- **1.** *Rahû*. According to a deed from 521 BCE, which was issued in Ālu-ša-Našar (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 69, 5), a bow-fief extended from the royal road up to the *ra-hu-ú*. The latter may render Aramaic *r'w* "pasture". This form is recorded in Palestinian Targumic Aramaic (KLEIN 1980, 1, p. 50 and 2, p. 11 *ad* Gen. 13, 7). It has the same meaning as Old Syriac *r'ywt'* (see SOKOLOFF 2002, p. 527a, s.v., the entry is omitted in the 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. from 2017). In my opinion, this Aramaic denotation suits the topographical context more than the Akkadian interpretation which is presented with all due reservation by the editors of the deed (see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, p. 209 *ad loc.*).
- 2. Zahalāta (garimZa-lahalha-a-ta, WUNSCH 2019, pp. 422-429, 10) may be based on zhl "a type of locust" (Old Syriac, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic) which is derived from Z-Ḥ-L "to creep". It ends with the fem. pl. suffix -āt, thereby meaning "the locusts". The fem. pl. is used for collectives, cf. the analoguous Arab. hašarāt "insects". An alternative reading of the microtoponym is garimṢa-la<<had>-ha-a-ta</ha>, in which case it would refer to the irrigated area of the settlement of Ṣa-la-ha-tu of Bīt-Sa'alli (BAGG 2020, p. 534, s.v. Ṣalahātu). The latter was a Chaldean territory in central Babylonia like its neighbour Bīt-Dakkūri which is mentioned in the same source (WUNSCH 2019, pp. 422-429, 3, 26).
- **3.** Zimba-Marad (garimZi-im-ba MARADki, WUNSCH 2019, pp. 422-429, 12: Zi-im-ma-M.) is a genitive compound referring to an irrigated area near the city of Marad in Bīt-Dakkūri. The 1st component is a loanword from Old Iran. \*zamba- "silt, loam", a material which is found in irrigated and inundated areas (see ZADOK 2002, p. 887 and TAVERNIER 2007, p. 413:4.4.5.13).

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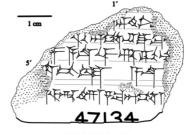
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**82)** Qīšti-Marduk, son of Šūzubu, descendant of Kānik-bābi: a possible identification of the scribe who made a duplicate of the Cyrus Cylinder — The author of the so-called "Cyrus Cylinder" (BM 90920+NBC 2504) remains unknown to this day because of its fragmentary state. In 2009-2010 two fragments (BM 47134 and 47179) were identified by W.G. Lambert and I. Finkel as pieces of a tablet that contains a copy of the Cylinder's text (FINKEL 2013: 18-21). Thanks to this discovery it was possible to restore hitherto unknown lines (1-2, 43-45); of bigger importance for this note is the fact that at the end a colophon is partially preserved:

[...b]a-ar im <sup>I</sup>níg. <sup>f</sup>ba-<sup>d</sup>¹amar.utu <sup>f</sup>a¹ [...]
"[...chek]ed. Tablet of Qīšti-Marduk, son of [...]¹)"
(BM 47134 rev. 6′)

According to the colophon, the copy was made by a certain níg.ba-<sup>d</sup>amar.utu / Qīšti-Marduk ("Gift of Marduk")<sup>2)</sup>. His father's name is completely lost, leaving no visible traces of wedges. A search on the name níg.ba-<sup>d</sup>amar.utu in the Late Babylonian texts published so



BM 47134 (rev.)4)

far—with the help of the database Prosobab<sup>3)</sup>—gave as a result 31 attestations (see Table 1) which correspond to the following 8 namesakes:

- 1. Son of Zēria, descendant of Šangû-Zāriqu, from Babylon: he acted as a witness in a contract about silver for partnership (date: 572 BC).
- 2. Son of Nabû-(mu)kīn-zēri, descendant of Si'ātu, from Borsippa: in a dowry document he is mentioned as the groom of Ilat, daughter of Ezida-šumu-ukīn/Bēl-uballiṭ/Ilšu-abūšu (549). 10 years later, in the year of the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus II, he acted as a witness in a receipt of silver (539).
- 3. Son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Ēṭiru, from Nār-eššu: he is mentioned as a witness in a promissory note of palm dates (547).
- 4. Son of Nabû-mukīn-apli, descendant of Mandidi, from Borsippa: he acted as a witness in an exchange of a prebend with a palm garden (547).
- 5. Son of Nabû-kēšir, descendant of Šangû-parakki, from Babylon: he received 9 shekels of silver from Itti-Marduk-balāţu/Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin/Egibi as a payment for the rent of a house (542).
- 6. Son of Šūzubu, descendant of Kānik-bābi, scribe, brother of Iddin-Nabû, from Babylon: he is mentioned in 18 documents from the archive of Nappāḥu dated to a period of 40 years (540-500); in 9 of them he is identified as a scribe (dub.sar), in the other half he is mentioned as a witness (see DANDAMAYEV 1983: 139 under the name Iqīša-Marduk and below, note 5; for the archive of Nappāḥu see BAKER 2004).
- 7. Son of (Nabû)-Šumu-ukīn, descendant of (Ea)-Ilūtu-bāni, from Borsippa: he acted as a witness in 4 documents (523-514) and is also mentioned as a recipient of silver (523).
- 8. Son of Rēmūtu, descendant of Dābibī, from Babylon: he acted as a witness in a debt note about palm dates and barley (509).

From the persons listed above the most potential candidate for the scribe of BM 47134 is Qīšti-Marduk/Šūzubu/Kānik-bābi (no. 6). First of all, he is mentioned far more times than any other of his namesakes from Babylon, where the Cyrus Cylinder was found. Secondly, he is the only Qīšti-Marduk known to us as a scribe. Finally, the time-span of his attestations (540-500) fairly corresponds to the presumed time of writing of the Cylinder (x < 539). Although this hypothesis is far from being irrefutable—having in mind the colossal population of Babylon at the time<sup>5)</sup>—, this is the most reasonable suggestion that can be made upon the available material. Hopefully new sources will be found in the future that could reaffirm or refute this hypothesis.

| Table 1. Attestations of the name Qīšti-Marduk in Late Babylonian texts <sup>6)</sup> |                     |               |            |               |                            |                  |  |  |  |
|---|---------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|----------------------------|------------------|--|--|--|
| ID  | Patronym            | Family name   | Legal role | Museum<br>no. | Date                       | Place of writing |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 1  | Zēria               | Šangû-Zāriqu  | witness    | BM 30634      | 22.VIII.33 Nbk II /<br>572 | Babylon          |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 2  | Nabû-kīn-zēri       | Si'ātu        | groom      | BM 28865      | 14.[-].7 Nbn / 549         | Borsippa         |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 2  | Nabû-mukīn-<br>zēri | Si'ātu        | witness    | BM 31078      | 16.IX.0 Cyr / 539          | Borsippa         |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 3  | Bēl-iddin           | Ēṭiru         | witness    | BM 31723      | 10.VI.9 Nbn / 547          | Nār-eššu         |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 4  | Nabû-mukīn-<br>apli | Mandidi       | witness    | BM 26571      | 20.VIII.9 Nbn / 547        | Borsippa         |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 5  | Nabû-kēšir          | Šangû-parakki | recipient  | MMA<br>79.7.9 | 14.I.14 Nbn / 542          | Babylon          |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6  | Šūzubu              | Kānik-bābi    | witness    | BM 92794      | 13.VIII.16 Nbn / 540       | Babylon          |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6  | Šūzubu              | Kānik-bābi    | witness    | VAT<br>1945+  | 19.II.02 Cyr / 537         | Babylon          |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6  | Šūzubu              | Kānik-bābi    | witness    | VAT 94        | 28.IV.02 Cyr / 537         | Babylon          |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6  | Šūzubu              | Kānik-bābi    | witness    | VAT 96        | 13.XI.05 Cyr / 533         | Babylon          |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6  | Šūzubu              | Kānik-bābi    | scribe     | VAT 103       | 19.I.07 Cyr / 532          | Babylon          |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6  | Šūzubu              | Kānik-bābi    | scribe     | LB 1326       | 20.XII.00 Cam /<br>529     | Babylon          |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6  | Šūzubu              | Kānik-bābi    | scribe     | BM 77354      | 23.IV.01 Cam /<br>528      | Babylon          |  |  |  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6  | Šūzubu              | Kānik-bābi    | witness    | VAT 116       | 11.III.03 Cam / 527        | Babylon          |  |  |  |

| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | scribe    | VAT 122          | 06.III.00 Bar / 522      | Babylon  |
|----------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | scribe    | VAT 123          | 20.V.01 Bar / 522        | Babylon  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | witness   | MMA<br>86.11.147 | 10.VI.06 Dar I /<br>516  | Babylon  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | scribe    | VAT 352          | 07.XII.12 Dar I /<br>510 | Babylon  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | witness   | BM 31573         | 29.I.19 Dar I / 503      | Babylon  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | witness   | VAT 180          | 02.V.19 Dar I / 503      | Babylon  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | witness   | BM<br>77399+     | 10.XI.21 Dar I / 500     | Babylon  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | scribe    | VAT 121          | 10.XI.[-] Cam / ?        | Unclear  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | scribe    | VAT 120          | 28.IV.[-] Cam / ?        | Unclear  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | scribe    | BM 77600         | 26.[I].[-] [-] / ?       | Babylon  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 6 | Šūzubu             | Kānik-bābi    | witness   | VAT 385          | -                        | Babylon  |
| Qīšti-Marduk 7 | Nabû-šumu-<br>ukīn | Ilūtu-bāni    | witness   | AO 10297         | 23.XII.6 Cam / 524       | Borsippa |
| Qīšti-Marduk 7 | Šumu-ukīn          | Ilūtu-bāni    | recipient | NBC 8366         | 28.III.7 Cam / 523       | Borsippa |
| Qīšti-Marduk 7 | Šumu-ukīn          | Ilūtu-bāni    | witness   | HS 450           | 7.IX.0 Nbk III /<br>522  | Borsippa |
| Qīšti-Marduk 7 | Šumu-ukīn          | Ilūtu-bāni    | witness   | HS 610           | 2.II.7 Dar I / 515       | Borsippa |
| Qīšti-Marduk 7 | Šumu-ukīn          | Ea-ilūtu-bāni | witness   | NBC 8376         | 18.X.7 Dar I / 515       | Borsippa |
| Qīšti-Marduk 8 | Rēmūtu             | Dābibī        | witness   | BM 33100         | 25.V.13 Dar I / 509      | Babylon  |

## **Notes**

- 1. Reconstructed by H. Schaudig (2019: 21) as [ki ka mu-sa-re-e šá  $^1ku$ -ra-áš lugal ká-diĝir-ra $^k$ i šá- $^t$ ir- $^t$ ma  $^t$ log-ba- $^t$ amar-utu  $^t$ a' [...] "[Written and ch]ecked [according to an inscription of Cyrus king of Babylon]. The tablet (belongs) to Qīšti-Marduk son of  $[PN_2 \ldots]$ ".
  - 2. I. Finkel (2013: 22) suggested Iqīš-Marduk "Marduk has gifted" as an alternative reading of the name.
- 3. The database, available at https://prosobab.leidenuniv.nl, was based on 5,217 texts at the moment of writing of this note.
- 4. Digital autography made by the author of the note on the basis of photographs from the website of the British Museum and (FINKEL 2013: 19).
- 5. According to the calculations of M.A. Dandamayev, about 200.000 people lived in Babylon at the time (1985: 37), of which 1289 were identified as scribes (1983: 124). Among them a scribe with a similar name to níg.ba-damar.utu is known to us: baséd-damar.utu / Iqīša-Marduk, son of Aplāya, descendant of Bēl-eṭēri (mentioned in 8 documents mainly from the Egibi-archive, dated to 532-522). It was once thought that níg.ba-damar.utu and baséd-damar.utu are variations of writing of the same name, both to be read as Iqīša-Marduk (cf. Dandamayev 1983: 139, where the name níg.ba-damar.utu is transcribed as Iqīša-Marduk). However, the consistency in the different writings of the two forms—the presence of níg and the absence of séd in the first form and vice versa—in correspondence with the name-bearer (see, for example, the Index of Personal names in Baker 2004: 335, 362) allows us to separate them as two different names: níg.ba-damar.utu for Qīšti-Marduk (or Iqīš-Marduk) and baséd-damar.utu for Iqīša-Marduk. Hence, Iqīša-Marduk/Aplāya/Bēl-eṭēri is to be distinguished from the copyist of the Cyrus Cylinder.
- 6. This table was compiled on the basis of the Excel table exported from Prosobab. For reasons of size-rendering the columns Publication and Archive were omitted; instead the column Legal role was added because of its importance for the identification of the scribe.

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