

**128) Arameo-Akkadica II<sup>1</sup>** — All the five lexemes discussed below are Aramaic loanwords in Neo-/Late-Babylonian (NB/LB) texts, except for the first one which occurs in a Neo-Assyrian text and can be considered an Akkadian survival in Aramaic.

**1. biškānu** - JBA *byskn* /*bsk* 'n' "load", an isolated lexeme (Sokoloff 2002: 224a), phonologically matches the NA hapax *biškānu* (*bi-iš-ka-ni*, *biš-ka-ni*, *bé-eš-ka-ni*) "pupa, cocoon's cover" (of a caterpillar, AHW.: 131a; CAD B: 270a). For NA /š/ one expects /s/ in the hypothetical NB/LB precursor of the JBA lexeme. Regarding the semantics, to the spectator it seems that the cover is carried by the creature; therefore the cover can be considered a load.

**2. ek/ik-bi** (hapax, Sippar, 23.VIII.19 Nbk. II = 586 BC, TuM 2/3, 108, 10) can be a *qitl* (> *qetl*)-substantive of '-K-B, i.e. "delay, prevention, invalidation". The denotation matches the context: the passage *kūmu miīti u ek/ik-bi ša ana muhhi PN nadū*, i.e. "for the nonfulfillment and delay (etc.) which are charged against PN" (referring to performance of a work assignment).<sup>2</sup> The verbal root is recorded in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and Middle Hebrew. The derived *nomina actionis* are extant in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, viz. 'kb' (vocalized as *qattālā*, originally an infinitive) and 'ykwb' (*qittūl*, Sokoloff 2002: 853-854, 860-861, s.vv.). Both formations (*qattāl* and *qittūl*) belong to verbs of the D stirps, which is indeed the case with '-K-B, but there is no telling whether the verb did not exist also in the G stirps in Old and Official Aramaic, which are coeval with NB/LB. The context of *ek/ik-bi-in-ni* (*ina* ~, hapax, apparently from central Babylonia, late Achaemenid, VS 3, 192, 5) is less helpful. The term refers to delivery of dates from two successive years. An interpretation "with delays", in which case <-in-ni> renders the Aram. pl. m. /in/, is compatible with the envisaged scenario, but there is no telling whether this is the only plausible explanation, given the polyphonic nature of the initial sign (*ig/k/q-*) and the dearth of information of this damaged administrative record.

**3. ga-bi-bi** (5x, Uruk, Sippar and Babylon regions, 3 Nbn.-23 Dar. I) is always preceded by *kalū* (this pair is twice preceded by *kaslu*). It refers to land of inferior quality, but suitable for pasture according to CAD G: 6a, who state "probably West Sem. lw." AHW.: 272 considers it as a foreign word of unknown origin. It is apparently an Aramaic *qatil*-passive participle of G-B-B (compare OSyr. *gbyb* and the resembling Mandaic form, cf. Zadok 1981: 198). The JBA passive participle *gyb* is with conflation of verbs with identical 2nd and 3rd radicals and *verba mediae infirmae*. G-B-B means "to bend (over)" in Aramaic (Mand., JBA, OSyr.). Here it is used in a figurative sense, presumably referring to a peculiar topographical elevation ("bent, curved, convex, hunchbacked").

