

65) An Achaemenid queen – Rations (consisting of meat cuts) of the lady *Ap-pa-mu-ú* (f. *ap-pa-mu-ú* < Old Iranian [henceforth : OIran.] **Apamā-*, see below ad BM 29447, 7) are mentioned in two deeds from the archive of Šaddinnu son of Balāssu descendant of Bēliya’u. Both deeds were issued in Borsippa. The first deed is BM 29447 from 21.III.19 Dar. I (503/2 B.C.) and the second is BM 85009 from -.VI.20 Dar. I (502/1 B.C.). *Ap-pa-mu-ú* is defined as *šá É.GAL* in BM 85009, 14. This title (Akkad. *ša-ekalli*), which is otherwise written *MUNUS šá É.GAL* in LB (BE 9, 28, 1 ; 50, 4), i.e. “Lady of the Palace” (“Palastdame”, cf. already J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden aus der Spätzeit des babylonischen Schrifttums von Xerxes bis Mithridates II [485-93 v. Chr. ; Leipzig 1911], 51ff. :74, 76 ad BE 9, 28, 1 ; 50, 4), denotes “queen” (see R. Borger, Esarh., 99, n. 43 ; idem, BiOr 18 [1961], 151f. ad CAD E, 61f. ; B. Landsberger in G.W. Anderson et al. [eds.], Hebräische Wortforschung : Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von W. Baumgartner [Leiden 1967], 200 and M.W. Stolper, Entrepreneurs and Empire : The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia [Leiden 1985 ; henceforth : EE], 62 ; hesitatingly W. von Soden, AHw., 193a, s.v. *ekallu(m)* B, 2 regarding BE 9, 28, 1 ; 50, 4). According to M. Brosius (Women in Ancient Persia [henceforth : Women], 559-331 BC [Oxford 1996], 28f.), *ša-ekalli* denotes the king’s wife rather than the king’s mother. Darius I had five named wives, viz. Artystone, Atossa, Parmys, Phratagone, and Phaidyme. A sixth wife, Gobryas’s daughter, is not mentioned by name (see Brosius, Women, 47ff. ; A.S. Shahbazi, Encyclopaedia Iranica 7 [Costa Mesa, CA 1996], 42ff.). If the list of Darius I’s wives which came down to us is complete and if none of these wives had an official double name, then it seems that Gobryas’s daughter is the most likely candidate to be identified with *Ap-pa-mu-ú*. The name, viz. **Apamā-* “the last” (see W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen [henceforth : ASN ; Wiesbaden 1975],

31, cf. J. Kellens and E. Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, 2 : Répertoires grammaticaux et lexique [Wiesbaden 1990], 201, line 25, s.v. for the Gathic equivalent of Old Indian *apamá-* > “the youngest”, reoccurs in the Achaemenid family (cf. Shabbazi, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2 [1987], 150) : Apamē, daughter of Artaxerxes II ; her grand daughter was named after her (see Brosius, *Women*, 76, 78f. for an homonymous Seleucid queen of noble Persian descent). In addition, a Seleucid prince was named *A-pa-am-mu* according to a LB contemporary source from 11 Nisan 66 Seleucid Era = 14 April 246 B.C. (A. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, 2 : Diaries from 261 B.C. to 165 B.C. [Vienna 1989], 68 and pl. 83 : -245, Obv'. 12f.). In accordance with his name, viz. OIran. **Apama-* “the youngest” (cf. just above), he was the youngest son of Antiochus II and Berenice (see R.J. van der Spek, in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, R.J. van der Spek, H.C. Teitler, and H.T. Wallinga [eds.], *De Agricultura. In Memoriam Willem de Neeve (1945-1990)* [Amsterdam 1993], 72 with n. 7 ; cf. G.F. Del Monte, *Testi della Babylonia Ellenistica 1 : Testi cronografici* [Pisa and Rome 1997], 47). Meat cuts rations of the king were supplied by Babylonian temples (see, e.g., G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 45 [1983], 188ff.). The rations were presumably distributed among employees of her household and not for the queen’s own consumption, the more so since both deeds are from summer months (III, VI), when the queen probably did not stay in Babylon, which generally served as her winter residence.

