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THE FOUR “NEO-ASSYRIAN” TABLETS FROM ŠEH HAMAD

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Introduction

The four Šeh Hamad tablets inscribed with cuneiform are at first sight entirely characteristic Neo-Assyrian land-sale texts. As to be expected with sale documents, they are “vertical” in format, and they are single tablets bearing their seal impressions in a space ruled off below the introductory seal identification line. This distinguishes them from the format of loans and similar texts, which would have been “horizontal” and enclosed in a sealed envelope. The shape of the cuneiform signs is also characteristically Assyrian, and it is fair to say that were it not for their content the inclusion of these tablets on a tray of 7th century texts from Nimrud or Nineveh would have raised no eyebrows. No doubt Urad-Nabû, scribe of all four pieces, had indeed been trained in the days of the former Assyrian empire.

There are occasional scribal errors or idiosyncrasies. Unusual is the frequent use of *-iá* in the West Semitic (perhaps specifically Hebrew) names in No. 1, notably (though not exclusively) in the element *-iá-a-u* (No. 1, 4, 32, 33). The division of a word across two lines (No. 2, 21-22) is not good practice. There must be an error of some kind in No. 1, 7ff. (see note), and the scribe omitted a GAB.DI by accident in No. 2, 13, having to add it later on the left edge.

In general the tablets must be in good condition, but since they were read, and copied by Prof. Röllig, from casts, we should expect that it will be possible on inspection of the originals to clear up some of the uncertain points. The following commentary does not go into the historical or cultural implications of these documents, merely seeks to give a prompt version of the raw text. Since the personal names are likely to constitute one of the points of interest, they are listed alphabetically at the end of the article, without any claim to exactitude in their transcription, especially for those which are clearly West Semitic.

The texts have been arranged chronologically. Although Nos. 1 and 3 belong closely together because they belong to the same purchaser Adad-aplu-iddina (and in other respects, see Brinkman, this issue), all four have the same scribe and share

witnesses, and a chronological ordering seemed therefore the least contentious. It is unfortunate that we have no way of knowing whether the three persons who feature as purchasers were related to one another in any way, which might explain why their tablets were found together. As for the property purchased, in Nos. 3 and 4, both of which feature Ubru-Harran as a seller, it is stated to be in the town or village of Magdalu, otherwise unknown. The land includes gravity-irrigated fields in No. 3, some of which are specified as bordering on the river, presumably the Ḫābūr itself. Both plots border on land described as “of the Elamites”, presumably deportees from about half a century before. Since the lands in Nos. 1 and 2 are also specified as gravity-irrigated, they too presumably lay in the river valley (cf. No. 1, 7 too), although note that in No. 2, 6 some is apparently “(at?) the gate of the city”. The unnamed city was perhaps Dūr-katlimmu, since any smaller settlement would presumably have had to be named.

I have incorporated the text of the Aramaic notes, as conveyed to me by Prof. Röllig, to whom I am also grateful for several constructive comments on the reading and interpretation of the cuneiform text.

1. SH 92/6349/12

Sale of land by Hanana to Adad-aplu-iddina

Obverse

1. NA₄.KIŠIB ¹ha-na-na
2. A ¹EN-KAL-an EN A.ŠÀ SUM-a-⁷nu⁷

-
- a. zy 'rqh wbyth zy byt
 - b. zhn klh
(cylinder seal impression)
 - c. 'grt hnn mn byt zhn
-

3. É 1 ANŠE 5-BÁN A.ŠÀ LÚ.BAD ÍD
4. GAB.DI ¹iá-PAB.ME(Š)-iá GAB.DI ¹ha-za-qi-iá-a-u
5. GAB.DI 2 ANŠE A.ŠÀ KI.TA É ¹kat-nu-nu
6. GAB.DI ¹am-me-ia-di-i'
7. É! ANŠE 5-BÁN A.ŠÀ ÍD
8. GAB.DI ¹10-id-ri
9. A ¹kul-ba-iá-di-DINGIR ditto ¹10-ta-kal
10. PAB 5 ANŠE A.ŠÀ É! ši-qi
11. ú-piš-ma ¹10-a-⁷AŠ⁷
12. ina lib-bi 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR

13. *ku-um sa-ar-tú šá kar-ru-u*
14. *šá ¹10-mil-ki-URU₄-eš A-šú*
15. *ina TA* lib-bi ad-ri*

Bottom Edge

16. *ša ¹10-A-AŠ e-pu-⁷šú²-u-ni*
17. *A.ŠA ta-al¹-pi-u-te*
18. *a-na gi-mir-ti-šú*

Reverse

19. *za-rip laq-qi tu-a[r]*
20. *de-e-nu da-ba-bu ⁷NU¹-šú*
21. *man-nu šá ina ur-kiš u ma-te-ma*
22. *i-zaq-qup-pa-a-ni i-GI[L-u-ni]*
23. *lu-u ¹ha-na-na lu-u A.MEŠ-⁷šú¹*
24. *lu-u A.MEŠ A.MEŠ-šú TA ¹10-A-⁷AŠ¹*
25. *TA A.MEŠ-šú TA A.MEŠ A.MEŠ-šú de-e-nu*
26. *da-ba-bu ub-ta-u-ni*
27. *10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR SUM-an*

28. *IGI ¹30-I LÚ*.EN.URU*
29. *IGI ¹šùl-man-SANGA-PAB LÚ*.SANGA*
30. *IGI ¹sa-ku-u-a DUMU ¹ha-za-lum*
31. *IGI ¹10-mil-ki-URU₄-eš A ¹me-na-se-e*
32. *IGI ¹da-di-la²-rim A ¹ah-zi-iá-a-u*
33. *IGI ¹am-ia-di-i' A ¹sa-me-e'-iá-a-u*
34. *IGI ¹ma-sa-a-a DUMU ¹hal-li-ši'*
35. *IGI ^{1d}PA-ma-lik DUMU ¹ah-iá-'a*
36. *IGI ¹ár-ba-a-a LÚ*.A.SIG₅*
37. *IGI ¹am-du-ku-⁷ru¹*

Upper Edge

38. *A ¹ú-⁷x¹-bi²-DINGIR*
39. *IGI ¹lib-lu-ṭu*
40. *A ^{1d}PA-MAN¹-PAB*

Left Edge

41. *IGI ¹PAB-la-rim IGI ¹man-ni-i*
42. *IGI ¹10-ra-pi-i' IGI ¹man-nu-ka-PAB.MEŠ*
43. *IGI ¹R-^dPA¹ LÚ*.A.BA*

Right Edge

44. ITI.APIN 2 MU.MEŠ
 45. ^{1d}PA-NÍG.DU-PAB MAN URU.KÁ.[DINGIR(.KI)]
 46. IGI ¹na-bu-u-tú

Translation (Akkadian text)

“Seal of Hanana son of Bel-dan, the person selling the land.

Estate of 1 1/2 homers of land ... the river, bordering Ya-aħheya, bordering Hazaqi-Yau, (bordering). 2 homers of land below the house (= estate?) of Katnunu, bordering Amme-yadi'. Estate of <1>? 1/2 homers of land <bordering> the river, bordering Adad-idri son of Kul-ba-yadi-ili, bordering Adad-takal. Total: 5 homers gravity-irrigated land, Adad-aplu-iddina contracted and <took> in exchange for 1 mina of silver, instead of the penalty to be deducted, which Adad-milki-ereš his son committed from out of? the threshing-floor of Adad-aplu-iddina.

(17) The ... field, in its entirety, is acquired by purchase. There is no reversion, lawsuit or litigation. Whosoever at any time in the future arises and reneges, whether Hanana or his sons or his grandsons, (and) initiates litigation against Adad-aplu-iddina or his sons or his grandsons shall pay 10 minas of silver.

(28) Before Sîn-na'id, lord of the city, before Šulmanu-šangu-uşur, high priest, before Sakua son of Hazalum, before Adad-milki-ereš son of Menase, before Dadi-larim son of Aħi-yau, before Am-yadi' son of Same'-Yau, before Masaya son of Hallišu, before Nabû-malik son of Aħ-ya', before Arbaya charioteer?, before Am-dukuru son of U...bi-il, before Liblûtu son of Nabû-ħarru-uşur, before Aħu-larim, before Manni, before Adad-rapi', before Mannu-ka-aħħe, before Urad-Nabû the scribe.

(44) Month of Arahsamna (VIII), 2 years of Nabû-kudurri-uşur king of Bab[ylon].

(46) Before Nabutu.”

For translation of Aramaic see Röllig's contribution.

Notes

3: LÚ.BAD íD: in the light of line 7 it seems clear that this must in some way give a topographical description of the land's relationship to the river, but neither a suitable Akkadian reading nor a sensible translation presents itself. We are hardly witnessing the sale of a cemetery. W. Röllig points out that LÚ.BAD in connection with a river could well be connected with *petû*, “to open”, and a term for an irrigation official. This is indeed plausible, but it still does not explain how it describes or locates the land.

5: it is unusual for the word GAB.DI (*gabdi* ?) to be followed by a measured area of ground; it may therefore be a mistake, to be erased, and in this case the 2 homers of field will be part of the lands being sold (see next note on l. 7).

6: this owner of neighbouring property is probably also the witness in line 33

(though note that the witness in line 31 can hardly be the man of the same name in line 14).

7: the É sign has only three verticals. If the 1 1/2 homers of l. 3 are subtracted from the total of 5 homers in l. 10, we are left with 3 1/2 homers to find. Two solutions present themselves: either we read here É <3> ANŠE 5-BÁN, assuming that the scribe committed a haplography, thinking the verticals of É were in fact the number 3; or we read here É <1> ANŠE, and also add in the 2 homers in l. 5 (see note above). My preference is for the latter solution.

13-16: these lines are problematic. Let us first observe that a new section starts in l. 17, so that there is a main verb lacking; we need presumably to restore an *ilqe* at the end of l. 16, as suggested in the translation. The words from *kūm sarte* to *ēpušūni* must then all belong together. There is no obvious reason why a land sale should be associated with a judicial fine (*sartu*), and a difficulty is posed by the fact that the word *sartu* may refer to a crime or to a penalty (or indeed to both). Common sense tells us that the purchaser Adad-aplu-iddina, who receives the land, can hardly thereby be paying a fine, whereas the seller is more likely to have been constrained by some obligation to dispose of his land. Hence, although the wording does not say this explicitly, the easiest assumption seems to be that Ḥanana is obliged to sell this land to pay off a fine incurred by his son, Adad-milki-ereš.

13: *šá kar-ru-u*: two broad possibilities, neither entirely convincing, might be considered. (1) this could be the D stem infinitive of *karû*, “to be short”, with the meaning “deduct”; and (2) that it is a form of *karû* “grain-heap” (CAD K, p. 226). Neither of these usages is well attested in Neo-Assyrian documents, but the translation adopts the former because infinitives after *ša* in Assyrian sometimes do unexpectedly retain the ending in *-u*.

15: the initial *ina* is probably otiose.

17: if correctly read, *talpi'ūte* here may suggest that the difficult word *talpītu* or *talpittu* or *talpitu* (cf. SAAB 1990, 133f. for a recent discussion) should at least sometimes be assigned to the verb *lawûm*; this is however too uncertain to make it worth while speculating as to its meaning here.

28: EN.URU, conventionally *bēl āli*, is a title assigned by the Assyrians to local rulers or chieftains, e.g. on the Iranian plateau (cf. CAD A/1, p. 388a-b; see esp. ABL 526, 3; 342, r.21; 317, 4; 1046, r.3 etc.).

29: note that the *šangû* was also an important, indeed the principal, public personage at the town of Šadikanni further north on the Ḥābūr.

31: given the filiation, this cannot be the same Adad-milki-ereš as in l. 14.

43: the tablet seems to have ^lIR-^dMAŠ, but in view of the scribe's name in the other texts the emendation seems preferable.

44: 2 MU.MEŠ PN is a strange formulation; we might have expected rather MU-2-KAM, “the second year”. This may be of little significance, but one might wonder whether “2 years of PN” might not represent a conscious attempt to dissociate the

statement of time from any statement about the political suzerainty of the Babylonian dynasty.

2. SH 92/6349/11

Sale of irrigated land by two sons of Salani to Pan-ili-...

