The Identity of Nabu-sharrussu-ukin, the Chamberlain

An Epigraphic Note on Jeremiah 39,3*

Bob Becking

Appendix on The Nebu[(1)]sarsekim Tablet

Henry Stadhouders

1. The Text of Jeremiah 39,3

The enigmatic text at Jer. 39,3 has long puzzled translators and scholars of the Hebrew Bible. The text obviously lists a group of Babylonian officials whose presence in the middle-gate of Jerusalem frightens king Zedekiah who fled the city by night. The list reads in Hebrew:

נרגל שר־אצר סמגר־נבו שר־סכים רב־סרים נרגל שר־אצר רב־מג
וכל שרית שרי מלך בבל

A literal construction that takes the Masoretic accents seriously, would lead to the following translation:

> Nergal-Shareser; Samgar-Nebu; Sar-Sechim the rab-saris; Nergal-Shareser the rab-mag and all the other oficials of the King of Babylon.

Many ancient versions as well as some modern renditions reflect the Masoretic reading[1] or show the non-ability to understand or translate the line, such as the Old Greek version:[2]

> Ναργαλασαρ καὶ Σαμαγωθ καὶ Ναβουσαξαρ καὶ Ναβουσαρις καὶ Ναγαργασνασερ

To some modern scholars the present text was not understandable either.[3] The main problem with this interpretation is the fact that the Masoretic punc-

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* I would like to thank my colleague Henry Stadhouders for his valuable remarks and for his willingness to inspect the Nebu[(1)]sarsekim Tablet in the British Museum.

[1] See, e.g., Vulgate: Neregel Sereser Semegar Nabu Sarsachim Rabsares Neregel Sereser Rebmag; Targum; Luther; KJV; NRSV; Dutch Staten Vertaling; La Bible Nouvelle Traduction; modern scholars, cf., Van Selms, Jeremia 167-168; Keown / Scalise / Smothers, Jeremiah 26-52.226; Roncace, Jeremiah 116; Fischer, Jeremia 26-52.347.352.353.

[2] According to the *apparatus criticus* of the Göttingen edition there exists a great variety in the spelling of these names throughout the manuscript tradition.

[3] E.g., Thompson, Book 644; Holladay, Jeremiah 268-269 [with lit.]; McKane, Jeremiah 972-976.

tuation would lead to a list of four officials of whom two are without a title (Nergal-Sareser; Samgar-Nebu) and two are presented as being Babylonian functionaries (Sar-Sechim the rab-saris; Nergal-Sareser the rab-mag). This problem connected with the fact that the character of the Babylonian names as well as of the titles was not prima-facie clear has lead to a series a (re)constructions of the text, sometimes bordering at the fanciful, as reflected in the *apparatus criticus* of BHS.[4] Next to that, the name Nergal-Shareser seems to be duplicated.

Others have suggested different readings. Wolfram von Soden argued that the element *samgar* in the assumed personal name Samgar-Nebu in fact refers to the function of a high Babylonian officer.[5] David Vanderhooft hinted at the presence of a comparable list at Jer. 39,13. In his view, both texts represent separate conflations of a single list that he reconstructs as follows:[6]

> Nabuzaradan the chief cook, Nergalśar'eṣer the *snmgr*, Nebuśarsekim the *rab-sārîs*, and Nabušazban the *rab-māg*.

Without referring to the publications of Von Soden and Vanderhooft, Jack Lundbom proposed to read:

> Nergalshareser the Samgar, Nebusarsechim the Rab-saris, Nergalshareser the rab-mag

He construes three different persons – two by the same name – with three different Babylonian titles.[7]

These proposals hint into the direction to construe נבו שר־סכים as the name of a Babylonian official Nabû-šarrussu-ukīn.[8] Until recently, a Nabû-šarrussu-ukīn was only known as a high official (rēš šarri) of the Babylonian king Evil-Merodach.[9] The document naming this high official is dated to the year 561.[10] Vanderhooft suggested that this Nabû-šarrussu-(u)kīn might be the same individual as Jeremiah's נבו שר־סכים, but he considered it an impossible thing

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4   See also Keown / Scalise / Smothers, Jeremiah 26-52.227.

