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NOTES BRÈVES

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Please do not needlessly give texts in Arabic and Hebrew. Setting Greek (paradoxically) requires enormous investment of time.

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Jean-Marie DURAND (& Jack SASSON)

24) Le roi de Mari « blessé » (šu-ra) dans une formule de datation d'un texte d'Ébla¹⁾ — Récemment, j'ai proposé pour le sumérien šu-ra la signification de « blessé » sur les champs de bataille,²⁾ selon un passage d'un texte administratif où des « (rouleaux de) bandage » sont livrés à des gens dont le nombre n'est pas spécifié et qui sont qualifiés de šu-ra-šu-ra, c'est-à-dire « (soldats) blessés » à l'occasion de l'expédition militaire (*in níg-kas₄*) contre la ville de Mari:

TM.75.G.2250 v. IX:18-22: ³⁾ 20 lá-3 šu-kešda šu-ra-šu-ra *in níg-kas₄ ma-rt^{ki}*.

On trouve à notre avis la même signification de šu-ra dans une formule de datation d'un autre texte administratif d'Ébla jusqu'à présent inédit:

TM.74.G.101 v. I:3 - II:4: dub-gar / DIŠ mu / šu-ra / lugal / *ma-rt^{ki}*.⁴⁾

Archi et Biga 2003, p. 25-26, en citant le passage, l'interprètent avec doute de la façon suivante: « document of the year of the *attack* of (i.e. against?) the king of Mari ». Toutefois, selon ce que nous avons dit dans notre précédente note sur *NABU*, une traduction « document de l'année de la blessure du roi de Mari » ou bien « document de l'année où le roi de Mari a été blessé » est à notre avis meilleure. Différemment de Mari, les formules de datation sont très rares dans les textes d'Ébla. Ce n'est pas donc un hasard si un événement de cette importance comme celui de la blessure du roi de Mari sur le champ de bataille dans la guerre contre la ville d'Ébla a été utilisé pour dater un texte éblaïte.

- 1) Je tiens à remercier Gilles Tesson qui a revu la traduction en français.
- 2) Pasquali (sous presse). Pour les significations de ce mot sumérien à Ébla, voir aussi Fronzaroli 1997, p. 285 et n. 17; 2003, p. 68 et 300; Fronzaroli - Catagnoti 2010, p. 270, qui citent la glose de la Liste Lexicale Bilingue éblaïte šu šu-ra = *ma-ḥa-zi i-da*, /maḥās yid-ay(n)/, « frapper avec les mains ». Par contre, l'interprétation de VE 506 šu-ra = *wa-'à-um* n'est pas claire.
- 3) Cité par Archi - Biga 2003, p. 18.
- 4) Je tiens à remercier le prof. J.-M. Durand qui a attiré mon attention sur ce passage.

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Jacopo PASQUALI, <pasquali.jacopo@tin.it>
Via degli Alfani, 77, 50121 Firenze. Italie.

25) Die Lesung des Wortes UDU „Schaf“ im Sumerischen und die akkadischen Vogelnamen arabû und usâbu — Heute wird statt *udu* häufig *uša* gelesen, wobei ř behelfsmäßig für ein sumerisches Phonem steht über dessen genaue Aussprache keine Einigkeit besteht.¹⁾ Proto-Ea 63 (13 Textzeugen) hat aber nur die Lesung *udu* (in den Glossen *râ* = /řa/ statt *du* zu lesen, scheidet sicher aus). Die Emesalform *e-zé* beruht auf der regelmäßigen Entsprechung /du/ ~ *zé* mit Vokalharmonie im Emesal.²⁾ Die Lesung **uša* ist abgeleitet aus der Glosse UDU.BU zu UD.NUN^{mušen}.

Der Vogelname wird mit dem Namen der Stadt Adab (= UD.NUN^{ki}, UD.NUN^{mušen ki} in Nik. I 282 ii 3) gleichgesetzt, für den es auch die Lesung *usab* gibt.³⁾ ED Bird Fāra UD.NUN^{mušen} entspricht in Ebla *ú-za-ab^{mušen}*. Spätere Abschriften haben hierfür UD-*râ-bu^{mušen}*.⁴⁾ Siehe auch CT 11, 35 S. 1300, 27-28 (Diri I 140-41): *a-da-ab* : UD.NUN^{ki} / *a-ra-ab* : UD.NUN^{mušen} und DIRI I 194: UD.RÁ.BU^{mušen} = *arabû*. Die Lesung *a₁₂-râ-bu* ist gegenüber *u₄-râ-bu* zu bevorzugen, wie Schreibungen ^a*a₁₂-râ-bu/a₁₂-râ-bu⁵⁾* und Aa III/3 188-189: *a-ra UD.DU* (...) *namru* / *ša UD.DU.BU^{mušen}* (MSL 14, 337) zeigen. Siehe außerdem den PN U₄.DU^{a-ra}-*bí* (OSP 1, 23 v 7; ED IIIb Nippur, akkadisch?) und unten zu mit *ḥa*- und sogar *ga*- beginnenden Glossen.

Mit Hilfe der fraglichen Lesung *u₄* wurde darauf geschlossen, dass der Vogelname im Sumerischen /*uṣābu*/ lautete und folglich UDU in der Glosse für /*uša*/ steht.

Doch gegen diesen Schluss lassen sich erhebliche Einwände erheben. VKV-Zeichen sind in einer Glosse im Sumerischen unüblich. Die älteste Form der Glosse ist GA.UDU.BU (OIP 99, 207 ii' 2').⁶⁾ Hh VIII 146 hat [UD.]NUN^{ha-ra-ab mušen} = [...] und die gleiche Tafel hat auch einen Abschnitt zu *a₁₂-râ-bu^{mušen}*.⁸⁾ Es fällt ferner auf, dass es von dem gleichen sumerischen Wort – sofern es sich wirklich nur um ein Wort handelt – zwei verschiedene Lehnworte im Akkadischen gibt: *arabû* und *usâbu*.

Die Übergänge ř > d/t (vor allem Wortende), ř > r (vor allem intervokalisch) sind gesichert, ř > s/z bleibt unsicher. Bei den Beispielen *kirid* > *kirissu* „Haarspange“ und *lama(-r)* > *lamassu* ein Schutzgenius, ist ř im Sumerischen nur eine Vermutung.⁹⁾ Das Zeichen PAD mit der Lesung *šuku* steht für *šukûsu* „Versorgungslos“ und hat in ED IIIb Lagaš ř im Auslaut. Aber auch PAD im Sinne von „abbrechen, herausbrechen“ hat ř im Auslaut. Eine semantische Entwicklung „abgesondertes“ > „Versorgungslos“ wäre denkbar. Späteres *šuku* würde dann von *šukûsu* kommen.¹⁰⁾ Beides erscheint möglich.

Es gibt eine weitere Schwierigkeit. Die Glosse ist in ED IIIa Abū Šalābīkh, ED IIIb Nippur und in der Ur III-Zeit belegt. Kein einziger Beleg kommt aus einem Dialekt für den die Existenz von ř als Phonem gesichert erscheint.¹¹⁾ Falls die Glosse nicht (*ga*-)lu-bu zu lesen ist und einfach noch eine weitere verwirrende Form den anderen hinzufügt,¹²⁾ kann man sich fragen, ob UDU entsprechend dem Namen oder der Name /*udubu*/ oder /*udabu*/ zu lesen ist. Das wäre im Einklang mit jüngeren Belegen für *d*.

Weiter ist die Frage, ob es überhaupt notwendig ist, ein einziges sumerisches Wort anzunehmen, aus dem sich alle verschiedenen Formen durch reguläre Lautveränderungen entwickelt haben. Im Deutschen bezeichnen die Worte *Uhu*, *Schuhu* und *Buhu*, den gleichen Vogel (eagle-owl), der auf Lateinisch *bubo* heißt. Offenbar beruht die Ähnlichkeit nicht auf einer durch regelmäßige Lautgesetze veränderten Urform.

Ein Grund für Ähnlichkeiten bei verschiedenen Namen eines Vogels aber auch bei Namen verschiedener Vögel, ist sicher, dass der Ruf des Vogels in unterschiedlicher Weise nachgebildet wird.¹³⁾ Es kommt aber auch oft vor, dass Vogelnamen Zusammensetzungen sind wobei sich mehrere Namen einen gemeinsamen Bestandteil teilen.

Veldhuis 2004, 297 nennt Beispiele in denen uz- und u₅- am Anfang der Namen von Wasservögeln wechseln und die wohl mit dem Wort uz „Ente“ gebildet sind. In diese Reihe gehört wohl auch der Fische fangende Vogel ubur^{mušen}.¹⁴⁾ Vergleiche ferner Ebla muš-nu₁₁^{mušen} < mušen + nu₁₁, Veldhuis 2004, 276, su-din^{mušen}, arkab^{mušen}, sudin-arkab^{mušen} „Fledermaus“, u₅-sig₇ „fahle Gans“ = „Graureiher“ (?). Daher könnte /uzab/, usābum auch auf uz + a₁₂-rá-bu oder uz + ab(-ba) „Meeres/Hör-Ente“ zurückgehen. Cf. um-ab-ba^{mušen}¹⁵⁾ und franz. cormoran < corvus marinus „Meeresrabe“.

Eine Trennung der Namen in lautmalende Namensformen, etwa /(h)arabu/, /(h)ařabu/, /adab(u)/, /(ga)lubu/ und eine zusammengesetzte Namensform /uzab/ wäre also denkbar und würde die verschiedenen Lehnworte im Akkadischen erklären. Zwar hält der Stadtname Adab einige der Formen zusammen, doch falls die Stadt nach dem Vogel benannt ist, muss auch der Stadtname nicht auf eine einzige Form zurückgeführt werden.

Jedenfalls ist die Bildung einer Urform aus den verschiedenen Namensrelikten nicht zwingend. Daher kann man ausgehend von UD.NUN^{mušen} die Lesung der zugehörigen Glosse nicht auf /uřabu/ festlegen.

De Maaijer und Jagersma 1998, 286b weisen auf UDU-a ba-ab-gu₇ (MVN 18, 367, 7) hin „which shows that in Ur III period final vowel of the noun udu ‘ram’ was /a/ (the form udu-a stands for the noun udu with the assimilated case marker /e/).“

Daher kann man eine Nebenform /uda/ oder /ada/ vermuten, aus der sich e-zé jedoch nicht regulär ableiten ließe. Von Nebenformen dieser Art abgesehen gibt es keinen Grund an der traditionellen Lesung udu zu zweifeln.

