

# N.A.B.U.

## *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2018

N° 3 (septembre)

### NOTES BRÈVES

**54) A Local Calendar in Jemdet Nasr?\*** — The term “n SU GIBIL” with  $1 \leq n \leq 12$  appears in the Uruk III period in 18 texts from Jemdet Nasr<sup>1)</sup> (that is in about 7,7 % of the administrative texts) and in five texts from Uruk<sup>2)</sup>; it is not to be found in the periods Uruk IV and ED I-II. The number “12” suggests a division of the year into months, which could, as with the Romans, have been numbered (Quintilis, Sextilis, ...). The leap month could have been designated by  $n = 0$  or 13. This note should be considered as a suggestion, a single new text with  $n \geq 14$  would show that the approach is wrong.

The numbers from 1 to 4 are written with the sign N<sub>57</sub>, the others with N<sub>1</sub> and N<sub>14</sub><sup>3)</sup>. If GIBIL means “new” as in later times, one could imagine SU GIBIL means “new moon” = “month”<sup>4)</sup>. Since a SU GIBIL entry comparable to the Jemdet Nasr entries appears in none of the Uruk tablets the Uruk attestations probably need to be interpreted differently: the calendar, if it really is one, is an achievement of Jemdet Nasr. The “text corpus” in question has already been discussed<sup>5)</sup>.

Starting from MSVO 1, 90, according to Englund (l. c. [note 5], p. 20 f.) the sign combination “U<sub>4</sub>+3N<sub>57</sub> = 3<sup>rd</sup> year / 3 years” in “U<sub>4</sub>+3N<sub>57</sub> SU 6N<sub>1</sub> GIBIL” (line O0304) could imply that all “nN<sub>57</sub> SU GIBIL” terms are to be understood as years; “SU 6N<sub>1</sub> (GIBIL)” is translated by him as “(in the) sixth month ... (?).” Why not go one step further and interpret *all* numbers (plus SU GIBIL) as month names? In MSVO 1, 90 the number of the month (6) is *behind* SU, since the number of the year (U<sub>4</sub>+3N<sub>57</sub>) has already occupied the usual position of the number of the month in front of SU. The number of the year is repeated on the reverse of the tablet. In MSVO 1, 94 the situation is different: here, the month numbers (6N<sub>1</sub> and 1N<sub>14</sub> 2N<sub>1</sub> [=12]) are written “as usual” *before* SU; on the reverse of the tablet the years “4” and “6” are given in two separate sections. The year numbers could refer to the synodic cycle of Venus (8 years = 5 synodic periods; cf. [slightly different] Englund, OBO 160/1,182 f.).

Monaco (l. c. [note 5]) assumes that all numerals (N<sub>1</sub>, N<sub>14</sub> and N<sub>57</sub>) denote a number of deliveries (similarly CUSAS 1, 59: “3N<sub>1</sub> UNUG | 1N<sub>1</sub> 2N<sub>57</sub> UNUG”?), leaving the translation of SU GIBIL open (see his note 5). Only three texts from Jemdet Nasr mention both a year (U<sub>4</sub>+nN<sub>57</sub>) and a number of “deliveries” (MSVO 1, 89; 90 and 94). If one applies the calculation method specified in Monaco’s note 10 for MSVO 1, 89<sup>6)</sup> to those texts, only the value of MSVO 1, 90 returns a correct result. Tablets with two year numbers or two month numbers are *Sammeltafeln* (tablets giving a comprehensive list of items over a longer period of time), the others are valid for the current year or the year specified.

\*<sup>o</sup>) Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2017/29.– (ED: Early Dynastic)

<sup>1)</sup> MSVO 1, 89; 90; 93 (duplicate: CUSAS 1, 173); 94; 95; 97; 99; 103 (?); 108; 109; 111; 117; 130 (?); 133; 135; 144; 160 and 179.

<sup>2)</sup> IM 134288; W 20274,26; W 21733,7; W 24011,8 and W 24188.

<sup>3)</sup> Such a change would not have been unusual (compare, e. g., the “EN system”, ATU 5, p. 20). Still today, “mixed” systems are used (e. g., for derivatives of a function  $y = f(x)$ :  $f$ ,  $f'$ ,  $f''$ , but  $f^{(iv)}$  or  $f^{(4)}$ ).

In MSVO 1, 97; 111 and 130 the number is not preserved, in 109 it is not in alignment with SU; in 108 “1N<sub>57</sub> SU” on the obverse could be an abbreviation of “1N<sub>57</sub> SU GIBIL” on the reverse. In 144 it is difficult to say from the photograph whether a number (now broken off) was present. The number “4” (4N<sub>57</sub>) does not fit into a “natural” temporal rhythm, except for unlikely appearances such as the lunar quarters.

<sup>4)</sup> The possible use of SU for “moon / month” is a guess (see OBO 160/1, 127). U<sub>4</sub> with inscribed numbers “n” could not be used because it denoted a time period of n months (see ATU 5, p. 20).

<sup>5)</sup> R. K. Englund, OBO 160/1, 127 and 197–204; idem, *Grain Accounting Practices in Archaic Mesopotamia*, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 19 (2000), 1–35; S. F. Monaco, *Revisiting Jemdet Nasr Texts: IM 55580+*, Cuneiform Digital Library Bulletin 2004:3.

<sup>6)</sup> Judging from the photograph there is no space for 3N<sub>5</sub> in line O0401; 4N<sub>20</sub> is correct.

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**55) Der Name Lugal-kisal(-le)-si und der Hof des Eninnu** — Mit CUSAS 35, 31 i 2 lugal-kisal-le-si ist die Frage entschieden, ob kisal oder ȫepar zu lesen ist.<sup>1)</sup> In KREBERNIK 2002 wird der Namenstyp ausführlich diskutiert. Wenn nicht besonders angegeben, werden die Namen hier nach diesem Aufsatz zitiert.

In der selten belegten vollen Form enthält der Namenstyp 4 Elemente: König/in, me, Kultstätte/Land, si, wobei für das 1. und 3. Element verschiedene Bezeichnungen eintreten können. Die volle Form ist in ED II Ur als lú-me-kisal-si belegt. Eine Abkürzung stellt me-kisal-le-si in ED IIIb Lagaš dar. Kurzformen wie me-bára-si sind nicht selten. Daher ist eine Analyse als Suffix –me „unser/e“ unwahrscheinlich. Außerdem ist die Annahme, dass lugal-me „unser König“ nur in diesen Namen auftritt, in anderen aber nur lugal ohne Suffix, wenig plausibel.

Hier soll auf eine Textstelle aufmerksam gemacht werden, die zur Deutung dieser Namen beitragen kann: na kisal-maḥ-a mi-<ni->dù-a-na na-rú-a lugal-kisal-si gù-dé-a en <sup>d</sup>nin-ȫír-su-ke<sub>4</sub> ȫír-nun-ta mu-zu ‘na’-ba mu-šè im-ma-še<sub>21</sub> „als er den Stein im Haupthof aufrichtete, hat er ‚Stele: der König hat den Hof gefüllt, Gudea kennt der Herr Ningîrsu vom ȫirnun aus‘ jenem Stein zum Namen gegeben“ Gud. Zyl. A xxiii 8-12.

Die Namen der drei folgenden Stelen beginnen ebenfalls mit dem Wort lugal, wobei Ningîrsu gemeint ist. Doch die Formeln sind nicht zugleich Personennamen wie lugal-kisal-si, noch enthalten sie einen Hinweis auf den Ort der Aufstellung. Dass ein Personennname gemeint ist, zeigt der Umstand, dass sich Gudea hier als lugal bezeichnet. Sonst gebraucht er den Titel énsi „Stadtfürst“. Doch énsi ist als Bestandteil von Namen so gut wie nicht belegt.<sup>2)</sup> In Namen wurde lugal auch dann gebraucht, wenn der aktuelle Herrscher diesen Titel nicht führte. Das Wort hat neben der Bedeutung „König“ auch die Bedeutung „Herr“, „Gebieter“ z. B. wenn es den Besitzer eines Sklaven bezeichnet (cf. Gud. Zyl. A xiii 6f.).

Man könnte auch „Stele des Lugalkisalsi“ übersetzen. Dass Gudea damit auf die Wiederwendung einer Stele eines Herrschers, der nicht über Lagaš geherrscht hat, hinweisen wollte, ist unwahrscheinlich. Er würde seinem eigenen Bericht über die Herkunft der Steine gleich beim ersten Stein widersprechen. Zudem berichtet Gudea sonst nirgends über die Wiederwendung von Objekten.

Die Namen der folgenden Stelen sind nach dem Prinzip: Ningîrsu, Gudea, Ningîrsu formuliert. Z. B. lugal a-ma-ru <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá gaba šu ȫar nu-tuku gù-dé-a en <sup>d</sup>nin-ȫír-su-ke<sub>4</sub> igi zi mu-ši-bar „der König, die Flut Enlils, der keinen Widerpart hat, den Gudea hat der Herr Ningîrsu in rechter Weise angesehen“ ebd. 14-17. So wie Ningîrsu unter verschiedenen Bezeichnungen mehrfach im Satz steht, könnte man es auch mit Gudea machen: „Lugalkisalsi, den Berufenen (Gudea) kennt der Herr Ningîrsu vom ȫirnun her“.

Der Name passt in den Kontext, trotzdem kann man sich fragen, warum Gudea ihn hier einfügen ließ. Eine Anspielung auf den gleichnamigen fröhdynastischen König von Uruk und Ur ergibt keinen Sinn. Es könnte sich um Gudeas alten Namen handeln ehe Ningîrsu ihn zum Stadtfürsten erwählte, was zu den Namen der Stelen passen würde, da sie mit der Erwählung und Legitimierung Gudeas zu tun haben. Thronnamen sind aber nicht nachgewiesen. Gudea gebraucht auch den Namen ur-<sup>d</sup>ȫá-tùm-du<sub>10</sub> um seine

besondere Beziehung zu dieser Göttin zum Ausdruck zu bringen (Stat. F Kartusche 4; i 6; Backst. C 7; Tonn. H 6). Der Kontext ist aber anders.

Der Grund für die Einfügung eines Personennamens in den Text bleibt also unklar. Da es wegen *ur-<sup>d</sup>gá-túm-du<sub>10</sub>* kein Einzelfall ist, könnte man sich überlegen, ob es sich nicht um einen rhetorischen Trick handelt. Indem Gudea zeigt, dass er tut worauf traditionelle Namen verweisen, erweist sich Gudea als rechter Herrscher.

Die Deutung, die sich bei Gudea aus dem Kontext ergibt, wird durch *é-alam-gal-gal-si* (*si é gal gal alam*) UET 2, 110 (P005685) unterstützt (siehe auch KREBERNIK 2002). *gal-gal* ist auf dem Foto schwer zu erkennen, aber sicher. Mit *me* können also Ausstattungsstücke für den Tempel gemeint sein. Das schließt nicht aus, dass noch weitere Wohltaten für den Tempel darunter fallen. In Gudea Statue B i 13-16 wird der Widerruf von regelmäßigen Lieferungen für die Statue mit einer Reduktion der *me* des Ningîrsu gleichgesetzt.

Nicht immer steht an der 3. Stelle etwas, was sich als Tempel(teil) deuten lässt. Häufig sind es wohl Abkürzungen. Cf. *me-é-kalam-si* und *me-kalam-si* in ED II Ur. Noch zu deuten sind Namen wie *me-an(-né)-si*. Insgesamt bewährt sich aber die obige Deutung.

<sup>1)</sup> Siehe STEINKELLER 1999, 109 Anm. 18 und 23. SELZ 1993, 174 lehnt für die Namen der ED IIIb-Texte aus Lagaš wegen *me-kisal-le-si* die Lesung *gipar<sub>x</sub>* ab. Auf *lugal-kisal-le-si* weist das erste Mal Marchesi in MARCHESI /MARCHETTI 2011, 126 Anm. 272 aufgrund der Internetpublikation CDLI P250718 hin.

<sup>2)</sup> Die einzige sichere Ausnahme, die der Autor finden konnte, ist *énsi-gal-zu* CUSAS 35, 278 i 9 (mittelsarg. Adab). Ungeklärt, aber eher keine Namen sind: *énsi-TUR* Names and Professions List 52; *éns[i](-má-gur<sub>8</sub>* Urn. 51 Rs. ii 4; *énsi(-)<sup>ges</sup>gag-<sup>d</sup>nanše-ka* JCS 29, 219ff. (4H-T38) ii 2.

KREBERNIK, M. 2002: Zur Struktur und Geschichte des älteren sumerischen Onomastikons, in: M. P. Sreck/S. Weninger: Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik, AOAT 296, Münster, 1-74

MARCHESI, G./N. MARCHETTI 2011: Royal Statuary of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia, MC 14, Winona Lake  
SELZ, G. 1993: Altsumerische Wirtschaftsurkunden aus amerikanischen Sammlungen, FAOS 15, 2, Stuttgart  
STEINKELLER, P. 1999: On Rulers, Priests and Sacred Marriage: Tracing the Evolution of Early Sumerian Kingship, in: K. Watanabe (Hrsg.) Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East, Heidelberg, 103-138.

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**56) Der Zauberspruch des Nudimmud und die Syntax des Sumerischen** — In KEETMAN 2010 hat der Autor den komplizierten Satz, Enmerkara und der Herr von Arata (ELA) 141-46 besprochen. Mittermayer bleibt jedoch in ihrer neuen Übersetzung (MITTERMAYER 2015) bei ihrer in MITTERMAYER 2009, 242-44 begründeten Interpretation. ATTINGER 2015, 8 Anm. 59, kommentiert den Vorschlag des Autors: „Le sens serait excellent (tous les peuples parlaient sumérien), mais une telle structure serait grammaticalement très bizarre (les exemples cités p. 22 ne sont pas comparables)“. Das wird nicht näher ausgeführt.

Eine Umschrift aller Textzeugen findet sich bei MITTERMAYER 2009 und KEETMAN 2010 (Mittermayer hatte mir ihre Umschrift mitgeteilt, außerdem konnte ich An kollationieren).

u4-ba kur subur<sup>ki</sup> ḫa-ma-zi<sup>(ki)</sup>  
eme ḫa-mun ki-en-ge kur gal me nun-na-kam  
ki-uri kur me-te ǵál-la  
kur mar-dú ú-sal-la nú-a  
an ki nígin-na ùǵ saǵ sī-ga  
<sup>d</sup>en-líl-ra eme aš-ám hé-en-na-da-ab-du<sub>11</sub>

Damals sprachen (selbst) Subur und Hamazi  
mit der harmonischen Sprache Sumers, des großen Berges, der fürstlichen Riten,  
(und auch) Akkad, das Land das zur Zierde gereicht,  
(und) das Land Martu, das auf der Aue liegt,  
die ganze Welt, das wohlversorgte Volk  
zu Enlil mit einer Sprache.

Also nimmt *eme* in 146 *eme* in Z. 142 auf. Beide Male folgt die Kopula. Möglich wäre ein Komitativ in instrumentalem Sinn oder man deutet –da- als „können“. Entsprechend sind die Länder entweder Ergativ oder Absolutiv als intransitives Subjekt.

Einig ist sich der Autor mit Mittermayer und Attinger, dass eme ḥa-mun nicht Apposition zu den zuvor genannten Ländern ist. Dann folgt aber, dass es ein eigenes Satzglied ist. Daraus folgt zwingend der oben angenommene Satzbau.

Statt diesen Satzbau zu akzeptieren greift Attinger zu einer Lösung, die er selbst in Frage stellt: „J’ai admis que eme ḥa-mun est ‚abrégué‘ de kur eme ḥa-mun-na (comp. MITTERMAYER 2009:123) mais cette solution n’est pas non plus satisfaisante“ (ATTINGER 2015, 8 Anm. 59). Attinger geht nicht so weit, den Text zu ergänzen und das ginge auch nicht, denn zwei Texte zeigen den Anfang der Zeile und drei ḥa-mun ohne Genitiv. Auf diese Weise könnte man nahezu jedes Wort gegen jedes andere Wort austauschen. In diesem Fall mit dem Resultat, dass ein sonst nicht belegter Ausdruck \*kur eme ḥa-mun-na entsteht.

Generell können Satzglieder an getrennten Stellen im Satz wiederholt werden. Z. B. Gudea Zyl. A iv 1-2: nin-a-né siškúr rá-zu / gù-dé-a-áš kù <sup>d</sup>gá-tùm-du<sub>10</sub>-ge šu ba-ši-ti „Seine Herrin nahm Opfer und Gebet von Gudea, die Heilige Gutumdu nahm sie von ihm an“; Gudea Zyl. A xi nita á diri-ke<sub>4</sub><sup>im</sup>mer-e ḥur-saḡ ki sikil-ta imi si ma-ra-ab-sá-e „den Mann mit überlegener Kraft, den Nordwind, aus dem Gebirge, dem jungfräulichen Ort werde ich dir den Wind herleiten“ Gud. Zyl. A xi 22f.

Treten verschiedene Satzteilnehmer in gleicher Funktion auf, so müssen auch diese nicht in einer Reihe hintereinander stehen. Z. B. ELA 30f.: arata<sup>ki</sup> na<sub>4</sub> é-an-na(-gen<sub>7</sub>) <sup>ge6</sup>gepar ki kù<sup>1</sup>-gen<sub>7</sub> / kù <sup>d</sup>innana-ra šeg<sub>12</sub> <sup>k</sup>kul-aba<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>-gen<sub>7</sub> nu-mu-un-na-dù „Arata hat einen Edelstein wie Eanna, wie den heiligen Ort, das Gepar, für die Heilige Innana (etwas) wie das Ziegelwerk von Kulaba nicht erbaut.“ Es ist zwar ein anderer Kasus als in ELA 141-146, aber das Prinzip ist das gleiche.

ELA 141-46 enthält ein A B A B-Schema wie Gudea Zyl. A xxii 4: agà eren igi u<sub>6</sub>-di-bé-a eren-babbár im-ḡá-ḡá-ne „an seiner Rückseite setzen sie Zedern ein, an seiner staunenerregenden Frontseite Weißzedern“ (agà für a-ga ist ungewöhnlich, aber vergleichbar ḡeš für ḡeš Zyl. A viii 9; gurs für gur Zyl. A vi 3; šu<sub>4</sub> für šu Zyl. B vi 24 etc.). Der folgende lange Satz ELA 147-54 (mit Hauptsatz 155) enthält das gleiche Schema:

u<sub>4</sub>-ba a-da-en a-da-nun a-da-lugal-la  
 den-ki a-da-en a-da-nun a-da-lugal-la  
 a-da-en-ne a-da-nun-ne a-da-lugal-la  
 den-ki en hé-ḡál-la en du<sub>11</sub>-ga zi-d[a]  
 en <sup>ḡeš-túg</sup>ḡeštug-ga igi ḡál kalam-ma-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 mas-su diḡir- re'-e-ne-ke<sub>4</sub>  
<sup>ḡeš-túg</sup>ḡeštug-ge pà-da en eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 ka-ba eme kúr-kúr en-na mi-ni(-in)-ḡar-ra  
 eme nam-lú-lu<sub>7</sub> aš i-me-'ám'

„Damals – bis im Disput der Herren, der Fürsten, der Könige,  
 Enki, im Disput der Herren, der Fürsten, der Könige,  
 in diesem Disput der Herren, diesem Disput der Fürsten, im Disput der Könige,  
 bis da Enki, der Herr des Überflusses, der Herr des verlässlichen Wortes,  
 der Herr des Verstandes, der Betrachter/Weise des Landes Sumer,  
 der Anführer der Götter,  
 der zum Verstehen Berufene, der Herr von Eridu,  
 in ihre Münden fremde Zungen gesetzt hatte,  
 war die Sprache der Menschheit (nur) eine gewesen.“

Vereinfacht also A B A B, oben A = Länder, B = Sprache, unten A = Disput, B = Enki. Am Anfang von Z. 148 wird Enki in beiden Textzeugen nicht als Ergativ markiert, was problemlos wäre, wenn Z. 150 direkt anschließen würde, denn bei einer Reihung kann das Kasusmorphem bei den vorderen Gliedern fehlen. Doch die Reihe wird unterbrochen und fängt in 150 von vorne an. Es ist genauso ein abgebrochener und dann wieder aufgenommener Satz wie oben. Die Sätze haben auch sonst Ähnlichkeiten. Beide beginnen mit u<sub>4</sub>-ba und in der letzten Zeile geht es jeweils um „die eine Sprache“.

Mittermayers Übersetzung „übersetzbare Sprachen“ für eme ḥa-mun ist etwas bemüht (Attinger 2015, 8 Anm. 59. „un peu lourd“). Nach Mittermayer werden die Sprachen der ersten beiden Länder als nicht übersetzbare von den folgenden abgetrennt. Durch Handel, Krieg und Diplomatie hatte man in Mesopotamien mit einer vielsprachigen Welt zu tun. Selbst für ein weit entferntes Land wie Meluha

(Pakistan/Indien) ist bereits sargonisch ein Dolmetscher belegt (CAD T 229a). Ḫamazi lag zwischen der Diyālā und dem Oberen Zāb (RGTC 2, 73), Subir/Subur bezeichnet ab ein Land wenig nördlich bzw. nordwestlich davon und wird mit Hurritisch assoziiert (RIA 13 s. v. Šubartu). Nach der Geographie und wenigen Personennamen zu schließen, sprach man in Ḫamazi wahrscheinlich einen akkadischen Dialekt, war zumindest am Rand der mesopotamischen Kultur. YOS 11, 65 trägt die Unterschrift: enim-enim-ma NE šà-ga eme sú-bir<sup>ki</sup>-a „Beschwörung der Liebe(?), Sprache von Subir“. Dass man die Sprachen gerade dieser beiden Länder für nicht übersetzbare hält, passt nicht gut zu diesen Fakten. Der Ausdruck eme ḥa-mun steht nie in Kontexten, in denen es eindeutig um Übersetzung geht. Für „Übersetzung“ ist in Examenstext A 20 níg-sì-ga belegt, „übersetzen“ heißt eme bala.

Mit Attinger stimmt der Autor darin überein, dass eme ḥa-mun sehr wahrscheinlich positiv zu verstehen ist. Ein Lob auf das Sumerische würde auch gut in den Kontext passen. Vielleicht ein Hinweis auf die Vokalharmonien des Sumerischen. ATTINGER 2015, 8 Anm. 59 verweist auf gù ḥa-mun (TMH 6, 14, 3) in Zusammenhang mit einem Musikinstrument, also wohl als „harmonischer Klang“ zu übersetzen.

ELA 142 enthält eine Reihe von Anspielungen: kur gal „großes Land“ kann man mit Mühe auf Sumer beziehen. Zugleich ist kur gal „großer Berg“ ein häufiges Epitheton Enlils. Die Deutung „die Sprache Sumers, die Sprache Enlils“ liegt sehr nahe und wenn früher alle Länder mit einer Sprache zu Enlil gesprochen haben, dann ist daher wohl Sumerisch gemeint. Das Wort me ist ebenfalls mehrdeutig. Tinney übersetzt me in NL 1 mit „foremost rituals“ (TINNEY 1996, 97; 127-29). Das macht auch für unsere Stelle Sinn, denn Sumerisch war auch in altbabylonischer Zeit die bevorzugte Sprache im Kult. Das Adjektiv ḥa-mun qualifiziert zugleich die Sprache besonders für den Kult. Cf. Gudea Zyl. A xxvii 11-12: é igi-bé kur gal ki ús-sa / šà-b[é] 'nam-šub' šir ḥa-mun „Die Fassade des Tempels ist ein großer Berg, der bis zur Unterwelt reicht, sein Inneres sind Beschwörungen und harmonische Lieder“. Nach Gud. Zyl. A xxvii 20 ist selbst das Baumaterial des Eninnu „harmonischer Ton“. Ein Paar bilden šir kù šir ḥa-mun „heiliges Lied, harmonisches Lied“, Eridu Klage A 60; Tempel Hymnen (TH) 298; Nanše A 42. In Nisaba B 7. In Preis der Hacke 58 ist ein é(-)ḥa-mun belegt und in TH 530 wird Nisabas Tempel mit ḥa-mun assoziiert. Daraus ergibt sich, dass eine eme ḥa-mun besonders dazu geeignet war um sich an Enlil zu wenden.

ATTINGER, P. 2015: Enmerkara et le seigneur d'Arata, [http://www.jaw.unibe.ch/ueber\\_uns/amm\\_amp\\_va\\_personen / prof\\_dr\\_attinger\\_pascal/index\\_ger.html#pane122850](http://www.jaw.unibe.ch/ueber_uns/amm_amp_va_personen / prof_dr_attinger_pascal/index_ger.html#pane122850).

KEETMAN, J. 2010: Enmerkar und Sulge als sumerische Muttersprachler nach literarischen Quellen, ZA 100, 15-31.

MITTERMAYER C. 2009: Enmerkara und der Herr von Arata. Ein ungleicher Wettstreit, OBO 239, Fribourg/Göttingen.

EAD. 2015: Emerkara und der Herr von Arata, in: K. Volk (Hrsg): Erzählungen aus dem Land Sumer, Wiesbaden, 169-201.

TINNEY, S. 1996: The Nippur Lament, OPSNKF 16, Philadelphia.

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**57) Minima Eblaitica 23: The wells of Ib<sup>al</sup> bordering the desert of Palmyra — Ib<sup>al</sup> was a confederation led by 8 / 10 “chiefs (or) kings” (called generally ugula, and rarely en):**

ARET IV 6 (minister Ibbi-zikir, year 5) § 17: 10+10 garments to PN<sub>1</sub>-PN<sub>10</sub> ugula-ugula of Ib<sup>al</sup>  
MEE 2, 40 (Ibbi-zikir 8) rev. ii 4-iii 1: 8+8+8 garments to PN<sub>1</sub>-PN<sub>8</sub> ugula Ib<sup>al</sup>  
ARET I 17 (minister Ibrium, year ?) § 19: 4+4+4 garments to PN<sub>1</sub>-PN<sub>4</sub>  
75.10077 (Ibrium 2) rev. iv 4-9: Du-bù-uš-da-mu I-ga-li-im Zú-ga-du ī-lum-a-rí-hu 4 en Ib-al<sup>6</sup><sup>ki</sup>; rev. vi 14-16: I-ga-li-im en Ib-al<sup>6</sup><sup>ki</sup>; obv. 9-15: Ma-za-a-du ma-lik-tum Ib-al<sup>6</sup><sup>ki</sup> ... Du-bù-uš-da-mu Ib-al<sup>6</sup><sup>ki</sup> (her spouse)

According to ARET XIII 13 § 2 (dated to king Irkab-damu's death, therefore to the year Ibrium 1) “the son of Iga-lim and the son of ENGAR became (also) king”; this Iga-lim is followed by Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ḥa-al<sub>6</sub> A-ba<sub>4</sub>-il and Bī-ni-ma-ni in ARET XIII 11 § 2. Aba-il receives the title of ugula of Ib<sup>al</sup> in ARET III 404 iv 2-3.

Iugal meant šarrum “king” if referred to the kings of Mari and Kiš, otherwise “lord” ba<sup>l</sup>um.

The major officials of the Eblaite administration received the title of iugal (Archi, M.A.R.I. 5 [1987]: 37-45 = Archi, *Ebla and Its Archives*, Boston/Berlin 2015, pp. 123-131); in the annual “mu-túm

document” ARET XIV 78 § 13, however, the officials called usually lugal-lugal are said to be ugula-ugula. At the head of a village was in general an ugula, and a lugal only in particular cases.

The phonetic correspondence of ugula was *wa-ki/gi-lu-* /wakil-ū-/ (ARET XVI, p. 282; cf. Akk. (*w)aklum*); that of lugal was *ba'lum*. LUGAL / <sup>d</sup>BAD (or: BE) *Du-du-lu<sup>ki</sup>* / *ma-tum*, “the Lord (*ba'lum*) of Tuttul”, “the Lord of the Country” was the god Dagan: the identity of the two and the identification of the god are proven by the fact that the <sup>d</sup>BAD *ma-tum* was worshiped in Tuttul (75.2397 obv. vii 25–31; Archi, *OLZ* 103 [2008]: 683–684 = ARCHI 2015, pp. 627–628).

The toponym *Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>* has been consequently analyzed by Pelio Fronzaroli as a collective: /'ib'āl/ “lords”, and referred to “un gruppo tribale, organizzato su base territoriale in villaggi contigui” (ARET XIII: 124). Some data prove that this political entity organized in tribes and residing in several towns and villages had as permanent residence a semiarid area. The documents mention an Ib<sup>e</sup>al “of the steppe” (lú edin), “of the canal” (lú pa<sub>5</sub>), “of the water-store” (a-tuk), besides several other settlements (A. Archi, P. Piacentini, F. Pomponio, *I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla* [ARES II], pp. 296–299). This, and the fact that the last campaign against Ib<sup>e</sup>al was followed and connected in some way with that against Mari (year Ibbizikir 14), request a location of Ib<sup>e</sup>al south – southeast of Salamiye / east of Qatna, an area where the annual precipitation reaches the 200 mm/y isohyet. Al-Rawda, some 70 km north-east of Mishirfé/Qatna, a “new town” founded around 2400 BC, which included 16 ha with its fortification and a lower town of ca 4 ha, was one of its major centres, the only one to have been widely excavated (C. Castel, E. Peltenburg, *Antiquity* 81 [2007]: 601–616). Another major town was Tell Sh'aīrat, 32 km south-east of Homs (G. Mouamar 2016, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 [2016]: 71–101). These and others settlements, characterized by a circular plan, belonged to a kind of sedentary system based on dry-farming and pastoralism in a region delimited by the so-called “Very Long Wall (TLM, Très Long Mur)” detected by Bernard Geyer (B. Geyer et al., *Paléorient* 36 [2010]: 57–72).