Both deeds are presented below in a rather preliminary transliteration and commentary. They record the activity of the creditor, Šaddinnu, in his capacity as the foreman of the bakers of Ezida, the temple of Nabû in Borsippa. He explicitly bears this title according to BM 96231 from 23.I.6 Darius I (516/5 B.C.) and BM 28915 from 25.XII.15 (Darius I = 507/6 B.C.), but he must have exercised this function for many years during his long career judging from numerous texts relating to the bakers’ prebend. These texts are preserved in his archive. Since the archive of the Ezida Temple is not preserved, these documents elucidate to some extent the managerial aspect beyond what is known from other private archives of prebendaries of Ezida (such as Oxherd and Iliya). I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish these important documents and to quote from other unpublished BM

tablets.

A. BM 29447

Dimensions (in millimeters) : 60.5 length x 41 width x 28 thickness ;
roughly rectangular and pillow shaped.

1. [10/20+1-2?] +3 MAŠ (i.e. at least 3.5) GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
BABBAR-ú nu-uh-hu-tu šá (text DIŠ) AŠ 1 GÍN pit-qa

2. šá m.šad-din-nu A-šú šá m.ba-laṭ-su A m.d+EN-iá-ú

3. AŠ UGU.hi m.lib*-lu-ṭu A-šú šá m.d+AG-TUK.ši

4. ul-tu iti.GU₄ MU 19 KAM m.da-a-ri-ia-muš

5. ITI 2 uzu.ha-ar-mi-il-la-nu šá GÚ

6. pa-ni d+AG u d.na-na-a ù 1-en gu-qu-ú pa-ni d.IŠKUR

hal-lab

7. PAD.hi.a šá f.ap-pa-mu-ú šá AŠ IGI m.lib*-lu-ṭu

8. m.lib*-lu-ṭu AŠ KÙ.BABBAR-šú a-na m.šad-din-nu

lo.e.

9. it-ta-din ul-tu iti.GU₄ MU 19 KAM

10. a-dí qí-it iti.BÁR MU 20 KAM

11. m.da-a-ri-ia-a-muš LUGAL É.ki u KUR.KUR

r.

12. m.lib*-lu-ṭu a-na m.šad-din-nu it-ta-din

13. ul-tu UD 5 KAM a-dí* UD 11 KAM šá iti.BÁR

14. ha-ar-mi-il-la-nu šá GÚ pa-ni d+AG u d.na-na-a

15. ap-pu-tú-mu šá ha-ar-mi-il-la-nu šá GÚ

16. m.šad-din-nu AŠ ŠU.II m.lib*-lu-ṭu ik-kal

17. lú.mu-kin-nu m.d+AG-bul-liṭ-su A-šú šá m.d.A.É-E A

m.ki-din-d.XXX

18. m.LÚ-d.IDIM A-šú šá m.d+AG-PAP.me-SU A m.šá-pi-li-

ia

19. [m.er]i¹-[b]a-a A-šú šá m.MU-d+AG A lú.NAGAR

20. [m.]Jka(?)-šir(?) A-šú šá m.d+AG-MU-GI.NA A m.d+EN-

ia-ú

21. [m.re]-mut-d+AG A-šú šá m.lib*-lu-ṭu šá É sa-di-ir-ri(?)

22. [m.M]U(?) -ia A-šú šá m.d+AG-DU-A A m.ki-din-d.XXX

u.e.

23. [D]UB.SAR m.d+EN-SUR A-šú šá m.gu-za-nu A m.ši-gu-

ú-a

24. [bar-s]ip.ki iti.SIG₄ UD 21 KAM MU 19 KAM

25. m.da-a-ri-iá-a-muš LUGAL E.ki u KUR.KUR

r.e.

26. a-ki-i pu-ru-su x^l[xx]

27. i-hu(?) -ru-ú m.šad-din-n[u (x)]

Operative section

Creditor: Šaddinnu/Balāssu//Bēliyā'u. The debt consists of ([10/20+1-2?]+3.5 shekels which have 1/8 (alloy) per shekel of white silver of *nuhhutu* quality.

