

N.A.B.U.

Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires 2013

N°1 (mars)

NOTES BRÈVES

01) A Catalog of Old Babylonian Sumerian Incantations and Rituals from Nippur in the University Museum, Philadelphia – The following is a concise catalog of published and unpublished Sumerian Old Babylonian incantations and ritual texts from Nippur from pre-WWI excavations known to me that are housed in the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia. Incantations from OB Nippur have previously been catalogued by Michalowski QuadSem 18 324-325: see below for citations.¹⁾

CBS 3833+3835 (Finkel AMD 1 245, fig. 6) Central piece of an *imgida*. Snake incantation. Edited by Finkel AMD 1 229.

CBS 3926+CBS 3931 (ZA 92 17) Bottom edge fragment of a multi-column tablet. Partial duplicate of a pest incantation that is otherwise attested at OB Meturan. Edited by Cavigneaux and al-Rawi ZA 92 16f.

CBS 6927 (STVC 11, Michalowski QuadSem 18 324, no. 1) Right edge fragment of an *imgida*. Incantation collective that preserves a ša₃ gig-ga incantation (subscript [ka-inim-ma] ša₃ gig-ga-kam) on the reverse, followed by an en₂-nu-ru incantation that is not preserved. Obverse lines 6'-8' are cited by Michalowski ZA 71 17.

CBS 8857A (unpublished) Small central fragment preserving the obverse and reverse side of the tablet. This fragment preserves mention of a curative procedure involving the oral administration of what may be a lump of salt (lag mun-na) accompanied by the recitation of the “incantation of Eridu” (nam-šub Eridu^{ki}-ga).

CBS 10474 (ZA 71 14, Michalowski QuadSem 18 324, no. 3) Mostly intact *imgida* with a badly effaced reverse. Incantation against gall (ze₂) written in a partially syllabic script. Edited by Michalowski ZA 71 13f. (source D).

CBS 10489+CBS 10756 (STVC 16, AfO 27 38, Michalowski QuadSem 18 324, no. 4) Almost entirely intact *imgida*. Gynecological incantation. Edited by Finkel AfO 27 37.

CBS 11366+CBS 11400 (PBS 5 76) Large fragment of the reverse of a multi-column tablet in *Kurzzeilen* format. This text includes a divinatory ritual where the diviner offers water and cedar to Utu, as well as a coronation ritual located within the E₂-an-na. The king is endowed with the crown and the scepter, approaches the royal dais or enclosure (barag) and foregoes his childhood name and his bur-gi₄-a name in favor of the name of the *en*-ship, a process that is overseen by the goddesses ^dNin-men-na and ^dNin-jedru. The symbolic royal dispersal of enemies of the army seems to occur before the break in reverse ii' 27'f. Partially edited (reverse ii 5'-26') by Sjöberg OrSuec 21 111-112: see also the discussion of select passages by Alster Proverbs of Ancient Sumer (1997) 379 (rev. i' 9'-11' as a parallel to Proverb Collection 3.16), van Dijk FS Falkenstein (1965) 237 n. 18, Jeyes Old Babylonian Extispicy (1989) 30, Michalowski JCS 28 164, Polonsky The Rise of the Sun God and the Determination of Destiny in Ancient Mesopotamia (PhD thesis, UPenn, 2002) 580 n. 1690, and PSD B 187.

CBS 11933 (Geller FS Sjöberg (1989) 204-205, source d, Michalowski QuadSem 18 324, no. 5) Large piece of a two-column tablet. Anti-witchcraft incantation. Edited by Geller FS Sjöberg (1989).

CBS 13256 (STVC 10, Michalowski QuadSem 18 324, no. 6) Central fragment of a multi-column collective tablet preserving portions of the obverse and reverse. See the discussion of Michalowski Quad Sem 18 324, who compares the incantation incipit *ŋiš-am₃* *inim-ma-am₃* that occurs in i' 2'f. with the incantation catalog Rylands Library Box 24 E 5/25, line 11 (Wilcke AfO 24 14), as well as the remarks of Cavigneaux and al-Rawi ZA 83 175 n. 10.

CBS 13905 (unpublished) Large fragment of a two-column tablet preserving a partially bilingual text. Reverse column i parallels Uduq hul forerunner III 39-45 (Geller FAOS 12 22).

CBS 15354 (unpublished) Upper piece of a small two-column tablet with both the obverse and reverse preserved. Preserves the subscript [ka]-inim-ma [^d]Dim₃-me-kam, implicating it as a *Lamaštu* incantation. This text is briefly discussed by van Dijk 25th RAI (1982) 105.

UM 29-13-168 (NABU 2009 note 34) Small fragment of a multi-column tablet preserving only one side of the tablet. Provisionally edited by Peterson NABU 2009 note 34.

UM 29-13-717 (ZA 98 197) Bottom piece of an *imgida* written in archaizing script except for a subscript that identifies it as ša₃ zig₃-ga prescription. Edited by Peterson ZA 98.

UM 29-13-569 (JNER 9 126-127) Central piece of an *imgida* with both the obverse and reverse preserved. Incantation collective preserving a ritual for negating an oath with the subscript [ka in]im-ma gu DU₃-DU₃-u₃-kam and a ritual for altering a royal dream with the subscript ka-inim-ma nam-tar lugal bur₂-ru-da-kam (restored from the duplicate VAT 8395 (VAS 17 28)). Edited by Peterson JNER 9.

UM 29-13-577 (unpublished) Fragment of a small two-column tablet, both obverse and reverse preserved. Preserves the Marduk-Ea dialogue in reverse column i.

UM 29-15-367 (OrNS 44 54, 56, Michalowski QuadSem 18 325, no. 23) Largely intact but partially worn two-column tablet. Birth incantation from the munus u₃-tu-da tradition. Edited by van Dijk OrNS 44 53-61.

UM 29-15-5 (ASJ 17 96) Almost entirely intact *imgida*. Contains an extract from a version of the scorpion incantation that attested in ED, Ur III, and OB contexts (edited by Michalowski OrNS 54, Cavigneaux ASJ 17). Edited by Cavigneaux ASJ 17 93-94.

UM 29-15-236 (unpublished) Upper left corner of a multi-column incantation collective with the obverse and reverse preserved and writing on the left edge. Contains a duplicate to the Namtar incantation published by Cavigneaux and al-Rawi ZA 83 176f., the first incantation that occurs on the tablet, and an incantation involving the tamarisk, which was the last incantation to occur on the tablet.

UM 29-16-758+N 927 (unpublished) Large piece of an *imgida*. Most of the surface is highly worn. Incantation collective preserving the subscript of an *izi šag₄-ga* incantation [...] ka-inim *izi ša[g₄ ...]*, followed by what appears to be either a duplicate or a very similar incantation. The curative procedure described in these two incantations closely resembles the one that occurs in the gall incantation edited by Alster and Michalowski.

N 932 (Michalowski QuadSem 18 324, no. 8, unpublished) Left edge fragment of an *imgida* preserving the obverse and reverse. Incantation collective: the second preserved incantation parallels IM 18237 (TIM 9 64) and YBC 9898 (YOS 11 77) rev. 3f. (see Michalowski QuadSem 18 324).

N 1266 (OrNS 41 358, fig. 2, Michalowski Quad Sem 18 324, no. 9) Almost entirely intact *imgida*. Incantation against gall (*ze₂*). Edited by Alster OrNS 41 350f. (source B) and Michalowski ZA 71 13f. (source B).

N 2998 (unpublished) Small fragment of an *imgida* located near the bottom of the tablet, obverse and reverse preserved. Contains the subscript of a *šag₄ gig-ga* incantation (rev. 4': [ka-inim-m]a ša₃ gig-ga-[kam]).

N 3398 (unpublished) Small central fragment with only one side preserved. Incantation collective preserving the subscript [ka-ini]m-ma GIR₂-GI[R₂ ...] and the beginning of another incantation.

N 4109 (ZA 83 176) Central fragment of a multi-column tablet with only one side preserved. Cavigneaux and al-Rawi ZA 83 175 identify it as a collective of incantations, including the incantation described as a "Charme universel?," line 2f., which was edited by Cavigneaux and al-Rawi ZA 85 185f.

N 4237 (Michalowski FS Hallo (1993) 162, Michalowski QuadSem 18 325, no. 10) Fragment of a multi-column tablet with only one side preserved. Incantation collective preserving a torch incantation, the so-called "Hymn to Kusu." Edited by Michalowski FS Hallo (1993) 153f.

N 7154 (unpublished) Small right edge fragment of an *imgida*, obverse and reverse preserved. Incantation collective: appears to contain the Marduk-Ea formula on one side and a subscript followed by a double ruling on the other side followed by the beginning of another incantation.

1) Two incantations listed by Michalowski, CBS 8235 (PBS 13 33) (Michalowski no. 2) and CBS 14154 (STVC 12) (Michalowski no. 7) are not Old Babylonian in date. The former is pre-OB, perhaps Ur III, and the latter post-OB, perhaps Middle Babylonian.

Jeremiah PETERSON, <jeremie.peterson@gmail.com>

02) A prism displaying a recension of the lexical "Word List C" – The first author of this note, Krispijn, recently published an edition of a clay prism in cuneiform in the *Festschrift* for K. Van

Lerberghe (Theo J. H. Krispijn, "An Old-Babylonian Version of the Tribute List", in T. Boiy *et alii* [eds.], *The Ancient Near East, A Life ! Festschrift Karel Van Lerberghe*, OLA 222, Leuven, 2012, p. 297-304). As a consequence he has been in correspondence with the second author of this note, Lafont, since more details have now come to light about the background to how the prism found its way to its present location in Beirut and how they have both given it their separate attention.

The tablet was first spotted in the stock of a London antiquities dealer by Mark Geller. He copied it early in 2001, but kept his copy confidential until Krispijn had published the article referred to above. Subsequently it was intended to be sold at a Paris auction, where an expert evaluation identified the occurrence of the name of the city of Kamid el-Loz, ancient Kumidi, in the Beqa Valley in Lebanon.

Once the Lebanese authorities were informed about this, before the sale they asserted their preemptive rights of ownership, claiming that it was part of the Lebanese archaeological heritage. This clay prism finally arrived in Beirut in 2006, where it was catalogued and joined the collections of the National Museum.

Lafont was resident in Beirut at the time and was able to examine this prism. He realized that it was a Sumerian lexical text from the Ur III or the Old Babylonian period, and most likely originated from Babylonia, and accordingly published it in Beirut (Bertrand Lafont, "Le prisme cunéiforme conservé au Musée National de Beyrouth", *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* [BAAL] 12, 2008, p. 289-297). But he could not have known at that time, since nothing had been published about the prism previously, that it had already been correctly identified by Geller and that an edition was in preparation by Krispijn.

Krispijn sent the text of his article as a token of friendship to Niek Veldhuis, who drew his attention to the Lafont article. Krispijn immediately contacted Lafont and it became absolutely clear that their two articles on this prism were written completely independently. It is gratifying to note that their conclusions are essentially consistent.

The prism itself is now on display in the National Museum in Beirut, and available on the CDLI website (reference P355744).

In his message Veldhuis referred to another small piece in Berkeley to be identified as belonging to the Tribute list (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P272619.jpg>). Krispijn has also heard from a former Leiden colleague, Kozad Mohammed Ahmed (kozada@gmail.com) about another recension of the Tribute List, which was in the Museum of Antiquities in Sulaimaniya, Kurdistan-Iraq in 2010.

Theo J. H. KRISPIJN,<t.j.h.krispijn@hum.leidenuniv.nl>, Universiteit Leiden,
& Bertrand LAFONT,<bertrand.lafont@mae.cnrs.fr>, CNRS NANTERRE.

03) On the Meaning of the « *Changing pilpilû* » – In a recently identified new manuscript of the « Lament for Eridu » we find the following passage:

« My house, suitable of lordship! My house of libated syrup and ghee! My chamber, my item of maidens and youth, your appeal is not lavish. May I [carry] your tears! May I carry your tears! Your tears do not cease, my heart does not calm. Because of this, the lamenter stands (and) does not sle[ep.] Like the non-performing ecstatic, (s)he does not [...] the head. Like the changing *pilpilû*, [(s)he walks over²] the public square. [...The maide]n² lets her hair hang loosely backwards. »¹

In this passage we come across with a mention of a cult figure known as « *pi.li.pi.li* » (Akkadian « *pilpilû* »), described here as have been changed (« *tpi₂-li-pi-li šu-bal-ak-a-tgin₇* », l. 7). Since this figure is scarcely attested in Mesopotamian records, its nature and characteristics remain enigmatic. It is commonly accepted, however, that the *pilpilû* was a gender ambiguous figure, similarly as several other members of the Inanna/Ištar cult. I analyze elsewhere² the gender ambiguity of the *pilpilû*, within the wider context of gender ambiguous figures in Mesopotamian administration and cult. In what follows I offer a concise survey of the textual attestations of the *pilpilû*, and the main conclusions reached thereof. The starting point of this examination lies in the mention of the *pilpilû* as a « changing » figure in the above passage.

The term under discussion is attested almost exclusively in its Sumerian form « *pi.li.pi.li* », while its Akkadian form « *pilpilû* » is rare. On the whole, this term is quite uncommon, and is mostly

known from lexical lists. In several such lists it is equated with various figures that had in common one notable feature: they were all male attendants who served in the cult of Inanna/Ištar. Thus, in an Old Babylonian copy of the lú list, *pilpilû* appeared together with several terms of various ranks of *kalû*, and with *kurgarrû*, SAG.UR.SAG and *tīru*.³ In the Old Babylonian lexical list Proto-lú, the *pilpilû* was documented together with the SAG.UR.SAG, *kurgarrû*, and *tīru*.⁴ In a Neo-Assyrian lexical list, the *pilpilû* was documented together with *assinnu*, *kurgarrû* and *ararû*, and each of these four terms was equated with *kulu'u*.⁵ In a Neo-Assyrian copy of the list lú=ša, the *pilpilû* was attested together with *kurgarrû*, SAG.UR.SAG, *assinnu* and *nāš pilaqqi*, and two terms were listed as parallel to him: the *parû* and *assinnu*.⁶ Many of the figures with which the *pilpilû* was attested in these lists were related in one way or another with effeminacy, and as I argue elsewhere,⁷ this perceived effeminacy was in all likelihood related to the ambiguous nature of their patron goddess, or to the fact that they characteristically lacked progeny. This gives us strong hint concerning the ambiguous nature of the *pilpilû* himself.

The *pilpilû* appears, however rarely, in several texts other than lexical lists. The fact that this figure was a member of Inanna/Ištar's cult is evident in the mythical composition « Inanna and Šu-kale-tuda » (ll. 189, 201),⁸ where he is laconically mentioned as escorting the goddess on her journey. The myth of « Inanna and Ebih »⁹ tells of Inanna's triumph over mount Ebih. In one of the passages of this text (ll. 173-175), the goddess relates to three figures and to the manner in which she treated each, as part of the order she bestowed on the world. She claims to have handed the *kurgarrû* cutting-weapons and drums to the gala, and further to have « changed the head » of the *pilpilû* (« pi-li-pi-li sag šu-bal mu-ni-ak », l. 175). These actions are presumably meant to allude to specific characterizations of each of the aforementioned figures with regard to their actual performance in the cult of the goddess. However, the exact nature of the « change of head » of the *pilpilû* remains unclear.

One of the most significant attestations of this figure is in the « in-nin šà-gur₄-ra » hymn to Inanna.¹⁰ One passage of this hymn tells how the *pilpilû* was given a weapon by Inanna, and, later on, was said to be a person who « has been changed », attested alongside an ecstatic and a SAG.UR.SAG. In one manuscript a *kurgarrû* appeared instead of the SAG.UR.SAG, and the mention that the *pilpilû* « has been changed » was omitted. It appears that the basic message this passage conveys is that of Inanna/Ištar's control over several ambiguous figures, among which the *pilpilû*. Henshaw (1994: 299) viewed the weapon given by the goddess to the *pilpilû* as a symbol of this figure's manliness, and the breaking of the weapon as a demonstration of Inanna's masculine destructive conduct. Henshaw (1994: 295, 298) suggested that the reference to the *pilpilû* who has been « changed » was an allusion to a change of sex, achieved either by cross-dressing, a change of gender role, or by what Henshaw defined as « literal sex change », presumably meaning castration. He correctly compared this episode with the passage from the myth of « Inanna and Ebih », where the *pilpilû*'s head was said to have been changed by Inanna.

A different interpretation from Henshaw's was offered by Sjöberg (1975: 226), who viewed the *pilpilû* as a female cult figure, which, in the current passage, assumed a masculine role. Sjöberg claimed that the above passage did not point to a change of sex of the *pilpilû*, but rather to the alternation between feminine and masculine roles. Assante (2009: 36), however, claimed that the said change of the *pilpilû* was the result of a state of trance in which this figure was, as part of its cultic performance. Lapinkivi (2010: 76) related to this passage as well, and suggested that the *pilpilû* was formed by Inanna out of a « punishment » that the goddess had removed from her own body, and purified. He further suggested that the goddess then bestowed wisdom on the *pilpilû*. Based on this passage, therefore, Lapinkivi viewed the *pilpilû* as a sinner that was purified, and then given wisdom. However, the connection between line 84 and the lines preceding it is not certain, so the alleged bestowing of wisdom remains purely speculative, similarly as the exact meaning of the whole passage.

