

# N.A.B.U.

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### NOTES BRÈVES

**57) Kontraktion und e-Deixis im Sumerischen** — Claus Wilcke hat sich jüngst mehrfach mit dem deiktischen –e im Sumerischen befasst.<sup>1</sup> Dieses –e wird häufig für einen fehlerhaften Ergativ gehalten, seine Existenz wurde sogar bezweifelt und in Übersetzungen wird es meist ignoriert.<sup>2</sup> Doch viele Stellen erscheinen klarer, wenn man mit Wilcke ein deiktisches –e annimmt. Strittig erscheint jedoch eine Hypothese Wilckes, wonach ein deiktisches –e auch dadurch zu erkennen ist, dass es die Kontraktion des Possessivsuffixes der Sachklasse –bé mit folgendem –a des Lokatifs zu –ba verhindert. Attinger, der Wilcke sonst weitgehend zustimmt, hat hier bereits Zweifel angemeldet. Die Diskussion ist bei Attinger 2014 und Wilcke 2014 nachzulesen und wird hier nicht vollständig aufgegriffen. Einige Belege bei Gudea, bei denen die Annahme einer e-Deixis wenig sinnvoll erscheint, nähren die Zweifel:

- 1) Gudea Zyl. A xii 5: igi-nim-ta 𒂗-𒈚-eren 𒃩-шу-úr-me 𒃩-za-ba-lu[m] ní-bé-a ma-ra-an-tùm  
„Von oben wird man dir von selbst Zedernholz, Zypressen und ... holz bringen.“
- 2) Statue B vi 15: lagab-bé-a „in den zugehörigen Blöcken“
- 3) Gudea Zyl. B xviii 1: iri-na ú-si<sub>19</sub> zal zà-bé-a mu-da-a-nú-àm „in seiner Stadt schließt derjenige, der einen Zustand sexueller Unreinheit erlebte, außerhalb (wörtlich : an ihrer Außenseite)“.

In Frage käme hier höchstens eine Deixis, die einen Rückverweis auf einen genannten Gegenstand darstellt. Das würde einer Akzentuierung des Suffixes entsprechen, das ja schon selbst rückverweisend ist.

Wie auch Wilcke 2014 Abschnitt 1.4.6 vermutet, ist es wahrscheinlicher, dass sich in der Folge Nomen + Possessivsuffix + Deixis die Deixis nicht auf das Suffix, sondern auf das Nomen bezieht, da andere Suffixe in der gleichen Position dies auch tun. Dann ist man aber wieder bei dem Dilemma, dass sich alle drei Worte für eine Deixis nicht eignen: Nämlich ní weil es zu abstrakt und grammatisiert ist, lagab, weil es Blöcke sind, die der Leser nicht vor sich hat und zà, weil man es nicht von einem anderen „Außen“ unterscheiden muss.

Wie Wilcke 2014 einräumt, ist es nicht klar, dass ein deiktisches Element hinter –bé anzusetzen wäre. Vgl. lú-e-bé-da-àm = qadum annām OBGT I 301; nin<sub>9</sub>-e-ŷu<sub>10</sub> „diese Schwester von mir“ Enki und die Weltordnung 403; 406; 412.<sup>3</sup>

Sieht man sich die Gesetze für die Konstruktion des Lokativs insgesamt an, so wäre eigentlich eher nach einer Begründung dafür zu suchen, warum der letzte Vokal bei den Possessivsuffixen im Singular assimiliert wird und nicht umgekehrt, denn in allen übrigen Fällen bleiben die Vokale erhalten.

Im Grunde beinhaltet eine Analyse  $u_4 + b\acute{e} + e + a$  in Bezug auf die Deixis auch eine Art von Pleonasmus, denn  $-b\acute{e}$  erfüllt hier die Aufgabe einer distalen Deixis: „jener Tag“. Verbunden mit einer weiteren Deixis wird hieraus „dieser, jener Tag“. Dagegen ist  $u_4$  auch mit einfacher Deixis belegt: Siehe Gudea Zyl. A ii 17-18: *lugal-né-er u<sub>4</sub>-dè* (oder  $u_4-ne$ ) *maš-ge<sub>6</sub>-ka / gù-dé-a en <sup>d</sup>nin-ǵír-su-ra igi mu-ni-du<sub>8</sub>-àm* "Seinen König – schaute (an) diesem Tag Gudea im Traum – den Herrn Ningirsu.“

Zu fragen ist auch, ob man hinter dem Vollzug oder Nichtvollzug einer Kontraktion immer eine besondere sprachliche und sogar phonologische Realität suchen muss. Schon die graphische Ebene ist ja unsicher, worauf schon Attinger hinweist. Aber selbst wenn man ausschließt, dass  $-B\acute{E}.A$  in gewissen Fällen für die Aussprache [ba] oder ähnlich steht, lässt sich ein freies Nebeneinander kontrahierter und unkontrahierter Formen nicht ausschließen. Man vergleiche: „She is not. She's not. She isn't.“

Die Gründe für das Unterbleiben einer Kontraktion werden einseitig im phonologischen Bereich gesucht. Kontraktionen können aber auch deshalb unterbleiben, weil ihr Vollzug zu viel wichtige Information beseitigen würde. Würde etwa bei normalen Wortwurzeln der auslautende Vokal an das  $-a$  des Lokativs assimiliert, so wären sehr viele Wurzeln nicht mehr unterscheidbar, insbesondere beim häufigen Typ KV. Würde umgekehrt das  $-a$  des Lokativs nach Vokal in der Regel ebenso aufgegeben wie das  $a$  der Genitivendung  $-a(k)$  so wäre der Lokativ nach Vokal immer mit dem Absolutiv identisch. Der Genitiv verfügt hingegen noch über eine Kennzeichnung durch  $k$ , das vor Vokal sicher erscheint. Möglich wäre auch, dass dieses  $k$  wie das türkische „yumuşak g“ eine Längung bewirkt. Außerdem ist der Genitiv in der Wortstellung mehr gebunden als der Lokativ.

Alles in allem kann der Autor  $-b\acute{e}-a = b\acute{e} + e + a$  nicht definitiv ausschließen, sieht aber kaum Anhaltspunkte dafür und eine Reihe von Problemen.

In seiner Bearbeitung von Enmerkar und Ensuhgirana betont Wilcke sicherlich zu recht, die Bedeutung der deiktischen Elemente. Eine Funktion die die Deixis im Sumerischen haben kann, wird dabei aber nicht ausgenutzt. Die „e-Deixis“ kann auch auf etwas hinweisen, das man nicht sieht, von dem aber gleich mehr berichtet wird. Z. B. am Anfang von Gilgames's Tod (Meturan):

am gal-e ba-nú ....	„Dieser große Stier hatte sich hingelegt ...“
en <sup>d</sup> GEŠ.BÍL-ga-mes ba-nú...	„Der Herr, Gilgameš hatte sich hingelegt ...“

Vgl. auch am Anfang von Enki und Ninmaḫ. Nachdem die temporale Einleitung abgeschlossen ist:  $u_4-ba \dots <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> \dots ki-nú-né i-nú$  „damals lag dieser Enki ... auf seinem Bett.“ Ähnlich kann die Deixis auch in modernen Sprachen gebraucht werden. Ebenso ist wahrscheinlich auch die Deixis in Enmerkar und En-suhkešd-ana 217 zu verstehen. Dieser Zauberer (*maš-maš-e*) von Aratta, über den sich die Hirten der Nisaba beim Gott der Gerechtigkeit, Utu beschweren, ist in der Szene nicht anwesend und man muss auch nicht vermuten, dass er noch irgendwo unbeteiligt auf der Bühne oder in den Kulissen steht.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> WILCKE 2012a; 2012b; 2013; 2014.

<sup>2)</sup> Eine Ausnahme stellt natürlich WOODS 2001 dar. Cf. auch WOODS 2000. Sehr skeptisch äußert sich noch EDZARD 2003, 50.

<sup>3)</sup> Sumerisch nach etcsL. Die dortige Übersetzung „illustrious“, ist mit Verweis auf  $e_5$  (NIN) „princely“ gerechtfertigt. Die Lesung  $e_5$  stammt von der Glosse  $e$  zu NIN in Götterlisten, die aber auch einfach ein Hinweis auf die Lesung  $ereš$  sein kann, was das Fehlen anderer Belege für die Lesung  $e_5$  erklären würde. Cf. BORGER 2010, 226; 1998, 22; LITKE 1998, 168 Anm. 3. Weder die Existenz des Wortes, für das  $e$  stehen soll, noch seine Auffassung als Adjektiv sind gesichert. Die Annahme eines deiktischen  $-e$  ist dagegen unproblematisch.

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. WILCKE 2013, 29.

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**58) Der Schlüssel liegt in Ur (Nachträge zu NABU 2013/55)<sup>\*)</sup>** — Sollten, wie in der Notiz *NABU* 2013/55 vermutet, die Sumerer die Keilschrift von den Protoeuphratiern übnernommen haben, könnte der Schlüssel zur damals erwähnten „Pforte“ in Ur liegen. Da echte Bilinguen offensichtlich nicht existieren, muss mit „indirekten“ vorlieb genommen werden – mit Texten, die aus verschiedenen Zeiten stammen, aber vergleichbare Vorgänge dokumentieren.

Der Faden werde dort, wo er niedergelegt wurde, wieder aufgenommen: beim Zeichen EN. In ATU 7, W 21671 werden aus Anlass von Feierlichkeiten (EZEN) sechs verschiedene „Materialien“ genannt: SÍG, TÚG, GADA, ŠÚ, BA und BÁRA; bei den BA- und BÁRA-Einträgen handelt es sich eher um Zuordnungen als um konkrete Materialien. In der Summierung findet sich der Vermerk „] n EN SÍG ŠÚ GADA TÚG !“. Übersetzungen mit EN = Herr/Priester bleiben unbefriedigend, „Opfermaterie“ (im weitesten Sinne) böte sich eher an<sup>1)</sup>. Eine Summe von Objekten kann, sofern sie nicht ganz unbezeichnet bleibt (ATU 5, W 9579,du), u. a. durch Wiederholung der Objekte oder durch Nennung all der „Kategorien“, denen jene Objekte zugeordnet sind, ausgedrückt werden (MSVO 4, 3: n BA + n' GI = n" BA GI, wobei n" = n + n')<sup>2)</sup>. Unter „Kategorie“ wird hier ein Typus eines Verwaltungsvorgangs verstanden (registrieren, einnehmen, ausgeben, speichern etc.); die Zuordnung Zeichen ↔ Kategorie ist für die archaischen Texte noch nicht eindeutig geklärt. Die Liste der häufigsten Zeichen (OBO 160/1, 70) zeigt, dass BA und GI (inspizieren [s. MSVO 1, 243] und speichern?) nach Aussonderung von Titeln (SANGA), Tieren (UDU), Pflanzen (ŠE) etc. bei den Kategorien an erster Stelle stehen; nicht selten sind ferner ŠU, BAR und BU. Das häufige Paar BA/GI (MSVO 1, 185 u. ö.) taucht in den ED Texten nicht mehr auf, ein Äquivalent ist offenbar nicht vorhanden; fündig könnte man jedoch bei dem Ausdruck AB.APIN werden:

In Wirtschaftstexten sind zwei „Hauptrichtungen“ von Wichtigkeit: EINGANG, (INTERNE VERARBEITUNG) und AUSSGANG; sie können sprachlich oder verwaltungstechnisch gekennzeichnet werden (Aufbewahrungsort der Tafeln); je älter die Texte, desto spärlicher die Informationen (für Fāra vgl. OBO 160/1, 271f.). Als Ausgangspunkt seien in den archaischen Texten zu identifizierende Ortsbezeichnungen (Tempelnamen?)<sup>3)</sup> gewählt: NI+RU, KU<sub>6</sub>.RAD.ÚR und AN.MAR. Möglichkeiten, einen Grundbegriff „[G]“ zu modifizieren, sind neben der Reduplikation ([G.G]) in erster Linie durch das Hinzufügen von AB- ([AB-G]) oder -A ([G-A]) gegeben<sup>4)</sup>. Es lässt sich beobachten, dass diese Entwicklung ihren Höhepunkt in der Jemdet Nasr-Zeit erreicht, hier wiederum in Jemdet Nasr selbst. NI+RU und AB NI+RU sind Entitäten, die etwas Unterschiedliches bezeichnen müssen; das vorangestellte AB lässt sich kaum als „Tempelhaushalt“ deuten<sup>5)</sup>. Eine Zugehörigkeit im weitesten Sinne<sup>6)</sup> scheint lediglich durch einen „Herkunftsstempel“ (etwa NI+RU) ausgedrückt zu werden, grammatisch also (wenigstens im Schriftbild) unbezeichnet zu bleiben: Ausdrücke wie SANGA NI+RU oder ME („išib“) NI+RU (MSVO 1, 27) lassen sich nicht allativisch fassen. Es bietet sich demnach an, in dem AB der archaischen Texte die PE Entsprechung von sumerischem -šè (Terminativ) und -ra (Dativ) – beide erst in fröhdynastischer Zeit bezeugt – zu erblicken. Ein Schreiber aus Uruk differenziert gewissenhaft: „Tempel“ = AB<sub>a</sub>, „für“ (Terminativ) = AB<sub>b</sub> (s. besonders ATU 6, W 14111,r: | AB<sub>b</sub> KU<sub>6</sub>.AB<sub>a</sub> !)<sup>7)</sup>.

Die Schreibung von NANNA ohne Gottesdeterminativ (s. etwa ATU 7, W 20327,1 : O0207b2 [EN NANNA]) könnte zeigen, dass noch keines verwendet wurde<sup>8)</sup>; das Zeichen AN in Verbindung mit MÙŠ dürfte eher „Stern“ bedeuten, vgl. dazu ATU 7, W 21671: | EZEN UD/SIG AN MÙŠ | (Venus [nicht Inanna] als Morgen- und Abendstern, vielleicht, da durch das Schilfringbündel symbolisiert, als Hüterin des Hauses angesehen [cf. ATU 1, 59 mit Hinweis auf die Deutung W. Andraes; OBO 160/1, 126f.]). Damit sollte der Text ATU 7, W 21446 (2 UDU [AB] AN MÙŠ) als „2 Schafe für (AB) den Stern (AN) Venus“ zu übersetzen sein<sup>9)</sup>; eine sumerische Parallele aus späterer Zeit bietet UET 2, Suppl. 45 I 1–3 (1 áb <sup>d</sup>Inanna-šè ba-gfd).

