

35) Neo/Late-Babylonian Geography and Documentation – We should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish BM tablets, as well as Prof. P. Steinkeller for permission to quote from the unpublished tablet (HSM 1899.2.141) of the Harvard Semitic Museum. The research of R. Zadok is supported by the Israel Science Foundation. Tikva Zadok is responsible only for the copy. A single stroke (/) denotes “son/daughter of” and a double one (//) “descendant of”.

1. Northern Babylonia

— **BM 109882** - Akkad on Nār-Sîn, 26.VIII.4, 5 or 6 of Cambyses = 526/5, 525/4 or 524/3 B.C. ; loan of silver, barley and wheat ; covered with salt deposits at certain points

1. 8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 1 GUR ŠE.BAR 1 GUR 1 (PI) 3 BÁN
2. ŠE.GIG.BA šá^mA-a A-šú šá^mšū-pa-ta-a-nu
3. AŠ UGU^{bi} m^{ta-at-tan-nu} A-šú šá
4. m^{ta-aq-du-mu} (recte <<ta>>Ak-<kad>-KAM?) itišU
5. 8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 1 GUR ŠE.BAR 1 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN
6. ŠE.GIG.BA AŠ GÚ.DU8.A^{ki} i-nam-din
- LO.E. 7. e-lat ú-il-tì šá ŠE.GIŠ^{ki}
- R. 8. lú^{mu-kin-nu} md⁺AG-A-MU A-šú šá
9. md⁺AG-MU-ŠEŠ A^msag-gil-A+A
10. m^{bi-ba-nu} A-šú šá^mŠEŠ-šá-²
11. lúUMBISAG md⁺AMAR.UTU-MU-PAP A-šú šá
12. md⁺AG-A-MU A^msag-gil-A+A
13. uruA.GA.AD^{ki} šá AŠ UGU^{bi}
14. i₇-^dXXX itīAPIN U₄ 26 KAM
15. [MJ]U [3] [+1-3] KAM^mkam-bu-zi-ia
- U.E. 16 LUGAL E^{ki} u KUR.KUR

Translation

Eight shekels of silver, one *kor* of barley (as well as) one *kor*, one *pānu* (and) three *seahs* of wheat belonging to Aplā son of Šupaṭānu charged against Tattannu son of Taqḏumu (*recte* Akkad-ēreš?). In Tammuz (IV) he will give (= pay back) the silver, eight shekels, one *kor* of barley (as well as) one *kor*, one *pānu* (and) three *seahs* of wheat in Cutha. Apart from the promissory note for sesame.

Witnesses :Nabû-apla-iddina son of Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-aḫi) descendant of Saggilāyu (and) Bibānu son of Aḫušā ; scribe Marduk-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-aḫi) son of Nabû-apla-iddina descendant of Saggilāyu.

Akkad on Nār-Sîn, Marheshvan (VIII), day 26, year 4 (or 5-6 of) Cambyses, King of Babylon and the Lands.

Remarks

2. Šu-pa-ṭa-a-nu :-ān is attached to a *qutāl* formation of Š-P-Ī “to judge”. The name is West Semitic.

4. If not a mistake for Ak-<kad>-KAM (Akkad-ēreš), *Ta-aq-du-mu* is apparently a West Semitic anthroponym, being a *taqtūl* formation (cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* [Berlin 1908], 387f. :§ 209) of Q-D-M “to be in front, precede”, which is productive in the West Semitic onomasticon (cf., e.g., G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Arabian Names and Inscriptions* [Toronto 1971], 478 ; R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods : An Onomastic Study* [henceforth *WSB* ; Jerusalem 1978], 141 ; M.P. Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* 1 [Münster 2000], 339f. :§ 5.49 ; *taqtūl* is rare in the West Semitic onomasticon). This is the earliest document, where Akkad is described as situated on the Sîn canal : the other document is BM 85367 from 7.VI.523/2 B.C. (see Zadok, *IOS* 18 [1998], 293 with lit.), where the principal is Tattannu son of Akkad-ēreš. Both deeds are written by the same scribe. The creditor is also mentioned in BM 15468 from 521 B.C. (cf. Zadok, *IOS* 18, 293), where Tattannu son of Akkad-ēreš (?) acts as the debtor. The creditor’s brother is recorded in BM 15478 from 527/6 B.C. (the debtor is Mušēzib-Nabû son of Akkad-ēreš, i.e. Tattannu’s brother). Both documents were issued in Cutha (cf. perhaps Zadok, *IOS* 18, 294 ad BM 15442).