Debtor: Libluṭ/Nabû-ušabši. He acts as principal in other deeds of the same archive, where his paternal name is spelled phonetically, notably BM 29408, a receipt for *harmīlu* meat cuts from 15.XII.[18 or 19] Dar. I (504/3 or 503/2 B.C.), and BM 29433. Apart from the debt in silver (specified just above), which is to be repaid during a year (II.19-I.20 Dar. I), it is stated that he is obliged to supply each month (starting from II.19 Dar. I for an unspecified duration, perhaps for twelve months like the debt in silver) two meat cuts of the *harmīlu* type as offerings to Nabû and Nanâ, as well as one *guqqû* offering for Adad of Aleppo. The rations of Apammu are at the disposal of Libluṭ. The creditor will enjoy for one week (5-11.I; presumably of the 20th year of Dar. I) the *apputumul/apputammu* (cf. below ad line 15) of the *harmīlu* meat cuts of the neck supplied by the debtor and offered to Nabû and Nanâ.

Witnesses

1. Nabû-bullissu/Mār-bīti-iqbi//Kidin-Sîn; 2. Amēl-Ea/Nabû-ahhē-erība//Šapî-iliya (with sandhi writing: Šá-pi-li-ia); 3. Erībā/Iddina-Nabû//Naggāru; 4. Kāširu (?[m].ʾka(?)-šir(?))/Nabû-šuma-ukīn//Bēliyā'u; 5. Rēmūt-Nabû/Libluṭ of bīt-sa-di-ir-ri(?); 6. Iddiniya (or Šumiya?, [m.M]U(?)-ia)/Nabû-mukīn-apli//Kidin-Sîn. As is expected in a deed concerning prebends in Ezida, all the witnesses (except for the fifth) are members of Borsippean clans. Two of them belong to the Kidin-Sîn clan some of whose members were employed as bakers in Ezida. One witness is of the same clan as the credi-

tor. The fifth witness is perhaps the debtor's son. The first witness appears frequently in witnesses lists of the Šaddinnu archive, e.g. BM 28996, 29034, 96190, 96253. His brother, Nabû-apla-iddina, acts as a witness in BM 28925 of the same archive. The third witness acts in the same capacity in BM 29408, 13 and BM 96262, 8, both of the same archive, where his name is fully preserved.

The scribe, Bēl-ēter/Guzānu/Šīgū'a, wrote many documents of this archive. He may be responsible for their somewhat peculiar shape. An interesting task would be to study his own seemingly distinctive ductus.

Remarks

3. *Lib*-lu-tu* - the shape of the LIB sign is peculiar : 

His paternal name is spelled phonetically (d+AG-ú-šib-ši, for -*ušabši*, CVC signs like ŠIB are indifferent to vowel quality) in BM 29408 and 29433. This strengthens the case for TUK as a rendering of Š of *bašû* in NB/LB (cf. Borger, ABZ 196 ad 574).

5. *uzu.ha-ar-mi-il-la-nu šá GÚ* – meat cuts of the *harmīlu* type originating from the neck of the animal. For the spellings of *harmīlu* see Zadok, NABU 1997/148. Many other meat cuts are defined by parts of the animal's body, but the case of *harmīlu* is different: the fact that the *harmīlu* cuts are specified here as originating from the neck, indicates that such cuts can originate from other parts of the animal's body. It may be surmised that *harmīlu* denotes choice meat cuts as they were destined for consumption of members of the royalty, perhaps distinguished by certain properties.

6. *d.IŠKUR hal-lab* – This is, as far as I know, the only direct evidence for the worship of Adad of Aleppo in a Babylonian temple during the first millennium B.C. An indirect evidence for his worship in Babylonia may be the anthroponym *d.Ad-da-ha-la-ab* (divine name used as a personal name) from Bīt-Silim-Bēl (found in Kish), 28.X.468/7 B.C. ([Watelin and] Langdon, Kish 3, pl. 16: W.1929, 142, 10; subject to collation; the reading *d.Ad-da-kū(?) -la-ab* in S. Graziani, I testi mesopotamici datati al regno di Serse [485-465 a.C.; Rome 1986], 63, is not based on collation). Cf. D. Schwemer, Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen (Wiesbaden 2001), 54 with n. 297 (for Adad cult in

Borsippa see 639f. and cf. 649ff.).

