

N.A.B.U.

Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

2010

N°1 (mars)

NOTES BRÈVES

01) Please be kind and collegial as to follow these suggestions –

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So, when you submit any note to NABU:

1. Keep it short; 2. Do not create tables that will require too much manipulation; 3. Do not integrate your illustrations within the text, and 4. Do not give footnotes at the end of each page.

Simply, treat your submission as if to a journal, with illustrations and notes at the end of your note and the tables without excessive punctuation or difficult font.

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

Jean-Marie DURAND (& Jack SASSON)

02) *zagidrûm* – Dès son apparition dans les textes de Mari, le terme ^{na}*za-gi-id-ru-û* a été interprété comme une variante de *zaginûrû* (*za-gîn-duru*₅).¹⁾ Selon les dictionnaires (*AHW* 1502, *CAD* Z 11), ce dernier mot a deux significations assez différentes: 1) une variété de lapis lazuli²⁾; 2) un «verniss» («glaze», «Glasur») de la même couleur. Le *zagidrûm* mariote a toujours été conçu conformément au premier sens du mot.³⁾ Cependant, l'examen de l'ensemble des attestations montre le contraire. Dans le memorandum A.2405 et ses parallèles inédits M.10816 et M.11218, le *zagidrûm* est mentionné parmi des produits tels que le plomb, le bitume et diverses matières colorantes (*annuhârum*, *gabûm*, *kalgukkum*, *kalûm*, *širširrum*⁴⁾, *qîtmum*, *hûratum*). Les documents ARM IX 28 et M.10374 enregistrent la sortie de 6 mines et de 20 mines de *zagidrûm* respectivement, tandis que les pierres précieuses n'apparaissent jamais en quantités aussi importantes à Mari. Enfin, aucun objet en *zagidrûm* n'est attesté dans le corpus.

Il est donc préférable de considérer que ce *zagidrûm* ne soit pas une pierre précieuse, mais un produit colorant. Le déterminatif NA₄ indique simplement son origine minérale.

1) M. Birot, ARM IX 28: 1 et p. 311.

2) La pierre *za-gîn-duru*₅ servait en particulier pour la fabrication de colliers au I^{er} millénaire av. J.-C. (A. Schuster-Brandis, AOAT 46, p. 455).

3) F. Joannès, *Mél. Birot*, p. 98 (A.2405: 11); H. Limet, ARM XXV 652: 1, 4 et p. 287; M. Guichard, NABU 1993/53 (M.10374: 1); C. Michel, *Coll. Louvre* 1995, p. 405.

4) Ici, *širširrum* est certainement une matière («red clay or paste», CAD Š/2 124-125) et non pas «les anneaux» comme traduit F. Joannès.

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03) A new couple and two orphans^(*) — The *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, vol. VIII – *Tablets from Sippar* 3, 296, lists the tablet *CT* 8, 49a (BM 82454 / Bu. 91-5-9, 2489, VAB V, 14 and *HG* III, 676) and the case BM 82455 (Bu.91-5-9, 2489A, n.p.), as a pair. Collation of the unpublished case showed that the case does not belong to the tablet. Collation of the tablet revealed a witness' name on the left-hand edge, which is not in the original publication. The name is difficult to read but this does not appear to be the result of erasure.

The tablet is for the larger part a common inheritance contract from Sippar, dated only by oath to *Apil-Sîn*. It is made out in the name of *Hunabatia*, daughter of *Enlil-malik*. The inheritance is testated by *Ši-lamassi*, daughter of *Dan-ilišu*, and consists of real estate and a slave. The text is not entirely unproblematic: following the aforementioned items, a possible further component of the inheritance is given as *BAR PA RA A* (Lo.E. 18), something we could not identify. A common term referring to the heiress' sustenance obligation to the testator follows in the same line (*i-ta-na-ši-šf*), but how lines 19-20 (*x um-ma-ša 1 ša-nu-um ša 1 bán*) relate to the text remains unclear to us¹⁾. This section is followed by the common clause *ištu pî adi ħurāšim ... ša PN* (heiress)²⁾. The father of the heiress voluntarily gives two male and two female slaves to both women. The male slaves are fullers. For the moment, it eludes us why the father's gift, designated as an addition to the heiress' share, is given to both women in common³⁾. These problematic aspects of the text deserve to be looked into but are not our current concern.

The purported case to this tablet (BM 82455 / Bu.91-5-9, 2489A, n.p.) apparently describes a lawsuit over the division of property, which is settled before the *šurinnu* of *Šamaš*. As the emblem has 'descended'⁴⁾, the children of *Kikinum*⁵⁾ receive a two-third share and *Manum* a third. The proceedings are closed with an oath by *Šamaš*, *Marduk*, and *Apil-Sîn*, which is our only indication of the document's date.

From the content it is clear that this case does not belong to tablet *CT* 8, 49a. Starting from the assumption that a mix-up must have occurred during registration, a strong candidate for the tablet belonging with case BM 82455 / Bu.91-5-9, 2489A was quickly found on p. 297 of the *Catalogue*. The description of that tablet's entry states "Lawsuit, involving the emblem of *Šamaš*". The tablet is *BDHP* 36, dated by oath to *Apil-Sîn* (BM 82470 / Bu. 91-5-9, 2497, *HG* VI, 1766). Its content and witness list match almost exactly those of the case BM 82455 / Bu.91-5-9, 2489A, as is demonstrated by the transcriptions of both tablet *BDHP* 36 and case BM 82455, below. Furthermore, the signs on the upper edge of tablet *BDHP* 36 are impressed in negative on the inside of case BM 82455⁶⁾.

In the same publication, Waterman copied the presumed case of *BDHP* 36 (to wit, BM 82471 / Bu. 91-5-9, 2497A, only a fragment), together with the tablet⁷⁾. This case fragment, which clearly cannot belong to tablet *BDHP* 36, gives us the patronymic of one witness, and the names and patronymics of a further two witnesses.

We have not been able to identify the case of the now orphaned tablet *CT* 8, 49a (BM 82454), nor the tablet belonging to the case 'of' *BDHP* 36 (BM 82471).

Schematically, the situation is:

1	T	CT 8, 49a	BM 82454	Bu 91-5-9, 2489
2	C	n.p.	BM 82455	Bu 91-5-9, 2489A
3	T	BDHP 36	BM 82470	Bu 91-5-9, 2497
4	C	"	BM 82471	Bu 91-5-9, 2497A

Through the initial cataloguing and the published Catalogue, 1 and 2 have been associated, as have 3 and 4. In reality 3 and 2 belong together as tablet and case. 1 and 4 remain orphaned.

Below, we give our transliteration of both tablet and case of the collated *šurinnu* text *BDHP* 36 (BM 82470 and BM 82455). The case gives us the name of the scribe: *Šillia*. In the hope that others may be able to identify the case to the tablet *CT* 8, 49a, and the tablet to the case BM 82471, we will also give the completed witness list of *CT* 8, 49a with the new found witness in the third position, and the transliteration of the collated case BM 82471. The sealing on the latter has been published by Blocher, reference below.

Transliteration of the *šurinnu*-text, *BDHP* 36 (BM 82470, T) and BM 82455 (n.p., C):

BDHP 36 (T):

Obv. 1. *šu-ri-nu-um ša dutu*
 2. *ur-da-am-ma šī-ti-šu-nu-ú*
 3. *dumu.meš ki-ki-ni-im*
 4. *il⁹⁾-qú-ú ša-lu-uš-tám*
 5. *'ma-nu-um il¹⁰⁾-qé-e*

BM 82455 (C):

Obv. 1. *šu-ri-nu-um ša dutu ša kù⁸⁾.gi*
 2. *ur-da-am-ma šī-ti-šur⁻[nu-u²⁾*
 3. *dumu.meš ki-ki-ni-im-x*
 4. *ša-lu-uš-ta-šu 'ma-nu-[um]*
 5. *il¹¹⁾-qé-e 'a-na wa-ar⁻[...]*

	6.	<i>a-ḫu-um a-na a-ḫi-im</i>		6.	<i>u₄-mi-im a-wi-lum na[?]-[...]</i>
	7.	<i>la i-ra-ga-mu <mu>^dutu</i>		7.	<i>la i-ra-ga-mu mu^rd[...]</i>
		^d AMAR.UTU		8.	<i>ù a-pil-^dEN.ZU it-mu-ú</i>
	8.	<i>ù a-pil-^dEN.ZU it-mu-ú</i>		9.	<i>igi na-bi-i-lí-šu</i>
	9.	<i>igi na-bi-i-lí-šu</i>		10.	<i>igi "x x x x x x x" [...]</i>
	10.	<i>dumu^dutu-igi-ma-tim</i>			
	11.	<i>igi nu-úr-^dEN.ZU</i>			
	12.	<i>dumu a-pa-tà-bi</i>			
Lo.E.	13.	<i>igi a-ḫu-i-lí</i>			[broken]
	14.	<i>dumu za-za-ni-im</i>			
Rev.	15.	<i>igi tà-ab-šíl-la-šu</i>			
	16.	<i>dumu za-li-li</i>			
	17.	<i>igi nu-úr-^dutu dumu ìr-sin</i>	Rev.	1'.	<i>dumu [...]-ni</i>
	18.	<i>igi a-wi-il¹²⁾-dingir dumu^dutu-</i>		2'.	<i>igi "na[?]"-["bi[?]"]-ì-lí¹³⁾-šu</i>
<i>ba-ni</i>				3'.	<i>dumu i-^rpí-^riq-nu-nu</i>
	19.	<i>igi na-bi-i-lí-šu</i>		4'.	<i>igi tà-ab-ta-pu-um</i>
	20.	<i>dumu i-pí-^riq-nu-nu</i>		5'.	<i>dumu^dutu-e-mu-qí</i>
	21.	<i>igi tà-ab-ta-pu-ú</i>		6'.	<i>"igi^r ra-bi-at a-wa-^dEN.ZU^r</i>
	22.	<i>dumu^dutu-e-mu-qí</i>		7'.	<i>dumu^dEN.ZU-ma¹⁶⁾-e-er</i>
	23.	<i>igi ra-bi-at a-wa¹⁴⁾-^dEN.ZU</i>		8'.	<i>igi nu-úr-^dis-ḫa-ra</i>
	24.	<i>dumu^dEN.ZU-ma¹⁵⁾-e-er</i>		9'.	<i><<u¹⁷⁾>> dumu gi-mil-dingir¹⁸⁾</i>
	25.	<i>igi nu-úr-^dis-ḫa-ra</i>		10'.	<i>igi a-na-^dutu-šu-ki^(sic) 19)-ir</i>
	26.	<i>dumu gi-mil-li-im</i>		11'.	<i>dumu e-ma-^ra/ia²⁰⁾</i>
	27.	<i>igi a-na-^dutu-šu-zi-ir</i>		12'.	<i>"igi^r i-^rti[?]-é²¹⁾" a</i>
U.E.	28.	<i>dumu e-ma-a</i>		13'.	<i>dumu^dEN.ZU-re-me-ni</i>
	29.	<i>igi i-ti-é.a</i>		14'.	<i>igi šíl-lí-ia dub.sar</i>
	30.	<i>dumu^dEN.ZU-re-me-ni</i>			

Sealings on BM 82455

Only one seal was applied to the case, twice on the left edge and twice on the upper edge. The seal was published by Blocher as nr. 288²²⁾. In three instances we see only a framed legend, with no traces of glyptics. Only the imprint on the top left edge shows traces of what in Blocher's view were a foot and the back of a long-robed figure. The seal is in all instances rolled perpendicular to the length of the edges, so that the legend is read from left to right across the length of the edges. Only the legend on the top left edge is preserved well enough to allow restoration. The legend shows this was the seal of the first witness. The upper edge and top of the left edge are normal places for a first witness to seal²³⁾.

Legend:

1. *na-bi-i-lí-šu*
2. *dumu^dutu^r-igi^r-ma¹²⁴⁾-tim*
3. *ìr^dutu ù^da.a*

Legend dimensions:

Approximately 1,5 (w) x 2,4 (h) cm.

A width of 1,5 cm would yield a seal diameter of only 0,47 cm, which seems rather thin for a seal. We must therefore assume that there was indeed at least one figure next to the legend, as seen by Blocher.

The two orphaned texts

Tablet CT 8, 49a, BM 82454 / Bu. 91-5-9, 2489, l. 40-43, witness list of the tablet:

	40.	<i>igi li-pí-it-iš₈-tár</i>	
	41.	<i>igi šu-mu-uh-sin</i>	
L.Edge	42.	<i>igi x-me-i-a</i>	
	43.	<i>igi^dutu-na-ši-ir</i>	<i>igi da-mi-iq-tum</i>
	44.	<i>igi^diskur-re-me-ni</i>	<i>igi sa-li-ma-tum</i>
	45.	<i>igi la-ma-sí</i>	<i>igi a-ḫa-tum igi da-<mi>-iq-tim</i>

The second sign of line 42 is difficult to interpret (see fig. 1). The closest resemblance we see is to GI, which would yield the name *Gemeja*, short for *Amat-Aja*, normally written *géme^da-a²⁵⁾*.



fig. 1

“Case of *BDHP* 36”, BM 82471 / Bu. 91-5-9, 2497A:

Rev.	x+1	ʾdumu <i>ri-im-iš₈-tār</i>
	x+2	igi ^d utu- <i>ga-mil</i> ¹ dumu <i>bu-si-[ia]</i> ²⁶⁾
	x+3	igi <i>l-lí-ma-a-bi</i> ²⁷⁾ dumu <i>ib-ni-r^d[...]</i> ²⁸⁾

This text is followed by a seal, rather complete but worn down. The seal is rolled further than its length so that part of the imprint is repeated to the right of its legend. Part of the same seal is preserved on the damaged upper edge. The seal is published by Blocher as nr. 297²⁹⁾.

Legend

dingir-*da-mi-iq*
dumu *iš-me*-^dIM
ir ^dIM

The seal is rolled at the very bottom of the reverse so that the right end of the frame is not impressed on the case. However, the inscription runs over the full height of the seal and there is no room for additional signs.

A different seal is rolled three times on the left edge and onto the left margin of the tablet. A small part of what appears to be the same seal is preserved on the damaged right edge of the case. The seal is published by Blocher as nr. 296³⁰⁾.

Legend

1: *si-la-lum*
2: ir ^dz^a-*ba₄-ba₄*

*) For proofreading and helpful comments I would like to thank M. Stol (Leiden), M. Tanret (Ghent) and K. De Graef (Ghent).

1) VAB V, 30: “unverständlich”.

2) Instead of the usual prefix *i-* for 3 Sg. Fem., the text uses the archaic prefix *ta-* (*ta-zi-^rbu* [...], “she (testator) left behind” (l. 23)). Cf. GAG §75h. Cf. von Soden, ZA 40, 206: *te¹-zi-bu*.

3) Schorr, VAB V, 30, thinks that the gift was really to the daughter, but that the testator should (also) have usufruct.

4) (w)*arādu* CAD A2, 213.

5) The name *Kikinum* is relatively rare in Sippar; as far as we can see it occurs in only four documents: BM 82437 (van Lerberghe, K. 1982: “L’emblème *šurinnu*”, in: G. van Driel, Th.J.H. Krispijn, M. Stol, K.R. Veenhof: *Zikir Šumim, Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Leiden, 245-257; Immerum yearname), BDHP 36 (dated by oath to *Apil-Sin*), BDHP 34/35 (dated by oath to *Sin-muballit*), and CT 8, 34c (undated). We believe with van Lerberghe that this *Kikinum* is probably in all instances the same man. Cf. van Lerberghe, “emblème”, 252-3.

6) The case thus fit close around the tablet. In view of the line spacing on the case and the number of missing lines on it, the lower edge of the case would have been approximately where it now breaks off. The inside dimensions of the case then show an inside length of approximately 80 – 85 mm – in any case too small for the 96 mm length of tablet CT 8, 49a, but adequate for the ±80 mm of tablet BDHP 36.

7) Incidentally, the tablet BM 82470 does not carry its registration number, which is found only in the catalogue. On its (presumed) case BM 82471 the number is partially worn off.

8) The document has *al*. The signs AL and IL were occasionally interchanged during periods in which they looked very similar (MZL, 109, 132). ASyl, 11* only mentions the use of AL for IL for the Middle-Babylonian period. The use of IL for AL is mentioned on ASyl, 9* for both the Old- and Middle-Babylonian periods (“oft”). We here have an attestation for the AL-IL interchange in the OB period.

9) Idem.

10) Idem.

11) One would expect *-at-* here, as well as in r.6’ on the case. Since that sign is missing on both tablet and case, we cannot presume a scribal error here. Instead, we see an indication that the name was pronounced *Awassin*.

12) Certainly *ma*, on both tablet and case. Ungnad reads *šú*.

13) The sign resembles 5/6, but cf. Fossey, C. 1926: *Manuel d’Assyriologie*, 923, nr. 30346, kù.

14) Cf. footnote 8.

15) Collation shows that the sign is *qá* (GA).

16) Cf. note 12.

17) It would seem that the scribe accidentally began writing an IGI, then – realising his mistake – continued with DUMU without erasing the first wedge of IGI.

- 18) Cf. tablet I. 26: *gi-mil-li-im*.
- 19) Cf. tablet I. 27: *a-na-utu-šu-zi-ir*.
- 20) In view of the tablet, I. 28, *a* is expected. However, before the preserved last vertical wedge there is room for *ia*.
- 21) *ti* is worn, *é* is damaged.
- 22) Blocher, F. 1992: *Siegelabrollungen auf frühaltbabylonischen Tontafeln im British Museum – Ein Katalog*, München/Wien, 93.
- 23) M. Tanret, *forthcoming*.
- 24) We expect *utu-igi-ma-tim* here. A small vertical wedge is seen to the left, between the upper and lower horizontals of *ma* (thus different from Blocher). The middle horizontal is omitted, as noted by Blocher. Fossey, *Manuel*, 681, nr. 22500 is a similar *ma* that Fossey found in CT II, 28:4, which upon inspection however showed to be a regular *ma* (with the middle horizontal).
- 25) Cf. Tanret, M. 1996: “Noms sumériens ou noms accadiens”, in: Ö. Tunca, D. Deheselle, *Tablettes et Images aux pays de Sumer et d’Akkad*, Liège, 191-206, esp. 205-6.
- 26) *Šamaš-gamil* and *Busija* are fairly common names in the Sippar corpus. *Šamaš-gamil* occurs 45 times (a.o. CT 2, 45:35, CT 8, 12b:8,19, BDHP 61:9, TCL I, 207:2, BE 6/2, 73:1), *Busija* 21 times (a.o. CT 2, 30:30, CT 4, 10:42,44, BDHP 6:8, PBS 8/2, 260:3, VS 13, 20/20a:21/22).
- 27) The vertical in the copy is superfluous.
- 28) There is a *Ilma-abi* son of *Ibni-Adad* witness in BDHP 13 (undated).
- 29) Blocher, *Siegelabrollungen*, 95-6.
- 30) Blocher, *Siegelabrollungen*, 95.

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04) Idu in the beginning of the second millennium BC – Professor W. H. Van Soldt published a note on the location of the Middle Assyrian provincial capital city of Idu in *NABU* 2008 (Section no. 55). He listed the occurrences of this city in the MA, MB, NA and Chronicle texts. In his note, he identified the city of Idu at Satu Qala, a large tell on the Lower Zāb River, upstream from the city of Taqtaq. In addition to some textual criteria, this localization is strengthened by a couple of brick inscriptions found on the site (Cf. his note). In this note I would like to add another bit of information about this city; the royal inscription of Iddi(n)-Šîn, king of Simurru that is housed in Sulaimaniya Museum,¹⁾ mentions the city of Itu (l. 63) in the list of lands and cities he conquered. Since the inscription is dated to the Early Old Babylonian period, the mention of the city clearly indicates that its history goes further back to the beginning of the second millennium. Furthermore, its mention in a context that combines it with the lands of Šikšabbum (most probably in Taqtaq) and Utuwe (=Utûm, the Rāniya Plain), confirms its location at Satu Qala. The GN *Ittuḫḫe* mentioned in the Nuzi texts can be associated with the city of Id/tu with the Hurrian adjective suffix *-ḫḫe* attached.²⁾

1) The inscription, known as the Haladiny Inscription (SM 16), will be fully published by this author as part of his Ph.D. dissertation project.

