; *ba-lu*: Z. 2 E, G. Die übrigen Exemplare sind an den entsprechenden Stellen verloren. Übrigens ist auch bei den Plejaden das Gottesdeterminativ nur in Ex. B verwendet (die orthographischen Varianten *zap-pi*, *za-ap-pu* sind hier ohne Belang).

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[33]) Ohne die akkadische Erläuterung im spätbabylonischen Exemplar aus Uruk (*SpTU* 3, 116 III 13').

[34]) Horowitz [1993], 154, 156, las in Ex. b: ^{mu}]*a-li* = GU$_4$.AN.NA „Himmelsstier", übernommen von Koch [2001], 70; in Koch [2003] zugunsten *b*]*a-a-li* aufgegeben. Sowohl aus der Kopie als auch nach Kollation ergibt sich, daß der Rest eines senkrechten Keils Z. 4 am Bruch zweifelsfrei zum Zeichen [*b*]*a* gehört.

[35]) Vgl. auch Weidner [1957-1971], 81 sub 11: „In sehr großem Umfange werden in astrologischen Texten die Fixsternnamen auf Planeten übertragen" (mit Beispielen).

[36]) Erwähnt auch bei Krebernik [1993-1997], 366 § 4. Die Originale wurden vom Verf. 1997 kollationiert (s. o. Anm. 10).

[37]) Textzeugen nach Stol [1992], 251 (soweit nicht anders angegeben „Sammeltafeln" mit mehreren Beschwörungen):
A = 4609a (Craig, ABRT 2, Nr. 11, Rs. 20-28) – kleine Tafel, enthält nur diesen Text;
B = K. 8447+Bu. 89-4-26, 133 (Meek, BA 10/1, s. o.);
C = BM 123385 (1932-12-10, 328) = CT 51, 202 Kol. IV;
D = K 10221+14623 (unpubl.);
E = Bu. 81-7-27, 205 (Stol irrtümlich 81-7-25; s. auch CAD B 74b; Z 50b; unpubl.) – kleine Tafel, enthält nur diesen Text und einen Kolophon, babylonische Schrift;
F = K 15236 (s. auch CAD B 74b; unpubl.) – kleines Oberflächenbruchstück;
G = K. 1289 (unpubl.).
Alle Stücke gehören zu Kujundschik-Sammlungen und sind mehr oder weniger beschädigt.

Die Frage ist, ob der Vokal lang oder kurz anzusetzen ist. Alle Schreibungen, auch die Konsonantenverdopplung, lassen sich mit einem langen *ā* verbinden. Auf der anderen Seite spricht die ḪAR.gud-Gleichung nu.me.a „Nicht-Sein" (CAD B 74b: „nothingness) dafür, daß eine Beziehung zu *balu* „ohne" gesehen wurde. Eine derartige Sternbezeichnung ist logisch allerdings schwer zu verstehen. Koch [2003], 97, zieht in Erwägung, daß „*Bālim/lum*'s (= Aldebarans) Platz an Mesopotamiens Fixsternhimmel schon früh in Vergessenheit geraten war. ...". Aber könnte man nicht auch daran denken, daß mit der Formulierung „Nicht-Sein" in einem lexikalischen Text ursprünglich nur zum Ausdruck gebracht werden sollte, daß für die sumerische Spalte keine Entsprechung zur Verfügung steht? Die auch sonst bezeugte Gleichung nu.me.a = *balu* „ohne" trug dann zu weiterer Verwirrung bei.

Bleibt der Versuch, *bālu* sprachlich zu erklären. Wenn man den Terminus von einer Wurzel ableiten will, dann bietet sich *baʾālu* „abnormal groß, lichtstark sein" an (*AHw* 93f.; CAD B 1f.). Das Partizip dieses Verbs wird mehrfach in astronomischen Zusammenhängen verwendet („hell aufleuchtend"). Bei der vorliegenden Form müßte das Verbaladjektiv vorliegen: *baʾlu*, nach *AHw* „abnormal groß", vor allem lexikalisch bezeugt (*AHw* 100; s. auch CAD B 184 s. v. *baʾūlu*). Nimmt man an, daß eine auffällige Himmelserscheinung mit einem akkadischen Appellativum bezeichnet wurde, ließe sich verstehen, warum kein sumerisches Äquivalent existierte.

Unter der Voraussetzung, daß die Identifikation von *bālu* sich bestätigt, ist es vielleicht nicht überflüssig, daran zu erinnern, daß ein beträchtlicher Teil der zugrundegelegten Gestirne in verschiedenen Auflistungen von Sternen in derselben Reihung erscheint wie in HS 245 und den Paralleltexten. Das gilt vor allem für die Folge bis BAN/*qaštu* bzw. *nīru*, während GÍR.TAB/*zuqaqīpu* und EN.TE.NA.BAR.ḪUM/^{mul}*ḫabaṣīrānu* in anderen Zusammenhängen eingeordnet sind. Nachdem die Abfolge zum Teil bereits in den altbabylonischen Exemplaren des „Gebets an die Götter der Nacht" begegnet,[38] ist sie dann vor allem in späteren Sternlisten unter den Ea-Sternen im Anschluß an ^{mul}AŠ.GÁN = *ikû* „Feldstück" bezeugt (in der Sternliste Mul.apin Tf. I, Kol. I 1 - II 35 unter den Anu-Gestirnen). Zwischen MUL.MUL und SIPA.ZI.AN.NA ist dabei häufig ^{mul}GU$_4$.AN.NA[39] „Himmelsstier" / ^{mul}*iṣ le-e* „Bullenkiefer" (gemeint die Hyaden im Sternbild Taurus) eingeschoben, z. B.:[40]

KUB 4, 47 Rs. Z. 43-47 (44) (Ea-Sterne in einem Gebet an die Götter der Nacht), s. van der Toorn [1985], 129f. (Transliteration);

HS 1897 // BM 55502 (dritter Ea-Stern in einer Liste von 3×10 Sternen mit Fixsternkommentar), s. Horowitz/Oelsner [1997/98], 177, 179;

KAV 218 Abschnitt A, s. Reiner/Pingree [1981], 81 Kol. I 26, 32 (Hemerologie mit 10 Sternen; vgl. auch Weidner [1915], 85-87);

KAV 218 Abschnitt B Kol I 8 (dritter Ea-Stern in einer Liste von 3×12 Sternen mit Fixsternkommentar; vgl. auch Weidner [1915], 76-79).

In Mul.apin Tf. I, Kol. I 40 - II 18 (s. Hunger/Pingree [1989]; Kol. II 1: ^{mul}GU$_4$.AN.NA ^{d}*is le-e*) ist die Reihe unter den Anu-Sternen zu finden, unterbrochen durch zusätzlich eingeschobene Gestirne.

In KAV 218 Abschnitt C, dem ältesten Textzeugen des „Zwölfmaldrei-Astrolabs", sowie den späteren Exemplaren desselben (Walker/Hunger [1977])[41] fehlt der Stier allerdings, ebenso unter den „Sternen von Elam, Akkad und Amurru" (s. Koch-Westenholz [1995], 196-199 Z. 201-221).

Vgl. auch die Folge ^{mul}AŠ.GÁN – ^{mul}GU$_4$.AN.NA – ^{mul}SIPA.ZI.AN.NA – ^{mul}KAK.SI.SÁ – $^{mul(.giš)}$BAN in ḪAR.ra = *ḫubullu* Tafel XXII, jetzt vollständig erhalten in *SpTU* 3, 114 (s. von Weiher [1988], S. 227 Z. 80-84).

Wenn es in der Reihe der Gestirne, an denen das mathematische Problem von HS 245 und den Paralleltexten demonstriert wurde, eine Tradition gab, in der Taurus seinen Platz hatte, erhebt sich jedoch die Frage, ob sich Taurus und Orion (SIPA.ZI.AN.NA) wechselseitig vertreten.

^{mul}KAK.TAG.GA/^{mul}KAK.SI.SÁ [G. 212 (156)]/*šiltāḫu*: sowohl im allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch als auch in den Auflistungen von Sternen begegnen häufig die Gleichungen KAK.TAG.GA (bzw. KAK.Ú/U$_4$.TAG(.GA)[42] = *šiltāḫu* einerseits und

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[38]) Die Reihe der Gestirne weicht in den einzelnen Exemplaren voneinander ab. Texteditionen (mit weiterer Literatur): Dossin [1935]; Horowitz [2000], 195-200; Horowitz/Wasserman [1996].

[39]) Bzw. GÙ(=KA).AN.NA in KAV 218 Abschnitt B.

[40]) Vgl. auch die Übersichten von W. Horowitz in Horowitz/Oelsner [1997/98], 181-183, sowie – zu KAV 218 – Horowitz [1998], 160.

[41]) Neubearbeitung von KAV 218 (mit einem Teil der Duplikate) jetzt: Casaburi [2003]; s. auch o. bei und mit Anm. 14. – Z. 22-28 eines als Liste angeordneten „Zwölfmaldrei-Astrolabs" (Zeilenzählung nach Walker/Hunger [1977]) sind auch auf dem kleinen Fragment Sm 1125 = CT 26, 49 erhalten (fehlt bei Walker/Hunger [1977], 34; jedoch verzeichnet bei Horowitz [1998], 155). Der Text ist zu Dreiergruppen zusammengefaßt, die in Sm 1125 Z. 1, 4, 7 den Monaten Araḫsamnu, Kislīmu bzw. Ṭebētu zugeordnet werden. Die Kollation des Vf.s hat gezeigt, daß es sich wegen der Krümmung sowie der Textanordnung um die linke obere Ecke einer Tafelrückseite handelt. Da das von der Vorderseite erhalten gebliebene Stück unbeschrieben ist, liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß diese ebenso wie bei CT 33, 11 und 12 einen kreisförmig geschriebenen Text enthielt. Das Stück besteht wie Sm 162 aus grünlichem, glasigen Ton und ist teilweise versintert.

[42]) Gössmann [1950], S. 219, verweist im keilschriftlichen Index unter KAK.Ú.TAG Nr. 156bis auf Nr. 211bis, letzterer Eintrag fehlt allerdings.

KAK.SI.SÁ = *šukūdu* andererseits, doch auch ^{mul}KAK.SI.SÁ = *šiltāḫu* ist bezeugt. Interessant ist die lexikalische Überlieferung im Sternabschnitt von Tafel XXII der Serie ḪAR.ra = *ḫubullu*:
In Emar finden sich zwei Einträge:
MUL.KAK.SI.SÁ = *ša-ku*$_8$(GU)-*du*
MUL.KAK.Ú.TAG.GA = *ši-il-ta-ḫu*/*ši-il-*<*ta-*>*ḫu*
(Msk. 74115+74159ac Kol. VI 20f. und Duplikat Msk. 74187 Rs. linke Kol. I 16f. = Arnaud [1985], S. 287 und S. 461, Transliteration: Arnaud [1987], S. 151 Nr. 559 Z. 168f.),
in der „kanonischen" Version dagegen nur:
^{mul}KAK.SI.SÁ = *šukūdu* (MSL 11, 31 sect. 10 Z. 5, die Keilschrifttexte jetzt: W 22228 (Ex. E) = *SpTU* 1, 124 Z. 1' und BM 36646 (Ex. S_{11}) = George [1992], Taf. 52 Nr. 46, Rs. 5'; weitere Exemplare: Cavigneaux [1979], 132-135 Nr. 17 Z. 10'; *SpTU* 3, 114A Kol. V 19, transliteriert: von Weiher [1988], S. 227 Z. 83).

Der Sternabschnitt in ḪAR.gud, Rezension B Tf. VI Z. 46 (MSL 11, 41 Z. 46) hat ^{mul}KAK.SI.SÁ = ^{mul}*šukūdu* = ^{mul}*šiltāḫu* (Duplikat *SpTU* 3, 116, Rs. III 15', s. von Weiher [1988], S. 237: *šiltāḫu* ausgelassen, nur *šukūdu*).

^{mul}BAN [47 (279)]: die akkad. Entsprechung *qaštu* „Bogen" ist hier nicht bezeugt, da in Ex. b und c der Eintrag fehlt.

^{mul}ŠU.PA [G. 385 (220)]/^{d}*nīru* [G. 329 (-)]: *nīru* „Joch" entspricht meist dem Logogramm ŠUDUN [G. 379 (321)], wird aber auch mit MU.BU.KÉŠ.DA geglichen, so in der Hemerologie KAV 218 Abschnitt A (Reiner/Pingree [1981], Kol. II 22, 30) und in ḪAR.ra = *ḫubullu*: *SpTU* 3, 114A Kol. V 40 (= von Weiher [1988], S. 227 Z. 104).

^{mul}GÍR.TAB/*zuqaqīpu* „Skorpion" [G. 94 (12)]: zur Lesung s. von Soden [1957/58]; Weidner [1957/58].

^{mul}AN.TA.GUB [G. 34 (20): nur HS 245 als Beleg verzeichnet, inzwischen sind weitere Stellen bekannt geworden]: „der oben stehende Stern" (so Koch [2001] 70. – ^{mul}AN.TA.GUB(.BA) steht mehrfach als Gegenbegriff zu AN.TA.ŠÚ.UR.RA (Nv. 10) bzw. AN.TA.ŠUR.RA (LBAT 1502), s. Donbaz/Koch [1995] 63-84 (vgl. auch G. 36; Reiner/Pingree [1981], 10 sub AN.TA.SUR.RA). Identifizierung mit α Lyrae bei Koch [2001] 73 mit Anm. 22: „völlig unverbindlicher Vorschlag" (mit Begründung). S. ferner Rochberg-Halton [1983], 217: „star at the tail of the scorpion" (= κ, λ Scorpii nach Koch [1995], 71). Horowitz [1993], 157, zieht eine Gleichsetzung mit AN.GUB.BA = *angubbû* (CAD A/2, 118 sub 2) in Erwägung. Vgl. aber auch das o. sub Sîn Gesagte.

^{mul}*ḫabaṣīrānu* [G. 179 (375)]: ersetzt in Ex. b ^{mul}AN.TA.GUB, in Ex. c verloren. Bei der weitgehenden Übereinstimmung der Exemplare b und c liegt ersteres als Ergänzung für c nahe. Unwahrscheinlich ist die Einsetzung der sumerischen Entsprechung EN.TE.NA.BAR.ḪUM ([G. 123 (90)]), da – wie bereits o. erwähnt – im Unterschied zu Ex. b, wo zwischen syllabischen Schreibungen und Logogrammen gewechselt wird, im erhaltenen Teil von Ex. c nur erstere vorkommen.

Folgerungen

Aufgabenstellung und Rechenvorgang erfolgen im Jenaer „Hilprecht-Text" und den beiden Bruchstücken aus Kujundschik wohl in gleicher Weise. Bei den zugrunde gelegten Zahlen besteht allerdings eine Differenz, da in HS 245 die Zahl 13 durch Aufspaltung in 9+4 ersetzt wird. Auf das mathematische Ergebnis (Teilung einer vorgegebenen Strecke) hat das zwar keinen Einfluß, wohl aber auf die Zuordnung der Strecken zum Abstand der Himmelskörper, die sich als Folge der Differenz von sieben bzw. sechs Posten ergibt. Darüber hinaus enthalten die jüngeren Abschriften teilweise abweichende Sternnamen. Das bedeutet, daß zwischen den Konstellationen am Himmel und der hier erfolgten Einbeziehung in mathematische Kontexte kein zwangsläufiger Zusammenhang besteht. Die Reihung der Gestirne begegnet weitgehend auch in anderen Auflistungen von Sternen.

Es ist zu hoffen, daß der „Hilprecht-Text" endgültig seines „mystischen" Charakters entkleidet ist, wenn nun auch auf den Keilschrifttext zurückgegriffen werden kann.[43]

Bibliographie

Abkürzungen nach W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1956-1981 (= *AHw*), außerdem:

HKL Borger, R., *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*, 1-3, Berlin 1968-1275
GAG + § von Soden, W., *Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik*, 3. ergänzte Aufl., Rom 1995
SpTU 3 von Weiher [1988]

[43]) Wenn auch nicht in direktem Zusammenhang mit den behandelten Texten stehend, sei noch eine Bemerkung zur sogenannten „Planisphäre" K 8538 erlaubt (mehrfach behandelt und zentraler Gegenstand von Koch [1989]). Das Stück wurde vom Verf. 1997 ebenfalls eingesehen (s. o. Anm. 10). Dabei fiel ihm auf, daß es an einer Seite eine griffartige Erhebung aufweist. Sie ist teilweise abgebrochen, jedoch deutlich zu erkennen im Photo bei Hunger [1992], Frontispiz (an der rechten Seite), und noch deutlicher bei Becker [1992], 332 Bild 4 (dort an der oberen Stelle), d. h. am Rande von Sektor 5/6 nach Zählung Koch [1989], 56f. Wahrscheinlich wird man darin einen Handgriff sehen dürfen, an dem die Scheibe beim Drehen festgehalten werden konnte. Wenn wir recht sehen, wurde auf dieses Detail bisher nicht aufmerksam gemacht.

Allgemein bekannte Texteditionen sind im folgenden nicht verzeichnet (s. dazu *AHw*).

Neugebauer [1935-1937] wird zitiert als MKT (mit Band- und Seitenzahl sowie gegebenenfalls Museumsnummer), Neugebauer/Sachs [1945] als MCT (mit Seitenzahl oder Textsigel und Museumsnummer).

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Sorcery in the Stars: STT 300, BRM 4.19-20 and the Mandaic Book of the Zodiac

By JoAnn Scurlock (Elmhurst)

STT 300 is an amulet-shaped tablet discovered at Sultantepe (ancient Ḫuzirina), dated to a post-canonical eponym from the reign of the penultimate Assyrian king, Sîn-šar-iškun.[1] It consists of a listing of dates (by month and day) recommended for the performance of a series of enumerated magical rites. Since its first publication by O. R. Gurney, it has been realized that this text is related to two other late Persian or early Seleucid cuneiform texts (BRM 4.19-20) copied by Clay and edited by A. Ungnad in *AfO* 14. BRM 4.20, as it states in its colophon, is a commentary on ITI.BÁRA UD.10.KÁM UD.DA.KÁM ŠÀ.BAL.BAL. This is not, as Ungnad notes,[2] BRM 4.19 but an older text which gave months and days instead of numerals. It seems likely that STT 300 is, in fact, either this older text or its ancestor. BRM 4.19-20 list the same magical rites (with a few omissions) as STT 300 and in the same order but also give a sign of the zodiac under whose auspices each rite is to be performed. Several other cuneiform texts of late Persian or early Seleucid date, in particular LBAT 1626, *SpTU* 1.96, *SpTU* 2.23-24 and *SpTU* 5.243 (see below) may also be considered related material.

At first glance, the entries in STT 300 look to be perfectly ordinary Mesopotamian magical rites. On closer examination, however, they point strongly to influences flowing into Mesopotamia from the West.[3] Indications of an originally non-Mesopotamian context for the practices outlined in STT 300 is the inclusion of homosexual magic (love of a man for a man – obv. 12 = BRM 4.20: 7 // BRM 4.19: g) and of those stocks-in-trade of later Greco-Egyptian magical and theurgic rites, attraction magic (MUNUS.GIN.NA – obv. 12 = BRM 4.20: 8, 35 // BRM 4.19: h, 28) and inviting a god or goddess (to a banquet – obv. 21 = BRM 4.20: 36-37 // BRM 4.19: 29-32). In ancient Mesopotamia, to invite a god to a banquet would have been a request to die. Moreover, the pattern of dates chosen for the performance of sorcerous rites is based on an underlying calendar dividing the month into weeks of 10 days (decans)[4] which points specifically to ancient Egypt as the source of inspiration.

DI.BAL.A (to be performed on the 21st of Nisannu in STT 300 obv. 4 = BRM 4.20: 2 // BRM 4.19: b) are, as the commentary BRM 4.20 makes perfectly clear, rites to pervert justice (*nabalkut dīni* – BRM 4.20: 55), and not, as they have been conventionally understood, rites to prevent the perversion of justice.[5] Actual examples of ŠU.DU$_8$.A, spells designed to make the victim literally "open handed" and unable to refuse the practitioner's requests for money (to be performed on the 10th of Ayyāru in STT 300 obv. 7 = BRM 4.20: 3 // BRM 4.19: c) are attested from ancient Mesopotamia, but the fact that the exemplars were found broken and buried in the corner of a wall in clean sand clearly indicates their sorcerous nature.[6] ZI.KU$_5$.RU.DA, murderous rites designed literally to "cut off the (victim's)

[1]) J. Reade, "Assyrian Eponymns, Kings and Pretenders 648-605," *Or* NS 67 (1998), 256 assigns this eponym, Bēl-aḫa-uṣur, to 621 B.C.E.

[2]) A. Ungnad, "Besprechungskunst und Astrologie in Babylonien," *AfO* 14 (1941-1944), 274.

[3]) Similarly, the necromantic rite described by Lucian (see M. Geller, "The Last Wedge", ZA 87 (1997), 58-60) is a fairly clear example of Hellenistic theurgy of the sort attested in numerous magical papyri from Egypt. The only obviously Mesopotamian elements in the described rite are the substitution of the Euphrates and Tigris for the Nile and perhaps also some of the magical names. Also noteworthy are the Orphic elements in the rite, indicated by the instructions to dress in a lion skin, lyre and (Phrygian) cap. Suffice it to say that Geller's attribution of Roman slanders on the subject of Elagabalus (which include self castration, installation of an artificial vagina and sex with vestal virgins, in that order!) to the continuing influence of Mesopotamian religion in Syria (53-56) does nothing to advance an otherwise attractive argument for late survivals of Mesopotamian civilization.

[4]) Most months have an entry for the last day of the first decan (the 10th) and the first day of the last decan (the 21st).

[5]) Ungnad, *AfO* 14 (1941-1944), 282 seems not to appreciate this distinction, characterizing all of the rituals as Sühnriten. Similarly, E. Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 85/4 (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 108-110, although recognizing innumerable parallels with Lunaria, still insists that what we are looking at are the propitious times for carrying out apotropaic rites against the listed rituals and thus simply a continuation of Mesopotamian tradition. These texts explicitly state that the moments they list are propitious times for the performance of the rites which they enumerate and that they mean what they say may readily be seen from the inclusion in the mix of some genuinely Mesopotamian apotropaic rituals. If we are to interpret every line as (apotropaic ritual against) x ritual, then we must also suppose that there was an apotropaic rite to counter NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA (BRM 4.20: 4).

[6]) See J. A. Scurlock, "Was There a 'Love-Hungry' ēntu-Priestess Named Eṭirtum?," *AfO* 36/37 (1989/1990), 107-112.

meet up with traditional sorcerous rites long feared in ancient Mesopotamia. Of astrology properly speaking there is, however, yet no trace.

By the late Persian or early Seleucid period, astrology has placed itself at the center of interfacing between the traditional sciences of Mesopotamia and the new "wisdom". In LBAT 1597 and BRM 4.19-20, medical syndromes such as AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and sorcerous rites such as "getting a woman to talk" found a home (or better several possible homes) in the stars. By the Sassanian period, as represented by the Mandaic Book of the Zodiac, the various discrepancies had been ironed out into a consistent system. In the process, the sorcerous rites seem once again to have been relegated to the fringe of intellectual life but some of the values attached to specific signs of the zodiac lived on.

The Text Group of Nabû-ēṭer*

By Ran Zadok (Tel Aviv)

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0. *Introduction*

0.1. General remarks on administrative documents

The text group under discussion consists of 187 administrative documents. They are recorded on 186 tablets (one tablet, BM 96448, contains two different texts). There are four main types, *viz.* letter orders (37/187 = 19.78 %), administrative orders (4/187 = 2.13 %), receipts (50/187 = 26.73 %) and records (96/187 = 51.33 %, mostly verbless). Each type is arranged in a separate section below (1A, 1B, 1C and 1D respectively).[1] The prominent individuals, the shape of the tablets and the peculiar archaizing sign incised on the reverse of many tablets are common to all the four categories. Therefore it is very likely that the texts form one group (see the detailed discussion below, 0.5). Letter orders start with an epistolary introduction, actually with an order from official(s) to someone to give some commodities to a third person (see, e.g., MacGinnis 1995; Oelsner 2002, 293). Administrative records are basically laconic because the background for their drafting was understood by the parties involved. They are public and informal as opposed to private legal deeds: they do not include witnesses, place and date and use phrases like *ina qāt* "from" (for a different denotation of this phrase in MA see Postgate 2002, 300). The observation of Steinkeller (2003, 37f.) regarding earlier periods in Mesopotamia, namely that there is frequent registration of items which were deployed or expended outside the institution responsible for the preparation of a given record, but infrequent registration of items which were delivered and stored in the institution, generally applies for the group under discussion here.

*) Bibliographical abbreviations are as in *AHw*, non-bibliographical abbreviations are as follows: * = marks slightly damaged signs; C = complete; NC = nearly complete; PN = personal name; RN = royal name; ~ = replaces PN just mentioned. Thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the tablets, as well as to Mr Ch. Walker for constant help and encouragement. The MAH tablet is published by kind permission of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, Dr. J. Chamay and Prof. A. Cavigneaux. The research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation. All the texts were collated. In addition, I was lucky enough to benefit from the transcriptions prepared for the START project (director: Prof. M. Jursa, University of Vienna) by Dr. Caroline Waerzeggers. Her preferable readings are marked below by "C. W.". I should like to thank both Professor Jursa and Dr. Waerzeggers for their generosity, as well as Dr. Michaela Weszeli for her magnificent handling of the difficult manuscript.

[1]) The following tablets, which are mostly illegible, are not included: BM 96318, 96335, and 96358. BM 29328, a memorandum from Bēl-zēra-iddina to Ninurta-ibni, concerning work in the temple of Mār-bīti (5.VIII.26, presumably Dar. I) probably does not belong to this group.

0.2. Shape of tablets

109 oval and 77 rectangular tablets (58.6 % and 41.4 % respectively) have been measured (see tables 1-15). It seems that the oval tablets are somewhat thicker than the rectangular ones. The dimensions are given in millimetres, *viz.* length × width × height (= thickness). All the tablets are small and mostly oval-shaped (or somewhat oval) unless otherwise indicated (in most cases the edges are round also when the tablet is rectangular or roughly so). This conforms to the find from Persepolis in the same period, where most of the administrative tablets (written in Royal Achaemenid Elamite) are small and oval-shaped (see Brosius 2002, 266f.). As for the rectangular tablets, they are – like in Persepolis – mostly horizontally oriented. Very few have a vertical ("portrait") orientation (cf. Brosius 2002, 268ff.).

0.3. Provenance

All the documents are housed in the British Museum. They were purchased in the antiquities market between 1896 and 1902. They form part of five collections: 25 tablets (between BM 22166 and BM 22378, cf. tables 1, 2 below) belong to the **96-4-9** collection (bought from Daud Thoma, Baghdad). This collection includes the largest group of N/LB tablets in CBT 2. 43 out of the 51 N/LB tablets (84.31 %) are from Borsippa or belong to Borsippean archives. The largest archive of these Borsippean tablets is that of Šaddinnu son of Balāssu descendant of Bēliya'u (at least 17: BM 21938, 21962, 21964, 21965, 21976, 21978, 21979, 22006, 22024, 22070, 22072, 22085, 22087, 22092, 22097, 22105, 22238; see Zadok 1997-98, 299f., where the other archives are discussed as well). The isolated tablet BM 26862 belongs to the **98-5-14** collection (bought from A. Tourabian, Istanbul). This collection has many N/LB tablets, mostly from Borsippa. 44 tablets (between BM 29139 and BM 29367, cf. tables 2-5 below) belong to the **98-11-12** collection (bought from Asher Salem and Thoma Hindi, Baghdad). This collection has at least 269 N/LB tablets, of which 263 (97.76 %) are from Borsippa or belong to Borsippean archives. The largest group among these Bosippean tablets (131, *i.e.* 49.8 %) belongs to the Šaddinnu archive. 20 tablets (between BM 29504 and BM 29612, cf. tables 5-7 below) belong to the **98-11-14** collection (bought from Mrs. Farida Antoun Shamas, Baghdad). This collection has 129 N/LB tablets mostly from Borsippa or belonging to Borsippean archives. The largest group among these Bosippean tablets (52, *i.e.* 40.31 %) belong to the Šaddinnu archive. 97 tablets (between BM 96319 and BM 96564, cf. tables 7-15 below) belong to the **1902-4-12** collection (bought from J. E. Gejou, Paris). This collection has 226 N/LB tablets of which 220 are from Borsippa or belong to Borsippean archives. The largest group among these Bosippean tablets (115, *i.e.* 52.27 %) belongs again to the Šaddinnu archive. The fact that there are many more individuals bearing Nabû names than individuals with Bēl names may indicate that the Nabû-ēṭer text group is from Borsippa rather than Babylon, the more so since Babylon is external to this text group: two documents (BM 29188, 96438) contain orders to send commodities to Babylon. However, none of the individuals can be identified with any person recorded in Borsippean archives, except for Šaddinnu. The latter (described as a baker, actually the foreman of the prebendary bakers in Ezida), Bēl-ēṭer and Andiya occur together in the administrative record BM 96363, which can be assigned to the Šaddinnu archive and links this archive to the text group of Nabû- ēṭer. Cf. no. 65, 74 and 92 (deliveries by Bēl-ēṭer as proxy of Andiya).

BM 96363

Vertically oriented (Hochformat), 46×31×14 mm.; 3.XII.26 <Dar. I> = 496/5 B.C.

1. 3 UZU ^{m}DIŠ-^{d}+AG-*tak*(?)-[*lak*]
2. AŠ *na-áš-par-tu šá* ^{f}GÉME-*iá*^{1}
3. AŠ ŠU^{II} *šá* ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI
4. 1 ÚR $^{<m>}$*a-te*(?)-*te*
5. ^{iti}ŠE U_4 6 KAM(HI+BAD)
6. 2 ÚR^{meš} AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}KI(?)-^{d}+AG(?)-*gu*(?)-^{r}*za*^{1}
7. [^{r}(x)]-^{r}x-*ta-a na-šá-a-tú*
8. [x x]-$_{l}$x x x$_{J}$ (illegible traces) [...]

remainder broken away

r. 1'. ^{r}IM^{1} [...]
2'. *meš* [...]
3'. 2 SÌLA GEŠTIN ^{md}+AG-MU A ^{md}+EN(?)-BA^{šá}
4'. ^{iti}ŠE U_4 3 MU 26
5'. *u* 1 GÍN 4-*tú* LÁ KÙ.BABBAR
6'. ^{md}+EN-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II} *šá* $^{<f>}$GÉME-*iá* IGI
7'. ^{iti}ŠE U_4 12 KAM <<*šá*>> NÍG.DÙ
8'. 6 UZU ^{m}*šad-din-nu* ^{lú}MU

a. Three (unspecified) meat cuts (were delivered) by Bēl-ēṭer (to) Ana-Nabû-taklāk(?) as proxy of Andiya.

b. One thigh cut (for) Atete(?), month XII, day 6.

c. Two thigh cuts (delivered) by Itti-Nabu-gūzu(?) were taken by the [lady ...]tā.

d. 0;0.0.2 kor of wine – Nabu-iddina s. of Bēl-iqīša, month XII, day 3, year 26.

e. Bēl-ēṭer received 0.75 shekel of silver from Andiya, month XII, day 12; settled account.

f. Six (unspecified) meat cuts – Šaddinnu the baker.

0.4. Chronological distribution

The dated documents cover a period of four years (25.I.25 Dar. I = 497/6 – 2.V.28 Dar. I = 494/3 B.C.).

Their chronological distribution is uneven as the overwhelming majority is from two years within this period (26-27 Dar. I = 496/5 and 495/4 B.C.):

Eight documents (4.27 %) are from 25 Dar. I (497/6 B.C.): no. 141 (25.I.); no. 178 (13.IV.); no. 24 (20.V.); no. 26 (19.VI.); no. 64 (4.VIII.); no. 17 (21.VIII.); no. 88 (3.XII.); and perhaps no. 69 (IX.).

One document (0.53 %) may be either from 25 or 26 Dar. I (497/6 or 496/5 B.C.): no. 156 (26.XI.).

86 documents (45.98 %) are from 26 Dar. I (496/5 B.C.): no. 29 (10.I.); n. 32 (19.I.); no. 9 (21.I.); no. 186 (I.); no. 102 (18.II.); no. 153 (19.II.); no. 110 (24.II.); no. 70 (10.III.); no. 8, 58 (20.III.); no. 1, 51 (26.III.); no. 87 (1.IV.); no. 74 (IV.-V.); no. 47 (3.V.); no. 91 (6.V.?); no. 111 (9.II./V.?); no. 60 (10.?V.); no. 107 (14.V.); no. 23 (21.V.); no. 33 (30.V.); no. 59 (V.); no. 85 (1.VI.); no. 181 (3.-7.VI.); no. 10 (5.VI.); no. 19 (9.VI.); no. 53 (10.VI.); no. 75 (11.VI.); no. 48 (12.VI.); no. 13 (20.VI.); no. 49 (24.VI.); no. 43 (27.VI.); no. 136 (VI.); no. 143 (2.VII.?); no. 45 (8.VII.); no. 80 (11.VII.); no. 36 (20.VII.); no. 90 (27.VII.); no. 86, 149 (6.VIII.); no. 25, 54 (12.VIII.); no. 148 (14.VIII.); no. 18 (17.VIII.); no. 5, 130 (20.VIII.); no. 89 (22.VIII.); no. 140 (27.VIII.); no. 39, 124, 139 (VIII.); no. 147 (2.IX.); no. 44 (3.IX.); no. 55 (4.IX.); no. 35 (5.IX.); no. 21 (6.IX.); no. 41 (10.IX.); no. 122 (13.IX.); no. 72 (14.IX.); no. 112 (15.IX.); no. 129 (19.IX.); no. 30 (25.IX.); no. 96 (IX., XI.); no. 84 (3.X.); no. 104 (4.X.); no. 73 (11.X.); no. 63 (14.?X.); no. 52 (17.X.); no. 31 (19.X.); no. 40 (23.X.); no. 7, 101 (X.); no. 16 (2.XI.); no. 42 (23.XI.); no. 109 (XI.); no. 38 (14.XII.); no. 79 (24.XII.); no. 34, 187 (27.XII.); no. 116 (28.XII.); no. 169 (29.XII.); no. 99 (XII.); no. 62 (12.?-.); no. 50 (24.-.); no. 125, 142 (25.-.); no. 125 (no day and month).

One document (0.53 %) is either from 26 or 27 Dar. I (496/5 or 495/4 B.C.): no. 95 (18.V.).

55 documents (29.51 %) are from 27 Dar. I (495/4 B.C.): no. 184 (2.I.); no. 3, 151 (4.I.); no. 146 (8.I.); no. 56 (12.I.); no. 128 (15.I.); no. 4, 144 (18.I.); no. 127 (19.I.); no. 82 (20.I.); no. 177 (23.I.); no. 83 (26.I.); no. 67, 71 (27.I.); no. 93, 137 (I.); no. 113 (II., III.); no. 115, 135 (14.III.); no. 28 (3.IV.); no. 2 (19.V.); no. 66 (2.VI.); no. 94 (22.VI.); no. 131 (VI.); no. 170 (6.VII.); no. 172 (8.VII.); no. 46 (11.VII.); no. 168 (19.VII.); no. 165 (25.VII.); no. 182 (29.VII.?); no. 92 (2.VIII.); no. 157 (3.VIII.); no. 133 (8.VIII.); no. 163 (12.VIII.); no. 14 (15.VIII.); no. 173 (18.VIII.); no. 161 (23.VIII.?); no. 162 (30.VIII.); no. 160 (5.IX.); no. 158 (10.IX.); no. 159 (15.IX.); no. 37 (21.IX.); no. 183 (24.IX.); no. 166 (12.X.); no. 175 (14.X.); no. 152 (15.X.); no. 167 (17.X.); no. 12 (26.X.); no. 176 (30.X.); no. 164 (10.XI.); no. 6 (11.XI.); no. 11 (14.XI.); no. 185 (XI.); no. 150, 155 (no day and month).

One document (0.53 %) is from either 27 or 28 Dar. I (495/4 or 494/3 B.C.): no. 65 (22.IX.).

Two documents (1.06 %) are from 28 Dar. I (494/3 B.C.): no. 126 (II.) and no. 174 (2.V.).

26 documents (13.9 %) are without a year (19 with day and month, six with month only and one with day only): 5.I. (no. 105); 9.-10.I. (no. 121); 8.I. (no. 98); 18.I. (no. 171); 28.I. (no. 117); 6.II. (no. 97); 20.-21.III. (no. 61); 20.IV. (no. 138); 24.IV. (no. 179); 6.III. (no. 78); 27.VI. (no. 22); 2.VII. (no. 118); 20.+x.VIII. (no. 114); 4.IX.(?) (no. 134); 29.X. (no. 154); 10.XI. - 11.XII. (no. 119); 22.XI. (no. 180); 8.XII. (no. 68); 17.XII. (no. 120); I. (no. 132); VI. (no. 76); VIII.-X. (no. 81); IX.-X. (no. 108); 19.V. (no. 20); 28 (no. 106). Since the 27th year of Darius II has an intercalary Addaru (XIIb), it is likely that no. 68 and 120 were issued in year 25 or 26.

Seven documents (3.74 %) are without a date: no. 27, 57, 77, 100, 103, 123, 145.

0.5. The active individuals

0.5.1. Central figures, their occupations and functions

The central figures are Nabû-ēṭer and Bēl-ēṭer, who are the respective sender and addressee of most of the letter orders. Exceptionally, two letter orders of Nabû-ēṭer are addressed to Nabû-ittiya and Bulluṭu (no. 2 and 26 respectively). One letter order (no. 27) was sent by the woman Re'indu to Bēl-ēṭer. Both Nabû-ēṭer and Bēl-ēṭer act as recipients and deliverers as well. 11 among the 121 individuals, who are recorded here, are females (9.09 %). Occupations are only exceptionally indicated (for eight out of 121 individuals, *i.e.* 6.61 %). There is one smith (Bēl-iddina), two butchers (Iddinā and Nabû-aha-itannu), two oil pressers (Lā-abâši and Nidintu), one builder (Libluṭ), and one foreman (Iddina-DN). Several individuals, whose occupations or status are indicated, are anonymous (a leather worker, a messenger, gate guards and an official in charge of a dam, see below, 0.5.4-5).

Each of the 50 administrative receipts, except for two (no. 89, 91), records both a deliverer and a recipient (in a few cases several deliverers and recipients). In the remaining two only the recipients are recorded. On the other hand, only two out of the four administrative orders (no. 39, 41), 15 out of the 96 administrative records (no. 92, 93, 95, 99, 100, 104, 105, 107-109, 118, 132, 136, 138, 139) and none of the 37 letter orders, mention both deliverers and recipients. It stands to reason that the addressee (in most cases Bēl-ēṭer) acted as deliverer in the first 15 letter orders (below, 1.A.1). Five administrative records contain only a deliverer (90, 97, 102-103, 106) and 29 only a recipient or several recipients (94, 96, 101, 104, 105, 110-117, 119-131, 133-135, 137, in addition to one presumable deliverer, *viz.* 140, and 18 presumable recipients).

0.5.2. Deliverers

According to the letter orders and administrative orders A orders B to deliver commodities to C. In the administrative receipts A receives commodities from B. In the laconic records the chain of transmission is often not explicit enough. For instance, the recipients are not indicated in no. 93, a and no. 94, d.

1. The most active deliverer is Bēl-ēṭer, who functions as such in 37 documents (see presently) and perhaps in no. 53, 81. In all the documents, except perhaps for no. 65, he acts as the sole deliverer. In 23 out of the 37 documents the recipient is Nabû-ēṭer (no. 42-52, 63, 66, 67, 68, 71, 73, 75, 83-85, 90, 107). The remaining 14 documents have various recipients (no. 60, 64, 65, 69, 70, 72, 74, 77, 79-82, 95, 96). No. 118 has Bēl-[ēṭer(?)] as the deliverer.

The other deliverers are far less often mentioned: **2.** The woman Banītu-ittiya acts as deliverer in seven documents (no. 54-57, 61, 62, 86). **3.** Nabû-ittannu son of Kalbā acted as deliverer in three documents (no. 80, 81, 132).

Four other individuals acted as such in two documents each: **4.** Nabû-ēṭer (no. 99, 139), **5.** Nabû-ittannu (no. 23+106, 100), **6.** Nabû-rē'ûšunu (no. 103, 109) and **7.** Nabû-uṣuršu (no. 59, 87).

Each of the remaining 19 deliverers is recorded in one document only: **8.** Bēl-ikṣur (no. 27); **9.** Bēl-apla-uṣur(?) (no. 20); **10.** Bēl-iddina (no. 88); **11.** Ina-Esaggil-lūmur (no. 87); **12.** Itti-Nabû-balāṭu (no. 22); **13.** Kidinnu (no. 21); **14.** Kīnāyu (no. 25); **15.** Lā-abâši, oil presser (no. 138); **16.** Mušallim-Nabû (no. 58); **17.** Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (no. 108); **18.** Nabû-kāṣir (or -ikṣur, no. 99); **19.** Nanâ-taqīš (no. 92); **20.** Nūrē'a (no. 106); **21.** Ša-Bēl-bāni (no. 105); **22.** Ṭāb-šār-Bēl (no. 39); **23.** Balāṭ-napišti (?, no. 39; ~ wife of Nabû-ibni is presumably the recipient in no. 140); **24.** Nabû-bullissu son of Kitpānu (or Sa(h)pānu, no. 76) and **25.** x]-[x] (no. 24). Another deliverer is **26.** Iddina-Nabû (no. 97 with the verb *iššû*).

0.5.3. Recipients

The most frequent recipient is **1.** Nabû-ēṭer, who is recorded as such in 32 documents (no. 42-52, 54, 56-58, 63, 66 (together with another recipient), 68, 71, 73 (together with other recipients), 83-86, 89, 104, 107, 109-110, 119 (together with another recipient), 120, 126), presumably in another five (no. 78, 141, 153-155) and perhaps in no. 53 as well. According to an additional document (no. 80) Iddina-Bēl receives commodities on Nabû-ēṭer's behalf. At least in one case (no. 75) Nabû-ēṭer receives (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread for further distribution (to Bulluṭu).

2. Iddina-Bēl is recorded as recipient in seven or nine documents (no. 1, 15, 38, 79-81, 111 and perhaps 99 and 119). Each of the following three recipients is recorded in four documents: **3.** Nabû-uṣuršu (no. 2, 3, 72; he appears together with Nabû-balāssu-iqbi in no. 72, 96); **4.** Nabû-šuma-uṣur (or -nādin-ahi, no. 8, 98, 120, 186); **5.** Libluṭ the builder (^{lú}ŠITIM = *itinnu*) is recorded in no. 101, 139, 145 and presumably in no. 100 (anonymous; according to context). Seven recipients appear in two documents each, *viz.* **6.** Ardi-Nergal (no. 74, 94), **7.** Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (no. 72, 96), **8.** Nabû-silim (no. 65 by proxy and no. 82), **9.** Šār-Bēl-ṭāb (no. 77; 128); **10.** Bēl-ēreš son of Bikiya (no. 115 and presumably in no. 156); **11.** Guzānu (no. 65 and presumably in no. 135); **12.** ^{f}Tabluṭu (no. 12 and presumably in no. 150).

Each of the remaining 51 recipients appears in one document only:

(a) Mentioned by name

(α) *With a paternal name*: **13.** Ahušunu son of Bēl(?)šunu (no. 129); **14.** Iqīšā descendant of Ilu-bāni(?, no. 132); **15.** Libluṭ son of (Mu)kīn-ahi (no. 138); **16.** Nabû-aha-ittannu descendant of Ṣillāyu (no. 130); **17.** Nabû-bullissu son of Ardiya (no. 112); **18.** Nabû-nādin-ahi (no. 98; the middle component is written -AŠ- in order to distinguish him from Nabû-šuma-uṣur, who is recorded in the same document); **19.** Nabû-ittannu son of E[...] (no. 91); **20.** Nabû-uṣuršu son of Mušēzibu (no. 113); **21.** Rēmūtu son of Taklāk-ana-Bēl (no. 92).

(β) *With a profession*: **22.** Nabû-aha-ittannu, butcher (no. 16).

(γ) *Females*: **23.** ^{f}Sippā (no. 10); **24.** ^{f}Ammakanišu (no. 11); **25.** Andi-Nanâ (no. 39).

(δ) *Without a paternal name*: **26.** Bakû'a (no. 138); **27.** Bazuzu (no. 138); **28.** Bēl-ēṭer (no. 100); **29.** Bēl-udammiq (no. 5); **30.** Bītāyu (no. 132); **31.** Bulluṭā (no. 131); **32.** Bulluṭu (no. 75); **33.** Harīṣānu (no. 95); **34.** Iddinā, butcher (no. 66); **35.** Iddinā (no. 124); **36.** Iddinā (or Šumā, no. 41); **37.** Nabû-ina-Esaggila-lūmur (no. 4); **38.** Nabû-šumu-līsir (no. 98); **39.** Nabû-ṭābā (no. 98); **40.** Nabû-uballiṭ (no. 123); **41.** Ša-Nabû-idu-$_{l}$x-(x)$_{J}$ (no. 137); **42.** Šulum-Bēl-lūmur (no. 69); **43.** Ṭāb-paširi-Bēl (no. 114); **44.** Uṣuršā (no. 6); **45.** Ušshâ (no. 127).

(ε) *Acting via somebody else or under somebody else*: **46.** Mušebši-Nergal (no. 64, by proxy); **47.** Ubāru (no. 65: by order of ^{f}Andiya); **48.** Nāṣiru (proxy of ^{f}Andiya, no. 92); **49.** Rēmūtu (no. 64, proxy of Mušebši-Nergal).

(b) Damaged names

50. *Ab/Du-da-ni*(?-)LUGAL (no. 118); **51.** Bēl (^{d}+EN)-$_{l}$x]-[(x)]-$_{l}$x (no. 69); **52.** [Bēl/Nabû-...] (no. 9); **53.** $_{l}$x x (x) (no. 123); **54.** MU-^{d}x(?) ^{lú}*šá-kin** (no. 69); **55.** Bēl-apla(?)-iddina(?) (no. 125); **56.** *Ba/Ma-*$_{l}$*n*[*i-ia*(?)] (no. 65); **57.** Nabû(?)-x-x (no. 11).

(c) Anonymous

(α) *With parent's names*: **58.** Son of Mušēzib-Nabû (no. 138) and daughters of **59.** Rēmūt-Bēl (no. 73).

(β) *Defined only by status or profession*: **60.** Messenger (*mār šipri*, no. 93); **61.** Gate guard (no. 98); **62.** Leather worker (*aškāpu*, no. 136); **63.** Messenger of Nabû-nāṣir (or -uṣur, no. 14).

0.5.4. Presumable and doubtful recipients

Presumable recipients are the following 14 individuals: **1.** Nabû-uṣuršu son of Bāni-ahi (no. 144); **2.** Bēl-iddina, smith (no. 147); **3.** ^{f}Mulliltu-silim (no. 148, 149 and perhaps no. 116: [^{f}Mulliltu-s]ilim); **4.** ^{f}Šaddin-natu (no. 151); **5.** Nurmû (no. 152); **6.** Balāṭu (no. 142); **7.** Bazizu (no. 154); **8.** Bēl-bēl-māri (no. 146); **9.** Bēl-ittannu (no. 143); **10.** Bēl-[...] (no. 155); **11.** Nabû-hamû(?, no. 187); **12.** Šamaš-iddina (no. 154); **13.** x]-[x] (no. 121); **14.** An anonymous official in charge of a dam (^{lú}*ša muhhi mušannīti*, no. 158).