Finally, we should discuss the possible etymology of the Sumerian term. Edzard (1987: 58) proposed that the term « kur.gar.ra » was meant to bear the ridicule meaning of « defecating », and that it is not coincidental that, in the Old Babylonian Proto-lú lexical list, the terms « pi.li.pi.li » and « kur.gar.ra » appear consecutively, the former meaning « der immer Pipi macht », « who always

pees ». Similarly, several other scholars suggested various etymological explanations for the term, bearing the sense of « defile » or « make dirty ».¹¹ Lapinkivi (2010: 76 n. 236, including references to literature) suggested that the etymological origin of « pi.li.pi.li » was « pi-lá/pil/píl », « to be/make obscure, to be/make dirty, defiled, disgraced ». Since no suggestion seems more compelling than the other, I venture to offer one of my own. Many of the figures with which the *pilpilū* was equated in the lexical lists or related in the literary compositions were originally Sumerian terms, which Akkadian denotations maintained homophony, but lost all meaning. See for example « kur.gar.ra » (Akkadian *kurgarrû*), « gala » (Akkadian *kalû*),¹² « tiru » (Akkadian *ttru*) and « gir.se.ga » (Akkadian *girseqû*). It is therefore plausible to assume that the case of the *pilpilū* was no different. The form seems to be a reduplication of the term « pi-li », which may be understood as comprised of « pi », « to deduct, remove, diminish, reduce » (see ePSD, s.v. « pi ») and « li », « branch, twig » (see sPSD, s.v. « li »). I do not claim that this etymology, if accepted, alludes to castration, but it may point to a sense of a flawed manliness that characterized the *pilpilū*.

In conclusion, the documentation of the *pilpilū* is extremely limited, and confined to a few lexical lists, hymns and myths. These sporadic and laconic attestations do not allow for much speculation beyond the understanding that this person was similar to other, better-understood third gender figures. However, the claim that he was « changed » by Inanna is quite suggestive as regards his gender identity. Even if the exact nature of this perceived change cannot be fully understood, it surely renders the *pilpilū* with certain feminine traits, either by costume, appearance or behavior. In all probabilities, these traits were related to his role as a member of the cult of Inanna/Ištar. It is therefore not surprising that in the passage from the newly identified manuscript of the « Lament for Eridu » presented above, the *pilpilū* was mentioned in a mutual context with a lamenter (« balağ-di », 1. 5) and an ecstatic (« ^{lú}èd-dè », 1. 6), two figures of liminal nature, who were often perceived as possessing ambiguous gender traits and identities. We may remind in this context the immortal words of the Duke of Mantua in Verdi's *Rigoletto*: « La donna è mobile... » In other words, was the *pilpilū* considered to be « mobile » (Italian) because he was perceived in some way or the other as a « donna »?

¹ CBS 2189++ obv. 1-8. For an edition of the manuscript see Peled, forthcoming b.

² See Peled, forthcoming a.

³ Old Babylonian lú obv. ii 23'-33' (see Taylor 2001: 210-211).

⁴ Proto-lú:277-280 (see MSL 12: 42).

⁵ LTBA 2.1 vi 45'-48' // LTBA 2.2:380-383 (see CAD K: 529, s.v. « *kulu'u* »).

⁶ lú=ša Tablet 4:180, 182-184, 189, 193a, 198a (see MSL 12: 134-135).

⁷ See Peled, forthcoming a.

⁸ For the edition of the text, see Volk 1995. For commentaries and translations of it, see Bottéro and Kramer 1989: 257-271 and Black, Cunningham, Robson and Zólyomi 2004: 197-205.

⁹ For the edition of the text, see Attinger 1998. For commentaries and translations of it, see Bottéro and Kramer 1989: 219-229, Black, Cunningham, Robson and Zólyomi 2004: 334-338.

¹⁰ « Lady of Largest Heart »:80-90 (see Sjöberg 1975: 184, 186).

¹¹ For a brief survey of these suggestions, see Henshaw 1994: 310 n. 92.

¹² But note Gabbay's (2008) opposite opinion.

Bibliography

- Assante, J. 2009. « Bad Girls and Kinky Boys? The Modern Prostituting of Ishtar, Her Clergy and Her Cults » In Scheer, T.S. (ed.) *Tempelprostitution im Altertum: Fakten und Fiktionen*, Berlin: 23-54.
- Attinger, P. 1998. « Inana et Ebih » ZA 88: 165-194.
- Black, J.A., Cunningham, G., Robson, E. and Zólyomi, G. 2004. *The Literature of Ancient Sumer*. Oxford.
- Bottéro, J. and Kramer, S.N. 1989. *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme: mythologie mésopotamienne*. Paris.
- Edzard, D.O. 1987. « Zur Ritualtafel der sog. "Love Lyrics" » In: Rochberg-Halton, F. (ed.). *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*. New Haven, Connecticut: 57-69.

Gabbay, U. 2008. « The Akkadian Word for “Third Gender”: the *kalû* (gala) Once Again » In: Biggs, R.D., Myers, J. and Roth, M.T. (eds.) *Proceedings of the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Chicago: 49-56.

Henshaw, R.A. 1994. *Female and Male. The Cultic Personnel. The Bible and the Rest of the Ancient Near East*. Allison Park, Pennsylvania.

Lapinkivi, P. 2010. *The Neo-Assyrian Myth of Ištar’s Descent and Resurrection* (SAACT 6). Helsinki.

Peled, I. (Forthcoming a.) *The Third Gender in the Ancient Near East: A Study of Institutionalized Gender Otherness (Cuneiform Monographs)*. Leiden.

Id. (Forthcoming b.) « A New Manuscript of the “Lament for Eridu” »

Taylor, J. 2001. « A New Proto-Lu-Proto-Izi Combination Tablet », *OrNS* 70: 209-234.

Volk, K. 1995. *Inanna und Šukaletuda. Zur historisch-politischen Literaturwerkes*. Wiesbaden.

Ilan PELED, <ilanpeled@yahoo.com>

Visiting Scholar, NELC, University of Pennsylvania

04) En marge d’ARCHIBAB, 3 : le repas-*naptanum* et autres dépenses à Larsa sous Rim-Sin, un bilan provisoire – La fouille du Tell Senkereh avait livré en 1989 un lot de 9 tablettes enregistrant des dépenses de farine pour des repas-*naptanum* ; elles ont été publiées par D. Charpin, « La politique immobilière des marchands de Larsa à la lumière des découvertes épigraphiques de 1987 et 1989 », dans J.-L. Huot (éd.), *Larsa. Travaux de 1987 et 1989*, BAH 165, Beyrouth, 2003, p. 311-322. Bien qu’aucune d’elles ne comporte de nom d’année, leur présence sous le dernier sol d’occupation de la maison B.59 rend une datation sous le règne de Rim-Sin assez vraisemblable.

De manière inattendue, la documentation concernant les repas-*naptanum* dans le royaume de Larsa vient en quelques mois de connaître un accroissement considérable. En effet, de nouveaux textes provenant de fouilles clandestines dans la région de Larsa et confisqués en 1999 ont été publiés dans la revue *Sumer* (M. Ali, « Naptanu Term in the Texts of Rim-Sin I », *Sumer* 54, 2009, p. 8-27). Il s’agit essentiellement de dépenses de moutons (parfois de bœufs, une fois de porc) provenant d’un centre d’engraissement (É.GU₄.UDU.NIGA) ; à chaque fois, la première destination mentionnée est un repas (*naptanum*). On regrette que l’auteur n’ait pas pu avoir connaissance des textes issus des fouilles régulières de 1989 (l’étude de D. Charpin est accessible depuis septembre 2006 sur http://www.digitorient.com/?attachment_id=91).

En mai 2011 paraissait le livre de A. Gadotti & M. Sigrist, *Cuneiform Texts in the Carl A. Krach Library, Cornell University (with the assistance of Nicole M. Brisch and David I. Owen)*, CUSAS 15, Bethesda, 2011. Parmi les textes de ce volume, un lot de 8 tablettes enregistre des dépenses de grain et de farine dont la première, sur chaque tablette, est destinée à un repas-*naptanum*. En ce sens, l’expression de « Naptanum-text » par laquelle les éditeurs désignent ces documents est malheureuse à deux égards : il s’agit d’une part de textes rédigés par deux bureaux différents, l’un, non nommé, en charge de la gestion de grain et de farine et l’autre, explicitement désigné comme *bît marî* (É.GU₄.UDU.NIGA), responsable d’animaux à l’engrais ; d’autre part, le repas-*naptanum* n’est que la destination de la première des dépenses enregistrées sur chaque tablette, les suivantes étant destinées à d’autres usages. Il s’agit de CUSAS 15 64, 70, 75, 103, 118, 165, 178+179 et 183. Le seul texte qui comporte un nom d’année est le n° 178+179 (Rim-Sin 32), mais c’est aussi celui qui diffère le plus des autres textes, très proches les uns des autres, de sorte qu’il est possible qu’il n’appartienne pas au même lot d’archives (au contraire des autres textes, il est daté par un de ces mois étranges de la deuxième moitié du règne de Rim-Sin). On y ajoutera les n°s 41 (*na-ap-ta-an a-wi-lim*), 66 (*na-ap-ta-nu-um* É MUNUS, texte daté de Sin-iddinam 7) et 162 (*na-ap-ta-nu-um* DUMU LUGAL, texte daté de Sin-iribam).

En juillet 2012, le dossier des repas-*naptanum* dans le royaume de Larsa sous Rim-Sin a été complété par 13 tablettes publiées par K. Abraham & U. Gabbay, « Expenditures by the gu-za-lá Official at Maškan-šapir from the Time of Rim-Sin of Larsa », dans T. Boiy *et al.* (éd.), *The Ancient Near East, A Life! Festschrift Karel Van Lerberghe*, OLA 220, Louvain/Paris/Walpole, 2012, p. 1-37. Les dépenses portent sur du grain et de la farine ; elles ont été faites sous la responsabilité d’un *guzalûm* nommé Ir-

Nanna, à Maškan-šapir. Le commentaire de ces textes a tenu compte des documents déjà publiés (sauf ceux de CUSAS 15, trop récents).

Les 8 tablettes de *Sumer* 54 viennent d'être complétées par 7 autres, manifestement issues des mêmes archives et également confisquées en Jordanie et rendues au musée de Bagdad en 1999. Elles ont été étudiées à Oxford entre février et avril 2011 et publiées en janvier 2013 dans la dernière livraison de la revue *Iraq* (M. Sulaiman & S. Dalley, « Seven *Naptanum*-Texts from the Reign of Rim-Sin I of Larsa », *Iraq* 74, 2012, p. 153-165). Ces deux auteurs ne pouvaient pas connaître l'étude des *Mélanges Van Lerberghe*, parue quelques mois seulement avant leur article. Il est regrettable en revanche qu'ils n'aient pas été informés de l'existence des textes des fouilles officielles de Larsa, et plus encore de ceux publiés dans *Sumer* 54, tous accessibles sur le site d'ARCHIBAB depuis décembre 2010. La complémentarité des deux lots permet, par exemple, de confirmer la lecture KI.SÌ.GA en *Sumer* 54 6 : 5 et 6, proposée par A. Jacquet dans Archibab en décembre 2010, grâce à la mention parallèle dans *Iraq* 74 5 : 5 : 3-4. Inversement, *Sumer* 54 6 : 4-6 permet certainement de restituer la fin des lignes 2-4 de *Iraq* 74 5 :

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2 | 5 UDU 1 SILA ₄ * '1' [ŠAH NIGA] |
| | KI.SÌ.GA É (giš)[GU.ZA] |
| 4 | 1 UDU KI.SÌ.GA 'É' [(d)EN.ZU-i-dí-nam] |

On notera que *Sumer* 54 6 date du 25/v/Rim-Sin 8, alors que *Iraq* 74 5 date du 23/v/Rim-Sin 9, donc un an plus tard presque jour pour jour, ce qui n'est sûrement pas un hasard.

Que les textes de *Iraq* 74 (et donc aussi de *Sumer* 54) puissent provenir du bâtiment B.22 de Larsa (comme il est proposé dans *Iraq* 74, p. 155) est très incertain. On notera en tout cas que ces tablettes, confisquées en Jordanie et restituées au musée de Bagdad (ce qui est très heureux du point de vue patrimonial), posent le même problème scientifique que celles qui se trouvent dans des collections privées, issues de fouilles illicites (anciennes ou récentes) : leur provenance exacte et leur contexte archéologique resteront à jamais inconnus. Leur intérêt, même s'il souffre de cette limitation, n'en demeure pas moins réel.

Nous voudrions pour finir attirer l'attention sur le fait que le projet ARCHIBAB tente de suivre l'actualité des publications le plus rapidement possible (le site www.archibab.fr étant mis à jour chaque trimestre) ; nous souhaitons que de plus en plus de collègues éditant des documents paléo-babyloniens pensent à tirer profit de nos efforts.

Dominique CHARPIN & Antoine JACQUET, <archibab@college-de-france.fr>

05) A Late-Babylonian fragment of the Venus tablet of Ammišaduqa – BM 32107 (76-11-17, 1834) is a small, previously unknown Late-Babylonian fragment of Tablet 63 of the celestial omen series Enūma Anu Enlil, also known as the Venus tablet of Ammišaduqa. It was not included in the standard edition of the Venus tablet by Reiner and Pingree (1975; henceforth RP75) and it is not in the list of fragments of Enūma Anu Enlil published by Reiner (1998). BM 32107 is inscribed on one side which is assumed to be the obverse; the reverse is destroyed. The fragment measures 5.3 x 7.5 x 2.0 cm. It does not preserve any edge of the tablet, but not much clay is missing from the top and left sides. The lot 76-11-17 includes numerous Late-Babylonian astronomical tablets (diaries, mathematical astronomy) from Babylon. The same origin may be assumed for BM 32107 and for seven other, published fragments of the Venus tablet in the British Museum (RP75 E, F, H, J, K, N, O). BM 32107 does not physically join any of these, but it might belong to the same tablet as RP75 E, F, H, K, N or O. In the transliteration each x enclosed in square brackets represents approximately 1 missing sign, MN stands for a missing month name, n for a day number. In the translation, initial vertical wedges (DIŠ) are, as usual, represented as ¶.

Transliteration

Obverse

Omen 1

1' [xxxxxxxxxxxx] 'x AN? x' [xxxxxxxxxxxx]

Omen 2

2' [DIŠ ina ITI.MN U_{4.n}.KAM ^dNin-si₄]-an-na ina ^dUTU.^dE₃¹ [it-bal xxxxxxxx]

3' [xxxxxx ina] ITI.AB U_{4.18}.KAM ^d[Nin-si₄-an-na ina ^dUTU.ŠU_{2.A} IGIDU₈ xxxx]

Omen 3

4' [DIŠ *ina ITI.MN U_{4.n}*].!KAM¹^d*Nin-si₄-an-na ina*^d[UTU.ŠU_{2.A} *it-bal* xxx]

5' [xxxxxx]-*ma ina ITI.DU₆ U_{4.13}.KAM* !U_{4?}¹ [xxxx^d*Nin-si₄-an-na*]

5a' *ina*^dUTU.E₃ IG.I.D[U₈ xxxxxxxxxxxx?]

Omen 4

6' [DIŠ *ina ITI.MN U_{4.n}*].!KAM¹^d*Nin-si₄-an-na ina*^d!UTU.E₃ *it-bal* xxxxxxxx]

7' [xxxx *ina*] ITI.<KIN> U_{4.3}.KAM^d*Nin¹-[si₄-an-na ina*^dUTU.ŠU_{2.A} IG.I.DU₈ xxxx]

Omen 5

8' [DIŠ *ina ITI.GU₄*] !U_{4?}.2.KAM^d*Nin-si₄-an-na*^d[*ina*^dUTU.ŠU_{2.A} *it-bal* xxxxxxxx]

9' [*ina ITI.MN U_{4.n}*].!KAM¹^d*Nin-si₄-an-[na ina*^dUTU.E₃ IG.I.DU₈ xxxxxxxx]

9a' : [xxxxxxx?]

Omen 6

10' [DIŠ *ina ITI.MN U_{4.n}*].!KAM^d*Nin¹-[si₄-an-na ina*^dUTU.E₃ *it-bal* xxxxxxxx]

Translation

Obverse

Omen 1

1' [...] r...? [...]

Omen 2

2' [¶ In month MN day n Ninsianna [disappears] in the East [...]

3' [... in] month X day 18 [Ninsianna appears in the West ...]

Omen 3

4' [¶ In month MN day n] Ninsianna [disappears] in [the West ...]

5' [...] and in month VII day 13, !day?¹ [... Ninsianna]

5a' appears in the East [...]

Omen 4

6' [¶ In month MN day n] Ninsianna [disappears] in [the East ...]

7' [... in] month <VI> day 3 Nin[sianna appears in the West ...]