In den archaischen Texten aus Ur vermisst man viele Charakteristika der älteren archaischen Texte (BA/GI, Berufsbezeichnungen, das gewohnte *layout*, ...), es fehlen aber noch die in Fāra vorhandenen Kasusbezeichnungen, Verben, Götternamen etc. Die Texte aus Ur stehen am Beginn einer neuen Entwicklung; sie könnten, wie in NABU 2013/55 angedeutet, Reste PE Formulars enthalten (als Beispiel wurde BU-A angeführt<sup>10)</sup>. Die weitere Suche gestaltet sich schwierig: viele Ausdrücke ähneln PE Formulierungen, lassen sich aber sumerisch deuten. Als Beispiel sei UET 2, 95 herausgegriffen: der Schlusseintrag „| ŠE GU<sub>7</sub> AB |“ erinnert an „| ] [AB] ? GU<sub>7</sub> |“ in MSVO 1, 107; im Sumerischen – nicht aber im PE (Fußn. 5) – kann AB an dieser Stelle durch „Tempelhaushalt“ wiedergegeben werden, nimmt damit die Stelle von NI+RU in vergleichbaren PE Ausdrücken ein (Fußn. 3), steht also kaum noch für AB im Sinn von „für“ (-šè); auch der Eintrag „| AB | URI<sub>5</sub> |“ spricht für diese Deutung. Hier tritt der Umbruch klar zutage. Ein weiteres Beispiel sei vorgestellt. Das Zeichen APIN dürfte in ATU 5, W 6756,c und W 6984,a weder Pflug, Pflüger, pflügen noch Saatfurche bedeuten, es kommt nur ein BA gleichwertiger Ausdruck (im Sinne einer „Kategorie“), der in ED Zeit nicht mehr benutzt wird, in Frage (ähnlich: NIM in ATU 6, W 16632,b). Das gilt auch für MSVO 4, 46 (Schlusseintrag: | APIN AN.MAR |): die Getreidemengen (kaum Saatgetreide) sind im Hohlmaßsystem gegeben, APIN könnte damit nur für „Pflüger“ stehen. Es liegt jedoch näher, in APIN besagte Kategorie oder eine abkürzende Schreibung für das in Jemdet Nasr häufige, aber auch in Uruk und Urum belegte AB.APIN zu sehen (Bedeutung unbekannt [„zum Bearbeiten“ (?!)]; Belege: MSVO 1, 21 u. ö.; ATU 6, W 14335,w; MSVO 4, 39). Es muss offen bleiben, ob das in Ausnahmefällen auch noch in Ur zutreffen könnte (vgl. UET 2, 184, 127 u. 122; in Fāra liegen die Verhältnisse bereits anders, s. etwa WF 56, 43 u. 44). Es sei betont, dass der Ausdruck AB.APIN (MSVO 1, 21: Tafelabschluss, kein Feldtext) nur in den archaischen Texten anzutreffen ist – ein weiteres Indiz für einen Neubeginn in Ur.

\* Abkürzungen wie in *NABU* 2013/55; WF: A. Deimel, Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara, WVDOG 45 (1924); (ED: fruhdynastisch; PE: protoeuphratisch). Kleinere Korrekturen (etwa Lesung des Zeichens ŠAGAN) werden nicht aufgelistet. – M. Civils Artikel „Remarks on AD-GI<sub>4</sub> (A.K.A. ‘Archaic Word List C’ or ‘Tribute’)“ [JCS 65 (2013) 13–64] war mir beim Einreichen des Manuskripts noch nicht bekannt. Die Annahme, Verben seien in der Frühzeit nicht geschrieben worden (Civil 17f.), ist in meinen Augen nicht zu rechtfertigen (vgl. C. Wilcke, „Die Inschrift der ‘Figure aux plumes’ – ein frühes Werk sumerischer Dichtkunst“, FS Boehmer [1995], 669–674); einige Zeichen (etwa IL) dürften sogar primär Verben bezeichnet haben. Wenn BU (dem Bild nach eine Schlange), GI und BA (Auge?) zum Beschreiben administrativer Vorgänge verwendet werden (*passim*), sollten auch Verben zum Ausdruck gebracht worden sein können. Eine Aneinanderreihung nominaler Ausdrücke kann in jeder Sprache gedeutet werden, besonders dann, wenn die Reihenfolge der Zeichen in den einzelnen Sinneinheiten unbedacht bleibt (Civil 22f.: die Liste „Tribute“ beginnt in Uruk nicht mit UD:AD, sondern mit (UD):SAG:KI; s. Fußn. 5). Sollte es sich bei den an der Liste „Tribute“ in späterer Zeit vorgenommenen Änderungen (etwa AD.GI<sub>4</sub> an Stelle von AD) nicht doch einfach nur um den Versuch, einen nicht mehr verständlichen Text dem Verständnis zugänglich zu machen, gehandelt haben?

1) Ein Priester könnte in MSVO 1, 96 durch ME bezeichnet sein; dem EN im Schlusseintrag dürfte GIBIL EN in MSVO 1, 95 entsprechen; ähnlich: EN GI in MSVO 1, 185 (weder Herr noch Priester).

2) Weitere Möglichkeiten: Zusammenfassung der Objekte unter einem Oberbegriff (GÁN in MSVO 1, 2 für unterschiedliche Feldtypen, UDU in ATU 5, W 9579,dv [Kleinvieh]), Angabe der „Summenkategorie“ (ATU 5, W 9579,dz: 7 BA – 1 GI = 6 BAR), Angabe von Objekt und Kategorie (MSVO 1, 243: n URU BA), erstmalige Bezeichnung des Gezählten (ATU 5, W 9312,d), allgemeine Zweckbestimmung (Tempelname, „Verbrauch“ etc.: *passim*).

3) ATU 6, W 15897,c25 (| UNUG GU<sub>7</sub> |) und MSVO 1, 175 (| GU<sub>7</sub> NI+RU |) sprechen gegen Ortsnamen.

4) Einige Beispiele zum Typ [AB-G] in *NABU* 2013/55, Fußn. 20. Für [G-A] vgl. u. a. ATU 5, W 9655,ad (BU-A); MSVO 4, 63 (EN-A); MSVO 4, 80 (NAR-A); ATU 5, W 9656,cb (NUN-A); ATU 5, W 9206,a1

(UNUG-A), ferner ATU 5, W 9655,v (AxŠUBUR, wohl spielerisch für ŠUBUR-A). Typ [G.G]: ATU 7, W 19408,7 (AMAR.AMAR); ATU 7, W 20044,52 (APIN.APIN); ATU 7, W 20493,16 (GI.GI); MSVO 1, 1 (ŠE.ŠE); MSVO 1, 29 (ŠU.ŠU); MSVO 1, 42 (UB.UB).

5) MSVO 1, *passim*; vgl. Fußn. 3. AB KU<sub>6</sub>RAD.ÚR, AB AN.MAR, AB UNUG, AB EN.KID/É etc. kommen nicht vor; das legt nahe, AB anders verstehen zu müssen (auch in Ausdrücken wie AB SANGA [MSVO 4, 16]): in Einklang mit der Liste „Cities“ (ATU 3) wäre für „Haushalt von X“ ohnehin „X AB/É“ zu erwarten (vgl. ferner W 20266,148 [ATU 3, pl. 78]: MŪŠ AB = ZABALAM). Der Eintrag Cities 61 (AB TE) zeigt deutlich, dass der Stellung eines Zeichens Bedeutung beizumessen ist (in wissenschaftlichen Texten – Listen – sind Umstellungen selten; als Beispiele dafür seien die Bezeichnung ADAB ŠUBUR [ATU 3, pl. 36, Liste „Swine“ 18] sowie die Verteilung der Zeichen in den ersten beiden Fächern der Liste „Tribute“ [ATU 3, pl. 44 u. 45] angeführt). Vgl. NABU 2013/55, Fußn. 20 (APIN/AB.APIN, ...).

6) „Der ... des“, „stammend von“ u. ä. (im wesentlichen die durch einen Genetiv oder Ablativ [Richtung AUSGANG] bezeichneten Abhängigkeiten).

7) S. ferner ATU 7, W 20274,39: AB<sub>a</sub> (O0301a2) und AB<sub>b</sub> (O0107c, O0501a, R0203).

8) Vgl. ATU 1, 35f. Evtl. gab es bei der vorsumerischen Bevölkerung kaum Götter, eher Nymphen, Satyren und andere Wesen, die nicht unter einem Oberbegriff zusammengefasst wurden. Bei NANNA könnte es sich durchaus schon um den sumerischen Mondgott handeln; sumerisches Sprachgut in PE Texten sollte als ebenso normal wie akkadisches in sumerischen Texten eingestuft werden.

9) ATU 7: [UNUG] statt [AB] (nach Kollation wohl zu Unrecht). Ein Venustempel existiert nicht, s. Fußn. 5; vgl. ferner UET 2, Suppl. 13 und 46.

10) NAMEŠDA ist noch zweimal belegt (UET 2, 163 Rs. iv 3; 262 Rs.). Eine Neuerung ist GÚ.AN.ŠÈ für LAGAB (MSVO 1, 1 Rs.), das aber in (šu)-nígîn weiterlebt.

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**59) New Content from the End of Lugalbanda Hurrim** — The conclusion of Lugalbanda Hurrim (the line numeration given here follows ETCSL 1.8.2.1) is both incomplete and imperfectly understood, as has been discussed by Alster Iraq 67, 61f. The content of the text following line 499, whose length is uncertain, is entirely unknown at present save for the meager contents of Ni 4427 (ISET I, 95 (pg. 153), CBS 7803 (BPOA 9, no. 73), and now the slightly more substantial content of N 3293 (digital image CDLI text no. P275007: one side of the tablet is preserved that is difficult to identify as the obverse or reverse). N 3293 appears to duplicate part of the obverse of CBS 7803 and has allowed for some improved readings of the latter piece.

CBS 7803 o1'	[...] 'x <sup>1</sup> [...]
CBS 7803 o2'	[...] 'x <sup>1</sup> HI gal-b[i? ...]
CBS 7803 o3'	[...] ḫa <sub>2</sub> -udu 'KA? <sup>1</sup> [...]
CBS 7803 o4'	[...] diŋir-re-'e? <sup>1</sup> -[ne? ...]
N 3293 1'	[... 'x <sup>1</sup> kug-ge-eš u <sub>3</sub> -mu-[...]
CBS 7803 o5'	[...] -ni-in-kug-'x <sup>1</sup> -[...]
N 3283 2'	[...] 'x <sup>1</sup> u <sub>3</sub> -mu-ni-in-dadag-[...]
CBS 7803 o6'	[...] -i]n-sig <sub>7</sub> 'x <sup>1</sup> -[...]
N 3293 3'	[...-a]n-dadag-ga-a[m <sub>2</sub> ? ...]
CBS 7803 o7'	[...] -dadag-ga-[...]
N 3293 4'	[... b]a?-an-de <sub>2</sub> -de <sub>2</sub> -eš dub-b[a ...]
CBS 7803 o8'	[...] -an-de <sub>2</sub> -de <sub>2</sub> -[...]
N 3293 5'	[...]-da-NE-[...]
CBS 7803 o9'	[...-d]a-N[E-...]
N 3293 6'	[...]-ba KA si-sa <sub>2</sub> -da m[u?...]
CBS 7803 o10'	[...] ...-u]n-da-N[E?...]
N 3293 7'	[...]-ma-kam pa mu-un-da-[...]
CBS 7803 o11'	[...] -un-da-N[E?...]
N 3293 8'	[...] 'x <sup>1</sup> dam-gar <sub>3</sub> ki sud-ra <sub>2</sub> kur [...]
CBS 7803 o12'	[...] sud-ra <sub>2</sub> kur 'x <sup>1</sup> [...]
N 3293 9'	[...] 'x <sup>1</sup> KA-KA an-na [...]

CBS 7803 o13'	[...]	] -na 'x <sup>1</sup> [...]
N 3293 10'	[... kur? ši]m <sup>ŋiš</sup> eren-na-ka s[i? ...]	
CBS 7803 o14'	[...]	-k]a? si? [...]
N 3293 11'	[... Z]imbir <sup>ki</sup> -še <sub>3</sub> UD.KI[B.NUN ...]	
CBS 7803 o15'	[...]	] UD.[...]
N 3293 12'	[...-a]n?-da-an-[...]	
CBS 7803 o16'	[...-a]n-[...]	
N 3293 13'	[...] 'GI' (erased sign?) 'x <sup>1</sup> [...]	
N 3293 14'	[...] 'x <sup>1</sup> 'x <sup>1</sup> [...]	

The new duplicate demonstrates that the prefix of anteriority u<sub>3</sub>- occurs in N 3293 1'f./CBS 7803 obv5'f., which further reinforces my suspicion expressed in BPOA 9 that a ritual procedure is being described here: the possible occurrence of ḥa<sub>2</sub>-udu “sheep hut” and the verbs de<sub>2</sub> “to pour” and dub “to heap up”(?) in this passage could suggest the involvement of livestock, beverages and foodstuffs. More substantially, N 3293 8'-11' preserves mention of the dam-gar ki su<sub>3</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub> “merchant of (i.e., who travels to?) a distant place,” the šim <sup>ŋiš</sup>eren-na-ka “resin of the *eren* tree” (perhaps a general term for a conifer, with the potential specific meaning of “juniper” in conjunction with the Zagros mountains and thus possessing the same referent as ha-šu-ur<sub>2</sub>, see the discussions of Woods JNER 9, 191, Michalowski MC 15, 345-346, with further citation) and Sippar, apparently as a destination, given the presence of the terminative suffix -/eše/. In line 498, the mention of <sup>ŋiš</sup>eren duru<sub>5</sub> kur ha-šu-ur<sub>2</sub>-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> “sappy *eren* tree of (i.e., from) the mountain of the *hašur* tree” in an unclear context may foreshadow this later passage, as well as perhaps the consumption and interaction with various aromatics by the wild bull and goat who are captured and sacrificed to the chief gods by Lugalbanda in line 300f.

Although it is obviously highly precarious to offer any kind of decisive interpretation of these fragmentary lines, it seems quite possible that what is being alluded to here is the long distance trade of aromatics in the eastern mountains regions, which, as Michalowski notes, is described as the kur <sup>ŋiš</sup>eren-na in contemporary contexts (see Michalowski JCS 30, 118, with further citation), apparently destined for Sippar, the main entrepot of Northern Mesopotamia. A royally sponsored purchasing expedition of this approximate nature is described in the literary letter Ur-dun to Šulgi (Michalowski MC 15, 344): note especially lines 4-5: kur su<sub>3</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> šim <sup>ŋiš</sup>eren-na sa<sub>10</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> mu-e-ši-gin<sub>6</sub>-na “(the king) sent(!) me(!) to the distant land to purchase juniper resin.”