5   Von Soden, Funktionär 84-90.

6   Vanderhooft, Empire 149-151.

7   Lundbom, Jeremiah 37-52.80.84-85.

8   The final /n/ in the Babylonian name was either corrupted into a Hebrew /m/, or was reconstrued as the second part of a construct chain שר־סכים interpreting a certain person as the 'leader' of a group of people, the otherwise unknown *śᵉkîm*; see Vanderhooft, Empire 151; *pace* Van Selms, Jeremia 168, who proposed the name in the Hebrew Bible to be a corruption of *Nabū-šar-iškun*.

9   See Sack, Amel-Marduk 68-68, No. 23:4; see Vanderhooft, Empire 151.

10   What follows on this section has been written by Henry Stadhouders.

to prove.[11] The time span of 34 years between the name's two occurrences would seem to make the persons involved less likely to be the same individual, but allows for their identity still. Assyrian magnates have been shown to hold office for even longer periods of time, with tenures of up to 49 years.[12] Distinct titles could be readily accounted for as a result of promotion, demotion, rotation or, in this case, retirement; Matilla has outlined how careers would have developed at the Assyrian court.[13] If it would turn out that Jeremiah's נבו שר־ סכים the רב־סריס, i.e. the rab ša-rēši, and Nabû-šarrussu-(u)kīn the ša rēš šarri from the reign of Evil-Merodach are indeed one and the same person, and that, at this rate, the lower ranking of his latter title in the courtiers' hierarchy could be due to retirement status, we would nicely have a Neo-Babylonian parallel to the career of Ša-Nabû-šū: After his resignation from the high office of rab ša-rēši, in which he had served Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal for many years, this magnate is eponym of year 658 as a mere ša-rēši and later on in the latter king's reign he pops up again, this time without any title at all but obviously still a man of importance, with his name being mentioned between the rab ša-rēši and the masennu.[14] The Neo-Babylonian vernacular tends to use ša-rēši šarri and ša-rēši as near synonyms, so it seems.[15]

2. A Recently Found Clay Tablet

Recently, a Babylonian tablet was uncovered from the archives of the British Museum by the Austrian Assyriologist Michael Jursa.[16] The tablet records a transaction dated by its colophon in the tenth year of Nebuchadnezer, i.e. in the year running from spring 595 – spring 594.[17] The text is the registration of the deliverance of 1.5 minas of gold by Nabu-sharrussu-ukin, the chief eunuch, to the temple Esaggil.

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[11] Vanderhooft, Empire 151 with note 115.
[12] See Mattila, King's 135 sub f).
[13] See Mattila, King's 133-136.
[14] See Mattila, King's 62-63.136 sub g).
[15] Bongenaar, Ebabbar Temple 99-100.
[16] BM 114789 (1920-12-13, 81).
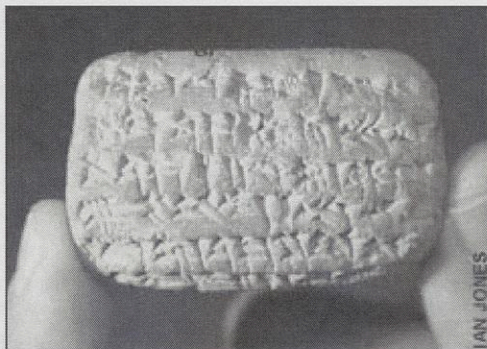[17] See Parker / Dubberstein, Chronology 27-28.

Fig. 1 BM 114789 (1920-12-13, 81)

Provisional Translation:[18]

> 1·5 lb of gold belonging to Nabû-šarrussu-(u)kīn, Chief of courtiers, which he forwarded to the Esaggil through the agency of Arad-Banītu, Courtier, Arad-Banītu has delivered at the Esaggil.
>
> In the presence of Bēl-usāt son of Aplâ, member of the royal guards, and Nādin son of Marduk-zēr-ibni.
>
> Shebat 18th, 10th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

3. The Identification of Nebu-Sarsekim with *Nabû-šarrussu-ukīn*

Identifying biblical persons with persons known from West-Semitic inscriptions or Mesopotamian texts seems to be an easy task. Here, however, a warning is at stake. In the past identifications have been suggested too often and too easily.[19] It would be better, therefore, to follow the matrix of questions developed by Larry Mykytiuk for identification.[20] Therefore we would like to apply Mykytiuk's three questions model to the proposed identification of the Biblical character נבו שר־סכים with *Nabû-šarrussu-ukīn* mentioned in the newly uncovered inscription.

