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NOTES BRÈVES

22) Eine Familie von Königskaufleuten judäischer Herkunft¹ – In den eng zusammengehörenden Heiratsurkunden BM 65149 und BM 68921 (Roth, *AOAT* 222, Nr. 26, Jursa, *NABU* 2001/102 und *TUAT* NF 1, 190f. Nr. 1, Zadok, *The Earliest Diaspora* [Tel Aviv 2002], 29 und 58f.), erscheinen als Parteien u.a. ein Bēl-uballit/A-mu-še-e (ungefähr /hawše'/, 'Hosea') und seine Schwester Kaššāja; der Name eines weiteren Bruders ist nicht bekannt.² Ein weiterer Zeuge ist Ahi-Jama (ca. /ahī-jaw/), Sohn des A-ri-iħ (/ariħ), ein königlicher Kaufmann (*tamkār šarri*). Die Tafeln sind in das fünfte Jahr von Kyros zu datieren. Es gibt nun zusätzliche relevante prosopographische Evidenz. Ein Bruder des Ahi-Jama names Basia, ebenfalls königlicher Kaufmann, erscheint in BM 75434, 18.2.10 Nbn, als Schuldner eines Zehntpächters des Ebabar.³ Ein anderer Bruder, Marduka, findet sich in dem Ebabar-Text BM 68420 (3.11 Nbn; Umschrift C. Waerzeggers für das START-Projekt), einer beschädigten Quittung (oder dergl.) über eine Hausmietzahlung. Man kann vermuten, daß er, und vielleicht die ganze Familie, Mieter eines der Häuser des Ebabar, vielleicht am Kai, wo der Tempel zahlreiche Häuser besaß, war. Wichtig ist BM 74411 (30.2.12 Nbn), worin u.a. der Kauf von 52 Schekel Gold von A-mu-še-e/A-ri-hi durch den Tempel verzeichnet wird. Dieser Amuše ist daher ein weiterer Bruder und sicher ebenfalls ein Kaufmann, vielleicht sogar ein Königskaufmann – Verkäufer von Gold sind in der Regel professionelle Händler (oder institutionelle Funktionäre, was hier freilich auszuschließen ist). Amuše ist außerdem sicher der Vater der Protagonisten von BM 65149 und BM 68921 (der Zeuge Ahi-Jama ist daher ihr Onkel). Diese zwei privaten Rechtsurkunden wurden in einem relativ engen Kreis von Verwandten und Berufskollegen (unter den Zeugen ist ein weiterer Königskaufmann) abgeschlossen. Hinsichtlich der Frage der Assimilation der Familie in das babylonische Umfeld ist bemerkenswert, daß nicht nur die zweite bezeugte Generation babylonische Namen hat, wie Zadok bemerkt hat (*The Earliest Diaspora*, 59), sondern daß unter den vier Namen der ersten bezeugten Generation ebenfalls bereits zwei ortsübliche Namen sind. Wenn nicht Namensänderungen oder Doppelnamen vorliegen, hieße das, daß die Familie spätestens mit Arih nach Babylonien gekommen sein muß. Dennoch hatte mindestens die erste 'Diasporageneration' ihre Verbindungen in den Westen aufrecht erhalten, wie sich aus ihrer Handelstätigkeit als Königskaufleute ergibt.⁴

1. Diese Miszelle wurde im Rahmen unseres vom Fonds für die Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Wien) finanzierten START-Projekts *The Economic History of Babylonian in the First Millennium B.C.* geschrieben.

2. Die beiden letzten Zeugen in BM 68921, Šamaš-iddin und Nabû-ittannu, deren Patronymika verloren sind, sind nicht nachweislich Söhne des Amuše (vgl. aber Zadok, *The Earliest Diaspora*, 29). Der Sohn des Amuše [der Name ist abgebrochen], der der letzte Zeuge in BM 65149 ist, erscheint wahrscheinlich als Protagonist in BM 68921: 3'. [Beachte, daß in *NABU* 2001/102 A das Ende von Zeile 3' von BM 68921 natürlich *a-n[a Igu-za-nu]* zu lesen ist.]

3. Schon bei Jursa, in R. Rollinger und Ch. Ulf (Hrsg.), *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World* (*Melammu Symposia* V, Wiesbaden 2004), 13193.

4. Man beachte auch *OIP* 122, 15. Dies ist ein Sklavenkaufvertrag, geschrieben in dem nicht identifizierten Ort Birānātu*, aus 17.11.24 Nbk. Der Käufer ist ein Išā-di-ku*, a*-šū* šā* I*a-ri-hi. Die Tafel lässt sich nirgendwo archivalisch anschließen (Details zu den Kollationen in meiner Rezension zu *OIP* 122 [*JAOS*]).

23) Le « gu₄.da.ri.a » dans MDP 10 : un autre élément de datation ?¹ – Dans le 4ème chapitre de *MDP* 54 (« Les autres textes Susiens de la période Ur III »), nous avions mentionné l'expression « gu₄.da.ri.a » à propos de la datation du texte *MDP* 10, 3 (cf. *MDP* 54, p. 93-94). A l'époque, la signification de cette expression ne nous était pas claire. Dans la note 113 de la page 93, nous avions rassemblé quelques propositions de traduction de « gu₄.da.ri.a » (selon Scheil « bœuf de croît », Salonen « bœuf de réserve », Dossin « bœuf de trait »), ainsi que les explications trouvées dans les dictionnaires souvent basées sur les listes lexicales.

Récemment, le professeur Marten Stol² nous a aimablement rappelé que dans son article sur le bétail paléo-babylonien (publié dans le 8ème volume du *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* aux pages 192-193), il avait traduit « gu₄.da.ri.a » comme « bœuf mené » (driven ox). Toujours selon lui, cette désignation est souvent attestée pendant la période Ur III, mais est rare pendant la période paléo-babylonienne.

Or, « gu₄.da.ri.a » apparaît aussi dans différents textes publiés dans *MDP* 10³, textes datant de la période d'Atta-ḥušu⁴. Dans le 54ème volume de *MDP*, nous avions proposé de dater Atta-ḥušu plus tôt que l'hypothèse que Steve, Vallat et Gasche ont proposée dans le *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (2002). Nous avions déjà indiqué (p. 103 sq.) qu'Ebarat II, fondateur du sukkalmaḥat à Suse, et Atta-ḥušu étaient sans doute contemporains – l'hypothèse de cette contemporanéité sera élaborée dans *MDP* 55 – ce qui daterait Atta-ḥušu vers 1880 av. notre ère. L'usage fréquent de l'expression « gu₄.da.ri.a », typiquement Ur III et juste après en Mésopotamie, dans les textes datant d'Atta-ḥušu, va tout à fait dans le même sens.

1. Les recherches s'inscrivent dans le cadre du programme *Pôles d'attraction interuniversitaires n° V/14 pour le compte de l'Etat belge, Services fédéraux des affaires scientifiques, techniques et culturelles*. Toutes les dates utilisées dans cet article suivent la nouvelle chronologie telle qu'elle a été établie dans Gasche, Armstrong, Cole, et Gurzadyan 1998.

2. Nous tenons à remercier M. Stol vivement pour cette remarque.

3. *MDP* 10, nos 3, 10, 18, 41, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, 79, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88, 89, 90 et 96.

4. Cf. *MDP* 54, pp. 91-113.

Bibliographie

Gasche, H., Armstrong, J.A., Cole, S.W. et Gurzadyan, V.G., 1998 : *Dating the Fall of Babylonia. A Reappraisal of Second-Millennium Chronology (= MHEM 4)*, Gand et Chicago.

MDP 10 = Scheil, V., 1908 : *Textes élamites-sémitiques*, quatrième série, Paris.

MDP 54 = De Graef, K., 2005 : *Les archives d'Igibuni. Les documents Ur III du chantier B à Suse*, Gand.

Steve, M.-J., Vallat, F. et Gasche, H., 2002 : « Suse », *Supplément au dictionnaire de la bible*, fasc. 73, col. 359-512.

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24) Ili-kibrī « Mon dieu est ma grandeur » : un nom hybride accadien-amorite ?¹ – Dans le 3ème chapitre de *MDP* 54 (« L'onomastique »), nous avions repris l'hypothèse de Stamm en ce qui concerne l'analyse du nom propre Ili-kibrī : « nom accadien du type ND-kibrī à traduire “ND est ma rive” » (cf. Stamm 1939, p. 212). Récemment, le professeur Marten Stol² nous a aimablement signalé ses doutes concernant l'hypothèse de Stamm, et nous a suggéré l'idée d'une origine amorrite du mot *kibrī*.

Gelb 1980 donne dans son introduction (« glossary ») en effet un mot *kibrum* dérivé de la racine KBR « to be great » (cf. Gelb 1980 p. 22-23). Il ne donne pas de traduction, ni la catégorie nominale à laquelle *kibrum* appartient. Dans la première partie (1. Stems), Gelb (p. 137) donne huit noms propres sub KIBR³ : *ki-bi-ir-é-a*, *ki-bi-ir-dab-ba*, *ki-ib-ra-ab-ba*, *ki-ib-ra-ba*, *ki-bi-ir-dEN.ZU*, *ki-ib-ri-iš₄-tār*, *ki-ib-ri-d̄a-gan* et *d̄a-gan-ki-ib-ri*. M. Stol nous a signalé encore deux autres noms propres qui peuvent compléter les attestations données par Gelb : *d̄utu-ki-ib-ri* (*OBTI* 63 : 15) et *i-lí-ki-ib-ri* (Harris 1955, p. 95 n°76 : 19). Par analogie avec l'accadien, nous pouvons supposer que *kibir* est l'état construit du substantif *kibrum* et *kibrī* l'état construit pourvu d'un suffixe possessif 1^{ère} pers. sg. Il nous semble donc évident de traduire les noms propres du type *kibir-ND* par « la grandeur de ND » et ceux du type *kibrī-ND* resp. *ND-kibrī* par « ma grandeur est ND » resp. « ND est ma grandeur ».

Les noms propres *ki-ib-ra-ab-ba* et *ki-ib-ra-ba* sont intéressants. Ils figurent tous les deux dans une lettre paléo-babylonienne, *AbB* 2, 144 : ll. 14b-22a : *i-na kù-babbar ša ú-ša-bi-la-ak-ku-ú* *iki-ib-ra-ab-ba* *santana-ka li-iš-ba-at-ma i da-am-qa-am* *ša* 10 *gín kù-babbar i-šu-úr-man* *ša* 3 *gín kù-babbar i-a-su ú* 5 *gín i-giš-eren* *ša-ma-am-ma li-qí-a* (De l'argent que je vous ai envoyé, *Ki-ib-ra-ab-ba*, votre chef cultivateur de dattes, prendra ; achète et prends pour moi de l'huile bonne : pour dix sicles d'argent de l'huile de cyprès, pour trois sicles d'argent de l'huile de myrte et pour cinq sicles de l'huile de cèdre.) et ll. 28-29 : 0.0.1. *i GI [lu d̄]tišpak-ga-mil ú lu-ú ki-ib-ra-ba li-še-bi-lul-ku* (... qu'ou bien Tišpak-gāmil ou bien *ki-ib-ra-ba* vous apporte de l'huile GI.). Bien que le nom soit écrit de deux façons différentes, il va de soi qu'il s'agit deux fois de la même personne.

Comment analyser ce nom propre ? Nous suivons Gelb (1980, p. 137), qui analyse ce nom en une partie dérivée de la racine amorite KBR – *kibir-* ou *kibrī-* – suivie d'un élément théophore, notamment le dieu amorrite 'Abba (Gelb 1980, p. 13). Une autre possibilité serait de voir dans la deuxième partie le mot sumérien

ab-ba « père ». Quoi qu'il en soit, il nous semble qu'un mécanisme similaire que celui que nous avons décrit dans notre article « *In cauda divinum -(i)lum* dans quelques noms amorrites et accadiens » dans RA 93 (1999) se manifeste ici.

Kibrī-Abba (« Abba est ma grandeur ») ou Kibir-Abba (« la grandeur d'Abba ») est la façon correcte d'écrire dans la mesure où elle distingue ses éléments constitutifs (*kibrī*-ND ou *kibir*-ND). Dans les variantes *ki-ib-ra-ab-ba* et *ki-ib-ra-ba*, le scribe s'est basé probablement sur la prononciation du nom « Kibr' Abba », liant la première partie – prononcée de façon raccourcie *kibr* – avec l'élément théophore *'Abba* par la syllabe *-ra-*, accrochant ainsi le phonème final de la première partie au phonème initial de l'élément théophore. En outre, Abba est écrit de façon défective dans la variante *ki-ib-ra-ba*.

Pour retourner à notre point de départ, le nom propre Ili-kibrī (MDP 54, 22 : 2 [Ur III]), nous pouvons conclure que l'analyse de ce nom par Stamm doit être abandonnée. Une analyse plus probable est qu'il s'agit d'un nom hybride accadien-amorite du type ND-*kibrī*, avec comme élément théophore le mot accadien *ił* « mon dieu ». Il signifierait alors « Mon dieu est ma grandeur ».

1. Les recherches s'inscrivent dans le cadre du programme *Pôles d'attraction interuniversitaires n° V/14 pour le compte de l'Etat belge, Services fédéraux des affaires scientifiques, techniques et culturelles*.

2. Nous tenons à remercier M. Stol vivement pour cette remarque.

3. Dans la deuxième partie (2. Roots), Gelb (1980, p. 304) ajoute encore six noms dérivés de la racine KBR : *ja-ak-bu-ri-im*, *ki-ba-ar*, *ṭkil-bi-ri*, *gu-ba-ru-um*, *ku-ub-bu-rum* et *išā-tār-ka-bar*, ce qui fait un total de quatorze noms propres dérivés (partiellement) de la racine amorite KBR.

Bibliographie

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MDP 54 = De Graef, K., 2005 : *Les archives d'Igibuni. Les documents Ur III du chantier B à Suse*, Gand.

OBTI = Greengus, S., 1979 : *Old Babylonian Tablets from Ishchali and Vicinity* (= PIHANS 44), Istanbul.

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25) BE^{lī}, be-lī, ba_x-lī ? – In Ebla ist BE offensichtlich ein Akkadogramm für **ba'lum* (später *bēlum*) „Herr“.¹ Würde man in Mesopotamien durchweg BE als /be/ lesen, so wäre der Lautwandel a > e in Personennamen mit dem Wort *bēlum* nur in seiner Endstufe dokumentiert, während für šamā'um „ hören“ Schreibungen mit má und me dokumentiert sind. Doch aus diesem Dilemma gibt es nach mehreren Richtungen Auswege. Steinkeller, der selbst BE = *bēlum* für Ebla reklamiert hatte, zeigt auf, dass es seit der Fāra-Zeit Schreibungen von *bēlum* mit *be₆* (PI) gibt und der Lautwechsel also schon vollzogen sei.² Krebernik tritt hingegen für BE = *ba_x* ein.³

Da das sargonische Material sonst beide Enden des Lautwechsels zeigt, haben beide Interpretationen Schwierigkeiten. Deshalb und weil be (und ebenso *ba_x*) eine singuläre Schreibung wäre, kehrt Hasselbach wieder zu der Interpretation als Logogramm zurück.⁴

Unabhängig von der Lesung lässt sich aber zeigen, dass BE in sargonischen und präsargonischen Texten aus Mesopotamien schwerlich ein Logogramm sein kann.

In den Originalinschriften der akkadischen Könige kommt BE im Maništušu-Obelisk achtmal als BE-lu GÁNA „die Herren des Feldes“ und einmal als ŠEŠ BE-lu GÁNA „Die Brüder, die Herren des Feldes“ vor.⁵ Zwei weitere Belege für BE-lu „Herren“ kommen aus Kish.⁶ Ein Fall, dass BE alleine oder BE.BE den Plural bezeichnet, ist mir nicht bekannt. Ins Auge springt, dass im Maništušu-Obelisk „Herren des Feldes“ durchgängig BE-lu GÁNA, „Zeugen des Feld(verkaufs)“ aber AB + ÁŠ.AB + ÁŠ GÁNA geschrieben wird.⁷

Dass ein Logogramm mit phonetischem Kompliment geschrieben wird, ist in den akkadischen Inschriften äußerst selten. In den Personennamen kommt BE ebenfalls fast nur mit ausgeschriebener Endsilbe, meist BE-lī, vor und zwar sehr häufig.⁸

Ignorieren muss man bei der These, BE sei Logogramm, die altbabylonischen Abschriften von Inschriften des Rīmuš, die i-be-al „er beherrscht“ schreiben.⁹ Natürlich kann be hier eine altbabylonische Neuerung sein, beachte jedoch, dass sich diese Schreibung in mehreren Abschriften findet und dass das folgende al nicht aus dem Altbabylonischen zu begründen ist.