But who could the dam-gar<sub>3</sub> that is mentioned here be? Utu, one of the primary divine protagonists in this text along with Nanna/Suen and Inana, is associated with mercantile activity of this type in other contexts, and was fundamentally associated with the city of Sippar. He appears to be portrayed as purchasing aromatics after journeying to the eastern mountains from the netherworld in the temporal vicinity of the sunrise in a currently unedited text that is referred to by Polonsky The Rise of the Sun God and the Determination of Destiny in Ancient Mesopotamia (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2002): 195-196 and n. 551 and 554 n. 1574 as the “e<sub>3</sub>-ma-ra hymns” (Utu I: for a list of sources, see Alster NABU 1992, note 82 (pg. 62): a similar episode may be also be referred to more obliquely in the related *Širnamšub* composition Utu F line 24f. (Kramer OrNS 54, 122, 123, 126-127 (there line 126f.), ETCSL 4.32.f)). The most extensive currently known exemplar of this text, whose level of standardization across exemplars appears to be variable, is the two-column tablet CBS 13978 (STVC 106)(+)UM 29-13-468+N 1353+N 1760+N 2596+N 2642+N 2654+N 3074+N 3167+N 7293(+1400+N 1405+N 6063, which has been reconstructed by Alster and myself.). The following passage occurs in this text (from the unattached fragment N 1400+N 1405+N 6063 (CDLI no. P276550 and P279978: N 1400+N 1405 is now joined to N 6063, courtesy of Grant Frame) lines 5'-8':

dam-gar<sub>3</sub>-ra ši[m] <sup>ŋiš</sup>eren-zu /kar 'am<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-mi-ib-sa<sub>10</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>  
 šim <sup>ŋiš</sup>eren <sup>ŋiš</sup>mar-gu<sub>2</sub>-zi-zu /a-na am<sub>3</sub>-mi-ib-sa<sub>10</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>  
 šim <sup>u<sup>2</sup></sup>gig<sup>sar</sup>-zu a-na /a?<sup>1</sup>'x<sup>1</sup> mu-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>  
 šim [...] 'x<sup>1</sup> 'x<sup>1</sup>-ra?<sup>1</sup>-zu /[...]

The merchant (Utu?) was purchasing your (referent uncertain) juniper resin (at!?) the quay (Asking?!) “What does (it cost to?) buy your juniper and *margušum* resin? What ... does (it cost to?) buy your *gig* resin (perhaps an atypical orthography of (<sup>njš</sup>)šim-gig (= *kanaktu(m)*) determined as a plant instead of as a tree)? [What does (it cost to?) buy] your ... resin?”

In another section of this text (Ni 2350 (BE 31, 11) obv? ii' 6', this piece may be part of CBS 13978+, but is in need of physical verification), Utu seems to be either described as a “merchant of Sippar” or interacts with a human bearing that label (<sup>d</sup>Utu dam-gar<sub>3</sub>-ra Zimbir<sup>ki</sup> [...]). Also, in the ED Akkadian Šamaš hymn attested at Ebla and Tell Abu Šalabikh, Šamaš sponsors mercantile trade as undertaken by the ga-eš<sub>8</sub> functionary in various commodities, including the *eren* tree and other aromatics (Krebernik QuadSem 18, 73-74, 82-83, for this passage, see also the remarks of Woods ZA 95, 41).

Could this fragmentary passage from the end of Lugalbanda Hurrim be describing Utu himself or introducing another character to the plot, the aromatics trader, perhaps suggesting that Lugalbanda’s return to Uruk/Kullab, an outcome that is anticipated to occur at the conclusion of the text in fulfillment of what his comrades explicitly state he will do if he survives his grave illness in lines 126-127, involved commercial enterprise (with, at the very least, the implicit role of Utu) in pointed contrast to the manner in which he arrived in the eastern mountains, as part of a military expedition?

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**60) About the role of the word si-si-ig in Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld —** This short note is only to insist on a problem the author has mentioned in his own study of GEN in BiOr 64 (2007) 5-31, for si-si-ig 23-25. Line 243 tells in Old Babylonian Sumerian:

H	si-si-ig-né-ta	subur-a-né kur-t[ <sup>a</sup> mu-u] <sub>n</sub> -da-ra-ab-e <sub>11</sub> -dè
BB	[si]-si-ig-né-ta	subur-a-né kur-ta mu-ni-in-e <sub>11</sub>
GG	[                i]g-né-ta su[bur                ]	
rr <sub>2</sub>	subur-a-né <sup>d</sup> en-k[i-du <sub>10</sub> ]	

In her dissertation, „Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld“ and the Sumerian Gilgamesh Cycle, The John Hopkins University (2005), which I only know from quotations by Attinger and Cooper (see below) Alhena Gadotti translates si-si-ig-né-ta instrumental and understands si-si-ig as „wind or breeze“. In his study *Bilgameš, Enkidu et le monde infernal*, 2008-2009, actualisé 2013, [http://www.iaw.unibe.ch/unibe/philhist/ifaw/content/e246526/e255000/e274658/e274665/e379923/e379933/1\\_3\\_1.pdf](http://www.iaw.unibe.ch/unibe/philhist/ifaw/content/e246526/e255000/e274658/e274665/e379923/e379933/1_3_1.pdf) Pascal Attinger is sceptical about the meaning „wind“ and translates: „afin qu'il puisse faire remonter du kur son serviteur grâce à l'esprit des songes“. He mentions two alternatives: „lui permettant ainsi faire de remonter“ et „au moyen de son (d')Enkidu), âme des songes“.

While „wind“ is problematic, a connection with dream is problematic as well. With the possible exception of one line in Bīt rimki (LKA 75: 12-13, Borger JCS 21, 3; Buttler AOAT 258, 80; Zgoll, AOAT 333, 302), where the text is changed comparing the “forerunner” (CBS 1529 r. 13, Geller ASJ 17, 125f; cf. Krebernik, ZA 91, 242 n. 15), I don't see any text where the meaning „dream“, „spirit of dreams“ or the like is attested beyond much doubt (BiOr 64, 24f. cf. Buttler, Dream and Dream Rituals, AOAT 258, 80f.). It may sometimes stand for a phenomenon connected with dreams or comparable to sleeping.

A God, spirit or an acting „soul“ should be handled like a person and hence not take the -ta preserved in three texts. Thus we would expect a natural phenomenon like „wind“ or as the present author proposed: „Schockzustand“ (being in a state of shock, paralysed by shock). In my interpretation si-si-ig and kur are parallel and both -ta separative: „from his state of shock – his servant – from the Netherworld...“ This parallelism is quite in place and Gilgameš will be shocked in another way in l. 254 from the first words of Enkidu's account of the Netherworld.

Gadotti, Jerrold S. Cooper (Wind and Smoke: Giving up the Ghost of Enkidu, Comprehending Enkidu's Ghost, in Mu-Chou Poo (ed.), Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions, Leiden/Boston (2009) 23-32, paper from a conference in Dec. 2005) and the present author have argued that Enkidu was only a

captive in the Netherworld and came back alive. The words Gilgamesh is speaking to the Gods and the way he receives him hint to an Enkidu still alive while his death is nowhere mentioned. This doesn't only exclude a dream, but makes it as well appropriate that the story tells in which state Enkidu remained in the Netherworld.

In the late Akkadian translation *utukku ša enkidu kī zaqīqi ultu eršeti uštelā* the scene has changed, now Enkidu's ghost comes to Gilgameš but to achieve this subur-a-né „his servant” is transformed into *utukku ša Enkidu* „ghost of Enkidu”, si-si-ig is rendered by *zaqīqu*, which is better matched by *līl(-lá)* in Sumerian (see CAD Z 58-60) while si-si-ig, sig-sig is more often explained by *šaḥurratu*, *šaqummatu* (CAD Š I 107b, II 33, cf. *šaqummiš*, *šaqummu*, *šuḥarruru*). The case has changed as well. That all these changes have taken place comes near to an indirect proof that *zaqīqu* in a text from the first Millennium is not easy compared with si-si-ig in a text of classical Old Babylonian Sumerian. While the normal equivalent of *za/iqīqu* in bilingual texts is overwhelmingly *līl(-lá)* only our text, Bit rimki and the beginning of the Dream Book are connecting it with *sīg-sīg/si-si-ig*. All these three texts are late and probably all originated in Assyria, with a rather free use of older material. Their understanding of si-si-ig may well be a misunderstanding of the lexical tradition where *za/iqīqu* and si-si-ig may be connected because both words have semantic fields overlapping with „cold wind”, „shock”, „quiver”, „ghostly fear”, not because si-si-ig is full equivalent to *za/iqīqu* regarding all usages of this word in the first Millennium.

Hh II 306-10 (MSL 5, 74-75) = Aa I/7 C 15'-19' (MSL 14, 237-38) mention *sīg-sīg* = *za/iqīqu* after *šāru* „wind”, *mējū* „violent storm” and before words for „shudder”, „awful silence”, *šaqummatu*, *šaḥurratu*. The Middle Assyrian source Izi M ii' 6'-10' (MSL 13, 216) has no winds, if we don't take *zaqīqu* here as such. The word *zaqīqu* could be explained by *iltānu* „north wind” (cf. CAD Z 58, 2' and further Jacobsen, Fs. Sjöberg 270 n. 17). The words *šāru*, *mējū* and *zaqīqu* all have more common and much better justified translations into Sumerian and as seen by Attinger there are no Sumerian texts before the late Sumerian flood story (I. 201) connecting si-si-ig with wind. It seems that the word si-si-ig lost some of its original meaning and was confused with the windy world of the *līl*-Demons where it met with *zaqīqu*, which itself may have had its own development. Via *zaqīqu* si-si-ig posthumously got in touch with ideas of the first Millennium for which no older tradition is known.

For An Anum III 150 and the beginning of the Assyrian Dream-Book compare the discussion by the author in BiOr 64, 24-25 and Butler AOAT 258, 80-81, 85-88, 321-23.

While these arguments make an understanding like „spirit of dreams” very doubtful the ablative -ta excludes a personified si-si-ig.

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**61) A Catalog/Incipit Inventory Entry Pertaining to Ninjīšida’s Journey to the Netherworld—**  
 Collation of catalog U<sub>2</sub>(UET 6 123) from the image now available from the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI no. 346208) suggests that the third line should be read *zig<sub>3</sub>-ga*, not *zi-ŋal<sub>2</sub>* (Kramer RA 55, 171, Charpin Le Clergé d’Ur au siècle d’Hammurabi, 456). This form of the GA sign with a single horizontal is well attested in the finds from no. 7 Quiet Street at Ur and resembles one of the other examples of this sign in this manuscript in rev. line 1, with the sole apparent difference being the inclusion of some medial horizontals. It is, however, to be contrasted with the apparent version of this sign found immediately below in obv. line 5, which should, paleographically speaking, reflect the BI sign with its two internal horizontals, although context strongly implies the effective Auslaut value of /ga/ (perhaps this paleographic divergence was prompted by copying the signs as they appeared on the tablet that hosted the incipit in question in favor of utilizing internal textual paleographic criteria).

As such, this entry quite possibly reflects the incipit of the composition referred to as “Ninjīšida and Damu” or “Ninjīšida’s Journey to the Netherworld” (Jacobsen and Alster Lambert FS, 318f.), as it is preserved in the unprovenienced source NBC 7897 and (partially) in the Ur fragment UET 6/3 481, which may be the missing top of the *im-gid<sub>2</sub>-da* UET 6/1 23 (see the remarks of Shaffer and Ludwig in UET 6/3 pg. 13).

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**62) Kollationen zu den Gudea-Inschriften—** Unsere Anforderungen an die Publikationsqualität der Gudea-Inschriften können angesichts der zentralen Rolle, die diese Texte für die Erforschung der sumerischen Sprache spielen, gar nicht hoch genug sein. Obwohl diese Texte insgesamt gut dokumentiert sind, habe ich bei der Gelegenheit eines Aufenthalts im Louvre einige Passagen noch einmal näher untersucht, die in den gängigen Publikationen missverständlich oder fehlerhaft wiedergegeben werden, oder die ein besonderes paläographisches Interesse beanspruchen.

### §1 Zeilenzählung

Die Texte sind (1) in Spalten (Zylinder) bzw. Zeilen (Statuen) geschrieben, die (2) in Fächer gegliedert sind, die wiederum (3) Zeilen- bzw. Spaltenumbrüche enthalten können. Die Gliederungsebene der Fächer finde ich besonders bemerkenswert, da sie funktional dem entspricht, was in modernen Schriftsystemen durch Interpunktionsbewirkung wird. In den gängigen Textausgaben werden nur die beiden ersten Gliederungseinheiten wiedergegeben, wobei die Fächer mit Zeilennummern gezählt werden.

Bei der Erstpublikation von Statue B hat DE SARZEC (1884-1912, vol. 2/1: Tf. xii und xiv) in seiner Kopie zweimal Begrenzungslinien zwischen Fächern vergessen. Die von ihm als St B 7,35 und St B 8,24 gezählten Zeilen sind also eigentlich in zwei Zeilen (= Fächer) aufzuteilen. Alle späteren Bearbeiter, darunter auch die Faksimiles bei WITZEL (1932) und BORD & MUGNAIONI (2002), haben diese Fehler übernommen. Die Begrenzungslinien sind auf den Photographien bei DE SARZEC (1884-1912, Tf. xviif.) hinreichend gut zu erkennen. Da diese aber nicht mehr überall leicht zugänglich sein dürften, möchte ich hier eigene Abbildungen der betroffenen Stellen geben. Zunächst St B 7,35 ( $za_3\text{-}ba mu\text{-}da / -nu_2\text{-}am_3$ ); hier ist die Gliederung allerdings widersprüchlich, da die zweite Zeile eingerückt ist, was normalerweise nur bei Folgezeilen innerhalb eines Faches vorkommt:



Es folgt St B 8,24 (kisal  $\text{^d}nin\text{-}\hat{g}ir_2\text{-su}$  / lugal- $\hat{g}a_2\text{-ka}$ ):



In St B 8,2 führt EDZARD (1997: 36) noch einen weiteren Fehler ähnlicher Art ein; die Faksimiles von de Sarzec und Witzel sind hier korrekt. Auch St E 4,14f., bei de Sarzec und Witzel korrekt, legt Edzard (1997: 44) fälschlicherweise in eine Zeile zusammen (eine Photographie dieser Stelle folgt gleich in §2).