Doubtful recipients are the following three individuals (all recorded in no. 69): **15.** Guzānu, **16.** Bēl-[...] and **17.** Bēl-iddina.

0.5.5. Individuals recorded as both deliverers and recipients

At least six individuals are recorded as deliverers in certain documents and appear as recipients in others.

1. Bēl-ēṭer acted as deliverer not only in the 37 documents listed in 0.5.2, *sub* 1 above, but also in additional 25 documents, all letter orders, where he is the addressee: no. 1, 3-15 [explicitly the recipient in no. 7], 20-25, 28-37). He is the recipient in no. 16 (with another person), 87, 88, 105 and no. 117. In no. 74 he is the deliverer acting as proxy for ^{f}Andiya. He is perhaps the deliverer in no. 53 as well. Bēl-ēṭer acts as recipient in no. 96 and 122.

2. Nabû-ēṭer, the commonest recipient (see 0.5.3, *sub* 1 above) acts as deliverer in no. 76 and 136 (by his authorization). **3.** Ša-Bēl-bāni is deliverer in no. 17-19, 26, 78, 102 and recipient in no. 60-62, 70, 134. **4.** Nabû-ittannu son of Kalbā (deliverer, see 0.5.2, *sub* 3 above) acts as recipient in no. 134. **5.** ^{f}Mulliltu-silim acts as recipient in no. 12, 13, 86 and as deliverer in no. 28, 104. **6.** Andiya daughter of ^{f}Hiptā acts as deliverer (by authorization of ~) in no. 93 and (^{f}Andiya) in no. 74 (by proxy). ^{f}Andiya is the recipient (by proxy) in no. 65 and 92.

0.5.6. Individuals to whom articles are entrusted (*paqādu* "to entrust")

Both individuals, *viz.* Nabû-uṣuršu (*ana* ~ *ipqid*, no. 72) and Nabû-kāṣir (or ikṣur, *ana* ~ *piqid'*, no. 79), are recorded in administrative receipts.

0.5.7. Function not clear

For two individuals no function could be determined: Nabû-[ēṭer] (no. 79) is mentioned in a damaged context. Nabû-ēṭer gave a previous tablet (GÍD.DA = *giṭṭu*) to Bēl-ēṭer (no. 76). A previous tablet is mentioned in no. 127 as well. The recipient Iddina-Bēl acts on behalf of the commonest recipient Nabû-ēṭer (no. 80, 99). He is fulfilling the same role in no. 79, where it is stated that his transaction is recorded in the receipts of Nabû-ēṭer.

0.6. Individuals playing a passive role

The following 12 individuals are recorded in administrative receipts and records: **1.** Nabû-balāssu-iqbi; **2.** Nidintu (no. 131) and **3.** Nabû-ēṭer-napšāti (no. 81) are preceded by GUB, *i.e.* "in the presence of", which generally refers to witnesses in memoranda. The phrase *ina ašābi* with the same meaning generally precedes females' names in legal documents. Juniors were probably treated like females: they could not act as witnesses. Therefore it is understandable why the name **4.** Ardi-Bēl, the junior, is preceded by *ina ašābi* in no. 104. On the other hand, the background of the other eight individuals, whose names are preceded by this formula is unknown: **5.** Bēl-ēṭer son of Guzānu, **6.** Nabû-uṣuršu son of Bāni-ahi (no. 84); **7.** Habaṣīru; **8.** Nabû-bēl-māri; **9.** Nabû-mušētiq-ūdē (no. 82, 83); **10.** Nabû-balāssu-iqbi and **11.** Bazuzu of *bīt-šibši* (no. 156). – No word precedes the name of **12.** Nabû-ittannu, messenger (no. 85), who also played a passive role.

0.7. Archaizing sign and drawings

(a) Sign resembling DAR 

(see Zadok 1997) appears in 72 out of 186 tablets (38.7 %).

Of our four textgroups the letter orders have the highest number of tablets bearing this archaizing sign, *viz.* at least 32 out of 37 (86.48 %; no. 6 may have a trace of the sign), whereas only two of the four administrative orders (50 %) are marked with this sign (no. 38, 40; the latter without names). The percentage of the tablets with the sign is even lower among the administrative records (33 out of 96 = 34.37 %) and is the lowest among the administrative receipts (6 out of 50 = 12 %). All the letter orders bearing the archaizing sign were sent by Nabû-ēṭer (no. 1-4, 7, 8, 10-15, 17-22, 23+106, 24-26, 28-37). In view of the fact that senders impressed their letters with their own seal (see Oelsner 2002, 294), it is very likely that the archaizing sign belongs to Nabû-ēṭer. Only two letter orders sent by Nabû-ēṭer do not bear the archaizing sign (no. 5, 9), as well as the two letter orders sent by other individuals (no. 16, 27). Nabû-ēṭer is the recipient in all the sealed administrative receipts (no. 42, 66, 67, 71, 76, 89). He is presumably the recipient in no. 53 as well, which bears a 'fish' sign.

Most of the administrative records without PN (25 out of 28 = 89.28 %) have the archaizing sign (no. 133, 157, 159-170, 172-177, 181-185).

Only nine out of the 65 (13.84 %) administrative records with a PN bear the archaizing sign. Two of these records mention Nabû-ēṭer (no. 154, 155), and another three (no. 150-152) mention females. The remaining two record the following individuals: Guzānu (no. 135) and Nabû-uṣuršu (no. 144). It stands to reason that all these individuals (preceded by a commodity and *ša*, *i.e.* "commodity of PN") were recipients. Another administrative record with the same sign mentions only the anonymous official in charge of a dam, who was given two loaves of *ṣibtu*-bread and two (unspecified) meat cuts (no. 158).

(b) Geometric design (no. 140, on the reverse): lines cover the whole reverse. They do not resemble traces of a seal impression.

(c) 'Fish(!)' sign (no. 53, r., in the centre of the uninscribed area, administrative receipt).

Position of the archaizing sign

No. 6: A trace is seen beneath the middle of the last line. Cf. Zawadzki and Jursa 2001, 357f.; van Soldt 1983 [1984], 146 *ad* 147 and 157, pl. 3: 8, which has at the end the combination ^{d}ZI×ZI: for a similar inscription cf. CT 22, 16: 15. remarks "These inscriptions take the place of the more usual seal impression" (cf. my remark on an analogous usage from Idumea in Zadok 1997).

No. 192, u.e. (below, 2.1): The drawing is in the middle of the line (this is the only empty surface in the sequence of the text). Its "foot" reaches the end of the upper edge. The drawing presumably marks the end of the text. An analogous case is no. 26.

The scribes of the Nabû-ēṭer text group, who decided where to place the sign, generally had a sense of symmetry, as can be judged from the following description. The sign is always on the reverse, except in one case (no. 76), where it is incised on the upper edge.

1. In the centre of the reverse: no. 1, 19, 21, 25, 28-30, 34, 37, 38, 158, 163, 184, 185;
2. Originally in the centre of the reverse (cf. 6a): no. 23+106;
3. About the centre: no. 7, 11, 133;
4. The upper tip of the sign is almost in the centre of the reverse: no. 174;
5. In the centre, but slightly closer to its top: no. 13, 66, 144, 150, 152, 155, 157, 159-161, 173, 176, 181, 182;
6. About the centre, but slightly closer to its top: no. 32, 89, 162, 164, 166, 167, 169, 175, 183;

6a. Almost in the centre but a bit closer to the upper section, probably because the scribe started to draw the sign at that point. It stands to reason that the sign had been incised before the text was written: no. 168;

7. Near the top: no. 20;
8. In the centre, but slightly closer to its bottom: no. 31;
9. In the centre, but much closer to the upper side: no. 172;
10. In the centre of the uninscribed area: no. 8, 36;
11. In the centre of the uninscribed area, somewhat closer to the left: no. 18:
12. Equidistant from the end of the last line and the end of the reverse in the centre of the uninscribed area: no. 12;
13. Almost equidistant from the end of the last line and the end of the reverse in the centre of the uninscribed area: no. 42;
14. Beneath the centre of the last line (normal interlinear space): no. 2, 4, 10, 14, 15, 17, 22, 26, 33, 35, 40, 67, 71, 135, 151, 154, 166, 170, 177;
15. At the bottom of the reverse in the centre: no. 24.
16. Covering most of the little uninscribed area left: no. 165.

0.8. Remarks on orthography and morphology

For *ṣib-tu*$_4$, only the singular form is recorded in this archive. The plural *ṣibtā/ētu* never occurs in the numerous documents, where two or more loaves of *ṣibtu*-bread are recorded (for the use of plural forms see Streck 1995, 48f.: 37). "One loaf" is written 1 *ṣib-tú/tu*$_4$ or 1-*en ṣib-tu*$_4$ (e.g., no. 33, 78). Likewise, loaves of *kusīp(t)u*-bread are mostly expressed by the singular. The pl. *kusīpētu* is written in 20 (39.21 %) and the singular in 31 (60.78 %) cases:

Plural: *ku-si-ip-pe-tu* (no. 101); *ku-si-ip-pe-tú* (3×: no. 75, 126, 179); *ku-si-ip-pe-tu*$_4$ (2×: no. 45, 84); *ku-si-ip-pé-tu*$_4$ (2×: no. 54, 149); *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$ (10×: no. 23, 44, 51, 52, 73, 90, 99, 113, 153, 185); *ku-si-pe-tu*$_4$ (1×: no. 104); [*ku*]-*sip-p*[*e-t*]*u*$_4$ (1×: no. 163); cf. *ku-si-pe-e-tú* (no. 194 [appendix]).

Singular: *ku-si-ip-tu*$_4$ (no. 66); *ku-sip-tu*$_4$ (28×: no. 7, 35, 36, 37, 46, 59, 71, 76, 89, 135, 144, 152, 154, 155, 159, 161, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 174, 176, 181, 182, 183); *ku-si-ip-tú* (no. 43); *ku-si*[*p*-x] (no. 133); *k*[*u*(?)-*sip*-(*pe*)-*tu*$_4$] (no. 175, both sg. and pl.).

The singular form *ku-sip* (2×: no. 160, 162) is preceded by a quantity of 10 and 30 or 40 loaves respectively.

Like *ṣibtu*, the spellings of *harmīl/ru* (a meat cut) render in most cases the singular form:

1 *har-mil* (no. 44; 73, 1; 112, 153); 1 *har-mi-il*(?, no. 174); 1 ^{uzu}*har-mi-il* (no. 120, 1; the text has 1 ^{uzu}TI 1 ^{uzu}GAN 120, 4); 1 ^{uzu}*ha-ar-mi-ir* (no. 165); 1 ^{uzu}*ha-<ar->mi-ir* (no. 61); 1 *har-mi-ir* (no. 31; 66, 2; 67, 1; 71, 1; 151; 166; 175; 177; 183: -<*ir*>); 1 *har<-mil>* (no. 168, 1, followed by 1 GABA, no. 168, 2); 1 *har-m*[*i-i*]*r* (no. 144). The singular form occurs also when more than one meat cut is mentioned:

18 *har-mi-ir* (no. 185, 1, followed by 18 *ma-ak-ka-su*, line 2); 5 *har-mi-<ir>* (no. 67, 3); 2 ^{uzu}*ha-<ar>-mi-ir* (no. 57, 1); 10 ^{uzu}*ha-<ar>-mi-ir* (no. 58); 12 ^{uzu}*ha-<ar-mi>-ir* (no. 81); 2 ^{uzu}*har-mi-il* (no. 46, 4; after ^{uzu}ZAG.LU); 11 ^{uzu}*har-mil* (no. 171); 21 ^{uzu}*har-mil* (no. 79); 2 and 13 *har-mi-il* (no. 99); 2 *har-mi-ir* (no. 26; 66; 76; 157); 3 *har-mi-ir* (no. 181); 5 *har-mi-ir* (no. 1); 16 *har-mi-ir* (no. 9); 5 UZU *šá har-ra-mil* (text DU, no. 59). The plural form is extant only in:

2 *har-mil-a-ni* (no. 100, 101); 4 *har-mil-a-ni* (text MU, no. 100); 2 *har-mil*^{meš} (no. 139); 10 *har-mi-ir*^{uzu} (no. 38); and 18 ^{uzu}*ha-ir-mu*^{meš} (no. 111). Other meat cuts (including unspecified ones) with their numbers are presented below:

1 UZU (no. 8, 32, 39 [bis], 80, 84, 91, 93, 98 passim, 104, 128, 136); 2 UZU (no. 34, 100, 114, 145, 158, 182); 3 UZU (no. 76, 80); 1 ZAG.LU (no. 30, 56, 59, 89, 181, 183); 1 ^{uzu}ZAG.LU (no. 46, 102); 1 ^{uzu}TI (no. 53, 1); 1 TI (no. 164); 1 GABA (no. 168); 2 *ma-ak-ka-*[*s*]*u* (no. 9); 4 *ma-ak-ka-su* (no. 109); 1 GABA (no. 55, 172); 1 GABA UDU (no. 167); 1 ^{uzu}*ha*-GAB(*ni*+*še*, no. 186); 3 UZU (no. 119); 4 UZU (no. 65, 125); 5 UZU (no. 72); 6 UZU (no. 65, 81); 8 UZU (no. 9); 10 UZU$^{\lceil meš \rceil}$ (no. 110); 12 UZU (no. 123); 16 UZU (no. 92). One commodity is marked by either 1 (see above) or 1-*en/et*:

1-*en* ^{uzu}*har-mi-il* (no. 49, 2; preceded by 1-*en* ^{uzu}GABA, no. 49, 1); [1-*e*]*n* ^{uzu}*har-mi-il*, 1-*en* <^{uzu}>*har-mi-il* (no. 68, 4 and 1 respectively); 1-*en har-mil* (no. 90, 1); 1-*en ha-ar-<mi>-lu*^{uzu} (no. 78, 2; preceded by 1-*en ṣib-tu*$_4$, no. 78, 1); 1-*en har-mi-ir* (no. 33, 3; after 1-*en ṣib-tu*$_4$, no. 33, 2); 1-*en* UZU (no. 47, 1; after 1-*en ṣib-tú*; no. 107, 2; after 1-*en ṣib-tu*$_4$, no. 107, 1); 1-*en* ^{uzu}ZAG.LU (no. 45, 60); 1-*en* ^{uzu}GABA (no. 49; cf. 2 GABA^{uzu} no. 152); 1-*et* ^{uzu}GABA (no. 86, 1; followed by 1-*en qa*-A+A-*i-ti*, no. 86, 2. 9, elsewhere *q.* is preceded by a bare number); 1-*en ma-ak-ka-su* (no. 77); 1-*en* ^{uzu}[ZA]G (no. 36). On the whole, despite many scribal inconsistencies in the archive, a certain degree of consistency is discernible on the level of the individual document.

The spellings of the following commodity render the singular form, although the quantities are 2 or more:

2 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi* (no. 71, 2; 177, 2); 4 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi* (no. 153, 8), 8 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi* (no. 84, 113); and 2 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi e-du* (no. 151).

šá-li-mi "full allotment" (e.g., no. 99, 8) – stative instead of a finite verbal form, which is amply attested elsewhere in NB/LB (cf. CAD Š/1, 213, 217ff.).

Spellings:

The last component of the early Achaemenid royal title, which is written LUGAL KUR.KUR/^{meš} or LUGAL KUR.KUR^{meš} in the numerous documents from the Achaemenid period, is often abbreviated as LUGAL KUR in this archive (shorthand!): no. 33, 8; meš after KUR has only three wedges (like KUR) in no. 1, 7 () and four in no. 8, 7 (); in no. 5, 8 KUR is followed by at least one more wedge (squeezed on edge). The plural determinative is also squeezed in no. 10, 7; 135, 5. The second KUR is squeezed in no. 175, 5.

Day 19, which is generally written U$_4$ 20 1 LÁ KAM in NB/LB, is written 10 ILIMMU$_4$ in no. 127, 3; 129, 3; 153, 2. 4.

Shorthand: HAR (no. 168, 1 and perhaps no. 187, 3) as well as, perhaps, HAR(?)-*ri* (no. 135, 1).

Inconsistent spellings in the same document: KAM and HI+BAD in no. 60. 111 (cf. BM 26653 from the same period); No. 30 is mostly written with a split stylus.

1. *The documents*

Not all the 187 documents, which are edited below, are fully translated. Translation of stereotypic documents and very short records is redundant in view of the exhaustive tabulation below.

1.A. Letter orders (1-37)

1.A.1. With *idin*

Formulary

a. Letter of PN$_1$ to PN$_2$ (sender and addressee respectively)
b. commodity/commodities
c. to PN$_3$ (recipient) give! (*idin*);
d. date: month, day, ±year, RN (always Darius I), ±title (King of Babylon ±King/and of the Lands).

Deviations and additions (e.g., postscripts as in 15) from the sample translation (of 1) are indicated in the partial translations following the pertinent tablets. Letter orders with male recipients precede those with female ones (1-9 and 10-13 respectively), but a male who receives a *ṣibtu*-bread through an anonymous messenger is listed after the females (14). A damaged document, which perhaps belongs to this sub-group, is listed last (16).

1. BM 29342

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na* ^{md}+EN-SUR
2. 5 *har-mi-ir a-na*
3. ^{m}MU-^{d}+EN *i-din*
4. ^{itu}SIG$_4$ U$_4$ 26

lo.e. 5. MU 26 KAM
r. 6. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
7. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš} (squeezed)
8. archaizing sign (in the middle of the r.)

Translation

Letter of Nabû-ēṭer to Bēl-ēṭer: Give five (meat) cuts of the *harmīl/ru* type to Iddina-Bēl.

Month Sivan, day 26, year 26 of Darius King of Babylon and the Lands.

2. BM 22222

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR
2. *a-na* ^{md}+AG-KI-*iá*
3. 1 [*ṣib*(!)]-*tu*$_4$ *a-na*
4. ^{md}+AG-ÙRU-*šú i-din*
lo.e. 5. ^{iti}NE U$_4$ 20 1 LAL
r. 6. MU 27 KAM
7. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-š*[*ú*] LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
8. archaizing sign (with normal, *i.e.* about the same as the interlinear one, space from the last line, not, as frequently, in the centre of the uninscribed field).

Partial translation

2ff. To Nabû-ittiya: Give one *ṣibtu*-bread to Nabû-uṣuršu.

Remark

3. *ṣibtu* "flat bread" (*AHw* 1099a, *s.v. ṣibtu*, III, 2).

3. BM 29359

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na**
2. ^{md}+EN$_{\rfloor}$-[SU]R$_{\rfloor}$ $_{\lfloor}$1$_{\rfloor}$ (or $_{\lfloor}$2$_{\rfloor}$?, damaged, hardly 1/2) ME *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. *a-na* ^{md}+AG-ÙRU-*šú*
4. *i-din*
r. 5. ^{iti}BÁR
6. U$_4$ 4 MU 27
7. archaizing sign

Partial translation

2ff. Give 100 (or 200? loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread to Nabû-uṣuršu.

4. BM 96485; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. $^{m\lceil d}$+EN-SUR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. *a-na* ^{md}+AG-AŠ-*é-sag*-$^{\lceil}$*íla*$^{\rceil}$-$_{\lfloor}$*lu*?$_{\rfloor}$-[*mur*?]
lo.e. 4. *i-din*
5. ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 18 KAM
r. 6. MU 27 KAM
7. ^{m}*da-ri-mu-uš-šú*
8. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš}
9. archaizing sign (in the middle of the line)

Partial translation

2ff. Give one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread to Nabû-ina-Esaggila-lūmur(?).

5. BM 96527; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. *a-na* ^{md}+EN-SIG$_5^{iq}$$_{\rfloor}$
lo.e. 4. *i-*$_{\lfloor}$*din*$_{\rfloor}$
5. ^{iti}APIN$_{\rfloor}$ [U$_4$] 20
r. 6. MU 26
7. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
8. LUGAL E^{ki} KUR^{meš}*

Partial translation

2ff. Give one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread to Bēl-udammiq.

6. BM 96561; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. *a-na* ^{m}*ú-ṣur-šá-a*
4. *i-din* ^{iti}ZÍZ U$_4$ 11
lo.e. 5. MU 27
r. 6. $^{\lceil m\rceil}$*da-ri-*$_{\lfloor}$*uš-šú*
7. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš}
perhaps a trace of the archaizing sign under the middle of the last line

Partial translation

2ff. Give one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread to Uṣuršā.

7. BM 96405; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. [^{m}]$^{\lceil d}$+E$^{\rceil}$N-SUR 3 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. 30 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$ *a-na*
4. ^{md}+EN-SUR *i-din*
lo.e. 5. ^{iti}AB MU [2]$_{\lfloor}$6$_{\rfloor}$
r. 6. archaizing sign (located in about the centre)

Partial translation

2ff. Give three (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread and thirty (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread to Bēl-ēṭer.

Remark

3. Pl. of *kusīpu* "flat, thin bread" (to *kasāpu* "to chip, break off a piece, to trim").

8. BM 96364

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. $^{\lceil}$1 UZU *a-na* ^{md}+AG-MU-ÙRU!
4. *i-din* ^{iti}SIG$_4$ U$_4$ 20
5. MU 26
lo.e. 6. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
r. 7. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš} (squeezed)
8. archaizing sign (located in about the centre of the uninscribed area)

Partial translation

2ff. Give two (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread and one (unspecified) meat cut to Nabû-šuma-uṣur (or -nādin-ahi).

9. BM 96509; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 16 *har*(!, 8 wedges)-*mi-ir* <*šá*> GU$_4$(?)
3. *ku-ú* 8 UZU *šá* ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-nu*
4. *ù* 2 *ma-ak-ka*$_{\rfloor}$-[*s*]$_{\lfloor}$*u*$_{\rfloor}$
5. *šá* ^{iti}BÁR *a-na* ^{md}+$^{\lceil}$EN/AG$^{\rceil}$-[x]
lo.e. 6. *i-din*
r. 7. ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 21 KA[M]
8. MU 26 KAM
9. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
10. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR.KUR

Partial translation

2ff. Give 16 beef cuts of the *harmīl/ru* type instead of eight (unspecified) meat cuts of Nabû-ittannu and two *makkasu*-meat cuts of month Nisan to [Bēl/Nabû-x].

Remark

2, end. Hardly $^{\lceil}$*meš*$^{\rceil}$.

10. BM 96470; C

1. $^{\lceil}$IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. *a-na* ^{f}*si-ip-pa-a*
4. *i-din* ^{iti}KIN
lo.e. 5. U$_4$ 5 MU 26
r. 6. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
7. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR.^{meš} (squeezed)
8. archaizing sign (starts in the middle of the line)

Partial translation

2ff. Give one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread to (the lady) Sippā.

11. BM 96518; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. *a-na* ^{md}AG$^{?}$-x-x *ku-mu* 1/2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ <*a-na*> ^{f}*am-ma-ka-ni-šú*
4. *i-din* ^{i}[^{t}]^{i}ZÍZ U$_4$ 14
lo.e. 5. MU 27 KAM
r. 6. archaizing sign (about the centre of r.)

Partial translation

2ff. Give one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread to Nabû(?)-x (name read by C. W.) instead of half (a loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread to (the lady) Ammakanišu.

Remark

3. the preposition *ana* was omitted presumably because the following anthroponym originally begins with *ana-* (a case of "quasi-haplology"). Was the scribe aware of the original form (*ana makanišu* "in his place") of this anthroponym? (name of a slave girl in the NB deed BE 8, 29, 8, see CAD M/1, 125a).

12. BM 29504

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 2 BÁN ZÚ.LUM.MA$^{\rceil}$
3. *a-na ku-ú ṣib-tu*$_4$ *šá a-na*
4. ^{f}*tab-lu-*$_{\lfloor}$*ṭu* S$_{\rfloor}$UM^{na} *a-na* (damaged!)
5. ^{fd}NIN$^{\rceil}$.LÍL-*si-lim*
lo.e. 6. *i-din* ^{iti}AB
r. 7. U$_4$ 26 MU 27(!) KAM
8. archaizing sign (in the centre, equidistant from the end of the last line and the end of the r.

Partial translation

2ff. Give 0;0.2 kor of dates instead of (one loaf(?) of) *ṣibtu*-bread, which was given to (the lady) Tabluṭu, to (the lady) Mulliltu-silim.

13. BM 29309

1. IM ^{m}$_{\lfloor}$^{d}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+E[N-S]UR 2(!) *ṣib-tu*$_4$ (continued on r.) *a-na* 1/3 2 GÍN SÍG$^{hi.a}$
3. *a-na* ^{fd}NIN.LÍL-*si-lim*
4. *i-din** ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 20
lo.e. 5. MU 26 KAM
6. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú* LUGAL
r. 7. archaizing sign (about the middle of the r., closer to its upper section)

Partial translation

2ff. Give two (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread for 22 shekels of wool to (the lady) Mulliltu-silim.

14. BM 29565

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. *a-na* ^{lú}*mar šip-ri*
4. *šá* ^{md}+AG-PAP *i-din* (squeezed)
r. 5. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 1⌋5
6. MU 27 KAM
7. archaizing sign (in the centre of the line)
2 ll. deliberately erased

Partial translation

2ff. Give one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread to the messenger of Nabû-nāṣir (or -uṣur).

15. BM 22217

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 4 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. *šá* 40 KÙ.BABBAR DIŠ ^{m}MU-[^{d}+E]N⌋
4. *i-din* ^{iti}G[U$_4$?]
5. U$_4$ 9 KAM MU 20+[x (KAM)]
lo.e. 6. ^{m}*da-ri-iá-a*⌉*-mu*[*š*]
r. 7. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR.KUR^{m}[^{eš}]
8. *e-lat har-mi-ir*^{meš}
9. archaizing sign (with normal space from the line, not, as frequently, in the middle of the uninscribed field).

Partial translation

2ff. Give four (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread for forty (shekels) of silver (mistake for forty *kusīpu*-loaves?) to Iddina-Bēl.

Remarks

3. If 40 KÙ.BABBAR stand for 40 shekels of silver (analogous to Bibl. Hebrew *šlšym ksp* rendered as "thirty <pieces> of silver", see the commentaries on Zechariah 11, 12), then the *kaspu* here must be a mistake. For the rate of ten shekels of silver for one loaf of *ṣibtu*-bread is incredibly high. From no. 13 one gathers that one loaf of *ṣibtu*-bread is worth 11 shekels of wool. One mina (= 60 sh) of wool was worth just 0.25 shekels of silver (cf. Vargyas 2001, 256 for the late "Chaldean" to early Achaemenid period). Consequently, it is clear that for forty shekels of silver one could have purchased a huge amount of *ṣibtu*-loaves.

8. Apart from the meat cuts of the *harmīl/ru* type.

16. BM 29295

1. ⌊I[M](?) [^{m}x x (x)]-*šú*
2. *a*⌉(?)-[*na*(?) ^{md}x-TIN(C. W.)-*s*]*u*-E
3. x][x x][x AD-*ia*
4. 1 GUR ZÍZ-ÀM
lo.e. 5. *a-na* ^{md}+EN-SUR
r. 6. *id-din-šú ù*!
7. 5 GUR *a-na*
8. ^{md}+AG-ŠEŠ-*it-tan*⌋*-nu*
9. ^{lú}GÍR.LAL *a-na*
u.e. 10. ⌊*nap**-*ta-nu*
11. LUGAL <0>
12. *i-din* ^{iti}ZÍZ?
le.e. 13. U$_4$* 2 (both squeezed) ⌊KAM⌋
14. MU 26 KAM
15. ^{m}*da-ri-*⌈*a-muš*⌉ LUGAL

Partial translation

Letter of [...]*šu* to(?) [DN-balāss]u-iqbi..., my father. He gave Bēl-ēṭer one kor of emmer (*kunāšu*); and five kors (presumably of emmer) give to Nabû-aha-ittannu the butcher for the royal meal.

Remarks

1. First sign – perhaps to be restored as IM in view of AD-*ia* in l. 3, end; the document may belong to the group of letter orders only if Bēl-ēṭer in line 5 is identical with his namesake in the group.

4ff. The reading of ZÍZ, the last sign of line 6, as well as of line 11, the month name in line 12 and the last sign of the royal name was suggested by C. W.

1.A.2. With *šūbil*

These twenty letter orders have the same form as 1.A.1, except for section c, which runs as follows: *ina qātē* ("through the hands of" "via") PN (= deliverer) transfer (*šūbil*; preceded by commodity/commodities). The letter orders sent by Nabû-ēṭer to Bēl-ēṭer (17-25) and Bulluṭu (26) are listed first. Deviations from the sample translation (of 17) are indicated in the remarks following the pertinent tablets. Such deviations are additional details before *ina qātē* ... *šūbil* (27). Deliverers are mentioned in all the letter orders, except for 29-35 and 37 (which is verbless), where the commodities were delivered directly by Bēl-ēṭer.

17. BM 96552; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}*šá-*^{d}+EN-DÙ
lo.e. 4. *šu-bi-lu*
r. 5. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 21
6. MU 25!
7. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú* LUGAL
8. archaizing sign (under the middle of the last line)

Translation

Letter of Nabû-ēṭer to Bēl-ēṭer: Send one *ṣibtu*-bread via Ša-Bēl-bāni.

Month VIII, day 21, year 25 of Darius the king.

18. BM 22291

1. IM ^{md}+AG-[SU]R
2. *a-na* ^{md}+EN-[SU]R
3. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ (lines 2-3 partly erased)
4. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}*šá-*^{d}+EN-⌈DÙ
lo.e. 5. ⌊*šu*⌋*-bi-lu*
r. 6. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 17
7. MU 26 KAM
archaizing sign (in the centre of the uninscribed field, somewhat closer to the left)

19. BM 22169

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. AŠ ŠU ^{m}*šá-*^{d}+EN-DÙ
4. *šu-bi-lu*
lo.e. 5. ^{iti}KIN(C. W.) U$_4$ 9
6. MU 26
r. damaged archaizing sign (in the centre of the r.)

20. BM 29268

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR* (squeezed) *a-na**
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$(C. W.)
3. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-IBILA-PAP??
4. *šu-bi-lu*
lo.e. 5. $^{[it]}$⌋$_{i}$NE U$_4$ 20 1 LAL
r. only archaizing sign (much closer to the top of the r.)

Partial translation

2f. Send one (loaf) of *ṣibtu*-bread via Bēl-aplaṣur(?).

Remark

3. The reading of the last two signs was suggested by C. W.

21. BM 96400; C

1. [IM⌋ ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-*⌈*na*⌉
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. 1 UZU AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}*ki-*⌈*din*?⌉*-ni*
4. *šu-bi-lu* ^{iti}GAN⌋
5. U$_4$ 6 MU 26 KAM
lo.e. 6. ^{m}*da-ri-mu-uš-šú*⌋
r. 7. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš}⌉
8. archaizing sign (in the centre of the r.)

Partial translation

3. Send one (unspecified) meat cut via Kidinnu(?).

Remark

3. The reading of the last two signs was suggested by C. W.

22. BM 96523; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR
2. *a-na* ^{md}+EN-SUR
3. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 UZU!
lo.e. 4. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}KI(?!)-^{d}+AG-TIN*
r. 5. *šu-bi-lu*
6. ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 27
7. archaizing sign (in the centre of the line)

23. BM 96448, side 'A' (side 'B' → below, **106**)

As observed by Leichty, this tablet was reused as a receipt for *ṣibtu*-bread; C

side 'A' – letter order

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 3 SÌLA GEŠTIN ⌈*ú*⌉(C. W.) (continued on r.) 20 *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$ AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-nu*
3. *šu-bi-lu* ^{iti}NE
lo.e. 4. U$_4$ ⌊21 KAM⌉(C. W.) MU 26
r. 5. originally only archaizing sign (in the centre of r.; now in the middle of the receipt)

Partial translation

2f. Send 0;0.0.3 kor of wine (and) twenty (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread via Nabû-ittannu.

24. BM 96539; NC

r. (6-7 covered with a pattern of lines; they fill all the uninscribed space)

1. IM ^{md}+AG-S[UR]
2. *a-na* ^{md}+EN-SUR
3. 15 GA[BA].UD[U]
4. AŠ ⌊ŠU^{II}] ⌊^{m}x]-[x]
lo.e. 5. *šu-bi-l*[*u*]
6. ^{iti}NE U$_4$ 20] (day according to C. W.)
7. MU 25
8. archaizing sign at the bottom of the r. in the middle.

25. BM 22268

1. [IM ^{m}]^{d}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1-*en a-hi ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. ⌊AŠ⌋ ŠU^{II} ^{m}*ki-na*-A+A
4. [*š*]*u*⌋*-bi-lu*
5. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 12 KAM
r. 6. MU 26 KAM
archaizing sign [right in the centre]

Partial translation

3f. Send 1.5 (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread via Kīnāyu.

26. BM 29314

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{m}*bul*-lu-ṭu* 1 1/2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. 2 *har-mi-ir*
lo.e. 4. AŠ ŠU^{II} $^{<m>}$*šá* ^{d}+EN-DÙ
r. 5. *šu-bi-lu* ^{iti}KIN
6. U$_4$ 20 1 LAL MU 25!
7. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú* LUGAL (title read by C. W.)
8. archaizing sign (in the middle of the line)

Partial translation

2f. Send 1.5 (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread and two *harmīl/ru*-meat cuts via Ša-Bēl-bāni.

27. BM 96426

1. IM ⌜*re-ʾ-in-du**
2. *a-na* ^{md}+EN-SUR
3. *lu-ú* ⌜*ti-i-di*⌝
4. 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*u*
5. *a-na ṣe-bu-ti-iá*
6. *šak-na* AŠ ŠU^{II}
lo.e. 7. ^{md}+EN-*ik-ṣur*
r. 8. *šu-bi-lu*

Translation

Letter of (the lady) Reʾindu to Bēl-ēṭer: you may know that five shekels of white silver were sent for my use via Bēl-ikṣur.

Remarks

3, end – The reading of the verbal form is suggested by C. W.

5f. *ana ṣe-bu-ti-iá šak-na* "for my use", see CAD Š/1, 149f. and cf. Jursa 1999, 148 *ad* 5.

28. BM 22259

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na* ^{md}+EN-SUR
2. ⌊1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 UZU
3. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{fd}NIN.LÍL-*si-lim*
4. *šu-bi-lu* ^{iti}ŠU U$_4$ 3 KAM
5. MU 27 KA[M]
r. uninscribed (only the same archaizing sign in the middle)

Partial translation

2f. Send one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread and one (unspecified) meat cut via Mulliltu-silim.

Remark

2f. 1 UZU AŠ ŠU^{II} was suggested by C. W.

29. BM 96483; C

1. IM⌋ ^{md}+AG⌋-SUR *a-*⌊*na*⌋
2. ^{md}+EN⌉-[SUR x] *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. *šu-bi-lu*⌉ ⌜^{iti}B⌉ÁR
4. U$_4$ 10 MU 26
lo.e. 5. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
r. 6. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš}
7. archaizing sign (in the middle of the r.)

30. BM 96545; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR
2. *a-na* ^{md}+EN-SUR
3. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 ZAG.[LU]
4. *šu-bi-lu*
lo.e. 5. ^{iti}GAN U$_4$ ⌜25⌉
r. 6. MU 26
7. archaizing sign (in the middle of r.)

Partial translation

3f. Send one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread and one shoulder (meat) cut.

31. BM 96512; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na* (continues on r.) ^{md}+EN-SUR
2. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 *har-mi-ir*
3. *šu-bi-lu* ^{iti}AB
lo.e. 4. U$_4$ 20 1 LAL MU 26
r. 5. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
6. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR[$^{meš?}$]
7. archaizing sign (in the middle of the r., but closer to its bottom)

32. BM 29262

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na* ^{md}+EN-<SUR> (squeezed on e., followed by erasure)
2. 1 UZU 10 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. *šu-bi-lu* ^{iti}BÁR!
4. U$_4$ 20 1 LAL KAM <MU> 26
r. only archaizing sign (about the middle of r., slightly closer to its top)

33. BM 96497; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ^{md}+EN-⌊SUR⌋ 1-*en ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. 1-*en har*⌉-*mi-ir*
4. *šu-bi-lu*
lo.e. 5. ^{iti}NE U$_4$ 30
r. 6. MU 26 KAM
7. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
8. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR
9. archaizing sign (beneath the middle of line 8)

34. BM 96466; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR ⌜*a*⌉-*na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 2 UZU
3. 6 *ta-ka-su-ú*
4. *šu-bi-lu* ^{iti}ŠE
lo.e. 5. U$_4$ 27 MU 26
r. 6. archaizing sign (in the centre of r.)

Partial translation

2f. Send two (unspecified) meat cuts (and) six *takkasû*-pastries.

35. BM 96548; C

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-na*
2. ⌊^{md}+⌋EN-SUR ⌊30[+20?] *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
3. [*š*]*u-bi-lu* ^{iti}GAN
lo.e. 4. U$_4$ 5 MU⌋ 26
r. 5. [^{m}]*da-ri-uš-šú*
6. [LUGA]L E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš}
7. archaizing sign (under the centre of the last line)

36. BM 22166

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR *a-*[*n*]⌜*a*⌉
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. 10 *ku-*⌊*sip-*⌊*tu*$_4$⌉ 1-*en* ^{uzu}[ZA]G
4. 1 AŠ ŠU^{II}(C. W.) [...]
lo.e. 5. *š*[*u-bi-lu*]
r. 6. ^{iti}DU$_6$ U$_4$ 20 [(KAM)]
7. MU 26⌋(!)
archaizing sign (in the centre of the uninscribed area)

1.A.3. Verbless (with omission of *šūbil*)

37. BM 22283

1. IM ^{md}+AG-SUR ⌊*a*⌋-*na*
2. ^{md}+EN-SUR 1 [*ṣ*]*ib-tu*$_4$
3. 1 UZU 20 *ku-sip*⌉-*tu*$_4$
4. ^{iti}GAN U$_4$ 21
lo.e. 5. MU 27 KAM
r. uninscribed, except for the archaizing sign in the centre.

Translation

Letter of Nabû-ēṭer: one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread, one (unspecified) meat cut and twenty (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread. Month IX, day 21, year 27.

1.B. Administrative orders (38-41)

The form is the same as in 1.A.1 in 38 and as in 1.A.2 in 39-41 (without *ina qātē* in 40, 41). They are identical with the letter orders, but they omit IM (*ṭuppu* "tablet") as well as the names of the sender and the addressee. The unnamed sender is very probably Nabû-ēṭer seeing that his archaizing sign is extant on two out of the four tablets.

38. BM 29313

1. 10 *har-mi-ir*^{uzu} (text KAM)
2. *a-na* ^{m}MU-^{d}+EN
3. *i-din* ^{iti}ŠE⌋
lo.e. 4. U$_4$ 14 MU 10+[10]+⌜6]!
r. 5. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
6. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš}
7. archaizing sign (in the centre of the r.)

Partial translation

1ff. Give ten *harmīl/ru*-meat cuts to Iddina-Bēl.

39. BM 29365

1. 1 UZU AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}DU$_{10}$.GA-<<DIŠ>>IM?!-^{d}+EN
2. 1 U⌊ZU 1⌋ *ṣib-tu*$_4$ AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{f}⌜TIN-ZI⌉(?) *a-na*
lo.e. 4. ^{f}GÉME-^{d}*na-na-a*
5. *šu-bul* ^{iti}APIN
r. 6. MU 26 *e-lat* GÍD.DA
7. IGI-*ú*

Translation

Send one (unspecified) meat cut via Ṭāb-šār-Bēl (as well as) one (unspecified) meat cut (and) one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread via (the lady) Balāṭ-napišti(?) to (the lady) Amti-Nanâ. Month VIII, year 26. Apart from a previous receipt.

40. BM 96438; C

1. ⌜1 *ṣib*⌉-*tu*$_4$
2. *a-na* E^{ki} *šu-bil** (both squeezed)
3. ^{iti}AB(C. W.)
lo.e. 4. U$_4$ 23
5. MU 26
r. 6. ^{m}*da-ri*-uš-šú**
7. LUGAL E^{ki}
8. archaizing sign (in the middle of the line)

Partial translation

1f. Send one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread to Babylon.

Remark

2. No recipient, but the destination (Bābili) is mentioned.

41. BM 22371

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{md}+AG-KAR^{er}
2. ^{iti}GAN U$_4$ 10 MU 26!
3. <<*šá*>> *a-na* ^{m}MU-*a*
lo.e. 4. ⌊*šu-bi-l*[*u*]
r. uninscribed

Translation

1f. One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread, Nabû-ēṭer; month IX, day 10, year 26. Send to Šumā.

Remark

3. *šá* is syntactically redundant.

1.C. Administrative receipts (42-91)

All these receipts contain the verbal form *mahir* (*ma-hi-ir*, IGI; restored in 91), *i.e.* "received" (PN$_1$ received from PN$_2$, PN$_1$ *ina qātē* PN$_2$ *mahir*), 23 short receipts are listed first (42-64). Deviations from the sample (cf. 42 which is fully translated) are: The date is placed before the verb describing the delivery in 63. 64 contains *ina našparti* "as proxy" and 65 has *ina qībi* "upon authorization". The internal order within the first group is dictated by the identity of the recipients, namely Nabû-ēṭer (42-52, 54, 56-59, 63 and perhaps 53) and Ša-Bēl-bāni (60-62). The deliverers are Bēl-ēṭer (42-52, 60, 63 and perhaps 53), Banītu-ittiya (54-57, 61, 62), Mušallim-Nabû (58), and Nabû-uṣuršu (59). Then follow five longer receipts (65-69), of which three contain two sections (66 on the same day and 67, 68 on different days) and more (five, 69) or with additions, such as a summary (of several sections, 69), an *elât* ("apart from") clause (before the date and after it in 70 and 71-73 respectively), indication of the first and second deliveries (sg. *bābu*, 74), statements such as *ša ana* PN$_3$ SUM^{na} ("which was given to PN", for further distribution, presumably the last in the chain of transmission, 75-77; with omission of SUM in 78), *ša ana* PN$_3$ *piqid*ᵓ ("which was entrusted to PN", 79, cf. above, 0.5.6), *šá* PN *iššû* ("which PN has brought", 80), *iššû ... mahir* ("which PN has brought ..., PN received", 81), *ina ašābi* ("in the presence of"; before the date in 82 or after it in 83, 84), a witness(?, 85) and other additions (86-88). Two receipts (89, 91) omit *ina qātē* ("from"). 116 may alternatively be a receipt.

42. BM 22375

1. 20 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{md}+EN-SUR *ma-hi-ir*
lo.e. 4. [^{iti}]ZÍZ U$_4$ 23
r. 5. MU 26
6. archaizing sign (almost equidistant from the end of line 9 and the end of the r. in the centre of the uninscribed area)

Translation

Nabû-ēṭer received twenty (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread from Bēl-ēṭer. Month XI, day 23, year 26.

43. BM 22358

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 10 *ku-si-ip-tú*
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI
r. 4. ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 27 KAM
5. MU 26 KAM

44. BM 29598

1. 1 *har-mil* 20 *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$
2. ^{md}+AG-KAR^{er} AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{md}+EN-KAR^{er} IGI
lo.e. 4. ^{iti}GAN(C. W.) U$_4$ 3 KAM
r. 5. MU 26 KAM

45. BM 29591; damaged

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ *qa*-A+A-*i-tu*$_4$
2. 20 *ku-si-ip-pe-tu*$_4$
3. 1-*en* ^{uzu}ZAG.LU
4. 2 SÌLA ^{giš}GEŠTIN
r. 5. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR
6. IGI
7. ^{iti}DU$_6$ U$_4$ 8 KAM
8. MU 26 KAM

Partial translation

One loaf of parched *ṣibtu*-bread, twenty (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread, one shoulder (meat) cut and 0;0.0.2 kor of wine, Nabû-ēṭer received from Bēl-ēṭer.

Remarks

1, end. CAD Q, 54b *s.v. qajātu*; "parched grain".

46. BM 96562

1. 1 *qa-ᵓ-i-tu*$_4$
2. 21 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
3. 1 ^{uzu}ZAG.LU
4. 2 ^{uzu}*har-mi-il*
5. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
lo.e. 6. ^{md}+EN-SUR *ma-hi-ir*
r. 7. ^{iti}DU$_6$ U$_4$ 11
8. MU 27 KAM
9. ^{m}*da-a-ri-iá-muš*
10. LUGAL KUR^{meš}

47. BM 29349 – tag

1. 1-*en ṣib-tú* 1-*en* UZU
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{md}+EN-SUR *ma-hi-ir*
4. ^{iti}NE U$_4$ 3 (or ⌜6⌝) KAM
5. MU 26 KAM
lo.e. 6. ^{m}*da-ri-ᵓ-muš* LUGAL
r. uninscribed

48. BM 96563; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ *u* 1 ^{uzu}*ha-*<*ar*>*-mi-ir*
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II} <<*u*>>
3. ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI
r. 4. ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 12 KAM
5. MU 26 KAM

49. BM 29578

1. 1-*en* ^{uzu}GABA (the reading of the last sign was suggested by C. W.)
2. 1-*en* ^{uzu}*har*(7 wedges)-*mi-il*!
3. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
lo.e. 4. ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI
r. 5. ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 24 KAM
6. MU 26 KAM

50. BM 96564; C

1. ⌊1⌋ *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 (PI?) GEŠTIN(?)
2. [^{md}+A]G-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. [^{md}+E]N-SUR IGI
r. 4. [^{iti}x] U$_4$ ⌜24⌝ KAM
5. MU 26 KAM

51. BM 22373

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 2 *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$ 1 (PI) PÈŠ⌋
2. *a-di* ^{túg}*hu-ip-pi*-DI⌋
3. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II} <<*šú*>>
4. ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI
r. 5. ^{iti}SIG$_4$ U$_4$ 26 KAM
6. MU 26⌋ KAM

Remark

1. PÈŠ = tittu "fig(s)".
2. ^{túg}*hu-ip-pi*-DI⌋, probably a garment, is unattested elsewhere.

52. BM 29595 (table 6; cf. no. 54)

1. 1/2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 10 *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI ^{iti}AB
4. U$_4$ 17 <KAM> MU 26
r. uninscribed

53. BM 22357

1. 1 ^{uzu}TI 1 ⌊x⌉
2. 1 *qa*-A+A-*i-tu*$_4$
3. ^{m}⌊^{d}⌋+[A]G(?)-[SU]R(?) AŠ ŠU^{II}
lo.e. 4. [^{md}+EN-SUR(?)] IGI
r. 5. ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 10 KAM
6. MU 26 KAM


'fish(!)' sign (equidistant from both ends of the reverse)

Partial translation

1f. One rib (meat) cut, one x and one (cake of) parched grain.

