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### NOTES BRÈVES

**1) Der Ursprung der Zeichen GIBIL und NE und überflüssiges LAK149** — Interessant ist die Schreibung <sup>d</sup>PA.GEŠ.PA<sub>4</sub>.NEšeššig-saĝ in CUSAS 20, 350 für Pabilsag, die Tell Fāra: SF 1 ix 4: <sup>d</sup>PA.SAG.NE.GEŠ.PA<sub>4</sub> (P010566) nahesteht. Dagegen wird bereits in Abū Šalābīḥ GEŠ ausgelassen (OIP 99, 83 v 5' <sup>d</sup>PA.PA<sub>4</sub>.NE.SAG; 84 Vs. iii' 3' <sup>d</sup>NExPA<sub>4</sub>.PA.SAG), in ED IIIb Lagaš wird hingegen PA<sub>4</sub> ausgelassen und NE ist zu Formen von LAK150 verändert (BiMes 3, 26 x 3' <sup>d</sup>PA.GEŠ.NExKASKAL-sag; CT 50, 36 xi 1 <sup>d</sup>PA.GEŠ.NEšeššig-sag) und ebenso in Ur (<sup>d</sup>PA.NEšeššig.GEŠ-sag UE II Pl. 200 Nr. 98 = FAOS 11 Nr. 257). Dies ist eine Parallele zum Namen Gilgameš, bei dem in Lagaš ebenfalls PA<sub>4</sub> fehlt, während GEŠ beibehalten wird (in Abū Šalābīḥ ist Gilgameš nicht belegt).

Noch interessanter ist, dass das hier als NEšeššig wiedergegebene Zeichen (LAK150, GIBIL, der Unterschied zu NE besteht nicht in Winkelhaken, sondern in Paaren schräger Keile, die durchgezogen KASKAL ergeben) zusammen mit PA<sub>4</sub> auftritt. Wären NE.PA<sub>4</sub> und jüngeres NExPA<sub>4</sub> graphische Varianten zu NExKASKAL, NEšeššig, wie es Deimel mit der Zusammenstellung als LAK149 nahelegt, dürfte nur NEšeššig nicht PA<sub>4</sub>.NEšeššig für altes PA<sub>4</sub>.NE stehen. Ursprünglich ist LAK150 keine Variation von NE (LAK148), sondern das Bild einer Pflanze. Noch gut zu sehen in UET II 233 (Plate A), cf. eine der beiden Pflanzen im untersten Register der Uruk-Vase; CUSAS 1, 70: U<sub>4</sub> GIBIL.

Das Zeichen GIBIL ist ein frühes Beispiel für die Tendenz, Zeichen in Elemente aus anderen Zeichen aufzulösen. Der Hauptkörper der Pflanze wird zu NE. Die Innenzeichnung des Fruchtteiles wird durch sich kreuzende Paare paralleler Keile dargestellt. Die vom Stil abgehenden Blätter, die in dem altertümlichen Beispiel UET II 233 und in dieser Tradition auch in Fāra an der Seite des Stammes abgehen, werden in ED II Ur zu zwei Winkeln, aus denen der Stamm kommt.<sup>1)</sup> Von NE ist ein Keil (DIŠ) in den Fruchtteil gekommen (UET II 87 iii = P005662), der dort vorher nicht war (UET II 233). Die unten schräg abgehenden Keilpaare können auf ein Paar reduziert sein. Die schrägen Keile oben werden nicht immer durchgezogen (UET II 216). Manchmal schließt GIBIL unten bereits wie NE in ED II mit einem senkrechten Keil ab (UET II 55 = P005628).

In UET II 185 finden sich beide Formen von GIBIL, mit Keilwinkel und mit senkrechtem Keil am Ende auf der gleichen Tafel beim gleichen Namen GIBIL.ŠĀ. GIBIL steht bei weitem am häufigsten im Namen amar-é-GIBIL „Jungstier des neuen Tempels“ (?). NE und PA<sub>4</sub> stehen fast ausschließlich in der Kombination NE.PA<sub>4</sub>.GEŠ<sub>x</sub> zusammen, manchmal sind auch pa und ga (Zeichen von gāra nicht strikt

getrennt) dabei. GEŠ<sub>x</sub> ist ein Zeichen, das in ED II Ur beginnt mit GEŠ zusammenzufallen.<sup>2)</sup> Die Kombination meint sicher /pabilga/ „Großvater“, „Onkel“ oder eine Abkürzung davon in Namen. In UET II 92 und 168 treten sowohl GIBIL als auch NE.PA<sub>4</sub> auf der gleichen Tafel in unterschiedlichen Zeichenkombinationen auf. In beschädigtem Kontext auf der gleichen Tafel direkt untereinander sind sie auch in Nisaba 25, 10 (P448997, lies: [amar]-<sup>r</sup>é'-gibil) belegt.

In Tell Fāra wurden die Unterschiede zu NE weiter reduziert. Sie bestehen nun nur noch aus zwei Paaren schräger Keile, die entweder oben vom Mittelteil ausgehen (WVDOG 143, 1 Ende: dub gibil „neue Tafel“) oder kurz darunter vom Stamm (WVDOG 143, 2 Ende: dub u<sub>4</sub> gibil „Tafel: neuer Tag“). Indem die schrägen Keile durch Winkelhaken ersetzt werden, entsteht NEšeššig (Gudea) entsprechend der normalen Definition eines šeššig-Zeichens. Indem die Keile durchgezogen werden, entsteht NExKASKAL (cf. CUSAS 26, 69 i 7, synchron Akurgal). Dieses KASKAL gehört jetzt aber nicht mehr wie in ED II Ur zum Mittel- sondern zum Unterteil von GIBIL. In den älteren Belegen ist die Form von KASKAL noch nicht ganz erreicht, die Keile überschneiden sich nicht, sondern berühren sich nur an den Enden, so dass zwei Winkel entstehen (OIP 99, 479 Kolophon, ELTS 32 Vs. ii 6), manchmal verkürzt zu einem Winkel (OIP 99, 106 [tu-GI]BIL<sup>ki</sup>). Diese Zeichenform sieht nun NExPA<sub>4</sub> zum Verwechseln ähnlich. Nach Fāra tritt die Verwechslung auch ein und führt dazu, dass auch die übrigen Zeichenformen von GIBIL an die Stelle von NExPA<sub>4</sub> treten können.

Das Zeichen NE ist wohl die Darstellung eines Räucherständers (cf. den Gegenstand von CUSAS 26, 280 und Lesungen wie izi „Feuer“, dè = *tikmennu* „Asche“, bil = *qalû* „brennen“, „rösten“ etc.). NE mit PA<sub>4</sub> ist an die Anwesenheit von GEŠ<sub>x</sub> gekoppelt. In ED II Ur steht PA<sub>4</sub> normalerweise unter NE, in Fāra außer in SF 1 bei den Namen Gilgameš und Pabilsag immer vor NE, auch wenn die beiden Zeichen durch GEŠ oder noch mehr Zeichen getrennt sind (z. B. PA<sub>4</sub>.GEŠ-á-kúš-nu-NE WF 77 Rs. iii 4, P011034). Eingeschriebenes PA<sub>4</sub> ist allenfalls auf der Schülertafel Š 97 iv 7 zu finden.<sup>3)</sup> Das Zeichen könnte auch ein un gelenktes GIBIL sein. Eingeschriebenes PA<sub>4</sub> statt PA<sub>4</sub>.NE ist dann erstmals in Abū Šalābīḥ belegt, s. o.

Ausgehend vom Auftreten von GIBIL an Stellen wo in Fāra PA<sub>4</sub>.NE steht, nahm Deimel an, PA<sub>4</sub>.NE in Fāra müsse eine graphische Variante von GIBIL sein und hat dieser Variante auch Formen, die tatsächlich zu GIBIL gehören, zugeordnet und so das Zeichen LAK149(GIBIL) neben LAK150(GIBIL) und LAK148(NE) geschaffen. Die Formen von GIBIL bilden aber in ED II Ur und ED IIIa Fāra eine Einheit und sind nicht mit PA<sub>4</sub>.NE austauschbar.

Dieser Fehler war der Ausgangspunkt für weitere Verwirrungen. Burrows hat in UET II die Trennung von GIBIL in zwei Zeichen zwar nicht mitgemacht, trennte aber NE.PA<sub>4</sub> nicht davon ab und fasste alle Formen unter Sign 103 zusammen. (Außerdem wird als 103f eine Kombination PA<sub>4</sub>.GIBIL reklamiert. Doch ob dies in dem einzigen Beispiel UET 255 ii 4' analog NE.PA<sub>4</sub> ein Zeichen darstellt, ist unklar.)

Der Versuch in LAK150 und LAK149 zu trennen, hatte keine Auswirkung auf die Nummerierung der Lesungen. Doch damit wurde die Verwirrung noch größer, denn sowohl echtes GIBIL als auch NE.PA<sub>4</sub>/PA<sub>4</sub>.NE werden als bīl bzw. bīl (GEŠ.BÍL) gelesen.

Trotz GIBIL in CUSAS 20, 350 ist im Namen Pabilsag wohl ursprünglich NE intendiert. Die Kombination GEŠ.PA<sub>4</sub>.NE, die auch im Namen Gilgameš (SF 1 xiii 25 <sup>d</sup>GEŠ.NE.PA<sub>4</sub>-ga-mes) auftritt, ist in Tell Fāra und in der Form GEŠ<sub>x</sub>.NE.PA<sub>4</sub> in den archaischen Texten aus Ur gut belegt. Dass die Zeichenkombination im Namen Pabilsag dem nur zufällig ähnelte, ist unwahrscheinlich. Außerdem ist NE im Namen wohl ursprünglich wegen der Lesung bil vertreten. Sowohl wegen der semantischen Verknüpfung mit dem Bildursprung des Zeichens, als auch wegen GIBIL<sub>6</sub> (BIL.GI) in Archaic Cities 32 (Q000034) = <sup>d</sup>BIL.GI SF 23 ii 14 (P010600) sehr alt ist.

<sup>1)</sup> Siehe UET II Sign List 103e und P005662.

<sup>2)</sup> Zuletzt Keetman, BiOr 71, 32 mit Anm. 13 und Literatur dort.

<sup>3)</sup> Zum Text Krebernik, BuB 8, 330-33; 363-64 (Foto).

**2) Ein Rohrheiligtum des Pabilsag** — CUSAS 20, 350 ist die Abschrift (?) einer Weihinschrift, nach Annahme der Autoren F. Pomponio und G. Visicato aus Adab. Sowohl das Original als auch die Abschrift sind ED IIIb. Da in etwa zeitgleiche Abschriften selten sind, ist auch eine andere Deutung zu erwägen, dass man nämlich die Inschrift nicht oder nicht in voller Länge auf dem betreffenden Gegenstand anbringen konnte und also im Tempel eine Tafel daneben legte, die den Gott an die Verdienste der Spender erinnerte. Der Text lautet:

[<sup>d</sup> p<sup>a</sup>]pabil<sub>x</sub>(GEŠ.PA<sub>4</sub>.NEšeššig)-saĝ-ra  
 [u]r-lugal  
 dumu bára-šà-be<sub>6</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-a-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 AB.GI  
<sup>d</sup> p<sup>a</sup>pabil<sub>x</sub>-saĝ-šè  
 nam-ti-né-šè  
 nam-ti dam dumu-na-da  
 a mu-na-ru  
 Rs.: enim-zi-da  
 [du]mu-né  
 [ gi|bi|l] mu-na-DU

Die Autoren nehmen eine Verbalform ab-gi an und übersetzen: „established (this object)“. Das Verbum ge (konventionell gi gelesen) ist aber in frühdynastischen Weihinschriften nicht belegt. Außerdem ist die Übersetzung eine Notlösung. Im Sumerischen ist das Verbum im Sinne von „festmachen“, „verlässlich machen“, „bestätigen“, „überführen“, „garantieren“, „etwas jemandem zusprechen“ bezeugt (siehe Falkenstein, NG III 114f. s. v. gi-in, was für ge-en<sub>6</sub> steht).

Ein b in der Verbalform würde den fehlerhaften Gebrauch der Sachklasse bedeuten. Auch das wäre in den frühdynastischen Weihinschriften einmalig. Wenn man in AB.GI ein Verbum sieht, dann kann die zweite Nennung des Götternamens eigentlich nur eine Wiederholung des Dativs sein, auf den sich dann a mu-na-ru „er hat ihm geweiht“ beziehen würde. Der Name steht aber im Terminativ. Terminativ statt Dativ bei dem Gott, dem etwas geweiht wird, ist aber ebenfalls nicht belegt.

Die Kombination lässt sich auch èš-gi „Rohrheiligtum“ lesen. Zu diesem Terminus Waetzold: *Tempelterrasse und Ziqqurate nach der sumerischen Überlieferung*, in: Sefati et al. „An experienced scribe who neglects nothing“, Fs. Klein, Bethesda 2005, S. 322-42, speziell 323-25. Er nimmt an, dass es sich um Provisorien handelte, in denen die Götterstatuen standen, ehe der Neubau oder eine Reparatur des Tempels vollendet waren. Er verweist auf das „Pfestengebäude“ auf der Anu-Ziqqurat. Die ältesten schriftlichen Belege finden sich bei Enmetena. Als direktes Objekt zu a ru „weihen“ ist èš-gi nicht belegt. Man kann aber èš-gi auch als Regens einer Genitivverbindung sehen. Um dies und den Götternamen in einer Zeile unterzubringen fehlte der Platz. Dann stellt der Terminativ kein Problem mehr dar. Vgl. UET I 83: <sup>d</sup>nanna .... é-kiš-nu<sub>11</sub>-gal-šè a mu-na-ru „Für Nanna ... weihte er für das Ekišnugal (diesen Keulenknäuf).“

Das beschädigte Zeichen in der letzten Zeile deuten die Autoren als „[i]m?“ „tablet (?)“. Die Spuren sprechen eindeutig für gibil (NEšeššig). Auch die Platzverhältnisse sprechen dafür, da sonst die Zeile weiter vom Rand beginnen würde als alle anderen Zeilen.

Übersetzung: „Für Pabilsag hat Ur-Lugal, der Sohn des Barašabegia für das Rohrheiligtum des Pabilsag, für sein Leben und (-da = -bé-da) das Leben seiner Frau (und) Kinder (dies) geweiht. Enimzida, sein Sohn hat ein neues [...] ihm (Pabilsag) gebracht/hingestellt.“

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**3) A Possible New Inscription of Lugalzagesi** — A Sargonic school tablet from the Istanbul Archaeology Museum’s Telloh collection, may contain a copy of an inscription belonging to Lugalzagesi. The tablet, L 9226 (copy published in ITT V, no. 9226), is a lenticular school tablet that was excavated at the site of Girsu in the early twentieth century along with other tablets that date to the Early

Dynastic IIIb and Sargonic periods.<sup>1)</sup> The text is comprised of three lines that closely parallel an inscription belonging to Lugalzagesi. The school tablet reads:

1. kur-kur u<sub>2</sub>-sal-la
2. ʽsahar<sup>1</sup>-ra e-na<sub>2</sub>
3. ʽkalam<sup>1</sup>-e

“The foreign lands rested peacefully on the earth. The land ...”

The inscription of Lugalzagesi (Lugalzagesi 1 in FAOS 5/II, p. 317; and RIME 1, p. 436), which the school tablet mimics, is found on dedicatory stone vessels excavated at Nippur.<sup>2)</sup> The text praises Lugalzagesi as a servant of the gods, it relates that Enlil granted the kingship of Sumer to him, and the subsequent peace and prosperity brought to the people and cities of Sumer. The lines relevant to this discussion read:

12. utu-e<sub>3</sub>-ta
13. utu-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub>-š<sub>e</sub><sub>3</sub>
14. [ʽe]n-líl-le
15. [gaba-š]u-gar
16. [n]u-mu-ni-tuku
- 17. kur-kur u<sub>2</sub>-sal-la**
- 18. mu-da-na<sub>2</sub>**
- 19. kalam-e**
20. a-<ne> hul<sub>2</sub>-la mu-da-e

“From sunrise to sunset, Enlil allowed him no rival, under him the lands rested contentedly, the people rejoiced.”

The three lines in bold are the parallel lines to those found on the school tablet. Clearly the two texts are not an exact match, but the correspondence is extremely close. The only other text with lines that are as similar belong to the *Curse of Agade*: 38. **kur-kur u<sub>2</sub>-sal-la** i-im-na<sub>2</sub> / 39. **uĝ**-be<sub>2</sub> ki ša<sub>6</sub>-ga igi bi<sub>2</sub>-ib-du<sub>8</sub> “All foreign lands rested contentedly, their people experienced happiness” (COOPER 1983, p. 93-94 and p. 238). But, since the *Curse of Agade* post-dates both the Sargonic period and the school tablet in question, it is unlikely that a scribe was copying the poem.

I suggest, therefore, that this school tablet is a copy of an inscription of Lugalzagesi, nearly identical to the Nippur inscription, but which was set up or dedicated in Girsu. The text probably commemorated the same event as the Nippur vessels (the rejoicing of Sumer under Lugalzagesi’s rule), but the wording of the Girsu inscription must have varied slightly from the Nippur version. Copies of previous kings’ inscriptions on school tablets is not an unusual occurrence; not only was it the practice of student scribes in the Old Babylonian period, but also in Sargonic times.<sup>3)</sup> Further study of this interesting text and other copies of inscriptions in the Sargonic school corpus will be discussed in my dissertation on education in the Sargonic period.

1) Based on its museum number, it appears the tablet was excavated by G. Cros who took over the excavation of Telloh following de Sarzec in the early twentieth century. Details of its excavation suggest it was found with a group of pre-Sargonic tablets (ITT V, p. 1). The tablet, however, has ruled lines (a feature of Sargonic texts) instead of cases within columns, and the paleography of the copy suggests that the tablet is Sargonic in date; but without a photograph of the tablet it is difficult to say anything more precise.

2) For a catalogue of the fragments of the inscription see RIME 1, p. 433-444 or FAOS 5/2, p. 310-313.

3) For the evidence of scribes copying inscriptions of monuments in the Old Babylonian period see Tinney 1995, p. 1 n. 1 and Hallo 1996, p. 349-50 (and cited lit.); and in the Sargonic period see Westenholz 1974/77, p. 96-97 (no. 7) and p. 103 (no. 14), Marchesi 2011, and Durand 2012, p. 122-125.

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**4) Dumuzid – Falke oder Vögelchen? Zu „Dumuzid und Ĝeštinana“, Z. 36** — Der folgende Satz aus dem literarischen Text „Dumuzid und Ĝeštinana“ (ETCSL 1.4.1.1, Z. 36)<sup>1)</sup> macht bei der Analyse und Übersetzung Schwierigkeiten und wurde entsprechend verschiedenmaßen interpretiert: <sup>d</sup>dumu-zid-de<sub>3</sub> mušen-še<sub>3</sub> sur<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub><sup>mušen</sup> dal-a-gin<sub>7</sub> zi-ni ur<sub>5</sub>-da i<sub>3</sub>-šub-ba. So die Umschrift nach ETCSL.<sup>2)</sup> Die verschiedenen Übersetzungen dieser Zeile lauten wie folgt:

- „Dumuzi ...te seine ‚Seele‘, wie ein (schnell) fliegender Falke auf einen (kleinen) Vogel (stösst).“<sup>3)</sup>
- „Dumuzid (...), als er wie ein nach einem Vogel auffliegender Falke sein ‚Leben‘, das aus dem Körper gefallen war, gepackt hatte ...“<sup>4)</sup>
- „Dumuzi, as a bird, like the soaring falcon that can swoop down alive ...“<sup>5)</sup>
- „Dumuzi brachte wie (vor) einem auf einen Vogel (stoßenden schnell-)fliegenden Falken sein Leben, *das, was (fast) aus den Lungen gefallen war*,“<sup>6)</sup>
- „Dumuzi, like a flying falcon after a bird, attentively swooping,“<sup>7)</sup>
- (Dumuzid) „like a soaring falcon that can swoop down on a live (?) bird,“<sup>8)</sup>

Die offensichtlichen Schwierigkeiten, welche diese Zeile macht,<sup>9)</sup> beruhen auf einer fehlerhaften Lesung. GADD - KRAMER hielten 1963 in der Kurzbeschreibung des zu Grunde liegenden Keilschrifttextes<sup>10)</sup> wie folgt fest: „Utu heeds his [= Dumuzids, JP] plea, transforms his shape, and thus ‚like a bird fleeing the claws of the falcon‘ (cf. line 36: mušen-šu-súr(!)-dù<sup>mušen</sup>-dal-a-gi<sub>x</sub>) Dumuzi carried his soul to the ‚place of Ĝeštinanna‘.“<sup>11)</sup> [Markierung JP]

Das auf mušen folgende Zeichen wurde ungeachtet dessen in den weiteren Bearbeitungen meist<sup>12)</sup> als ŠE<sub>3</sub><sup>(1)</sup> interpretiert.<sup>13)</sup> Allerdings findet sich im Text „Letter from Lugal-nesaĝe to a king radiant as the sun“<sup>14)</sup> eine weitgehend gleich formulierte Zeile, welche eine andere Interpretation nahelegt: 13. mušen šu šur<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub><sup>mušen</sup>-ta dal-a-gin<sub>7</sub> ur<sub>5</sub>-da i<sub>3</sub>-ak-en. Eine Gegenüberstellung der beiden Zeilen (in ihrer jeweiligen Umschrift nach ETCSL) ergibt das folgende Bild:

A	<sup>d</sup> dumu-zid-	mušen	še <sub>3</sub>	sur <sub>2</sub> -		dal-a-	zi-	ur <sub>5</sub> -	i <sub>3</sub> -šub-
	de <sub>3</sub>	-		du <sub>3</sub> <sup>mušen</sup>		gin <sub>7</sub>	ni	da	ba
B		mušen	šu	šu <sub>2</sub> -	ta	dal-a-		ur <sub>5</sub> -	i <sub>3</sub> -ak-en
				du <sub>3</sub> <sup>mušen</sup>		gin <sub>7</sub>		da	

A = „Dumuzid und Ĝeštinana“, Z. 36  
B = „Letter from Lugal-nesaĝe to a king radiant as the sun“, Z. 13

Dieser Vergleich bestätigt die Interpretation des sechsten Zeichens in Text A als šu „Hand“ bzw. „Klaue (eines Vogels)“<sup>15)</sup>. Der Ablativ-Suffix, das in Text B erhalten ist, fiel in Text A weg. Die Einfügung zi-ni in Text A erfolgte möglicherweise auf Grund des Vorhandenseins dieses Wortes in Z. 37<sup>16)</sup> fehlerhaft<sup>17)</sup>.

Schwieriger ist der Unterschied bei der Verbform. Die Verbform ur<sub>5</sub> ... ak im Sinne von „aufmerksam sein“ ist zwar bekannt<sup>18)</sup>, lässt sich aber schwer mit den beiden letzten Zeichen in der Keilschrift von Text A in Einklang bringen. Ob eine Emendation dieser beiden Zeichen in Text A zu AK<sup>1</sup>

und E<sup>1</sup> (?) gerechtfertigt ist oder ob es sich möglicherweise um eine semantische Erweiterung von šub im Sinne von „entkommen“ handelt, kann seitens der Bearbeiterin nicht entschieden werden.

Eine neue Übersetzung der fraglichen Zeile wird mit aller nötigen Vorsicht gegeben wie folgt: „Dumuzid ist wie ein Vogel, der aus der Klaue eines Falken (weg)fliegt, aufmerksam?“

Zum Inhalt der Metapher: Vehikel<sup>19</sup> ist, wie gezeigt wurde, der flüchtige Vogel (und keineswegs der Falke), Tenor ist der Hirte Dumuzid. Als *Tertium comparationis* wird ängstliche Aufmerksamkeit, verbunden mit Erleichterung über die gelungene Flucht, die der gerade den Händen seines Häschers entronnene Hirte mit dem soeben den Krallen eines Falken entkommenen Vogel teilt, angenommen. Auch der „Falke“ kann als Metapher aufgefasst werden, nämlich entweder für die Galla-Dämonen selbst<sup>20</sup>, die „policemen whose role was to execute the law“<sup>21</sup>, oder aber für die Initiatorin der Jagd auf Dumuzid, nämlich Inana<sup>22</sup>. Bei letzterer Interpretation klingt im Übrigen auch die Schuldfrage<sup>23</sup> an; es wird auf die Göttin als Verursacherin des Unglücks hingedeutet.

Die hier vorgestellte Metapher des „Vogels, der aus der Klaue eines Falken wegfliegt“, ist ein gutes Beispiel für intertextuelle Verbindungen von literarischen Texten in Sumerischen, die bei der Übersetzung zu berücksichtigen sind.

1) Publikation: SLADEK 1974: 225-239; KATZ 2003: 148-154 sowie 289-300 (ohne die hier besprochene Zeile); weitere Literatur findet sich bei FRITZ (2003:106).

2) Die auf ETCSL gegebene Umschrift (nicht die Übersetzung!) basiert auf der Bearbeitung von SLADEK (1974: 228).

3) FALKENSTEIN 1965: 281. Zu „Dumuzi“ merkt er zusätzlich an: „Oder ‚die Seele Dumuzis‘, wobei <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-dè < -ak vorangestellter Genitiv wäre.“ (ebendort)

4) HEIMPEL 1968: 422-423.

5) SLADEK 1974: 233.

