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### NOTES BRÈVES

**89) “The place of the native lords” : notes on gi<sub>7</sub>, ki-en-gi and the DN <sup>d</sup>nin-ki-en-gi-ŠE<sub>3</sub> —** The Sumerian word ki-en-gi is commonly translated as “(the land of) Sumer”, understood as a social, political, or perhaps ethnic entity in Southern Babylonia during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. The earliest written sources in which this meaning is unambiguous date to the Early Dynastic IIIb period<sup>1)</sup>. The origins of this term and its relationship to the Akkadian *šumēru* have been discussed multiple times in the literature. In this article, I focus on a particular aspect of the complex problem that is ki-en-gi - the theory which postulates that the final GI is an alternative writing for the word ġi(ř), usually written with the sign gi<sub>7</sub> (ŠE<sub>3</sub>).

The current scholarly consensus seems to be that the word ki-en-gi originated as a name of an individual, small site of some significance, either strategic or religious, for the Old Sumerian city-state *koinè* as early as the ED IIIa period. Originally, this site was identified with Nippur (JACOBSEN 1939: 488; KRAUS 1970: 48-51), however several researchers currently believe that the ki-en-gi is an archaic spelling of the name Enegi (POMPONIO & VISICATO 1994; BAUER et al. 1998: 242; FRAYNE 2008; COOPER 2012). There are two main lines of evidence which support this theory. Firstly, mentions of en<sup>2)</sup> or ensi<sub>2</sub><sup>3)</sup> of ki-en-gi in the ED IIIa texts from Abu Salabikh would indeed suggest that the word refers to an individual site rather than a greater polity. Given that ki-en-gi is mentioned in the Vulture Stele inscription<sup>4)</sup> with other sites destroyed by Eanatum, one may speculate whether ki-en-gi still existed as an independent state at that time. Secondly, several references to the god Ninazu, the deity of death and the Underworld, in both literary<sup>5)</sup> and administrative<sup>6)</sup> texts from the Early Dynastic period led many to read ki-en-gi as <sup>ki</sup>en(e)-gi, the god’s main cultic centre (RIA IX: 333).

The interpretation ki-en-gi as a spelling of Enegi poses some problems. In several instances<sup>7)</sup>, the word ki-en-gi is written with an additional KI sign, probably acting as a determinative, suggesting that the initial KI was read out as an integral part of the word. Moreover, the later spellings of the word as ki-**in**-gi<sup>8)</sup> may reflect an assimilation of the original /e/ to the preceding /i/. On the other hand, a tablet from the Yale Babylonian Collection quoted by STEINKELLER (2005: 308-309 fn. 37; YBC 2124 iii’ 16) gives an unusual spelling of a common ED PN Ama-kiengi (POMPONIO 1984: 553): ama-<sup>en</sup>ki-EN×GI<sup>gi</sup>-re-si. If the redundant signs EN and GI are indeed a pair of phonetic complements bracketing the ki-en-gi, KI may have indeed been silent. While the Abu Salabikh za<sub>3</sub>-mi<sub>3</sub> hymns indeed associate ki-en-gi with

Ninazu, they also mention two Urukian deities, Ninsun and Messağa-Unu<sup>9)</sup>. The relationship Enegi ← ki-en-gi → Uruk remains therefore unclear.

The spelling ki-en-gi<sub>4</sub> is yet another source of confusion. POMPONIO & VISICATO (1994: 11) claim that the ki-en-gi<sub>4</sub> mentioned in the administrative texts from the time of Iriinimgina is a different site, unrelated to the ki-en-gi of the Fara texts, but provide no reasoning for this statement. ESPAK (2015: 18-19 fn. 36) interprets it as a burial place in the state of Lagaš, translating the literal meaning of the word ki-en-gi<sub>4</sub> as “the place where dead *ens* are brought”. It is unclear which element is meant to carry the meaning of “dead” – perhaps the final gi<sub>4</sub> through its association with the much later name for the Underworld, kur-nu-gi<sub>4</sub>. Two mentions of Ninazu in association with ki-en-gi<sub>4</sub> leads me to believe that the word is indeed an alternative spelling of ki-en-gi. One may also wonder whether the spelling ki-en-gi<sub>4</sub> is a pun on kin-gi<sub>4</sub><sup>10)</sup>.

The sign ŠE<sub>3</sub> and its different readings, including ġi<sub>7</sub>(ř) and ege, were discussed in detail by STEINKELLER (2005). The exact meaning of the word remains something of an enigma, as its semantic value seems to vary depending on the genre of the text and the context. Three competing translations have been put forward:

1) ġi<sub>7</sub> = “native, local, Sumerian”, as in ur-ġi<sub>7</sub> (“local/domesticated dog”), udu-ġi<sub>7</sub> (“domesticated sheep”, see STEINKELLER 1995), eme-ġi<sub>7</sub> (“Sumerian language”); see STEINKELLER (2005).

2) ġi<sub>7</sub> = “noble, princely, elite”, as attested in several lexical lists<sup>11)</sup> relating gi<sub>7</sub> to Akk. *rubû*; see COOPER (2012). Perhaps also having the meaning of “free citizen”, as opposed to slaves and dependants (KOSLOVA 2008)

3) ġi<sub>7</sub> = “manly, masculine”, with eme-ġi<sub>7</sub> juxtaposed to eme-sal (“fine/soft/feminine language”).

I do not see these different theories as mutually exclusive. STEINKELLER (2005: 308) notes that during the Early Dynastic period, the word ġi<sub>7</sub> is used attributively, probably already conferring the meaning of “noble” and “valiant”. Imagining that a word can espouse the meaning of geo-ethnic identity (“Sumerian”), social status (“noble”) and positive personal attributes (“masculine, manly, valiant”) is not at all difficult. One can give several examples of ethnonyms being used to describe a person’s demeanor and attributes (e.g. Frankish → franc), as well as positively-charged words becoming associated with ethnonyms, usually through folk etymologies (e.g. *slava*, “glory, fame”, also used as a greeting → Slavs etc.). As for the relationship between ġi<sub>7</sub> and *rubû*, one does not have to look far for parallels: the English words such as *noble*, *majestic*, *chivalrous* and *regal* offer good examples of an elite class of citizens giving its name to a set of particular qualities seen as desirable by a given society. There remains the question of how ġi<sub>7</sub> relates to sal. In his discussion of the social dimension of the dichotomy eme-ġi<sub>7</sub>/eme-sal, MICHAŁOWSKI (1987: 50-52) suggests that with Sumerian already in retreat as the dominant language from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, the “proper” written Sumerian would only be available to high-status male members of the community who could afford schooling, effectively becoming a “male language”, as opposed to the Sumerian spoken in family context, whose speakers would be women excluded from elite education and socio-political life. In short, we may be unable to find a single word which would cover to the full semantic range of the Sumerian ġi<sub>7</sub>. Just like the Sumerian concept of me, often translated as “divine powers” or left in its original form, ġi<sub>7</sub> may have been an idea which cannot be extracted from its socio-cultural context and should be left untranslated. Depending on the context, ġi<sub>7</sub> may be understood in a variety of ways: from “local” and “domestic”, through “civilised”, “elite”, “noble”, all the way to “valiant”, “chivalrous” or perhaps even “*macho*”.

STEINKELLER (2005: 308-309 fn. 37) suggested that the final GI of ki-en-gi may stand for the already discussed ġi<sub>7</sub>. His suggestion, however, that EN.GI could represent an archaic spelling of the phoneme /ğ/ based on the “ligature” writing of the two signs<sup>12)</sup> (GI inscribed into EN) is rather tenuous. Rather, the particular shape of the sign EN, characteristic for the negative space in the upper left corner, dictated this particular choice of calligraphy. As evident from the common writings of divine names starting with EN (EN×DIĜIR) and words such as ensi<sub>3</sub> (EN×ME), or buru<sub>14</sub> (EN×GAN<sub>2</sub>), secondary signs were inscribed into EN for purely aesthetic reasons. Nonetheless, I find the suggestion of GI being used for ġi<sub>7</sub> very convincing. COOPER (2012: 294) argues against it, with the /ğ/~g/ alteration going against our understanding of the Sumerian orthography. Indeed, /ğ/~g/ alteration in writing would be rather peculiar, as one would rather expect the nasalised /ğ/ to be replaced by /m/ or perhaps /n/. Still, one

cannot dismiss this possibility given the alteration  $gi\sim\check{g}i_7$  in the writing of  $eme\text{-}\check{g}i_7$ , as well as other poorly understood behaviours of the Sumerian /g/, studied in more detail by GELLER (2000). In my opinion, the reading / $\check{g}i$ / for the sign GI in  $ki\text{-}en\text{-}gi$  finds support in the form of a divine name from the Fara God List, which has so far gone largely unnoticed (RIA IX p. 448). The name  $^d\text{nin-}ki\text{-}en\text{-}gi\text{-}\check{S}E_3$  appears in the list (SF 1 obv vi 29) in the category of other deities whose names begin with the NIN component. The sign  $\check{S}E_3$ , usually used as a terminative marker on nominal forms, is rather surprising in the final position on an uninflected DN in a lexical context. The only other examples of DNs from this period ending with  $\check{S}E_3$  come from the so called Abu Salabikh God List (ALBERTI 1985):  $^d\text{nin-la-a}\check{s}\text{-}bar\text{-}\check{S}E_3$  in line 129, and  $^d\text{me-}\check{S}E_3$  in line 281. I would postulate that while in the latter examples the final sign has the independent meaning of  $\check{g}i_7$ , the reading of the former DN should be:  $^d\text{nin-}ki\text{-}en\text{-}\check{g}i_x(GI)^{\check{g}i_7}$ , i.e. the final  $\check{S}E_3$  acting as a phonetic complement. Perhaps the use of the sign GI as a way of spelling  $\check{g}i_7$  was already archaic by the Fara times, and it was as confusing to the ancient scribes as it is to modern Sumerologists. So much so that the divine name of the patron goddess (god?) of the site warranted the use of a phonetic complement. By extension, I would argue that  $\check{g}i_7$  indeed formed a part of the original word  $ki\text{-}en\text{-}gi$ , whatever its original meaning may have been.

This brief note is meant to raise more questions rather than provide answers. The exact nature and history of the  $ki\text{-}en\text{-}gi$  during the Early Dynastic times continues to elude us, and equating it with the site of Enegi fails to explain several problematic observations - most notably the evidence for the sign KI being a vocalised element of the word and the possible value / $\check{g}i$ / for the sign GI. While the god Ninazu was certainly closely associated with the  $ki\text{-}en\text{-}gi$ , so were the patron gods of Uruk. The different spelling variants of  $ki\text{-}en\text{-}gi$  with the signs GI,  $GI_4$  and  $\check{S}E_3$  for rendering the final syllable / $\check{g}i$ / may reflect either a certain lack of rigidity in the spelling conventions during this early period of Sumerian writing, or deliberate wordplays and references to entities or practices which remain obscure.

- 1) E.g. RIME 1.12.06.02 (CDLI P431197) a 9; RIME 1.14.17.01 (CDLI P431228) a 4; RIME 1.14.17.03 (CDLI P431230); RIME 1.14.20.01 (CDLI P431232).
- 2) IAS 247 ii' 7'; this being an UD.GAL.NUN text, EN is spelled with the GAL sign.
- 3) TŠŠ 627 (CDLI P010869) Obv iv 7.
- 4) RIME 1.09.03.01 (CDLI P431075) 603'.
- 5) OIP 99 za3-mi3 hymns 137, 139.
- 6) DP 46 (CDLI P220696) rev. ii 5; DP 51 (CDLI P220701) re. iii 5.
- 7) DP 46 (CDLI P220696) Rev ii 5; DP 203 (CDLI P220853) Rev iv 5; VS 25 72 (CDLI P020278) Rev iv 5; OSP 2 100 (CDLI P216254) Rev iv 4; RIME 3/2.01.01.21 (CDLI P432131) Rev iii 7; CDLI P469698: Obv 209, 210, 218.
- 8) E.g. MSL 12, 91 (CDLI P373780) ii 7; MSL 16, 79; RIME 4.02.14.2007 (CDLI P448451) a 12'.
- 9) OIP 99 za3-mi3 hymns 78-79; 83-84.
- 10) E.g. STEINKELLER 1995: 49; HEIMPEL 1993: 131; also potentially RIME 2.13.06.04 (CDLI P433096).
- 11) MSL 3: 59; MSL 12 121: iv 14'-15', 16''; MSL 14 185: 177; MSL 14 534 23: iv 3.
- 12) YBC 2124 iii' 16 and YBC 11202 iv 6'; OIP 99 247 ii' 6'-7'.

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**90) Idadu, son of the governor of Egula** — In Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty (= SET), a pioneering study of the Puzriš-Dagan organization by JONES & SNYDER (1961), the text SET 66 records that livestock were disbursed (ba-zi) by Zubaga for cultic purposes, the kitchen (e<sub>2</sub> muhaldim), and various foreigners dating to AS 9 ii 26 (for Zubaga, see most recently LIU 2015). Among these foreigners, the last one who is attested and listed in this text is Idadu, the son of Bili-ibba the governor of Egula (I-da-du dumu Bi<sub>2</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>-ib-ba ensi<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub>-gu-la<sup>ki</sup>). JONES & SNYDER (1961), followed by OWEN (1997), transliterated and read the name of the son of Bili-ibba as Bandadu (Ban<sub>3</sub>-da-du or Banda<sub>3</sub><sup>da</sup>-du) inaccurately. The photograph of this text available on CDLI (P129476) shows clearly that the first cuneiform sign of the name of the son of Bili-ibba is “I” (not “DUMU”). This personal name is undoubtedly to transliterate as I-da-du (Idadu).

Coincidentally, the name I-da-du is homonymous with the famous ruler of the Dynasty of Šimas<sup>ki</sup> (Idadu I, who was the son of Kindadu; see STEINKELLER 2014). However, it is impossible that the individual Idadu in this case is identical with either Idadu I (son of Kindadu) or Idadu II (son of Tan-Ruhurater), the rulers of the Dynasty of Šimas<sup>ki</sup>.

The father of Idadu and the governor of Egula, Bili-ibba, is only attested in the text SET 66. His chronology and achievements have remained obscure for us.

According to YOSHIKAWA (1992), the toponym Egula (E<sub>2</sub>-gu-la<sup>ki</sup>), which is also exclusively attested in the text SET 66, is identical with Bītum-rabium, which has been mentioned in the year name of the seventh regnal year of Amar-Suen (mu<sup>d</sup> Amar-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU lugal-e Bi<sub>2</sub>-tum-ra-bi<sub>2</sub>-um<sup>ki</sup> Ia<sub>3</sub>-ab-ru<sup>ki</sup> ma-da-ma-da-bi u<sub>3</sub> Hu-uh<sub>2</sub>-nu-ri<sup>ki</sup> mu-hul “The year Amar-Suen, the king, destroyed Bītum-rabium, Iabru, and their territories, together with Huhnuri”, see FRAYNE 1997: 239). The accurate location and identification of Egula/Bītum-rabium are unknown; however, it was probably located near to Huhnuri (the site of Tappeh Bormi near Ramhormoz, MOFIDI-NASRABADI 2005 and STEINKELLER 2013: 294).