1) Siehe Jagersma (2000) wo für eine aspirierte Affrikate [ts^h] plädiert wird, u. a. weil die sehr wahrscheinliche Existenz von Affrikaten und aspirierten Konsonanten im Sumerischen auch die Existenz von [ts^h] vermuten lässt. Einige Einwände, aber keine grundsätzliche Ablehnung sind bei Keetman (2007) 47 formuliert. Theoretische Alternativen sind ein getippter oder ein retroflextor Konsonant.

Schrägstriche „/“ abstrahieren von der Schreibweise, eckige Klammern meinen genaue Aussprache.

2) Neben /du/ ~ zé gibt es zwar auch noch /du/ ~ /du/, aber sowohl /d/ ~ /z/ als auch /u/ ~ /e/ sind so gut wie ausschließlich auf Worte mit /du/ seltener /tu/ im Hauptdialekt beschränkt. Belege bei Schretter (1990) 63. Beachte, dass es auch kein Beispiel für */da/ ~ zé gibt.

3) Mit vielen weiteren Belegen Sjöberg (1969) 144-45.

4) Dazu Veldhuis (2004) 215-16 und Texte S. 153; 187; 202. Der Sippar(?) -Text ist ergänzt, erscheint aber sicher (vgl. Hh VIII 314-17, MSL 8², 169 und 175 und die altbabylonische Nippur Liste bei Veldhuis S. 153, 178⁺-79⁺). Zu ED Birds nun auch MS 2654, Foto: Civil (2010) 191-92 mit i 5: UD.NUN.

5) PSD A II 125a, 126a.

6) Nur UDU.BU ist belegt in OSP 1, 4 iii 10 (ED IIIb, Nippur; in unklarer Beziehung zu UD.NUN^{ki}), weitere Belege Veldhuis 2004, 215. Die Verkürzung mag nicht nur die Glosse betreffen. Cf. (a-)zāg-gūn^{mušen} und ga-kid/kad^{mušen}, Veldhuis 2004, 214-14; 241-42. In diesen Fällen sind allerdings die kürzeren Formen, die früher belegt sind.

7) MSL 8², 122, vgl. Veldhuis (2004) 216 mit Anm. 9, wo auf eine Kollation des sonst a¹ gelesenen Zeichens hingewiesen wird.

8) MSL 8² 147, 314-16.

9) Jagersma (2000).

10) So erwogen von Steinkeller (1992) 69.

11) Für Nippur vgl. MBI I b iii 12: ki ku₄-ra-bé (Barton Zylinder) mit Umma MAD 4, 156, 12: i-ku₄-rá-a; BIN 8, 133, 11: mu-ku₄-rá-a; 12: mu-ku₄-rá. Vgl. noch den zitierten Namen U₄.DU^{a-ra}-bi.

12) Eine weitere lautmalende Variante könnte der Personennamenname BU.DÚR^{mušen} = dúr-bu^{mušen} UET II 218; 252 ii 10; Fāra Wirtschaftstexte 133 iii 6, darstellen.

13) Zu den Schwierigkeiten bei der Bestimmung sumerischer Vogelnamen vgl. Veldhuis 2004, 209-10.

14) Veldhuis (2004) 297-98.

15) Von um^{mušen}, Veldhuis (2004), 302.

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Jan KEETMAN, <jkeet@aol.com>

26) Un nouvel exemplaire d'une inscription d'Amar-Sîn * — À l'occasion d'une prospection dans les environs de Jérusalem, j'ai pu examiner une collection privée au centre de la cité. Je m'aperçus que l'un des objets de cette collection, en dehors des pièces d'origine égyptienne, était une brique provenant de la Mésopotamie et remontant à la troisième Dynastie d'Ur.¹⁾

Cette brique fut redécouverte lors de la construction d'un hôtel durant les années 1880 et est depuis conservée dans les caves de l'hospice. La brique se compose de trois fragments, mais la majeure partie de l'objet doit avoir été perdue. Les archives de l'hospice n'indiquent par ailleurs pas s'il en existait d'autres fragments qui auraient été depuis égarés. Son état de conservation est particulièrement mauvais, les signes sont eux-mêmes en partie très dégradés.

La première partie, qui comporte les restes de deux inscriptions, mesure 19,8 cm de longueur, pour 15,7 et 5,6 cm de largeur (respectivement bord long et bord large) et pour une épaisseur de 6,6 à 6,75 cm. La première inscription, de laquelle sont conservées sept lignes, repose sur une case de 9,8 x 6,6 cm. Cette inscription sera nommée ici « Inscription 1 ». Malheureusement seuls quelques signes sur ce fragment particulièrement érodé peuvent être devinés aux lignes suivantes : 1-3'. [...] ; 4'. [...] 'x'-MA; 5'. RU-PA'N²/GI'M²-[...]; 6'. [...] NU-Γx¹.

La seconde inscription, « Inscription 2 » (fig. 1 & 2),²⁾ permet clairement de lire l'inscription déjà connue dite d'Amar-Sîn 10 et repose sur un support mesurant 19,8 x 6,75 cm. Cette brique est un duplicata de BM 90036, BM 90039, BM 90353 et BM 90811. L'inscription est écrite sur la brique CBS 16466 (= U. 2861), mais la position y est différente.



Fig. 1 : la brique avec l'inscription Amar-Sîn 10



Fig. 2 : inscription 2

La seconde partie (fig. 3), mesurant 7,8 x 8,2 cm, comporte plusieurs traces de l’empreinte d’une inscription. On peut reconnaître quelques signes datables de la troisième Dynastie d’Ur sur des cases de 3,2 x 5,3 cm. Cette pièce peut appartenir à la première partie ou constituer une autre inscription.

La troisième partie de la brique, mesurant 5,9 x 5,2 x 4,2 cm, n’a pas d’inscription, mais, d’après la couleur de la terre, son appartenance à la même brique ne fait aucun doute.

La seconde, sur le bord long, représente un nouvel exemplaire de l’inscription d’Amar-Sîn E3/2.1.3.10 dans l’édition de FRAYNE.³⁾

Inscription 2:

1’:	[^d Amar- ^d EN.ZU]	13’=10:	[alan-ba ¹
2’:	[Nibru ^{ki} -a]	14’=11:	[lú ¹ ki-gu[b-ba-bi]
3’:	[^d En.líl-le]	15’=12:	[í ^b ¹ -da-a ¹ b-kúr-re ¹ [-a]
4’=1:	mu pà[-da-]	16’:	[bára-si-ga-bi]
5’=2:	sag-[nita-]	17’:	[ì-bù-re-a]
6’=3:	é ^d En.líl ¹ -ka	18’:	[^d Nanna]
7’=4:	lugal ‘kala ¹ [-ga]	19’:	[lugal Uri ⁵ ^{ki} -ma-ke ₄]
8’=5:	lugal Uri ⁵ ^{ki} -ma	20’:	[^d Nin.gal]
9’=6:	lugal an-ub-da- ^r lím ^{mu} -ba ¹ -me	21’:	[ama Uri ⁵ ^{ki} -ma-ke ₄] ⁴⁾
10’=7:	[a]lan- ^r ba ¹	22’:	[nam ħa-ba-an-da-kuru ₅ -ne]
11’=8:	^d Amar- ^d EN. ^r ZU ¹ ki-ág- ^r Uri ⁵ ^{ki} - ^r ma ¹	23’:	[numun-na-ni]
12’=9:	mu-bi-im	24’:	[ħé-eb-til-le-ne]

Traduction:

« [⁹Moi, ¹Amar-Sîn,] ⁴qu’[²à Nippur ³Enlil] ⁴a appelé, ⁵le sout[ien] ⁶du temple d’Enlil, ⁷le roi fort, ⁸le roi d’Ur, ⁹le roi des quatre régions; ¹²le nom ¹⁰de cette statue est ¹¹«Amar-Suena (est) le bien-aimé d’Ur». ¹⁴Celui ¹⁵qui changerait l’empla[cement] ¹³de cette statue, [¹⁷qui profanerait ¹⁶son socle, ¹⁸que Nanna, ¹⁹le roi d’Ur (et) ²⁰Nin-gal, ²¹la mère d’Ur, ²²règlent son sort ! ²⁴Qu’ils mettent fin à ²³sa race !] »⁵⁾

À partir de la ligne 14, l’inscription continue sur le second bord de la brique, mais seules deux lignes du texte sont conservées. Malheureusement seule la moitié de l’inscription est conservée sur cette brique, comme on le constate, les trois premières lignes, reconstituées, manquent. Les deux inscriptions, si l’on se fie à leur ductus, doivent être contemporaines et provenir, comme les parallèles publiés par Frayne, d’Ur. Comme cet auteur l’indiquait⁶⁾, ces briques pourraient provenir du socle originel de la statue mentionnée dans l’inscription. Dans l’antiquité, la brique ressemblait à la brique de l’Université de Pécs.⁷⁾



Fig. 3 : l’autre brique avec des traces d’une empreinte d’inscription

*) Je remercie le *Deutscher Verein vom heiligen Lande* pour l’autorisation de publication et Camille LECOMPTE (Heidelberg) pour les corrections du français.

1) Une autre inscription d’Amar-Sîn (E3/2.1.3.2 dans la publication de FRAYNE, D. R., *Ur III Period*, RIME 3/2, Toronto 1997, p. 247) qui était à Abu Goš en Israël fut publiée par OSHIMA, T., *A small brick inscription of Amar-Sin from Abu Gosh, Israel*, NABU 1999 n° 3 (septembre), p. 55 sq. Cf. la collection des autres inscriptions d’Amar-Sin publiée par EVERLING, J., *Amar-Suena Bricks in Hungary*, en: SZABÓ, A. & VARGYAS, P. (Éd.), *Cultus Deorum. Studia Religionum ad Historiam, Vol. I:*

De Oriente Antiquo et Regione Danuvii Praehistorica, In Memoriam István Tóth, Budapest 2008, p. 147–182, spécialement p. 148–150 et p. 155.

2) Cf. FRAYNE, *ibid*, p. 255 et STEIBLE, H., *Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, Teil 2: Kommentar zu den Gudea-Statuen, Inschriften der III: Dynastie von Ur, Inschriften der IV. und „V.“ Dynastie von Uruk, Varia, FAOS 9.2, Stuttgart 1991, p. 221sq (ici n°. Amar-Sîn 3) avec la bibliographie relative à l’inscription.

3) La translittération présente se conforme à l’édition de FRAYNE, *ibid*, p. 255 sq.