2) For the occurrences of *Ittuḫḫe* (written URU *Id¹-du-uh²-ḫe*? (EN 9 227: 24) and URU *Id¹-[du-u]ḫ²-[ḫ]e* (EN 9 220: 3) in Nuzi, cf. Fincke, J., *RGTC* 10, p. 125. Note also that Fincke analysed the first element of this name as **itt=i* “Dress” or “Textile,” *ibid.*

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05) Babylonian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection, Nos. 18 and 19 – No. 18, A Tablet of Legal Prescriptions: Klaas Veenhof has generously alerted me to two much better readings, *ú-pi-ḫu-ú* and *ú-pi-ih²-ḫ[u]* in ll. 13 and 23, both from *puḫḫum* “to exchange” rather than *uwwûm*; and *i-te!-pu-uš* in l. 17, “he makes (the vacant plot into a building)”.

No. 19, formerly catalogued as a mathematical tablet, was only discovered not to be so as *BLT* was in press, and published in haste as a Tablet of Riddles. A more leisurely treatment would have led to a different generic ascription, for the text shares vocabulary and phrasing with a spell about a scorpion that survives on an Old Babylonian tablet from Mari published by A. Cavigneaux, “Magica mariana”, *RA* 88 (1994) 155–61. That text reports the scorpion’s proclivity for lurking in lavatories (obv. 6): *ul-da-aš-šu a-su-ru-um na-aš-pa-ar mu-ti?!-[im]* “a drain produced it, the envoy of death”. Correspondingly, ll. 2–4 of No. 19 can be read: *ú-ul-da-šu-ma! a-sú-ru-um ge₆-eš-pa!-ar pu-ti-im* “a drain produced it, the snare-headed one”. The phrase *gešpar pūtim*, literally “forehead-snare”, is phonetically similar to the Mari tablet’s less fanciful *našpar mūtim* and probably derived from it by inadvertent corruption or deliberate adaptation. Both phrases are rhetorical expressions for the scorpion, one alluding to the lethal effect of its sting, the other to the two pincers that pin down its prey. The snare is qualified by *pūtim* “forehead” because a scorpion’s pincers (Akk. *qarnān* “horns”) seem to sprout from its body where a head should be, as both spells aver (No. 19: 1 // 5–6 // Mari obv. 8): *qarnī tšū qaqqadam ul tšū* “it has ‘horns’ but no head”.

For *ge*₆ as a phonetic value of the sign MI in the OB period, see No. 5: 28, *hur-sa-gi*₆. Both instances of the usage are faithful to the presence of /ĝ/ in the Sumerian loanword, resp. *ĝiš.pàr* “snare” > *ĝešparrum* and *hur.saĝ* “mountain range” > *hursāĝum*. Comparable spellings of the nominative pl. of the latter word occur in OB Anzû II 55 and 79: *hur-sag-gu*₁₀(MU) = *hursāĝū*. Alternatively read *mé-eš-pa-ar* and posit *mešparrum* as a phonetic variant of *gišparrum* < *ĝiš.pàr*; compare the SB doublets *giš(n)immaru* : *miš(n)immaru* < *ĝiš.nimbar* “date-palm”, *giparru* : *miparru* < *ĝi₆.pàr* “private chamber”.

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06) Die luwische Masseneinheit ARGENTUM – In dem im Jahre 2006 gefundenen hieroglyphenluwischen Bleistreif aus Kirşehir findet man die folgende Reklamation (§22):

| *wa/i-mu-u* | ARGENTUM-*sa* ARGENTUM-*za*-‘ NEG₂ *pi-ia-ta*

D. Hawkins und E. Akdoğan, die den Text (*Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Yıllığı*, 2007-2008: 7-14) veröffentlicht haben, schlugen die Übersetzung „ve bana gümüştən 1 gümüş (1 şekel gümüş) vermedi“ vor. Aus dem kurzen Abschnitt geht eindeutig vor, (obwohl die morphologische Deutung der Kasus teilweise noch problematisch ist), dass die zwei Belege des Ideogrammes ARGENTUM zwei unterschiedlichen Bedeutungen haben mussten, und zwar:

1. Der erste Beleg muss unbedingt für den Namen einer Masseneinheit stehen.
2. Der zweite Beleg ist einfach das Wort für „Silber“;

Trotz dem Deutungsversuch bleibt noch unklar, wie groß die ARGENTUM-Einheit war. Meiner Meinung nach ist die Annahme, dass die Einheit einem Schekel entsprach, unmotiviert. In verschiedenen hieroglyphischen Quellen ist die Nützung der Mine-Einheit (*ma-na*) dokumentiert: wenn eine ARGENTUM-Einheit wirklich ein Schekel war, dann musste folglich eine Mine größer sein. Diesbezüglich kann jedoch die folgende Angabe aus der Cekke-Inschrift (§8) klärend sein:

1 “ARGENTUM”-*ri+i* 3 (SCALPRUM)*ma-na-zi* ARGENTUM-*za*
^l*wa/i+ra/i-pa-tá* || -*sa-za* (INFANS)*ní-wa/i-za* DARE-*mi-na*

Die Bedeutung ist klar: „Aus einem ARGENTUM (sind) 3 Minen Silber an die Söhne von Warpatas abzugeben“. Sechs Jahre vor der Entdeckung des Kirşehir-Briefs schlug Hawkins (*Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, Volume I, 2000: 143-151) vor, dass in diesem Satz das Ideogramm ARGENTUM einfach „Ingot“ bedeuten sollte. Im Lichte der jetzt gesicherten Funktion des Ideogrammes, das mit Sicherheit nicht nur das Metall, sondern auch eine Masseneinheit bezeichnet, scheint mit plausibel, den Satz aus der Cekke-Inschrift (§8) folgendermaßen zu übersetzen: „Aus einer ARGENTUM-Einheit (sind) 3 Minen Silber an die Söhne von Warpatas abzugeben“. Daher gelangt man zur sicheren Annahme, dass die ARGENTUM-Einheit größer als die einer Mine war.

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07) angurinnu¹⁾ – The term *angurinnu* denotes a metal object whose precise meaning is unknown in dictionaries (*AHw*, p. 51: “ein Metallgßst.”; *CAD* A/2, p. 118: “a metal household object”; *CDA*, p. 17: “a metal object”). The purpose of this note is to review and, as far as possible, update the information provided by *AHw*, *CAD*, and *CDA* on this term with regard to the second millennium B.C.

Babylonia: the inventory EA 13 from Babylonia, belonging to the Amarna archive²⁾, mentions an “*angurinnu* of bronze” (*an-gu-ri-in-nu* *zabar*; compiled in *AHw* and *CAD*).

Mittani: the term is mentioned in two inventories of gifts from King Tušratta found in Amarna (compiled in *AHw* and *CAD*): a) EA 22:IV 24: 10 šu *an-gu₅-ri-in-nu* *zabar* “10 sets(?) of *angurinnu*, of bronze”; b) EA 25:III 15: the copy by L. Abel³⁾ and the transcription by J. A. Knudtson⁴⁾ read *an-gur-i-in-nu*, a reading resumed in *AHw* (*an-gur-i-in-nu* *kaspi*) and in *CAD* A/2 (2 šu *an-gur-i-in-nu* *kū.babbar*). But, as shown in the copy by O. Schroeder⁵⁾ and noted by W. L. Moran⁶⁾, the correct reading is *an-gur-bi-in-nu*⁷⁾; EA 25:IV 61: 10 šu *an-gu₅-ri-i[n-nu...]*.

Ashur: a MA administrative text, published by N. Postgate⁸⁾ and mentioned by *AHw*, p. 1543, records in line 9': 1-*n[i]-ú-tu an-gu-ri-nu* 2/3 M[A.N]A KI.LÁ “a pair of *angurinnu*, two thirds of a mina in weight”.

Emar: three legal texts and two inventories mention the term. TBR 22:8⁹⁾: *an-gu-ri-in-nu* [za]bar (legal text); TBR 28:20¹⁰⁾: *a-gu-ri-in-nu* *zabar* (legal text); RA 77 no. 4:21¹¹⁾: 1 *an-gu-re¹-en-nu* z[a]bar (legal text); Westenholz no. 21:8¹²⁾: 1 *an-gu-ri-in-nu* *zabar* (inventory); Westenholz no. 22:8¹³⁾: 1 *an-gu-ri-in-nu* *zabar* (inventory).

Hattuša: *angurin(n)u* (*an-ku-ri-(in-)nu*) also appears as Akkadogram in three inventories in Hittite language, which does not allow us to establish the precise nature of the object either¹⁴⁾: KUB XLII 11:VI 4' (^{urudu}*an-ku-ri-nu* GAL) and 5' (^{urudu}*an-ku-ri-nu* GAL)¹⁵⁾, KUB XLII 28:III 9' (1 ^{urudu}*an-ku-ri-nu*) and 14' (12 ^{urudu}*an-ku-ri-nu*)¹⁶⁾, and Bo 6754:7' (^{urudu}*an-ku-ri-in-nu*)¹⁷⁾.

Thus, the term *angurinnu* shows considerable geographical dispersal in the second half of the second millennium B.C. It is attested in inventories, administrative, and legal texts from Babylonia, Mittani, Ashur, Emar, and Hattuša. The most common spelling is *angurinnu* (*an-gu/gu-ri-in-nu*, Babylonia, Mittani, Emar, Hattuša, *an-gu-ri-nu* in Ashur, *an-gu-re-en-nu* also in Emar), with the slight variant *aggurinnu* (*a-gu-ri-in-nu*) of Emar and the more remarkable *angurbinnu* (*an-gur-bi-in-nu*) of Mittani. The etymology is, in principle, unknown (cf. *AHw*, p. 51), although A. Kammenhuber suggested a possible Hurrian origin of the term (**ankurinni* or **ankuri-nni*)¹⁸⁾ and, more recently, P. Steinkeller “considers this form a variant of OB *agarinnu* ‘beer mash; mother; crucible’ (*CAD* A/1 145-46)”¹⁹⁾. The texts, nevertheless, show that it is a metal object, usually made of bronze (Hattuša: copper?) and occasionally also of silver, which could have different sizes and be part of a set of two. Beyond these general attributes, it is not possible to determine further its precise shape or use. However, we owe the possible identification of the object to E. Leichty. As recorded in *AHw*, p. 382 and *CAD* A/2, pp. 118-119, the term is also attested in the first millennium B.C. in NB texts, with the variant *ingurēnu*²⁰⁾. Leichty published text BM 56942²¹⁾, a “receipt for silver from manufacture of an object called an *iggurru*”, a word which the author suggests should be understood as a by-form of *angurinnu* / *ingurēnu*. This tablet also includes a drawing: “Beneath the date formula is a drawing of an *iggurru*, a rather elaborate lamp stand”²²⁾, some sort of candlestick. This could also be the object called *angurinnu* in the texts of the second millennium B.C.

1) This note is the result of joint work undertaken by the authors within the framework of the Research Project “Bancos de Datos Semíticos Noroccidentales: Desarrollo y aplicación de nuevas tecnologías para el estudio y conservación de la documentación semítico-noroccidental del II y I milenio a. C.” (HUM2007-65317), funded by the Spanish “Ministerio de Ciencia y Tecnología” within the National Plan for Scientific Research, Development and Technological Innovation (I+D+I) and by the European Union (Feder Funds).

2) W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore 1992, p. 26: “This inventory, from Babylonia, is apparently a dowry of a Babylonian princess, probably a daughter of Burna-Buriāš”.

3) H. Winckler, L. Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna*, in *Mitteilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen - Königliche Museen zu Berlin*, Heft 1, Berlin 1889, no. 25.

4) J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Leipzig 1907-1915 (Aalen 1964), vol. 1, p. 206.

5) O. Schroeder, *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna*, in *Vorderasiatische Schrift Denkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Heft XII, Leipzig 1915 (= VS 12), no. 201.

6) W. L. Moran, *Amarna Letters*, pp. 77 and 82.

7) Reading accepted by several authors, see H.-P. Adler, *Das Akkadische des Königs Tušratta von Mitanni*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976, p. 261; Z. Cochavi-Rainey, *Royal Gifts in the Late Bronze Age. Fourteenth to Thirteenth Centuries B.C.E.*, Beer-Sheva 1999, p. 120.

8) J. N. Postgate, “Assyrian documents in the Musée d’Art et d’Histoire, Geneva”, *Assur* 2/4 (1979), pp. 93-107; p. 100: “Fragment from a large tablet with at least two columns, listing metal items with their weights”.

9) Published by D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l’âge du Bronze récent*, Barcelona 1991, pp. 54-55.

10) Edited by D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens...*, pp. 61-62.

11) Edited by J. Huehnergard, “Five tablets from the vicinity of Emar”, *RA* 77 (1983), pp. 22-25, comment on p. 34.

12) Edited by J. G. Westenholz, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets*, Groningen 2000, pp. 54-57; p. 55: “This text ends with some lines which only vaguely indicate the purpose of the list. Various suggestions for this, such as an inventory of a partnership agreement in some commercial enterprise, could be offered”.

13) Edited by J. G. Westenholz, *Cuneiform Inscriptions...*, pp. 57-58.

14) See, for instance, the translations by J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1975-1984, p. 95 (“ein Gegenstand aus Metall”; see also in this respect H. A. Hoffner, *BiOr* 37 [1980], p. 200) and by J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch*, Innsbruck 2001, p. 272 (“ein Metallgegenstand”). Also mentioned by G. Beckman, *BiOr* 58 (2001), col. 196 in his review of the Emar texts now in Jerusalem.

15) S. Košak, *Hittite Inventory Texts (CTH 241-250)*, Heidelberg 1982, p. 283; J. Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente*, Prag 1986, p. 408. KUB 42 11:VI 4 links the object *angurin(n)u* to Kammaliya, probably a high official of the Hittite court; regarding him see H. Otten, “Kammaliya”, *RIA* 5 (1976-1980), p. 335 and F. Imparati, “À propos des témoins du traité avec Kurunta de Tarhuntassa”, in H. Otten *et al.* (eds.), *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, Ankara 1992, pp. 315-316.

16) S. Košak, *Hittite Inventory Texts*, p. 283; J. Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis*, p. 150.

17) J. Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis*, p. 272.

18) J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, p. 95.

19) Cited as a private communication in E. Penttici, *West Semitic Vocabulary in the Akkadian Texts from Emar*, Winona Lake 2001, p. 25. Note also the existence in Ugaritic of the personal name *ikrn*, of uncertain etymology, cf. G. del Olmo and J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, Leiden 2003, p. 45.

20) A text shows that the object could also be made of iron.

21) E. Leichty, “*angurinnu*”, WZKM 86 (1996) [Fs H. Hirsch], pp. 233-236.

22) E. Leichty, “*angurinnu*”, p. 234.

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08) Foaming wine – It is generally accepted that in the Ugaritic expression *šd yn ʿn b qbʿt*, “pour ʿn wine from the flask” (KTU 1.6 = RS 2.[009] + 5.155 iv 18), the syntagm *yn ʿn* denotes some kind of sparkling or bubbly wine¹⁾. Scholars also agree that here ʿn means “eye” and have explained the expression *yn ʿn* as “wine of the/an eye”, i.e. as wine sparkling like an eye. For example, “wine of the eye(s), sparkling” (DUL, 168) or “Pour out sparkling wine from the chalice”²⁾, “Lit. ‘pour (√šdy) wine of an eye’”³⁾.

Instead, many years ago, in an obscure footnote⁴⁾, I suggested comparing Ug. ʿn with Akk. *īnu*, which besides “eye” has the meaning “bubble” in water and beer (cf. CAD I/J, 157b)⁵⁾. In fact, in the Ugaritic passage quoted, the bubbles appear not because the wine is sparkling but due to the way it is poured, i.e. out of a flask with a long, narrow, cylindrical neck⁶⁾. As Zamora has correctly noted: “Si, salvando todos los inconvenientes, aceptáramos *yn ʿn* como la mención de un vino espumoso, la calificación debería remitir al resultado del vertido del vino, no a una característica previa: el vino al verterse hace espuma”⁷⁾. Therefore, Ug. *šd yn ʿn b qbʿt* is best translated as “Pour foaming wine from the flask”⁸⁾.

1) However, A. Caquot - M. Sznycer - A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques. Tome I. Mythes et Légendes. Introduction, traduction, commentaire* (LAPO 7; Paris 1974) 264 n. j., translate: “verse un vin rougeoyant de la coupe”, based on Prov. 23:31, which refers to red wine. Instead, Heb. *yittēn ʿênô* in this passage means “wine sparkles” according to HALOT, 818b.

2) N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (London - New York 2002²⁾) 139.

3) Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 139, n. 97.

4) W. G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* (Sheffield 1984) 29, n. 40. This observation seems to have gone unnoticed.

5) Similarly, “Schaumblase im Bier” (AHw, 383b, meaning 2d); “bubble” in beer (CDA, 130a). The word occurs in the equation *kaš gakkul* (U+DIM) a.ab.dū = *ši-ka-ra i-na na-di*, “beer that has formed bubble(s)” (Nabnitu I 186, as translated in CAD N/1, 70a).

6) The shape of this flask (Ug. *qbʿt*) is possibly the same as that of its cognate Akk. *qabātu*, for pictures of which see E. Leichty, “*Qabātu, šāhu and mē qātī*”, in J. Marzahn - H. Neumann, eds, *Assyriologica et Semitica: Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997* (AOAT 252; Münster 2000) 243-244 (244, fig. 1) or J. Tavernier, “KADP 36: Inventory, Plant List or Lexical Exercise”, in R. D. Biggs - J. Myers - M. T. Roth, eds, *Proceedings of the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Chicago 2008) 191-202 (195, fig. 1).

7) J.-Á. Zamora, *La vid y el vino en Ugarit* (BDFSN 6; Madrid 2000) 292.

8) It is anachronistic to speak of sparkling wines at Ugarit, according to Zamora (*La vid y el vino en Ugarit*, 292) so that possibly not even Ug. *hmr* means “(sparkling (?)) wine” (cf. DUL, 395-396) but simply “una bebida alcohólica” (Zamora, *La vid y el vino en Ugarit*, 664; cf. 313-315). However, see J. Tropper, *Kleines Wörterbuch des Ugaritischen* (ELO 4; Wiesbaden 2008) 51 (“junger (schäumender, noch gärender) Wein”).

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09) Words for “word” – In a forthcoming article in *Ugarit-Forschungen*¹⁾, I propose that Ug. *talunt*, “speech” (KTU 1.1 iii 14 // 1.3 iii 24) is not Semitic, as generally accepted. Instead I suggest that it can be explained by Hurr. *ti-e-ni*, “word”, which occurs in a trilingual vocabulary from Ugarit (RS 94.2939 ii 20)²⁾. The Ugaritic text (KTU 1.1 iii 14 // 1.3 iii 24) in question can then be translated as follows:

tant. šmm. ʿm. arš.

the word(s) of the sky with the earth

Some support for this proposal may come from the use of Hurr. *ti-e-ni* (as *te(v)e=na*)³⁾ in a similar expression that occurs in the Mitanni Letter (EA 24 §25 100-101):

eše=ne=ra havorun=ne=ra te(v)e=na kad=i=nnā

With the earth, with the sky are the words spoken⁴⁾

¹⁾ “Non-Semitic Words in Ugaritic (7)”, UF 40 (2009).