### §2 kisal vs. e<sub>2</sub>

KISAL und E<sub>2</sub> werden bei Gudea in der Regel klar unterschieden: KISAL hat keine inneren vertikalen Keile. Betrachte etwa kisal e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu in Cyl B 6,20:



In Statue E 4,14 wurde zwar immer schon KISAL gelesen, doch das Faksimile bei de Sarzac (1884-1912, vol. 2/1: Tf. xxi) zeigt E<sub>2</sub>, was auch die Faksimiles von Witzel und Bord & Mugnaioni übernehmen. STEIBLE (1991, I: 194) gibt jedoch an, das Zeichen KISAL durch Kollation bestätigt zu haben. EDZARD (1997: 44) ignoriert dies und bleibt dennoch bei der alten Lesung, weshalb er die Stelle emendieren muss. Das Original zeigt in der Tat eindeutig ein KISAL (Photo: kisal mah-na / mu-na-ni-gub):



Die einzige Gudeastelle, an der tatsächlich eine Verwechslung beider Zeichen vorliegen könnte, ist Cyl B 15,19 (Photo: kisal<sup>1</sup> e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ninnu). Die vertikalen Keile in kisal haben hier jedoch ein seltsam geglättetes Aussehen, so dass ich vermute, dass zunächst ein e<sub>2</sub> geschrieben und nachträglich in kisal korrigiert wurde; in dem folgenden e<sub>2</sub> fehlt dann ferner der abschließende senkrechte Keil:



### §3      u<sub>8</sub>

In Statue F 4,1 wird traditionell u<sub>8</sub> "weibliches Schaf" gelesen, ein Zeichen, das aus LAGAB mit einer Binnenzeichnung besteht. DE SARZEC (1884-1912, vol. 2/1: Tf. xxv) hat in seinem Faksimile die Binnenzeichnung versehentlich fortgelassen und gibt nur LAGAB. Witzel hat diesen Fehler übernommen. Obgleich sowohl STEIBLE (1991, I: 206) als auch VOLK (1999: 24) die Lesung u<sub>8</sub> nach Kollation bestätigen, wird der Fehler bei BORD & MUGNAIONI (2002: 82) nochmals wiederholt, und auch EDZARD (1997: 48) gibt die Binnenzeichnung als zerstört an. Um auch die letzten Zweifel daran auszuräumen, dass im Text wirklich u<sub>8</sub> steht, möchte ich ein Photo der Stelle präsentieren:



#### §4      **u<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub>**

In Cyl A 3,20 wurde traditionell u<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub> gelesen ebenso wie an der Parallelstelle Cyl B 2,9. EDZARD (1997: 71) fand die horizontalen Keile des Zeichens U<sub>2</sub> im Faksimile bei THUREAU-DANGIN (1925: Tf. iii) wohl zu weit links herausstehend und versuchte daher eine neue Interpretation auf der Basis einer Lesung LUH. RÖMER (2010: 11) hat dies übernommen. Die Zeichenform liegt aber durchaus noch im Rahmen der üblichen Variationsbreite von U<sub>2</sub> und ist von LUH hinreichend gut unterschieden (Photo: u<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub> sa<sub>6</sub> / -ga-zu igi-še<sub>3</sub> ha):



Die Parallelstelle Cyl B 2,9, an der Edzard und Römer die Lesung u<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub> beibehalten, sieht ganz ähnlich aus:



#### §5      **ARAD<sub>(2)</sub>**

Gudea verwendet für das Wort "Diener" immer die Graphie ARAD<sub>2</sub> (ARAD×KUR) und benutzt das einfache Zeichen ARAD dagegen zur Schreibung von nita<sub>2</sub> "männlich". In der Graphie des Wortes dur<sub>3</sub> = ANŠE.ARAD<sub>(2?)</sub> "Eselshengst" sollte man erwarten, dass an ARAD "männlich" und nicht an ARAD<sub>2</sub> "Diener" gedacht ist. Von den beiden verfügbaren Belegstellen zeigt Cyl A 5,10 in der Tat ARAD:



In St F 4,10 ist der Befund etwas undeutlich. STEIBLE (1991, I: 206) gibt ARAD×KUR an, ähnlich – mit Druckfehler – EDZARD (1997: 48). Wie schon bei DE SARZEC (1884-1912, vol. 2/1: Tf. xxv) gut dargestellt, sieht man in der Tat Reste eines KUR, das aber von einer eigentümlichen Zerstörung in dem sonst perfekt erhaltenen Passus betroffen ist. Ich halte es für wahrscheinlich, dass eine Korrektur des Schreibers vorliegt, der ein ARAD<sub>2</sub> nachträglich in ARAD umretuschiert hat:



## §6 HUL<sub>2</sub>

Das Zeichen HUL<sub>2</sub> hat in den Zylindern links überall zwei senkrechte Keile oder Winkelhaken (Cyl A 2,6; 7,30; 8,8; 14,5; 17,28; 19,9; 20,4; 20,12; Cyl B 2,22; 9,20; 10,10; 15,19; 20,14). In den Statuen tritt es zweimal auf (St E 7,3; St G 2,2), wo alle Faksimiles seit de Sarzec nur einen einzigen Winkelhaken darstellen. In dieser Gestalt wird das Zeichen auch bei ELLERMEIER (2001: 23) gebucht. Die Originale lassen jedoch unter dem großen linken Winkelhaken noch einen zweiten kleineren erkennen. Ich gebe hier ein Photo von St E 7,3 (14 HUL<sub>2</sub> dusu); St G 2,2 sieht ähnlich aus.



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**63) A note on the text Valdosta 4** — The text Valdosta 4 (i.e. CDLJ 2006/2 §04) was transliterated and translated by J. Cale JOHNSON (2006). The author transliterated the first line of the reverse of this text as ki lugal-he<sub>2</sub>-gal<sub>2</sub>-ta. With the help of the photograph of this text which is available from CDLI online database, I am certain to transliterate this line as ki lu<sub>2</sub>-diğir-ra-ta (not ki lugal-he<sub>2</sub>-gal<sub>2</sub>-ta). In this case, the individual Lu-diğira (lu<sub>2</sub>-diğir-ra) undoubtedly refers to Lu-diğira, the son of Aradhula (Arad<sub>2</sub>-hul<sub>3</sub>-la). Lu-diğira, the son of Aradhula, exclusively dealt with wild or rare animals which were attested in the administrative documents from Puzriš-Dagan. Furthermore, the animals attested in this text (Valdosta 4) are two onagers (anše edin-na, for which see MAEKAWA 1979) and two female Šimaškian goats (uds<sub>5</sub> LU<sub>2</sub>SU), which exactly belong to wild or rare animals. By the way, this text (Valdosta 4) is definitely from Puzriš-Dagan dating to the 26<sup>th</sup> day of the 10<sup>th</sup> month of the fifth regnal year of Amar-Suen. It is noted that other references to the transaction of dead onagers from Lu-diğira the son of Aradhula to Ur-niğar are ASJ 19 202 8, BPOA 7 2661, Hirose 66, Hirose 67, Hirose 70, Hirose 72, MVN 4 119, Nisaba 8 149, NYPL 26, NYPL 241, and PPAC 4 286 (all dating to the 47<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Šulgi), with one exception Nisaba 8 260 which mentions the transaction of dead onagers from Lu-diğira, the son of Aradhula, to Šulgi-iriğû dating to the sixth regnal year of Amar-Suen.

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**64) MVN X 72 et As. 33:385, deux sceaux de serviteurs du roi Būnu-Eštar de Kurdā ?\*** — Dans le volume de J.-P. Grégoire, *Inscriptions et archives administratives cunéiformes (1<sup>e</sup> partie)*, MVN X, Rome, 1981, un sceau-cylindre paléo-babylonien en hématite (2,4 x 1,3 cm) de la collection Jean-

Philippe Mariaud de Serres a attiré mon attention : le sceau M.d.S. (s.n. 6), copié pl. 20, n° 72 et commenté p. 31-32 (voir désormais le site du CDLI : fiche P274642 = CDLI Seals 001552). Provenant du marché des Antiquités, on ne connaît pas l'origine de sa découverte. Le sceau porte l'inscription suivante : (1) *ia-ku-un-ha-mu* (2) *ir bu-nu-eš₄-tár*, soit : « Yakūn-Hammu, serviteur de Būnu-Eštar ».

L'iconographie du sceau est tout à fait typique de la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. avec le roi qui fait face à une déesse Lama. L'ensemble est décrit ainsi par J.-P. Grégoire : « Un personnage, de profil à droite, se tient debout face à une divinité protectrice, coiffée de la tiare à cornes, revêtue de la longue robe à volants, les mains levées en guise d'intercession » (d'après *MVN X*, p. 32).

Quant au propriétaire de ce sceau, Yakūn-Hammu, il possède un nom propre caractéristique de cette période, bien connu par la documentation de Mari (cf. la graphie *ia-ku-un-ha-mu* dans A.4026 [= *LAPO* 16 63] : 10 et 11, référence citée dans ARCHIBAB ; cette mention date de l'époque de Yahdun-Lîm).

Au vu de l'iconographie, de l'onomastique et d'autres exemples connus de sceaux de cette période provenant du marché des Antiquités et originaires de Haute-Mésopotamie, il est très tentant de penser que le sceau de ce Yakūn-Hammu soit celui d'un serviteur de Būnu-Eštar de Kurdā, ville localisée au sud du Sindjar (peut-être à Balad Sindjar, cf. F. Joannès, « L'organisation de l'espace en Irak du nord (région du Sinjar) au début du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. », *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* III, 1992, p. 4). Ce roi est mentionné dans les archives de Mari à l'époque de Samsī-Addu et de Zimrī-Lîm. Mais Yakūn-Hammu ne semble pas cité dans la documentation qui nous est parvenue même si, parmi les individus ayant un nom commençant par *Yakūn-*, plusieurs sont attestés à Kurdā, comme Yakūn-Addu ou Yakūn-Ašar.

Dans l'hypothèse où il s'agit bien d'un sceau d'un serviteur de Būnu-Eštar de Kurdā, il est par contre difficile de déterminer exactement à quelle période de sa vie ce sceau appartient. En effet, il pourrait s'agir tout aussi bien de l'époque où Būnu-Eštar était un roi indépendant avant l'arrivée de Samsī-Addu que de celle où il était dépendant de ce dernier (cf. D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand, « Prétendants au trône dans le Proche-Orient amorrite », dans J. G. Dercksen [éd.], *Assyria and Beyond. Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, PIHANS 100, Leyde, 2004, p. 99-115). En effet, la documentation de Chagar Bazar (Ašnakkum) a montré que des serviteurs de Samsī-Addu comme Sîn-iqīšam pouvaient eux-mêmes avoir des gens sous leurs ordres ayant un sceau les décrivant comme leur serviteur propre. Ainsi, à Chagar Bazar, Baltu-kašid possédait deux sceaux où il est seulement indiqué qu'il est serviteur de Sîn-iqīšam (cf. ES 1 et ES 19 dans Ö. Tunca, D. Lacambre et A. Millet Albà, « 6. Les inscriptions des sceaux-cylindres », dans Ö. Tunca et A. M. Baghdo [éds], *Chagar Bazar [Syrie] III. Les trouvailles épigraphiques et sigillographiques du Chantier I [2000-2002]*, Louvain, Paris et Dudley [MA], 2008, p. 139-140).

Le sceau de Yakūn-Hammu pourrait aussi dater de la période où Būnu-Eštar, après son exil dans le royaume de Zalwar, a retrouvé son trône sous le règne de Zimrī-Lîm entre ZL 3 (ou ZL 4) et ZL 5 (cf. D. Charpin et N. Ziegler, *FM V*, 2003 p. 267, § 4.1.6 et D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand, *Mélanges Larsen*, PIHANS 100, 2004, p. 99-115 avec l'édition de la lettre A.1215). En l'état actuel de la documentation, il est impossible de trancher entre ces trois hypothèses de datation.

Quoiqu'il en soit, ce sceau serait contemporain des archives de Mari et serait à ajouter à ces nombreux sceaux issus du marché des Antiquités, certains ayant pu être datés plus précisément, comme ceux qu'avait déjà repérés en son temps J.-R. Kupper. Ainsi, en étudiant quatre sceaux achetés par le Louvre, ce dernier avait pu faire le lien avec la documentation de Mari dans son article « Sceaux-cylindres du temps de Zimri-Lim », *RA* 53, 1959, p. 97-100. Par ailleurs, si le sceau de Yakūn-Hammu n'a pas été intégré dans le volume de D. R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*, *RIME* 4, Toronto, Buffalo et Londres, 1990, il est tout de même possible qu'il ait fait partie de la vente de la collection Jean-Philippe Mariaud de Serres à Paris les mercredi 16 et jeudi 17 février 2011 chez Christie's pour laquelle on pourra consulter le catalogue publié à cette occasion (n° 1054). Il est cependant impossible de l'identifier parmi les sceaux proposés à la vente au vu des photos disponibles (cf. en particulier p. 42-43).

Un autre roi Būnu-Eštar est connu à cette époque comme roi de Qabrā, vaincu par Samsī-Addu et Dāduša (cf. *FM V*, p. 268, § 4.1.7 et plus récemment l'article de D. Charpin, « Chroniques bibliographiques 3. Données nouvelles sur la région du Petit Zab au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. », dans *RA* 98, 2004, p. 151-178). D'après D. R. Frayne, un sceau d'un serviteur de ce souverain aurait été trouvé à Ešnunna (cf. *RIME 4*, p. 720, E.4.21.1.2001). Ce sceau en lapis-lazuli (2 x 0,9 cm) porte la référence As. 33:385 et a été édité dans *OIP 43*, 1940, p. 158, n° 69 (trs. et trd.), p. 217, fig. 103o (photo) et p. 243 (description) et repris dans *OIP 72*, 1955, p. 50 (trs. et trd.) et pl. 67, n° 729 (photo). Il a été découvert à Tell Asmar en surface (locus P 27:8, Audience Hall of Naram-Sîn). La description en est la suivante : « Two standing figures, possibly worshiper (at right) facing god or king, both apparently wearing kilts under open cloaks; star-and-crescent symbol and libra in the field » (d'après *OIP 72*, légende à la pl. 67 sub n° 729).

Je propose de lire l'inscription ainsi (la lecture des deux premières lignes n'en est cependant pas totalement assurée) : (1) DIŠ *e-ki-<sup>d</sup>IM* (2) dumu *a-ta-ta-we-en\** (3) īr *bu-nu-eš<sub>4</sub>-tár*, soit : « Eki-Addu/Teššub, fils de Atatawen, serviteur de Būnu-Eštar ».

Pour la première ligne, C. D. Reichel proposait de lire : <sup>m</sup>*e-mur<sup>12</sup>-<sup>d</sup>IM* dans *Political Changes and Cultural Continuity in the Palace of the Rulers at Eshnunna (Tell Asmar) from the Ur III Period to the Isin-Larsa Period (ca. 2070-1850 B.C.)*, unpublished PhD, Chicago, 2001, vol. II, Appendix III, p. 309, seal 69.0. Quant à D. Schwemer, il indique seulement que la lecture et l'interprétation du nom propre de la première ligne ne sont pas claires dans *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen. Materialien und Studien nach den schriftlichen Quellen*, Wiesbaden, 2001, p. 352. Il faut noter que la présence d'un signe DIŠ au début de cette ligne est inhabituelle. Elle pourrait s'expliquer par le fait que l'inscription ait été retaillée dans l'Antiquité ainsi que l'a proposé D. Collon au sujet du sceau-cylindre BM 129502 (cf. *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals III. Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods*, 1986, Londres, p. 80 sub n° 88 : « The unusual DIŠ in line 1 may be the remainder of an erased inscription »). On connaît par ailleurs un Eki-Lahwi dans un texte administratif de Mari (cf. *ARM VII* 185 ii 3' : <sup>l</sup>*e-ki-la-ah-wi*, cité dans *ARMT XVI/1*, 1979, p. 89). Il pourrait s'agir d'un nom propre à la structure similaire.

Pour le nom propre de la deuxième ligne, il me semble que le dernier signe est plutôt un EN qu'un RA comme cela avait été proposé jusqu'à présent, même si l'interprétation de ce nom propre reste toujours difficile.