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**91) The First Triad of Personal Names in the ‘PN List Ur-Nanše’** — In the cuneiform tablet collection of the late Shlomo Moussaieff there is one lenticular tablet (numbered 046)<sup>1)</sup> of the type C-5<sup>2)</sup> containing the following three theophoric personal names:

Moussaieff Collection 046

1. ʾur-<sup>d</sup>nanše-<sup>d</sup>ABxĤA
2. ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝír-su-<sup>d</sup>ka
3. ur-<sup>d</sup>ĝá-tùṁ-dùg-g[a]



The somewhat damaged theophoric element in line 1, is no doubt <sup>d</sup>nanše (ABxĤA), yielding the Ur III PN ur-<sup>d</sup>nanše. It has been long recognized that one of the OB lexical PN lists began with the above PN, the so called ‘PN List Ur-Nanše’, recently discussed by Peterson in his comprehensive description of the PN lists in the OB scribal curriculum.<sup>3)</sup> A careful examination of the prism YRL SC 1826-Bx4-2,<sup>4)</sup> one of the two prisms containing the Ur-Nanše PN list,<sup>5)</sup> begins with the same three PNs (collated from photo): ur-[DIĜ]IR.ʾnanše, ur-[DIĜ]IR.nin-ĝír-su/-ka, ur-<sup>d</sup>ĝá-tùṁ-dùg-ga (col. i 1-3). The two other tablets containing the first three lines of this PN list in intact state, are MS 2718 (CUSAS 12, p. 283 = CDLI P251731) and MS 4835 (CUSAS 12, p. 383 = CDLI P253865).

It is not fortuitous that this PN list began with Ur-Nanše, who was the first important ruler of the ED Lagaš dynasty. Indeed, this PN was extremely popular in the Ur III period.<sup>6)</sup> The second PN of this triad, Ur-Ninĝirsu(ka), a name of two Lagaš II rulers,<sup>7)</sup> was much less popular in the Ur III period.<sup>8)</sup> As to the third PN, Ur-Ĝatumdug(a), it is not attributed to any royal figure, and it was the less popular among these three PNs in the Ur III period.<sup>9)</sup> Note further that the three theophoric elements in this triad are grouped together already in the ED Zami Hymns, in the order: Ĝatumdug, Nanše and Ninĝirsu.<sup>10)</sup> As to the rest of the names in the first column of the Ur-Nanše PN List, the following observations can be made: ur-téš (4) is a very common PN in ED III Šuruppak, but in the Lagaš area it was also popular.<sup>11)</sup> Ur-GAR (5), the name of the seventh ruler of Lagaš II,<sup>12)</sup> is an extremely common PN in third millennium documents, overwhelmingly stemming from the Lagaš area.<sup>13)</sup> Ur-<sup>d</sup>ab-ú (6) is a modestly common PN, used almost exclusively in the Lagaš region.<sup>14)</sup> Ur-<sup>d</sup>Nin-mar<sup>ki</sup>-ka (9) is a fairly common PN, also almost exclusively attested around Lagaš area.<sup>15)</sup> Ur-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> (10), the name of the third (or fourth) ruler of the Lagaš II dynasty, who seems to have dominated the city of Ur,<sup>16)</sup> was used in this city more than anywhere else; nevertheless, it was a very common PN also in the Lagaš area.<sup>17)</sup> Ur-nu (11) is a modestly popular name in the pre-Ur III period, primarily common in the vicinity of Lagaš.<sup>18)</sup> Ur-<sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub> (12) was again a very popular PN, used almost exclusively in the territory of Lagaš-Umma.<sup>19)</sup> Finally, Ur-šu (13) was again a quite popular name, especially around Lagaš.<sup>20)</sup>

The fact that the first 13 names of the Ur-nanše PN List are attested primarily in the Lagaš area,<sup>21)</sup> seems to indicate that this particular list was the creation of the Lagaš II scribal school. It is reasonable to assume that the OB teachers were familiar with this and other PN lists, which were composed for didactic purposes. In a survey of lenticular tablets from Nippur, and from Tell-Harmal,<sup>22)</sup> we were able to find a considerable number of lentils inscribed with three PNs.<sup>23)</sup> Some of these PNs were derived from triads, found in OB PN lists.<sup>24)</sup> Frequently, these PN triads are of similar distribution: usually, two PNs in the lentil are relatively popular, attested in a great number of Ur III administrative documents, whereas the third PN is usually a hapax, or very rarely attested elsewhere.<sup>25)</sup> We see here a clear didactic system, with progress from the light to the heavy, and from the familiar to the unfamiliar. This indicates that the authors of those lists compiled them intentionally for use in teaching Sumerian writing on the basic level represented by these three-line lenticulars. As a matter of fact, we could find in the first column of the PN List Ur-nanše another triad of the same nature: Ur-igi, [U]r-igi-bar-ra and [U]r-

dili<sup>1 26)</sup> (ll. 21-23). The same triad is attested also in a lentil from Kiš.<sup>27)</sup> While Ur-igi is a fairly common PN, attested primarily in the Lagaš area,<sup>28)</sup> Ur-igi-bar-ra cannot be found in administrative documents,<sup>29)</sup> and Ur-dili is an extremely rarely attested PN.<sup>30)</sup> On the other hand, in there is a lentil of similar nature from Ur with a four-line extract from the first column of the PN list under discussion, reading: Ur-ba, Ur-ba-ba, Ur-za, Ur-za-za (ll. 17-20).<sup>31)</sup> Here again, while the first two PNs (Ur-ba and Ur-ba-ba) are fairly common in 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium administrative documents,<sup>32)</sup> the last two PNs (Ur-za and Ur-za-za) seem not to be attested elsewhere.

1) We are in the last stage of a study of 33 lenticular tablets of unknown provenance from this collection. Our study will be included in a forthcoming volume, containing a variety of texts from other genres.

2) For the generally accepted typology of the lenticular tablets from the point of view of their format, marked by the sigla C-1 to C-5, see Gordon, SP, pp. 7-8.

3) J. Peterson, "The Personal Name Lists in the Scribal Curriculum of Old Babylonian Nippur: An Overview," ZA 101 (2011) 246-273; cf. especially *ibid.* pp. 253f. See also *idem*, "A Preliminary Catalog of Old Babylonian Sources for the Curricular Personal Name List Ur-Nanshe" (NABU 13/2 [2013] 34-36, No. 21).

4) Published in CDLI, under the No. P387605.

5) The other prism is UM 29-16-274+N 5969+N 6085 (see Peterson *ibid.*; photo CDLI P230963). However, in this duplicate the beginning of the list is missing; the surviving lower half of col. i of this prism is completely defaced.

6) See e.g. H. Limet, *L'anthroponymie* 553; A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* 1956, p. 77. This PN is listed in CDLI more than 1790 times; out of these, more than 1550 are in documents from Lagaš-Ĝirsu.

7) Cf. Edzard, RIME 3/1.1.1 (pp. 7ff.); RIME 3/1.1.8 (pp. 181ff.).

8) Cf. Limet, *ibid.* 555; Falkenstein, *ibid.* p. 77. This PN is listed in CDLI more than 430 times, in ca. 380 documents; out of these, only ca. 60 are from the ED III period.

9) For this PN see e.g. Limet, *ibid.* p. 545. It is listed in CDLI 56 times in 47 documents.

10) Cf. OIP 99, p. 49, ll. 108-119.

11) Listed in CDLI 194 times; out of these 99 are attested in ED III Šuruppak; otherwise, the place where this PN was popular is the Lagaš area (39 occurrences).

12) See RLA 14, pp. 411f.

13) Listed in CDLI 950 times; out of these documents 812 stem from Ĝirsu, Lagaš and Umma.

14) Listed in CDLI 109 times; out of these 89 from Ĝirsu, Lagaš and Umma.

15) Listed in CDLI 343 times; out of these 328 from Lagaš and Umma.

16) He appointed there his daughter En-anne-pada as en-priestess (cf. RLA 14: 410).

17) This PN is listed in CDLI 9595 times; out of these it is attested in the Lagaš area 2596 times.

18) Listed in CDLI 137 times; out of these attested in Ĝirsu, Lagaš and Umma no less than 71 times.

19) Listed in CDLI 2183 times; out of these attested in Ĝirsu, Lagaš and Umma no less than 2093 times. It is interesting to note that this theophoric PN cannot be found as a ruler's name in Umma.

20) Listed in CDLI 935 times; out of these attested in Ĝirsu, Lagaš and Umma no less than 464 times (close to 50%).

21) A cursory look at the second column of this PN list may indicate that this column also contained PNs primarily in Lagaš area documents. This is clearly indicated by the PN ur-<sup>3</sup>ē<sup>1</sup>-ninnu (ii 5). As to ur-dili (ii 2), out of a total of 7 provenanced occurrences of PNs with this component listed in CDLI, 4 are from Ĝirsu and Umma.

22) See R.S. Falkowitz, "Round Old Babylonian Tablets from Nippur," AfO 29-30 (1983/84), pp. 18-45; A.-H. Al-Fouadi, *Lenticular Exercise School Texts*, Part 1, (TIM 10) Baghdad 1979.

23) In the Nippur corpus, we found 60 lentils with PNs, each containing only 2 names; and only 3 lentils with PN triads (CBS 14191, UM 29-13-159, UM 29-16-336). In the Tell-Harmal corpus, on the other hand, all 14 lentils containing PNs are triads (Nos. 17, 20, 49, 53, 62, 85, 92, 102, 105, 116, 117, 118, 120).

24) As to the Nippur corpus, see the triads UM 29-13-159, UM 29-16-336 (both derived from PN list <sup>d</sup>Inana-téš). As to the Tell-Harmal corpus, see the following triads: Nos. 17, 92 (both derived from PN list Ur-<sup>d</sup>nanše); nos. 49, 85, 102, 116 and 117 (all derived from PN list Ur-me; for further 3 lentils, containing PNs from the same PN list, see Sigrist, AUCT 5, 199 and 210; Civil, CUSAS 12 8.5 21 [cf. CDLI P251492]).

25) As to the Nippur lentils, see UM 29-13-159, where the first PN (DI.KU.LÚ) is attested only in the PN list <sup>d</sup>Inana-téš; similarly, in UM 29-16-336, the second PN *Ri-iš-é-a*, is attested only in the above PN list. As to the Harmal lentils, while the first two PNs (ur-da, ur-da-mu) in TIM 10 No.17 are relatively fairly documented elsewhere, the third PN, ur-ĝi<sub>6</sub> seems not to be documented outside PN list Ur-<sup>d</sup>nanše.

26) The text seems to have an IGI corrected to AŠ (reading assured by the source MS 2718 [CUSAS 12, p. 283 = CDLI P251731], i 23).

27) Ashm 1931-0149 (cf. Ohgama-Robson, Black MV 230 = CDLI P451602).

28) Listed in CDLI 47 times; out of these attested in the Lagaš area no less than 39 times.

29) Listed in CDLI 47 times; out of these attested in the Lagaš area no less than 39 times.

30) For Ur-dili see Salmanticensis 28, 396:rev i 14; SNAT 393:rev i 7.

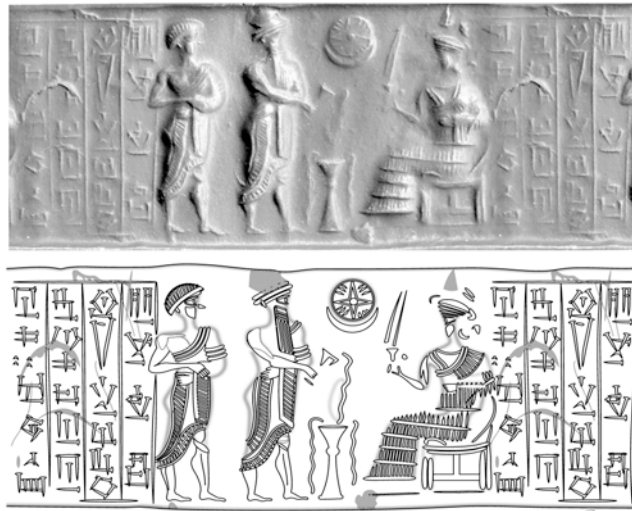
31) UET 6/3, 800 (=CDLI P346837).

32) While Ur-ba is attested primarily in the Lagaš area, Ur-ba-ba (which seems to be the full form of the former) is attested in Lagaš only in four documents out of 42 (this PN is documented primarily in Nippur and Šuruppak).

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**92) A seal naming Hanun-Erra, *shakkanakku* of Mari** — In the collection of Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen<sup>1)</sup> is a seal inscribed with the name of a hitherto unknown *shakkanakku* of Mari. The inscription appears to read as follows:<sup>2)</sup>

'a<sub>2</sub>-nun<sub>x</sub>-ir<sub>3</sub>-ra  
giri<sub>3</sub>-nita<sub>2</sub> ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>  
ri<sub>2</sub>-im-ši<sub>2</sub>-ma-ma  
ma-zi-zu ša<sub>18</sub>-bi<sub>4</sub>-šu



The scene is an interesting variant of the “presentation scene” ubiquitous in Mesopotamian glyptic of the third and second millennia B. C. This particular variant is an introduction scene, in which the worshiper (representing the seal owner) stands behind the king, who pours a libation into a date palm altar before a seated goddess, who holds the upturned knife characteristic of the Sun God. The seal owner and the king wear similar garments, with elaborate fringes. The primary figure, apparently representing a female form of the Sun God, is not uncommon on seals from Mari (Collon, *First Impressions*, figs. 119 and 120).

The 2.4 x 1.6 cm serpentine seal is finely carved, but as a result of wear to the surface of the seal the outlines of the figures are no longer sharply defined. Also for this reason, many smaller details, such as the feet of the seated goddess and some facial features of the figures, have completely disappeared.

The seal was formerly in the collection of the Green Lake Conference Center, sold by Sothebys New York in 1997<sup>3)</sup>. It had previously belonged to James Lewis Kraft (1874-1953) who had acquired it from Ada Small Moore (1858-1955).

1) I am extremely grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Rosen for their permission to study and publish this seal, and to Sidney Babcock for facilitating my study.

2) I am indebted to J-M Durand for his help with the inscription, and especially for the tentative reading of the seal owner's title.

3) Sotheby's New York Sale 6999 (May 31, 1997), lot 378.