6) RÖMER – EDZARD 1993: 490. Markierung im Original.

7) BLACK 1996: 31.

8) ETCSL.

9) Dazu beispielsweise HEIMPEL (1968: 423) „Die Übersetzung der schwierigen Stelle [Z. 34-37 insgesamt, JP] ist ein Versuch und wird vor allem im Hinblick auf die folgenschwere Aussage ueber zi ‚Leben‘ nur mit Vorbehalt gegeben.“

10) UET 6, 11.

11) GADD – KRAMER 1963: 3.

12) Mit der Ausnahme von JACOBSEN (1987: 228): „like a bird in flight (from) a falcon’s talons“. [Markierung JP]

13) So auch Ludwig in ihrer Kollation zu dieser Zeile, wenngleich sie die eigentliche Lesung festhält: „ŠÈ! wie ŠU.“ (LUDWIG 2009: 27)

14) Zu diesem literarischen Brief siehe die Neuedition in KLEINERMAN 2011: 136-140.

15) KLEINERMAN 2011: 138.

16) Beachte, dass das Wort zi-ni in Z. 37 beinahe über jenem in Z. 36 steht.

17) In Delneros Klassifikation der mechanischen Fehler wäre dies wohl den „Conspicuous Additions“ zuzurechnen; der Fehler führte zu einer Form, welche „grammatically or stylistically correct or nearly correct in the context“ (DELNERO 2012: 57) beziehungsweise hier zumindest nicht offensichtlich falsch ist.

18) Zu ur<sub>5</sub>-da ak = *nuppuqu* „aufmerksam sein“ siehe CAD N 342 s.v. *nuppuqu*; vgl. auch BLACK 1996: 31 und VELDHUIS 2004: 289.

19) Tenor und Vehikel nach der Terminologie von RICHARDS 1936: 64.

20) Vgl. „Dumuzids Traum“, ETCSL 1.4.3, Z. 36 mit dem Traumbild des „Falken, der auf einem Rohrzaun einen Spatzen (oder einfach „kleinen Vogel“; vgl. VELDHUIS 2004: 229) fing“, das in Z. 63 seitens Dumuzids Schwester als „der große Gala-Dämon wird vom Schafstall deinetwegen herabkommen“ (und Varianten) gedeutet wird.

21) KATZ 2003: 128.

22) Diese wird in einer Anzahl von Texten als „Falke“ bezeichnet: Inana C (ETCSL 4.07.3), Z. 32 (beachte die vorangehende Bezeichnung der Göttin als hu-ri-in<sup>mušen</sup>); Inana D (ETCSL 4.07.4), Z. 121; Inana F (ETCSL 4.07.6), Z. 14; Inana I (ETCSL 4.07.9), Seg. A Z. 27. BLACK 1996: 30-32 führt die Beschreibung von Inana als „Falke der Götter“ im Zusammenhang mit dem Bild der „Götter als kleine Vögel“ aus. Für meine Darlegungen wichtig ist seine Feststellung ebendort 32: „It is not that she is a fierce falcon in comparison with the small, less powerful other gods. She is ‘their’ falcon, the falcon whose prey they are.“

23) Dies entgegen Katz’ Annahme, dass in „Dumuzid und Geštinana“ die Schuld an Dumuzids Tod allein den Gala-Dämonen anzulasten sei (KATZ 2003: 296) (wenngleich die Rolle Inanas in diesem Text eine vorrangig

passive ist). Immerhin wird Inanas (zukünftige?) Reise in die Unterwelt auch in diesem Text erwähnt (Z. 4-9), das heißt möglicherweise schuf sie (gewollt oder ungewollt) die Voraussetzungen für Dumuzids Verderben. Und dass die Auslieferung ihres Geliebten nicht aus Rachegeleuten oder als Bestrafung, sondern aus Angst vor den Dämonen geschah, ändert das nichts am Tatbestand, dass sie ihn auslieferte.

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**5) The Iturungal Canal in Some Versions of Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld?** — As noted by Attinger ZA 105, 240, two sources for Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld 71, 72 and 74 (paralleling 28, 29 and 31 and 115, 116 and 118), one from Ur and the other from Uruk, give a puzzling apparent variant to the <sup>id2</sup>Buranun-(na) that is otherwise pervasive in the Nippurian sources:

[...]-sa-ra-na	UET 6/3, 482 (UAVA 10 source Ur7) o6', o7', o9'
[...]-ra-an	W 17259 (AUWE 13, 98, UAVA 10 source Uk1) o(?)7'

A possible explanation for this variant is that these syllabic writings were intended to render the Iturungal canal instead of the Euphrates (Buranuna) that occurs in all the other extant sources from Nippur, with the possible restorations [gu<sub>2</sub> id<sub>2</sub>]-sa-ra-na and [id<sub>2</sub>]-sa-ra-na from the beginning of the three lines plausible from the apparent available space in the break for UET 6/3 452. The evidence for the vocalization of this hydronym, which has been compiled and discussed by Carroue ASJ 15, 11-12 and Steinkeller ZA 91, 43, is notably variable, possibly arising in part, as Steinkeller suggests, from the contraction of an original /idenuringal/. In the Diri tradition, syllabic writings of the hydronym bear some resemblance to the potential spellings in the GEN manuscripts, including spellings featuring an initial sibilant /s/ (im-su-ri-gal, im-su-ru-gal, i-su-ru-en-gal, i-su-ru-gal Proto-Diri Sippar 6: 7, Diri III 182 MSL 15, 57, 146) and an initial vowel /a/ (i-DAR<sub>3</sub>-en-gal Diri III 183 (MSL 15, 146). It seems possible,

therefore, that these two sources for GEN preserve yet another vocalization of the hydronym, /isara<gal>/ or possibly a dissimilated(?) /imsara<gal>/. This variance bears a resemblance to the vocalic variance observed with some CVCVC Sumerian lexemes, many of which have a Semitic origin (see conveniently Civil, “Early Semitic Loanwords in Sumerian” [FS Biggs]).

This spelling, however, does pose some potential difficulties as a rendering of this hydronym. The would-be omission of the superlative -gal has no precedent to my knowledge in conjunction with this hydronym, but it may have been prompted by the specific context in which it appears, perhaps due to the editorial assumption that the qualifier gal was not obligatory for the name. It also seems unusual that a syllabic rendering for the hydronym would have been used in two sources that seem to otherwise have used standard orthography.

If this interpretation is correct, the Iturungal canal would be a good fit for the context, since it appears to have flowed from the northeastern vicinity of Umma southwards to the southwestern vicinity of Uruk (see Steinkeller ZA 91, 30f.), thus furnishing a suitable route for Inana to bring the *halub* tree to her orchard in Uruk. The exact connotation of the reference is not entirely clear, however. Most straightforwardly, given the likely reference to its shore, the reference to the Iturungal canal could indicate that Inana was coming from the north, perhaps from one of her well-known cultic centers on the Tigris such as Zabalam, when she happened upon the *halub* tree. It could also refer to a point on the route from Eridu to Uruk at the junction of the Iturungal canal with the Euphrates, as it seems to constitute in Inana and Enki (see the remarks of Steinkeller ZA 91, 49), and thus would be alluding to a journey from the south.

In the Uruk source for line 77 another possible location, LAGAB-LAGAB-*saṅ-ṅa*<sub>2</sub>, seems to be a variant to Uruk as offered by the other extant sources, including UET 6/3 452, see the remarks of Gadotti UAVA 10, 258-259. Like Gadotti, I am presently unable to decisively interpret this variant, which could offer another decisive clue to the geographical location of this mythical episode.

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**6) Alammuš Redux**<sup>1)</sup> — In a recent note<sup>2)</sup> the current writer presented evidence dealing with the identity and writing of the god Alammuš, and suggested a possible chthonic dimension to his character. This suggestion is strongly supported by several instances of the god’s name overlooked in the last paper. The *List of Stars and Deities* VR, 46, 1<sup>3)</sup> has been edited four times since the schematic copy was published by Rawlinson and Pinches, most recently by Wee.<sup>4)</sup> Lines 4-7 are of interest to us:<sup>5)</sup>

4	<sup>mul</sup> maš.tab.ba.gal.gal.la	<sup>d</sup> lugal.gir.ra <i>u</i> <sup>d</sup> mes.lam.ta.è.a	The Great Twins	Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea
5		<sup>d</sup> 30 <i>u</i> <sup>d</sup> u.gur		Sîn and Nergal
6	<sup>mul</sup> maš.tab.ba.tur.tur	<sup>d+mùš</sup> lâl <i>u</i> <sup>d</sup> nin-EZEN×GU <sub>4</sub>	The Little Twins	Alammuš and Ningublaga
7		<sup>d</sup> igi.du <i>u</i> <sup>d</sup> nin-EZEN×GU <sub>4</sub>		Palil and Ningublaga

In the first place, it is worth noting that Alammuš and Ningublaga are, as in *Mul.Apin*, neighbours of the underworld gods Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea. More important, however, Alammuš is equated to Palil, a god relatively well attested as a form of Nergal.<sup>6)</sup> Krebernik has argued that this equation is an error based on confusion with the preceding line and that Palil is in fact to be equated with the established underworld god Lugalgirra. He supports this with reference to Šurpu 9: 23,<sup>7)</sup> in which the sequence Palil Lugalgirra appears. This is unnecessary, however, as well as unlikely. In the first place, as argued previously, Alammuš was probably an underworld god in his own right. Second, the sequence in Šurpu is part of a larger list:

- 22 <sup>d</sup>kù-sù <sup>d</sup>NINDA×GU<sub>4</sub> <sup>d.mùš</sup>LÂL <sup>d</sup>nin-EZEN×GU<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>nuska <sup>d</sup>pap-sukkal <sup>d</sup>utu <sup>d</sup>a-a <sup>d</sup>bu-ne-ne  
 23 <sup>d</sup>iš<sub>8</sub>-târ-mul-meš <sup>d</sup>lû-huš-a <sup>d</sup>IGI-DU <sup>d</sup>lugal-GÎR-ra kimin  
 22 Kusu, Indagara, Alammuš, Ningublaga, Nuska, Papsukkal, Šamaš, Aya, Bunene

23 Ištar-kakkabē, Luhuša, Palil, Lugalgirra. Ditto.<sup>8)</sup>

Much of this need not concern us here, but it is important to note that the group is one of fourteen lists of divine figures in this tablet of Šurpu. Each list is separated by a ruling, and the figures named within each division are evidently to be understood as belonging together. In this group the organising principle is not clear, but as both Alammuš and Pāilil are mentioned together, Pāilil's proximity to Lugalgirra is less notable. We should therefore feel justified in taking the equation of Alammuš and Pāilil at face value, indicating that Alammuš had characteristics of a chthonic god.

Alammuš is mentioned in a number of Ur III period offering texts:

TCL 5, 6053<sup>9)</sup> is a long list from Umma. It seems to be arranged along broadly theological lines. Though it is far too long to properly examine here, a short extract (disregarding the details of the offerings) is worth mentioning:

<sup>i27</sup>Alammuš, <sup>i28</sup>Ninurimma, <sup>ii1</sup>Nin-[...], <sup>ii2</sup>Ningublaga, <sup>ii3</sup>Nina[zu], <sup>ii4</sup>Nin-gir<sup>2</sup>-[ri<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup>], <sup>ii5</sup>Ningišzida, <sup>ii6</sup>Nin-a-zi-[mu<sup>2</sup>-a<sup>2</sup>], <sup>ii7</sup>Gilgamesh, <sup>ii8</sup>Ninšubur, <sup>ii9</sup>Meslamtaea.

We should perhaps restore Nine'igara, wife of Ningublaga as the third name. CDLI has Nin-da-a[...] for our tentative restoration of Ninazu's wife Ningirida<sup>2</sup>. Ninazimua is the wife of Ningišzida and there seems little reason not to restore the name. The importance of this list for our purposes is that the gods following Ningublaga are all connected with the underworld. Without further examination of the list the importance of this order should not be overstated, but it is nonetheless suggestive in the light of the other evidence so far presented.

UET 3, 72<sup>10)</sup> is a short offering list in which Alammuš, Ninurimma, Ninazu, Ninka and Nin-túl-ga-na are listed together. The connection between these gods, indeed even the identity of the last named, is not clear, except insofar as Alammuš and Ninurimma are a pair, and the underworld god Ninazu is listed with them as in TCL 5, 6053.

UET 3, 149<sup>11)</sup>; 161<sup>12)</sup> and 164<sup>13)</sup> are nearly identical lists in which Alammuš is grouped with Nanna, Nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak, Nine'igara and Nisaba. Hall has argued<sup>14)</sup> that the underlying connection between the last two of these and Alammuš is that they are connected with food production – Nisaba is a grain goddess, Nine'igara's name translates to 'Lady of the house of butter and cream',<sup>15)</sup> and the logogram LĀL means 'honey/syrup' as well as Alammuš. While this is plausible, it should be noted that Nine'igara is Ningublaga's wife according to An=Anum III 35,<sup>16)</sup> and so a close connection between the two is not unexpected.

UET 3, 378<sup>17)</sup> groups Alammuš with just Nanna and Nanna-mu-ri-an-a-ba-ak, each receiving a copper vessel.

While individually these texts tell us relatively little, taken together, and along with the evidence presented previously, they present a strong case that Alammuš and Ningublaga were understood as deities connected to the Netherworld. The exact nature of this connection is still unclear, but a likely candidate is the association between the *ūm bubbulu* 'day of the new moon' and the *ūm kispi* 'day of funerary offerings.'<sup>18)</sup> This association indicates that the disappearance of the moon was connected with the dead and, by extension, with the underworld. It is reasonable to assume that at least some of his court would therefore belong in the underworld as is reflected in the evidence presented.

The late Old Babylonian or early Middle Babylonian exorcistic text published by Ebeling as 'Gattung III' contains an entry that might be Alammuš. The lines quoted here are preceded by lines dealing with Nanna (Sîn) and his wife, Ningal, and followed by the daughters of the moon god, (Ama)-Arazu and Amarahe'a, and are thus well ensconced in the circle of Sîn.

CBS 590 i 37-38:<sup>19)</sup>

37 zi <sup>d</sup> nin-nisig <sup>17)</sup> muhaldim <sup>2</sup> .tur <sup>2</sup> <sup>d</sup> +en <sup>1</sup> -zu-na-ké [hé <sup>2</sup> ]	Be conj[ured by] Ninnisig, the junior chef of Sîn.
38 zi <sup>d</sup> .múš <sup>17)</sup> lál <sup>2</sup> <<lál>> ud.gal.gal-l[a hé <sup>2</sup> ]	Be conj[ured by] Alammuš <sup>2</sup> , the storm demon.

The sign given as NISIG<sup>1</sup> in line 37 is in fact EZEN. It is possible that this is a mistake for EZENxGU<sub>4</sub>, which would mean Ningublaga. On the other hand it may be a mistake for SAR, to be read

NISIG,<sup>20)</sup> as understood here. This is based principally on the reading of the following sign as MUHALDIM ‘cook’, a title often given to Ninnisig. The association between this goddess and Sîn is otherwise unattested, however, and it is possible that the whole line results from a mistake in which EZEN was written for EZENxGU<sub>4</sub> then misunderstood as SAR and given a more fitting title. Being in the Sîn section, the line could hardly ignore the moon god and so his name could not be changed to read Ekur, where Ninnisig is generally the chef.

The writing lâl lâl, if correctly read, is presumably a simple dittographic error, though perhaps it was written intentionally to rhyme with ud.gal.gal. It appears from this that Alammuš could be thought of as a storm demon, which lends support to the chthonic interpretation presented so far. The tablet is very difficult to read, however, and the reading presented here is far from certain so little weight should be given to it.

A few other texts do not add a great deal to the discussion but as there is not yet an RIA article on Alammuš they deserve to be mentioned.

Alammuš makes a brief appearance in the Sumerian city lament for Sumer and Ur:<sup>21)</sup>

440 <sup>d</sup>lâl-e <sup>giš</sup>gidri ba-da-an-šub šu-ni gu<sub>4</sub><sup>?</sup>-ud-gu<sub>4</sub>-ud      Alammuš threw down his sceptre, his hands  
trembled<sup>?</sup>

The context for this is the destruction of Ur, the city of the moon god. Presumably the sceptre is the staff of the vizier.

Another Sumerian literary text, an Emesal text involving Nanna (Sîn), published by Sjöberg gives a different title to Alammuš:

UM 29-15-570:<sup>22)</sup>

r.24 ú-mu-un-kisal-là giri<sub>x</sub><sup>a</sup>zal <sup>d</sup>lâl-ra      Noble lord of the courtyard, Alammuš<sup>23)</sup>.

KISAL can be read GIPAR<sub>x</sub><sup>24)</sup> but given that LA, rather than RA, follows it here this is unlikely. The context of this line is unclear. The obverse of the tablet contains a 31 line hymn to Nanna, while the reverse has two sections also related to Nanna, both in Emesal, each bearing the rubric ki.gar.ra <sup>d</sup>en-zu-na-ke <sup>d</sup>utu he-me-en ‘May you, Utu, replace<sup>?</sup> Sîn.’ The main thing to note, for our purposes, is that Alammuš is once again in the circle of Sîn. ‘Lord of the Courtyard’ is perhaps a phrase to describe a vizier, so need not be understood as contradicting An=Anum’s explanation of Alammuš as the vizier of Sîn.

Several god lists include Alammuš. An=Anum and the Nippur god list were discussed in my last note in NABU, though one point that was missed is that the sukkal ‘Vizier’ of Alammuš is named <sup>d</sup>Urugal in An=Anum III 38,<sup>25)</sup> and apparently known nowhere else. This may be significant in that urugal ‘great city’ is a common word for the underworld.<sup>26)</sup> In the Genouillac list, generally understood to be a forerunner of An=Anum, Alammuš and Ningublaga are simply part of the circle of Nanna.<sup>27)</sup>

In the Weidner list, too, Alammuš is placed in the midst of the family of Sîn,<sup>28)</sup> following Nanna, Sîn, and Ningal, preceding Ningublaga, Amaraha’a, and Amrazu. Two points must be made regarding this list. First, Weidner’s restoration of [*aššat*] <sup>d</sup>[lâl] ‘wife of Alammuš’ in the explanatory column for Ningublaga<sup>29)</sup> has been disproved by newer evidence. As already established, Alammuš and Ningublaga were brothers not husband and wife. We should instead restore [*mār*] <sup>d</sup>[Sîn] ‘son of Sîn.’

Second, one version of the Weidner list, an Akkadian-Hurrian-Ugaritic trilingual tablet from Ugarit, warrants particular attention. This list is preserved on only one tablet, which is unfortunately broken at the crucial point:

R.S. 20.123+:<sup>30)</sup>

IVa 2. <sup>d</sup>[lâl] [a-*J*[a<sup>?</sup>-mu<sup>?</sup>-uš<sup>?</sup> a<sup>?</sup>-lam<sup>?</sup>-muš<sup>?</sup>]

IVa 3. <sup>d</sup>Nin-[EZENxGU<sub>4</sub> a]l-la-a[n<sup>?</sup>...]<sup>31)</sup>

Nougayrol restores a-i[a<sup>?</sup>-ku<sup>?</sup>-un<sup>?</sup>] on the basis that this is the equation given later in the list for the goddess Ninsun.<sup>32)</sup> While he is right to point out that the equivalences given in this list are necessarily repetitious, owing to the disparity between the relatively small Hurrian and Ugaritic pantheons and the

extremely large pantheon of Mesopotamia, this particular equation is unlikely. In the first place, Alammuš is male and Ninsun female. Moreover, a-i[a<sup>2</sup>-...] is far too little basis from which to confidently restore a questionable name. The restoration presented above is put forward extremely tentatively on the basis of Nougayrol's autograph copy. Similar entries are preserved elsewhere on the tablet, as well as in the Hurro-Akkadian bilingual version of the Weidner list from Emar,<sup>33)</sup> in which the Akkadian name of the deity is simply spelt out in the Hurrian column.<sup>34)</sup>

Ningublaga's equivalent, Alan, is simply a deified bull, which is a fitting equivalent for a bovine god.

The last text to be discussed probably does not mention Alammuš at all. There is, however, a slim possibility that an entry in the Early Dynastic Fāra god list refers to the god:

SF 1 XVI 6'':<sup>35)</sup>  
 XVI 6'' d LĀL  
 MÜŠ [...?]

The chief reason to doubt the name is that the standard ideogram for Alammuš is LĀL, not LĀL. However, the Fāra text attests to a very early stage in the development of cuneiform and it is possible that the writing was not ideographic at this point.

Sign order is uncertain in tablets from this period. Each column is divided into boxes, and each box contains a single name. The AN sign is first in all boxes, followed usually by the first sign of the name, but this is not consistent. In essence the signs can be in any order, and are not necessarily even written on the same line. In this case, the signs could be read <sup>d</sup>lāl.muš, which could conceivably have developed into the god as we recognise him in later texts. If this is accepted, it may explain the use of LĀL as an ideogram for Alammuš. Originally the sign was simply a phonetic element of the name, and therefore interchangeable with other LAL signs. When the first L disappeared from pronunciation, the sign became ideographic and the MÜŠ turned into a phonetic complement.

This argument is plainly speculative, though the name before the putative Alammuš in the Fāra list adds very slight support:

SF 1 XVI 5'':<sup>36)</sup>  
 XVI 5'' d PA  
 KÍD<sup>17)</sup> PA<sub>4</sub><sup>27)</sup>  
 NUN

This is not especially revealing as it stands but it must be borne in mind that the Fāra signs are extremely early. A comparison with the Old Babylonian Nippur list shows that only Lulal is written between Alammuš and <sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-nun-na. The name here is not likely to be that of Panunna. The KÍD sign, possibly to be read ZU, cannot be explained, and we can suggest no reason for there to be two different PA signs. The lack of a NA sign, however, need not trouble us as grammatical elements are normally suppressed in archaic and Early Dynastic writing. Since -(n)a is such an element, we should not expect it here. The name Panunna is at least similar to the preserved signs, and the fact that it is written alongside a name that could be Alammuš is noteworthy. That said, there is a gap of at least 500 years between the Fāra and Nippur lists, and a single name possibly in common is extremely weak evidence.

A final point against this possible occurrence of Alammuš is that the logographic use of lāl was apparently in use from even earlier than the Fāra list. Several personal names in archaic texts from Ur, including Amar-lāl<sup>37)</sup> and Lu[-gal<sup>2</sup>-<sup>d3</sup>]lāl,<sup>38)</sup> are presumably examples of the theophoric use of the logogram for Alammuš. However, it must be noted that none of the occurrences of LĀL in the archaic texts includes the DINGIR sign, and so all could refer to something other than the god. In addition to the god's name, LĀL is also a Sumerian word meaning 'honey/syrup' and 'to be good/sweet,<sup>39)</sup> as well as being the sign used in writing the name of another god, <sup>d</sup>Lú-lāl.

Ultimately, no conclusions can be drawn regarding the name in the Fāra list, and it seems a fairly remote possibility that Alammuš is the intended god. Nonetheless it is a possibility and, if found acceptable, provides one of the earliest references to the god, as well as evidence for the pronunciation of the name in the mid-third millennium.

1) I owe thanks to Henry Stadhouders and Elyze Zomer for their thoughtful comments on a draft of this note, and for agonising at length with me over the reading of CBS 590. Any remaining mistakes are mine alone.

2) SIMONS 2016: 8-10.

3) RAWLINSON & PINCHES 1909: 46,1 = BM 42262 (1881-07-01, 4).

4) WEE 2016: 161-165, though note that the text has not been collated by any of the editors since Pinches. Wee describes his version as ‘not so much a new edition, but an updated and convenient reference.’ For the earlier transliterations see Wee 2016: 164 n. 247.

5) Collated from photographs kindly provided by Jeanette Fincke, who will produce a full new edition in the near future.

6) See KREBERNIK (2003-2005: 281). Maqlû 7: 156 & 158 (Abusch 2016: 186) should be added to the references given by Krebernik, as should three references in SAA 2 - 2: VI 19; 6: 519; 9: r.20 (Parpola and Watanabe 2014: 13, 51 & 67).

7) In Reiner’s edition (1958: 40), this is 8: 26. The current writer is preparing a new edition of Šurpu, and the line is numbered accordingly. Note also that 9: 25 given for Alammuš in Simons (2016: 9) should be emended to 9: 22.

8) Note that én ‘incantation’, which precedes each division in Reiner’s (1958: 39-44) and Borger’s (2000: 75-90) editions of this tablet is an error and should be disregarded. This will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming edition.

9) GENOULLAC 1922: Pl. XL. See [http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P131767](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P131767) for pictures and a transliteration, though note <sup>d</sup>lāl is mistakenly read <sup>d</sup>bappir<sub>3</sub>?

10) LEGRAIN 1937: Pl. 78. See [http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P136388](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P136388) for transliteration.

11) LEGRAIN 1937: Pl. 149. See [http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P136466](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P136466) for transliteration.

12) LEGRAIN 1937: Pl. 161. See [http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P136478](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P136478) for transliteration.

13) LEGRAIN 1937: Pl. 164. See [http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P136481](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P136481) for transliteration.

14) HALL 1985: 351-353.

15) STOL 1993-1995: 189-190.

16) Lambert Unpublished: III, 35 = LITKE 1998: 121, III, 36.

17) LEGRAIN 1937: Pl. 378. See [http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P136700](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P136700) for (incomplete) transliteration.

18) See DEL OLMO LETE 2005: 48 and the references there.