²⁾ See B. André-Salvini – M. Salvini, “Un nouveau vocabulaire trilingue sumérien-akkadien-hourrite de Ras Shamra”, in D. I. Owen – G. Wilhelm, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, Vol. 9. *General Studies and*

Excavations at Nuzi 10/2 (Bethesda 1998), 3-40 (6 and 19, where [KA] = *a-ma-tu = ti-e-ni*). For the noun in Hurrian see Laroche GLH, 267f. and M. Giorgieri, "Die erste Beschwörung der 8. Tafel des Šalašu-Rituals", SCCNH 9, 71-86, who differentiates between Hurr. *tije*, "speech" and *tive*, "word, thing" (77-79 and n. 21).

3) For *te-e-na* (*tên(i)=a*) as a variant (in the essive) of *tive*, "word" (as proposed by G. Wilhelm) see I. Wegner, *Einführung in die hurritische Sprache* (Wiesbaden 2000¹) 177 (2007², 200). My thanks to Dr Ignacio Márquez Rowe (Madrid) for help with this reference; the usual disclaimers apply.

4) The normalisation and translation are as given by Wegner, *Einführung in die hurritische Sprache* (2000¹, 175f./2007², 198f.), with a full discussion of this line (2000¹, 177/2007², 200). The literal renderings proposed there are either "Mit der Erde, mit dem Himmel (be)spricht er ein(en) Wort(laut)" or "Mit der Erde, mit dem Himmel (be)spreche ich ein(en) Wort(laut)". Alternatively: "Before earth and before the heavens are the words spoken" (W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore - London 1992, 68 [EA 24 translated by G. Wilhelm]). Slightly different translations are given by D. R. M. Campbell, *Mood and Modality in Hurrian*, Vol. One (Diss. Univ. of Chicago 2007) 315 and 472.

W.G.E. WATSON (15-12-2009)

10) Measure for measure – The two terms discussed provide further indication that words for measures could cross international borders in the ancient Near East.

(1) Akk. *sūtu*, denoting a measuring vessel as well as a capacity measure, etc. (cf. AHw, 1064; CAD S, 420-426; CDA, 329b) has been compared with Heb. *sē'āh*, "grain measure" (HALOT, 737; cf. also DNWSI, 772). In view of the variant spelling *šūtu* (in Nuzi and Boğazköy: AHw, 1293b, 1588b, 1590b), it has also been considered equivalent to Ug. *št*, "measure of capacity" (DUL, 851)¹. It has gone unnoticed that Akk. *sūtu* may perhaps also correspond to Eg. *st*, "(a measure)" (DLE II, 90), "e. Maß (für Früchte)" (GHWb, 777b; Wb 4, 325.11)².

(2) Several years ago, J. Sanmartín posited the meaning "span" or "half-cubit" for Ug. *uṭ* in the mythological texts³, based on Akk. *ūtu*, "span, half-cubit" (AHw, 1447; cf. CDA, 431a)⁴. In his words: "Ug. *uṭm* ist in meiner Sicht weder mit arab. *'aṭīm* "Eintopf" noch mit arab. *'aṭṭa* "knarren", sondern – in Parallele zur Maßeinheit *amtū* "ellenlange (Stücke)" – mit akk. *ūtu* "Spanne, Halbelle zu verbinden". However, there has been some doubt about this meaning⁵. The proposal is now confirmed by the unpublished text RS 94.2401, which in line 7 includes the word *uṭ* in a clear context of length: "Six *karkubbūma*, of which the length ⁷is *ipdrḫ* and the width six half-cubits (*uṭm*), (each with) four wheels ⁸each *karkubbūma* being of the same weight: two talents, eight hundred (shekels)."⁶ It can be added to the other terms for weights and measures borrowed from Akkadian, such as Ug. *aš'et*, "a measure" (Akk. *ša'ītum*); Ug. *kmn*, "acre" (Hurro-Akk. *kumānu*); Ug. *lt*, "a standard sized container" (Akk. *lattu*); Ug. *mispṭ*, "a standard sized container" (Akk. *nēsepu*); Ug. *prš* or *prś*, "half a gur" (Akk. *parīsu*); Ug. *qmš*, "3/4 cubit" (Akk. *kim/nšu*); Ug. *šmd*, "yoke of land" (Akk. *šimdu*); Ug. *šir*, "furlong" (Akk. *še/ir'u*)⁷; Ug. *šd*, "strip of land" (Emar Akk. *šiddu*) and possibly Ug. *ḫ'(d)t*, "a measure" (Akk. *ša'ītum*).

1) KTU 1.71:9, 11; 1.72:17, 18, 22, 23; 1.85:10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 26; 1.97:3, 14; for discussion see W. G. E. Watson, *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic* (Barcelona 2007) 71 # 2.2.01.2 (23).

2) Acknowledgement: The reference to Erman-Grapow Wb in this paper is derived from the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* website, Berlin.

3) Where it occurs twice: KTU 1.5 i 5; 1.18 iv 3. For translations and discussion see N. Wyatt RTU, 116 and 282; the meaning of the occurrence in KTU 1.2 i 3 is uncertain.

4) J. Sanmartín, "Lexikographisches zu Mt's Spruch KTU 1.5 I 1ff", UF 12 (1980) 438-439. This important article was overlooked by F. Renfroe, *Arabic-Ugaritic Lexical Studies* (Münster 1992) 84-86 in his discussion of Ug. *uṭ*. The meanings "span, half-cubit" have been accepted in DUL, 123 and hesitantly in J. Tropper KWU, 14 ("unklar, evtl. >Spanne, Halbelle<"). On Akk. *ūtu*, "½ cubit = 15 fingers, perhaps 'handspan'", see M. A. Powell, "Masse und Gewichte", RLA 7, 457-517 (472b-473a, §IA.3).

5) For a survey, see M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, "Der Tod Baals als Rache Mots für die Vernichtung Leviathans in KTU 1.5 I 1-8", UF 12 (1980) 404-407 (407).

6) P. Bordreuil, "Ugarit and the Bible: New Data from the House of Urtenu", in K. Lawson Younger (ed.), *Ugarit at Seventy-Five* (Winona Lake 2007) 89-99 (97); he comments: "The word for 'half-cubit', *'uṭu*, is new but must correspond to the Akkadian word of the same form that has this meaning" (my thanks to N. Wyatt for this reference). The term *ipdrḫ* remains unexplained.

7) See Watson NABU 2001/71.

W.G.E. WATSON (02-09-2009)

11) KBo 36, 63: Duplikat zum Text mit Erdbebenomina KUB 37, 163* – Die Ausgrabungen in Hattuša förderten eine große Anzahl von Texten der mesopotamischen Traditionsliteratur zutage. Ein wesentlicher Bestandteil dieses Corpus sind divinatorische Texte. Unter den in akkadischer Sprache verfaßten Omentexten finden sich auch Fragmente mit Erdbebenomina (KUB 37, 163 und 164, die möglicherweise beide Bruchstücke einer Tafel sind = CTH 541), die von hethitischen Gelehrten ins Hethitische übersetzt wurden (KUB 8, 28 = CTH 535.4 mit KBo 47, 62 und dem Duplikat JCS 37 [1985] 49 Nr. 84; vgl. <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/> unter Abfrage von KUB 8, 28).

Unter den bislang nicht identifizierten akkadischen Fragmenten (CTH 813) konnte nun mit KBo 36, 36 ein Duplikat zu dem akkadischen Erdbebenommentext KUB 37, 163 identifiziert werden. Beide Fragmente wurden auf Büyükkale gefunden: KUB 37, 163 im Gebäude A, nördlich der Räume 2 und 3 des Großen Gebäudes, und KBo 36, 36 im Gebäude D, im Schutt der phrygischen Schicht (Büyükkale m/13-14) [KUB 37, 164 wurde ebenfalls auf Büyükkale A, im Raum 5 des Großen Gebäudes gefunden]. Da auch die entsprechenden hethitischen Erdbebenomina – soweit der Fundort zu ermitteln ist – auf Büyükkale ergraben wurden (KBo 47, 62 trat östlich des Gebäudes D im Oberflächenschutt des Planquadrates q-r/11-12 zutage), zeichnet sich eine Spezialisierung auf diese Thematik unter den Gelehrten der Königsburg ab.

Das neu identifizierte Fragment KBo 36, 36 dupliziert fast den gesamten Text von KUB 37, 163, vgl. die Bearbeitung von Kaspar Klaus Riemschneider, *Die akkadischen und hethitischen Omentexte aus Boğazköy*, DBH 12, 132-133 (seine Habilitationsschrift aus dem Jahre 1973⁷ wurde posthum publiziert als Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie Band 12, Dresden 2004), sowie die davon abweichende Transliteration von Ahmet Ünal, *Belleten* XLI/163 (1977) 444 und 470. Es ist offensichtlich, daß das im junghethitischen Duktus geschriebene Fragment KBo 36, 36 eine Abschrift von KUB 37, 163, welches ältere Zeichenformen verwendet, darstellt, denn beide weisen in Zeile 4' und 7' denselben Fehler auf: *kab-li-ti* statt *kab-tu-ti*, „die Hochgestellten“, in Zeile 4' und *ib-ba-aš-ši* statt *i-ba-aš-ši*, „es ist vorhanden“ bzw. „es wird geben“, in Zeile 7'. Ob der Schreiber von KBo 36, 36 das in Zeile 4' dem *kabti* vorangehende Zeichen \ddot{U} (statt KI = akkadisch *itti*, „zusammen mit“) ebenfalls von der Vorlage übernommen hat, läßt sich nicht entscheiden, denn in KUB 37, 163 ist nur noch der abschließende senkrechte Keil zu erkennen, der zu beiden Zeichen passen würde. Beide Texte sind fehlerhaft, was auf eine Unerfahrenheit beider Schreiber mit akkadischen divinatorischen Texten schließen läßt.

In Hinblick auf die Omina selbst bestätigt sich die Einschätzung von Riemschneider, DBH 12, 133 Anmerkung 1, daß es mit den „entsprechenden Omengruppen in *iqqur ipuš* (Labat, Calendrier [sc. R. Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien des travaux, des signes et des mois* (séries Iqqur İpuš, Paris 1965; Anm. J. C. Fincke] § 100 und 101) und der mittelbabylonischen Fassung aus Nuzi RA 34, 2-3“, welche Vorläufer zur Serie *enūma anu enlil* ist, außer im Monat *du'ūzu* keine Übereinstimmung gibt. Diese Fragmente aus Hattuša vertreten demnach eine Tradition, die sich andernorts (noch nicht) nachweisen läßt.

Transliteration:

KUB 37, 163	1'	[<i>šumma</i> AŠ ITUSIG ₄ r]i-i-bu ^r i ^r -ru-ub LUGAL it-t[i] ²
KBo 36, 36	1'	[r]i-i ^r i ^r [-
KUB 37, 163.	2'	[-t]u-ma LÚKÚR ŠÈ KUR i- ^r ir ^r -ru-[ub]
KBo 36, 36	2'	[]-tu-ma [
KUB 37, 163	3'	[<i>šumma</i> AŠ] ^r ITU ^r ŠU.NUMUN.A ri-i-bu i-ru-ub LUGAL <i>še</i> ² -[et] ²
KBo 36, 36	3'-4'	[ŠU.N]UMUN.A ri-i- ^r bu i ^r -[ru-ub] / [LUGAL <i>še</i> ² -e] ² t ²
KUB 37, 163	4'	[K]I ² kab-tu ¹ (Text: li)-ti i-qa ₄ -li-il-[ma]
KBo 36, 36	4'-5'	KI ¹ (Text: ù) kab-tu ¹ (Text: li)-[ti] / [i-qa ₄ -li-i]l-ma
KUB 37, 163	5'	[IZI] ŠÈ É.GAL-lim in-na-ad ¹ (Text: la)-[di]
KBo 36, 36	5'	IZI [
KUB 37, 163	6'	[<i>šumma</i> A]Š ^r ITU ^r NE.IZI.GAR ri-i-bu i-ru-[ub]
KBo 36, 36	6'	[N]E.IZI.GAR ri- ^r i ^r [-
KUB 37, 163	7'	[a]r ² -[bu-t]um ib-ba-aš-ši LUGAL <KÚR> ŠÈ KUR il-la-[kam]
KBo 36, 36	7'	[i]b-ba-aš-ši LUG[AL
KUB 37, 163	8'	[<i>šumma</i> AŠ ITUKI]N.đINNIN ri-i-bu i-ru-ub KIŠKI i-ma-at
KBo 36, 36	8'	[INNIN]ri- ^r i ^r [-
KUB 37, 163	9'	[BURU ₁₄ NU i-b]á-aš-ši LÚKÚR la <i>ha-aš</i> _x (AZ) KUR KÚR [
KBo 36, 36		(weggebrochen)
KUB 37, 163	10'	[<i>šumma</i> AŠ ITUDU ₆ .K]Ü ri-i-bu ^r i-ru-ub ____]
KUB 37, 163		(weggebrochen)

Übersetzung

^{1'-2'} [Wenn im Monat *simānu* ein Be|ben bebt, wird man den König zusammen mi[t[?] ...] [...]en, und ein Feind wird in das Land einmarschieren.

^{3'-5'} [Wenn im] Monat *du'ūzu* ein Beben bebt, wird der König miß[achte]t[?]; [zusam]men mit den Hochgestellten wird er gering geachtet werden; Feuer wird auf den Palast geworfen werden.

^{6'-7'} [Wenn i]m Monat *abu* ein Beben bebt, wird es Verwüstung[?] geben; der König <eines Feindes> wird in das Land [ein]marschieren.

^{8'-9'} [Wenn im Monat *u|lūlu* ein Beben bebt, wird die Stadt Kiš sterben; [Ernte wird es nicht g]eben; der Feind ist sorglos – das Land des Feindes [...].

^{10'} [Wenn im Monat *tašrītu* ein Beben bebt, ... [...]] (Der Rest des Textes fehlt).

Kommentar

Z. 1'-2' : A. Ünal, *Belleten* XLI/163 (1977) 444, 470, liest und ergänzt Z. 1' zu: LUGAL *id-d[a-ak]*, „der König wird get[ötet] werden“. Die in KUB 37, 163 kopierten Zeichenspuren lassen zwar viele Interpretationen zu, aber das Duplikat KBo 36, 36 macht deutlich, daß der Satz in der zweiten Textzeile fortgeführt wird. Da die Verbalform in Zeile 2' im Plural steht ([...]tū-ma), dürfte sie sich auf den König und eine weitere Person(engruppe) beziehen, die in der Lücke genannt worden sein muß.

Z. 3'-4' : Für die Apodose vgl. *enūma anu enlil* Tafel 22 II § III Omen 3 (z. B. ACh Sin XXXV Z. 11, vgl. F. Rochberg-Halton, *Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination: The Lunar Eclipse Tablets of Enūma Anu Enlil*, AfO Beiheft 22, Horn 1988, 264): LUGAL *še-e[et] KI*¹ (Kopie: DI) IDIM^{MEŠ}-šú *i-qal-lil*, „Der König wird mißachtet; zusammen mit seinen Hochgestellten wird er gering geachtet werden“. Das Keilschriftzeichen am Anfang von KBo 36, 36 Z. 4' endet auf einen senkrechten Keil, was die vorgeschlagene Lesung unterstützt. Ob die Lesung *še²-[* am Ende der Zeile 3' von KUB 37, 163 möglich ist, muß eine Kollation ergeben; die Keilschriftkopie ist hier undeutlich.

Z. 7': Die Emendation erfolgt aufgrund der hethitischen Version, die als Apodose (KUB 8, 28 Vs. 3'): [LÚ]KÚR-kán LUGAL KÚR-ia [...], „Der Feind und der feindliche König [...]“, hat.

Z. 9': Der Anfang der Zeile wurde mit K. K. Riemschneider in Anlehnung an die hethitische Übersetzung in KUB 8, 28 Z. 5': BURU₁₄ *ua-ak-ki-ši-e-ez-zi*, „die Ernte wird mangelhaft ausfallen“, ergänzt worden.

* Diese Miszelle ist aus meiner Mitarbeit im von Prof. W. H. van Soldt, Leiden, geleiteten Projekt *Transfer of Knowledge in a Cuneiform Culture* entstanden, welches von der *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek* (NWO) finanziert und in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Forschungsinstitut *Leiden Institute for Area Studies* (LIAS) organisiert wird.

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12) KUB 4, 50: Ein medizinischer Text über Augenkrankheiten aus Ḫattuša – In die Gruppe der „Fragmente“ der sumerisch-akkadischen literarischen Texte aus Ḫattuša (CTH 813) wird das als KUB 4, 50 (Bo 3928) publizierte Fragment vom linken Rand eines medizinischen Textes eingereiht. Bei diesem Fragment, dessen genauer Fundort in Ḫattuša nicht bekannt ist, handelt es sich um das Bruchstück eines medizinisch-therapeutischen Textes mit Bezug auf Augenkrankheiten. Zu dieser Gruppe von Texten, die in den *Catalogue des textes hittites* – der auf der gleichnamigen Publikation von Emmanuel P. Laroche (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1971) basiert – unter der Nummer CTH 809 eingeordnet sind, gehören nach dem derzeitigen Forschungsstand (vgl. www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/) ferner die Fragmente KUB 37, 14+12 (+) 15, KUB 13 (+) 16 (+) 17, KUB 37, 2 (+) 3 (+) 4 (+) 5 (+) 6 (+) 7 (+) 8 (+) 9, KBo 8, 2 und KUB 4, 55. Sofern der Fundort bekannt ist (für KBo 8, 2 ist dies nicht der Fall), wurden diese Texte auf Büyükkale A bzw. D (nur KUB 4, 55) gefunden.

KUB 4, 50 weist die in den akkadischen medizinischen Texten aus Ḫattuša übliche Bezeichnung der Augen mit dem einfachen Plural, IGI^{MEŠ}, auf (vgl. Z. 5', 7'). Dementsprechend wurde jeder neue Befund höchstwahrscheinlich mit der Formulierung BE LÚ IGI^{MEŠ}-šú, „Wenn die Augen eines Patienten“, eingeleitet; im erhaltenen Teil findet sich mit BE KI.MIN, „Wenn desgleichen“, nur der Rückverweis hierauf. Dieser Teil der Symptombeschreibung wurde in einer gesonderten Kolumne geschrieben, die durch eine senkrechte Linie vom Rest der Einträge abgetrennt wurde. Eine entsprechende Aufteilung des Textes auf der Tafel läßt sich auch für andere medizinische Texte in akkadischer Sprache aus Ḫattuša nachweisen.

Die Anweisung, das Medikament in die Augen zu einzustreichen (*te-eq-qí-ma*, „reibst du ein und...), wird syllabisch geschrieben; gleiches findet sich auch in KUB 37, 5 Vs. i 2' und 5' neben der Empfehlung einer wiederholten Anwendung (*te-te-neq-qí-ma*, Vs. i 7'). Der Hinweis auf den jeweils zu erwartenden Behandlungserfolg, *iballuṭ*, „er wird gesund werden“, oder *inēš*, „er wird genesen“, ist in KUB 4, 50 nicht erhalten.