^{uru}Pal-la-āš-til ^{uru}Pal-āš-ti is mentioned in R. Da Riva, *Der Ebabbar-Tempel in Sippar in frühneubabylonischer Zeit* (640-580 v.Chr. ;

Münster 2002 ; henceforth Da Riva, *Ebabbar-Tempel*), 250f. and pl. xviii* : BM 77507, 26'.28' respectively, an administrative document from the Ebabbar archive dated to 10.II. The year number is not preserved, but it can be dated to the middle or second half of Nabopolassar's reign (possibly 15 Nabopolassar, i.e. 611/0 B.C.) on prosopographical grounds (see Da Riva, *Ebabbar-Tempel*, 248). ^{uru}*Pal-la-áš-ti*/^{uru}*Pal-áš-ti*, i.e. "Philistia", was located left of the mouth of Nār-kuzbi, presumably not far from Babylon (see Da Riva, *Ebabbar-Tempel*, 191, 255). For the form cf. NA (always with the determinative KUR) *Pa-la-as-tú*, *Pa-la-áš-ta-A+A*, *Pa-la-áš-[tú]*, and with NA vowel harmony *Pi-lis-ta(-A+A)*, *Pi-lis-telti* (AOAT 6, 272 with refs.).¹ It is likely that ^{uru}*Pal-la-áš-ti*/^{uru}*Pal-áš-ti* was founded in the Late-Assyrian period by settlers from Philistia who were deported by the Assyrians. This is not the only Philistine "colony" in northern Babylonia. ^{garim}*Ha-za-ti* (Da Riva, *Ebabbar-Tempel*, 250f. and pl. xviii* : BM 77507, 4) in the Sippar region is named after Gaza. Rabbilu, which belonged to that region, is listed in the previous section. A homonymous settlement (*Ha-za-tu*₄) is mentioned in a promissory note for barley from the reign of Nabonidus (BE 8, 56, 5.14) found in Nippur. Both parties, viz. *Si-lim-lx*¹ son of Zēr-kitti-lišir (creditor) and Nabû-muk-elip son of Nadnā (debtor), have Babylonian names. The scribe, Balāssu son of Tabnea, acted as a witness in two deeds which were issued in Nippur (BE 8, 67, 73). *Ha-za-tiltú* is mentioned again 150 years later in the Nippurean archive of Murašû (BE 10, 9, 2.20.24). This settlement was probably situated in the Nippur region. It stands to reason that the settlement in the Sippar region was founded in the Late-Assyrian period by settlers from Gaza who were deported by the Assyrians. As for the settlement near Nippur, a later date of foundation, presumably in the early reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, cannot be excluded, the more so since that king conquered Philistia (see Zadok, *BASOR* 230 [1978], 61). People originating from Gezer were found near Birili (Sippar region) at the beginning of the Achaemenid period (see Jursa, *Der Tempelzehnt in Babylonien vom siebenten bis zum dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* [henceforth Jursa, *Zehnt* ; Münster 1998], 25f., 108 ; cf. N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 27 [2000], 177, n. 7). ^{uru}*BIPu* (or *Gíd-da-lna*₄) (collated) on the Old Tigris (see Zadok, *NABU* 2000/3 [on p. 5]) is very probably the same place as *Bu/Pu* (or *Gíd-da-nu* (for the latter cf. Jursa, *Zehnt*, 98).

2. Borsippa

According to BM 26484, a damaged receipt belonging to the Borsippean archive of Oxherd, the temple of Nergal was built on the mound of Ezida (É ̄HU.GUR šá AŠ DUL(!) *é-zi-da*). This presumably means that Nergal had not just a chapel, but his own building in the Ezida complex in the second half of the 6th century B.C. The date of this deed is not preserved, but the archive owner Rēmūt-Nabû descendant of Oxherd lived at the end of the “Chaldean” period and the beginning of the Achaemenid period. If the third witness was his son, then this tablet may be dated to the early Achaemenid period (cf. Joannès, *TÉBR*, 316ff.)

— BM 26484

(Several lines missing.)

