

N.A.B.U.

Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires 2015

N°2 (juin)

NOTES BRÈVES

25) À propos d'ARET XII 344, des déesses ^dgú-ša-ra-tum et de la naissance du prince éblaïte* — Le texte administratif ARET XII 344 est malheureusement assez lacunaire, mais à notre avis quand même très intéressant. Les lignes du texte préservées sont les suivantes:

- r. I':1'-5': <x> [...] / šeš- [...] / in 'u₄' / húl / 'il-['à*-ag*-da*-mu*]
v. II':1'-11': [...] K[ALAM.]KAL[AM(?)] / NI-šè-na-^ra¹ / ma-lik-tum / è / é / ^daš-dar / ap / ^{il}-'à-ag-da-mu / i[n] / [...] / [...]
r. III':1'-9': 'a¹- [...] / 1 gír mar-t[u] zú-aka / 1 buru₄-mušen 1 kù-sal / ^daš-dar / NAM-ra-lu^{ki} / 1 zara₆-túg ú-háb / 1 giš-šilig₅* 2 kù-sig₁₇ maš-maš-SÙ / 1 šítâ zabar / ^dga-mi-iš
r. IV':1'-10': 'x¹[...] / 10 lá-3 an-dù[l] igi-DUB-SÙ šu-SÙ DU-SÙ kù:babbar / 10 lá-3 gú-a-tum zabar / ^dgú-ša-ra-tum / 5 kù-sig₁₇ / é / en / ni-zi-mu / 2 ma-na 55 kù-sig₁₇ / sikil
r. V':1'-6': [x-JNE-[t]um / [x K]A-dù-gíd / [m]a-lik-tum / i[n-na-s]um / ^dga-mi-iš / 1 dib 2 giš-DU 2 ti-gi-na 2 geštu-lá 2 ba-ga-NE-su'(ZU)
r. VI':1'-6': [...]x¹ / [m]a-[li]k-tum / [šu-ba₄]ti / [x ki]n siki / [x-]li / [x-b]a-LUM.

Tout d'abord, on remarquera qu'au début du texte on peut lire *in 'u₄' / húl / 'il-['à*-ag*-da*-mu*]*, c'est-à-dire « dans le jour de la fête (en l'honneur) d'^{il}-'à-ag-da-mu ». Ensuite des offrandes sont faites lors de la sortie (è) de la reine (*ma-lik-tum*) du temple de la déesse ^daš-dar ; encore la *ma-lik-tum* et peut-être le même prince ^{il}-'à-ag-da-mu¹) donnent plusieurs objets précieux, bijoux et armes à la déesse ^daš-dar de NAM-ra-lu^{ki} et au dieu ^dga-mi-iš. Les sept ^dgú-ša-ra-tum²) reçoivent à leur tour sept statues plaquées en argent et sept gú-a-tum en bronze.³⁾ Ce sont les déesses préposées à la naissance et au destin, bien connues grâce aux textes de Mari et surtout d'Ougarit,⁴⁾ où on les trouve, par exemple, dans le poème d'Aqht lors de la naissance du héros homonyme.

Il faut donc bien noter les offrandes faites au dieu des Enfers ^dga-mi-iš, étant donné qu'à Ébla un rituel initiatique de petite enfance auprès des temples des dieux infernaux est attesté.⁵⁾ À ce propos, on se souviendra aussi du compte-rendu annuel de métaux MEE 12 36 où, dans les sections (29a-h), sont enregistrées plusieurs offrandes pour l'accouchement (tu-da) de la princesse *ti-iš-te-da-mu*. Dans (29g-h) c'est exactement la princesse et son fils qui reçoivent des objets précieux à NI-ab^{ki}, siège du culte du dieu

^dga-mi-iš, évidemment à l'occasion d'une cérémonie qui s'était déroulée dans le temple de cette divinité :

MEE 12 36 (29g-h): 1 ma-na ša-pi gín DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / šušana_x gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ / 1 dib giš-geštin / ti-iš-te-da-mu / dumu-mí / en / tar gín DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 8 gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ / 2 gú-li-lum / 2 giš-DU / 2 ti-gi-na / dumu-nita-SÙ / in / NI-ab^{ki} / šu-ba₄-ti.

Mais c'est surtout pour la présence des déesses ^dgú-ša-ra-tum, très rarement citées dans les tablettes d'Ébla, que nous nous demandons si ARET XII 344 ne se réfère pas à la naissance du fils de la ma-lik-tum et si ce dernier n'est pas justement *il-'à-ag-da-mu*. En effet, on trouve encore ces déesses dans :⁶⁾

TM.75.G.10074 r. XIV 10-18: (argent) kù-sal-kù-sal ^dgú-ša-ra-tum mi-ga-NI maškim il-zí BAD é in u₄ nídba šu-mu-taka₄,

qui provient du compte-rendu annuel de métaux (CAM) toujours inédit où il y a les livraisons d'objets précieux à l'occasion de la naissance du fils de la reine⁷⁾ et de son rituel de petite enfance (*maš-da-ù*)⁸⁾, comme on l'apprend, par exemple grâce au passage suivant :

TM.75.G.10074 f. XVI:8-11: 2 gín DILMUN kù :babbar / maš-da-ù / dumu-nita / ma-lik-tum.

À mon avis, ce n'est pas un hasard si on trouve justement dans le même texte une offrande aux déesses ^dgú-ša-ra-tum, préposées aux naissances et si rarement nommées dans les textes d'Ébla. Et ce n'est donc pas un hasard si on cite encore ces déesses, la *ma-lik-tum* et *il-'à-ag-da-mu* dans ARET XII 344. Tout cela est, selon moi, un indice que ce texte aussi se réfère à l'accouchement de la reine et/ou au rituel de petite enfance de l'illustre bébé et que ce dernier était *il-'à-ag-da-mu*.⁹⁾

* Je remercie le prof. A. Archi qui m'a permis de citer les passages inédits. Je reviendrai sur l'argumentation dans un article de prochaine publication.

¹⁾ Il semble en effet que le passage est presque parallèle à TM.75.G.2622 f. XVI:26 - XVII:2: [š]a-^rpi¹ gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ / 1 dib / 2 giš-DU 2 ti-gi-na / 2 rí-iš-da al₆-la-nu / 2 ba-ga-NE-iš / KA-dù-gíd / il-'à-ag-da-mu / i-na-sum / ^dga-mi-iš, provenant d'un CAM à dater de I.Z. 7 (selon ARCHI 2011: 16), donc de l'année qui suit immédiatement la naissance du dumu-nita de la *ma-lik-tum*.

²⁾ Pour ces déesses à Ébla, cf. PASQUALI 2006.

³⁾ Malheureusement la signification de la graphie gú-a-tum (et de sa variante gú-a-du) n'est pas claire (voir PASQUALI 2005; 2008). Il s'agit d'un objet lié au culte de certaines déesses, comme on l'apprend d'après les passages suivants:

ARET III 337 r. VI:2'-7': [1* na₄* siki*] níg-dug-DU / gú-a-tum / ^da-da-ma / wa / ^dTU / 'à-da-NI^{ki};

ARET XI 1 (14): 1 da-ga-a-tum / e-am / ^rgú¹-^ra¹-[ti-i]š / ^dba-^ra¹-[ma] / [ma-lik-tum] / ſu¹-^rmu¹-taka₄;

ARET XI 2 (16): 1 da-ga-a-tum / e-am / 1 gú-a-ti-iš / ^dba-ra-ma;

MEE 7 34 r. XVIII:7'-14': 5 kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 1 kù-sig₁₇ 1 kù-sal / níg-ba / da-bur-da-mu / al₆ / gú-a-ti / ^dba-ra-ma;

MEE 12 18 r. X:15 - XI:4: 1 zi-rí siki / níg-ba / gú-a-du / ^dBAD-mí / u₉-gú-a-áš^{ki};

TM.75.G.1776 v. IX:1-5: 1 na- siki / níg-dug-DU / gú-a-tum / ^da-da-ma / 'à-da-NI^{ki} (cité par Pomponio - Xella 1997: 13).

⁴⁾ Pour Mari, voir DURAND 1995: 167 et 184-185; pour Ougarit, voir maintenant RAHMOUNI 2012, avec bibliographie.

⁵⁾ PASQUALI 2013: 53-56.

⁶⁾ Les deux seuls autres passages des textes d'Ébla qui se réfèrent aux déesses sont les suivants : TM.75.G.2362 r. XII:6-11: 5 gín kù-sig₁₇ nu₁₁-za níg-ba ^dgú-šar, et TM.75.G.2462 f. XIII:18-23: (argent) 50 bù-ga-tum AN.ŠE 7 gu-dùl-túg ^dgú-ša-ra-tum zàr-bad^{ki}, qui confirme encore une fois que les déesses étaient sept et qui nous renseigne sur le fait qu'elles avaient un culte à zàr-bad^{ki}, entre Ébla et Mari, sur le Moyen-Euphrate. La ville de zàr-bad^{ki} était fameuse surtout pour la présence du temple de la déesse ^daš-dar (OLIVA 1993 ; DURAND 1995: 202).

⁷⁾ ARCHI 1996: 79 ; BIGA 1996: 50-54.

⁸⁾ À propos de ce mot et de sa signification, cf. PASQUALI 2013: 53-56.

⁹⁾ Selon BONECHI 1993, *il-'à-ag-da-mu* était le frère plutôt que le fils du dernier roi d'Ébla, mais il s'agit d'une hypothèse difficile se fondant surtout sur une interprétation de certains passages du CAM TM.75.G.10074 qui n'est pas probable.

Bibliographie

ARCHI, A., 1996, « Les comptes rendus annuels de métaux (CAM) », dans J.-M. Durand (éd.), *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites. Dix ans de travaux*, Amurru 1, Paris, 73-99.

- Id.*, 2011, « In Search of Armi », *JCS* 63, 5-34.
- BIGA, M.-G., 1996, « Prosopographie et datation relative des textes d'Ébla », dans J.-M. Durand (éd.), *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites. Dix ans de travaux*, Amurru 1, Paris, 29-72.
- BONECHI, M., « Su Ir'ag-dāmu », *NABU* 1993/51.
- DURAND, J.-M., 1995, « La religión en Siria durante la época de los reinos amorreos según la documentación de Mari », dans G. del Olmo Lete (éd.), *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo II/1. Semitas Occidentales (Ebla, Mari)*, Barcelona, 127-533.
- OLIVA, J., 1993, « Aštar sarbat in Ebla », *NABU* 1993/42.
- PASQUALI, J., 2005, *Il lessico dell'artigianato nei testi di Ebla*, QuSem 23, Florence.
- Id.*, 2006, « Eblaita^dgú-ša-ra-tum = ugaritico *krt* », *NABU* 2006/64.
- Id.*, 2008, « Il gú-a-du di^dBAD-mí U₉-gú-a-á^{sk}i ad Ebla », *NABU* 2008/7.
- Id.*, 2013, « Symbolique de mort et de renaissance dans les cultes et les rites éblaïtes : ^dga-na-na, les ancêtres et la royauté », *RA* 107, 43-70.
- RAHMOUNI, A., 2012, « The Epithets of the Kôtarâtu Goddesses at Ugarit », *AuOr* 30, 55-73.

Jacopo PASQUALI <pasquali.jacopo@tin.it>
Via degli Alfani, 77, 50121 FIRENZE. ITALIE.

26) Y a-t-il un rapport entre le dieu éblaïte ^da₅-da-bal et la Lune ? — Dans les tablettes d'Ébla on cite plusieurs fois le mot sumérien giš-gál-taka₄ ou gál-taka₄, conventionnellement « ouverture » ou « (cérémonie d')ouverture », en rapport avec le temple du dieu ^da₅-da-bal de la ville de (*l*)a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}.¹⁾ Les deux graphies semblent alterner dans des contextes apparemment identiques, mais il faut noter que dans la liste lexicale bilingue il y a soit gál-taka₄, malheureusement sans traduction (VE 1240), soit giš-gál-taka₄ = [ba]-du-um, [b]a-da-um, du sém. *pth, « ouvrir » (VE 1241).

Dans seulement trois occurrences des textes jusqu'à présent connus, gál-taka₄ est suivi de l'indication níg-SAR. Il s'agit des passages suivants qui proviennent d'un texte toujours inédit enregistrant les offrandes cultuelles d'ovins accomplies par le roi, par le prince *ir'-à-ag-da-mu* et par un autre important personnage de la cour :²⁾

- TM.75.G.2403 f. I:8-15: 2 udu ^da₅-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} en nídba in u₄ gál-taka₄ níg-SAR ;
- TM.75.G.2403 f. II:15-22: 2 udu ^da₅-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} *ir'-à-ag-da-mu* nídba in u₄ gál-taka₄ níg-SAR ;
- TM.75.G.2403 r. III:11-18: 10 udu ^da₅-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} *i-ti-*^d₅-da-bal nídba in u₄ gál-taka₄ níg-SAR.

Le terme níg-SAR a été traduit récemment comme « greenery ».³⁾ Toutefois, à mon avis, on peut supposer une interprétation níg-sakar en tant que variante de u₄-sakar ou graphie défective pour níg-u₄-sakar, termes qui, dans les textes d'Ur III,⁴⁾ indiquent la « pleine lune ». Même si désormais l'interprétation la plus probable voit dans le théonyme ^da₅-da-bal une hypostase du dieu de l'orage, c'est-à-dire Hadda-Ba'äl,⁵⁾ il faut remarquer que d'après un texte d'Ougarit qui contient une conjuration contre le venin des serpents (KTU 1.100 26, *ql bl 'm yrḥ lrgh*), le toponyme *lrqt* correspondant à (*l*)a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} des textes éblaïtes est mis en rapport avec le dieu lunaire *yrḥ*. Le fait que, parfois, à Ébla une cérémonie liée au culte du dieu ^da₅-da-bal avait lieu à la pleine lune ne suffit pas à démontrer qu'il s'agit d'une divinité lunaire,⁶⁾ mais on peut quant même supposer que déjà au milieu du III^e millénaire il y avait un rapport entre la Lune et les rituels qui se déroulaient à (*l*)a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}.

1) ARCHI 2013: 226.

2) Cités par ARCHI 2005: 100.

3) ARCHI 2005: 100. Toutefois, en suite le même ARCHI 2013: 226 considère comme « obscure » la signification de ces passages. On remarquera que selon POMPONIO 2013: 53 dans *ARET XV* 43 (10): 1 túg-NI.NI 1 zi-rí siki / ^dga-na-na / in u₄ / ù-sakar, le sumérien ù-sakar indiquerait la « pleine lune » en s'agissant d'une « scrittura ortografica di u₄-sakar ».

4) SALLABERGER 1993: 39-40 et 203. On peut exclure toute référence à ^{giš}níg-SAR (acc. *isqarrurtu*) indiquant une sorte d'outil agricole ou pour le jardinage (SALONEN 1968: 185-186).

5) FRONZAROLI 1997: 288-289.

6) Comme LAMBERT 1984: 43-44 l'avait proposé.

Bibliographie

- ARCHI, A., 2005, « The Head of Kura - The Head of 'Adabal », *JNES* 64, 81-100.
 ID., 2013, « Ritualization at Ebla », *JANER* 13, 212-237.
 FRONZAROLI, P., 1997, « Les combats de Hadda dans les textes d'Ebla », *MARI* 8, 283-290.
 LAMBERT, W. G., 1984, « The Identity of the Eblaite God NI_{da}KUL », *OA* 24, 43-44.
 POMPONIO, F., 2013, *Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni mensili di tessuti. Periodo di Arrugum*, ARET XV,2, Rome.
 SALLABERGER, W., 1993, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, Berlin - New York.
 SALONEN, A., 1968, *Agricultura mesopotamica nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen*, Helsinki.

Jacopo PASQUALI

27) Again on Ent. 28 iv 30-33 // 29 v 17-20 (= RIME 1.9.5.1) — In his edition of the Presargonic royal inscriptions D.R. Frayne offers the following transliteration and translation of Ent. 28 iv 30-33 // 29 v 17-20 (= RIME 1.9.5.1), which contains the answer of IL, the lord of Umma, to the emissaries of Enmetena, the lord of Lagas:

- 30. an-ta-sur-ra-ta
- 31. e₂ ^ddimgal-abzu-ka-še₃
- 32. im ba-ni-e₃-de₃
- 33. i₃-mi-du₁₁

FRAYNE 2008: 198 “ ‘I will dry them up [the boundaries of Ningirsu and Našše (M.C.)] from (the town of) Antasur ([Northern(?)] Boundary) (as far as) the temple of Dimgalabzu,’ he said.”

The line iv 32 is difficult and has led to different interpretations:

- SOLLBERGER 1952: 66 and 154 Nr. 325 **im-ba-e₃-de₃** “(De l’Antasura au temple de Dimgalabzu,) je l’y élèverai.” The problem with this transliteration is the prefix chain **im-ba-** which is not attested in old Sumerian Lagas; one would expect **e-ma-**.
- LAMBERT 1954: 91 “(Entemena à Ili prince d’Umma) ordonna de dresser sa levée de terre (im-ba) depuis l’Antasurra (qui se trouve sur le territoire de Lagas) jusqu’au temple de Dimgal-absu (sis sur les terres d’Umma).”
- STEIBLE 1982a: 240 **IM ba-ni-e₃-de₃** “Vom Antasurra bis zum Edimgalabzu werde ich ... ableiten.”
- YOSHIKAWA 1984: 123 **ni₂-ba i₃-e₃-de₃** “It flows from itself from Antasura to Dimgalabzu temple.” This translation does not really fit the context.
- RÖMER 1984: 311 „Vom Antasurra bis zum Tempel des Dimgalabzu werde ich selber hinausgehen.” One would expect **ni₂-gu₁₀**.
- COOPER 1986: 55 **im-<dub>-ba i₃-e₃-de₃** “I will shift the boundary-levee from Antasura to Edimgalabzu.” This emendation is problematic because it implies a mistake in two manuscripts.
- STEINER 1986: 237 **im ba-ni-ed-de₃(=n)** “vom Antasura bis zum Tempel des Dimgalabzu werde ich das *Areal* ‘hinausgehen’ lassen.” Problematic is the meaning “areal” for **im**, which is, as Steiner admits, only “sinngemäß”.¹⁾
- JACOBSEN 1988: 132 **ni₂-ba i₃-e₃-de₃** “(the water) was escaping by itself.” This does not seem to fit the context.
- SELZ 1995: 107 **im ba-ni-e₃-de₃** “Vom Antasura bis zum Tempel des Dimgalabsu werde ich (sie [the boundaries of Ningirsu and Našše (M.C.)]) trockenlegen?.” For a critique of this interpretation see below.
- KRECHER 1995: 166 **ba-ni-e₃-de₃** “ich werde es herausbringen.”
- PETTINATO 2003: 186 “Io sposterò il terrapieno di Ningirsu dall’«Antasurra» all’«Edimgalabzu».” See above on Cooper’s emendation.
- FOXVOG (CDLI) **im ba-ni-e₃-de₃** “I shall remove the earth from them.” This does not seem to fit the context, see below; moreover, one would expect **sahar** rather than **im**.
- LÄMMERHIRT 2010: 590 **IM ba-ni-e₃-de₃** “Vom Antasurra bis zum Edimgalmah^(sic!) werde ich ... herausnehmen.”
- KEETMAN 2011: 296 **ni₂ ba-ni-e₃-de₃** “Ich werde vom Antasura zum Edimgalabzu für mich selbst ableiten.” Keetman interprets **ni₂** as **{ni₂+e_{directive}}**. This assumption is problematic because the reflexive pronoun does not usually serve as an indirect reflexive; the identity of agent and beneficiary is normally expressed by the middle-marker {ba}.²⁾

Thus, the meaning of **IM** and the conjugation prefix of the verbal form are the problems of Ent. 28 iv 32. In my opinion there is no need to emend the text as **im-<dub>-ba** (Cooper and Pettinato) nor to assume **im-ba** (Lambert) or **IM/im** (Steiner, Steible, Lämmerhirt and Foxvog) to be the object of **e₃(d)**.

It should rather be assumed that the boundary embankments³⁾ (**eg₂ ki-sur-ra**) of Ningirsu and Našše of iv 24-27 are the objects of **e₃(.d)**. The verb **e₃(.d)** is regularly used to express the act of extending of an embankment (and, implicitly, of its ditch) from a canal (ablative) to another place or territory (terminative in the noun syntagma and locative in the verb syntagma): Ent. 28 ii 1-3 (// 29 ii 12-14) **eg₂-be₂ i₇-nun-ta / gu₂-edin-na-še₃ / eb₂-ta-ni-e₃** “(Eanatum demarcated the border with Enakale). He (let go out =) extended its embankments from the Inun-canal to the Guedina”; Ent. 41 iii 2 - iv 2 **en-mete-na-ke₄ / lugal ki an-na-ağ₂-ağ₂-ne₂ / ^dnin-ğir₂-su₂-ra / i₇-nun-ta / mu-be₂-kur-ra / e-na-ta-ni-e₃** “Enmetena (let go out =) extended it (the **eg₂ mah ki-sur-ra**) from the Inun-canal to Mubekura for his lord, who cherished him.”⁴⁾

Jagersma’s proposal about the possible position of locative {ni} at the beginning of the verbal syntagma in the southern Sumerian dialect of third millennium⁵⁾ offers the possibility of a new transliteration:

- 30. an-ta-sur-ra-ta
- 31. e₂ ^ddimgal-abzu-ka-še₃
- 32. ni₂-ba ni-e₃-de₃
- 33. i₃-mi-du₁₁

33. He (IL) said about that matter:

32. “I will (let go out =) extend them (together =) both [i.e. the boundary embankments of Ningirsu and Našše]

- 30. from Antasura
- 31. to the temple of Dimgalabzu.”

It can be assumed that the **eg₂ ki-sur-ra** of Ningirsu and Našše were two different embankments and that they ran between Umma and Ĝirsu because:⁶⁾

- a) The curse formula (Ent. 28 vi 9-20 // 29 vi 31-32) states that the man of Umma must not cross the boundary embankments of Ningirsu and Našše.
- b) Urlumma crosses the boundary embankment of Ningirsu to enter the territory and the fields of Lagas (Ent. 28 iii 1-4 // 29 iii 27-30).⁷⁾

Since the man of Umma enters the territory of Lagas from the north, the embankments should be located somewhere between Umma and Ĝirsu.

c) IL claims the two embankments. This claim is more understandable if both embankments ran next to the territory of Umma, and therefore could be easily taken over. In his speech IL also mentions the Antasura, and this suggests that both embankments ran near that shrine.

Transliterating **ni-e₃-de₂** according to Jagersma’s theory has the advantage of allowing the locative in the verbal syntagma without recurring to the prefix {b.a} as first prefix of the verb (Steible, Frayne and Keetman). This is important because {ni} appears in both instances of **e₃(.d)** cited above, whereas {b.a} is not used.⁸⁾ Ent. 28 iv 30-33 seems to indicate that the intent of IL was to divert the boundary embankments from their original course at the height of Antasura, extending them to the temple of Dimgalabzu in the territory of Umma.⁹⁾ This makes sense, considering that **eg₂** can imply the presence of a canal or a ditch. IL would benefit from diverting the embankments from their course because he could carry water to his fields.¹⁰⁾ It would make less sense if he first claimed these embankments and then declared that he would dry them up.¹¹⁾

The absence of the **-ta-** infix in the verbal syntagma could be explained by admitting that here the ablative is a more peripheral complement as in the examples cited above.¹²⁾ This would be in accordance with how IL stresses the take over of the ditches *in* his possession and area of influence. IL’s answer to the claims of Enmetena’s messengers about the embankments seems quite impertinent. Not only does IL claim the property of the embankments, but **ni₂-ba** stresses that he will divert them both. For **ni₂-ba** “together” see HEIMPEL 1968: 152-155 and particularly Gud. Cyl. A xii 5 **igi-nim-ta ^{geš}eren ^{geš}su-ur₂-me ^{geš}za-ba-lum ni₂-bi-a ma-ra-an-tum₃**, “cedars, cypresses and zabalum-trees together *will be brought* here to you from the uplands.”

Note that **i₃-mi-e₃** in Ent. 28 ii 35 (// 29 iii 19) and 28 iv 10 (// 29 iv 38) clearly shows that **e_{3(d)}** does not cause the change of /i/ to /e/,¹³⁾ so one can reasonably assume that **NI** represents /ni/.

- 1) STEINER 1986: 237 n. 291.
- 2) See JAGERSMA 2010: 236 and 492 f. where he cites only one instance for a reflexive pronoun used as an indirect object: SAT 3 2186:31 **gudu₄-e diri-še₃ ni₂-be₂ ba-ab-dab₅** “The priests took it as extra for themselves.” Note that the form is not the simple **ni₂** but the 3rd p. non-personal **ni₂-be₂** for the collective. Hence, if something similar would occur in the line discussed here, one would expect **ni₂-gu₁₀**.

3) See M. Civil’s extensive discussion of the meaning “embankment, levee” for **eg₂** (CIVIL 1994: 109-135). Moreover, it should be noted that these **eg₂** started from the Inun-canal and thus they could run along one ditch or canal, which carried the water of the Inun-canal to the fields; see also STEINKELLER 1995: 543 “égi [...] describes both the ditch and the two ridges of earth” (I owe this reference to P. Attinger); WAETZOLDT 1990: 1-3 with fig. 3 and 4; also CIVIL 1994: 112 speaks of “the existence of *two* égi for a single canal”. For the role of the **eg₂ ki-sur-ra** of Ningirsu and Našše in the water supply of the Guedina see STEINER 1986: 233-235 with note 9 and Ent. 28 ii 31-35 (// 29 iii 15-19; iv 5-10 // iv 32-38) **eg₂ ki-sur-ra / ^dnin-ğir₂-su-ka / eg₂ ki-sur-ra / ^dnašše / a-e i₃-mi-e₃**, literally “he let the boundary embankments of Ningirsu and Našše go out by⁷ the water”. This passage is not entirely clear because of the obscure **a-e_{directive} + e₃** but it seems to imply the presence of water along the boundary embankments of Ningirsu and Našše. For **a-e_{directive} + e₃**; see ATTINGER 1995: 130 who leaves it untranslated; STEIBLE 1982b 117 f. “des Wassers berauben (?)”; FRAYNE 2008: 196 “to divert water”; JAGERSMA 2010: 432 ex. 57 translates **a-e + e₃** as a causative “the ruler of Umma had the water go out of Ningirsu’s border canal and Nanshe’s border canal”, but it must be noted that the causative construction of an intransitive verb corresponds to a monotransitive construction and one would expect **a_{absolutive} + e₃**, see ATTINGER 1993: 197 f.

4) KEETMAN 2011: 296 n. 35 assumes **mu-be₂-kur-ra** is in the locative-terminative because it is “offenbar kein Gebiet sondern ein Ort.” However, this assumption is problematic, for **e₂ ^dimgal-abzu-ka.k** is also a particular place and it is in the terminative. Here we are dealing with an orthographic convention: after a final vowel the terminative has an allomorph /š/ (cf. dative and comitative) which could be graphically ignored in Old Sumerian, see JAGERSMA 2010: 181 and ATTINGER 1993: 254 § 164 1.

5) See JAGERSMA 2010: 470-473 with a general discussion and many examples with the verbs **ku₄.r, ğar, gaz** and **si.g**.

6) SELZ 1995: 188 [17] seems to consider the **eg₂ ki-sur-ra** of Ningirsu and Našše to be two different embankments (he speaks of “Grenzgräben”) next to the nammundakiğara. JACOBSEN 1969: 105 f. and STEINER 1986: 276 n. 239 assume that they are the upper and lower reaches of the same canal, one reach being in the territory of Girsu and the other one in the territory of Niğen. Gebhard Selz pointed out, that Jacobsen’s assumption cannot be proven and that current surveys reveal an ancient canal system, which would argue for two canals (“spricht eigentlich eher für zwei Kanäle?; pers. comm.: e-mails of 22nd and 28th February 2014).

7) See also En. I 29 viii 2-4; x 6 - xi 2. For the localisation of the Guedina and the border between Lagas and Umma see SELZ 1995: 5 n. 25 with literature.

8) **NI-e₃** is otherwise unattested in Old Sumerian royal inscriptions (reference P. Attinger), but transliterating **ba-ni-e₃-de₃** would not be a solution to *this* problem, because **ba-ni-e₃** is also unattested in the corpus.

9) Since Antasura is the second shrine to be destroyed by Lugalzagesi of Umma (Ukg. 16 i 4-5), it must be located next to the border between Lagas and Umma. SELZ 1995: 107 proposes a localisation of **e₂ ^dimgal-abzu** next to Mubekura at the outlet of the boundary ditches into the Tigris. If the interpretation proposed here is right, the two places need not necessarily have been located next to each other.

10) The construction of a new boundary embankment running from the Tigris to the Inun canal (Ent. 28 v 9-11) could imply that Enmetena now needed another watercourse to provide water to his part of the Guedina.

11) The assumption that IL wanted to shift a boundary-levee (reading **im <dub>-ba**) is also problematic. What advantage would he gain from shifting a boundary-levee into his territory?

12) P. Attinger, pers. comm.

13) JAGERSMA 2010: 59 proposes a phonetic form /je/ for **e₃**. A closed /(j)ê/ is also possible.

Bibliography

- ATTINGER, P. 1993: *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne. La construction de du₁₁/e/di "dire"*, OBO Sonderband, Acad. Press Fribourg, Fribourg / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- ATTINGER, P. 1995: Review of: Å. Sjöberg (Ed.): The Sumerian Dictionary of the University of Pennsylvania. Vol. 1 A Part. I, ZA 85, 127-141.
- CIVIL, M. 1994: *The Farmer’s Instructions. A Sumerian Agricultural Manual*, AulaOr. Suppl. 5, Editorial Ausa, Barcelona.
- COOPER, J.S. 1986: *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, Volume 1 Presargonic Inscriptions*, American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn.

- FOXVOG, D. CDLI:
http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/cdlisearch/search/index.php?SearchMode=Browse&ResultCount=1&txtID_Txt=P431117.
- FRAYNE, D.R. 2008: *Presargonic Period (2700-2350 BC)*, RIME 1, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- JACOBSEN, Th. 1969: A Survey of the Girsu (Telloh) Region, *Sumer* 25, 103-109.
- JACOBSEN, Th. 1988: Review of: M.-L. Thomsen, The Sumerian Languages. An Introduction to its History and Grammatical Structure, *JAOS* 108, 123-133.
- JAGERSMA, B. 2010: *A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian*, Faculty of the Humanities Leiden University, Leiden.
- KEETMAN, J. 2011: Lokativ, Lokativ-Terminativ und „Antidativ“ beim sumerischen Verb und der Einfluß des „Antidatifs“ auf den babylonischen N-Stamm, *WZKM* 101, 285-304.
- KRECHER, J. 1995: Die *marû*-Formen des sumerischen Verbums. In: M. Dietrich / O. Loretz (Ed.), *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament. Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*, AOAT 240, Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 141-200.
- LAMBERT, M. 1954: Epigraphie présargonique (VIII), *RA* 48, 89-93.
- LÄMMERHIRT, K. 2010: *Wahrheit und Trug. Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Begriffsgeschichte*, AOAT 348, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster.
- PETTINATO, G. 2003: *I re di Sumer*, Vol. I, Paideia editrice, Brescia.
- RÖMER, W.H.Ph. 1984: *Historische Texte in sumerischer Sprache*, TUAT 1/4, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh, 289-353.
- SELZ, G 1995: *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagaš*, The University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
- SOLBERGER, E. 1952: *Le Système verbal dans les inscriptions «royales» présargoniques de Lagaš*, Librairie E. Droz, Genève.
- STEIBLE, H. 1982a: *Die altsumerische Bau- und Weihinschriften. Teil I. Inschriften aus 'Lagaš'*, FAOS 5/I, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden.
- STEIBLE, H. 1982b: *Die altsumerische Bau- und Weihinschriften. Teil II. Kommentar zu den Inschriften aus 'Lagaš'. Inschriften außerhalb von 'Lagaš'*, FAOS 5/II, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden.
- STEINER, G. 1986: Der Grenzvertrag zwischen Lagaš und Umma, *ASJ* 8, 219-300.
- STEINKELLER, P. 1995: Review of: J. Marzahn, Altsumerische Verwaltungstexte aus Girsu/Lagaš, *JAOS* 115, 544-546.
- WAETZOLDT, H. 1990: Zu den Bewässerungseinrichtungen in der Provinz Umma, *BSA* 5, 1-29.
- YOSHIKAWA, M. 1984: Four Sumerian Letter-Orders in Japanese Collections, *ASJ* 6, 121-131.

Manuel CECCARELLI, <manuelcecca@yahoo.it>

28) Die Namen Enkidu und Huwawa(?)/Hubebe — Enkidu ist als Name einer literarischen Gestalt ab der altbabylonischen Zeit überliefert. In den sumerischen Gilgameš-Erzählungen als ^(d)en-ki-du₁₀ aber bereits alt-babylonisch (aB) auch in einem sumerischen Gilgameš-Text aus Mê-Turan als ^den-ki-dù (zu diesen und weiteren Schreibungen George 2003, 138-40). Außerdem enthält eine literarische Liste von Personennamen und Berufsbezeichnungen aus ED IIIa Tell Fara den Namen en-ki-du₁₀-ga (SF 28 ii 12' = 29 ii 3).

In Keetman 2014a hat der Verfasser den Namen en-ki-du₁₀-ga mit den Namen en-kalam-du₁₀, nin-kalam-du₁₀, nin-ki-tuš-du₁₀, lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ verglichen, die alle in ED IIIa Tell Fara belegt sind. Das Element ki kann hier eine Kurzform für ki-tuš/dür etwa „Wohnort“ oder eine Umschreibung für kalam „Land“ sein. Da en in Uruk auch für den König steht, ergibt dies: „Der König macht das Land gut“. Dass ein Partizip mit -a eintritt, ist in diesen Namen ungewöhnlich, stellt die Interpretation aber nicht in Frage.