Omen 5

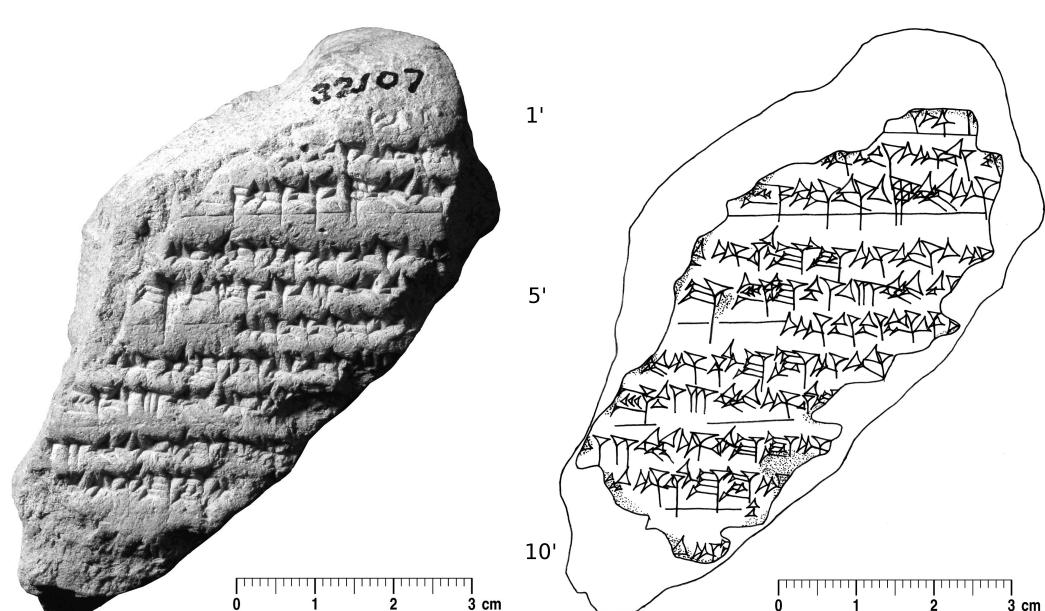
8' [¶ In month II] day 2 Ninsian^fna¹ [disappears in the West ...]

9' [in month MN day n] Ninsian[na appears in the East ...]

9a' : [...?]

Omen 6

10' [¶ In month MN] !day¹ [n] !Nin¹[sianna disappears in the East ...]



Critical commentary:

- 1': Perhaps AN x belongs to E_2-a (cf. Omen 1 in RP75).
- 3', 'day 18': The only duplicate preserving the second date of Omen 2, RP75 B, has 'day 19'.
- 5': There is more space available at the end of this line, perhaps 4 signs, than needed for restoring the expected text (cf. RP75 A, B). Indeed it appears that 'day 13' is here followed by an alternative date or, if one interprets ' $U_4?$ ' as a separation mark (:) followed by traces, perhaps a glosse.
- 7': KIN: the scribe forgot to write down this month name.
- 9a': As in 5a', line 9' seems to continue over the ruling below 9' in 9a', of which the first sign, perhaps a separation mark (:), is partly preserved. If so, there is more space available for Omen 5 then needed for restoring the expected text; perhaps there is an alternative apodosis or a glosse.

Various scholars have analysed the data reported on the Venus tablet for the purpose of establishing an absolute Mesopotamian chronology of the second Millennium BCE; for the latest such attempt cf. Mebert (2010). Since the fragment does not preserve any significant variants, it basically confirms the textual stability of the Venus tablet. The only variant of interest concerns Venus's First Appearance in the West (Evening First) in Omen 2, which occurs on 18 X instead of 19 X. As reported by J. Mebert (private communication), this date is at least equally compatible with his favored chronology (Hammurapi year 1 = 1720 BCE). I wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to study and publish this tablet, and C.B.F. Walker for making available his catalogue of astronomical fragments.

Bibliography

- Mebert J. 2010, 'Die Venustafeln des Ammī-ṣaduqa und ihre Bedeutung für die astronomische Datierung der altbabylonischen Zeit', *AfO Beihefte* 31
- Reiner E. 1998, 'Celestial Omen Tablets and Fragments in the British Museum', in: S. Maul (ed.), 'Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994', *Cuneiform Monographs* 10 (STYX: Groningen), pp. 215-302
- Reiner E., Pingree D. 1975 (=RP75), 'Enūma Anu Enlil Tablet 63: the Venus tablet of Ammiṣaduqa', *Babylonian Planetary Omens I* (Undena Publications: Malibu)

Mathieu OSSENDRIJVER, <mathieu.ossendrijver@gmail.com>
Humboldt University, Hannoversche Strasse 6, 10115 Berlin

06) Zum hethitischen Siegelabdruck aus Çine-Tepecik – Günel – Herbordt 2010 haben einen hethitischen Siegelabdruck mit hieroglyph-luwischen Zeichen aus Çine-Tepecik aus der Zeit des hethitischen Großreiches veröffentlicht. Herbordt liest die Inschrift des Siegels folgendermaßen: „[ASI]NUS_{2A}-i(a)-pi-su+ra/i-li_x BONUS₂ VIR₂“ (li_x ist hier die Umschrift des Zeichens *416, das jetzt mit Rieken – Yakubovich 2010 als la/i zu lesen ist). Sie erkennt darin das typische Namenselement *Tarkasna-* und überlegt wegen der sonst unbelegten Länge des Namens, ob hier eigentlich zwei Personennamen zu identifizieren sind, wie beispielsweise *Tarkasnaya* und *Pi-su+ra/i-li_x* oder *Tarkasnapiya* und *Su+ra/i-li_x*, wobei *Pi-su+ra/i-li_x* und *Su+ra/i-li_x* allerdings keinen bekannten Namen ergeben (Günel – Herbordt 2010: 6).

Man muss mit Herbordt einverstanden sein, dass diese Zeichenreihe im Lichte der anatolischen Onomastik keinen einzelnen Namen darstellen kann. Dies wird auch dadurch unterstützt, dass die Zeichen in drei Kolumnen eingeordnet erscheinen (von rechts nach links): ¹BONUS₂ VIR₂ ²[ASI]NUS_{2A}-i(a) ³pi-su+ra/i-la/i, wobei die mittlere Kolumne einen perfekten luwischen Namen zeigt: *Tarkasnaya*. Siegel mit zwei Personennamen sind zwar belegt, doch sind sie selten (z. B. 10 von 787 Abdrücken unter den Tonbullen von Nişantepe, s. die Liste von Herbordt 2005: 371). Man würde daher eher einen Titel oder eine Berufsbezeichnung erwarten, letztere sind ebenfalls auf Siegeln belegt, s. z. B. PANIS ,Bäcker‘ (Nişantepe Nr. 691), PASTOR ,Hirte‘ (Nişantepe Nr. 235, 645-646). In der Zeichenreihe <pi-su+ra/i-la/i> kann man in der Tat das bekannte luwische Suffix -alla/i- erkennen, das häufig gerade Berufsbezeichnungen bzw. Titel bildet, beispielsweise *hur(a/i)nala/i-* ,Jäger‘ (KULULU Bleistreifen 1 Eintrag 38, 2 Eintrag 15, Giusfredi 2010: 149-150), **kwananala-* ,Steinhauer‘ (BOYBEYPINARI 1 §11, İVRİZ Fragm. 2, Giusfredi 2010: 152-153; Payne 2010; Yakubovich 2011: 264-265), **tapariyali-* ,ein Titel‘ (JISR EL HADID Frag. 3. Z. 2, MARAŞ 1 §1b, §1g, Giusfredi 2010: 104-107, D’Alfonso 2012:

190 Anm. 24), *tarpala-*, *Pflüger, Ackerbauer‘ (KULULU Bleistreifen 2 Eintrag 5, Giusfredi 2010: 159-160; Yakubovich 2011: 265), *tunikala-*, ‘Bäcker‘ (KARKAMIŠ A3 §17c, ASSUR Briefe f+g 1 §45, Giusfredi 2010: 160-161), **tupala-*, ‘Schreiber‘ (Giusfredi 2010: 158-159). Der so gewonnene Stamm *pisur-* (bzw. **pisul/n/d-*, wenn man auch den geläufigen Rhotazismus in Betracht zieht) ist aber leider sonst noch nicht belegt, weshalb man über die weitere Bestimmung des Wortes derzeit nur spekulieren kann.

Den Siegelinhaber kann man also folgendermaßen identifizieren: „Tarkasnaya, der *pisuralla*“.

Hinweise

D’Alfonso, Lorenzo (2012): Tabal. An Out-group Definition in the First Millennium BC. In: Giovanni B. Lanfranchi et al. (Hg.): *Leggo! Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Wiesbaden, 173-194.

Giusfredi, Federico (2010): *Sources for a Socio-Economic History of the Neo-Hittite States*. THeth 28. Heidelberg

Günel, Sevinç – Herbordt, Suzanne (2010): Ein hethitischer Siegelabdruck aus Çine-Tepecik. AA 2010: 1-11.

Herbordt, Suzanne (2005): Die Prinzen- und Beamtenstiegeln der hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa. BoHa XIX. Mainz am Rhein

Payne, Annick (2010): ‘Writing’ in Hieroglyphic Luwian. In: Itamar Singer (Hg.): ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis. *Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*. Tel Aviv, 182-187.

Rieken, Elisabeth – Yakubovich, Ilya (2010): The New Values of Luwian Signs L 319 und L 172. In: Itamar Singer (Hg.): ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis. *Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*. Tel Aviv, 199-219.

Yakubovich, Ilya (2011): Rezension zu Giusfredi 2010. *Or* 80: 259-265.

Zsolt SIMON <zsltsimon@gmail.com>
Koç University, ISTANBUL, TURKEY

07) Minima emariotica – (a) AuOr S-1 78 : La forme verbale *um-hír-ru-ni-ni* de la l. 2 présente beaucoup de difficultés : outre que *muhhurum* ne signifie pas « agresser qqu'un » (D. A. « m'ont affronté »), une initiale en UM- devrait entraîner une forme II-parfait ou II/2 du verbe. L'éditeur a, lui-même, remarqué l'aspect barbarisant de cette notation, reprise néanmoins par W. W. Hallo dans son article de la RAI XLVII *Sex and Gender*, p. 208, n. 46. HÍR en outre n'est pas une valeur d'Emar [cf. ici-même, NABU 2013/8, n. 11 avec une autre explication]. Ne pourrait-elle pas être simplement *i-ze-ru-ni-ni*, sur érasures, voire éventuellement le parfait G du verbe pour indiquer la proximité de l'action? Le verbe *zerûm* « haïr » est très couramment employé pour indiquer la rupture du lien social dans un couple (époux, parents/enfants). On notera en outre dans ce texte la façon constante de noter la déesse Šaušga par *šu-uš-ka* (= /šôška/ ?) mais surtout l'anatolien *zi-ti* par si-di [lú, l. 13 ne laisse pas de doute sur le sens de ces deux signes, quoique la copie cunéiforme ne montre pas à cet endroit le *lú-di* que donne D. A. dans sa transcription] ; pour Šaušga-ziti, cf. R. Pruzsinszky, *SCCNH* 13/2, p. 741.

(b) AuOr S-1 83 : Le texte parle d'un partage d'héritage à effectuer, sans doute au moment où les deux plus jeunes frères arrivent à un moment de leur vie où ils peuvent prendre en main leurs affaires et se libèrent de la tutelle de leur frère aîné. Ce dernier n'a cédé apparemment que devant le juge. Le grief que lui font ses frères est, selon D. A. : « Les maisons et les épouses n'ont pas été [par]tagées. » Cela est repris l. 13 « Toutes les possessions de “Zaggattu” et les possessions de Rabbân, en échange d'une épouse chacun et des maisons chacun, je [= le frère aîné] vous ai livré. »

La traduction de « 2-nu » par « chacun » ne me paraît pas évidente. On prévoit, de fait, normalement dans un testament que l'héritier aura à charge de marier ceux qui ne le sont pas, mais l'expression est plus explicite. Ne pourrait-on pas proposer qu'au lieu de *dam-há*, qui ajoute à la perplexité, on a sur la tablette *mim-ma-há* « les possessions meubles » en complément naturel de *é-ha* « les biens immeubles »? L'arrangement aura été que contre les biens sis à Emar, l'aîné abandonne toutes les possessions dans deux autres bourgades. Je proposerais donc les lectures suivantes :

1. 5-6: é-há, ù *mim*-ma*-há la* 『*zu^{1*}-uz-zu-ni-mi*』 = «Les maisons ni les biens » ne sont partagées; et dans la reprise par le frère aîné de ce sujet,
 1. 13: *ki-i-mu mim*-ma*-ku^{1*}-nu* ù *é-há-ku^{1*}-nu*, *at-ta-din-ku-nu-ši* = « Je vous donne présentement vos biens et vos maisons. »

La copie du texte offre assurément une séquence nette « 2-nu » dont il est difficile de faire quelque chose. Le « 2 » risque de n'être qu'un KU mal nettoyé / incomplet. C'est du moins un suffixe de la sorte que l'on attend ici.

Jean-Marie DURAND, IPOA Collège de France, PARIS

08) Die Verweigerung des Gerichtseides im Text Hir 43 (HCCT-E 8) aus Emar¹⁾ – Die Tafel n°43 aus der Hirayama-Sammlung ist eine spätbronzezeitliche Prozessurkunde aus dem Gebiet des Mittleren Euphrats²⁾. Sie berichtet über einen Streit zwischen zwei Erben: die Nachfolger des emariotischen Wahrsagers Zū-Ba'la und die Söhne eines gewissen Abī-kāpī Sohn von Hurašu. Streitgegenstand ist ein Grundstück in Šūmu, das in der Nähe von Emar zu lokalisieren ist³⁾. Prozessrechtlich ist Hir 43 ein Protokoll über eine einzelne Prozesshandlung und die Leistung eines assertorischen Eides⁴⁾. Dadurch sind sowohl die Erwähnung einer Gottheit in der Einleitungsformel (Z. 1: *a-na <pa-ni>^dnè-eri₁₁-gal en [š]a ša-ar-ri*)⁵⁾ sowie die Anwesenheit eines Priesters unter den Zeugen (Z. 25) zu erklären. Die Identifizierung der Beklagten und der Beschreibung des Feldes (Z. 2-12a) folgt der Hauptteil der Urkunde:

(12b) *aš-šum a.šà* (13) *an-ni-i dumu.me^mzu-ba-la* (14) ù *lú.meš.šu.gi uru.šu-mi* (15) *iš-tu ma-mi-ti dumu.meš^ma-bi-ka-[pi]* (16) *it-tu-ru dumu.meš zu-ba-la tup-pa an-n[a]-a* (17) *a-na pa-ni dingir-lì ša-ar-ri-ḥi in.sar-r[ù]* (18) *ka-pí^dkur^{m,d}iškur-ma-lik^{m,d}iškur-en^mzu-aš-tar-ti* (19) *tu-ra-^dkur^mki-ri-^dkur*

Tsukimoto übersetzte die Passage folgendermaßen: „Regarding this field the sons of Zu-Ba'la [a]nd the elders of the city of Šumi have withdrawn from the oath of the sons of Abi-ka[pi]. The sons of Zu-ba'la have written this document before the god of the king. (They are) Kapi-Dagan, Ba'al-malik, Ba'al-bēlu, Zu-Aštarti, Tura-Dagan, Kiri-Dagan“⁶⁾. Anschließend erläuterte er dass „the formula *ištu mamīti ... tāru* is compared to *ištu mamīti nahāsu* (“to withdraw from the oath”) in RS 17.341, 5’-6’ and others (see CAD N I 129b). So the text says that the sons of Zu-Ba'la have agreed to the claim of Abi-kapi's sons regarding the field“⁷⁾.

Die unerwartete Identifizierung des Eides als „von Y“ –wobei X die Partei ist, die schwören müsste– steht aber einer solchen Interpretation des Satzes *X ištu mamīti Y ittūrū* entgegen. Außerdem wäre es schwer zu verstehen, dass die Söhne von Zū-Ba'la eine Tafel, die die Verweigerung des Eides von ihnen selbst nachweisen sollte, hätten aufstellen lassen (Z. 16-18)⁸⁾. Tatsächlich wäre es zu erwarten, dass die Handlung umgekehrt läuft, das heißt, dass die Söhne von Zū-Ba'la diejenigen waren, die ihren Prozessgegnern von der Eidesleistung entbanden oder abbrachten. In diesem Fall wäre das transitive *turru* zu erwarten, wie das Urteil von Karkemiš RS 17.145: 9-13: X (Pl.) *Y ištu māmīti utterrū*, „X haben Y vom Eid zurückgehen lassen“ oder die altbabylonische Urkunde TCL 1.232: 10-14: X (Pl.) *Y ina bāb^dGN utterrūniššu*, „X haben Y vom Tor des GN(-Tempels) zurückgehen lassen“ deutlich machen⁹⁾.