- 1'. ʾxxx¹ (traces)[...^mre-mut-^d+AG]
- 2'. A lúSIPA GU₄ ma-*hi-ir a-xx¹* [...]
- 3'. A-šú šá mli(!)-*ši-ru(!)* A lúNAGAR ù ^{md}+AG-ʾx-
MU/NUMUN(?) A(?)¹ [x x (x)]
- 4'. a-na UGU^{hi} ^mre-mut-^d+AG A lúSIPA GU₄ meš ù m^{ri}x¹ [xx(x)]
- 5'. šá 10 GUR ŠE.BAR šá ^mIR-^d(!)<GU₄>.SI.SÁ ù ^mni-din-tu₄-
^d+EN lú^{kab}.sar-[meš]
- 6'. e-lat 11 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.BAR ù 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
BABBAR-ú nu-*uḫ-ḫu-tú šá a-na*
- 7'. ^{md}ni-din-tu₄-^d+EN A-šú šá ^{md}+EN-e-ʾtè-ru-^dXXX lú^{se-pir}-ri
- 8'. šá is-qa^{meš} SUM na-din PAP “50 GU[R] 3 BÁN ŠE.BAR ù 1
1/3 MA.NA 4 GÍN ʾKÙ.BABBAR¹ BABBAR-ú
- 9'. nu-*uḫ-ḫu-tú šá NINDA^{hi.a}* ù KAŠ.SAG *dan-nu-tu UZU šá*
GU₄ UDU NITÁ
- 10'. *iṣ-ṣur ù pu-ḫa-da* UDU NITÁ *pa-ni É ̄HU.GUR šá AŠ DUL(!)*
é-zi-da [...]
- 11'. ù NINDA^{hi.a} KAŠ *ši-il^{meš} šá 2 MU.AN.NA^{meš} ù 5 iti^{meš}*
- 12'. ʾa¹-ki-i ^{kuš}na-a+a-ri šá m^{haš}-da-A+A m^{haš}-da-A+A A-šú šá
^{md}+!EN-e-ʾtè-ru-^dXXX
- 13'. lú^{se-pir-ʾri} šá¹ is-qa^{meš} AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+AG-MU-DU A-šú šá
^mKAR-^dAMAR.UTU
- 14'. A m.lúSIPA GU₄ meš
- R.1. ma-*hi-ir e-ṭir 1-en-TA.ÀM il-t[e]-qu-ú*

Translation : [... PN] received [... from the hands of] Rēmūt-Nabû descendant of Oxherd. [PN] son of Līšir descendant of the Carpenter and Nabû-x-iddina (or -šumi/zēri) on the account of Rēmūt-Nabû descendant of Oxherd and [PN] ; concerning 10 *kors* of dates of Ardi-<GU_{4kors, 2 *pānu* and 2 *seahs* of barley and 5 shekels of white silver of the *nuḫḫutu* quality which were given to Nidinti-Bēl son of Bēl-ēter-Sîn alphabet scribe of prebends : altogether 50 *kors* and 3 *seahs* of barley as well as 1 1/3 (= 1.33) mina of white silver of the *nuḫḫutu* quality for bread and beer, vats, meat of oxen, sheep (= mutton), fowl (and) lamb, (offerings) for the temple of Nergal, which is (situated) on the mound of Ezida ; and bread, beer(?) for two years and five months according to the parchment (order) of Ḥašdāyu. Ḥašdāyu son of Bēl-ēter-Sîn the alphabet scribe of prebends has received from the hands of Nabû-šuma-ukīn son of Mušēzib-Marduk descendant of Oxherd and been paid. They have taken one copy each.}

Witnesses (r. 2-10 ; line number in brackets) :

1. Rēmūtu (*re-mut*)/Līšir (*li-ši-ru*) //Carpenter (*Naggāru*, lúNAGAR, 2), br. of a principal, whose given name is lost ;
2. Rēmūt-Bēl (*re-mut*-^d+EN) /Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša (^d+EN-ŠEŠ^{meš}-BA^{šá})//Gate Guard (*maššar bābātišu*, *ma-aš-šar*-^f*ba-ba-ta-šú*, instead *-bābāni*, 3) ;
3. Aḫušunu (ŠEŠ-šú-*nu*)/Rēmūt-Nabû (*re-mut*-^d+AG)//Oxherd (Rē^d’u-*alpē*, lúSIPA GU₄^{meš}, 4 ; cf. above) ;
4. Dādiya (*da-di-iá*)/Arrabi (*ar-ra-bi*, 5) ;
5. Nabû-bēl-zēri (^d+AG-EN-NUMUN)/6 Itti-Nabû-balātu (KI-^d+AG-TIN)//Mandidi (lú^{man}-*di-di*, 5f.) ;
6. Nabû-rē’ušunu (^d+AG-SIPA-šú-*nu*)/7 Nabû-šākin-šulum (^d+AG-šá-*kin-šu-lum*)//Carpenter (*Naggāru*, lúNAGAR, 6f.) ;
7. Mušēzib-Nabû (KAR-^d+AG)/Nabû-aḫḫē-erība (^d+AG-ŠEŠ^{meš}-*su*)//8 Ninurta-ušallim (or -šullim, ^d*nin-urta*-GI, 7f.) ;
8. Nabû-mušētiq-idē (^d+AG-*mu-še*-<*ti*>-*iq*-UD.DA)/Nabû-tabni-ušur (^d+AG-*tab-ni*-ÛRU)//9 Bēl-rab-puḫḫuri (?^m.lúEN.GAL-UKKIN, 8f.) ;
9. Ardi-Sutīti (ÏR-^d*su-ti-ti*) /Guzānu (*gu-za-nu*)// 10 Ḥulamīš(*ḫu-la-mi-šú*, 9f.) ;
10. Bēlšunu (EN-šú-*nu*)/Barīki-Iltamiš (*ba-ri-ki*-^f*i*[*l-ta*^l-*mīš*], 10) ;

