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NOTES BRÈVES

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

NABU remains an outlet for BRIEF NOTES and for relatively quick reaction to scholarly discussions. In it, all the items are reformatted and are NOT produced "camera-ready," because this approach would result in inelegant and hard to read pages.

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 punctuations 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)

39) Transcription of half brackets in Unicode – Most Assyriologists now use a Unicode font and it helps to facilitate the exchange of files. However, the encoding of half-brackets has not been fully adopted yet (especially in the pioneer font Semiramis, which is out-dated on this point). I therefore invite all those contributing to *NABU* to check

<<http://www.fileformat.info/info/unicode/char/2e22/index.htm>>

and <<http://www.fileformat.info/info/unicode/char/2e23/index.htm>> where under "Supplemental Punctuation," they will find The "top left half bracket" as 11,810 Unicode (UTF-16) or E2 B8 A2 (UTF-8) while the "top-right half bracket" as Unicode 11,811 (or E2 B8 A3).

This is the normal coding used in most online Assyriological publications (such as at Oracc or ARCHIBAB). It would be desirable for all Assyriologists to conform to this norm.

Dominique CHARPIN

40) Der Mensch als Haus. Ergänzungen zur oikomorphen Anthropologie der sumerisch-akkadischen Antike – In dem gerade, Oktober 2012 erschienenen Buch *Der ganze Mensch. Zur Anthropologie der Antike und ihrer europäischen Nachgeschichte*, das im Akademie-Verlag Berlin von

Bernd Janowski herausgegeben wurde, findet sich u.a. ein Beitrag *Der oikomorphe Mensch*¹⁾, der originär-emische Vorstellungen vom Menschen im antiken Mesopotamien auf Basis einer breiten Quellenanalyse zu erfassen und sie in ihrer konzeptionellen Tragweite auszuwerten sucht. Es handelt sich um Ergebnisse eines größeren Forschungsprojekts zum sumerischen und akkadischen²⁾ Menschenbild, die als "Monographie in der Nusschale" schon jetzt zur Diskussion einladen sollen. Leider sind während des Drucks einige Abschnitte ohne Mitteilung gestrichen worden, etliche Korrekturen wurden nicht eingearbeitet. Der folgende knappe Beitrag versucht, die getilgten Passagen und die Korrekturen überarbeitet zu einem eigenständig lesbaren Ganzen zusammen zu bringen.

Das Ergebnis der dort vorgestellten Forschungen lässt sich folgendermaßen umreißen: Der Mensch erscheint dem antiken Mesopotamien als Raum, der von numinosen Wesen wie Gottheiten, Dämonen, "Geist"- und "Seelen"-Wesen bewohnbar ist. Es handelt sich um ein Menschenbild, das sich als "oikomorph" bestimmen lässt: Der Mensch bzw. sein Körpers wird als "Haus" interpretiert. Der Beitrag zeigt auf, welche "Bewohner" sich in diesem Haus aufhalten können, welche "Gäste" hier gerne gesehen sind, welche Eindringlinge man fürchtet und welche "Wächter" man sich zu deren Abwehr wünscht. Darüber hinaus geht es darum, erste Konsequenzen für das antike Welt- und Menschenbild auszuloten. Die Arbeit entfaltet sich in den folgenden Schritten:

I. Hinführung

I 1. Herausforderung für die Forschung

I 2. Perspektiven – Differenzierungen – Entwicklungen

I 3. Methodik und Ziele

II. Der Mensch als durchlässiges Wesen voller Wesen

II 1. Im Menschen wirken numinose Wesen

II 2. Der Mensch als Manifestation von Gottheiten

III. Der Mensch als "Haus"

III 1. Der Mensch als "Haus" mit "Eindringlingen" und "Wächtern": Numinose Wesen im und um den Menschen

III 2. Der Mensch als "Haus" mit "Bewohnern" und "Gästen": "Geist(er)" und "Seelen", **kitim**(GIDIM)/*etemmu*, **sisig/zaqīqu**, **udug/utukku**

IV. Der oikomorphe Mensch – ein dynamisches Menschenbild

IV 1. Theologische und anthropologische Perspektive

IV 2. Etische und emische Perspektive

IV 3. Antik-mesopotamische und moderne Menschenbilder – ein Ausblick

V. Bibliographie

Die Ergebnisse knüpfen an Forschungen u.a. von G. Selz und F. Wiggermann an. F. Wiggermann hatte 2004 herausgearbeitet, dass der Mensch nach mesopotamischer Vorstellung zusammengesetzt ist, indem Aspekte der menschlichen Persönlichkeit durch vergöttlichte externe Seelen vorgestellt seien³⁾. G. Selz hatte den mesopotamischen Menschen 2008 als "Kompositwesen" beschrieben⁴⁾. Wenn sich im Körper des Menschen nach Aussagen wie *Šurpu* 5–6:9–14 Gott und Göttin aufhalten, dann lässt sich der Befund, dass nämlich der Mensch keine geschlossene Einheit, sondern aus verschiedenen Teilen und Wesen zusammengesetzt ist, weiterführen. Diese verschiedenen Wesen und Teile zeigen sich zusammengehalten durch die "Hausgestaltigkeit", die Oikomorphie des Menschen. Damit tut sich zugleich eine neue, emische Möglichkeit der Beschreibung auf. Der Mensch versteht sich im antiken Mesopotamien als Vielheit in der Einheit, indem er sich als oikomorph begreift: Sein Körper ist der Ort, wo numinose Mächte und eigene Seelenteile wie z.B. der *zaqīqu* ein und aus gehen können wie bei einem Haus.

Methodisch operiert die Arbeit induktiv, indem sie ausgehend von sumerischen und akkadischen Quellen den konzeptionellen Hintergrund, die grundlegenden Annahmen für das Menschenbild herausarbeitet. Dabei zeigt sich wieder einmal, dass wir in unseren Forschungen über antike Menschen-, Gottes- und Weltbilder stärker zwischen emischer und etischer Perspektive differenzieren müssen – und dass diese differenzierten Perspektiven v.a. auch konsequent beizubehalten sind: Wenn man z.B. emische Formulierungen vom Schutzgott im Menschen in etische Formulierungen von innerpsychischen

Vorgängen übersetzt, dann muss man die gesamte emische Sprache von Gottheiten in solcher Weise übersetzen; bei solchen etischen Interpretationen dürfen dann Begriffe wie "Gott" oder "Schutzbott" z.B. gar nicht mehr auftauchen. Bleibt man innerhalb der emischen Perspektive, so muss man genau umgekehrt beschreiben. Mesopotamische Texte, die den Menschen verstehen wollen, blicken auf die Götter. Vorgänge und Handlungen, die man etisch als Leistungen des Menschen bezeichnet, sind dort Leistungen numinöser Mächte. Die mesopotamische Antike wählt eine theozentrische Anthropologie, welcher der Mensch als Teil und "Experiment" Gottes gilt; was den Menschen determiniert, sind hier nicht psychosomatische und soziokulturelle Einflüsse, sondern numinose Wesen wie Gottheiten, Dämonen, "Geist"- und "Seelen"-Teile, die sich in ihm inkorporieren und ihn aktivieren oder blockieren.

Versuchen wir, weiter um Zugänge zur emischen Perspektive zu ringen, dann ergeben sich Konsequenzen auch für das Verhältnis zwischen Menschen und Göttern, d.h. für das antike Weltbild. Ein oikomorph vorgestellter Mensch kann genau wie eine Statue oder ein Astralkörper als mögliche Erscheinungsform von Gottheiten fungieren. Das eröffnet Möglichkeiten, z.B. die Rolle des Königs als Partner von Gottheiten in verschiedenen Ritualen neu zu begreifen. Wenn der König z.B. in Ritualen der Heiligen Hochzeit als Dumuzi agiert oder wenn er in einem zentralen Ritual des babylonischen Neujahrsfestes als Marduk handelt, dann ist ein solcher Mensch innerhalb der Koordinaten eines oikomorphen Menschenbildes tatsächlich als Manifestation des jeweiligen Gottes verstehbar.

Die Grenzen zwischen Mensch und nicht-menschlichen Numina sind hier flüssig und offen und auch das Leben vor und das Leben nach dem Tod wird als Kontinuum wahrgenommen. Dieses Menschenbild zeigt sich dynamisch und völlig anders als manch heutiges Modell, das den Menschen als eher statisches Gebilde umreißt, der ein festes, umgrenztes "Ich" oder "Selbst" besitzt, das sich suchen und finden lässt. In dieser besonderen Eigenart hat die mesopotamische Anthropologie mit ihrem Modell eines oikomorphen Menschen Potential für die derzeitigen anthropologischen Diskussionen in Philosophie, Psychologie und Soziologie sowie für kreative Annäherungen an den Menschen in der Literatur und kann all denen, die sich heute umtreiben lassen von der Suche nach einer Bestimmung des Menschen frische Impulse geben.

Corrigenda

Die Corrigenda seien hier auf das absolute Minimum beschränkt. Auf S.96 muss es heißen (Korrektur unterstrichen):

niğ₂ ša₃-ta i₃-ğā₂-ğā₂ inim šu [x x x x] [x] DI DU₁₁
mimma ša ina libbi ibaššū a[mat² x x i]qqabbū⁵)

sig₃-sig₃-ga kilib₃ nam-lu₂-u₁₈-lu-ke₄ šu-min ma-ra-ni-ib₂-gi₄-gi₄
ziqīqa ša naphar nišī ušannaka

Alles, was^{sum} vom Herzen ausgeht / ^{akk} im Herzen vorhanden ist, Worte ... [...], die gesprochen werden,

(das) wiederholen/t dir (= Utu / Šamaš)^{sum} die **sigsig**-Geister / ^{akk} der *ziqīqu*-Geist aller Menschen.

Reinigungsritual *bīt rimki*, K 430/1, LKA 75:12f, Borger, *bīt rimki*, 2

In der Bibliographie fehlen zwei Beiträge:

Fuhrmann, M., Person. I. Von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter, in: Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie 7 (1989) 270–283

Ganter, M., Liederbuch für Jutta II. http://www.martin-ganter.de/content/35_liederbuch_fuer_jutta_ii.html (2012).

1) A. Zgoll, Der oikomorphe Mensch. Wesen im Menschen und das Wesen des Menschen in sumerisch-akkadischer Perspektive, in: B. Janowski (Hg.), Der ganze Mensch, 2012, 83-106. Bibliographische Hinweise auch für den vorliegenden Beitrag finden sich dort 104-106.

2) Für akkadische Zeugnisse des 2. und 1. Jt. v. Chr. vgl. auch die nach Abschluss des Beitrages erschienene Arbeit von U. Steinert, Aspekte des Menschseins im Alten Mesopotamien. Eine Studie zu Person und Identität im 2. und 1. Jt. v. Chr. CM 44. Leiden u.a. 2012. Im Unterschied dazu schließt die vorliegende Studie auch sumerische Zeugnisse und Quellen des 3. Jt. mit ein.

3) F.A.M. Wiggermann, Deities and Demons. Mesopotamia, in: S. I. Johnston (Hg.), Religions of the ancient world. A guide, Cambridge / London 2004, 396–399.

4) Vgl. G.J. Selz, The Divine Prototypes, in: N. Brisch (Hg.), Religion and Power. Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond. Oriental Institute Seminars 4, Chicago 2008 13–31.

5) *ba-aš₂-šu-u₂* ist Stativ G (*bašū*) mit nur graphisch gelängtem 2. Radikal, vgl. Luukko, Grammatical Variation in Neo-Assyrian (SAA 16), Helsinki 2004, 31–35), alternativ als Sandhi-Schreibung *ina lib₃-bi(-)ba-aš₂-šu-u₂* für G-Stamm Präsens *ibaššū*.

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41) Clarification – Wilcke's phrasing in *The Sumerian Poem Enmerkar and En-sułkeš-ana: Epic, Play, or?* (AOS Essay 12, Winona Lake 2012) p. 1 fn. 2 “and Attinger 2008 (who used my score and sometimes discusses its readings without identifying their source)” does not rebuke any form of plagiarism and should not be so misunderstood now that Attinger 2008 with its explicit reference to Wilcke's score in fn. 1 was replaced by a newer version of 2012 at <http://www.arch.unibe.ch/attlinger> > traductions. Attinger's intent not to criticise a colleague's unpublished MS led him to omit the source of readings he did not accept.