D'après D. R. Frayne, qui se fondait sur l'origine hourrite supposée des noms propres du propriétaire et de son père, ce sceau aurait été ramené en butin après la campagne de Dāduša contre Qabrā (« The provenance of this piece suggests it might have been a piece of booty brought back from Dāduša's siege of the city of Qabarā », cf. *RIME 4*, p. 720, E.4.21.1.2001). Cependant, M. Anbar et M. Stol avaient auparavant proposé que celui-ci soit plutôt le sceau d'un serviteur du roi homonyme de Kurdā dans le compte-rendu du volume *OBTR* (cf. *BiOr 35*, n° 3-4, 1978, col. 210 sub n° 4 ; proposition reprise dans le compte-rendu de *RIME 4* par M. Stol dans *BiOr 51* n° 1-2, 1994, col. 112 sub p. 720). De nouveaux indices permettent d'aller dans le sens de la proposition de M. Anbar et M. Stol d'en faire un serviteur du roi de Kurdā. Tout d'abord, l'argument de D. R. Frayne d'en faire un serviteur du roi de Qabrā uniquement sur la base de l'onomastique hourrite n'est pas suffisant. En effet, la population de la région du Sindjar portait aussi des noms propres hourrites comme le montrent les données réunies par J. M. Sasson (« Hurrian and Hurrian Names in the Mari Texts », *UF* 6, 1974, p. 353-400 ; voir aussi l'étude de B. Lion sur « Les contacts entre Hourrites et Sémites en Haute-Mésopotamie au II<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. », *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* VII, 1996, p. 7-24 et plus récemment Th. Richter, « Die Ausbreitung der Hurriter bis zur altbabylonischen Zeit: eine kurze Zwischenbilanz », *CDOG* 3, 2004, p. 263-311 et en particulier p. 283). Ainsi plusieurs individus originaires du royaume de Kurdā portent un nom clairement hourrite comme le montre par exemple le cas de Kirip-šeši, messager de Hammu-rabi de Kurda. Il est attesté dans les textes suivants : *ARM VI* 33 (= *LAPO* 16 340) : (17) *ki-ri-i[p\*-še-ri-i]š* ; *ARM XIV* 97 (= *LAPO* 16 427) : (5) <sup>l</sup>*ki-ri-ip-še-ri-i[š]* (6) ù NP lú *kur-da<sup>k</sup>i* ; *ARMT XXVI/2* 420 : (34) *[ki-ri]-ip-še-ri {IŠ-X} -iš* (35) [lú *kur-da<sup>k</sup>i*] ; pour ce type de NP, cf. *NPN*, *OIP* 57, 1943, p. 88a.

D'autre part, on sait, concernant la question des liens qui existaient entre Kurdā et Ešnunna, que Simah-ilānē, le prédécesseur de Būnu-Eštar sur le trône de Kurdā pendant le règne de Zimrī-Lîm (ZL 2-ZL 3/ZL 4), s'était manifestement retrouvé sous la protection d'Ešnunna pendant la période du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie d'après une récente proposition de D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand (cf. *Mélanges Larsen*, PIHANS 100, 2004, p. 108-109). Simah-ilānē avait ensuite pu bénéficier de l'aide babylonienne pour remonter sur son trône au début du règne de Zimrī-Lîm (cf. *FM V*, 2003, p. 189-190). Le sceau-cylindre As 33:385 trouvé à Tell Asmar pourrait être un nouvel exemple d'un autre Kurdeen qui aurait trouvé refuge dans le royaume d'Ešnunna du fait de l'instabilité politique chronique en Haute-Mésopotamie à cette période. Sa mise au jour constituerait alors une nouvelle preuve des liens qui existaient, à l'époque des archives de Mari, entre un royaume du Sud-Sindjar, Kurdā, et le pays d'Akkad (qui, à l'époque des archives royales de Mari, peut tout aussi bien désigner le royaume de Babylone que celui d'Ešnunna, cf. en particulier la lettre *ARMT XXVII* 135 : 28-33).

<sup>\*)</sup> Je remercie M. Benjamin Vollemaere, doctorant à l'université Lille 3, pour la communication des informations sur l'onomastique de Kurdā. Sa thèse, en cours d'achèvement, porte sur l'histoire politique des royaumes du Sindjar à l'époque amorrite.

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**65) Two Sumerian Literary Letters About Merchants** — CUNES 47-10-007 (125×58×30) is a single column school exercise tablet housed in the Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar at Cornell University.<sup>1)</sup> The tablet contains two Sumerian literary letters, one on each side, that were part of the advanced scribal curriculum used to train Akkadian speakers to read and write Sumerian during the Old Babylonian period.<sup>2)</sup> Whereas the letter on the obverse is otherwise unattested, the letter on the reverse corresponds in part to SEpM 17.<sup>3)</sup> SEpM 17, from Šamaš-ṭāb to Ilak-nu'id, occurs on nine other manuscripts, eight from Nippur, and one from Mari. The version here, however, provides a new recension.

Although fragmentary, the two letters preserved on CUNES 47-10-007 fit together nicely, as both deal with the affairs of merchants. The beginning of the first epistle is lost, so we are unable to determine the sender and recipient. Enough is preserved, however, to establish that the letter dealt with economic matters, in particular long distance trade. The sender, who identifies himself as the son of a merchant (l. 23), lists a series of textiles and wooden objects - meant specifically for women's use - he received (l. 22) from an unnamed individual.

While the purpose of the letter is difficult to ascertain, it is clear that the exercise was inspired by the lexical tradition. In particular, the section listing wooden objects draws from the student's knowledge of Ura 1, and the section on textiles draws from Ura 4.<sup>4)</sup> Although not all the items are attested in the standard OB Nippur versions of these lists, the CUNES school texts often represent varied lexical traditions.

The reverse contains a new recension of SEpM 17. In it, Šamaš-ṭāb, a merchant, writes to Ilak-nu'id, presumably his agent, with a set of instructions pertaining to matters to which Ilak-nu'id needs to attend during an up-coming journey. The letter begins like the standard version of SEpM 17 but then deviates by providing more specific details about Ilak-nu'id's trip. At the end, the letter resumes with the narrative of SEpM 17, concluding with a request for the merchandise to be exchanged for tin.

The contents of this tablet - a previously unattested letter and a new recension of one commonly found at Nippur - support our previous understanding of the Old Babylonian Sumerian curriculum.<sup>5)</sup> For instance, there are several other examples known to us of tablets containing SEpM letters that deviate heavily from the Nippur versions. These include an alternate version of SEpM 3<sup>6)</sup> and of SEpM 11.<sup>7)</sup> This speaks to the notion of the flexibility of the curriculum, and perhaps suggests ad hoc production either on the part of the teacher or the student.

Furthermore, SEpM as a unit is a Nippur construct.<sup>8)</sup> Although the letters themselves are found outside Nippur, the order of the corpus preserved on a number of Nippur Sammeltafeln and multi-

composition imgidas, only existed at Nippur. Thus, we would expect SEpM letters to be studied along side other letters at non-Nippur schools. CUNES 47-10-007 is a good example of this.

### Transliteration

#### Obverse

1. [ . . . ]
2. [ . . . ]
3. [ . . . ] /x x\ [ . . . ]
4. [ . . . ] /x\ [ . . . ]
5. [ . . . ] /x\ [ . . . ]
6. [n] /túg? munus? \ [ . . . ]
7. [x] /x nam\ [ . . . ]
8. [n] túg-hi-a gi-rí-[in. . . ]
9. [n] <sup>túg</sup>ságšu(U.SAG) 30 /kù-babbar\ [ . . . ]
10. [n]+10 túg zabar gi-/rí-in i\|n- . . . ]
11. [n] <sup>túg</sup>/ib\~dù <sup>túg</sup> 2/3 ma-na /x\ [ . . . ]
12. [n] <sup>túg\</sup>aktum(A.SU)-e-tum kù-babbar 60 šu-/r\~[. . . ]
13. [n] /x-x\~tum ki-lá-bi [n] /gín\
14. [x] SU KAK in-ŷar
15. [n] <sup>geš</sup>ság-du 2 <sup>geš</sup>túg-/túg\
16. [n] <sup>geš</sup>bar-bar 2 <sup>geš</sup>nud
17. 1 <sup>geš</sup>šer<sub>7</sub>-ra 2 <sup>geš</sup>nu-šer<sub>7</sub>-ra
18. 1 <sup>geš</sup>BU
19. <sup>geš</sup>šu-kár munus-e in-na-an-sum
20. /â\~šu-du<sub>7</sub>-a munus-e in-du<sub>7</sub>-a
21. ù za-e 5 <sup>kuš</sup>níg-kéš kù-babbar
22. kug bala-šè /ma\~ra-an-sum
23. ūguruš dumu dam-gàr-ra-me-en
24. a-na-aš-àm kur mar-tu-/šè x(-x?)\~ma?
25. ù dumu-munus-ŷu<sub>10</sub> nam nu-mu-/un\~zu bí-ak
26. tukum-bi dumu-/ŷu<sub>10</sub> x-ib?-x\
27. <sup>d</sup>utu nu-mu-un-ta-/x\~[. . . ]
28. abul(ká.gal) <sup>d</sup>da-gan-na-šè igi hé-[. . . ]  
~ a-ma-ru-kam

#### Reverse

1. [i]-la-ak-nu-/id\ [ù]-na-a-d[ug<sub>4</sub>]
2. <sup>[m]d</sup>samaš(UTU)-tāb(DÙG)-e n[a-ab]-bé-a
3. kaskal iti 1 ud 15-kam ud ní-z[u] ha-/ba-DU\
4. bar-za èn <<èn>> bí-in-tar ūgiri<sub>3</sub>-za si [ba-ab-sá]
5. šà ni-q[um]<sup>ki</sup>-ma-ta mu-da 3-k[am-ma?-bi?]
6. a-na-/aš\ [ . . . ] /x\~DU-ne-e[n]
7. á ág-[gá . . . ] /x DU\ mu-e-ši-in-/x\
8. iri-e [ . . . dùb?] bí-in-gurum
9. /x\ [ . . . ]-zu al-HI
10. [ . . . ] á-tuku a-na-me-a-bi
11. [ . . . ]-in-gi<sub>4</sub>
12. [ . . . ] ù-NE-en
13. [ . . . ] al-BU-/x\
14. [ . . . ] /x\ šu-ba ba-te-ŷá-e-dè-/en-na-zu\
15. [ . . . ] kadra(/níg?-šà-a)-šè igi-zu na-an-am ba-/BU-NE-en\ sá-ma-ab
16. [x]-/zu x\ kug dam-gàr-ra šu ba-ti-a-zu sá-ma-ab
17. nam-/ba\~ni<sub>10</sub>(LAGAB)-ni<sub>10</sub>(LAGAB)-ne-en

18. /x-x\·bi-ma iri ba-te-ŷá-e-dè-en-na-zu ab-te-ŷá-NE
19. tukum-bi nu-um-DU-NE-en
20. [x]-zu nu-sá-e
21. [x]-/kug\ dam-gàr-ra šu ba-ti-a-zu /x x x\
22. /é\·zu al-gul-lu-NE-en
23. sá-[ma]-ab hé-a
24. 1 anše-ŷiš-a kù-bi 4 gín
25. 1 <sup>gada</sup>šà-ga-dù kù-bi 2/3 gín
26. á má-zu á-ba 1 gín
27. /â\ ud-da-zu 1 1/3 gín bí-ib-si
28. [níg-š]/a<sub>10</sub>-ma\ 1 2/3 ma-na nagga(AN.NA) gi-ma-/ni-ib\
- ~ [2 gún] siki da-gal-túm(DU)-ma
- ~ [kù-bi ha]-ra-da-šid im-ma ha-/ra\·a[b-tag?]

### **Translation**

#### *Obverse*

1. [...]
2. [...]
3. [...]
4. [...]
5. [...]
6. [...]
7. [...]
8. [n] assorted carnelian(-colored) garments [...]
9. [n] turbans (valued at) 30 (units) of silver, [...]
10. [n]+10 . . . carnelian(-colored) garments [...]
11. [n] belts (valued at) 2/3 mina [...]
12. [n] silver(-colored) aktum-garments (valued at) 60 . . .
13. [n] . . . garments, their weight is [n] talent(s)
14. . . . , he deposited.
15. [n] (warp) beam(s), 2 looms,
16. [n] shuttle(s), 2 beds,
17. 1 (wooden object), 2 (wooden objects),
18. 1 pole,
19. he gave to him (all of these) utensils that women (use).
20. This equipment, which is suitable for a woman,
21. and 5 silver bands for you,
22. he gave to me as a silver tax.
23. I am the worker, the son of a merchant!
- 24-25. Why did you make . . . to the west and my daughter, who doesn't know anything.
26. If my son . . . ,
27. then (before) night [falls]
28. (he) will . . . at the gate of Dagan. It is urgent!

#### *Reverse*

1. Say to Ilak-nu'id,
2. thus says Šamaš-tāb:
3. The journey is 1 month and 15 days. You should leave today!
4. I have looked out for you and arranged your way.
5. In Niqum, by the 3rd of the year,
6. why . . . did you not arrive?
7. the instruction ....



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8. In the city ... he rested(?)
9. ...
10. [...] everything powerful,
11. he returned [...]
12. ....
13. ....
14. You accepted [...]
15. I . . ., [...] as a gift, in your presence. Match it!
16. When you receive [...], the silver of the merchant, match it!
17. You should not give it back.<sup>9)</sup>
18. Once you have come near [...] and the city,
19. If you do not ...
20. (and) you do not match your [...]
21. then once you have received the silver of the merchant, . . .
22. I will destroy your house.
23. Match it (and) so be it!
24. Of the donkey, its silver: 4 shekels
25. Of the linen belt, its silver: 2/3 shekels
26. the price for your boat, its price: 1 shekel
27. your daily wage<sup>10)</sup>: 1 1/3 shekels. (All of this) has been loaded up (on your boat).
28. The merchandise is (worth) 1 2/3 mina of tin. Bring it to me.
- ~ [2 talents] of dagaltum wool,
- ~ [its value], I have calculated for you, in your presence. It has been [recorded?] in a tablet for you.