Obverse

1. NA₄.KIŠIB ^I*man-nu-ki-PAB.MEŠ*
2. NA₄.KIŠIB ^I*ba-ḥi-e*
3. PAB 2 A ^I*sa-la-ni-i*
4. EN A.ŠÀ SUM-*a-nu*

(2 stamp seal impressions)

5. É 5-BÁN A.ŠÀ É *ši-qi*
6. KÁ URU GAB.DI ^IPAB-AŠ
7. A ^ISU-PAB.MEŠ GAB.DI
8. ^{Id}*šùl-man-MU-AŠ* É 8-BÁN
9. KI.TA *ku-pa-a-a*
10. GAB.DI ^I*a-ú-ra-a*
11. GAB.DI ^I*10-a-mar*
12. É 7-BÁN 4 *qa* KI.TA *kad ši du*
13. GAB.DI ^IPAB[?]-*uš[?]-ši[?]* PAB 2 ANŠE 4 *qa* A.ŠÀ
14. *ú-piš-ma* ^IIGI-DINGIR-RI-E[?]
15. *ina lib-bi* 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR

Bottom Edge

16. TI-*qé kas-pu*
17. *gam-mur ta-din*
18. A.ŠÀ *za-rip*

Reverse

19. *laq-qi tu-ar*
20. *de-e-nu da-ba-bu*
21. NU-*šú man-nu šá i-GIL-*
22. *-u-ni aš-šur* ^d[UTU E]N
23. *u* ^dPA *ina šu.2-šú lu-ba[!]-u*
24. 3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR SUM-*an*
25. IGI ^ISUHUŠ-KASKAL
26. IGI ^I*a[!]-ú-ra-a*

27. IGI [^l10]-*a-mar*
 28. IG[I ^l*x(x)*]-NUMUN-AŠ
 29. IG[I ^l*i*]-*di-i*
 30. IGI [^l*gab*]-*bi-i*
 31. IGI ^ldPA-MU-AŠ
 32. IGI ^l*man-ni-i*
 33. IGI ^ldPA-MAN-I
 34. IGI ^l*za-bu-du*
 35. ITI.ZÍZ UD.5.KÁM*

Upper Edge

36. MU.2 ^ldPA-NÍG.DU-PAB
 37. MAN URU.KÁ.DINGIR.KI
 38. LÚ*.A.BA ^lIR-^dPA

Translation

“Seal of Mannu-ki-ahhe, seal of Bahe. Total 2 sons of Salani, person(s) selling the land. (Seal impressions).

(5) An estate of 0.5 homers gravity-irrigated land, within the gate of the town, bordering Aħu-iddin son of Erib-ahhe, bordering Šulman-šumu-iddin. An estate of 0.8 homers below *ku-pa-a-a*, bordering A'ura, bordering Adad-ammar, an estate of 0.74 homers below ..., bordering Aħu?... (13) Total: 2.04 homers of land Pan-ili... contracted and purchased for 1/2 mina of silver. The price is paid in full, the land is acquired by purchase. There is no reversion, lawsuit or litigation. Whoever reneges, Aššur, [Šamaš, Be]l and Nabû shall call him to account. He shall pay 3 minas of silver.

(25) Before Ubru-Harran, before A'ura, before [Adad]-ammar, before [...]zeru-iddin, before [I]di, before [Gab]bi, before Nabû-šumu-iddin, before Manni, before Nabû-šarru-na'id, before Zabudu.

(35) Month of Šabātu (XI), 5th day, year 2 of Nabû-kudurri-ušur, king of the city of Babylon. Scribe: Urad-Nabû.”

Notes

9-12: since *ku-pa-a-a* and KAD ŠI DU both lack a *Personenkeil*, they are unlikely to be personal names, and from their position immediately after the amount of lands has been stated, they are likely in some way to describe its location or condition, like *bēt šīqi* in l. 5. For *kupāya* one might consider an Aramaic plural “rocks, cliffs”, or a connection with Akkadian *kuppu*, “man-made enlargement of a spring” (CAD K, p. 550f., but not attested in Assyria), but I have no suggestion for the second term. The two neighbours in ll. 10-11 recur as witnesses (ll. 26-27).

13: GAB.DI was written as an afterthought on the left edge. If the sign after PAB is not

uš, it might be TAB written over an erasure, yielding the known name Aḫu-tabši.

22-3: for the list of four gods here and in No. 3, cf. e.g. ADD 318 (= FNALD 12) and ADD 1252 (= FNALD 19).

29: see Text No. 3, 27, and 4, 25.

30: see Text No. 3, 26, and 4, 24.

3. SH 92/6349/21

Sale of irrigated land by Ubru-Harran to Adad-aplu-iddina

Obverse

1. NA₄.KIŠIB ¹SUḪUŠ-KASKAL
2. A ¹DINGIR-tu-u-paq
3. EN A.ŠÀ.GA SUM-an-nu

(stamp seal impression)

4. É 1 ANŠE 5-BÁN A.ŠÀ
5. É ši-qi ina URU.ma-ag-da-lu
6. GAB.DI ÍD
7. GAB.DI A.ŠÀ ŠÁ KUR.NIM.MEŠ
8. GAB.DI É ¹za-an-ga-ri-DÙ
9. A.ŠÀ re-eḥ-tú šá PAB.MEŠ-ŠÚ
10. i-din-ú-ni
11. ú-piš-ma ¹10-A-AŠ
12. ina lib-bi 16 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
13. TI-qé kas-pu ga-mur
14. ta-din A.ŠÀ za-rip

Bottom Edge

15. laq-qi tu-ar[(-x)]
16. de-e-nu da-ba-bu

Reverse

17. NU-ŠÚ man-¹nu šá¹ i-GIL-u-ni
 18. aš-šur ^dUTU [EN] ^dPA
 19. ina ŠU.2-[šú lu-ba-]a²-u
 20. 5 MA.NA ¹KÙ.BABBAR SUM-an¹
 21. ITI.ŠE 2 MU.ME(§)
 22. ^{1d}PA-NÍG.DU-PAB MAN URU.KÁ.DINGIR
-
23. IGI ¹šùl-man-SANGA-PAB

24. IGI ^I*ha-an-za-ru-ru*
25. IGI ^I*a-PAB.ME(§)*
26. IGI ^I*gab-bi-i*
27. IGI ^I*i-di-i*
28. IGI ^I*i-d^d15*
29. IGI ^I*man-ni-i*
30. IGI ^I*man[!]-nu-ki-PAB.MEŠ*
31. IGI ^I*IR-d^dPA A.BA*

 - a. *'grt 'rq*
 - b. *mgdl zy zbn*
 - c. *'brḥrn zy*
 - d. *lḥkwr zbn*

Translation (Akkadian)

"Seal of Ubru-Harran, son of Ilutu-upaq, the person selling the field.

(4) Estate of 1 1/2 homers irrigated land in the town Magdalū, bordering the river, bordering the land of the Elamites, bordering the estate (or: house) of Zangari-ibni⁸—the field remnant that his brothers gave—Adad-aplu-iddina contracted and bought for 16 1/2 shekels of silver. (13) The price is paid in full, the land is acquired by purchase. There is no reversal, lawsuit or litigation. Whoever reneges, Aššur, Šamaš, Bel and Nabû will requite him. He shall pay 5 minas of silver.

(21) Month of Addāru (XII), 2 years of Nabû-kudurri-uṣur, king of City of Babylon.

(23) Before Šulmanu-šangu-uṣur, before Ḥanzaruru, before Ya-aḥhe, before Gabbi, before Idi, before Na'id-Issar, before Manni, before Mānnu-ki-aḥhe, before Urad-Nabû the scribe."

Notes

8: for this name ending with -DÙ, compare perhaps the place name Gabbari-DÙ in the Suḥu inscriptions of the mid-8th century perhaps to be read Gabbari-ibni (cf. A. Cavigneaux - B.K. Ismail, BaM 21 [1990], pp. 355-6 on II, 26).

18: the final DN is not epigraphically certain, but restored in the light of No. 2, 22; see the note there for restoration of the name of Bel.

For translation of Aramaic, see Röllig's contribution.

4. SH 92/6349/10

Sale of land by four owners to Arri

Obverse

1. NA₄.KIŠIB ^ISUḤUŠ-KASKAL

2. NA₄.KIŠIB¹30-I
3. NA₄.KIŠIB^{1d}UTU-AŠ
4. NA₄.KIŠIB¹sa-ka-ha-a
5. EN¹ A.ŠÀ SUM-a-nu
(3 stamp seal impressions)
6. É 1 ANŠE 5-BÁN A.ŠÀ
7. *ina lib-bi* URU.ma-ag-da-lu
8. GAB.DI A.ŠÀ šá É
9. ¹IM-id-ri
10. GAB.DI A.ŠÀ šá KUR.NIM-a-a
11. ú-piš-ma¹ar-ri-i?
12. *ina lib-bi* 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR
13. TI-qé kas-pu gam-mur

Bottom Edge

14. *ta-din* A.ŠÀ
15. *za-rip laq-qi*

Reverse

16. *man-nu šá i-GIL-u-ni*
17. 3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR SUM-an
18. ITI.BARAG UD.10.KÁM* MU.5
19. ¹PA-NÍG.DU-PAB MAN URU.KÁ.DINGIR.KI

-
20. IGI¹šùl-man-SANGA-PAB
 21. IGI¹30-I A¹mu-ṣur-a-a
 22. IGI¹man-nu-la?¹-e-SAL
 23. IGI¹man-ni-i
 24. IGI¹gab^{sup.ras.}-bi-i
 25. IGI¹i-di-i
 26. IGI¹kab-di-i
 27. IGI¹IR-^dPA

A.BA

Translation

"Seal of Ubru-Harran, seal of Sîn-na'id, seal of Šamaš-iddin, seal of Sakaha, the persons selling the field (Sealings).

(6) An estate of 1 1/2 homers of land, inside the town of Magdalu, bordering the land of the estate of Adad-idri, bordering the land of the Elamites, Arri contracted and bought in exchange of 1/2 mina of silver. (13) The price is paid in full, the land is acquired by purchase. Whoever reneges shall pay 3 minas of silver.

(18) Month of Nisānu (I), 10th day, year 5 of Nabû-kudurri-uşur, king of Babylon.

(20) Before Şulmanu-şangu-uşur; before Sîn-na'id, son of Muşuraya; before Man-nu-la-e...; before Manni; before Gabbi; before Idi; before Kabdi; before Urad-Nabû, the scribe."

Notes

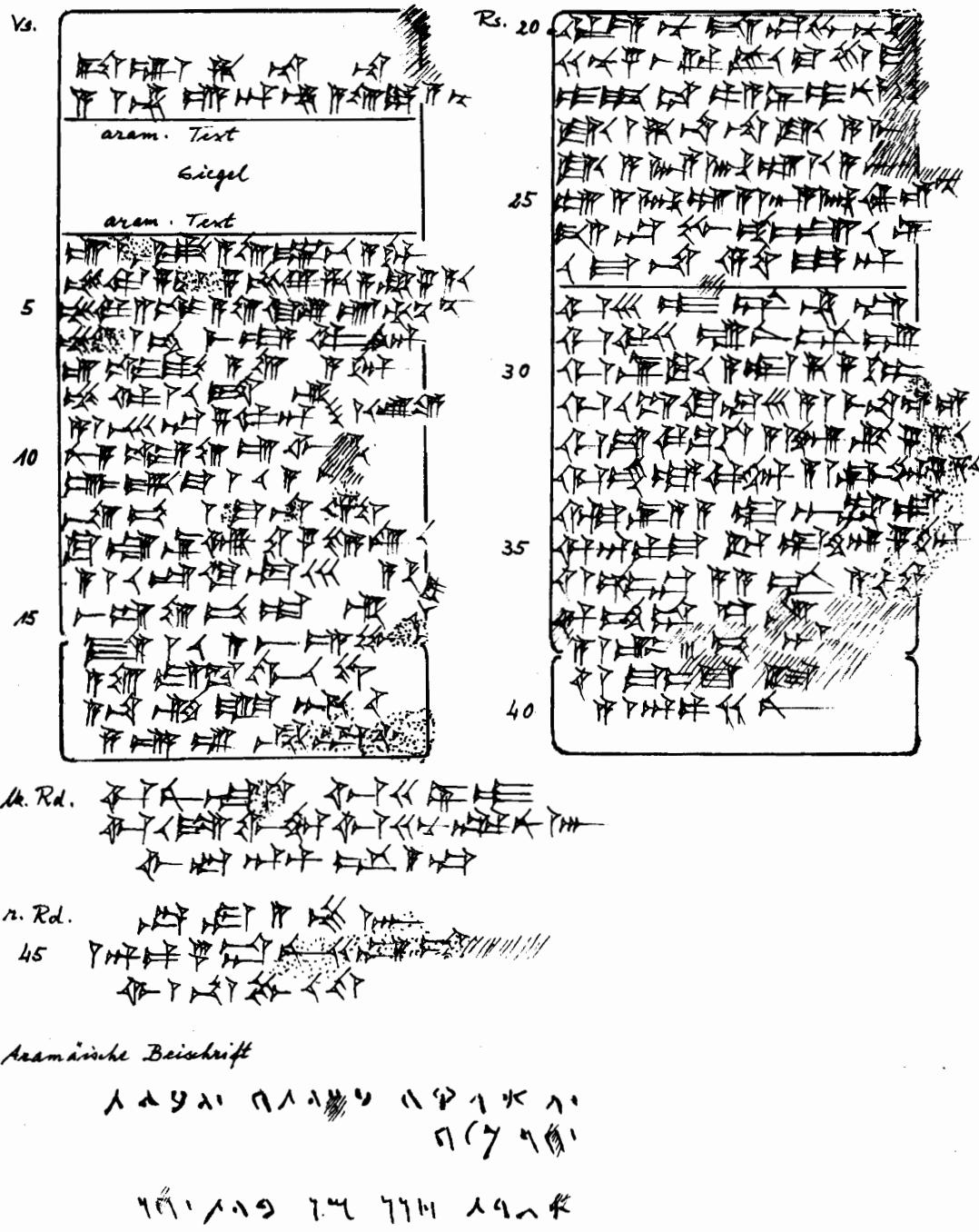
21: this witness is the only one whose filiation is given; presumably this is to distinguish him from the seller of the land with the same name. It is impossible for us to guess which of the two (if either) might be the EN.URU of Text No. 1, 28.