Noch nicht berücksichtigt waren die in Nisaba 25 (2013) veröffentlichten Texte aus ED I/II Ur. In Nisaba 25, 50 Rs. i 7 wird ein Musikant (gal-nar) en-unug-du₁₀ „Der König hat Uruk gut gemacht“ erwähnt. Die obige Analyse wird dadurch gestützt. Das Problem ist die Verbindung dieses Namens mit der literarischen Gestalt. Walther Sallaberger hat den Verfasser in einer persönlichen Mitteilung darauf hingewiesen, dass wenn Enkidu in sumerischen Texten im Ergativ steht, dieser immer en-ki-du₁₀-e nie *en-ki-du₁₀-ge geschrieben wird (auch Sallaberger 2008, 43). Der Einwand ist berechtigt.

Der Verfasser hatte sich zunächst mit dem Hinweis von George (2003, 138 Anm. 2) auf den Wechsel von -ge und -e nach dem Götternamen ^dğá-tùm-du₁₀ begnügt. Eine sichere Analyse des Namens ist nicht möglich. Doch man kann den Wechsel auch einfach als Beispiel für den beginnenden Schwund eines Auslautes in einem Namen nehmen, ohne dafür eine Analyse dieses Namens zu benötigen. Zu

denken gibt jedoch, dass ^dḡá-tùm-du₁₀-ge nur ein einziges Mal belegt ist (Gudea Zyl. A iv 2). Ganz fehlt eine Schreibung mit -ga, obwohl der Name oft im Genitiv steht.

Die Zylinder sind nicht frei von Schreibfehlern und angesichts des Übergewichtes von Schreibungen ohne Auslaut, ist ein Fehler, verursacht durch die Verwendung des Zeichens du₁₀/dùg, nicht auszuschließen. Ebenso könnte es sich um einen Interpretationsversuch handeln, wie er kurz zuvor in Gudea Zyl. A iii 9 vielleicht anklingt: ^dḡá-tùm-du₁₀ mu-zu du₁₀-ga-àm „Gatumdu, dein Name ist gut.“ Im Falle einer Volksetymologie, die vielleicht schon der Schreibung zugrunde liegt, könnte ein Vergleich mit ^dḡá-tùm-du₁₀ die Auslassung eines g im Auslaut von ^(d)en-ki-du₁₀ nicht erklären.

Einen Hinweis auf eine andere Deutung liefert indessen die häufige Verwendung des Gottesdeterminativs. Enkidu selbst wurde nicht als Gott angesehen. Die Ergänzung [^den-ki]-du₁₀ in An Anum VI 287 ist höchst unsicher. Selbst wenn in An Anum Enkidu in die Reihe der Götter eingereiht wäre, müsste man das innerhalb der gesamten Überlieferung als eine Ausnahme betrachten. Es gibt keinen Hinweis darauf, dass Enkidu göttlicher Natur war oder wie Gilgameš posthum zu einem Unterweltgott wurde (George 2003, 143-44; beachte, dass Enkidu auch nicht als theophores Element in Namen auftritt). Also sollte der Name ^den-ki als theophores Element enthalten. Sumerische Personennamen von einem Typ GN-du₁₀ „(Göttername) ist gut“ sind aber nicht bezeugt.¹

Ein Name mit der Bedeutung „Enki ist gut“ hat keinen erkennbaren Bezug zu den altbabylonischen Gilgameš-Erzählungen. Selbst wenn die Sintflutgeschichte bereits Teil des akkadischen Gilgameš gewesen sein sollte – dies zu diskutieren führt hier zu weit – so ist die bedeutende Rolle, die Enki/Ea darin spielt, kaum ein Grund, ihn im Namen Enkidu zu erwähnen. Da der Name auch nicht einfach irgendein sumerischer Name ist, bleibt nichts übrig als anzunehmen, dass der Name älter ist und uminterpretiert wurde. Da es aber einen passenden sumerischen Namen gibt, der zu einem außer Gebrauch gekommenen Typ gehört, ist das der nächste Kandidat für das Original des Namens. Kommt hinzu, dass der Name Gilgameš ja ebenfalls so alt ist.

Ein weit verbreiteter und lange belegter akkadischer Name (bereits ED IIIa, Fara 93 (F 974)) ist Ea-bāni „Ea ist der Schöpfer“. Diesem Namen entspricht die Schreibung ^den-ki-dù, die bereits ab bezeugt ist. Die Annahme, dass die Schreibung mit du₁₀ zwar auf en-ki-du₁₀-ga zurückgeht, der Name nun aber fälschlich im Sinne des geläufigen Namens Ea-bāni gedeutet wurde, würde alle Probleme lösen.

Wenn die hier angenommene Geschichte des Namens zutrifft, so sollte auch die literarische Gestalt des Enkidu weit ins Frühdynastikum zurückreichen. Die Existenz des literarischen Enkidu erscheint aber auf die Gilgameš-Erzählungen beschränkt. Dies führt weiter zu der Annahme, dass auch die Erzählungen um Gilgameš und Enkidu bereits fröhdynastische Vorläufer hatten. Dem kann man entgegenhalten, dass kein Bruchstück einer Gilgameš-Erzählung gefunden wurde, das älter wäre als Ur III. Dies wäre ein gewichtiges Gegenargument, wenn die sumerische epische Literatur vor Ur III gut dokumentiert wäre. Das Gegenteil ist jedoch der Fall.

Schwierigkeiten mit der Deutung gab es bereits ab auch bei den Namen anderer sagenhafter Gestalten. In altbabylonischen Quellen trägt der Vater des Sintfluthelden den alten akkadischen Namen Ubär-Tutu „Er ist ein Gastfreund (geschickt?) von Tutu“. In der sumerischen Königsliste findet sich die wenig sinnvolle Sumerisierung ubur-tu-tu/du-du, mit sumerisch ubur „(weibliche) Brust“ (Jacobsen, AS 11, 32).

Angesichts dieses Beispiels könnte man sich fragen, ob ^den-ki-du₁₀ nicht nur als Ea-bāni interpretiert wurde, sondern tatsächlich eine Sumerisierung dieses Namens ist. Dagegen spricht, dass Enkidu gleich in mehreren sumerischen Erzählungen um Gilgameš eine Hauptfigur ist und sich ein entsprechender und in seiner Zeit typologisch nicht auffälliger Name gleichzeitig mit Gilgameš in ED IIIa belegen lässt.

In Ur III-Texten sind die Personennamen ḫu-PI.PI, ḫu-Ú.Ú und ḫu-ba-ba belegt. Zusammen mit der späten Tradition ḫum-ba-ba, stützt der letzte Name die Interpretation ḫu-wa-wa in den ab Epen. In der Diyālā-Region und in Mari ist der Name allerdings als ḫu-bi-bi oder ḫu-bé-bé überliefert. Ein frühneuassyrischer Text (s u.) hat sowohl ḫu-be-be als auch ḫu-ba-ba. Assyrisch ist w > b, zu erwarten, babylonisch aber w > m. Dass *ḥu-ma-ma nicht existiert, spricht mithin gegen die Lesung ḫu-wa-wa.

Jüngeres Ḫu(m)baba könnte durch den Namen des elamischen Gottes Humban beeinflusst sein. Wenn das zutrifft, ist das m erklärt und Ḫu(m)baba spricht nicht mehr gegen w, kann aber dann auch nicht als starkes Argument für a gelten und die Schreibung ḥu-be-be (neben ḥu-ba-ba) in dem fröhneuassyrischen Fragment aus Assur Ms y (George 2003, 353-61) gewinnt an Gewicht.

Von den Ur III Personennamen ist nur ḥu-ba-ba eindeutig. Davon lässt sich aber nicht auf die anderen Namen schließen. Vergleiche é-da-da ELTS 32 ii 3 und é-du-du Banca Adab 232 v 2; al-la-la ELTS 40 A v 9 und al-lu-lu ELTS 40 S xi 24; den Götternamen ^da-ba₄-ba₄ und den Personennamen a-bu-bu ELTS 15 iii 2 und eventuell a-bí-bí BIN 8, 142, 6, falls nicht a-ne-ne zu lesen, was dann mit a-nu-nu CUSAS 11, 368 Vs. ii 2 kontrastieren würde. Siehe auch i-ti-ti Banca Adab 235 v 11 und i-tu-tu CT 50, 188 Vs. i 13¹.

Die Lesung von ḥu-Ú.Ú ist offen. Eine Lesung Ú = wa_x wird durch den einen Vergleich mit der ebenfalls nur vermuteten Lesung ḥu-wa-wa nicht erzwungen und stünde ja auch im Widerspruch zu ḥu-ba-ba. Wie soeben gezeigt erzwingt ḥu-ba-ba auch keine Lesung mit /a/. Es wären also ḥu-ba₆-ba₆ und ḥu-bu₁₁-bu₁₁ möglich. Die Lesung ba₆ ist nicht sicher belegt, aber auch nicht auszuschließen.² Die Lesung bu₁₁ ist in sumerischem Kontext durch die Schreibung des Lehnwortes /ḥabuda/ „Hacke“ als ḥa-bù-da und ḥa-Ú-da belegt.³ Siehe auch fröhdynastisch BA.Ú^{ki}, was in Ebla bù-bù^{ki} entspricht (Civil 2010, 196, 189) und wo ein ba-bu₁₁^{ki} mit Vokalharmonie die Schreibung in Ebla erklären würde. Bei den Banana-Namen gibt es viele Beispiele, in denen der Vokal, zumindest soweit es nachzuweisen ist, in allen drei Silben der gleiche ist: Siehe etwa da-ba-ba Tutub 1 i 5; pù-zu-zu MC 4, 45, 5; gur-bu-bu MAD 5, 9 ii 7; mu-tu-tu MAD 5, 5, 14.

Alles in allem erscheint daher eine Lesung ḥu-bu₁₁-bu₁₁ etwas wahrscheinlicher als ḥu-ba₆-ba₆. Das Zeichen GEŠTU (PI) kann in Ur III wa gelesen werden, aber auch wu/wi/we. Die im Sumerischen geläufigste Lesung ist be₆ (bì, pi/pe natürlich auch möglich).⁴

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen: Es gibt keinen unmittelbaren Grund, in dem Namen ḥu-PI.PI ein w zu vermuten, außer dass sich nur so von dem Zeichen GEŠTU eine Lesung gewinnen lässt, die den Vokal /a/ enthält. Dieser lässt sich mit dem Ur III Namen ḥu-ba-ba nicht begründen, da es Beispiele für Namen vom Banana-Typ gibt, die sich nur beim Vokal der verdoppelten Silbe unterscheiden. Außerdem würde ja in diesem Fall nicht einmal der Konsonant der Silbe übereinstimmen. Damit kommt das einzige Argument für eine Lesung mit /a/ also auch für wa aus den Texten des 1. Jahrtausends mit ḥu-ba-ba und vor allem ḥum-ba-ba, wobei diesmal nicht nur ein ähnlicher Name, sondern die gleiche mythische Gestalt gemeint ist. Dem steht aber eine bis in die altbabylonische Zeit hinaufreichende, wenn auch nur im Norden eindeutig geschriebene Tradition gegenüber, die für /ḥubebe/ bzw. /hubibi/ spricht. Kommt hinzu, dass sich die jüngere Tradition vielleicht durch den Anklang an den Namen des elamischen Gottes Humban erklären lässt.

Für die Möglichkeit, dass in ḥu-PI.PI aB der alte Lautwert be₆ einzusetzen ist, vgl. ^den-be₆^{bé-bé}be₆ An Anum VI 100. Alles in allem erscheint eine Lesung ḥu-be₆-be₆ oder ḥu-bì-bì wesentlich wahrscheinlicher als ḥu-wa-wa.

1) Zu den Namen mit du₁₀(-g) siehe Krebernik 2002, 32-38. Cf. Di Vito 1993.

2) Cf. Keetman 2014b, 458 zu 490.

3) Keetman 2013, 449; 451 Anm. 76.

4) Zu be₆ Keetman 2014c. Fröhdynastisch wird *bēlātūm* ins Sumerische als be₆-lu₅-da entliehen, welches später eine Einschränkung seiner Bedeutung auf den religiösen Bereich erfährt und als belludū(m) ins Akkadische rückentlehnt wird. Unter dem Eindruck von PI-lu₅-da, das nach altbabylonischer Regel mit p gelesen wird, ordnen beide Wörterbücher das rückentlehnte Wort unter p ein. Es gibt aber keine Belege mit PI (!) hingegen einige mit bi/bé. Zwar kann man letzteres auch mit unterschiedlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit pi lesen, aber das völlige Fehlen einer Schreibung mit pi spricht mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit für b. Also spricht sowohl das Wort von dem es entlehnt wurde als auch das Wort, das von ihm rückentlehnt wurde, für b in be₆-lu₅-da. Cf. Keetman 2013 s. v.

Bibliography

CIVIL, M. 2010: The Lexical Texts in the Schøyen Collection, CUSAS 12, Bethesda.

DI VITO, R. 1993: Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names. The Designation and Conception of the Personal God, Studia Pohl SM 16, Rom.

GEORGE, A. R. 2003: The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, Oxford.

- KEETMAN, J. 2013: Form und Datierung früher semitischer Lehnworte im Sumerischen, in: L. Feliu *et al.* (Hrsg): Time and History in the Ancient Near East (RAI, Barcelona 2010) 445-54.
Id., 2014a: Der altsumerische Name /pa-^gbilga-mes/ = Gilgameš, BiOr 71, 30-40.
Id., 2014b: Rezension, Borger, Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon, BiOr 71, 455-460.
Id. 2014c: En-be₆-be₆ König von Umma (?), NABU 2014, Nr. 38.
KREBERNIK, M. 2002: Zur Struktur und Geschichte des älteren sumerischen Onomastikons, in: M. P. Streck und St. Weninger: Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik, AOAT 296, Münster.
SALLABERGER, W. 2008: Das Gilgamesch-Epos, Mythos, Werk und Tradition, München.

Jan KEETMAN <jkeet@aol.com>

29) Five problematic eponyms in KEL G — In his publication of KEL G (kt 01/k 287) in AoF 35, 2008, 103 ff, C. Günbatti indicated that the reading of some of the names is uncertain. Since then some alternative readings have been published. A convincing correction for KEL G 112 was given in PIHANS 120, 2012, p. 114. For KEL G 69 and KEL G 132 see W. Nahm AfO 40, 2013, 366 ff. A confirming argument concerning KEL G 132 is contained in an article with D. Lacambre that will appear in RA 109. Here five further names will be considered (KEL G 57, 109, 124, 125 and 142 in Günbatti's numbering), based on photographs generously provided by G. Barjamovic. Final confirmation of the readings may depend on further data, however, in particular on an accurate 3D documentation.

—KEL G 57 (col. II): Günbatti transcribes the line as / *Púzur*^d{MUŠ}. The restoration MUŠ is very unlikely, however. When sufficient space was available the scribe of KEL G did not place long signs like MUŠ so close to the edge. The sign must have been narrow, and may be read UTU. Its lower diagonal wedge is well preserved. The upper diagonal is damaged, but its head seems to be preserved. The vertical wedge is somewhat displaced, with its head in the lower third of the preceding line. It is clear in photographs with different lighting and has the expected slant towards the lower left.

The eponym *Puzur*^dUTU is known from kt 01/k 244, 298 and 306, but has not been placed so far (Günbatti 1.c. p. 129). G. Kryszat asks if it can be found at KEL G 124 (AfO 35, 2008, p. 212), but this was rejected in PIHANS 120 and a different reading for KEL G 124 is proposed below. The available dates of the kt 01/k tablets (Günbatti 1.c. p. 130 f.) cluster at KEL G 48-66 (kt 01/k 200, 213, 215?, 226, 227, 228, 239, 262?, 274, 276?, 278, 305B, 307, 313, 317B, 326A/B, 335B, 387B) and KEL G 75-89 (kt 01/k 214, 215?, 217, 253?, 292?, 311B, 314?, 321), with likely outliers at KEL G 31+ (kt 01/k 312A/B), KEL G 105 (kt 01/k 279), KEL G 132+ (kt 01/k 325B), KEL G itself and the problematic kt 01/k 206. Thus a placement of *Puzur*^dUTU at KEL G 57 is plausible, though a detailed investigation of the prosopography remains necessary.

—KEL G 109 (col. III): Günbatti transcribes the line as / *A-a-a*, Kryszat as / *Za'*-*a-a* (1.c. p. 216). It is not always possible to distinguish eroded examples of A and ZA, since the presence of two wedge heads at the left may no longer be discernable. Nevertheless, in KEL G the shape of the left vertical remains characteristic after moderate erosion. ZA usually has a left part of clear wedge shape, whereas A has a line of constant width, typically rather narrow. There is a clear contrast between KEL G 101 / *A-a-a* and KEL G 109, thus Kryszat's reading / *Za-a-a* is convincing and does not need an exclamation mark.

—KEL G 124 (col. IV): Two photographs show that the second sign is not the divine determinative but ZU. Only the final vertical of the sign has been lost. This yields the reading *Púzur-S[ú]-e[n₆]*.

—KEL G 125 (col. IV): Günbatti transcribes the line as / Šu-mì-x-x-x-x. One photograph shows that the second to last sign is ŠA, with IŠ as only and less likely alternative. Thus the tentative reading Šu-mì^dNIN-ŠUBUR of PIHANS 120 p. 114 appears to be excluded. The x-x after mì might be beginning and end of *mu*. A transcription Šu-mì^rmu^l-ša-l[im] appears to be epigraphically possible but semantically problematic.

—KEL G 142 (col. IV): Günbatti transcribes the line as / *Ha?-da?-x-a*. According to PIHANS 120 p. 114 the name is very unclear, perhaps / *A-da-ri?-A-šür*. The first sign is too narrow for HA. The left vertical appears to have been deflected by an inhomogeneity in the clay, but the reading A is certainly correct. The final sign sits on the right edge and was not noted by Günbatti. A photograph shows a clear šur, so šür may have been a typo. The supposed *ri?* has no horizontal and should be transcribed as a /.

Thus one obtains / *A-x-a* / *A-šur*. The parts before and after the divider have to be considered separately. For the interpretation of both of them the following line with the name *A-na-ak-a-na-A-šur* is relevant. The reading DA for *x* in *A-x-a* is impossible, since the left part of *x* has no similarity with the left part of DA. The correct reading of the name appears to be *A-ha-na-a*, with a small overlap of HA and NA. It seems that the sign HA was written after NA, in the restricted space left by a previously written A-NA. The latter may have been due to an erroneous anticipated writing of the name of the following eponym. The eponym *A-ha-na-a* is documented in kt 73/k 5. Since kt 73/k 15 is dated by *A-na-ku-a-na-A-šūr*, we appear to have two texts from subsequent years in the same late archive.

A-šur written after the divider seems to be a correction for the writing of the theonym in KEL G 143 *A-na-ak-a-na-A-šur*. The last sign of that name was written on the edge of the tablet and is hardly recognizable. The scribe may have decided that a correct repetition was necessary. Since the space on the edge itself was inadequate, it was natural to put the correction in the preceding line after a divider.

When the new readings are taken into account, the number of 'post-canonical' eponyms at Kaneš may have been very small. Was KEL G written with the end of the colony in mind?

Werner NAHM <wnahm@stp.dias.ie>

30) Aminum in AKL, MEC und auf den Siegeln seiner Diener — Eine Person namens Aminum wird in AKL als der 26. König aufgeführt, erscheint in der MEC an vier Stellen und wird auf zwei Siegeln seiner Diener genannt. In der AKL wird Aminum als Sohn eines Ilakabkabi bezeichnet (Nr. 25) und als Vater eines Sulili (Nr. 27) aufgeführt. Im stark zerstörten Text der MEC sind noch drei Feldzüge des Aminum erkennbar. Der Tod des Aminum wird ebenfalls vermerkt (MEC A.1288 I 8, 13, 15, Tod in 25), wobei es unklar ist, ob der Kompilator einen Kausalzusammenhang hergestellt hat zu der in der Zeile vorher aufgeführten Sonnenfinsternis. Verwandschaftliche Bezüge dieses Aminum sind in MEC nicht erhalten geblieben. Ein Ilakabkabi wird erst in MEC 37 erwähnt, ein Jahr vor der Akzession des Šamši-Adad I.

Unter den Nummern A.0.26.2001-2002 hat GRAYSON (1987, 11) zwei Siegelinschriften der Diener eines Aminum in den Kanon assyrischer Inschriften aufgenommen. Der positive Effekt war, dass damit diese Inschriften verstärkt in den Fokus der Gelehrten kamen. Das Resultat jedoch besteht darin, dass man nun vermehrt der Ansicht war, diese Siegel bestätigten die Herrschaft eines Aminum über Assur (AZIZE 1998; SIDDALL 2007; anscheinend auch SALLABERGER/SCHRAKAMP 2015, 32: „Aminu (father of no. 27) is named without title, as overlord, in a seal inscription (RIMA A.0.26.2001).“). Im Gegensatz dazu schrieb noch BIROT (1985, 221 Fn.10): „ARM XVI/1 p. 59 s.v. *Amīnum*; la mention „roi d’Assyrie“ doit être rayée“.

Es verschränken sich drei Fragestellungen: Gab es einen „Aminum von Assur“? Sind Aminum (AKL) und Aminum (MEC) dieselben Personen oder handelt es sich um zwei verschiedene Persönlichkeiten, nach Lage der Dinge durch Jahrhunderte getrennt? Wie ist Landsbergers Auffassung, Aminum sei der Sohn des Ilakabkabi im Lichte der MEC zu bewerten? Ich möchte zuerst darlegen, weshalb man die Siegel nicht zur Rekonstruktion assyrischer Geschichte heranziehen sollte. Genau genommen gehören sie nicht zum assyrischen Inschriftenkanon.

Das Siegel mit der Inschrift RIMA A.0.26.2001 befindet sich Louvre, wurde unter der Nummer A 360 von DELAPORTE (1923, 128) veröffentlicht und bereits von LANDSBERGER (1954, 34, Fn. 20) zur Untermauerung der Existenz eines Herrschers namens Aminum verwendet („erstes Siegel“). Das „zweite Siegel“ A.0.26.2002 wurde erst kurz vor der Drucklegung von RIMA 1 von Collon in den Beständen des British Museum entdeckt und publiziert (COLLON 1986, 69 Nr. 38; COLLON 1987, 47 Nr. 172). Diese Publikationsstellen konnte Grayson nicht mehr angeben.

Zieht man die entsprechenden Siegelkataloge heran, fällt zweierlei sofort auf: beide Siegel sind Isin-Larsa-zeitlich - und nichts bringt sie mit Assur in Verbindung. Für das zweite Siegel lautet der Provinzvermerk „Near Hamadan (Ecbatana), Iran“ (COLLON 1987, 47 Nr. 172) bzw. „said to have come from the Hamadan area“ (COLLON 1986, 69 Nr. 38). Für das erste Siegel (DELAPORTE 1923, 128, A 360) gibt es keinen Provinzvermerk; auch Landsberger ging nicht davon aus, dass Aminum über Assur geherrscht habe.

Die Provinienzvermerke machen deutlich, dass man die Siegel nicht mit Assur in Verbindung bringen kann. Die Versuche von AZIZE (1998) und SIDDALL (2007), auf ihnen die Herrschaft eines Aminum über Assur zu gründen (s. u.), sind damit Makulatur. Die Datierung der Siegel macht klar, dass sie mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit den Dienern des Aminum in der MEC gehörten, der genau in diese Zeit datiert. Ob man diese Siegel auch mit dem 26. König der AKL in Zusammenhang bringen darf, hängt davon ab, für wen wir ihn halten – und davon hängt ab, wann er lebte.

LANDSBERGER (1954) hatte bekanntlich dargelegt, dass der zweite Abschnitt der AKL die Ahnenliste des Šamši-Adad I darstelle. Sowohl AZIZE (1998) als auch SIDDALL (2007) haben jedoch in ihren Interpretationen der AKL dafür plädiert, dass man die ersten Abschnitte der Liste „*as a straightforward chronology of successive kings*“ (AZIZE 1998, 12) verstehen solle, wie dies durch die Filiationen nahegelegt wird. Daraus folgt, dass die in AKL Nr. 25-26 genannten Könige Ilakabkabi und Aminu nicht Vater und Bruder des Šamši-Adad I (Nr. 39) gewesen sein können, wie die Standardtheorie annimmt. Ich füge hinzu, dass sie dann *spätestens* in der Ur III-Zeit gelebt haben müssten, selbstredend als nomadische Kontrahenten der Ur III-Könige und ihrer Statthalter, die in AKL nicht genannt werden. Das folgt aus der Hypothese, Nr. 25-26 seien deutlich älter als die altbabylonischen Amoriter um Šamši-Adad I. Aus diesen Prämissen resultieren drei sich teilweise widersprechende Vorschläge von Azize und Siddall:

Vorschlag 1: „Šamši-Adad I never said that Aminu ruled Aššur. This omission is incredible if Aminu the brother of Šamši-Adad had ruled Aššur. If this Aminu ever ruled, then in lieu of further evidence, we must say that he did not rule Aššur. If “Aminu of the seals” was not the brother of Šamši-Adad I, then we possess independent evidence for the accuracy of the AKL in this controversial portion. That is, the seals themselves comprise evidence that the periscopes of the AKL which mention Aminu are accurate in that there was a ruler of Aššur named Aminu. That is a positive indication that neither his name nor the relevant periscopes were inserted into Assyrian history for political reasons.“ (AZIZE 1998, 15).

Vorschlag 2: „[T]here was only one Aminu who ruled Aššur, as indicated by AKL and the cylinder seals, who was the son of the first Ila-kabkabi of the AKL and whose military actions were recorded in the MEC, but who is not related to Šamši-Adad I.“ (SIDDALL, 2007, 375).

Kommentar: Siddall verknüpft wie Azize AKL Nr. 26 mit den Siegeln, und identifiziert diese Person mit dem Aminum aus der MEC. Damit umgeht er die Schwierigkeit, dass die Datierung von AKL 26 (spätestens Ur III) nicht mehr mit der Datierung der Siegel übereinstimmt (in diese Falle war Azize getappt). Siddall glaubt allerdings wie Azize, die Siegel würden eine Herrschaft dieser Person über Aššur beweisen. Die Siegel kann man jedoch gar nicht mit Aššur in Verbindung bringen, siehe oben. Siddalls Vorschlag hat außerdem die Schwierigkeit, dass Aminum (MEC) den Narām-Sîn zumindest kurzzeitig aus Aššur hätte vertreiben müssen, um selbst als König von Aššur zu gelten. Für ein solches Vorkommnis gibt es überhaupt keinen Anhaltspunkt.

Vorschlag 3: „[T]he ‘Aminum’ of the MEC is Šamši-Adad I’s grandfather. This may be the AKL’s Aminu, son of the first Ila-kabkabi. Upon this reconstruction, the genealogy would be Ila-kabkabi₁ / Aminu / Ila-kabkabi₂ / Šamši-Adad I. The naming of a child after a parent or grandparent is not uncommon in most cultures and therefore this reconstruction is plausible.“ (SIDDALL, 2007, 375).

Kommentar: Eine solche Königsabfolge wurde bereits diskutiert u.a. von Landsberger, BIROT (1985, 223) und GARELLI (1985, 91, lehnt Homonymie zweier Personen namens Ilakabkabi ab). Dieser Vorschlag impliziert die Anwendung von Paponymie, die laut LANDSBERGER (1954, 34 Fn. 19) „den älteren Ostkanaanäern unbekannt“ war. M.W. hat sich an diesem Befund nichts geändert; auch Azize oder Siddall nennen kein Beispiel aus dem Bereich der älteren Amoriter zur Stützung ihrer These. Weder bei den im AKL-Abschnitt 2 genannten Herrschern noch in der GHD ist Paponymie üblich; auch die Amoriterstämme im Bereich von Mari verwenden sie nicht (ANBAR 1991, *passim*) Erst im spätaltbabylonischen Halab (Aleppo) kommt Paponymie bei amoritischen Herrschern vor, doch innerhalb dieser Dynastie ist Paponymie ein spätes Phänomen. Im ebenfalls spätaltbabylonischen Alalah VII (Tell Athana) ist die Sache von den widerstreitenden Rekonstruktionen der Herrscherabfolge

abhängig. CHARPIN (2004, 149, Fn. 682) weist darüber auf die Seltenheit des Namens Ilakabkabi hin, so dass man Paponymie und Homonymie wohl vernachlässigen kann.

Der Tod des Aminum: Der Tod des Aminum wird in der MEC unverblümt genannt (MEC 25 = KEL A 127 / REL 128). Bereits EDZARD (1957, 139 Fn. 737) hatte jedoch erkannt, dass der Tod des eigenen Königs nicht Gegenstand der Erwähnung (in Jahresnamen) sein kann. Diese wichtige Erkenntnis wurde von Edzard lakonisch und versteckt präsentiert, doch Diakonoff/Jankowska (1975, 132) haben in einem anderen Kontext noch einmal deutlich darauf hingewiesen. Edzards Beobachtung bestätigt sich auch in MEC, denn dort erfahren wir nichts vom Tode des Ibâl-pî-El I von Ešnunna oder des Ilakabkabi, sondern es wird kundgetan, dass ihre jeweiligen Nachfolger in den Palast ihrer Väter eingezogen sind (MEC 12= KEL A 114/REL 115 bzw. MEC 38 = KEL G 31/REL 141). Davon findet sich bei der Nennung des Todes des Aminum nichts; auch die Zeichenreste hinter [mu-u]t Aminim deuten nicht auf dieses Formular. Erkennbar ist aber nur noch ein ^dIM; der Verfasser der Tafel scheint also von etwas ganz anderem zu reden.

Wenn der Tod des Aminum eine *Nachfolgesituation* ausgelöst hätte, wäre statt [mu]t Aminim doch „KN ana É abišu irūb“ in MEC 25 zu erwarten. Zudem hätte der Tod des eigenen Herrschers unter keinen Umständen erwähnt werden dürfen, sondern man hätte bei Platznot ggf. die Akzession des Nachfolgers textlich abkürzen müssen. Man könnte einwenden, dass der Tod des Aminum so unverblümt genannt wurde, weil er vielleicht nicht mit Ilakabkabi verwandt war. In diesem Fall hätten wir Ilakabkabi als Usurpator anzusehen, so dass aus diesem Grund der übliche Satz über das Einziehen in den Palast des Vaters fehlen musste. Das enthebt den Chronisten aber nicht der Pflicht, die Akzession des neuen Königs zu verkünden. Die Könige von Isin und Larsa haben in ihren sumerisch verfassten Jahresnamen einen lakonischen und von Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen unabhängigen Weg gefunden, die Akzession zu vermerken: m u KN 1 u g a 1 (vgl. die Belege bei SIGRIST 1988 und 1990). Einen ähnlich kurzen Vermerk hätte man dann anstelle von *mūt Aminim* erwartet.

Für unser Argument ist die Nennung der Sonnenfinsternis unerheblich. Schon die plumpen Nennungen des Todes des Aminum in MEC zeigt, dass er kein Herrscher mit voller Befehlsgewalt gewesen sein kann, allenfalls ein Unterkönig – oder eben ein Feind. In keinem der beiden Fälle gab es dann aber die familiäre Abfolge Ila-kabkabi₁ / Aminu / Ila-kabkabi₂ / Šamši-Adad I, wie Siddall sie vorschlägt, siehe oben. Wenn Aminum (MEC) ein Feind war, hätten wir zwischen Ilakabkabi / Aminu (AKL 25-26) als einer Familie und Ilakabkabi / Šamši-Adad I als einer anderen Familie zu trennen. Wurden in AKL zwei verschiedene amoritische Familien kombiniert (Abschnitt 2 einerseits und Ilakabkabi/ Šamši-Adad I in der Glosse andererseits), wie Siddall (2007) als Denkmöglichkeit vorschlägt? Das Beispiel des Išbi-Erra von Isin zeigt, dass man keine ältere, fremde Familie als die eigene ausgegeben hat. Seit MICHALOWSKI (1984) ist klar, dass Išbi-Erra keinen normalen genealogischen Anspruch vorweisen konnte. Anstatt einen solchen zu fälschen, ist man in Isin auf eine andere Art der Legitimation verfallen.

Somit sind m.E. alle jüngeren Attacken auf Landsbergers Interpretation des 2. Abschnitts abgewiesen. Wir müssen nun fragen, ob Landsbergers These, Ilakabkabi sei der Vater von Aminum und Šamši-Adad I gewesen, im Licht der MEC überhaupt noch funktioniert. Ich wende sie im Folgenden daher einfach an.

