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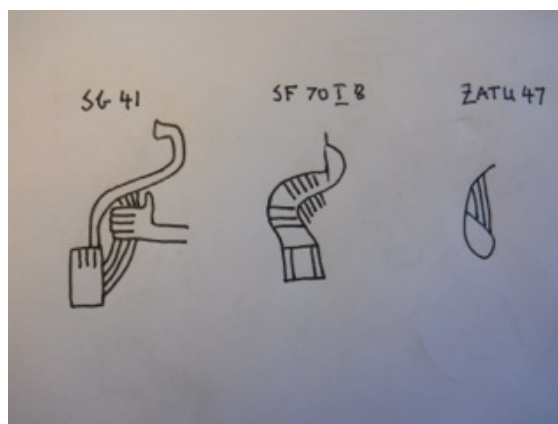
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NOTES BRÈVES

01) LAK 41 and Sb 41 — Stauder, in *RIA Harfe* (1973) understands the sign ZATU 45 as representing a round harp, probably more specifically a boat harp according to the rendering of the resonator. The sign appears in line 66 of archaic Lu2 A (ATU 3, 17). In the corresponding line of the ED version of Lu2 A (MSL 12, 10-11, line 78), LAK 41 appears, a sign that looks very different and does not appear to depict a harp, but still “more like a stringed instrument than a percussion instrument” (J. S. Cooper, *JCS* 58 [2006], 41-42, note 6). From LAK 41 develop all later forms of the sign. There exists a picture of an ED harp that resembles LAK 41 closely but has been overlooked. It is found on one of the Early Dynastic door plaques that framed the door knobs of Early Dynastic grand houses. It is Sb 41, excavated in Susa at the beginning of the 20th century, published with a good photograph by E. Pottier in *MDP* 13, 23, treated last by S. Pelzel in *JNES* 36 (1977) 1-15. It shows a happy scene with a musician playing a harp with his right and having his cup in his left upraised hand filled while a girl danced before the seated lady of the house with cup in hand opposite the harpist. The harp is a large instrument. Its recurved neck reaches behind the head of the seated player. The resonator rests on the ground before him. It could have the form of a cylinder or a box which could have been covered with hide. The fact that a monument from Susa shows this harp and none from Mesopotamia is remarkable. Perhaps it was not proper in Mesopotamia to use the balang in such secular scenes as depicted on Sb 41.



For the question “harp or drum” that started with M. E. Cohen’s arguments in favor of a drum (SANE 1/2, 31 [1974]), the picture on Sb 41, is relevant. Cohen’s argument that a harp could not have a “loop” (*kippatu*) is blunted by the possibility of the Sb 41 harp having a cylindrical resonator, and the general feeling that a harp should have a wooden resonator by the resonator’s form of cylinder or box, both of which could well have been covered with hide.

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02) Some remarks on the “oblique object” in Jagersma’s Descriptive Sumerian Grammar — The latest version of Bram Jagersma’s descriptive Sumerian grammar (Jagersma 2010) is a major step towards a grammar of Sumerian that may be used as a reference work both by Assyriologists and linguists, and it provides a solid basis from which any question of Sumerian grammar can now be discussed in a serious way. This note would like to take issue with some parts of his description of what he calls oblique object.

My discussion is related to the problems discussed in detail in my paper about the Sumerian cases read at the 53rd *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* in Moscow in 2007 (Zólyomi 2010). In this paper I argued that a description of Sumerian adverbial cases should be based on a concept of cases that considers cases as sets of nominal forms that are mutually substitutable in one or more syntactic environment, and makes a distinction between cases and case-markers.

I would like to use three well-known examples with the expression *inim* — *ĝar* “to raise a claim for someone/something” (lit. “to put a word on someone/something”) as the starting point of my discussion. In the examples below the object of the verb *ĝar* “to put” is *inim* “word”, which is in the absolutive case. The participant for whom a claim is raised (henceforth, CLAIMEE) is in an adverbial case.

In ex. (1) below the verbal form is transitive, the CLAIMEE is construed with a composite verbal prefix consisting of a 3rd ps. sg. non-human pronominal prefix /b/ and an adverbial prefix /i/. The noun phrase representing the non-human CLAIMEE is case-marked with the case-marker =/‘a/.

(1) NG 194: 31’ (cf. JAGERSMA 2010: 439, ex. 105)

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|----------|--------------------------|
| lu ₂ -gen ₆ -na | ab ₂ -ba | inim | bi ₂ -ĝar |
| lugena=e | ab=bi=‘a | inim=∅ | b-i-n-ĝar-∅ |
| PN=ERG | cow=DEM=L2.NH | word=ABS | 3NH-L2-3SG.A-place-3NH.P |

“(Ur-Ninmarki has bought a cow from Abakala.) Lugena raised a claim for that cow.”

In ex. (2) below the verbal form is intransitive with a passive meaning, signalled by the middle prefix /ba/-. The CLAIMEE is construed with an adverbial prefix /y/, which stands here without a preceding pronominal element. The noun phrase representing the non-human CLAIMEE is case-marked with the case-marker =/‘a/.

(2) NG 212: 2 (cf. JAGERSMA 2010: 485, ex. 99)

| | | |
|------------------|----------|--------------------------|
| kug-ba | inim | ba-a-ĝa ₂ -ar |
| kug=bi=‘a | inim=∅ | ba-y-ĝar-∅ |
| silver=DEM=L2.NH | word=ABS | MID-L2-put-3NH.S |

“(It was established that Dinili has bought Agi for 6 shekels of silver.) A claim has been raised for that silver.”

In ex. (3) below the verbal form is transitive, the CLAIMEE is construed with a composite verbal prefix consisting of a 3rd ps. sg. human pronominal prefix /nn/ and an adverbial prefix /i/. The noun phrase representing the human CLAIMEE is case-marked with the case-marker =/ra/.

(3) NG 205: 2–4 (cf. JAGERSMA 2010: 421, ex. 24)

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ^m igi-sag ₉ -ga | arad ₂ | maš-gu-la-ra, | i ₃ -bi ₂ -la | maš-gu-la-ke ₄ -ne, |
| igisaga | arad | mašgula=ak=ra | ibila | mašgula=ak=ene=e |
| PN ₁ | slave | PN ₂ =GEN=L2.H | heir | PN ₂ =GEN=PL=ERG |
| inim | | in-ni- ^{ĝa} ĝar ^{ar} -eš | | |
| inim=∅ | | i-nn-i-n-ĝar-eš | | |
| word=ABS | | FIN-3SG-L2-3SG.A-put-3PL | | |

“The heirs of Mašgula raised a claim for Igisaga, the slave of Mašgula”

At this basic level, the description offered here differs from the one Jagersma would give only in minor points: he assumes, following P. Attinger, that the form of the adverbial prefix is /e/ but not /y/ in ex. (2) (cf. ZÓLYOMI 2000); and the verbal prefix construed with the CLAIMEE is thought to be a “fused” /nni/ by him in ex. (3).

The main difference between us lies in the model that explains and interprets the formal means enumerated above. My interpretation assumes that all these formal means are used to express a single (distributional) case labelled as locative2, with the basic meaning is “on, onto” (superessive, sublative), reflected in the glossing of the examples. The arguments for this interpretation are detailed in my Rencontre paper (ZÓLYOMI 2010).

Jagersma offers a somehow more complicated interpretation. He assumes that in exx. (1) and (2) the verbal prefix is a morpheme labelled “local prefix”. This “local prefix” is preceded by an initial person-prefix in ex. (1), while it stands without such a prefix in ex. (2). The verbal morpheme construed with the CLAIMEE in ex. (3) is labelled as “oblique object prefix” by him. He calls the nominal case-marker “locative” in exx. (1) and (2), while “dative” in ex. (3). In sum, he uses FOUR different grammatical labels to describe the grammatical function of the same participant of the same phrase: depending on whether the participant is human or non-human, whether the formal means is nominal or verbal, he refers to the same participant with the term local, oblique object, locative, or dative.

My assumption is that an interpretation that uses only one term for describing the grammatical function of a verbal participant is preferred to the one that uses four, but I would like to show in the following that Jagersma’s description is not only more complicated but is based on some unfounded assumptions.

Some of the complications in Jagersma’s description are the result of the following assumption:

“The local prefix {e} ‘on’ is combined with the initial person-prefix non-human {b} where possible but never occurs with an initial person-prefix human. This is entirely according to expectations. The local prefix {e} is used in the same way as certain noun phrases in the locative case and that case is likewise restricted to non-human nouns (§7.7).” (p. 476)

The consequence of this assumption is that the verbal prefix construed with the CLAIMEE in ex. (3) is thought to be different from the verbal prefix of the verbal forms in exx. (1) and (2); Jagersma classifies it as an oblique object prefix.

In Jagersma’s grammar “the *oblique object* is a formally defined category and has therefore by definition a one-to-one relationship with a specific marking pattern” (p. 415, fn. 1). The emphasis is on the formal definition as one can see from his list of uses assigned to the oblique object. Jagersma identifies namely three uses of the oblique object (p. 416):

- i) “to express a location with the meaning ‘in(to) contact with’”;
- ii) “to express the causee in a causative construction derived from a transitive construction”;
- iii) “[t]he third use is restricted to the human gender class. A verb that construes a non-human object with the local prefix {e} ‘on’ construes a human object as an oblique object”.

The relatedness of the first two uses may not cause a problem. But the third one is strange: it is restricted only to one of the grammatical classes of nouns, and it expresses a local meaning quite different

from that of use i). The assignment of use iii) to the oblique object seems rather ad hoc; one would expect that a formal device is used to express meanings that have something in common.

In fact one would look for a real, notional definition of the oblique object as a syntactic function in vain in Jagersma's grammar: he appears only to state that the oblique object is the verbal participant cross-referenced by an oblique object prefix in the finite verb (p. 415). He does not explain why this verbal prefix is called oblique object (and not, for example, locative3), and why it is cross-referenced with a noun in the dative or the directive (and not, for example, in the oblique).

As regards ex. (3), one may think that it would be simpler to assume that in this example the verbal prefix construed with the CLAIMEE is in fact a composite dimensional prefix consisting a 3rd ps. sg. human initial person-prefix /nn/ and the "local prefix {e}". This assumption would result in making the oblique object a semantically more compact category, by assigning its unrelated use iii) to the "locale prefix"; and would make the "locale prefix" an element that may be construed with both human and non-human participants. This then would also be "entirely according to expectations", as there seems to be no compelling reason to assume that something can be placed/situated only on non-humans but not on humans. Also, the description of exx. (1)–(3) would be simpler, as in all three examples the verbal prefix construed with the CLAIMEE would be the same dimensional prefix.

Jagersma's reason for choosing the more complicated solution lies in his analysis of the "OO-prefix {nni}":

"How is the OO-prefix {nni} to be analysed? It is part of the same paradigm as the OO-prefix {bi}. Hence, the /i/ of {nni} must be the same /i/ as in {bi}. But where does the /nn/ come from? It cannot be simply the initial person-prefix of the third person singular human, because that is /n/, not /nn/ (§16.2.2). However, the indirect-object prefix {nna} has an initial /nn/ too and that is not the only property that {nni} shares with it. Both {nna} and {nni} express the same syntactic function as a noun phrase in the dative case, {nna} expressing an indirect object and {nni} an oblique object. And both {nna} and {nni} follow the prefix {ba} in the relative order of verbal prefixes.

Thus, {nni} shares properties with both the OO-prefix {bi} and the IO-prefix {nna}. This is best explained if we assume that the prefix {nni} came into existence by analogy on the proportion {ba} :: {bi} = {nna} :: X (X = {nni}). In other words, the prefix {nni} cannot be fully segmented into constituent parts, but its internal make-up can be explained historically: it does indeed contain the initial person-prefix {n} and the dimensional prefix {e}, but that is only an etymology." (p. 423)

In my view, the author does not distinguish clearly between linguistic diachrony and synchrony in his analysis of the prefix /nni/. The development of the form /nni/ by the analogy proposed by Jagersma relates to the linguistic past. Its synchronic analysis is, however, another matter. Nothing hinders the assumption that on the basis of the analogy proposed by Jagersma /nn/ was reanalyzed as one of the allomorphs of the 3rd ps. sg. human initial person-prefix. Then on a synchronic level, /nni/ can be analyzed without problem as a composite prefix consisting a 3rd ps. sg. human initial person-prefix /nn/ and the "local prefix {e}", similarly to /bi/ which is thought consisting of 3rd ps. sg. non-human initial person-prefix /b/ and the "local prefix {e}" also by Jagersma.

As a matter of fact, the synchronic analysis of /nni/ as a composite prefix is supported by its distribution:

"Just like the OO-prefix {bi}, the prefix {nni} is always followed by a final person-prefix and never by any other prefix. As a consequence, {nni} cannot be used together with an indirect-object prefix, or with one of the prefixes {da}, {ta}, {ši}, or {ni}." (p. 422)

The distribution of /bi/ is explained by Jagersma, in almost full agreement with my views, like this:

"... the OO-prefix {bi} cannot be used together with other dimensional prefixes or with the prefix {ba}. This restriction is due to the make-up of the prefix {bi}. It consists of the initial person-prefix {b} and the vowel /i/, which is a dimensional prefix cognate with the directive case marker {e}. This /i/ is, at least in origin, identical to the local prefix {e} (§20.3.1). Now, in the relative order of verbal prefixes, the initial person-prefix {b} has the same position as the prefix {ba} and precedes all dimensional prefixes (§16.1 and §16.2.1). The local prefix {e}, however, has the same position as the local prefix {ni} and follows all other dimensional prefixes (§16.1)." (p. 420)

The similarity in the distribution of /bi/ and /nini/ (i.e. the similarity of their synchronic behaviour) must be attributable to the similarity of their make-up, as the actual users of the language perceived it: synchronically therefore both consist of an “initial person-prefix” and a “local prefix”, whatever their historical development might have been.

In sum, Jagersma’s descriptions of the oblique object and local prefix is in a need of revision as they result in an unnecessarily complicated description of actual examples, and are based on the lack of a clear distinction between linguistic diachrony and synchrony.

Abbreviations used in the glosses

3NH = third person non-human; 3SG = third person singular human; A = agent (subject of a transitive verb); ABS = absolutive case-marker; DEM = demonstrative pronoun; ERG = ergative case-marker; FIN = finite-marker prefix; GEN = genitive case-marker; H = human; L2 = locative2 case-marker or prefix; MID = middle prefix; NH = non-human; P = patient (object of a transitive verb); PL = plural; S = subject (subject of an intransitive verb)

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03) L’enclitique démonstratif de proximité $-(\text{?})e/$ — Dans une série de travaux récents, C. Wilcke a cherché à montrer que le démonstratif $-(\text{?})e/$ est nettement plus fréquent qu’on ne le croit en général (2012a:29-31, 2012b, 2013)¹. Sa présence permettrait de rendre compte non seulement d’un certain nombre de $-e$ considérés comme fautifs (ou mésinterprétés) (WILCKE 2012a:29-31, 2013:175-183), mais encore des formes $-bi-a$ au lieu de $-ba$ (WILCKE 2012b) et $-am_3$ au lieu de $-im$ ou $-um$ (WILCKE 2013:175 sq.).

En ce qui concerne le premier point, les passages cités dans WILCKE 2012a:29-31 (tous tirés d’EnmEns. 228-247²) emportent la conviction. Les faits sont moins clairs dans les inscriptions royales du III^e millénaire. Les meilleurs exemples mentionnés par Wilcke³ de $-(\text{?})e/$ avec référence exophorique⁴ me semblent être $alan-e$ (Gud. St. B vii 49; v. WILCKE 2013:176), $alan na-e$ (Gud. St. I v 1 = St. P v 1; v. WILCKE 2013:177 sq.) et $ensi_2 lagas^{ki}-ke_4$ (CU 76 sq.; v. WILCKE 2013:180). Dans les autres cas, j’ai quelques doutes quant à la correction de l’interprétation de Wilcke, mais une discussion des passages dépasserait le cadre de cette note⁵.

Le deuxième point est plus problématique.

-bi-a: D’après WILCKE (2012b⁶), la non-contraction de $-bi-a$ en $-ba$ s’expliquerait par la présence du démonstratif $-(\text{?})e/$ entre l’enclitique et le locatif $/\text{?}a/$. A la p. 373, il mentionne, mais juge "nicht sehr wahrscheinlich" (aucune raison n’est invoquée) la possibilité que "beide Formen morphologisch identisch sind und lediglich eine von der normalen Prosodie abweichende, besondere Betonung des Possessiv-suffixes, d.h. die Hervorhebung des Possessors, [die] den Erhalt der Vokale beider Suffixe verursacht"⁷. Dans des formes telle u_4-bi-a , que Wilcke traduit par "nun" (2012b passim) ou "an eben diesem Tage" (2013:176 n. 23)⁸, cette explication va bien. Aux pp. 370 et 372 n. 12, il relève que la non-contraction n’est pas limitée à $-bi-a$: attestés sont également $-\hat{g}u_{10}-a^9$, $-zu-a^{10}$ et $-(a-)ni-a$. Aux 1^{res} et 2^{es} singulier, un démonstratif pourrait sembler un peu bizarre, mais de telles structures sont, reconnaissons-le, attestées par ex. en français ("dans ce mien/tien") et en allemand ("in diesem meinem/deinem"). Il me semble provisoirement difficile de trancher entre les deux explications; je penche personnellement pour un phénomène prosodique¹¹.

-im, -um: ^{NA}esi-am₃ (Gud. St. B vii 54 et probabl. CU 9) remonterait d’après Wilcke à {esi + dém. e + am} (2013:175 sq.), car on attendrait sinon ^{NA}esi-im. Il écrit (2013:175 n. 18) : "Die Form -àm der enklitischen Kopula nach vokalischem Wortauslaut weist auf das Vorliegen des Demonstrativ-

Suffixes /-e/; sonst müsste dieses als /-m/ erscheinen, nach i-Auslaut -im und nach u-Auslaut -um geschrieben; -àm nach a-Auslaut ist ambivalent [...]. Comme l'avait toutefois déjà remarqué POEBEL (1923:73 ; v. en dernier lieu JAGERSMA 2010:683), cette règle vaut pour les enclitiques -ġu₁₀, -zu¹², -(a-)ni et -bi, mais pas pour les bases à finale en -/i/ ou en -/u/. Pour m'en tenir à quelques exemples où la finale vocalique de la base est assurée, cf. :

– avec /-i/ : igi-am₃ (Oie-corbeau F 7 et F 11), iri-am₃ (UET 6, 123:54; Chronique royale de Lagas 9), izi-am₃ (LUruk III 5), ki-am₃ (ŠA 79 X₁ et X₁₇; ŠA 97 X₄) et tigi₂-am₃ (CA 36 R2 et U2)¹³.

– avec /-u/ : les exemples sont légions ; cf. e.g. ^dutu-am₃ (Gud. Cyl. B 1: 7 et 16:16 ; Instr. Šur. 267 ; ŠA 76 ; ŠB 40, 123 U₃), en₃-du-^ram₃ (ŠD 370), i-lu-am₃ (UN A 241), limmu₍₅₎-am₃ (passim), lu₂-am₃ (Dial. 2:10 et 198), ninnu-am₃ (passim) et šu-am₃ (Instr. Šur. 195).

En conséquence, la forme ^{NA4}esi-am₃ n'implique ni n'exclut une analyse {esi + (ʔ)e + am₃}¹⁴. Dans un passage tel Innana G 55 (^ddumu-zi e₂-e-am₃¹⁵) ki-am₃ dadag-ga "Dumuzi, resplendissant dans cette maison, (dans cet endroit =) ici même"), la présence d'un démonstratif -/(ʔ)e/ entre la base et -am₃ est vraisemblable ; le plus souvent, ce n'est toutefois pas le cas.

1) A la littérature secondaire mentionnée dans WILCKE 2013:174 n. 10, ajouter WOODS 2000 et 2001 *passim*.

2) Aux ll. 229 sq. (cf. WILCKE 2012a:29 sq. n. 88 et 67), lire dans R ġeš-nu(-)ur₂-in^{mušēn} (v. PETERSON 2007:127 avec n. 614 et 400 avec n. 1617). C'est un sandhi pour ġešnu₄ ħu-ri₂-in^{mušēn} (X 229). Pour le rapace /ġe/ušnu^{mušēn}, cf. aussi (outre WILCKE 2012a:29 sq. n. 88 avec litt. ant.) BONECHI 2000:264 et ATTINGER 2011:228 (lecture).

3) V. aussi JAGERSMA 2010:221 sq.

4) Les passages où -/(ʔ)e/ a une référence endophrasique (JAGERSMA 2010:222 et WILCKE 2013:182 sq.) soulèvent moins de problèmes.

5) Remarquer seulement que les alternances entre 1^{res} et 3^{es} sing. pourraient rendre compte de passages tels Šu-Sîn 7:1-24 (WILCKE 2013:178) et Ur-BaU 5 (id. 179); v. en général WILCKE 1990:486-488 et, pour le prologue de CU, comp. WILCKE 2013:180.

6) Pour l'histoire de la recherche (pp. 370-372), ajouter ATTINGER 1993:135 et 2009:6 (formes accentuées); KEETMAN 2006:17 avec n. 25 ("morphemanalytische Schreibung"); FOXVOG 2008:33 (variation stylistique); JAGERSMA 2010:173 sq.

7) Apparemment sans connaissance de ATTINGER 1993:135 et 2009:6.

8) Vs u₄-ba "damals".

9) Passim à l'époque paléobab. ; pour le III^e mill., cf. bar-ġu₁₀-a "en ma faveur, pour moi" (Gud. Cyl. B 2:6; TCS 1, 54 = Michalowski, LEM 127:4) et a-ġu₃-ġu₁₀-a "à mon compte" (Michalowski, LEM 178:5).

10) Passim à l'époque paléobab. ; je ne connais pas d'exemple plus ancien.

11) Un argument contre un démonstratif -/(ʔ)e/ pourrait être le fait que celui-ci ne s'élide pas après voyelle (mu-sar-ra-e, etc.), raison pour laquelle Jagersma admet que ce morphème a une occlusive glottale initiale (2010:221). On attendrait donc en principe -ġu₁₀/zu-e-a, -(a-)ne₂-e-a, -be₂-e-a ; v. toutefois infra à propos d'Innana G 55.

12) A l'époque paléobab., -zu-am₃ est sporadiquement attesté (analogie avec les bases en -/u/ ou graphie morphophonologique); cf. par ex. Conseils de sagesse 169 sq. H ; DuDr. 52 D' ; GiĤ A UnC 148j, 148s, 148t (etc.) ; Instr. Šur. 17 Ur₁ et Ur₆ (// -zu-a/-za).

13) "ni₂"-am₃ (Innana C 161 Q) ne prouve rien, car NI₂ doit être lu ne_x (JAGERSMA 2010:237). La graphie non-standard **ne** est très fréquente ; aux références citées par Jagersma, ajouter par exemple Cohen, Mél. Hallo 80 A iv 2 (III^e mill. ; v. CIVIL 2011:257) ; Sigrist/Ozaki, BPOA 6, 811:7 ; DuDr. 214 sq. J' ; Enlil A 76 N₁₁ ; GiĤ A 126 KiA ; GiTa A ii 12 (Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi, RA 87, 115) ; Innana C 161 R ; Innana raubt 151 sq. ; Klein, Mél. Wilcke 141, BT 9:9' ; niġ₂-nam A 7 ; Šulpae 1-3 D ; ŠD 174 A. D'autres graphies non-standard sont **NI** (plus vraisemblablement ne₂ que ni ; passim), **e** (TpiHy. 459 Ur₂), **nam** (CKU 19:10 X₁ ; Enlil A 12 X₂ [nam-nun-na précède immédiatement] ; Innana B 18 NiP et NiAA) et **ni₃/niġ₂** (Išbi-Erra E 60 ; TpiHy. 334 Ur₂ ; Viano, WO 42, 232:3 [Bogh.]).

14) Si -e = /ʔe/ (v. n. 11), on attendrait toutefois plutôt ^{NA4}esi-e-am₃.

15) e₂ remonte à */hay/ et n'a, même à l'époque paléobab., pas une finale vocalique.

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04) Enki et Ninhursag 1-3¹⁾ — C. Woods est revenu sur ces lignes difficiles dans « Grammar and Context: Enki & Ninhursag ll. 1-3 and a Rare Sumerian Construction », in: D.S. Vanderhooft and A. Winitzer (ed.), *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist* (2013) 503-525. S'inspirant de la suggestion probablement correcte de M. Civil que e-ne n'est pas le pronom personnel de la 3^e sing., mais " an exclamation ('how!' or the like), occupying the same slot as the interrogatives, and perhaps even related to them " (ASJ 22 [2000, paru en 2005] 40), il propose de traduire EnkNinh. 1-3²⁾ " O pure cities—how you have come to be! O pure Tilmun, [o] pure Sumer—how you have come to be! " (p. 508)³⁾. Cette interprétation soulève trois problèmes:

— Si le poète s'adressait aux villes, on attendrait un vocatif, pas une phrase copulaire " Les villes sont splendides "/ " Delmun est splendide, Sumer est splendide "⁴⁾ (mais v. infra pour ku₃(-ku₃)-ga(am₃) aux ll. 1 et 3).

— Comme Woods le souligne lui-même (pp. 510-512), me " exister " est rare et presque jamais précédé de {ba}. Il cite deux attestations⁵⁾: ba-an-me-eš (Public Announcement of the Loss of a Seal 6A⁶⁾ et he₂-em-ma-da-me-eš-am₃/im-ma-an-da-an-me-eš-am₃ " qu'ils deviennent "/ ils sont devenus " (InBil. 103/114).

— Le plus grave problème est toutefois soulevé par CT 58, 9 i 9-19, curieusement pas pris en considération par Woods dans sa discussion⁷⁾:

9' [...] 'x' x⁸⁾ du₁₁-du₁₁-ge i-lu **e-ne ba-am₃-me-en**
 10' [(...) a ġuru]š ġuruš^d da-mu
 11' [(...) a ġuru]š dumu u₃-mu-un-zi-da
 12' [(...) a ġuru]š^d ištaran i-bi₂ sub₂
 13' [(...) a ġuru]š^d NAĜAR u₃-mu-un sa-par₄
 14' [(...) a ġuru]š li-bi-ir u₃-mu<-un>-šudu₃-[d]e₃
 15' [...] du₁₁-du₁₁-ge i-lu **e-ne ba-<a>m₃-me**⁹⁾
 16' [...] 'x' ir₂-ra ba-ra-ba-an-du₂-ud-de₃-en
 17' [...] **e-ne ba-am₃-me**
 18' [...] a-še(?)]-er-zu ir₂-ra ba-ra-ba-an-dim₂-me-en
 19' [...] **e`-ne ba-am₃-me**

Ce passage est tout sauf clair, mais il ne peut être dissocié d'EnkNinh. 1/3¹⁰⁾ et montre :

1) que -am₃- dans e-ne ba-am₃-me-en-ze₂-en (texte A) n'est pas une " superfluous resuming syllable " (ainsi WOODS, p. 506 n. 17);

2) que la traduction par " venir à l'existence, devenir " n'est pas très vraisemblable, car un tel sens va mal dans CT 58, 9 i 9' //.

Un dernier point mérite d'être brièvement discuté. Aux ll. 1 et 3, tout le monde a vu dans ku₃(ku₃)-ga une graphie abrégée de ku₃(-ku₃)-ga-am₃. Il est toutefois frappant que A (Nippur) a [ku₃-ku₃-g]a-am₃ à la l. 1, mais [k]u₃-ga à la l. 3. Aux ll. 2 et 4-6, il a en revanche ku₃-ga-am₃/sikil-am₃/dadag-ga-am₃. B (Ur) a ku₃(-ku₃)-ga aux ll. 1 et 3, mais ku₃-ga-am₃ aux ll. 2 et 4. Aux ll. 5 sq., il abrège la copule. Cela donne l'impression qu'il y a une opposition entre les ll. 1 et 3 d'une part et les ll. 2 et 4-6 de l'autre. [ku₃-ku₃-g]a-am₃ à la l. 1 (A) pourrait avoir été attiré par le ku₃-ga-am₃ de la ligne suivante, le scribe se corrigeant à la l. 3. Cela pourrait plaider pour un locatif¹¹⁾ aux ll. 1 et 3. Je traduirais provisoirement EnkNinḫ. 1-6 de la manière suivante: " *Dans les villes splendides, comme vous étiez ...!* Le pays de Delmun était splendide. *Dans le splendide pays de Sumer, comme vous étiez ...!* Le pays de Delmun était splendide. Le pays de Delmun était splendide, le pays de Delmun était resplendissant, le pays de Delmun était vierge, le pays de Delmun était immaculé ".

1) J'ai eu l'occasion de correspondre avec M. C. Woods sur les problèmes qui font l'objet de cette note. Qu'il trouve ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.

2) iṛ^{ki} ku₃-ku₃-ga(-am₃) e-ne ba(-am₃)-me-en-ze₂-en / kur delmun^{ki} ku₃-ga-am₃ / ki-en-gi ku₃-ga e-ne ba(am₃)-me-en-ze₂-en.

3) Il donne dans la note 21 la traduction littérale: " (O) cities that are pure/pure are the cities—how you have come to be !"

4) " (O) cities that are pure " (p. 508 n. 21) est à mon sens imprécis et laisse -am₃ non traduit.