54. BM 29310

1. *a-hi ṣib-tu*$_4$
2. 20 *ku-si-ip-pé-tu*$_4$
3. ^{md}+AG-KAR^{er}
4. *i-na* ŠU^{II}
r. 5. ^{fd}DÙ-*ti*-KI-*iá*
6. IGI* (very small, may be just a scratch)
7. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 12
8. MU 26 KAM(HI+BAD)

55. BM 96534; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 GABA
2. ^{md}+EN-KAR^{er} AŠ ŠU⌊^{II}⌋
3. ^{fd}DÙ-*tu*$_4$-KI-*i*[*á*]
lo.e. 4. IGI ^{iti}GAN U$_4$ 4⌉
r. 5. MU 26

Partial translation

Bēl-ēṭer received from (the lady) Banītu-ittiya one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread and one cut of breast (meat).

Remark

1. GABA = *irtu*, a breast cut.

56. BM 29568, cf. no. 60

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 ZAG.LU
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{fd}DÙ-*tu*$_4$-KI-*iá* IGI
4. ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 12 KAM
lo.e. 5. MU 27 KAM
r. uninscribed

57. BM 29322

1. 3 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 2 ^{uzu}*ha-*<*ar*>*-mi-ir*
2. ^{md}+AG-SU[R] AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{fd}DÙ]-*tú*-KI-*iá*
lo.e. 4. IGI

r. 5. [^{iti}]$_{L}$APIN(?)$_{J}$ (cf. no. 54)
6. ⌜U_4⌝? [x (KAM)] $_{L}$MU 26 KAM

Remark

5. Illegible; perhaps APIN, cf. no. 54.

58. BM 22366

1. $_{L}$1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 10 ^{uzu}*ha*(!)-<*ar*>-*mi-ir*
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR
3. erasure (originally IGI)
r. 4. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}*mu-šal-lim-*^{d}+AG
5. IGI
6. $_{L}^{it}_{J}$^{i}SIG$_4$$_{J}$! $_{L}$U$_4$ 20 K$_{J}$AM
7. MU 26 KAM

59. BM 29354

1. 5 UZU *šá har-ra-mil** (text DU)
2. 1 ZAG.LU* 20 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
3. ^{md}+AG-KAR^{er} AŠ ŠU^{II}
4. ^{md}+AG-ÙRU-*šú ma-hi-ir*
5. ^{iti}$_{L}$NE$_{J}$ MU 26 KAM
r. uninscribed

Partial translation

Nabû-ēṭer received from Nabû-uṣuršu five meat cuts of the *harmīl/ru* type, one shoulder (meat) cut (and) twenty (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread.

60. BM 22305; cf. no. 70

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1-*en* ^{uzu}ZAG.LU
2. ^{m}*šá-*^{d}+EN-DÙ AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{m}$_{L}$^{d}+E]N-SUR IGI
r. 4. ^{iti}NE ⌜U_4⌝ ⌜10? KAM
5. MU $_{L}$2$_{J}$6 KAM(HI+BAD)

61. BM 96432; C

1. 2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 ^{uzu}*ha-*<*ar*>-*mi-ir*
2. ^{m}⌜*šá-*^{d}+EN-DÙ
3. AŠ ŠU^{II}
r. 4. ^{fd}DÙ-*tu*$_4$-KI-*iá* (followed by an erasure)
5. IGI ^{iti}SIG$_4$ U$_4$ 20 EN (on e.)
6. U$_4$ 21 KAM(HI+BAD)

62. BM 96546; C

1. 20 GUR *qé-me* ⌜2 *bán* ŠE.GIŠ.Ì⌝
2. <^{m}>*šá-*<<^{m}>>^{d}+EN-*ba-ni* A[Š Š]U$^{II(?)}$
3. ^{fd}*ba-ni-*[*tú*?-K]I(?)-*ia*
4. *ma-h*[*ir*? ^{it}]^{i}[x$_{J}$ (all damaged)
lo.e. 5. U$_4$? 12 KAM
r. 6. MU 26 ⌜KAM⌝
7. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú* LUGAL

Partial translation

Ša-Bēl-bāni(?) received(?) from Banītu-ittiya twenty kors of flour and (as suggested by C. W.) two seahs of sesame.

63. BM 96536; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{md}+AG-SUR
2. ^{iti}AB(C. W.) U$_4$ 14?
3. MU 26 KAM(HI+BAD)
4. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR
lo.e. 5. IGI
r. uninscribed

64. BM 96520; C

1. PAD$^{hi.a}$ *šá ul-tu* U$_4$ 1 KAM
2. *šá* ^{iti}DU$_6$ AŠ IGI ^{md}+EN-SUR
3. AŠ *lib-bi* 4 *gu-qa-ú*
4. 2 UZU ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 4 KAM (continues on r.) MU 25 KAM
5. ^{m}*re-mut* AŠ *na-áš-par-tu*$_4$
6. *šá* ^{m}*mu-šeb-ši-*^{d}U.GU[R]
lo.e. 7. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR
r. 8. *ma-hi-ir*

Translation

Rations which are at the disposal of Bēl-ēṭer from day one of month VII. Two (unspecified) meat cuts out of four irregular offerings (sg., *guqqû*). Month VIII, day 4, year 25. Rēmūtu as proxy of Mušebši-Nergal received from Bēl-ēṭer.

Remark

6. The reading of *mu-šeb-ši* was kindly suggested to me by M. Jursa.

65. BM 96486

1. 6 UZU ^{m}*ú-bar* AŠ *qí-bi šá* ⌜GÉME-*iá*
2. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI ^{iti}GAN U$_4$ 22
3. M[U] $_{L}$26$_{J}$[+1/2?] KAM(HI+BAD) 4 UZU 2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
4. ^{m}*da*(C. W.)-$_{L}$*n*[*i-ia*?] *a-na na**(text DU)-*áš-par*(text: *ha*)-*tu*$_4$
5. *šá* ⌜DUMU.MUNUS⌝? *é-zi-da*
lo.e. 6. 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*u* AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-*si-lim*
7. 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR AŠ IGI [^{m}*g*]*u-za-nu*
r. 8. 1 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA ^{md}+AG-ÙRU-*šú*
9. AŠ *na-áš-par-tu*$_4$ *šá* ^{md}+AG-*si-lim*

Translation

a. Ubāru received from Bēl-ēṭer upon authorization of (the lady) Andiya six (unspecified) meat cuts. Month IX, day 22, year 26[+1/2(?)].

b. Four (unspecified) meat cuts, and two (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread Dani[ya(?)] as proxy(?) of the daughter(?) of Ezida (received; see Waerzeggers 2005, 359; the reading and interpretation of this section are obscure, the more so since DUMU.MUNUS *é-zi-da* occurs elsewhere as plural and refer to deities).

c. Three shekels of white silver at the disposal of Nabû-silim(C. W.).

d. Two shekels of silver at the disposal of [G]uzānu.

Nabû-uṣuršu as proxy of Nabû-silim received one kor of dates.

66. BM 29341

1. 2 *har-mi-ir šá* 1 ^{uzu}ZAG.LU
2. 1 *har-mi-ir šá ṣib-tu*$_4$ 2 UDU.NÍTA(?) *a-di* 1/2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ *šá* ^{m}SUM^{nu}-*a* ^{lú}GÍR.LÁ
3. 20 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
4. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR
lo.e. 5. [*m*]*a-hi-ir*$_{J}$
r. 6. ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 2 MU 27
7. archaizing sign (in the centre of r. a bit closer to its upper section)

Translation

a. Two *harmīl/ru*-meat cuts of a shoulder.

One *harmīl/ru*-meat cut of *ṣibtu* (part of the liver) and two sheep(?); including half *ṣibtu* of Iddinā the butcher.

b. Nabû-ēṭer received twenty (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread from Bēl-ēṭer.

Month VI, day 2, year 27.

Remark

2. The reading of *šá, a-di* 1/2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ as well as ^{lú}GÍR.LÁ was suggested by C. W.

67. BM 29316

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 *har-mi-ir*
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 26(!)
3. 5 *har-mi-*<*ir*> *a-di* UZU
4. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{md}+AG-$_{L}$SUR$_{J}$
r. 5. (small crack, presumably not originally inscribed) ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ ⌜2⌝7
6. MU 27 KAM(HI+BAD)
7. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI
8. archaizing sign (beneath the middle of line 7)

Translation

a. One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread, one *harmīl/ru*-meat cut – Nabû-ēṭer. Month I, day 26.

b. Five cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat together with (inclusive of) meat, (and) one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread – Nabû-ēṭer. Month I, day 27, year 27. Nabû-ēṭer received from Bēl-ēṭer.

Remark

7. The reading of the theophorous elements was suggested by C. W.

68. BM 29612

1. [1-*e*]*n* ^{uzu}*har-mi-il*
2. [*har*?-*m*]*i-il* (dittography?) ^{iti}ŠE <U$_4$> 6 KAM
r. 3. IGI^{ir}
4. 12(?) ⌜x (x)⌝ *u* 1-*en* <^{uzu}>*har-mi-il*
5. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-S[UR]
6. IGI
u.e. 7. ^{iti}ŠE U$_4$ 8(!) KAM

Translation

a. One cut of *harmīl/ru*-meat received, month XII, <day> 6.

b. Nabû-ēṭer received from Bēl-ēṭer twelve(?) ... and one cut of *harmīl/ru*-meat. Month XII, day 8.

69. BM 96342; NC

1. [x (x) *k*]*a-ra-nu* ^{iti}GAN MU $_{L}$25(?) (perhaps PN <^{m}>MU-^{d}x?) ^{lú}*šá-kin** (squeezed on e.)
2. ⌜x BÁN⌝ ⌜3 SÌLA *ka-ra-nu* ^{m}*gu-*$_{L}$*za-nu*$_{J}$ ^{iti}GAN
3. 2 BÁN 3 SÌLA *ka-ra-nu* ^{md}+EN-$_{L}$x]-[(x)]-$_{L}$x
4. ⌜1 BÁN⌝ *ka-ra-nu* AŠ É ^{md}+EN-MU
5. 2 BÁN *ka-ra-nu* ^{iti}GU$_4$ $_{L}$M[U(?) x KA]M(?)
6. ^{m}*šu-lum-*^{d}+EN-*lu-mur*
lo.e. 7. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-KAR^{er}
8. *ma-hi*[*r*]
r. 9. PAP 1 (PI) 5(!) BÁN *ka-ra-*⌝-[*nu*]
10. ^{m}*šu-lum-*^{d}+EN-*lu-mu*[*r*]

Translation

a. [x] wine, month IX, year(?) [x] – Iddina(?)-DN(?), foreman.

b. 0;0.x.3 kor of wine – Guzānu, month IX.

c. 0;0.2.3 kor of wine – Bēl-[...].

d. 0;0.1 kor of wine in the house of Bēl-iddina.

0;0.2 kor of wine, month II, year(?) [x] – Šulum-Bēl-lūmur received from Bēl-ēṭer.

e. Total 0;1.5 kor of wine – Šulum-Bēl-lūmur.

Remark

4. The reading É was suggested by C. W.

70. BM 96553; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ *šá tak-ka-su-*⌜*ú*⌝
2. ^{m}*šá-*^{d}+EN-*ba-ni* AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI
r. 4. *e-lat* 1-*en qa*-A+A-*i-tú*
5. (inserted in tiny script). U$_4$ 4(?)

6. ^{iti}SIG$_4$ U$_4$ 10 KAM
7. MU 26 KAM

Partial translation

Ša-Bēl-bāni received one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread of the *takkasû*-offering from Bēl-ēṭer. Apart from one (piece of) parched grain (cake), day 4(?).

Remark

1. *šá tak-ka-su-*⌜*ú*⌝ was suggested by C. W.
5. Presumably refers to the commodity specified in the *elât*-clause.

71. BM 96492; C

1. 1 *har-mi-ir*
2. 2 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi* 10 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
3. ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 27
lo.e. 4. MU 27
r. 5. *e-lat* GÍD.DA IGI-*u* (the reading of the last sign was suggested by C. W.)
6. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU[^{II} ^{m}]^{d}+EN-SUR IGI* (squeezed)
7. archaizing sign (beneath the middle of line 7)

Translation

One cut of *harmīl/ru*-meat, two DI/KI-*pi* ("additions"?) and ten (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread. Month I, day 27, year 27. Apart from a previous receipt. Nabû-ēṭer received from Bēl-ēṭer.

Remark

2. DI/KI-*pi* is unclear to me, perhaps to be read *ṭīpu* "addition" (*AHw* 1392).

72. BM 29347

1. ⌜5⌝ UZU 2 BÁN GEŠTIN
2. ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*-E AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI *šá a-na*
4. ^{md}+AG-ÙRU-*šú ip-qí-id*
lo.e. 5. ^{iti}GAN U$_4$ 14
r. 6. MU 26
7. *e-lat* GÍD.DA IGI-*u*

Translation

Five (unspecified) meat cuts and 0;0.2 kor of wine, which he entrusted to Nabû-uṣuršu, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi received from Bēl-ēṭer. Month VIII, day 14, year 26. Apart from a previous receipt.

73. BM 29300

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 *har-mil*
2. 20 *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$
3. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR
4. IGI ^{iti}AB U$_4$ 11
lo.e. 5. MU 26
r. 6. *e-lat* 20 *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$
7. *šá* DUMU.MUNUS^{meš}
8. *šá* ^{m}*re-mut-*^{d}+EN
u.e. 9. SUM^{na}-⌟

Partial Translation

6ff. Apart from the 20 (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread (the reading of this commodity was suggested by C. W.), which Rēmūt-Bēl's daughters have given.

74. BM 29188

1. ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ⌜*an-di-ia*
2. *šá* AŠ IGI ^{md}+EN-SUR AŠ *na-áš-par-tu*$_4$
3. *šá* ⌜*an-di-iá šá* ^{m}ÌR-^{d}⌜U.GUR
4. *ù* ⌜DUMU⌟-*šú* AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI-⌟
5. [1-*en*(?) KÁ 1 GUR 5 (BÁN)
lo.e. 6. [*š*]*á-nu-ú* KÁ 2 GUR ^{iti}ŠU *u* ^{iti}NE
7. MU 26 KAM(HI+BAD)
r. 8. [1+?]1 GUR ŠE.BAR AŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}

Translation

Dates of (the lady) Andiya, which are at the disposal of Bēl-ēṭer as proxy of Andiya, that Ardi-Nergal and his son received from Bēl-ēṭer. First installment 1;0.5; second installment two kors. Months IV and V, year 26. [1+?]1 kor of barley in Babylon.

Remark

4. DUMU-*šú* was suggested by C. W.

75. BM 29337

1. 10 *ku-si-ip-pe-tú*
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI
r. 4. *šá a-na* ^{m}*bul-lu-ṭu*
5. SUM^{na}
6. ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 11 KAM
7. MU 26 KAM

Partial translation

Nabû-ēṭer received from Bēl-ēṭer ten (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread, which were given to Bulluṭu.

Remark

4f. For further distribution.

76. BM 26862

1. 3 UZU 2 *har-mi-ir*
2. 5 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 70(!) *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
3. *šá* ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
4. ^{md}+AG-*bul-liṭ-su*
lo.e. 5. DUMU ^{m}*kit/sah*(or *sa*)-*pa-nu*
r. 6. *ma-hi-ir*
7. GÍD.DA IGI-*ú*
8. ^{iti}KIN ^{md}AG⌟-⌞SUR⌟
9. *a-na* ^{md}+EN-SUR SUM(?)^{nu}
u.e. 10. archaizing sign.

Translation

Three (unspecified) meat cuts, two cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat, five (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread and seventy (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread, which Nabû-ēṭer received from Nabû-bullissu son of Kitpānu (or Sa(h)pānu). (Apart from) a previous receipt. Month VI. Nabû-ēṭer will give to Bēl-ēter.

77. BM 96484; C

1. [Š]E$^{(?)}$.BAR *a-na* (C. W.)
2. ⌜1⌝[+x?] ⌜*ṣib-tu*$_4$
3. 8 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú*
4. 2 SÌLA *ka-ra-nu*
5. 1-*en ma-ak-ka-su*
lo.e. 6. *šá* ^{m}IM-^{d}+EN-DU$_{10}$.GA
r. 7. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR
8. *ma-hi-ir*
9. AŠ *lib-bi* 2 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
10. *šá a-na* ŠE.BAR SUM^{at}

Translation

[B]arley(?) for 1[+x(?)] (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread; 8.5 shekels of white silver; 0;0.0.2 kor of wine, (and) one cut of *makkasu*-meat, which Šār-Bēl-ṭāb received from Bēl-ēṭer. (8.5 shekels) out of which 2.5 shekels of silver were given for barley.

78. BM 29352

1. 1-*en ṣib-tu*$_4$
2. 1-*en ha-ar**-<*mi*>-*lu*^{uzu}
3. AŠ ŠU^{II}
4. ^{m}*ša-*^{d}+⌞EN-*ba-ni*(⌜ text TAB)
r. 5. *a-na* ^{md}+AG-SUR
6. ^{iti}SIG$_4$ U$_4$ 6

Translation

One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread, one cut of *harmīl/ru*-meat received from Ša-Bēl-bāni; for Nabû-ēṭer. Month III, day 6.

Remark

5. Cf. C.1.1.3.4, 2.

79. BM 29338

1. 21 ^{uzu}*har-mil*
2. *i-na* GÍD⌟.⌜DA^{meš}
3. *šá* ^{md}+AG-[SUR(?)]
4. ^{m}MU-^{d}+EN
5. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}[^{d}+E]N-SUR IGI
lo.e. 6. ^{iti}ŠE U$_4$ 24
r. 7. MU 26
8. *šá a-na* ^{md}+AG-KÁD
9. *pi-qid-*⌟

Translation

Iddina-Bēl received from Bēl-ēṭer 21 cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat (recorded) in the receipts of Nabû-[ēṭer(?)], which are entrusted to Nabû-kāṣir (or -ikṣur). Month XII, day 24, year 26.

Remark

2. One expects *ina našparti*.

80. BM 29367

1. 3 UZU ^{m}MU-^{d}+⌜E[N]
2. AŠ SU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR *a-na* UGU* (6 wedges)
3. ^{md}+AG-SUR IGI
4. ^{iti}DU$_6$ U$_4$ 11 KAM
lo.e. 5. MU 26 KAM
6. AŠ ŠÀ 2 UZU
r. 7. *ku-mu* UZU *šá* ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-nu*
8. A ^{m}UR-*a iš*(text ZU)-*šu-u*
9. *e?-lu*(recte *ù*?) 1 UZU *ku-mu*
10. *ma-ak-ka-su*
11. *šá as-né-e*⌟
u.e. 12. 4 *ṣib-t*[*u* (x)]

Translation

Iddina-Bēl received from Bēl-ēṭer three (unspecified) meat cuts on behalf of(?) Nabû-ēṭer. Month VII, day 11, year 26. Out of which two (unspecified) meat cuts instead of the (unspecified) meat cut, which Nabû-ittannu son of Kalbā brought; (and the remaining) one (unspecified) meat cut instead of a confection jam of Tilmun dates, (as well as) four (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread.

Remarks

7f. For Nabû-ittannu son of Kalbā cf. no. 81 and 134.

9. The reading of most of this line was suggested by C. W. The meaning is obscure, but the context suggests that it refers to the meat cut left after the two cuts were exchanged for another meat cut.

10f. Presumably a confection or jam of Tilmun dates, cf. *ma-ak-kas asnē* (*RAcc.* 77, 48).

81. BM 29357

1. 12 ^{uzu}*ha-*<*ar*>-*mi-ir*
2. *šá* ^{iti}APIN ^{iti}GAN *u* ^{iti}AB

3. ⌊*ku-mu* 6 UZU *šá* ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-nu*
4. [A ^{m}]*kal-ba-a a-na* UGU
5. [^{md}]+AG-SUR *iš-šu-u*
lo.e. 6. [^{m}M]U-^{d}+EN *a-na* UGU^{hi}
7. [^{md}+A]G-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
r. 8. [^{md}+EN-S]UR *ma-hi-ir*
9. [*e-lat*(?)] 1 PI ZÚ.LUM.MA
10. *šá* ^{iti}APIN ^{iti}GAN *u* ^{iti}AB
11. AŠ GUB ^{md}+AG-KAR-ZI^{meš}

Translation

Twelve cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat of months VIII, IX and X instead of six cuts of (unspecified) meat which Nabû-ittannu son of Kalbā brought on behalf of Nabû-ēṭer, Iddina-Bēl received from [Bēl-ē]ṭer. [Apart from(?) 0;]1 kor of dates of month VIII, IX and X. In the presence of Nabû-ēṭer-napšāti.

Remark

Note the enumeration of three months each time (*maššartu*?)

82. BM 96510; C

1. ⌜2?⌝(C. W.) GÍN *pit-qa* KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú*
2. ^{md}+AG-*si-lim* AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR
3. IGI AŠ *a-šá-bi šá* ^{md}+AG*-EN-DUMU (squeezed)
4. ^{m}*hab-ṣir ù*
lo.e. 5. ^{md}+AG-DIB-UD.DA
6. ^{iti}BÁR U_4 20
r. 7. MU 27 KAM(HI.BAD)

Translation

Nabû-silim received two(?) shekels of white silver of which 1/8 (per shekel) is alloy from Bēl-ēṭer. In the presence of Nabû-bēl-māri, Habaṣīru and Nabû-mušētiq-ūdê. Month I, day 20, year 27.

83. BM 96511; C

1. 1 ⌜*ṣ*[*ib*?-*tu*$_4$? (could be UZU) x] ⌊*har*!-*mil*
2. ^{md}+AG-⌜SUR⌝ AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI
lo.e. 4. ^{iti}BÁR U_4 26
r. 5. MU 27
6. AŠ *a-šá-bi šá*
7. ^{md}+AG-EN-DUMU(C. W.)

84. BM 29576

1. 1 UZU 8 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi*
2. 30 *ku-si-ip-pe-tu*$_4$
3. [x] SÌLA GEŠTIN ^{md}+AG-SUR
4. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR IGI
lo.e. 5. ^{iti}AB U_4 3 KAM(HI+BAD)
6. MU 26 KAM(HI+BAD)
r. 7. AŠ *a-šá-bi šá* ^{md}+EN-SUR
8. A ^{m}*gu-za-nu u* ^{md}+AG-ÙRU-*šú*
9. A ^{m}DÙ-ŠEŠ

85. BM 96467; C;

1. [x+?]1 ⌊*sib*⌋-*tu*$_4$ (at most 2!) 1 ^{uzu}*ha-<ar-mi>-ir*
2. [^{m}]^{d}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-SUR
3. IGI
r. 4. [^{i}]^{ti}KIN U_4 1 KAM
5. MU 26 KAM
6. ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-nu*
u.e. 7. ^{lú}<KIN.>GI$_4$.A

Remark

6f. Could Nabû-ittannu, the messenger (*mār-šipri*, C. W.), be a witness?

86. BM 29308

1. 1-*et* ^{uzu}GABA⌝
2. 1-*en qa*-A+A-*i**-*ti*
3. ^{iti}APIN U_4 6 KAM
4. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
lo.e. 5. ^{fd}*ba-ni-tu*$_4$-*it-ti-iá*
6. *ma-hi-ir*
r. 7. ^{iti}APIN U_4 6 KAM
8. MU 26 KAM
9. 1-*en qa*-A+A-*i-ti*
10. ^{fd}NIN.LÍL-*si*⌋-⌊*lim* (C. W.)

Translation

a. Month VIII, day 6: Nabû-ēṭer received one cut of breast meat and one (piece) parched grain (cake) from (the lady) Banītu-ittiya.

b. month VIII, day 6, year 26: one (piece) of parched grain (cake) – Mulliltu-silim.

Remark

2. 9. The reading of the last sign was suggested by C. W.

87. BM 29311

1. *ul*-⌊*tu* U_4 1 KAM
2. *šá* ⌊^{iti}ŠU MU 26 KAM
3. ⌜^{m}⌝⌊*da*⌋-*ri-i*'-*muš* LUGAL
4. 7 PAD$^{hi.a}$ *šá* ^{m}AŠ-*é-sag-íl-lu*(?)-*mur*
5. AŠ IGI ^{md}+EN-SUR *ul-tu*
6. U_4 1 KAM *šá* ^{iti}NE
lo.e. 7. *u*$_4$-*mu* 1 SÌLA *iš*(text DU)-*kar* ⌜*š*[*e*]?-⌜*e*⌝-*ri*
8. ^{md}+EN-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
r. 9. ^{md}+AG-ÙRU-*šú ma-hi-ir*

Translation

From day 1 of month IV, year 26 of King Darius (onwards) 7 rations of Ina-Esaggil-lūmur(?) are at the disposal of Bēl-ēṭer. From day 1 of month V (onwards) Bēl-ēṭer received from Nabû-uṣuršu 0;0.0.1 kor as morning delivery (*iškar šēri*).

Remarks

4. PAD$^{hi.a}$ is preceded by a number in two N/LB examples (CAD K, 576f., *s.v. kurummatu*, 1c, 2 *in fine*; 3c, 1).

Rations fit the context: a (daily) morning delivery from the first day of the fifth month. It may be surmised that the seven rations were for the first week of this month. There is one more case in this archive for rations starting on the first day of a month (no. 64, from 1.VII). In no. 113 it is stated that the three diverse commodities are for two successive months (II and III). Another enumeration of two successive months (IX and X) is recorded in no. 108. According to no. 181, three different commodities are distributed for a period of five days (3-7.VI). No. 9 lists two *makkasu*-meat cuts for month I (given on 21.I). It is not clear which commodity is listed for month XI in no. 185, which resembles no. 9 to some extent.

7. The reading of the signs after SÌLA was tentatively suggested by C. W.

88. BM 96491; C

1. 1 PI ŠE.GIŠ.Ì ^{md}+EN-SUR
2. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+EN-MU IGI ^{iti}ŠE
3. U_4 3 MU 25 NÍG.<ŠID> DÙ
r. uninscribed

Partial translation

Bēl-ēṭer received 0;1 kor of sesame from Bēl-iddina. Month XII, day 3, year 25. Settled account.

89. BM 96439; C

1. 1 ZAG.LU 10 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR IGI
3. ^{iti}APIN U_4 22
lo.e. 4. MU 26
r. 5. archaizing sign (in the middle, but slightly closer to the top)

90. BM 29353

1. 1-*en har-mil* 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
2. 20 *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$ ⌊^{md}+AG-SUR⌋
3. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}⌊^{d}+EN-SUR⌋ ⌊IGI
4. ^{iti}DU$_6$ U_4 27
lo.e. 5. MU 26
r. uninscribed

Translation

One cut of *harmīl/ru*-meat, one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread, twenty (loaves) of *kusīpu*-bread, received by Nabû-ēṭer (the reading of the verb and the recipient's name was suggested by C. W.) from Bēl-ēṭer. Month VII, day 27, year 26.

91. BM 96557; C

1. 1 UZU ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-nu*
2. A ^{m}*e*-x⌋ [IGI]
3. ^{iti}⌜NE⌝(?) U_4 ⌜6⌝ KAM (C. W.)
lo.e. 4. MU 26 K[AM]
r. uninscribed

1.D. Records (92-187)

Only ten records contain a verb: SUM^{nu}-(', "given"; 4): *ina qātē* ... SUM^{nu}-' ("given ... via", 92), *ina qībi* ... SUM^{na} ("given ... upon the authorization of", 93), SUM^{na}-*tu*$_4$ ("given", 94); SUM^{na} ... *iššû* ("given ... has brought", 95); *ša ultu pāni* PN *iššû* ("which were brought by PN", 96); *iššû, inaššû* with or without *šalāmu* (99, 100 and 97, 98 respectively); and *šalāmu* (101). All the remaining records (86: nos. 102-187), except perhaps for 109, are without a verb. They contain the following phrases: *ina qātē* PN ("from PN", 102-104), *ina pāni* PN$_1$ *ina qāti* PN$_2$ ("at the disposal of PN$_1$ (received) from PN$_2$", 105), *ša* PN$_1$ *ina pāni* PN$_2$ ("of PN$_1$ at the disposal of PN$_2$", 107-109), *ina pāni* PN ("at the disposal of PN"; 21 records: 110-115, 117-131 and perhaps 156; in 117 the date exceptionally precedes the typical phrase). 120 has three sections. Four records have two sections (119, 121-123), three contain a section which is introduced by *elât* "apart from" (124-126). An additional record (127) has the same section without *elât* and another three are "settled accounts" (sg. NÍG.<ŠID> DÙ; 128-130). Another one (132) has *ultu* (instead of *ina*) *pāni* PN, two have *ša* PN ("of PN", 134-135), two *ina qībi* ("upon the authorization of") PN and functionary respectively (136, 137), one *ana* PN ("to, for PN", 138) and two *ana/ina muhhi* PN ("on behalf of PN", 139-140). The remaining 47 records, except perhaps for 187, do not contain a preposition. Names of individuals (presumably recipients) are mentioned in only 18 out of these 47 records (141-156, 186, 187: males in 141-147, 153-156, 186, 187 and females in 148-152). 141-152 are laconic texts, whereas 153-157 have some modifications and additions: two contain two sections (153, 154) and one (155) has three. Another one has *ina ašābi* ("in the presence of", 156). An anonymous official (recipient) with title is recorded in 158. The remaining 30 records (133, 157-185) do not mention any individuals by name. Noteworthy are two with two sections (182, 183), one with *ana šupēlti* ("for

exchange", 184), and another one with a postscript (185). 116 may alternatively be a receipt.

92. BM 29271

1. 16 UZU ^{m}*na-ṣi-ru*
2. AŠ *na-áš-par-tu*$_4$ *šá* ^{f}GÉME-*iá*
3. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md*}(over erasure)*na*$_1$-*na*$_1$-*a-ta-qiš*
4. *šá a-na* ^{m}*re-mut*

lo.e. 5. A ^{m}*tak-lak*-DIŠ-^{d}+EN

r. 6. SUM^{nu}-$^{?}$
7. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 2 KAM(HI+BAD)
8. MU 27 KAM(HI+BAD)

Translation

Nāṣiru as proxy of (the lady) Andiya received 16 cuts of (unspecified) meat from Nanā-taqīš, which were given to Rēmūtu son of Taklāk-ana-Bēl. Month VIII, day 2, year 27.

Remark

3. A reading ^{md}+EN-KAR (C. W.) is equally possible, but leaves the following *ta-qiš* unaccounted for.

93. BM 96543; C

1. 1 *ṣib-*^{r}*tu*$_4$ 1^{1} UZU AŠ *qí-bi*
2. *šá* ^{f}GÉME-*iá* DUMU.MUNUS* (text MEŠ) *šá* ^{f}*hi-ip-ta-a*
3. ^{iti}BÁR MU 27 KAM
4. 2 ÚR^{meš} 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ *šá*

lo.e. 5. *a-na* ^{lú}*mar-šip-ri*

r. 6. AŠ *qí-bi šá* ^{f}GÉME-*iá*
7. SUM^{na}

Translation

a. One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread (and) one (unspecified) meat cut upon authorization of Andiya daughter of (the lady) Hiptā. Month I, year 27.

b. Two cuts of thigh meat (and) one (loaf) of *ṣibtu*-bread which were given to a messenger (*mār-šipri*, C. W.) upon the authorization of Andiya.

Remark

4. *pēm/nu* "thigh", a meat cut (cf. CT 22, 172, 9f.).

94. BM 96416

1. 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.BAR *šá a-na ki-is-sa-tu*$_4$
2. $_{l}$*šá ú-ma-mu* 10 NINDA$^{hi.a}$ *šá la-mu-ta-nu*
3. ^{r}SUM^{na}-*tu*$_4$ *u* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
4. *šá la-mu-ta-nu* SUM^{nu}
5. 4 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ *šá tak-ka-su-ú*

lo.e. 6. 4 UZU ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 22 KAM

r. 7. 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 2 UZU 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
8. AŠ IGI ^{m}ÌR-^{r}^{d}^{1}U.GUR
9. ^{iti}KIN MU 27 KAM
10. ^{m}*da-ri-iá-a-muš* LUGAL

Translation

a. 0;2.3 kor of barley, which is used as fodder for animals.

b. Ten (loaves of) bread which were given to a *lamutānu*-slave;

c. and one shekel of silver which was given to a *lamutānu*-slave.

d. Four loaves of *ṣibtu*-bread of the *takkasû*-offering (cf. Jursa and Weszeli 2004) and four cuts of (unspecified) meat; month VI, day 22.

e. Two shekels of silver, two (unspecified) meat cuts and one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread at the disposal of Ardi-Nergal.

Month VI, year 27, Darius King.

Remarks

2. *umāmu* "animal(s)". This term occurs here for the first time in a N/LB economic document.

95. BM 96409

1. 1/3 MA.NA 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BAB-BAR-*u šá a-na*
2. ^{m}*ha-ri-ṣa-nu a-na* UDU.NÍTA SUM^{nu}
3. ^{iti}NE U$_4$ 18 MU 25[+1-2? (x)]
4. *šá* ^{md}+EN-SUR ^{m}x^{1}-[x (x)]

lo.e. 5. *u* ^{m}*ha-ri-ṣa-nu* [x x (x)]
6. KI *a-ha-meš iš-*^{r}*š*[*u-u/ú*]

r. 7. (inserted in small script) UDU.NÍTA *la i-bu-ku*
8. *u* ^{md}+EN-SUR KÙ.BABBAR AŠ IGI
9. ^{m}*ha-ri-ṣa-nu ú-maš-ši-ir*

Translation

1/3 mina and four shekels of white silver which were given to Harīṣānu for sheep. Month V, day 18, year 25[+1-2? (x)], which Bēl-ēṭer, P[N] and Harīṣānu [xx(x)] brought together at the(ir)? disposal. He did not take away the sheep, and Bēl-ēṭer placed the silver at the disposal of Harīṣānu.

Remark

1ff. The reading of 4 GÍN, *šá*, KI and of line 7 was suggested by C. W.

96. BM 29563

1. AŠ *lib-bi* 1 GUR ŠE.BAR
2. 5 BÁN *qé-me* 1 SÌLA *šam-ni*
3. 1 BÁN ŠE.GIŠ.Ì AŠ IGI ^{md}+EN-SUR
4. 1 GUR ŠE.BAR 2 (PI) *ka-si-ia*

lo.e. 5. AŠ IGI ^{md}+EN(7-8 wedges)-SUR

r. 6. 4 BÁN GEŠTIN AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*-E
7. *šá* TA IGI ^{md}+AG-ÙRU-*šú iš-šu-u*
8. ^{iti}GAN *u* ^{iti}ZÍZ MU 26(!) KAM
9. 5 UZU AŠ IGI-*šú*
10. 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*u*^{1} AŠ IGI-*šú*

u.e. 11. 1 SÌLA GEŠTIN [AŠ IG]I-*šú*

Translation

a. Out of one kor of barley, 0;0.5 kor of flour, 0;0.0.1 kor of oil, 0;0.1 kor of sesame (are) at the disposal of Bēl-ēṭer.

b. One kor of barley, 0;2 kor of cassia are at the disposal of Bēl-ēṭer.

c. 0;0.4 kor of wine, which were brought by Nabû-uṣuršu, are at the disposal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi. Month IX and XI, year 26.

d. Five (unspecified) meat cuts at his disposal. One shekel white silver at his disposal. 0;0.0.1 kor of wine at his disposal.

97. BM 96558; C

1. 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.BAR
2. *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}+AG
3. erasure (one tiny sign)
4. *iš-šu-ú*

r. 5. ^{iti}GU$_4$ U$_4$ 6 KAM
6. 2 BÁN *sah-le-e*
7. 1 BÁN 1 SÌLA GIŠ : ŠE.Ì

Translation

0;2.3 kor of barley, which Iddina-Nabû brought. Month II, day 6. 0;0.2 kor of cress (and) 0;0.1.1 kor of sesame(?).

98. BM 96456; C

1. 1 UZU ^{md}+AG-MU-SI.SÁ*
2. 1 UZU ^{r}2(!) *ṣib*^{1}-*tu*$_4$ ^{md}+AG-DU$_{10}$.GA-*a*
3. 1 UZU 3 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{md}+AG-AŠ-ŠEŠ
4. 1 UZU 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{lú}EN.NUN* KÁ
5. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{md}+AG-MU-ÙRU

lo.e. 6. 1 UZU ^{iti}BÁR? U$_4$ 8 KAM

r. 7. *a-na* ^{uzu}*har-mi-il*
8. 2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ *šá* AŠ *qa*-A+A-*i*(text NAT)-*tu*$_4$^{meš}
9. *iš*-šu-u*

Translation

a. One (unspecified) meat cut – Nabû-šumu-līšir (the reading of the theophorous element was suggested by C. W.).

b. Two (unspecified) meat cuts, two (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread – Nabû-ṭābā.

c. One (unspecified) meat cut, three (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread – Nabû-nādin-ahi.

d. One (unspecified) meat cut, and one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread – (an anonymous) gate guard.

e. One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread – Nabû-šuma-uṣur).

f. Month I(?), day 8: one (unspecified) meat cut for (the preparation of) a *harmīl/ru*-meat cut and two (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread, which were brought in (the form of?) parched barley (*i.e.* made of parched barley?).

99. BM 96519; C

1. 13 *har-mi-il*
2. ^{m}MU-^{d}+AG(presumably scribal error for EN) <*a-na*> UGU ^{md}+AG-SUR
3. ^{iti}ŠE MU 26 KAM(HI+BAD)
4. *šá* ^{md}+AG-KÁD *iš-šu-u*

lo.e. 5. ITI 2 *har-mi-il*

r. 6. ^{lú}ŠITIM(C. W.)
7. ITI 20 *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$
8. *šá-li-mi*

Translation

a. 13 cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat, which Nabû-kāṣir (or -ikṣur) has brought – Iddina-Nabû(?) on behalf of Nabû-ēṭer. Month XII, year 26.

b. Two cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat per month – (an anonymous) builder (*itinnu*). Twenty (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread per month are the full allotment.

Remarks

8. Cf. *uṭṭatu šá-lim* "the forty (kors) of barley are the full allotment" (YOS 3, 2, 12, NB letter, quoted by CAD Š/1, 213b; *šalim* as a greeting "is well" is recorded only in OB and EA).

100. BM 96544; C

1. ITI 4 *har-mil-a-ni**(?, text MU) ^{md}+EN-SUR
2. *ku-ú* 2 UZU* (damaged) *šá* ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-nu*
3. 2 ŠÀ *šá i-na-áš-šú-ú*
4. *ù* 2 *har-mil-a-ni*

lo.e. 5. *a-na ku-ú ma-ak-ka-su*
6. $_{l}$*šá*$_{l}$-*li-mi*$_{l}$

r. 7. *e-lat* 2 *har-m*[*il*]-*a-ni*
8. *šá* ^{lú}ŠITIM

Translation

a. Four cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat per month – Bēl-ēṭer. Instead of two (unspecified) meat cuts of Nabû-ittannu;

b. Two heart (meat) cuts(?) and two cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat instead of *makkasu*-meat cut(s), which be brought, are the full allotment.

c. Apart from two cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat of the (anonymous) builder.

Remark

4. The first sign perhaps stands for 10+x (subject to further collation).

8. For ^{lú}ŠITIM "builder" see Baker, AOAT 330, 7ff.

101. BM 29607

1. 2 *har*(7 wedges)-*mil-a-ni*
2. ^{m}*lib-luṭ* ^{lú}ŠITIM
3. ^{iti}AB MU 26 KAM(HI+BAD)
4. *ù ku-si-ip-pe-tu*(squeezed)

lo.e. 5. *šá-li-mi*

r. uninscribed

Translation

Two cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat – Libluṭ, the builder. Month X, year 26; and the (<60?>loaves) of *kusīpu*-bread are the full allotment.

Remark

4. Perhaps by haplography KU (1+ŠU) = 60 was omitted because of the KU- of the commodity.

102. BM 96447; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 ^{uzu}ZAG.LU
2. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}*šá-*^{d}+EN-*ba**(text IS)-*ni*
3. ^{iti}GU$_4$ U$_4$ 18 KAM

r. 4. MU 26 KAM

103. BM 29579

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ AŠ ŠU^{II}
2. [^{md}]+AG-SIPA-*šú-nu*
3. [ ]
4. [ ]

lo.e.: perhaps one more line entirely broken

r. uninscribed

104. BM 29356

1. 1 UZU 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 10 *ku-si-pe-tu*$_4$
2. ^{md}+AG-SUR AŠ ŠU^{II}
3. ^{fd}NIN.LÍL-*si-lim*
4. ^{iti}AB U$_4$ 4 MU 26 KAM(HI+BAD)
5. AŠ *a-šá-bi šá* ^{m}ÌR-^{d}+EN TUR

r. uninscribed

Partial translation

5. In the presence of Ardi-Bēl junior.

105. BM 96365; C

1. [2(?) *ṣib*(?)-*tu*$_4$ 2 ^{uzu}⌊*har*(?!)-*mi*⌋(!)-*i*[*l*(?)]
2. AŠ IGI ^{md}+EN-SUR ^{iti}BÁR
3. U$_4$ 5? (or 6⌋) KAM

r. 4. x x (prob. erasure)

5. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}*šá-*^{d}+EN-*ba-ni*
6. *e-lat* 4 SÌLA ZÚ.LUM.MA

Translation

Two(?, loaves of) of *ṣibtu*-bread, two cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat at the disposal of Bēl-ēṭer. Month I, day 5? (or 6⌋) from Ša-Bēl-bāni. Apart from 0;0.0.4 kor of dates.

106. BM 96448, side 'B' (= r.; receipt; smaller script than on side 'A', → above, 23)

r. 1. 3 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ AŠ ŠU^{II}
2. ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-nu ù*(?) 2 (all for KIMIN?) U$_4$ 28
3. DAR *ù*(C. W.) 1-*en* TI(?)
4. 2 1/2 *ṣib-*<*tu*$_4$> AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{m}ZÁLAG-*e-a*

Translation

a. Three (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread from Nabû-ittannu, and *ditto*(?), day 28; one rib (meat) cut(?).

b. 2.5 (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread (received) from Nūrē'a.

Remarks

2. Same person as in letter order of the same number.

3. In view of the context it is not very likely that DAR (GÙN) renders *birmu* "trim woven of several colours" here.

107. BM 96554; C

1. 1-*en ṣib-tu*$_4$
2. 1-*en* UZU
3. *šá* ^{md}+EN*-SUR
4. AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-SUR
5. ^{iti}NE U$_4$ 14 KAM

lo.e. 6. MU 26 KAM

r. 7. ^{m}*da-ri-'-muš* LUGAL

Translation

One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread and one (unspecified) meat cut of Bēl-ēṭer at the disposal of Nabû-ēṭer. Month V, day 14, year 26 of King Darius.

108. BM 96457; C

1. 1 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.BAR 3 BÁN *qé-me*
2. *šá* ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*-E AŠ IGI
3. ^{md}+EN-SUR ^{iti}GAN
4. *u* ^{iti}AB

r. uninscribed

Translation

1;2.3 kor of barley, 0;0.3 kor of flour of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi at the disposal of Bēl-ēṭer. Months IX and X.

Remark

1, end. *qé-me* (C. W.) is written ; a reading GEŠTIN^{me} is less likely as the plural determinative is attached to GEŠTIN only in NA (cf. CAD K, 203ff.).

109. BM 29348 *-tag*

1. 4 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 4 *ma-ak-ka-su*
2. *šá* ^{md}+AG-SIPA-*šú-nu* AŠ ^{iti}ZÍZ
3. ⌈*i**(?)-*me-ṭu-ú* AŠ IGI
4. ^{md}+AG(not EN!)-SUR MU 26

r. uninscribed

Translation

Four (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread and four cuts of *makkasu*-meat, which Nabû-rē'ûšunu brought(?) in month XI (are) at the disposal of Nabû-ēṭer. Year 26.

Remark

1. For *ṣibtu* and *makkasu* cf. *RAcc.* 62, 35; CAD Ṣ, 163a.

3. ⌈*i**(?)-*me-ṭu-ú*, which looks like a verbal form in the subjunctive, is unexplained. A derivation from *maṭû* "to be short a given quantity, to be missing, to decrease in number" or "to be poor in quality" is both morphologically (one would expect *imaṭṭû*) and semantically unlikely. Could it be a mistake for *iš-šu-ú*?

110. BM 96555; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 10 UZU⌈^{meš}⌉ (last sign read by C. W.)
2. AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-SUR

r. 3. ^{iti}GU$_4$ U$_4$ 24 KAM
4. MU 26 KAM

Translation

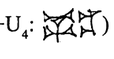
One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread and ten (unspecified) meat cuts (are) at the disposal of Nabû-ēṭer. Month II, day 24, year 26.

111. BM 29589

1. 18 ^{uzu}*ha-ir-mu*^{meš} (*-ir-* read by C. W.)
2. AŠ IGI ^{m}SUM^{na}-^{d}+EN
3. ^{iti}GU$_4$ U$_4$ <<U$_4$>> 9 KAM(HI+BAD)

r. 4. MU 26 KAM (almost in the middle of r.)

Remark

3. Read alternatively NE (GU+U$_4$: ) for GU$_4$.

112. BM 29339

1. 1 1/2 SÌLA GEŠTIN (7 wedges, different arrangement) 1 *har-mil*
2. AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*
3. A ^{m}ÌR-*iá* ^{iti}GAN

lo.e. U$_4$ 15(!) MU 26

r. uninscribed

Remark

1. GEŠTIN was suggested by C. W.

113. BM 96434; C;

1. 30 *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$
2. 5 UZU 8 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi*
3. AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-ÙRU-*šú*
4. A ^{m}KAR *šá* ^{iti}GU$_4$

lo.e. 5. *u* ^{iti}SIG$_4$ MU 27

r. uninscribed

114. BM 22377

1. 3 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 2 UZU
2. AŠ IGI ^{m}DU$_{10}$.GA-*pa-ši-ri-*^{d}+EN
3. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 20+⌊x(possibly 4)⌋

lo.e. 4. MU [x KAM]
5. [...]x (trace, perhaps just a scratch)

115. BM 96440; C

1. 1 GÍN *pit-qa* KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú*]
2. 2 SÌLA GEŠTIN AŠ *lib-bi* 1 SÌLA 20 ⌊NINDA⌋ (less likely *u* 10 N.)
3. AŠ IGI ^{md}+EN-KAM(shape different from the MU in line 6)

lo.e. 4. A ^{m}*bi-ki-iá*

r. 5. ^{iti}SIG$_4$ U$_4$ 14
6. MU 27

Translation

One shekel of white silver of which 1/8 (per shekel) alloy. 0;0.0.2 kor of wine, of which 0;0.0.1.20 (are) at the disposal of Bēl-ēreš son of Bikiya. Month III, day 14, year 27.

116. BM 96431 (item not clear, as ll. 1-2 are severely damaged); NC

1. 1 ⌊x x⌋ (illegible traces) AŠ IGI?
2. ⌈[^{d}NIN.LÍL-*s*]*i-lim* (or PN ... IGI)
3. ^{iti}ŠE(or AP[IN]) U$_4$ 28 KAM*

lo.e. 4. MU 26

r. uninscribed

117. BM 96428; C

1. 2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{iti}BÁR
2. U$_4$ 28 KAM
3. AŠ IGI ^{md}+EN-SUR

r. uninscribed

118. BM 96478; NC

1. [x U]ZU AŠ IGI ^{m}*ab/du-da-ni*(?-) LUGAL
2. ⌊x ^{md}+EN-[SUR? ^{it}]$^{i?}$)DU$_6$(!) U$_4$ 2 KAM
r. uninscribed

119. BM 29527

1. 3 UZU AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG(8 wedges)-SUR (followed by an erasure)
2. ^{iti}ZÍZ U$_4$ 10 KAM
3. ⌊1 *ṣib-tu*⌋$_4$ *u* 1 UZU AŠ IGI ^{m}MU-^{d}+EN⌉(?)
4. ⌈^{iti}⌉ŠE U$_4$ 11 KAM
r. uninscribed

Remark

3-4. The reading of the theophorous element EN as well as ⌈^{iti}⌉ŠE were suggested by C. W.