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### 93) La prise en compte d'actifs comptables dans les archives de l'entrepôt du *kârum* de Sippar —

Les actifs, en comptabilité moderne, désignent l'ensemble du patrimoine, matériel et immatériel, d'un agent économique : c'est-à-dire les fonds liquides propres, les capitaux disponibles réellement, mais aussi les capitaux disponibles fictivement sous la forme de dettes dont l'agent économique est créancier et dont il considère, par suite, posséder la somme. Jusqu'ici, l'*opinio communis* au sujet de la comptabilité mésopotamienne voulait qu'un agent économique, généralement le palais, un temple ou des membres du *kârum*, comptabilisent dans leur patrimoine uniquement les biens qu'ils possédaient en propre et qu'ils inventoriaient parfois : c'est-à-dire la différence entre les biens reçus (*namhartum*) et les biens dépensés (ZI.GA). Or l'étude des archives concernant la gestion et la comptabilité du grain, menée actuellement par G. Chambon (ouvrage à paraître début 2016 et dont son auteur nous a très généreusement permis une première consultation, pour la partie qui concerne les actifs comptables), révèle qu'il vaut mieux réfléchir non en terme de biens reçus et dépensés, mais en terme d'actifs et de passifs. Il s'appuie en cela sur une première proposition terminologique de D. CHARPIN (1985) pour le terme *bašîtum*, qu'il traduisait par « solde », c'est-à-dire la différence, en comptabilité, entre les actifs et les passifs. G. Chambon propose alors de nuancer, à Mari, la « simple opposition "crédits/débit" » en montrant que le terme est à comprendre comme un « bilan comptable », car il prend en compte la différence entre les actifs et les passifs.

Lors des recherches menées pour mon mémoire de Master 2 portant sur l'emploi de la mesure de Marduk à l'époque de la Première Dynastie de Babylone, il m'est apparu qu'on retrouvait ce phénomène à Sippar. On peut le constater en mettant en relation deux textes provenant de Sippar : il s'agit de CT 8, 21b, datant du 11/XII/Aš 05, et CT 8, 10c, datant du 12/XII/Aš 05. Dans chacun des ces documents on voit qu'un chef des marchands nommé Utu-šumundib est en charge d'une certaine quantité de grain, appartenant au palais (l. 4 : ŠÀ 180, 0.0 ŠE.GUR ša É.GAL), et qu'il en fait crédit en employant la mesure de Marduk. Dans le premier, il prête 0, 4.0 GUR en mesure de Marduk à deux particuliers, dans le second, il prête 3, 0.0 GUR en mesure de Marduk à un seul particulier. Or cette mesure était fréquemment employée par l'administration royale babylonienne, dont il semble qu'elle dépendait exclusivement, de la même manière que la mesure de Šamaš dépendait de l'administration royale dans le Royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie sous Samsi-Addu (cf G. CHAMBON, 2011, p. 137ss). Elle était surtout employée pour les transferts de grain depuis la capitale vers ses dépendances, afin de contrôler qu'il n'y ait pas eu de malversations : il est donc logique que du grain appartenant au palais soit mesuré avec la mesure de l'administration royale. Dans ces deux textes, le grain est stocké dans l'entrepôt de Sippar-Amnânum, probablement dans l'entrepôt du *kârum*, et laissé sous le contrôle du chef des marchands, principal interlocuteur économique des souverains paléo-babyloniens tardifs à Sippar en tant qu'il dirigeait le *kârum* (ce fait est devenu apparent dès R. HARRIS, 1975, p. 71ss). La conclusion la plus intéressante qu'on puisse retirer de la mise en parallèle de ces deux textes, c'est que le second, alors même qu'ont été retirés 0, 4.0 GUR pour les prêter à des particuliers, indique que l'entrepôt contient la même quantité de grain (180 GUR dits « du palais » dans les deux textes), que la veille ! Cela ne peut signifier que deux choses : ou bien l'on ravitaillait constamment l'entrepôt pour qu'il conserve toujours la même quantité de grain ou alors, et c'est bien plus vraisemblable, la somme de grain d'où est issue la ration est toujours celle de départ, c'est-à-dire celle comptabilisée et mesurée au moment de l'arrivée du grain (180 GUR). On ne tenait pas compte de la quantité réelle de grain dans l'entrepôt à ce moment là, inférieure à ce qui est exprimé dans le texte CT 8, 10c puisqu'une partie du grain a déjà été prêtée dans le texte CT 8, 21b, sans pour autant qu'on prenne en compte cette soustraction. La quantité mentionnée est celle qui a été envoyée du palais vers l'entrepôt à l'origine, et non celle qui est dans l'entrepôt au moment où l'on rédige le texte.

La somme de 0, 4.0 GUR est minime, on pourrait alors penser à une erreur du scribe, ou à la décision de ne pas remesurer le grain après cette opération, si l'exemple de ces deux textes était unique, mais il ne l'est pas. On rencontre le même phénomène économique dans deux autres textes : CT 8, 21d et CT 4, 29b. Dans le premier texte, ce sont surtout les l. 18 à 24 qui sont intéressantes et qui sont reproduites ici :



<sup>18</sup>ZI.GA / <sup>19</sup>Š[À <<6|70>><1200>, 1.1.5 SILA<sub>3</sub> ŠE.GUR / <sup>20</sup>(giš)BA.RÍ.GA 0, 1.1.2 SILA<sub>3</sub> / <sup>22</sup>ù 191, 0.0 ŠE.GUR / <sup>22</sup>(giš)BA.RÍ.GA (d)AMAR.UTU / <sup>23</sup>[ša i-na] É Ì.DUB É GÁ.GI<sub>4</sub>.A / <sup>24</sup>[ša]-ap-ku.

Dans le second texte, on s'intéresse surtout aux l. 9-14, données ci-après :

ZI.GA / <sup>10</sup>ŠÀ / <sup>11</sup>1200, 1.1 5 SILA<sub>3</sub> ŠE.GUR / <sup>12</sup>(giš)BA.RÍ.GA 0, 1.1.2 SILA<sub>3</sub>/<sup>12</sup>ù 191, 0.0 ŠE.GUR (giš)BA.RÍ.GA (d)AMAR.UTU / <sup>13</sup>ša i-na É Ì.<DUB> ša É GÁ.GI<sub>4</sub>.A / <sup>14</sup>ša-ap-ku.

Le premier est daté du 02/VIII/Aš 05 et le second du 28/VIII/Aš 05. Ils sont donc rédigés à 26 jours d'intervalle. Dans le premier document, on distribue du grain en mesure de Marduk. Or dans le second document, la quantité de grain en mesure de Marduk gardée dans l'entrepôt n'a pas changé (1200, 1.1.5 SILA<sub>3</sub>), alors même que l'on voit clairement que des dépenses ont été réalisées. On peut donc supposer qu'il en allait de même pour le grain mesuré en *parsiktu* de 72 SILA, ce qui implique alors qu'il faut corriger la l. 19 du premier texte : on distingue un signe <600> dans la cassure, suivi d'un clou oblique, puis des signes pour 1 BARIGA, 1 BAN et 5 SILA, les mêmes qui terminent la quantité indiquée à la l. 11 du second. Logiquement, on devrait trouver dans ces deux documents une quantité de grain identique en *parsiktu* de 72 SILA, comme c'est le cas pour la quantité en mesure de Marduk. En effet, si l'on considère que le clou oblique de la l. 19 du premier texte est précédé d'un vertical, qui aurait disparu ou n'aurait pas été vu par le copiste puisque cette ligne est abîmée, on trouve bien la quantité de 1200, 1.1 GUR et 5 SILA, comme à la l. 11 du second. Si cette hypothèse est correcte, on voit qu'on enregistrerait la quantité de grain reçue au moment de son arrivée, mais que l'on ne modifiait pas les estimations du grain dans l'entrepôt au fur et à mesure des dépenses faites au sein de celui-ci.

Tout cela n'est en rien lié à une erreur de scribe : cela révèle simplement que les comptables mésopotamiens raisonnaient parfois effectivement en matière d'actif et de passif, considérant que du grain qui était physiquement absent de l'entrepôt y était présent du point de vue économique, selon une fiction propre à la comptabilité. Ce grain était considéré présent dans l'entrepôt car il avait été prêté, et devait donc logiquement être retourné, toute dette ayant vocation à être remboursée. On comprend alors mieux la mention habituelle à la fin de ce genre de contrats : *ana natbâk ilqû še'âm utâr*, voulant que le débiteur rende le grain « dans l'entrepôt où il l'a pris », car s'il le rendait à un autre entrepôt, même si celui-ci appartenait à la même institution, il fausserait ce faisant la comptabilité.

G. CHAMBON, « Normes et pratiques : l'homme, la mesure et l'écriture en Mésopotamie », *BBVO* 21, Gladbeck, 2011.

*ID.*, *Les Archives d'Ilu-kân : gestion et comptabilité du grain dans le palais de Mari*, FM XV, Paris, à paraître, p. 28-29.

D. CHARPIN, *Les archives du devin Asqudum dans la résidence du "Chantier A"*, *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, 453-462.

R. HARRIS, *Ancient Sippar. A Demographic Study of an Old-Babylonian City (1894-1595 B. C.)*, *PIHANS* 36, Leiden, 1975.

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**94) Re-digging Hammurabi's canal** — As evidence grows for the continued occupation (or partial reoccupation) of southern Babylonia by the last kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, one more line of evidence can now be added: that Ammiditana at least partially re-excavated the canal <sup>17</sup>Ḫammurabi-nuḫuš-niši (hereafter Ḫ-n-n).

The Ḫ-n-n canal, work enshrined in Ḫammurabi's 33<sup>rd</sup> year-name (1760 BC), was the first major civic project celebrated after his string of victories over Elam, Ešnunna, Larsa, and Mari. The canal was said to have "established the everlasting waters of plenty for Nippur, Eridu, Ur, Larsa, Uruk, and Isin" — all the major south Babylonian cities which relied on the Euphrates River,<sup>1)</sup> with which some section of the canal was probably identical. The durability of the watercourse's name as Ḫ-n-n has recently been demonstrated by the publication of the Dūr-Abiešuh texts, which consistently identify the fortress, outside of Nippur, as sited at the outlet(s) (kun[.ḫi.a]<sup>2)</sup> of that canal. The hydronym was in use in texts from Dūr-Abiešuh at least as late as Samsuditana 5 (1621 BC).<sup>3)</sup>

Ninety-nine years after Hammurabi's work, his great-grandson Ammiditana commemorated the excavation of his only canal: Ammiditana's 22<sup>nd</sup> year-name (Ad 22 = 1661 BC) identified the construction of a waterway called the Ammiditana canal (<sup>17</sup>*am-mi-di-ta-na*). The location of this canal is unknown, and its name is absent from the many hundreds of post-Ad 22 texts of northern Babylonian.

However, a new variant of the Ad 22 year name on unpublished YBC 10859 now equates the Ammiditana and H-n-n watercourses.<sup>4)</sup> The fragmentary tablet preserves only a few weathered lines on its obverse, just enough to indicate that it concerned a house (12 gín é.dù.a) owned by an otherwise unknown man named Maququum [*ma-qú-qum*]; nothing beyond this can be read on the tablet—except for the very last lines of the reverse, which give:

rev. [iti ab].<sup>17</sup>è` u<sub>4</sub> 15.kam  
 2' [mu *am-mi*]-*di-ta-na* lugal.e  
 [<sup>17</sup>h]*a-am-mu-ra-bi*  
 4' [*nu-h*]*u-uš-ni-ši* mu.un.ba.al[.la]

The restoration of Ammiditana's name in line 2' (rather than Samsuditana's name, the other possibility) rests on the fact that Samsuditana had no year names claiming to have built any canals at all. And its identification as a variant of Ad 22 derives from the fact that, among Ammiditana's year-names, only variants of that one use the verbal chain mu.un.ba.al.la. Thus this appears to be a new, third variant of the same year-name (i.e., Ad 22c), identifying the two hydronyms. Notwithstanding, the H-n-n name was plainly preferred long after Hammurabi's time, and even four decades past Ad 22; and indeed, that we have only this one exemplar implies that Ammiditana's work was altogether unimpressive by Hammurabian standards.<sup>5)</sup>

Ammiditana's decision to attach his name to Hammurabi's most famous civic project in the south, however, was otherwise very much in line with his other efforts to develop a "southern strategy" to win back the hearts and minds of south Babylonian citizens. The new variant does not necessarily indicate that Ammiditana re-opened the channel all the way to Eridu (though neither is that excluded); only that he worked in that direction, and specifically in emulation of his royal ancestor. But the allusion is also more than incidental, as it is consistent with a wider programme of Ammiditana's cultic reforms and ideological maneuvers advancing the idea of a Babylonian renaissance in the south, geared specifically towards southern audiences, whether resident in the north, or remaining in the south.<sup>6)</sup>

1) K. Van Lerberghe and G. Voet, however, make the persuasive case that, by the Late OB, the canal was essentially fed by the Tigris River (*A Late Old Babylonian Temple Archive from Dūr-Abiešuh*, CUSAS 8 [Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2009] pp. 4-6). RIME 4 3.6.7, the only inscription of Hammurabi's to mention the canal, adds only that he built Dūr-Sîn-muballit-abim-wāliidiya at its "intake" (ka), and hymnifies Anum and Enlil, suggesting Uruk and Nippur as major nodes along its route.

2) Cf. CUSAS 8 pp. 58-59; van Lerberghe, pers. comm., now agrees with Andrew George that the sign before the FN is kun(.h<sub>i</sub>.a) and not gú.

3) CUSAS 8 38; CUSAS 8 80 further suggests that deep-water boats continued to reach Nippur in these years, attesting to the vitality of the system down to the end of the period; but, strictly speaking, the text is not either dated or clearly datable.

4) I would like to thank the Yale Babylonian Collection for its kind permission to cite this unpublished text.

5) Though it is interesting that the exemplar dates to the tenth month; that is, the variant was not simply made in an early month and quickly discarded.

6) See my analysis of these efforts, forthcoming as "Re-forging 'Sumerian' kingship in the Late Old Babylonian Period," in *Conceptualizing Past, Present and Future*, Melammu Symposia 9, ed. S. Fink and R. Rollinger.

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**95) Contrast through ironic self-citation in *Atra-ḫasīs*** — The Old Babylonian epic of *Atra-ḫasīs* is divided into two parts: the Igigu-myth, describing the creation of humanity, and the Flood-myth, describing the near annihilation of humanity (see MORAN 1987:245). The two parts form each other's mirror image, creation becoming destruction. They were two separate mythical threads and reappear in

different contexts: the Flood-myth appears at the end of the *Gilgameš* epic, while the scene describing the creation of humanity appears at the end of *Enūma Eliš*.

What has not been noted so far, is that the contrast between the two parts of *Atra-ḫasīs* is expressed through ironic citations of earlier lines. In at least three and possibly four cases, a line from the first part is cited in the second, but with the opposite meaning of its first appearance.

The four cases are:

When the gods decide to create humanity, they summon the birth-goddess Bēlet-ili with the following words:

*attī-ma šassūru bāniat awīlāti*, “You are the birth-goddess, creator of humanity!” (I 194)

But when, after the Flood, the gods decide to limit human procreation, they again summon Bēlet-ili, saying:

*[attī-ma ša]ssūru bāniat šīmāti*, “You are the birth-goddess, creator of destinies!” (III vi 47)

LAMBERT (1980:57-8) has interpreted the broken context of this line to mean that Bēlet-ili is being summoned to create natural death. The word *šīmtu*, “destiny”, is often used as a euphemism for death. Thus, the creation of human life and the creation of human death are mirrored in the appeal to Bēlet-ili.