List of personal names

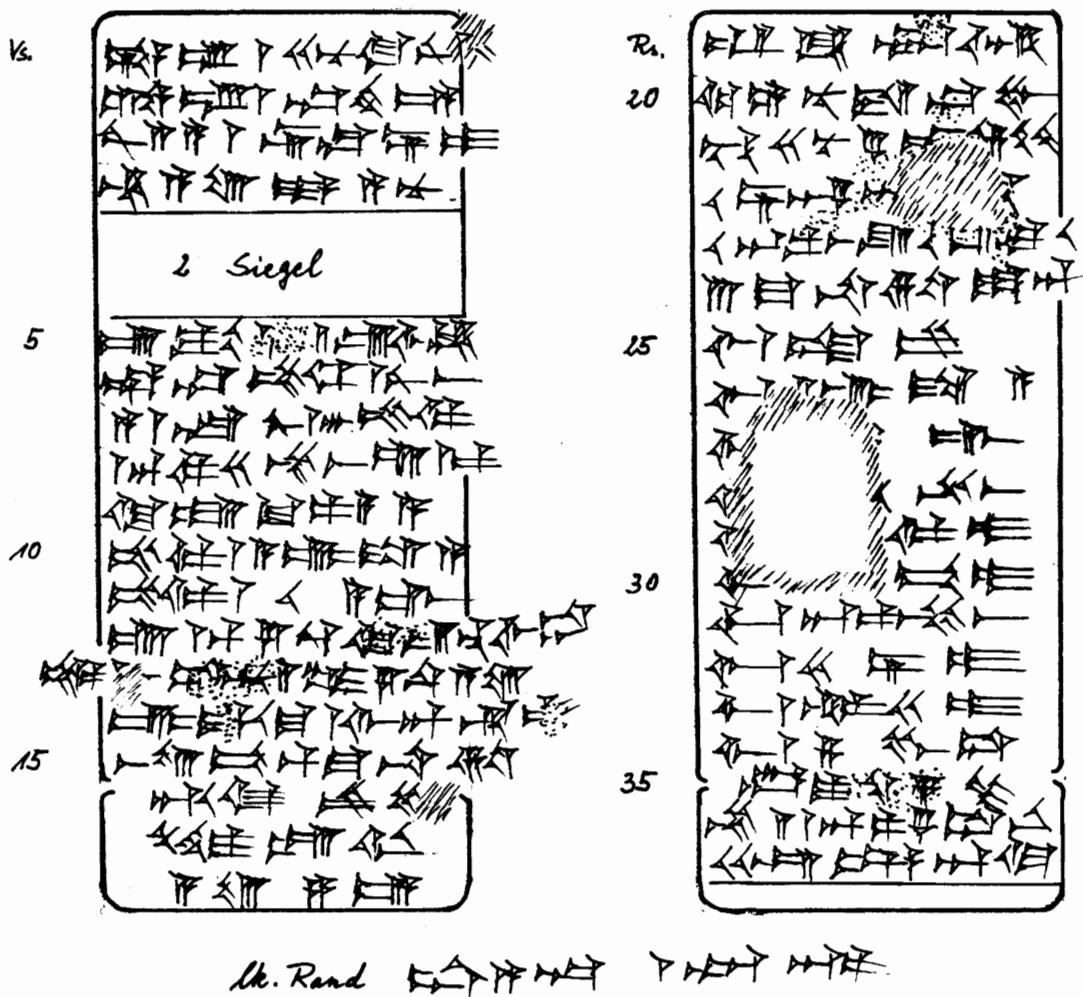
Adad-ammar	2, 11, 27
Adad-aplu-iddina	1, 11, 16, 24; 3, 11
Adad-idri	4, 9
Adad-idri, s. of Kul-ba-yadi-ili	1, 8
Adad-milki-ereš, s. of Hanana?	1, 14
Adad-milki-ereš, s. of Menase	1, 31
Adad-rapi'	1, 42
Adad-takal	1, 9
Aħu-iddin(a)	2, 6
Aħu-larim	1, 41
Aħu-...ši	2, 13
Aħ-ya', f. of Nabû-malik	1, 35
Aħzi-Yau, f. of Dadi-larim	1, 32
Am-dukuru, s. of U...bi-il	1, 37
Amme-yadi'	1, 6
Am-yadi', s. of Same'-Yau	1, 33
Arbay	1, 36
Arri	4, 11
Aura	2, 10, 26
Baħe, s. of Salani	2, 2
Bel-dan, f. of Hanana	1, 2
Dadi-larim, s. of Aħzi-Yau	1, 32
Eriba-ahħe	2, 7
Gabbi	2, 30; 3, 26; 4, 24
Ḩalliši, f. of Masaya	1, 34
Ḩanana, s. of Bel-dan	1, 1, 23, c
Ḩanzaruru	3, 24

Ḩazalu(m), f. of Sakua	1, 30
Ḩazaqi-Yau	1, 4
Idi	2, 29; 3, 27; 4, 25
Ilutu-upaq, f. of Ubru-Ḩarran	3, 2
Kabdi	4, 26
Katnunu	1, 5
Kul-ba-yadi-ili	1, 9
Libluṭu, s. of Nabû-şarru-uşur	1, 39
Masaya, s. of Ḥalliṣi	1, 34
Manni	1, 41; 2, 32; 3, 29; 4, 23
Mannu-ka-ahhe	1, 42
Mannu-ki-ahhe, s. of Salani	2, 1
Mannu-ki-ahhe	3, 30
Mannu-la-...	4, 22
Menase, f. of Adad-milki-ereš	1, 31
Nabû-malik, s. of Ah-ya'	1, 35
Nabû-kudurrī-uşur	1, 45; 2, 36; 3, 22; 4, 19
Nabû-şarru-na'id	2, 33
Nabû-şarru-uşur, f. of Libluṭu	1, 40
Nabû-şumu-iddina	2, 31
Nabutu	1, 46
Na'id-Issar	3, 28
Pan-ili-...	2, 14
Sakaḥa	4, 4
Sakua, s. of Ḥazalum	1, 30
Same'-Yau, f. of Am-yadi'	1, 33
Sîn-na'id	1, 28; 4, 2
Sîn-na'id, s. of Muşuraya	4, 21
Şamaš-iddina	4, 3
Şulmanu-şangu-uşur	1, 29; 3, 23; 4, 20
Şulmanu-şumu-iddina	2, 8
Ubru-Ḩarran	2, 25; 4, 1
Ubru-Ḩarran, s. of Ilutu-upaq	3, 1, c
Urad-Nabû	1, 43; 2, 38; 3, 31; 4, 27
U...bi-il, f. of Am-dukuru	1, 38
Ya-ahheya	1, 4
Ya-ahhe	3, 25
Zabudu	2, 34
Zangari-ibni?	3, 8
...-zeru-iddina	2, 28

Nr.1 SH 92/6349/12

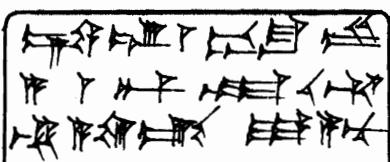


Nr. 2 SH 92/6349/11



Nr. 3 SH 92/6349/21

Vs.

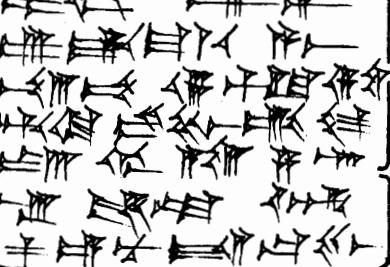


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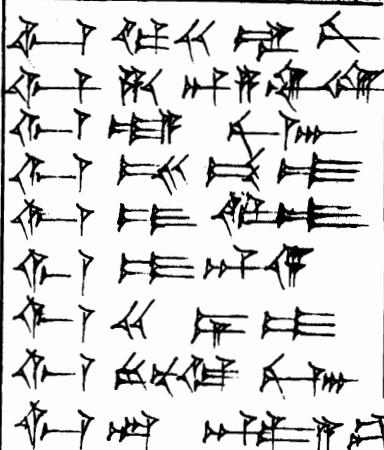


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Aramäische Briefdrift

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Obser Rand 𐎢 𐎧 𐎤 〈 𐎨 𐎤 〉
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Nr. 4 SH 92/6349/10

Vs.

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DIE ARAMÄISCHEN BEISCHRIFTEN AUF DEN TEXTEN 1 UND 3

Wolfgang Röllig — Tübingen

Nr. 1
SH 92/6349/12
Aramäischer Text

Transkription

1. *zy 'rqb wbyth zy byt*
2. *zbn klh*
3. *'grt hnn mn byt zhn*

“Betreffend sein Land und sein Haus von Bait (2) Zahin (in) seiner Gesamtheit. (3) Dokument des Ḥanana von Bait Zahin.”

Anmerkungen

3: Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß die aramäische Beischrift zunächst in der unteren Zeile begann, da die Einleitung mit *'grt* “Dokument” z.B. in SH 92/6349/21, AECT 21 und F II jeweils belegt ist und deshalb hier mit Z. 3 begonnen werden sollte.

hnn entspricht dem Ḥanunu des assyrischen Dokuments und ist sicherlich ein Name westsemitischen Ursprungs, vgl. M. Maraqtan, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*, 1988, p. 166, mit Hinweisen auf Belege aus dem Ugaritischen, Hebräischen, Phönizischen und dem Ägyptisch-Aramäischen usw., vgl. auch palmyrenisch *hnyn'* bei J.K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, 1971, p. 89.

mn “von” ablativisch im Zusammenhang mit einem Ortsnamen s. AECT 3, Rs. 3; 9, 3; F I und mit einem Personennamen *ebd.* 38, 1.

byt zhn: Dieser Ausdruck, der im assyrischen Text keine Parallelen hat, erscheint in der Beischrift zweimal. Es kann sich um eine Ortsbezeichnung oder einen Stammesnamen handeln. Bildungen mit *byt/bīt(u)* sind im aramäisch-sprachigen Raum häufig sowohl für Stammeszugehörigkeit, z.B. *Bīt Bahiani*, *Bīt Jakīn* usw., wohl auch *Bīt Zamani*, aber auch Ortsnamen können so gebildet werden, vgl. *Bīt-Adad-eriba*, *Bīt ili* usw., s. NAT pp. 75-92; RGTC 8, pp. 78-114. Eine Entsprechung zum hier vorliegenden Ausdruck kenne ich aber nicht.

1. *zy 'rqh* "betreffend sein Land" benutzt das Determinativpronomen zur Einleitung eines Nominalzusatzes und entspricht in dieser Funktion etwa dem akkadischen *ša* (GAG, § 126 h). Die Determination des Nomens geschieht hier außerdem durch das Pronominalsuffix *-h*, das an *'rq* als Nomen mit konsonantischem Auslaut angehängt ist (V. Hug, HSAO 4, p. 54). *'rq* "Erde, Land" ist, entspr. zu akkad. *eqlu*, im Kontrast zu *byt* als "Feldflur" zu verstehen.

w-byth: Obgleich die zweite Buchstabe etwas beschädigt ist, scheint mir die Lesung zweifelsfrei. *byt* ist offensichtlich hier das "Haus(grundstück)" im engeren Sinne und steht auch in einem gewissen Kontrast zur Stammes(?)bezeichnung *byt zhn*. Diese wird danach mit dem Relativum *zy* angeschlossen.

1-2: *byt zhn klh*: Vgl. schon zu Z. 3. Mit *kl*, "Gesamtheit", und dem Possessivsuffix der 3.Pers.Sg.F. wird jedenfalls *byth* wieder aufgenommen und gleichzeitig zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß sich die Grundstücke auf dem Territorium von *byt zhn* befanden. Daraus kann man wohl schließen, daß die in der assyrischen Urkunde genannten Begrenzungen des Grundstück sich auch im Stammesgebiet von *byt zhn* befanden.

Es überrascht allerdings, daß der Sachverhalt, der Verkauf des Grundstücks, nur aus der Perspektive des Verkäufers dargestellt ist und weder der Käufer noch der Kaufpreis genannt werden. Auch wird die Beschreibung des Grundstücks abweichend von der assyrischen Urkunde nur nach der allgemeinen Lage in *byt zhn* getätigter; genauere Angaben fehlen.

Nr. 3
SH 92/6349/21
Aramäischer Text

Transkription

1. *'grt 'rq*
2. *mgdl zy zbn*
3. *'brhrn zy*
4. *lhkw̄r zbn*

"Dokument über das Land (von) Magdalu, welches verkauft Ubru-Harrān, welches er dem Pächter (?) verkaufte."

Anmerkungen

Der Text beginnt auf dem rechten Rand der Tafel, setzt sich mit zwei Zeilen auf dem oberen Rand fort und endet auf dem linken Rand. Eine andere Reihenfolge der Zeilen ist sowohl vom Formular her als auch aus grammatischen Gründen nicht wahrscheinlich.