The TLM marked the border towards the steppe and the “desert” of Palmyra inhabited by pastoralist people, the Amorites, *Mar-tu/tum<sup>ki</sup>*. It was ca 220 km long, 0.80 / 1.10 m. large, and could not have been than ca. 1.50 m. high. It was therefore not a defence wall, although provided by some fortresses (as Rāqm al-Şawan, close to the Jabbul plain, at the latitude of Ebla) and also four passages. It depicts a large semicircle at 60/100 km east/south-east of Ebla, Ḥamā and Ḥoms, and draws the limits of the dry farming areas. Bertrand Lafont (*Paléorient* [2010]: 73–89) has reminded that low walls running for kilometres in the steppe and desert (e.g. in Jordan) are perhaps tribal boundaries, and has given the correct historical interpretation of this impressive structure, remarking that the TLM could have been built only under the advise and support of a centralised power such that of Ebla; in fact, it was abandoned when Ebla was destroyed.

A couple of documents mention the toponym NAM-NAM<sup>ki</sup> in relation with Ib<sup>e</sup>al, a name which the contexts suggest to consider as a kind of Semitic logogram: *birs<sub>5</sub>-birs<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>*:

75.2370 (month [x]) obv. vi 24–vii 10: (1+1+1 garments) *I-ti-a-gú šu-i níg-“mul”* *birs<sub>5</sub>-birs<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>* *Da-ù<sup>ki</sup>* *wa Ba-da-nu<sup>ki</sup>* *Ib-la<sup>ki</sup>* (*Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>*) til; vii 18–viii 4: (1+1+1 garments) *I-ti-a-gú šu-i níg-“mul”* *Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>* til; xi 8–14: (1+1+1 garments) *Du-bí maškim* <sup>À</sup>*gu-lum* *níg-mul* *Da-ù<sup>ki</sup>* til; rev. vi 7–11: (1+1+1 garments, 1 bracelet) *Zi-la-ì Da-ù<sup>ki</sup>* *tus-LÚ<<XTIL>*; vi 12–vii 11: (20+20+20, 100[+30?], +100[+20]+10 garments) 130 *na-se<sub>11</sub>* *Ma-nu-wa-at<sup>ki</sup>* 53 *na-se<sub>11</sub>* *Gara-ma-an<sup>ki</sup>* 10 <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup><sub>1</sub> *Sa-mu-du<sup>ki</sup>* *šu-du<sub>8</sub>* in *birs<sub>5</sub>-birs<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>*.

“(1+1+1 garments to) Iti-agu, the barber, who brought the news that the wells of Dau and Badanu of Ib<sup>e</sup>al(!) were destroyed. ... (1+1+1 garments to) Iti-agu, the barber, who broughts the news that Ib<sup>e</sup>al was destroyed (i.e. defeated). ... (1+1+1 garments to) Dubi, the representative of <sup>À</sup>Agulum, who brought the news that Dau was destroyed (i.e. defeated). ... (1+1+1 garments, 1 bracelet to) Zila*i* who occupied Dau. ... (80+130+130 garments to) 130 people from Manuwat, 53 people from Garaman, 10 ... from Samudu have been delivered at the wells”.

75.2245 (month [x]) obv. xii 4–12: (1+1+1 garments to) *Puzur-ra-BE* maškim <sup>À</sup>*gu-lum* *šu-mu-“tak<sub>4</sub>”* igi-dus *Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>* *mi-nu birs<sub>5</sub>-birs<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>* lú *Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>*; rev. ii 6’–12’: (1+1+1 garments, 1 bracelet to) *Ib-dur-i-śar* *Ga-ra-ma-an<sup>ki</sup>* *šu-dus* in *Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>*.

(1+1+1 garments to) Puzurra-ba<sup>e</sup>l, the representative of <sup>À</sup>Agulum who has handed over the gift of Ib<sup>e</sup>al from the wells of Ib<sup>e</sup>al; ... (1+1+1 garments, 1 bracelet to) Ibdur-iśar from Garaman have been delivered in Ib<sup>e</sup>al.

ARET XII 780 i 1': ... *bi]rs<sub>5</sub>-[b]irs<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>*

The first two monthly documents concern the same military campaign. The war against Durdu, Bazasadu, and Dau is registered in the annual “è document” 75.10202(+), which has to be dated to year Ibbi-zikir 13 (see Archi, “Relative Chronology and the Destruction of Ebla”, *forthcoming*). The fragment ARET XII 780 belongs without doubt to this document: the city *Ba-za-sa-du<sup>ki</sup>* is mentioned in v 2.

nam-TAR (read nam-kus in the volumes of the ARET series) means “oath”: the representatives of the allied cities went to Ebla to swear in the temple of the god Kura: *in ud nam-kus é <sup>d</sup>Ku-ra*. In earlier documents (those of the period of the minister Arrukum) one may find simply: nam instead of nam-kus (ARET XV,2, p. 458).

The reduplicate form nam-nam is attested in MEE 2, 11 obv. iii 7–8: *in ud nam-nam*, which cannot be translated “scongiuri” on the basis of the equivalence in the Lexical Lists, no. 1098: nam = še-bù (G. Pettinato, MEE 2, p. 90), because še-bù “kann auf keinen Fall eine masc. Entsprechung zu fem. *šiptum* ‘Beschwörung’ sein: denn die Verben primae w (hier W-ŠP) pflegen nur fem. Verbalnomina zu bilden” (D. O. Edzard, ARET II, p. 134). Other passages suggest for it the meaning “oracular response”, requested from the goddess Ganana, see ARET XIX 1 § 27, and 75.10044 rev. v 4–7: níg-ba <sup>d</sup>*Ga-na-na* *in ud nam-nam-sù*; 75.10233 obv. vii 18–21: níg-ba <sup>d</sup>*Ga-na-na* *in ud nam-sù* “(garments) gift (for) Ganana on the occasion of her response(s)”.

The royal train reached the locality of NAM<sup>ki</sup> on the way to the mausoleum of the ancestors in Binaš in the vicinity of Ebla, according to the ritual of the royal wedding, ARET XI 1 § 43; 2 [§ 46]. Fronzaroli (ARET XI, p. 38) has suggested to read it *Birs<sup>ki</sup>*, referring to the toponym *Bí-ir<sup>ki</sup> /bi'r/* in ARET II 6 viii 6 (!); VII 71 rev. I 4 (*Bí-ir<sup>ki</sup> lú I-ba<sup>ki</sup>*); 153 obv. iii 5; 75.1558 obv. iii 1, 3; 75.1669 obv. vi 7, while ARET IV 1 § 81 has: *Birs-um<sup>ki</sup>*. These references are listed in M. Bonechi, *I nomi geografici dei testi di Ebla* (RGTC 12/1. Wiesbaden 1993, p. 79). All these places were in the territory of Ebla. The reading *Bí-ir<sup>ki</sup>* for NE-ir<sup>ki</sup> had been suggested by M. C. Astour, “Toponymy of Ebla and Ethnohistory of Northern Syria”, *JAOS* 108 (1988): 550.

These phonetic writings and the fact that a plurality of NAM<sup>ki</sup> has to be located in the arid region of the confederation of Ibal prove that *Birs<sup>ki</sup>-Birs<sup>ki</sup>* were “wells” *bi'-ru* (cf Akk. *bēru*, *būru*). This toponym occurs often also in the texts from Alalah: *uruBi-i-ri*, *uruTÚL*, *Bir*, see J. A. Belmonte Marín, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* (RGTC 12/2); Wiesbaden 2001, p. 55–56).

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**58) Éblaïte *ma-rí-a-tum*, « vêtements de la royauté » ou « layettes » pour le futur bébé royal ?\*** — Grâce surtout aux textes du rituel royal de ARET XI, on connaît à Ébla le mot *ma-rí-a-tum* (avec ses variantes), qui semble indiquer des vêtements réalisés en laine que le couple des souverains et les images des divinités sauvegardant la royauté doivent porter en tant que symboles du pouvoir acquis et renouvelé (PASQUALI 2005: 177-180). On peut considérer les passages suivants :

ARET XI 2 (98): 4 *ma-rí-a-tum* / túg-nu-tag / <sup>d</sup>KU-ra / wa / <sup>d</sup>*ba-ra-ma* / wa / en / wa / *ma-lik-tum*

ARET XI 3 (11): 4 *ma-rí-a-ti* / túg-nu-tag / <sup>d</sup>KU-ra / wa / <sup>d</sup>*ba-ra-ma* / wa / en / wa / *ma-lik-tum*

où quatre de ces étoffes sont tissées (túg-nu-tag) exprès pour le dieu <sup>d</sup>KU-ra et sa parèdre <sup>d</sup>*ba-ra-ma* ainsi que pour le roi et la reine. La graphie *ma-rí-a-tum* a été traduite comme hypothèse de travail par « vêtements à la façon de Mari » (\**mār-īy-āt-um*, akkadien de Mari *mārītu*; voir FRONZAROLI 1993: 27 et 160; PASQUALI 2010: 179-180) mais il s’agit d’une étymologie qui demeure incertaine.

Très récemment, BONECHI 2016: 66, a proposé que le mot tire son origine de \**mar-*-, « fils », et donc à lire *mārēyātum* < \**mar'-iy-āt-um*, « emblems of the lineage », une traduction qui selon ce savant « tries to capture, with an awkward modern expression, the complex ancient reference to the future son seen as a continuation of the ancestry ». En réalité, cela a tout l’air d’être un cas d’explication *obscurum per obscurius*. J’admet, en effet, que l’on a du mal à comprendre ce que peuvent être concrètement ces objets appelés « emblems of the lineage », composés à partir des langes (*maš-da-bù*) tissés dans l’attente de la naissance du bébé royal, et je n’arrive pas non plus à trouver de possibles analogies avec d’autres documentations. Au-delà de l’opacité de cette explication, l’interprétation de Bonechi est affaiblie aussi

par un passage provenant d'un texte administratif encore inédit mais déjà cité partiellement par PASQUALI 2010: 179. Il s'agit de :

TM.75.G.1504 f. I:1 - II:8: (objets en métal) 6 gada-túg / 1 gada-túg / 1 sal-túg / 1 ma-rí-a-du / 1 fb+III-túg / 1 šu-kešda / (objets en métal) / níg-ba / dingir-dingir-dingir

où un *ma-rí-a-du* est livré avec d'autres textiles plutôt communs et insignifiants comme offrande aux divinités (dingir-dingir-dingir). On comprend bien que le mot *ma-rí-a-du* ne peut pas avoir ici la pompeuse signification de « emblems of the lineage » proposée par Bonechi pour les attestations du rituel. D'ailleurs il est tout à fait difficile de penser que cette graphie se réfère à un terme différent.

Si l'étymologie du mot doit être \**mar'*-, « fils », en relation avec le futur bébé du couple royal, je me demande alors s'il ne serait pas plus judicieux de traduire *ma-rí-a-tum* simplement par « layettes ». Pourtant, même cette interprétation semblerait contredire par le fait que dans les textes rituels on dit clairement que les *ma-rí-a-tum* à tisser sont au nombre de quatre, c'est-à-dire un pour chaque composant du couple royal et du couple des divinités sauvegardant la royauté et donc qu'ils en sont les destinataires et non le futur bébé royal. Une fois encore, l'explication fournie par BONECHI 2016: 66 à propos du nombre des *ma-rí-a-tim* (« these emblems were woven, for each member of the Ebla royal pairs, the divine one and the human one, because a son come from the matrimonial union of a god with a goddess, as well as of the man with woman ») n'est pas du tout évidente.

<sup>x)</sup> Je tiens à remercier le prof. A. Archi qui m'a aimablement permis d'utiliser le passage inédit.

BONECHI, M. 2016 « A Passive, and therefore Prized, Bride. New Proposals for the Queen's Wedding in the Ebla Royal Rituals », *Revue d'Assyriologie* 110: 53-78.

FRONZAROLI, P. 1993 *Testi rituali della regalità* (Archivio L. 2769), ARET XI, Rome.

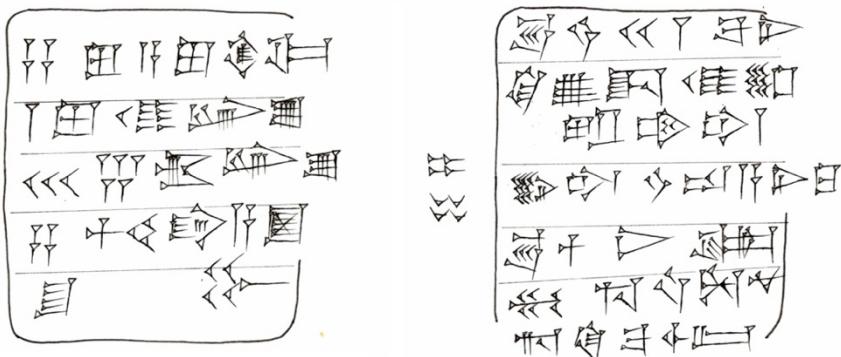
PASQUALI, J. 2005 « Remarques comparatives sur la symbolique du vêtement à Ébla », dans L. Kogan et alii (éds), *Memoriae Igor M. Diakonoff*, Winona Lake: 165-184.

ID. 2010 « Les noms sémitiques des tissus dans les textes d'Ébla », dans C. Michel et M.-L. Nosch (éds), *Textiles Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, Oxford: 173-185.

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**59) Three Neo-Sumerian Texts from St. Catherine University** — The three cuneiform tablets dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur (Ur III, ca. 2112-2004 BC) are housed in the St. Catherine University, St. Paul, MN, USA. Among them, two tablets (Nos. 1-2) are from Puzriš-Dagan and one tablet (No. 3) origins from Umma, both of which locate in the southern Iraq. Their photographs and transliterations have been available from CDLI database by its staffs. I would like to thank Emily Asch, the Head of Technical Services of St. Catherine University Library, and Kathi Rickert, the reference librarian of St. Catherine University, for giving me permission to publish these tablets here. This paper presented an edition of hand copies, re-transliterations, translations and comments of these cuneiform texts.

**1. Transfer of animals.** Identification Number: SCU 04 Provenience: Puzriš-Dagan, Date: Amar-Suen 7 i 2,1 CDLI no.: P412631

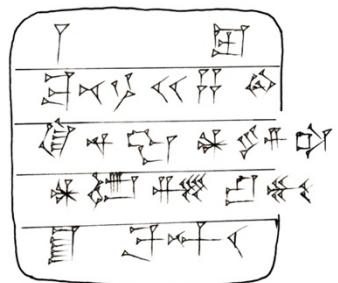


1.	4 udu a-udu hur-sağ̄	4 hybrids of sheep with wild sheep,
2.	1 udu gi6 LU <sub>2</sub> .SU	1 black Šimaškian sheep,
3.	35 uds LU <sub>2</sub> .SU	35 female Šimaškian goats,
4.	4 maš <sub>2</sub> ga a-dara <sub>4</sub>	4 suckling hybrids of goats with wild goats,
5.	šu-gid <sub>2</sub>	designated as šu-gid,
1.	iti u <sub>4</sub> 21 ba-zal	the 21st day of the month passed,
2.	ki U <sub>2</sub> -ta <sub>2</sub> -mi-šar-/ra-am-ta	from Uta-mišaram,
3.	In-ta-e <sub>3</sub> -a i <sub>3</sub> -dabs	Intaea took over.
4.	iti maš-da <sub>3</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub>	Month: "Gazelle eating."
5.	mu Hu-uh <sub>2</sub> -nu-/ri <sup>ki</sup> ba-hul	Year: "Huhnuri was destroyed."
1.	44	(Sum:) 44.

This text records that Intaea took over 44 sheep/goats from Uta-mišaram. It is an abnormal transaction from Uta-mišaram to Intaea. In most cases, the direction of transaction of animals is from Intaea to Uta-mišaram. For further discussion, see C. Liu, *Organization, Administrative Practices and Written Documentation in Mesopotamia during the Ur III Period (c. 2112-2004 BC): A Case Study of Puzriš-Dagan in the Reign of Amar-Suen*. KEF 3. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

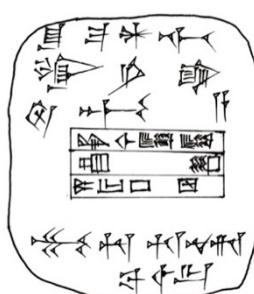
1-4. For the terminology of livestock (a-udu hur-sağ̄, LU<sub>2</sub>.SU and a-dara<sub>4</sub>), see P. Steinkeller, "Sheep and goat terminology in Ur III sources from Drehem," *BSA* 8 (1995) 49-70.

**2. Receipt of slaughtered animal.** Identification Number: SCU 17, Provenience: Puzriš-Dagan, Date: Šu-Suen 5 ii 24, CDLI no.: P412633



1.	1 udu	1 sheep,
2.	ba-uš <sub>2</sub> u <sub>4</sub> 24-kam	slaughtered, on the 24th day,
3.	ki Nu-ur <sub>2</sub> -dŠKUR-ta	from Nur-Adad,
4.	dŠulgi-iri-ĝui <sub>10</sub>	Šulgi-iriĝu
5.	šu ba-ti	received.
Rev.	1. iti maš-da <sub>3</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub>	Month: "Gazelle eating."
2.	mu us <sub>2</sub> -sa dŠu-dEN.ZU / lugal Uriš <sup>ki</sup> -ma-ke <sub>4</sub> / bad <sub>3</sub> mar-tu Mu-ri-/iq-ti-id-ni-im / mu-du <sub>3</sub>	Year after: "Šu-Suen, king of Ur, built the Amorite wall <i>Muriqtidnum</i> ."
1.	1 udu	(Sum:) 1 sheep.

**3. Receipt of boat-products.** Identification Number: SCU 15, Provenience: Umma. Date: Amar-Suen 7, CDLI no.: P412632



— For the terms 𒄑- $u_3$ -su<sub>5</sub> and gi-muš, see W. Heimpel, "Twenty-Eight Trees Growing in Sumer," in D.I. Owen (ed.), *Garšana Studies*. CUSAS 6. Bethesda: CDL Press, 2011, pp. 103–109.

— For the term *gikid šer7-ru-um* also read as *gi-kid nir-ru-um*, see M. Yoshikawa, “Two Neo-Sumerian Tablets in the Hiroshima Jyogakuin College,” *ASJ* 8 (1986) 304.

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**60) Une enveloppe fermée d'Ur III d'une collection privée** — L'enveloppe fermée éditée dans cette contribution est datée du mois ii (iti gu<sub>4</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-izi-mu<sub>2</sub>) de l'an 7 d'Amar-Sin (2040 av. J.-C.), selon le calendrier en vigueur dans la province de Lagaš. Elle mesure 3,7 x 4,5 cm. Sa provenance de la ville de Girsu est assurée par des éléments prosopographiques, exposés ci-dessous. Il s'agit d'un reçu de 120 *gur* de grain, selon la mesure du roi, effectué auprès de Dugazida et par l'intermédiaire d'Umani. Le nom de l'individu qui reçoit les céréales n'est pas indiqué sur l'enveloppe, mais cette information est certainement présente sur la tablette qu'elle renferme. Il devrait s'agir d'Ur-Lamma, fils d'Arad-mu et scribe, qui scelle le document.

Enveloppe :

	120,0.0 še gur lugal	120 <i>gur</i> de grain, (mesure du) roi,
2	ki du <sub>11</sub> -ga-zi-da-ta	(reçu) auprès de Dugazida,
	inim u <sub>3</sub> -ma-ni-ta	par l'intermédiaire d'Umani.
4	kišib ur- <sup>d</sup> lamma dumu	Sceau d'Ur-Lamma, fils d'Arad-mu.
	arad <sub>2</sub> -mu	
R.6	iti gu <sub>4</sub> -ra <sub>2</sub> (!)-izi-mú	Mois ii,
	mu hu-úh-ri	année Amar-Sin 7.
8	ba-hul	

L. 7) L'année Amar-Sin 7 commémore la destruction de la ville de Huh(u)nuri, en Élam<sup>1)</sup>. Le nom de ce toponyme était manifestement mal compris par les Mésopotamiens, au regard des nombreuses variantes répertoriées par le RGTC 2, p. 77. La graphie hu-úh-ri, non référencée par le RGTC 2, est toutefois connue par le BDTNS qui la corrige en hu-úh-<nu>-ri, comme me l'a aimablement signalé Pr. M. Molina.

Sceau :

ur-<sup>d</sup>lamma / dub-sar / dumu ar[ad<sub>2</sub>]-mu

Ur-Lamma, scribe, fils d'Arad-mu.

L'empreinte du sceau d'Ur-Lamma est connue depuis longtemps par plusieurs tablettes de Girsu. Elle a d'abord été dessinée par Th. G. Pinches en 1915<sup>2)</sup>, puis par C. Fischer en 1992<sup>3)</sup>. Sa légende est insérée dans un cartouche vertical réparti sur deux lignes à gauche et une ligne à droite. Deux combats mythologiques sont représentés de part et d'autre du cartouche : à gauche, un dieu barbu, vêtu d'une robe courte, portant une coiffe plate, empoigne un ibex cabré sur ses pattes arrière ; à droite, un dieu guerrier vêtu d'une tunique, coiffé d'un casque, armé d'un poignard, et un taureau androcéphale, le visage tourné vers le spectateur, attaquent un lion rugissant et dressé sur ses pattes postérieures.



Ur-Lamma, scribe, fils d'Arad-mu possédait au moins deux autres sceaux. L'empreinte du premier sceau figure sur *MVN* 5 206 (vi-Šu-Sin 9) et a été dessinée par E. Sollberger en 1978<sup>4</sup>). Il porte l'iconographie classique de la double scène d'intercession et de présentation : le propriétaire du sceau, crâne rasé et imberbe, vêtu d'une tunique, est conduit par son dieu personnel devant le dieu tutélaire de sa ville, assis en majesté sur son trône, en présence d'une déesse-lamma qui intercède en sa faveur, les mains levées devant son visage. Chaque divinité est vêtue d'une robe à volants et coiffée d'une tiare à cornes. Un aigle aux ailes déployées figure au côté du dieu trônant ; il doit s'agir de son animal-attribut. La légende du sceau est insérée dans un cartouche vertical, divisé en trois lignes cette fois-ci bien alignées, situé derrière le dieu trônant. Un troisième sceau aniconique a été déroulé sur *ITT* 3 4901 (Amar-Sin 9) et *UNT* 4 (Šu-Sin 2).

En plus de son métier de scribe, Ur-Lamma exerça les fonctions de šabra e<sub>2</sub>, c'est-à-dire d'intendant du temple<sup>5</sup>), d'après *ITT* 3 4901 (Amar-Sin 9), *UNT* 4 (Šu-Sin 2), *TCTI* 2 3932 (Šu-Sin 8), *MVN* 6 245 (Šu-Sin 9), *DAS* 17 (Šu-Sin 9) et *TCTI* 2 4247 (non datée). Le fils d'Arad-mu y est toujours identifié par l'un de ses sceaux. *MVN* 12 500 pourrait même donner son titre complet : šabra e<sub>2</sub> girsu-ka. Toutefois, il faut signaler qu'un autre Ur-Lamma, fils d'Ur-Sin, est également attesté à Girsu en tant que šabra e<sub>2</sub>, d'après la tablette *TCS* 1 220 qui n'est pas datée. Ainsi, il n'est pas assuré que toutes les attestations d'Ur-Lamma le šabra e<sub>2</sub> (parfois simplement désigné comme šabra) concernent véritablement notre Ur-Lamma, fils d'Arad-mu. Enfin, il convient de déterminer si Ur-Lamma exerçait déjà les fonctions de šabra e<sub>2</sub> lorsqu'il déroula son sceau sur l'enveloppe éditée ici. Le BDTNS indique que toutes les attestations d'un Ur-Lamma, šabra (e<sub>2</sub>), en poste à Girsu, sont datées entre les années Šulgi 31 et Šu-Sin 9, avec toutefois aucune mention de ce nom propre associé à ce titre entre la fin du règne de Šulgi et l'an Amar-Sin 9. On pourrait dès lors prudemment envisager qu'Ur-Lamma fils d'Arad-mu exerça ces fonctions lors des règnes d'Amar-Sin et de Šu-Sin, tandis qu'Ur-Lamma fils d'Ur-Sin occupa ce poste lors de la dernière partie du règne de Šulgi.

Le parallèle avec la tablette *MVN* 12 94 (x-Šulgi 46) permet d'affirmer qu'Ur-Lamma scelle le document édité ci-dessus en raison du fait qu'il reçoit les céréales. Il s'agit également d'un reçu de grain par Ur-Lamma, toutefois son enveloppe ne donne pas son nom, bien qu'Ur-Lamma y est apposé son sceau. On remarque également que le seul autre document mentionnant tout à la fois Ur-Lamma et Dugazida concerne des peaux reçues par le premier auprès du second ; il s'agit de *PPAC* 5 1216 (x-Amar-Sin 1).

Le BDTNS indique qu'il existe à Girsu plusieurs Dugazida, qui sont mentionnés dans des textes relatifs à des produits d'élevage et d'agriculture. Si l'on s'en tient aux documents relatifs aux transactions d'orge mesurée selon le *gur* du roi, il convient de mettre le texte édité ci-dessus en parallèle avec *TCTI* 2 3931, avec lequel il partage de très nombreux points communs. Il s'agit également d'une enveloppe fermée, datée de l'année Amar-Sin 7, enregistrant un reçu de grain auprès de Dugazida, dont le volume rond est compté par soixantaines de *gur* du roi (en l'occurrence, 420 *gur*). Ces deux textes appartiennent assurément à une même archive. Or, l'enveloppe de *TCTI* 2 3931 est cette fois-ci scellée par le sceau de Dugazida, dont la légende est : du<sub>11</sub>-ga-zi-da / dub-sar / dumu ur-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga / sanga <sup>d</sup>nin-giš-zi-da, « Dugazida, scribe, fils d'Ursaga l'administrateur-sanga du temple de Ningišzida. » Les reçus d'orge dans lesquels figure Dugazida n'indiquent pas fréquemment leur destination. Toutefois, la tablette *TUT* 263, aussi datée de l'an Amar-Sin 7 (mois xii), montre qu'il existe bel et bien un lien entre Dugazida et le temple de Ningišzida, puisque ce dernier reçoit 1,1.0 *gur* de grain (selon la mesure) du roi, constituant une dette (ur<sub>5</sub>-ra) du personnel du temple de Ningišzida (eren<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-giš-zi-da). On peut en déduire que Dugazida appartenait au clergé du temple de Ningišzida, en tant que fils du sanga<sup>6</sup>).

Enfin, Umani remplit la fonction d'intermédiaire de la transaction. Il existe de nombreuses attestations de plusieurs Umani à Girsu, selon le BDTNS. Un Umani joue le rôle d'intermédiaire-giri<sub>3</sub> dans deux textes : *PPAC* 5 673 (i-Amar-Sin 6, reçu de son et de dattes) et *PPAC* 5 1330 (Amar-Sin 6, reçu de dattes selon la mesure du roi). Vu les dates de ces documents, on devrait avoir affaire à Umani attesté sur l'enveloppe éditée ci-dessus. Toutefois, aucun de ces textes ne permet de savoir quel était le statut de cet homme. Quelques essais d'identification peuvent être envisagés, mais très prudemment. Un Umani fut scribe du roi Amar-Sin selon son sceau déroulé sur *CBT* 3 (ix-Šu-Sin 2)<sup>7</sup>. Dans l'hypothèse d'une identification avec notre Umani, on pourrait considérer que le reçu des 120 *gur* de grain, selon la mesure

royale et par l'intermédiaire du scribe du roi, indique que c'est le Palais qui a effectué cette transaction avec le temple de Ningišzida. Par ailleurs, un Umani est impliqué à de multiples reprises dans des transactions de diverses denrées relatives aux « rations du gouverneur » (šuku ensi<sub>2</sub>), à l'époque d'Amar-Sin<sup>8</sup>). À nouveau, si cet Umani doit être identifié avec le nôtre, cela témoignerait cette fois-ci d'une implication du gouverneur de Girsu dans la transaction exposée ci-dessus. Pour l'heure, la question du statut d'Umani reste posée.