Scribe Rēmūt-Nabû (*re-m^fut-d^d+AG*)/l¹ r^{xx}l [...] (11)

12. r^{xxxx}l (illegible traces, presumably no more than one line

missing)

Remarks

8'. SUM *na-din* : *na-din* is just a phonetic spelling of SUM.

11'. KAŠ *ši-il^{meš}* : what follows KAŠ is unexplained.

7'.13'. Alphabet scribes with a defined task : typologically it may

be compared - with all due reserve - to the alphabetic scribes of food rations (cf. H.D. Baker and M. Jursa *apud* A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar : Its Administration and its Prosopography* [Leiden 1997], 142, n. 148). The alphabetic scribe here writes on a parchment. This proves the assumption of *CAD* S, 226b that this scribe wrote on skin.

The background of this receipt is presumably a prebendary service. Nine out of the ten witnesses have Akkadian names. Typically, the only witness bearing a West Semitic name (“blessed by the Sun-god”) is listed last. Zēr-Bābili son of Šumā descendant of Ea-ilūta-bani, a priest (*ērib bīti*, see recently K.E. Slanski, *JCS* 52 [2000], 106 with n. 27), is recorded between 18 Nbk II and 7 Nbn (587/6-549/8 B.C., see F. Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa. La famille Ea-ilūta-bāni. Etude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIII^e au Ve siècle av. J.-C.* [Geneva 1989], 426f., s.v.). His house was situated near *é.zag.ir₃.ra* the temple of Ninurta (DA É ^d*nin-urta šá é.zag.ir₃.ra*) according to the work contract HSM 1899.2.141 from Borsippa, 16.VII.1 Nbn = 555/4 B.C. The location of this temple (“house, sanctuary of the Mighty One”), found in litanies (S.Maul, *OrNS* 60 [1991], 314, 18 ; 316, 13 : *eršemma* ; *VS* 24, 30 r. 7' : *é.zag₃.ir₃!ra*) and in a cultic calendar of Babylon (*SBH* 8, ii, 30), was so far unknown (see A.R. George, *House Most High : The temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* [henceforth George, *HMH* ; Winona Lake 1993], 159:1229). In this contract the sanctuary is explicitly defined as that of Ninurta. The fact that it was situated near the house of an *ērib bīti* of Ezida leaves no doubt that this temple was located in Borsippa. Offerings to Šin of *é.dim.an.na* (*pa-ni^dXXX šá é.dim.an.[n]a*), his temple in the Ezida complex in Borsippa (see George, *HMH*, 75 :160) are recorded in a contract of a prebend exchange. This contract (BM 102276) from Borsippa ([*bār-sip*]_a^{ki}), 13.X.6 Camb.= 524/3 B.C. belongs to the Oxherd archive.

— **BM 25858** Borsippa, 21.XII.4 Nbn = 552/1 B.C. ; archive of Iliya

1. 1 MA.NA 1/3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá AŠ 1 GÍN *pit-qa*
2. †SAG.DU šá ^msi-lim-d+EN
3. lúSAG LUGAL šá UGU PAD^{bi.a} A LUGAL
4. šá é-zi-da AŠ UGU ^mšu-la-a
5. A-šú šá ^mšil-la-a A ^mDINGIR-ia
6. AŠ ^{iti}BÁR šá la UR₅.RA
7. *i-nam-din*
- REV.8. †lú¹*mu-kin-ni* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-SUR A-šú šá
9. ^{md}+AG-EN-šú-nu A lúNAGAR ^{md}+AG-ni-ip-šur(?)
10. A-šú šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-GI †A ^m[ZÁ]LAG-dpap-sukkal
11. lúUMBISAG ^mSUM^{na.d}[... A-š]ú šá ^{md}+AG-lu(?)*-mur*(?)
12. A [lú]SIMUG *bár-sipa*^{ki} ^{iti}ŠE
13. U_[4] 21 †KAM MU 4¹ KAM ^{md}+AG-I
14. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

Translation : One mina of silver of which 1/8 shekel alloy, capital of Silim-Bēl royal courtier in charge of the rations of the crown prince in Ezida, is charged against Šulā son of Šillā descendant of Iliya. In Nisan he will repay (the silver) without interest.