Der seit der Fāra-Zeit gelegentlich belegte Wechsel von Schreibungen mit BE mit solchen mit *be₆* (PI) führt ebenfalls zu einer singulären Verwendung eines Lautwertes und stellt damit eines von Hasselbachs Argumenten weiter in Frage.

Schließlich kann man noch die lange Reihe der „banana names“ vergleichen : Be-lu-lu,¹⁰ l̄-la-la, l̄-lu-lu, I(= [ji])-le-le, I-lu-lu, I-lu₅-lu₅, A-la-la, A-le-le, A-lí-lí, Al-lú-lú, E-le-le, E-lí-lí, E-lu-lu, É(= [ha/á])-le-le, É-lí-lí, É-lí-lí, Tu-le-le.¹¹ Wie auch immer diese Namen zu interpretieren sind, jedenfalls sind sie offensichtlich syllabisch geschrieben und damit wäre auch BE als Silbenzeichen zu interpretieren. Unklar ist ob l̄-lí-lí und Be-lí-lí/Be₆-lí-lí zu dieser Gruppe gehören, denn sie erlauben eine Interpretation als „il-ilí“ „mein Gott, ist Gott“

oder entsprechend mit bēlum „Herr“. Doch für Be-lu-lu könnte man höchstens Til-lu-lu als Alternative lesen, doch dies ist u. a. schon deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil diese Namen selten mit einem KVK-Zeichen beginnen.¹²

Eine sumerische Beschwörung aus Ebla hat in beiden Textzeugen die Zeile 𒄑ššinig ӯr-be ḫen-ki ḫniki „Die Tamariske, ihre Wurzeln (sind die) Enki(-) und Ninki(-Gottheiten)“.¹³ Hier steht BE für das meist -bē geschriebene Possessivsuffix der Sachklasse. Eine Lesung /be/ oder so ähnlich muss also bereits existiert haben.¹⁴

Mithin ist es sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass BE sargonisch und präsargonisch durchgehend als Logogramm gebraucht wurde. Man könnte aber annehmen, dass wie má in iš-má für /ma'/ BE in BE-lí ursprünglich für /ba'/ stand. Anders als má wurde BE aber nach Ausfall des 'ain und a > e nicht durch ein anderes Zeichen ersetzt, sondern machte die Veränderung mit und nahm den Lautwert /be/ an. Das entspräche dem Wechsel I = /ji/ zu I = /i/.

Noch etwas weiteres fällt auf: Alle Zeichen, die für besondere semitische Laute verwendet wurden, haben Lautwerte, die mehr oder weniger direkt von Sumerischen Lautwerten abgeleitet sind, die aber in keinem Fall altsumerisch als normale Silbenzeichen verwendet werden. Vgl. MÁ = /ma'/; É = /ha/ (oder /ħä/), /ha/; PI (be-, bi-) = /wi/, /wa/, /wu/; I = /ji/; U = /ju/.¹⁵ Die Lesung be ist ziemlich wahrscheinlich eine Kurzlesung zu BAD¹⁶ wie ti zu til etc. Auch be (wohl eher /bä/ als /be/) wurde nicht unter die sumerischen Silbenzeichen aufgenommen und war damit frei für einen etwas anderen Gebrauch.¹⁷

Mit unserer Vermutung werden die altbabyl. Kopien zu getreuen Abschriften der bestmöglichen Schreibung von /jiba“al/ als ji-ba‘-al und /ba‘al/ als ba‘-al,¹⁸ wozu auch der unter Maništušu in Assur belegte Göttername Ba‘-al-SI.SI zu stellen ist.¹⁹

1. Siehe Piotr Steinkeller, ZA 71 (1981) 18-28.

2. Piotr Steinkeller, On the Writing of bēlum in Sargonic and Earlier Sources, NABU 2004/1, 12-14.

3. Manfred Krebernik, ZA 74 (1984) 165; AFO 32 (1985) 53; ZA 81 (1991) 136.

4. Rebecca Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian, A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts*, Wiesbaden (2005) 39.

5. ELTS 40 A iv 5; A₂ viii 2; A₃ ix 5; B viii 9; C₁ vii 16; C₂ xii 4; C₃ xiii 8; D iv 7; ŠEŠ be-lu GÁN D vi 2.

6. MAD 5, 3, 3; 102, 14.

7. ELTS 40 A₃ xvi 17. Ebenso einfach „Zeugen“ C₃ xviii 12; xxiii 16.

8. Vgl. die Zusammenstellung bei Robert A. di Vito, *Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names*, Studia Pohl SM 16, Rom (1993) 130-59.

9. B. Kienast, *Glossar zu den altakkadischen Königinschriften*, FAOS 8, Stuttgart (1994) 191b.

10. Tutub 1 iii 10, iv 3.

11. Nach Walter Sommerfeld, *Die Texte der Akkade-Zeit, I. Das Dijala-Gebiet: Tutub, IMGULA 3/1*, Münster (1999) 26, ergänzt um Al-lú-lú, I-lu₅-lu₅, Tu-le-le, doch ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit. Die Häufung von Namen mit IV-IV fällt zwar auf, aber auch andere Konsonanten sind gut bezeugt, z. B.: A-da-da, A-ka-ka, E-mu-mu, En-na-na, La-ba-ba, Mu-tu-tu, Da-bí-bí etc. Zu den meisten dieser Namen existiert ein Name, der so aussieht, als sei er um die erste Silbe gekürzt, z. B. Lu-lu, Le-le, Da-da, Tu-tu, Ba-ba etc. Doch dies kann Zufall sein. In Fāra und im altsumerischen Lagaš finden sich kaum „banana names“, während sie im sargonischen Diyala Gebiet, in Kiš und Umm el-Jir häufiger sind. Auch unter den so gebildeten Namen von Göttern und mythischen Wesen wie Ababa, Zababa, Aruru, Huwawa/Humbaba, Kilili, Pazuzu finden sich keine eindeutig dem sumerischen Kulturreich zuzurechnende Gestalten. Daher sind die Namen wohl kaum Sumerisch und auch eine vorsumerische Substratsprache ist wegen der räumlichen Verteilung unwahrscheinlich. Auffallend ist ferner, dass auch Silbenzeichen wie É = /ha/ verwandt werden, die in dieser Funktion auf semitische Texte beschränkt sind. Daher kann es sein, dass ein Teil dieser Namen oder sogar alle auf semitische Namen zurückgeht. Etwa ilu-dān > ilulu etc.

12. Die Zeichen für BE, die Sommerfeld für Tutub kopiert hat, zeigen tatsächlich die Charakteristik von BE nicht TIL, allerdings nicht immer ganz klar, wobei man bei unserem Namen allerdings auf Sommerfelds Umschrift angewiesen ist. Für einen ähnlichen Namen vgl. Ba-lu-lu ELTS 41 iii 9 („Sippar Stone“, Akkad-Zeit).

13. TM 75 G 1519 i 3 = TM 75 G 1621 i 4 - ii 1. Siehe Manfred Krebernik, *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla, Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 2*, Hildesheim (1984) 102-03.

14. Zumindest im südlichen Altsumerisch steht bē für „bē“, womit ein sehr offenes „e“ in der Nähe von a gemeint ist. Dazu Verfasser, Die altsumerische Vokalharmonie und die Vokale des Sumerischen, JCS 57 (2005) 10.

15. Vgl. die Zusammenstellung bei Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian*, 34-35, wobei wir uns auf die sicheren Fälle beschränkt haben.

16. Vgl. ki-bé-da-ke₄ TCL 15, 8, 64ff. für ki-BAD-rá-ke₄ CT 15, 26, 1ff. außerdem PSD B 38b-39a (bad B lexical). Für den Wechsel von a und e vgl. Beispiele wie déb und dabs „packen“. Dazu Arno Poebel, *The Sumerian Prefix Forms e- and i-in the Time of the Earlier Princes of Lagaš*, AS 2, Chicago (1931) 5-6 und Verfasser, JCS 57, 10 (dort auch zu der inkorrekt Lesung dñb).

17. Dieser Gebrauch wurde mit dem Verlust der Pharyngale und dem gleichzeitig einsetzenden Lautwandel a > ä und schließlich ä > e obsolet. Vgl. Verfasser, Der Verlust der „Kehllaute“ im Akkadischen und der Lautwandel a > e, AoF 31, 5-14, spez. 12.

18. Na C3 : 56.

19. Man B 1, 7.

26) Two phonetic complements in Achaemenid Elamite Iranica – In 1989 the French scholar François Vallat published an article¹ in which he pointed out that some Elamite words and variant spellings used phonetic complements to clarify the character of a CVC-sign. Examples are ^dha-na-ma-kaš vs. ^dha-na-ma-kašiš, pa-ráš-da vs. pa-ri-ráš-da and pa-rášiš-da, ^mRa-tin-da vs. ^mRa-tinīn-da, etc.

In this note two other examples of phonetic complements in Achaemenid Elamite are presented. In both cases the use of phonetic complements is important for the etymological analysis of the expression.

1) Ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še

The word ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še is found in an unpublished Fortification text (PFNN 2264 : 5). The last sign ŠE, which at the end of a word is mostly a rendering of the Iranian enclitic -šai, “his,” suggests an Iranian origin of this term and indeed, an Iranian origin has already been acknowledged (*apabarga-šai, “his/its apabarga”)², but unfortunately it lacks any explanation. The etymology of this word still remains to be established.

In order to get to a better understanding of this word, it is useful to have a look at the context in which it occurs. Information on this was supplied by Hinz & Koch, according to whom the text is dealing with an *amma* (account) of 21390 units of barley (line 3). In line 4 1700 of these 21390 units are being dispensed (ma-ka-ka₄). Finally line 5 mentions 170 units and the word ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še. Accordingly this word is being used to designate one tenth of the dispensed barley.

A closer look at the text, however, gives other numbers than the ones given by Hinz & Koch³. Lines 1 and 2 mention 1029 and 1110 units of barley. Line 3 sums up the total of lines 1 and 2, being 2139 units of barley. In line 4 170 of these units are being dispensed and finally line 5 mentions a damaged number (x+7) followed by ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še. Accordingly the exact rate of the *abbabarka* is not known, but it could very well be one tenth of the dispensed barley.

A word, appearing in perfectly comparable contexts and thus possibly providing more information on the nature and etymology of *abbabarka*, is ab-ba-ka₄-na-še. Although the exact nature of this expression is not known either, Koch’s suggestion that it is a special kind of tax, which could be used for several purposes (among others for the royal court itself), is not invaluable. Its rate is 1/30 (cereals) or 1/10 (wine)⁴.

The *abbabarka* appears in the same contexts as the *abbakana* and can thus be considered a special tax too. Now that the context is known better one can look for the Old Iranian word, which is rendered by ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še. In my view the reconstruction *apabarga- of Hinz & Koch is not tenable. A more plausible reading is revealed, when one considers the sign BA to be a phonetic complement, yielding a reading ab-babar-ka₄-še. Such a reading can easily render an Old Iranian *apārga-, a compound of the prefix *apa-, “away”⁵ and *arga-, “value, worth”⁶. This etymology fits well the contextual (fiscal) meaning of the word.

2) AŠKu-rák-ka₄⁷ and AŠKu-ra-rák-ka₄⁸

These two spellings have always been considered as rendering two different places.⁹ The name Kurarakka has not yet been analyzed,¹⁰ while Kurakka renders Ir. *Kura-ka-, “family” (cf. OInd. *kúla-*). The equivalent personal name¹¹ is discussed by Gershevitch, Mayrhofer and Hinz¹².

In her study on the Fortification texts, Koch situates Kurakka in the Persepolis-district, while Kurarakka should be situated in the south-western district.¹³ Kurarakka was a larger place, where several officials were at work: *Āθrava-, *Bagafarnah-, *Rašnuka-, Šimut-ap, and *Vinduka.¹⁴

Unlike the relatively large amount of information on Kurarakka, the information on Kuraka is very scanty. This place is attested in only two texts (PF 514 and PFNN 2121) and the persons, connected with Kuraka, cannot with certainty be related to another place: Kelizza as well as *Parθara- do not occur elsewhere and *Bagadāta is a name that widely spread that one cannot connect it with only one individual. The only remaining personal name in PFNN 2121, *Arbamiθra-, might bring one a little bit further. This person is named in connection with some other place names such as AŠAn-tur-ma, AŠPír-mi-ia and AŠZí-ka₄-ra. Koch does not situate AŠAn-tur-ma, but she does situate AŠZí-ka₄-ra in the south-eastern district and AŠPír-mi-ia in the south-western district,¹⁵ the same district where one has to look for Kurarakka.

Conclusively we can assume that both texts, mentioning Kurakka, do not give any clue to a connection between Kurakka and the Persepolis district. Nevertheless PFNN 2121 might lead one towards a connection between Kurakka and the south-western district, although this is very uncertain. It is thus perfectly possible that both names, Kurakka and Kurarakka, refer to the same place. In this case one just has to read AŠKu-rárák-ka₄ with -ra- as a phonetic complement.

1. F. Vallat, “Les compléments phonétiques ou graphiques en élamite achéménide”, *AION* 49 (1989), 219-222.

2. W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch (AMI. Ergänzungsband 17)*, Berlin 1987, p. 19.

3. The numbers quoted are the ones from Hallock’s MS of the NN texts, collated on the tablet by M.W. Stolper.

4. H. Koch, “Steuern in der achämenidischen Persis”, *ZA* 70 (1980), 125-126.

5. OInd. *apa-* and Gr. ἀπό.

6. Cf. OInd. *árh-*, “to be worth”, Av. *arəg-*, “to be worth(y)” and NP *arzidan*.

7. Attested in PF 514 : 5 ; PFNN 2121 : 11-12.

8. Attested in PF 1969 : 18,22, 2084 : 14 ; PFNN 2372 : 34.

9. R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Texts (OIP 92)*, Chicago 1969, p. 715 ; W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches*

Wörterbuch, p. 519.

10. W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 519, avoid any reconstruction. H. Koch, *Verwaltung*, p. 114, mentions *Kuraraka-, but adds a question mark to it.
11. Spelled HAL Ku-rák-ka₄ (PF 791 : 1-2 ; PFNN 1207 : 2).
12. I. Gershevitch, "Amber at Persepolis", *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata*, vol. 2, Roma 1969, p. 201 ; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana : das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Tafelchen* (SÖAW 286), Wien 1973, 8.863 ; W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (GOF Ir. 3). Wiesbaden 1975, p. 154.
13. H. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden* (*Beihefte zur Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B : Geisteswissenschaften* 89), Wiesbaden, 1990, pp. 261 and 279.
14. H. Koch, *Verwaltung*, pp. 114 and 279.
15. H. Koch, *Verwaltung*, p. 72 n. 325, 90 n. 394, 274 and 287-288.

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27) LH §§7 and 123 – A contradiction? – A recent semi-popular biography of King Hammurabi contains a statement impugning the quality of the king's famous law code : ¹

"There are also some inconsistencies in the punishments that are listed. One law demands the death penalty when something is accepted for safekeeping without a proper document, because the recipient is a thief (§7). A related law in another section of the code gives a totally different verdict, however :

If a man gives goods for safekeeping without witnesses or a contract and they deny that he gave it, that case has no basis for a claim." (§123)

The claim of inconsistency has a long and distinguished history in modern Assyriology. It derives from the interpretation of a term in §7 that is perpetuated in a standard current translation of the Hammurabi code : ²

§7 Wenn ein Bürger Silber, Gold....oder was auch immer aus der Hand eines Bürgers oder eines Sklaven eines Bürgers ohne Zeugen und verträgliche Abmachungen kauft oder in Verwahrung nimmt, so gilt dieser Bürger als Dieb, er wird getötet.