\*) Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre du projet « EcritUr. La ville d'Ur d'après les textes du premier quart du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. », financé par l'ANR. Je remercie D. Charpin de m'avoir confié l'édition de ce document, ainsi que V. Chalendar et A. Jacquet pour la réalisation de la photographie. Les abréviations utilisées sont celles en usage sur le BDTNS (Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts ; <http://bdtns.filol.csic.es>).

1) W. Hinz, « Huhnur », *RIA* 4, Berlin/New York, 1972, p. 488-489.  
 2) Th. G. Pinches, *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection*, ASM 16, Londres, 1915, p. 24-25 texte n° 26 (iv-Šulgi 47, reçu de 53 gur de grain selon la mesure du roi, auprès de Lu-namtarra).

3) C. Fischer, « Siegelabrollungen im British Museum auf neusumerischen Tontafeln aus der Provinz Lagaš », ZA 82, 1992, p. 60-91 ; spéc. p. 84 n° 26 = MVN 12 94 (x-Šulgi 46, reçu de 96,3,0 gur de grain selon la mesure du roi, par Ur-Lamma auprès de Bazi).

4) E. Sollberger, *The Pinches Manuscript*, MVN 5, Rome, 1978, pl. 46.  
 5) W. Sallaberger & A. Westenholz, *Mesopotamien. Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, OBO 160/3, Fribourg/Göttingen, 1999, p. 194-195.

6) Voir également K. Maekawa, « The governor's family and the "temple households" in Ur III Girsu », dans K. R. Veenhof (éd.), *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia*, CRRAI 40, Leyde, 1996, p. 171-179 ; spéc. p. 176, table 1 : "Temple households" of the Ur III Girsu (avec bibliographie), indiquant qu'un certain Dugazida administrait des terres du temple de Ningišzida en Šulgi 41 et Šulgi 43. S'agissait-il déjà de Dugazida mentionné sur l'enveloppe éditée ci-dessus ?

7) Le BDTNS a enregistré par erreur trois documents portant l'empreinte du sceau d'un « Umani, scribe, fils de Namhani » comme étant originaires de Girsu : CBT 3 BM 27803a, SAT 1 76 et WMAH 202. Ils doivent en réalité provenir d'Umma, comme tous les autres documents scellés par ce sceau selon le BDTNS ; voir aussi le CDLI : <https://cdli.ucla.edu/S000401>.

8) Aux attestations d'Umani réunies par P. Mander, « A Minor Archive of Ur III Lagash for the Provisions of the Governor », *AuOr* 16, 1998, p. 193-247 ; spéc. p. 246, ajouter CTPSM 1 233 (21-xii) et Nisaba 22 1652 (5-i-Amar-Sin 5).

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**61) The Wall. Zu Inhalt und Aufbau von Lugalbanda I, Z. 318-323.<sup>1)</sup>** — Die Arbeit mit sumerischen Metaphern<sup>2)</sup> wirft eine Reihe von Schwierigkeiten auf. Abgesehen von der allgemeinen Schwierigkeit, Metaphern zu erkennen und sie von anderen Tropen, von bereits lexikalisierten Metaphern sowie von „realen Aussagen“ abzugrenzen, sind für eine korrekte Interpretation Eigenheiten der sumerischen Grammatik zu beachten. Darüber hinaus ist es für das Verständnis der jeweiligen Textstelle von Bedeutung, dass eine Metapher in ihrem Kontext korrekt interpretiert wird, um nicht dem weit verbreiteten (und m.E. ungerechtfertigten) Vorurteil, die sumerische Metaphorik sei „exotisch“, „unrealistisch“ oder dgl.<sup>3)</sup>, zuzuarbeiten. Es ist nicht nur die Frage zu stellen, warum ein spezifisches Bild verwendet wurde, sondern auch konkret, warum es an dieser Stelle im vorliegenden Kontext verwendet wurde. Dass hier auch die Besonderheiten des keilschriftlichen Schriftsystems zum Tragen kommen, überrascht kaum und soll an den folgenden Zeilen aus Lugalbanda I – welche ich auch ergänzend zum Teil neu übersetze – demonstriert werden.

Die Zeilen bilden den Auftakt des Traums, in welchem der wieder genesene, aber noch in der Wildnis verlorene Lugalbanda göttliche Anweisungen zur weiteren Vorgehensweise erhält.<sup>4)</sup> Der Schlaf wird u.a. beschrieben wie folgt:<sup>5)</sup>

- 318. lugal-ra u<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-ge sa<sub>2</sub> nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-dug<sub>4</sub>
- 319. u<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-ge kur nam-gu<sub>2</sub>-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>
- 320. ku-kur galam-ma-gen<sub>7</sub> šu e<sub>2</sub>-gar<sub>8</sub>-gen<sub>7</sub> gul-la
- 321. šu-bi galam-am<sub>3</sub> ĝiri<sub>3</sub>-bi galam-am<sub>3</sub>
- 322. niĝ<sub>2</sub> igi-bi-ta lal<sub>3</sub> šu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub>-e

323. igi-bi-ta lal<sub>3</sub> dirig-dirig-ga-e

„Den König (= Lugalbanda) überkam schließlich der Schlaf.

Dieser Schlaf, das Land der Unterwerfung;

er ist eine kunstvoll (sich aufgetürmt habende) Woge; (er ist/hat) eine Hand, die wie eine Lehmziegelmauer zugeschlagen (wörtlich: zerstört) hat;

seine Hand ist kunstvoll, sein Fuß ist kunstvoll:

eine Sache, die von vorne (über den Schlafenden) Sirup deckt,  
von vorne (über ihn) Sirup fließen lässt.“

Die verwendeten Metaphern beschreiben den Schlaf als aktive externe Macht, der sich nichts entgegenstellen kann, welche den Schlafenden unterwirft (Z. 319) und welche – siehe die „Sirup“-Metapher in Z. 322-323 – gleichzeitig süß-klebrig und unwiderstehlich ist.<sup>6)</sup>

Z. 319: Das Epithet kur nam-gu<sub>2</sub>-ga-ke<sub>4</sub> „Land/Berg der Unterwerfung“ für den Schlaf wird in Gilgameš und Huwawa B, ECSL 1.8.1.5.1, Z. 11, für das Grab bzw. die Unterwelt verwendet.<sup>7)</sup>

Z. 320: Die bisherigen Übersetzungen dieser Zeile lauten wie folgt:

- HALLO 1983: 176: “it is like an extensive flood, a hand destroyed like a brick wall”
- BLACK 1998: 182: “it is like a towering flood, a hand like a brick wall knocked over”
- VANSTIPHOUT 1998: 400: “it is a raging flood which sweeps over the body as a wall washed away (by water)”
- VANSTIPHOUT 2003: 123: “it is a towering flood, like the hand that demolishes a brick wall”
- WILCKE 2015: 242: “eine sich kunstvoll auftürmende Welle, die den Verstand umgeworfen hat wie eine Hand eine Mauer”
- ETCSL (Abruf: 18.08.2018): „it is like a towering flood, like a hand demolishing a brick wall”

In den Übersetzungen wurde somit entweder die „Hand“, welche die Lehmziegelmauer zerstört hat, als Vehikel angesehen, oder eine Lehmziegelmauer, die zerstört worden ist.

Die erstgenannte Möglichkeit (wie eine Hand, welche die Mauer zerstört) ist in Bezug auf die Grammatik problematisch. Das Äquativmorphem wird an das Ende der Nominalphrase, auf welche sich der Äquativ bezieht, gehängt, oder an das erste Wort eines aus mehreren Wörtern bestehenden Vergleichs, wodurch zuweilen auch Ketten aufgesprengt werden.<sup>8)</sup> Beides ist bei einer solchen Interpretation nicht der Fall.

Die letztgenannte Möglichkeit ist in Bezug auf die Grammatik unproblematisch, aber inhaltlich schwierig: Was bedeutet es im gegebenen Kontext, dass die Hand wie eine Lehmziegelmauer zerstört worden ist, vor allem in Anbetracht der nachfolgenden Metaphern?

Die anderen Metaphern in den Z. 320-323 geben Vehikel, welche aktiv jemanden (den Schlafenden, so darf angenommen werden) überwältigt haben (ku-kur) bzw. vollständig bedecken (lal<sub>3</sub>). Dies macht eine aktive Interpretation auch für Z. 320 wahrscheinlich: Vehikel ist nicht eine Mauer, welche zerstört worden ist, sondern eine Mauer, die selbst zerstört, einstürzt (d.h. sich auf jemanden stürzt). Für dieses Bild (e<sub>2</sub>-gar<sub>8</sub> ... gul) findet sich die folgende Parallelle in Ninurtas Eroberungen, ETCSL 1.6.2, Z. 173<sup>9)</sup>:

[a<sub>2</sub>-sa]g<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-urta dumu-<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ra (Variante: še<sub>3</sub>) e<sub>2</sub>-gar<sub>8</sub>-gen<sub>7</sub> mu-un-ši-gul-lu

„Asag wirft sich in zerstörerischer Absicht auf Ninurta, den Sohn des Enlil, wie eine (einstürzende) Lehmziegelmauer.“

Eine weitere Parallelle für dieses Bild ist in Udug-Hul 8, Z. 3, belegt:

a-la<sub>2</sub> hul e<sub>2</sub>-gar<sub>8</sub> diri-ga-gen<sub>7</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>-ra in-gu[1]-us-a he<sub>2</sub>-me-en

MIN ša<sub>2</sub> ki-ma i-ga-ri i-qup-pu-ma UGU L[U<sub>2</sub> in-n]a-ba-tu at-ta<sub>5</sub>

“whether you are the evil Alū-demon who is like a wall that caves in and collapses upon the man,” (nach GELLER 2015: 288)<sup>10)</sup>

Wird die Metapher in Z. 320 von Lugalbanda I ebenso interpretiert, so haben in dieser Zeile beide Metaphern etwas Hohes, das einstürzt und den davor Stehenden unter sich begräbt, zum Inhalt.

Zu Z. 321: Der „Hand“ des Schlafs liegt entweder die Vorstellung des personifizierten Schlafs/Traumgottes zugrunde<sup>11)</sup> oder es handelt sich um eine Metapher für die „Kraft“ des Schlafs; gerade bei letzterer Interpretation sind die folgenden Überlegungen zum Aufbau dieser Zeilen von Bedeutung.

Die Zeilen 318-323 von Lugalbanda I zeichnen sich durch einen ausgefeilten Parallelismus von Zeichen aus, wie im Folgenden gezeigt werden soll: (die jeweils parallelen Zeichen sind – ungeachtet ihrer Interpretation – unterstrichen und werden unten diskutiert, ebenso šu und šu<sub>2</sub>):

- 318. lugal-ra u<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-ge sa<sub>2</sub> nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-dug<sub>4</sub>
- 319. u<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-ge kur nam-gu<sub>2</sub>-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>
- 320. ku-kur galam-ma-gen<sub>7</sub> šu e<sub>2</sub>-gār<sub>8</sub>-gen<sub>7</sub> gul-la
- 321. šu-bi galam-am<sub>3</sub> gīri<sub>3</sub>-bi galam-am<sub>3</sub>
- 322. niğ<sub>2</sub> igi-bi-ta lal<sub>3</sub> šu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub>-e
- 323. igi-bi-ta lal<sub>3</sub> dirig-dirig-ga-e

In Z. 318 wird mehrmals das Zeichen DI (= sa<sub>2</sub>) verwendet: Als Element von u<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-ge sowie als Teil von sa<sub>2</sub> ... dug<sub>4</sub>. Beachte, dass es sich bei di um den infiniten Stamm von dug<sub>4</sub> handelt.

Das Element u<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-ge aus Z. 318 wird in Z. 319 wiederholt, ebenso das Element nam sowie das Element ga.

Das Element kur aus Z. 319 wird in Z. 320 wiederholt.

Das Element galam aus Z. 320 wird in Z. 321 zweimal wiederholt; das Element šu wird einmal wiederholt.

Die Erwähnung von šu „Hand“ in Z. 321 attrahiert das darauffolgende gīri<sub>3</sub> „Fuß“ in einer parallelen Konstruktion.

Das Element šu aus Z. 321 attrahiert das (teilweise) homophone šu<sub>2</sub>.š in Z. 322; dies ist vielleicht auch durch das „Kompositverb“ šu ... šu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub><sup>12)</sup> bedingt.

Schlussendlich wird das Element igi-bi-ta lal<sub>3</sub> aus Z. 322 identisch in Z. 323 wiederholt.

Nur durch eine Betrachtung nicht allein des Inhalts, sondern auch der Struktur dieses kurzen Absatzes wird dieser verständlich. Durch die Wiederholung von ganzen Wörtern oder Phrasen (u<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-ge, galam, igi-bi-ta) sowie von einzelnen Zeichen (nam und ga als Element der Verbalphrase in Z. 318 und des Rectums in Z. 319; kur als Regens in Z. 319 und als Element von ku-kur in Z. 320) wurden bewusst parallele Strukturen geschaffen. Darüber hinaus wurde mit als zusammengehörig empfundenen Begriffen (šu – gīri<sub>3</sub>), mit (teilweisen) Homophonien (šu – šu<sub>2</sub>.š) sowie vielleicht auch mit grammatischen Formen eines sumerischen Wortes auf der Zeichenebene (zweimalige Verwendung des Zeichens DI, welches eine Form von dug<sub>4</sub> darstellt, in Z. 318) gespielt.

1) Ich danke N. De Zorzi und G.J. Selz für hilfreiche Kommentare und Bemerkungen.

2) Unter dem Begriff „Metapher“ subsummiere ich (un)markierte Metaphern, Formen im Äquativ sowie Formen im Adverbiativ, sofern diese metaphorisch aufzufassen sind. Terminologisch folge ich RICHARDS 1936, da ich dessen „Tenor“ und „Vehikel“ als praktikabler empfinde als M. BLACKS (1983) „Hauptgegenstand“ (principal subject) und „untergeordneter Gegenstand“ (secondary subject).

3) Bis heute ist dieses Vorurteil weit verbreitet; siehe beispielsweise JAQUES 2011: 3-4 mit Hinweis auf Landsberger und Falkenstein.

4) Zum „Offenbarungsschlaf“ vgl. GUINAN 2009: 196-197.

5) Umschrift nach HALLO 1983.

6) GUINAN 2009: 196.

7) Vgl. EDZARD 1993: 17.

8) HEIMPEL 1968: 37 und 38.

9) VAN DIJK 1983: 73.

10) Hier stellt sich die Frage, ob die Verwendung von diri sowohl in Lugalbanda I, Z. 323, als auch in Udug-Hul 8, Z. 3, zufällig ist oder ob es sich um eine intertextuelle Verbindung handelt.

11) Hand und Fuß vielleicht *pars pro toto* für den ganzen Körper?

12) Zu diesem vgl. FLÜCKIGER-HAWKER 1999: 222 und 353; CECCARELLI 2016: 45-46.

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**62) The Toponym “Land of Bel” in the Haladiny Inscription\*** —The stele known as Qarib Haladiny was discovered accidentally in the 1980s near Sulaymaniyah in Iraq. The stele has an inscription written in Akkadian, which mentions a number of previously unknown toponyms (AHMAD, 2012: 255). The inscription was written in the name of Iddi(n)-Sîn, the ruler of Simurrum, and several toponyms as well as personal names are listed as part of his conquests. Some of these names are known from other sources, such the geographical designation Ḫalman and the royal name Anubanini, the well-known Lulubian ruler. However, in line 49 of the inscription, following the reference to Ḫalman but before Anubanini, occurs the toponym *ma-at Be-el<sup>ki</sup>* “the Land of Bel” (AHMAD, 2012: 264). In the following we would like to suggest a possible location for this toponym.

The Haladiny inscription was carved in two columns on a light grey limestone slab. The slab measures 76 x 37 x 27 cm. As no curse formula is found on the inscription, we propose that the inscription originally consisted of two or more slabs and that the inscription was originally longer, with a curse formula possibly inscribed on the second slab. No archaeological excavation has yet been undertaken at the location where the inscription was found to search for other relevant remains. A comparison with the inscriptions of Sarpul and Jerusalem, in which the writing was placed vertically rather than horizontally, could indicate that the Haladiny inscription was also designed to be displayed horizontally rather than vertically (AHMAD 2012: 255).

1) [Temple(?)] of the god Ni[šba], 2) [temple(?)] of the king of the nine provinces 3) the firm one. 4) Iddi(n)-Sî[n], 5) the mighty [kin]g, 6) [kin]g of Simurrum, 7) the prince of Šauška/Ištar. 9) Nišba 10) his [lo]rd 8) gave him 12) a [mi]ghty 11) weapon. 13) The [pe]ople(s) of 14) the [la]nds: 15) the [la]nd of Šagi 16) [he dest]royed, 17) [.....], 18) their [.....], 19) [.....]; 20) [the land of] Ten/limu 21) [he destroy]ed, 22) [.....], 23) [th]eir [...], 24) [he sle]w; 25) [the land/city of .....]-ar 26) [he destroy]ed, 27) [.....] 28) their [...] 29) [he sle]w; 30) [The land/city of .....]-na 31) [he dest]royed, 32) [.....]-num-atal, 33) (the) [enemy?/usurper?] of/on (?) the throne 34) of (?) [the land (of)] Simurrum 35) [he s]lew; 36) [the lan]d of ....NE-šum 37) [the la]nd of Šaridhum 38) [he se]ized, 39) [...]Hul(?)-gi/zi zatal 40) [...] GA/AM-ri-ni(?)-we, 41) [their l]ords/gods (?) 42) [...]muš/suh(?)-iš-ti; 43) [The land (?) of ...]-tinabbašawe 44) [he dest]royed, 45) [.....]-lili, 46) their [...] 47) [he s]lew; 48) [The l]and of Ḫalman, 49) the land of Bel 50) [he se]ized. 51) [An]nubanini, 52) [king of the Lullub]um]

(Lacuna ?)

Col. ii

(About 5 lines broken away)

58) Tidluḥhum 59) he destroyed; 60) the land of Šikšambi 61) he destroyed; 62) the land of Iteraš[we], 63) (the city ? of) Itu, 64) (the city ? of) Šaummi, 65) and (the city ? of) [Hu]-b/nizagu, 68) he subdued (all of) them 66) to the fe[et]

of 67) the god Nišba. 69) The land of Utuwe 72) he took back 70) from the hand(s) of 71) Kaknum 73-74) (and afterwards) he destroyed the land of Kaknum. 75) Mad/k/qia-[x], 76) Šawa/i/piya-[x], 77) Magiba-ni(?), 78) Aḥatum, 79) (and) Awilatum 80-81) the Amorite governors/sheikhs, 82) he slew them 83- 85) and he turned back the Amorites from his province (i. e. the province of Iddi(n)-Sîn). 86) The god Nišba 87) his lord, 88-89) heard his word(s) 90-91) (and) destroyed the lands 92-94) (and) slew the Amorites and the Simashkians (for him). 95) (In return), Iddi(n)-Sîn, 96) the hero 97-101) overpowered them (and) subdued them<sup>171</sup> at the feet of the god Nišba, his lord. 102) The lands 103) that rebelled [he made them build] 104) the temple of Nišba, 105) [king of] the 9 provinces].

(Lacuna of unknown length)

(AHMAD 2012: 258).

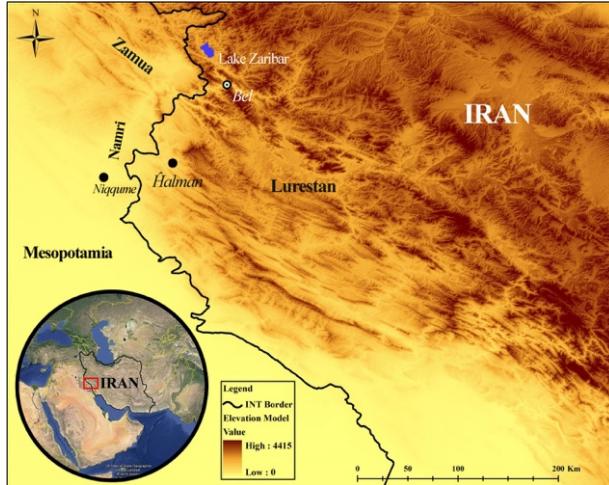


Figure 1: The location of Bel in the western of Kurdistan province, Iran

On the basis of other textual evidence, it has been proposed that the probable location of Halman is to be found in the Sarpol-e Zahab region of Kermanshah province in Western Iran. Therefore, it is possible that the Land of Bel might not be so far from the Sarpol-e Zahab region and the Lulubian lands (FRAYNE 1994: 64; 1999: 148). Halman and Namar are thus situated between the Hamrin Mountains and Qara-daq heights, i.e. in the vicinity of the Sarpol-e Zahab region (FRAYNE 1994: 64). Although the toponym of the Land of Bel is mentioned right after Halman in the Haladiny inscription, locating ancient Bel is still challenging. The most important part of the inscription mentions Anubanini, who appears right after the Land of Bel and is identified as the LUGAL “king” of the Lulubian lands (AHMAD, 2012: 264). It is well known that Iddi(n)-Sîn and Anubanini, the two most powerful governors of mountainous regions, constantly fought over dominance of the western slopes of Zagros as well as the Mesopotamian lowlands (POTTS, 1994). Iddi(n)-Sîn claimed to have defeated the Lulubian army, whose territory can be located around modern Lake Zaribar, close to the cities of Zur and Sulaymaniyah (FRAYNE 1994: 89), and on northern side of the Sarpol-e Zahab region. Therefore, it is likely that the Land of Bel might have been located on the northern side of the Sarpol-e Zahab region. Following the reference to Anubanini in the Haladiny inscription there is another geographical name, Tidluḥhum, perhaps to the north of Halman (AHMAD, 2012: 265). Tidluḥhum is probably the name of a city, because the designation *mātum* “land,” which is otherwise used to indicate a region or land, is missing here. Tidluḥhum is one of the cities of Itu, located to the northeast of Karkuk and the village of Satu Qehla (WALKER 1985: 207). This could indicate that Tidluḥhum is also located on the northern side of Sarpol-e Zahab region (fig 1). All of this put together suggests that the Land of Bel is located on the southern side of the Lulubi land, south of city of Tidluḥhum and to the north of Sarpol-e Zahab. It is interesting to note that a large lake, which is today known as Bel, lies 75 km to the north of the Sarpol-e Zahab region. The lake also lies at the edge of the important river of Sirvan. Taking all of this into consideration, it is not unlikely that the toponym the Land of Bel of the Haladiny stele could be located close to the modern lake Bell on the north-northwestern side of Paveh, that is somewhere between Lake Zaribar and Zurzir to the north, and the Sarpol-e Zahab region to the southwest (the Lulubian region). Inscriptions of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III already mention

remarkable landscape features in this region (RADNER 2003: 121; TADMOR 1994: 70), thus the location proposed here is not unlikely.

\*) We would like to take the opportunity here to express our gratitude to Dr. Nicole Brisch for reviewing the paper and her valuable comments.

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**63) Eshnunna rulers Ipiqadad I-III and a resurrected Awilsin** — Until recently, two different rulers were conflated under the label Ipiqadad II. They must be distinguished as Ipiqadad II and Ipiqadad III. In the regnal history of Eshnunna, the father/son stretch Ibalpiel I/ Ipiqadad II is to be replaced by Ipiqadad II / Ibalpiel I / Ipiqadad III (son of Ibalpiel I). This sequence was proposed by Guichard as one of two possibilities to reconcile data in the MEC with a new synchronism (*Semitica* 56, 2014). His alternative sequence was Ibalpiel I / Ipiqadad II / Ibalpiel / Ipiqadad II (*bis*), with a temporary usurpation of the throne by an unknown Ibalpiel. This looks contrived and can be excluded, as one can identify three different Ipiqadads in known building inscriptions.

In his OIP 43 section on Historical Data, T. Jacobsen transcribed Building Inscription No. 9 of Ipiqadad I: *I-pi-iq<sup>d</sup>Adad / na-ra-am<sup>d</sup>tišpak / išak / áš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>*, Building Inscription No. 13a with an almost identical text: *I-pi-iq<sup>d</sup>Adad / na-ra-am /<sup>d</sup>tišpak / išak / dš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>* and Building Inscription No. 13 of Ipiqadad, son of Ibalpiel, which begins: *<sup>d</sup>I-pi-iq<sup>d</sup>Adad / šarrum da-núm / šarrum mu-ra-pí-iš / èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>*. Obviously, Building Inscription 13a is much closer to No. 9 than to No. 13. Nevertheless, Jacobsen assigned it to the same ruler as No. 13, since it came from a level close to the surface, much higher than the Ipiqadad I level. According to plate VIII in OIP 43 the stratigraphy of post-Ipiqadad I levels remained unresolved in the area of relevance. Jacobsen tried to date the inscription by palaeographic criteria instead, but ran into difficulties. The arrangement of No. 13a in five lines and its sign shapes look considerably earlier than what occurs in No. 13, but according to Jacobsen even than No. 9. The only agreement he found was with the inscriptions of Išarramašu and Azuzum. He suggested that the scribe of No. 13a imitated a much older brick 'to the most minute details', but conceded that 'this explanation is not wholly satisfactory' (OIP 43, p. 139).

An assignment to the newly distinguished Ipiqadad II, successor of Belakum and predecessor of Ibalpiel I solves the puzzle. Firstly, the old arrangement of the building inscriptions in five lines was abandoned by Ipiqadad I, but reappeared under Šarria and Belakum. Secondly, the relevant sign shapes are those of *i*, *te* and *ra*. Jacobsen overlooked the fact that the shape of *i* disagrees with that of the Išarramašu bricks but agrees with No. 12a from the early period of Ibalpiel I. The forms of *te* in No. 13a and No. 12a agree, too.

The archaic shape of *ra* has no parallel on other bricks from the time after Urningišzida, but isolated idiosyncrasies of that type are common to all the building inscriptions. Altogether, palaeographically No. 13a is best placed immediately before No. 12a. Thus we have Building Inscription No. 9 from Ipiqadad I, No. 13a from Ipiqadad II and No. 13 from Ipiqadad III.

There is one further building inscription that may have been ascribed to a wrong ruler, namely No. 17 (As.33: T.10b). Jacobsen originally read the ruler's name as [Aw]il-Sin, but after the discovery of Şilli-Sin's reign he revised its first part to [ši]-*lī*(?). The original reading agrees much better with his drawing, however. Moreover, the *iššakku* title in No. 17 seems out of date at the time of Şilli-Sin. Last but not least the brick was found in the same context as No. 16 (As.33: T.10a), a brick of Iqištišpak. Thus Jacobsen placed the two bricks close in time. He dated both after Ibalpiel II, but now we know that Iqištišpak ruled about 30 years before Şillisin, between Naramsin and Daduša. If appearances do not deceive, the ruler named in No. 17 must belong to this very period. This resurrection of [Aw]il-Sin needs confirmation, but he would not be out of place. Iqištišpak ruled in a time of confusion with at least one further short reign. Such periods commonly have several rulers with poor documentation, like the end of the first dynasty in Egypt, or the year of four emperors in Rome. Moreover, van Koppen and Lacambre noted that several years between Naramsin and Daduša cannot yet be assigned to known rulers (*JEOL* 41, p. 175).

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**64) Testing the MEC: the end of the Lower Diyala State** — The MEC has been essential for the establishment of the correct Old Babylonian chronology. It is important to evaluate its accuracy, both for confirmation and refinement of the chronology and for a better understanding of the period. Here the last years of the Lower Diyala State with capital Nerebtum will be considered. Though the MEC text is fragmentary, three of its implications are well known, namely the violent conquest of this state by Eshnunna, a conquest in two stages and the separation of these stages by two years in the Assyrian calendar.

According to the MEC the final conquest happened in KEL 152 (Šudadim). For KEL 150 (Abušalim) Wu Yuhong had conjectured a reference to the capture of Sinabušu, whereas Guichard argued convincingly that the entry states the capture of the hinterland of Nerebtum (*Semitica* 56, p. 25). Independently of the MEC, the place of Sinabušu as last ruler of the Lower Diyala State is well established. In particular, the archive of Bursin links him with Ipiqadad III and the Nuršamaš archive links him with the second year name of Siniqišam of Larsa. Both Šaduppum and the Nuršamaš archive have an ample documentation of his reign, including the years under consideration. When archives are terminated by violent events, the best documented years are the ones just before the violence. In Wu Yuhong's labelling, the best documented year names of Sinabušu are *r*, *s*, *d*, where *s* is the *ussa* year for *r*. In Šaduppum the most common year name is *r* "the year: Sinabušu took/ destroyed Šulgi-Nanna" (IM 63134, 63233, 63229, 63299, 63306), whereas year *s* occurs only once, in IM 63139. The latter text is the youngest of the six dated texts in room R505, which also include the year *r* text IM 63134. Year *d*, "the year: Sin-abušu (the king), chose (his) daughters in Dur-Rimuš" is conspicuously absent from Šaduppum. In the Nuršamaš archive year *r* occurs at most once (TIM 3 35, but the doubtful and unexpected reading URU in the year name may be erroneous for *ussa*), year *s* three or four times (TIM 3 14, 36, 75, perhaps 35) and year *d* ten or eleven times (TIM 3 12, 21-29, 38(?)). This pattern is the expected one for a sequence *r*, *s*, *d* and violent conquests in different years, with Šaduppum being conquered first. Due to its location, it may well have belonged to the hinterland referred to in the MEC entry. So far the MEC entries are in full agreement with the archival documentation.

