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NOTES BRÈVES

37) Zur Lesung sur_x (ÉREN) bei Gudea und jünger — Gudea Zyl. A xix 18 wird normalerweise áb^dnanna tūr-ba rín-rín-dam oder ähnlich gelesen. Die Lesung rín wurde von Falkenstein offenbar faute de mieux angenommen. Falkensteins Kommentar, AnOr 28, 18 Anm. 5 beschränkt sich auf „[l]exikalisch anscheinend nicht bezeugt“ ohne wie sonst darauf zu verweisen, dass er die Stelle noch kommentieren werde. Die Lesung rín gehört sonst ausschließlich zu ġeš-éren > /ġešren/ akkad. *gišrinnu* „Waage“ (cf. Borger AOAT 305², 166 zu 612). Ein passendes Verbum /rin/, für das rín eintreten könnte, ist dem Autor nicht bekannt.

Aus dem Zusammenhang lässt sich die Bedeutung erraten: „die Kühe Nannas (die Sterne), die in ihrer Hürde aufleuchten, sind es“. Das Bild wird dadurch unterstützt, dass zwei Zeilen davor ein Vergleich mit dem Gespann des Sonnengottes steht.

Piotr Steinkeller argumentiert in NABU 1990/12, dass ÉREN in der Bedeutung „Gespann“ und davon abgeleitet „Team von Arbeitern“ fröhdynastisch in Lagaš nicht wie früher angenommen bir, sondern sur_x zu lesen sei. Außerdem vermutet Steinkeller, dass sur_x sargonisch ganz durch LÁ = sur_5 , suru_5 ersetzt wurde. Spätestens Ur III ist éren in der Bedeutung „Arbeiter“, „Soldaten“ durch den Auslaut gesichert (Steinkeller a. a. O.).

Setzt man die Lesung sur_x in Gudea Zyl. A xix 18 ein, so erhält man $\text{sur}_x\text{-sur}_x\text{-dam}$. Das erinnert an das Verbum sur „aufleuchten“, „blinken“, akkadisch *šarāru*. Siehe „Forerunners“ von Udug-ḫul 706: lú-ra ḫulu-ġál-ta mul-gen₇ sur-ru-da „gegen den Menschen leuchtet es von dem Bösen auf wie ein Stern“ und ebd. 607: muš-gen₇ mu-un-sur-sur-e-ne „sie leuchten auf wie Schlangen“. Gemeint sind die plötzlichen Farbveränderungen die Schlangen hervorbringen können um Fressfeinde abzuschrecken. Direkt vergleichen lässt sich Nanna A 4f. áb-ba babbar-bé iti₆ è-a-àm tur-tur-bé še-gen₇ ma-ra-ši-sur „Unter den Kühen sind die hellen wie das aufgehende Neumondlicht. Ihre Kleinen sind wie Getreidekörner, die dir aufleuchten“.

Dass der Schreiber von Zylinder A sur_x und nicht sur geschrieben hat, ist wahrscheinlich beeinflusst durch xix 16: sur_x kù^dutu saġ bala-e-dam „das heilige Gespann des Utu, das (stolz) die Köpfe zurückwirft, ist es“. Die Entsprechung gilt natürlich nur, wenn man auch hier sur_x liest, was aber durch xix 18 gestützt wird.

Bereits Steinkeller a. a. O. hat auf einen Kommentar zu *Šumma ālu* hingewiesen, der ÉREN in der Bedeutung *šimittu* „Gespann“ mit šu-ur glossiert (CAD Š 198a). Außerdem kommt kaum eine andere Lesung für ÉREN in der Bedeutung „Gespann“ in Frage. Der Lautwert bir ist ein akkadisches

Silbenzeichen, außerdem wahrscheinlich erheblich jünger und durch graphische Verwechslung mit U₄ = bír entstanden. Auf die gleiche Weise dürfte auch die Lesung zálag entstanden sein und erem ist wohl einfach Variante zu erén entsprechend dem gelegentlich zu beobachtenden n/m-Wechsel am Ende sumerischer Worte. Beide Lesungen gehören zur Gleichung *šābu*.

Vermutlich hat erén sur_x nur in der Bedeutung „Team (von Arbeitern)“ abgelöst. Allerdings bekommt das Zeichen ÉREN in der Bedeutung „Gespann“ aB Konkurrenz durch sir (KÉŠÉ) (cf. Steinkeller a. a. O.), was an den dialektischen(?) u/i-Wechsel im Sumerischen erinnert (cf. Selz, AOAT 274, 507 mit Anm. 37). Aus der Einschränkung auf die Bedeutung „Gespann“ und der Konkurrenz durch sir einerseits und sur₅ andererseits erklärt sich auch, warum sur_x in lexikalischen Listen nicht belegt ist. Traut man dem erwähnten Kommentar, so war sur_x trotzdem noch im 1. Jahrtausend einem Teil der Schreiber bekannt.

Steinkellers Argument beruht auf dem Vergleich von ki-^(gcs)ERÉN-ra mit ki-sur-ra, kann aber nicht ausschließen, dass es sich doch um verschiedene Orte oder zwei unterschiedliche Benennungen etwa „Grenze“, „Ort der Truppe“ handelte, zumal bereits Steinkeller auf den in klassischer sargonischer Zeit belegten Wassergraben e ki-erén-na hinweist. Auch ein r/n-Wechsel am Ende eines sumerischen Wortes wäre prinzipiell möglich (Bauer, AoN Nr. 51; Keetman BiOr 73, 10f.). Mit dem Beleg bei Gudea lässt sich dies aber ausschließen.

Jan KEETMAN <jkeet@aol.com>

38) Al₆-èn-tar, « celui qui interroge le défunt », dans un contexte de lamentation funèbre à Ébla —

La lamentation funèbre peut être considérée à bon droit comme un exemple de « submerged literature », selon la définition introduite très récemment dans le monde académique grâce à l'ouvrage collectif édité par Colesanti et Giordano, où on parle de ce phénomène dans la littérature grecque ancienne.¹⁾ En effet, pendant plusieurs siècles, la lamentation a été exécutée en tant que genre poétique traditionnel durant les rituels funèbres mais selon une forme tout à fait anonyme et orale. Du coup, aucun document de cette typologie n'est arrivé jusqu'à nous pour l'époque la plus ancienne. Les premiers textes écrits de lamentations funèbres réalisées sur commande que nous possédions remontent à une période qui va du milieu du VI^e siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'au V^e siècle av. J.-C. et ils sont originaires de Grèce. Il s'agit d'un petit nombre de fragments de textes poétiques (θρῆνοι, selon la définition littéraire grecque) composés par Simonide et Pindare et qui, à eux seuls, ne suffisent pas à satisfaire nos connaissances sur le sujet. Heureusement, soit pour le Proche-Orient, soit pour la Grèce ancienne, nous sommes aidés par d'autres typologies de textes où l'on trouve d'amples extraits qui renvoient au genre de la lamentation. Il s'agit, par exemple, des poèmes mythologiques ou épiques, tels que le *Gilgamesh* (où le héros pleure la mort de l'ami Enkidu), l'*Illiade* et l'*Odyssée* (où l'on trouve entre autres les lamentations pour les funérailles de Patrocle, Hector et Achille), de la tragédie grecque ainsi que des textes de lamentation sur les villes ou sur les pays, un genre bien répandu dans les littératures mésopotamienne et grecque et qui suit les mêmes modèles structuraux que ceux de la lamentation pour les défunts.²⁾ Les données du folklore et des traditions populaires des sociétés modernes et contemporaines sont, elles-aussi, à même de nous soutenir dans la reconstruction de la lamentation ancienne.

Pour ce qui concerne les textes d'Ébla, a été déjà relevée, il y a quelques années, la présence d'opératrices cultuelles qui avaient la charge d'exécuter les lamentations pendant les funérailles d'importants personnages de la cour.⁴⁾ Malheureusement, on ne possède pas les textes de ces lamentations mais les documents administratifs éblaïtes nous livrent quand même d'intéressants indices. En particulier, d'après un passage d'une tablette encore inédite :

TM.75.G.1962+ r. II':1'.⁵⁾ [1 túg-NI.NI dam *mu-na-bí-tum*] 14 [kin siki] 7 dam eme-ba[l] dam ér S[AR] 1 túg-NI.NI dam *mu-n[a]-bí-tu[m]* 10 kin [siki] 10 da[m] *ra-zi-ma-tum* 1 sal-túg 1 íb+III-túg gùn al₆-èn-tar [...],

qui enregistre les sorties de laine en faveur des opératrices cultuelles qui ont accompli leur tâche durant la cérémonie funèbre de *du-si-gú*, la mère du dernier roi de la ville, nous sommes à même de comprendre certaines modalités d'exécution de la lamentation à Ébla au milieu du III^e millénaire av. J.-C.

Tout d'abord, ces sorties de laine nous assurent, faut-il le remarquer, que ces femmes étaient rémunérées pour leurs prestations. Il s'agissait, donc, de pleureuses ou lamentatrices professionnelles. On peut les comparer avec les *preficae* de la tradition romaine.⁶⁾ On est face à une tradition très répandue chez les peuples de la Méditerranée.⁷⁾ Dans la langue grecque ancienne, on distingue deux termes, γόος et θρήνος, qui indiquent l'un la lamentation exécutée par les membres de la famille du défunt, l'autre la lamentation exécutée par des professionnels.⁸⁾

En outre, ce passage nous montre que durant la cérémonie funèbre il pouvait y avoir deux groupes distincts d'opératrices cultuelles, l'un formé d'une dam *mu-na-bi-tum*, « lamentatrice », (/munabbi'tum/, participe de la forme 0/2 de **nb'*, « se lamenter »),⁹⁾ accompagnée par sept dam *eme-bal*, « celles qui répondent »,¹⁰⁾ l'autre formé encore d'une dam *mu-na-bi-tum*, « lamentatrice », accompagnée par dix dam *ra-zi-ma-tum*, « pleureuses » (/rāzimātum/, participe de la forme 0/1 du sém. **rzm*, « pleurer ; gémir », connu en arabe).¹¹⁾ Ce schéma correspond exactement à la modalité de lamentation funèbre la plus répandue, présentant une soliste accompagnée par un chœur qui chantait le refrain.¹²⁾ La dam *mu-na-bi-tum*, « lamentatrice », semble, donc, correspondre aux θρήνων ἑξαρχοί de la tradition homérique, c'est-à-dire les solistes qui guidaient la lamentation en exécutant la partie où le discours commémoratif donnait sa forme à la douleur alors que le refrain était caractérisé par une plus forte émotivité et composé aussi d'une série d'interjections accompagnées souvent par des gestes contre soi-même. Ce ne pas par hasard si, on l'a vu, à Ébla le refrain était confié justement aux dam *ra-zi-ma-tum*, qui gémissaient et pleuraient selon la signification de ce terme sémitique. Dans les poèmes homériques, pour indiquer ce refrain, on utilise l'expression formulaire ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες, « et les femmes pleurèrent en réponse ».

Dans le passage administratif qui nous intéresse, participe à la lamentation pour la mère décédée du roi une autre figure professionnelle indiquée par le sumérien *al₆-en-tar* qui reçoit des tissus pour avoir accompli sa tâche. À mon avis, il s'agit de préférence d'un personnage masculin, étant donné l'absence du déterminatif dam. Dans la liste lexicale bilingue (VE 987) *al₆-en-tar* est traduit par la graphie sémitique *sá-ul-du-um* (A), *sá-ul-tum*, que l'on peut expliquer comme /ša'ultum/, adjectif verbal féminin de la forme 0/2 de **š'l*, « interroger ».¹³⁾ Cette racine est employée aussi en akkadien pour traduire le verbe sumérien *en--tar*. Notre contexte, en revanche, requiert plutôt un nom de profession : *šā'ilum*, « celui qui interroge ». Comme je l'ai déjà remarqué par ailleurs,¹⁴⁾ de cette racine sémitique tirent leur origine des termes techniques de la nécromancie. On rappellera l'existence des mots akkadiens *šā'ilum*, « divinateur », et *šā'iltum*, « devineresse » (CAD, Š/1: 109-111), ainsi que le verbe hébreu *š'l* que l'on retrouve, par exemple, dans le récit biblique de la pythonisse d'En-Dor, chargée d'interroger l'esprit du prophète Samuel sur l'ordre du roi Saul.¹⁵⁾ La présence de cet opérateur cultuel lors d'une lamentation funèbre ne doit pas nous étonner. En effet, pendant ces cérémonies de lamentation, est bien documentée l'allocution directe à l'adresse du défunt souvent à travers le recours au dialogue stichomythique qui a laissé une trace importante dans la tragédie attique.¹⁶⁾ La fonction de ce dialogue était d'établir dans une sorte de transe un contact avec la personne décédée pour faire connaître à sa famille et à la communauté ses paroles et ses pensées.¹⁷⁾ Dans les *Perses* d'Eschyle, par exemple, le fantôme de Darius apparaît à la demande du chœur qui l'interroge à propos du futur. Un souvenir de cette pratique se retrouve aussi dans les épigrammes et les inscriptions funèbres grecques où l'échange de questions et réponses entre les vivants et les morts est bien attesté. Comme DE MARTINO 1975: 91-92 l'a noté au niveau ethnologique, la lamentation pouvait bien se terminer par la question au défunt s'il était content de la cérémonie funèbre célébrée en son honneur. La satisfaction du mort qui donne l'assurance qu'on a accompli tout le nécessaire envers lui, empêche son retour non contrôlé, ce qui terrorisait les vivants. C'est à travers l'intervention d'opérateurs cultuels, habilités à dialoguer avec les décédés au profit de la communauté entière, qu'on est à même d'obtenir un retour momentané et culturellement contrôlé de morts parmi les vivants ainsi que leur passage définitif dans l'au-delà.¹⁸⁾