120. BM 96477; C

1. 1 ^{uzu}*har-mi-il* 1 *qa*-A+A-*i-t*[u_4?]
2. AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-<SUR> ^{iti}ŠE U$_4$ 15 KAM(HI+BAD)
3. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{md}+AG-MU-ÙRU
4. 1 ^{uzu}TI 1 ^{uzu}*gan*
lo.e. 5. AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-SUR ^{iti}ŠE U$_4$ 17(?, suggested by the shape, but only 13 are clearly visible) KAM*
r. uninscribed

Translation

a. One cut of *harmīl/ru*-meat, one piece of parched grain (cake are) at the disposal of Nabû-<ēṭer>. Month XII, day 15.

b. One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread – Nabû-šuma-uṣur.

c. One rib meat cut (and) one cut of *gannu*-meat (are) at the disposal of Nabû-ēṭer (the reading of the theophorous element was suggested by C. W.).

Month XII, day 17(?).

Remark

4. ^{uzu}TI = *ṣēlu* "rib", cf. CAD Ṣ, 125 *ad* VS 6, 216. ^{uzu}*gan* – cf. ^{uzu}*ga-an(-ni) ṣe-li* (CAD G, 41b) and ^{uzu}*gan-nu ṣe-li* (BM 26785, 12, mentioned before thigh meat cuts, concerning the main course of the morning divine meal in É.UR$_5$.ŠÀ.BA the shrine of Nanâ in Ezida of Borsippa, VIII. 489/8 B.C.),

121. BM 96468; NC

1. 2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$⌋ 4 [x x (x)][x⌉ (all illegible traces)
2. AŠ IGI ^{m}x][x] ^{iti}BÁR (7 wedges) U$_4$ 9 KAM
3. 4 *ṣib-tu*[$_4$ ⌉]⌊^{ti}[BÁ]R(?) U$_4$ 10 KAM

122. BM 29139

1. 1 GUR ŠE.BAR ⌊5 BÁN⌋ *qé-me*
2. 1 BÁN ŠE.GIŠ.Ì AŠ IGI ^{md}+EN-SUR
3. 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú*
4. 2 SÌLA ^{giš}GEŠTIN (6 wedges)
lo.e. 5. *šá* ^{md}+⌈EN⌉-KAR^{er}
r. 6. ^{iti}GAN U$_4$ 13 KAM MU 26 KAM
7. ^{m}*da-a-ri-i-šú* LUGAL KUR.KUR

Partial translation

a. One kor of barley, 0;0.5 kor of flour and 0;0.1 kor of sesame are at the disposal of Bēl-ēṭer.

b. One shekel of white silver; 0;0.0.2 kor of wine of Bēl-ēṭer.

Remark

5. Is the differentiation in spelling prosopographically significant?

123. BM 96515; C

1. 12 UZU AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-TIN^{il}
2. *a-na šá*(?)-*ka*(?)-*an šá* (text A) ^{lú}GAR.UMUŠ*
3. *ù* 4 *a-na* IGI⌉
lo.e. 4. ^{m}⌊x x (x)
r. uninscribed

Translation

a. 12 (unspecified) meat cuts are at the disposal of Nabû-uballiṭ (the reading of the predicative element was suggested by C. W.), which are set apart(?) for the governor.

b. And four (unspecified meat cuts) are at the disposal of x x (x).

124. BM 29584

1. 2 BÁN ŠE.BAR *šá ta-lam*
2. KAŠ ŠE.BAR AŠ IGI
3. ^{m}SUM^{na}-*a*
lo.e. 4. *e-lat* GÍD.DA
5. IGI-*u*
r. 6. ^{iti}APIN (followed by an erasure)
7. MU 26 KAM(HI+BAD)

Partial translation

0;0.2 kor of barley of a keg of barley beer at the disposal of Iddinā. Apart from a previous receipt.

Remark

1. *talammu* "a beer keg" (*AHw* 1309f., *s.v. talammu*, 2).

125. BM 29343 – very damaged and eroded

1. 4 UZU⌉ 5 ⌈*ma-<ak>-ka*(?)-*su*
2. ⌈AŠ I[GI?] ^{m}⌊^{d}EN(C. W.)-⌊A⌋(?)-MU?
3. [^{iti}(?)⌋x] [x [M]⌈U 26
lo.e. 4. *e-lat šá* ^{m}BA^{šá}-*a*
r. uninscribed

Partial translation

4. Apart from (that) of Iqīšā.

126. BM 96435; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ *ù*? ^{uzu}ZAG.LU
2. ^{iti}GU$_4$ MU 28 KAM
3. AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-SUR
r. 4. *e-lat* 10 *ku-si-ip-pe-tú*
5. AŠ IGI-*šú*

Translation

One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread, and a cut of shoulder (meat) – month II, year 28 – at the disposal of Nabû-ēṭer. Apart from ten (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread, which are at his disposal.

Remark

2. The date is placed before *ina pāni*.

127. BM 96441; C

1. 3 SÌLA GEŠTIN AŠ IGI
2. ^{m}⌊*uš*⌉-*šá-a* ^{iti}BÁR(C. W.)
3. U$_4$ 19(C. W.) KAM(HI+BAD) MU 27
lo.e. 4. <1>-*en* GÍD.DA IGI-*u*
r. uninscribed

Translation

0;0.0.3 kor of wine at the disposal of Uššā. Month I, day 19, year 27. (Apart from) a previous receipt.

128. BM 96430; C

1. 7 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 UZU AŠ IGI
2. ^{m}IM-^{d}+EN-DU$_{10}$.GA
3. ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 15 MU 27
lo.e. 4. NÍG.<ŠID> DÙ*
r. uninscribed

Translation

Seven (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread (and) one (unspecified) meat cut (are) at the disposal of Šār-Bēl-ṭāb. Month I, day five, year 27. Settled account.

129. BM 29307

1. 1 BÁN 4 SÌLA GEŠTIN AŠ IGI
2. ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* A ^{m}EN(?)-*šú-nu*
3. ^{iti}GAN U$_4$ 19 KAM(HI+BAD)
4. MU 26 KAM NÍG.<ŠID> DÙ
r. uninscribed

130. BM 96442; C

1. ⌈2⌉ (PI) 2 BÁN ŠE.BAR AŠ IGI
2. ^{md}+AG-ŠEŠ-⌊*it*⌋-*tan-nu*
3. A ^{m}GISSU-A+A
4. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 20 KAM
lo.e. 5. MU 26 NÍG.<ŠID> DÙ
r. uninscribed

131. BM 29350

1. 2 SÌLA! GEŠTIN AŠ IGI
2. ^{m}*bul-lu-ṭa-a* AŠ GUB
3. *šá* ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*-E
4. *u* ^{m}*ni-din-tu*$_4$ *ṣa-hi-tu*$_4$
5. ^{iti}KIN MU 27 KAM
r. uninscribed

Translation

0;0.0.2 kor of wine (GEŠTIN, C. W.) at the disposal of Bulluṭā. In the presence of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi and Nidintu, the oil presser (*ṣāhitu*, C. W.). Month VI, year 27.

132. BM 96500; C;

1. ÚTUL *šá* GEŠTIN *šá* ^{m}É⌉-[*ta*]⌈A+A
2. 1 SÌLA GEŠTIN TA IGI ^{m}BA⌊^{šá}⌋-*a*
3. A ^{m}DINGIR-*ba*-⌈*ni*⌉(?!)
4. 2 ŠAB ^{m}É-*ta*-A+A
5. AŠ ^{iti}BÁR
lo.e. 6. 1 ŠAB ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-nu*
r. 7. 3 A ^{m}UR-*a* DIŠ UGU ^{m}ILIMMU$_4$

Translation

a. A bowl of wine of B[īt]āyu.

b. 0;0.0.1 kor of wine from Iqīšā descendant of Ilubāni.

c. Two *šappu*-containers – Bītāyu; month I.

d. One *šappu*-container – Nabû-ittannu son of Kalbā on behalf of *ditto*.

Remarks

1. Kindly suggested to me by E. Leichty; *diqāru* is used for wine in NA (ADD 1105, 9, cf. IV, 277).

4. ŠAB = *šappu* "container".

133. BM 96471; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 40 *ku-s*[*ip-t*]*ú*
2. 2 $^{uzu?}$GAN(?)
3. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 8
lo.e. 4. MU 27

r. 5. archaizing sign (somewhat damaged; in about the centre of the r.)

Translation

One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread, 40 (loaves) of *kusīpu*-bread and two cuts of *gannu*-meat(?).
Month VIII, day 8, year 27.

134. BM 29604

1. 2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ bab-ba(?, text GIŠ)-<*ni*>-*tú* 1-*et*(?) x-*ú*(?)
2. ^{m}*šá*-^{d}+EN-*ba-ni* ^{lú}⌉x-[*n*]*a*
3. *šá* ^{md}+AG-SUR ^{iti}GAN(?) U$_4$(?) 4 K[AM(?)]
4. 1 UZU ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-n*[*u*]
lo.e. 5. DUMU *šá* ^{m}*kal*-ba*-a*
r. mostly uninscribed (all signs – if there were any – are completely effaced)

Remark

1. *babbanītu* "of good quality".

135. BM 29340

1. 3 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 10 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$ (continues on r.) 2 HAR?-*ri šá* ^{m}*gu-za-nu*
2. (on r.!) *šá bi-ru-ú*
3. ^{iti}SIG$_4$ U$_4$ 14
4. MU 27 KAM(HI+BAD)
lo.e. 5. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
r. 5. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš}
6. archaizing sign (in the middle of the line)

Remark

1. For HAR?-*ri* see 0.8.
2, end. For *birû* "divination" (I owe the reading of the first sign to C. W.) cf. Jursa 1999, 177 *ad* BM 42408, 2f.

136. BM 29294

1. 1 UZU 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ AŠ *qí-bi*
2. *šá* ^{md}+AG-KAR^{er} *a-na*
3. ^{lú}AŠGAB ^{iti}KIN MU 26
4. ^{m}*da-ri-iá-a-muš* LUGAL

Partial translation

One (unspecified) meat cut (and) one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread upon the authorization of Nabû-ēṭer for (an anonymous) leather worker (*aškāpu*).

137. BM 22368

1. 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú*
2. ^{m}*šá*-^{d}+AG-*i-du*-⌊x-(x)]
3. AŠ *qí-bi šá* $^{l[ú]}$⌊x]
lo.e. 4. ^{iti}BÁR U[$_4$ x (KAM)]
5. (erasure) MU 27 [(KAM)]

Translation

Three shekels of white silver Ša-Nabû-idu-x x upon the authorization of [x x x] (a functionary).
Month I, day [x], year 27.

138. BM 96495; C

1. 1 (PI) 4 BÁN ŠE.GIŠ.Ì ^{m}*ba-ku-ú-a*
2. *ù* 1 *ki-na*⌋*-at-ta-ti-šú*
3. A-*šú šá* ^{m}KAR-^{d}+AG ^{iti}ŠU U$_4$ 15 KAM
4. 1 (PI) ŠE.GIŠ.Ì ^{m}*la-a-ba*-ši*
5. ^{lú}Ì.SUR *a-na* ^{m}*ba-zu-zu*
6. ^{iti}ŠU U$_4$ 20 KAM
lo.e. 7. 3 BÁN 3 SÌLA ŠE.GIŠ.Ì
8. ^{m}*lib-luṭ* A *šá* ^{m}GIN-ŠE[Š?]

Translation

a. 0;1.4 kor of sesame – Bakû'a – and his colleagues – son of Mušēzib-Nabû: month IV, day 15.
b. 0;1 kor of sesame Lā-abâši the oilpresser (*ṣāhit ginê*) – for Bazuzu: month IV, day 20.
c. 0;0.3.3 kor of sesame – Libluṭ son of (Mu)kīn-ahi(?, C. W.].

Remark

4f. Sesame given to an oilpresser presumably in order to produce oil.

139. BM 96437; C

1. 2 *har-mil*^{meš}
2. ^{m}*lib-luṭ* ^{lú}ŠITIM
3. DIŠ UGU ^{md}+AG-SUR
4. ^{iti}APIN MU 26
r. uninscribed

Translation

Two cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat – Libluṭ the builder on behalf of Nabû-ēṭer. Month VIII, year 26.

140. BM 29363

1. 1/2 GÍN *gír-u* KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR*(?)-*u*
2. AŠ UGU ^{f}TIN-ZI DAM
3. *šá* ^{md}+AG-*ib-ni*
4. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 27
lo.e. 5. MU 26
r.  Geometric design (the lines cover the whole r.; not resembling the archaizing sign).

Translation

Half a shekel and 1/24 shekel of white silver on behalf of Balāṭ-napišti wife of Nabû-ibni. Month VIII, day 27, year 26.

Remark

2. Cf. OB [*ana*] *balāṭ napišti ummīka* (TCL 18, 81 r. 2, see *AHw* 738b, *s.v. napištu*(*m*) B, 1m).

141. BM 29610

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
2. ⌊^{m}⌋^{d}+AG-SUR ^{iti}BÁR](!)
3. U$_4$ 25(!) KAM
lo.e. 4. MU 25 KAM
r. uninscribed

Translation

One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread – Nabû-ēṭer.
Month I, day 25, year 25.

142. BM 22367

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{m}*ba-la-ṭu*
2. [^{iti}x U$_4$] 25! KAM(HI+BAD)
3. MU [10]+16 (= 26) KAM(HI+BAD)
r. uninscribed

143. BM 96451; C

1. 1 ^{uzu}*ha-*<*ar-mi*>*-ir*
2. ^{md}+EN-*it-tan-nu*
r. 3. ^{iti}[D]U$_6$? U$_4$ 2 KAM
4. MU 26 KAM

144. BM 96517; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 20 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
2. 1 *har-m*[*i-i*]*r*
3. ^{md}+AG-ÙRU-*šú* A ^{m}DÙ-ŠEŠ
4. ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 18
lo.e. 5. MU 27
r. archaizing sign (in the middle of r., somewhat closer to its upper section)

145. BM 96532; C

1. ITI 2 UZU
2. ^{m}*lib-luṭ*
3. ^{lú}ŠITIM
r. uninscribed

Translation

Two (unspecified) meat cuts per month: Libluṭ the builder.

146. BM 96433; C

1. 1/2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{md}+EN-EN(!)-DUMU (the last sign as read by C. W.)
2. ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 8 KAM
3. MU 27 KAM
r. uninscribed

147. BM 96556; C

1. 3 SÌLA KAŠ E (for SAG?) KAŠ ŠE.BAR
2. ^{iti}GAN U$_4$ 2 KAM
3. MU 26 KAM ^{md}+EN-MU
lo.e. 4. ^{lú}SIMUG
r. uninscribed

Partial translation

0;0.0.3 kor of first quality (implying full-strength?) barley beer.

148. BM 96490; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
2. ^{fd}NIN.LÍL-*si-lim*
3. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 14 KAM(HI+BAD)
4. MU 26 KAM(HI+BAD)
r. uninscribed

149. BM 29570

1. 20 *ku-si-ip-pé-tu*$_4$
2. ^{fd}NIN.LÍL-*si-lim*
3. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 6 KAM
4. MU 26 KAM
r. uninscribed

150. BM 29267

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ x]
2. ^{f}*tab-lu-ṭu*
3. MU 27 KAM
lo.e. 4. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
5. LUGAL E^{ki}
r. archaizing sign only (in the centre somewhat closer to the top)

151. BM 29360

1. 1(C. W.) *har-mi-ir*
2. 2 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi e-du*
3. ^{f}*šad-din-na-tu*$_4$
r. 4. ^{iti}BÁR⌉ [U$_4$⌉ 3+[x] (probably 4)
5. MU 27(!)
6. archaizing sign

152. BM 96502; C

1. 2 GABA^{uzu} 10 *ku-si*[*p*]-*tu*$_4$
2. $^{f.giš}$NU.ÚR.MA

3. ^{iti}AB U_4 ⌊15! MU 27
lo.e. 4. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-š*[*ú*]
r. 5. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* ⌜KUR⌝
6. archaizing sign (in the middle, but closer to the top of the r.)

Remark

2. *Nurmû* 'pommegranate' as a female name (cf. *Lurindu*).

153. BM 96525; C

1. 1 *har-mil* ^{md}+AG-KAR^{er}
2. ^{iti}GU$_4$ U_4 19 MU 26 KAM
3. 4 *di*/*ṭi*/*ki*/*qí-pi* 10 *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$
4. U_4 19 KAM
r. uninscribed

Remark

4. Presumably the same date as in line 2.

154. BM 29583

1. ^{m}*ba-zi-zu ù*
2. ^{md}UTU-MU
3. 20 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
lo.e. 4. 6-*ta ka-su** (squeezed)
r. 5. ^{md}+AG-SUR
6. ^{iti}AB U_4 29
7. archaizing sign (in the centre of the line)

Remark

4. For 6 *ta-ka-su*<-*ú*>?

155. BM 96452; NC

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ *a-na* SAG-[...]
2. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ ^{md}+EN-[...]
3. 50 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$ 1 *di*/*ṭi*⌝⌋/*ki*/*qí*](?)-[*pi*(?]
4. ^{md}+AG-SUR ^{iti}x] [U_4 x]
lo.e. 5. MU 27⌋
r. 6. archaizing sign (in the centre, slightly closer to the upper section of r.)

156. BM 96531; C

1. 2 SÌLA GEŠTIN] [^{m}]⌜^{d}+EN-KAM (5 wedges, or MU, but see *ad* 117, 3)
2. A ^{m}*bi-ki-iá* AŠ *a-šá-bi*
3. *šá* ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*-E
4. *u* ^{m}*ba-zu-zu*
lo.e. 5. *šá* É *šib-šú*
r. 6. ^{iti}ZÍZ U_4 26
7. MU 20[+x]+3 (prob. 25-26)

Partial translation

0;0.0.2 kor of wine – Bēl-ēreš son of Bikiya. In the presence of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi and Bazuzu of the house of the *šibšu* (an agricultural tax).

Remark

5. Cf. BM 29566 (slip)
1. 3 PI ŠE.BAR
2. TA É *šib-šú*(?)
3. ^{m}*šad-din-nu* IGI(?)
r. 4. ^{iti}DU$_6$ U_4 6 K[AM]
5. MU 36

Translation: Šaddinnu received(?) 0;3 kor of barley from the house of *šibšu*.

Month VII, day six, year 36 (of Dar. I = 486/5 B.C.).

157. BM 96506; NC

1. 2 *har-mi-ir* 1 ṣib-tu ⌜GABA?⌝
2. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 20 *ku-*<*sip-pe-tu*> U_4 3
3. ^{iti}APIN MU⌋ 27
r. archaizing sign (about the centre of r. but closer to its top)

Translation

Two cuts of *harmīl*/*ru*-meat, one *ṣibtu* (cut?) of breast meat, one (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread, (and) twenty (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread. Day three, month VIII, year 27.

Remark

1f. The reading of 1 *ṣibtu* ⌜GABA?⌝ and 20 *kusipētu* was suggested by C. W.

158. BM 96446; C

1. 2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 2 UZU
2. ^{iti}GAN U_4 10 MU 27!
3. *a-na* ^{lú}*šá* UGU *mu-še-ni-*⌜*tu*?⌝
lo.e. 4. archaizing sign (in the centre)
r. uninscribed

Translation

Two (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread (and) two (unspecified) meat cuts for the official in charge of the dam (*mušannītu*, suggested by C. W.).

Month IX, day 10, year 27.

159. BM 96513; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 10 *ku-sip-tu*[$_4$]
2. ^{iti}GAN U_4 15
3. MU 27
r. 4. [...] (traces of RN?) LUGAL(?)

5. archaizing sign (about the centre of r. but closer to its top)

160. BM 96436; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 10 *ku-sip**
2. [^{it}]^{i}GAN U_4 5
3. MU 27
r. 4. archaizing sign (in the centre, but slightly closer to the top of the r.)

161. BM 96560; NC

1. [x] *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 10 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
2. [^{it}]^{i}APIN(?) U_4 23
3. [M]U 27
r. 4. archaizing sign (located almost in the centre, somewhat closer to the upper end of the r.)

Remark

1. Probably one loaf of *ṣibtu*-bread.

162. BM 22361

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*[$_4$ x+?][30 (presumably 40) *ku-sip*
2. ⌊^{iti}⌋AP[I]N⌝ [U]$_4$⌝ 30
3. MU⌋ 27 (possibly) [(KAM)]
4. [x(x)]-[x
r. 5. archaizing sign (closer to the upper side, in the centre)

163. BM 22376

1. (presumably erasure) 1 1/2 *ṣib*(text 3 wedges instead of four)-[*tu*]$_4$(?)
2. [x *ku*]-*sip-p*[*e-tu*]$_4$
3. ⌜^{it}⌝^{i}APIN U_4 12
lo.e. 4. MU 27
r. 5. archaizing sign (in the middle of r.)

164. BM 96542; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1-ŠU(C. W.) *ku-sip-tu*$_4$ 1 TI
2. ^{iti}ZÍZ U_4 10 KAM(HI+BAD)
3. MU 27 ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
4. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš}
r. 5. archaizing sign (located almost in the centre, somewhat closer to the upper end of the r.)

Remark

1, end. TI (without determinative) "rib" (see *ad* no. 120 above).

165. BM 22370

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 ^{uzu}*ha-ar*⌋*-mi-ir*
2. 20 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
3. ^{iti}DU$_6$ U_4 25
lo.e. 4. MU 27(!)
r. 5. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-*⌊*š*[*ú*⌋
6. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KU[R.KUR]
archaizing sign (covering most of the little uninscribed area left)

Remark

1, end. One *harmīl*/*ru*.

166. BM 29362

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 *har-mi-ir*
2. 20 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
3. ^{iti}AB U_4 12 MU 27
4. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
r. 5. archaizing sign (in the middle, somewhat closer to its upper side)

Remark

1, end. One *harmīl*/*ru*.

167. BM 96524; C

1. 1 GABA UDU
2. 10 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
3. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$
lo.e. 4. ^{iti}AB
r. 5. U_4 17 MU ⌊27⌋
6. damaged archaizing sign (about the centre of the r., a bit closer to its top)

Remark

1. One breast (*irtu*) cut of a sheep.

168. BM 29361

1. 1 HAR 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ (on r.) 10 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
2. 1 GABA
3. ^{iti}DU$_6$ U_4 20 1 LAL
4. MU 27
r. 5. The archaizing sign is almost in the centre but a bit closer to the upper section, probably because the scribe started to draw the sign at that point. It stands to reason that the sign was incised before the text was written, the more so in view of the fact that the word *kusīpētu* runs over it from the obverse to the reverse already in line 1.

Remark

1. For HAR see 0.8.

169. BM 22372

1. [x *ṣ*]*ib-*[*t*]*u*$_4$
2. 10 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
3. 1 *di*/*ṭi*/*ki*/*qí-pi*
lo.e. 4. ^{iti}ŠE U_4 29

r. 5. MU 26
6. archaizing sign (in the centre, somewhat closer to the upper side)

170. BM 22378

1. ⌜1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 ^{uzu}*har-mi-il*(?)
2. ^{iti}DU$_6$ U$_4$ 6
3. MU 27
r. 4. a very damaged archaizing sign (in the centre of r.)

171. BM 22362

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ (erasure) ⌜x x (x)⌝ (illegible, partially erased, perhaps deliberately)
2. 11 ^{uzu}*har-mil* (possibly followed by a partially erased sign)
3. ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 18 KAM*
r. uninscribed

172. BM 96493; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 GABA⌝
2. ^{iti}DU$_6$ U$_4$ 8
3. MU 27
r. 4. archaizing sign (in the centre, but much closer to the upper side)

173. BM 96507; C

1. 10 ⌊*ku-sip-tu*$_4$
2. [x (probably 1-2)] *har-mi-ir*
3. ^{iti}APIN U$_4$ 18
lo.e. 4. ⌊MU 27⌝
r. 5. archaizing sign (about the centre of r. but closer to its top)

174. BM 96429

1. 1 *har!-mi**-*il*(?)
2. 10 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
3. ^{iti}⌊NE U$_4$ 2
lo.e. 4. MU 28
r. 5. archaizing sign (its upper part almost in the centre of r.)

175. BM 96516; C

1. 1 *har-mi-ir* 30 *k*[*u-sip-*(*pe*)*-tu*$_4$]
2. 1 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi* ^{iti}AB
3. U$_4$ 14 MU 27 KAM(HI+BAD)
4. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
lo.e. 5. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR.KUR
r. 6. archaizing sign (in the centre, but a bit closer to the upper side)

176. BM 96528; C

1. 21 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$ (what follows is unintelligible; the signs are read with C. W.:) IGI 4 UD KA?
2. 1 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi* ^{iti}AB
3. U$_4$ 30 MU 27 ⌊KAM⌋
r. 4. archaizing sign (in the centre, but closer to the top of the r.)

177. BM 96455; C

1. 1 *har-mi-ir*
2. 2 *di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi*
3. ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 23
lo.e. 4. MU 27!
r. 5. ^{m}*da-ri-uš-šú*
6. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR.KUR*
7. archaizing sign (starts in the centre of the line)

178. BM 22369 (lines 1-2 severely damaged)

1. 11 x] ⌜x-*ga*(?)-*ti*(?)
2. ^{uzu}*har-mil*(?)
3. ^{iti}ŠU U$_4$ 13 KAM
r. 4. MU ⌜25⌝(?) KAM

179. BM 96526; C

1. 15 *ku-si-ip*-(continued on r.)*pe-tú* (the reading of the last sign is by C. W.)
2. ^{iti}ŠU
3. U$_4$ 24 KAM
r. uninscribed

180. BM 29344

1. 10 GUR ŠE.BAR *pe-ṣi-t*[*u*$_4$]
2. ^{iti}ZÍZ U$_4$ 22 KAM
r. uninscribed

Translation

Ten kors of white barley. Month XI, day 22.

181. BM 29253

1. 3 1/2 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 30 *ku*$^{!}$-*sip*$^{!}$-*tu*$_4$ (C. W.)
2. 1 ZAG.LU 3! *har**(text ⌊NA, just 3 wedges left)-*mi-ir*
3. ^{iti}KIN TA U$_4$ 3 *a-di* U$_4$ 7
4. MU 26 KAM
r. only the archaizing sign in the centre, somewhat closer to the top

Remark

1. The reading of this line was suggested by C. W.

182. BM 29286

1. 1(C. W.) *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 *har-mi*⌝-⌜*ir*]
2. ^{iti}DU$_6$? (text only DIŠ+DIŠ) U$_4$ 25
3. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 2 UZU 1 *har**-[*mi-i*]*r*⌋
4. 30 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$
lo.e. 5. U$_4$ 29
r. 6. MU 27 ⌊KAM(HI+BAD)
7. archaizing sign (in the centre of r., somewhat closer to its upper section)

183. BM 96319

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 ZAG.LU
2. 1 *har-mi-*<*ir*> 30 *ku-sip-tu*$_4$(squeezed)
3. ^{iti}GAN U$_4$ 23 AŠ *še-e-ri u* (continued on e.) *li-la-a-tú*
4. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 ⌜UZ[U ^{iti}x] U$_4$ 24
5. ^{iti}GAN [M]U ⌜27
r. 6. archaizing sign (located almost in the centre, somewhat closer to the upper end of the r.)

Translation

a. One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread, one shoulder (meat) cut, one (meat) cut of the *harmīl/ru* type and 30 (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread. Month IX, day 23; in the morning and the evening.

b. One (loaf of) *ṣibtu*-bread and one cut of (unspecified) meat; month X, day 24.

Month IX, year(C. W.) 27.

Remark

3. Cf. *nap-tan še-e-ri u līlât*, CAD Š/2, 332a, bottom.

184. BM 96473; C

1. 2 *ṣib-t*[*u*$_4$] *a-na*
2. *šu-pel-tu*$_4$*
3. *šá*(C. W.) UZ.TUR^{mušen}
lo.e. 4. ^{iti}BÁR U$_4$ 2
r. 5. MU 27
6. archaizing sign (in the centre of the r.)
meat

Partial translation

Two (loaves of) *ṣibtu*-bread in exchange for three ducks.

185. BM 29533 tag

1. 18 *har-mi-ir ku**-*ú*
2. 18 *ma-ak-ka-su*
3. 1 *ma-ku*$^{?}$-*tu*$_4$ *šá* ^{iti}ZÍZ
4. MU 27 ^{m}*da-ri-uš-š*[*ú*]
5. LUGAL E^{ki} *u* KUR^{meš}
6. 1 ME *ku-sip-pe-tu*$_4$
r. 7. archaizing sign (in the centre of r.)

Translation

18 cuts of *harmīl/ru*-meat instead of 18 cuts of *makkasu*-meat (and) one bread or cake(??) of month XI, year 27 of Darius King of Babylon and the lands.

100 (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread.

Remark

3. *ma-ku*(?)-*tu*$_4$ (reading by C. W.): *makūtu* (pl. *makâtu*, written *ma-ka-a-ta*, *ma-ka-at*; cf. *RAcc.* 77, 39) "bread/cake"(?, CAD M/1, 143b) is very uncertain as is *maddatu* "rent".

186. BM 96533; C

1. 1 *ṣib-tu*$_4$ 1 ^{uzu}*ha*-GAB* (text *ni*+*še*)
2. ^{md}AG-MU-ÙRU
r. 3. ^{iti}BÁR! MU 26 KAM

Remark

2. The reading of this line was suggested by C. W.

187. BM 96535 (to this archive?)

1. TA U$_4$ 27 KAM
2. *šá* ^{iti}ŠE MU 26
3. HAR(?) (the remainder of the line is intentionally erased)
4. [IGI(?) ^{md}+AG-*ha-mu*(?)-*u*
r. uninscribed

2. *Comparative material*

2.1. Archive unknown

188. BM 96505 -.XII.-; account of grain

1. (eroded at the beginning). [1 GUR 1 (PI) 1 BÁN (ŠE.BAR?)] *li*(?)-*šá-nu*(/KUR) *šá* ^{md}+AG-NUMUN-DU
2. *šá* AŠ ^{iti}ŠE *a-na*⌝ [T]IN.TIR^{ki} *iš*(?, text looks like *ba/ma*)-*šu*(?)-*ú*
3. 5 GUR 1 (PI) 4 BÁN ^{m}*iṣ-ṣur** (text looks like BI) A (or *iṣ-ṣur**-*a*) ^{lú}ŠITIM
4. 1 GUR 2 (PI) 4 BÁN ^{m}MU-^{d}+AG
5. 3 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ^{m}KI-^{d}+AG-TIN
6. 3 GUR 3 BÁN *šá* ^{md}+AG-*it-tan**-*nu*⌋
lo.e. 7. PAP 14 GUR 3 (PI) 3 BÁN ⌊ŠE⌋.BAR
r. 8. *šá* KUR *šá* ^{md}+AG-NUMUN-D[U]
9. *a-na* TIN.TIR^{ki}
10. *šu-bu-ul*

Translation

[1;1.5 kors (of barley?)] ... of Nabû-zēra-ukīn, which was brought to Babylon in month XII.

a. 5;1.4 kors – Iṣṣurā the builder;
b. 1;2.4 kor – Iddina-Nabû;
c. 3;2.3 kors – Itti-Nabû-balāṭu;

d. 3;0.3 kors of Nabû-ittannu.

Total 14;3.3 kors of barley of the temple(?), which Nabû-zēra-ukīn sent to Babylon.

189. BM 26874 – 'tag'; letter order concerning emmer and *makkasu*-dates

1. IM ^{m}⌊x x⌋ (severely damaged and illegible) $^{lú?}$x (or part of the sender's name which may be a long one)
2. *a-na* ^{m}*ni*⌋-⌊*d*[*in*(?)-*tú*(?, x)]
3. 7 x] (looks like *giš*) [... PN]
4. A-*šú šá* ^{m}*šu*-⌜*ma-a*⌝
lo.e. 5. ŠE.ZÍZ-ÀM *šá* ^{m}*uš-šá*-A+A
6. A-*šú šá* ^{md}+AG-MU-MU
r. 7. *šá* 5 SÌLA *ma-ak-ka-su*
8. *šá* ⌊AŠ⌋ IGI ^{md}+AG-MU *qé-me*
9. *i-šá-am-ma a-na*
10. ^{m}*uš-šá*-A+A *i-din*

Translation

Letter of x x ... to Nid[intu(?)] ... son of Šumā; the emmer of Uššāyu son of Nabû-šuma-iddina (or -nādin-šumi). 0;0.5 kor of *makkasu* dates, which are at the disposal of Nabû-iddina. Bring and give the flour to Uššāyu.

190. BM 95181 – oval – C 36×28×18 mm; 29.III.11 Dar. I = 511/0 B.C.; letter order for barley and sesame

1. 2 GUR 4 BÁN ŠE.BAR
2. 2 BÁN ŠE.GIŠ.Ì AŠ* ŠU^{II}
3. ^{m}*ha-ah-hu-ru* A-*šú*
4. *šá* ^{m}NUMUN⌝-*ía*(C. W.) ^{lú}BÁHA[R]
lo.e. 5. *a-na* ⌜*in-ṣa-ab-t*[u_4]
6. *šu-bu-ul*
r. 7. ^{iti}SIG$_4$ U$_4$ 29⌝ KAM
8. MU 11 KAM⌝
9. ^{m}*da-ri-iá-a-muš*
10. LUGAL KUR^{meš}

Translation

Send 2;0.4 kor of barley (and) 0;0.2 kor of sesame to the lady Inṣabtu via Hahhūru son of Zēriya, the potter (*pahāru*). Month III, day 29, year 11 of Darius, King of the Lands.

191. BM 96325 – vertical rectangular, 46×33×18 mm; undated account of silver and foodstuffs given to various people

1. 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú*
2. 1 SÌLA *ka-ra-nu u* 1 UZU AŠ IGI
3. ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*-E
4. 4 BÁN *ka-ra-nu ul-*<*tu*> É *nap-ta-nu*
5. AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*-E
6. 1 SÌLA *ka-ra-nu* x] [...]
7. *šá** *a-na* É *ba*/*ma*-⌜*hi*(?)-[...]
8. AŠ IGI ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*⌋-[E]
9. 2 SÌLA *ka-ra-nu* [...]
lo.e. 10. U$_4$ 10 KAM AŠ IGI
11. ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*-E]
r. 12. [AŠ?] GUB *šá* ^{m}MU-*a u* [^{m}...]
13. *e-lat ép-šú* NÍG.⌜ŠID⌝ (C. W.) [...]
14. PAP 4 BÁN 5 SÌLA *ka-ra-*[*nu*]
15. 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú*
16. *u* 1(C. W.) UZU AŠ IGI
17. ^{md}+AG-TIN-*su*-E
18. NÍG.ŠID DÙ

Translation

a. One shekel of white silver, 0;0.0.1 kor of wine and one (unspecified) meat cut at the disposal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi.

b. 0;0.4 kor of wine from the house of the divine meal at the disposal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi.

c. 0;0.0.1 kor of wine ..., which to the house ... at the disposal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi.

d. 0;0.0.2 kor of wine [...], day 10 at the disposal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi.

In the presence of Šumā and [PN].

Apart from ... settled account.

Total 0;0.4.5 kor of wine, one shekel of white silver and 1 (unspecified) meat cut at the disposal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi.

Settled account.

Remark

14. There is a difference (deviation) of 0;0.0.1 kor of wine between the total and a-d in favour of the total. It may be sought in the broken sections of a-d.

192. MAH 15869 beige; horizontal rectangular, 39.5×31×11 mm, place of issue not indicated (apparently central Babylonia, perhaps Borsippa region), 16.VI.488/7 B.C.

1. 6 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA
2. *šá* ^{md}+AG-*na-din*-ŠEŠ A-*šú šá* ^{md}+AG-*it-tan-nu*
3. AŠ IGI ^{m}*bur*(AMAR)-A*(text *šá*, 2 wedges)+A A-*šú*
4. *šá* ^{md}+AG-NUMUN-DU
(space)
5. AŠ GUB-*zu šá* ^{m}*ni-din-tú*-^{d}+EN⌋
6. (centred) ^{lú}*i-tin-nu*
lo.e. 7. ZÚ.LUM.MA *gam-ru*⌝-*t*[*u* ^{m}*bur*-A+A]
r. 8. *ù* ^{md}+AG-*bul-liṭ-su*
9. ŠEŠ *šá* ^{m}*ni-din-t*[*ú*]-^{d}+EN *ma*[*h*(?)-*ru*(?)-*ú*(?)]
10. ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 16⌝ KAM
11. MU 34 KAM ^{m}*da-a-ri-*⌜*iá*⌝-*muš*

12. (centred) LUGAL KUR.KUR
u.e. drawing: 
le.e. 13. AŠ É ^{md}+AG-*na-*⌜*din*⌝-ŠEŠ
14. *i-nam-din*

Translation

Six kors of dates belonging to Nabû-nādin-ahi son of Nabû-ittannu are at the disposal of Burāyu son of Nabû-zēra-ukīn.

In the presence of Nidinti-Bēl, the builder, Burāyu and Nabû-bullissu, brother of Nidinti-Bēl, received(?) the dates in their entirety. Month VI, day 16, year 34 of Darius King of the Lands. He will deliver (them) in the house of Nabû-nādin-ahi.

Remarks

7. There is enough space for ^{m}*bur*-; -A+A would extend on the edge which is now broken, so there is no way to verify it.

u.e. The drawing is in the middle of the line (this is the only empty surface in the sequence of the text). Its 'foot' reaches the end of the upper edge. The drawing presumably marks the end of the text.

193. BM 95067 C – oval – 34×23×13 mm

1. ^{md}UTU-AŠ-ŠEŠ ^{lú}⌜x x] (illegible)
2. ^{lú}*qal-la šá* ⌜*ši-ṭa-tu*$_4$
3. [DUMU].MUNUS-*su šá* ^{md}+EN-SUR
⌜r. ⌊4. ⌊^{m}⌋[*š*]*u*(or [*a*]*p*)-*la-a*
5. [A-*šú šá*] ^{m}*gu-za-nu*
6. A ^{m}*man-di-di*

A list of persons: Šamaš-nādin-ahi x (presumably a profession) slave/servant of the lady Šīṭatu daughter of Bēl-ēṭer; and Šulā (or Aplā) son of Guzānu descendant of Mandidu.

Remark

2, end. Cf. the masculine name *Ši-ṭa-ʾ* = Aram. *Šyṭʾ* (BE 9, 64, 2, lo.e.).

2.2. Šaddinnu archive

194. BM 94889; vertical rectangular, 45[broken, c. 33 % missing]×32×15 mm

1. 1 PI *ma-ak-ka-su* 84
2. *ku-si-pe-e-tú* 1/2 SÌLA *šam-ni*
3. ^{m}*bul-lu-ṭa-a* ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 2*
4. 2 (PI) 2 BÁN *ma-ak-ka-su* DIŠ É *um-man-ni* (C. W.)
5. ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 5 1 (PI) *ma-ak-ka-su*
6. ^{m}*pa-ṭe-e-su* ^{iti}KIN U$_4$ 5
7. [x+?]⌊1⌋ *ma-ak-ka-su* ^{md}+AG-MU
8. [^{lú}*qa*]*l-la šá* ^{m}*šad-din-nu* ^{iti}⌊KIN⌋(?) U$_4$ 7
9. ⌊x x x x x⌋ (all illegible traces) [x⌊-*iá*⌋
remainder broken away (presumably concerning 9.-14.VI.)
r. 1'. [x][x-*tu*/*ṣu* ^{m}*bul-lu-ṭa-a*
2'. [^{iti}]KIN U$_4$ 15
3'. ⌜1⌝[+1 (PI?) 2 BÁN(?)] (cf. line 4) *ma-ak-ka-su* DIŠ É *um-man-ni*
4'. [^{iti}]^{i}KIN U$_4$ 24⌋ (possibly +1-2)
5'. [x *m*]*a-ak-ka-su pa-ni* ⌜*šu*(?)⌝-*bir*
6'. ^{m}SUM^{na}-*a šá* ^{m}*re-mut*
7'. DIŠ UGU^{hi} ^{m}*si-lim*-^{d}+AG ^{iti}*KIN*(?) <U$_4$> 28
8'. 8 *ma-ak-ka-su* 2 BÁN *ka*(text DA, C. W.)-*ra-nu*
9'. 2 (MIN, for 2 (PI)) *ma-ak-ka-su šá-li-mi*
u.e. 10'. GÍD.DA *šá* ^{iti}KIN

Translation

a. 0;1 kor of *makkasu*-dates, 84 (loaves) of *kusīpu*-bread and 0;0.1/2 kor of oil – Bulluṭā, 2.VI.;

b. 0;2.2 kor of *makkasu*-dates – for the house of the specialized craftsman (*ummânu*), 5.VI.;

c. 0;1 kor of *makkasu*-dates – Paṭesu, 5.VI.;

d. [x+?]⌊1⌋ of *makkasu*-dates – Nabû-iddina slave/servant (*qallu*) of Šaddinnu, 7.VI.(?);

e. ...-Bulluṭā, 15.VI.;

f. 0;1[+x?] kor of *makkasu*-dates – for the house of the specialized craftsman, 24(poss. +1-2).VI.;

g. [x] of *makkasu*-dates, 0;0.2 kor at the disposal of ... – Iddinā of(?) Rēmūtu on behalf of Silim-Nabû, 28.VI.(?);

h. 8 kors(?) of *makkasu*-dates (less likely 8 cuts of *makkasu*), 0;0.2 kor of wine, 0;2 the full allotment of *makkasu*(-dates).

Receipt of month VI.

Prosopography and analysis

Bulluṭā (*bul-lu-ṭa-a*), received 0;1 kor of *makkasu*, 84 *kusīpu* loaves, and 0;0.0.0.5 kor of oil, 2. and 15.VI. (3.r. 1');

Paṭēsu (*pa-ṭe-e-su*), received 0;1 kor of *makkasu*, 5.VI. (6);

Nabû-iddina (or -nādin, ^{d}+AG-MU), slave (*qallu*) of Šaddinnu, received [x+?]⌊1⌋ kor of *makkasu*, 7.VI. (7f.);

Šaddinnu (*šad-din-nu*), master of Nabû-iddina (or -nādin), 7.VI. (8);

Iddinā (or Nadnā, SUM^{na}-*a*), 28.VI. (r. 6');

Rēmūtu (*re-mut*), 28.VI. (r. 6');

Silim-Nabû (*si-lim*-^{d}+AG), 28.VI. (r. 7').

Remarks

3. For *Bul-lu-ṭa-a* cf. no. 131.

4. r. 3'. É *um-man-ni* "House of the specialized craftsmen" (cf. Bongenaar 1997, 367f.).

r. 10'. A summary was made at the end of the month according to royal Achaemenid Elamite documents from Persepolis (administrative, see Brosius 2002, 265).

195. BM 22238 Account of barley

1. 1 GUR ŠE.BAR <m>*ki-din-nu*
2. A-*šú šá* m*iṣ-[ṣ]ur-ru*
3. [AŠ ŠU]$_{⌊}$II$_{⌋}$ m*mu-še-zib* A-*šú šá* md+EN-TINit IGI(squeezed on edge)
4. [x (quantity) mNU]MUN-DU
5. [A-*šú šá* m*m]u-ra-šu-ú*
6. [(PAP) x G]UR 2 BÁN ŠE.BAR

lo.e. 7. [A]Š IGI m*uš-šá*$_{⌋}$-$_{⌊}$*a*]

r. 8. [x+?]3 GUR 3 PI (or with C. W.: 3 (PI) 2 BÁN)

9. AŠ IGI <m>*šad-din-nu* <<x>>
10. 6 *ma-nu-ú* AŠ IGI m*šad-din-nu*
11. *šá* mŠEŠ-*šú-nu iš-šu-u*
12. 2 *ma-nu-ú* AŠ IGI m*uš-šá-a*

u.e. 13. *šá* mNUMUN-DU *iš-šu-u*

14. ŠE.BAR *šá* itiꞫAPIN ZAG.LU

Translation

a. One kor of barley, which Kidinnu son of Iṣṣuru received from Mušēzibu son of Bēl-uballiṭ;

[quantity] – [Z]ēra-ibni son of Muraššû.

Total: [x];0.2 kor of barley at the disposal of Uššāyu;

b. [x+?]3;3(.2) kor at the disposal of Šaddinnu.

c. Six minas, which Ahušunu brought, are at the disposal of Šaddinnu.

d. Two minas, which Zēra-ukīn brought, are at the disposal of Uššāyu.

Barley of month VIII, assessed rent (*imittu*, with C. W.).

196. BM 29408 – horizontal rectangular – receipt for silver, Borsippa, 15.XII.[18 or 19] Dar. I (504/3 or 503/2 B.C.), NC – cf. Zadok 2002.

Deliverer: Šaddinnu son of Balāssu desc. of Bēliya'u

Recipient: Libluṭ son of Nabû-ušebši;

24.5 shekels of white silver [of which 1/8 alloy] *nuh*[*hutu*, price(?)] of *harmīl/ru*-meat cuts and sheep (as) irregular offering from VI.18 to the end of [XII?].19 (Dar. I, cf. line 8) + 3.5 shekels of white silver of which 1/8 alloy *nuhhutu*

1. 1/3 MA.NA 4 1/2(C. W.) GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú nu-uh*ˀ-[*hu-tú šá* AŠ 1 GÍN *pit-qa* ŠÁM?]
2. *šá** uzu*ha-ar-mi-il*meš *u*ˀ(?) [UDU.NÍTA *gu-qa-né-e* ...]
3. *šá* TA $_{⌊}$iti$_{⌋}$KIN MU 18 KAM EN *qí-it*ˀ [itix]
4. MU 19 KAM m*lib-luṭ* A-*šú šá* md+AG-*ú-šeb*(M[E])-*ši*
5. *i-na* ŠUII m*šad-din-nu* A-*šú šá* m*ba-laṭ-su* A mEN-*ia-u*$_4$-*mu*
6. $_{⌊}$*ma*$_{⌋}$-*hi-ir e-ṭir* uzu*ha-ar-mi-il*meš

lo.e. 7. UDU.NÍTA *gu-qa-né-e a-ki-i ú-il-ti-šú*

8. [... *šá a*]-Ɜ*di*ˀ *qi-it* itiŠE MU 19 KAM AŠ IGI
9. [m]*šad-din-nu e-lat* (both signs are intentionally erased, but still recognizable) 3 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú*

r. 10. Ɜ*nu*ˀ-*uh-hu-tú šá* AŠ 1 GÍN *pit-qa i-na* MU 19 KAM

11. m*lib-luṭ* AŠ ŠUII m*šad-din-nu ma-hi-ir*

(space)

12. lú*mu-kin-ni* md+EN-KAR*er* A-*šú šá* m*gu-za-nu* A m*ši-gu-ú-a*
13. m*eri*$_4$-*ba-a* A-*šú šá* mSUM*na*-dAG A lúNAGAR
14. md+EN-*it-tan-nu* A-*šú šá* m*lib-luṭ* mBA*šá*-*a* A-*šú šá* mMU-d+AG
15. A lú*šá*-MUN*-*šú*
16. md+AG-SU DUB.SAR A-*šú šá* mKAR-d+AG A mŠEŠ-$_{⌊}$*ia-ú*$_{⌋}$-Ɜ*tu*ˀ
17. *bár-sipa*ki itiŠE U$_4$ 15 KAM$_{⌋}$ [MU 19(?) KAM]
18. m*da-ri-*ˀ*-muš* LUGAL T[IN.TIRki *u* KUR.KUR]]

Witnesses:

Bēl-ēṭer son of Guzānu descendant of Šigû'a;

Erībā son of Iddina-Nabû descendant of Naggāru;

Bēl-ittannu son of Libluṭ;

Iqīšā son of Iddina-Nabû descendant of Ša-ṭābtīšu;

Nabû-erība son of Mušēzib-Nabû descendant of Ahiya'ūtu, scribe.