The highlighted section of Borger's translation renders the Akkadian *i-na qá-at DUMU a-wi-lim ù lu ARAD a-wi-lim* (VI 48-49). A literal translation would be "from the hand of the son of a man or the slave of a man..." In many contexts, especially in letters, the term *mār awīlim* simply refers to the fact that the subject is of the *awīlim*-class. It is therefore often translated "citizen," "free man," "man," or the like. This interpretation is not applied consistently in translations of the Mesopotamian law codes and in LH §7 most translators do in fact opt for the literal "son of a man." Borger, however, in omitting any mention of a son, stands in an august tradition.

In his magisterial 1917 study of the Laws of Hammurabi, Paul Koschaker insisted that the section referred to a free man and not to a son : "von einem Freigeborenen oder dem Sklave jemandes."³ It was this translation of *mār awīlim* that made §7 inconsistent with §123, since both then purported to lay down the general conditions for a valid sale. Koschaker could only overcome the difficulty by assuming that the code was a composite text that suffered from clumsy editing.⁴

As Driver and Miles pointed out, the whole elaborate exercise is unnecessary, for a literal rendering of the Akkadian produces a perfectly straightforward and sensible explanation of §7 : ⁵

The section treats as a thief one who purchases or otherwise receives goods from a minor or slave, i.e. persons who normally would have no property of their own, unless the transaction is evidenced by a deed or witnesses. It would be apparent that the transferor of the goods was a minor or a slave, and therefore it would be reasonable to require special precautions from one who dealt with such persons.

To elaborate on Driver and Miles' analysis : §123 and §7 are not in contradiction because the legal basis of the claim in each is entirely different. In §123, the owner who gave his goods for safekeeping relies on his contract to reclaim the goods from the recipient.⁶ To demonstrate the *existence* of a valid contract, the owner requires formal proof of its conclusion. In §7, the owner's claim against the recipient (for theft and presumably for return of his goods) is based on the assertion that they were handed over by someone else without his authority. He needs to demonstrate the *absence* of a valid contract, for which the lack of evidentiary formalities is itself proof. Given the presumption raised by the status of the seller/depositor, it is also proof of the buyer/depospee's knowledge that the transaction was unauthorized.

In fact, Driver and Miles' interpretation followed the consensus of the early translators of LH.⁷ Koschaker based himself on the one dissenting voice, a critical note by Moses Schorr.⁸ Schorr's main argument was that *mār awīlim* could not refer to a minor, because in LH a special term was used to designate a minor (§14 : *mār awīlim sh̄ram*). The expression in §7 was therefore a merism : the formalities required of the contract applied to any seller, whether free or slave.

Schorr's linguistic point is correct, but it is far from supporting the conclusion that he drew from it. It

is a modern assumption that the status of son depends on an age of majority. Just as important in the ancient world was the ownership of property. As long as a son remained living in his father's undivided household, his father owned the property and he owned nothing. He was a subordinate member of the household, like a wife or a slave. Normally he would only gain economic independence, along with his inheritance, on his father's death. As Roth has demonstrated, that moment often did not arrive until the son was in his late twenties or early thirties, when he would at last marry and set up his own household.⁹ In the interim, any transactions that he conducted with household property would be as an agent of his father, a situation that might well lead an adult son to the temptation to do some illegitimate business on his own account.

The legal status of son was far more important in the ancient Mesopotamian world than in modern Western society. To treat the term *mār awīlum* in LH as if it meant the same as *awīlum* is to impose unwarranted cultural assumptions upon the text. Indeed, modern commentators should consistently translate *mār awīlum* "son of..." whenever the term appears in LH, however counter-intuitive it may seem.¹⁰ Only thus will they restore the honor of the much-maligned draftsman of the ancient code.

1. M. Van der Mieroop, *King Hammurabi of Babylon : A Biography*, Malden, MA : Blackwell, 2005, 106.
2. R. Borger, *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments I I : Rechtsbücher* (my emphasis).
3. *Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurabis*, Leipzig : Veit, 1917, 73-84, at p. 73.
4. *Rechtsvergleichende Studien*, p. 81 : the addition of deposit to §7 was a thoughtless last-minute decision of the editors.
5. *The Babylonian Laws*, Pt. 1, Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1952, 85-86.
6. Although some translations (including the one cited above) suggest that the recipients deny having received the goods at all, the issue in §123 is more probably whether the goods are in the hands of the recipient for safekeeping (and therefore to be returned on demand) or on some other basis such as sale or pledge (and therefore non-returnable or returnable only on fulfillment of certain conditions).
7. E.g. D.H. von Müller, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, Wien 1903 ; repr. Amsterdam : Philo Press 1975.
8. "Der §7 des Hammurabi-Gesetzes," *WZKM* 20 (1906) 314-16.
9. M. Roth, "The Age at Marriage and the Household : A Study of Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian Forms," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29 (1987) 715-47. Her arguments apply in principle to earlier periods.
10. The use of the term *mār awīlum* in the Mesopotamian law codes is discussed in more detail in a forthcoming article in *Maarav* 13 (2006).

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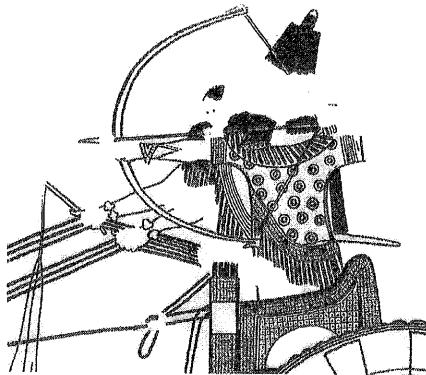
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28) A left-handed Assyrian king – In his article published in *IRAQ* 68 (2006), I. J. Poisel makes the interesting proposal that a left-handed Assyrian king is depicted in a wall painting from room 27 of the royal residence at Til Barsip. In response to statements in Poisel's article, my commentary is given, below.

1. P. 124. Poisel does not seem to be aware that the location of Cavro's copies of the Til Barsip wall paintings is known, and that they are housed in the Musée du Louvre. I published several of the original copies in black-and-white, as well as three existing fragments, courtesy of the Musée du Louvre. See Albenda, *Ornamental Wall Painting in the Art of the Assyrian Empire* (2005).

2. P. 125, fig. 6. Poisel concludes that the Assyrian king in his chariot, facing to the viewer's left and aiming his bow and arrow at a roaring lion, must be left-handed, since the bowstrings and arrow extend across the body (frontal view). He cites examples on the Assyrian wall reliefs where among representations of archers similar extensions are illustrated. However, in those citations the visible extensions of the bowstrings and arrow occur only for those archers who turn to the viewer's right. On the other hand on the Assyrian reliefs, where an archer turns to the viewer's left, the upper and lower bowstrings extend only to his respective head and body. The visual effect may appear awkward, but the intent is to depict the archer's back view. Comparative left-turned (back view) examples can be found in: Albenda, *The Palace of Sargon, King of Assyria* (1986), pls.102, 119, 121, 123, fig. 76 ; Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner, *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh* (1998), pls. 28, 29, 68, 153, 171-173.

3. Returning to the Til Barsip painting under discussion, an examination of Cavro's color reproduction reveals that the head and face of the Assyrian king was completely destroyed at the time of discovery ; compare Parrot, *The Arts of Assyria* (1961), pl. 345 and the illustration shown here. Thureau-Dangin and Dunand, *Til Barsib* (1936), p. 43 states that Cavro sometimes took some liberty in the interpretation of a painting by extending a continuous line at a point where it was not visible or fragmentary. A telling example is the bowstring that extends across the now-destroyed face of the Assyrian king and body, as well as the arrow that is entirely visible across the beard and hair, except for the feathered end that is hidden under the king's hand. Cavro's painting thus illustrates the frontal view of the Assyrian king's body. But this image is contrary to Assyrian iconography, as noted above. Moreover no Assyrian king would have permitted his *face* — his portrait — to be 'marred' in any way, in the visual arts. The original intent must have been to illustrate the back view of a right-handed Assyrian king.



4. A second Til Barsip painting from room 27 of an Assyrian king attired in a similar costume shows the royal person on horseback advancing to the right, towards a lion; see Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936: pl. LIII. Portions of the king's upper body and head were destroyed at the time of discovery. Cavro's drawing, published in monotone, includes the detail of three vertical lines of a three-tailed whip below the animal's body. Another Cavro copy of a Til Barsip wall painting (pp. 69-70, fig. 16) depicts four Assyrian cavalrymen who advance to the right. Each of two riders holds a three-tailed whip in his lowered right hand. Comparing both of Cavro's copies, we may presume that the king on horseback was also originally represented holding a whip in his right hand, therefore an indication of a right-handed Assyrian king. (Here we may note that in Assyrian art the right hand is the 'active' one.)

5. P. 126. Accepting the identification of a left-handed king standing in the chariot, Poisel proposes the royal person to represent Esarhaddon. My recent remarks on the patterned costume worn by the Til Barsip Assyrian king in room 27 suggests that Sennacherib, rather than Sargon II, is depicted. See Albenda 2005: 68, 73. However this identification does not negate the possibility that the earlier king is represented, as I have mentioned elsewhere; see *Amurru* 3 (2004): 328. Which Assyrian king is depicted in room 27 is still a matter for debate.

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29) Hethitisch Éhišta : ein Totentempel? – In der hethitologischen Literatur wird Éhišta (jungheth. Éhištal*i*), ein Tempel auf der Burg von Hattuša, oft als Totentempel angesehen. Obwohl diesbezügliche Argumente von J. Klinger, *NABU* 1994/2, 31 teilweise geschwächt worden sind, gilt die vermeintliche Anwesenheit des Tempelnamens in den unter *CTH* 661 (Listen der verstorbenen Könige) gebuchten *KUB* 36.120 Rs. 5' und *KUB* 11.8+9 Rs. IV 9' immerfort als Beweis für diese Deutung, vgl. dazu z. B. D. Groddek, *UF* 33, 2001, 213ff. Die Lesung [É]hišt[*a*] im ersten, schlecht erhaltenen Textfragment ist aber sehr fraglich: Der Raum für É am Zeilenanfang ist zu klein, die Deutung des zweiten Zeichens als hé – unsicher, schließlich erinnert der Zeichenrest am Zeilenende weder an *t[*a** noch an *t[*i**]. Was den zweiten scheinbaren Beleg betrifft, so wäre ein Tempelname eher am Ende von Z. 8' zu erwarten: GAL DUMUMEŠ É.GAL I-NA É[(9') *pa-iz-zi ta-aš Éhi[-i-li]* (10') *ti-ja-zi* ... "Der Oberste der Pagen geht zum Tempel [] (und) stellt sich im H[of] ... " Der Name des in Z. 8' erwähnten Tempels ist unbekannt. Ein Zusammenhang zwischen Éhišta und den Listen der verstorbenen Könige bleibt also unbewiesen, folglich gibt es keinen Grund, um in diesem Gebäude einen Totentempel bzw. einen Tempel der Ahnenverehrung der in Hattuša regierenden Dynastie zu sehen.

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30) Notes on Three Kudurrus in the Louvre – The unnumbered black stone kudurru partially published by Scheil in *MDP* 2 112 (ten lines in transliteration) and catalogued by Seidl, *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs*, p. 64 as G2 actually preserves at least parts of more than 80 lines of text divided into two columns. The document indicates that this land granted by the Kassite ruler Meli-Šipak (1186-1172 B.C.) lay within the jurisdiction of Bit-Piri-Amurru (É mār NUNUZI-^dKUR.GAL, i' 13').¹ Much of what survives consists of fragments of fairly standard injunctions against administrative misconduct and invocations of divine curses. But a passage describing possible future mistreatment of the stone is of interest:

- i' 34' [ša] A.ŠA an-na-a i^l-tab-ba-lul
- 35' [u] ku-dur-ra an-n[a-a]
- 36' [i-na]-aq-qà-ru
- 37' [a]-na^l me-e i-na-ad-du-ú
- 38' [i-na] IZI i^l-qa-am-mu-ú

"Whoever takes away (the possession of) this field or destroys this kudurru (or) throws (it) into water (or) burns (it) with fire"

These lines provide the first direct evidence that commemorative stones of this type without reliefs could be called kudurru by the Babylonians.² Previously known examples of the word *kudurru* in such usage were limited to stones with reliefs.³

Sb 32 (published in transliteration only by Scheil, *MDP* 6 44-45, and catalogued by Seidl, *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs*, p. 29 no. 33) : this text has also never been published in copy or in photo. In some places, the older conventions of transliteration used by Scheil have raised minor questions about what signs are actually in the text.

Here are some collations of the first preserved column :

i' 3'ff. though not indicated in the transliteration, the masculine personal determinative also precedes the unmarked masculine personal names in lines 3', 9', 11', 13' (twice), and 14' (twice)

- i' 5' the personal name begins m^dEN.LÍL-
- i' 7' LÚ.GAR.KUR URU ir-re-e-a
- i' 9' the title is written LÚ.EN.NAM
- i' 12' LÚ šá-kin tè-mi KUR URU ir-x-a⁴

The problematic passage in column v' is essentially as Scheil transliterated :

- v 9' na-rl-a š[a] i^l-na A.ŠA
- 10' ša-šu ša-ak-rl-nu^l (x)
- 11' lu i^l-pi^l-[i?]
- 12' lu a-na IZI i-q[a?...]

This again poses the unanswered question : does this passage refer to a commemorative stone which was erected on a field rather than placed in a temple? If so, it would seem to be the only evidence for such placement.⁵

AO 21422 : the text of this relatively small kudurru (16.5 × 9 × 4 cm) has never been published, though it has been referred to in the literature.⁶ The date in the first line of the text, read variously as 32, 33, or 34, is the highest presently attested regnal year for Nabû-apla-iddina (c. 885-851).⁷ The stone itself affords no simple solution to the disputed reading : the 30 in the number is clear, but the digits arranged in two horizontal rows have poorly articulated wedgeheads (see Figure 1) and one can aver only that the date is not less than 32 or more than 34. The problem is complicated by the fact that not all the stone fragments pieced together to constitute the object in its present form were joined correctly.⁸ Thus line 1 has : *i-na* MU.30^l+2(+1 or 2)^l KAM i^ld+AGI[]-na (with the -na on a separate fragment, which does seem to be correctly joined, since the piece carries over from clearly contiguous sections of symbols in the relief above).⁹ The text deals with circumstances following the death of Saggilaya (^msag-gi-la-a-a), who died in the designated year without a male heir (DUMU NU TUK-ma, line 4). Saggilaya's wife, whose personal name is broken away almost entirely, was from the prominent family of Šangû-of-Cutha (DUMU.S[AL] LÚ.É.BAR GÚ.D[U₈.A.KI], line 5). The property involved in the dispute included a prebend and a house (GIŠ.ŠUB.BA u É, line 10), and "her (= the wife's?) daughter" (DUMU.SAL-sa, line 9) seems to be involved in the proceedings. Unfortunately, the text is heavily damaged ; and a once separate fragment of stone to the right of key passages in lines 5-13 has not been joined correctly so that the apparent ends of lines on the stele as presently constituted do not correspond to the beginning of the lines placed to their left. The text is, nonetheless, of considerable interest and may eventually shed light on inheritance practices in early-first-millennium Babylonia.

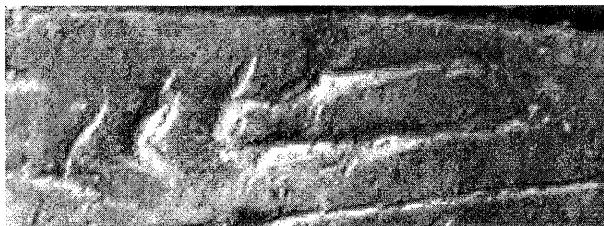


Figure 1. AO 21422, line 1 : regnal year number

I wish to express my gratitude to Mme Béatrice André-Salvini, who graciously permitted me to have access to these texts in the Louvre. I am also grateful to Mme Anne Mettel, who facilitated the practical

arrangements of ingress to the basement storerooms during a period of extraordinary disruption due to construction work.