Die Landsberger-These im Lichte der MEC: Dass ein Ilakabkabi der Vater eines Aminum war, wird in AKL behauptet und wir sollten diesem Hinweis folgen, so lange wir ihn nicht widerlegen können. Nichts spricht dagegen dass Aminum und Šamši-Adad Halbbrüder waren, geboren als Ilakabkabi ca. 20 bzw. 55 Jahre alt war. Ilakabkabi wäre dann mit ca. 70 Jahren gestorben. Die erste historische Information in MEC, die aufgrund von Beschädigung unlesbar ist, findet sich erst beim 5. Eponymen (= KEL A 107 / REL 108). Es ist nicht sicher, welcher Herrschernname dort stand. Ilakabkabi hätte dann ggf. ca. 33 Jahre geherrscht (MEC 5-38); in MEC erhalten geblieben ist sein Name aber erst ein Jahr vor seinem Tod (MEC 37). Aminum wird das erste Mal im 8. Eponymat der MEC (= KEL A 110 / REL 111) erkennbar, als er Šaduppum besiegt. Damals dürfte er bereits mindestens 20 Jahre alt gewesen sein. Von seinen weiteren Aktivitäten ist nur noch eine Auseinandersetzung mit Ipiq-Adad II von Ešnunna erhalten geblieben (MEC 13 / KEL A 115 / REL 116 und MEC 15 / KEL A 117 / REL 118). Auch Išme-Dagan I wird in der Chronik mit zwei eigenen Feldzügen genannt (MEC 84 = REL 185, sowie MEC 91 = KEL G

84+ / REL 192), wobei weitere Erwähnungen, wie bei Aminum, sicherlich in den *lacunae* der MEC verschwunden sind. Die Aktivitäten des Aminum (MEC 8-MEC 15, Tod in MEC 25) sind also kein Ausweis dafür, dass er sozial höher stand als Išme-Dagān. Wir wissen aus der Mari-Korrespondenz, dass beide Söhne Šamšī-Adads I autonom agieren konnten, so lange der Vater darauf verzichtete, von seinem Weisungsrecht Gebrauch zu machen. Ähnlich könnte der Fall bei Ilakabkabi und Aminum liegen. Die MEC könnte uns aber die Stelle in AKL besser verständlich machen. Der Halbbruder Aminum wäre so alt gewesen, dass er selbst der Vater des Šamšī-Adad I hätte sein können. Zudem hat sich die Lebensspanne der beiden Brüder kaum überschnitten. Es ist angesichts dieser Altersstruktur daher kein Wunder, wenn die AKL den Aminum unter den Vorfahren des Šamšī-Adad I auflistet. Dass Aminum dort überhaupt genannt wird, ist auf seine (hypothetische) weitgehende Autonomie zurückzuführen. Fazit: Beim derzeitigen Quellenstand funktioniert die Landsberger-Theorie (noch), da die entscheidenden Gegenbelege (etwa der Name Aminum in MEC 5) fehlen.

Zusammenfassung: Will man die Herrscher Nr. 25-27 entgegen dem Vorschlag Landsbergers als durchgehende, historische korrekte Angabe von drei Königen über Assur auffassen, dann sollten diese Könige ungefähr in die Ur III-Zeit gehören und Nr. 26 hat folglich nichts mit den Siegeln RIMA A.0.26.2001-2002 zu tun. Die Herrschaft eines Aminum über Assur ist für keine Epoche belegbar. Landsbergers Auffassung hält gegenwärtig noch stand; die bisher formulierten Gegenvorschläge sind zu problematisch und entscheidende Gegenbeweise fehlen. SIDDALL (2007) hat allerdings festgestellt, dass ein Verwandschaftsverhältnis zwischen Aminum und Šamšī-Adad I nicht nachweisbar ist; dem ist zuzustimmen. Die plumpen Nennungen des Todes des Aminum könnte ebenfalls dafür sprechen; es kann aber auch bedeuten, dass eben Ilakabkabi und nicht Aminum das Staatsoberhaupt war. Der Tod des Aminum scheint keine Nachfolge ausgelöst zu haben. Es ist zwar nicht ganz auszuschließen, dass es sich bei den in AKL Abschnitt 2 genannten Namen um eine andere Familie handelt als die von Ilakabkabi/Šamšī-Adad I (s. dazu ausführlich SIDDALL 2007), doch erscheint mir das zu modern gedacht. Auch die Seltenheit des Namens Ilakabkabi spricht dagegen. Alles in allem denke ich, dass Landsberger wohl doch die richtige Erklärung gefunden hat.

Nachbemerkung: Sulili, Sohn des Aminum: Auch die in AKL angegebenen Filiation „Sulili, Sohn des Aminum“ bereitet Probleme, wie sich an einem sehr ambivalenten Satz in SALLABERGER/SCHRACKAMP (2015, 32) zeigen lässt. Dort schreiben die beiden Autoren: „Aminu (father of no. 27) is named without title, as overlord, in a seal inscription (RIMA A.0.26.2001).“ Wie man es dreht oder wendet, der Satz ist in jedem Fall falsch: Aminum könnte nur dann Vater von Sulili (Nr. 27) gewesen sein, wenn ihm die Isin-Larsa-zeitlichen Siegel *nicht* zuzuordnen sind. Den weiteren Verwicklungen um das Problem Sulili/Šilulu/Ilabu-šululu (UET 8, 14) widme ich einen anderen Beitrag.

Literatur

- ANBAR, M., 1991: *Les tribus amorrite de Mari* (OBO 108, Freiburg/Schweiz).
- AZIZE, J., 1998: «Who was responsible for the Assyrian King List?», *Abr-Nahrain* 35, 1-27.
- BARJAMOVIC *et al.* (2012) = Barjamovic, G., Hertel, Th., Larsen, M.T.: *Ups and Downs at Kanesh. Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period* (= PIHANS 120; OAAS 5), Leiden.
- BIROT, M., 1985: «Les chroniques “assyriennes” de Mari», *MARI* 4, 219-242.
- CHARPIN, D., 2004: «Histoire Politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002-1595)», in Attinger, P. – Wäfler, M. (Hrsg.): *Mesopotamien. Die altbabylonische Zeit* (=OBO 160/4), Fribourg – Göttingen, 25-480.
- COLLON, D., 1986: *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum – Cylinder Seals III, Isin/Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods*, London.
- EAD., 1987: *First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, London.
- DELAPORTE, L., 1923: *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental. Tome II: Acquisitions*, Paris.
- DIAKONOFF, I.M. – JANKOWSKA, N., 1975: «Zum Mythos von den vorderasiatischen Ariern: die „Leichenverbrennung“ des Königs Parrattarna», *AoF* 2, 131-132.
- EDZARD, D.O., 1957: *Die »zweite Zwischenzeit« Babyloniens*, Wiesbaden.
- GARELLI, P., 1985: «Réflexions sur les listes royales assyriennes», in Durand, J.-M., Kupper, J.-R. (eds.): *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris, 91-95.
- GRAYSON, A.K., 1987: *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)* (RIMA 1), Toronto, Buffalo, London.

- LANDSBERGER, B., 1954: «Assyrische Königsliste und “Dunkles Zeitalter”», *JCS* 8, 31-73, 106-133.
- MICHALOWSKI, P., 1984: «History as a Charter. Some Observations on the Sumerian King List», in Sasson, J.M. (ed.): *Studies in Literature from the Ancient Near East by Members of the American Oriental Society Dedicated to Samuel Noah Kramer* (= AOS 65), New Haven, Conn., 237-248.
- SALLABERGER, W. /SCHRAKAMP, I., 2015: «Philological Data for a Historical Chronology of Mesopotamia in the 3rd Millennium», in Sallaberger, W. /Schrakamp, I. (Eds.): *ARCANE: History & Philology (Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Mediterranean) 3*; Turnhout, 1-136.
- SIDDALL, L.R., 2007: «The Genealogy of Adad-nirari III, the Identity of the Ila-kabkabis of the Assyrian King List and the Status of the ‘Legitimisation’ Hypothesis», *Or* 76, 368-378.
- SIGRIST, M., 1988: *Isin Year Names* (Institute of Archeology Publications, Assyriological Series 2), Berrien Springs.
- ID.*, 1990: *Larsa Year Names* (Institute of Archeology Publications, Assyriological Series 3), Berrien Springs.

Thomas JANSSEN <thomjan@live.de>
Berkaer Str. 41, 14199 BERLIN, DEUTSCHLAND

31) Addenda et corrigenda à Attinger, Babel und Bibel 8 (2014) 11-82 — Le lecteur trouvera ci-dessous quelques additions et corrections à ma récente édition d’Iddin-Dagan A parue dans N. Koslova et alii (éd.), *Studies in Sumerian Language and Literature: Festschrift für Joachim Krecher* (Babel und Bibel 8, 2014) 11-82.

P. 15 (textes): **M** « est très vraisemblablement un fragment de la même tablette que le texte H, dont il complète le bas de la col. ii » (A. Cavigneaux, ASJ 9 [1987] 55 n. 4).

CBS 15166 (photo dans CDLI P269271), quoique signalé dans ETCSL 2.5.3.1 (identification de M. Civil), a malheureusement été oublié. Il contient les lignes 80²-93 et 121-140³ (omet les ll. 126-130, le refrain du huitième *kirugu*). Une particularité de ce duplicit est de ne pas noter les rubriques ki-ru-gu₂ *n*-kam-ma(-am₃) sur une ligne distincte, mais directement à la suite du texte proprement dit. J’en donne *infra* la translittération¹.

f. 1' (80 ²)	[...] traces [...]
f. 2' (81)	[...]-gen ₇ ² lu-'a'
f. 3' (82)	[...]'du ₁₀ '-ge-eš im-me
f. 4' (82a)	[... igi-ni]-še ₃ i ₃ -dib-be ₂
f. 5' (83)	[...] ^d]innana mah-am ₃
f. 6' (84)	[... me-t]eš ₂ mu-i-i
f. 7' (85 sq.)	[... m]ah-am ₃ ki-'ru'-gu ₂ 'aš ₃ '-kam-'ma'
f. 8' (87)	[...]'x x an' ku ₃ -ga ²
f. 9' (88)	[... an-t]a nam-ta-an-e ₃
f. 10' (89)	[...-i]l ₂ -il ₂ -i
f. 11' (90)	[...-zalag]-ge
f. 12' (91)	[...]-e
f. 13' (92)	[...]-tuh-tuh ³
f. 14' (93)	[... ed]in-na
rev. 1' (121)	[...]i ₃ -'dib'-b[e ₂]
rev. 2' (122)	[...] ^d in]nana mah-am ₃
rev. 3' (123)	[...]mu-i-i
rev. 4' (124 sq.)	[...-a]m ₃ ki-ru-gu ₂ 'usa'-kam-ma-am ₃
rev. 5'-7' (131)	[... kala]-ga-am ₃ // [...] gal-am ₃ // [... dir]i-ga-am ₃
rev. 8' (132 ²)	[...]'x ' ⁴) MIN/A-kam ⁵
rev. 9' (133)	[...]mul-dili-bad
rev. 10' (134)	[... na]m-ta-an-'e ₃ '
rev. 11' (135)	[...]-ḥu-ḥu-luh-'e'-[x]
rev. 12' (136)	[...]mu-na-an-[...]
rev. 13' (137)	[... ḥar-ra-a]n mu-na-ḡ[a ₂ -ḡa ₂]

- rev. 14' (138) [...] -ni-ib-bal[a⁹⁶] ...]
 rev. 15' (139⁷) [...] traces [...]
 rev. 16' (140⁷) [...] traces [...]

P. 18 (l. 45 et comm. p. 44): dans un mail du 2 février 2015, J. Peterson a attiré mon attention sur VS 2, 69 rev. 6', qui a la graphie non-standard šu-ku⁷ du-tu-be₂ (// MUŠ₂ dub-dub-be₂); cela prouve la lecture suku₅šuku_x de MUŠ₂ dans cette expression, mais n'a pas d'incidence directe sur le sens.

P. 70 (s.v. niğ₂ gu-ul): lire "préparer le nécessaire (pour de grands repas)".

- 1) Je dois nombre de suggestions à Mme J. Matuszak. Qu'elle trouve ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.
- 2) A et H ont probabl. an ku₃-g[e⁷] si-a].
- 3) C'est la variante la plus importante (B a le fautif saħar mu-na-an-dub-bu-‘uš'). Pour saħar tuħ "soulever des tourbillons de poussière", cf. C. Wilcke, Lugalbanda (1969) 184; H. Behrens, FAOS 21 (1998) 128 avec n. 264; P. Attinger, ZA 88 (1998) 187.
- 4) Ressemble à [k]am.
- 5) Le sens de cette rubrique m'échappe. A a ša₃-ba-tuku-am₃.
6. Peut-être sur un signe raturé.

Pascal ATTINGER (pascal.attinger@iaw.unibe.ch)
 Rue de Tivoli 10, CH 2000 NEUCHÂTEL

32) Un texte administratif de l'époque d'Ur III appartenant à l'Association Bible & Civilisations, ancienne collection Jean-Guy Kauffmann* — La tablette mesure 6,4 cm en largeur, 8,9 cm en hauteur et 2,7 cm d'épaisseur. L'un des coins de la tablette, celui en haut à droite de la face, a été recollé. Provenance : Umma, pas de date

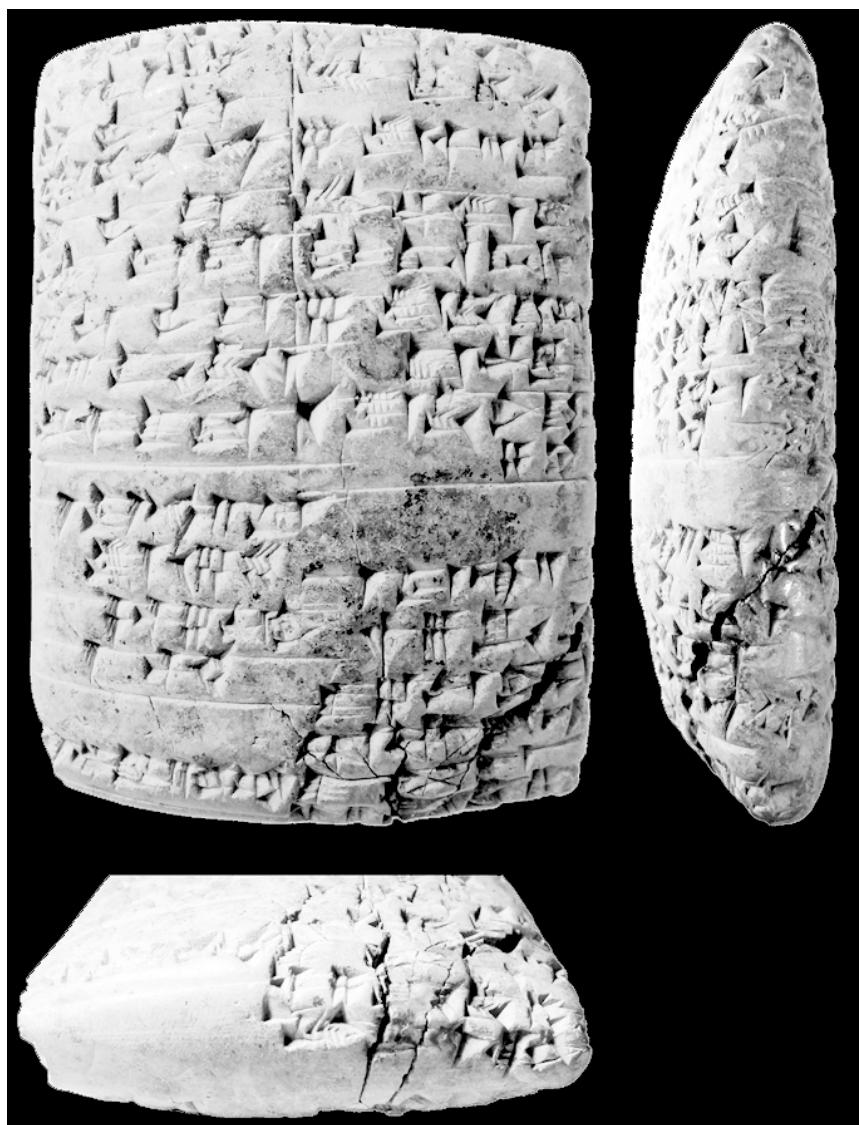
i.1	[1] maš ₂	[1] capridé
2	「1 ⁷ gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	1 ⁷ sicle d'argent
	「a ¹ -bu-šu ¹	(pour) Abušu
4	「2 ¹ gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	2 sicles d'argent
	[du]mu-munus ensi ₂	(pour) la fille du gouverneur
6	「2 ¹ gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	2 sicles d'argent
	lu ₂ -du ₁₀ -ga	(pour) Lu-duga
8	2 gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	2 sicles d'argent
	lu ₂ -ge-na / ka-guru ₇	(pour) Lu-gena, le responsable du grenier
10	ki MU-ZU-UK-še ₃ ¹	à envoyer chez NP
	2 gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	2 sicles d'argent
12	dam ur-mes dam-/gar ₃	(pour) l'épouse d'Ur-mes, le marchand
	1 urudu <ha->zī-in / zabar	1 hache de bronze
14	ki-la ₂ -bi 1 1/3 / ma-na	pesant 1 1/3 mine
ii.	「ku ₃ -bi ¹ 1 gin ₂ / 「igi ¹ 3-ĝal ₂	correspondant à 1 1/3 sicle d'argent
16	1 gin ₂ igi 3-ĝal ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	1 1/3 sicle d'argent
	en-še ₃ ¹	(pour) Enše
18	1 gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	1 sicle d'argent
	siki-kur 1 gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	(et) de la laine (d'ovins) de montagne (pour une valeur d') 1 sicle d'argent
20	nin-ge-na	(pour) Nin-gena
	igi 6-ĝal ₂ i ₃ -du ₁₀ sa ₁₀	1/6 (sicle d'argent pour) acheter de l'huile de bonne qualité
22	igi 3-ĝal ₂ šim sa ₁₀	(et) 1/3 (sicle d'argent pour acheter) du malt
	ur- ^d dumu-zī-da	(pour) Ur-Dumuzida
24	5 gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	5 sicles d'argent
	lugal-e-ba-sa ₆	(pour) Lugal-ebasa

26	9 gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar lu ₂ -sig ₅	9 sicles d'argent (pour) Lu-sig
28	7 gin ₂ igi 3-ĝal ₂ ku ₃ <-babbar> dam lugal-ku ₃ - ^r ga ^l -ni	7 1/3 sicles d'argent (pour) l'épouse de Lugal-kugani



R.iii.30	5 gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar lu ₂ -kin-gi ₄ <-a> / lugal	5 sicles d'argent (pour) le messager du roi
32	5 gin ₂ igi 3-ĝal ₂ lu ₂ - ^d sul-gi / dumu da-da-ga	5 1/3 sicles (d'argent) (pour) Lu-Šulgi fils de Dadaga
34	5 gin ₂ ku ₃ <-babbar> šu-ri-pa ₂ / e ₂ ^d šara ₂ -še ₃ 10 gin ₂ ku ₃ <-babbar> i ₃ -bi ₂ -za-bi (une ligne anépigraphe)	5 sicles d'argent (pour) de la glace pour le temple de Šara 10 sicles d'argent de sa perte financière
36	1 ma-na 2 gin ₂ / igi 6-ĝal ₂ 'ku ₃ -babbar' 0,0,3,5 sila ₃ i ₃ - ^r geš ¹	1 mine 2 1/6 sicles d'argent (et) 35 sila ₃ d'huile de sésame
38	ab-ba-ge-na 0,0,4. i ₃ - ^r geš	(pour) Abba-gena 40 sila ₃ d'huile de sésame
40	igi 4-ĝal ₂ ku ₃ <-babbar> ku ₆ sa ₁₀ lu ₂ 'ur ₄ ^l -ša ₃ -ki-du ₁₀	(et) ¼ d'argent (pour acheter) du poisson (pour) l'homme d'Uršakidu

iv.42	0,0.1.5 sila ₃ i ₃ -ĝeš ur-e ₂ -mah	15 sila ₃ d'huile de sésame (pour) Ur-Emah
44	0,0.3. i ₃ -ĝeš nin-ge-na	30 sila ₃ d'huile de sésame (pour) Nin-gena
46	0,0.1. i ₃ -ĝeš he ₂ -ma-DU	10 sila ₃ d'huile de sésame (pour) Hema-DU
48	5 sila ₃ i ₃ -ĝeš igi 3-ĝal ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	5 sila ₃ d'huile de sésame (et) 1/3 d'argent
50	an-palil ₂ (un espace est laissé après un trait de séparation) 2 ¹ ma-na 2 2/3 / gin ₂ 15 še	(pour) An-palil 2 ¹ mines 2 2/3 sicles 15 grains (d'argent)
52	0,2.1.5 sila ₃ i ₃ 1 maš ₂ {x x x x x}(une ligne effacée)	135 sila ₃ d'huile 1 capridé
54	ki ¹ ḫara ₂ -a-kam-ta	de Šarakam



- 1) Restitution hypothétique en comparaison à la ligne 53.
- 3) Le dernier signe de la ligne correspond davantage à še₃.
- 5) Cette désignation anonyme « fille du gouverneur » ne m'est pas connue par ailleurs.
- 13) L'objet *urudu*zi-in est documenté par RTC 304 (= ASJ 18 149 73) : i 14 (-/[x]). Mais il s'agit vraisemblablement d'une graphie fautive pour un *urudu*ha-zi-in, plus fréquent.
- 34) Je dois l'interprétation des signes ŠU-RI-BA à M. Such Gutiérrez. Il s'agirait ici d'un emprunt de l'akkadien *šuripum*, « glace », et en constituerait la première occurrence.
- 51) La somme des quantités d'argent dépensées s'élève à 2 mines 57 et 3/4 sicles, d'où la correction nécessaire.
- 54) L'anthroponyme Šarakam est davantage connu avec une graphie ^dšara₂-kam. Mais une graphie semblable à celle de notre texte, ^dšara₂-a-kam, est attestée par UTI 3 2196 : 1, provenant d'Umma.

L'absence de contexte archéologique nous prive d'un grand nombre d'informations concernant cette tablette. Une provenance d'Umma peut cependant être avancée en raison de la mention du temple de Šara (l. 34) et des anthroponymes contenus dans ce texte. En effet, plusieurs personnes semblent appartenir à la famille des gouverneurs d'Umma, ou à son entourage. Ainsi en est-il de Lu-Šulgi fils de Dadaga (l. 33). Dadaga, après avoir occupé la charge de responsable du grenier (ka-guru₇), est documenté comme gouverneur d'Umma, succédant à ses frères Ur-Lisi et A(ya)kala, depuis le deuxième mois de la septième année du règne de Šu-Sin jusqu'à la troisième année du règne d'Ibbi-Sin¹. Lu-Šulgi, son fils, est bien documenté².

Lu-duga (l. 7) pourrait être identifié à l'un des fils d'Ur-Nigar et serait donc frère des gouverneurs d'Umma³.

Ur-Dumuzida (l. 23) pourrait correspondre au marchand en affaire avec l'épouse d'A(ya)kala, gouverneur d'Umma de AS 8 à ŠS 7⁴.

Šarakam, mentionné à la toute dernière ligne (54), pourrait être le berger exerçant pour les temples de Šara et Ninurra⁵ ou le fournisseur d'A(ya)kala lorsqu'il fut gouverneur d'Umma⁶.

Abba-gena (l. 38) pourrait correspondre au scribe, fils de Lugal-magure, connu par la documentation d'Umma⁷. Mais il pourrait aussi s'agir d'un fils d'Ur-nigar qui était un berger rattaché au temple de Šara⁸.

Enfin, Ur-Emah (l. 43) pourrait être l'un des fils de Dada, superviseur administratif documenté par de nombreux textes provenant d'Umma⁹.

Si une identification n'est pas toujours possible, nombre de ces noms de personne sont connus par le corpus d'Umma. Ainsi en est-il d'Enše (l. 17)¹⁰ ou d'Uršakidu (l. 41)¹¹. Lugal-ebasa (l. 25), documenté par plusieurs textes provenant d'Umma datés de Š 33 à ŠS 5 (cf. BDTNS), pourrait être scribe s'il s'agit d'un seul et même individu¹². Hema-Du (l. 47), père de Lu-dingira et Lu-duga, cultivateur (engar) selon TIM 6 55: iv 19 (IS 2), est bien documenté par les textes d'Umma (cf. BDTNS).

D'autres encore nous sont documentés par les textes provenant de Girsu, site voisin d'Umma. C'est le cas d'Urmes, le marchand (l. 12)¹³, et de Lu-gena, le responsable des greniers (l. 9), peut-être d'Apišal¹⁴.

La nature exacte de ce texte reste imprécise. Bien qu'aucun « mot-clé » (šu ba-an-ti pour une réception, mu-du pour un apport, zi-ga pour une dépense, etc.) n'y figure, il semble que ce document administratif enregistrait des denrées dépensées par Šarakam. Par ailleurs, le dernier paragraphe (l. 51-53), en retrait, ressemble fort à un récapitulatif même si le terme total (šu-nigin) n'y figure pas.

Si l'on ajoute à ces faits l'absence de datation et d'empreinte de sceau, il apparaît que ce texte n'était pas destiné à être conservé : il a probablement été rédigé de façon temporaire, afin d'annoter certains éléments qui devaient être reportés sur un document plus important enregistrant dépenses et apports et comportant, lui, date et empreinte(s) de sceau(x).

Si aucune affirmation concernant la date de rédaction de ce texte ne peut être raisonnablement énoncée, une hypothèse peut en revanche être formulée. En effet, ce texte mentionne des individus qui pourraient être contemporains d'A(ya)kala lorsqu'il exerça la charge de gouverneur d'Umma, Šarakam (l. 54) et Ur-Dumuzida (l. 23). Mais il y a aussi la mention de Lu-Šulgi, le fils de Dadaga, gouverneur d'Umma à la suite d'A(ya)kala. En l'absence de date à la fin du texte, il n'est pas possible de déterminer si Dadaga était déjà gouverneur lorsque ce document fut rédigé. On peut cependant remarquer que Lu-

Šulgi n'est pas décrit comme « fils du gouverneur » (*dumu ensi₂*), au contraire de la « fille du gouverneur » anonyme de la ligne 5.

L'ensemble de ces éléments incite à penser que ce texte a pu être rédigé lorsqu'A(ya)kala fut gouverneur d'Umma (AS 8 à ŠS 7), et plus probablement pendant le règne de Šu-Sin, lorsque Šarakam est documenté.

*) Je remercie M. Jean-Guy Kauffmann qui m'a confié la publication de cette tablette de sa collection. Cette dernière a depuis été cédée à l'Association Bible & Civilisations (Jérusalem) et comprend, par ailleurs, un autre document cunéiforme – un clou de fondation de Gudéa, comportant l'inscription la plus fréquente (cf. D. O. Edzard, *Gudea and his dynasty*, RIME 3/1, 1997, inscription n°37 p. 135-136).

Ma gratitude va également à M. Guichard et M. Such Gutiérrez qui ont attentivement relu mon édition de la tablette et partagé leurs connaissances.

1) Cf. J. Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, PIHANS 108, 2007, p. 69-73, ci-après abrégé en *The Ruling Family*...

2) Cf. M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry in the Ancient Near East, A prosopographic Study of Third-Millennium Umma*, 1996, p. 158 et 207, ci-après abrégé en *Animal Husbandry*..., et J. Dahl, *The Ruling Family*..., 2007, p. 45, 78-80.

3) Cf. M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry*..., 1996, p. 137 et 207, et plus récemment J. Dahl, *The Ruling Family*..., 2007, p. 45.

4) Cf. J. Dahl, *The Ruling Family*..., 2007, p. 66 et n. 256. Cependant ce nom est assez fréquent et correspond aussi à l'un des fils d'Ur-nigar l'engraisseur (cf. J. Dahl, ibid., p. 123 et n. 427), ou, rien que dans le corpus des textes provenant d'Umma, à un soldat *aga₃-us₂* (BPOA 7 2170 – Š 34), un cultivateur (AAS 083 : r. iv 30, BCT 2 11 : o.i 12' – AS 8 –, cf. M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry*..., 1996, p. 172), un fils de Šeškalame (AnOr 7 374 : o.iv' 20'), un fils d'Ur-mes (BCT 2 288 : o.iii 28 – AS 6) ou un fils de Ur-abba (TCL 5 6038 : r.ii 20 – AS 7). Par conséquent, il est difficile d'établir une identification ferme d'Ur-Dumuzida avec l'un des nombreux individus portant ce nom documentés par les textes provenants d'Umma.

5) Cf. M. Stepien, *ibid.*, 1996, p. 51-52.

6) Cf. W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, UAVA 7, 1993, notamment chap. VI. Das kultische Jahr in Umma, à partir de p. 227, et J. Dahl, *The Ruling Family*..., 2007, p. 41-43 et n. 171. Même si A(ya)kala fut gouverneur d'Umma de AS 8 à ŠS 7, Šarakam, lui, est attesté de ŠS 2 à 7.

7) Pour son sceau, voir par exemple BPOA 1 1019 – ŠS 3 ; pour cet individu, cf. J. Dahl, *The Ruling Family*..., 2007, p. 95 et n. 333.

8) Cf. M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry*..., 1996, p. 103-104 et 206.

9) Cf. M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry*..., 1996, p. 175, et plus récemment J. Dahl, *The Ruling Family*..., 2007, p. 81 n. 293 ; pour son sceau, voir AAS 24 – ŠS 5. Mais il y a aussi un scribe nommé Ur-Emah qui est fils de Lugal-kugani selon MCS 6 4 : r.iv 9 et 10 : r.iii 20 (ŠS 5) et BPOA 6 717 : r. 17 (AS 8).

10) Attesté par BPOA 6 1184 : ii 19.

11) Attesté par BPOA 2 2552 : 12.

12) Son sceau est déroulé sur MVN 14 133 – Š 33 –, MVN 14 140 – Š 36 – et AAICAB 1/1 – Š 37 –, cf. M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry*..., 1996, p. 140.

13) Attesté par WMAH 3 (= MVN 2 3) : ii 6, 13 (AS 1) ; TUT 154 (= OrAnt 13 206) : iii 24 (AS 2/iii) ; BPOA 6 488 : 4' ([-]iv) et CT 07 20 BM 13132 (= OrAnt 15 143) : r. 7.

14) Lu-gena est attesté par BPOA 2 1878 : r. i 22 (Š 44/v-vi), mention de son sceau ; BAOM 2 29 50 : o. 2 (AS 3/i) ; TUT 117 (= OrAnt 13 203) : i 7 (AS 5) ; TCTI 2 3274 : 4 (AS 7) ; TCTI 2 2576 : 2 (AS 8/xi) ; MCS 1 46 (= MVN 11 135) : r. 8 (ŠS 3/v), mention de son sceau ; MVN 5 273 : r. i 15 ; TUT 127 (= OrAnt 13 204) : ii 13 ; ITT 5 9765.

Cependant, on notera aussi l'anthroponyme *Lu₂-inim-ge-na*, corrigé en *Lugal'-inim-ge-na* — sans commentaire de la part des éditeurs —, également *ka-guru₇*, mentionné dans un texte d'Umma, Nisaba 23 12 : r. 1. Le texte le rattache à la ville d'Apišal. L'hypothèse d'une identification *Lu-inim-gena* – *Lu-gena* est d'autant plus plaisante qu'un autre texte d'Umma, Nisaba 23 29 : r. 8 (ŠS 9), documente un certain *Lu-gena* d'Apišal.

Anne-Isabelle LANGLOIS <anne-isabelle.langlois@mlanglois.com>

Projet ANR/DFG “TEXTELSEM”, IPOA, Collège de France

33) Correction à NABU 2014/82 — Suite à une erreur de manipulation, le début de cette note est à lire ainsi :

82) La prise de Kawalhu/Kalhû et la fin d'Arriyuk à l'époque de Zimrî-Lîm — Lors du conflit qui opposa Mari à Ekallâtum dans la région du Sindjar, durant les années ZL 11 et ZL 12, Iddiyatum, commandant de la garnison mariote à Karanâ, écrivit au roi de Mari la lettre ARMT

XXVI/2 511. Des diverses affaires évoquées dans celle-ci, c'est celle qui conclut ce rapport qui retiendra ici notre attention :

« Quant au Turukkéen, il a pris la ville qu'il assiégeait, il a tranché la tête de son roi et l'a fait porter à Išme-Dagan avec ces mots : "Voici la tête de celui qui mettait sa confiance en toi !" ».

etc.

Pour la rédaction, Jean-Marie DURAND.

34) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 20 : Old Babylonian texts of delivery of bricks from Larsa (?) — In a recent note (LACAMBRE 2014), I studied three tablets coming from a “bureau of bricks” from Larsa, that are parts of a bigger archive that I study since a long time. I intended to publish a more complete analysis which would have included the unpublished texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection. After the publication of my note, R. Middeke-Conlin (SPHERE, *Laboratoire de Philosophie et Histoire des Sciences*, UMR 7219, CNRS & Université Paris Diderot - Paris 7) informed me that the unpublished documents from Yale are parts of his PhD., *The Making of a Scribe: How Rounding Numbers was Expressed in the Scribal Curriculum and Adapted for Administrative Purposes*, supervised by Ch. Proust and C. Michel. After a discussion, he preferred that we publish our results separately. Moreover, in the same time Z. FÖLDI (2014) published a note on these texts. It is now time for me to publish the results I reached, waiting for the promised complete edition of the documents by R. Middeke-Conlin.

1. The corpus: 83 published and unpublished documents in the US collections.

In the fourth volume of the catalogue of the Yale Babylonian Collection, G. BECKMAN (2000, p. 2), identified a small file of bricks deliveries which includes 60 previously unpublished texts (YBC 3021-3045, 3047-3050, 3071, 3161-3170, 3172-3185, 8115, 8117, 11110, 12173, MLC 2640-2641, cf. also FÖLDI 2014). Among the references to which he refers, **MLC 2478** was actually already published by C.E. KEISER in 1914, (**BRM III 19c**). But, this *bulla* is also part of a file already known by 23 published documents (cf. LACAMBRE 2014 and FÖLDI 2014).

Indeed, the published documents include 18 *bullae* and tablets from the Morgan Library Collection published (in copy with some photos) by C.E. KEISER (1914): **BRM III 19a-e, 20a, 21a-e, 22a, 22c-h** and translated in KOSCHAKER & UNGNAD 1923, p. 182-184, nos. 1888-1893, 1895-1906 and studied *ibid.*, p. 182, n. *.