### Commentary

- Obv.**
- 9. *túg*sağšu is attested in OB Nippur Ura 04 Seg. 6, 302'.
  - 15. *geš*túg-/túg\, a type of loom, occurs in OB Nippur Ura 01 l. 413.
  - 16. For *geš*bar-bar, "shuttle," see OB Nippur Ura 01 l. 412. *geš*-nud, "bed," occurs in l. 214.
  - 17. For discussion of *geš*ser<sub>7</sub> see Powell 1992: 110-111.
  - 18. For *geš*BU see Ura 01 l. 429ff. The reading of this line is unclear.
  - 19. *geš*su-kár, "tool, utensil," see Ura 01 l. 619.
  - 21. níğ-kéš kù-babbar is attested in BIN 09, 152 4.
  - 27. Perhaps to be restored something like SEpM 11 l. 9 tukum-bi <sup>d</sup>utu nu-um-ta-è, "if the sun does not come out."
  - 28. For this gate, cf. Proto-Kagal 1. 7.
- Rev.**
- 1.-3. Follow SEpM 17 ll. 1-3, although the verb expected in line 3 is hé-bí-DU.
  - 4. This line parallels SEpM 17 l. 6. We have chosen to remove the second èn, as a negative statement (reading li-) would not fit the context.
  - 5. Restored based on SEpM 17 l. 4 (a-na-še-àm iti-da ud 3-kam-ma-bi). For the location of Niqum in the Diyala region see Röllig 1998-2001: 569-70.
  - 14. For the verbal chain ba-te-ğá-e-dè/-en-na-zu\ cf. Šulgi to Aradmu 1 l. 8 (Michałowski 2013: 285), which has in the composite ba-te-ğá-dè-na-zu, "and once you reach the cities."
  - 15. For sá-ma-ab see Silver & Copper Seg. D l. 55. The chain na-an-am is problematic, and it may be a mistake for a-na-àm, "why," resulting in the translation: "Why have you ... [...] as a gift in your presence? Match it!"
  - 17. Here, we understand niğin as *târu*, which in the D-stem is "to return someone or something; to give back" (CAD T p. 262). The lexical equation of niğin with *târu* is attested in Proto-Ea for which see MSL 09, 124-137 viii 514 (Proto Ea). Alternatively, *târu* can be used in legal contexts "to make a claim" (CAD T p. 261), although the Sumerian equivalent in this case should be -gi<sub>4</sub>.
  - 22. For the al- prefix as a variant of vocalic prefix a-, see Jagersma 2010: 533.
  - 24. This line parallels SEpM 17 l. 7, but note SEpM 17 has 2 donkeys for 4 shekels. Regardless, 4 shekels for one (and especially for two) donkey(s) is low. The Old Babylonian prices for donkeys from five and one-half up to twenty shekels for one donkey (Schwenzner 1915: 111), while in the Ur III period, one donkey retailed from four to seven shekels (Lafont 2000: 208 w/n 7). Although this could argue for an Ur III setting, it's unlikely the prices here are anything but random. For as a collective of working plough donkeys, see Heimpel 1995: 87, 94.

25. Follows SEpM 17.1.8.
  26. Following SEpM 17.1.9.
  27. Unattested in SEpM 17. The presence of a boat carrying the merchandise is inferred from l. 26.
  28. The first part of this line follows SEpM 17.1.14 (although the standard version has  $gi_4$ ). The first indented line follows SEpM 17.1.13, and the second indented line combines SEpM 17.11.13 and 17. For dagaltum as a designation of fleece see the discussion in Kleinerman 2011: 164.
- 1) We would like to thank Professor David I. Owen for permission to study and publish this tablet and Professors Owen and Jean-Marie Durand for their suggestions. Thanks to Laura Johnson-Kelly, Rosen Foundation Conservator and Photographer, for her superb photographs and for preparing the fat-cross for publication.
- 2) This tablet is part of group of approximately eight hundred OB scribal exercises in the CUNES collection, which we will publish in a forthcoming CUSAS volume.
- 3) KLEINERMAN 2011: 161-166.
- 4) For other examples of this phenomenon see CIVIL 1987, MICHALOWSKI 1998, Rubio 2004.
- 5) E.g. KLEINERMAN 2011, GADOTTI and KLEINERMAN 2011.
- 6) CAVIGNEAUX 2012: 80-82.
- 7) KLEINERMAN 2014.
- 8) KLEINERMAN 2011.
- 9) Alternatively: You should not lay claim to it.
- 10) Literally: the price for your day.

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**66) CBS 1596: A Sumerian composition with Akkadian translation** — The subject of this communication is the tablet CBS 1596 published as PBS 1/2 135 and edited by Lutz in the same volume on pp. 59-61 with the assumption that it is a scribal exercise consisting of unrelated sentences supplemented with Akkadian translation. Later VAN DIJK (1953, 128-133) re-edited the text recognizing that it is a Sumerian literary composition provided with partial Akkadian translation which might belong to the genre of wisdom literature.

The manuscript supports the theory being a scribal exercise containing several lapses regarding the Akkadian translation as well as some inconsistencies in the Sumerian text. Furthermore the ruling between the lines dividing rather phrases than lines is unusual. On the other hand, it is obviously a cohesive text which might have been used or even composed for teaching purposes. The interlinear

Akkadian translation being written with a smaller script than the Sumerian text also indicates that the translation is secondary and unlikely the central incentive why the manuscript came into existence.

The composition awakens attention being one of the rare compositions attested in Sumerian which comment on the fate of an individual. As I had the opportunity in the University Museum to collate the manuscript, some corrections and a new translation are provided here with commentary.

Vs.

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 1' | 'x x <sup>1</sup> [...] / 'x x ra <sup>1</sup> [...]<br>'a-na <sup>1</sup> [...] / 'x x x <sup>1</sup> [...]  |
| 2' | ur-re ur-da [...] / ur-re ur-ra-ta a <sub>2</sub> -[dam <sup>2</sup> ] [...]<br>kal-bu it-ti kal-bi 'x <sup>1</sup> [...] / a-na na-mu 'ši <sup>2</sup> -[...]  |
| 3' | an-ta-ğu <sub>10</sub> imim diš-am <sub>3</sub> en <sub>3</sub> mu-e <sup>2</sup> -da <sup>2</sup> -[tar]<br>tap-pe <sup>2</sup> -e a-wa-tam iš-ti-a-at a-şa-[al]   |
| 4' | e <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> nanna ni <sub>2</sub> -te abzu nam-şıta 'x <sup>1</sup> [...] / i <sub>3</sub> -du <sub>8</sub> kisal <sup>2</sup> -luh lu <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub> -a ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> lu <sub>2</sub> 'gal <sup>1</sup> -[x (x)] 'x <sup>1</sup><br>i-na i-na ra-ma-ni <sup>1</sup> (BI) 'eš-te-ni ki <sup>2</sup> -[ri-ib-ti] / mu-[uš]-ta-ri-ik bi-tim |
| 5' | mu <sup>d</sup> ba-u <sub>2</sub> nin-ğaa <sub>2</sub> gu <sub>3</sub> -e şub-ba e <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> nanna-kam / 'ğarza <sup>1</sup> ki-gub-ba nu-tuku-a<br>aş-şum be-el-ti-ia e-zu-ub i-na e <sub>2</sub> / pa-ar-şa u <sub>3</sub> ma-za-za-am la i-şu-u <sub>2</sub> -ma   |
| 6' | u <sub>3</sub> e <sub>2</sub> -ğu <sub>10</sub> -ta im-ri-a-ğu <sub>10</sub> -ta / lu <sub>2</sub> diš-e e <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> nanna-kam ba-ra-al-ğal <sub>2</sub> -la-e-še<br>i-na ni-şı-i-a u <sub>3</sub> ki-şı-ti-ia / [iš-te]-en lu <sub>2</sub> i-na la i-ba-a-ş-şu-u <sub>2</sub> -ma  |
| 7' | 'e <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -[kiş-nu]-'ğal <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup> nanna-kam niğ <sub>2</sub> na-me-še <sub>3</sub> nu-mu-ni-ib <sub>2</sub> -te-ta<br>şsa a-na mim-ma şum-şu la te <sub>4</sub> -ha-ku-u <sub>2</sub> -ma  |
| 8' | [...]-am <sub>3</sub> susbu <sub>2</sub> ak-a-me-en<br>[...] 'x <sup>1</sup> -ma su-us- <sub>2</sub> -bu-tam ep-şıi- <sup>1</sup> e <sup>2</sup> -ta-[...]  |

Rs.

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| 1'  | u <sub>3</sub> kalam-e mu-un-di <sup>7</sup> -r <sub>x</sub> <sup>1</sup> [...]<br>u <sub>3</sub> ma-tum r <sub>x</sub> <sup>1</sup> [...]   |
| 2'  | ni <sup>2</sup> -sa <sub>10</sub> -ma ni <sup>2</sup> di <sup>3</sup> -a-kam lu <sub>2</sub> na-[me] / mu- <sup>5</sup> gu <sub>10</sub> nu-mu-un-pad <sub>3</sub><br>i-na ſi-im [iš]-ten <sup>7</sup> ni <sup>2</sup> ma-am-ma- <sup>7</sup> an <sup>1</sup> / ſu-mi u <sub>2</sub> -ul i-za- <sup>7</sup> kar <sup>7</sup>   |
| 3'  | ur-zir <sub>2</sub> -re e <sub>3</sub> -ta-ab-ze <sub>2</sub> -en <sup>1</sup> / ur-zir <sub>2</sub> -re sar-ra-ab-ze <sub>2</sub> -en ma-ab-en-na<br>kal-ba-am ſu-ſi <sub>2</sub> -a / ku-ſi-da i-q <sub>2</sub> -ab-bu-u <sub>2</sub>  |
| 4'  | ur <sub>5</sub> -ta-am <sub>3</sub> lu <sub>2</sub> -palil-ke <sub>4</sub> -ne bi <sub>2</sub> -in-du <sub>11</sub> -eš-a<br>i-na ki-a-am pa-nu-tu-ni iq-bu-u <sub>2</sub>   |
| 5'  | ninda nu-gu <sup>2</sup> -a tug <sub>2</sub> mu-da-an-kar / en-nu-un- <sup>5</sup> ga <sub>2</sub> nu-me-a <sup>5</sup> gi <sub>6</sub> -da-kam u <sub>3</sub> nu-mu-un- <sup>7</sup> ri <sup>7</sup> -ku-ku<br>a-na la a-ku-lu-u <sub>2</sub> -mi <sup>5</sup> ha-mi-is ſu <sub>2</sub> -ba-ti / a-na la ma-ſa-ar-ti-ia ka-la mu-ſi-im u <sub>2</sub> -ul aṣ- <sup>7</sup> li <sup>7</sup> -il <sup>7</sup> |
| 6'  | ne-en-nam di-ku <sub>5</sub> <sup>d</sup> nanna- <sup>7</sup> kam <sup>1</sup><br>an-nu-u <sub>2</sub> -um di-nu ſa <sup>d</sup> sīn   |
| 7'  | lu <sub>2</sub> ni <sup>2</sup> -sag <sub>9</sub> -ga gu <sub>7</sub> -a-ni e <sub>2</sub> -a-ni mu-un-du <sub>3</sub><br>ſa du-mu-uq bi-ti-ſu i-ku-lu id-du-u <sub>2</sub> -ma  |
| 8'  | me-en-de <sub>3</sub> e <sub>2</sub> -a-ni ni <sup>2</sup> -na-me-ſe <sub>3</sub> nu-mu-ni-ib <sub>2</sub> - <sup>7</sup> te <sup>1</sup> -[en-de <sub>3</sub> -(en)]<br>ni-a-ti ſa a-na bi-ti-ſu a-na mi-im-ma ſum-ſu <sup>7</sup> la tu <sub>2</sub> -ha- [...]  |
| 9'  | ni <sup>2</sup> -sa <sup>7</sup> -il <sub>2</sub> -la-aš mu-un- [...]<br>a-na la di-na-ni-ſu i- [...]  |
| 10' | <sup>d</sup> suen-ra he-bi <sub>2</sub> -in-gurum-ma <sup>7</sup> a-x <sup>1</sup> -[...]<br>a-na ik-mi-is-ma  |
| 11' | ud-da e <sub>2</sub> -zu-ſe <sub>3</sub> limmu-kam [...]<br>u <sub>4</sub> -ma-am i-na e <sub>2</sub> -ka [...]  |
| 12' | ni <sup>2</sup> e <sub>2</sub> <sup>7</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [...]<br>mi-im-ma ſum-ſu <sup>7</sup> [...]   |

V<sub>S</sub>

- 1'-2' (...) A dog with a dog ..., a dog for a dog ... the habitation?.

3' My comrade asked me a single word.

I asked my comrade a single word. (Akk.)

4' In the temple of Nanna the ritual water itself is converted to blessing,  
the doorkeeper and the courtyard sweeper, those who enter the temple (Akk. the entrusted one of  
the temple), ... .

5' For the sake of Bau, my mistress, I neglected the temple of Nanna, not having cultic ordinances  
at that location (Akk. not having cultic ordinances and abode).

6' "From my kin and from my clan there is no one in the temple of Nanna." - he said.

- 7' The Ekišnuğal belongs to Nanna, do not approach it for any reason.  
 8' ... ... I am acting as susbu-priest.
- Rs.**
- 1' And the land ... ....  
 2' For the price of one thing nobody mentionned (Akk. will mention) my name (benevolently).  
 3' "You tethered<sup>2</sup> dogs, go out! You tethered<sup>2</sup> dogs, run!" – they say.  
 4' Hence the foremost people spoke.  
 5' Because of not eating bread he<sup>3</sup> tore off my<sup>3</sup> clothes.  
 Because of not being guarded I did not sleep all night.  
 6' This was the verdict of Nanna (Akk. Sîn).  
 7' When he ate up his welfare, he struck his house.  
 He who ate up the welfare of his house, he struck (it<sup>4</sup>). (Akk.)  
 8' We are those who do not approach his house for any reason.  
 Do not draw us near to his house for any reason. (Akk.)  
 9'-10' In order (Akk. not) to ... ..., may he bow down (Akk. he kneeled down) for Su'en.  
 11'-12' Once in your house four ... ... / anything ... house ... ....

Vs. — 2': The last signs of the gloss point to a noun. The basis of the amendment of the Sumerian version is a<sub>2</sub>-  
 -dam = *namû* 'habitat'.

— 3': The syntax of the Sumerian and the Akkadian version is different. In the Sumerian version an-ta-ḡu<sub>10</sub> 'comrade' is the ergative agent of the verb, because the comitative case in the verbal prefix chain is cross-referenced with a 1st person pronominal prefix which likely refers to the third verbal participant. In the Akkadian translation, however, the verbal form points to a 1st person agent and the oblique case of the noun *tappû* 'comrade' indicates that it is the object of the ditransitive verb *šâlu* 'to ask'.

— 4': The translation of the line is based on the assumption that the Akkadian verb *enû* Št pret. 3sg 'to change sth. over into sth. else' occurs in the line.

Note that the Akkadian translation is only partial. The expressions which have not been translated, however, are temple names or Sumerian loans like *apsû* and *kisaluḫhu*. Even the grammatical relations are noted.

— 5': The proper Sumerian expression would be *gu<sub>2</sub> – šub*, it is, however, likely that the nominal element is erroneously replaced by the phonetic writing *GU<sub>3</sub>* here. The reading of the line as *mu<sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> nin-ḡa<sub>2</sub>-ka* would be a double genitive construction which is unnecessary in this case.

The Akkadian translation of the second part of the sentence applies the conjunction *u<sub>3</sub>*, in Sumerian, however, the lexical item *kigub* is in the locative case pointing to an interpretation 'there, on that location'.

— 6': Note the Akkadian version does not translate the Sumerian particle of quotation -eše.

Rs. — 3': The Sumerian expression *ur-zir<sub>2</sub>* is translated into Akkadian simply as *kalbu* 'dog'. The exact meaning of *zir<sub>2</sub>* is obscure, a kind of tether may apply because the first element of the composite sign is EŠ<sub>2</sub> 'rope'.