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- ¹ De ce volume, on consultera surtout l’article de Palmisciano 2014.
- ² A ce propos, KRAMER 1940: 1-6 ; ALEXIOU 1974: 83-101 ; MICHALOWSKI 1989.
- ³ En général, à ce propos, DE MARTINO 1975 ; LOMBARDI SATRIANI & MELIGRANA 1989.
- ⁴ PASQUALI & MANGIAROTTI 1999 ; ARCHI 2002: 183-186 ; BIGA 2007/08: 253-254 et 262 ; ARCHI 2012: 22-23 ; BIGA 2012: 8 ; PASQUALI 2013: 57.
- ⁵ Cité par ARCHI 2012: 22.
- ⁶ Voir Non. Marc. 145, 24: *Nenia, ineptum et inconditum carmen, quod a conducta muliere, quae praefica diceretur, iis, quibus propinqui non esset, mortuis exhiberetur* ; Varr. *De vita pop. rom.* IV: *ibi a muliere, quae optima voce esset, per quam laudari, dein neniam cantari solitam ad tibias et fides*. Sur le sujet, déjà CIRESE 1951.
- ⁷ PODELLA 1986 ; FELLI 2016.
- ⁸ En dernier, à ce propos, voir GAGLIARDI 2007 ; PALMISCIANO 2017.
- ⁹ Voir *AHW*: 700, *nabû* forme 0/2 ; *CAD*, N/1: 39, *nabû* B. On considérera aussi les importantes remarques de Greenfield chez HUEHNERGARD 1985: 430.
- ¹⁰ La liste lexicale bilingue éblaïte (VE 179) donne pour ce terme sumérien des équivalents sémitiques qui tirent leur origine de la racine **’pl*, « répondre », voir en dernier SEMINARA 2014: 10.
- ¹¹ Voir PASQUALI & MANGIAROTTI 1999.
- ¹² Voir, par exemple, ALEXIOU 1974: 131-160 ; DE MARTINO 1975: 197 ; GAGLIARDI 2007: 34-35 ; PALMISCIANO 2017: 62-76. Je reviendrai ailleurs sur ces questions.
- ¹³ Voir déjà EDZARD 1981: 55.
- ¹⁴ PASQUALI 2016: 56-57.

¹⁵ LEWIS 1989: 104-117.

¹⁶ ALEXIOU 1974: 131-160 ;

¹⁷ VERMEULE 1979: 16-17 et 198-199 ; CARAVELI-CHAVES 1980: 130 ; GAGLIARDI 2007: 58-61.

¹⁸ Caraveli-Chaves 1980: 127 et DERDERIAN 2001: 39 ont bien mis en évidence combien la lamentation et tout le rituel funèbre en général sont un moyen de créer et de maintenir un dialogue nécessaire avec le défunt en garantissant en même temps son passage définitif dans l'Outre-tombe.

Jacopo PASQUALI <pasquali.jacopo@laposte.net>

5, Avenue du 7^e Génie, 84000 AVIGNON

39) L'étang (AMBAR) du Soleil à Ébla — Dans les textes administratifs éblaïtes on trouve les passages suivants, jusqu'à présent, à ma connaissance, presque ignorés par les savants :¹⁾

[1] ARET IV 15 (13): 1 *gu-mug-túg* / *i-lum-bal* / en-nu-aka / AMBAR^{ki} / ^dutu ;

[2] ARET XII 282 I':1': [1* *gu*-mug*-túg**] / *i-lum-bal* / en-nun-aka / AMBAR / ^dutu ;

[3] ARET XII 1319 I':1'-4': [1*] *gu-[m]ug-túg* / *i-lum-bal* / en-nun-aka / [AMBA]R / [^d*utu*],

où un tissu *gu-mug-túg* est livré toujours au même personnage nommé *i-lum-bal* qui a accompli sa tâche près de l'AMBAR^(ki), « marais » ou « étang », de la divinité solaire ^dutu.²⁾ La charge de cette personne est indiquée par le terme en-nu(n)-aka,³⁾ c'est-à-dire le « gardien » ou « surveillant », d'après la glose de la liste lexicale bilingue éblaïte (VE 908) qui traduit le sumérien en-nun-aka par le sémitique *na-za-lu-um* (A₁), *na-za-lu* (B, C), /našār-um/, de **nšr*, « garder ; surveiller ». ⁴⁾ Selon moi, il y a sûrement un rapport entre les trois passages cités ci-dessus et ce qui se produisait pendant les rituels royaux de ARET XI,⁵⁾ où, en effet, on lit dans la version la plus récente :

[4] ARET XI 2 (65): *wa* / en-nun-aka / u₄ è / ^dutu, « et on surveille le moment du lever du Soleil ».

L'interprétation est aussi confirmée par le passage parallèle de la version la plus ancienne du rituel :

[5] ARET XI 1 (62): *wa-a* / *na-na-za-ab* / 'al₆'-gál / ^dutu, « et attendons le lever du Soleil ». ⁶⁾

Cette cérémonie liée au lever du Soleil se déroule à l'aube du jour après l'arrivée du roi et de la reine auprès du Mausolée des ancêtres (é *ma-tim*, littéralement « maison du mort ou de la mort ») à *bí-na-áš^{ki}*, quand lors du réveil, le couple royal s'assied sur les trônes de leurs pères et reste en attente. On peut donc supposer que l'étang cité dans [1-3] se trouvait à proximité de ce Mausolée et que c'était là le lieu où l'on attendait le lever du Soleil pendant la cérémonie solennelle décrite par [4-5]. Le « gardien » (en-nun-aka) de ce *locus religiosus*, rémunéré d'un tissu dans les contextes administratifs, était donc un opérateur cultuel ayant la charge de suivre le cours du Soleil et de prévenir dès que la lumière de l'astre sortant de l'eau commençait à être aperçue. Il s'agissait donc, à mon avis, d'un acte de culte en plein air, ce qui ne nous étonne pas étant donné que la divinité solaire est concernée.⁷⁾

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¹⁾ On peut trouver de petites remarques à propos du passage [1] dans MILANO 1989: 1 et POMPONIO & XELLA 1997: 342.

²⁾ Le sexe de la divinité solaire à Ébla n'est pas évident. Ailleurs j'ai proposé qu'il s'agisse d'une divinité féminine comme à Ougarit (PASQUALI 2016: 55), car au moins une fois dans les tablettes jusqu'à présent éditées, ^dutu reçoit un *si-da-tum*, un bijou réservé aux femmes (PASQUALI 2005: 175).

³⁾ Pour en-nu-aka, variant de en-nun-aka, voir CONTI 2003: 126.

⁴⁾ Comme justement KREBERNIK 1983: 34 l'interprète.

⁵⁾ La connexion semble avoir échappé à FRONZAROLI 1993: 41 et 78.

⁶⁾ Pour *na-na-za-ab*, première personne du pluriel du présent de **nšb*, « rester droit », souvent employé à Ébla avec la signification de « rester en attente ; avoir soin de », voir FRONZAROLI 1993: 41. Le même auteur (1993: 13) traduit *al₆-gál^dutu* « presenza del dio Sole » mais il est évident qu'il s'agit du « lever du Soleil ». Le sumérien *al₆-gál^dutu* s'oppose en effet à (*al₆-tuš^dutu* qui indique le « coucher du Soleil » dans les passages des textes administratifs concernant les rites de nécromancie (PASQUALI 2016: 55).

⁷⁾ Je reviendrai par ailleurs sur la possible signification de ce rituel. L'importance de la présence du Soleil dans les rituels royaux éblaïtes a été déjà notée par POLCARO 2014: 159-160, qui observe : « i riferimenti all'alba come momento fondamentale in cui perpetuare importanti rituali, che devono aver radici non solamente a Ebla ma in tutta la tradizione culturale dell'Alta Siria, potrebbero spiegare la ragione di molti orientamenti di templi *in antis* del III millennio nella regione verso il sorgere del Sole ». ALAURA & BONECHI 2012: 16 et n. 64, dans leur riche et intéressant recueil des attestations du chariot solaire dans les documentations du Proche-Orient ancien, ont, eux aussi, attiré l'attention sur le rôle du Soleil dans les textes de *ARET* XI mais en se référant exclusivement aux possibles analogies entre le véhicule de cette divinité en Mésopotamie et chez les Hittites, et le chariot du couple royal éblaïte et des divinités sauvegardant la royauté (*^dKU-ra* et *^dba-ra-ma*). Toujours à ce propos, BONECHI 2016: 69, n. 106, observe : « So far, nobody has suggested *^dKU-ra* = *^dUtu* ». En effet, personne n'a proposé cette identification étant donné que dans les textes de *ARET* XI on trouve soit *^dKU-ra*, soit *^dutu* et cela suffit à nous faire comprendre qu'il s'agit bien de deux divinités différentes. On signale aussi que, toujours à Ébla, *^dutu* et *^dKU-ra* sont cités tous les deux distinctement, l'un après l'autre, en tant que garants des serments et des décrets (voir POMPONIO & XELLA 1997: 342). En outre, les passages des textes administratifs où l'on cite *^dKU-ra* sont tout à fait différents de ceux où l'on cite *^dutu* et donc rien ne nous autorise à identifier ces deux divinités. On peut, en revanche, se demander si le dieu *^dKU-ra*, lui aussi, n'est pas une divinité aux connexions astrales. Si son nom est à expliquer par le sém. *tūrum*, « taureau », les liens avec la fertilité sont évidents. Mais il faut rappeler que cet animal avait aussi des connexions astrales et chthoniennes chez les civilisations de la Méditerranée anciennes (voir PETRIOLI 1989: 251-256 et *passim*). Pour le moment ce théonyme échappe à une interprétation plus précise. À mon avis il faudrait éviter d'essayer de l'identifier à l'une ou l'autre des grandes figures appartenant aux *panthéa* proche-orientaux. On est probablement face à un dieu du fond le plus ancien de la religion syrienne. Étant donné son rapport étroit avec la royauté, je me demande s'il ne s'agit pas de la divinité qui préside et gouverne les ancêtres de la dynastie éblaïte.

Jacopo PASQUALI

40) A so far unknown Sumerian deity? — In an auction catalogue of the Frank Sternberg AG, some antique coins, médallions, cut stones, gems and jewelry were auctioned. Among these pieces from the auction, which took place in Zurich on November 7th, 1994, a small clay tablet is listed (STERNBERG 1994, 87, no. 668,4), as a part of a big lot of tablets (STERNBERG 1994, 87). It is said that the lot of clay tablets comes from the ancient city of Umma, modern Umm al-Aqarib in Iraq. This specific clay tablet no. 668,4 measures 6,3 * 4,2 * 2,3 centimeter. The back is preserved completely, whereas the front is only half preserved. It bears a list of corn rations – barley, emmer and wheat – from a certain field Abu, which were attributed to priests and temples, listed by their names. The tablet itself does not contain a year date, but according to its paleography, it was written around the mid 21st century BCE during the Ur III-period.

In the text, a deity is named as EZEN-PA, which is unknown so far. It is unclear, in which way the name shall be interpreted, as only the first word EZEN “festival/ feast” (akk. *isinnu*; BORGER 2003, 98, 308, no. 271) is certain. The god EZEN-PA is surely not to be equated with ^DPA (s. BORGER 2003, 333, no. 464). Another possibility is that the transliteration or the reading in the publication by STERNBERG

(1994, 87, no. 668,4) is simply wrong, and there was no god called EZEN-PA in antiquity. Both of these words can also be found together in other Sumerian documents, e.g. in a text from the time of Šamšu-iluna, today Istanbul Ni 9694, with “EZEN PA dingir-e-ne-ke₄” as “EZEN PA of the gods” (FRAYNE 1990, 393, col. II, l. 11’). This text is a small dedicatory inscription of a king, which was found by the Hilprecht expedition in Nippur and mentions gods as Marduk, Zarpanītum, and also temples, just as it is the case in the abovementioned tablet. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the inscription makes its contents extremely obscure. There is also the possibility that it was mixed up with the name Amar-ezen “Calf of the festival” and a following sign PA, as it is attested by Anton DEIMEL (1920, 14; 1931, 6). Especially looking at the tablet published by Giustino BOSON (1929, 259), which can also be dated to the Ur III-period and mentions rations of barley, a reading error becomes feasible with the lines reading “Lugal-ezen pa Lugal-ra-ni”. Another alternative is that someone mixed the name of a so far unattested god with the name of a festival during the eleventh month. This case is mentioned by Wolfgang HEIMPEL (2009, 116, note 82) with “ezen pa-è” and “ezen pa-ú-è”. In the collection of temple names of Andrew R. George, there is no name given, which contains the word EZEN as its first element (s. GEORGE 1993, 159), so there is no chance to attribute a specific sanctuary with the deity.

Unfortunately, there is no more information given about the tablet and it was not possible find out, which person or which museum bought this object. With the possibilities mentioned above, it is not certain that there was a Sumerian god named EZEN-PA in antiquity. Maybe the name was created through a misreading by the modern reader. However, we should not exclude the possibility of a ‘new’ god, and merely wait for a final publication of this special tablet from the third Dynasty of Ur.

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Christoffer THEIS <Christoffer_Theis@web.de>

41) Two Ur III Texts from the University of South Carolina Libraries — The following two cuneiform texts are housed in Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Ernest F. Hollings Special Collections Library, University of South Carolina Libraries, Columbia, SC, USA. They date to the Third Dynasty of Ur (Ur III, ca. 2112–2004 BC) from Umma (No. 1) and Puzriš-Dagan (No. 2), respectively. Although unpublished yet, their photographs and transliterations have been available in CDLI database by Robert K. Englund. This paper presented here is a whole edition including hand copies, re-transliterations, and translations. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Elizabeth Sudduth, the Director of the Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of South Carolina Libraries, for giving me permission to publish both cuneiform tablets here.