KUB 4, 50

1'	[xx xx xx x]x ¹ it ¹ -[...]
2'	[IGI ^{MEŠ} -šú <te>-eq-qí-[ma iballuṭ / inēš]
<hr/>		
3'	[BE KI.MIN]	[m]ar-ša-ma ¹ ŪR.TÁ[L.TÁL ŪUD NAGA.SI]

4'	[]	<i>ta-na-za-a²ta-pa-[aš la-am pa-tan]</i>
5'	[]	<i>a-na ŠÀ IGI^{MES}-šú i-za-[an-nu-un-ma iballuṭ / inêš]</i>
6'	[BE] KI.MIN	<i>mar-ša ḥal-bá-nu-u[m]</i>
7'	[]	<i>ana ŠÀ IGI^{MES}-šú t[e-eq-qf-ma iballuṭ / inêš]</i>
8'	[B]E (Rasur) KI.MIN	<i>mar-ša ri-kib-t[i šá IB^{MUŠEN}</i>
9'		<i>ina ŠU.SI-k[a²</i>
10'	[B]E (Rasur) KI.MIN	<i>mar-ša [</i>
11'		<i>ina Š[U².SI²-ka²</i>
(Rest der Vorderseite ist weggebrochen)		
(Rückseite ist, soweit erhalten, nicht beschrieben)		

Übersetzung

- ^{1'}[...] ^{2'}[sei]ne [Augen] reibst <du> (damit) ein, [und er wird gesund werden / genesen].
^{3'}[Wenn desgleichen (sc. des Patienten Augen) kr]ank sind: „Ohr eine[s Zickleins“-Pflanze, ^{4'}UD und *Salicornia*]
^{4'}preßt du aus, zerreibst du (im Mörser), [ohne daß er etwas (davon) zu sich nimmt], ^{5'}soll es ins Innere seiner Augen
reg[nen, und er wird gesund werden / genesen].
^{6'}[Wenn] desgleichen krank sind: *ḥalbānum*-Pflanze, [...], ^{7'}[reibst] du ins Innere seiner Augen ein, [und er wird
gesund werden / genesen].
^{8'}[We]nn desgleichen krank sind: [Fledermaus]spor[n-Pflanze], ^{9'}mit de[inem²] Finger [...].
^{10'}[We]nn desgleichen krank sind: [...], ^{11'}mit [deinem²] Fi[nger²...].

Kommentar

3'-5': Eine verkürzte Formulierung dieser Therapieanweisung findet sich in der dritten Tafel der Serie Augenkrankheiten, vgl. BAM VI 515 iii 11': ... ^{4'}UD NAGA.SI UR.TÁL.TÁL NU 'pa-tan' [ana] 'ŠÀ' IGI^{II}-šú ta-ma-za-a², „^{4'}UD, *Salicornia* und "Ohr eines Zickleins"-Pflanze preßt du, ohne daß er etwas (davon) zu sich nimmt, [ins] Innere seiner Augen [hinein] aus“. Auffällig ist der ausdrückliche Hinweis, daß dieses Medikament nicht für die orale Einnahme gedacht ist.

7': In Verbindung mit der Anwendung eines Medikaments „ins Innere seiner Augen“ würde man eher eine Verbalform wie *t[u-na-ták-ma]*, „d[u läßt tropfen und...]", erwarten, aber die Kopie weist eindeutig auf *t[e-eq-qf]*, „d[u reibst ein]", hin.

9', 11': Für die Verwendung des menschlichen Fingers beim Auftragen eines Medikaments sind bislang zwei Formulierungen bekannt: SAG IGI^{II}-šú ina ŠU.SI-ka BAD-te ana ŠÀ IGI^{II}-šú GAR-an, „die Oberseite seines Augen (sc. das obere Augenlid) öffnest du mit deinem Finger (und) plazierst (das Medikament) ins Innere seiner Augen“ (BAM VI 514 ii 32' sowie fragmentarisch BAM VI 513 ii 36' und BAM VI 510 ii 21'), und: *ina ŠU.SI-ka te-ḥal-qf*, „mit deinem Finger reibst du ein“ (KAR 201 Rs. 46).

*Diese Miszelle ist aus meiner Mitarbeit im von Prof. W. H. van Soldt, Leiden, geleiteten Projekt *Transfer of Knowledge in a Cuneiform Culture* entstanden, welches von der *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek* (NWO) finanziert und in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Forschungsinstitut *Leiden Institute for Area Studies* (LIAS) organisiert wird.

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13) Monument on the hill – The lower register of wall reliefs in Room 7 of the palace at Khorsabad displayed along all four walls a woodland - a pine forest - through which move military personnel and the Assyrian king Sargon II in his chariot (Albenda, *The Palace of Sargon, King of Assyria* [1986]: 138-139, pls.84-90; Loud, *Khorsabad, Excavations in the Palace and at a City Gate* [1936]: 71-76, figs. 83-89). At one end of the scene is depicted an isolated columned building situated at the edge of a small lake (Fig. 1). Above the columned building is a row of fruit trees, probably apple trees, that specifies the presence of an orchard beyond the woodland. The building is followed by a tree-lined high hill, on top of which stands an isolated monument. Within this serene setting several birds, perhaps doves, flutter about on the ground. The monument, here identified as an altar, conveys the notion that the high hill is a 'sacred place'.

Most unusual is the representation of the altar and its particular location. The commentary that follows considers these two aspects of the Room 7 woodland scene. The altar is composed of three parts. The broad base, presumably square in section, is surmounted by a narrower shaft which is decorated with four vertical channels or flutes. The entablature extends beyond the shaft and terminates at the top with three triple-stepped merlons, two shown in profile at the outer ends and the central one shown in full view. One may surmise that stepped merlons continued on all four sides. The entablature has a large rectangular recessed area on the side, perhaps intended for an inscription. The illustrated altar represents a new stylistic type. Different are the solid stone altars that were

excavated at Nimrod and Khorsabad and are dated to the 9th and 8th century B.C.E, respectively. Each example has a flat circular top and three lion-clawed feet (see: Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* [1853]: plate facing p.351; Cole and Machinist, *State Archives of Assyria* 13 [1998]: fig. 22; Albenda 1986: pI. 148). The inscription on several of the excavated altars cites the deity to whom the particular object is dedicated (Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* 2 [1976]: nos. 776-779; Walker, in Albenda 1986: 112-113).

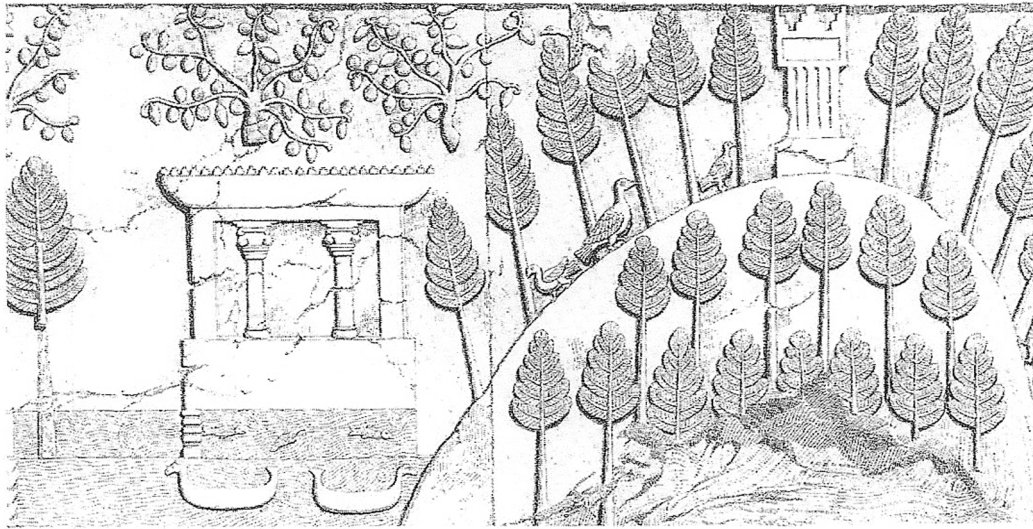


Fig. 1

There is evidence that the new style altar continued into later periods. A modified version of the Room 7 type, indicated by the stepped battlement at the top, occurs in a wall relief from the North Palace at Nineveh, dated to the reign of Ashurbanipal (Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal* [1976]: pI. 23). There, the altar is set upon a descending path leading to the royal parkland and gardens. The placement of the altar a short distance in front of the Assyrian king's stele on the hilltop, suggests a linkage between the two objects. The royal stele in turn is placed at a lower level in front of a columned building (a temple?), its structure resembling the one illustrated in the Room 7 relief. For example, in both buildings the columns have volute capitals, a decorative element that relates to the Aeolic style (Betancourt, *The Aeolic Style in Architecture* [1977]). One wonders whether the close proximity between altar, royal stele, and columned building, may have a direct connection. That is, implied in the Ashurbanipal bas-relief are the rituals made to the image of the king (SAA 13: xiv), which was set up in front of a small temple. In this regard, the Nimrod altar was discovered placed before the royal stele of Ashurnasirpal II that stood at the entrance to the Kidmuri temple. The parallel does not hold for the Room 7 scene, however, although the artist did design the narrative composition with Sargon II in his chariot, columned building, and altar, pictured in sequence.

Returning to the altar illustrated in the Room 7 relief, its overall design does disclose an architectural similarity with battlemented towers. Battlemented towers attached to a temple occur early on in Assyrian art, as shown in 13th century Assyrian seal designs (Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur* [1977]: 154, figs. 130-132). A battlemented building compressed to the shape of a tower occurs on a 10th or 9th century seal design from North Syria (Collon, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals* [2001]: 67, no. 103), and a fragmentary bronze model of a battlemented tower, probably of late 8th century date, was excavated at the Urartian site of Toprak Kale (Piotrovskii, *Urartu* [1967]: fig. 41). A more direct inspiration for the architectural shape of the Room 7 altar may be the city model that is carried by the respective foreigners from eastern and western territories, who are depicted on the bas-reliefs from Khorsabad (Albenda 1986: pIs. 27-32, figs., 45, 48, 79).

Apart from the sacred atmosphere generated by the altar on the high hill, its appearance may be a marker directed to the mountainous regions east and northeast of Assyria, through which Sargon II campaigned (Levine, *Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros* [1974]; Muscarella, "The Location of Ulhu and Uise in Sargon II's Eighth Campaign, 714 RC.," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 13 [1986]: 465-475). Mention should be made to the illustration of an isolated tower atop a tree-lined mountain, which occurs on a relief from Room 3 at Khorsabad (Albenda 1986: pI. 105). The scene is likely related to the military campaigns that are shown in the wall reliefs of adjacent Rooms 1 and 2. Similarly the lotus held in the king's lowered hand, as he rides in his chariot through the woodland, is a marker of the Assyrian military advance to Egyptian territory. Accepting these two interpretations,

both the altar and lotus are subtle reminders of the extent of the king's realm. Nonetheless the altar itself, as a cultic object, may allude to the rituals required for the divine support behind the king's rule.

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14) Una nota sui casi di *bu'sānu* – Il termine *bu'sānu* viene utilizzato per indicare svariate malattie che risultano alquanto diverse tra loro. Il Chicago Assyrian Dictionary sostiene che si tratti di “a severe disease affecting mouth, nose, and skin”¹⁾, mentre l'AHw dà la seguente definizione: “übler Geruch, eine Krankheit der Nase”²⁾.

Molte sono state le ipotesi postulate dai vari studiosi nel corso degli anni. Così riassume Kinnier Wilson: “Scurvy³⁾ was seen as one of the meaning of the term *bu'sānu*, lit., ‘the evil-smelling disease’; it is classified in the therapeutic texts with disorders of the teeth. A second meaning of ‘diphtheria’ is agreed by both the writer and Köcher⁴⁾, and indeed, *bu'sānu* with lung infection as given in BAM 558 may thirdly have indicated ‘bronchiectasis’⁵⁾, the expelled sputum in this condition being very foetid and offensive”⁶⁾.

J.A. Scurlock nel suo *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine* sostiene: “Ancient physicians distinguished three types of *bu'sānu* (BILU in Sumerian), a category of mouth and throat problems. We believe that these three types of *bu'sānu* refer to at least three separate diseases: diphtheria, oral infection with *Herpes simplex* virus type 1 (HSV1), and anaerobic infection of the gingiva and throat (Vincent's angina, or trench mouth). In addition, cases of viral infection, infectious mononucleosis, which can mimic diphtheria, and scurvy may also have been included in this category. What all have in common is that the patient exhibits a noticeably foul odor (*bu'sānu* literally means “stinking”) and have lesions or exudates that are grayish in contradistinction to the bright red (“skinned”) appearance of streptococcal throat infections”⁷⁾. Mentre l'*Herpes simplex*⁸⁾ e l'angina di Vincent⁹⁾ si manifestano interessando le gengive o il cavo orale, la difterite può avere una manifestazione unicamente nasale, anche se esclusivamente nei bambini. La difterite, infatti, è “una malattia infettiva provocata dal *Corynebacterium diphtheria* e il contagio avviene dal malato tramite le goccioline di secrezione nasale e orofaringea attraverso gli oggetti di uso comune, sui quali il batterio può resistere a lungo. Il batterio penetra per via aerea e si localizza in faringe o in laringe dove causa un'inflammatione fibrinoso-necrotica; il batterio produce una tossina che va in circolo con azione dannosa sul sistema nervoso, sul cuore, sul surrene e altri organi (...) Nei lattanti si può avere anche localizzazione solamente nasale, importante per la diffusione del contagio”¹⁰⁾. J.A. Scurlock suddivide i testi che includono il termine *bu'sānu* nelle tre categorie di malattie da lei individuate. Tra gli esempi da lei menzionati in cui tale termine sembra essere ricondotto alla difterite uno in particolare ha attirato la mia attenzione:

DIŠ [NA KA]-šú **bu'-šá-nu** DIB-ma na-ḫi-ra-šú KÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG.MEŠ DIRI.MEŠ...šum₄-ma ina na-ḫi-ri-šú in-ni-iš-š[...]

*If bu'sānu has seized [a person]'s [nose/mouth] so that his nostrils hurt him and are full of sores...if (something) smells in his nostrils [...]*¹¹⁾

Analizzando i sintomi descritti da questo testo si può ipotizzare, contrariamente da quanto sostengono Scurlock e Andersen, che la malattia in questione non sia la difterite ma l'ozena. Questa patologia è una rinopatia atrofica che consiste nell'atrofia della mucosa e dello scheletro delle cavità nasali. Altra importante caratteristica dell'ozena è la presenza di croste di colore verdastro o giallognolo che ricoprono tutta la mucosa delle fosse nasali, causate dalla solidificazione per evaporazione del muco dello stesso colore che la mucosa atrofica produce in continuazione. Sia le croste che il muco provocano un odore cattivo e molto intenso¹²⁾.

In un testo del Trattato di Diagnostica R. Labat traduce *bu'sānu* con “cattivo odore”, e la diagnosi sembra riguardare esclusivamente i bambini:

šumma lā'ū libbē_{meš}-šú eb-tu u zūmur-šú aruq **bu'-šá-nu** iṣbat-su qât (ilat) gu-la
šumma lā'ū libbē_{meš}-šú eb-tu u pā-šú ka-bit **bu'-šá-nu** iṣbat-su
šumma lā'ū il-la-tu-šú illakā_{meš}(ka) **bu'-šá-nu** iṣbat-su
šumma lā'ū il-la-tu-šú dama ú-kal-la **bu'-šá-nu** iṣbat-su
šumma lā'ū muhha-šú irat-su u šá-šal-la-šú emmā_{meš} **bu'-šá-nu** iṣbat-su
šumma lā'ū umma la ḫa-aḫ-ḫaš u libbē_{meš}-šú eb-tu **bu'-šá-nu** iṣbat-su

Si, le bébé, ses entrailles sont entravées, et si son corps est jaune: la mauvaise odeur l'a saisi; “main” de Gula.

Si, le bébé, ses entrailles sont entravées, et si sa bouche est lourde: la mauvaise odeur l'a saisi.

Si, le bébé, des mucosités lui coulent: la mauvaise odeur l'a saisi.

Si, le bébé, ses mucosités contiennent du sang: la mauvaise odeur l'a saisi.

Si, le bébé, son crâne, sa poitrine et le haut de son dos sont chauds: la mauvaise odeur l'a saisi.

*Si, le bébé, de fièvre n'est pas..., et si ses entrailles sont entravées: la mauvaise odeur l'a saisi*¹³⁾.

In questi casi il termine *bu'sānu* sembra indicare più patologie che, non sempre, sono accompagnate dal “cattivo odore”: per esempio, il fatto che il bambino presenti alcune parti del corpo più calde rispetto ad altre non provoca alcun tipo di odore, mentre le “interiora ostacolate” possono causare una forte alitosi. Se la riga 98 può far pensare a un semplice raffreddore, la riga 99, per la presenza di sangue presumibilmente dovuto allo staccarsi di croste, potrebbe essere ricondotta a quel caso di ozena già analizzato più sopra. Risulta, comunque, arduo stabilire con esattezza delle identificazioni con malattie precise. Come si può notare dall'analisi dei vari testi il termine *bu'sānu* era utilizzato in senso generale e non specifico, racchiudendo nel suo significato le definizioni di tutte quelle patologie che provocano un “cattivo odore”, *bu'sānu* appunto. E probabilmente risulta riduttivo il raggruppamento dei testi in soli tre ordini di malattie. E' possibile che ci si trovi di fronte ad una categorizzazione: il termine *bu'sānu* sembrerebbe indicare una “famiglia” di patologie, in cui la caratteristica del cattivo odore sembra diffusa ma potrebbe anche non essere presente. Si potrebbe quindi ipotizzare che il significato del termine sia traslato a indicare più in generale uno stato di infezione in particolare negli infanti.

- 1) CAD B, 350.
- 2) AHW B, 143.
- 3) Kinnier Wilson - Finkel 2007 sostengono l'identificazione di *bu'sānu* con lo scorbutto analizzando un testo risalente al re Nabonedo. Tale malattia è dovuta alla “carezza di vitamina C, che è essenziale per la formazione del collagene e per il mantenimento dell'integrità del tessuto connettivo”. Si manifesta con emorragie gengivali e sottoungueali, febbre, anemia, irritabilità, perdita di peso, dolori muscolari e articolari (AA. VV. 1995, 702).
- 4) Cf. Kinnier Wilson - Finkel 2007, 20 per il riferimento a Köcher 1978 che accetta solo l'identificazione con difterite e non coglie le argomentazioni di Heeßel 2004, 6, relative allo scorbutto.
- 5) “La bronchiectasia è una abnorme dilatazione permanente ed irreversibile di uno o più bronchi, dovuta alla distruzione della tonaca elastica e muscolare della parete bronchiale (...) Si presenta con tosse, febbre ed escreato purulento abbondante, talora di odore fetido” (AA. VV. 1995, 269). Per un'analisi di BAM 558, v. Haussperger 1999, 187.
- 6) Kinnier Wilson 1996, 138.
- 7) Scurlock - Andersen 2005, 504.
- 8) L'*Herpes simplex* si manifesta nelle zone di passaggio fra cute e mucosa, come labbra e genitali (il tipo 1 è responsabile dell'*herpes labialis*) causando la formazione sulla pelle di vesciche (*bubu'tu* in accadico) accompagnate da dolore (AA. VV. 1995, 474).
- 9) L'angina di Vincent provoca un forte dolore all'interno della bocca, interessando in special modo le gengive, con sanguinamento e probabile perdita dei denti (AA. VV. 1995, 204). Può colpire anche i bambini, come ci testimonia un testo tradotto da Scurlock nel quale “the tooth worm”, la figlia di Gula, è associata proprio a *bu'sānu* negli infanti (Scurlock - Andersen 2005, 42 n. 3.70).
- 10) AA.VV. 1995, 363.
- 11) SpTU 1.44:29, 32, in Scurlock - Andersen 2005, 40 n. 3.62.
- 12) AA. VV. 1995, 616.
- 13) Labat 1951, TDP 228:96-101.

