37) Arameo-Akkadica III[1] — Four lexemes, viz. three substantives and one adjective (Nos. 1-3 and 4 respectively), are discussed below. All of them are recorded only in NB/LB, except for No. 3 which also occurs in NA. All of them are recorded in Aramaic, except for the first one whose precursor has homonyms in Aramaic. Its recognizable survival in Palestinian Arabic was in all probability not borrowed directly from the Akkadian recorded forerunner, but from a hypothetical, yet highly plausible, Aramaic form.

1. banūra denotes a ceramic or tin lamp of a cylindrical shape in Palestinian Arabic, where it is recorded both among villagers (west of Jerusalem) and bedouins (in the Negev). Halayqa (2014: 147- 148:456 with lit.) is of the opinion that it originates from Heb. *mnwrh* "lamp". In my opinion, a more plausible origin is Aram. **byt nwr’* which is the equivalent of Akkad. *bīt nūri* "lamp" (CAD N/2: 351). This Akkadian term is recorded only in NB/LB, i.e. it does not predate the 1st millennium BC. This compound is synonymous with earlier *nūru* (from OB onwards, CAD N/2: 350, s.v. *nūru* A, 2,[2]) which is metonymic seeing that it basically denotes "light" (the lexeme has undergone simplification and narrowing of its denotation). The 1st component, viz. *byt* (/*bayt*/), has shifted to *by-* (/*bê*/) > /*bā-*/ in Eastern Aramaic and *b(ē)-* in Western Aramaic. The determinate form (i.e. with *-nwr’*) has been generalized in Eastern Aramaic. The modern Palestinian lexeme is extant in a region with a Western Aramaic substrate; its *ba-* and final a conform to a continuant of Western Aramaic (notably CPA) determinate form of a compound **byt nwr’* > **bynwr’* with shortening of the unstressed /*bê-*/ as the stress was on the last syllable (with *-ā*) and subsequently on the penultimate (with *-ū-*); the resulting short /*be-*/ has become /*ba-*/ as expected in Arabic. In the same manner, *-ā* has been shortened to *-a* in Arabic. It may be envisaged that the denotation of byt nwr’ > by nwr’ as "lamp" in Eastern Aramaic was suppressed by the introduction of a Persian loanword, namely JBA and Mand. *šrg’* (Sokoloff 2020: 1159a). On the other hand, there is good reason for thinking that it was retained in certain regions of speakers of Western Aramaic (not in Anti-Lebanon where *šrōga* denotes "lamp", Arnold 2019: 756a, s.v.) seeing that JPA *ššyt’* does not denote "lamp, lantern" (contra von Soden 1977: 195), but perhaps "wick" (Sokoloff 2017: 656b, s.v. *ššy*, det. *ššyt’* < *ˀššyt’*, MHeb. *ˀššyt*). Its precursor, which is rendered by NB/LB *šašītu*, denotes "a metal part or an accessory for a lamp, lantern" as is clear from the sequence *bīt nūri kalla siparri* (*u*) *šá-ši-i-tu₄ siparri šá bīt nūri* "a lamp, a bronze stand, and a bronze part of or an accessory for a lamp, lantern" (CAD Š/1: 172b).

Aramaic compounds resembling the forerunner of *banūra*, which acquired different denotations, viz. JBA by *nwr’* "place heated by a fire" and "(Zoroastrian) fire temple" (Sokoloff 2020: 154a), OSyr. *byt nwr’* "furnace" and JPA *byt nhwr* "place to admit light" (translating BHeb. *ṣhr*, Sokoloff 2017: 77a), are of no relevance here.

2. par(ā)qu - *pa-raq* (of *pa-raq-šú* "his > 'her' p.") is recorded in the deed BM 96175 after *rittu* "hand" and *lētu* "cheek", all referring to a female slave's body parts on which the name of Mār-bīti-iqbi, the father of her seller Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti, is written (i.e. tattooed). The seller inherited the female slave from his father. The deed may refer to a component of a belated dowry gift (see Waerzeggers 2010: 374:1.2.2 *in fine*).