5) Ajouter ba-me-a dans SEpM 13, Ur 5 (v. A. Kleinerman, CM 42 [2011] 151), qui signifie plus probablement " il y a " que " qui est devenu ".

6) = SEpM 14:6 texte X15: ka-ka-ne-ne ba-an-me-eš kišeb-ba-ne-ne in-eš ; pour des essais d'interprétation, cf. Kleinerman, CM 42, 155 et Woods p. 511 n. 29 (sa traduction ne m'est pas claire).

7) Le texte était mentionné par Civil (ASJ 22, 40 n. 8) et par moi-même (NABU 2008/71). Pour les restitutions, cf. J. Bauer, AfO 40/41 (1993/1994) 93.

8) ṛⁱ-lu exclu sur la copie.

9) On ba-an-me.

10) Civil (ASJ 22, 40 avec n. 8) pensait de même, et comme on attendrait dans CT 58, 9 i 9' // un *verbum dicendi*, il traduisait EnkNinḫ. 1 " it is a clean town, and how you (like to often(?) say it" (p. 40). La séquence préfixale ba-am₃- ferait toutefois difficulté. Dans tous les cas que je connais, elle recouvre {ba + ni(locatif)/n(ergatif 3^e sing. pers.)}, et les textes proviennent à une exception près d'Ur; cf. ba-am₃-mu₂ (LSU 328 HH, 361 II, 361a II, Nisaba B 8 sq. [texte de provenance incertaine]), ṛ^{ba}-am₃-du₃ (CKU 23:30 Ur₂), ba-am₃-ṣe₂₁ṛ (id. 31 Ur₂), ba-am₃-DAB₅ (Instr. Šur. 189 Ur₄), ba-am₃-ra (GEN 140 Ur₂) et ba-am₃-x (LSU 221 EE). Tant dans EnkNinḫ. 1/3 que dans CT 58, 9 i 9' //, un locatif ne peut être exclu (remarquer toutefois que *ba-an-e v.s. n'est jamais attesté), mais ce serait une coïncidence par trop extraordinaire que cette évolution ba-an- > ba-am₃- ne soit, devant e "dire", attestée que dans deux passages où e est précédé de e-ne.

11) Ou, dans l'hypothèse de Woods, pour un vocatif.

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05) mūt ilī-šu mātu¹⁾ — Le CAD a proposé de traduire l'expression *mūt ilī-šu mātu*, litt. " mourir de la mort de son dieu ", par " to die a natural death " (CAD M/II 319 s.v. mūtu f, 2'), et cette suggestion a été en général acceptée (v. par ex. D. Charpin, *Cahiers de N.A.B.U.* 1 [1990] 122 n. e ; J. Black/A. George/N. Postgate, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* [2000] 225 ; A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic II* [2003] 904 ; A. Gadotti, " *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld " and the Sumerian Gilgameš Cycle*, Ph. D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University [2005] 529 sq.²⁾ ; A.R. George, CUSAS 18 [2013] 65).

Dans NABU 2013/75, J.C. Fincke a remis en cause le bien-fondé de cette interprétation. Remarquant que *mūt ilī-šu mātu* et *mūt šīmī-šu mātu*, également traduits par " to die a natural death " dans le CAD (M/II 318 sq. s.v. mūtu f, 1'), se trouvent tous deux sur une seule et même tablette dans *Enūma Anu Enlil* (K. 2208+9434+Rm.II 136 (+) 79-7-8, 330 ii 1 et iii 1), elle en déduit à juste titre que " the meaning of the two phrases must be different " (p. 124). D'après elle, c'est *mūt šīmī-šu mātu* qui référerait à la mort naturelle. Quant à *mūt ilī-šu mātu*, il devrait être rapproché de *qāt ilī-šu* qui, dans les textes diagnostiques, dénote la cause de la maladie, et être regroupé avec *mūt arni mātu*, *mūt māmīti mātu*, etc.

Un passage non utilisé par Fincke remet en question cette conclusion, à savoir GEN 298 sq.³⁾, traduit en akkadien dans GE XII 146 sq.

298)

N20/DD lu₂ uš₂-^ra diġir-[r]a[?]-na i₃-uš₂-^re igi bi₂-[(in-)du₈]-^ra[?]
 N42/H [...]e [ig]i 'bi₂-du₈-am₃ igi' [bi₂-du₈-a]m₃ a-na-gen₇ an-AK
 X1/r r'lu₂ uš₂ diġir-ra-ni mu-un-ug₅-ga igi bi₂-du₈-a igi 'i₃-du₈-a a-na-gen₇ i₃-ġal₂
 GE XII 146 ša₂ mu-ti 'DINGIR-š₂' [UŠ t]a-mur 'a[?]-ta-ma[r]
 299)
 N20/DD ki ġeš^{1?}-nu₂ [diġir-r]e-^re[?]-na 'al[?]-nu[?]
 N42/H [ki ġe]š-nu₂ diġir-re-e-ne al-nu₂
 X1/r [ġe]š-nu₂ diġir-re-e-ne-ke₄ i₃-nu₂ a 'gerin mu-un[?]-na₈-na₈
 GE XII 147 ina ma-a-a-al [DINGIR.ME]š ša-lil-ma A.MEŠ za-ku-ti i-šat-ti
 — " (L'homme, il meurt du mourir de son dieu⁴⁾ ⇒) L'homme qui est mort *par la volonté* de son dieu, l'as-tu vu? — Je l'ai vu. — Comment est-il traité? — Il est couché dans le (lieu lit ⇒) lieu de repos des dieux⁵⁾.

Quel que soit le sens exact de uš₂-a diġir-ra-na uš₂/uš₂ diġir-ra-ni ug₅, il est clair que celui qui est décédé ainsi jouit dans l'au-delà d'un sort enviable, qu'il est donc exclu qu'il ait été frappé par la main de son dieu. Comme par ailleurs l'expression sumérienne n'est, autant que je sache, pas attestée ailleurs et qu'elle a toutes les apparences d'être un calque de l'akkadien, il n'est pas très vraisemblable que son sens diffère de celui de *mūt ilī-šu mātu*.

Le fait que dans les *omina*, *mūt ilī-šu mātu* ne soit pas un signe favorable⁶⁾ n'est pas particulièrement étonnant : dans la mentalité mésopotamienne, la mort est presque toujours connotée négativement. Ceci étant admis, le uš₂-a diġir-ra-na uš₂ avait un destin *post mortem* aussi favorable que le père de sept enfants (GEN 267 sq.) et que les petits morts-nés⁷⁾ (GEN 300 sq./r 1-r 2/x-y).

1) J'ai eu l'occasion de correspondre avec Mme J.C. Fincke sur le problème qui fait l'objet de cette note. Qu'elle trouve ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.

2) Gadotti souligne toutefois que dans les *omina*, cette expression n'est souvent pas un signe favorable.

3) Cf. A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic II* 768/776:s 1-s 2 et comm. p. 904 ; J. Keetman, *BiOr.* 64 (2007) 11 avec n. 16 (lecture et interprétation différentes) ; A. Gadotti, " *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* " [...] 298/319:v-w et comm. pp. 529 sq.) ; P. Attinger, <http://www.arch.unibe.ch/attinger> > Übersetzungen > Bilgamesh, Enkidu et le monde infernal.

4) Ainsi N20 et probabl. N42 // " L'homme qui est mort du mourir de son dieu " (X1); pour diġir-ra-ni au lieu de diġir-ra-na, cf. P. Attinger, *Or.* 81 (2012) 358.

5) Ainsi N20 et N42. X1 et GE XII 147 ont " Il est couché sur le lit des dieux et boit de l'eau pure ".

6) Cf. par ex. YOS 10, 18:56 (v. CAD R 266 s.v. rēqu c): LU₂ i-na KASKAL DU i-ma-ra-as-ma i-ma-a-^rat u₄-ma^r-am r[e]-^rqa₂-a-am mu-ut DINGIR-š₂ LU₂ i-ma-at.

7) Parce que libres de tout péché ?

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06) L'historicité de Gilgameš ? — Tous les témoignages concernant Gilgameš le présentent comme une figure de légende ou une divinité, au contraire de Sargon, son quasi-avatar selon la tradition, lequel est un personnage historique abondamment documenté.

Un hymne en l'honneur de Šulgi nous informe qu'il fut vainqueur du roi de Kiš Enmebaragesi (*ETCSL* c.2.4.2.5, Šulgi O : 56-60 ; une copie remplace le toponyme Uruk par celui d'Ur, mais il pourrait s'agir d'une erreur pour Kulab : C. Wilcke, *AV Sjöberg*, 562) :

é [K]iš^{ki} !-šè^{giš} tukul-zu ba-ta-a-è
 ur-[s]ag 7-bi heš₅ !-a mi-ni-dab₅
 [lugal Ki]š^{ki} En-me-bára-ge₄-e-si
 [... s]ag.gá.na ġir mu-na-ni-ús
 nam-lugal Kiš^{ki}-ta Unug^{ki}.šè àm-mi-de₆

— « Tu portas tes armes contre la maison de Kiš, tu fis captifs ses sept héros. D'Enmebaragesi, le roi de Kiš, tu foulas au pied la tête [...]. Tu apportas la royauté de Kiš à Uruk ! »

Or, Enmebaragesi est un personnage historique ; son nom et son titre figurent sur un fragment de vase en albâtre (D. Frayne, *RIME* I, E1.7.22.2 ; H. Steible, *ASBW* 2, Mebarasi 2). Il se pose, dès lors, la question, récurrente sous la plume des assyriologues, de l'historicité de Gilgameš. On comprend qu'il est

situé par les traditions sumérienne et akkadienne dans le temps de latence qui achève celui du mythe et de la légende et introduit à celui de l'histoire. Cette situation chronologique très particulière était déjà mise en évidence, antérieurement à l'hymne en l'honneur de Šulgi, dans la chronique de la monarchie dont la rédaction remonte à l'époque d'Akkadé (J.-J. Glassner, *AV Klein*, 138-141). L'une des versions de cette chronique rapporte à propos d'Enmebaragesi une tradition différente que J. Klein (*CRAI* 53, 1/2, 1128-29 ; *AV Sigris*, 78) comprend comme suit :

Dumu-zi (...)
ʿšu¹ dili En-me-ʿbára-ge₄-e-si-ta¹
nam-ra ʿak¹
— « Dumuzi (...) fut fait prisonnier par Enmebaragesi en combat singulier. »

Enmebaragesi n'aurait donc pas été défait par Gilgameš, il aurait, tout au contraire, vaincu Dumuzi, le prédécesseur de Gilgameš sur le trône d'Uruk. G. Marchesi (*AV Mayer*, 241-242) propose une interprétation différente de ce passage, après collation du moulage à Philadelphie :

ʿšu^(sic) En-me-ʿpara₁₀-ge₄-e-si-ta¹
nam-ra ʿAK¹
— « Lui qui prit du butin de la main d'Enmebaragesi. »

L'auteur rattache l'épisode au règne de Gilgameš lequel suit la notice et non à celui de Dumuzi qui précède ; or, celle-ci figure bel et bien comme un ajout à la notice mentionnant le nom de Dumuzi, comme J. Klein l'a reconnu.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le récit sumérien Gilgameš et Aka rapporte, pour sa part, que Gilgameš fut le vainqueur d'Aka de Kiš, à savoir le fils d'Enmebaragesi (W.H.Ph. Römer, *AOAT* 209 ; compte-rendu par J. Cooper, *JCS* 33, 1981, 224-241 ; J. Klein, *AV Kramer*, *AOS* 65, 1984, 200-204 ; C. Wilcke, *AV Römer*, 457-485 ; pour cet auteur le récit est une composition d'époque paléo-babylonienne).

Au vu de ces affirmations, certains auteurs franchissent le pas et concluent que Dumuzi et Gilgameš furent des monarques historiques avant d'entrer dans la légende ou d'être divinisés.

Dans l'antiquité mésopotamienne, la question de l'historicité d'un personnage ne fut point posée, les historiens n'étant pas tenus à la même exigence que nous. L'atmosphère était alors saturée par le mythe, la légende et l'épopée, autant de récits dont l'une des fonctions était de rendre le passé intelligible et dont personne ne doutait qu'ils mettaient en scène des personnages réels. La rupture entre les sphères du mythe ou de la légende et le registre de l'histoire ne fut jamais vraiment consommée. Une autonomie du discours historique ne fut conquise, tardivement, que par les auteurs de certaines chroniques néo-babyloniennes. Au contraire, il alla jusqu'à exister une certaine mixture, le mythe usant de catégories historiques et l'histoire n'hésitant pas à se « mythologiser ». Bref, l'histoire n'y fut jamais une science pourvue d'une méthode claire et sa faiblesse résida manifestement dans la manière d'aborder les documents. Quoi qu'il en soit, dans le cas qui nous occupe, on est confronté à des manipulations de l'histoire en fonction des intérêts des dynastes régnants.

Un anthroponyme retient aujourd'hui l'attention ; il est mentionné dans une tablette administrative d'époque archaïque en provenance d'Ur (*UET* 2, 281 ii 5) ; il s'énonce : S.377.NE.PAP-mes-Utu-pà-da (le signe PAP n'est pas assuré selon la copie de Burrows, mais la succession, bien établie à Ur, des trois signes S.377.NE.PAP ne laisse pas de doute sur la lecture). E. Burrows a eu l'intuition de proposer une lecture GIŠ_x pour le signe S.377, une intuition vérifiée grâce à un autre texte d'Ur que la paléographie conduit à dater d'une époque voisine de celle de Fara (*UET* 2, 2 ii 3) où l'on peut lire : PA.GIŠ.NE.PAP.GA, le signe GIŠ ne faisant aucun doute.

Le nom est communément compris : « Gilgameš est celui qu'Utu a choisi » (G. Marchesi, *Or.* 73, 2004, 195-197 ; C. Woods, *JANER* 12, 2012, 78-96). On veut y voir, non sans hésitations, le nom d'un sujet de Gilgameš qui, de ce fait, aurait été un homme de chair et d'os, la tablette étant contemporaine du personnage historique qu'il aurait été, soit le premier tiers du III^e millénaire (mais voir les réserves de G. Rubio, *JCS* 64, 2012, 3-16).

Un rapide aperçu des anthroponymes dans les textes archaïques d'Ur montre qu'il existe deux séries de noms propres différents, selon la graphie retenue ; en voici des exemples :

- sans le signe PA : GIŠ_x.NE.PAP.GA (UET 2, 112 i 13) ; GIŠ_x.NE.PAP.GA-IGI.BUR (UET 2, 54 : 4) ou GIŠ_x.NE.PAP-IGI.BUR (UET 2, 163 i 2 ; iv 1 et 2 ; v 3) ; où l'on voit que le signe GA est facultatif ;
- avec le signe PA : PA.GIŠ_x.NE.PAP.GA (UET 2, 74 iii 2 ; 93 iv 2 ; 108 iii 5 ; 126 i 2 ; 252 iii 1 ; 257 i 3 ; 341 i 2 ; C. Lecompte, *Archaic Texts and Fragments from Ur, NISABA 25*, index, s.v.)

Les deux séries perdurent à l'époque de Fara ; ainsi :

- sans le signe PA : GIŠ.NE.PAP-ùg-du₁₀, GIŠ.NE.PAP-abzu-si (F. Pomponio, *La Prosopografia dei Testi Presargonici di Fara*, Rome, 1987, 61 ; SF 28 iv 8) ;
- avec le signe PA : PA.GIŠ.NE.PAP-ùg-du₁₀, PA.GIŠ.NE.PAP.GA, PA.GIŠ.NE.PAP.[GA]-abzu-si ou (respectivement F. Pomponio, *Prosopografia*, 204 et 205 ; SF 28 iv 5).

Quelle qu'en soit l'explication, on reconnaît le mot bilga derrière la graphie GIŠ_(x).NE.PAP, et pabilga derrière PA.GIŠ_(x).NE.PAP. Le premier désigne un « fruit frais », un « rejeton » (PSD B, s.v. bil₂-ga, 153 ; bil₃-ga, 155), le second un « ancêtre ». Les scribes prennent grand soin de les distinguer.

À une date indéterminée, les scribes rapprochent en les confondant les deux mots bilga et pabilga, le premier connaissant une évolution sémantique qui conduit de « fruit frais », « rejeton », « progéniture », via les relations familiales, à « ancêtre », et qui finit par faire de bilga une forme abrégée de pabilga (G. Rubio, *art. cit.*, 10). Quelle que soit l'explication que l'on peut y apporter, le nom du héros se prononce Gilgameš.

Le signe PA n'apparaît jamais dans les graphies servant à écrire le nom de Gilgameš (ainsi, à l'époque de Fara, ^dGIŠ.NE.PAP.GA-mes : SF 1 rev. iii 25 ; pour les graphies du nom en général : A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, t.1, ch. 2), à l'exception de plusieurs sources de l'époque de la troisième dynastie d'Ur que réunit G. Marchesi (*art. cit.*, 196, à savoir : MVN 2, 139 rev. 8 ; inédits : A 1152 rev. ii 4 ; MVN 22, 16 rev. iii' 35) : ^dPA.GIŠ.NE.GA-mes et ^dPA.GIŠ.NE.PAP.GA-mes. La confusion entre bilga et pabilga est donc chose faite à cette époque, les variantes graphiques ne démontrent pas autre chose.

Les spécialistes s'interrogent sur les noms propres, se penchant sur leurs étymologies, leur répartition géographique et chronologique. Ils les mettent tous sur un même plan, se montrant préoccupés exclusivement de sémantique et de philologie. Ils ne cherchent pas à percevoir les jeux hiérarchiques, familiaux ou sociaux dont ils peuvent être les reflets, ni ne se soucient des usages sociaux auxquels ils obéissent. Or, les anthroponymes, à l'instar des toponymes, supposent une faculté de classer (C. Lévi-Strauss, *La Pensée sauvage*, Paris, 1962, ch. vi et vii ; F. Zonabend, « Le nom de personne », *L'Homme* 20, 1980, 7-23. Pour la Mésopotamie antique : R.A. di Vito, *St. Pohl Series Maior* 16, Rome, 1993, [les comptes-rendus par B.R. Foster, *JAOS* 115, 1995, 537-539, et W.G. Lambert, *Or.* 64, 1995, 131-136] ; J. Andersson, *Kingship in the Early Mesopotamian Onomasticon, 2800-2600 B.C.E., Studia Semitica Upsaliensia* 28, Uppsala Universitet, 2012, [et le compte-rendu par B.R. Foster, *OLZ* 108, 2013, 236-237] ; plus généralement K. Radner, *Die Macht des Namens, Altorientalische Strategien zur Selbsterhaltung*, SANTAG 8). En Mésopotamie, ils font très tôt l'objet de classements, comme le démontrent, par exemple, les listes archaïques de noms propres de Fara, de noms propres et de fonctions d'Abū Šalābikh ou d'Ebla (SF n^{os} 29 et 63 ; R.D. Biggs, *OIP* 99, n^{os} 61-81). Leur signification renvoie à la manière dont la société découpe le réel. Ils peuvent fonctionner comme des marqueurs familiaux et peuvent faire resurgir le système de valeurs des groupes sociaux.

Considérons un court moment, à l'aide de quelques exemples, les mots aja (souvent écrit A), « père », mes, « mâle vigoureux », pabilga, « ancêtre », bilga, « rejeton » ou « ancêtre », lugal, « roi », ereš, « reine », qui figurent fréquemment à l'initiale des anthroponymes et dont voici quelques exemples (sources : E. Burrows, UET 2 ; F. Pomponio, *Prosopografia* ; G. Visicato, *Indices of Early Dynastic Administrative Tablets of /urupak*, Naples, 1997 ; A. Archi, *SEb* IV, 1981, 177-204, pl. 44-45 ; F. Pomponio, *JAOS* 104, 1984, 553-558 ; M. Krebernik, dans M. Streck et S. Weninger, éd., *AOAT* 296, 1-74 ; C. Lecompte, *NISABA* 25) :

aja :

- A-ùg-du₁₀, « Le père plaît au peuple ».

mes :

- Mes-ùg-du₁₀, « Le mâle vigoureux plaît au peuple ».

- Mes-bár-si, « Le mâle vigoureux emplit l'estrade (du trône) ».
- pabilga :
- Pabilga-ùg-du₁₀, « L'ancêtre plaît au peuple ».
 - Pabilga-abzu-si, « L'ancêtre emplit l'abzu ».
- bilga :
- Bilga-ùg-du₁₀, « Le rejeton/L'ancêtre(?) plaît au peuple ».
 - Bilga-abzu-si, « Le rejeton/L'ancêtre(?) emplit l'abzu ».
- lugal :
- Lugal-bára-ge-du₁₀, « Le roi plaît à l'estrade (du trône) ».
 - Lugal-gipar-si, « Le roi emplit la cour ».
- ereš :
- Ereš-ùg-du₁₀, « La reine plaît au peuple ».

Ils suffisent à montrer que les anthroponymes sont organisés en séries signifiantes, mettant en scène en les mêlant les unes aux autres les hiérarchies familiales et les figures du pouvoir. On reconnaît parmi eux plusieurs noms royaux comme A-ug-du ou Mes-ug-du d'Ur, également Lugal-gipar-si d'Uruk. On peut joindre à ces premiers exemples une autre série de noms qui sont formés à l'aide d'un substantif initial, d'un théonyme qui est l'acteur de la phrase que forme le nom, enfin du verbe pad, « choisir, prononcer le nom ». Ainsi, parmi bien d'autres (mêmes sources que précédemment) :

- A-Ane-pà-da, « Le père est celui qu'An a choisi ».
- Mes-Ane-pà-da, « Le mâle vigoureux est celui qu'An a choisi ».
- Mes-pà, « Le mâle vigoureux est celui que (tel dieu) a choisi ».
- Lugal-pà-da, « Le roi est celui que (tel dieu) a choisi ».
- Bilga-Utu-pà, « Le rejeton/L'ancêtre(?) est celui qu'Utu a choisi ».

S'agissant de ce dernier anthroponyme (*SF* 29 rev. i 19), G. Marchesi (*art. cit.*, 196), qui lit GIŠ.NE.PAP pabilga et non bilga, propose, sans véritable raison, de l'amender en Pabilga-<mes>-Utu-pà.

Le nom Bilga-mes-Utu-pà-da des archives archaïques d'Ur est à associer aux séries d'anthroponymes qui précèdent, même s'il présente un cas unique de deux substantifs associés à l'initiale du nom. Le scribe aura construit un anthroponyme inédit adossé sur un modèle préexistant. Rien ne permet de le traduire, comme il est parfois proposé, « Gilgameš est celui qu'Utu a choisi », une autre traduction s'imposant : « Le rejeton est le mâle vigoureux qu'Utu a choisi » (rien ne permet de savoir si le rapprochement bilga - pabilga est déjà effectué à cette époque ; pour une interprétation similaire, voir W. Sallaberger, *Das Gilgamesh-Epos, Mythos, Werk und Tradition*, Munich, 2008, 47 [je remercie G. Marchesi pour cette référence]). C. Lecompte me fait remarquer que dans le même texte *UET* 2, 281, à la première ligne de la même colonne, figure un énigmatique Ne-sag-ur-sag-kisal-si-sa ; il pourrait s'agir, avec lui, d'un raccourci d'écriture, le scribe ayant noté deux anthroponymes, respectivement Ne-sag-kisal-si-sa et Ur-sag-kisal-si-sa. Semblablement, derrière la graphie S.377.NE.PAP-mes-Utu-pà-da, deux noms propres peuvent se révéler, Bilga-Utu-pà-da et Mes-Utu-pà-da.

Le nom de Gilgameš n'apparaît avec certitude que dans les sources écrites de l'époque de Fara, en même temps que celui d'Enmekar (M. Civil, *JCS* 65, 2013, 13-67 ; J.-J. Glassner, *NABU* 2013/60) lequel remplace l'énigmatique EN :ÉŠ des sources de l'époque d'Uruk. La tradition écrite concernant les anciens héros légendaires d'Uruk ne se met définitivement en place qu'à cette période.

En choisissant d'écrire le nom de Gilgameš, les lettrés lui attribuent une étymologie. Le rapprochement entre bilga et pabilga conduit à le comprendre : « L'ancêtre est un mâle vigoureux ».

Sous la troisième dynastie d'Ur, les scribes, friands de calembours, de rébus et de paronomases, des pratiques ludiques qui sont au fondement même de leur manière de penser, esquissent d'autres explications pour ce nom. Il existe, comme on l'a vu, deux mots bilga en sumérien, l'un disant « l'ancêtre », l'autre le « fruit » ou le « rejeton » ; de même, il existe deux mots mes, le premier signifiant « mâle vigoureux », le second signalant une essence d'arbre réputée faire la chair des dieux et des rois, lourdement chargé symboliquement et donnant naissance à de nombreux usages métaphoriques. Dans un hymne en l'honneur de Šulgi, la déesse Nin-sumun, la mère divine du souverain, intervient auprès du

dieu An en faveur de son fils dont elle fait l'éloge en le comparant à un arbre mes (Hymne P : 15-16. J. Klein, *TAPS* 71/7, Philadelphie, 1981, 34 ; *ETCSL* c.2.4.2.16.) :

mes pa mul-gu₁₀-um ki ma-an-dar(?)

[x] ma-dam mu-mu ma-a-de₆

« Il est mon arbre mes qui pousse et étend sa frondaison (...), qui produit pour moi année après année une abondante récolte ».

On ne peut s'empêcher de penser que la métaphore concernant Šulgi vaut aussi pour Gilgameš, tant sont étroits les liens qui unissent les deux personnages.

Dans un autre hymne en son honneur et dont l'auteur va jusqu'à imaginer un dialogue entre eux, Šulgi se présente comme le « frère », šeš, et le « compagnon », gu₅-li, de Gilgameš, en un mot comme son égal (Hymne O : 50 ; J. Klein, *AV Kramer, AOAT* 25, 1976, 271-292 ; *ETCSL* c.2.4.2.15). Il n'est pas impossible, dans ces conditions, de comprendre le nom de Gilgameš comme « Le fruit de (l'arbre) mes » (à distance des questions soulevées par G. Rubio, *art.cit.*, 10, il faut se souvenir que les anciens n'hésitent pas à jouer des rapprochements les plus improbables entre des termes homophones ; voir E. Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries, Origins of Interpretation, GMTR* 5, Münster, 2011, les erreurs d'interprétation soulignées aux pages 64, 67, 68, 88, 91, 106, 107, 228, 336).

Une ultime source, le mythe du Mariage de Martu, semble orienter la réflexion vers un compromis entre les deux étymologies proposées (J. Klein, dans I.L. Finkel et M.J. Geller, éd., *CM* 7, Groningue, 1997, 110 : 7-8) :

da-ab-ba^{gis}erin kù-ga-me-en

bíl-ga^{gis}mes-me-en

ama-ad^{gi}erin babbar-ra-me-en

su-ha-šu-úr-ra-me-en

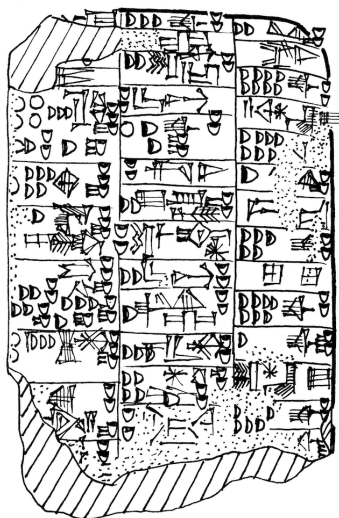
— « Tu es le grand-père du cèdre brillant. Tu es l'ancêtre de l'arbre mes. Tu es la grand-mère du cèdre blanc. Tu es la chair de l'arbre hašur. »

Certes, l'objet de la comparaison est la ville d'Inab. Nonobstant, même si l'expression ne concerne pas le roi d'Uruk, on ne peut s'interdire de voir son nom se profiler en filigrane.

Le nom Bilga-mes-Utu-pà-da de la tablette archaïque d'Ur désigne-t-il un sujet d'un Gilgameš historique ? Il est permis d'en douter. Jusqu'à plus ample informé, il apparaît plutôt que l'on soit en présence d'un nom formé par dérivation à partir d'une série d'anthroponymes connus et dont Gilgameš est absent.

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07) Addendum to CUSAS 23, no. 151 —



The copy of the reverse of the text no. 151 published in the book *Vitali Bartash, Miscellaneous Early Dynastic and Sargonic Texts in the Cornell University Collections. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 23. CDL Press 2013*, plate XV was omitted likely in course of nesting of the page during the volume's make-up. The copy above eliminates this imperfection.

Using this opportunity, I would like also to draw the attention to the term **SIG₇** related to persons mentioned in the very text in obv. iii' 3' ff. which likely reads **zi_x/ze_x** and refers to blind workers employed in institutional households (see *Piotr Steinkeller, A Note on Lines 168-169 of Enki and Ninhursag, Journal of Cuneiform Studies 65, 2013, p. 69 + n. 2* with further references).

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08) Tūram-Dagan, the barber of Puzriš-Dagan* — The Ur III administrative text edited in this communication was posthumously published as YOS 15 168 by A. Goetze. Since his original copy the tablet has been baked and cleaned, and a new photo available at CDLI (P414542) makes now possible a better reading of the seal inscription impressed on the tablet. The text comes from Puzriš-Dagan and is dated to ŠS.02.12.16. The new copy below was made by the author.