Verschiedene Autoren haben darauf hingewiesen, dass in den westlichen akkadischen Dialekten die Vermischung und/oder der Wechsel der G- und D-Stämme ein nicht unübliches Phänomen darstellt¹⁰⁾. Man kann Fälle aufzeigen, in denen nur das Präfix ausgetauscht wird¹¹⁾ und Fälle, in denen die Verbalform insgesamt auswechselbar zu sein scheint¹²⁾. Oft ist es aber nicht möglich, eine Wahl zwischen diesen beiden Möglichkeiten zu treffen, da die Formen sowohl als G- als auch als D-Grundformen analysiert werden dürfen¹³⁾. Es sei andererseits betont, ohne den Kontext des Gerichtseides zu verlassen, dass die syro-hethitischen Texte aus Emar durchaus ungewöhnlich sind, indem sie den G-Stamm von *magāru* transitiv anwenden („X wollte nicht dass Y schwört“¹⁴⁾.

Im Hinblick auf solche morphologischen und semantischen Verwechslungen der G- und D-Stämme wäre eine Deutung der Form *ittūrū* von Hir 43:16 im Sinne eines transitiv-faktitiven *uttērū* zu erwägen. Damit wäre die Passage als „Die Söhne von Zū-Ba'la und die Älteste von Šumū haben den Söhne von Abī-kāpī vom Eid zurückgehen lassen¹⁵⁾“ zu übersetzen, was zugleich den inneren Widerspruch der Satzaussage aufhebt.

1) Dieser Beitrag entstand während eines vom DAAD finanzierten Forschungsaufenthaltes an der Abteilung Altorientalische Philologie des Instituts für Archäologische Wissenschaften der Universität Freiburg. Für ihre kritischen Anmerkungen sei hier Regine Pruszinszky herzlich gedankt.

Abkürzungen: AuOr 5 = Arnaud 1987; Em = Arnaud 1986-87; BLMJ = Westenholz 2000; Hir = Tsukimoto 1992; Mbq = Mayer 2001; RE = Beckman 1996; TS = Arnaud 1991.

2) Veröffentlicht in Tsukimoto 1992.

3) Belmonte 2001, 276; cf. id. 2008, 29-30.

4) Zur Typologie dieser Prozessurkunden in der altbabylonischen Zeit siehe Dombradi 1996 1, 192-194.

5) Vgl. TS 36:11.

6) Tsukimoto 1992, 290; unter ihnen gibt es allerdings sowohl Söhne (Kāpī-Dagān und Tūra-Dagān) als auch Enkel von Zū-Ba'la (Ba'l-mālik, Zū-Aštari und Kiri-Dagān sind Söhne von Bēlu-qarrād [Skaist 2005, 617-9; Cohen 2009, 150]; Ba'l-be'l ist wahrscheinlich auch unter die Enkel zu zählen).

7) Tsukimoto 1992, 291, sowie Yamada 1993, 454 („receded from the oath of the sons of Abi-ka[pi]“). Zur Umgehung des Parteieides im altbabylonischen Zivilprozess siehe Dombradi 1996 1, 340-341; zur Bedeutung von *tāru G* vgl. Lafont 1999, 322-323.

8) Ausnahmsweise wird in altbabylonischen Sippar die Ausstellung der *tuppi lā ragāmim* als eine Leistung der unterlegenen Partei dargestellt (Dombradi 1996 1, 361).

9) Siehe Dombradi 1996 1, 83-84 für einen weiteren altbabylonischen Beleg.

10) Für Ugarit s. Huehnergard 1989, 173; für Emar s. Fleming 1992, 121¹⁷¹; Seminara 1998, 353-356; Fleming 2000, 203¹; für Amarna und zeitgenössische Briefe s. Rainey 1996 2, 133-136. Vgl. Izre'el 1991, 149-150, 157 bezüglich der unterschiedslosen Anwendung der G und D Stämme von *banū* im akkadischen Dialekt von Amurru, die vom Autor als Einfluss des einheimischen westsemitischen Dialekt erklärt wird.

11) Zur Anwendung von **G-Präfixe für D-Grundformen** vgl. *ib-ba-al* für *ubbal* in Em 650:47 (zitiert von Seminara 1998, 355); *i⁷-za-i-zu-ni₇* für *uzizzūni* (*uza'izzūni*) in RS 16.252:14 (Huehnergard 1989, 173); *it-ta-za-mu-ni₇* für *uttazamīni* in RS 16.252:8 (*id.*, 171); *i-ma-at-ta-ru* für *umattar* in Em 542D:128⁷ (Seminara 1998, 355); *i-na-ka-ru* für *unakkaru* in TS 9:44 (*id.* 354); *i-la-mi-in* für *ulammin* in Em 42:10 (*id.* 354; Fleming 2000: 203¹⁴); *lu-ú ta-nab-bi* für *tunabbi* in AuOr 5.13:7 (*id.* 356). Vgl. für die Amarna und Ta'anak Briefe: (*y*)*išir(V)* anstatt (*y*)*ušir(V)* (Rainey 1996 2, 135, 157) oder *ittēr* für *uttēr* (z.B. in dem Brief aus Tyr EA 148:38: *la-a it-te-er ma-mi-ta*, „Hat er nicht gegen den Eid verstoßen?“; andere Beispiele aus Alalah, Mittani, usw. in Rainey 1996 2, 135). Vgl. auch für Emar die Anwendung von **G-Präfixe für Š-Grundformen**: *i-še-zi-iz* für *ušeziz* in SMEA 30.13:3; *i-ša-ša-bu-ši* für *uše/lašabū* in Em 388F:6 (Seminara 1998, 353, 355). Ein Beispiel für die Anwendung von **D-Präfixen bei G-Grundformen** ist wahrscheinlich *um-hur-ru-ni-ni* für *imqurūnini* in TS 78:2 (*id.* 355).

12) Folgende Belege finden sich in den **Ritualtexten aus Emar**: *i-ma-su-ú* vs. *ú-ma-as-su-u* in Em 369:74A/C; *šarāpu* vs. *šurrupu* in Em 472; *zāzu* vs. *zu'užu* in Em 369 (siehe Fleming 1992, 121¹⁷⁷, 132 und Seminara 1998, 356); in den syrischen Versionen **mesopotamischer Literaturwerke**: *ú-na-š[u]-ú* anstatt *inaššū* in Em 783/84:10; *i-ša-an-[ni/a]* anstatt *ušanna* in RS 22.421:13 (siehe Seminara 1998, 356 und Van Soldt 1991, 436⁹¹); in den **juristischen Texten aus Ugarit**: *dīna inammuš* vs. *dīna unamma/iš* (siehe CAD N/1 222-223 und Huehnergard 1989, 163²⁶⁶; vgl. derselbe bezüglich das Form *u⁷-ša-ri-ip* im Brief RS 20.238:15). Für das **Onomastikon von Emar** weist Seminara (1998, 353-354) auf die Anwendung der Form *ipħur* anstatt des transitiven *upahħir* im Satznamen *Iphur-GN* hin.

13) **Verbalformen mit G-Präfixen und D-Bedeutung**: *i-ma-al-lu(-u)* oder *i-ma-lu-ú* anstatt *umallū* in mehreren lexikalischen Texten aus Emar (Seminara 1998, 355) und in RS 8.207:4 (Huehnergard 1989, 173); [*t*]a-*ka-al* anstatt *tukāl* in Em 177:18 (*id.* 356). **Verbalformen mit D-Präfixen und G-Bedeutung**: *ú-ba-aq-qa-ru* für *ibaqqarū* in TS 15:10, TS 86:38, RE 33:26 (*id.* 355), Mbq 9:23 und Mbq 61:22; *ú-ma-ag-gur₁₈/gar_x* für *imaggul/ar* in Emar 264:11 (Seminara 1998, 355).

14) X *a-na ta-mi-e ul i-ma-gur-šu-nu* (TS 94:18-20; Seminara 1998, 355); X Y (Pl.) *a-na ma-mi-ti la i-ma-gu-ur-šu-nu-ti* (Em 257:8-9). Zur üblichen, intransitiven Anwendung des Verbes in den zeitgenössischen Texten aus dem Westen („X wollte nicht schwören“), siehe CAD M/1 37.

Arnaud, D., *Emar VI. Textes sumériens et accadiens*. Paris 1986-1987.

Arnaud, D., „La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite: contrats de droit privé“, *AuOr* 5 (1987), 211-241.

Belmonte, J. A., *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* Wiesbaden 2001 (RGTC 12/2).

Belmonte, J. A., „Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Emar (nach RGTC 12.2)“, in *Materials for Emar Studies* [<http://www.propylaeum.de/altorientalistik/themenportale/emar-meskene-syrien/materials-for-emar-studies>], 2008, 1-45.

Cohen, Y., *The Scribes and Scholars of the City of Emar in the Late Bronze Age*. Winona Lake 2009 (HSS 59).

D'Alfonso, L., Buchbesprechung von Westenholz 2000, *OLZ* 97 (2002), 520-527.

Lafont, S., *Femmes, droit et justice dans l'antiquité orientale. Contribution à l'étude du droit pénal au Proche-Orient ancien*. Fribourg - Göttingen 1999 (OBO 165).

Dombradi, E., *Die Darstellung des Rechtsaustauschs in den altbabylonischen Prozessurkunden*, I-II. Stuttgart 1996 (FAOS 20).

Fleming, D. E., *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar*. Harvard 1992 (HSS 42).

Id., *Time at Emar. The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's House*. Winona Lake 2000 (MC 11).

Huehnergard, J., *The Akkadian of Ugarit*. Atlanta 1989 (HSS 34).

Izre'el, S., *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*. Harvard 1991 (HSS 41).

Rainey, A. F., *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets. Linguistic Analysis of the mixed Dialect used by the Scribes from Canaan*. Leiden - New York - Köln 1996 (HdO 25).

Seminara, S., *L'accadico di Emar*. Roma 1998.

Skaist, A., „When did Ini-Tešub succeeded to the throne of Karkemiš?”, *UF* 37 (2005), 609-620.

Tsukimoto, A., „Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (III)”, *ASJ* 14 (1992), 289-310.

Van Soldt, W. H., *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar*. Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991 (AOAT 40).

Westenholz, J. G., *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem: The Emar Tablets*. Groningen 2000 (CM 13).

Yamada, M., „Division of a Field and Ninurta's Seal: An Aspect of the Hittite Administration in Emar”, *UF* 25 (1993), 453-460.

Bárbara E. SOLANS, <besolans@gmail.com>
Guadix, Spanien

09) Talmi-Šarruma Again. A Supplementary Note to NABU 2012/68 : « Une lettre d'Alep? » by J.-M. Durand – An unpublished letter coming from the antiquities market was briefly mentioned and cited in Bassetti, *SCCNH* 8 (1996), p. 246. It was sent by *Tal-mi-^dlugal-ma* gar kur ^{uru}*I-mar* to *Na-bu-ni* gar kur *Su-uh*. Bassetti read the sign combination gar/šá and kur as *ša māt*, so it can be understood, resulting with ‘Talmi-Šarruma of the land of (^{the city}Emar’ and ‘Nabuni of the land of Suh(u)’.¹⁾ Another possibility however to consider is that the writing gar kur is the equivalent of *šakin māt* ‘governor of the land of...’, a writing convention typical of Nuzi, Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian sources (for which see CAD/Š/I: 180ff.; and Jakob, *Mittelassyrische Verwaltung*, pp. 131-140, e.g., p. 138: gar kur ^{uru}*Aš-šur*), although not found in Emar.²⁾ In which case we translate, ‘Talmi-Šarruma, the governor of Emar’ and ‘Nabuni, governor of Suḥu’.

Another writing convention in this letter that is not typical of Emar scribal habits during the Late Bronze Age is the writing of the name of the city with ‘I’ (*I-mar*) rather than the regular writing with ‘E’ (*E-mar*). This writing is again common to Middle Assyrian sources and also to the Old Babylonian spelling of the city’s name (see RGTC 12/2, pp. 72-73; RGTC 5, p. 137; and Faist, *Fernhandel*, pp. 135-137, citing BATSH 4, 13).

It is not known who Nabuni the governor of Suḥu was, but Bassetti’s suggestion that this person is the same as Nabunni mentioned in the debt note *Emar* 26 is not likely, given the high status of the governor (if the reading above is accepted). As for Talmi-Šarruma, he is probably attested to in another source. The letter RE 83, which discusses the business of merchants dealing in horses, commences so:

¹ *um-ma* ^m*Tal-mi-man-ma* ² *a-na* ^m*Arad-dingir.meš* ³ *šeš-ia qí-bi-ma*
"Thus Talmi-Šarruma. To Abdi/Arad-ilāni, my brother, speak."

The reading of the name Talmi-Šarruma here follows Durand’s correct (and now collated reading) of Beckman’s previous reading of the name as Talmi-Kušuḥ!^{1,3)} The way of writing the person’s name with MAN = šarru is typical, again, of Middle Assyrian scribal conventions. Indeed, in this regard note that the whole document is written in a non-Emarite, perhaps Middle-Assyrian/Mittannian script; consider the signs MEŠ (ll. 2 and 8) and MU (l. 5) and possibly UM (l. 1); and note also Durand’s reading of and comment on *na-su* (l. 9) as an Assyrian form, to which one can add the form *ku-a-ša* (l. 4).⁴⁾

To conclude, both letters, the one cited by Bassetti, *SCCNH* 8, and RE 83, betray non-Emarite scribal conventions and perhaps can be considered to originate, with all due reservations of course, from the same scribal milieu although from a place different than Emar itself. Therefore, this leads one to believe that Talmi-Šarruma in both sources is the same person. It is not known when this person lived or where exactly his base of activities was. At the least we can say that 1.) he was a person of some standing because according to RE 83 he had some merchants working at his service; 2.) in both sources, it seems that he is located west to the persons he is writing to—to Nabuni in Suḫu and to Abdi/Arad-ilāni the procurer of horses, presumably in Kassite Babylonia. Note that the two sources make use of diplomatic parlance, hinting at Talmi-Šarruma's high status: he calls Abdi/Adad-ilāni as 'brother', as in the Amarna or Ugarit correspondence for example, and does not fail to mention Nabuni's status as equal to his (as šakin māti). Surely, in both cases, it is not with an commoner that one is confronted.

If further identification for this person is wished for, there are three possibilities to consider: 1.) Talmi-Šarruma is to be identified with the Hittite viceroy at Aleppo, putting at his disposal the services of an Assyro-Mittani trained scribe; 2.) he is some high official responsible for Emar affairs, perhaps preceding Mutri-Teššub, the (lú) ugula kalam-ma (prior to 1220), even at the time of the so-called 'arana'-documents at Emar;⁵⁾ and 3.) he is a merchant active in the environs of Emar, hence the reading gar kur as šakin māt is to be rejected, and simply read as ša māt. Presently, all three options must be remain open, until more evidence becomes available.

1) As J.-M. Durand kindly informed me (Paris, October of 2006), the sign read by Bassetti as ša is actually šá. In regards to Nabunni's city of origin (in *Emar* 26), see Durand and Marti 2003: 167, reading uru^{ki} A[N-A]D* = al-ilī-abī. Thanks are extended to Lorenzo d'Alfonso and Jean-Marie Durand for their comments and criticisms of this short note.

2) The particle ša is very rarely written as šá in Emar. I can add that identifying people in letterheads according to their place of origin is unknown to me, hence this is another support of the reading brought here.

3) Beckman amended the sign 20 or MAN to 30' to stand for Sín or Kušuh. See Durand, NABU 2012/68.

4) See Beckman, RE, p. 106. Cf. RE 19 in regards to its cuneiform signs and verbal forms; it is an Assyrian document as Beckman explains in his edition of the tablet.

5) It is less likely to consider placing Talmi-Šarruma as an overseer after Ahī-malik, Emar's last overseer, at the very end of Emar's history; see Cohen, *Aḥī-malik*, Fs Skaist (and thanks to J.-M Durand for correcting my mistake *Talmi-Šarruma to Talmi-Teššub in Fig. 1!)

Yoram COHEN, <ycohen1@post.tau.ac.il>, Tel Aviv University

10) The (E)meslam in 'The Epic of Erra', Tablet I, Line 118 – Lines 109-118 in the first tablet of the 'Epic of Erra' have been recognized by various commentators as consisting of an independent poetic unit in which Erra embarks on a self-praise speech, describing his qualities.¹⁾

All the lines of Erra's speech are fairly well preserved apart from the last line, 118, only found in one manuscript (S = STT 16, obv. ii, pl. 21). The first part of line 118 presents no great difficulties, even if it is not fully preserved. It reads as follows:

a-na n[a]-me-e er-ru-ub-ma
'Into the st[e]ppe I entered.'

However, the second half of the line is rather poorly preserved, crucially broken in one spot, requiring that the text be restored. Cagni (1977: 31, n. 30), following Schramm (1971: 271 [a review of Cagni 1969]), read and translated the broken second half of the line as follows:²⁾

[ina tar]başı (tūr) ra-m[a-k]u šub-ta
'[in the fo]ld I settle.'

Practically all translations of the poem known to me have followed this restoration since.³⁾ However, this reading and the ensuing translations are to be rejected. The first almost fully preserved sign of the second half of l. 118, is not [t]ür (*tarbasu*, 'pen, fold') but lam, leading us to restore the broken part of the line as [(ana) me]s.lam.⁴⁾ See figures 1 and 2 below:



Fig. 1 (STT 16, pl. 21, obv. ii, line 118)



Fig. 2 (Detail of STT 16, pl. 21, line 118, reading *(er-ru-ub)-ma [(ana) me]s.lam*)

The restoration offered here is supported by the occurrence of very similar phrases to 1. 118 in the ‘Epic’; see Tablet V, l. 22:

i-ru-um-ma [ana] é.mes.lam ir-ta-m[e] šu-bat-su
‘(Erra) entered and took up residence in the Emeslam, his home’.