1: 'grt mit der Bedeutung "Dokument", vgl. dazu schon SH 92/6349/12 Z. 3, führt hier den aramäischen Text ein. Das Wort ist sonst auch mit der Bedeutung "Brief" belegt, so im Assur-Brief KAI 233, 4, vgl. auch akkadisch (als aram. Lehnwort) *egertu*, "Brief, Urkunde" mit Belegen in AHw. p. 190a; CAD E p. 45f. und W. von Soden, OrNS 35 (1966), p. 8, 18.

'rq, "Land, Grundstück", vgl. schon zu SH 92/6349/12, 1, hier als stat. cstr. mit folgendem Ortsnamen, vgl. entspr. CIS II, 28 = AECT 23.

2: mgdl entsprechend dem Ortsnamen *uru.ma-ag-da-lu* der assyrischen Urkunde. Der Ort ist m. W. in Ḥabūr-Gebiet bisher nicht bekannt, hat aber eine klare Etymologie ("Turm, Wachtturm") und ist in den Ortsnamen *Magdala/i* Amarna-zeitlich (s. W. Röllig, RIA 7, p. 200) und in *Migdal/Migdol* auch alttestamentlich und rabbinisch (G. Reeg, *Die Ortsnamen Israels nach der rabbinischen Literatur*, BTAVO B 51, pp. 388-397) wohlbekannt. Allerdings liegen diese Orte alle in Palästina bzw. (angeblich) in Ägypten. Ob es sich hier um den aramäischen Namen der Siedlung handelt, die mittelassyrisch Dür-Katlimmu und neuassyrisch Dür-(a)duklimmu hieß, lässt sich derzeit nicht klären¹. Magdala kann jedenfalls auch eine dörfliche Ansiedlung am Ḥabūr gewesen sein, die bisher in anderen Quellen nicht vorkommt².

zbn: Die Lesung hier ist nicht über jeden Zweifel erhaben, da die Form des *b* deutlich von derjenigen in Z. 3, wo sicher auch dieses Verbum vorliegt, abweicht. Der Abstrich des Buchstabens ist gerundet, während er in Z. 3 nach links abgeknickt ist, was der üblichen Zeichenform entspricht. Das Verbum bedeutet im Pe'el "kaufen", im Pa"el jedoch "verkaufen". Die vorliegende Schreibung lässt eine Entscheidung zwischen beiden Bedeutungen nicht zu, doch ist analog zu SH 92/6349/12 und unter Berücksichtigung des assyrischen Textes (*Ubru-Ḥarrān* ist *nadinānu*) eher an ein Pa"el zu denken. Das entspräche auch dem bereits bei der vorhergehenden Urkunde angemerckten

¹⁾ Die neuassyrischen Belege — bis in die Zeit Assurbanipals — für Dür-katlimmu/Dür-aduklim habe ich bereits in OrNS 47 (1978), pp. 421-425 zusammengestellt.

²⁾ Verwiesen sei aber auf R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (1927), pp. 489f., der einen Tell Madjal am Ḥabūr oberhalb von Hasseke nennt und diesen mit einem bei Procop genannten *Magdaloth* verbindet. Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* (1911), p. 189, die den Ort selbst nicht besuchten, wissen zu berichten, daß "Midjdal noch im Mittelalter eine blühende Stadt ... mit einem von einem Schloß gekrönten Tell" gewesen sei. Bei einer Identifizierung mit Magdala erhebt sich allerdings das Problem der recht großen Entfernung von Tall Šeh Hamad.

Assyrern zu Hilfe kamen, und assyrische Offiziere werden gefangen genommen, die Stadt selbst eingenommen. Es fällt auf, daß in diesem Zusammenhang nicht von Laqê die Rede ist, einer Landschaft bzw. Verwaltungseinheit nördlich von Ḫindānu. Allerdings ist festzustellen, daß Laqê nach den bisher verfügbaren Quellen letztmalig in der Zeit Sargons II. genannt wird³, danach offenbar als eigene Größe verschwindet.

Der Vormarsch Euphrat-aufwärts geht weiter über die Ortschaften Manê, Sahiri und Balihu, die sonst unbekannt sind⁴. Allerdings läßt der Name der letzten Ortschaft vermuten, daß es sich dabei garnicht um einen Stadtnamen handelt, sondern daß der Fluß Balih gemeint ist. Jedenfalls werden die genannten Städte geplündert, ihre Götter weggeführt und im nächsten Monat, dem Ululu, wird der Rückzug angetreten. Das war offenbar erforderlich, da die Assyrer in der Zwischenzeit in den Ägyptern neue Verbündete gefunden hatten, mit denen zusammen sie wieder bis nach Gablini vorstießen, wo es im folgenden Monat, dem Tašritu, erneut zu einer Auseinandersetzung kam, die aber für keine der beiden Seiten einen Sieg gebracht zu haben scheint. Jedenfalls führt Nabopolassar auf seinem Rückzug die Götter und wohl auch Deportierte aus Ḫindānu, dem südlichsten der erreichten Gebiete, nach Babylon fort.

Diese Kampagne macht klar, daß Nabopolassar nach den kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen im Zentralgebiet jetzt versucht, das Assyrerreich vom Westen her militärisch aufzurollen⁵, neben seinen Aktivitäten im Osten nun vom Euphrat aus eine Zangenbewegung macht. Gleichzeitig wird erkennbar, daß zwar das von den Assyrern seit langem beherrschte Ḫabürgebiet noch in deren Hand ist und als Aufmarschbasis dienen kann, daß aber offenbar die Festungen bei Ana⁶ überrannt worden sind und verloren gingen. Es überrascht allerdings, daß davon in der Chronik nichts gesagt wird. Das ändert sich 3 Jahre später. Nachdem in der Zwischenzeit die Auseinandersetzungen ins Tigrisgebiet verlegt worden waren, die Meder dort eingriffen, Assur im Jahre 614 jedoch von Nabopolassar allein erobert und zerstört worden war, ist unter dem 13. Jahr (613) erneut von einem Marsch Euphrat-aufwärts, nach Suḥu, die Rede.

³⁾ SAA 1, 204, 15; 226, Rs. 7; 261, 6.

⁴⁾ Evtl. ist Sahiri identisch mit neuassyrisch *Sa-i-ri*, das aus Rechtsurkunden bekannt ist, dessen geographische Lage aber daraus nicht erschlossen werden kann. Vgl. SAA 6, 278, 5; T. Kwasman, NALK 127, 8, 22, 24, 25, 28.

⁵⁾ K. Kessler betont, daß die Kontrolle über Ḫindānu und Suhi das Zerbrechen des assyrischen Sperriegels bedeutet und damit den Fall Assyriens einleitet, s. *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens*, TAVO B 26 (1980), p. 229. In der ebd. geführten Diskussion über den *ḥarrān šarri* wird angenommen, daß dieser bis in den Raum südlich der Ḫabürmündung führte, ohne daß aber textliche Quellen dafür vorliegen. Der Aufmarsch bei der Stadt Gablini würde eher dafür sprechen, daß dort der "Königsweg" endete, doch hängt das wiederum an der Frage nach der Lage dieser Stadt.

⁶⁾ Zu diesen assyrischen Grenzbefestigungen vgl. die vorläufigen Grabungsberichte in Iraq 41 (1979), pp. 148f, 155, 159; 43 (1981), pp. 192-198; 45 (1983), pp. 199-224.

Jetzt wird die Insel Rahi-ilu⁷ erobert, Anat durch Belagerungsmaschinen bezwungen; die Bewohner der Euphrataue, jedenfalls Aramäer, unterwerfen sich. Danach zieht der Babylonier wieder ab.

Das nächste Jahr, 612, sah zunächst die spektakuläre Einnahme von Ninive, nachdem Sîn-šar-iškun von Nabopolassar und Kyaxares besiegt worden war. Der Babylonier allein greift aber weiter aus und marschiert ins oberere Ḫâbûr-Gebiet. Genannt wird — wahrscheinlich als vorläufiger Endpunkt — Naṣibini/Nusaibin. Das Land *Ru-ṣa-pu*, d.h. die assyrische Provinz Raṣappa⁸, wird geplündert und deren Leute offenbar deportiert. Das bedeutet aber, daß damit auch das Ḫâbûr-Gebiet insgesamt, d.h. einschließlich des Steppengebietes zwischen Wadi Tharthar und dem Fluß, unter babylonische Vorherrschaft kam. Dadurch wurde es möglich, daß bereits im folgenden, seinem 15. Jahr, Nabopolassar bis nach Rugguliti⁹ marschierten konnte, das in Bīt Adini gesucht wird, und daß im folgenden Jahr auch Harrân an Babylonien (und die Meder) fiel. Die Auseinandersetzungen mit Ägypten in der Folgezeit spielten sich lediglich am Oberen Euphrat, d.h. bei Karkemiš und in Quramati ab und berühren den Kern des assyrischen Reichsgebietes, der jetzt in babylonischer (und medischer) Hand ist, nicht mehr. Obgleich es nicht ausdrücklich vermerkt ist, ist offenbar das Ḫâbûr-Gebiet verwaltungstechnisch in das Chaldäerreich übernommen worden. Ob das reibungslos von statthaften oder es zu lokalen Turbulenzen mit Zerstörungen, Deportationen, Veränderungen der ethnischen Struktur usw. kam, erfahren wir aus der Chronik nicht — und weitere datierbare Quellen lagen bisher aus dieser Region nicht vor. Lediglich die Tatsache, daß Nebukadnezar ohne Probleme in seiner rückwärtigen Front Feldzüge bis an die Grenzen Ägyptens führen konnte, vermittelte bisher den Eindruck, daß Nordostsyrien babylonisch war. Ein Beweis dafür fehlte allerdings.

St. Dalley hat soeben einen Artikel veröffentlicht, in dem sie sorgfältig die Evidenz zusammenstellt, die für ein Weiterleben assyrischer Kultur nach dem Fall von Ninive im Jahre 612 v.Chr. zu gewinnen ist¹⁰. In diesem Zusammenhang listet sie auch eine Anzahl von babylonischen Keilschrifttafeln auf, die im ehemaligen assyrischen Reichsgebiet gefunden wurden und die sich z.T. bis in achämenidische Zeit datieren lassen, von denen aber nur wenige — so einige der Neirab-Texte — in die Frühzeit der Chaldäerdynastie gehören. Hierzu sind nun auch noch einige neubabylonische Texte aus Tall Šēḥ Hamad zu zählen, die im Gebäude F an der Nordostecke der Unterstadt II

⁷⁾ Vgl. D.J. Wiseman, CCEBK, p. 81; R. Zadok, RGTC 8, 258. Die Stadt ist als *URU.ra-il* in der Inschrift des Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur, Statthalters von Suḫu und Mari, genannt, der dort — auf einer Insel im Euphrat — den Palast eines früheren Statthalters namens Enamhe-zēr-ibni erneuert und auch einen Aufstand der Bewohner niederschlägt, s. BaM 21, p. 346, IV, 9ff., vgl. S. 337 und die Belege auf S. 409.

⁸⁾ Zur Lage und Ausdehnung dieser Provinz s. zuletzt M. Liverani, SAAB 6 (1992), 35-40, und F.M. Fales, *ibid.*, 105-107. Zur Schreibung *ru-ṣa-pu* s. BaM 21, 409.

⁹⁾ Vgl. S. Parpola, NAT, p. 296; R. Zadok, RGTC 8, p. 262.

¹⁰⁾ St. Dalley, *Nineveh after 612 BC*, AoF 20 (1993), 134-147.

gefunden wurden. Es handelt sich um zumindest eine recht fragmentarische Rechtsurkunde, deren Datum leider unvollständig ist, und einen vollständigen Brief samt Hülle¹¹.

Auf die Frage, ob es assyrische Texte aus der Zeit nach 612 gebe, gibt St. Dalley sich selbst die Antwort: "It must be concluded that Assyrian cuneiform died out completely after the fall of Nineveh"¹². Als Kriterium für die Bestimmung dessen, was "Assyrian cuneiform" sei setzt sie allerdings an, daß Dokumente nach Eponymen datiert sein müßten. Das ist, wie die vorliegenden Texte erweisen, keinesfalls richtig. Diese Texte sind nämlich sehr wohl sowohl in ihrem Schriftduktus als auch in ihrer äußeren Form und in ihrem Formular typisch assyrisch. Sie tragen lediglich Daten, die sie in die Zeit babylonischer Zuständigkeit für das Hābürgebiet setzen. Sie schließen offenbar an eine Schreibertradition an, die in Dūr-katlimmu —wenn es denn damals noch so hieß— durchaus noch am Leben war und die sowohl assyrisches Formular als auch aramäische Beischrift kannte¹³.