The Sumerian verb *sar* 'to run' is equated with Akkadian *kašādu* D 'to drive off, to chase away'.

— 5': The occurrence of the Akkadian particle of direct speech or interrogation is inexplicable. The agent of the first part of the sentence is unclear for me, the Sumerian verbal form, however, points to a 3rd person human agent. The comitative prefix seems to be cross-referenced by the ventive prefix substituting the 1st person sg. pronominal prefix.

— 6': Note the name of the god Nanna is translated here for the first time to Akkadian.

— 7': The interpretation of this line is problematic. If both the Sumerian and the Akkadian version is taken into consideration, the Sumerian verb *du<sub>3</sub>* stays here not for 'to build' but for 'to beat' on the basis of the equation in CT 51 pls. 58-63 ii 40: *du<sub>3</sub> = ma-ḥa-su*. Similarly, the Akkadian verb is not *nadū* but *naṭū* 'to hit, to beat' which may occur with the phonetic form *nadū*.

— 8': Note the translation of the Sumerian verb with the causative D stem of *teḥû* into Akkadian.

— 9': To *niḡ<sub>2</sub>-saḡ-il<sub>2</sub>-la* = *dinānu* see SIG<sub>7</sub>.ALAN IVa 210 [MSL XVI 84].

— 10': The proper Akkadian equivalent of *gurum* would be *kanāšu* 'to bow down', the text here uses the synonyme *kamāšu* 'to kneel, squat down'.

Note that even in the Sumerian version the name of the god is written here as <sup>d</sup>suen.

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**67) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 16 : de l'eau parfumée à Larsa ? —** Préparant pour ARCHIBAB l'édition électronique des tablettes récemment publiées par R. MIDDEKE-CONLIN (« The Scents of Larsa : A Study of the Aromatics Industry in an Old Babylonian Kingdom », *CDLJ* 2014/1, p. 1-53), j'ai été étonné par sa lecture et son interprétation du texte NBC 8584 (p. 26 § 5.2.2). Il s'agit d'une énumération de diverses denrées livrées par Dada. Celui-ci n'est pas un inconnu : les archives de sa famille ont été découvertes à Isin, et non à Larsa comme le titre de l'article pourrait le suggérer (cf. notamment F. Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, p. 51 sq. et p. 227 ; G. Beckman, *CBCY* 2, 1995, p. 2 n. 13). Le débiteur (l. 6) est *'i-lí-na-ap-še-ra-am* (le déterminatif <sup>d</sup> devant Ili- serait curieux). Son sceau a, comme il se doit, été imprimé sur la tablette (cf. G. Beckman, *CBCY* 2, 1995, p. 87). Les traces, peu lisibles, permettent de lire: [*i-lí-na-ap-[še-ra-am]*] / [...] / [...].

Parmi les produits mentionnés, on trouverait l. 4 : « 3 (*sila<sub>3</sub>*) <sup>šim</sup>a 3 *qûm* of fragrant water ». Cependant, les chiffres des *SILA<sub>3</sub>* sont normalement suivis par le signe QA et l'entrée <sup>šim</sup>a est par ailleurs inconnue (comme l'A. le note p. 39a). La consultation de l'original permet de voir que le premier signe n'est pas 3, mais 30 : point n'est besoin d'être spécialiste des mathématiques babylonniennes pour comprendre qu'il ne peut s'agir de l'unité *qûm*. En fait, la ligne 4 doit être lue EŠ.DÉ.A : il s'agit d'un prêt de type *hubuttatum*.

La troisième des denrées prêtées n'a pas été correctement identifiée. La l. 3 a été lue : « 1(*ban<sub>2</sub>*)  $\frac{2}{3}$  el<sup>šim</sup> 1  $\frac{2}{3}$  seah *akkullaku* ». Là encore, la façon de noter les mesures de capacité serait bien étrange ; en réalité, le  $\frac{2}{3}$  est un signe HAR. L'A. commente par ailleurs sa lecture el<sup>šim</sup> en ces termes : « This is the only occurrence with šim determinative I can document » (p. 40). Il faut lire en fait : 0,0.1 NÌ.ÀR.RA MURUB<sub>4</sub>. La lecture est assurée par NBC 9690 (29/viii/Si 24), où Ili-napšeram reçoit de Dada les trois mêmes produits qu'en NBC 8584 (sans que cette fois le terme EŠ.DÉ.A qualifie la transaction). On y retrouve l. 3 la même denrée, écrite en partie phonétiquement : 0,0.1 NÌ.ÀR.RA mu-ru-ub « 10 litres de gruau moulu moyennement » (i.e. ni grossièrement, ni finement).

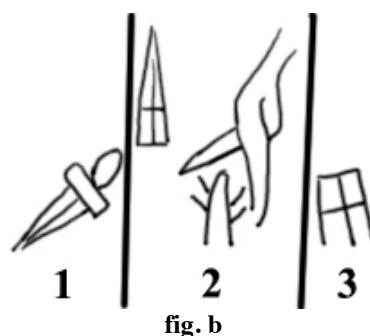
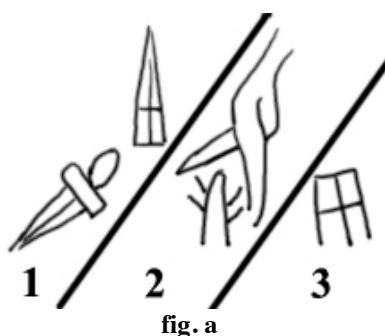
D. CHARPIN <dominique.charpin@college-de-france.fr>

**68) BOĞAZKÖY 4, A New Reading and Interpretation —** An Imperial Period graffiti on a sphinx at the Sphinx Gate of Hattusa was recently reevaluated by M. Alparslan (Alparslan *apud* Schachner 2013: 174 ff. and see its bibliography for the previous editions). I would like to add further comments and a different reading. An unknown king's name (who would have been also a scribe) on a monument located in the very heart of the Hittite Kingdom is a problematic remark. A different interpretation in the light of the arrangement of the signs can be proposed.

According to the signs arrangement (see fig.s a and b), the sign REX (L.17) can not stand alone for a profession or a title. In addition, the form of the sign on the left handside resembles AURIGA (L.289) more than VIR/ZITI/zí (L.312) and it couldn't be an element of the name due to its placement and position. These observations lead us to two possibilities:

- a) REX.AURIGA *nì-i(a)* SCRIBA “Niya King's Charioteer, the Scribe” (fig. a) or
- b) AURIGA REX-*nì-i(a)* SCRIBA “Hassuni(ya), the Charioteer, the Scribe” (fig. b)

I think that the latter (b) is the most probable option. As an element of a name REX (L17) is attested in REX-*li* = *Hassuli* (NH 326) and REX.CERVUS+ra/i = *Hassawas-Innara* (see Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005: Kat. 114 and 136).



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**69) Note on the Various Names of the Cilician Plain in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age**

**Sources** — In their recent works, representatives among the new generation of Luwologists have launched an attack on the present *communis opinio* in discussions about the various names of the Cilician plain in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age as presented in our table below.

	LATE BRONZE AGE	EARLY IRON AGE
Hittite	<i>Ki-iż-zu-wa-at-na</i>	
Egyptian hier.	<i>K-d-y</i>	<i>K-l-<u>d</u>-wl-d-n</i>
Akkadian	<i>Da-nu-na</i>	
Assyrian	<i>Qa-a-u-[e]</i>	<i>Qa-we</i>
Luwian hier.	<i>KATA-WATA-na</i>	<i>Ka-wa-</i>
Phoenician		<i>KW</i>
		<i>Ki-su-at-ni</i>
		<i>á-TANA-wa(-ná)-</i>
		<i>Hi-ā-wa-</i>
		<i>DNNYM, "MQ "DN</i>

**Table: Overview of the various names of the Cilician plain**

Thus, Szolt Simon in his paper of 2011 argues at length that Egyptian hieroglyphic *K-d-y* does not refer to the Cilician plain as commonly assumed, but to some other, not further specified, region in the borderland between Anatolia on the one hand and North Syria or even Mesopotamia on the other hand. Next, Max Gander in an article of 2012 maintains that Luwian hieroglyphic *Hi-ā-wa-* is unrelated to Hittite *Aḥhiyawa* or Mycenaean Greeks and was already in use as a name of the Cilician plain during the Late Bronze Age. Furthermore, he puts forward the idea that Luwian hieroglyphic *Ka-wa-* is not a reflex of Assyrian *Qawe* or *Que*, but denotes some place in the neighborhood of Karkamis. Finally, Rotislav Oreshko in his contribution of 2013 posits the suggestion that the Luwian hieroglyphic sign \*429 *TANA* is in fact a graphic variant of \*306 *hí*, of which the syllabic value in his opinion originates from logographic *HIYA* according to the acrophonic principle. If this suggestion holds water, our evidence for *á-TANA-wa(-ná)-* as a reference to the Cilician plain disappears like snow before the sun.

Before addressing these assaults on the *communis opinio*, it needs to be stressed that the general assumption according to which Akkadian *Da-nu-na* as attested for one of the El Amarna letters by Abimilku of Tyre (EA 151, 49-58, see Moran 1992: 238-239) is identified with one of the ethnics of the Sea Peoples, usually transcribed as *Denyen* and explained as a reference to the Greek *Danaoi* (cf. Bryce 2010: index, s.v.), is entirely unfounded. Apart from the mention of some mercenaries of the *Sherden* in the Levant and some piratical actions by the *Lukka* against *Alasiya* or Cyprus, there is no question yet during the 14th century BC of upheavals by the Sea Peoples as recorded for the late 13th and early 12th century BC, and most certainly not in the region of the Cilician plain which is under Hittite control at the time. It does not really surprise us, therefore, that in the letter in question it is straightforwardly stated that, notwithstanding the death of the king, the latter is regularly replaced by his brother and the land of *Danuna* “is in peace”. In line with this observation, then, there can be no doubt that the correct identification of *Danuna* is with the later Phoenician *DNNYM* “Adaneans” (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 255).

One of the arguments put forward by Simon as to why Egyptian hieroglyphic *K-d-y* cannot be a reference to the Cilician plain is the fact that it occurs in the list of the allies of the Hittites drawn up by Ramesses II (1279-1213 BC) in commemoration of the battle at Kadesh together with *K-l-d-wl-d-n*, the Egyptian reflex of the Hittite name of the Cilician plain, *Kizzuwatna*. This argument neglects the fact that

the Egyptian scribes were no geographers but tended to make geographical lists more impressive by adding as much names as possible. The same line of reasoning explains the fact that *Kftyw* appears alongside *Mnws*, which are both references to Minoan Crete, in geographical lists from the reign of Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC) (Vercoutter 1956: 162-163, docs. 57 and 58). Other arguments are formed by the association of *K-d-y* with Naharin, i.e. the land of Mitanni, in a text from the reign of Ramesses II and the fact that it is stated to be ruled by a king in a fictional letter from the latter's reign as well. As Kizzuwatna had, before its definite incorporation into the Hittite empire by Suppiluliumas I (1350-1322 BC), more than once belonged to the sphere of influence of Mitanni, the first argument may well be explained in terms of an anachronism, whereas any deductions from a fictional letter, no matter how many kernels of historical valid information it may contain, are, of course, highly dubious. While leaving attempts to bring about a linguistic relationship between Egyptian *K-d-y* and Hittite *Ki-iż-zu-wa-at-na* aside, which Simon justifiably criticizes but in actual fact have no bearing on the matter, there is in my opinion no reason to dismiss the generally held view that *K-d-y* is the Egyptian hieroglyphic name of the Cilician plain.

The view of Gander that Luwian hieroglyphic *Hi-ā-wa-* refers to the Cilician plain already during the Late Bronze Age rests on two pillars: the absence of aphaeresis in Luwian hieroglyphic and the reconstruction of a place-name *Hiya[wa]* for a fragment from the annals of the Hittite great king Arnuwandas I (1400-1370 BC), where it is preceded by *Adaniya* and hence may reasonably be argued to have a bearing on the region of the Cilician plain as well. The first pillar rests on the basis of the linguistic analysis by Craig Melchert, who concluded his study on the phenomenon of *a*-initial in Luwian hieroglyphic as follows: "there is no credible evidence for aphaeresis in HLuwian at any period." (Melchert 2010: 156). If this is correct, the inference by Gander that *Hi-ā-wa-* cannot possibly be the regular Luwian form of Hittite *Ahhiyawa* at first sight seems reasonable. It should be realized, however, that this inference leads to absurdity in connection with the aphaeresized Luwian form as attested for recently discovered Ugaritic texts according to which the Hittite great king presumably to be identified as Suppiluliumas II (1205-1190 BC) orders metal to be shipped from Ugarit to a man of *Hiyawa* or more in general men of *Hiyawa* stationed in *Lukka*. If *Hiyawa* is indeed at this time already the name of the Cilician plain why should this metal be send from Ugarit to *Lukka* or Lycia in western Anatolia in order to reach its ultimate destination in the Cilician plain? This seems an absurd detour, indeed, and it comes as no surprise that the pillar in question rests on quicksand as, contrary to the pertinent opinion by Melchert, there is numerous evidence for aphaeresis in Luwian hieroglyphic not only during the Late Bronze Age, like the writing of *Titarma* for the place-name *Attarima*, or that of the possessive pronoun of the 1st person singular as *mi-* "my" (Nişantaş §2) alongside *āmi-*, but also during the Early Iron Age, like the writing of the Adanean royal name as *Warkas* alongside *Āwarkus* and that of the ethnic adjective *Surawa-* "Assyrian" alongside *Āsúrwana-*, or that of the personal pronoun of the first person singular as *mu* "I" (Ancoz 7, §6; Boybeyipinarı 1, §1) alongside *AMU* or *āmu* or that of the possessive pronoun of the 1st person singular as *mi-* (Boybeyipinarı 2, §§2, 7, 19; Maraş 4, §§8, 17; Maraş 8, §2; Maraş 14, §5, Topada §22) alongside *āmi-* or that of the distant demonstrative pronoun as *pa-* "(s)he; that" (Ancoz 7, §14; Çiftlik §11; Karkamış A2/3, §11; Karakamış A11b/c §25; Maraş 4, §3; Maraş 14, §11; Tell Ahmar 6, §26) alongside *āpa-* (cf. Woudhuizen 2011: indexes, s.v.). As the second pillar, the reconstruction of a place-name *Hiya[wa]* in a fragmentary text, is, to say the least, shaky, it seems advisable to stick to the present *communis opinio* according to which *Hi-ā-wa-* is the Luwian hieroglyphic name of the Cilician plain only *after* the settlement of Mycenaean Greeks during the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples in the first decades of the 12th century BC, which in effect means from the beginning of the Early Iron Age onwards.

Gander's dismissive stance in the case of the identification of Luwian hieroglyphic *Ka-wa-* as mentioned in a text by the Karkamisian dynast Katuwas (Karkamış A11b/c, §7) with Assyrian *Que*, which can also be traced in Frederico Giusfredi 2010: 50, note 68, is merely based on "gut feeling" and should—as long as one keeps two Early Iron Age Luwian hieroglyphic names of the Cilician plains, *Hi-ā-wa-* and *Ka-wa-*, apart from a linguistic point of view—in my opinion not be followed, especially since

the Assyrian name appears to have been in use from the times of the correspondence between Ramesses II and Hattusilis III (1264-1239 BC) onwards (Edel 1994, I: 64-65; II: 94-95; 120).