Compare Tablet IIc 8 (KAR 169, rev. iii, 21 with copy, restored according to Al-Rawi & Black 1989; see below):

[a]-šib-ma¹ ana é.mes.lam [ir-ta-mi] šu-bat-su
‘[S]itting and [occupying] the Emeslam, his home’.

And, most importantly, Al-Rawi & Black 1989: 118, 8/36* (with copy):

a-šib-ma ina mes.lam ra-me šu-bat-[su]
‘Sitting and occupying the (E)meslam, [his] home.’

Note how in the citation above the temple name was written without é.⁵ Such writing is paralleled in one of the amulet copies of the poem. Instead of the usual é.sag.il, we find sag.gil (Reiner 1960: 149, 12; Cagni 1969: 102). On the basis of such writing without é, since apparently there is not enough space in the Sultantepe manuscript to insert the é sign before [me]s.lam, we restore and translate accordingly line 118 of Tablet I of the ‘Epic’ as follows:

118. *a-na n[a]-me-e er-ru-ub-ma [(ana) me]s.lam ra-m[a-k]u šub-ta*
Although to the d[eserted] regions I enter, [(in) the (E)meslam, (my) home, I dwell].⁶

This restoration and reading fits the traces of the Sultantepe manuscript and agrees with similar formulations of this phrase interspersed throughout the ‘Epic’, which mentions Erra’s dwelling place—none other than his temple in Kutha—the (E)meslam. It is also a suitable end of the poetic unit (ll. 109–118), which foresee *in nuce* things to come in the Epic—from Erra’s rage to his eventual appeasement, sitting in his temple.⁷

1) E.g., Gössmann (1955: 43 and 76-78); Frankena (1957: 5); Cagni (1969: 178); Wiggermann (1998-2001: 223); Streck (1999: 98); and Foster (2005: 885). Tablets, line numeration, and sigla follow the edition of Cagni (1969).

2) In Cagni (1969: 70) the line was not restored.

3) Bottéro (1985: 231); Bottéro and Kramer (1989: 686); Dalley (1991: 289); S. Shifra (1997: 43); Müller (1994: 787, 118); and Foster (2005: 886).

4) The diš sign (for *ana*) is probably to be fitted in the break, but collation is required for a certainty in this case.

5) Compare also Erra’s epithet *šar-ru mi-iš-lam-mi* ‘Lord of Mešlam’, in Lambert 1973: 362, l. 64; and *mu mi-iš-la-mi* ‘Year of the Mešlam’ (cited in George 1993: 126). For the (E)meslam, see George (1993: 126-127).

6) Following the suggestion of N. Wasserman (personal communication), the *-ma* is taken here as concessive.

7) The content and structure of this poetic unit (ll. 109-118) is treated in detail by Cohen (forthcoming).

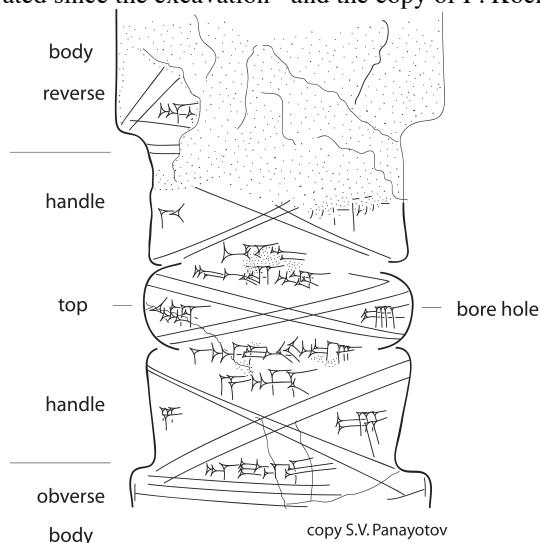
References

- Al-Rawi, F.N.H. & Black, J.A. 1989. The Second Tablet of "Išum and Erra". *Iraq* 51, 111-122.
Bottéro, J. 1985. *Mythes et rites de Babylone*. Geneva: Slatkine-Champion.
Bottéro, J. & Kramer, S.N. 1989. *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l’homme : mythologie mésopotamienne*. Paris: Gallimard.
Cagni, L. 1969. *L’epopea di Erra* (Studi semitici 34). Rome: Università di Roma.

- Id.* 1977. *The poem of Erra*. Malibu: Undena.
- Cohen, Y. (Forthcoming) Fearful Symmetry: Poetics, Genre, and Form of Lines 109-118, Tablet I in the Poem of Erra. To appear in a Festschrift.
- Dalley, S. 1991. *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, The Flood, Gilgamesh and Others* (World's Classics). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Foster, B.R. 2005. *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (3rd ed.). Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press.
- Frankena, R. 1957. Untersuchungen zum Irra-epos. *BiOr* 14, 2-10.
- George, A.R. 1993. *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (MC 5). Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Gössmann, P. F. 1955. *Das Era-Epos*. Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag.
- Lambert, W.G. 1973. Studies in Nergal (Review of von Weiher, E. 1971. *Der babylonische Gott Nergal* (AOAT 11)). *BiOr* 30, 335-363.
- Müller, G.G.W. 1994. Ischum und Erra. In: *Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen* (TUAT 3/4). Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 781-801.
- Reiner, E. 1960. Plague Amulets and House Blessings. *JNES* 19, 148-155.
- S. Shifra, 1997. Erra and Išum: The Babylonian Poem of Destruction and Redemption (Hebrew). *Mikarov Literary Review* 1, 43-53.
- Schramm, W. 1971. Review of Cagni 1969. *Or* 40, 268-272.
- Streck, M.P. 1999. *Die Bildersprache der akkadischen Epik* (AOAT 264). Münster: Ugarit-Verl.
- Wiggermann, F.A.M. 1998-2001. Nergal (A. Philologisch; B. Archäologisch). *RIA* 9, 215-226.

Yoram COHEN, <ycohen1@post.tau.ac.il>, Tel Aviv University

11) Who is the client of the namburbi tablet with handle A 114 (LKA 128) in Istanbul?¹⁾ – F. Köcher copied the tablet A 114 (ca. 10,5 x 6 x 2 cm) from the Assur-Photo S 1611/2 = K 488/9, in LKA 128.²⁾ It was impossible to him to copy correctly the signs on the badly visible upper edge of the tablet's handle, where the last signs of the owner's name are badly visible. Additionally, the upper part of the handle remains unpublished until now. Due to the lack of collations of A 114 there are two mis-leading readings of the owner's name. First, E. Reiner read the client's name as *Nabû-zēr-ušabši* with a question mark. Second, using the same photograph, as F. Köcher, S. Maul stated that the name is definitely ("eindeutig") to be read as ^{1d}MUATI-NUMUN-SUM. Consequently, he interpreted that A 114 comes from the house of the goldsmith *Nabû-zēra-iddina*.³⁾ He repeated this conclusion in KAL 4, and even connected LKA 128 with MS 3187.⁴⁾ The collation of the tablet in Istanbul revealed that the client's name should be slightly modified, which excludes a possible connection of A 114 with the house of *Nabû-zēra-iddina*, and MS 3187. For the sake of convenience, I will provide a copy, and transliterate the text, which is interwoven in the double crisscross lines (called "magical diagram" after Reiner, see above), positioned on the tablet's body and handle. The reading of these lines depends only on the perspective of the viewer, therefore no line numbering is given. The copy shows the present state of A 114. Some parts on the reverse have deteriorated since the excavation⁵⁾ and the copy of F. Köcher; cf. LKA 128.



First rectangular field on the reverse of the main body of A 114:

[dingir silim-(ma)-mu]
 [My safeguard.]
 [DINGIR mušallim ^dAMAR.UTU]
 [the deity, the safeguardis Marduk.]
^dA[sal-lú-hi]
 A[salluhi!]

Second field on the handle, which also continues on the top of the handle

[^dI-šum]
 Išum,
 600 'DINGIR.MEŠ'
 herald of the gods,
 (on the upper edge of the obverse) EN SILA'
 master of the street,
 'Third' field on the top of the handle, continuing from the second one:
 SILA ina 'DIB'-ka
 when(ever) you pass by the street,
 'UGU' É
 over the house of
 (on the upper edge of the reverse) ^{mrd}MUATI-NUMUN-BA- 'šá'
 Nabû-zéra-iqtša

'Forth' field on the obverse of the tablet, continuing from the third one:

A 'DINGIR'-šú
 son of his god,
 GAR -un
 pla -ce
 AN.'DÙL'
 protection!

This clearly shows that the client for whom the apotropaic tablet with pierced handle was manufactured, and whose house was thereby magically protected, was *Nabû-zéra-iqtša*, and not as estimated *Nabû-zéra-ušabši* or *Nabû-zéra-iddina*. The client of the tablet with handle was probably identical with a scribe from Aššur, who wrote a tablet with *Šurpu*.⁶⁾

1) I am especially thankful to Assuman Dönmez from İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri for her hospitality, and for removing A 114 from the exhibition glass-case, and letting me study the artefact.

2) Ebeling, Erich (ed.), (1953), *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Unter Mitarbeit von Franz Köcher und Liane Rost, Berlin) p. XII, and no. 128.

3) Maul, Stefan M. (1994), *Zukunftsbewältigung. Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale* (Namburbi) BaF, 18; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern); p. 179 note 221. *Ibid.* on page 176 note 186 he writes *Nabû-aḥa-iddina*. On page 185 note 261 he writes again that he collated LKA 128, without saying if he used a photograph or he collated the real tablet in the museum.

4) Maul, Stefan M. and Strauß, Ritta (2011), *Ritualbeschreibungen und Gebete I*, ed. Stefan M. Maul (KAL 4. Mit Beiträgen von Daniel Schwemer. WVDOG, 133; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz) p. 4 note 25.

5) DINGIR mu- (l. 2), ^dAsal-lú- (l. 3) and ^dI-šum (l. 4) are well visible on the excavation photo Ass 1612.

6) For persons with this name, see Baker, Heather D. (ed.), (2000), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2) p. 910.

Strahil V. PANAYOTOV, <kanauwigi@yahoo.com.>
 Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski". Department of Arabic and Semitic Studies

12) ḤA-BI-(GAL) in Babylonian King List A: an alternative proposal – The redactors of Babylonian King List A (BKL A) singled out Sennacherib and his prince, Aššur-nādin-šumi, with the unique designation “bala ḤA-BI-GAL.” Similarly, Merodach-baladan II was described as “erim ḤA-BI” in his second term as king of Babylon. Why did the Neo-Babylonian chroniclers describe these rulers in this way and what were they implying by doing so?¹⁾ While some scholars have offered possible suggestions of how to read ḤA-BI-GAL, none has made sense of what the odd epithet implied about the two Assyrian rulers and the Chaldean. I would like to propose that the redactors of BKL A used ḤA-BI-(GAL) to condemn Sennacherib and his crown prince as a response to his sacking of Babylon and perhaps Merodach-baladan for his unsuccessful defence of Babylonia.

The relevant section of BKL A is column IV: 7–23, which covers the period of the Neo-Assyrian domination of Babylonia.²⁾ The text reads as follows:

3 (years of rule for) Mukīn-zēri, dynasty of Šapî (šá-pi-i)	
2	Pūlu (i.e. Tiglath-pileser III)
5	Ulūlāiu (i.e. Shalmaneser V), dynasty of Aššur (bal.til)
12	Merodach-baladan, dynasty of the Sealand (kur tam- <i><tim></i>)
5	Sargon
2	Sennacherib, dynasty of ḪA-BI-GAL
1 month (of rule for)	Marduk-zākir-šumi, son of Arad(-Enlil) ⁷⁾
9 months	Merodach-baladan, a ḪA-BI-soldier
3 (years of rule for) Bēl-ibni, dynasty of Babylon (e)	
6	Aššur-nādin-šumi, dynasty of ḪA-BI-GAL
1	Nergal-ušēzib
4?	Mušēzib-Marduk, dynasty of Babylon (e)
8?	Sennacherib
[?]	Aššur-aḥa (i.e. Esarhaddon)
[?]	Šamaš-šuma
[?]	Kandal (i.e. Kandalānu)
[?]	'Sîn-šumu-lēšir'

(The rest of the text is broken from here on)

The widely accepted reading of the signs is *ha-bi-gal*, which is said to be a short form of second millennium toponym, Ḫani-Rabbat.³⁾ Ḫani-Rabbat is attested also as Ḫabi-Rabbat,⁴⁾ and therefore could be an abbreviated form of the toponym. Greater support for this interpretation is found in the epithets of the few other rulers who received them: Mukīn-zēri's capital was Šapīya (or Šapî-Bēl),⁵⁾ Shalmaneser V (Ulūlāia) was an Assyrian king, Merodach-Baladan II was from the Sealand, and both Bēl-ibni and Mušēzib-Marduk were native Babylonians. However, the obscure ruler, Marduk-zākir-šumi II, is noted as a descendant of one Arad(-Enlil),⁶⁾ which indicates that the scribes were not restricted to geographical designations for the rulers of Babylonia.

Turning to ḪA-BI-GAL, Brinkman, who in my opinion correctly argues that ḪA-BI and ḪA-BI-GAL in BKL A relate to the same concept, pointed out that we should not assume the dynastic designations always be taken at face value.⁷⁾ He was referring to Merodach-baladan II's double designation as part of the Sealand dynasty and as a ḪA-BI-soldier. While Brinkman accepted the geographical interpretation, he acknowledged that such a view leaves the historian with little understanding of why the Neo-Babylonian redactors described Sennacherib, Aššur-nādin-šumi and Merodach-baladan II in this way.

Given that BKL A is concerned with dynasties, surely meaning must be found in the fact that Sennacherib and Aššur-nādin-šumi were singled out from the Sargonid dynasty for this unusual designation. I suspect that the Neo-Babylonian scribes' distinguished Sennacherib and Aššur-nādin-šumi because of their poor relations with Babylonia. If this is correct, we need to offer a new interpretation of the signs ḪA-BI-GAL.⁸⁾ The derogatory term might derive from the word *happu*, which is used to describe bitterness or vile smells, and on one occasion is used to describe a man.⁹⁾ Hence, we read the signs as 'bala *ha-pí gal*' and 'erim *ha-pí*.' While the use of the *happu* as proposed here would be its only attestation in this context, the reading *palī ha-pí rabī* 'of an evil (or wretched) dynasty,' fits well the Babylonian attitude to the king who destroyed their capital city and its temples, and his son whom the Babylonians captured and probably murdered.

How then does the description of Merodach-baladan II as erim *ha-pí* fit in? Surely no one in Babylonia would have thought that he was a mercenary from Upper Mesopotamia as erim *ha-bi* dictates (and such a reading would be in contradiction with the statement in l. 10 which states that he was from the Sealand).¹⁰⁾ Instead, one may read erim *ha-pí* ('wretched soldier') as an indication that the later Neo-Babylonian dynasty viewed Merodach-baladan's second term as king of Babylonia negatively. If our reading is correct, then perhaps the Neo-Babylonians were critical of Merodach-Baladan's repeated withdraws, retreat and escape from the Assyrians in 710, 703 and 700 BCE.¹¹⁾ Given that it is Merodach-baladan's second term as king which received the negative epithet, it was probably his retreat from Sennacherib and the subsequent installment of Aššur-nādin-šumi, the 'evil dynasts,' which drew the

condemnation from the redactors of BKL A.

In sum, while the proposed reading of the signs ḪA-BI-(GAL) as *ha-pí (rabî)* would be the only such occurrences of *happu*, it is no rarer than the reading ‘dynasty of Habigal’. The reading proposed here makes good sense within the history of Assyrio-Babylonian relations when Sennacherib and Aššur-nādin-šumi marked the most hostile phase of the period covered by this section of BKL A. Such a reading also casts new light on the reign of Merodach-baladan II, for it denigrates him as a ‘wretched soldier’. In this way BKL A becomes an important source for the Neo-Babylonian attitude to Assyria’s domination and Merodach-baladan’s rule.

1) On dating BKL A to the fifth or even early fourth centuries BCE see J. A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158–722 B.C.* AnOr 43 (Rome 1968), p. 16.

2) The text can be found in A. K. Grayson, ‘Königslisten und Chroniken B. Akkadisch,’ RIA 6 (1982), pp. 90–96; and A. R. Millard ‘Babylonian King Lists (1.134),’ in W. W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture: Volume I Canonical Compositions* (Leiden, 1997), p. 461.

3) We agree with the reading of the toponym as Ḫani-Rabbat over Ḫanigalbat as discussed by F. M. Fales who has drawn on and extended M. Valerio’s convincing argument in “‘Hanigalbat’ in Early Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: A Retrospective View”, in G. Galil, et al. (eds.), *Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries BCE: Culture and History. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the University of Haifa 2–5 May, 2010.* AOAT 329 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012), pp. 116–117.