4) Sur la copie néo-babylonienne sur BM 119014 on lit à l. 21¹–23¹: nin-ur⁵^{ki}-ma-ke⁴ / nam ħa-da-kuru⁵-ne / MU-na-ni.

5) Cf. KUPPER, J.-R. et SOLLBERGER, E., *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes*, Éditions du Cerf, 1971, p. 149, IIIA3e.

6) Cf. FRAYNE, *ibid*, p. 255 et STEIBLE, *ibid*, p. 221 sq.

7) Cf. EVERLING, *ibid*, p. 148 et p. 178.

Christofer THEIS, <Christoffer_Theis@web.de>

Ägyptologisches Institut der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Marstallhof 4, 69117 HEIDELBERG

27) A Remark on the bala Payment of Barley by the Province of Lagaš-Girsu — The attempt at reconstruction of the size of the barley bala supplied by the province of Lagaš-Girsu is relied by T.M. Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, Leiden – Boston 2004, pp.67-69, above all on the text CT 7, tab.8, BM 12926. According to the Author, this tablet gives a figure of 103.861 gur and 143,66 sila as “total production [of barley of Lagaš] for the year AS 2”¹⁾. Since the text would provide the only data to demonstrate that the payment bala amounted to about the half of the production of the barley administrated by the énsi (*op.cit.*, p.70), this figure seems to deserve attention²⁾.

BM 12926 is a balanced account: the aforementioned figure of 103.861 and 143,66 sila is the total of the latter section, that of the expenditure, characterized by the term zi-ga (rev. I 9-10). Of course, the amount of the expenditure zi-ga is very often not equivalent to the capital, recorded in the former section of the balanced accounts and characterized by the term sag-níg-GA-ra-kam. This is also the case of BM 12926, in which the scribe adds an overdraft (diri) of 4.266 gur and 91,66 sila (rev. I 11) after the figure of the issued barley. However, not even the summation of the sag-níg-GA-ra-kam must be considered as the total production of barley of the temple households. Indeed, the capital of BM 12926 is formed by three items, characterized as it follows:

84.666 gur and 47 sila	še-aša ₅ -gu ₄
1.920 gur and 20 sila	še a-sag-ús še-gibil
13.026 gur and 52 sila	še-sumun.

The meaning of the second item is not clear, but it is sure that the third item, “old barley”, must refer not to the harvest of AS 2, but rather to the left over of the preceding year. Therefore, the production of the province of Lagaš-Girsu for the year AS 2 must amount to 84.666 gur and 47 sila, or, at the most, to 84.666 and 47 sila + 1.920 and 20 sila = 86.586 gur and 67 sila.

But there is another tablet that records exactly the same amount of barley of the first item of BM 12926 (84.666 gur and 47 sila). It is CT 10, tab.18, BM 12922, a register of amounts of barley (in addition to beans and other vegetable: rev. I 14-II 4), characterized as še-aša₅-gu₄, “barley of domain fields”. It is exactly the same expression that defines the first item of BM 12926. BM 12922 is subdivided into a dozen of sections, each related to one or more households, that are the producers both of barley and of vegetable. The households are related to the main temples of the province (the é of Ningirsu, Nanše, Nin-MAR.KI, Gatumdu, Ningišzida, Igalim, Šulgi, Nindara, Dumuzi, (Lugal-)URUxKÁR^{ki}), with the addition of two centres of the šabras and the household of Namhani. Now, T.M. Sharlach (*op.cit.*, p.67), in comparing the harvests recorded in BM 12926 and BM 12922 respectively, concludes that there is a difference of 10.000-20.000 gur, indeed remarkable, but justified by the fact that the harvests vary from year to year. This is of course true, but not for the texts in question, which on the contrary are dated at the same year. Therefore, we have to admit that the harvest of the temple households of the province of Lagaš-Girsu managed from the governor for AS 2 is of 84.666 gur and 47 sila, and not of 103.861 gur and 143.66 sila.

It implies another change. In the expenditure of the balanced account BM 12926, there is the payment of the bala (zi-ga bala-a), which indeed is by long the highest of the issues, amounting to 49.790 gur and 161,5 sila (obv. I 11). Now, according to T.M. Sharlach (*op.cit.*, p.69), who relates this amount of barley to the yearly production of 103.861 gur and 143.66 sila, the figure of 48% results, and it would recur in other texts of bala of Lagaš. But, since the harvest in question is of 84.666 gur and 47 sila, the figure of the payment of bala rises from (about) 48% to (about) 59%. A draining, really, for the granaries of Ur-Lama, the governor of Lagaš and Girsu, even if still for a short time.

1) Of course, the huge quantities of barley produced by the areas of arable land belonging to the crown sector are not taken in consideration.

2) Strangely enough, the problem of the figures discussed in the present note seems to have escaped to the thorough analysis of the book by J.L. Dahl, *Revisiting Bala*, JAOS 126 (2006), pp.77-88.

Francesco POMPONIO, <nabium@virgilio.it.>

Dipartimento di Scienze delle Antichità, Università degli Studi di Messina, Polo dell'Annunziata, 98122 Messina

28) On the Old Babylonian texts in YOS 15 — As its “Acknowledgments” mention, the undersigned — at the request of W.W. Hallo, in 1994 — is responsible for the information in YOS 15 on the OB texts (nos. 17-96, of which 17-71 are letters) in the introduction, the catalogue (which includes remarks and bibliographical data by M. Stol on nos. 72-95) and the indices. The results of my work on these texts — based on Goetze’s copies, but I could inspect the originals in the Yale Babylonian Collection, while those in Ann Arbor (which I had studied long ago) were kindly collated for me by G. Beckman — were used in what I wrote for this volume, but of course selectively. Since an edition of these texts is not to be expected in the near future, it may be useful to communicate here some corrections to the copies, several emendations and restorations, and some proposed interpretations of damaged or difficult passages, which may be useful for students of these documents, if only to prevent double work. The following listing is, again, selective, and incorporates observations and remarks by M. Stol, who saw some of these texts in an earlier stage; they are identified by an added (S). As mentioned in the Introduction, p. 6 with note 11, nos. 38-45 and 47-48 are from Lagaba and the list below by means of = T + page number indicates where Tammuz treated them in his unpublished dissertation, *Archives from Lagaba* (Yale Univ. 1993; the publication of the copies foreseen for BIN XI has not been realized). Seven OB texts of this volume that were included in the dissertation of R.D. Freedman, *The Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis* (UM 1975) are listed in what follows as = F + text number. Earlier publication of a few texts in Ch.-F. Jean, *Šumer et Akkad* is also registered.

17:10, *la i-le-eq-qé'-e*, in the combination *dñnam leqûm*; 16, *ti-iš-ba-ta-am-ma [a]l-kam*, imperative Gt-stem with metathesis in a hendiadys construction; 18-20, *[šum-m]a la ki-a-am / [a-ni-tam] la a-ni-tam / [š-u]p-ra-am*.

18:10', the item with which (*qādum*) the fugitive slave, caught by the *nāgirum*, has to be brought to the writer is perhaps *ma¹-aš-k[a-ni-šu]*, “his fetter”; 14¹-17¹ probably: *an-ni-a-am ù a[n-ni-a-am] / šu-ta-aš-bi-tam-ma / a-na [š]e-ri-i[a] / [š]u-r[i]-[a-am]*.

20:7-8, GUR₇ *ta-x x x [x] / pi-ti-a-ma ŠE.[BA] p[í]-[iq-da]*.

21:11, the troop must enter (*[l]i¹-ru-ub*) the city *iš-tu ka-ša-tim a-di u₄-mu-um-ma la¹ x [x h]a-am¹*, “starting in the morning as long as the heat has not yet.....”, and it must not enter (*i-ru-ub*) beyond that time (*ulliš*); *ša-ma-am* in 22-23 must be the infinitive “to buy”: “He (the man of line 18) will ask (permission [from] the palace) to buy and it will permit (*nadānum*) you to buy” (S).

22:13, *pi-i-šu it-ta-ki-in*, “his statement was confirmed”.

23:17-19, *utullum li-ha-bi-ID-ma / i-mi-ir i-ni-i-šu / li-il₅-qé*, “let the herdsman muster[?] (them) and take what appeals to him”.

25:4, Stol suggests: *[ù] SAHAR.[HI].A¹ n[a-s]a-hi¹*, referring to *AbB* 2, 4:10; 7; 7, *[p]í-ta-m*, “opening” (collated), and see below on 96:15; rev. 3¹-4¹, Gimil-Marduk possibly the same man as in *AbB* 4, 19:7, 15; *JCS* 29 (1977) 147ff., nos.7: rev.6¹ and 8:39 (S); 5¹-7¹, ERÍN-*am ēpištam ša šipram šuāti i-ep¹-pe-šu / ši*(collated)-*im-da-ma / [pa-n]i ERÍN ēpištim šabtā*. The purpose of the operation is (lines 12f.) “to provide the Edinna-canal with permanent water”, cf. Hammurabi’s inscription about the construction of the Hammurabi-nuhuš-nīš canal, *RIME* 4, 3.6.7:25, that speaks of *mē darūtīm*.

27:10, *er-re-šu-ú-a* (collated); 13, in *l LÚ x y, x* looks like a broadly written ERÍN.

28, the field assigned to Kurgal-amahani, but exploited by somebody else, is the subject of *AbB* 4, 96; lines 7-11, *[in]-na-ad-nu / [uš-t]a-bi-la-ak-ku-nu-ši-im / [a-na p]í-ti-ka-ni-ki-im šu-a-ti* (10) *[A.Š]À a-na K. / [ki]-in-na* (cf. 29:12, *ki¹-in-na-a-šum*).

30:6, *i-na pa-la-ki-im / šu-ta-aq-ti-a-ma*, “see that you get ready with staking off (the field)”.

31:5, the meaning of what seems to be KAK.UD.NÁ.A, a designation for a group of workers under an overseer (UGULA), is obscure.

33:5, collation by Beckman shows that the tablet has *A.ŠÀ 2 za-ap-pa*; 17 *[l]i-id-di-i[n-šu]m*.

34:8, after Dumuq-Šamaš Goetze omitted his title: RÁ.GAB; 11, at the end Stol suggests *a-na MÜŠ (= zīmi)* KASKAL, cf. 29:11, *ana zīmi harrānātišu*.

35:5, *i-na A.ŠÀ-lim*; 6, *A.ŠÀ-lam*; 10, *...a-na¹ DUMU.ME.EŠ* (written over erasure) Šamaš-māgir.