To these 18 documents, five more texts from various collections across the USA can be added:

- **CAM 1914.689** = HALLO & WEISBERG 1992, p. 62, no. 19 (trs. and trsl.) and p. 86 (copy); cf. LACAMBRE 2014 and FÖLDI 2014 for line 2;
- **JCS 31/3, 1979, p. 139, no. 12** (copy); cf. LACAMBRE 2014 (trs. and trsl.);
- **Mount Holyoke College, no. 8** = FOSTER & PAYNE 2012, p. 279, no. 18 (cat.), p. 293, no. 18 (trs. and trsl.) and p. 313, no. 18 (copy), cf. LACAMBRE 2014 and FÖLDI 2014;
- **Totten Collection II, no. 21** = OWEN 1975-1976, p. 6-7 (copy, trs. and trsl.); cf. LACAMBRE 2014, for the reading of line 2;
- **Totten Collection II, no. 22** = OWEN 1975-1976, p. 6-7 (copy, trs. and trsl.).

With the references listed by G. Beckman, we have now an archive of 83 documents recording the delivery of bricks in exchange of rations of grain, oil, or beer.

2. A.T. Clay and the purchase of cuneiform documents in Yale at the beginning of the 20th century.

If these documents are now in other American collections, they certainly come from Yale. Indeed, in the early twentieth century, A.T. Clay had purchased a large number of texts for the Yale Collection. He then used to assign a part of it to other collections and museums throughout the United States, as described by W.W. HALLO (1994, p. vii): “Often enough, he (= A.T. Clay) would also buy the less spectacular pieces and resell them in carefully selected assortments to other institutions; in this way museums, libraries, and colleges across the USA came into possession of small but useful collections of their own” (cf. also FOSTER 2013 for a more recent study on A.T. Clay).

Thus, the two tablets of the Totten Collection were originally purchased from A.T. Clay and E.J. Banks in the early twentieth century (see OWEN 1973-1974, p. 145) as for *Mount Holyoke College*,

no. 8 (cf. FOSTER & PAYNE 2012, p. 277). The tablet from the University of Iowa was also obtained at the same time (see ROCHBERG-HALTON & ZIMANSKY 1979, p. 127). CAM 1914.689, published by W.W. HALLO and D.B. WEISBERG (1992), was acquired in 1914 in view of its inventory number (CAM [= Cincinnati Art Museum] + year [1914] + Order number [689]).

Finally, these five texts were therefore certainly purchased from A.T. Clay and they are part of the same archive as identified by G. Beckman at Yale (cf. FÖLDI 2014).

3. An Old Babylonian brick archive from Larsa (?)

The file thus consists of **83 documents**. It contains 54 tablets, 25 *bullae*, two tags (YBC 3041-3042) and two other texts (MLC 2640-2641), both published and unpublished. None of the documents includes year-names, but 58 of them are dated by a day and a month (all the tablets and the two tags; MLC 2640-2641 are of an unknown type, but it seems reasonable to think they are dated tablets).

Assuming that they all date from a single unknown year and combining the data from the published texts and the informations given by G. BECKMAN (2000), the file would attest deliveries of bricks during two months, between 12/vi (*Ulūlu*; YBC 3022) and 12/viii (*Arahsamnu*; YBC 3032 and 8115).

Another unknown fact is the origin of these texts, coming from illegal digs, but they should come from **Larsa**, if we follow KEISER 1914 (p. 9 and 45) or ROCHBERG-HALTON & ZIMANSKY 1979 (p. 128). In support of this proposal, G. BECKMAN (2000, p. 1) wrote that many texts of the Yale Babylonian Collection came from Larsa.

4. An analysis of our brick archive

The archive assembled here may be provisionally analyzed on the basis of published texts. A clear distinction can be established between tablets and *bullae*:

- The dated tablets recorded the delivery of bricks to Bulaṭatum;
- The *bullae* could be divided into two groups: undated *bullae* which recorded the delivery of bricks and dated *bullae* which recorded the delivery of rations by Erišam (grain, oil and beer).

4.1. The dated documents: 54 tablets, 2 tags and 2 other documents

The **54 dated tablets** (BRM III 19e, 22g-h; CAM 1914.689; JCS 31/3, p. 139, no. 12; *Mount Holyoke College*, no. 8; *Totten Collection II*, nos. 21 and 22; YBC 3021-3040, 3043-3045, 3047-3050, 3071, 3161-3170, 3172-3175, 8115, 8117, 11110, 12173), the **two tags** (YBC 3041-3042) and certainly **MLC 2640-2641** (two dated tablets?), recorded delivery of bricks. According to the eight published texts, four individuals (Adad-nāṣir, Eṭemmu-rabi, Litašim-ilum and Tāb-balātu) delivered bricks (between 360 and 27 000), which were received by Bulaṭatum. Some of them have made several deliveries like Eṭemmu-rabi. These tablets are dated by a day and a month. Moreover, they are sealed: it is the case of *Mount Holyoke College*, no. 8, *Totten Collection II*, nos. 21 and 22 and all the YBC tablets (for the apparently anepigraphic seal, cf. HALLO & WEISBERG 1992, p. 86, no. 19).

— **Month vi:** 12/vi (YBC 3022); 13/vi (YBC 3042); 14/vi (YBC 3043); 15/vi (YBC 3038, 3047); 16/vi (YBC 3025); 20/vi (YBC 3023, 3041); 21/vi (BRM III 22h: 360 bricks, delivery of Etemmu-rabi); 23/vi (YBC 3034); 24/vi (YBC 3021); 26/vi (*Totten Collection II*, no. 22: 480 bricks, delivery of Tāb-balātu); 28/vi (YBC 3027, 3164); 30/vi (YBC 3162, 3167).

— **Month vii:** 2/vii (YBC 3037); 3/vii (YBC 3026, 3045, 3168); 4/vii (YBC 3035, 3169); 5/vii (YBC 3040, 3170); 7/vii (YBC 8117); 8/vii (YBC 3030, 3161); 9/vii (BRM III 22g: 720 bricks, delivery of Litašim-ilum; YBC 3174); 10/vii (YBC 3163, 3175); 12/vii (YBC 3165); 14/vii (YBC 3024, 3036); 15/vii (CAM 1914.689, cf. LACAMBRE 2014: [x²]390 bricks, delivery of Etemmu-rabi; YBC 11110); 18/vii (YBC 3050, 3071); 19/vii (BRM III 19e: 27 000 bricks, delivery of Adad-nāṣir); 20/vii (JCS 31/3, 1979, p. 139, no. 12, cf. LACAMBRE 2014: 360 bricks, delivery of Etemmu-rabi; YBC 3033); 21/vii (*Totten Collection II*, no. 21: 360 bricks, delivery of Litašim-ilum; YBC 3044, 3049, 3166); 22/vii (YBC 3029); 23/vii (YBC 3039); 25/vii (YBC 3173); 25²/vii (YBC 12173); 26/vii (*Mount Holyoke College*, no. 8, cf. LACAMBRE 2014: 13 200[+x²] bricks, delivery of Etemmu-rabi; my reading for the quantity of bricks differs from FÖLDI 2014).

— **Month viii:** 1/viii (YBC 3172); 3/viii (YBC 3028); 6/viii (YBC 3031); 7²/viii (YBC 3048); 12/viii (YBC 3032, 8115).

— **Unknown date:** MLC 2640 & 2641.

— Both unpublished **tags** are dated, sealed and recorded also a delivery of bricks: 13/vi (YBC 3042); 20/vi (YBC 3041).

The usual period for manufacturing bricks was in May-June during the third month (*Simānu*; MOOREY 1999, p. 304-305), usually after the harvest (cf. for example LION & SAUVAGE 2005, p. 90,

for Nuzi). The date of our file seems to indicate a later period (end of August-beginning of November): a shift in the calendar or a special request of the administration? (cf. below §7).

4.2. The 25 undated *bullae*

Finally, the **25 undated *bullae*** fall into two groups. A first group of **19 *bullae*** (*BRM III* 19a-d, 22a, c-f; YBC 3176-3185), recorded a number of bricks and the name of the person who brought them (“quantity of bricks / mu-DU+PN”): seven people are known (Adad-nāṣir, Anatum, Etemmu-rabi, Litašim-ilum, Malā-pi-ša, Šamaš-gimlanni and Tāb-balāṭu) who brought between 360 bricks (*BRM III* 22a, c and f) and 27 000 bricks (*BRM III* 19a, c and d). Among them Adad-nāṣir, Etemmu-rabi, Litašim-ilum, and Tāb-balāṭu are already mentioned in the published dated tablets (cf. above).

A second group of **6 *bullae*** (*BRM III* 20a, 21a-e) recorded the distribution of rations of grain, beer or oil by Erišam to four people (Anatum, Apil-Erra, Etemmu-rabi and Tāb-balāṭu), in exchange of bricks. ***BRM III 20a*** clearly indicates this: (1) 2¹ (bariga) 1 (bán) še [š]u-ti-a (2) *a-pil-ir-ra* (3) *ki e-ri-ša-am* (4) *a-na 3¹ sar¹* sig₄ (5) *i-na iti ne-ne-gar* (6) *i-za-bi-il* (7) *inim-ta 'mu¹-na-wi-ir*, that is to say: “130 qa of grain received by Apil-Erra from Erišam for 2 160 bricks; he will deliver (the bricks) in *Abum* (month v); by order of Munawwir(um).”

5. The functioning of the “bureau of bricks”

The operations concerning the “bureau of bricks” could be tentatively analyzed as follows: individuals brought bricks (between 360 and 27 000) and a receipt (*bullae*) was given to them. Afterwards, they brought this *bullae* to Bulaṭatum who recorded it on a tablet. In exchange of these bricks, a ration of grain, beer or oil was delivered to them by Erišam. Of course, the complete edition of the unpublished documents in the future could modify this hypothetical reconstruction.

6. Production of bricks in the Old Babylonian period

This is not the first archive that we know about the production of bricks in the Old Babylonian period (see SAUVAGE 1998, and particularly p. 73-84). Indeed, V. DONBAZ & N. YOFFEE (1986) had studied the production of bricks at Kiš. As for M. WEITEMEYER in his book (1962), he had gathered a file about the hiring of workers for the transport of bricks and for the building construction in the Sippar Region (cf. *ibid.*, p. 49 ff.). Recently, another archive of brick *bullae* coming from Tell Harmal (Šaduppūm) was published (HUSSEIN 2012).

It is interesting to note the diversity of measures to calculate a quantity of bricks (even if the examples gathered here are not exhaustive):

- with the brick-sar unit (= 720 bricks; in Larsa or in Sippar [LION & SAUVAGE 2005, p. 95; for Tell ed-Dēr, cf. for example EDZARD 1970, no. 189: 1]),
- by sixty (in Larsa or in Sippar [Tell ed-Dēr, cf. for example EDZARD 1970, no. 188: 1]),
- or by using a decimal system (Mari [ARMT XXVII 37: 26; ARMT XXVII 59: 24], Sippar [Tell ed-Dēr, cf. for example EDZARD 1970, no. 188: 2] or Šaduppūm, in the Diyala region [HUSSEIN 2012]).

7. What was the purpose of these bricks deliveries?

A last question is the use of such a large quantity of bricks: we have the delivery of 42 870 [+x] bricks recorded in the eight published tablets and 78 360 bricks recorded in the eight published *bullae* (note that these quantities should not necessary be added: it reflects two different stages in the functioning of the “bureau of bricks”, cf. above).

A famous archive from the time of Sumu-El of Larsa (1894-1866 BC) was published by S.D. WALTERS (1970), where great work were undertaken in order to cutting off Isin’s water supply. In this occasion the building of a wall above a reservoir at the mouth of the Isin Canal required at least 1.3 million of bricks (cf. WALTERS 1970, p. 161; CHARPIN 2004, p. 77-78). It is interesting to note that S.D. Walters determined that the work was done in September and October (WALTERS 1970, p. 161; it corresponds to months vi to viii), a period similar to the dates mentioned in our archive.

The bricks mentioned in our texts were certainly also intended for the construction of an important building in the kingdom of Larsa that we are for the moment unable to identify.

Publication of the 60 previously unpublished Yale documents will allow for a more complete analysis of how worked this “bureau of bricks” in Larsa. Note that G. BECKMAN (2000) reported only texts of delivery of bricks: it will now be necessary to identify among the unpublished documents of Yale and elsewhere in the USA, based on prosopography, those which recorded the ration (grain, oil, or beer) in exchange for the bricks and add them to our corpus.

Bibliography

- BECKMAN, G. 2000: *Old Babylonian Archival Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection. Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale*, vol. IV, Bethesda (Md.).
- BIROT, M. 1993: ARMT XXVII = *Correspondance des gouverneurs de Qatunân, Archives Royales de Mari XXVII*, Paris.
- CAM: Cincinnati Art Museum;
- CHARPIN, D. 2004: "Histoire politique du Proche-Orient amorrite (2002-1595)", in P. ATTINGER, W. SALLABERGER & M. WÄFLER (ed.), *Mesopotamien. Die altbabylonische Zeit*, Annäherungen 4, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 160/4, Fribourg (Switzerland) & Göttingen, p. 25-480.
- DONBAZ, V. & YOFFEE, N. 1986: "A Bureau of Brick-Production in Kish during the Time of Sinmuballit" in *Old Babylonian Texts from Kish Conserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums*, BiMes 17, Malibu, p. 26-44.
- EDZARD, D.O. 1970: *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dér im Iraq Museum, Bagdad*, ABAW 72, Munich.
- FÖLDI, Z. 2014: "An Old Babylonian delivery of bricks from Mount Holyoke College", N.A.B.U. 2014/2, p. 78, no. 46.
- FOSTER, B.R. 2013: "Albert T. Clay and His Babylonian Collection", in B.J. COLLINS & P. MICHALOWSKI, *Beyond Hatti. A Tribute to Gary Beckman*, Atlanta, p. 121-135.
- FOSTER, B.R. & PAYNE, E.E. 2012: "Cuneiform Tablets from Mount Holyoke College", *Orientalia NS* 81, p. 277-317 and pl. XLIV-XLVIII.
- HALLO, W.W. 1994: "Preface", in P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection. Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale*, vol. I, Bethesda (Md.), p. vii-x.
- HALLO, W.W. & WEISBERG, D.B. 1992: "A Guided Tour through Babylonian History: Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Cincinnati Art Museum", JANES 21, p. 49-90.
- HUSSEIN, L.M. 2012: "Bauplanung und Administration in Altbabylonischer Zeit: ein Tonbullen-Archiv aus Tell Harmal (Šaduppûm)", *Kaskal* 9, p. 3-29.
- KEISER, C.E. 1914 : BRM III = *Cuneiform Bullae of the Third Millennium B.C. Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, part III, New York, 1914.
- KOSCHAKER, P. & UNGNAD, A. 1923: *Hammurabi's Gesetz VI. Übersetze Urkunden mit Rechts-erläuterungen*, Leipzig.
- LACAMBRE, D. 2014: "En marge de ARCHIBAB, 17 : livraisons de briques", N.A.B.U. 2014/2, p. 77-78, no. 45.
- LION, B. & SAUVAGE, M. 2005: "Les textes de Nuzi relatifs aux briques", SCCNH 15, p. 57-100.
- MLC: Morgan Library Collection;
- MOOREY, P.R.S. 1999: *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries. The Archaeological Evidence*, Winona Lake (Ind.).
- OWEN, D.I. 1973-1974: "Cuneiform Texts in the Collection of Professor Norman Totten. Part I", *Mesopotamia* VIII-IX, p. 145-166.
- Id.* 1975-1976: "Cuneiform Texts in the Collection of Professor Norman Totten. Part II", *Mesopotamia* X-XI, p. 5-29.
- ROCHBERG-HALTON, F. & ZIMANSKY, P. 1979: "The University of Iowa Cuneiform Texts", *JCS* 31/3, p. 127-148.
- SAUVAGE, M. 1998: *La brique et sa mise en œuvre en Mésopotamie. Des origines à l'époque achéménide*, Paris.
- WALTERS, S.D 1970: *Water for Larsa. An Old Babylonian Archive Dealing with Irrigation*, YNER 4, New Haven & London.
- WEITERMEYER, M. 1962: *Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers in the Sippar Region at the Time of Hammurabi*, Copenhagen.
- YBC: Yale Babylonian Collection.

Denis LACAMBRE <denis.lacambre@wanadoo.fr>

35) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 21 : noms d'années du roi Damiq-ilišu d'Isin — Préparant pour ARCHIBAB la liste des noms d'années des rois d'Isin, je constate trois problèmes concernant les noms d'années du dernier roi de la dynastie, Damiq-ilišu, les deux premiers semblant avoir échappé à l'attention des derniers assyriologues à les avoir étudiés, S. Lieberman¹⁾ et M. Sigrist²⁾.

A) Les années 4 et 7. Le prêtre-LÚ.MAH de Nin-Isina a été choisi par divination (= année 4), puis installé (= année 7). La formule de l'an 4 est MU LÚ.MAH ^dNIN.IN.SI.NA MÁŠ.E IN.PÀ (PBS 5 70⁺ : 1, Lieberman, RA 76, p. 98 et 101). Lieberman a rattaché à cette formule ses variantes *d, e, f, g* qui ont comme verbe BA.HUN(.GÁ).

Il est vrai que les noms des années 10 et 11 du roi de Larsa Abi-sare semblent offrir un exemple de variante entre MÁŠ.E...PÀ et HUN (M. Sigrist, *Larsa Year Names*, IAPAS 3, Berrien Springs, 1990, p. 14). Cependant, le nom de l'an 7 de Damiq-ilišu est MU LÚ.MAH ^dNIN.IN.SI.NA BA.ÍL¹ (PBS 5 70⁺ : 4, Lieberman RA 76, p. 99 et 103), pour lequel on ne possèderait aucune attestation selon Lieberman, suivi par M. Sigrist. La comparaison avec d'autres cas de dignitaires religieux dont la nomination est commémorée par des noms d'années montre toutefois que l'on a le plus souvent le schéma suivant : choix par divination (MÁŠ.E Í.PÀ), suivi un ou deux ans plus tard par l'entrée en fonction (BA.HUN.GÁ). C'est le cas par exemple pour l'EN d'Inanna d'Uruk, tant à l'époque d'Ur III (Ibbi-Sin d'Ur III années 2 et 4, J. Renger ZA 58, p. 117, n. 27 et p. 119 n. 42) que sous Isme-Dagan d'Isin (années 2 et 3, J. Renger ZA 58, p. 119 n. 42), ou pour l'EN de Utu à Larsa sous Gungunum (années 6 et 9, J. Renger ZA 58, p. 122 n. 72-73).

Par ailleurs, l'étude des noms d'années de Išbi-Irra a permis à B. Kienast de montrer que ÍL et HUN pouvaient alterner dans les attestations d'un même nom d'année (B. Kienast, *JCS* 19, p. 49). Cette conclusion est confirmée par le cas de Enlil-bani N (W. Sallaberger, ZA 86, p. 190). Il semble donc plus sage de considérer les variantes *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, qui contiennent le verbe HUN, comme des attestations de l'année 7 (la liste PBS 5 70⁺ ayant ÍL).

B) Les années 5 et 13. Le texte Ojeil 36 récemment publié³) comporte le nom d'année : (26) MU ^r^d *da-mi-iq-i-lí-šu* LUGALE (27) BÀD-^d*da-mi-iq-i-lí-šu*^{ki} HÉ.GÁL x (28) MU.UN.DÙ⁴). L'évocation de l'abondance (HÉ.GÁL) à propos d'une forteresse étonne, mais la lecture du signe BÀD au début de la l. 27 semble sûre d'après la copie et elle est confortée par le déterminatif des noms de lieux ^{ki}. Les éditrices (p. 58 n. 68) ont considéré qu'on avait affaire au nom de l'an 13 de Damiq-ilišu, avec un renvoi à M. Sigrist, *Isin Year Names*, p. 41, qui donne cependant une formule bien différente : MU ^d*da-mi-iq-i-lí-šu* LUGALE BÀD GAL (*mi-gir-^dNIN.URTA*) Í.SI.IN.NA^{ki} MU.UN.DÙ.A. Il est vrai que S. Lieberman avait déjà attribué à l'an 13 la variante fournie par un texte inédit de Nippur, HSS 2149 : (23) MU ^d*da-mi-iq-i-lí-šu* (24) LUGALE (25) BÀD GAL HÉ.GÁL MU.DÙ.A (RA 76, p. 106 et nb. 45). L'identification paraît pourtant douteuse. On pourrait en revanche rapprocher la formule attestée par Ojeil 36 et HSS 2149 du nom de l'an 5 de Damiq-ilišu. Celui-ci connaîtrait deux formes principales (S. Lieberman, RA 76, p. 102-103) :

- 5 a) MU I₇ HÉ.GÁL MU.DÙ.A
- 5 b, c) MU (...) I₇ ^d*da-mi-iq-i-lí-šu* MU.BA.AL.LA ; var. 5 *d*, *e*, *f*) MU (...) I₇ LUGAL MU.BA.AL.LA

On doit avouer que dans la version 5 *a* l'emploi de DÙ à propos d'un canal étonne. Je me demande donc si la formule de Ojeil 36 et HSS 2149 ne correspond pas au même nom d'année : le I₇ dans PBS 5 70⁺ n'est en effet attesté que dans la formule 6 *a* sous la forme MU [Ú]S.[SA] ^rI₇¹ HÉ.GÁL MU.DÙ.A (PBS 5 70⁺ : 3), où l'on pourrait peut-être lire MU [Ú]S.[SA] BÀD ^rGAL¹ (la photo de RA 76, p. 99, ne permet pas de trancher dans un sens ou un autre). Le nom d'année de BIN 7 64 attesterait un *bis* légèrement raccourci de la formule attestée par Ojeil 36 et HSS 2149 : (21) MU ÚS.SA BÀD-^d*da-mi-iq-i-lí-šu* (22) MU.DÙ.A (*idem* dans l'inédit AO 11147⁵). Ce qui a été considéré par Lieberman comme les variantes 5 *b* à *f* pourrait éventuellement appartenir à un des deux noms d'années qui manquent au début du règne de Damiq-ilišu (années 2 et 3).

L'autre solution consisterait à admettre qu'on a deux séries d'abréviations maladroites du nom de l'année 5, qui serait à reconstruire ainsi : MU (...) BÀD-^d*da-mi-iq-i-lí-šu*^{ki} MU.(UN.)DÙ(A) ^rI₇ ^d*da-mi-iq-i-lí-šu* HÉ.GÁL x MU.BA.AL.LA. On peut espérer avoir bientôt la solution de ce problème⁶.

C) Les graphies du nom du roi Damiq-ilišu. Dans la tablette Ojeil 87, le nom du roi est écrit de manière inhabituelle, comme l'a relevé son éditeur : MU ^d*da-am-qí-i-lí-šu* LUGAL. On a le même cas, en sens inverse, avec le nom de Dam(i)q-ilišu, roi du Pays de la Mer, connu notamment par le nom de l'an 37 d'Ammi-ditana : son nom est écrit *dam-qí-i-lí-šu* dans la plupart des cas, mais *da-mi-iq-i-lí-šu* dans BM 97057 (K. R. Veenhof, *Mél. Finet*, p. 183 et 188) : 38 et désormais dans JCSSS 2 57 : 19 (on peut actuellement voir 26 attestations de ce nom d'année sur ARCHIBAB [accès au 01/02/2015]).

- 1) S. J. Lieberman, « The Years of Damqilishu, King of Isin », *RA* 76, 1982, p. 97-119.
- 2) M. Sigrist, *Isin Year Names*, Institute of Archaeology Publications Assyriological Series 2, Berrien Springs, 1988, p. 39-42 (qui suit les conclusions de S. Lieberman).
- 3) Par P. Negri Scafa et G. Matini, dans C. Saporetti *et al.*, *Contratti della Collezione Ojeil*, TCO, Rome, 2014, p. 59 (copie p. 76).
- 4) Le signe x à la fin de la l. 27 ressemble à ABx?.
- 5) Texte présent sur le site www.archibab.fr, où je l'avais considéré comme Damiq-ilišu 13-bis = 14.
- 6) Le texte n°165bis signalé par J.-M. Durand dans sa note de *NABU* 2014/17 « À propos de noms d'années d'Isin paléo-babylonien » semble donner encore une autre variante : [m]u *da-m[i-i]q-ì-lí-šu lugal-^re¹* {hé!}, [m]u? <A>-ENGUR *da-<mi-iq-i-lí-šu>* mu-ba-al-lá.

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

36) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 22 : sur la divinisation du roi Rim-Sin de Larsa — A.R. George a édité dans CUSAS 17 p. 209 une tablette comprenant une liste des huit premiers noms d'années de Rim-Sin de Larsa (n° 102, pl. LXXXVII). Comme l'indique l'auteur, celle-ci devait être plus longue puisqu'elle comporte quelques lignes effacées au revers et elle a été vraisemblablement composée par un apprenti scribe.

Sur la première ligne, il faut remarquer que le nom de Rim-Sin est précédé du déterminatif divin : [M]U (d)ri-im-^r(d)EN.ZU¹ LUGAL. Or, d'après D. Charpin (en dernier lieu OBO 160/4 p. 120 et n. 517), cette marque est consécutive à la conquête définitive de Nippur, la ville sainte du pays de Sumer, au cours de la 20^e année de son règne. Le déterminatif divin n'apparaît qu'à partir de la formule de sa 22^e année. Quoique ne comportant que les huit premiers noms d'année de Rim-Sin, CUSAS 17 n°102 a été manifestement composée à une date postérieure à Rim-Sin 22.

En ce sens, il faut également corriger la transcription du nom d'année Rim-Sin 17 m dans M. Sigrist, IAPAS 3 p. 45-46, correspondant à TLB 1 21 = SLB 1/2 21 : sur la copie, le nom de Rim-Sin n'est pas précédé du déterminatif divin.

Baptiste FIETTE <baptiste.fiette@gmail.com>

37) Samsuditana and the sixty-armed horde — The second of six *tamītu*-oracles in W. G. Lambert's text No. 1 (*Babylonian Oracle Questions*, MC 13, Eisenbrauns: 2007) has drawn attention for its unusually specific description of seven named groups of enemies attacking Samsuditana's Babylon (ll. 31–38). Five of these seven ethnonyms are well-known—armies of Kassites, Elamites, Samharū, Ḫanigalbat, and Idamaraš (*ummān e-da-ma-ra-aṣ*, uniquely and confusingly said to be “stationed” in their home territory)—even if only the Kassites among them are otherwise associated with the 1595 BC Fall of Babylon in cuneiform tradition.

The remaining two names are more difficult. The first is broken. It is possible to read '*hu*'-*ra-ti-i* from the traces on the copy—i.e., *burādu*-troops (CAD H 244–45, MB/MA), with *burāti* as a spelling known in reference to Mitanni soldiers—but such a reconstruction could not explain the gentilic ending, where one expects a genuine ethnonym.

The second enemy name may be explained with more confidence: the “Edašuštu army” (*ummān^{an} e-da-šú-uš-ti*, with no gentilic ending) probably derives from the quasi-mythological term *idašuš*, meaning something like “the army of the multitude”—an unidentifiable mob or militia. The word *idašuš* is otherwise known solely from lexical lists, where it is associated with myriads: see CAD vols. I/J s.v. *idašuš* s., which posits a folk etymology based on *idu* + *šūši*, lit. “sixty-armed”; and B s.v. *būl dašuš*, often with reference to herds of wild animals (= A.ZA.LU.LU, “multitude” [but also = *tenēšetu*, “mankind”]). The *-tū* ending is best explained as a feminine collective, as Lambert hypothesized (as with *ba’irti*, l. 38), while the initial vocalic shift from *i*- to *e*- is nothing uncommon, similar to Edamaraš from Idamaraš (as in this same text), or Emutbal from Jamutbal. The scribe's recourse to the odd word may relate to his use of lexical lists to compose other parts of this text, e.g., the siege techniques listed in ll. 49–61 (Lambert, pp. 144–47).

There is not a real ethnonym here: like Umman-manda, *edašuštu* connotes a faceless and animalistic horde of enemies. As *ummān edašuštu* appears at the juncture where the list of known

ethnonyms ends and a list of types of troops begins (ll. 38–41, “the ‘hunters,’ its auxiliary and reserve troops,” etc.), it probably belongs to the latter category. The later parts of the oracle collectivize these enemies as “the enemy (army),” “foreign soldiers,” or “foreign speakers,” but the first list distinguishes the ethnonyms from the “foreign troops that are with them” (*ummāni ahi ša libbīšunu*), to clarify that the named groups were not foreign but resident aliens, mercenary forces now in rebellion against Babylon (on which, see my “Trouble in the Countryside, *ana tarṣi* Samsuditana,” in *Ethnicity in Mesopotamia*, ed. W. H. van Soldt et al. PIHANS 102. [Leiden, 2005], 284–86.) This sense of multiplicity *edašuštu* provides also comports with later tradition, which remembered not only the Hittite invasion, but also a dozen other groups responsible for the Fall of Babylon. With *edašuštu*, the composite identity of the enemy is concatenated in one folkloric motif: a “sixty-armed horde” of enemies, faced by one very unlucky Samsuditana.

Seth RICHARDSON, University of Chicago <seth1@uchicago.edu>

38) A late Old Assyrian sale of a house plot, KAM 10 1 *) — The recent publication of KAM 10 1 (VAT 19864) has delivered us the third land purchase text from the Middle Assyrian archive Assur 14446 (M 6). This text was previously edited by Donbaz (1985, Akkadica 42, 1–23) as Assur photo 4159. It was also quoted in a number of studies (bibliography in KAM 10 p. 3; also Kryszat 2004, AfO 50, 348–9) and twice in CAD T (p. 82 *tēhu*/1 and p. 113 *ṭiru* A/a). However, as Donbaz only had a picture at his disposal, his transliteration leaves room for some corrections. In this note the relation with the two other Old Assyrian land purchases will be discussed and a short edition of the text will be given.

	1	šu-ba- ^r at qá-qí ^l -r[i]
2	pá-ší-ú-tim ša a-na Ú- ^r zu ^l -a	DUMU E-dí-in- ^d A-šùr
4	i-zí-zu-ú-ni ša té-hi	ša Ni-mar- ^d Taš-me-tum DUMU Áb-zi-a
6	té-hi qá-qí-ri ša Ku-ta-<ld ² >-nim	DUMU ¹ Zi-ba-a ur-kà-at
8	qá-qí-ri ša Hu-ur-še ¹ -a	DUMU A-mur ¹ -Iš ₈ -tár a-na ší-mì-im
10	a-na 1 2/3 MA.NA KÙ.B tí-ri	a-na 1 2/3 MA.NA KÙ.B tí-ri
	mÚ-zu-a	mÚ-zu-a DUMU E-dí-in- ^d A-šùr
12	i-na mì-ig-ra-tí-šu	i-na Ma-ṣé-e-EN
14	DUMU ^d IM-ga-mil i-dí-in	DUMU ^d IM-ga-mil i-dí-in
	iš-tù u ₄ -mì-im	iš-tù u ₄ -mì-im
16	an-ni-im lu DUMU.MEŠ	an-ni-im lu DUMU.MEŠ
	mÚ-zu-a	mÚ-zu-a DUMU.MEŠ
Rev.		
18	E-dí-in- ^d A-šùr	
	lu hu-bu-lu-šu-nu	
20	a-na Ma-ṣí-EN DUMU ^d IM-ga-mil	a-na Ma-ṣí-EN DUMU ^d IM-ga-mil
	i ^u DUMU.ME.EŠ-šu lá i-tù-ru	i ^u DUMU.ME.EŠ-šu lá i-tù-ru
22	IGI Sà-ma-a DUMU ^d UTU-ga-mil	IGI Sà-ma-a DUMU ^d UTU-ga-mil
	IGI Še-le-bu DUMU ^d IM-ga-mil	IGI Še-le-bu DUMU ^d IM-ga-mil
24	IGI Lá-ba-an-LUGAL-DINGIR.!ME.EŠ ¹	IGI Lá-ba-an-LUGAL-DINGIR.!ME.EŠ ¹
	DUMU Ga-ṣi-wi- ^r i ¹	DUMU Ga-ṣi-wi- ^r i ¹
26	IGI 30-ga-mil DUMU A-pá-pá	IGI 30-ga-mil DUMU A-pá-pá
	ITI.1.KAM áb šar-ra-nim	ITI.1.KAM áb šar-ra-nim
28	li-mu-um ^d A-šùr-ba-ni	li-mu-um ^d A-šùr-ba-ni
edge.	DUMU ^r Iš ¹ -me- ^d Da-gan ¹	

(1–9) 36 m² cleared ground which belongs to Uzu'a son of Eddin-Aššu and which is adjacent to Nimar-Tašmētum son of Abzīya and is adjacent to Kutallānum son of Zibāya and is behind the plot of Ḥuršeya son of Amur-Ištar.

(9-14) Uzu'a son of Eddin-Aššur sold it out of his own will for 100 shekel *t*-silver to Maši-Bēlī son of Adad-gāmil.

(15-21) From this day onwards, be it the sons of Uzu'a, the sons of Eddin-Aššur or their creditors, (nobody) may raise claims against Maši-Bēlī the son of Adad-gāmil or his sons.

(22-26) Witnessed by Samāyā son of Šamaš-gāmil, by Šelevu son of Adad-gāmil, by Laban-šar-ilāni son of Gašiwiru, by Suen-gāmil son of Apapa.

(27-29) Month Ab-šarrānim, eponymy Aššur-bāni son of Išmē-Dagan.