7. LB *Ap-pa-mu-ú* for OIran. **Apamā-* can be compared with LB *Ba-ga-pa-nu-u* (I. Spar and E. von Dassow, Private Archive Texts from the First Millennium B.C. [Turnhout 2000], 117, r. 3) < OIran. **Baga-pāna-* and *Ba-ga-'-zu-uš-tu-*' (OIran. **Baga-zušta-*) *lú.mi-šir-A+A lú.SAG LUGAL* (son of *Ma-ar-ha-ár-pu*) *lú.ú-ma-as-ta-ar-ba-ra-*', Babylon, 18.VIII.26 Dar. I (496/5 B.C.). Regarding *lú.ú-ma-as-ta-ar-ba-ra-*', the editors, F. Joannès and A. Lemaire (RA 90 [1996], 49 ad 48 : 6, 1), point out that LB <*ma*> = OIran. *lval*. This would favour Hinz's etymology, viz. OIran. **vastra-bara-* "Gewandträger, Kammerer" (ASN, 258, cf. Stolper, EE, 63 with n. 51) over the earlier one, OIran. **vistar-bara-*, lit. "Teppichträger", offered by Eilers (Beamtennamen, 81ff.).

15. *ap-pu-tú-mu* (or *ap-pu-tam-mu*) seems to denote a kind of income, like usufruct (with *akālu* "to enjoy"). It is very probably the same word as the Biblical Hebrew hapax *'ptm* (of the kings, Ezra 4, 13). For a recent attempt at an interpretation of *'ptm* (by emendation ; < Akkad. *iptu*) see H. Tadmor, in Y. Avishur and R. Deutsch (eds.), Michael, Festschrift Michael Heltzer (Tel Aviv 1999), 143*-145*, with an appendix by S. Shaked on 145* (in Hebrew). The fact that this word is not recorded before the Achaemenid period and its occurrence in connection with the Achaemenid palatial sector, rules out an Akkadian or any Semitic origin, although I cannot offer so far a plausible Iranian etymology.

B. BM 85009

This tablet, especially the obverse, is damaged in many points. Therefore the transliteration of lines 1-2 is little more than guesswork.

1. [...uzu.ʿh]a-ar-mi-la]-nu šá GIŠ1.ŠUB.ʿB1[A] ʿ1[ú.MU]-
ʿú1-ʿt[u](?)
2. [...] ʿšá1? xx šá (or rather PAD.hi.a (?) ù? 2-ta
3. [...na]p(?) -ta-nu1 pa-ni d+AG u d.ʿn[a-n]a-a
4. [...]ʿx x (illegible traces) [uz]u.ha-ar-mi-l[a-nu]
5. p[a-ni d].ʿsu-ti-ti1(?) ù d.a-ri(?) -tu[4 xxx]
6. 1 uz[u.xx]-ʿri (?) pa-ni DUMU.meš É? [...]