1. To avoid confusion, I have retained the base line numbering as employed by Scheil in *MDP* 2, even though there are clear traces of one line on the stone before his line 1. I have marked the column in which Scheil's text occurs as i' (with the surviving column to the right considered as ii').

2. For the most recent discussions of the pertinent terminology, see Slansky, *The Babylonian Entitlement* narūs (kudurrus), pp. 37-41 and Brinkman, *JESHO* 49 (2006) 6-8 and n. 14.

3. *VAS* 1 58 (=*BE* 1 150) ii 1; *BBS*t no. 4 face A : 1, inscription below the relief; *BBS*t no. 3 v 39, vi 21. These objects are catalogued in Seidl, *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs*, pp. 22-26 as nos. 8, 12, and 25 respectively.

4. x resembles neither -re- nor -e- nor any other MB sign with which I am familiar. Scheil transliterates "riḥ"; one expects -re-e-, as elsewhere in this text.

5. Steinmetzer, *Die babylonischen Kudurru (Grenzsteine)* als Urkundenform, p. 101 ; Brinkman, *RIA* 6/3-4 (1981) 270 and *JESHO* 49 (2006) 15.

6. It is catalogued by Seidl, *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs*, pp. 55-56 no. 97 (with a sketch of the symbols in relief on p. 56 as fig. 19). Divergent readings of the date have been mentioned in Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, pp. 182-183 n. 1121 ; *CAH* 3/1 (2nd ed.), p. 302 n. 32 ; and *RIA* 9/1-2 (1998) 29. These citations were based on readings or photographs kindly provided — before and after the cleaning of the stele — by Douglas Kennedy.

7. The end of Nabû-apla-iddina's reign is now fixed by an explicit reference in the text on a stone statue from Calah which states that the king died in the eighth year of Shalmaneser III (=851 B.C.) and was succeeded by his son Marduk-zâkir-sumi I (*RIMA* 3 75 A.O. 102.16 : 44-45).

8. Also noted by Seidl, *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs*, p. 55.

9. Though the royal name is heavily damaged, Nabû-apla-iddina is the only known Babylonian ruler between 1350 and 539 B.C. whose name would fit the traces (and he is known, from other evidence, to have had a reign exceeding thirty years).

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31) Is there any difference between the house and the palace of grandfathers – The houses or/and palaces of grandfathers (É *huhhas* / É.GAL *huhhas*) are mentioned in texts found in Hattusas in connection with three Hittite royal residences : Hattusas, Samuha and Katapa.¹ They both appear, for instance, in the text of the *hisuwa* festival. Actually, the events of the second day took place in the house of grandfathers (É *huhhas*) in the capital.² Surrounding the figures of the gods of the fathers (i.e. ancestors) with fire³ was followed by various offerings. In tablet 13th of the same festival, however, different kinds of products (including food and drinks) are mentioned as being provided by the É.GAL *huhhas* (the palace of grandfathers) for the celebrations in the temple of Malija.⁴ Thus, it seems reasonable that the palace of grandfathers would be either a separate institution or a bigger unit that had also economic tasks. A similar context is known from the fragment Monserrat 2.⁵ The function of delivering products for festivals can be compared to the role played in ceremonies by another institution related to the deceased from the royal family – É.NA₄ (stone house). For example, during the *nuntarriyasha* festival,⁶ KILAM⁷ and AN.TAH.ŠUM⁸ different things were brought from there. By the way, neither in the stone house nor in the palace of grandfathers festivals and rituals were celebrated.

Also according to other texts, É *huhhas* seems to be a very temple for strictly cultic purposes. Probably it is in the É *huhhas* of Hattusas mentioned above that king Tuthaliya had a dream during the ritual of the Sun-goddess-of-the-Earth.⁹ The houses of grandfathers in Samuha and Katapa seem to fulfil the same functions. The queen travelled to the town of Samuha for two-day celebrations of Sauska of Taminiga festival which took place in the house of grandfathers. This house should have been a building with a ground floor and a first floor, as the ceremony took place in its upper part.¹⁰ Finally, it was the É *huhhas* of Katapa where the *nuntarriyasha* festival began.¹¹ To sum up, the houses of grandfathers seem to have been places of religious ceremonies and offerings.

As for the personnel, the “men of the palace of grandfathers” (LÚMEŠ É.GAL *huhhas*) seem to be qualified to answer oracle questions.¹² The “men of the house of grandfathers” appear only once together with the “men of the *hesta*-house”.¹³

It still remains to be examined what was the nature and function of mysterious “gods of the palace of grandfathers” (DINGIRMEŠ É.GAL *huhhas*) who appear in the group of divinities from Samuha honoured in the Muwatalli prayer addressed to the assembly of the gods.¹⁴

1. Taracha 2007.

2. *KBo* 23.28+ (*CTH* 628) I 25-27 and dupl. *KBo* 15.48 I 24-26, Wegner, Salvini 1991, 27, 60 and Dinçol 1989, 12. Also *KUB* 20.52 (*CTH* 628) IV 14'.

3. Cf. *CHD* s.v. *pahhur*.

4. *KUB* 10.68 3' (*CTH* 628) (and dupl. *KBo* 24.40 Ro. 6'-10'), Taracha 2000, 192 n. 119. Also *KBo* 15.37 (*CTH* 628) I 7-11, Szabó 1971, 52, van den Hout 1998, 236, Dinçol 1989, 48 and *KBo* 24.76 (*CTH* 628) III 11'-13', Trémouille 2000, 130-131.

5. Montserrat 2 (CTH 670) 2, Güterbock [1979] 137, 139.
6. Nakamura 2002, 225.
7. *IBoT* 1.13 V 6'-9' = *KBo* 10.25 II 38-41, Singer 1983, 117-118 and Singer 1984, 50. Also *KUB* 2.5 I 38-41 and *KUB* 11.34 I 46-48, Otten 1940, 223.
8. *KUB* 25.1 III 11-12, Badali, Zinko 1994, 70-71.
9. *KUB* 43.55 (CTH 448) V 7-10. Taracha 2000, 160, 192-193, identifies the king with Tuthaliya III, father of Suppiluliuma I.
10. *KUB* 12.5 I 1-3, IV 17-2, Danmanville 1962, 51-61.
11. *KUB* 9.16+Ro. 3-7 and dupl. *KBo* 39.63 Ro. 3-7 and *KBo* 3.25++Ro. I 3-4. Also *KBo* 47.6 (CTH 634) Vo. 1-3, Alp 1983, 224-225 (No. 71), Nakamura 2001, 444, Nakamura 2002, 288-289.
12. *KUB* 5.9 (CTH 579) I 25, *KUB* 6.37 (CTH 582) 11', *KUB* 52.99 (CTH 530) 7', 10'.
13. Bo 3230+I 7-8 JLUMEŠ É hé-eš-da-a-ma[...]JLUMEŠ É hu-uh-ha-aš.
14. Singer 1996, 10.

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32) ú-ru in *KUB* 4 63 iii 32 – In N.A.B.U. 2007/13, M. Stol in his discussion of suicide in Akkadian cited the Bogazköy solar omen text *KUB* 4 63 iii 32 with its mysterious passage *ú-ru ana māti imaqqut*, which gives no obvious sense. My 1972 collation of the duplicate *KBo* 13 30 : 13 showed the supposed *ú-ru* to be *kür-ru*, i.e., the *kurru* measure, thus requiring a slight emendation in *KUB* 4 63 iii 32 and *KUB* 30 9 iii 14. *KUB* 4 63 has the colophon preserved which says it is Tablet I of Eclipse of the Sun (DUB.1.KAM *an-ta-lù* ^dUTU). Most of this text deals specifically with solar eclipses, which normally generate dire predictions. Our passage does not explicitly say it concerns an eclipse, but it says that the sun at sunrise looks like it is sprinkled with blood, for which a very unfavorable prediction would be expected. The entire apodosis thus reads *kür-ru* ŠÈ KUR *i-maqut* RI.RI.GA GAR-a[n] UZU *a-wi-lu-tim in-na-ka*[*I*], meaning barley will become very expensive in the land, there will be fatalities (from starvation), (and) there will be cannibalism.

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33) Two Iranian personal names belonging to the *I*-dialect – It is generally accepted that the phonological system of one or more Old Iranian dialects knew the phoneme /l/ (as representation of PIE */l/), a phoneme which is not attested in the two directly attested Old Iranian languages, Old Persian and Avestan¹. In all likelihood it is a Northwest Iranian dialect.

In my recently published work on Old Iranian proper names and loanwords in non-Iranian texts I have included seven proper names containing this /l/: *Arvazūlā², *Bāliča³, *Halēva⁴, *Lānika⁵, *Laxša⁶ and *Mrnčalī⁷. Possibly the Babylonian spellings Lu-da-ka (*IMT* 38: rev.) and Lu-da-ku (*BE* 9 39: 3, 5, E.; *IMT* 38: 3, 6) render *Laudaka-, the equivalent of *Raudaka-, a -ka- hypocoristic of *Rauda-, “he who grows”, but that is far from sure⁸, since Akkadian has an occasional /r/-alternation⁹, e.g. *maltakal* vs. *martakal* (NA), from *maštakal*, a plant or *napalsuhu* vs. *naparsuhu* (LB), “to fall to the ground”. It is more attested in non-Akkadian words however: *ašlu(k)katu* vs. *ašru(k)katu*, “storeroom”, *laqlaqqu* vs. *raqraqqu*, “stork”. U-la-na- (*PBS* 2/1 128: 16) too may render both *(H)ulāna- and *(H)urāna¹⁰.

In this note I will discuss two more names which were considered as problematic in my earlier publication, but which can now be analyzed as belonging to this dialect too.

The first one is spelled Li-me-pír-da in Elamite (*PF* 1798: 6-7)¹¹. Gershevitch¹² recognized that this name had to be Iranian and that it accordingly belonged to the *l*-dialect. In my opinion this Elamite spelling represents *Lēvaprtā-, the equivalent of *Rēvaprtā- < *Raiva-prta-, “the rich warrior”, to *raiva-, “rich” (Av. *raēuuā-*) and *prta-, “warrior” (see Av. *parət-*, “battle” and *pərət-*, “to fight”). The PIE root of Av. *raēuuā-* is *reh₁-t-uent¹³, which could be a problem for the proposed reconstruction, because the *l*-dialect usually preserves PIE */l/, not */r/. Nevertheless it is possible that this rule has been extrapolated, as a consequence of which PIE */r/ too could be transformed into /l/ (in analogy with PIE */l/ > Ir. /l/). Note the inaccurate transposition El. ME = Ir. /va/.

The second name has two spellings in Elamite: Ul-la-ba-iz-zí-iš (*PF* 1592: 3-4) and Ul-la-ba-zí-iš (Fort. 8625: 6-7)¹⁴. Some scholars have assumed that the name must be Iranian¹⁵. The double spelling of z suggests (because of the Reiner-test) that the Iranian consonant reflected by z must be voiceless¹⁶. Most likely it is the voiceless affricate /č/.

Two possible reconstructions are proposed here for these spellings. In both proposals the first component of the name is *(h)ulā-, the equivalent of *(h)urā-, “fermented mare’s milk” (OInd. *súrā-*, Av. and Khot. *hurā-*, MP *hur*). The first reconstruction is *(H)ulāpačiš, the second part of which is related to Old Ir. *pač-, “to cook” (OInd. *pac-*, Av. *pača-* and *pak-*, MP and NP *paz*, Sogd. (‘)pč, Chor. *pc*), followed by a patronymic suffix -i-. The name means “cooking (preparing) the fermented mare’s milk”. The other possibility is *(H)ulāpāčiš, an -i-patronymic of a -ča-hypocoristic of *(H)urā-pā-, “protecting the fermented mare’s milk”, to *pā-, “to protect” (OInd., Av., OP and Khot. *pā-*, MP *pādan*, Sogd. (‘)p'y).

1. Chr. Bartholomae, “Vorgeschichte der iranischen Sprache”, in W. Geiger & E. Kuhn (eds.), *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* I 1, Strasbourg, 1895-1901, 23; I. Gershevitch, “Amber at Persepolis”, in *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata*, vol. 2, Roma, 1969, 202; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen* (*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 286), Wien, 1973, 301; G. Boccali, “L’Antico Persiano” in E. Campanile (ed.), *Nuovi materiali per la ricerca indo-europeistica*, Pisa, 1981, 12-14; R. Schmitt, “Zur Ermittlung von Dialektien in altiranischer Zeit”, *Sprachwissenschaft* 9 (1984), 199-200; M. Mayrhofer, “Vorgeschichte der iranischen Sprachen: Uriranisch”, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden, 1989, 10; R. Schmitt, “Andere altiranische Dialekte”, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden, 1989, 90-91.

2. J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in non-Iranian Texts (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158)*, Leuven, 2007, 115 no. 4.2.120.

3. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 146 no. 4.2.317.

4. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 58 no. 2.2.25.

5. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 235 no. 4.2.1010.

6. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 235 no. 4.2.1011.

7. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 254 no. 4.2.1136.

8. R. Zadok, review of M. A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia* (*Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies* 6), Costa Mesa, 1992, *BSOAS* 58 (1995), 159; Tavernier, *Iranica*, 284-285 no. 4.2.1383.

9. W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (*Analecta Orientalia* 33), 3rd ed., Roma, 1995, 43.

10. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 206 no. 4.2.799.

11. Cf. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 483 no. 5.3.2.104.

12. Gershevitch, “Amber”, 202; Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 8.903; W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch (AMI. Ergänzungsband 17)*, Berlin, 1987, 830.

13. See M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen (Indogermanische Bibliothek. II. Reihe: Wörterbücher)*, Heidelberg, 1992-2001, 437.

14. Cf. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 492 no. 5.3.2.210.

15. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 301; Hinz & Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, 1218.

16. Which excludes a possible reading of the second component as *bāji-, “tax”.

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34) The MB Nippur Combination Extract N 3783 + N 5031 obverse – The obverse of the MB Nippur lentil extract N 3783 + N 5031, which was copied and included by Veldhuis in his corpus of MB curricular texts (Veldhuis 2000: 85, 90) and contains an extract of Syllabary B on the reverse, reads as follows.

- 1) NIM NIM NU?
- ruling
- 2) Eriduki *he₂*-*gal₂*
- 3) du₃-a ug₃[u]du₆]-bi
- 4) [luga]l-e ud me-[la]m₂-bi nir-gal₂
- ruling

This extract therefore combines *Proverb Collection* 3.150 (lines 2-3), which has recently been considered to be an intertextual reflex of the OB curricular letter *Letter from a Monkey to his Mother* (see, for example, the comments of Spycket 1998: 10) with the incipit of *Lugal-e* (line 4). Lines 2-3 are indented against lines 1 and 4, perhaps acting in a novel way to denote the textual boundary between lines 3 and 4.

The proverb is not even completely cited here, which, as Veldhuis notes, occurs elsewhere on extracts from MB Nippur. The interpretation of the first line of the extract before the ruling is unclear to me.

Spycket, A., 1998, "Le carnival des animaux": On Some Musician Monkeys, *Iraq* 60, 1-10.

Veldhuis, N., 2000, Kassite Exercises : Literary and Lexical Extracts, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 52, 67-94.