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42) More on the Reading of the Toponym GARšana¹⁾ – Writing recently about the location of GARšana, I also commented on the question of GARšana's name, making the following statement:

“In my view, the interpretation of the toponym as Gar(a)-ša-na-(k) = Garaš-An-ak, “the military camp of An,” which was suggested by E. Sollberger, and subsequently adopted by Heimpel, may safely be excluded. The main argument against this interpretation is the fact that, according to the rules of third millennium script, the sign GAR is reserved for the words beginning with a nasal conventionally interpreted as [ng]. This does not fit the word garaš, a loanword from Akkadian *kar(a)šu*. Here note that the Ur III toponym Karšum, which clearly means “military camp,” is written either Gàr-šum or Kar-šum in Ur III texts. Moreover, garaš is not attested in third millennium sources, the standard Sumerian word for “military camp” being ugnim.”²⁾

On that occasion, I also suggested that a more likely reading of this toponym would be Níg-ša-na-(k), with a possible etymology níg-gašan-ak > [nig(ga)šának] > [nigšanak],³⁾ “thing/property of the lady/queen.”⁴⁾

More light on this question is shed, I believe, by the Umma toponym GAR-su₄-da^{ki}⁵⁾ which is written also GAR-sùd-da^{ki}⁶⁾ and GAR-su-ú-da^{ki}⁷⁾ Yet another variant spelling appears in AAICAB 1/1 Ashm. 1911-229 v 25, where one finds: šag₄ GAR-^dSùd^{ki}-ka.⁸⁾ A related spelling, GAR-^dSùd(SU.KUR)-da, is found in a tablet from Girsu/Lagaš, where it stands for a toponym or, less likely, a personal name.⁹⁾ On the basis of these two writings one may safely conclude that the toponym in question is to be analyzed as Níg-^dSùd-ak, “property of goddess Sud.”¹⁰⁾

As a matter of fact, the formation níg-DN-ak is otherwise attested in Ur III appellatives. Documented examples of it are Níg-^dBa-ú,¹¹⁾ Níg-Ma-ma,¹²⁾ Níg-^dNanna,¹³⁾ Níg-^dNin-gal,¹⁴⁾ and Níg-^dNin-PA.¹⁵⁾ There is also a similar formation, níg-gur₁₁-DN-ak, for which see the personal names Níg-gur₁₁-^dBa-ú, Níg-gur₁₁-Me-me, Níg-gur₁₁-^dSuen,¹⁶⁾ and Níg-gur₁₁-^dŠára.¹⁷⁾

Chances are, therefore, that Níg-ša-na-(k) belongs here as well. Apart from the etymology I suggested earlier, another, perhaps more plausible, explanation one might consider here is Níg-Ašnan-ak > [nig-(a)šának] > [nigšanak]. Here note that the goddess Ašnan was worshipped in the Umma province, where she owned a temple, apparently in the countryside.¹⁸⁾

1) I am grateful to Piotr Michalowski and Manuel Molina for reading the ms. of this note and offering useful suggestions. In addition, Molina provided a number of additional textual examples.

2) “On the Location of the Town of GARšana and Related Matters,” in *Garšana Studies*, ed. by D. I. Owen, CUSAS 6 (Bethesda, 2011), 377.

3) Apheresis is common in Sumerian nominal compounds. See, e.g., ki-sikil > [kiskil], nam-érim > [namrim, namberu], giš-éren > [gišren], Akk. *gišrinnu*.

4) *Ibid.*, 377.

5) E.g., MVN 1 100:26 (^dNergal GAR-su₄-da^{ki})

6) AAICAB 1/1 Ashm. 1911-229 iv 16 (šag₄ GAR-sùd-da^{ki}), iv 29 (é ^dGeštin-an-na GAR-sùd^{ki}-ta), v 3 (é ^dGeštin-an-na GAR-sùd^{ki}-ta); Mél. Limet 28 NBC 265:1 (^dNergal <GAR->sùd(SUxKUR)-da), 7 (^dNin-hur-sag <GAR->sùd(SUxKUR)-da).

7) HSM 1909.5.198:13 (Girsu/Lagaš).

8) Elsewhere in this text, the same toponym is written GAR-sùd-da^{ki} (iv 16) and GAR-sùd^{ki} (iv 29, v 3).

9) 30.0.0 še gur lugal ì-dub Gír-nun^{ki}-ta 2.0.0 še Níg-^dSùd(SU.KUR)-da, “30 bushels of barley from the silo of Girnun; 2 bushels of barley (from) Nig-Suda” (MVN 12 305 i 1-3; courtesy of M. Molina)

10) One cannot exclude, of course, that this is but a folk etymology. But this point is immaterial for the reading of the toponym. The pun would have worked only if the first sign was read as níg.

11) This name is common in GARšana sources, where it functions as a toponym (though it probably goes back to a personal name). See W. Heimpel, *Workers and Construction Work at Garšana*, CUSAS 5 (Bethesda, 2009), 48. For the examples of this name, see A. Kleinerman and D. I. Owen, *Analytical Concordance to the Garšana Archives*, CUSAS 4 (Bethesda, 2009), 644-45; H. Limet, *L'Anthroponymie sumérienne* (Paris, 1968), 503.

12) See Limet, *op. cit.*, 504.

13) MVN 22 186:16.

14) UET 3 1544 seal.

15) MVN 5 150:12.

16) See *ibid.*, 504.

17) See UTI 5 3375:10; Santag 6 139:14; BPOA 1 606:4; etc.

18) See a-šag₄ é ^dAšnan (SACT 2 53:6; UTI 4 2887:21; BPOA 6 1286:8; SET 260:7); uru-bar ^dAšnan, “suburb of Ašnan” (SAT 2 1001 ii 5; Nisaba 11 41 I 10; SNAT 409 ii 8; Cohen CuCa 197-98 YBC 16663:3 — written uru-ba).

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43) A Fragmentary Sumerian Context Involving Banqueting and a Literary Parallel to Proverb Collection 1.99 – In addition to evidence from artistic depiction and economic texts of social drinking or banqueting in ancient Mesopotamia society, a number of contexts in Sumerian literature allude to the practice, either directly or via divine analogy. These are collected and discussed, for example, by Bottéro 1994 and Michalowski 1994. The following communication treats a new fragmentary text that adds to the corpus of Sumerian contexts involving banqueting. N 1340+N 1464+N 6797+N 7473, which was reconstructed by the author, is a large piece of an *imgida* with much of its reverse either missing or poorly preserved.¹⁾ A digital image of this tablet is available via the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (<http://www.cdli.ucla.edu>, CDLI no. P276487).

obv. 1') [...] x [...] AN x x [...]

obv. 2') [...] ba 'x¹ [...] z]i?-i-NE-en-[...]

obv. 3') 'a?¹-ba-am₃ [x?] in-ne-en-'x¹-[...]

obv. 4') na₈-an-ze₂-en na₈-an-ze₂-[en]

obv. 5') eme-sig na-ab-be₂-en-ze₂-[en]

obv. 6') ur₅-gin₇ in-ne-en-d[ug₄? ...]

obv. 7') kaš in-ne-en-šum₂-mu-u[š]? x

obv. 8') šag₄-ge ba-dug₃ bar-e ba-sag₉ eme-e ba-te /KA×'LI¹ ba-gid₂-i-ne

obv. 9') [x] 'x¹-A-ŋu₁₀ im-ma-[...] MU x-a a ba-de₂

obv. 10') [...] b]i₂-in-gu₇ a? [...] na-te x x

obv. 11') [...] -e-ši-in-gi₄ im-'ma¹-ŋen-ne-en

obv. 12') [...] -gi₄¹-a-zu a₂-ni nu-mu-[u]n-dah

obv. 13') [m]u-e-ŠUM₂? nu-mu-[...]

obv. 14') [g]u₃ nu-mu-e-de₂ nu-'mu¹-[...]

obv. 15') [...] 'x¹ lu₂? 'x¹ 'in¹'x¹-[...]

obv. 16') [...] 'x¹ A 'x¹ [...] 'x¹ [...]

obv. 17') traces

- rev. 1') [...]
- rev. 2') [...] 'x¹ na 'x¹ [...]
- rev. 3') [...] 'he₂¹-A.[AN?]
- rev. 4') [...] mu-e-ŠUM₂ la-ba-DU-[e]¹?-[x]
- rev. 5') [...] 'x¹-MU¹ gu₂ 'tuku¹-a-gi[n₇]
- rev. 6') [...] 'x¹ 'bi₂¹-in-du₃-u₃ nam [x]
- rev. 7') [...] 'x¹²) nu-mu-ta-gi₄?-'x¹-[...]
- rev. 8') [...] 'x¹ 'muš¹?-lah₅?(DU.'DU¹) 'x¹
- (single ruling)
- obv. 1') ...
- obv. 2') ...
- obv. 3') Who ...?
- obv. 4') You (pl.) imbibe, you (pl.) imbibe!
- obv. 5') Do not utter slander!
- obv. 6') Thus ... speaks?
- obv. 7') They gave out beer ...
- obv. 8') For the inside/heart it is good, for the outside/seat of emotions it is good, for the tongue it is cooled(?) as(?) they “extend the throat”(?) (i.e., swallow(?)
- obv. 9') My ... and water was poured
- obv. 10') ... ate ... and ...
- obv. 11') ... answered? you and you came along
- obv. 12') Your (...) he did not help
- obv. 13') You ..., but you? do not...
- obv. 14') You did not talk, you do not...
- obv. 15') ...
- obv. 16') ...
- obv. 17') ...
- rev. 1'-4') ...
- rev. 5') ... like a perfect ...
- rev. 6'-7') ...
- rev. 8') ... snake charmer(?) ...

obv. 4'-5') The co-occurrence of drinking beer and uttering slander also occurs in the dialogue Enkihejal and Enkitalu (Dialogue 2) 167-168.

obv. 8') This line is a *verbatim* reflection of Proverb Collection 1.99, reflecting another example of literary quotation in the proverb collections or quotation of a proverb in a literary text, examples of which have been compiled by Taylor 2005: 22.³⁾ Thus, the signs read as gu₇ and šud₃? by Alster 1997: 23 should be read as eme⁴⁾ and KA×LI,⁵⁾ respectively, and a concluding NE sign is present in at least one source (CBS 14023(+))UM 29-16-143 (Alster 1997: source C) rev i 8).

Without recourse to this expanded parallel context, Alster (1997: 23) translated the proverb as “He is at ease, he is pleased, he makes a living, he extends ...” This proverb was also translated and discussed by Jaques (2006: 49) in conjunction with her discussion of the phrase ša₃ ... du₁₀, who translates the proverb as “Il est doux en cœur, il est bon en humeur, il s’approche en manger (= lorsqu’il est l’heure de manger) il (s’allonge =) s’éternise en prière.” For the reading of the final verb as gid₂-i, see the remarks of Taylor 2005: 28.

Provisionally, I understand the root reflected by the grapheme TE to reflect /ten/, “to cool,” although the *Auslaut* of this verb is not explicitly confirmed either here or in Proverb Collection 1.99 and the verb /teŋ/ “approach,” or “frighten” which can occur without an explicitly disclosed *Auslaut* in the hamtu/lugud/perfective tense, is not to be decisively excluded. If this is correct, the expression may be analogous in meaning to the nominalized anatomical expression kiri₃ te-na, perhaps “nasal mucus,” that

is attested in the lexical series Ugumu (for discussion, see Couto Ferreira 2009: 155). The noun eme, “tongue” also occurs with the grapheme TE with potentially the same meaning in the later context of the incantation series Šurpu 9 29-30 in a Sumerian incantation for the use of horned alkali (*naja-si*) in conjunction with mouth purification:⁶⁾ eme te-bi im-mi-in-dub₂-dub₂-(bu) eme te-bi im-mi-in-te-en-te-en, which Reiner translates as “you (i.e., horned alkali) cool the ... of the tongue, you quiet down the ... of the tongue.”

This expression may also be contained within the divine name ^dEme-te, who is named as one of the sons of the beer goddess Ninkasi/Siraš in An = *Anum* 1: 342 in some manuscripts⁷⁾ as a variant to the ^dMen-me-te that occurs in at least one other manuscript (it is clearly present in YBC 2401 ii 121), possibly reflecting an error of preservation from the previous line, but note the series of ^dMen-[...] entries in the comparable context of UM 29-15-90 i' 5-7 (Peterson 2009: 84), which probably contained this divine name, as well as the ^dE₂-me-te of the unpublished MB exemplar CBS 331 reverse ii 26. This expression may also be reflected in the obscure possible dialect designation eme te/ti-na₂ that is attested in the Saŋ lexical tradition (Saŋ A iv 37 [MSL SS 1: 24]) and several times in the frequently obscure late context of the so-called “Reisner Vocabulary” VAT 244.⁸⁾ Note that the grapheme na₂ constitutes an allograph of na in some instances, for example, in conjunction with the variant spellings sa-ma-na and sa-ma-na₂ of the disease /samana/.

The reading of KA×LI here is not entirely certain. Among the numerous readings of KA×LI, uš₇ “saliva” suggests itself as a possibility. It is also possible, and perhaps preferable, given the semantic range of the accompanying verb gid₂, that this sign is to be read ḫeli₃, “throat.” For this lexeme, which most typically corresponds to Akkadian *nemlū(m)* and is rendered in a variety of logographic and syllabic orthographies, see, for example, the remarks of Civil 2007: 24, who suggests the possible existence of two lexemes, one with a /p/ *Auslaut*, /ḫilip/, and one without a -p *Auslaut*, /ḫil(l)i/, the latter reflecting a possible trilateral root *ḥll. See also the discussion of Couto Ferreira 2009: 164-165. The word is only rarely attested in extant literary contexts, but it does appear to occur, as noted by Couto Ferreira, in Proverb Collection 2+(6).43 (as preserved on Ni 10136 (Gordon 1959: pl. 76: for this proverb, see Alster 1997: 5,3 Proust 2008: 81): dub-sar šu nu-a nar ḫeli₃ nu-a “a scribe without a hand is (like?) a singer without a throat.”

The potential combination of this body part with the verb gid₂ “to be long, to extend” that may obtain here is otherwise unknown to me: the translation “swallow” is merely a guess from context and the unverified possibility that the expression constitutes a morphological description of the externally visible motion of the throat during swallowing.

1) I would like to thank Walther Sallaberger for his comments about this text.

2) The sign is possibly A₂ or DA.