Witnesses : Marduk-ēter son of Nabû-bēlšunu descendant of the Carpenter (and) Nabû-nipšur(?) son of Marduk-ušallim descendant of the Nūr-Papsukkal. Scribe Iddina-[DN] son of Nabû-lūmur descendant of the Smith.

Borsippa, Addar (XII), day 21, year four of Nabonidus King of Babylon.

This promissory note reveals that there was a special royal official in the Ezida temple of Borsippa, who administered the rations of the crown prince Belshazzar. A certain Bēl-apil-šarri-uballit (^d+EN-A-LUGAL-TIN, “Bēl has kept the crown prince alive”) is recorded in BM 103627, a document belonging to the archive of Itti-Šamaš-balātu of Larsa on 25.vii.11 Nbn. = 545/4 B.C. His name may indicate that he was also an official of Belshazzar.

3. Nippur and Environs

— **BM 103573-** Bīt-[Zabīni] (Nippur region), 11.ii.1 Cyr. = 538/7 B.C. ; promissory note for for barley, flour and roasted grain, Ekur archive ; 50x40x19 mm (see copy).

1. 15 GUR 5 BÁN ŠE.BAR 5 BÁN *qé-me*
2. 5 BÁN ŠE.SA.A šá É.KUR* d50 šá GIŠ.BAR
3. šá^{md}+EN.LÍL-DÙ-NUMUN A-šú šá^{md}+EN.LÍL-MU-*im-bi*
4. šá AŠ IGI m^{ba-nu-nu} A-šú šá m^{ri}IRI/MU(?)^dMAŠ
5. u m^{ŠEŠ}meš^{meš}-MU A-šú šá mⁱ-da(?)^r-DINGIR^{meš}
6. AŠ UGU^{hi} mdMAŠ-ŠEŠ^{meš}-*bul-liṭ* A-šú šá
7. m^{ŠEŠ}-šú-nu u m^{ta-a-ma-ke-e}
8. A-šú šá m^ú-*balma-de-e* AŠ itⁱSIG₄

LO.E. 9. ŠE.BAR-’ 15 GUR 5 BÁN

10. AŠ É m^{za-bi-ni} AŠ *ma-ši-ḥu*
- R. 11. šá PI šá^d+EN.LÍL *i-nam-din-nu*

12. 1-en pu-ut 2-i na-šu-ú
13. lú^{mu-kin-ni} m^{da-ki-ir}-DINGIR^{meš}
14. A-šú šá m^{ka-bar}-DINGIR^{meš} md⁺AG-PAP
15. A-šú šá m^{ŠEŠ}-a-’ mdXXX-SUR
16. A-šú šá m^drMAŠ(?)^r-[x]^r[x^{lú}]UMBISAG
17. mdUT[U-...]
18. uruÉ [m^{za-bi-ni} itⁱ]GU₄

U.E. 19. U₄ 11 KAM MU r1 KAM m^{kur}l-*[raš]*

20. LUGAL E^{ki} u KUR.KUR

LE.E. 21. 3 ma*(text GIŠ)-ak-KÁD (KÁD = *kašāru* “to bind”, ABZ

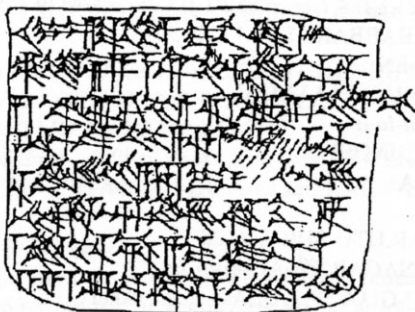
63a, preceded by phonetic complements) šá IN.NU

22. *i-nam-din-nu*

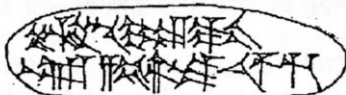
Translation : 15 *kors* 5 *seahs* of barley, 5 *seahs* of flour (and) 5 *seahs* of roasted (grain, *qalītu*, CAD Q, 68) belonging to the (Ekur) temple of Illil leased by Illil-bān-zēri son of Illil-šuma-imbi, which are at the disposal of Banīnu son of Ardi (or Iddīna)-Ninurta and Aḥḥā-iddīna son of Ida-il, are charged against Ninurta-aḥḥā-bullīṭ son of Aḥušunu and Tamakē son of Umadē. In Sivan (III) they will deliver the barley, 15 *kors* and 5 *seahs*, in Bīt-Zabīn in the measure (containing) one *pānu* of Illil. Each assumes warranty for the other.