Für den Ort Dūr-katlimmu bedeutet dieser Befund, daß er selbstverständlich im ausgehenden 7. Jh. v.Chr. zum Assyrerreich gehörte¹⁴, wahrscheinlich aber in die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Assyrien und Babylonien nicht direkt einbezogen wurde. Bald nach der Übernahme babylonischer Vormacht im ehemaligen assyrischen Reichsgebiet wurden dann von denselben Schreibern, die übrigens stets als LÚ.A.BA, also "Buchstaben-Schreiber"¹⁵, bezeichnet werden, mit assyrischem Formular aber babylonischer Datierung Urkunden verfaßt, was bedeutet, daß die alte Rechtsordnung bruchlos auf die neuen Verhältnisse übertragen wurde. Das geschah spätestens im Tebētu, d.h. dem 10. Monat des 2. Jahres Nebukadnezars, d.h. im Januar des Jahres 602 v.Chr.¹⁶. Es ist vielleicht auch kein Zufall, daß erst nach dem siegreichen Feldzug gegen Hamath (604), aber noch vor dem verlustreichen ägyptisch-babylonischen Krieg vom Winter 601/600, das Hābürgebiet sich den nunmehr gegebenen politischen Verhältnissen anpasst und die Datierung von Urkunden auf den neuen Souverän umgestellt wird. Es ist aber nicht auszuschließen, daß das bereits früher geschah, die schriftliche Evidenz dafür aber noch fehlt.

¹¹⁾ Die Texte tragen die Grabungs- bzw. Museums-Nr. SH 87/9177 IV 165 = DeZ SH 6224; 86/8975 I 134 = DeZ 5220 und 5221. Der erstgenannte Text, eine Schuldkunde, ist ins 7.(?) Jahr eines [LUG]AL E.KI datiert, der Brief von 39 Zeilen ist natürlich nicht datiert. Vgl. vorläufig H. Kühne, *Tall Sēḥ Hamad*, AfO 36/37 (1989-90) [ersch. 1991], 310-312. Die Texte sollen in absehbarer Zeit im Rahmen der Gesamtpublikation der Schriftdenkmäler von dieser Ruine in Kopien und Bearbeitungen vorgelegt werden.

¹²⁾ AoF 20 (1993), p. 141.

¹³⁾ Kurze aramäische Beischriften befinden sich auch auf den assyrischen Texten SH 88/8977 I 146 = DeZ 10459 und 86/8975 I 145 = DeZ 5662.

¹⁴⁾ Assyrische Urkunden aus dem Gebäude F von Dūr-katlimmu nennen die Eponymen Bambā (676 v.Chr.; SH 88/8977 I/IV 146 = DeZ 10459), Adad-malkī (SH 86/8975 I 145 = DeZ 5662) und Bēl-lū-dāri (SH 88/8977 IV 200 = DeZ 9461).

¹⁵⁾ Vgl. dazu (S. Parpola und) K. Deller, BaM 13 (1982), p. 151f.

¹⁶⁾ R. Parker - W.H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75*, 1956, 27.

BABYLONIAN INFLUENCE IN THE ŠEH ḤAMAD TEXTS DATED UNDER NEBUCHADNEZZAR II¹

John Antony Brinkman — Chicago

The Babylonian impact seen in the four Šeh Hamad documents dated under Nebuchadnezzar II seems to be strictly political. The texts are written in Assyrian language and script (two of them also have brief Aramaic notations) and give no evidence for a change in the population of the area in the short time since the lapse of Assyrian governance². The two local officials attested in the witness list of one of the documents³ bear traditional Assyrian titles: *bēl āli* and *šangū*⁴. Only the date formulae, which mention the Babylonian king, mark these texts as written under Babylonian rule; and it is these formulae that I will discuss here. Professor Röllig has sketched elsewhere

¹⁾ Text citations in this article conform to Chicago Assyrian Dictionary style in the rendering of determinatives (in capital letters on the line).

²⁾ As expected, Assyrian and Aramaic personal names are borne by a substantial number of individuals mentioned in the texts.

³⁾ No. 1, 28-29 (Šin-na’id and Šulmānu-šangū-uṣur). This is the earliest of the texts and apparently also transfers the most valuable real estate in the four documents (which could explain the presence of titled officials acting as witnesses, the longer witness list, and the more extensive use of patronyms for persons without titles or occupation designations). The same two persons, without titles, probably occur in inverse order as the first two witnesses in text no. 4, 20-21; and Šulmānu-šangū-uṣur occurs also as the first witness in no. 3, 23.

⁴⁾ *bēl āli* is a common designation for a local ruler in Assyria (CAD A/1, p. 388), but is relatively uncommon in Babylonia and then apparently only in the south (ABL 1072, r. 7, and possibly r. “4”; WdO 5/1 [1969], p. 40, 8, in a generic list of titles in an eighth-century private building text). *šangū* is amply attested in early first-millennium Assyria and Babylonia (CAD Š/1, pp. 377-382), but in Neo-Babylonian witness lists the title is usually *šangū* GN or *šangū* DN (see WdO 5/1 [1969], pp. 47-48, but note that “MB” is a printer’s error for “NB” in the second-last line there on p. 47). The only other person in these texts with a title is the LÚ*.A-“SIG₅” in no. 1, 36.

in this journal the historical background for the advent of Babylonian imperial power in the region.

I will divide discussion of the date formulae into four sections: (a) the date, (b) the royal name, (c) the royal titulary, and (d) the placement of the formula within the inscriptions.

The Date

- ITI.APIN 2 MU.MEŠ (no. 1, 44)
- ITI.ZÍZ UD.5.KÁM MU.2 (no. 2, 35-36)
- ITI.ŠE 2 MU.ME(Š) (no. 3, 21)
- ITI.BÁR UD.10.KÁM* MU.5 (no. 4, 18)

The date itself may consist of three parts: month, day, and year. The month citations (ITI.APIN, ITI.ZÍZ, ITI.ŠE, ITI.BÁR) follow normal Assyrian—and Babylonian—usage. The indication of day is not uniform: texts nos. 2 and 4 are in accord with regular Assyrian and Babylonian custom, writing UD-*n*-KÁM⁵, but texts nos. 1 and 3 omit the day. Such omission is attested rarely elsewhere in Neo-Assyrian legal texts⁶, but only very rarely in Babylonian legal documents of the time⁷. The writing of the regnal year formula is unusual in all the texts: it appears as MU *n* (without KÁM) in nos. 2 and 4 and as *n* MU.MEŠ in nos. 1 and 3. It is not surprising that the changeover from Assyrian dating by eponym to Babylonian dating by ordinal regnal year should occasion scribal confusion; and “year 2” (no. 2), “year 5” (no. 4), and “2 years” (nos. 1 and 3), while improvisations, are nonetheless comprehensible. Dating by ordinal regnal year was not unknown in Assyria in the seventh century⁸, but may not have penetrated to the world of the provincial scribe. Roughly contemporary Babylonian usage of MU *n* (without KÁM) is known, but quite uncommon⁹. It is worth noting that the same two texts (nos. 1 and 3) both omit the day portion of the formula and write “2 years”¹⁰. All four texts were written by the same scribe, and the variations seem to reflect a choice among alternatives rather than the scribe’s gradually learning a more appropriate designation for regnal years¹¹.

The Julian equivalents of the dates are as follows:

⁵⁾ “*n*” in this paragraph, as cited in date formulae, stands simply for “(any) number”.

⁶⁾ E.g., SAA 6, 39, r.10; 203, r.2'; O. Muscarella (Ed.), *Ladders to Heaven*, no. 84, 11.

⁷⁾ E.g., YBC 7399 (JCS 36 [1984], p. 63, no. 25, 15), dated under Sîn-šar-iškun.

⁸⁾ E.g., SAA 6, 90, 16; 177, 19; 180, r.1.

⁹⁾ E.g., TuM 2-3, 66, 4; YOS 17, 266, 5. Cf. Assyrian SAA 6, 90, 16.

¹⁰⁾ These texts are both land sales to Adad-aplu-iddina; and these are also the only two texts in the group which have Aramaic notations (containing the names of the persons selling the property).

¹¹⁾ The more atypical formula 2 MU.MEŠ (“2 years”) is used as late as text no. 3, which is dated in the month after text no. 2 (containing the more nearly conventional MU 2, “year 2”, with KÁM alone omitted).

No. 1	ITI.APIN 2 MU.MEŠ	Nov. 13-Dec. 12, 603
No. 2	ITI.ZÍZ UD.5.KÁM MU.2	Feb. 14, 602
No. 3	ITI.ŠE 2 MU.ME(Š)	Mar. 12-Apr. 9, 602
No. 4	ITI.BÁR UD.10.KÁM* MU.5	Mar. 28, 600 ¹²

The Writing of the Royal Name

^{1d}PA—NÍG.DU—PAB (nos. 1, 45; 2, 36; 3, 22; 4, 19)

The writing of the elements of the royal name is done according to standard Mesopotamian conventions in use in both Babylonia and Assyria. Royal names are sometimes preceded by the masculine personal determinative in both countries. Writing of the divine name *Nabû* as PA, the element *kudurri* as NÍG.DU, and -*uṣur* as PAB are also conventions commonly used in both lands. Babylonian scribes writing the name of Nebuchadnezzar II, however, by a wide margin prefer AG to PA and by a somewhat smaller margin prefer ŠEŠ to PAB. When Babylonian scribes use the shorter sign PA to write the royal name of Nebuchadnezzar II, they very frequently omit the masculine personal determinative as well. Thus the writing of the royal name in the Šeh Hamad texts uses a combination of conventions that, taken together, are considerably more common in Assyria than Babylonia; and, in a search of more than 1,500 Babylonian documents written in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, I have been able to find only three instances of the writing attested in the Šeh Hamad texts: ^{1d}PA—NÍG.DU—PAB in BE 8, 10, 18; TuM 2-3, 73, 16, and YOS 17, 320, 16¹³. These three texts, dating between years 6 and 10 of Nebuchadnezzar II, are almost contemporary with the Šeh Hamad documents; and they were all either written in or excavated at Nippur. Thus present evidence indicates that the writing of the royal name Nebuchadnezzar in the Šeh Hamad texts is done in a fashion more typical of Assyrian than Babylonian style¹⁴.

¹²⁾ These are the equivalents of Babylonian dates according to Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 75*, which would presume that by this time Babylonian and Assyrian intercalary months were being inserted according to the same timetable (which has yet to be demonstrated).

¹³⁾ The search was relatively comprehensive, since it covered more than 90% of the published documents dated under Nebuchadnezzar listed by M. Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia*, pp. 8-9. Almost the same writing, but lacking the masculine personal determinative, occurs in a few more texts, e.g.: CT 56, 591, 14; CT 57, 653, 2; Strassmaier, *Inscriptions von Nabuchodonosor*, 65, 15; 181, 8; 441, 15; UET 4, 130, 7; YOS 17, 334, 6.

¹⁴⁾ The name *Nabû-kudurri-uṣur* occurs infrequently in Assyrian texts, except when referring to Babylonians. The personal name of a *Nabû-kudurri-uṣur* written ^{1d}PA—NÍG.DU—PAB occurs in the legal text ADD 50, 10 (=T. Kwasman, NALK, no. 388).

The Titulary

- MAN URU.KÁ.[DINGIR(.KI)] (no. 1, 45)
 MAN URU.KÁ.DINGIR.KI (no. 2, 37)
 MAN URU.KÁ.DINGIR (no. 3, 22)
 MAN URU.KÁ.DINGIR.KI (no. 4, 19)

The designation “king of Babylon” for Nebuchadnezzar is standard titulary used in the date formulae of legal and administrative texts in Babylonia during the time of the Nabopolassar dynasty. But the style of writing here too reflects Assyrian rather than common Babylonian usage. The writing of *šar* as MAN is much more frequent in Neo-Assyrian legal and administrative texts than in comparable Babylonian documents, where LUGAL is overwhelmingly preferred. MAN does occur in such Babylonian texts, but is comparatively rare¹⁵. The writing of the geographical name as URU.KÁ.DINGIR(.KI), according to present evidence, seems also to be Assyrian. The writings with and without KI are paralleled, though not common, in Neo-Assyrian¹⁶. URU.KÁ.DINGIR also occurs infrequently in Middle Assyrian royal inscriptions¹⁷, and the URU determinative occurs regularly before the geographical name, however written, in that period¹⁸. It is worth noting that the URU determinative before the name of Babylon occurs also in texts from northern Mesopotamia in the OA/OB period, in texts from Rimah¹⁹, though the syllabic writing *a-lam* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI in a text from Aleppo²⁰ raises the possibility that not all such occurrences of URU need be interpreted as determinatives. The core of the Middle Assyrian-Neo-Assyrian writings with KÁ.DINGIR.KI (prescinding from the initial determinative) rather than KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI reflects the earliest clear²¹ orthographic traditions in third-millennium southern Mesopotamia where KÁ.DINGIR.KI is used

¹⁵⁾ E.g., ZA 62 (1972), 98, 3' (*kudurru*, Nabû-mukîn-apli, tenth century B.C.; the choice of sign perhaps occasioned by the narrow space available); IM 58184, 6' (= W. 18027, economic text, Kandalânu year 19, 629 B.C.); Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor*, 314, 19 (legal text, Nebuchadnezzar II year 36, 569 B.C.).

¹⁶⁾ E.g.: (a) with KI: WdO 4/1 (1967), 32, VI, 1 (Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III); ABL 241, r.5' (Postgate, TCAE, p. 266); ABL 474, 14; (b) without KI: ABL 242, 20 (Postgate, TCAE, p. 268); ADD 625, 14 (= SAA 6, 287).