The temporal distance between the two conquests lay between one and three years. Since the most common year name *d* of the Nuršamaš archive must be placed two years later than the most common year name *r* in the Sinabušu texts from Šaduppum, a distance of two years makes good sense. In both cases, the conquest may not have happened in the year with the best documentation, but during the following year. If room R505 was destroyed when Šaduppum was conquered, a conquest before year *s* is excluded. One might consider a conquest in year *d*, if the the rarity of texts from year *s* can be imputed to a strongly suppressed economic activity in war times. The contrast with the Nuršamaš archive makes this explanation less likely, however. The many year *d* loan contracts of that archive show that a normal harvest was expected, but did not happen. The *ussa* year of *d* is documented only once, in TIM 3 12 (the case omits *ussa*). Thus the most likely date for the final conquest of the Lower Diyala State is late in year *d* or early in the following year.

One would expect that Tell Ishchali itself fell at the same time. There are no year *d* texts from this site, but this is not significant, since the preceding years *r* and *s* occur only once each (Ish. 34-T 28, Ish. 34-T41). In the Bursin archive, year *r* occurs twice (UCLMA 9/2942, TIM 3 125) and year *s* once (UCLMA 9/2864). The absence of year *d* is somewhat more significant than for the texts excavated in Ishchali. This may support a termination of the Bursin archive in year *s* or early in year *d*, but not with much confidence. Altogether one probably can trust the two year distance given in MEC between the conquest of the hinterland of the Lower Diyala State and its center. It is not clear, however, if this distance was based on records kept in terms of the Assyrian calendar, or if annual entries in another calendar were used for the MEC compilation.

Only two tablets show for certain that Nuršamaš pursued some activity after the conquest. TIM 3 5 has an Eshnunna year name, which refers to the ruler as *rubum*, and tablet TIM 3 6 is closely related. Indeed, the tablets document the two highest loans of silver in the archive, both issued to the same debtor (in TIM 3 6 with his wife). The year name of TIM 3 6 is *bād Nerebtum*. Rashid and Wu Yuhong interpreted this date as referring to construction activity under Sinabušu, but the obvious link to TIM 3 5 makes it certain that the destruction of the wall is meant. Perhaps the silver loans were needed to ransom captives. In any case the date of TIM 3 6 corresponds to *šabat Nerebtim* in the MEC entry for KEL 152. The Eshnunna year name of the related tablet TIM 3 5 cannot refer to a date before the conquest, thus it must be placed soon afterwards. In *NABU 2017* 98 I had argued that the content of this year name fits best for KEL 153, one year after the date of TIM 3 6. The archival context of the two tablets yields strong support for that interpretation.

WERNER NAHM

**65) Nuršamaš data: files and dates in his archive** — The looted Nuršamaš archive is crucial for the investigation of the late years of the Lower Diyala State. Its study by Fawzi Rashid contains many insights, but to make full use of it one needs a much better understanding of the microhistory documented in the archive. The present note can only be one further step.

The source of the archive is still unknown. Since it documents Sinabušu's reign to its very end, it did not come from the hinterland of the state, which was conquered two years earlier. On the other hand, it does not seem to come from the capital itself. Indeed, Nuršamaš interacted with a restricted community, with much overlap between debtors and witnesses (Rashid, *Nuršamaš archive*, p. 25). For an Old Babylonian capital this makes less sense than for a small town. A first candidate for this town is Dur-Rimuš. From the last year names of Sinabušu we know that it stayed with Nerebtum to the end. Moreover, the exchange contract TIM 3 118 from the archive specifies that the delivery should be made at Dur-Rimuš. That idea can be disproven, however. On two occasions Dur-Rimuš was the place for a mišarum proclamation and its poliadic deity was the god Mišar. Many inhabitants must have had personal names with the corresponding theonym, like the one found at Tall Ajrab (No. 886, pl. 84 in OIP 72). There is only one such name in the Nuršamaš archive, however, and this is precisely the debtor of TIM 3 118, a person from Dur-Rimuš indeed, but a foreigner. One peculiarity of the archive might help to localise it. Many of the loans are not dated, in contrast to those of the contemporaneous Bursin archive. Thus Nuršamaš and his major groups of customers relied on trust and punctual payments of debts. This may fit with a poliadic deity who guaranteed contracts. Išhara of Išur is one possibility, though her name is hardly used by the leading families in the archive. Sin of Kamanum might fit better.

According to conspicuous clusters of witnesses and to some extent debtors, most of the Nuršamaš archive can be subdivided into files concerning specific groups of people, perhaps extended families. I had rediscovered these groups before reading Rashid's publication, where he described many of the associations as 11 different witness groups. Seven of them are artificial subdivisions of bigger groups, however. Moreover, Rashid missed other connections, for example the explicit references in TIM 3 104, 109, 113, 114 to the loans in TIM 3 100, 103, 83, 99, resp. This resulted in the creation of spurious persons on one hand and wrong conflations on the other. Thus I will keep my own labelling, which relates to Rashid's groups as follows.

Group A, nine texts (TIM 3 8, 53, 64, 67, 70, 73, 79, 89, 90) includes Rashid's groups 2 and 11.

Group B, nine texts (TIM 3 25, 44, 48, 55, 59, 60, 80, 84, 115) includes Rashid's group 7.  
 Group C, twelve texts (TIM 3 11, 22, 23, 27-29, 36, 62, 65, 72, 78, 87) includes Rashid's groups 6 and 10.  
 Group D, ten texts (TIM 3 41, 47, 50, 54, 57, 63, 68, 81, 82, 106) includes Rashid's group 8.  
 Group E, twenty-five texts (TIM 3 7, 16, 26, 39, 45, 49, 58, 71, 76, 83, 94-100, 103-105, 109, 113, 114, 117, 118) includes Rashid's groups 3, 5 and 9.  
 Group F consists of three texts (TIM 3 18, 42, 102).  
 Group G consists of three texts (TIM 3 9, 51, 101).  
 Group H consists of nine texts (TIM 3 10, 17, 31, 43, 46, 56, 61, 77, 121).  
 Group I is Rashid's group 1 and contains the two texts TIM 3 32, 33.  
 Group J, three or four texts (TIM 3 86?, 91, 93, 116) includes Rashid's group 4.  
 Group K consists of three texts (TIM 3 21, 107, 112).  
 Group P, four texts (TIM 3 6, 34, 35, 75) has links to TIM 3 122 from a son of Nuršamaš.

The order of the witnesses in the texts is mainly by rank, but is more variable in some of the groups.  
 Groups A-D have identifiable patrons, in groups A, B, C with a designated heir.

In Group D the patron Ilirabi is at the head of all ten witness lists. In such cases the identification of the group is unambiguous, but for the analysis of sparsely represented groups fragmentary preservation and homonymy pose problems that cannot be resolved without collation, in particular concerning seal impressions. For example, the patron of group K seems to be Ilirabi the AGA.US, if his title (not filiation, *pace* Rashid) can be reconstructed from TIM 3 37.

The groups all have specific features. Group A has the most obvious family structure and hierarchy, with a predictable order of the witnesses of every list. Most contracts concerning emmer wheat belong to group E. This large group has a flatter hierarchy than all the others, no patron is identifiable, though certain members stand out. Group G included the *gugallu* and two gardeners and rarely needed the service of Nuršamaš. Group H is less closely knit than the others, but contains the well circumscribed subgroups H1 (TIM 3 10, 31), H2 (TIM 3 17, 121), H3 (TIM 3 43, 56, 77) and H4 (TIM 3 46, 61). Group P has links to the palace.

The presence of dates is strongly correlated with the groups. All of the group P texts are dated. In contrast, Nuršamaš obviously had considerable trust in groups A-G. None of the texts concerning groups A, D, F, G were dated. They certainly were written in year *d* (in Wu Yuhong's labelling), the last year before the conquest. Indeed the single dates for groups B and E (the barley loan texts TIM 3 25, 26) name this year. In any case, Nuršamaš expected reliable debt payments by his customers from groups A-B, D-G. Concerning group C he took extra precautions, since six of the eleven barley loans for this group C were dated, five of them to year *d*. This certainly is related to the fact that the group C loan of TIM 3 36 was not paid back in time. This must have been a minor infraction, however, and the year *s* date of TIM 3 36 must have been recent. Indeed, the previous note shows that it lay just one year back. Rashid considered the possibility that the incomplete date of TIM 3 38 was the first year name of Sinabušu, but it is an ordinary group C text and must come from year *d*.

Nuršamaš made one silver loan for each of the groups A, C, E, G, recorded on undated tablets. Six of the other seven silver loans are dated, for TIM 3 10 the presence of a date is unclear. After the conquest of the Lower Diyala State it may have been necessary to borrow silver to pay ransom for family members, and this may have been the reason for the undated silver loans. Other silver loans appear to be substantially earlier. As foreseen by Rashid, it will be possible to say more about the chronology of the archive.

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**66) Harris, JCS 9 (1955) no. 82** — There is a bug in this text, a *crux interpretum*: line 17 was read as a-šà *e-el ša-mu ba-a-lu*; R. Harris, p. 96, with a discussion on p. 97. Her translation: "The field is free (from claims); the buyer (?) (is now) the owner (?)" . CAD E (1958) 105, right column, *ellu* 3.b, offers a similar translation: "the field is free, the buyer is (its) owner". The passage may have been discussed by the CAD team at the same time, when CAD E was in preparation. Later, we see the phrase again in CAD B (1965) 200, right column, bottom, under the verb *bēlu*, 1, B. with another translation: "the field is clear (of claims), it is bought and taken in possession". Harris (without saying so) and CAD E must have had Hebrew *ba'al* "master" in their minds, a word not existing in Akkadian. CAD B saw the problem and resorted to the verb, attested in Akkadian, but never with this verbal form. Later on in the Khafadje texts published by Harris

one comes across the verb, in no. 97:7-9, without a translation, in *iš-tu-mu-[um]* (?) [...] gín kù-babbar *i-be-lu* (p. 101).

Little attention has been paid to this text by later scholars and they do not discuss our line 17: D.G. Evans, JAOS 83 (1963) 25; R. Westbrook, RIDA III-2 (1985) 122 note 59, reprinted in his *Property and the family* (1991) 112 note 2; K.R. Veenhof, *Festschrift für Johannes Renger* (1999) 614 note 41.

I suggest to read a-šà *e-el ša-mu-šu za(!)-ku(!)* (signs A-LU) "the field is free (of claims), its buyer is clear". This is what the copy may suggest (on p. 113, rev. 5).

The word *ša-mu* means "the buyer", perhaps also attested in B.A. Suleiman, *A study of land tenure in the Old Babylonian period* (dissertation University of London, 1978) no. 53:20-21, on p. 372 (edition), p. 442 (copy): (20) *ša-mi-šu Mu-da-tum-ma* (21) *i-ri-ab* (?). This word is attested in Old Assyrian as *šā'imum* (CAD Š/1 112a, cf. the OA participle *ša-i-im*, p. 352a). In later Babylonian this word *šāmūm* "buyer" was replaced by *šajjimānum* (AHw), *šajimānum* (CAD), *šajjamānum*, "derived from the adjective" (thus M.P. Streck, *Babel und Bibel* 2 [2005] 237 (8b), 238 (9a)). For the stative form *zaku*, see W. von Soden, GAG § 105 f, end. Mainly Assyrian and now also found in a Middle-Assyrian text "im Ḫana-Stil": KÙ.BABBAR *za-ku-a*; A. Tsukimoto, RA 105 (2011) 86, line 11.

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**67) An edict of Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa<sup>\*</sup>** — It is well known that royal edicts were issued in the kingdom of Larsa under Rīm-Sîn I. Evidence for this to date has rested exclusively on the archival texts, particularly those referring to a *şimdat šarrim* or *awāt šarrim* (KRAUS 1984, 31–50; BOUZON 1995) while we have lacked an example of an actual edict stemming from this kingdom. To date, the only actual edicts that have come down to us are from the kings of the first dynasty of Babylon, most notably the edict of Ammī-ṣaduqa. It is the view of the present author that the text published as CUSAS 10 18<sup>1)</sup> should, in fact, be read as the first extant edict from the kingdom of Larsa. A full treatment of the text, including arguments for its re-classification on diplomatic grounds, and detailed analysis and commentary on the text, is currently being prepared by the author as part of his doctoral thesis. Part of this work involves the integration of this text with the rich archival material from the kingdom of Larsa, that published before 1984 (KRAUS 1984, 31–50), and since, as well as treatments of the historical background to the practices addressed by the edicts (BOUZON 1995, CHARPIN 2015, 193–212). As an instance of what Kraus described as a Type IIb edict (KRAUS 1984, 113–14), annulling the earlier transfer of property and mandating its return, it will also be integrated with evidence of similar edicts in other localities, including the kingdom of Babylon itself (KRAUS 1984, 113–14, VEENHOF 1999, 599–616).

\*Work on this note has been completed with the support of a Gerda Henkel PhD scholarship.

<sup>1)</sup>GEORGE 2009, 153–55, plates 61–62, to be read with NABU 2010/5.

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**68) Un gala coquet** — Il est peu de personnages qui aient été plus souvent étudiés ces dernières années que le *gala*. Ses fonctions, mais plus encore la nature de sa sexualité, ont été au centre de l'intérêt. Eunuche? Homosexuel? Troisième sexe? Ou rien de tout cela? Les discussions vont bon train, mais Veldhuis n'a pas tort lorsqu'il écrit: "It may be worth emphasizing (as Gelb already did) that there is not a single bit of information that suggests that galas were in any way deviant from the dominant sexual pattern of the day" (2018:451)<sup>1</sup>. Il y a toutefois une historiette qui jette un peu de lumière sur un trait de son caractère, à savoir la coquetterie. C'est SP 21.d3. Elle a été publiée en premier lieu par Alster (1997:259 sq.) et ensuite souvent été traduite et discutée (par ex. Black et al. 2002, Shehata 2009:80, Gadotti 2010:61 et Lämmershirt 2010:646). Alster proposa "A lamentation priest [went to] steal barley on a man's field. The owner of the field caught him. 'My good head got confused, it got totally bewildered. Let me straighten it out. Let me [regain] my consciousness!' (op. cit. 259). Il translittérait la seconde moitié du texte sag-an-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga-mu bi-su<sub>3</sub> bí-bir-b[ir-(x)] / si ga-ba-ab-sá umuš-mu ga-ba-[dabs](?)-(x)] / (erasure, probably ga) ga-ba-DU-e-[še(?)] (p. 260 pour N 3330)<sup>2</sup>. Dans le commentaire, il précise que le *gala* "attempts to excuse himself by pretending to have temporarily lost his mind" (p. 444). Quoique grammaticalement difficile<sup>3</sup>, cette interprétation fut acceptée par tout le monde (bi<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>4</sub> et bi<sub>2</sub>-BIR.BIR sont des formes intransitives, TUG<sub>2</sub> doit être lu umuš), et seul Lämmershirt souleva la question de savoir ce qui devait être remis en ordre, "der angerichtete Schaden oder aber der verschwundene Verstand des Gala-Priesters" (2010:646 avec n. 289).

En 2011, Peterson publia des "joins" à N 3330 (284-287, n° 263), lesquels permirent de préciser la lecture des dernières lignes (translitt. de Peterson 2011:285): sa<sub>7</sub> an-sag<sub>9</sub>-ga-ŷu<sub>10</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-bir-bir / si ga-ba-ab-sa<sub>2</sub> umuš-ŷu<sub>10</sub> ga-ba-da-[ur<sub>3</sub>] / (erasure of 2 signs) ga-ba-da-DU-e-še. En lisant TUG<sub>2</sub>-ŷu<sub>10</sub> umuš-ŷu<sub>10</sub>, on voit mal quel serait le sens (raison pour laquelle Peterson ne traduit pas le passage). Avec TUG<sub>2</sub> = tu<sub>9</sub> en revanche, on aurait affaire à une expression bien connue: tu<sub>9</sub> (+ suffixe possessif<sup>4</sup>) ur<sub>3</sub>, litt. peut-être "faire passer le/son/ ... vêtement loin de qqc." ou "frotter le/son/... vêtement loin de qqc.", d'où "renoncer à qqc., abandonner (une plainte), renoncer (à porter plainte)" (v. par ex. Falkenstein 1957:167; Malul 1988:337-340; Balke 2006:147 sq. avec n. 634; Jaques 2015:119). Je proposerais en conséquence de comprendre: "Un chantre pénétra dans le champ d'un homme pour y voler de l'orge. Le propriétaire du champ l'appréhenda. (Le chantre lui) dit: 'Ma (tête =) coiffure, qui était (si) belle, tu l'as (toute) bouleversée, (toute) ébouriffée. Je veux la remettre en ordre. (Mais) je renonce à porter plainte, je veux (seulement) m'en aller!'" La pointe de l'histoire est naturellement que le voleur déclare renoncer à porter plainte. Mais il ne fait guère de doute que l'auteur se moque aussi de l'attention exagérée portée par le *gala*, même dans une situation critique, à son apparence extérieure. Une coquetterie excessive est considérée aujourd'hui comme un trait plutôt féminin. J'ignore s'il en allait de même il y a 4000 ans.

1. D'après lui, "Etymology and sign-etymology [UŠ.KU = ŠEŠ<sub>3</sub> "pénis" + DUR<sub>2</sub> "séant, derrière"] are hardly sufficient to establish any type of sexual or gender identification" (ibid.).

2. Pour le texte E, v. p. 259, mais noter les corrections de Taylor (2005:33).

3. En bonne grammaire, bi<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>4</sub> et bi<sub>2</sub>-BIR.BIR ne peuvent pas être des formes intransitives, mais seulement des formes transitives perfectives de la 1<sup>e</sup> sing., de la 2<sup>e</sup> sing., ou, si bi<sub>2</sub>- est abrégé de bi<sub>2</sub>-in-, de la 3<sup>e</sup> sing. pers.; à l'ép. paléobab., bi<sub>2</sub>- ne recouvre normalement pas {bi + b}.

4. Le suffixe possessif est absent dans les textes d'Ur III, mais présent dans le catalogue d'*eršaljuğā* publié en dernier lieu par Jaques (2015:116-119) l. 16: me-e diğir-ŷu<sub>10</sub> mu-e-şı-in-ğen tu<sub>9</sub>-ŷu<sub>10</sub> ga-an-na-ab-ur<sub>3</sub>.

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**69) The Old Babylonian loan contract “Aegyptus 10.1” (= Boson 1936 n° 300)<sup>1)</sup>**— Among the Ur III tablets stored in the library of the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan, the first one, published by Giustino Boson (1929 n° 1; autograph 1936, n° 300) and thus to be henceforth referred to as “Aegyptus 10.1”, stands out as being later than the rest of the corpus.<sup>2)</sup>

The Cattolica corpus belongs to a larger collection bought by Boson in Paris in the early 1920s from a physician from Baghdad, which also included the ca. 300 tablets that are now in the collection of the Museo Egizio in Turin (BOSON 1936: 1f.; cf. also ARCHI *et. al.* 1990; 1995; 1999).

While the other 65 tablets that are still housed in Milan and survived the damages provoked by the World War 2 bombings will be re-edited in a different publication, this specific document does not belong to that original corpus, as it dates back to the time of Rīm-Sīn I of Larsa. Although no archaeological context is known, the use of a year-name of Rīm-Sīn indicates that the tablet, recording a loan of barley, comes from the Kingdom of Larsa. Moreover, since the name of the creditor is Uratum, the text can be safely ascribed to his archive, recently discussed by D. CHARPIN (2014: 120) and including the tablet n° 997.2.364.5 of the Museum “Flaubert” in Rouen (= CHARPIN 2014 n° 1, dated to Rīm-Sīn 56) and PTS 2187 (= LAFONT 1992 n° 2, dated to Samsu-iluna 7).

An updated transliteration of Aegyptus 10.1 is offered here, along with a commentary and a photograph which is the first ever published of this cuneiform tablet (to the best of the authors’ knowledge).



The tablet Aegyptus 10.1: obv., rev. and left border

**Tablet Size:** 4.2×5.2×1.3 cm. **Date:** Rīm-Sīn 57.

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| Obv. | 1.      '5(aš)' gur 1(barig) '4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) še'     |
|      | 2.      šu-laz maš <sub>2</sub> nu-tuku                    |
|      | 3.      'ki' u <sub>2</sub> -ra-tum                        |
|      | 4. <sup>i</sup> -din <sup>-d</sup> EN.ZU                   |
|      | 5.      šu ba-an-ti  |
|      | 6.      iti sig <sub>4</sub> -a                            |
|      | 7.      'še i <sub>3</sub> -aḡ <sub>2</sub> '-e            |
| Rev. | 8.      igi ib-ni <sup>-d</sup> EN.ZU'                     |
|      | 9.      igi li-'pi <sub>2</sub> ?-it <sup>2</sup> ?-d'ŠKUR |
|      | 10.     igi a-'ya-mar'-ši                                  |

11. i[gi] su-<sup>7</sup>mu-a<sup>1</sup>-bu-um
12. kišib-<sup>7</sup>ba-a<sup>1</sup>-ni ib<sub>2</sub>-ra
13. mu ki 28 i<sub>3</sub>-si-<sup>7</sup>in<sup>8</sup>ki / ba-an-dib

<sup>13-5</sup>Iddin-Sîn has received from Uratum <sup>1-25</sup>gur 1 barig 4 ban of barley as a *q̄ptu*-loan, without interest; <sup>6-</sup><sup>7</sup>he will measure the barley in the third month. <sup>8-12</sup>In front of Ibni-Sîn, Lipit<sup>7</sup>-Adad, Aham-arši, Sumu-abum. He (=the debtor) has rolled his seal. <sup>13</sup>Year number twenty-eight (after) ‘Isin was seized’”.

**1-2:** as in the case of the tablet published in CHARPIN 2014 n°1, this barley loan is labelled as a šu-la<sub>2</sub> loan (equated to the Akkadian *q̄ptu*; cf. CAD Q, p. 261f. and SKAIST 1994: 41–51) and is followed by the formula maš<sub>2</sub> nu-tuku. The amount of barley (1600 *sila*) is quite large, more than twice the amount recorded in CHARPIN 2014 n°1 (733.33 *sila*). At present it is the accepted opinion that the notation maš<sub>2</sub> nu-tuku in this type of loans indicates that no additional interest must be added to the amount recorded in the first line, which already includes the 33% interest that was calculated beforehand (cf. SKAIST 1994: 43 and CHARPIN 2014: 118 and fn. 10). Therefore, the amount here recorded is 4 *gur* of barley with the addition of 1 *gur* 1 *barig* 4 *ban* as the interest (corresponding to ca. 1200 liters plus 400 liters of interest).

**6:** in Larsa the third month (iti sig<sub>4</sub>-a) is the predominant repayment date both for barley and silver loans (cf. SKAIST 1994: 168).

**8-11:** notwithstanding the damaged surface of the reverse, the names of three out of four witnesses (Ibni-Sîn, Aham-arši and Sumu-abum) can be read with some confidence. Instead, the restoration of the personal name in line 9, Lipit-Adad, is based on the recognition that the first sign, read and copied by Boson as ŠA, seems rather to be LI.

Whereas Ibni-Sîn and Aham-arši are quite common personal names in the Old Babylonian documentation from Larsa, the same cannot be said for the other two. To the best of our knowledge, Lipit-Adad and Sumu-abum are only attested once, respectively as a witness in YOS 12 102 (dated to Samsu-iluna 4), and as the father of a witness in ANBAR-STOL 1991, n° 4 (dated to the reign of Rîm-Sîn).

**12:** in Larsa documentation, the list of witnesses is often followed by the clause kišib lu<sub>2</sub>-ki-inim-ma-bi-meš ib<sub>2</sub>-ra(-aš), “the witnesses have rolled (their) seal”; this occurs both in title deeds (such as sale documents, marriage and adoption contracts, etc.) as well as in other contracts in which a party is entering into an obligation (such as loans, rental contracts, leases). These contracts do not always contain the names of witnesses and are usually sealed with the personal seal of the party taking up the obligation (cf. GODDEERIS 2012: 227). The formula recorded in this loan, kišib-<sup>7</sup>ba-a<sup>1</sup>-ni ib<sub>2</sub>-ra, therefore has to be interpreted “he (i.e. the debtor) has rolled his seal”. Since this tablet contains also the list of witnesses, it is probable that its envelope (which surely had to exist, since there is no trace of sealing on the tablet surface) recorded the clause concerning the sealing by the witnesses or, even, a more complete formula as it appears in an envelope dated to Hammurapi 34, AUCT 4 23: kišib-a-ni u<sub>3</sub> ša lu<sub>2</sub>-inim-ma-bi-eš ib<sub>2</sub>-r[a], “his (of the debtor) seal and (the seals) of the witnesses have been rolled”.

**13:** differing from CHARPIN 2014, n° 1, dated to the 20th day of the 11th month of Rîm-Sîn 56, the date is here expressed only by the year-name, with no indication of month and day.

<sup>1)</sup> The authors gratefully acknowledge the permission of Dr. Paolo Sirito, director of the Library of the Università Cattolica, to publish Aegyptus 10.1 and are grateful to Ronald Veenker, who revised the English form of this paper. The picture has been taken by F.G. at the Università Cattolica in July 2015. F.G. also wrote the introduction and provided a preliminary transliteration. G.S improved the transliteration and wrote the commentary. A final collation of the tablet was performed by F.G. in July 2018. The authors take joint responsibility for any remaining mistakes.

<sup>2)</sup> The tablet is now severely eroded so his original study and his hand-copies prove to be an important source of information; however, the tendency towards normalizing the shapes of the signs led Boson to produce very interpretive copies, so that it would be unwise to rely completely on his drawings to restore missing or eroded portions of the text.

<sup>3)</sup> This clause is clearly thought in Akkadian. It is interesting to notice that the related tablet (AUCT 4, 22) presents the formula kišib lu<sub>2</sub>-inim-ma-bi-eš ib<sub>2</sub>-ra-aš and is sealed (like the envelope) with four different seals: of the debtor, Taribum (Seal a), of two men who are not recorded in the witnesses’ list (Seals b and c) and of a man whose name has been lost (Seal d).

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**70) An Akkadian inscription of Hammurāpi** – The text presented below is a nearly complete Akkadian duplicate of a building inscription published in RIME 4.3.6.14.<sup>1)</sup> The tablet belongs to an anonymous collector to whom thanks are due for generously permitting its publication here.

The present tablet offers no unexpected readings as the text is known from two other copies – a complete Sumerian version (BM 91076) and a fragmentary Akkadian one (LB 974). Nonetheless, it should not remain unrecorded. The author has not collated the tablet and so no copy is provided.

Obv.	Rev.
1 <i>a-na ḫŠamaš</i> (UTU)	1 <i>šarrum</i> (LUGAL) <i>mu-ud-di-iš</i>
2 <i>be-el ša-me-e</i>	2 <i>parakkū iłt̄ rabūtim</i> (BARA <sub>2</sub> .BARA <sub>2</sub> .DINGIR.GAL.GAL)
3 <i>ù er-še-tim</i>	3 <i>i-nu ḫŠamaš</i> (UTU)
4 <i>be-lí-šu</i>	4 <i>māt</i> (KALAM)
5 <i>ḥa-am-mu-ra-pí</i>	5 <i>šu-me-rí-im</i>
6 <i>na-bi-ù an-nim</i>	6 <i>ù ak-ka-di-im</i>
7 <i>še-mu ḫen-líl</i>	7 <i>a-na be-li-im</i>
8 <i>mi-gi4-ir</i>	8 <i>id-di-nu-šum</i>
9 <i>ᬁŠamaš</i> (UTU)	9 <i>še-er-ra-sí-na</i>
10 <i>re’um</i> (SIPA) <i>na-ra-am</i>	10 <i>a-na qá-ti-šu</i>
11 <i>ᬁamar-utu</i>	11 <i>ú-ma-al-li-ù</i>
12 <i>šarrum</i> (LUGAL) <i>da-núm</i>	12 <i>a-na ḫŠamaš</i> (UTU)
13 <i>šar Bābili</i> (LUGAL) KÁ.DINGIR.RA <sup>ki</sup> )	13 <i>be-li-im</i>
14 <i>šar mat</i> ( LUGAL KALAM) <i>šu-me-</i> <i>rí-im</i>	14 <i>tu-kúl-ti-šu</i>
15 <i>ù ak-ka-di-im</i>	15 <i>in Larsa</i> (UD.UNUG <sup>ki</sup> )
16 <i>šar</i> (LUGAL) <i>ki-ib-ra-tim</i>	16 <i>al</i> (URU) <i>be-lu-ti-šu</i>
17 <i>ar-ba-im</i>	17     É.BABBAR
	18 <i>bīt</i> (É) <i>na-r[a-mi]-šu</i>
	19 <i>ib-ni-šum</i>

<sup>1)</sup>For Šamaš, <sup>2)</sup>lord of heaven <sup>3)</sup>and earth, <sup>4)</sup>his lord, <sup>5)</sup>Hammurāpi, <sup>6)</sup>who is called by An, <sup>7)</sup>who listens to Enlil, <sup>8)</sup>favourite <sup>9)</sup>of Šamaš, <sup>10)</sup>shepherd, beloved one <sup>11)</sup>of Marduk, <sup>12)</sup>mighty king, <sup>13)</sup>king of Babylon, <sup>14)</sup>king of the land of Sumer <sup>15)</sup>and Akkad, <sup>16-17)</sup>king of the four world-quarters, <sup>18)</sup>king, renewer of <sup>19)</sup>the shrines of the great gods, <sup>20)</sup>when Šamaš <sup>21)</sup>gave to him <sup>22)</sup>the land of <sup>23)</sup>Sumer <sup>24)</sup>and Akkad <sup>25)</sup>to rule (and) <sup>26)</sup>he entrusted <sup>27)</sup>their nose rope <sup>28)</sup>to his hands, <sup>29)</sup>for lord Šamaš, <sup>30)</sup>the one in whom he has placed his trust, <sup>31)</sup>in Larsa, <sup>32)</sup>city of his dominion, <sup>33)</sup>he built for him <sup>34)</sup>the Ebabbar, <sup>35)</sup>his beloved house.