19) After EBELING 1953: 396. Ebeling’s reading (37. zi <sup>d</sup>nin-SAR mu-sag <sup>d</sup>en<sup>1</sup>-zu-na-ke<sub>4</sub> 38. zi <sup>d</sup>se<sup>17</sup>-r[i-i]š ud-gal-gal-la h[é]) is based on Lutz’s copy in PBS 1/2, 112 (1919: Pl. 116). RTI photographs of CBS 590 available on CDLI ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P258044](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P258044)) mean that it is possible to examine the tablet with light from any direction. The text is difficult, however, and the line is damaged, and while certain of Lutz’s readings are inaccurate it is not easy to suggest better ones.

20) See SIMONS 2017: footnote 96.

21) MICHALOWSKI 1989: 64-65.

22) SJÖBERG 1977: 10 rev. 24.

23) SJÖBERG 12: rev. 24 giri<sub>x</sub>-zal = *muttallu*.

24) See FRAYNE 1998: 421 and bibliography cited there.

25) Lambert unpublished: III 39 = LITKE 1998: 122, III, 40

26) ePSD *sub voce* irigal [underworld].

27) GENOULLAC 1923: 101, IV, 5-25. The relevant section has been re-edited by RICHTER (1999: 396-399).

28) No easy reference to the Weidner list is possible as approximately 50 different articles and books containing editions of individual tablets and groups of tablets have been published. These are detailed in SIMONS 2017: Addendum. For convenience, Cavigneaux’s edition of the Neo-Babylonian school texts containing the Weidner list can be consulted (CAVIGNEAUX 1981: 82-83, ll. 11-16), but the line numbers, and some of the names, vary in the different editions.

29) WEIDNER 1924-5: 10, I, 14.

30) NOUGAYROL 1968: 246-249.

31) See NOUGAYROL 1968: 422 Pl. 137, IVa, 1. 2.

32) NOUGAYROL 1968: 247, n. 3

33) SALVINI 2015: 51-55 and SIMONS 2017.

34) e.g. [<sup>d</sup>gaz]-ba-a-a = <sup>d</sup>ka-as-[p]u-un (SALVINI 2015: 54, l. 42.)

35) After KREBERNIK 1986: 184. Both photograph and autograph copy are taken from CDLI ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/search\\_results.php?SearchMode=Text&ObjectID=P010566](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/search_results.php?SearchMode=Text&ObjectID=P010566)). The copy is by Krebernik.



- 36) After KREBERNIK 1986: 184. Krebernik reads –x for our PA<sub>4</sub><sup>27</sup>.  
 37) BURROWS 1935: 86 ii, 95 i, 114 i, 127 ii, 135, 142, 231 i.  
 38) BURROWS 1935: 89 iii.  
 39) ePSD *sub voce* LĀL [Sweet].

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**7) On Sumerian ku<sub>3</sub>(.g)-an (a metal) and some allegedly derived words<sup>\*)</sup>** — In the EPSD records (<http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/>. data retrieved in January 2017), the substantive ku<sub>3</sub>(.g)-an is attested in very few texts from Umma and Nippur. It is generally presented as the name of a metal. If this is true, judging from its modest value (as recorded already in CAD A/2, p. 98b), it may have corresponded to a type of tin.

The substantive, however, also occurs in a hymn for Ninurta (TCL 15, 7 = AO 4650 + Ni 4346 ro. 11); the text mentions ku<sub>3</sub>(.g)-an as the material of the sceptre of Nanna, which makes the identification with tin less likely.



ĝidru kug-an sud-aĝ<sub>2</sub> šu-na ĝal<sub>2</sub>-[la-am<sub>3</sub>]  
 “he holds in his hand a scepter of shining(?) k.-metal”

Unfortunately, the limited number of occurrences in Sumerian makes the identification of the exact metal – or metals – designated by  $ku_3(.g)$ -an highly tentative to say the least.

Beside the Sumerian substantive, however, the sequence of signs  $KU_3.AN$  occurs as a logogram in the Old Assyrian texts from Cappadocia. Based on these occurrences, VON SODEN (1959, 47) records a correspondence with Akkadian *amūtu*, that he tentatively translates as “Meteoreisen”. In these occurrences (e.g. BIN IV, Nr. 50 Vs. 5, 9, 14; ICK I, Nr. 1, Ro. 21, 23; cf. also CAD A/2, p. 98b), the pair  $KU_3.AN/amūtu$  seems to indicate a metal much more precious than the one designated by  $ku_3(.g)$ -an in the Neo-Sumerian documents. A definitive identification of the exact metal, however, is not possible for Akkadian *amūtu*, either; for discussion and a hypothesis cf. MAXWELL-HYSLOP (1972, followed by YALÇIN 1999).

In spite of the open problems, in secondary literature the idea seems to have emerged that the Sumerian substantive,  $ku_3(.g)$ -an, may have represented the starting point for the diffusion of a group of words that appear in other languages of the ancient Mediterranean. HALLEUX (1969: 65ff.), followed by MILANI (1980) and GRIFFITH (2005), was the first to propose this idea, thus adding  $ku_3(.g)$ -an to a list of possible *Wanderwörter* that may also include Akkadian *uqnū* (“lapis lazuli”, also “blue” *vel sim.*), Ugaritic *iqn(i)u* (“lapis lazuli(?)”), Hittite <sup>(NA3)</sup>*ku(wa)nnan(n)*- (“copper”) and Greek κύανος (a dark color and/or pigment, already represented in Mycenaean *ku-wa-no. ku-wa-ni-jo* and in the compound *ku-wa-no-wo-ko*, on which cf. VARIAS 2008). According to Halleux’s proposal,  $ku_3(.g)$ -an would mean “sky(-colored) metal”, thus representing the original form from which the Semitic and Indo-European words would be derived.

In a very recent paper, DARDANO (2013: 130-131, following a cursory observation by PUHVEL 1997: 311) also contributed to the discussion on the group of Mediterranean words; she does not mention the putative Sumerian origin, but suggests that the Luwian substantive *kuwannani*- “eyebrow(?)” would belong etymologically with Hittite <sup>(NA4)</sup>*ku(wa)nnan(n)*- and Greek κύανος. To be fair, the meaning “eyebrow” for Luwian *kuwannani*- is tentative, and it has been hypothesized based on its co-occurrence with the words *lalpi*- “eyelid” and *tappani*- “hair” in the ritual text KUB 32, 8 iii 11-19 (cf. GOEDEGEBUURE 2010 for a recent translation). Dardano, however, considers this meaning to be correct and compares a line from the Iliad (1, 528) in which the color of Zeus’s eyebrow is referred to as follows:

ἦ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ’ ὀφρύσιν νεύσε Κρονίων  
 “The son of Kronos spoke and nodded with his dark eyebrows”

Neither the details of this Homeric-Anatolian connection nor the relevance of the line of the Iliad for the problem under discussion are entirely clear, given that in the Greek text *κυανέησιν* is the attribute of the word for “eyebrows” and not the word for “eyebrows” itself.

Combining all the hypotheses that have been advanced so far, a complex picture emerges, involving a Sumerian substantive that would have been borrowed into Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hittite, Luwian and Greek. As I will try to show, some of the hypothesized connections can be defended, but Sumerian  $ku_3(.g)$ -an is no credible candidate original form, and Luwian *kuwannani*- is almost certainly unrelated.

1) The Akkadian-Sumerian connection does not hold water. The Akkadian word for “lapis lazuli”, *uqnū*, corresponds to Sumerian *za-gin<sub>3</sub>* and sumerogram <sup>NA3</sup>*ZA.GĪN* (BORGER, 2003, no. 851); a correspondence with  $KU_3(.G).AN$  is unsupported by any lexical evidence. Note that VON SODEN (1959: 1426b) does suggest that *uqnū* is in fact a Wanderwort, possibly connected to Ugaritic *iqn(i)u*, Hittite <sup>(NA4)</sup>*ku(wa)nnan(n)*- and Greek κύανος. He does not, however, take into consideration a derivation from Sumerian.

2) Not only are  $ku_3(.g)$ -an and *uqnū* unrelated; it must also be stressed that there is no evidence that the Sumerian substantive ever entered the Akkadian lexicon as a loan, which prevents further diffusion to neighboring cultures.

3) In particular, if the Akkadian connection is missing, the medium for a Sumerian-Anatolian contact and borrowing is no longer apparent. Apart from this historical consideration, it should also be added that the idea that Hitt. <sup>(NA4)</sup>*ku(wa)nnan(n)*- “copper” was borrowed through the sumerographic occurrences of  $KU_3.AN$  in the Old Assyrian texts from Cappadocia is unsupported, because the reading of the logogram was *amūtu*. Finally, the logogram for “copper” in the Old Assyrian texts was obviously URUDU – just like in the later Hittite cuneiform texts – and it is to URUDU that the phonetic writings of <sup>(NA4)</sup>*ku(wa)nnan(n)*- correspond.

4) On the other hand, it is true that all attempts at investigating the etymology of Hittite <sup>(NA<sub>4</sub>)</sup>*ku(wa)nna(n)-* have been inconclusive. BELARDI (1950, 32, comparing Sanskrit *रुद्र* “red, crimson”), and DANKA & WITCZAK (1997, proposing a protoform \*k’wnHos) suggest Indo-European origins, while PUHVEL (1997, 310-311) takes into consideration a Pre-Hittite substrate. He compares the Latin and Greek suffix *o-pro-* (as in *cuprum*, *Κύπρος*) and proposes a Hattic root \**kuparo*/\**kuwano*, with an alternating or suppletive paradigm, the nature of which is left unexplained. Since none of these proposals is conclusive, the idea that <sup>(NA<sub>4</sub>)</sup>*ku(wa)nna(n)-* may have been a Wanderwort is still valid. As such, it may very well be related to Akkadian *uqnû*, Ugaritic *lqn(i)u*, and Greek *κύανος*. Once again, however, basing on the available data Sumerian should be left out of the equation.

5) As for the putative connection with the Luwian substantive for “eyebrow”, *kuwannani-*, it is clear that the fact that in Homer the “eyebrows” of Zeus in Iliad 1, 528 are *κύανος*-colored is a mere coincidence. Furthermore, assuming that an originally Sumerian word entered Luwian with the mutated meaning “eyebrow” is not less problematic than postulating a link to the Hittite word for “copper”. As already discussed, there is no evidence that *ku<sub>3</sub>(g)-an* ever entered the Akkadian lexicon as a loan, neither as the name of a metal, nor, of course, as a substantive even remotely related to “eyebrow”. In Hittite, the word for “eyebrow” is *enera-*, which means that neither Hittite nor Akkadian could have been the medium for a putative Sumerian-Luwian contact. Furthermore Luwian *kuwannani-* may very well admit Anatolian etymologies, e.g. from the verb *kwan(n)a-*, “to cut, carve”, with a semantics based on the shape rather than on the color of the facial feature, which means that even an inner-Anatolian connection between Luwian *kuwannani-* and Hittite <sup>(NA<sub>4</sub>)</sup>*ku(wa)nna(n)-* needs not be postulated.

In conclusion, the hypothesis that the words *κύανος* (Greek name of a pigment/color), <sup>(NA<sub>4</sub>)</sup>*ku(wa)nna(n)-* (Hittite for “copper”) and *uqnû* (Akkadian name of a color and designation of “lapis lazuli”) are formally connected is certainly supportable. There are, on the other hand, no convincing arguments to support the idea that *kuwannani-* (Luwian for “eyebrow(?)”) was also related.

None of these words, in any case, appears to be a continuation of Sumerian *ku<sub>3</sub>(g)-an*, a metal name that does not enter the Akkadian lexicon as a loan, and is, for historical, philological and linguistic reasons, unlikely to be at the origin of the group of possible Mediterranean *Wanderwörter*.

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**8) The Old Assyrian contract H.K. 1005-5534** — V. Donbaz returned to this text, published by him in *Cuneiform Texts in the Sadberk Hanim Museum (Istanbul 1998)* no. 28, in *NABU 2015/66*, “paššurum (table) or guššurum (beam)?”, reacting to my observations on it.

The contract concerns the woman M., who lives in a house owned by the Assyrian A., and stipulates her rights as its inhabitant “as long as she lives”, and in lines 10-14 states what she is forbidden to do. In M. Stol – S.P. Vleming (eds.), *The Care of the Elderly in the Ancient Near East (Leiden-Boston 1998)* 143f., I read line 9, adapting Donbaz’s reading, “A. and his sons shall not chase her away” (lá i-ṭá-ru-/du-ší). In a note on text 59 in my *The Archive of Kuliya, Kü ltepe Tabletleri V (Ankara 2010)*, I read the following lines 10-12 as: “M. shall not sell the house, the 6 beams, the doors and the household utensils”. I corrected Donbaz’s 6 ma-šu-uz-tu (an unknown word; the final –du belongs to itarrudū of l. 9) into 6 gu<sub>5</sub>-šu-re, “6 beams”, but Donbaz now proposes to read 6 pá-šu-re, “6 tables”, The uncertainty is due to the fact that the first sign is neither a good BA = pá (cf. BA in l. 6) nor a good KU = gu<sub>5</sub>. Donbaz argument that the prohibition to sell concerns “solely household utensils” is not correct, because the text itself states that it also applies to the doors, while household utensils (uṭuṭum) are mentioned next, separately. A number of 6 tables (CAD s.v. also gives as its meaning “dining tray”) also surprises, since houses (at least according to OB lists of marriage property) usually only contain one table, while there were always more “beams” in a house, which could be sold, see OAA I, 68:16-19. The existence of an Anatolian functionary called rabi / ša paššūrē (see CAD P s.v.), mentioned by Donbaz, has no bearing on our text, but the plural “tables” is attested in several commercial texts, in Kt h/k 74:24 even 14, presumably as trade goods rather than as furniture and private property.

I react to Donbaz’s proposal, because I can now also present the interpretation of line 13, which mentions a second prohibition for the lady: ú-lá tū-ra-áb the items mentioned. Donbaz emends this into tū-<šé>-ra-áb, “she will bring into (the house)”, as was done by J. Lewy in the similar text *EL 2:12* (see below). But in a note that I do not quite understand, he also mentions derivation from riābum, D-stem, to “replace”, which is also preferred by C. Michel for ú-ri-bu in *TPAK 1, 106:2*, and he seems to prefer, since he translates “nor will she replace (them)”. A derivation from riābum (attested in OA), however, makes no sense in our text and it must be a D-stem of erābum, used with the technical meaning “to pledge”, an excellent parallel to the prohibition to sell. This meaning, not recorded in the dictionaries, derives from erābum, used for persons or objects that “enter into” the power of a creditor, which also yielded the noun erubbātum, “pledge”.<sup>1)</sup> The D-stem is attested in the just mentioned *EL 2:11-12*, where three men are forbidden “to sell or to hand over as pledge” a woman one of them had married (ula iddunūši! <sup>12</sup> ula ú-ru-bu-ší!; the text by mistake has twice –šu), and in *TPAK 1,106:2* (object a house). It occurs also in *TPAK 1,194:13-14*. where for the silver for which a man had become indebted “they pledged A.’s house ..., the house is held by (with) the silver” (bēt A, 14 ú-ri-bu .....išti kaspim 18 bētū uktallū). An exact parallel to Donbaz’s text is *Kt c/k 701:14-16* (courtesy of Dercksen), where a girl is sold into (debt-)slavery and her buyer “shall neither sell her, nor give her as pledge to a merchant” (aššimim la iddašši <sup>15</sup> ana tamkārim <sup>16</sup> la ú-ra-áb-ší). The verb also occurs in *Kt 92/k 543* (S. Bayram, *Archivum Anatolicum* 4 [2000] 32:12-14), where a trader, in connection with a debt to be paid, declares: “I am ready to pledge myself and my paternal house to a moneylender” (anāku qaqqidī u bēt abia <sup>13</sup> ana bēt tamkārim lu-ri-ib) to obtain the money he needs.

One problem of this contract remains unsolved, the woman’s right described in l. 8 as “in A.’s house ta-ša-bi<sub>4</sub>/pì-ir” (clear on the photo). In *Care of the Elderly*, 144, I hesitated between emendation into taššabbir, “she will be broken” interpreted as “she get disabled” (a meaning not attested elsewhere), and one into ta-qá-bi<sub>4</sub>-ir, “she will be buried”. Perhaps a new, similar contract – there were more women living in houses they did not own, cf. my observations in “A Verdict of the City Assembly of Assur (*Kt 92/k 491*) in *JEOL* 45 (2015), 65-81, § 3 – may solve this problem.

1) See for this verb used with pledges as subject, K.R. Veenhof in: R. Westbrook – R. Jasnow (eds.), *Security for Debt in Ancient Near Eastern Law* (Leiden-Boston 2001) 126-7, where I had not yet identified its D-stem.

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**9) KTS 1, 41a, KTS 1, 27a, and ‘C 26’** — In NABU 2014/11, “Errors which could be eliminated”, Veysel Donbaz has dealt with KTS 1, 41a (in what follows A), offering a new copy and proposing new readings. Because not all his proposals are convincing and problems remain, I reopen the discussion and also present KTS 1, 27a (B) and ‘C 26’ (C), which are related to KTS 1, 41a.

A) KTS I, 41a. This damaged letter, whose address is missing, discussed by J.G. Dercksen, *Old Assyrian Institutions* (Leiden 2004) 28, is important, because it is one of the very few that deals with the arrival of tin in Assur from the south, from “the Lower Country”. Contrary to what Donbaz writes, the text was collated in the past, both by I.J. Gelb and M.T. Larsen (whose notes state “after cleaning”), who made their results available to me. Donbaz now offers a new copy, also of the remains of the very damaged obverse that had been omitted in KTS I. I offer a transliteration of lines 13-20 based on Donbaz’s copy, but with some different readings:

	[.....] lá úṣ-a-am [.....]	did not come forth,
	[AN.NA] ša?-a-ma-am lá i-mu-ú	he refused to buy [tin]”,
15	a-ni-tám ni-iš-pu-ra-kum	this we wrote to you.
	iš-tù ú-mì-im ša E!-lá e-ru-ba-ni	Since the day Ela? arrived
	AN.NA ni-iš-a-ma la-wi-ma	we have bought tin and it is wrapped
	i-ba-ší a-du-um AN.NA ša a-šu/ku?-[x]	and available. As for the tin that/of .....
	Dan-A-šur ša ta-aš-pu-ra-ni	Dan-Aššur, about which you wrote me, that
20	ša ma-at ša-pí-ilṣ-tim ša-du-ú	of the Lower Country is delayed,
	a-na ma-lá ta-áš-pu-ra-ni	in accordance with what you wrote,
	AN.NA a-ša-a-ma ....	I will buy tin and ...

The letter was written by two or more persons (l. 15, “we wrote”), but had one main writer, who uses the 1st pers. sing (l. 24 abakkam), who reacts to a request addressed to him alone (l. 32, liqi). The letter is addressed to one person in particular (l. 26, umma attāma, l. 29 diššum), but once also to more persons (l. 31, tašpurānim umma attūnuma). The main writer, as shown by ‘C 26’ (see below) was Šalim-ahum and the main addressee Pūšu-kēn. I cannot identify the second writer, but the second person figuring in l. 31 may well have been Ilabrat-bāni, discussed below.

The reading of l. 14 is tentative, Larsen suggested [wa-ṣ]a-am. Donbaz’s reading a?-na [ša-a]-am lá i-mu-ú, is grammatically impossible and does not agree with his copy. In l. 16 I follow Larsen, who proposed [E]-lá, the name of the transporter who would have brought the silver to Assur for buying tin. He worked for Šalim-ahum and Pūšu-kēn and in CCT 2,2:3 and TC 2,6:5-6 he did bring silver to Assur. Donbaz rejects it, although his copy gives KÛ LÁ, which he emends to KÛ.BABBAR while maintaining lá, which is not possible.

17b-18a was identified by Donbaz: the tin is bought and packed and waiting for transport. At the end of the line Larsen and Donbaz read AN.NA ša-a-ma, “buy tin” (imp. plur.). This is difficult, because the last sign is no MA and the writers in Assur are speaking and they are the ones to buy tin there. The sentence beginning with adum (a variant of adi, read on the basis of Donbaz’s copy) and ending with ša tašpuranni implies that the words Dan-Aššur ša a-x-[x] refer to the relationship between the tin and Dan-Aššur, the son of Šalim-ahum, who also acts as caravan leader. He is expected in Assur and will transport the tin to Kanesh, but might be delayed (l. 23, ahhur). One expects something like “the tin D. will ship”, but I have not solution. The last word of l. 20 is read by Lewy as ša-am-x, by Larsen and Donbaz ša-am-ú, “it (the tin, annukū, plural, as mass noun) has been bought”, but this is strange, since the next line states “I will buy tin”. A possible solution might be that the tin imported from the Lower Country has been bought by Assur’s City Hall or its wholesale dealers, from whom the merchants – such as Šalim-ahum – in turn will buy it, but this would be unique. Moreover, an instruction “buy tin of the Lower Land” is strange, for “the Lower Land” is only mentioned in connection with problems of supply. Letters

contain statements such as "since tin is in short supply/expensive, I have not yet bought any tin. When tin arrives I will buy it and ship it to you with your tin" (TC 2, 7: 17-20). CCT 5, 5b:8-15 writes: "There is no tin available, at whatever price. The 17 minas of silver I brought here are still under his seals. When tin arrives we will buy it in accordance with your instruction" (both letters to Pūšu-kēn). As alternative for ša-am-ú I therefore propose ša-du-ú (the difference between the signs ŠA and DU is rather small), "(tin) is delayed", the plural of the stative šadid, which typically occurs in letters to Pūšu-kēn, who had asked his partners in Assur to buy tin for him. See POAT 22:18, kīma AN.NA-ku i-ša-du-du-ni (in the N-stem; letter of Šalim-ahum to Pūšu-kēn), CCT 6, 47c:11, kīma annukū ša-du-ú-ni (we have not bought it; letter of Šu-Hubur to Pūšu-kēn), and AKT 3, 74:5-6, harrānum ša māt šapiltim ša-da-at, "the caravan of the Lower Country is delayed" (letter of Šalim-ahum to Pūšu-kēn and Dan-Aššur).<sup>1</sup>) The stative of šadādum also occurs in Kt v/k 128:16 (courtesy of J.G. Dercksen), "The rate of exchange of copper : silver stands at 80 to 1. The sikkātum is far away (= will last long?), the silver is delayed" (<sup>5</sup> sikkātum ru-qá-ma <sup>6</sup> kaspū ša-du-ú).

Delayed supply prevents making purchases, also according to the OB letter AbB 9, 130:8, šīmum ...šadidma adini ul ašām.

B) KTS 1, 27a, a damaged letter of Šalim-ahum to Pūšu-kēn (collated) that seems to be related to KTS 1, 41a. It reads:

	um-ma Ša-lim-a-[hu-um-ma a-na]	Thus Šalim-ahum, say to
	Pu-šu-ki-in qí-b[í <sub>4</sub> -ma i-nu-mì E-lá?]	Pūšu-kēn: "[When Ela?]
	e-ru-ba-ni na-āš-pé-e[r-tám]	arrived here, we have
	ni-iš-ta-me-ma i-n[a .....	listened to the letter and in .....
5	E-lá lá i-sá-hu-u[r .....	Ela must not stay around .....
	lu-úš-a-am a-na a-[.....]	he must leave. For .....
	né-ru-ub-ma AN.NA [.....]	we entered and [we bought?] tin.
	um-ma [né-n]u-ma a-n[a.....]	Thus we said to [the.....of]
	Pu-šu-ki-in iš-tí [.....]	Pūšu-kēn: "Together with .....
10	ší-i šu-ut wa-ša-[am lá]	you must leave!". He refused to leave
	i-mu-a ú a-né [.....]	and now .....
	i-na ú-mi-im [a-nim?]	On this very day
	wa-ša-am ú-l[á i-mu-a]	he (still) refuses to leave ....."

It is likely that this letter deals with the same events as reported in KTS 1, 41a, which supports the reading there of Ela in l. 16. It is possible that the refusal to leave, mentioned in both letters, refers to the same event, although KTS 1, 27a, as far as preserved, does not mention Dan-Aššur. KTS 1, 41a:25ff. deals with Ilabrat-bāni, who had asked Pūšu-kēn for a working capital (read in l. 27, kaspam a-na be'ālim e-ri-ší). The writers' advise is "to give it him with prudence,"<sup>2</sup> which probably refers to the conditions and the amount, whereby "someone from among his investors can guarantee for him" (apālum + pers. acc. suffix, "to answer for somebody", not simply "to pay to"). The same advice is repeated in l. 36, with some emphasis (with added -ma, ina tašimtimma 36 [dí-š]u-ma), where "an investor" (ummiānum, nominative) has to guarantee for it. The end (lines 36-39) is unclear, but the issue of Ilabrat-bāni's request also occurs in the next letter of Šalim-ahum to Pūšu-kēn: 'C 26'.