Witnesses : Dakūr-il son of Kabar-il ; Nabū-ušur (or -nāšir) son of Aḥā ; and Sīn-ēter son of Ninurta(?)-[...] ; (and) the scribe Šamaš-[... son of...]. Bīt-Zabīn, Iyyar (II), day 11, year one of Cyrus, King of Babylon and the Lands. They will deliver three bundles of straw.

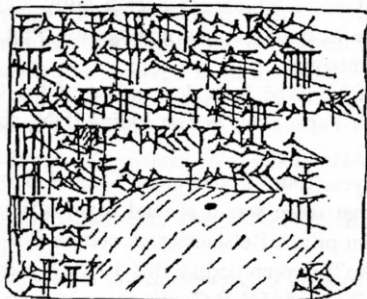
Obv.



2r.E.



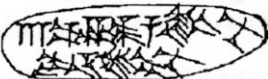
Rev.



14r.E.



2c.E.



Remarks. Property of the Ekur temple of Nippur, administered by Illil-bān-zēri (presumably an official of Ekur), sub-leased to the (sub-)contractors Banīnu and Aḫḫā-iddina. Debtors : Ninurta-aḫḫā-bulliṭ and Tamakē. The delivery is within one month. The debtors have to deliver the barley, but are not obliged to return the 5 *seahs* of flour (and) 5 *seahs* of roasted (grain), as these items of processed food were given for their consumption (and eventually for feeding their families as well) during the 20-days period before the term of delivery which coincides with the harvest season. The bundles of straw as a by product of the harvest are presumably instead of these supplies of processed food or as interest.

For Bīt-Zabīn see Zadok, *RGTC* 8, 110 and in O. Loretz, K.A. Metzler and H. Schaudig (eds.) *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux, Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Münster 2002), 873. Illil-bān-zēri son of Illil-šuma-imbi is the second (= last) witness in *BE* 8, 65, 12 from Nippur, 20.VIII.5 Cyr. = 534/3 B.C. None of the other individuals is known to me from other sources. The individuals belonging to the personnel of the Ekur temple bear - as expected - typically Nippurean names (Akkadian with Illil and Ninurta as theophorous elements). This applies to the first undertaker and the first debtor as well. The last witness had an Akkadian name, whereas the other two witnesses have West Semitic filiations. Both might have resided in Bīt-Zabīn. The paternal name *Ida-il* (*I-da(?)*^{f-1} DINGIR^{meš}) looks West Semitic. *Ta-a-ma-ke-e* son of *×-balma-de-e* (BA and MA are indistinguishable) may be West Semitic (apparently ending in *-ē*). The former may be based on a *qatal* formation of T-M-K “to support, attain” or rather “to seize, hold fast, capture” (Bibl. Heb., Mid Heb. and Phoen.-Punic, with a weak attestation in Aramaic, practically confined to Jewish Aram. Targum). T-M-K is productive especially, if not exclusively, in Ammonite anthroponymy (but see Zadok, *UF* 28 [1996], 729f.) : *Tmk'*, *Tmk'1* and *'ltmk* (N. Avigad and B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* [Jerusalem 1997], 539a with refs. ; for the whole issue see the thorough discussion of M. Heltzer, *ZAH* 8 [1995], 140-143) and perhaps *Tam-ki-²-taš-miš* (“the Sun-god is my support”) son of *Na-ṭi-ri-Adad* (^dIŠKUR, Aram.) from *īlu-ša-lú* *Qu-ra-ba-tu-u-a* (*BE* 8, 25, 16, found at Nippur ; see *WSB*, 41, 97). *×-balma-de-e* can be compared with either NA *Û-ba-a-di* < *'Ubād* or sim. (to *'B-D* “to work, serve ; do”, Zadok, *NABU* 1998/20 :1.2.5 ; *UF* 32 [2000], 659 :14 based on a precursor of Arab. *'Ubād*) or NA *Û-a-di-i* < Arab. *Wadī* (Zadok, *ZDMG* 131 [1981], 63 with n. 247). An

