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NOTES BRÈVES

29) Ad AD-GI₄ – Paying More Tribute to ‘Tribute’^{*} — The latest edition of the lexical list AD-GI₄, also called ‘Tribute’ and ‘Archaic (or Sumerian) Word List C’, we owe to M. Civil (JCS 65 [2013] 13–67)¹⁾. As already proposed by ENGLUND (OBO 160/1, 99) he considers this list to be the first, still somewhat clumsy attempt by the Sumerians to write down “narrative texts” (CIVIL, p. 50). PETTINATO (MEE 3, no. 47) and VELDHUIS (N. Veldhuis, *How Did They Learn Cuneiform?*, CM 35 [2006], 181–200), on the other hand, classify AD-GI₄ as a pure (Sumerian) word list. Veldhuis stresses that it is geared to practical rather than to academic use (Veldhuis, l. c., p. 193).²⁾ While appreciating the work done, it is nevertheless legitimate to once again put forward a different view.³⁾

AD-GI₄ is known from Uruk, but not from Jemdet Nasr or Ur. There is a break between Jemdet Nasr and Ur which has been referred to several times.⁴⁾ Administrative texts were not “handed down”; lists, on the other hand, were copied or even adapted without the scribe necessarily always grasping the meaning of the entries. The archaic texts were already re-worked in Ur.⁵⁾ The next attestations of AD-GI₄ come from Fāra.⁶⁾ The Fāra texts are separated by some centuries from the Uruk texts. Presumably the Proto-Euphratic (PE) language had become extinct. If the Sumerians had still understood the list AD-GI₄ no commentaries would have been necessary.⁷⁾

Civil diligently lists all the manuscripts of the “modern” editions of AD-GI₄ (starting with Fāra); for the older copies he uses only one siglum (“U”) and refers the reader to Englund, ATU 3. His choice of the Uruk “standard text” is not in all cases absolutely free from arbitrariness (see the transliterations below as well as the copies in ATU 3). Civil himself mentions the deviations between the copies from Uruk and all the other copies (see his section 2.2.1).⁸⁾ The explanation of how the text changed from the ED period onwards does not lead to an understanding of the original manuscript: It was, as already stated, no longer understood in the Fāra period.⁹⁾

The language of the archaic texts (except for those from Ur) is presumably not Sumerian (see NABU 2013/55). It seems unlikely that scholars who operated with such sophisticated numbersign systems should not have been able to write down simple sentences. According to Civil, in AD-GI₄ verbs were not yet written (CIVIL, p. 50, Conclusions). “Shortly” after (in Ur [ED I/II]) verbs are well attested in Sumerian personal names (in exceptional cases as early as in the PE texts, see ZATU s. v. 𒄩 and ATFU, p. 105 ad En-Unug-du₁₀); hence the “change” should have taken place in the brief period between the texts from Jemdet Nasr and those from Ur (see above). On the one hand the form was simplified, the complex numbersign systems fell into desuetude, many ancient professions sank into oblivion, while on

the other hand new expressions appeared (áš-gàr: ATFU, p. 9), and verbs were written. All these changes show, then, that there is a clear break between the styles of the texts from Jemdet Nasr and Ur, and that this break can only be attributed to the fact that it was Sumerians and no longer Proto-Euphratians who wrote the texts from Ur but *not* those from Jemdet Nasr and Uruk. The Proto-Euphratians may also have used verbs (cf. *NABU* 2014/58, note“*”).¹⁰⁾

AD-GI₄ is the only text in the PE corpus which is in one respect strikingly different: The “heading” (actually the subscript) normally stands at the end of a PE text,¹¹⁾ in AD-GI₄, however, at the beginning: thus AD-GI₄ might well be something different, simply literature.

AD-GI₄ might be the PE description of a ritual related to Thanksgiving (in the broadest sense). The first two lines (here: counting as in ATU 3) refer to the prerequisites for Thanksgiving, then follows the enumeration of the gifts (which can be read in either language). In ll. 29–32 and 57–60 the “outcome” is specified, as also observed by Englund (OBO 160/1, note 224: “the description of what was to happen with the goods”). Civil interprets these entries as designations of professions. There follows a list of terms referring to agriculture (CIVIL, p. 19, sections 6 and 7). It remains unclear to what extent the sections after the aforementioned “outcome” belong to the original manuscript (see CIVIL, pp. 19, 22 and 39). That is especially true for the beginning of the list “Plant”, which is identical with the end of AD-GI₄ (cf. CIVIL, p. 19): In this case “Plant” would be literature as well. The introductory lines and the “outcome” lines which are preserved on the various Uruk manuscripts look somewhat non-standardized. It is particularly striking that the sign UD is not written in all sources (and when it is written it appears even in front of ABGAL, where it makes no sense). The copies give the impression that UD was squeezed in later. Maybe AD-GI₄ was not an elaborate work but rather a scholar’s “notes”, a collection of spontaneous thoughts. The scholar might have sketched that ritual for the first time and then have complemented it with some notes on agriculture. As the tablet now existed perhaps it was used by others for teaching purposes as well. The scribes who copied the text did not necessarily get to the bottom of what the author had had in mind when drafting the introduction. Hence the discrepancies; comparable uncertainties are not to be found in the copies of the proper list.

Line 1 (ATU 3; CIVIL: ll. 1 and 2; [cf. CIVIL, p. 22ff; his two Uruk versions given are non-uniform]): Englund’s transliteration (ATU 3, p. 112: U₄ KI_a SAG AD_a) is a little “idealised” (copy on p. 26: U₄ SAG AD_a KI_a HAL); a comparison of all copies (ATU 3, pl. 44–45) yields as “standard”:

For Uruk (“U”) Civil writes: for ED–OB:	SAĜ KI AD (or KI SAĜ AD) UD:AD _a KI:SAG, AD:GI ₄ KI:SAG
<i>Line 2</i> (ATU 3; CIVIL: ll. 3 and 4): (ATU 3, p. 112, transliteration: U ₄ AD _a HAL ABRIG; copy, p. 26: U ₄ AD _a ABRIG); comparison of all copies:	HAL DU AD VINUN.ME (or DU HAL AD) AD:HAL NUN:ME:DU, AD:HAL NUN.ME.DU
Civil for Uruk: for ED–OB:	

AD stands both in ‘*Line 1*’ and in ‘*Line 2*’ at the end, not at the beginning (Civil’s translation of AD in the first line differs a little from that in the second line).¹²⁾ Why should the rarely attested SAĜ:KI have been used instead of UKKIN for “assembly” (CIVIL, l. 2)? The NUN.ME.DU (“ABRIG”) does not exist in the PE text corpus (elsewhere, too, he is rarely attested; see CIVIL, p. 24f). The first line of the list “Plant” (= 1. 87 in AD-GI₄; see CIVIL, section 2.4; Krebernik, OBO 160/1, note 759) reads EN GÁN AD in Uruk. Civil interprets that entry as “*BURU₁₄ [EN:ÉŠ-tenū / GÁN'] AD” = “harvest, advice” (not very convincing in a plant list). *BURU₁₄ does not yet exist in the archaic text corpus,¹³⁾ EN GÁN denotes rather the “‘Offering [EN literally]’ <temple> field area <which supplies the grain needed for sacrifices and for staff and animal provisions>”,¹⁴⁾ hence AD must be a noun or verb connected to this. AD is a tool (ATU 3, list “Wood”, no. 71: GIŠ AD) which looks like a crescent-shaped knife (Uruk IV) or a carpenter’s plane (Uruk III, see ZATU 2, no. 18); a provisional translation (which is, of course, just a guess) might be “to till” (possibly also in the figurative sense “to think about, to plan” or something similar, compare German “Hobel” [old: Schabe] and figuratively “ungehobelt”, Dutch “Algemeen

Beschaafd [“planed down” = polished] Nederlands”). SAĜ:KI, which appears in “*Line 1*” of AD-GI₄ (and at the end in l. 88), is the next (i.e. the second) entry in the list “Plant”; hence it must be a kind of field or something similar, and not “assembly” as translated by Civil. KI means “field”, not “town” (MSVO 1, 1–4). Would “head of the field” = “short side of the field” be a possibility? For “*Line 1*” that would lead to the translation “The short side of the field is tilled (or planned)”. It is a matter of speculation whether the next entry on the list “Plant” (= no. 3, AN KI) might be connected with ‘*Line 2*’ of AD-GI₄.¹⁵⁾ An alternative might be deduced from the opposition “head” (SAĜ, “*Line 1*”) and “foot” (DU, “*Line 2*”, cf. “from head to foot”). However, that would imply a disruption of SAĜ:KI (see above).¹⁶⁾

Lines 29–32 (“outcome”, see above):

NINDA means primarily “bread”, in the figurative sense possibly also “food” in general (cf. GU₇ = SAĜ+NINDA: “consumption” in general [an example: ATU 7, W 20274,44, textiles]). Just once the transposition of the entries UB ŠÀ and NINDA is attested in Uruk (ATU 3, W 20266,117), while the substitution of ŠÀ URI for UB ŠÀ appears twice (ATU 3, W 15895,i and W 20593,8; see *NABU* 2013/55, end of note 7). Bearing the “context” in mind one would expect something like “Having tilled the field with reasonable care (introduction) the fruit (NINDA) (of labour [UB?]) will be harvested <in autumn>.” The details are not clear.¹⁷⁾

Résumé: The archaic texts do not readily disclose their secrets. AD-GI₄ might be, as has been suggested, the first work of literature, however, it is clearly not written in the Sumerian but in the Proto-Euphratic language.¹⁸⁾

¹⁵⁾ Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2014/58 and 2015/01.– ATFU: C. Lecompte, *Archaic Tablets and Fragments from Ur*, NISABA 25 (2013).– CDLI: Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, (online): <http://cdli.ucla.edu/>.– CUSAS: Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology. Vol. 1 (2007): S. F. Monaco, *The Cornell University archaic tablets*; vol. 21 (2014): *idem*, *Archaic bullae and tablets in the Cornell University collections*; vol. 31 (2016): *idem*, *Archaic cuneiform tablets from private collections*.– ZATU = ATU 2 (1987) by M. W. Green and H. J. Nissen.– (ED: Early Dynastic; OB: Old Babylonian; PE: Proto-Euphratic).

1) Henceforth quoted as “CIVIL ...”; line counting after Civil if not stated otherwise (cf. Civil’s note 4 ad “cases”).

2) However, the very first entry (SAĜ KI AD) is not to be found in any administrative document.

3) See *NABU* 2014/58, note “*” and 2013/55, notes 1 and 7; Civil’s “interpretations”, too, reveal that the list has not been understood (p. 21f.; see also p. 19).

4) See, for instance, ATFU, pp. 2–4, 8, 14–20; *NABU* 2014/58, paragraph 5.

5) *NABU* 2013/55, note 3; for Fāra (SF 12 and 13) compare especially the deviations in ll. 71–86.

6) All attestations – except for those from Uruk, for which see Englund, ATU 3 – are listed by Civil.

7) Englund, OBO 160/1, note 222. Civil does not regard l. 76 as a late insertion but as an entry which belonged to the text from the very beginning. He does not explain how the ED entry could have been derived from the Uruk sources. The insertion after ll. 32 and 60 might mean “to make a transfer” (CIVIL, pp. 20 and 36–39), but as a very late insertion (Ur III or OB) it is irrelevant.

8) Further examples: The animal depicted in l. 19 cannot possibly be a mouse; l. 69 is completely different.

9) An example: The reduplication of a sign (see, e. g., KI in l. 62) had a special (unknown) meaning which was no longer understood in later times; it does not indicate, as in Sumerian, the plural or two nouns, the second one of them standing in the genitive [which, however, is possible], see NÁM.NÁM (ATU 3, Lú A, 4), ŠE.ŠE (MSVO 1, 1) or GI.GI (MSVO 1, 191). A sign may have had more than one reading, and a given reading more than one meaning. A good example is the sign “A”: It means not only water, but additionally had another meaning (ATU 3, W 20266,81). “A” doesn’t have to be a (syllabically written) grammatical ending or something similar, it might be a “describing element”, a noun or a verb (cf. “Lärm, lärmén”, but “noise, to MAKE a noise”). In the case of reduplication both meanings may follow one another. Also, the reduplication might denote a tense or a derived verb (compare to “lift, to uplift”).

10) Using the familiar translations of the standard signs known from Sumerian, many texts cannot be understood (see Englund, OBO 160/1, 77 ad BA/GI). BA (to give as a ration), the third most common sign (OBO 160/1, 70), should not have changed its meaning during the transition to the ED period. In the archaic texts, however, the translation “to see (to inspect) and, when required, to provide” seems to be preferable (see MSVO 1, 243; M. W. Green, *Animal husbandry at Uruk in the archaic period*, JNES 39 [1980] 1–35, p. 7; cf. “*ina IGI PN*”). Two points will be addressed:

a) The practice of book keeping in the archaic period was not yet in all cases comparable to that in the later Sumerian. Many tablets become understandable only by comparing the obverse and the reverse of a tablet. Examples: ATU 5, W 9579,dz: (obv.) 7 BA | 1 GI (“bundled” = stored, (registered)?), (rev.) 6 BAR – explanation: 7 (“just

inspected (units)", 1 "(already) stored (unit)", < 2 units removed>, (rest) 6 "extra (units)" (see Green, *l. c.*, p. 6 ad BAR). ATU 5, W 9656,ek may serve as a contrast: (obv.) 4 BA | 1 GI , (rev.) 5. CUSAS 1, 156: (obv.) n GU₇ | m BA || n+m NÍGIN, (rev.) m' BA | k AB (m' + k = n+m) – explanation: The writer, who keeps a record of economic transactions, attests that a "business" has provided n units which have already been consumed and that the administration has m further units at its disposal; the sum is recorded; on the reverse the result is itemised: all in all m' units were provided (and collected by the administration, m are left), k were given directly to the AB (for which see below sub b)). A writer had to draw up a new document for every inspection because, due to the drying out of the clay tablets, it was impossible to add notes to former documents. An example of a balance brought forward from one tablet (ATU 5, W 9656,dr) to another is ATU 5, W 9656,f; see also OBO 160/1, p. 194f. Duplicates are the texts CUSAS 1, 31 and 32.– Further examples: CUSAS 1, 168: (obv.) 11 KAŠ | 9 || GU₇ (11 + 9 units have been consumed, thus they do not exist any more), (rev.) 11 GU₇ | 9 BA || NÍGIN KAŠ (11 units had already been consumed before, 9 had been placed at the disposal of the administration: meanwhile they have been consumed, too, otherwise the data would lead to a contradiction; similarly: CUSAS 31, 118). ATU 7, W 20274,68: (obv.) [...] | n BA | m GI || (=) [...] GU₇; MSVO 3, 24: (obv.) n | ml ... || GU₇, (rev.) k (= n + m + ...) GU₇ | k' GI || k + k' ŠE; similarly: MSVO 3, 28.

b) The meaning of AB has already been pointed out (*NABU* 2014/58, paragraph 3; 2013/55, notes 13 and 20). In economic texts goods are *always* delivered to the economic management centre of the institution in question. AB and NI+RU are two different economic centres (cf. MSVO 1, 175: GU₇ NI+RU, without AB). MSVO 1, 146 registers the SANGA NI+RU and the SANGA AB, in the subscript ("beer and bread for one year: NI+RU") both are assigned to the NI+RU. Thus NI+RU is the superordinate institution. In MSVO 1, 1 the ME NI+RU is an employee of the NI+RU, in MSVO 1, 2 he would be an employee of the AB NI+RU. That does not have to be a contradiction, but it appears strange. Corresponding arguments may be given for MSVO 1, 26 and 27. Hence the designation "AB NI+RU" is superfluous – there will have been only one "AB" in Jemdet Nasr. It seems necessary, as already proposed in *NABU* 2014/58, to find another explanation for "AB NI+RU" ("to/for NI+RU"). The sign sequence "AB AB X" – presumably not a Sumerian expression from the archaic corpus – is sufficiently often attested in the archaic texts (ad AB_a and AB_b [*NABU* 2014/58, p. 91 bottom] see additionally CUSAS 1, 83 and 21, 281; but vide ATU 3, Lú A, no. 102 [KAB GI AB_{a/b}]). Originally NI+RU was presumably the name of a cult place which was later also used for the settlement which developed around that cult place (this is suggested by the parallel use of SANGA UNUG, SANGA KU₆.RAD.ÚR and SANGA NI+RU; hence *NABU* 2013/55, note 15 and 2014/58, note 3 have to be modified accordingly. Compare, for example, a presentday toponym, such as "Christchurch"). The sign AB could depict a kind of altar (cf. the archaic sign ÁRARMA [ATU 1, no. 301], compare also the seal on MSVO 1, 165 [catalogue: "perhaps altars"] to no. 125 ["possibly ... barns or granaries"]).

11) See especially ATU 5, W 6882,a (the position of NUN_c calls to mind the Aramaic "notes" on cuneiform tablets), W 9578,d etc. The exception proves the rule, see, e.g., MSVO 1, 7: GÁN (ŠE) at the beginning.

12) The sequence of the signs is important (see *NABU* 2014/58, note 5; however, the "correct" sequence is not always to be found: AD-GL₄, l. 13). Two further examples: MSVO 1, no. 218: ÁB KI PA and KI ÁB PA; MSVO 1, 97: BA AB APIN, nos. 98 and 99: the same sequence (in "narrow columns" the signs are often written from bottom to top); a boustrophedonic example: MSVO 1, 20. An "unorderly" impression is made by MSVO 1, 13.

13) The writing which Civil adopts for *BURU₁₄ exists in AD-GL₄ as "EN ÉŠ" (l. 71), but here it is read by Civil as "Enmerkar" (J. Glassner already called this reading in question, see *NABU* 2013/60).

14) MSVO 1, no. 2-5+6: Areas are dealt with, not the harvest; cf. UET 2, nos. 160 and 184; see G. J. Selz, Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, vol. 15,1, p. 197 ad níg-en-na. EN is also a constituent of professional designations: EN_c MÍ (in contrast to EN_a GÁN) in MSVO 1, 2 (see also ATU 5, 9579,l and 9656,ex: EN_b MÍ), EN_a IB (Lú A, no. 13), etc. ME, too, is a constituent of professional designations: ME NI+RU (MSVO 1, 1), ME KU₆.RAD.ÚR (MSVO 4, 34 and 35), furthermore as second constituent in AB ME (Lú A, no. 11), NUN.ME (= ABGAL; Lú A, no. 15) as well as in Lú A, nos. 54, 55 and 58. Furthermore the combination of both constituents is attested: EN.ME-GI (ENGIZ; Lú A, no. 63; cf. MSVO 4, 16: EN.ME 'ŠAGAN' GI), EN.ME-MU (ENDIB; Lú A, no. 64), EN.ME KU₆.RAD.ÚR (MSVO 4, 19). NUN.ME appears as constituent in ENKUM, NINKUM as well as in ATU 3, Lú A, nos. 75 and 76. The readings with /en/ break the original unit into two, they are "Sumerianized".

15) If so, KI would be missing (ellipsis?) and HAL would have to be replaced by AN (AN instead of HAL appears in "Line 2" possibly in W 19948,30a [ATU 3, p. 112 and pl. 44]; in l. 89 ["Plant" section at the end of AD-GL₄] AN DI is written instead of AN KI [slip of the pen?]). It is unknown whether AN KI/DI was the broad side of a field. A purely speculative translation is "the broad side [AN/HAL] is walked along [DU] and tilled [AD]." In ATU 7, W 20274,44 AN (or HAL) [missing in the copy, but see the CDLI photograph], KI and AD appear together in case O0206a, but they are separated by other signs.

16) A tentative translation: "The head (SAĞ) is planning (AD) <the tilling of> the field (KI); <then> you walk along (DU) the field (?; AN/HAL) and till (AD) it; that is reasonable (= <how> the NUN.ME (wise man) <proceeds>"). SAĞ might stand for the intellect, DU for manual work ("Was man nicht im Kopf hat, hat man in den Beinen"). An improbable possibility: *AN.DU = "broad side" was not included in the list "Plant"; in this case "Line 1" and "Line 2" would run parallel.

17) ŠÀ: Interior of the earth = soil (cf. CIVIL ad l. 76)? Civil (p. 35) tries to interpret GAR:ÍŠ:URI as a “single, but compound title”. The fact that it is written in two lines and that GAR is at the end (!) of this term speaks against this interpretation for the archaic sources.

18) A further indication for this might be ATU 6, W 14275: In this text the adjective stands – “in a non-Sumerian manner” – *in front of* the substantive, as is the case in ATU 3, AD-GI₄, ll. 12 (and 13) [“against” SF 12 and 13]!

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30) A Collation to the Early Dynastic Manuscript of the Instructions of Shuruppak — In his masterful edition of the Instructions of Shuruppak, ALSTER (2005: 58, 107-108, 196) reads ED₂ Fr. 10 obv. i. 2-3 as: ANŠE [K]A gu₃-di nab₃(AN+AN)-lsa₁₀-sa₁₀ [...] na-e, corresponding to line 14 of the Standard Sumerian composite text: dur₃^{ur3} gu₃-di na-ab-sa₁₀-sa₁₀ erin₂-zu ša-ra-ab-si-il-le “don’t buy an ass that brays; it will split your yoke”. Although the translation of ANŠE [K]A gu₃-di in the ED manuscript as “an ass that brays (too much)” appears reasonably certain in view of the later parallels, the sequence ANŠE [K]A remains difficult to explain. Both the photo available in CDLI and the copy in OIP 14 no. 56 p. 30 suggest in fact a different integration, namely ^{anše}[D]JUN, which is probably to be read here as ^{anše}[d]jur₉ in view of the later Sumerian parallels, having either dur₃ or dur₃^{ur3}, which in turn correspond to *mu-u₂-ra* in the Akkadian version (cf. ALSTER 2005: 107), i.e. “foal (donkey or horse)” (cf. CAD M/2 p. 229 *sub māru*). For the sake of clarity, a copy of the reconstructed passage is provided below (Fig. 1 – slightly different palaeographic variants are of course possible). The identification of equids in third millennium cuneiform sources is notably a difficult task, and no further attempts to deal with this delicate matter will be offered here (see most recently ZARINS – HAUSER 2014: 149-245, especially p. 178 on DUN, where however the reading /dur/ is not discussed; see also POSTGATE 1986; and cf. CIVIL 2008, 112-113). As far as Early Dynastic evidence is concerned, the practical vocabulary C (= SF 43, ED IIIa, Fara, cf. CIVIL 2008: 2-3, 112) lists ^{anše}DUN.DU and ^{anše}DUN.DU-ga (rev. iv 1-2 = entries 246 and 247 respectively, in a section devoted to equids). The sequence ANŠE.DUN appears also in royal inscriptions, cf. for instance: RIME 1.12.6.2 (Giša-kidu) 1. 45: ^{anše}dur₉^{ur3}-ga₂-ra-ta (alternative reading ^{anše}du₂₄-ur₃-ga₂-ra-ta, as a name of a fortress); RIME 1.9.4.12 (En-anatum I) iii 4'-5' has: 'eme₃' šagan_x^{sa}-gan DUN(.DU)-bi (= dur₉ kaš₅-bi?). The spelling ^{anše}DUN (^{anše}dur₉) apparently survives in Ur III times, cf. for instance AnOr 1, 242 rev.3: 4 ^{anše}dur₉ gal hi-a (in a list of other animals).

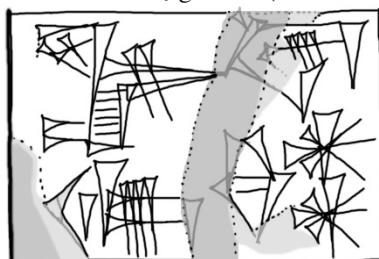


Fig. 1: ALSTER 2005 ED₂ (OIM A645 + OIM A649a-i) = CDLI P222243 obv. i 2.

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31) Éblaïte *ga-za-ab*, « banderoles (décoratives) » — Dans les textes administratifs d’Ébla on connaît la graphie sémitique *ga-za-ab* [1-6] et sa variante *ga-za-ba* [2] d’après les passages suivants :

- [1] ARET XV 8 (37) : 1 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar / *ib-du-ma-lik* / lú *bù-la-ad* ;
- [2] ARET XV 16 (56-57) : 1 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar / *ir-am₆-ma-lik* / lú *iš-da-má* / 2 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ba* kù:babbar / *ri-kam₄* / *i-ti-aš-dar* / dumu-nita / nídba i-giš ;
- [3] ARET XV 24 (29) : 1 sal-túg 1 íb+III-túg gùn 1 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar / *ù-du-ra-ù* / GIŠ.HÚB / in u₄ / níg-mul(-an) / en-na-BAD / TUŠ.LÚxTIL ;
- [4] ARET XV 27 (19) : 1 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar / en-na-BAD / lú *a-ḥa-LUM* ;
- [5] ARET XV 28 (84) : [1] gír [mar]-tu [ga-z]a-ab kù:babbar / [...] ;
- [6] ARET XV 37 (27) : 1 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar / 2 sal-túg maškim / ša-mi-a.

On notera tout d'abord que les textes concernés remontent tous à la période la plus ancienne des archives, quand *ar-ru₁₂-LUM* était ministre de la ville. Dans toutes les occurrences le terme qualifie des poignards dont évidemment il indique un accessoire ou bien un élément décoratif.

Comme POMPONIO (2008: 415) l'a bien vu,¹⁾ il s'agit de la lecture sémitique du sumérien maš-maš, « bandelettes (décoratives) »,²⁾ étant donné que dans le récapitulatif de ARET XV 37, les gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar ont été comptabilisés avec les gír mar-tu maš-maš kù:babbar.

En conformité avec les règles du syllabaire éblaïte, le terme, à mon avis, peut être expliqué d'après la racine sémitique **ksp*, « briser en morceaux ; couper en plusieurs pièces »,³⁾ connue en akkadien et en arabe. La graphie *ga-za-ab* indique donc un état construit suivi du complément de matière (kù:babbar) que l'on peut comparer, par exemple, avec les graphies *ha-za-an* kù-sig₁₇ et *ha-za-an* gìn-gìn de *ha-za-nu*, « perle en forme d'oignon ».⁴⁾

Dans la variante *ga-za-ba* le *a* en fin de mot peut indiquer simplement une absence de voyelle ou bien le duel, étant donné qu'en ce cas les poignards livrés sont deux. Il s'agirait alors d'une nominalisation de l'état construit (les termes gír mar-tu et *ga-za-ba* sont en fait eux-mêmes en annexion) comme on le trouve dans la graphie é *ma-da-am₆* de ARET XI.⁵⁾

1) Malgré cela, l'auteur ne fournit aucune étymologie et traduit « pugnale amorro con fasciatura d'argento » ou bien, dans le glossaire, « pugnale amorro con laccio » (POMPONIO 2013: 421) mais cette dernière interprétation n'a aucun fondement philologique.

2) WAETZOLDT 1990: 11, “(Metall-)streifen”; FRONZAROLI 1996: 61, “bandelette (de métal)”. On ne peut pas suivre POMPONIO & XELLA 1997: 277 qui traduisent « les parties jumelles ». Tous les noms des objets ainsi décorés et les passages concernés ont été déjà recueillis par WAETZOLDT 2001: 346-347.

3) Pour la racine, DRS 10: 1252.

4) Pour ce terme et ses attestations, PASQUALI 2005: 155.

5) Voir FRONZAROLI 1993: 39, « la grafia terminante in -am₆ ricorda la nominalizzazione di nessi di stato costrutto nelle glosse della lista lessicale bilingue e nei testi amministrativi (...). Ma mentre di solito la nominalizzazione attribuisce la desinenza del nominativo al nesso, che viene poi impiegato nei testi come uno pseudologogramma, qui la terminazione esprime l'accusativo richiesto dal contesto »

FRONZAROLI P. 1993, *Testi rituali della regalità*, ARET XI, Roma.

Id. P. 1996, « À propos de quelques mots éblaïtes d'orfèvrerie », dans Ö. Tunca (éd.), *Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur H. Limet*, Liège: 51-68.

PASQUALI J. 2005, *Il lessico dell'artigianato nei testi di Ebla*, Firenze.

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Id. F. 2013, *Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni mensili di tessuti. Periodo di Arrugum (Archivio L.2769)*, ARET XV,2, Roma.