36:5 and 6, *A.ŠÀ* (written as in 35:5-6); 7, *šarrum iqbiamma ad¹-di-in* (collated); Lu-Ninurta acted at the order of the king, cf. *AbB* 4, 53:19f., 113:19f., 131:15f. Line 11, *A.ŠÀ LÚ.TÚG.MEŠ*.

37:3 and 11: Nabium-mālik and Hurrušum also occur together in *AbB* 2, 15:15-17 (S); lines 5, 17, 24, twice ŠÁR = 2x60 BUR, a very large area; 14, *i-na* ŠÁR IKU A.ŠÀ [M]aš-k[an]-L[UGAL]^{ki}, as in line 5; 15 end, *it-ta-x* (damaged, looks like *nu-ma*, one expects “had been selected for /assigned to H. and was (subsequently) given to I.”; 18-19, *i-ri* (tablet: HU)is-sú / šu¹(sic)-ku-un-né eqlim; 24 end, *a-šar¹ dam-qú*; 25, *li-HA-am ištên*, “as one plaque” = “as one single flat piece of land”, or adverbial “by means of one single (writing-)board”? On the left edge the 2 columns of writing are separated by a thin dividing line.

38 = T 285f., see now D. Charpin in A.C.V.M. Bongenaar (ed.), *Interdependency of Institutions and Private Entrepreneurs* (Istanbul 2002) 195 with note 36; read the beginning of line 8 as <AŠ>.ME (S); 12f., the *guzalûm* Munawwirum probably appears also in *AbB* 9, 89:14 and in OECT 15, 8:7, 19 (Hamm. year 39)(S); 15 end, *ša-še¹-er*.

39 = T 284f.; line 5, what/who is to be given to the *iššiakkum* in order to irrigate (*lišbu*) his field, *ištên ina na-aš-°x* (x) – 43:5 simply writes *ištên na-a[š-.....]* - is not clear, either a worker, carrying a specific tool (*nāš*), or an instrument, but a spelling *na-às-[pa-am]* is very unlikely.

40 = T 280f.

41 = T 282f.

42 = T 287f.

43 = T 283f.

44 = T 288ff.; line 6, presumably *mīnam i-[pu-šu]*; 7, end: *i[l-qú-ú]*[?]; 10, *ullûm (ana ulluttin*, with nunation) probably has an anaphoric function, “send them to the afore-mentioned persons (“your sons”, of line 5?), to their houses”; 15ff. perhaps: [*a-n*]a I IKU [...] [*mi-ki*]-is URU^{ki} / [*li*]-si-ir-šu-ma, “let him press him to pay per *iku*, the local rent”; 18-21, ...*a-na a*-[....] / [*re*]-e-ši li-ki-i[1] / [x] x ²¹PISAN *piqittim* / [*re*]-e-ši li-ki-il₅-lu, “let it/them be at my disposal”.

45 = T 290ff.; lines 10, 12, see for the UGULA ŠU.I Sagil-mansum, M. Stol in *Festschrift Dietrich (AOAT 281, 2002) 736*; 18, the final –TU is difficult, one expects that the judge mentioned received or read the tablet sent; 30, “let him and his adversary discuss (*apālum* Gt) in the presence of I.”. In this letter several people known from other sources occur, including the general Awīl-Adad.

47 = T 299f.; lines 5-11 are repeated in (and are the complete text of) another letter of Unnubtum, a *nadītum* of Marduk, *AbB* 9, 247:5-11: “No need to worry: happy faces (*bunū namrūtum*, in our letter spelled *namruttum*!) met the gentleman when he entered the palace!”

48 = T 301f. (from Kesh not Kish!); lines 13-15, [*a-n*]a mu-ùh-hi LÚ.TÚG¹ (suggestion Stol) / [x x H]I.A ša *qá-ti-šu-nu* / [šu-ri]-ib.

49. Deals with the accusation that the addressee has scattered (*suppuhum*) another man’s pile of bricks (*amarum*), even though it had been kept closed off (*pehi*) and was situated on ground that belonged to the writer. Lexically difficult are lines 15-30, which link the actions to the seasons, apparently because the bricks, once they have been laid on the ground, should be allowed to dry before they can be removed. “Why have you *harpišam* ... (18) [*l*]a-a *i-na* [...] (and) do you scatter his brick-pile in the middle of [.....] *ina naššatum*? If he wants to lay the brick pile on my ground beginning now/from the beginning (*šurumma*), do not allow him to place his bricks on my ground. If his bricks are (already) lying on my ground from early in the year on (*harpišam*), do not remove his bricks until the weather gets better (*adi umātum iṭṭibānim*). As soon as the weather has become better (*iṭṭibānim*), he must remove his bricks”. Since the dictionaries do not register a word *naššatum*, we might perhaps take it as *nāš šattim*, a reference to the season. I take *ha-ar-pí-ša-am* (15; the one but last sign can be *ša*, cf. its shape in line 6) as derived from *harpū*, the name of the spring season or early summer, or *harpiš*, “early (in the year)”, with the adverbial ending *-išam*, but it does not have a distributive meaning as in *šattišam*.

50:5f., presumably *†[up-p]a-am anniam [ina amārika]*; 7, *a-la-ak a-[w]i-lim q[é¹-ru-u]b-ma* (suggestion Kouwenberg); 11f., *ṭēmam anniam / ša tašpuram*.

51. See the remarks in the Introduction p. 8. This very interesting letter of Alammuš-nāšir deserves a thorough study, which is beyond the scope of this note.

52:4, the profession of Milkiya is damaged, perhaps NU.K[IRI₆] or NU.B[ANDA]? Line 5, the reading of the name Marduk-māssu-ibni is suggested by Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks* (1982) 143, 84, with note 8, but the final *ib-n[i]* in our text, which cannot be a separate word, suggests that the name as quoted by Sommerfeld is an abbreviation; 6, probably *kanīkam ša bēlia n[a-ši]-i*, a fact which should have refrained the addressee from settling a foreigner (a man from Kakmum, *kakmūtum*) in his dwelling (*bīt naṭṭarišu*); 19, at the end, over erasure, perhaps *šu-ši*, “expel him”? (S). Stol compares the situation described in this letter with that of *AbBPh* 134.

53:13f., what the two men mentioned in 11-12 “must not deposit before you(?)” (*ina pa-ni-ki² UD.DI / la¹ i²-na-ad-du-ú²*) is not clear.

55:8-9, *ši-bu-ti tu-ša-ah-ti-an-ni*, “you made me fail (did not allow me) to realize my wish”, an expression not yet known from OB (see for later occurrences of the Š-stem of *haṭūm*, AHw 338a; CAD H’s purely semantic approach has scattered four later occurrences of this stem over the lemma).

56:8ff., the scribe had problems in writing forms of *nāhum*, D-stem, “to appease, calm down”: 8, *aššum nu-ūh-hi-im*; 16, *anāku ú-NU-ih-šu*; 25f., *li-né-e-ūh-hu / ša nu-ūh-hi-šu šabtāku*; 9f., *a-na [.....] qá-ta-ti-š[a/u] il-q[é]*.

57:14, *iš-ti-a-at KU-up²-p[a-t]um* or the same word as in 9, *KU-ut-pa-tum*? 16-18, *ŠE-um i-a-ú-um-ma / [p]í-qá-at ka-at-tum ul²* (but unusual instead of *ú-ul!*) / *í-qá-ab-bi*.

58:6 end, presumably ŠABRA; 8 and 14, note *[la e]-le-hu-ú* alongside *la i-le-i*.

59:5 end, presumably *Ru-ut-ti-a*; 8 end, perhaps *ša I₇ x [x x]*; 13f., *ina māk kaspim / ul ašām*; 22-25, *iš-tu an-ni-a-am aš-ta-mu-ú / ù ú-lu-um (25) i-na qá-ti-ia ú-ul ú-ší-am / an-ni-ki¹-[a]-am la* “after I had heard about this one and that one had not got out of reach, here I did not”; 30f., *be-el hu-[bu-ul-li-šu]-nu / ša-ab-tu-šu-nu-ti-i*, “their creditors have them in their grip”.

60 = Jean, Šumer et Akkad, CCVII: 197.

61 = Jean, Šumer et Akkad, CLXXX: 198; line 14, *ša diglika*, rare variant of *ša niṭlika*, cf. *šumma digilki* in *AbB* 6, 194:13.

62 = Jean, Šumer et Akkad, CCV: 200; line 3; note the PN URIM^{ki}-*a-lum*; 6, the slave may have been a LÚ.ŠIM; 9, perhaps *ina pa-ni¹-ka li-[qí-šu-ma]*, “take him along personally”; 11, mysterious, *te-re-ti-ia ú-la WA-al/ka-ni-iš² / ú-ul e-le-i*; 13, presumably *ana SAG.İR <ša>-ba-tim*; 20f., “since 5 days x (x) *ni* / SAG x (not İR!)-*ru-bé-e* about which you instructed me, has not arrived and therefore until now I am hungry”; 26, *re-šum* also seems to mean “slave”, he is “reliable” (*ta-ki-il*, 27).

63:1, Šilli^d-*Dam-ki-na*? (S); line 11, the writer, away on a business trip or campaign (*ina gerrim wašbāku*, 13f.), writes about his wife, who *iš-tu x [x] / [a/i-n]a bi-ti-ni al-[x x]*.

64:5, the wish that Nisaba may bless the recipient (with the unusual name Ama-a.tu^dInana) fits well in what seems to be an exercise letter; 11, *ku-un-ka-ak-kum* must be a mistake for *kunkamma (šūbilam)*.

65. Together with 66 sent from HI.GAR = Damru (S); 12, a letter dealing with a man who came to Babylon 15 days ago and “roams along the walls” (*igarātim isahhur*), probably to avoid his creditor(s); 20-25, “If he has absconded somewhere (*a-ja-a-am-ma ishur*), take his wife and (so force him) to provide you with a reliable man as guarantor (*qá¹-ta-tim / awīlam taklam / liršiakkum*) and hand her over to the guarantor for an amount of 1 mina of silver” (*ana qatātim idišši*).

66:6f., interesting for the practice of measuring: “Let one make canvassed(?) baskets, thin ones, holding 70³ litres each, with a total storage capacity of 3 gur of sesame (⁶¹[*qú*]-*up-pí ša-ah-hu-tim / ša* 0.1².1 TA.ÀM *qa-at-nu-tim / na-á[š]-pa-ak* 3.0.0 ŠE.GIŠ.Ī). It is followed by a damaged specification of the base/bottom (*išdum*) of “the baskets you will have made”. Cf. *AbB* 6, 57:38-41, where sesame has to be sent in a sealed *quppum*. In rev. 1’ff., [*x*]-*sá²-am dam-qá-a[m] / ⁶¹BÁN Ī.GIŠ muddam / pihī šipassīka / idīma šūbilam*, “measure off for me one *sātu* of oil (in) a of good quality, close it, apply your sealing and send it to me”, the name of the container is unclear, hardly *kāsum*, which is a drinking cup.