Old Iranian derivation, viz. a *ka*-hypocoristicon of **Tavah*- “power, might” and **Hu-mati*- “good thought” for *Ta-a-ma-ke-e* and *x-bal/ma-de-e* respectively is less likely. It is also historically implausible to find Iranian residents in a Babylonian province just seven months after the Persian conquest. Iranians are first recorded in Bīt-Zabīn in the late-Achaemenid period (^{lú}*Ar-ú-ma-A+A*, cf. Zadok, *IOS* 8 [1978], 303).- Dakīr-il (*Da-ki-ir-DINGIR*^{meš}) renders Aram. **Dkyr*’l “remembered by El/god” (cf. NA < Aram. PAP-*de-ki-ir/ri*, A. Berlejung, in K. Radner, S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting [eds.], *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* [henceforth *PNA*] 1, 62b, s.v. Aḫi-dekīr, borne by a Chaldean team commander). For *Ka-bar-DINGIR*^{meš} cf. NA < WSem. *Kab-ri-il* “El/God is great, strong” (see Zadok, *WSB* 81; M.C. Perroudon in H.D.Baker *et al.* [eds.], *PNA* 2, 593a).- Aḫā (ŠEŠ-*a-’*), i.e. ’ā’ (probably < **Aīāy*), is an Aramaic hypocoristicon.

— **BM 103620** from 23.xi.1 Nerg. = 559/8 B.C. is the only NB/LB deed which was issued in Larak (UD.UD^{ki}, for NB/LB attestations of Larak of. *RGTC* 8, 210). It is a promissory note for 20 *kors* of barley. This promissory note belongs to the archive of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu son of Lā-abāši from Larsa, which is still unpublished. The archive owner acted as the first of three debtors. All the debtors bear Šamaš names which are typical of Larsa. The creditors are the *mašennu* (a prominent royal official) and the *gugallu* official of Larak.

1. [20 GU]R ŠE?. BAR
 2. [(x)] šá^mxI[xx]I_{x-ú-a} lú^lAGRIG
 3. [u?] ^mmu-ra-nu lú^lgú-gal šá UD.UD^{ki}
 4. AŠ UGU ^mKI-d^dUTU-TIN
 5. A-šú šá^mla-a-ba-ši ^{md}UTU-MU-MU
 6. A-šú šá^mAŠ-SŪH-SUR u ^mTIN-su A-šú šá
 7. ^{md}UTU-MU-PAP AŠ^{iti}GU₄ ŠE.BAR 20 GUR
 8. AŠ UGU 1-et rit-ti AŠ UD.UD^{ki}
- lo.e. 9. *i-nam-din-nu 1-en pu-ut šá-ni-i*
10. *na-šu-ú*
 - r. 11. lú^l_{mu-kin-nu} ^{md}+EN-NUMUN A-šú šá^mmar-duk
 12. ^{md}+AG-NUMUN-GÁL^{ši} A-šú šá^m+AG-LUGAL-ŠEŠ^{meš}.
- šú
13. ^mni-qu-du A-šú šá^mEN-A+A
 14. u lú^lUMBISAG ^{md}+EN-ŠEŠ^{meš}.BA^{šá} A-šú šá

15. mNUMUN-tú A m_{e-gi-bi} UD.UD^{ki}
16. itiZÍZ U₄ 23 KAM MU 1 KAM
17. [(m)d]rU.IGUR-LUGAL-<URÌ> LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

Translation : [20 *kors* of] barley belonging to [...]u(?)*a* the *mašennu* official and to Murānu the *gugallu* official of Larak are charged against Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Lā-abāši, Šamaš-šuma-iddina son of Ina-tēšī-ēter and Balāssu son of Šamaš-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-aḫi). In Iyyar (II) they will deliver the barley, 20 *kors*, in one installment in Larak. Each assumes warranty for the other.

Witnesses : Bēl-zēri son of Marduk, Nabū-zēra-ušabši (or -šubši) son of Nabū-šar-aḫḫē ; and Niqīdu son of Bēlāyu ; and the scribe, Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša son of Zārītu descendant of Egibi.

Larak, Shebat (XI), day 23, year one of Nergilissar, King of Babylon.

Remarks

2f. On the functions of the *mašennu* and *gugallu* (conventionally “canal inspector”) see recently Jursa, AfOB 25, 49f., 181f. The former is listed first presumably because he was a higher official than the *gugallu*. Only the publication of the remainder of this archive will clarify which of the witnesses recur in it. The non-recurrent witnesses may eventually be considered Larakean. For the time being it is noteworthy that neither the witnesses nor the scribe bear Šamaš names which are typical of Larsa.

The same archive contains a damaged promissory note (BM 108966) for barley (12 *kors*, delivery in Iyyar, i.e. at harvest time) belonging to the two sons of Itti-Šamaš-balātu. This deed was issued in [u]ru^{IM}^{ki} on 5.XI.2 Camb. = 528/7 B.C. The reading of the toponym [u]ru^{IM}^{ki} is not yet established beyond doubt (Karkara or Šaṭeru?, see Zadok, *RGTC* 8, 195 ; Joannès, *TÉBR*, 88f.). The debtor is a certain *Ta-at-tan-nu*. So far no prosopographical links between this damaged and eroded document, where at least three witnesses and a scribe are mentioned (all with Akkadian names and with surnames), and the prosopographical dossier from Šaṭeru can be demonstrated.