C). 'C 26', a damaged letter (only its obverse is preserved) in private possession, available to me in a transcription made in Istanbul by F. R. Kraus, which I reproduce here.

	um-ma Ša-lim-a-hu-um-ma a-na	Thus Šalim-ahum, say to
	Pu-šu-ki-in qí-bi-ma a-šu-mì	Pūšu-kēn: "As for Ilabrat-bāni,
	<sup>d</sup> NIN.ŠUBUR-ba-ni ša ta-āš-pu-ra-ni	about whom you wrote me as follows:
	um-ma a-ta-ma KÛ.BABBAR (erased a-na)	'In a very prudent way
5	i-na ta-ší-im-tim-ma a-na	he asked for silver as working capital.
	be-a-lim e-ri-iš : i-na ba-tí-qí-ma	Let your reaction <reach me> by

	té-er-ta-ka iš-tí : ba-tí-qí-im	special delivery.’ Why would you give him
	mì-šu ša a-na be-a-lim ta-du-nu-šu-ni	(money) as working capital?
	a-na KÙ.BABBAR 1 GÍN ša a-na-kam	What favors has he done me for any
10	e-pu-šu-šu-ni : mì-nam	shekel of silver I realized here for him?
	ig-mì-lá-ni a-na 2 GÚ AN.NA	For the two talents of tin, 20 kutānu-
	20 ku-ta-ni ù 1 ANŠE ša-lá-ma-am	textiles and one black donkey, which
	ša ta-dí-nu-šu-ni : mì-ma a-na ú?	you gave him, have you not given him
	lá ta-dí-šu-um (eras.) ú šu-ma	anything for/as ....? And even if he had
15	i-nu-mì-šu-ma 20 ma-na	given you at that very moment
	KÙ.BABBAR i-dí-na-ku-um a-na	20 minas of silver as
	gi <sub>5</sub> -mì-li-im [.....]	a favor .....
	MA?-a-x [	
	ki-m[a? [.....	
20f.	(traces of 3 lines)	

This letter suggests that one of its writers was Šalim-ahum, who wrote from Assur to Pūšu-kēn. Ilabrat-bāni is a well-known trader, son of Aššur-mālik and brother of Iddin-Ištar and Ušur-ša-Aššur (see EL 176), perhaps a junior partner of Šalim-ahum and Pūšu-kēn. He occurs in dozens of texts (especially letters exchanged between these two), which cannot be discussed here, but I mention that several of them show that there were from time to time also problems with his finances and payments, which concern in particular Šalim-ahum. I assume that lines 4b-7 quote what Pūšu-kēn had written to Šalim-ahum to ask his advice (or perhaps permission) to grant Ilabrat-bāni’s wish. Šalim-ahum was clearly annoyed by this request. In lines 9-11, the information that Šalim-ahum had “realized” (epāšum) silver for Ilabrat-bāni in Assur (“here”), probably does not mean that he had arranged for him a loan or a capital investment, but that he had enabled him to earn this amount by entrusting him merchandise, as a favor (gimillum). And this may link up with lines 11-13, which state that Pūšu-kēn had “given” Ilabrat-bāni a load of merchandise, where “to give” is used for entrusting goods to an agent or partner, who would have to pay their price in silver when the goods had been sold in Anatolia. Unfortunately the end of l. 13 is not clear, but I assume that lines 10b-14a phrase a question.

1) Compare our annukū šaddū with URUDU-ú ša-du-ú, in JCS 14 (1960) 16, no. 10:39, also a plural for a mass noun. A similar statement occurs in İ. Albayrak – H. Erol, Buzutaya ve Lipit-Ištar Arşivleri. 1950 Yılı Tabletlerinden (Kt. c/k) Seçilmiş Metinler (Kültepe Tabletleri IX/1, TTKY VI/33g-a), Ankara 2016, no. 27:19-22, harrānum / ša ma-<at> šapiltim ša-bi-at / AN.NA niša”amma / te’ertaka uzakka, “the caravan from the Lower Country is ....., we will buy tin and clear your order”. The meaning of ša-BI-at (confirmed by the photo) is not clear and it is difficult which of the various verbs šapū or their related adjectives (CAD Š distinguishes three, AHw four) is meant. We expect information on the possibility to purchase tin in Assur in the near future, something like “the caravan is imminent / expected”. If it is the well-known adjective šapium, “thick”, used of textiles, saddlecloths and woolen fleeces, we might take “thick” as used metaphorically for “heavily loaded”, to express that a mass of tin is expected, but there is not evidence for such a use. A mistake for ša-da!-at cannot be excluded.

2) Donbaz renders this in l. 29 as ‘by way of tašimtim-fixed testament’ and in l. 35 as “by way of tašimtim proxy/ power of attorney”, which is mysterious to me. There is no link between tašimtum and šimtum, “last will”, nor with “proxy” or “attorney”. Donbaz often uses such paraphrasing, etymologizing translations (also of ana be’ālim, in l. 34 rendered by “for be’ālum to be claimed/subject to someone’s rule”), which ignore the fact that such words usually have simple, straightforward meanings, here “with prudence” and “to manage”.

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**10) Les copies modernes de la peinture dite « de l’Investiture » de Mari** — Le visiteur de l’exposition *L’Histoire commence en Mésopotamie* qui s’est tenue au Louvre-Lens du 2 novembre 2016 au 30 janvier 2017 aura pu être étonné : la copie de la peinture dite « de l’investiture » du palais de Mari qu’il y a vue ne correspond pas à celle dont la photographie a été publiée par A. Parrot dans *Sumer*, Paris, 1960, fig. 346. La légende de cet ouvrage précise p. 390 : « Ph. Draeger, d’après la copie de J. Lauffray ». C’était déjà cette copie qui avait été reproduite, en couleurs mais à plus petite échelle, dans les *Studia Mariana*, Leyde, 1950, pl. I ainsi que dans MAM II/2, Paris, 1958, pl. A. Dans ce dernier ouvrage, A. Parrot

indiquait (p. 66) : « M. Jean Lauffray, attaché en 1936, à la mission de Mari, a fait de ce monument une copie en couleurs (pl. A) ».

Qu'en est-il donc de la copie exposée au Louvre-Lens ? Le catalogue<sup>1)</sup> indique seulement : « La copie de l'Investiture a été commandée par André Parrot pour une exposition », mais ni la date ni l'auteur de cette copie ne sont précisés. Le hasard me permet d'éclaircir ce mystère.

À l'issue d'une conférence que j'ai donnée au Collège de France le 31 janvier 2017, un auditeur est venu me parler. Il s'agissait de Jacques Depauw, bien connu pour avoir été architecte des missions d'A. Parrot à Larsa et à Mari entre 1965 et 1970. Dans un petit texte qu'il m'a fait parvenir peu après, il expose comment la copie de J. Lauffrey s'étant abîmée, A. Parrot lui demanda de la remplacer. Voici l'essentiel de ce texte :

« La copie originale a été réalisée de nuit par l'architecte Jean Lauffray, à l'huile, sur des très petits morceaux de cellophane, recollés sur carton. (Protégées depuis 3760 ans par les écroulements de briques crues, de terre et autres apports éoliens, les couleurs, très vives, passaient instantanément à la lumière du soleil, d'où le travail de nuit, à la lampe à pétrole). Cette copie authentique, photographiée vers 1960 par Draeger pour SUMER (Gallimard), décorait le bureau du directeur des antiquités orientales du Louvre, et tombait régulièrement en miettes en bas du mur, les petits morceaux disparaissant tous les matins dans les aspirateurs de service... André Parrot m'a demandé de la remplacer. J'ai donc fait construire par les charpentiers du Louvre un robuste châssis de chêne, contreventé par un panneau épais (12 mm) de contre plaqué de 280 x 190 cm, et tendu un calque fort sur ce qui restait de la copie originale, pour reproduire d'abord, à l'encre de chine, tous les traits et contours noirs, mis en œuvre à l'origine au bitume pur. Ce calque, d'un seul tenant, a été imprimé à la gélatine par les soins de Jourde sur Canson lourd, tendu ensuite sur le châssis. Sur ce fond, installé durablement dans un grenier du Louvre vide, j'ai reproduit la copie à la gouache, matière mate, beaucoup plus fidèle à la réalité de la fresque d'origine sur enduit de plâtre argileux, dont la couleur est tendre et douce, avec le concours très précieux de Nicole [l'épouse de J. Depauw] pendant trois à quatre mois, puis nous l'avons protégée d'une fine couche de vernis incolore (Sennelier) (Entre 1965 et 1969, j'avais réalisé sur place la copie de nombreux fragments de fresques murales, avec la même technique<sup>2)</sup>). Le lourd panneau a rejoint le bureau d'André Parrot, devenant bientôt directeur général du Louvre. »

J'ai pensé que ces détails méritaient d'être publiés et je remercie chaleureusement J. Depauw de m'avoir autorisé à le faire.

1) S[ophie] C[luzan], dans A. Thomas (éd.), *L'Histoire commence en Mésopotamie*, Lens/Gand, 2016, p. 203.

2) Voir B. Pierre-Muller, *MARI* 6, 1990, p. 464 : « Ces copies en couleurs, exécutées par J. Depauw, sont d'une grande qualité » [note de DC].

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**11) En marge d'ARCHIBAB 24 : deux anthroponymes rares** — Dans une étude récente, K. De Graef a rencontré à plusieurs reprises, dans des textes paléo-babyloniens tardifs de Sippar, le nom écrit *ma-an-nu-um-ra-bi-ši*, qu'elle transcrit Mannum-rabiši<sup>1)</sup>. On peut cependant se demander quel est le sens de cet anthroponyme (-ši pouvant difficilement être un pronom suffixe verbal au féminin). Le plus simple est sans doute de considérer qu'on a affaire à une graphie par sandhi : *ma-an-nu-um-ra-bi-lim*, à comprendre Mannum-rabi-ilim « Qui est grand (pour) un dieu ? ».

Dans le même article, le texte n° 11 (Di 882 = IM 81631, p. 33-34) comporte l. 14 le nom d'un témoin translittéré dingir-ú-šur-a-qa-as-sú-ni-šu. Cependant, le signe -qa- n'appartient pas au syllabaire de Sippar sous Ammi-ditana. Une correction s'impose, malgré l'absence de copie ou de photo : <sup>d</sup>ú-šur-a-wa'-as-sú-ni-šu. On retrouve ainsi un NP théophore du genre ND-nišu. Noter déjà l'existence d'un autre NP théophore d'Ušur-awassu, Ušur-awassu-gamil en YOS 13 203 : 21' (texte de Kiš).



1) K. De Graef, « Many a Mickle Makes a Muckle. Advance Payments in the Ur-Utu Archives (Old Babylonian Sippar) », *Akkadica* 137, 2016, p. 1-52 (p. 19). Il existe au moins deux personnes différentes portant ce nom à Sippar à l'époque (n. 19).

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**12) Additional Animal Terms in Amorite Onomastics** — Recently, the question of Amorite animal terms has been dealt with in three articles: MILLET ALBÀ (2000), KOGAN (2003: 252-55) and, more thoroughly, GOLINETS (2016). The aim of this note is to contribute to this topic by highlighting additional probable names, mainly derived from CAAA (GELB 1980). These names are discussed in view of Semitic animal terms mentioned in SED 2. Based on their linguistic features, they are classified into two groups: (1) names with non-Akkadian etymology, and (2) names with non-Akkadian morphology and/or phonology.

(1) Names with non-Akkadian etymology (West Semitic roots):

- *Ga-aḫ-šu* and *Ga-ḫa-šum*: normalized as *ga'š-/ga'aš-* without explanation (CAAA 131). Since the proposed form has no clear cognate in Northwest Semitic, one could alternatively think of Arabic *ḡahš-* “donkey foal; young gazelle” (LANE 382), a term which seems to be isolated in Semitic. Note that this term also occurs in Ancient North Arabian onomastics (Safaitic, Dadanitic, and Hismaic): *Gḥs<sup>2</sup>*, *Gḥs<sup>2</sup>t* (HARDING 1971: 153; KING 1990: 379).

- <sup>f</sup>*Gu-ra-tum/tim*, *Gu-ri*, and *Gu-ri-ia* (CAAA, No. 1783-86): these probably reflect \**gūr-*, \**gury/w-* “whelp, cub” (SED 2, No. 82).

- *Gu-ur-da-an* (CAAA, No. 1799): given that the sign G- is used for /q/ in Amorite (STRECK 2000: 198, §2.140), this name may consist of \**qVrd-* “tick” (SED 2, No. 135) plus the suffix *-ān*.

- *Gu-za-an* and <sup>f</sup>*Gu-zi* (CAAA, No. 1802-03): based on the above-mentioned use of G- for /q/, these names could be connected to Aramaic *qūzā* “weasel” (BROCKELMANN 1928: 651; DROWER/MACUCH 1963: 409), which is reflected by Neo-Assyrian *Qu-za-a* from Sheikh Hamad (ZADOK 2009: 123) as well as Nabatean *Qwz'* (NEGEV 1991: 57).

(2) Names with non-Akkadian morphology/phonology (all belonging to Proto-Semitic roots)

- *Bu-ul-bu-lum* (ARM 24 248: 14): could be linked to Jewish Babylonian Aramaic/Mandaic *blbl* and Arabic *bulbul* “nightingale” (SOKOLOFF 2002: 241b; DROWER/MACUCH 1963: 55b; LANE 245). On the Semitic affiliation of Arabic *b*. (against the historical assumption that it is Persian), see the discussion sub \**bVl-* “kind of small bird” (SED 2, No. 60).

- *Ḫa-ar-ga-al*, *Ḫa-ar-ga-lum* (CAAA, No. 1957-58): this is clearly a West Semitic form of \**ḫargVl-* “locust” (SED 2, No. 103).

- *Ḫa-an-zu-ra* (CAAA, No. 1944): could be an Amorite variant (diminutive?) of \**ḫV(n)zīr* “pig”, where the infix *-Vn-* is found only in some West Semitic languages (SED 2, No. 111). Alternatively, given the use of the sign Ḫ- for /ʕ/ in Amorite names (STRECK 2000: §2.143), it could belong to \**'a(n)zar* “wild cat” (SED 2, No. 9).

- *Pa-ru-ri* (CAAA, No. 5155): could reflect an Amorite form (diminutive?) of \**pa'r-* “mouse” (SED 2, No. 170); the Akk. cognate, on the other hand, occurs only in the feminine form *pērūrūtu*, and it is confined to women in onomastics (CAD P 420).

- *Sà-aḫ-la-ba-an/Sà-aḫ-la-ba-nu* (ARM 26/1 40, 51; M.5707, iii): probably denotes \**ta'lab-* “fox” (SED 2, No. 237) plus the suffix *-ān*. The form as such is reflected by the Ugaritic name *T'lb*n (GRÖNDAHL 1967: 28, 198) and its Arabic parallel *Ta'labān* (CASSEL 1966: 553).

- *Zu-ur-zu-ru-um*, *Zu-ūr-zu-ru-um*, and <sup>f</sup>*Zu-ūr-zu-ūr-tum* (CAAA, No. 6652-54): if not foreign names, these could be variants of \**zarzī/ūr-* “starling” (SED 2, No. 254), like Arabic *zurzūr* (LANE 1223) or \**šarša/ūr-* “cricket” (SED 2, No. 213), like Arabic *šuršu/ūr* (LANE 1673).

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**13) *nikkassum napiš* « le compte est clos », *nipiš nikkassim* « reddition/apurement du compte »** — Le CAD atteste un sens « to clear (accounts, etc., OB) » pour le verbe *napâšum* (CAD N/1, *napâšu* A5a, p. 287a) et « clearance, clearing (of accounts) » pour le terme *nipšum* (CAD N/2, *nipšu* 4, p. 248a) ; l'expression *nipiš nikkassim* / *nikkassî* est en particulier communément comprise comme l'opération de reddition ou d'apurement des comptes, deux moments d'une comptabilité dissociés dans les pratiques actuelles mais qui se confondaient probablement dans les réalités anciennes.

Dernièrement, M. Stol est revenu sur cette traduction, à propos de la variante *nikkassum napiš* dans sa contribution aux *Mélanges Van der Spek*. En effet, il y choisit de traduire l'expression par « the settling of the account has been postponed », selon la compréhension « to push away » du verbe *napâšum*. Il est vrai que le verbe *napâšum* peut signifier « repousser » selon le AHw II, 1972, p. 735-736. Ainsi S. Dalley proposa-t-elle déjà, en 1976, de traduire « deferred payment(?) » l'expression *nipiš nikkassim* attestée par OBTR 176. La traduction « report de comptes » est également choisie par J.-R. Kupper en 1983, pour *nipiš nikkassî* à la fin du texte ARM 22 276, récapitulant des sorties d'huile et de sésame sous la responsabilité du fonctionnaire Mukannišum de Mari. M. Stol fonde en particulier son hypothèse en constatant que deux expressions existent déjà dans les textes paléo-babyloniens pour signifier que les comptes sont clos : NĪ.KA<sub>9</sub>(ŠID) AK et NĪ.KA<sub>9</sub> TIL.LA que l'auteur comprend respectivement comme « the accounts have been settled » et « the final settlement of the accounts ».

Plusieurs occurrences de *nikkassum* employé avec le verbe *napâšum* dans les textes de Mari et de Qaṭṭara (Tell Rimah) ne plaident néanmoins pas en faveur de cette interprétation. Tout d'abord, le compte FM 15 31 (ARM 12 221) stipule que de grandes quantités de grain et de gros pois ont été ajoutées (d'après la collation de la l.8 en [u]r-ta-du\*) au "solde" (*bašîtum*) du fonctionnaire Ilu-kan, responsable de la gestion de ces denrées dans le palais de Mari, et donne l'indication *ina epêš nikkassî* (équivalent akkadien de NĪ.KA<sub>9</sub> AK), à traduire par « lors de la confection des comptes » plutôt que « lors de la reddition des comptes » ; il est en effet clair que ce document renvoie à des comptes en cours de réalisation, afin d'établir par le calcul la balance comptable (c'est-à-dire la différence entre les "sorties" et les "entrées" de denrée, que l'on peut interpréter plus précisément comme un "passif" et un "actif" comptable ; voir les remarques de G. Chambon dans *Archéologie de la comptabilité*). On trouve également l'expression *inûma nikkassî ša Mukannišim îpušû*, « lorsqu'on a fait les comptes de Mukannišum », dans un petit texte concernant le travail de deux fils torsadés en or rouge et les restes de

métal à la suite de cet ouvrage (A.3520 dans ARM 30 p. 328) ; on ne peut néanmoins savoir ici avec certitude si le scribe renvoie à la confection des comptes ou bien au moment de la reddition des comptes impliquant Mukannišum, un grand administrateur du palais.

Ces résultats comptables, qui engageaient la responsabilité du fonctionnaire devant l'autorité royale pour la gestion des stocks qui lui avaient été confiés, étaient alors présentés lors du *nipiš nikkassî*. Il ne s'agit pas d'un « report de compte » puisque les textes précisent à chaque fois le lieu où cette opération a été réalisée et les personnes mobilisées (responsables, scribes, « intermédiaires » GİR) : selon les produits concernés, dans la maison de l'administration (FM 15 171, FM 12 194 et FM 15 196) ou dans le vestibule de la cour du Palmier (M.11243 dans ARM 30 p. 360-361 ; M.5222<sup>+</sup> dans ARM 32 p. 337). En particulier, le texte FM 15 171, enregistrant une grande quantité de légumineuses, indique que le *nipiš nikkassî* a été réalisé en ajoutant cette quantité au solde ancien (*bašîtum* til) sur la base d'informations inscrites sur des tablettes scellées concernant des livraisons reçues (*ša pí kanîkâtîm ša namharâtî*) pendant une année.

D'autres occurrences dans les textes de Mari permettent également de privilégier la traduction « reddition de compte » pour l'expression *nipiš nikkassim / nikkassî*. En particulier M.11243 (ARM 30 p. 360-361), rédigé dans l'année ZL 7, documente le fait que Mukannišum a annoncé à voix haute (*šasûm*) l(es sommes d)'argent (utilisées) pour ses dépenses (l. 7-9) ; pour la ventilation de la laine, du cuivre et de l'étain de son service, ces tablettes ont été établies (l. 10-14) ; lors du *nipiš nikkassî* (l. 14-15) ; dans le vestibule de la cour au Palmier (l. 15-16) ; en présence du roi Zimri-Lim (l. 17). Un report de compte aurait-il pu donner lieu à ce qui s'apparente à une déclaration publique d'un chef de service devant le roi ? Quel sens cela aurait-il de procéder à une telle cérémonie pour reporter les comptes ?

Enfin, on trouve sur le scellement d'un coffre à tablette trouvé dans le palais (M.8749 ; voir D. Charpin, « L'archivage des tablettes dans le Palais de Mari : nouvelles données », p. 20 avec photo p. 19) : *šup-pa-at ka-an-ni / na-ap-ša-tum / NĪ.ŠU be-el-šu-nu*, que l'éditeur traduit par « tablettes réglées du cellier (*kannûm*) placé sous la responsabilité de Bêlšunu ». Cette interprétation paraît en effet la plus plausible, car on comprendrait mal qu'un report de compte donne lieu à un archivage aussi précis avec scellement, sans même l'indication de la date du report.

Plusieurs textes de Tell Rimah invitent également à douter de l'interprétation « report de comptes » de *nipiš nikkassî*. Il s'agit de documents liés à l'activité de Samkanum, le brasseur d'Iltani (pour lequel voir A.-I. Langlois, ARCHIBAB 2) :

– OBTR 176, du 11/ii\*/Šabrum : <sup>(1-4)</sup> 3020 *qa* d'orge pour de la bière, reddition des comptes (*ni-pí-iš ni-ik-ka-as-sî*) de Samkanum le brasseur d'Iltani.

– OBTR 177, du 9/v\*/Šabrum : <sup>(1-6)</sup> 2927,5 *qa* d'orge selon la mesure *sîtu* des rations, reddition des comptes (*ni-pí-iš ni-ik-ka-as-sî*) de Samkanum depuis le mois de *kinûnum* (ii\*) jusqu'au mois de *mammîtum* (v\*).

– OBTR 178, du 30/viii\*/Šabrum : <sup>(1-9)</sup> 3150 *qa* d'orge selon la mesure *sîtu* des rations, reddition des comptes (*ni-pí-iš ni-ka-as-sî*) de 4 mois de Samkanum, depuis le mois de *mammîtum* (v\*) jusqu'au mois de *niggallum* (viii\*) compris.

– OBTR 179, du 30/viii\*/Šabrum : <sup>(1-5)</sup> 450 *qa* d'orge selon la mesure *sîtu* de la taxe *šibšum*, arriérés (LÁ.U) de Samkanu(m), depuis que le compte a été soldé (*iš-tu ni-ka-as-sú na-ap-šû*).

Ce dernier texte enregistre en particulier les arriérés du brasseur depuis que les comptes sont « *napsû* ». Ces comptes pourraient-ils être reportés alors qu'OBTR 178, rédigé le même jour, mettait par écrit la quantité de grain dépensée par Samkanum pendant quatre mois (du mois v\* au mois viii\*) et semble faire suite à OBTR 177 qui enregistrerait les quantités de grain des trois mois précédents (ii\* à v\* — non compris) ?

D'une manière générale, c'est précisément lors de la reddition des comptes que les administrateurs pouvaient établir les arriérés qu'il restait à percevoir des différents individus impliqués dans les transactions. M. Stol donne d'ailleurs plusieurs exemples d'arriérés dans des textes paléo-babyloniens au moment du *nipiš nikkassî* (VAS 18 9, YOS 12 369, TCL 11 217). En particulier, l'auteur traduit le texte TCL 11 217 par : « the settling of the accounts over year Samsu-Iluna 7 having been postponed (*na-pí-iš-ma*) until month ii, day 30, PN<sub>1</sub> owes (this) to PN<sub>2</sub>. Within five days he will pay the

silver. Dated to 25/ii of the same year ». En réalité, le formulaire de ce texte paraît similaire aux exemples de Mari et Qaṭṭara mentionnés ci-dessus. TCL 11 217 précise la période d'exploitation qui comprend l'année SI 7 jusqu'au mois ii compris de l'année suivante (ce qui est confirmé par la position du verbe *napâšum* dans la phrase : NĪ.KA<sub>9</sub> ša MU...ša adi ITI GU<sub>4</sub>.SISÁ (mois ii) 30.ŠÚ<sup>1</sup> na-pi-is-ma). La reddition des comptes, réalisée le 25/ii, a permis l'établissement des arriérés en argent que PN<sub>1</sub> doit à PN<sub>2</sub> avant la fin du mois. Contrairement au cas de la documentation de Mari et Qaṭṭara, ce texte précise le délai de remboursement.

Il ne faut pas pour autant céder au piège de l'interprétation univoque. L'expression *nipiš nikassî* et ses variantes à l'époque paléo-babylonienne renvoyaient probablement à des réalités sensiblement différentes selon les services et les comptables, à l'échelle locale, ou selon les régions et les systèmes de gestion des institutions, à une échelle plus grande. L'étymologie n'est d'ailleurs pas d'un grand secours. Il semble que le verbe *napâšum* signifie plutôt « écraser », voire « repousser » physiquement lorsqu'il est employé avec le terme *qâtum* « main » ; voir CAD N/1, *napâšu* A, 1980, p. 285-288, et [www.archibab.fr](http://www.archibab.fr) pour d'autres attestations. Une traduction littérale « "l'écrasement" des comptes » (en vue d'une continuité d'exploitation, avec établissement des arriérés) est possible, car le sens originel renvoie très certainement à un autre niveau de lecture. Mais on peut également comprendre cette opération du point de vue matériel, si l'on considère que *nikkassum/nikkassû* désigne un instrument de calcul (voir à ce sujet J. G. Derksen, *NABU* 2015/9, à propos des marchands paléo-assyriens). La clôture des comptes pourrait être indiquée symboliquement par le fait de « repousser » l'outil de calcul jusqu'aux prochains comptes (D. Charpin nous signale que l'on trouve à Mari l'expression *qâtam napâšum*, « repousser la main (de qqn) », avec le sens figuré de « repousser une offre d'alliance » par exemple dans ARM 26/2 423 : 48 et 523 : 46).