3) Note also the parallels between the proverb collections and Emesal laments compiled by Gabbay 2011 and additionally the apparent parallel of Nannaḡu Elegy 15 in the proverb preserved on the obverse of the type II fragment CBS 12666 obv. (Veldhuis 2000: 397 fig. 3, Peterson 2009: 8), as well as the parallel between the dream ritual KAR 252 i 65 and Proverb Collection 1.76 and 7.12 (see Gabbay 2010: 37-38).

4) The presence of the EME sign is reasonably certain in CBS 14023(+)*UM* 29-16-143 (Alster 1997: source C) rev i 8, as the partially worn sign preserves an unequivocal inscribed horizontal.

5) The corresponding sign in Proverb Collection 1.99 is not decisively clear in any source that I was able to collate: (Alster 1997: source A (Ni 9804+: copied as KA), source C (CBS 14023(+)*UM* 29-16-143 rev i 8: KA×X), and source II (3N-T 729=IM 58658 (Gordon pl. 16)?: KA×X).

6) Reiner 1958: 45-46. The relevant text is preserved in source M=K 12571 (now K 8684+K 9179+K 12571+Rm 223+1879-07-08, 85), and the NB duplicate MLC 1906 (BRM 4: 17 lines 29-30).

7) K 4333 (CT 24: pl. 3-11)(+)K 4340+1879-07-08, 294 (CT 24: pl. 1-9): see Litke 1998: 62 and Krebernik 1993: 59, as well as the unpublished fragment K 7331 reverse? i' 8'.

8) Reisner 1894: 159f. For the obscure and possibly dialectical designations of this text, see also the discussion of Landsberger 1933: 177, who translates the expression as “schiefe Sprache,” presumably on the basis of his understanding of the designation as an antonym of eme si-sa₂ (“wohl Gegensatz zu eme si-sa₂”) and Cavigneaux 1993: 638.

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44) A Fragmentary Sumerian Context Involving the Removal of Clothing and Accoutrements – N 3073+N 3312, which were joined by the author, is the right edge of what is most likely an imgida with only one side preserved. A digital image of this fragment is available via the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (<https://www.cdli.ucla.edu>, text no. P278132). It preserves a Sumerian passage consisting of a litany of commands formulated via the progression from a finite verb modified by the prefix of anteriority u₃- (for this function, see, for example, Civil ASJ 22 (2000): 39) to a simple command form of the verb ḫen, “to go.”¹⁾ Although the preserved content of this piece contains no Emesal words and could therefore potentially belong to an Emegir composition, it closely duplicates lines 56-59 of Cohen Sumerian Hymnology (1981) eršema no. 97, an eršema of Inana and Dumuzi (Cohen 1981: 77: for this passage, see also Wilcke Das Lugalbanda Epos (1969): 169-170). In this passage the seventh gal₅-la₂ demon orders Dumuzi to remove his clothing and accoutrements as a final preliminary to his capture, a capture that is averted by Dumuzi’s flight, aided by his transformation into a gazelle or fallow deer (maš-da₃, šeŋ₉-bar) by the agency of Utu. The most significant difference between the current context and the eršema passage would be the use of individualized verbs for the removal of various components of dress, as opposed to the recurrent and possibly uncritical use of the verb ḫal₂ in eršema 97, which is employed by two different sources for this passage.²⁾

1') [...] men kug] ́um¹?-[...] / [sa]ḥ? su₃-za ́ḥen¹-ne₂¹

2') [...] ḫedru kug?] šu-za um-te-ḥar /šu su₃-za ḫen-ne₂

3') [...] ^{tug²}ba₁₃? ku]g? bar-́za³ um-te-si-ig /bar su₃-za ḫen-ne₂

4') [...] ^{kuš}e]-sir₂ kug ḫir₃-za um-te-́x¹ /ḥir₃ su₃-za ḫe[n-ne₂]

5') [...] 'x^l-za? u₃-ba-[...]

“... [remove?] the [holy crown] from your head, go about bare-headed
 ... tear out? the [holy scepter] from your hand, go about empty-handed
 ... tear off the holy ... garment from your back, go about bare-backed
 ... the holy sandals from your feet, go about barefoot
 ...”

2') For this apparent sense of the verb *ŋar*, compare perhaps the *ŋar-ra* = *šahātu* of Erimhuš 6: 194 (MSL 17: 86) and the *mar* = *ŋar* = *nasāhu* of Emesal Vocabulary 3: 80 (MSL 4: 34, see also Schretter Emesal Studien (1990): 208-209, with further bilingual occurrences).

3') The expression *tug₂* ... *si-ig* “to tear off clothing,” has been discussed by Volk Inanna und Šukaletuda (1995): 213.

4') The restoration of the partially preserved verb with the apparent meaning of “to remove (shoes)” is not entirely clear to me. The removal of shoes is described elsewhere with the verb *dug* in Lugalbanda 177 and 194, while the better attested opposite action of putting on or tying shoes is described with the verb *si*: for the latter expression, see, for example, the discussion of Civil OrNS 56 (1987): 237.

1) Note as well the comparable context of Ewe and Grain 22-23 (Alster and Vanstiphout ASJ 9 (1987): 14-15): *tug₂ ninj₂-mu₄-mu₄-bi nu-mu-un-zu-uš-am₃ kalam neš-gi-na su₃(variant: su)-bi mu-un-jen* “They (the people of early times) did not know about the wearing of clothes, they went around naked and bare-limbed in the land.” Note also that one source for Nungal Hymn 45 (CBS 2223 (HAV 10) Delnero Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions (2006): 2377, source N_{III-6}) seems to contain a progression from the expression *tug₂* ... *si-ig* “to tear off clothing” to (body part) + *su₃(g)* + locative(?) in conjunction with the verb *ŋen* (*tug₂ igi-na mu-un-si ša₃ su₃-ga mu-un-jen*), while four other Nippur sources and perhaps one Isin source advance the phrase *šag₄ sig-ga* instead (Delnero 2006: 2377, see also Civil FS Hallo (1993): 74, who understands *ša₃ su₃-ga* to involve hunger in this context, as well as Attinger Nungal A (4.28.1) (2011): 3 and n. 32).

2) In this context, Wilcke translates the verb as “abgelegt hast,” while Cohen translates it as “remove.”

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45) Die Eponymenliste KEL G und Distanzangaben assyrischer Bauinschriften – Die Rekonstruktion der assyrischen Eponymenlisten aus Kaneš/Kültepe¹⁾ ergab zwischen dem Regierungsantritt Irišum I. und dem Tod Šamši-Adad I. einen Zeitraum von 197 Jahren, während es gemäß den Distanzangaben in Bauinschriften Salmanassars I. und Asarhaddons 199²⁾ sein müßten.

Zwei Eponymen, die in der Königsliste aus Chorsabad im Abschnitt über Šamši-Adad I. erwähnt werden, nämlich Ibni-Adad bei der Eroberung von Ekallatum und Atamar-Ištar bei der drei Jahre später erfolgten Einnahme von Assur, fehlen in der Eponymenliste KEL G. Wahrscheinlich gilt das auch für die Eponymen der dazwischen liegenden Jahre.

Man könnte annehmen, daß die Chorsabadliste und die oben genannten Distanzangaben fehlerhaft sind³⁾.

Aber KEL G muß nicht die vollständige Eponymenfolge enthalten. So ist es vorstellbar, daß Šamši-Adad während des Krieges mit Irišum II., der vom Jahr des Ibni-Adad bis zum Jahr des Atamar-Ištar währte, die Verbindung zwischen Aššur und Anatolien unterbrach und daß diese Eponymen deswegen in der Liste KEL G fehlen⁴⁾.

Wahrscheinlich war die Handelstätigkeit generell gestört. Der Kriegszustand könnte dafür verantwortlich sein, daß sie nach bisheriger Erkenntnis in keinem zeitgenössischen Dokument vorkommen.

Šamši-Adad I. ist der einzige König der Assyrischen Königsliste, bei dem Eponymen genannt werden. Also hatte der Autor keinen Grund, ausgerechnet an dieser Stelle Namen zu erfinden. Der Eintrag dieser Eponymen erscheint nur logisch, wenn entsprechende Dokumente zur Verfügung standen.

Die Liste KEL G ist nicht von der selben Qualität wie KEL A. So fehlen die Regierungsanfänge der Könige. Mehrere Personen, die für die Richtigkeit des Geschriebenen Zeugnis ablegen, erlauben Zweifel an der Qualifikation des Schreibers von KEL G.

Von daher erscheint es sinnvoll, an dem anhand der Distanzangaben erzielten Resultat festzuhalten.

Zählt man die o. g. 4 Eponymen der AKL mit, ergeben sich insgesamt 201 Eponymen zwischen dem Regierungsantritt Irišum I. und dem Tod Šamši-Adad I., also zwei zu viel.

Ein Ausgleich ist möglich. Bei zwei Eponymen ist die Annahme berechtigt, daß sie innerhalb ihrer Amtszeit abgelöst wurden, nämlich Šuli (REL 41), der in der Liste KEL A nicht erscheint⁵⁾ und Ahiyaya (REL 193), der nur in der ersten Jahreshälfte bezeugt ist.

Charpin und Ziegler nahmen an, daß dieser Ahiyaya (Sohn des Lā-qēpum) im Laufe des Jahres durch Ilī-ellīti (REL 188) ersetzt wurde⁶⁾. Auch wenn stattdessen der unvollständige Eintrag MEC E11 zu Ahiyaya zu ergänzen wäre⁷⁾: Zwischen den reichlich dokumentierten Jahren des Aššur-malik (REL 192) und Awiliya (REL 194) paßt der spärlich bezeugte Ahiyaya kaum ganzjährig.

Durch die Datenliste IM 53955 aus Tell Harmal steht fest, daß Šamši-Adad 5 Jahre nach der Eroberung von Qabra starb. Dem entspricht die bisher anerkannte Eponymenfolge⁸⁾.

Die Einfügung eines zusätzlichen Eponymenjahres Ahiyaya ergibt einen Zeitraum von 6 Jahren, was nicht sein kann.

1) G. Barjamovic, T. Hertel, M. T. Larsen, Ups and Downs at Kanesh – Observations on Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period (OAAS 5 = PIHANS 117), Leiden 2012.

2) K. R. Veenhof, The Old Assyrian List of Year Eponyms from Karum Kanish and its chronological Implications, Turkish Historical Society, Ankara 2003, S. 51 f.

3) Siehe a. a. O. (wie Anm. 1), S. 26 ff.

4) In dem Fall wäre der Autor von KEL G über in Kaneš nicht verwendete und erst im Nachhinein bekanntgewordene Eponymen nicht informiert gewesen. Immerhin lagen die Ereignisse für ihn in ferner Vergangenheit.

5) Siehe K. R. Veenhof, a. a. O. (wie Anm. 2), S. 14.

6) D. Charpin, N. Ziegler: Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite: Essai d'histoire politique. Florilegium marianum V (*Mémoires de NABU* 6) Paris 2003, S. 83 f.

7) Siehe a. a. O. (wie Anm. 1), S. 9 ff.

8) siehe a. a. O. (wie Anm. 6), insbesondere S. 145 ff. u. S. 262.

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46) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 10 : remèdes pour des malades ou des blessés à Larsa sous Rim-Sin –
En dépouillant le recueil CUSAS 15 (A. Gadotti & M. Sigrist, with the assistance of N. M. Brisch and D. I. Owen, *Cuneiform Texts in the Carl A. Krach Library, Cornell University*, CUSAS 15, Bethesda, 2011), mon attention a été attirée par quatre petits comptes qui n'ont guère retenu celle des éditeurs. Originaires du royaume de Larsa, ils forment manifestement un ensemble, vu la parenté de leur rédaction, et la proximité chronologique de deux d'entre eux. Il s'agit de dépenses de farine-*tappinnum* et de plante-*kasûm*, qui sont motivées de manière bien intéressante.

Les deux premiers textes comportent un nom d'année, qui situe le lot sous le règne de Rim-Sin :

– **CUSAS 15 108** (26/xi/Rim-Sin 24) : livraison de faine-*tappinnum* et de moutarde-*kasûm* au tisserand Bur-Addu « dont le doigt a été coupé ».

5 SILA₃ ZÌ.ŠE

2 5 SILA₃ GAZI^{sar}

a-na bur-^d*ISKUR LÚ.TÚG*

4 *ša ú-ba-an-šu*

T. *na-ak-sà-at*

R.6 ITI ZÍZ.A U₄ 26.[KAM]

MU ⁱMAŠ.TAB.BA

L. 3, la lecture LÚ.TÚG est beaucoup plus vraisemblable que le LÚ.HUN.[GÁ] proposé par les éditeurs.

L. 4 : la lecture des éditeurs (*ša ú-na-ḥal-šu*, cf. l'index p. 169a s.v. *naḥālum*), n'est guère convaincante ; celle ici proposée, qu'on peut soupçonner d'après la copie, est confirmée par la photo du CDLI.

– **CUSAS 15 156** (23/vii/Rim-Sin 27) : livraison de faine-*tappinnum* et d'orge pour l'achat de moutarde-*kasūm* pour Šamaš-ili, « dont l'anus est malade ».