No. 1. Receipt of beer

Identification number: USCRBSC 1 Provenience: Umma Date: ŠS4/XII/30

Obv.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 1) 0.0.1 kaš sig ₅ | 1 ban top-quality beer, |
| 2) 0.0.4 5 sila ₃ kaš du | 4 ban 5 sila normal beer, |
| 3) u ₄ 30-la ₂ -1-kam | on the 29th day, |

- 4) 0.0.1 5 sila₃ kaš sig₅
5) 0.0.4 5 sila₃ kaš du
6) [u₄] 30-kam

Rev.

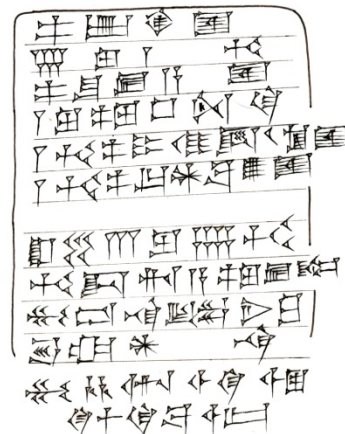
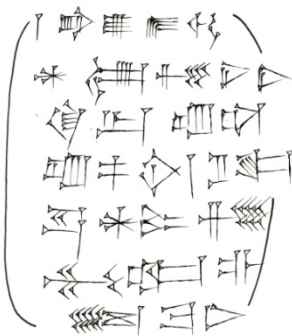
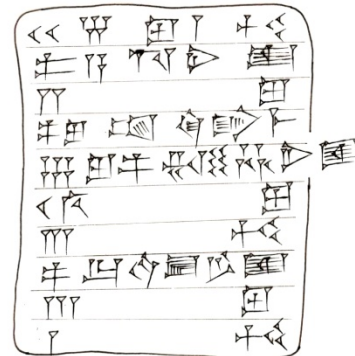
- 1) 1 dida sig₅
2) ^dŠul-gi-i₃-li₂
3) ki Ur-mes-ta
4) kišib ensi₂-ka
5) iti ^dDumu-zi
6) mu bad₃ mar-/tu ba-du₃
seal
i 1) ^dŠu-^dEN.ZU
2) lugal kala-ga
3) lugal Uri₅/^{ki}-ma
4) lugal an ub-/da limmu₂-ba
ii 5) A-a-kal-la
6) ensi₂
7) Umma^{ki}
8) arad₂-zu

1 ban 5 sila top-quality beer,
4 ban 5 sila normal beer,
on the 30th day,

1 top-quality wort
(for) Šulgi-ili,
from Ur-mes,
under seal of the governor (of Umma).
Month: "Dumuzi."
Year: "The Amorite wall was built."

Šu-Suen,
strong king,
king of Ur,
king of the four quarters:
Ayakalla,
governor
of Umma,
your servant.

This text records that the governor of Umma province, that is Ayakalla, received various beer from Ur-mes. Beer was one of the most important items in the ancient Mesopotamian diet. It was widely expended in offerings to deities and was consumed at the palace. For further discussion on Sumerian beer, see RÖLLIG 1970, BRUNKE 2011, and DAMEROW 2012. For further discussion on Ayakalla, the governor of Umma province, see DAHL 2007.



No. 2. Receipt of livestock delivered

Identification number: USCRBSC 2 Date: Š48/X

Provenience: Puzriš-Dagan

Obv.

- 1) 25 udu 1 maš₂
2) ugula A-hu-ni kuš₇
3) 2 udu

25 sheep, 1 goat,
overseer: Ahuni the animal trainer;
2 sheep,

4) sipa Unu ^{ki} -ga-me	of the shepherds of Uruk;
5) 6 udu ugula Nam-ha-ni kuš ₇	6 sheep, overseer: Namhani the animal trainer;
6) 10-la ₂ -1 udu	9 sheep,
7) 3 maš ₂	3 goats,
8) ugula Ur-ni ₉ -ġar kuš ₇	overseer: Ur-niġar the animal trainer;
9) 3 udu	3 sheep,
10) 1 maš ₂	1 goat,
Rev.	
1) ugula Ip-hur kuš ₇	overseer: Iphur the animal trainer;
2) 7 udu 1 maš ₂	7 sheep, 1 goat,
3) ugula Šu-E ₂ -a kuš ₇	overseer: Šu-Ea the animal trainer;
4) 1 udu sipa Umma ^{ki}	1 sheep of the shepherds of Umma;
5) 1 maš ₂ ugula I-mi-id-Eš ₁₈ -tar ₂ kuš ₇	1 goat, overseer: Imid-Eštar the animal trainer;
6) 1 maš ₂ ugula Ur- ^d Ba-ba ₆ kuš ₇	1 goat, overseer: Ur-Baba the animal trainer;
blank space	
7) šu-niġin ₂ 53 udu 8 maš ₂	total: 53 sheep, 8 goats,
8) maš ₂ -da-re-a sipa-ke ₄ -ne	as the <i>mašdarea</i> -tribute of the shepherds,
9) mu-DU Na-sa ₆ i ₃ -dab ₅	delivery, Nasa received.
10) iti ezem an-na	Month: "Festival of Heaven."
11) mu Ha-ar-š ^{ki} ₃ / Ki-maš ^{ki} ba-hul	Year: "Harši and Kimaš were destroyed."

This text records the deliveries of livestock overseen with various animal trainers (kuš₇) were received by Nasa the official of the Puzriš-Dagan organization. For further discussion on Nasa, see SIGRIST 1992, TSOUARPOULOU 2015, and Liu 2017.

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Changyu LIU <liucy@zjnu.cn>

Department of History, Zhejiang Normal University, JINHUA 321004, CHINA

42) la h a n , lahannum, ^{DUG}lahanni-: an exotic flask^{*)} — The Sumerian word *lahan* is attested only in syllabic writing. The oldest occurrence is Early Dynastic III (*altsumerisch*), from Girsu, and might indicate an object of foreign provenance:

1 la-ha-an kur-ra (Thureau-Dangin 1903, 21 ii 1)

Another significant occurrence is in an Old Babylonian (contrary to the record in VON SODEN 1959-81, 527) HAR-ra lexical list (CIVIL 1996):

du g . l a - h a - a n = lahannu (HAR-ra 10, 79)

According to von Soden, the originally Sumerian word, *la h a n*, would have entered the Akkadian lexicon as a loan, producing the adapted substantive *lahannum*. SALLABERGER (1996, 123) critically examined the mentions and descriptions of the Akkadian *lahannum* and concluded that the substantive represents a flask with a small opening that could be closed using a ball of clay. It was used in rituals, contained liquids (water, beer, milk, honey, cf. ABL 951: 18) and in some occurrences it was made of precious materials (silver, gold, glass, lapis lazuli).

The CAD L (39f., s.v.) proposes a general meaning "bottle", and includes a number of examples, some of which demonstrate that this vessel was used not only in rituals but also for medical

purposes. More specifically, the *lahannum* was employed for mixing and decanting ingredients, which is consistent with the shape of a flask or bottle; significantly, no examples indicate that one would use a *lahannum* to cook or boil a concoction. In any case, an important function of the *lahannum* was libation, which supports the hypothesis that the flask had a small opening and could be employed to pour liquids for magical and ritual purposes.

Linguistically, according to SALLABERGER (1996), who follows the CHD L-N (6, s.v.), the Akkadian *lahannum* should also be connected to the Hittite ^{DUG}*lahanni-*. The *lahanni-* vessel in Hittite was a container employed exclusively for libations, at least judging from the not very numerous occurrences available in the corpus. The verb it is generally associated to is *ispant-/sipant-* “to pour, libate, offer” (HW², IV, s.v.); other vessels employed in the same ritual actions include a GAL (KBo 21, 35 i 8).

The connection between Akkadian *lahannum* and Hittite ^{DUG}*lahanni-* is a perfect semantic match and it is formally unproblematic: each of the two languages might have borrowed the word from the other one, but the fact that *LAHANNUM* (cf. CHD L-N, 6 s.v. for the attestations) is also present as an Akkadogram in Hittite strongly indicates a direction of the loan from Mesopotamia to Anatolia.

The details of the relationship with Sumerian *la ha n*, however, complicate the picture. First of all, it is necessary to complete the analysis of the Sumerian, Akkadian and Hittite situation, which, indeed, can help shed some light on the origin and direction of the circulation of this Wanderwort.

In Hittite, we also encounter the name of a substance, *lahni-*, which was dissolved in water. Just like ^{DUG}*lahanni-*, the word is not included in the list of “inherited” lexical items discussed by KLOEKHORST 2008. Can it be connected with ^{DUG}*lahanni-*? Possibly, but the path of a normal morphological and morphophonemic derivation is beyond any hope of reconstruction (in other words, one cannot derive one of the two words from the other one the way historical linguists do). Still, the semantic fields are still fairly close to each other: a flask for libations and a substance one can solve in water or liquids. While a direct derivation inside Anatolian is unsupportable, the two substantives could be related loans from a different language.

More illuminating is the case of Akkadian, where, apart from *lahannum*, one also encounters another container, the *lahtānum*, a larger basin, usually translated as “(beer) vat”, mostly or exclusively used for beer (cf. in general SALLABERGER 1996, 44f; DAMEROW 2012). It corresponds to a compound Sumerian logogram (NUNUZ.AB₂×LA) generally transcribed LAHTAN in the same lexical list HAR-ra 10, 6 (cf. CIVIL 1996; other graphic variants seem to exist in Sumerian, with the LA phonetic indicator occasionally replaced by different signs). Its function in the brewing process is well known, and even described in the Sumerian literary text Ninkasi A:45 (CIVIL 1964). The sumerogram is also attested in a Boğazköy vocabulary, where it corresponds to Hitt. *arrumas lahus* “washing vat (vel sim.)” (KUB 3, 94 ii 17); another occurrence of the logogram can be found in the fragmentary feast KBo 29, 123 vo. 6, with the determinative URUDU. Nothing, however, indicates that the substantive was borrowed into Hittite. As regards the semantics of the sumerogram, the difference between “(beer) vat” and “washing vat” is not surprising, and one must also recall that in Mesopotamia different shapes of *lahtān* existed (SALLABERGER 1996, 45).

Regardless of the historical details one may only speculate upon, also in this case one may wonder whether the two fairly similar Akkadian (and Sumerian?) words, *lahannum/la ha n* and *lahtānum/lahtān*, belonging to two very close semantic fields, had something to do with each other. The problem, here, is that once again a morphological path of derivation does not clearly emerge: in Akkadian, no known process of morphogenesis or diachronic change can produce one form starting from the other one, nor is it possible to reconstruct a triconsonantal radical that would generate both forms.

All in all, what one can conclude is that both in Mesopotamia and in Anatolia there is a chance that other loans existed beside *lahannum* and ^{DUG}*lahanni-* that may have been connected to (related) original form(s) in the model language, and both in Akkadian and in Hittite the semantics of these opaquely close lexical items seems to produce very convincing matches. At this point, the next step should be identifying the language from which all or some of these substantives were borrowed.

The biggest temptation is, of course, to invoke the usual equation “oldest attestation = original form”, which corresponds to the “oldest language = model language” bias. In this case, one could simply assume that Sumerian *la ha n* (and *la h t a n*) would be the original words, borrowed into Akkadian and then, via Akkadian, into Hittite.

In general, evaluating whether a Sumerian lexical element was indeed Sumerian or if it was, instead, itself a loan is very difficult. The genealogical isolation of Sumerian makes it impossible to study the inheritance of the lexicon, and the attempts at identifying elements of a substrate or adstrate always rely on indirect evidence or on speculations based on the morphological and morphophonemic typology of the language.

In this case, however, one may wish to notice that in Indo-European a candidate root exists for a group of related to containers used to mix (Sumerian *la h t a n*, Akkadian *lahtānum*) and to pour and libate (Sumerian *la ha n*, Akkadian *lahannum*, Hittite ^{DUG}*lahanni-*). The root is **leh₂-*, attested in Hittite *lahhuwai-*, with the general meaning “to pour” (PUHVEL 2001, 23f. Note that KLOEKHORST, 2008, 513, prefers to reconstruct a root **lēhu-*).

Could the base for the Wanderwörter, Sumerian *la ha n* and *la h t a n*, Akkadian *lahtānum* and *lahannum*, and Hittite ^{DUG}*lahanni-* (and **perhaps* lahni-*) have been Indo-European? The answer to this question requires some caution. For linguistic and historical reasons, it seems unlikely that the model language was Hittite (or even Proto-Anatolian): loans from Anatolia to the Sumerian world are difficult to conceive (especially in an Early Dynastic phase) and, as I have argued, there is no clear etymological path to connect *lahni-* and ^{DUG}*lahanni-* inside of Hittite.

However, other Indo-European languages of the area could have very well served as the model for the loan. If one considers the designation *la - ha - a n k u r - r a* (THUREAU-DANGIN 1903, 21 ii 1), it seems reasonable to suppose that the provenance of the flask was indeed exotic, and that the item was imported from either Northern Mesopotamia or, a much likelier possibility, from the Zagros mountains. In both areas, a penetration of Indo-Iranian elements is all but surprising even in the late III millennium BCE. That the lexical element and the item it referred to were in fact not originally Sumerian is further supported by the following facts: (1) exclusive syllabic writing; (2) one case in which the spelling is *du . la - ha - n u - u m*, with Akkadian ending, in a Sumerian text (Old Babylonian Nippur Ura 2, 260, also recorded in the EPSD; last accessed on April 27, 2018).

As for the other areas where the use of this container is attested, while in Akkadian no specific geographical connotation can be associated with the origin of the *lahannum* or with the type of rituals in which it was involved, in Hittite the vessel was used only in rituals of Hurrian tradition, (and the presence in the Hurrian world of Indo-Iranian elements is well-known).