Il est donc nécessaire à chaque fois d'étudier précisément les contextes d'usages ainsi que les pratiques comptables associées au *nipiš nikassî*, une des tâches que s'est données le projet franco-russe COMPTABAB (dir. N. Ziegler, I. Akhipov et G. Chambon).

1) La copie de TCL 11 217 ne semble pas comporter U<sub>4</sub> 30.KAM mais 30.ŠÚ. On peut supposer que le mois ii de cette année était estimé à 30 jours, et non à 29 comme il en existait (voir par exemple YOS 5 207, compte établi à la fin d'un mois comportant 29 jours que nous a signalé D. Charpin).

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**14) Sceau et abus de pouvoir par Mukannišum : à propos de FM VI 50, l. 26** — La lettre FM VI 50 de Aqba-ahum à l'intendant Mukannišum a fait l'objet d'une nouvelle étude par D. Charpin en 2014.

L'édition proposée diverge de celle de B. LAFONT (2002, p. 385-386 et 391), en particulier pour la compréhension du terme *kanikum*. D. Charpin traduit ce terme par « document scellé » (en rappelant que « *kanikum* ne peut être ici l'équivalent de “na<sub>4</sub>-kišib ‘sceau’” », cf. CHARPIN 2014, p. 39, n. 33) et non par « sceau » comme B. Lafont le comprenait dans certains cas (l. 13, 33 et 36 mais pas aux l. 20 et 26 où il le traduisait par « document scellé »). Cette nouvelle traduction a des conséquences importantes en ce qui concerne la pratique du scellement au sein de l'administration palatiale. Ainsi, nous voudrions revenir brièvement sur cet épisode en nous appuyant sur l'étude de D. Charpin. En effet, grâce à une proposition de lecture d'un signe de la ligne 26 qui posait encore problème (CHARPIN 2014, p. 39, n. 34), nous confirmons sa compréhension du texte. La lettre FM VI 50 date de l'année ZL 5, juste après le conflit qui opposa Zimrī-Līm aux Yaminites, soutenus par Ešnunna, entre ZL 3 et ZL 5. Suite à la conclusion d'un accord entre les deux parties, la libération de Yaminites capturés lors de l'affrontement fut négociée. Une des clauses de l'accord prévoyait le versement d'un prix uniforme de 8 sicles d'argent par prisonnier (CHARPIN 2014, p. 38). Aqba-ahum avait manifestement la charge de superviser le processus mais devant s'absenter, il demanda à Mukannišum de s'en occuper. Ce dernier devait alors libérer toute personne qu'on lui réclamerait en échange de l'argent et d'un document scellé par le ministre-šukkallum comme le lui avait expliqué Aqba-ahum, l. 13-14 : « Reçois l'argent (l. 13: KÙ.BABBAR *mu-hu-ur*) et prends le document scellé par le ministre-šukkallum (l. 13-14 : *ú ka-ni-ik*, LÚ.SUKKAL {x} *le-qé*) ». Ce document scellé devait être conservé comme justificatif ; un exemple de ce type de texte, mais appartenant à un autre dossier, a été mis au jour dans le chantier A de Mari, TH 84.48 (cf. ZIEGLER 2014, p. 897 ; et aussi CHARPIN 2014, p. 39-40 ainsi que la base de données en ligne Archibab]).

Cependant Mukannišum ne tint manifestement pas compte de ces instructions et la lettre est un rappel à l'ordre : Aqba-ahum lui demanda de cesser de libérer du personnel indûment. Il réagissait notamment à la plainte d'un autre fonctionnaire, Bunu<ma>-Addu, qui voyait Mukannišum libérer le personnel dont il avait la charge.

Un dernier problème subsistait quant à la manière dont Mukannišum avait procédé, la ligne 26 indiquant qu'il se serait servi de « ton<sup>1</sup> sceau » pour sceller des documents alors qu'on aurait attendu « son sceau » comme l'avait déjà noté D. CHARPIN (2014, p. 39 et n. 34).

La collation de la ligne 26, permet de voir qu'il s'agit très certainement d'un signe ŠU sur érasure au lieu d'un KA comme le montre la comparaison de ce signe avec les autres ŠU et KA de la tablette :



KA 1. 12/1



KA 1. 13



KA 1. 20/2



KA 1. 20/3



KA 1. 26/2



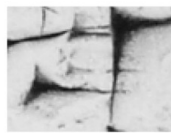
ŠU 1. 26



ŠU 1. 9



ŠU 1. 21



ŠU 1. 30/2



ŠU 1. 31



ŠU 1. 34

Comparaison du signe ŠU de la ligne 26 avec d'autres KA et ŠU de la tablette FM VI 50

(source : <http://pix.archibab.fr/4Dcgi/37547H8358.jpg>).

La tête de clou, visible au début, est très certainement le reste d'un signe effacé. La photo de la tablette (<http://pix.archibab.fr/4Dcgi/37547H8358.jpg> ; consultée le 29/12/2016) montre, qu'en plus des

repentirs indiqués par B. LAFONT (2002, p. 392, note) pour les lignes 10, 14, 18, 28, les lignes suivantes ont aussi été partiellement effacées et réécrites : l. 17 dans son ensemble, fin de la l. 21, fin de la l. 24, fin de la l. 26, fin de la l. 35.

Cette relecture permet donc de mieux comprendre la plainte de *Bunu<ma>-Addu* envers *Mukannišum* : « Il (i.e. *Mukannišum*) donne continuellement des documents à son\* sceau (l. 26 : *ka-ni-ka-ti-šu\**) aux chefs de service et il procède à des libérations.’ Il (i.e. *Bunu<ma>-Addu*) était très en colère!” ([25] (...) *a-na* [26] *be-el te-re-tim ka-ni-ka-ti-šu\** [27] *it-ta-na-di-in ú u-wa-ša-ar* [28] *li-ba-šu ma-di-iš {X} i-zi-iq*).

Comme l’avait déjà noté D. Charpin, cela correspondrait bien au passage des lignes 18-22 où, comme le rappelait *Aqba-ahum*, *Mukannišum* ne cessait de donner des ordres scellés en utilisant son propre sceau : (18) *mi-im-ma {A} a-na be-el te-re-tim* (19) *ú ha-al-ší-im e-li-im* (20) *ka-ni-ka-ti-ka i-ta-du-nim* (21) *ú LÚ.LÚ.MEŠ šu-ší-im* (22) *ú-wa-er-ka*, soit : « Mais t’ai-je demandé en quoi que ce soit de donner continuellement tes ordres scellés (l. 20 : *ka-ni-ka-ti-ka*) aux chefs de service et au district d’amont pour (en) faire sortir le personnel ? ».

La relecture de cette tablette par D. Charpin, confirmée par la lecture de la ligne 26, n’impliquerait donc nullement que le ministre-*šukkallum* (sans doute *Sammêtar*) se soit séparé de son (ou d’un de ses) sceau(x). Ce texte n’est donc pas une attestation de la pratique du prêt d’un sceau (voir pour cette question l’étude de J. Patrier dans la première livraison de la nouvelle revue *Ash-Sharq*, à paraître en 2017) : il illustre au contraire le contrôle qu’exerçait sur les fonctionnaires subalternes le ministre-*šukkallum*, contrôle dont souhaitait s’affranchir *Mukannišum* en autorisant des libérations qui n’étaient pas de son ressort. En s’appuyant sur l’étude de J.-M. DURAND (2016), concernant *Eštar-kabar* responsable d’un ergastule-*nēpârum* et des libérations indues de personnel dont il fut accusé, on peut même se demander s’il n’y avait pas là une tentative de malversation de la part de *Mukannišum* : en effet, les libérations semblent avoir été réalisées en dehors de tout contrôle de l’administration et il lui aurait alors été possible d’encaisser l’argent pour son propre compte.

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**15) The offering of Kadašman-Enlil II to Ninurta: Lapis lazuli bead IAA 1965–210, formerly kept in the Sammlung Georg Hahn (Berlin)** — Among the Kassite votive objects of unknown provenance, E. Herzfeld acquired a lapis lazuli cylindrical bead (fig. 1)<sup>1</sup> in Baghdad in the summer of 1913.<sup>2</sup> This object was formerly kept in the Georg Hahn collection (Berlin), but since 1965 has belonged to the Israel Antiquities Authority, as has the whole Hahn–Voss collection of which it is now a part, and has been kept in The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Since no photograph or drawing of this object (fig. 1) exists to date, only the copy of the eight-line Akkadian votive inscription written in positive,<sup>4</sup> it is worth preparing a drawing and inserting a photo of this item. The inserted photo of the impression of the cylindrical bead is inverted.

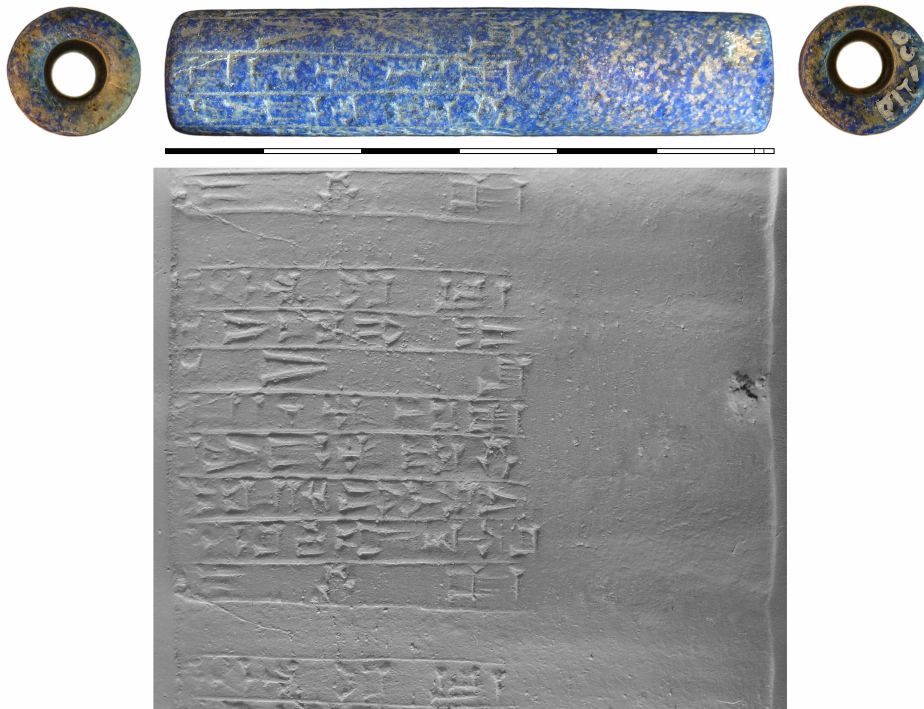
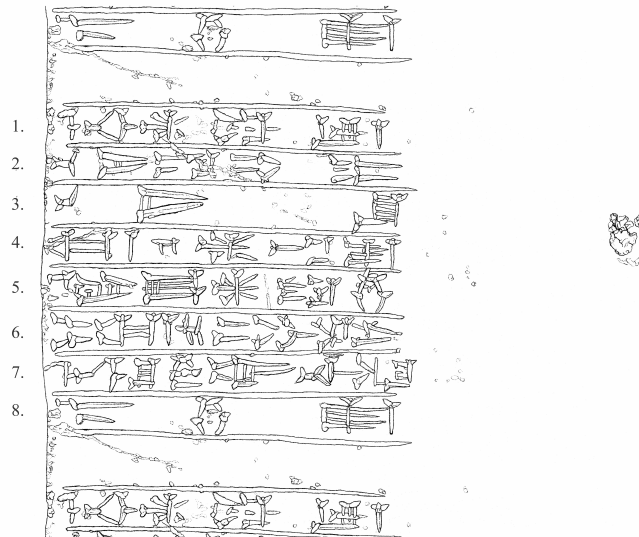


Fig. 1: Lapis lazuli cylindrical bead IAA 1965–210 (Hahn–Voss collection)  
(length: 61.6 mm; diameter: 12.9 mm).



1.	<i>a-na<sup>d</sup>nin-urta</i>	<i>ana Ninurta</i>	For Ninurta,
<hr/>			
2.	<i>be-lí ra-bi-i</i>	<i>bēli rabî</i>	great lord,
<hr/>			
3.	<i>be-lí-šu</i>	<i>bēlīšu</i>	his lord
<hr/>			
4.	<i>ka-dáš-man<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL</i>	<i>Kadašman-Enlil</i>	Kadašman-Enlil,
<hr/>			
5.	LUGAL KÁ.DIĜIR.RA <sup>ki</sup>	<i>šar Bābili</i>	king of Babylon,
<hr/>			



6. DUMU *ka-dáš-man-túr-gu* LUGAL *mār Kadašman-Turgu šarri* son of the king Kadašman-Turgu

7. *a-na šu-ru-uk* BALA-*šu* *ana šūruk palīšu* for the lengthening of his reign

8. *i-qt-iš* *iqīš* offered (it).

*blank space*

Interestingly, in contrast to the previous drawing published by Herzfeld (1928–1929), there is in fact no closing vertical ruling at the end of the inscription, and the lines begin very near to the edge of the cylindrical bead. Single lines are divided by rulings, leaving a blank space between the first and the last lines. The main characteristic of the inscription is that the lines begin very near to the edge of the cylindrical bead, while there is a broad band (constituting *c.* 40 percent of the field) between the last signs and the other edge. The single lines, including the rulings, terminate at approximately the same distance from the edges. All these features make it evident that the engraver likely copied a written sample whose proportions did not fit the chosen cylindrical bead.

Based on the inscription, which mentions the filiation of the king, this offering to Ninurta can be dated to the reign of Kadašman-Enlil II. However, the location for which the cylindrical bead was destined is questionable, since places of worship of Ninurta in the Kassite period are attested in Babylon, Dür-Kurigalzu and Hīlpu as well as Nippur.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Laura A. Peri (Rodney E. Soher Curator of Western Asiatic Antiquities, The Israel Museum) and Michael Sebbane (Israel Antiquities Authority), for permission to study and publish lapis lazuli bead IAA 1965–210. This research was funded by the Interuniversity Attraction Poles Programme initiated by the Belgian Science Policy Office (IAP VII/14 Greater Mesopotamia).

<sup>2</sup> HERZFELD 1928–1929, 81; EL-WAILLY 1954, 52 no. 2; JARITZ 1958, 253 no. 180; BRINKMAN 1976, 130 and 133f. no. J.2.7; STIEHLER-ALEGRIA DELGADO 1996, 210f. no. 249 and pl. XXVIa: 249.

<sup>3</sup> This information is from Laura A. Peri. For the Hahn–Voss collection see ZIFFER 2014, 45–49.

<sup>4</sup> HERZFELD 1928–1929, 81.

<sup>5</sup> STRECK 1998–2001, 519 § 13.1; CLAYDEN 2009, 52.

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**16) Pogonotrophy, Castration, and Revisiting a Seal Impression: AOD 105, *assinnu* and *fīru*** — In a recently published article, Serdar Yalçın mentioned a Kassite-period seal owned by a person named Terimanni – AOD 105, currently stored at the Louvre. Yalçın assumed that this person was an *assinnu*, and that he was portrayed on his seal as bearded.<sup>1)</sup> This aroused my curiosity, since my tentative assumption is that *assinnus* were beardless.<sup>2)</sup> A closer examination of the seal, however, reveals a more complicated picture. The iconographic scene exhibits two bearded men holding musical instruments: a rectangular lyre and an elongated lute. One of these two men is assumed to be Terimanni, identified by



the accompanying five-line legend as the seal owner. This text, however, was never published in full, because of two reasons: the third line in the legend is incomplete because of a break, and the crucial term in the fourth line—assumed by some to mean “*assinnu*”—was never accurately identified. I hereby offer, therefore, the first complete transliteration and translation of AOD 105 seal legend, based on the photo of the seal impression found on the Louvre website:<sup>3)</sup>

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>te-ri-ma-an-ni</i>                              |
| 2 | dumu <i>i<sup>m</sup>-kur-š<sup>d</sup>i-da-da</i> |
| 3 | lú elam-m[a <sup>ki</sup> -ke <sub>4</sub> ]       |
| 4 | saĝ ti-rín <i>in<sup>d</sup>an[na]</i>             |
| 5 | arad <i>ku-ri-gal-zu</i>                           |

“Terimanni son of Izkur-Šidada, man [of the land of] Elam, *tīru* of Išt[ar], servant of Kurigalzu.”

The association of Terimanni with Elam is understandable, since the seal was found in the excavations of Susa. His title in line 4, however, is more pivotal for the present discussion, and several scholars interpreted it somewhat differently over the years. Indeed, this seal drew scholarly attention for well over a century. A reproduction of its impression was first published by DIEULAFOY (1891: 439 fig. 340), while PRICE (1908: 397) supplied a facsimile and translation of the text. Thereafter, WARD offered a drawing (1910: 24 fig. 41a, 191 fig. 539), translation and discussion (1910: 190), but Terimanni’s name was yet to be properly recognized, let alone his title. LANGDON (1919: 72) published a revised edition of the text, finally identifying Terimanni’s name correctly, but not his title. LIMET (1971: 61) transcribed the elusive title as *sag.ti.erín* and translated it as a “castrat (?)”, noting that it was equivalent to *assinnu*, who may—or may not—have been a castrate. Similarly, COLLON (1987: 153; photo of the seal impression on p. 152, no. 674) translated the text on the legend as “Terimanni, son of Izkur-Shidada, ..., eunuch (?) of Inanna, servant of Kurigalzu.” DUMBRILL (2005: 337, Plate 47) supplied a drawing of the seal impression, including the iconographic scene and the legend. This drawing, however, is inaccurate, because it shows the man to the left as beardless, while he was certainly depicted on the seal as bearded. There seems to be, therefore, a long list of scholars who related to Terimanni’s title, but none of them identified it successfully.

The problem goes back to the entry “*assinnu*” in CAD A/2. As usual, the lexical section of the entry enumerates a long list of terms that were attested in association with *assinnu* in various lexical lists. One of these terms is *saĝ ti-erim*, the last component of which can alternatively read as *erín* or *rín*. As is well known, however, lexical lists do not necessarily produce exact synonyms. Frequently they merely group together different terms that shared certain semantic implications. Indeed, this is the case of the association between *assinnu* and *saĝ ti-rín*. The two are attested together in tablet 4 of the *lú=ša* list, where several additional terms are equated with *assinnu*: *pi-li-pi-li*, *saĝ-ur-saĝ*, *saĝ bur-ra*, *rab gal*, *saĝ búlug-ga*, *kur-ĝar-ra*, *an-ti-bal*, *an-ti-za*, *tùn-lá* and *ur-munus*. No one can claim, for example, that *kurgarrû* was an exact synonym for *assinnu*, since the two are clearly distinguished from one another in numerous texts.

I have previously proposed that the term *saĝ ti-rín* designated the palace attendant known as *tiru/tīru*, who was possibly a eunuch.<sup>4)</sup> Somewhat ironically, if these assumptions are correct, they confirm the tentative interpretations of Limet and Collon concerning Terimanni being a castrate – but for different reasons than the false equation to *assinnu*.

This leads us to the final question, concerning eunuchs, castration and beardlessness. There is no doubt about the beardlessness of the *lú-saĝ / ša rēši*. But what about the *tīru*? We have evidence for the association of *tīrus* with military activities, which probably required them to display manliness and vigor, qualities that at least in certain periods in Mesopotamian history went hand in hand with pogonotrophy rather than with pogonotomy. If the *tīrus* were palace eunuchs whose castration was performed after reaching puberty they could have certainly been bearded.<sup>5)</sup>

Needless to say, these suggestions are not based on any textual evidence, and the questions of the possible castration of the *tīru* and beardlessness of the *assinnu* cannot presently be resolved. One

thing, though, is certain: Terimanni, the Kassite-period owner of the seal AOD 105, may have had a beard, but he was by no means an *assinnu*.

<sup>1)</sup> YALÇIN 2016: 141 and n. 35, 142 Fig. 14c, 143.

<sup>2)</sup> This is never explicit in texts or artifacts. I have recently discussed this possibility in a presentation at the *Second Workshop on Gender, Methodology and the Ancient Near East*, held at the University of Barcelona, February 1-3, 2017, co-organized by Agnès Garcia-Ventura and Saana Svärd.

<sup>3)</sup> The Louvre website: <http://www.louvre.fr/>. A photo of AOD 105 is found in the following link: [http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car\\_not\\_frame&idNotice=25012](http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=25012).

<sup>4)</sup> PELED 2016: 160, 161, 252-257. See also GEORGE 1997.

<sup>5)</sup> For castration prior and post puberty see PELED 2016: 235-237.

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**17) šumma ālu 104: assinnu or not assinnu?** — The gender image of the *assinnu* has been discussed extensively in Assyriological discourse. He was presumably a non-masculine male cult attendant of Inanna/Ištar, but unambiguous evidence in this regard is rather scant. One of the few explicit textual references in this respect is an omen from the 104<sup>th</sup> *šumma ālu* series (CT 39.44:15, K 1994 obv. 24-25):<sup>1)</sup>

24      *šumma*(diš) *amēlu*(na) *ana zi-ka-ru-ti ina ki-li uš-tak-ti-it-ma*  
25      *u ās-sé-e-ni-iš na-aq zi-ka-ru-ta hu-uš-šu-uḫ-šu i-na pī-qi lumna*(hul) *immar*(igi)

If a man excited himself to manhood in prison, and like an *assinnu* manhood’s intercourse is deprived from him, he will experience misfortune in distress.

The protasis of this omen makes it clear that the *assinnu* typically lacked *nâq zikarūti*, “manhood’s intercourse”. Though I do not assume, as Lambert did,<sup>2)</sup> that this omen proves that the *assinnu* was a castrate, the characteristic absence of penetrative sexuality certainly portrayed the *assinnu* as lacking one of the most significant attributes of standard men in Mesopotamia. And probably anywhere else throughout human history, for that matter.

This interpretation of the said omen, however, was challenged by Ann Guinan twenty years ago. She pointed to the fact that the above transliteration is only based on one manuscript of the omen (K 1994), while a different manuscript (K 126)—that was ignored by scholars—shows a different line division (K 126 rev. 9-10):<sup>3)</sup>

9      *diš na ana zi-ka-ru-ti ina ki-li uš-tak-ti-it-ma u ina zi-e*  
10      *ni-iš na-aq zi-ka-ru-ta hu-uš-šu-uḫ-šu i-na pī-qi hul igi*

If a man excites himself to “manhood” in captivity but, when erect, the rise of the emission (?) of “manhood” is denied him, that man will experience one-time misfortune.

The difference between the two manuscripts is obvious: the phrase “like an *assinnu*” is absent from K 126. It is clear, therefore, that one manuscript exhibits the original omen, while another is a corrupted version, possibly the result of scribal misunderstanding while copying the text. The third copy of this omen is found in Rm 2.139 rev. 3’-4’, but it offers no solution to the problem, because in it all the signs appear consecutively along one line, that ends abruptly in the middle of the pertinent term, whether *às-sé[-e-ni-iš]* or *ina zi[-e ni-iš]*.

In my previous discussion of this complication I cautiously noted that both options are possible, and therefore any interpretation we have concerning the *assinnu*’s gender identity based on this specific omen must be careful. Today, however, I am even more convinced that K 1994 reflects the original omen, rather than K 126. In a recent workshop on gender, methodology and the ancient Near East (Barcelona, February 1-3 2017) I had the opportunity to discuss these matters with Ann yet again. Following these pleasant and stimulating discussions even she was partially persuaded, mainly because of the following consideration: it does not seem plausible that the scribe would misunderstand the term *ina zi-e ni-iš* as one word, *às-sé-e-ni-iš* if the (allegedly) original term was divided in two lines. On the other hand, the alternative scenario, according to which the scribe somehow misunderstood the original *às-sé-e-ni-iš* to actually mean *ina zi-e ni-iš*, is certainly possible. In such a case, due to lack of space, the word *ni-iš* could have been written in the beginning of the line following the one ending with *zi-e*.

1) For a discussion of this omen and its complexities see PELED 2016: 192-194.

2) LAMBERT 1992: 151.

3) GUINAN 1997: 478 n. 38 (transliteration), 474 (translation). The sign AŠ has several possible readings, two of which are *às* and *ina*; the sign ZI can alternatively be read as *sé*.

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**18) Notes on the god *Ja’u* and *Bīt-ja’-kīn*** — Among the names attested in the new texts from the Sealand Dynasty from the time shortly after the fall of Babylon two contain a divine name *Ja’u* as observed by Stephanie Dalley (CUSAS 9, 72 n. 6; she writes *Yau* and *ia-ú*, I prefer *j* like CAD/AHw). The names are *arad(ĪR)-ja-ú* “servant of *Ja’u*” and *ì-lí-ja-ú* “my god is *Ja’u*”. She points as well at a third name attested in Kassite Nippur: *ja-ú-ba-ni*. Because of the writing *ja-a’-ki-nu* at the Mappa mundi (CT 22, 48; Horowitz MC 8, 20ff.) the name of the Chaldean tribe *bīt-ja’kīn* should be translated as “the house, *Ja’* has made humble” or the like, with a divine name (cf. author UF 38, 377). This can hardly be anyone else but this early Middle Babylonian *Ja’u*.