Question 1: How reliable are the inscriptional data?

The cuneiform inscription was uncovered from the archives of the British Museum in London. Although no details about its provenance are known, it can be assumed that the inscription is authentic. The inscription most probably was found in the archives the Esaggil temple at Babylon.

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18 See the Appendix below.

19 Mykytiuk, Persons 19-27, refers to two classical misidentifications: the seal of "Jotham" and the seal impressions of Elijakim, steward of "Jehojachin".

20 Mykytiuk, Persons 34-89; see also the methodological remarks in Uehlinger, Spurensicherung 89-137; Becking, David 148-174.

Question 2: Does the general setting of the inscription permit a match between the inscriptional and the biblical person?

The inscription mentioning *Nabû-šarrussu-ukīn* is dated by its colophon to the tenth year of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar. This puts the inscriptional person in the same timeframe as the biblical person, the second attack on Jerusalem – as narrated in Jer. 39 – taking place in the ninth year of Zedekiah, king of Judah. Zedekiah was appointed by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar in the aftermath of the first sack of Jerusalem that took place in the seventh regnal year of this king.[21] The language of the inscription – formal and administrative Neo-Babylonian – suggests a positive identification. נבו שר־ סרים is presented in the Hebrew Bible as a Babylonian official, therefore the language of the inscription tallies with this datum. The same can be said about the socio-political classification of the inscription that records a major gift of a person assumedly belonging to the court-elite to the main temple in Babylon.

Question 3: How strongly do specific identifying data in the inscription count for or against an identification?

The fact that *Nabû-šarrussu-ukīn* is presented in the Babylonian inscription as a lú.gal.sag = *rab ša-rēši* a title that equals Hebrew רב־סרים, 'the chamberlain', is a very strong indication for a positive identification. Next to that, the singularity of two 'chamberlains' with the same name strongly counts for a positive identification.

After applying Mykytiuk's three questions model to the proposed identification, it can be concluded that we are dealing here with a Grade 3 identification, since it is virtually certain that *Nabû-šarrussu-ukīn* and נבו שר־ סרים are one and the same person.[22]

4. A Name is not a Story

Soon after Jursa's find newspapers and websites claimed that the inscription under consideration would confirm the historicity of at least the narrative on the second attack on Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 587 BCE. Some even claimed that the trustworthiness of the Book of Jeremiah in its entirety was now proved. Even the 'Times On-line' remarked that the discovery should be seen as

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21   As narrated in BM 21946 = Babylonian Chronicle V; Wiseman, Chronicles 66-75, with Plates V, XIV-XVI; *COS* I, 467-468; Glassner, Chronicles 230-231; see Grayson, Chronicles 87.99-102; Brinkman, Chronicle 73-104; Barstad, Myth 61-63; Albertz, Exilszeit 71. Note that in 2Kgs 24:12 the capture is dated in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar. The difference 'seventh' – 'eighth' can be explained either by assuming ante-dating in the Book of Kings, or by supposing an autumn year system in this portion of Kings.

22   Mykytiuk, Persons 67-73.

'dramatic proof of the accuracy of the Old Testament'.[23] In our view, this would be a premature conclusion.

In chapter 39, the Book of Jeremiah is giving evidence on an event with dramatic implications for the city of Jerusalem and its population. This chapter is, however, a fragmented piece of evidence and, besides, written form a Judahite perspective. This does not imply that we do not consider the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians as non-historical, but that the details should be analysed with some caution. The recently recovered Neo-Babylonian inscription informs us about the existence of a Babylonian chamberlain named *Nabû-šarrussu-ukīn* // נבו שׂר־סכים. This piece of evidence, however, is no full proof of his actual presence in Jerusalem during the final attack of the Judahite capital. The authors or redactors of the Book of Jeremiah could have picked up this name when in exile.[24] But even in case the historicity of the narrative in Jer. 39 could be proven, that does not imply the historical trustworthiness of the Book of Jeremiah in its entirety or in all its details.

5.The Text of Jeremiah 39,3

Returning to the text of Jer. 39,3, it should be noted that the recently uncovered Neo-Babylonian inscription reinforces the proposal by Wolfram von Soden[25] to construe this verse against the Masoretic tradition and translate it as:

> Nergal-Sareser, the sinmagar; Nebu-Sar-Sechim the rab-saris; Nergal-Sareser the rab-mag and all the other oficials of the King of Babylon.