¹⁷⁾ KAH 2, 61, 14 (= Weidner, *Tukulti-Ninurta*, 30, no. 17 = RIMA 1, 275, A.0.78.24); AKA 144, IV, 38 (= RIMA 2, 104, A.0.89.7, Broken Obelisk, attributed to Aššur-bēl-kala).

¹⁸⁾ RGTC 5, 47.

¹⁹⁾ Dalley *et al.*, *Old Babylonian Texts from Tell al Rimah*, nos. 42, 19; 135, 6,

²⁰⁾ Dossin, Syria 33 (1956), 65, 12. Cf. *a-lam de-er.ki ibid.*, line 16. These could, of course, be regarded as local aberrations.

²¹⁾ For a possible older Early Dynastic occurrence in YOS 9, 2, 2', see George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, p. 253.

during the Akkad dynasty²² and occurs more commonly during the Ur III period than the longer alternative²³. The shorter KÁ.DINGIR.KI is rare in the south during the Old Babylonian period²⁴ and, in so far as I am aware, is totally lacking in Middle Babylonian. It is attested once again, but rarely and without the URU determinative in Neo-Babylonian times²⁵. The determinative URU is occasionally used before writings of Babylon in Middle Babylonian²⁶, but then is uncommon in Neo-Babylonian before 539 B.C., confined for the most part to royal inscriptions of the Nabopolassar dynasty²⁷ and not thus far attested in legal or administrative texts before the reign of Nabonidus²⁸; and in both periods it does not occur in combination with KÁ.DINGIR.KI. Thus the writing of both elements in the title MAN URU.KÁ.DINGIR(.KI) reflects Assyrian style, though the title itself is obviously Babylonian and designates Babylonian rule.

The Placement of the Date Formula

The date formula occurs after the witness list in the two earlier texts (nos. 1-2)²⁹ and before the witness list in the two later texts (nos. 3-4). This positional variety was admissible in the range of earlier Neo-Assyrian legal documents³⁰, but I have not yet found a Neo-Babylonian legal text where the principal date precedes the witness list.

Conclusion

It has been seen that the date formulae in the four Šeh Ḥamad documents, while indicating subordination to Babylonian rule, reflect an Assyrian or local idiosyncratic

²²⁾ RA 4/3 (1897), pl. V following p. 84, no. 13, r.6' = Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, no. 118 = Thureau-Dangin, SAKI, 225, II c = RIME 2, p. 183 (k).

²³⁾ RGTC 2, 21-22.

²⁴⁾ CT 2, 1, 2; 6, 2.

²⁵⁾ E.g., VAS 4, 3, 18 (legal text, 659 B.C.); ABL 852, r.5; UET 4, 179, 5; TuM 2-3, 108, 3; Durand, *Documents cunéiformes de la IV^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, vol. 1, no. 469, '4'; 1R, 55, IV, 47 (= VAB 4, 130).

²⁶⁾ RGTC 5, 49.

²⁷⁾ E.g., PBS 15, 80, I, 13.

²⁸⁾ The alleged exception in AfO 16 (1952-53), pl. V following p. 196, no. 6, 6, cited in RGTC 8, 53, actually reads URU.DÙG (not URU.TIN.TIR). URU does, however, occur in a few Neo-Babylonian Harper letters before TIN.TIR.KI (ABL 468, 10; 780, 14; 1091, 2, some with restorations).

²⁹⁾ Although the name of a single witness has been added in no. 1, 46 as a postscript after the date.

³⁰⁾ See Postgate, FNALD, p. 10, § 1.6, where he noted a tendency of the date to follow the witness list in conveyance texts and to precede the witness list in contracts. The four documents published here, all conveyance texts, split evenly between observing and deviating from that pattern.

style in their cuneiform writing, not unexpected in an area recently subjected to Babylonia³¹. It would be helpful to find earlier or later texts in the region that would further elucidate the loss of Assyrian political power and the survival of Assyrian practice on the local level³². In any case, these four Šēḥ Hamad texts clearly demonstrate that Assyrian language and writing did not die with the fall of Nineveh in 612 and the eclipse of the rump kingdom in Harran a few years later. Babylonian political power prevailed at Šēḥ Hamad, but was expressed at this time in a local idiom³³.

³¹⁾ In addition, the use of Aramaic notations, which had become relatively common in Assyria during the course of the seventh century, was still uncommon in Babylonia at the same time (see the brief summary in Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire*, p. 14 fn. 53).

³²⁾ Röllig indicates the existence of two other Neo-Babylonian texts (SH 87/9177 IV 165 and SH 86/8975 I 134) and notes that the first of these, a legal text, has a date formula featuring a royal title written in a style more customary in Babylonia itself ([LUG]AL E.KI).

³³⁾ One hesitates to draw extensive conclusions from these texts, since they are a small collection, all written by the same scribe, and probably reflecting activity in a relatively small neighborhood. Note the occurrence of the GN Magdalu and the field of the Elamites in texts nos. 3-4, the river mentioned in connection with field boundaries in texts nos. 1 and 3, an individual named Adad-idfi holding neighboring land in nos. 1, 8 and 4, 9, Adad-aplu-iddina as buyer in nos. 1 and 3, Ubru-Harran as a seller in nos. 3 and 4 (and possibly as first witness in 2, 25), and witnesses in common between two or more texts: Gabbî (nos. 2, "30"; 3, 26; 4, 24), Idî (nos. 2, "29"; 3, 27; 4, 25), Mannî (nos. 1, 41; 2, 32; 3, 29; 4, 23), Mannu-ki/kā-ahhē (nos. 1, 42, and 3, 30, and as a seller in no. 2, 1), as well as the officials listed in fn. 3 above. Because of infrequent use of patronyms, it is not possible to demonstrate that every name mentioned in the preceding sentence represents one and only one individual; but the combination of recurring names and their near juxtaposition in several of the witness lists makes this likely. One must, however, recognize that there are probably two individuals named Adad-milkī-ēreš (no. 1, 14; 1, 31) and Sîn-na'îd (no. 4, 2; 4, 21); but each of these doublets is within a single document and, in each case, at least one of the persons is further distinguished by a patronym. It would be premature to speculate whether these lands sales were influenced by the political climate.

WEST SEMITIC NAMES IN THE ŠEH ḤAMAD TEXTS

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The four Šeh Hamad texts of early Neo-Babylonian date published in this issue of SAAB present an interesting admixture of onomastic formations, viewed both synchronically and across generations. The relatively abundant purely Akkadian names are the following¹:

Adad-aplu-iddina, Adad-milki-ēre², Adad-takal, Aḥu-iddin(a), Bēl-dān, Erība-aḥhē, Ilūtu-ūpaq, Libluṭu, Mannu-ka-aḥhē, Mannu-kī-aḥhē, Nabū-šarru-na’id, Nabū-šarru-uṣur, Nabū-šumu-iddina, Nabûtu, Na’id-Issar, Pān-ili-..., Sîn-na’id³, Šamaš-iddina, Šulmānu-šangū-uṣur, Šulmānu-šumu-iddina, Ubru-Harrān⁴, Urad-Nabû,...-zēru-iddina.

While it may be noticed that names built with the deity Aššur are conspicuously absent, certainly these anthroponyms are fully parallel to the ones of Neo-Assyrian context, and sometimes with hints of a more precisely local environment. Or, conversely, it may be said that they do not demonstrate traits which may be specifically and/or exclusively linked to a Babylonian context — which is understandable, given the scarce ten years which separate our texts from the fall of the Assyrian empire⁵. In particular,

¹⁾ The reference are to the list of names appended to Postgate’s article in this issue.

²⁾ Two people by this name are attested; cf. Brinkman’s article, fn. 34.

³⁾ Again, the name is attested for two distinct people.

⁴⁾ A further case of the ones indicated above. It may be noted here that alphabetic version of this name in text no. 3 (*br̥hrn*), represents the definitive proof of the reading of the sign SUḪUŠ as *ubru* in personal names of the Neo-Assyrian period, as was first suggested by Postgate, in GPA, p. 67f., and for which an indirect confirmation came from the «improper» use of the logogram to render Aramaic **bVr*, «son», cf. Fales, OrAnt 16 (1977), pp. 41ff..

⁵⁾ The sole possible exception to this statement is the name Bēl-dān.

attention may be paid to the glorification of the *šangū* in one of the names, which might refer back to an earlier “layer” of higher institutions in the Khabur valley, as pointed out by Postgate (article in this series); or to Ubru-*Harrān* and *Sîn-na’id*, as different indicators of the diffusion of the cult of the Moon-god centered in the *Harrān* area; or to the presence of Adad-milki, a well attested divine figure of Assyria, showing marked syncretistic aspects between Akkadian and Aramaic⁶.

On the other hand, as is to be expected on the Khabur, a fertile area of ancient Aramean settlement first and then surely the final destination of many a deportation program on the part of the Assyrian authorities, we find a large number of West Semitic anthroponyms in the same texts. What might be unexpected at the outset, however, is the breadth of the comparisons within the West Semitic linguistic horizon that such names evoke. This may be shown by the following “filecards” on almost all the available names⁷:

Adad-amar

“Adad spoke/ordered” (writing 10-*a-mar*). Despite first impressions, this is not a linguistically Akkadian name, bearing a predicative element drawn from the verb *amāru*, “to see”. The overall syntactic structure (two elements, Subj.-Pred.), the characteristics of the predicative element⁸, and a number of parallels in onomastics from both the NA and NB-LB periods⁹, point clearly to a West Semitic verbal sentence name, formed by the deity Adad, popular in different linguistic-cultural milieus of the period¹⁰, and the *qal* perfect, 3rd pers. sg., of the verb *’*mr*, “to speak, command”¹¹.

Adad-idri

“Adad is my help/support”—a quite frequent name in the onomasticon of the Neo-Assyrian period, both because the element *’*idr* is well attested among West

⁶⁾ Cf. K. Deller, OrNS 34 (1965), pp. 382-383; F.M. Fales, CCENA, p. 24; R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods*, Jerusalem 1977 (henceforth WSB), p. 48.

⁷⁾ On the grounds of ambiguities and uncertainties of various types, I have decided not to take a critical stance on the following 5 names: Idī, Kabdī, Katnunu, Mannī, Zangari-*dū*. Note further that the “headings” of the single paragraphs below bear the names in a normalized transcription deriving from the cuneiform renderings, while the etymological reconstruction of the same names or their appearance in other linguistic/textual realities is to be found, whenever considered as necessary, within the relevant paragraphs themselves.

⁸⁾ In an Akkadian formation, the first person sg. of the preterite (*āmur*) would have been preferred, more often than not preceded by the preative *lū*.

⁹⁾ Cf. Zadok, WSB, p. 82.

^{10).} Cf. WSB, p. 46.

¹¹⁾ Notice further the occurrence of names with the predicative element *a-mar* in first position (*a-mar-il*, etc.) with no semantic change: cf. WSB, p. 82.

Semitic (and esp. Aramaic) nominal predicatives¹², and for the abundant presence of Adad in this name horizon (see above). The two writings given in the Šeh Ḥamad texts (^dIM-*id-ri* and 10-*id-ri*) also fully reflect the orthographic variants hitherto known¹³. An Aramaic alphabetic counterpart to the name is also known from a seal discovered in Assyria, dated to the 7th century B.C. (*hd' dr*)¹⁴. One of the two individuals is the son of Kul-ba-yad-il, equally endowed with a West Semitic name (see below).

Adad-rapi'

"Adad is healer"¹⁵ (writing: 10-*ra-pi-i*). The name is formed by the already discussed divine subject-element plus the Aramaic active participle (*qātil*), a formant of nominal sentence names which is not particularly frequent in absolute¹⁶, but which is not lacking in the Šeh Ḥamad evidence¹⁷. Attested both with and without the *aleph*-sign, **rāpi'* is present both in NA and in NB-LB transcriptions of names¹⁸.

Aḥu-larim

"May the brother be exalted" (writing PAP-*la-rim*). The name is a verbal sentence, formed by the theophorous element *'*h*, "brother", and by a predicate drawn from the root **rw/ym*, in the —decidedly Aramaic— precative form (*laqtil*)¹⁹, with many parallels in NA cuneiform²⁰. In alphabetic script, notice the name '*dnlrm* on four Hama graffiti of the 9th or 8th century²¹. In the present corpus, cf. also Dadi-larim (see below).

Aḥ(i)yâ

"My brother ..." (writing *aḥ-iá-'a*). This name would seem to be a hypocoristicon of

¹²⁾ WSB, p. 97, gives 20 theophorous/divine elements coupled with **idr*.

¹³⁾ *Ibid.*; just to give one example, the name of the king of Damascus in the time of Shalmaneser III, known in the Bible as *Hadad-‘ezer* is given in cuneiform inscriptions as Adad-*idri*, with both of the named writings (cf. APN, p. 8a).

¹⁴⁾ CIS II, 77; cf. M. Maraqtan, *Die semitische Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*, Hildesheim 1988, p. 77.

¹⁵⁾ For a recent overview of the root cf. Maraqtan, *cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁶⁾ Cf. WSB, pp. 104, 121.