With very few exceptions Mesopotamian and foreign divine names are not formed with the nominative *-u(m)*. According to this rule *Ja’u* doesn’t show declination. So we have to take the *ú* serious and may reconstruct *\*jahū* or more difficult, but nearer to our theological expectations *\*jahwa* as the original name. Dalley speculates that *Ja’u* (*Yau*) was perhaps assimilated as a “hypostasis of the storm-god”. Since the names give no hint about the character of the god, this is based on etymology. For example arab. *hawā* “to fall”, “to swoop down (predatory bird)”, “to blow”; *hawā* “air”. It’s reasonable but speculation.

From the Semitic Gods in Mesopotamia some more bear names derived from roots of west or south Semitic origin: *Sîn* (< *\*Sujain?*), *ḏé-a* (< *Haja*, probably also borrowed into Sumerian as *ḏḥa-jà*), *Adad* (hdd), *Dagan*. Of course *Ja’u* came much later than these Gods and is only attested in few and rare names. But he seemed to be more important among some tribes as the name *Bīt-Ja’-kīn* shows. Came the first Chaldeans with him?

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**19) De la dénomination des reines en Babylonie séleucide** — Dans l'ensemble du corpus cunéiforme de la période hellénistique la reine séleucide est désignée soit en tant qu'épouse du souverain avec le sumérogramme DAM<sup>1)</sup> (akk. *aššatu*)<sup>2)</sup> soit en tant que reine avec GAŠAN<sup>3)</sup> ou NIN (ou EREŠ)<sup>4)</sup> (akk. *šarratu*)<sup>5)</sup>. Le cylindre de Borsippa fait cependant exception puisqu'il mentionne syllabiquement le statut de la reine Stratonice en tant qu'épouse et reine : ii. 26-27<sup>f</sup> *As-ta-ar-ta-ni-ik-ku ħir-rat-su šar-ra-at*.

Le journal astronomique daté de 253 av. J.-C., qui annonce la mort de la reine Stratonice à Sardes, connaît deux versions. Dans l'une des versions (B<sub>1</sub> = BM 34105+41901+42041), Stratonice est mentionnée comme suit (Ro. 6') : [<sup>f</sup>as]-*ta-rat-ni-qé* GAŠAN « la reine Stratonice »<sup>6)</sup>.

Dans le duplicat (A<sub>1</sub> = BM 45840+45945), on lit la restitution suivante (Ro 11') : [<sup>f</sup>as-t]a-rat-ni-qé-e M[Í.LUGAL ...] « la r[eine] Stratonice ».

C'est la lecture proposée par Sachs et Hunger<sup>7)</sup> et qui est adoptée dans le commentaire par DEL MONTE (1997 : 41). Cependant MÍ.LUGAL n'est jamais attesté à l'époque séleucide pour mentionner la reine. Or, le début du signe encore visible sur la tablette grâce aux photographies, identifié comme SAL, permettrait de restituer le signe NIN (plutôt que DAM).

Cette proposition de restitution pour BM 45840+45945 (= SH 81-7-6,264+382) à la ligne 11' trouverait un parallèle avec le texte qui mentionne l'annonce de la mort de la reine Laodice, daté de 181 av. J.-C. (Del Monte 1997 : 70).

En effet, dans ce dernier on lit :

Vo 7 ITU BI UD.7 na-áš<sup>r</sup>-mu šá<sup>f</sup>lu-di-q[é-e]  
 8 DAM<sup>m</sup>si-lu-ku LUGAL a-na<sup>m</sup>si-lu-ku LUGAL<sup>lu</sup>D[AM-šú]  
 9 a-na<sup>um</sup>si-lu-ki-'a-a šá muġ-ĥi<sup>id</sup>[IDIGNA]  
 10 u ÍD LUGAL DU<sup>ku</sup> si-ip-du u bi-ki-tu<sub>4</sub> ina lib-bi  
 11 il-tak-nu-ú UD.9.KÁM na-áš<sup>r</sup>-mu-ú<sup>8)</sup> ina E<sup>ki</sup> it-t[e-eš-me]  
 12 um-ma NIN sim-tu<sub>4</sub> ub-til u<sup>lu</sup>UN<sup>mes</sup> KUR X X  
 13 u UKKIN šá É.SAG.GÍL šá la X X X

« Le 7 de ce mois », une r[eu]meur au sujet de Laodice, l'épouse du roi Séleucos, au roi Séleucos, [son] ép[oux], arriva à Séleucie qui est au confluent du Tigre et du Canal Royal ; on organisa à ce sujet deuil et déploration. Le 9, la nouvelle fut apprise à Babylone (en ces termes) : « La reine est morte » et les hommes du pays...et l'assemblée de l'Esagil qui ...ne pas... ».

Dans une phraséologie identique au journal astronomique de 253 av. J.-C. (B<sub>1</sub> = BM 34105+41901+42041), où le verbe *šemû* indique que l'information était lue dans les rues de la ville, on trouve deux sumérogrammes pour désigner Laodice, l'épouse de Séleucos IV : DAM (ligne 8) et NIN (ligne 12).

Lorsque le verbe *šemû* est suivi de la particule *umma* (voir ligne 12 ci-dessus) qui introduit le discours direct annonçant le décès, on remarque ainsi que le sumérogramme pour désigner la reine devait être NIN ou GAŠAN. Autrement dit, c'est bien le statut de reine et non d'épouse qui est alors souligné, et c'est le titre de reine qui était crié dans les rues.

C'est pour cette raison, et aussi du fait que le début du signe conservé à la ligne Ro. 11' de A<sub>1</sub> (= BM 45840+45945) interdit une lecture GAŠAN, que nous pensons devoir restituer NIN et non MÍ.LUGAL<sup>9)</sup>.

1) Dans un journal astronomique daté de 273 av. J.-C. et publié par DEL MONTE (1997: 27-28).

2) CAD A2 s.v. *aššatu* (o).

3) Dans un journal astronomique de 254 av. J.-C., on mentionne qu'il a été entendu (l'information devait avoir été lue dans la rue) que Stratonice était morte. Cf. un autre journal daté de 141 av. J.-C., soit durant le règne arsacide de Mithridates I, qui mentionne le roi et la reine séleucides: [...<sup>m</sup>a]n-ti-'u-uk-su<sup>f</sup>lu-di-qé-e GAŠAN ([...A]ntiochos et Dame Laodice), voir DEL MONTE (1997: 103-104). À noter qu'il pourrait s'agir d'une tradition arsacide de présenter la reine dans ce cas.

4) Dans un journal astronomique de 181 av. J.-C., publié par DEL MONTE (1997 : 70) : Vo 12 : um-ma NIN šim-tu<sub>4</sub> ub-til u<sup>lu</sup>UN<sup>mes</sup> KUR XX

5) Il faut préciser que nous ne traitons pas des attestations concernant Laodice (II), première épouse d'Antiochos II, puisque son statut royal est débattu, voir MARTINEZ-SÈVE (2003 : 690-706) ; pour les questions liées à la titulature des reines et les dénominations dans ce corpus, voir Marie Widmer, *La construction des identités*

*politiques des reines séleucides* défendue en 2015 à la faculté des Lettres de l'université de Lausanne et déposée à la bibliothèque universitaire de Lausanne. En ce qui concerne Laodice II, voir aussi Widmer, M. (à paraître), « Translating the Seleucid Basilissa. Notes on the titulature of Stratonike in the Borsippa Cylinder », in Michel, P.M., & Murray, J. (eds.) Actes du colloque international Elite Identity and Self-representation in the Ancient Mediterranean World, Genève, fondation Hardt 23-24 octobre 2015, note 39.

6) DEL MONTE (1997: 41-42).

7) SACHS & HUNGER (1989: 30-37, pl. 75-76).

8) Contrairement à DEL MONTE (1997 :70) qui omet le signe *ú*, SACHS & HUNGER (1989 : 385) translittèrent avec raison *na-áš-mu-ú*.

9) SAL/MÍ.LUGAL est attesté dans la documentation hittite pour mentionner la reine.

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**20) Manûtu ša Bābili the Babylonian subdivision of the mina<sup>1)</sup>** — When Alexander the Great conquered Babylonia in 331 BC, he immediately introduced Greek coinage everywhere in his empire. In the preceding Persian Empire, coins (gold darics and silver *sigloi*) existed already, but these were mainly used in the western part of the Persian Empire, probably primarily for the payment of Greek mercenaries.<sup>2)</sup> Coinage was invented in Asia Minor (probably in Lydia) in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and became the standard means of payment in the Greek world. Over time and in different places, a variety of local and regional Greek currencies evolved. Due to the power and prosperity of Athens, the Athenian (Attic) standard became the most important means of exchange in international transactions. In the Near East, however, uncoined silver continued to fulfill the main functions of money: a means of exchange, unit of account, and store of value. The standard unit of account was the shekel (Hebrew corruption of *šiqḷu*, 'weight', from *šaqālu*, 'to weigh'), which was not a coin, but a weight standard of 8.33 grams. The Mesopotamian standard was based on the mina (MA.NA, *manû*) with the following subdivisions: 1 mina = 60 shekels = 500 gr. The mina was 1/60<sup>th</sup> of a talent (GÚ.UN, *biltu*, 'load'). In the Levant (e.g. in Carchemish) this system was taken over with the mina divided into 50 shekels. This Levantine system also entered the Greek world. 'Shekel' was translated as *statēr* ('weight', from *histēmi*, 'to place [in the balance], to weigh'), which had different weights in different city-states. In the Attic system the talent (*talanton*, 'scale, balance') was divided into 60 minas and the mina (*mnā*, loanword from a Semitic language, ultimately Akkadian) had the following subdivision: 1 mina = 100 drachmas = 50 didrachms = 431 gr. The standard silver coin, the *statēr*, was the tetradrachm (4 drachmas), weighing c. 17.2 grams.<sup>3)</sup> Smaller denominations were the didrachm (c. 8.6 gr. – in weight close to the Babylonian shekel), the drachma (c. 4.3 gr.) and subdivisions, such as the obol (1/6 of a drachma), *hēmiobolos* (1/12 of a drachma), *tetartēmorion* (1/24 of a drachma).

Although the *statēr* represented a tetradrachm in Athens, an equation between the shekel = two drachmas (a didrachm) seems to have gained general acceptance in the Near East already before Alexander. We see it in Elephantine (in Upper Egypt, close to Aswan). Two Elephantine papyri from the end of the fifth century BC equate one stater (= tetradrachm) with two shekels (TAL 2007: 22, n. 11; POWELL 1989-90: 511). One text adds that the stater is "Greek silver" (*ksp ywn*). Tal ascribes this equation to Babylonian influence (TAL 2007: 24). The influence may effectively be Persian-Babylonian,

as 10 Babylonian shekels equate to 1 Persian *karša* (83.3 gr.) and are equal to 5 Greek staters according to one of the papyri. 6 *karša* = 1 Babylonian mina<sup>4)</sup>. The Septuagint usually translates *shekel* as *didrachmon* (e.g. Ex. 30: 13; Lev. 27: 3; Neh. 10: 33 = Esdras II 20:33), sometimes as *siklos* (e.g. Ez. 45: 12).

As mentioned above, Alexander introduced coinage struck to the Attic standard. *Hacksilber* (silver bullion pieces) soon fell out of use. Payments were now made in the new coins. Not all issues adhered to the Attic standard though. In Babylon, the satrap Mazaeus issued staters on the Attic weight standard of 17.2 grams, but after his death in 328 lion staters were issued with a weight well below 16.00 grams (MØRKHOLM 1991: 48). In the course of time the weight of the Attic tetradrachm was lowered, especially after the reign of Antiochus IV, and even further in the Parthian period.<sup>5)</sup>

In spite of the introduction of coinage Mesopotamian cuneiform documents stick to the expression of prices in shekels rather than in drachmas. One coin is often mentioned in the formula that indicates the price, the *statēr*, but apart from one instance<sup>6)</sup> the number of coins is never mentioned. Administrative documents from the time of Alexander's reign use the formula "x shekels of silver in staters of Alexander" - under later kings normally the reigning king (cf. VÁRGYAS 2004). Sometimes specific coins are mentioned, such as the 'elephant staters' and the 'lion staters'.

This has led many scholars (including myself) to the assumption that the coins were still treated as bullion and weighed, rather than counted, although there is a lot of evidence that in Babylonia the shekel was considered to represent two drachmas (VAN DER SPEK 1998: 211; 246-7; 2014: 205). As we have seen, the equalization of one shekel with two drachmas was already the practice in the Near East and Egypt and it especially fitted in with the Babylonian system, as the weight of the Babylonian shekel and the Attic-weight didrachm was nearly identical. Julien Monerie, in his forthcoming dissertation, defends the view that this was the official ruling indeed, so that the coins were counted rather than weighed. A shekel counted as two drachmas and two shekels represented a stater. Period!<sup>7)</sup>

In many instances the prices in shekels and staters get an extra qualification: (*ina*) *manûtu ša Bābili*, written (*ina*) *ma-nu-(ú)-tu/tú* (or ŠID-tú or *mi-nu-tu/tú*) *šá* E.KI (once, in Uruk, TIN.TIR.KI), lit. "(in) the counting of Babylon". What does this mean? I quote four passages in full:

1) 2 ½ MA.NA 8 ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *qa-lu-ú is-ta-ter*.MEŠ *šá* <sup>m</sup>*Si-lu* [uk] | *šá pi-lu bab-ba-nu-tu ma-nu-tú šá* E.KI,

"2 ½ mina, 8 ½ shekels of refined silver, (in) staters of Seleucus with an elephant, in good condition, (in) the counting of Babylon" [record of deposit, 277 BC, Antiochus I].<sup>8)</sup>

2) 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *qa-lu-ú is-ta-ter-ra-an-nu šá* <sup>m</sup>*An-ti-'-ku-su bab-ba-nu-tu | ma-nu-tu šá* E.KI, "1 mina of refined silver (in) staters of Antiochus, in good condition, (in) the counting of Babylon" [record of deposit, 29 July 253 BC, Antiochus II].<sup>9)</sup>

3) 2/3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *qa-lu-ú ep-šú bab-ba-nu-ú is-ta-tir-ra-nu | šá* <sup>m</sup>*An-ti-'-uk-ku-su mi-nu-tu šá* E.KI,

"2/3 mina of fine coined<sup>7)</sup> (lit. "wrought") silver in good condition, staters of Antiochus, (in) the counting of Babylon [record of deposit, 26 March 218 BC, Antiochus III].<sup>10)</sup>

4) ... PAP KÙ.BABBAR *ù ši-me KÙ.BAB[BAR] | [x MA.NA K]Ù.BABBAR qa-lu-ú ep-šú bab-ba-nu-ú šá* <sup>m</sup>*An-ti-'-ku-su | [ŠID]-tu šá* E.KI,

"total in silver and (items) worth silver – [x minas] refined coined<sup>7)</sup> silver in good condition of Antiochus, in the counting of Babylon" [marriage contract, date lost, after a description of the dowry items consisting of silver and items valued in silver, such as "[x] large and small garments worth three minas of silver"].<sup>11)</sup>

Until now it was supposed, by others and by me, that this expression referred to the exchange rate between shekels and drachmas.<sup>12)</sup> This interpretation is accepted by Julien Monerie, who argues that the rate of exchange was in fact 1 shekel = 2 drachmas.<sup>13)</sup> Monerie translates: "taux de Babylone", "rate of Babylon". Although I agree with him that the shekel is taken to represent two drachmas (one didrachm), I now have a different interpretation of the term *manûtu ša Bābili*. The word *manûtu* is derived from the verb *manû*, 'to count', and thus means 'counting', not 'rate'. The technical term for 'exchange rate' in Late Babylonian is *nadānu* (KI.LAM).<sup>14)</sup> To specify an 'exchange rate of Babylon' would be otiose in the absence of any other exchange rate, but there was another subdivision, 'counting,'

of the mina. The term *manûtu* refers to the cognate substantive *manû*. It specifies that the mina mentioned in the documents is the Babylonian mina, not the Greek mina. The Greek mina counted 100 drachmas, hence 25 staters (tetradrachms), the Babylonian mina counted 60 shekels = 120 drachmas = 30 staters (tetradrachms).<sup>15)</sup> Thus the above-mentioned record of deposit from 253 BC makes clear that the debtor has to repay 30, not 25 staters. It is perhaps no coincidence that in all texts the price contains the mention of a *manû* (MA.NA) or a fraction of a *manû*, such as 1/3 or 2/3.

My new interpretation thus corroborates Monerie's contention that coins were counted, rather than weighed. *Manûtu*, 'counting', differs from *šuqultu*, 'weight' that we saw in the earlier document concerning the wages of the laborers. In that text the laborers possibly received bullion in the weight of 10 staters (cf. n. 6).

This does not mean, however, that the weight of coins did not matter. A price list from Parthian Babylon clearly states that the (heavier) two-shekel-piece (= one tetradrachm) "in staters of Demetrius" buys more grain than the same denomination "in staters of Arsaces".<sup>16)</sup> And it is thus for good reason that some texts specify what kind of coins were expected or allowed, such as the coin issued by the reigning king (i.e., at least its equivalent in weight), an 'Alexander', an elephant stater or a lion stater (esp. the last with a lower weight). This is usual in coin transactions of all times.

The word *manûtu* is only attested in the Hellenistic period. That it is derived from the verb *manû*, 'to count', is proven by the occasional rendering with the ideogram ŠID. Yet, the term is reminiscent of the qualification of silver in older Assyrian documents, where we read that silver was to be paid "in the mina of Carchemish" or "of the king" or "of Babylon"; cf. CAD M<sup>1</sup>, p. 220, s.v. *manû* A 1 b). So one might consider translating in our context: "in the mina counting system of Babylon". That is at least what it is.

1) I thank Julien Monerie for his permission to read and use his dissertation before publication, Oliver Hoover for his advice on numismatic matters and the correction of my English, Johannes Hackl, Wouter Henkelman, Michael Jursa, Matthew Stolper and Mark Tamerus for their suggestions and references. I bear the sole responsibility for this note.

2) Johannes HACKL (2016) published two documents from the Late Achaemenid period mentioning a subdivision of the shekel, *danakku*, = Old Iranian *dānak*, known in Greek texts as a Persian coin, *danákē*. But note that both texts are not explicit about what was actually received, that is, whether *dānak* refers here to one-eighth of a shekel or to the actual Achaemenid coin.

3) The Attic gold stater, interestingly enough, was 8.6 gr., i.e. a didrachm.

4) This and later evidence assembled by POWELL 1987-90: 513.

5) MØRKHOLM 1991: 9-11; 178. HOOVER & IOSSIF 2008. Cf. also VAN DER SPEK, FOLDVARI & VAN LEEUWEN 2015: 496-8.

6) JURSA 2002: 120, text no. 8, a document dated to 7 January 321 B.C., recording the wages paid to five hired workers who removed the debris of the temple, apparently as part of the job undertaken by Alexander the Great for the reconstruction of the temple tower (mentioned in Astronomical Diary ADART I No. -321 Rev. 14': "the debris of Esagila was removed to the west bank" [August 322 B.C.]). The tablet mentions the wages for five workers who removed the rubble of Esagila for the 15<sup>th</sup> of month X to the 16<sup>th</sup> of month XI = 10 January to 9 February 321 B.C. The way the salary is expressed is unique in that it is given both in shekels and the number of staters: "1/3 mina (= 20 shekels) of silver, the weight (KI.LÁ = *šuqultu*) of 10 staters, the wages of five wage laborers who remove the debris". It confirms the assumption that the weight of a Babylonian stater (= tetradrachm) was set at 2 shekels. At first sight this text suggests that the wages were paid in staters (and that is what I so far assumed myself and it may be true after all), but after close reading one may rather understand that the wages were paid in silver bullion (*Hacksilber*) in the "weight" of 10 staters. The wages are paid "from the cashbox of Bel" and it is entirely possible that this cashbox in 321 BC still contained a lot of silver bullion. So it seems that the wages were set as 2 staters per worker, but paid in bullion silver weighed in such a way that the weight of the silver staters determined the weight of the silver bullion. One might speculate that the temple or recipient of the silver could go to the mint of Babylon to have the bullion minted. I consider the interpretation unresolved.

7) Note that new subdivisions of the shekel in the Hellenistic period match the subdivision of the drachma. A *maḥat*, 1/12 of a shekel, is equivalent to the Greek obol (1/6 of a drachma), a *ḥiṣ* (1/24 of a shekel, half obol) to a *hēmiobolos*, a *rabaḥa* (1/48 of a shekel, ¼ obol) to a *tetartēmorion*; note that all words are Aramaic or at least West Semitic and partly translations from the Greek (*mā'at*, 'grain, kernel'; *ḥeṣṭ*, 'one half' = Greek *hēmi-*; *rab<sup>ec</sup>*, 'one fourth' = Greek *tetartē*); cf. Hackl 2013 and 2016.

8) CT 49, 105 (= 106): 1-2 (ed. STOLPER 1993: 20-23, text no. 6)

9) BM 33657: 1-3 (ed. JURSA 2006: 195-6, text no. 6).

10) STRASSMAIER 1888, ZA 3:150f, no. 13 = STOLPER 1993: 28-33, no. 9.

11) CT 49 193 = ROTH 1989: 123-125 (text no. 40: 14-16). Note that the word stater is not mentioned. Note that in a similar contract the reference to Antiochus is omitted. The same is true for e.g. CT 49 144: 5-6 and 21 (cf. VAN DER SPEK 1985), where the text simply reads 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ŠID-tú šá E.KI, “one mina of silver (in) the counting of Babylon” (decision of the temple council [*kiništu*] on the assignment of an annual income for an astronomer, dated 15 January 118 BC, Parthian period). - The other documents are: STOLPER 1993: 82-6, text A2-7, October 314 or 313 BC (*i-na mi-nu-tú*); STRASSMAIER 1888, ZA 3: 148f, no. 10 (*ina ma-nu-tú*); CT 49: 114;2; 121: 2 (ed. STOLPER 1993: 45-6, text 14); 144: 6 and 21 (ed. MCEWAN 1981: 18-20 with corrections VAN DER SPEK 1985: 551-2 (ŠID-tú šá E.KI); 148: 4; 165:16; 178: 13; 185: 5; 186: 11, 13; 193: 12’; YOS XX 86: 11 (cf. DOTY 1977: 76-78, from Uruk, *ma-nu-ú-tú* šá TIN.TIR.KI); BM 41461 and BM 41582 – I owe these unpublished references to Julien Monerie. They will be published by Johannes Hackl in his forthcoming dissertation.

12) See for more information DOTY 1977: 77; 1978: 69 + n. 4; VAN DER SPEK 1981: 218-9 (with references); 1998: 211, 246-7; 2014: 205; STOLPER 1993: 22-3. CAD M<sup>1</sup>, 228, s.v. *manātu* translates ‘currency, standard’.

13) MONERIE, forthcoming, p. 135 (n. 473); p. 340, n. 1197; collection of evidence in Annexe 4, p. 403ff.

14) VAN DER SPEK 2016a and 2016b.

15) In the Persepolis Fortification Texts we find 1 *si-ri-ma-zo-si* 60-na, “1 *sirimazsi* of 60”, i.e. one mina. The scribe apparently found it important to mention that it was a mina “of 60”. PF 1980: 19. Cf. the new edition of the text Tamerus 2016: 274; comments p. 287 with note 203. See also APERGHIS 1997: 285.

16) SLOTSKY – WALLENFELS 2009: 83-97, text 6 r. 12’- 15’. For the weight of the coins cf. commentary p. 94, n. 65.

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**21) The Office Seal of the Šatammu of E-sangil during the Hellenistic Period: a résumé** — Antonio Invernizzi, director of the Italian excavations at the site of ancient Seleucia on the Tigris, first published a photograph (INVERNIZZI 1976: fig. 5) of the impression on a clay sealing (S7-4033) of a large stamp seal depicting a modeled profile left recumbent Neo-Babylonian-style serpo-dragon (*mušḫuššu*), an attribute of Bēl-Marduk, whose main temple was E-sangil in Babylon, located some sixty kilometers south-southwest of Seleucia. The monster rests on an altar-like pedestal decorated with a niche-and-pilaster-like façade represented by twenty evenly-spaced narrow vertical panels in low relief set between individual horizontal rectangular bands above and below, each band decorated with four parallel horizontal rows of nested undulating lines in low relief; three cuneiform signs occupy the field above the creature's back. This sealing was but one of some twenty-five thousand cretulae and ring-bullae, the majority evidencing the state-regulated salt trade, excavated in the public archive building on Seleucia's northern agora (see now MESSINA & MOLLO 2004; BOLLATI & MESSINA 2004a; *EID.* 2004b).<sup>1)</sup> Nearly two decades later, in an article cataloging Babylonian motifs among the Seleucia seal impressions, INVERNIZZI (1994: 357, fig. 1b) included a photograph of a second impression of the same seal on another excavated clay sealing (S7-4650). That same year this writer incidentally noted the reading of the cuneiform inscription: NÍG.GA UMUN "(temple-)property of Bēl" (WALLENFELS 1994: 69–70).