After humanity is created, the text describes how the people begin to multiply, eventually disturbing Enlil with their noise. This noise is described with a metaphor:

*[m]ātum kīma lī’i išappu*, “The land bellowed like a bull.” (II i 3)

Enlil is so disturbed that he decides to wipe out the noisy humans. The Flood he creates to do so is described with the same metaphor:

*[abūb]u kīma lī’i išappu*, “The Flood bellowed like a bull.” (III iii 15)

The noise of humanity multiplying, and the noise of humanity being destroyed, are thus mirrored in the use of the same metaphor (for the importance of noise in *Atra-ḫasīs*, see HEFFRON 2014).

When the humans are created to take over the hard work of the Igigu-gods, Bēlet-ili declares that she has accomplished this task at the prompting of Enki.

*apṭur ulla andurā[ra ašku]n*, “I have untied the neck ring and established freedom!” (I 243)

Her statement is met with enthusiastic gratefulness by the gods, but when the humans later have to be diminished by the plagues of the gods, and Enki keeps helping the humans to escape those plagues, the gods turn from gratefulness to accusation:

*[ta]pṭur ulla andurāra taškun*, “You have untied the neck ring and established freedom!” (II vi 28 = II v 19 = [II v 1’?])

To create the humans and to stop the humans from being killed is thus celebrated and condemned with the very same sentence.

The last example is less clearcut. Humanity is created as a mixture of clay and blood, which Bēlet-ili divides into fourteen lumps. Fourteen birth-goddesses then shape these lumps into seven women and seven men.

*šinašam ukallalā maḥrūša*, “They completed them in pairs before her.” (S iii 12)

Gender in *Atra-ḫasīs* thus appears to be dichotomous, but it is exactly this pairing into genders which leads to procreation, multiplication, noise, the disturbance of Enlil and the destruction of humanity. When the gods create death, they also create a series of other measures to keep down childbirth:

*[a]ppūna šaluštum li[b]ši ina niši*, “In addition, let there be a third category among the people”. (III vii 1)

This line has most often been understood in connection with the following line, which reads, “Let there be women who give birth and women who do not give birth.” However, I would read the two as separate injunctions, with the “third category” as a contrast to the earlier creation of genders. I would argue that *šinašam* and *šaluštum*, “in pairs” and “a third” mirror each other as do the other lines described above.

In a forthcoming article, I discuss the discursive structure of gender in cuneiform cultures, arguing that there were not necessarily three genders (cf. GABBAY 2008), but that gender was arranged according to a three-part structure (HELLE, *forthcoming*). Therefore, it would not be surprising to see the

dichotomous genders created in the beginning of Atra-ḫasīs supplemented by the creation of a third category.

However the last example is interpreted, there is clearly a pattern of ironic self-citation in *Atra-ḫasīs*, where a line is repeated with only minor alterations but with the opposite meaning. However, this form of self-citation is not unique to *Atra-ḫasīs*. For example, it can be found also in the *Gilgameš* epic. MORAN (2001:173-4) described how the phrase *šeššet urri u sebe mušāti*, “six days and seven nights” (I 194 = [X 58, 135, 235] = XI 209) serves as a pivot in the epic: it marks first the transformation from non-human to human, then from human to non-human, and finally from non-human back to human. The same phrase thus carries out opposed movements.

Another example of ironic self-citation in *Gilgameš* is the line *šittīnšu ilum-ma šullultāšu amēlātu*, “two thirds of him is a god but a third of him is human” (I 48 = IX 51). This line appears first in a long praise of Gilgameš, where the emphasis is clearly on his divinity. The fact that he is two thirds divine is highlighted as an example of his exceptional status. But when the line reappears, it is spoken by the scorpion woman to her husband. The two are discussing whether to let Gilgameš enter the tunnel that will lead him to Ut-napišti, and the scorpion man has just stated: *ša illikannāši šīr ilī zūmuršu*, “The one who has come to us: His body is the flesh of the gods” (IX 49). Standing against this line, the scorpion woman’s statement that Gilgameš is two thirds god, but one third human, reverses the original emphasis: she highlights the part of his body that is human, and not made of the flesh of the gods.

GABBAY, U. 2008. ‘The Akkadian Word for Third Gender: The *kalû* (gala) Once Again’, in R. D. BIGGS, J. MYERS, and M. T. ROTH (eds.), *Proceeding of the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Chicago, 49–56.

HEFFRON, Y. 2014. ‘Revisiting ‘Noise’ (*rigmu*) in Atra-ḫasīs in Light of Baby Incantations.’ *JNES* 73, 83–93.

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**96) An Alternate Ending to an Akkadian Letter-Prayer to Amurru (AbB 12, no. 99)** — Twenty-five years ago W. H. van Soldt published an interesting letter-prayer from a man named Ardum to the god Amurru.<sup>1)</sup> In this short note, I offer an alternative translation of the prayer’s final sentence, which explains how a bed-ridden man delivered his prayer to the god and granted others the authority to lay the petition before the deity.

Van Soldt gives the Akkadian text as follows:<sup>2)</sup>

- Obv. 1 *a-na be-el-ia*<sup>d</sup>mar.«mar».tu  
 2 *ša i-na ma-ḫar*<sup>d</sup>utu *qí-bi-is-sú ša-ma-at*  
 3 *qí-bí-ma*  
 4 *um-ma ar-du-um sag.èr-ka-ma*  
 5 *it-ti a-mi-li ta-ab-na-an-ni-ma su-qà-am*  
 6 *tu-še-te-qà-an-ni*  
 7 *ú ša-at-ti-ša udu siskur.siskur.re a-la-qé-ku-ma*  
 8 *a-na i-lu-ti-ka ka-bi-it-tim*  
 9 *i-ip-pu-uš*  
 10 *i-na-an-na na-ak-ru ik-šu-da-an-ni-ma*  
 11 *mu-uš-ke-né-ku-ma a-aḫ-ḫu-a*  
 12 *ú-ul i-a-ri-ru-ni*  
 Rev. 13 *šum-ma AN ka*<sup>3)</sup> *ra-bi-tum ša ra am*  
 14 *i-na*<sup>gis</sup> *ná na-da-a-ku di-ki-an-ni*  
 15 *udu siskur.siskur.re ṭa-aḫ-da-am*

16 lu-ul-qé-a-am-ma a-na ma-ḥar dingir-ti-ka  
 17 lu-ul-li-ka-ak-ku  
 18 da mu ZA ši KI il ma ZU  
 19 la ma x<sup>4</sup> ma qí-in-ni la ip-pa-ra-a[r]  
 20 a-mi-ru-ia a-na dingir-ti-ka  
 21 ba-ni-tim  
 22 ú-ša-aq-ri-ib

Although some of the signs have resisted decipherment, leaving small gaps in our understanding of the letter, van Soldt's lively translation captures well the pathos of Ardam's dire situation:

Speak to my lord Amurru whose pronouncement is heard before Šamaš: Thus says Ardam, your servant. You have created me among men and you have made me pass (*safely*) along the street. Also, I used to bring you a sheep offering every year and I prepared (it) in honor of your venerable divine rank. (But) now an enemy has befallen me and I am miserable. (Even) my brothers do not come to my help. *If your great divine power . . . (me)*, raise me up from the bed on which I am lying. (Then) let me come to you, to your divine presence, bringing a generous sheep offering. . . . May my family not be dispersed. May the one who sees me *submit a petition* to your lofty divine power.

The final sentence in lines 20–22 is the point of present interest: *āmirūya ana ilūtka banntim ušaqribū* (see below for the change in the verb's number), which I suggest be rendered, “those who look upon me (hereby) submit (this petition)<sup>5</sup> to your beautiful divinity.”

The first step in justifying this translation is to note a previously unrecognized mistake in the Akkadian: there is disagreement between the plural subject and the text's singular verb. Since it is difficult to explain the presence of the distinctive 1cs pronominal suffix on a nominal plural substantive, it seems more likely that the mistake lies with the verb. I suggest, therefore, that the scribe should have written *ú-ša-aq-ri-bu* rather than *ú-ša-aq-ri-ib*. This mistake joins at least four others, already recognized by van Soldt (marked above but also including two erasures, one between the final two signs in line 11 and the other between the ŠA and the AG of our verb), and gives further support to his reasonable suggestion that the letter is a scribal exercise (p. 84, note a).

The next step is to consider briefly the role of *āmirū* in prayers and other texts. Although onlookers may have diametrically opposed reactions to what they see, ranging from annoyance (*eli āmerīya amruš anāku*, “I annoy the one who looks upon me,” *Maqlû* I 7)<sup>6</sup> to jubilation (*āmirūya ana dārāti dalīlka lidlulū*, “may those who look upon me sing your praises forever,” as found in incantation-prayers),<sup>7</sup> in all cases *āmirū* must be people who are proximate and/or acquainted with the person they are looking upon. Although *āmirū* were not limited to friends and family (see, e.g., *āmiršu ina sūqi littā'id ilūtka*, “may the one who looks upon him in the street praise your divinity”),<sup>8</sup> *āmirū* would certainly have included them. Finally, given the fact that *āmirū* are at times the ones said to have rejoiced at the recovery of a suppliant, it is not unreasonable to consider the idea that they were also concerned enough to act on a suppliant's behalf. I therefore suggest that *āmirū* in our letter are family, friends and/or acquaintances of Ardam, though apparently not his brothers (lines 11–12).

Another important element in justifying the alternative translation is the content of the letter, which clearly describes Ardam as bed-ridden. His condition at the time of writing the letter contrasted sharply with his former abilities, when he passed along the street and brought offerings to the deity (lines 5–9), an action that he promises to resume if the deity would grant his petitions (15–17). If Ardam was in fact bed-ridden, he could not possibly have brought the letter to Amurru; others would have needed to help him. I suggest the *āmirū* are those people.

In his article “Two Letter-Prayers to Amurru” Hallo discusses the “mailing instructions” of our letter, as he calls the final lines, and compares them to what he believes is a similar phrase in a Sumerian letter-prayer to Amurru. He translates the final sentence in our letter in a similar manner as van Soldt: “May whoever sees me forward (my message) to your well-disposed godliness.”<sup>9</sup> I agree that the sentence concerns itself with the delivery of the suppliant's prayer. But this is not expressed as a wish, as Hallo's translation would suggest. The verb is clearly a preterite. As is well known, preterites may function performatively in some contexts, including OB letters.<sup>10</sup> This is precisely how I believe the verb is working here.

In light of these observations, I suggest that the last sentence of this letter-prayer is not a petition or mailing instructions. Rather, it explains how a bed-ridden supplicant delivered his letter-prayer to the deity and performatively authorized his *āmīrū* as his proxies in laying the supplication before the deity's feet: "those who look upon me (hereby) submit (this petition) to your beautiful divinity."<sup>11)</sup>

1) See *Letters in the British Museum* (AbB 12; Leiden: Brill, 1990), no. 99 = BM 97298 = pp. 84–85. For a very useful treatment of the relationship between supplicant and deity in this letter, see Karel van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel: Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life* (SHCANE 7; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 131–132.

2) No copy has been published but a photograph of the tablet is available on the British Museum's website (see <http://goo.gl/wrcJQR>).

3) As van Soldt notes (p. 85, note k), the understanding of AN ka as dingir-ka is problematic, since we would expect an intervening phonetic complement, as is found in the other instances of *ilātu* plus pronominal suffix in the letter (see lines 16 and 20); thus, we expect DINGIR-ut-ka. In light of this, it may be best to read dingir-*ut*-ka here, though this does little to clarify the context.

4) Might this sign be a malformed SU?

5) Including the present attestation, we now have three instances of *qerēbu* in the Š-stem that also occur in contexts in which presenting a request makes contextual sense (see CAD Q, 239–240 and *AHW*, 917 for references). Although the meaning is not absolutely certain, I see no warrant to contest the semantics of the verb. Hallo's translation agrees (see below). Van der Toorn renders the final sentence quite differently, "Then I shall make those who see me speak highly of your friendly divinity," without comment (*Family Religion*, 131).

6) Text in T. Abusch, *The Witchcraft Series Maqlû* (SBLWAW 37; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 44:7, reading with the variant noted on p. 169.

7) See W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen „Gebetsbeschwörungen“* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 5; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976), 329 for this and similar phrases in incantation-prayers.

8) Text in T. Oshima, *Babylonian Prayers to Marduk* (ORA 7; Göttingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 156:181.

9) Reprinted in W. W. Hallo, *The World's Oldest Literature: Studies in Sumerian Belles-Lettres* (CHANE 35; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 319–330, see especially 329.

10) See Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen „Gebetsbeschwörungen“*, 192 and GAG §79b.

11) I thank Prof. van Soldt for corresponding with me about this letter and providing me with his decipherment notes. I alone am responsible for the suggested translation.

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**97) Kār-Šamaš as a south-western palace town of the Sealand I kingdom** — The publication of unprovenanced archival, divinatory, and literary texts from the Sealand I kingdom has renewed interest in this second millennium polity and its geographic extent (DALLEY 2009; GEORGE 2007; 2013; GABBAY 2014). The administrative palace archive published by Dalley has been suggested to come from the area (east) of Nippur, and possibly the divinatory and literary texts as well (DALLEY 2009: 9; GEORGE 2013: 142; GABBAY 2014: 147 n.9). There is, however, some evidence for a south-western origin of the palatial archive. A town by the name of Kār-Šamaš figures fairly prominently in these documents; it was either the very palace town where the archive comes from or one located in its immediate vicinity. I suggest to identify it with a town of the same name associated in earlier documents with Ur and the Old Babylonian kingdom of Larsa.

In the Sealand I material Kār-Šamaš, written KAR-<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>(ki)</sup>, appears in three contexts:

1- it was a place of some importance in the state administration, at least provincially, since one letter says that captured thieves were sent there, perhaps for judgment (CUSAS 9, 7: 28');)

2- it was a town where agricultural taxes were collected for the palace (CUSAS 9, 428; 443);

3- it was also a town mentioned in several administrative records pertaining to palatial malting and brewing (CUSAS 9, 190; 192; 206; 209; 211; 212?; 213-220; 224; 244). In the latter context, the name of the town often appears in the rubric indicating where the barley and the malt were delivered, namely *a-na É.GAL ša KAR-<sup>d</sup>UTU* "to the palace of Kār-Šamaš". Many more documents record similar deliveries to the palace without further specification<sup>1)</sup>; the maltsters and brewers being always the same

individuals, it follows that “the palace” and the aforementioned “palace of Kār-Šamaš” were probably one and the same. Its location was simply not always recorded<sup>2)</sup>.