POMPONIO F. & XELLA P. 1997, *Les Dieux d'Ebla. Étude analytique des divinités éblaïtes à l'époque des archives royales du IIIe millénaire*, Münster.

WAETZOLDT H. 1990, Zur Bewaffnung des Heeres von Ebla, *Oriens Antiquus* 29: 1-38.

Id. H. 2001, *Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungstexte aus Ebla*, MEE 12, Roma.

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32) On a personal name Kiššer in Ur III source — The personal name Kiššer is exclusively attested in the administrative documents from Puzriš-Dagan (modern Drehem) dating to the Ur III period (Liu 2017). It is spelled in the cuneiform tablets with various forms, either Kiš-še-er, Kiš-še₂₀-er, Kiš-er, or Kiš^{ki}-er. In previous published texts, the sign KIŠ is easily confused with GIRI₃, ANŠE or ŠAKKAN₂

(for the syllable kiš, see STEINKELLER 1987:163, note 12). The occurrence of Kiššer and the mother (ama) of Kiššer in the Ur III Drehem texts is as follows.

For Kiššer

- ugula Kiš-še-er (PDT 1 28, Š 46 v 17, not anše-še-er)
- mu-DU Kiš^{ki}-er (TRU 299, AS 1 i 26, not Kiš^{ki}-ir)
- Kiš-še-er (BPOA 6 32, AS 1 iii 17)
- kišib Ki-[še-er] (SAT 2 724, AS 2 ix, not A-lu-um^{ki} [], see duplicated TAD 67)
- Kiš-er (Fs Levine 115-119 148, AS 2 xi 4, not Giri₃-ir)
- niğ₂-gur₁₁ Kiš-er (AUCT 2 264, AS 2 xi, not Giri₃-ni)

For the mother (ama) of Kiššer (not Ama-kiššer)

- ama Kiš-še-er (BIN 3 12, Š 46 ix 18, not ama-šakkan₂-še-er)
- ama Kiš-er (PDT 1 594, AS 1 iii 4, not ama-ug₂-ga)
- ama Kiš-er (MVN 15 194, AS 1 v 29, not ama-ug-er)
- ama Kiš-er (ASJ 19 204 13, AS 1 vi 21, not ama-uk-ir)
- ama Kiš-er (SAT 2 683, AS 1 vi 26, not ama giri₃-ni)
- ama Kiš-še₂₀-er (MVN 13 529, AS 1 ix 21, not ama-lu₅-we-er)
- ama Kiš-er (Ontario 2 205, AS 1 xii 12, not ama-kiš-ir)

For the wife (dam) of Kiššer

- dam Kiš-er šagina Ki-maš^{ki}-še₃ gen-na (YOS 4 207: rev. col 2. line 6, not dam giri₃-ni)

From the above-mentioned documents, conclusions can be drawn that between the 46th regnal year of Šulgi and the 2nd year of Amar-Suen, Kiššer is always identified with the animal-delivering (mu-DU) official, however, the mother (ama) of Kiššer is identified as the beneficiary (ba-zi, zi-ga) of animals, mostly connected with foreigners from Elamite places (such as Marhaši, Duduli, Šikšabi, Šudae, Kakmi, Šimaški, Zidanum) and together with the “villages” (e₂-duru₅-ne-ne-še₃, see LECOMPTE 2012). On the basis of its etymological analysis, the name Kiššer probably originates from the Akkadian word *kašārum* “to be successful, to succeed” (CAD K, p. 285). Kiššer is identified as the general of Kimaš (YOS 4 207, or KEISER 1919:27), an Elamite place (AHMED 2012:198-199), and his mother has some relationship with Elamites or from Elam.

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33) BM 110450, a scratch pad on a clod of clay? — I thank Jeanette Fincke who kindly communicated me the photos of BM 110450, and encouraged me to write some words about this small clod of clay with numerical inscriptions, as well as Cécile Michel, Xiaoli Ouyang and Christopher Walker for their help and suggestions.

BM 110450

Tablet BM 110450 was acquired by the British Museum in 1914 and registered under the number 1914-4-4, 516. It is part of a collection purchased from Elias Géjou, the Parisian antiquarian who

was one of the most important supplier of tablets for European and American museums in the first decades of the 20th century. The tablet measures 8.5 cm wide.



Fig. 1 BM 110450. Taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, photos J. C. Fincke

At first sight, the object is not spectacular. The aspect of the edges gives the impression that a small rectangular tablet has been folded in two or three layers and crushed to form an oblong block with a flat side, say the obverse, and a convex side, say the reverse. On the reverse, a round depression might indicate that the block of clay was intended to be reused as a candle holder, according to Christopher Walker. The surface of the obverse exhibits traces of erasure and signs partially erased. Above these erasures, two lines of numerical signs are inscribed.

This inscription is of high interest because it employs the same graphical system as notations found in the margins of administrative texts from the Ur III period that we studied with Xiaoli Ouyang (OUYANG-PROUST forthcoming). This graphical system is neither that found in the Ur III or OB administrative texts, nor that found in mathematical texts, but specific to "scratch pads". In the transliteration below, I use the conventions we adopted with Xiaoli Ouyang for this graphical system: the specification (aš) is indicated when the wedges are horizontal; the sexagesimal digits are separated by the colon ":".

Transliteration

5(aš) 1:30
34:34(aš) 1:55

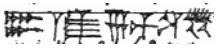
Marginal numbers

In our paper on marginal numbers, Xiaoli Ouyang and I identify about twenty administrative texts dated to the Ur III period which bear numerical notations in marginal zones of the tablet (edges or special boxes). These marginal notations share the following features:

- The systems used are either sexagesimal place value notation, or place value notation partially sexagesimal, or sexagesimal notation partially place valued.
- The paleography is normalized (the wedges and the *Winkelhaken* are always arranged in rows of three elements).
- The numbers are isolated (never followed by the measurement units and name of the good quantified).
- The margins generally exhibit traces of erasures.

These features contrast with those of the quantities recorded in the main text, in which the systems used are the standard metrological notations, the paleography is not normalized and the numbers are always followed by the measurement units and the name of the good quantified.

For instance, in the Ur III balanced account from Umma YBC 4179 (P111807, copy in ELLIS, 1970, complete edition in OUYANG-PROUST forthcoming, text 3) we see the same amount of grain noted in metrological notations in the main text (rev. col. *i*, line 5), and in partial sexagesimal place value notation on the upper edge.

Main text (rev. col. <i>i</i> , line 5)	Margins (upper edge)
 7(aš) 1(barig) 4(ban₂) 6(diš) 1/2 sila₃ še	 7(aš) 1:46:30

Note the specific features of marginal notations:

- The first number, 7, is written with two rows of wedges in the main text (non-normalized paleography), and with three rows of wedges in the margins (normalized paleography).
- The measuring unit (sila₃) and the name of the good (še, that is, barley) appear in the main text, not in the margin.

The sexagesimal place value notation is used in the margin to represent the numbers of *barig*, *ban*, and *sila*.

We suggested in our paper that the numbers noted in the margins reflect a process of calculation. The quantities recorded in the main text would be transformed into a format that could be used easily for calculation. The quantities in such format would be noted in the margins which serve as a scratch pad, and could be represented by objects constituting a calculation device (abacus or token). The calculations would be performed on these objects. Then the result displayed on the calculation device would be transformed backwards into “marginal notations”, and then into metrological notations registered in the main text. After each transformation, the scratch pad would be erased.

Note that marginal numbers are found too in some Old Babylonian administrative texts, and that the process described above may have continued to be applied in later periods; this would deserve further investigation.

BM 110450 as a scratch pad

The graphical system used in BM 110450 is similar to that found in margins of Ur III administrative texts. If we follow the process just described, we can suppose that our clod of clay had served as scratch pad associated to an administrative text. This administrative text is unknown, but is it possible to reconstruct some of the metrological notations the inscription on BM 110450 refers to.

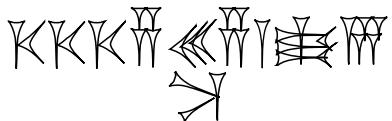
Supposed main text (unknown)	BM 110450, obverse
 5(aš) 1(barig) 3(ban₂)	Line 1  5(aš) 1:30
	Line 2



Fig. 2 Lines 1 and 2 of BM 110450. Taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, photos J. C. Fincke

In conclusion, BM 110450 might be the scratch pad of an administrative text, possibly from the Ur III period.

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34) eš₍₂₎-bar-kiĝ₂¹⁾ — Dans un article récent²⁾, P. Steinkeller a remis en doute aux pp. 8 sq. l'analyse de eš₍₂₎-bar-KIN en /ešbar/ + kiĝ₂³⁾ proposée par A. Falkenstein (ZA 56 [1964] 61) et acceptée par J. Krecher (Mél. Matouš II [1978] 51 et 69 sq. n. 71 sq.) et moi-même (ELS 508). D'une part, eš₍₂₎-bar kiĝ₂ «never appears as a verbal form» (p. 8), de l'autre, la graphie ancienne eš₂-bar-UNKEN (AbŞ, Ebla)⁴⁾ plaide clairement pour «decision of the assembly», eš₍₂₎-bar-kin étant «a phonetic realization of eš₍₂₎-bar-unkin (> eš-bar-(un)kin)» (p. 9). Cette hypothèse soulève trois problèmes:

1) S'il est vrai que eš₍₂₎-bar (+ directif) préf.-kiĝ₂ n'est pas attesté, kiĝ₂ n'en est pas moins employé verbalement dans eš-bar-(r)e kiĝ₂-ĝa₂ (Ibbisîn C 56 et Nuška A iv 14) et eš-bar-(r)e gal kiĝ₂-ĝa₂ (TplHy. 416).

2) Au plus tard à partir de l'époque de Gudea, eš₍₂₎-bar-KIN a une finale en -/ğ/ (eš₍₂₎-bar-kiĝ₂-ğa₂/ğe₂₆); cf. Gud. Cyl. A 20:16, EWO 85, LSU 18 BB et Ninisina A 29.

3) On attendrait une relation génitivale eš₍₂₎-bar unken-na-k.

eš₂-bar-UNKEN à AbŞ et Ebla mérite toutefois d'être discuté. À Ebla, UNKEN = /kiĝ/ est usuel (par ex. dans kiĝ_x⁵⁾ AK = kiĝ₂ AK) et ne fait donc pas problème. À Fāra et AbŞ en revanche, kiĝ₂ est attesté (par ex. kiĝ₂ AK dans WF 45, 12:4) et UNKEN = /kiĝ/ sinon inconnu. Deux explications sont envisageables:

— Soit UNKEN recouvre /kiĝ/ et s'explique par un jeu graphique sur unken «assemblée» (le plus vraisemblable)

— Soit un ancien eš₂-bar-unken(-na-k(?)) a été, pour des raisons quelque peu mystérieuses, réanalysé en eš₍₂₎-bar-kiĝ₂.

1) Dans un échange de mails, j'ai discuté avec M. Krebernik des problèmes évoqués dans cette note. Qu'il trouve ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.

2) Luck, Fortune, and Destiny in Ancient Mesopotamia — Or How the Sumerians and Babylonians Thought of Their Place in the Flow of Things, dans: O. Drewnowska/M. Sandowicz (ed.), *Fortune and Misfortune in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 60th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Warsaw 21-25 July 2014* (2017) 5-24.

3) Litt. "décision recherchée", d'où "décision intelligente, mûrement pesée".

4) Cf. Å.W. Sjöberg, AOAT 274 (2003) 527 sq.

5) Lu en général kin₅.

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35) Dumuzi et Ĝeštinana 36 — Dans NABU 2017/4, J. Pfitzner a rapproché DumĜešt. 36 de SEpM 8:13 et proposé à juste titre de lire non pas mušen-še₃, mais mušen šu (^ddumu-zi-de₃ mušen šu sur-

du₃^{mušen} dal-a-gen₇ zi-ni ur₅-da i₃-šub-’ba’). Elle traduit "Dumuzid ist wie ein Vogel, der aus der Klaue eines Falken (weg)fliest, aufmerksam?".

En ce qui concerne la première moitié de la ligne, un topos quasi identique est encore attesté dans Sîniddinam-Ninisina 42 (v. N.M. Brisch, AOAT 339 [2007] 144 sq., 147 et 154 et J. Peterson, StMes. 3 [2016] 172):

Ni 1: [bur]u₅^{?mušen} šu sur₂-du₃^{mušen} dal-a-gen₇ zi-ĝu₁₀ al-tum₃-tum₃-un
 Un 1: [...] su]r₂-du₃^{mušen} kar-r[a-...]
 Un 3¹⁾:[x] 'x' šu^(?2) sur₂-du₃^{mušen}-ta kar-ra-’gen₇’ zi-ĝu₁₀ al¹²-tum₃-tum₃-mu-un
 Ur 1: v. Peterson, loc. cit.

«Comme un moineau s'étant échappé (// envolé) des serres d'un faucon, j'(aimerais) sauvegarder ma vie.»

La seconde moitié de la ligne (zi-ni ur₅-da i₃-šub-’ba’) fait difficulté. Quoiqu'il soit méthodologiquement légitime de rapprocher, comme Pfitzner l'a fait, le ur₅-da (dans ur₅-da šub) du ur₅-da AK «être sur ses gardes, être sur le qui-vive»³⁾ de SEpM 8:13, on voit mal quel serait le sens dans ce contexte⁴⁾. Deux autres hypothèses sont encore envisageables:

— šub serait abrégé de šu-ta šub⁵⁾ «(faire) s'échapper», attesté dans un contexte proche du nôtre dans Nungal A 50 (variantes non notées): lu₂-bi-e-ne buru₅^(mušen) ^dnin-ninni₅^{mušen}-ta šu-ta šub-ba-gen₇ «Les hommes (vivant) là-bas, tels des moineaux échappés aux serres d'un oiseau *nin-ninnita* (, ont les yeux fixés sur son [de la porte] ouverture comme sur le soleil levant); cf. mon commentaire dans Mél. Wilcke (2003) 31. zi-ni resterait toutefois un peu problématique.

— zi-ni šub pourrait être comparé à zi-bi edin-na šub-šub-bu-da-bi (les grands aurochs) dans ŠB 88, de sens pas entièrement clair, mais où je n'excluerais pas «lorsqu'ils cherchent à s'échapper dans la plaine». L'expression signifierait litt. «se jeter/précipiter vers sa vie» v.s. Dans les deux cas, l'idée serait que Dumuzi cherche à sauvegarder sa vie. S'il en est ainsi, ur₅-da devrait être rapproché de ur₅-ta = (*ina*) *kī'am*; cf. surtout OB Izi I 117-120, où ur₅-da (répété) suit ur₅-še₃ (= *a-na še-a-tim*) et ur₅-ta, et le commentaire de Crisostomo, *Bilingual Education* 366: «ur₅-da seems to be a discourse marker like the preceding series». Il cite emeš-enten 112 et 155⁶⁾.

Je proposerais en conséquence de traduire DumGeV. 36 sq. «Tel un oiseau qui s'est échappé en volant des serres d'un faucon, Dumuzi (*ayant ainsi sauvé sa vie/s'étant ainsi jeté/précipité vers sa vie =) ayant ainsi sauvegardé sa vie/ cherchant ainsi à sauvegarder sa vie*, se réfugia chez Geštinana.»

1) Texte non publié; translittération d'après Brisch p. 154.

2) Brisch lit -še₃ (de même dans Ni 1), mais l'original a probabl. šu ou šu'.

3) A la littérature secondaire mentionnée dans la n. 18, ajouter par ex. PSD A/III 108, 120 bil. 67 et 130 lex. 222; P. Attinger, ZA 95 (2005) 258; A. Löhnert, AOAT 365 (2009) 289 avec n. 825; C. Mittermayer, OBO 239 (2009) 267 sq.; C. Jay Crisostomo, *Bilingual Education and Innovations in Scholarship: The Old Babylonian Word List Izi* (Ph. D. diss, University of California, Berkeley 2014) 366; J. Cale Johnson/M.J. Geller, CM 47 (2015) 175.

4) Litt., l'expression devrait signifier quelque chose comme «laisser tomber l'attention», d'où «cesser d'être attentif, sur ses gardes, renoncer à toute prudence» v.s. Comp. peut-être ur₅-da šu-ta [ri/šub(?)] "renoncer à se soucier de" dans ELA 369.

5) Pour ce type d'abrévement, comp. l'ellipse possible du nom dans les structures N V_n /inga/-V_n (še ba-su-ub-ba-ba in-ga-an-su-ub, etc.); cf. J. Krecher, *Skly.* 197 et *ELS* 298.

6) Ajouter par ex. emeš-enten 261 et Dial. 2:155.

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36) À propos de quelques proverbes sumériens¹⁾ — Dans son monumental *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer* (2005), B. Alster a édité la collection de proverbes Kroch-05, de la Cornell University Library (pp. 396-403 et pl. 51-57). Trois entrées (les n°s 2, 19 et 21) souffrent une lecture et une interprétation différentes.

N° 2: piš₁₀-a im a-ab-š[eg₃(-x)] / ġeštin DU-a ġeš₃ peš₃ a-ab-šeġ₃[(-x)].

La première ligne peut être comparée à SP 15.b5 ± // SP 25.1:4 piš₁₀(-a') im al-šeġ₃-ĜA₂/am₃_{bar}barim-ma [im] nu-um-biz¹² (SP 15) / im nu-ba-e (SP 25) «Il pleut sur la plage, mais la pluie ne tombe pas sur la terre aride (// n'est pas donnée en partage à la terre aride).»

En d'autres termes, la pluie ne tombe pas là où elle devrait. Le sens de la seconde ligne est énigmatique. L'idée serait-elle qu'il «pleut» des figues (sucrées) dans du vin (doux)? Pour l'association

des figues au vin, comp. peut-être ELA 621: ^{geš}peš₃? geštin-ba niğ₂ 'x-x'-ba-gen₇ 'kuru₁₃ gal-še₃ u₃?-mu-un-dub «après que l'on a amassé en un grand tas *des figues dans* (leur =) *des boissons alcoolisées comme des ...».*

N° 19: u₂ dam-gen₇ ze₂-ba edin-e nu-um-mu₂ / u₂ dam-ŷu₁₀ 'nam-ma-ab'-il₂-e? -a / pe-ze₂-er-ŷu₁₀ u₂?²²⁾-gunu₃ nam-mu-un-AK-e.

Comp. SP 14.42 sq.³⁾: u₂ dam-ŷu₁₀ na-ma-ab-il₂-i(-'x') / pe-en-ze₂-er-ŷu₁₀ u-gunu₃ la-ba-AK-e «Une plante ayant la douceur d'un époux ne pousse pas dans la steppe. Mon époux n'a pas (besoin) de m'apporter⁴⁾ des plantes, de décorer ma vulve⁵⁾.»

N° 21: a-gen₇ ki-gub-ŷu₁₀ nu-zu / ma₂-gen₇ kar us₂-ŷu₁₀ nu-zu / iri^{ki}-ŷu₁₀ du₆ he₂-a ġe₂₆-e en šika-bi he₂-me-en'

«Telle l'eau, j'ignore où je me trouve. Tel un bateau, j'ignore le quai où j'aborderai. Que ma ville devienne un tas de décombres, que moi, le seigneur, je sois l'un de ses tessons!» La dernière ligne est une citation littérale d'EnmEns. 132⁶⁾.

Je clos cette note par une remarque à propos de B. Alster, *Sumerian Proverbs in the Schøyen Collection* (= CUSAS 2, 2007). **MS 3379** (pp. 68 sq.) est un extrait de Lipit-Eštar B (ll. 51 sq.): i₃-li ša₃-ga / mu bala sa₆-ga / nun-nun-e-ne / diri gal mah-bi.

Le texte A (TCL 16, 87), utilisé comme texte principal par tous les auteurs, a aux ll. 51-54:

'i'-lu ša₃-ga / mu bala sa₆-ga / nun-e nun(-)EN⁷⁾ / diri gal mah-bi / ad-da-zu / ^diš-me-^dda-gan / lugal kalam-ma-ke₄ / ^{geš}gu-za-ni / suhuš-bi mu-'ra'-an-ge₄-en «(Au milieu des) (ilu du cœur =) chants de joie, dans des années de règne propices, le prince, le prince a, de manière supérieurement grande, (oui), de manière sublime⁸⁾, ton père Išme-Dagan, le roi du pays, a assuré pour toi les fondements de son trône».

La variante i₃-li ša₃-ga est également attestée dans MS 2790⁹⁾ et pourrait avoir été influencée par Enlil A 161 enim-ma(-a)-ni su-a (bi₂/be₂)du₁₀-ga i₃-li ša₃-ga-kam (//) «Sa parole remplit de bien-être, est (de l'huile fine du cœur =) un baume pour le cœur.» Dans le contexte de Lipit-Eštar 51, elle ne donne guère de sens.

1) Dans des conversations ou des échanges de mails, j'ai discuté avec A. Glenn, J. Matuszak et J. Peterson des problèmes évoqués dans cette note. Qu'ils trouvent ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.

2) L'original a plutôt SA que U₂. Cela pourrait impliquer que u-gunu₃ a d'abord été écrit de manière non-standard u₂-gunu₃ (attiré par les u₂ de 19:1 sq. et 20:1) dans un duplicat maintenant perdu, et U₂ réinterprété en SA par le scribe de Kroch-05. Les associations resteraient mystérieuses.

3) Sur SP 14.43, cf. J. Taylor, RA 99 (2005) 32 et M. Civil, CM 31 (2006) 57 (remarquer que le duplicat non utilisé par Alster n'est pas 3N-T930h +, mais 3N-T921h + 3N-T922b; v. N. Veldhuis, JAOS 120 [2000] 393). Pour une interprétation très divergente, et à mon sens invraisemblable, v. aussi J. Kinnier Wilson, JMC 6 (2005) 3 sq.

4) na-, dans na-ma-ab-il₂-i, n'est pas un prohibitif (ainsi B. Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer I* [1997] 220), mais remonte à nu- (de même probablement ETCSL et Civil, CM 31, 57); pour nu-ma- > na-ma-, cf. ELS 288 avec litt. ant. et B. Jagersma, *A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian* (2010) 553 sq.

5) Kroch-05 a «qu'il ne déclore pas» (prohibitif).

6) Où cette phrase est suivie de en unu^{ki}-ga en kul-aba₄^{ki}-ra gu₂ ba-ra-na-an-ġa₂-ġa₂ «Je ne me soumettrai certes pas au seigneur d'Uruk et de Kulaba!» Comme me le fait remarquer J. Peterson, c'est «the only reflex of the Enmerkar cycle in a proverb» (mail du 4 juin 2017).

7) Lu généralement nun urun_x/uru₁₆, mais les variantes nun-e nu[n]-e (B et MS 2790 [courtoisie K. Volk]), nun'-e₂ Ø (BM 96970 [courtoisie M.-C. Ludwig]) et nun-nun-e-ne (MS 3379, certainement fautif) plaident plutôt pour une faute pour nun-e.

8) Ainsi si diri détermine gal. Si gal détermine mah, traduire (litt.) «de manière supérieure, grandement sublime». La réinterprétation de diri gal en diri-ga dans MS 2790 et BM 9670 pourrait plaider en faveur de la première possibilité.

9) i₃- écrit sur i- (courtoisie K. Volk).

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37) ALSTER 1997:324, UET 6, 368:2-5 — Le premier à avoir rapproché U 17207.69 (UET 6, 368) du célèbre dicton cité dans Man God 104 sq. est GORDON (1960:150 n. 268). Il proposa de lire la ligne 4, une «difficult and untranslatable clause», DÙL(!?) la-ba-SÌ érin-nam-tag-ga-nu-tuku ul(!)-ta nu-gál-la-àm et releva la présence des gloses¹⁾ *la i-du-ú* et *i-na(?) sa-bi-im* (*loc. cit.*). Depuis lors, ces deux passages

ont été fréquemment discutés, mais tant la lecture du premier signe de UET 6, 368:4 (correspondant au KUŠ₂ de Man God 105) que le sens du ou des proverbe(s) restent controversés. En ce qui concerne le signe, Gadd a copié SAĞ dans UET 6/2, lequel n'a pas été remis en question par LUDWIG dans ses collations (2009:231). D'après Alster en revanche, la tablette aurait «a clear inim, not sag» (1997:475), et c'est apparemment également l'opinion de PETERSON, qui lit inim sans le commenter (2017, à propos de UET 6, 368). À en juger toutefois d'après la photo (CDLI P346414), le signe n'est ni SAĞ ni KA, mais KUŠ₂²⁾, comme l'avait déjà supposé Gordon. La conséquence la plus importante est que UET 6, 368 et Man God 104 sq. ne sont pas deux proverbes de sens plus ou moins proche selon les auteurs³⁾, mais un seul et même proverbe, l'unique différence étant que Man God 105 a sa₂/si₈ et UET 6, 368:4 si₃.

UET 6, 368:2-5 : "u₄" na-me dumu nam-da₆-ga nu-tuku / ama-ni nu-um-du₂-ud / kuš₂ la-ba-si₃ *la i-du-^{u2}* erin₂ *i-na sa-bi-im* nam-da₆-ga nu-tuku / "ul"^{1?}-ta nu-ŷgal₂-la-am₃

Man God 104 sq. : u₄ na-me dumu nam-da₆ nu-tuku ama-a-ni nu(-un)-du₂-ud / kuš₂ la-ba-SA₂ erin₂ nam-da₆ nu-tuku ul-ta nu-ŷgal₂-la-am₃

Avant de discuter brièvement les problèmes soulevés par ces deux passages, rappelons les principales traductions proposées pour Man God 104 sq.⁴⁾

KRAMER 1955:179 : «Never has a sinless child been born to its mother, ... a sinless workman (?) has not existed from of old» ; de même KRAMER 1963:128 (mais «youth» au lieu de «workman (?)») et KRAMER 1969:590.

JACOBSEN 1963:483 : «The child without faults, not ever did its mother give birth to it! [T]he toiler attains it not, a worker without fault never was from oldest time.»

Cette interprétation a été souvent acceptée, seule la traduction de kuš₂ la-ba-sa₂ variant légèrement ; cf. par ex. RÖMER 1990:107 («(auch) wer sich abmüht, erreicht (es) nicht»), BLACK *et al.* 1998 («making an effort (?) does not bring success (?)») et MITTERMAYER 2013:39 («(auch) wer sich erschöpft, erreicht (dies) nicht»). Elle est possible si sa₂ est intransitif (on attendrait sinon kuš₂-e (...) -sa₂-e) et a l'acception rare de «arriver jusqu'à, parvenir à» (comp. CKU 21:20 et Iddin-Dagan A 201 B⁵ ; v. aussi ATTINGER 2016 à propos de la l. 408), mais laisse la glose *lā idū* inexplicable.

ALSTER 1997:475 : «A child without sin was never given birth by his mother. The idea was never conceived that people should have no sin.» Alster lit inim la-ba-di et voit en di une graphie non-standard de si₃ (si₈ serait plus simple) ; inim est toutefois épigraphiquement exclu.

KLEIN 1997:574 : «Never has a sinless child been born to its mother, [a] mortal(?) has never been perfect, a sinless man has never existed from old!» ; de même KLEIN 2006:128 et VANSTIPHOUT 2004:274. Cette interprétation repose probablement sur une lecture sağ la-ba-silim, laquelle est épigraphiquement discutable (sağ) et rend mal compte de si₃ dans UET 6, 368:4⁶⁾.

La principale difficulté gît naturellement dans le sens des verbes polysémiques SA₂ et si₃. A priori, le plus vraisemblable est que SA₂, attesté dans un texte de Nippur, soit la meilleure leçon. Dans UET 6, 368, soit si₃ serait une graphie non-standard de sa₂/si₈⁷⁾, (la glose serait alors inexplicable), soit kuš₂ la-ba-si₃ reposeraient sur une réinterprétation. Si cette deuxième possibilité est la bonne, envisageable serait que kuš₂ signifie non pas «celui qui se donne du mal/de la peine»⁸⁾, mais «le fait d'être las, épuisé», d'où «fatigue, épuisement, lassitude» (de même par ex. dans CA 54 ; comp. aussi kuš₂-a dans EnmEns. 50, InŠuk. 116 // [ou kuš₂], NL 41, 121, 139(?)).