67. Belongs to the correspondence of Šilli-Šamaš, see *AbB* 14, XVIII-XX, where it was explained that “my lord” in l. 7 is Balmunamhe. Lines 4-5 may be compared with *AbB* 14, 64:11-12, which has *biltam lūšarkibam*. The beginning of line 4 is unclear, a comparison with *AbB* 14, 55:13 might suggest *ar-hi-iš*, but this is a rather drastic emendation; 6 states how much barley ([x GU]R ŠE-*um*) of the field “2 AD/ŠI” (unclear, does not occur in the list of fields in *AbB* 14, 56) was measured and is ready.

68:16, note the pleonastic *šum-ma ta-ab-ku-ú / ù li-ba-ka*, “if it pleases you (for *tābkum*) and you like it”. What the *rēdūm* to be sent must be able to do (*ša AD-KAM / i-le-ú*) is unclear.

69:17f., *ināma šābum / i-ZA-ar-ha-ka* (from *šarāhum*, “to heat, anger”?) / *šupramma (20) [šābam] lu-uk-mi-sa-kum*, “When the work-force angers(?) you, write to me and I will gather (additional) troops for you”. The context suggests anger because there are too few workers and/or they do not work hard enough.

70:10, *q-[na p]í ka-ni-ki / āpulšūma*.

71. The message of this *ze’pum* is not very clear. Taking *šaknam šakānum* as equivalent of *šukunnē šakānum*, “to estimate the yield of the expected crop” (to be delivered by a contractor), lines 2-6 could be translated as “Until the yield of the crop will be estimated, [when I arrive ([*ina ka-š[a-di-a ?] [I will] write you as soon as it has been estimated*] ([*ki-ma i]t-ta-aš-ka-nu*). In lines 3’ and 4’ the scribe uses WA for *a*, in line 3’ perhaps [*wa-ar-k]a-ta WA-pa-ar-ra-[as/sú]*, in 4’ *WA-ša-ap-pa-ra-ak-kum*); 8’-9’, “Send me a report for (the sake of?) a well founded (*ša išdāšu kīnā*) complaint” or “a complaint (by somebody whose) position is secure”.

77. This early OB (Warad-Sîn year 5) field sale from Nippur deals a very elongated field, measuring 1 ½ by 200 NINDA (at the end of line 1 one expects UŠ and the photo of the tablet shown via CDLI on

<http://wema.williams.edu> indeed shows traces of a sign that might be UŠ), with a surface of 3 IKU, a type better known from the Ur III period than from OB (cf. M. Liverani, *JESHO* 39 [1996], 9ff.). The photo on the website also shows multiple impressions of the inscription (only) of the seal of the seller, Ad.da-dùg.ga, son of Šeš-kal.la.

81:16, Stol questions a provenance from Sippar, because Sîn is the first-mentioned god of the oath.

86:2, Ilīma-ilum, son of Saniqum, also in TCL 11, 174 V:33, and 200:31 (Larsa; S).

89. See now also M. Stol, *OBO* 160/4, 762f.

90. Stol refers to M. Gallery, *AfO* 27 (1980) 13, sub 3, W.W. Hallo in *Studies J.C. Greenfield* (1995) 82, note 11, and to his own remarks in *OBO* 160/4, 762f.

93. The same persons occur in YOS 5, 2-6, 10 and 25 (Ur; S).

95 = Jean, *Šumer et Akkad*, no. 195, discussed by D. Charpin, *Archives familiales Étude des documents de "Tell Sifr"* (Paris, 1980), 195.

96. See Introduction p. 9f. with note 15, and now Baptiste Fiette, *NABU* 2011/17 (note that my remarks on this texts in YOS 15 were written several years before S. Richardson treated this document). Fiette offers a convincing reading of line 15: *a-na pī-tim Āl-Abī-idinnam^{ki}*, "for the breach of A.", comparing no. 25:7 (see above). The reading of l. 4 proposed by Stol, *ana eperim nasāhim*, "to remove earth", fits Fiette's description "détourner des eaux vers un canal en construisant un barrage"

Some corrections to the indices of the OB texts:

^dAB-ba₆-ū(?)*-pa-tum*, better read ^dAB.Ú-*pa-a-tum*

Alī-haṭṭi¹-[...], Stol suggests *Alī-pa-an*-[...]

Da-da LÚ , 93:3? (addition).

Tubqum-nāšir, 78:3, 4 (not *Tupqum*-).

K.R.VEENHOF, < k.r.veenhof@hetnet.nl >

Franz Schubertlaan 50, 2102 EM, HEEMSTEDE, NETHERLANDS

29) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 8 : un izbum et un animal RI.RI.GA dans un compte de bétail – Dans la collection R. F. Harper, aujourd'hui conservée à l'Oriental Institute de l'Université de Chicago, le n° 25 (Meek, *AJSL* 33, p. 235) est un texte dont l'intérêt a échappé à son éditeur (qui n'a rien signalé dans sa notice p. 211), mais pas aux rédacteurs du CAD ; il s'agit en effet du premier texte d'archives paléo-babylonien qui mentionne un *izbum* (cf. CAD I/J, p. 318a). À l'époque, l'exemple était unique ; on verra depuis ARM 26/1 241 : 7, ainsi que A.3051 (*MARI* 8, p. 306-309).

Le plus souvent, les textes d'inventaire de troupeaux ne comptabilisent pas les bêtes mortes : cf. par exemple *e-zu-ub* 2 RI.RI.GA en CT 45 61 : 12. Cependant, le scribe de *AJSL* 33 25 a choisi au contraire d'inclure les animaux problématiques, comme le montre la collation des l. 7-8 :

	31 U ₈ .HI.A
2	1 U ₈ RI.RI.GA
	18 ¹ UDU.NITA ₂ .HI.A
4	12 SILA ₄ .GUB.HI.A
	9 MUNUS.SILA ₄ .GUB.HI.A
6	1 <i>iz-bu-um</i>
	72 U ₈ .UDU.HI.A
T.8	[q]á*- <i>du</i> *- <i>um</i> UR KI 1x ¹
	1ù ¹ <i>iz-bi-im</i> *

(Noter que le montage photo du CDLI [<http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P333036.jpg>] est erroné : les tranches inférieure et supérieure ont été interverties. L'autopsie de la tablette donne par ailleurs un résultat beaucoup plus sûr que la photo, dont l'éclairage n'est pas optimal.)

La tranche se comprend comme l'indication que le total de la l. 7 inclut les deux bêtes problématiques. De fait, le total de 72 comprend la brebis RI.RI.GA de la l. 2 et l'*izbum* de la l. 6. Mais comment lire la fin de la l. 8 ? Deux solutions sont théoriquement possibles : on a soit la lecture akkadienne du sumérogramme RI.RI.GA, soit un synonyme. Traditionnellement, RI.RI.GA est lu *miqittum* (CAD M/2 p. 101b § 3.a 1', qui cite la l. 2 de notre texte). Cependant, l. 8, le signe devant KI est bien un UR comme l'a copié Meek, et pas le MI qu'on attendrait. Faudrait-il transcrire *liq-qí-t[im]* et comprendre : « y compris la bête enlevée (*liqqitum*) et la bête malformée (*izbum*) » ? D'un côté, on remarque que RI.RI.GA est souvent donné comme équivalent de *laqâtum* et de ses dérivés ; un sens dérivé de la racine LQT serait possible. Cependant, une formation PiRRiS n'est pas connue, de sorte que *liqqitum* est une lecture improbable. L'autre possibilité serait de donner à UR une autre valeur, en lisant *taz-ki-t[im]*¹ : le terme est connu par TSifr 37 : 4, où il désigne la liquidation d'une société (cf. *Archives familiales...*, p. 123 et CAD T,

p. 302a). On pourrait également dire en français qu'on a affaire à la carcasse d'une bête « liquidée » par un prédateur ou une maladie.

Dominique CHARPIN, <charpin@msh-paris.fr>

30) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 9 : une lettre sans adresse débutant par une liste de lamentations-balaḡ – A. Gadotti et A. Kleinerman ont récemment publié un document paléo-babylonien très intéressant, CUNES 50-70-013 (« “Here is what I have. Send me what I am missing”: Exchange of Syllabi in Ancient Mesopotamia », ZA 101, 2011, p. 72-77). Leur description est la suivante : « The text, at first glance, would appear to be a balaḡ catalogue. The obverse lists seven balaḡ compositions, three of which were attested previously in balaḡ compositions with OB manuscripts (...) The lists of incipits is separated from the colophon by a single horizontal line (...) ». Le terme de « colophon » pour décrire les l. 8-9 est encore employé p. 73 et à nouveau p. 75, où les auteurs indiquent : « The colophon suggests that the “catalogue” classification for this text may be inaccurate. Its personal nature certainly shows that this was not a catalogue in the same way as the other known from the Old Babylonian period (...) Rather, this text appears to belong to the epistolary genre ». Je me propose de revenir sur trois points relatifs à l'édition et à l'interprétation de ce document.

La première question est celle du genre du texte. L'indication de la p. 75, citée ci-dessus, est beaucoup trop timide. Il s'agit clairement d'un exemple de billet sans adresse. Contrairement à ce qu'on pourrait croire, ce genre à l'époque paléo-babylonienne ne se limite pas aux *ze'pum* de la période tardive (pour lesquels cf. les indications de W. Sallaberger, CM 16, p. 26). Il en existe de plus anciens : on note ainsi à Mari six billets dans les archives du bureau de l'huile de la salle 79 (FM 3 29, 86, 113, 121, 126 et 128), datant de Zimri-Lim. On en trouve aussi à Larsa (OECT 15 50 [Rim-Sin II], 51, 56 [Rim-Sin II ; édité et commenté dans RA 101, 2007, p. 160], 58, 64 [Rim-Sin II]). Dans le cas présent, il s'agit d'une lettre sans adresse débutant par une liste d'objets très particuliers (des lamentations-balaḡ). Ce type de billet n'est pas sans parallèle. On notera par exemple A.3769 (intégralement cité par J.-M. Durand dans ARM 26/1, p. 231). Cette tablette commence comme une liste de personnes (avec par deux fois le nom d'un individu et sa localité d'appartenance), suivie par un récapitulatif (l. 5-7), puis le texte de la lettre proprement dite : l'auteur (anonyme) du billet demande que les deux devins nommés au début du texte le rejoignent rapidement pour prêter serment. La tablette CUNES 50-70-013 appartient donc sans aucun doute au genre épistolaire, plus particulièrement au sous-groupe des *letter-order*. À ce titre, le document a été inclus dans le corpus d'ARCHIBAB.