1) FRAYNE, D. 1990, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia; Early Periods 4: The Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC), Toronto, 350-351.



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**71) Du bon usage du sumérien —** Depuis la note de M. Birot dans *ARMT* 9, p. 288, le sens de *magarrû* ni surtout son étymologie sumérienne, à partir de má-gar-ra, n'ont pas été remis en cause ; cf. en dernier lieu *CDA*, p. 188b « travel provisions on a ship ». Le terme y est considéré comme venant du sumérien. Le *CDA* ne fait que reprendre la position du *CAD M/1*, p. 34 qui considère le terme comme « Sum. Lw. » Cela pose néanmoins plusieurs problèmes :

- a) Le sumérien GAR dans les emprunts de Mari est représenté par mar (cf. šušmarû) ; c'est un fait général de l'emprunt au sumérien de certains termes techniques de Mari.
- b) Il n'y a pas, à ma connaissance, d'écriture giš-má qui prouverait que le mot akkadien renvoyait au terme désignant le bateau. En revanche, on trouve normalement dans un texte sumérien l'expression giš-má-a gar-ra = « mis dans un bateau ».
- c) Surtout, la plupart des exemples du terme *magarrû* ne font nulle référence à un bateau, mais à des provisions par voie de terre.

En fait le signe MÁ est employé en écriture archaïsante (« chic ») pour noter le signe /ma/. L'exemple le plus connu est d'ailleurs celui de má-rí, dont la vieille transcription « má-eri » explique sans doute que le toponyme « Mari » soit noté Mâri, par contraction de /ae/.

C'est un problème général de l'écriture cunéiforme où « écrire un terme en sumérien » revient à lui donner une signification du fait que les signes y ont non seulement un son mais un sens. Plusieurs « sumérogrammes » peuvent en fait être considérés comme des « remotivations orthographiques » de termes non sumériens. En l'occurrence, il vaudrait mieux considérer que le terme *magarrû* est à rattacher à *magarrum* « le chariot » (lequel doit avoir un rapport avec *gerrum* « route » plutôt qu'avec √QRR). Le *magarrû* représente les denrées véhiculées par chariot, sans que l'on ait besoin de lui postuler une étymologie sumérienne.

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**72) “To Open a Lance” in the *Epic of Zimri-Lim* —** In the Mariote *Epic of Zimri-Lim*, we twice find a curious description of the king as one who pé-ti-iú gišŠUKUR (*petûm šukurram*), literally “opens the lance” (Col. i, ll. 8, 10). Usually, the idiom is understood to mean “removing a weapon from its sheath,” especially in reference to a sword. Thus, the *Hymn to Nanâ* speaks of [nam]šaru *petû* “unsheathing a sword.” This understanding has been applied even to texts that employ the general term for “weapons” *kakkû* (GIŠ.TUKUL). Thus, Martha Roth translates *pātiat kakkīya* in the *Code of Hammurapi* (in reference to Ishtar) as the one “who bares my weapon” (epilogue, 43:94) (ROTH 1995: 139). See similarly Earl Leichty’s

rendering of a fragmentary omen in the series *Šumma Izbu* (VII 121'): ...BE *iz-bu...*] GIŠ.TUKUL LUGAL *ip-pe-tu-ú* “If an anomaly [...] the weapons of the king will be laid open” (LEICHTY, E. 1970: 98).

Nevertheless, since the *Epic of Zimri-Lim* applies the idiom to a šukurru “lance,” Michaël Guichard suggested that it may be more appropriate to see it as referencing a ritual:

“Ouvrir les armes” rappelle en premier lieu le rituel du *pît pî* (ouverture de la bouche ou *mîs pî* “purification de la bouche”, rite équivalent à la *dedicatio* des Latins) qui visait à rendre vivants les objets, tels des statues, des emblèmes (*Šurinnum*), du mobilier sacré, et aussi des armes (GUICHARD 1999: 39).

This interpretation has been entertained in the main. Thus, in his recent treatment of the text, Adam Miglio notes: “The expression may allude to a ritual that consecrated the weapons for battle,” citing Guichard, though still opting to render the phrase “readies his lance” (MIGLIO 2016: 231, n. 3). Herein I shall argue that there is good reason to retain the more mundane interpretation: “to draw, bare, ready” a weapon. My evidence is two-fold: cognate usage in the Hebrew Bible, and frequent references to sharp weapons (and tools) as having “tongues” and “mouths” that “devour.”

I turn first to the Hebrew Bible, wherein the cognate verb פָתַח “open” periodically refers to weapons. Ezekiel’s prophecy against the Ammonites calls out: “חֲרֵב חֶרְבָּה פָתַח מִרְוְתָה לְהַכְּלִיל לְמַעַן בָּרָק” “O sword, O sword ‘opened’ for the slaughter, made bare to devour in order to flash (like lightning)” (Ezek 21:33). The Psalmist states that the wicked חֲרֵב פָתַח רְשָׁעִים וְדָרְכוֹ קָשָׁתָם “open the sword and draw the bow” (Ps 37:14), and that the talk of his enemy “is smooth as butter, but war is in his heart. His words are more soothing than oil, yet they are open (weapons) (פְתֻחוֹת)” (Ps 55:22). In each case, פָתַח means “to draw” a weapon. Though the Akkadian šukurru “lance” has no cognate in Hebrew, the semantic equivalent רְמָה also appears alongside the sword as a hendiadys (e.g., 1 Kgs 18:28, Neh 4:7) or in lists of weapons (Joel 4:10, cf. Isa 2:4 which uses הַנִּיחוֹתִים for greater onomatopoeic effect) (see WATSON 1984/1986: 236). Thus, it naturally shares the same semantic parameters with other weapons that have sharp metal edges.

I contend that since sharp weapons, whether they be swords, spears, arrows, or lances, have “tongues” and “mouths” that can “devour” enemies, the use of the verb “open,” usually used in reference to the mouth, naturally was applied to weapons generally. Indeed, the šukurru “lance” was made of wood and had a metal “tongue,” as the author of an Old Babylonian letter tells us: *lišānam ša šukurrim ušeppiš* “I will have a tongue made for the lance.” Even weapons without sharp edges can open their mouths, as we see in *Lugal-e* II 35 (= 79): GIŠ.TUKUL.AN KUR.ŠÈ KA BA.AB.DU<sub>8</sub> *miṭtu ana šadī pîšu piti* “the divine mace holds its mouth open toward the mountain region.” Moreover, the lance also could be worn on the chest, and thus “drawn,” as an oracle for Esarhaddon informs us: *giš šukurru ina birit tulēya ašakkanka* “I will place you between my breasts like a šukurru.” The same text also mentions those who [*la]bšū pat[r]ī namṣarī šu[ku]rrī* “wore daggers, swords, and lances.”

Therefore, while there exists some evidence for the ritual treatment of weapons in the ancient Near East, a closer look at the idiom “to open a weapon” demonstrates that, regardless of the kind of weapon, it simply means to make it visible and ready for use. Thus, the description of Zimri-Lim as one who “opens the lance” merely characterizes him as battle ready.

- GUICHARD, M. 1999 « Les Aspects religieux de la guerre à Mari », *RA* 93:27-49.  
 LEICHTY, E. 1970 *The Omen Series: Šumma Izbu*. TCS 4; Locust Valley.  
 MIGLIO, A. 2016. « Epic of Zimri-Lim », in Younger, K. L. ed., *The Context of Scripture*. Vol. IV: Supplements. Leiden: 231-234.  
 ROTH, M. T. 1995 *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. WAWSBL 6, Atlanta.  
 WATSON, W. G. E. 1984/1986. *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques*. JSOTS 26, Sheffield.

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73) “Rendez à César ce qui est à César”, 2 : à propos des deux Sippar – Dans mes études sur les deux villes de Sippar,<sup>1)</sup> j’avais surtout prêté attention à la documentation paléo-babylonienne et je n’avais pas procédé à une étude historiographique approfondie. Or mes recherches actuelles sur le P. Scheil m’ont conduit à lire son article sur « Sippar-Sépharwaim », *Revue biblique* 4/2, 1895, p. 203-206. Il y avait indiqué que « *Sippar sa Samas et Sippar sa Anunit*<sup>2)</sup> (...) étaient deux villes distinctes, avec dieux et temples

distincts » et précisait ensuite : « *Sippar sa Samas* s'identifie avec certitude avec les ruines d'Abou-Habba » et plus bas : « (...) je ne vois que la petite ruine de *Déir* à identifier avec *Sippar sa Anunit* ». L'essentiel était déjà bien vu... Étant donné les calomnies dont Scheil fut l'objet au moment de son élection au Collège de France à la succession d'Oppert, il me semble juste de lui rendre ce petit hommage.

1) D. Charpin, « Sippar : deux villes jumelles », *RA* 82, 1988, p. 13-32 et « Le point sur les deux Sippar », *NABU* 1992/114.

2) Lire *Sippar ša Šamaš* et *Sippar ša Anunit* [DC].

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**74) En marge d'EcritUr, 3 : un deuxième cas de “piercing” au n°1 Broad Street\*** – Dans une contribution récente, J. Lauinger s'est intéressé à la tablette UET 6/1 402, découverte à Ur dans la maison du n°1 Broad Street. Elle contient une supplique en akkadien adressée au dieu Sîn<sup>1)</sup>. J. Lauinger a apporté des éléments supplémentaires à l'analyse de ce texte que j'avais faite en 1986<sup>2)</sup> et confirmé qu'il s'agissait, comme je l'avais proposé, d'un exercice scolaire. Il a ajouté au dossier une observation d'ordre matériel : cette tablette se caractérise en effet par l'existence d'un trou qui la perce de part en part dans sa largeur (voir la photo de l'original conservé au British Museum, reproduite p. 196 ou en ligne <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P346443.jpg>). Grâce à ce dispositif, on pouvait éventuellement faire pivoter la tablette selon un axe horizontal, ce qui permettait de lire successivement la face et le revers (J. Lauinger, Mél. Stolper, p. 192).

Or, dans la maison n° 1 Broad Street, on trouve également quelques contrats dont j'ai proposé qu'il s'agisse aussi d'exercices scolaires<sup>3)</sup>. Parmi ceux-ci, la tablette UET 5 367 mérite de retenir l'attention. On dispose en effet désormais d'une photographie de l'original, conservé au Penn Museum de Philadelphie (<https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P283686.jpg>). Elle permet de constater que cette tablette était également percée d'un trou. Cependant, celui-ci n'a pas été pratiqué dans le même axe que dans le cas de UET 6/1 402 : il traverse en effet la tablette verticalement. Son but ne saurait donc être le même que celui supposé par J. Lauinger dans le cas de la supplique au dieu Sin.

Le rapprochement de ces deux cas me semble inévitable et j'espère qu'une explication satisfaisante pourra prochainement en être trouvée.

\*) Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre du projet « EcritUr », financé par l'ANR pour 36 mois (oct. 2017 à sept. 2020 ; voir [http://digitorient.com/?page\\_id=3337](http://digitorient.com/?page_id=3337)).

1) J. Lauinger, « The Curricular Context of an Akkadian Prayer from Old Babylonian Ur (UET 6 402) », dans M. Kozuh, W. Henkelman, Ch. E. Jones & C. Woods (éd.), *Extraction & Control. Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*, SAOC 68, Chicago, 2014, p. 189-196.

2) D. Charpin, *Le Clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi (XIX<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.-C.)*, HEO 22, Genève-Paris, 1986, p. 326-329.

3) *Le Clergé d'Ur...,* p. 477-478.

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**75) Disentangling a derivation (on Ug. *rbt*) —** In a brief note in this very newsletter, written several years ago (“Correcting a gaffe”, *NABU* 2001/8), I suggested that Ug. *rbt*, “net” (KTU 1.4 ii 33, parallel to *rtt*, also “net”) could be cognate with Akk. *rubbû*, “to submerge, put under water” (CAD R, 394; cf. AHw, 940b; CDA, 294b). Since then, to my knowledge, there has been no alternative proposal. While working on Ugaritic terms for textiles, I came across another possibility. It arises from the Ge’ez verb *rbb* I (*rabba*, *rababa*), “(to) stretch, stretch out, expand, extend, spread out, scatter”, especially as used in the syntagma *rababa marbabta*, “(to) cast a net”, where the meaning of *marbabt*, *marbabt* is “net, fisherman’s net, trap, snare” (W. LESLAU, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge’ez*, Wiesbaden 1991, 460-461). Significantly, among the other Ethiopic cognates listed there, is Tigrinya *räbabä*, “(to) plait, catch fish with a net”. Whether or not there is a further connection with Christian Palest. Aram. *rby*, “to knit together” (cited from CAL, accessed 27.06.2018) remains uncertain.

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**76) Secured by cognates: Akk. šibbu** — It is now generally accepted (against AHw, 1226b) that Akk. šibbu (*šippu*), “belt, girdle” (CAD Š/2, 375-376) or Akk. šibbu(m)/šippu(m), “(sword-)belt”, “girdle (of birth-stones)” (CDA, 370a)<sup>1)</sup>, is to be kept distinct from Akk. šibbu meaning “(a fierce mythical) snake”, which has a different Sumerian equivalent (MIR) as well as several cognates in South Semitic<sup>2)</sup>. Further support for this distinction can be supplied by overlooked cognates for Akk. šibbu, “belt”, which are Mehri *səbtēt/səbēt*, “belt” (ML, 340), Soqotri *səbtəh/səbat*, “belt” (cited in ML, 340), Eastern and Central Jibbālī *səbtēt/siēt*, “belt” (JL, 222) and Ḥarsūsi *sebtēt/sebētten*, “belt” (HL, 108)<sup>3)</sup>. Yet another cognate is Aram. šabbēbin, “armband”, in Targum Onkelos to Numbers 31:50<sup>4)</sup>. Less specific is Arab. *sabab*, “rope, cord” (AEL, 1285), “rope, tent rope” (DMWA, 392a)<sup>5)</sup>. More remotely, Aram. šyb’, “a charm” (DJBA, 1131a), may even be a later reflection of the expression “girdle of birth-stones” (*šibbu ša aban alādi*) that occurs in *Descent of Ištar*, line 54<sup>6)</sup>, semantically weakened even further as Samaritan Aram. šbb, “ornament”<sup>7)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> For the equivalence ši-ib-bu = *qab-[lu₄]* see I. Hrůška, *Die akkadische Synonymenliste* malku = šarru (Münster 2010) 427.

<sup>2)</sup> See L. Kogan – A. Militarev, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary*, vol. II (Münster 2005) 264–265, No. 200 for discussion and cognates. For the further homonym Akk. šibbu, which means “flood-weapon”, see T. Oshima, “Some Comments on Prayer to Marduk, no. 1, lines 5/7”, *NABU* 2003/99.

<sup>3)</sup> Note these abbreviations: DJBA = M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* (Ramat Gan/Baltimore 2002); DMWA = H. WEHR – A. Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Wiesbaden 1971); HL = T. M. Johnstone, *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon and English-Ḥarsūsi Word-list* (London/New York/Toronto 1977); JL = T. M. Johnstone, *Jibbālī Lexicon* (Oxford 1981); ML = T. M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-list* (London 1987).

<sup>4)</sup> Cited from the online Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon, accessed 18.08.2018.

<sup>5)</sup> For possible equivalents in Chadic (e.g. \*seb-, “belt, leather strap”) see V. E. orel – O. V. Solbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary* (Leiden/New York/Köln 1995) 470 §2228.

<sup>6)</sup> These were probably cowrie shells: see P. Lapinkivi, *The Neo-Assyrian Myth of Ištar’s Descent and Resurrection* (Helsinki 2010) 64.

<sup>7)</sup> A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, vol. 2 (Leiden 2000) 861b.

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**77) Newly found: fellow nouns for a “fallow field”** — The Ugaritic word *pālt* occurs three times in the following context (KTU 1.19 ii 12-16):

<i>ydn̄l. ysb. pālt</i>	Danil <sup>1)</sup> went round his <i>p.</i> ,
<i>bṣql. yph. bpālt.</i>	he saw an ear of corn in the <i>p.</i> ,
<i>bṣql[!] yph. byḡlm.</i>	an ear of corn he saw in the untilled land,
<i>bṣql. yḥbq wynšq.</i>	He hugged and kissed the ear of corn:
<i>ḍhl. ḏn. bṣ[ql] ynp<sup>c</sup>. bpālt.</i>	“If only the ear of corn would grow in the <i>p.</i> ,
<i>bṣql. yp<sup>c</sup>. byḡlm</i>	the ear of corn would grow in the untilled land!”

In the parallel passage (KTU 1.19 ii 19-23), Ug. *pālt*, “fallow field, waste land” (cf. DUL, 648) corresponds to Ug. *āklt*, which has been compared with Akk. *akullātu*, “clods (of a field)”, and to Ug. *ḥmdrt*, which has been equated with Akk. *ḥamadtru(m)*, “parched, withered”. Therefore, a comparison of Ug. *pālt* with Akk. *pīlu*, *pēlu*, *pūlu*, “limestone” would not seem unreasonable<sup>2)</sup>. However, as a new proposal, it now seems very much more apposite to compare Ug. *pālt* with Aram. *b’l’* (*bl’*), “rural area, open area” (DJBA, 220b) and Mandaic *bala* (= *bāla’*, *bā’lā’*), “prairie, land outside towns, uncultivated ground” (MD, 48a)<sup>3)</sup>. There would be no problem in Ugaritic /b/ corresponding to /p/ in another Semitic language<sup>4)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Or “<Dan>el drove (it, i.e. the donkey) on, he went round his *p.*.” (cf. WYATT RTU, 298). The difficulties in readings of this line (see RTU, 298 n. 213 and DUL, 943) do not affect the meaning of the word under discussion here.

<sup>2)</sup> See WATSON 2007, 53; for a survey of several other opinions see *ibid.*, 53-54.

<sup>3)</sup> AISTLEITNER WUS, 252 §2184, who translates Ug. *pālt* as “kümmерlich bewachsene Feld?”, refers to Arab. *ba’lī*, “schwächlich, verkümmert”; for a brief discussion see VOIGT 1991, 1291 (whom I thank for his e-mail of 27.08.2018, regarding Ug. *pālt*).

<sup>4)</sup> See FRONZAROLI 1955, 52-54; GARR 1986; VOIGT 1991, 1619, 1630; TROPPER UG, 137-139, §33.112.3; §33.112.31; §33.112.35 and SPENCER 2004.

- DJBA = M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* (Ramat Gan/Baltimore 2002).
- DUL = G. del Olmo Lete & J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, vols 1-2. (HdO 1/112. Leiden/Boston 2015<sup>3</sup>).
- FRONZAROLI, P. 1955. *La fonetica ugaritica* (Sussidi erudit 7; Rome).
- GARR, W. R. 1986. “On Voicing and Devoicing in Ugaritic”. *JNES* 45: 45-52.
- KTU = M. Dietrich, O. Loretz & J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (AOAT 360/1; Münster 2013<sup>3</sup>).
- MD = E.S. Drouwer & R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford 1963).
- RTU = N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (London/New York 2002<sup>2</sup>).
- SPENCER, B. J. 2004. “The Relationship between Sentence Stress and Bilabial Alternation in Ugaritic”. *UF* 36: 431-443.
- UG = J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (AOAT 273; Münster 2012).
- VOIGT, R. 1991 “On Voicing and Devoicing in Ugaritic”, in: A. S. Kaye (ed.), *Semitic Studies in honor of Wolf Leslau* (Wiesbaden) vol. II, 1619-1631.
- WATSON, W. G. E. 2007 *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic* (AuOrS 19; Barcelona).
- WUS = J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (edited by O. Eissfeldt. Berlin 1974<sup>4</sup>).

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**78) CUSAS 30 no. 23** — In this note we offer a few new proposals for the interesting letter no. 23 published by van Soldt in *Middle Babylonian Texts in the Cornell University Collections, I. The Later Kings* (CUSAS 30; Bethesda, Md.: CDL, 2015), pp. 65–66.

Line 9: We should perhaps take *e-ri-šu* as first person, rather than third person: <sup>8</sup> DUMU <sup>m</sup>*da-di-ia* *pu-ḥa-da* <sup>9</sup> *ki-i e-ri-šu a-na ia-ši* <sup>10</sup> *na-da-na iq-ta-ba-a* ‘When I asked the son of Dādiya for a lamb, he promised to give me (one).’

Line 22: *i-ša-am-ma* was read originally as present of *šāmu* ‘he will buy’. Since it is followed by an imperative, however, we may suggest that it too is an imperative, of *našū*, ventive: <sup>20</sup> *lu-ú* 2 *pu-ḥa-de-e* *šu-bi-la* <sup>21</sup> ù *ia-nu-ma lu-ú il-te-en* [o] <sup>22</sup> *i-ša-am-ma šu-ul-si-ma* ‘Either have 2 lambs brought to me or, if not, get me (at least) one lamb and ...’. For *u yānumma* as ‘or if not’, see CAD I/J 324b.

*šu-ul-si-ma* is probably a Š-stem. There are two possibilities to understand this word. The first is the verb *šasū*, for which see CAD, Š part II, p. 167a, §12. According to the CAD the meaning is ‘to declare’, and there are at least two examples that are close to the verbal forms of this first possibility. The second possibility is the verb *lasāmu*, ‘to run’. More occurrences of the Š-stem of *lasāmu* can be found in lexical lists, especially in the Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts (OBGT, see MSL VIII, 100–102, 1–65). The verb *lasāmu* is used as a verbal paradigm there, which probably means that the verbal forms are important, but not so much the individual words. The examples of these two different verbs (*šasū* and *lasāmu*) show that both Š-stems often have the ventive followed by a personal pronoun. In Old Babylonian the mimation is preserved (*šu-ul-sí-ma-am*, OGBT VIII, 7), but it has disappeared in Middle Babylonian (*šu-ul-si-ma*). The verbal form *šu-ul-si-ma* in line 22 of our text is a good example. The meaning of *šu-ul-si-ma* is not clear, however; perhaps something like ‘hurry (it) to me’, lit., ‘cause (it) to run to me’(?). More occurrences in tablets with a clear text would help to improve this situation. Finally, it is not impossible that the scribe had knowledge of OGBT.

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**79) « Orge du cuivre / du bronze / de l’or » à Nuzi et « huile de la laine » à Tyr** — Sept tablettes du palais de Nuzi\*) enregistrent des dépenses d’« orge du cuivre », d’« orge du bronze » et d’« orge de l’or » (cf. le tableau ci-dessous). Elles proviennent toutes de la pièce R76 qui a livré la plus grande partie de la comptabilité des dépenses de céréales affectées à l’entretien de la famille royale et du personnel du palais (MAYER 1978, p. 65).

L'orge du cuivre est enregistrée dans quatre comptes ainsi que, probablement, dans HSS 13 43 : du signe sur la tranche, il ne reste qu'une tête de clou oblique suivie d'une autre correspondant à un clou vertical. Ces traces conviendraient bien à URUDU. De même la séquence ŠE ša suggère cette lecture. L'orge du bronze et l'orge de l'or ne sont par contre mentionnées qu'une seule fois. Le métal est marqué au singulier (URUDU, ZABAR) ou au pluriel (URUDU.MEŠ, KÙ.GI.MEŠ).

Les bénéficiaires peuvent être : du personnel (femmes et hommes) qualifié (femmes du lin) ; des personnes de la famille royale (la fille du roi ; les fils du roi). Figurent également des concubines (*esirtu*) et parmi elles, Pisuni et Tiye qui sont concernées par deux types d'orge « métallique » : l'orge du cuivre (HSS 13 104) et l'orge de l'or (HSS 13 168) pour un même montant à chaque fois (4 SILÀ). C'est aussi le cas des jeunes enfants : les « petits » (TUR.TUR.MEŠ) reçoivent de l'orge du cuivre (HSS 14 212) et de l'orge du bronze (HSS 13 80) dans des quantités égales (5 BÁN). La nourrice Nuhunazi qui scelle HSS 14 212 est aussi mentionnée dans HSS 14 169 (R76). Elle reçoit avec deux autres femmes 1 (PI) d'orge, également pour les « petits » : il s'agit, dans ce cas, d'orge sans indication de métal. Les 16 SILÀ d'orge de l'or attribués aux concubines dans HSS 13 168 constituent un montant de rations courant (WILHELM 1985, p. 166). On relève aussi que la mention d'orge « métallique » apparaît au niveau du décompte final, alors que dans le détail des attributions, il est question d'orge sans autre précision (HSS 13 104 et HSS 13 168).

P. Negri Scafa (2009, p. 312-313) a considéré que la mention du métal pouvait faire référence au contenant dans lequel était conservée l'orge. Cette idée, vraisemblable à la rigueur pour le bronze ou le cuivre – quoique les contenants en argile soient les plus courants pour ce type d'usage – est peu probable concernant l'or : pourquoi utiliser un métal si précieux comme récipient – en l'occurrence d'une capacité de *ca.* 150 l. ou 121 l. selon la valeur du BÁN (8,4 l. ou 6,7 l.) (ABRAHAMI & LION 2015). Une autre piste, envisagée par P. Negri Scafa, est un usage cultuel ou apotropaïque notamment parce que les bénéficiaires sont parfois des bébés. L'analyse du dossier montre cependant que les mentions d'orge « métallique » ne révèlent pas de contextes particuliers qui permettraient de caractériser ces orges par rapport à l'orge sans mention de métal. Un usage alimentaire semble donc plus plausible, d'autant que le niveau des rations est comparable à celui de l'orge ordinaire.

Comment interpréter cette qualification de l'orge par le métal ? La possibilité d'associer le métal à une unité de mesure sous-entendue est envisageable pour le cuivre. Ainsi HSS 16 119 (provenance C19, nord-est du palais) enregistre des quantités de blé et de blé amidonnier établies selon (*ina*) le « *sūtu* de cuivre (URUDU.MEŠ) d'Al-ilāni » : l'orge du métal pourrait être une façon abrégée de désigner le recours à un bol de mesure en cuivre. Mais cette hypothèse semble peu vraisemblable s'agissant de l'orge de l'or. Par contre, il n'est pas exclu d'interpréter la qualification par le métal comme se référant à une variété ou bien à un aspect particulier, comme une teinte métallisée (jaune / brune-rougeâtre).

Toutefois, la solution retenue dans la présente note considère que l'expression « orge du métal » signifie : « orge (achetée avec) du cuivre / du bronze / de l'or ». D'une part, elle peut être associée à d'autres textes de Nuzi documentant l'acquisition d'orge contre du métal. D'autre part, un passage d'une lettre d'Ugarit récemment publiée offre un parallèle intéressant en faveur de cette interprétation. Plusieurs documents de Nuzi attestent, en effet, de l'utilisation de métaux pour l'achat d'orge : le cuivre et l'*annaku* (LION 2013 et en particulier p. 134 n. 28 sur l'*annaku* à Nuzi ; ABRAHAMI 2015a) ainsi que l'or dans deux contrats de l'archive de Pašši-Tilla (WILHELM 1973, p. 207, LION & STEIN 2001, p. 27-29 et p. 110-115, textes n°14 et n°15). Un autre document du palais est particulièrement intéressant à cet égard : HSS 13 493 (R76) est un grand compte récapitulant des sorties de bronze utilisé pour l'achat d'orge : il s'agit d'une liste d'hommes – pour la plupart enregistrés dans le rôle des rations des serviteurs du palais (LÚ.MEŠ ÍR.É.GAL, cf. HSS 14 593, R76) – qui se voient confier chacun « 5 mines de bronze du palais » (*ana ŠU NP nadnu*) et qui doivent apporter 5 BÁN d'orge (*ù 5 BÁN ubbala*) (LION 2013, p. 132-133). Pour deux d'entre eux, Hupita et Urhi-Teššup, le document enregistrant la réception, par le palais, de leur livraison, a été conservé (HSS 13 207, R76). Un autre individu Aham-ay-imši, parmi ceux qui reçoivent les 5 mines de bronze dans HSS 13 493, 6, est aussi attesté dans deux autres documents où il fournit l'orge pour les rations : HSS 14 535 (R76) qui concerne l'orge du cuivre et dans HSS 13 172 (R76) (ABRAHAMI 2015a et 2015b, p. 181). Ces quelques exemples soulèvent d'ailleurs une question économique importante. Le palais

de Nuzi n'apparaît pas autosuffisant pour les besoins en orge et doit donc compléter sa production par des achats payés en métal dont il semble disposer en abondance (55 kg au moins dans le cas de HSS 13 493).