In 2004, Ira Spar invited me to edit the remaining unpublished Late Babylonian period cuneiform tablets in The Metropolitan Museum of Art for Volume IV of the series Cuneiform Texts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (= CTMMA), which would not see the light of day until 2014. Among these tablets is an Early Macedonian period temple *amirtu*-inventory (MMA 86.11.314 = CTMMA 4 145) with two incomplete stamp seal impressions on the tablet's upper edge, one immediately

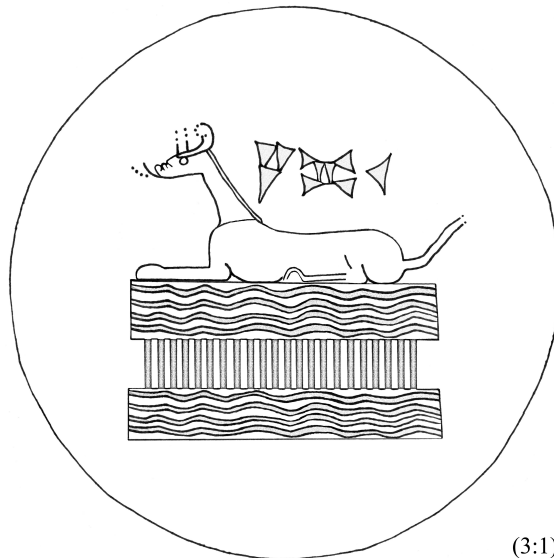
recognizable as identical to the two Seleucia impressions just noted, the other illegible, but, based on its partially preserved outline, it is likely a duplicate of the first. On the basis of its content and dating (9 Alexander III), I assigned this tablet to the so-called E-sangil Archive (WALLENFELS 2014: 201–202). Among other tablets assigned to this archive,<sup>2)</sup> one in the Louvre particularly caught my attention: DURAND 1981 (= *TBER*): pl. 9, AO 6015, also an inventory (previously described as a ration list), dated 1 Philip III (= 14 Alexander III), bearing on its reverse a large nearly circular seal impression, which, upon collation (courtesy of Julien Monerie), turned out to be another impression of the same seal.

In 2008, T. C. Mitchell and Ann Searight published a drawing of a large circular seal impression (MITCHELL & SEARIGHT 2008: no. 687b) that appears impressed four times on an early Seleucid period sealed and cuneiform-inscribed clay envelope in the British Museum, CT 49 122 (BM 47316 + 47323—the reverse of 47323 is not illustrated), that originally enclosed the cuneiform tablet CT 49 123 (BM 47329), a letter-order from Marduk-šum-iddin and his son Bēl-rē'ūšunu, both designated *šatammū* of E-sangil in 54 S.E.<sup>3)</sup> Although dated more than six decades after the Metropolitan Museum and Louvre tablets, the seal drawing nonetheless strongly reminded me of the seal under discussion: collation (courtesy of Laurie E. Pearce) confirmed that the envelope reverse indeed bore four more impressions of this same seal (see now ALTAVILLA & WALKER 2016: Photographs, GMH 201 + 47316). One other early Seleucid period British Museum tablet, CT 49 115 (BM 31473), the protocol of a hearing before Bēl-ibni *šatammu* in E-sangil in 46 S.E., on the basis of its content and the shapes of the seal impressions in the hand copy suggested yet another four impressions of this same seal and this too was confirmed by collation (courtesy Jonathan Taylor; see now DERCKSEN 2011: 75, fig. 6). Given the more than a half century separating the Metropolitan Museum and Louvre tablets from the British Museum envelope and tablet, and the three different *šatammū* named in the latter separated by less than one decade, it seemed perfectly obvious that the original intaglio, whether of stone or (precious) metal, was not that of any individual *šatammu* but rather that of the temple office itself. I have elsewhere (WALLENFELS 2014: 208) suggested that this seal's iconography and inscription are intimately connected to the two large lapis lazuli cylinder seals (“god's seals”), heirlooms from the early Neo-Babylonian period, eventually excavated in an early Parthian structure near E-sangil.

Then, Jan Gerrit DERCKSEN, in an article (2011) comparing the two Seleucia on the Tigris impressions with the same British Museum impressions noted above, independently came to the same initial conclusion I had. However, noting that I had elsewhere previously observed that the appearance of *mušḫuššū* on small flat elliptical private seal impressions on cuneiform archival tablets from Uruk clustered closely in the mid-30s S.E.<sup>4)</sup>—but unaware of the sealed Metropolitan Museum and Louvre tablets and their much earlier dating—Dercksen went on to suggest the possibility of a connection specifically between the original intaglio and construction work undertaken on E-sangil by Antiochus I (DERCKSEN 2011: 74). Dercksen offered a composite drawing of the seal (DERCKSEN 2011: 75, fig. 1), but his rendering is incomplete: the *mušḫuššū*'s head, that of a stylized Arabian horned viper, is lacking the base of the horn projecting upward from the middle of the nose, the circular eye beneath the base of the horn, the two wrinkles on the nose in front of the horn, the bottom line of the flicking forked tongue, and the volute curl at the back of the head; also missing are the erect mane running the length of the neck, and hind leg ending in a raptor's tarsometatarsus and clawed foot, the (partial) outlines of each of which are visible in the better reproductions of especially the two Seleucia impressions. Close comparisons may be drawn with similar details depicted on the striding *mušḫuššū* in the glazed and molded brick reliefs on Babylon's Ištar Gate completed by Nebuchadrezzar II (ARUZ et al. 2014: 344–45, no. 210), and the on the recumbent *mušḫuššū* among the private seal impressions from Seleucia and contemporary Uruk and Babylon (see note 4). The expected stinging tip of the monster's scorpion tail is not preserved in any of the known *šatammu* seal impressions. DERCKSEN (2011: 68–69) also suggested that at approximately twenty-three millimeters, the original intaglio would be the largest circular stamp seal from the Late Babylonian period; based on my own measurements taken directly from the Metropolitan Museum example (confirmed courtesy Yelena Rakic), the diameter of the original intaglio is significantly larger, on the order of twenty-seven millimeters.<sup>5)</sup>

Most recently, Stefania ALTAVILLA and Christopher B. F. WALKER (2016: 205–206, GMH201) have identified another five tablets in the British Museum displaying additional impressions of this seal, including BM 27767 (12<sup>9</sup> Alexander III); BM 32999 + 33026 + 33028 + 33053a (?? S.E.); BM 64259 (two impressions: see ALTAVILLA & WALKER 2016, Photographs, GMH201 + 64259) (ca. 59 S.E.); BM 74189 (?? S.E.); BM 140648 (7 Alexander III).<sup>6)</sup> Although considerably later than these tablets, PINCHES 1890 (= BOR 4) 132, the protocol of a decision taken by the *šatammu* and assembly of E-sangil in 185 S.E. during the brief hegemony of Hyspaosines, king of Characene, is also noted to have been impressed by perhaps this or another large circular seal (on the lower half of the reverse, to judge by Pinches’ mechanical copy).

Assuming that accidents of preservation, recovery, and publication have not skewed the data, the above noted dated sealed tablets (ignoring BOR 4 132) fall chronologically into two distinct groups. Four are dated to the earliest years of the Early Macedonian period, more or less coincident with cuneiform texts referring to the collection of tithes for repairs to E-sangil during the reign of Alexander III (see BOIY 2004: 110–11), and four more are dated to the 40s and 50s S.E., more or less coincident with the years when further repairs were apparently undertaken by Antiochus I during his reign, ca. 31–51 S.E. (V R 66; see KUHRT & SHERWIN-WHITE 1991: 75f.): note the “large number of bricks for the reconstruction of E-sangil” being molded “above” and “below” Babylon in 38 S.E. (AD I –273B: rev. 38’). There are, however, additional references to clearing debris from E-sangil during the reigns of Philip III and Alexander IV (ABC 10: obv. 6, rev. 30’), and while Antiochus was still crown prince (ABC 11: obv. 2). Nonetheless, if this apparent bimodal distribution of the dated impressions is sustained, Dercksen might still have been correct to associate Antiochus I and his repairs to E-sangil with this seal: it may be that during these renovations the original intaglio was rediscovered after having been “lost” since the Early Macedonian period: perhaps the intaglio had been put away for safe keeping shortly after the death of Alexander III (323 BCE), but was later forgotten or otherwise became inaccessible due to the turmoil in which Babylon found itself during the disorderly period of the Wars of the Successors (*Diádochi*) prior to Seleucus I firmly reestablishing himself in Babylon, ca. 305 BCE (see conveniently BOIY 2004: 117–37).<sup>7)</sup> Should BOR 4 132 be shown to have been impressed with this seal,<sup>8)</sup> but certainly when other dated impressions of the Hellenistic seal of the *šatammu* of E-sangil come to light, all such speculations will be duly tested.



(3:1)

<sup>1)</sup> The earliest extant dated tax stamp seal impressions in the Seleucia public archive are from 56 S.E. (SIS I nos. kat 1, inc 1), but the archive building itself may have been built earlier and may also have held older material previously archived elsewhere—Seleucia on the Tigris itself is variously argued to have been founded sometime between 311 and 300 BCE (see BOIY 2004: 135–37). The archive was destroyed by fire, apparently shortly after the second reign of Demetrius II (129–125 BCE) (see SIS I nos. SE 48–49).

<sup>2)</sup> See JURSA 2005: 73–75; cf. BOIY 2004: 17–21.



*La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers 350–300 av. J.-C.). Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la « Chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre » et le « Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides » (GDR 2538 CNRS), 22–23 novembre 2004.* Paris.

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SIS I = MESSINA & MOLLO 2004.

SIS III = BOLLATI & MESSINA 2004b.

STOLPER 1993: Matthew W. Stolper, *Late Achaemenid, Early Macedonian, and early Seleucid Records of Deposit and Related Texts*. AION Suppl. 77. Napoli.

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**22) The year when Assur fell** — In Nabopolassar’s mid-reign, the fate of the Assyrian-Babylonian war was decided. It was then that the Medes appeared on the scene and military activities moved to Assyria’s heartland. The political history of this period has been reconstructed chiefly from ABC 3 (GRAYSON 1975: 90–96), known as the *Fall of Nineveh Chronicle* (GADD 1923, WISEMAN 1956: 54–64, www.livius.org) or *Nabopolassar and the Fall of the Assyrian Empire* (GLASSNER 2004: 218–24). In his eleventh year (615/614 BCE), Nabopolassar besieged Assur, but he was pushed back south to Takritain. In his twelfth year (614/613 BCE), Assur fell to the Medes, while the Babylonian army arrived conveniently late at the battle scene. Two years later, Nineveh was captured after a three-month siege. Terse as most Babylonian Chronicles are, ABC 3 leaves us in the dark with regard to many details of these campaigns, crucial in both Assyrian and Babylonian history. A legal document from Sippar casts some light upon the events that took place in the year when Assur, Assyria’s ancient capital, fell to the Medes. The text is published here with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. It has been previously mentioned in KENNEDY 1986 (p. 194), and its several prosopographical entries are listed in DA RIVA 2002 (pp. 48<sup>89</sup>, 296, 364, 416, 435).

**BM 49697** (82-3-23, 688) 3.17 x 5.08

1. [x x x x x x x x]
2. [x x x x x x x x]
3. [x x x x x x x x]
4. [ki-i] [la i]t<sup>2</sup>-[ta<sup>2</sup>-nu<sup>2</sup>] [šá iti<sup>2</sup>]
5. ina 1 [gín šá<sup>2</sup>-lul<sup>2</sup>]-[tú<sup>2</sup>] ina [muh-hi]-šú

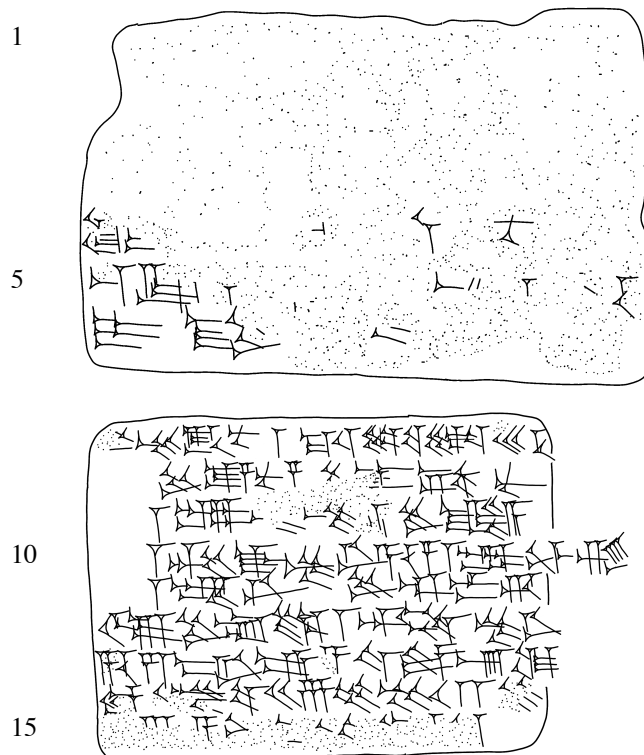
6. i-[rab-bi]  
 Rev.  
 7. [l]ú.mu-kin-nu<sup>m</sup>da-li-li-eš-šú  
 8. lú. šu-šá-nu šá [lú.tur]-ta-nu  
 9. <sup>md</sup>nà-[mu]-mu [a] lú.nígir<sup>l</sup>  
 10. <sup>md</sup>kur.gal-mu-dù a-šú šá <sup>md</sup>nà-pab.me-gi  
 11. <sup>md</sup>en-dù lú.se-pi-ri  
 12. ù lú.dub.sar<sup>md</sup>amar.utu-mu-dù  
 13. a-šú šá<sup>m</sup>tab-né-e-a zimbir.ki  
 14. [iti.sig<sub>4</sub>] u<sub>4</sub>.26.kám mu.12.[kám]  
 15. <sup>[m]</sup>[<sup>d</sup>nà-a-pab lugal tin.tir.ki]  
 [...]

Should [he not p]ay<sup>?</sup>, [monthly<sup>?</sup>] on[e-third<sup>?</sup> (of shekel)] will accrue against him per one shekel.

Witnesses: Dalīli-eššu, the *šušānu* of *turtānu*,  
 Nabû-šumu-iddin, descendant of Nāgīru,  
 Amurru-šumu-ibni, son of Nabû-ahhē-šullim,  
 Bēl-ibni, *sep̄tru*,

and the scribe Marduk-šumu-ibni, son of Tabnēa.

Sippar, twenty-sixth day of *simānu*, twelfth year of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon (16.6.614 BCE).



Most of the operative section is damaged, but the surviving interest clause suggests that BM 49697 was a promissory note for silver. The interest clause is not formulated in the usual way, stipulating the number of shekels that would accrue yearly per mina (most commonly: *ina šatti ina muhhi 1 manê 10 šiqil kaspu ina muhhišu irabbi* “yearly ten shekels per mina will accrue against him”). Rather, the interest rate is expressed as a fraction of a shekel that would accrue monthly per shekel. Such formulations are well attested at the end of the Assyrian period through Nebuchadnezzar II’s reign, when the usual 20 % interest clause was often rendered as *ina 1 šiqli hummušu kaspu ina muhhišu irabbi* “1/5 (shekel) of

silver per shekel will accrue against him” (BE 8 5: 4–6, TCL 12 15: 5–6, TuM 2/3 35: 1, 37: 3–4, 104: 5, cf. *Nbk.* 357: 6, 408: 15, VAS 4 23: 26). Traces in l. 5 do not conform with the reading *ina 1 [gín] h[umu-šu]*. The fraction—and the interest—must thus have been different. The above-suggested reconstruction  $\check{s}[a^2-lul^2-tu^2]$  has no immediate parallel, but both the per-shekel clause and the interest rate are known from early Neo-Babylonian texts. The same 33.33 % interest was charged in CTMMA 3 6 (Babylon, 16Ššu), and a 30 % rate is stipulated in texts drafted in Babylon, but belonging to the archive of Sîn-uballit from Ur (UET 4 82, 6Nbp), as well as in Larsa (UET 4 84, 13Ššu) and Cutha (AnOr 9 5, 5Npl). The default interest rate of 33.33 % (*ana šalušti*) is also found in Assyrian legal texts (CAD Š1: 287).

If restored correctly, the interest charged in BM 49697 (33.33 %) was high. Since rates higher than 20 % were exceptional in the seventh century (JURSA 2010a: 491), the debt must have been incurred in a situation where the debtor was in a tight corner. His position can hardly be considered in isolation from the circumstances of time. BM 49697 was drafted at the end of *simānu* of Nabopolassar’s twelfth year, a little over one month before the beginning of the military operation described in ABC 3.

The Chronicle does not provide many details when it comes to the timeline of the campaign of the twelfth year (cf. VON VOIGTLANDER 1964: 76–77 and ZAWADZKI 1988: 71–74, with earlier references). It recounts that in the fifth month (July/August 614 BCE), the Medes first approached Nineveh, but they did not besiege it, probably because the Assyrian army hastened back to protect the capital. They captured the nearby city of Tarbišu, then marched south, crossing the Tigris on the way, and laid siege to Assur. The Chronicle mentions the late arrival of Nabopolassar’s troops at the battle scene, but it does not inform us when exactly the siege began and when Assur was captured and sacked. Assur lay circa 150 km away from Nineveh, a distance that could have been covered by an army within less than a week. Even taking into account the time the maneuver around Nineveh and the battle at Tarbišu must have taken, the Medes could have arrived at Assur already at the end of Abu or at the beginning of Ulūlu. An early arrival in the south, where they were probably not expected, could have given them the advantage of surprise.

Where were their allies, the Babylonians, at the time? BM 49697 suggests they were not far away. Among the witnesses of the debt note we find a member—perhaps even members—of the Babylonian military. Considering the timing, they were probably part of the Babylonian army heading north to Assyria. The first, most honored witness was a *šušānu* of an unnamed commander-in-chief (*turtānu*). His high position on the list implies that he must have been a deputy to the *turtānu* rather than his horse groom (see CAD Š3 s.v. for both meanings). The name of the *šušānu* (Dalīli-eššu) is rare in the Neo-Babylonian onomasticon. Its single other bearer known to me is Dalīli-eššu, son of Arbailāya, who in the forty-first year of Nebuchadnezzar II married off his daughter in Opis (STRASSMAIER, *Liverpool* 8), but the fifty-year-long gap between the two occurrences makes the identification of both men impossible. Even more astonishing than his name is Dalīli-eššu’s master. The title *turtānu* is rare outside Assyria. Other than in reference to top functionaries of the Neo-Assyrian state, it is used by Assyrian sources to describe high-ranking Egyptian, Urartian, and Elamite military men (VAN BUYLAERE 2014: 208). In Babylonia, top army posts were held by *rab mungi* and *rab ummu* (JURSA 2010b: 85, MACGINNIS 1998: 180–81, MACGINNIS 2012: 31, 37), but, although isolated, the reference to *turtānu* in BM 49697 should not come as a surprise. The administrative structure of the emerging Neo-Babylonian state was modeled on the Neo-Assyrian system, and most titles of high royal officials were borrowed from the Assyrian court (JURSA 2010b: 97–98). It is uncertain, however, how long the post of *turtānu* remained an element of the system. The title is conspicuously missing from later sources, including the Hofkalender, the Chronicles, and the Biblical accounts of the activities of Neo-Babylonian armies.

The other witness who could have belonged to the forces heading to Assyria was Bēl-ibni (l. 11). The royal administration employed many *sepīrus* (JURSA 2012: 381–93). They served the king (*sepīrū ša šarri*) or royal functionaries, including *rab mungi* (WISEMAN 1956: 93–94, 0Nbp; BaAr 4 47: 4, (1)3Nbn) and *<rab>/rab ummu* (CT 57 41: 3, 8Nbn; PBS 2/1 196: 7, 13, i.e., 3DarII).

Still in Sippar at the end of *simānu*, the Babylonians were nonetheless able to make it to Assur (approx. 320 km away) in less than a month, even taking into the account that they had to travel during

the hot summer months and, more importantly, in the enemy territory from at least Takritain (the city where a Babylonian garrison had been set up the year before) on. Of course, it is unclear if the witnesses of BM 49697 were members of the nucleus of the army on the move north. It therefore remains uncertain whether Nabopolassar's late arrival at Assur was a logistical lapse or a deliberate strategic move, as suspected by GADD (1923: 10) and ZAWADZKI (1988: 74).

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**23) Zur Verknüpfung mehrerer Fixpunkte der mesopotamischen Chronologie von 2200-1760 — Ausgangspunkt und Zielsetzung:** Die moderne Forschung zur Chronologie Mesopotamiens hat schon vor einiger Zeit das chronologische Verhältnis von Babylon I zu Ur III ermittelt. Die relative Chronologie der diesen „Strang Babylon I/Ur III“ konstituierenden Elemente ist geklärt (vgl. CHARPIN 2004, 385f.), die absolute Chronologie konnte jedoch noch nicht fixiert werden. In diesem Beitrag werde ich aufzeigen, dass man nun auch einen chronologischen Strang Aššur/Akkade konstituieren kann und darlegen, wie alle astronomischen und historiographischen Elemente auf das Jahr 1587 als Zeitpunkt für das letzte Jahr des Samsu-ditana von Babylon verweisen.

In meiner Arbeit JANSSEN (2016), die sich der Chronologie von Erišum I bis Tiglath-pileser I widmet, konnte gezeigt werden, dass die „1225 Jahre der Assyrer“, die sich in der armenischen Version des Eusebius finden, die Lücken in der AKL vom Typ Khors./SDAS schließen und die LC und ULC endgültig widerlegen. Da mein Ergebnis zudem erlaubte, die Sonnenfinsternis von 1838 BC als die in MEC genannte zu identifizieren, hat auch die HC keine realen Chancen mehr.

In meiner Arbeit wurde klar, dass die in zahlreichen Publikationen angegebene Datierung für Šamši-Adad I. in Aššur um 10 Jahre zu hoch ist, diese also nicht bei 1808-1776 (klassische MC) sondern bei 1798-1766 liegt. Dies war zugleich auch das höchste Ergebnis, dass die Distanzangaben zuließen, was zuvor jedoch nicht erkennbar war. Das hat sich mit der Lösung der Distanzangaben und der Identifikation der „1225 Jahre“ grundlegend geändert. Erišum I. datiert somit 1964-1925 (vgl. JANSSEN



2016; SALLABERGER/SCHRAKAMP 2015b, 302. Dieses Autorenteam hatte aber Schwierigkeiten mit der Datierung Šamšī-Adads I., ebd.).

In JANSSEN (2016, 91) habe ich sehr dezent darauf hingewiesen, dass BARJAMOVIC et al. (2012) die *späten* Eponymen Šamšī-Adads I. wahrscheinlich richtig rekonstruiert haben, da sich dann eine signifikante Verknüpfung mit dem Fall Akkades ergibt. Dieser Umstand erlaubt es auch, in einem ersten Schritt das Verhältnis von klassischer und gekürzter MC zu klären.

*Fall von Akkade, Fall von Ninive:* Wie in JANSSEN (2015) bereits dargelegt, scheinen sowohl Šamšī-Adad I. als auch der kaum bekannte römische Historiker Aemilius Sura mit ihren Distanzangaben auf den Fall Akkades zu zielen. Šamšī-Adad I. spricht es aus, wenn er sagt, dass vom *šulum Akkade* bis zur Eroberung von Nurrūgum 7 Menschenalter (*dāru*) vergangen seien (GRAYSON 1987, 53, A.0.39.2: i 7-25). Aemilius Sura berechnet seine Distanzangabe vom Ende des 2. Römisch-Makedonischen Krieg an (197 v. Chr.) und erklärt, 1995 Jahre zuvor habe Ninus das Assyrische Reich gegründet (zu der Angabe des Römers vgl. CANKIK-KIRSCHBAUM (2006), die bereits erkannt hatte, dass es hier um den Fall Akkades geht).

In JANSSEN (2015) habe ich bei der Berechnung die Varianten mit berücksichtigt, dies tue ich hier nicht, sondern ich mache es kurz und bündig:

Entgegen der im Schrifttum manchmal zu findenden Übersetzung ist mit dem Ausdruck *dāru* keine Generation gemeint, sondern eine menschliche Lebensspanne. Nach der neuassyrischen Tafel STT 400 galten 50 Jahre als kurzes Leben, 70 Jahre als ein langes und 60 Jahre als die Lebensspanne eines Fürsten (vgl. JANSSEN 2015). Wenn diese Auffassung bereits zur Zeit Šamšī-Adads I. galt, ist es leicht zu erschließen, mit welcher Zahl er *dāru* verknüpft hat:  $7 \times 60 = 420$  Jahre.

Aemilius Sura rechnete  $197 + 1995 = 2192$ . Wir subtrahieren 420 Jahre (= 1772). In diesem Jahr müsste Šamšī-Adad I. etwas Signifikantes gemacht haben (nach der klassischen MC war er da schon tot!). Verknüpfen wir also die Chronologie von JANSSEN (2016) mit der Eponymenfolge von BARJAMOVIC et al. (2012, 95). Für die Notwendigkeit der Korrektur der Zählung von REL s. ebenfalls JANSSEN (2016):

Absolut	Eponym	REL & Korrektur	Ereignis
1772	Asqūdum	191 (193)	Fall Ninives
1771	Aššur-malik	192 (194)	Fall Nurrugūms
1770	Ahiyaya	193 (195)	
1769	Awīliya	194 (196)	
1768	Nimar-Suen	195 (197)	
1767	Adad-bāni	196 (198)	
1766	Tab-šilli-Aššur	197 (199)	Tod Šamšī-Adads I.