	0,0.1 ZÌ.ŠE
2	0,0.1 ŠE ŠÁM GAZI ^{sar}
	<i>a-na</i> ^d UTU.DINGIR
4	<i>ša šu-bu-ra-šu</i>
R.	<i>mar-ṣú-ú</i>
6	ITI DU ₆ .KÙ U ₄ 23.KAM
	MU E ⁱ GÙ.NUN.DI
8	IN.SI.GA

L'indication des l. 4-5 rappelle le texte paléo-babylonien de Nippur BAM IV 393 r. 15 : *àš-šář a-wi-lum šu-bu-ur-ra-am ma-ru-uṣ₄*(AZ) « quand un homme est malade de l'anus » ; l'indication thérapeutique est cependant différente (viande crue séchée mélangée avec de l'huile raffinée). Pour une édition récente de ce texte, voir M.J. Geller, « Les maladies et leurs causes, selon un texte médical paléobabylonien », *JMC* 8, 2006, p. 7-12 (avec bibliographie antérieure) et en dernier lieu la traduction de D. Schwemer, « Altbabylonische therapeutische Texte », *TUAT NF* 5, p. 36-38).

Les deux autres documents ne sont datés que d'un jour et d'un mois :

– **CUSAS 15 192** (21/iii–) : livraison de moutarde-*kasūm* et de faine-*tappinnum* « pour Šamaš-magir, quand son pied a été malade ».

	0,0.1 GAZI
2	0,0.1 ZÌ.ŠE
	<i>a-na</i> ^d UTU- <i>ma-gir</i>
4	<i>i-nu-ú-ma</i> GÌR- <i>šu</i>
R.	[<i>im</i>]- <i>ra-[ṣú]</i>
6	ŠU.TI.A 'PUZUR ₄ [...]
	'ITI SIG ₄ ¹ .A U ₄ 21.'KAM'

L. 5 : la restitution dans CUSAS 15 p. 152 ([*ma*]-^r*ra*^l-[*su*]), sans que le passage soit répertorié dans l'index p. 169 s. v. *marāṣum*), peut être facilement améliorée. Pour un parallèle, voir le texte de Mari A.4698 : 4 *inūma šepšu im-ra-sú* (inédit cité par le CAD M/1 p. 272a *courtesy M. Biro*).

– **CUSAS 15 158** (10/vii–) : le texte a été résumé comme « Recepit for gazi and flour for the hireling of the dogs » (p. 129). Les graines de moutarde et la farine sont en fait destinées « à un tisserand qu'un chien a mordu et à un brasseur(?) dont le pied est malade ».

	0,0.2 GAZI
2	0,0.2 ZÌ
	<i>a-na</i> LÚ.TÚG <i>ša ka-al-bu</i>
4	<i>iš-šu-ku-šu</i>
	ù LÚ.KAŠ.ÍL
R.6	<i>ša</i> GÌR- <i>šu</i> <i>mar-</i> ^r <i>ṣa</i> ^l - <i>a[t]</i>
	ITI DU ₆ .KÙ U ₄ 10.KAM

L. 3-4 : le passage rappelle également le texte médical paléo-babylonien BAM IV 393 r. 5 : *àš-šář a-wi-lum ka-al-ba-am na-ši-ik* « quand un homme est mordu par un chien » BAM IV 393 r. 5.

L. 5 : l'idéogramme rappelle le *kaššilum* des textes de Mari ou Qatara (cf. J.-M. Durand, « *Kaššilu* », *NABU* 1987/42).

Les quatre tablettes portent des traces d'empreintes de sceaux, non signalées par les éditeurs, mais visibles sur les photos du CDLI ; l'examen direct des originaux serait nécessaire pour en proposer une lecture fiable.

On remarquera qu'au n° 156 le malade ne reçoit pas directement la plante-*kasûm*, mais la quantité de grain qui lui permettra de s'en procurer : le magasin qui livrait ces denrées était manifestement alors en rupture de stock. L'indication n'en est que plus intéressante, puisqu'elle montre que le remède devait combiner de la farine et des graines de moutarde (l'emplâtre à la graine de moutarde étant un remède traditionnel très courant). On a donc pour une fois, grâce à des documents d'archives, l'indication que les recettes pharmacologiques, connues avant tout par les recueils savants, avaient une application concrète (pour des indications sur les usages de la plante-*kasûm* en pharmacopée, voir simplement le CAD K, p. 249). Ces petits comptes ne donnent pas d'indices sur la durée du traitement, mais on relève que le n° 108 a des quantités deux fois moindres que les trois autres textes, qui reflètent manifestement des livraisons standard : il est vrai que le pansement d'un doigt demande moins de matière première que celui d'un pied...

Il reste bien entendu des questions auxquelles on ne peut pas répondre : quel était le statut de l'organisme qui procédait à ces distributions ? On l'ignore, mais il s'agit manifestement d'un « bureau » officiel : en témoigne le caractère standardisé des quantités prescrites comme celui de la rédaction des documents. Qui prescrivait les denrées aux malades ou aux blessés ? On peut penser à un médecin-*asûm* rattaché à cet organisme ; celui-ci disposait-il d'un recueil du genre BAM IV 393 ? Il est plus vraisemblable qu'il travaillait sur la base d'un savoir traditionnel, un texte comme BAM IV 393 représentant la mise par écrit de ce savoir. Il est possible que si ces textes étaient issus de fouilles régulières, nous aurions la réponse à ces questions : nous n'avons ici que de petits comptes individuels, des récapitulatifs pourraient être moins laconiques. On rêve de disposer de séries complètes de ce genre, permettant des études statistiques... Quoi qu'il en soit, on voit comment le regroupement de petits documents d'archives, d'apparence peu reluisante, permet de progresser dans des domaines parfois inattendus, celui de la thérapeutique en l'occurrence. C'est le but du projet ARCHIBAB que de contribuer à de telles avancées.

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47) Ibbi-Sin or Ibbi-Enlil? Restoring the Name of a Scribe from Samsu-ditana's Reign – In my last book, *Harvest Texts in the British Museum*, Supplement N. 1 of RSO (Rivista degli Studi Orientali), vol. LXXXII, Pisa-Roma 2011, at text no. 71, BM 79234, *Obv.* 4 (Bu 89-4-26, 531) I have read: ki *i-bi-*^dEN.ZU dub.sar. M. Stol has now kindly drawn my attention to the more correct reading *i-bi-*^dEN.LÍL¹⁾. The scribe Ibbi-Enlil is attested in many Sippar texts and in most cases his name has been erroneously read as Ibbi-Sin.

Many years ago, in his review of R. Harris²⁾ on p. 152a under "Ibbi-Sin", M. Stol had already suggested that "Ibbi-Enlil on the copies" should be seen instead of Ibbi-Sin. The same suggestion about the scribe's name is to be extended to the occurrences of the scribe Ibbi-Sin listed by R. Harris on p. 297: BE VI/1 110:7 (Sd g); 111:3 (Sd g); 112:5 (Sd c); 115:4 (Sd d); 118:3, 6 (Sd b); JCS 11 31 no. 19 r. 1 (Sd 9). Among these references was BM 64391 (Sd 10⁷/01/19), hereinafter published in *MHET* II/4, pp. 102-104, no. 562, with the reading *i-bi-*^dEN.ZU dub.sar (*Obv.*) instead of *i-bi-*^dEN.LÍL³⁾.

To these occurrences the following correction by Stol, BiOr 33 (1976), p. 152a, should also be added: JNES 21 (1962), p. 75, VAT 1176:4 (Sd 13), where J.J. Finkelstein read Ibbi-Sin instead of Ibbi-Enlil, as well as to some occurrences already singled out by E. Woestenburg⁴⁾; OLA 21 39:6; J. Renger, CRRAI (Compte Rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale), 30 101 and perhaps CT 45 111, where the personal name occurs many times (ll. 15,19,20,25 and perhaps also at ll. 3 and 12), but without the function.

As suggested by Stol, Ibbi-Enlil was not just a scribe, but a "very high-ranking official"⁵⁾. He was in office during the years 4th to 18th of the Samsu-ditana's reign, which could be very useful as a chronological element. The date of OLA 21 39 is lost; in this text *i-bi-*^dEN.LÍL occurs as dub.sar, dumu ^dEN.ZU-*mu-ša-lim*. I should like to suggest, therefore, that OLA 21 39 is to be dated between the 4th and the 18th year of Samsu-ditana's reign.

- 1) See the photo of the *Obv.*
- 2) M. Stol, *On Ancient Sippar*, in BiOr 33 (1976), pp. 146-154, review of R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar. A Demographic Study of an Old-Babylonian City (1894-1595 B.C.)*, Istanbul 1975.
- 3) See also E. Woestenburg, *Personal Names Old Babylonian Sippar*, Leiden (PhD Thesis, unpublished), s.n. Ibbi-Enlil, where the text is indicated with the Museum Number, not as MHET II/4 562.
- 4) This occurrence had been already found by E. Woestenburg, *Personal Names Old Babylonian Sippar*, s.n. Ibbi-Enlil.
- 5) M. Stol, *On Ancient Sippar*, BiOr 33 (1976), p. 152b.

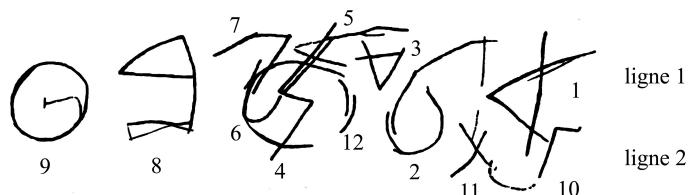
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48) Épigraphes alphabétiques du pays de la Mer – Les documents administratifs publiés par Stephanie Dalley (Dalley 2009, CUSAS 9) sont à peu près contemporains de la fin de la première dynastie babylonienne. Sur quatre tablettes figure un épigraphe en alphabet linéaire (textes n°s 64, 134, 149 et 435, cf. p. 15). Pour les textes 149 et 435, les photographies détaillées, publiées à la planche CLXXV, permettent de faire une première observation : il s'agit clairement d'un alphabet ouest-sémitique en partie comparable à celui utilisé au Levant durant le 14^{ème} siècle (Sass 1988, 2004-2005) mais également déjà proche de celui de Tel Zayit daté du milieu du 10^{ème} siècle av.-JC (Tappy et alii, 2006). Pour une brève vue d'ensemble de l'histoire de l'alphabet nous nous reporterons à Krebernik 2007 et plus particulièrement aux pages 110 et 111. Les signes se lisent de droite à gauche.

CUSAS 9 149 :

L'inscription se trouve sur la tranche de la tablette et il semble qu'on puisse transcrire :

' L D N ' L G B '
x₁ x₂ (?)



-Dessin d'après photographie-

Le second aleph se superpose en partie avec le N. Les signes L et G sont connexes donnant ainsi l'impression que les deux signes ont été faits d'un seul trait. La seconde ligne contient au moins deux signes (x₁ et x₂) et peut-être un ayin (signe 12, car d'après la photographie, il semblerait qu'un cercle chevauche en partie les signes L et N). Un quatrième signe appartenant à cette ligne pourrait être un G intercalé entre le premier aleph et le L et lié à ce dernier.

	,	L	D	N	G	B	'	signes indéterminés
	(aleph)						(ayin)	
CUSAS 9 149								X ₁ :
								X ₂ :
Abécédaire de Tell Zayit								

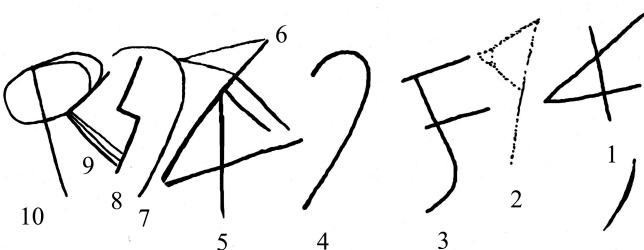
-Table épigraphique-

Le début de l'inscription est la transcription alphabétique du nom propre Ali-dīn-ili dont il est question dans le texte cunéiforme. La suite est moins claire, la séquence G B ' pourrait correspondre à KU-UB-[...] qui qualifie Ali-dīn-ili dans le cunéiforme.

CUSAS 9 435 :

Une grande partie du texte cunéiforme de la tablette 435 est perdue, notamment l'objet de l'enregistrement et les acteurs de ce dernier. L'inscription alphabétique est ainsi plus difficile à interpréter. D'après la photographie nous proposons la lecture suivante :

' (R?) Y P ' x_{1a} x₂ N x_{1b} Q



-Dessin d'après photographie-

	,	R	Y	P	N	Q	signes indéterminés
CUSAS 9 435	α (aleph) (1)					X _{1a} (6)	X ₂
	α (5) (lié à X ₁)					X _{1b} (9)	
Abécédaire de Tell Zayit							

-Table épigraphique-

Ce qui est vraiment nouveau et inattendu, c'est l'attestation à une époque aussi haute (fin 16^{ème} siècle) et en un lieu aussi loin à l'est d'un alphabet présentant des formes assez modernes par rapport aux alphabets proto-cananeens datés du 14^{ème} siècle (Sass 1988, 2004-2005).

Les implications non seulement pour l'histoire de l'écriture, mais aussi pour l'histoire des peuples sémitiques sont considérables et nous laissons à d'autres le soin de les traiter. On regrettera d'autant plus le fait d'ignorer l'origine exacte des documents publiés dans Dalley 2009.