As with all texts published from the Middle Assyrian archive M 9 in Berlin it was claimed by the editors of KAM 10 that the late Old Assyrian text KAM 10 1 was closely related to two similar tablets of otherwise unknown archaeological provenance: MAH 15962 (Gelb/Sollberger 1959, JNES 16, 163-75) and Izmir 1493 (Donbaz 2001, NABU/56). At the same time, this implies that all three texts derive from the same archive, where they were saved by the owners until the Middle Assyrian period. This was no doubt due to their similar subject, the sale of an empty plot of ground on which a house was to be built. The long lasting validity of a sale of real estate made the texts still relevant for the Middle Assyrian owners in order to prove ownership. Prices of the ground differ greatly, thus in KAM 10 1 we can calculate on an exchange shekel/m² ±2,8:1 (KAM 10 1); ±5:1 (MAH 15962); ±3,5:1 (Izmir 1493), see also Veenhof (2011, Fs. Meijer, 213-31) p. 219f. Clearly, prices for a piece of ground varied considerably, probably based on location. Unlike the relation between the three texts none of the persons directly involved in KAM 10 1 occurs in the other two texts. The person linking these three texts may be Apapa, in the first two texts being a direct party involved, in KAM 10 1 merely being the father of a witness (Suen-gāmil). The dating of these three texts was most recently discussed in Barjamovic *et al.* (2012, *Ups and Downs at Kanesh* p. 22f; also KRYSZAT 2004), where it was pointed out that the texts date from after KEL G, probably late 18th or early 17th century. Another post KEL G text, published in Veenhof 1982, Fs. Kraus, 359-85, dates to the eponymy Išmē-Dagan, son of Šamši-Adad. In this text Babylonian influences are the most prominent in palaeography and orthography, but also in the grammar where we find Babylonian *nadānum* “to give” 1. 22 instead of Assyrian *tadānum*. It is therefore not impossible, that this text is to be dated later than the other texts, and that the *līnum* in question is to be identified with king Išmē-Dagan II son of Šamši-Adad II, who reigned around 1600 B.C. (AKL nos. 57/8; see BARJAMOVIC *et al.* (2012, 23; cf. VEENHOF 1982, 359 n2)). If this is correct, we are to date our text before this king.

The other two Old Assyrian texts both feature the scribe Nabium-qarrād, who is noticeable for his absence in KAM 10 1. Still, it seems possible to make his involvement likely. VEENHOF (1982 369 n20) already did some preliminary research on this subject pointing out the similarities between MAH 15962 and KAM 10 1. The main peculiarities are noted below.

- Sign values: the typical Old Assyrian values ší/é (SI) are only found in *ší-mì-im* 1. 19. Otherwise they are replaced with *ši* (IGI) in PN *Ga-ši-wi-ri*¹ 1. 25 and *še* (ŠE) in PN *Hu-ur-še*¹-a 1. 8, *Še-le-bu* 1. 23. Another, value unknown in OA is *mil* (IŠ) in PNs ⁴IM-*ga-mil* 1. 14, 20, 22, 23 and in *30-ga-mil* 1. 26.

- Gemination: *an-ni-im* “this” 1. 16, ITI.1.KAM *áb šar-ra-nim* 1. 27.
- “Personskellen” are rare as compared to the other two texts and only occur in 1. 11 and 17 with Uzu'a.

- The sound change i > e in *E-dí-in-^dA-šūr* (Iddin-Aššur) 1. 3, 11, 18 is uncommon but does occur elsewhere e.g. *E-dí-in-A-šūr* AKT 3 1:6. Judging by the available onomastic material, spellings with /e/ seem to be confined to a number of individuals, most notably Eddin-Aššur the son of Ahīya or Aššur-malik from the Kt n/k archive (cf. Donbaz 2008, GS Garelli, 47-62). We may therefore assume a different etymology for *eddin* than *t/nadānum* “to give.” Sound change of initial *wa* > *u* was on-going in Old Assyrian but complete in the Middle Assyrian period, here we find it in 1. 7 *ur-kà-at* (<— *warkat*).

As our number of contract of sale on real property is rather limited, the formula of this text remains unique. A parallel may be drawn with I 568, which deals with a house rather than empty ground, but gives a similar geographical description of the situation of the house. Otherwise the few sales of houses are formulated rather differently. Still, the differences between the three sales of land were already pointed out (VEENHOF 2011, 220f). Notice also the formulary of the text: (object), *ana šīmem*,

ana x kaspem t̄rīt̄, (seller), ina migrātišu, ana (buyer), iddin. Unlike the other two contracts it includes the expression *ina migrātišu* “out of his own will,” which is unexpected in a contract of sale. Moreover, the formula is not followed by *ušabbīšu* “he satisfied him.” The disclaimer uses the adverbial clause *ištū ūmem anni’em* “from this day onwards” in 1. 15, which to my knowledge is unprecedented in Old Assyrian. Notice also the unusual *ḥu-bu-lu-šu-nu* “their debtors” 1. 19, which is clearly a short form for *bēl ḥubullīšu* “their creditors.”

In terms of palaeography, there is little to add to Veenhof’s study, though it may be added that unlike MAH 15962 the copy of KAM 10 1 does not clearly show the spelling ME.EŠ instead of MEŠ, which is found in MAH 15962, except in 1. 21 and perhaps 1. 24 (cf. VEENHOF 1982, 369 n20). Otherwise the most significant change is in the sign AN from its archaic star-like shape to the stylized variant as found in the Neo Assyrian sign lists. A copy or photo of Izmir 1493 is not available.

*) I am grateful to J. G. Dercksen (Leiden) for some improved readings and other comments on an early draft of this note. Possible errors remain the responsibility of the author.

J. J. DE RIDDER <jacob_jan.de_ridder@uni-leipzig.de>
Altorientalisches Institut, Universität Leipzig, Goethestraße 2, 04107 LEIPZIG

39) Die b/m-Wechsel in mittelassyrischen Belegen: der Kasus Šibanibe — In seinem Studium zu grammatischen Besonderheiten der Personen- und Rationenlisten von Tell Šēh Hamad bemerkt Salah (BATSH 18, 62b) einen b/m-Wechsel in Personennamen. Dazu erwähnt er noch ein Beispiel: die Stadt Šibanibe erscheint in einigen *ginā'u*-Tabellen als Šimanibe. Der b/m-Wechsel ist aber ungewöhnlich im Akkadischen und nur für *ham/baṣru*, Maus‘ genannt s. GAG § 27e.

Der Ortsname Šibanibe ist seit Langem als Tell Billa bekannt. Die mittel- und neuassyrischen Tontafeln aus Tell Billa wurden von Finkelstein in JCS 7 (1953) publiziert. Der Ortsname Šimanibe ist vermutlich Hurritisch, mit einem typischen hurritischen Genitivsuffix -ve im Schriftbild als <BE> wiedergegeben (Mayer 1971, AOATS 2, 20). Lesungen für die Variante Šimanibe gibt es schon in den Indizes von MARV 6 (Z. 13-14) und auch Postgate akzeptiert die Varianten Šim/banibe (in *Bronze Age Democracy*, 461). Der Unterschied bezieht sich auf die Zeichen <BA> und <MA>, die manchmal ähnlich, aber in den meisten Fällen gut zu erkennen sind.

Obwohl die meisten Belege im Mittelassyrischen zerbrochen sind, ergibt sich das Folgende:

Aššur: ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-be MARV 2 21:22; ^{uru}Ši'-ma-'ni'-be MARV 4 119:2; ^{uru}Ši-ma'-[ni-be] MARV 5 4:17; ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-be' MARV 5 5:20; ^{uru}Ši-ma-[ni-be] MARV 5 60:26 (kein Foto); ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-be' MARV 6 49:20; ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni'-[be] MARV 6 62:16'; ^{uru}Ši'-ma-ni-[be] MARV 6 64:10 (kein Foto); ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-[be] MARV 6 82:41'; ^{uru}Ši-ma-[ni-(?)-be] MARV 7 8:6; ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-be' MARV 7 27:24; ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-be MARV 7 30:19'; ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-be MARV 8 24:20; Ši-[ma-ni-be] MARV 8 36:3'; ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni'-be MARV 9 1:23; ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-be MARV 9 6:23

Tell Billa: ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-[b]e JCS 7 2:8; ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni'-[?]-[be] JCS 7 5:16; 'Ši-ma-ni-be' JCS 7 6:16; ^{uru}Ši'-ma-n[i-be] JCS 7 11:5; [^{uru}Ši-b]a-'ni'-b[e] JCS 7 17:5'; ^{uru}Ši-[m]a-ni-be JCS 7 25:3; [^{uru}Ši-m[a]-'ni'-be] JCS 7 2:6; ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-be JCS 7 30:4; ^{uru}Ši-ma-ni-be' JCS 7 41:3

Wo möglich wurden die Kopien mit Fotos der CDLI-Datenbank überprüft. Leider sind in vielen Fällen (z.B. MARV 5 4:17) die Zeichen sehr zerbrochen und wir müssen uns trotzdem auf die Kopien verlassen. Die Schlussfolgerung <MA> statt <BA> zu lesen, folgt nach einem paläographischen Vergleich mit anderen Fällen dieser Zeichen auf den gleichen Tontafeln z.B. in ^{uru}Ar-ba-il MARV 2 21:2; MARV 5 60:2, oder ^{uru}A-ma-sa-ku in MARV 2 21:10; MARV 5 60:10. In den Texten von Tell Billa gibt es weitere Belege, z.B. ŠU.BA.AN.TI JCS 7 2:8; ^dA-šur-re-ma-ni JCS 7 11:18.

In neuassyrischen Texten finden wir Šibanibe mit <BA>; das Gleiche betrifft auch die wenigen neuassyrischen Texte aus Tell Billa: JCS 7 82:28, JCS 7 85:2, 26. Der erste Beleg mit einem klaren <BA> ist vielleicht auf einer Stele von Šamši-Adad V (RIMA 3 A.0.103.1 i 45). Aus diesem Grunde ist die Lesung Šibanibe für mittelassyrische Texte, die vorher nur wegen der neuassyrischen Belege angenommen wurde, zu streichen.

J. J. DE RIDDER

40) Weitere sog. “formale Akkusativ” Wendungen aus der hattisch-hethitischen Kultszene und Anmerkungen zu einer rezenten Arbeit über das Göttertrinken bei den Hethitern — In SOYSAL 2008: 45-58 hatte ich dargestellt, daß in dem häufig verwendeten Kultausdruck “eine Gottheit trinken” das hethitische Verbum *aku-eku-* “trinken” als direktes Objekt eigentlich nicht die Gottheit meint und die auf -n auslautenden Götternamen im Hethitischen nicht im Akkusativ stehen, sondern ursprünglich die Kasusendung des hettischen Dativs aufweisen, sie also im Hethitischen nur scheinbar im Akkusativ stehen, was hier behelfsmäßig als “formaler Akkusativ” bezeichnet wird. Im gleichen Artikel habe ich auch gezeigt, daß ähnliche Fälle auch bei den kultischen Handlungen *irhai-* “der Reihe nach beopfern” (SOYSAL 2008: 55 Anm. 15) und *šipant-* “libieren” (SOYSAL 2008: 56f.) zu beobachten sind. In einem Appendixartikel hat GOEDEGEBUURE (2008: 67-73) in Anlehnung an meine Überlegungen Beispiele mit entsprechender Bildungsweise in Verbindung auch mit dem Verb *wahnu-* “drehen, umkreisen” diskutiert. Nunmehr lassen sich weitere Verben zu diesem Thema in den Festbeschreibungen aus dem hettischen Milieu finden. Meine Forschungen nach 2008 erbrachten nämlich auch Belege für den Kultakt *aruwai-* (Akk. ŠUKĒNU) “Reverenz erweisen” als weiteres Indiz für meine Vermutung: Das Verb *aruwai-*, das in der Regel den Dativ des Nomens erfordert, kann in den folgenden Wendungen auch mit dem “formalen Akkusativ” der (hattischen) Götternamen belegt werden:

- [LUGA]L MUNUS.LUGAL TUŠ-aš ^dIŠKUR ^{tURU}Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da / ^tKa-tah-ḥa-an a-ru-wa-a-i^(t)-zi
“[Der König (und) die Königin erweisen, in sitzender Position, Reverenz dem Wettergott von Zippalanda (und) der Göttin Kataḥha” KBo 22.192 obv. 5’-6’ (CTH 630).

Als ähnliche Beschreibungen sind noch zu notieren:

- ^dU₄-MA-AM TUŠ-aš a-ru-wa-i^(t)-zi KBo 40.80 II 4’ + KBo 30.34 II 5 (CTH 627)
- ^dU₄-MA-AM GUB-aš UŠ-KE-EN KBo 34.15 I 17’ + KBo 23.91 Vs. I 12’ (CTH 666)
- ^dU₄-MA-AM TUŠ-aš UŠ-KE-EN KBo 20.10 II 16 (CTH 669)
- [^d]Tx-x¹-ta-šu-un ^dKu-za-ni-šu-un ^dTah-pi-il-la-nu-un / [U]Š-KE-EN KBo 20.33+ Rs. 5’-6’ (CTH 627.3.a).

Ein essentieller Zuwachs der Beleglage für den “formalen Akkusativ” ergibt sich auch durch einen Beleg mit *piya-* “geben”, einem der Primärverben des hethitischen Wortschatzes. In KUB 20.90 IV 14’-15’, einer Festbeschreibung mit Erwähnung der NIN.DINGIR-Priesterin (CTH 649.III.1), liest man die folgende Schilderung:

^dZa-i-ú-un TUŠ-aš IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI GUŠK[IN GE]ŠTIN / pi-an-zi
“Dem Gott Zaiu geben sie, in sitzender Position, [W]ein mittels eines golde[nen] Tiergefäßes”

Das direkte Objekt in diesem Satz ist der Wein, der mittels eines Tiergefäßes (*BIBRŪ*)¹ überreicht wird. Der Gott Zaiu, erweitert hier mit der Endung -n wie im normalen hethitischen Akkusativ, agiert als Empfänger des Trankkopfers; hierbei haben wir wiederum eine “hattische” Dativbildung mit der Endung -n vor uns. Sachlich betrachtet, stimmt auch die Herkunft von Zaiu, einer der Hauptgötter des hettischen Pantheons (PECCHIOLI DADDI 1995: 91-96), mit dieser sprachlichen Erscheinung gut überein.

Der zweite Teil der vorliegenden Miszelle widmet sich einer kürzlich erschienenen Arbeit über das Göttertrinken bei den Hethitern (HEFFRON 2014: 164-185), die mit der oben behandelten grammatischen Erscheinung in engem Zusammenhang steht. Die Autorin nähert sich dem Thema mit einem archäologischen Ansatz, bezieht aber auch die philologischen Einzelheiten in ihre Untersuchung mit ein. Der die sprachlichen Besonderheiten betreffende Teil der Arbeit stützt sich vorwiegend auf Werke anderer Forscher, wobei die unterschiedlichen Umschriftsysteme ebenso wie die Fehler unkritisch übernommen wurden. Hinzu kommen noch nicht selten uneinheitliche Zitierweisen der hethitischen Belegstellen und unkorrekte Zitate aus den Standartwerken, wie z. B. ein hethitischer Satz entnommen aus CHD L-N (1980-1989) 6 (sub *lahanni-*), der sich infolge massiver Verschreibung bei HEFFRON 2014: 170 Anm. 27 nicht mehr als “Hethitisch” erkennen läßt. All dies läßt Zweifel über die philologische Qualität der Arbeit aufkommen.

Noch ernsthaftere Bedenken werden aber durch die angewandte Methodik der Autorin geweckt: Die stark auf den Textangaben basierten Argumente bei SOYSAL2008 (zustimmend GRODDEK

2010: 382 und TATIÂVILI 2010-2011: 87-94) werden von der Autorin entweder mit dürftigen Worten beurteilt oder ganz verschwiegen. Bezuglich philologischer Einzelheiten (Hattisch oder Hethitisch) bietet sie keine aussagekräftigen Gegenargumente, und diejenigen Beispiele, die sie von anderen Quellen übernommen hatte, sind teils veraltet und teils unhaltbar. Man notiert öfters gegenstandslose Äußerungen ohne ernsthafte Beweisführung oder Widerlegung auf textlicher Basis (HEFFRON 2014: 166, 167, 180). Abgesehen von einem obligatorischen Hinweis schenkt die Autorin den Ausführungen des Beitrages (SOYSAL 2010: 335-354; s. unten) keine Aufmerksamkeit, obwohl dort neben einem zusammenfassenden Überblick zu den Trinkgefäßen bei den Hethitern auch die Grundzüge der Trinkopfer und -praxis systematisch dargestellt wurden (s. anerkennend GRODDEK 2011: 142). Die von der Autorin eifrig und als eines der Hauptargumente ihrer Darstellung verwendete alte Interpretation von GAL-SÚ / dGAL.ZU *eku-* “vergöttlichtes KĀSU-Trinkgefäß trinken” ist nicht mehr tragfähig, und es bleibt unklar, warum diese von der Verfasserin noch immer aufgegriffen wird. In SOYSAL 2010: 347-48 hatte ich eine Revision der Auffassung von H. G. Güterbock vorgenommen, die bei HEFFRON 2014: 172 Anm. 36 schlicht als “contra” Erwähnung findet. Ich hatte dort deutlich gezeigt, daß die relevante Passage in KBo 15.59 Vs.⁷ III 8-9 (// KUB 51.4 Rs.⁷ 3-4) als *na-an PA-NI* dIŠKUR / LUGAL-uš GAL-SÚ *e-ku-zi* “und der König trink ihn (d. i. den heiligen Fluß ¹⁰Aldā kalutta in KBo 15.59 Vs.⁷ III 7) vor dem Wettergott (durch) ein KĀSU-Trinkgefäß” verstanden werden sollte. Auch die Überprüfung aller verfügbaren Belege ergibt, daß es in den hethitischen Texten kein “vergöttlichtes” KĀSU-Trinkgefäß gibt. Weiterhin wäre kritisch zu bemerken, daß die Autorin, konzentriert nur auf die Diskussion über die Kultszenen mit *eku-* “trinken”, die ähnlichen Konstruktionen mit anderen Verben wie *irhai-*, *šipant-* und *walnu-* (bei SOYSAL 2008 und GOEDEGEBUURE 2008; hinzukommen jetzt noch *aruwai-* und *piya-* wie oben angeführt) außer Acht läßt, die für die Erklärung des “Göttertrinkens”, insbesondere hinsichtlich des Kasusgebrauchs im Hattischen und Hethitischen, ausschlaggebend sind.

Obgleich sich die in Frage kommende Arbeit hauptsächlich an “material culture” orientiert, bietet sie keine Abbildungen, so daß man sich von den archäologischen Nachweisen kein klares Bild machen kann. Einige Referenzen verweisen auf (bislang) unpublizierte Dissertationen, ungedruckte Kongreßberichte sowie mündliche Mitteilungen (HEFFRON 2014: 170 n. 28, 176 n. 63-64, 181 n. 80, 185), die von den Lesern nur schwer überprüft werden können.

Als Fazit sei folgendes gesagt: Inwieweit die hier besprochene Arbeit zum Thema der sachlichen Darstellungen des Kulttrinkens beiträgt, soll von den Archäologen und Forschern verwandter Disziplinen diskutiert werden. Was aber die Philologie und Religionsgeschichte anbetrifft, ist sie voreilig und erzielt sie meines Erachtens keinen Fortschritt. Eine ergänzende, aber auch kritische Zusammenarbeit zwischen Philologie und Archäologie für die Erhellung der strittigen Fragen der Hethiterforschung ist freilich sehr zu begrüßen. Eine derartige Herangehensweise müßte aber auf der Basis fundierter Kenntnisse auf beiden Gebieten erfolgen, wenn weiterführende Ergebnisse erzielt werden sollen.

1) Zuletzt SOYSAL 2014: 2-4, wozu ein neuer Pluralbeleg BI-BI-R^{HIA} aus KBo 45.105 r. Kol. 6' hinzufügen ist.

Bibliographie

- GOEDEGEBUURE, P. 2008: *Appendix: Hattian Origins of Hittite Religious Concepts: The Syntax of ‘To Drink (to) a Deity’ (Again) and Other Phrases*. JANER 8/I: 67-73.
- GRODDEK, D. 2010: *Die 10. Tafel des ḫišuwa-Festes. Res Antiquae* 7: 357-398.
- ID. 2011: *Die 11. und 12. Tafel des ḫišuwa-Festes. Res Antiquae* 8: 111-150.
- HEFFRON, Y. 2014: *The Material Culture of Hittite ‘God-drinking’*. JANER 14: 164-185.
- PECCHIOLI DADDI, F. 1995: *La divinità Zaiu*. SMEA 36: 91-96.
- SOYSAL, O. 2008: *Philological Contributions to Hattian-Hittite Religion I*. JANER 8/I: 45-66.
- ID. 2010: *Zu den Trinkgefäßen bei den Hethitern auch in Verbindung mit Kulttrinken*. In: J. C. Fincke (Hrsg.): *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm*. Dresden, 335-354.
- ID. 2014: *Tiergefäß. A. II. Philologisch. Bei den Hethitern*. In: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 14 (Lfg. 1./2.): 2-4.
- TATIÂVILI, I. 2010-2011: *Traces of Hattian syntax in some Hittite ritual expressions?* Phasis 13-14: 87-94.

41) Une brique de Salmanazar I^{er} du Detroit Institute of Arts — La mise en ligne récente de la collection cunéiforme du *Detroit Institute of Arts* sur le site du CDLI donne accès à une série d'objets dont la date s'échelonne de la III^e dynastie d'Ur à l'époque néo-babylonienne. Parmi eux une brique (DIA 63.100) classée dans la catégorie « administratif » de l'époque néo-assyrienne plus particulièrement du règne d'Adad-nârârî III (P469532) mérite qu'on s'y arrête. L'excellente qualité de la photo permet de proposer les transcription et traduction suivantes du texte :

	[é ¹ -[g]a[l]]
2	[^m] ^d DI-ma-nu-maš
	[man ¹] kiš a 10-erin ₂ -ta[h ₂]
4	[man ¹] kiš-ma

« Palais de Salmânu-ašarêd, roi de la totalité, fils d'Adad-nârârî qui était aussi roi de la totalité. »

Ce texte ne laisse aucun doute sur le fait qu'il s'agit d'un nouveau duplcat d'une inscription royale du souverain médio-assyrien Salmanazar I^{er} sur brique, provenant de la ville d'Ašsur, et qui correspond au texte A.0.77.31 de la publication de A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennium BC (To 1115 BC)*, RIMA 1, Toronto, 1987, p. 217-218 (où plus de 48 exemplaires sont déjà recensés).

Lionel MARTI (lionel.marti@college-de-france.fr)
CNRS, UMR 7192

42) Ist Ilānu der Bruder des Bur-Ramānu? — Amme-ba'lī von Bīt-Zamāni, der mit Tukultī-Ninurta II. den Vasallenvertrag geschlossen hatte (GRAYSON 1991: 171-172 Annalen 11-29), blieb auch in der Zeit Ašurnaşirpals II. loyal, indem er im Jahre 882 v.Chr. den Tribut zum König in die Stadt Tušha brachte (GRAYSON 1991: 202 Annalen ii 12-15). Nachher rebellierten die Großen von Bīt-Zamāni gegen Amme-ba'lī, ihren Herrn und töteten ihn. Zwar berichten insgesamt drei Königsinschriften des Ašurnaşirpal II., nämlich Nimrud Monolith iv 109-120, Kurkh Monolith 85-92 und Annalen ii 118-125 (GRAYSON 1991: 251-252, 261, 211) über den Feldzug nach Bīt-Zamāni als Vergeltung für Amme-ba'lī, den assyrischen Vasallen, aber unter diese Quellen liefert nur Kurkh Monolith 91-92 eine ausführliche Information bezüglich der Wiedereinrichtung des Vasallenverhältnisses, nämlich die Hinrichtung des Bur-Ramānu, des Anführers der aufständischen Großen und die Einsetzung des Ilānu. In Bezug auf den neu eingesetzten Vasallen namens Ilānu ist eine nähere Betrachtung nötig, weil die betroffene Zeile 91 nach der Hinrichtung des Bur-Ramānu, d.h. ⁱ-la-a-nu ŠEŠ-šū a-na 'LÚ' na-si-ku-te aš-kun "Ich setzte Ilānu, seinen Bruder als Scheich ein" uns assoziieren lässt, dass der Bruder des hingerichteten Bur-Ramānu eingesetzt wurde. Hier entsteht jedoch die Frage, ob wirklich der Bruder des auf grausame Weise hingerichteten Bur-Ramānu als neuer Vasall geehrt wurde. In Bezug auf dieses Problem denken Åkerman und Radner, dass -šū "sein" von ŠEŠ-šū "sein Bruder" nicht Bur-Ramānu, sondern Amme-ba'lī meint (ÅKERMAN & RADNER 1998: 103). Ich unterstütze diesen Vorschlag, weil die gegen Amme-ba'lī rebellierenden Großen dem Ašurnaşirpal II. bei der Unterwerfung nicht nur ihre Töchter, sondern auch die Schwester des Amme-ba'lī mit Mitgift übersandten. Wenn der neu eingesetzte Vasall der Bruder des Bur-Ramānu wäre, hätte die Übersendung der Schwester des Amme-ba'lī keinerlei Wert für die Verstärkung der Beziehung zwischen Assyrien und Bīt-Zamāni, sofern zwischen Amme-ba'lī und Bur-Ramānu keine Verwandtschaft bestand. Und tatsächlich kann man in den Quellen keine Hinweise auf eine solche Verwandtschaft finden. Daher ist anzunehmen, dass der eingesetzte Vasall der Bruder des Amme-ba'lī war.

Bibliographie

GRAYSON, A.K. (1991): *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, I (1114-859 BC) (RIMA 2), Toronto.

ÅKERMAN, K. – RADNER, K. (1998): Ammi-Ba'al. In. K. Radner (Hrsg.): *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 1/1: A, Helsinki, 103.

Katsuji SANO <ksassur@hotmail.co.jp>

43) Additions and Corrections to Jonathan S. Tenney, *Life at the Bottom of Babylonian Society*, CHANE 51. Leiden: Brill, 2011 — Please note the following corrections and additions to this book:

A. Minor Corrections.

1. p. xxi: The reign of Meli-Šipak ended in 1172.
2. p. 9: The reference to footnote 5 should be placed at the end of its sentence.
3. p. 60, n. 64: Ni. 11197 is out of numerical order.
4. Uruk in CBS 11106:2: URU.UNUG.KI should be read as URU.AD.KI, i.e., the town Abu in the vicinity of Nippur. See my forthcoming article “Uruk in Southern Mesopotamia under the Kassite Kings,” in CDOG 8. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, in press. The parts of CHANE 51 affected by the revised reading include the transliteration and translation of CBS 11106 on p. 116 (example 9) and the mention on p. 112 (body and n. 117).
5. p. 114, n. 123: The last sentence should read: “See p. 127, n. 198, second sentence”.
6. p. 140, n. 12. For PBS 2/2 130:37, read PBS 2/2 120:37. The same correction should be made in the index, p. 251.
7. p. 230, table and n. 9. The attestation of a male *harintu* (prostitute) is no longer tenable. The damaged line in which this entry is found references the sister of a named man (*a-hat* ^mPN). The sister is the prostitute. The corresponding line in the table for Appendix 3 should be emended to have no entries in any of the “Males” columns and “4” under “Females/Sex-age desig. n/avail.” and “Females/Total Females”.

B. Connecting Households 19 and 51, pp. 161, 178-79.

Because of the omissible preposition *ina* in the personal names Ina-Akkade-rabât and Irišša-inap-mâti, a possible connection between households 19 and 51 was missed. The pertinent passages are:

Passage a. CBS 13455 ii' 12-14

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 12. SAL <i>Ak-ka-de-ra-bat</i> | DAM(now NIN).A.NI |
| 13. SAL <i>I'l-ti-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ša</i> | DUMU.SAL.A.NI |
| 14. 'DUMU.SAL GABA <i>I-ri-ša-in-a-IGI-KUR</i> | DUMU.SAL.A.NI |
| (as part of Household 51, headed by Nûr-Bêlti-Akkade) | |

Passage b. CBS 3472 rev. ii' 14'-18'

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 14'. SAL <i>I-na-ak-ka-l-de-ra-bat</i> | |
| 15'. 'DUMU.SAL ^m <i>A-hi-iu-ú-a</i> | |
| 16'. SAL <i>I'l-ti-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-«ša»</i> | |
| 17'. [SAL] <i>Ú-lu-lí-tum^l</i> | [DUMU.SAL].A.NI |
| 18'. 'DUMU.SAL [GA]BA <i>I-ri-ša-IGI-KUR</i> | DUMU.SAL.A.NI |
| 19'. [DUMU.SAL GAB]A <i>Bal-ti-dU.GUR</i> | KI.MIN |

(Household 19 plus the immediately preceding lines in the text. Note here the reconstructed summary: 23'-25'. [PAP 8 DUMU].[SAL ^m*A-hi-iu-ú-a* [...]]^{x1} ta IŘ LUGAL [*šu-ṣa-a*]-ta)

If lines 12-14 of passage a and 14'-16' and 18' of passage b are references to the same persons, then one has to reconcile the family relationships expressed in the two texts with each other and with the already uncertain reconstruction of Household 51 presented in CHANE 51. This brings with it a number of stumbling blocks, notably the **connection** of Ina-Akkade-rabât with other members of Household 51 and daughters, like Ulûlitu, mentioned in Household 19 but not present in Household 51. These seem unresolvable at first, but if one reads NIN instead of DAM in passage a line 12 the texts are in agreement. Ina-Akkade-rabât would then be of the same generation as Nûr-Bêlti-Akkade and Household 51 would be at least a three-generation household rather than the two generations diagrammed in CHANE 51. This would also explain how Ina-Akkade-rabât is given a patronymic and is in a position of authority over Ilti-ahhëša and her children in passage b: she is Ilti-ahhëša's aunt and DUMU.SAL ŠEŠ.A.NI is not used to express familial relationship in such texts. One might also then propose a patronymic for Nûr-Bêlti-

Akkade, Ahīyū'a. Concerns over distinguishing NIN vs. DAM were raised already in CHANE 51, pp. 75 and 191, where it was stated that the two signs are sometimes very similar. The possibility of reading NIN rather than DAM in this passage is confirmed by photos—but the sign in question is ambiguous. A clear DAM would have three horizontals across the center horizontal plane, a clear NIN would have four parallel horizontals in its right section. In this case the sign has neither and can be read either NIN or DAM.

Even with this solution, the chronological relationship between these two texts remains unclear. I am inclined to regard passage b as a later household phase simply because Ilti-aḥḥēša has more children, but one could also argue the opposite by speculating that other life events explain a transition from b to a—e.g., death of Bālṭī-Nergal, marriage of Ulūlītu. Certainly, the texts were written within a few years of each other. The sex-age designation of Irīšša-ina-pān-māti is consistent in both texts and Bālṭī-Nergal is in the “nursing” category in b, indicating that she was young when she dropped out of the system (died, if b is earlier) or born while her sister was still nursing (if a is earlier).

Tangentially, the evidence lends additional support for my arguments that single mothers in these texts were probably widows and that servile status was heritable.

C. Additions to the "List and Index of Cuneiform Sources" (pp. 245ff.).

The known Middle Babylonian servile laborer corpus continues to expand, and the following tablets and fragments should be added to the list beginning on page 245. Texts marked with an asterisk(*) are either suspected, but not yet proven, members of the corpus or have some bearing on the discussion. All others meet the criteria laid out on pages 7-9 of CHANE 51, are fragmentary exemplars of established textual categories, or can be linked prosopographically to a known member of the corpus. For example, N 1916+ consists of three fragments of a text with no clear identifying markers of the servile population, but whose format indicates that it is a ration allocation summary including personnel census (CHANE 51, pp. 27ff.). Some of these texts add to various quantitative data sets used in the book (population statistics, new household stemma diagrams), and these new data will be discussed in the forthcoming text publication. In the meantime, it is worth stating that they have no significant effect on the major conclusions of CHANE 51; the data set has reached such size that a few additional statistics have no appreciable effect on the overall picture.

CBS	CBS 12632
CBS 3318	CBS 13263
CBS 6601	CUNES
CBS 7764*	CUNES 52-10-116
CBS 7773	CUNES 52-13-30*
CBS 8562*	CUNES 52-13-135 (CUNES 30 231)
CBS 8848	CUNES 52-13-179 (CUNES 30 434)
CBS 9236	CUNES 52-16-86 (CUNES 30 318)
CBS 9885	CUNES 52-18-787 (CUNES 30 321)
CBS 10527	CUNES 52-18-818*
CBS 10553	CUNES 52-20-320
CBS 10619	CUNES 53-1-142
CBS 10652	IM
CBS 10736	IM 51003*
CBS 10742	IM 52205
CBS 10811	IM 85001*
CBS 10819	N
CBS 11623	N 1916+1930+2058.
CBS 11752	Ni.
CBS 11875	Ni. 2579*
CBS 11963	Ni. 6051
CBS 11989	Ni. 8637

Ni. 9197*	UM 29-15-243
PBS	UM 29-15-371*
PBS 2/2 51*	UM 29-15-434
PBS 8/2 163*	UM 29-15-593
UM	WZJ 8
UM 29-13-519	HS 109
UM 29-13-912	HS 111
UN 29-15-115	HS 115

D. My thanks to those who have sent me their comments and suggestions since CHANE 51 was published in 2011, especially J.A. Brinkman, who pointed out the possible connection in part B and suggested some of the new texts in part C, and Wilfred Van Soldt whose requests for clarification led me to write items A.6-7. Four of the CUNES texts mentioned in Part C will be published by Van Soldt in CUSAS 30, now in press, and their preliminary publication numbers have been provided.