4) J. A. Brinkman (following I. J. Gelb) notes that the /ni/ in this toponym can shift to /na/, /bi/ and /li/, see ‘Merodach-baladan II,’ in R. D. Biggs and J. A. Brinkman (eds.), *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7, 1964* (Chicago, 1964), p. 36, p. 212.

5) So Millard, ‘Babylonian Kinglists,’ p. 461, n. 4.

6) It seems that he could be identified with a Babylonian provincial governor of the same name who was the son of one Arad-Enlil, attested on a kudurru from Merodach-baladan II’s reign, see Brinkman ‘Merodach-baladan II,’ pp. 24–25, n. 137; and Brinkman, ‘Marduk-zākir-šumi’, in PNA, p. 737.

7) Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 168.

8) It should be noted that E. Frahm’s statement in PNA s.v. Sīn-ahhē-erība (p. 1114) that “Dalley’s idea about a Judean background of Sennacherib is too uncertain to justify speculations about the possibility that Habigal, possibly to be read Ḥabi-rabû or even Ḥabiru, assuming a scribal mistake, can somehow be linked to the ‘Hebrews,’” while correct, is slightly confusing and at first blush may read as a rebuttal of Stephanie Dalley. Dalley has not tackled the problem of ḪA-BI-GAL in her article ‘Yabâ, Atalyâ and the Foreign Policy of Late Assyrian Kings,’ SAAB 12 (1998), nor anywhere else.

9) See CAD 6 (Ḫ), p. 85.

10) It has been noted that the use of erim to describe a king is rare and is to be understood as ‘soldier’, see A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (New York, 1975), p. 142; and CAD 16 (S), p. 54. It has also been pointed out that *hanigalbatu* and *hanigalbūtu* can be used for a charioteer and a native of Ḫani-Rabbat, respectively. However, neither is attested with erim, see CAD 6 (Ḫ), p. 80.

11) See the account of events in Brinkman, ‘Merodach-baladan II,’ pp. 19–27.

L. R. SIDDALL <luis.siddall@gmail.com>

Shore School, PO Box 1221, North Sydney, NSW 2059, Australia

13) Eine Kambyses-zeitliche Kopie einer Aššur-etel-ilāni-Inschrift – RIMB 6.35.1 (Frame 1995: 262f.; Erstpublikation: Leichty 1993) ist eine Weihinschrift des assyrischen Königs Aššur-etel-ilāni für einen für Marduk bestimmten Opfertisch. Der Schriftträger ist eine unregelmäßig geformte Tontafel, die Spuren einer früheren Inschrift aufweist (PTS 2253). Marduk wird als „Herr von Babylon, der in Esangila wohnt“ bezeichnet, somit kann man mit Frame und Leichty annehmen, daß es sich um eine Inschrift für ein Kultobjekt dieses Tempels in Babylon gehandelt hat. Die Inschrift weist zwei Besonderheiten auf: einerseits die Schrift, eine babylonische Kursive in zum Teil leicht schrägem Duktus¹ mit einigen Zeichen, die in ihrer assyrischen Form gegeben werden (ŠAH, sowie KA und RA in kā.dingir.ra^{ki}); andererseits eine Nachschrift, die nicht zur eigentlichen Inschrift gehört („a short private note about food offerings“ nach Brinkman und Kennedy 1986: 103), die vom Haupttext durch eine getilgte Zeile und eine Leerzeile getrennt ist und wie folgt lautet:

21 2 qa 3 šal-šú ninda siskur 1 (pi) 1 bán giš-péš-hád.a ina maš-šar-ti šá iti.du₆

22 ¹na-din a ^{ld}en-pab^{me}-ba-šá iti.kin ud.11.kam mu.3.kam

„2 qû, 3 1/3 akalu Opfergaben; 1 pānu und 1 sūtu getrocknete Feigen, von den Opfermaterialien des Monats Tašritu: Nādin, Sohn des Bēl-ahhē-iqīša, 11. Ulūlu, 3. Jahr.“

Leichty schlägt vor, in der Inschrift eine Vorlage für die Handwerker zu sehen, die den Opfertisch herzustellen hatten; in den letzten zwei Zeilen sieht er die Angabe eines für Marduk bestimmten Opfers, das Marduk durch den Schreiber Nādin bei Ablieferung des Opfertisches darzubringen gewesen sein sollte (1983: 220); als Datum sei das dritte Regierungsjahr von Aššur-etel-ilāni gemeint. Diese Interpretation ist freilich nicht sicher (Brinkman und Kennedy 1996: 103: „date uncertain“). Wir halten die Tafel für eine deutlich spätere Abschrift.

Die Tafel ist Teil der Sammlung des Princeton Theological Seminary und ist als solche Teil eines Ankaufs, dessen babylonischer Teil ganz überwiegend aus Eanna-Texten besteht, die in die Chaldäer- oder Perserzeit datieren; eine Vorlage einer neuassyrischen Königsinschrift aus assyrischer Zeit aus Babylon wäre innerhalb dieses Kontexts isoliert und überraschend. Die Tafel nicht als Vorlage, sondern als spätere, also spätbabylonische Abschrift zu verstehen, ist unter diesem Gesichtspunkt wesentlich wahrscheinlicher.

Nun kennt das Eanna-Archiv einen sehr aktiven Schreiber namens Nādin, Sohn des Bēl-ahhē-iqīša aus der Egibi-Familie (Kümmel 1979: 178 [Index]). Er erscheint auch mit dem Titel *tupšar Eanna*; bezeugt ist er von der Regierungszeit Neriglissars bis in das 6. Jahr von Kambyses (Kümmel 1979: 122; Kleber 2008: 28). Er müßte der Schreiber von PTS 2253 gewesen sein, wenn die Hypothese zutrifft, die Tafel sei eine Abschrift aus dem Eanna-Archiv. Nādin war regelmäßig von Amts wegen in Babylon (Dandamaev 1983: 108), und tatsächlich war er wohl auch im Ulūlu des dritten Jahres von Kambyses in der Hauptstadt. Das ergibt sich aus YOS 7, 150 (Babylon, 2.6.3 Kam; = BR 6, 111): Ein Teil einer Silberschuld zugunsten eines Marduk-šumu-uṣur und zu Lasten mehrerer Beamten und Priester des Eanna, darunter auch Nādin, wird von einem Dritten an die Frau des Gläubigers gezahlt. Die Schuldner müssen dabei nicht physisch anwesend gewesen sein, allerdings heißt es in einem Zusatz, das gezahlte Silber sei mit Wolle beglichen worden, die Nādin zur Verfügung stehe – wenn schon nicht die anderen Schuldner, so war doch mindestens Nādin vor Ort.²

Das Eanna-Archiv ermöglicht auch einen Versuch der Kontextualisierung der Abschrift. BM 113249 (Kleber 2008: 270f. Nr. 33), geschrieben in Uruk am 29.6.3 Kambyses, also wenige Wochen nach der wahrscheinlichen Abfassung von PTS 2253, ist das Protokoll eines Berichts des Bischofs von Eanna an das Tempelkollegium, d.h. die Vorsteher der wichtigsten Pfründenberufsgruppen – Nādin ist nicht anwesend – des Inhalts, daß ein Bote des Königs und der Gouverneur von Babylon verlangt hätten, daß ihnen Stelen (und) Inschriften früherer Könige, die in Eanna vorhanden seien, gezeigt würden (*a-su-mit-tu₄^{meš} šá-ṭa-ri šá lugal^{meš} la-bi-ru-tu šá ina é.an.na šak-nu kul-lim-a-a-in-ni*). Das Tempelkollegium wird zur Kooperation angehalten und aufgefordert, „alles, woran ihr euch erinnert und wovon ihr Kenntnis habt“ dem Boten des Königs zu zeigen. Der Text gibt keinen expliziten Hinweis auf die Gründe für das königliche Interesse an diesen Inschriften. Klebers Vermutung, daß es um Informationssammlung ging, die des Teispiden Selbstdarstellung als Herrscher in Babylonien effektiver gestalten sollte, ist sicherlich plausibel. In jedem Fall können sich dergleichen Nachforschungen nicht auf Eanna beschränkt haben, sondern müssen auch Esangila einbezogen haben. In diese Bemühungen könnte der sich vor Ort befindliche gelehrte Schreiber Nādin involviert gewesen sein; er hätte dann eine rasche Abschrift eines einschlägigen Textes auch für den persönlichen Gebrauch oder für den seines Tempels angefertigt und dazu auch die Remuneration notiert, die ihm bei seinen Tätigkeiten in Esangila zugestanden worden war oder die er sich für die Zeit seiner Abwesenheit von Eanna erhoffte.

Brinkman, J.A. und D.A. Kennedy 1986. „Supplement to the Survey of Dated Neo-Babylonian Economic Texts, 712-626 B.C. (JCS 35 [2984] 2-90)“, JCS 38, 99-106.

Dandamayev, M.A. 1983. *Vavilonskie pisy*. Moskau.

Frame, G. 1995. Rulers of Babylonia From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157-612 BC) (RIMB 2). Toronto.

Kleber, K. 2008. *Tempel und Palast. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem König und dem Eanna-Tempel im spätbabylonischen Uruk* (AOAT 358). Münster.

Leichty, E. 1983. „An Inscription of Aššur-Etel-Ilani“, JAOS 103, 217-20.

¹⁾ Eher des sechsten als des siebenten Jahrhunderts, aber dieser Eindruck ist zum gegebenen Zeitpunkt kaum zu objektivieren.

²⁾ Zwischen 10.2.3 Kam (TCL 13, 154) und 13.7.3 Kam (*AnOr* 8, 70) können wir Nādin nicht in Uruk nachweisen. Eine Reihe von Protokollen und Rechtsakten der Tempelverwaltung ist ohne seine Beteiligung geschrieben worden (z.B. YOS 7, 153 und 160, beide 5.3 Kam; YOS 7, 149, 19.6.3 Kam; BM 113249, 29.6.3 Kam), während sein Sohn Šamaš-mukīn-apli als Schreiber erscheint – in Vertretung des Vaters (BM 114561, 23.5.3 Kam)?

Michael JURSA, <michael.jursa@univie.ac.at>

Institut für Orientalistik, Universität Wien, Spitalgasse 2, Hof 4, A-1090 WIEN

14) tūg-LUM-LUM = tūg-guz-guz ; a new interpretation of the « guzguzu » garment in first millennium BC Mesopotamia – A file of eight texts dated from the first millennium BC, including two documents from the Yale Babylonian Collection presented below by Elizabeth Payne, has shed some light on the meaning of the sumerogram ^{tūg}LUM-LUM¹.

According to R. Borger, the ideogram “lum” can be read “guz”². Therefore, it is very likely that the expression “^{tūg}LUM-LUM” has to be read “^{tūg}guz-guz”, and understood as the equivalent of the Akkadian word “guzguzu”. The *Practical Vocabulary of Aššur* gives the equivalence “nim-ra-*’u” for the Sumerian “^{tūg}LUM-LUM”, but this term is never attested in Neo Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts³.

The ideogram “^{tūg}guz-guz” appears in four texts from the first millennium BC: a letter regarding a high dignitary from Nippur who was abandoned by his escort during a mission for the king (ABL 866), two marriage contracts from Sippar (NbK 369⁴) and Susa (TBER 93-94⁵), and a small text from the archive of the temple of Uruk which records quantities of dyed wool given to craftsmen (UCP 9/II 12).

This new reading is supported by four other texts dating from the Neo-Babylonian period where a phonetic spelling of the word appears. The text YBC 3941, a list of properties stolen from a house in Uruk, dated from the 38th year of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign, records in line 6: “2 ^{tūg}gu-uz-gu-za-nu”, or “two guzguzu-clothes/garments”. YBC 3819, dated four years later, gives the lists of the properties still due by the thief to the owner, and mentions the same two “guzguzu”. An undated list of garments, BM 29711⁶, contains “1 gu-uz⁷-zu-zu” without description of the context. Finally, an inventory of supplies for a ritual, BE 8 154⁷, records “3 gu-uz-gu-zu” on line 24, with various other objects.

Text	Place	Date	Description	Writing
ABL 866	(Uruk)	-	Letter regarding a high dignitary who was abandoned by his escort on the road to Nippur	1-en ^{tūg} gu'-uz-gu'-uz (1.4)
UCP 9/II 12	Uruk	Nbk16 XI.12	Note of Eanna’s administration recording textile materials given to craftsmen	1 ^{tūg} guz-guz (1.3-4)
YBC 3941	Uruk	Nbk 38	List of stolen properties from the house of Nabû-ahhē-šullim	2 ^{tūg} gu-uz-gu-za-nu (1.6)
Nbk 369	Sippar	Nbk 40 X.18	Marriage contract	^r ^{tūg} guz ^r -guz (1.2)
YBC 3819	Uruk	Nbk 42 IV.22	List of stolen properties still due by the thief to Nabû-ahhē-šullim	2 gu-uz-gu-za-nu (1. 2)
TBER 93-94	Susa	Achae-menid	Marriage contract	^r 1+en ^r ^{tūg} guz-guz (1.16-17)
BE 8 154	Central Bab.	-	Inventory of supplies, probably for a ritual	3 gu-uz-gu-zu (1.24-26)
BM 29711	Central Bab.	-	List of clothes	1-en gu-uz ⁷ -zu-zu (1. 7)

Two texts from Uruk provide information about the appearance and composition of the *guzguzu*. The first one, UCP 9/II 12, mentions that 53 shekels of red wool (*tabarru*) were given to craftsmen of the Eanna temple for the work of a *guzguzu*-cloth in order to cover the base of a chariot, or the pedestal ins-

talled in it (*šubtu*). The text indicates that the craftsmen had to decorate a *guzguzu*-cloth already manufactured with dyed wool. Coloured wool can be added to a fabric with different techniques such as embroidery or “passementerie” (trimming), creating elaborated decorations and patterns. The second text, YBC 3819, gives a weight of ten minas for each of the two *guzguzu* stolen in the house of Nabû-ahhē-šullim, a notable from Uruk. Even if the weight and shape of a certain type of cloth can vary according to the context, these attestations suggest that the *guzguzu* was a heavy, multicoloured and finely crafted cloth⁸.

The precise use of the *guzguzu* is rarely explained. Two texts mention a *guzguzu* used to cover religious furniture. The text UCP 9/II 12 is very explicit: the *guzguzu* is used to cover the base (*šubtu*) of a chariot, probably used during a religious ceremony at Babylon, since the materials are brought in this city. In the same way, the text BE 8 154, a long list of supplies, probably for a ritual, registers three *guzguzu* with textiles destined for a throne: “3 *guzguzu*, 1 linen fabric for the top of the seat of the throne, thread for the padding of the throne” (lines 24-26).

Other texts, less explicit, suggest that the *guzguzu* was sometimes used as a garment. For example, the list BM 29711 ranks the *guzguzu* among other garments: “2 *uzāru* covers, 6 *šupālītu* undergarments; 2 *śibtu* garments; 2 *mizitu*; 2 *ḥuṣannu* sashes/belts; 2 *na-ru/śub-b/pu*; 1 *guzguzu* garment, a *gulēnu* coat” (lines 1-8). We find the same case in the list of item stolen from a house in Uruk, YBC 3941: “2 new *guzguzu* garments, 6 *gulēnu* garments, 1 new *x-baqqu* garment, 2 belts, 1 head scarf, a neck scarf” (lines 6-11). In these two texts, the *guzguzu* was associated with a woollen coat called *gulēnu*. They may be worn together or pertain to the same set of garments for an outfit. As a garment, the importance of its weight and decoration suggests that the *guzguzu* was worn over the outfit, probably as a coat. We can also note that in the marriage contract Nbk 369, the *guzguzu* appears beside the « *mušiptu* ». While the *mušiptu* is a generic name for a garment, the *guzguzu* should not be understood as a common item of clothing since it is listed separately.

The determinative “túg” sometimes precedes the term *guzguzu*. It can mean a garment or a fabric covering the furniture. The temple’s archives show that the same textile can have two uses successively. In the two marriage contracts, it is not possible to decide between the two functions. In the first one, Nbk 369, the *guzguzu* is ranked after the furniture fabrics and before the garments: “a bed with a roll of fabric *kirku*, a *guzguzu*, a garment *mušiptu*” (line 2). In the second one, TBER 93-94, it is mentioned among various textiles, including again a *kirku*: “a roll of fabric *kirku* woven in the house, a fabric/garment SU-DA-AB, a fabric/a garment LAM-LAM, a *guzguzu*” (lines 16-17)⁹. The text ABL 866 records how a high dignitary of Nippur was abandoned by his escort on his way. He had to deliver an order of the king about the intercalation of a thirteenth month in the year. The *guzguzu* is listed among his baggage: “his harness (and) [his ...] were tied together. There were in it a *guzguzu* and a *naṣbatu* garment”. The *guzguzu* pertains here to the set of fabrics and garments of a royal agent.

On the one hand, this textile seems to be used for furniture in religious contexts. On the other hand, it appears as a garment or a fabric in the secular lists of textile. Nevertheless, one can deduce from this double use that the *guzguzu* is not cut and sewn with such features as sleeves for example. Its shape should be sufficiently standardized to be adapted for these different uses.