This implies that the whole series of textual emendations – as can be found in the *apparatus criticus* of BHS – can be skipped as unnecessary. Since the Hebrew noun סמגר stands in parallelism to 'rab-saris' and 'rab-mag', the word should be construed as referring to the title of a Babylonian official[26] and not be seen as a topographic indication.[27]

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[23] http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/faith/article2056362.ece.

[24] For a variety of proposals of the redaction-history of Jer. 37-44 see, e.g., Pohlmann, Studien 108-122; Thiel, Redaktion 52-61; Holladay, Jeremiah esp. 286-287; Seitz, Theology 273-279; Lundbom, Jeremiah 37-52; Reimer, Jeremiah 207-224; Lipschits, Fall 304-347; Fischer, Jeremia 279-461.

[25] Von Soden, Funktionär 84-90.

[26] Von Soden, Funktionär; Weippert, Besprechung 158-159; McKane, Jeremiah 974-975; Lundbom, Jeremiah 37-52.85.

[27] *Pace*, e.g., Unger, Babylon 282-285; Van Selms, Jeremia 168; Thompson, Book 644; Holladay, Jeremiah 291; Keown / Scalise / Smothers, Jeremiah 230; Fischer, Jeremia 352.

APPENDIX: The Nebu$^{(!)}$sarsekim Tablet
Some Provisional Remarks

Henry Stadhouders

1. Transcription

1. 1½ MA.NA GUŠKIN *šá* $^{p.d+}$AG-LUGAL-*su*-GIN
   (1½ *mana hurāṣu ša Nabû-šarrussu-(u)*kīn)
2. LÚ.GAL.SAG *šá ina* °ŠU^{II} ^{p}ARAD-^{d}DÙ-*tú*
   (*rab ša-rēši ša ina qāt Arad-Banītu*)
3. LÚ.SAG *šá a-na* É-*sag-gíl*
   (*ša-rēši ša ana Esaggil*)
4. *ú-še-bi-la* ^{p}ARAD-^{d}DÙ-*tú*
   (*ušēbila Arad-Banītu*)
5. *a-na* É-*sag-gíl it-ta-din*
   (*ana Esaggil ittadin*)
6. *ina* GUB-*zu šá* $^{p.d+}$EN-*ú-sat*
   (*ina ušuzzu ša Bēl-usāt*)
7. A-*šú šá* ^{p}A-*a* LÚ-*qur*-ZAG$^?$
   (*māršu ša Aplâ ša-qurbūti$^?$*)
8. ^{p}*na-din* A-*šú šá* $^{p.d}$*marduk*-NUMUN-DÙ
   (*Nādin m180āršu ša Marduk-zēr-ibni*)

Blank space

9. ITI.ZÍZ U$_4$.18.KAM MU.10.KAM
10. ^{d}PA-NÍG.°GUB-*ú-ṣu*[*r*]
11. LUGAL TIN.TIR$^{ki°}$

2. Translation

1·5 lb of gold belonging to Nabû-šarrussu-(u)kīn, Chief of courtiers,
which he forwarded to the Esaggil through the agency of Arad-Banītu,
Courtier, Arad-Banītu has delivered at the Esaggil.
In the presence of Bēl-usāt son of Aplâ, member of the royal guards,
and Nādin son of Marduk-zēr-ibni.
Shebat 18th, 10th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

3. Some observations

The transcription of BM 114789 (1920-12-13, 81) here presented is based
on photographs kindly provided by the British Museum A.N.E. Dept. Staff.

Also, Michael Jursa's translation the way he had it divulged over the Internet[28] has proved instrumental in coaxing from the cuneiform its full message, particularly from the lines on the right-hand and bottom edges. A single question-mark had to remain, however. Definite answers must be left to Jursa himself, whose edition will become the scholarly *textus receptus* as a matter of course.

Our man was launched into cyberspace under the name of Nebo-Sarsekim[29] and has so been designated on the world-wide web ever since. Whereas the single instance[30] of the god Nabû being mentioned by the Masoretic Bible in his own right has the god's name vocalized $N^e b\hat{o}$, theophoric reference to the god unexceptionally takes the form of $N^e b\hat{u}$-, though[31], and so does the onomastic item under discussion.