Text

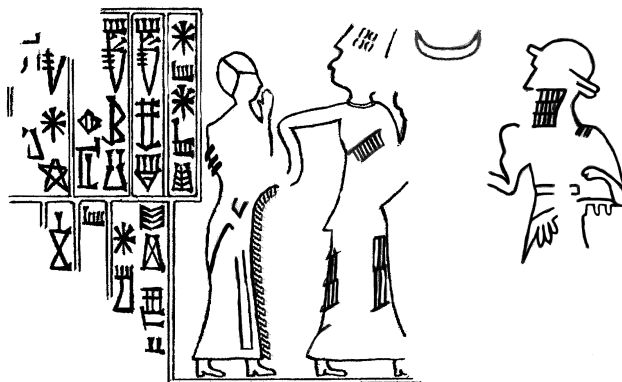
^(o.)2 udu niga sig₅ / ^dHa-bu-ri-tum / siskur₂ šag₄ e₂-gal / uzu-bi ba-zi / ki A-hu-We-er-ta / ^(r.)ba-zi / itud ud 16 ba-zal / (blank) / itud še-KIN-kud / mu ma₂ ^dEn-ki ba-ab-du₈

Two good quality grain-fed sheep for the goddess Habūrītum, ritual in the palace, their meat was withdrawn from Ahu-Wēr, on the 16th day of the month. The month of 'barley harvest'. Year 'The boat of Enki was caulked'.

Seal inscription

^(i.) ^dŠu-^dEN.ZU / lugal kalag-ga / lugal Urim₅^{ki}-ma / lugal an-ub-d[a limmu₂-b]a / ^(ii.) Tu-ra-a[m]-^dDa-[gan] / šu-[i] / ARA[D₂-zu]

Šū-Suen, the powerful king, king of Urim, king of the four quarters: Tūram-Dagan, the barber, is your servant.



Goetze's copy of the seal inscription only shows ^dŠu-^dEN.ZU / lugal kalag-ga / lugal Urim₅ in the first and *Tu-ra-a[m]-^dDa-[gan]* in the second column, but on the basis of the CDLI photo some additional lines, and the imagery on the seal can now be restored. The imagery is a standard introduction scene: an interceding goddess leads a standing man with raised hand and makes the gesture of salutation with her free hand towards a presumably seated king. The recipient of the offering mentioned in the text is the goddess *Habūrītum*. Most of the Ur III texts mentioning this goddess come from the time of Šū-Suen, when Puzriš-Dagan's function seemed to shift from diplomacy to provisioning of cult operations (TSOUPAROPOULOU 2013:2).

Ahu-Wēr was an important official in Puzriš-Dagan; he was a member of Department B of the *nakabtum* organization of the disbursal office (AS.03–08 and again from ŠS.02–04, sporadically until ŠS.07) (TSOUPAROPOULOU 2013:9). Tūram-Dagan was another member of the same office, but he was in the branch associated with the royal court, and his activity was only documented between AS.04–07 (TSOUPAROPOULOU 2013:9). Hilgert suggests that the bureau of Ahu-Wēr and Tūram-Dagan was provided with very similar contingents of animals, which means that they held similar administrative function (HILGERT 2003:47). They are attested to act together in texts from the other's bureau (for example OIP 121 24:3-5 [Ahu-Wēr's bureau]; OIP 121 528:4-7 [Tūram-Dagan's bureau]) and in another bureau too (OIP 121 248 iii:1, 26 [central bureau]).

No other seal impression of Tūram-Dagan's seal apart from this one on YOS 15 168 is known. Its inscription can now be restored fully; the only uncertain part is ii 2, where only a ŠU sign is visible at the left edge, and there is no other sign at least in the first half of the column. This sign can be identified above UZU's upper final wedges in l. 4 of the text. As on these seal inscriptions the lines were usually justified, if there are only two signs in a line, then one of them is on the left and the other is in the right end of the line. The only title that may fit here is šu'i (barber). This title is attested on royal seals of the Ur III period once under Šulgi (Šulgi 2131add [TCL 02, 5562; P131651], after DELAPORTE 1923 A. 260). In addition to YOS 15 168, few other occurrences are known from the time of Šū-Suen: the seal of Šū-Šulgi (Šū-Suen 2120add [MVN 02, 341; P113640]), Ula-iliš (Šū-Suen 2128add [BPOA 6, 0757; P210529]) and Nūr-Šamaš (Šū-Suen 2103add [TRU 362; P135126]); and a seal of presumably the same Nūr-Šamaš from the 2nd year of Ibbi-Sîn (FÖLDI 2013:§5.3. contra OWEN 2013:329 no. 734).

Note that Tūram-Dagan also appears with the title ragaba (messenger) in UTI 6 3800 iii:3' (P141796, ŠS.00.00.00) and Fs Jones 68 iii:3 (P109345, ŠS.06.12.08). In the latter text two other ragabas are mentioned in the same section: Nūr-Šamaš (ii:28) and Šū-Suen-sisa (ii:31). The first has a šu'i arad-zu seal as it was noted above and the second has also an arad-zu seal (Šū-Suen 2108add [MVN 15, 358; P118623]), where he is named ragaba. The following two texts show that the same man can hold these two titles at the same time. In Ontario 1 177:2 (P124590) Māt-ilī is šu'i and ragaba and in TRU 362:3 (P135126) Nūr-Šamaš is also ragaba, but he used his arad-zu seal, where he is designated as šu'i. These two examples may indicate that an official can hold simultaneously the titles šu'i and ragaba.

With the new CDLI photo of YOS 15 168 it was possible to add valuable details to the previously published seal legend. After analysing and comparing the text and the seal inscription there is a high chance that the owner of the seal, Tūram-Dagan is identical with the important official of the Puzriš-Dagan administration. If we accept his reconstructed šu'i title a new stage can be added to his career.

*I would like to dedicate this short note to the memory of János Everling, who edited all Sumerian archival documents housed at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (EVERLING 1999), and passed away in April 2013. I would also like to thank Zsombor Földi for drawing my attention to this text and Christina Tsouparopoulou for her valuable suggestions on the imagery. The edition of YOS 15 168 is related to my contribution to the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Royal Inscriptions project (= ETCRSI). ETCRSI aims, among others, to re-edit all known Ur III arad-zu and inaba seal inscriptions with translation and grammatical analysis. Seal inscriptions are referred to according to their ETCRSI number throughout this note; this seal is Šū-Suen 2169add. The seals referred to as "RN nnnadd" can be found at the ETCRSI website (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcrsi/corpus>): Ur III Royal Inscription / Ur.

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09) A Note on the text Iraq 74, p. 129 2010-06-022-07 (W 22) — The text, *Iraq 74*, p. 129 2010-06-022-07 (W 22), was transliterated by Jon Taylor in 2012 (TAYLOR 2012). As the author said, it is “An Ur III administrative text about livestock, probably from Drehem. Dated month xi of an unidentified year” (TAYLOR 2012:129). Fortunately, I have found another text, *JEOL 33 114 5*, dated to the 15th day of the eleventh month of the 47th regnal year of Šulgi. The both texts are transliterated and compared as following:

Iraq 74, p. 129 2010-06-022-07 (W 22)

Obverse

1. 6 gu₄ niga 110 udu
2. 10 maš₂-gal
3. I-šar-ra-ma-aš
4. 10 gu₄ 220 udu
5. 20 maš₂-gal
6. [er]in₂ A-ba-al^{ki}
7. ugula I-[š]ar-ra-ma-aš
8. 10-la₂-1 gu₄ 1 ab₂
9. 50-la₂-1 udu 51 maš₂-gal
10. erin₂ Hu-ub-ni^{ki}
11. ugula I-di₃-^dEN.ZU
12. 1 sila₄ I-di₃-E₂-a šabra

Reverse

1. 1 sila₄ Lu₂-ša-lim nu-banda₃
2. 1 sila₄ Id-da-a
3. 3 udu niga 1^{minus} aš₂-gar₃
4. Lugal-u₄-[s]u₃-še₃
5. 2 amar az Ur-^dEN.[ZU]
6. [2 si]la₄ en^d[Inanna]
7. [x si]la₄ SUHUŠ-ki-i[n ...] / mar [...]
blank space
8. mu-DU N[a-sa₆ i₃-dab₅]
9. iti ezem-Me-[ki-ĝal₂]
10. mu us₂-sa Ki[i-maš^{ki} ba-hul]

JEOL 33 114 5

Obverse

1. 1 sila₄ ^dEn-lil₂
2. 1 sila₄ ^dNin-lil₂
3. mu-DU en^dInanna
4. 1 sila₄ ^dNanna
5. mu-DU I-di₃-E₂-a šabra
6. 1 sila₄ Hur-sag-ga-lam-ma
7. mu-DU Lu₂-ša-lim nu-banda₃
8. 1 sila₄ ^dUtu
9. mu-DU Id-da-a
10. zabar-dab₅ maškim
11. 1 amar az e₂ uz-ga

Reverse

1. mu-DU Ur-^dEN.ZU
2. A-a-kal-la maškim
3. 3 udu niga Na-ap-la-nu-um mar-tu
4. mu-DU Lugal-u₄-su₃-še₃
5. Arad₂-ĝu₁₀ maškim
6. 3 gu₄ 24 udu 11 u₈
7. 8 maš₂ 4 ud₃ šu-gid₂ e₂ muhaldim-še₃
8. u₄ 15-kam
1 line blank
9. ki Na-sa₆-ta ba-zi
10. iti ezem Me-ki-ĝal₂
11. mu us₂-sa Ki-maš^{ki} / ba-hul

In the text on the left, *Iraq 74*, p. 129 2010-06-022-07 (W 22), Nasa received (i₃-dab₅) the deliveries of animals from several persons, namely Išarramaš, Idi-Ea the temple prefect, Lu-šalim the inspector (nu-banda₃), Idda’a, Lugal-usuše, Ur-Suen, the en-priestess of Inana, SUHUŠ-kin, and the troops from Abal and Hubni overseen by Išarramaš and Idi-Suen, respectively. In the text on the right, *JEOL 33 114 5*, Nasa disbursed (ba-zi) animals for cultic purposes, for the E’uzga, for an Amorite Naplanum, and for the kitchen. In several cases, it is clear that the transactions are linked. In terms of detail, the one lamb that Nasa received from Idi-Ea, the temple prefect, was disbursed for the cult of Nanna, while the lamb that Nasa received from Lu-šalim, the inspector, was disbursed for the cult of Hursag-galama. Moreover, the lamb that Nasa received from Idda’a was disbursed for the cult of Utu, and the three barley-fed sheep and one female kid that Nasa received from Lugal-usuše were disbursed for the Amorite Naplanum. What is more, the two young bears that Nasa received from Ur-Suen were

disbursed for the E'uzga, as well as the two lambs that Nasa received from the en-priestess of Inana were disbursed for the cults of Enlil and Ninlil.

From the above comparison, first of all, it is certain that the text *Iraq 74*, p. 129 2010-06-022-07 (W 22) is dated to Š 47 xi 15, the same day with the text *JEOL 33 114 5*. Second, the former text is undoubtedly from Drehem. Third, the Reverse Line 8 and Line 10 of the text *Iraq 74*, p. 129 2010-06-022-07 (W 22) can be safely reconstructed on the basis of the comparison with the text *JEOL 33 114 5*, while the Reverse Line 7 of the text *Iraq 74*, p. 129 2010-06-022-07 (W 22) is difficult to be reconstructed completely because it cannot be attested for the connection between the PN SUHUŠ-kin and the below sign MAR (possibly mar-tu). As for the attestation of SUHUŠ-kin equaling with Šuruš-kin, he is the son of Ur-niġar, who in turn, is the son of the king Šulgi (see WEIERSHÄUER 2008:41). Lastly, the individual Lugal-usuše (Lugal-u₄-su₃-še₃) can be identified with the royal cook (muhaldim lugal), based on one seal impression in the text *MVN 14 388*, dated to SS 5 from Umma: Arad₂-ġu₁₀ / dumu Lugal-u₄-su₃-še₃ / muhaldim lugal. Interestingly, another undated text *PDT 1 529* records that two barley-fed sheep—the delivery of Lugal-usuše, for Engimium, an Amorite person—were disbursed by possibly Aba-saga.

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10) Further on NABU 2001/7: an administrative tablet from the 3rd Dynasty of Ur^{*)} — The tablet presented below was copied and edited in the course of a student workshop held at the University of Copenhagen in the Autumn of 2010 under the supervision of Gojko Barjamovic. Currently in the small tablet collection of the Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, the text was originally received by the late Professor Jørgen Læssøe from a private collector in 1964, and preliminarily edited by him at that time in a small hand-written note, though never published.

A sketch drawing of the same tablet was found in a letter from George Roux among the correspondence of the late Prof. Dossin, and formed the basis for a publication of the text by LIMET (2001). The writings of Roux indicated that he had studied the tablet in Iraq in 1957, but how the tablet subsequently made it to Copenhagen remains a puzzle. According to Læssøe's archival notes, the tablet was purchased by renowned Danish archaeologist and explorer Count Eigil Knuth (Hattersley-Smith 1996). A letter from Læssøe, dated 10th of June 1958, suggests that the tablet was bought on the European antiquities' market that year, and makes brief mention of a larger inscription coming “from the Mosul district”, which Knuth, however, did not purchase. According to Limet, Roux insisted that the tablet came from Ur, an assertion supported on prosopographical grounds (see below).

This note offers a full drawn copy and a compiled photo. The tablet is in a good state of preservation, and the reading poses no problems, save for the clearly defined lacunae. A few issues as to the interpretation of the text remain, however, and will be addressed in the following.

| | | |
|----------|--|---|
| Obv. 1. | [x ma-n]a 4 gín / ku ₃ -sig ₁₇ ^{giš} gu-za-za ₃ -us ₂ -ta e ₂ -šutum ₂ [!] (e ₂ -ri-du) | [x] minas, 4 shekels / of gold for a throne from <i>the storage</i> , |
| lo.e. 4. | ^{giš} gu-za-za ₃ -us ₂ | to be placed (i.e. used) |
| Rev. 5. | ga ₂ -ga ₂ -de ₃ ^d nanna-kam inim-gi-na šu ba-ti iti ezem- ^d li ₉ -si ₄ | on a throne; Nanna-kam (and) Inim-gina received (it). Month of Lisi |

10. mu dumu lugal nin
an-š[a-na]-še₃¹ ba-DU

The year when the son of the king
went to the lady of Anshan.



NABU 2001 007 (BDTNS 050953, CDLI P200934, Widell 2003: UCU 001)

Length: 45 mm, Width: 38 mm, Thickness: 22 mm, Colour: Sand/pinkish cream buff

l. 2: The *gu-za-za₃-us₂* is listed in *PSD* as Akkadian *kussī nēmedi* – “a chair”. *CAD N/2*, p. 156 refers to this piece of furniture as “chair with armrest or footstool”, and *AHW*, p. 776 and RÖLLIG & WAETZOLDT 1997, p. 328 refer to it as “lehne *kussū*”. In this specific context, a throne, possibly for a divine figure, is implied.

l. 3: We are critical of the proposed reading of obv. l. 3 as *e₂-šutum₂* (É-GI-<NA-AB>-TUM), as the tablet quite clearly reads RI, not GI, making Limet’s suggested emendation rather speculative. The concern with gold and the mentioning of ^{gis}*gu-za-za₃-us₂* (see above) may suggest a reading of *e₂* RI-DU as referring to a temple, although this remains speculation, since no reference to such a temple exists (George 1993).

l. 6: Nanna-kam is associated with the movement of metals, though not gold, in several texts from Ur dating to the reign of Šulgi (cf. e.g. UET III 318 and 340). The physical and orthographical resemblances between our text and these two may be taken as a further indication that all three records are concerned with the same individual. It appears on the tablet as though this name was added at a later time due to the very narrow and crudely drawn line.

l. 9: Several examples of this month name appear in texts excavated at Ur, e.g. UET 3, no. 714 (U 12574). According to Mark Cohen and Magnus Widell the month appears to have been used mostly at Girsu in administrative texts or in texts from Ur with economic ties to Girsu, due to the lack of a native calendar at Ur until the year after Šulgi 30 (COHEN 1993, p. 69, 131; WIDELL 2004, p. 2-3). Therefore, due to the personal name in l. 6 and the tablet’s dating, we agree with Roux’s suggestion that the tablet originated at Ur.

*⁾ We would like to thank Dr. G. Barjamovic, Professor Emeritus, Aa. Westenholz and Dr. S. Nett for their suggestions and improvements.

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11) Errors which could be eliminated — The below presented Cappadocian tablet (Ka. 1, (KTS I 41a) was published as a copy by Julius Lewy some 87 years ago, omitting the badly broken face of Obverse (J. Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Texte von Kültepe, Keilschrifttexte in den Antiken Museen zu Stambul, KTS I*, Konstantinople, 1926, no.41a). Despite the fact that the volume (though containing 144 texts) had been greatly quoted in many main books and serious articles, it is a great pity that they were never collated duly if not ever. Despite the fact that the volume KTS I was collated by myself, the results of which will be printed soon, this special text (Ka.1= KTS I 41a) was not included among the other texts I collated. The main reason was the request of Dr. Goyko Barjamovic who was interested in the context of the text. Since the Obverse was never known by any scholar and there were a few important improvements on the copied parts too, therefore I thought to present it in copy and the full edition of the text.

One can not blame on J. Lewy not to have treated the obverse which presents only the end signs of some incomplete phrases (1. 1-12) which cannot be understood clearly, except the half preserved PN [Dan]-Assur(1. 11) and [....] *ma-šu-e* (1. 4) *mašu(m)/ wašâ'um* «to forget, to forget of something» if the broken part did not contain anything else. The preserved end of line 13 *la úš-a-am* may well be *wašâ'um/ušâ'um* «to go out, to leave». The text copied by J. Lewy consisted of the lower edge and the reverse of which the first eleven lines are quoted by Dr. Dercksen (1'-11 '), lines 2'-5' coming from a transliteration of the tablet after cleaning made by M.T. Larsen (J.G. Dercksen, *Old Assyrian Institution (MOST Studies 4, Nederlandse Instituut voor Nabije Oosten, 2004) p. 28, n. 88* (according to our new arrangement the line numbering has become 14-24). On the basis of our minutes collation lines 14, 16, and 18 are somehow different, and a new translation is offered below.

The Obverse is almost lost, except on the right margin. Lower Edge and Reverse are well preserved except the beginning of the last 6 lines which could be reconstructed.

- 1) [.....] x
- 2) [.....]x-lá
- 3) [.....]-lá-tí-ka
- 4) [.....] ma-šu-e
- 5) [.....]-a-kà-ma
- 6) [.....] a vertical only
- 7) [.....]-tí
- 8) [.....]-x
- 9) [.....]tš]a-at
- 10) [.....] x-ma(?)
- 11) [.....]Dan-]A-šur
- 12) [.....]-nu-ma
- 13) [.....] la úš-a-am
- 14) a²-na [ša-a]-am la i-mu-ú
- 15) a-ni-tám ni-iš-pu-ra-kum
- 16) iš-tù ú-mi-im ša [KÜ.BABBAR] lá e-ru-ba-ni
- 17) AN.NA ni-iš-a-ma lá-wu-ma
- 18) [i]-ba-ší a-tù-<nu>-ma² a-AN.NA ša-a-ma

- 19) *Dan-A-šur ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni*
 20) *ša ma-at ša-pí-il₅-tim ša-am-ú*
 21) *a-na ma-lá ta-áš-pu-ra-ni*
 22) AN.NA *a-ša-a-ma ù šu-ma*
 23) *Dan-A-šur a-hu-ur AN.NA ša a-ba-ki-im*
 24) *iš-tí a-li-ki a-ba-kà-am*
 25) *a-šu-mi ša^dNIN.ŠUBUR-ba-ni*
 26) *ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni um-ma a-ta-ma*
 27) KÙ.BABBAR-*a-ni be-a-lim e-ri-ší*
 28) *šu-ma ta-da-šu-um KÙ.BABBAR i-na*
 29) *ta-ší-im-tim dí-šu-ma ù ma-ma-an*
 30) *i-na um-mi-a-ni li-pu-ul-ka*
 31) *ta-áš-pu-ra-nim um-ma a-tù-nu-ma*
 32) 10 ma-na KÙ.BABBAR *a-ma-kam le-qé mi-ma*
 33) KÙ.BABBAR *a-na-kam ú-lá a-al-qé*
 34) [*šu-ma*] KÙ.BABBAR *a-na be-a-lim ta-da-šu-um*
 35) *i-na ta-ší-im-tim-ma*
 36) [*ma*]-*ma-<an> ù um-mi-a-nim li-pu-ul-kà*
 37) [*šu-m*]*a la ta-ra-ku-ni lu-qú-ut*
 38) [......]KÙ.BABBAR *še-ep Sá-zi-a*
 39) [......] *Dan-A-šur*

Translation: (We ignore the first ten incomplete lines).

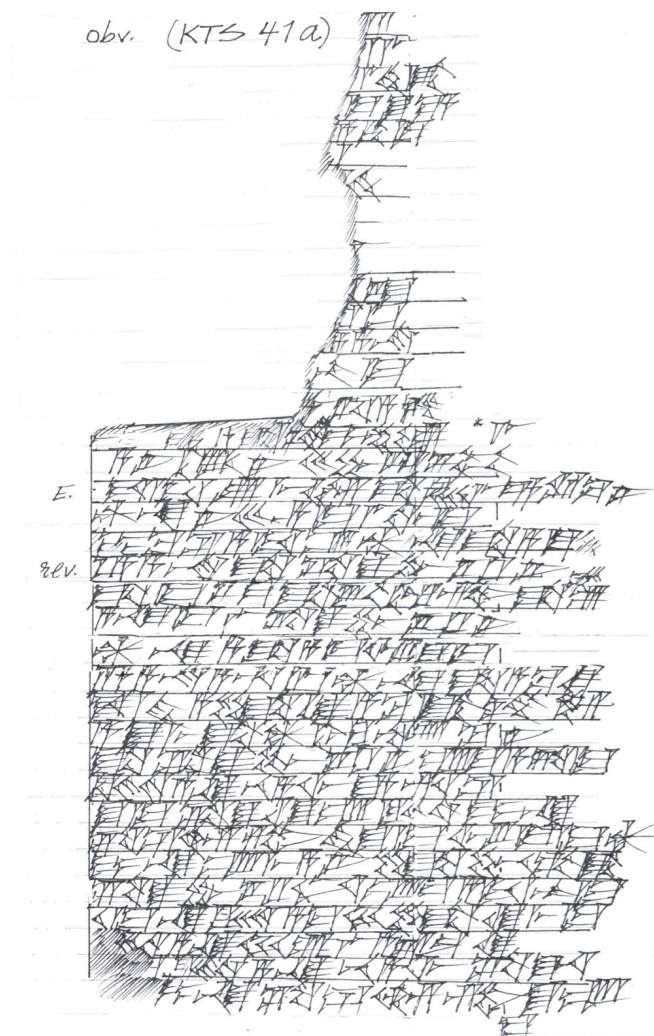
11) [......]Dan]-Aššur [...] (13) [If] they have not left (14) (and) refuse to buy. (15) We conveyed you this. (16-18) Since the moment that the *silver* did not arrive here we purchased tin (which) was available (ready) wrapped; (and) for you yourself, buy (also) tin. (19-20) As for Dan-Aššur about whom you have written to me those of the lower country have been bought. (21-22) I shall buy tin according to what you have written to me. If (23-24) Dan-Aššur is delayed I shall convey all the tin that has to be sent with a messenger.(25-26) Because of the fact that Ilabrat-bani about whom you wrote to me saying this: (27-28) «now he is demanding to dispose of this money. If you give him silver (money) give (29-30) him by way of *tašimtim*-fixed-testament to be checked so that someone among the money-lenders may pay you back». (31-33) (Further) you(plr.) wrote to me and suggested this: «Take 10 minas of silver there, I did not receive any silver here. (34-36) [If]you give silver for *be'alum* (to be claimed/subject to someone's rule, (give it) by way of *tašimtim*-proxy/power of attorney. (36) Somebody and a creditor should pay you (be responsible to you for the payment)». (37) [If it] is not too long for you the merchandise of...(38)[....] the silver, Saziya's caravan (39) [......]] Dan-Aššur.

16: The suggested reading E-lá is not possible. The first sign rather looks very much to KÙ.BABBAR; cf. Dercksen *OAI (MOST Studies 4) 2004*, p.28, n.88. If we are looking for a name those dubious sign(s) can only be KÙ and together with the succeeding sign -lá makes a PN Kù-lá which is written with normal Ku- (BIN IV 173:16; Larsen, *Kultepe Tabletleri VI-a nos 8:14;72:1;73:17* as a brother of Šukuttum; 23:3.11.16;SO:3.12). The space in between requires more than one sign anyway.

18: The contributions of [3] *ší-ší-a-tu-um* is not possible. As the copy shows the first sign is an explicit *i* and the last sign is not *um* either. It looks *ma'* a-AN.NA *ša-a-ma*, see however a parallel usage in *CCT 3, 47a, 5ff.: GUŠKIN (6) 1/2 ma-na šu-ma (7) 8 GÍN.TA ú-lá (8) 9 GÍN.TA a-na (9) KÙ.BABBAR ša-a-ma (10) šé-bi₄-lim...* « as for the half mina of gold, if the rate of exchange against silver stands at 8 shekels or 9 shekels (of silver against) each (shekel of gold), buy it and send it to me ...» (Veenhof, *AOATT p.455*)

20: *ša ma-at ša-pí-il₅-tim* see Dercksen's comments *OAI (MOS Studies 4) 2004*, p. 29 f.

29-35: *ta-ší-im-tim/tašimtim* does not occur frequently in OA and must be derived from *šimtum* «what is fixed, will, testament, last will, fixed amount of silver». It is a special contract to secure a loan which will be paid by a proxy. However Von Soden quotes *šar tašimtim* «Der König von Einsicht» *GAG 1969 136 f.* accordingly means «to be checked, and controlled».



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12) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 14 : la séquence des éponymes — La datation des éponymes dans la base de données ARCHIBAB (www.archibab.fr) a jusqu'à présent été prise en compte d'une manière incomplète, puisqu'elle se limitait aux textes de Mari datant du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie. On avait donc choisi d'indiquer « Roi = Samsi-Addu » et « Année = Ep. X ». La prise en compte de textes plus récents (ceux de Tell Rimah publiés dans *OBTR*, ceux de Tell Leilan, etc.) nous a obligés à reconsidérer notre façon de faire. Nous souhaitons un traitement qui soit à la fois scientifiquement cohérent et qui n'oblige pas à d'importants changements dans la structure de la base.

Un élément essentiel à prendre en compte est l'absence de lien entre un roi et une date par éponyme : c'est bien entendu surtout vrai pour la période qui suivit l'éclatement du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie. Il nous est apparu que le plus simple était d'utiliser la « Revised Eponym List » (REL) récemment établie par G. Barjamovic, Th. Hertel et M. T. Larsen¹). Dans ARCHIBAB, la liste des éponymes est donc (fictivement) considérée comme l'équivalent d'un règne, avec comme date d'avènement la date du premier éponyme, chaque éponyme étant traité comme un nom d'année ; pour avoir un tri chronologique correct, et éviter les problèmes dus aux homonymes, le nom de chaque éponyme est précédé de son numéro dans la liste REL.

Malheureusement, les compilateurs de la REL ont effectué un choix qui nous a obligés à nous écarter de leur numérotation sur un point. La REL a introduit l'éponyme Ahiyaya entre Aššur-malik et

Awiliya, en lui donnant le numéro 193 (PIHANS 120, p. 95), en lisant dans la liste KEL G de C. Günbattı ¹*a-h[i-a-a]*, suivi par ¹*a-w[i]-l[i-ia]* (p. 14). Cependant, la collation de la KEL G de C. Günbattı, donnée dans PIHANS 120 p. 114, indique explicitement que la lecture *a-hi-[a-a]* est exclue. Or les données de Mari *imposent* d'avoir une succession Aššur-malik / Awiliya (FM 5, p. 163-166)². De ce fait, tous les numéros postérieurs à 192 = Aššur-malik doivent être *diminués d'une unité* : dans ARCHIBAB, on trouvera donc Eponyme 193 Awiliya (et non 194 comme dans la REL, PIHANS 120, p. 95), etc. jusque à Eponyme 225 = Ipiq-Ištar (au lieu de 226 dans la REL, PIHANS 120, p. 96). En conséquence, toutes les dates absolues des éponymes des origines à Aššur-malik sont à diminuer d'une année : Eponyme 1 Šu-Ištar = 1971 (et non 1972), Eponyme 192 Aššur-malik = 1780 [et non 1781]. Ensuite, les dates absolues de PIHANS 120 sont justes, mais le numéro d'éponyme à diminuer d'une unité : Eponyme 193 Awiliya = 1779, jusque Eponyme 225 Ipiq-Ištar = 1747.

Après cet Ipiq-Ištar, la liste KEL G de C. Günbattı est cassée sur plusieurs lignes. D. Charpin a exposé récemment la raison pour laquelle il était impossible de suivre J. Eidem, qui a considéré Išme-Ilum comme le dernier éponyme attesté par les textes de Tell Leilan (RA 105, 2011, p. 57). L'hypothèse des auteurs de PIHANS 120 est que les éponymes connus suffisent à combler la lacune de la KEL G. Elle conduit à considérer que le dernier éponyme attesté à Leilan, Aššur-taklaku, correspond à 1728, soit l'année 22 de Samsu-iluna, lors de laquelle eut lieu la destruction de Šehna, capitale du pays d'Apum, qui fut commémorée dans le nom de l'an 23 de Samsu-iluna³.