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15) Nebukadnezar II. in Berlin – Das Institut für Altorientalistik der Freien Universität Berlin besitzt zwei Ziegelfragmente mit Standardinschriften Nebukadnezars II. von Babylon.¹⁾

Nr. 1 ist ein Randfragment eines 7,5 cm dicken Ziegels, der noch zu max. 18,0 cm Breite und max. 13,0 cm Höhe erhalten ist. Der 6,3 cm hohe und noch max. 14,0 cm breite Inschriftenstempel befindet sich in 4,0 cm Abstand zum linken Rand und trägt in archaisierendem Duktus die vierzeilige Inschrift Nebukadnezar II. Nr. 39.²⁾

- 1 ^[d]AG-ku-du-úr-ṛi¹-ùRU [LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}]
- 2 [za-ni]-in É.SAG.[í]L [ù É.ZI.DA]
- 3 ṛIBILA¹ a-ša-[re-du]
- 4 [š]a^dAG-IBILA-ùRU [LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}]

Nr. 2 ist ein Randfragment eines 7,0 cm dicken Ziegels, der zu max. 10,7 cm Breite und 17,0 cm Höhe erhalten ist. Die in 3,0 cm Abstand zum linken Rand angebrachte archaisierende, dreizeilige Stempelinschrift ist 5,5 cm hoch und mißt an der breitesten Stelle noch 6,0 cm. Zeilenzahl und –anfänge ergeben eine Zuordnung zu Nebukadnezar II. Nr. 40.³⁾ Wie bei BM 114279 und BM 137444 trägt der Stempel am linken Rand die Symbole des Marduk und des Nabu.⁴⁾

- 1 ^dA[G-NÍG-DU-ÛRU LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *za-nin*]
- 2 É.[SAG.ÍL ù É.ZI.DA IBILA SAG.KAL]
- 3 Š[a^dAG-A-ÛRU LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}]

1) Zu Nebukadnezar-Ziegeln siehe zuletzt etwa J.A. Black, Brick Stamps of Nebuchadnezzar, in: J.A. Black et al., *Habl aš-Šahr 1983-1985: Nebuchadnezzar II's Cross-Country Wall North of Sippar, Northern Akkad Project Reports 1* (1987) 26-28; A. Livingston, NABU 1991, Nr. 5; K. Reiter, NABU 1991, Nr. 73; H. Neumann, NABU 1994, Nr. 88; M. Hilgert, NABU 1997, Nr. 125; E. Cussini, NABU 1998, Nr. 88; K. Volk, NABU 1999, Nr. 22; J. Everling, NABU 2000, Nr. 56; A. Seri, CDLJ 2007:1 22 § 3.49-3.52.

2) S. Langdon, VAB 4 (1912) 202 Nr. 39; P.-R. Berger, AOAT 4/1 (1973) 185-187; C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions in the British Museum* (...) (1981) 80 100. Nebuchadnezzar II no. 39.

3) S. Langdon, VAB 4 (1912) 202 Nr. 40; P.-R. Berger: AOAT 4/1 (1973) 179-182; C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions in the British Museum* (...) (1981) 81 101. Nebuchadnezzar II no. 40.

4) Siehe C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions in the British Museum* (...) (1981) 82.

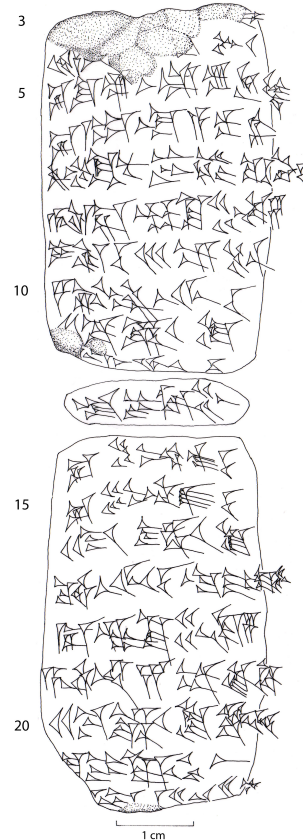
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16) Uruk, syllabic, and other peculiarities of LB orthography – The two LB texts presented here, the letter PTS 2027 and the apprenticeship contract OECT 10, 64, contain a number of orthographic peculiarities that are very unusual, even by LB orthographic ‘standards’.*

A) PTS 2027

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1 | [im |] |
| | [|] |
| | [^d +en u ^d +ag šu-l]um | |
| | u tin ^r šá en ¹ -[iá li]q-bu-u | |
| 5 | é šu- ^r ú ¹ ina ^{uru} ú-ru-uk | |
| | é ¹ Ap-la-a pa-ni | |
| | ^{lu} mu-kin-nu i-qab-ba-šú é ¹ -šú | |
| | a-na ¹ é-ak-ku-bu-di-iá | |
| | i-di-šú 30 gur ŠE.BAR | |
| 10 | níg.GA lugal ina igi-šú | |
| | ^r mam ¹ -ma piš-ki | |
| | [i]t-ti-šú | |
| | ^r la ¹ i- ^r dab ¹ -bu-<ub> | |
| | é in-na ¹ -áš-šú | |
| 15 | é in-na-áš-šú | |
| | mam-ma piš-ki | |
| | it-ti-šú la i-dab-bu-<ub> | |
| | ¹ é-ak-ku-bu-di-iá | |
| | a-na en-iá ap-qí-di | |
| 20 | mam-ma piš-ki it-ti-šú | |
| | [l]a i-dab-bu-<ub> | |
| | ^r x ba/ma x x ¹ MAN ^r x ¹ | |
| | [|] |
| | [|] |



5) The syllabic writing of Uruk is hitherto unattested. See below.

6) Either *ina* or *ša* before *pān* is missing here.

7) *qabû* is clearly introducing direct speech and therefore to be understood as preterite (see M. P. Streck, *Zahl und Zeit* (Groningen 1995), II § 12), even though the particle *umma* has been left out.

13) Both the negation *lā* and the context favour the emendation (= prohibitive).

18) Here the preterite is employed to express a wish in the main clause (see *ibid.*, II § 25).

¹⁻⁴ [Letter of PN₁ to PN₂, my lord. May Bēl and Nabû or]dain [the heal]th and life of my lord! ⁵⁻⁶ The said house in Uruk is the house of Aplā. In front of ⁷⁻¹⁰ witnesses he said to him (as follows): ‘Give his house to Ayyakku-būdiya!’ Thirty kor of barley of the king’s property are at his disposal. ¹¹⁻¹⁷ No one shall treat him wrongfully! Give him the house! Give him the house! No one shall treat him wrongfully! ¹⁸⁻¹⁹ I will entrust Ayyakku-būdiya to my lord! ²⁰⁻²¹ No one shall treat him wrongfully! ²²⁻²⁴ [...].

Before engaging with the orthography of this text – the actual subject of this brief note –, some general remarks on this text shall be given. To begin with, this letter gives the impression that it was written by an inexperienced or even badly trained scribe: the crude hand, the numerous mistakes and/or orthographic peculiarities are striking, given the length of the letter. Unfortunately, we neither know the sender’s name – presumably the scribe (on this assumption see below) –, nor the name of the recipient, since the beginning of the letter is broken off. This, of course, significantly hampers prosopographical studies. The remaining PNs are of little help either, because the PN Aplā is frequently attested in LB texts, but does not appear in any conclusive context with the second PN, Ayyakku-būdiya, or the matter in dispute. Compared to Aplā, the latter is only rarely mentioned in LB texts and yet there is no other text that would establish any connection with this particular letter. Based on the reference to the city of Uruk and the PN Ayyakku-būdiya, as well as the “museum-archaeological” context, one can almost certainly assume that this tablet was drafted in Uruk or its vicinity.

With regard to orthography, the most striking feature is the syllabic writing of the GN Uruk (*ú-ru-uk* instead of expected *unug^{ki}*) in l. 5. With the exception of (semi)-syllabic writings of PNs and nisbes that are derived from the GN Uruk (see R. Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*, RGTC 8 (Wiesbaden 1985), 329f.), a syllabic writing of the GN itself is hitherto unattested (*ibid.*, 323–330 and *AfO*). Another peculiarity that merits a brief comment is the unorthographic spelling of the PN Ayyaku-būdiya (“(With) the sanctuary is my shoulder”) in l. 8 and 18: ¹É-ak-ku-bu-di-ia. Normally this PN is rendered as ¹ki-É.an.na-bu-di-ia/iá (e.g. AUWE 5, 109: r.2 and BIN 1, 164: 5) and ¹É.an.na-bu-di-ia/iá (e.g. YOS 7, 53: 4) respectively. The hybrid spelling here reflects confusion between the logogram É.an.na and the corresponding Akkadian term *ayyaku* “sanctuary”.

Based on the emotional language of the text (recurring stereotyped phrases in particular) and the orthographic peculiarities, it seems reasonable to suppose that this text was written by the sender in his own hand, and not by a professional scribe.

B) OECT 10, 64

Babylon Nbk 15-XII-23

1 a*-di 4 šá-an.na*^{meš} ^{1d}+en-šeš-gál[¹*-ši a-šú šá]
¹Ir-^d+ag ^{1d}dumu ^{1d}báhar ^{1d}+e[n-sur]
a-šú šá ^{1d}+ag¹-gin-ibila a ^{1d}šitim ^{1d}x-¹x¹-[ú]-¹tu!*¹
šá šu[¹]-šú ú-la-ma^{meš} a-de-e^{meš}
5 ¹4¹ šá-¹an¹.na*^{meš} 4 šá-an.na*^{meš} mim-ma
[m]a-la ^{1d}+en¹-sur i-pu-uš
a-hi ha.[a] ^{1d}+en-¹šeš¹-gál-ši
[¹i]¹-ti ^{1d}+en-sur i-kul-la^{meš}
šá i-bal-ki^{meš} 2 ma.na kù.babbar
10 i-tur-ru šá mu 1* gín* kù*.bab[bar*]
^{1d}+en-šeš-gál-ši a-<<¹>>-na ^{1d}+ag¹-gin-[ibila]
 i-nam-din
^{1d}mu-kin-nu ^{1d}+en-da a-šú šá ¹KAL[?]-SAQ-QA
a ¹It-tan¹?(T.:E)-nu-^d+ag ¹Ba-laṭ-su a-šú šá
15 ^{1d}u-gur-tin-iṭ a ^{1d}gal <x> ^{1d}utu-tin-iṭ
¹a¹-šú šá ^{1d}+ag-ba-šá a ¹dù-eš-^dutu
¹Ina-sag.ila-numun a-šú šá ^{1d}+ag-numun-li*-ši-¹ir¹
dumu ^{1d}NAB*.BAR u ^{1d}umbisag¹ ^{1d}u-^dutu
a-šú šá ¹a-a dumu ^{1d}sanga ^d.tin-tir^{ki1}
20 ^{1d}še ud.15.kam ¹mu¹.23.kam
^{1d}+ag-níg.du-ú-sur lugal
 tin.tir^{ki}

3) According to the traces *hu!-pu-[ú]-¹tu!*¹* “cultic dancing” might be a possible restoration. This kind of profession is also attested in Berens 103, another LB apprenticeship contract.

13) The reading of the PN remains unclear.

14) The reading of the first component of the PN is highly conjectural, as it is unprecedented in early LB texts.

18) Although the signs are clearly written, I cannot suggest a convincing identification of the profession title. Read ¹⁰uš!.bar?

“For four years Bēl-ahu-ušabši, son of Arad-Nabû of the Pahhāru family, shall teach Bēl-ēter, son of Nabû-mukīn-apli of the Itinnu family, cultic dancing⁹, his craft. After¹ the(se) four years, Bēl-ahu-ušabši shall equally share with Bēl-ēter whatever Bēl-ēter earns for four years. Whoever violates (this agreement), shall pay two minas of silver. Bēl-ahu-ušabši will pay Nabû-mukīn-apli one shekel of silver per year.

Witnesses: Bēl-lē'i, son of KAL⁹-SAQ-QA of the Itannu⁷-Nabû family, Balāssu, son of Nergal-uballit of the Rab <X> family, Šamaš-uballit, son of Nabû-iqīša of the Eppeš-Šamaš family, Ina-Esangila-zēri, son of Nabû-zēru-līšir of the NAB.BAR family, and the scribe Gimil-Šamaš, son of Aplā of the Šangû *ditto* family. Babylon, month XII, day 15, year 23, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.”

The second text is one rare example of a LB apprenticeship contract. However, within the scope of this brief note I will limit myself to the orthography of this text. The contents will be discussed elsewhere by the present author. When going through the text (as transliterated above), one finds several forms that are particularly striking. Those forms are:

šá-an-na^{meš} or šá-an.na^{meš} in l. 1 and 5 (for expected /šanātil/ or mu.an.na^{meš} respectively)
 ú-la-ma^{meš} and a-de-e^{meš} in l. 4 (for expected /ulammassul/ (< * /ulammadšul/) and /adīl/)
 i-kul-la^{meš} in l. 8 (for expected /ikkala/)
 i-bal-ki^{meš} in l. 9 (for expected /ibbalkitu/)

Two tentative interpretations may be suggested. The first is based on the assumption that the MEŠ sign is used syllabically (suggestion M. Jursa). If so, its phonetic values (apart from common *meš* and *mīš*) are derived from the masc. and fem. plural morphemes: -ūlī (or -ē) and -(ā)tu/i. Provided that *ú-la-ma-meš* is an extremely exceptional rendering of /ulammass(u)/ (* < /ulammadš(u)/), this interpretation indeed accounts for most of the forms; and yet it is undermined by the writing of the verb *i-kul-la-meš* (for /ikkala/). Even if we assume that it is written defectively, with a CVC-sign indifferent to the vowel (KUL for *kal*_X), there is no plausible explanation for the MEŠ at the end of the word – morphographemic writing can be ruled out, as the context clearly calls for a singular. Moreover, a second problem, though a minor one, is posed by the rendering of *adī* as *a-de-e-meš*. Though MEŠ, as argued above, may very well indicate the expected final long vowel, the vowel quality (with plene writing) is certainly incorrect.

The second interpretation takes a completely different approach, as it is not aiming for a morphological analysis of the present forms. Instead, it is assumed that this text is a poorly written provisional draft of an actual contract which thus contains several spelling errors. Of course, the mere presence of incorrect forms alone may not be considered exceptional. The fact, however, that all forms which are obviously erroneous are followed by MEŠ is indeed noteworthy. We therefore might suggest the hypothesis that the scribe designated those forms with MEŠ where he was aware of the fact that they were rendered incorrectly, but did not know the correct spelling (note that the MEŠ signs clearly were not added later).

written as	for expected
šá-an-na ^{meš} (3x)	mu.an.na ^{meš}
ú-la-ma ^{meš}	ú-la-am-ma-ad-su, ú-lam-mad-šu and the like
a-de-e ^{meš}	a-di(-i)
i-kul-la ^{meš}	ik-kal-la
i-bal-ki ^{meš}	i/ib-bal-ki-tV

It needs to be stressed that with the exception of šá-an.na^{meš} (apparently a hybrid spelling, comparable to ¹é-ak-ku-bu-di-iā in PTS 2027) MEŠ cannot be taken as plural marker. The interpretation that we are dealing with a poorly drafted text also fits in very well with other formal peculiarities which turn up in the text: *ša ibbalkitu* in l. 9 instead of common *nabalkattānu* (as in all the other LB apprenticeship contracts) and the usage of the *Glossenkeil* in l. 19 (hardly ^d20 which would be highly unusual in LB texts). Also note the unclear PNs in l. 13 and 14, as well as the incomplete and enigmatic professional titles in l. 15 and 18. Unfortunately, I cannot offer a convincing explanation why the scribe made use of the very common and orthographically well-defined sign MEŠ and did not, for instance, simply employ the *Glossenkeil* (as in l. 19) throughout the entire text.

Finally, it should be noted that neither interpretation can claim to be more than a hypothesis. Further texts, however, with similar orthographic features might confirm (but also refute) the present conclusions.

* I am indebted to the Princeton Theological Seminary for permission to publish the letter PTS 2027 and especially to K. Henke, Reference Archivist of the Princeton Theological Seminary's Special Collection, for his kind assistance. I also would like to

thank M. Jursa who not only called my attention to OECT 10, 64 but also provided me with his collations on this text. Finally, I wish to thank E. E. Payne for reading this note and making many useful remarks.

The research on which this note is based was conducted within the framework of the START Project “The Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC” directed by M. Jursa at the University of Vienna. The START Project is funded by the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, Austria.

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17) Ein astronomischer Sonderfall: ACh Ishtār XXI, 12 // XXVIII, 22-23a – Das Omen, das auch vom Untergang der Dynastie von Ur und ihres Herrschers Ibī-Sin im Jahr 2053 v. Chr. Berichtete¹⁾, beginnt:

ACh Ishtār XXI, 12

(12) [mul]ŠUDUN ina È-šú ana dUTU.ŠÚ.A IGI-šú GAR^{nu} (IGI) AN^e [IGI.BAR-ma] ...

(12) Wenn das Jochgestirn bei seinem Aufgang westwärts gewandt ist [und] de(s)nHimmel(s Front) [anschaut] ...

Eine meisterlich detaillierte Lagebeschreibung des Sternbilds mulŠUDUN = Bootes²⁾ an Ur's Himmel aus dem 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.! Und es gab dazu sogar ein Pendant, wie ACh Ishtār XXVIII, 22-23a lehrt:

(22) [mul]KAK.SI.SÁ u mulÁ (oder: TI₈)mušen a-ha-meš IGI^{meš}-ma

(23a) [mul]ŠUDUN ana dUTU.È IGI^{meš}.šú GAR^{nu} u₄-mi IGI ...³⁾

(22) [Wenn mul]KAK.SI.SÁ und mulÁ(oder: TI₈)mušen zusammen sichtbar sind, und (wenn dabei)

(23a) [mul]ŠUDUN ostwärts gewandt ist, der Tag zu sehen ist ...

K o m m e n t a r

1. Ist in ACh Ishtār XXI, 12 von westlicher Ausrichtung mulŠUDUN's die Rede, so in ACh Ishtār XXVIII, 22-23a von entgegengesetzter, östlicher Ausrichtung. Ergänzung und Übereinstimmung beider Texte sind so perfekt, daß - so ein erstes Fazit - davon ausgegangen werden kann, daß ACh Ishtār XXVIII, 22-23a etwa zu gleicher Zeit mit ACh Ishtār XXI, 12 entstanden wie auch im Gebrauch gewesen ist.

2. Aber ACh Ishtār XXVIII, 22-23a liefert noch weitere Details zu mulŠUDUN's Omen-Teilhabe. Das Sternbild war ja dann „ostwärts gewandt“, wenn die Gestirne mulKAK.SI.SÁ = Sirius (α Canis Maioris)⁴⁾ und mulÁ(oder: TI₈)mušen = Aquila, Hauptstern Atair (α Aquilae)⁵⁾, an Ur's Firmament zusammen sichtbar waren, und wenn dabei zugleich der Tag zu sehen war (u₄-mi IGI). Dies alles war freilich - setzt man nautische Dämmerung (Sonne = – 12° unter Horizont⁶⁾ als Grenzwert für u₄-mi IGI voraus - nur an wenigen Tagen beobachtbar gewesen, wie Tabelle I, erstellt für 2100 v. Chr., Ur, zu entnehmen ist⁷⁾.