Cette interprétation selon laquelle le métal désigne le moyen de paiement trouve confirmation dans une lettre d'Ugarit envoyée depuis Tyr (LACKENBACHER & MALBRAN-LABAT 2016, p. 127-128, n° 63). Dans cette lettre, l'expéditeur, Ahi-milku, réitère sa demande à Ur-Teššub de lui envoyer « l'huile de la laine » (I.GIŠ.MEŠ ša SÍG. MEŠ, l. 14-15 et l. 21). Comme indiqué dans le commentaire à l'édition, l'expression est explicitée plus loin lorsqu'Ahi-milku suggère à Ur-Teššub que soit remise au porteur de la lettre « l'huile prix de la laine » (I.GIŠ.MEŠ ŠÁM.MEŠ ša SÍG. MEŠ).

« Orge du métal » à Nuzi et « huile de la laine » à Tyr relèvent probablement de la même formulation : le produit acquis est déterminé par sa contrepartie en complément de nom. Le contexte administratif à Nuzi laisserait penser à une méthode de comptabilité associant le flux des biens matériels (l'orge) et celui des moyens de paiement (le métal). Cependant la rareté des attestations pose problème. Il est préférable d'envisager une expression du langage parlé intégrée à l'écrit administratif. L'occurrence de cette formulation à Nuzi montre, en tout cas, qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une particularité dialectale de Tyr comme cela a pu être envisagé.

Textes	Orge du cuivre	Orge du bronze	Orge de l'or	Bénéficiaires	Quantité totale	Quantité par personne en SILÀ
HSS 13 43 : 1	ŠE ša [URUD]U* <sup>?</sup> (...) nadnū (mois ii)			fils du roi	2 BÁN	
HSS 13 104 : 8	ŠE.MEŠ ša URUDU.MEŠ (...) ša mahru (mois ii)			1 fille du roi 5 concubines	3 BÁN	8 4 et 2,5
HSS 13 159 : 15	ŠE.MEŠ ša URUDU*			11 tisserands	[x AN]ŠE	
HSS 14 212 : 1	ŠE.MEŠ ša URUDU <sup>f</sup> Nuhunazi mušeniqtu ilqê			les « petits »	5 BÁN	
HSS 14 535 : 24	iš-tu ŠE.MEŠ ša 'URUDU' ašar Aham-ay- amši ša ilqû			4 femmes du lin 25 femmes et 8 hommes	41 SILÀ	2 1
HSS 13 80 : 2		iš-tu [Š]E.MEŠ ša ZABAR (...) nadnū		les « petits » du palais	[5 BÁ]N	
HSS 13 168 : 13			ŠE.MEŠ ša KÙ.GI.MEŠ (...) ša nadnū	11 concubines	1 ANŠE 1 (PI) 3 BÁN	16 et 4

Les attestations d'orge « métallique » dans la documentation de Nuzi

\*) Les tablettes de ce dossier ont été collationnées par B. Lion et P. Abrahami dans le cadre du projet « Édition électronique des archives du palais de Nuzi » ([HYPERLINK "http://cluster13.ens-lyon.fr/spip.php?article80"](http://cluster13.ens-lyon.fr/spip.php?article80) <http://cluster13.ens-lyon.fr/spip.php?article80>).

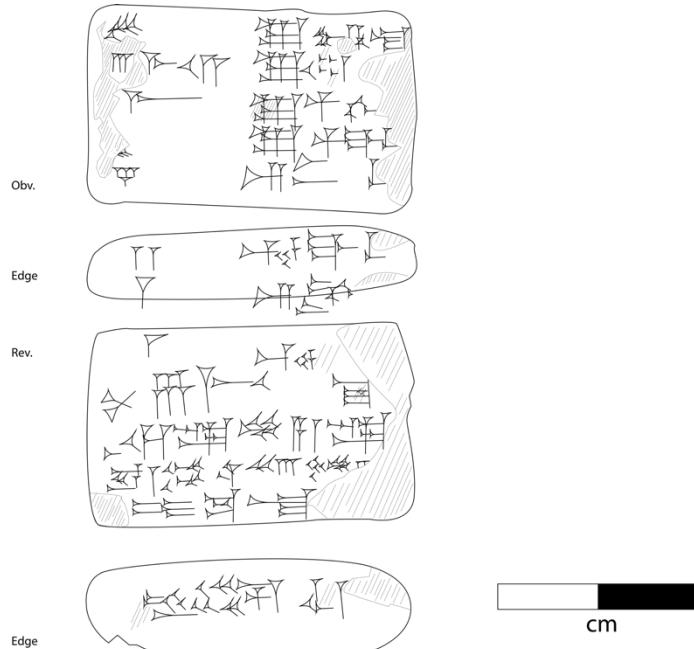
- ABRAHAMI P., 2015a, « ŠE.BA = šipai/a à Nuzi », NABU 2015/2, n°45, p. 66-68.
- Id.*, 2015b, « L'intendant du palais (šakin biti) à Nuzi », dans C. Michel (éd.), De la maison à la ville dans l'Orient ancien : bâtiments publics et lieux de pouvoir », Cahier des thèmes transversaux ArScAn vol. XIII, 2013-2014, Nanterre, p. 177-192.
- ABRAHAMI P. & LION B., 2015, « Numbers & Metrology in the 2nd millennium : Middle Babylonian Nuzi », CDLI: Wiki [en ligne] HYPERLINK "<http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=nuzi>" doku. php?id=nuzi (consulté le 27/05/2018).
- LACKENBACHER S. & MALBRAN-LABAT F., 2016, « Les lettres en akkadien de la « Maison d'Urtēnu ». Les fouilles de 1994, RSO 23, Leuven – Paris – Bristol.
- LION B., 2013, « Le bronze et ses usages économiques en Mésopotamie », dans C. Grandjean et A. Moustaka (éd.), Aux origines de la monnaie fiduciaire. Traditions métallurgiques et innovations numismatiques, Ausonius Scripta Antiqua 55, Bordeaux, p. 129-143.
- LION B. & STEIN D., 2001, The Pula-ḥali Family Archives, SCCNH 11, Bethesda.
- MAYER W., 1978, Nuzi-Studien I. Die Archive des Palastes und die Prosopographie der Berufe, AOAT 205/1, Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- NEGRI SCAFA P., 2009, « La menzione dei metalli nei testi del palazzo di Nuzi », dans P. Negri Scafa et S. Viaggio (éd.), Dallo Stirone al Tigri, dal Tevere all'Eufraate, Studi in onore di Claudio Sapetti, Rome, p. 295-317.
- WILHELM G., 1973, « Goldstandard in Nuzi », Baghdader Mitteilungen 6, p. 205-208.
- Id.*, 1985, Das Archiv des Šilwa-Teššup 3. Rationenlisten II, Wiesbaden.

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**80) A Neo-Babylonian Receipt from the Reign of Kandalānu** —The tablet presented here is a short receipt for livestock from the reign of Kandalānu (see FRAME, 1992, 296-306). While many of the tablets from Kandalānu's reign come from Babylon, Uruk, Borsippa, and Dilbat, the provenance of this tablet is not known. Its history is traceable to Philadelphia in 1946, by which time it was in the possession of the Howard family. It remained in the collection of the Howard family until the Spring of 2018, when Dr. David M. Howard, Jr. donated it to the Wheaton College Archaeology Museum along with the documentation of its chain of custody. The 'Howard tablet' is a pillow-shaped, horizontally oriented tablet, common to Neo-Babylonian receipts and contracts (JURSA, 2005, 4-5; BAKER, 2003, 244). The tablet has minor damage on the right edge and is slightly weathered on the obverse. At the same time, the text is mostly legible.

Measurements: 1.8x3.2x1.4cm ; Museum Number: H.0001 ; Date: Kandalanu 2+[x]

<b>Obverse</b>			<b>Obverse</b>		
1	40	UDU. <i>pu-ḥa-la</i>	40 <i>puḥalu</i> -rams		
2	3 ME 12 UDU.Ù.[TU.MEŠ]		312 ewes		
3	[2] ME UDU.BAR.MUNUS.[MEŠ]		[200] female lambs		
4	[5]0 UDU BAR.GAL. <sup>1</sup> MEŠ <sup>1</sup>		[5]0 <i>parru</i> -lambs		
5	4	ÙZ.MEŠ	4 goats		
<b>Edge</b>			<b>Edge</b>		
6	2	MÁŠ.GAL.MEŠ	2 he-goats		
7	1	ÙZ. <sup>1</sup> SAL <sup>1</sup> .[MÁH]	1 [barren] <sup>1</sup> she <sup>1</sup> -goat		
<b>Reverse</b>			<b>Reverse</b>		
8	1	MÁŠ.[TUR]	1 young he-goat		
9	PAP 6 ME 10 U <sub>8</sub> .[UDU.HI.A]		Total: 610 sheep		
10	<i>ina</i> IGI <sup>md</sup> AG.MU A <sup>md</sup> AG.[x x]		Before Nabû-iddina son of Nabû-[x x]		
11	ITI.SIG <sub>4</sub> UD.23.KÁM MU 2[+x]		23 <sup>rd</sup> day of Simānu, the 2+[x] year,		
12	[ <sup>m?</sup> ]kan-da-la-[nu]		of Kandalā[nu]		
<b>Edge</b>			<b>Edge</b>		
13	<sup>1</sup> LUGAL <sup>1</sup> TIN.TIR. <sup>1</sup> KI <sup>1</sup>		<sup>1</sup> King <sup>1</sup> of Babylon		



Lines 3-4 The tabulation of 610 sheep (line 9) is accurate if two vertical wedges are restored at the beginning of line 3 and two additional *Winkelhaken* are restored at the beginning of line 4. Traces of three *Winkelhaken* are preserved on the tablet in line 4.

Line 11-12 The reading *kan-da-la-[nu]* seems certain. The first half of Kandalānu's reign is not as well documented as the second half (see FRAME, 268). The present tablet belongs to the first half of Kandalānu's reign, but the tablet is damaged at the right edge of the reverse, where traces of two vertical wedges are visible. Thus the date can only be narrowed to sometime after his second year.

BAKER, Heather D. 2003. "Record-Keeping Practices as Revealed by the Neo-Babylonian Private Archival Documents." In *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, edited by Maria Brosius, 241-263, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

FRAME, Grant. 1992. *Babylonia 689-627: A Political History*. PIHANS 69. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.

JURSA, Michael. 2005. *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents: Typology, Contents and Archives*. Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

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**81) A posological curiosity: the date stone as a unit of measurement (being an edition of BM 59626; ft. BM 40051, 54914, 59623, 64526)** – In the course of a physical search the present author had the opportunity to make in recent years<sup>1)</sup> through the many items labelled 'medical' in the Sippar volumes of the CBT<sup>2)</sup> he happened upon some dozens of tablets from various lots, all of them therapeutic prescriptions, that on closer view can be considered a category of their own for sharing in common one or several peculiarities, formal and material, that set them apart from mainstream medical texts, such as have come down to us most manifestly in the more or less standardized exemplars from Neo-Assyrian libraries on the one hand and later compendia from Babylonia on the other. Meant are such features as a landscape or square format, although the conventional portrait shape is far from exceptional; as a rule they are of small dimensions and inscribed with only a few recipes or just a single one, which exhibit a strong tendency for using less common terminology and dictating unusual procedures of curing praxis. Whereas parallels and duplicates to some of the prescriptions or parts thereof do occur in medical texts of an earlier, contemporary, or later date, which might lead one to define them as excerpts, a good deal of the conspicuities to be observed in these tablets are as yet unparalleled. To the extent that the absence of a trail of transmission is not due to the banality of excavational random, part of what we have before us here

might reflect the experiments of innovative physicians, first and foremost meant to circulate within the limits of their own ‘schools’ only, and most of which were never to be eternalized through inclusion in any sort of compendium, manual or fixed series.<sup>3)</sup> The remarkable circumstance, to mention the last feature frequently seen in this group of cuneiform artefacts, that quite a few of them bear a brief colophon giving the name of either the copyist and/or owner of the tablet or that of the physician who authored the recipe could be taken as supportive evidence for such a *Sitz im Leben*.<sup>4)</sup> Principally, whenever a colophon of the type is crediting a physician with the authorship of the text, that person should be assumed to have had his floruit in or shortly prior to the time when the physical manuscript was produced<sup>5)</sup>; yet, an occasional tablet may break this pattern by ascribing its content to an author of the remote if not legendary past.<sup>6)</sup>

The object chosen for being showcased here as a representative of the kind of document just sketched is BM 59626<sup>7)</sup>, on which is inscribed a recipe for stopping grave diarrhea. The unique way it is therein prescribed how and in what successive doses the medication should be taken arguably make it worth a stand-alone edition.



Obverse	bottom edge
1 [ŠA.SI.SA a-n]a ka-le-e	8 ma-la 2 NA <sub>4</sub> ZU.LUM.MA NAG
2 [x x x]-[nu?] -tu ūki-ta-tur-ru	Reverse
3 [x x] ūki -ta-tur-ru	9 EGIR-šú KAS.Ú.SA SIG <sub>5</sub> -tī
4 ūgu-ú-du 1-niš ḪI.HI GAZ SIM	10 šá KI U.HI.A bal-lu NAG-ma
5 i-na 1 NINDA KAŠ.Ú.SA SIG <sub>5</sub> -tī	11 ŠÀ.SI.SÁ dan-nu
6 ḪI.HI ina pa-ni KAS.Ú.SA SIG <sub>5</sub> -tī	12 šá la ik-kal-lu-ú ik-kal-la
7 šá mim-mu a-na ŠÀ la bal-lu	13 [bul]-tu ep-šú lat-ku

#### Bound text transcription

1 [šūšur libbi an]a kalē 2 [x x x]-tu kittaturru 3 [x x] kittaturru 4 gūdu ištēniš taballal taħaššal tanappi 5 ina ištēn akal billati damiqti 6 taballal ina pāni billatu damiqti 7 šá mimmu ana libbi lā ballu 8 mala šitta aban suluppi ištatti 9 arkīšu billatu damiqti 10 šá itti šammī ballu išattima 11 šūšur libbi dannu 12 šá lā ikkallū ikkalla 13 bultu epšu latku

#### Translation

1 In order to hold back [diarrhea]: 2-6 You crush together [...] -tu, kittaturru, [...] of] kittaturru and bottle-gourd<sup>7</sup>, sieve (the mixture) and stir it through one tenth of a litre of fine billatu-beer. 6-8 First he takes a sip in the amount of two date stones of fine billatu-beer that has nothing admixed. 9-10 After that he drinks the fine billatu-beer which was mixed with the drugs, then 11-12 the severe diarrhea that could not be held back will be held back. 13 A tried and tested medication.

-ll. 1 and 11-12 can be found contextualized in Scurlock & Andersen, *Diagnoses*, no. 3.114.

-ll. 2-3: this rare plant name, most likely a variety of solo garlic, is attested in the following syllabifications, that are on record in the dictionaries s.v. *tatturru*: “*ki-ta-tur-ru*” (with var. omitting *ki-*; in a commercial text), (NUMUN) “*kit-ta-tur-ra*” (*BAM* 558, iv, 4; in a recipe for curing lung disease), and “*kit-tu-ra*” (*BAM* 195, 8’ [or: rev. 5, *CAD* to be mended; dupl. *BAM* 194, iii, 7 has “*ta-tu*”<sup>11</sup>; tablet: *SIR/SAR*-*ra* instead]).

-l. 4: *gūdu* “waterskin, flask” has hitherto been known from a single LB source only, in the plural form *gūdānu* (kus<sup>12</sup>*gu-da-nu*), see the dictionaries. On the assumption that as a term of botany –prefixing the broad classifier ú rather than the generically specific úkuš– it denotes a bottle-shaped type of squash that would have functioned as a flask, the thing may have been appreciated here for its symbolic rather than pharmaceutical efficacy: human bellies that suffer from an uncontrolled discharge of such bodily fluids as vaginal bleedings, the amniotic water or a loose stool can all be compared to a breached canal and a fermenting jar having lost its stop. Now, for gynaecological haemorrhages the imagery may in addition include the metaphor of the flask (waterskin, *nādu*) with a failing lace; that this bottle symbolism would have been applicable to the other conditions, too, diarrhea in particular, seems therefore not too hazardous a thing to postulate; see U. Steinert, “Fluids, rivers, and vessels (...),” (*JMC* 22 [2013], 1-23), pp. 10-14. With *gūdu* “flask-gourd” we also meet M. Stol’s demand that Assyriologists “should look for similar flasks (i.e. to the *naṣabu*-gourd, HS) and their names” with a positive result (*BSA* 3, p. 83).

-l. 5: The GAR/NINDA-measure is here akkadianized *akal* (st. abs.) on the authority of M. Powell, art. “Masse und Gewichte,” § IV.7, *RdA* 7, pp. 498-499; M. Geller made the astute suggestion that the logogram might rather conceal a lexeme grafted onto the root KWN (verb *kuānu/kānu*) that ultimately pops up articulated in the loan כָּנָן mentioned in Talmudic medicine as a unit of measurement.

-l. 8: No parallel to this expression is attested from sources for Babylonian posology, nor from cuneiform metrology at large. The metrological use of *utṭetu* “grain”, *girū* “carat” (i.e. the seed of the carob tree) and *ḥallūru* “chickpea” in subdividing the shekel automatically suggests itself for comparison. For the transferred usage of these seed names to create weight units for measuring very small quantities, which no doubt is implied here, too, see M. Powell, art. “Masse und Gewichte,” § V A.1.a-c, *RdA* 7, pp. 511-512. However, quite unlike our isolated date stone these seed-derived weights have become firmly established as fixed units in the system for fine-tuned measuring. Items of posology that do seem to qualify for being adduced as a close parallel to our case, albeit a cross-cultural one seemingly remote in time and at home in folk medicine to boot, are words for nut used as a household measure for minute quantities as found in a medical recipe transmitted in the Babylonian Talmud.<sup>8)</sup> If we subscribe to M. Geller’s theory that the Aramaic prescriptions of Babli medicine in large measure build on Babylonian-Akkadian forerunners kept circulating in Mesopotamia until Sassanian times, the two would appear not that far distant from one another though. Was the doctor behind our prescription perhaps drawing upon popular measuring customs from the same regional substratum that eventually came to underlie Talmudic praxis? A scrutiny of the cuneiform tablets in the field of medicine still awaiting publication may quite reasonably be expected to yield evidence for there to have been in vogue more such measuring devices as yet unrecorded; the only example the present writer can put forward as a possible candidate is the use of *rittu* in the sense of “a handful,” viz. in the phrase *ḥamaš rittu pi[nzer<sup>9</sup>]* (5-aš rit-tú “pi-[n<sup>2</sup>-ze-er]”) “a fifth of a handful of *pi[nzer<sup>9</sup>]*-drug.”<sup>10)</sup>

-ll. 6-10: The rationale of the two-stage ingestion is that in this way ‘the pill is sweetened’; for similar procedures to make a medicine less unpalatable to the patient see STADHOUDERS & JOHNSON, forthcoming.

<sup>1)</sup> During visits to the British Museum in April 2014 and May 2016. The museum items discussed in this note are published by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum; the photos are all the author’s.

<sup>2)</sup> Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum VI-VIII. The investigation also comprised a number of objects in the museum’s Babylonian collections whose medical identity has been established over the last five or so years by sundry members of the Babylonian Medicine Project team; the Project’s photo database which the present author has enjoyed the privilege to have access to since 2015 proved an indispensable tool in achieving the results here offered.

<sup>3)</sup> For remedies labelled *maltaktu* possibly representing medical procedures that have not yet passed the testing phase see the forthcoming study of BM 78963 by J. Cale Johnson and the present author; in the latter’s opinion, the much-debated label *ana qāti šūṣū* (along with *latku* and similar designations) should be taken as denoting the next and final stage in the development of a medication, hallmarking it as “released for use in practice.” For the time being, see U. Steinert, “‘Tested’ Remedies in Mesopotamian Medical Texts (...),” in J. Cale Johnson (ed.), *In the Wake of the Compendia* (...), Berlin 2015, pp. 103-146; esp. pp. 106-109 (*maltaktu*) and p. 116 (with footnote 47, being a summary of the prevailing opinions on the meaning of the *ana qāti šūṣū* hallmark).

<sup>4)</sup> This correlation came to dawn on the present author as he was attending the talk delivered by N. Heeßel at the Babylonian Medicine Project Workshop “Medical Commentaries and Commentaries on Medicine” (Berlin, Freie Universität, 26-27 September 2017), who hypothesized to that effect when highlighting a set of the very same tablets as those dealt with here.

<sup>5)</sup> Some examples: -BM 40051. Square format, 19 lines; five instructions for composing poultices (*tīpu*) and tampons (*lippū*) to cure a diseased nose. On the left-hand edge the recipes are described as being *bul-tu pir-sat šá ŠU<sup>II</sup>*

<sup>pd</sup>*sin-KUR-ú-nu* = *bultū pirsāt* (“secrecies”; Geller: *ḥāš-šat* = *haššat* “five”) *ša qāṭē Sīn-šadūmu*. An edition of the tablet was recently provided by M. Geller (“Late Medical Prescriptions for the Nose,” in *Leggo! Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* [Wiesbaden, 2012], 325-328). His readings need mending on the following points: 1. 2: ŠIM.ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>; 1. 7: instead of 3 GÍN read: 4<sup>1</sup>-*ut*<sup>1</sup> (= *rebūt* “one fourth (of a shekel)”; 1. 8: SÚD<sup>1</sup> I.GIŠ *tu-r'ah-ha-ah* (= *tasāk šamna tutahhab* “you crush (2 shekels of alum ...) and moisten it with oil”); 1. 14: *ina DĒ GÍBIL* (= *ina dikmēni taqalli* “you roast on charcoal”); 1. 17a: <sup>na<sup>4</sup></sup>*sam<sup>1</sup>-ta te<sup>1</sup>-ten<sup>1</sup>* (= *sāmta teṭēn* “you grind ... and *sāmtu*-stone”); translate 9-10 “You put it into (his nose). You make the (required) tampon by wrapping (the medicament) around a thorn/palm fibre.”

-BM 54914. Square format, 25 lines; ll. 1-17 largely destroyed, starts as follows: DIŠ NA TA SAG.DU-[šú EN ...] = *šumma amēlu ultu qaqqadī[šu adi ...]*, cf. Nosomancy Series, III, 85 sqq. (= TDP, p. 28); ll. 18-23 is concerned with an emetic for a suckling baby: DIŠ LÚ.TUR ŠÁ GA *in-né-e[z-zí-qu x x x]* / *a-na šu-up-ri-i 6 G[ín x x x x]* / *ina A.MEŠ pi-ri-in-du gi[šNU.ÚR.MA]* / *ta-šalh-hal I.GIŠ hal-ṣa a-na x [x x]* / *mi-si-ti ta-ṣap-pi-ma a-na x [x]* / *ta-ṣa-hat-ma ul-latma BURU<sub>8</sub>-ma TIN-uṭ*. The colophon reads: [GABA.R]I NIM.MA<sup>ki</sup> ŠÁ KA <sup>pd<sup>4</sup></sup>AG-MU-SI / [x] [a]<sup>1</sup> a a <sup>pd<sup>4</sup></sup>EN-DÙ A-ŠÚ ŠÁ <sup>pd<sup>4</sup></sup>PSA-pu-nu.

-BM 59623. Oblong format, 10 lines; a single recipe to stop diarrhea (*šūšur libbi*). The name of the author, or patentee if one likes, is given in ll. 6-8 as follows: ŠÁ KA <sup>pd<sup>4</sup></sup>[u-la-a A]-ŠÚ ŠÁ / <sup>pd<sup>4</sup></sup>AG-MU-SIG<sub>5</sub>-IQ / A PE<sup>1</sup>-GI-BI = *ša pī Šulāya mārūšu ša Nabū-mudammiq / mār Egibi* “a prescription (*ša pī*) by Šulāya son of Nabū-mudammiq of the Egibi clan.” The tablet was edited by E. Leichty (“Guaranteed to Cure,” in *A Scientific Humanist. Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs* (Philadelphia, 1988), 261-264; no copy, transliteration and translation on pp. 263-264); [touched upon by Steinert, “Tested Remedies”, p. 127].



BM 59623, lines 8-10

Corrections: 1. 3: ŠEG6-[šal<sup>1</sup>] SE]D<sup>17</sup> (= *tušabšal* [*tukas̪*]sa “you heat up, then let cool down”); 1. 4: *ana i[GI SU]D<sup>2</sup>- iḥ/ah* (= *ana p[āni tel]lib/tul]lah* (the gap allows no room for [... *tel/te-li*-iḥ]); 1. 5: *ip-par<sup>1</sup>-ra-as*; 1. 8: *pe<sup>1</sup>-gi-bi*. The extraordinary remark that concludes the text poses a downright conundrum; at any rate, the signs in the middle of 1. 9 can in no arguable way be read DÚR-ŠÚ ma- (so Leichty). With due caution it is here proposed to read ll. 9-10 as follows: *um-ma ŠÁ GUB<sup>2</sup>* (or *šá GUB<sup>2</sup>*) *pa<sup>2</sup>-i-ru-/um-ma i-śal-lim = umma ša išturu* (or *šatār?*) *Bā’irumma išallim* “a written note by Bā’iru says as follows: ‘he will recover’.”

<sup>6</sup>) A salient case in point is BM 64526, a square format tablet of 17 (obv.) + 14 (rev.) + 2 (bottom edge) lines of text giving remedies for curing “seizure of the mountain” (*sibit šadī*, i.e. the *li’bu*-disease); unpublished, an edition by the present author is underway. The pair of lines on the bottom edge state a fascinating claim with regard to the transmission history of the cures in the following words: GABA.RI *Ša-ta-rū ur-dnin-tin-ug<sub>5</sub>-ga* / LIBIR IM.GÍDA ur-dnanna = *garabū šatāru Ur-Nintinugga / labīru imgiddē Ur-Nanna* “copy of an exemplar (or: the *Vorlage* used was a manuscript) written by Ur-Nintinugga, based on an original tablet authored by Ur-Nanna.” The forthcoming edition is to contain a digression on the identity of these two sages in tandem with a discussion of a handful of unpublished tablets that likewise trace their content up to three or four scribal generations back in time, keeping the chain of names alive in a mise en abyme of colophons.

<sup>7</sup>) No. 4036 in the 82-7-14 assignment, the bulk of which is of Sippar (Abu Habbah) provenience, though like the rest of ‘Sippar’ batches this one, too, is by no means void of intrusions from elsewhere (see CBT 6/1, xxxvia; xxxivb, under ‘site/consignment concordance’). As it happens, our tablet is in the very area of artefacts whose provenance was left undefined in the pertinent register column by the museum registrar on duty (Pinches in this case), so the only thing we can state about its origin beyond doubt is ‘from Babylonia’ (see CBT 6/1, xxxiiia; xxxviiib). Since at the upper left corner eight to nine signs are entirely lost and a further five have suffered damage as over against a remaining ninety-three signs completely preserved, in all running up to a rate of incompleteness of ten percent round, the entry for our tablet CBT 6/1, p. 219 would appear to describe it with a tinge of inaccuracy by tagging it in the fourth column with the label C (‘complete’) rather than NC (‘nearly complete’).