J.S. TENNEY <tenney@cornell.edu>

44) The Land of Walastin at Tell Taynat — Much scholarly interest has been excited by the name of the land of Pala/istin or Wala/istin, previously normalised as WaDasatini, which was situated in the Amuq with a capital likely to have been at Tell Tayinat during the early Iron Age. Connections have been made with the Philistines of the southern Levant, although these remain hypothetical and difficult to envisage, as well as with the territory known from Neo-Assyrian sources as Patin with its capital at Kunulua (recently WEEDEN 2013; GALIL 2014; HARRISON 2014). The join presented here brings new evidence to the discussion of the spelling and pronunciation of the name. This evidence has already been mentioned in several conference contributions as well as in a forthcoming journal article (DINÇOL *et alii* 2015). For this reason its publication is advanced here, despite the necessary cleaning work which would allow a clearer view of the sign-forms not yet having been completed. There is no doubt as to the identity of the signs concerned. A regular Tell Tayinat inscription number will have to await publication of the Tell Tayinat fragments.

The two hieroglyphic fragments TT 2463 and TT 2713 were excavated in 2012 in Field 7 at Tell Tayinat to the south of Building XVI in the vicinity of a monumental statue bearing an inscription of a king Suppiluliuma (II?), probably belonging to the 9th century BC on palaeographic grounds and possibly identical with the Sapalulme encountered by Shalmaneser III in 858 BC. However, the stratigraphic context has yet to be clarified by further excavation. The statue is to be published by the author in collaboration with the director of Tayinat Archaeological Project, Tim Harrison, to whom thanks are due along with the other members of the Tell Tayinat team for all their help and advice. It is unclear whether these pieces belong to the statue. The curve of the line-divider on TT 2463 might suggest an original location on a piece of figural sculpture rather than an orthostat, but even so, this could have been another statue. Several other hieroglyphic fragments were also excavated from the same area which do not completely agree with the palaeography of the statue found in 2012 in all respects, despite some striking similarities in the forms of the signs za and REGIO. Whether these were all parts of one monument or several remains to be investigated by further excavation.

The join between the two fragments was made in August 2014 by the author in Antakya as part of that year's Tell Tayinat study season. They have clearly undergone significantly different destructive or post-depositional processes resulting in the one being a chunky fragment of basalt, the other a thin flake. Together they spell the ethnic adjective of a place-name Walastin: [w]a/i-la-s[à]-ti-ni-za-(REGIO) "the Walastinean (person/king?)", without case ending, which would probably have appeared in the break below the sign REGIO. A provisional drawing pending cleaning (fig. 1) and a photograph of the join by J. Jackson (fig. 2) are presented below. An earlier version of the drawing was altered after comments from the experienced eye of J.D. Hawkins.

The spelling with the regular sign *la* confirms the re-reading of the controversial hieroglyphic signs TA₄ and TA₅, with which this place-name is usually spelled, as *la/i* and *lá/i* respectively (Rieken and Yakubovich 2010) and further helps to identify the vowel after the /l/ as an /a/, due to the fact that the

sign *la* does not show vowel alternation: Walastin. This join gives us the second attestation of this place-name at Tell Tayinat after *wa/i-la/i(TA₄)-sà-ti-ni-z[a-s]a* (REGIO) in TELL TAYİNAT 1, frag. 3-5, line 1 (Hawkins 2000: 366). The new stelae from ARSUZ (DINÇOL *et alii* 2015) also offer new spellings, which may indicate that the vowel in the third syllable could alternate from /i/ to /a/: ARSUZ 1 §1: *wa/i-lá/i(TA₅)-sà-ta-ni-za* REGIO; ARSUZ 2 §1: *wa/i-lá/i(TA₅)-si-ti-ni-za* REGIO. Unless this is a purely graphic phenomenon such vowel alternation may have been the case for the second syllable too, although this cannot yet be held to be demonstrated until an incontrovertible writing with an i-vowel in the second syllable is found. Further one cannot exclude that the name was pronounced /Walstin/.



Bibliography

- DINÇOL, B., DINÇOL, A., HAWKINS, J.D., PEKER, H. with A. ÖZTAN and Ö. ÇELIK 2015 (forthcoming): "Two New Inscribed Storm-God Stelae from Arsuz (İskenderun) ARSUZ 1 and 2" *Anatolian Studies* 65 (to appear 2015).
- GALIL, G. 2014: "A Concise History of Palistin / Patin / Unqi / 'mq in the 11th–9th Centuries BC", *Semitica* 56: 75-104.
- HARRISON, T. P. 2014: "Recent Discoveries at Tayinat (Ancient Kunulua/Calno) and Their Biblical Implications", in C. M. Maier (ed), *Congress Volume Munich 2013*. Leiden-Boston: 396-425.
- HAWKINS, J.D. 2000: *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions I/1-3*. Berlin-New York.
- RIEKEN, E. and YAKUBOVICH, I. 2010: The New Values of Luwian Signs L 319 and L 172. Singer, I. (ed.) *ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis. Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*. Tel Aviv: 199-219.
- WEEDEN, M. 2013: "After the Hittites: The Kingdoms of Karkamish and Palistin in Northern Syria", *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 56/2: 1-20

Mark WEEDEN <mw41@soas.ac.uk>
SOAS, University of London

45) ŠE.BA = šibai/a à Nuzi — Ce terme qui n'est documenté qu'à Nuzi, est utilisé en relation avec l'orge, défini comme étant *ša šibai* et avec l'étain : le métal est alors désigné comme *ana šibai/a*¹). Pour l'essentiel, les textes qui y font référence relèvent de la documentation du palais à l'exception peut-être de HSS 13 3 (provenance inconnue) et de HSS 15 241 (=AdŠ 167) qui appartient à l'archive de Šilwa-Teššup (l. 9 : ZU-PA-e qualifiant l'orge remis à Kiltamuli, l'administrateur du domaine du prince à Pahharhe²).

L'origine hourrite du mot est envisagée par le CAD Š/3, p. 64 (« sens inconnu ») et le AHw, p. 1226b qui propose « eine Ration ? »³). La suggestion du AHw semble assez juste au vu du parallèle entre les notices finales des listes de rationnaires HSS 16 348 et HSS 16 383 : « Ces hommes qui prendront le *ši-ba-a* » (HSS 16 348) et « To[tal x, ces hommes qui pre]ndront [leur] ratio[n] (ŠE.B[A-šu-nu]-u) » (HSS 16 383). En faveur de cette hypothèse, on note aussi l'indication *a-nu-u₂ ŠE.MEŠ* 'ša ši*-

ba-i**¹ dans HSS 14 510, r.13, une liste nominative d'une trentaine de femmes précisant le montant de leur ration : le sens d'« orge des rations » conviendrait ici tout à fait bien. De l'orge « prise sur l'orge *šibai* » (ŠE.MEŠ ša ši-ba₂-i *leqū*) est documentée dans deux comptes. Dans HSS 16 357, ce transfert est opéré au bénéfice de femmes (domestiques et épouses secondaires) enregistrées par leur nom dans deux groupes en fonction du montant de leur ration (1 et 2 sila₃). Dans HSS 13 172, l'orge est remise à Elhip-Tilla, sans doute le *šakin bīti*, et on peut supposer que l'indication *ištu* ŠE.MEŠ ša ši-ba₂-i ša *le-qu*₂-*u*₂ correspond, dans ce cas aussi, à un prélèvement réalisé sur les stocks destinés aux rations⁴. Dans HSS 15 282, un fragment de lettre, Elhip-[Tilla], sans doute le même fonctionnaire et son collègue *atuhlu*, sont chargés de « faire le *šibai* » de 104 hommes et femmes du personnel domestique (*niš bīti*). Il leur est demandé pour cela de se rendre au pays de Nullu :

[...] ¹r pour 1 mine chacun¹ ²dans la ville de Nuzi qui [ont été prélevés² / donnés³].
^{T.1}(Celui missionné) en tant qu'*atuhlu* ^{R.1}et Elhip-[...] ^{R.2}feront ⁵leur¹ ⁵*ration* aux ³77 femmes (et) ⁴27 hommes.
^{R.4}Qu'il (Elhip-[...]) aille ³au pays de Null[u].
^{R.5}Total 200[+ ...] ^{R.6}personnel [de ...].
(Début de la face perdue) ¹[*a-na* ¹MA.NA.TA].[A. AN] ²*i-na* URU *nu-zi* ša [*našrū* / *nadnū* ?] (Trait) ³77 MUNUS.MEŠ ⁴27 LU₂.¹MEŠ¹ ⁵ši-ba-i-šu ¹⁶*a-tuh-la* ^{r.1}*u*₃ ^m*el-hi-ip*-[...] ²*i-ip-pu-šu* ³*i-na* KUR *nu-ul-lu[-u*₂*/ a?*] ⁴*li-ll-ka*₄ (espace vide) ⁵SU.NIGIN₂ 2 *ma-a[r*?]* ⁶*ni*-i[š]* ¹E₂⁷ [...]

La face de la lettre, dont il ne reste que les deux dernières lignes, enregistre peut-être un prélèvement de métal en vue de l'acquisition de l'orge nécessaire aux rations (mentionnée au revers). Les achats d'orge, réalisés avec du métal, sont en effet bien documentés à Nuzi⁵. On peut notamment citer trois documents impliquant Tieš-urhe, le gouverneur du pays, dans des transferts d'étain utilisés « pour les rations / le personnel domestique / le *šibai* ». Ainsi dans HSS 15 161, Tieš-urhe et les *šakin bīti* d'A[nzugalli] et de Turša reçoivent 10 talents 48 mines d'étain « pour les rations (ŠE.BA) » du personnel *niš bīti*. HSS 15 160 consigne plusieurs transferts de cuivre « avec son étain », issu du palais, pour le personnel *niš bīti* de Nuzi⁶ et les « hommes d'Ekalli » ; le dernier enregistrement qui concerne 7 talents 36 mines d'étain, est explicitement désigné comme [*a-na* ši-ba₂-i *a-n[a...]* (*niš bīti* ša NG est probablement à restaurer dans la cassure)]. Dans la lettre HSS 14 587, Elhip-Tilla (sans doute le *šakin bīti*), reçoit l'ordre de prélever avec Tieš-urhe (*ušur*) deux talents de cuivre qu'il devra remettre à ce dernier pour le personnel *niš bīti* installé à Karāna⁷. Au vu de ces différentes informations, il est probable que la mine d'étain *a-na* ši-ba-a donnée à chacune des 7 femmes dont les noms sont enregistrés dans HSS 13 3, leur ait servi à financer l'achat de l'orge correspondant à leur ration.

En conclusion, l'équivalence entre ŠE.BA et *šibai/a* semble assez bien fonctionner pour l'ensemble de la documentation présentée ici. On peut considérer qu'en définitive ce rapprochement s'explique par le fait que le terme *šibai/a* correspond à la transposition phonétique du sumérogramme ŠE.BA. Le phénomène est documenté ailleurs à Nuzi avec des noms propres (UTU.ANDUL = *u₂-ta-an-til/til*⁸) et ^dAK.DINGIR.RA = ^dAK-ki-la⁹) et pour l'allocation d'orge *šukunu*, destinée plus spécifiquement aux reines de Nuzi et d'Arraphe et aux membres de la famille du prince Šilwa-Tešup : le terme, selon l'une des interprétations envisagée, dériverait du sumérien ŠUKU¹⁰.

¹) Liste des textes chez J. Fincke «Transport of Agricultural Produce in Arraphe», dans R. M. Jas (éd.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia (MOS Studies 3, Leiden 1999)* (PIHANS 88), Istanbul, 2000, p. 158 n. 82.

²) Cf. G. Wilhelm, *Das Archiv des Šilwa-Tešup Heft 3. Rationen Listen II*, Wiesbaden, 1985, p. 184.

³) Cf. le point bibliographique dans T. Richter, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen*, Weisbaden, 2012, p. 390.

⁴) Pour l'implication du *šakin bīti* dans la gestion des rations, cf. P. Abrahami, « L'intendant du palais (*šakin bīti*) à Nuzi », dans C. Michel (éd.), *De la maison à la ville dans l'Orient ancien : bâtiments publics et lieux de pouvoir* (Cahier des thèmes transversaux ArScAn, vol. XII, 2013-2014), Nanterre, 2015, p. 186-187 (disponible en ligne à l'adresse <http://www.mae.u-paris10.fr/arscan/De-la-maison-a-la-ville-dans-l,1434.html>).

⁵) Cf. B. Lion, « Le bronze et ses usages économiques en Mésopotamie : le cas de Nuzi (XIV^e s. a. C.) » dans C. Grandjean et A. Moustaka (éd.), *Aux origines de la monnaie fiduciaire. Traditions métallurgiques et innovations numismatiques* (Scripta Antiqua 55), Bordeaux 2013, p. 132-136.

⁶⁾ Plutôt que [URU x]-^rše ⁷⁾i, cf. J. Fincke, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Nuzi-Texte*, RGTC 10, Wiesbaden, 1993, p. 371, [URU nu-^rz]i est préférable. Le personnel niš bīti de Nuzi est aussi mentionné l. 6 de la face.

⁷⁾ URU e-ru-na, lu GIŠ^l(e).GEŠTIN^l(ru)-na par A. Fadhl *Studien zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Provinzstädte des Königreichs Arraphe* (Baghdader Forschungen 6), Mainz, 1983, p. 97 et cf. J. Fincke, *Die Orts-..., p. 132.*

⁸⁾ E. Cassin et J.-J. Glassner, *Anthroponymie et Anthropologie de Nuzi*, Malibu, 1977, p. 161.

⁹⁾ R. H. Pfeiffer et E. A. Speiser, *One hundred new selected Nuzi Texts* (AASOR 16), New Haven, 1936, n° 59, 39, p. 41 et 109.

¹⁰⁾ Cf. G. Wilhelm, *Das Archiv des Šilwa-Teššup Heft 2. Rationen Listen I*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 106 et T. Richter, *Bibliographisches Glossar...*, p. 409. La nature du suffixe -ni reste indéterminée. Le terme šukunu n'est apparemment pas attesté en dehors de Nuzi : la référence dans un texte d'Ougarit (CAD Š/3, p. 233) est à supprimer, cf. J. Huehnergard, « No šukunu at Ras-Shamra », *NABU* 1995/107, p. 93.

Philippe ABRAHAMI <philippe.abrahami@univ-lyon2.fr>

46) When was natural death created or why did Gilgameš go to Uta-napištim? — In the recently published *RIA* Bd. 14 (2014) 71-72, I accepted the views of W.G. Lambert and C. Wilcke that death was instituted after the flood. Lambert maintains that “the obvious way to prevent overpopulation... was to institute death to offset birth” and “death was introduced after other means of decimating the human race, culminating with the flood, had proved ineffective” (LAMBERT 1980: 57-8). According to Lambert, Sumerian and Akkadian distinguish two kinds of death, natural and violent (*ibid.* 65). Thus, before the flood man could die in violence, like the god whose blood was mixed with the clay. Wilcke continued Lambert’s line of thoughts that natural death was established after the flood, signified by the change of Nintu’s epithet from *Bānāt awīlūti* in Atrahasis I:194 to *Bānāt šīmāti* in tablet III vii:47 (WILCKE 1999: 97-99). The idea that death was established after the flood seems to explain the continuous increase of the population. That the OB version of Atrahasis does not end with a description of Enlil granting the survivor eternal life could imply that he was indeed immortal.

However, this interpretation suffers from a logical flaw: if natural death did not exist before the flood, then Uta-napištim was practically immortal by birth. So why did Gilgameš make his epic journey to him? If Uta-napištim was immortal he could only warn Gilgameš of violence, but not teach him the secret of gaining eternal life. Therefore, it is more likely that Gilgameš went to him because he was mortal like him and like us. Indeed, in the OB tradition of Gilgames, the king of Uruk was told that he travels in vain, since death was established for mankind during the creation (GEORGE 2003:278-9, iii:1-4 and SB version pp. 698-9 X:321-2). Further, in the final episode of the Sumerian Flood Story Ziusudra was granted eternal life like a god (*ETCSL* 1.7.4 segment E). And finally, according to the *SKL*, the antediluvian kings ruled in dynasties, so they must have been mortals by nature. The belief that before the flood men lived for thousands of years may have been the theoretical basis of the explosive growth of the population in the story of the flood, and explain it, birth occurred more often than death. Also, the names of the flood hero in Akkadian “I found life” and the Sumerian “life of long days” suggest a symbolic name giving, to suit the newly granted eternal life. Wilcke’s contention that the epithet *Bānāt šīmāti* (Atr. III vii 47) marks the creation of death is problematic because *šīmtu* is merely an euphemism for death. *Šīmtu* means pre-determined fate, that is exactly what the mother-goddess did: she established the categories of women who would not be allowed to bear children (Atr. III vii:1-8). Thus, man was mortal from the beginning, but their dying day (*šīmtu*) was in the very far future. The Emar version of Enlil and Namzitara which states that man life is limited to 120 years echoes this myth, perhaps a reflex.

Uta-napištim gained immortality because he survived the flood. The extant sources do not preserve a description of Enlil awarding eternal life to Atrahasis. Such a scene would fit easily into the 25 lines break, after the accusations by Nintu and Enki. In such a scene Enlil could also rename Atrahasis as Uta-napištim. This act would be the climax and the end of the flood story. However, it is not the end of the myth of Atrahasis, which is about relations between mankind and the gods, *ilu* and *awīlu*. The myth ends with the aftermath of the flood: Nintu, the mother goddess, creates again, this time the measures to prevent overpopulation, the categories of women mentioned above. This second creation I understand with WILCKE (2007:35) as the final phase of creation, or correcting the creation.

The measures to limit the growth of the population are not mentioned in the epic of Gilgameš, since they are irrelevant to the questions of the epic. Relevant is, however, the last episode, in which Utanapištim tells Gilgameš how Enlil declared him godlike and settled him at the mouth of the rivers. Answering Gilgameš' initial question "How was it that you attended the god's assembly and found life?" (XI:7.) Utanapištim then asks Gilgameš cynically:

Who will bring the gods to the assembly for you,
so you can find the life that you search for?" (XI:200-208).

Bibliography

- GEORGE, E. 2003 *The Babylonian Gilgameš Epic*. Oxford, University Press.
- LAMBERT, W.G. 1980 "The Theology of Death" in A. Alster (ed.) *Death in Mesopotamia* CRRAI 26^e. Copenhagen 1980. Pp. 53-66.
- WILCKE, C. 1999 "Weltuntergang als Anfang" in: A. Jones (ed.) *Weltende*. (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz). Pp. 63-112.
- Id.* 2007 "Vom altorientalischen Blick zurück auf die Anfänge". In E. Angehrn (ed.) *Anfang und Ursprung. Die Frage nach dem Ersten in Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaft*." Berlin, De Gruyter. (*Colloquium Rauricum* Bd. 10) Pp. 3-59.

Dina KATZ <dinakatz@icloud.com>

47) Notes on a *nishu* for the performance of ornithoscopy — As every visitor to the British Museum student's room during the past many decades knows, the late W.G. Lambert devoted a lifetime to the study of the prayers belonging to the Seer's ritual, the prayers he insisted upon calling *ikribis*.¹⁾ Lambert intended to make a full edition of the prayers, a task he unfortunately only partly completed. His wonderfully accurate copies of the manuscripts form part of his *Nachlass* entrusted to Andrew George. Lambert's copies of *ikribus* and related texts have recently been made available to me, and I am currently preparing an edition of these texts and the Seer's rituals for the performance of extispicy, first published by Zimmern in 1901.²⁾ Lambert's copies will be published elsewhere by Andrew George and Junko Taniguchi.

Among the *ikribus* copied by Lambert is the small text edited below. It deserves some attention since it belongs to a genre otherwise unattested and it was not part of the extispicy ritual. It is namely concerned with the inspection of a sacrificial bird, ornithoscopy. The part of the text which contains the prayers has been edited previously by Ivan Starr.³⁾ However, the parts left out by Starr, including the colophon also deserve to be published since they give this particular manuscript its context.

According to its colophon, the text belonged to Nabû-zuqup-kēna and was a second *nishu*, literally "excerpt". *Nishu* is a term rarely used in connection with divination texts ; the majority of manuscripts classified as *nishus* are medical and/or magical and were typically excerpted for performance on a given occasion. In relation to divination texts *nishu* seems to be one of the terms for texts which were compiled, perhaps made for ad hoc purposes, combining related material from different sources and not necessarily part of a series. In this case, the second *nishu* contained both omens and prayers, and to judge by the catchline, it was followed by rules of interpretation of the kind found for instance in *Multābiltu* tablet 2-3 and the *niširti bārūti* texts. A similar form of vade-me-cum collection of divinatory material is represented by KAR 151 (= KAL 5 70), a 7th *nishu* which combines extispicy rules for the interpretation of joker signs, extispicy and lecanomancy omens, almanacs for the diviner and some ritual instructions.⁴⁾ Nabû-zuqup-kēna's well-preserved manuscript⁵⁾ for the rituals of the Seer was also classified as a *nishu* as were his manuscript of the explanatory text *Inamgišjurankia* (CT 25 50⁺).

Of the omens only the first words of the protases are preserved: "If you perform a bird (extispicy) and" (BE MUŠEN DÙ-ma).⁶⁾ Omens with this protasis is known from a Middle Assyrian manuscript (KAR 426 = KAL 5 88 (+) 89 (+) 89a), which according to Heeßel was copied after a Babylonian original even mimicking the slanting lines characteristic of Babylonian writing,⁷⁾ and two manuscripts from Kouyunjik (CT 20 9 (K 2618+) + CT 20 5 and CT 20 9 (K 6973+)). The apodoses are similar to those of normal extispicy omens and refer to the fortunes of war and illness. Otherwise, the primary source for this discipline is a small group of Old Babylonian omen compendia, which are closely related to each other (YOS 10 51-53). Bird extispicy appears to have played an important role in Mari and was

mentioned in letters.⁸⁾ Four late Old Babylonian manuscripts pertaining to bird extispicy from the palace library of the town Tigunānum (CUSAS 18 appendix no. XIV) situated on the upper Tigris area also attest to the interest in this kind of divination in the north. Only the external features were observed, particularly the occurrence of perforations and red and white spots on the skin. The Old Babylonian apodoses pertain to the well-being of private persons as well as to warfare, they differ from the apodoses from the “If you perform a bird (extispicy)-texts, they are reminiscent of the Old Babylonian lecanomancy apodoses, often mentioning gods, for instance specifying the Presence (*manzāzu*) of a particular god or divine wishes for certain items of apparel. The existence of a Middle Babylonian manuscript from Aššur (KAR 455 = KAL 5 87) and a middle period manuscript from Susa (TDP 57 7) demonstrate the uninterrupted interest in the practice from the Old Babylonian period. There are however, no reports on acts of bird extispicy from the first millennium, so perhaps the Middle and Neo Assyrian manuscripts merely reflect an interest in Babylonian learning, and it could well be that scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēna simply copied the text for its antiquarian value. This point could also be supported by the fact that the prayers are written in almost perfect Old Babylonian orthography (with a few oddities as noted below). It is of course impossible to know whether the original was Old Babylonian or a copy of an Old Babylonian manuscript, but Neo Assyrian transcriptions of Old Babylonian divination texts are not unheard of.⁹⁾ The rubric indicates that the manuscript originally contained 5 *tamītus* (*ta-wi-it*) of which only parts of the last three are preserved. However, the contents and format of the prayers are not like the *tamītus*¹⁰⁾ which are exemplary oracle questions, but rather like the *ikribu* prayers which accompany a ritual as also noted by Starr.

Of the preserved ornithoscopy prayers, the first is a prayer of praise to Šamaš, the second a description of the sacrificial bird in its pristine condition, and the last describes the ritual action and the sacrifice. The last lines do not explicitly refer to bird extispicy, but given the context it seems reasonable to assume that they concerned ornithoscopy. The purposes of the divinatory procedure as listed in the last lines before the colophon are the same as for extispicy as is the procedure of performing a check-up.

Rm 222 + 513

Sigil	Museum or accession No.	Publication	References
	Rm 222 + Rm 513	I. Starr, <i>The Rituals of the Diviner</i> (1983) 62-63 (edition of r3'-r27').	CDLI P426362 (photo) Lambert Folio nos. 0012 and 1289-1290 (copy)

Lambert notes that the fragment only measures 12 mm at the corner and thus probably was a tablet with just one column on each side.

- | | | |
|---|------------------|---|
| 1 | BE [.....] | If [you perform a bird extispicy |
| 2 | BE MUŠEN [.....] | If [you perform] a bird extispicy [.....] |
| 3 | BE M[UŠEN] | If [you perform] a bird extispicy [.....] |

Breaks

- | | |
|-----|---|
| r1' | x x [.....] |
| r2' | ša na-aš-[ša |
| r3' | im-ba-ra [šurtpa ina balu Šamaš ul] |
| r4' | i-na-ad-di-na[m 0?] ¹¹⁾ |
| r5' | i-na ri-ig-mi ša x x [.....] |
| r6' | DUTU u DIM ina mi-im-ma [ma-la e-pu-
šu ki-it-tam šu-uk-nam] |
| r7' | DUTU EN di-nim DIM [EN ba-ri] |
| r8' | aš-ši-ku-nu-ši-im is-ki-ki-tam ¹²⁾
[.....] |

Breaks

- | | |
|--|--|
| | ... |
| | ...dew [.....] |
| | mist [or ice without Šamaš] |
| | would [not] be given [.....] |
| | in the proclamations which [.....] |
| | Šamaš and Adad, in all [I do let there be truth] |

- | | |
|--|--|
| | Šamaš, lord of judgment, Adad [lord of divination] |
| | I have brought you an <i>aškikītu</i> -bird [....] |

r9'	ša a-ḥa-ša el-lam i-[..... kubš̄t]	whose pure side [.... (the bird) called “my cap]
r10'	ba-ar-ma-at i-ni ba-ni-a-[at	is multicoloured”, “my eye is beautiful” ¹³⁾ [.....]
r11'	i-na mi-im-ma MUŠEN.HI.A a-x[....]	in any bird .. [.....]
r12'	i-ra-az-za KÙ.BABBAR NA ₄ [.....	its breast is silver, [its]-stone
r13'	ša-at-ti-ša-am-ma i-te-n[i/er	every year he ... [.....]
r14'	AN-um ¹⁴⁾ ib-ni-ši im-ḥur x[.....]	Anum created it, he accepted(?) ... [.....]
r15'	i-na a-ru-ur-ri ba-qí-li [.....	with the maltser’s reed ¹⁵⁾ [.....]
r16'	D ₁ UTU EN di-nim D ₂ IM [EN ba-ri]	Šamaš, lord of judgment, Adad [lord of divination]
r17'	aš-ši-ku-nu-ši-im [.....]	I have brought you [.....
r18'	a-na di-nim ki-it-tim ¹⁶⁾ [.....	for a fair judgment [.....]
r19'	i-na pa-aš-šur DINGIR i-ka-al : i[.....]	it eats at the table of the god; in [.....]
r20'	i-na lu-bu-uš-ti DINGIR [.....	[it is dressed] in the clothes of the god [.....]
r21'	i-na si-ip-pí é DINGIR x [.....	[it sits] in the threshold of the temple [.....]
r22'	i-na mu-sar-re-e ¹⁷⁾ el-lu-ti [.....	in the pure gardens [.....]
r23'	i-na a-ru-ur-ri ba-qí-li [.....	with the maltser’s reed [.....]
r24'	i-na MUŠEN e-pu-šu-ma [0]	in the bird (extispicy) which I perform and
r25'	i-na ta-mi-it a-kar-ra-b[u	in the oracle question I plead
r26'	ki-it-tam [šu-uk-nam]	[let there be] truth.
r27'	5 ta-wi-it [.....	5 oracle questions [concerning
r28'	BE a-na SILIM URU ana LUGAL u ÉRIN-ni-šú a-na DÙ-eš GIŠ.TUKUL a- [x x]	If [you perform (bird?) extispicy] for the well-being of the city, for the king and his army, for making war, for [...]
r29'	IGI-ka SILIM-at pi-qid-si pi-qit-ti-ši ¹⁸⁾ N[U] SILIM-at]	your first extispicy is favourable, you check it and its check-up is n[ot favourable].
r30'	MAN-ú nis-ḥu AL.TIL ki-i KA GIŠ.le- u ₅ -um GABA.RI [x x x šatirma bāri]	Second excerpt. Complete. [Copied and collated] according to a writing board an original from [.....]
bottom edge	DUB-pi ^{ID} AG-ṣu-qup-GI.NA DUMU ^{ID} AMAR.UTU-MU-BA	Tablet belonging to Nabû-zuqup-kēna son of Marduk-šuma-iqīša

1) “The Babylonian Ikrib” in J. Fincke Divination in the Ancient Near East A Workshop on Divination Conducted during the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Würzburg, 2008, (editor) Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 2014, 53-56.

2) Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion. Leipzig: Hinrich’sche Buchhandlung 1901.

3) I. Starr, *The Rituals of the Diviner*, Malibu: Undena 1983, 61-63. Starr worked from Lambert’s copy however, he did not edit the obverse or the first two lines of the reverse. He adds a line above line r5’ which is not there, neither in real life nor in Lambert’s copy, and marks line r5’ as a rubric. Starr did not indicate the missing parts of lines r18’-24’.

4) It may even contain a reference to ornithoscopy in the final rather obscure paragraph as suggested by Heeßel KAL 5 p. 241-242.

5) BBR 7 pl. XXV Nr. 7 (K 03242 + K 06426 + K 09487) + BBR 12 pl. XXXIX Nr. 12 (K 06209 + K 6502 + K 09532) + BBR 14 pl. XXIX Nr. 14 (K 9500) + BBR 71 (K 10786).

6) Convincingly argued by Nougayrol in “Oiseau’ ou oiseau?,” RA 61 (1967) 23-38.

7) N. Heeßel *Divinatorische Texte II Opferschau-Omina (Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts 5)*, Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2012, 275.

8) J.-M. Durand “La Divination par les oiseaux,” *Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires* 8 (1997) 273-282; De Zorzi “Bird Divination in Mesopotamia. New Evidence from BM 108874,” *KASKAL Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 6 (2009) 85-135.

9) Also K 3868, Koch *Secrets* no. 15 plt. viii.

- 10) W.G. Lambert *Babylonian Oracle Questions*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 2007.
- 11) Cf. the passage in the praise to Šamaš in KBo I 12:5-8 (Ebeling OrNS 23 (1954) 213-216): *na-áš-ša im-ba-ra šu-ri-pa [i-na] ba-lu ⁴UTU ú-ul i-na-an-ti-in*.
- 12) Perhaps the bird *aškikītu* as suggested by Starr.
13. "My cap is multicoloured" is known as a bird's name (see CAD sub *kubšu* 2 b), I suggest that "my eye is beautiful" is a pendant.
- 14) Starr reads AN.TA but the last sign is clearly an "UM".
- 15) Medical texts mention water from a maltser's *urullu/arurru* in connection with other kinds of liquid, see CAD sub *urullu*, and this could be meant here. The process of making malt begins with steeping barley in water to make it sprout.
- 16) Grammatically difficult, should be status constructus.
- 17) Variant spelling of *musarū*, cf. Hh. VII A 244. Could also be read mu.sar-re-e. Starr translates "girdles".
- 18) Should be *piqittāša*.

Ulla Susanne KOCH <ulla@koch-online.d>

48) The dogs of the North Palace — My brief communication considers the representations of dogs in the palace art of Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE). As shown by the hunting narratives on the wall panels described below, dogs of a particular breed were utilized in support of the king's personal pursuits. Dog statuettes discovered in the same palace are also considered, since their production likely benefited from the living type depicted on the bas-reliefs.

Historically, domesticated dogs (*Canis lupus familiaris*) were sometimes trained to serve their masters in various tasks such as herding and protecting the flocks, or otherwise left to fend themselves. We know from second and first millennium BCE Egyptian and Near Eastern art works that dogs also took part in the hunt from the chariot of wild animals (SMITH 1965: pls. 142-143; STROMMENGER 1964: 428, pl. 177; VIEYRA 1955: 75-76, pls. 66-67). The pictorial data also discloses the aggressive actions of dogs during these events. Turning to the Assyrian record, dogs do not appear in the several known scenes of royal hunts dated to various periods, which include the late eighth or seventh century wall paintings from Til Barsip (ALBENDA 1972: figs. 1-7; THUREAU-DANGIN & DUNAND 1936: pl. 53). Furthermore, canines are never mentioned in the hunting texts or epigraphs of Assyrian kings.

At long last, dogs do appear among the narrative scenes carved on the stone panels that lined the walls of the North Palace at Nineveh. They are pictured in several chambers of the palace; in scenes describing Ashurbanipal's hunting expeditions, several of which were probably located in distant territories. In Room S where the panels are divided into three registers, each about 30 cm in height, the subject matter illustrates Ashurbanipal's attacks against a variety of large animals. The two upper registers are restricted to the king's killing of lions from the chariot and again on foot, while in the lowermost register other animals are the object of several hunts (BARNETT 1976: pls. 44-54). The presence of dogs in three hunting events occurs in the bottom register. Visible in one section of a scene that describes the chasing, killing, and netting of deer and stags in a mountainous terrain, is a dog pursuing a fleeing deer. Within the forested areas of a second landscaped scene, consisting of a broad river situated between dense woodlands, spearmen and handlers with dogs chase after lions. In one place, paired dogs have forced a lion into the river. An unusual detail is the representation of the Assyrian king standing in an open galley, a bireme, and aiming his bow and arrow at a leaping lion. The plain background of the third scene makes vivid the violent killing actions of dogs against a herd of wild horses. Two dogs bite into the flesh of a fleeing horse in an attempt to take it down. A pack of four dogs surround, bite, and prevent another downed horse from escaping. Other horses are stopped and downed by the arrows released from the bow of Ashurbanipal who is mounted on his caparisoned horse. The violent death of the horses exposes the dogs' role as competent killers.