Nurrugūm und Ninive sind die politische und die religiöse Hauptstadt des Kleinstaats Nurrugūm. Offenbar wurde die Distanzangabe mit der Eroberung Ninives verknüpft, weil Šamšī-Adad ab diesem Zeitpunkt für den Erhalt des Tempels Emenue verantwortlich war. In der Inschrift wurde aber nicht Ninive als chronologischer Fixpunkt genannt, sondern Nurrugūm, weil dies die wichtigere und schwierigere Eroberung war, mit der dann der ganze Kleinstaat besiegt war (zu den Details der Eroberung und den beiden Eponymaten vgl. ZIEGLER 2004, 23-25).

*Konsequenzen, Teil 1:* Für die Chronologie ist das vorgelegte Ergebnis kaum zu überschätzen. 2192 ist nach der *klassischen* Mittleren Chronologie (BRINKMAN 1977, 335) das erste Jahr nach dem Tod des Šarkališarri (2193). Hier finden wir es wieder, in dem wir, unter Umgehung der Schwierigkeiten sämtlicher Königslisten, zwei Distanzangaben miteinander kombinierten, von der die eine ausdrücklich vom Fall Akkades spricht und die andere eine Direktverbindung von der römischen zur akkadischen Geschichte herstellt. Die Ansetzung des Šamšī-Adad I. (s. oben) entspricht jedoch einer *gekürzten* MC. Beide Ansetzungen werden durch die 420 Jahre verknüpft. *Ob die klassische oder die gekürzte MC zutrifft, ist also eine Frage des behandelten chronologischen Segments!*

Schon CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM (2006) stellte die Frage nach den Quellen, die Aemilius Sura benutzt hat, doch hier muss man die Antwort weiterhin schuldig bleiben. Die Daten von Šamšī-Adads Quelle müssen jedenfalls in das Datenmaterial eingegangen sein, das Aemilius Sura zur Verfügung stand. Sollte hier die (U)SKL im Spiel sein (STEINKELLER 2003; SALLABERGER/SCHRAKAMP 2015a, 13-22), wusste man offenbar die Spreu vom Weizen zu trennen, vielleicht besser, als wir das heute können. *Verknüpfung der beiden chronologischen Stränge:* Für die Chronologie Akkades haben wir nun folgende Daten (nach USKL\* und SKL L<sub>1</sub> und WB):

Könige	Regierungsjahre	absolut
Sargon	40*	2336-2297
Maništusu	15*	2296-2282
Rimuš	08*	2281-2274
Narām-Sîn	54,5* (verwende 56, L <sub>1</sub> )	2273-2218
Šarkališarri	21*+x (verwende 25, L <sub>1</sub> )	2217-2193
Igigi, Nanium, Imi, Elulu	03 (WB)	2192-2190
Dudu	21 (WB)	2189-2169
Šu-durul	15 (WB)	2168-2154

Die Datierungen von Šarkališarri bis Šu-durul sind identisch mit denen von BRINKMAN (1977, 335f.) Für die Regierungslängen vgl. SALLABERGER/SCHRAKAMP (2015a, 18).

Damit haben wir einen stabilen assyrisch-akkadischen Strang entwickelt. Hätte Erišum I. (1964-1925) eine Distanzangabe zwischen sich und Šarkališarri erstellt, hätte sie besagt, dass zwischen dem Fall von Akkade und seiner Regierung 228 Jahre verstrichen seien (2192-1965).

Das zeitliche Verhältnis der Puzur-Aššur-Dynastie sowohl zu Babylon I als auch zu Ur III hängt am Synchronismus Tod Šamšī-Adads I. (1766) = Ḫammurapi 18 (Charpin/Ziegler 2003, 136-138, 163, 262). Dann fiel Babylon im Jahre 1586, genau 180 Jahre nach dem Tod des Šamšī-Adad. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass Šamšī-Adad in einem späteren Jahr des Ḫammurapi starb, was jedoch am Todesjahr 1766 nichts ändert, sondern sowohl den Fall von Ur als auch den Fall Babylons etwas höher schieben würde.

*Konsequenzen, Teil 2:* Betrachtet man sich das Ergebnis, ist es verführerisch, den Fall Babylons von 1586 auf 1587 zu heben. Da die Datierung Šamšī-Adads I. um 10 Jahre abgesenkt wurde, muss Ḫammurapi nachziehen. Es bietet sich an, das Datum 1595 um eine kleine Venusperiode von 8 Jahren zu senken. Damit wäre man in Übereinstimmung mit den Daten der Venustafeln (PRUZSINSZKY 2009, 71 rechts) und hätte diese über die assyrischen Schriftquellen mit der Sonneneclipse von 1838 BC (ein Jahr nach der Geburt Šamšī-Adads) in Einklang gebracht. Šamšī-Adad I. wäre demnach in Ḫammurapi 19 verstorben (1766). Der Babylonier regierte dann in den Jahren 1784-1742, Erišum I. 1964-1925, Ibbi-Sîn 2018-1995/4 (Regierungslänge 24 oder 25 Jahre), Ur-Namma 2102-2085. Zu denselben Datierungen kamen auf anderem Wege auch SALLABERGER/SCHRAKAMP (2015b, 302, Tafel 10.1, rechte Spalte).

*Von Šu-durul zu Ur-Namma:* Zwischen dem Tod des Šu-durul und Ur-Nammas erstem vollem Jahr liegen 51 Jahre (2153-2103), seit dem Tod Šarkališarris sind es 90 Jahre. In diesem Ergebnis finden sich im Grunde alle Positionen zur Gutäerzeit wieder: die Auffassung, diese Spanne sei 80-100 Jahre lang (SALLABERGER/SCHRAKAMP 2015a, 113-30; STEINKELLER 2015), genauso wie die Gutäerzeit von HALLO (1957-71, § 7, „four or five decades“ (p. 714 rechts); 2005, 153). Allerdings startet diese nicht, wie bei Hallo, mit Šarkališarris Tod, sondern dem von Šu-durul. Die Gutäer scheinen sich neben Spätakkade (2192-1954) und Uruk IV etabliert zu haben, so dass wir es hier wohl mit unterschiedlichen Teilstrecken zu tun haben. Die 51 Jahre sind vielleicht die von Uruk IV und V (vgl. die Angaben und *lacunae* in Tf. 34 bei SALLABERGER/SCHRAKAMP 2015a, 114). Leider kann ich hier nicht näher darauf eingehen.

*Fazit:* Šamšī-Adad I. starb im 19. Jahr Ḫammurapis (1766); Samsu-ditanas letztes Regierungsjahr war 1587. Die Distanzangabe Šamšī-Adads I. löst das Rätsel um die beiden Mittleren Chronologien: die gekürzte MC trifft auf die altbabylonischen Dynastien und Ur III zu, die klassische

MC ist auf Akkade anzuwenden. Der Übergang zwischen beiden Konzepten liegt in der Gutäerzeit. Die in REL fehlenden zwei Eponymen sind in der Kindheit/Jugend Šamšī-Adads I. zu suchen (vgl. JANSSEN 2016, 87).

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**24) Randnotizen zum hethitischen Lexikon (II).** <sup>DUG</sup>halduttiya- — Das hethitische Wörterbuch verzeichnet ein Wort <sup>DUG</sup>haldutti-, so vom HW<sup>2</sup> III 80a angesetzt, gefolgt von J. Tischler, HEG I 135, sowie id., HHw, 37, ebenso noch id., Vocabulaire Hittite, p. 61. Die Beleglage ist dabei recht dürftig. Die im HW<sup>2</sup> verzeichneten Formen sind <sup>DUG</sup>hal-du-ut-ti-ya[ IBoT 3.72, 4'; [<sup>DUG</sup>]hal-du-ti-y[a KUB 54.3 Vs. 6'; <sup>DUG</sup>ha-al[- KUB 27.49 III 34; <sup>DUG</sup>hal-du-u[t-ti(-) KUB 54.22 Vs. 11'. Es liegen nicht nur unvollständige Kontexte vor, auch das Wortende eines jeden Beleges ist abgebrochen. Dies gilt auch für IBoT 3.72, 4', und KUB 54.3 Vs. 6', wo HW<sup>2</sup> jeweils von einer vollständigem Wortform ausgeht, wie gleich zu zeigen. Aus IBoT 3.72 läßt sich nämlich noch ein weiterer Beleg beibringen: Z. 12' -t[i-ya-an-ma-kán. IBoT 3.72 kann als Duplikat zu KUB 54.22 bestimmt werden. Aus der Kombination von IBoT 3.72, 12', mit Duplikat KUB 54.22, 11', ergibt sich nunmehr mit [(<sup>DUG</sup>hal-du-u)t-t[i-ya-an-ma-kán die erste auch im Wortausgange vollständige Wortform. In IBoT 3.72, 4', lehrt der heute mögliche Blick in das Tafelphoto, daß auf <sup>DUG</sup>hal-du-ud-di-ya der Autographie noch (ohne Spatium) die untere Ecke des Keilkopfes eines Wagerechten auf mittlerer Zeilenhöhe folgt. In Frage kommen hierfür zunächst einmal AŠ oder AN, wobei die Syntax des durch das Duplikat KUB 54.22 erweiterten Kontextes nur AN zuläßt.

Der wiederzugewinnende Kontext lautet:

A. IBoT 3.72 (Bo 3553) [(+) KUB 27.52 (Bo 781)]

B. KUB 54.22 (Bo 6058)

B

Vs.?

x+1 [

]x iš-š[a-

A

x+1 [

]x KAŠ [

a(r-ḫa {Rasur})

2' [

-n]u-uš-ki-iz-zi ʳnam[-m]a [ -t(a-la-an-ni-ya-aš)(-)

3' [

-]ša-an-na EGIR-pa I-NA <sup>GIŠ</sup>1B[ANŠUR d(a-a-i)]

4' [EGI]R-pa-an-ta-ma <sup>DUG</sup>ḫal-du-ud-di-ya-a[n (x LÀL A-NA <sup>d</sup>Tu-u-na-pí)]

5' [Ù] ʳA'-NA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>EN É.DINGIR <sup>MEŠ</sup>pa-ra-a a[p-pí-i(š-ke-ez-zi)]

6' [(<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>E)]N É.DINGIR <sup>MEŠ</sup>A-NA <sup>d</sup>Aš-du-ut-ta ʳd<sup>1</sup> [ (UŠ-KE-EN<sub>6</sub>-NU)]

7' [(nam-ma-aš-š)]a-an pu-u-ri-in zi-ik-kán-z[i]

8' [na-aš-t]a <sup>MUNUS</sup>ḫu-u-wa-aš-ša-an-na-al-li-iš Š[(A Ì.DÙG.GA)]

9' [(<sup>GIŠ</sup>tup-pa-ni-i) g]a-lu-lu-pa-az-za Ì.DÙG.GA ša-ra-ʳa<sup>1</sup> [da-a(-i)]

10' [(nu <sup>d</sup>Tu-u-na-pí-in) <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>E]N É.DINGIR <sup>MEŠ</sup>-ya e-ne-ru-uš i[š-ke-e(z-zi)]

11' [(nam-ma-)aš-š]a-an <sup>GIŠ</sup>tup-pa-an-ni-in I-NA <sup>GIŠ</sup>[BANŠUR da-a(-ʳi<sup>1</sup>)]

12' [(<sup>DUG</sup>ḫal-du-u)t-t]i-ya-an-ma-kán A-NA DINGIR <sup>LIM</sup> [

13' [ <sup>MUNUS</sup>ḫu-u-w]a-aš<sup>1</sup>-ša-an-na-al-li EN[.SISKUR

14' [ <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>EN É.DINGIR <sup>MEŠ</sup>-ya ga<sup>?</sup>-ḫa-an[-

15' [ ]x-t[i(-)

B

Rs.?

x+1 [

]x x[

2' [

] ša-ra-a [

3' [

]an -zi [ ]

4' [

] e-ku-zi <sup>LÚ</sup>NAR ŠÌR<sup>R</sup>[<sup>U</sup>]

5' [

]x(-) iš-ke-ez-zi [ ]

6' [

pu-u-ri-i]n-ma-aš-ša-an Ú-UL [ ]

7' [zi-ik-

]x GAL KAŠ ar-ḫa e-ku-z[i]

8' [

] da-a-i [ ]

9' [

]x pé-di ú-e-ḫa-x[

10' [

GI]Š <sup>d</sup>INANNA<sup>HI.A</sup> [ ]

Der Kontext von IBoT 3.72, 4'-12', ist somit, abgesehen von kleineren Lücken vollständig, so daß er einer Übersetzung wert erscheint: <sup>4'-7'</sup> „[Dan]ach aber h[ä]lt er ein ḫalduttiya-Gefäß [ ]... Honig Tunapi und den Herrn der Tempel hin. Die Herrn der Tempel verneigen sich vor Ašdutta (und) [ ]. Dann lege[n] sie die Lippe daran. <sup>8'-12'</sup> Die ḫuwaššanna-Priesterin [nimm]t mit den Fingern aus einem tuppanni-Gefäß aromatisierten Öles aromatisiertes Öl heraus. Sie s[alb]t die Augenbrauen Tunapis und der Herrn der Tempel. Dann [stell]t sie das tuppanni-Gefäß auf den [Tisch ]. Das ḫaldu[tt]iya-Gefäß aber der Gottheit [ ]“.

Somit kann der Stammansatz des in Rede stehenden Wortes als <sup>DUG</sup>*halduttiya-* als geklärt gelten, eine Wortform <sup>DUG</sup>*haldutti-* ist inexistent. Auf der inhaltlichen Seite kommt man hingegen nicht weiter. Immerhin scheint der Stammansatz aber eine tentative Herleitung des Wortes als Kompositum aus \**hali-* (extrahiert aus *haliyani-* und *halwani-*) und *duddu*, so J. Tischler, HEG I, 135, nicht gerade zu befürworten.

Abschließend sei noch erwähnt, daß von der Diktion her KUB 54.3 (Bo 1661) Vs.<sup>?</sup> sowie KUB 27.58 (Bo 6039) Vs. I dem hier behandelten Texte ähnlich sind. Nach Einblicknahme in die Tafelphotos hat es den Anschein, als sei die Handschrift von KUB 54.22, KUB 54.3 und KUB 27.58 identisch, so daß Zugehörigkeit aller drei Fragmente zu einer Tafel naheliegt, ohne daß eine genauere Zuordnung zu treffen wäre. Hier kann nur weiteres Textmaterial weiterhelfen.

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**25) Ερος et Θάνατος ? Ou comment la vie entre dans la mort...** — La publication des tombes princières découvertes à Nimrud (Hussein 2016) permet d'enrichir notre connaissance des rituels et des soins apportés au moment de la mort. Parmi les éléments les plus singuliers, on peut citer une série de trois plaquettes en terre cuite dans la tombe n. I, vraisemblablement celle d'une femme d'une quarantaine ou cinquantaine d'années, qui à juger de son état physique avait dû vivre assez aisément. Il est déjà singulier de retrouver de simples plaquettes en argile dans une tombe sinon princière au moins d'un membre de l'élite<sup>1</sup>. Mais le genre de ces trois objets l'est encore plus. Les trois plaquettes sont d'un type qui n'est pas très attesté à l'époque néo-assyrienne mais qui est en revanche bien connu à l'époque paléo-babylonienne<sup>2</sup>. Un homme et une femme sont représentés en train de s'unir en différentes positions, par devant, par derrière et en position allongée (Figure 1). La nudité des personnages et leur position enlèvent tout doute sur l'activité sexuelle représentée. Interprétées le plus souvent comme représentations du *ερος γαμος*, ou comme moyen de puissance magique, leur évaluation n'a pas avancé beaucoup, en raison d'une certaine pruderie moderne<sup>3</sup> qui est loin de l'absence de complexes qui semble caractériser la société mésopotamienne.

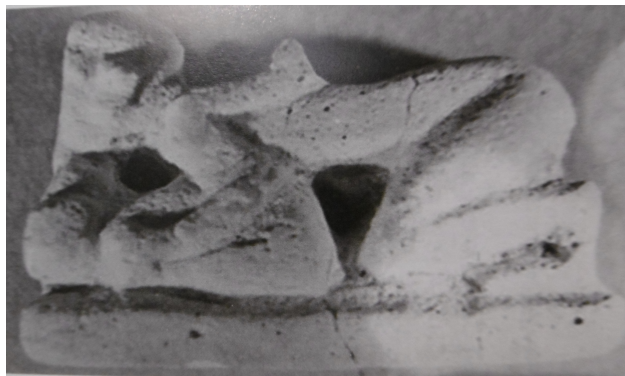


Figure 1 : une des trois plaquettes érotiques de la tombe I de Nimrud (d'après Hussein 2016 : pl. 20 C).

Certaines de ces images ont été retrouvées dans des temples (Delougaz in Hill et alii, 1990 n.VI:158. cf. pour l'époque medio-assyrienne Andrae 1935 : 103-104, Taf. 45), d'autres dans des maisons (Hrouda 1981 : 955 et 1089 ; Woolley 1976 : 149, 155, 180, n.181 ; McCown 1967 : 2N 502, 2N 472, 3N 463 et 3N 151), mais la majeure partie (Cholidis 1992 : 138-157, Opificus 1961 : 604-606, 608, 612-615) vient du marché des antiquités ou de fouilles anciennes, conduites sans une méthode quelque peu scientifique, ou encore de récoltes de surface (Wrede 2003 : 337, n.1215-1217 ; Moorey 1975 : pl. 25a-d). Aucune à ma connaissance n'est pourtant attestée dans une tombe avant le I<sup>er</sup> millénaire<sup>4</sup>.

Est ce que la position de découverte des scènes érotiques peut apporter une contribution à leur interprétation ? La maniabilité des objets et leurs petites dimensions permettent leur transport facile

(Battini sous presse). Dans ce cas, à part les tombes, on ne peut que dire qu'à certain moment de leur existence ces objets ont été aussi présents dans les endroits où ils ont été trouvés, sans pouvoir démontrer ou dénier que d'autres endroits aussi avaient été possibles. Et sans pouvoir nier une certaine casualité de découverte. Le cas des tombes est pourtant complètement différent : les terres cuites font partie du mobilier enfermé dans la tombe, l'acte est complètement volontaire, aucune casualité ne peut être invoquée. Mais là encore, la tombe est probablement la dernière mais pas la seule destination des terres cuites (cf. Pruß et Novak 2000 : 185 ; plus nuancée van der Stede 2012 : 610). Par ex., les 3 plaquettes érotiques de Nimrud ont-elles été fabriquées pour la morte ou plus probablement pour d'autres utilisations avant d'être déposées dans la tombe<sup>5</sup> ? Mais le plus intéressant reste l'explication de la présence de ces terres cuites dans une tombe, et également dans une tombe d'un certain statut social. Plusieurs théories ont été avancées pour expliquer la présence de figurines anthropomorphes dans les sépultures (Pruß et Novak 200 ; Scurlock 2002 ; van de Stede 2007 et 2012), sans pourtant arriver à une théorie universellement acceptée. Car, comme le prouve le cas des plaquettes érotiques de Nimrud, il n'y a pas probablement une solution valable pour tous les cas (idem van der Stede 2012 *passim*), plutôt un éventail de possibilités. Nous sommes encore bien loin d'avoir tout compris pour les rites funéraires intra muros : non seulement nous ne savons pas pourquoi certains individus étaient ensevelis et d'autres non, pourquoi dans certaines maisons ce sont surtout les enfants à prévaloir tandis que dans d'autres les adultes. Mais aussi tout le mobilier funéraire varie d'une sépulture à l'autre (Battini 1999 : 211-220, 358-360, 390-391, 405) : traditions familiales différentes, attachement à des objets de la vie avant la mort, représentations divines, jouets, objets liés aux rites de passage... Les explications de la présence d'objets dans les sépultures foisonnent et sont vraies pour certains cas mais pas pour d'autres. Dans le cas de Nimrud, une femme riche est liée à trois plaquettes érotiques – et noter le nombre 3 – pour plusieurs raisons, soit qu'elle-même a voulu porter ces objets dans la tombe, soit qu'elle était particulièrement liée à ces trois objets (qui lui avaient facilité les naissances – peut-être à travers un rituel accompli par un exorciste<sup>6</sup> –, ou stimulé les rapports sexuels), soit que quelqu'un lui ait déposé à son insu et sans aucune particulière affection de la morte pour ce genre de représentations. Ces plaquettes ne peuvent pas être considérées liées aux rites de passage, il ne s'agit en effet pas d'un substitut du mort. Mais le rapport avec la mort est évident, ces objets ont été déposés dans la tombe aussi pour leur valeur apotropaïque : ils étaient probablement considérés bénéfiques, un talisman pour la vie, soit comme augure que la vie puisse recommencer après la mort, soit comme barrière contre la mort, selon l'adage « l'amour est fort comme la mort »<sup>7</sup>.

1) Mais cf. le cas des terres cuites retrouvées dans les palais, par ex. à Mari (Margueron 1997) aussi bien qu'à Dur Kurigalzu (Baqir 1946: 90, pls. XV et XIX). À Mari les terres cuites seraient liées à la domesticité plutôt qu'à l'élite (Margueron 1997, *passim*, spécialement 738-741). Pourtant, la présence de terres cuites dans la tombe de Nimrud, appartenant à un membre de l'élite, peut faire repenser le cas de Mari, surtout en tenant compte des terres cuites découvertes dans le palais de Dur-Kurigalzu (Baqir 1946 : 90).

2) Il s'agit d'un ensemble d'une cinquantaine d'exemplaires (sans les exemplaires de Suse) : Barrelet 1968 : 526, 527, 591 (= Opificius 1961 : 611), 628, 675, 744 ; Cholidis 1992 : n.138-143, 151-156 ; McCown et alii 1967 : pl.137.4 et 137.7 ; Moorey 1975 : pl. 25a-c ; Delougaz dans Hill et alii 1990 : pl. 62e ; Opificius 1961 : 604-606, 608, 612-615 ; Wrede 2003 : n. 1215-1217. Le sujet est connu d'abord dans la glyptique à l'époque Djemdet-Nasr (Amiet 1961 : n. 54) et ensuite à l'époque protodynastique (Amiet 1988 : n.846 ; MNB 1465, Louvre ; Legrain 1936 : n. 365-369 et n. 385 ; Buchanan 1966 : n. 254 ; Frankfort 1955 : ns. 340, 559 et 796), quand aussi les plaques en pierre le représentent (Böese 1971 : taf. IV,1) .

3) Par exemple pour le cas de Nimrud on a suggéré que le mort puisse être un eunuque et que donc les terres cuites représentaient une sorte de revanche par rapport à sa sexualité (Hussein 2016: 7-8). Mais cette hypothèse semble en partie dépendre du désir de ne pas attribuer aux Mésopotamiens, et tout particulièrement aux femmes, des désirs sexuels. L'idée que les plaquettes érotiques puissent être simplement des images pornographiques aptes à stimuler l'acte sexuel n'a été jamais évoquée.

4) Barrelet (1968 : 292 et note n. 2), en effet, ne cite que les figurines en métal d'Assur comme exemple d'époque plus récente.

5) Si elles étaient en terre crue, la possibilité qu'elles étaient façonnées pour la morte serait plus probable, vu la friabilité de l'argile crue. Par contre, s'agissant de terres cuites, d'autres utilisations avant celle funéraire, peuvent être suggérées (sur ce sujet voir aussi van der Stede 2012 : 611-612).

6) On peut penser que, s'agissant d'une femme de la famille royale, la présence des trois plaquettes pourrait s'expliquer non seulement en relation au rituel d'exorciste favorisant l'enfantement, mais aussi au statut de cette femme renforcé après l'accomplissement de ses devoirs conjugaux et dynastiques.

7) Cantique des Cantiques 8: 6. Cf. la formulation latine : omnia vincit Amor (Virgile, Bucolique X, 69) qui se répète, sous formules plus ou moins similaires, dans la littérature européenne jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

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## VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

**26) Anne-Isabelle Langlois lauréate du Prix Henri Hertz 2016** — Le vendredi 31 mars 2017, Anne-Isabelle Langlois a reçu dans le salon Carnot de la Sorbonne des mains du Recteur M. Gilles Pécout le prix Henri Hertz 2016 pour sa thèse « Les archives de la princesse Iltani découvertes à Tell al-Rimah », soutenue à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études.

**27) Parution de ARCHIBAB 2** — La SEPOA est heureuse d'annoncer la parution d'un nouveau livre : A.-I. Langlois, *Archibab 2. Les archives de la princesse Iltani découvertes à Tell al-Rimah (XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.) et l'histoire du royaume de Karana/Qaṭṭara*, Mémoires de NABU 18, Paris, 2017, 2 tomes cartonnés : x+282 p. (ISBN 978-2-9538653-7-0) et vi+282 p. (ISBN 978-2-9538653-8-7). Les 2 tomes sont vendus ensemble au prix de 100 € + frais de port ; commandes à adresser à [contact@sepoa.fr](mailto:contact@sepoa.fr) (voir [www.sepoa.fr](http://www.sepoa.fr)).

**28) Parution de *La vie méconnue des temples mésopotamiens*** — Dans la nouvelle collection *Docet omnia*, co-publiée par Le Collège de France et les éditions Les Belles Lettres, vient de paraître le livre de D. Charpin, *La vie méconnue des temples mésopotamiens*, 256 p. (ISBN 978-2-251-44671-4) ; voir <https://www.lesbelleslettres.com/livre/2897-la-vie-meconnue-des-temples-mesopotamiens>.

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