<sup>8</sup>) In one of the remedies discussed in that part of the Gemara which M. Geller has dubbed the Talmudic medical handbook, comprising Gittin 68b-70a: כִּי פִיסְתָּקָא דְנִישׁוֹר וְכִי אַמְגֹזָא דְחַלְבָנִיתָא דְוּבָשְׁנִיתָא וְמַיִּירְוֹדָא דְוּבָשָׁא חַיּוֹרָא “ammonia in the amount of a pistachio nut, sweet galbanum in the amount of a walnut, and a spoonful of white honey” (Gittin 69a:14<sup>th</sup> section). Similarly, in a non-medical context: “כְּאַמְגֹזָא וּפְלָגִיה דְאַמְגֹזָא כְפִיסְתָּקָא וּפְלָגִי דְפִיסְתָּקָא” (a gift comprised of four packages of as many kinds of linen, two of them) the volume of one and a half walnuts each, (two of them) the volume of one and a half pistachio nuts each” (Gittin 59a:17<sup>th</sup> section). In another recipe of the Talmudic medical handbook it is prescribed that part of the doses should be measured out in egg equivalents: תְּלַת בְּשֵׁי נְנִיאָה וּבְעִיטָה דְכֻמָּנוֹת וּבְעִיטָה דְשֻׁומָשָׁמִי “three egg measures of mint, an egg measure of cumin, and an egg measure of sesame (Gittin

69b:6<sup>th</sup> section; very differently Sokoloff, *DBJA*, p. 204b, s.v. בִּינְתָּא “as a measure of capacity”). For a famous Mishnaic dispute over “בְּכַיִצְתָּה” (food) in the amount of an egg versus “בְּכַיִת” (food) in the amount of an olive (גֶּג) see Berakhot 49b: 6<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> sections. A few more references to the olive as a unit of measurement, though outside medical contexts, are given Sokoloff, *DBJA*, p. 413a, s.v. גֶּתֶא. Interestingly, these nuts as well as the other kitchen-based measures mirror our date stones also in their functioning as units of volume rather than weight, albeit dry as against liquid capacity respectively; the very same thing has been observed, by the way, for the GAR-measure of LB recipes, basically a unit of volume but occasionally applied to weight (STADHOUDERS & JOHNSON, forthcoming). Finally, M. Geller kindly brought to my knowledge yet another parallel from post-antique Mesopotamia, found in the so-called Syriac Book of Medicine: *mtl 'qr' spynyt* (...) *hšyḥ l'nš d'yt lh yrqn' šqwl mn 'qr' 'yk hms' w'rm' bḥmr' w'sq' lh* “Concerning the *spynyt* root: (...) It is useful for a man who has jaundice. Take from the root in the amount of a chickpea, put it in wine and have him drink it” (E. Wallis Budge, *Syrian Anatomy, Pathology, and Therapeutics or “The Book of Medicines”* [London 1913], I, 600, 4-6).

<sup>9)</sup> Bolstered up with a wide diversity of arguments in his *Akkadian Healing Therapies in the Babylonian Talmud*, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science Preprint 259 (2004); a revised and enlarged edition by the same author is soon to appear in monographic format, provisionally entitled *Babylonian Medicine in the Talmud: Cuneiform Remnants in Late Antiquity*. Although the elements *mala* and *-כִּי-* perform in their respective phrases the very same function semantically, both having the sense of “as much as, in the amount of -sized,” we would stretch our point, were we to go the length of hypothesizing that the latter is a calque borrowed from the former.

<sup>10)</sup> Finding itself (l. 14') in a long list of drugs for compounding a suppository to cure an inflated belly (ll. 9'-17'). The tablet is of Ninevite provenance and composed of the fragments K 8678 + 10567 (AMT 81/9) + 13901 (AMT 58/9) + 16461 (AMT 62/5) + 19344; CDLI no. P238756; the K 10567 + 13901 chunk has been edited as no. 44 in Geller, *RRDT* (BAM 7). Remarkably, for each of the other items in the list the quantities needed are consistently given in terms of the shekel and its fractions.

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**82) A Lunar Six compendium from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II: BM 48644** — The Lunar Six are a series of six intervals between the sun and the moon crossing the horizon on specified occasions around new and full moon every month. These intervals were regularly recorded in the Astronomical Diaries and were copied into the Goal-Year Texts. In addition, more than thirty compilations of lunar six data, most of which cover several years, are known. These compilations take one of two forms: straightforward lists of lunar six data and compilations arranged into tables, with each cell of the table containing the six intervals for a particular month. Only a small proportion of the known compilations preserve a date, the earliest of which (ADART V No. 36) contains data for the early part of the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus. However, Huber developed a technique for dating lunar six compilations astronomically and has been able to date several of these texts to the seventh and sixth centuries BC (HUBER & BRITTON 2007, HUBER & STEELE 2007).

Recently I identified a small fragment of another tabular compilation of lunar six data: BM 48644 (= 1881-11-3, 1355). The tablet is a badly damaged flake with no edges preserved. I thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to study and publish this tablet. The tablet reads as follows:

[...] [ME?]	[GE <sub>6</sub> ] 13 [x] [...] 13 3 N[A ...]
[...] x NA	GE <sub>6</sub> 14 G[E <sub>6</sub> ...]
[... x]+20 GE <sub>6</sub>	26        40 <sup>?</sup> [...]
[... x]+2,50 <sup>?</sup>	
[MU-x] NÍG.DU	MU-20 NÍG.D[U ...]
[BAR 3]0 13	BAR 1 [...]
[...] 6 ŠÚ [x?]	[13?] [...]

With so little preserved nothing of significance can be learned from the astronomical content of the tablet. However, two of these entries include statements of the year of the observations: an unknown year during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II in the left column, and his 20th year in the right column. As is common in astronomical texts, Nebuchadnezzar’s name is abbreviated to NÍG.DU. The tablet therefore

confirms beyond any doubt that lunar six observations were made in the early sixth century BC, making Huber's dating of other lunar six compilations to the seventh and sixth centuries BC certain.

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**83) Enkidu's maggot: The World's oldest application of forensic entomology** — The determination of the age of a corpse by the carrion fauna associated therewith is one of the mainstays of forensic entomology. This science dates from the 1800s, when French and later German medical doctors studied the associations between invertebrates and the age of exhumed bodies (BENECKE 2001). Their work was of course based on physical evidence, but when dealing with archaeological timescales, such physical evidence is often not available. Nevertheless, when the written record provides a source of descriptions of cadavers and their associated fauna, scientific conclusions can be drawn in the absence of physical evidence by "excavating words" (WEISBURD 1985). Such an approach has for example been used in the study of the environmental and human impact of volcanism in Iceland (GRATTAN & PYATT 1999; WEINSTEIN 2005), with the *caveat* that millennium-old accounts are of course subject to bias. Here we mine words from an Old Babylonian version of the Sumerian Epic of Gilgamesh, to substantiate the age of the corpse of the "wild man" Enkidu.

In recent and accessible versions of the epic (HARRIS 2001, p. 76; FLEMING & MILSTEIN 2010, p. 178, II 9'), Gilgamesh is grieving for "six days, seven nights" for his deceased soul mate Enkidu, and says: "I did not want [Enkidu] buried. Not until a worm fell out of his nose". 'Worms' are generally not colonisers of a fresh cadaver, and nematodes, which do occur in cadavers, generally remain within them. Fly maggots on the other hand, once fully fed, leave a cadaver to pupate in the soil. On biological grounds alone, Enkidu's 'worm' is therefore most likely to be a fly maggot. The crucial word is not preserved in any extant text of the Standard Babylonian edition of Gilgamesh. However, it is preserved in an Old Babylonian version, and it is from this source that it has been restored in later texts. (For the various extant Old Babylonian texts of Gilgamesh see GEORGE 2003, pp. 22,23 (general discussion) and for a transliteration and translation of the crucial text, supposedly from Sippar, pp. 272-86. For the Standard Babylonian Version with the relevant lines restored in a broken section, see p. 680,81). There is therefore just one attestation of the crucial passage where the word is spelled out as an Akkadian word: *tūltu*. The usages of that word, according to the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD T, p. 466), point to a term that covers both our "worm" and "maggot", both of which the CAD gives as translations. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that Gilgamesh is describing what we would call a "maggot".

Forensic entomologists generally classify the faunal succession on cadavers into four categories: necrophagous species; predators and parasites of these; omnivorous species; and adventive (incidental) species (SMITH 1986). The first and most important category are those invertebrates that feed on the carrion itself, and foremost amongst those are the calliphorid flies (blowflies). These flies are the first invaders of a fresh cadaver, and would have been the first on the scene following the death of Enkidu. Enkidu died of an unknown illness, and by contrast with for example battle scarred corpses, adult flies would have gained access through natural openings such as the nose and mouth. The eggs are deposited in these cavities, where the maggots feed on the flesh until fully grown. The maggots then exit the body, generally drop to the ground to pupate in the soil, whence the adults subsequently emerge to mate and seek a new substrate upon which to repeat the cycle.

The time taken for a calliphorid maggot to complete development from oviposition to pupation varies with the temperature of the corpse (which falls rapidly after death to be strongly influenced by the ambient temperature, but can then rise above ambient again as a result of 'composting heat'). The season of death and ambient temperature are therefore significant factors in estimating the time since death based on the developmental stage of fly larvae in the corpse. Unfortunately, the Epic of Gilgamesh does not

provide any clues as to the season of the death of Enkidu. Further what historicity we attach to the stories of Gilgamesh is a difficult question. The earliest Sumerian precursors and the earliest Akkadian forms of the Gilgamesh Epic come from the Old Babylonian period. It is possible that the mention of the ‘worm’, as the crucial evidence that Enkidu was really dead, was based on observations of cadavers known to an Old Babylonian author. Therefore we have to conjecture a variety of circumstances under which this observation was made. They range from the unlikely circumstance that this mention in one Akkadian version of the story had a historical basis, to the possibility that the mention should be approximately dated to the time of the extant copy. If the maggot description dates only from the Old Babylonian period (2nd millennium BC), when near-Eastern climates were closer to those of the present day, ambient temperatures would not have been adverse for the development of calliphorid larvae in the sheltered environment of a corpse (Average temperatures between 10 and 34°C, based on Baghdad; Climatemps 2018).

The development time from oviposition to exiting the cadaver of a generalised species of calliphorid fly under such conditions is at least 5-6 days (SMITH 1986). In estimating time since death, 1-2 days are generally added to this figure to account for the time taken for the adult female fly to locate the corpse (which it does by cueing in on decomposition odours that become stronger with time). Based on entomological evidence, Enkidu had therefore been dead for at least a full week before Gilgamesh wanted to have him buried. By this age, putrefaction and bloating of a body has already begun to set in; the maggot falling from the nose may have been the precipitating event in Gilgamesh’s decision, but Enkidu’s body would already have become clearly unpleasant by this time. It is not by accident that the time to burial in most cultures falls well short of a week in the absence of preservation techniques (eg Judaism, within 24 hours [KADISHA 2014]; Greek Orthodox, within 2-3 days [TOUCHETTE 2017]).

Since, as mentioned above, the ‘worm’ story could have been a literary element rather than a historical memory, conclusions from this corroboration of a detail in the text have to be carefully weighed. At least it suggests that somebody at the time was making observations of the phenomena associated with death. One might go beyond that to argue that one plausible incident suggests other details are factual. In the absence of other evidence that is attractive but not sustainable. Yet the corroboration of the conclusion that Enkidu’s body was a week old based on the maggot observation with the stated mourning period of “six days and seven nights” is fascinating. That some parts of a story look fictitious does not mean there are no factual elements in the epic. In the examination of the ‘worm’ incident we have an excellent example of the conjunction of modern scientific examinations and ancient studies.

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**84) Another Microzodiac Rising Time Text: BM 48166** — In STEELE (2017) I published several texts containing rising time schemes. These schemes correlate the culmination of *ziqpu* stars with either rising over the eastern horizon of the sun at sunrise on dates in the schematic 360-day calendar or the rising of positions in the zodiac. One group of these texts presents the scheme using the so-called microzodiac, a division of each sign of the zodiac into twelve parts which are themselves named after the zodiacal signs. In addition to giving the position at or behind a *ziqpu* star which culminates when the end of the microzodiacic sign rises these texts also give in each entry a series of astrological statements including the names of a star taken from the Three Stars Each tradition which “expels a flare”.

I recently identified another tablet containing the microzodiac rising time scheme. BM 48166 (= 1881-11-3, 876), almost certainly from Babylon, is a small fragment from the left edge of a tablet. Only one side is readable; the other side preserves only a few traces. A transliteration and translation of the tablet is presented below. I thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to study and publish this tablet.

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 1' | [x 13 U]Š 20 NINDA [ár] [MÚL.GAŠAN.TIN <i>ana ziq-pi DU-ma šamaš</i> KI.MIN 2-tú]   |
| 2' | [HA.L]A šá MÚL.LU MÚL.[MÚL šá MÚL.LU GU <sub>4</sub> KUR <i>ina GU<sub>4</sub> ina KIN.SIG]</i>   |
| 3' | [UD.30.KAM] MÚL.APIN <i>meš-[lu im-šuh</i> ZI 15 UŠ ár MÚL.GAŠAN.TIN]   |
| 4' | <i>ana ziq-pi DU-ma šamaš</i> KI.MIN [3-tú HA.LA šá MÚL.LU MÚL.MAŠ]   |
| 5' | šá MÚL.LU SIG [KUR <i>ina SIG ina KIN</i> ].[SIG UD.30 <sup>2</sup> .KAM MÚL. <i>a-nu-ni-tu<sub>4</sub> meš-hu</i> ]  |
| 6' | [im-šuh] ZI 16 UŠ 40 NINDA á[r MÚL.GAŠAN.TIN <i>ana ziq-pi DU-ma</i>  |
| 7' | <i>šamaš</i> KI.MIN 4-tú HA.LA šá [MÚL.LU MÚL.ALLA šá MÚL.LU ŠU KUR <i>ina</i> ]  |
| 8' | ŠU [ <i>ina KIN<sup>2</sup>.SIG<sup>2</sup> UD<sup>2</sup></i> ].[30.KAM MÚL.ALLA <i>meš-hu im-šuh</i> ZI]  |
| 1' | [... 13 U]Š 20 NINDA after [the Lady of Life culminates and the Sun ditto (at) the 2nd]   |
| 2' | [por]tion of Aries (which is) Tau[rus] of Aries (and corresponds to) Month II rises. In Month II, in the afternoon (which corresponds to)   |
| 3' | the 30th day, the Plough [expels] a fl[are]. 15 UŠ behind the Lade of Life]   |
| 4' | culminates and the Sun ditto [(at) the 3rd portion of Aries (which is) Gemini]  |
| 5' | of Aries (and corresponds to) Month III rises. In Month III, in the after[noon (which corresponds to) the 30th day, Anunitu]  |
| 6' | expels [a fl]are. 16 UŠ 40 NINDA be[hind the Lady of Light culminates and]  |
| 7' | the Sun ditto (at) the 4th portion of [Aries (which is) Cancer of Aries (and corresponds to) Month IV rises. In] Month IV, in the afternoon [(which corresponds to) the 30 <sup>th</sup> day, the Crab expels a flare.] |

The tablet preserves part of the scheme for the second to the fourth microzodiac signs of Aries. The preserved rising time material agrees exactly with the reconstructed scheme presented in STEELE (2017: 80). As discussed in that work, the watch and the day number is correlated with the sign of the zodiac. In this case, Aries is correlated with the afternoon watch and the 30<sup>th</sup> day. Texts containing the scheme for the second half of Aries correlate Aries with the morning watch and the 28<sup>th</sup> day, implying that the system linking zodiacal sign with watch begins in the middle of the zodiacal sign. This is not unexpected when we consider that the rising time scheme also begins with the middle of the zodiacal sign. The stars which expel a flare are taken from the list of Enlil stars in the late Three Stars Each tradition in agreement with expectation for the afternoon watch and the 30th day.

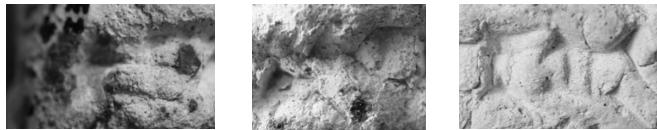
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**85) La capitale du Pays de la mer Urukug pendant la période néo-babylonienne ?** — La ville d'Urukug, ou Urikug, associée à la première dynastie du Pays de la mer dans les listes royales (Listes royales babylonniennes A et B et Liste royale dynastique) n'a pas encore été localisée. Elle est aussi attestée dans deux documents du Pays de la mer, une lettre (CUSAS 9, 6) et un cylindre-sceau du roi Akurduana (P455982; GABBAY & BOIVIN 2018 : 12 n.25)<sup>1)</sup>. Cette ville pourrait maintenant être attestée à la période néo-babylonienne dans une reconnaissance de dette de l'entrepreneur larséen Itti-Šamaš-balātu<sup>2)</sup>, pendant le règne d'Amēl-Marduk. Cette reconnaissance de dette BM103547, qui porte sur une importante quantité

de briques appartenant à Itti-Šamaš-balātu, a été écrite dans une ville dont le nom est *uru-ir-kù-ga* ou alors, mais cela semble moins probable, *uru-ir-kù-ga*. Le toponyme apparaît entre le nom du scribe et la date<sup>3)</sup>, selon le formulaire habituel de ces documents. Le déterminatif KI n'est pas utilisé, mais il ne l'est pas toujours lorsque le nom de ville est précédé d'URU.



BM103547, début de la ligne 11<sup>4)</sup>: *uru-ir-kù-ga*

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Sans tenir compte de l'attestation proposée ici, il était déjà connu que l'orthographe de ce toponyme était instable. Elle comporte la particule É dans les deux attestations contemporaines et la Liste royale dynastique (Erukug ou Eurukuga), alors qu'elle est absente dans les autres listes royales. La composante<sup>5)</sup> /uru/ ou /uri/ est écrite de diverses façons, ŠEŠ.UNUG dans les sources contemporaines, une possible référence à Ur (BOIVIN 2018 : 25-27), URU dans la Liste royale dynastique, et ŠEŠ dans les autres listes royales. Le /ku(g)/ est rendu KÙ dans presque tous les cas<sup>6)</sup>, et un GA final n'est ajouté que dans la Liste royale dynastique. De façon générale, on remarque que les sources plus tardives perdent la graphie plus ancienne de ŠEŠ.UNUG; s'il y avait à l'origine référence à Ur, celle-ci s'est probablement perdue car les orthographies plus tardives ne la reflètent pas mais semblent plutôt rendre phonétiquement /uru/ ou /uri/ (BOIVIN 2018: 25-26). L'orthographe utilisée dans le cas présenté ici s'inscrit donc dans ce développement; cette fois le début du toponyme est rendu par la graphie IR, donc probablement /ir/, ce qui pourrait indiquer une prononciation syncopée.

L'homme d'affaires Itti-Šamaš-balātu poursuivait la grande majorité de ses activités à Larsa ou dans ses environs, ce qui situerait donc la ville d'Irkuga très probablement à proximité de Larsa. Cette localisation concorderait avec l'identification de cette portion du sud de l'Euphrate comme centre de pouvoir du royaume du Pays de la mer au milieu du deuxième millénaire (BOIVIN 2018: 67-72).

Avec le millénaire qui sépare les attestations contemporaines de la première dynastie du Pays de la mer et celle d'une archive privée néo-babylonienne, il est impossible d'être certain qu'il s'agisse de la même ville. Toutefois, la situation géographique maintenant suggérée par un texte de la pratique et le type de variante orthographique que présente le toponyme sont en faveur d'une telle identification puisque qu'ils concordent avec les paramètres géopolitiques du royaume du Pays de la mer et avec le développement diachronique déjà observé du toponyme. Si tel est bien le cas, Uru/ikuga > Irkuga faisait probablement encore partie du Pays de la mer, alors une province de l'empire néo-babylonien, tout comme Larsa. La ville ne semble pas avoir été très importante après la première dynastie du Pays de la mer puisqu'elle n'apparaît, à ma connaissance, dans aucune autre source à part les listes royales.

<sup>1)</sup> Les attestations de ce toponyme sont présentées avec les références complètes dans BOIVIN 2018: 22; pour le cylindre-sceau, dont j'ai été informée après la préparation du manuscrit, GABBAY & BOIVIN 2018: 12 n.25.

<sup>2)</sup> Ce personnage a été identifié par P.-A. Beaulieu (BEAULIEU 1991); voir aussi JURSA 2005: 108-109 pour une brève description de l'archive. Je prépare en ce moment une édition complète des tablettes de cette famille.

<sup>3)</sup> Il s'agit de la ligne 11. L'édition complète du texte sera incluse dans mon édition de l'archive.

<sup>4)</sup> Le scribe qui a écrit cette tablette commence ses lignes pratiquement sur la tranche gauche; la séquence des signes est donc présentée en trois photographies séparées, prises à angles différents.

<sup>5)</sup> On suppose ici une prononciation; celle-ci reste, bien entendu, incertaine.

<sup>6)</sup> La seule exception est la Liste royale babylonienne A qui présente le signe KU6.

BEAULIEU, P.-A. 1991: « Neo-Babylonian Larsa: A preliminary Study », *Or.* 60: 58-81.  
BOIVIN, O. 2018: *The First Dynasty of the Sealand in Mesopotamia. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 20. Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter.

JURSA, M. 2005 *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents. Typology, Contents and Archives. Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Records*, vol.1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

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**86) Old Babylonian *ku-du-uh-ta-rum* = *ku-du-uh-ta-hu-ru* < Elamite \**kutuh(-)tahr*** — A *te-pir*-official, a judge (*dayyānu* = DI.KU5) and an individual (*a-wi-il-i-lī*, i.e. Awīl-ilī), titled *ku-du-uh-ta-hu-ru*, are listed as the first three witnesses in an Old Babylonian (OB) deed unearthed in Susa which records a grant (MDP 23, 288, rev. 2'-4'). Another OB deed unearthed in Susa (from the time of Tata and Tempti-Akun) records a litigation concerning a field in the same city (MDP 23, 321-322). The operative section has the sequence *te-pir<sup>r</sup>* and judge (*da-A+A-ni/nu*, 33 and rev. 2), *te-pir<sup>r</sup>*, judge and the numerous inhabitants (“sons”) of Susa (*mārē šu-ši-im mādūtu*, 34f.), as well as the expanded sequence *te-pir<sup>r</sup>*, judge ([*da*]-A+[A-*nu*]), *ha-aš-šā*, *ki-pa-ru* and *mārē [šu-ši]-im mādūtu* (21f.). The first two witnesses bear the titles of *ha-aš-šā* and *ki-pa-ru* respectively (rev. 12). The 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> witnesses have no titles, but the 6<sup>th</sup> one bears the title *ku-du-uh-ta-rum* (rev. 14). This form is the same as *ku-du-uh-ta-hu-ru*. Both forms are adjusted to the Akkadian nom. sg. masc. with or without mimation which is the norm in the Akkadian documents from OB Susa. In view of *ku-du-uh-ta-hu-ru*, which rules out a reading *-aš* for the last sign (*ku-du-uh-ta-rum* is read *ku-du-uh-ta-aš* in the editio princeps and by CAD K,493b, s.v. *kuduhtaš*), one may tentatively suggest a base \**kutuh(-)tahr-* (an element *tahra* is recorded in Elamite names, but its meaning is unknown, cf. ZADOK 1984, 42:237a). All the identical titles in both deeds refer to different individuals. HINZ & KOCH (1987, 102) consider the title in MDP 23, 288 as an integral part of the anthroponym Awīl-ilī and tentatively render the whole complex as “als Gottesmann hegte ich (die Gottheit) Tahura” with reference to the DN(?) *Ta-hu-re* in an Akkadian incantation (HINZ & KOCH 1987, 267). Although I cannot explain the title, Hinz and Koch’s compounding and extravagant analysis must be wrong in view of the fact that Awīl-ilī is a common Akkadian anthroponym and the title in the other deed refers to another individual, viz. Inšušinak-abī. Since the *ku-du-uh-ta-hu-ru* immediately follows the judge and seems to form part of a trio *tepir-judge-k.*, it stands to reason that this title refers to a functionary rather than to a craftsman. Perhaps the *ku-du-uh-ta-hu-ru/ ku-du-uh-ta-rum* was even a member of the judicial body. This cannot be proven, but the case for it may be strengthened if Atta-haštuk (*at-ta-ha-aš-tu-uk*), the 5<sup>th</sup> witness, who precedes Inšušinak-abī, the *ku-du-uh-ta-rum*, in MDP 23, 321-322, 49, is identical with the homonymous judge (MDP 23, 320, 11). Does the sequence judge (Ahuhūtu, son of Nūr-Kabta) and Ea-šešmi, *šu-ri-pi-im* (MDP 23, 325, 11'-12', an unexplained title) imply that *šuripum* refers to a functionary rather than to a craftsman?

HINZ, W. & Koch, H. 1987. Elamisches Wörterbuch 1–2. AMI Ergänzungsheft 17. Berlin.

ZADOK, R. 1984. The Elamite Onomasticon. Supplemento n. 40 agli Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli 44. Naples.

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**87) *Kudimeru*, *kudimerānu*, *qaqū* and related forms** — *ku-di-me-ru* and *ku-di-me-ra-nu* refer to medicinal plants (SB lex., CAD K, 493b). The former is identified with *haraziaš/haraziuš* “in Hatti”, which can be understood as its equivalent in Hittite or Luvian (the word is so far not recorded in Hittite or Luvian), while the latter (“*kudimeru-like*”) is equated with *sahlānu* (“cress [*sahlū*]-like”). *Kudimeru* is neither Akkadian nor Sumerian. It resembles the NA toponym *kurHu-di-me-ri* which refers to a region east of Elam (cf. HINZ & KOCH 1987, 683). The names of many plants end in *-ānu*; aromatic plants were partially imported. Ashurnasirpal II, Sargon, Sennacherib and Merodach-baladan II planted foreign plants in their gardens. Names of plants in Elamite, Hittite, Kassite, Subarian, Gutian, Aramaic and Canaanite, as well as in the dialects of Habhu, Katmuhhu and Meluhha are recorded in Mesopotamian lexical lists (see STOL 2003-2005, 503-505).

The suffix *-ānu* is also extant in *qaqānu*, i.e. “*qaqū*-like bird” (SB lex., CAD Q, 99b). The ornithonym *qaqū* (OB, MB, CAD Q, 124-125) was cautiously compared with Old Syriac *qq'* (Brockelmann, Lex. Syr.<sup>2</sup>, 688a, s.v. *qq'*, cf. SOKOLOFF 2009, 1399b, following Th. Nöldeke apud LÖW 1881, 426 ad 354:3 who does not compare the Akkadian word) and with Jewish Aramaic *q(')q'*, both denoting “pelican” (see SOKOLOFF 2002, 1035b; the Akkadian dictionaries do not list etymological comparanda in this case). However, Jaram. \**qqw'h* (pl. *qqw'y*) looks as a more fitting survival of the

Akkadian form as both contain –*û* (see DAICHES 1911, 383, not mentioned by SOKOLOFF 2002, 1035b, s.v. *qqw'h*). Both *q(')q'* and \**qqw'h* refer to unclean (non-kosher) birds and are onomatopoeic like Arab. *qūq* “pelican” (Arab. *qāq* denotes a species of raven and *qāq al-mā'* means “cormorant” i.e. “water *q.*”, probably *q'q* of the Geonic commentary quoted by SOKOLOFF 2002, 1035b) in view of Arabic *qāqa* (and resembling forms) “to cluck” (hen). Onomatopoeic is also Bibl. Heb. *q't* “pelican” (*q'* + fem. *-t*).

Jewish Neo-Aram. *qqw'n'* (/*qaqawāna*) “partridge” (quoted by SOKOLOFF 2002, 1035b) is also onomatopoeic and its formation resembles Akkad. *qaqānu*, but the latter refers to an aquatic bird, in view of its synonym *pa-'-ú* (or *ba-'-u*), which is described as *işşūr tāmtim*; it cries *ke-ke-e* [*ke-ke-e*] (CAD P, 310a, s.v. *pa'u*), the source of its onomatopoeic name.

- DAICHES, S. 1911. Lexikalischs. ZA 25, 382-383.  
 LÖW, I. 1881. *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*. Leipzig.  
 SOKOLOFF, M. 2002. A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods. Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum 3. Ramat-Gan.  
*Id.*, M. 2009. *A Syriac Lexicon*. Winona Lake and Piscataway.  
 STOL, M. 2003-2005. Pflanzen. RIA 10, 503-506.

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**88) Sealed archival tablets from Seleucid Uruk in the British Museum: additional notes and commentary** – The recent appearance of P. Corò, *Seleucid Tablets from Uruk in the British Museum: Text Editions and Commentary*. Antichistica 16. Studi orientali 6. Venezia (2018), largely completes the publication of the corpus of the some 115 sealed archival cuneiform tablets from Seleucid Uruk in the British Museum. The text editions and photographic plates of these tablets, when seen in the light of the previously published catalog of drawings of the seal impressions on these same tablets published by T. C. Mitchell & A. Searight, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp Seals III: Impressions of Stamp Seals on Cuneiform Tablets, Clay Bullae, and Jar Handles*. Leiden (2008), nos. 645–778, and in the light of other large corpora of similarly sealed tablets and ring-bullae, both previously published as well as available on-line at cdli.edu, permit the following observations—except where they hinder interpretation, typographical errors are ignored:

No. 1: L1 (645a) = No. 12 L4 (774a) = OECT 9 3 T2.  
 No. 2: T3 (646c) = No. 15 B5 (-) = A19 270A; the size and shape of the impressions and the seal’s iconography—a pair of confronted seated bearded sphinxes wearing “feathered” Persian crowns—together suggest they were left by an engraved fourth-century BCE stone conoid stamp seal (on No. 15, B5 is uniquely captioned NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB). WI #3 ≠ 646e ≠ A19 397A. B3 (646a) = No. 3 T1 (-). B4 (646d) = No. 12 L2 (774c)—man-faced winged ibex leaping profile right.