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49) KBo 18.117: A further join to the “Milawata Letter” – The tablet KUB 19.55+KUB 48.90 contains a letter of a Hittite king to a vassal in western Anatolia, commonly referred to as the “Milawata letter”. The king has been thought to be Tudhaliya IV and the addressee Tarkasnawa, king of Mira during the latter part of Tudhaliya’s reign (Hawkins 1998: 19). The preserved parts of the letter discuss various issues including the border with Milawata, a stronghold of Ahhiyawa most likely to be identified with classical Miletus, the re-instatement of king Walmu of Wilusa, probably ancient Troy, and an affair concerning an exchange of the hostages (^{LÚ}LI-TÙ-TUM) of Awarna and Pinali for those of Atriya and Utima, a conflict which had originated during the reign of the addressee’s father. The first two of these localities were probably in Lycia, the second two in Caria. The new join mainly fits into the narrative concerning this affair.

KUB 19.55 stems from the early excavations at Boğazköy-Hattusa, and has no recorded find-spot. The same is true of the join made by H. Hoffner in 1980: KUB 48.90 (Hoffner 1982; 2009: 315). The new join, KBo 18.117 (364/v), was re-excavated in 1963 from the dump of H. Winkler’s original excavation of Temple I at Hattusa (Güterbock 1971: XI; S. Košak, *Konkordanz der Hethitischen Texte/ www.hethiter.net*, version 1.84). While this does not give us a precise find-spot for KUB 19.55+48.90, it does indicate that the original tablet must have been housed in the region of the temple at some point.

The fragment, which is given the no. 399 in Hagenbuchner 1989, contains the remains of six lines on the obverse, supplying the beginnings of KUB 19.55 obv. 22-27, and nine lines on the reverse, including paragraph dividers after lines one and nine, which must fit into the estimated thirteen to fifteen line gap between rev. 17 and 32, as the lines are labeled in KUB 19. The left edge contains part of six lines, which fill the gap in the middle of the left edge of KUB 19.55 almost completely. The very poor handwriting and most notably one particular aspect of the orthography, the abbreviations, are identical to those of KUB 19.55.

There remain many problems with identification of signs and interpretation, not least stemming from the missing signs at the left side of the left edge. There may be as many as ten to thirteen of these on each line. The text of the relevant lines now runs as follows, using the line numbers as supplied in KUB 19.55. The following photographs were used from www.hethiter.net: BoFN01077, BoFN00372, 373, B0967f. I am additionally grateful to F. Fuscagni for sending me photos of the obverse and reverse of KBo 18.117. As the intention here is merely to present the join, readings and assignment of signs to lines that differ from previous treatments of this part of the “Milawata letter” are not all discussed. Previous editions can be found at Sommer 1932: 198-202, 204; Hoffner 2009: 317, 320; Beckman *et alii* 2011: 124, 130.

KUB 19.55+KBo 18.117

Obv. 22-27

- 22: [ZAG]-IA-[ma]-mu-za [le-e][?] i-[la-liš-ki-ši ...][?]
- 23: nu kiš-an [me]-ma-[i] [k]u²¹-iš-k[i]
- 24: na-aš-ma A-NA [A]-BU-KA ku-w[a-pi² ...]
- 25: tu-uk-ma ma-a-an A-BU-KA A-NA L[UGAL²]-UT-TI ...]
- 26: INIM NAM.RU-[ma][?]-kán ŠA-ta x[...]
- 2 7: A-NA ZAG-IA RA-an-zi nu[- ...]

Rev. (between KUB 19.55 rev. 17’ and 32’)

18’: x

- 19': *ma-a-an* x[...]
- 20': *nu-wa-ra-*[...]
- 21': *ku-i-e-[eš]*
- 22': *lu-u-m[a-an-te-eš? ...]*
- 23': *na-at* [...]
- 24': *ki-nu-[un(-) ...]*
- 25': *nu*^{URU}[x ...]
- 26': *na-an* [...]

Left edge:

- 1: [...] *zi-i* q-qā INIM^{URU} *a-wa-ar-na* \grave{U} ^{URU} *p[i]!*-*na-li-ia* GI[M-an x x x x-m]a[?]- kán ^DUTU-ŠI
[am][?]-[m]e[?]-el [DUMU]-[IA] \grave{U} ^{URU}?[pí][?]
- 2: [...] x^{GIS} TUKUL :*tar'-ah'-ha'-te*: UL *an-da u-uh-*lu-un* nu-mu* {GAM} GAM-an[!] x-[x x]
[U]^{URU} [pí][!] IŠ-TU^{GIS} TUKUL^{GI} GAG.[Ú].[TAG.GA-]az[?]
- 3: [...] x SIG₅-an-[n]i *an-da* UL *u-uh-*lu-un* na-aš-ta pa-ra-a u-uh-*lu-un** INIM^{URU} a^{URU} pí *zi-i*[q-q]a
- 4: [...] x^{LÚ} LI-TÙ-TUM^{URU} *a-wa* ^{URU} *pí-na pa-a-i am-mu-uk-ma-wa-ta* ^{LÚ} LI-TÙ-TUM^{URU} *u-ti-ma*^{URU} *at-ri-ia pa-ra-a* [SUM]-*hi*[?]
- 5: *nu*^DUTU-ŠI^{LÚ} LI^{URU} ^{URU} *pí*[*pa*]-*ra-*[*a*]-pát AD-D[I]N *zi-ik-[ma]* NU [SUM] xx x x
- 6: *na-[at]* UL *im-ma ku-it-ki tu-[e]-el* HUL ŠA ZI DINGIR-[at] HUL

Translation:

Obv. 22: but don't [carry on] de[siring] my border ... (23) and *someone* speaks thus ... (24) Or to your father ... (25) so when your father ... you for *k[ingship]*[?](26) the deportee issue in (his/your?) heart ... (27) they are attacking my border ...

Rev. 19: if ... (20) "and ..." (21) who ... (22) all ... (23) and it/they ... (24) now ... (25) and the town of ... (26) and him/it ...

Left edge 1: ho[w y]ou [x-ed] the matter of Awarna and Pinali, but I, My Majesty, oh my son, [x-ed] the town *Pinali* (2) ... mace ... I did not take any notice and [you x-ed?] with me/me down. *The town Pinali* with mace and arrow ... (3) ... for (our) friendship I did not take any notice and looked away. As for the matter of Awarna (and) Pinali you (4) ...[saying] "give (me) the hostages of Awarna and Pinali, then I will give you the hostages of Utima and Atriya". I, My Majesty, have indeed given over the hostages of Awarna and Pinali, but you have not given. This is not at all any evil(-doing) of yours, it (is) an evil against (lit. of) the will of a god.

Obv. 26: for NAM.RU see Kümmel 1967: 41, also citing this example.

Left edge 1: The marking of the connective with both Akkadographic \grave{U} and -ia on *Pinaliya* is pleonastic.

Left edge 2: I read the single wedge before and the double wedge after the word *tar'-ah'-ha'-te*, which is itself written over an erasure and is difficult to interpret, as punctuation or editorial marks of some kind. GAM-an^{!?}: This interpretation assumes that the scribe has forgotten to write the broken horizontal in the sign AN. In this case the scribe may have been distracted after writing and then erasing GAM once already, having mistakenly written it without a word-space to the preceding *nu-mu*. If a better explanation for these traces can be found, it is to be preferred.

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50) Sur l'importance du Vizir et des grands fonctionnaires à Qatna méd.-bab. – Les tout récents textes de l'ancienne Qatna qui viennent d'être publiés par Th. Richter et qui documentent ce qui se passait dans cette région entre l'époque de Mari et celle de Tel Amarna sont les bien venus et la place que semble y tenir la langue hourrite pour spectaculaire qu'elle soit, n'étonne pas.

Plus déconcertante serait, selon les rares lettres que comporte cette archive, la place que semblent alors tenir à Mischrifé les hauts fonctionnaires du royaume d'après les vœux d'un correspondant : son vizir et, ce qui est bien plus étonnant, son *râb nuhatimmi*. Cela peut être tiré de l'excellente édition que nous en propose Th. Richter, *Das Archiv des Idadda*, Qatna Studien 3 qui lit:

TT 1: 1-5 *a-na I id-a-an-da šeš-ia, um-ma I tá-ku-wa šeš-ka, bu-lu-ut lu-ú šul-mu, a-na ugu-ka sukkal-ka, é-gal lu-ú šul-mu* = « Zu Idanda, meinem Bruder (sprich), folgendermaßen (sagt) Takuwa, dein Bruder: Lebe! Wohlergehen sei dir (und) deinem Wesir, dem Palast sei (auch) Wohlergehen! »

De même **TT 2:** 4-6 qui répète, après des 1. 1-3 identiques, *a-na ugu-ka sukkal-ka, gal munus mu-ka sig₅qiš, lu-ú šul-mu* = « Wohlergehen sei dir (und) deinem Wesir, ... in guter Weise sei Wohlergehen ! »

Si la place donnée au (grand) Vizir est en soi extrêmement étonnante, pour le second exemple, il est proposé (*ibid.*, p. 49a) que *gal munus mu* « deutet zwar auf *rabi nuhatimmati », titre inconnu mais qui rappellerait le *rabi nuhatimmi* du I^{er} millénaire.

Ce n'est là en fait qu'une impression fallacieuse à corriger tout de suite. Je proposerais en effet de lire avec la copie qui est excellente:

– **TT 1:** 4-5 : *a-na ugu-ka é*-ka, ma*-gal lu-ú šul-mu* = « En ce qui te concerne, ta maison, puisse-t-il y avoir grandement prospérité! »

– **TT 2:** 4-6 : *a-na ugu-ka é*-ka, kál mim(MÍ)-mu-ka sig₅qiš, lu-ú šul-mu* = « En ce qui te concerne, ta maison, tout ce qui peut t'appartenir, puisse-t-il y avoir bellement prospérité! »

Pour ce qui est de **TT 2:** 5, on remarque que les textes en gros contemporains d'Emar recourent dans ce genre de formule à l'expression *gáb-bá mim-mu*. Il faut donc supposer que GAL a ici la valeur /kál/, attestée il est vrai depuis Mari comme variante de KAL, au moins dans des noms propres; *kalû* est donc ici en variante avec *gabbu*. Quant à *mimmu*, ce dernier terme est écrit avec le signe /mim/ (MÍ), ce que l'on trouve couramment au lieu de *mi-im-*.

Dans **TT 5** 2, il n'est pas sans intérêt de voir que Šarrupše s'adresse à *id-a-an-da* qui est à la fois son seigneur et son père « *be-lí-ia lú a-bi-ia* » (l. 1 et l. 3), comme *dumu-ka ir*-ka-ma*, comme l'indique clairement, sinon l'autographie, au moins la photographie que comporte l'édition. Il faut donc abandonner le *dumu-ka-na-ka-ma* de l'édition qui ferait douter de l'acribie du scribe antique.

Ces vœux sont typiques de l'époque moyenne et sont importants pour replacer l'écriture de ces textes dans leur époque ; *bu-lu-ut dun-qí-iš* se trouve à Alalah, mais *bu-lu-ut* fait déjà partie des salutations de certaines des lettres de Mari (non dans CAD pour des raisons de date de publication de ARM X, mais cf. entre autres, ARM X 93 : 5 ; 103 : 5 ; 116 : 5 ; 141 : 5). Il y a des indices que l'usage de l'impératif, au lieu d'une forme en *l- + D* ou de *lû + permansif*, représente à l'époque paléo-babylonienne une façon occidentale de s'exprimer.

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51) Two Remarkable Aspects from Tall Hadidi/Azû – The Middle Euphrates archaeological site of Tall Hadidi (ancient Azû), excavated in the 1970s by R. Dornemann, has yielded 15 Syrian-type clay

tablets. These tablets are still awaiting publication, but an online edition, arranged by Whiting, can be found at <http://www.helsinki.fi/~whiting/hadidcat.html>.

The tablets can be chronologically linked to those from Tall Münbaqa/Ekalte, about 5 km. south, since four specific individuals are attested in the documents from both towns, as Mayer and Whiting have already indicated. One of them is Pazūri-Dagān, a scribe from Azû (Ek 74:37 and Ek 75:51; Had 1:32; Had 2:37; and Had 9:31); we know that he came from Azû because he is specified as such in Ek 74:37 (IGI ^m*Pa-zu-ri*-^dKUR DUB₁.SAR ₁*ša* ^{URU}*A-zu*₁[KI]). The second is Huzāmu, son of Abī-hamīṣ, who appears as a witness in Had 1:28 and Ek 75:46 (see <http://www.helsinki.fi/~whiting/hadid01.html>, note on line 28). The third is Nūrī, son of Dagān-tillatī, attested in Ek 74:27 and Had 4:30. Finally, a scribe named Kunūriš (Had 5:29) could be the same scribe who appears in Ek 43:34; Ek 63:2'; and Ek 69:7.

The texts from both archives reflect several traces of the same culture, denoting the sharing of the same social, religious, and linguistic contexts, what could also be extended to the Syrian-type group of tablets from the massive archive from Emar –the Emar corpus is also formed by a group of Syro-Hittite-type tablets. Indeed, it is believed that the Ekalte and Azû archives could be contemporary to the Syrian type tablets from Emar, as will be discussed in forthcoming articles.

However, two original, remarkable aspects from the few tablets which form the Azû corpus can be highlighted. These aspects deal with the administrative and religious contexts of the town, in comparison with the data coming from Ekalte and Emar, the two main corpora from the land of Aštata.