Tabelle I

Datum	Uhrzeit	Stern	Azimut	Höhe über(+)/unter(–) Horizont	Bemerkungen
–2099 VII 16	4 ^h 12 ^m	Sirius	112°43'	–00°00'	heliakischer Aufgang
		Atair	276°33'	+03°50'	
		Sonne	55°38'	–08°20'	bürgerl. Dämmerung
–2099 VII 26	3 ^h 52 ^m	Sirius	115°15'	+03°26'	
		Atair	279°07'	+00°05'	
		Sonne	52°41'	–12°42'	nautische Dämmerung

3. Tabelle I zugrunde gelegt, sind jetzt auch mulŠUDUN's damaligen azimutalen Daten ermittelbar. Tabelle II geht dazu vom gemittelten Datum 2100 VII 21 v. Chr., Ur, zum Zeitpunkt des tgl. Untergangs Atair's (α Aquilae) aus⁸⁾:

Tabelle II

Datum	Uhrzeit	Stern	Azimut	Höhe über(+)/unter(–) Horizont	Bemerkungen
–2099 VII 21	4 ^h 12 ^m	Atair	299°10'	+00°01'	tgl. Untergang
		Sirius	115°17'	+08°30'	
		Sonne	55°37'	–08°45'	tgl. Aufgang: 05 ^h 19 ^m
		α Bootis	358°17'	–15°41'	
		β Bootis	349°36'	+03°34'	zirkumpolar
		γ Bootis	355°14'	+01°17'	zirkumpolar
		δ Bootis	346°28'	–03°23'	
		ε Bootis	352°32'	–10°03'	

π^1 Bootis	353°28'	-20°49'
σ Boozis	355°08'	-07°38'
ν Bootis	6°31'	-20°43'

Nur zwei $\text{mul}\check{\text{SUDUN}}$ (Bootes)-Sterne standen über Ur's Westhorizont, solange $\text{mul}\text{KAK.SI.SÁ}$ und $\text{mul}\check{\text{A}}$ (oder: TI_8) $\text{mu}\check{\text{S}}\text{en}$ an der Himmelssphäre zusammen sichtbar waren: β und γ Bootis. Es handelte sich dabei um die Anfangs-, d. i. die Vordersterne $\text{mul}\check{\text{SUDUN}}$'s. Wie deren azimutalen Daten mit denen der Sonne belegen, waren sie - ACh Ishtar XXVIII, 23a gemäß - „ostwärts gewandt“ ($\text{ana } \text{dUTU.È IGI}^{\text{me}\check{\text{S}}}$) gewesen. Das Besondere dabei: β und γ Bootis blieben über Ur's Westhorizont sichtbar, verschwanden also nicht vom Himmel, auch nicht, wenn $\text{mul}\check{\text{A}}$ (oder: TI_8) $\text{mu}\check{\text{S}}\text{en}$ an besagtem Westhorizont unterging und untergegangen war. Grund: Beide Sterne, β und γ Bootis, waren 2100 v. Chr. für Ur Zirkumpolarsterne⁹⁾ gewesen. Und in dieser Eigenschaft garantierten sie $\text{mul}\check{\text{SUDUN}}$'s Hinwendung: „ostwärts“ bzw. „westwärts“. Und sie garantierten damit zugleich Zuständigkeit und Gültigkeit von ACh Ishtar XXI, 12, XXVIII, 22-23a und Omen (XXI, 13; XXVIII, 23b-25)¹⁰⁾. Daraus folgt freilich ebenso: Sollte auch nur einer dieser beiden Bootes-Sterne die Eigenschaft eines Zirkumpolarsterns verloren haben, - genauer: sollte auch nur einer von ihnen vom Zirkumpolarstern zu einem Stern tgl. Auf- und Untergangs geworden sein, hätte damit $\text{mul}\check{\text{SUDUN}}$ „sein Gesicht“ ($\text{IGI}^{\text{me}\check{\text{S}}}\text{-}\check{\text{S}}\check{\text{U}}$) eingebüßt, wären so auch Zuständigkeit und Gültigkeit von ACh Ishtar XXI, 12, XXVIII, 22-23a und Omen hinfällig geworden: $\text{mul}\check{\text{SUDUN}}$ konnte dann ja nicht mehr „ost-“ bzw. „westwärts gewandt“ gesehen, konnte auch nicht mehr, den „Himmel anschauen(d)“, geortet werden..

4. Tabelle III listet abschließend für Ur, Babylon, Assur und Ninive auf, wann dort jeweils, wann doch immer γ Bootis vom Zirkumpolarstern zu einem Stern tgl. Auf- und Untergangs geworden, ACh Ishtar XXI 12, XXVIII, 22-23a und Omen Zuständigkeit und Gültigkeit verloren hatten¹¹⁾:

Tabelle III

Jh v. Chr.	Ort	Stern	Status
1800 ¹²⁾	Ur	β Bootis	zirkumpolar
		γ Bootis	tgl. Auf- und Untergang
1600	Babylon	β Bootis	zirkumpolar
		γ Bootis	tgl. Auf- und Untergang
900	Assur	β Bootis	zirkumpolar
		γ Bootis	tgl. Auf- und Untergang
700	Ninive	β Bootis	zirkumpolar
		γ Bootis	tgl. Auf- und Untergang

Es verwundert kaum, daß kein einziger auf ACh Ishtar XXI, 12 ff., XXVIII, 22 ff., ja selbst kein einziger auch nur ganz allgemein auf $\text{mul}\check{\text{SUDUN}}$ bezogener „Astrologischer Report“ aus neuassyrischen Tagen anzutreffen ist¹³⁾.

1) S. J. Koch, Neues vom Ibbi-Sin-Omen, N.A.B.U. 2008 n°4, 66.

2) F. Gössmann, Planetarium Babylonicum, ŠL 2/4, Rom 1950, 379.I (210b); G. E. Kurtik, The Star Heaven of Ancient Mesopotamia, St. Petersburg 2007, sh18.III (497).

3) Ich habe Herrn Prof. Dr. J. Oelsner, Leipzig, für Transliteration und akribisch erstellte Analyse zu ACh Ishtar XXVIII, 18-25 mit Schreiben vom 04.10.2009 aufs herzlichste zu danken. E. Reiner and D. Pingree, BPO 3 (CM 11), Groningen 1998, 246 u. 248, worauf Prof. Oelsner u. a. freundlichst verweist, sind die Z. 45-47 zu ACh Ishtar XXVIII, 18 ff. allerdings völlig unergiebig. Parallelen: K 2346+, 45 streicht die Aussage Ishtar XXVIII, 18-20 zum „roten“ $\text{mul}\text{KAK.SI.SÁ}$ nicht nur radikal zusammen, sondern koppelt letzteren zusätzlich an den „Strahlenglanz“ ($\check{\text{S}}\text{E.ER.ZI}$) des dGUD.UD (= Merkur), was schließlich überhaupt zum Austausch des Negativ-Omens Ishtar XXVIII, 20: KUR $\check{\text{h}}\text{a-ru-be-e KÚ}$ = „das Land wird Johannisbrot essen“, mit dem Positiv-Omen Ishtar XXVIII, 21: $\check{\text{S}}\text{E.GIŠ.}\check{\text{L}} \text{SI.SÁ}$ = „Sesam wird gedeihen“, führt. Die Z. 46-47 greifen zwar Ishtar XXVIII, 21 auf, ignorieren dabei aber Ishtar XXVIII, 22, was in Z. 47 die Aussage zu $\text{mul}\check{\text{SUDUN}}$ isoliert und so den originären Sinn dieser Aussage zunichte macht. K 2346+, 45-47 sind ein Musterbeispiel, wie ursprüngliche Omen-Überlieferung in der Folgezeit nicht mehr verstanden wurde bzw. nicht mehr verstanden werden konnte. - Hinweis: Vorliegender Beitrag folgt in der Schreibung $\text{mul}\text{KAK.SI.SÁ}$, um Irritationen zu vermeiden, der Transliteration Prof. Oelsners.

4) $\text{mul}\text{KAK.SI.SÁ}$ war die babylonische Pfeilfigur aus Sirius (α Canis Maioris) und Betelgeuze (α Orionis), s. dazu J. Koch, Der rote MUL.GAG.SI.SÁ, N.A.B.U. 2009/ 47. Auf eine Berücksichtigung der azimutalen Daten des Betelgeuze kann in den nachfolgenden Tabellen I u. II verzichtet werden. Zu Sirius s. F. Gössmann, Planetarium Babylonicum, 212.I (83b); zu Sirius mit Betelgeuze s. G. E. Kurtik, The Star Heaven ..., k10.IV (250).

5) F. Gössmann, Planetarium Babylonicum, 2.I (1b); G. E. Kurtik, The Star Heaven ..., a04.IV (24).

6) S. z. B. Der Brockhaus Astronomie, Mannheim - Leipzig 2006, 81a: „Dämmerung“.

7) Jahreszahl in astronomischer Zählung. Geographische Daten Ur's (46°08' O, 30°56' N) nach Eric E. Meyers (ed.), Oxford Encyclopaedia of Archaeology in the Near East, Oxford 1997, V 288. Zum heliakischen Aufgang des Sirius s. U. Baehr, Tafel der jährlichen Auf- und Untergänge von 20 Sternen, Astronomische Abhandlungen, Ergänzungshefte zu den Astronomischen Nachrichten, IX.5, Kiel 1935, E 10. Astronomische Daten ermittelt mit dem sehr zuverlässigen Computerprogramm W. C. Annala,

„LoadStar Pro™“, Zephyr Services, Pittsburgh, PA 15217, 1994, und SAO (= „Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory Star Catalog“, Washington, D. C., 1966), 125122 u. 151881. Refraktion etc., da für vorliegende Fragestellung nicht ausschlaggebend, unberücksichtigt.

8) Jahreszahl in astronomischer Zählung. Zu den geographischen Daten Ur's s. o. Fußnote 7. Astronomische Daten ermittelt mit „LoadStar Pro™“ und SAO 45337, 64203, 64589, 83416, 100725, 100944, 101138, 125122, 151881 u. HD (= „The Henry Draper Catalog“, 1985) 129989. Refraktion etc., da für vorliegende Fragestellung irrelevant, unberücksichtigt. - Als Zeitpunkt wäre natürlich ebenso der tgl. Aufgang des Sirius wählbar gewesen.

9) S. z. B. Der Brockhaus Astronomie, 514a: „Zirkumpolarsterne. Sterne, die bei ihrer täglichen Bewegung an der Himmelskugel nicht unter dem Horizont verschwinden, bei denen also nicht nur die obere, sondern auch die untere Kulmination zu sehen ist.“

10) Zum Ibbi-Sin-Omen s. N.A.B.U. 2008/66 (93). Die azimutalen Daten - ermittelt für 2053 IX 17 v. Chr., 5^h18^m, Ur (zu den geographischen Daten s. o. Fußnote 7), mit „LoadStar Pro™“ und SAO 45337 u. 64203 - waren gewesen: β Bootis Azimut = 23°20', Höhe = +10°54', γ Bootis Azimut = 28°17', Höhe = +14°41', beide Sterne zirkumpolar; Sonne Azimut = 76°09', Höhe = 05°14', Jupiter Azimut = 76°39', Höhe = +04°53'. β und γ Bootis waren, wie in ACh Ishtar XXI, 12 berichtet, „westwärts gewandt“ und „schauten den Himmel an“.

11) Geographische Daten nach Eric E. Meyers (ed.), Oxford Encyclopaedia of Archaeology ... : Assur (43°14' O, 35°38' N), I 225; Babylon (44°26' O, 32°33' N), I 251; Ninive (43°08' O, 36°24' N), IV 144; Ur (s. o. Fußnote 7). Astronomische Daten ermittelt mit „LoadStar Pro™“ und SAO 45337 u. 64203. Es genügt Angabe nach Jahrhunderten.

12) Nach 2053 v. Chr. für Ur (Untergang!) wohl nicht mehr relevant.

13) S. dazu H. Hunger, Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings, SAA VIII, Helsinki University Press, 1992, „Index of Names“: „God, Star and Temple Names“, 352b u. „Subject Index“ (354b-355a): jeweils Fehlanzeige; s. weiterhin o. Fußnote 3.

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18) Der Sternname *zappu* (Nachtrag¹⁾) – Seit J. Schaumberger gilt *zappu*, die akkadische Entsprechung des babylonischen Sternbilds MUL.MUL²⁾ = Pleiades³⁾, als Teilstück des ^{mul}GU₄.AN.NA, genauer: als „Haarbüschel (am Nacken des Stieres)“⁴⁾. Bei R. Borger, „Assyrisch-Babylonische Zeichenliste“, bleibt Schaumbergers Deutung allerdings unerwähnt. Hier findet sich nämlich im „Glossar“ nur: „*zappu*, Plejades, ^{mul}mul, 129a“, und in der „Zeichenliste“ unter n129a: „^{mul}mul = *zappu*, Plejades ...“⁵⁾. Zu Recht, denn die „Lexikalischen Listen“ wußten es anders: MSL 14, 291 = Tafel II/6 ii 26 hatte: MU.LU MUL = za-ap-pu = nâqu, wozu man bei AHw 744b liest: nâ-qu II = „(verstreut) laufen, gehen“. Und StBoT 7, Tf. III 907/z. IV 7', ein Fragment aus Boğazköy, notierte: [...] = *zappu* = k[ur-t]a'-a-al, wonach man es bei *zappu* mit „Kiste“, „Koršb“⁶⁾, „Behälter“⁷⁾ zu tun hatte. Sieht man MSL 14, 291 mit StBoT 7, Tf. III 907/z. IV 7' zusammen, verstand sich *zappu*, bezogen auf MUL.MUL, als Bezeichnung für: in einem geschlossenen Bereich verstreut umherlaufende Sterne. Bereits im antiken Mesopotamien wurden also die Pleiades als etwas aufgefaßt, was heutige Astronomie „offenen Sternhaufen“ nennt⁸⁾.

Fazit: Bezogen auf MUL.MUL („Die Sterne“ („The Stars“⁹⁾), ist *zappu* mit: (Stern-)Haufen (Cluster (of stars)), wiederzugeben.

1) S. J. Koch, Hatten die Pleiades (MUL.MUL) mit dem „Buckelstier“ (^{mul}GU₄.AN.NA = Taurus) der Babylonier zu tun?, NABU 2009.2.

2) CT 26 (1909), pl. 40, K 7069, col. II, 6: MUL.MUL = za-ap-pu.

3) s. - jedoch bei Nichtbeachtung von F. Gössmanns Gleichsetzung: MUL.MUL/*zappu* = ^{mul}GU₄.AN.NA! - Planetarium Babylonicum, ŠL 4.2, Rom 1950, n. 279.I u. II (108b-109b); weiterhin G. E. Kurtik, The Star Heaven of Ancient Mesopotamia, St. Petersburg 2007, m35.IV (345).

4) SSB 3. Erg., Münster 1935, III. „Sternbild des Stieres“ (336), bei Hinweis auf B. Landsberger/A. Ungnad²⁾, ZDMG 77, 85, Anm. 1.

5) AOAT 33/33 A, 2. Aufl., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981, 372 mit 94; n129a *zappu* verweist lediglich auf „Gössmann n171 und 279“.

6) Internet: Ivo Hajnal, Rezension zu Jaan Puhvel, Hittite etymological dictionary. Vol. 4. Words beginning with K = Trends in linguistics, Documentation, 14, Berlin-New York 1997, 4.2 (9).

7) Internet: Ivo Hajnal, Rezension zu Elisabeth Ricken, Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Hethitischen, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, H. 44, Dissertation, Wiesbaden 1999, F / I-Stämme (7).

8) s. z. B. Der Brockhaus, Astronomie, Mannheim-Leipzig 2006, sub: Plejaden, Siebengestirn (343a).

9) H. Hunger and D. Pingree, MUL.APIN, An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform, AfO Beih. 24, Horn/Austria 1989, 127a zu I i 44: „taking the logogram literally“; s. weiterhin RIA 592 Plejaden § 1.

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19) *šakānu(m)* im Gilgamesch-Epos – Im Anschluss an meine Bemühungen um dieses Verbum¹⁾ möchte ich mir ansehen, in welchen Bedeutungen und welchen Formen *šakānu(m)* im Gilgamesch-Epos verwendet wird: das e i n e Verbum in einem Werk der Dichtung, über dessen überragende Bedeutung man gewiss nicht sprechen muss.

Anders als bei meinen Bemühungen um die von mir so genannten „vollen Formen“ kann ich mich jetzt, wie allgemein bekannt, auf eine moderne, vorzügliche, umfassende Edition des Epos stützen: A. R. George, *The*

Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts, Volume I und Volume II²⁾; alle im folgenden gegebenen Zitate stammen aus Band I, wobei an erster Stelle immer die Angabe der Seite steht, so dass jedes Zitat rasch gefunden und überprüft werden kann.

Natürlich beginne ich mit der altbabylonischen Überlieferung; ich gebe auch die dort gegebenen Hinweise auf die anderen Fassungen, in denen der zitierte Vers erscheint, weil das offensichtlich auch für die Überlieferung des uns interessierenden Verbuns von Interesse ist.

Ich zitiere möglichst kurz und gebe auch die Übersetzung von George und manche Anmerkungen. Damit erreichen wir zweierlei: wir können erkennen, wie der heute zweifellos beste Kenner des Epos *šakānu(m)* im gegebenen Zusammenhang übersetzt hat, in seine Muttersprache Englisch, und wir können über das verwendete englische Verbum nachdenken, seine Bedeutungen im Englischen, wenn gewünscht, auch über die Etymologie, und diese wieder mit denen des akkadischen Verbuns vergleichen.³⁾

Am Schluss findet man einige allgemeine Bemerkungen und Hinweise.

Old Babylonian Tablets and Fragments The Pennsylvania Tablet (OB II)

S. 174 i 35f. *el-qé-šu-ma aš-ta-ka-an-šu / a-na a-ḫi-ia*

I took it up [die Axt] and put it / at my side.

Mit der Anm. 50: Also, 'I made it into my brother'.

ii 61-63 *a-šar [šī]-it-ku-nu ne-ḫi-pe-ši-tim / ū at-t[a-m]a ki-[ma] 'a-wi-lim-ma?' / ta-aš-[ta-ka]-a[n?]' 'ra'-ma-an-ka*

Where [men] are engaged in labours of skill, / you, too, [like a] true man, / will [make a place for] yourself.

S. 176 iii 87 *a-ka-lam iš-ku-nu ma-ḫar-šu*

// SB II 44 They put bread before him, /

S. 178 v 192 *ša-ki-in lu-ša-nu*

a champion was appointed.

v 195 *ša-ki-iš-šum me-eḫ-rum*

// SB II 110 (for Gilgameš ...) a rival was appointed.

The Yale Tablet (OB III)

S. 200 iv 158 - 160 [*qá-ti l[u-uš-ku-un-ma / [lu-u]k-ḫi-sū-ḫi-ma-am* ^{giš} *erēnam* (eren) [*šu-ma ša*] *da-ru-ú a-na-ku lu-uš-ta-ak-na*

Let me start work⁴⁾ and / chop down the cedar! / [A name that] is eternal I will establish for ever!

iv 171 rdGIŠ ū rd*en-ki-du*₁₀ 10 *bilā(gū)*^{ta.àm} *ša-ak-nu*

Gilgameš and Enkidu had a load of ten talents each.

S. 202 v 187-188 = iv 158-160, ganz erhalten:

qá-ti lu-uš-ku-un-ma lu-uk-sú-ma [so] ^{giš} *erēnam* (eren) / *šu-ma ša da-ru-ú a-na-ku lu-uš-ták-nam* [so], mit derselben Anmerkung.

S. 204 v 221 *ši-il-[l]am šu-ku-u[n e-li?-ia]*

Place (your) protection [over me!]

vi 235 [*lu-uš-ku-u[n]ka iḫ-[n]a kussî* (gu.za)^{meš}

on thrones [I will set] you!

vi 243 - 244 [*iš-ku-un p[a-tar-š]u i-na ši-ip-pi-šu / [iš-ša-a]k-nu i-ḫi-pu-šu a-la-kam*

[He placed] his dagger in his belt, / [(so)] equipped they started the journey.