Nous proposons de désigner ce système comme REL-rev.1⁴ (en supposant qu'il puisse y avoir à l'avenir d'autres changements, qui pourront être décrits comme REL-rev.2 etc.). C'est donc désormais avec le système REL-rev.1 que les textes paléo-babyloniens datés par des éponymes sont traités dans la base ARCHIBAB. Dans l'onglet « Textes », puis recherche « par date », on doit choisir dans la rubrique « Roi : » l'entrée « Eponyme », puis dans « Année » l'éponyme désiré. Dans l'onglet « Noms d'années », on doit choisir dans la rubrique « Dynastie » l'entrée « Epo », puis dans la rubrique « Limiter au roi » l'entrée « Eponyme » : on obtient alors la liste de tous les éponymes, selon l'ordre chronologique exposé ci-dessus. En cliquant dans l'un d'eux, on obtient la liste de toutes ses attestations textuelles (du moins dans l'état actuel du dépouillement des publications).

1) G. Barjamovic, Th. Hertel & M. T. Larsen, *Ups and downs at Kanesh. Chronology, history and society in the Old Assyrian period*, PIHANS 120, Leyde, 2012, spécialement p. 91-97.

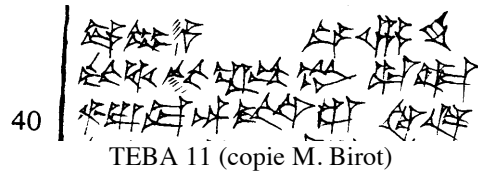
2) Malgré D. Lacambre (suivi par les auteurs de PIHANS 120, p. 12), nous ne pensons pas que les données des textes de Chagar Bazar constituent une preuve de la présence d'Ahiyaya entre Aššur-malik et Awiliya et qu'elles puissent l'emporter sur les données épigraphiques de la KEL G. Nous pensons toujours préférable la solution qui consiste à mettre Ahiyaya en parallèle avec Ili-tillati (FM 5, p. 165 ; corriger PIHANS 120, p. 13, qui attribue l'idée à « Charpin and Durand » au lieu de « Charpin and Ziegler »). Depuis FM 5, voir la note de M. Liebig, « Die Eponymenliste KEL G und Distanzangaben assyrischer Bauinschriften », *NABU* 2012/45, qui conforte notre proposition.

3) Dans RA 105, écrit avant la parution de PIHANS 120, D. Charpin avait proposé un scénario légèrement différent, considérant Buzzua, éponyme successeur de Aššur-taklaku, comme contemporain de Samsu-iluna 22. L'hypothèse n'étant pas assurée, nous préférons suivre désormais PIHANS 120 sur ce point.

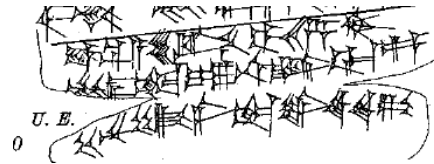
4) Soit *Revised Eponym List*-révision 1.

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13) Des rois de Babylone héroïques vainqueurs d'Ešnunna — Le nom développé de l'année 32 de Hammu-rabi est noté d'une façon remarquable. Au lieu d'avoir MU *ha-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL.E avec le reste de la formule aux lignes suivantes, on a le plus souvent MU *ha-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL UR.SAG sur la première ligne de la date. Il n'est que de regarder les copies de M. Birot dans TEBA pl. 1-6 n^{os} 1-11, de M. Ellis dans JCS 29 p. 139-147 n^{os} 1-7 et de T. Breckwoldt dans OECT 15 n^{os} 106 et 107 pour voir que les scribes n'ont pas écrit ces formules longues au hasard : il y avait la volonté de mettre l'accent, y compris visuellement, sur l'héroïsme du roi (UR.SAG = *qarradum* « héros »)¹. Celui-ci venait en effet de remporter une victoire décisive sur son rival, le roi d'Ešnunna, que ce nom d'année avait pour objet de célébrer.



On pourrait estimer cette interprétation exagérée : il en existe en fait une étonnante confirmation. Le nom de l'an 20 de Samsu-iluna, fils et successeur de Hammu-rabi, est également consacré à la commémoration d'une victoire sur Ešnunna. De la même façon, lorsque les scribes n'ont pas recours à une formule très abrégée, autrement dit quand ils commencent par le nom du roi, ils font suivre celui-ci non pas du simple titre de LUGAL.E comme de coutume, mais de la formule LUGAL SAG.KAL (= *ašarêdum* « le plus important »). On peut regarder par exemple BE 6/2 53, Riftin 88, ou TCL 1 139 : à chaque fois, LUGAL SAG.KAL figure à la fin de la première ligne du nom d'année²⁾.



Le parallèle avec le nom de l'année 32 de Hammu-rabi n'est pas dû au hasard : cela montre bien que la rivalité avec Ešnunna fut un élément majeur de l'histoire de Babylone. Un tel exemple montre également que les noms d'années jouaient réellement un rôle important dans l'image que les rois voulaient donner d'eux-mêmes et que les scribes qui les écrivaient en étaient conscients³⁾.

1) Voir déjà D. Charpin & N. Ziegler, « Masters of Time : Old Babylonian Kings and Calendars », dans L. Feliu, J. Llop, A. Millet Albà & J. Sanmartín (éd.), *Time and History in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 56e RAI, Barcelona, July 26th-30th, 2010*, Winona Lake, 2013, p. 57-68, spéc. p. 63 et n. 37.

2) Ce n'est pas toujours vrai : en TIM 5 57, le scribe a coupé : MU *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL / SAG.KAL etc. En BE 6/2 51, le scribe a noté MU *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL.E / LUGAL SAG.KAL etc. En revanche, dans la majorité des cas d'une série de 23 petits billets administratifs que je dois éditer prochainement et qui provient des archives du domaine d'Alammuš-našir, on a MU *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL SAG.KAL en première ligne : 6 textes ont LUGAL.E et 9 LUGAL SAG.KAL (8 textes ont une formule abrégée). Mes remerciements à W. Farber, conservateur de la collection de l'O. I. de Chicago, pour m'avoir permis de travailler sur ce lot d'archives (voir provisoirement « Histoire de la Mésopotamie : les archives d'Alammush-nasir », *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études (EPHE), Section des sciences historiques et philologiques* 139, 2006-07, p. 17-19, accessible sur <http://ashp.revues.org/index147.html>).

3) Le présent argument doit être ajouté à ceux présentés par M. J. A. Horsnell, « Why Year-Names ? An Exploration into the Reasons for their Use », *Or* 72, 2003, p. 196-203.

D. CHARPIN

14) Retractatio. À propos de la prébende de cuisinier à Ur à l'époque paléo-babylonienne — Lorsque j'ai préparé ma contribution « Religious Personnel : Priests and Priestesses », pour le *Handbook of Ancient Mesopotamia* édité par G. Rubio, j'ai été amené à relire ce que j'ai écrit il y a plus d'un quart de siècle sur le personnel cultuel d'Ur (*Archives familiales*, 1980 et *Le Clergé d'Ur*, 1986). Je voudrais ici rectifier une erreur : la prébende lue « NAM.ŠITA₄ », dont la lecture a depuis longtemps posé problème et que j'avais proposé de considérer comme une charge de purificateur, me semble être en réalité à lire NAM.GIR₄ et à comprendre comme désignant la charge de cuisinier¹⁾.

J'avais indiqué :

« Une autre piste pour identifier cette charge pourrait être fournie par l'association fréquente de nam-šita₄ et lú-bappir. On l'a vu ci-dessus avec YOS V 163 : 19. On a également constaté qu'en TCL X 52 et 59 étaient vendues ensemble les prébendes de nam-šita₄ et de brasseur. On peut ajouter qu'en UET V 191, où la séquence des témoins semble significative, on trouve à la suite un nam-šita₄ (I.44) et un brasseur (I.45). Ce dernier étant chargé de préparer les boissons alcoolisées servies à la table des dieux, la prébende de nam-šita₄ pourrait avoir trait à la

préparation de la nourriture. Une lecture nam-gir₄ « responsable du four » est cependant tout-à-fait exclue, car le second signe est nettement šita₄ (soit U + KID) et non gir₄ (U + AD). » (*Le Clergé d'Ur*, p. 259).

L'hypothèse initiale était juste et la phrase de conclusion (négative) fautive, pour deux raisons :

– le pseudo ŠITA₄ est bien écrit U+AD, soit GIR₄, sur l'enveloppe de TSifr 20 (cf. ma copie dans *Archives familiales*, p. 48). On notera que la graphie U+AD est parfois simplifiée dans des textes littéraires sumériens (C. Mittermayer en coll. avec P. Attinger, *Altbabylonische Zeichenliste der sumerisch-literarischen Texte*, OBO Sonderband, Fribourg & Göttingen, 2006, p. 134 n° 342) ; il n'est donc pas étonnant que les scribes des contrats ou des textes administratifs aient fait de même, d'où la confusion entre GIR₄ (U+AD) et ŠITA₄ (U+KID).

– la prébende de « cuisinier » (soit (LÚ.)MUHALDIM = *nuhatimmum*) est curieusement inconnue à Ur, alors qu'ailleurs elle fait souvent paire avec celle de brasseur, cette dernière étant bien documentée à Ur.

Dans le four (gir₄) étaient cuits à la fois de la viande (de bœuf et de mouton) et du pain, comme le montrent différents textes sumériens (*Le Clergé d'Ur*, p. 336-340), notamment UET VI/1 67 : 40 (*ibid.*, p. 367 et 372)²⁾. Dans le temple de Nanna à Ur, les cuisiniers portaient donc un titre particulier, NAM.GIR₄³⁾, qui les rattachait explicitement à leur instrument de travail, le four gir₄⁴⁾, dont des vestiges ont d'ailleurs été retrouvés au pied de la ziggurat (*Le Clergé d'Ur*, p. 338-340). Leur titre n'a rien à voir avec nam-šita « prière »⁵⁾. Une fois de plus, il s'avère que Talleyrand avait raison : « Il faut toujours se méfier d'une première impression, car c'est la bonne »...

1) La présente note est d'autant plus nécessaire que le regretté R. Borger, dans son MesZL = AOAT 305, p. 402 n° 699 (ŠITA₄), avait renvoyé non seulement à son ABZ, mais aussi à mes deux ouvrages. J'avais également été suivi par W. Sallaberger et F. Huber Vulliet, RIA 10, p. 613 § 5.3.4.

2) On retrouve aussi bœufs, moutons et pains cuits dans un four-gir₄ dans l'hymne à Kusu l. 24-26 (cf. P. Michalowski, « The Torch and the Censer », dans M. E. Cohen, D. C. Snell & D. B. Weisberg (éd.), *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda, 1993, p. 152-162, spéc. p. 153 et 155). Noter également la Lamentation sur Sumer et Ur l. 313, où la traduction de P. Michalowski (MC 1, p. 55) doit être corrigée en : « le grand four, qui traite toujours bœufs et moutons, ... » (suggestion de W. Sallaberger).

Curieusement, les références akkadiennes collectées par le CAD pour *kīru* (gir₄ = U+AD) mentionnent seulement la cuisson de briques et le chauffage de bitume ou de cire, mais aucun usage culinaire, au contraire de la littérature sumérienne (noter d'ailleurs que *kirmahhu* est traduit « large crucible » par le CAD, alors que gir₄-mah dans l'inscription de Nur-Adad sert à cuire de la nourriture, notamment du pain [RIME 4, p. 140-142 n° 3]). De même, *utūnu* (udun = U+MU) sert seulement à la cuisson de céramiques ou des briques, à la fusion ou au raffinage des métaux ou du verre, ou encore à des usages médicaux ou magiques. Le four culinaire est *tinūru* (IM.ŠU.RIN.NA), qui occupe parfois une pièce entière, décrite comme « cuisine » dans un contrat de Nippur (É IM.ŠU.RIN.NA dans NBC 8935 [JCS 8 p. 142] : 6 // TIM 4 4 : 6 ; cf. B. Jahn, OrA 16, 2005, p. 98-99). Dans la lettre de Rim-Sin Abb 9 197 (BIN 7 10), *tinūrum* (l. 7) semble l'équivalent de *utūnum* (l. 9), de même que *šuhārum* (l. 7) est repris par *wardum* (l. 9). Pour l'aspect archéologique de la question, la référence demeure M.-Th. Barrelet, « Dispositifs à feu et cuisson des aliments à Ur, Nippur, Uruk », *Paléorient* 2, 1974, p. 243-300, désormais disponible sur www.persee.fr.

3) L'existence de traditions locales différentes n'est pas étonnante : à Eridu, le cuisinier s'appelait engiz et le brasseur ensi (*Le Clergé d'Ur*, p. 385-387).

4) La formation de ce titre avec le préfixe nam- est étonnante, puisqu'il ne s'agit pas d'un abstrait (au contraire de nam-gudu₄ « charge de gudu₄ », à côté du titre de gudu₄, cf. *Le Clergé d'Ur*, p. 252 et 257).

5) Voir notamment P. Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne. La construction de du₁₁/e₁di* « dire », OBO Sonderband, Fribourg et Göttingen, 1993, p. 623-624 (dont la prudente note 1784 est à supprimer si la présente note est juste). Pour le sens de « offrande », voir G. Selz, « The holy Drum... », CM 7, 1997, p. 199 n. 198.

D. CHARPIN

15) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 15 : le nom propre Zalaggum — Préparant pour ARCHIBAB les textes de CMET 9¹⁾, le numéro 767 a particulièrement attiré mon attention, puisqu'il énumère des noms, souvent par paires, avec indication de leur quartier (DAG.GLA = *bābtum*). On trouve l. 18-19 une séquence lue par les éditeurs (p. 65) ¹ištar¹-ki-m[a]-i-lí-ja / ù a [x x (x)] x aš gu. J'ai donc demandé à ARCHIBAB les références à des textes contenant le nom iš₈-tár-ki-ma-ì-lí-ia et il m'a renvoyé à YOS 12 35. Or ce texte offre une séquence l. 12-13 ¹za-la-gu / ù iš₈-tár-ki-ma-ì-lí-ia. Si l'on regarde la copie de

CMET 9 767 (pl. XVII) ainsi que la photo du CDLI (<http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P273699>), on s'aperçoit qu'il est possible de lire l. 19 $\text{ʿza}^*1\text{-[la-a]g}^*\text{-gu}$ (le *aš* de l'édition n'étant que la fin du *ag*). Vu la rareté du nom, il est à peu près sûr qu'on a affaire au même individu dans les deux textes : CMET 9 767, qui ne comporte pas de date, peut donc être situé pendant le règne de Samsu-iluna comme YOS 12 35, qui date de l'an 1 de ce roi.

Ce nom noté *za-la-ag-gu* ou *za-la-gu* se retrouve sous la forme *za-la-gu-um* en Santag 9 234 : 12 ; on normalisera donc le NP en *Zalaggum*. Il est sans doute à comprendre comme signifiant « pierre claire », dérivé du sumérien *ZALAG* : le mot est entré dans le CAD et le AHW s. v. *zalāqu* (NA₄.ZALAG). Les noms de pierre donnant des anthroponymes ne sont pas rares : cf. *Duhšum* / *Duhšatum* (< *duhšûm* « quartz, cristal de roche »), *Elmešum* / *Elmeštum* (< *elmešum* une pierre précieuse brillante), *Uqnum*/*Uqnitum*² (< *uqnûm* « lapis lazuli »), *Samtum* (< *sâmtum* « cornaline ») etc. On terminera cette note en rappelant que le prénom Claire est aujourd'hui uniquement féminin en français, mais qu'une forme masculine Clair (*Clarus*) était courante dans l'Antiquité et le Haut Moyen-Âge (il n'existe pas moins de quatre saints Clair du III^e au IX^e siècle).

1) A. Archi, F. Pomponio & M. Stol, *Testi cuneiformi di vario contenuto NN. 0724 - 0793*, Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie Seconda - Collezioni 9, Turin, 1999. Le projet ARCHIBAB cite ces textes comme CMET 9 (et non TCVC).

2) Cf. D. Charpin, « Le lapis-lazuli dans l'onomastique », *NABU* 1992/127.

D. CHARPIN

16) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 16 : un supplément-nêbehum dans un contrat conservé au Vatican —

Préparant pour ARCHIBAB l'édition électronique des tablettes de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical conservées aux Musées du Vatican¹, j'ai eu l'heureuse surprise, en collationnant un de ces huit textes, de trouver un nouvel exemple du versement d'un supplément-nêbehum en sus du prix de vente. L'attestation figure dans le texte IB 196 (We. Mayer, *Or* 74, p. 319-323 et pl. 28-29). J'ai pu lire :

ŠÁM.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ
 12' 1/2 MA.NA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
*qá-du-um**¹ ŠÀ.GAD*.DÛ*.A GÌR*.NITA₂
 14' IN.NA.AN.LÁ

Le début de la l. 13' est très clair : il s'agit du versement d'un supplément-nêbehum (voir Charpin *RA* 96, p. 88-90 et en dernier lieu Charpin *HEO* 48, Genève, 2010, p. 27-32). Noter que la graphie ŠÀ.GAD est déjà attestée à Nuzi (CAD Š/1, p. 159a), mais aussi à Mari (A.2500⁺ [Durand *MARI* 6, p. 75-77 et n. 199] : 10). Le dernier signe est bien ÌR comme l'avait lu le P. Mayer, la séquence qui précède et qui ressemble à HI+NI est en fait un GÌR (voir son excellente copie dans *Or* 74, p. 320) ; le titre de *šakkanakkum* (GÌR.NITA₂) est bien attesté comme celui d'un dignitaire local dans le royaume de Larsa (voir par exemple BM 13912 [= Anbar *RA* 69 8] : 22). Il faut donc comprendre la l. 13' : « y compris le supplément-nêbehum du *šakkanakkum* ». Dans les textes de Terqa, on voit de même des gouverneurs-*šâpîtum* ou des maires-*sugâgum* bénéficier d'un tel versement lors de la vente de terrains (*RA* 96, p. 89).

Le texte provient du royaume de Larsa, mais pas de Nippur² et date du règne de Rim-Sin d'après le serment (le nom d'année n'est pas conservé). À ma connaissance, aucun contrat de Larsa n'attestait jusqu'à présent le versement d'un tel supplément au prix de vente : on voit que cette pratique est plus étendue à l'époque paléo-babylonienne qu'on ne l'a longtemps cru.

1) Ces textes ont été publiés par le P. W. R. Mayer, « Die altbabylonischen Keilschrifttexte in der Sammlung des Päpstlichen Bibelinstituts », *Or* 74, 2005, p. 317-351 & pl. 28-39. Je remercie le Dr. M. Cappozzo pour son aimable accueil, ainsi que M. G. Biga, qui a rendu ces collations possibles lors de mon séjour à Rome en février 2014 à l'occasion de la remise d'un volume d'hommages à P. Matthiae.

2) Le titre qui suit le nom du dernier témoin n'est sûrement pas BU[R.GUL], comme l'avait cru l'éditeur. Pour la réédition complète du texte, voir www.archibab.fr.

D. CHARPIN

17) À propos de noms d'années d'Isin paléo-babyloniens — Des tablettes paléobabyloniennes faisant partie d'une collection particulière (citées ici par n^{os} provisoires) m'ont permis de constater plusieurs formulations de noms d'années qui ont de l'intérêt pour qui veut reconstituer les événements du royaume d'Isin, ou qui facilitent la lecture d'autres documents moins bien conservés. Leurs libellés sont donnés ici uniquement pour information ; des commentaires historiques ou lexicaux seront ajoutés au moment de l'édition des textes eux-mêmes.

VI Ur-Ninurta

n°91 iti 'diri¹ še-kin-ku₅, [mu-ús-s]a¹) ^dur-^dnin-urta / [dumu E]N.LÍL^{ki}, [gú-u]n[?] u₄-da-ri-š[è], [šu in-na]-an-bar, mu-ús-sa-a-a^o-bi

Cf. année SIGRIST A : mu ^dur-^dnin-urta lugal-e dumu nibru^{ki} ^den-líl u₄-da-ri-šè šu in-na-an-bar là'u gú-un gú-ba bí-íl-la-a [mu-un-du₈] = year, Ur-Ni. the king set free for ever the citizens of Nippur (from the corvée) for Enlil and released the arrears which they were bearing on their necks. La présente occurrence augmenterait donc le comput d'une unité.

VII Bûr-Sîn

n°155 iti šu-numun-a, mu-ús-sa ^dbur²)-^dsu'en lugal-e, ki-lugal-gub-ba íd-hé-gál, 7 níg-dab 10 šà[?]-ba sì-ga, ù urudu-gaba-mah níg dé-a-ta, ^dnin-ì-si-in^{ki}-ra mu-na-x³)

Cf. l'année SIGRIST D, soit *PBS* 8/1 3: mu ^dbur-^dsu'en lugal-e, urudu-ki-lugal-gub íd-hé-gál, urudu-gaba-mah níg-dé-a, ^dnin-in-si-na-ra, mu-na-an-dím Le libellé nouveau complète le nom de l'année et il faut ajouter une année bis au comput.

n°58 (facture archaïsante) iti kin-^dinanna, 'mu¹ ^dbur-^dsu'en lugal-e, giš-gu-za ^diškur^o-ra mu-na-dím

n°126 iti še-kin-ku₅, mu-ús-sa ^dbur¹⁴)-^dsu'en lugal-e, giš-gu-za ^dnin-^rurta¹-ra mu-un-dím

Ces 2 années manquent à la liste de SIGRIST. Elles représentent en fait une durée de 3 ans.

VIII Lipit-Enlil

n°185 iti bara₂-zà-gar u₄ 25-kam, mu-ús-sa ^dli-pí-it-^den-líl lugal-e, [l]á-u⁵) dumu ì-si-in^{ki}-na, ^den-líl ^dnin-in-si^{ki}-na

L'année manque à la liste de SIGRIST. Le libellé n'est pas complet, car il manque le verbe. *UET* 1 224 (complétée dans SIGRIST, p. 28, année E de Lipit-Enlil) : mu-ús-sa ^dli-pí-it-^den-líl lugal-e la'u ki-en-gi ki-uri i-in-gál-la... gá-ra ... pourrait donner une formule plus large de ce nom d'année.

Il est remarquable que les 3 années de Lipit-Enlil attestées soient toutes des années bis en mu-ús-sa et que nulle année simple ne nous soit restée. Est-ce un simple hasard?

IX Irra-imittí

n°121 iti zíz-a, mu ^dir-ra-i-mi-ti lugal, ki-sur-ra^{ki} mu-un-dù⁶)

Dans SIGRIST, il s'agit de l'année D de ce roi, avec les variantes in-díb-ba (mais ki.sur.ra est restauré dans cette formulation) et ba-ḫul. La présente année pourrait donc être en fait différente.

n°189 iti zíz-a, mu ^dir-ra-i-mi-ti lugal-^re¹, 'lagar¹ ^dra¹-mu ba-hun⁷)

Cette année n'est pas dans SIGRIST.

X Enlil-bâni

n°84 iti giš-^dapin-du₈ mu ^den-líl-ba-ni lugal-e, mi-gir_x(HA)-^dnin-kar-ra-ak⁸), lú-mah ^dnin-in-si-na mu-hun

n°168 [mu ^den-líl]-ba-ni lu[gal-e[?]], [en ^den-líl]-lá m[áš]-e i[n-pàd] // **n°173** iti šu-numun-a, mu ^den-líl-ba-ni lugal^o, en ^den-líl-lá máš-e in-pàd⁹)

n°136 iti zíz-a mu ^den-líl-ba-ni lugal^o, giš-gu-za zà-bi-ús, ^dnin-in-si^{ki}-na-ra, mu-na-an-dím

Ces trois années ne sont ni dans SIGRIST ni dans SALLABERGER.

n°144 iti šu-numun-a mu ^den-líl-ba-ni lugal-e, inim ^den-líl ù ^dnin-urta-t[a], nibru^{rki} di-bi 'bíl-i[n-...]

Cf. SALLABERGER p. 189, qui pour l'année C. lit ki-bé et y verrait un ki--gi₄ (à l'analogie d'Irra-imittí, selon *PBS* 8 19 et //). Dans SIGRIST p. 33, l'année est attestée par *BIN* 7 215 qui devrait donc être collationné ; dans *NBC* 11

127, le KI est en fait restauré. Sur la présente tablette le DI est cependant très net. Il faudrait sans doute penser ici à une expression comme di--ku₅.

n°134 iti du₆-kù mu ^den-líl-*ba-ni* lugal-e, urudu-alam ^dutu 4 (= ZA)-bi, ^den-ki-ra mu-na-dím

Sans doute une année nouvelle ; mais cf. dans SALLABERGER l'année J où il s'agit d'un trône à dossier/accoudoirs en or et argent, artistement fait, pour Enki ainsi que dans SALLABERGER l'année I, où il s'agit du temple é-me-zida fait pour Enki. Il y aurait eu de plus pour cette divinité, selon notre libellé, une statue en cuivre comportant un ornement avec 4 soleils (ou disques solaires?). Cela fait beaucoup et il faut penser que ces trois années ou au moins deux d'entre elles n'en font peut-être qu'une seule.

— NABU 2011/15: mu ^den-líl-*ba-ni*, lugal-[e], ¹i-pí-*iq*-^den-líl, lagar ^den-líl-lá ba-[hun] = formule D.

XIV Sîn-mâgir

n° 170 [iti š]e-kin-ku₅ mu ^dsu'en-*ma-gir* lugal-^re¹, [íd (?)]¹⁰ ^rd¹nin-kar-ra-ak mu-ba-al

n°123 iti sig₄-a-e (sic), [m]u ^dsu'en-*ma-gir* lugal, [íd (?)] ^rd¹nin-in-si-na íd nam-bi-tar-re, [zà-a-a]b-ba-šè mu-ba-al

Ces deux libellés manquent dans SIGRIST, mais il est possible qu'il ne s'agisse en fait que d'une seule année. Cf. n. 9 et l'équivalence de Nin-karark et Nin-Isina.

XV Damîq-ilîšu

n°122 iti giš-^rapin-du₈-a¹ mu ^dda-mi-*iq-ì-lí-šu*, mu-ús-sa ^ré¹-[d]i-[ku]₅-kalam-ma, é ki-ág-gá-ni ^dutu-ra mu-na-dù .

Formulation plus longue que celle donnée, SIGRIST an 8 de S-I, mu é di-ku₅-kalam-ma é ^dutu mu-dù-a

n°125 iti diri še-kin-ku₅, mu ^dda-mi-*iq-ì-lí-šu* lugal°, giš-šu-nir gal-gal min-min¹¹)-bi, ^diškur ù ^dinanna *ni°-nu-a*^{ki12}-ra, mu-ne-dí[m]

C'est le nom d'année 11 de Damiq-ili-šu, à quoi s'ajoutent désormais deux années, la seconde étant :

— **n°149**, iti šu-numun-a° mu ^dda-mi-*iq-ì-lí-šu* lugal-e, mu-ús-sa mu-ús-sa-a°-bi, giš-šu-nir-gal-gal kù-GI kù-UD min-a°-bi, ^diškur ù ^dinanna *ni°-nu-^ra¹ki*, mu-ne-dím²¹³)

— **n°117** iti šu-numun-a u₄ 24-kam, mu-ús-sa mu-ús-sa-bi, ^dda-mi-*iq-ì-lí-šu* lugal-e, giš-šu-nir-gal-gal kù-gi-kù-UD min-MIN^{o16})-bi, ^diškur ù ^dinanna *ni°-nu-a^{ki}-ra* mu-ne-dím¹³)

n°165bis [iti n]e-[n]e-gar, [m]u *da-m[i-i]q-ì-lí-šu* lugal-^re¹ {hé!}, [m]u[?] <A>-ENGUR *da-<mi-iq-ì-lí-šu>* mu-ba-al-lá

Ce nom d'année est bizarrement écrit. Le libellé attendu est : mu íd *da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu*-hé-gál mu-ba-al.

NABU 2011/15 : mu ^dda-mi-*iq-ì-lí-šu* lugal-e, é me-sikil é ki-ág-gá-ni, ^dmar-tu dingir-a-ni-ir mu-na-dù-a

- 1) La restauration s'appuie surtout sur la place constatée devant le nom du roi.
- 2) Il est possible qu'il y ait une ligature entre AN et BUR.
- 3) Signe très abîmé; peut-être dím.
- 4) Le signe BUR est réduit à un GAR.
- 5) Au début de la l. un très petit signe ; le second serait plutôt I que TUR, à le comparer aux autres DUMU de la tablette. J'ai néanmoins supposé un texte parallèle à celui de l'année SIGRIST B de Ur-Ninurta.
- 6) Le signe DÛ est très net.
- 7) Pour le culte de Damu à Isin, cf. *BIN* 7 68-69-70 où il s'agit toujours de la nin-dingir.
- 8) Le nom de ce prêtre devrait indiquer l'équivalence de Nin-karrak et Nin-insina, laquelle est connue, toutes deux étant des formes de Gula.
- 9) On ne connaît de consécration de « en d'Enlil » que pour Išme-Dagan et Išbi-Erra.
- 10) Rien n'est conservé mais la restauration íd semble entraînée par le verbe ba-al «creuser».
- 11) Cette séquence est écrite au moyen de 4 signes DIŠ. Contrairement à la remarque de LIEBERMAN (p. 104, n. 34), le texte où se trouve cette date distingue très bien les A des min.
- 12) Cf. S. LIEBERMAN, p. 105, n. 30. Sigrist lit Dû-nu-um dans la liste établie pour le CDLI. Les 3 fois la graphie par NI est nette. Il s'agit d'une réalité toponymique d'Isin, d'après la documentation et il ne faut plus hésiter à proposer cette lecture.
- 13) Le signe est indécis, on dirait bien plus DI que DÍM.