197. BM 96144 – 27.X.28 Dar. I = 494/3 B.C. settled account of white barley

1. 14 GUR ŠE.BAR *pe-ṣi-tu*$_4$ *šá* É Ɜ*nap-ta*ˀ-*nu*
2. 4 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN *šá u*$_4$-*mu*meš
3. *šá* itiAPIN *ù* itiZÍZ *šá* m*šad-din-nu*
4. A mTIN-*su* AŠ IGI md+AG-ÙRU-*šú* A-*šú šá* m*re-mut*
5. itiAB U$_4$ 27 KAM MU 28 KAM
6. m*da-a-ri-mu-uš* LUGAL KUR.KUR
7. AŠ GUB *šá* md+AG-DÙ-ŠEŠ *u* m*la-a-ba-ši*
8. ŠE.BAR *ri-hi-it* ŠE.BAR *šá* É *nap-ta-nu*

r. 9. itiAB U$_4$ 27 KAM NÍG.ŠID

10. *ep-šú* MU 28 KAM
11. m*da-*<*ri*>-ˀ*-ia-muš* LUGAL KUR.KUR

Translation

a. 14 kors of white barley, which were given for the house of the divine meal;

b. 4;2.3 kors (of white barley) of the days of VIII. and XI. of Šaddinnu son of Balāssu desc. of Bēliya'u at the disposal of Nabû-uṣuršu son of Rēmūtu. Month X, day 27, year 28 of Darius King of Lands. In the presence of Nabû-bān-ahi and Lā-abâši. The barley is the remainder of the barley, which was given for the house of the divine meal. Month X, day 27. Settled account. Year 28 of Darius King of Lands.

Remark

1. 8. The reading É Ɜ*nap-ta*ˀ-*nu* was suggested by C. W.

3. *Prosopography*

Like in other epistolary and administrative documents, patronymics are rarely indicated (and of those only 13 out of 121 plus one that gives the name of the mother = 10.74 %) and only twice the ancestral names are given, *viz.* Ilu-bani and Ṣillāyu. The distinction between paternal and ancestral names is vague in administrative documents, but both of the above mentionend ancestral names are well-attested in Borsippa. Therefore the possibility that many of the names refer to different homonymous individuals cannot be excluded.

Ab/Du-da-ni(?-)LUGAL, recipient (no. 118, 1)

Ahušunu (ŠEŠ-*šú-nu*) son of Bēlšunu(?, EN(?)-*šú-nu*), recipient (no. 129, 2)

Ammakanišu (Ɜ*Am-ma-ka-ni-šú*), recipient (no. 11, 3)

Andi-Nanâ (ꞫGÉME-d*na-na-a*), recipient (no. 39, 4)

Andiya (ꞫGÉME-*iá*) daughter of Hiptā (Ɜ*Hi-ip-ta-a*), deliverer (no. 93, 2; without filiation: 6), without filiation: 2.VIII.27 Dar. I = 495/4 B.C. (no. 92, 2), probably in charge of Ubāru (no. 65, 1); Ɜ*An-di-ia*, deliverer (no. 74, 1. 3)

Ardi-Bēl (ÌR-d+EN) junior (TUR; in the presence of ~, no. 104, 5)

Ardi-Nergal (ÌR-dU.GUR), recipient (no. 74, 3); recipient (no. 94, 8)

Ardiya father of Nabû-bullissu

Bakû'a (*Ba-ku-ú-a*), recipient (no. 138, 1)

ꞫBalāṭ-napišti, deliverer (no. 39, 3)

ꞫBalāṭ-napišti wife of Nabû-ibni, presumably recipient (no. 140, 2f.)

Balāṭu (*Ba-la-ṭu*), recipient (no. 142, 1)

Bān-ahi father of Nabû-uṣuršu

Banītu-ittiya

fdBa-ni-tu$_4$-*it-ti-iá* (no. 86, 5), fdDÙ-*ti*-KI-*iá*, deliverer (no. 54, 5), fdDÙ-*tu*$_4$-KI-*iá*, deliverer (no. 55, 3: -*i*[*á*]; 56, 3; 61, 4), fdDÙ]-*tú*-KI-*iá*, deliverer (no. 57, 3),

fdBa-ni-[*tú*(?)-K]I(?)-*ia*, deliverer (no. 62, 3)

Bazizu (*Ba-zi-zu*), presumably recipient (no. 154, 1)

Bazuzu (*Ba-zu-zu*), recipient (no. 138, 5)

Bazuzu (*Ba-zu-zu*, in the presence of ~, no. 156,4)

Bēl-apla(?)-iddina (d+EN(?)-A-MU), recipient (no. 125, 2)

Bēl-apla-uṣur (?, d+EN-IBILA-PAP??), deliverer (no. 20, 3)

Bēl-bēl-māri (d+EN-EN-DUMU), recipient (no. 146, 1)

Bēl-ēreš (d+EN-KAM) son of *Bi-ki-iá*, recipient (no. 115, 3), presumably recipient (no. 156, 1f.)

Bēl-ēṭer (d+EN-SUR) son of Guzānu (*Gu-za-nu*, in the presence of ~, no. 84, 7f.)

Bēl-ēṭer (d+EN-SUR)

addressee: no. 1, 1; 3, 2 (d+EN$_{⌋}$-[SU]R); 4, 2; 5, 2; 6, 2; 7, 2; 8, 2; 9, 2; 10, 2; 11, 2; 12, 2; 13, 2 (d+E[N-S]UR); 14, 2; 15, 2; 17, 2; 18, 2 (-[SU]R); 19, 2; 20, 2; 21, 2; 22, 2; 23, 2; 24, 2; 25, 2; 27, 2; 28, 1; 29, 2 (d+ENˀ-[SUR]); 30, 2; 31, 1; 32, 1 (<SUR>); 33, 2; 34, 2; 35, 2 ($_{⌊}$d+$_{⌊}$EN-); 36, 2; 37, 2

deliverer: no. 42, 3; 43, 3; 45, 5; 46, 6; 47, 3; 48, 3; 49, 4; 50, 3 ([d+E]N-SUR); 51, 4; 52, 3; 53, 4 ([d+EN-SUR(?)]); 60, 3 ([d+E]N-); 63, 4; 64, 7; 65, 2; 66, 4; 67, 7; 68, 5 (-S[UR]); 70, 3; 71, 6; 72, 3; 73, 3; 74, 4; 75, 3; 77, 7; 79, 5 ([d+E]N-); 80, 2; 81, 8 (d+EN-S]UR); 82, 2; 83, 3; 84, 4; 85, 2; 90, 3; 95, 4; 100, 1; 107, 3

deliverer(?): no. 118, 2 (d+EN-[SUR(?)])

recipient: no. 76, 9; 87, 5. 8; 88, 1; 96, 3; 105, 2; 108, 3; 117, 3; 122, 2

recipient and deliverer respectively: no. 64, 2. 7

(d+EN-KAR*er*) deliverer: no. 44, 3 (the same document has the spelling d+AG-KAR*er* for Nabû-ēṭer); no. 69, 7

recipient: no. 55, 2; 122, 5 (line 2 has d+EN-SUR)

Bēl-ēṭer (d+EN-SUR), recipient (no. 7, 4)

Bēl-iddina (d+EN-MU), smith (*nappāhu* = lúSIMUG), recipient (no. 147, 3)

Bēl-iddina (d+EN-MU), deliverer (no. 69, 4; 88, 2)

Bēl-ikṣur (d+EN-*ik-ṣur*), deliverer (no. 27, 7)

Bēl-ittannu (d+EN-*it-tan-nu*), presumably recipient (no. 143, 2)

Bēlšunu father of Ahušunu

Bēl-udammiq (d+EN-SIG$_5$*iq*), recipient (no. 5, 3)

Bēl(d+EN)-$_{⌊}$x]-[(x)]-$_{⌊}$x), recipient (no. 69, 3)

Bēl-[...] (d+EN-[...]), presumably recipient (no. 155, 2)

[Bēl/Nabû(d+ꞫEN/AG)-x], recipient (no. 9, 5)

Bi-ki-iá father of Bēl-ēreš

Bītāyu (É-*ta*-A+A), recipient (no. 132, 1: -[*ta*]-. 4)

Bulluṭā (*Bul-lu-ṭa-a*), recipient (no. 131, 2)

Bulluṭu (*Bul-lu-ṭu*), recipient (no. 75, 4); addressee (no. 26, 2)

Da-$_{⌊}$*n*[*i-ia*(?)] (PNˀ no. 65, 4)

E[...] father of Nabû-ittannu

Guzānu (*Gu-za-nu*), possibly recipient (no. 69, 2), recipient (no. 65, 7; 135, 1)

Guzānu father of Bēl-ēṭer

Habaṣīru (*Hab-ṣir*, in the presence of ~, no. 82, 4)

Harīṣānu (*Ha-ri-ṣa-nu*) recipient (no. 95, 2. 5. 9)

Hiptā mother of Andiya

Iddinā (SUM^{na}-*a*), recipient (no. 124, 3)
Iddinā (SUM^{na}-*a*), butcher (*ṭābihu* = ^{lú}GÍR.LÁ), recipient (no. 66, 2)
Iddinā (or Šumā, MU-*a*), recipient (no. 41, 3)
Iddina-Bēl (MU-^{d}+EN), recipient (no. 1, 3; 38, 2; 79, 4; 80, 1: E[N]; 81, 6: [M]U-; 119, 3); SUM^{na}-^{d}+EN (no. 111, 2), MU-[^{d}+E]N), recipient (no. 15, 3)
Iddina-Nabû (MU-^{d}+AG), deliverer (no. 97, 2; 99, 2)
Iddina-[DN] (MU-^{d}x?), foreman (*šaknu*), recipient (no. 69, 1)
Ilu-bāni ancestor of Iqīšā
Ina-Esaggil-lūmur (?, AŠ-*é-sag-íl-lu*?-*mur*), deliverer (no. 87, 4)
Iqīšā (BA^{šá}-*a*), descendant of *Ilu*(DINGIR)-*ba-*⌜*ni*⌝(?), recipient(?) (no. 132, 2f.), recipient (?, no. 125, 4)
Itti-Nabû-balāṭu (KI-^{d}+AG-TIN), deliverer (no. 22, 4)
Kalbā father of Nabû-ittannu
Kidinnu (*ki-*⌜*din*?⌝*-ni*), deliverer (no. 21, 3)
Kīnāyu (*Ki-na*-A+A), deliverer (no. 25, 3)
Kitpānu (or Sa(h)pānu) father of Nabû-bullissu
Lā-abâši (*La-a-ba-ši*), oil presser, deliverer (no. 138, 4)
Libluṭ (*Lib-luṭ*), builder (^{lú}ŠITIM), recipient (no. 139, 2; 145, 2), recipient (?, no. 101, 2)
Libluṭ (*Lib-luṭ*) son of (*Mu*)*kīn-ahi*(?), recipient (no. 138, 8)
(*Mu*)*kīn-ahi* (?, GIN-ŠE[Š]?), father of Libluṭ
Mulliltu-silim (^{fd}NIN.LÍL-*si-lim*), recipient (no. 12, 5; 13, 3; 86, 10; 148, 2; 149, 2); deliverer (no. 28, 3; 104, 3), ⌜[^{d}NIN.LÍL-*s*]*i-lim*(?) recipient (?, no. 116, 2)
Mušallim-Nabû (*Mu-šal-lim*-^{d}+AG), deliverer (no. 58, 4)
Mušebši-Nergal (*Mu-šeb-ši*-^{d}U.GU[R]), master of Rēmūtu (no. 64, 6)
Mušēzib-Nabû (KAR-^{d}+AG; his anonymous son), recipient (no. 138, 3)
Mušēzibu (KAR) father of Nabû-uṣuršu
Nabû-aha-ittannu (^{d}+AG-ŠEŠ-$_{l}$*it*$_{J}$*-tan-nu*) descendant of Ṣillāyu (GISSU-A+A), recipient (no. 130, 2f.)
Nabû-aha-ittannu (^{d}+AG-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu*), butcher, recipient (no. 16, 8)
Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (^{d}+AG-TIN-*su*-E), recipient (no. 72, 2; 96, 6), deliverer (no. 108, 3),
in the presence of ~ (no. 131, 3; 156, 3)
Nabû-bāni/ibni (^{d}+AG-DÙ), husband of ^{f}Balāṭ-napišti (no. 140, 3)
Nabû-bēl-māri (^{d}+AG-EN-DUMU, in the presence of ~, no. 82, 3; 83, 7)
Nabû-bullissu (^{d}+AG-TIN-*su*) son of Ardiya, recipient (no. 112, 2f.)
Nabû-bullissu son of *Kit*/*Sa*(*h*)-*pa-nu*, deliverer (no. 76, 4)
Nabû-ēṭer (^{d}+AG-SUR)
sender: no. 1, 1; 2, 1; 3, 1; 4, 1; 5, 1; 6, 1; 7, 1; 8, 1; 9, 1; 10, 1; 11, 1; 12, 1; 13, 1; 14, 1; 15, 1; 17, 1; 18, 1; 19, 1; 20, 1; 21, 1; 22, 1; 23, 1; 24, 1 (-S[UR]); 25, 1; 26, 1; 28, 1; 29, 1 (^{d}+AG$_{J}$-); 30, 1; 31, 1; 32, 1; 33, 1; 34, 1; 35, 1; 36, 1; 37, 1
recipient: no. 42, 2; 43, 2; 45, 5; 46, 5; 47, 2; 48, 2; 49, 3; 50, 2 ([^{d}+A]G-); 51, 3; 52, 2; 53, 3 ([^{d}+A]G(?)-[SU]R(?)); 56, 2; 57, 2 (-SU[R]); 58, 2; 63, 1; 66, 4; 67, 2. 4. 7; 68, 5; 71, 6; 73, 3; 75, 2; 78, 5; 80, 3; 83, 2 (-⌜SUR⌝); 84, 3; 85, 2; 86, 4; 89, 2; 90, 2; 104, 2; 107, 4; 109, 4; 110, 2; 119, 1; 120, 2 (-<SUR>). 5; 126, 3; 134, 3; 141, 2
presumably recipient: no. 154, 5; 155, 4
recipient: no. 81, 5. 7 ([^{d}]); 99, 2; 139, 3
presumably deliverer: no. 79, 3 (-[SUR?])
recipient and deliverer respectively: no. 76, 3. 8 (^{d}+A[G-SU]R)
(^{d}+AG-KAR^{er}) recipient: no. 44, 2; 54, 3
presumably recipient: no. 153, 1
deliverer: no. 136, 2
Nabû-ēṭer-napšāti (^{d}+AG-KAR-ZI^{meš}, in the presence of ~ no. 81, 11)
Nabû-hamû (?, ^{d}+AG-*ha-mu*?-*u*), recipient (no. 187, 4)
Nabû-ina-Esaggil-lūmur (?, ^{d}+AG-AŠ-*é-sag-íl-*$_{l}$*lu*(?)$_{J}$-[*mur*(?)]), recipient (no. 4, 3)
Nabû-ittannu (^{d}+AG-*it-tan-nu*) son of E[...] (E-x-[...]), recipient (no. 91, 1f.)
Nabû-ittannu (^{d}+AG-*it-tan-nu*) son of Kalbā (UR-*a*), deliverer (no. 80, 7f.; 132, 6f.), (*Kal-ba-a*), recipient (no. 134, 4f.), deliverer (no. 81, 3f.), without a paternal name in no. 9, 3
Nabû-ittannu (^{d}+AG-*it-tan-nu*) messenger (^{lú}<KIN>.GI$_{4}$.A, <in the presence of ~> no. 85, 6f.)
Nabû-ittannu (^{d}+AG-*it-tan-nu*), deliverer (no. 100, 2; 106, 2 [same individual as in no. 23])
Nabû-ittiya (^{d}+AG-KI-*iá*), addressee (no. 2, 2)
Nabû-kāṣir/ikṣur (^{d}+AG-KÁD), recipient (*ša ana* ~ *pi-qid-*ʾ, no. 79, 8), deliverer (no. 99, 4)
Nabû-mušētiq-ūdē (^{d}+AG-DIB-UD.DA, in the presence of ~, no. 82, 5)
Nabû-nādin-ahi (^{d}+AG-AŠ-ŠEŠ), recipient (no. 98, 3). This logographic spelling is intentionally employed by the scribes in order to distinguish him from Nabû-šuma-uṣur (^{d}+AG-MU-ÙRU) in the same document
Nabû-nāṣir, (or -uṣur, ^{d}+AG-PAP), his anonymous messenger was the recipient (no. 14, 4)
Nabû-rēʾûšunu (^{d}+AG-SIPA-*šú-nu*), deliverer (no. 103, 2: [^{d}]; 109, 2)
Nabû-silim (^{d}+AG-*si-lim*), recipient (no. 65, 6. 9; 82, 2)
Nabû-šuma-uṣur (or -nādin-ahi, ^{d}+AG-MU-ÙRU), recipient (no. 8, 3; 98, 5; 120, 3; 186, 2)
Nabû-šumu-līšir (^{d}+AG-MU-SI.SÁ), recipient (no. 98, 1)
Nabû-ṭābā (^{d}+AG-DU$_{10}$.GA-*a*), recipient (no. 98, 2)

Nabû-uballiṭ (^{d}+AG-TIN^{it}), recipient (no. 123, 1)
Nabû-uṣuršu (^{d}+AG-ÙRU-*šú*) son of Bān-ahi (DÙ-ŠEŠ), recipient (no. 144, 3), in the presence of ~ (no. 84, 8f.)
Nabû-uṣuršu (^{d}+AG-ÙRU-*šú*) son of Mušēzibu (KAR), recipient (no. 113, 3f.)
Nabû-uṣuršu (^{d}+AG-ÙRU-*šú*), recipient (no. 2, 4; 3, 3; 65, 8: as proxy of Nabû-ēṭer; no. 72, 4: *ša ana* ~ *ipqid*; 96, 7), deliverer (no. 59, 4; 87, 9)
Nabû-(?, ^{d}+AG?)-x-x), recipient (no. 11, 3)
Nanâ-taqîš (^{d*}(over erasure)*Na*$_{J}$-*na*$_{J}$*-a-ta-qiš*), deliverer, 2.VIII.27 Dar. I = 495/4 B.C. (no. 92, 3)
Nāṣiru (*Na-ṣi-ru*), recipient (as proxy of Andiya), 2.VIII.27 Dar. I = 495/4 B.C. (no. 92, 1)
Nidintu (*Ni-din-tu*$_{4}$), oil presser (*ṣāhitu*, in the presence of ~, no. 131, 4)
Nūrēʾa (ZÁLAG-*e-a*), deliverer (no. 106, 4)
^{f}Nurmû ($^{f.giš}$NU.ÚR.MA), presumably recipient (no. 152, 2)
^{f}Reʾindu (^{f}*Re-*ʾ*-in-du*), sender (no. 27, 1)
Rēmūt-Bēl (*Re-mut*-^{d}+EN), his anonymous daughters acted as deliverers (no. 73, 8)
Rēmūtu (*Re-mut*) son of Taklāk-ana-Bēl (*Tak-lak*-DIŠ-^{d}+EN), 2.VIII.27 Dar. I = 495/4 B.C., recipient (no. 92, 4)
Rēmūtu (*Re-mut*), recipient (as proxy of Mušebši-Nergal, no. 64, 5)
Sahpānu → Kitpānu
^{f}Sippā (*Si-ip-pa-a*), recipient (no. 10, 3)
Ṣillāyu ancestor of Nabû-aha-ittannu
Ša-Bēl-bāni (*Šá*-^{d}+EN-*ba-ni*), deliverer (no. 105, 5), (*Šá*-^{d}+EN-*ba**(text IS)-*ni*), deliverer (no. 102, 2), (*Šá*-^{d}+EN-*ba-ni*: text TAB, no. 78, 4), (*Šá*-^{d}+EN-DÙ), deliverer (no. 18, 4: ⌜DÙ; 19, 3; 26, 4 [no Personenkeil]), (*Šá*-^{d}+EN-*ba-ni*), recipient (no. 70, 2; 134, 2), (*Šá*-^{d}+EN-DÙ), recipient (no. 60, 2; 61, 2: ⌜*Šá*⌝(partially deliberately erased!)^{d}+EN-DÙ), (*Šá*(no Personenkeil) $^{<<m>>d}$+EN-*ba-ni*(?)), recipient (no. 62, 2), (<*Šá*>-^{d}+EN-DÙ), deliverer (no. 17, 3)
Šaddinnatu (⌜*Šad-din-na-tu*$_{4}$), presumably recipient (no. 151, 3)
Šamaš-iddina (^{d}UTU-MU), presumably recipient (no. 154, 2)
Ša-Nabû-idu[x x] (*Šá*-^{d}+AG-*i-du-*$_{l}$x (x)], recipient(?, no. 137, 2)
Šār-Bēl-ṭāb (IM-^{d}+EN-DU$_{10}$.GA), recipient (no. 77, 6; 128, 2)
Šulum-Bēl-lūmur (*Šu-lum*-^{d}+EN-*lu-mur*, no. 69, 6. 10: -*mu*[*r*]), recipient
Tabluṭu (⌜*Tab-lu-ṭu*), presumably recipient (no. 12, 4; 150, 2)
Taklāk-ana-Bēl father of Rēmūtu
Ṭāb-pašir-Bēl (DU$_{10}$.GA-*pa-ši-ri*-^{d}+EN), recipient (no. 114, 2)
Ṭāb-šār-Bēl (DU$_{10}$.GA-IM-^{d}+EN), deliverer (no. 39, 1)
Ubāru (Ú-*bar*), recipient (under the command of Andiya, no. 65, 1)
Uṣuršā (Ú-*ṣur-šá-a*), recipient (no. 6, 3)
Uššā ($_{l}$*Uš*⌝*-šá-a*), recipient (no. 127, 2)
[x(DN)-balās]su-iqbi (^{d}x-TIN-*s*]*u*-E), addressee (?, 16, 2)
[x x (x)]-*šú*, sender (?, no. 16, 1)
x x (x), presumably recipient (no. 123, 4)
x]-[x], recipient (no. 121, 2)
x]-[x], deliverer (no. 24, 4)

4. *Statistics of theophorous elements*

65 out of 118 individuals, whose names are well-preserved, *i.e.* 55.08 %, bear theophorous anthroponyms. Most individuals have theophorous anthroponyms containing male deities (in descending order): Nabû: 34/65 = 52.3 %; Bēl: 22/65 = 33.84 %; Ilu: 1/65 = 1.53 %; Nergal: 2/65 = 3.07 %; and Šamaš: 1/65 = 1.53 %. One individual bore an anthroponym containing Esaggil (1.53 %).

Names of goddesses are contained almost exclusively in females' anthroponyms (altogether just 6.14 %): Nanâ: 2/65 = 3.07 %; Banītu: 1/65 = 1.53 %; and Mulliltu: 1/65 = 1.53 %.

5. *Commodities and their transmission*

5.1. General statistics (total of each commodity)

The most common commodities are *ṣibtu*- and *kusīpu*-bread, *harmīl*/*ru*-meat cuts, and unspecified meat cuts.

a. Cereals

flat bread (*ṣibtu*): 267(+105.5?) loaves; two loaves of flat bread are the equivalent of 22 shekels of wool according to no. 13 from 496/5 B.C.
parched flat bread (*ṣibtu qayyatu*): 3 loaves
parched grain (*qayyatu*): 6 units (cakes)
flat and thin bread (*kusīpu*): 1169(+160?) loaves
unspecified bread: 10(+20?) loaves
barley: 7;0.1 kors
white barley: 10 kors
emmer: 6 kors
flour: 20;2.1 kor
takkasû-pastry: 12 units
bread/cake(?): 1 unit

b. Fruits

dates: 4;1.2.4 kors
confection jam (*makkasu*) of Tilmun dates (quantity not indicated, instead of one meat cut)
fig(s): 0;1 kor

c. Spices and oil

cress: 0;0.2 kor
sesame: 1;0.4.3 kor
sesame(?): 0;0.1.1 kor
oil: 0;0.0.1 kor

d. Meat

unspecified meat (*šīru*): 138 (at least) cuts
harmīl/ru[2]: 219 cuts (of which 16 are beef, 2 are shoulder cuts and one is a *ṣibtu* cut)
shoulder cuts: 12
breast cuts: 8
breast cut of a sheep: 16
makkasu-meat cuts: 25(+5?)
ducks (meat): quantity unknown
ribs: 4 cuts
heart(?): 2 cuts
thighs: 2 cuts
sheep: 3
^{uzu}*gan*: 1(+2?) cut

e. Beverages and related items

wine: 0;3.5.5 kor and perhaps 0;1 kor
first quality (full-strength?) barley beer(?): 0;0.0.3 kor
diqāru(?)-bowl: 1
šappu-containers: 4
cassia: 0;2 kor

f. Silver and wool

silver: 5 shekels
white silver: 47.04 shekels (+ 2 sh? of which 1/8 is alloy; 24 sh were spent on sheep and 2.5 sh on barley)
wool: 22 shekels

g. Unidentified items (items whose reading is entirely uncertain are not included)

di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi: 28 units
di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi e-du: 2 units
DAR: 2

[2]) Spellings of *harmīl/rū* are: ^{uzu}*har-mil* no. 171, 2; 178, 2 (-*mil*(?)); *har-mil* no. 73, 1; 90, 1; 112, 1; 153, 1; *har-mil*^{meš} no. 139, 1; ^{uzu}*har-mi-il* no. 49, 2; ^{uzu}*har-mi-il*(?) no. 170, 1; *har-mi**-*il*(?) no. 68, 1. 4 (<^{uzu}>); 174, 1; *har-mi-ir*^{uzu}(text KAM; no. 38, 1); *har-mi-ir* no. 1, 2; 33, 3 (*har*^{1}-); 66, 1. 2; 67, 1. 3 (-<*ir*>); 71, 1; 144, 2 (-*m*[*i-i*]*r*); 151, 1; 157, 1; 175, 1; 177, 1; 182, 1 (-*mi*^{1}-^{r}*ir*]). 3 (-[*mi-i*]^{r}$_{1}$); ^{uzu}*ha-*<*ar*>*-mi-ir* no. 48, 1; 57, 1; 58, 1; 81, 1; ^{uzu}*ha-*<*ar-mi*>*-ir* no. 143, 1; *ha-ar**-<*mi*>*-lu*^{uzu} no. 78, 2; ^{uzu}*ha-ir-mu*^{meš} no. 111, 1. See 0.8 above.

Cf. *ha-ar-mi-ir*(!)*-ra-nu* BM 22070, 1; Borsippa, 15.VI. [20?] Dar. I; (independently noticed by Joanna Paszkowiak; *šá* GU$_4$(!)) for one week (16-22.VI.20 Dar. I; an allowance for a week like in BM 29447, 13).

5.2. The relationship between various cereals

The ratio between *ṣibtu*-bread and *kusīpu*-bread is between 1 : 2 and 1 : 50.[3] One has to assume that the loaves of the *kusīpu*-bread must have been much smaller than those of the *ṣibtu*-bread. The latter is once described as "of good quality" (no. 134, reading uncertain) or made of parched grain (no. 45, 98).

Other cereals are much less common in this text group. In most cases they are not listed together with *ṣibtu*- and *kusīpu*-bread, but were probably distributed instead of them:

Three of the five units of parched grain (*qayyatu*) recorded in this text group occur in documents where both *ṣibtu* and *kusīpu* are not mentioned (no. 53, 86). An additional unit is listed in no. 70, where *ṣibtu* is listed without *kusīpu*. In no. 120, one unit of *qayyatu* and one loaf of *ṣibtu* were given to two different individuals. Barley is listed in documents, where both *ṣibtu* and *kusīpu* are not mentioned (no. 74, 96, 108, 122, 130). 0;2.3 kor of barley are distributed as fodder for animals. This may be the reason why *ṣibtu* is mentioned in the same document as well (no. 94). White barley (10 kors) and flour (0;0.5 kor) are recorded in no. 180 and no. 122 respectively, where both *ṣibtu* and *kusīpu* are not mentioned. Neither *ṣibtu* nor *kusīpu* are listed together with flour (20 kors, no. 62). Bread (10 loaves) is mentioned together with *ṣibtu* (no *kusīpu*, no. 94; different installments).

5.3. The relationship between various meat cuts

One meat cut was used for making an unspecified quantity of *harmīl/ru*-meat (no. 98, 6f.). One gathers that 12 *harmīl/ru* cuts were the equivalent of 6 meat cuts (no. 81). The same proportion (2 : 1) in favour of *harmīl/ru* is recorded in no. 9, *viz.* 16 *harmīl/ru* instead of 8 meat cuts (the same document lists also 2 *makkasu*-meat cuts). Likewise, according to no. 100, 4 *harmīl/ru* cuts were exchanged for 2 unspecified meat cuts. Were these unspecified meat cuts of a heavier weight? 18 *harmīl/ru* cuts were exchanged for the same quantity of *makkasu* cuts (no. 185, *makkasu* very probably denotes here a meat cut, see Jursa 1999, 66f.). Ducks were exchanged for 2 loaves of *ṣibtu*-bread (no. 184). The other cases where more than one sort of meat is recorded, are:

1 or 2 *harmīl/ru* and 1 shoulder cut (no. 46, 183); 3 *harmīl/ru* and 1 shoulder (no. 181); 5 *harmīl/ru* and 1 shoulder (no. 59); 1 *harmīl/ru* and 1 breast cut (no. 49, 168); 2 *harmīl/ru* and 1 *ṣibtu* (cut?) of breast (no. 157); 2 *harmīl/ru* and 2 cuts of unspecified meat (no. 182); 2 *harmīl/ru* and 3 cuts of unspecified meat (no. 76); 5 *harmīl/ru* together with (unspecified) meat (no. 67); 1 *harmīl/ru*, 1 rib and 1 *gannu*-meat cut (no. 120); 5 *makkasu* cuts and 4 cuts of unspecified meat (no. 125); 2 thigh cuts and 1 unspecified meat cut (no. 93). HAR (no. 168, 1 and perhaps no. 187, 3) and HAR(?)-*ri* (no. 135, 1; 2 cuts), which may be abbreviated spellings of *harmīl/ru*, occur in documents where no other meat cuts are recorded.

harmīl/ru refers to various meat cuts (beef, mutton and certain parts of the animal body, cf. no. 66, where a butcher is mentioned). No. 66 has more material on *ṣibtu* as a definition of meat (cf. Jursa 1999, 67 with n. 273, where the earlier literature is evaluated). The anonymous builder of no. 100 is presumably identical with the builder Libluṭ of no. 101, 139, 145 in view of the fact that each time he gets the same amount of *harmīl/ru* cuts (two), the more so since the date of their delivery – like the occurrence of Libluṭ fall at the end of year 26, but do not overlap with the delivery for Libluṭ (X.26, no. 101), VIII.26 (no. 139); and of unknown date (145).

[3]) 1 : 2, 1 : 5, 1 : 10 (3×), 1 : 14, 1 : 20 (2×), 1 : 30, 1 : 40 (2×; in no. 15 it is probably an error in hearing, see *ad* 1.A.1, 15 above), 1 : 50.

5.4. Wine

Wine is frequently mentioned together with meat (6/15 = 40 %, no. 45, 72, 77, 84, 96, 112) and only rarely (3/15 = 20 %) it is listed together with other commodities but without meat (no. 23, 115, 122). In six documents (6/15 = 40 %) it is mentioned alone (no. 69, 127, 129, 131, 132, 156). The reading is doubtful in no. 50.

5.5. Unidentified commodities

di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi e-du: 2 (only *harmīl/ru* is mentioned in the same document, no. 151);

di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi: 8 (mentioned together with *kusīpu* and wine, no. 84); 8 (*kusīpu* and meat are also listed in the same document, no. 113); 2 and 4 (mentioned together with *kusīpu* and *harmīl/ru*, no. 71, 153); 1 (mentioned together with *ṣibtu* and *kusīpu*, no. 155, 169); 1 (mentioned together with *kusīpu*, no. 176).

6. *Some conclusions*

It is clear that the senders of the letter orders and administrative orders instruct the addressee to deliver commodities to a third party consisting of one or more recipients. Deliverers and recipients are clearly discernible in the administrative receipts. Exceptionally, a proxy is active: Mušebši-Nergal receives two (unspecified) meat cuts from Bēl-ēṭer via his proxy Rēmūtu (no. 64). ^{f}Andiya receives via her proxy Nāṣiru 16 (unspecified) meat cuts from Nanâ-taqīš. They were given to Rēmūtu son of Taklāk-ana-Bēl (no. 92). Two thigh meat cuts and one *ṣibtu* loaf were given by order of Andiya (daughter of ^{f}Ḫiptā) to an anonymous messenger (*mār-šipri*, no. 93). ^{f}Andiya delivers dates via her proxy Bēl-ēṭer to Ardi-Nergal (no. 74).

A further chain of transmission is discernible in no. 12: Nabû-ēṭer orders Bēl-ēṭer to deliver 0;0.2 kor of dates instead of an unspecified quantity of *ṣibtu*-bread that was given to ^{r}Tabluṭu to ^{l}Mulliltu-silim. Nabû-ēṭer receives ten pieces of *kusīpu*-bread from Bēl-ēṭer and gives them to Bulluṭu (no. 75). Iddina-Bēl received 21 *harmīl/ru*-meat cuts from Bēl-ēṭer perhaps according to the receipts of Nabû-[ēṭer(?)]. They were entrusted to Nabû-ikṣur (no. 79).

Other cases are less clear. 12 (unspecified) meat cuts are at the disposal of a certain Nabû-balāssu-iqbi. An anonymous governor (*šākin ṭēmi*) is mentioned in broken context, as well as another individual, whose name is severely damaged (no. 123). On the whole, it may be surmised that in general Nabû-ēṭer received commodities from Bēl-ēṭer for further distribution, possibly among officials (on commodities issued for officials cf., e.g., Lewis 1987, passim), but this cannot be proven in most cases.

The case for a prebendary connection of at least certain commodities can be argued. For (commodities) *ina še-e-ri u li-la-a-tú* (no. 183, 3) cf. *nap-tan še-e-ri u līlât*, *i.e.* "divine meal of the morning and evening" (CAD Š/2, 332a, bottom) refer to a prebend. A morning delivery is recorded in no. 87. *ṣibtu*-bread originated from the *takkasû* offering (no. 70, 94, cf. perhaps no. 135). Ezida is mentioned in no. 65. It is noteworthy that three successive months are enumerated twice in no. 81. This may correspond to a *maššartu* payment or similar (see Jursa 1999, 41), which is very common in prebendary texts, where it is issued in periods of three months. The frequent occurrence and sizable quantities of meat cuts and the occurrence of wine in the administrative texts discussed above strongly suggest that they are connected with prebends. Is *gu-qa-ú* (no. 64, 3) a defective spelling for *guqqû* (irregular offering)?

7. *Tables*

d. = daughter; k = kor; ku = *kusīpu*; o = oval; q = quantity; r = rectangular; s. = son; = sh = shekel; ṣ = *ṣibtu*; w. = wife.

BM (no; shape)	type	date	dimensions in mm; ± sign	ṣ (& q)	ku (& q)	meat (type & q)	wine (& q)	other commodities (& q)	sender	addressee	deliverer	recipient 1	other recipients
22166 (36; o)	let. ord.	20.VII.26	38.5×30×15; +	1	10	shoulder cut (1)		unknown (1 k)	Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	[...]		
22169 (19; o)	let. ord.	9.VI.26	36.5×33.5×18.5; +	1					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	Ša-Bēl-bāni		
22217 (15; o)	let. ord.	9.II.(?)20+[x] Dar. I	40.5×31.5×11; +	4	40 (an audial mistake?)	*harmīl/ru* (more than one, but quantity not indicated)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		Iddina-Bēl	
22222 (2; o)	let. ord.	19.V.27 Dar. I	38×28.5×16.5; +	1					Nabû-ēṭer	Nabû-ittiya		Nabû-uṣuršu	
22259 (28; o)	let. ord.	3.IV.27	37×30.5×16; +	1		unspecified meat (1)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	Mulliltu-silim		
22268 (25; o)	let. ord.	12.VIII.26	32×29.5×15.5; +	1.5					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	Kīnāyu		
22283 (37; o)	let. ord.	21.IX.27	35.5×26.5×17; +	1	20	unspecified meat (1)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer			
22291 (18; o)	let. ord.	17.VIII.26	37.5×28×14; +	1					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	Ša-Bēl-bāni		
22305 (60; o)	adm. rpt.	10.(?)V.26	39×24×13; –	1		shoulder cut (1)					Bēl-ēṭer	Ša-Bēl-bāni	
22357 (53; o)	adm. rpt.	10.VI.26	31.5×22×11; "fish" sign			rib cut (1)		*qayātu* (1); ±x (1)			Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
22358 (43; o)	adm. rpt.	27.VI.26	24×18×10; –	1	10						Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
22361 (162; o)	adm. rcd.	30.VIII.27 (possibly)	33.25×14.5; +	1	30[+10?]								
22362 (171; r)	adm. rcd.	18.I.-	23×18×10; –	1		*harmīl/ru* (11)							
22366 (58; r)	adm. rpt.	20.III.26	26×18×9.5; –	1		*harmīl/ru* (10)					Mušallim-Nabû	Nabû-ēṭer	
22367 (142; r)	adm. rcd.	25.-.26	27×19.5×11.5; –	1								presumably Balāṭu	
22368 (137; r)	adm. rcd.	-.I.27	25.5×20×13; –					white silver (3 sh)				*ša-Nabû-i-du-*$_1$x (x)$_2$ (recipient?)	
22369 (178; r)	adm. rcd.	13.IV.25(?)	26×19.5×11; –			*harmīl/ru*(?, [x])		x] x-*ga*(?)-*ti*(?) (11)					
22370 (165; r)	adm. rcd.	25.VII.27 Dar. I	32×24×13.5; +	1	20	*harmīl/ru* (1)							
22371 (41; r)	adm. ord.	10.IX.26	23.5×18×11; –	1							Nabû-ēṭer	Iddinā (or Šumā)	
22372 (169; o)	adm. rcd.	29.XII.26	29×20×13; +	[x]	10			*diḫṭi/ki/qí-pi* (1)					
22373 (51; o)	adm. rpt.	26.III.26	34×24.5×13; –	1	2			figs (0;1)			Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
22375 (42; o)	adm. rpt.	23.XI.26	31×28.5×11; +		20						Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
22376 (163; o)	adm. rcd.	12.VIII.27	31×23.5×15; +	1.5 *ṣ*(?)	[x]								
22377 (114; o)	adm. rcd.	20+$_1$x$_2$.VIII.[x]	30×22×14; –	3		unspecified meat (2)						Ṭāb-paširi-Bēl	
22378 (170; o)	adm. rcd.	6.VII.27	27.5×25.5×15; +	1		*harmīl/ru* (1)							
26862 (76; o)	adm. rpt.	VI.-	39×30×17; +	5	70	unspecified meat (3); *harmīl/ru* (2)					Nabû-bullissu s. of Kit/Sa(h)pānu	Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer
29139 (122; r)	adm. rcd.	13.IX.26 Dar. I	42×28×16; –				b. 0;0.0.2	a. barley (1 k); flour (0;0.5); sesame (0;0.1) b. white silver (1 sh)				a.-b. Bēl-ēṭer	
29188 (74; r)	adm. rpt.	IV.-V.26	43.5×31×16; –					dates (3;0.5); barley (1 k) in Babylon			Bēl-ēṭer	ᶠAndiya	Ardi-Nergal and his anonymous son
29253 (181; o)	adm. rcd.	3.-7.VI.26	46×37×18; +	3.5	30	shoulder cut (1); *harmīl/ru* (3)							
29262 (32; o)	let. ord.	19.I.26	37×31×17; +	10		unspecified meat (1)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer			
29267 (150; o)	adm. rcd.	-.-.27 Dar. I	41×29.5×15; +	1								presumably ᶠTabluṭu	
29268 (20; o)	let. ord.	19.V.-	35×30.5×19; +	1					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	Bēl-apla-uṣur(?)		