Le deuxième point porte sur la lecture et la traduction des lignes 8-9, qui suivent la liste des 7 lamentations. Elles ont été ainsi transcrites :

8. *an-nu-tim* balaḡ-meš *i-šu* (erasure) 21
9. *ša la-a i-šu-ú* balaḡ-meš *šu-bi-lam*

La traduction donnée est :

8. I have these (out of) 21 balaḡ-lamentations
9. The ones I do not have, send (those) balaḡ-lamentations to me!

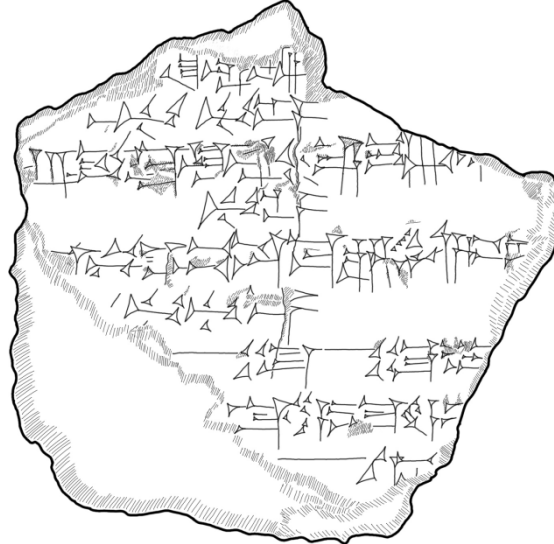
L'ordre des mots de la l. 8 est, certes, étonnant, avec *annūtim* préposé à balaḡ-meš. Mais la façon dont le chiffre 21 serait séparé de balaḡ-meš serait très surprenante. En réalité, le « 21 » fait partie de ce qui a été effacé à la fin de la l. 8, ce que montrent aussi bien la copie que la photo ; comme me l'a fait remarquer H. Reculeau, le pseudo 21 est un signe *-lam* effacé, qui a été ré-écrit l. 9. Il n'y a donc nul corpus de 21 lamentations-balaḡ. On comprendra simplement : « (8) Telles sont les lamentations-balaḡ que j'ai. (9) Ce que je n'ai pas, fais-moi porter (ces) lamentations-balaḡ. »

Le dernier point a trait à la place des lamentations-balaḡ dans le curriculum paléo-babylonien (ZA 101, p. 76). Je me permets d'attirer l'attention sur ma note consacrée aux « Découvertes épigraphiques à Larsa », NABU 1989/118, complétée par le chapitre sur « La politique immobilière des marchands de Larsa à la lumière des découvertes épigraphiques de 1987 et 1989 », dans J.-L. Huot (éd.), *Larsa. Travaux de 1987 et 1989*, BAH 165, Beyrouth, 2003, p. 311-322 (spéc. p. 314b-315a) (disponible sur <http://www.digitorient.com/?p=76>). J'y ai indiqué que plusieurs balaḡ ainsi que plusieurs *eršemma*, copiés à l'époque de Rim-Sin, ont été découverts entre deux sols dans un passage de la maison B 59, où ils avaient été mis au rebut. Malheureusement, la maison B 59 ayant été « visitée » au début du XX^e siècle, la fouille n'a pas permis d'en identifier les occupants. Par ailleurs, les circonstances ne m'ont pas permis de retravailler et de publier ces textes, découverts à Larsa à la fin de la campagne de 1989 ; leur existence ne doit cependant pas être oubliée.

Dominique CHARPIN

31) A Middle Babylonian Fragment of Angim in the University of Pennsylvania Museum *) – The fragment from Nippur CBS 11153 (cm. 3,6 x 3,7), here presented in copy and transliteration (photo available on CDLI), is a

nine line Middle Babylonian parallel of Angim not published by Cooper¹⁾. Dating is based on the typical Kassite shape of the sign KUR in line 5²⁾. This fragment, which only preserves the obverse, probably belongs to the same tablet of N 6286 (Ms. Aa in Cooper), but it should be noted that, against N 6286 which follows the OB manuscripts presenting the same sequence of lines, the line order of our text diverges from the OB tradition. In addition CBS 11153 seems to divide lines differently from the OB manuscripts (see lines 1, 5-6). The most outstanding characteristic is the citation of line 139 which, so far, was only attested in the Neo Assyrian recension.



CBS 11153

- 1.151(?) [.....] ki 'me₃ šen³-[šen]
 2. [.....] x -mu mu-e-
 3.139 [..... gaba-ri nu-tu]ku gar₃-ur₃-dar me₃ 'huš³-a a₂-r³ĝal₂ an³-[.....]
 4 mu-e-
 5.148-149 [..... a₂-zi-d]a-mu gal¹-bi tum₂-ma kug-sig₁₇ ^{na4}za-gin₃-ne₂ [x]
 6.149 [..... (x)]-mu mu-e-
 7.153 [..... ħa-ma-ni-ib₂]-ku₄-ku₄¹-de₃
 8.154 [..... (ħa-ma-ni)]-tu₅-tu₅[₅]
 9. [.....](-)e[₃⁷]

Commentary

1. This line could be identified with Angim 151 only assuming that part of 150 was drafted on the same row, because line 151 begins with ki in the Old Babylonian manuscripts. CBS 11153 adds me₃, cfr. OB ki šen-šen.

2. Line 2 reports the end of Angim 151. As N 6286, our text quotes the shortened verbal form against OB mu-da-an-ĝal₂-la-am₃.

3. Restoration is based on the context, because this part is missing in both the Sumerian and Akkadian versions of the NA recension, cfr. Angim 150, ĝiš-tukul galam-ma maḥ gal dirig-ga me₃ nir-ĝal₂ gaba-ri nu-tuku "I bear the perfect weapon, exceedingly magnificent, trustworthy in battle, having no equal" (Cooper). gar₃-ur₃-dar is nowhere else documented : a possible explanation for the insertion of ur₃ in gar₃-dar = *sakāpu* (to defeat) of the NA recension, is connected to the semantic depth of ur₃ which is often used in contexts of destruction³⁾; in addition ur₃ is used to write the name of Šarur, spelled šar₂-ur₃, the most important of Ninurta's weapons⁴⁾ and it needs to be recalled that this line is part of the catalogue of the weapons of the god.

5-6. Lines 147-149 were written separately by OB manuscripts except for CBS 14185, whereas the NA manuscript reports the three lines as one⁵⁾ ; in CBS 11153 only 148 and 149 are preserved, split in two lines but with a different distribution since in OB manuscripts line 149 begins with kug-sig₁₇. Line 147 was probably written in CBS 11153 as well but is missing. Note the variant ^{na4}za-gin₃-ne₂ for the expected locative of the OB and NA recensions, ^{na4}za-gin₃-na⁶⁾.

7. Apparently the scribe writes the second ku₄ with two vertical wedges.

8. The verbal form is ħe₂-em-tu₅-tu₅-de₃ in OB manuscripts.

*) Published with the authorization of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

1) Cooper, J. S. (1978), *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur*, *Analecta Orientalia*, 52, Roma.

- 2) Cfr. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
 3) Cfr. Sjöberg, Å. W. (1970-1971), “Hymns to Meslamtaea, Lugalgirra and Nanna-Suen in Honour of King Ibbisuen (Ibbisîn) of Ur”, *OrSu* 19-20, pp. 159-160.
 4) Cooper, J. S. (*op. cit.*), p. 122.
 5) *Ibid.*, p. 129.
 6) For the use of locative to indicate the material s. Jagersma B. (2010), *A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian*, PhD Dissertation, Universiteit Leiden, p. 176.

Maurizio VIANO, <maurizioviano@libero.it>
 Via Agnesi 24, 18100 IMPERIA (IM), ITALY

32) Louvre Gilgamesh (AO 19862) is depicted in life size⁸⁾ – The colossal human figure grasping a lion from the exterior façade of Sargon’s throne room in Khorsabad has long been suspected to represent Gilgamesh. However, there is no inscription on the sculpture, and the identification has remained unsure. One important detail has so far escaped the notice of scholars, namely the height of the sculpted figure (ca 5,5 m) and its exact correspondence to the data given about the tallness of the hero in the Epic of Gilgamesh. Gilgamesh was said to be 11 cubits tall, as was first known from the Hittite version of the epic – 11 *AM-MA-TUM* (KUB 8.57.I, line 8).¹⁾ A recently published Ugaritic version also agrees with that – 11 *i-na am-ma-ti la-an-šú* (RS 94.2006, line 34).²⁾ The Ugaritic version helped A. R. George to reconstruct the line I 52 in the Standard Babylonian version from the manuscripts **g** and **h** as follows: [x x x x l]a-na ʿ11 ina¹ ammatî(1.kùš) [la-an-šú], which he translates „[A giant(?)] in stature, eleven cubits [was his height]“.³⁾

The height of the Khorsabad giant AO 19862 is given as 5.52 m. on the Musée du Louvre webpage, although according to another source it is a little shorter, 5.45 m.⁴⁾ I don’t know the origin of this 7 cm. difference, but both figures match the data of the epic that Gilgamesh was 11 cubits tall. The cubit of 30 “fingers” is ca. 50 cm, standard from Pre-Sargonic through Old Babylonian times, later also called the “big cubit”.⁵⁾ There are other details about measures of the body of Gilgamesh in the epic that can be controlled from this relief. The Hittite version gives the breadth of his shoulders with the number 9, but the length unit is broken away from the tablet.⁶⁾ The Ugaritic version reads: 4 *i-na am-ma-tim bi-rit tu-le-šú* „four cubits is the width of his chest“ (lines 34-5), which is the only passage attesting to this figure, because from the manuscripts with Standard Babylonian version, only *bi-rit* is legible so far from the line (SB I 53, ms **g**).⁷⁾ The Louvre Gilgamesh seems to have a little more than three cubits as the width of his chest, measured from a two-dimensional photograph. However, nobody knows how exactly the *birît tulê* was measured in ancient Mesopotamia. If one has to start the measure from the point where the curvatures of hero’s figure emerge from the stone slab, four cubits may be the actual width of his chest on this relief.