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18) Note on the Royal House of Yamkhad and its *Sekundogenitur* at Alalakh during the Later Stage of the Middle Bronze Age

— In connection with BEST & RIETVELD 2010, it deserves our attention that the part by the second author touches on chronology (pp. 29-32). In this part, Lia Rietveld presents a reconstruction of the royal house of Alalakh and its interconnections with that of Yamkhad, of which the capital was Aleppo, which, as she duly notifies in note 25, has been drawn by Winfried Achterberg. In accordance with the given reconstruction, which for the later part is just fine, she assumes on p. 32 that the royal house of Alalakh covers the period from *c.* 1700 BC to *c.* 1650 BC, and that Yarimlim ruled for about 20 years, from *c.* 1700 BC to *c.* 1680 BC, and his son and successor Ammitaku for about 30 years, from *c.* 1680 to *c.* 1650 BC. If this conclusion applies, I was entirely wrong in my inference (2007: 712-713; 722-723) that there reigned an Ammitaku at Alalakh in the period of the reign of Yarimlim II of Yamkhad, because the reign of Ammitaku of Alalakh demonstrably started in that of Yarimlim II of Yamkhad's successor, Niqmepukh (p. 31, note 36).

The latter part of this argument is entirely correct. However, from her own scheme it is deducible (and in this respect it is an improvement of the one by COLLON 1975: 145) that Yarimlim of Alalakh is the brother of king of Yamkhad, Abba-EN (so also ROWTON 1970: 213), who appointed him as ruler over the vassal-city of Alalakh to exercise the position of *Sekundogenitur* in his (i.e. Abba-EN's) own realm. Now, the start of the reign of Abba-EN is dated to *c.* 1750 BC (see KLENGEL 1992, chronological table). Being brothers, Yarimlim may have been the younger of the two, but the start of his reign and of the creation of the *Sekundogenitur* cannot possibly be dated 50 years after this event, in *c.* 1700 BC, as Rietveld wants to have it. If it indeed started in about the same period as the rising of Abba-EN to the throne of Yamkhad, the reign of Yarimlim of Alalakh should, provided we would stick to the reconstruction by Rietveld of only one Yarimlim and one Ammitaku, have entailed a period of *c.* 70 years, which, although not entirely impossible, is rather unlikely.

As a solution to this chronological problem—and I must admit that perhaps I have not been explicit enough about this in my contribution of 2007 (but note the distinction between Ammitaku I and II on p. 723)—I suggest that there were more rulers of Alalakh in the period between *c.* 1750 BC and *c.* 1650 BC than just the two recorded thus far, and that Yarimlim, the brother of Abba-EN, actually was Yarimlim I, who was followed on the throne by his son, Ammitaku I, sometime during the latter half of the 18th century BC. This latter ruler, so my reconstruction continues, had a son named after his father, Yarimlim II, who followed him on the throne sometime during the first decades of the 17th century BC. From here on the facts are clear, and the son of Yarimlim II, named Ammitaku after the latter's father, was inaugurated as, in my reconstruction, Ammitaku II during the reign of Niqmepukh, *c.* 1680 BC.

If this reconstruction holds water, it is very well possible that the reign of Ammitaku I of Alalakh over-lapped with that of Yarimlim II of Yamkhad, which is usually assigned to the period of *c.* 1720-1700 BC. Some support for this reconstruction may be found in the archive of Tell Atchana/Alalakh VII (*c.* 1720-1650 BC), as there are two attestations of the name of Ammitaku, one which is added to the seal of Abba-EN (COLLON 1975: 43, no. 73), and may hence be assigned to Ammitaku I, and another on the seal of Ammitaku, son of Yarimlim (COLLON 1975: 15, no. 14), which may possibly be attributed to Ammitaku II. In any case, it is clear that the reduction by Rietveld of the royal house of Alalakh to the period of *c.* 1700-1650 BC is definitely mistaken, and that to two kings only is very likely to be so.

| Yamkhad | Alalakh | date |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| Abba-EN | Yarimlim I Ammitaku I | c. 1750 BC |
| Yarimlim II | Yarimlim II Ammitaku II | c. 1720-1700 BC |
| Niqmepukh | | c. 1680 BC |

Table: Reconstruction of the royal house of Alalakh during the later stage of the Mid. Br. Age.

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19) A New Proposal for Dating the Fall of Babylon — Recently W. NAHM 2013 offered an analysis of the Venus tablet of Ammišaduqa, favouring the Lower Middle Chronology and the sun eclipse of 1833 BC. He believes the sun eclipse recorded in MEC was 66 years before the death of Šamšī-Adad I. I agree with Nahm in so far as my analysis of the Assyrian Distanzangaben led me to support the Lower Middle Chronology as well (JANSSEN 2012a; 2013a), although the fit is not perfect. I disagree with Nahm on the question of Šamšī-Adad's life span. BARJAMOVIC *et al.* 2012 reconstructed a life span for Šamšī-Adad I of 71 years (15 years from birth to throne ascendancy and 56 years as king). This is indeed the absolute minimum. The said problems between the Distanzangaben and the Lower Middle Chronology can now be solved, if we prefer the sun eclipse of 24.III.1838 BC. NAHM 2013, 367 comments on this eclipse:

„For the Lower Middle Chronology the only alternative to the total eclipse of 1833 BC is the partial eclipse of 24 March 1838 BC. The eclipse was in progress at sunrise and reached a magnitude of .9 when the sun was still close to the horizon. The obscuration of the sky would have been insignificant, but the visual effect may have been startling. The distance of 71 years from the death of Šamšī-Adad I appears to be too large, however.”

I beg to differ. The sun eclipse of 1838 BC simply solves the problems that came to light during the analysis of the Distanzangaben. But before I can explain that I will have to give a general outline of what has happened in the research of this group of data. Salmanassar I and Asarhaddon give Distanzangaben of 580 and 434 years respectively for the distance between Šamšī-Adad I and Salmanassar I. The analysis, of which you will find the details in JANSSEN (2013a), showed that Salmanassar I used an extra time block of 56 years he should not have used. Exactly the same time block seems to be missing in the statement of Asarhaddon, as well as another 33 years, as was already presumed by PRUZSINSZKY 2006, 2009. Salmanassar I, Tukultī-Ninurta I and Tiglath-pileser I have unanimously determined the time span from the beginning of Išme-Dagān I to the last year of Adad-nīrārī I as 491 years; Asarhaddon seems to have used 490 years (434+56), due to rounding off (JANSSEN 2013a, 36, 39; 2013b, 146f.).

What is this block of 56 years that is extra in Salmanassar's time-span? It seems to be the total reign of Šamšī-Adad I as reconstructed by Barjamovic *et al.* 2012. This hypothesis explains both the number and the fact that Tukultī-Ninurta I does not use it in his Distanzangabe of 720 years. This number can be explained as 199 + 491 + 30 (beginning of Erišum I to the end of Šamšī-Adad I, beginning of Išme-Dagān I to the last year of Adad-nīrārī I, Salmanassar I). 720 years is 70 years higher than anything

one can find in AKL (if we assume 14 years for Puzur-Aššur III). It seems Tukultī-Ninurta I was in possession of a king list that provided him with 720 years from the beginning of the eponym dating down to the last year of his father. This thought was corroborated by the lucky find of a number in the Armenian version of Eusebius. It says there (simply stated) that Tiglath-pileser III became king (of Babylon) in the year “1225 of the Assyrians” (see KARST 1911, 145 and the interpretation in JANSSEN 2013b, 149-151). Eusebius’ number goes back to Berossos, and I was able to show in my discussion that Berossos knew the very list the Assyrians had based their Distanzangaben on. This list can be identified as AKL only if we allow kings nos. 65-66 to have reigned for 70 years. If we grant them fewer years, the remainder of the 70 years goes to the kings that seem to be missing between Išme-Dagān I and Aššur-dugul. Then we are faced with a different list which I have provisionally termed *Received King List* (RKL), see JANSSEN 2013b and *in preparation*.

So there was a lot going on in the department of Distanzangaben, of which I offer only a glimpse here, but how does all of this relate to what Werner Nahm says about the sun eclipse of 1838 BC? In order to understand this we have to see that we can now determine 524 years as the time-span from the beginning of Šamšī-Adad I (in Aššur) to the beginning of Salmanassar I (580 - 56 = 524. If one subtracts now 33 years, one gets 491 years, the same number as in Tukultī-Ninurtas *Distanzangabe*). According to the two Middle Assyrian chronologies Salmanassar I started to reign either 1264 or 1274. Šamšī-Adad I therefore dates to either 1788 or 1798 in Aššur. Are we able to reach one of the two numbers by starting from the sun eclipse recorded in MEC? If we use the 1838 BC eclipse and the life span of 71 years as reconstructed in BARJAMOVIC *et al.* 2012, Šamšī-Adad I was born in 1839 and died in 1768. He would have conquered Aššur in 1801, with his first full Assyrian year in 1800. There is a discrepancy of two years between 1800 and 1798. We also had the same discrepancy in numbers when BARJAMOVIC *et al.* 2012 dated the death of Šamšī-Adad in REL 197, while the Distanzangaben and the reconstruction by VEENHOF 2003 suggested two years later, in KEL 199. If we use the sun eclipse of 1833 BC, Šamšī-Adad’s first full year in Aššur is 1795. This does neither fit with 1788 nor 1798. This was the situation I was faced with in JANSSEN 2013a and b.

The conclusion I want to offer is that there was indeed a discrepancy in the Assyrian sources. Somehow they determined the early phase of Šamšī-Adad’s career two years too short (see already JANSSEN 2013a, 41):

“Da die 33 assyrischen Jahre des Königs unstrittig sind, müsste man dann argumentieren, daß Salmanassars Schreiber die vorassyrische Phase Šamšī-Adads aus einer Quelle abgeleitet hatte, die durch Beschädigung oder Fehlerhaftigkeit zwei Jahre kürzer war, als die, die er für die assyrischen Könige verwendet hatte.”

That explains why Salmanassar used 56 years, the same number reconstructed by BARJAMOVIC *et al.* 2012. If we extend this number by 2 years we get a perfect match in the year 1798. This is in unison with the sun eclipse of 1838 BC and the Venus data as discussed by NAHM 2013. The problem with the Distanzangaben has vanished and the Kassite chronology is also in line with the Lower Middle Chronology (see JANSSEN 2013a, 30-32).

Šamšī-Adad I seems to have been born in 1839, ascended his father’s throne in 1824, conquered Aššur in 1798 and died in 1766. His life span was 73 years. According to the synchronism Šamšī-Adad 33 = Ḫammurapi 18 and conventional reign lengths for the Old Babylonian kings, Babylon fell 180 years later, in 1586. If one wants to shorten the regnal years of Ammišaduqa and Samsuditana by 7 years (as discussed by ROAF 2012, 169f., on the basis of a theory by van Koppen) one gets 1593 for the Fall, two years less than the conventional date of the Middle Chronology. That has something of a *déjà vu*.

For me, it seems to be highly ironic that under these circumstances the High Middle Assyrian Chronology seems to be correct, since I have recently published a vivid defense of the low variant (JANSSEN 2013b). But one has to be open-minded and see what the discussions will bring.

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20) The Seventh and Eighth Kings of the Kassite Dynasty — Several proposals have been made to reconstruct the names of these two kings (preserved only in damaged traces in the Assyrian synchronistic kinglist A. 117 i 16'-17') based on comparison with persons mentioned in year names in six late Old Babylonian—or early Middle Babylonian—texts from Tell Muhammad in the Diyala region (published by ALUBAID 1983). In the most detailed presentation, by BOESE 2008, the revised readings put forward were Ḫipta'ulzi (for king no. 8) and Ḫurbazum (for king no. 7).

The evidence in the Tell Muhammad texts offered in support of these proposals is not convincing. For king no. 8, the name *Ši-ip-ta-ul-zi* (the reading in IM 92720(=TM₄-187):50, better preserved than the *Ši-ip-^lta^l-ul-zi[i?]* in IM 92728(=TM₄-195):21), does not fit the traces in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 i 17' for either the first or the fourth sign in the name of this ruler. The first sign in the kinglist begins with a double-headed horizontal wedge similar to the beginning of the TI in the same kinglist iii 9 and 16; it clearly cannot be a ŠI (cf. ŠI *ibid.* i 3', 11' and *passim*). The fourth sign has a vertical wedge in its upper right corner, not consonant with UL (cf. UL *ibid.* iii 5). These readings of A. 117 are based on my collation of the kinglist tablet and have been checked against the excavation photo as well.

For king no. 7, there has been considerable disagreement about how the occurrences of the name are to be read and even about which Tell Muhammad texts might be relevant here. BOESE 2008 cites as evidence for the name of this king only IM 90602(=TM₂-189):19 and IM 90606(=TM₂-197):32 and emends both attestations to read *Ḫu-ur-ba-zum* (changing the *Ḫu-ur-du-[t]um* and *Ḫu-ur-du-šum* in the original publication by Alubaid). VAN KOPPEN 2010:458 and n.12 follows Boese's basic proposal to identify these names with the seventh ruler of the Kassite dynasty, but emends the already emended readings in these two tablets and adds two further texts supposedly referring to the same king. Thus, according to van Koppen's interpretation, Boese's *Ḫu-ur-ba-zum* in IM 90602 and IM 90606 now should be read *Ḫu-ur-ba-aḫ*, to allow association with a *Ḫu-ur-ba-aḫ* known from the year names in IM 92721(=TM₄-188):31 and IM 92725(=TM₄-192):22—the readings in the latter two texts unmistakable in both the cuneiform copies and the transliterations in the original edition by Alubaid.

In the case of Ḫurdutum/Ḫurdušum/Ḫurbazum/Ḫurbaḫ, earlier scholars had dealt with the same texts, but without putative correlation with the seventh ruler of the Kassite dynasty. GASCHÉ *et al.* 1998:86 interpreted the name in IM 90602 and IM 90606 as Ḫurduzum and agreed with Alubaid in her reading of Ḫurbaḫ in IM 92721 and IM 92725. SASSMANNSHAUSEN 2004:302-304 read the name in IM 90602 and IM 90606 as *Ḫu-ur-ba-tum*, the name in IM 92721 as *Ḫu-ur-ba-aḫ*, and the name in IM 92725 as *Ḫur-ba-aḫ*, but opined that collation might improve some of the readings of year names.

The cuneiform copies of the tablets in the original edition (ALUBAID 1983) do not provide conclusive evidence in favor of one or other of the conflicting opinions outlined in the two preceding paragraphs. This can probably be settled only by collation or reedition of the tablets themselves. But it should

be observed that IM 90602 and IM 90606, which were originally read as beginning *Ḫu-ur-^rdu¹*, occur in unmistakably monarchical context—either followed immediately by the title LUGAL (IM 90602) or as part of a statement about renewing the gods of Ešnunna (MU DINGIR.DIDLI *ša éš-nun-na Ḫu-ur-du-tum ú-ud-di-šu*, IM 90606). In contrast, in those texts that clearly read *Ḫu-ur-ba-aḫ* (thus ALUBAID 1983, followed by all commentators), the name occurs in a different usage, both times in the phrase DUMU *Ḫu-ur-ba-aḫ*, "son of Ḫurbaḫ," without a following title. These two sets of texts also come from different excavation strata: IM 90602 and IM 90606 from level III, IM 92721 and IM 92725 from level II. When one takes into account the disputed differences in uncollated readings, the varying textual contexts, and the disparate archeological levels, the forcing of all these discrepancies into a facile resolution seems premature, to say the least. Even if one were to accept Boese's emendation of the readings in IM 90602 and IM 90606 to *Ḫu-ur-ba-zum*, the traces ^mrḪAR¹-ba-^r(x)-x¹ in the synchronistic kinglist—suggesting a name beginning *ḫur/ḫar-ba-*—could also fit other names (e.g., BALKAN 1954:54).

At present, these proposed reconstructions of the Kassite royal names do not seem adequately supported by the available evidence.

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21) Kaššu roi de Tummanna ? — Parmi les royaumes hittites créés dans les régions périphériques de l'empire et confiés à des membres de la dynastie, à côté du royaume de Karkamiš donné à Piyaššili, fils de Šuppiluliuma, de celui d'Alep donnée à Telebinu, autre fils de Šuppiluliuma, d'Išūwa, destiné aux descendants de Ḫalpašulubi, fils aîné de Muršili II, et de Tarḫundašša donné à Ulmiteššup/Kurunda, fils de Muwattalli II, l'on connaît aussi celui de Tum(m)anna dans le Nord-Ouest. La position de ce pays est depuis longtemps acquise, il s'agit du nom hittite de la Domanitis mentionnée par Strabon, située au nord du mont Olgassys (l'Ilgaz actuel et le Kaššu des Hittites) en Paphlagonie. Le roi de Tummanna apparaît dans les textes suivants : KUB 38. 26 Vo 25 ; KUB 48. 105+KBo 12. 53 ro 30', 35', 37', 41', vo 2, 5, 10, 13, 19, 21, 24, 26, 29, 33, 36¹) ; IBoT 1. 32ro. 14, 17 ; VBoT 108 I 21' ; KuT 7: 3'. Mais si l'on connaît des noms des rois qui régissaient les autres royaumes périphériques, on n'a jamais rencontré le nom d'un roi de Tummanna, si l'on excepte Ḫudubianza, fils de Zida, qui en réalité était gouverneur, non roi, du Palâ et probablement aussi de Tummanna du temps de Muršili II (15^e-20^e années) à la fin du 13^e siècle av. J. C.

Or, il s'avère qu'une bulle de Nišantaš publiée par S. Herbordt porte l'empreinte du sceau d'un certain Kaššu (ká-su)²), roi d'un pays dont le nom est illisible. Hawkins voyait dans les traces du signe final de ce toponyme celui de FLUMEN, ce qui ne lui permettait pas de proposer une solution historique pour placer ce roi³).

Dans un article pour une Festschrift à paraître je me suis demandé si le nom Kaššu en lui-même ne pouvait pas nous orienter, vu qu'il s'agit du nom de la montagne qui dominait le pays de Tummanna. Ce Kaššu pourrait-il donc être un roi de ce pays? À ce point, un autre document vient à notre aide, il s'agit de

la description d'un songe de la reine (certainement Puduḫeba) qui apparaît dans KBo 47. 239 III 4' sq. et qui commence par ces mots:

(4') [Ü]-TUM MUNUS.LUGAL I-NA [URU]X-[x-]ma-an[...]. (5') nu-wa ^mKaš-šú-ú-uš ma-a-an [... (...)⁴].

Le premier signe du nom de la ville dans laquelle la reine fait un songe commence par deux clous horizontaux, le reste du signe est perdu mais doit avoir été assez long pour remplir la lacune; on peut très facilement reconstituer ce signe en obtenant le nom de la ville T[um]-ma-an[-na]. On aurait là donc un Kaššu qui apparut à la reine dans un rêve, quant elle séjournait à Tummanna. Il est possible que ce séjour ait eu lieu au cours d'un voyage du couple royal à Nerik et à Tummanna, dont il reste des traces dans le texte oraculaire KUB 46. 37, où le roi lui-même (Vo 1: *abašila*) se rend à Nerik et, par la suite, à Tummanna (Vo 6:] ^{URU}Ne-ri-ka₄ pa-iž-zi pa-ra-a-ma ^{URU}Tu-ma-an-na pa-iž-zi), et dans KUB 48. 123 (songes de la reine) IV 13 s.⁵), où nous apprenons que la reine, après avoir eu un mauvais rêve à Mana<zi>yara dans le pays de Kuduptašši, arrivée à [Pišḫ]abuwaišša, fit un vœu à Šaušga de Lawazandiya; pour comprendre ce dernier texte il faut se souvenir que Pišḫabuwaišša était bien sur la route de Nerik et proche de ce sanctuaire⁶. Ce voyage avait peut-être aussi le but de rencontrer le roi de Tummanna; que l'on se souvienne du voyage du couple Ḫattušili III - Puduḫeba à Tarḫundašša pour en rencontrer le roi Ulmiteššup/Kurunda. D'ailleurs un roi du Tummanna ne pouvait pas exister du temps de Muwattalli, quand son frère Ḫattušili s'était vu confier ce pays avec les autres provinces du nord de l'empire; la fondation de ce royaume devrait donc remonter aux temps où Ḫattušili était déjà devenu roi.

Si nous faisons retour à la bulle de Nišantaš mentionnée, elle montre au centre les signes *ká* et *su* encadrés symétriquement par deux signes REX, à gauche et à droite desquels était répété, toujours symétriquement, le nom du pays suivi en bas par le déterminative REGIO. De ce toponyme restent des traces seulement dans la partie droite de l'empreinte, où l'on lit clairement REGIO précédé par un signe dont on voit une trace initiale, deux lignes parallèles inclinées vers le bas. Rien ne nous empêche de reconnaître dans ces traces, non pas le signe FLUMEN, mais *na* (35), tandis que l'interprétation des traces des signes précédents proposée par Herbordt ne nous donne rien de reconnaissable et est très douteuse si l'on regarde la photo. La place qu'ils occupaient correspond probablement à deux signes. La lecture *Tu-ma-na*, si elle n'est pas démontrable, reste donc en tout cas possible.

1) Cf. A. Archi – H. Klengel, *AoF* 3 (1980), 143-157. Le roi de Tummanna offre surtout du bétail pour les dieux de Nenašša, Uwalma, Te(?)nizidašša, Pittaniyašša, U(?)ratta, Tamettaya, Turmitta, ... dans la province de Turmitta, et à ceux d'Aššuwaišša et Ḫartana dans le Kaššiya.

2) *Die Prinz- und Beamtennamen der hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nišantepe Archiv in Hattusa* (DAI, Boğazköy-Ḫattuša XIX), Mainz 2005. Bulle No 158 (p. 141, planche 12).

3) J. D. Hawkins dans Herbordt, *o.c.*, 258. Il reconnaît que le signe FLUMEN ne semble pas être attesté à haute époque, et, dans le cas où l'on accepte cette lecture, le seul "pays du fleuve" historiquement possible serait celui du Šeḫa, un royaume d'Arzawa proche de la mer Égéeenne, et Kaššu serait à placer après tous les rois connus de ce pays. Cette hypothèse n'est donc pas soutenable et même, dans ce cas, on s'attendrait plutôt à un nom louwite.

4) A. Mouton, *Rêves hittites* (CHANE 28), Leiden-Boston 2007, 259-260 (texte No 97).

5) J. De Roos, *Hittite Votive Texts*, Leiden 2007, 219, 234; A. Mouton, *o.c.*, 290-291 (texte No 114).

6) Cf. M. Forlanini, *SMEA* 52, 2010, 120-121.

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22) Pulp fact? — The recent edition of cuneiform texts from Ugarit (P. Bordreuil - D. Pardee - R. Hawley, *Une Bibliothèque au sud de la ville****. *Textes 1994-2002 en cunéiforme alphabétique de la Maison d'Ourtenou*, RSO XVIII; Lyons 2012) includes two letters (texts 60 and 62) that use the obscure Ug. word *gp* (as *gpm* and *gpt*). The editors comment: "Nous n'avons pas trouvé d'explication du mot *gp(t)*." (p. 162). Similarly, in his glossary, J. Tropper (*Kleines Wörterbuch des Ugaritischen*, Wiesbaden 2008, 35) states: "Bed. und Etym. unbekannt [vgl. evtl. ar. *ḡuff* 'Hohles, Futtrural, Ledereimer']". Perhaps the solution may lie in Aram. *gpt* (m.), "residue of olives after pressing, pulp" (DJBA, 135a) and Heb. *gepet*, "a pressed hard mass" (M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, New York 1903, 263). If correct,

then *gpm^cdbm* (RS 94.2406 [KTU 2.88]:27) may mean “prepared olive pulp” and *kt gpt* (RS 94.2580 [KTU 2.99]:23) may mean “a container of olive pulp”.

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23) The Ugaritic Terms *nht* and *ymnn* – Ugaritic text KTU 1.23 contains an account of El and his sexual relations with two women/goddesses (1.23:37-59). The translation of the two verbs *nht* and *ymnn*, which appear in lines 37-49 with reference to the state of El’s ‘staff’ (*ht*), the ‘rod of his penis’ (*mt ydh*), is disputed. Mark SMITH 2006: 83-88 provides an overview of the translations offered by various scholars, and he himself translates: ‘lowers’ (*nht*) and ‘drips’ (*ymnn*).

While there are appeals to Hebrew, Arabic, and Akkadian cognates to understand the Ugaritic verbs, I propose that we should recognise two Egyptian terms: *nht* and *mn*. The first (*nht*) denotes strength and victory, and we find it not only in a dream interpretation text, where it describes a man dreaming of himself with an erect (*nhtw*) penis (GARDINER 1934: 17), but also in a mythic text dealing with the dispute between Seth and Horus, in which ‘Seth let his phallus become strong (*nht*)’ (WARBURTON 2012: 95). A further link between the penis and *nht* is found in one of Amun’s epithets: *nht mt3*, ‘mighty [or erect] of phallus’ (Smith 2002: 47).

The second term *mn* signifies fixedness and durability, and is cognate with a large number of Afro-Asiatic roots suggestive of firmness and strength (TAKÁCS 2008: 225-27). In the Egyptian coffin texts, *mn* is applied to various body parts: the heart (*ib*) of Osiris (signifying its endurance and stability), the eye of Horus (firm, *mn*, in his brow), the vertebrae, the flesh (*h*’), the arm, and the legs (NYORD 2009). If this term were to be applied to the penis, one suspects that like *nht* it would denote an erection, or perhaps the erection’s longevity.

Foreign loanwords appearing in an Ugaritic text are not unexpected. Ilimilku, for example, is known for this, and the technique was perhaps used by others to showcase their learnedness (KORPEL 1998: 98, see also WATSON 1995). What then do these proposals mean for KTU 1.23? Line 37, which follows a description of El’s colossal erection in lines 34-35, is the first instance of the two terms in the text: *’il ht nht ll ’il ymnn mt ydh*. On the basis of my proposal above, this line may be translated: ‘El grew strong as to his staff ll El became firm as to the rod of his penis’ (Nick Wyatt, personal communication, 7th December 2013).

Similar to line 37, the oft-repeated refrain *nhtm ht ll mnnm mt ydk* occurs in lines 40, 43-44, and 47 from the mouths of the two goddesses/women El woos: they shout, ‘Grown strong is your staff ll firm the rod of your penis!’ At this point in the text El has yet to have sex with these women, and the continual affirmation of El’s penis, of its endurance and rigidity, fits well within the narrative and anticipates the coital climax of lines 49-59. Moreover, the imagery used following the refrain in line 37, in which El ‘raises the rod of his penis’ and throws it skyward to cast down a bird, refigures El’s rod as a spear (note the use of the ballistic verb *yr*, ‘throw’). Given that bird symbolism in ancient West Asia can be read sexually (SMITH 2006: 85-87), this image of the bird being speared gives the reader a titillating foreglimpse of what is to transpire between El and the two women.

While Smith argues that the terms *nht* and *ymnn* describe the lowering of El’s penis, he writes that what actually occurs is the periodic rising and falling of the penis, and so ‘it may be that the language depicts a young god who heats up several times’ (2006: 88). In my estimation, such a portrayal betrays the deity whom we know as the virile ‘Bull El’ (cf. the Egyptian royal title *k3 nht*, ‘victorious bull’). Indeed, a deity who is able to keep such an oversized member erect is far more worthy of this title than one who shows signs of flaccidity, and as such the proposed translations ‘strong’ and ‘firm’, based on the two Egyptian terms, are more consonant with the ideologies of El’s virility and fecundity we find inside and outside of KTU 1.23.

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24) Akk. *katappu* and *katinnu* revisited – Several years ago, in a joint study, possible meanings and etymologies for Akk. *katappu* and Akk. *katinnu* – both denoting types of weapon – and their equivalents in Ugaritic and other languages were discussed¹⁾. One conclusion reached was that perhaps the verb underlying both words could be Hurrian **kād-*, with a meaning related to weaponry²⁾. However, Emar C24, a legal text, shows that *katinnu* may have other meanings that have yet to be established³⁾. J. G. Westenholz reads and translates C24:7 as follows: 1 gal ša k[a³-a]t²-ti₄-in-nu ša ħur.sag “1 cup of ... of the mountain”, with the comment: “The context in this line does not seem to match either the meaning of a sword or of a sword bearer”⁴⁾. Later, G. Beckman observed: “The photo shows *kà-at-ti₄-in-nu*, with the initial two signs written over erasure... The meaning remains unclear”⁵⁾.