The first aspect deals with the character of the patron god of the town. It is taken for granted that Dagān was the head of the pantheon in ancient Syria, assuming the role of “father of gods” and thus being equated to the characters of An in Sumer or Marduk in Babylon. This appears to be clear given the overwhelming amount of personal names that include the theonym Dagān in Emar, Ekalte, and Azû.¹ Nevertheless, the Emar and Ekalte archives reflect the figure of the local patron god, which is a divinity other than Dagān. The role of patron god is played by NIN.URTA in Emar and by Ba'laka in Ekalte, and they usually appear in legal contracts (mainly public real estate sales), in which they are depicted as the actual owners of the public plots of land sold to private individuals, alongside the council of Elders of the town. On the contrary, it is actually Dagān himself who appears to play the role of local patron god in Azû, as can be discerned from his presence in Had 4:12-15 ([É-tu]m an-nu *ša* ^dDa-gan [ù LÚ]^{MES} *ab-hi* [KI ^d]Da-gan ù LÚ.MES *ab-hi* [be-lu?] É-ti) and Had 5:6-8 (É-tum *ša* ^dDa-gan ù UR[U?]^{KI} KI ^dDa-gan ù LÚ.MES AB.BA.HI.A *be-el*).

Precisely, the second remarkable aspect of the Azû tablets is the lack of attestations of the collective known as the Elders (^{LÚ.MES}ši-bu-tum), which are widely attested in Emar and Ekalte.² In these archives, the Elders seem to play the most important administrative role, being identified with the town and also with the patron god, since they are depicted as co-owners of the public land alongside the divinity (see, e.g., RE 2:8-11; RE 5:9-12; RE 24:7-10 in Emar; Ek 3:15; Ek 4:12; Ek 5:13; Ek 6:12 in Ekalte). In addition, the Elders seem to be clearly separated from the Brothers in terms of their respective functions, since the Brothers appear to have been responsible for other legal fields such as wills and hereditary divisions. Conversely, the Elders seem to be completely absent from the Tall Hadidi texts, whereas it is the Brothers who are widely attested and seem to take over those functions supposed to be typical of the Elders. Thus, the Brothers of Azû are attested as co-owners of public land alongside the patron god Dagān in Had 4:2,13,20,26,39 (^{LÚ.MES} *ab-hi*); Had 5:7 (^{LÚ.MES} AB.BA.HI.A –this logogram is not supposed to designate the Brothers; however, cf. Had 3:31,43-44, where ^{LÚ.MES} *ab-hi* and ^{LÚ.MES} AB.BA appear to be equivalent). The Brothers also appear as testament validators or witnesses in Had 6:5,43-44,48 (^{LÚ}AH.HI.A) and Had 12:2,17-18, where we are told about the chief of the Brothers (^{LÚ}GAL *ša* ^{LÚ}AH.HI.A), an interesting position, apparently mentioned in two Syro-Hittite tablets from Emar (cf. BLMJ 8:16, RE 7:23-24) and unattested in Ekalte, whose role and functions are unfortunately yet to be discerned.

Even though these aspects seem very interesting, it is important to bear in mind that the archive of Azû is too small in comparison with those from Ekalte and Emar and that it could be too hasty to take any conclusions. Nevertheless, it seems interesting to point out these two aspects, in order to suggest a

further and deeper analysis of the social similarities and differences of the ancient towns of the land of Aštata.

Had	Brothers/PN/DN	Function	Script
3:31		Witness, [.....] of the Brothers	LÚ AB.B[A.....]
3:43-44	Bipati-ilim	Seal owner, [.....] of the Brothers	[.....] ša LÚ.MEŠ ab-hi
4:2	Brothers of Dagān	Uncertain	LÚ.MEŠ ab-hi ša ^d Da-gan
4:13	Brothers	Land owners	[LÚ] MEŠ ab-hi
4:20	Dagān and the Brothers	Silver accepters	^d Da-gan ù LÚ.MEŠ ab-hu
4:26	Brothers	Fine receivers	LÚ.MEŠ ab-hi
4:39	Dagān	Seal owner	^d Da-gan
5:7	Dagān and the Brothers	Field owners	^d Da-gan ù LÚ.MEŠ AB.BA.HI.A
6:5	Brothers	Testament attendants/validators	LÚ <AH>HI.A
6:43-44		Witness, chief of the Brothers	LÚ.GAL ša LÚ AH.HI.A
6:48	Mati-Dagān, s. Ibniya	Seal owner	LÚ.GAL AH.HI.A
12:2	Brothers	Testament attendants/validators	LÚ.MEŠ ab-hi-[šu?]
12:17-18	Šeimgi, s. Tilana	Witness, chief of the Brothers	LÚ.GAL LÚ.MEŠ ab-hi

1) The alternative possibility pointed out by Fleming, in which Dagān would be the divine point of reference by playing the role of supreme ancestor of the *people*, must not be forgotten. See Fleming, D.E. (2008): “The Integration of Household and Community Religion in Ancient Syria”. BODEL, J.; S.M. OLYAN, eds.: *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*. Oxford, pp. 37-59 (esp. pp. 43-45).

2) A thorough analysis of the collective powers in LBA Syria, including the Brothers from Azû, has been carried out by Bárbara Solans, to whom I am deeply indebted for her comments on this note. The forthcoming publication of her PhD dissertation is strongly recommended.

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52) Leitfaden der Beschwörungskunst, some remarks on a well-known text – The text known as *Leitfaden der Beschwörungskunst* has a long history of publication. The copy of the first manuscript (VAT 8275 = MS. A) was published by E. Ebeling (*KAR* 44), then it was treated by H. Zimmern (1915: 204-229; transliteration, translation, commentary) and J. Bottéro (1975: 95-144 and 1985: 65-112; partial transliteration, translation, commentary). The second manuscript of the Manual found in Uruk (W 23293/4 = MS. G) was published by E. von Weiher (*SpTU* V, 231).

M. J. Geller in his *Incipits and Rubrics* identified, copied and transliterated four more relevant manuscripts (MSs. B = 79-7-8,250; c = BM 55148+; d = Rm 717+; e = BM 36678 obv.), and re-edited the manuscript from Assur (Geller 2000: 242-254, 256-258).

Recently the Manual was treated by C. Jean (2006: 62-82), who republished the text based on the transliteration and translation of E. von Weiher and M. J. Geller.

The aim of this note is twofold. Our first purpose is to make remarks on some of the rubrics mentioned in the Manual. Second, we intend to correct problematical transliterations of earlier authors. The manuscripts from Assur (MS. A) and Uruk (MS. G) are the subjects of correction.

Il. 2-3: While discussing the Manual’s second line C. Ambos (2004: 7) remarked that “Der Eintrag im «Leitfaden» beschreibt also die Abfolge der Ritualhandlungen, die durchgeführt werden mussten, um ein funktionstüchtiges Heiligtum einzurichten.” The mention of the rubrics of the ritual acts that accompanied the building of temples (^dkulla), the introduction of gods’ statues (luh ka) and the investiture of priests (ni-šu-ut en-na) is followed by the mention of the rubrics of those acts, which were performed during the cult of gods (inim abzu, gi-nu-tag-ga, šu-luh dingir-ra). Geller (2000: 252) already stated that the third line of the Manual contains the rubrics associated with cultic practices, although, he was not able to identify their exact nature. Furthermore, Jean (2006: 76) noted that “le rituel du *mīs pī*

semble être désigné de plusieurs façons par le manuel et ces distinctions échappent à notre entendement: I. 2 LUH KA (DINGIR.RA); I. 3 ŠU.LUH DINGIR.RA; I 11 KA.LUH.Ù.DA(DINGIR)".

The difference between luh ka and ka-luh-ù-da was discussed by C. Walker and M. B. Dick (2001: 10; cf. *RIA* X, p. 583), who raised the possibility of the existence of some luh ka incantations associated with mouth washing of other statues than that of gods.

So far, the rubric šu-luh(-ha) dingir-ra is determined as a kind of purification rite of the gods (*AHW* III s.v. šuluhhu; *CAD* Š/III s.v. šuluhhu; as a certain type of purification rite performed during the New Year Festival see Farber-Flügge 1973: 191-196, 198), however, there are several texts that may help to provide a more exact definition. In Neo-Assyrian cultic texts one can read of a certain activity performed by the king or the šangû-priest before and after the sacrifice, i.e. *mē qātē qarrubu* ("to bring the water of the hand nearby"; cf. Menzel 1981, vol. I: 155, vol. II: no. 24. obv. i 19, no. 28. obv. 11, no. 30. obv. 19). Furthermore, it is the description of Gudea's second dream, where we find the following important passage (Cyl. A x 8-13, ETCSL c./t.2.1.7: 254-272):

- 254. ^{giš}banšur mu-^rfl^l
- 255. šu-luh si bí-sá
- 256. šu si sá-a-ğu₁₀ an kug-ge ù-a ba-zig-ge
- 257. níğ šu-ğá dùg-ga-àm
- 258. a ugu₄-ğu₁₀ dùg-ga-bi mu-gu₇
- 259. an lugal diğir-re-ne-ke₄
- 260. ^dnin-ğír-su¹ lugal išib an-na
- 261. mu-şè mu-^rsa₄¹

"I set up the offering table (and) perform the «Hand Washing» rite correctly; my straight hand awakes holy An from (his) sleep. My father, who begott me eats the very best food from my hand. (Therefore) An, king of the gods calls me «King Ningîrsu, the išib priest of An»."

The washing of the hands of a god's statue before and after divine meals is a well-known Mesopotamian custom. It was already discussed by Oppenheim who referred to the Late Babylonian cultic texts from Uruk (Oppenheim 1977²: 188-189). We believe that the rubric šu-luh(-ha) dingir-ra can be associated with this cultic act.

1. 18 (úš kir₄ ku₅-da buru₈ ku₅-ru-da ^{da-ga-nu} gig u ša-sur ku₅-ru-da [qa]-na ši-ta-ši¹): Vomiting, bleeding and discharge of other physical substances are the goals of some healing treatments mentioned in medical texts; e.g. (1) AMT 43,1 ii 5: en úš è-ni ta-kar ki-ma [...]; (2) AMT 25,6 ii 8: en úš igi-^rdu₈¹ ta-kar; (3) Tsukimoto 1999: 16-17: ^{giš, sim}gúr-gúr ^{giš, sim}li ina kaš ta-ma-ha-aş nag-ma i-pár-ru adi ti-ut.

Based on the treatments mentioned above, one can assume Babylonian medicine could have had the particular concept that discharge of physical substances was in connection with the going away of malevolent illnesses.

Incorrect transliterations are indicated on the first place; they are followed by the correct ones. The brackets contain the authors' names, who have transliterated the Manual one way or another; the bold letters mark the problematical parts of given passages.

L.	Ms.	Incorrect transliteration	Correct transliteration
1	A	igi-du ₈ - ám (Geller 2000; Jean 2006)	igi-du ₈ - a (Bottéro 1975, 1985)
2	A	^d kulla suhuš è- <i>tí</i> <i>n[a-dú-ú]</i> (Zimmern 1915; Bottéro 1975, 1985; Geller 2000; Jean 2006)	^d kulla suhuš è- <i>tí</i> <i>na-dú-ú</i> (cf. Ambos 2004: 4. n. 50.)
2	G	<i>ni-šu-tu</i> en-na (Jean 2006)	<i>ni-šu-ut</i> en-na (Weiher, <i>SpTU</i> V, no. 231)
5	G	<i>sak-ke-e</i> lugal- u-tim (Jean 2006)	<i>sak-ke-e</i> lugal- ú-tim (Weiher, <i>SpTU</i> V, no. 231)
10	G	alan-níğ-é-sag-íl.meš (Weiher, <i>SpTU</i> V, no. 231; Jean 2006)	alan-níğ-é-sag-íl- lá ¹ .meš
13	A	^d dim -me-ke ₄ (Zimmern 1915; Bottéro 1975, 1985; Geller 2000; Jean 2006)	^d dim₈ -me-ke ₄ (for the signs "dim" [RAB.GAM] and "dim ₈ " [RAB.GAN] see Borger 2004: 96-97, 306-307)