The next line of the epic describes the length of his feet – three cubits from the sole of the foot to the knee and six cubits all together. The Ugaritic version reads: *ni-kás GÌR.2-šu ù qa-na pu-ri-du-šu* (line 36) and SB I 56: NÍG.KA₉ GÌR-šú ½ nindan p[u-ri-is-su] (ms. d₁).⁸⁾ This information accords well with the Louvre relief, in which there are three cubits from the ground to the knee of the hero and the full length of his *purîdu* is exactly 6 cubits. It is only natural that a stride of this giant must have been about 3 metres, that is 6 cubits long, as we are informed by SB I 57.⁹⁾ Subsequently, line SB I 58 specifies the extent of *a-šá-rit-ti š[á le]-te-šú*, which is probably from the topmost part of the bearded area on the cheeks to the bottom end of his beard. This extent can be measured as two cubits from a photograph, accordingly the restoration of the full line should be [2 K]ÛŠ a-šá-rit-ti š[á le]-te-šú.¹⁰⁾

There was another very similar figure nearby in Sargon’s palace, also grasping a lion in his left arm and holding a sickle sword in his right hand (AO 19861). These two colossal human figures form a part of an elaborate heraldic motif, which P. Albenda designates the grand royal emblem, consisting of “two winged human-headed bulls moving in opposite directions and flanking a hero grasping a lion, all of which are depicted with frontal faces. It was set up in two known areas of Sargon’s palace which stood on the high mound; namely, on the terrace wall fronting the palace [AO 19861] and on the northeast wall in façade n [AO 19862].”¹¹⁾

The figure in the relief AO 19861 is shorter than that of AO 19862, its height being about 4,70 m.¹²⁾ It is tempting to assume that the other colossal figure represents Enkidu. The Epic of Gilgamesh does not give the exact physical measures of Enkidu, but in several versions it is said that “he is like Gilgamesh in figure, though shorter in height he is strong in body.”¹³⁾ Thus Enkidu is shorter than Gilgamesh, but this is compensated for with a sturdier physique. If AO 19861 depicts Enkidu in life size as AO 19862 does with Gilgamesh, then he may have been thought to be about 9,5 cubits tall. Another visible clue for AO 19861’s identification with Enkidu is his curly hair, in accordance with SB I 107. The lions in the grip of the heroes have been considered to be “small lions” in proportion to the human bodies holding them. However, both lions’ bodies measure about 3 cubits or 1,5 metres, which is the natural size of an adult lion. Accordingly, one does not have to see the lions as diminutive, as they are also depicted life size.

There seems to be no doubt that, given the central position of these two figures in Sargon's palace in Khorsabad, this Assyrian king thought himself to have a special relationship to the two epic characters. The grand royal emblem proclaims the long genealogy of the Assyrian king, extending to Gilgamesh, depicted in an artistic style resembling that of the Akkad period. The powerful qualities of the two heroes in the reliefs reinforce symbolically the might of Assyrian kingship and its lasting greatness over all foes.¹⁴⁾ The tragic death of Sargon on military expedition in 705 may have had an impact on how later Mesopotamian kings began to think about their personal relationship to Gilgamesh. It is also noteworthy that the famous scribe Nabû-zuqup-kēnu sought an explanation for Sargon's hideous fate by copying the 12th tablet of the epic after receiving the news about his death.¹⁵⁾ This was because the scribe knew about his king's special relationship with Gilgamesh, and also possibly with Enkidu.

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1) This tablet (Bo. 624) was first published by J. Friedrich ZA 39 (1930); subsequently by H. Otten, *Istanbulur Mitteilungen* 8 (1958); and E. Laroche RHA 26 (1968): 8.

2) D. Arnaud, *Aula Orientalis Supplementa* 27 (2007) no. 42; A. R. George, *Aula Orientalis* 25 (2007): 240.

3) A. R. George, *Aula Orientalis* 25 (2007): 247-248.

4) The webpage: <http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/hero-overpowering-lion> (accessed June 9th, 2012); cf. P. Albenda, *Le Palais de Sargon d'Assyrie*. Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations (1986), 158, Fig. 8.

5) M. A. Powell, „Masse und Gewichte“, *RIA* 7 (1987-1990): 459, 462, 475.

6) The reconstruction w[a-ak-šur] in the end of the line 8. is unsure, as wakšur does not occur anywhere else as a length unit (*RIA* 7, p. 518). However, if it was about 1/3 of a cubit (ca. 15 cm), the breadth of his shoulders should have been about 3 cubits (J. Puhvel, personal communication).

7) A. R. George, *Aula Orientalis* 25 (2007): 240, 242; A. R. George, „SB Gilgamesh Tablet I“, p. 5, published electronically <http://www.soas.ac.uk/nme/research/gilgamesh/standard/file39589.pdf> (accessed June 9th, 2012).

8) See A. R. George, *Aula Orientalis* 25 (2007): 240, 242; A. R. George, „SB Gilgamesh Tablet I“ (see previous note), p. 6. The measure *nikkas* or *nikkassu* equals three cubits (M. A. Powell, *RIA* 7, p. 463), one *qanû* is six cubits (ibid.), and a half of *nindan* is also six cubits.

9) A. R. George, *Aula Orientalis* 25 (2007): 247.

10) See A. R. George, *Aula Orientalis* 25 (2007): 247.

11) P. Albenda, *Le Palais de Sargon d'Assyrie* (see n. 4), 101.

12) P. Albenda, *Le Palais de Sargon d'Assyrie* (see n. 4), 158.

13) *anami Gilgameš mašil padattam lānam šapil ešemtam pukkul*. See A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic* (Oxford, 2003), OB II 81-2// 184-5 (pp. 183-4); MB Boğı (p. 178); cf. SB II 41; for another version, see A. R. George *RA* 101 (2007): 66, line 84: *la-na né-e'*; cf. p. 70.

14) P. Albenda, *Le Palais de Sargon d'Assyrie* (see n. 4), 102. Sargon personally discussed the measures of some art objects in his Khorsabad palace with his administrators, see Parpola, SAA 1: 145; 150.

15) See E. Frahm, „Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, das Gilgameš-Epos und der Tod Sargons II.“ *JCS* 51 (1999), esp. 76-81.

Amar ANNUS, <amar.annus@ut.ee>

33) Invoking God before Eating: a Previous Example from Mesopotamia — A very interesting passage of *Ludlul bel Nemeqi* has escaped from attention. In tablet II (I.12-32), when the man temporary without divine help describes the right attitude to have in front of the gods, he mentions also the necessity of invoking his god before eating. It isn't said if this action has to be repeated every day or only in some particular occasions, but this practice recalls that used in Christian communities and a link can be supposed with Mesopotamia.

Laura BATTINI, <laura.battini@mom.fr>
CNRS, UMR 5133 (Archéorient)- Université de Lyon

34) Addenda to GMTR 4 (Appendix 12) — The catalogue of the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions published in R. Da Riva, *The Neo-Babylonian Royal Inscriptions. An Introduction* (Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 4), Münster 2008, pp. 116-127 (Appendix 12) needs some additions.

1. Nebuchadnezzar Stone Tablet, ST (Da Riva 2008, 122):

– ST/2: Limestone slab, Arthur M. Sackler Collection Trust (New York), 82.2.8., duplicate of ST. The piece measures 54.9x54.9x11.3 cm; it contains on the obverse the remains of four columns of a text drafted in Old-Babylonian monumental writing. As in ST, the edges of Sackler Nbk are inscribed (cols. V and X*), but not the reverse, in which one would expect cols. VI*-IX*. The slab has been published by R. Wallenfels, “A New Stone

Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II,” *From the Banks of the Euphrates: Studies in Honor of Alice Louise Slotsky*. Micah Ross (ed.), Winona Lake 2007, pp. 263-291 and plates 1-4.

2. Nebuchadnezzar cylinders:

I owe to R. Kovacs some information regarding new Nebuchadnezzar cylinders, unfortunately not included in the catalogue of GMTR 4.

a. Nebuchadnezzar C23 (Da Riva 2008, 118-119):

– C23/31: Rosicrucian Museum (San Jose, CA), RC 0368 = CDLI P388406.

b. Nebuchadnezzar C32 (Da Riva 2008, 120-121):

– C32/17: Green Lake exemplar is no longer at Green Lake, it was sold as part of the Kraft collection in Sotheby’s New York in December 1996. Its current whereabouts is unknown.

– C32/35: Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland, USA, Museum no. WAG 48.1800 = CDLI P272903.

– C32/36: Rosicrucian Museum (San Jose, CA), RC 171 = CDLI P388427.

– C32/? : R. Kovacs kindly informs me of a further C32 duplicate “sold in the 1930s by a London book seller”. In my opinion it may be C32/27 (the unidentified duplicate from London). The piece was briefly described in Maggs Bros., catalogue “The Art of Writing 2800 BC to 1930 AD. (c. 1930s, exact date unknown), page 24-28, no. 22, with a photo on p. 25. Whoever translated it says it is similar to Rm. 674, and the translation is indeed for the Marad cylinder.”

Rocío DA RIVA,

Dep. of Prehistory, Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Barcelona, Montalegre 6-8,
E-08001, BARCELONA, SPAIN

35) Collations to the Antiochus Cylinder (BM 36277) — The clay foundation cylinder of Antiochus I from Borsippa (BM 36277), which records the king’s rebuilding of the Ezida temple in 268 BC, is the latest surviving royal building inscription in cuneiform, and the only one attested for a Seleucid ruler. It was copied by Strassmaier (1882: 139-142) and Pinches (Rawlinson and Pinches 1884), and has been edited by Weissbach (1911: 132-5), Kuhrt and Sherwin-White (1991), and most recently by Stol and van der Spek in a preliminary new online edition at *Livius.org*.¹⁾

Collation of the cylinder results in a few altered readings, with one of particular significance for the portrayal of the god Nabû and the process of composition of the cylinder. I am grateful to Irving Finkel for discussing the inscription with me and confirming the collation of Col. ii.14, and to Jonathan Taylor for facilitating my examination of the cylinder.

Col. ii.14: ^{gis}da-ka instead of *haṭ-ṭa-ka*.