S. 206 vi 273 [(xx) *a-š]ar ta-aš-ták-nu e-pu-ḫi-ḫi a-la-kam*

'Where you are minded begin the journey,

OB Harmal₂

S. 254 obv. 15-17 [*š]a-ki-in ki-ib-su šu-ḫi-šī-ir pa-da-nu-ma / 'ša na' x 'ki-ib'-s[u] / [n]e-ta-al-ka aš-šu-ru la a-la-ki-im id-ka [x] xx / 'i ni-iš-ku-un 'ka?'-ka i-na ba-a-ba ḫu-bi-bi x di x [(x)]*

there is a track, the way is well trodden, ... track. / We have come to a place where one should not go! Your arm ... / Let us set a weapon in the gate of Ḫuwawa! ...'

S. 256 rev. 37 x-mi *ik-ru-bu-uš pānam* (igi) *a-na me-e-lam-mi iš-ta-ka-an x [(x)]-šu / 'a'-na ḫa-ta-im ... /*

... greeted him, he turned his gaze to the radiant auras, / to smite ... its

OB Ishchali

S. 262 obv. 9' *a[m-mi-nim?]* x x x x *'ta'-[aš-t]a-ka-an gi-mi-lam / 'a'-na šé-ri-šu*

[Why, my friend, have] you had mercy on him?'

OB VA+BM

- S. 278 iii 4 *mu-tam iš-ku-nu a-na a-wi-lu-tim*
for mankind they established death,
8 *u₄-mi-ša-am šu-ku-un ħi-du-tam*
Every day make merry,

Middle Babylonian Tablets and Fragments

MB Ur

- S. 298 obv. 29 [x x x x *l*] *i-iš-ša-ki-in ṣa¹-al-[tum]*
[In your tavern] may there be fights!
33 [... *a-a iš-š[a-kin q[ī-ri-tum]*
// VII 123 [... may no] banquet [take] place!

MB Boğ₁

- S. 312 Fragment (a), wird in obv. 12 nach OB II 87 und SB II 44 [*akla iškun¹ maḥaršu*] ergänzt und in obv. 13 nach SB II 45 [*kurunna iškunū maḥaršu*].
S. 314 Fragment (d) 4' wird nach OB III 187f. ergänzt: [*qātī 4' luškunma luksuma erēna*] / [*šuma š[a dá-re-e a-n[a-ku luštakna]*] mit derselben Übersetzung des ergänzten Textes und ... of eternity I ... für die erhaltenen Zeichen.⁵⁾

MB Emar₂

- S. 336 col. ii, towards the bottom (Fragment (a)) // SB VI 114 [*u šerret alê*] 7'' *i-na qa-[ti-š]a iš-ku-un* [and] he placed in her hands [the nose-rope of the Bull of Heaven.]

MB Megiddo

- S. 344 obv. 14' [*pa-nu*]-*šu ša-ak-nu / ri-[it-ti nēši rittāšu]*
// SB VII 169-70⁶⁾ was the set of his [face. His hands were a lion's] paws,

Assyrian Fragments of One or More Intermediate Versions

Assyrian MS y₂

- S. 356 Ms y₂ obv. (col. ii') 4' [*qātī lu-uš]-kun la-¹ak !¹-si-[ma erēna?]*
// OB III 187 [Let me start work,] I will *chop* [down the cedar,]

Assyrian MS z

- S. 369 col. vi // SB XI 304-28? and colophon
9' ... ³¹³*ul aškun* *du-un-qi i!-¹na?* 10' [*ramānīya* ³¹⁴*ana nēši ša qaqqari as*]-¹*sa-kan¹ du-xx*
12' [³¹⁶omitted? ³¹⁷...] *x-du is-si-a ša[k-n]u* 13' . . . 14' [³²⁰*ana 30 bēš iškunū nu-ba(t)-t[a*
Wir werden über diesen für uns nicht ganz unwichtigen Text unten zu SB XI 317 und 313f. kurz sprechen.

THE EXCERPT TABLET FROM SULTANTEPE

Assyrian MS e⁷⁾

- S. 372 obv. 18 [³⁰*ša i*]-*š-ta-kan ina šapli* (ki.ta)-*ka ħimēta* (ī.nun.na) ³¹ . . . 19 [³²*ša k*]-*u-ru-u-nu iš-tak-kan <ina> pi-i-ka*

THE STANDARD BABYLONIAN EPIC

Tablet I

- S. 538 10 werde ich ganz am Schluss zitieren, weil er nicht nur im Rahmen dieser Bemerkungen sehr interessant ist.
S. 546 148 *iš-bat ur-ḥa ina libbi* (šà) *uruk^{ki} iš-ta-[kan pa-ni-šu]*
He took the road, he [set his face] toward Uruk,
S. 550 196 *pa-ni-šú iš-ta-kan ana šēr* (edin) *bu-li-šú*
he turned his face toward his herd.

- S. 552 228 *u₄-m[i-šam-m]a UD x[(x) x š]á-kin i-sin-nu*
Every day [. . .] a festival is held,

Tablet II

- S. 560 44 *a-ka-lu iš-ku-nu ma-ḥar-[šū]*
// OB II iii 87 They put bread before [him,]
ši-ka-ri iš-ku-nu ma-ḥar-šu
they put ale before him.
S. 562 110 *a-na ^dGIŠ-gím-maš ki-ma ili (dingir) šá-ki-i[š-š]ú pu-ḥ[u?]*
// OB II v 195 for Gilgameš, like a god, a *substitute* was in place.
S. 568 270 *á-ki-it liš-šá-kin-ma ni-g[u-tu li-i]b-ši*
Let the *akītu* take place and the merriment begin,

Tablet III

- S. 574 18 *kib-si mīl-ki i-šak-kan a-na šēpī(gīr)^{min}-ni*
she will set in place for our feet tracks of (good) counsel.
Mit dem Hinweis auf die Variante in c: [*kib-sa*] ^ri¹-šá-ra ‘a straight [track]’.
S. 576 33 *a-ki-tum liš-šá-kin-ma ni-gu-tum lib-ši*
Let the *akītu* take place and the merriment begin,
41 [x x x x] *iš-šak-nam-ma a-ga-šá ap-rat*
[. . .] was put in place and she was wearing her crown,
44 *i-li ^ra¹-na ú-ri a-na [ma-ḥ]ar ^dšamaš(utu) qut-rin-na iš-kun*
she climbed on to the roof, she set up a censer before Šamaš.
45f. *iš-kun ^rsur¹-q[en-na a-na m]a-ḥar ^dšamaš(utu) i-dī-šú iš-ši*
she scattered incense before Šamaš, she lifted her arms: /
am-me-ni taš-kun ^rana ma¹-[ri-ia ^dGI]Š-gím-maš lib-bi la ša-li-la te-mid-su
‘Why did you assign (and) inflict a restless spirit on [my] son Gilgameš?’
Mit der Anmerkung, dass in den Manuskripten BBaa *te-mid-su* ‘inflict’ fehlt.
S. 578 84 *ina mu-ši liš-^rkun¹ ka-ra-^rši nu¹-bat-ti*
At dusk let him pitch camp for the night,
S. 580 120 *^den-ki-dù is-sa-am-ma i-šak-ka-na ^rṭè-e¹-mu¹*
She summoned Enkidu to declare (her) intention:
S. 582 134 [*ina mu-ši šu-kun ka-ra-ši nu-bat*]-*ti*
[At dusk pitch camp for the] night!

Tablet IV

- S. 588 2 [*a-na 3]0 bēr(danna) iš-ku-nu nu-bat-tum*
[at] thirty leagues they pitched camp.
6 [*mē(a)^{meš}? . . . iš-ku-nu i-na . . . -pa*]
[they put *fresh water* in . . .]
S. 590 35 *a-na 30 bēr(danna) iš-ku-nu [nu-bat-tum]*
at thirty leagues they pitched [camp.]
39 [*mē(a)^{meš}? . . . iš-ku-nu i-na . . . -pa*]
S. 592 80 [*a-na 30 bēr iš-ku-nu nu-bat-tum*]
84 [*mē^{meš}? . . . iš-ku-nu i-na . . .] x x x pa*
S. 594 iii 4’ *a-na 30 bēr(danna) iš-[ku-nu nu-bat-tum]* - ebenso ibid. in 121, das oben zitierte **r**, in 126 wieder,
teilweise erhalten, [*mē(a)^{meš}? . . .* usf.
In S. 596 164 und 167 nochmals diese beiden Verse, besser erhalten, mit derselben Übersetzung.

Tablet V

- S. 610 238 *e-nin-na-a-ma ^den-ki-dù itti(ki)-ka šá-kin [ru-um-mu-’a] / u [x x x]*
Now, Enkidu, [my release] rests with you, and [. . .]

Tablet VI

- S. 624 98 *a-šak-[ka]n ^rsa¹?-p[a?-nam?] ^ra¹-na šap-la-t[i]*
I shall *raze* the nether regions *to the ground*.

- 114 [ù š]er-ret a-le-¹e¹ a-na q[āṭ(šu)^{min}-š]á iš-ku[n]
 // MB Emar₂ ii 7'' [and] he placed in her hands the nose-rope of the Bull of Heaven.
 S. 626 137 lu-uš-k[un šēpī ina arkat? siq-qí-šú]
 I will set [my foot on the back of its hock.]
 143 [iš-ku]n¹ šēp(gir)^{min}-šú¹ i[na ar-kà]r? siq-qí-šú
 [He set] his foot on [the back of] its hock,
 S. 628 148 lib-b[a-š]u iš-šu-n[im-ma] a-na pān(igi) ^dšamaš iš-tak-nu
 they took up its heart and set it before Šamaš.
 159 ina muḥḥi(ugu) i-mit-ti alē(gu₄.an.na) bi-ki-ta iš-kun
 she instituted mourning over the Bull of Heaven's haunch.
 S. 630 179 ^rdGIŠ-gím-maš¹ ina¹ ekalli(é.gal)-šú iš-t[a]-kan ḥi-du-tu
 Gilgameš made merry in his palace.

Tablet VII

- S. 636 63 šu-mi li-na-ak-ki-ir-ma šum-šú liš-kun:
 May he remove my name and set up his own!
 S. 640 123 [. a-a iš-š]á-kin qí-¹re-e-tum¹
 // MB Ur S. 298 obv. 33 [may no] banquet [take] place!
 S. 644 196 [ina ^{gis}paššūr(banšur)? ^da-nim u ^den-líl iš-tak-ka-nu šu-mé-e ši-i-ri!]
 who used to serve roasted meat [at the] tables of Anu and Enlil,
 197 ¹e¹-pa-a iš-tak-ka-nu ka-šu-ti it-taq-qu-u mē(a)^{mes} na-da-a-ti
 who used to serve baked (bread), to pour chilled water from skins.

Tablet VIII

Die Verse S. 652 30 und 32 habe ich schon oben zum **Assyrian MS e** zitiert.

- S. 658 97 [x (x) x] x [. iš-t]a-kan ana ib-ri-šú
 [. he] provided for his friend.

Tablet X

- S. 678 18 ú-šaq-qí zu-qat-su-ma iš-¹ta¹-k[an-ši? pānīšu?]
 he lifted his chin and turned [towards her.]
 S. 680 52 [u pa-an lab-bi la šak-na-ku-ma la a-rap-pu-ud šēra]
 [and should I not roam the wild got up like a lion ?]
 wird nach 118, 125 und 218, 225 ergänzt.
 S. 684 118 [u pa-a]n¹ lab-bi šak-na-ta¹-ma ta-[rap-pu-ud šēra]
 [and] you [roam the wild got up like a lion?]
 S. 686 125 [u pa-an lab-bi la šak-na-k]u-¹ma la¹ [a-rap-pu-ud šēra]
 [and] should I not [roam the wild got up like a lion?]
 S. 688 161 ku-pur-ma šu-kun tu-la-a:
 Trim and furnish each with a boss,
 167 ik-pur-ma iš-ta-kan tu-la-a:
 He trimmed and furnished (each) with a boss,
 S. 690 218 u pa-an la-be ša-ak-na-t[a-ma ta-rap-pu-ud šēra(edín)]
 and [you roam the wild] got up like a lion?
 225 u [p]a-an la-be la šá-ak-na-[ku-ma la a-r]ap-pu-ud šēra(edín)
 and [should I not] roam the wild got up like a lion?
 S. 694 285 ul-tu pa-an šá-kin x [.]
 from olden times it is established [.]
 S. 698 321 iš-tak-nu mu-ta u ba-la-ta
 death and life they did establish,⁸⁾

Tablet XI

- S. 704 12 ā[lu(uru)? šá ina kišā]d(gú) ^{íd}pu-rat-ti šak-nu
 the [city that] is situated on the [banks] of the Euphrates -
 14 [a-n]a šá-kan a-bu-bi ub-la lib-ba-šú-nu ilīr(dingir)^{mes} rabûti(gal)^{mes}
 when the great gods decided to cause the Deluge.
 41 [ina] qaq-qar ^den-líl ul a-šak-ka-n[a še-p]i-ia-a-ma

- S. 708 87 I cannot tread [on] Enlil's ground!
a-dan-^rna^dšamaš(utu) iš-ku-nam-ma
 Šamaš had set me a deadline -
- S. 712 158 *áš-kun sur-qin-nu ina muḫḫi(ugu) ziq-qur-rat šadī(kur)ⁱ*
 I strewed incense on the peak⁹⁾ of the mountain.
- S. 714 170 *áš-šú la im-tal-ku-ma iš-ku-nu a-bu-bu*
 because he lacked counsel and caused the Deluge,¹⁰⁾
- 184 *ki-i ki-i la tam-ta-lik-ma a-bu-bu taš-k[un]*
 how could you lack counsel and cause the deluge?¹¹⁾
188. 190 *am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*
 192.194 Instead of the Deluge you caused,¹²⁾
- S. 716 221 *ga-na e-pi-i ku-ru-um-ma-ti-šú ši-tak-ka-ni ina re-ši-šú*
 Go, bake his daily round of bread, line them up by his head,
- 223 *ši-i i-pi ku-ru-um-ma-ti-šú iš-tak-ka-an ina re-ši-š[u]*
 She baked his daily rounds of bread, she lined them up by his head,
- S. 718 246 *ù a-šar [pānīya] lu-uš-kun šu-ú mu-tiim-ma*
 and wherever I might turn [my face], there too will be Death.'
- S. 720 283 *šam-mu šu-ú ki-ma ed-de-et-t[i] ši-kin-šú? š]á-kin*
 It is a plant, its [appearance] is like box-thorn,
- S. 722 302 *ana 30 bēr(danna) iš-ku-nu nu-bat-ta*
 S. 724 320 at thirty leagues they pitched camp.¹³⁾
- S. 722 313f *ul áš-kun dum-qa ana ram-ni-i[a] / [ana] nēši(ur.maḫ) šá qaq-qa-ri dum-qa e-te-pu-uš*
 Not for myself did I establish a bounty, / [for] the "Lion of the Earth" I have done a favour.
- 317 *ut-ta a-a-i-ta šá ana itti(ki)-ia i[š-ša]k-nu*
 what thing would I find that was placed (to serve) for my landmark?

Diese beiden so wichtigen Verse werde ich sogleich, nach den beiden Versen aus Tablet XII, besprechen.

Tablet XII

- S. 728 22 *ri-ig-mu ina eršeti(ki)^{tim} la ta-šak-kan*
 you must not make a noise in the Netherworld!
- S. 730 42 *ri-ig-ma [ina eršeti(ki)^{tim} iš-kun or iš-ta-kan]*
 [he made] a noise [in the Netherworld.]

Vielleicht finde nicht nur ich es interessant, diese Belege, wie ich sie jetzt zusammengestellt habe, zusammen mit ihren Übersetzungen, ganz unvoreingenommen zu betrachten, sie nicht sofort in das grammatikalische und lexikalische Gerüst, das man sich angeeignet hat, einzuordnen und dieses als gegeben anzusehen.

Ich möchte einige Verse, die mir besonders interessant erscheinen, herausgreifen, kurz besprechen und daran sehr kursorisch Bemerkungen und Hinweise eher allgemeiner Art anschließen.

V. 238 in Tablet V, S. 610, ist, obwohl das Subjekt fehlt, in verschiedener Hinsicht recht interessant, wie wir sehen werden: *e-nin-na-a-ma^den-ki-dū itti(ki)-ka šá-kin [ru-um-mu-'a] / u [x x x]*

Now, Enkidu, [my release] rests with you, and [. . .]

Nehmen wir die doch als sicher erscheinende Ergänzung an, so würden wir, anstelle des englischen „rests“ im Deutschen mit einem ähnlichen Bild sagen: „liegt bei dir“, wozu man darauf hinweisen kann, dass im *AHw.*¹⁴⁾ sowohl *itti* als auch das weiter unten genannte *išti/e* durch „mit, bei“ übersetzt werden.

Dass wir auch sagen „eine Stadt liegt (*šakin*) auf einem Hügel ...“ sei hier nur ganz nebenbei erwähnt und allgemein auf unsere Ausführungen unter *šakānum* auf meiner Homepage verwiesen.

Wir treffen die Schreibung, sagen wir zunächst so, *itti(ki)+Pronominalsuffix*¹⁵⁾ in Verbindung mit *šakānum* noch einmal, wie wir eben zitiert haben, in V. 317 in Tablet XI, S. 722, den wir hier wiederholen: *ut-ta a-a-i-ta šá ana itti(ki)-ia i[š-ša]k-nu* mit einer völlig anderen Übersetzung von *itti(ki)+Pronominalsuffix*: what thing would I find that was placed (to serve) for my landmark?

Selbstverständlich sieht man sofort, dass hier nicht nur *itti(ki)-ia* in Verbindung mit *šakānum* verwendet wird, sondern dass davor *ana* steht; dadurch scheint eine Übersetzung von *itti* als einfache Präposition nicht möglich.

Betrachten wir kurz die Textüberlieferung dieses lange bekannten Verses: Manuskript W₁ (K 8517+ ...) hat *šá^d DIŠ it-t[i]-ia*, C (K 2252 + ...) *šá DIŠ KI-ia*, die in die Umschrift aufgenommene Lesung.

Diese Umschrift beschreibt man am besten in ganz einfachen Worten: KI ist kein Wortzeichen für *ittu*, es liegt also nicht eine der so häufigen Varianten syllabische Schreibung - Wortzeichen vor,¹⁶⁾ sondern es steht auch hier KI, das Wortzeichen für die Präposition *itti*.

Das heißt, dass lediglich die Lautung *itti* eingesetzt wird für die zufällig gleiche Lautung des Genitivs des Substantivs *ittu*.

Ein Hörer dieses Verses hat *ša ana ittija iššaknu* ohne Zweifel so verstanden, wie es übersetzt wird?

Und ein Schreiber? Dieser hätte sicherlich KI-*ia*, *ittija*, als „mit mir“ verstanden, ganz gewiss nicht als „meines Zeichens“ - wenn es allein stünde; aber nach DIŠ springt das Verständnis um zum Substantiv *ittu*, weil es eine Verbindung von DIŠ mit dem Präpositionalausdruck *itti-ia* + *šakānu* nicht gibt?

Müßige Fragen und Überlegungen, die man am besten gleich beiseite schiebt?

Vielleicht; aber man wird stutzig, wenn man in dem oben zitierten Assyrian MS z 12' liest: [³¹⁶ omitted? ³¹⁷ . . .] x-du is-si-a ša[k-n]u, wozu es S. 723, Anm. 59, nur kurz heißt : Assyrian MS z apparently corrupt.

Man darf dazu aber vielleicht bemerken, dass *is-si-a* die korrekte assyrische Form für älteres *išti/e*, mittelasyrisches *ilte* und neuassyrisches *issi* „mit, bei“¹⁷⁾ + Pronominalsuffix der ersten Person ist.