If one assumed that Sumerian *la ha n* was indeed a loan from an Eastern Indo-European language (from which possibly also the other similar words discussed in this contribution may have derived), the likeliest path of diffusion would be the following. The lexical material entered Mesopotamia and was borrowed into Sumerian and Akkadian. Which one of these two languages borrowed it from the other is, at this stage, difficult to say, but the syllabic rendering in Sumerian might indicate that the word entered Akkadian first. From the Mesopotamian (and possibly Hurrian?) world, ^{DUG}*lahanni-* finally entered the Anatolian lexicon. As for *lahtānum/la h t a n*, it is very likely that the pattern of diffusion was very similar, while no safe conclusion can be drawn as regards the semantically less close Hittite *lahni-* substance.

Of course, while the path of diffusion can be convincingly reconstructed, it is not possible to also reconstruct the exact original forms, nor shall I try to identify the exact Indo-European model language from which the process of diffusion had originated.

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Federico GIUSFREDI <federico.giusfredi@univr.it>

43) e₂-dub-ba-a et ge-dub-ba¹⁾ — Quoique M. Civil ait souligné déjà en 1989 que e₂-dub-ba-a n'est pas une relation génitive (*apud* HALLO 1989:237 n. 2), les « maisons des tablettes » (et leurs congénères dans d'autres langues européennes), basées sur l'akkadien *bīt tuppim*, continuent de hanter nos discussions consacrées à l'école sumérienne (v. récemment MICHALOWSKI 2011:9 avec n. 6, RUBIO 2016:246 avec n. 37^{2),3)} et CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM/KAHL 2018:54⁴⁾). Que e₂-dub-ba-a n'est normalement pas une relation génitive ressort clairement du fait que le génitif est e₂-dub-ba-a-k, pas e₂-dub-ba-a-ka-k (passim dans *dumu/a₂-a₂-ĝ₂-ĝ₂ e₂-dub-ba-a-k*) et le locatif e₂-dub-ba-a, pas e₂-dub-ba-a-ka (par ex. *Dialogue* 3:108 et 169, *Edubba'a A* 49 et *Iddin-Dagan B* 65)⁵⁾; cf. aussi e₂-dub-ba-am₃ dans CIVIL 1987:19 l. 6 A et G // e₂-dub-ba-a (B)⁶⁾.

Dans ces conditions, -ba- ne peut recouvrir /b/ + {ak}, raison pour laquelle A. Cavigneaux a suggéré à juste titre de le rapprocher du verbe ba « distribuer, assigner » (1976:81), sans toutefois offrir de traduction. D.O. Edzard a repris cette idée et proposé « house which distributes the tablets » (cité par C. Wilcke *apud* HALLO 1989:237 n. 2), une interprétation qui a été souvent adoptée depuis (v. par ex. VOLK 2000:3, WAETZOLDT/CAVIGNEAUX 2009-2011:295 et CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM/KAHL 2018:88; cf. aussi n. 2). Problématique dans cette explication est que l'on attendrait alors e₂-dub-ba⁷⁾ (type dub-sar) ou e₂-dub-ba-e-d (participe imperfectif). Que -ba-a puisse remonter à {ba + ed} (ainsi prudemment Wilcke cité par VOLK 2000:3 n. 13) est en effet exclu, car un génitif en -a-da-k et un locatif en -a-da seraient alors de mise⁸⁾. En conséquence, -ba-a ne peut guère être qu'un participe perfectif de ba et le lexème doit signifier soit « maison où les tablettes sont distribuées »⁹⁾, soit « maison à laquelle les tablettes ont été données en partage ».

Il y a toutefois un passage qui fait difficulté, à savoir *Lipit-Eštar B* 59-61:

59)	
A	za ₃ -mim-zu / e ₂ -dub-ba-a-ka / im(-)mu-e-ni-du ₁₁ -du ₁₁
B ¹⁰⁾	za ₃ -mim-zu e ₂ -dub-ba-a-ka / im(-)mu-e ¹¹⁾ -[x]-x-TAKA ₄
F	za ₃ ¹²⁾ -mim ¹³⁾ (AŠ)-zu / e ₂ -dub-ba-a-ka / im-e nam-da ₁₃ -da ₁₃
MS 2790 ¹¹⁾	za ₃ -mim-zu / e ₂ -dub-ba-a-ka / [i]m-me na-an-da ₁₃ -da ₁₃
Sb 11242 ¹²⁾	za ₃ -mim-zu ¹³⁾ e ₂ -dub-kam im nam-da ₁₃ -da ₁₃
60)	
A	dub-sar-re / a-la ħe ₂ -em-ši-AK-e
B	dub-sar-[...] / [ħ]e ₂ -em ¹⁴⁾ -[...]
F	dub-sar-e / a-le ħe ₂ -em-ši-AK-e
MS 2790	dub-sar-re a-le ħe ₂ -em-ši-AK

60a)

A gal-le-eš he₂-i-i
B cassé
F gal-le-eš he₂-i-i
MS 2790 gal-le-eš he₂-em-mi-i-i

61)

A ar₂-zu / e₂-dub-ba-a-ka / muš₃ nam-ba-an-tum₂-mu
B traces
F 'ar₂'-zu 'e₂'-[d]ub-ba-ka / 'muš₃ nam-ba'-an-'tum₃'-mu
MS 2790 'a'-ar₂-zu / e₂-dub-ba-ka / muš₂ nam-ba-an-tum₃-mu

Pour e₂-dub-ba(-a)-ka, deux interprétations ont été avancées. Alors que la majorité des assyriologues ont compris « dans l'école » v.s. (v. en premier lieu FALKENSTEIN 1953:125 sq. et plus récemment par ex. VANSTIPHOUT 1978:39, RÖMER 1989:686 et BLACK *et al.* 1999), WILCKE (1993:66 n. 180 pour la l. 61) et moi-même (1993:384 n. 1023 pour la l. 59) avons proposé indépendamment l'un de l'autre d'y voir un génitif sans régent, litt. « parmi ceux de l'école¹³⁾ ». Le seul argument en faveur de la première hypothèse est que trois duplicats sur cinq ont e₂-dub-ba (au lieu d'e₂-dub-ba-a), une variante sinon plutôt rare (v. n. 7) qui s'expliquerait facilement si on avait ici un calque de *bīt tuppim*. Comme il est toutefois difficilement crédible que dans ce seul passage, tous les manuscrits aient opté pour une forme sinon pas attestée, je continue de penser qu'un génitif sans régent est de loin la solution la plus vraisemblable¹⁴⁾. Je traduirais en conséquence « *Tu as fait réciter tes hymnes parmi les membres de l'école* (A)/Tes hymnes, puissent-ils n'être jamais omis *parmi membres de l'école* (F, MS 2790 et Sb 11242)¹⁵⁾, puisse le scribe jubiler à cause d'eux et les déclamer de manière grandiose, puissent tes louanges ne jamais prendre fin *membres de l'école!* »

Un dernier point mérite d'être brièvement traité dans cette discussion, à savoir le terme pour « calame ». En contexte, usuel est ge-dub-ba-k(?)¹⁶⁾, mais ge-dub-ba-a est sporadiquement attesté; cf. *Lipit-Eštar B 22 A* (4 dupl. ont ge-dub-ba), *Našše A 100 T* (4 dupl. ont ge-dub-ba) et *Dialogue 3:11* (v. infra). Dans les textes lexicaux postpaléobab., ge-dub-ba-a est quasi standard (v. le CAD Q 79 sq. s.v. qan ṭuppi), comme sumérogramme, GE.DUB.BA et GE.DUB.BA.A sont également courants. Il ne fait pas de doute que ge-dub-ba-a est une forme influencée par e₂-dub-ba-a¹⁷⁾. Qui plus est, à en juger d'après *Dialogue 3:11*¹⁸⁾, ce n'est pas seulement une variante orthographique (= /gedubak(?)/), mais elle reflète une réalité linguistique (/gedubak(?)/ > /gedub(b)a'a/):

Au šu zu-ḥu-ul šu ge-dub-ba-a nu-du₇
Bn š[u ...]
Dn šu zu-ḥu-ul šu ge-dib⁻-be₂ nu-du₃
Fn [... ge-dub-b]a nu-du₇^{du}
Oun [...] šu ge-dub-ba-a nu-ub-DU(du/tum₂)
Pn [...] 'x x'-dub-ba nu-[x]-DU(du/tum₂)

« Toi à la main déficiente, une main qui n'est pas faite pour le calame »¹⁹⁾.

ge-dub-ba(-a) n'est ici clairement pas une relation génitive, car on attendrait sinon ge-dub-ba-a-ke₄ (avec du₇) ou ge-dub-ba(-a)-ka (s'il faut lire DU tum₂). Est-ce à dire que ge-dub-ba(-a) a été réinterprété en quelque chose comme « roseau auquel les tablettes sont données en partage »? La chose ne me semble pas très vraisemblable, mais elle ne peut pas non plus être exclue.

1) Mme J. Matuszak a mis à ma disposition son édition de *Dialogue 5*, M. M. Ceccarelli sa partition de *Dialogue 3* et M. K. Volk sa translittération de MS 2790. Que tous trois trouvent ici l'expression de ma gratitude.

2) Mais Rubio n'exclut pas que -ba- puisse être le verbe ba « distribuer, assigner » (v. infra).

3) Reprenant l'idée de B. Landsberger citée dans SJÖBERG 1975:159 n. 1, ces deux auteurs admettent que le -a final permet de distinguer orthographiquement e₂-dub-ba-a de e₂-kišeb₍₃₎-ba « magasin ».

4) À la p. 88 en revanche, ils proposent « Haus, das Tontafeln zuteilt » (v. infra), sans renvoi à l'interprétation divergente de la p. 54.

5) Pour *Lipit-Eštar B 59-61*, v. infra.

6) Dans ŠB 13, il faut lire en revanche e₂-dub-ba-a min-am₃ // e₂-dub-ba-a-[a]m₃ (VOLK 1996:202 n. 148 sur collation).

7) Une forme sporadiquement attestée, mais normalement pas majoritaire; pour une exception, v. *Lipit-Eštar B* 59 discuté infra.

8) Remarquer par ailleurs que (-)ba-e n'alterne normalement pas avec (-)ba-a.

9) Cf. VOLK 2000:3 n. 13 (« Zu fragen wäre indes, ob nicht (eher?) eine Deutung ›Haus, in dem Tafeln zugeteilt werden‹ in Betracht zu ziehen ist ») et *Id.* 2009-2011:280. Cette traduction a été adoptée par moi (2011:223 et 2012:355) et n'est pas rejetée catégoriquement par RUBIO (2016:256 n. 37).

10) CBS 13967 + rev. iii 1 sq.; photo (avec de nouveaux joins) dans CDLI P268965.

11) CDLI P251836; translittération de K. Volk.

12) MALAYERI 2015:308, T. 478.

13) Contrairement à *dumu e₂-dub-ba-a-k* « écolier », *e₂-dub-ba-a-k* désignerait plus généralement les membres de l'école, incluant les élèves et le corps enseignant.

14) Cela vaut pour le texte originel. Je n'exclurais pas qu'un ou plusieurs scribes aient effectivement réinterprété le passage et compris « dans la maison des tablettes », ce qui pourrait rendre compte de la fréquence d'*e₂-dub-ba* au lieu d'*e₂-dub-ba-a* (v. n. 7).

15) Litt. « Tes hymnes, parmi ceux de l'école, puisse l'argile ne pas les (laisser =) omettre! » ou « (...) puissent-ils ne pas manquer sur l'argile! » La version de B n'est pas entièrement claire. Envisageable serait une question rhétorique, litt. « *leur (aux hymnes) as-tu fait quitter l'argile?* » (im mu-) ou « *les as-tu omis?* » (im-mu-).

16) Il est assez vraisemblable qu'on ait affaire à une relation génitive (v. toutefois *infra Dialogue 3:11*), mais je ne connais pas de forme *ge-dub-ba-ka(m)/ke₄*. Dans UET 6, 350:8, la lecture *ge-dub-ba-k[am]* (ainsi ALSTER 1997:322) est erronée (PETERSON 2017 à propos d'UET 6, 350).

17) De même VOLK 2009-2011:280. Comp. *e₂-kišeb₍₃₎-ba-a* « magasin » (au lieu d'*e₂-kišeb₍₃₎-ba*), attesté dans *Dialogue 5:26 N₅* (manuscrit de J. Matuszak), à Emar et Ugarit (VIANO 2016:178) et dans les textes lexicaux; v. SJÖBERG 1975:159 n. 1, mais remarquer toutefois que dans Proto-Lu/OB Nippur Lu 42, DCCLT lit ša₃-tam *e₂-kišib₃-ba*, pas (...)ba-a. D'après DCCLT, *e₂-kišeb₍₃₎-ba-a* serait attesté sûrement à l'ép. paléobab. dans SLT 105 + 109 + 148 rev. ii 16 et OECT 4, 160 ii 8 (OB Lu/Larsa).

18) Manuscrit de M. Ceccarelli.

19) Ainsi probabl. Au, Dn et Fn // « (...), (ta) main n'est pas faite pour le calame » (Oun et Pn).

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Pascal ATTINGER <pascal.atteringer@iaw.unibe.ch>
 Rue de Tivoli 10, CH 2000 Neuchâtel

44) Sumu-abum at Nippur — In August, 2017, while reading unpublished tablets excavated at Nippur by the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, I came across an otherwise unremarkable tablet (A33639 = 4 NT 230), noteworthy for its year date: mu^dsu-mu-a-bu-um lugal “(The) year Sumu-abum (became) king.”

The tablet measures 35 x 35 x 10 mm. The OI database gives the findspot as “IT 2, Floor 1a.”

This is the second known Old Babylonian tablet from Nippur that employs the term eš₃-ta-gur-ra to record the redistribution of offerings made in the temple of Ninurta.¹⁾ The texts of the two Nippur tablets are similar in structure, and both identify Abba-kalla as the individual delivering the foodstuffs.