In connection with these two terms, it should also be noted that recently, in an analysis of the Katumuwa inscription from Zincirli⁶⁾, K. Lawson Younger cited a personal communication from H. C. Melchert that there are two possible verbal roots underlying the Luwian name *Katuwa-*, “Fighting, Fighter”. One is **ke/ot-*, “enmity, spite” (Greek *kótos*, “grudge, hatred”), realised as Luvo-Hittite *kattawātar*, “hostility”⁷⁾. The other is Hitt. **katu-*, “fight, battle”, from which Hitt. *kattu*, “weapon”, is derived⁸⁾. The significance of this information for the Akkadian terms *katappu* and *katinnu*, for Ugaritic *ktp*, and for the putative Hurrian verb **kād-* remains to be determined⁹⁾.

1) J. P. Vita – W. G. E. Watson, “Are the Akk. terms *katappu* (Ug. *ktp*) and *katinnu* Hurrian in origin?”, *AoF* 29 (2002) 146-149.

2) A possibility included (with comments) in T. Richter, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen (= BGH)* (Wiesbaden 2012) 197 *sub* kad- II.

3) It should be mentioned that, in certain contexts, Ugaritic *ktp* can also mean “shoulder”, “shoulder blade”, cf. G. del Olmo Lete – J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, Part One (Leiden 2003) 469. On this term see also W. G. E. Watson, *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic* (Sabadell 2007) 22 and 141, and Richter, *BGH*, 530.

4) J. G. Westenholz, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets* (Groningen 2000) 38-40.

5) G. Beckman, *BiOr* 58 (2001) 195 (review of Westenholz, *The Emar Tablets*). Although CAD K 307, under *katinnu*, includes the reading ¹*kat¹-ti-in-na-šu-nu* in EA 25:ii:42 (list of gifts from Tušratta), according to the collation by E. I. Gordon cited by W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore 1992) 81 note 13, the correct reading should be *p[u]-ti-in-na-šu-nu*, “Their b[ut]tons”.

6) K. Lawson Younger, Jr., “Two epigraphic notes on the new Katumuwa inscription from Zincirli”, *Maarav* 16 (2009) 159-179 (159-166).

7) See also the discussion of Cuneiform Luwian *kattawātar* / *kattawann-*, “aggrievedness, enmity”, in A. Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* (Leiden 2008) 466.

8) See the entry Hitt. *kattu-*, “enmity, strife”, in Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary*, 466, with further references.

9) For other possible Indo-European etymologies for *katinnu* see the bibliography provided by Richter, *BGH*, 197.

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25) « Femme fatale » – VAT 9508 published as a copy in KAR 333 is a Middle Assyrian bilingual text on a neatly written backed clay tablet with a white slip and a red brownish core. It probably comes from an archive referred to as the so-called Library of Tiglath-Pilezar I (1114-1076 BCE); see PEDERSÉN,

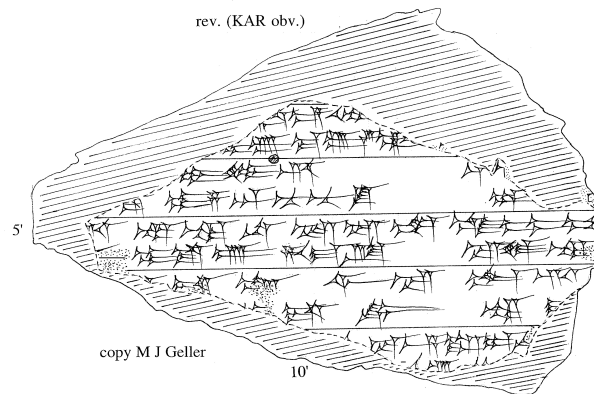
[..... -ki]š² ʾú-š[ad-da-ka]

Obv.

1' ...

2' (she) has removed [... from] your heart, and has rejected [whatever from] the house.

3' (she) fills [... with paralysis], she casts infection over your loins.



4' (she) weakens yo[ur strength], she binds your loins.

5' in the be]d at night (she) brings you no joy.

6' (and) she causes your [f]lesh to hurt.

7' (she) knows [...], she will deduct days from you.

Rev.

1' da]ily (she) lets it ra[in on you].

2' (she) scatters (bones)...], (she) who rains down fire on you.

3' whose [co]mmand enflames [yo]ur body.

4' (she) makes you sleepless in a d[ream].

5' (she) *abandons you* ... (?)

Obv. 3': We suggest the addition of *manga*, because of the idiomatic use with *lu'tu* in *Maqlû* I 102. The scribe occasionally uses Sumerian syllabic writing: *sá* is phonetic for *sa₅ (si.a) = malû*. See MSL 14, 144: 30', and *sá-sá* for *si-si* in Sjöberg, ZA 65 188: 116.

Obv. 4': the addition *emūqāka* is taken also from *Maqlû* I 100.

Obv. 5' *ul-za* is syllabic for *húl-za*, for the later see BRM 4, 33: 45-47 (group voc.). Perhaps, *ul-za* is a pun on Akkadian *ulšu* "joy", which can correspond to *ul*, see Steinkeller, IrAnt. 37 361.

Obv. 6': Sum. has "... (and she) causes your body to hurt".

Obv. 7': Sum. has "... (she) knows [...], (she) will remove old age".

Rev. 2': Sum. has "... scattering, flashing". The logogram *šur/sur* means "to flash" (note the name (é)-*anta-sur-ra*, see George, HMH 68), having both meanings of the Akkadian idiomatic translation "fire" and "to rain", and shows how the translator understood the Sumerian line. The beginning of *la* is visible in the copy of Ebeling, KAR 333 Vs. 4', but now only the last wedge can be traced. Rev. 4': *igi-ri* could be another variant for *igi-ra*, see Meek, RA 17 121: ii 4 (CDLI no. P373791), but this reference is late and unsure.

Rev. 5': see obv. 2' and 3', where there is a repetitive pattern as well. The ending *-aš* may indicate an adverb.

*) This is a BabMed publication. Thanks to J. Cale Johnson for suggestions.

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26) Months of 28 days in the Middle Assyrian period — The Middle Assyrian document VAT 18007⁺ records deliveries of barley to different groups of people who served the Middle Assyrian state in the eponym years of Abī-ilī (son of Katiri) and Salmānu-šuma-ušur, in the early third decade of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. After the first publication of this document and its preserved envelope fragments by Helmut Freydank (*MARV* II 17), new fragments of both the document and the envelope were identified by Freydank and published by him in 2001 (for a list of all the presently known fragments belonging to the document and to its envelope, see *MARV* IV, p. 14). The present author has collated the document and its envelope fragments during a stay at the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, in July 2013, and some observations of importance for the Middle Assyrian calendar can be made based on these collations.¹⁾

The deliveries mentioned in *MARV* II 17⁺ cover several periods of time, the longest of which is mentioned in ll. 89-90:

⁸⁹⁾ *iš-tu* ITU *mu-ḥur*-DINGIR.MEŠ UD.27.KÁM *li-me* mA-*bi*-DINGIR a-^Γ*di*^Γ ITU *k[al-mar-te]* ^ΓUD^Γ.20^Γ.KÁM
⁹⁰⁾ *li-me* mdSILIM-^Γ*ma*^Γ-*nu*-MU-PAP 4 ITU 20 UD.MEŠ 1 SĪLA.TA.ÀM ^Γ*e*^Γ-*[ták-lu]*

— "From the month Muḥur-ilāne, day 27, the eponym year of Abī-ilī, until the month K[almartu], day 20 (!), the eponym year of Salmānu-šuma-ušur, for 4 months (and) 20 days, 1 *qû* (of barley) daily they co[nsumed]."

The end of l. 89 is preserved at the bottom of the tiny fragment VAT 18109c (*MARV* IV 167). As shown on the published hand-copy, the ordinal number determinative KÁM and the day number preceding it are drawn on the right edge of the fragment.²⁾ The day number consists of two wedges which appear as vertical, and would be normally understood as expressing the numeral 2. However, it is impossible that day 2 of the month Kalmartu is intended. In the Middle Assyrian cycle of months, four months are placed between Muḥur-ilāne and Kalmartu: Abu-šarrāne, Ḥibur, Šippu and Qarrātu.³⁾ If these are the four months mentioned in l. 90, then the remaining period of 20 days in the total duration of the recorded time-span must be much larger than the last few days of the month Muḥur-ilāne and the first two days of the month Kalmartu.

Rather, it appears that the two wedges constituting the day number in the last line of the fragment *MARV* IV 167 should have been properly angular (*Winkelhaken*), expressing the numeral 20, and their appearance as vertical is due to the curvature of the fragment at the transition from the face of the fragment (the larger tablet's reverse) to the edge.⁴⁾

This reading is supported by a fragment of the envelope of *MARV* II 17⁺, formed by a join of VAT 18007b (*MARV* II 17, fragment 5) and VAT 18007c+d (*MARV* IV 155). Ll. 86-87 of the joined envelope fragment read as follows:

⁸⁶⁾ [*iš-tu* ITU *mu-ḥur*-DINGIR.MEŠ UD. 10[+10]+7.KÁ[M] ^Γ*li-me*^Γ mA-^Γ*bi*^Γ-DINGIR a-*di* ITU *kal-mar-^Γte*^Γ UD.10[+10].KÁM *li-me*]⁸⁷⁾ mdSILIM-*ma-nu*-MU-PAP [3+1] ^ΓITU^Γ 20 UD.MEŠ.⁵⁾

This appears to be the same time-span recorded in the main document, ll. 89-90. The fact that the beginning date of the recorded time-span belongs to the month Muḥur-ilāne, and its ending date belongs to the month Kalmartu, indicates that the number of full months elapsed between these dates is to be reconstructed as 4 ([3+]1). Then, the 20 days included in the total duration of the time-span indicate that the beginning date in the month Muḥur-ilāne should be reconstructed as day 27 (10[+10]+7). The ending date of the time-span recorded in l. 86 of the joined envelope fragment is not fully preserved, but it begins with a clear angular wedge, and the parallel with ll. 89-90 of the main document suggests the restoration 10[+10] = 20.⁶⁾

Still, the record of this time-span poses a problem. If the four months in the total duration of the time-span were equal to the four full months included in it (from Abu-šarrāne to Qarrātu), and the 20 days in the total duration of the time-span are the first 20 days of the month Kalmartu, how can one include in this time-span also the final days of the month Muḥur-ilāne, starting with day 27?

This puzzle can be solved if we assume that the logogram ITU "month" in the recorded duration of the time-spans in *MARV* II 17⁺ stood uniformly for a period of 30 days, whereas the real calendrical months included in these time-spans consisted sometimes of 30 and sometimes of 29 days, as expected of a calendar based on the synodic lunar month.⁷⁾

Now, how many 30-day months were there in the time-span between the month Muḥur-ilāne of the eponym year of Abī-ilī (son of Katiri) and the month Qarrātu of the eponym year of Salmānu-šuma-ušur? (Since only the first 20 days of the month Kalmartu are included in the time-span recorded in *MARV* II 17⁺, 89-90, the total number of days in that month is irrelevant for the present discussion.) The answer is provided by records of other time-spans in the inner tablet *MARV* II 17⁺:

⁶⁷⁾ [*iš-tu* ITU *a-bu*-LUGAL.MEŠ UD.29.KÁM a-*di* ITU *ḥi-bur* UD.20.KÁM 22 UD.ME[Š]
 — "[From the month] Abu-šarrāne, day 29, to the month Ḥibur, day 20, for 22 days."

This time-span includes the first 20 days of the month Ḥibur (of the eponym year of Abī-ilī), and days 29-30 of the preceding month Abu-šarrāne. Hence, the month Abu-šarrāne in the eponym year of Abī-ilī consisted of 30 days.

⁷⁸⁾ ... *iš-tu* ITU *mu-ḥur*-DINGIR.MEŠ UD.27[+1].K[ÁM *li-me* mA-*bi*-DINGIR] ⁷⁹⁾ [*a-di* ITU *ḥi-bur* UD.20.KÁM 22 UD.ME[Š]...].

— from the month Muḥur-ilāne, day 2⁸, the eponym year of Abī-ilī, until the month Šippu, [day] 9, the eponym year of Salmānu-šu[ma-ušur], for 2 months and 11 day[s...]"

The text of these lines of the document is established by the join of the fragment VAT 18007f (*MARV IV 171*) with the larger tablet *MARV II 17*. The day number at the end of the preserved part of l. 78 consists of two angular wedges (expressing 20) and two registers of vertical wedges, with four wedges in the upper register and three preserved wedges in the lower register. Elsewhere in *MARV II 17*⁺, the numerals 7 and 9 are written with vertical wedges arranged in three registers (see, e.g., *MARV II 17*, 6 and 31), so the day number in l. 78 must have ended in 8 (with the rightmost wedge in the lower register missing due to the damage of the tablet's surface). Thus, the beginning date of the recorded time-span must have been day 28 (27[+1]) of the month Muḥur-ilāne. The day number after the mention of month Šippu in l. 79 is damaged, but three registers of vertical wedges are visible, and three wedges in the bottom register can be identified both in the published hand-copy and on the tablet itself. Hence, this day number can only be 9.

If the total duration of the time-span recorded in *MARV II 17*⁺, 78-79, is to be interpreted as $2 \times 30 + 11 = 71$ days, then we should subtract from it the attested 30 days of the month Abu-šarrāne of the eponym year of Abī-ilī and the first 9 days of the month Šippu of the eponym year of Salmānu-šuma-ušur. This leaves us with $71 - 39 = 32$ days, which should include the whole month Ḥibur and the last days of the month Muḥur-ilāne of the eponym year of Abī-ilī (starting with day 28 of Muḥur-ilāne). It appears preferable to assign to Muḥur-ilāne 29 days, based on the following record in the inner tablet *MARV II 17*⁺:

⁶¹⁾ ... iš-tu ^{ITU}mu-[h]ur-DINGIR.MEŠ UD.21[+5².KÁM] ⁶²⁾ [a-di ^{IT}U]ḥi-bur UD.20.KÁM 1 ^{ITU} 24 UD.MEŠ 1 ŠILA.TA.ĀM e-^Tták¹-[lu] "

— ... from the month Mu[h]ur-ilāne, day 2⁶, until the month Ḥibur, day 20, for 1 month and 24 days, one qû (of barley) daily th[ey] consu[med]."

Here, the day number in l. 61 consists of two angular wedges, followed by traces of a vertical wedge running over half the line's height (as shown also on the published hand-copy). The total duration of the time-span recorded in *MARV II 17*⁺, 61-62, is to be understood as $30 + 24 = 54$ days, from which we must subtract the 30 days of the month Abu-šarrāne (located between Muḥur-ilāne and Ḥibur) and the first 20 days of the month Ḥibur. This leaves us with $54 - 50 = 4$ days to be accounted for in the month Muḥur-ilāne (of the eponym year of Abī-ilī). If Muḥur-ilāne in that year were 30 days long, the beginning date of the time-span recorded in l. 61 would have to be day 27 of Muḥur-ilāne. But the height of the traces of the vertical wedge at the end of the preserved part of the line appears to preclude the possibility that a group of vertical wedges arranged in three registers was recorded there (which would be necessary to express the numeral 7). Rather, it appears that the vertical wedges in the day number in l. 61 were arranged in two registers and expressed the numeral 6, so that the day number is to be restored as $21[+5] = 2⁶$. If there were four days in the month Muḥur-ilāne, beginning with day 26, this indicates that the month must have been 29 days long. Thus, the combination of the records in *MARV II 17*⁺, 61-62, 67, and 78-79 suggests the following durations for the final three months of the eponym year of Abī-ilī (son of Katiri):

| | |
|-------------|---------|
| Muḥur-ilāne | 29 days |
| Abu-šarrāne | 30 days |
| Ḥibur | 30 days |

According to the interpretation proposed above, the total time-span of 4 months and 20 days recorded in *MARV II 17*⁺, 89-90 (and also in ll. 86-87 of the joined envelope fragment) is to be understood as $4 \times 30 + 20 = 140$ days. This period should include the final 3 days of the month Muḥur-ilāne (days 27-29), 60 days of the months Abu-šarrāne and Ḥibur of the eponym year of Abī-ilī, and the first 20 days of the month Kalmartu of the eponym year of Salmānu-šuma-ušur: total 83 days. Therefore, we are left with only $140 - 83 = 57$ days for the months Šippu and Qarrātu of the eponym year of Salmānu-šuma-ušur. This number of days can be reached only if one of those two months consisted of 29 days, and the other – of 28 days.

The join of the envelope fragments VAT 18007b (*MARV* II 17, fragment 5) and VAT 18007c+d (*MARV* IV 155) seems to offer evidence which makes it possible to determine the specific duration of the month Šippu in the eponym year of Salmānu-šuma-ušur. The record in ll. 90-91 of the joined envelope fragment reads:

⁹⁰⁾ ᵀᵀᵀiš-tu ᵀᵀᵀmu-ᵀᵀᵀhur-DINGIR.MEŠ UD.2ᵀᵀ6ᵀᵀ.KÁM li-me ᵀᵀᵀA-bi-DINGIR ᵀᵀᵀa-di ᵀᵀᵀqar-ra-te
UD.20.[KÁM] ⁹¹⁾ ᵀᵀᵀli-me ᵀᵀᵀSILIMᵀᵀᵀma-nu-MU-PAP 3 ITU 23 UD.MEŠ 1 ŠĪLA.TA.ĀM e-t[ák-lu]

— "From the month Muḫur-ilāne, day 26 (!), the eponym year of Abī-ilī, until the month Qarrātu, day 20, the eponym year of Salmānu-šuma-ušur, for 3 months (and) 23 days, 1 qū (of barley) daily they con[sumed]."⁸⁾

The reading of the day number in the beginning date of this time-span is difficult. The number consists of two angular wedges followed by a group of vertical wedges, which run across a break in the envelope separating the fragment VAT 18007b (to the left) from the fragments VAT 18007c+d (to the right). Nevertheless, it can be seen that the vertical wedges are arranged in two registers. A single pair of wedges, one above the other, can be seen to the right of the break. Another similar pair of wedges is cut through by the break (this pair is drawn to the right of the break in the published hand-copy *MARV* IV 155, l. 90). Of what appears to the left of the break, Freydank drew a single wedge in the bottom register and three wedges above it (in the published hand-copy of *MARV* II 17, fragment 5, l. 10'). However, on the actual fragment, to the left of the break, it is impossible to identify more than one vertical wedge in the upper register and one in the lower register (although these wedges appear thicker than the wedges located to the right of the break). Thus, in the final event, it seems most likely that both the top and the bottom registers of the day number in l. 90 of the joined envelope fragment contained only three vertical wedges each. Together with the two angular wedges in the beginning part of the day number, these wedges form the numeral 20+ᵀᵀ6ᵀᵀ = 26.⁹⁾

According to the interpretation proposed above, the total duration of the time-span recorded in ll. 89-90 of the envelope of VAT 18007+ is to be understood as $3 \times 30 + 23 = 113$ days. This time-span must include the final 4 days of the month Muḫur-ilāne (days 26-29), 60 days of the months Abu-šarrāne and Ḫibur of the eponym year of Abī-ilī, and the first 20 days of the month Qarrātu of the eponym year of Salmānu-šuma-ušur: total 84 days. Consequently, we are left with $113 - 84 = 29$ days for the month Šippu of the eponym year of Salmānu-šuma-ušur. This means that the month Qarrātu in the eponym year of Salmānu-šuma-ušur must have lasted 28 days only.

Another instance of a sequence of two months, one of which consisted of 29 days and the other of 28 days, is offered by the document VAT 18065 (*MARV* II 14). This document lists quantities of bread, sacrificed for the regular offerings (*ginā ʾn*) in the temple of Aššur. One of the periods covered by the offerings is recorded as:

¹⁾ iš-tu ᵀᵀᵀal-la-na-te UD.[10+]18. KÁM li-me ᵀᵀᵀA-ta-mar-de-en-Aš-šur ²⁾ a-di ᵀᵀᵀša-sa-ᵀᵀra-teᵀ
UD.20ᵀ.K[Á]M li-me an-ni-e-ma 50 UD. MEŠ

— "From the month Allānātu, day 28, the eponym year of Ātamar-dēn-Aššur, until the month Ša-sarrāte, day 20 (!), the same eponym year, (total) 50 days" (*MARV* II 14, rev. 1-2).

Of the day number in the ending date of the recorded time-span, two angular wedges (expressing the numeral 20) are clearly preserved and drawn on the published hand-copy. The published hand-copy also shows a vertical wedge immediately after these two angular wedges, and then, following some damaged space, a slanted wedge and what appears as the end of a horizontal wedge. However, collation by the present author reveals that only faint traces are actually preserved on the tablet following the two angular wedges, and all those traces can be interpreted as belonging to horizontal or slightly slanted wedges, which would express the ordinal number determinative KÁM. Thus, the day number in the ending date of the time-span recorded in *MARV* II 14, rev. 1-2, appears to consist of two angular wedges only, and should be identified as 20.

For the day number in the beginning date of the time-span, only a single angular wedge is preserved on the tablet, followed by eight vertical wedges arranged in two registers. Nevertheless, if the beginning and the ending dates of the time-span are to match its recorded duration, another angular

wedge (expressing the digit 10) should be restored in the damaged space at the beginning of the day number in l. 1: [10+]10+8 = 28.

Reducing the total time-span of 50 days by the first 20 days of the month Ša-sarrāte, we are left with 30 days. These 30 days must include the final days of the month Allānātu and the whole following month Bēlat-ekalle of the eponym year of Ātamar-dēn-Aššur (in the early reign of Aššur-dān I). If the month Bēlat-ekalle consisted of 29 days, this means that day 28 of Allānātu was the last day of that month. If the month Allānātu had both days 28 and 29, that would leave only 30 - 2 = 28 days for the month Bēlat-ekalle. Anyway, neither Allānātu nor Bēlat-ekalle in the eponym year of Ātamar-dēn-Aššur could have consisted of 30 days.¹⁰⁾

In ancient Mesopotamian calendars, the beginning of the month was most likely determined by observation of the new lunar crescent. Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein noted that this situation "resulted now and then in a twenty-eight day month, when two [astronomical] months of twenty-nine days came together and bad weather conditions resulted in giving thirty days to the first month."¹¹⁾ The examples collected in the present study suggest that at least in the Middle Assyrian period (13th-12th centuries B.C.E.), calendrical months of 29 and 28 days could follow one another. This would imply that the existence of 28-day months was caused not so much by coincidence of specific astronomical circumstances with bad weather as by personal mistakes of the observers.¹²⁾

¹⁾ I am grateful to Prof. Joachim Marzahn, the chief curator of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, for placing the tablets mentioned in this note at my disposal. I am also grateful to the United States - Israel Educational Foundation (USIEF), which awarded me a Fulbright grant for the academic year 2013-14; this grant has financed my post-doctoral research at the University of California, Berkeley, where the present note has been written.

²⁾ Unfortunately, the fragment VAT 18109c could not be located in the Vorderasiatisches Museum for the purpose of collation.

³⁾ On the Middle Assyrian cycle of months, see H. Freydank, *Beiträge zur mittelassyrischen Chronologie und Geschichte*, SGKAO 21 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1991), 84. In fact, the identification of the month name in the ending date of the time-span recorded in MARV II 17⁺, 89-90, is made possible by the mention of almost five months that elapsed from the beginning date of this time-span to its ending date.

⁴⁾ This point was already made by the present author: Y. Bloch, "Middle Assyrian Lunar Calendar and Chronology," in *Living the Lunar Calendar*, ed. J. Ben-Dov, W. Horowitz and J. M. Steele (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012), 53, n. 70.

⁵⁾ Here, ll. 86-87 of the joined envelope fragment match ll. 6'-7' of MARV II 17, fragment 5.

⁶⁾ E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum and J. C. Johnson, "Middle Assyrian Calendrics," *SAAB* 19 (2011-12): 112, fig. 5, identify day 16 of Kalmartu as the ending point of the time-span recorded in ll. 86-87 of the envelope of VAT 18007⁺. However, on the envelope fragment VAT 18007c+d, only a single *Winkelhaken* for "10" is preserved at the end of l. 86; the complete day number must be restored based on the comparison with the text of the inner tablet, ll. 89-90, where the reading "16" appears to be precluded.

⁷⁾ For occasional attestations of 29-day-months, and for the practice of including the beginning and ending dates of a time-span in that time-span's recorded duration in the Middle Assyrian documents, see Freydank, *Beiträge*, 81; Cancik-Kirschbaum and Johnson, "Calendrics," 94-97. Although the present author's understanding of the structure of the Middle Assyrian calendar is different from its understanding by Cancik-Kirschbaum and Johnson, there is no doubt that the Middle Assyrian months were lunar.

⁸⁾ This record appears to parallel the record in the main document MARV II 17⁺, 93-94: ⁹³⁾ iš-^ltu^l ITU mu-^lbur^l-DI[NGIR.MEŠ] UD.25[+x].KÁM ^lli^l-me ^mA-bi-DINGIR a-di ITU qar-r[a-te UD.x.KÁM] ⁹⁴⁾ 3 ^lITU^l 23 U[D.MEŠ] 1 ŠILA.^lTA.ÀM e^l-[^ltá]k-l[u] "From the month Muḥur-i[lāne], day 25[+x], the eponym year of Abī-ilī, until the month Qarr[ātu, day x], for 3 months (and) 23 d[ays], one qû (of barley) daily they c[on]sum[ed]."

⁹⁾ Cancik-Kirschbaum and Johnson, "Calendrics," 111, read the day number in l. 90 of the envelope of VAT 18007⁺ as U₄.^l27^l.KÁM. However, the recording of the final part ("7") of the numeral 27 would require, in a Middle Assyrian document, three registers of horizontal wedges, with one wedge in the bottom register. Collation of the join of the envelope fragments VAT 18007b and VAT 18007c+d reveals that only two registers of vertical wedges are present at the join of the two fragments at l. 90. (It should be noted that Cancik-Kirschbaum and Johnson consistently refer to the tablet VAT 18007⁺ and its envelope under the publication siglum "MARV 1, 17⁺," which must be a typo for MARV 2, 17⁺.)

¹⁰⁾ Likewise, if the ending date of the time-span recorded in MARV II 14, rev. 1-2, were later than day 20 of the month Ša-sarrāte, it would be impossible to make the beginning and the ending dates of this time-span match its recorded duration. This is another consideration in support of reading UD.20^l.K[Á]M in the ending date of this time-span.

¹¹⁾ R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C. – A.D. 75* (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1956), 3.

¹²⁾ In naked-eye observation of the moon, it is not infrequent for the observers to receive mistakenly the impression that they have seen a new lunar crescent when it cannot yet be seen due to astronomical limitations. Such mistaken observations constituted 15% of all the recorded naked-eye observations of the new lunar crescent conducted in the course of a series of field experiments in North America in 1989-90 (L. E. Doggett and B. E. Schaefer, "Lunar Crescent Visibility," *Icarus* 107 [1994]: 397).

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27) Some Notes on Böck's Review of BAM 7 and on Böck 2014 — In the course of checking the edition of BAM 7, I¹⁾ was confronted with the long, methodologically controversial review of Böck in WZKM 98 (2008), consisting of 52 pages and divided in two major parts. In many cases the comments provided in sections 1 to 4 (1 = pp. 295ff., 2 = pp. 297ff., 3 = pp. 300ff., 4 = pp. 316f.) are repeated in section 5 = pp. 319ff. as well. It soon became obvious that the readings cited in Böck's review appear to reflect citations from Franz Köchers's Nachlass, since so many readings contradict the texts on the tablets themselves, raising serious questions regarding how to use a Nachlass. The data in WZKM 98 shows that one can not reliably correct readings from the unpublished notes of F.K., which were never meant to be published, without checking existing copies and/or collating the tablets in the museums themselves. We have to bear in mind that F.K. copied BAM 1-6 extensively from photos, and after 1962 never visited the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin (even after the Reunification).

A further methodological problem in WZKM 98 is the concept of "duplicates", since in many cases texts are forced to be "duplicates" through altered readings, changing the line numbering, and even skipping lines. F.K. was aware that similarities in medical texts do not necessarily make them duplicates²⁾. Therefore, F.K. referred to text sections appearing in other medical texts in the Verzeichnis of his BAM volumes, but did not consider the texts with similar sections as duplicates (he used "vgl.>").

Furthermore, many relevant readings from AHW and CAD are not considered by Böck. To correct all miscorrections and duplicate manipulations one has to redo Böck's review in clearly structured notes, as in the review of Buisson 2006, which appeared two years before WZKM 98, but some useful corrections of Buisson were disregarded by Böck and occasionally miscorrected³⁾. The notes below are meant to illustrate the methodological issues in WZKM 98, and are not Besserwisserei. The following pages provide only a selection of notes on misreadings (Section 1) and the manipulations of duplicates (Section 2) in WZKM 98. Section 3 discusses some peculiarities of another work by the same author (Böck 2014) in comparisons with WZKM 98. The available texts in Berlin were collated in January 2014, noted as "coll".

Section 1

WZKM 98 pp. 298-99: Böck cites the important Assur medical catalogue, but mistakenly follows the line numbering in F.K.'s unpublished edition of this tablet⁴⁾.