BM (no; shape)	type	date	dimensions in mm; ± sign	ṣ (& q)	ku (& q)	meat (type & q)	wine (& q)	other commodities (& q)	sender	addressee	deliverer	recipient 1	other recipients
29271 (92; r)	adm. rcd.	2.VIII.27	36×28.5×18; –			unspecified meat (16)					Nanâ-taqīš	ᶠAndiya (via Nāṣiru)	Rēmūtu s. of Taklāk-ana-Bēl
29286 (182; o)	adm. rcd.	a. 25.VII.(?)(27) b. 29.(VII.?)27	39.5×32×16.5; +	a. 1 b. 1	b. 30	a. *harmīl/ru* (1) b. unspecified meat (2); *harmīl/ru* (1)							
29294 (136; r)	adm.	VI.26 Dar. I	31×23×13.5; –	1		unspecified meat (1)					Nabû-ēṭer (*ina qibi ša-*)	anonymous leather worker (*aškāpu*)	
29295 (16; r)	let. ord.?	2.XI.26 Dar. I	24×22×13; –					a. emmer (1 k) b. emmer (5 k)	[x x (x)]-*šú*	[DN-balās]su-iqbi		a. Bēl-ēṭer	b. Nabû-aha-ittanu, butcher (for divine meal)
29300 (73; o)	adm. rpt. a. b.	11.X.26	21.5×17.5×12.5; –	a. 1	a. 20 b. 20	a. *harmīl/ru* (1)					Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	b. Rēmūt-Bēl (his anonymous daughters)
29307 (129; o)	adm. rcd.	19.IX.26	21×17×12; –				0;0.1.4					Ahušunu s. of Bēl(?)šunu	
29308 (86; o)	adm. rpt. a. b.	a. 6.VIII.26 b. 6.VIII.	29×22.5×13; –			a. breast cut (^{uzu}GABA, 1)		a. *qayātu* (1); b. *qayātu* (1)			a. Banītu-ittiya	a. Nabû-ēṭer	b. Mulliltu-silim
29309 (13; r)	let. ord.	20.VI.26 Dar. I	33×26.5×13; +	2				wool (22 sh)	Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		ᶠMulliltu-silim	
29310 (54; o)	adm. rpt.	12.VIII.26	23.5×23.5×11; –	0.5	20						Banītu-ittiya	Nabû-ēṭer	
29311 (87; r)	adm. rpt. a. b.	a. 1.IV.26 Dar. I b. 1.V.<26>	31×26×14; –					b. unspecified (0;0.0.1)			a. Ina-Esaggil-lūmur b. Nabû-uṣuršu	a.-b. Bēl-ēṭer	
29313 (38; r)	adm. ord.	14.XII.26 Dar. I	25×22×13; +			*harmīl/ru* (10)						Iddina-Bēl	
29314 (26; o)	let. ord.	19.VI.25 Dar. I	26.5×22×13; +	1.5		*harmīl/ru* (2)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bulluṭu	Ša-Bēl-bāni		
29316 (67; o)	adm. rpt. a. b.	a. 26.I.<27> b. 27.I.27	33×27×16; +	a. 1 b. 1		a. *harmīl/ru* (1) b. ~ (5) *adi* unspecified meat					b. Bēl-ēṭer b. "	a-b. Nabû-ēṭer	
29322 (57; o)	adm. rpt.	-.VIII.?	33×22.5×13; –	3		*harmīl/ru* (2)					Banītu-ittiya	Nabû-ēṭer	
29337 (75; o)	adm. rpt.	11.VI.26	26×20×9.5; –		10						Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	Bulluṭu
29338 (79; o)	adm. rpt.	24.XII.26	27×23.5×14.5; –			*harmīl/ru* (21)					Bēl-ēṭer (recorded in the receipts of Nabû-[ēṭer?])	Iddina-Bēl	Nabû-kāṣir/ikṣur (*ša ana ~ pi-qid-ᵓ*)
29339 (112; o)	adm. rcd.	15.IX.26	19×18×10.5; –			*harmīl/ru* (1)	0;0.0.1,5					Nabû-bullissu s. of Ardiya	
29340 (135; o)	adm. rcd.	14.III.27 Dar. I	32×24.5×13; +	3	10	HAR?-*ri* (2)						perhaps Guzānu (items of ~)	
29341 (66; o)	adm. rpt. a. b. c.	2.VI.27	29.5×26×14.5; +		b. 20	a. *harmīl/ru* of a shoulder (2) a. *harmīl/ru* of *ṣibtu* (part of the liver, 1) a. sheep (2)					b. Bēl-ēṭer	b. Nabû-ēṭer	a. Iddina (butcher)
29342 (1; r)	let. ord.	26.III.26 Dar. I	38×28.5×15; +			*harmīl/ru* (5)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		Iddina-Bēl	
29343 (125; o)	adm.	-.-.26	32×24×15; –			unspecified meat (4); *makkasu*? (5)						Bēl-apla-iddina(?) (recipient?)	Iqīšā (*elât ša ~*; recipient?)
29344 (180; r)	adm.	22.XI.-	32×26.5×15; –					white barley (10 k)					
29347 (72; r)	adm. rpt.	14.IX.26	25×21×16; –			unspecified meat (5)	0;0.2				Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-balāssu-iqbi	Nabû-uṣuršu (*ša ana ~ ipqid*)

BM (no; shape)	type	date	dimensions in mm; ± sign	ṣ (& q)	ku (& q)	meat (type & q)	wine (& q)	other commodities (& q)	sender	addressee	deliverer	recipient 1	other recipients
29348 (109; r)	adm. rcd.	-.XI.26	27×21×11; –	4		*makkasu* (4)					Nabû-rēʾûšunu (deliverer?)	Nabû-ēṭer	
29349 (47; r)	adm. rpt.	3.V.26	29×24×14.5; –	1		unspecified meat (1)					Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
29350 (131; r)	adm. rcd.	VI.27	29.5×23.5×11; –				0;0.0.2					Bulluṭā	
29352 (78; r)	adm. rpt.	6.III.	20×19×10; –	1		*harmīl/ru* (1)					Ša-Bēl-bāni	Nabû-ēṭer	
29353 (90; o)	adm. rpt.	27.VII.26	31.5×22.5×11.5; –	1	20	*harmīl/ru* (1)					Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
29354 (59; r)	adm. rpt.	V.26	34×28×15; –		20	*ha-ra-mil*(text DU; 5); shoulder (1)					Nabû-uṣuršu	Nabû-ēṭer	
29356 (104; r)	adm. rcd.	4.X.26	31×24.5×13; –	1	10	unspecified meat (1)					ᶠMulliltu-silim	Nabû-ēṭer	
29357 (81; r)	adm. rpt.	VIII.IX.X. (items of ~)	28×23.5×15; –			^{uzu}*ha-<ar>-mi-ir* (12; instead of 6 unspecified meat)		dates ([x (x)]; 0;1)			a. Nabû-ittannu s. of Kalbā b. (via) Bēl-ēṭer	a.-b. Nabû-ēṭer	b. Iddina-Bēl
29359 (3; o)	let. ord.	4.I.27	29×24.5×10; +	100 (or 200?)					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		Nabû-uṣuršu	
29360 (151; o)	adm. rcd.	3+[x](poss. 4).I.27	31×25×15; +			*harmīl/ru* (1)		*di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi e-du* (2)				ᶠŠaddinnatu (presumably recipient)	
29361 (168; o)	adm.	19.VII.27	30.5×28×16; +	1	10	*harmīl/ru* (1); breast cut (1)							
29362 (166; o)	adm.	12.X.27 Dar. I	35×29.5×16.5; +	1	20	*harmīl/ru* (1)							
29363 (140; r)	adm.	27.VIII.26	25×24×15; drawing					0.54 sh white silver			presumably ᶠBalāṭ-napišti w. of Nabû-ibni		
29365 (39; o)	adm. ord. a. b.	VIII.26	30.5×22.5×14.5; –	b. 1		a. unspecified meat (1) b. unspecified meat (1)					a. Ṭāb-šār-Bēl b. ᶠBalāṭ-napišti(?)	b. ᶠAndi-Nanâ	
29367 (80; r)	adm. rpt. a. b.	11.VII.26	27×22×12.5; –	c. 4		a. unspecified meat (3 of which 2 exchanged) b. unspecified meat (1; instead of confection/jam (*makkasu*) of Tilmun dates)					a. Bēl-ēṭer b. Nabû-ittannu s. of Kalbā	a. Iddina-Bēl	Nabû-ēṭer
29504 (12; o)	let. ord.	26.X.27	43×31×15.5; +					dates (0;0.2 instead of an unspecified quantity of *ṣ.*-bread)	Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		ᶠMulliltu-silim	ᶠTabluṭu
29527 (119; o)	adm. rcd. a. b.	a. 10.XI. b. 11.XII.	40×26×13; –	b. 1		a. unspecified meat (3) b. unspecified meat (1)						a. Nabû-ēṭer	b. Iddina-Bēl
29533 (185; o)	adm.	XI.27 Dar. I	41×31×14.5; +		100	*harmīl/ru* (18, instead of 18 *makkasu*); *makkasu* (18, but see above)		bread/cake(?, 1)					

BM (no; shape)	type	date	dimensions in mm; ± sign	ṣ (& q)	ku (& q)	meat (type & q)	wine (& q)	other commodities (& q)	sender	addressee	deliverer	recipient 1	other recipients
29563 (96; r)	adm. rcd. a. b. c. d.	IX. & XI.26	36×27.5×11; –			d. unspecified meat (5)	c. d. 0;0.4	a. barley (1 k); flour (0;0.5); oil (0;0.0.1); sesame (0;0.1) b. barley (1 k); cassia (0;2); d. white silver (1 sh)			c. Nabû-uṣuršu	a. Bēl-ēṭer (*ina pāni* ~) b. Bēl-ēṭer (*ina pāni* ~) c. d. Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (*ina pāni* ~)	
29565 (14; o)	let. ord.	15.VIII.27	31.5×28×16; +	1					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		anonymous messenger of Nabû-nāṣir (-uṣur)	
29568 (56; r)	adm. rpt.	12.I.27	25×20×12; –	1		shoulder cut (1)					Banītu-ittiya	Nabû-ēṭer	
29570 (149; o)	adm. rcd.	6.VIII.26	26×26×13; –		20							presumably ᶠMulliltu-silim	
29576 (84; r)	adm. rpt.	3.X.26	28×23×14; –		30	unspecified meat (1)	0;0.0.([x+?]	*di/ṭi/ki/qí-pi* ("additions"; 8)			Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
29578 (49; r)	adm. rpt.	24.VI.26	22×18.5×9.5; –			breast cut (1); *harmīl/ru* (1)					Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
29579 (103; r)	adm. rcd.	-/lost	21×18.5×10; –	1							Nabû-rēʾûšunu		
29583 (154; o)	adm. rcd.	29.X.	38×29×16; +		a. 20			b. *takkasû* (6)				a. 1. presumably *Ba-zi-zu*	a. 2. presumably Šamaš-iddina b. Nabû-ēṭer
29584 (124; o)	adm. rcd.	VIII.26	20×18×12; –					barley of a vat of barley beer (0;0.2)				Iddinā	
29589 (111; o)	adm. rcd.	9.II./V.26	35×26×12.5; –			^{uzu}*har-ir*-mu*^{meš} (18)						Iddina-Bēl	
29591 (45; o)	adm. rpt.	8.VII.26	34×26.5×11.5; –	*ṣ qayātu* (parched grain, 1)	20	shoulder cut (1)	0;0.0.2				Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
29595 (52; o)	adm. rpt.	17.X.26	32×25×13; –	0.5	10						Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
29598 (44; r)	adm. rpt.	3.IX.26	19.5×17×10.5; –		20	*harmīl/ru* (1)					Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
29604 (134; r)	adm. rcd. a. b.	4.IX.(?)-	37.5×29×15; –	a. 2		b. unspecified meat (1)		a. x-*ú* (1?)				a. Ša-Bēl-bāni	b. Nabû-ēṭer b. Nabû-ittanu s. of Kalbā
29607 (101; r)	adm. rcd.	X.26	26×22×13; –		*ù* (*recte* 60?)	*harmīl/rāni* (2)						Libluṭ ^{iú}ŠITIM (recipient?)	
29610 (141; o)	adm. rcd.	25.I.25	29×20.5×10.5; –	1								presumably Nabû-ēṭer	
29612 (68; o)	adm. rpt. a. b.	a. 6.XII. b. 8.XII.	41.5×27×16; –			a. *harmīl/ru* (1) b. *harmīl/ru* (1)		b. ˹x (x)˺ (12?)			b. Bēl-ēṭer	b. Nabû-ēṭer	
96319 (183; o)	adm. rcd. a. b.	a. 23.IX. (morning and evening) b. 24.IX.27	45×35×18; +	a. 1 b. 1	a. 30	a. shoulder cut (1); *harmīl/ru* (1) unspecified meat cut (1)							

BM (no; shape)	type	date	dimensions in mm; ± sign	ṣ (& q)	ku (& q)	meat (type & q)	wine (& q)	other commodities (& q)	sender	addressee	deliverer	recipient 1	other recipients
96342 (69; r)	adm. rpt.	IX. & II.25(?)	42.5×35×19; –				0;1.5				Bēl-ēṭer	Iddina-^{d}x(?) ^{lú}*šá-kin**	2. Guzānu 3. Bēl-[...]) 4. Bēl-iddina (recipients?) 5. Šulum-Bēl-lūmur
96364 (8; o)	let. ord.	20.III.26 Dar. I	43.5×34.5×16; +	2		unspecified meat (1)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		Nabû-šuma-uṣur (or -nādin-ahi)	
96365 (105; o)	adm. rcd.	5. or 6.I.(?)	48×29.5×13.5; –	2(?)		^{uzu}*har*(?!)-*mi*(!)-*il*(?, 2)		dates (0;0.0.4)			Ša-Bēl-bāni	Bēl-ēṭer	
96400 (21; o)	let. ord.	6.IX.26 Dar. I	43×33×16; +	2		unspecified meat (1)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	Kidinnu		
96405 (7; o)	let. ord.	-.X.[2]6	44×35×18; +	3	30				Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		Bēl-ēṭer (probably a different person)	
96409 (95; o)	adm. rpt.	18.V.25[+1-2?]	41.5×29×17.5; –			sheep		white silver (24 sh)			Bēl-ēṭer	Harīṣānu	
96416 (94; r)	adm. rpt. a. b. c. d.	VI.27 Dar. I (d: 22.VI.)	41×31×18; –	d. 4 e. 1		d. unspecified meat (4) e. unspecified meat (2)		a. barley (0;2.3) as fodder for animals b. bread (10 loaves) c. silver (1 sh) e. silver (2 sh)				b. anonymous female *lamutānu*-slave c. anonymous *lamutānu*-slave e. Ardi-Nergal	
96426 (27; r)	let. ord.	-	38×25×26.5; –					white silver (5 sh; for her need)	^{f}Re'indu (also recipient)	Bēl-ēṭer	Bēl-iḳṣur		
96428 (117; o)	adm. rcd.	28.I.	26×20×12; –	2								Bēl-ēṭer	
96429 (174; o)	adm. rcd.	2.V.28	27×20×14; +		10	*har-mi-il*? (1)							
96430 (128; r)	adm. rcd.	15.I.27	24×21×13; –	7		unspecified meat (1)						Šār-Bēl-ṭāb	
96431 (116; o)	adm. rcd.	28.XII.26	27×21.5×13.5; –					$_{\lceil}$x x$_{\rfloor}$ (1)				^{f}Mullittu-silim ^{f}[^{d}NIN.LÍL-*s*]*i-lim* (less likely PN ... IGI)	
96432 (61; r)	adm. rpt.	20. & ("until") 21.III.	22×18×9; –	2		^{uzu}*ha-<ar>-mi-ir* (1)					^{f}Banītu-ittiya	Ša-Bēl-bāni	
96433 (146; r)	adm. rcd.	8.I.27	20×24×14; –	0.5								presumably Bēl-bēl-māri	
96434 (113; r)	adm. rcd.	II. & III.27	27.5×22.5×12.5;		30	unspecified meat (5)		*diḫṭi/ki/qí-pi* (8)				Nabû-uṣuršu s. of Mušēzibu	
96435 (126; r)	adm. rcd.	II.28	25×21×11.5; –	1	10	shoulder cut (1)						Nabû-ēṭer	
96436 (160; o)	adm. rcd.	5.IX.27	23×20×13; +	1	10								
96437 (139; o)	adm. rcd.	VIII.26	28×21.5×14; –			*harmīl/ru* (2)						Libluṭ builder (^{lú}ŠITIM)	Nabû-ēṭer
96438 (40; o)	adm. ord.	23.X.26 Dar. I	24×21×14; +	1									
96439 (89; o)	adm. rpt.	22.VIII.26	26×22×14; +		10	shoulder cut (1)						Nabû-ēṭer	
96440 (115; r)	adm. rcd.	14.III.27	19×16×8; –				0;0.0.1 out of 0;0.0.2;	white silver (1 sh of which 1/8 alloy)				Bēl-ēreš s. of *Bi-ki-iá*	
96441 (127; r)	adm. rcd.	19.I.27	26×20×11; –				0;0.0.3					Uššā	
96442 (130; r)	adm. rcd.	20.VIII.26	24×20×13; –					barley (0;2.2)				Nabû-aha-ittanu desc. of Ṣillāyu	

BM (no; shape)	type	date	dimensions in mm; ± sign	ṣ (& q)	ku (& q)	meat (type & q)	wine (& q)	other commodities (& q)	sender	addressee	deliverer	recipient 1	other recipients
96446 (158; o)	adm. rcd.	10.IX.27	38×28×15; +	2		unspecified meat (2)						presumably the official in charge of a dam (*ša muhhi mušannītu*)	
96447 (102; o)	adm. rcd.	18.II.26	31×16-19×12; –	1		shoulder cut (1)					Ša-Bēl-bāni		
96448A (23; o)	let. ord.	21.V.26	34.5×27×15.5; +		20		0;0.0.3		Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ittannu		
96448B (106)	adm. rcd. a. b. c.	28.-.	–	a. 3 b. 2.5		a. rib (1)		a. DAR (2)			a. Nabû-ittannu (as in letter) b. Nūrē'a		
96451 (143; o)	adm. rcd.	2.VII.(?)26	28×23×12; –			*harmīl/ru* (1)						presumably Bēl-ittannu	
96452 (155; o)	adm. rcd. a. b. c.	-.-.27	25×24×13; +	a. 1 b. 1	b. 50			b. *diḫṭi/ki/qí*]-[*pi*] (1)				a. presumably SAG-[...]	b. presumably Bēl-[...] c. presumably Nabû-ēṭer
96455 (177; o)	adm. rcd.	23.I.27 Dar. I	34×25×13; +			*harmīl/ru* (1)		*diḫṭi/ki/qí-pi* (2)					
96456 (98; r)	adm. rcd. a. b. c. d. e. f.	8.I.(?)-	39.5×24×15; –	b. 2 c. 3 d. 1 e. 1 f. 2 *ša ina qa*-A+A-*i-tu*$_4^{meš}$ (in a parched form)		a. unspecified meat (1) b. unspecified meat (2) c. unspecified meat (1) d. unspecified meat (1) f. unspecified meat (1); *ana harmīl/ru*						a. Nabû-šumu-līšir b. Nabû-ṭābā c. Nabû-nādin-ahi d. anonymous gate guardians e. Nabû-šuma-uṣur	
96457 (108; r)	adm. rcd.	-.IX.-X.-	32.5×24.5×15; –					barley (1;2.3) flour (0;0.3)			Nabû-balāssu-iqbi	Bēl-ēṭer	
96466 (34; o)	let. ord.	27.XII.26	37×29×16; +			unspecified meat (2)		*takkasû* (6)	Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer			
96467 (85; o)	adm. rpt.	1.VI.26	34×24×14; –	[x+?]1(at most 2)		^{uzu}*ha-<ar>-mi-ir* (1)					Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
96468 (121; o)	adm. rcd. a. b.	a. 9.I.- b. 10.I.-	42×31×16; –	a. 2 b. 4				a. 4 [x x (x)] ⌜x]				a. x] [x]	
96470 (10; o)	let. ord.	5.VI.26 Dar. I	36.5×27×13.5; +	1					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		^{f}*Si-ip-pa-a*	
96471 (133; r)	adm. rcd.	8.VIII.27	31×22.5×14.5; +	1	40	*gannu*(?, 2)							
96473 (184; o)	adm. rcd.	2.I.27	27×23×13.5; +	2		ducks (*paspasu*, exchanged for 2 *ṣibtu*-bread)							
96477 (120; r)	adm. rcd. a. b. c.	a. 15.XII.- b. - (XII.?) c. 17.(?)XII.-	38×26×13.5; –	b. 1		a. *harmīl/ru* (1) c. *rib* (*ṣēlu*, 1); ^{uzu}GAN (1)		a. *qayyātu* (1)				a. Nabû-ēṭer	b. Nabû-šuma-uṣur c. Nabû-ēṭer
96478 (118; o)	adm. rcd.	2.VII.-	36×26×14; –			unspecified meat ([x])					Bēl-[ēṭer?]	*Ab/Du-da-ni*(?-) LUGAL	
96483 (29; r)	let. ord.	10.I.26 Dar. I	34×26.5×14; +	[x]					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer			

BM (no; shape)	type	date	dimensions in mm; ± sign	ṣ (& q)	ku (& q)	meat (type & q)	wine (& q)	other commodities (& q)	sender	addressee	deliverer	recipient 1	other recipients
96484 (77; r)	adm. rpt.		28.5×26×10.5; –	1[+x?] (barley for ~)		*makkasu* (1)	0;0.0.2	white silver (8.5 sh) out of which 2.5 sh are given for barley			Bēl-ēṭer	Šār-Bēl-ṭāb	
96485 (4; o)	let. ord.	18.I.27 Dar I.	37.5×28×17; +	1					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		Nabû-ina-Esaggil-lū[mur?]	
96486 (65; r)	adm. rpt. a. b. c. d. e.	22.IX.27 or 28	40×26.5×15; –	b. 2		a. unspecified meat (6) b. unspecified meat (4)		c. white silver (3 sh) d. silver (2 sh) e. dates (1 k)			a. Bēl-ēṭer	a. Ubāru (recipient for Andiya) b. *Ba/Ma-n[i-ia*(?)] c. Nabû-silim d. Guzānu e. Nabû-uṣuršu, proxy of Nabû-silim	a. Andiya
96490 (148; o)	adm. rcd.	14.VIII.26	27.5×22×12; –	1								presumably Mullil-tu-silim	
96491 (88; r)	adm. rpt.	3.XII.25	28.5×21.5×12; –										
96492 (71; o)	adm. rpt.	27.I.27	30×24.5×16; +		10	*harmīl/ru* (1)		sesame (0;1)			Bēl-iddina	Bēl-ēṭer	
96493 (172; o)	adm. rcd.	8.VII.27	34×26.5×14; +	1		breast cut (1)		*diḫṭi/ki/qí-pi* (2)			Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
96495 (138; r)	adm. rpt. a. b. c.	a. 15.IV. b. 20.IV. c. no date	36×29.5×18; –					a. sesame (0;1.4) b. sesame (0;1) c. sesame (0;0.3.3)			b. Lā-abâši (oil presser)	a. 1. Bakūʾa and his colleagues 2. the anonymous s. of Mušēzib-Nabû	b. *Ba-zu-zu* c. Libluṭ s. of (Mu)kīn-ahi(?)
96497 (33; r)	let. ord.	30.V.26 Dar. I	32×27.5×15; +	1		*harmīl/ru* (1)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer			
96500 (132; r)	adm. rcd.	-.I.-	29×22×13.5; –				a. (1?) *diqāru*-bowl b. 0;0.0.1	c. *šappu* containers (3) d. *šappu* container (1)			d. Nabû-ittannu s. of Kalbā	a. Bītāyu	b. Iqīšā s. of Ilu-bāni(?) c. Bītāyu
96502 (152; o)	adm. rcd.	15.X.27 Dar. I	34×26×15; +		10	breast cuts (2)						presumably Nurmû	
96506 (157; o)	adm. rcd.	3.VIII.27	29×37×16; +	1	20	*harmīl/ru* (2); *ṣibtu* (cut?) of breast (1)							
96507 (173; o)	adm. rcd.	18.VIII.27	33×25×13.5; +		10	*harmīl/ru* (probably [1-2])							
96509 (9; r)	let. ord.	21.I.26 Dar. I	40.5×30×14; –			*harmīl/ru* of beef (16 instead of 8 unspecified meat); *makkasu* (2)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		[Bēl/Nabû-x]	
96510 (82; r)	adm. rpt.	20.I.27	29×33×12.5; –					white silver *pitqa* (2? sh)			Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-silim	
96511 (83; o)	adm. rpt.	26.I.27	36×27×15; –			₍*harmīl/ru* (1)							
96512 (31; o)	let. ord.	19.X.26	37.5×28×14.5; +	1		*harmīl/ru* (1)					Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
96513 (159; o)	adm. rcd.	15.IX.27	30.5×28×13.5; +	1	10				Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer			
96515 (123; o)	adm. rcd. a. b.	-	38.5×24×18; –			a. unspecified meat (12) b. unspecified meat (4)						a. Nabû-uballiṭ	b. x x (x)
96516 (175; o)	adm. rcd.	14.X.27 Dar. I	35×27.5×13; +		k? (30)	*harmīl/ru* (1)		*diḫṭi/ki/qí-pi* (1)					

BM (no; shape)	type	date	dimensions in mm; ± sign	ṣ (& q)	ku (& q)	meat (type & q)	wine (& q)	other commodities (& q)	sender	addressee	deliverer	recipient 1	other recipients
96517 (144; o)	adm. rcd.	18.I.27	36×28×15.5; +	1	20	*harmīl/ru* (1)						presumably Nabû-uṣuršu s. of Bān-ahi (recipient?)	
96518 (11; o)	let. ord.	14.XI.27	33×27×15; +	a. 1 b. 0.5					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		b. ᶠAm-ma-ka-ni-šú	a. Nabû(?)-x-x
96519 (99; r)	adm. rcd. a. b. c.	XII.26	27.5×23×14; –		b. 20 per month	a. *harmīl/ru* (13) b. *harmīl/ru* (2 per month)					Nabû-kāṣir/ikṣur a. Iddina-Nabû	Nabû-ēṭer	b. anonymous builder
96520 (64; r)	adm. rpt.	4.VIII.25	31×27×14.5; –			unspecified meat (2)					Bēl-ēṭer	Mušebši-Nergal	(via) Rēmūtu
96523 (22; o)	let. ord.	27.VI.-	33×26×15; +	1		unspecified meat (1)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	Itti-Nabû-balāṭu		
96524 (167; o)	adm. rcd.	17.X.27	37.5×28×15; +	1	10	breast cut of a sheep (1)							
96525 (153; o)	adm. rcd.	19.II.26	29.5×23×13; –		10	*harmīl/ru* (1)		*diḫṭi/ki/qí-pi* (4)				presumably Nabû-ēṭer	
96526 (179; o)	adm. rcd.	24.IV.	31×23×12.5; –		15								
96527 (5; o)	let. ord.	20.VIII.26 Dar. I	33×26×15.5; –	1					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		Bēl-udammiq	
96528 (176; r)	adm. rcd.	30.X.27	33×25×13.5; +		21			*diḫṭi/ki/qí-pi* (1)					
96531 (156; r)	adm. rcd.	26.XI.[prob. 25-26]	23×19×11.5; –				0;0.0.2					presumably Bēl-ēreš s. of *Bi-ki-ia*	
96532 (145; o)	adm. rcd.	-	23.5×20×10.5; –			unspecified meat (2 per month)						presumably Libluṭ (builder = ᵏᵘSITIM)	
96533 (186; o)	adm. rcd.	-.I.26	24×18×19; –	1		ᵘᶻᵘ*ha-ni-še* (*ha*-GAB?; 1)						Nabû-šuma-uṣur	
96534 (55; r)	adm. rpt.	4.IX.26	21×17.5×12; –	1		breast cut (1)					Banītu-ittiya	Bēl-ēṭer	
96535 (187; r)	adm. rcd.	27.XII.26	23.5×21×14; –			*harmīl/ru*(?, no quantity)						Nabû-hamû(?)	
96536 (63; r)	adm. rpt.	14.X.26	23×21.5×13; –	1							Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
96539 (24; o)	let. ord.	20.V.25	32×31×13; +			sheep's breast (*irit immeri*) (15)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	x]-[x]		
96542 (164; o)	adm. rcd.	10.XI.27 Dar. I	39.5×30×15; +	1	60	rib (TI, 1)							
96543 (93; r)	adm. rpt. a. b.	-.I.27	32×24×14; –	a. 1 b. 1		a. unspecified meat (1) b. thighs (2)					a.-b. Andiya d. of ᶠHiptā	b. anonymous messenger	
96544 (100; r)	adm. rcd.		30×21×12; –			a. *harmīl/rāni* (?, 4 per month instead of 2 unspecified meat cuts) b. heart cuts (2, instead of *makkasu* meat cuts) c. *harmīl/ru* (2)					a. Nabû-ittannu	b. Bēl-ēṭer	c. anonymous builder
96545 (30; o)	let. ord.	25.IX.26	36×27×17; +	1		shoulder cut (1)			Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer			
96546 (62; r)	adm. rpt.?	12.[?].26 Dar. I	32×24.5×14; –					flour (20 k) sesame (0;0.2)			ᶠBānī[tu-ittiy]a(?)	Ša-Bēl-bāni	
96548 (35; o)	let. ord.	5.IX.26 Dar. I	33.5×26×12; +		30[+20?]				Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer			
96552 (17; o)	let. ord.	21.VIII.25! Dar. I	32.5×29×15; +	1					Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer	Ša-Bēl-bāni		

BM (no; shape)	type	date	dimensions in mm; ± sign	ṣ (& q)	ku (& q)	meat (type & q)	other commodities (& q)	sender	addressee	deliverer	recipient 1	other recipients
96553 (70; o)	adm. rpt. a. b.	a. 10.III.26 b. 4.?	31.5×21×12; –	a. 1			b. *qayātu* (1)			a.-b. Bēl-ēṭer	a.-b. Ša-Bēl-bāni	
96554 (107; r)	adm. rcd.	14.V.26 Dar. I	32×24×12; –	1		unspecified meat (1)				Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
96555 (110; o)	adm. rcd.	24.II.26	30×21×13.5; –	1		unspecified meat (10)					Nabû-ēṭer	
96556 (147; r)	adm. rcd.	2.IX.26	26.5×22×12; –				KAŠ E (for SAG?); KAŠ ŠE.BAR, i. e. possibly first rate barley beer (0;0.0.3)				presumably Bēl-iddina (smith, *nappāḫu* = ^{lú}SIMUG)	
96557 (91; o)	adm. rpt.?	6.V.(?)26	25×22×12; –			unspecified meat (1)					Nabû-ittannu s. of E-[...]	
96558 (97; r)	adm. rcd.	6.II.-	31×25×14.5; –				barley (0;2.3); cress (0;0.2); GIŠ.ŠE.Ì (sesame? 0;0.1.1)			Iddina-Nabû		
96560 (161; o)	adm. rcd.	23.VIII.?27	34×32×18; +	[1(?)]	10							
96561 (6; o)	let. ord.	11.XI.27 Dar. I	27×23×16; +(?)	1				Nabû-ēṭer	Bēl-ēṭer		Uṣuršā	
96562 (46; r)	adm. rpt.	11.VII.27 Dar. I	25×21.5×12; –		21	shoulder cut (1); *harmil/ru* (2)	*qayātu* (1)			Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
96563 (48; r)	adm. rpt.	12.VI.26	27.5×21×11; –	1		*harmil/ru* (1)				Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	
96564 (50; o)	adm. rpt.	24.[?].26	22×17×10; –	1			? (0;1?)			Bēl-ēṭer	Nabû-ēṭer	

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West Semitic and Judean Brides in Cuneiform Sources from the Sixth Century BCE

New Evidence from a Marriage Contract from Āl-Yahudu

By Kathleen Abraham (Bar-Ilan University)

The tablet published here is a contract for the marriage of ᶠNanaya-kānat from the time of Cyrus.[1] It employs well-known Neo-Babylonian formulary typical of such contracts, but exhibits a few exceptional formulas. The contract also provides details about a payment by the groom to the bride's mother, a fact rarely documented in contemporary cuneiform marriage agreements. The contract was drafted in a place named Āl-Yahudu, the 'Town of Judah',[2] presumably in the vicinity of Borsippa. The bride ᶠNanaya-kānat, as well as most of the witnesses, bear non-Babylonian names of West-Semitic origin. The study of ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract aims to contribute to our understanding of the everyday life of a community of immigrants and deportees in Babylonia in the early Persian period.

An edition of the tablet is given below (1.). This is followed by a description of the tablet (2.) and philological and epigraphical notes (3.). A discussion of the formulas and legal acts performed in the contract follows (4.). A comparative study of West Semitic brides (5.) and brides without father (6.) in legal cuneiform documents is then given. An Appendix of all the names found in the marriage contract of the bride ᶠNanaya-kānat closes this article.

1. *Transliteration and Translation of ᶠNanaya-kānat's Marriage Contract*

Obverse

1. ᵐᵈAG-DÙ-ŠEŠ A-⌊*šú*⌋ [*šá* ᵐ*k*]*i-na-*⌜*a*⌝
2. *ina ḫu-*⌜*ud lib-bi-šú*⌝ *a-na* ⌜⌜*d*⌝*ib*ʾ*-bi-i*ʾ
3. DUMU.MÍ-⌜*su šá*⌝ ᵐ*da-na-a*
4. *k*[*a*]-⌜*a-ma*⌝ [*i*]*q*-[*b*]*i um-ma*
5. ᶠᵈ*na-na-a*-[*k*]*a-na-ta* DUMU.MÍ-⌜*ki*⌝
6. ⌜NAR-*tu*$_4$⌝ *a-na* DAM-*ú-tu*
7. ⌜*bi-i-nam-ma*⌝ *lu-ú* DAM *ši-i*
8. ⌜⌜*dib*ʾ*-bi-i*ʾ⌝ *a-na* ᵐᵈAG-DÙ-ŠEŠ
9. *ta-*⌜*áš-me-ma* ⌜⌜ᵈ*na-na-a-ka-*⌜*na-ta*⌝
10. DUMU.MÍ-⌜*su ba*⌝*-tul-tu*$_4$ *a-na* DA[M]-⌜*ú-tú ta*⌝*-din*
11. *i-na* ⌜*u*$_4$*-mu* ᵐ⌝ᵈAG-DÙ-ŠEŠ {*a-na*}
12. *a-na* ᶠᵈ*na-na-a-ka-na-ta*
13. *un-dáš-ši*[*r*]*-ma* ⌜*iq*⌝*-*<*bi um*>*-ma ul* D[A]M
14. *ši-i* 6 MA.NA ⌜KÙ.BABBAR⌝ *ina qa-*⌜*na*⌝ ᵗᵘᵍKUR.RA-⌜*šú*⌝
15. *i-rak-ka-su a-*[*ša*]*r* ⌜*maḫ-ri*⌝
16. *tal-lak i-na* [*u*$_4$*-mu* ᶠᵈ*na-na-a-k*]*a-na-ta*
17. *it-ti* <ˡᵘ>NITA *šá-n*[*am-ma kal-d*]*a-ta*
18. <*ina*> GÍR *ta-ma-*⌜*ta*⌝

Lower Edge

19. 1-*en* ᵗᵘᵍ⌜KUR.RA⌝ *šá* 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
20. *ub-ba*[*l-lu* ᵐᵈAG]-DÙ-ŠEŠ

Reverse

21. ZI IN ⌜DI⌝ʾ *šá* ᶠᵈ*na-na-a-ka-na-*⌜*ta*⌝
22. *a-na* ⌜⌜*dib*ʾ*-bi-i*ʾ⌝ *ú-kát-ta-ma*
23. ⌜x⌝[...] ⌜*in-nu-ú*⌝
24. ᵈŠÚ *u* ᵈ⌜*zar-pa-ni*⌝-[*t*]*u* ZÁḪ-*šú*
25. ⌜*liq*⌝*-bu-ú* ᵈAG {ᵈAG} ˡᵘ⌝UMBISAG *é-s*[*ag*]*-gil*
26. [*u*$_4$]-⌜*mu*ʾ⌝*-šú* ⌜EGIR⌝*-ku lu-ki-ri*
27. [*a-di*]*-i šá* ᵐ*ku-raš* LUGAL Eᵏⁱ *u* KUR.KUR
28. *ina* ⌜ŠU⌝*-šú lu-ba-a*ʾ *ina ka-nak-ka* <ⁿᵃ⁴KIŠIB>ʾ
29. ⌜MU⌝ᵐᵉˢ IGI ᵐGIN-A A-*šú šá* ᵐ*a-ḫu-*⌜x⌝-[(x)]
30. ᵐ*ši-li-im-a-ma* A-*šú šá* ᵐ*na-da-bi-a-ma*
31. ᵐ*i-ri-im-a-ma* A-*šú šá* ᵐ*pa-da-*⌜*a*/*iá*/ʾ⌝
32. ᵐ*na-ta-ni-a-ma* A-*šú šá* ᵐ*ba-ri-*⌜*ki*⌝*-a-ma*
33. ᵐ*ṣi-di-iq-a-ma* A-*šú šá* ᵐ*na-ti-in*
34. ᵐ*mu-šá*{*-la*}*-lam* A-*šú šá* ᵐ⌜x x x⌝
35. ᵐ*a-ṣí-li-a-ma* A-*šú šá* ᵐ⌜x x x x⌝
36. ᵐ*pi-li-li-a-ma* A-*šú šá* ᵐ⌜x x x⌝
37. *u* ˡᵘ⌝UMBISAG ᵐᵈIM-*šá-ma-a* ⌜A-*šú šá*⌝ ᵐ*šá*ʾ-[x-(x)]-⌊x⌋-⌜x⌝
38. A ᵐ*ba-si-ía* URU [*ia*]-*ḫu-d*[*u*]
39. ⁱʳᵢ⌝ŠE UD.[x kam MU].5 kam

Upper Edge

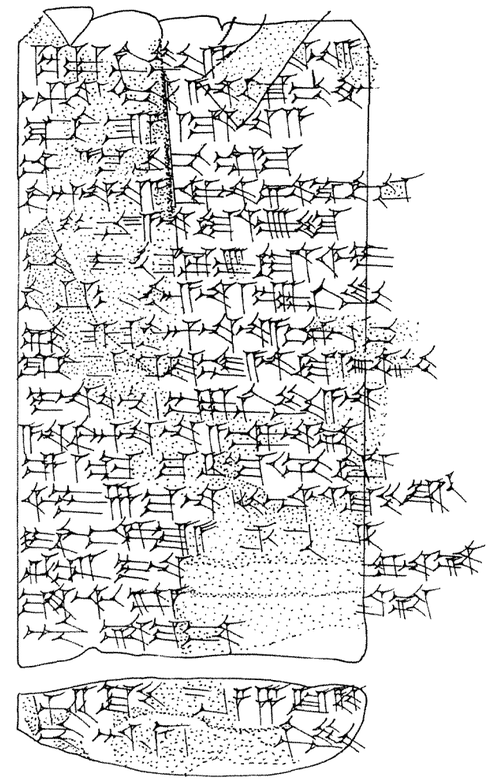
40. ⌜ᵐ*ku*⌝*-r*[*aš* ...]

Left Edge

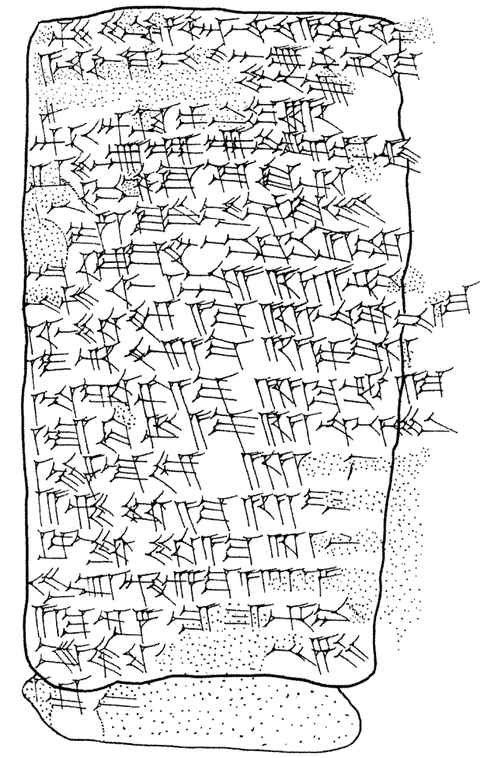
41. *ina* GUB-*zu šá mu-šá-la-am* ŠEŠ-*šú šá* ᶠᵈ⌜*na-na*⌝-[*a-ka-na-ta*]

[1]) The tablet is published with the kind permission of Mr. Shlomo Moussaieff. Sincere thanks are given to Y. Cohen, H. Hunger, M. Jursa, E. Lipiński, M. Weszeli, C. Wunsch, and R. Zadok for their helpful comments and suggestions; naturally, the author alone is to be held responsible for this article.

[2]) Compare URU ˡᵘ*ia-a-ḫu-du-a-a* "the Town of the Judeans" in Pearce, *Judah and Judeans*, 399.



Obverse and Lower Edge



Reverse and Upper Edge

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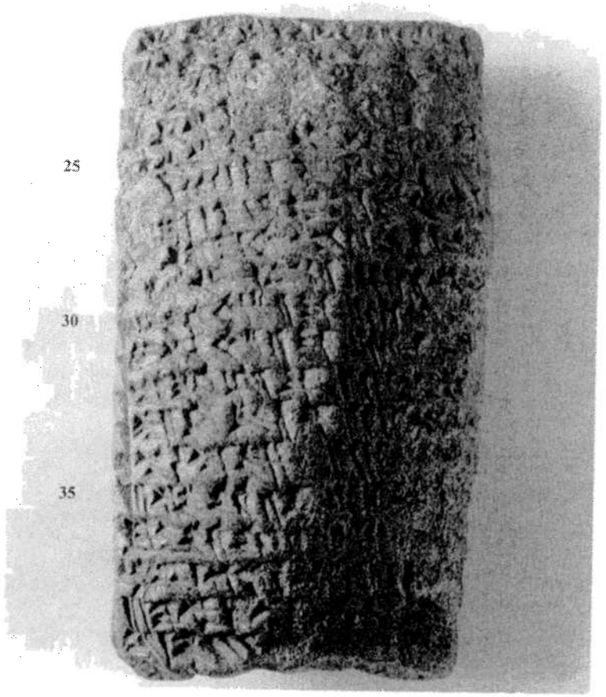
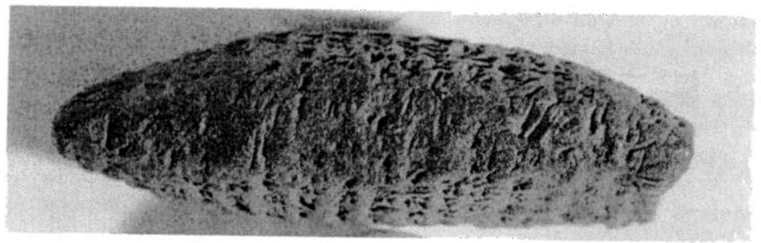


Reverse



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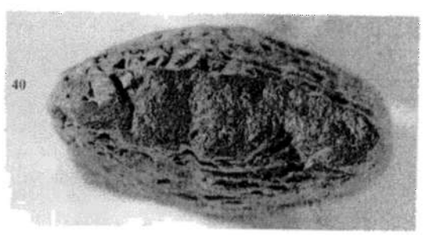

Upper Edge

Translation

(1-4) Nabû-bān-aḫi, son of [K]īnâ, voluntarily spoke to ᶠ[*D*]*ibbî*, daughter of Dannâ, as follows: (5-7) "⌜Please give me⌝ ᶠNanaya-[k]ānat, ⌜your⌝ daughter, ⌜the maiden⌝, in marriage. Let her be a (or: my) wife."

(8-10) ⌜ᶠ*Dibbî* consented⌝ to Nabû-bān-aḫi('s proposal), ⌜and gave⌝ ᶠNanaya-kānat, ⌜her⌝ daughter, the maiden, in marriage.

(11-16a) Should Nabû-bān-aḫi release ᶠNanaya-kānat and sa<y as> follows: "She is not a(/my) wife," he will bind six minas ⌜of silver⌝ in the hem of ⌜her⌝ garment. She may go whi[ther] ⌜she wishes⌝.

(16b-18) Sho[uld ᶠNanaya-k]ānat [be f]ound with anoth[er] man, she will die by the dagger.

(19-22) With one ⌜KUR.RA⌝-garment wor[th] five shekels of silver, the ⌜... (of)⌝ ᶠNanaya-kānat, [Nabû]-bān-aḫi will cover ⌜ᶠ*Dibbî*⌝.

(23-28a) May Marduk and ⌜Zarpānītu⌝ decree the destruction of [whoever] ⌜contravenes⌝ [this agreement]. May Nabû {Nabû}, scribe of the Esagil cut short his ⌜long⌝ [d]ays. May [the majes]ty of Cyrus, king of Babylon and the Lands call him to ⌜account⌝.

(28b-29) At the sealing <of> this <document>, before:

(29) Mukīn-apli/*Aḫu*-⌜x⌝-[(x)].
(30) Šillēmyah/Nadabyah
(31) Yarīmyah/*Pad*⌜*â*⌝ (or: *Ḫadd*⌜*â*⌝)
(32) Natanyah/Barīkyah
(33) Ṣidqiyah/Natīn
(34) Mešallam/⌜...⌝
(35) Aṣīlyah/⌜...⌝
(36) Pillelyah/⌜...⌝.

(37-38) And the scribe: Adad-šamā/Ša'[...]//Bāsia. (Written in) Āl-[Ya]hudu.

(39-40) Addar', the [...], fifth [year] of Cyrus, [king of Babylon and the Lands].

(41) In the presence of Mešallam, brother of ᶠNan[aya-kānat]

2. *Description of the Tablet*

The tablet is portrait-shaped, nine centimeters long and almost five centimeters wide. The obverse is relatively flat and the reverse is convex. The tablet is inscribed on both sides and the edges. The script on the reverse gradually grows more dense, as the scribe realizes that the space at his disposal is limited. The tablet is not broken, but the obverse is damaged in several places; the reverse is fairly well preserved, except for minor damages. The surface of the upper edge is severely damaged.

3. *Philological and Epigraphical Notes*

L. 6: The standard terms to qualify the bride in NB contracts are *batultu* (Hebrew בתולה) or *nârtu* (Hebrew נערה). There does not seem to be any significant difference in meaning between them, and the scribe uses them in alternation, *viz. nârtu* in l. 6 and *batultu* in l. 10. For a discussion of these terms, see Roth, BMA, 6f.; n. 31, with bibliography, Van Driel, *Care of the Elderly*, 192-194, and Wunsch, *Urkunden*, 3-7.

L. 10: The *ta-* is squeezed on the narrow right edge.

L. 13: The scribe wrote *iq* and *ma*, accidentally skipping two signs (⌜*iq*⌝-<*bi um*>-*ma*). Reading with the tablet ⌜*iq*⌝-*ba* is not likely, because it would leave the following direct speech (*ul* DAM *šī*) without a proper introduction, such as *umma*.

L. 18: The usual formula is *ina* GÍR AN.BAR "by the iron dagger"; see Roth, JESHO 31, 186ff.

L. 20: For *abālu* "to be worth", see CAD A_1 20f. *s.v.* mng. 5b-d'. For a similar spelling, see BM 61737 (= *AfO* 50 No. 8): (1'-3') *ina ḫud libbišu ištēn* ᵗᵘᵍKUR.RA *ana* ᶠPN *ša* 10 *šiqil kaspu ub-bal-lu tu-kát-am-ma* "She will cover ᶠPN with one KUR.RA-garment worth ten shekels of silver out of her own free will."

L. 25b-26: The scribe erroneously wrote twice the name of Nabû. In addition, he misspelled the verb *likarri*, and instead of GÍD.DA (= *arku* "long"), he employed the logogram EGIR (*arkû*, meaning "future, later"). Such confusion is attested elsewhere; see BMA No. 5: 28 (and comment) and *BaAr* 2 No. 43: 24 (and comment).

L. 28b: Read *ina kanāki šuāti* "at this sealing" or *ina kanāk* <*ṭuppi/kunukki*> *šuāti* "at the sealing of this <(sealed) tablet>". Note that the tablet is well preserved after *ina ka-nak-ka* and hence not followed by IM.DUB (*ṭuppi*) or ᵐᵃ·KIŠIB (*kunukki*); reading *ina ka-nak ṭup-*[*pi*] is also not possible. The formula *ina kanāk ṭ*[*uppi/kunukki šuāti* means "to authenticate", "to establish as genuine", therefore *kanāku* "to seal" should not always be taken too literally. Indeed, it occurs in documents that were often not actually "sealed" by means of a seal; see Wunsch, *Urkunden*, 74 and 170; and Roth, BMA, 23f. for sealed marriage contracts from Babylonia (late Achaemenid or Seleucid).

L. 29: Perhaps read ᵐ*A-ḫu-k*[*a*].

L. 32: Note the remnants of a line or of signs below the *-ta-* and the *-ri-* (cf. line 36).

L. 36: There appears to be a horizontal line or perhaps two horizontal wedges below the first two signs of this line. Was this a sign made by the scribe to indicate to himself where the list of witnesses should end? Neo-Babylonian scribes of archival texts frequently separated the list of witnesses from what followed it by an empty space of one or two lines.

L. 39: The month is Addar, and not Shebat (ZÍZ) as suggested by Zadok, *Diaspora*, 30. There is a vertical wedge at the very end of the wedges of the ŠE sign, but a reading ZÍZ is excluded. The strokes in front of the vertical are clearly wedges (two upper and two lower) and not three horizontals; they were impressed

over the vertical. The year is 5, and not 6, as suggested by Zadok, *Diaspora*, 30; the surface of the tablet is slightly damaged, but there are five, not six, wedges; cf. number 5 in l. 19.

4. *The Structure and Formulas of ᶠNanaya-kānat's Marriage Contract*

This section analyzes ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract within the corpus of contemporary cuneiform documents. After presenting the structure of the contract, it will be investigated to what degree, and why, the contract corresponds or deviates from the normal patterns found in similar documents.

The structure of ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract resembles the thirty-six published Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid marriage agreements.[3] It contains clauses which are normally found in marriage contracts of the period. The structure of the contract can be described as follows:

The contract opens with the marriage proposal and its acceptance (ll. 1-10). It is followed by clauses regarding infringement upon the wife's status by the husband and adultery by the wife (ll. 11-18). Then comes a rather rare clause (ll. 19-22) detailing how the groom presents a garment for the bride's mother; this will be discussed below. The operative section of the contract (in total twenty-two lines) is then followed by curses (ll. 23-28). The last part of the contract contains a list of the witnesses (ll. 29-36), the name of the scribe (ll. 37-38), and the place and date of its execution (ll. 38-40). At the very end of the contract, the bride's brother is named (l. 41). He is introduced, rather surprisingly, by the phrase *ina ušuzzi*, thus made distinct from the other witnesses.[4] It is not clear why the bride's brother is not counted among the witnesses or why he is not mentioned in the operative section together with his mother, as part of the party consenting to the marriage proposal and giving the bride in marriage. Finally, note that the contract does not include a dowry, like (at least) eleven other completely preserved Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid marriage contracts.[5] A marriage without a dowry was usually the lot of a poor bride, who would also face death by the iron dagger if she were found adulterous.[6]

The contract follows in general the standard NB formulary. The marriage proposal and its acceptance are cast in the customary dialogue pattern and the rest of the contract is formulated in the objective third person style, according to the standard practice. Additional customary features include, among others, the designation of the bride as a *batultu* or *nârtu* "a maiden", the expression "may she be a (or: my) wife" (*lū aššatu/ī šī*), announcing the groom's intention of marrying, the use of *muššuru* "to release" in order to express either divorce or repudiation, the expression "she may go wherever she pleases (*ašar pānūšu maḫrū tallak*)" to indicate the wife's new legal rights upon divorce or upon her husband taking a second wife, the idiom "to be caught with another man (*itti zikari šanîmma kaldat*)" to express adultery, and the phrase "she will die by the (iron) dagger" to refer to the death penalty.[7]

In spite of the general conformity of ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract, it contains four deviations from the customary formulary that require comment.

Cuneiform marriage documents from the NB, Persian, and Seleucid periods normally express the releasing of the first wife from her current status and, immediately following, the taking of a second wife thus: "Should he release her (*undaššir*) and take another wife" (*aššatu šanītu irtašu/ītaḫzu*).[8] Often the prepositional clause "in preference/in addition to her" (*ana muḫḫiša*) can be explicitly added for emphasis.[9] However, the clause concerned with the infringement upon ᶠNanaya-kānat's status as wife by her husband (ll. 11-16a) deviates from the standard formulas. It combines the standard clause "Should he release (*undašširma*) (the wife)" together with another clause – the husband's oral declaration, saying upon the release of his wife that "She is not a wife". The combination of these two

[3]) The thirty-six Neo-Babylonian or early Achaemenid marriage agreements are (cf. Wunsch, *Urkunden*, 1 n. 1): BMA Nos. 1-15, 16ᵛ, 17-26, 28-30, and 44, and *BaAr* 2 Nos. 1-6. The five (or possibly seven) late Achaemenid and Seleucid marriage agreements (BMA Nos. 36ᵛ, 37, 39, 40ᵛ, and 41-42; *BaAr* 2 No. 7) considerably differ from the earlier ones as argued in the author's article in CRAI 38, 311ff.; additional supportive evidence is now provided by Wunsch, *Urkunden*, 28-31.