Je proposerais avec réserve (litt.) «*La fatigue/l'épuisement n'était pas/n'avait pas été imposé(e)*, un travailleur ne commettant pas d'erreur⁹⁾ n'existe pas depuis les temps anciens», d'où soit «(Même si) *la fatigue était inconnue*, un travailleur ne commettant pas d'erreur n'aurait, depuis l'aube des temps, jamais existé», soit «(Même lorsque) *la fatigue était (encore) inconnue*, un travailleur ne commettant pas d'erreur n'a, depuis l'aube des temps, jamais existé». La glose *lā idū* (au lieu de *ul idū*) pourrait s'expliquer par le fait que kuš₂ la-ba-si₃ est sémantiquement parlant une subordonnée.

Dans Man God 105, on peut hésiter entre une traduction comparable à celle de Jacobsen (v. supra) et (litt.) «*La fatigue n'est pas arrivée*, un travailleur ne commettant pas d'erreur n'a, depuis les temps anciens, jamais existé», c'est-à-dire plus librement «(Même sans qu') il soit fatigué, un travailleur ne commettant pas d'erreur n'a, depuis l'aube des temps, jamais existé».

- 1) Lui-même parle de «the gloss».
 - 2) Mme M.-C. Ludwig a eu l'amabilité de collationner la tablette et me confirme la lecture KUŠ₂ (mails des 6 et 8 juin 2017). Qu'elle trouve ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.
 - 3) À titre d'illustration, comparer les traductions très divergentes de ETCSL pour UET 6, 368:4 et Man God 105. UET 6, 368:4 (BLACK *et al.* 2002) : «The idea was never conceived that there was anyone who was not a sinner. Such a situation never existed» ; Man God 105 (BLACK *ET AL.* 1998) : «making an effort (?) does not bring success (?); a sinless workman has never existed from of old».
 - 4) Je passe sous silence celles avancées pour UET 6, 368:2-5, car elles sont toutes basées sur la lecture erronée inim ; v. par ex. ALSTER 1997:324 (comm. p. 475), BLACK *et al.* 2002 *ad* UET 6/2 368:2-5, STEINERT 2012:29 et PETERSON 2017 *ad* UET 6, 368.
 - 5) Vu si sa₂ dans au moins A, une faute (lire <si>) est toutefois aussi envisageable.
 - 6) Pour d'autres interprétations, omettant ou ne traduisant pas kuš₂ la-ba-SA₂, v. encore LIMET 2001:118 et LÄMMERHIRT 2010:521 sq.
 - 7) /si/ = sa₂ est fréquent (v. par ex. ATTINGER 1993:642 et WAGENSONNER 2011:654 ; les exemples se laisseraient facilement multiplier).
 - 8) Noter que «se donner du mal/de la peine, se démener» ne me semble pas être une acception usuelle de kuš₂ (cf. tout au plus Innana B 31), dont le sens premier est «être las, éprouvé», d'où «se tourmenter, être préoccupé».
 - 9) Sur nam-dag/dag(-ga), cf. en dernier lieu NEUMANN 2006:34-36, LÖHNERT 2012, MITTERMAYER 2013:33 sq., GABBAY 2014:24 sq. et JAQUES 2015:315 sq. Le sens de «faute professionnelle, négligence» n'est pas usuel, mais probablement attesté dans CKU 8:11 (v. ATTINGER 2012/2015 *ad loc.*). Le terme ordinaire pour «être négligent» est še-be₂-de₃/da, še-ba-e-de₃/da (KLEINERMAN 2011:123 et Volk 2011:77 avec litt. ant.).
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38) A New Forerunner to An = Anum? —The tablet published here is an Old Babylonian god list housed in a private collection. It is a single column tablet (imgida) with wide-rulings that measures 99x62x27, which further nuances our understanding of the complex situation for god lists outside of Nippur in the Old Babylonian period. There are numerous god lists dating to the Old Babylonian period which attest to the existence of several local traditions. The two best known are the Nippur God List (hereafter NGL; PETERSON 2009) and the Weidner God List (LAMBERT 1957-1971; RICHTER 2004). NGL is an important and well-attested part of the OB Sumerian scribal curriculum at Nippur. The Weidner God List is more chronologically and geographically widespread, as it is attested from the Ur III period until the first millennium. Other lists are known from such disparate sites as Susa in the Zagros Mountains, Mari in Syria as well as Mesopotamian sites such as Isin, Sippar and Uruk (VELDHUIS 2014: 199).

Of particular interest for understanding the text presented here are TCL 15, 10 (P345354), the Mari god list (LAMBERT 1985 = P499082), and the Isin god list (IB 1552 + IB 1568 + fragments; WILCKE 1987). TCL 15, 10 is the only known OB forerunner to An = *Anum* (VELDHUIS 2014: 201). It presents a list of over thirty ancestors to Enlil, who does not appear until l.40. Conversely, the Mari god list begins with the pair Enlil and Ninlil (ll. 1 and 2) followed by a long list of Enlil's ancestors. The Isin god list is closest to our text, since it begins in the exact same manner with An, Uraš, and Enlil, followed by Enlil's epithet Nun-nam-mir (not present in our text), Ninlil, and sixteen ancestors. Our tablet is distinctive in that it is a single column, unlike the others which are multi-column. This securely places the list within the OB Sumerian scribal curriculum.

Obverse

1. {indent} a[n]	= NGL 1. 1, Isin 1. 1, Weidner 1. 1
2. ^d uraš(IB)	= NGL 1. 3, Isin 1. 2, Weidner 1. 39
3. ^d en-líl	= NGL 1. 4, Isin 1. 3, Mari 1. 1, Weidner 1. 3
4. ^d en-líl	
5. ^d nin-líl	= NGL 1. 6 , Isin 1. 5, Mari 1. 2, Weidner 1. 4
6. ^d nin-líl	
7. ^d en-ki	= TCL 15, 10 l. 1; NGL 1. 22, Isin 1. 6, Mari 1. 3, Wiedner 1. 57
8. ^d nin-ki	= TCL 15, 10 l. 2, Isin 1. 7, Mari 1. 4
9. ^d en-ul	= TCL 15, 10 l. 5, Isin 1. 8, Mari 1. 13
10. ^d nin-ul	= TCL 15, 10 l. 6, Isin 1. 9, Mari 1. 14
11. ^d en-mul	= TCL 15, 10 l. 3, Mari 1. 11

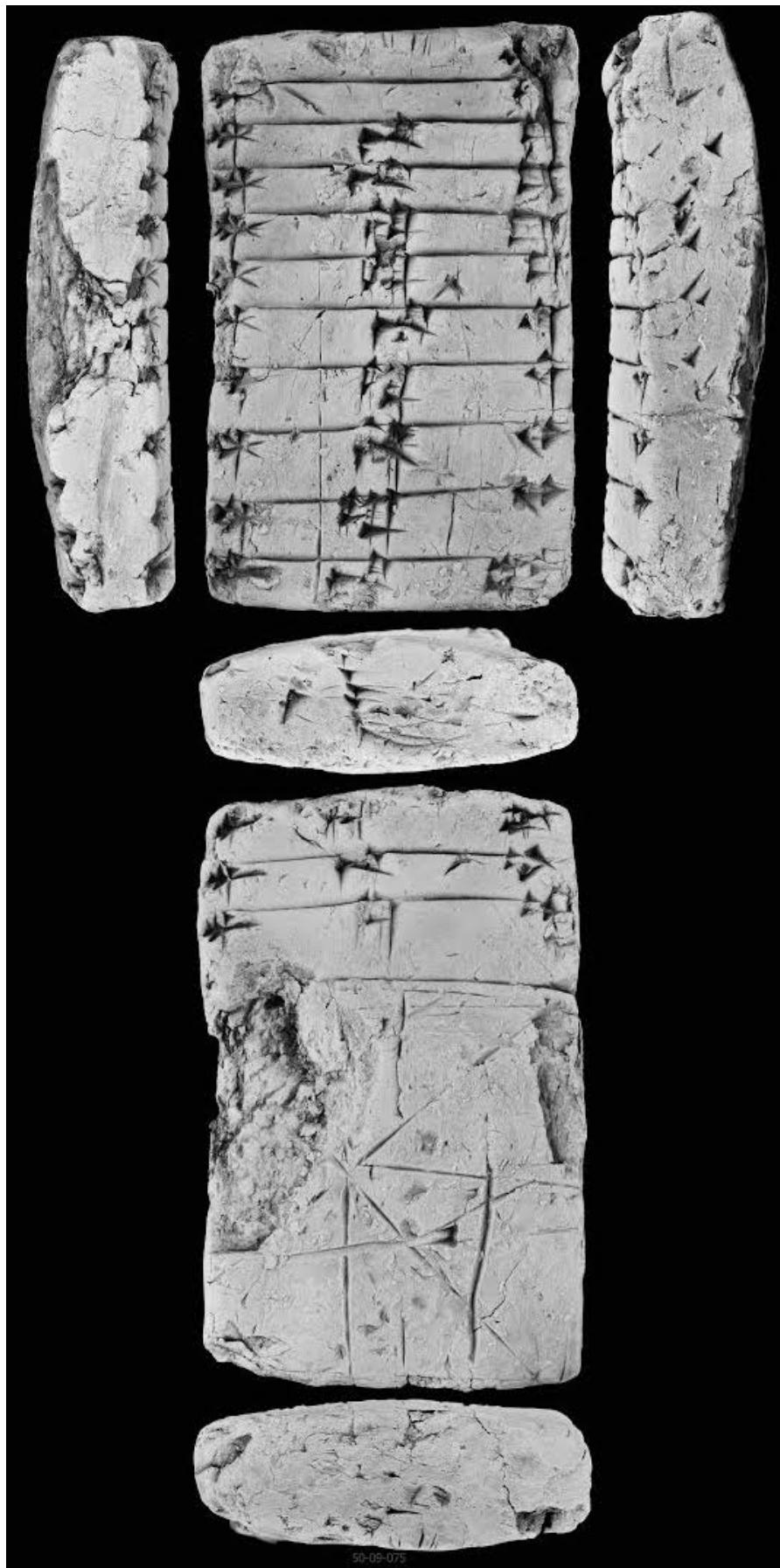
Reverse

12. ^d nin-/mul!^	= TCL 15, 10 l. 4, Mari 1. 12
13. ^d en-gud	= unattested
14. ^d nin-gud	= unattested

double line ruling

4, 6. The scribe inexplicably repeated the name of Enlil and Ninlil.

13, 14. The names ^den-gud and ^dnin-gud are, to our knowledge, otherwise unattested, but must belong to the list of Enlil's ancestors. The presence of these deities is not particularly surprising. As LAMBERT (1975: 52) already remarked for the lists of Enlil's ancestors "the first pair are the same, but the intervening pairs never agree completely between the various lists either in the number of pairs or in the distinctive element in each pair. These divergences suggest that the intervening pairs were not in themselves important, but only serve to give remoteness to the first."



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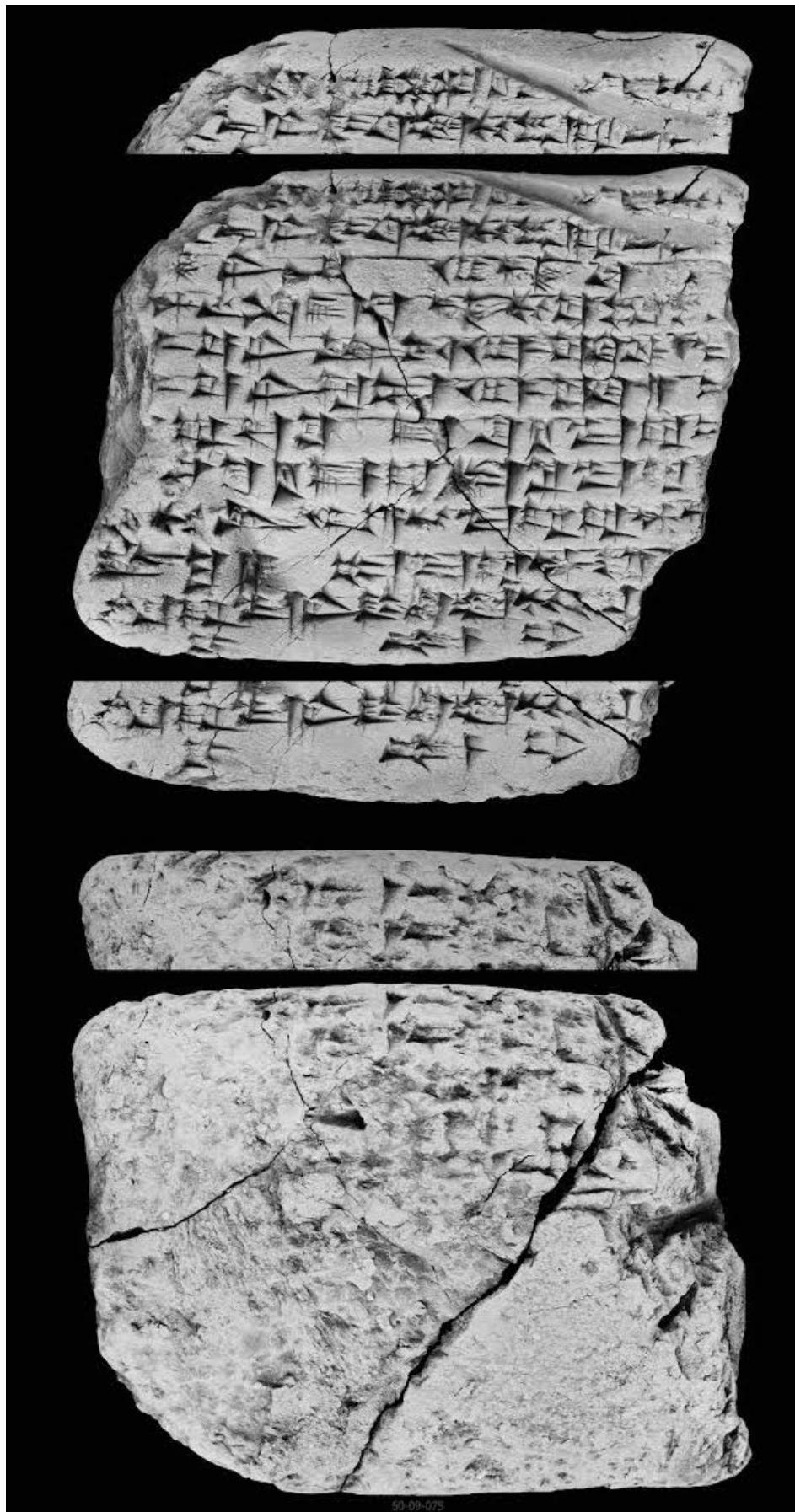
39) A New Manuscript of the Home of the Fish — Under investigation here is an Old Babylonian school text from a private collection. It measures 81x62x26 and it contains ll. 25-37 of the Sumerian literary composition known as the Home of the Fish (CIVIL 1961). This composition is attested from seven manuscripts. Three are from Nippur (P345121, P263559, P343394), three are from Ur (P346129, P346130, P346131) and one is of unknown provenance (P283759). The composition consists of a long speech directed to the fish made by an unnamed interlocutor. THOMSEN (1975) convincingly demonstrated that the interlocutor must be a fisherman trying to entice the fish into his trap. CUNES 50-02-334 spells this out neatly in l. 8. We concur with VANSTIPHOUT'S suggestion (1982) that this composition was not intended to be taken seriously.

The Home of the Fish belongs to the advanced stages of Sumerian scribal education during which the students practiced what they had learned in the elementary phase through the study of Sumerian literature. This text finds its inspiration in the lexical tradition, in particular in the thematic list Ura, whose fourth chapter contains types of fish (see further VELDHUIS 2004: 56-57).

Obverse	
1. [...] /x \ si-ga èn-ŠU.GAR.T[UR.LAL]-/šè x MU x\	unattested line
2. [ku ₄ -ra]-ma-ni dumu ki-á̄g-̄gu ₁₀ ku ₄ -ra-ma-n[i]-/x\	= ll. 25-26
3. [ud n]am-zal-en ̄gi ₆ nam-sá-/e\	= l. 27
4. [i]ti ₆ ([UD].AN.ŠEŠ.KI) é-ba nam-mu-e-ku ₄ -/ku ₄	= l. 28
5. [ud] me-e-zal du ₁₄ -da ̄gi ₆ me-e-sá-ka-ma	unattested line
6. [ud] me-e-zal-la-gin ₇ ̄gi ₆ me-e-sá-a-gin ₇	= l. 29
7. [ku ₄]-ra ba!-hūg é ki-̄gar ma-ra-a[b-du ₇]	= l. 30
8. [šà]-ba dúr-̄gar <geš>-pàr(DAG)-ra-gin ₇ si ma-ra-[ab-sá-e]	= l. 31
9. [k]u ₆ -̄gu ₁₀ lú nú-a-̄gu ₁₀ ma-ra-ra-an-z[i-zi]	= l.32
10. lú tuš-a du ₁₇ (NE) ma-ra-an-mú-[mú]	
~ ku ₄ -ra-ma-ni dumu ki-á̄g-̄gu ₁₀ ku ₄ -[ra-ma-ni]	
~ dumu sa ₆ -ga	= ll. 33-35
Reverse	
11. [...] -na-gin ₇ /x x\ [...]	= l. 36
12. [...] -gin ₇ zi-zi [...]	= l. 37
13. [...] /x x\ [...]	
14. [...]	
15. [...] -/en-x\	

double line ruling

- 1....
2. Enter my beloved son, enter!
3. Do not let the day pass by, do not let the night come,
4. The moonlight should not enter that house!
5. The day having passed . . . and the night having come,



50-09-075

6. If the day has gone by and the night has come,
7. enter so you will relax. I have made the house and the grounds suitable for you.
8. Inside I have put in order a seat — like in a trap — just for you.
9. My fish, no one who sleeps here will wake up,
10. Nobody who sits there will start a quarrel. Enter my beloved son, enter my fine son.

1. This line is otherwise unattested.
2. Line 2 conflates ll. 25 and 26 of the eclectic and omits the nominal sequence dumu sa₆-ga- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ presumably due to space constraints. Nothing is expected after the -ni of the second verbal chain, given the assumed parallelism with the first verb. The traces do not support an -ib.
5. In this line, the scribe made several errors. He wrote du₁₄-da in lieu of -la-gin₇, presumably thinking ahead to l. 33 of the composition (unfortunately when he reached that point he reverted to the more simple du₁₇). Furthermore, the scribe bungled the second verbal chain. Whereas he wrote the first part correctly, he added an unnecessary -ka-, inexplicable to us, as well as a final -ma, to be understood as the Akkadian coordinating enclitic. As such, he decided to write the line again, and did so correctly.
7. The scribe simplified the first verbal chain and added é to complement ki- $\hat{g}ar$.
8. The author of this tablet spoiled the underlying joke of the composition. The fisherman tells us that the home he is building for the fish is a trap.
9. The scribe miswrote the negative verbal chain ba-ra- as ma-ra-.
10. The scribe wrote du₁₇ in lieu of du₁₄; further he once again miswrote ma-ra- for ba-ra- as in l. 9.
11. The remaining traces do not support the reconstruction pa₅(PAP.E).

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40) A New Manuscript of the Lexical List Ura 6 — The tablet published here is an Old Babylonian school text housed in a private collection and it measures 114*×106*×49. The tablet contains excerpts of Ura 6, the last chapter of the Old Babylonian thematic word list Ura, which was used in the elementary phase of the Sumerian scribal curriculum. On the obverse the student practiced a new section of the list, with the same segment repeated at least three times. This is the barley section, which appears later in Ura 6 than the items studied on the reverse. In the latter the student reviewed the beginning of Ura 6, which he had learned in a previous lesson.

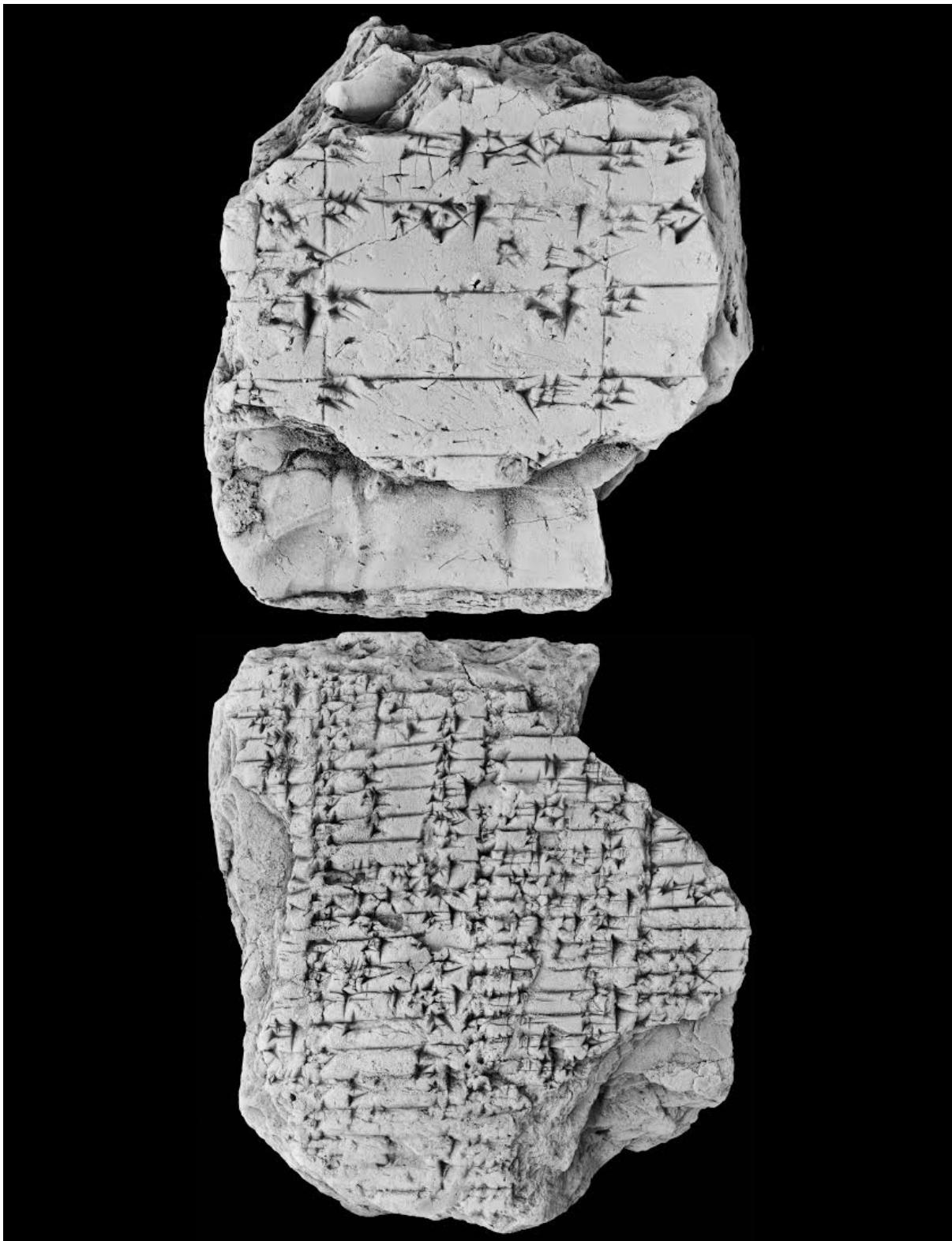
Our understanding of Ura 6 is hindered by the fact that this chapter is not as well attested as others and its manuscript tradition is remarkably unstable (VELDHUIS 2014: 206). It is therefore not surprising that the tablet published here does not follow the complete versions of Ura 6 from Nippur, although some sequences are repeated *verbatim* and many of the terms are attested. Moreover, it also seems that the overall order of the sections as studied in Nippur was replicated here (soup, sweetened beer, and beer).

SLT 12 (P227925), a multi column tablet, and SLT 15 (P227657), a prism, are two of the most complete exemplars of Ura 6 from Nippur. As such, we have used them as a frame of reference for the edition of this text. We have listed MSL references in the commentary only when a reference to SLT 12 or SLT 15 is not available.

Obverse

- col. i
 (beginning of column lost)
 1'. [še x GU B]U
 2'. [še gú-ME]-'x' du₁₀-
 ~ga
 3'. [še] babbar

Lexical List Ura 6 1



4'. [še] kukku ₅	
(remainder of column lost)	
col. ii	
(beginning of column lost)	
1'. [še . . .]	
2'. še x GU BU	
3'. še gú-ME-x	
~ du ₁₀ -ga	
4'. še babbar	
5'. še kukku ₅	
6'. [še] 'x x'	
(remainder of column lost)	
col. iii.	
(beginning of column lost)	
1'. [še . . .]	
2'. še [x GU BU]	
3'. še gú-[ME-x]	
~ [du ₁₀ -ga]	
4'. še [babbar]	
5'. še [kukku ₅]	
(remainder of column lost)	
Reverse	
col. i (RIGHT HAND)	
(beginning of column lost)	
1'. a [. . .]	
2'. a [. . .]	
3'. a [. . .]	
4'. a an-zag n[u?zu?]	= SLT 12 (= OB Nippur Ura 6) o i 4; SLT 15 (= OB Nippur Ura 6) a i 4
5'. {indent} [tu ₇ ?]	
6'. tu ₇ [sag ₁₀ ?]	= SLT 12 o i 5, SLT 15 a i 5
7'. tu ₇ -gú-g[al]	= SLT 12 o i 6, SLT 15 a i 6
8'. tu ₇ -gú-[tur]	= SLT 12 o i 7, SLT 15 a i 7
9'. tu ₇ -gú-[níf-ar-ra]	= SLT 12 o i 8, SLT 15 a i 8
10'. tu ₇ -[. . .]	
(remainder of column lost)	
col. ii	
(beginning of column lost)	
1'. 'tu ₇ ' [. . .]	
2'. 'tu ₇ x' [. . .]	
3'. tu ₇ [. . .]	
4'. tu ₇ a u[r ₄ -a?]	= SLT 15 a ii 5
5'. tu ₇ NE nun	
6'. tu ₇ NE te-en	
7'. tu ₇ zíz A	= SLT 15 a i 21
8'. tu ₇ zíz A nu-dug ₄ -ga	
9'. tu ₇ HA x ZUM	
10'. tu ₇ li-ib-KA	
12'. tu ₇ sağ ba ra	
13'. tu ₇ sig ₇ {erasure}ma	
14'. kaš dida(Ú.SA)	= SLT 12 o ii 4, SLT 15 a ii 9
15'. kaš dida sag ₁₀	= SLT 12 o ii 5, SLT 15 a ii 10
16'. kaš dida gen	= SLT 12 o ii 6, SLT 15 a ii 11
17'. kaš dida imḡaḡa(ÁŠ.AN)	= SLT 12 o ii 7, SLT 15 a ii 12
18'. kaš dida imḡaḡa [mah]	= SLT 12 a ii 14
19'. kaš U.[SA] 'x' [. . .]	
20'. kaš U.[SA. . .]	
21'. kaš U.[SA. . .]	
22'. kaš U.[SA. . .]	
23'. kaš U.[SA. . .]	
24'. kaš U.[SA. . .]	
(remainder of column lost)	col. iii
(beginning of column lost)	

1'. kaš x' [. . .]	
2'. kaš ma-ra-ah	
3'. kaš 'KA' ûgar-ra	
4'. kaš AŠ sur	
5'. kaš sur-ra	
6'. kaš bur-sağ	= SLT 12 o iii 2
7'. kaš bur-gi ₄	= SLT 12 o iii 1
8'. kaš 'x (x?)'	
9'. kaš 'x (x?)' 7-ta	
10'. kaš a bal-bal	
11'. kaš kum-ma	
12'. kaš ki-la[m]	
13'. kaš nağ-a-{erasure}nağ-a	
14'. kaš ME-a-NE	
15'. kaš lú!-kurun ₂ (DIN)	= SLT 12 o iii 3
16'. kaš kurun ₂	
17'. kaš kurun ₂ babbar	
18'. kaš kurun ₂ ! <<x>> kukku ₅	
19'. kaš 'x' DI	
20'. [kaš] 'x x'	
21'. [x] 'x x'	
(remainder of column lost)	
col. iv (LEFT HAND)	
(beginning of column lost)	
1'. [. . .]-'x'	
2'. [. . .]-'dē'	
3'. [. . .]-'mah'	
4'. [. . .]-'x'	
5'. [. . .]-'dē?'	
6'. [. . .]-'DU'	
7'. [. . .]-'x'	
8'. [. . .]-'x'	
9'. [. . .]-'x'	
10'. [. . .]-'x'	
11'. [. . .]-'x'	
12'. [. . .]-'x'	
13'. [. . .]-'x'	
14'. [. . .]-'x'	
15'. [. . .]-'x'	
16'. [. . .]-'ma'	
17'. [. . .]-'x'	
18'. [. . .]-'mu'	
19'. [. . .]-'x'	
(remainder of column lost)	

Obverse col. i.