15	A	^d dim-me-kám (Zimmern 1915; Bottéro 1975, 1985; Geller 2000; Jean 2006)	^d dim ₈ -me-kám
21	A	kiri ₆ (Geller 2000; Jean 2006)	giškiri ₆ (cf. Borger 2004: 497)
21	G	íd [] u KI-né-e ^d nisaba (Weiher, <i>SpTU V</i> , no. 231; Jean 2006)	íd-[t]i (i.e. nārti) u KI-né-e ^d nisaba
25	G	dúr-na-de ₅ dingir dù-a-bi (Weiher, <i>SpTU V</i> , no. 231; Jean 2006)	dúr-na-de ₅ u dingir dù-a-bi
26	A	na ₄ gar-šú (Geller 2000; Jean 2006)	na ₄ gar-šú (Bottéro 1975, 1985; cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 21)
27	G	šu-nigin-e éš-gàr (Weiher, <i>SpTU V</i> , no. 231; Jean 2006; cf. Frahm 2011: 325)	šu ¹ (SAG)-nigin ¹ (MEŠ ²)-e ¹ (KUR) KA ² éš-gàr
28	G	^m li ₉ -si ₄ -a (Jean 2006)	^d li ₉ -si ₄ -a (Weiher, <i>SpTU V</i> , no. 231; cf. Frahm 2011: 325)
34	G	šu-gi[dim-m]a (Weiher, <i>SpTU V</i> , no. 231; Jean 2006)	šu-gi[dim-m]a- ^f ke ₄ ¹
35	G	šu-nam-érim-ma šu-nam-lú-u ₁₈ -lu (Jean 2006)	šu-nam-érim-ma u šu-nam-lú-u ₁₈ -lu (Weiher, <i>SpTU V</i> , no. 231)
38	G	níg-zí-gal edin-na (Weiher, <i>SpTU V</i> , no. 231; Jean 2006)	níg-zí-gál edin-na (cf. Frahm 2011: 329)
39	A	u ₄ ^d en-líl-lá (Geller 2000; Jean 2006)	u ₄ an ^d en-líl-lá (Zimmern 1915; Bottéro 1975, 1985)
41	A	dingir-min-na-bi kúr-min-na-bi ge[št]ug dagal-la (Geller 2000)	dingir-min-na-bi kúr-min-na-bi gé[št]ug dagal-la (Zimmern 1915; Bottéro 1975, 1985)
41	A	dingir min-na-bi ge[št]ug dagal-la (Jean 2006)	dingir-min-na-bi kúr-min-na-bi gé[št]ug dagal-la (Zimmern 1915, Bottéro 1974, 1985)
41	G	géštug ¹ (Weiher, <i>SpTU V</i> , no. 231), geštu ¹ (Jean 2006)	geštug ^{II} ¹ (cf. the parallel passage in MS. d)
42	A	ba-an-sa ₄ ¹ (Geller 2000; Jean 2006)	ba-an-sa ₄ ¹ -a (Zimmern 1915; Bottéro 1975, 1985)

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Note: A different translation of the quoted passage of Gudea’s second dream is given at ETCSRI (Q000377: The Building of Ningirsu’s temple): “I lay the ritual table and perform correctly the hand-washing rites. I raise my

outstretched hands towards the holy sky with the food. My father who begot me eats the very best of the good things I prepare. An, king of the gods, called me «Ningirsu, is the išib-priest of An»." (courtesy of Dr. Gábor Zólyomi)

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53) A Shalmanezer III inscription – The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of Cambridge¹⁾, UK, houses a Shalmanezer III slab which bears a well known inscription of the Assyrian king.²⁾ The text relates the restoration of the *ziqqurat* in Nimrud (ancient Kalhu)³⁾ from where the slab is originated.

Transliteration

1) ^{md}šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN GAL-ú

2) MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ

3) A ^mAŠ.PAP.A MAN GAL-ú

4) MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ

5) A ^mTUKUL.MAŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR [AŠ-ma]

6) ri-šip-tú šá U₆.NIR

7) URU_{kal-hi}⁴⁾

Translation

1) Shalmaneser (III), the great king,

2) mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,

3) son of Ashurnasirpal (II), the great king,

4) mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,

5) (grand)son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria:

6) the revetment of the temple tower

7) in Kalhu.



- 1) The artefact is published here by the kind permission of Dr. Anne Taylor, Curatorial Assistant of Archaeology.
- 2) Grayson, A. K., *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II. (858-745 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3, Toronto 1996, A.0.102.111.
- 3) Postgate, J.N. - Reade, J.E., Kalhu, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, vol. 5. (1976-80) 303-323.
- 4) See CAD R 376b.

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54) Remarks on the sources for the lunar latitude section of Atypical Astronomical Cuneiform Text

E – The atypical astronomical cuneiform text BM 41004, known as “Atypical Text E”, contains four sections: Section 1 (Obv. 1–22) which presents a scheme for calculating lunar latitude, Section 2 (Obv. 23–26) which concerns planetary conjunctions, Section 3 (Rev. 1–17) which presents planetary periods, and Section 4 (Rev. 18–23) which deals with lunar motion, eclipses and latitude. In their edition of the text,¹ Neugebauer and Sachs noted three duplicates to Section 1: LBAT 1502 Rev. II' 10'-11' duplicating Atypical Text E Obv. 1–3, LBAT 1501 Rev. II' 1'-6' duplicating Atypical Text E Obv. 19–21, and BM 33739 duplicating Atypical Text E Obv. 13–16. To these examples I add BM 36874 (= 80-6-17, 614),² a small fragment measuring about 5½ cm by 5 cm from the left edge of a tablet, which duplicates part of Atypical Text E Obv. 4–6.

BM 36874

- 1' [ina] 'MU-AN)[-NA šá-ni-tu₄]
- 2' 2/3 KASKAL-BU TA U[GU MÚL-MÚL]
- 3' ana EGIR-ki LAL-is-ma N[IM DIB-at]
- 4' 5 UŠ ár ALLA 'x¹ [MÚRUB-at]
- 5' 5 UŠ RÍN NU KUR [BÙR]
- 6' 5 UŠ ina MÁŠ DIB-ma MURÚB-t[u]
- 7' ITU 1 UŠ 40 GAR ana EGIR-šú 'x¹ [...]
- 8' ina 3 [MU-MEŠ ...]
- 9' traces only

Textual notes

4' BM 41004 has ár-ki where BM 36874 has just ár.

5' BM 41004 has GIŠ-RÍN where BM 36874 has just RÍN.

6' The *ina* is missing in BM 41004. It may simply be a scribal error but H. Hunger also notes the possibility of reading *ina* literally and suggests translating “it passes 5 degrees in Capricorn”. Another possibility would be to amend the text to *ina* <IGI> MÁŠ DIB-ma and translate “it passes 5 degrees in front of Capricorn”.

7' ITU is missing in BM 41004 which abbreviates here replacing *ana EGIR-šú* ... with KI MIN.

As there is only a small amount of missing text at the end of each line, BM 36874 must be a fragment from a multi-column tablet. Whether the complete tablet contained all four sections of Atypical Text E remains an open question. However, it seems that Section 1 was copied independently of the other parts of Atypical Text E in at least two of the sources. On LBAT 1502 Rev. two columns remain. The duplicate to Atypical Text E Section 1 begins at the bottom of the column II; there is insufficient space to fit all of Sections 2–4 on the remainder of the reverse of this tablet. The relevant part of LBAT 1501 seems to duplicate only part of Atypical Text E Section 1. The 6 lines preserved on LBAT 1501 correspond to 3 lines of text on Atypical Text E. Thus if this section was a complete duplicate about 30 lines of text must be missing from the beginning. Inspection of the tablet suggests that there is insufficient room for 30 lines to be restored in the lost parts of columns I and II. It would appear therefore that only the schematic presentation of the moon’s latitudinal motion found in the second part of Atypical Text E Section 1 (Obv. 9–22) was copied onto LBAT 1501. Thus Atypical Text E Section 1 was an

independent unit of text that could be copied either in full or in part and separately from the other sections of Atypical Text E.

As Section 1 of Atypical Text E was copied independently on several tablets we must conclude that it was a standard section and view its inclusion on Atypical Text E in this light. Thus we should perhaps not expect Sections 1 and Sections 4 of this text to be consistent with each other, in the same way as many other procedure texts contain compilations of standard sections. For example, ACT No. 812 contains procedures for Jupiter of both System A and System B variety. The inclusion of Sections 1 and 4 may simply reflect a desire on the part of the scribe to gather together procedures dealing with lunar latitude, rather than schemes which are necessarily consistent.

It is worthy of note that both LBAT 1501 and LBAT 1502 contain in the column next to the duplicates of Atypical Text E Section 1 lists of distances above and below Normal Stars, related to those in Sections 12 and 13 of the star text BM 36609+.³ As I have shown elsewhere these distances define a band 6 cubits in width through which the moon moves, or, in modern terms, the extremes of the moon's latitudinal motion.⁴ It may well be significant, therefore, that these lists are found on the same tablets as a scheme for calculating lunar latitude which refers to stars. This may add further support to the recent reinterpretation of Section 1 of Text E by Brack-Bernsen and Hunger.⁵

1. O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs, "Some Atypical Astronomical Cuneiform Texts I", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 21 (1967), 183–218.
2. BM 36874 is published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.
3. N. A. Roughton, J. M. Steele and C. B. F. Walker, "A late Babylonian Normal and *Ziqpu* Star Text", *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 58 (2004), 537–572.
4. J. M. Steele, "Celestial Measurement in Babylonian Astronomy", *Annals of Science* 64 (2007), 293–325.
5. L. Brack-Bernsen and H. Hunger, "On the "Atypical Astronomical Cuneiform Text E": A Meanvalue Scheme for Predicting Lunar Latitude", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 51 (2005–06), 96–107.

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55) The Akkadian Etymology of Aramaic Nerab 'rst' – At a meeting of l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres on 13th March 1896, Charles Clermont-Ganneau presented the two funerary stelae, which had been found at Nerab near Aleppo in 1891 and were now destined for the Louvre.¹⁾ He gave a preliminary translation of the Aramaic inscriptions on the stelae and mentioned in particular Nerab I, KAI 225: 3-4, *znh slmh w'rsth*, which he translated "Ceci est son image et son lit funéraire".²⁾ During the following two months, he delivered a series of lectures on the stelae at the Collège de France and the resulting publications appeared in 1897.³⁾ In his more detailed comments on 'rst', which is found with *slm*, "image" in Nerab I, KAI 225: 3-4, 6-7 and 12, but separately from *slm* in Nerab II, KAI 226: 8, he dismissed any connection with Heb. 'eres, "earth, land", pointing out that the Aramaic word for "earth, land" is 'rq' or 'r'.⁴⁾ Instead he connected 'rst' with Heb. 'rs', Palmyrene Aram. 'rs', and Akk. eršu, "couch, funerary couch, bed". Although the phonological difficulties with this suggestion are insurmountable (for example, /'r/ > /r/ is not found in Old Aramaic), many scholars have accepted Clermont-Ganneau's proposal.⁵⁾ M. Lidzbarski took it on board at first but in his *Ephemeris* he described it as Clermont-Ganneau's "eigenste création".⁶⁾ J. Halévy on the other hand admired the "ingénieuse idée" that 'rst' should be associated with 'rs', though he also pointed out that Akk. eršetu, "earth, land" might provide the etymology: "irṣitu, 'terre' signifie bien 'tombeau' mais non 'sarcophage'".⁷⁾ The latter suggestion was put forward again by G. R. Driver nearly forty years later, though without any reference to Halévy's article. Driver wrote: "Acc. irṣitu, 'earth, underworld' used in the restricted sense of 'grave' which is supported by the Targ.-Aram. šywl 'r'yt', 'Sheol below' since the adj. 'r'h, 'lower' is derived from 'r', 'earth'".⁸⁾ In another article ten years later he repeated his view that *slm* 'w'rst' "could be nothing but 'effigy and tomb'".⁹⁾ He argued that Akk. eršetu has the sense of "grave" because it is glossed *bīt mūti*, "house of death" and *naqbaru*, "grave" in a syllabary. However, S. A. Kaufman has

pointed out that Driver's understanding of the Akkadian text is incorrect, because the lexical passage which Driver cites "only shows that Sum. arali (É.KUR.BAD) can mean *erṣetu*, 'underworld' as well as *bīt mūti* and *naqbaru*, 'grave', and not that those terms on the Akkadian side of the list are equivalent!"¹⁰⁾ The phonological questions surrounding the '*rṣt*' < *erṣetu* proposal, although they are not as serious as they are with '*rš*', can only be addressed by arguing that '*rṣt*' represents a loanword from Akk. *erṣetu*.¹¹⁾

Dissatisfied with previous suggestions, Kaufman has proposed Akk. *eṣettu*, a form of *eṣemtu*, "bone, skeleton", as the etymology for Nerab '*rṣt*'.¹²⁾ He draws attention to the mortuary inscription of Shamash-ibni, an Aramaean tribal chief, in which the following clause occurs: *šumma rubû...ana kimaḥhi u eṣetti šuāti ihaṭtu*, "if a prince should sin against that grave and the bones it in".¹³⁾ This is an interesting suggestion and, as Kaufman points out, "bones" or "a corpse" are moveable, as the context in the Nerab inscriptions requires. In his review of V. Hug's *Altaramäische Grammatik*, however, he proposes the translation "sarcophagus" on the basis of the same etymology.¹⁴⁾ The *r* of the Aramaic form is a difficulty, as Kaufman admits, but I. A. Yun reports P. Dion's suggestion to compare it with the *r* in Aram. *krs*, "throne" (cf. Akk. *kussû*).¹⁵⁾