BM 96175 - beige to brown, horizontally oriented, 65x50x24mm.; Borsippa, 9.V.6 Dar. I = 516 BC; Ilīya A archive (dossier of Ša-nāšīšu)

1. ᵐᵈ+AG-SUR-ZIᵐᵉˢ A-*šú šá* ᵐᵈA.É-*iq-bi*
2. DUMU ᵐ*ma-qar-tu₄ ina hu-ud* ŠÀ*ᵇⁱ-šú*
3. f*si-lim-*ᵈba-ú ˡᵘ*qal-lat-su*
4. *šá rit-ta-šú šá le-e-ti ù*
5. *pa-raq-šú a-na* MU *šá* ᵐᵈA.É-*iq-bi* AD-*šú*
6. *šá-ṭar?* (text ')-⸢*tu₄?* *a-na* 1 MAŠ MA.NA 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
7. BABBAR-*ú šá ina* 1 GÍN *pit-qa nu-uh-hu-tu*
8. *a-na* ᵐᵈ+AG-*mu-še-<tì>-iq*-UD.DA DUMU-*šú*
9. *šá* ᵐAMAR.UTU-MU-MU A ᵐ*šá-na-ši-šú id-di-in*
10. KÙ.BABBAR-' 1 MAŠ MA.NA ⸢5 GÍN BABBAR-*ú šá ina* 1 GÍN *pit-qa*
11. *nu-uh-hu-tu₄* ŠÁM *a-mì-lut-ti-šú*

lo.e. 12. *ina* ŠUᴵᴵ ᵐᵈ+AG-*mu-še-<tì>-iq*-UD.DA

13. (almost centred) *e-ṭi-ir*
rev. 14. *pu-ut* ˡᵘ*se-hu-ú u pa-qir-ra-nu*
15. *šá ina* UGUʰⁱ *a-mì-lut-ti il-la-a*
16. ᵐᵈ+AG-SUR-ZIᵐᵉˢ *na-áš-ši*
(space)

17. ᴸᵘ*mu-kin-nu* ᵐᵈ+EN-*ke-šìr* A-*šú šá* ᵐEN-*šú-nu*
18. A ᵐ*ši-gu-ú-a* ᵐKI-ᵈUTU-TIN DUMU-*šú šá*
19. ᵐNUMUN-TIN.TIRᵏⁱ A ᴸᵘSIMUG ᵐᵈ+AG-ŠEŠᵐᵉˢ-TIN
20. DUMU-*šú šá* ᵐ*gi-mil-lu* A ᵐ*ma-qar-tu₄*
21. ᵐᵈUTU-MU DUMU-*šú šá* ᵐᵈ+AG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ
22 (indented). A ᵐEN-*ú-šum-gal*
23. ᵐᵈ+EN-TIN*ⁱᵗ* DUB.SAR A-*šú šá* ᵐᵈAMAR.UTU-GI
24. A ᵐSIG₁₅-ᵈIŠKUR *bár-sipa*ᵏⁱ
u.e. 25. iti IZI U₄.9.KAM MU.6.KAM
26. ᵐ*da-ar-'-muš* LUGAL TIN.TIRᵏⁱ
27. (centred, in tiny script) LUGAL KUR.KUR

r.e. 28 (indented). ᵐᵈ+AG-SUR-ZIᵐᵉˢ (for *ṣu-pur* ~); no fingernail marks, being a copy.