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35) Notes on the Hierarchy and Offices of Deities in Gudea's Eninnu – One of the longest and most famous inscriptions written in the Sumerian language is the so-called *Cylinders of Gudea of Lagash*. Due to its length and good condition, this inscription has been extensively studied within the field of Assyriology, and has been the subject of numerous philological, historical and religious investigations.¹ The main theme of the text is the building and consecration of the temple of Eninnu. The present paper examines the structure of the text² as a source, and focuses on the offices of gods (Cyl. B 6 : 11-12 : 25 = ETCSL 2.1.7. lines 944-1106).³

According to the passage under discussion, the deities holding offices in the temple are in the following order: ⁴ Ig-alim (the Great Door, the Pole of Šir-nun, the chief bailiff of Šir-su, his (= Ningirsu's) beloved son, 6 : 21-22), Šul-šaga (the lord of the pure hand-washing, the first-born son of Eninnu⁵, 7 : 9-10), Lugal-kur-dub (his general, 7 : 22), Kur-šuna-buruam (second general, 8 : 7-8), Lugal-si-sa (adviser, 8 : 20-21), Šakkan (the wild ram, the minister of the E-duga, his saḡ, 9 : 3), Kinda-zid (the man (in charge) of the E-duga, 9 : 13), En-šeg-nun (Ningirsu's hurrying bailiff, his donkey herdsman, 9 : 23-10 : 1), En-lulim (the herdsman of the hinds, 10 : 7), Ušumgal-kalama (his beloved musician, 10 : 14), Lugal-igi-huš (his *balaḡ*, 11 : 1), Zazaru, Iškur-pa-e, Ur-agrunta-ea, He-šir-nuna, He-šaga, Zurğu, Zarğu (Bau's septuplets, the offspring of Lord Ningirsu, his beloved *lukur* maidens, 11 : 3-12), Gišbar-e (Enlil's surveyor, the farmer of Gu-edina, 11 : 24-25), Lama (inspector of the fisheries of Gu-edina, 12 : 5), Dim-gal-abzu (herald of Gu-edina, 12 : 16), and Lugal-ennu-iri-kugakam (12 : 24). Altogether, then, there are 22 deities.⁶

These gods may be grouped into categories according to their relationship with the owner of the sanctuary :

- (1) the descendants of Ningirsu : Ig-alim, Šul-šaga ; Zazaru, Iškur-pa-e, Ur-agrunta-ea, He-šir-nuna, He-šaga, Zurğu, Zarğu ;
- (2) the embodiments of the aspects of Ningirsu : ⁷ (a) as combatant : Lugal-kur-dub, Kur-šuna-buruam ; (b) as patron of Lagash and Gudea : Lugal-si-sa ;
- (3) gods having no closer kindred relationship with Ningirsu holding cultic, managerial and economic offices : Šakkan, Kinda-zid, Ušumgal-kalama, Lugal-igi-huš, En-šeg-nun, En-lulim, Gišbar-e, Lama, Dim-gal-abzu, Lugal-ennu-iri-kugakam.⁸

Because the temple is the belonging of Ningirsu and his consort, Bau, they hold no offices there.

The structure of the text reflects very well the relationship between the hierarchy (and offices) of deities and the hierarchy of the main functions of the Eninnu. The enumeration of the offices of deities is in accordance with the main functions of a temple estate. As such, the role of the Eninnu generally consists of two fields : it functions primarily as residence of the god (the residence of the owner of the temple, the residence of the consort of the owner, a cultic sanctuary and estate), and on a mundane and economic level, as an estate of Lagash (economic unit). The following table provides an overview, in corresponding order, of the hierarchy as represented in the text :

1. The Eninnu as the sanctuary of Ningirsu (6 : 11-11 : 2)

(a) Ningirsu and his sons : Ig-alim and Šul-šaga (6 : 11-7 : 11)

(b) aspects of Ningirsu (7 : 12-8 : 22)

as combatant : Lugal-kur-dub, Kur-šuna-buruam (7 : 12-8 : 9)

as patron of Lagash (8 : 10-16) and Gudea (8 : 17-22) : Lugal-si-sa

(c) cultic sanctuary and estate of Ningirsu (8 : 23-11 : 2)

enacting cultic, managerial and economic functions : Šakkan, Kinda-zid, En-šeg-nun, En-lulim Ušumgal-kalama, Lugal-igi-huš

2. The Eninnu as the sanctuary of Bau, consort of Ningirsu (11 : 3-11 : 14) : the daughters of Bau enacting cultic functions : Zazaru, Iškur-pa-e, Ur-agrunta-ea, Ḫe-ḡir-nuna, Ḫe-šaga, Zurğu, Zarğu
3. The Eninnu as temple estate in Lagaš, mundane level (11 : 15-12 : 25) : Gišbar-e, Lama, Dim-gal-abzu, Lugal-ennu-iri-kugakam enacting economic functions.

As the investigation shows, the structure of this subsection is threefold. It represents (1) the relationship of the gods with Ningirsu (the pantheon of Lagaš in the time of Gudea); (2) the hierarchy and offices of deities; and (3) the role of the Eninnu as temple estate.

The offices or duties to be fulfilled by Gudea in the Eninnu are revealed in a later passage (Cyl. B 14 : 25-16 : 2 = ETCSL 2.1.7. lines 1155-1181). The first group of duty (14 : 25-15 : 18⁹) concerns agricultural activities, and the tasks of a good master; the second group (15 : 19?-16 : 2) represents cultic activities, and the tasks of a priest. Interestingly (but not surprisingly!), the first line of the passage (14 : 25) represents Gudea not only as a good farmer, but as a king as well, whose main duty is "to fill the channels with flowing water".¹⁰ Thus, Gudea, as office-holder in the Eninnu, is represented in this short section as king, as benevolent master, and as priest, thus summarizing on mundane level the range of tasks held by the gods. The propagandistic function of these lines should not go unnoticed. As the examination of the passages shows, not only the general structure of the text was well established and purposefully created, but the inner subsections and details had well defined conceptions and goals.

1. The most important studies as relevant to the passage under discussion : R. E. Averbeck, *A preliminary study of ritual and structure in the Cylinders of Gudea* (Vols. I-II). A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Dropsie College in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Ann Arbor, 1987 (unpubl.); C. E. Suter, *Gudea's Temple Building. The Representation of an Early Mesopotamian Ruler in Text and Image*. CM 17. Groningen, 2000; T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness. A History of Mesopotamian Religion*. New Haven, London, 1976 81-84; V. Hurowitz, *I have built you an exalted house. Temple Building in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 115. JSOT/SOR Monograph Series 5. Sheffield, 1992 44-65; A. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš. Bd. 1 : Einleitung*. AnOr 30. Roma, 1966; H. Sauren, *Die Einweihung des Eninnu – in : Le temple et le Culte. Compte rendu de la vingtème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale organisée à Leiden du 3 au 7 Juillet 1972 sous les auspices du Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten*. Leiden, 1975 95-103. For a thematic bibliography in general see F. Lara Peinado, *Himno al Templo Eninnu. Cilindros A y B de Gudea*. Valladolid, 1996 55-57.

2. For the general structure of the text see the arguments of Suter 2000 77 Table III.A.1., 79-82; R. E. Averbeck, Ritual Formula, Textual Frame, and Thematic Echo in the Cylinders of Gudea, in : G. D. Young – M. W. Chavalas – R. E. Averbeck (eds.), *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons. Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday*. Bethesda, 1997 37-93; R. E. Averbeck, 1987 248-398, esp. 390ff.; Falkenstein 1966 179-181, Lara Peinado 1996 40ff., and for comparative studies, see J. Klein, Building and Dedication Hymns in Sumerian Literature. ASJ 11 (1989) 27-67 (esp. the table on p. 63).

3. For the text and translation see F. Thureau-Dangin, *Les Cylindres de Gudea. TCL* 8. Paris, 1925 pl. XXXVI-XLVI; I. M. Price, *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A & B of Gudea Copied from the Original Clay Cylinders of the Telloh Collection Preserved in the Louvre. Part I*. Leipzig, 1899; I. M. Price, *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A & B of Gudea (about 2450 B.C.) to Which are Added his Statues. Part II*. Leipzig, 1927 44-50; A. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš. Bd. 2. Texte und Kommentar* (unpubl.) 585-641; D. O. Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty. RIME* 3/1. Toronto, 1997 91-97; A Falkenstein – W. von Soden, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten*. Zürich, Stuttgart, 1953 170-176; T. Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once... Sumerian Poetry in Translation*. New Haven, 1987 430-436; the ETCSL project (2.1.7) http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.2.1.7&display=Crit&charenc=gcirc_1 (transliteration), and http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.2.1.7&display=Crit&charenc=&lineid=t217.p109_t217.p109 (translation).

4. The transliteration and translation principally follows that of the ETCSL (2.1.7) as referred to above.

5. An interesting discussion is whether or not this motif can be viewed as the origin of the *topos* of the birth of the crown-prince in temple, adapted to earthly level by Sumerian kings for ideological means, cf. J. Klein, *The Birth of a Crownprince in the Temple : A Neo-Sumerian Literary Topos*, in : J.-M. Durand, *La femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique. Compte rendu de la XXXIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Paris, 7-10 Juillet 1986). Paris, 1987 97-106.

6. Cf. Suter 2000 98, Averbeck 1987 394-395, and J.-J. Glassner, *La participation des dieux au rituel de fondation d'un temple : L'exemple de l'É.ninnu de Lagash*, in : I. Eph'al – A. Ben-Tor – P. Machinist (eds.), *Eretz-Israel. Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* 27. *Hayim and Miriam Tadmor Volume*. Jerusalem, 2003 66*-67*.

7. For the aspects of Ningirsu see G. E. Selz, *Studies in Early Syncretism : The Development of Pantheon in Lagaš. Examples for Inner-Sumerian Syncretism*. ASJ 12 (1990) 111-142; general studies of the pantheon of Lagaš : Falkenstein 1966 55-170 (esp. 55-115), M. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*. Bethesda, 1993 66-69; G. Selz, *Untersuchungen zur Welt des altsumerischen Stadstaates von Lagaš*. Philadelphia 1995. For the syncretism of Ningirsu and Ninurta in the time of Gudea, see A. Annus, *The God Ninurta in the Mythology and Royal Ideology of Ancient Mesopotamia*. SAAS XIV. Helsinki, 2002 10-13.

8. The services and functions cf. Averbeck 1987 375-376.

9. Lines 15 : 17-18 are fragmentary.

10. Cf. the functions of Ningirsu/Ninurta, Annus 2002 152ff. I thank Prof. Annette Zgoll for this reference and for her suggestions and kind help.

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36) The second tablet of the Balağ a úru-ḡu₁₀ im-me – K.9767 (BL 189) is a small fragment from Nineveh, written in Babylonian script, which is identified by its colophon as the end of the second tablet of the the Balağ a úru-ḡu₁₀ im-me.¹ I was recently able to reconstruct much of this tablet through two joins and one indirect join.² K.9767 joins the left column of K.5167 (*ASJ* 7, p. 81). This piece, the bottom part of the reverse, joins the uninscribed side of K.5362+³ (“sandwich join”). K.41⁴ undoubtedly belongs to the same tablet. This is indicated by the content of the composition. The last three lines of the right column (rev. iii) of K.5167 contain the beginning of the section si gal-me-en si gal-me-en (collated). This section is continued in K.41. rev. iv.⁵

The colophon of the tablet contains the name of a member of the Sîn-lêqi-unninni family.⁶ This strongly suggests that the origin of the tablet (or the scribe) was Uruk.⁷ Other texts from Nineveh written in Babylonian script are known to originate mainly from Babylon and Borsippa.⁸ The content of the Balağ a úru-ḡu₁₀ im-me may explain why this tablet was brought from Uruk. Unlike other Balağ compositions dedicated to Inana, the Balağ a úru-ḡu₁₀ im-me did not undergo a “Babylonization” but remained connected to the Uruk tradition. This is seen from the concluding line of the Balağ which mentions Eana as the temple associated with this composition,⁹ whereas the concluding lines of other Balağ compositions dedicated to Inana, such as úru hul-a-ke₄ and a-še-er ḡl₆-ta, associate them with Ištar’s temple in Babylon, Eturkalama.¹⁰

1. See M.E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (= *CLAM*), p. 645. Contra Cohen, *CLAM*, p. 642, the phrase NU AL.TIL in the colophon is most probably a mistake and does not indicate that the next tablet contained an Eršema, since a catchline would have been expected. Supporting this is the listing of the Balağ a úru-ḡu₁₀ im-me without an Eršema in the Nineveh catalogue *IVR*², 53+, i : 47.

2. I thank Jonathan Taylor for confirming these joins for me.

3. K.5362+K.8898 (*BA* 10/1, 14)+K.11938+K.13410 (*ASJ* 7, p. 83)+Rm.385 (*BA* 10/1, 42). J. Black, *ASJ* 7, p. 20, already raised the possibility that K.5167 and K.5362+ were written by the same scribe and that they belong to the same sequence of tablets.

4. Copy : *PSBA* 17, pls. 1-2 and *ASJ* 7, p. 77 ; photo : *BiOr* 40, pp. 587, 591. J. Black, *ASJ* 7, p. 20, already raised the possibility that K.41 and K.5167 belong to the same tablet.

5. Reconstructed through OB parallels, see *CLAM*, pp. 644-648.

6. See H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, no. 458.

7. See P.-A. Beaulieu, *AOAT* 252 (Fs. J. Oelsner), pp. 1-16.

8. See G. Frame and A.R. George, *Iraq* 67/1, pp. 265-284 and J. Fincke, *AfO*, 50, pp. 111-149. Some tablets are also known to have originated from Nippur and Bit-Ibâ, see S. Parpola, *JNES* 42, p. 11. Note that the clan Bît-Ibâ may be connected to the toponym of the same name near Uruk (cf. R. Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 91).

9. K.5167+, r.iv : 15' : [ṣùd-dè še-e]b é-an-na-ta ki NE-en-gi₄-gi₄ (cf. *CLAM*, p. 645).

10. See *CLAM*, p. 657 : e+172 and p. 718 : b+274 (= Black, *ASJ* 7, p. 30 : 366) : ṣùd-dè še-eb é-tùr-kalam-ma ki NE-en-gi₄-gi₄.

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37) Addenda et corrigenda à Attinger dans Mittermayer 2006 – Comme Mme Mittermayer et moi-même l’avons souligné dans la préface de l’*Altbabylonische Zeichenliste der sumerisch-literarischen Texte (OBO Sonderband*, 2006), les lectures proposées doivent être considérées comme très provisoires, car mon travail a souffert d’un manque de disponibilité suite à la “restructuration” de mon enseignement à Berne. Un défaut général, que je ne puis toutefois rectifier dans ce cadre, est ma préférence injustifiée pour /i/, considéré comme “plus neutre”, au détriment de /e/ (ni, bi, etc.). Dans cette note, je me contenterai de corriger un certain nombre d’erreurs, d’ajouter des valeurs omises et de discuter la lecture de quelques lexèmes faisant difficulté¹.

P. x, 4e paragraphe : lire “Proto-Ea/Proto-Aa und Proto-Diri”.

P. 3, AŠ.ŠIR.GI₍₄₎ : lire ŠIR ašgi₂.

P. 4, ŠUBUR : supprimer saḥa/šaha (v. *infra* p. 174, ŠUL).

P. 9, MU : pour /udun/, v. p. 133 sq., UDUN.

P. 9, MU.UŠ.TUG₂.PI : lire mu-uš-tu₉muštu.

P. 11, TI : lire til₃/tel₃.

Pp. 13 et 193, ŠIR : lire ḡešnu₃, pas ḡešnu.

P. 13, ŠIR.BUR.LA : d’après G. Marchesi (*Statue regali, sovrani e templi del protodinastico. I dati epigrafici e testuali*, dans : N. Marchetti, *La statuaria regale nella Mesopotamia protodinastica* [Roma 2006] 211 n. 31 ; désormais Marchesi, *Statue*, /lagas/ aurait évolué en /lagaš/ à l’ép. d’Ur III (il renvoie au NP lu₂-la-ga-ša dans *UET* 3, 374 : 6, qu’il interprète en {LU₂ LAGAŠ + ak}). La chose ne saurait être exclue, mais /lagas/ est encore attesté à l’ép. pB ; cf. [še-eb] la-ga-sa (VS 2, 2 rev. ii 14) et ga-ša-an ki la-ga-sa-ḡen (*id. rev. ii 31*)².