**4. hālilu** - This iron tool is recorded only in the archive of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar during the long 6th century BC. The spellings *ha-li-il* (Nbn. 358, 1), *ha-li-lu* (BM 63810 = Bertin 1121, 4), *ha-li-li* (CT 55, 281, 14) and *hal-li-li* (CT 55, 216, 7) refer to a single tool, but there are cases where the same spellings refer to multiple tool, viz. *ha-li-li* (VS 6, 205, 1, 3: *ha-[li-li]*, 11, 14) and *hal-li-li* (Camb. 18, 7, 11, 13, 14; MacGinnis 2012, 54, 4). Forms with the plural marker are *ha-li-la-nu/ha-lil-la-nu* (CT 55, 248 rev. 1, UET 4, 145, 1, 4, 6 and CT 55, 204, 4 respectively) and [h]a-li-li<sup>mes</sup> /hal-li-li<sup>mes</sup> (VS 6, 205, 1 and Camb. 18, 3 respectively). The late occurrence of this tool (not before the period of the Neo-Babylonian empire) is understandable in view of the fact that it was made exclusively of iron and the diffusion of iron tools replacing bronze ones was relatively slow during the first half of the 1st millennium BC. The transcription *hālilu* (AHW.: 311-312; CAD H: 42 transcribe it at face value as *hallilu*), i.e. a *qatil* formation (G active participle) of Ḥ-L-L "to bore, pierce", Aram. "to hollow out", would fit an implement used for digging canals (cf. the reservations of Abraham and Sokoloff 2011: 33b:70). Bongenaar (NB *Ebabbar*: 45) renders *hālilu* as "(iron) shovel" (cf. 131, 371, 381) and MacGinnis (2012, 54, 4) as "hoe". The single spelling *ha-lil-la-nu* (CT 55, 204, 5) does not justify a normalization *halillu* (see Streck 2001: 86:6.3; 2003- 2005: 139-140: B, 4.6 c; 2007:153 ad 162, 21), the more so in view of JAram. (Targ.) *hwlyl* (i.e. a *qatil*-formation with *ā > ō* which took place in Western Aramaic). The variant *hal-li-li* corroborates this classification. JAram. (Pseudo-Jonathan Targum [PsJ]) *hwlyl* renders BHeb. *hgrzn* "the ax" in 1 Kings 6, 7 and Isaiah 10, 15 (see Tal 1975: 91, who mentions the NB/LB word and points out on 154 that the word is not recorded in any other Aramaic dialect; he also notes the Aram. pl. *hwlylyn*, 207). The problem is that Akkadian has at least three other terms for "ax", viz. *haššinnu* (a cognate of Aram. *hšyn*, see Kaufman 1974: 54, s.v., and presumably of Heb. and Eg. *grd/zn*, cf. AHW.: 332, s.v.), *qulmū* and *pāšu* (listed as synonyms in lexical lists, but perhaps used for different purposes). The latter is a cognate of CA *fa's* (see Kaufman 1974: 82, s.v.) and apparently of JPA ps. However, ps is rendered "spade, shovel" (see H.L. Fleischer apud Levy 1924, 4: 227, cf. Sokoloff 2017: 496b). The Aramaic terms for "ax" are (apart from *hšyn*) *nrg* and *plq*. One gathers from the table below that *hālilu* is listed once with *haššinnu* (#4) and twice with *qulmū* (#2, 3). It may be surmised that it was of a different type than *haššinnu* and *qulmū*; the same difficulty of assigning accurate meaning to tools is caused

by the co-occurrence of *marru* “spade” and *nashiptu* “spade or shovel” in the same documentation (##1-3); only the former has an established denotation thanks to its later and modern survivals. All these implements were used for digging, notably of canals. One may ask whether the translator into Aramaic had a reliable transmission of the term *hwyl*. Doubts about the reliability of rare words contained in PsJ (without excluding the section edited by Tal 1975) are expressed by Sokoloff (2017: xxxvii, n. 5). The post-1975 pertinent publications dealing with the NB/LB occurrences do not refer to the Hebrew publication of Tal 1975.

Table. The texts where *hālilu* is recorded together with other tools (or without them)