7. 1 uz[u.x] ʿx x (both very damaged and illegible!) ʿx1+šú
pa-ni É d.GAŠAN [...]
8. 3 uzu.ʿh1a-ar-mi-la-nu šá (text DIŠ) GÚ pa-ni d+A[G(?)..]
9. 32(!) UZU šá? iti.KIN 2 uzu.ha-ar-m[i-la-nu ...]
10. pa-n[i? d.su-t]i-ti u d.a-ri-tu4 m.ʿx1[...]
11. xxx é-zi-da 1 U[ZU ...]
- lo.e. 12. ʿpa?-ni? É xx -ia PAP 16 meš [...]
13. x(x) ul-tu4 UD 16 KAM a-di1 UD 20+[x KAM ...]
14. PAD.hi.a?! šá f.ap-pa-mu-ú šá É.GAL ʿx1[
15. šá AŠ ŠU.II m.d+EN-SUR u m.d+EN-it-tan-nu šá AŠ IGI
m.x1[...]
- r. 16. A(text DIŠ)-šú šá m.d+AG-ka-šir ù m.gab-bi-d+EN-um-
ma A1-[šú šá]
17. m.ta-at-tan(?) -nu a-na 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú
a-na m.šad-din-nu1
18. A-šú šá m.ba-laṭ-su A m.d+EN-ia-ú it-tan-nu-ʿ KÙ.BAB-
BAR-ÀM
19. 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú m.šad-din-nu a-na
m.lib-luṭ u m.x1 [...]
20. i-nam-din lú.mu-kin-nu m.šul-lu-ma-a DUMU šá m.x1[...]
21. DUMU m.é-sag-íl-a-mat-su m.d+AG-bul-liṭ-su DUMU šá
[m...]
22. DUMU m.ki-din-nu-d.XXX m.la-ba-a-ši DUMU šá
m.GIŠ.x1 [... DUMU]
23. m.é-sag-íl-a-mat-su m.d+AG-ŠEŠ-it-tan-nu
DUB(?)1SAR1(?)
24. [DUMU šá m.]ib?-luṭ? DUMU <<šá>> m.d+AG-x-ú-a
bar-sip.ki iti.KIN
25. [UD x KAM M]U 20 KAM m.da-a-ri-iá-a-mu-uš LUGAL
E.ki
26. [u/LUGAL KUR.KUR(/.meš)] ʿe-lat 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
BABBAR-ú šá AŠ IGI m.lib-luṭ
- u.e. 27. [...] KÙ.BABBAR ʿx1 [xx] ʿm.ga1b-bi-d+EN-um-ma
28. [...] ʿx [....] m.[d+D]N1-iq-bi u m.gab-bi-d+EN-um-ma

29. [...]x¹-nu-ú
 le.e. 30. ʾm¹.d+AG-ŠEŠ-it-tan-nu u m.mu?-[...]
 31. ʾA¹ m.ku-du-ra-nu m.d+AG-šá-ʾx¹ [...]
 32. [x] ʾxx-ú-a

Operative section

Creditor : Šaddinnu (same as in A).

Other principals (at least partly debtors) : 1. Bēl-ēter, 2. Bēl-ittannu, 3. x¹[...]/Nabû-kāšir, 4. Gabbi-Bēl-umma/Tattannu(?), 5.Libluṭ, and 6. x¹ [...].

Witnesses

1. Šullumā/x¹[...]/Esaggil-amāssu ; 2. Nabû-bullissu/[Mār-bīti-iqbi]/Kidin-Sîn ; 3. Lā-abāši/GIŠ.x¹ [...]/Esaggil-amāssu as well as, perhaps, 4. Nabû-aha-ittannu/[...]/Kudurānu, his brother 5. Mu(?)[...] ; and 6. Nabû-šá-ʾx¹ [...]. The second witness is identical with the first one of BM 29477, unless one restores his paternal name as Nabû-aha-ittannu (Nabû-bullissu/Nabû-aha-ittannu/Kidin-Sîn is the first witness in BM 29021 from Borsippa, same archive, 3.II.485/4 B.C.). However, Nabû-bullissu/Mār-bīti-iqbi occurs more frequently in this archive. Apart from two witnessing brothers, another two witnesses belong to the Esaggil-amāssu clan.

The scribe is Nabû-aha-ittannu/Libluṭ(? m.1]ib?-luṭ?)/Nabû-u'a.(d+AG-x-ú-a).

Remarks

5, 10. *d.A-ri-tu₄* – cf. *kakkab.A-ri-tu₄ = d.Tug-nun-na*, see E. Ebeling RIA 1, 151a quoting E.F. Weidner, AfK 2 (1924/5), 72, iv, 18a (cf. A, iii, 14, col. 2) ; 19 : *d.Tug-nun-na = d.MIN* ; Meissner, Seltene Assyrische Ideogr., 8787 and Ebeling, KAR 1, 30, 28 (cf. Reiner, Šurpu, 40, viii, 28) ; J. Nougayrol, Ugaritica 5, 222 : H, 213 has [*d*].*A-ri-tum* (var. E: [*d*].*A-ri- \ll NI \gg [t]um*), to *arītu* “bow, Venus planet” (see Weidner, AfK 2, 72, n. 10 ad loc.). For *d.Tug-nun-na* see Deimel, Pantheon, No. 3266.

30f. Presumably additional witnesses.

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