2'. še-gú-'NE'-a-na-àm-DU occurs in Hh XX-XXIV OB Forerunner 13 v 258 (MSL 11, 151).

3'. See e.g. A 07895 v 12 (P230257; MSL 11, 147; 160-161), an Old Babylonian cylinder from the Diyala.

4'. See e.g. A 07895 v 13 (P230257; MSL 11, 147; 160-161).

Obverse col. ii

2'. Whereas in col. ii the sign looks like UR, in col iii it more closely resembles MA. To our knowledge, neither is paralleled.

Reverse col. i

4'. An OB unprovenanced manuscript of Kagal (ASJ 20, 215-216 r i 10') preserves a an-zag nu-zu, "water that knows no horizon" i.e. "endless water" (VELDHUIS 1998: 205, 207).

Reverse col. ii

4'. See e.g. Hh XXIII-XXIV Nippur Forerunner Section 1 8 (MSL 11, 113).

8'. The entry tu₇ zíz A nu-dug₄-ga, which is itself meaningless, is likely modeled on the entry a nu-dug₄-ga attested in OB Nippur Kagal 1. 284; this entry is also attested in Hh XX-XXIV OB Forerunner 15 27 (MSL 11, 152).

9'. For a possible parallel see the Ur III Girsu text CTPSM 1 244 (BDTNS 195230) o ii 10 30, which reads ku₆ [x] 'ZUM'.

10'. This is a possible variant of Hh XX-XXIV OB Forerunner 15 44 (MSL 11, 153), which has [tu₇-e]-li-ib-KA.

18'. We restore this line following Hh XXIII-XXIV Nippur Forerunner Section 2.1 9 (MSL 11, 115).

Reverse col. iii

2'. See e.g. Hh XXIII-XXIV Nippur Forerunner Section 2.2 27 (MSL 11, 116).

3'. See e.g. Hh XX-XXIV OB Forerunner 13 iv 207 (MSL 11, 150). If the entry is saḡ ḡar-ra, also possible given the traces, then see Forerunner 15 l. 69 (MSL 11, 153).

5'. See e.g. Hh XX-XXIV OB Forerunner 13 iv 190 (MSL 11, 150).

10'. A variant for kaš bal-bal as in Hh XXIII-XXIV Nippur Forerunner Section 2.2 3 (MSL 11, 115).

11'. A variant of kaš kúm-ma as in Hh XXIII-XXIV Nippur Forerunner Section 2.2 17 (MSL 11, 115).

12'. See e.g. Hh XX-XXIV OB Forerunner 13 iv 192 (MSL 11, 150).

13'. A variant of kaš naḡa as in Hh XXIII-XXIV Nippur Forerunner Section 2.2 33 (MSL 11, 116).

14'. Compare kaš-me-'x-x-x' in Hh XXIII-XXIV Nippur Forerunner Section 2.2 30 (MSL 11, 116).

16'. See e.g. Hh XXIII-XXIV Nippur Forerunner Section 2.2 18 (MSL 11, 150).

17'. See e.g. Hh XX-XXIV OB Forerunner 15 74 (MSL 11, 153).

18'. See e.g. Hh XX-XXIV OB Forerunner 15 75 (MSL 11, 153).

19'. Perhaps to be restored as kaš sila₃ DI as in Hh XX-XXIV OB Forerunner 15 93 (MSL 11, 153), but the traces of the sign are not sufficient enough to confirm.

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41) HE 259 : un musicien efféminé — Dans le cadre du projet Digibarchi, dirigé par D. Charpin et financé par PSL, nous avons entrepris de faire la couverture photographique complète des tablettes des Hautes Etudes (cf. déjà à ce sujet *NABU* 2016 / 39). Ce projet est mené par moi-même avec l'aide de Manon Ramez (doctorante à l'EPHE sous ma direction). Nous espérons rendre accessible sur internet cette collection dans un proche avenir. En attendant, ce travail nous donne l'occasion de collationner les tablettes. C'est ainsi qu'un détail intéressant est apparu à la relecture de la tablette d'Ur III, HE 259 dont la dernière édition en date a été faite par M. Molina (BDTNS). La ligne 14 enregistre le présent d'un musicien dont le nom paraît faire problème ; le passage est transcrit dans BDTNS : 1 amar maš-da₃ nin^d-Nin-gublaga nar. En réalité, comme peut le laisser déjà penser l'apographie de J.-M. Durand (*Documents cunéiformes de la IVe Section de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, T. 1, 1982, pl. 31) et désormais le cliché photographique ci-joint, on peut lire ^{munus}ur^dnin-gublaga, soit « 1 petit de gazelle (apport) d'Ur-Ningublaga le musicien ». On doit vraisemblablement comprendre munus comme un déterminatif indiquant le sexe du musicien. Comme celui-ci porte clairement un NP masculin, le signe munus « femme » souligne qu'il s'agissait d'une personne transgenre. C'est un cas de figure semblable au fameux musicien de Mari, Ur-Nanše, que N. Ziegler identifie à un castrat car sa statue le représente avec des traits féminins ; cf. *Les Musiciens et la musique d'après les archives de Mari*, FM IX (mémoires de *NABU* 10), 2007, p. 7-9.



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42) En marge d'Archibab, 25 : une offrande à Ur d'Etellum, ministre du roi de Larsa Gungunum

— Dans sa contribution aux *Mélanges Owen*, R. Mayr a publié deux tablettes percées de trous de ficelettes sur la tranche gauche¹⁾ et imprimées au sceau d'une femme nommée Ayalatum (MAYR 2010) : a-a-la-

tum / DUMU.MUNUS a-bi-sa-re(!)-e(!) / DAM e-te-lum / SUKKAL.MAH / gu-un-gu-nu-um « Ayalatum, fille d'Abi-sare, épouse d'Etellum, chancelier (*sukkalmahhum*) de Gungunum. » La correction de la lecture de la 1. 2 a été contestée, car les empreintes montrent clairement *a-bi-sa-da-a*, ce qui constitue un bon nom amorrite (FÖLDI 2016) : Ayalatum ne serait donc pas fille d'Abi-sare, mais il reste certain qu'elle fut épouse d'Etellum, décrit comme chancelier (*sukkalmahhum*) du roi de Larsa Gungunum.

À la lumière de cette légende de sceau, on peut proposer une nouvelle lecture d'un passage d'une tablette découverte à Ur par Woolley, UET 5 544. À la suite de Gadd, M. Van De Mieroop a situé ce document non daté pendant le règne de Warad-Sin et l'a décrit comme enregistrant « gifts of the royal family, including the king, his brother Rīm-Sîn, an unknown Budidi, the son of Gungunum Etellum, and two en-priestesses, Enšakiag-Nanna, daughter of Sumuel, and Enanedu, daughter of Kudur-Mabuk » (VAN DE MIEROOP 1989, p. 401a). Dans l'index de UET 5 (p. 38a), Figulla avait également qualifié Etel-lum de « *s. of Gungunum* ». Mais dans son édition de ce texte, Gadd avait été plus prudent, lisant : MU-TÚM E-til-lum dumu(?) Gu-un-gu-nu-um (GADD 1951, p. 29 et cf. p. 31 : « if he was in fact a son of Gungunum (the sign is not quite clear) ») ; même prudence dans la dernière édition du texte (GUICHARD 2005, p. 4). Si l'on revoit la copie à la lumière de ce qu'on sait désormais, on observe que le clou horizontal et le vertical final, qui seuls subsistent du signe de lecture incertaine, correspondent bien mieux à SUKKAL qu'à DUMU. On en concluera que UET 5 544 mentionne le même Etellum SUKKAL de Gungunum que le sceau de son épouse Ayalatum.

L'interprétation de UET 5 544 par Gadd doit être revue : il n'est pas sûr qu'on ait affaire à l'enregistrement d'une série de dons simultanés. Si ce texte date bien du règne de Warad-Sin, comme c'est très vraisemblable, on doit relever qu'il y a au minimum 72 ans entre la dernière année de Gungunum (1906) et la première de Warad-Sin (1834). On aurait pu à la rigueur penser qu'Etellum comme fils de Gungunum ait été un vieillard au début du règne de Warad-Sin, mais dans la mesure où Etellum était chancelier de Gungunum, donc un adulte, il pourrait difficilement avoir été vivant au moment de la rédaction de cet inventaire, puisqu'il aurait été plus que centenaire. Toutefois, on peut fort bien penser que les deux vases en argent dont l'apport lui est attribué étaient inscrits et qu'on ait affaire à un inventaire qui ne comptabilise pas seulement des offrandes récentes. Cela expliquerait d'ailleurs l'absence de date : il s'agirait d'un inventaire partiel destiné à la rédaction d'un inventaire plus complet²⁾. L'utilisation de ce texte pour calculer l'âge de l'*entum* En-šakiag-Nanna (Gadd, *Iraq* 13, p. 30) est donc à abandonner, de même que la notion d'*entum* « *emerita* »³⁾ et aussi l'utilisation faite par Gadd de ce texte pour montrer que l'arrivée de la dynastie de Kudur-Mabuk n'entraîna pas de rupture⁴⁾.

Pour en revenir au ministre de Gungunum, contrairement à ce qu'a indiqué R. Mayr, son nom (Etellum) n'a rien de rare⁵⁾. Le fait qu'il soit porté par un *sukkalmahhum* a été mal interprété : « though “Prince” would seem a strange name for a commoner, it is less surprising for a man who served as grand vizier to one king and married the daughter of another » (MAYR 2010 : 190a ; on oubliera désormais la fin de la phrase). En fait, il s'agit d'un exemple de plus d'onomastique de fonction. De même que Mukannišum (nom qui signifie « Celui qui soumet ») décrit le roi Zimri-Lim et pas son intendant porteur de ce nom (CHARPIN 2004 : 274), de même Etellum qualifie-t-il manifestement le roi Gungunum au service duquel travaillait le chancelier ainsi nommé. Etellum est également le nom porté par un des principaux généraux de Samsi-Addu (auteur notamment de huit lettres à Kuwari retrouvées à Shemshara : EIDEM & LÆSSØE 2001 n° 38-44) ainsi que du responsable des ergastules (*nepârum*) du palais de Mari sous Zimri-Lim. Le sens est donc le même que pour le composé (plus explicite) Etel-pi-šarrim (« *principière* est la bouche du roi ») : il faut comprendre Etellum comme « (le roi est) un prince ».

1) Le terme d'« étiquettes » qui a été employée par R. Mayr n'est pas juste. Il s'agit en réalité de véritables tablettes quadrangulaires, pourvues sur la tranche gauche de ficelles permettant leur classement en ordre chronologique (cf. CHARPIN 2006-7, § 3) ; je reviendrai prochainement sur cette question.

2) Voir pour cette question GUICHARD 2005 (p. 67-74).

3) Voir encore RENGER 1967, p. 120, qui considère sur la base de UET 5 544 qu'En-šakiag-Nanna était encore vivante après la nomination d'Enanedu. La notion d'émérite, chaque fois qu'elle a été employée à propos de la Mésopotamie antique, s'est révélée erronée : voir pour la question des UGULA DAM.GÀR de Sippar D. Charpin, « Notices prosopographiques, 3 : les “prévôts des marchands” de Sippar-Amnânum », *NABU* 1990/9.

4) « The most interesting point of his appearance here is that the succession of the 'Elamite' members of the Dynasty of Larsa seems to have been peaceful and entailed no break with the house ruling hitherto, since a descendant of Gungunum and a daughter of Sumu-ilum are found fully participating in a devotional act of the new king with his brother and sister » (GADD 1951, p. 31). On ne trouve aucune considération à ce sujet dans FITZGERALD 2005.

5) R. Mayr avait noté : « *etellum*, Akkadian for "prince" or "sovereign" is common enough as an element of personal names, but seems unlikely as a personal name by itself; alternately one might read *E-te-num*, but this seems to make even less sense » (MAYR 2010, p. 189 n. 3).

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43) *mīltu(m)* "Flut" : ein verlorenes Wort im Atramhasīs- und Gilgameš-Epos? — Ein unlängst erschienener Aufsatz von K. A. Metzler¹⁾ ist der Idee gewidmet, die bis dahin ungedeutete bzw. emendierte Zeichenfolge BI TI IŠ TUM im aB Atramhasīs-Epos²⁾ als einen Terminus für "Arche" zu bestimmen. Einerseits könnte die Analyse eines Wortes *bītištum* als "das Hausartige" diese Erklärung ermöglichen und andererseits der Kontext in diesem Sinne interpretiert werden.

Ungewiss bleibt die Lösung dennoch aufgrund der Eigenschaft des Wortes als Hapaxlegomenon, dessen postulierte lexikalische Realität zumindest vorerst auf der von einem Traditor bedacht oder unbedacht wiedergegebenen Wortgestalt beruht. Allerdings wäre auch die Möglichkeit nicht auszuschließen, dass ein bei der Fixierung des literarischen Textes ad hoc angesetztes und entsprechend gedeutetes Lexem vorliegt, obschon sich auch diese Annahme der Beweisbarkeit entzieht.

Auch die hier mitzuteilenden Beobachtungen zu dem fraglichen Terminus führen zu Schlussfolgerungen, die nicht beweisbar sind, da sie nur aus verborgenen Prozessen der Textüberlieferung erklärbar würden. So lässt sich in einem ersten Schritt lediglich feststellen, dass die Folge BI TI IŠ TUM zwei als MIL-TUM lesbare Zeichen enthält. Hinzu tritt indessen der Befund, dass bei Röllig 2008, 194 in drei Urkunden ein Nomen *mēltu/mīltu* mit der Bedeutung "Flut, Hochflut" belegt ist.³⁾ Das Wort war bis dahin nur lexikalisch vertreten und stellt, anders, als in AHw 652^b angenommen, ein von *mīlu(m)/mil'u(m)* abzuleitendes Femininum dar.⁴⁾

Sollte sich aber an der Stelle ein Wort *mīltum* mit dieser Bedeutung latent erhalten haben, so verwiese es notwendig auf die folgende Zeile und das dort erscheinende *karāšu* "Katastrophe". Nicht nur in Hinsicht auf das Tertium comparationis, die "Sintflut" (*abūbu*), sondern auch auf die jeweiligen Satzaussagen läge damit der Gedanke an einen Parallelismus membrorum nahe. Dann hätte die aB

Version des Epos in der schwer interpretierbaren Zeichenfolge das ursprüngliche Element einer unkenntlich gewordenen Stilfigur bewahrt, mit dem sich diese wieder vervollständigen ließe.

Obgleich die jB Gilgameš-Version⁵⁾ für die erste Zeile die notwendige Ergänzung *napištu* "Leben" zur Verfügung stellt, sind die verbleibenden Zeichen BI-TI der aB Version soweit nicht hinreichend zu erklären. Mit Fragen, ob sie zu *bittu* "Haus" gehören, ob sie Teile eines verlorenen NA-PÍ-IŠ-TI bewahrt haben, oder danach, wie *mīltum* unverständlich werden und verloren gehen konnte, zielt man indessen auf Unbekanntes, das vielleicht erwägenswert ist, aber nicht transparent wird und noch weniger beweisbar.⁶⁾

Es sei davon abgesehen, den Parallelismus in einer Umschrift zu rekonstruieren, hier aber eine ergänzte und mutmaßlich ursprüngliche Version in Übersetzung geboten:

"Wo ist (je) ein Leben(der) der Flut entkommen,
wie überlebte (je) ein Mensch in der Katastrophe?"

- 1) METZLER 2015, 149-186.
- 2) Ebd. 149f.: (aB Atr. III, C1 vi 9) *a-ia-a-nu ú-ši bi-ti-iš-tum* (10) *ki-i ib-lu-uť ḫa-wiň-lum iň-na k[a-r]a-ši*.

3) *mēltu* wird ebd. in den Texten 37, 43 und 48 bei der jährlichen Abrechnung der Bestände als Ursache für den Verlust zahlreicher Herdentiere (Rinder, Esel und Kleinvieh) genannt.

4) CAD M_{II} 69^b-73^a: "**mīlu** A (*mil'u*) s.; 1. seasonal flooding of the rivers,"; CAD M_{II} 69^b: "**mīltu** s.; (mng. unk.)"; für die Zugehörigkeit spricht ebd. der lexikalische Beleg in Nabnītu J 218 durch *ša ba-ba-li* (vgl. CAD A_I 16^bf. sub **abālu** A 4a, ferner CAD B 221^bf. sub **biblu** B).

5) METZLER 2015, 150: (jB Gilgameš XI 175) [*aiia-n]u-um-ma ú-ši na-piš-ti* 176) *aiia ib-luť LÚ ina ka-ra-š[i]*.

6) Hätte beispielsweise eine Zeichenfolge *na-pi-iš-tum mil-tum* einen Traditor und Kopisten irritieren können, so dass er Dittographie zu erkennen glaubte und *mīltum* eliminiert hat? Ohnehin könnte das Auftreten und die Seltenheit der Belegstellen für *mīltu(m)* gegenüber *mīlu(m)/mil'u(m)* für eine begrenzte Verbreitung und Geläufigkeit der Form sprechen.

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44) Randnotizen zum hethitischen Lexikon (III). *Éurhila-* — J. Tischler bucht im HEG IV, p. 94, eine Gebäudebezeichnung *Éurhilaš[(-)]* als *Hapax legomenon*, wobei Bedeutung und Stammansatz zwangsläufig unklar bleiben müssen; nicht einmal, ob die Wortform vollständig, ist zu sichern. Hier hilft nun ein soeben gewonnener neuer Textanschluß etwas weiter: KBo 35.238 (295/b) + KUB 32.110 (258/b). KBo 35.238 vervollständigt die Zeilen x+1-9' von KUB 32.110 Zeile für Zeile etwas nach vorne. In Z. 5' ergibt sich jetzt ein Dativ *Éurhili*. Damit ist geklärt, daß auch *Éurhilaš* in Z. 4' eine vollständige Wortform darstellt: der Stamm ist als *Éurhila-* anzusetzen. Zur Bedeutung des Wortes ist nach wie vor nichts zu sagen.

x+1 [	]x x[	]x x[
2' [	]x pē-ra-an ḫa-at-kán-zi x[
3' [	]x IŠ-TU É-ŠU pa-ra-a ú-x[
4' [	]x ú-ez-zi I-NA MUNUS Éur-hi-la-a[š	
5' [	]Éur-hi-li Ú-UL pa-iz-zi ma-a[ḥ]-ha-an	
6' [	-]an-za lu-uk-zi ^d UTU-uš-kán ú-ez-z[i]	
7' [	bu-]u-up-ru-uš-ḥi-e-eš ku-i-e-eš PA-NI DINGIR ^{LIM} [
8' [	]x-an-da-at na-aš ša-ra-a da-an[-zi	
9' [	]x-ir-’ra’ an-da wa-ar-ši-ya-an[-	

10' [	]x-ya <i>lu-u-up-ru-uš-hi-e-eš</i> x[
11' [	] 'LÚ ^{MES} URU ^{LIM} -ya-za <i>lu-u-ma-a[n-te-eš</i>
12' [	-] 'e'-eš ša-ra-a 'da-a'-[-an-zi
13' [	]x x[

Die obige kombinierte Umschrift von KBo 35.238 + KUB 32.110 ersetze zugleich die separate Umschrift von KBo 35.238 bei D. Groddek/A. Kloekhorst, DBH 19, p. 295.

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45) A new suggestion for the crux in the Akkadian version of the Hittite treaty CTH 41 §52 — This note tackles a philological problem posed by a paragraph of the Akkadian version of the treaty between the Hittite king Tudḫaliya I and Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna (CTH 41; see, most recently, E. Devecchi, *Trattati internazionali ittiti*, Brescia 2015, 73-88). The paragraph in question (§52) belongs to a section concerning an alliance against the Hurrians and reads as follows (KBo 1 5 iii: 56-59):

[šum-m]a LUGAL *ḥur-ri EGIR* ¹šu-na-aš-šu-ra i-pát-tá-ar / [LUGAL *ḥ*]ur-ri ki-e-a-am i-qà-ab-bi
KUR.URU ki-iž-zu-wa-at-ni / [KUR-s]ú ſa ⁴UTU-ſi-mi a-na-ku ap-pu-na-am-ma / [a-na] KUR.URU ki-iž-zu-wa-at-ni ú-ul 'x'-na-a-ku-um-mi

“[I]f the king of Ḫurri releases Šunaššura (of his duties), [(and) the king of Ḫ]urri says as follows: ‘The land of Kizzuwatna is [a land] of His Majesty, I myself moreover will not ... the land of Kizzuwatna’”

Translators and commentators of the passage have been unanimous in their reading of the final verb as '*i*-na-a-ku-um-mi' but have diverged regarding its interpretation. Most take it as a form of the verb *nâku* “to have (illicit) sexual intercourse” (CAD N/1, 197) in metaphorical usage (see, e.g., G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta 1999, 23 “I(!) will indeed have no illicit relations(?) [with] the land of Kizzuwatna”). Other suggestions include: a predicative form of *tnu* “eye,” i.e., *tnâkummi*, as a calque on Hittite *šakuwāi-* “to see, look” with the meaning “‘I myself moreover will not look at the land of Kizzuwatna’, i.e., probably, ‘will not covet Kizzuwatna’” (J. Huehnergard, NABU 1997/4/139); a Stative from *enû* “to change,” i.e., *enâkummi* (D. Schwemer (TUAT N.F. 2 (2005), 104 and n. 35 “Ich werde darüber hinaus *meine Haltung* [in Hin]sicht auf das Land Kizzuwatna nicht mehr ändern;” see also Devecchi, op. cit., 86); an erroneous rendering of the 1st person singular Assyrian Stative of *nekelmû* (**nakalmâku-mi*) “to look angrily” (G. Wilhelm, *hethiter.net/*: CTH 41.I.2 (2014) §52 n. 43).

In fact, our collation of the passage on the base of a photo (*hethiter.net/*: PhotArch N03561) has revealed that the copy is wrong. The first sign of the verbal form is not a damaged I – the copy (KBo 1 5 iii: 59) shows two parallel pairs of two consecutive horizontal wedges – but a damaged MI: traces of the initial *Winkelhaken* are clearly visible on the photo and the reading is confirmed by a comparison of the sign with the same line’s better preserved final MI (note in particular the elongated head of the *Winkelhaken*, stretching above the upper horizontal wedge, the end of which in the case of the first MI is still partially visible beneath the BU sign forming the word *ap-pu-na-am-ma* in the preceding line).

The verbal form should thus be read '*mi*-na-a-ku-um-mi', which we interpret as a 1st person singular Stative G of *manû* “to count,” the unexpected i/e in the first syllable notwithstanding. Although the reading of the verbal form seems now assured, the meaning of *manû* in the context of the paragraph remains difficult. The general meaning of the passage must be as follows: “I will be of no account [for] the land of Kizzuwatna”, i.e., “I will have no further claim [on] the land of Kizzuwatna”. In order to explain the unidiomatic use of *manû* in this context, one could entertain the possibility that '*mi*-na-a-ku-um-mi' represents a calque on a Hittite form. Indeed, the text displays a number of linguistic features which have been explained as owed to Hittite influence (see D. Schwemer, *AfO* 51 (2005-06), 229-231). D. Schwemer tells us (personal communication)¹⁾ that the Hittite correspondence of Akkadian *manû* “to count” is *kappuwai-*, which is often attested together with *har(k)-* “to hold” in the construction acc. + *kappuwan har(k)-* “to have something counted” which then takes the nuance of “observe”, “control” and “take care of”: a meaning which would fit the context of the paragraph here under discussion. Schwemer further observes that “eine Imitation der hethitischen *har(k)-*Konstruktion mit dem akkadischen Stativ

scheint ... denkbar". In this light, we suggest to interpret '*mi*'-na-a-ku-um-*mi* as an additional example of loan translation from Hittite.

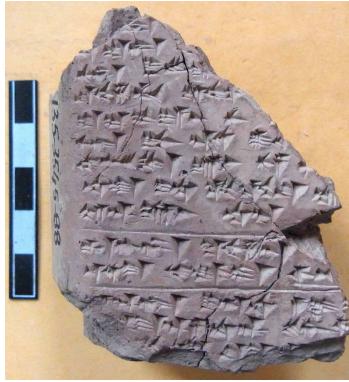
1) We wish to thank D. Schwemer for reading the final version of this note and commenting on it.

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46) A new join KUB 17.8 + Bo 6172: Mythological description of a natural disaster in Ancient Anatolia ? — The recent work as part of the project *Unpublished Bo-Fragments in Transliteration* has yielded another direct join Bo 6172:1'-11' + KUB 17.8 IV 27-37 (CTH 457.1.A). Since the contents of the tablet with a Kamrušepa myth, also known as the "incantation of fire", are highly interesting, this find deserves to be promptly published before the forthcoming volume of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary Supplements*. The *Konkordanz* dates Bo 6172 as "LNS", but KUB 17.8 as "NS". According to the direct join here the latter should be corrected now as "LNS". In the following lines I present a new treatment of KUB 17.8 + Bo 6172 IV 1 ff. with some revisions and additions to HOFFNER 1998:33 and FUSCAGNI 2012. The complete bibliography is available at *Konkordanz* and *Groddeks Liste* at <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de>.



KUB 17.8 + Bo 6172 IV.