WZKM 98 p. 298: Böck cites an incipit [... na₄] *šah-hi-hu* gig without a reference, taken from F.K.'s notes. This incipit can now be correctly restored from another incipit BAM 156 [diš] ṛna nam⁷.érim *šah-[h]i-hu* g[i]g (coll.).

| WZKM 98 p. 306 (1) | BAM 7 190 23'-24' | Evidence: BAM 182 23'-24' |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>ina</i> ì.[giš . . .] | <i>ana</i> ì.[. . .] | <i>ana</i> ì[(.giš) . . .] |
| [] ṛana ṛšà šid-ma | [én é.n]u.ru šid-ma | [x x x] ṛana ṛšà šid-ma |

Böck miscorrects *ana* to *ina*, and [é.n.ru a]na šà šid-ma is preferable, instead of empty space, see also Buisson, *RA* 100 187a.

| WZKM 98 p. 306 (2) | BAM 7 238 18' | Evidence: BAM 7, plate 30 rev. 18' |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ì bur | ṛna ₄ .bur | ṛna ₄ .bur |
| š[id]-[n]u-[ma mu-qal]-ṛpi ṛti ² | ṛšid-nu ṛ[.] x ṛgi ⁷ | ṛšid-nu ṛ[x (x)] ṛx x ṛ |

Böck's reading $\dot{\imath}$ bur has to be $\text{r}na_4\text{'}$.bur = *pūru*-bowl, see KADP no. 12 ii 68 (Uruanna III 172); MSL 10 71 68; CAD P 526ff.; see also Schuster-Brandis, AOAT 46 406. Of course, the reading $\dot{\imath}$ +giš is also possible, but it does not correspond to the traces as $\text{r}na_4\text{'}$.bur. Furthermore, there is not sufficient place for Böck's reconstruction, copy-pasted in WZKM 98 on p. 344 as well. WZKM 98 p. 306 (3): Böck's reading ka inim.ma should be ka.inim.ma, as in BAM 7 238 23'.

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| WZKM 98 p. 307 (5) F Vs. 15f. and 238 Vs. 2ff. | BAM 7 76 15f.' | Evidence: BAM 115 15f.', coll., and STT 238 2-3 |
| <i>ta-za-ri</i> s[ig ₄ šà].ha šub- <i>di</i> ¹ kéš kéš-as-su gar-an g[iš | <i>ta-za-qap</i> <i>ana</i> [x] ha does not cite STT 238 2-3 ditto. gar-an kaš x x x | <i>ta-za-qáp</i> x[x x]x ha šub- <i>ak</i> ¹ kéš!(sar) kéš!(sar)-as gar-an kaš 'x x (x) x', |

Böck's miscorrection *ta-za-ri* is based on STT 238 2 (*ta-za-RU*¹). The sign on STT 238 2 is damaged, but Böck reads a clear *ta-za-ru* and translates as "zerstörst du", which however does not match the meaning of *zarû* in AHw 1516b "streuen". The preceding noun in the same line is *eršu* (giš.ná). Because of the common usage of *eršu* (giš.ná) with *zaqāpu*, von Soden listed it in AHw 1512a under *zaqāpu* as *ta-za-KAP*; correcting the copy of STT 238 2 and noting it as "|| STT 238 2!". Böck unreasonably forced *ta-za-qáp* into *ta-za-ri*, but how does one "scatter" a bed? Furthermore, there is no space for s[ig₄ šà].ha on BAM 115 15', and the first sign could also begin with munus, thus sig₄ is very questionable. Böck bases her reading on STT 238 2, where she reads sig₄ šà.ha. Unfortunately, STT 238 2 does not have 'šà' in the damaged part, but rather šá or even a⁵). Surprisingly, Böck reads šub-*di*¹ for STT 238 2, based on šub-*di*¹ in BAM 115 15'. Thus, both verbs look the same in her transliteration. Actually, STT 238 2 has šub-*ak*¹, for *tušamsak*, Š *nasāku* "to (let) throw". Böck's reading "kéš kéš-as-su" has to be read as "kéš¹(sar) kéš¹(sar)-as" (no *su*). See also Borger, MZ₂ Nos. 271 and 541⁶). The last miscorrection has to be left as it is in BAM 7. For further on Böck's use of STT 238 as a duplicate to BAM 7 see below.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| WZKM 98 p. 308, K Rs. 9, 13 and 22, see also Böck 2014 87 8 | BAM 7 104 9, 13 and p. 94 7' | Evidence: BAM 7, plate 10 rev. 9, 13 and plate 10 no. 9 ii 8', coll. |
| udu.siskur kù- <i>t[i]m</i> dù-uš <i>tu-[u]m-m[ad]</i> <i>lu-reš/riš</i> in Böck 2014 | <i>lu</i> siskur kù <i>l[u ik-ri-b]u(?)</i> dù-uš <i>tu-[qa]t-¹tar</i> (?) <i>lu-si.sá</i> | udu.siskur kù <i>e[b-b]u</i> dù-uš <i>'tu-mad</i> ¹ <i>lu-si.sá</i> |

I propose as the correct reading udu.siskur kù *e[b-b]u* dù-uš "you make a clean and pure sacrifice", as already in CAD E 214b. Furthermore, according to Böck WZKM 98 p. 330 (see more comments below), her correction is based upon Landsberger's rendering of this line in ZDMG 74 444, where the reference incidentally cannot be found. Böck's *tu-[u]m-m[ad]* depends upon CAD E 144a *tu-'mad*¹. This is the expected verb, but Böck miscorrects it, because there is no space for UM. I would follow CAD E 144a. Böck's reading *lu-reš/riš* is based on KAR 73 22 and on CAD B 54b; R 209a; Š/1 211a; AHw 980a. However, BAM 7 has a clear *lu-si.sá* (not *lu-reš* as in KAR 73 22), which however does not match the translation in BAM 7 95 7 "let me be happy". The expression *lu-si.sá* makes a very good sense after *lu-úb-luṭ lu-uš-lim*, because *ešēru* (*si.sá*) is often used with the two quoted verbs: e.g. *lú lib-luṭ lú li-šir lú liš-lim-ma*, see BRM 4 18 24. Moreover, there is no basis for *šalāmu* and *rāšu* used together in CAD R 209ff., instead of the proposed reading based on the copy KAR 73 22. Therefore, I would translate *lu-úb-luṭ lu-uš-lim lu-si.sá* as "let me be healthy, let me be well, let me be all right", with the quotations in the dictionaries to be modified, according to BAM 7.

| | | |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| WZKM 98 p. 311 (7), ⁹ NN ii': 2' | Not considered as duplicate in BAM 7 | Evidence: BAM 430 ii 2' |
| ^ú e.me.jur.gi ₇ | | ^ú e]me.ur.gi ₇ |

Such inaccuracies are numerous⁷⁾.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| WZKM 98 p. 312, ¹⁹ J i:19, ²⁴ J i: 24 | BAM 7 88 19, p. 90 24 | Evidence: BAM 7, plate 6 i 19, 24 |
| ^ú zi-bu- ^ṛ ú ^ṛ ^ú šu-nu- ^ṛ u | ^ú zi-a[h zé] ^ú šu-nu- ^ṛ u | ^ú zi ṛah ^ṛ [x] ^ú šu-un- ^ṛ u |

Böck's suggestion ^úzi-bu-^ṛú^ṛ, would be welcome here, but sadly, there is neither BU nor Ú on the copy. For the “duplicates” to this BAM passages see below. Both Böck's and BAM 7's reading has to be corrected to ^úšu-un-^ṛu, see also MSL 10 105 231.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| WZKM 98 p. 324, Text 1 iv: 18 | BAM 7 40 18 | Evidence: BAM 396 iv 18 |
| gìr-šu ù | lú šu-ù | lú šu-ù |

Böck suggestion gîr-šu ù instead of lú šu-ù is not impossible based on the copy, but the text was collated in BAM 7 32⁸⁾.

| | | |
|---|---------------|--|
| WZKM 98 p. 324, Text 2 ii:4 | BAM 7 46 ii 4 | Evidence: BAM 7, plate 2 ii:4 |
| ^ṛ kar-ra- ^ṛ [^á š-tam-tim] | kar-x x | kar- ^ṛ šam ^ṛ (x) |

Böck cites the note of F.K., but the copy shows broken Ú and not RA; also the reduplication of r seems inappropriate for the word, see CAD K 212-214. Therefore, it is preferable to read kar-^ṛšam^ṛ [. . .].

| | | |
|--|---------------------------------|---|
| WZKM 98 p. 326, Text 4 D i:37 ^ṛ | BAM 7 66 37 ^ṛ | Evidence: BAM 112 i 37 ^ṛ , coll. |
| ^ṛ diš ^ṛ -n[iš ana šà šub-di] | ^{na4} x x ^ṛ | ^ṛ diš ^ṛ -n[iš x x]x |

Böck's suggestion ^ṛdiš^ṛ-n[iš ana šà šub-di] is unreasonable, because of the limited space on the tablet.

WZKM 98 p. 330, Text 10 Rs. 6: Böck's reference of “Landsbergers in ZDMG 74 (1920) p. 444” shall be corrected to p. 443. Her comment for Rs. 1 stems also from Landsberger, ZDMG 74 443, without crediting him.

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------|--|
| WZKM 98 p. 330, Text 11 Vs. 16 ^ṛ | BAM 7 106 16 ^ṛ | Evidence: BAM 7, plate 11 no. 11 16 ^ṛ . |
| ^ú úkuš.hab.ti.g[i.la | ^ṛ úkuš.ti.g[i.la | ^ṛ úkuš.ṛti ^ṛ .g[i ^ṛ .la |

Another Verschlimmbesserung – hab is not on the copy.

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------|--|
| WZKM 98 p. 331, Text 14 O Vs. 19 ^ṛ | BAM 7 114 19 ^ṛ | Evidence: BAM 7, plate 13 no. 14 19 ^ṛ |
| n u ₁₁ .ga ^{sic¹} mušen | lu ina ga súd ¹ | x x ga mušen ¹ |

Böck's miscorrection forces n|u₁₁.ga^{sic¹} mušen instead of gá.nu₁₁^{mušen} (in her “parallel”), which is controversial and provided with no explanation. I suggest another alternative ending on x.ga^{mušen}, as for instance ^únág.ga.mušen in BAM 124 i 27, or ^úgîr.nág.ga.mušen in AMT 54, 1 5 (probably also in AMT 18, 5 4).

| | | |
|--|--------------------------|---|
| WZKM 98 p. 331, Text 15 6 ^ṛ | BAM 7 116 6 ^ṛ | Evidence: BAM 7, plate 13 no. 15 6 ^ṛ |
| <šup>šu-hi-šú | šu-hi-šú | ^ṛ šup ¹ -šu-hi-šú |

Böck cites the note of F.K., without checking the copy.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| WZKM 98 p. 334, Text 24 ii 23 | BAM 7 150 23 | Evidence: BAM 7, plate 21 ii 23 |
| qí-l[ip z]ú.lum(.ma) | úkuš-[ti-g]i- ^ṛ lum ^ṛ | ^ṛ úkuš ^ṛ -[ti-g]i- ^ṛ lum ^ṛ |

Another miscorrection without a check on the copy.

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| WZKM 98 p. 334 , Text 24 Y iv:9' | BAM 7 154 9' | Evidence: BAM 7, plate 23 9' |
| za.hi.[li] | sah- ^l é ^l -e ^l nu-x ^l | ṣah- ^l é- ^l e nu ^l x[x] |

Böck's reading "za.hi.[li]" is impossible according to the copy.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| WZKM 98 p. 335 , Text 26 i: 18' | BAM 7 160 18' | Evidence: BAM 96 i 18' |
| ta-kar ^{sik} aka ì.giš ^l ṣu ^l ana igi gar-an | ta-kar šéš ì.giš ^l diri ana igi gar-an | ta-kar ^l eren ^l ì.giš ^l ṣu ^l ana igi-šú gar-an. |

Misleadingly, Böck takes her miscorrection from BAM 1 xxiii no. 96 I: 18, stating that F.K. wrote "[^l]-ni ta-kar^{sik} aka ì.giš^l ṣu^l ana igi gar-an". But F.K. did not write this in his printed edition. Was Böck using unpublished notes?⁹⁾

| | | |
|---|---------------|----------------------------------|
| WZKM 98 p. 336 , Text 28 rev. 56 | BAM 7 178 56 | Evidence: BAM 104 rev. 56, coll. |
| igi 5.gál[.la] | ši-šá-ik-[tu] | ši-šá-ik-[tu] |

Böck's miscorrection as igi 5.gál[.la] has to be igi.4.gál[.lá], see also Buisson, *RA* 100 186a, but the end of the tablet is one sign away, therefore there is no place for the capacity and the *materia medica* on that line. Thus, ši-šá-ik-[tu] fits better, and seems possible. Nevertheless, igi.4.gál and ši-šá-ik consist of the same signs.

WZKM 98 p. **337**. The numbering for Text 30 dd is misleading: dd Rs. 25' has to be dd Rs. 23' etc. as it is in BAM 7 184 23', where the obverse counts as well. Otherwise it shall be rev. 10, see BAM 7, plate 26. Böck's miscorrection for Text 31 EE Vs. 7' ^{gis}sar has to be ^{gis}kiri₆, according to Borger MZ₂, p. 359, in order to match the meaning *kirû* "garden" (BAM 7 188 7' has ^{gis}kiri₆).

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| WZKM 98 p. 338 , Text 31 EE Vs 8' | BAM 7 188 8' | Evidence: BAM 182 obv. 8' |
| ú ^l gan.u ₅ | ^{gis} kam-u ₅ | ^{gis} gan.u ₅ |

Again Böck's reading is not corresponding to the copy. I would propose *giš-kan-u₅* as alternative writing for *kiškanû*, see also STT 275 i 12', and Schuster-Brandis, *AOAT* 46 263. The last lines of Böck's transliteration on p. **338** have grammatical miscorrection úš-ir instead of úš-er in BAM 7 188 10', see von Soden GAG § 9h. There are similar problems also in Böck's review p. **341** and so on.

WZKM 98 p. **340**. Böck missed to transliterate Text 34 AO ii: 57' after HH Vs. 22.

| | | |
|--|---------------------------|--|
| WZKM 98 p. 344 : Text 45 Vs. 11', Rs. 21' | BAM 7 236 11', p. 238 21' | Evidence: BAM 7, plate 29 11'; plate 30, 21' |
| a pú én {u} ti.la | esir én u ti.la | esir én u ti.la |

Böck's miscorrection a pú does not match the signs on the copy. Apparently, the emendation én {u} ti.la is based on parallels, but the line on STT 136 ii:25, which Böck cites, does not exist on column ii, because column ii from l. 21 till l. 32' is completely broken. Often, one can not find Böck's parallels without a bit of luck. Probably, she meant STT 275 ii 25', where we have something similar according to Schuster-Brandis, *AOAT* 46 181 reading: [é]n en ši^l-p[at]. Unfortunately, the signs on the copy STT 275 ii 25' are [é]n (or ^d)en-ki di[ngir]. For én {u} ti.la I see two possibilities. The one is according to BAM 7 238 21' én en én u ti.la, "Spell. Lord of the incantation and life". The other is to read én en én umun ti.la "Spell. Lord of the incantation, lord of life". Thus, the writing en = *bēlu* corresponds to umun = *bēlu*, see Borger MZ₂ no. 661, as a pun on the word *bēlu*, written with two different signs.

Section 2 Duplicates in WZKM 98

WZKM 98 p. 307 footnote 28 states that BAM 7 no. 6 Ms. F = BAM 115 is “partielle Duplikat” to STT 238, but this is misleading. Firstly, STT 238 2-4 has one additional line of cuneiform text compared with BAM 115 15’-16’. This is enough to show that even if these two texts are similar, they can not be considered as “duplicates”. Secondly, STT 238 employs different verbs and Böck resorts to several forced readings, in order to make these texts look the same; see the notes above to WZKM 98 p. 307. In order to accomplish this, she manipulates the line sequences and numberings in WZKM 98 on pp. 311-12 in her transliteration to make things fit again:

| Line numbering for J (BAM 7 no. 9) ¹⁰⁾ | Line numbering for MM (BAM 431) | Line numbering for NN (BAM 430) |
|--|--|---------------------------------|
| i:9 | | ii’:2’ |
| i:10 | | ii’:1’,3’,4’ |
| i:24 (not enough space to accommodate the “parallels” MM and NN) | iii’:1-5 iii’:6/7 iii’:8-10 | iii’:1’/2’ iii’:3’-5’ |
| i:25 (ditto) | iii’:11-13 iii’:29 iii’:14/15 | iii’:6’-8’ iii’:9’-11’ |
| i:26 (ditto) | iii’:16/17 iii’:28 iii’:18/19 | iii’:23’ iii’:12’-14’ |

Manipulation of “duplicates” is at work here – the original sequence of the texts is altered, lines skipped, in order to consider these texts duplicates. If we follow Böck’s methodology we would have innumerable “duplicates” for medical recipes¹¹⁾.

Section 3 Gula

Böck follows the manipulative practices from WZKM 98 in her latest book on Gula (Böck 2014). Thus, the re-edition of some Gula prayers from her review, in comparison with the rendering of these very same texts in Böck 2014, shows the same problems. Remarkably, in her Gula book some readings of BAM 7, which she *verschlimmbessert* in WZKM 98 are later omitted in Böck 2014, in which she surprisingly goes back to the original readings from BAM 7. Böck 2014 p. 86 footnote 14 is unnecessary, because BAM 7 88 already noted the change of the reverse and the obverse.

| BAM 7 p. 94, coll. | WZKM 98 p. 308f. | Böck 2014 p. 86f. |
|--|-----------------------|---|
| ii 1’ [pa]- ^r né-e [’] -k[i] | [pa-ni]-e | 1) ^r pa-ne ₂ [’] -e-k[i] |
| ii 3’ šá-a | šá A | 3) ša ₂ -a |
| ii 4’ [lu p]àr- | [lu di-me-tú lu pà]r- | 4) [lu p]ar ₃ - |
| ii 11’ pa-líh-a | p. 309 pa-líh-šá | p. 87 12) pa-lih ₂ -ša ₂ ^{sic!(a)} |
| ii 13’ tu-šad-bab-šú | tu-šad-dad-šú | 14) tu-šad-bab-šu ₂ |

Note also: BAM 7 p. 94 ii 16’, WZKM 98 p. 309 K Rs. 31 and Böck 2014 87 17, has to be [a^t-ta-h]u-ud, proposed in CAD T 43a “I began to thrive”, which corresponds exactly to the traces on BAM 7, plate 10 31, coll.

WZKM 98 p. 314, for ³⁹I i:14’ff. (BAM 7, plate 4 i 39ff.): Böck uses BAM 430 iii 46’-47’ and BAM 431 iii 47-52 as duplicates. This is misleading, because the incipit in BAM 7 is different from the incipit of the quoted lines in BAM 430 and 431. In fact, there is another well-known šuilla ignored by Böck, whose incipit runs much closer to that one of BAM 431 iii 47ff., see now Lenzi, *OrNs* 82 1-10. Again the incipits are similar but still not the same – these are just common epithets of Gula. Surprisingly, Böck 2014 p. 89 resolves not to use all lines of BAM 430, in comparison with her practice in WZKM 98 p. 314. Moreover, there are more misreadings in Böck 2014 89 3, where *at-ti-ma* must be added before *mu-bal-li-ṭa-at*. Furthermore, in WZKM 98 and Böck 2014, she leaves the first line of the prayer empty after én^{r^d1}[...], thus her transliteration looks really different from BAM 7 90 39 and fitting

into BAM 430 iii 46' and BAM 431 iii 47. All this leads to a confusion and forcibly alters the texts. Nevertheless, for ³⁹I i:14 (BAM 7, plate 4, no. 9 39ff.), I suggest reconstructing the beginning as én di[ngir at-ti-ma^dg]u-[la] at-ti-ma' (BAM 7 90 39 has én r^d[gu.la ...] r^x at-ti-ma')

Readings in BAM 7 were corrected by Böck mainly from the notes of the F.K., but the results are in many cases misleading and contradictory. The above presented data questions the reliability of Böck in WZKM 98 and Böck 2014, in contrast to Buisson 2006, which is an important step forward in setting the record straight. Thus, consulting the review in WZKM 98 and Böck 2014 leaves one with mixed feelings and uncertainty regarding their reliability.

*) This is a BabMed publication – ERC Project at FU Berlin <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/babmed/>. Many thanks to M.J. Geller, U. Steinert and Sona Eypper for corrections and suggestions.

1) Geller, M.J. 2005. *Renal and Rectal Disease Texts. Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen* 7. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter.

2) In contrast to the situation in other genres, e.g. incantations, rituals or literary texts, where we have different ideas of duplicates. See Geller, ZAVA 102 339-344.

3) Scurlock, JMC 13 38-48, another review of BAM 7, in contrast to Böck WZKM 98, takes into consideration the work by Buisson (note also Rassigner, JMC 16 42-44). Anyhow, Scurlock, JMC 13 38-48 was unaware of Böck WZKM 98, and the last was unaware of Scurlock, JMC 10 45-46, where a join was made to BAM 7.

4) For instance, YBC 7146 Vs. 22' is in fact Vs. 21'. This is due to the fact that F.K. assigns two line numbers 12' and 13' to the same line 12' on the tablet YBC 7146. M.J. Geller provided his BabMed team with F.K.'s unpublished notes of the Assur catalog. Thanks are due to Ulla Kasten and Lorenzo Verderame for providing the BabMed with photos of the Yale tablets.

5) We concede that Böck's solution would be welcome, if based on TuL 116 2, where *libittu* (sig₄) occurs together with *šahhû* "cloth", or on AGH 136 107, where *šahâ* "edge to edge"¹² occurs also with *libittu* (sig₄) "brick". There is no šâ sign on STT 238 2 and neither on BAM 115 15'. For STT 238 2 one would suggest *šâ²-ha* or even *ʿa²-ha*, but only after collation.

6) Note also the different verbs: *gar-an* in BAM 115 16' in contrast to STT 238 4, which has *t[a-s]ar-raq*. For further on Böck's use of STT 238 as a duplicate see section 2.

7) See e.g. ^{sim}gam.ma in WZKM 98 p. 313, ²⁹J i:29 is a miscorrection of ^{sim}gam.r^{ma}' in BAM 7 90 29 = BAM 7, plate 6 29; im.sahar.babbar.k]ur.ra in WZKM 98 p. 313, ³⁰J i: 30 is a miscorrection of ^{im}sahar].bábbar.kur.ra' in BAM 7 90 30 = BAM 7, plate 6 30; [ga.nu₁₁^{muš^{en}}] in WZKM 98 p. 313, ³¹J i:31 is miscorrection of g[a.nu₁₁^{muš^{en}}] in BAM 7, plate 6 31, (BAM 7 90 31 has nunu[z ga.nu₁₁^{muš^{en}}]); na₄]meš in WZKM 98 p. 313, ³⁵I i:10' is miscorrection of ...x]x in BAM 7 90 35 = BAM 7, plate 4 i 35, because a clear sign meš is nowhere to be seen on that line.

8) Consider also bir-šû ù, from CAD Š/1 492, which would fit in the renal-disease-context, also suggested by Scurlock, JMC 13 40. However, one would expect bir (éllag = *kalīt*)-su and not bir-šû. In CAD K 75f. there are some instances with a vocal in the status constructus, but šû is disturbing. Another possibility would be to read éllag šû-ù.

9) F.K. writes in BAM 1 xxiii no. 96 I: 18 *ta-kar SÍG AKÀ¹ Ì.GIŠ x*. Furthermore, Böck misread the common phrase *ana igi-šû gar-an*. The line was properly corrected by Buisson, RA 100 186b as *eren/sig⁴àka! ì.giš diri! ana igi-šû gar-an*.

10) WZKM 98 pp. 311, footnote 30 states "Da in der von M.J. Geller publizierten Transliteration zwei Duplikattexte, ... , nicht berücksichtigt wurden..."

11) Böck occasionally admits to non-similarities in texts, but she uses such as authoritative duplicates for correcting readings, e.g. WZKM 98 p. 338: Vs. 14'-16' "Die Beschwörung ist noch in einem weiteren Text belegt, wenn auch nicht genau duplizierend". For example because of the "duplicate" Böck miscorrects "*al-qé-ma dumu*" from BAM 7 190 15', into "*al-qé ut-tur*", disregarding the copy BAM 182 15', where one clearly sees "*al-qé-ma dumu*".

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28) Nochmals zu den Feldzügen des Assyrerkönigs Tukulti-Ninurta I. nach Babylonien und seinen Zeitgenossen auf dem babylonischen Thron – Der Nachtrag bezieht sich auf den Gegenentwurf¹⁾ Michael Banyais zu meiner Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse²⁾. Es soll nicht das Modell von Banyai per se besprochen werden, sondern die Eignung zweier Quellen als Beleg dafür.

VAT 17020 („Berliner Brief“)

Banyai³⁾ hält den Abschnitt von Zeile 25 bis 36 für einen lückenlosen Bericht der Ereignisse in Babylonien, mit der Königsfolge Kaštiliaš IV. > Tukulti-Ninurta > Nabû-apal-iddina/Adad-šuma-ušur. Er gesteht deshalb den in der Babylonischen Königsliste A eingetragenen Enlil-nādin-šumi, Kadašman-Ĥarbe und Adad-šuma-iddina keine eigene, unabhängige Regierungszeit zu.

Dazu ist zu sagen, daß der Text Tukulti-Ninurta nicht namentlich nennt und die Ergänzung einer beschädigten Stelle zu Kaštiliaš fraglich ist. Außerdem wird über Nabû-apal-iddina, den „Sohn einer Hethiterin“, erst im Anschluß an Adad-šuma-ušur berichtet. Man sollte also annehmen, daß Nabû-apal-iddina zwischen Adad-šuma-ušur und Meli-Šipak in Erscheinung trat⁴⁾. Die auf uns gekommenen Nachrichten über dynastische Ehen zwischen Hethitern und Babyloniern sind spärlich. Eine neue Initiative vor Ende des Hethiterreiches ist nicht auszuschließen.

Außerdem handelt der Abschnitt von Personen, die das Königtum (aus elamitischer Sicht) unrechtmäßig erlangten. Mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit traf der elamitische Absender eine Auswahl. D.h. der Bericht ist nicht zwingend lückenlos.

Chronik P

Banyai liefert eine vom Text abweichende Übersetzung der ersten Zeilen der iv. Kolumne und schlußfolgert, daß Tukulti-Ninurta Babylon sofort nach der Gefangennahme Kaštiliaš IV. eroberte⁵⁾.

Eine Beschreibung der Niederlage Kaštiliaš IV. ist in Chronik P nicht erhalten. Nach einer Lücke zu Beginn könnte vom Ablegen eiserner Ketten die Rede sein, statt vom Anlegen derselben ⁶⁾. Der Name Kaštiliaš fehlt auch hier. Nach dieser unklaren, weil stark zerstörten Passage wird berichtet, daß Tukulti-Ninurta nach Babylon zurückkehrte.

Die Chronik P liefert also keinen Beleg dafür, daß Tukulti-Ninurta Babylon „sofort“ nach der Niederlage Kaštiliaš IV. einnahm.

Zwar ist eine Einfügung der Niederlage am Beginn der iv. Kolumne wahrscheinlich ⁷⁾. Aber selbst dann ist ein enger zeitlicher Bezug zur Einnahme Babylons nicht gegeben.

¹⁾ NABU 2013/4, S. 140-146.

²⁾ NABU 2011/1, S. 21-24.

³⁾ S. 140f. u. 143 unten.

⁴⁾ Siehe J. van Dijk, Die dynastischen Heiraten zwischen Kassiten und Elamern: eine verhängnisvolle Politik, Or. 55(1986), S. 159-170, insbesondere S. 168.

⁵⁾ S. 143.

⁶⁾ J.-J. Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, SBL, Atlanta 2004, S. 280f.

⁷⁾ Der Name Kaštiliaš kann in iv 1 auf Grund von Parallelstellen in den Königsinschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. (RIMA 1, A.0.78.5, Z. 60; A.0.78.6, Z. 23; A.0.78.23, Z. 64; A.0.78.25, Z. 4) ergänzt werden.

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29) Correction and Clarification of NABU 2013/86—The attempt to render, as literally as possible, the seven (!) lines of the edge of *JEN 525* resulted (through no fault of *NABU*) in a visually garbled and slightly defective transliteration. This note corrects those faults.

Lines 68-71 appear on the right side of the left edge. Those lines are bordered on the left by a vertical scribal line. To the left of that line appear lines 72-74.

Lines 68-74 read as follows.

left edge, right side

68 2 *ma-ti* ANŠE ŠE ša ^mTa-ak-ku i+na URU Túr
69 -ša šar-pu ^mA-ri-ku-ya iš-tu (blank space)
70 ša É.GAL ša pí-i ^rGIŠ¹.TIR
71 AŠ URU T[úr-šá] il-te+qu

left edge, left side

72 AN.ZA.KÀR ša I-ri-mu h́é-pí
73 2 LÚ 6 GUD il-^rqú-ú^r
74 ^{NA}4KIŠIB ^mTa-ak-ku seal impression?

These lines may be translated as follows.

“2 hundred homers of barley of Takku, in the town of Turša, were burned (up). They took Ari-kuya from (blank space) <the *dimtu*> of the palace at the entrance to the forest, in the town of Turša. The *dimtu*-tower of Irimu was destroyed. They took 2 men (and) 6 oxen.

Seal impression of Takku (*seal impression?*).