Although Groneberg identified only two Kār-Šamaš in the Old Babylonian period, both of them in northern Babylonia (*RGTC* 3: 134), there must have been at least one southern Babylonian town of the same name at that time, as was justly noted by Charpin in his discussion of the text UET V 268 from Ur which refers to a worker sent to KAR-RA-<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ki</sup> in the year Samsu-iluna 11 (1986: 156 n.1)<sup>3)</sup>. This town could also be the one referred to in a letter from Hammurapi to Sîn-iddinam concerning neglected hydraulic works, including at KAR-UTU<sup>ki</sup> (*AbB* XIII, 5: 5); the letter states that the repair work will result in filling the marshes of Ur (rev. 5'-6'); both Larsa and Ur are mentioned in that letter. This clearly bespeaks a location of this Kār-Šamaš upstream from Ur. In addition, an early Old Babylonian royal inscription from Ur suggests that Kār-Šamaš, written KAR-RA-<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ki</sup>, was part of the kingdom of Larsa and was of some importance: Kudur-mabuk claims to have retaken it from enemies, along Maškan-šāpir (FRAYNE 1990: Warad-Sîn E4.2.13.10 line 20). While the wording could suggest that this Larsean Kār-Šamaš was near Maškan-šāpir, the fact that it figures in an inscription dedicated to the god Nanna and deposited at Ur certainly makes it possible that this town was in fact near the latter<sup>4)</sup>.

That the Sealand I kingdom controlled south-western Babylonia in the period shortly following the fall of Babylon is now certain since recent excavations at Tell Khaiber near Ur have unearthed a number of texts, one of which bore a complete year name of Ayadaragalama, the Sealand I king to whom most texts in the CUSAS 9 archive date (MOON et al. 2015: 2). I would not go as far as suggesting that Tell Khaiber is the find spot of this archive since no trace of looting has been noted by the archaeologists, but it appears highly likely that Kār-Šamaš, and the palace which produced the archive – should they not be the same, were located in the same general area. Control of the lower Euphrates is certainly cogent with the fact that a year name of the last Sealand I king Ea-gāmil is attested at Dilmun (CAVIGNEAUX & ANDRÉ-SALVINI *forthcoming*). Ur also stands curiously in the stead of Uruk in a Sealand I tablet of the Gilgameš Epic (GEORGE 2007), which may indicate a will to exalt the name of this city. In addition, Enki appears twice in the few year names of Ayadaragalama that we know, once in conjunction with Enlil (DALLEY 2009: 12, years I and J), an association which is also reflected in records of offerings (in CUSAS 9, 42 and in unpublished BC 365 cited in DALLEY 2009: 72)<sup>5)</sup>. This relative importance of Enki in the cult in that period and his association with Enlil are reminiscent of year names of Rīm-Sîn I (between his twenty-second and thirty-first year) and of a rare “Temple of Enlil and Enki” mentioned in an Old Babylonian letter from Larsa (HMA 9-01849; VELDHUIS 2008: text 10).

All these elements point toward a south-western Babylonian origin of the Sealand I archival documents published in CUSAS 9, at or near the Old Babylonian settlement of KAR(-RA)-<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ki</sup>, which was probably located between Larsa and Ur.

1) A number of records also refer to a *giparu* involved in palatial brewing.

2) Otherwise, Kār-Šamaš must have been either a town in close vicinity or a quarter of the same town where the other palace was located, close enough to allow for the circulation of beer and brewers between both palaces.

3) On the same text, see also KRAUS 1984: 288 n.465. For a brief summary of the various towns called Kār-Šamaš, see CHARPIN 2005: 137 n.5. That the orthographies KAR and KAR-RA were interchangeable in such a toponym is shown by the fact that the forty-second year name of Hammurapi features both variants (HORSNELL 1999: vol.II p.164).

4) In addition, Dalley considered that the texts YOS XII, 80; 166; 536; 537 which mention a Kār-Šamaš are presumably all from Larsa (2009: 10). This can hardly be true for 536 and 537 since they are dated to the year Samsu-iluna 30, while Samsu-iluna dates stop at Larsa at the end of his eleventh year; also, the theophoric element Irra in one individual's name in text 166 makes a northern origin somewhat more likely; as for text 80, the short and tersely formulated document does not offer much to decide one way or the other. Dalley also notes that a Kār-Šamaš may have been located in the area of Nippur in the Middle Babylonian period (2009: 10, incl. n.84); this or other towns of that name are not well attested in that period (*RGTC* 5: 160; also CBS 10973) and seem to vanish altogether from later Babylonian records.

5) In addition, Enki immediately follows Enlil in a number of lists: CUSAS 9, 59; 79; 82.

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**98) A Fragment Of a Royal Building Inscription from the Kassite Period** — The cuneiform fragment belongs to a Sumerian building inscription on clay brick dated to the Middle-Babylonian period, during the reign of the Kassite king Kurigalzu.

The brick was originally part of a private collection which was assembled after several trips to Palestine and other neighbouring countries and which belonged to Monsignor Salvatore Garofalo, an eminent scholar of biblical studies.<sup>1)</sup> Unfortunately, the present whereabouts of the brick is unknown, since it was lost immediately after the death of the owner.

The present study was made possible thanks to some photographs taken by Prof. G. Lacerenza (Università di Napoli “L'Orientale”) years ago, when the same Monsignor Garofalo entrusted him with the publication of its collection.<sup>2)</sup> According to the heir of the late Monsignor Garofalo, the collection also included six further bricks and various cuneiform tablets.<sup>3)</sup> Regrettably, I have not succeeded in finding any trace of these objects or their current location.

1. <sup>d</sup>En-lil<sub>2</sub>
2. lugal-kur-kur-ra
3. lugal-a-ni-ir
4. 'ku-ri'-gal-[zu]
5. 'šagina' [...]
- [...]

1. To Enlil
2. lord of the land
3. his lord
4. Kurigalzu
5. the general [...]
- [...]



The clay fragment is 8.3 cm in width and 5.5 cm in depth, while the length of the preserved section is 12.5 cm. Despite some minor damage on the top of the brick, it is reasonable to assume that no line is missing at the beginning, especially considering that the name of the addressee of the dedicatory



inscription, the god Enlil, appears in the first visible line. The edge of the right side is slightly cut, nonetheless, the overall width of the brick has not been much compromised. On the contrary, at least a few lines have been lost from the bottom, which is considerably damaged. Neither the building or the intended location of the brick are known. The inscription is ruled and was created by incision.

Considering the incipit of this inscription, which is abruptly interrupted at line 5, the best parallels known to me so far are BEHRENS 1985: 242 no. 68G from Ur, HILPRECHT 1893 no. 38 from Nippur, GRÉGOIRE 1981 no. 54<sup>4)</sup> and a series of bricks kept in the British Museum, all from Dūr-Kurigalzu.

Both the bricks from Ur and the ones from Nippur record the building activities of Kurigalzu on the E-kur-igibara.

The brick from Ur arranges the inscriptions into nine lines, out of which only line 8 features two segments within the same spatial unit.<sup>6)</sup> Similarly, the brick from Nippur also arranges the text into nine lines of which only line 8 is indented.

On the other hand, both Grégoire MVN 10 054 and the bricks from the British Museum commemorate Kurigalzu's activities in the E-u-gal in Dūr-Kurigalzu.

As regards all the inscribed bricks from Dūr-Kurigalzu related to the E-ugal, their texts are either stamped or inscribed and their *ductus* is fairly neat yet, on the whole, more archaising than that found on bricks from other locations or bricks that are linked to other temples.<sup>7)</sup> However, despite these minor variations, which are, nevertheless, an important clue which helps to identify the various *ateliers* of production, the text is always arranged into eight lines, of which lines 5 and 6 are indented.

Although broken, line 5 in the Garofalo fragment is wider than the lines preceding it, and this was probably caused by the indentation of the line in question. It can be assumed, therefore, that the Garofalo fragment records the E-u-gal as the temple restored by Kurigalzu.

Kurigalzu mentioned in the fragment could be Kurigalzu I, the great builder and founder of Dūr-Kurigalzu, as has been proposed by Clayden and then by Veldhuis and Bartelmus, and in contrast to Grégoire's assumption that the king referred to was Kurigalzu II.<sup>8)</sup>

1) For a discussion on this collection see NIGRO 2008. For a more recent outline of S. Garofalo's profile see MOSETTO 2014: 140-147.

2) Later on, Prof. G. Lacerenza kindly provided me with the photographs through Prof. S. Graziani (Università di Napoli "L'Orientale"). I would like to thank them and Mr De Luca, heir of Monsignor Garofalo and former curator of the Reparto di Antichità Egizie e del Vicino Oriente of the Musei Vaticani, for having authorised the publication of the fragment.

3) Personal communication of Mr De Luca.

4) This brick belongs to the French private collection *de Serres* in Paris [GRÉGOIRE 1981: 13 and pl.16].

5) WALKER 1981: 60 BM 090022, BM 090028, BM 090045, BM 090046, BM 090049, BM 090051, BM 090052, BM 090057, BM 090339, BM 090583, BM 090818. For a detailed overview and discussion about the cuneiform royal sources from the Kassite period see BRINKMAN 1976.

6) Noteworthy, the brick HILPRECHT 1893 no. 081 from Nippur, which also records the king's activities in the E-igi-bara, features a more neat and archaising *ductus* and a disposition of the text into ten single lines.

7) See for instance the difference between the texts from Dūr-Kurigalzu and the ones from Ur and Nippur mentioned above or between BM 090051 and BM 090295, both from Dūr-Kurigalzu but addressed to different temples.

8) CLAYDEN 1996, VELDHUIS 2008, BARTELMUS 2010: 148-149 *contra* GRÉGOIRE 1981:15.

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**99) An inscribed bead with a votive inscription of Kadašman-Turgu (L-29-449)<sup>1)</sup>** — The early excavations of the University of Pennsylvania (1889-1900) discovered a vast amount of inscribed objects from Kassite times.<sup>2)</sup> The lapis lazuli bead L-29-449 was already included in Brinkman’s catalogue of Kassite inscriptions as L.2.7.<sup>3)</sup> It contains a short votive inscription of which a translation is given here. To my knowledge it is the only documented Kassite object from the Ekur which John H. Haynes, excavator of Nippur from 1893-1900, recovered from a filling sealed by a pavement in the ziggurat courtyard. All the other inscribed lapis lazuli objects were found within constructions of the Parthian period in secondary context.<sup>4)</sup>

Haynes gives the following description of the object in his report of 7 December 1895 sent to Philadelphia:<sup>5)</sup>

*“The ball or sphere of Lapis Lazuli is flattened at its two poles and perforated in the direction of its short diameter, which measures 1.2 centimeters. The average measurement of its greater diameter, measured at right angles to its lesser diameter or axis, is 2.5 centimeters. The flattened ball or sphere is not wholly symmetrical, though the lack of symmetry does not offend the eye. The inscription, as you will judge from the above pencil rubbing, passes entirely around the sphere in the line of its greatest circumference.”*

The findspot of L-29-449 can be reconstructed in connection with the results of the 1948-50 excavations of the Joint Expedition.<sup>6)</sup> It was found to the southeast of the “Enlil Temple” below a mudbrick pavement, which was laid as a continuation of the burnt brick pavement in *street 22*.<sup>7)</sup> The date of the archaeological context can be narrowed down to a time span from about the late 12<sup>th</sup> century to the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC. The bead was probably donated for the statue of the goddess “Lady of Nippur”. A comparable object exists with the unpublished inscribed lapis lazuli bead UM L-29-448<sup>8)</sup> in the same collection without known context. It was not included into Brinkman’s catalogue.

A pencil rubbing<sup>9)</sup> of L-29-449 was sent to Philadelphia by J. H. Haynes with his report:



The Babylonian inscription<sup>10)</sup> reads as follows:

ʾa-na <sup>d</sup>NIN<sup>1</sup>.EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup> be-el-ti-šu Ka-dáš-man-túr-gu i-qí-iš

ana <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-Nibru<sup>ki</sup> Bēltišu Kadašman-Turgu iqīš

To <sup>d</sup>Lady of Nippur, his lady, Kadašman-Turgu dedicated.

1) The author wants to thank Alex Pezzati (Senior Archivist, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA) for his assistance and permission to publish the rubbing of this inscription here.

2) CLAYDEN 2011: 1-56.

3) BRINKMAN 1976: 154, L.2.7.

4) Several votive objects from the Kassite period were found within the large mud bricks of “Parthian Phase II/III”. For the objects found in the so-called “Nippur Hoard” see CLAYDEN (2011b:1-56).

5) Haynes’ report of 7 December 1895 (NE 8/6), preserved in the archive of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA.

6) MCCOWN & HAINES 1967, 16-17. The findspot is further described with a summary of the archaeological evidence of the Ekur in Kassite times in SCHNEIDER *forthcoming*. In this paper I could exclude construction work of

Kadašman-Turgu at the ziggurat which was solely based on a mix-up by H.V. Hilprecht with the name of Kadašman-Enlil. Furthermore the so-called “Kadašman-Turgu pavement” bears no single brick of this king. See HILPRECHT 1903: 332, 371-373, 377 and 394; BRINKMAN 1976: 164, L.5.1.

7) *Ibid.* Pl. 16.

8) See photo at <http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P461863.jpg>.

9) Photographed by the author. Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA.

10) For a photo of the object see <http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P461864.jpg>.

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**100) Der Tod des [M]ussi von Tabāl und die anschließende Ankunft seiner ganzen Sippe und seines Heeres in Assyrien** — Unter den Königsinschriften des Aššurbanipal erwähnt nur IIT (= Die Inschrift vom Ištar-Tempel) (FUCHS 1996, 258-296) dieses Ereignis zwischen 643 (od. 641) und 639 v.Chr.. Nach IIT 141-142 schloss Aššurbanipal nach dem Tod Mugallus des Landes Tabāl mit [M]ussi, dessen Sohn, einen neuen Vasallenvertrag ab und ließ ihn den jährlichen Tribut bringen. Später setzte sich der aber mit Tugdammī, dem kimmerischen König, ins Einvernehmen. Angesichts dieser Tatsache verbrannte der Gott Aššur den Leib von [M]ussi mit Feuer (IIT 142-144). Anschließend wird in IIT 144-145 berichtet:

*balu qašti sīsī aḫḫīšu [qin]nušu zēr bīt abīšu ummānāṭīšu rapaštum tuklat idīšu sīsī kūdanī ina lā mēni ina mil[ki ra]mānīšunu iš[ša]llūni ana māt Aššur*

Ohne Bogen und Pferde (einzusetzen) *ließen sich* seine Brüder, Familie, die Nachkommenschaft seines Vaterhauses, sein umfangreiches Heer, die Stütze seiner Armee, Pferde und Maultiere ohne Zahl aus eigenem Antrieb nach Assyrien *fortführen*.

Bei diesem Vorgang ist eine nähere Betrachtung nötig, weil es wegen der Verwendung der merkwürdigen verbalen Form *iššallūni* (N-Stamm von *šalālu*) schwer ist, den Hintergrund ihrer Ankunft zu erfassen. Die bisher vorgeschlagenen Interpretationen dieses Ausdrucks werden von A. Fuchs folgendermaßen kurz zusammengefasst (FUCHS 1996, 285):

Hätten die Leute und die Tiere sich freiwillig nach Assyrien abtransportieren lassen? Landsberger, *Sam'al* 82 Anm.214 gibt Z.144f. wie folgt wieder: „Seine ganze Sippe und sein Heer fliehen waffenlos nach Assyrien“. Ähnlich J. Bing, *A history of Cilicia during the Assyrian period* (Dissertation Indiana University 1969) 145: „The rebellious king of Tabal died mysteriously, and disruption spread throughout his kingdom with many seeking refuge in Assyria“. Wenn diese Deutung zutrifft, so wären die Tiere wohl auf unelegante Weise in den Text eingebaut worden.