(Line numbers of Bo 6172 in parentheses)

§ 1	1	^d <i>Kam-ru-ši-pa-aš ne-pí-ša-za a-uš-ta</i> ^{GIŠ?} [...](-)x-x ² -x ¹ EGIR-pa QA-TAM-MA
	2	<i>kap-pu-u-iž zi</i> [
§ 2	3	<i>UM-MA</i> ^d <i>Kam-ru-ši-pa i-it-tén-wa-za gi-im-ma²-[ri²] IZI-hur da-a[t-tén nu-wa-z]a še-e-šu-ra-aš</i>
	4	<i>ZÍZ-tar da-at-tén nu-wa-za SÍG.SA₅ SÍG.GE₆ SÍ[G.SI]G₇.SIG₇ da-at-t[én nu-wa-za G]I-aš</i>
	5	<i>ha-a-pu-ša-aš-ša da-at-tén nu-wa-ra-at ud-^rd'a-ni-ya-at-tén nu-w[a]-r[a-at]</i> ^r I-NA GÚ-ŠU
	6	<i>na-a-iš-tén ki-i-ma-wa I-NA GÍR.MEŠ¹.ŠU na-a-eš-tén</i>
§ 3	7	<i>nu-wa ḥar-ša-na-aš-ša-an GIG-aš¹ kam-ma-ra-a-aš ki-ša-ru na-at ne-pí-[š]a pa-id-du</i>
	8	<i>IŠ-TU ŠU-ma-kán GIG-ŠU GE₆-iš KI-an-zi-pa-aš kar-ap-du</i>
	9	<i>nu al-pa-aš GIG-an Ú-UL tar-uh-zi na-an-za še-er ne-pí-ša-an-za tar-uh-du</i>
	10	<i>kat-ta-an-na-za GE₆-iš KI-aš tar-uh-du ŠI-PÁT ^rx¹ IZI-na-aš</i>
§ 4	11	<i>pí-i-e-er nu-uš-ši ḥal-ki-ya-aš pí-i-e-er nu-uš-ši GIG-an pí-i-e-er</i>
	12	<i>nu-uš-ši ŠA IG.I.HI.A GIG-an pí-i-e-er nu-uš-ši ŠA GÍR.MEŠ GI[G-a]n SUM-ir</i>
	13	<i>nu-uš-ši ŠA ŠU-TI GIG-an pí-i-e-er nu-uš-ši ŠA SAG.DU GIG-an</i>
	14	<i>pí-i-e-er nu-uš-ši la-ap-pí-ya-aš me-er-ta nu i-ya-₁wa ₁-ni-iš-ki-iž-zi</i>
§ 5	15	<i>nu-wa-ra-an a-ru-na-aš pu-nu-uš-ki-iž-zi [ku-wa-a]₁t-w₁a(?) ₁i ₁-[ya-w]a-ni-eš-ki-ši</i>
	16	<i>la-ap-pí-ya-aš-wa-mu-kán gi-nu-pí-mi(-)[]-₁x₁ [me-er-t]a nu-wa-kán a-pád-da(-)[...?]</i>
	17	<i>ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki tu->-me-e-ni i-₁it² ₁-[]^rx-x²[]₁x x x x₁[</i>

18	<i>nu-wa-za da-an-ku-wa-i wa-aš-ši-ya-a^rd-d^ru nu-wa-za</i>	^r <i>x-x¹</i> [
19	<i>nu-wa-za ne-pí-ša</i>	^{GIS} KUN ₅ IX <i>kar-la-a-an</i>
§ 6	20 <i>nu-wa-ra-aš AMA-ni^dKam-ru-ši-pí pí-ra-an ti-i-e-et(-)x¹(-)[</i>	
21	<i>la-ap-pí-ya-aš gi-nu-pí me-er-ta UM-MA^dKam-ru-ši-[pa</i>	
22	<i>ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki tu₄-me-ni nu-wa-ra-an-kán an-da du-ud-[du²-mi²-li² ... ?]</i>	
23	<i>ÍD-ni pé-e-hu-te-er nu-wa-ra-aš-ša-an la-ap-pí-ya-[aš ... ?]</i>	
24	<i>pí-ra-an^LSIPA-aš^{GIS}tu-u-ri-ya pa-aš-ki-ir na-at[</i>	
25	<i>↳ e-ep ↳-[pí-ir] nu ÍD-aš la-ap-ta na-at-kán pa-ra-a^rx¹-[</i>	
26	<i>[nu HUR.SAG(?)-a]š la-ap- ta</i>	[
§ 7	27 (= 1') [<i>na-a]t-kán ú-el-lu pé-e har-kán-zi nu Ú.SAL wa-ra-[a-ni]</i>	
	28 (= 2') [<i>na-a-at-kán HUR.SAG.MEŠ pé-e har-kán-zi nu HUR.SAG.MEŠ wa-ra-[an-da-ri]</i>	
	29 (= 3') <i>nu-kán DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU iš-tar-na ar-ḥa ḥa-a-an-da-a-it na-aš-ši-[iš-ša-an]</i>	
	30 (= 4') <i>šu-uh-ḥa-ti iš-har-wa-an-za la-ap-pí-ya-aš na-aš-ši-iš-ša-[an ...]</i>	
	31 (= 5') <i>la-ap-pí-ya-aš nu i-ya-u-wa-ni-iš-ki-iž-zi ZÍZ-ma pé-^re²l-[da²-as²]</i>	
	32 (= 6') <i>nu-kán DUMU.MUNUS^dUTU lu-ut-ti-ya-az ša-ku-wa-ya-at nu-za HUR.SA[G-aš]</i>	
	33 (= 7') <i>eaar-ni-eš-šar da-a-aš nu-za pár-ša-na-aš^{UZU}SA da-a-aš</i>	
	34 (= 8') <i>na-at I-NA^{UZU}GÚ-ŠU na-a-iš nu-za eaar-kán-ta-aš pár-na-[aš]</i>	
	35 (= 9') <i>IM-an da-a-aš na-an ↳ x ↳-[k] ↳ a²-ra ↳ ap-[ta²]</i>	
§ 8	36 (= 10') <i>É-ir-kán ma-aæ-aæ-an</i>	I]M ^r <i>x²[</i>
	37 (= 11') <i>QA-TAM-MA ḥar-ak-du ŠI-PÁT</i>	]^r <i>x¹ [</i>
§ 9	(KUB 17.8 breaks off here; text continues in Bo 6172)	
	38 (= 12') <i>↳ ma-a ↳-an-kán DUMU-an-na A-az š[a-ra-a(?)</i>	
	39 (= 13') [<i>nu š] ↳ u ↳-ma-an-za-na-an še-er a[r²-</i>	
	40 (= 14') [...] <i>-z] i ↳ na-at(?) ↳ š ↳ u-ma-an-z ↳ [a-na-</i>	
	41 (= 15') <i>] ↳ x ↳ [</i>	
§ 10'	(Bo 6172 breaks off here; after an undeterminable gap text continues in KUB 17.8)	
	42' <i>an-d[a²(-)</i>	
	43' <i>da-^rx¹-[</i>	
	44' <i>iš-ḥa-a-^rx¹-[</i>	
	45' <i>UG.TUR^{UZU}[^USA</i>	

(Colophon) A-WA-[AT]]-^r*x-x-x¹* QA-TI

§ 1 (1-2) Kamrušipa looked (down) from heaven. [...] She [r]ecounts (the events) in the same way.

§ 2 (3-6) Thus says Kamrušipa: “(You all), go [to] the steppe and ta[ke] the fire. Take the wheat of irrigation. Tak[e] red, black and g[r]een wool. Take the stalk of the [re]ed and exorcise them and wind [that one] on his/her neck, but wind this one on his/her feet.

§ 3 (7-10) Let the illness of (his/her) head become a mist, and let it ascend to heav[e]n. Let the dark earth lift his/her illness from the hand. (If) the cloud cannot overcome the illness, let the heaven above overcome it, and let the dark earth below overcome it.” (This is) the incantation of fire.

§ 4 (11-14) They gave, (namely) they gave to it (= to fire) the (disease of) grain. They gave to it illness. They gave to it the illness of the eyes. They gave to it the illne[s]s of the feet. They gave to it the illness of the hand. They gave to it the illness of the head. The embers disappeared from it, so that it keeps crying.

§ 5 (15-19) The sea asks it: “[Why] do you keep c[ry]ing ?” (The fire answers): “The embers in my *ginupi*-vessel have [...] vanishe]d. For that reason, we are going to take it from someone. G[o², ...]. Let it dress itself in dark clothing and [...] let it go] to heaven on the ladder with nine steps.”

§ 6 (20-26) So it (= the fire) came into the presence of the mother Kamruši[pa and said:] “The embers in (my) *ginupi*-vessel have vanished.” Kamruši[pa replied] as follows: [...] “[Let] us take [it] from someone !” They sec[retly²] led it into the river [of² ... ?], and because of the ember[s ... ?] they

impaled it on a shepherd's staff. They to[ok] it, so that the river glowed. They further⁷ [...ed] it, so that the [mountain⁷] glowed.

§ 7 (27-35) [T]hey hold the meadow, and the meadow bur[ns]. They hold the mountains, and the mountains bu[rn]. One separated the mortal(s) in (their) midst. [Over] him the blood-red embers are poured out. Ov[er] him [the ...] embers [are ...ed]. He (= the mortal) keeps crying, and car[ried⁷] the wheat (away). The daughter of the Sungod(dess) looked through the window. She took for herself the *harnešsar* [of] a mountain, she took the sinew of a panther, and she wound it on her neck. She took for herself the mud [of] a ruined house, and [l]ifte[d⁷] it [from / with ...].

§ 8 (36-37) Just as the house [is ruined, and became⁷ a] mud(-pile)⁷, let [the ...] be likewise ruined. (This is) the incantation [of ...].

(KUB 17.8 breaks off here; text continues in Bo 6172)

§ 9 (38-40) When (s)he [lifts] the child u[p⁷] from the water [... and] the rush (acc.) over [...]. (S)he [...], and the ru[sh ...]

§ 10' (41-45') (broken and unintelligible context)

Colophon: The incantatio[n of ...]. Complete.

IV 8: HOFFNER 1998: 33 translates: "Let the Dark Earth lift his illness with the hand".

IV 14, 15, 31: *iyauwannišk-* "keep crying / wailing" is perhaps present in ABoT 2.243 (MS) obv. 7'-8' as well: *nu-za nam-ma DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU tu-x-[...]* / *Ú-UL tar-ub-zi nu i-ya-u-w[a-an⁷-ni-iš-ki-iž-zi]* "The mortal does not overcome [...] again and [keeps] crying".

IV 16, 21: "The embers have vanished from (my) *ginupi*-vessel" is also possible. HOFFNER 1998: 33 translates in both ways.

IV 26: I see no reason why *ÍD-aš* "river" again should act as the subject of the new sentence in this line. For the posited restoration with *ḪUR.SAG-aš* "mountain", see KUB 46.54 obv. 14: [... *warāni* *ḪUR.SAG-aš* *lapta*.

IV 30: *šuhhati* is a middle pret. sg. 3 form rather than active pres. sg. 2 to *šuhha-* "to pour (out)" since the narrative here contains no conversation. The analogous context in KBo 8.96 (CTH 457.2; MH⁷/MS) has the synonym *išhuwaittat* (obv. 2', 3') which is likewise a middle pret. sg. 3 form (NEU 1968: 75, where *išhuwaittat* is not translated due to insufficient context). Both middle forms *šuhhati* and older *išhuwaittat* "it poured out" are *hapax logomena*.

IV 30-31 (also lines 14, 16, 21, 23): *lappiya-* without the wood-determinative "^{GIŠ}" is translated generally as "fever, heat, glow"; however, it is obvious that the word denotes in this passage something concrete that is poured out over mankind and has a glowing red (lit. blood-red) color. Therefore, the meaning "glowing fire, embers" is most appropriate.

IV 32: With DUMU.MUNUS ^dUTU "the daughter of the Sungod(dess)" is meant ^dDaganzipa "divine earth", which is otherwise called GE₆-iš KI-(*an-zi-pa*)-aš "dark earth", as here IV 8 and 10. For this divinity OTTEN 1973: 37 refers to ^fDagazipa DUMU.MUNUS ^dUTU in the Zalpa-Text KBo 3.38 obv. 3'. The occurrence there in a historical context and having the personal determinative "f", however, can be interpreted as a human being as well (SOYSAL 1987: 188 f.).

IV 33: *harnešsar*, written *har-ni-(e-)eš-sar* (LNS) and in older spelling *har-na-(a)-i-šar* (OS, MS and NS), denotes a tangible thing that is thrown into the fire such as an open flame, brazier or hearth by the king, priest or chief cook in the course of festivals; however, the precise nature and function of this material was so far not determinable (IBoT 3.1 obv. 28'-32', 39'-40', KBo 13.216+ I 2'-7', KBo 17.15 obv. 15'-16', KBo 17.40+ IV 9'-10', KUB 58.50 obv. III 8-19). The recent join KUB 17.8+ now reveals critical information, that the *harnešsar* has originated from the mountain. Therefore, a stone, mineral or dried mud-like natural substance is highly conceivable. This could be, if *harnešsar* is a derivation of the verb *harnai-* / *harniya-* "to sprinkle, spray" (PUHVEL 1991: 403 s. v. *burnai-* / *burniya-*), something spit or thrown into the air by the mountain. In the magical practice in IV 32-35 *harnešsar* is combined with a sinew of a (dead) panther and wound on the neck of the goddess as a pendant or amulet. There is also mention of the mud (= debris) of a ruined house. All figures here are ominous, and the spell of the goddess is a malediction (IV 36-37). In contrast, the same practice in IV 3-6 is performed with the salutary figures (grain, wool, plant), and accordingly, the spell of Kamrušepa is a benediction (IV 7-10).

IV 37: The *Sammeltafel* KUB 17.8+ includes different rituals with various myths and spells. I hesitate to restore the title of the incantation here as *ŠIPAT* [*IZI-naš*] like IV 10, since it was announced in the end of the previous mythological passage (IV 1-10, of which 7-10 is the incantation of Kamrušepa, who looks down from heaven). In the new narrative (IV 11-37), one of the key figures is this time DUMU.MUNUS ^dUTU "the daughter of the Sungod(dess)" on the earth who looks through the window and speaks the spell in IV 36-37. I wonder if one may identify this incantation with *ŠIPAT daganz[ipaš]* / DUMU.MUNUS [^dUTU(?)] mentioned in the library catalog KUB 30.52 rev. 4'-5'. The latter title appears to me an attractive possibility referring to KUB 17.8 + IV 36-37.

IV 38-40: These lines do not belong to the mythological section, but describe a scene where an infant is ritually treated as he is being lifted up from a water (source) (cf. KUB 7.1 I 35). Meanwhile a *šumanzana-* “rush” or “cord made of rush” (SOYSAL 2013: 698) is somehow utilized in the same broken context; cf. KBo 11.11 I 2-9, KUB 12.58+ I 21’-22’, KUB 7.53+ II 4-5, KUB 39.8 IV 1-7 etc.

The main concern of the mythological section (latest discussion by FUSCAGNI 2012) is that the fire has lost its essence, caused by its overuse against numerous diseases. To regain its power some transactions are managed by the goddess Kamrušepa in heaven (most recently SOYSAL 2010: 1048-58). A “river” seems to be the new source of the fire. After this river and a [mountain] glow, however, a widespread destruction on the earth occurs where nature is burned, humanity disunited, and grain (= harvest) is lost. The embers pour down over the people and make them cry. At this point the daughter of the Sungod(dess) becomes the key figure, who watches the emergency situation on earth and performs a magic rite and speaks a final spell against this. Since the narrative is sometimes incomplete and rather enigmatic, we can only guess the nature of this fire disaster. In my opinion, and with certain precaution, however, the following points and interpretations may suggest a “volcanic eruption” that has indeed powerful fire and heat effects with consequent disasters in nature: *Burning mountains* (=? eruptive / volcanic mountains; IV 28), *pouring glowing fire* (=? volcano spews out molten lava; IV 30), *river [of ...] as source of immense fire and heat* (=? lava flows; IV 22-23), *ħarneššar-material sprayed / spit by the mountain* (=? pyroclastic flow; IV 32-33). If the reconstruction above is correct, the description in KUB 17.8+ is the earliest ancient written source about this kind of disaster in the form of an etiological myth. The volcanic eruption may not be an unfamiliar natural phenomenon in Ancient Anatolia since volcanic mountains like Erciyes Dağı (Argaeus) in Kayseri and Hasan Dağı in Aksaray both are situated in the heart of Central Anatolia. Moreover, the latter was painted on a cave wall by the Çatalhöyük inhabitants as it was spewing lava and (or) releasing smoke. The last eruption of Hasan Dağı is estimated to have been in 6600 B. C., and the final volcanic activity of Erciyes Dağı is estimated at 6880 B. C. It is also speculated to have been active in 253 B.C., as might be depicted on Roman era coins. Thus, the question remains unanswered if the other populations that lived in Central Anatolia, namely the Hattians and later the Hittites, may have been direct witnesses of such volcanic eruptions, or whether they maintained this memory recollection by oral and folkloric traditions of what happened long ago and was depicted by their predecessors at Çatalhöyük thousands of years before.

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47) A new join KUB 35.159 + Bo 4790 and resolving the problem of a mysterious language from Boğazköy — The small fragment Bo 4790 with a hitherto undeterminable language has been recently edited as DBH 46.101 (AKDOĞAN 2016a: 41). Despite its small size and longtime unpublished state, this piece has drawn considerable scholarly attention. Most recently, SOYSAL 2005: 193 devoted a brief discussion of Bo 4790 on the topic of *tabarna / tawannanna*. The non-Hittite language has been previously suggested as Hurrian (FORRER 1926: 28* followed by SOMMER 1938: 25 n. 3 and with certain reservation by SOYSAL 2005: 193). In AKDOĞAN 2016a: XX, following *Konkordanz*, it is now labeled as Hattian. Although the text includes the royal titles *ta-wa_a-ar-[...]* and *[ta-ba²]-ar-na* ^{MUNUS}*ta-*

wa-a[n-...] (lines 9', 13') there is no distinct feature that can be attributed to the Hattian language, hence no lexical entry from this text is cited in SOYSAL 2004 as of Hattian domain. To my knowledge, the same judgement can be made for the doubtful Hurrian attestation mentioned above. A further alternative, of course, would be Palaic, another lesser-known language of Ancient Anatolia. Indeed, the religious Palaic compositions frequently mention *tabarna* and *tawannanna*. Beyond these royal titles, the entire *lexica* of Bo 4790 seem to be attested only in this fragment and remain mostly unintelligible. The first step in investigating the nature of the language in question is to refine the reading *gi-nu-^rx^l* in line 4' as *gi-nu-ka[t]* that re-occurs in the Palaic texts KUB 35.159 II 4' (NS) and KUB 35.165 rev. 13' (OS). In this lexical unite (*ginu-kat* or **ginu-ka-(a)t*) the word “knee” was suspected on account of Hittite *kinu-* / *genu-* (KAMMENHUBER 1959: 31, 78; CARRUBA 1970: 59; EICHNER 2010: 52-53 n. 44). The first mentioned fragment KUB 35.159 exhibits identical sign shapes (esp. “*gi*”, “*kán*”, “*ti*”) and ductus as Bo 4790; moreover, a (direct) join between two fragments is highly possible. The separate text editions before the join are offered by KAMMENHUBER 1959: 63 f. and CARRUBA 1970: 33 (KUB 35.159 only), AKDOĞAN 2016: 61 (Bo 4790 only). After the recent join the expanded text reads as follows:

KUB 35.159 + Bo 4790 (= DBH 46.101)

(Line numbers of Bo 4790 in parentheses)

Obverse II

§ 2'	3'	-z]a-an-ti- ^r k ^l án
	4'	-ká]n gi-nu-kat
5' (= 1')		](-)^r ti ²](-)[]-x ta- ^r ri ² -d ^l a-an
6' (= 2')		] -ri-ya(-) ^r ki ² -i ³](-)[...-a]n ² - ti
7' (= 3')		] ha-pa-a-ma-aš m ^r a-a ¹ -[... ² -n]i ² i-ih- ^r b ¹ a-aš
8' (= 4')		-i]n ² -ti-kán gi-nu-ka[t k]ar-ša-an-du
9' (= 5')		] -x ša-a-ki-tu-nu-uš [t]a-ba-a ^r na-aš
10' (= 6')		](-)ki-i-šar i-ih- ^r ha [...] ar-kán-d ^l u ¹
11' (= 7')		]^r x ₂ a-ap-ša-ni-u-wa-aš ² -ti
12' (= 8')		]^r x ¹ ha-pa-ra-ti-ki-ya- aš
13' (= 9')		-t]i ² -e-ki-iš ta-wa _a -ar-[n]i
14' (= 10')		](-)a ² -ap-ti-pa ú-e-he-en-x(-)[... ²]
15' (= 11')		-b]a ² -ra i-en- [t]a
§ 3'	16' (= 12')	-i]š a-ú-i-da-a-ša-x(-)[]
	17' (= 13')	ta-ba ²] -ar-na ^{MUNUS} ta-wa-a[n-na-a]n-na
	18' (= 14')	](-)x-x-ta ₂ pal-x-[...]-ah ² -b[a(-)... ²]

(KUB 35.159 breaks off here; Bo 4790 has two more lines (15'-16') with illegible signs)

II 4': Comparable with [...-i]n²-ti-kán gi-nu-ka[t] in II 8' (= 4'). For the final portion ^on-ti-kán see also [...-z]a-an-ti-kán in II 3'.

II 10' (= 6'): If *ki-i-šar* is in this form not acephalic, it can be related to Hittite *keššar(a)* “hand” as a further common word in both sister languages. The existence of *gi-nu-kat* referring to a body part, possibly “knee”, in the same context seems to be in favor of this assumption. The following word should be as same as *i-ih-^rha-aš* in II 7' (= 3'), but without the final *-aš*.

II 12' (= 8'): Cf. [...](-)ti-ki-ya-aš in KUB 35.163 III¹ 9'. Apparently, the same word is here fully preserved as *haparatihiyaš* (thus; according to the tablet's photo *hethiter.net/:PhotArch BoFN10641b* rather one word) of unknown meaning.

II 13' (= 9'): Due to space reasons and possibility of a lacuna, the restoration *ta-wa_a-ar-[na-n]i* cannot be excluded. However, the Palaic form *ta-ba-ar-na-ni* in KUB 35.165 rev. 10' is rather a mistake (see SOYSAL 2005:192).

II 14' (= 10'): KAMMENHUBER (1976:175 n. 235) interpretation that [...]du²-b¹-pa may be the name of a Hittite queen is based on a misreading and should be abandoned.

II 15' (= 11'): The verbal form *i-en-ta* which is provided by the present join may express pl. 3. person, either act. pret. or mid. pres. tense (KAMMENHUBER 1959: 39; CARRUBA 1970: 45 f.). Cf. *i-en-ta* in IBoT 2.12 I 6

mid. pres. pl. 3 to Hittite *iya-* “to go, walk” (NEU 1968: 63). Besides this, there are another two predicates present here that would exactly match with the Hittite imp. pl. 3 forms *karšandu* II 8’(= 4’) and *harkandu* II 10’(= 6’).

II 17’(= 13’): Or read [*ta-wa_a*]-*ar-na* following the spelling in II 13’(= 9’).

The content of Bo 4790 is relevant for the widely debated royal titles *tabarna* and *tawannanna*. Based on this find, the following revisions should be made to SOYSAL 2005: 193: The forms *ta-wa_a-ar-[n]i* and *[ta-ba[?]]-ar-na* ^{MUNUS}*ta-wa-a[n-na-a]n-na* can no longer be considered as Hurrian or Hattian, but they are certainly of Palaic domain. The word *ta-wa_a-ar-[n]i* (thus, dative!) was written here for the first time in a Palaic context with the special sign “*wa_a*” as in a similar rare usage *tawa_arna* for *tabarna* in the Hattian documents (SOYSAL 2005: 192). However, *tabarna* is written II 9’(= 5’) in the same fragment with the proper spelling *-ba-*. Since the Hittite writing tradition occasionally uses the *-wa_a-* sign for the Palaic words, the alternate spelling *-ba-/wa_a-* seems not to be a major contradiction to the phonetic character of this language.

Ms. Mine Çifçi (Ankara Museum) confirmed the suggested join KUB 35.159 + Bo 4790 and kindly informed me that another unpublished piece Bo 9432 is already glued to the top of KUB 35.159 (II). Due to small gap between KUB 35.159 and Bo 4790, however, both pieces cannot be firmly glued together.

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48) Ein Join zu CTH 722 — Durch die fortschreitende Bearbeitung der hethitischen Texte lassen sich auch immer wieder unveröffentlichte Bo-Fragmente, die nur in Umschrift vorliegen, neu bestimmen und sogar mit anderen Stücken joinen.¹ Ein solches Stück ist Bo 9276, das F. Fuscagni CTH 722 zuordnen konnte und das im Anschluss daran von J. Lorenz an Bo 4682 gejoint werden konnte.²

Bo 4682 + Bo 9276

- (1') [x x x] x x [
-
- (2') ^{LÚ}*SAJNGA* ^{UZU}*NÍG.[GIG*^{HI.A}
- (3') *hu-u-i-ša-u-ua-a[z zé-ia-an-ta-az*
- (4') *E GIR-pa ma-ni-i[a-ab-z*
- (5') *BI-IB-RI*^{HI.A}-*kán š[u-un-na-i*
-
- (6') ^{LÚ}*SANGA A-NA DINGIR*^{MES} *hi-i[n-ik-z*
- (7') *tu-un-na-ki-iš-na-a]š*
- (8') *hal-z-i-ia-ri a-da-an-[zi a-ku-ua-an-z*
-
- (9') ^Γ*tu-un]-na-kiš-na-a[š-kán*
- (10') *GAL*^{HI.A} *[aš-š]a-Γnu]-[a]n-[zi*
-
- (11') ^{LÚ}*SANGA IGI-zi pal-š[i*
- (12') ^d*U* ^{URU}*ha-na-ši-pa*

- (13') ^dU URU *ha-la-ap* ^d*hé-p* át URU ...
 (14') [3-ŠU³] e-ku-zí 3 NINDA.KUR₄.R[A
 (15') [pár-ší]-ia
-

- (16') [EGIR-ŠÚ]-ma ^dUTU GUB-aš 1-ŠU
 (17') e-ku-zí 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA NU.GÁL
-
- (18') EGIR-ŠÚ-ma [^d]U URU *te?*-[ša?]-m[a?

Der Text kann weitgehend nach den Parallelen ergänzt werden und die Zeilen 2' bis 11' duplizieren KUB 58.62+ Rs. IV 2'ff. An beiden Stellen folgen Opferlisten, die allerdings nicht identisch sind. Das macht deutlich, dass es sich bei Bo 4682+ nicht um ein Duplikat zu KUB 58.62+ Rs. IV handeln kann, sondern dass das Stück zu einem anderen ähnlichen Ritual gehört.

Im Hinblick auf die Frage, ob alle CTH 722 zugeordneten Fragmente zu einer einzigen Tafel gehören, bringt auch Bo 9276 keine Klärung.³ Bei dem gejointmenten Stück Bo 4682 + Bo 9276 handelt es sich offenbar um die linke untere Ecke einer Tafel. Das würde insofern gut zu KUB 58.62+ passen, als dort in Vs. II eine Opferliste fortgeführt wird, bei der allerdings die ersten Götternamen abgebrochen sind. Geht man von einer für Bo 4682+ rekonstruierten Kolumnenlänge von etwa 65 Zeilen aus, wäre zwischen KUB 58.62+ Vs. I 29 und Bo 4682+ 1' eine Lücke von etwa 15 Zeilen anzusetzen.

Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass weitere Stücke der Tafel auftauchen, mit deren Hilfe sich die Frage des Verhältnisses der verschiedenen Fragmente zueinander endgültig klären lässt.

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49) Philologische Bemerkungen zur hieroglyphen-luwischen Inschrift ANKARA 3 — Jüngst haben ÇIFÇI – HAWKINS 2016 die hieroglyphen-luwische Inschrift einer schon 2008 (!) erworbenen Schale veröffentlicht. Ohne dies zu erläutern, gehen sie davon aus, dass die in einer Zeile geschriebene Inschrift aus vier Zeichengruppen (1-4) besteht, die in unregelmäßiger Reihenfolge stehen, woraufhin sie die folgende Umschrift und Übersetzung anbieten (ÇIFÇI – HAWKINS 2016: 240-241):

- (2) *zi/a-wa/i* (3) CAELUM-*pi* DARE (1) AURIGA BONUS₂ VIR₂ *zi/a-zí/a-i(a)* BONUS₂ VIR₂ AURIGA
 (4) CENTUM DOMINUS 3-*na-zí/a*

,This bowl gave Zazaya/Ziziya the Charioteer (good to the man). The Hundred-Commander's ration (?)'

Die Anwesenheit von =*wa*, der Partikel der zitierten Rede, sowie das Verb DARE zeigen allerdings, dass man es (zumindest) mit einem sprachwirklichen Satz zu tun hat, weshalb die Reihenfolge der Zeichengruppe ernst zu nehmen ist, d.h.:

- (1) AURIGA BONUS₂ VIR₂ *zi/a-zí/a-i(a)* BONUS₂ VIR₂ AURIGA (2) *zi/a-wa/i* (3) CAELUM-*pi* DARE
 (...)

Der Umstand, dass das Subjekt des Satzes (Gruppe 1) außerhalb des Satzgefüges vorkommt, könnte auf den ersten Blick seltsam erscheinen. Obwohl die Varianten markierter Wortstellung in luwischen Sätzen noch weiterer Untersuchungen bedürfen, geht bereits aus den vorläufigen Ergebnissen hervor, dass drei von den aus dem nahe verwandten Hethitischen bekannten markierten Wortstellungen, nämlich *Fronting*, *Extrposition* und *Right-Dislocation* auch im Luwischen gut belegt sind (MELCHERT 2003: 201). Deshalb kann man auch im Luwischen die Anwesenheit der vierten markierten Wortstellung, der *Left-Dislocation*, d.h. die Verschiebung des betonten Elements in absolute Anfangsposition, vor die satzeinleitende Partikelkette zusammen mit ihrer Anfangskonstituente, erwarten. Im Hethitischen wird die Verschiebung der Konstituente mit einem enklitischen Personalpronomen in der Partikelkette

angezeigt, nicht allerdings, wenn das Subjekt eines transitiven Verbs vorliegt, da dafür kein enklitisches Pronomen zur Verfügung steht (HOFFNER – MELCHERT 2008: 408-409 mit Anm. 6). Da sich die enklitischen Pronomina im Luwischen vergleichbar verhalten (MELCHERT 2011), erwartet man auch hier kein Pronomen in *zi/a-wa/i* für AURIGA BONUS₂ VIR₂ *zi/a-zi/a-i(a)* BONUS₂ VIR₂ AURIGA.