¹⁷⁾ See also Am(me)-yadi', and possibly also the hypocoristicon Gabbî, below.

¹⁸⁾ To the examples quoted by Zadok, *ibid.*, add also e.g. NA *am-ra-pi-i*', CCENA 23, 22, and NB-LB *am-ra-p[i-i/e]*, RA 25 (1928), pp. 53ff., No. 7, r.4 (Neirab).

¹⁹⁾ Cf. WSB, pp. 92, 95.

²⁰⁾ *Ibid.*; add also e.g. *ha-la-rim*, CT 33, 15A, 13, from Assur (post-648 B.C.).

²¹⁾ KAI 203; see Maraqtan, *cit.*, p. 116. Recent and complete edition of the graffiti, with photographs and copies, by B. Otzen, *The Aramaic Inscriptions*, in P.J.Riis-M.-L. Buhl, *Hama II 2: les objets de la période dite syro-hittite (âge du fer)*, København 1990, pp. 267-318, and esp. 275-278.

an onomastic formation with subject-element represented by the theophorous *'ḥ, to which a personal pronoun of the 1st person singular is added, before an ending *-ā²². The explicit presence of *-ia would seem to find parallels rather in the NB/LB rendering than in the NA ones²³: while the ascription to West Semitic —and presumably to Aramaic— is basically due to the abbreviative ending *-ā, characteristic and very common in this chronological and linguistic bracket²⁴.

Aḥzi-Yau

This name (written *ah-zi-iá-a-u*) has a number of characteristics which allow us to consider it linguistically and culturally Hebrew. Foremost, the root of the verbal predicative is clearly *'hd, “to take, grasp, take possession”; and, as is well known, the rendering of the etymological voiced interdental *d* in NA and in NB-LB transcriptions of names varies quite rigidly according to the linguistic affiliation of the names themselves, with <z> restricted to Akkadian and Canaanite (Hebrew, Phoenician, etc.), as against <d> for Aramaic and Arabic anthroponyms²⁵. Thus, the rendering offered here, with -zi-, is decidedly in opposition to the (equally NA) transcription with -di-, as e.g. in *se-e'-a-ha-di*²⁶, and proves it to be linguistically Canaanite, as reflecting the 3rd pers. sg. of the *qal* perfect of *'hd. As for the subject-element, here in second position, it is no doubt identical to the one written *ia-ú/u* in names attested both in NA and NB-LB texts, and identifiable with the Hebrew divine name *Yhw²⁷. Combining the two data, we obtain a decidedly Hebrew anthroponym meaning “Yahu has taken”, with precise parallels in the Biblical name *'aḥāz-yāhū*²⁸ and in the epigraphic Hebrew *'hzyhw* (end of 8th-beginning 7th cent. B.C.)²⁹.

²²⁾ Due to the difference in the orthography of this name with the ones in the same corpus presenting the final element *-yau (consistently realized as -iá-a-u), I would rule out the presence of any explicit predicative element here.

²³⁾ Cf. WSB, pp. 54-55.

²⁴⁾ Cf. WSB, p. 149.

²⁵⁾ Cf. an overview of the question in WSB, p. 243.

²⁶⁾ Fales, CCENA, 3, VIII, 15, 19; cf. WSB, p. 82.

²⁷⁾ Cf. R. Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods*, Tel Aviv 1976, pp. 7ff.; id., *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*, Leuven 1988, p. 185. The attestation charted *ibid.* confirm the fact that the rendering -iá-a-u in our texts is fully innovative, as remarked by Postgate in his article (the case involving the sign -iá- indicated in Zadok, *Jews*, cit., p. 11 fn. 38, 99, is wrong: cf. CT 53, pl. 18).

²⁸⁾ Cf. R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenic Israelite Anthroponymy*, cit., p. 400 and *passim*.

²⁹⁾ *Ibid.*; see also the most recent and comprehensive edition in G.I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance*, Cambridge 1991, 100.342: *lzqn / 'hzyhw*. The writing *ah-zi-* in our text should represent a case of *sandhi*.

Am-dukuru

The name is formed by the theophorous subject-element **amm*, “paternal uncle”, plus a predicative element deriving from the root **dkr*, “to remember, to mention”. The pattern would seem to be of the *qatūl* or *qattūl* type (similarly e.g. to the onomastic element in the Chaldean toponym *Bīt-Dakkuri)³⁰ possibly with the intrusion of the NA phonological phenomenon of vowel harmony. That it did not represent the Canaanite *qal* passive participle, is assured by the rendering of **d* as <*d*> (see above)³¹: on the other hand, either an Aramaic or an Arabic linguistic reality might be present here, especially in view of the epigraphically well-attested pre-Islamic Arabian name ‘*mdkr*³².

Am-yadi' / Amme-yadi'

These two names present a small variance in writing (*am(-me)-ia-di-i'*) and quite surely refer to the same West Semitic onomastic formation, a nominal sentence name with the subject-element **amm*, “paternal uncle” (cf. above) and the active participle **yādi'* from the verb **yd'*, “to know”³³.

Arbaya

Cf. s.v. Masaya, below.

Arrî (*ar-ri-i?*) and Aurâ (*a-ú-ra-a*)

Both these names might be West Semitic, as they present the common hypocoristic endings -*i* and -*â*. As for the etymologies, Aramaic or Canaanite **w/yr* (from original **gw/yr*, “to rouse, to wake, to guard”, should represent a sufficiently plausible hypothesis for the first name, in the light of the Hebrew anthroponym ‘*erî*³⁴; while the second

³⁰⁾ Cf. WSB, p. 130.

³¹⁾ Cf. Maraqtén, *Personennamen*, cit., p. 224, and *passim* for epigraphic attestations of names built with -*dkr* —some of which, however, are not the result of commonly accepted readings.

³²⁾ Cf. G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*, Toronto 1971, p. 436.

³³⁾ Cf. WSB, pp. 68, 104, to which add e.g. *il-ia-di-i'*, Postgate-Ismail, TIM 11, 36, 6. On the other hand, this verbal form is rare in the 1st millennium West Semitic onomastic corpus, and it often seems to compete semantically with the *qal* perfect, so that an explanation of its vocalization in terms of phonetic shifts might not be ruled out entirely. Cf. e.g. *man-nu-ia-di-i'*, CCENA 2, III, 15, with NB *man-nu-ia-da-a'*, BRM 1, 26, 8.

³⁴⁾ Cf. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenic Israelite Anthroponomy*, cit., p. 102.

case might go back to the same root³⁵, or—less probably—to the Aramaic noun *‘awīrā, “blind” (cf. NA *a-u-i-ra-a*)³⁶. Other possibilities, even in the sphere of Southwest Semitic, are however not to be ruled out: cf. Safaitic *’wr’ or *’wr³⁷.

Bahē

This name (*ba-hi-e*) is a hypocoristicon of the Aramaic root *bḡy, “to search, inquire, ask”, equally well attested in NA and NB-LB transcriptions, e.g. in the name *ba-hi-a-nu/ni*³⁸; on the other hand, the alphabetic name *bḥy[n]* or *b‘y[n]*, formerly presumed to be attested in the inscriptions on the altar from Tell Halaf, must now be considered nonexistent³⁹.

Dadi-larim

Interestingly enough, this clearly Aramaic name (writing: *da-di-la[?]-rim*), compounded of the divine name *Dad(i)⁴⁰, and of the precative of *rw/ym⁴¹ was born by the son of Aḥzi-Yau, whom we have seen above to have a Hebrew anthroponym. The known names bearing *dd* as subject-element in Aramaic alphabetic characters stem in the main from the Assyro-Aramaic milieu⁴².

³⁵) Considering that <ú> often stands for intervocalic */h/ (WSB, p. 244), one might compare here the Hebrew name ’ahārōn, following the etymological suggestion by Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy*, cit., p. 102.

³⁶) WSB, p. 125.

³⁷) Cf. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance*, cit., p. 84: the names are resp. connected to Arab. ’uwār, “heat, flame”, or *wari*, “pious, timid”.

³⁸) Cf. APN, p. 50a, for attestations. The discussion of the root is given by Zadok in WSB, pp. 161f., with reference to Akkadian *baḥū*, “weak”, but is radically altered as relevant to Aramaic *bḡy in the *addenda* to the volume (*ibid.*, pp. 430f.).

³⁹) Cf. G. Dankwarth - Ch. Müller, *Zur altaramäischen “Altar”-Inschrift vom Tell Halaf*, AfO 35 (1988), pp. 73-78, where the reading proposed by Friedrich in 1940 is substantially accepted (and Albright’s “*bḥy[n]*” is rejected) after a new critical examination of photographs and of a plaster cast of the now lost “altar”.

⁴⁰) Cf. WSB, p. 47, for names built with Dad(i) in NA, to which must be added the name of the post-canonical eponym written ¹U.u-i, and previously (M. Falkner, AfO 17 [1954-56], pp. 102f.) read Bēl-šarru-na’id, and now clear as = *Dadī*. For the Assur material, cf. e.g. F.M. Fales, SAAB 5 (1991), pp. 3-158 *passim*, and esp. texts nos. 17, 23, 49, 50; for Nineveh, cf. e.g. Parpola-Kwasman, SAA 6, 323a; and e.g. Postgate-Ismail, TIM XI, p. 63, s.v. *Adad-milki-na’id*. Other names compounded with Dad(i) in Parpola-Kwasman, *ibid.*, 323a-b: notice in particular [¹U].u-la[?]-rim, no. 225 (= ADD 576), r.8'.

⁴¹) As in Aḥu-larim, above.

⁴²) Cf. Maraqtan, *Personennamen*, cit., p. 76 (*dd'*, *ddy*, *dd'lh*).

Gabbî

This name (*gab-bi-i*) is a further hypocoristicon in *-î*: again (cf. Adad-amar, above) despite appearances, it should not derive from Akkadian *gabbu*, “all”, but from the Aramaic root **gbh*, “to be high, exalted”⁴³. Names built with a divine component and the predicate *-gab-e*, or *gab-bi-i/e*⁴⁴, would be a demonstration of this etymology⁴⁵.

Halliṣu

This name also occurs in a list of witnesses, partly of West Semitic affiliation from Esarhaddon’s reign (*hal-li-si*)⁴⁶, and is certainly much the same as *ha-le-e-si*, attested in a loan document from Nineveh (approx. 680 B.C.)⁴⁷. The name has parallels in Hebrew alphabetic texts (*ḥls*)⁴⁸ and in the Bible (*Heles*)⁴⁹. Finally, it occurs on a Nimrud bronze bowl⁵⁰.

Hanana

The name (attested both in cuneiform and in alphabetic script, *ha-na-na / hnn*) is a hypocoristicon from the West Semitic root **hnn*, “to be gracious, to favour”, with numerous parallels in cuneiform script⁵¹ and a large number of alphabetic attestations⁵².

Hanzaruru

Hanzaruru occurs occasionally in NA texts, with variant writings: at Nineveh

⁴³⁾ Cf. WSB, p. 87, for the *qal* perfect of the verb. For hypocoristics, cf. on the other hand APN, p. 6a.

⁴⁴⁾ In NA, cf. e.g. 10-*gab-be-e*, ADD 476, r.7; *il-gab-e*, Iraq 32, p. 144, L.E. 1; *il-gab-e*, ADD 279, r. 6. For NB-LB, cf. e.g. the name of the family head of the Neirab documents, *Nusku*(^dPA+KU)-*gab-bi-i/gab-bé-e/gab-bé-e* (E. Dhorme, RA 25 [1928], pp. 53ff.).

⁴⁵⁾ Notice also the reciprocally variant hypocoristica *gab-e*, *gab-bi-i* and *gab-bi-e*, in the name of the father of a witness from Nineveh (ca. 680 B.C.): references in F.M. Fales, SAAB 1 (1987), pp. 96ff., figs. 1-5; Parpolo-Kwasman, SAA 6, 324a.

⁴⁶⁾ Parpolo-Kwasman, SAA 6, no. 266, r.12'.

⁴⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, no. 80 (= ADD 792), 2. The name was previously read *ha-li-e-AD*, cf. APN, p. 83b.

⁴⁸⁾ Cf. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques, I. Les Ostraca*, Paris 1977, p. 51, with refs.; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 293a.

⁴⁹⁾ Cf. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy*, cit., p. 115.

⁵⁰⁾ R.D. Barnett, ErIs 8 (1967), pp. 1-7.

⁵¹⁾ Cf. WSB, pp. 118, 148: as noticed by Zadok, some of the hypocoristic endings attached to this root (in *â*, *-û*, *-î*) may even be interchangeable. To the names quoted *ibid.*, add e.g. *ha-na-ni*, AnSt 6, p. 158, Coloph. 9; *ha-na-ni-e*, ND 2089, 4; *ha-na-na*, GPA 90, 2, and notice also *il-ha-na-na*, *ibid.*, 52, 8'.

⁵²⁾ Cf. Maraqtan, *Personennamen*, cit., pp. 81, 166f; for the Hama graffito, cf. most recently Otzen, *The Aramaic Inscriptions*, cit., pp. 282f. Other alphabetic refs. given by Röllig in this issue, *ad Nr. 1*.