With the assistance of Andy Wilent, Assistant Curator of Tablet Collection, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, the tablet is transliterated below.

Obverse

1 1 (PI) ninda
 2 šuku ṛš₃?¹ erin₂ i₃-si-in^{ki}-na
 3 ud ṛx¹-kam
 4 lu₂ udu-hi-a mu-un-na-ṛšum?¹
 5n eš₃-ta-gur-ra
 6 e₂ ṛnin-urta

60 sila of bread
 food portion (allotment of) the men from Isin
 for x day(s)
 for the one(s) who slaughter the sheep.
 “Returned from the sanctuary”
 of the temple of Ninurta.

Reverse

7 ki a-ab-ba-kal-la-ta
 8 ba-zi
 9 kišib ša₃-tam-e-ne
 10 iti bar₂-za₃-gar ud 2-kam
 11 mu^dsu-mu-a-bu-um lugal
 Traces of 3 seals

Issued
 by Abba-kalla.
 Seal(s) of the šatammu-officials.
 Month 1, day 2,
 Year Sumu-abum (became) king.

Not a great deal is known about Sumu-abum. Traditionally considered the founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, such has proven not to be the case. Sumu-abum was in fact a contemporary of Sumu-la-El, the dynasty's founder.²⁾ Tablets with Sumu-abum year dates are attested from Dilbat, Sippar, and Kisurra, and it has been suspected that he was briefly recognized as king in Nippur.³⁾ This tablet is proof positive that such was the case.

Two tablets, YOS 14, 128 and 351, bearing the same year date as A33639, are thought to come from Kisurra. A ruler dating tablets at a newly conquered city with his accession year refers not to the first year of his reign, but rather to the first year of his reign at the newly conquered city. For example, one finds tablets from Hammu-rabi's first year as ruler of Larsa dated: “Year Hammu-rabi (became) king,” but this was actually the 31st year of his rule. Sumu-abum may have done the same at Nippur and Kisurra.

1) The first, published by SIGRIST 1977) is dated to year 5 of Lipit-Enlil of Isin. A third Old Babylonian attestation of eš₃-ta-gur-ra is found in a tablet from Ur (UET 5, 586) edited by CHARPIN 1986: 114–115. The Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts (BDTNS) lists sixteen Ur III texts in which the term occurs (as of the September 2017 update). For the Ur III examples, see HEIMPEL 2009: 92–93 and n. 55.

2) CHARPIN 2004: 81 and GODDEERIS 2002: 170–173, 322.

3) CHARPIN 2004: 81 and n. 271.

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Howard FARBER <hfarber@sbcglobal.net>

Andy WILENT <awilent@uchicago.edu>

45) Addendum à Chagar Bazar VI, § 3 — Mon étude « Les perles de pierre et de métal dans les textes sumériens et akkadiens », *Chagar Bazar VI*, 2018, p. 43–70 (§ 3), ne tient pas suffisamment compte des données néobabyloniennes :

- p. 47, § 3.2.8 : ajouter aux références P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian Period*, CM 23, Leiden/Boston, 2003, spécialement §§ 1.6, 3.5, 4.2.2, 4.3.2, 4.4.2, 4.5.2, 5.4.2, 5.6.2 et Appendix 3 ;
- p. 53 : DUB-ka-a-ta est traité comme une forme métathétique de *tukptum*, ce qui n'est pas certain en vue des données des archives d'Eanna (Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, p. 389) ;
- p. 61 : les perles *kappum* de Mari pourraient être rapprochées des éléments décoratifs *gappu* « plume » (Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, p. 10, avec le renvoi aux textes publiés dans les sections respectives) ; il faut d'ailleurs faire attention aux différences importantes : les *kappum* sont en pierre et font partie de colliers, les *gappu* sont en or et font partie de tiaras ;
- p. 63, n. 47 : l'emploi de *kunukku* avec le sens « perle cylindrique » est en réalité bien attesté dans les archives d'Eanna (e.g., NCBT 1227 : 3, cité dans Beaulieu, *op. cit.* p. 141) ;
- p. 66 (Tableau) : *erimmatu* « perle ovoïde » est attesté aussi à l'époque néobabylonienne (Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, p. 13, avec le renvoi aux textes publiés dans les sections respectives).

Ilya ARKHIPOV <arkhipoff@mail.ru>

Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of World History, MOSCOU, RUSSIE

46) Marginalia on the Cuneiform Commentaries Project. No. 1: A Proverb from the Series Sidu — The commentary CCP 3.6.3.A, on *Izbu* 7, was first edited by FINKEL 2006, and has since been reedited by DE ZORZI 2014: 525–528 and FRAZER 2016. One of its most arresting features is that it contains an explicit quotation from the elusive series *Sidu*. The passage in question reads:

(28) *qé-e-el* : *he-pu-ú* : KU₅.DU : *qé-e-el* : KU₅.DU : *he-pu-u* (29) *lib-bu-ú šu-uḫ-ḫu-tú kur-ban-né-e su-un-šú ma-li šá i-ger-ru-ba-am-ma* (30) *i-né-ši-qa-an-ni a-qé-él-šú šá ina ÉŠ.GAR msi-dù E-ú*
 (28) "Crushed" (= *Šumma Izbu* VII 164') means "smashed," (since) KU₅.DU means "crushed," (and) KU₅.DU (also) means "smashed," (29) as in "The dripping-eyed's lap is full of clods; (he says), 'Whoever approaches me and (30) kisses me, I shall crush him!'" — which is said in the Series of Sidu.

The exact meaning of the line cited, ostensibly a proverb, has been discussed by a number of scholars (FINKEL 2006: 145, GABBAY 2009, FRAHM 2010: 170–171, DE ZORZI 2014: 385), but it has remained obscure. It has been hitherto overlooked that the line is in fact attested in a bilingual proverb (BM 38539), published already by LAMBERT 1960: 266–267 and pl. 67. This identification allows an improved reading of both the quotation and the original text, although the interpretation of the proverb remains uncertain. In its original context the line reads (collated):

[o o o o-t]a lag ab-ta-si-eš	<i>šu-ḫu-ut-ti kir-ba-né-[e (su-un-šú ma-li)]</i>
[o o o a]b ⁷ -te*-rġá ¹	<i>šá i-sa-an-[ni-qa(m)-ma]</i>
[o o s]u-ub-bé	<i>i-na-aš-ši-qa-[(an)-ni]</i>
[o o] x-e-NE	<i>e-qel-[šú]</i>

The first line might be restored as [lú-igi-zé-zé úr-t]a, the last one perhaps as [ku₅-r]e₆(DU)-e-NE. Comparison between the original proverb and its form as quoted in the commentary shows an interesting feature: whereas the original text uses the verb *sanāqu* (the Akkadian counterpart to Sumerian *têĝ*), the line in the commentary uses *qerēbu*, a verb of similar meaning, but one that is never equated with *têĝ* in

lexical lists or bilingual texts. This suggests that the exegete knew only the Akkadian version of the proverb, and not the Sumerian.

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Enrique JIMÉNEZ <enrique.jimenez@lmu.de>

Historisches Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München – Alte Geschichte
Geschwister-Scholl-Platz 1, 80539 MÜNCHEN

47) A network of cognates — It is generally accepted that Akkadian *azamillu* has no other cognates besides Ugaritic *ā/īzml*, which may even be a loanword in that language¹⁾. The Ugaritic word occurs either as *āzml* (KTU 4.390:10; 5.23:3) or as *īzml* (KTU 4.284:2; 5.3:7)²⁾ and in syllabic texts from Ras Shamra has the spellings *a³-za-ME-lu* (RS 20.134 iii 28) in the singular, with the plural form as *a-za-mi-la-te[]* (PRU 6, 155 [RS 19.07]:8)³⁾. In meaning, it appears to match those proposed for Akk. *azamillu(m)*, (MA *aza'illu*), namely: "Tragsack, -netz" (AHw, 92); "sack with netlike reinforcement" (CAD A/2, 525) or "sack, net" (CDA, 33a)⁴⁾. Proposed meanings for Ug. *ā/īzml* are "kind of sack, harness" (DUL, 133), "sack"⁵⁾ and "Tragsack, -netz, Decke", this last with the rider: "Es besteht kein Grund, für ug. *izml* eine andere Bedeutung als die für akk. *azamil(lu)* anzunehmen."⁶⁾

In fact, it has gone completely unnoticed that a set of cognates may be found in Modern South Arabian. These are Mehri *zml*, "to put the *shidād*-girth on a camel"; *zəmēl*, "camel-gear"; *zuṭl* (in the Eastern dialect) / *zoṭl* (in the Central dialect), "to put grass-filled pods on a camel's back and tie them on with a long rope"; *zēmāl*, "camel-load"⁷⁾; Ḥarsūsi *zēmōl*, "to put a girth on a camel"⁸⁾ and Jibbālī *zēl* / *ezmīl*, "grass-filled sacks used as camel-pads"⁹⁾. These seem to correspond to the description given for Akk. *azamillu*: "The *a*. seems to be a bag used to hold barley..., straw and flour, reinforced by an external net" (CAD A/2, 525b). More specifically, they provide a close match to Ug. *ā/īzml* since: "È verosimile che questo tessile ... fosse impiegato nella bardatura degli equini, come l'acc. *azamillum*"¹⁰⁾.

Of course, whereas both Ug. *ā/īzml* and Akk. *azamillu* have a prothetic aleph¹¹⁾, the MSA cognates do not, with the exception of Jibbālī *ezmīl*. Comparable in this respect is Ug. *āqšr*, "sloughing" and Arab. *'aqšar*, "having its peel pared off" (Lane AEL, 2525) as against MSA (Mehri) *kāššār*, "skinned, skinless"¹²⁾.

1) See J.-P. Vita, "Textile Terminology in the Ugaritic Texts", in: C. Michel – M.-L. Nosch (eds), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC* (Ancient Textiles Series 8; Oxford 2010) 323-337 (328); J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (Münster 2012) 106 §32.143.43; DUL, 133.

2) This may be a broken plural: see G. del Olmo Lete, "Nominal Vowel Alteration and Apophony in Ugaritic along with Some Afterthoughts and a Bibliography on Internal Plural", *AuOr* 32 (2014) 49-70 (61-62). For the vowel changes see also J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32; Atlanta 1987) 270 n. 13; 282 n. 67.

3) For details see W. H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar* (AOAT 40; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991) 283 n. 76 and Vita 2010, 332. As yet, RS 20.134 remains unpublished; cf. P. Bordreuil – D. Pardee, *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit* vol. 1, *Concordance* (RSOu 5, Paris 1989) 232 and W. H. van Soldt, "Babylonian Lexical, Religious and Literary Texts and Scribal Education at Ugarit and Its Implications for the Alphabetic Literary Texts", in: M. Dietrich – O. Loretz (eds), *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes*

Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient: Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung, I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt (ALASP 7; Münster 1995) 171-212 (204). My thanks to Juan Pablo Vita for these last two references and for his valuable comments on this note.

4) Note that K. R. Veenhof, *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology* (SD 10; Leiden 1972) 8 cites *giš.sa.al.kad₄* = *azamillum* = *zurzu ša unūti*, “sack as part of the harness”.

5) Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, 282 n. 67.

6) M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín, “Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (VII)”, *UF* 5 (1973) 79-104 (85).

7) T. M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-list* (London 1987) 468.

8) T. M. Johnstone, *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon and English-Ḥarsūsi Word-list* (London/New York/Toronto 1977) 149.

9) T. M. Johnstone, *Jibbāli Lexicon* (Oxford 1981) 319.

10) S. Ribichini – P. Xella, *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit* (Collezione di Studi Fenici 20; Rome 1985) 28.

11) See Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*, 202-203 §33.42.

12) Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon*, 242. Other examples of this kind are Ug. *inšt*, “relatives”, but Akk. *nišūtu*, “relative(s)” (CDA, 256a); Ug. *īpd*, “tunic” (DUL, 85-86), but Syr. *pedā*, “ephod” (cf. SL, 1157), and Ug. *ū/ītml* “yesterday” (DUL, 119), but Eth. *tāmālēm*, “yesterday” (CDG, 575-576) and Akk. *timāli/u*, “yesterday” (CDA, 406b).

Wilfred WATSON <wge.watson@gmail.com>

48) The fall of a grandiose dynasty — The obscure Ugaritic word *grdš* occurs only twice in the corpus, both times in the “Legend of Kirta”. The texts are as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|---|
| (a) | <i>krt. ḥtkn. rš</i> | Kirta had crushed his descendants, |
| | <i>krt. grdš. mknt</i> | Kirta had ... his posterity. |
| | (KTU 1.14 i 10-11) | |
| (b) | <i>y^cn. ḥtkh krt.</i> | Kirta saw his descendants |
| | <i>y^cn. ḥtkh rš</i> | He saw: he had crushed his descendants, |
| | <i>mīd. grdš. ṭbth</i> | greatly had he ... his family seat. |
| | <i>wb klhn. šph. yṭbd</i> | So, in its entirety (his) family was destroyed, |
| | <i>wb. phyrh. yrṭ</i> | and in its totality (his) succession. |
| | (KTU 1.14 i 21-23) | |

The lack of congruence between *grdš* and either *mknt* in (a) or *ṭbt* in (b) shows that Kirta is the subject here (see VERREET 1987, 322) and following TROPPER (UG, 676), both the verbs *rš* and *grdš* are taken as transitive. The verb *rš* is cognate with Akk. *rāšu*, “to weaken”, D: “to harass”; Heb. *rwš*, “to be poor” (HALOT, 1209a) and Heb. *ršš*, polel: “to smash, batter to pieces”, pual: “to be shattered” (HALOT, 1298) and with Syriac *ršš*, “to crush” (SL, 1493). The parallel term, Ug. *grdš*, was first compared with Syriac *grdš*, “to gnaw (bones)” (SL, 258) and “to gnaw or scrape bones; to be broken, torn, smitten” (CSD, 78a) by C. H. GORDON (UT §19.621). See also Aram. *grdš*, “to gnaw bones” (DJBA, 299b), which had not previously been mentioned. This equivalence has been accepted by many scholars (e.g. VERREET 1987, 321), and taken as meaning something like “to be undermined, ruined” (DUL, 304).