Translation

Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti s. of Mār-bīti-iqbi desc. of Maqartu voluntarily sold Silim-Bau, his female slave whose hand, cheek and joint (presumably of the neck) are written with the name of Mār-bīti-iqbi, his father, to Nabû-mušētiq-ūdê s. of Marduk-šuma-iddina desc. of Ša-nāšīšu for one mina and 35 shekels of white clipped silver, which contains one-eighth alloy. The aforementioned silver, one mina and 35 shekels (= 95 shekels), white (and) clipped, which contains one- eighth alloy, the price of the female slave, was paid in full by Nabû-mušētiq-ūdê. Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti assumes guarantee against (suits brought by) a person acting unlawfully and a person bringing claims which arise over the (sold) slave.
Witnesses: Bēl-kēšir s. of Bēlšunu desc. of Šigûa; Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu s. of Zēr-Bābili desc. of Nappāhu; Nabû-ahhē- bulliṭ s. of Gimillu desc. of Maqartu; Šamaš-iddina s. of Nabû-zēru-līšir desc. of Bēl-ušumgal; scribe: Bēl-uballiṭ s. of Marduk-ušallim desc. of Mudammiq-Adad. Borsippa, month V, day 9, year 6 of Darius, King of Babylon, King of the lands; <fingernail mark of > Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti.

Remarks

5. See the detailed discussion just below.
6. The price (= 95 shekels) is exceptionally high, but there is one case from the same reign where the price is even much higher (193 shekels according to BM 26576 from 503 BC, see Jursa 2010: 234).
11, 15. For *amīlūtu* referring to a female slave see CAD A/2: 61b, s.v. *amīlūtu*, 2c. 19f. The third (penultimate) witness belongs to the seller's clan.

An attempt to locate the anatomical member *pa-raq* in the human body
The master's name was tattooed on three body parts. The location of the first and the second part, viz. "hand" and "cheek", is beyond doubt. On the other hand, the designation of the third body part, viz. *pa-raq*, is a hapax in the abundant Akkadian record. It is an Aramaic loanword in LB (see below). Before clarifying its meaning one has to bear in mind that the common denominator of "hand" and "cheek" is that both refer to body parts which are normally exposed (at least partly), given the fact that oriental sartorial practices leave a minimum exposure of the female body.[3] This is understandable in view of the function of tattooing slaves and livestock: the tattooed signs must be visible since they signify that their bearers are not free but belong to an owner.[4] With this in mind, a quest for the meaning of the assumed source of *pa-raq* in Aramaic is presently undertaken.
The spelling <*pa-raq*> renders a *qat*(V)*l* (or *qat*(V:)*l*) formation of P-R-Q (basically "to dismantle").[5] Admittedly, CVC-signs like RAQ are indifferent to vowel quality and quantity. Therefore <V> may render either /a/, /i/, /u/ (short or long) or /ø/ (no vowel). In addition, it can be argued that the a of <-*raq*> is secondary, being the result of phonotactic constraint caused by the addition of the possessive pronoun -*šu* to an original base **parq-*. To put it simply: *paraq-šu* is in order to avoid a cluster of three consonants, viz. **parq*(-)*šu*, which is not allowed in Semitic. Regarding the vowel of <-RAQ>, *a*(:) is supported by the comparative Aramaic material from the morphological-semantic point of view, whereas /i(:)/ or /u(:)/ are not. BHeb. *mprqt* "(nape of the) neck" in 1Sam. 4, 18 is rendered as *prqt'* in Old Syriac (Pshitta, cf. Brockelmann 1928 [1966]: 606a) and as *prqwt'* in Targum Jonathan.[6] CPA has *prqy'* „the joints" (Sokoloff 2014: 341-342, s.v. *prq*). Targumic dialects *prqh*, *prqt'* render "neck; vertebra" (cf. CAL). BHeb. *dbqym* (2Ch. 18, 33), which may denote "joints" (cf. Briggs *et al*. 1907 [1974]: 180a, s.v. *dbq*), is rendered by Old Syriac (Pshitta) *prq'* (*prāqā*) "joint, seam, juncture" (Brockelmann 1928 [1966]: 605b: "commisura"). The re-edition by Sokoloff (2009: 1251-1252) renders *prq'* as "seam", but the CAL retains the rendering "joint". JBA *pyrq'*, whose plural is extant in (*by*) *pyrqy* (*dqn'*) and (*by*) *pyrqy* (*ryš'*), is cautiously rendered by Sokoloff (2020: 877b, s.v. *pyrq'*) as "(the area) between 'joints' of the beard/head". H.L. Fleischer (apud Levy 1924, 4: 683a ad 137b, s.v. *p(y)rq'* "limb") specified that by *pyrqy ryš'* refers to the connecting places of the skull (cranial) between the wedge (sphenoid) bone and the temporal bone. Targ. *prq'* renders BHeb. *bhn* "thumb"; it also denotes the big toe (especially the cartilage, gristle on the thumb and on the big toe). Targ. *pyrqt'/pryqt'/'pqwt'* (< *'prqwt'*) means "joint, vertebra" (especially of the neck, Levy 1866-1867, 1: 55a, 2: 299-300, s.vv.). SA *pr(w)qh* renders BHeb. *hˤṣh* "the backbone" in Lev. 3, 9 (Tal 2000: 709, s.v. prwq, 3). JBA *prwqy mprq'* is rendered as "it(s limbs) can be temporarily dislocated".[7]