On the basis of this latest collation, *CHIERA* 1934: pl. 487; and *MAIDMAN* 2010: 42 and 43 are to be corrected accordingly.¹⁾ Specific comments follow.

ll. 68-69: *Túr*/-ša. Chiera’s *Túr-šá* (l. 68 entirely) is inaccurate. TÚR is the last sign on line 68. By adopting the present interpretation, the name of the town is completed and a grammatical difficulty is removed (the unwanted relative particle, ša). However, this interpretation comes at a cost. Elsewhere in this text, Turša is always spelled *Túr-šá*. And, one could well read *Túr*-<šá>, since there are many other scribal omissions in this text.

l. 69: ^mA-ri-ku-ya. Chiera’s ^mA-~~hu~~-ku-ya is incorrect.

l. 69: *iš-tu* (blank space). Chiera’s *ka-dú* is incorrect. After this word, the scribe likely omitted AN.ZA.KÀR. Cf. l. 58. On other scribal omissions in this text, see the previous note and *MAIDMAN* 2010: 40-41.

l. 71: *te+qu*. The vertical of TE is also the first vertical of KU.

l. 72: *pi*. This sign is bisected by the vertical line separating lines 68-71 from 72-74.

l. 73: *qu-ur*. These two signs are separated from each other by the vertical line separating lines 68-71 from 72-74.

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1) For other treatments of JEN 525, see Maidman 2005: 241-242.

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30) Ein neuer Textvertreter für das Ritual des Anlegens der Fundamente eines Hauses — Die Babylon Collection des British Museum enthält zahlreiche Fragmente von Ritualanweisungen. Das Bruchstück BM 41000 (1881-04-28, 547) konnte ich als Duplikat zu dem Bau-Ritual *enūma uššē bīt amēli tanamdū* — “Wenn du die Fundamente des Hauses eines Mannes anlegst” identifizieren. Auf dieses Fragment wurde ich durch Christopher Walkers im Erscheinen begriffenen Katalog der Texte der Babylon Collection aufmerksam. Ich bin Chr. Walker zu großem Dank verpflichtet, mir den Katalog zur Verfügung gestellt zu haben. Die grundsätzliche Identifikation des Fragmentes als Ritualtext erfolgte bereits durch Walker.

Das Bau-Ritual *enūma uššē bīt amēli tanamdū* war bislang nur durch einen einzigen Textzeugen bekannt: K 3664+K 6125+K 8686+K 8881(+K 7677. Dieser Text wurde veröffentlicht durch R. Borger, FS Böhl S. 50-55 und C. Ambos, Baurituale S. 136-141 und 246f. (Kopie Nr. 8).

Das Fragment BM 41000 (1881-04-28, 547) ermöglicht trotz seines geringen Umfanges Verbesserungen der Textrekonstruktion des Baurituales. Das Bruchstück wird hier mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Trustees of the British Museum publiziert.¹⁾

Vs.

- 1 [e-nu-ma uššē(U)Š₈] bīt(É) amēli(LÚ) ta-nam-du-ú kīma(GIN₇) erēb Šamšī(^dUTU.ŠÚ.A)
2 [x x x] x^{du} agubbâ(A.GÚB.BA) tukān(GIN-an) ana libbi(ŠÀ)
3 [^{du}agubbê(A.GÚB.BA) hurāša(KÙ).[SI₂₂][?] kaspā(KÙ.BABBAR)[?] na⁴] sām⁴ta(GUG) na⁴uqnâ
(ZA.GIN)
4 [^{sim}burāša(LI) dišpa(LÀL) ħimēta(Ì.NUN.NA) šamna(Ì.GIŠ) ħalša(BÁR)A.GA) tanaddi
(Š[UB]-d[i])
(danach abgebrochen)

Rs.

(abgebrochen)

- 1' [... māru(D)UMU] šá¹ Iddinaja(MU-[a] mār(DUMU) ¹Ga-ħul¹²-^dTu-tu]

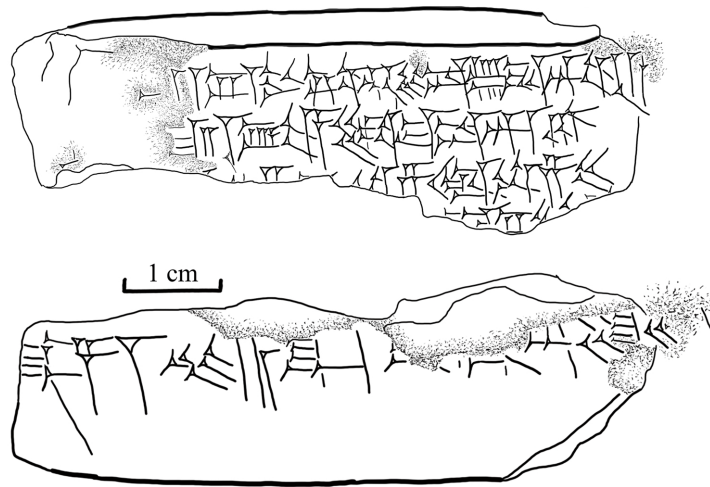
Vs.

- 1 [Wenn] du [die Fund]amente des Hauses eines Mannes anlegst, bei Sonnenuntergang
2 [...]... stellst du ein Weihwassergefäß auf. In das
3 [Weihwassergefäß] wi[rfst du] [Gold[?], Silber[?]], Karneol, Lapislazuli
4 [Wacholder, Sirup, Butterschmalz (und) aus]gepreßtes [Öl] hinein.
(danach abgebrochen)

Rs.

(abgebrochen)

- 1' [..., S]ohn von Iddinaja, Nachfahre von Gaħul[?]-Tutu.



Z. 1: In K 3664+ Z. 1 liest und ergänzt R. Borger *šit Šamši*(^dUTU.[UD].[DU.A]; C. Ambos bietet *šit Šamši*(^dUTU.[Ē.A]). Dies erweist sich im Lichte des neuen Textzeugen als unzutreffend. Gemäß einer Kopie von F.W. Geers (Heft A S. 31; K 8881) ist nach ^dUTU ein Winkelhaken im Bruch gerade noch sichtbar. Dieser Winkelhaken muß gemäß der Evidenz von BM 41000 zu einem ŠÚ und nicht zu einem UD gehören. (K 3664+ stand mir für eine letzte Kollation vor der Publikation meines Buches über Baurituale nicht zur Verfügung, da nicht auffindbar. Auf einem mir vorliegenden Photo läßt sich an dieser Stelle nichts erkennen.)

Z. 2: Zwei der vier waagrechten Keile des ersten erhaltenen Zeichens sind vielleicht nur Kratzer. Eine mögliche Ergänzung des verlorenen Zeilenanfanges wäre in diesem Fall [*mē ta-sal*]-*lāh*¹⁾ - “du versprengst Wasser”.

Rs.: Erhalten ist der Rest eines Kolophons. Bei der Lesung der Personennamen war mir Cornelia Wunsch behilflich. Zum Namen Iddinaja siehe z.B. H. Baker, *The Archive of the Nappāhu Family*, AfO Beih. 30, Wien 2004 S. 330f.; C. Wunsch, *Das Egibi-Archiv I: Die Felder und Gärten Band II*, CunMon 20B, Groningen 2000 S. 296.

Gaḥul-Tutu ist ein gut bezeugter babylonischer Familienname; siehe K. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch zu den Geschäftsurkunden aus der Zeit des Šamašsumukīn bis Xerxes*, Helsingfors 1905 S. 62f. und ders., *Assyrian Personal Names*, ASSF 43/1, Helsingfors 1914 S. 79. Siehe auch K. Åkerman, *Gaḥul-Marduk*, PNA 1/II S. 419. Vgl. mit weiterer Literatur auch J.A. Brinkman, *Gaḥal*, PNA 1/II S. 418f.

Als Vorfahre des Schreibers eines Baurituals ist Gaḥul-Tutu wohl auch in 1882-09-18, 8022 (BM 68024) bezeugt (C. Ambos, *Baurituale* S. 167-169).

1) Das Fragment BM 41000 (1881-04-28, 547) konnte ich erst identifizieren, nachdem ein Artikel mit Nachträgen und Verbesserungen zu meinem Buch über Baurituale bereits abgeschlossen war (C. Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale aus dem 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. – Nachträge und Verbesserungen*, in: C. Ambos & L. Verderame (Hrsg.), *Approaching Rituals in Ancient Cultures. Questioni di rito: Rituali come fonte di conoscenza delle religioni e delle concezioni del mondo nelle culture antiche. Proceedings of the Conference, November 28-30, 2011, Roma. Supplemento No. 2 alla Rivista degli Studi Orientali Nuova Serie vol. LXXXVI. Pisa & Roma 2013: 17-37).*

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31) Farben und Elementarkräfte in U. Koch-Westenholz, BLO 27:2-3 — In der Eingeweideschau wurden die Farben (*w*)*arqu* (SIG₇) und *sāmu* (SA₅) bestimmten Elementarkräften zugeordnet. Erstere („grüngelb“) stand für die Wirkung des Adad (vgl. U. Koch-Westenholz, BLO 3:24; 27:2; 27:39),

Letztere („rot“) für *išātu*-Feuer (vgl. BLO 3:25; 42:76; 59:100-101). In BLO 3:23-24 wird die Assoziation zwischen *arqu* und dem Gott Adad derjenigen zwischen *sāmu* und dem Feuer gegenübergestellt. Dieser Gegensatz liegt ebenfalls dem Gedankengang in BLO 27:2-3 zugrunde.

Diese Erkenntnis ermöglicht die Vervollständigung von BLO 27:2-3:

be gír 2-*ma ina bi-ri-šú-nu* 𒀭 di 𒀭 hu 𒀭 sig₇ 𒀭 [šub-di] érin-ka^diškur ra-iš

be gír 2-*ma ina bi-ri-šú-nu* [di.hu sa₅ šub]-di šà-ḫul šub-ti izi

„Wenn zwei Pfade vorhanden sind und zwischen ihnen eine gelbgrüne Blase liegt: Adad wird dein Heer überschwemmen. Wenn zwei Pfade vorhanden sind und zwischen ihnen eine rote Blase liegt: Kummer, Feuersbrunst.“

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32) Die Interpretation der Lebermarkierung *riḫṣu* in *Šumma multābiltu* — *Raḫāṣu* ist als Bezeichnung einer Lebermarkierung recht häufig belegt, und wird in den Omenkompendien meistens mit negativen Apodosen assoziiert. *Riḫṣu* wird in einer Aufzählung unter anderen Lebermarkierungen genannt (N. Heeßel, KAL 5, 68: Vs. 12'). Nun findet sich in der 1. Tafel des Kapitels *Šumma multābiltu* aus der Serie *Bārātu* ein Eintrag, der für *riḫṣu* eine allgemeingültige Interpretationsregel angibt:

nu.gán.gán *riḫṣu aššat amīli zikara ullad šumma ina išid šēr ubāni* [x x x] *appiša zaqit* [x x x x x x]
(U. Koch, AOAT 326, 2:104)

„nu.gán.gán = Überschwemmung (bedeutet), die Ehefrau des Mannes wird einen Sohn gebären. (Zum Beispiel:), Wenn an der Basis der Oberfläche des Fingers [...] und seine Spitze spitz ist [...]’.“

Der Eintrag fällt durch die sonst nicht belegte logographische Schreibung nu.gán.gán auf. Ferner ist die hier ausformulierte Regel, die das besagte Zeichen als positiv bewertet, insofern problematisch, als sie von der aus den Omenkompendien bekannten, meistens negativen Wertung von *raḫāṣu* abweicht.

Anscheinend wird nu.gán.gán mit *riḫṣu* glossiert. Dass es sich um eine Glosse handelt, wird dadurch nahegelegt, dass in dieser Tafel auch das ansonsten als selbstverständlich behandelte Wort *šullu* mit einer phonetischen Glosse versehen wird (*šul^{ml}-lu*, vgl. U. Koch, AOAT 326, 2:27). Die Glosse *riḫṣu* lässt mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit darauf schließen, wie das Logogramm auf Akkadisch verstanden wurde: *lipišti*(NU) *eqḫi*(GÁN.GÁN), „Samen der Felder“, eine bildliche Umschreibung des Begriffs „Überschwemmung“. Damit wird auch der Zusammenhang mit dem prognostischen Teil dieser Interpretationsregel deutlich: der Übergang von der festgestellten Überschwemmung zur prognostizierten Geburt besteht im Gedanken der Fruchtbarkeit.

Victor GYSEMBERGH

33) On horses and bitumen in ^{mul}APIN* – In their book "Writing Science before the Greeks," WATSON & HOROWITZ (2011, pp. 93-94) regarding ^{mul}APIN 2 i 25-31 state that " the content is perplexing to the modern reader", "the text assumes prior knowledge, or a set of background assumptions" and that "[U]nfamiliarity with these background assumptions renders the text incomprehensible to the modern reader." This note attempts to clarify the meaning of this ^{mul}APIN text.

The Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus (ORACC) consensus document for ^{mul}APIN 2 i 25-31 states:

CAMS/GKAB Q002716

25 *ina* ⁱⁱⁱKIN U₄ 10-KAM ^{mul}ERIDU^{ki} U₄ 15-KAM ^{mul}ŠU.PA IGI-MEŠ
26 MUL-MEŠ-š_{u2}-nu *ina* u₄-mi IGI-MEŠ MU₂-MEŠ-š_{u2}-nu *zi-me-š_{u2}-nu*
27 *ri-is-nu-š_{u2}-nu* u₃ TU₁₅ ša₂ DU^{ku} URU₃ ANŠE.KUR.RA-MEŠ
28 *tu-na-aš-šar-ma* *ina* ID₂ A-MEŠ la₃ NAG-MEŠ
29 *ki-i* MUL-MEŠ-š_{u2}-nu *ul-ta-ta-pu-ni*
30 *maḫ-ḫu-ri-š_{u2}-nu tu-maḫ-ḫar* ANŠE.KUR.RA-MEŠ
31 ESIR TAG-MEŠ-*ma* *ina* ID₂ A-MEŠ NAG-MEŠ

Slightly modified from the ORACC translation, my translation follows:

25 In Ululu (VI), on the 10th day Eridu appears, on the 15th day, the ŠU.PA-constellation.

26 On the day their stars appear you observe their risings, their appearances, their soakings and, the wind that blows.

28 You absolutely protect¹⁾ the horses so that they do not drink water from the watercourse²⁾.

29 When their stars have become visible you present offerings to them. Horses touch³⁾ bitumen; they drink water from the watercourse.

1 Ululu represents the first day of Autumn (HARRIS, 2011, p. 42), so that Eridu and the ŠU.PA constellation rise shortly thereafter.

Bituminous sands and seeps have been known since Paleolithic times and bitumen was important in Mesopotamian trade (CONNAN & VAN DER VELDE, 2010). According to Tablet C, the Epic of Atra-Ḫasīs III ii 13 mentions *ku-up-ra*, Akk: pitch (LAMBERT & MILLARD, 1999, p. 91).

Bituminous sands are a mixture of bitumen, sand, oil, clay and water. At low water and high temperature, bitumen may be oily and sticky with a consistency similar to molasses. Bitumen may cake horses' hooves and pollute watercourses. At high water and low temperature, the oil may be dilute and the bitumen solid to the touch.

In modern times, early Autumn (e.g., September, 2014) signals high daily temperatures (WEATHERBASE, 2014) and low levels of water discharge from the Tigris and Euphrates River basins in the Mesopotamian alluvial plain, SALEH, 2010.

Noting that official temperatures are recorded by a thermometer protected by a Stevenson screen, the highest recorded official temperature at Baghdad, Iraq in modern times (117°F) exceeds the softening point of Mid-East bitumen (115°F) according KRISHNAN & RAJAGOPAL, 2003, while the typical official average temperature is 86°F (70-103°F). The viscosity of oil sands may be similar to that of molasses with 80% sugar content (80%Bx) measured at 20C = 68°F (BÜRKLE, 2011). In ancient times, semi-liquid bitumen melted in direct sunlight and could be poured into earthenware jars (FORBES, 1964, p. 56).

Hence the meaning of lines 25-31 is clear. It is in the nature of horses to touch bitumen and drink water from a watercourse. At a time of high temperature and low water, scribes are instructed to absolutely protect horses so they do not drink (polluted) water from the watercourse.

*) I acknowledge discussion with Profs. Connan and Horowitz.

1) The D-stem durative *tu-na-aš-šar* is not imperative so is here translated by "absolutely protect," using an intensifier.

2) According to ORACC, ID₂ is most frequently translated by watercourse, which is a flowing body of water such as a river, stream or irrigation channel.

3) The G-stem durative TAG-MEŠ-*ma* (*ilappatūma*) is not precative so is here translated by "touch."

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34) Another fragment of MUL.APIN from Babylonia (BM 43871)* — The cuneiform collection of the British Museum seems to be a never-ending source for cuneiform texts of various genres. In particular, the collection of Babylonian tablets yields many treasures. Searching this collection for celestial omens, I came across a small fragment of MUL.APIN tablet I. The fragment BM 43871 (1881-07-01, 1632) has the beginnings of lines MUL.APIN I ii 33-39. In line 1' (= ii 33), the text parallels text AA (VAT 9429) of the edition of the series MUL.APIN (see H. Hunger & D. Pingree, *MUL.APIN. An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* [AfO Beiheft 24; Horn: Ferdinand Berger & Söhne, 1989], 39) by writing MUL.MEŠ instead of MUL and thus referring to “stars” instead of “a star” or “a star constellation”. The cuneiform signs in line 1' move slightly upwards towards the right, which indicates that the scribe had added an additional line at the – now lost– right part of the column and combined lines 33 and 34 this way, presuming he had not forgotten to write line 34 altogether. No join with any of the texts in the edition of MUL.APIN could be established. In the following transliteration the corresponding line numbers of MUL.APIN I ii precede each line of the new copy.

BM 43871 (measurements: 37⁺ × 34⁺ × 21⁺ mm.)

| | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| 33 | 1' | [DI]Š 'MUL.MEŠ šá EGIR-šú ¹ -n[u GUB-zu MUL.pa-bil-sag] |
| 34 | 1'a ² | [DIŠ MUL.MÁ.GUR ₄ u MUL.SUḪUR.MÁŠ.KU ₄] |
| <hr/> | | |
| 35 | 2' | [1]5 MUL.MEŠ [šu-ut ^d é-a] |
| <hr/> | | |
| 36 | 3' | [DI]Š ina ITU.BÁR UD.1.KAM [MUL.LÚ.ḪUN.GÁ IGI.LÁ] |
| 37 | 4' | [DI]Š ina ITU.BÁR UD.20.KAM [MUL.GÀM IGI.LÁ] |
| 38 | 5' | [DI]Š ina ITU.GUD UD.1.KAM [MUL.MUL IGI.LÁ] |
| 39 | 6' | [DI]Š i[na] 'ITU.GUD UD.20 ¹ .K[AM MUL.is-le-e IGI.LÁ] (remainder is missing) |
| <hr/> | | |
| 1' | The stars that [stand] behind the[m (are) Pabilsag (= Saggitarius),] | |
| 1'a ² | [the Bark and the Goat-Fish]. | |
| <hr/> | | |
| 2' | [(These are) 1]5 stars [of Ea]. | |
| <hr/> | | |
| 3' | In month <i>nisanu</i> on the 1 st day [the Hired Man becomes visible]. | |
| 4' | In month <i>nisannu</i> on the 20 th day [the Crook becomes visible]. | |
| 5' | In month <i>ajjaru</i> on the 1 st day [the Stars (= Plejades) become visible]. | |
| 6' | I[n] month <i>ajjaru</i> on the 20 th day [the Jaw of the Bull becomes visible]. (remainder is missing) | |

*This note has emerged from my research project *Solar Eclipses in Their Ancient Near Eastern Perception* that I am conducting with the help of a M4Human fellowship of the Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung co-funded by the European Commission.

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35) A new Greek from Seleucid Babylonia^{*)} – So far, line r.17 of the Astronomical Diary -226A has defied interpretation. In the first edition by H. Hunger and A. Sachs, the line was read ITU BI *ana* DI-*im* šá TE E and left untranslated. G. Del Monte then, in his edition of the historical passages of the Diaries read the passage with reservations as *ana* SILIM IM, ‘per recitare interamente la tavola degli scongiuri’, which is not impossible but quite improbable (DEL MONTE 1997, 58). Normally, a conjuration would be designated as ÉN or called by name as was the case with the “ritual of covering the kettledrum” (*nēpešu ša arām lilissu*) in AD -270B, r13; see LINSSEN 2005, 92-99 on this ritual. It is also unlikely that TE.E refers in the present instance to the district in the south-eastern part of the city, it lacks both the determinative KI which usually follows this city-quarter’s name (e.g., AD -257B, 5 or AD -256, r17) as well as the normally preceding KI-*tî*.

Our suggestion is to interpret the line as actually referring to a Greek personal name ¹T/Di-*im-gar-te-e*. Timokrates would be the best reading in that case. While Demokrates would also be an option, a

reading Theokrates is unlikely as Greek θ was usually rendered by t (RÖLLIG 1960, 379). The absence of the final $-s$ does not constitute a problem, the same phenomenon is also encountered with the name of Seleucus, regularly written ¹*Se-lu-ku* in the corpus of the Astronomical Diaries (and see also RÖLLIG 1960, 390 on the elision of the final consonant). Furthermore, the marking of the η by means of an additional vowel – as *-te-e* in the present case – is current usage (RÖLLIG 1960, 385f.). For this reason, Timokrates is also preferable over Demokrates (Greek Δημοκράτης), precisely because the first η is not marked. The elision of the omikron is finally paralleled in BRM 2, 37 where the name is written repeatedly ¹*Tim-gi-ra-te-e* (RÖLLIG 1960, 379⁺¹⁰).

Another text from the same period deserves mention here. BCHP 16 is provisionally published on-line at www.livius.org (with the subtitle of “Document of land and tithes”) and dates to an uncertain year between 75 and 90 SE (thus, 236 and 222 BC). This chronicle also gives in line r.4 the name of a Greek who is identified as the messenger of an official (maybe the satrap, but the title is broke off). The name in this case is written ¹*T/Di-mug-ra-te* and thus also that can be interpreted as Timokrates, and it cannot be excluded that we are dealing with the same person. We conclude this small contribution with an edition of the lines of AD -226A under discussion.

AD -226A: Months I, II and III

(Museum number: BM 41655+41683+41866 (=81-6-25,271+301+486), Copy: LBAT 288-289-290, Previous editions: ADART II, 130-135 and plate 95; Del Monte 1997, 57-58)

Text

r17: ITU BI 21 ¹*D/Ti-im-gar-te-e*
 r18: [... .. uš-k]in-nu GU₄^{HLA} u SISKUR^{MES}
 r19: [... ..]{ana²EN u} ^dGAŠAN-*ía* DÙ-uš
 r17: That month, day 21, Timokrates
 r18: [... ..] prostrated himself. Oxen and *niqû*-sacrifices
 r19: [... ..] for Bēl and Bēltiya he sacrificed.

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36) Éblaïte dingir-dingir *ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum*, « reines décédées et divinisées après leur mort », non « dieux des reines »*)— À Ébla, une graphie dingir-dingir *ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum* est connue jusqu’à présent seulement grâce aux passages suivants :

TM.75.G.2598 r. II: 11-15: 5 udu dingir-dingir *ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum* Za-’à-šè nídba;
 TM.75.G.10167 f. I:26 - II:2: 4 udu dingir-dingir *ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum* Ìr-’à-ag-da-mu nídba.

Ces passages proviennent de deux listes encore inédites concernant les cérémonies d’offrandes cultuelles d’ovins accomplies par le prince Ìr-’à-ag-da-mu et son épouse Za-’à-šè. Il s’agit donc de textes qui remontent à la dernière période des archives d’Ébla.

La graphie en question dans ces passages a été récemment interprétée comme « les dieux des reines » en général,¹⁾ mais cette traduction ne convient pas au contexte. À mon avis, dingir-dingir *ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum* est un pluriel qui indique plutôt les « reines décédées » auxquelles un culte a été voué par

la cour éblaïte de la même façon que, toujours dans les textes d'Ebla, le sumérien pluriel en-en indique très souvent les « rois défunts » et divinisés après leur mort, c'est-à-dire les ancêtres royaux. On remarquera aussi à ce propos la graphie dingir-dingir-dingir en-en que nous trouvons dans la liste de souverains défunts d'ARET VII 150.

En outre, il y a parfois dans les tablettes d'Ébla, à ce jour éditées, des offrandes d'ovins pour les « stèles » (si-dù-si-dù) des souverains morts (en-en) et on peut dire que ces cérémonies sont liées au dieu des Enfers ^dra-sa-ab qui reçoit, en effet lui-aussi, des offrandes d'ovins pour la même occasion.²⁾ On verra à ce propos les passages suivants:

MEE 12 26 (2d-f): 21 udu / ^dra-sa-ab / 'à-da-NI^{ki} / ir-'à-ag-da-mu / nídba / in u₄ / ^dAMA-ra / 2 udu / ^dra-sa-ab / SA-ZA_x^{ki} / ir-'à-ag-da-mu / nídba / in u₄ / ^dAMA-ra-SÛ / 20 udu / si-dù-si-dù / en-en / ir-'à-[a]g-[da-mu] / [...];

MEE 12 26 (13a-d) : 2 udu / a-ba-šum / ^dra-sa-ab / 'à-da-NI^{ki} / wa / PAD-SÛ / 2 udu / a-ba-šum / ^dra-sa-ab / SA-ZA_x^{ki} / wa / PAD-SÛ / 2 udu / šeš-ii-ib / ^dra-sa-ab / 'à-da-NI^{ki} / 1 udu / ki-sur / si-dù-si-dù / en-en / en-na-NI / šu-du₈.

En effet, le sumérien si-dù indique un objet,³⁾ notamment une stèle dédiée aux souverains défunts mais parfois aussi les stèles placées aux bornes. Nous savons d'après certains autres passages de textes administratifs d'Ébla que son équivalent sémitique est *da-ma-ti* (attesté aussi sous la forme du datif-directif *da-ma-ti-iš*).⁴⁾ Étant donné la signification de « stèles placées aux bornes », on peut envisager un rapport de ce mot avec l'akkadien *dimtu*, qui prend le sens de « tour » isolée qui se trouve à proximité des frontières.⁵⁾

D'après:

MEE 7 44 r. II:25 - III:12: 1 udu / íb-šum / si-dù-si-dù / en-en / en-na-NI / šu-du₈ / 20 udu *áš-da* / si-dù-si-dù / en-en / [in⁷] / giš-kiri₆ / en / nídba,

où l'on sacrifie (íb-šum) toujours des ovins aux « stèles des ancêtres » (si-dù-si-dù en-en), on apprend que ces cultes funéraires avaient lieu dans un « jardin » (giš-kiri₆). C'était donc dans ce « jardin » que les stèles des rois défunts se trouvaient. À mon avis,⁶⁾ il s'agit du même « jardin » que celui qui est en rapport aux cultes du cimetière royal (^den^(ki)) et à l'hypostase du dieu des Enfers préposée à la sauvegarde de cet endroit (^dra-sa-ab ^den^(ki)) dans les passages suivants:

ARET I 13 (22): 5 íb+III-túg gùn / dur-'à-NE-zu / bar-i / wa-da-'à / bù-sum / ba-du-lum / HÚB / SA.ZA_x^{ki} / in / giš-nu-kiri₆ / in u₄ / nídba / ^den^{ki} / šu-ba₄-ti;

ARET XII 1249 r. III':1': ...] ^den^{ki} / lú GIŠ-nu-kiri₆;

MEE 10 f. V:5-11: 1 zara₆-túg / en / in u₄ / nídba / ^den^{ki} / lú / GIŠ-nu-kiri₆;

TM.75.G.2598 f. III:9-21: 20 udu ^den^{ki} in GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ en nídba in ud níg-du₈ húl-sù 1 udu TE+KAL GIŠ-RU ^den^{ki};

TM.75.G.10103 f. IV:11-18: 20[+x udu] [x-D]A [x-R]A[?] ^den^{ki} in GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ [e]n nídba.⁷⁾

On peut dire enfin que même la présence du miel (lál) parmi les biens qui font partie de l'offrande régulière (sá-du₁₁-ga) pour le ^den^(ki) dans ARET IX 107 révèle sa nature chtonienne.⁸⁾ En effet, le miel a un lien très fort avec les cérémonies funèbres pendant l'antiquité méditerranéenne la plus ancienne en tant que symbole de mort et de renaissance.⁹⁾

*) Je remercie Gilles Tesson pour l'aide apportée à la traduction en français.

1) Par ARCHI 2012, p. 16, où on peut trouver les deux passages cités. Selon Archi « the plural, *ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum*, shows that the tutelary god concerned in this case the queens as category (the former queen belonging to different families) ».

2) Voir déjà PASQUALI 2013, p. 46 sq. Pour les cultes concernant les stèles funéraires chez les Phéniciens et les Grecs anciens, voir STOCKTON 1970 et 1974/75 ; Cusumano 1991.

3) Surtout d'après MEE 7 35 r. IX:20-27: 2-NI kù:babbar / 1 bar:ús / lú / dur / 2 si-dù / en / wa / ma-lik-tum.

4) On verra aussi l'équivalence de la liste lexicale bilingue, VE 1116 si-dù = *ti-mu-mu*.

5) CAD, D, p. 144 et sv. tes.

6) Malgré la proposition de ARCHI 2010, p. 33 sq.

7) Passages cités par ARCHI 2010, p. 18.

8) Pour ce texte, voir maintenant BIGA 2012, p. 14.

9) Voir à ce propos CUSUMANO 1991; CORSANO 1992, p. 111 sq; ASPESI 2002.

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