1.1: $^{\text{p.d+}}$AG-LUGAL-*su*-GIN... Although a logogram in a name's final position seems to usually reflect the name ending in the preterite tense, while imperative mood endings would seem to prefer syllabic writing, it is not uncommon for the latter to be found written logographically too. A random case in point is the type of name ending in -*uṣur*, which can be put in writing either syllabographically or using either of the logograms for *naṣāru*.[32] Consequently, *Nabû-šarrussu-kīn*, 'Nabû, maintain his rule!' might be the proper reading of this name's two known occurrences ending in -GIN.[33] If it is, a third man joins in[34]: $^{\text{d}}$*Nabû*-LUGAL-*ut-su-ki-i-ni* = *Nabû-šarrussu-kīn(i)*, whose name unequi-vocally has its verb in the imperative mood, the final -*i* - merely being an *überhängender Vokal*.[35]

1.2: LÚ.GAL.SAG... Not only the question of whether our *Nabû-šarrussu-(u)kīn*, the *rab ša-rēši* is likely to be identical with the biblical figure of נבו שר־ סכים, the רב־סרים deserves scholarly debate; also worth considering is the possibility that he and his namesake who held the office of *ša rēš šarri* under Amel-Marduk are one and the same individual.[36]

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28 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/07/11/ntablet111.
    xml#comments

29 Cf. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/07/11/ntablet111.
    xml#comments.

30 Isa. 46:1; see also Millard, Nabû.

31 *HAL*³, 623b; *DCH* V, 535-537.

32 *AHw*. 756a-13aβ; 14a.

33 The other one is on record in Sack, Amel-Marduk, no. 23:4, written $^{\text{p.d+}}$AG-LUGAL-*ut-su*-GIN, bearing the title of *ša rēš šarri*, 'royal courtier;' the shorter form in BM 114789 is due to the scribe running out of space as he continued on the right-hand edge.

34 *CAD*, K, 167a, sub k).

35 *GAG*³, § 18e.

36 See above.

l.3: LÚ.SAG... In translating the hotly debated title of *ša-rēši* and its compounds, Bongenaar has been followed here in his neutral rendering 'courtier.'[37] In essence *ša-rēši*'s (*šūt-rēši*) are palace employees, who may or may not have been eunuchs proper.[38]

l.3: *šá*... Probably this *šá* awkwardly repeats the *šá* of the preceding line, so it has been left untranslated, as it has by Jursa. Otherwise, one would have to interpret ll. 1-4: ' ... gold, which is in the custody of A., (and) which he (sc. N.) forwarded ...'

ll.3-5: *a-na É-sag-gíl ú-še-bi-la* ^pA. ... *it-ta-din*... In the absence of further evidence detailing *Nabû-šarrussu-(u)kīn*'s official duties, business interests or devotional inclinations we can only speculate for what purpose he did allocate an amount of gold this size to Babylon's main temple. On no account did he owe it as a debt, for in that case a receipt with a quite different phraseology would have been made out, which would not have failed to use the *maḫir*[39] and/or *eṭir*[40] formula.[41] The gold would not have been called his[42] in the first place. A deposit can be ruled out for similar reasons.[43] Our record can best be placed in Jursa's class of administrative texts '... found predominantly in the temple archives where they constitute the overwhelming majority of our sources,' and which 'usually concern the transfer of a commodity (...) from one party to another. The scribes typically took note of the following information:

a) the type and amount of commodity or object involved;
b) the type of transaction (object received, given , expected to be given etc.);
c) the party or parties involved, and finally
d) the date.'[44]

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[37] Bongenaar, Temple 99-100.

[38] The issue 'eunuch or not' is briefly surveyed by Bongenaar, Temple 99-100, and Mattila, King's Magnates 131-132. The evidence from Assyria strongly points to a *ša-rēši* typically having been incapacitated from begetting children. Things need in no way have been the same for Babylonia, though.
[Postscriptional note: a heavily documented assessment of the topic has recently been delivered by Siddall, Re-examination 225ff.]

[39] 'He (PN, creditor) has received (the money indebted, or part of it),' normally preceded by 'from (ina qāt) PN (debtor).'

[40] 'He (PN, creditor) has been fully paid (the money indebted),' normally preceded by 'from (ina qāt) PN (debtor).'

[41] For a succinct description of this type of text see Jursa, Documents 44, sub 4.3.5: 'Receipts.' Cf. San Nicolò, Ungnad 464-493: 'H.-Quittungen.'