Schließlich muss man die letzte Zeichengruppe in Betracht ziehen, die die Autoren als „CENTUM.DOMINUS 3-na-zi/a“ lesen, obwohl diese Zeichengruppe der Leserichtung nach als „3-na-zi/a CENTUM.DOMINUS“ zu lesen ist. Die Umschrift der Inschrift sieht daher wie folgt aus (statt der Umschrift „CAELUM-pi“ von ÇIFÇI – HAWKINS 2016 s. schon BOLATTI GUZZO – MARAZZI 2010: 21-22 [diesen Aufsatz haben Çifçi und Hawkins außer Acht gelassen], sowie jetzt die kritische Diskussion in SIMON 2016):

AURIGA BONUS₂ VIR₂ *zi/a-zi/a-i(a)* BONUS₂ VIR₂ AURIGA *zi/a-wa/i* CAELUM.PI (oder SCUTRA-pi) DARE 3-na-zi/a CENTUM.DOMINUS

Was die Übersetzung betrifft, sind zwei Bemerkungen hinzuzufügen. Erstens, die Autoren lesen den Namen *zi/a-zi/a-i(a)* entweder als Zazaya oder als Ziziya und zitieren als Parallelle den Namen *zi/a-zi/a-á* in KORUCUTEPE Nr. 12 (ÇIFÇI – HAWKINS 2016: 241), obwohl der Name aus Korucutepe als Zaza zu lesen ist, wie in SIMON 2013: 3-4 dargestellt wurde (Çifçi und Hawkins haben diesen Aufsatz außer Acht gelassen). Zwar erlaubt diese Schreibung mehr als die von den Autoren angegeben beiden Möglichkeiten, doch geht man vom Namen Zaza aus, kann man den Namen dieser Inschrift entweder als Zazaya oder als Zaziya identifizieren.

Zweitens, die Autoren identifizieren dem Vorschlag von Mark Weeden folgend 3-na-zi/a mit *tarnatt-* „Ration, Zuteilung“ und sehen darin (vorsichtig) die Ration des Befehlshabers einer Hundertschaft. Das ist möglich, auch in der korrigierten Zeichenreihe, wenn auch die Wortstellung Besitz + Besitzer (im Genitiv, kein Personenname und kein genitivales Adjektiv) ausgesprochen selten ist, wenn sie überhaupt existiert (BAUER 2014: 250-253) – man könnte allerdings CENTUM.DOMINUS auch als Dativ auffassen („Ration dem Befehlshaber der Hundertschaft“). Unerwähnt und unerklärt ist dabei das Problem geblieben, dass das Wort *tarnatt-* hethitisch und nicht luwisch ist. Man kann natürlich *a priori* nicht ausschließen, dass das Luwische über ein identisches Wort verfügt, ist es allerdings noch nicht belegt. Belegt ist dagegen ein daraus gebildetes hethitisches Wort, *tarnattalla-* „Teilhaber“. Obwohl dieses Wort bisher immer als hethitisches Wort gebucht wurde (TISCHLER 1991-1994: 198; KLOEKHORST 2008: 846; es wurde nicht in die Luwismenlisten von MELCHERT 2005 und von den Hout 2007 aufgenommen, vgl. aber implizit OETTINGER 1986: 45 mit Anm. 17), zeigt das Suffix *-alla-*, dass es sich um eine luwische Bildung handelt, weshalb das Wort *tarnatt-* auch im Luwischen (sei es Erbwort oder Entlehnung aus dem Hethitischen) vorhanden war. Die von den Autoren angebotene Übersetzung ist daher – mit einigen Modifikationen – möglich.

Nichtsdestotrotz haben die Autoren selbst auf den seltsamen Umstand aufmerksam gemacht, dass der Empfänger der Schale im Gegensatz zu den anderen bekannten Schaleninschriften nicht angegeben wurde (ÇIFÇI – HAWKINS 2016: 242). Man kann daher als Alternative erwägen, dass 3-na-zi/a den Namen des Empfängers (mit oder, angesichts der anderen Wörter dieser Inschrift, ohne Kasusendung) samt seinem Titel (CENTUM.DOMINUS) darstellt. Eine Verschiebung hinter das Verb ist syntaktisch möglich (vgl. oben), entweder als Extraposition (die kein enklitisches Pronomen in der Partikelkette braucht) oder als Right-Dislocation (die, wie hier, im Falle des indirekten Objekts kein enklitisches Pronomen braucht; vgl. HOFFNER – MELCHERT 2008: 408-409; MELCHERT 2003: 201). Dadurch ist sogar eine Rahmenkonstruktion (Name des Stifters – gestiftetes Objekt – Name des Empfängers) zustande gekommen. Der einzige Nachteil dieser Alternative ist, dass ein Name Tarna(n)zi/a- o.ä. m.b.W. bisher noch nicht belegt ist (vgl. mit dem Vorderglied Tarni-Tispas in KARKAMIŠ A7 §19 verwandt?). Die alternative Übersetzung lautet daher wie folgt (ohne den Segenswunsch):

„Zazaya/Zaziya, der Wagenlenker, gab dem Tarna(n)zi, dem Befehlshaber der Hundertschaft diese Schale.“

^{*)} Diese Notiz ist im Rahmen des durch die DFG finanzierten Forschungsprojekts „Digitales philologisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der altanatolischen Kleinkorpusprachen“ zustande gekommen.

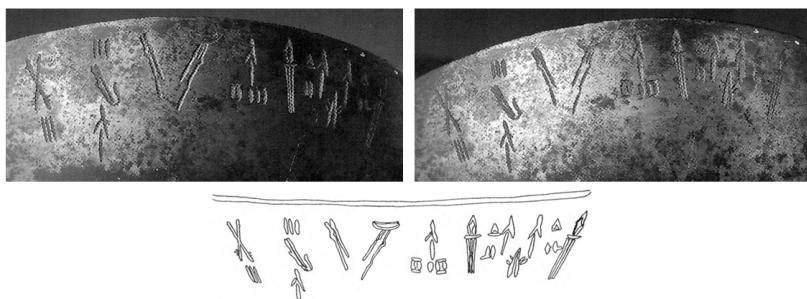
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50) The Hieroglyphic Luvian Inscription ANKARA 3: A New Exegetic Approach^{*)} –The document here examined has been published by ÇIFÇİ-HAWKINS 2016 (photos and drawing reproduced here):



It is a further, rare example of an inscription in Hieroglyphic Luvian of a dedicatory nature engraved on metal bowls, two of bronze – the present one and KINIK (HAWKINS 1993), both datable to the later 13th century B.C. – and one of silver, ANKARA 1 (HAWKINS 1997, 2005), possibly belonging to an early post-Empire period.¹⁾

In the edition (p. 240) the distinctly incised text is divided “into four sections anomalously arranged and with different orientations: (1) name and titles (antithetic aedicula); (2) *zi/a-wa/i* (dextroverse); (3) CAELUM-*pi* DARE (sinistroverse [*recte*: DARE dextroverse – M.P.]); (4) CENTUM.DOMINUS 3-*na-zi/a* (dextroverse”).

Transliteration and translation are as follows (pp. 240-241):

“(2) *zi/a-wa/i* (3) CAELUM-*pi* DARE (1) AURIGA BONUS₂ VIR₂ *zi/a-zi/a-i(a)* BONUS₂ VIR₂ AURIGA (4) CENTUM[.]DOMINUS 3-*na-zi/a*”

“This bowl gave Zazaya/Ziziya the Charioteer (good to the man). The Hundred-Commander’s ration (?)”.

A different perspective concerning the sequence of the clause as well as the elucidation of one crucial graphic element seem, however, worth pointing out in order to achieve a more realistic hermeneutic result.²⁾

In the first place the reading of III-na-zi/a as “3-na-zi/a” and the suggestion that “3 represents the syllabogram *tar* instead of the usual *tara/i* (i.e. 3+ra/i) and that the writing renders *tarnaz* nom. sg. of *tarnatt-* ‘ration’ [...]”³⁾ – both by Mark Weeden – prove to be conjectures, *faute de mieux*, of non-obvious validity. So too then is the hesitant deduction “If this is correct, may we suppose that this bowl is a measure – the ration of the Hundred-Commander ?” (p. 241). These difficulties are patently admitted already in the edition (notice p. 239: “The inscription [...] qualifies its [scil. the cup’s] function with an obscure phrase for which only a tentative interpretation is offered here”, as well as p. 242: “Curiously ANKARA 3 seems to have no recipient, but in place of this a phrase of uncertain interpretation”).

A more promising solution is to recognize in III the same glyph (slightly reduced) for DOMINUS (*390, first variant) of the preceding column (in CENTUM.DOMINUS), and to read the present column as DOMINUS-na-zi/a, dat. pl. (-za/) ‘to the Lords’ (see below, fn. 7) governed by the nearby vb. DARE ‘gave’, so as to obtain also the recipient(s) of the dedication, whose absence is repeatedly highlighted in the edition (p. 242).

The complex *zi/a* *182.2.PI ‘this bowl’ (acc.) between the verb (DARE) and the name of the author of the epigraph with his profession / title (“Z., the Charioteer, “good (to the) man”) also deserves some comment. Since in KINIK and ANKARA 1-2 such a group – in ANKARA 1 as *za/i-wa/i-ti* *182.2.PI ‘this bowl for himself’ and in ANKARA 2 simply as *zi/a* *182.2.PI – opens the (sinistroverse) legend (HAWKINS 1993: 715 and pl. 145, 1996: 8 and pl. I / 2005: 194, 105 figs. 1-2), it is inferable that in ANKARA 3 too it must constitute the introductory dedicative formula, with the antithetic disposition (*182.2.PI leftwards vs. *zi/a-wa/i* rightwards) created intentionally to mark visually the start of the wording: a(n icono)graphic devise from the composite viewpoint, given the careful symmetry of the elements on either side.

And since the major orientation of the signs is dextroverse – owing to the iterated *zi/a* in the anthroponym, to -na-zi/a in DOMINUS-, and (as already underscored above) to DARE (thus, consequently, also CENTUM.DOMINUS) –, it is perfectly logical to hold that this is the actual reading direction of the legend in its entirety – with the verb syntactically in order at the end (as for PONERE ‘placed’ of KINIK, in parallel with [PON]ERE-wa/i-ta and *i-zi-i-ta* ‘made’ of the late stone bowls BABYLON 3 and BABYLON 2 § 1⁴⁾) –, skipping over the gap along the rim of the vessel between the second AURIGA pictogram and CENTUM.DOMINUS:

zi/a-wa/i *182.2.PI AURIGA BONUS₂ VIR₂ *Zi/a-zi/a-i(a)* BONUS₂ VIR₂ AURIGA
CENTUM.DOMINUS DOMINUS-na-zi/a DARE

‘This bowl Z., the Charioteer, “good (to the) man”, (as) the Hundred-Commander to (his) Lords gave’.

That Z. was both ‘Charioteer’ (*KARTAPPU*) and ‘Hundred-Commander’⁵⁾ is hardly surprising: the first denotes his profession / position in the social structure, the second his rank in the military hierarchy when the cup was donated to his Lords.⁶⁾

P.S.: A still diverse textual analysis – though with sinistroverse (!) reading: “AURIGA BONUS₂ VIR₂ *zi/a-zi/a-i(a)* BONUS₂ VIR₂ AURIGA *zi/a-wa/i* CAELUM.PI (oder SCUTRA-pi) DARE 3-na-zi/a CENTUM.DOMINUS”, “Zazaya/Zaziya, der Wagenlenker, gab dem Tarna(n)zi, dem Befehlshaber der Hundertschaft diese Schale” – has been put forth by Zs. Simon, “Philologische Bemerkungen zur hieroglyphen-luwischen Inschrift ANKARA 3”, published in N.A.B.U. 2017/49 (above). I am very grateful to the author for making the manuscript liberally available to me.

*) For constructive remarks I am indebted to Natalia Bolatti Guzzo, Massimo Forlanini and Craig Melchert.

1) Cf. the outline in ÇIFÇI-HAWKINS 2016: 241-242.

2) For the sake of homogeneity and practical use, the Laroche-Hawkins system of transliteration has been adopted here, except for the combination “CAELUM-pi” employed to express the word for the ‘cup’ itself, rendered instead by *182.2.PI (*182.2 = ‘COUPE’ [second / third variant], for which the transcription PATERA, if not PELVIS, might be advisable; ‘CIEL’ is *182.1: see LAROCHE 1960: 96), because the element PI is taken as the phonetic indicator of ‘COUPE’, not as the phonetic complement: cf. already SIMON 2009:249 fn. 5, BOLATTI GUZZO-MARAZZI 2010: 21-22 and lately SIMON 2016 (with a critical overview of *182 and the proposal to transcribe *182.2 by “SCUTRA”). Lack of congruence in Yakubovich’s schematic presentation (2017 ad ANKARA 2 §1): “textform: CAELUM.PI – lemma: tabisa.”.

3) At any rate – and despite the indefiniteness of dating – /tar-/ in Tara/i-wa/i-za/i of ANKARA 1 shows the attached “épine”.

4) See HAWKINS 1993: 715 and 2000: 397, 395 respectively.

5) This latter, a plausible interpretation by Mark Weeden (see ÇİFÇİ-HAWKINS 2016: 241), supplements what we already knew about such Hittite officers: UGULA 10 (“Overseer” of Ten’ and UGULA 1 LI (“Overseer” of One Thousand’ (cf. Beal 1992: 504-509, 519 and 379.) In the classical sphere, homologous with our term are Lat. *centuriō* and Gk. ἐκατόνταρχος / ἐκατοντάρχης. – Note, anyhow, the suggestion in BOEHMER-GÜTERBOCK 1987: 84 to explain the combination *482 (a sort of “Schwert [...] mit zusätzlichen sichelförmigen Ansätzen auf beiden Seiten”) over CENTUM as ‘Kommandant über hundert Mann’ on the bulla no. 265, pl. XXXIII.

6) In Hittite designated as *BĒLU^{MEŠ/HI.A}* / *EN^{MEŠ}*; for the important functions of this category also in the military milieu see in particular IMPARATI 1975: 80-87.

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51) Étymologie du gr. χλαῖνα : un mot louvite en grec ? – Si le mot technique χλαῖνα est totalement méconnu du mycénien, ce qui fournit un assez net *terminus a quo*, on le rencontre à plusieurs reprises dans le texte homérique. Il signifie le plus souvent *manteau de laine*, ainsi dans *l’Iliade* : βῆ δὲ θέειν, ἀπὸ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλε (B 183) « il se met à courir et jette son manteau ». Plus rarement, ce terme désigne une grosse couverture de laine à poils longs : δέμνι’ ὑπ’ αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι, καὶ ὄγγεα καλὰ # πορφύρε’ ἐμβαλέειν, στορέσαι τ’ ἐφύπερθε τάπτας # χλαίνας τ’ ἐνθέμεναι οὐλας καθύπερθεν ἔσασθαι (Ω 644-646) « (Achille ordonne à ses gens) de mettre un lit sous le porche, d’y déposer des tissus de pourpre, d’étendre des tapis dessus ainsi que des couvertures de haute laine (οὐλας) dont on puisse l’envelopper ». Noter l’adj. hom. οὐλος (< gr. com. *fóλσος) « velu, à longs poils » qui doit refléter un étymon i.-e. *wóls-o- m. « toison » (< proto-i.-e. *wólh₁-so-).

Il faut sans doute citer ici la notice très détaillée de RICH (1883 : 347, s.v. *læna*¹⁾, dont voici l'intégralité : « Terme employé non pas tant pour désigner un genre de vêtement particulier qu'une espèce d'étoffe de laine à longs poils (STRAB. IV, 4, 3), dont on se servait pour différents habits de dessus (*amictus*), tels que le *pallium*, *sagum*, *ricinium*, *lacerna*, etc. Mais ce nom était aussi donné spécialement à l'*amictus* porté par les Flamines dans les sacrifices. En effet, à l'origine, il était fait de cette étoffe et mis en double comme la διπλοῖς des Grecs »²⁾. Cette ample définition emprunte à la doctrine de Paul Diacre, l'abréviateur de Festus : *Læna uestimenti genus habitu duplicitis. Quidam appellatam existimant Tusce, quidam Graece, quam χλανίδα dicunt* (P.-FEST. 104, 18-19 L.) « La *læna* est un genre de vêtement qu'on porte mis en double. D'aucuns y voient un mot étrusque ; d'autres, un mot grec, car *læna* se dit χλανίς ». Comme l'on sait, le grec est assez souvent mutilé dans les manuscrits de Paul Diacre, et l'*Escoraliensis* (X^e s.) offre ici une leçon *chlamida* (= gr. χλαμύδα). Pareille confusion n'est pas anodine : elle témoigne d'un net *sentiment* de parenté étymologique entre gr. χλαῖνα et χλαμύς qui semble avoir eu cours chez les Anciens (voir à ce sujet le point suivant).

Les Anciens expliquaient χλαῖνα par le verbe χλαίνω « rendre tiède »³⁾. Ils songeaient aussi à une parenté entre χλαῖνα et χλαμύς – ce qui ne va guère pour le sens⁴⁾. Les Modernes ont voulu voir dans le thème *χλαν- de χλανίς (< *χλαν-ι-δ-) et χλαῖνα (< *χλάν-ya) l'avatar du mot dialectal χλάνδιον qu'ils font remonter à *χλάμ-διον⁵⁾ : le suffixe †-διον n'existant pas, on doit poser la syncope (dialectale) du diminutif χλανίδιον n. (SZEMERÉNYI, 1964 : 42). En réalité le thème est ici *χλανι- diversement étoffé, non †χλαμ-/†χλαν-. Filière sémitique selon ROSOŁ (2013 : 107-109), qui veut asseoir une parenté entre χλαῖνα (si de **χλάμ-ya) et χλαμύς, qu'il rattache à l'hébr. *gəlōm « manteau » (Ez. 27, 24), mais sans autre exemple de sém. *g- donnant gr. χ-). De sucroît, le lemme *gəlōm est incorrect⁶⁾.

Selon PUHVEL (*HED* III : 369), la graphie SÍG-la-ni-iš recouvre le louv. *ḥulaniš « laine » (XXV 39 iv 6), apparenté au hitt. ḥulana- « id. ». KLOEKHORST (2008 : 358) récuse une origine indo-européenne pour ces mots : la racine i.-e. *welh₁- « arracher la laine »⁷⁾ ne doit plus être posée †h₂welh₁-. Il existe une base hourr. *ḥul- « laine », à l'origine de ^{G1S}ḥulāli- n. « quenouille » et ^{SIG}ḥulāli- n. « *fil de bobinage » (KRONASSER, 1966 : 45)⁸⁾. Noter l'emprunt akk. ḥullānu- f. pl. « couvertures de laine » dans des textes trouvés à Nuzi et à Alalāḥ. Je propose un étymon lycien *xláni- (< *ḥuláni-)⁹⁾ pour expliquer le thème *χλανι- du grec.

Si le lin vient d'Égypte, le travail de la laine vient d'Anatolie et du nord de la Syrie. Les Hourrites y étaient – semble-t-il – passés maîtres¹⁰⁾. Donc, ici, emprunt nécessaire, désignant une *mode textile* (cf. *burnous*) ou bien une *variété de laine* (cf. *angora*).

1) Précisons que l'emprunt lat. *læna* viole les lois de correspondances régulières entre les deux langues : il en va de même pour plusieurs mots latins empruntés au grec, tels que lat. *andrágō* f. « pourpier » < gr. ἀνδράχνη ; lat. *arānea* f. « araignée » < gr. ἀράχνη ; lat. *exetra* f. « vipère » < gr. ἔχιδνα (BIVILLE, 1995 : 105, n. 86).

2) Références : VARR. *L.* V, 133 ; SERV. *ad. Virg. Aen.* IV, 262 ; CIC. *Brut.* 57 ; JUV. III, 283 ; MART. XIV, 136.

3) Cf. la glose d'Hésychius χλαῖνα· χλανίς, ἡ ἰμάτιον χειμεριόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ χλιαίνειν, ὅ ἐστι θεομαίνειν, ce qui se retrouve dans la notice de l'*Etymologicum Magnum* : χλαῖνα· παρὰ τὸ χλιαίνειν (EM 812 : 21) ; λέγεται μὲν χλαῖνα, τὸ παχὺ καὶ χειμεριόν ἰμάτιον (EM 812 : 22-23). Désigne donc un chaud manteau d'hiver.

4) Selon BOISACQ (1916 : 1062), « le rapport avec χλαμύς ‘casaque’ est très incertain ».

5) Ainsi CHANTRAIN (DELG : 1212) et aussi FRISK (GEW II : 1102). Mots de substrat ‘pré-grecs’ selon BEEKES (2010 : 1636 et 2014 : 108), à la suite de FURNÉE (1972 : 338), qui voit dans l'alternance -v/-μ- du substrat.

6) La forme de pluriel construit ǵəlōm⁸⁾ laisse attendre une forme absolue *gālōm « manteau » (< *galām-u « enveloppement »). En pratique, on attendrait plutôt ici gr. **γάλωμος uel sim.

7) Cette racine *welh₁- « épiler, arracher » est reflétée par lat. *uellō* (< *uollō < i.-e. *wl_o-n-h₁-é/ó-). Elle donne le lat. *lāna* f. « laine » (< i.-e. *wl_oh₁-n-éh₂) et le gr. λῆνος n. « id. » ← *φληνός « arraché » (< i.-e. *wl_oh₁-nó).

8) LAROCHE (1980 : 112-113) rassemble tout un groupe hour. *hu-u-la* (KBo XIV 135 Ro 6), *hu-u-li-ya* « laine » (KUB XV 31 IV 29), *hu-u-la-a-li*- (KBo XV 75 Ro 4) et enfin *ḥu-li-il-tu* (KUB XXVII 37, 9).

9) En toute rigueur, louv. com. *ḥulāni- > louv. stand. *ḥulāli-, mais l'ancêtre du lycien était paroxyton !

10) Selon BACCELLI *et al.* (2014 : 112), « The Hurrian textile production is well attested in the Hittite epigraphic sources. We cannot exclude that corporations of skilled Hurrian weavers in Hattusa and in other Hittite palatial centres did exist, producing items that were typical of their native lands. In a land grant tablet of the king Arnuwanda I and his wife Ašmunikal in favour of Kuwattalla, the queen's attendant, among the estates of the scribe

on wooden tablet(s), Šuppiluliuma, is listed the estate (literally ‘the house’) of a certain Muliyaziti, the ‘Hurrian shirt maker’ (^{LÚ}EPIŠ TÚG.GÚ.È.A HURRI). »

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52) Ar-Teššub, scribe et devin à Nuzi — Les devins à Nuzi sont désignés par l’idéogramme LÚ.HAL (*bārū*). Dans un cas au moins, on relève aussi l’indication LÚ.ME.ZU pour qualifier l’un des témoins dans un contrat de *tidennūtu* impliquant Tehip-Tilla fils de Puhi-šenni (JEN 305 : 15) : cette expression, surtout connue des listes lexicales comme équivalent de l’akkadien *bārū* (CAD B, p. 121a), pourrait correspondre à la forme LÚ.Ì.ZU qui qualifie certains des devins d’Emar (COHEN 2012, p. 118).

W. MAYER (1978, p. 138, n. 1) signale un devin nommé Ar-Teššub, fils de Taya, témoin dans un échange de champs effectué par Tehip-Tilla fils de Puhi-šenni, JEN 250, l. 22 (sceau 1. 26). Sa profession est notée ŠU.HAL, que W. Mayer corrige en LÚ'.HAL. Il note, à propos de cet individu : « identisch mit dem gleichnamigen Schreiber ? ».

En effet, un Ar-Teššub fils de Taya, de la famille scribale d’Apil-Sîn, est connu comme scribe par trois textes rédigés pour Tehip-Tilla fils de Puhi-šenni : HSS 9 114 : 23, 24, JEN 286 : 19 et JEN 745 : 25, 29.

Si on compare JEN 250 (qui mentionne Ar-Teššub comme devin) à JEN 745 (rédigée par le scribe Ar-Teššub), plusieurs témoins sont communs :

- Hulukka fils de Kušuh-atal : JEN 250 : 25 et JEN 745 : 21.
- Ikkiya fils d'Adad-šezi : JEN 250 : 24 et JEN 745 : 20.
- Muš-Teššub fils d'Arn-apu : JEN 250 : 18 et JEN 745 : 16 (très restauré).
- Piru fils de Naiš-kelpi : JEN 250 : 20 et JEN 745 : 17.

Les informations disponibles concernant les sceaux apposés sur les tablettes JEN 250, JEN 745 et HSS 9 114 montrent que le devin et le scribe sont un seul et même personnage. PORADA 1947, p. 127 indique que le sceau d'Ar-Teššub qui figure sur JEN 250, soit celui du devin, est le n° 107 de son catalogue. Il est aussi apposé sur JEN 745, d'après MAIDMAN 1994, p. 258 ainsi que sur HSS 9 114, d'après la photographie qui figure sur le site du CDLI (P393455). Quant à JEN 286, soit elle n'a pas été scellée par le scribe, soit l'empreinte du sceau est perdue et n'a pu être étudiée par E. Porada.

La même personne maîtrise donc à la fois la technique de l'écriture et celle de la divination et on appellera à ce propos qu'une tablette de présages par les tremblements de terre (que l'on retrouve au 1^{er} millénaire dans la série *Enūma Anu Enlil*, tablette 47) a été découverte à Nuzi, dans un grand bâtiment administratif très mal conservé, pièce D6 (LACHEMAN 1937 et GEHLKEN 2012, p. 150-157). On peut envisager qu'elle ait servi à un devin ; ceux-ci, à Nuzi, comme ailleurs disposaient donc d'un corpus de sources écrites qu'ils pouvaient consulter, même si les techniques attestées par les documents de la pratique sont plutôt la divination par la farine (HSS 14 102, HSS 14 140, HSS 15 134) et l'hépatoscopie (HSS 15 312).

À Mari, J.-M. Durand a souligné que « certains *bârûm* sont capables de fonctionner comme des administratifs d'un haut niveau. Il faut donc supposer au moins pour ceux-là qu'ils avaient une formation de scribes accomplis » ; il cite aussi le texte A.2583, qui prévoit de faire apprendre à un enfant « l'art du scribe et l'art du devin » (1988, p. 63 et n. 314). Ces cas sont à rapprocher de la liste dressée par D. CHARPIN (2008, p. 46-48), rassemblant plusieurs exemples de devins de Mari, Shemshara et plus tard Emar qui, sans être toutefois des scribes professionnels, savent écrire et forment à l'art d'écrire.

Au Bronze Récent, on connaît des cas de scribes ayant rédigé des textes lexicaux, ou bien signalés dans les colophons de ces textes comme professeurs. Ainsi, à Ougarit, le nom de Šamū-Ba'lū, devin, prêtre de Ba'al, apparaît dans les colophons de textes lexicaux, en tant que professeur de son frère (ROCHE-HAWLEY & HAWLEY 2014, p. 250-253). Ce devin, qui pratique la lecture et l'écriture, peut donc consulter ses ouvrages de référence et former des étudiants à l'écriture pour qu'ils exercent leur métier de devin.

Le cas d'Ar-Teššub montre cependant le même individu exercer deux professions, celle de devin et celle de scribe, dont la fonction est de rédiger des documents juridiques et administratifs pour un particulier ou une administration. Cette situation a, là encore, des parallèles dans d'autres corpus du Bronze récent.

À Emar, Ba'al-bârû, scribe de tradition syrienne et devin, aurait ainsi formé son fils, Mašru-hamiš (Mašru-he), « devin du roi et de la ville » ; ce dernier, bénéficiaire d'un champ dans HCCT-E 10 : 14 et 31 pour la qualité de ses prédictions, rédige la vente d'une maison (E 161 : 20') et un testament (AuOrS 1 47 : 30) (COHEN 2012, p. 118 et PRUZINSKY 2003, CD joint au livre, p. 613). Pour les scribes de tradition syro-hittite, les mieux connus sont les descendants de Zū-Ba'la : les deux frères Saggar-abu et Ba'al-mâlik (3^e génération) sont à la fois scribes et devins. Si on les connaît surtout par les colophons des textes lexicaux, selon Y. COHEN, « outside the schooling system it is evident that the Zū-Ba'la diviners wrote letters, administrative documents and probably more complex compositions » (2012, p. 122). Saggar-abu aurait rédigé les lettres E 258 à 261 et Ba'al-mâlik plusieurs inventaires d'objets précieux liés au culte (COHEN 2009, p. 258-280).