P. 13, MAŠ : ajouter MAŠ.GAG = mašda.

P. 19, MUŠ₃ : d’après Marchesi (*Statue* 215 n. 52), /(n)innana(k)/ serait préférable (aux graphies non-standard et gloses citées par lui, ajouter in-na-na dans *CLAM* 657, *UET* 6/2, 200 : 14 [nB] et le nom du signe *in-*

na(-an)-na-ku dans Diri IV 274 et 294 ; *dⁿnanna* = R est certainement attesté dans Koslova, *Santag* 6, 136 rev. 6 ; noter la faute inverse dans ibid. 133 rev. 10). Comme NIN-na-na se rencontre en contexte ES (AO 4327) et NI-in-na-na est une forme susienne (Scheil 1925), la lecture EG la plus vraisemblable me semble être innana-k.

P. 19, MUŠ₃.ZA.UNUG : pour MUŠ₃.UNUG = /zabala/, comp. p. 189, ZA.MUŠ₃.UNUG.

P. 19, MUŠ₂ : pour MUŠ₂.UNUG = /zabala/, v. p. 188, ZA.MUŠ₂.UNUG.

P. 26, EN : ajouter EN.KID = nibrū.

Pp. 27 et 194, DU : remplacer [ku_x] par (ku_x) (à l'ép. pB dans mu(-un)-ku_x). La critique de J. Bauer (ZA 94 [2004] 16 sq.) n'est pas entièrement satisfaisante, car c'est a-kur-ra (*DP* 135, 8 : 14 et *AWEL* 3, 14 : 2) qui est la graphie standard du NP, a-KU₄ (*DP* 136, 10 : 1) étant un hypocoristique, dont la forme phonologique exacte est inconnue.

P. 33, BI.U₂.SA : à l'ép. sarg., il faut certainement lire (kaš)dida (U₂.SA) (v. en dernier lieu M. Such-Gutiérrez, *AulOr.-S* 22 [2006] 377-389) ; à l'ép. pB, KAŠ ne fait pratiquement jamais défaut et semble être devenu un constituant du diri.

Pp. 43 et 195, E₂.GI.NA.AB.TUM/UL : W. Sallaberger a attiré mon attention sur le fait que e₂-šu-tum est amplement attesté au IIIe mill. (avant tout à Umma), ce qui pourrait bien impliquer que malgré [šu]-tu-um E₂.GI.NA.AB.UL = šu-tu-um-mu dans Diri V 2983, E₂ n'est pas non plus à l'ép. pB un constituant du diri (lire e₂-šutum/šutum₂). Les graphies akkadiennes jettent toutefois un doute sur cette conclusion⁴. A l'ép. pB, "E₂ šu-tum(-mu)" v.s. est traité comme un indéclinable (*ina*/TA/ana ... "E₂ šu-tum(-mu)")⁵, et il serait donc préférable de translittérer E₂.ŠU.TUM(.MU). S'il est écrit syllabiquement, E₂ (/bi-it) fait défaut : *i-na šu-tu-mi-im* (Wilcke, ZA 75, 200 : 45) et *a-n[a] šu-tu-um-mi* (*ARM* 2, 72 : 33)⁶. Je ne puis, dans ce cadre, discuter les graphies ppB, mais elles plaident partiellement aussi pour un diri E₂.ŠU.TUM₍₃₎.MU v.s. Particulièrement intéressant est Hunger, *BaM* 5, 198 sq. n° 1 (nB), qui a régulièrement "E₂ šu-tum₃-mu" (indépendamment du cas), mais ŠAM₂ (šīm) šu-tum₃-mi-šu₂ à la l. 19 (sans E₂!).

P. 46, EDIN : pour /subur/, v. p. 121, SU.EDIN.

P. 47, NE : bil et gibil₄ préférables à bil₂⁻ et gibil⁻.

Pp. 54 et 196, ŠAM₂ : comme NINDAxŠE.AM₃ peut recouvrir sa₁₀, j'ai renoncé à lire sam₂am₃ (qui est certainement correct au IIIe mill.).

P. 56, PA.IB : Vu "sab(-ba)"-bi-a dans *GiEn* 44 // 87 // 131 et 142 et sa₂-ba-zu₅ dans *BFE* 94 n° 18 ii 4 (Fāra), il n'est pas exclu qu'il faille lire PA.IB saba (suivi de BA : sababa) dans l'acception "hanche, tronc"⁷.

Pp. 57 et 196, PA.TE.SI : d'après Marchesi, *Statue* 223 n. 97, "*ninsi'ak o, più probabilmente, *nunsi'ak" serait préférable au traditionnel ensi₂, lequel "non è affatto così ben stabilit[o] come si potrebbe essere indotti a credere del suo diffuso impiego". Vu l'ES u₃-mu-un-si, *nunsi'ak ne me semble guère vraisemblable. En ce qui concerne *ninsi'ak, il pourrait être étayé par NI!?(GAG)-in-si dans Šulgi 38 : 18 (Tell Harmal)⁸, mais il est contredit non seulement par l'emprunt akk. *iššiakkum*, mais encore par les autres graphies non-standard citées (ajouter probablement e-si u₃-ri-ma = (?) ensi₂ urim₂-ma dans Nanna M 3, 6, 10 et 149).

P. 57, PA.TUG₂ : nuška est préférable (G. Marchesi, *Lumma in the Onomasticon and Literature of Ancient Mesopotamia*, *HANE/S* 10 [Padova 2006] 32 n. 140)¹⁰.

P. 58, U₂.TIR : lire (gamun₃).

P. 63, ĜIS : ajouter ĜIS.NE = bil₄.

P. 65, KID : pour /adgub/, v. p. 52, AD.KID.

P. 71, AZ : lire az(a) (Attinger, *NABU* 2006/37).

P. 78, SIG₇.ALAM : ajouter [sa₇].

P. 84, GAL.DE₂ : v. le commentaire p. 198.

P. 90, ŠU.GIR et ŠU.HA : v. le commentaire p. 198.

P. 102, LU₂.TUG₂ : lire azlag₇.

P. 109, KASKAL : pour /gaeš/ et /garaš/, v. p. 79, GA.KASKAL.

P. 115, TE.AB : à l'ép. pB, la graphie TE.AB pour /unu/ est rare et doit être considérée comme un abrévement de TE.UNUG = unu₂, au IIIe mill. en revanche, elle est standard. En bonne logique, il faudrait donc translittérer unu₆ dans un texte de Gudéa ou dans un hymne de Šulgi non modernisé, mais unu₂⁻ au IIe mill. (unu₆ donnerait l'impression fausse qu'on a affaire à un archaïsme). Par souci de simplicité, unu₆ est malgré tout préférable.

Pp. 115 sq., KIŠ et ĜIR₃ : ranger ir₉ et irra s.v. KIŠ.

Pp. 116 et 200, KIŠ.ARAD : d'après W. Sallaberger (communication privée), ša₃-ga-na-kum/ku-um n'est ni une variante de KIŠ.ARAD, ni attesté dans des contextes similaires. Ajouter [šagin(a)].

P. 121, SU : pour /aktum/, v. p. 187, A.SU.

Pp. 126, KAxA GA et 127, KAxA KAR₂ : ranger (sub_x) s.v. KAxA GA.

P. 137, MI : pour /ğessu(n)/, cf. p. 63, ĜIŠ.MI.

P. 145, SISKUR.SISKUR : lire [sizkur₂].

P. 149, TIR : pour /eša/eše/, v. p. 187, A.TIR.

P. 150, TU : pour TU.GAB.LIŠ = asar₂/asal₂, v. p. 187, A.TU.GAB.LIŠ.

P. 172, KI.SU.LU.ŠE₃.NIĜ₂ : lire uğni/um ; en faveur d'uğnim plaident um-ni-im (*RCU* 10 : 21 C [Suse])

et ug-nim (Diri IV 270), en faveur d'uğnum 'x1-nu-um dans *NFT* 2, 203, AO 4327 rev. ii 12 (cf. N. Wasserman and U. Gabbay, *JCS* 57 [2005] 70).

P. 174, ŠUL : ajouter s/šaha₂¹¹.

P. 186, A : lire aia₂.

P. 188, ZA.MUŠ₂ : supprimer K après suba?.

P. 193, meħħida/muħaldim : e₂ MU-ma déjà dans *DP* 218 i 10 (courtoisie V. Meyer-Laurin).

P. 194, šitan/šiten₂ : lire A. Cavigneaux, *Fs. Boehmer* (1995) 66 n 81.

P. 195, eġgar : lire E₂.

P. 196, GAB : lire "vgl. auch VS 17, 33 : 19f".

P. 197, muru₁₂ : dans *MesZL* 132 sq., R. Borger donne à KID seul la valeur muru₁₂, mais cela me semble reposer sur une mésinterprétation de Hb. VIII 288 (cf. *MSL* 7, 26 et 9, 178).

P. 203, kuġġala? : lire "GAL ga-la" (sans point d'exclamation).

1. Le lecteur est prié d'intégrer ces modifications dans l'*Index der Lesungen* (pp. 249-278) ; ajouter aussi sur *SAR* 385 (p. 269). Bien des suggestions m'ont été faites par M. W. Sallaberger. Qu'il trouve ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.

2. lu₂ la-ga-aš₂-ša¹²? im-ši-DU (*DAS* 110 : 8) et lu₂ la-ga-AŠ / im-ši-du-a (*HLC* I, 30, *Hlb* 345 f. ! 8 sq.) ne prouvent en revanche pas grand chose, car ces graphies ne recouvrent pas lagaŠki-a (ainsi J. Bauer, *WO* 18 [1987] 171 et T.E. Balke, *AOAT* 331 [2006] 4 n. 11 à propos de *DAS* 110), mais lagaŠki-še₃; comp. lu₂ ġeštukul a-ša₃-še₃ im-ši-du-a dans *HLC* I, 30, *Hlb* 345 rev. ! 7.

3. Pour d'autres références lexicales à E₂.GI.NA.AB.UL (mais sans lecture), v. *CAD* Š/3, 412 ; ajouter Cavigneaux, *AUWE* 23, 165 i 8.

4. Cf. *CAD* Š/3, 412-414 s.v. šutummu ; W. von Soden, *OLZ* 91 (1996) 290 ; P.-A. Beaulieu, *Or.* 66 (1997) 165.

5. La seule "exception" que je connaisse est "E₂ šu-tum₃-me" (accusatif) dans *LIH* 59 : 22, la copie nB d'une inscription de Hammurapi.

6. Curieux est i-na "ša-du-um" dans *BIN* 4, 72 : 10 sq. (aA). "Sumérogramme"?

7. La chose reste très incertaine, car dans *LURuk* 3.12, "sab-ba"-bi-a (L) alterne avec haš₂-ba-bi (M) et ib₂-ba-ab-bi (K), ce qui plaide pour un lexème ba.

8. La lecture usuelle i₃-in-si est assez artificielle ; comp. toutefois ki-i₃-ki = ki-en-gi à la. I. 3.

9. "Probablement", car je ne connais pas de parallèle où un dieu serait nommé ensi₂ de sa ville ; avec ensi₂-gal, v. en revanche A. Falkenstein, *ArOr.* 17/I (1949) 223 sq.

10. Pour les graphies, v. aussi M.P. Streck, *RIA* 9 (1998-2001) 630 et W.G. Lambert, *RA* 96 (2002) 59 ; avant tout dans les gloses de Diri Nippur section 10 : 29 sq., la translittération nu-us₂-ka serait artificiel (/us/ écrit US dans Diri Nippur).

11. D'après P. Steinkeller (*NABU* 2007/18), ŠAH₂.ZE₂.EH.TUR recouvre /zehda/ et/ou /zahda/ "porcelet" ; difficulté fait toutefois à l'ép. pB R-re dans *SP* 9, section A 13 // (x 2 ; d'après Steinkeller [n. 10], serait fautif) et Dial. 1 : 22.

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38) HG 75 – einige Bemerkungen – Als ich mir kürzlich einige Belege für die Verbindung von šakānum mit libbum zusammenstellte, habe ich mir auch diesen Text, den P. Garelli vor fünfzig Jahren ediert hat,¹ – wieder – angesehen ; der Kommentar in dieser *editio princeps* ist nach all diesen Jahren gewiß immer noch interessant – vor allem auch mit seiner kritischen Diskussion der Ansichten von Julius Lewy – und lesenswert, ja in manchem, wie mir scheint, unverzichtbar.

In diesem bekanntlich sehr emotionalen Brief des Aššur-taklku an I'tar-umm finden wir als Z. 10 den Satz mi-nam i li-bi-ki ša ta-áš-ta-na-ki-ni-ni.

Bei dessen Interpretation hat sich G. aber nach meiner Meinung leider zu sehr von Lewy beeinflussen lassen, dessen wörtliche Übersetzung er p. 8 zu L. 7-10 zitiert : ... – why is it in your heart that you place me again and again.

Wir wollen diesen englischen Satz nicht interpretieren, sondern nur festhalten, daß ein „me“, mich, auch in der Bearbeitung dieses Textes in *OAA* 1, Nr. 134, erscheint :² Why do you always take me so much to heart?

Man soll gewiß aus methodischen Gründen auch bei der Deutung von Verbalformen immer von der einfachsten ausgehen, in der man eine zugrundeliegende grammatischen Struktur klar und unbestreitbar erkennen kann.

ša ta-áš-ta-na-ki-ni-ni ist offensichtlich eine Gtn (I/3) - Form, 2. Sg. fem., da von einer Frau, Ištar-ummī, die Rede ist, also : *taštanakkan+ī, mit der erwarteten Vokalharmonie taštanakkinī, + dem Subjunktivzeichen - ni, das nach ša erforderlich ist.

Da im Altassyrischen Konsonantenverdopplung nicht geschrieben wird, ergibt sich in der erwarteten silbischen Schreibung die vorliegende Form, die wörtlich nur heißt : „... das du (Frau) immer wieder 'setzt'.“

Die Verbalform enthält kein Pronominalsuffix „mich“.

Man wird also ohne Zweifel dem CAD zustimmen, das diesen Text als dritten und letzten mit der Bemerkung „note in I/3“ ohne Übersetzung nach Hecker Giessen 43 : 17 mimma illibikunu la ta-ša-kà-na do not be upset zitiert ;³ danach wird ebenfalls ohne Übersetzung, mit „cf.“ eingeführt, libbaka la iparrid ana šaPN mimma ina

libbika la ta-ša-kán CCT 4, 14b 7 genannt, wo man sehr wohl die Verbindung *libbaka la iparrid* mit der Folgerung *mimma ina libbika la tašakkan* und der näheren Erklärung *ana ša PN* aufmerksam notiert. „do not be upset“ ist natürlich eine freie, aber dem Sinne nach wohl zutreffende Übersetzung.

Wesentlich ist die Feststellung, daß wir mit dieser Verbindung in einem sprachphilosophisch höchst interessanten Bereich sind, den man üblicherweise englisch mit „transferred meaning“ und deutsch „in übertragener Bedeutung“ beschreibt; dabei ist es kein Zirkelschluß, wenn man feststellt, daß in der deutschen Bezeichnung „übertragen“ seinerseits ebenfalls in „übertragener Bedeutung“ verwendet ist.

Eine einigermaßen wörtliche Übersetzung wäre im Deutschen „sich etwas zu Herzen nehmen“, womit man etwa meint „sich kränken, sorgen, Gedanken machen“ - ja, man kann auch „Gedanken machen“, aber nur sich selbst!

libbum können wir hier nicht erörtern, man soll aber wenigstens kurz darauf hinweisen, daß unsere Übersetzung mit „Herz“ - so könnte man sagen - euphemistisch ist.

Ein Kind war vor der Geburt im *libbum* seiner Mutter, also, wie man auch deutlich sehen konnte, im Bauch, nicht im Herzen.

Wenn eine Frau sich also etwas *ina libbim* „setzt“, dann offensichtlich in den Bauch - ebenso, wie wir gesehen haben (*ina libbikunu*) Männer.

Genug, es ist klar geworden, was wir meinen.⁴

Der nächste logische Schritt ist es, unter diesem Gesichtspunkt die zwei anderen Stellen zu betrachten, in denen *libbum* vorkommt: in Z. 33f. wird man wohl (33) *mi-ma i l[i]-bi-ki* (34) *lá ta-[ša-ki-ni]* ergänzen⁵ und in (7) vielleicht *a [ša] l[i] l[i]-bi[š]-ki* nach dem bisher Gesagten verstehen als, etwas frei: „zu dem, das du auf dem Herzen hast“, „worüber du dich aufregst“ - sie schreibt ja fortwährend *himṭātim*, „Brandbriefe“.