[4]) For the use of the phrase *ina ušuzzi* "in the presence of (such-and-such supervising authority)" in private archival records, see von Dassow, *Festschrift Levine*, 15.

[5]) Roth, BMA, 7-9 and n. 37 (*BaAr* 2 Nos. 1 and 3 are to be added to Roth's list of nine documents).

[6]) For the relationship between the dowry, the bride's socio-economic status, and the "iron dagger" clause, see Wunsch, *Urkunden*, 3-7, esp. 6f.

[7]) Unless the intention is that the wife be cursed by the iron dagger, rather than she be killed by it. Thus, according to Beaulieu, BSMS 26, 11 n. 22, who interprets the verb as derived from *tamû* (and not *mâtu*).

[8]) This so-called 'divorce' clause in cuneiform marriage agreements from the NB and Persian periods will be treated elsewhere by the author.

[9]) See BMA Nos. 2, 15, 19, 26, and 34. The phrase *ana muḫḫiša* is omitted in BMA Nos. 1, 4, 6, 8, 20, and 25. Compare the unique phrase *kī sinništu maḫar* {x} *aššati* PN *ana bītišu u<š>erra<b>* "If PN causes a woman to enter his house ahead of the (first) wife" (BMA No. 17: 22). The husband in *BaAr* 2 No. 5 was explicitly denied the right to demote his first wife should he take another one: "Should he take [a se]cond wi[fe], ᶠPN (= his current wife) will be the first in ranking" (*ina ūmi aš[šatu šan]ītu ītaḫzu* ᶠPN *<aššа>tu*ᵢ *rabītu*, rev. 2'-4').

clauses in ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract is what is innovative, although it should be made clear that this oral declaration is not altogether absent from marriage documents. Note that as a result of this unique combination of clauses nothing is said about taking a second wife in ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract.

The declaration "She is not a wife" is found in two other NB/early Achaemenid marriage documents.[10] Note, however, that because the declaration in BMA No. 5 and *BaAr* 2 No. 3 was not preceded by the phrase "Should he release (her) ...", as in ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract, it remains unclear whether it was their intention to release or divorce the wife at all. Perhaps the husbands in these two documents did not intend to dissolve the marriage, but only wanted to reduce their wife in rank when declaring "She is not a wife". In such a case the phrase would mean "She is not a first-ranking wife."[11]

Further evidence for the declaration "She is not a wife" comes from Old-Babylonian cuneiform marriage contracts.[12] It is documented also in some legal documents from outside Babylonia: it occurs in a marriage contract from 13th century BCE Emar,[13] in the Aramaic marriage contracts from 5th century BCE Elephantine, and in a passage from the book of Hosea (Hos. 2:4).[14] The declarations in all these sources were either addressed directly to the wife – "You are not a(/my) wife" (OB and Emar), or said about her – "She is not a(/my) wife" (NB,[15] Elephantine, and Hosea).

A second variant to the standard formula in ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract is found in the apodosis of the clause concerned with the infringement upon the wife's status by the husband (ll. 14-15). Normally, when the husband divorced his wife or reduced her to second-ranking wife, he was obliged to provide her with a monetary compensation.[16] This obligation was expressed, without exception, with the verb *nadānum* "to give", thus: "He shall give her (*inaddišši*) (the payment)." In ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract, the same idea was expressed in a more elaborate and symbolic manner. It is said that the husband "shall bind (the payment) in the hem of her garment."

In the Old Babylonian period, and in Nuzi, binding silver in the hem of a woman's garment was one of the various symbolic acts, which were performed with the hem of a garment (besides, for instance, seizing or cutting the hem).[17] It was a symbolic act, which accompanied the transfer of funds to a woman, usually on the occasion of her marriage or divorce,[18] and whose purpose was to insure that none, including her (ex-)husband or her brothers, could lay hands on her funds. The bride's father, for instance, would tie the silver, which he had received from the groom as the brideprice (*terḫatum*), in his daughter's hem.[19] Similarly, the husband divorcing his wife was required to tie the divorce money (*uzubbû*) in her lap (*sūnum*).[20] The custom of tying the money in a woman's hem is no longer found in the legal documents from the later periods, except in our contract.[21] However, it seems not to have completely fallen into oblivion because it was still part of the marriage rites described in the late *ardat lilî* incantations.[22]

ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract contains a third rare formula. It is said in lines 19-22 that "With one

[10]) BMA No. 5: 12f. (Sippar, 4/xii/20 Nbk; and see Roth, *ibid.*, p. 13): *ina ūmi* PN *iqtabû umma* ᶠPN *ul áš-šá-tu*₄ *šī*, "Should PN declare: 'ᶠPN is not a wife'"; and *BaAr* 2 No. 3: 17f. (Borsippa, 26/ii/9 Cyr): [*ina ūmi*] PN *a*[*na* ᶠPN] *iqtabû umma* <*ul*> DA[M *attī/šī*], "[Shoul]d PN say t[o ᶠPN]: "[You/She] <are/is not> [a(/my)] wif[e]."

[11]) The presence or absence of the *muššuru*-clause was probably of legal significance. A husband who released his wife and in the preference of her took a second wife was to provide compensation between five and six minas of silver for her loss of status (e.g., BMA Nos. 2, 6, 17, 19, 20, and 26, and *BaAr* 2 No. 2: six minas; BMA No. 8: five minas; and BMA No. 34: five minas, and a dowry). A husband who took a second wife, but did not 'release' his first wife, paid only one mina of silver (e.g., BMA Nos. 4 and 25).

[12]) Westbrook, *OB Marriage Law*, 69ff.

[13]) See Arnaud, *Emar* VI/3, No. 124, a contract concerned with a *qadištu*-priestess. Because the priestess was probably forbidden to have normal marital relations with her husband, he married her eldest daughter as well. It was provisioned that if the daughter dies, the husband may marry her younger sister. It is evident from the Emar contract that in such a polygamous relationship it was of great importance to safeguard contractually the status of each woman and to financially compensate the first wife (*i.e.*, the priestess) in case of her demotion or divorce.

[14]) For the evidence from Elephantine and Hosea, see Geller, JSJ 8; and Szubin – Porten, ILR 35, 46-78, esp. 60ff.

[15]) In BMA No. 5, the husband speaks about his wife in the third person (*ina ūmi* PN *iqtabû umma* ᶠPN *ul aššatu šī*), whereas in *BaAr* 2 No. 5 the husband seems to address her indirectly ([*ina ūm*]*i* PN *a*[*na* ᶠPN] *iqtabû umma* <*ul*> DA[M *attī/šī*]); note that the reading of *BaAr* 2 No. 5 is uncertain because of the fragmentary state of the passage.

[16]) The silver was intended to compensate the wife for the unwarranted loss of her status as either a first-ranking wife, or a married woman, rather than to penalize the husband for a violation of the law.

[17]) See Malul, *Legal Symbolism*, *s.v.* *qannu* and *sissiktu*.

[18]) Other occasions (from Nuzi), in which money was transferred to a woman by tying it in her hem, are cited by Malul, *Legal Symbolism*, 187.

[19]) See CAD Q 83f. *s.v.* *qannu* B mng. b) 3'; and Malul, *Legal Symbolism*, 179ff.

[20]) Compare the OB series *ana ittišu* (VII iii 1-2): *uzubbâšu iḫīṭma / ina sūnišu irkus* "He weighed out her divorce money, and tied it in her lap."

[21]) Take note not to confuse this custom with the habit of tying money in the garment's hem for safekeeping, as documented in the OA period (Malul, *Legal Symbolism*, 193ff.), and also in later periods (e.g., UET 4 120: 11).

[22]) See Malul, *Legal Symbolism*, 183f.

⌜KUR.RA⌝-garment wor[th] five shekels of silver, the ⌜... (of)⌝ ᶠNanaya-kānat, [Nabû]-bān-aḫi will cover ᶠ⌜*Dibbī*⌝ (1-*en* ᵗᵘᵍ⌜KUR.RA⌝ *šá* 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ub-ba*[*l-lu* ᵐᵈAG]-DÙ-ŠEŠ ZI IN ⌜DI⌝ *šá* ᶠᵈ*na-na-a-ka-na-*⌜*ta*⌝*a-na* ᶠ⌜*dib*ʾ*-bi-i*ʾ⌝ *ú-kát-ta-ma*). The same act is recorded in only one other NB marriage contract (*BaAr* 2 No. 1),[23] hence it is to be considered rare in such documents, but it does not go altogether unrecorded in other types of documents. The act of presenting a garment at the conclusion of a legal transaction is also known in adoption contracts, house sales, and antichretic pledges.[24]

In adoption contracts, the biological mother, who gave her child away, was presented with a garment "for having fed and bred" the child.[25] In house sales, garments were given "as an extra, and for clothing the landlady."[26] Clearly, these garments were given as an incentive for the biological mother to give away her child, or the landlady to sell her house.

In a few antichretic pledges, slaves were covered with a garment by their master, or their master's creditor (depending on the contract), when serving the latter. This clothing fulfilled the obligation of providing the basic needs of a dependent person, such as feeding and anointing. In this sense, the act had nothing to do with the transfer of property rights or rights over a person, and was different, therefore, from garments given as rewards to mothers and landladies, as discussed above. It falls within the legal category of gifts and endowments.

In the light of this evidence, there are two ways to interpret the groom's ceremonial presentation of a garment in ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract. First, it could have been a symbolic act whose purpose was to motivate the bride's mother to relinquish rights over her daughter. The marriage of a daughter was no doubt an economic injury for the mother especially if she was widowed, as was ᶠNanaya-kānat's mother. The ceremony of covering the mother with a garment may have helped to compensate for the loss, at least in the symbolic sense.

An alternative interpretation – on the basis of a comparison with the antichretic pledges discussed above – is that the garment functioned as a gift for the bride at the occasion of her marriage. We then have to assume that the bride's mother eventually presented the garment, which she had received from her son-in-law, to her daughter. ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract does not seem to contain any explicit statement to such an act, although the expression ZI IN DI *ša* ᶠ*Nanaya-kānat* in l. 21 may hint to such a possibility, as will be explained below.

Let us consider the NB evidence on gifts or payments by the groom to the bride's agent at the conclusion of the marriage, and see how this evidence may help in clarifying the meaning of the groom's presentation of the garment in ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract. First of all, it is worth pointing out that in the NB period, gifts or payments by the groom had become very rare.[27] In three, out of four known cases of payments it was defined as *biblu* "gift".[28] The equivalent of the "gift" in silver was always carefully noted, and occasionally it included jewelry (*šukuttu*, BM 64195+). Generally, it did not stay with the bride's agent, but was eventually returned to the groom as part of, or a supplement to the dowry.[29] Consequently, such payments by the groom, as attested in three cases, clearly fall within the category of endowments upon the bride.

The function of the payment in the fourth case – BMA No. 7[30] was different. The groom, Dāgil-ilī, gave a slave worth 30 shekels of silver, and "30 shekels in addition (*it-ti-i*), as a compensation for (*kūm*) (the loss of) ᶠLā-tubāšinni" to ᶠḪammaya, her mother. This payment was given to the mother, according to Wunsch,[31] as a compensation for her adopted child who was supposed to have taken care of her in old age, had she not married her to Dāgil-ilī.

Set against the evidence provided here, it can be assumed that the groom's presentation of the garment to the bride's mother in ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract may either be characterized as an endowment upon his bride (like the groom's *biblu* "gift" in the three NB marriage contracts), or as a compensatory payment for the loss of a daughter (like Dāgil-ilī's payment in BMA No. 7).

What significance the giving of the garment had can be further elucidated by investigating the obscure word ZI IN DI, which seems to define the nature of the garment in ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract (l. 21).[32]

[23]) Sippar, 568 BCE. The parties involved and their acquaintances most likely belonged to one of the lower classes in Sippar. This can be adduced because (1) the bride's father and the groom do not have a family name and (2) there is no dowry. Note further the presence of a "courtier" (*ša-rēši*) among the witnesses.

[24]) See CAD K 301 *s.v. katāmu* mng. 5a; *AHw* 464 *s.v. katāmu* D 1a; Wunsch, *Urkunden*, 9f. and *eadem*, *AfO* 50, 188 and 211ff.

[25]) *AfO* 50 No. 5: *kūm mušēniqūti u rubbê* (l. 6).

[26]) *kī atri u lubār bēlet bīti* (*passim* in NB house sales).

[27]) Evidence in the NB period for marriage gifts, apart from the dowry, is very scanty; see Roth, BMA, 9-11 *s.v. nungurtu*; 11f. *s.v. biblu*; and Waerzeggers, *Akkadica* 122.

[28]) These three cases are the two Susa marriage contracts, BMA Nos. 34-35 (with their predominantly Egyptian onomasticon), and BM 64195+ (unpublished; from the well-established Ṣāḫit-ginê family from Sippar).

[29]) Such is the case in BMA No. 35 and BM 64195+; BMA No. 34 is damaged in the critical part.

[30]) BMA No. 7 = *Nbk* 101 = Wunsch, *AfO* 44/45, 59ff. Nr. 1.

[31]) Wunsch, *AfO* 50, 189.

[32]) There is only one other instance in which the symbolic presentation of a garment is further qualified by a noun, *viz.* the enigmatic *ki*ʾ*-ni*ʾ*-šú-nu* "their ..." in the phrase *ištēn* ᵗᵘᵍKUR.RA *ša* 5 *šiqil kaspu peṣû* [*ublu*] *ki*ʾ*-ni*ʾ*-šú-nu* PN *u* ᶠPN$_1$ *ana* ᶠPN$_2$ *uktetimmū* "With one KUR.RA-garment [worth] five shekels of white silver, their ..., PN and ᶠPN$_1$ (= adoptive parents) covered ᶠPN$_2$ (= the baby's maternal grandmother)," Wunsch, *AfO* 50, 243f. No. 23: 11.

The exact reading of this word is uncertain and its elucidation is difficult. Several possibilities can be considered. It is possible that *zindu* is a loan from Aramaic. A word זוד "provisions" is known in Aramaic; it can designate specifically marital property. Consider how a bride in an Aramaic marriage contract from Mareša (176 BCE)[33] was endowed with זוד לבוש [...] ומנאי "provisions: clothing and [household] utensils."[34] The meaning of זוד was probably not very different from the more common Aramaic words for "food, provisions", such as זון and מזונא, which are derived from the root זון[35]. A variant form to the root זוד is זבד in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, with the same basic meaning "to provide", "to outfit".[36] If the noun *zindu* indeed reflects the Aramaic root זוד (or its variant זבד), its precise morphological relationship to the root remains a matter of speculation. It can be cautiously suggested that *zindu* is a dissimilated form of *ziddu*,[37] which in turn, is a loan from the Aramaic that reflects the noun זוד "provisions". Another possibility to consider is that *zindu* is derived from the root **zanādu* (**znd*), a variant of זוד "to provide; to plan",[38] which, incidentally, seems to have been only current in Babylonia.[39]

Two final possibilities to consider here are that *zindu* is the common Akkadian noun *zittu* (pl. *zīnātu* and *zīzātu*)[40] "share", Aramaicised to *zindu* by association with the root *zwd* (**znd*);[41] or that, alternatively, the writing ZI IN DI may represent *ṣí-in-di*[42], a new variant form of *ṣidītu* or *ṣud(d)û* "(travel) provisions".[43]

The etymological meanings suggested for the word ZI IN DI – if accepted, would characterize the groom's garment sent to his mother-in-law as "a provision for ᶠNanaya-kānat" (*zindi ša* ᶠPN).[44] If so, the groom's act can be seen as an endowment upon the bride, different from the acts described in the adoption contracts and house sales. It is in a sense then similar to the *biblu*-gifts of silver and jewelry in the three NB marriage contracts, and the symbolic provision of a garment to the antichretically pledged slaves

In conclusion, only new attestations of the word ZI IN DI in NB legal documents, or additional evidence on the act of covering with a garment one of the parties in a contract, will help decide whether ᶠNanaya-kānat's future husband aimed at compensating her mother for the loss of a daughter, or at providing for his future wife.

The fourth and last formulaic peculiarity of ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract occurs in the curse section (ll. 23-28a). This section contains three different curses.[45] The first two are well attested in the NB sources (ll. 23-26), but the third (ll. 27-28a) represents a hitherto unattested combination of components which is typically NA, and unknown in sources of the NB period.

[33]) Eshel – Kloner, IEJ 46, 1ff.

[34]) The word זוד "provisions", "expenses", appears also in a bilingual inscription (Palmyrian and Greek) of the 2nd century CE (CIS II/3, p. 121f. No. 3948, 193 CE; translated into Greek with αναλώματα "expenses"); and in a Nabatean inscription from the ʿUzza temple at Petra (together with silver, gold, and offerings: Hammond, BASOR 263, 78). The references are courtesy of E. Eshel.

[35]) Note in this respect that the scribe of the Mareša marriage contract originally wrote זון, later erased it and corrected it to זוד. For Aramaic words meaning "food", "provisions", compare, e.g., the noun זון in Cowley 10: 17 = TAD II 54 (DNWSI 308 *s.v.* zwn_2 "provisions"); and the Talmudic nouns מזון and מזונא "food" which specifically mean, when used in the plural, "wife or child support", "alimony", or "maintenance" (Sokoloff, DJBA, 652 *s.v.* מזונא. and 408 *s.v.* ויינא # 2; *idem*, DJPA, 298 *s.v.* מזון; Jastrow, *Dict.*, 754 *s.v.* מזון).

[36]) For זוד "to plan", its variant root זבד "to provide", "outfit", and the noun זבדין (pl.) "provisions" in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, see Sokoloff, DJPA, 171 *s.v.* זבד and זבדין; *ibid.*, 173 *s.v.* זוד.

[37]) GAG § 32b.

[38]) Compare the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic זבד, a variant of זוד.

[39]) A verb *zanādu* in the Akkadian of the Neo-Babylonian/Persian period can be adduced from the following source. The letter ABL 412 = SAA 18 163: 13-17 reads: "I have given one seal to Mušēzib-Marduk. The seal of Šuma-iddin, the prelate of Dēr, is in my custody; I shall not give it to him. Šuma-iddin *za-nid/t*. The king should know (this)". Although the meaning of *za-nid/t* in this letter is not clear, it is assumed to derive from Aramaic (*AHw* 1509 and CDA 444 *s.v. zanādu*), and may reflect another variant of the Aramaic root Z-W-D, in the same way that JPA זבד is a variant of זוד.

[40]) For the plural forms of *zittu*, see Roth, *AfO* 36/37, 49 *ad* ll. 22, 36.

[41]) The suggestion was offered by Mark Geller (personal communication).

[42]) For the use of the ZI sign with the value *ṣí* in the discussed tablet, see l. 35 (ᵐ*a-ṣí-li-a-ma*); in l. 33, the regular *ṣi* sign is employed. The value *ṣí* for ZI is otherwise unattested in NB.

[43]) See CAD Ṣ 172 *s.v. ṣidītu*; 229 *s.v. ṣudû*.

[44]) Compare Ruth 3: 15, 17, where Boaz packs a piece of clothing (a scarf?) belonging to Ruth, his future wife, with barley and puts it upon her "so that she should not arrive empty-handed" before Naomi, her mother. The parallel was offered to the author by M. Lubetsky (The International SBL conference, Groningen, The Netherlands, July 2004).

[45]) Note that the studied document is the latest datable marriage agreement to include a curse formula published so far; it precedes BMA No. 19 from Cyrus' fourth year (535/4 BCE) by one year. For curses in NB marriage contracts, see Roth, BMA, 19. For curses in other NB legal documents and *kudurrus*, see Owen – Watanabe, *OrAn* 22, 38f. and 42f.; MacGinnis, AJA 15, 103; and also Joannès, *Jurer et maudire*.

It combines the expression *ina qāti buʾû* "to call (someone) to account; to hold (someone) responsible" with *adû ša šarri* "the majesty of the king" as its grammatical subject. The idea expressed here is that the violator of the agreement will be called to account by the king. A similar idea, cast in the same formula, is frequently found in NA curses.[46] Each of these components may occasionally occur in oaths and curses of the NB period, but never in the combination found in ʿNanaya-kānat's contract.[47]

How can these non-standard formulas and legal practices be explained? Here the socio-linguistic background of the participating parties, including the scribe, must be brought into consideration.

The witness list of ʿNanaya-kānat's marriage contract is remarkable in that it contains at least thirteen names of West-Semitic origin; eight of these names are Hebrew or Aramaic names ending in the Yahwistic element -yah (see Appendix 1). The West-Semitic ethnic background of the bride, her family, and her circle of acquaintances, however, does not seem to have influenced the formulary or the content of the contract in any significant way. Indeed, ʿNanaya-kānat's marriage contract was written in good Akkadian; it was formulated and styled in accordance with the local Babylonian standards of the time. A similar picture emerges from the other texts from Āl-Yahudu. The community of Judeans recorded their economic, administrative and private legal activities on clay tablets in Akkadian conform to the well-attested cuneiform text types; they did not use Aramaic for these purposes.[48]

As for the scribe of the document, Adad-šamā – while it is true that he bore a West-Semitic (possibly Aramaic) name – there is no serious cause to suspect that he was not fully integrated into Babylonian society, as his Babylonian family name indicates. And, in spite of the few scribal errors that Adad-šamā committed,[49] which are more likely to indicate his absent-mindedness rather than a difficulty to control the script or language, his fairly good knowledge of cuneiform and Akkadian is another indication of his acculturation into Babylonian society.

Nevertheless, it cannot be entirely excluded that the scribe relied on Aramaic legal formulary when he employed the non-standard formulas, or that ʿNanaya-kānat's mother sticked to some non-Babylonian legal practices when marrying off her daughter. It should be borne in mind that Aramaic legal formulary occasionally preserved expressions long forgotten in the contemporary Akkadian tradition (such as the OB expression "my heart is satisfied therewith").[50] Indeed, it is noteworthy that the closest parallels for the two formulaic variants, "She is not a(/my) wife" and "he shall bind (the payment) in the hem of her garment", come from the Old Babylonian period, and are also found in Akkadian and Aramaic marriage contracts from the West, as discussed above. Legal customs apparently also died hard. The custom of marriage gifts from the groom in the form of a brideprice,[51] which had almost completely disappeared in Babylonia after the OB period, was still practiced in the Persian period among foreign population groups in the periphery of Babylonian culture[52] and among the Jews of Egypt, as is known from the Elephantine papyri.

To conclude, if the people mentioned in ʿNanaya-kānat's contract, or their families, originally came from the West or even specifically from Judea, they proved to have assimilated the contemporary Babylonian practices and absorbed the standard legal jargon. The few non-standard formulas, including the unusual curse section, or the payment by the groom, do not provide us with sufficient evidence to trace their ultimate source. It is to be hoped that the publication of more texts from Āl-Yahudu will further help clarify this issue.

5. *West-Semitic and Judean Brides in Cuneiform Documents from Babylonia*

Three other cuneiform marriage contracts, BMA No. 26[53], BMA No. 17, and *BaAr* 2 No. 5, share several features with ʿNanaya-kānat's marriage contract. Table 1 summarizes and compares the main

[46]) Examples in CAD B 364f.

[47]) Parties swear by the major Babylonian gods and by the "majesty" of the king (*ina* DN_1 *u* DN_2 *u adê ša šarri tamû*; see Watanabe, *BaM Beih.* 3, 21f.); and they acknowledge that he or she will be "held responsible" by the gods if the oath is broken (in a few NB letters, CAD B 364f. *s.v. buʾû* mng. 4a). The "majesty" (*adû*) of the king is also invoked in curses in the NB period, namely to punish (*ḫalāqšu qabû*) the person changing the wording of the tablet, or to be his adversary in court (*lū bēl dīnišu*) (CAD A_1 134f. *s.v. adû* B). It is never invoked to call to account (*ina qāti buʾû*) the violator of a contract as is the case in the ʿNanaya-kānat contract. For the NB idiom *adê ša šarri ultennû*, see the discussion by B. Wells and F. R. Magdalene, "Bearing Sin in Neo-Babylonian Law: The Administrative Texts," (forthcoming), who translate this idiom "He will cause the power of the king to be revoked."

[48]) Pearce, *Judah and Judeans*; and Abraham, *New Seals*.

[49]) The scribe forgot to write signs (ll. 13, 17, 18, and probably 28), and wrote the same word twice (ll. 11-12, 25).

[50]) Muffs, *Studies*.

[51]) Paid to the bride's agent, but returned to the groom by the latter as part of the wife's dowry.

[52]) *Viz.*, the Susa marriage contracts with its predominantly Egyptian onomasticon BMA Nos. 34-35, see: Joannès, RA 78, 76f.

[53]) BM 65149 = BMA No. 26. The same marriage is also recorded in BM 68921, see next footnote.

Table 1. Evidence on West-Semitic/Judean Brides in Cuneiform Documents

	ʿNanaya-kānat's MC	BMA No. 26 and BM 68921	BMA No. 17	*BaAr* 2 No. 5
Bride	ʿNanaya-kānat	ʿKaššâ	ʿTallî-Uruk	ʿNabê-ḫinnī
Mother	ʿ*Dibbî*/Dannâ	ʿGudaditu	ʿBānītu	-
Father	-	-	-	-
Brother(s)/Sister	Mešallam	1. Bēl-uballiṭ/Hawšeʾ (= Hosea) 2. [PN]	Elnatan/Bara-el	[PN]/Sîn-zēra-iddin Aḫ-immê/Sîn-zēra-iddin ʿMamītu-ilat/Sîn-zēra-iddin
Bride's agent	mother, *ina ušuzzi* brother	mother + brother(s)	mother + brother	siblings
Groom	Nabû-bān-aḫi	Gūzānu	Nabû-aḫa-uṣur	Aqrâ
Affiliation	/[K]īnâ	/Kirîbtu//Ararru	/Ḫatāma	/Arad-E$\check{s}$(š)u
Witnesses	in total 8	in total 19	in total 6	in total 4
Yahwistic names	1. Šillēmyah/Nadabyah 2. Yarîmyah/Padʿâ[1] 3. Natanyah/Barîkyah 4. Ṣidqiyah/Natʿīn[1] 5. Aṣîlyah/ʿ...[1] 6. Pillelyah/ʿ...[1]	1. Aḫiyah/Arîḫ 2. Arad-Gula/Šamaryah 3. [PN]/Hawšeʾ	1. Natanel/Nabû-aḫḫē-ēriš 2. Ēbib<-ana>-Nabû/Natan 3. Ḫara-Adad/Nabû-aḫḫē-ēriš 4. [...]-šu/Ammâ	1. Attâ-panā/Dā[gil]-el 2. [...]-el/[...]-eššu 3. [...]-idrī/[...]-ḫu
Other Hebrew/Aramaic/West Semitic names	1. Mešallam/ʿ...[1]	1. Šamaš-apla-uṣur/Rapê 2. Niqūdu/Mešallam		
Invocation of Babylonian gods	yes	yes	no	no
Place	Āl-Yaḫudu	Sippar	Ālu-ša-banê	Ālu-ša-Rab-(ša-)rēši
Date	[-]/xii/5 Cyrus (534 BCE)	11/ii or iii/5 [Cyrus] (535 BCE)	27/ix/14 Nbn (542 BCE)	[date broken]
Dowry	no	yes	no	no
Other marriage payments	garment worth 5 shekels to cover bride's mother	no	no	perhaps a brideprice, but fragmentary
Wife's adultery	yes; death by dagger	yes; death by iron dagger	yes; death by dagger	no
Infringement upon wife's status (*divorce*[?])	*undašširma* + declaration "She is not a wife", monetary compensation bound in bride's hem + she may/should go (whither she pleases)	*undašširma* + taking a second wife; monetary compensation + she may/should go (to her paternal house)	[*undaššir*]; monetary compensation + she may/should go (to the house of a *mār bānê*)	no
Taking a second wife	(possibly, if the above declaration "She is not a wife" in fact means "She is not a first-ranking wife")	yes (see above)	yes[1]	yes[2]
Other stipulations	no	no	no	yes[3]

[1]) *kī sinništi maḫar* {x} *aššati Nabû-aḫa-uṣur ana bītišu u<š>erra<b>*, monetary compensation + she may/should go to the house of a *mār bānê* (*ana bīt mār <bānê>* {x} *talla<k>*).

[2]) *ina ūmi a[ššatu šan]ītu* {x} *ītaḫ*{x}*zu* {xxx} *ʿNabê-ḫinnī <aššaʾ>tuʾ rabītu, i.e.* ʿNabê-ḫinnī was to remain first-ranking wife.

[3]) *mārū mala ʿNabê-ḫinnī lapān Aqrâ tulladu mārūšu zikarû itti Aqrâ ana bīt abīšunu illakū*, "(Regarding) the children which ʿNabê-ḫinnī will bear to Aqrâ – the male children will go with Aqrâ to their paternal house," and "when Aqrâ dies they will [...]."

features of these contracts. A detailed discussion and a comparison of the documents in question then follow.

BMA No. 26 and BM 68921 [535 BCE] record the marriage of ᶠKaššâ.[54] Her mother was ᶠGudadītu, and her brothers were Bēl-uballiṭ and PN, all bearing Babylonian names. The father of the family, however, had a Judean name, Hawšeʿ (= Hosea, wr. ᵐ*a-mu-še-e*).[55] ᶠKaššâ was given in marriage by her mother and by her brothers.[56] The man whom she was married to was Gūzanu, son of Kiribtu; he was certainly a Babylonian because of his surname – Ararru.[57] Among the nineteen witnesses,[58] five men of West-Semitic, or, specifically, Judean descent, are found. Only one had a Yahwistic name (Aḫīyah); the rest had Babylonian names, but their fathers had either a Yahwistic or an Aramaic name (the son of Šamaryah, the son of Mešallam, the son of Rapê, and the son of Hawšeʿ). As can be seen, the Judean family of ᶠKaššâ had been relatively well integrated into the Babylonian urban society. This can be surmised because of the Babylonian names of members of the bride's family, the Babylonian names of their acquaintances[59], and the Babylonian descent of the groom. Additional proof for the family's integration can be found in the fact that the family lived in one of the major Babylonian cities – Sippar, and that the bride's mother was able to endow her daughter with a dowry.[60] In the other documents under discussion, it is seen that the brides lived in the countryside and were married without a dowry.

The other two documents, BMA No. 17 (542 BCE) and *BaAr* 2 No 5 (date broken), do not contain any Yahwistic names.[61] They do provide, however, onomastic evidence that clearly demonstrates the immigrant background of the parties involved. The brides, some of their brothers, and most of the witnesses, had Aramaic or West-Semitic names. In BMA no. 17, even the groom is a member of a non-Babylonian, West-Semitic group. It is worth noting that despite the absence of a Babylonian party, the document was written in Akkadian and not in Aramaic. In *BaAr* 2 No. 5, the marriage was arranged by the bride's siblings, without the participation of the parents. It may have involved a brideprice payment.[62]

The comparison between these contracts sharpens their prominent shared features. These can be noted as follows: 1) a bride from the West was married to a Babylonian man,[63] 2) she was married either by her brothers, or by her mother in the presence of her brother(s),[64] 3) the father was not present, and his name is revealed through the mention of his sons, the brothers of the bride, 4) the marriage agreement did not include a dowry,[65] 5) because the marriage did not include a dowry, the bride required protection against infringement upon her status, and eventually against divorce; hence, in the case of either, she received six minas of silver, and after leaving the husband's house, was, for instance, to return to her paternal house or to the house of a *mār bānê*, 6) several West-Semitic and even specifically Judean fellowmen stood as witnesses to the act, and 7) the main Babylonian deities were invoked in the contract.

6. *Brides without a Father in Cuneiform Documents from Babylonia*

ᶠNanaya-kānat was given in marriage by her mother, and with the consent of her younger brother. Similar situations, in which a bride is given by her mother and/or her siblings,[66] can be seen in twelve additional cuneiform marriage contracts from the NB and Persian periods. In the marriage agreements arranged by the bride's brother(s), the immigrant background is evident.[67] The marriage agreements in which only the mother is involved, however, do not exhibit such a feature.

[54]) The marriage is recorded in two documents which are not duplicates, see Jursa, TUAT NF 1, 190f. Nr. 1; NABU 2001/102, and "Eine Familie von Königskaufleuten judäischer Herkunft," NABU forthcoming.

[55]) See Zadok, *Jews*, 26f. and *Diaspora*, 18, 29, and 32(45).

[56]) According to BM 68921 ([-]/ii/[5 Cyr]) she is given in marriage by "[Bēl-uballiṭ, ᶠGudadītu], her mother and ᵐ[...], her [bro]ther" (ll. 2'ff.; compare ll. 11'ff.) About a month later a new marriage contract is issued, BM 65149 = BMA No. 26 (11/iii/5 [Cyr], according to which she is married off by "Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Hawše', and ᶠGudadītu, her mother" (ll. 2ff.; compare ll. 7ff. and ll. 15ff.). Possibly, the other brother appears among the witnesses (l. 39).

[57]) CAD A_2 233 *s.v. ararru* "miller".

[58]) BM 68921 and BMA No. 26 share nine witnesses. Seven of the sixteen witnesses in BM 68921 do not reappear in BMA No. 26. Three men appear only in BMA No. 26.

[59]) Several of whom were royal merchants (see list of witnesses).

[60]) The bride received a few pieces of jewelry worth a little more than one shekel, a bed, a table with five chairs, a plate, and a goblet.

[61]) For the names in BMA No. 17, see Zadok, *Diaspora*, 28.

[62]) See *BaAr* 2 No. 5 le. ed.

[63]) The Babylonian descent of Nabû-aḫa-uṣur/Ḫatāma, the groom in BMA No. 17, may be doubted.

[64]) The position of the bride's brother in ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract is slightly different; see p. 202.

[65]) Only ᶠKaššâ (in BMA No. 26), who lived in the city, received a small dowry.

[66]) The bride is given in marriage by her mother in BMA Nos. 10, 16, 24b, 4, 8, 20, and 36; by her siblings in *BaAr* 2 No. 5; and by both in BMA Nos. 17, 26, 1, 13, and ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract.

[67]) BMA Nos. 17, 26, *BaAr* 2 No. 5, and ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract.

Table 2. The Neo-Babylonian Marriage Contracts of Brides Without a Father at the Time of their Marriage

Contract No.	BMA 10	BMA 16	BMA 24b	BMA 4	BMA 8	BMA 20	Mouss. MC	BMA 26	BMA 17	*BaAr* 2 5	BMA 1	BMA 13	BMA 36
Groom approaches	Mo.	-	Mo.	Mo.	-	Mo.	Mo.	Br. + Mo.	Br. + Mo.	-	Mo. + Br.?	Mo. + Si.	Mo.? [-]
Request directed to	Mo. (fa.)	-	Mo. (fa.)	Mo.	-	Mo.	Mo.	Mo.	Mo.	-	Mo.	Mo.	Mo.? [-]
Consent given by	Mo.	Mo. (fa.)	Mo.	Mo.	Mo.	Mo.	Mo.	Br. + Mo.	Br. + Mo.	Br. + Si.	Mo.	Mo.	?
Dowry	incl.	incl.	incl.	n/i	incl. (sm.)	n/i	n/i	incl. (sm.)	n/i	n/i	n/i	?	?
Infring. u. W's Status (Divorce[?])	n/i	incl.	n/i	n/i	incl.	incl.	incl.	incl.	incl.	n/i	incl.	?	?
Taking a Second W	n/i	?	n/i	incl.	incl.	incl.	n/i	incl.	incl.	incl.	incl.	?	?
Adultery by W	n/i	?	n/i	n/i	n/i	n/i	incl.	incl.	incl.	n/i	incl.	?	?
	Orph.	Orph.	Orph.	Foun.	Foun.	Foun.	Immi.	Immi.	Immi.	Immi.	Immi.?	?	?

Abbreviations and Sigla

Br. = Bride's brother; Br.? = A man probably the bride's brother but not identified as such.
(fa) = Bride's father. The groom refers to the bride's father in his request as follows: "Please give me ᶠPN, your daughter, the daughter of PN" (BMA Nos. 10 and 24b). The bride's mother consents to give ([*taddin*]) "ᶠPN, daughter of [P]N" in marriage (BMA No. 16).
Foun. = "Foundling" bride, *i.e.* brides for whom no father is mentioned in the texts, and who were most likely adopted/foster foundlings.
Immi. = (Orphaned) Immigrant bride.
Infring. u. = Infringement upon.
Mo. = Bride's mother; Mo.? = broken context, ᶠPN is probably the bride's mother.
Mouss. MC = ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract from the Moussaieff collection.
Orph. = Orphaned bride.
Si. = Bride's sister.
sm. = small.
W = Wife (*i.e.* current bride).
[-] = Text broken after the name of the bride's mother.
? = Too fragmentary to determine whether or not the contract originally contained a clause regarding dowry/infring. u. wife's status/second wife/adultery.
n/i or incl. = A clause regarding dowry/infring. u. wife's status/second wife/adultery is n(ot) i(ncluded) / incl(uded) in the document.

The Names of the Brides and their Families in Table 2:

Names of **Orphaned** Brides and Members of their Babylonian Urbanite Family:

BMA No. 10 — Bride: ᶠTupqītu; Mother: ᶠNuptâ/Nādin//Bā'iru; Father: Nabû-zēra-ukīn; Groom: Nabû-šuma-ibni/Bēl-šuma-iškun//Nanaḫḫu

BMA No. 16 — Bride: ᶠIndū; Mother: ᶠQunnabātu/Nabû-nāṣir[//...]; Father: [PN]; Groom: Ili-lubu'i[/...]

BMA No. 24b — Bride: ᶠLurindu; Mother: ᶠAmat-Sutīti/Dādiya//Ili-bāni; Father: Muššēzib-Bēl//Ea-ilūta-bāni; Groom: Aḫušunu/Nabû-mušētiq-uddê//Nanaḫḫu

BMA No. 8 — Bride: ᶠImmertu; Mother: ᶠQudāšu/Balāssu//Sîn-tabni; Groom: Nabû-balāssu-iqbi/Marduk-šarrani//Nannaya

BMA No. 20 — Bride: ᶠAmtiya; Mother: ᶠNanaya-būniya/Nanaya-aḫa-iddin (no family name); Groom: Ninurta-iddin/Kidinnu//Amēl-iṣṣur

BMA No. 13 — Bride: ᶠNanaya-rīšat; Mother: ᶠṢirâ/Bēl-aḫḫē-erība; Bride's sister was ᶠIna-Sippar-[...]; Groom: PN/Nergal-MU-x//Arad-[...]

BMA No. 36 — Bride: ᶠ[...]; Mother: ᶠBēlessunu[/...//...]; Groom: Bēlšunu/[...//...]

Names of **Orphaned Immigrant** Brides and Members of their Family:

For Mouss. MC, BMA No. 26, BMA No. 17 and *BaAr* 2 No. 5 see Table 1.

BMA No. 1 — Bride: ᶠNanaya-kēširat; Mother: ᶠAḫāt-aqrat (no affiliation); Bride's brother?: Bēl-iqīša (no affiliation); Groom: Mār-bīti-aḫḫē-iddin/Arad?-[...]-aya (no family name)

Names of Brides who have no Father (**"Foundlings"**) and their (Adoptive) Mothers:

BMA No. 4 — Bride: ᶠLā-tubāšinni; Mother: ᶠḪammâ/Nergal-iddin//Babūtu; Groom: Dāgil-ilī/Zambubu (no family name)

Table 2 displays the main features of these marriage documents; a supplementary list gives the names of the brides and their families.

On the basis of table 2, the following observations can be made.

It can be safely surmised that the marriages, which were arranged by the mother and/or the brother(s), and in which the father is missing, occurred either subsequently to the death of the father, or, when the father was virtually an unknown, as, for instance, in the case of a foundling-bride. A distinction is called for between an orphaned bride and a bride whose father was anonymous.

An orphaned bride had a father known by name,[68] who assigned her a dowry, at times quite substantial, before his death.[69] In fact, the marriage contracts of orphaned brides were solely concerned with their dowry, and often there is no mention of demotion, repudiation, divorce or adultery. Apparently, the dowry was a sufficient protection against a divorce, or a degradation to the status of a second-ranking wife in a bigamous marriage. Finally, it is to be noted that orphaned brides were of sound Babylonian descent; their mothers, fathers, and future husbands, were given a complete affiliation, that included their family names.[70]

When father-less brides are considered, substantial differences can be noted between them and orphaned brides. Some father-less brides, doubtless, were foundlings, who were adopted or fostered by Babylonian women.[71] The father remained unknown, in so far that he was never mentioned (the groom never mentioned the bride's father in his marriage request). The father-less brides also received a very limited dowry, and sometimes, had to do with no dowry at all.[72] Hence, it is clear why they had to be protected contractually against a degradation to the status of a second-ranking wife in a bigamous marriage.[73] Their adoptive mothers were usually from Babylonian descent, and some may even have come from rather established families, if their affiliation is considered. For example, ᶠImmertu's adoptive mother was a member of the Sîn-tabni family, and probably was in a securer financial situation than the other adoptive mothers. It comes as no surprise then that ᶠImmertu was the only foundling bride who received a dowry at her marriage (BMA No. 8).

The difference between the orphaned and the father-less brides can be traced interestingly enough to the time long before they were married, when they were taken in as babies or small children.[74] Whereas an orphaned girl, that is, a girl orphaned from a named father of Babylonian descent, was often adopted under fairly good conditions, a foundling girl, that is, a girl whose father is not mentioned, or specifically, "who has no father", usually acquired a less favorable legal status. We can see that orphaned girls were formally adopted, then served (*palāḫu*) their adoptive parent(s), but were free to go, once the latter has/have died.[75] On the other hand, foundling girls were taken in by well-to-do Babylonian women or by the temple, but without being formally adopted.[76] They were to remain with their foster parents in order to serve (*palāḫu*) them. They could have left their foster parents on the condition that they were to be married to a half-free person (*AfO* 50 No. 7 and BMA No. 4), or that they were to

[68]) The father can be identified because he is referred to by the groom upon the occasion of asking the bride's hand; see table 2, the groom's request, indicated by (fa).

[69]) See BMA nos. 10 (where it is clear that the father bequeathed the dowry, prior to his demise), 16, and 24b; the dowry could include real estate (as in BMA Nos. 10 and 24b), and a female slave (in BMA No. 16).

[70]) See the supplementary list of names at table 2 for details.

[71]) See, e.g., Wunsch, *AfO* 50, 189 for BMA No. 4 = *Nbk* 101.

[72]) BMA Nos. 4, 8, and 20 (and probably also Nos. 13 and 36) are marriage contracts of such father-less or foundlings brides. No dowry was provided for in Nos. 4 and 20, whereas in No. 8, the dowry was limited to some jewelry worth a total of twenty shekels of silver.

[73]) Two out of the three foundlings were also protected against any other infringement upon their status as (first) wife (BMA Nos. 8 and 20). Note that in BMA No. 8, the possibility that the adoptive mother will eventually not hand over her daughter was brought into consideration; the inheritance rights of the future joint children in their father's family were also put under regulation.

[74]) On adopted and foundling children in NB sources, see recently Wunsch, *AfO* 50.

[75]) See *AfO* 50 No. 23, YOS 17 1, and OIP 122 1. Note that the girl in OIP 122 1 was not an orphan, because her parents were still living. The same may be true for *AfO* 50 No. 9 if it was the father (and not the brother) who gave the girl up for adoption; the conditions of her adoption remain unknown because of the fragmentary state of the text. An adoption in favorable conditions is attested in *BaAr* 2 44, but it cannot be said whether the adopted girl was an orphan or a foundling.

[76]) See *AfO* 50 No. 7 and 8, and BMA No. 4 (= *Nbk* 101). In *AfO* 50 No. 22, the status of the girl is open to question, because nothing is said about her father. Wunsch, *AfO* 50, p. 242 (at l. 7) and p. 191, regards the girl as a foundling, who was raised by a single or a widowed woman of good Babylonian descent. That same woman, Wunsch assumes, later offered this girl for adoption. If that is indeed the case, the girl would be the only attested foundling, who entered a new household as a fully adopted child with the rights and duties of an eldest daughter. However, it may also be that the girl in question was not a foundling at all but simply a girl orphaned from her father. In this case, the woman who offered her for adoption was her biological mother. And because this woman belonged to a well-to-do Babylonian family, she was in a position to negotiate for her child favorable conditions.

enter another household as half-free (*AfO* 50 No. 8).[77] Entering another household demanded that the former foster parent be paid the considerable sum of one mina of silver (*AfO* No. 8 and BMA No. 4).[78]

In addition to the two categories of orphaned brides and father-less brides, it is possible to distinguish a third category: brides of immigrant families, whose father has died or was not present for some unknown reason. ᶠTallâ-Uruk (BMA No. 17), ᶠKaššâ (BMA No. 26), ᶠNanaya-kānat (the document studied here), ᶠNabê-ḫinnī (*BaAr* 2 No. 5), and, possibly, ᶠNanaya-kēširat (BMA No. 1) were brides from families of West Semitic origin, and often of Judean origin, who immigrated or had been deported from Judea and the adjacent countries to Babylonia. These brides were always represented by their brother (and their mother, if she was still living), while the father was not mentioned (at least, not as an active party).[79] The bride's brother seemed to have played the primary role, because he was usually mentioned before the mother. If more than one brother were present, as in BMA No. 26, only one of them, probably the eldest, acted as the bride's agent, while the others stood as witnesses. The brides were married without dowry, or with a small one, and, hence, were provided with protection against infringement upon their status, in particular, when a second wife offered competition. The picture that emerges is that their legal situation was very much akin to that of the father-less brides, who were raised as foundlings. In addition, although the evidence on the background of the grooms marrying the immigrant brides is scarce, it can be suggested that they themselves came from immigrant families, or from the lower class urban Babylonian families.[80]

A further glimpse into the lives of families of West-Semitic immigrants and Judean deportees, where the father was absent or had died, may be gleaned from two documents – *Cyr* 307 (Sippar, 8 Cyr)[81] and *BaAr* 2 No. 48 (Sippar, 7 Cyr). *Cyr* 307 tells the story of a girl who had been seen frequently with a man: he "has taken her along illegally" (*ina pirṣāti ītabkašši*)[82], and she did not protest (*ṭerdu lā tal*[*kun*]).[83] Should this state of affairs continue and the girl not demand the "head of the house(hold)" (*bēl bīti*) to write to the man's father so that (probably) their relationship be regulated/legalized, she will be made a bondswoman.[84] This girl was called ᶠṬābat-Iššar, and she was the daughter of ᵐ*Ia-še-eʾ-ia-a-ma* and ᶠ*Ḫa-la-a*. She was no doubt of Judean (or Israelite) descent and probably orphaned.[85] The man she met was called Kullû, son of Kalbâ. To judge by his name, he was not necessarily a Judean, nor is it likely that he came from an established urban Babylonian family, because his surname was not given. He may have been a dependent of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar, because two of its priests are among the witnesses in the document.