This survey would not be complete without referring to the evidence from Middle Hebrew of the Mishnah which was strongly influenced by Aramaic:

MHeb. has *prq* of the knee (*'rkwbh*) and of the jawbone, (lower) cheek (*lḥy*) (Hulin X, 4). MHeb. *byn prqyw* is explained as *byn prqy ṣw'r* "between the joints of the neck" (Ab. Zara 43a).

It is also worthwhile to note other sources which indicate on which body parts slaves were marked. The owner's name is written on (CAD Š/2: 231b, s.v. *šaṭāru* 1d):

The male slave's left upper cheek (*sukku*, Borsippa, Bēliyau archive, 21.V. 25 Dar. I = 497 BC, [Jursa,] Paszkowiak [and Waerzeggers] 2003-2004: 255-257:BM 25098, 1), probably because this part of the face is not covered by a beard (unlike the lower cheek, Akkad. *lētu*). The name of the former owner of a female slave (i.e. the person who owned her before the seller) was written in Akkadian on her hand (*rittu*), and an Aramaic inscription on the right side of her neck (GÚ-*šú šá* 15-*šú*, Sippar, 18.II.10 Dar. I = 512 BC). The Aramaic inscription had five letters, but the parties apparently could not read them.[8]

The owner's name is written on the female slave's hand (*rittu*, Opis, Egibi archive, 25.XII.2 Camb. = 527 BC): A descendant of Egibi sold his female slave on whose hand her name was written both in Aramaic and in Akkadian (Camb. 143, 8, cf. Briant 1996: 919, iv, 1st par. in fine). It is not without interest that a member of the Babylonian urban elite used the Aramaic script (unless he himself bought her). To sum up: it is plausible that *pa-raq* refers to the neck which - apart from the hand and the cheek- is one of the few exposed body parts of the oriental females, and therefore were tattooed with ownership signs.

3. *karmallatu* - túg *kar-mál-la-tu₄* for *karballatu* (see von Soden 1983: 293 ad CT 56, 558, 4) is apparently with *b* > *ḫ*, cf. the gentilics *Ar-mad-da*-A+A, ᶫᵘ*Ar-ma-du-ú-a* which are based on Arwad (Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8: 29, s.v. Armada). The sequence <*r-m*> in NB/LB renders /*rw*/ and apparently /*rb*/. In the cuneiform script it was impossible to distinguish between /*w*/ and /*b*/.

4. *kaššīru* (*kaš₄-šìr*, archive of the Eanna temple of Uruk, 12.IX.20 Npl. = 606 BC), which qualifies silver, renders Aram. *kšyr* (SA, JBA, OSyr. *kšyr'*, Mand. *k'šyr'*) "proper, fit, worthy" according to von Soden (1983: 293 ad 237:GCCI 2, 39, 2, 14). Typologically, the use of this adjective with regard to silver can be compared to Latin *probus/probum* in *probum et numeratum argentum* "good honest money, cash down" and *nummi probi* "good honest currency" (Plautus, Persa, 3, 3, 33; 4, 3, 5).