However, J. C. GREENFIELD (1969, 61) was correctly sceptical of this equivalence. He commented: “An examination of the native lexicon ... shows that ‘breaking of bones and gnawing them to extract the marrow’ is the actual preserved meaning of this root. It is possible that *grdš* had a wider sphere of meaning in earlier times and in cognate languages but I hesitate to see in Syriac a direct cognate for Ugaritic *grdš*. It is rather to be associated with other verbs beginning with *gr-/gd-* that indicate cutting and breaking”. Examples (as Giovanni Mazzini reminded me, p.c. 18.05.2018) are Arab. *jarada*, II: “to divest, dispossess etc.” (DMWA, 119), Akk. *garādu*, “to pluck, tear out” (CDA, 90b) and more remotely, Heb. *grd*, “to scrape oneself (with a sherd)” and Heb. *gdd*, “to make incisions on oneself” (HALOT, 202a, 177a).

In fact, it has gone unnoticed that cognate verbs with a closer meaning to the Ugaritic verb *grdš* can be found in Modern South Arabic. These are:

Harsusi *grđś*, “to lay down, to lie down” (HL, 41)

Jibbāli *grđś*, “to fall down” (JL, 78)

Mehri *grđś*, “to fall down” (ML, 124)

These indicate that *krt grđś mknt* in (a) may be translated: “Kirta had ruined his lineage” and *mīd grđś tbt* in (b) may be rendered: “greatly had he ruined his inheritance”. This is in line with the translation by TROPPER (UG², 676): “Keret hatte die Herrschaft zerschlagen; Keret hatte die Machtstellung zerbrochen” (cf. also *ibid.* 681).

If correct, this equivalence between the Ugaritic and MSA words can be added to those collected by RENDSBURG 1987 (with the provisos mentioned by MAZZINI 2010, 16-18) and discussed by DEL OLMO LETE 2012.

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Wilfred WATSON <wge.watson@gmail.com>

49) Notes on Anatolian Hieroglyphic Materials 1 (Şarhöyük, Kayalıpınar) — In this forthcoming series of papers, I would like to add further comments and corrections on some published Anatolian Hieroglyphic materials.



Fig. 1 Şarhöyük Seal (author's drawing after BAŞTÜRK & DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN 2018, figs. 4-5).

Şarhöyük seal (no inv. no.). On Side A, on the left-hand side, under the sign BONUS₂ there is the sign VIR₂ (not the sign SCUTELLA as BAŞTÜRK & DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN 2018 have suggested) and

traces of the last sign is clearly BOS (L105), (*m*)*u(wa/i)* (not the sign *á*, L19 or *na*, L35 as M. Weeden has suggested, see: BAŞTÜRK & DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN 2018: 34, fn. 7), as on Side B. It is clear that the first sign on Side B is L186, *lu*, as on Side A. A further correction is that L445 never has the *lu/a/i* phonetic value in the Empire Period as instead maintained in the article (BAŞTÜRK & DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN 2018: 34).

According to these corrections above, we should now read as following (Fig. 1). Side A: BONUS₂ VIR₂ *lu-wa/i*-BO[S] BONUS₂ SCUTELLA, Side B: BONUS₂ VIR₂ [*l*]*u-wa/i*-BOS [BONUS₂ SCUTELLA], *Luwi(ya)muwa*, ‘the table-man’. The name *Luwi(ya)muwa* (not attested before) - which means ‘having the might of Luwi(ya)’ - follows the pattern of possessive compounds toponym + *muwa*-names (as NH 811 *Mizramuwa*, NH 808 *Mittanamuwa* etc.; cf. MELCHERT 2013: 42 ff.). This seal can be dated to the 13th century BC.



Fig. 2 Kayalıpınar sealing

(author’s modified drawing after MÜLLER-KARPE & MÜLLER-KARPE & RIEKEN 2017, fig. 9a).

Kayalıpınar sealing (Kp 15/157). Instead of the reconstruction L174 - L35 - L104 CAPRA₂ (or L102 CERVUS₂) - 376 (?) and the *Si-na-sà-x*, *Sinasa(n)za* reading (MÜLLER-KARPE & MÜLLER-KARPE & RIEKEN 2017: 69), I suggest that the name should begin with the sign CAPRA₂ on the right-hand side. There is also enough space to reconstruct the signs L421, *US* and L434, *ka* (see Fig. 2). Thus, the name should be read as follows: *sà[+US-ka]-si-na*, *Šaušgašena*, which means ‘Šaušga (is my) brother’ in Hurrian. The profession of *Šaušgašena* of Kayalıpınar is BONUS₂ SACERDOS₂, ‘the priest’. Exactly the same name (but written with the sign L104 CAPRA as BONUS₂ SCRIBA, ‘the scribe’) has been read by S. Herbordt (*apud* VAN DEN HOUT & AKDOĞAN 2013) on a bulla from a private collection (İpek Collection, no. 56, Sealing 2).

I would also like to add a missing citation, DINÇOL 1998, as the primary source for the reading *HAT(A)* of sign L177 (LINGUA+CLAVUS), discussed in MÜLLER-KARPE & MÜLLER-KARPE & RIEKEN 2017: 75.

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Hasan PEKER <hasan.peker@istanbul.edu.tr>
Istanbul University, Chair of Hittitology

50) Kişir-Aššur’s Name and Title in Writing* — The following note was prepared as part of my PhD dissertation, entitled *Medicine in Ancient Assur: A Microhistorical Study of the Neo-Assyrian Healer*

Kiřir-Ařřur. The study examines the education, practice, and career of the Neo-Assyrian exorcist Kiřir-Ařřur of the Assur N4 tablet collection (MAUL 2010; PEDERSÉN 1986: 41ff.). Six career phases can be reconstructed for Kiřir-Ařřur, namely: *řamallû řeřru*, *řamallû*, *řamallû mařmařřu řeřru*, *mařmařřu řeřru*, *mařmařřu*, and *mařmař bīt Ařřur* (MAUL 2010: 208-11 and notes 67, 70, 74; BAKER 2000: 623-24; HUNGER 1968: 19). The *řamallû*-phase is reconstructed on the basis of three unpublished Kiřir-Ařřur colophons, namely A 390+, A 2397, and A 2743 (PEDERSÉN 1986: 45). These texts, however, can now be disregarded as *řamallû*-phase manuscripts because all three colophons contain the title *řamallû řeřru* (SCHWEMER, personal communication). As shown in what follows, there appear to be some patterns in the various ways Kiřir-Ařřur wrote his name and titles before he became *mařmařřu*.

Kiřir-Ařřur's theophoric element Ařřur is usually written in one of two ways in his colophons: AN.řÁR or Ař-řur. The following observations indicate that Kiřir-Ařřur may have differentiated how he wrote this theophoric element of his name in relation to what types of knowledge he copied. During his *řamallû řeřru*- and *řamallû mařmařřu řeřru*-phases he wrote AN.řÁR in colophons related to medical knowledge for treating symptoms and illnesses (*BAM* 9, *BAM* 129, *BAM* 201, *RA* 15 pl. 76, *RA* 40 pl. 116).¹⁾ However, during the same phases, Kiřir-Ařřur wrote Ař-řur in the colophons related to rituals and prayers directed at healing divine causes of sickness or other problems (*KAL* 4 no. 19, *LKA* 43, *LKA* 89, *LKA* 141).²⁾ In addition, the theophoric element of Kiřir-Ařřur's name is written ^dAř-řur in the unpublished *řamallû řeřru*-phase manuscripts A 390, comprising a prayer and treatments against ghostly afflictions, and A 2743, containing ritual instructions related to the ritual "a substitute for Ereřkigal" (Schwemer, personal communication; see TSUKIMOTO 1985: 125-35).³⁾ Only in the medical text *BAM* 121, without a title, did Kiřir-Ařřur spell his name in an esoteric way as: ZÚ.KEřDA(ka-sar)-AN.řÁR.⁴⁾ The various spellings could suggest that Kiřir-Ařřur wrote his name differently for "medical" texts than for "ritual" or "religious" texts, albeit more manuscripts are needed to validate this suggestion. During Kiřir-Ařřur's *mařmařřu*-phase such tentative patterns disappear, perhaps because he became fully educated.

Names in colophons from the first millennium BCE are regularly written cryptographically (FRAHM 2011: 158 and n. 757, 202 and n. 956, 239, 266 n. 1262, 308; FINKEL 2010: 17, 21; PEARCE 1982: 103; LEICHTY 1964: 152-53). And in Neo- and Late-Babylonian scribal exercises the colophons were frequently the most advanced element of the exercise (GEORGE 2010; GESCHE 2001: 155; CAVIGNEAUX 1999: 390-91; MAUL 1998; CAVIGNEAUX 1996). Yet, studies into the significance of particular spellings of names have shown that it is difficult to substantiate individual observations (e.g., WAETZOLDT 2008). Whether or not other specialists utilized particular writings of their name during their training in relation to specific textual content cannot be determined at present, as too few texts assigned to the majority of individual specialists and their various career phases have been identified.⁵⁾

Kiřir-Ařřur uses the řÁMAN sign for the title *řamallû* (řÁMAN.LÁ) as *řamallû řeřru* in the relevant texts, but in the two manuscripts from his *řamallû mařmařřu řeřru*-phase (*LKA* 89 and *LKA* 141) he writes *řamallû* with the sign DUGUD. The title *řamallû* "assistant, agent of a merchant, apprentice scribe, junior scribe, apprentice scholar" (*CAD* ř: 291-94) was, besides its phonetic writing, written with the Sumerograms řÁMAN.LÁ and řAB.TUR (BORGER 2010: 334, 399; *CAD* ř/1: 291; HUNGER 1968: 9-10). However, the Neo-Assyrian evidence shows that the writing DUGUD.LÁ was also used for the *řamallû* (*řeřru*) stage of training in Assur (e.g., *KAL* 1 no. 6 col. vi 2'; *KAL* 2 no. 9 rev. 16'; *KAL* 5 no. 30 rev. 17),⁶⁾ Kalřu (e.g., *CTN* 4 no. 27 rev. 9'), and řuzirina (e.g., *STT* 1 no. 36 rev. 48; *STT* 1 no. 57 rev. 89; *STT* 1 no. 73 col. iv 139; *STT* 1 no. 108 rev. 101; *STT* 1 no. 109 rev. 68'; *STT* 2 no. 199 rev. 48'; *STT* 2 no. 256 rev. 45).⁷⁾ It remains uncertain if the writing was also used in Nineveh, as the royal collections have yielded relatively few apprentice texts (e.g., K 2016a+ col. vi 33'-34'). Neo-Assyrian apprentice scribes in Assur, Kalřu, and řuzirina therefore used the sign DUGUD as a valid substitute for řÁMAN when writing the title *řamallû*, although the reasons for this spelling remain unclear. Perhaps the close similarity between the two signs řÁMAN and DUGUD enabled interchangeable use. Yet, too few educational texts have been recovered from individual apprentices to estimate if the Sumerogram DUGUD was used in particular contexts. What significance this may have

had for Kišir-Aššur therefore remains uncertain, although it would seem that he differentiated the writing of his “title” as he progressed.

There appear to be slight indications for conscious, idiosyncratic choices in how Kišir-Aššur wrote his name and used his titles related to what content he was copying or his professional phase. However, it should be emphasized that any attempt to generalize such observations are hindered by the limited sample size of texts.

* I am grateful to Nicole Brisch and Daniel Schwemer for numerous helpful comments and suggestions.

1) A new edition of the text RA 15 pl. 76 was provided in my PhD dissertation. BAM 9 does not contain a title, but I argue in my dissertation for including the text among Kišir-Aššur's *šamallû šeḫru* manuscripts. It is unclear if Kišir-Aššur's *šamallû šeḫru* text KAL 4 no. 41, likely against the illness *garābu*, as well as his only *mašmaššu šeḫru* text (FARBER 1989: 102-7 ms 1, pl. 13), an incantation intended to calm a child, should be considered medical knowledge. Kišir-Aššur wrote his name as ^PKi-šir-AN.ŠÁR in these texts.

2) The unpublished text A 2397 appears to contain brief extracts of phrases from Sumerian and Akkadian compositions and a theophoric element written Aš-šur in Kišir-Aššur's name (Schwemer, personal communication).

3) Incidentally, the two colophons with this variant of Kišir-Aššur's theophoric element also contain a variant of Kišir-Aššur's title written as ŠÁMAN.LÁ BÀN.DA (Schwemer, personal communication).

4) CAVIGNEAUX & AL-RAWI (1995: 36) suggest that the two initial signs ka-sar should be read as ZÚ.KEŠDA. The sign KA/ZÚ and SAR, read KÉŠ/KEŠDA, *kašāru*, designates *kišru* “a knot” (BORGER 2010: 256). A similar writing is found in three of Kišir-Nabû's texts as ZÚ.KEŠDA-^dHÉ.DU₇, namely CMAwR 1 pl. 25-26, KAR 44, and LKA 110.

5) There are other well represented scholars from the same period, such as Nabû-zuqup-kēnu (e.g., FRAHM 2011: 265-67). Unfortunately, his texts remain to be studied as a coherent corpus to compare results with the observations concerning Kišir-Aššur presented here.