The second source, *BaAr* 2 No. 48, tells how a young child, Bayt-El-yaḫīru, was orphaned from his father, Bayt-El-ḫanānu. It was his paternal grandmother, ᶠḪamatâ, who raised him. In order to pay for his upbringing, his grandmother sold a house which the boy had inherited from his father.[86]

[77]) Compare VS 6 116, showing that the foster-girl was considered the personal property of the woman who took her in, and TEBR 69, where it is clear that a *tarbītu* girl had a slave-like status.

[78]) Note that in *AfO* 50 No. 7, no payment is offered, because the girl was to be married within her own foster family.

[79]) The father can be at times identified from the affiliation of the bride's brother; in ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract, however, he remains anonymous.

[80]) Grooms from immigrant families are found in BMA No. 17 (note the groom's father's name) and *BaAr* 2 No. 5 (note the groom's name); and from urban Babylonian families, probably lower-class, in BMA No. 26 and ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage contract.

[81]) See Joannès, NABU 1994/72 and Dandamaev, *Slavery*, 105.

[82]) Had the man taken the girl along by telling her lies (Joannès, NABU 1994/72: "il l'aura entraînée par de fausses paroles"), or rather, had he lead her (*ītabkašši*) into falsehood (*ina pirṣāti*), in other words, into a situation wherein the law was breached? For *piriṣtu* "falsity", "falsehood"; "lies"; "false claims, expectations", see CDA 275 *s.v. piriṣtu*; cf. CAD P, 413f. *s.v. pirṣātu*. Compare the verb *parāṣu* "to breach", "to lie"; see CDA 266 *s.v. parāṣu* I; cf. CAD P, 178f. See Wunsch, *BaAr* 2 No. 9: 4b, for the verb *abāku* in a similar usage, apparently, in combination with *šarrūti* "wrongdoing" (l. 2); note that the context is fragmentary.

[83]) For the expression *ṭerdu šakānu*, see Jursa, *Festschrift Cagni*, 497ff.

[84]) Compare another document of the same year from Babylon (*Cyr* 312, 11/v/8 Cyr), where the marriage of a young Babylonian woman, which was arranged by her brother, was dissolved by the court because the groom's father did not authorize it. She was informed that she would be marked as a slave, were she to meet her lover again; see further Joannès, NABU 1994/72; *idem*, *Rendre la justice*, 206ff.; and Dandamaev, *Slavery*, 432.

[85]) The girl and her mother had West-Semitic names (ᶠṬābat-Iššar; ᶠḪalâ), her father had a Yahwistic name (ᵐ*Ia-še-eʾ-ia-a-ma*). The mother was present at the conclusion of the agreement; the father is not mentioned, except in the girl's genealogy, and he may, therefore, have been already dead. The family may have come to Babylonia from Assyria or the Jezirah, in view of the Assyrian theophoric element in the girl's name (Zadok, NABU 1995/3).

[86]) It is clear that the family had accumulated some wealth, at least when the father was still living. Compare *AfO* 50 No. 23 where a Babylonian grandmother offers for adoption her orphaned three months old granddaughter.

Appendix 1

The Onomasticon of ᶠNanaya-kānat's Marriage Contract

There is a total of twenty-four names in the document. Their distribution according to their linguistic origin is surmised as follows. A detailed analysis of each name is then provided.

1. There are eight names (either Hebrew or Aramaic) with the **Yahwistic** element (written *-a-ma* or *-Ci-a-ma*)[87]: 1.1. *Ši-li-im-a-ma* (l. 30) [witness]; 1.2. *Na-da-bi-a-ma* (l. 30) [father of 1.1]; 1.3. *I-ri-im-a-ma* (l. 31) [witness]; 1.4. *Na-ta-ni-a-ma* (l. 32) [witness]; 1.5. *Ba-ri-ki-a-ma* (l. 32) [Aram., father of 1.4.]; 1.6. *Ṣi-di-iq-a-ma* (l. 33) [witness]; 1.7. *A-ṣí-li-a-ma* (l. 35) [Aram., witness]; 1.8. *Pi-li-li-a-ma* (l. 36) [witness].

2. There are five names which are **West-Semitic** or even specifically Aramaic: 2.1. *Na-ti-in* (l. 33) [Aram., father of 1.6.]; 2.2. *Adad-šá-ma-a* (l. 37) [scribe]; 2.3. *Pa-da-a* (l. 31) [father of 1.3.];[88] 2.4. ᶠᵈ*Na-na-a-ka-na-ta* (l. 5, 9, 12, 16, and 21) [bride]; 2.5 a. *Mu-šá-{la-}lam* (l. 34) [Aram., witness] and b. *Mu-šá-la-am* (l. 41) [Aram., bride's brother].

3. There are four **Babylonian** names: 3.1. *Nabû-bān-aḫi* (ᵐᵈAG-DÙ-ŠEŠ, l. 1, 8, 11, and 20) [groom]; 3.2. *Ki-na-a* (l. 1) [groom's father]; 3.3. *Mukīn-apli* (ᵐGIN-A, l. 29) [first witness]; 3.4. *Da-na-a* (l. 3) [bride's maternal grandfather].

4. There are three names of **uncertain** origin and meaning: 4.1. ᶠ*Dib/Qí/Ku-bi-i*ᵓ (l. 2, 8, and 22) [bride's mother]; 4.2. *Ba-si-ía* (l. 38) [family name of 2.2.]; 4.3. *A-ḫu/ri-*ᶠx⁺[(x)]ᵓ (l. 29) [father of 3.3.].

5. There are four **broken/illegible** names: 5.1. [...] (l. 34) [father of 2.5 a]; 5.2. [...] (l. 35) [father of 1.7.]; 5.3. [...] (l. 36) [father of 1.8.]; 5.4. *Šá-*[...] (l. 37) [father of 2.2.].

1. *Hebrew or Aramaic Yahwistic Names*

1.1. Šillēmyah

The name ᵐ*Ši-li-im-a-ma* corresponds to the Hebrew name שִׁלֶּמְיָה(וּ) "Yahweh has recompensed/completed." This name, and the shortened form שִׁלֵּם, are very common in the Bible,[89] and in Hebrew epigraphic material (cf. *Šlmyh(w)*, *Šlmy*, *Šlm*, and the female *Šlmyt*).[90] The name reflects a piel perfect of the root Š-L-M.[91] In this form, it is a characteristically Hebrew name because Akkadian and cuneiform West-Semitic names with the root Š-L-M reflect different patterns. Akkadian names from the NB period with the root Š-L-M are derived from the G infinitive (e.g., *Šalāmu*, *Šalām-ilu*, *Nabû-šalāmu*), D imperfect (e.g., *Nabû-ušallim*), D participle (e.g., *Mušallim-Nabû*), or the noun of the *qutl*-type, *šulmu*.[92] West-Semitic names in cuneiform sources from the NB and NA period, which are derived from the root Š-L-M, are either verbal sentences with a perfect verb in the G stem such as *Abšalam*, *Šalam-Adad*, and *Šalamyah*,[93] or one-word names of the *qatāl*-type, such as *Šá-la-am-mu* and *Šá-la/lam-ma-(a-)nu*.[94] Being a typical Hebrew name, שִׁלֵּם, without the Yahwistic element, is also attested among the Jews of Nippur (Murašû archive), where it is spelled *Še/i-li-im-mu* and *Še-le/i-mu*,[95] and among the Jews of Elephantine.[96]

1.2. Nadabyah

The full name נְדַבְיָה, "Yah(weh) is generous",[97] spelled ᵐ*Na-da-bi-a-ma* here, is rare in the Bible and Hebrew epigraphic material.[98] The shorter form נָדָב, on the other hand, is more common in these Hebrew and, in general, West Semitic, sources.[99] In cuneiform sources of the first millennium BCE, names with the root N-D-B are attested with or without a theophoric element, and they are probably all of West-Semitic origin. In NB sources, we find *Nadbī(ya)*, *Nadbānu*, *Abi-nadib*, and *Nadabyah* (wr. *Na-ad-bi-ia*, *Na-ad-ba-nu*, *Abi-na-dib/di-ib*, and *Na-da-bi-iá-a-ma*).[100] Tellingly, the only other NB attestation for the Yahwistic name comes from another tablet of the Moussaieff Collection, and its verbal element is spelled, as in our marriage contract, *na-da-* (versus *na-ad-* as per NB and NA sources). In NA sources, *Nadbi*, *Aḫi-nadbi*, *Lu-nadib*, *Nadbânu*, and *Nadbiyah* are found.[101]

1.3. Yarīmyah

The name *Yarīmyah* (wr. ᵐ*I-ri-im-a-ma*) corresponds to the Biblical (וּ)יִרְמְיָה,[102] and the name *Yrmyhw* is also common in the Hebrew epigraphic sources.[103] It is derived from the West-Semitic root R-W/Y-M "to be high/exalted",[104] and should be interpreted as a Qal imperfect/jussive 3rd sg. masc., meaning "Exalted is Yah(weh)," or "May Yah(weh) be exalted".[105] The name is otherwise not attested in cuneiform sources from the first millennium BCE Names with the West-Semitic root R-W/Y-M in first millennium sources from Mesopotamia are usually of the type *-rām* (Qal perfect),[106] or its variant *rīm*;[107] e.g., *Addu-ra-am-ma/mu*, *Amurru-ra-a-am*, ᶠ*Nanaya-ra-am-mat/ra-mat*, and *Am-ri-im-me*. In the second millennium BCE, on the other hand, names with the element *yarīm-* are common in cuneiform sources. In one of the Hazor tablets, for example, the name *Yarīma* (wr. *I-ia-ri-ma*) is found.[108] It is not surprising that *Yarīm* is common in the West-Semitic onomasticon of second millennium Mesopotamia, whereas *rām/rīm* is typical of the first millennium. In fact, names with imperfect verbal forms were replaced in first millennium Mesopotamia with names with a perfect verb.[109] There are only a few other West-Semitic names from first millennium cuneiform sources, which are derived from hollow roots in the Qal imperfect: *Ìl-i-ši-mu* "God will establish" (Qal imperfect from Š-W/Y-M),[110] *I-ḫi-ru* "He will protect" (Qal imperfect from ʿ*-W-R*; cf. Hebrew יְעִיר),[111] and *Nabû-e-qí-im* "Nabû will raise".[112] In all these names, the West-Semitic prefix *ya-* shifted to *i-* or *e-*.[113]

1.4. Natanyah

The name ᵐ*Na-ta-ni-a-ma* corresponds to the Hebrew name (וּ)נְתַנְיָה, "Yah(weh) has given". This name is relatively rare outside the Bible (wr. *Ntnyhw*), but the shortened form *Ntn*, and various similar names based on the same verbal root, such as *Mtnyhw*, occur frequently in the Bible, the Hebrew epigraphic sources, and the Aramaic epigraphic material from Persian Egypt.[114] In cuneiform sources of the first millennium BCE, the Yahwistic name occurs three times besides the current attestation, *viz.* ᵐ*Na-tan-nu-ia-a-ma* and ᵐ*Na-ta-nu-ia-a-ma* (both NB), and ᵐ*Na-tan-ia-u* (NA).[115] Names with the West-Semitic root N-T-N "to give" are common in these sources, e.g., *Natīn*, *Mattanyah*, *Natan*, and *Natanʾēl*.[116]

1.5. Barīkyah

The name Barīkyah "Blessed by Yah(weh)", spelled ᵐ*Ba-ri-ki-a-ma*, is the Aramaic equivalent of the Biblical hypocoristicon בָּרוּךְ (passive participle).[117] It

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[87]) On the spelling of the *tetragrammaton* in cuneiform documents, see Zadok, *Jews*, 7-12; *idem*, *Diaspora*, 14; Tropper, VT 51; Younger, VT 52; and Streck, *WeOr* 30.

[88]) Unless we read ᵐ*Ḫad-da-a*.

[89]) HALOT, 1540.

[90]) Renz – Röllig, *Handbuch* II/1 86; Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 430f. *s.v. Šlm* and *Šlmyhw* (with lit.; add Deutsch – Heltzer, *Forty*, No. 18: *Šlmyhw*). There is also a Biblical Hebrew name שָׁלוּם, so that the spelling *šlm* in epigraphic sources remains ambiguous.

[91]) Alternatively, the element *Šillēm-* is a noun of the *qittīl* pattern; see Zadok, PHIAP, 115.

[92]) Tallqvist, NBN, 332. Names with the G stative (*šalim*) or D imperative (*šullum*) are less common.

[93]) Zadok, WSB, 81. For the Yahwistic name *Šalamyah*, see Zadok, *Jews*, 39 (ᵐ*Šá-lam-ia-a-ma*).

[94]) Zadok, WSB, 119.

[95]) Coogan, *Murašû*, 35 *s.v. Šillim*; Zadok, *Jews*, 27, 56, 58f., and 60f.; and Stolper – Donbaz, *Istanbul Murašû*, 178 (index *s.v. Šilimmu*). The spelling ᵐ*Ši-il-li-mu* is not attested (*contra* Zadok, PHIAP, 307(13) and (24)).

[96]) Porten, *Concordance*, 412-414.

[97]) HALOT, 672 *s.v.* נדביה.

[98]) Renz – Röllig, *Handbuch* II/1, 75 *s.v. ndbyhw*; Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 413 *s.v. ndbyhw* (with bibliography); Joannès – Lemaire, *Transeuphratène* 17, 23+25. For the Bible, see HALOT, 672 *s.v.* נדביה (1 Chron 3 18). Attested also in epigraphic sources are *ndbʾl* and *yhwndb*; see Avigad – Sass, WSS No. 183; Deutsch – Lemaire, *Personal Seals*, No. 156, and bibliography, p. 220 *s.v. ndbʾl*.

[99]) Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 413 *s.v. ndb* (with bibliography; add Deutsch – Heltzer, *Epigraphic News*, No. 130); Zadok, WSB, 83 and 289. For the Bible, see HALOT, 671 *s.v.* נדב, which is either a short form of נדביה, or reflects the Arabic *nadb* "capable", "fine"; *ibid.*, references to Ugaritic and Old South Arabic. For Achaemenid Egypt, see Porten, *Concordance*, 379 *s.v.* נדבי, and perhaps also נדבה.

[100]) Tallqvist, NBN, 1 (*Abu-nadib*) and 156 (*Nadbanu*); Joannès – Lemaire, *Transeuphratène* 17, No. 1: 17 (*Nadabyah*); Stolper, EE No. 55: 5 = Stolper – Donbaz, *Murašû*, No. 54: 5; cf. Zadok, WSB, 183 (*Nadbī*).

[101]) Wr. *Na-ad-bi*, *Na-ad-ba-nu*, and *Na-ad-bi-ia-a-ú*. See PNA 2/II, 915, where these three names are interpreted as West-Semitic/Hebrew names meaning "Impelled (by Yah(weh))"; cf. PNA 2/II 670. *s.v. Lu-nadibi*. For *Nadbiyah* in NA, see Zadok, *Diaspora*, 21. For *Aḫi-na-ad-bi* (wr. *Aḫ-na-ad-bi*), see PNA 1/I 65 *s.v. Aḫi-nadbi* "the brother is noble"; cf. Zadok, WSB, 83.

[102]) HALOT, 440.

[103]) Renz – Röllig, *Handbuch* II/1 72; and Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 405 *s.v. yrmyhw*.

[104]) For a sample of West-Semitic names derived from this root, see Zadok, PHIAP, 353; Avigad – Sass, WSS, 530f.; add Deutsch – Lemaire, *Personal Seals*, No. 153: *yrmʾl*.

[105]) According to Zadok, PHIAP, 40 and 134, a name like *Yrmyh(w)* is derived from the causative stem and is probably jussive (not imperfect) 3rd sg. masc., meaning "May Yahweh raise up"; cf. Renz – Röllig *Handbuch* II/1 72; and Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 405.

[106]) Zadok, WSB, 84f. and PHIAP, 24f.

[107]) Zadok, WSB, 295. There is also one attestation of the precative form, namely, in the NA *Ḫal-la-rim*; see Zadok, NABU 1998/20 *s.v.* 1.1.2.

[108]) Horowitz, IEJ 50, 24f., and note 34, with bibliography.

[109]) On this phenomenon, see Zadok, WSB, 91-96; cf. PHIAP, 35f.

[110]) Zadok, NABU 1995/6.

[111]) Zadok, WSB, 95 and PNA 2/I, 508 *s.v. Iḫīru*.

[112]) Unless one reads ᵈAG-*e* = *Nabê*, a variant of Nabû.

[113]) On the shift *ya-* > *i-*, see Zadok, *WeOr* 9, 45; on *ya-* > *e-*, see, e.g., Zadok, NABU 1998/56 *s.v.* 1.2.

[114]) HALOT, 735; Renz – Röllig, *Handbuch* II/1 75 (*mtn*, *mtnyhw*), and 77 (*ntn*, *ntnyhw*); Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 413 (*mtn*, *mtnyh*, *mtnyhw*), and 415f. (*ntn*, *ntnyhw*). For the Egyptian Aramaic evidence, see Porten, *Concordance*, 376 (מתן), and 382-284 (נתני, נתן, נתינא, נתין, נתון).

[115]) NB ᵐ*Na-tan-nu-ia-a-ma* in Stolper – Donbaz, *Istanbul Murašû*, No. 94: 6, 13; cf. Zadok, *Diaspora*, 40(95); and ᵐ*Na-ta-nu-ia-a-ma* in CT 56 795: 6'; cf. Zadok, *Diaspora*, 35(53). For the NA ᵐ*Na-tan-ia-u*, see PNA 2/II 937 *s.v. Natan-Iau*.

[116]) For the NB evidence, see Coogan, *Murašû*, 29 *s.v. Mattanyaw* and 31 *s.v. Natanʾēl*, *Natīn*, *Nattūn*, *Natīna*; cf. Zadok, *Jews*, Index 135f.; *Diaspora*, Index 83f.; and WSB, 83, 93, 124, 152, and 155. For the NA evidence, see PNA 2/II 937-939 *s.v. Natannu*, *Natīnî*, *Natīnu*, *Natnu*, and *Natūnu*; cf. *Addu-natan* and *Milki-natan*.

[117]) The signs following *ba-* are clearly *-ri-ki-*; it is not AM as read by Zadok, *Diaspora*, 30(29): *Ba-rik*(? text AM)-*ki*(?)-.

is similar, but not identical, with Hebrew בְּרַכְיָה(וּ) "Yah(weh) has blessed" (piel perfect)[118], which is found in Zachariah, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.[119] The name *Brkyh(w)* is also found in the Hebrew epigraphic sources and in Elephantine.[120] The Aramaic name *Barīk* "Blessed" is well attested in Mesopotamia of the first millennium BCE. It is written in various ways, e.g., *Ba-ri-ki/ku*, *Ba-ri-ka-a*, *Ba-rik-ki*, and *Ba-ri-ki-i/ia*.[121] The name also occurs with theophoric elements, such as *-il*,[122] *-Šamaš*, *-Adad*, and *-Yah*.[123] In addition to the name *Barīk* (with or without the theophoric element), we find names such as *Barak-il*, *Barakyah*, and ᶠ*Baruka*, in cuneiform sources of the first millennium BCE.[124] These names are also derived from B-R-K, but are based on a different pattern.

1.6. Ṣidqīyah

The name spelled ᵐ*Ṣi-di-iq-a-ma* is reminiscent of the Biblical name צִדְקִיָּה(וּ) "My justice is Yah(weh)". It is found outside the Bible only on three Hebrew bullae, but various short names containing the root Ṣ-D-Q are common in the Bible, the Hebrew epigraphic sources, and the Aramaic epigraphic material from Persian Egypt.[125] In cuneiform sources of the first millennium, the name occurs with or without a theophoric element. We find *Ṣidqî*, *Ṣidqâ*, and *Ṣidqī-el*, in the NA and NB documents. All these are *qitl*-noun formations of Ṣ-D-Q, which in the cuneiform is unanimously rendered *ṣi-id-qV-*.[126] Consequently, it is open to doubt whether the unique spelling found in ᶠNanaya-kānat's marriage document, *viz. ṣi-di-iq-*, reflects the same pattern. The spelling in question, *ṣi-di-iq-*, is similar, in fact, to *ši-li-im-* > *Šillēm*, which is either a piel perfect or a *qittīl*-noun formation.[127]

Note that, beside the current attestation, the Yahwistic name *Ṣidqīyah* is not attested in these sources.[128]

1.7. Aṣīlyah

The name Aṣīlyah "Yah(weh) has shown himself noble" (wr. ᵐ*A-ṣí-li-a-ma*), is based on the root ʾ-Ṣ-L "to reserve", "to set apart", "to be firmly rooted, noble".[129] This name is singularly found in a cuneiform source (wr. ᵐ*A-ṣil-ia-a-u*, NA).[130] It appears to be a compound name containing a *qatīl*-noun formation from ʾ-Ṣ-L, followed by the theophoric element -Yah.[131] Thus, it is similar in formation to Barīkyah (see 1.5). A parallel is the Biblical name אֲצַלְיָהוּ, derived from the same root, but based on a different pattern (G stem perfect).[132] The Biblical name also occurs on a seal of the 7th century (*ʾṣlyhw*).[133] A similar name, אָצוּל, a noun of the *qattūl/qatul/qatūl* pattern, is attested once in Aramaic Elephantine.[134]

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118) Zadok, PHIAP, 31.

119) HALOT, 161.

120) The name *brkyh(w)* is attested in the following Hebrew bullae and inscriptions: Avigad – Sass, WSS Nos. 417, 463, 464, and 465 (*brkyhw*); Zadok, PHIAP, 284(18), 285(14), and 322(7); Deutsch – Heltzer, *Forty*, No. 11; and Deutsch – Heltzer, *New Epigraphic Evidence*, No. 77: 4. For the Egyptian Aramaic evidence, see Porten, *Concordance*, 334f. *s.v.* בריכאל, ברוכה, and ברכיה.

121) For the NB material, see Coogan, *Murašû*, 16-18; cf. Zadok, WSB, 32, 80, 128, and 287+5; and *Jews*, 21, 58, 74, and 101. For the NA material, see PNA 1/II, 269-271; cf. the names ברכא and ברכי on Aramaic seals; see Avigad – Sass, WSS, 490; also ברך on a Samaria ostracon, dated before 721 BCE; see Zadok, PHIAP, 281(4.5).

122) The name ברכאל is common on Ammonite seals; Avigad – Sass, WSS, 490.

123) Wr. ᵐ*Ba-rik-ki-ia-a-ma*, ᵐ[*Ba-ri*]*kʾ-ki-ia-a-ma*, ᵐ*Ba-rik-ki-il*, and others. For the NB evidence, see Zadok, *Diaspora*, Index, p. 81f. For the NA evidence, see PNA 1/II, 270f. *s.v. Barīk-il*.

124) Joannès – Lemaire, *Transeuphratène* 17, 27ff. (ᵐ*Ba-rak-ka-ia-ma*) and PNA 1/II 269a (ᵐ*Ba-rak-ía-u*). See also Zadok, *Diaspora*, 42(19), 45(153), 31(36), and 23(40): ᵐ*Ba-rak(-ku)-ia-a-ma*, ᵐ*Ba-rak-ka-ia-ma* (NB), and ᵐ*Ba-rak-ía-u* (NA).

125) HALOT, 1007 ((צִדְקִיָּה(וּ)), 1005 (צָדָק, mng. 6), and 1001 (צָדוֹק). For the Hebrew epigraphic material, see Avigad – Sass, WSS, 528; Zadok, PHIAP, 448 *s.v.* צדקא, צדק, צדוק, צדקיהו; Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 426 *s.v. ṣdqyhw* and *ṣdq*; and Deutsch – Lemaire, *Personal Seals*, No. 137 (צדקי). For the name ṢDQ in Egyptian Aramaic sources, see Porten, *Concordance*, 406.

126) Zadok, PHIAP, 91. The other common pattern used to form names with the root Ṣ-D-Q in Semitic is *qatul/qattūl*, such as the common Ṣādôq in the Bible (also with the theophoric element), the Hebrew epigraphic sources, and cuneiform sources of the second millennium BCE (ᵐ*Ṣa-du-uq/qu*). For the evidence, see Zadok, *Diaspora*, 15-17; PHIAP, 23 and 103.

127) See above n. 91.

128) Wr. ᵐ*Ṣi-id-qa-a-a*, ᵐ*Ṣi-id-qí*, and ᵐ*Ṣi-id-qí/qi-il*. For the NB evidence, see Zadok, WSB, 116 and 261 (*s.v.* ᵐ*Zi-id-qí*); *Diaspora*, 15f. For the NA evidence, see PNA 3/I, 1169f.

129) Zadok, PHIAP, 29.

130) Zadok, *Diaspora*, 24(52); *idem*, *Festschrift Lipiński*, 433; and PNA 1/I 139 *s.v.* Aṣal-Iāu.

131) Unless the name is the cuneiform equivalent of the Hebrew name אָצַל, it is an adjective of the *qatil*-type meaning "noble", with the addition of the Yahwistic element "Noble is Yah(weh)". For Hebrew names of this type, see Zadok, PHIAP, 100ff.

132) HALOT, 82 *s.v.* אֲצַלְיָהוּ (2 Kings 22, 3 and 2 Chronicles 34, 8) and *s.v.* אָצַל (twice in Chronicles); see Zadok, PHIAP, 255(9) for אֲצַלְיָה (7th century BCE) and 241(14) for אָצַל.

133) Bordreuil – Lemaire, *Semitica* 32, 26f.(9); and Zadok, PHIAP, 320(8).

134) Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 41 *s.v.* ʾṢWL; differently, Porten, *Concordance*, 326 and 343: אצול = הצול. See also Zadok, PHIAP, 294(34).

1.8. Pillelyah

The name spelled ᵐ*Pi-li-li-a-ma* is derived from the root P-L-L "to sit in judgment", "to decide", "to intervene, interpose". It is a compound predicate + subject name, with the predicate in the D (piel) perfect; it means "Yah(weh) has interceded". Thus, it is similar in meaning to the Biblical name פְּלַלְיָה whose predicate is, however, in the G stem.[135] The Hebrew name *Pllyh* is restricted to sources from the Persian period. It occurs once in the book of Nehemia,[136] and three times in the Elephantine documents,[137] where the variant names *Plwlyh* and *Plwl* are also encountered. In cuneiform sources of the Persian period, there is a man named ᵐ*Pi-il-lu-ia-a-ma*.[138] This is a genitive compound name containing a *qill*-noun formation from P-L-L and should be translated "Yah(weh)'s decision/intervention".[139] It is not to be confused with the Neo-Babylonian name ᵐ*Pi-il-ia-a-ma* or ᵐ*Pi-li-ia-a-ma*.[140] These two compound names contain a *qitl*-noun formation from the root P-L-ʾ (פ-ל-א), meaning "Yah(weh) is my/a miracle".[141] Both names were born by Jews known from the Murašû archive.[142]

2. *Aramaic and West-Semitic Names*

2.1. Natīn

The Aramaic name *Natīn* "Given",[143] may perhaps imply that its bearer was to be "Given (to the sanctuary)",[144] or that he was a "gift" of the gods. This name, and its hypocoristic variations, *Natīnī* and *Natīnā*, are common in cuneiform sources of the first millennium.[145] *Natīn* is also frequently attested in the contemporary Aramaic material from Egypt.[146] The name is not found in the Bible or in the Hebrew epigraphic sources.

2.2. Adad-šamā

The scribe of ᶠNanaya-kānat's contract bore the West-Semitic name *Adad-šamā* (wr. ᵐᵈIM-*šá-ma-a*) "Adad has heard". Its closest parallel is the NA *Adda-same*ʾ (wr. ᵐᵈ10-*sa-me-e*ʾ).[147] The theophoric element + *šamā* compound names are frequently found in cuneiform sources of the first millennium BCE (e.g., *Bēl-ša-ma-*ʾ, *Nabû-ša-ma-*ʾ, and *Šá-ma-*ʾ*-il*).[148]

2.3. Padâ

The name *Padâ* (wr. ᵐ*Pa-da-*ᶠ*a/iá/*ʾ)[149] is derived from the West Semitic root P-D-Y (פדי) "to redeem," and it means "He has ransomed". Names containing this root are very common in cuneiform sources of the first millennium BCE; e.g., *Padâ*, *Padî*, *Padê*, *Padi-Bēl*, *Padāyah*, and *Aḫ/Adad/El-padā*.[150] These names are to be distinguished from Iranian homophonic names, such as *Pāda* (wr. ᵐ*Pa-da-a*, < Ir. **pāta-*, "protected"),[151] or *Bagapāta* (wr. either *-pa-da* or *-pa-a-tú*).[152] The names *Pdy*, *Pdh*, and *Pdʾ*, found in the Hebrew epigraphic sources,[153] and in Egyptian Aramaic,[154] are shortened forms of the Hebrew פְּדָיָה(וּ) found in the

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135) It is not to be confused with the Biblical names פְּלָאיָה and פְּלָיָה "Yah(weh) has acted miraculously/marvelously", for which see HALOT, 928 (*s.v.* פְּלָאיָה) and 932 (*s.v.* פְּלָיָה); and Zadok, *Jews* 16 and 102[56]. Note that Zadok, PHIAP, 30+61, interprets these Biblical names differently. He takes them to be derivations from P-L-Y "to be separated, distinct".

136) Nehemia 11:12; the name is among those who returned from Babylonia. Cf. HALOT, 934 *s.v.* פְּלַלְיָה. See also the short form of the name, פְּלָל in Neh 3:25 (HALOT, 933; Zadok, PHIAP, 95 and 273(36)).

137) It is not clear whether פְּלִלְיָה (or even פְּלֵלְיָה [cf. שְׁלֵמְיָה(וּ)]; cf. ᵐ*Pi-li-li-a-ma*) or פְּלַלְיָה (as in the Bible) should be read. The name פללי occurs in TAD B2.3 (= Cowley 8): 30, B2.4 (= Cowley 9): 17, and C3.15 (= Cowley 22): 114. For פלוליה, see TAD B3.11: 19, C3.15: 15 and 83; and for the female name פלול, see TAD A4.4: 5. Cf. Porten, *Concordance*, 399f. *s.v.* פלוליה, פלול, and פלליה.

138) Zadok, *Jews*, 60(47) = *Diaspora*, 42(122).

139) Cf. Zadok, *Jews*, 16.

140) Zadok, *Jews*, 10 and 58f.(43) = *Diaspora*, 36f.(65) = PHIAP, 307f.(3).

141) Zadok, *Jews*, 16. It appears to be the cuneiform equivalent of the Biblical names פלאיה and פליה (see above n. 135).

142) Coogan, *Murašû*, 33 *s.v. Pillīyaw*; Zadok, *Jews* (Index) and *Diaspora*, Index, p. 84. There is no doubt that ᵐ*Pi-li-ia-a-ma* contains the root P-L-ʾ (or P-L-Y), and is not a defective spelling for a name derived from P-L-L (against Zadok, PHIAP, 60), because the alphabetic (Aramaic) epigraph to one of the Murašû tablets explicitly renders it as פליה (Zadok, PHIAP, 288(2)).

143) The name is a *qatīl*-form (Aramaic passive participle) of N-T-N; cf. *Barīkyah* and *Aṣīlyah* of a *qatīl*-form of the roots B-R-K and ʾ-Ṣ-L, respectively.

144) Zadok, WSB, 124 and 301, n. 7.

145) Coogan, *Murašû*, 31 *s.v. Natīn*; Zadok, *Diaspora*, 43(137); WSB, 124, 152, and 155; and PNA 2/II, 938.

146) Porten, *Concordance*, 382 *s.v.* נתין.

147) PNA 1/I, 50 (an Aramaic masc. name).

148) E.g., Tallqvist, NBN, 42 (*Bēl-ša-ma-*ʾ), 143 (*Nabû-ša-ma-*ʾ), 187 (*Šá-ma-*ʾ*-il*), and 196 (*Šá-am-ma-*ʾ); see also Zadok, WSB, 81.

149) It is not likely that this person bore the plain Babylonian hypocoristic name Ḫaddâ (reading ᵐ*Ḫad-da-*ᶠ*a/iá/*ʾ), because the common spelling was ᵐ*Ḫa-ad-da-a*.

150) Zadok, WSB, 86f. and 256; *Jews*, 14f.; *Diaspora*, 42(117); and PHIAP, 30+60, 98 and 99+74; Coogan, *Murašû*, 33 *s.v. Padāyaw*. For the NA evidence, see also PNA 3/I, 977-979.

151) Attested in Stolper, AION *Suppl.* 77, No. 1: 11, and in Abraham, *Business and Politics*, No. 2: 14.

152) See Dandamaev, *Iranians*, 59 No. 95.

153) Avigad – Sass, WSS, 525 *s.v. pdy*, *pdʾ*, and *pdh*; Zadok, PHIAP, 282(24 פדי?, Arad ostracon); Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 423 *s.v. pdh* and *pdy* (with bibliography for *pdy/hʾ s.v. pdyhw*); add Deutsch – Lemaire, *Personal Seals*, No. 12 (פדה).

154) Porten, *Concordance*, 393 *s.v.* פדי.

Bible,[155] the Hebrew epigraphic sources,[156] and in Egyptian Aramaic.[157]

2.4. ᶠNanaya-kānat

The bride's name *Nanaya-kānat* (wr. ᶠᵈ*Na-na-a-ka-na-ta*), "Nanaya is reliable" is a theophoric element + predicate compound name. The name is West-Semitic and not Babylonian, notwithstanding the Babylonian origin of the goddess Nanaya. This goddess is found in Babylonian, as well as West-Semitic names, from the NB period. She occurs, for instance, in the Babylonian female names ᶠᵈ*Nanaya-ēṭirat* and ᶠᵈ*Nanaya-kēširat*, as well as in the West-Semitic female names ᶠᵈ*Nanaya-rāmat*[158] and ᶠᵈ*Nanaya-taḫūša*.[159] The second element of the name, *ka-na-ta* is derived from K-W/Y-N "to be firm, righteous, reliable" in the G stem. The root K-W/Y-N occurs very frequently in West-Semitic and Akkadian names of the first millennium BCE. The Akkadian names are all derived from the D stem ("to make firm") or from nouns (*i.e.*, "truth"), yielding Neo-Babylonian names, such as GN-*ukīn*, *Mukīn*-GN, *Kīn-apli*, and *Kittu*.[160] The West-Semitic names are derived from the basic and the causative stems, although some scholars maintain that all West-Semitic names are derived from the causative stem.[161] The West-Semitic names are the Biblical names יְכָנְיָה(וּ), יְהוֹיָכִן(יָ), and כָּנְיָהוּ,[162] and their equivalents in Phoenician, Punic, Amorite, Neo-Babylonian, and Neo-Assyrian.[163] In view of the evidence adduced above, it is clear that the element *ka-na-ta* is West-Semitic in origin.[164] It is a *qal* + feminine ending *-at* nominal form. This name pattern is rare, but is found in the Biblical feminine name טִפַּת (*Ṭāpat*), which is derived from the root Ṭ-W/Y-P "to drip",[165] and in names like ᶠ*Ṭābat-*ᵈ*Iššar*[166] and ᶠᵈ*Attar-ṭābat*[167] in cuneiform sources of the NB period.

2.5. Mešallam

The name of the bride's brother, *viz.* Mešallam, (wr. ᵐ*Mu-šá{-la}-lam* or ᵐ*Mu-šá-la-am*) is clearly Aramaic. It is a Pa"al (passive) participle of Š-L-M, and it means "The one recompensed (by God)".[168] It is the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew name מְשֻׁלָּם, which occurs in the Bible and frequently in the Hebrew epigraphic sources.[169] The Aramaic form of the name is attested both in NA (wr. ᵐ*Mu-sa-la-a-mu*, ᵐ*Mu-sa-la-me*, and ᶠ*Mu-sa-la-ma-iá*)[170] and NB sources (wr. ᵐ*Mu-šal-lam-mu*).[171] The unvocalized spelling *Mšlm* in the Aramaic documents from Egypt[172] permits the name to be interpreted as either Hebrew מְשֻׁלָּם or Aramaic מְשַׁלַּם.

3. *Babylonian Names*

The groom (3.1.) Nabû-bān-aḫi "Nabû, begetter of a brother", his father (3.2.) Kīnâ "Truth", and one of the witnesses (3.3.) Mukīn-apli, "The one who maintains the (life of the) heir" bear Babylonian names. Mukīn-apli, who stood at the head of the witness list, may have been of local Babylonian descent. He may have enjoyed a more prominent position in the community than the other witnesses with Hebrew or West Semitic names.

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155) HALOT, 913. The Bible has the names פְּדָהצוּר, פְּדָהאֵל, פְּדָיָה(וּ), פָּדוֹן from the root פדה.

156) Renz – Röllig, *Handbuch* II/1, 81 *s.v. Pdyhw*; Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 423 *s.v. pdyhw*; add Zadok, PHIAP 282(25, Arad ostracon) and 324(159) = 332(256, a Hebrew bulla from the time of Jeremiah); Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, *s.v. pdyh*; add Zadok, PHIAP, 277(3, a Late-Achaemenid Aramaic tomb inscription from Daskyleion).

157) Porten, *Concordance*, 393 *s.v.* פדיה.

158) ᶠᵈ*Na-na-a-ra(-am)-mat*, Zadok, WSB, 75 and 85.

159) ᶠᵈ*Na-na-a-ta-ḫu-šà*, Zadok, NABU 1998/56 *s.v.* 1.2, where it is also claimed that this theophoric element + a West-Semitic verbal root makes an Aramaic rather than a Hebrew name.

160) Tallqvist, NBN; PNA 2/I, 616-618, and 610-613.

161) Zadok, PHIAP, 24, 29, 31, and 38-39, derives these names from the causative stem; see also Renz – Röllig, *Handbuch* II/1, 72 for the name *Knyhw* in Hebrew inscriptions; it is a shortened form of יכניה "Yahweh has established firmly", or "May Yahweh make (the child) firm". For a different opinion, see, for example, Avigad – Sass, WSS, 507 and Deutsch – Lemaire, *Personal Seals*, 219: *knyhw* "Yhwh is firm" (from the basic stem).

162) HALOT, 396, 411, and 484.

163) See Renz – Röllig, *Handbuch* II/1, 72 *s.v. knyhw*. For Amorite, see also Streck, AOAT 271/1, 177f. For NA ᵐ*Ia-ki-nu* and its various spellings, see PNA 2/I 489f. *s.v. Iakīnu* and Zadok, PHIAP, 134. Also NA GN-*ku-na*; see Zadok, NABU 1998/20, *s.v.* 1.1.3: Qal imperative of *K-W/Y-N*. For West-Semitic names with the root *K-W/Y-N* in NB sources, such as *Ia-a-ki-nu-il* (*Yakīn-il*) and *Il-a-ki-ni* (*Il-yakīn*), see Zadok, WSB, 92f. and 138; and also Zadok, *Jews*, 19 and 105.

164) The Babylonian name would have been *-kīnat*; cf. *Nanaya-ṣīrat* "Nanaya is august" from Ṣ-W/Y-R.

165) Zadok, PHIAP, 137 (the name of a daughter of Salomon derived from Ṭ-W-P, a by-form of Ṭ-P-P). Cf. HALOT, 379.

166) Wr. ᶠDUG.GA-*at*-; she was the daughter of ישעיה (wr. ᵐ*Ia-še-ʾ-ia-a-ma*). Zadok, PHIAP, 175 and 305f.

167) Zadok, NABU 1998/56 *s.v.* 1.3.1., "Attar is good", from the Murašû archive.

168) Zadok, PHIAP, 125f.

169) Zadok, PHIAP, 436, Index *s.v.* משלם; Renz – Röllig, *Handbuch* II/1, 75 (*mšlm*); Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 412 *s.v. mšlm*.

170) PNA 2/II, 771 *s.v. Musallamu* "Restored"; and Zadok, *Jews*, 109(92).

171) Roth, BMA No. 26; cf. Zadok, *Diaspora*, 29(24).

172) Porten, *Concordance*, 374-376 *s.v.* משלם.

3.4. Dannâ or Dānâ

The bride's maternal grandfather was called *Dannâ* or *Dānâ* (wr. ᵐ*Da-na-a*). This is a plain Babylonian hypocoristic name based on the noun *dannu* "strong" or the verb *dânu* "to judge".[173] The spelling ᵐ*Da-na-a* is unusual. It is found also in two other NB documents,[174] and, occasionally, in NA documents.[175]

4. *Names of Uncertain Origin*

4.1. ᶠDibbî (or ᶠQibî, ᶠKubî)

The name of the bride's mother is probably to be read ᶠ*Dibʾ-bi-iʾ*.[176] The same name occurs in a NA legal document (wr. ᶠ*D[i]-im-ba*ˡ-ʳ*a*ʾ¹), as the name of a female bondswoman.[177] The meaning and etymology of the name remain uncertain. A derivation from D-B-B "to move gently", "to glide", has been suggested, but even if in some Semitic languages lemmata from this root do exist, the root is not known to have yielded any personal names.[178] A comparison with the name Dibbâ (< Diʾbâ, NA wr. ᵐ*Di-iʾ/ib-ba-a*;[179] and NB wr. ᵐ*Dib-bu-ú-a*)[180], derived from the Aramaic word for "wolf"[181], has also been suggested, but this is not likely. Dibbâ is a typical male name.

Alternatively, if the reading ᶠ*Qiʾ-bi-iʾ* of the name is chosen, the name can be related to the Akkadian root Q-B-Y "to say". Names from this root are common in the NB period, e.g., the male name *I-na-qí-bi*-GN, and the female name ᶠ*Qi/Qí-bi-iʾ-dum-qí-i-lat*. However, ᶠ*Qí-bi-iʾ* alone is not attested.

4.2. Bassī (or Bāsiya)

The name *Bassī* or *Bāsiya* (wr. ᵐ*Ba-si-ia*) is known from NB and NA sources.[182] It may be compared to the name בַּסִּי in Ezra-Nehemia, which also appears on a few Hebrew bullae and seals.[183] Its meaning and etymology are uncertain. According to Zadok, it is a composite of the noun *bass* or *biss* "cat"[184] and the first person suffix *-ī*.[185] However, the NA form of the name – *Bāssī(a)* – is better interpreted as meaning "(My) Pride", based on the noun *bāštu* > *bāssu* "pride".[186] Whatever its ultimate origin and meaning, the name in question is a common family name in NB sources.

4.3. Aḫu-[...] or Ari-[...]

The name is most likely to be read ᵐ*A-ḫu-*..., although a reading with *-ri-* instead of *-ḫu-* cannot be entirely excluded. NB names starting with *Aḫu-* usually have *-šunu* as their second element, but the sign following *-ḫu* (resp. *ri*) has two horizontals followed by wedges, hence the reading *-šu/-šú-nu* is not possible. Should ᵐ*A-ḫu-k*[*a*] be read here? Other possible endings of *Aḫu-* names are, e.g., *Aḫu-ba-ni*(*-i*), -DÙ(*-i*), *-līšir*(SI.SÀ), *-at-bu-ú*, *-im-me-e*, *-i-li-ia*, *-it-tab-ši*, *-lu-dar*, *-lu-mur*, *-lu-ur-ši*, *-ʾ-ú*, *-a-bu-ú-*, *-iddin*(MU), *-ma-a*, *-ia-a-li-e*, and so on.

The linguistic affiliation of this name cannot be established because its second part is broken off. *Aḫu-* can be the beginning of a West Semitic (Hebrew, Aramaic, etc.) or Akkadian name.

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173) Tallqvist, NBN, 312f., distinguishes names derived from the root D-N-N "to be strong" from those derived from D-W/Y-N "to judge" on the basis of their spelling. Spellings with the sign *dan-*, such as *Nabû-dan-nu*, *Dan-nu/na-Nabû*, *Dan-na-a*(*-a*), and *Dan-ni-e*, reflect the root D-N-N, whereas names spelled *Da-a-ni*, *Da-a-an*, and *Da-an* derive from D-W/Y-N. For a different opinion, see Jursa, AOAT 330, 215 Nr. 16: 10 (Dān-Nergal wr. ᵐ*dan-nu*-DN) and p. 228 Nr. 26: 7 (Nušku-dān wr. ᵐDN-*dan-nu*).

174) *Nbk* 125: 7 and *Nbk* 42: 18f. In the latter document, *Danâ* is the father of *Sagīb-il* (ᵐ*Ta-gi-bi-il*) which is an Aramaic name; see Zadok, WSB, 31 and 109. In the same document, there are two additional West Semitic (Aramaic?) names: *Amurru-šamā* (l. 5) and *Zabīn* (l. 6); see Zadok, WSB, 76 and 128.

175) PNA 1/II, 376 *s.v. Dannāia*; usually spelled ᵐ*Dan-na-a*(*-a*) or ᵐ*Dan-a*(*-a*); note, however, the occasional ᵐ*Da-na-a-a*, and more rarely, ᵐ*Da-na-a*. Tallqvist derives the NA name ᵐ*Da-na-a* from D-W/Y-N "to judge" (APN 69 and 279: Qal participle, *dāʾin*, *dān* + hypocoristic suffix).

176) We prefer to read here ᶠ*Dib-bi-iʾ*, although ᶠ*Qí-bi-iʾ* or ᶠ*Ku-bi-iʾ* could also be considered; cf. l. 8. In l. 22 there seems to be a Winkelhaken at the beginning of the first sign (read ᶠʳ*Qiʾ-bi-iʾ*¹).

177) See PNA 1/II, 384 *s.v. Dimbâ* (dissimilated form of *Dibbâ*).

178) This root is known from Hebrew (Biblical Hebrew: Canticles 7: 10; for Middle Hebrew, see Jastrow, *Dict.*, 276 *s.v.* דבב I), a few Aramaic dialects (Sokoloff, DJBA, 311), Ethiopic, and Arabic (see HALOT, 208 *s.v.* דבב I). For the Ugaritic name *du-ba-bi* in PRU VI 70: 2, see Sivan, *GAGl*, 214, who derives it from the root DBB "to move gently"; according to Watson, *AuOr* 11, 215, and Van Soldt, UF 21, 372, the name means "fly".

179) PNA 1/II, 382 *s.v. Diʾbâ*.

180) VS 6 128: 3.

181) Zadok, WSB, 146, suggests deriving it from **dibb* "bear"; cf. Syr *debbaʾ*. However, note that the regular Aramaic form is דובָּא (Sokoloff, DJPA, 140 and DJBA, 315). Hence, it is better to derive ᵐ*Di-iʾ/ib-ba-a* and ᵐ*Dib-bu-ú-a* from **diʾb* "wolf" > Aramaic דִּיבָא (DJPA, 144 and DJBA, 326), notwithstanding the doubling of /b/ in the Akkadian name.

182) Zadok, WSB, 146 *s.v. qatt* and *qitt*. For the NA evidence, see also PNA 1/II, 276 *s.v. Bāssaia*, *Bāssī*, *Bāssīa*, *Bāssu*.

183) Deutsch, *Kaufman Collection*, 387 *s.v. bsy*.

184) Zadok, WSB, 146. Cf. Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 44 *s.v.* BSS in Egyptian Aramaic.

185) Zadok, WSB, 153f.

186) So PNA 1/II, 276 *s.v. Bāssaia*, *Bāssī*, *Bāssīa*, *Bāssu*. For NA *Bāssūʾa* "My Lady", see *ibid.*

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