La récente publication de textes médio-babylonien par W. H. van Soldt offre un exemple supplémentaire. Dans la région de Nippur, on voit le devin Mudammiq-Adad établir un contrat de mise à disposition d'un âne (VAN SOLDT 2015, p. 38 n° 2 : 14' ; dans l'index, p. 555, il est enregistré comme ŠITIM mais il s'agit d'une erreur, nous remercions l'auteur de nous avoir éclairés sur ce point).

Il serait intéressant de connaître la trajectoire professionnelle de ces individus. Comme il semble assez courant que des devins maîtrisent l'écriture, il est possible que certains d'entre eux aient pu s'établir en tant que scribes professionnels. L'inverse, le cas d'un scribe formé à la divination, pourrait être aussi plausible. On aimerait aussi connaître la façon dont ces devins-scribes ont partagé leur temps entre ces deux activités professionnelles. On le voit, le cas d'Ar-Teššub et de ses collègues soulève plus de questions qu'il n'en résout.

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53) Diri and S^a at Alalah — This note makes known two lexical fragments found at Tell Atchana (ancient Alalah) during recent seasons of excavation under the direction of K. Aslıhan Yener.¹⁾ They were each found in recent Late Bronze Age phases of the site, but in secondary contexts, so their original stratigraphic and archival situation is a matter of conjecture. The identification of both fragments is due to Wilfred van Soldt, with whom I shared the photographs taken by Murat Akar, co-assistant director of the Tell Atchana excavations.²⁾

One fragment, **AT 13062**, preserves a segment of tablet I of Diri. It was found during the summer 2011 excavation season, in a locus just below topsoil in Area 2, Square 44.96 (in the south-eastern part of the mound).³⁾ I had the opportunity to examine and copy this fragment in the old Hatay Archaeological Museum in July 2014.⁴⁾ It is a tiny piece from the right side of a tablet with flat obverse and evenly-sloped reverse, bulging to almost 1.5 cm at the thickest preserved point; based on the shape and thickness, it was clearly a multi-column tablet. The text preserved on the obverse corresponds to Diri I, entries 108-124 in the canonical recension or entries 96-103 in the Ugarit recension (MSL XV, pp. 70, 108), with some omissions and variations. I have not been able to match the surviving text on the reverse to any sequence in Diri or any other lexical list. Given its dimensions and rather fine hand, AT 13062 is probably a fragment of a type I tablet, a large multi-column tablet containing a single composition or part thereof, which is the type best attested in peripheral sites, according to van Soldt.⁵⁾ Here follow my copy (at a scale of roughly 2:1) and transliteration.

Obv.

(break)

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1') | [...] UD.UD | e]l [?] | - | [lu]m [?] |
| 2') | [...] | e]b | - | bu |
| 3') | [...] | Jnam | - | ru |
| 4') | [...] ÚH | r]u-ú | - | tum |

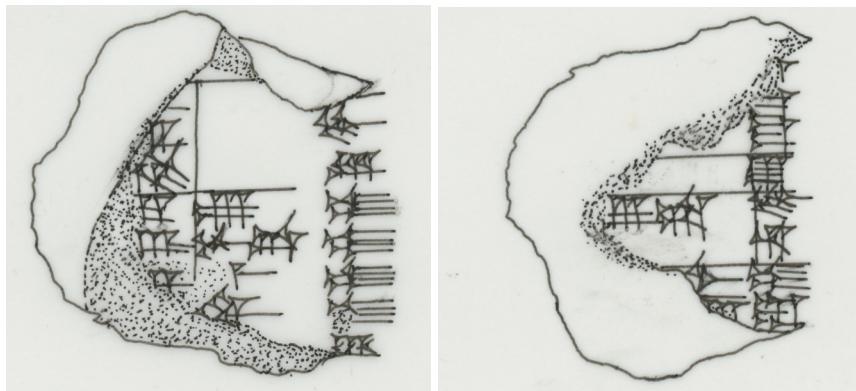
- | | | |
|-----------|------------------------|--|
| 5') [... | |]ru-pu-uš-tum |
| 6') [... | | r]u [?] -<ú [?] >- tum |
| 7') [... | | jim - tum |
| 8') [... | UD.KA.BAR ⁷ | zi [?] -bi [?] -r]u [?] |
| (break) | | |

Rev.

- (break)

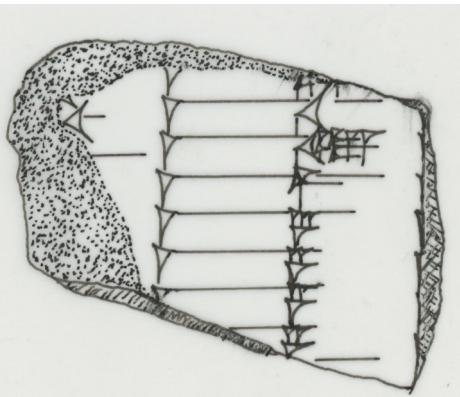
1')	[...	-	k]u [?]
2')	[...	-	k]u
3')	[...	-]	ku
4')	[ ...	]«x» -	lu
5')	[...	-]ú-ta-	pu
6')	[ ...	]-	hu
7')	[...	-]«x»-	tum
8')	[ ...	]«x»-ra	

(break)



The other fragment, **AT 22997**, is a little piece from the obverse of an exemplar of Syllabary A (S^a). It was found during the summer 2015 excavation season in Area 1, Square 42.06, south of the temple of Ishtar.⁶⁾ I have not seen this fragment myself; my copy (at roughly 2:1) and transliteration below are based on the photograph, which has a scale indicating that it measures approximately 2 cm in height by 3 cm in width. The surviving lines, flanked by traces of other columns, correspond to S^a entries 251-258 (MSL III, pp. 31-32).

- | | | | | | |
|---------|------------|------|------|------------|--|
| (break) | | | | | |
| 1') | [...]»x» | DIŠ | «PA» | [...] | |
| 2') | [...]»x» | DIŠ | U | [...] | |
| 3') | [...] | DIŠ | Ù | D[IŠ ...] | |
| 4') | [...] | DIŠ | MAŠ | D[IŠ ...] | |
| 5') | [...] | DIŠ | NÍG | D[IŠ ...] | |
| 6') | [...] | JDIŠ | NÍG | D[IŠ ...] | |
| 7') | [...] | DJIŠ | NÍG | [...] | |
| 8') | [...] | | JNÍG | [...] | |
| (break) | | | | | |



Both fragments, minuscule as they are, represent new additions to the tablet corpora attested at Late Bronze Age Alalah. The excavations directed by Leonard Woolley in the 1930s and 1940s yielded three fragments of the lexical series ḤAR-ra/*hubullu* (AT 445, 446, and 447), and in 2003 the current excavation project yielded another (A03-R1001+A03-R1139), which has been published by Jacob Lauinger.⁷⁾ Based on their formal similarities, Lauinger posits that all these fragments derived from one recension of ḤAR-ra/*hubullu*, and based on the findspot of the only fragment that was found in a stratified context, he posits that that recension should derive from Level IV. While the other fragments were found in topsoil or in surface cleaning, AT 447 was found in what was probably construction fill beneath the Level III/II fortress (the “Hittite fortress”).⁸⁾ Lauinger therefore concludes that it originated in Level IV, which makes sense inasmuch as the substantial Alalah IV tablet corpus attests a context for the use of lexical texts, while the scant epigraphic finds deriving from later periods do not. If this conclusion may be extrapolated to the two new fragments, they attest the use of Diri and Syllabary A along with ḤAR-ra/*hubullu* at Alalah during the period of Level IV (mid-to-late 15th century).⁹⁾

Together these lexical fragments represent steps in the progression from elementary (S^a) to advanced (H^b, Diri) stages of the curriculum.¹⁰⁾ They do not suffice, however, to attest the training of the scribes who worked at Alalah IV. Wherever they learned their trade, their instruction required many more tablets than the few bits of lexical texts found thus far can be understood to represent, scattered from their place(s) of origin as they are.

- 1) In assigning these fragments to me for publication Yener instructed me to publish them in a venue of my choice (e-mail message of 1 November 2015), rather than including them in a forthcoming excavation volume.
- 2) I am most grateful to Wilfred van Soldt for graciously sharing his expertise in lexical texts, especially as they are represented in Levantine corpora (e-mail messages of 27 July 2014 and 17 April 2016). In addition, I thank Marco Bonechi for bibliographic assistance during my sojourn in Rome in 2016, when I studied these fragments.
- 3) Information courtesy of Mara Horowitz, formerly co-assistant director of the Tell Atchana excavations (e-mail of 29 October 2012); she specifies that the fragment was found in locus 2, lot 12, in “destruction jumble.”
- 4) Written on the fragment is the number 19394, presumably its accession number.
- 5) Wilfred van Soldt, The Role of Babylon in Western Peripheral Education, in *Babylon: Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident*, ed. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, *et al.* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 197–211 (esp. p. 207).
- 6) Information and photograph courtesy of Yener, e-mail messages of 5, 6, and 8 August 2015; Yener specifies further that the fragment was found in locus 16, lot 60.
- 7) Lauinger, Epigraphic Finds from the Oriental Institute’s 2003 Excavations at Alalakh, *JNES* 64/1 (2005): 53–58; see further Lauinger, Epigraphic Report, Ch. 6 in *Tell Atchana, Ancient Alalakh*, vol. 1: The 2003–2004 Excavation Seasons, ed. Kutlu Aslıhan Yener (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2010), pp. 85–88.
- 8) The field card records the findspot of AT 447 as Square U12 “in Level II Fort room with store jars but probably below the floor level”; see von Dassow, Archives of Alalah IV in Archaeological Context, *BASOR* 338 (2005), Chart B, with p. 30, and references there.
- 9) The excavations under Yener’s direction have resulted in a revised periodization of Tell Atchana, in which Woolley’s Level IV, renamed Period 4, ends with the destruction of both palace and castle circa 1400, followed by Period 3 which lasts until the Hittite conquest and rebuilding. The new periodization is to be explained in the forthcoming second volume of *Tell Atchana, Ancient Alalakh*.
- 10) The scribal curriculum as it is represented in the Levant, especially at Ugarit, is described by Wilfred van Soldt, Babylonian Lexical, Religious, and Literary Texts and Scribal Education at Ugarit, in *Ugarit: Eine ostmediterrane Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient* (ALASP 7; Münster, 1995), pp. 171–212 (esp. 172–76); also *idem*, The Role of Babylon in Western Peripheral Education (above, n. 5).

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54) The connection of Neo-Assyrian scholars to the temple officialdom: some evidence, mostly from colophons^{*)} — As has been pointed out by C. Waerzeggers: “‘The Babylonian priesthood’ is a multi-faceted institution that is difficult to define precisely.”¹⁾ This is correct also for Mesopotamia in general.²⁾ Moreover, the understanding of the functions and role of priests in Mesopotamia is often burdened by our modern notion of what is a priest, influenced by the accounts of the Hebrew Bible³⁾ and modern Christian practices. The status and obligations of scholars and priests were subject to change through millennia of Mesopotamian history.⁴⁾ The criteria for affiliation with priesthood are the matter of the ongoing

discussion. Thus, holding a prebend has been often taken as a proof of being a priest at least for the first millennium Babylonia. The absence of evidence for being a prebendary was interpreted in favour of considering certain scholarly professions as not priestly.⁵⁾ But recently M. Jursa demonstrated that not all prebendaries were necessarily priests.⁶⁾

This short note is by no means an attempt to give an all-embracing definition of Mesopotamian priesthood. Only some evidence concerning the connections of the scholarly professions to the temple establishment through the office of *šangû* will be examined here. *Šangû* most often written with ideograms SANGA or É.MAŠ is commonly understood as the most general term for a “priest.”⁷⁾

1) *bārû*. It is usually assumed that the Mesopotamian haruspex, *bārû*, was a priest,⁸⁾ despite some recent attempts to claim the opposite.⁹⁾ Thus M. Geller tries to compare the status and role of *bārû* to that of a physician. However, *asûs* were connected to priesthood only through their family liaisons (see below), while haruspices held prebends,¹⁰⁾ passed inaugural rituals,¹¹⁾ and were *šangûs*.

The most celebrated Babylonian *šangû*-priest, who was also *bārû* from the dynasty of priests and haruspices, is Nabû-nadin-šumi from Sippar, the author of the famous Sun-god tablet of Nabû-apla-iddina.¹²⁾ This tablet is the royal grant of a prebend to Nabû-apla-iddina.¹³⁾ Moreover, this tablet mentions another priest and diviner from Sippar, Ekur-šuma-ušarši.¹⁴⁾

In the NA milieu the clear-cut evidence for *bārû* being a priest comes from the colophon of the early NA text VAT 9945 with the *ušurruda* anti-witchcraft exorcistic ritual first published by D. Schwemer (KAL II 9, pp. 36-37, 148-149) and more recently reedited by Tz. Abusch and Schwemer in AMD 8/2: 80-81. The copyist himself was an apprentice scribe and a junior physician and his name Ubru(?)-Gula contained as a theophoric element the name of the great healing goddess of the first millennium—Gula. The names of the copyist’s ancestors are broken, but their titles are intact. Both his father and his grandfather bore double title “haruspex, priest of Bābu.” Here is the transliteration and translation of this colophon following AMD 8/2: 81 with minor amendments:

15'	GIM SUMUN-ŠÚ SAR-a ba-rì
16'	[ŠU ^{2 m}] ⁷ Ub ² -ru ^d Gu-la ^{lú} ŠAMAN.LÁ ^{lú} A.ZU ^a a-g[a-aš-gu-u]
17'	[DUMU ^m X]- rd +EN ⁷ AZU ⁷ É.MAŠ ^d BA. ⁷ Ú ⁷
18'	[DUMU ^{md}]x-KAM ^{lú} AZU ⁷ É.MAŠ ^d BA. ⁷ Ú ⁷
19'	[nīš ²] rd MAŠ [!] u ^d Gu-la MU ⁷ SAR ⁷ NU KÚR x[...]
20'	[x x x] ^d É-a ⁷ EN ŠIM ^{2-mes} x[...]
21'	[x x x x] x x x ŠU ^{II} x [...]

15'	Written according to its original and collated.
16'	[Hand of] Ubru-Gula apprentice (and) junior physician,
17'	[son of x]-Bēl, haruspex, priest of Bābu,
18'	[son of]x-ēreš, haruspex, priest of Bābu,
19'	[By] Ninurta and Gula, do not change my inscription! [...]
20'	[...] Ea, the lord of ... ¹⁵⁾ [...]
21'	[...].hands ... [...]

The evidence of this colophon with two generations of diviners, who were also priests of Bābu, confirms not only that haruspices were priests but also that their double position of priests and diviners was hereditary in Assyria as well.

2) *asû*. There is no direct indications that physicians ever held priestly offices in any period. Nonetheless, in the first millennium Assyria there are some attestations of the connections of *asû* to the priesthood of Bābu, one of the healing deities. The colophon discussed above proves that Urdū(?)-Gula, the offspring of the dynasty of priests of Bābu, was trained to become a physician. Similar situation is testified by BAK 222, the colophon of the medical text with rituals, prescriptions and incantations against fever, BAM 148 = N4 (562), collated by the current author:¹⁶⁾

Rev.	
28'	[ÉN KÚM te-š]u-ú KÚM qab-lu [EGIR]-šú SAR nis-ḥ[u ...]
29'	[ki-i KA ^{giš} Z]U URI ^{ki} ša-t[i-ir b]à-r[i ḥa]-an-tiš z[I-ḥa]
30'	[tuppi ^m Rēmūt] ¹⁷⁾ - ^d BA. ⁷ BA ₆ ⁷ ŠAMAN.LÁ A. ⁷ ZU ¹⁸⁾

- 31' [DUMU ^{md}Gula]-NUMUN-DÙ ^{lú}SANGA ^dBA.^rBA₆
 32' [šá qé-reb ^{wru}] BAL.TIL ^{ki}
 33' [NIR.GÁL.ZU-*k*a BA.RA.TÉS ^dAMA[R.UTU]
- 28' Incantation „Fire, disorder; fire, fight;” excerpt [...] written after it,
 29' [After] a Babylonian ‘wooden tablet’ wrtit[en, c]ollate[d, (and) ha]stly exce[rpted].
 30' [Tablet of Rēmūt]-Bābu apprentice physi[cian]
 31' [Son of Gula]-zēru-ibni, priest of Bā‘bu’,
 32' [who is in the midst of] Assur
 33' [Trusting in yo]u, (oh) Mard[uk,] will not be deieved! (lit. – will not be put to shame).¹⁹⁾

Another apprentice physician, also the son of Gula-zēru-ibni, was the copyist of the Assur Medical Catalogue. The names of both the copyist and his father are broken in YBC 7123, which contains its colophon. But the unique title “priest of Bābu, who is in the midst of Assur,” which is attested only for Gula-zēru-ibni is preserved.²⁰⁾

- 7' [... ša-tir] BA.AN.È
 8' [...]-GIN ^{lú<<-lú->>} (partly erased) A.ZU TUR
 9' [mār ^{md}Gula-zēru-ibni ^{lú}SAN]GA ^dBA.BA₆ šá qé-reb BAL.TIL ^{ki}
 10' [...] ^dGu-la
- 7' [...] ...wrote] (and) collated
 8' [...] -ukīn, young physician,
 9' [son of Gula-zēru-ibni, priest of] Bābu, who is in the midst of Assur,
 10' [...] Gula.

Although *asū*, the physician, is never attested as a part of the temple establishment of the healing or other deities either as an *ērib bīti*, or as a prebendary, these colophons provide the evidence that in Assyria (some) physicians were the offspring of priests of Bābu. Since in all three aforementioned cases these are young or apprentice physicians, it is conceivable that in the later stages of their carriers they became priests of Bābu themselves. The theophoric elements Gula and Bābu in the names of young physicians and their family members particularly Gula in the name of Gula-zēru-ibni, priest of Bābu,²¹⁾ himself are worth noticing as well.

3) *āšipu/mašmašu*. There are no attestations for NA exorcists ever being *šangus*.²²⁾ The reading <Nabū->-be-su-^mx in the colophon (*BAK* 191) of *BAM* 50 = N4 (520) should be now dismissed. According to S.M. Maul (personal communication) the traces of ^{md}AMAR.UT[U]-^rle[?] appear on the tablet. Thus, Nabu-bēlšunu from the House of Exorcists at Assur has never been SANGA GAL.²³⁾

Further, it should be pointed out that *BAK* 265A, the colophon of the tablet *BAM* 212 = N4 (153), which belonged to Nabū-kabti-ahhēšu *āšip/mašmaš bīt Aššur*, son of Aššur-kēnu(?) *āšip/mašmaš bīt Aššur* does not contain the title *šangū rabū*, as claimed by M. Geller²⁴⁾ since only the traces of signs ^mx[x x x (x)] ^rMAŠ É [...] appear in the handcopy of F. Köcher (*BAM* 212). Geller copy-pasted the composite colophon *BAK* 265 not realizing that H. Hunger’s transliteration embraces three different colophons—265ABC, although Hunger clearly points out that ^{lú}SANGA GAL-u šá [...] only appears in 265C and that “Name in BC abgebrochen” (HUNGER 1968: 86, ns. 1-2 to no. 265). Thus, *BAK* 265B, the colophon of *BAM* 296 10'-11', which contains the title ^{lú}SANGA GAL-u šá [...], did not preserve any names and cannot be attributed either to Nabū-kabti-ahhēšu, or to his father Aššur-kēnu(?). *BAK* 265A, the colophon of *BAM* 212 does not have ^{lú}SANGA GAL-u šá DN in rev. 52 and the traces of signs do not support readings ^{lú}SANGA and šá, though the personal wedge and the traces of MAŠ are clear. Geller’s transliteration of the colophon of *BAM* 212 was done without collating the tablet. It also does not fit Köcher’s handcopy reproduced by Geller immediately after his transliteration.²⁵⁾ Mysteriously, the title of the chief priest appears among the titles of Nabū-kabti-ahhēšu in A.A. Fadhil’s “Familie 1” tree, though Fadhil’s correct transliteration of this colophon does not have ^{lú}SANGA GAL-u.²⁶⁾ Notably the title ^{lú}SANGA GAL-u is not mentioned in *PNA* in conjunction with either Nabū-kabti-ahhēšu, or Aššur-kēnu.²⁷⁾ The three colophons, which are rendered in *BAK* under no. 265, read as follows:²⁸⁾

BAK 265A = BAM 212 (N4 [153] = A 392) rev. 49-52:

49	[ú-i] ^{l-ti} ^{md} PA-IDIM-PAP ^{mēš} -šū
50	^{lū} MAŠ ⁺ .[MAŠ] É Aš+šur
51	DUMU ^{m̄} Aš+šur-GIN [^{lū} MAŠ]. ^r MAŠ É ^r [Aš+šur]
52	[DUMU] ^{m̄} X[X ^{lū} MAŠ]. ^r MAŠ É [Aš+šur]
49	[Tab]let of Nabû-kabti-ahhēšu
50	[Exor]cist of the temple of Aššur,
51	son of Aššur-kēnu, [exor]cist of the tem[ple of Aššur],
52	[son of...] P[N exor]cist of the temple of [Aššur]

BAK 265B = BAM 296 (N4 [40] = A 222): 10'-11'

10'	[ú-il]- ^{ti} ^{md} [...]
11'	^{lū*} SANGA GAL-u šá [Aššur ²⁹⁾]
10'	[tabl]et of P[N],
11'	High priest of [Aššur ²].

BAK 265C = LKA 143 (N4 [243] = A 139): 7'

7'	ú-il- ^t i [...] ^{lū} MAŠ.MAŠ
8'	[x (x)] ^r x x x ^r
7'	tablet of [PN], the exorcist
8'	.....

LKA 143 was found in the library of the House of Exorcists and most probably was written either by Kişir-Aššur, or by his nephew Kişir-Nabû. Thus, in fact these three colophons have nothing in common. The tablets that bear them belong to the N4 library. *BAM 212* and *LKA 143* written by the exorcists are incantations. The tablet of prescriptions, *BAM 296*, was written by the high priest.

Thus, though exorcists are well known as cultic personnel in the NA period, none of them is attested bearing the title *šangû*.

²⁹⁾ Abbreviations are in accordance to *RIA*; those that are missing in *RIA* appear in the list of bibliography.

1) WAERZEGGERS 2011: 60.

2) See *RIA* 10 617, WAERZEGGERS 2008, and JURSA 2013: 151-154 for the difficulties in defining the priest in Mesopotamia. For the ambiguity of reading ^{lū}ŠID as ^{lū}SANGA, “priest” or ^{lū}UMBISAG, “scribe,” depending on context, see *LAS II* 319-320. This ambiguity suggests that at some point both functions could be identical.

3) *E.g.*, LAMBERT 1998: 147-148.

4) ROBSON 2008.

5) *E.g.*, WAERZEGGERS 2008: 1, n. 1; GELLER 2010 *passim*.

6) JURSA 2013: 152. Note also that the evidence for the prebend of *tābilu*, the butcher, who performed animal sacrifices within the temple precinct—central priestly function in any cult—, is much scarcer than that for the brewer and baker, who delivered their production from outside the temple (WUNSCH 2014: 766).

7) *AHw* 1163a s.v. *šangû*; LABAT 1988: 143, no. 314 s.v. SANGA and 149, no. 324 s.v. É.BAR; BORGER 1978: 129, no. 314 s.v. *sanga* and 132, no. 324 s.v. É/KID-MAŠ; BORGER 2010: 340, no. 385 s.v. *sanga* and 344, no. 495 s.v. É-MAŠ. However, *CAD Š I* 377a translates *šangû* as “chief temple administrator.”

8) *E.g.*, *RIA* 622, 632-633.

9) GELLER 2010: 50-51 with n. 59, 75 and 77.

10) *E.g.*, Sun-God tablet.

11) LÖHNERT 2007.

12) BBst 36 iii 26-29, iv 40-41, vi 11-12, PAULUS 2014: 650-665.

13) *RIA* 10 520, WAERZEGGERS 2011: 70.

14) BBst 36 130-131, ii 8-10, ii 15-16, iv 51-52.

15) See AMD II: 82 and KAL II: 37 for the possible interpretations of this line.

16) I am grateful to S.M. Maul, J.C. Fincke, and C. Wunsch for their help in collating this colophon. The uncollated version of the reconstruction of this colophon was presented by the current author at RAI 60 in Warsaw at Workshop V “Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)” and subsequently displayed at <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/babmed/Corpora/BAM->

2/BAM-2_-148/index.html without my permit and despite my objections.

17) For the reconstruction ^mRēmūt here, see MAY forthcoming.

18) This most plausible and elegant solution was suggested to me by S.M. Maul, though it should be noticed that 'BA' is also possible here.

19) The alternative translation is "I have put my trust in you, (oh) Marduk! May I not be put to shame!" (cf. BORGER 1971: 66a, MAYER 2009: 424). I am grateful to W. Mayer for driving my attention to the possibility of such interpretation. The normalisation of NIR.GÁL.ZU-ka as *atkilka*, was suggested by R. Borger based on the syllabic writing *at-kal-ku a-a-ba-aš* in the inscriptions on two MB seals. Both translations have some difficulties. On one hand, the possessive suffix ZU is not attested for 2.p.sg dative anywhere in the pseudo-Sumerian of NA scribes, who hardly could be familiar with the MB seal inscriptions. On the other hand, *takilka* is not a participle because intransitive *takālu* cannot attach possessive/objective accusativ suffix (GAG § 148a; MAYER 2009: 424). Thus, *takil-* should be interpreted as a verbal adjective. All the attestations for the verbal adjective *taklu* but one have passive meaning "trusted" (s.v. *taklu* in CAD T 81-82 and AHw 1307-1308). The only case when *taklu* is a verbal adjective (*contra CAD T 64 s.v. takālu* 1) with an active meaning "trusting" is (ša) *tak-lu-ka* in *Enūma eliš* iv 17 (cf. CAD, loc. cit. "who trusts in you" and "wer auf dich vertraut" [W.G. Lambert in TUAT III/4: 583]). *Enūma eliš* was the important part of the scribal school curriculum (GESCHE 2001: 173-174, 177-178) and, unlike the inscriptions on the MB seals, was well known to the first millennium scribes, who used NIR.GÁL.ZU-ka in their colophons. Apparently the expression NIR.GÁL.ZU-ka BA.RA.TÉŠ is the sample of a cryptic and "highly artificial and abstruse style" (JACOBSEN 1991, especially 291). NA scholars did not intend this phrase to be perceived according to the standard grammar and common semantic range of the words, which causes troubles for our modern understanding of it.

20) Collated from photographs. I am most grateful to E. Jiménes for photographing this extremely difficult colophon for me.

21) For the reconstruction of the family tree of Gula-zēru-ibni, see MAY forthcoming.

22) But note that in the first millennium Babylonia exorcists are attested as prebendaries (CORÒ 2005 and JURSA 1999: 19, 22, 44, 86, 177).

23) Contra MENZEL 1981: 194-195 and PNA 814, s.v. Nabû-bēlšunu 1a. See also PEDERSÉN 1986: 45, ns. 22-23 on this matter.

24) GELLER 2014: 10.

25) *Ibid.*: 12.

26) FADHIL 2012: 38.

27) PNA 191 s.v. Aššūr-kēnu or 838 s.v. Nabû-kabti-ahhēšu 6.cd

28) See also FADHIL 2012: 37, n. 2 and 38.

29) For ^{lū}ŠANGA GAL in the NA period being exclusively the title of priests of Aššur, see MENZEL 1981: 194.