The new reading of the Luwian hieroglyphic sign \*429 *TANA* on the basis of its identification in form with \*309 *ḥí* as \**HIYA* is from an epigraphical point of view untenable, because the sign \*309 depicts three interconnected pointed vessels for a liquid consumed by means of a straw, whereas \*429 basically consists of a number of interconnected circles. The odd variant of \*309 from Meskene-Emar—in which the vessels appear to be depicted from the top and still associated with a straw—which Oreshko appeals to will not suffice to patch things up. In any case, the identification of \*309 as a rain-sign is out of the question and the reading of the ethnic adjective as *átanawa-*, i.e. a reference to the inhabitants of the Cilician plain based, like its Phoenician counterparts *DNNYM* “Adaneans” or “*MQ DN* “plain of Adana”, on the name of the capital, *Adana*, is assured owing to the graphic variant *á-ta-na-wa-* as attested for the Karatepe text (Kt §37).

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**70) Nabonidus at al-Hayit/Padakku —** Recently, F. Joannès mentioned the existence of a relief of King Nabonidus in Saudi Arabia in NABU 2014/2, 51) *Un relief inscrit de Nabonide à Padakka/Hayit*.

On this occasion, we would like to make the following remarks:

In 2012 an official expedition by the Saudi Commission for Antiquities and Tourism (SCTA) and the German Archaeological Institute, by kind invitation of SCTA, investigated the site of al-Hayit, Province of Ha'il, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, where the above mentioned relief of King Nabonidus had been discovered.<sup>1)</sup>

There is no expedition of the University of Heidelberg operating at Tayma. The parties of the archaeological expedition at the site of Tayma are SCTA, Riyadh, and the Orient Department of the German Archaeological Institute, Berlin. In this context H. Schaudig is responsible for the edition of the cuneiform texts.

The stele of King Nabonidus found in 2004 at Tayma has been published by R. Eichmann, H. Schaudig and A. Hausleiter, “Archaeology and Epigraphy at Tayma (Saudi Arabia)”, *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 17 (2006) 163–76; see also H. Schaudig, “The cuneiform inscription of the stele TA 488”, in: Eichmann, R., Hausleiter, A., al-Najem, M.H. and al-Said, S.F., “Tayma – Autumn

2004 and Spring 2005. 2<sup>nd</sup> Report on the Saudi Arabian-German Joint Archaeological Project”, *ATLAL* 20 (2010) 137–8; A. Hausleiter and H. Schaudig, “Stèle cintrée du roi Nabonide”, in: al-Ghabban, A., André-Salvini, B., Demange, F., Juvin, C. and Cotté, M., *Routes d’Arabie. Archéologie et Histoire du Royaume Arabe Saoudite*, Paris, 252–3.

The study of the relief and inscription revealed the following additional information:

Above the three astral symbols a fourth u-shaped symbol has been carved. Its meaning is currently unclear and it does not fit with any known Mesopotamian symbol used by Nabonidus. Although it generally resembles the omega-shaped symbol,<sup>2)</sup> there is also the possibility that it might be of local origin.

In addition to the name and royal title mentioned by F. Joannès, in the text, Nabonidus expresses his religious conviction that the moon-god Sîn is to be worshipped as the king of the gods:

<sup>d</sup>30 *lugal diğir<sup>meš</sup> en diğir<sup>meš</sup> = Sîn šar ilānt bēl ilānt* / “Sîn king of the gods, lord of the gods”.

This attitude had brought Nabonidus into bitter conflict with the Babylonian priesthood who claimed the position of the head of the pantheon for their god Marduk.

In the heavily damaged lines at the beginning of the inscription there is apparently a reference to the city of Fadak where the inscription was set up:

*eri pa-[dak-ku] = āl Pa[dakku]* “the city of Fa[dak]”.

This is the first sure evidence of the proposal for the identification of al-Hayit with ancient Padakku.

A small photograph of the new Nabonidus relief has been reproduced without further comment by the Saudi Commission for Tourism and Antiquities, *Discovering Saudi Arabia. Land of Dialogue and Culture*, Rome 2013, 70 (top centre).

A full publication of the relief and inscription of al-Hayit is by the present authors is in preparation.

1) We are indebted to Professor Ali al-Ghabban, Vice-President of SCTA, Jamal Omar, former Director General of Research and Survey. Participants to the expedition were Abdulaziz al-Dayel, Khaled al-Hayiti, Mansur al-Hayiti, Naser al-Rashidi, Saad al-Rowaisan, SCTA Riyadh / al-Hayit / Ha'il, respectively; Steffen Baier, Arnulf Hausleiter (DAI), Hanspeter Schaudig (DAI / University of Heidelberg).

2) Ursula Seidl, personal communication (2013); cf. U. Seidl, *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs. Symbole mesopotamischer Gottheiten*, OBO 87, 1989 (reprint of the 1969 edition with additions), 199–200; 232.

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**71) SpTU 1 72: šumma immeru and šumma izbu in Late Babylonian Uruk\*** — The Late Babylonian cola-commentary published as SpTU 1 72 (W 22307/12) bears a colophon that labels the text as: *šâtu u šût pî ša šumma imme[ru (...)] / ahûtu ša šumma iżbu ša pî ummâni mals[ūtu <sup>1d</sup>anu-ikṣur(?)] / mašmašši seḥri mār šangî-[ninurta]*, “Lemmata and oral explanations of *šumma imme[ru (...)]*, / *ahû*-omens of *šumma iżbu*, following the sayings of a master(-scholar), read[ing of Anu-iksur(?).] / junior ritual expert, ‘son’ of Šangî-[Ninurta]” (SpTU 1 72 r. 21–23; cf. Frahm 2011: 53, 209). Although tablets with *ahû*-omens from *šumma iżbu* are known (Leichty 1970: 22, 199; CT 28 3–4, K 3966; CT 27 49, K 4031; perhaps CT 28 32, K 3838+; cf. KAL 1 47), the source text behind SpTU 1 72 has thus far defied identification, though in the original publication one topic of the commentary was already suspected to be the behavior of the sacrificial sheep (Hunger 1976: 74). A large but fragmentary manuscript from Assurbanipal’s library now confirms that one source being commented on by SpTU 1 72 was the series *šumma immeru* (Meissner 1933/1934; Leichty 1993). The following is a comparison of the source-text citations in SpTU 1 72 with the same sequence of words and phrases found in the text of the Neo-Assyrian manuscript K 2180 + K 4106 (CT 41 10a) + K 6756 (AMT 101.1) + K 6939 (CT 41 10b) + K 6983 + K 8345 (CT 41 10b) + K 8912 + K 14855 (with line numbers in parentheses):

<u>SpTU 1 72</u>	<u>K 2180+ obv.</u>
IZI <sup>1</sup> .GAR (15')	IZI <sup>1</sup> .GAR (13' = CT 41 10a:2')
tas <sup>1</sup> -ri-ir-ru (16')	tas-ri-ir-ru (13')
A.GAR.GAR-šu i-ṣar <sup>1</sup> -ra-ar (18')	[A.GAR(?)].!GAR <sup>2</sup> -šu <sup>1</sup> i-ṣar-ra-ar (14' = CT 41 10a:3')
[U]R <sub>5</sub> .ÚŠ (22')	UR <sub>5</sub> .ÚŠ (16')
NA.NE (22')	NA.NE (17' = CT 41 10a:6')
ú-zaq-qa-pi (23')	ú-zaq-qa-pi (19' = CT 41 10a:8')
BAR <sup>1</sup> UDU GAZ KÚR (r. 2)	BAR UDU GAZ KÚR (20')
na-ra-ṭu (r. 3)	ú-nar-rat (21')
Ú.NÍNDA (r. 3)	Ú.NÍNDA (22' = CT 41 10a:11')
ul-lu-su (r. 4)	ul-lu-uṣ (22')
gaba <sup>1</sup> (DUH)-raḥ-ha (r. 4)	gaba-raḥ-hu (29')
ú-da-ap-pir (r. 5)	ú-da-ap-pir (33')

The Uruk commentary then provides a lengthy quotation that is nearly identical in content and orthography to the source text from Nineveh:

KI KUN-su GAR GÚ-su GAR NUN KUR-su BAL-su (SpTU 1 72 r. 5–6)  
 BE UDU TAG-ma KI KUN-su GAR GÚ-su GAR NUN KUR-su BAL-su (K 2180+ obv. 34' = CT 41 10a:23')

This sequence of key words and phrases proves beyond doubt that both tablets refer to the same text, further illustrating the existence of connections between the scribal traditions of NA Nineveh and LB Uruk (Beaulieu 2010).

The remaining items referenced for comment in SpTU 1 72 do not match up quite so tidily with a specific known source, but it must be kept in mind that the subsequent text of *šumma immeru* is not well known at present. Either the hypothetical source text for SpTU 1 72 was itself a collective that contained other material, or the scribe behind SpTU 1 72 was interested in making connections between *šumma immeru* (itself taken to be *ahū*-omens of *šumma izbu*) and other divinatory literature, in particular the extispicy series *bārūtu*. The text of SpTU 1 72 proceeds with two unambiguous references to *bārūtu*: ME.NI (r. 7), *ne-pel-ku-ú* (r. 8), which corresponds with *pān tākalti* 5:1 (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 328; cf. STT 308 iii 29'); and NA GIN<sub>7</sub> *ser-ret pa-ri-is* (r. 8), which corresponds with *manzāzu* 3:37 (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 95). Similarly, the orthography ÁB.ZÀ.MÍ (r. 10) is so far known in the later first millennium only from liver omens (TCL 6 3 r. 35'; BRM 4 13:37; Robson 2008: 213–214). Other entries are more challenging to pin down. The expression *nim-šu-šu* (r. 9) occurs in *šumma immeru* (CAD N/2 235b; cf. Fincke 2011), but if it is described as KAL (r. 9) in the unknown source text, then the only partial parallel would be OB in date (YOS 10 47:35; cf. CT 31 32 r. 15'). DAR (r. 11) is found in texts treating extispicy and teratology (CAD Š/2 193–194 sub *šataqu*); and *ki-im-da-štū* (r. 12) is not terribly common in divinatory texts but does occur in *šumma izbu* Tablet 2:67 (CAD K 377a sub *kintu*). BÙR (r. 13), glossed *štlu* or *pilšu*, occurs mainly in texts pertaining to extispicy, but there are a few examples from the teratological literature and LB text commentaries (CAD Š/2 452; CAD P 378, 380). Because the source text(s) are unknown, in many instances it is difficult to determine even the head word or phrase in SpTU 1 72 that prompts comment, let alone a discernable sequence that could be matched to another text: the verb *šit-ri-id-ma* / *šit-ru-du* (r. 13–14) is simply uncommon (Streck 2003: 71–72); ŠÀ.MUD (r. 17) is a common orthography in extispicy omens (CAD G 72a sub *gilittu*); *ni-kit-ti* (r. 18) is uncommon in the omen literature of any period (CAD N/2 223); SILIM (r. 18) could simply refer to the *šulmu*, a well-known feature of the liver; the behavior of the ÁB (r. 18) is the first topic of Tablet 19 of the series *šumma izbu* (Leichty 1970: 177–179; Moren 1980: 55–60); in divinatory literature *ša-da-da* (r. 19) occurs mostly in extispicy texts (CAD Š/1 29–30 sub *šadādu*); due to the lacuna at the end of r. 19, *na-a-šu* (r. 20) may not even be from the source text; and finally the enigmatic A (r. 20) is followed by a lacuna.

Meissner's pioneering reconstruction of the first section of the series *šumma immeru* demonstrated beyond doubt that the text circulated in LB Uruk (TCL 6 7; Meissner 1933/1934, MS E). More significant to the present discussion, however, is the fact that the association of *šumma immeru*

with *šumma izbu* appears to be firmly grounded in Uruk's scribal traditions, since the catchline of LKU 124 is the incipit of *šumma immeru* (Meissner 1933/1934: 118–119, MS F; Moren 1980: 67–70). That is to say, the attribution found in the colophon of SpTU 1 72 is probably not a mistake on the part of the Urukean scribe (Fincke 2011: 473) but rather a familiar association between two series that both dealt with reading and interpreting animal physiognomy and behavior (cf. *šumma izbu* Tablet 17, Leichty 1970: 171–172).

Finally, the unpublished *cola* commentary BM 48239 (upper portion of a single-column tablet, probably from Babylon, catalogued in Frahm 2011: 210) begins with a quotation of the first line of its source text, which corresponds to the first fragmentary line (obv. 37') in the last preserved section on the obverse of K 2180+. Only the very end of BM 48239's colophon remains, and no series name is preserved; in any case, our expectations should be modest, since the colophons written in late-first millennium Babylon tend to be more laconic than those produced in Uruk. Thus, for the time being it remains unclear whether the association between the series *šumma immeru* and *šumma izbu* was a development unique to Uruk in this period.

\*Unpublished sources are cited and discussed by the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Research support was provided by the Richard B. Salomon Faculty Research Award, Brown University.

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## VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

**72) The University of Michigan, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Assyriology Tenure-Track Position** — The Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan is seeking to fill a position in Assyriology at the rank of tenure-track Assistant Professor beginning September 2015. This is a university-year (nine-month) appointment.

Candidates must have a Ph.D., and those whose scholarship and teaching focus on one or more of the areas of Sumerian language, literature, and culture, are particularly encouraged to apply. Candidates are also expected to have native or near-native proficiency in English. It is expected that they will have experience in curriculum development and will be committed to maintaining and enhancing the long-standing excellence of Assyriology at the University. Candidates must produce evidence of sub-

stantial, innovative research in their fields of specialization. The successful candidate will offer elementary and advanced instruction in Sumerian and Akkadian language, as well as content-based courses in cuneiform civilization. Salary will be commensurate with the candidate's training and experience.

Please submit a cover letter with a statement of teaching philosophy and experience, a statement of current and future research plans, evidence of teaching excellence, samples of syllabi and publications, and curriculum vitae. In addition, candidates should send three letters of recommendation.

Application materials, except letters of recommendation, must be submitted electronically. Please submit your materials as email attachments to: <assyriologysearch@sharepoint.umich.edu>. The subject of your email must appear as follows: "Last name, First name". For example: Doe, Jane. Letters of recommendation should be emailed as PDF files to <assyriology@umich.edu>.

To be assured consideration, applications must be received by October 15, 2014. The University of Michigan is an Equal Opportunity/ Affirmative Action Employer. Women and minorities are encouraged to apply. The University is supportive of the needs of dual career couples. All applications will be acknowledged.

**73) École Pratique des Hautes Études** – Suite à l'élection du 10 juin 2014, Michaël Guichard a été nommé à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> octobre Directeur d'études sur la chaire « Histoire et philologie de la Mésopotamie ».

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