Obwohl man die Interpretationen von Landsberger und Bing grundsätzlich als eine Möglichkeit sehen kann, lässt sich auch vermuten, dass sich die wegen des unerwarteten Tods des [M]ussi in Konfusion geratenen Sippe des [M]ussi angesichts ihrer nachteiligen Situation Assyrien ergaben, ohne zu kämpfen, um so das schlimmste Schicksal, d.h. die Annexion ins assyrische Reich nach der Eroberung zu vermeiden und ein assyrischer Vasallenstaat bleiben zu können. Aus dieser Perspektive flohen sie vermutlich nicht nach Assyrien, sondern kamen zusammen mit dem Heer und dem Tribut nach Assyrien, um ihren Willen zur Unterwerfung zu zeigen. Die Pferde und Maultiere, die sie nach Assyrien gebracht hatten, stellen wahrscheinlich diesen Tribut dar. Während [M]ussi davor Pferde als Tribut bezahlt hatte (FUCHS 1996, 284, 294 IIT 138-140), brachten seine Söhne und das Gefolge jetzt also über den

bisherigen Tribut hinaus noch zusätzliche Maultiere. Zwar könnte man gegen meine Interpretation einwenden, dass der hier gebrauchte Ausdruck nicht Unterwerfung, sondern Flucht bedeutet, aber man darf nicht übersehen, dass in den Königsinschriften normalerweise nicht berichtet wird, dass wegen innenpolitischer Probleme nach Assyrien geflohene ausländische Eliten Tribut brachten (BORGER 1996, 97, 223 Prisma B iv 79-86; 97, 223 Prisma C v 85-92; 198 66-5-19,1: 10' -16'; 43, 234 Prisma F iii 21-26; 43, 234 Prisma A iv 23-27; 110-111, 230 Prisma B vii 58-70; 110-111, 230 Prisma C viii 48-59).

Obwohl die Quellen nichts über die Situation des Landes Tabāl nach diesem Vorfall sagen, könnte man anhand einer Analogie zu einem Ereignis, bei dem die Bewohner der elamischen Städte angesichts des assyrischen Feldzuges aus eigenem Antrieb nach Assyrien gekommen waren, um durch einen Dienst für Aššurbanipal die Eroberung ihrer Städte zu vermeiden (BORGER 1996, 46, 237 Prisma F iii 39-45; 46, 237 Prisma A iv 116-123), und anhand der Analogie dazu, dass der elamische König Tammartu und seine Sippe nach der Flucht nach Assyrien am Hof Aššurbanipals dienten (BORGER 1996, 43, 234 Prisma A iv 28-31, Prisma F iii 27), vermuten, dass die Sippe des [M]ussi und sein Heer in gleicher Weise Dienst leisteten – was das Heer angeht, sollte man sich hier an das Ereignis erinnern, dass Hiskia, der König des Landes Juda, bei der Unterwerfung dem Sanherib seine Elitetruppe für den militärischen Dienst in Assyrien zur Verfügung stellte (GRAYSON & NOVOTNY 2012, 65-66 Rass. 55-58). Stimmt man dieser Interpretation zu, dann ist zu vermuten, dass das Land Tabāl nach der Unterwerfung als assyrischer Vasallenstaat eingerichtet wurde.

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**101) Die Tochter des Jakinlū** — Insgesamt sieben Königsinschriften des Aššurbanipal, nämlich LET 33-37 (NOVOTNY 2014, 84, 102), Prisma B ii 67-81, Prisma C iii 98-114, Prisma F i 70-77, Prisma A ii 63-67 (BORGER 1996, 29-30, 216), Prisma J3.9-13 (BORGER 1996, 195, 217) und IIT 83-84 (FUCHS 1996, 276, 293) berichten über den Gehorsamsakt Jakinlūs vom Land Arwad gegenüber Assyrien. Es ist fast sicher, dass Jakinlū, der in der Zeit Asarhaddons feindlich gegen Assyrien eingestellt war (LUUKKO & VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 113-114 SAA 16, Nr.127: 13-23), angesichts des assyrischen Feldzuges nach Ägypten im Jahre 667 v. Chr. Assyrien gehorchte und die Einrichtung eines assyrischen Vasallenstaats akzeptierte, indem er dabei den Tribut bezahlte und Hilfstruppen anbot. Aber in Bezug auf die durch Jakinlū übersandte Tochter ist eine nähere Betrachtung nötig, weil das im Jahre 663-662 v.Chr. hergestellte LET darüber nichts sagt, und so entsteht hier die Frage, ob die Übersendung der Tochter eine historische Tatsache war oder in der späteren Zeit irrtümlich in den Prismen B, C, F, A und J hinzugefügt wurde. In Bezug auf dieses Problem muss man darauf hinweisen, dass man nicht sofort davon ausgehen sollte, dass die in den später hergestellten Prismen berichtete Übersendung der Tochter Jakinlūs keine historische Tatsache ist, auch wenn in LET darüber nichts berichtet wird. Denn Prisma C ii 37-67 und Prisma A i 68-74 (BORGER 1996, 18-20, 212) umfasst auch die in LET nicht erwähnte Nachricht, dass die 22 Könige an der Mittelmeerküste im Verlauf des Feldzuges nach Ägypten die Tribute an Assyrien bezahlten und Hilfstruppen für diesen Feldzug anboten. Nimmt man diese Nachricht in den später hergestellten Prismen als historische Tatsache, dann ist zu vermuten, dass Jakinlū seine Tochter nach der Herstellung von LET, nämlich ab 662 v.Chr. dem Aššurbanipal übersandte, und damit bezweckte, unter den vielen Vasallenkönigen eine bessere Position zu bekommen. Nicht nur das exakte Jahr der Ankunft der Tochter Jakinlūs, sondern auch das Jahr seines Todes und die anschließende Ankunft seiner Söhne in Assyrien ist unklar, somit ist es trotz der Vermutung von Grayson und Ruby, dass das letztere Ereignis auf das Jahr ca. 662 fällt (GRAYSON 1980, 231, 233; RUBY 1998, 164), naheliegend, anhand der Herstellungsjahre von LET und Prisma B diese zwei Ereignisse in den Jahren zwischen 662 und 649/8 zu

lokalisieren. Sicher ist nur, dass Jakinlū vor seinem Tod seine Tochter nach Assyrien brachte, um damit seine Loyalität zu demonstrieren.

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**102) Wer ist in den assyrischen Königsinschriften mit *lītu* gemeint?** — Das singulare Nomen *lītu* (Plural: *lītū*) wird mit “Geisel” in AHw 558a und mit “hostage” in CAD L 223b übersetzt und es lassen sich in den assyrischen Königsinschriften tatsächlich Beispiele dafür beobachten, dass Assyrierröyige Geiseln zur Absicherung ihrer Herrschaft nahmen. Allerdings geht aus dem Nomen *lītu* nicht hervor, wer konkret als Geisel in Frage kam. Stefan Zawadzki, der zahlreiche solcher Beispiele sammelte und analysierte (ZAWADZKI 1995, 449-458), untersucht in seiner Studie, wer mit dem Nomen *lītu* wirklich gemeint war. Ihm zufolge werden die besiegt und gefangengenommenen feindlichen Könige in den Königsinschriften nie als “Geiseln” bezeichnet, weil sie nicht als “Geiseln”, sondern als “Kriegsgefangene” gehalten wurden. Daher kann man die feindlichen Könige aus diesem Begriff ausschließen. Angesichts dieser Tatsache stellt er fest: “*hostages were usually members of king’s sons, in particular successors to the throne, and other royal families*”. Allerdings sind die Töchter der Könige hier eine Ausnahme, weil sie nicht als Geisel bezeichnet werden, wenn sie den Assyrierröyigen zusammen mit Mitgift übergeben wurden (ZAWADZKI 1995, 456). Ergänzend gesagt, ist es offensichtlich nötig, nicht nur die Töchter der Könige, sondern auch Schwestern und Nichten der Könige auszuschließen, weil sie gleicherweise zusammen mit Mitgift den Assyrierröyigen übergeben wurden, ohne *lītu* genannt zu werden. Eigentlich bürgen Geiseln für Wohlverhalten. Zeigt der Geiselgeber dieses Wohlverhalten nicht, so tötet der Geiselnnehmer die Geiseln. Deswegen müssen die Geiseln die potentiellen Nachfolger der Könige sein, nämlich die Söhne der Könige, die auf dem Thron folgen sollten. Berücksichtigt man solche Fälle, in denen ein König keine eigenen Söhne hat, dann sind auch Brüder und Neffen des Königs zum Kreis möglicher Geiseln zu zählen. Somit bedeutet das Nomen *lītu* einen Mann aus diesem engen Personenkreis. Nur solche Personen spielten eine relevante Rolle bei der Verhinderung einer Rebellion gegen Assyrien.

Zwar sagt Zawadzki: „*Sometimes, most probably whenever there was no distinct local center of power, hostages were chosen from the aristocracy or from rich burghers.*” (ZAWADZKI 1995, 456), doch seine Hypothese basiert auf einem Missverständnis des folgenden Beispiels in der Zeit Aššurnasirpals II.: Angesichts der assyrischen Belagerung schickte die Elite der Stadt Madara ihre Söhne als *šaprūtu*. Zawadzki versteht wie die Übersetzung von Grayson („sons as hostages“) (GRAYSON 1991, 209 A.O.101.1. ii 99; 250 A.O.101.17. iv 46; 259 A.O.101.19.65) *ana šaprūte* irrtümlich als “be sent as hostages to Assyria” (ZAWADZKI 1995, 450, 452). *šaprūtu* bedeutet jedoch nicht “Geiseln”, sondern “Abgesandte” (AHw 1175b), daher kann man hier keinen Zusammenhang zwischen den Söhnen und Geiseln herstellen.

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**103) “If the river is red like blood”** — The common cultural background of the ancient Near East is reflected in many contexts of Mesopotamian literature and the Hebrew Bible. The significance of such commonalities has long been a matter of discussion. Were these similarities simply the result of a shared milieu, or do they reflect a closer connection? Without entering into such speculation, I call attention to the following striking and unusual references in the Babylonian omen series Shumma Alu.

Shumma Alu is a huge compendium of omens taken from occurrences in nature and everyday life (see Sally M. Freedman, *If a City Is Set on a Height*, vols. 1 and 2 [University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1998 and 2006] and [www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu)). Compiled over many centuries, the corpus was organized in antiquity into more than 100 chapters, or Tablets, dealing with specific topics in as few as 30 omens or as many as 200. Several thousands of such omens are at least partially preserved. Prototypes of the omens in this series date to as early as the Old Babylonian period (c. 18th century BCE); the standard series was probably completed in the 8th century BCE.

Tablet 61, which consists of omens taken from observations of a river in flood, includes a number of omens and predictions that are startlingly and exceptionally evocative of events in the Hebrew Bible, especially the plagues associated with the Exodus from Egypt (Exodus 7-9).

Omens 1 and 2 of Tablet 61 immediately call to mind the biblical plague of blood: “If, in the month of Nisan, flood comes and the river is dark like blood, there will be death in the land” and “If the river is red like blood, there will be much sickness in the land.” Omen 27 evokes the plague of frogs and the following two plagues of insects: “If the river water is full of frogs, there will be insects in the land.” Omen 28 specifies that the presaged insects will affect cattle, suggesting the cattle plague that follows the plagues of insects in the Bible: “If the flood comes and the water is covered with much foam, there will be insects of herds and flocks.”

The flood referred to in these omens is the regular yearly inundation that occurs in Mesopotamia with the Tigris and Euphrates, as it does with the Nile in Egypt. The month Nisan is the first month of the year in Babylonia, and Exod 12:2 refers to Passover occurring in the first month of the year.

In general, the predictions associated with Babylonian omens are formulaic and occur repeatedly in the corpus. Predictions of death and sickness, for instance, are common, and predictions of a “rising of locusts” (ZI.(GA) BUR<sub>5</sub>.HI.A, *tibūt erebi*) are not extraordinarily rare. But the predictions cited here are unique in referring to the insects called *šassuru*, as is the association of insects with flood and with cattle.

Two other predictions in Tablet 61 are also strongly suggestive of a recurrent motif in Genesis, where residents of Canaan migrate to Egypt as the result of famine. Omens 49 and 50 predict, “the harvest of a great land will prosper, and a small land will go to a great land, or a great land to a small land, for sustenance.” In addition, omen 89 predicts, “a small land will turn into a great land; alternatively, a great land into a small one.” Shumma Alu Tablet 55 has a similar prediction, “there will be diminution of grain and straw in the land; a great land will go to a small land for sustenance” (K.2319+ (CT 39 5) r.15: ŠA<sub>3</sub>.SU<sub>3</sub> ŠE u IN.NU ina KUR GAL<sub>2</sub> KUR GAL ana KUR TUR ana TIN-ṭi DU), but this is the only other example I know of.

Shumma Alu includes a few other omens that are reminiscent of situations in the Hebrew Bible, such as the omens in Tablet 12 that refer to discolorations on the walls of a house and recall portions of Leviticus 14, but the omens of Tablet 61 are much more specific, more concentrated, and seem much closer to the biblical text.

**Tablet 61** (hand copy CT 39 14-18)

1. DIŠ ina ITI.BARA<sub>2</sub> A.KAL DU-ma ID<sub>2</sub> GIM UŠ<sub>2</sub> ša-rip ina KUR UŠ<sub>2</sub> GAL<sub>2</sub>

– If, in the month of Nisan, flood comes and the river is dark like blood, there will be death in the land.

2. DIŠ ID<sub>2</sub> GIM UŠ<sub>2</sub> pi-li-i GIG.MEŠ ina KUR GAL<sub>2</sub>.MEŠ

– If the river is red like blood, there will be much sickness in the land.

27. DIŠ ID<sub>2</sub> A-ša<sub>2</sub> BIL<sub>2</sub>.ZA.ZA ma-lu-u<sub>2</sub> sa-as-su-ru ina KUR GAL<sub>2</sub>

– If the river water is full of frogs, there will be insects in the land.

28. DIŠ A.ZI.GA DU-ma A-šu<sub>2</sub> ḫur-ḫum-ma-ta ma-at-ta u<sub>2</sub>-kal-lu sa-as-sur AB<sub>2</sub>.GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A u U<sub>8</sub>.UDU.

HI.A ina KUR GAL<sub>2</sub>

– If the flood comes and the water is covered with much foam, there will be insects of herds and flocks.

49. DIŠ A ša<sub>2</sub> GIM ZE<sub>2</sub> IGI-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu ina ID<sub>2</sub> DU-ma iš-tu ša<sub>2</sub>-ha-at ID<sub>2</sub> [...] it-ta-na-aḫ-ḫi-is na-pa-aš  
EBUR KUR GAL SI.SA<sub>2</sub>-ma KUR TUR ana KUR GAL : KUR GAL ana KUR TUR ana DIN-ṭi D[U]

– If water whose surface is like bile runs in the river and [...] keeps receding from the side of the river, the harvest of a great land will prosper, and a small land will go to a great land (or) a great land to a small land, for sustenance.