Das heißt, wir dürfen, müssen annehmen, dass der Schreiber gemeint hat, dass in diesem Vers die Präposition *itti/issi* vorliegt, nicht *ittu*, das im Assyrischen als *ettu* erscheint und gewiss nicht verändert wird.

Damit wollen wir abbrechen und uns dem Vers XI 314 zuwenden.

Die Verse XI 313f., wofür wir wieder das Assyrian MS z nennen müssen, sind für uns interessant für das Verhältnis von *epēšum* zu *šakānum*: *ul aškun dumqa ana ramnī[a] / [ana] nēši ša qaqqari dumqa ētepuš*, während in z nur 9' . . .] *du-un-qi i!-na? 10' . . . as]-sa-kan¹ du-x x* erhalten ist.

Also *as|sakan* statt *ētepuš*, aber beide Verben in der G+t-Form.

Es sei mir gestattet, hier, in weiterem Zusammenhang, kurz auf meine Bemerkungen zu *qātam baḫītam* auf meiner Homepage, in meinen Ausführungen zum Verbum *šakānum*, altbabylonisch, zu *qātam*, hinzuweisen.

Hier wollen wir schließen mit einem Hinweis auf S. 538, Tablet I 10:

[šá-k]in i-na^{na4} narê(na.rú.a) ka-lu ma-na-aḫ-ti
[he] set down on a stele all (his) labours.

Dem Kommentar von George in II S. 779 kann man, meine ich, mit großer Dankbarkeit nur zustimmen und ihn zu eingehender Lektüre empfehlen.

Es seien mir nach meiner so langen Beschäftigung mit Grammatik und Lexikon nur kurze Hinweise auf einige Punkte gestattet, die mir besonders interessant zu sein scheinen: also *šakānu*, ein Verbum mit einem so weiten Bedeutungsfeld, gewiss zutreffend übersetzt mit „set down“, also „set“, einem in jeder Hinsicht durchaus vergleichbaren Verbum, mit dem Objekt *mānaḫtu* „labour“; ich fühle mich erinnert an das, was ich über die Übersetzungen von *šakānu* und über konkret und abstrakt gesagt habe.

Zur grammatikalischen Form, einem aktiven Stativ, sagt G. nur „the first of many in SB Gilgameš“.

Aber es ist sicher interessant, auf die Stativformen von *šakānum* hinzuweisen, die wir oben genannt haben, sogleich beginnend mit *šakiššum meḫrum* in OB II, S. 178 v 195, // SB II 110 ... *šá-ki-i[š-š]ú pu-ḫ[u?]*¹⁸⁾ oder vorher in I, S. 552, 228 ... *šá-kin i-sin-nu* und natürlich V, S. 610, 238, der Vers, den wir eben so ausführlich besprochen haben, ... *šá-kin [ru-um-mu-']-a* ..., und X, S. 694, 285, *ul-tu pa-an šá-kin x* [. . . from olden times it is established [. . . ist eine gute Überleitung zu den abschließenden allgemeinen Bemerkungen.

Formulieren wir ganz deutlich: „aktivisch“ - „passivisch“ sind in ihrer exakten entweder - oder - Bedeutung zur Beschreibung des sogenannten Stativs keine sinnvollen Termini. Der Kontext lässt erkennen, ob das eine oder das andere gemeint ist, die Form an sich ist neutral.

1) Als pdf-Dateien abrufbar auf homepage.univie.ac.at/hans.erich.hirsch/

2) Oxford 2003.

3) Auf die von mir in der genannten Arbeit aus dem CAD zitierten und manchmal ausführlich besprochenen Stellen aus dem Epos wird hier nicht verwiesen und es wird nichts von diesen Ausführungen hier wiederholt.

4) Mit der Anmerkung: Lit. 'let me set [my hand]'.

5) Genitiv des Infinitivs von *darû(m)*.

6) Dort nicht *ša-ak-nu*, sondern *pa-nu-šu maš-lu*.

7) Ist ein Textzeuge von SB VIII; die hochgestellten Zahlen geben die Zeilenzählung dieser Tafel wider. e ist der einzige Textzeuge für diese Zeilen.

8) In einer Anmerkung Hinweis auf MS b *il!-ta-kan* 'she'.

9) Anmerkung: Lit. 'ziqurrat'.

10) Anmerkung: MS c: 'lacks'.

11) Anmerkung: MS c: 'can'. Im kritischen Apparat wird für MS c₂ die Umschrift *tam]-tal-lik¹-ma* gegeben.

12) Anmerkung: lit. 'instead of your having caused the Deluge'.

13) // zu 304 - 28? and colophon ist Assyrian MS z col. VI, das dort auch als Textzeuge genannt wird.

14) S. 406 links oben.

15) In diesem Vers mit -ia.

16) Im AHw., 406 links über Mitte, wird unter *ittu(m)* II 1) Wegzeichen u. ä. dieser Vers mit der Umschrift *šá ana it-ti(V. KI¹)-ia i[ššak]nu²* (Gilg.) XI 299 als letzter Beleg genannt. Das Rufzeichen nach KI bezieht sich hier offensichtlich nicht auf eine emendierte Lesung des Zeichens. Im CAD, wenn ich nicht irre, ist diese Stelle nicht unter *ittu* A, I/J, 304 rechts ff., zitiert.

17) AHw., S. 401, links unten f.

18) S. 562.

20) On the prebendal career of Nabû-kîn-zēri/Aplâ and his sons – This note is based on extensive collations, thereby updating to some extent the preliminary treatment in Zadok, R. 2009, *Catalogue of Documents from Borsippa or Related to Borsippa in the British Museum I* (Nisaba 21; Messina), 65ff., 054, B.1-8. The BM tablets are quoted with kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. I would like to thank the Harvard Semitic Museum and Prof. P. Steinkeller who allowed me to quote the HSM tablet. The only occurrence of *mašsarûtu* “safekeeping, custody” referring to the preparation of the sacred meal is in BM 29460, 3 (see Zadok 2009, 78; BM 26480, 16 has *ma-aš-šar-tu₄*, collated). The spelling *man-za-<al>-tu₄* (of 16.III) is recorded in BM 25632.

1. The early career of Nabû-kîn-zēri (henceforth NKZ). The fragmentary deed BM 94606 from Nab 22.-.3 is apparently a sale of three or four days of the oxherd’s prebend (in Ezida as is the case in all the documents discussed below unless otherwise indicated) for 0.5 mina of silver (the sale is disguised as a transfer and the price as a gift; other details lost) by Nabû-bēlšunu/Nabû-z[ēra-ukīn//R.] on behalf of his sister Nuptâ (the context, where NKZ is also mentioned, is damaged). Her husband, Marduk-[...]/Arkât-ilī-damqā, is also mentioned. On Nab 21.VIII.8 (the Roman figures refer to the Babylonian months throughout this note) NKZ exchanged two days (18, 19.V) with Rēmût-Nabû/Nādinu//R. for something which is not preserved (BM 102263). One of the parties gave ten shekels of silver presumably as an equalizing payment. BM 26652 from Nab II.16 is a receipt for sale (disguised as transfer) of 2[+2?] unspecified days of the same months as BM 85229 = 109190, which was issued on the same day before the same witnesses (I, IV, VII, X) of the oxherd’s prebend by Nabû-ahhē-šullim/Nabû-šuma-ušur//R. to NKZ for two minas of white silver.

2. Transactions of NKZ with Iddina-Nabû /Nādinu//R. BM 94641 from Cyr 8.I.2 is a transfer (disguised sale) of an irregular offering of two sheep before Nanâ and Sutîtu in I by Iddina-Nabû (belonging to his paternal uncle Nabû-šuma-ibni/Marduk-šuma-ušur) and one sheep of 28.XI main share of Nabû-šuma-ibni on behalf of NKZ. According to BM 26540 from Cyr 10.-.5, NKZ exchanged his slave, Nabû-lū-šulum, for two successive days of the oxherd’s prebend held by Iddina-Nabû. The latter perpetually transferred under seal irregular offerings (each day a sheep) before Nanâ of Uršaba, viz. 28.XI (in Kish) and 29.XI (in Babylon). In addition, Iddina-Nabû perpetually transferred day(s) of irregular offerings of sheep before Nanâ and Sutîtu to Rēmût-Nabû, NKZ’s son, in order to perform his service obligations. On [Cyr/Camb] [x+?]11.-.6 NKZ gave Iddina-Nabû the same slave for the same two successive days (28-29.XI) of irregular offerings before Nanâ of Uršaba and Sutîtu consisting of two sheep. In addition, Iddina-Nabû perpetually transferred under seal day(s) (in I) of irregular offerings of six sheep before Nanâ and Sutîtu to Rēmût-Nabû, NKZ’s son, in order to perform his service obligations (BM 82618). According to VS 6, 113 from Camb 6, Rēmût-Nabû bought from the same Iddina-Nabû two sheep for the irregular offering of Nanâ and Sutîtu in I (see Zadok 2009, 79f. *ad* BM 26540, with the same fine in case of violation, and *ad* BM 101982 from the same year). BM 25852 from Camb 25.I?1 is a receipt for (probably) five shekels of silver, prebendary income of Camb 1 by Nuptâ wife of Nabû-zēra-ibni (an employee, perhaps a messenger of the same Iddina-Nabû) through x’-Nabû/Mušēzib-DN//Ilu-bani (paid by NKZ).

3. NKZ’s transactions with Rēmût-Nabû, Nabû-rā’im-nišēšu and others. BM 27990 from Camb 10.VI.0 is a deed of division of the oxherd’s prebend, notably sheep offerings before Nanâ and Sutîtu. It records a sale (“gift”) by NKZ (filiation is not preserved) to Nabû-ittannu, but the context is damaged. Another principal is Bēl-šuma-iškun//R. Nabû-ittannu/Bēl-šuma-iškun//R. acted as a witness in BM 26652 and BM 101990 (same archive) from Nab 16, but a physical identity with the individuals mentioned in the damaged deed BM 27990 cannot be proven. On Camb 5.III.5, Rēmût-Nabû/Nabû-ētir-napšāti//R. (mentioned 26 years earlier, cf. Zadok 2009, 65, 054, *A in fine*) having little children was unable to fulfill his obligations as owner of the oxherd’s prebend. Therefore he transferred his prebend share (number of days not preserved) to NKZ (BM 82686). According to BM 94653 from Camb 15.III.1, Nabû-rā’im-nišēšu/Iddina-Nabû//R. (perhaps son of the above-mentioned Iddina-Nabû/Nādinu), sold for one mina and two shekels of silver (the sale is disguised as a perpetual transfer under seal) 12 unspecified days of the oxherd’s prebend (in II and VIII) to NKZ via his proxy Nabû-ahhē-bullit/Tabnē’a//R. There follows a quitclaim clause stating that whenever the deed turns up before the proxy or in another place, it belongs to NKZ. The scribe, Rēmût-Nabû/Nabû-šuma-ušur (or –nādin-ahi)/Šarrahu, is the buyer’s son-in-law. BM 94676 from Dar I 18.I.1 is an exchange of 0;0.5 kor of a palm grove by Nabû-ahhē-bullit/Tabnē’a//R. (at the behest of NKZ) for eight unspecified days of the oxherd’s prebend in V and XI of Nabû-rā’im-nišēšu/Iddina-Nabû //R. BM 26535 from Dar I 24.IX.- is a contract of exchange: Nabû-rā’im-nišēšu/Iddina-Nabû//R. transferred to Rēmût-Nabû two days in XI (13 and 11+x’, which may be 14/15/16/17/18) of the oxherd’s prebend and Rēmût-Nabû transferred to Nabû-rā’im-nišēšu 0;0.2 kor of a palm grove on Harru-ša-Kandūru.

4. The end of NKZ’s career. BM 82646 from Dar I 22.I.3 is a promissory note for meat (a huge quantity: half a talent) of NKZ charged against Lā-abāši/Nabû-x-iddina [or -ušur]/[Ši]rik?-Nabû, who will deliver the meat in II and III. The second (last) witness belongs to the Ibnāyu clan who owned the butcher’s prebend (for meat cuts delivered to Rēmût-Nabû cf. BM 25844). BM 28872 from Borsippa, which was issued on the same day as BE 8, 106 (before the same witnesses), is a transfer of 60 (actually 64) days of the oxherd’s prebend by the elderly NKZ (it took place several years before his death) to Nabû-šuma-ukīn/Mušēzib-Marduk//R. (his cousin if his father is identical with Mušēzib-Marduk/Rēmût-Gula, br. of NKZ’s father, Aplâ): 13-22.I (ten days); 15-25.II (ten days [actually 11]); 11-20.IV (ten days); 9-18.V (ten days; 13-22.VII (ten days); 21-28.X (five days [actually eight]); 9-12, 17.XI (five

days). Apart from seven days share of Nabû-šuma-ukīn held together with NKZ; plus half sheep of 28.XI before Nanā of Euršaba in Babylon. Nabû-šuma-ukīn is responsible for performing the service shifts, feeding of the young cattle, non-cessation and punctuality (of the sacrifices). The obligations of NKZ are transferred to Nabû-šuma-ukīn: four months cows/heifers including four oxen as regular offerings and (his) prebendary income; 0;0.0.3 kor daily provisions, 0;0.0.3 kor of first-rate beer and *malātu*-income of flour before the deities (probably of Ezida). He will enjoy it as long as he is alive. BM 82749 from [Borsippa(?)], Dar I 26.II.6 is a receipt for silver (three shekels?), price of three days ([x] and 6.IV plus 27.II; in damaged context) of the oxherd's prebend paid by Rēmūt-Nabû/ NKZ to Nabû-šumu-līšir/Nidinti-Nabû//R. (perhaps son of Nidinti-Nabû/Rēmūt-Gula, who was NKZ's paternal uncle, see Zadok 2009, 68, B.5). BE 8, 108 = BM 26492 from Dar I 28.XII.6 is about transfer of fields as well as of an irregular offering of 1.5 sheep before Nanā in Babylon in XI by the aged NKZ to his son Rēmūt-Nabû. A month later, NKZ within the repartition of his property, gave Lā-abāši, the son of his daughter, part of a prebend: sheep for the irregular offering of Nanā in Babylon, but cancelled it and gave it to his son Rēmūt-Nabû (see van Driel 2002, 136, n. 34). BM 26485 (= BM 26494, 26496, 26512, 109861) from Dar I 16.IX.7 records the cancellation of the sale of the oxherd's prebend by NKZ to Nabû-šuma-ukīn/Mušēzib-Marduk//R. for six minas of silver (cf. the transaction recorded in BE 8, 106 less than two years earlier). NKZ is not recorded after Dar I 8. BM 101994 from Dar I 26.VI.8 is a promissory note of an original debt of two minas of white silver of *nuhutu*-quality belonging to NKZ. It is charged against Bēl-iddina/Nabû-apla-iddina//Iliya with an unspecified prebend as pledge. Marduk-šuma-ušur /Šamaš-uballiṭ//Iliya guaranteed for the payment. Rēmūtu (=Rēmūt-Nabû)/ NKZ//R. was paid one mina and 11 shekels out of it.

5. The later career of Rēmūt-Nabû and Nabû-erība. BM 94586 from Dar I 30.VI.9 is about exchange of days of the oxherd's prebend. Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti/Nabû-ahhē-bullit//R. transferred three successive days of the Oxherd's prebend of Ezida, viz. 28-30.IX, to Rēmūt-Nabû/ NKZ //R. while the latter transferred to Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti 15, 16(?) and 20.I and presumably another two days (details broken). Apart from this a certain Nabû-ušallim received five days of IX (three broken [presumably prior to 26] and 26-27).

Combined list of BM 26509, 94563, 94571 (133 out of 134 days are preserved):

I (explicitly 16 days): 15-20, 2[0+x...], [2]5, 28-30; II (explicitly 16 days): 9-15, [16], 17-19, 21-25; IV (explicitly 18 days; actually 19): 1, 9- 22, 24, 25, 28, 29; V (explicitly 16 days): [x], 9-16, [17], 19, 21- 25; VI (explicitly 2 days): 24, 26; VII (explicitly 23 days): 1-8, 10, [11/12], 13, 15, 16, <17>, 18-20, [21], 22, 24?, 28, 29; VIII (explicitly 15 days): 1 (or 2), 3, 7-13, [1]5, 16-19; IX (explicitly 5 days): [x], 12?, 13-15; X (explicitly 11 days): 1-5, 21, 22, 24, 25, [26/27], 28; XI (explicitly 6; implicitly 9 days): 9-17; XII (explicitly one day): 14.

The same creditor, scribe and most of the witnesses are recorded in BM 26647 and HSM 1895.1.9 (from Dar. I -XI), which like BM 26647 may be dated in Dar I 20. Rēmūt-Nabû, who owed five minas of silver (balance of ten minas) to a member of another clan (Itti-Nabû-balātu/Rēmūt-Nabû//Malahhu), pledged ten unspecified months of the oxherd's prebend. It hardly overlaps with the 134 pledged days in other deeds as they are distributed in eleven months (BM 94670 from Dar. I 12.IV.24). The fourth (last) witness belongs to the creditor's clan. Rēmūt-Nabû/ NKZ //R. is apparently the prebend owner, whereas Iddina-Bēl and Nabû-bullissu sons of Gimillu/Kīniya are the undertakers (since they are not owners of the oxherd's prebend, they can belong to other Borsippa clans). They are responsible for the preparation, performance, punctuality and non-cessation of the sacred meal of Nabû (served in shifts; with mutual guaranty) during 134 days of the oxherd prebend of Ezida throughout the year (for a duration of three years), of which the following 55 are preserved: 22-23?I; 18-19, 25.V; 13-22, 24-25, 28-29.VII (=14); 7-19.VIII (=13); 11-15.IX (= 5); 1-5, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29.X (=11); [x, y], 10-15, [x], 24.XII (=12). Each day they have to supply 0;0.0.3 kor of the *takkasû*-offering and 0;0.0.3 kor of barley beer (including an offering perhaps before Marduk of the courtyard of Ezida; context damaged, BM 82687, place and date lost). According to BM 82734 from [...], Dar I, Rēmūt-Nabû/NKZ was apparently the prebend owner and Šamaš-iddina the undertaker responsible for the preparation, performance and punctuality of the sacred meal of Nabû (served in shifts) during 134 (looks like a squeezed 137) days of the oxherd's prebend throughout the year (for a duration of three years). The undertaker was presumably son of Nabû-mušētiq-ūdē (line 6: HI.BI-DIB-UD.DA; Šamaš-iddina/ Nabû-mušētiq-ūdē//R. is recorded as scribe in the Rē'i-alpē archive between Cyr 2 and Dar I 9; his father is homonymous if not identical with the protagonist mentioned in Cyr 7, cf. Zadok 2009, 67, B.3). The preserved days are only 8-14, [x, y], 18, 19.XI (summarized as 11). They correspond to the above-mentioned combined list of 134 (133 preserved) days, except for the first two days and the last one. Four months (II, V, VII, VIII) per year (except for VII, the first month of each quarter of the Borsippa prebendary allocation) he has to supply straw for feeding the cattle. Each day he has to supply 0;0.0.3 kor of the *takkasû*-offering and 0;0.0.3 kor of barley beer (like in BM 82687 above).

BM 82665 (unprovenanced and undated) is a list of 12 days (implicitly of the oxherd's prebend as it belongs to the dossier of Nabû-erība//R.): 10, 17, 19.X; 5-8.XI; 5, 6, 8.I; 6, 7.IV. None of these days is found in the combined list of 134 (133 preserved) days, but most of them overlap with days of the comprehensive list.

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N.A.B.U. est publié par la Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, Association (Loi de 1901) sans but lucratif

ISSN n° 0989-5671. Dépôt légal: Paris, 03-2010. Reproduction par photocopie

Directeur de la publication: D. Charpin