I wish to propose a quite different interpretation of '*rṣt*', which also rests on an Akkadian etymology. All attempts to establish the precise meaning and etymology of '*rṣt*' are based on the assumption that the word must in some way refer to a funerary couch or a sarcophagus or a grave, or to bones or remains. But more attention should be given to a remark that Clermont-Ganneau made in 1897: "Il s'agit évidemment d'un objet mobile comme la stèle figure, ou *ṣlm*, avec laquelle il est mentionné".¹⁶⁾ I suggest that '*rṣt*' means "relief, picture" and that it is a loanword from Akk. *uṣurtu*, "relief, picture, engraving, drawing".¹⁷⁾ The meaning fits the context perfectly. A passage in the Sippar Šamaš tablet of Nabû-apla-iddina (= BBSt 36) is instructive for the present purposes. Lines III 19-25 read: *uṣurti ṣalmišu ḥirpu ša haṣbi šikinšu* (GAR-šū) *u simatišu ina eberti* ^{id}*Puratti ša balri erib Šamši* (BAL.RI ^dUTU.ŠÚ.A) *innamirma*, "when a relief of his (Shamash's) image, a fired clay (impression) of his appearance and attributes, was found across the Euphrates – on the western bank".¹⁸⁾ Akk. *uṣurti ṣalmišu*, "a relief of his image", is similar to Nerab I, KAI 225:3-4, *wznh ṣlmh w'rṣth*, "and this is his image and his relief (or 'his picture')". Furthermore, *uṣurtu* can be found in a context of defacing and eradicating: *uṣratsu ittas̄hu*, "they eradicated his (Nabonidus's) picture".¹⁹⁾ Mention can be made of other noteworthy passages: *ša ep̄set qātiya unakkaruma bunnān̄tya usalḥjū uṣurāt ̄esiru ušamsaku simātiya upaššaṭu*, "whoever tears out my handiwork, defaces my portraits, discards the reliefs I have made, erases my features";²⁰⁾ and *ṣalmu šarri ša mēširi anāku ēteširi*, "I made a likeness of the king for a relief (or: in a picture)".²¹⁾ In the Nerab inscriptions the terms *ṣlm*' and '*rṣt*' both refer to the images and carved reliefs of the priests on the stelae. The metathesis in the form '*rṣt*' is not a great difficulty and examples with *r* are not uncommon. See Akk. *mērānu* ~ Ugar. *inr*, "young dog, puppy";²²⁾ Akk. *irtu*, Ugar. *irt*, "breast" ~ Emar *r̄i'u*, Arab. *ri'a*, "lung";²³⁾ Ugar. *t̄gr* ~ Aram. *tar'a*, "gate"; and within Akkadian, *kakardinnu* and *karkadinnu*, "cook, baker, steward";²⁴⁾ *ṣamāru* and *ṣarāmu*, "strive, endeavour";²⁵⁾ and possibly *epartu* and *eriptu*, "coat".²⁶⁾

It is not surprising to find a word of Akkadian origin in the Nerab inscriptions in which the names of the buried are Assyrian and the deities are Babylonian. Mesopotamian influence in the Nerab inscriptions was noticed from the very beginning by Clermont-Ganneau and the evidence has accumulated over the years. A striking example of Assyrian influence is in the names of the priests commemorated by the stelae: *Šnzrbn*, Sin-zer-ibni (Nerab I, 1) and *Š'gbr*, Si'-gabbar (Nerab II, 1). Beginning with Clermont-Ganneau in 1896 the initial *š* in these names was for many years (until 1970) interpreted as a genitive particle (= Akk. *ša*). Clermont-Ganneau read the name in Nerab I as *Nzrbn* but Lidzbarski was convinced that the name was *Šnzrbn* and interpreted scratches on the stone before the name as a *š*, the required genitive particle as he saw it.²⁷⁾ In 1900 Kokovtsov rejected the existence of a genitive particle in Aramaic and argued that the *š* was part of the names.²⁸⁾ The Russian scholar's observation was rejected or ignored until Kaufman identified the name ¹*si-i'-gab-ba-ri* in a seventh century Assyrian text.²⁹⁾ This discovery was confirmed in a remarkable way by S. Parpola, when he published a Neo-Assyrian letter addressed to Sargon II in which "Se-gabbari [Sē-gabbāri] priest of Nerab" is mentioned.³⁰⁾ We know now that the *Si'/Sē'* of the priest's name is a West Semitic by-form of

the moon god *Sin*. If our interpretation of Nerab 'rṣt' is correct, it fits in well with everything else that has been learned about these inscriptions, not least the elements showing Assyrian influence.

- 1) *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 40^e année, No. 2 (1896) 118-120.
- 2) *Idem*, 119.
- 3) C. Clermont-Ganneau, "Les Stèles araméennes de Neîrab", *Études d'archéologie orientale* 2 (1897) 182-223; *Album d'antiquités orientales: Recueil de monuments inédits ou peu connus* (Paris, 1897).
- 4) Clermont-Ganneau, "Les Stèles araméennes de Neîrab", 193.
- 5) P. Kokovtsov, "Drevnearameyskie nadpisi iz Niraba bliz Aleppo" [Old Aramaic inscriptions from Nerab near Aleppo], *Zapiski: Vostochnogo otdeleniya Rysskogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* 12 (1899) 145-178 (152-154) (I wish to thank Oxford D.Phil. student Katia Kozlova for her help with this article in Russian); P. Kokovtsov, "Nouvel essai d'interprétation de la seconde inscription araméenne de Nirab", *Journal Asiatique*, 9th ser., 14 (1899) 432-445 (445); G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903) 187-188; C. C. Torrey, "New Notes on Some Old Inscriptions", *ZA* 26 (1912) 77-92 (90); S. Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law", *VT* 11 (1961) 137-158 (148); H. Donner and W. Röllig, *KAI II* (Wiesbaden, 1971) 275; M. Sokoloff, "The Old Aramaic Inscription from Bukan: A Revised Interpretation", *IEJ* 49 (1999) 105-115 (108).
- 6) See M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, vol. 1, *Texte* (Weimar, 1898) 227, 445; *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, vol. 1, 1900-1902 (Giessen, 1902) 195-196.
- 7) J. Halévy, "Nouvelles remarques sur les inscriptions de Nérab", *Revue Sémitique* 4 (1896) 369-373. See Halévy's first article "Les deux stèles de Nerab", *Revue Sémitique* 4 (1896) 279-284.
- 8) G. R. Driver, "Problems in Aramaic and Hebrew Texts", in *Miscellanea Orientalia: Dedicata Antonio Deimel annos LXX compleenti* (AnOr 12; Rome) 46-70 (49). For the Targumic Aramaic phrase, see TgOnqDeut. 32:22 and TgPs. 86:13.
- 9) G. R. Driver, "Brief Notes", *PEQ* (1945) 5-14 (11).
- 10) S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago, 1974) 50 n. 89 and ref. to CT XVIII 30 rev. 28-30.
- 11) The following scholars accept the Akkadian etymology *erṣetu*: E. Y. Kutscher, "Contemporary Studies in North-Western Semitic": Review article of G. Garbini, *Il semitico di nord-ovest*, *JSS* 10 (1965) 21-51 (42); M. H. Silverman, Review of *KAI II*, in *JAOS* 94 (1974) 266-272 (271); J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. 2, *Aramaic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1975) 96; H. Niehr, "Die Grabstelen zweier Priester des Mondgottes aus Nerab (Syrien) im Licht alter und neuer Funde", in S. Ernst and M. Häusl (eds), *Kulte, Priester, Rituale: Beiträge zu Kult und Kultkritik im Alten Testament und Alten Orient; Festchrift für Theodor Seidl zum 65. Geburtstag* (ATSAT 89; St Ottilien, 2010) 41-58 (45). For a well-argued case against the interpretation of *erṣetu* and 'rṣt' as "grave", see D. Marcus, "The Term 'Coffin' in the Semitic Languages", *JANES* 7 (1975) 85-94 esp. 91.
- 12) Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 50 n. 89.
- 13) *CAD E* 342 and ref. to *YOS* 1 43:13.
- 14) Review of V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v. Chr.*, *JAOS* 115 (1995) 125-126.
- 15) I. A. Yun, "A Case of Linguistic Transition: The Nerab Inscriptions", *JSS* 51, 19-43 (24). Yun gives the translation "remains".
- 16) Clermont-Ganneau, "Les Stèles araméennes de Neîrab", 196.
- 17) *CAD U* 290-295. See also the entries under *ēṣerū*, "to draw, to make a drawing, to depict", in *CAD E* 346-349 and note *ēṣiru*, "carver of reliefs", 350. Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 109-110, rejects the suggestion that Aram. *swrh/swrt*, "picture, form" is a loanword from Akk. *uṣurtu*. He notes that Akkadian and Hebrew have verbs with the root *YSR* whereas the Aramaic reflex is *SWR*, "to form". It is worth noting that the phrase *šlm wṣwrh*, "an image or a figure", is found in Tg. Neof., Tg. Ps.-Jon. and some Genizah fragments. See M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (2nd edn; Ramat-Gan, 2002) 461.
- 18) See C. E. Woods, "The Sun-God Tablet of Nabû-apla-iddina Revisited", *JCS* 56 (2004) 23-103 (85 for the translation given here). Note Woods's comment (94) that "relief" is the "appropriate translation" of *uṣurtu*. Cf. *BBSt* 36 iii 19-25 where King's translation of *uṣurti šalmišu* is "a model of his image". K. E. Slanski, *The Babylonian Entitlement narûs (kudurrus): A Study in their Form and Function* (ASOR Books 9; Boston, 2003) 205 prefers "a design of his image".
- 19) *CAD U* 292.
- 20) *CAD E* 347 and ref. to Lyon Sar. 12:76.
- 21) *CAD E* 347 and *CAD M/2* 37 and ref. to *ABL* 1051:5.
- 22) W. G. E. Watson, "Philological Notes", *Newsletter for Ugaritic Studies* 21 (1980) 8-9.
- 23) Y. Cohen, "The West Semitic/Peripheral Akkadian Term for 'Lung'", *JAOS* 122 (2002) 824-827.
- 24) *CAD K* 42-43. See W. von Soden, *GAG Ergänzungen* 6** (§ 36).

- 25) See D. Testen, "Evidence of an Early Metathesis among Akkadian *piristum*-Stem Nouns", *JAOS* 123 (2003) 577-594, esp. 587-589.
- 26) Idem, 591.
- 27) See Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, vol. 1, 322, 445.
- 28) P. Kokovtsov, "Imena zhretsov v Nirabskikh Nadpisyakh" [The names of the priests in the Nerab inscriptions], *Zapiski: Vostochnogo otdeleniya Rysskogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* 13 (1900) 093-097. Although his reading of the name Š'gbr was correct, his interpretation of it was wrong.
- 29) S. A. Kaufman, "Si'gabbar, Priest of Sahr in Nerab", *JAOS* 90 (1970) 270-271.
- 30) S. Parpolo, "Si'gabbar of Nerab Resurrected", *Orientalia lovaniensia periodica* 16 (1985) 272-275.

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56) Nochmals: Hilprechts Siegel – In N.A.B.U. 1997 Nr. 66 (S. 63) habe ich in einer Notiz darauf hingewiesen, dass die Rollsiegel, die sich einst im Besitz von H.V. Hilprecht befanden, nicht zusammen mit seinen Keilschrifttafeln und anderen Materialien nach Jena in die Hilprecht-Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer gelangt sind und der gegenwärtige Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt ist bzw. sie als verschollen gelten müssen. In seiner Neubearbeitung des von Hilprecht als BE I 149 (= U. Seidl, Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs [OBO 87], 1989, S. 53 f. Nr. 91) publizierten Kudurru in BaM 36 (2005), S. 225-233, weist N.P. Heeßel auf S. 226 darauf hin, dass sich im Vorderasiatischen Museum Berlin unter den Inventar-Nummern VAG 192-255 Abrollungen von Rollsiegeln auf Gips befinden, die Hilprecht dem Museum geschenkt hat. Joachim Marzahn, Oberkustos des Vorderasiatischen Museums Berlin, hat mir die Möglichkeit gegeben, diese Stücke einzusehen und mich bei der Arbeit in gewohnter Weise tatkräftig unterstützt, wofür ihm herzlich zu danken ist.

Vermutlich handelt es sich um Repliken von Exemplaren aus Hilprechts Privatbesitz. Wenn dem so ist, dann lässt sich rekonstruieren, welche Siegel er einst besaß. Der Eintrag im Inventarbuch ist undatiert, die Nummern schließen aber an ein Objekt an, das aus dem Nachlass von Leopold Messerschmidt 1911 ins Museum kam. Es darf deshalb vermutet werden, dass die Schenkung Hilprechts entweder in demselben Jahr oder wenig später erfolgte. Sowohl die Abrollungen als auch die davon angefertigten Fotos sind von vorzüglicher Qualität. Da sich das Material in Berlin befand, als O. Weber seine „Altorientalischen Siegelbilder“ (AO 17/18, Leipzig 1920) vorlegte, liegt es nahe, dass er es bei seiner Arbeit benutzt hat (meine in N.A.B.U. 1997 Nr. 66 geäußerten Überlegungen werden damit hinfällig). Zu prüfen wäre, ob sich die zitierten Stücke entsprechen.

In Vorbereitung der Sitzung der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Jena am 20.07.1933 wurde der Hilprecht-Sammlung in Aussicht gestellt: „Von der Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Preußischen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin werden 14 Photographien von Gipsabrollungen von Siegelzyldern aus dem Privatbesitz Hilprecht's zur Veröffentlichung in den 'Texten und Materialien' abgetreten. Die Originale von denen Hilprecht diese Abrollungen für die Vorderasiatische Abteilung angefertigt hatte, sind offenbar verschollen und eine Veröffentlichung umso notwendiger“ (Universitätsarchiv Jena, Bestand BA 1709 Blatt 2; vgl. auch J. Oelsner, MDOG 140, 2008, 80 mit Anm. 31). Die Zahl „14“ erklärt sich daraus, dass die Abrollungen zum Fotografieren auf 14 Tafeln verteilt worden waren. Ob die Fotos jemals nach Jena gekommen sind, ist nicht bekannt. Sollte dies der Fall gewesen sein, dann sind sie wahrscheinlich im Zweiten Weltkrieg verloren gegangen. Ich habe sie nicht gesehen und auch keinen Hinweis darauf gefunden, dass sie sich in Jena befanden.

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