The *guzguzu* was a valuable textile, because it merited inclusion in the marriage contracts where daily clothes are not registered. Indeed, the *guzguzu* was decorated with dyed wool, a precious material. In the texts YBC 3941 and YBC 3819, it is the first textile item to be listed. In BM 29711, the *guzguzu* is the penultimate in the list; here, the scribe ranks the garments starting with underwear and finishing by outerwear.

The *guzguzu* should therefore be considered an expensive and heavy cloth, sometimes decorated with red wool. It can be used as a covering for a chariot or a throne in religious ceremonies. It seems also be worn as a coat by rich notables and royal agents. But in most of the texts, one cannot determine what its usage was. The fact that this term appears at the same time in religious and secular context is remarkable because the terminology in such contexts was usually different. All the eight texts mentioning the *guzguzu* come from different cities (Uruk, Sippar, Nippur and Susa), so this textile was widely known in Babylonia even if, according to the texts preserved, it remained a rare object. The term “*guzguzu*” exists only during the first millennium BC and reflects the change of textile vocabulary at this time.

ABL 866 (NA ; Nippur)

1 obv.	[.....]
	<i>a-na lugal [.....]</i>
	<i>u₄-mu-us-su^dgašan-šá-unug^{ki} u^dna-na-a</i>
	<i>a-na din-zi-meš šá lugal bē-lí-ia</i>
5	<i>ú-ṣal-lu^lir-^dna-na-a</i>
	<i>lú qur-ru-bu-tu šá un-qu</i>
	<i>a-na ugu di-ri lugal bē-lí-a</i>
	<i>i-na šu^{II}-šú ú-še-bi-la¹⁰</i>
	<i>i-na kaskal^{II} nibru^{ki} šu-ú</i>
10	<i>ù^lre-di-ia-a^{meš}</i>
	<i>ki-i is-mu-ú^lre-di-ia</i>
	<i>ki-i ú-maš-ši-ru-uš a-na unug^{ki}</i>
	<i>it-tal-ku-ni^lre-di-[x]</i>
	<i>[x]-qu ki-i iš-[tap-ru x]</i>
15	<i>[.....] 'x x x' [.....]</i>
	<i>[.....]</i>
1 rev.	<i>i-na kaskal^{II} [.....]</i>
	<i>erín-meš ki-i [.....]</i>
	<i>ki-i ú-ba-'a-ú</i>
	<i>gīš si-qa-lá-šú gīš? [x x]</i>
	<i>se-en-du 1-en túg gu'-uz-gu'-uz¹¹</i>
5	<i>ù 1-en túg na-as-ba-tu</i>
	<i>i-na lib-bi a-du-ú</i>
	<i>lú re-di-ia^lnibru^{ki}-meš</i>
	<i>šá ú-maš-ši-ru-uš</i>
	<i>iš-šu^{II}-meš ki-i ad-du[-ú]</i>
10	<i>a-na lugal bē-lí-ia al-'tap'-[ra]</i>
	<i>lugal en-a a-ki-i šá i-le-[u li-pu-uš]</i>

“[.....] for the king [.....] I pray every day Bēlti-ša-Uruk and Nanaia, for the good health of the king, my lord. Arad-Nanaia, the *qurrubutu*, by the hands of whom the king, my lord, had sent a sealed document about an intercalary month, he was on the road to Nippur, [...] when the escort men panicked and abandoned him. They came back to Uruk. [...]

On the way [...] the soldiers, when [...], as they examined, his harness (and) [his ...] were tied together. There were in it a *guzuzu* and a *našbatu* garment. Now, I have bounded in fetters the escort men and the men of Nippur who had abandoned him, and I [have written] to the king, my lord. May the king, my lord, [decide] what to do”.

BE 8 154 (NB ; Central Babylonia)

1 obv.	1 gur še-bar 3 udu-nitá
	<i>šar-tu₄ síg^{hi-a}</i>
	<i>síg.ta-bar-ri tuq-qu-nu-a-tu₄</i>
	<i>hur-da-tu₄ a-šá-gu ab-lu'-tu₄</i>
5	<i>la-ar-du a-di-iš-šú</i>
	<i>áš-tu₄ gīšhašur gīšpèš</i>
	<i>gīšnu-úr-ma gīšgeštin</i>
	<i>lu'-te-e šá gīšhašur¹²</i>
	<i>5 bán im ú.sal.la i₇</i>
10	<i>30 gi-izi-lá</i>
	<i>1+en gu-un gi-meš qal-pu-tu</i>
	<i>10 sik-kat šá mar-tu-ú</i>
	<i>lu-pu-'ú' duh-lál</i>
	<i>uzu-gu₄ uzu-udu-nitá</i>
15	<i>uzu-mušen ku₆</i>
lo. e.	<i>5 gín ba-ru'-un-du</i>
rev.	<i>1 gín ti-me-tu₄</i>
	<i>šá síg^{hi-a} a-par-'ra'-tu₄</i>
	<i>ù šar-tu₄ šá ú-ni-qu</i>
20	<i>1+en kap-ri ha[?] x meš</i>
	<i>1 {ú} gi-dùg.ga</i>

1+et sig₄ eš-še-tu₄
 1+en šu-gar-ru-ú šá el-pe-tu₄
 3 gu-uz-gu-zu
 25 1+en tūg-gada ana ugu ^{giš}gu-za^{meš}
 ti-me-tú ana ma-li-e šá ^{giš}gu-za^{meš}
 1+et šip-pa-ri ud ka.bar
 [1+et] na₄-gug kup-pu-ut-tu₄
 sum.sar

“One gur of barley, three sheep, one fleece (with its) wool, red-purple wool in order, one dried *ašagu* bar, *lardu*-grass, *adiššu*-plant, one branch each of apple tree, fig-tree, pomegranate, and vine, twigs of apple wood, five *sūtu* of clay from the bank of the river, thirty torches, one talent of peeled reed, ten wooden pegs *martū*¹³, *līpu*-tallow, wax, beef flesh, male sheep flesh, bird flesh, fish, five shekels of coloured wool, one talent of thread, of matted wool¹⁴ and of young goat fleece, one *kapru*-tray¹⁵, one [...], one aromatic reed, one new brick, a basket full of alfa, three *guzguzu*, one linen fabric for the covering of the throne, thread for the padding of the throne, one bronze *šipparu*, one carnelian block, (a clove) of garlic.”

UCP 9/II 12 (Nbk 12 XI 16; Uruk)

1 53 gín dul-lu šá {a-na}
 síg tab-bar-ri šá a-na
 1 tūg guz-guz šá muł-hi šu-ub'-ti
 šá ^{giš}gigir 1 ma-na síg ta-bar-ri
 5 šá in'-za'-lu-re-e-ti
 ½ ma-na síg ta-bar-ri
 šá ^{giš}gigir-me
 pap 2 ma-na 23 gín
^{id}dùg.ga-unug^{ki} u ^{id}na-na-a-kam
 10 lú uš-bar-meš mah-ru
 u ina šu^{II}-šú-nu a-na tin-tir^{ki}
 šu-bu-ul iti zíz
 u₄ 12-kam mu 16-kam
^dnà-níg-du-uri₃ lugal tin-tir^{ki}

“Fifty-three shekels (for) the work of red-purple wool intended for a *guzguzu* covering the base of the chariot, one mina of red-purple wool (dyed with *inzaḥurētu*), one half mina of red-purple wool pertaining to the chariots, a total of two minas and twenty-three shekels, were received from Tab-Uruk and Nanaia-ereš, the weavers, and were delivered by them to Babylon. Month Šabattu, twelfth day, sixteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon”¹⁴.

- 1) I present my thanks to E. Payne for her precious help and her advices.
- 2) R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, AOAT 305, 2003, Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, p. 228-229. R. Borger has not proposed an Akkadian equivalent for the expression “LUM-LUM”.
- 3) B. Landsberger & O. R. Gurney, “Practical Vocabulary of Aššur.”, AfO 18, 1957-1958, p. 328-341, n°255.
- 4) Edited by M. Roth, “The Neo-Babylonian Widow” JCS 43-45, p. 19. And “The Material Composition of the Neo-Babylonian Dowry”, AfO 36/37, p. 35.
- 5) Edited by J.-M. Durand, *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente*, Paris, 1981 ; F. Joannès, “Contrats de mariage d'époque récente” in RA 78, Paris, 1984, p. 71-81 and M. T. Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements 7th-3rd Centuries BC*, AOAT 222, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1989, n°34 p. 108-112.
- 6) Edited by R. Zadok, “Contributions to Babylonian Geography, Prosopography and Documentation”, AOAT 281, 2002, p. 890.
- 7) This last text is the only one listed by the CAD in the article “*guzguzu*” (CAD G p. 147). The CAD does not propose a translation for this word, which is attested only during the Neo-Babylonian period.
- 8) By way of comparison, the heaviest religious cloth (fabric or garment) at Sippar, the *lubāru*, weighed twenty minas, according to S. Zawadzki, *Garments of the Gods, Studies on the Textile Industry and the Pantheon of Sippar according to the texts from the Ebabbar Archive*, OBO 218, Fribourg, 2006, p. 88-89.
- 9) F. Joannès, *op. cit.*, p.74, note that the *kirku* is originally a roll of papyrus according to the AHw 468a, but that it also means a garment, quoted in the *Practical Vocabulary of Aššur* (glossed *ki-ir-ku*). The *kirku* is mentioned with the *guzguzu* in the two marriage contracts TBER 93-94 and NbK 369.
- 10) Line 5 to 8 see S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the king Esarhadon and Assurbanipal*, AOAT 5/2, Neukirchener Verlag, 1983, p. 285 note 525.
- 11) According to AHw/III, p. 948, “*rakusrakus* ABL 866 rev. 5 reads ^{tūg}gu'-uz-gu'-uz”.

12) Lines 6-8 are quoted by B. Landsberger, "The Date Palm and its By-products according to the Cuneiform Sources", AfO Beih.17, Graz, 1967, p. 17.

13) CAD M₁ "martū", p. 300.

14) For the use of *malhāru* in the Eanna archive, see Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents, Typology, Contents and Archives*, GMTR 1, Münster 2005, p. 46.

Louise QUILLIEN <louise.quillien@gmail.com>

Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne / UMR 7041 ArScAn-HAROC

15) Two tablets from the Yale Babylonian Collection mentioning the *guzguzu*-garment – The two texts presented here – YBC 3941 and YBC 3819¹⁾ – concern the theft of property belonging to Nabû-ahhē-šullim son of Nabû-damiq, a man who at the time of these events worked with the Eanna temple's livestock, but later worked in agriculture.²⁾ YBC 3941 records an inventory of goods stolen from Nabû-ahhē-šullim's house by another man, Zēru-ibni. It is dated by year only, with no month or day, and therefore provides only a rough date for the robbery. YBC 3819 is dated several years later and contains a witnessed transaction in which Zēru-ibni must return the stolen goods in his possession, and he must also either turn over his accomplices to Nabû-ahhē-šullim or return the property that is in their possession.

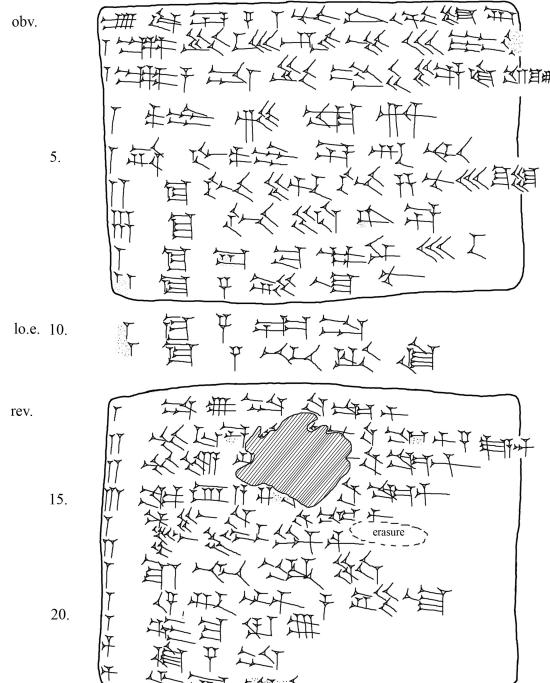
After the robbery, it is likely that only Zēru-ibni was caught or identified, thus only he is named in the full inventory of stolen goods (YBC 3941). But he did not actually have all of these goods in his possession; he had only his share of the goods, the rest having been divided between his accomplices. YBC 3819 provides that portion of the total that was his share, but the remainder (l. 18) is with the other three men.³⁾ While the accomplices have been identified by the time the second text was written, Zēru-ibni continues to bear responsibility; and he must not only return the goods in his possession, but he must also either hand over his accomplices or return the goods in their possession.

These texts are presented here because they mention the *guzguzu*-garment, but they may also be of interest to those studying either the material culture or onomastics of the Neo-Babylonian period. The inventory recorded in YBC 3941 provides a record of the household items a mid-ranking temple employee could afford to possess, while YBC 3819 contains numerous West Semitic names, particularly among the patronymics of the thief and the witnesses.

YBC 3941 (Nbk 38) 5.0 x 7.2 x 2.4 cm

YBC 3941

obv.	ú-de-e šá ¹ numun-dù ul-tu é Idag-šeš ^{meš} -gi mu.38.k[am] Idag-níg.du-urù lugal tin.tir ^{ki} iš-šu-ú 1 anše zi-ka-ri
5.	1-ta ^{mī} anše e-ri-ti 2 túg gu-už-gu-za-nu eš-šu-tu 6 túg gu-li-né-e 1 túg x-ba-aq-qa eš-šu 2 túg šá qab-la-nu
lo.e.10.	1 túg šá sag.du 1 túg šá ti-ik-ki
rev.	1 du-ú-du zabar 2 mu-šaḥ-ḥi-na-nu zabar šá 3 bán a₄
15.	2 mu-kar-r[e-šá-n]u zabar 3 ka-sa-a- ta [(x)] zabar 1 qa-bu-tú zabar 2 sér [!] -pu ^{lme} an [!] .bar [!] (written over erasures) 1 kušti-il-li
20.	1 pat-ri an.bar šá qab-la 1 az [!] -ma-ru-ú 1/2 ki-ša-du 1 bán ši-bit-ti



"The property (lit. equipment) that Zēru-ibni took from the house of Nabū-ahhē-šullim in the thirty-eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon:

One male donkey, one pregnant female donkey, two new *guzguzu*-garments, six *gulēnu*-garments, one new ...-garment, two belts, one head scarf, one neck scarf, one bronze *dūdu*-vessel, two bronze braziers of three *sūtu* each, two bronze *mukarrišu*-vessels, three bronze cups, one bronze bowl, two iron shearing knives, one leather quiver, one iron dagger for the belt, one lance, one-half (cut of meat) of the neck, one *sūtu* dill."

1. 8 The correct reading of this garment name is uncertain.

II. 21-22 The end of this text is difficult. When *kišādu* is used to indicate a "cut of meat" (CAD K p. 448 sub *kišādu*), one expects to find either the UZU-logogram or the type of animal from which the meat came. Both are lacking here, but the reading is supported if l. 23 has been correctly interpreted as "dill" (CAD Š2 p. 381 sub *šibittu*). If foodstuffs were indeed among the items stolen, one would expect them to be listed together.