50. DIŠ A ša<sub>2</sub> GIM A ZE<sub>2</sub> ina ID<sub>2</sub> DU-ma iš-tu MURU<sub>4</sub> ID<sub>2</sub> A-ša<sub>2</sub> a-ha-at [ID<sub>2</sub>] im-lu-ma ki-sal ID<sub>2</sub> na-ḫi-is A ša<sub>2</sub>-ha-at ID<sub>2</sub> KIMIN A ša<sub>2</sub>-ha-at [ID<sub>2</sub>] u<sub>2</sub>-ḫu-lu EBUR KUR GAL SI.SA<sub>2</sub>-ma KUR TUR ana KUR GAL ana bu-tal-lu-ṭ[i DU]

– If water like bile runs in the river and from the middle of the river its water fills the banks of [the river] and the ‘courtyard’ of the river is withdrawn (and) the water at the side—alternatively, water at the side of [the river]—coagulates, the harvest of a great land will prosper, and a small land [will go] to a great land for sustenance.

89. [DIŠ ina ITI.AB KI]MIN KUR ša<sub>2</sub> ma-[na-aḫ-tu<sub>2</sub> IGI pa-ša<sub>2</sub>-ha IGI] KUR TUR ana KUR GAL KIMIN KUR GAL ana [KUR TUR GUR]

– [If dit]to [in Tebetu], a country that [has seen] mi[sery will see respite;] a small land [will turn into] a great land; alternatively, a great land into [a small one.]

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**104) SIG<sub>7</sub>.ALAN = nabnītu Tablet B Source B (K. 4165+) Joined to K. 14889** — In his edition of the series SIG<sub>7</sub>.ALAN = nabnītu (MSL XVI; 1982), Irving Finkel used two clear and two presumed sources for his reconstruction of Tablet B (pp. 257–64). Source B is a large but fragmentary six-column tablet from Nineveh, of which columns i and vi are completely lost. The tablet has been re-joined from seven pieces, K. 4165 (RA 17, 133) + 4313 + 10045 (RA 18, 39) + 9993 (RA 17, 167) + 11190 (CT 19, 39) + 13586 (RA 17, 170) + 13632 (RA 17, 171). Now, one more fragment can be added to this list: K. 14889 (RA 17, 174), which joins the upper edge and thus restores lines 1 and 121–22 on the second and third columns of obverse, and lines 238–240 on the fourth column of reverse. Since a photograph of K. 4165+ as it was used by Finkel is available on the British Museum’s website ([http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=308808&partId=1&museumno=K,4165&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=308808&partId=1&museumno=K,4165&page=1)) and on CDLI (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P373792.jpg>), a transliteration and copy just of the now completed lines will be offered here.

The scribe drew a double line as divider not only as column divider but also as a divider between all entries, using a twisted string for these lines.

61	obv. ii	1	[x].DUG <sub>4</sub> .GA.DU <sub>8</sub> .[A]		du-uš-šu-u
62		2	[x (x) <sup>x</sup> ] <sup>du</sup> .ME[Š <sup>?</sup> ]		[MIN] ṛšá ÍD <sup>1</sup>
(K. 14889 obverse breaks off)					
121	obv. iii	1	IM.SIG <sub>7</sub> .[S]IG <sub>7</sub>		ḫa-a-pu
122		2	ṛIM <sup>1</sup> .DAL.ḪA.NU.UM		MIN
(K. 14889 obverse breaks off)					
237	rev. iv	34’	ṛSU <sup>1</sup> .BAR		MIN (sc. ṭe-pu-u)
238		35’	ṛSU <sup>1</sup> .DUB		MIN
239		36’	UG[U].SÌG.GA		MIN ṛšá ṭup-pi
240		37’	DUB.NUN.NA		dup-ni-in-nu
(end of column)					

Obv. ii 1 duššû, D-stem from dešû, “to be or become abundant”, with the meaning of “to make abundant, fertile, to provide abundantly, lavishly” has been equated with lu-ú LU in Ea = nâqu I 189, with ME.DUG.GA in the Silbenalphabet A 97, with šá-ar ŠÁR in á A = nâqu V/2:50 and with ŠÁR.ŠÁR in Proto-IZI b 5 (see CAD 129).

Obv. ii 2 For duššû in connection with water see the bilingual text published in 4R 9 (K.2861 +4999+5088+5297) ll. 61–2: e-ne-è-m-zu... ú-a-ú-a ka-na-g-gá mu-un-lu-lu (62) [šá r]i-i-tam u maš-qí-tum ú-da-áš-šá, “(your word) creates abundance in pasture and water supply”.

Rev. iv 239 CAD T 100 quotes this line under ṭepû, “to add, to attach, append”, restoring the logogram to [DUB].SÌG.GA, which now needs to be corrected.

Rev. iv 240 For DUB.NUN.NA see also the Late Babylonian writing in a literary text: LÚ.NAGAR GIŠ.DUB.NUN.NA DÛ-šú, “the carpenter who made the chest” (4R 25 [K. 63] ii 25). In fact, DUB.NUN.NA seems to be a loanword.

Figure 1 (K.4165+...+K.14889)

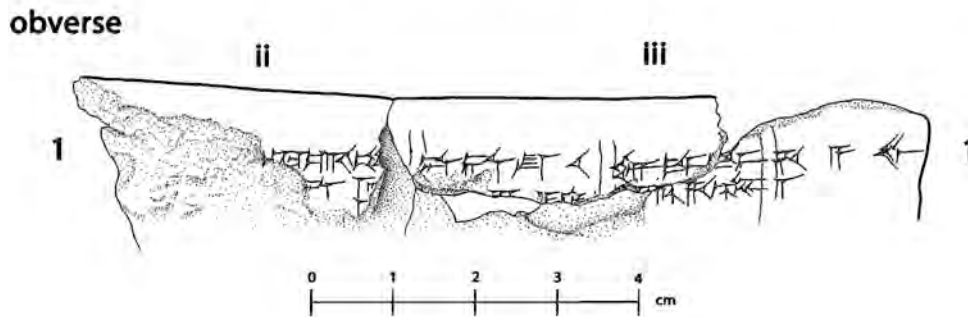
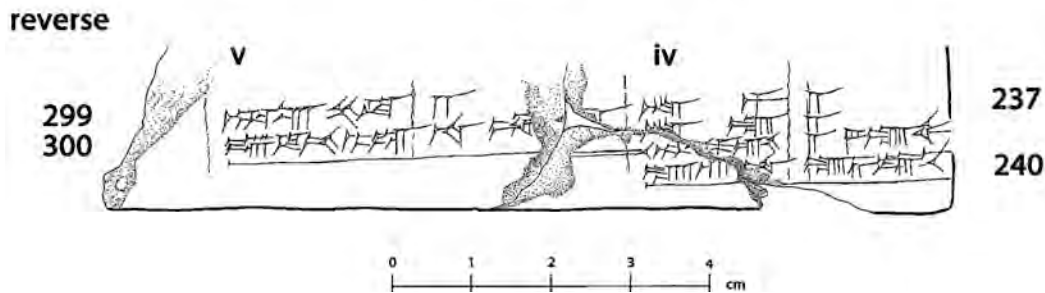


Figure 2 (K.4165+...+K.14889)



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**105) “An Aramean (or Israelite) in the Service of the Crown Prince Amēl-Marduk”** — The cuneiform tablets in the possession of the Detroit Institute of Arts have recently been uploaded on the CDLI Web Site. One of the tablets is of particular interest in that it names an individual serving in the household of the crown prince in the 42<sup>nd</sup> year of Nebuchadnezzar II. The museum number of the tablet is DIA 19.024.23 and the CDLI number is P461521 (thus accessible at <<http://cdli.ucla.edu/P461521>>). The digital images are very clear and permit a full transliteration and translation of the document, which is published here with the kind permission of the Institute. I wish to thank Lina Meerchyad, Collection Research Associate at the Detroit Institute of Arts, for her help.

The Detroit Institute of Arts (Gift of Henry G. Stevens, 19.24.23)

Obverse

1. 54 ½ MA.NA 'KÙ.BABBAR<sup>1</sup>
2. šá<sup>ld</sup> NÀ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GI
3. ina pa-ni<sup>ld</sup> ba-ti-DINGIR.MEŠ-šu-ru
4. šá É<sup>ld</sup> DUMU-LUGAL a-na dul-lu
5. ina ŠÀ-bi 11 MA.NA 1/3 GÍN
6. gam-mar<sup>ld</sup> NÀ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GI
7. IGI-<sup>u</sup>1

Reverse

8. ITI DU<sub>6</sub> UD 25-KAM
9. MU 42-KAM
10. <sup>d</sup>PA-NÍG.DU-ÙRI
11. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

“54 ½ minas of silver belonging to Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim at the disposal of Baytil-šūr, (officer) of the household of the crown prince, for work; from it 11 minas and 1/3 shekel have been received (as) complete (installment) by Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim; month of Tašritu, 25<sup>th</sup> day, 42<sup>nd</sup> year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.”

The tablet contains too little information to be assigned to a specific archival context. For the same reason, the nature and circumstances of the transaction it records cannot be ascertained. The name



Baytil-šūr is Aramean and means “the god Baytil is a protective wall” (PEARCE, WUNSCH 2014: 48). The same name carried by other individuals appears with various spellings in the recently published texts from Al Yahudu and other localities (PEARCE, WUNSCH 2014: 268): <sup>ld</sup>É-DINGIR-šū-ru, <sup>ld</sup>É-DINGIR-šū-ú-ur, and <sup>ld</sup>É-DINGIR-šū-ru. Syllabic spellings of the theophoric element Baytil are attested in other Neo-Babylonian documents (ZADOK 1977: 61): some fully preserve the diphthong (e.g. <sup>ld</sup>ba-i-ti-DINGIR-<...>; <sup>ld</sup>ba-’i-it-DINGIR-da-la-a<sub>4</sub>) while others seem to denote it with the sign BA alone, although this could also indicate contraction (e.g. <sup>ld</sup>ba-ti-il-ḫa-ra and <sup>ld</sup>ba-ti-il-še-zib). While the name Baytil-šūr is linguistically Aramean, the matter of the ethnicity of its bearer remains open. The god Baytil, better known as Bethel according to its Biblical form, was worshipped over a wide area in Syria and the southern Levant (RÖLLIG 1999; DALGLISH 1992). It also appears in the Bible, notably in the name of the important cultic center Bethel (GOMES 2006). Jeremiah 48:13 suggests that the god Bethel occupied a prominent place in the religion of the northern kingdom of Israel, his status being comparable with that of the god Chemosh in Moab. The evidence from Elephantine shows that Bethel was worshiped there by Jews under the names Ešem-Bethel and Anath-Bethel alongside Yahweh and that Bethel was seen probably as another name for the god of Israel, although opinions are divided on the significance of this data.

Although Bethel appears as theophoric element in names that are linguistically Aramean, it cannot be excluded that some of these names belonged to Jews; the exilic onomasticon of Israelites and Judeans shows many interferences, religious and linguistic, with the people among whom they lived, and this already quite early after their deportation (ZADOK 2015). Thus, although the name Baytil-šūr in our document could be that of an Aramean, it could alternatively belong to an Israelite who lived in Judea and was then deported to Babylonia; a name with Bethel seems indeed more likely to have been borne by someone originating from the northern kingdom given the importance of that god there, and many Israelites moved to the kingdom of Judah after the fall of Samaria. The rise of deported Judeans to official positions is also documented by a family of royal merchants attested under Nabonidus and Cyrus (JURSA 2007). We may also note in this connection that according to the *Hofkalender* of Nebuchadnezzar the Chief of the Royal Merchants (*rab tamkāri ša šarri*) in his seventh year, the year of the first campaign against Judah, bore the name Hanunu, very probably Phoenician (DA RIVA 2013: 203).

The Detroit tablet is dated to the penultimate year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and the crown prince is therefore almost certainly Amēl-Marduk, the Evil-Merodach of the Bible who released Jehoiachin from captivity (II Kings 25: 27-30):

“In the thirty-seventh year of the exile of King Jehoiachin of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, King Evil-Merodach of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, released King Jehoiachin of Judah from prison; he spoke kindly to him, and gave him a seat above the other seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon. So Jehoiachin put aside his prison clothes. Every day of his life he dined regularly in the king’s presence. For his allowance, a regular allowance was given him by the king, a portion every day, as long as he lived.”

According to the Book of Kings Jehoiachin was released by Amēl-Marduk “in the year that he began to reign”. The expression seems to refer to his accession year, which fell in the 43<sup>rd</sup> year of his father Nebuchadnezzar II. His reign started at the end of the month of Ulūlu of that year (early October 562), therefore about a year after the Detroit tablet was written. However, the Book of Kings claims that Jehoiachin’s release took place on XII/27 in the 37<sup>th</sup> year of his exile, which seems slightly at variance with a date in the accession year of Amēl-Marduk if the computation started precisely at the first capture of Jerusalem in 597. If we rely on the Nebuchadnezzar Chronicle, Jerusalem fell on the second day of Addaru in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, which is March 16, 597 in the Julian calendar (GRAYSON 2000: 100):

“The seventh year: In the month Kislīmu the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to Hattu. He encamped against the city of Judah and on the second day of the month Addaru he captured the city (and) seized (its) king. A king of his own choice he appointed in the city (and) taking the vast tribute he brought it into Babylon.”

This should mark the beginning of Jehoiachin's exile, but counting thirty-seven years from that date brings us to the first full regnal year of Amēl-Marduk (561-560). Thus the Book of Kings may in fact refer to the first year rather than the accession year. At any rate, Amēl-Marduk succumbed to a palace coup later in that year. We know for certain that Jehoiachin was held captive in Babylon because among administrative texts from the Southern Palace dated 595-570 (year 10 to 35 of Nebuchadnezzar) we find him listed as recipient of foodstuffs together with members of his retinue (COGAN 2013: 141-143). The importance of the Detroit tablet lies in the fact that it provides evidence that a man of Aramean (or perhaps Israelite) origin occupied an official position in the household of the crown prince Amēl-Marduk shortly before he succeeded his father Nebuchadnezzar. The presence of a Westerner among his household's staff might explain his leniency toward the captive Judean king, who could finally be released from captivity now that his conqueror had passed away.

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**106) An Iranian slave in Babylon during the reign of Amēl-Marduk?**<sup>1)</sup> — In a Neo-Babylonian document (ROMCT 2 3:2) a female slave with the name <sup>f</sup>*Am-ma-ta-ū-ta-a* is sold by Rakal, the son of Ammalemu, to Iltabija, the son of Ammajabibi. The name of the unfortunate slave has only been commented upon by the editor of the text, G.J.P. MCEWAN (1982, 7), who compared it to the names *Am-ma-'ta-*' (TALLQVIST 1914, 22) and *Am-ma-da-ud-da* (HALLOCK 1969, 666a). The name does not appear in ZADOK's (2009, 77) catalogue of Iranian names mentioned in Neo- and Late Babylonian sources.