Most likely the canines of the royal hunt were specifically bred and trained to carry out their dreadful tasks. Their running speed and tenacity aided in the Assyrian king's taking down of large wild animals. Nearly life-size images of these dogs are preserved on two surviving panels, one from Room E (BARNETT 1976: pl. 14) and the other from Passage R (BARNETT 1976: pls. 39-40; CURTIS & READE: 1995: 27, pl. 85). Viewed in profile and modeled in low relief, each canine has a muscular body with

defined rib cage, a long furry tail, and the flop ear of a mastiff breed (Fig. 1). The short fleshy neck merges into the extended head with its long snout, and the facial expression of each dog evokes subtle fear. One dog from Room E has a slightly open mouth, revealing the tip of its tongue. This detail signals the dog's alertness. In Passage R the canines leap forward along a sloping path. Their snarling faces are lined with raised wrinkles on the snout and cheek. Each dog, its mouth open to expose pointed teeth, advances in eager anticipation of the chase that is to come (Figs. 2-3). The four dogs depicted in Room C display a similar impatience, wanting to run in the direction of lions fleeing from the deadly weapons of Ashurbanipal attacking from his chariot (BARNETT 1976: pl. 7).

The presence of dogs in the above noted scenes carved on the wall panels of the palace is an acknowledgement of their contribution to the success of the royal hunting activities. Additionally, five clay dogs (length ca. 7 cm) were discovered under the floor of the outer gate of Room S where many of the hunting narratives were located (BARNETT 1976: 36, pls. 1, 45; CURTIS & READE 1995: 115-116, pls. 73-77). Each animal is solid and in-the-round, and each is painted a different color: red, white, blue, black, red with white spots. A name inscribed on the body of each dog, such as "catcher of the enemy", "biter of his foe", and "expeller of evil", declares its protective/aggressive capability. The outer form of the clay dogs resembles the dogs of the royal hunts. In addition, their imagery corresponds closely to the descriptions of the dogs of the ritual texts that instruct the making of small statues of prophylactic demons (WIGGERMANN 1992, 15, 58-59). Various protective demonic creatures were carved on the wall panels flanking select entrances of the North Palace. Among them are the confronting lion-headed *ugallu* demons with eagle feet that were placed at the outer gate of Room S (BARNETT 1976, pl. 46). The clay dogs of the same gateway function in a manner that is equal to the supernatural beings. Consequently, these dogs are grouped with the demonic creatures as guardians against potential foes. The production of the dog statuettes must have been influenced by the actions and characteristics of the Assyrian king's canines. Thus the apotropaic status of the clay dogs reflects the fearsome reputation had by Ashurbanipal's hunting dogs.

To sum up: dogs are represented for the first time in seventh century BCE narrative Assyrian art; in royal hunting scenes that were depicted on the wall panels of the North Palace. Named miniature clay versions were placed in an outer gateway of the palace, and their protective role is described in several ritual texts. The dogs of the bas-reliefs and their clay counterparts are applicable as illustrative versions of 'bringers of death' to would-be enemies; that is, wild beasts and disease/men respectively.

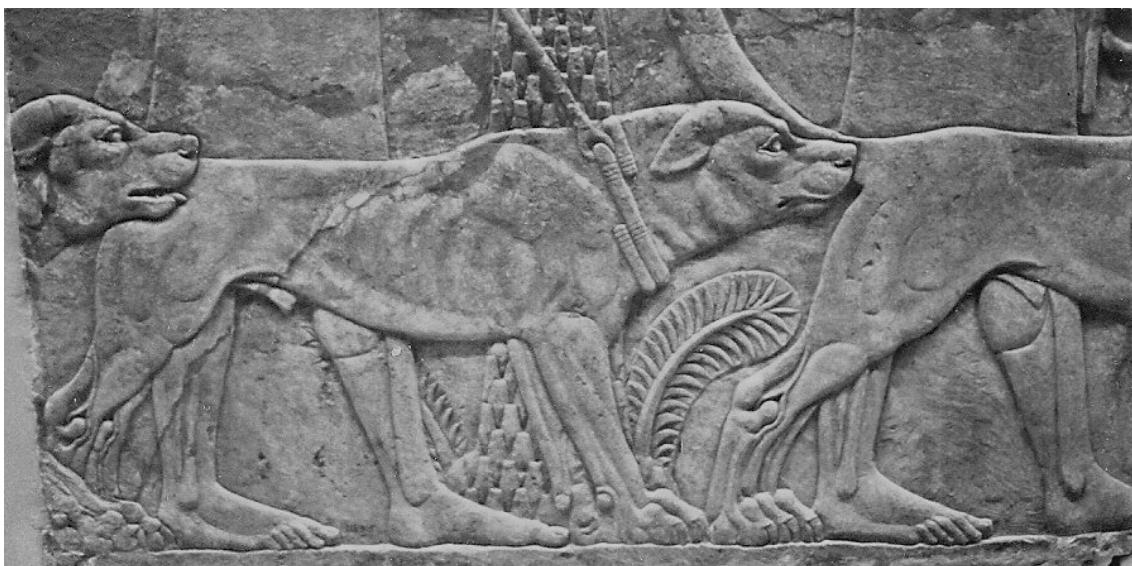


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

References

- ALBENDA, P. 1972 «Ashurnasirpal II Lion Hunt Relief BM124534». *JNES* 31/3: 167-178.
- BARNETT, R. D. 1976 *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- CURTIS, J. E. & READE, J. E. (eds.) 1995 *Art and Empire. Treasures in the British Museum*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- SMITH, F. A.M. 1965 *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- THUREAU-DANGIN, F. & DUNAND, M. 1936 *Til-Barsib*. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Gauthner.
- STROMMENGER, E. 1964 *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- VIEYRA, M. 1955 *Hittite Art. 2300-750 B.C.*. London: Alec Tiranti Ltd.
- WIGGERMANN, F. A. M. 1992 *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits. The Ritual Texts*. Cuneiform Monographs 1. Groningen/Styx.

Pauline ALBENDA <p Albenda@msn.com>
Brooklyn, NEW YORK

49) Note sur un sceau-cylindre néo-assyrien de tell Rifaat — Le village de Tell Rifaat (tall-rifa'at تل رفعت) se trouve dans le nord-ouest de la Syrie, à vingt kilomètres d'Alep. Il correspond à l'antique Arpad, capitale du Bit-Agusi, citée dans les textes néo-assyriens. Lors des fouilles conduites à la fin des années 1950 et au début des années 1960 par M. V. Seton-Williams¹⁾, un sceau-cylindre néo-assyrien a été retrouvé dans le niveau II(i) (8-7^e s.)²⁾. La fouilleuse décrit l'objet comme étant « probablement assyrien », sans en faire l'analyse.

Une étude de cette pièce est la bienvenue car elle nous permet de comprendre à quels modèles assyriens elle renvoie, et comment elle s'intègre dans le corpus de la glyptique néo-assyrienne retrouvé au Levant.

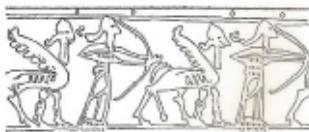


Figure 1 : Sceau-cylindre, dessin de l'empreinte. T. Rifaat. Faïence blanche, hauteur : 27 mm.
SETON-WILLIAMS 1961, pl. XXXVIII n° 4

Sur le sceau-cylindre assyrien de Tell Rifaat (fig. 1) se trouve la représentation en « linear style » d'un archer barbu, habillé d'une robe à franges, bandant son arc en direction d'un taureau ailé anthropomorphe. Il existe une étroite ressemblance entre le traitement de la barbe et des cheveux de l'archer et ceux de l'animal fantastique. Cette scène de chasse s'apparente plus à une sorte de procession qu'à un réel combat par l'impression de statisme qu'elle dégage.

Comparanda

Les représentations d'archers, debout ou assis, face à un animal fantastique ou réel sont très répandues parmi la glyptique néo-assyrienne³. Le plus souvent, les archers combattent un dragon Bašmu ou un homme-scorpion. La pièce de T. Rifaat montre, quant à elle, une représentation qui est moins courante en Assyrie, l'archer faisant face à un génie ailé. Ce thème n'est gravé que sur un petit corpus de huit pièces⁴. Aucun de ces parallèles ne peut être daté de manière précise car leur contexte archéologique n'est pas connu. Seule la datation très large proposée par S. Herbordt et M. Collon pour le thème dit de « l'archer » peut être adoptée : IX^e-VII^e s⁵). Il faut néanmoins noter que stylistiquement parlant, ces parallèles sont assez différents de l'image étudiée.

C'est un corpus constitué de deux sceaux-cylindres du Vorderasiatisches Museum (fig. 2-3) et d'un sceau-cylindre retrouvé à Nimrud (fig. 4) représentant un archer contre un homme-scorpion ou un griffon qui se rapproche le plus, stylistiquement parlant, du sceau-cylindre néo-assyrien de Tell Rifaat. Il y a en effet plusieurs éléments communs :

- La proportion de l'arc par rapport à l'archer.
- Le traitement des barbes et des cheveux.
- L'absence de cou, les têtes des animaux et de l'archer étant rattachées à leurs corps directement au niveau de la barbe.
- L'absence de rondeur au niveau des fesses de l'archer, ce qui donne une impression de verticalité (sauf pour la fig. 3).

Le sceau-cylindre de Nimrud, qui est bien stratifié, date de la dernière phase d'occupation de la ville, peu après sa chute⁶. Les sceaux du VAR, dont le contexte est inconnu, sont datés par A. Moortgat des IX^e-VIII^e s.⁷, mais il est plus prudent de les assigner plus largement aux 9-7^e s. d'après les études de S. Herbordt et M. Collon (cf. ci-dessus).



Figure 2 : Sceau-cylindre, empreinte, Assur (20 448). Fritte, longueur : 25 mm. MOORTGAT 1940 n° 696



Figure 3 : Sceau-cylindre, empreinte, Assur (2731). Fritte, hauteur : 26 mm.
MOORTGAT 1940 n° 697



Figure 4 : Sceau-cylindre, empreinte, Nimrud (ND 8090). Pierre grise, hauteur : 25 mm.
PARKER 1962, pl. 18 n° 6

Conclusion

Que ce soit du point de vue thématique ou stylistique, le sceau-cylindre de T. Rifaat ne peut-être daté que de manière large des IX^e-VII^e s., ce qui est compatible avec la datation stratigraphique (VIII^e-VII^e s.), mais qui ne permet pas de l'affiner. Il fait partie du thème de l'archer, qui est très populaire en Assyrie. Le sous-groupe de l'archer luttant contre un génie ailé est, quant à lui, moins courant. La proximité stylistique entre l'intaille du sceau étudié et quelques pièces assyriennes serait un indice pour dire que nous sommes en présence d'une importation ou d'une copie locale dont l'objectif est clairement de coller au mieux au modèle. En Syrie-Palestine, ce sont plutôt les sceaux néo-assyriens représentant un archer contre Bašmu qui sont le plus couramment retrouvés⁸⁾. La pièce étudiée est donc singulière dans le cadre de son contexte géographique du fait qu'elle représente un archer contre un génie ailé.

Au même titre que quelques céramiques⁹⁾, quelques tablettes¹⁰⁾, et une figurine en terre cuite¹¹⁾ retrouvées à Tell Rifaat, ce sceau-cylindre est un des rares représentants de l'influence assyrienne dans le royaume d'Arpad durant la première partie du premier millénaire.

- 1) SETON-WILLIAMS 1961, 1967a, 1967b
- 2) SETON-WILLIAMS 1961.
- 3) HERBORDT 1992, pl. 5 : n° 1, 6-8, 11 ; PARKER 1962, pl. 18 : n° 6 ; PORADA 1948, n° 623 ; DELAPORTE 1920-1923, vol. I, pl. 57 : K.2-3 ; DELAPORTE 1920-1923, vol. II, pl. 86 : n° 10-12, 13(?), 14, 15(?), 16-19 ; DELAPORTE 1910, pl. XXI : n° 309(?), 311-313, 315-317 ; DELAPORTE 1909, pl. VII : n° 96-100 ; BUCHANAN 1966, pl. 39 : n° 574-577 ; MOORTGAT 1940, n° 696-708. COLLON 2001 : pl. IV n° 41-44.
- 4) DELAPORTE 1920-1923 vol. I : K.3-2 ; DELAPORTE 1910, n° 311 ; DELAPORTE 1909, pl. VII : n° 96 ; BUCHANAN 1966, pl. 39 : n° 577 ; COLLON 2001, pl. 2 n° 14-16.
- 5) HERBORDT 1992, p. 86-87 ; COLLON 2001, p. 39-40.
- 6) PARKER 1962, p. 36 ; OATES 1959, p. 123.
- 7) MOORTGAT 1940, p. 72. Cette datation repose sur un seul parallèle retrouvé à Karkémiš.
- 8) Notamment, à Tell Afis : MAZZONI 2008 : fig. 1, 2 ; à Tell Abu Danné : TEFNIN 1980, fig. 22.2 ; à Gezer : BRANDL, REICH 1985, fig. 6 n° 1 ; à Tell Halaf : HROUDA 1962, pl. 25 n° 24-25. Pour plus de références, cf. MAZZONI 1990, p. 217-218.
- 9) SETON-WILLIAMS 1961, pl. XXXVIII n° 4, 5, 8, 12, pl. XXXIX n° 11 ; LEHMANN 1996, pl. 54 : 328/2.
- 10) LEHMANN 1996, p. 213.
- 11) SETON-WILLIAMS 1967b, p. 76.

Bibliographie

- BUCHANAN B. 1966 : *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum, volume I : Cylinders Seals*, Clarendon, Oxford.
- BRANDL B., REICH R, 1985 : Gezer under Assyrian Rule, *PEQ* 117, p. 41-54.
- COLLON D. 2001 : *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals, V. Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Periods*, The British Museum Press, London.
- DELAPORTE L. 1909 : *Catalogue du musée Guimet, Cylindres orientaux*, Annales du musée Guimet 33, Ernest Leroux, Paris.
- Id.* 1910 : Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Ernest Leroux, Paris.
- Id.* 1920-1923 : *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental* ; *I : Fouilles et missions ; II : Acquisitions*, Librairie Hachette, Paris.

- HERBORDT S. 1992 : *Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8.-7. Jh. v. Chr.*, State Archives of Assyria Studies 1, The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki.
- HROUDA B.1962 : *Tell Halaf IV : Die Kleinfunde aus historischer Zeit*, W. de Gruyter, Berlin.
- LEHMANN G. 1996 : *Untersuchungen zur späten Eisenzeit in Syrien und Libanon, Stratigraphie und Keramikformen zwischen ca. 720 bis 300 v. Chr.*, Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients, Ugarit, Münster.
- MAZZONI S. 1990 : Observations about Iron Age Glyptics from Tell Afis and Tell Mardikh, in Matthiae P., van Loon M., Weiss H. (éds), *Resurrecting the Past, A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bouni*, Pihans 67, Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul, Istanbul, p. 215-226.
- EAD. 2008 : Assyrian-Style Seals at Tell Afis, in Bonatz D., Czichon R. M., Kreppner F. J., *Fundstellen : Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altvorderasiens ad honorem Hartmut Kühne*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, p. 155-162.
- MOORTGAT A. 1940 : *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel : Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst*, Gebr. Mann, Berlin.
- OATES D. 1959 : Fort Shalmaneser – An Interim Report, *Iraq* 21, p. 98-129.
- PARKER B. 1962 : Seals and Seal Impressions from the Nimrud Excavations, 1955-58, *Iraq* 24, p. 26-40.
- PORADA E. (éds) 1948 : *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections 1 : The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, The Bollingen Series 14, Pantheon Books, Washington D.C.
- SETON-WILLIAMS M. V. 1961 : Preliminary Report on the Excavation at Tell Rifa'at, *Iraq* 24, p. 68-87.
- Id.* 1967a : The Excavation at Tell Rifa'at, 1964 Second Preliminary Report, *Iraq* 29, p. 16-35.
- Id.* 1967b : The Excavations at Tell Rifa'at, 1964. Second Preliminary Report, *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 17, p. 69-84.
- TEFNIN R. 1980 : Les niveaux supérieurs du Tell Abou Danné. Chantier A – 1977/78, SMS 3,3.

Adonice-Ackad BAAKLINI <adodo2@wanadoo.fr>

50) On MA.NA EN.NUN in ^{mul}APIN — According to ORACC tablet STT2, 331, ^{mul}APIN 2 uses the terms MA.NA EN.NUN at lines oi2, oi7-8, oi9-10 and (likely) oi15.

HUNGER & PINGREE (1989) translate statements of the form “x MA.NA EN.NUN *u₄-mi* y MA.NA EN.NUN GE₆” according to “x minas is a daytime watch, y minas is a nighttime watch.” Although a water clock is not explicitly mentioned and the term EN.NUN only loosely translated by “watch,” these statements are often taken to imply that x minas of water should be poured into a water clock for a daytime watch and y minas for a nighttime watch.

I speculate that in an astronomical context, EN.NUN may be translated as “observation period” and that 1 MA.NA is a “measure” of time equivalent to 1 double *bēru* (60 UŠ). This translation is in accordance with the linear measure of time discussed by BROWN, FERMOR & FERMOR (1999).

Bibliography

HUNGER, H & PINGREE , D. 1989 “MUL.APIN An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform,” AfOB 24, Berger Verlag: FRG

BROWN, D., FERMOR , J. & FERMOR , C. 1999 AfO, 130-148

Immanuel FREEDMAN, Ph.D., SMIEEE <Immanuel.freedman@gmail.com>

51) “Whoever Destroys this Image”: A Neo-Assyrian Statue from Tell ‘Ağāğa (Şadikanni) — The territories on the Khabur river were of great significance to the Neo-Assyrian state both in political and economic terms. Recently, two new items have emerged that complement the corpus of Neo-Assyrian inscriptions from the region. The two artifacts are discussed in this and the following note.

The first item under discussion is an inscribed Assyrian statue illicitly dug up by local residents at Tell ‘Ağāğa, ancient Şadikanni. The object became known through an online notice posted on April 23, 2014 by the Syrian Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM), which reported that “the Department of Antiquities of Hasaka received photos of artifacts that were discovered during illegal excavation at Tell Ajaja archaeological site, and whose location is not identified at present” (see (<http://www.dgam.gov.sy/index.php?p=314&id=1258>). On three of the photos included in the posting one can see portions of the lower part of a human-shaped statue with a cuneiform inscription.

On May 5, 2014, a website run by the Syrian Cultural Heritage Protection initiative APSA reproduced the very same photos, but posted also some additional ones (see <http://www.apsa2011>.

com/index.php/en/acts-of-plundering/illegal-excavations/421-al-hasakeh-tell-ajayah-illegal-excavations-and-intentional-destruction-of-ancient-statues.html). The newly added photos show supporters of the “Islamic State” using hammers to destroy an Assyrian-style statue of a bareheaded bearded male that had allegedly been found at Tell ‘Ağāğa. In the additional photos, only the upper and middle parts of this statue are visible. The photos reveal that the statue bore an inscription from the waist down, but hardly anything of it can be read. It would seem logical that the destroyed statue is identical with the statue documented on the set of photos initially posted by the DGAM, but this is probably not the case. It appears that the statue shown on the DGAM photos has a slightly different shape and was found with its entire upper part missing—one photo indicates a gap on the upper left of the artifact. For the time being, then, the whereabouts of that statue—the subject of this note—remain unknown. It might have been destroyed or, alternatively, put up for sale.

The three DGAM photos are incomplete and of poor quality, but still useful. They show portions of two columns, henceforth provisionally labeled “i” and “ii,” of what seems to be one and the same inscription, apparently written on the front and the back of the lower portion of the artifact. On the photo of “column ii,” the hem of a robe can be seen carved into the stone at the bottom. A problem is that the two other photos show “column i” breaking off towards the bottom with no such hem visible, which could lead one to assume that the two “columns” belong, in fact, to two different objects. Yet the stone, script, and rulings are so similar that I find this hard to imagine.¹⁾ I assume—even though final proof is lacking—that the three photos show the same object. In the following, I will offer some preliminary thoughts on the inscription, which is of considerable interest.

In column i, illustrated by two photos, some 18 lines are legible enough to warrant an edition (round brackets indicate signs probably preserved but not visible on the photos)²⁾:

5' ... lu a-*bur* ina šá-ni-ma ger-(*ri-ia*) ... / 6' ... a[?]-lik[?] a[?]-na KUR[?] u[?]-la-ár-*ti*[?] É-a-ni ... / 7' ... URU XX-ti-šú šá [I]sa-i/ad[?]-du-*ri*[?] kur[?] u[?]-la-ár-(ta-a-a?) ... / 8' ... uru[?]x-ma[?]-a-te[?] lu[?] e[?] ta[?]* x (x) é ku/lu[?] ... / 9' ... -zā[?]-a-ni lu a-*bur* a-na[?] KUR nam/zí[?]-nam/zí[?]-a[?]-a lu a-(lik?) ... / 10' ... a ši lu[?] ú-x uru[?]sa-x [U]RU[?] XX-t[i']-šú ... / 11' ... (KUR? gíl?)[?]-za-a-ni u[?] KUR pa-ár-sa-a-a a-na KUR ma-na-a-a ... / 12' ... (a?)[?]-na KUR *bu*-ub-uš-ki-a lu ú-ri-di[?] ... / 13' ...-bu lu e-bir ina KUR a-ri[?]-di x x x x KUR ... / 14' ... lu a-*bur* a-na KUR *hab*-ru-ri [x x]-na KUR ... / 15' ... uru[?]LÍMMU[?]-DINGIR[?] ur[?]-da ina 3-še(or: te?) ger-ri-[i]a] ... / 16' ... lu e-bir uru[?]ku-la-ni-a [URU XX-t]i-šú šá ... / 17' ... (madattu ša (?) ... kur[?]pa[?]-ti[?]-n)a[?]-a-a lu a-*bur* ina 4-it ger-ri-[ia] ... / 18' ... (ina 5 ger?)[?]-ri-ia a-na KUR *bu*-bu-uš-ki-a ... / 19' ... TA[?]* KUR[?] ra-a-li a-na KUR *hal*[?]-... / 20' ... ina KUR ba-be-te ú-ši-a ina 6[?]-še[?](vague traces) g(er-ri-ia(?)) ... / 21' ... (a-na KUR) a[?]-ri-di e-li ... / 22' ... URU-šú x [x] é ...
(traces of three additional lines)

5' ... I received indeed³⁾ (the tribute of ...). On my second campaign ... 6' ... I went ... to the inner regions of Ularṭu (or, assuming that É-a-ni is a scribal mistake for KUR É-za-ma-a-ni: “to Ularṭu (and Bīt-Zamāni”) ... 7' ... the royal city of Saiduri the Ularṭian ... 8' ... the city ... mate I ... indeed ... 9' ... I received indeed I went indeed to the land ...āya ... 10' ... Sa..., his royal city ... 11' ... the land Gilzānu and the land Parsāya, to the land Mannāya ... 12' ... I went down to the land Ḫubuškia ... 13' ... I crossed indeed (the river) ...bu. In the land Aridu ... 14' ... I received indeed To the land Ḫabruru ... the land ... 15' ... I went down (to) Arbela. On my third campaign ... 16' ... I crossed indeed (the river) ... the city of Kul(l)ania, the royal city of ... 17' ... I received indeed (the tribute of the) Pattinaean. On [my] fourth campaign ... 18' ... (On my fifth) campaign ... to the land Ḫubuškia ... 19' ... from the land Rali to the land ... 20' ... I came out (from the mountains) in the land Babitu. On my sixth campaign ... 21' ... I went up (to the land) Aridu ... 22' ... his city ...

It appears that the text describes six(?) military campaigns (*gerru*), listed in numerical order. The report about the first campaign is largely illegible on the photos. The second campaign was directed against regions north and east of Assyria, moved from Urarṭu(?) and Bīt-Zamāni(?)⁴⁾ to Gilzānu(?), Parsua,⁵⁾ Mannāya, Ḫubuškia, Aridu,⁶⁾ and Ḫabruri, and ended with the army’s return to Arbela. The third campaign went to the west and included activities at Kul(l)ania (Tell Tayinat).⁷⁾ The objective of the

fourth campaign remains unclear. On the fifth(?) campaign, the army targeted again Ḫubuškia and on its way back moved through the pass of Babitu. The sixth campaign (?) was directed against the east as well, but the traces reveal little more than that it passed through Aridu. All the verbs preserved in this passage are in the 1st person singular.

On the one photo showing column ii, portions of the following lines are legible:

2' [...] ^{ld}SILIM(?)]-*(ma²)*-*nu²*-MAŠ? MAN? KUR? *aš-šur* MAN *dan²-nu* EN-*ia* KUR *aš-šur* *a-na* *gi-mir²(-) ... / 3'* ... *a-na* (or: a ŠU?) AD²-*šú* ^{giš?}BAN *i-ṣa-bat* ^{lú??}GAL?MEŠ??-te GAR KUR?.KUR? ... / 4' ... *šá* ^{uru}*šá-di-kan-ni la par/pir²*-*ṣa-a-na* ... / 5' ... *a-ṣa-bat²* *ina qí-bit* ^d*sa-am-nu-ḥa u* ^d*gu-b(a-ba)* ... / 6' ... EN²-*ia²* SIG₄.MEŠ *a-na la ma-né-e al-bi-ni* ... / 7' ... *ús-si²*-*iš-šú* x *ar-ṣip* *ú-ṣak-lil a-si-a-(te²)* ... / 8' ... ú x TA* ^{uru}*šá-di-kan-ni ú²* *sal²* ... / 9' ... *maḥ²-ri²-ia²* ^{ú²-še²-*ṣi²* *ma-ḥi²-ri qa-ri-bu-u-te* TA* BÀD² ... / 10' ... *a-na lib-bi* *ḥa-ri-ṣi* *ú-ṣar-di* BÀD MURUB₄ URU ... / 11' ... ^{lú??}GAL?MEŠ?-*šú²* *a²-na da-gi-li²* *ú²-x(še??)-li²* ... / 12' ... MURUB₄ URU *ú-za-qi-pi* *ina qí-bit* ^dSILIM-*ma-nu* ... / 13' ... *šá*(or: *bur?*)-*kin-šú²* GUB *ṣal-la-su-nu bu-(šá-šú-nu)* ... / 14' ... (*a-na* ^d*sa-am-nu-ḥa*?) EN-*ia ub-la* [*ṣūl(?)*]-*ma²-nu* *šá* NU *an-ni-ú i-ḥap-pu-u* ... / 15' ... *i-x-(x)-ú* ^dIŠKUR GÚ.GAL AN-*e u* KI-tim ... / 16' ... *dan-nu* x (*x*)(-)*i²* *ra-ḥi-iṣ²* *na²-ki²-ri²* LÚ??MEŠ? *ez-zi-iš li-* ... / 17' ... *za bu a-šú-uš tu²* *lu²-mal²-li-šú* ^{d?} ... / 18' ... ^dēr-*ra* UN.MEŠ?-*šú liš-gi-iš* ... / 19' ... LUGAL? *lu²* *la-āš-šu* ... / 20' ... ^dgu-*ba-ba* MU-*šú u* NUMUN-[*šú*] *lu-ḥa-li(q)* ... / 21' ... ^dsa-am-nu-ḥa *a-na la* *ma-gi-ri²* ... / 22' ... x x x (then empty) / 23' ... nu en x x *šá an-ni-ú* ...}

(traces of one additional last line)

If my reading of line 2' is correct—which is far from certain—the preserved passage begins with a reference to Shalmaneser, “king of Assyria, the strong king, my lord.” The following line is probably crucial for understanding the historical setting of the inscription, but unfortunately very difficult. I will provide some tentative ideas on it below. The text continues with a description of construction work in Šadikanni, performed by the protagonist on the order of Samnuḥa and Gubaba, the divine couple in charge of the city.⁸⁾ Mention is made of large numbers of bricks and of towers (*asiyātē*). After a reference to the dissipation(?) of “encroaching opponents” (*māḥirī qāribūtē*) (?), the text talks about a wall (of some other city?), efforts to direct (water) into a moat, and a wall in the center of the city, where the protagonist impales someone (or erects an image). Activities of an unclear nature take place on the order of Salmānu—patron deity of Dūr-Katlimmu further down the Khabur⁹⁾—and booty is given to “Samnuḥa, my lord, as a present”(?). The text ends with a list of curses directed against anyone “who destroys this image (*ṣalmu*)” (i.e., the statue on which the inscription is written). Adad, the “canal inspector of heaven and earth,” Erra, Gubaba, Samnuḥa, and other deities whose names are lost are asked to punish that person and decimate his offspring. In view of the recent destruction of artifacts from Tell ‘Ağāğa by supporters of ISIS, these curses are as relevant as ever.

The fundamental question that remains to be answered is: when exactly, and by whom, was the statue fashioned? The reading of the name Salmānu-āṣarēd (Shalmaneser) in ii 2' seems to provide a clue, but is uncertain and even if correct does not settle the matter, since the reference could be part of a filiation. The campaign reports of column i seem, at first glance, to point to an Assyrian king as the text’s “author” and main protagonist. But ii 2', where the king is addressed as “my lord,” suggests that the text was actually written in the name of an Assyrian official—or a local leader who governed Šadikanni under the overlordship of the Assyrian king.

Four local leaders (^{lú}ŠID) of Šadikanni are known from 1st millennium inscriptions. The first is a certain Bēl-ēreš, a 10th century ruler whose construction work in and around Šadikanni is described in a cylinder inscription found at Assur (RIMA 2, 126-28). Yet even though a reading ^{ld+}EN-KÁM(not KAM, though) before *a-na* AD²-*šú* in ii 3' is not entirely excluded (and the writing ^{lú??}GAL?MEŠ??-te in the same line is reminiscent of ÉRIN.GAL.MEŠ?-te in l. 20 of the cylinder), the 10th century seems too early a date for our text. Several 9th century inscriptions provide the names of three additional rulers of Šadikanni: Mušēzib-Ninurta, his father Ninurta-ēreš, and his grandfather Samnuḥa-ṣar-ilāni. The latter held his office in 883 BCE, the other two for unknown periods of time later in the century (see RIMA 2,

199, 392-93, RIA 11, 485-86). None of these men, however, is likely to have conducted major military campaigns.

It seems more probable that our statue commemorates the deeds of someone with greater authority, possibly a member of Assyria's military elite. In my view, the best candidate is Dayyān-Aššur, who served for many years as Assyrian field marshal (*turtānu*) under Shalmaneser III (for recent discussions of his role, see Fuchs, *WdO* 38, 64-68 and Siddall, *The Reign of Adad-nirārī III*, 104-06). Two of Shalmaneser's inscriptions, one on a statue (!) of the king from Calah and the other on the famous Black Obelisk, report that Dayyān-Aššur led Shalmaneser's last five campaigns, while the king, probably due to his advanced age, stayed home in Calah (RIMA 3, 69-71: 141-90; 81-84: 228'-341'). According to the inscriptions, the campaigns fell into the time from Shalmaneser's 27th to his 31st regnal year (*palū*), but as argued by Fuchs (SAAS 8, 88-95), the Assyrian Eponym Chronicle suggests that they actually took place between 830 to 826.

The texts on the Black Obelisk and the Calah Statue, while ostensibly written in the name of Shalmaneser, switch between 1st and 3rd person singular forms, ascribing agency both to the king and his field marshal. Particularly noteworthy is that many of the 1st person forms used in the last campaign account make sense only if viewed as referring to Dayyān-Aššur (see Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire*, 328-31). The targets of the campaigns attributed in the two texts to Dayyān-Aššur include, *inter alia*, Urarṭu, Kinalua (= Kullania), Ḫabḥu, Ḥubuškia, Mannāya, Parsua, and Gilzānu—locations that are compatible with those mentioned in the Tell 'Ağāğa inscription. Even more importantly, both the Tell 'Ağāğa statue and the two Shalmaneser inscriptions refer to the Urartian king Sarduri, whose name is rendered ¹[*sa-i/ad*²-*du-ri*??] in the former and ¹*se-e-du-ri* in the latter. Given that the Tell 'Ağāğa text is written on a statue, it is, moreover, striking that Shalmaneser's report about the campaign in his 28th *palū* (829) includes a reference to a “colossal royal statue” (*salam šarrūtiya šurbā*) erected by his field marshal in Kinalua's main temple (RIMA 3, 69: 156). Also of interest is that column i of the Tell 'Ağāğa text uses the expression *ina n gerriya* “on my n-th campaign” to introduce new military campaigns. Up to now, the first attestation of this phrase occurred in inscriptions from the reign of Shalmaneser's son and successor Šamšī-Adad V (RIMA 3, 180-91), where it might have been inspired by the slightly earlier use of the same expression on the Tell 'Ağāğa statue and related texts that may not have survived.

The main problem with my suggestion to attribute the text on the Tell 'Ağāğa statue to Dayyān-Aššur is that the correspondences with the two aforementioned Shalmaneser III texts are not perfect. The latter provide much longer accounts, and there are also other differences. The following table summarizes the comparison:

Eponym Chronicle	Black Obelisk /Calah Statue	Tell 'Ağāğa Statue
831: Que	26 th <i>palū</i> (king): Que, etc.	[1 st <i>gerru</i> : ...]
830: Urarṭu	27 th <i>palū</i> (Dayyān-Aššur [1]): Urarṭu (Seduri), Bīt-Zamāni, (Unzumuni, [<i>Ur</i>]aš, [...] (only Calah Statue)) ¹⁰	2 nd <i>gerru</i> : Ularṭu (Saiduri), É-< <i>za-ma>-a-ni</i> (??), Gilzānu(?), Parsāya, Mannāya, Ḥubuškia, Aridu, Habruri, Arbela, [...]
829: Unqi (= Patina)	28 th <i>palū</i> (Dayyān-Aššur [2]): Patina, Kinalua, etc.	3 rd <i>gerru</i> : Kul(I)ania (= Kinalua), [...]
828: Ulluba (≈ Ḫabḥu)	29 th <i>palū</i> ((Dayyān-Aššur [3])) (short!): Ḫabḥu	4 th <i>gerru</i> (short!): [...]
827: Mannāya	30 th <i>palū</i> (Dayyān-Aššur [4]): Ḥubuškia, Mannāya, Paddira, Parsua, etc.	5 th <i>gerru</i> : Ḥubuškia, Babitu, [...]
826: revolt	31 st <i>palū</i> (Dayyān-Aššur [5]):: Ḥubuškia, Muṣaṣir, Urarṭu, Gilzānu, Mannāya, Parsua, Namri, Ḥalman etc.	6 th <i>gerru</i> : Aridu, [...]