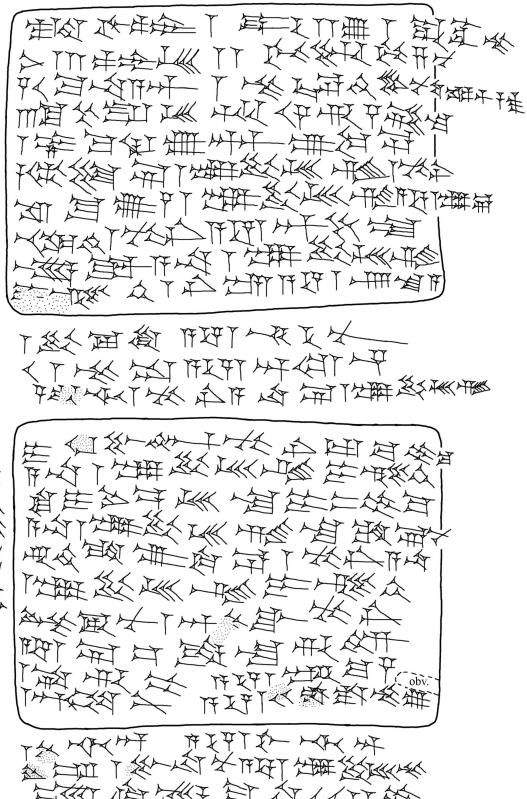
YBC 3819 (NbK 42 IV 22)

4.6 x 6.4 x 2.2 cm

obv. 1+et ^{mi} anše 1 dumu-šú 2-ú 1 dumu-šú

YBC 3819

dumu mu pap 3 anše ^{meš} 2 gu-uz-gu-za-nu šá 10 ma-na.a ₄ 1 mu-šab-bi-in-nu zabar šá 3 báñ 3 ^{túg} kur.ra ^{meš} 1+en pat-ri šá qab-la	obv. 5.	10.	15.	20.	25.
5. 1 az-ma-ru-ú an.bar ú-de-e šá ul-tu é ^l ag-šeš ^{meš} -gi ^l numun-dù iš-šu-ú šá ^l ag-šeš ^{meš} -gi a-šú šá ^l ag-sig ₁₅ ina muš-bi ^l numun-dù a-šú šá ^l il-tar'-ad ina iti.bara ₂ a-na ^l ag-šeš ^{meš} -gi					
10. i-nam-din ^l dù- ^d innin a-šú šá ^l sil-la-a lo.e. ^l šeš-lu-mur a-šú šá ^l en-šú-nu u ^l mu-du a-šú šá ^l u.gur-sur šá it-ti ^l numun-dù a-na é ^l d ag-šeš ^{meš} -gi	lo.e. rev.				
rev. i-ru-bu-u' ^l numun-dù ib-ba-kam-ma 15. a-na ^l d ag-šeš ^{meš} -gi i-nam-din ki-i ^l erin ₂ ^{meš} la i-tab-kam-ma a-na ^l d ag-šeš ^{meš} -gi la it-tan-nu ri-he-et ú-de-e ^l numun-dù a-na ^l d ag-šeš ^{meš} -gi i-nam-din					
20. ^l mu-kin-nu ^l kur.gal-numun-dù a-šú šá ^l é-is-qar-la-ri-im ^l ta-ri-bi a-šú šá ^l en-ba-šá ^l d amar.utu-pap a-šú šá ^l man-da [?] -da-mu-ú					
u.e. ^l mat-ti-il a-šú šá ^l Sal-ti-il 25. ^l umbisag ^l bu-na-nu a-šú šá ^l d ag-šeš ^{meš} -mu unug ^{ki} iti.šu ud.22.kam le.e. mu.42.kam ^l d ag-níg.du-urù lugal tin.tir ^{k[i]}					



"One female donkey, its two-year-old offspring and a yearling, a total of three donkeys; two *guzguzu*-garments each of ten minas; one bronze brazier of three *sūtu*; three ^{túg}KUR.ra-garments; one dagger for the belt; one iron lance: (this is) the equipment that Zēru-ibni took from the house of Nabū-ahhē-šullim and that Zēru-ibni son of Iltar-abī owes to Nabū-ahhē-šullim son of Nabū-damiq. He will give (it) to Nabū-ahhē-šullim in Nisānu. Zēru-ibni will (also) bring Ibni-Ištar son of Sillāya, Aḥu-lumur son of Bēlšunu, and Šumu-ukīn son of Nergal-ēter, who entered the house of Nabū-ahhē-šullim with Zēru-ibni, and he will give (them) to Nabū-ahhē-šullim. If the men are not brought and given to Nabū-ahhē-šullim, Zēru-ibni will give the remainder of the (stolen) property to Nabū-ahhē-šullim.

Witnesses: Amurru-zēru-ibni son of Bīt-Isqar[?]-larīm, Tarībi son of Bēl-iqīša, Marduk-nāṣir son of Mandadamū[?], Matī'-il son of Šalti-il. Scribe: Bunānu / Nabū-ahhē-iddin. (Written in) Uruk on the twenty-second day of Dui'uzu, in the forty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon."

II. 1-2 Since YBC 3941 provides information about neither the month in which the text was written, nor how far into her 12-month gestation period the jenny mentioned in line 5 had progressed, it is impossible to

determine whether the two-year-old offspring mentioned in YBC 3819:1 represents the foal born of that pregnancy (which assumes that YBC 3941 was written at the end of Nbk 38 and the jenny was at the beginning of her gestation period at that time) or a foal born of a subsequent pregnancy (which assumes that YBC 3841 was written early in Nbk 38 and the jenny gave birth shortly thereafter). Either way, by the time of this text, she has given birth to an additional foal that is included among the property to be returned by Zēru-ibni.

1. 4 Since ^{tūg}KUR.ra-garments are not mentioned in YBC 3941, it is likely that the three ^{tūg}KUR.ra-garments mentioned here are equivalent to the six *gulēnu*-garments mentioned in YBC 3941:7, pairs of which may have been sewn together to create these ^{tūg}KUR.ra-garments.

1. 8 For references to this West Semitic personal name, see R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study*, Jerusalem, 1977, p. 378.

1. 21 West Semitic personal names with the pattern *x-larīm* (“Let x lift up”) are well attested, and here the honorific appears to be an (ancestral) house, though the reading of this ancestral name is uncertain (“Let the house of Isqar[?] raise (to life) (the child)”).

1. 23 The correct reading for this name is uncertain.

1. 24 For references to these West Semitic personal names, see R. Zadok, *op. cit.* pp. 382 and 395.

1. 25 Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk: Prosopographische Untersuchungen zu Berufsgruppen des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Uruk*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft Nr. 20, Berlin, 1979, p. 113, includes a scribe from Uruk named Bunānu son of Nabū-ahhē-bullīt, who appears in a single text (BIN I, 123:15). This text has been collated and, rather than the TIN-sign that appears in the published copy, the name actually ends with a TIL-sign that runs directly into the text from the obverse. It is possible that both texts refer to the same individual and that the final sign of the scribe’s patronymic in BIN I, 123 should be read as –m<u’>.

1) I would like to thank B. R. Foster, Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, and U. Kasten, Assistant Curator, for permission to publish both texts here. While YBC 3941 was previously copied by E. Kingsbury, it was – to my knowledge – never published. Several colleagues provided valuable suggestions for interpreting these texts and it is a pleasure to thank them for their insights here: F. Joannès, M. Jursa, and L. Quillien, as well as M. Weszeli and R. Zadok, both of whom discussed these texts with me during their visits to the Babylonian Collection. Any errors that remain are my own.

2) H. M. Kümmel, *op. cit.*, pp. 66⁺¹²⁶ and 101⁺²¹.

3) I would like to thank M. Weszeli for suggesting this interpretation of the sequence of events.

Elizabeth E. PAYNE, <elizabeth.payne@yale.edu>

Bab. Col., Yale University Library, 130 Wall Street, Box 208240, NEW HAVEN, CT 06520-8240, USA

16) Toward a well established absolute chronology / On the relationship between modern Astronomy and Assyriology – In early December 2012 data on five millennium of solar and lunar eclipses¹⁾ was published on the Wikipedia site²⁾. First the Goddard Space Flight Center³⁾ of NASA published detailed information (catalog number, Saros cycle⁴⁾, Mem, Max, Date/Time, Type, Node, Gamma, Magnitude, Duration and Contacts) of eclipses between 2000 B.C. and 3000 A.D for the whole Internet community⁵⁾. Earlier this date such kind of information was restricted to scholars and specialists in Astronomy⁶⁾. This encyclopedic database allows everyone to identify past eclipses in written sources and predict them in the future with a great precision. Up to now the Mesopotamian cuneiform material was mostly used to date events, and on more abstract level to create chronologies⁷⁾.

During the whole existence of Assyriology astronomical data from cuneiform sources was used to create chronologies⁸⁾. The scarcity of the material did not enable Assyriologists to produce one single (absolute)⁹⁾ but several (local)¹⁰⁾ chronologies. This is why sources on solar and lunar from ancient Mesopotamia are divided into two several parts. Beside the well documented and deeply analyzed first millennium B.C. Babylonian tablets (text editions¹¹⁾, terminology¹²⁾, astronomical background¹³⁾, case studies¹⁴⁾, adjacent regions¹⁵⁾ and independent researches¹⁶⁾) we also have material from Old-Babylonian Mari too now published. So there is the possibility to establish in some regions of Mesopotamia an eclipse based absolute chronology for the second millennium B.C¹⁷⁾. The cuneiform material of the third millennium B.C. at our disposal came from the second half of the actually generally used “medium chronology”¹⁸⁾. This is why GSFC data is essential for the creation of absolute chronology.

On the other hand, the democratization of science by Internet allowed to create tight connections inside fields which were separated till now. The purpose, history and results of the Caeno Foundation¹⁹⁾ prove the existence of such cooperation. The results proved by several fields of science could endure much longer in the time-space continuum.

- 1) Cf. Ruggles, C., *Ancient Astronomy: An Encyclopedia of Cosmologies and Myth*, Santa Barbara /Denver/Oxford 2005, pp. 230-234, 380-384.
- 2) http://en.wikipedia.org/wik/List_of_solar_eclipses, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_lunar_eclipses
- 3) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Goddard_Space_Flight_Center>
- 4) Cf. Aaboe, A. - Britton, P. - Henderson, J.A. - Neugebauer, O. - Sachs, A.J., *Saros Cycle Dates and Related Babylonian Astronomical Texts*, Philadelphia 1991.
- 5) Cf. Liu, B.N. - Fiala, A.D., *Canon of Lunar Eclipses 1500 B.C. - AD 3.000*, Richmond 1992, p. 27.
- 6) <<http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse.html>>
- 7) Cf. Parker, R.A. - Dubberstein, W.H., *Bab. Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75*, Providence 1956, pp. 8-9.
- 8) Cf. Galter, H.D., *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens*, Graz 1993, Hunger, H. - Pigree, D., *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999, Brown, D., *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, Groeningen 2000 and for the 19th century researches cf. Oppert, J., Une éclipse lunaire du règne de Saosduchin, roi de Babylone, *CRAI* 40 (1896) pp. 423-435 and Thompson, G.D., The Recovery of Babylonian Astronomy: Strassmaier, Epping, Kugler, and Schaumberger: A History and Legacy of Their Cooperative Pioneering Effort to Recover Babylonian Astronomy, *Essays Relating to the History of Occidental Constellations and Star Names to the Classical Period* at <http://members.westnet.com.au/gary-david-thompson/babylon5.html>.
- 9) Cf. Brinkman, J.A., Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period, in A. L. Oppenheim. *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*. Chicago 1977, pp. 335-348 and Hunger, H. - Pigree, D., *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999, pp. ix-xiii.
- 10) Cf. Bickerman, E.J., *Chronology of the Ancient World*, Ithaca/New York 1968.
- 11) Craig, J.A., *Astrological-astronomical Texts*, Leipzig 1899, Pinches, T.G. - Strassmaier, J.N., Late Babylonian astronomical and related texts, New Haven 1955, Neugebauer, O., Astronomical cuneiform texts: Babylonian Ephemerides of the Seleucid Period for the Motion of the Sun, the Moon, and the Planets, Princeton, New Jersey 1955, Sachs, A.J. - Hunger, H., *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, vol. 1-5, Wien 1988-2001, Koch-Westenholz, U. - Koch, U.S., Mesopotamian Astrology: An Introduction to Babylonian and Assyrian Celestial Divination, (CNI Publications 19), Copenhagen 1995 and Hunger, H. - Pingree, D., MUL.APIN: An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform, (AfO Beiheft 24), Horn 1989.
- 12) Cf. Hunger, H. - Sachs, A.J., *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, Wien 1988, pp. 11-28 and Hunger, H. - Pigree, D., *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999, p. xiv.
- 13) Cf. Steele, J.M., Solar eclipse times predicted by the Babylonians, *JHA* 28 (1997) pp. 133-139, Steele, J.M., Eclipse Predictions in Mesopotamia, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 54 (2000) pp. 421-454, Brack-Bernsen, L. - Steele, J.M., Eclipse Prediction and the Length of the Saros in Babylonian Astronomy, *Centaurus* 47 (2000) pp. 181-206 and Freeth, T. - Jones, A. - Steele, J.M. - Bitsakis, Y., Calendars with Olympiad and Eclipse Prediction on the Antikythera Mechanism, *Nature* 454 (2008) pp. 614-617.
- 14) For case study on Camb. 400. (= Hunger, H., *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia V, Lunar and Planetary Texts*, Wien 2001, no. 55, pl. 21.) cf. Borger, R., *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*, Berlin 1967, vol. 1, p. 509, Berlin 1975, vol. 2, p. 273 and Britton, J.P., *Models and Precisions: The Quality of Ptolemy's Observations and Parameters*, New York/London 1992, pp. 59-60.
- 15) For Egypt cf. Depuyt, L., „More Valuable than all Gold”: Ptolemy's Royal Canon and Babylonian Chronology, *JCS* 47 (1995) pp. 97-117. For India cf. Kak, S., Babylonian and Indian Astronomy: Early Connections, 2003, cds.cern.ch/record/603452/files/0301078.pdf. For Greece cf. Friberg, J., *Amazing Traces of a Babylonian Origin in Greek Mathematics*, Singapore 2007.
- 16) For independent researches cf. Lendering, J., Kidinnu, the Chaldaeans, and ancient Babylonian astronomy at <http://www.livius.org/k/kidinnu/kidinnu.htm>, Beaulieu, P.A. - Britton, J.P., Rituals for an Eclipse Possibility in the 8th Year of Cyrus, *JCS* 46 (1994) pp. 73-86, Hunger, H. - van der Spek, R.J., An Astronomical Diary Concerning Artaxerxes II Military Operations in Babylonia, ARTA 2006.002.
- 17) Cf. Huber, P.J., *Astronomical Dating of Babylon I and Ur III*, Monographic Journals of the Near East, Occasinal Papers 1/4 (1982), Biggs, R.D., Biggs, The Babylonian Prophecies and the Astrological Traditions of Mesopotamia, *JCS* 37 (1985) pp. 86-90, Gasche, H. - Armstrong, J.A. - Cole, S.W. - Gurzadyan, V.G., *Dating the Fall of Babylon, A Reappraisal of Second Millennium Chronology*, Chicago 1998, Hunger, H. - Pingree, D., *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999, pp. 26-41 and Huber, P.J., Astronomy and Ancient Chronology, *Akkadica* 119-120 (2000) pp. 159-176.
- 18) Åström, P., High, Middle or Low? *Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology held at the University of Gothenburg 20th – 22nd August 1987*, Gothenburg 1989
- 19) <<http://www.caeno.org/>>

János EVERLING, <enkidu@t-online.hu>

VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

17) Position in Assyriology at Harvard University – The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University seeks applications for **Lecturer on Assyriology**. Teaching duties will include four courses per year at the undergraduate and graduate levels. This full-time appointment is for three years, non-renewable. The start date is August 1, 2013.

Ph.D. is required by the start date of the appointment.

Research and teaching interests in the first millennium BCE are particularly welcome. Demonstrated excellence in teaching is desired.

All applicants must submit a cover letter, CV and three letters of recommendation. The application deadline is March 20, 2013. Applications will be received only via the Harvard employment web site, <<http://academicpositions.harvard.edu/>>

Harvard is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action employer. Applications from women and minorities are strongly encouraged.

For further information, please send email to: Piotr Steinkeller, Professor of Assyriology <steinkel@fas.harvard.edu>.

18) Jean-Marie DURAND à l'honneur – Jean-Marie Durand a été élu membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (dont il était déjà correspondant français) lors de la séance du vendredi 1er mars 2013. C'est l'occasion pour nous de le remercier pour le travail qu'il mène infatigablement afin de permettre la parution régulière de notre revue.

D. CHARPIN, F. JOANNÈS et N. ZIEGLER

N.A.B.U.

Abonnement pour un an / *Subscription for one year:* EUROPE / *EUROPE* 18 €
 AUTRES PAYS / *OTHER COUNTRIES* 27 €

- Par chèque postal ou bancaire en **Euros COMPENSABLE EN FRANCE** à l'ordre de / *By Bank check in Euros PAYABLE IN FRANCE and made out to: Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien.*
Nota Bene: Pour tout paiement par chèque en Euros compensable à l'étranger, ajouter 11 € / *With checks in Euros payable in other countries, add 11 €.*
- Par virement postal à l'ordre de / *To Giro Account: Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien,* 14, rue des Sources, 92160 ANTONY. **CCP 14.691 84 V PARIS**

IBAN : FR 23 2004 1000 0114 69184V02 032
BIC : PSSTFRPPPAR

Les demandes d'abonnement en **Euros** sont à faire parvenir à:
D. CHARPIN, SEPOA, 14, rue des Sources, 92160 ANTONY, FRANCE

For subscriptions in USA only:

One year = 34 US \$. Our financial representative in the USA is Pr. Jack SASSON, 230 Divinity School, Vanderbilt University, NASHVILLE, Tenn. 37240-2701 USA. Make check payable to: «Jack M. Sasson»

Les manuscrits pour publication sont à envoyer à l'une des deux adresses suivantes:

Manuscripts to be published should be sent to one of these addresses:

J.-M. DURAND – IPOA, Collège de France, 52 rue du Cardinal Lemoine, 75005 PARIS, FRANCE.
e-mail: jean-marie.durand@college-de-france.fr

F. JOANNÈS, 21 allée de l'Université, 92001 NANTERRE, FRANCE. e-mail: joannes@mae.u-paris10.fr

Pour tout ce qui concerne les affaires administratives, les abonnements et les réclamations,
adresser un courrier à l'adresse électronique suivante: nabu@college-de-france.fr

Comité de Rédaction / *Editorial Board*
Dominique CHARPIN - Jean-Marie DURAND
Francis JOANNÈS - Nele ZIEGLER

**Téléchargez tous les numéros de *NABU* depuis 1987 gratuitement
et commandez les volumes des Mémoires
sur <http://www.sepoa.fr>**

*N.A.B.U. est publié par la Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, Association (Loi de 1901) sans but lucratif
ISSN n° 0989-5671. Dépot légal: Paris, 03-2013. Reproduction par photocopie
Directeur de la publication: D. Charpin*