4. Documentation from Uruk

Fields of lú^U-rín-na-A+A are recorded in a document from Uruk in 548/7 B.C. (*BIN* 2, 123, 5). This may be a gentilic of kur^ù-ri-ni, a mountain in

Tumme in the central Zagros (AOAT 6, 374 ; cf. Zadok, *The Ethno-linguistic Character of northwestern Iran and Kurdistan in the Neo-Assyrian Period* [Tel Aviv 2002], 88 :8.7). Another settlement named after people from the Zagros is *álu ša ikkarī ša* ^{lu}*Il-li-pa-A+A* from 550/49 B.C. (see Zadok, *Iran* 14 [1976], 65).

A deed from Uruk dated on 10.VIII.17 Dar. II = 15 Nov. 407 B.C. has the phrase *ina patê bābi* “when the gate is opened”. This implies that a state of siege or blockade was in effect in Uruk at that time (see M.W. Stolper, *BaM* 21 [1990], 572 *ad* 8, 5). Was it due to Arabian razzias? A high frequency of such raids is reported from 130 B.C. onwards (cf. Zadok, *NABU* 1997/6 : 3 *in fine*), but they are sporadically recorded in earlier sources (see I. Eph’al, *The Ancient Arabs : Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* [Jerusalem 1982], 116, 126f.). On the whole, such nomadic raids can be regarded as recurrent and long-duration phenomenon. - An undated NB/LB letter from the Eanna archive of Uruk has ^{kur}*E-zal-lu* (BM 116695, 10 : 2 ^{dug}*mi-ih-šu*² of Izalla wine followed by two *kandu*-containers of wine from *kurši-im-mir*), a variant spelling for the name of this wine-producing region. Of the other NB/LB spellings six begin with I- and only one with A- (*RGTC* 8, 184). NA has an interchange I-/A- for this toponym (see M. Liverani, *Studies on the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, 2 : Topographical Analysis* [Rome 1992], 34f.). These variant spellings indicate that the initial syllable of this toponym was unstable, but the Old Persian, Classical and Old Syriac spellings are always with I-. BM 116695 was sent by Zēriya and Marduk-zēra-ibni to Nidinti-Bēl and Nabû-aḥa-iddina their equals (“brothers”). Ur, Sîn-ēreš and Šamaš-mukīn-apli are also mentioned. This letter can be dated to the very beginning of the Achaemenid period. It is closely associated with the letter *YOS* 3, 138, addressed to Nidinti-Bēl the chief administrator (*šatammu*) of Eanna (538/7-534/3 B.C., see San Nicolò, *Prosopographie*, 17) and Nabû-aḥa-iddina of Eanna by their equals Zēriya, Marduk-zēra-ibni and Nabû-ibni. These three senders report that they have sent containers of (wine from) Suhu through Sîn-ēreš. *TCL* 9, 105, which was sent by Zēriya to the inspector (*qīpu*), the *šatammu* and Marduk-ēter, his “brothers”, deals with wine from A(!)-*zal-la*.

5. Provenience unknown

^{uru}*Tap-su-ḥu*^{ki} is recorded in a Neo-Babylonian deed from 26.XI.554/3 B.C. (Durand, *TBÉR*, pl. 59 :AO 18898, sealed and with an

Aramaic endorsement ; it has an unsealed duplicate, pl. 58 : AO 18897, where only the captions are indicated). The name resembles Old Testament *Tps'* (Greek Thapsacos ; the phonological difference is minimal), i.e. the strategic town on the Middle Euphrates. The judges in the deed are otherwise unknown according to C. Wunsch in J. Marzahn and H. Neumann (eds.), *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1977* (Münster 2000), 567f., n. 33 (on 568). She points out that while the introductory formula follows that from Babylon, this is not the case with the judges' list : the first three judges (i.e. the senior ones) are mentioned only with their given and paternal names and only the fourth (= last) also with his surname. This - as well as the use of the determinative *ki* at the end of the name (which is reserved to important locales) - strengthens the case for a peripheral settlement. The scribe - as usual - has a surname. It is noteworthy that his given name, Nabû-rā'im-šarri, contains *šarru*, an indication that he might have belonged to the palatial sector.

1. *Pi-lis-ta-A(+A)* "Philistine" refers to two individuals from Assur in the seventh century B.C. (one is dated to 655, see R. Pruzsinszky, *PNA* 3/1 [Helsinki 2002], 994).

2. Cf. perhaps *CAD* M/2, 62b *ad* *ARMT* 13, 7, 17.

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