To explain the apparent discrepancies, I would like to suggest the following scenario: Shalmaneser's last campaigns were led not by the king himself but by Dayyān-Aššur, who at some point ventured to celebrate them in inscriptions of his own, of which the Tell 'Ağāğa statue is the only known example. The year 826 saw the beginning of the succession crisis that cast such a dark shadow over Shalmaneser's last years (see Fuchs, *WdO* 38, 64-71). It may have been the imminence of these developments that prompted the king to reassert his authority by commissioning new royal inscriptions, including the Black Obelisk and the Calah Statue. In these inscriptions, Shalmaneser acknowledged the role his field marshal had played in the campaigns undertaken between 830 and 826, but omitted that Dayyān-Aššur had also led one earlier campaign. The scribe who composed Dayyān-Aššur's Tell 'Ağāğa inscription, at the field marshal's behest, had no access to the Black Obelisk and the Calah Statue, and therefore produced very different accounts of the 830-826 campaigns. He created a text written in "royal style," but at the same time emphasized the field marshal's loyalty to his king (note ii 2' of our text).

While the Black Obelisk and the Calah Statue do not cover the "civil war" that began in 826, the Tell 'Ağāğa inscription may actually describe it. There remains much uncertainty, but it is tempting to restore at the end of ii 2' KUR *aš-šur a-na² gi²-mir^{??}*-(*ti-šú ušbalkit*) (cp. RIMA 3, 183: 41) and to translate ii 2'-3': "(He caused) the whole land of Assyria (to rebel) *against his father(,)* he seized *the bow, the magnates and governors*" It seems likely to me that the subject of this passage is Aššur-da" in-aplu, who was a son of Shalmaneser and according to a well-known inscription of Šamšī-Adad V—Shalmaneser's eventual successor—the driving force behind the insurrection of 826 (RIMA 3, 183, i 39-53).¹¹⁾ It has often been assumed that Dayyān-Aššur backed Šamšī-Adad's attempt to defeat Aššur-da" in-aplu and gain the throne for himself (see, e.g., Fuchs, *WdO* 38, 64-68). If this is correct, one can speculate that Dayyān-Aššur went to the Khabur region when the conflict started, fortified Šadikanni (as the new inscription suggests), and used his strong position in the west to support Šamšī-Adad and Shalmaneser, who stayed in the capital Calah. It is noteworthy that neither Šadikanni nor any other urban center on the lower Khabur is named in Šamšī-Adad's list of 27 cities that fought against him during the civil war. In the end, Šamšī-Adad prevailed, and Dayyān-Aššur's statue inscription, a testimony of loyalty to the victor, was spared defacement.¹²⁾

Obviously, the historical reconstruction offered here is hypothetical. Many questions remain open, and there is a need for more detailed analysis. But I do believe that a strong case can be made that the inscription on the Tell 'Ağāğa statue was written in the name of Dayyān-Aššur. This would make that statue the earliest of several monuments from the "age of the magnates" that emphasize the achievements of Assyrian officials and downplay the role of the Assyrian king.

¹⁾ Perhaps the artist completed the hem only on the side of the statue that was directed towards the observer.

²⁾ The line count begins with the first line of which traces are visible on the photos—most likely, this is not the first line of the text.

³⁾ *lu a-HAR* is attested in i 5', 9', 14', and 17', always at the end of a semantic unit. Since one does not expect references to visual acts in these instances, a reading *a-mur* seems unlikely. Following a suggestion by E. Jiménez, I read instead *a-hur*, which must be a defective rendering of *ahhur* (< *amhur*). For other examples of assimilation of the bilabial nasal *m* to the following *h* in Neo-Assyrian, often with *mahāru*, see CAD M/1, 55 and Luukko, SAAS 16, 77.

⁴⁾ The writing KUR *ú-la-ár-tí* for Urartu is so far unattested (confusion between the liquid consonants *r* and *l* is common in many languages, but exceptional in Akkadian, see GAG³ §34b*). The Black Obelisk mentions KUR *ú-ra-ar-tí* in line 142 and Bīt-Zamāni in line 143 (see RIMA 3, 69 and below).

⁵⁾ The writing KUR *pa-ár-sa-a-a* for Parsua(\$) seems otherwise unattested in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions.

⁶⁾ Attested as a city on the way to Hubuškia in reports about Shalmaneser III's first campaign (e.g., RIMA 3, 8: 15, 19).

⁷⁾ The traces before *uru ku-la-ni-a* look like (^{id}*za)-ab-ba lu e-bir*, but a reference to the Zab River would make no sense here. Is this a scribal mistake?

⁸⁾ A 10th century inscription written in the name of a certain Bēl-ēreš links the two deities to Šadikanni as well (RIMA 2, 128: 28).

⁹⁾ A reading BĀD²-kát^{??}-(1)-lim²-(*mu*) at the end of ii 9' seems unlikely, but cannot be ruled out completely.

¹⁰⁾ In the section on the "second campaign," the Tell 'Ağāğa text, after describing the war against Urartu, mentions Assyrian attacks in the east that are not recorded in the Black Obelisk's report about the 27th *pali*.

However, the badly preserved longer account of this year found on the Calah Statue may include an eastern campaign. In line 244' of that text, Grayson (RIMA 3, 81) restored [*uruú-r]a-áš*, a city known to be located in the eastern land Gizilbunda. Fuchs (*BiOr* 55, 190) questioned the restoration, but perhaps unjustly.

¹¹⁾ If one read (^{ld?}*aš-šur?*)-KAL^{??}-*in?*-A ŠU AD-šú at the beginning of ii 3', Aššur-da''in-aplu's name would, in fact, be preserved, but this is rather unlikely.

¹²⁾ As shown by Finkel and Reade (*Iraq* 57, 167-72), Dayyān-Aššur must have been replaced as chief marshal by the former *masennu rabū* Yahalu in 826 or 825. Some have seen this as an indication that Dayyān-Aššur had passed away by then, but other scenarios are feasible as well—perhaps, Shalmaneser (who died in 824) and Šamšī-Adad simply needed a chief marshal who was physically closer to them.

Eckart FRAHM <eckart.frahm@yale.edu>
Yale University, NEW HAVEN

52) Some Notes on a Neo-Assyrian Stele from Tell Šaih Ḥamad (Dūr-Katlimmu) — The second part of my remarks on newly discovered Assyrian artifacts from the Khabur region concerns a stone stele from Tell Šaih Ḥamad (ancient Dūr-Katlimmu), situated some 70 kilometers south of Tell ‘Ağāğa. The stele bears two inscriptions, one written in the name of the Assyrian king Adad-nārārī III (810-783), the other in the name of one of his officials, Nergal-ēreš, the governor of the province of Rašappa. Both inscriptions refer to the temple of Salmānu, city god of Dūr-Katlimmu.¹¹⁾ A smaller fragment of the stele, found by Rassam in 1879 and shipped by him to the British Museum, had been published in 1973 by Millard and Tadmor (*Iraq* 35, 57-64), but a full assessment of the object only became possible when in 2000 a larger second fragment surfaced on the antiquities market and was recognized by Radner (BATSH 6, 15) as part of the same artifact.

In 2012 and 2013, two independent editions of the inscriptions on the newly joined stele appeared, one by Radner (“The stele of Adad-nārārī III and Nergal-ēreš from Dūr-Katlimmu (Tell Šaih Ḥamad),” *AoF* 39, 265-77) and the other by Siddall (*The Reign of Adad-nārārī III*, CM 45, 193-204). Both editions, their quality notwithstanding, leave one important problem unsolved: the correct interpretation of line 7' of the Nergal-ēreš text, which Radner and Siddall read as:

7' *ana^dX¹X-ÉRIN.TÁH XX KUR Aš-šur EN-šú*

The line follows a reference to an image of Adad-nārārī (6': ALAM¹X-ÉRIN.TÁH XX KUR Aš-šur EN-šú) and precedes a series of blessings that Nergal-ēreš hoped to generate by fashioning and dedicating the image:

8' PAB-ir^{giš}AŠ.TE SANGA-ti-šú / 9' ^{giš}GIDRU mur-te-'a-at / 10' UN.MEŠ šu-ut-mu-*hi* ŠU^{II}-šú / 11' SILIM NUMUN-šú SI.SÁ BURU₁₄ KUR Aš-šur / 12' u SILIM KUR Aš-šur za-'i-ri-šú *ana qa-me-e*²⁾ / 13' *āš-tu-ti-šú a-na ZÁH.MEŠ* / 14' *mal-ki KÚR.MEŠ-šú ana GÌR^{II}.MEŠ-šú* / 15' *šuk-nu-še DÙ-uš-ma i-qiš*

Both Radner and Siddall struggle with the alleged reference to the god Adad (^dX) and the king, Adad-nārārī, in line 7'. Assuming the scribe mistakenly copied parts of the previous line, Radner transliterates *ana^d{X¹X-ÉRIN.TÁH XX KUR Aš-šur}*} EN-šú and translates:

“(Nergal-ēreš) made and presented an image of Adad-nārārī III, king of Assyria, his lord, to the god Salmānu” [Text: Adad Adad-nārārī, King of Assyria], his lord, who protects the throne of his priesthood, to give into his hands the sceptre that shepherds the people”

Radner, in other words, emends the text, proposing that line 7' should have included a reference to the god Salmānu.

Siddall assumes a scribal mistake as well, but reconstructs the putatively correct version of the text differently. He transliterates line 7' *ana^dX¹X-ÉRIN.TÁH XX KUR Aš-šur EN-šú}* and translates:

“He (Nergal-ēriš) refurbished and (re)dedicated the statue of Adad-nārārī III, king of Assyria, his lord, (for) Adad to guard his priestly throne, (and) to make his hands grasp the sceptre that shepherds the people....”

In two elaborate notes, Siddall lists evidence for Adad's popularity in the west and argues that Nergal-ēreš, feeling a need to stress the god's importance, (re)dedicated the statue described in the text, possibly, but not necessarily removing it from its original location in the Salmānu temple.

In my view, neither of the two solutions proposed for line 7' is convincing. There is no need to emend the text. A slightly different reading of the signs at the beginning eliminates all the problems: *ana* TI ¹X-ÉRIN.TÁH XX KUR Aš-šur EN-šú. The alleged ⁴X after *ana* is actually a TI (compare the sign forms in lines 13', 24', and 25'), to be read as *balat* or *bullut*, and lines 6'-15' have to be translated as follows:

He (Nergal-ēriš) made an image of Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria, his lord, and dedicated it (to the god) to ensure the good health of Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria, his lord, to guard his priestly throne,³⁾ to make his hands grasp the scepter that shepherds the people, for the wellbeing of his offspring, to make sure that the harvest of Assyria thrive and for the wellbeing of Assyria, to have his (the king's) enemies burnt and the arrogant foes destroyed, and to prompt the enemy kings to submit at his feet.

I agree with Radner that the recipient of the dedication is the god Salmānu, mentioned in lines 17' and 22' of the text.⁴⁾

A second, less significant problem posed by the text is its last curse, in lines 24' and 25', which is so far without parallel. Radner transliterates *it-ti* / GÉME KUR-šú *ina mi-nu-ti lu-ši-ib* and translates:

"may he (who removes or destroys the image) live in a contingent together with the slave women of his land."

Siddall, in contrast, reads: *it-ti* / *šal-mat* KUR-šú *ina mi-še-ti lu-ši-ib*, which he renders as

"with the corpses of his nation may he dwell in oblivion."

I would like to suggest a different reading here, *it-ti šal-lat* KUR-šú *ina mi-še-ti lu-ši-ib*, to be translated as

"May he dwell together with the spoils (*šallatu*) from his land among the (enemy's) plunder."

The word *miše'tu* ("plundering"), which is derived from *mašā'u*, is well enough attested to warrant such an understanding (see CAD M/2, 120a), even though this would be its first occurrence without the aleph sign.

¹⁾ For this deity, see Radner, *WdO* 29, 33-51.

²⁾ My readings of lines 11' and 12' follow Siddall.

³⁾ As argued by Siddall, PAB-ir (*nasir*) must be an infinitive form (see GAG³ §87k).

⁴⁾ It remains unclear to me how to understand line 5' of the text. Radner reads: *nam-ṣa-r[u KÙ.G]I ú-še-piš-ma* and translates "(Nergal-ēreš) had a gol[den sw]ord made," but the modest traces visible on the photo do not fully support this. One would rather expect a reference to an object connected to the image described in the next line. Siddall does not offer a reading.

Eckart FRAHM

53) A Murašû Tablet Sold at Sotheby's, New York, December, 2014 — In 1912 Albert T. Clay mentioned a number of unpublished documents from the Murašû Archive in private possession (PBS 2/1, p. 7). One of them was sold at auction by Sotheby's in New York on December 12, 2014. The auction catalog quotes a letter from H. V. Hilprecht, presenting the tablet as a gift to E. W. Clark. The letter is dated in November, 1898, five and a half years after the discovery of the Archive during the third campaign of the Babylonian Expedition at Nippur.

Also in 1898, Hilprecht wrote that one of the tablets in the first published volume of Murašû documents was in the possession of C. H. Clark (BE 9, p. 86: BE 9 89). In November, 1902, Edward White Clark (1828-1904) and his brother Clarence Howard Clark (1833-1906), scions of the Philadelphia banking house E. W. Clark & Co. and early supporters of the Babylonian Expedition endowed the Clark Research Professorship in Assyriology at the University of Pennsylvania.

On June 29, 2014, E. W. Clark's Murašû tablet—perfectly preserved, beautifully sealed, and with an unexceptionable history—was sold by William J. Jenack Auctioneers, Chester New York. The estimated price was \$700-\$1,000; the hammer price was \$4,600 (<http://www.jenack.com/viewauction.aspx?a=481&min=51&max=100>, lot 80). At the Sotheby's sale the estimated price was \$6,000-\$9,000;

the hammer price was \$43,750 (<http://www.sothbys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/antiquities-09236/lot.48.html>).

The text on the tablet belongs to the largest category of legal documents in the Archive, promissory notes secured by pledges of real estate. The catalogue of the Sotheby's sale (*Egyptian, Classical and Western Asiatic Antiquities, Auction in New York, 12 December 2014, Sale N9236*, 68 lot 48) describes it correctly (giving names in antiquated forms drawn from Hilprecht's letter) as a mortgage of a tract of orchard and field by two men, Abdā and Banūnu (brothers, sons of Rīmūt-Bēl, as the text indicates) to Enlil-šum-iddin (Bel-nadin-shumu, in the catalogue) of the Murašū family, drawn up before eleven witnesses by the scribe Ninurta-ab-uşur (Ninib-abu-user, in the catalogue), with seal impressions of four witnesses and nail-marks of the two debtors.

I owe thanks to Sotheby's for allowing me to see additional photographs that clarify ends of lines that are not plain in the illustrations of the auction catalog.

Obverse

- (01) 2 ME 83 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA šá^{md}50-MU-MU A šá^m*Mu-ra-šu-ú*
- (02) *ina muḫ-hi*^m*Ab-da-*^d*u Ba-nu-nu DUMU.MEŠ* šá^m*Ri-mut-*^d*EN*
- (03) *ina ITI.DU*₆ ZÚ.LUM.MA *a'* 2 ME 83 GUR
- (04) *ina GIŠ-ma-ši-hu* šá^{md}*En-lil-MU-MU ina URU É* šá^m*<SAL> É.GAL*
- (05) *i-nam-din-*^d*1-en pu-ut 2-i a-na KAR na-šu-u*
- (06) *šá qé-reb it-tir A.ŠÀ-šú-nu zaq-pu u KA šul-pu*
- (07) É GIŠ.BAN-šú-nu GÚ ÍD *Har-ri-pi-qu-du* šá^m*ina URU É* šá^m*SAL.É.GAL*
- (08) *maš-ka-nu ZÚ.LUM.MA a'* 2 ME 83 GUR *ina IGI*^{md}*50-MU-MU*
- (09) LÚ.TUK-ú šá^m*nam-ma muḫ-hi ul i-šal-laṭ a-di*
- (10) ^{md}*En-lil-MU-MU TUK-ú-su i-šal-lim*

Reverse

- (11) LÚ.MU.KIN₇ ^{md}*En-lil-MU-MU A šá*^{md}*MAŠ-SU*^m*Na-din*
- (12) A šá^m*BA-šá-a*^{md}*En-lil-MU-MU A šá*^m*Tat-tan-nu*
- (13) ^m*SU-*^d*En-lil A šá*^{md}*En-lil-ba-na*^m*KAL-a A šá*^m*SUM.NA-a*
- (14) ^{md}*En-lil-MU-im-bi A šá*^m*Ki-din*^{md}*En-lil-DU-A A šá*^m*Ka-sir*
- (15) ^m*La-ba-ši A šá*^m*Ú-bar*
- (16) ^m*DIN-a A šá*^m*ARAD-Mul-le-e-šú*^m*EN-šú-nu A šá*^m*SU-a*
- (17) ^m*Bi-şa-a A šá*^m*Ni-din-tu*₄^d*EN*
- (18) LÚ.ŠID ^{md}*MAŠ-AD-URÙ A šá*^{md}*En-lil-MU-MU EN.LÍL.KI* ^m*ITI.x*¹
- (19) UD.29.KÁM MU.1.KÁM ^m*Da-ri-a-muš* LUGAL KUR.KUR

Reverse *su-pur* ^m*Ab-da-*^d*/ u* ^m*Ba-nu-nu*

Left Edge

NA₄.KIŠIB / ^{md}*En-lil-MU-MU/A šá*^m*Tat-tan-nu*

Upper Edge

NA₄.KIŠIB / ^{md}*50-MU-MU A šá /* ^{md}*MAŠ-SU*

Lower Edge

NA₄.KIŠIB / ^m*Na-din / A šá*^m*SU-A*

NA₄.KIŠIB / ^m*SU-*^d*En-lil / A*^{md}*En-lil-ba-na*

02. –^dEN written at corner and right edge. The debtors and the pledged property do not appear in other known texts from the Murašū Archive.

04, 07. É šá SAL É.GAL (with omitted sign in line 04, written on corner and right edge of line 07). On the “Estate of the Queen” (not found otherwise in the name of a settlement) CARDASCIA 1951:77f., STOLPER 1985:48, and add DONBAZ & STOLPER 1997 No. 2.

16f. Balāṭā/Arad-Mullēšu is named as a witness in texts written at Āl-Addiyaya (BE 9 36-38, STOLPER 1985 Nos. 72-74). Bēlšunu/Erība and Biṣā/Nidintu-Bēl do not appear in other Murašū texts. The witnesses named in lines 11-13 and the scribe named in line 18 figure in many Murašū texts written at Nippur.

Left Edge. Seal of Enlil-šum-iddin/Tattannu: PBS 14 No. 943, TuM 2-3 pl. 98 No. xiv, BREGSTEIN 1993 No. 136, BALZER 2007:16 F2m.7.

Upper Edge. Seal of Enlil-šum-iddin/Ninurta-erība: PBS 14 No. 915; TuM 2-3 pl. 98 No ix; BREGSTEIN 1993 No. 42, BALZER 2007:44 E2m.1.

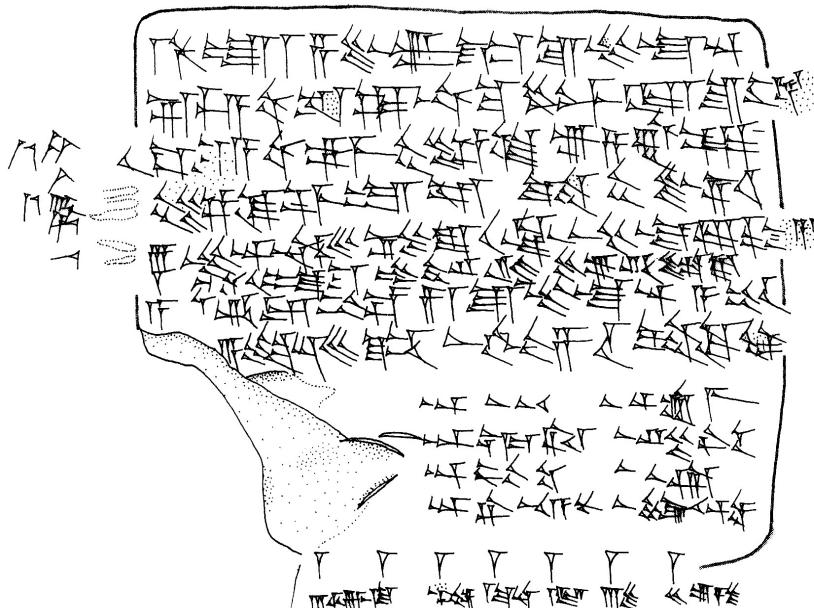
Lower Edge. Seal of Nādin/Iqīša: PBS 14 No. 928, TuM 2-3 pl. 98 No. xv; BREGSTEIN 1993 No. 109, BALZER 2007:22 F3b.20. Seal of Erīb-Enlil/Enlil-bānā: PBS 14 No. 845, TuM 2-3 pl.98 No. vi; BREGSTEIN No. 312, BALZER 2007:70 W3c.1.

Bibliography

- BALZER, Wolfgang 2007. "Achaemenidische Kunst aus Babylonien, Die Siegel der Keilschriftarchive: Ikonographie. Stile. Chronologie," Inaugural-Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München.
- CARDASCIA, Guillaume 1951. *Les archives des Murašū*. Paris
- DONBAZ, Veysel & STOLPER, Matthew W. 1997. *Istanbul Murašū Texts* (PIHANS 79). Leiden.
- STOLPER, Matthew W. 1985. *Entrepreneurs and Empire* (PIHANS 54). Leiden.
- BREGSTEIN, Linda B. 1993. "Seal Use in Fifth Century B.C. Nippur: a Study of Seal Selection and Sealing Practices in the Murašū Archive," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Matthew W. STOLPER, Oriental Institute University of Chicago <mwst@uchicago.edu>

54) The Neo-Babylonian chronicle about Sabium and Apil-Sîn: a copy of the text (BM 29440) — Here I offer a copy of BM 29440, a Neo-Babylonian tablet previously published with a photograph by E. Leichty and C.B.F. Walker, "Three Babylonian Chronicle and Scientific Texts," in G. Frame (ed.), *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea. Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A.K. Grayson*. Istanbul 2004, 203-212 (no. 2, pp. 205-211). The tablet contains a brief chronicle about the Old-Babylonian dynasty, besides a number of astronomical and metrical notitions. The tablet hails from Borsippa and dates roughly to the Neo-Babylonian or early Persian period. I wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the copy of this tablet here. It measures 11,1 x 10,3 cm.



Caroline WAERZEGGERS, Leiden University (c.waerzeggers@hum.leidenuniv.nl)

55) Revisiting the Courtier in the Commentary — In the course of editing a commentary for the newly launched Cuneiform Commentaries Project website (<http://ccp.yale.edu/P417216>) I have found some new evidence regarding the *ša rēši*, courtiers known best from Assyrian sources. The commentary, first published by E. Leichty in 1970 (TCS IV, Commentary O, 232), dates to the third or second century BCE¹ and comprises interpretations of omens from tablet XIV of the series Šumma Izbu. Regarding the *ša rēši* the commentary contains the following information:

- obv. 6. [x x x x] : DUMU É.GAL : šá re-eš ina lib-bi šá še-eḥ-ru-ma
 obv. 7. [x x x x] x-ú a-na a-bi la i-tu-ru :

The two lines are a clarification of what is meant by the term *mār ekalli* (DUMU É.GAL). The explanation is introduced first by giving a synonym, *ša reši*, followed by a phrase to contextualize the explanation. An article by De Zorzi and Jursa has attempted to restore line 7, and suggests the following translation:

obv. 6. [x x x] : DUMU É.GAL : šá re-eš ina lib-bi šá se-eḥ-ru-ma
 obv. 7. [a-na É.GAL šá-s]u-ú a-na a-bi la i-tu-ru :

“‘Courtier’ (lit.: ‘son of the palace’) (means) *ša reši* (‘courtier’) because as a child [he was summoned]ed [to the palace] (and) did not return to (his) father” (De Zorzi and Jursa 2011).

De Zorzi and Jursa suppose that courtiers were recruited “by removing a child from its family context and precluding its return, obviously with the intention of thereby forcing it to attach its primary loyalty to the king and the palace establishment” (DE ZORZI & JURSA 2011).

While the above suggestion is possible, it seems doubtful for two reasons: First, the pronominal suffix -šu is not appended to the noun *abu*, a significant element of the translation; and second, *tāru* in this construction is better translated as “to become”, given the many examples of such a meaning in combination with the preposition *ana* (cf. CAD T 259a). With these considerations in mind I would instead suggest a translation:

“... ‘Son of the palace’ (means) ‘Courtier’, because²⁾ when he was young and ... did not become a father.”

The consensus among most scholars is that the term *ša reši* refers to eunuchs in service of the king and palace.³⁾ The legal and administrative texts of these courtiers demonstrate “that they were not married and had no children with all the legal consequences when they ‘go to their fate’, at their death” (DELLER 1999, 303).⁴⁾ Even omens which mention the *ša reši* clarify that they could not produce offspring: “GIM šu-ut re-e-ši la a-li-di... like a eunuch who cannot beget” (GRAYSON 1995, 91). These officials were the most loyal servants of the king and were entrusted with great powers and responsibility (AMBOS 2001, 4; DELLER 1999, 307). In a telling description of the situation at the Achaemenid court, Xenophon (when speaking of Cyrus the king) reports that those “who had children or congenial wives or sweethearts, such he (i.e. Cyrus) believed were by nature constrained to love them best. But as he observed that eunuchs were not susceptible to any such affections, he thought that they would esteem most highly those who were in the best position to make them rich and stand by them if they were ever wronged, and to place them in offices of honour” (GRAYSON 1995, 96).

In light of this evidence, grammatical and historical, the best understanding of the explanation of *ša reši* given by the commentary is that it demonstrates the defining characteristic of that institution: *ša reši* were not expected to have legitimate offspring.

- 1) The new restoration of the colophon of the tablet by DE ZORZI & JURSA (2011) has persuasively demonstrated this date.
- 2) The term *ina libbi ša* is difficult to translate. In Late Babylonian it seems to mean “because” (HACKL 2007, 62). In commentaries it is sometimes used to clarify an explanation, see JIMÉNEZ 2015, sub *libbū* and *ša*.
- 3) See the references below for an overview of the evidence referring to *ša reši*.
- 4) Whether they were allowed to adopt children remains unclear (MATILLA 2000, 132).

Bibliography

- AMBOS, C. 2009 “Eunuchen als Thronprätendenten und Herrscher im alten Orient,” in: M. Lukko, S. Svärd, and R. Mattila (eds.) *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, Helsinki, 1-9.
- DELLER, K.1999 “The Assyrian Eunuchs and their Predecessors,” in: K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East*, Heidelberg, 303-312.
- DE ZORZI, N. & JURSA, M. 2011 “The Courtier in the Commentary,” *N.A.B.U* no. 33, 41-42.
- GRAYSON, A.K. 1995 “Eunuchs in Power: Their Role in the Assyrian Bureaucracy,” in: M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (eds.), *Vom alten Orient zum alten Testament, Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*, AOAT 240, Kevelaer, 85-98.
- HACKL, J. 2007 *Der subordinierte Setz in spätabylonischen Briefen*, AOAT 341, Münster.
- JIMÉNEZ, E. 2015 “Technical Terms and Signs,” *Cuneiform Commentaries Project*, at <http://ccp.yale.edu/introduction/technical-terms> (accessed March 15, 2015)

LEICHTY, E. 1970 *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu*, TCS 4, Locust Valley, NY.
MATILLA, R. 2000 *The King's Magnates*, SAAS XI, Helsinki.

Nicholas KRAUS <nicholas.kraus@yale.edu>
Yale University, New Haven

56) Cuneiform Texts in The Otago Museum^{*)} — The brief note below is to announce the beginning of research on the cuneiform collection of the Otago Museum in Dunedin on the South Island of New Zealand. This collection is one of the most important in the Southern Hemisphere, and includes over 150 separate items. Most of the collection was assembled by Dr. Lindsay Rogers, a Dunedin born and Otago Medical School trained surgeon who served in the Royal Army Medical Corps during the Second World War, and then was Professor of Surgery at the Royal School of Medicine, Baghdad, in Iraq, before returning to New Zealand in 1950.¹⁾ These tablets bear registration numbers dating from 1947 to 1952, coinciding with Dr. Roger's stay in Iraq and the years immediately following his return. There are also a few tablets that were registered at the Otago Museum long before 1947 and after 1952. To date only one text in the collection has been published, an Old Babylonian tablet with a childbirth incantation and ritual that was published by G. Farber in JNES 43 (1984) 311-316.

A majority of the tablets in the collection are administrative texts, mostly from the Old Akkadian to Old Babylonian periods, with the clear majority being from the Ur III period. There are also the usual royal inscriptions including tablets, cones, and bricks from the Ur III and Isin-Larsa Periods, and the time of Gudea and Nebuchadnezzar II. Other finds in the collection include a set of duck weights in black diorite stone, an inscribed statuette, and what appears to be a large three column tablet with a god-list. There are also two tablets of medical interest, the aforementioned tablet with the childbirth incantation, and a medical tablet with prescriptions against the *Lamaštu*-demon. Given that the *Lamaštu*-demon attacked women in childbirth and new born babies, one may suspect that the two medical tablets may have been recovered together and sold as a matched pair to Dr. Rogers due to his interest in medicine.

Study of the collection began in earnest with a two day visit to the collection by Wayne Horowitz and Larry Stillman in the early fall of 2013. Peter Zilberg joined the project soon after. We intend to publish some of the more interesting pieces as a series of articles in the near future, with full publication of the collection in monograph form to follow.²⁾

*) The authors wish to thank the Director of the Otago Museum, Dr. Ian Griffin, and Ms. Moira White, Research and Interpretation Coordinator – Humanities, Mr. Scott Reeves, Collection Coordinator – Humanities, and Beth Rees, then Collection Officer at the Museum, for their gracious hospitality during our visit, and their permission to research and publish the collection.

1) For a brief overview of the life of Dr. Rogers see e.g. Dr. Rogers' auto-biographical work *Guerilla Surgeon, A New Zealand surgeon's war-time experiences with the Yugoslav Partisans*, and a number of web-sites which document his activities during and after the war. Dr. Rogers also donated a collection of still unpublished cylinder seals to the Museum, as well as a number of other purchases including notably a head of Alexander the Great (see R. Hannah, "The 'Otago Alexander,'" in P. Wheatley and R. Hannah eds., *Alexander and His Successors, Essays from the Antipodes*, 2009: 299-309, with a photograph on the book's cover).

2) This study is part of a larger project to identify, catalog, and publish all the cuneiform finds now in Australian and New Zealand collections which includes the authors of this note, and their colleagues Christopher Davey of The Australian Institute of Archaeology, Russel Hobson of the University of Sydney, and Luis Siddall of Macquarie University. A preview of this project appears in the 2013 volume of *Buried History*.

Wayne HOROWITZ, The Hebrew University <wayne.horowitz@mail.huji.ac.il>
Larry STILLMAN, Monash University
Peter ZILBERG, The Hebrew University

N.A.B.U.

- Par chèque postal ou bancaire en **Euros COMPENSABLE EN FRANCE** à l’ordre de / *By Bank check in Euros PAYABLE IN FRANCE and made out to: Société pour l’Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien.*
Nota Bene: Pour tout paiement par chèque en Euros compensable à l’étranger, ajouter 11 € / *With checks in Euros payable in other countries, add 11 €.*
 - Par virement postal à l’ordre de / *To Giro Account: Société pour l’Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien,*
14, rue des Sources, 92160 ANTONY. CCP 14.691 84 V PARIS

IBAN: FR 23 2004 1000 0114 69184V02 032

BIC: PSSTFRPPPAP

Téléchargez tous les numéros de *NABU* depuis 1987 gratuitement,
abonnez-vous à *NABU* ou commandez les volumes des *Mémoires de NABU*
sur <http://www.sepoa.fr>

For subscriptions in USA only:

One year = 34 US \$. Our financial representative in the USA is Pr. Jack SASSON.

Beginning on May 1, subscribers need to send their checks to:

Jack M. Sasson 243 Hales Wood, Chapel Hill, NC. 27517. Make check payable to: «Jack M. Sasson»

Les manuscrits pour publication sont à envoyer à :

Manuscripts to be published should be sent to :

J.-M. DURAND – IPOA, Collège de France, 52 rue du Cardinal Lemoine, 75005 PARIS, FRANCE.

e-mail: jean-marie.durand@college-de-france.fr

Pour tout ce qui concerne les affaires administratives, les abonnements et les réclamations, adresser un courrier à l'adresse électronique suivante: **contact@sepoa.fr**

Comité de Rédaction / *Editorial Board*

Dominique CHARPIN - Jean-Marie DURAND

Francis JOANNÈS - Nele ZIEGLER

N.A.B.U. est publié par la Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, Association (Loi de 1901) sans but lucratif
ISSN n° 0989-5671. Dépôt légal: Paris, 06-2015. Reproduction par photocopie
Directeur de la publication: D. Charpin