[42] l.1: *šá*, 'belonging to.'

[43] Jursa, Documents 44, sub 4.3.4: 'Records of deposit.'

[44] Jursa, Documents 44-48: 4.4.

Formally our record of deliverance (*ušēbila ... ana Esaggil ittadin*[45]) resembles 'Sippar texts in which craftsmen "deliver" (*ittadin* or similar forms) their products'[46] to the temple.

However, an artisan delivering a finished piece of handicraft to his institutional employer differs widely from a state official allocating raw material of immense value to it. Given their *ad-hoc* character and limited scope generally an overall contextualisation of these innumerable notes and records within the framework of the temple archives will not come into reach soon.[47]

1.7: ᴾA-*a*... Along with ᴾ*Ap-la-a*, ᴾA-*ya-a* and ᴾA-*a-a*, to mention but the commonest forms, this spelling reflects the commonly attested hypocoristicon of names having apla- as their first or second component. Yet, reading ᴾA-*ya-a* and ᴾA-*a-a* = *Aplāya*, whereas ᴾA-*a* and ᴾ*Ap-la-a* = *Aplâ* (or *Aplā* for that matter) would seem a cautious thing to do. This man, too, has got his name spelt wrongly from the very onset of his second life on the Internet, being referred to as 'Alpaya'.

1.7: LÚ-*qur*-ZAG?... This line is on the lower edge and seems to continue on the right-hand edge. On the photo the last discernable sign could be GUR = *qur*-, which is what Jursa's translation[48] suggests; on his authority the present author cannot but assume it is. At that rate the title can be expected to continue either -ZAG or -*bu-tú* on the right-hand edge. Since a *ša-qur*(*ru*)*būti* belongs to the king's personnel, put at the disposal of his high officials, *Aplâ* is likely to be one of the guards whom *Nabû-šarrussu-*(*u*)*kīn* the *rab ša-rēši* would have charged with the task of escorting his envoy *Arad-Banītu* on this risky mission. For one thing, this piece of information is a welcome addition to our scanty knowledge of the interaction between state and temple in first millennium Mesopotamia.[49]

4. Final Remark

Suffice it for the present to have these most provisional notes. We can only hope for the chief expert in the matter of Neo-Babylonian archives to soon enlighten us on each and every aspect of this humble tablet of rare impact.

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[45]　Cf. Jursa, Documents 48, sub *abāku*: 'ventive forms (and less frequently sentences with *ultu* and *ina qāt* phrases) concern deliveries to the temple.'

[46]　Jursa, Documents 47.

[47]　Jursa, Documents 59: 6.3: 'The structure of temple archives.'

[48]　'Royal bodyguard,' apparently translating *ša-qur*(*ru*)*būti/u*.
[Postscriptional note: After this paper had been accepted for publication I was kindly informed by Prof. Jusa that Bēl-usāt's title ought to be read LÚ.GÍR.LÁ = *ṭābi ḫu*,'butcher', which is how a royal body-guard would have been designated in the Neo-Babylonian South; *ša-qur*(*ru*)*būti/u* is strictly Neo-Assyrian counterpart.]

[49]　Bongenaar, Temple 101 with note 99.

Summary

A recently uncovered Neo-Babylonian document contained the name of an officer: *Nabû-šarrussu-ukīn* the *rab ša-rēši*. This name elucidates the enigmatic text at Jer. 39,3, where Nergal-Shareser, the Samgar; Nebu-Sar-Sechim, the rab-saris needs to be read. There is a high degree of possibility that the newly uncovered Babylonian officer can be identified with the person mentioned in Jer. 39,3. This identification, however, does not imply a full confirmation of the story in Jer. 39

Zusammenfassung

Ein vor kurzem gefundenes neu-babylonisches Dokument enthält den Namen eines Offiziers: *Nabûšarrussu-ukīn* der *rab ša-rēši*. Dieser Name verdeutlicht den enigmatischen Text von Jer. 39,3, wo

Nergal-Shareser, der Samgar, Nebu-Sar-Sechim, der rab-saris gelesen werden soll. Die Identifikation des neulich gefundenen neu-babylonischen Offiziers mit der Person aus Jer. 39 ist sehr wahrscheinlich. Diese Identifikation ist jedoch keine Bestätigung der Erzählung Jer. 39.

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