6) The reading ŠÁMAN.LÁ in KAL 2 no. 9 rev 16' is a typo for ŠÁMAN.LÁ (SCHWEMER 2007: 36; cf. CMAwR 2: 79-82). HEEBEL (2012: 127) notes the writing DUGUD in KAL 5 no. 30 rev. 17 and emends it to ŠÁMAN¹.

7) See also the use of DUGUD for *šamallû* in BWL pl. 73, VAT 10071 rev. 18 from the N2 collection in Assur (PEDERSÉN 1986: 29ff.).

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Troels Pank ARBØLL <troels.arboell@gmail.com>

University of Copenhagen, Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies

51)^{KUR}Gi-di-ra-a in Nimrud Letter 14 (ND 2773): A Rejoinder to its Location in Transjordan — Various studies discussing the evidence of the Neo-Assyrian presence in the region of Transjordan have also dealt with the toponym ^{KUR}Gi-di-ra-a (Gidira). The place is attested in Nimrud Letter 14 (ND 2773), dating to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (first published by SAGGS 1955: 131–132, pl. XXXII; see now LUUKKO 2012: 35–36, SAA 19/29; recently also NA³AMAN 2018: 44). Like many other toponyms in Transjordan mentioned in cuneiform documents, ^{KUR}Gi-di-ra-a continues to defy identification. Nimrud Letter 14 is written by a certain *Qurdi-Aššur*, perhaps identical with *Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur*, who as a Assyrian governor based at Šimirra is known to have dealt with matters along the northern Levantine coast (ALBRIGHT 1955: 34–35; see TIMM 2000: 323–324; GASS 2009: 119, footnote 623, for the attestations of the names, see also VAN BUYLAERE 2002: 1020–1021 [*Qurdi-Aššur*], 1021–1022 [*Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur*]). Confident about the identification of both attested names referring to one individual, at the time of Nimrud Letter 14 serving as governor of the newly conquered and annexed province of Damascus (and thus late in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III and after his tenure at Šimirra), are – quite convincingly – YAMADA 2008 and recently also NA³AMAN 2018: 42–45.

The toponym in question (Gidira) is mentioned in the letter in connection with a raid by the men of *Gidira* (line 11: *šu-nu ša* ^{KUR}*Gi-di-ra-a-a*, or "Gidireans") into the region (line 12: ^{KUR}*ma-a'-ba*) and an unspecified town (line 10: ^{URU}*ma-a'-ba-a-a*) of Moab, perhaps but not necessarily the capital of this region. Apparently, Moab and the region from which the men of *Gidira* came were located next to or at least not far away from each other (ND 2773, lines 12–13: "when they crossed over to the land of Moab and went away").

Ever since the first publication of the cuneiform letter, it has drawn attention from scholars dealing with Transjordan in the Neo-Assyrian period and has led to a large literature on this specific subject. It is clearly beyond the scope of this small note to discuss the identification or location of the other Transjordanian toponyms mentioned in the letter or to present all of the older proposals put forward for the identification and location of *Gidira* in detail (see, partly with compilations of older proposals, ALBRIGHT 1955; DONNER 1957; MAZAR 1957; ODED 1970; MITTMANN 1973: 19–25; WEIPPERT 1997; TIMM 2000: 321–329; BAGG 2007: 75–76; 2011: 319; GASS 2009: 118–121). However, the proposed association of the toponym with the nomadic tribe of Qedar (^{KUR}*Qidri*, ^{KUR}*Qidrāya*, or ^{KUR}*Qa'idir*, "Qedarites"), known from contemporary and slightly later Neo-Assyrian sources to have been located in a different region (i.e. northern Arabia), is unlikely, as is a tentative location in southern Palestine (WEIPPERT 1997: 322; see also TIMM 2000: 323–329; GASS 2009: 120–121).

In the most recent studies dealing with the toponym, both BAGG (2007: 75–76; 2011: 319, § 4.10.2) and GASS (2009: 118–121) leave the location of ^{KUR}*Gi-di-ra-a* open. BAGG (2007: 75–76; 2011: 319, and maps 1.1, 1.1b) refers to Mittmann's (MITTMANN 1973: 19–25) proposal for the location of *Gidira* at the site of al-ʿIrāq within the Wādī Ġedīre, located in the hilly flanks to the west of Moab proper. GASS (2009: 121), after summarizing all the available evidence, remains undecided concerning a

specific location, but seems to opt for a locale north of Moab, somewhere in the regions of Gilead or even Bašan.

Surprisingly enough, although mentioned – among others – by MITTMANN (1973: 19), TIMM (2000: 321–329), BAGG (2007: 75–76; 2011: 319, § 4.10.2, and GASS (2009: 121, footnote 636), the most natural location of the toponym, which had already been proposed by MAZAR (1957: 237–238, followed by ODED 1970: 180–181), is explicitly or implicitly dismissed by many scholars: the modern town of aš-Šalt and its vicinity, which in earlier periods was known as Gadora/Gadara, the later capital of the region of Peraea (KNAUF – AENZEN 1987: 52–53; HÜBNER 1992: 139–140). Most scholars have rejected this identification due to the (assumed) lack of any Iron Age occupation attested at the site (TIMM 2000: 321–329) or its unknown political status during the Iron Age (MITTMANN 1973: 19). Mittmann rejects the idea that an existing political unit centered around modern aš-Šalt would have successfully attacked a town belonging to its southern neighbor (MITTMANN 1973, 19: “*Auch hier bleibt unerfindlich, was einen zwar im Ostjordanland gelegenen, doch immerhin rund 85 km weit entfernten Durchschnittsort, der schwerlich irgendeine überregionale Rolle spielte, dazu gebracht und befähigt haben sollte, die Moabitermetropole anzugreifen und zu überwäligen.*”). However, he also proposes that the few small villages in the vicinity of a single wadi (Wādī Ġedīre) to the west of Moab did just so (see already the rejection of this identification by TIMM 200: 328). A number scholars are reluctant to equate the region of aš-Šalt with the region of ^{KUR}*Gi-di-ra-a* on phonetic grounds, since the orthography of the latter in Nimrud Letter 14 suggests a short middle vowel, incompatible with the presumed long second vowel of the later Gadora/Gadara, that is, *Gadāra or *Gadōra (see, among others, MITTMANN 1973: 19; TIMM 2000: 324–329; GASS 2009: 120–121 with further references). As already pointed out by Nöldeke, however, the vocalic length remains uncertain and may be unlikely (NÖLDEKE 1918–1919).

Indeed, little is known of an Iron Age entity in the region of aš-Šalt/Gadōra/Gadāra, and its territorial extension must thus, for the time being, remain largely elusive (for a compilation of the sparse archaeological remains, see DUNCAN 1928; DE VAUX 1938; HADIDI 1989; also TIMM 2000: 327, but see KNAUF – AENZEN 1987: 52 for a tentative and unconfirmed identification of the town or region already in the reign of Seti I of the 19th Dynasty). However, recent construction work conducted at Tell Ġadūr/Ġedūr (also: Tell Jadōr/Jadūr) has provided archeological evidence for at least a Bronze Age settlement (and associated tomb assemblages) at the site, though the presence of a modern town which covers the site of aš-Šalt today prevents more thorough archeological investigations. There is, however, growing evidence for a number of Iron Age settlement sites in the vicinity and towards the southern Jordan Valley (AHRENS 2016; forthc. a; forthc. b). This combined evidence would at least support the possible existence of a political entity centered around aš-Šalt during the Iron Age.

Furthermore, the location of ^{KUR}*Gi-di-ra-a* with the region around aš-Šalt would also seem to fit with the actual content of the letter, which – as mentioned above and accepted by most scholars – seems to describe a feud or raid amongst neighboring and rival entities within an ill-defined Neo-Assyrian provincial system of political control and domination (BIENKOWSKI 2000: 48). The general geographical setting would enable the Gidireans to attack and swiftly leave the contested (border?) territory again. The unspecified “town of Moab” mentioned in line 10 of the letter (see above) need not necessarily be the capital of Moab, which is still not securely located, but perhaps a town located close to the border of Moab and its northern neighbor. The passage would thus refer to a town which was known to have been located within Moab’s boundaries. It should be noted that Moab extended into the plains just north of the Dead Sea, a region which was and is directly linked with the region of modern aš-Šalt via the Wādī Šu’aib (in its southern part referred to as Wādī Nimrīn) and the Wādī aš-Šalt. Additional support for an undefined Assyrian presence in the central Jordan Valley was recently discovered at Tell Damiyah, where a fragment of a clay bulla with cuneiform writing in Akkadian, dated to the Assyrian period on paleographic grounds, was found (PETIT – TAFIFI 2016: 24–25, fig. 19).

Though more evidence is clearly needed to verify this identification, the archeological evidence as well as general geographical considerations support and, contrary to previous assumptions, certainly do

not contradict MAZAR's proposed identification of ^{KUR}*Gi-di-ra-a* with the region of aš-Šalt/Gadora/Gadara.

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Alexander AHRENS <Alexander.Ahrens@dainst.de>

52) Sardanapalus – Ashur-danin-pal, and Belesys – Marduk-balassu-iqbi — The data found in Greek and Latin historiography regarding the Ancient Near East are not always easy to reconcile with the oriental sources. The present contribution attempts an identification of two rulers attested in ancient historiography.

— Sardanapalus and Ashur-danin-pal

Arbaces, the traditional first king of the Medes, brought an end to the Assyrian power in the day of the Assyrian king Sardanapalus (Diodorus Siculus 2.24–27), who was residing at Nineveh (Herodotus 2.150.3).¹⁾ “Indeed, it was their king Sardanapalus, a man enervated by luxurious living, whose excess of fortune was his undoing. Thirty-third, in direct succession of father and son, from Ninus and Semiramis, who had founded Babylon, he was deprived alike of his empire and of his life by Arbaces the Mede” (Velleius Paterculus 1.6.2).²⁾

Sardanapalus is mostly identified with Ashurbanipal.³⁾ Yet Sardanapalus might rather be identified with Ashur-danin-pal: Their names are very similar.⁴⁾

Ashur-danin-pal revolted against Shalmaneser III and Shamshi-Adad V for 6 years in the period Nisan 826–820 BC (Neo-Assyrian Eponym Chronicle B4 16'–21').⁵⁾ During this revolt, Ashur-danin-pal had Nineveh on his side (inscription of Shamshi-Adad V),⁶⁾ which fits with Sardanapalus' residence at Nineveh.

The revolt was suppressed in the year Nisan 820/819 (Neo-Assyrian Eponym Chronicle B4 22'). Shamshi-Adad V defeated the Medes (and their leader Hanasiruka) during his 3rd campaign (inscription of Shamshi-Adad V),⁷⁾ which might to be dated to the year 820/819 BC.⁸⁾ Shamshi-Adad V would have campaigned against Media immediately after Sardanapalus' = Ashur-danin-pal's defeat by the Medes in the year 821/820 BC.

A time setting for the first Median king in the 9th century is more convenient than a setting in the 7th century (the time of Ashurbanipal).

— Belesys and Marduk-balassu-iqbi

Arbaces defeated Sardanapalus with the help of the Babylonian general Belesys (Diodorus Siculus 2.24-25). Belesys received the rule over Babylon upon the defeat of Sardanapalus (2.24.3; 2.28.1, 5). Belesys might to be identified with the Babylonian king Marduk-balassu-iqbi, with the element -balassu- being rendered in Greek as Belesys. The rule of Marduk-balassu-iqbi has been dated as lasting from 818(+5-6) until 813(-1) BC,⁹⁾ i.e. about the time of Ashur-danin-pal's revolt.

The *Eclectic Chronicle* (25'-26') states regarding Marduk-balassu-iqbi: "At the time of Marduk-balāṣu-iqbi, <son of> Marduk-zākir-šumi. For ... years there was no king in the country."¹⁰⁾ The absence of a king might denote the fact that Marduk-balassu-iqbi had been appointed by a foreign power (the Medes).

1) For further sources that situate Sardanapalus at Nineveh, see WEISSBACH 1920: 2454.

2) Trans. SHIPLEY 1924: 13, 15.

3) For instance, WEISSERT 1998: 160.

4) SWEENEY 2006: 131.

5) GLASSNER 2004: 166-167 (no. 9).

6) GRAYSON 1996: 183 (no. A.O.103.1, i.45). Ashur-danin-pal also had Ashur (i.47) and 25 other cities (i.45-50; i.e. 27 cities in all, i.50) on his side.

7) GRAYSON 1996: 184-186 (A.O.103.1, ii.34b; iii.27b-36).

8) Thus RADNER 2003: 42.

9) BRINKMAN 1968: pl. ii (in between pp. 76-77).

10) Trans. GLASSNER 2004: 287 (no. 47). GRAYSON (1975: 182 [rev. 7-8]) translates as "At the time of Marduk-balatsu-iqbi (and) Marduk-zakir-shumi (I) / For N years there was no king in the land."

The *Eclectic Chronicle* (27') resumes with Eriba-Marduk, who regained Babylon from the Arameans: "Eriḫa-Marduk, son of Marduk-šākin-šumi, in the second year (of his reign), took the hand of Bēl and the son of Bēl. He joined battle and defeated the Arameans, who, (benefiting from) the disorder (?) and anarchy, had appropriated the fields of the inhabitants of Babylon and Borsippa. Having retaken from them their fields and gardens, he gave them to the inhabitants of Babylon and Borsippa" (*Eclectic Chronicle* 27'-31', trans. Glassner).

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Bieke MAHIEU <assistant.au.projet.b.e.s.t@gmail.com>

53) Further collations to CUSAS 28 — The following note is the by-product of preparing the texts published in CUSAS 28 for incorporation into the NaBuCCo database.¹⁾ The collations and restorations suggested below are based on photographs and not on the examination of the tablets.

Previous corrections to the original publication are not pointed out below; these include: C. Waerzeggers' 2015 review of CUSAS 28, the corrigenda posted in L. Pearce's Academia.edu page (PEARCE 2015), and the additions and corrections given on CUSAS 28's webpage (Pearce/Wunsch, Additions & Correction). We also do not repeat C. Waerzeggers' collations (NABU 2017/86).