Damit sind wir bei den Zeilen 7-9, für die in *OAA 1*, Nr. 134, diese Umschrift gegeben wird: (7) *a-[ma-la] l[i]-bi[š]-ki 1 ma-na ša GÚ?* (AM) (8) *[ú ša] 2 GÚ?* (AM) *al-qé-ú: ú u4-me-e-a (9)m[a-d]u-tim uq-ta-ri-ba-ni*

Diese Umschrift weicht in den folgenden Punkten wesentlich von der von Garelli gegebenen ab: (7) *a-[ma-kam] ... 1 manāum ša AM(?) (8) m[a ki (?)]-al-am ...*

Im Kommentar in *OAA 1*, p. 185, heißt es zu 7-9: not understood ; darauf wird die Übersetzung von Michel⁶ zitiert und die Bemerkung angefügt: „She informs me that she reads *m[a ki?]-a-am* in line 8.“

Der Leser hat schon bemerkt, daß in dieser Übersetzung nicht die Rede ist von *talent(s)* (GÚ), sondern daß es heißt ... à savoir, chaque mine

Die Lesung *m[a ki (?)]-al-am* von Garelli finde ich wunderschön und den Hinweis in *RA 51*, p. 9, auf die lexikalischen Listen Poebel, *PBS 6/1*, p. 41, und Landsberger, *MSL 4*, p. 61, damals, als man nicht einfach in den Wörterbüchern nachsehen konnte, großartig und ganz wichtig: in den lexikalischen Listen und altassyrisch ; man sollte unbedingt dabei bleiben.‘

Und dann ist da noch der Kommentar von Garelli auf derselben Seite zum Zeichen *AM* in Zeile 7, den man gar nicht hoch genug einschätzen kann ; wir müssen ihn zum Teil wörtlich zitieren :

A la fin de la ligne, sur la tranche, se trouve un *AM* extrêmement net.

Er sagt dann weiter, daß *1 MANA ša-am* keinen zufriedenstellenden Sinn ergibt und daß die grammatischen Schwierigkeit bei einer Lesung *i-šu-ma-am*, wenn man das Zeichen zur vorhergehenden Zeile zieht, nicht geringer ist.

Er zitiert wieder J. Lewy, der das „enigmatic -am“ als „scribal error“ tilgt und sich dafür auf das angeblich fehlende *Kaspum* nach *1 MANA* beruft.

Dieses Argument versteht man aber wirklich nicht. In diesem so gefühlbetonten Brief kam es anscheinend nur auf die Feststellung „1 Mine“ an – wovon, das wußte die Adressatin doch.

Garelli kann verständlicherweise mit diesem *AM* nichts anfangen, muß es ignorieren, schließt aber seinen Kommentar zu dieser Zeile mit der zum Weiterdenken geradezu dringend auffordernden Feststellung : ... mais cette erreur d'un scribe ajoutant un signe sur la *tranche* (von G. kursiv gesetzt) reste épigraphiquement étrange.

Ganz so, und dieser Einladung möchte ich hier nachkommen.

Wir gehen davon aus, daß der Schreiber ein anscheinend zunächst vergessenes *am* nachträglich an den Rand geschrieben hat, weil es ihm wichtig war - und weil er angenommen hat, daß die Adressatin gewußt hat, wo dieses *am* hingehört: nicht an das Ende von Z. 7 oder 6, sondern als jeweils einzige Möglichkeit vor das letzte Zeichen.

Das ergäbe für Z. 7 *1 MA.NA-am*. Das würde gut zu dem vorausgezogenen Akkusativ *mi-nam* in der oben ausführlich besprochenen Z. 10 passen, mir dem das etwas anders zu beurteilende (4) *mi-nam bi-im-tá-tim* (5) *ša* ... doch vergleichbar ist.

In Z. 6 erhalten wir *i-šu-am-ma*, also eine schöne *-am-ma* – Form – eine Betonung, die dem Absender auch sonst so wichtig ist: *m[a-na]m e-lá-nu-ki i-šu-/am/-lma!*.

Daß wir diese vollen Formen auch für eine erste Person erwarten können, wissen wir heute vielleicht besser als vor einem halben Jahrhundert.

Wer weiß, vielleicht ist es nicht allzu kühn, wenn wir vermuten, daß der Schreiber beide Möglichkeiten im Auge hatte, weil es in seinem Sprachbewußtsein eine Verbindung zwischen dem *-am* des

Akkusativs am Substantiv und dem -am an manchen finiten Verbalformen gab.

Für das Akkusativ -am muß man keine Beispiele nennen, für eine andere volle Form des präfigierten Stativs, wie man sagt, išū ich habe/er hat kann ich hinweisen auf CCT 3, 38 : 25f., wo dieses Verbum in Verbindung mit *lumun libbim*, also wieder *libbum*, steht : (25) ... / *lu-mu-un* (26) *li-bi₄-im* / *i-šu-a-am*.

Das CAD⁷ sieht darin eine dritte Person ; vielleicht, aber man soll doch jedenfalls davon ausgehen, daß die Sprache nicht zwischen erster und dritter Person unterscheidet, auch nicht in der vollen Form.

-am wird also einmal übersetzt mit „against me“, dann mit „with me“, weil der englische Sprachgebrauch es so verlangt.

Vielelleicht soll man aus den Zitaten unter *lumun libbi* neben *mimma lu-mu-un li-bi₄-im la išuakkum* auch ... *lu-mu-un li-bi₄-a lapturšum* mit der Übersetzung ... then I will relax my anger against him vergleichen.

Ich kann diesen Brief des Šu-Enlil an Ḥanu und Bazia hier nicht eingehend behandeln, es ist aber wichtig, diese Aussage in ihrem Kontext zu sehen. Ich gebe also von dem an Bazia gerichteten zweiten Teil eine Umschrift der Zeilen 17-31 und zitiere dazu Übersetzungen, die das CAD gegeben hat, mit einigen Bemerkungen dazu.

(17) *a-na Ba-zi-a / qí-bi₄-ma* (18) *a-dí* 5/6 MA.NA [KÙ].BABBAR (19) *mi[?]-šu-um / a-dí me-ta²-a* (20) *ta-áš-pu-ra-am / ki-ma* (21) *li-lá-ku-ni / tí-dí-e* (22) *i-na na-áš-pi-ra-tí-kà* (23) 1 MA.NA 10 GÎN *a-na I-lá-li-im* (24) *dí-in a-na-ku!* 1/2 MA.NA (25) *ú-kà-il₅-šu-um-ma / lu-mu-un* (26) *li-bi₄-im / i-šu-a-am*⁸ (27) *a-i-dí-ir⁹-ma / mi-ma* (28) *na-áš-pi-ra-tí-kà* (29) *ú-kà-li-im-šu-ma* (30) *a-dí* 30¹⁰ *ú-ni-ib-šu* (31) *a-we-lím a-ta / lá tí-dí-e*

Z. 19 : einzige Eintragung in M, 43 links oben, unter mētā num. ; hundred times : why did you write to me up to a hundred times. Also offensichtlich ... hinsichtlich der 5/6 Mine Silber.

Z. 20b f. : In CAD L, 189 rechts oben, unter lillu A a) offensichtlich falsch zitiert und verstanden : *kīma li-lá-ku-ni* as if I were a fool. Der Satz ist von *tīdē* abhängig : du weißt, daß ich ein Dummkopf bin.

In dem dort zitierten ICK 1, 14 schreibt übrigens ein Elāli an Šu-Enlil¹¹ und Šu-Anim in Z. 14f. (14) *a-na-ku li-lá-ku* (15) *ša ušazzizukununi* Sicher richtig im CAD : I was a fool in that I made you my representatives, (you do not pay any attention to my orders).

Die Z. 22-29 sind teilweise umschrieben, aber zur Gänze übersetzt in N/2.¹² Hier nur die Übersetzung : assign to PN¹³ one mina ten shekels by written order [sic, Sg.], I offered him (only) half a mina and (he became angry with me – I became afraid and) showed him your written order [sic].

Also : assign für *din*, written order für *našpirātū*, I offered him für *uka'il-šu-um-(ma)*, I became afraid für *a'idir¹⁴* und I showed him für *ukallim-šu-ma* : manche dieser Übersetzungen könnte man kommentieren.

Schließlich die Z. 30 : als *adi* 30 *ú-ni-ib-šu* ohne Übersetzung zitiert unter nāhu B, 7. nujhū to satisfy, to put (someone's mind) at rest – a) in gen.¹⁵ Es wird also neben *uka'il* altassyrisch eine Form *unīb* angenommen – und *adi* 30 heißt was? Bis zu dreißig(mal)?

Für eine Lesung *a-dí-iš* könnte man am ehesten an das in Mari häufig belegte *adīšu* denken - *awēlum atta lā tīdē*, das wir doch einigermaßen verstehen, scheint jedenfalls diesen Passus abzuschließen.

Wie war *i-šu-a-am* damals also gemeint, vom Schreiber, wie vom Adressaten verstanden? Wer hatte das *lumun libbim*, von dem wir oben gesprochen haben? Doch der Briefschreiber, der weiß, daß er, wie er selbst sagt, sich dumm verhalten hat?

In HG 75 ist klar, daß eine erste Person gemeint ist, der Absender spricht von sich.

Was immer wir mit diesem AM machen, der Kern der Aussage, einer rhetorischen Frage, nicht einer Feststellung, bleibt gleich – wen habe ich außer dir?

Wenn man diesen Überlegungen zustimmt, dann läge der Gewinn nicht auf dem Gebiet der formalen Grammatik, sondern in einer anderen, wohl tieferen Schicht des Sprachverständnisses, das wir nachempfinden können : wenn wir den Satz „wen habe ich außer dir?“ leicht modifizieren zu „wen habe ich denn außer dir?“, so ist das eine Verstärkung - wir würden aber kaum „denn“ an den Rand schreiben.

Anders ist es mit „wirklich“ - „wen habe ich denn wirklich außer dir?“ - oder einem an den Rand geschriebenen „so!“, das man aber nicht in den Satz einfügen kann.

„Wirklich“ jedoch paßt in diesem Fall in den Satz, an eine bestimmte Stelle, die jeder Sprecher dieser Sprache kennt, und an den Rand – vielleicht auch AM, aber mit wesentlichen Unterschieden.

Es ist kein selbstständiges Wort, das im Satz oder am Rand für sich allein stehend eine Wortbedeutung hat ; es wird an manche finite Verbalformen angefügt und gibt dieser neuen Verbindung eine eigene Bedeutung. Es sieht aber so aus, daß man dieses Element als wichtigen Bedeutungsträger erkannt und isoliert

1. Trois Tablettes Cappadociennes du Musée de Rouen, RA 51, 1957, 5ff.

2. Mogens Trolle Larsen, *The Aššur-nādā Archive (Old Assyrian Archives*, volume 1), Leiden 2002, p. 184.

3. Š/1, šakānu 1. g) to place in or on a part of the body - 2' in transferred mng., 124 rechts.

4. Nur ganz am Rande : in der Studentensprache, und nicht nur dort, hatte man vor Prüfungen und ähnlichen unerfreulichen Dingen des Lebens „Bauchweh“, was meist (aber nicht immer) in übertragener Bedeutung gemeint war.

5. In der Umschrift in der RA werden ebenfalls nur drei Zeichen ergänzt.

6. *La correspondance des marchands de Kaniš ... (LAPO 19)*, Nr. 396, p. 506f.

7. Schon I/J, išū v., 1. to have, to own - a) to have - 2' with nominal object - a' in gen., mit der Übersetzung he has a

- grievance against me, 290 rechts unter Mitte, so von mir kommentarlos in AfO, Bh. 29, 111 rechts zitiert.
 In L unter lumun libbi eingeordnet unter 2. anger als he is angry with me, 251 links Mitte.
 8. -am nicht sehr korrekt geschrieben.
 9. Kopie NI.
 10. So das CAD, dazu sogleich.
 11. *um-ma e-la-li-imal*. Zu diesen beiden Namen möge man den hier besprochenen Brief vergleichen.
 12. 74 rechts unten f. unter našpartu A 1. letter ... - b) in business contexts (OA) - 2' as legally binding document - b' other occs.
 13. Nämlich I-lá-li-im, wie oben umschrieben. im, kleiner, etwas unter li, ganz am Rand.
 14. In A/1, 105 rechts unten, unter adāru A, 7. na'duru, hatte es geheißen : he bears a grudge against me, and I have become apprehensive.
 15. N/1, 150 links oben.

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39) More loose ends – One conclusion of this sequel to “Tying up loose ends” (NABU 2007/11) is that Ugaritic *tq* is not a loan from or cognate with Akk. *saqqu*, “sack, a cloth, sackcloth” (CAD S, 168b-169a), “sack(cloth)” (CDA, 317b)¹, as generally accepted. Apart from problems with the initial consonant², the meaning “sack” seems too vague in the context, which concerns horses³. The text (RS 18.539 = KTU 4.595 : 1-4)⁴ is as follows :

1. <i>tš'm. tq. tn. kbd</i>	ninety-two <i>tq</i> in total
2. <i>l. sdnt. ššwm</i>	for harnesses of horses :
<hr/>	
3. <i>ttm. tq. bd. aym</i>	sixty <i>tq</i> in the hands of PN,
<hr/>	
4. <i>arb'. tqt. bd. dnn</i>	four <i>tq</i> in the hands of PN,
<hr/>	

In line 2, the term *sdn* is followed by the preposition *l*, “for, belonging to” and the plural of *ššw*, “horse”. It means “harness” or possibly “garment” (DUL, 753)⁵, cognate with or a loan from Akk. *s/šaddin(n)u*, “ein Hemd” (AHw, 1001, 1123 ; cf. CAD S, 17) ; “a tunic” (CDA, 310)⁶. It seems significant that in one text (JEN 588 : 36), the Akk. word (in the local spelling) occurs in a list of gifts in an adoption contract, followed by the term for “reins” : TÚG za-ti-ni.ME u KU ašāti, “s. and reins”,⁷ which may indicate that there it has a meaning connected with horses.⁸

Evidently, here Ug. *tq* (lines 1, 3, 4) is also related to horses. Rather than “sack” or the like⁹, I propose the meaning “halter, lead-rope” or a similar term, perhaps even “bridle”, and derive the noun from Ug. *yłq*, “to bind, tie”. This verb, which occurs repeatedly in KTU 1.100 10, is cognate with Arab. *wataqa*, *'awtaqa*, “to tie” (cf. DUL, 996)¹⁰. The formation of Ug. *tq* (plur. *tqt*), “lead-rope”¹¹ from the verb *yłq*, “to bind, tie” is not a problem in view of the similar formations of Ug. *šnt*, “sleep” from *yšn*, “to sleep” and of Ug. *tbt*, “seat” from *yłb*, “to sit”. This would provide an inner-Ugaritic derivation for *tq*.

1. Neither the spelling *šaqqu* nor the meaning “Trauergewand” (AHw, 1027b) has been accepted ; see CAD S, 169a (discussion section). However, see Akk. *saqqāya*, *šaqqāya*, “sack maker” (CDA, 317b ; and cf. AHw, 1179b and CAD S, 168b).

2. Heb. *šq*, but cf. Aram. *šq*, Eth. *šaqq* (cited in DUL, 927) and for Ug. *tl* / *tl* see Tropper UG, 108-113, 133 (table).

3. S. Ribichini - P. Xella, *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit* (Rome 1985) 69 suggest : “Non inverosimile rassvisare in *tq* una sorta di stoffa grezza utilizzata nella bardatura di animali”, following M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, *Die Elfenbeininschriften und S-Texte aus Ugarit* (AOAT 13 ; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976) 15.

4. Lines 5-6, which are illegible, must list the remaining 28 *tqt* in two lots. J.-P. Vita, *El ejercito de Ugarit* (BCFSN Monografías 1 ; Madrid 1995) 82-83, has provided a detailed study of this text, with full bibliographical references, many repeated here for convenience.