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55) On Geometry and Assyrian Decorative Designs — In 1922 Gadd published a large clay fragment of an Old Babylonian tablet (BM15285) inscribed with fifteen diagrams, each accompanied with a geometrical problem. These line drawings appear on the obverse and reverse sides of the tablet (fig. 1). Gadd thought that the intent of the tablet was to facilitate the surveying or parcelling out of land. In his 1957 publication Caratini returned to the study of the BM15285 tablet with an emphasis on the construction of figures formed by the combination of a circle and a square. His main discussion dealt with the curved segments ("lunule") formed by an arc of a circle and the line of a square. Another large fragment of the BM15285 tablet was later identified in the British Museum. In 1960 Saggs published photographs of the obverse and reverse sides of both fragments and gave translations of the accompanying texts. He deduced that the tablet was concerned with theoretical geometry and he discounted the notion that the tablet may deal with the construction of art motifs (SAGGS 1960: 145).

Turning to the visual arts of the later Neo-Assyrian period, I have observed that the underlying structure of an individual decorative design carved on objects such as clay wall plaques and stone threshold slabs, as well as on painted wall surfaces, can to some extent be paralleled with a geometrical diagram shown on BM15285. A comparative overview indicates that two essential geometric shapes making up the diagrams on the Babylonian tablet – circle and square – were likewise utilized for the creation of Assyrian designs which generally include floral elements. The tendency to adapt the circle and square in the designing phase seems to have prevailed throughout the Neo-Assyrian period. As shown with several diagrams on BM15285, the circle and square were sometimes combined to form the basis of a more intricate Assyrian design. It should be mentioned that while the triangle had little importance in Assyrian decorative arts, the hexagon was utilized in wall painting (LOUD 1936: pl. 1). An interesting geometrical shape that is drawn within a few of the diagrams on BM15285 is described as a "regular concave-sided tetragon" (SAGGS 1960: 140) (see fig. 1). This shape is a variant of the square and it was adapted for one group of wall plaques produced during the Neo-Assyrian period.

The observations outlined above indicate that Assyrian decorative designs and patterns were founded mainly on geometric shapes. Concerning the above-mentioned artworks which were originally set up in the Assyrian royal residences, the surviving material suggests that for the Assyrian artist there was less interest in experimenting with inventive motifs and more on creating a design that was limited in scope but nonetheless skillfully worked and visually attractive. In addition to a reliance upon geometric shapes another notable feature in Neo-Assyrian decorative arts is regular repetition. Examples are a rosette-in-square motif repeated in rows to form a grid pattern (fig. 2 top), and a quatrefoil motif derived from rotational symmetry (fig. 2 center). An intricate pattern covering the main surface of several threshold slabs is composed of the repeat of a six-petaled motif resembling a star. The star is made from the intersection of six circles at the central point of a seventh circle (fig. 2 bottom). This version may be compared with the four-petaled star of earlier date made from five circles that is inscribed on tablet BM 15285 (SAGGS 1960: fig. 2; 1962: pl. 24).

In sum the initial phase of a design creation in the decorative arts of the Neo-Assyrian period involved the mathematical application of plane geometry and linear symmetry. This procedure explains

the strict formal layout of the respective Assyrian artworks. However the addition of floral and other supplementary details such as band patterns led to the singular appearance of the respective designs. Final comments include the questions of why the main outline of a decorative design was limited to a mathematical scheme, and to what extent did court personnel and other factors influence the creation of a particular version. With regard to these questions, I may note that the circle was used for emblems of deities, such as appear on royal stelae (cf. BARNETT & LORENZINI 1975: pl. 2), and that the Assyrian king could make final decisions regarding art objects (COLE & MACHINIST 1998: no. 34). That is, are there religious and/or political implications pertaining to the decorative arts of the Neo-Assyrian period? These questions deserve further discussion, as has been done for later historical periods (cf. BIER 2008).

Illustrations of Assyrian decorative designs mentioned above and their respective geometrical diagram is given in figure 2. The intent here is to simply demonstrate that geometric shapes and symmetry were significant considerations in the production of Assyrian art decoration.

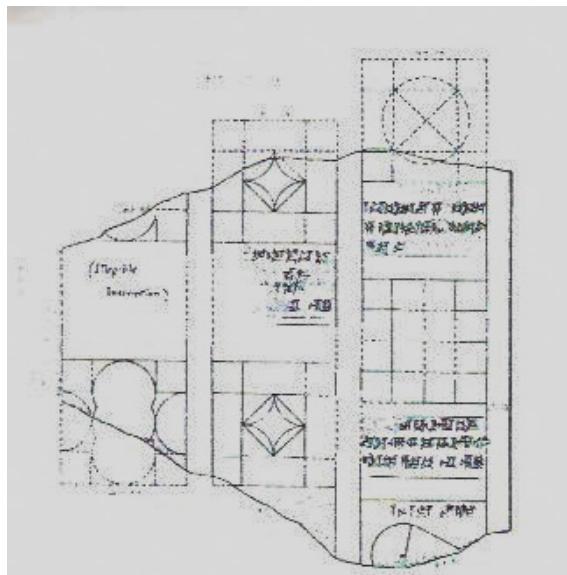


FIG. 1 Line drawing of reverse side of fragmentary tablet BM12585. After GADD 1922: 157.

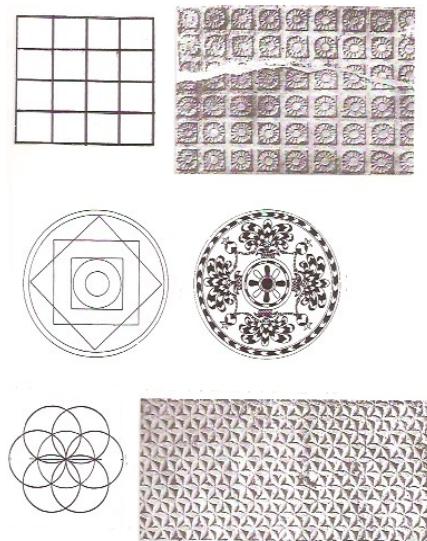


FIG. 2 Top. Left: diagram of grid pattern of squares. Right: detail of threshold slab from Khorsabad. Period of Sargon II (721-705 BCE). After ALBENDA 1978: pl. 4.
Center. Left: diagram of combined circles and squares within a circle. Right: drawing of a decorated wall plaque reconstructed from fragments. Period of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE). After ALBENDA 1991: fig. 3.

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56) New reading for a Šumma izbu protasis from CUSAS 18, No. 12 §15^{*} — The text and translation of this passage as found in Andrew George's edition reads as follows:

25 DIŠ iš-bu-um iš-tu li-bi um-mi-šu ir-ru'-šu i-na mu-uh-bi qa₂-qa₂-di-šu ka-am-ru-u₂-ma
 26 u₃ na-ap-ta-šu pe-ti-a-at-ma ir-ru-šu in-na-ta-lu ka-li i-mi-ti <pe-ti>-a-at-ma
 27 da-la-at ši-ri-im ša-ak-na-^lat^l-ma i-ne₂-di-il i-pe-et-te a-lum šu-<u₂> iš-sa-ba-at in-na-qa₂-ar is-sa₃-pa-
 aby

'(If) a miscarried foetus straight from its mother's womb, its bowels are piled on top of its head and in addition there is an opening in it so its bowels are visible, (and) the whole of the right hand side is open(?) but there is a flap of flesh there (that) closes and opens: that town will be captured, razed to the ground and (its population) scattered'

There are some difficulties with the interpretation of *na-ap-ta-šu pe-ti-a-at-ma*, lit. "its opening is open" (l. 26). First, *naptū* in this line fails to agree in gender with the verb *petiat* (3 sg. fem.). Second, the vowel *a* before the pronominal suffix (*na-ap-ta-šu*) is unexpected (one would expect **naptūšu*). The parallel passages with *petū* in teratological omens normally require a specific part of the body "to be opened": *šumma izbum ina irtišu peti-ma* 'If a miscarried foetus is open in its chest' (YOS 10, 56 ii 1ff., parallel in CUSAS 18, XII §52), *šumma izbum ullānum-ma libbašu peti-ma* 'If a miscarried foetus, from the beginning its abdomen is open' (YOS 10, 56 i 1ff.), *šumma izbu eṣenṣeršu peti-ma* 'If a miscarried foetus, its spine is open' (TCS IV, VII 97). Accordingly, a concrete body part is likely to be present in the passage in question as well. Hence I propose to emend *na-ap-ta-šu* to *na-<ka>-ap-ta-šu* (*nakkaptašu*) "its temple (is opened)". Omission of signs is not uncommon in this text, cf. especially <pe-ti>-a-at-ma in the very same line.

The new reading resolves both grammatical problems described above. Moreover, it is supported by a canonical Šumma izbu manuscript from Uruk (SBTU 4, 142): *šumma izbu nakkaptašu petât : apât ... 'Se la tempia di un izbu è aperta : è corpeta / è velata ... [...]' (DE ZORZI 2014, 7:173)*.

The subsequent part of this omen also requires attention. The tablet reads *ka-li i-mi-ti <pe-ti>-a-at-ma*, in George's translation 'the whole of the right hand side is open(?)'. One would expect a feminine noun to be the subject of the verb <*pet*>*iat*, but *imittu*, being the dependent noun in a construct chain, is clearly unsuitable for such a role. Now, Tablet XVI of the canonical Šumma izbu series suggests an alternative and perhaps a more convincing interpretation for *ka-li i-mi-ti <pe-ti>-a-at-ma*.

In DE ZORZI 2014, 16:78' we find a text that bears a striking resemblance to the passage in question: *šumma izbu kalīt imittīšu petât-ma irrūšu innaṭṭalū* 'Se il rene destro di un izbu è aperto e i suoi intestini sono visibili'. This text invites another emendation in the OB passage under scrutiny, viz. *ka-li-<it> i-mi-ti-<šu pe-ti>-a-at-ma* 'its right kidney is open'.

A further argument supporting the new reading comes from the “flap of flesh” (*da-la-at ši-ri-im*) occurring in l. 27 of our text. This nominal phrase occurs twice in Old Babylonian teratological omens and once in the Standard Babylonian *Šumma izbu*. The other Old Babylonian omen locates the “flap of flesh” on the animal’s chest: *šumma izbum ina irtišu peti-ma u daltum ša šrim šaknat-ma ippette u innedil* ‘If a miscarried foetus, its chest is open and a flap of flesh there opens and closes’ (YOS 10, 56 ii 1ff., with a parallel in CUSAS 18, XII §52), whereas in the Standard Babylonian *Šumma izbu* it is attested within the section of omens describing kidneys of the malformed animal: [*šumma izbu kalit imittišu petât-ma elišu daltu ša štri šaknat-ma*] ‘[Se il rene sinistro di un izbu è aperto e sopra?] si trova una porta di carne’ (DE ZORZI 2014, 16:80’). This provides a remarkable link between kidney and the “flap of flesh”.

Let us finally discuss whether the means of expression ‘its right / left X’ (where X is a body part) in Akkadian have a clear distribution through periods and genres. For practical reasons I restrict myself to the Old Babylonian teratological corpus. Here is the complete list of Old Babylonian *Šumma izbu* examples:

- ina imittišu ša imitti* ‘on its right shoulder’ (YOS 10, 56 iii 31)
- imittašu ša imitti* ‘its right shoulder’ (CUSAS 18, XII §49 = YOS 10, 56 i 10)
- imittašu šelūšu pēmšu ša šumēlim* ‘its left shoulder, rib cage (and) haunch’ (CUSAS 18, XII §51)
- ina isīšu ša imitti* ‘on its right jaw’ (CUSAS 18, XII §9 = ibid. §10)
- [*ina is]išu ša šumēlim* ‘[on] its left [jaw]’ (CUSAS 18, XII §61)
- [*išt]u pani naglabišu ša imittim* ‘from the face of its right shoulder-blade’ (CUSAS 18, XII §50 = YOS 10, 56 ii 14)
- supuršu mahritum ša imittim* ‘its right-hand front hoof’ (CUSAS 18, XII §18)
- supuršu {ša} mahritum ša šumēlim* ‘its left-hand front hoof’ (CUSAS 18, XII §19)
- supuršu warkitum ša imittim* ‘its right-hand rear hoof’ (CUSAS 18, XII §20),
- supuršu warkitum ša šumēlim* ‘its left-hand rear hoof’ (CUSAS 18, XII §21).

One may conclude that within the Old Babylonian teratological corpus the meaning ‘its right / left X’ is always expressed as ‘X-šu ša imittim / šumēlim’, and never as ‘X imittišu / šumēlišu’, which often occurs in the Standard Babylonian *Šumma izbu*. In view of this, a more precise emendation can be ventured: *ka-li-<su₂> ša> i-mi-ti <pe-ti>-a-at-ma*.

All in all, George’s text and translation cited at the beginning of this note can now be modified in the following way:

25 DIŠ iz-bu-um iš-tu li-bi um-mi-šu ir-ru!-šu i-na mu-uḫ-ji qa₂-qa₂-di-šu ka-am-ru-u₂-ma
 26 u₃ na-<ka>-ap-ta-šu pe-ti-a-at-ma ir-ru-šu in-na-ta-lu ka-li-<su₂> ša> i-mi-ti <pe-ti>-a-at-ma
 27 da-la-at ši-ri-im ša-ak-na-^{ta}l-ma i-ne₂-di-il i-pe-et-te a-lum šu-<u₂> iš-ša-ba-at in-na-qa₂-ar is-sa₃-pa-ah

(If) a miscarried foetus straight from its mothers’ womb, its bowels are piled on top of its head, its temple is open so its bowels are visible, (and) its right kidney is open and there is a flap of flesh there (that) closes and opens: that town will be captured, razed to the ground and (its population) scattered.

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57) A New Join to a Hittite Festival of Thunder: KBo 31.183 + KBo 34.185 + KBo 20.61 (CTH 631)

— While collecting attestations of sentence-initial *kuit* ‘as for’ in Old and early Middle Hittite compositions, I came across a passage of one of the Festivals of Thunder (KBo 20.61 + KBo 39.112 + KBo 39.286 + KBo 34.185 + KBo 41.77, CTH 631) that contained sentence-initial *kuit* in broken context (in i 6; see further below for an edition of lines i 1-18). Comparison with other Festivals of Thunder (KUB 34.120:4-7, ABoT 1.9 + KBo 17.74 i 9-11 and its duplicate KBo 20.12 i 9-11) allowed a partial reconstruction of the missing first halves of KBo 20.61 + KBo 34.185 i 9-12:

6	ku-i-ta LÚ.MEŠ GIŠ ⁴ INANNA.HI.A Ù LÚ.MEŠ ALAN.ZU ₉
7	'LÚ.MEŠ' ¹ hal-li-ja-ri ¹ -eš an-dur-za A-ŠAR-ŠU-NU -pát
8	[¹ A-N'[A] LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL
9	[gi-nu-ua-aš GADA.HI.A da-a]n-zi na-at-ša-an
10	[šu-up-pí-ua-aš-ḥa-na-al-li-]ja ti-an-zi
11	[pa-ta-a-an-na ^{GIŠ} GIR.GUB -] ¹ a ¹ da-an-zi na-at da-ga-an
12	[ti-an-zi]x DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL- ja
13	[A-ŠAR-ŠU-NU] ¹ ap ¹ -pa-an-zi

These lines contain a few highly specific expressions that only occur together in the Festivals of Thunder (CTH 631), namely *ginuwaš* GADA.HI.A ‘knee cloths (of the king and queen)’, which are placed on the *šuppiwašyanalli-* (a type of cultic table or container), and *patān/GIR.HI.A-n(a)* ^{GIŠ}GIR.GUB ‘foot stool’, which is placed *tagan* ‘on the ground’ (preserved in line i 11). A search through the files of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary Project led to the fragment KBo 31.183 (256/e), which contains the three missing key expressions in the exact location as reconstructed above. KBo 31.183:1’ joins KBo 34.185 i 7 directly: the lower half of LÚ.MEŠ, which is preserved in KBo 31.183:1’, attaches to KBo 34.185 i 7 where the top half of LÚ.MEŠ is preserved. The line halves of KBo 31.183 join indirectly to the left of the line halves of KBo 20.61 (see the Joinskizze *sub* 93/m = KBo 20.61 in S. Košak, *hethiter.net/*: *hetkonk* (v. 1.96), drawn after I reported the join to the Hethitologie Portal Mainz).

The reconstruction of the text in the remaining small gaps of lines i 8-10 is rather straightforward, but as of line i 11 the reconstruction becomes more difficult. This particular festival is the only version of the Festivals of Thunder that deals with the occurrence of thunder while the king and queen are presiding over the great assembly (*šalli ašešsar*). The exact sequence of events following the removal of the napkins and footstools is not found in other texts.

Transliteration, translation and brief philological commentary of KBo 20.61 + KBo 31.183 + KBo 34.185 i 1-18:

1	ma-a-an šal-la-i a-še-eš-ni [LU]GAL MUNUS.LUGAL a-ša-an-zi
2	EGIR-an-na ⁴ IM-aš ti-it-ḥa nu DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL
3	DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ LUGAL LÚ.MEŠ DUGUD-TIM LÚ.MEŠ Ú-BA-RÙ-TIM
4	PA-NI LUGAL ku-i-e-eš a-ša-an-zi nu-uš ar-nu-an-zi
5	nu-uš-kán LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ} GIDRU pa-ra-a pé-ḥu-da-an-zi
6	ku-i-ta LÚ.MEŠ GIŠ ⁴ INANNA.HI.A Ù LÚ.MEŠ ALAN.ZU ₉
7	LÚ.MEŠ ¹ hal-li-ja-ri ¹ -eš an-dur-za A-ŠAR-ŠU-NU -pát
8	ḥar-kán-z[i na-aš-ta] ¹ A-N'[A] LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL
9	gi-nu-ua-aš G[ADA.HI.A da-a]n-zi na-at-ša-an
10	[šu-up-pí-ua-aš-ḥa-n[a-al-li-]ja ti-an-zi
11	GIR.HI.A-na ^{GIŠ} GIR.GUB.MEŠ [sa-ra-?] ¹ a ¹ da-an-zi na-at da-ga-an
12	ti-an-zi DUMU.MEŠ É.GA[L o-o-]x DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL- ja
13	IT-TI LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-D[U-TIM A-ŠAR-ŠU-NU] ¹ ap ¹ -pa-an-zi

14	DUMU É.GAL pa-iz- ^r zi ¹	[] ×-x- ^r qa-an-na ¹ -×
15	GIŠ ŠUKUR da-a[-i]	na-aš ² IT-T]I DUMU.MEŠ É[GAL]
16	^r ti-i-e ¹ -ez-zi[na-aš-ta ²] LUGAL-us ² ḥal-ma-aš-šu]-it-ta-	a[z]
17	[kat-ta] ti-i-e[-ez-zi]	-]za pa-ra-a pa-iz[-zi]
18	[ ] × × [	^{LÚ} ki-ta-aš] ^r ḥal ¹ -za-a-i [Ø]

KBo 20.61 continues with i 19, while KBo 31.183 breaks off at i 18. The reverse of KBo 31.183 has not been preserved.

1 When the [k]ing and queen sit in the grand assembly,
2 and afterward the Stormgod thunders, the princes,
3 princesses, grandes, (and) distinguished visitors
4 who sit before the king are made to stand,
5 and the staff bearers lead them out (of the assembly hall).

6 As for the lyre players and performers
7 (and) the cantors, they just hold their positions
8 inside. The palace attendants [rem]ove
9 the napki[ns] (lit. knee-cloths) from the king and queen, and place
10 them on the *šuppiuašhan*[all]i-table.

11 They also pick [u]p² the footstools (from the throne dais) and place them
12 on the floor. The palace attendants [...] and [the chie]f² of the palace attendants
13 take [their positions] next to the royal bodyg[uard]s.

14 A palace attendant goes [and]

15 take[s] the spear. [..... He] steps [nex]t to the pal[ace]
16 attendants. [The king²] steps [down] from
17 the [throne] dais. [.....] goes forth from [.....].

18 [] ... []. The *kita*-man] calls.

i 4: *nu-uš ar-nu-an-zi*: ‘they make them stand’: the verb *arnu-* ‘relocate, transfer, make move’ is always understood as the causative of *arⁱ-* ‘arrive’ (e.g., HW² A 328, LURAGHI 2012:12), but since the act of ushering out the attendees occurs in the immediately following clause (*nuš-kan* LÚ.MEŠ GIŠ GIDRU *parā pehudanzi* ‘and the staff bearers lead them out’), *arnu-* in this context can only be the causative of *ar^{ta}-* ‘stand’ (also see BARSACCHI 2015:41, who translates ‘they make ... rise’; *pace* HW² A 330a). This finds further support in a passage from the Old Hittite Festival of Thunder KBo 20.12 i 5-6 (ed. NEU 1980:63), where the distinguished foreigners and everyone who sits before the king must rise and then remain standing. The latter concept is expressed by means of *ar^{ta}-* (*n^e aranda* ‘and they stand’): (5) LÚ.MEŠ UBARU L[Ú-a]š kuiš kuiš LUGAL-uaš peran ešzi (6) *n^e šarā ti[ē]nz*i* nu āppa tienzi n^e aranda* ‘The distinguished visitors, (and) whatever m[an] sits before the king, they stand up, step back, and remain standing’.

i 7: read *an-dur-za* instead of *nu-za*, *pace* HW² E 52a.

i 6-8: in Old and early Middle Hittite non-pronominal *kuit* in initial position introduces contrastive left-dislocated constituents (GOEDEGEBUURE 2017), which in this case consists of LÚ.MEŠ GIŠ ^dINANNA.HI.A ^ÙLÚ.MEŠ ALAN.ZU, LÚ.MEŠ *ḥalliareš* ‘the lyre players and performers (and) the cantors’. The left-dislocated constituent may or may not be resumed by a pronoun in the following main clause, depending on its syntactic function there. In this instance the cult personnel functions as the subject of the main clause *andurza AŠAR=ŠUNU-pat ḥarkanzi* ‘they just hold their positions indoors’, and thus resumption by means of the subject clitic pronoun *-a* is prohibited (HOFFNER & MELCHERT 2008:280).

i 11: restoration of *šarā* ‘up’: although in ABoT 1.9 + KBo 17.74 i 10, its duplicate KBo 20.12 i 10, and in KBo 20.8 i 19’ the verb *dā-* does not occur with *šarā*, there are hardly better options for the restoration of a word ending in plene *-a*.

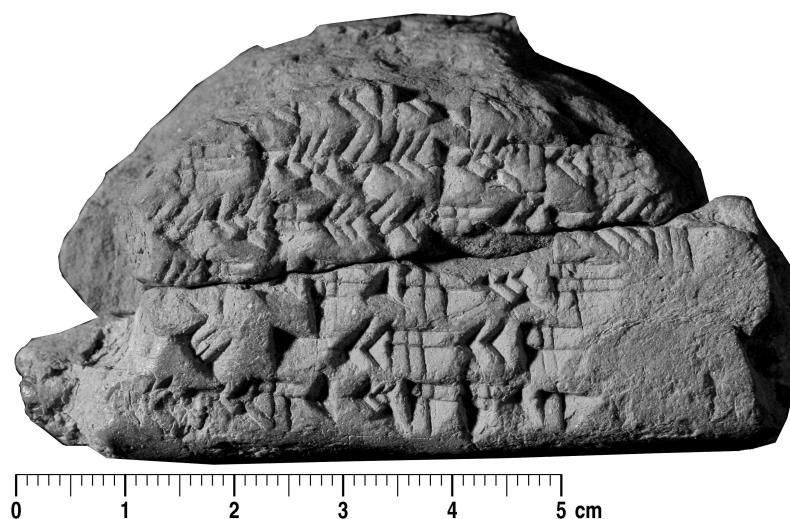
i 12: The two mentions of DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL, with the second one followed by *-ia* ‘and’ requires that the second DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL is a genitive to a head noun in the break. The restoration of GAL ‘chief’ is very uncertain, but it does match the minuscule sign remnant.

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58) A new join to the Late Babylonian factorisation table BM 34958+*) — The small fragment BM 42792 (81-7-1, 556) from the Babylon collection of the British Museum joins BM 34958 (+) 42744+45977+46008, a Late Babylonian factorisation table (Ossendrijver 2014, Text B). In a factorisation table a sexagesimal number is successively divided by its constitutive factors, until 1 is reached. BM 42744+45977+46008 (obv. 1'-14') partly preserve 14 numbers corresponding to $9^{11} \times 12^{39}$ until $9^{11} \times 12^{26}$ (the former is a 30-digit number). BM 42792 joins BM 34958; together they partly preserve the numbers corresponding to $9^{11} \times 12^{24}$ until $9^{11} \times 12^{19}$ (obv. 16'-21'). They do not physically join the other fragments, but only a small amount of clay corresponding to one line of text (obv. 15') remains missing between them.



Photograph of BM 34958+42792 (obverse).

Transliteration and reconstruction of BM 34958+42792 (obverse)

Obverse

16'	[6.49.23.46.7.53.17.51.21.43.38.28.7.36.23].[54.22.41].[39.50.24]	(= $9^{11} \times 12^{24}$)
17'	[34.6.58.50.39.26.29.16.48.38.12.20.3]8.1.59.31.53.28.[1][9.12]	(= $9^{11} \times 12^{23}$)

18'	[2.50.34.54.13.17.12.26.24.3.11.1.43.10.0]9.57.39.2[7.21.36]	$(= 9^{11} \times 12^{22})$
19'	[14.12.54.31.6.26.2.12.0.15.55.8.35.50.49].48.17.16.48	$(= 9^{11} \times 12^{21})$
20'	[1.11.4.32.35.32.10.11.0.1.19.35.42.59.1]4[9.1.26.24]	$(= 9^{11} \times 12^{20})$
21'	[5.55.22.42.57.40.50.55.0.6.37.58].!34[56.10.45.7.12]	$(= 9^{11} \times 12^{19})$

21': Only traces of the digit 34 are visible. They are also compatible with 58 (thus read in Friberg & Al-Rawi 2016, 78-81).

All numbers in a factorisation table are regular, i.e. they can be written as products of powers of 2, 3 and 5. This strongly constrains the possible reconstructions of the missing digits of a number. Among all regular sexagesimal numbers with up to 30 digits – there are exactly 25059 such numbers – the sequence 8.1.59.31.28 (obv. 17') occurs only in the number shown above. The same is true for the sequence 9.57.39.27 in obv. 18'. The new join therefore confirms the reconstruction presented in Ossendrijver (2014), Text B.

However, it must be pointed out that BM 34958 alone does not allow a unique restoration of its missing digits. Indeed, an alternative reconstruction of BM 34958 was recently proposed by Friberg & Al-Rawi (2016: 78-81, 86). While a sequence of three or four initial or internal digits is usually sufficient for a unique match among all regular numbers with up to 30 digits, the number of digits required for a unique match increases to about six if the preserved digits belong to the end of a number, a complication that was overlooked in Ossendrijver (2014). The ending 48.17.16.48 (obv. 19') occurs in sixteen regular numbers with up to 30 digits, the ending 4.9.1.26.24 (obv. 20') in four such numbers and, if the ambiguous 34 is ignored, then the remaining ending 56.10.45.7.12 (obv. 21') occurs in three such numbers. This results in three possible reconstructions of the numbers in obv. 19'-21' with the property that they correspond to decreasing powers of small regular numbers, as expected for a factorisation table. Apart from the reconstruction presented above, the one proposed by Friberg & Al-Rawi (2016:78-81) is equally possible:

19'	[1.11.10.4.46.43.41.7.43.9.26.49].48.17.16.48	$(= 2^{53} \times 12^{10})$
20'	[5.55.50.23.53.38.25.38.35.47.1]4.9.1.26.24	$(= 2^{53} \times 12^9)$
21'	[29.39.11.59.28.12.8.12.58].56.10.45.7.12	$(= 2^{53} \times 12^8)$

Finally, the following reconstruction is also compatible with the preserved digits:

19'	[3.28.25.53.5.39.7.29.51.52.42.7.10.32.48.35.40.20.57.16.53.53.43.2.49].48.17.16.48
20'	[17.22.9.25.28.15.37.29.19.23.30.35.52.44.2.58.21.44.46.24.29.28.35.1]4.9.1.26.24
21'	[1.26.50.47.7.21.18.7.26.36.57.32.59.23.40.14.51.48.43.52.2.27.22].56.10.45.7.12

In this reconstruction the numbers correspond to $2^{117} \times 12^{14}$ (19'), $2^{117} \times 12^{13}$ (20'), and $2^{117} \times 12^{12}$ (21'), respectively. It is only due to the new join that these alternative reconstructions of BM 34958 are now definitely ruled out.

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