For each of our readings we also cite for convenience the original reading of CUSAS 28. Full restorations are indicated in **bold**, as are cases in which we agree with the identification of a sign but give

a different reading. Notes and brief explanations are given in the case of suggestions that may not be instantly clear, especially in those few cases in which such new readings significantly modify the understanding of the text as given in the excellent *editio princeps*. All references made to text and line numbers refer to CUSAS 28.

no. 1

l. 3: 'DUMU.KIN² šá*¹ lú¹ se-pi-ru

(DUMU.KIN¹ lú¹ se-pi-ru)

l. 4: 'ib*-ba*-kám*-ma* [a]- 'na'

('60(1+šú)² GUR² [x x] 40[(+x) x x x a]-'na')

no. 2

l. 1: ^{ld}+EN-LU[GAL-ÛR]U*

(^{ld}+EN-LU[GAL-PA]P)

l. 9: [UD] 2*.KAM

([MU x]+2.KAM)

It is clear that the 2 stands alone and no decimal can be restored to its left. Since the tablet could not have been written in 2 Nbk (603/2 BCE), we must restore UD (*ūmu*) rather than MU (*šattu*). This also fits the context better, since otherwise, the due date for the payment would be an entire year. Finally, the narrower timeframe is probably the reason for the omission of the year at the end of the document (rather than a scribal error).

no. 4

l. 9: SUM 'ina* u*-tur' ŠE.NU[MUN-šú]

(SUM 'nu ina TUR' ŠE.NU[MUN-šú])

no. 5

l. 19: 'taš*-lim*-tu*'

('x x x')

l. 28: ^{iti}[NE]

(^{iti}[ŠU])

We learn from lines 9–16 that the text was written after the transfer of the slave. Hence we argue that the tablet was written in the month of Abu, rather than in Tašritu as suggested in CUSAS 28.

no. 6

l. 1: The end of this line may have continued to the right edge which cannot be read on the available photos, and further collation is needed. It could be a further description of the kind of silver, but for *ina* 1 GÍN *bit-qa* there is probably not enough space. Possibly the scribe started to write šá^{ld}UTU-MU but realised that this would not fit and he therefore continued writing on the second line.

l. 4: {10*+2 GÍN KÛ*.BABBAR*'}^{over incomplete erasure}

('ú² {12² GÍN²}')

l. 6: KÛ.BABBAR [^{ld}UTU-MU]

(KÛ.BABBAR [...])

l. 7: ¹ra-pa-²-ia-a-ma i[t²*-ta²-din²]

(¹ra-pa-²-ia-a-ma [SUM-nu])

no. 7

l. 11: [ba²-ni²]-ia

([x x x]-'ia')

This is a Babylonian name ending in *-ia*, hence most likely Bāniya.

no. 8

l. 10: 'AMA²*-šú

('DAM'-šú)

no. 9

l. 12: na-áš-šú*

(na-áš-šú-[ú])

Sg. rather than Pl.

no. 10

l. 7: a-da-bu-'il*'

(a-da-bu-'lu')

l. 18: rd+AG*'-I

(rdPA'-I)

no. 13

l. 12: UD 10^{over erasure*}.kam

(UD 10.kam)

l. 13: ú-'ta-ra-am-mu*'

(ú-'ta-ra-am'-{mu²}-ma)

no. 14

l. 6: 3-ta^{1*} <ri>*-ba-a-tú

(3 ri-ba-a-tú)

no. 15

l. 19: ¹ši-ki-na-a-ma lú¹ ri-qa-na-a-ma

(¹ši-ki-na-a-ma {x} ri-qa-na-a-ma)

This rather looks like a scribal joke: Šikin-Yaw has no dates to his name, so the scribe gives him the mock title “lazy-Yaw”, drawing on the phonetic proximity (in Late Babylonian) between /š/ and /r/ and /k/ and /q/.

no. 18

l. 6: [ina ŠE].BAR

([(x) ŠE].BAR)

l. 7: šá ina* ŠU^{II}

(šá {ina} ŠU^{II})

l. 8: ¹uš-tu-'nu-² šá* e-'bir' ÍD šá ina* ŠU^{II} mu-dam-qí*rdAG'

(¹[uš-tu-'nu-² <^{ld}NAM> e-'bir' ÍD šá {ina} ŠU^{II} mu-dam-iq-rdAG')

For the translation of lines 6–8 and their context see LEVAVI in press.

no. 26

l. 3: [u]l-tu U[GU] 'mi¹*-šir* ḥa*-ra*'-na-²

([u]l-tu U[GU-ḥi] 'ul-li² x x'-na-²)

mišru, border, fits well in this context of describing a field.

l. 6: ^{ld}za-ba₄-<ba₄>-URU₃

(^{ld}za-ba₄-<ba₄>-[x])

no. 27

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. 5: ¹ id*-da*- ² -dš-šú | (¹ i ² -ia ² -dš-šú) |
| 1. 10: [u-šu-u]z*ár-ki | ([x x x x] ¹ x ² ár-ki) |
| 1. 12: ¹ ĤA*.LA* ² šá ¹ ni-ir-ia-a-ma | (x x šá ¹ ni-ir-ia-a-ma) |
| 1. 13: [ia-a-nu ^m ni-ir-ia-a-ma] ¹ ù ² | ([...] ¹ ù ²) |
| 1. 14: [a-na u ₄ -mu ša-a-ti] | ([...]) |
| 1. 15: [a-na UGU- ^{hi} ŠE.NUMUN šu-a]-ti | ([... ŠE.NUMUN šu-a]-ti) |
| 1. 16: [ul i- ^{ga} -ga-mu u dabābu ia]-a-nu | ([... ia]-a-nu) |
| no. 29 | |
| 1. 7: ĤA.LA ¹ A.ŠÁ ² | (ĤA.LA { ¹ A.ŠÁ ² }) |
| 1. 12: 4- ² ĤA*.LA* | (4- ² ¹ x x x ²) |
| 1. 13: ŠE.NUMUN ¹ ik*-kal*-lu* | (ŠE.NUMUN ¹ x x x ²) |
| 1. 14: a-di ² -i ² [UD x.KAM] | (a-di ² -i ² ¹ [x x (x x) pu ² -ut ²]) |
| 1. 15: ¹ ŠEŠ-ia-qa- ¹ am ² iš*- ¹ šab*-bar* | (¹ ŠEŠ-ia-qa- ¹ am na-š ² i ²) |
| 1. 16: ¹ ú- ^{sal} -lu- ¹ mu ² * | (¹ ú- ^{sal} - ¹ lu-ú ²) |
| no. 30 | |
| 1. 23: [šá MU.A]N.NA | ([x MU.A]N.NA) |
| no. 31 | |
| 1. 1: um-ma-nu šá ¹ ú*-ru*-up* šá ² * ¹ PI ^{II} | (um-ma-nu šá ¹ 5 ² ¹ [x x x x] ² meš ² ? PI ^{II}) |
| Alternatively: um-ma-nu šá ¹ SAG*.DU* šá ² * ¹ PI ^{II} | |
| 1. 9: ¹ ra-ap- ¹ a*-ma ² | (¹ ra-ap-[pa-a-m]a) |
| 1. 18: A-šú šá ¹ r ^d *AG ² *... ¹ | (A-šú šá ¹ [(x x)]) |
| no. 32 | |
| 1. 7: i[b*-ba-kam-m]a* (k[i-i ĤA.L]A) | |
| The signs are squeezed in comparison to 1. 15. | |
| no. 33 | |
| 1. 5: ¹ ŠEŠ-ia-AD* (¹ ŠEŠ-ia-ma ¹) | |
| If the sign after <i>ia</i> was indeed partly erased, it resulted in a <i>šu</i> rather than a <i>ma</i> . Further note that the scribe of no. 33 always wrote - ^d ia-a-ma, and never - ^d ia-ma. The person is not necessarily identical with the one in no. 34:3 (dated nine years later). Rather, no. 33 is linked to no. 15 in terms of prosopography, content, and date. | |
| no. 34 | |
| 1. 9: [¹ x(-x)]- ¹ x-da ² *-bi ² -ni([¹ x (x)] ¹ x x bi ² , ni) | |
| no. 37 | |
| 1. 9: ina 1*-et* rit*-tu ₄ * | (ina KÁ <ka>-lak-ki ¹ (TUM)) |
| no. 41 | |
| 1. 7: ^{lú} rĤÚN*.GA ² * | (^{lú} rku ² -[tal]- ¹ lu ²) |
| no. 42 | |
| 1. 18: ^{lú} gal- ¹ la ² *, | (¹ lúGAL ² ÉRIN ²) |
| 1. 19: ¹ lú ² UMBISAG A (empty space)* ^{lú} rMU ² *, | (¹ lú ² UMBISAG A ^{lú} rNAGAR ²) |
| no. 44 | |
| 1. 16: ¹ rše ² *-mar ² -ia-a-ma | (¹ [x]- ¹ mar ² -ia-a-ma) |
| 1. 25: š ¹ i-pi-ni* | (š ¹ i-pi-ri) |
| no. 45 | |
| 1. 6: ¹ dan ² -nu-tú ² ¹ re*-qu*-tú* | (¹ dan ² -nu-tú ² ¹ x x x ²) |
| 1. 10: ¹ x x ina* ka*-ri-šú-nu ² [ma]- ¹ la* a- ¹ ḥa-meš ² | ([x x ina ka]- ¹ ri-šú-nu x x a- ¹ ḥa-meš ²) |
| 1. 11: [¹ ú-za-ma- ¹ z]u*-ú* ¹ ú*-[il]-ti ² meš* | ([x x] ¹ dr ² x x x x x x ²) |
| 1. 13: ¹ ú- ¹ za-ma*-zu-ú | (¹ ú- ¹ za-a- ¹ zu ² -ú) |
| no. 46 | |
| 1. 2: ¹ si- ¹ si* ² -[ia] | (¹ si-x ² -[x]) |
| no. 50 | |
| 1. 24: SUM.NA-din | (SUM na-din) |
| no. 55 | |
| 1. 19: UD 13*.kam | (UD 23.kam) |
| no. 60 | |
| 1. 1 and 6: ⅔* MA.NA | (⅔ MA.NA) |
| no. 64 | |
| 1. 12: [MU ^{meš} II ŠU] ^{II.meš} | ([(x x) ŠU] ^{II.meš}) |
| no. 68 | |
| 1. 17 (end): [ma-hir] ² | ([(x-x)]) |
| no. 71 A+B | |
| 1. 6: šá a- ¹ hi ul-la-a ² šá ¹ ÍD* bit-qa | (šá a- ¹ hi ul-la- ² šá a-di bit-qa) |

no. 74

l. 13: i-^rmi^r-si-ma*{-nu-tu}

(i-^rmi^r-si-šu-nu-tu)

The verb *immissi-ma* is derived from *emēdu* (G Pres. *immid*), with the accusative suffix *-ši*, “one will determine for him (= the debtor) the impost”. The form read by Pearce/Wunsch is not easily explicable and the tablet seems to have *ma*, not *šu*. Cf. Nos. 66, 72, and 73. The last two signs in line 13 are remnants of a previous text that the scribe had not erased, cf. at the end of lines 7, 8, and 9; the stray wedges before the *ki*-sign in l. 9 and the erased signs in l. 10. Note that all redundant signs in text no. 74 are at the end of the lines. Clearly, the scribe was writing his text over another one that must have been structurally very similar (or even the same).

no. 75

l. 6: ú-qa-ar*-bu*-ú {ri*-bu*-ú}

(ú-qa-ta¹-ú (erasure){ú})

The scribe first wrote *-ar-bu-ú*, then apparently decided to add an improved reading with *ri* instead of *ar*.

no. 76

l. 2: a-di-i^r si²-di-i-[ú²]

(a-di-i^r ú¹-di-i-[x])

no. 79

l. 3: a-na 20^r GÍN* [KÙ.BABBAR] qa*-lu*-ú

(a-na 20+^r3 GUR^r [x x] x x^r-ú²)

l. 11: ¹dan-na-^dU.GUR^r

(¹dan-na-^dU.GUR^r)

no. 83

l. 2: nu-up-tu₄ ma^h-ri^r-tu₄ [šá it-t]i

(nu-up-tu₄ x x^r-tu₄ [x x t]²)

no. 91

l. 13: ¹ŠEŠ¹(T.: ^d+EN)-DÙ

(¹d+EN-DÙ)

For this person, cf. nos. 87 and 88 written by the same scribe as no. 91 but spelled differently (wr. ¹ŠEŠ-ú-ba-na).

no. 96

l. 2: ¹ia-^hu-ú-i-zi-ir¹⁷*

(¹ia-^hu-ú-i-zi-ni)

Uncertain.

no. 98

l. 8: u¹AD-du-ú-un

(u¹ad-du-ú-nu)

The name Abdunu is spelled here with the logogram AD=*abu*

no. 100

l. 18: [šá] ina UGU¹-^hi {šá}

([šá] ina UGU-^hi šá)

Note: there is something wrong here: the UGU is not UGU, and the šá that follows it is redundant.

1) <http://nabucco.arts.kuleuven.be/>. K. Abraham's work on this note has been funded by the Interuniversity Attraction Poles Programme initiated by the Belgian Science Policy Office (IAP VII/14: “Greater Mesopotamia: Reconstruction of its Environment and History”). M. Jursa's work was done under the auspices of the project “Diplomatics and Palaeography of Neo- and Late Babylonian Archival Documents”, funded by the Austrian Science Fund (P 26104).

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Kathleen ABRAHAM <kathleen.abraham@kuleuven.be>

Michael JURSA <michael.jursa@univie.ac.at>

Yuval LEVAVI <puyu79@gmail.com>

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