([*h*]a-an-za-ru-ru)⁵³, Assur (*ha-za-ru-ru*)⁵⁴, and Nimrud (*ha-an-za-ru*)⁵⁵. If the name is to be taken as representing a nominal pattern extended by reduplication of the last radical (*qatalūl*)⁵⁶, the root might be **hnzr*, “swine”.

Hazalu

A clear West Semitic formation, compounded of the perfect *qal* of the verb **hzy*, “to see”⁵⁷, and the divine element *’il, and as such fully equivalent to Aram. *hz'l*, frequently attested on epigraphs⁵⁸ as the name of the king of Aram-Damascus⁵⁹. The writing (*ha-za-lu*₄) is curious, but it finds parallels in a few other West Semitic anthroponyms, and notably in that of the post-canonical eponym *Ša’il (*sa-i-lu/li*, *se-i-li*, but also *sa-i-lu*₄ in the texts from Assur)⁶⁰.

Hazaqi-Yau

Despite the small graphemic particularities (*ha-za-qi-iá-a-u*) shared with other Yahwistic names from Šeh Hamad, this anthroponym is of course the same as that of the famous king Hezekiah of Judah under Sennacherib, attested in NA royal inscriptions⁶¹ as well as in the Bible (*Hizqiy-yāh(û)*)⁶². The same formation (from **hzq*, “to be, grow firm, strong, to strengthen”) is also known from Hebrew epigraphy⁶³.

Kul-ba-yad-ili

“All (is/comes) in/through the hands of god”: with the possible exception of a fragmentary attestation in a NA census text⁶⁴, this Aramaic name had no previous

⁵³) Postgate-Ismail, TIM XI, no. 36, 4.

⁵⁴) VAT 15461, 20 (unpubl.).

⁵⁵) GPA, no. 82, 8, referring to a *rab dayyāli*,

⁵⁶) Cf. WSB, p. 137, for this pattern, with examples.

⁵⁷) Cf. WSB, p. 86, for the root.

⁵⁸) References in Maraqtan, *Personennamen*, p. 80.

⁵⁹) In the stela from Āfis, KAI 202, A, 8, on the ivory inlays from Arslan Tash, and on bronze bridles from Athens (for texts and literature, cf. most recently J.A. Fitzmyer - S.A. Kaufman, *An Aramaic Bibliography, Part I*, Baltimore-London 1992, pp. 12, 23).

⁶⁰) Cf. K. Deller - A.R. Millard, AfO 32 (1985), pp. 51f., for a study of the variant writings of this “chief cook”’s name at Assur; for Nineveh, cf. M. Falkner, AfO 17 (1954-56), p. 105.

⁶¹) Cf. APN, p. 88a, for the different writings.

⁶²) Cf. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy*, cit., p. 28.

⁶³) Ophel ostrakon: cf. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hebraïques I*, cit., 239, 1; Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions*, cit., 4, 101, with reading *h[z]qyh* (or *yh[z]qyh*).

⁶⁴) CCENA, 2, I, 12: *kul-ba-ia-di*[-].

cuneiform renderings in its full form, but merely abbreviated typologies, such as *kul-ba-ia-di*⁶⁵ and *ba-a+a-di-il*⁶⁶. On the other hand, an excellent Aramaic epigraphic parallel comes from a clay tablet of legal content from 635 B.C. in which one of the contending parties bore the name *klbyd'*⁶⁷.

Masaya

In view of the *nisbe*-ending, the name was certainly of gentilic meaning, like *ár-ba-a+a*, "the Arab". In my opinion, the similarity should be further extended to the geographical horizon embraced by the two names: for *ma-sa-a-a* might be compared to the gentilic indication *URU.ma-as-'a-a-a*, attested in Tiglathpileser III's annals, relevant to a tribe located in the general vicinity of the north-Arabian oasis of Tēma⁶⁸.

Menasê

An active participle of the redoubled stem of the **muqattil* type from **nšy*, "to forget", this name (*me-na-se-e*) would seem to follow closely in its vocalization the Hebrew form *M'našše^h*, the name of the well-known king of Judah, for whom the cuneiform transcriptions *me-na-se-e* and *mi-in-se-e* are attested⁶⁹. The name is also known from Hebrew epigraphy⁷⁰.

Sakahâ

The name might derive from the West Semitic root **šky*, "to hope for", for which the *qal* perfect is known in cuneiform transcription as (-)sa-ka-a(-) in NA and as -šá-ka in NB-LB⁷¹, followed by the predicative element (subject) *'*h*, "brother". A similar name occurs in the Nimrud Ostracon of the 7th century B.C. (*šk'l*)⁷².

Sakû'a

The name (*sa-ku-u-a*) might derive from the same root as Sakahâ, i.e. **šky*, "to

⁶⁵ APN, p. 117b; WSB, p. 284.

⁶⁶ APN, p. 49a; cf. WSB, p. 110, for NB-LB formations (*ba-a-di/du-DN*).

⁶⁷ Cf. most recently F.M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Rome 1986, no. 58; Maraqtan, *Personennamen*, cit., pp. 85, 174.

⁶⁸ Cf. Parpola, NAT, p. 242.

⁶⁹ Cf. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy*, cit., p. 125; APN, p. 136a.

⁷⁰ Cf. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions*, cit., 100.209; 100.748.

⁷¹ WSB, p. 87.

⁷² Maraqtan, *Personennamen*, cit., p. 102.

hope for”, with a double hypocoristic suffix *-u + -a*, which is also known for exclusively Akkadian names⁷³.

Salanî

This name (*sa-la-ni-i*), the patronym of two brothers selling a field, Mannu-kî-ahhē and Baḥē, is probably Aramaic due to the hypocoristic termination *-i*, but lacks parallels in cuneiform transcriptions and alphabetic renderings. The sole etymological suggestion comes from the NB-LB name ^dEN-šá-la-a’, which has been traced back to West Semitic *šlw/y, “to rest, to be tranquil”⁷⁴, and which presumably is also behind the 5th century Elephantine name *nbwšlw*⁷⁵. In the case of Salanî, we should have the normal NA rendering of West Semitic /*š/ by means of <s>⁷⁶—a rule which, it may be noticed, was strictly followed in the Šēḥ Hamad texts⁷⁷.

Same’-Yau

We have here a further anthroponym (writing: *sa-me-e’-iá-a-u*) built with the Hebrew divine name *Yhw, and formed by a verbal clause. The verbal form is the *qal* perfect of *šm̄, “to hear”; parallels may be sought in the Biblical name Še’ma’yāh(ū), attested in connection with all periods of Israelite history⁷⁸, as well as in Hebrew epigraphy of the age of the divided monarchy⁷⁹. The name occurs also very frequently at Elephantine⁸⁰, from the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C.

ú-[x]-bi-il

As a possibility for integration and interpretation of this name, I suggest that we might be dealing with ú-[ha]-bi-il, thus paralleling a name in an undated NB-LB document of unknown provenance⁸¹, of obvious Arabic affiliation, with precise counterparts in pre-Islamic Arabian epigraphy (*whb’l*)⁸².

⁷³⁾ Cf. WSB, p. 166.

⁷⁴⁾ WSB, p. 87.

⁷⁵⁾ B. Porten - A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* 2, Jerusalem 1989, B4.3, 9 (483 B.C.), B4.4, 8[., 10] (483 B.C.).

⁷⁶⁾ Cf. WSB, p. 245, with previous literature.

⁷⁷⁾ See all the names beginning with <s->, and add Menasē.

⁷⁸⁾ Cf. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy*, cit., p. 29, also with periodizations.

⁷⁹⁾ Cf. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions*, cit., 8.012: šm̄yw bn ‘zr; and a large number of cases for šm̄yhw, *passim*.

⁸⁰⁾ Cf. for an overview, W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica aramaica aus Ägypten*, Wien 1978, p. 74.

⁸¹⁾ TCL 13, 210, quoted by R. Zadok, *Arabians in Mesopotamia*, ZDMG 131 (1981), p. 79.

⁸²⁾ Cf. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance*, cit., p. 651.

Ya-ahhē(yā)

We have here two names (*ia-PAB.ME(š)*, and *iá-PAB.ME(š)-iá*) which may be analyzed as one and the same formation, and quite probably as an interrogative sentence name, “where are (my) brothers?”⁸³. The name has many parallels in NA transcriptions⁸⁴, both with the writing *a-a-*⁸⁵ and *ia-*⁸⁶, also with *a-ia-* in NB-LB⁸⁷: a recently published name, *ia-na-PAP.MEŠ*⁸⁸, brings us even closer to the exclusively Aramaic form of the interrogative pronoun *’(y)n*⁸⁹.

Zabudu

Already known in this form in NA, and bearing only slight variants in NB-LB transcriptions⁹⁰, the name has precise parallels in the Biblical name *Zābūd*⁹¹ and in a mid-5th century name from Elephantine (*zbwd*)⁹². It is meaningful as a Canaanite passive participle of the main stem (*qatūl*) and means “bestowed”⁹³.

* * *

A glance at the diachronic side of this onomastic picture may at this point be useful. Taking into account the not infrequent patronyms found in the four Šeh Ḥamad texts, I have divided up the hitherto mentioned names into the following three groups:

Family groups with West Semitic names:

Adad-idri, s. of Kul-ba-yad-ili

⁸³) Actually, if one considers that *-ia* (at TŠH *-iá*) is a common NB-LB hypocoristic ending which alternates with *-i* and *-e* (cf. WSB, p. 153), the variation between the two forms might be viewed as entirely pertaining to the reign of graphemics, with no morphological differences involved.

⁸⁴) Full study by Zadok, WdO 9 (1976), pp. 50-53, and esp. 52.

⁸⁵) Cf. APN, p. 1a; add now also *a-a-hi*, Postgate-Ismail, TIM XI, 5, 11.

⁸⁶) Cf. APN, p. 90b.

⁸⁷) Cf. Zadok, WdO 9, p. 52, who quotes *a-ia-hu*.

⁸⁸) V. Donbaz, SAAB 2 (1988), 20, 1.

⁸⁹) Cf. DISO, p. 18; and see Zadok, BiOr 48 (1991), p. 31a. Whether, on the other hand, the form *’y* should be exclusively connected to Canaanite, where it is decidedly attested, or not, is unclear in Zadok’s analyses, which merely state repeatedly that *’ayya* “is already found in Amorite and Ugaritic names” (cf. WSB, p. 104).

⁹⁰) Cf. Zadok, WSB, p. 128. Add e.g. F. Joannés, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente*, Paris 1982, no. 17, 8.

⁹¹) I Kings, 4, 5 (an officer of Solomon).

⁹²) B. Porten - A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, cit., no. B 3.2, 14 (of 451 B.C.).

⁹³) Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy*, cit., p. 111.

Am-dukuru, s. of U[ha[?]]bi-il

Am-yadi', s. of Same'-Yau

Bahê, s. of Salanî

Dadi-larim, s. of Ahzi-Yau

Masaya, s. of Hallişi

Sakû'a, s. of Hazalu

Family groups with mixed Akkadian / West Semitic names:

Adad-milki-ēreš, s. of Menasê

Adad-milki-ēreš, s. of Hanana

Mannu-kî-ahhē, s. of Salanî (and br. of Bahê, cf. above)

Nabû-malik, s. of Ahya'

Family groups with Akkadian names:

Liblûtu, s. of Nabû-šarru-uşur

Ubru-Harrân, s. of Ilütu-ūpaq

As may be seen, the West Semitic "families" form more than 50% of the 13 groups taken into account⁹⁴, while mixed names of consistently Akkadian formation cover approx. 30% and 20% of the total, resp.. On the other hand, the results reached in the "filecards" above indicate that the West Semitic group is formed by a combination of Aramaic, Canaanite (and specifically Hebrew), and Southwest Semitic (presumably Arabic) names. This admixture of linguistic-cultural affiliations is to be traced in the family groups as well. We have a clear-cut *Aramaic* onomastic tradition in Adad-idri//Kul-ba-yad-ili, and presumably also in Bahê//Salanî and Sakû'a//Hazalu; mixed *Aramaic-Hebrew* names in Dadi-larim//Ahzi-Yau, and perhaps also in Am-yadi'//Same'-Yau; a possible *Aramaic-Arabic* group in Masaya//Hallişi; and finally a presumably independent *Arabic* group in Am-dukuru//U[ha[?]]bi-il.

In conclusion, the names from the Šeh Hamad texts of early Neo-Babylonian date, while representing only a limited sampler, leave us with the impression of a local environment of the late NA-early NB period in which a rich cultural humus had been brought into being, formed of a large variety of original traditions and of a number of admixtures which had presumably taken place *in loco*. Specifically in this light, the Šeh Hamad texts thus take their place alongside the Neirab tablets and stelae, the Beirut Decree and the Sefire ("Starcky") tablet, as a further, and crucial, tassel of the overall mosaic to be reconstructed of the history and culture of Syro-Mesopotamia in the post-Assyrian period.

⁹⁴⁾ I am not really sure what to do with a further son-father group, i.e. Sîn-na'id, s. of Muşuraya; given the frequent attestation of people named "the Egyptian" in NA texts, my tendency would be to view it as another "Akkadian" name.

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