5. According to J. Sanmartín, “Tejidos y ropas en ugarítico : apuntes lexicográficos”, AuOr 10 (1992) 95-104 (93 n. 6) : “*sdn* ... es la denominación de un producto textil usado como arnés o prenda de vestir”, a comment also cited by Vita, *El ejercito de Ugarit*, 83.

6. See also Heb. *sdyn*, denoting an item of clothing (HALOT, 743-744).

7. See the discussion section in CAD S, 17b. Incidentally, the equivalent of Akk. *ašātu*, “reins” (CDA, 27b) also occurs in Ugaritic as *att* ; cf. also Akk. *šitu* “reins, leash” (CAD 1/3, 143a ; CDA, 378a). Other terms for parts of the harness with equivalents in Akkadian include Ug. *gpn* (Akk. *kappu*), Ug. *mdl* (Akk. *nattullu*, *namtullu*) and Ug. *llh* and *tkg* (both discussed in my previous note in NABU 2007/11). Ug. *tq* seems to be an exception in this regard.

8. Dietrich - Loretz, *Die Elfenbeininschriften*, 15 note : “Bei *sdn** wäre gegebenenfalls auf akk. *suddinnu* “Kumt” zu verweisen”. But Vita, *El ejercito de Ugarit*, 82, who cites this comment and translates “arneses(?)”, observes (*ibid.* n. 9) : “pero *suddinnu* designa más bien un elemento del carro” and refers to the meaning “part of a chariot and of a plow” in CAD S, 419a. See now *šu(t)innu(m)*, *su(t)innu*, “also part of a chariot or plough” (CDA, 391a). It is also possible that Ug. *sdnt* is a contracted form of unattested **srdnt*, to be explained from Akk. *sarādu*, “to load, to pack, to harness” (CAD S, 171), but this remains conjecture.

9. "ein Teil der Pferdeausrüstung ; vom Kontext her ist *tq* offenbar ein Bestandteil des Kumt, also mit hebr. *šq* und akk. *šaqqu* "grobes, härenes Geweder" zusammenzubringen", Dietrich - Loretz, *Die Elfenbeinschriften*, 15. For other proposals see Vita, *El ejercito de Ugarit*, 82 n. 8.

10. In the formula *hlm ytq nhš*, "then (let him) bind the snake" (lines 6, 11, 17, 22, 28, 33, 38, 43, 48, and 54); see N. Wyatt, *RTU*, 380 and n. 12. It may also be the root of *ytqt*, the name of a birth-goddess (*KTU* 1.24 : 48 : "she who ties [the umbilical cord]?").

11. C. Viroleaud, *Ugaritica V*, p. 569 : "On pourrait songer rapprocher *ytq* de arabe *wtq* ligoter", although he was uncertain.

12. One could also tentatively compare Eg. *jškn*, "Binde, Gurtel", a loanword in Egyptian, for which see R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch : die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800-950 v.Chr.)* (Mainz 1995) 106b.

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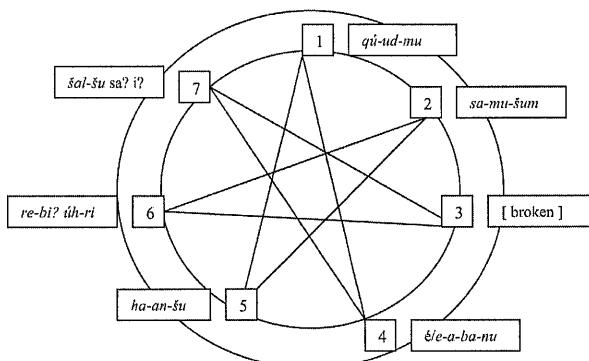
40) An alternative interpretation of the seven-pointed star on CBS 1766 (Horowitz, JANES 30) – CBS 1766, recently published by W. Horowitz in *JANES* 30 (2006), is an unusual cuneiform tablet depicting a drawing and a numerical table. The drawing shows a seven-pointed star placed within two concentric circles. The seven points of the star are numbered (I...-VII), labelled with short cuneiform inscriptions, and connected by seven straight lines (see the schematic representation below). Under the star, a large table is drawn, covering the entire width of the tablet and counting at least 10 columns and 8 rows divided by rulings. In the top row, a line of cuneiform text is written, starting with the sign IM slightly separated from the rest by a blank space. Apart from the first row, the table consists only of numbers, ranging between 1 and 7: there are four columns of seven numbers each between the first and second vertical ruling and four single numbers between the third, fourth and fifth vertical rulings. The remaining cells of the table have been left blank.

Numbers in the table of CBS 1766 (as read by W. Horowitz)

(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(H)
2	6	1	7	5	4	7	2
6	3	5	4				
3	7	2	1				
7	4	6	5				
4	1	3	2				
1	5	7	6				
6	2	5	3				

Horowitz gives a mathematical explanation to the numbers in the table. If read in horizontal pairs, the sums of the numbers in columns A,B and C,D each yield the same results in modulo¹ 7 in ascending order (thus, in line one sums 2+6 and 1+7 both yield modulo 7 : 1, in the following line sums 6+3 and 5+4 both yield modulo 7 : 2, in the third line sums 3+7 and 1+2 both yield modulo 7 : 3, etc.). In columns E,F,G,H the same principle is at work (5+4 and 7+2 both yield modulo 7 : 2), but only the first line is written out. The star is left unexplained by Horowitz. He suspects a connection between the numbers in the table and the drawing, but does not arrive at a convincing interpretation. It is left open whether the star had its meaning in mathematics, astronomy, astrology, cosmography or even board gaming.

Modulo operations are applied mainly in modern computing, for example to calculate the name of the day 23 days after Sunday.² It is doubtful whether Babylonians would have known this or used it. There is another possible interpretation to CBS 1766 that we would like to propose here - an interpretation not based in mathematics but in music. This interpretation requires the emendation of Horowitz' copy in some parts, and as we did not have the occasion to collate the tablet in Philadelphia, our remarks are preliminary and merely intended to encourage further research on this fascinating tablet.



The numbers in the columns should be read vertically, instead of horizontally in pairs, and they should be connected to the corresponding points of the star. The first sequence of numbers (column A) is 2-6-3-7-4-1-6 according to the reading of Horowitz, but we propose to emendate the last number to 5. This is based on the observation that the sequence 2-6-3-7-4-1-5 is exactly the one obtained when the lines of the star are followed starting at its second point.

In column B, we find the same sequence, only now it starts at 6 instead of 2 (6-3-7-4-1-5-2). Again, this is the sequence obtained if the lines of the star are followed starting at point 6. Column C contains the same sequence, now starting from the first point of the star (1-5-2-6-3-7-4*, the last number is emended from Horowitz₄ transcription ("5")). In column D we find the same sequence again, now starting from point 7 (7-4-1-5-2-6-3). The next four columns mention only the first number. Perhaps, the scribe thought that the principle would have been clear by now. If the number is read correctly, column E would have represented sequence 5-2-6-3-7-4-1 and column F 4-1-5-2-6-3-7. "7" in column G does not fit, we would expect "3" because this is the only sequence not yet dealt with (unless there is also a reading mistake in columns E or F; in fact, to judge from the photocopy, "5" fits better to the traces in column G; collation should be awaited).

The clue to understand the meaning of the text lies in the labels of the points of the star. In order to make sense of them, it is necessary to emendate Horowitz' transcription in some places. These emendations correspond with the general shapes of the signs copied by Horowitz, but nonetheless, it should be stressed that collation will be necessary to obtain certainty of the readings proposed. According to our reading, the labels refer to the seven first strings of the harp :

The labels of the points of the star		
	reading in JANES 30	emendation
1	<i>da-mu</i>	<i>qú-ud-mu</i>
2	<i>u₄-mu-šum</i>	<i>sa-mu-šum</i>
3	[broken]	
4	<i>kal/lab-ba-nu</i>	<i>é/e-a-ba-nu</i>
5	<i>ha-an-šu</i>	(same reading)
6	RI-x HAR-ri	<i>re-bi? úh-ri</i>
7	nin-x-x	<i>šal-šu sa? i?</i>

		meaning
1		<i>qudmû</i> (first string of the harp)
2		<i>samuššu</i> (second string)
3		
4		^d <i>Ea-bānû</i> (fourth string)
5		<i>hanšû</i> (fifth string)
6		<i>rebi uhrî</i> (sixth string)
7		<i>šalši uhrî</i> (seventh string)

For the names of the strings of the harp, see Kilmer 1965 : 264, *id.* 1997 : 473. If our interpretation is correct, the label of the third point should have been *šalšu qatnu*. The label of the seventh point starts with *šalšu* as expected (*šalši uhrî* being the name of the seventh string of the harp), but the following sign can not be reconciled with the word *uhrû*. The sign looks like *sa*, "string" in Sumerian, followed perhaps by *i*.

The seven-pointed star of CBS 1766 depicts the seven strings of the harp. The lines between its points thus represent string distances or dichords. The dichords are repeated in the columns of the table under the star using the numbers of the strings instead of their names. This type of musical notation is well known from the corpus of theoretical music texts from Mesopotamia (i.e. Kilmer 1997 ; Dumbrill 2005 : 24). Together, the seven lines of the star represent all the possible fourths and fifths of the heptatonic scale. The function of the star becomes clear in the light of other theoretical music texts in the University Museum collection such as CBS 10996, the famous NB tablet with musical instructions from Nippur (Kilmer 1960 ; Dumbrill 2005 : 37ff.), to which CBS 1766 doubtlessly belongs. CBS 10996 contains numerical instructions for tuning the harp in seven different scales (Wulstan 1968 ; *id.* 1971). These scales derive their names from the first interval, or string pair, used to generate the tuning. For instance, the "normal" tuning (*išartu*) starts with the interval of the same name, which is the one between the 2nd and the 6th string. After this pair of strings, tuning proceeds with strings 6-3-7-4-1-5 (Kilmer 1997 : 474). This is of course the sequence we have found in column A of CBS 1766. It is the same sequence represented by the star, if one follows the lines starting at its second point. In column B we find the procedure for the *kitmu* "closed" tuning, which starts with the interval 6-3 and proceeds with 7-4-1-5-2 according to CBS 10996. Again, the star of CBS 1766 supplies a visual aid to the tuning procedure, if we simply follow the lines starting at the sixth point of the star. Column C of CBS 1766 contains the procedure to obtain the *nīš gabarî* tuning (starting with string pair 1-5) and column D the *pītu* "open" tuning (starting with string pair 7-4). Columns E, F and G must represent the *qablītu* "middle" tuning (5-2), the *nīd qabli* "fall of the middle" (4-1) and *embūbu* "reed pipe" (3-7) tunings. In column H, the *išartu* tuning supposedly starts again with string pair 2-6.

In conclusion, we propose to interpret the seven-pointed star of CBS 1766 as a visual tuning chart, supplementing the numerical and verbal instructions contained in theoretical music texts such as CBS 10996, with which CBS 1766 certainly has more than an accidental connection. The star was an ingenious discovery as it enabled a visualization of all tuning cycles of the harp in a single chart. It is moreover the first visual notation of musical (not, however, melodic) information in history.

In fact, the heptagonal star on CBS 1766 was predicted by R. Dumbrill shortly before the publication of Horowitz' article : on the basis of the numerical and verbal tuning instructions in the Babylonian theoretical texts, in combination with medieval Arabic music theory, Dumbrill reconstructed a heptagonal pattern that

looks exactly like the seven-pointed star on CBS 1766 (2005 : 74 ; we are very grateful to R. Dumbrill for this reference).

It should be stressed that the present interpretation of CBS 1766 rests on a number of emendations to the edition by W. Horowitz that could not yet be confirmed by collations. In particular, the line of cuneiform text heading the numerical columns of CBS 1766 remains unintelligible to us. It does not seem to contain the names of the seven tunings, as might have been expected from the present discussion. Further study of this tablet is strongly encouraged.

1. Modulo means with respect to a specified modulus, for example : 18 is congruent to 42 modulo 12 because both 18 and 42 leave 6 as a remainder when divided by 12.

2. The results in this example can be expressed in modulo terms as : 23 modulo 7 = 2, leaving two days to add on Sunday, resulting in Tuesday.

Bibliographic references : R.J. Dumbrill, 2005, *The Archaeomusicology of the Ancient Near East*. London ; W. Horowitz, 2006, "A Late Babylonian Tablet with Concentric Circles from the University Museum (CBS 1766)", *JANES* 30, 37-53 ; A.D. Kilmer, 1965, "The strings of musical instruments : their names, numbers and significance", in *Fs. Landsberger* (=AS 16), 261-268 ; A.D. Kilmer, 1997 "Musik", in *RA* Bd. 8, 463-482 ; D. Wulstan, 1968, "The tuning of the Babylonian harp", *Iraq* 30, 215-228 ; D. Wulstan, 1971, "The earliest musical notation", *Music and Letters* 52, 365-382.

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41) Cent fois sur le métier... – Nous avons déjà abordé à plusieurs reprises l'étude de deux lettres inédites trouvées à Ugarit, de provenance hittite, RS 94.2523 et RS 94.2530 (cf. *NABU* 2005/1, 10 et 2005/4, 90 ; *SMEA* 47, 2005, 227-240). I. Singer a repris et commenté ces articles, proposant une autre hypothèse intéressante pour le paragraphe concernant une livraison à faire à l'Ahhiyawéen (*Altoriental. Forsch.* 33, 2006/2, 242-262).

Cependant, il nous semble encore utile de revenir sur une expression qui nous avait fait difficulté : SILIM-*mi-ka* *u NÍŠ* / RIM²-*ka*, la lecture du second élément de cet hendiadys étant douteuse. Il faut sans doute y voir l'idéogramme NAM.RIM (= *māmītu*) réduit à sa seule partie signifiante (RIM). Ce serait une évolution du "syllabaire" cunéiforme sous le calame d'un scribe hittite. Cette hypothèse permettrait d'établir une expression à deux termes, désignant un accord diplomatique, du type de celles que nous avions recherchées : à côté de l'usuel *riksu u māmītu* et de *riksu u šalāmu* (cf. RS 17.132 = *PRU IV*, 36, ll. 19-20) existerait ainsi un *šulmu u māmītu*.

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42) A propos d'un rituel mentionné dans des lettres envoyées à Ugarit – Deux lettres inédites de la « Maison d'*Urtēnu* » mentionnent le nom d'un rituel, inconnu jusqu'à présent dans l'akkadien d'Ugarit (et absent des dictionnaires d'akkadien) : SISKUR *ma-al-ha-aš-iši-e*¹ (RS 94.2389, lettre dont l'en-tête a disparu) ; SISKUR.MEŠ *ma-al-ha-ši*, dans une missive adressée au *sākinu* par le prince Ta'azi (RS 94.2443). On peut rapprocher ce terme de celui qui apparaît dans un message en ougaristique, envoyé au roi par Šipti-Ba'al (RS 18.040¹).

Dans les trois occurrences des textes d'Ugarit, le contexte est peu clair et il est difficile de déterminer la nature de ce rituel (ou de cette cérémonie)². Il s'agit très vraisemblablement du rituel (ou de la cérémonie) dont le nom, d'origine louvite³ (*ma-al-ha-sa*/ SISKUR(.SISKUR)-*as-sa*) apparaît dans des textes hittites sous la forme composée *malhas(s)allahi(t)*⁴, mais, là encore, il est rarement attesté et mal défini.

1. *PRU V*, no 63 = *CAT*, 2.40 donne la transcription (l. 13) w . ht . (14) mlk . syr (15) ns . w . tmny (16) ydbḥ (17) mlgt . sxx ; cependant, dans la copie publiée dans *PRU V*, p.90, seuls les 3 premiers signes de la ligne 17 sont complets. D. Pardee dans *Context of Scripture*, vol. 3, 2002, p. 104, transcrit MLḠGM¹

2. *DUL* (HdO 67) 548 : "mlgt an Eg. celebration / feast or ceremony ("anointing (?)") : tmn ydbḥ mlgt "there a sacrifice will be offered (and) the *m.* (will be performed)".

3. cf. J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* t. 6 p. 26, 1984.

4. *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* 2, 1983, p. 129.

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