Close comparison with the writings of GIŠ and PA elsewhere in the inscription reveals that the first sign of the word is GIŠ, not PA (the vertical is consistently further to the right with GIŠ; the two signs are correctly distinguished in Strassmaier’s original copy of 1882). We must therefore read ^{gis}da, *lē’u*, ‘writing board’, which is of course a more traditional attribute of Nabû. Col. ii.14-15 will then read *i-na* ^{gis}da-ka *ṣi-i-ri / mu-kin pùl-lu-uk-ku*¹²⁾ *an-e u ki-ti* (see below for collation of ii.15), ‘on your exalted writing board, which fixes the boundary of heaven and earth.’ The presence of a specific allusion to Nabû’s role as god of writing and scholarship is a significant addition to the inscription. Although the otherwise generic epithets and repetitive genealogical statements applied to him in the Antiochus cylinder would support Pomponio’s contention that the god’s personality was by this time fading,²⁾ the mention of Nabû’s writing board suggests that at least some knowledge of his particular qualities and attributes was still alive in Hellenistic Borsippa.

The updated reading also strengthens the parallel between Col. ii.14-15 and two Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions. Several scholars have already noted the similarity of these two lines to a phrase from Nebuchadnezzar’s cylinder inscriptions describing work on the Borsippa ziggurat: *i-na* ^{gis}le-u₅-um *ki-i-ni₇ mu-ki-in pu-lu-uk ṣa-mé-e ù er-še-ti*.³⁾ The revised reading of the Antiochus cylinder shows that the correspondence between the two passages is almost verbatim. Another Neo-Babylonian parallel can be adduced from Nabonidus’ Ezida cylinder, where Nabû’s cosmic writing board appears at ii.23-4: *i-na* ^{gis}le-é-um-ka *ki-i-ni₇ ṣa-mé-e ù er-še-ti*.⁴⁾ The extremely close verbal correspondences between the cylinder of Antiochus and those of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus, combined with the rarity of the evocative description of Nabû’s writing board in surviving texts, suggest that this is a case of direct borrowing. The fact that the relevant Nebuchadnezzar cylinders were found at Borsippa and Nabonidus’ Ezida cylinder is also very likely to have come from there further supports the possibility that the composer of the Antiochus cylinder may have taken the phrase from an earlier inscription that was available locally. I hope to discuss this issue further elsewhere.

Col. ii.15 *pùl-lu-uk-ku*¹⁹ instead of *pùl-lu¹(ku)-uk-ku¹(lu)*. There is considerable variation in the writings of KU and LU throughout the cylinder, and sometimes the two signs are written very similarly. The sign after PAL can be read as LU, as there are parallel writings of LU elsewhere in the text (including in *pa-lu-ú-a* in the previous line). The final sign of the word is more difficult; it does look more like LU, and no writing of KU in the inscription provides a clear parallel. However, the extra vertical in the centre of the sign is also larger and more lightly incised than in any of the other writings of LU, and if one looks closely there seem to be some traces of extra strokes. Given the variety of writings for both signs it is difficult to reach a certain conclusion.

Col. ii.18 *lik-šu-du* instead of *lik-šu-da*. Although *-da* is expected grammatically, the sign is DU (following Weissbach and Kuhrt and Sherwin-White), not the combination of KU+DU used to write DA in this text.

1) http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/antiochus_cylinder/antiochus_cylinder1.html. (Accessed 28 April 2012).

2) Pomponio 1978: 106.

3) See Stol and van der Spek's commentary on ii.15; Kosmin forthcoming: 32 n.69. The relevant phrase from the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions is Langdon 1912: Nebukadnezar Nr. 11 ii 23. Langdon read ^{isu}*li-hu-ši-um* but the copy in IR, 51 No.1 suggests ^{eis}*le-us-um*, a logographic spelling attested elsewhere (CAD L: 156 s.v. lē'u).

4) Most recently edited in Schaudig 2001: 395-7.

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Kathryn STEVENS

King's College, University of Cambridge, UK

36) Quelques objets du Proche-Orient ancien au Musée des Beaux-Arts du Château de Blois — Le Musée des Beaux-Arts du Château de Blois conserve une petite collection d'objets du Proche-Orient ancien. Elle provient du legs de la collection André Frank, entrée au musée en 1973. Quatre objets portent des inscriptions cunéiformes ; parmi eux, trois ont déjà été publiés, avant ou après leur entrée au musée. Avec l'aimable autorisation de Madame Elisabeth Latrémoilière, Conservatrice, j'en donne ci-dessous la liste. Mes remerciements s'adressent aussi à Monsieur Christian Dugrenier, qui a attiré mon attention sur cette collection et m'a fourni des photographies, ainsi qu'aux collègues qui ont bien voulu m'aider à identifier son contenu : P. Abrahams, S. Cluzan, J. Justel, B. Lafont, C. Michel et J.-P. Vita.

N° 73.7.68 : une tablette d'Ur III, datée de l'an 3 de Šu-Sîn. Elle a été publiée par Thomas E. Balke, « Eine Neusumerische Urkunde über Materialien für den Schiffsbau », *Ugarit Forschungen* 25, 1993, p. 1-8, d'après des photographies. La translittération établie par T. E. Balke a été mise en ligne sur le site du CDLI, avec quelques corrections de B. Lafont, sous le numéro P 139509, ainsi que la photo prise par M. Dugrenier.

N° 73.7.69 : une tablette paléo-assyrienne, lettre d'Aššur-nādā à Šišahšušar et Aššur-nēmedī. Elle a été publiée par Paul Garelli, « Tablettes cappadociennes de collections diverses (fin) », *RA* 60, 1966, p. 92-152 : aux p. 138-140 figurent la copie, la translittération et traduction de la tablette, qui se trouvait alors dans la collection A. Frank. Cette tablette a ensuite été intégrée à l'étude de M. T. Larsen, *The Aššur-nādā Archive*, Leiden, 2002, p. 76-77, n° 53 et à celle de C. Michel, *Correspondance des marchands de Kanish*, Paris, 2001, p. 479-480, n° 360 ; ces deux auteurs ont suivi l'édition de P. Garelli.

N° 73.7.23 : une étiquette (3 x 3 cm) portant sur l'un de ses côtés une inscription en alphabet ougaritique, sur deux autres côtés une empreinte d'un même sceau-cylindre. Cette étiquette a d'abord appartenu au comte Chandon de Briailles avant d'arriver dans la collection d'A. Frank. L'inscription a été copiée et translittérée par Ch. Virolleaud, « Les nouvelles tablettes de Ras Shamra (1948-1949) », *Syria* 28, 1951, p. 22-56, sous le n° 26 (p. 44-45), puis dans *Palais royal d'Ougarit*, Mission de Ras Shamra 7, Paris, 1957, p. 191, sous le n° 163 ; le même

ouvrage précise comment cette tablette a quitté Ougarit : elle aurait été « trouvée en surface par un laboureur, et cédée par lui à un visiteur du tell de Ras Shamra pendant notre absence » (p. XL). Elle figure aussi dans W. H. van Soldt, « Labels from Ugarit », *Ugarit-Forschungen* 21, 1989, p. 375-388, sous le n° 1 (p. 375). Elle est mentionnée dans P. Bordreuil et D. Pardee, *La Trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit. I. Concordance*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit 5, Paris, 1983, p. 379. L'empreinte du sceau n'a pas été publiée.

N° 73.7.25 : une brique élamite inscrite, datant du règne de Šutruk-nahhunte (13 x 13 x 7 cm). L'inscription figure sur deux tranches consécutives de la brique, son contenu est connu par de multiples autres exemplaires sur des briques de formes et dimensions diverses provenant de Suse. Les inscriptions de ce type sont étudiées par Florence Malbran-Labat, *Les inscriptions royales de Suse*, Paris, 1996, p. 79-81, n° 33.

Brigitte LION, <brigitte.lion@univ-tours.fr>

37) The collection of cylinder seals and stamps held in the Musée des Confluences of Lyon — The Musée des Confluences of Lyon, first a Natural Historic Museum, holds a collection of nearly 200 seals, arrived at the end of XIXth c. AC and at the beginning of XXth c. AC. Only for 15 of them, something is known about their origin: 5 come from Palmyra, 10 in the surroundings of Mardin. The first ones entered in the museum collection in 1883 from Savoie, the second ones were held first by the father Gianantonio da Milano, then by the Congregation of the Catholic Faith and lastly arrived in the collection as a deposit in the seventies. At least 33 others were bought from Desroys in the 1920th who took them from the archbishop of Smyrna, but it isn't clear how he had these seals. It's possible that almost the rest of the museum collection had had its origin from Desroys, but more researches are needed. The origin of 139 seals stay uncertain.

The Congregation tried in the Sixties to constitute a museum, but failed. So, its objects were given as deposit to different museums of Lyon, especially that of natural history. At the moment, more explanations about the origin and the arrival in Lyon of the seals are impossible, perhaps they have been considered without a real interest because of their size and their belonging to that one considered « minor art ».

72% are stamp seals, nearly 15% are cylinder seals, and the remaining 13% can be interpreted as amulets, beads and stones. Cylinder seals have a Mesopotamian origin and are for the most part assigned to the Neo-Assyrian period. Stamps seals, except few exemplars from Chalcolithic and Neo-Assyrian time, are for the major part Sassanid. None has been published before and constitute a good sample of the main subjects of Sassanid glyptic.

The publication of the collection, entrusted to L. Battini, is a necessary start point to become an international knowledge and to further analysis. The interest of the collection is multiple. First of all, the seals point out the methods of pioneering archaeologists. Even if time is now bygone, the seals stay as a evidence how pioneering archaeologists didn't hesitate to take objects, even if they didn't attribute them a big value, as in the case of seals, regarded as "minor art". Secondly, the group of Sassanid seals is a good sample of the iconography of the Sassanid dynasty. Almost all the subjects are represented: the human bust, the human entire figure, the daemon known as Gayomard, the two daemons, the animals, the symbols like the pomegranate flower, the altar, the sun star as well as the crescent moon. Also characteristic of the Sassanid seals is the prominence of animal subject and secondly of symbols. But also the Mesopotamian seals are very representative of the glyptic of this period: hero holding animals, fighting hero, adoration of an altar, sun disc held by two daemons, divinity between standard poles, animals between trees. Thirdly, the principal aim of this collection of seals is the same, even if the examples belong to different periods. The most part of glyptic has magic virtues, like the subjects of Gayomard, of the two daemons, or that of the adoration of an altar. Others enhance the positive values and the fertility like the pomegranate flower or the Assyrian tree. Seals were created to protect human life and give good luck to people. From the 1st mill. BC and also under the first centuries of the 1st mill. AC., one can see an augmentation of this worried feeling : all the uncertainties of existence are experimented and seals had to try to defend humans against the attack of bad chance. So, the collection of the Musée des Confluences of Lyon stays also as a mark of human life.

Laura BATTINI

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