Notes

1. Cf. NABU 2020/128. Abbreviations (mostly of editions of cuneiform texts) are as in A.L. Oppenheim et al. (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (= CAD, Chicago and Glückstadt 1956-2010), unless otherwise indicated. The months (in Roman figures) are the Babylonian ones. BT = Babylonian Talmud. Abbreviated rulers' names: Art. = Artaxerxes; Dar. = Darius; Nbk. = Nebuchadnezzar; Nbn. = Nabonidus; Nerigl. = Neriglissar. Non-bibliographical abbreviations: Aram. = Aramaic; BHeb. = Biblical Hebrew; CPA = Christian Palestinian Aramaic; desc. = descendant; Iran. = Iranian; JAram. = Jewish Aramaic; JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; Mand. = Mandaic; MHeb. = Middle Hebrew; OSyr. = Old Syriac; s. = son; SA = Samaritan Aramaic; Sem. = Semitic; Targ. = Targumic (Aramaic of Jewish translations of the Bible).

2. Other terms for "lamp" in Akkadian are not recorded in NB/LB, but in other dialects, viz. (*bīt*) *buṣinnu* (OB) and *mušanmirtu* (NA). The former survived in several Aramaic dialects (see Kaufman 1974: 45 with n. 68).

3. "Cheek" refers to a body part which among females (but not among bearded males) is exposed in its entirety, but *rittu* refers to "hand" (including the wrist) whose upper part is generally covered. One would expect a more specific term, viz. "wrist", in this context, but the common Akkadian term for "wrist" is *šisīt ritti* (OB and SB); *šisītu* (with several variants due to the presence of two sibilants) is rendered by CAD (Š/3: 124a, s.v. *šisītu* B) as "joint(?)". It is is recorded only as a cut of meat in NA and NB (uzu *ši-ši-tu₄*). Akkad. *kimkimmu* "wrist" is recorded only in SB lexical lists, notably in *malku = šarru*, which predated the 1st millennium BC. It is listed in the *malku* column where generally rare words are registered as the equivalent of *išdi qātāti* (ŠU^II.meš, CAD K: 373, see Hrůša 2010: 242-243 ad iv, 56 in fine and iv, 73).

4. For asses marked with signs in NB/LB sources see Weszeli 1996: 468-469 with nn. 36-40; Weszeli and Baker 1997: 231-233:4, 2; 241-243:10, 3. For a sign on the horse's nape of the neck (*tikku*) and right side (Ebabbar archive, 30.VI.25 Dar. I = 497 BC) see Jursa and Weszeli 2000: 80-81.

5. Extant in the verbal form *lip-ra-aq* ("let PN isolate" referring to the Arameans, early NB Nippur, Cole, Nippur, 27, 18, cf. CAD P: 161b, s.v.; Streck 2007: 150, 152, and Streck and Rudik 2018: 67a, 87b).

6. Cf. van Staalduine-Sulman 1996: 86, s.v. and Donner *et al*. 2005: 719a, s.v. *Prqwt'* itself refers to both the neck and the spine, but Mand. *pquta* (mod. Mand. *poquttā*) denotes only "neck, throat" (Häberl 2009: 345, s.v.).

7. Sokoloff 2020: 911, s.v. *prq*, Itpa 2; see Wajsberg 2007: 401–402 with n. 20 ad BT Hulin 93a.

8. Jursa and Weszeli 2000: 82-84. His paternal name, Nabû-šarra-uṣur, may indicate that he belonged to the palatial sector. The seller's name, Ša-Nabû-dubbu, is Assyrian (like the buyer's name Iššār-tarībi).

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