no.	source	place and date	<i>hālilu</i> and other tools in their original sequence
1	BM 63810 = Bertin 1121	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 26.X.35 Nbk. II = 569 BC	4 <i>hālilu</i> , [x] (iron) <i>marru</i> , [x] (iron) <i>našhip</i> <I>u.
2	Camb. 18, 7, 11, 13, 14	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive) 5.XII.0 Camb. = 529 BC	a. (quantity not indicated). multiple (iron) <i>marru</i> , multiple <i>hālilu</i> , multiple (iron) <i>qulmū</i> , multiple (iron) <i>našiptu</i> . b. 7 <i>marru</i> , 7 <i>hālilu</i> , 3 (iron) <i>qulmū</i> , 3 ID-na-[...], 1 ar-ra-ša-ba-tu. <sup>3)</sup> c. 8 <i>marru</i> , 8 <i>hālilu</i> . d. 2 (iron) <i>marru</i> , 2 <i>hālilu</i> . e. 1 <i>hālilu</i> , 2 <i>qulmū</i> .
3	CT 55, 204, 4	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 6.XII.0 early Achaemenid	multiple (quantity not indicated, all made of iron): <i>marru</i> , <i>qulmū</i> , <i>našiptu</i> , <i>hālilu</i> .
4	CT 55, 216, 7	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), XI?.year lost, RN perhaps Npl., Nbk. II or Nbn.	1 <i>haššinnu</i> , 1 <i>hālilu</i> , 2 <i>ma-ti-qa-nu</i> , 4 <i>semeru</i> .
5	CT 55, 248, rev. 1	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 15.XI. 2 [+x], RN lost	27 (or 37) <i>hālilu</i> , 3 <i>našiptu</i>
6	CT 55, 281, 14	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 23.-.8 Cyr. = 531/0 BC	2 <i>marru</i> , 2 <i>hālilu</i> .
7	MacGinnis 2012, 54, 4	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 14.-.3 Dar. I = 518 BC	[x] <i>marru</i> , 3 <i>hālilu</i> (the other items are not tools).
8	Nbn. 358, 1	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 10.VII.9 <Nbn.??> = 547? BC	<i>hālilu</i> is the only tool.
9	UET 4, 145, 1, 4, 6	Ur (implicit: findspot), 23.XII.15 no RN (script not late, hence probably Npl., Nbk. II or Dar. I) = 610, 589, or 506 BC	<i>hālilu</i> is the only tool.
10	VS 6, 205, 1, 3, 11, 14	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 23.XII.14 no RN (probably Npl., Nbn. or Dar. I) = 611, 541 or 507 BC	<i>hālilu</i> is the only tool.

5. *ma-as-tar* “shelter” (for sheep, early NB, BRM 1, 6, 6) is recorded in a rural archive, presumably from southern Babylonia (see Zadok 1981: 200; Jursa 2005: 150; 2010: 506-509). The word is recorded in QA *mstryñ* (pl., Henoch 4: “hiding places”, *maqtal* of S-T-R, a formation which denotes locales). Its occurrence in NB indicates that it is not a Hebraism in Henoch as was argued by Beyer (1984: 234), who was not aware of the NB occurrence. Stadel (2008: 85 with nn. 640, 641) is less resolute; he points out that the root S-T-R “to hide, conceal” is amply recorded in Aramaic (Old Aram., BAram., JBA, OSyr. and SA).

#### Notes

1. Cf. NABU 2020/27. 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. Abbreviated rulers’ names: Camb. = Cambyses; Cyr. = Cyrus; Dar. = Darius; Nbk. = Nebuchadnezzar; Nbn. = Nabonidus; Npl. = Nabopolassar; Non-bibliographical abbreviations: Aram. = Aramaic; BAram. = Biblical Aramaic; BHeb. = Biblical Hebrew; CA = Classical Arabic; JAram. = Jewish Aramaic; JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; Mand. = Mandaic; OSyr. = Old Syriac; QA = Qumran Aramaic; SA = Samaritan Aramaic; Sem. = Semitic. I should like to thank Mr C.B.F. Walker who allowed me to consult the Bertin copies in the British Museum.

2. Cf. Abraham and Sokoloff 2011: 30:43, who quote the translation of CAD M/2: 147a, s.v. *mišītu*, f, where the word in question is left untranslated. CAD I/J: 48b, s.v. *ikbu* state “Possibly a word for “fine” or “loss”. The essence of the rare collocation *mišīti u ek/ik-bi* can be compared with the very common term *baṭlu* “interruption, cessation” in guarantee clauses contained in working contracts (cf. CAD B: 177-178, s.v.). The sequence here is with semantic gradation as *mišītu* and *ek/ik-bi* refer to a terminal and temporal stoppage respectively.

3. An agricultural implement (CAD A/2: 308b). It is preceded either by units (one a.) or by weight (13.5 minas, therefore AHw.: 71b lists only the occurrence with weight, viz. YOS 6, 218, 47, and renders it as “ein Rohstoff?”). From the point of view of Semitic historical phonology, the Akkadian form can be the equivalent of BHeb. *ḥrsbwt* (pl., sg. \**ḥrsb*, Bauer and Leander 1922: 484:61cε) “bonds” (||’*gdwt*), which is compared with CA *ḥaḍrama* “to tighten a rope”. The indication of weight would accord well with the meaning “bonds”.

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