The first name, discussed by McEwan, is actually written *Am-me-'-ta-*' (ABL 260 rev.3 = SAA 18 149 rev.3) and refers to an Arab, more precisely the father of a man named Aya-kabar (cf. VILLARD 1998, 104). Here one is dealing with an Arabic name, as already TALLQVIST (1914, 22) noticed.

The second name is the Elamite rendering of the Iranian anthroponym \*Amadāta- "given by Ama". This name is also attested in Aramaic (spelled 'Mdt; also in a text from Persepolis) and in Babylonian, where it is spelled *Am-ma-da-a-tú* and *Um-ma-da-a-tú* (TAVERNIER 2007, 103-104 no. 4.2.38).

Unfortunately for McEwan, the name discussed cannot be linked to any of the two names he cited. The main reason for this is the presence of the sign Ú, which implies a /u/ or a /w/ in the original name. Only in his connecting it with an Iranian name McEwan was right, as it is indeed an Iranian anthroponym.

More precisely, <sup>f</sup>*Am-ma-ta-ū-ta-a* is the Babylonian rendering of an Iranian name \*Amatavāta- "With the strength of Ama"<sup>2)</sup>. More precisely, this name can be split up in three parts: \*Ama-, \*tavah-, "strength, power" (cf. Av. *tauuah-*) and -āta-, a suffix reinforcing the meaning of the word it determines

(Tavernier 2007, 571). Ama- is a minor Zoroastrian divinity (Boyce s.d.), who, however, enjoyed some popularity with the common population, given the not so low number of names containing his name (cf. Tavernier 2007, 575). This popularity may very well have been connected with the military aspect of Ama-.

Interestingly the text is dated to 29 Ululu, year 1 of the reign of Amēl-Marduk, the king of Babylon. This corresponds with 28 September 561 BC, which puts the presence of this Iranian slave well in the pre-Achaemenid area, when Babylonia was still independent. This makes \*Amatavāta- one of the first attestations of an individual bearing an Iranian name in the Babylonian documentation (the oldest being one Median and two Elamites in a ration-list from 592-591, cf. Zadok 1976, 62 and 66).

In all likelihood, \*Amatavāta- was ethnically an Iranian woman. Two reasons plead for this. First of all, it was not yet common for Babylonians to adopt Iranian names in the Neo-Babylonian period. In the Achaemenid period, when Babylonia was ruled by Iranian-speaking Persians, some Babylonians did this in the hope that this would enhance their chances to a career in the Achaemenid administration. Secondly, her status as a slave also induces one to believe that she was ethnically Iranian. Possibly, she had been captured by a Babylonian raid along the Iranian border and was brought to Babylon to be sold as a slave. It is this last phase of which ROMCT 2 3 is a testimony.

1) This research has been funded by the Interuniversity Attraction Poles Programme initiated by the Belgian Science Policy Office (IAP VII/14: “Greater Mesopotamia: Reconstruction of its Environment and History”).

2) This analysis has already been briefly mentioned by me in a recently published thorough research on female slave names in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods (Hackl 2013, 181 n.149).

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**107) An Irano-Elamo-Aramaic Note<sup>1)</sup>** — In various Fortification Texts from Persepolis (Fort. 00X2-101:2’ (Ir-du-maš-[da]), 4’, 1290-102+2177-101:39,45, 2287-102:4; PF 679:4, 1801:4; PFNN 1074:5, 2135:4, 2358:1)<sup>2)</sup> a name *Ir-du-maš-da* occurs. This is clearly the rendering of an Iranian name and this fact was already quickly recognized.

The first to analyze this name was Émile Benveniste (1966: 84), who argued that *Ir-du-maš-da* renders the Old Iranian name \*Rta-vazdā, the nominative singular of \*Rta-vazdah- “possessing endurance through Arta”. This proposal was generally accepted by modern scholarship (Mayrhofer 1970, 229 n.35 and 1973, 167 no. 8.617; Hinz 1975, 217; Bogoljubov 1976, 211; Schmitt 2002, 45).

This name is well-established by its occurrences in other languages: Avestan Ašauvazdah-, Middle Persian Ašavazd, Armenian Artavazd, Greek Ἀρταβάζης, Ἀρτάβαζος, Ἀρταβάσδης, Ἀρτάζος, Ἀρταουάζης and Ἀρταουάσδης, Latin Artabazus, Artabazes, Artabasdes, Artavasdes and Artavazdes. It is also attested as Ardavasti in the medieval *Testamentum of the hypatus of Gaeta* (Docibilis I; cf. Mayrhofer 1970, 228-229).

In 2002, however, SCHMITT (2002, 45 n.17) cast doubts on this analysis in a footnote, when he rightfully referred to the Aramaic gloss on the tablet PF 1801 (rev.). There the Aramaic spelling is 'Rtm<sup>r</sup>z<sup>d</sup>'), a spelling clearly contradictory to an analysis \*Rtavazdā, as such a name would have been written 'Rtw<sup>r</sup>z<sup>d</sup> in Aramaic.

Schmitt's remark was picked up by TAVERNIER (2007, 297-298 no. 4.2.1484; cf. also SCHMITT 2011, 99) who proposed to see Elamite *Ir-du-maš-da* as a rendering of Old Iranian \*Rta-Mazdā, the nominative singular of \*Rta-Mazdah-, a *dvandva*-compound of the two divine names \*Rta- and \*Mazdah-.

Nevertheless, this solution is not unproblematic either. The Elamite cuneiform sign DU is frequently attested in Elamite renderings of Old Iranian proper names and loanwords, but never is it the rendering of Ir. -/ta/- in medial position. The only exceptions to this occur when -/ta/- is followed by Ir. /w/, causing vowel colouring, as a result of which the expected El. sign DA was replaced by DU. Two examples are:

(1) El. *Da-ad-du-man-ia* for Ir. Dātavahyah- (Old Persian d-a-t-v-h-y-, in the well-known Bisitun Inscription.

(2) El. *Ir-du-mar-ti-ia* for Ir. Rtavardiya- (Old Persian A-r-t-v-r-di-i-y, also in the Bisitun Inscription).

Summarizing, it is sure that El. *Ir-du-maš-da* and Aram. 'Rtm<sup>r</sup>z<sup>d</sup> refer to the same name (one individual), but hitherto both the proposed etymologies are problematic.

In order to solve this problem, one has to change his strategy. It is therefore suggested here that the Aramaic spelling is an orthography influenced by the Elamite one. In other words, Aramaic -m- appears here because of the Elamite use of the cuneiform sign MAŠ.

Although strange at first sight, this feature is not isolated. In an article on the use of languages in the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Archives, TAVERNIER (2008, 74-75) has listed four similar examples, where the Aramaic spellings are most probably influenced by the Elamite ones (for example where the Aramaic makes mistakes against the distinction of voiced and voiceless consonants, a feature unknown in Elamite). The nicest example is PF 1791 where the Aramaic has Mšbd for \*Miçapāta- "Protected by Mithra", written as such under influence of the Elamite spelling *Mi-iš-šā-ba-da*, attested in the same text and thus securing the identity of both names.

If this is accepted, then the real Iranian name behind both El. *Ir-du-maš-da* and Aram. 'Rtm<sup>r</sup>z<sup>d</sup> must be \*Rta-vazdah- and so it can be established that Benveniste after all was right in his analysis. The name \*Rta-mazdah- should accordingly be removed from the Irano-Elamite onomastical corpus.

1) This research has been funded by the Interuniversity Attraction Poles Programme initiated by the Belgian Science Policy Office (IAP VII/14: "Greater Mesopotamia: Reconstruction of its Environment and History").

2) Please note the following codes for the Elamite texts:

Fort. = Persepolis Fortification tablets, mostly unpublished, cited from draft editions by M.W. Stolper, some available via the Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (<https://ochre.uchicago.edu/>); images of some available via InscriptiFact (<http://www.inscriptifact.com/>).

PF = Persepolis Fortification texts, published in HALLOCK 1969.

PF-NN = Persepolis Fortification texts in draft editions by R. T. Hallock, cited from collated and corrected editions by W.F.M. Henkelman, some available via the Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (<https://ochre.uchicago.edu/>); images of some available via InscriptiFact (<http://www.inscriptifact.com/>).

3) And not 'Rtm<z>[d], as previously read (source : OCHRE, PF 1801Ar, consulted on 01/09/2015).

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# **108) On seven Ebla fragments (MEE 3 27, 41, 42, 60; MEE 15 77, 79) —**

— [1] TM.75.G.4553 = MEE 3 27, published in PETTINATO 1981:92 as part of the "Fish List", is rather a fragment of a Sumerian lexical list of the éš-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> kind.

I read: I:1-4, NE-sumaš(LAK-226) / GAM.GAM-zugud(LAK-352) / sumaš(LAK-226)<sup>ku6</sup> / [...] <sup>ku6</sup> [...]; II:1-3, tūg<sup>1</sup>(KU)-gūn / [g]íd<sup>1u6</sup> / [...] <sup>1u6</sup> / [...]. However, it seems to me that this fragment belongs to the reverse of the tablet. I am not sure it includes the upper edge, as implied by its editor.

— [2] TM.75.G.5807 = MEE 3 41, published in PETTINATO 1981:122 among the "altre liste di uccelli" (but see ARCHI 1992:8, n. 11), is rather a fragment of a Sumerian lexical list of the éš-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> kind.

I read: I':2'-3', [...] / gú-[...] / gú-ba[ra] / ħi-<sup>1</sup>túm' / [...]; II':1'-5', su-din<sup>mušen</sup> / numma<sub>x</sub>(GÁ.NU<sub>11</sub>)<sup>mušen</sup> / buru<sub>5</sub><sup>mušen</sup> / ir<sub>7</sub><sup>mušen</sup> / kad<sub>4</sub><sup>mušen</sup> / [...]. However, it seems to me that this fragment belongs to the reverse of the tablet.

— [3] TM.75.G.11256 = MEE 15 79, published in PICCHIONI 1997:145 among the "frammenti e scaglie non localizzabili" (ibid., p. XVI), is rather a fragment belonging to the acrographic section šu of a Sumerian lexical list of the éš-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> kind, the first column of the obverse.

Its first part runs parallel to TM.75.G.4505 = MEE 15 16 obv. IV':4'-9'. I read: [...] / [š]u-tur / [š]u(-...)-lá<sup>2</sup> (cf. MEE 15 16 obv. IV':5': šu-[-...]; hardly šu-lá, attested in ED Lú E 116) / [š]u-...-x' (cf. MEE 15 16 obv. IV':6': šu-t[a]<sup>2</sup> šu-ti) / [š]u-nir / [š]u-ku<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup> (PICCHIONI 1997:145 reads [...]BE; cf. MEE 15 16 obv. IV':8': šu-ku<sub>5</sub>) / [š]u-si / [š]u-dub / [š]u-bal]-aka / [š]u-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / [š]u-sal / [...]x' / [...]x' / [...].

— [4] TM.75.G.11294 = MEE 4 111, published in PETTINATO 1982:112 as "Estratto di Vocabolario aj", is rather a fragment of a Sumerian lexical list of the éš-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> kind.

Its text runs parallel to TM.75.G.5629 = MEE 15 22 obv. IV:3-10 (as for the first two terms see Picchioni 1997:167 n. 231). I read: [...] / [e-sag-keš]da / [e-d]ur-sag-áb<sup>1</sup>(KAK) / 'e' / 'a' / [igi-íl]a / [a]-ĤI / [š]u-munu<sub>4</sub> / [š]u-p]aĥ / [...]. However, it seems to me that this fragment belongs to the reverse of the tablet.

— [5] TM.75.G.20123 = MEE 15 77, published in PICCHIONI 1997:144 among the "frammenti e scaglie non localizzabili" (ibid., p. XVI), is rather a fragment belonging to the acrographic section ninda of a Sumerian lexical list of the éš-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> kind.

Its text runs parallel to TM.75.G.2414 = MEE 15 29 obv. I:17-19. I read: [...] / [níg-ni]gin / [ninda]-sikil / [ninda]-sal-sal.

— [6] TM.75.G.20326 = MEE 3 60, published in PETTINATO 1981:246 among the lexical lists (but see ibid., p. 243), is rather a fragment of an administrative text.

The personal name in II:1 is certainly to be read *Zi-ġb-da-mu*: as *Sag-da-mu*, *Ip-te-da-mu* and *Ĥl-zi-da-mu*, *Zi-ġb-da-mu* was one of the Ebla princes, dumu-nita en (see ARCHI et al. 1988:222-232). In I:2 [...]x-nu-ba is a rather unlikely reading; it is instead to be read [...]x-nu<sup>ki</sup>?

— [7] TM.75.G.20595 = MEE 3 42, was published in PETTINATO 1981:123 among the "altre liste di uccelli".

In my opinion is a fragment belonging to the so-called source C of the Ebla bilingual lexical list, with the four Sumerian bird-names, lacking their Semitic equivalents, which are attested in VE 913-916 (for these entries see the synopsis in PETTINATO 1982:302).

Note that neither photographs nor handcopies of these seven fragments have been published.

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**109) Découvertes épigraphiques à Ur (octobre-décembre 2015)** — La reprise de l'exploration archéologique d'Ur à l'automne 2015 lors d'une campagne dirigée par E. Stone a donné des résultats très intéressants ; ayant été invité à y prendre part comme épigraphiste, je suis heureux d'en rendre compte ici brièvement, une communication plus longue étant prévue à la RAI de Philadelphie en juillet 2016.

L'époque paléo-babylonienne est représentée par 6 tablettes : 4 documents d'archives, dont un texte daté de Rim-Sin 24 et un prêt d'argent daté de Samsu-iluna, ainsi que 2 exercices scolaires (listes de noms propres). La période d'Ur III a livré 4 tablettes, datées de Šulgi 21 et 43 ainsi que d'Amar-Sin 8 et 9 ; il s'agit notamment de comptes d'or. De nouveaux exemplaires de briques de cette époque, déjà connues, ont également été retrouvés.

Le plus intéressant est la découverte dans le quartier AH, à environ 4 m de profondeur, d'un lot d'archives datable de l'époque d'Akkad (aucun des textes n'est daté). Cette période était jusqu'à présent fort mal représentée dans l'épigraphie du site d'Ur : dans le supplément à UET II, 9 tablettes ont été datées de l'époque sargonique par F. Pomponio et A. Alberti<sup>1)</sup>. La fouille a permis, entre le 4 et le 12 décembre, de retrouver un lot de 18 tablettes de comptabilité : listes de denrées avec leur prix, documents relatifs à l'arpentage, comptes d'argent, comptes de vêtements et de laine, comptes de poissons, comptes de filets... Leur intérêt vient surtout du fait que ces tablettes ont été retrouvées dans un contexte bien stratifié, avec de la céramique et même deux empreintes de sceau.

1) F. Pomponio & A. Alberti, *Pre-sargonic and Sargonic Texts from Ur Edited in UET 2, Supplement*, Studia Pohl SM 13, Rome, 1986, p. 18.

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