No. 3: 1. 30, insert <sup>lī</sup>UMBISAG before DUMU. L1 (647a) = A19 115. T1 (-), see No. 2 B3, above. T3 (647c) = No. 4 B1 (650b). Contra Corò (p. 113), neither seal captioned Anu-uballit, L2 (647b) nor T2 (647f), appears at BRM 2 3 B!4 (A19 284).

No. 4: B1 (650b), see No. 3 T3, above. T3 (650g) = A19 616D. T4 (650c) = A19 213 = OECT 9 4 L2. Contra Corò (p. 114 and n. 14), the seals at L1 (650f) and L2 (650i) and WI #6 and #8 cannot be distinguished; 650g ≠ A19 335. P. 115, l. 3, delete “650a”; n. 14, for “no. 616” read “no. 616D”.

No. 5: L2 = [A19 51].

No. 6: 1. 20, the reading “-nu] u <sup>l</sup>ina-qí-b] u” requires correction.

No. 7: B1 (655a) = A19 182 (VAS 15 4 L4 = A20 \*2-11). The seal ascribed to WA #2 Mušallim-Anu/Mukin-apli (655d) was used just two months earlier (OECT 9 7 B3 = A19 288A) by one of three witnesses (#4, #11, #13) named Nidintu-Anu, none of whom can be equated with any of the witnesses named in No. 7; the seal may have been borrowed/purchased from Nidintu-Anu, or there is a scribal error.

No. 8: B3 (671c) = No. 18 T3 (668f) = No. 26 B1 (682c) = A19 210 (VAS 15 4 L5 = A20 \*2-12) = C5 59-13 (ring-bulla); dated impressions fall between 36 and 48 S.E., confirming the tablet’s date to the joint reign of Antiochus I and Seleucus.

Nos. 9//YOS 20 17 (NCBT 1959): B3 (659m) = A19 623 = C5 36-8 (ring-bulla). P. 125, s.v. Commentary, U.e.4 (W2), 659e ≠ A19 927 ≠ 773i = A19 594.

No. 12: L2 (774c), see No. 2 B4, above; complete sealer’s patronymic /Ina-qibīt-Anu//Ekur-zākir. L3 (774b) = A19 411; restore sealer’s patronymic /[Anu-uballit//Ekur-zākir]. L4 (774a), see No. 1 L1, above.

No. 13: L2 (664k) = No. 22 R1 (673h) = A19 760. B1 (-) = A19 815. L3 (664a) = No. 26 T4 (-) = A19 52. T5 (664d) = A19 398. L1 (664c) = A19 287; restore FN /Anu-balās[su-iqbi], the previous user of this seal. T4 (664b) = A19 288 = A20 \*59-5. L4 = WI #14.

No. 15: B5 (-), see No. 2 T3, above. The caption at B1 reads <sup>1d</sup>INANA-ŠEŠ MEŠ-MU. B2 (778c) = No. 38 B2 (777c); restore seal caption at No. 15 B2 <sup>1d</sup>60-[TIN-it].

No. 16: l. 27, for “<sup>1d</sup>nanna” read “<sup>1d</sup>inan(n)a”.

No. 17: R1 (-) = A19 65; restore AN //Ekur-zākir]. P. 140, s.v. W3 and W7, and n. 45: L2 (670d) closely resembles A19 662+663, used by Bassiya/Ištar-šum-erīš//Ekur-zākir, ca. 38–44 S.E., and by his uncle, Bassiya/Iqīša//Ekur-zākir in 47 S.E. (see No. 19 B2, below); neither sealer appears here on No. 17 (32–45 S.E.) in any discernible context.

No. 18: T3 (668f), see No. 8 B3, above. L2 (668a) = No. 36 B1 (696a) = A19 131. WI #3 = T2! (668e) = No. 37 B5! (697o) = No. 43 B3 (694c) = A19 696A = C5 37-9 (ring-bulla). B1 (668d) = No. 23 B3 (679k) = No. 24 L3 (-) = No. 25 T3 (680i) = No. 26 B5 (682j) = No. 43 T3 (694a) = No. 53 B1 (772i) = Nos. 54//55 B1 (-//708r) = No. 56 L2 (707h) = A19 665; the scribe of No. 18 mistakenly identified (l. 22) this sealer’s FN as Anu-zēr-iddin rather than the expected Ištar-šum-erīš. WI #8 = T1! ≠ 668e.

No. 19: heading, for “IXX” read “XIX”; l. 27, emend “A” to “A.<MEŠ>”. B1 (669b) = No. 28 B2 (688g) = A19 890. B2 (669c) = No. 39 B4 (755h) = A19 662+663; add AN //Ekur-zākir. Contra Corò (p. 143, s.v. U.e.1), the two lessees do use individual seals located, unusually, at T1 and T2, respectively; thus all impressions are accounted for.

No. 20: B1 (675b) = A19 379. B3 (675e) = No. 24 T3 (-) = No. 27 L3 (686c) = A19 215. B2 (675f) = A19 587.

No. 21: s.v. Date, read “40(+).x.27”. No. 22: WI #1 = L1! (673i!) = No. 23 T4 (679j) = No. 27 L1 (686f) = No. 32 B1 (692h) = No. 39 B2 (755c) = No. 40 L1 (769g) = OECT 9 12//13 B2. R1 (673h), see No. 13 L2, above.

No. 23: L3 (679c) = No. 34 L2 (678c) = A19 450. T4 (679j), see No. 22 L1, above. B3 (679k), see No. 18 B1, above. WI #9 = T5 (679e) = No. 32 B!2 (692d) = TCL 13 236 L4. L1 (679f) = No. 40 B1 (769e). L2 (679a) = No. 31 L1' (691a) = A19 128 = TCL 13 235 L2; restore patronymic /[Nidintu-Anu/Lā-bāši//Hunzū]. Add: B2 (679i) = A19 569 = C5 3-16 (ring-bulla); restore patronymic /[Anu-ah-ittannu/Ah-ūtu].

No. 24: B2 (-) = No. 37 T4 (697n) = A19 344. WI #4 = L!3! (-), see No. 18 B1, above. L2 (-) = A19 513. T3 (-), see No. 20 B3, above. T4 (-) = Nos. 29//30 B2 (689i//754f) = A19 570.

No. 25: L2 (680f) = A19 493; correct FN to Anu-ab-utēr (l. 23 -GUR). T1 (680h) = No. 26 L4 (682i) = No. 41 L2! (672a) = A19 889. L4 (-) = No. 30 T3 (689b) = No. 37 L2 (697d) = A19 117. T4 (680k) = A19 586A – fox leaping profile right, below. T3 (680i), see No. 18 B1, above. B2 (680g) = A19 237A. B1(-) = No. 26 B4 (-) = A19 22. L1 (680a) is captioned <sup>1d</sup>60-DU-A. B1 (680j) = A19 984. Corò (p.151), ignoring caption at L1, misattributes B3 (680e) to both witnesses named Anu-mukīn-apli (#10 and #11) who cannot otherwise be distinguished.

No. 26: p. 153 passim, for “680” read “682”. L3 (-) = No. 27 L4 (686h) = A19 664; restore patronymic /[Mušēzib-Anu/Ša-Anu-lišlim]. L4 (682i!), see No. 25 T1, above. B1 (682c), see No. 8 B3, above; restore sealer as WI #16 (l. r.8') Ubār/[Mušēzib-Anu]//Kurī. B4 (-), see No. 25 B1, above. B5 (682j), see No. 18 B1, above; restore sealer’s name (l. r.5') Bassiya/[Ištar-šum-erīš]//Ekur-zākir. T2 (682l) = A19 1039; restore patronymic /[Anu-ušallim//Luštammer-Adad]. T4 (-), see No. 13 L3, above. R2 (682g) = Nos. 47//48 L1 (704e//703g).

No. 27: pp. 154–55, s.v. Witnesses, WI #6 omitted (Ištar-šum-erīš/Nidintu-Anu/Hunzū); renumber WI #6–#12 as WI #7!–#13!. T5 (686b) = A19 120 = Louvre II pl. 123, no. 4b (ring-bulla). WI #5 = L2 (686a). WI #7! = L1 (686f), see No. 22 L1, above. WI #12! = L3 (686c), see No. 20 B3, above. L4 (686h), see No. 26 L3, above. P. 155, s.v. Commentary, W2 ≠ L2 ≠ A19 936.

No. 28: WI #1 = T1 (688f). B3 (688a) = A19 127 = C5 59-25 (ring-bulla). L1 (688k) = A19 495. WI #6 = T4 (688e) = A19 216. B2 (688g), see No. 19 B1, above. T3 (688b) = A19 53.

Nos. 29//30: T1 (689g/-) = No. 39 L2 (755b) = A19 823. L1 (689d//754g) = A19 238A. T2 (689j//754e) = A19 497. WI #4 = L3 (689a//754b). WI #5 = L2 (689f//754c) = Nos. 58//59 B1 (768d//711g) = A19 819. B3 (689h//754d) = A19 790 = TCL 13 236 B1; restore FN /[Zēriya]. B2 (689i//754f), see No. 24 T4, above. T3 (689b/-), see No. 25 L4, above. B1 (689k/-) = No. 38 B1 (777d) = A19 494 = OECT 9 12//13 T5.

No. 31: L1' (691a), see No. 23 L2, above.

No. 32: WI #1 = B!1 (692h), see No. 22 L1, above. WI #5 = T!1 (692c) = A19 391. WI #6 = B!2 (692d), see No. 23 T5, above. WI #8 = B!4 (692i). WI #9 = T!2 (692e). T!3 (692a) = No. 37 B1 (697h) = A19 197 = OECT 9 20//Moore Mich. Coll. 91 T6.

No. 33: in the first line of the translation, and thrice more in the notes following (p. 163), SE #2 is incorrectly referred to as “Lābāši” rather than Lā-bāši-Anu (ll. 1, 8).

No. 34: l. r.4', for “-gu” read “-gur”. T1 (678a) = A19 68 = C5 59-6 (ring-bulla); restore patronymic /Anu-[balāssu-iqbi//Ekur-zākir]. L2 (678c), see No. 23 L3, above.

No. 35: s.v. Bibliography, for “Loftus 3” read “Loftus 5”. For the Upper Edge, the seal impressions and their associated captions are: T1 (695j), captioned <sup>1d</sup>30-ba-nun<sub>x</sub>(ku<sub>6</sub>), see No. 18 T2, above—restore patronymic /[Tattannu//Ekur-zākir]; T2, captioned <sup>1d</sup>60-ŠEŠ-GÁL-ši, = 695k; T3, captioned <sup>1</sup>li-GIŠ, = 695l—“indistinct”

(quadruped leaping right); T4, captioned <sup>ld</sup>60-GI, = 695a; T5, captioned <sup>l</sup>ki-din-<sup>d</sup>60, = 695i. B2 (695b) = No. 37 R2 (mispictured, see below) (697a) = A19 60. B3 (695c) = A19 161—Eros, head back, flying right above inverted crescent and inverted triangle below; restore seal caption and patronymic Anu-ah[<sup>l</sup>hē-iddin/Anu-ah-ušabši//Ekur-zākir].

No. 36: p. 168, s.v. U.e., captions at T3, T4, for “<sup>l</sup>ri-<sup>d</sup>hat-<sup>d</sup>60” read “<sup>l</sup>ri-<sup>d</sup>hat-<sup>d</sup>INANA”. T2 (696d) = A19 826 is mispicted; the same seal was used four months prior and three years after by one Rīhat-Ištar/Anu-ah-iddin//Ekur-zākir—likely the seals and captions at T2 (<sup>ld</sup>60-ŠEŠ-GÁL-<sup>š</sup>i) and T3 (<sup>l</sup>ri-<sup>d</sup>hat-<sup>d</sup>INANA) were interchanged by the scribe. T4 (696e) = No. 37 T1 (697l) = C5 37-8 (ring-bulla). B1 (696a), see No. 18 L2, above.

No. 37: T4 (697n), see No. 24 B2, above. WI #4 = B4! (697m!; the sealer’s PN appears at B5). B3 (697i) = A19 365; there is no basis for assigning any of the four seal impressions captioned Kidin-Anu to SE #3 or WI #5, #6, or #8. R2 (697a) = A19 60 (see No. 35 B2), above; this impression is indistinguishable from ones appearing once five years earlier and twice some two years later, all used by Anu-ikṣur/Nidintu-Anu/Luštammar-Adad, who is not named in nor can be readily linked prosopographically to the document. WI #9 = B5! (697o!; the sealer’s PN appears at B4); see No. 18 T2, above. T2 (697c) = A19 83—bare-headed anthropomorphic-*apkallu* standing profile right holding sprinkler and bucket. B2 (697b) = C5 37-11 (ring-bulla). T1 (697l), see No. 36 T4, above. B1 (697h), see No. 32 B3, above. L2 (697d), see No. 25 L4; L2 is correctly labeled for one Anu-ittannu/Zēriya/Gimil-Anu, who, however, (coincidentally or not) like Anu-ikṣur just above, is also not named in nor can be otherwise linked to this document.

No. 38: B1 (777d), see Nos. 29//30 B1, above. B2 (777c), see No. 15 B2, above.

No. 39: The illustration for B1, 755a, is incorrect (the present image is a duplicate of 756a). B2 (755c), see No. 22 L1, above. B4 (755h), see No. 19 B2, above; restore the sealer’s full name Ba[ssīya/Ištar-šum-erīš//Ekur-zākir]. L2 (755b), see No. 29 T1, above.

No. 40: WI #1 = B2 = 769f!. B3 (769a) = A19 238. L1 (769g), see No. 22 L1, above; restore FN /[Anarabūtīka]-Anu. B1 (769e), see No. 23 L1, above.

No. 41: L2! (672a—sheep walking profile right, head reversed), see No. 25 T1, above; restore FN [Ina-qibīt-Anu]. L3 (672c—fish-*apkallu* standing profile left holding sprinkler and bucket) = A19 180; restore patronymic /[Anu-ah-ušabši//Ekur-zākir].

No. 43: B1 (694e) = Nos. 54//55 L4 (709i//708p!) = No. 57 T3 (710g) = No. 60 B5 (713d) = A19 897A+897B; restore AN //Ekur-zākir]. B3 (694c), see No. 18 T2, above; restore patronymic /Tattannu//Ekur-zākir]. T3 (694a), see No. 18 B1, above; restore patronymic /Ištar-šum-erīš//Ekur-zākir].

No. 44: T3 (698h) = A19 506. T1 (698f) = No. 45 B1 (699c) = A19 825 = OECT 9 12//13 L3. WI #7 = L2! (698a!) = A19 132.

No. 45: R.E., for “[...]-<sup>l</sup>x-<sup>d</sup>60” read “[<sup>l</sup>šib]-<sup>l</sup>qát-<sup>d</sup>60”. T2 (699f) = A19 516. B2 (699d) = A19 817 = OECT 9 12//13 L2. T3 (699k) = A19 668+916D (goat-fish; indistinct star beneath). B1 (699c), see No. 44 T1, above; correct reading of FN (l. 28) <sup>l</sup>NUMUN-ia’. L1 (699e) = A19 827; emend l. 31 A.<MEŠ> <sup>l</sup>lu-uš. . . and restore AN //Luštammar-Adad. L3 (699g) = No. 56 T2 (707g); correct patronymic /Rīhat-Anu//Luštammar-Adad.

No 46: There are twelve witnesses: combine Corò’s W6 and W7 = Anu-ab-utēr/Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzū = B4 (701c) = A19 773. B3 (701e) = A19 575; correct reading of PN in l. 21’ and seal caption to <sup>ld</sup>60-MU-GIŠ; restore FN Anu-zēr-[iddin]. B2 (701g) = No. 48 B1 (703h) = A19 484. N.B. 701h (rear half of a goatfish profile right) ≠ R1 (goatfish profile right); 701h remains to be correctly identified.

Nos. 47//48: p. 186, s.v. Bibl., for “422” read “424”; s.v. Seals et passim, for “703” read “704”. P. 187, s.v. Seals et passim, for “704” read “703”. T2 (704a//703a) = No. 50 B2 (705a) = Nos. 54//55 B2 (709a//708a) = No. 56 L3 (707a) = A19 87. WI #4 = B2 (-/-). B1 (-//703h), see No. 46 B2, above. WI #6 = B3 (704b//703b). WI #8 = L2 (704i//703i) = No. 50 T1 (705j) = A19 467. L1 (704e//703g), see No. 26 R2, above. N.B. 703l (recumbent sphinx profile right on baseline) ≠ B2 (hind quarters of a quadruped walking profile right); 703l remains to be correctly identified.

Nos. 49//YOS 20 37 (NCBT 1956): T1 (712j) = No. 50 T4 (705e) = Nos. 54//55 B3 (709h//708i) = A19 814. WI #2 = L4 (712h) = Nos. 54//55 T1! (709e//708k) = A19 770A. B4 (-//A19 527) and T5 (712q//A19 979) and WI #6 and #9 cannot be distinguished. T3 (712g) = A19 555; this seal was used two years earlier (BRM 2 21: 75 S.E.) and five years later (No. 59 T1 [711i]: 82 S.E.) by the present sealer’s father, Ina-qibīt-Anu/[Anu-šum]-lišer//Hunzū. T2 (712i) = A19 780 = OECT 9 20/Moore Mich. Coll. 91 T3.

No. 50: p. 189, l. 26, for “<sup>l</sup>yun-z[u-ū]” read “<sup>l</sup>ŠU-<sup>d</sup>[60]”; l. 30, for “<sup>ld</sup>60-šeš-x” read “<sup>ld</sup>60-ik-sur”; s.v. U.e., insert at the beginning of the line *un-qa [<sup>l</sup>ri-<sup>d</sup>hat]-<sup>d</sup>60*. WI #2 = T1! (705j!), see Nos. 47//48 L2, above. B2 (705a), see Nos. 47//48 T2, above. WI #4 = T4! (705e!), see Nos. 49//YOS 20 37 T1, above. WI #5 = T2 (705k), used by Nidintu-Ištar/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurī. WI #6 = B1 (705f), used by Ša-Anu-iššū/[. . .]/Hunzū. WI #7 = L2 (705b) = A19 194, used by Anu-ab-utēr/Anu-ab-ušur//Hunzū. WI #8 = L3 (705c), used by Rī[hat-Anu/[. . .]. WI #9’ = T3 (705g), used by Anu-ikṣur/Kidin-Anu//Kurī. WI #10’ = L1 (705i), used by Anu-bēlš[unu/[. . .]/Luštammar-Adad. R2 = 705l (illustrated but not described).

No. 51: WI #5 = L2 (706c) = No. 64 L3 (773f) = A19 400, used by Anu-ahē-iddin/Ardi-Ninurta. R2 (706a!) = A19 71; emend AN </Ekur-zakir>.

No. 53: B1 (772i), see No. 18 B1, above; restore patronymic /Ištar-šum-eriš//Ekur-zakir]. B3 (772e), captioned <sup>1d</sup>60-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU = A20 \*3-6; note caption at VAS 15 21 L1 is missing but none of the witnesses to VAS 15 21 is named Anu-ahhē-iddin!

Nos. 54//55: WI #1 = B!2! (709a//708a), see Nos. 47//48 T2, above. WI #2 = T!4 (709g//708l!) = A19 444D = A20 \*55-1. WI #3 = B!3 (709h//708i), see Nos. 49//YOS 20 37 T1, above. WI #4 = T!2 (-//708f) = No. 56 B1 (707d) = A19 399. WI #5 = T!3 (709c//708c) = A19 86. WI #6 = B!5 (-//708n). WI #7 = B!4 (709d//708q) = A19 247 = OECT 9 27 T1 = TCL 13 241 B4. WI #8 = B!1 (-//708r), see No. 18 B1, above. WI #9 = T!5 (709e//708k), see Nos. 49//YOS 20 37 L4, above. WI #10 = L4 (709i//708p!), see No. 43 B1, above. WI #11 = T!1 (-//708m) = A19 426A. WI #13 = L2 (709f//708e) = A19 404. WI #14 = L1 (-//708o!) = A19 916H.

No. 56: L4 (707f) = No. 61 T1 (715i). L3 (707a), see Nos. 47//48 T2, above. WI #4 = T1 (707d), see Nos. 54//55 T2, above. L2 (707h), see = No. 18 B1, above. WI #8 = T2 (707g), see No. 45 L3, above.

No. 57: T3 (710g), see No. 43 B1, above.

Nos. 58//59: B1 (768d//711g), see Nos. 29//30 L2, above. T1 (-//711i), see No. 49 T3, above. B2 (768a//711a) = A19 114B. P. 202, s.v. Commentary, 711c ≠ A19 576.

No. 60: l. 24, for “[...]a” read “<sup>1</sup>[NUMUM-*i*]a”. B5 (713d), see No. 43 B1, above. T2 (713c) = No. 66 T2 (716b) = A19 852 = A20 206-2 (ring-bulla). B4 (-) = A19 418.

Nos. 61//62: p. 205, s.v. Bibl., for “-229” read “-329”. T1 (715i/-), see No. 56 L4, above. T5 (715d/-) = A19 741+755D (VAS 15 21 T3 = A20 \*3-2) = TCL 13 240 T1 = A20 490-7 (ring bulla). WI #6 = L4 (715h/-). WI #10 = B1 (715g/-) = A19 562. B5 (715k/-) = A19 696E (restore patronymic /Anu-mukīn-apli//Gimil-Anu).

No. 64: WI #1 ≠ B5; s.v. Commentary, W1, delete. WI #3 = B5 (773a) = A19 133. L2 (773e) = A19 246. L3 (773f), see No. 51 L2, above. R1 (773i) = A19 594.

No. 65: L1 (649a) = A20 \*34-3; restore patronymic /Ištar-[šum-eriš//Hunzū]. L2 (649h) = A19 740; restore patronymic /[R̄iħat-Ištar//Ekur-zākir].

No. 66: T2 (716b), see No. 60 T2, above; restore patronymic /[Anu-ahhē-iddin//Ah-ūtu]. T4 (716c) = A19 534; restore sealer’s name Anu-[ah-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ekur-zākir].

No. 67: WI #10 = L1! (717e) = OECT 9 37 B3.

Nos. 68//VDI 1955/4 154f. VII L3//B3 (720a//A19 734A). T2 (-//A19 616U—indistinct figure wearing knee-length garment standing facing left leaning on a spear/staff in upraised left hand behind, indistinct drapery over right arm held out horizontally before). [-]/B1 (-//A19 895+897C). T1 (720c//A19 696G) = TCL 13 242 T3. [-]/L1 (-//A19 534) = No. 66 T4 (716c). [-]/L2 (-//A19 397C). L4//B4 (720d/-) = No. 79 T2 (676e) = No. 82 B1 (681h) = No. 92 T3 (732f) = A19 652 (HSM 913.1.2 B1 = CM 12 no. 59; HSM 913.1.3 L1 = CM 12 no. 50)—winged bull leaping profile right; indistinct quadruped profile right beneath, diagonal crescent left, seven(?)-pointed star right.

No. 69: B2 (690d!) = A19 355. B4 (690e!) = A19 955 = A20 \*7-10—winged quadruped leaping right; fish facing right below, balance(?) left.

No. 70: B1 (721c) = No. 82 T3 (681e). B4 (721b) = A19 211 = C5 54-35 (ring-bulla); restore patronymic /Na[nâ-iddin//Kurî].

Nos. 72//73: p. 227, s.v. Witnesses, passim, for “688” read “683”. B2 (722b//683c!) = No. 81 B3 (684f) = BM 109965A ?? (752c). B3 (-//683a) = A19 124 = TCL 13 241 T1. T4 (-//x) = A19 226 = RIAA<sup>2</sup> 294 T4.

Nos. 74//75: No. 74 T2 is miscaptioned; for “<sup>1</sup>*ni-din-tu4-<sup>d</sup>60” read “<sup>1d</sup>60-ŠEŠ-GÁL-*ši*” (= No. 75 T2). T2 (725j) = A19 688; reused by the present sealer’s son(?), Lā-bāši, on No. 78 B4 (727j) = No. 82 T1 (681i). T1 (725e) = A19 766. N.B. B2 (725b) ≠ A19 313, thus WI #3 and #5 and impressions B2 (725b) and L1 (725d) cannot be distinguished.*

No. 76: l. 23, end, restore “[<sup>1d</sup>60-DU-A A šá]”. WI #1 = L2 (-) = A19 137 (HSM 913.1.3 T3 = HSM 913.2.8 B1 = CM 12 no. 10). WI #2 = T1 (726d) = A19 858 (VAS 15 41 T2 = A20 \*7-1); restore sealer (ll. 23f.) [Anu-mukīn-apli//Anu-uballit//Hunzū]. B1 (726a) = Nos. 78/YOS 20 T4 (727a//A19 136) = A19 136.

Nos. 78/YOS 20 85 (NCBT 1941): T3 (727f//A19 864) = No. 83 L2 (766d). B4 (727j/-) = No. 82 T1 (681i) = A19 688; seal used prior on Nos. 74//75 T2 (725j) by sealer’s father(?). B1 (727b) = No. 81 B1 (684c). T2 (727g) = A19 907—recumbent zebu with lowered head en face; contra Corò WI #2 and #6 and their respective seals cannot be distinguished (cf. 727e).

No. 79: L1 (676a) = No. 84 B3 (771a). T2 (676e), see No. 68 L4, above. T1 (676f) = No. 80 (756e).

No. 80: s.v. B.e., for “*ri-hat-*<sup>d</sup>INANNA?” read “<sup>1</sup>*ri-hat-*<sup>d</sup>60”; B2 (756a) = A19 264. L3! (756e) = No. 79 T1 (676f), used by Nidintu-Ištar/[Anu-ahhē-iddin/Ardi-Ninurta].

No. 81: B3 (684f), see No. 72 B2, above. B1 (684c) = No. 78 L1 (727b). L2 (684i) = BM 109965A ?? (752e) = A19 557 = A20 \*17-1; restore PN [Sumuttu-Anu].

No. 82: T2 (681j) = A19 682; restore patronymic /Nanâ-iddin//Kurî/. T3 (681e), see No. 70 B1, above. T1 (681i), see Nos. 78//YOS 20 85 B4, above; restore sealer’s full name Lā-bāši/Anu-ab-uṣur//Ekur-zākir; seal used prior on Nos. 74//75 T2 (725j) by this sealer’s father (Ša-Anu-iššū). T2 (681j) = A19 682. B!1 (681h), see Nos. 68//VDI 1955/4 154f. VII L4//B4, above.

No. 83: L2 (766d), see Nos. 78//YOS 20 85 T3, above; restore patronymic /Kidin-Anu//Ekur-zākir/.

No. 84: B1 (771d) = No. 89 B2 (-) = A19 989. B3 (771a) = No. 79 L1 (676a); restore sealer's full name [Nanâ-iddin/Dannat-Bêlti//Luštammar-Adad]. L1! = 771e.

No. 85: T2 (770b) = A19 227; restore sealer Anu-[ikşur/Kidin-Anu//Luštammar-Adad]. L3 (770c) = C5 55-1 (ring-bulla; correct reading of sealer to Anu-ah-ittannu).

No. 86: 1. 25, for “*man-nu-ki-i-qa-pu*” read “*man-nu-{ki}-i-qa-pu*”.

Nos. 87//88: s.v. Witnesses, *passim*, for “770” read 730”. T3 (730e//-) = A20 \*60-2. L1 (730d//-) = A19 961—lion walking profile right; animal leg right. T4 (730a//-) = No. 93 B4 (-)—Apollon(?) head profile right. L2 (730g//-) = A19 523 (HSM 913.1.4 L1 = CM 12 no. 55). R1 = 730i (not illustrated)//-.

No. 89: B2 (-), see No. 84 B1, above. R1 (-) = A19 598A; restore AN //|[Luštammar-Adad].

No. 90: L.e., for “<sup>ld</sup>60-šá-BA-an-ni” read “<sup>ld</sup>60-BA!-šá!-an-ni”, a simple case of metathesis; L2 (-) = No. 93 L2 (-) = No. 98 B1 (739h) = OECT 9 48 B2; sealer Anu-qîšan!/Ubâr//Kidin-Marduk.

No. 92: T3 (732f), see Nos. 68//VDI 1955/4 154f. VII L4//B4, above. T2 (732a) = A19 10. L2 (-) = A19 1088—male head(?) profile right.

No. 93: WI #1 = B4 (-), see Nos. 87//88 T4, above. WI #4 = L1 (-) = A19 269. L3 (-) = A19 686 (VAS 15 39//40 T3 = A20 \*33-3//32-3). B1 (-) = A19 991 (VAS 15 40 T4 = A20 \*32-4) = C5 70-2 (ring-bulla); correct AN to H(*unzû*). L2 (-), see No. 90 L2, above.

Nos. 94//TCL 13 244: B3 (733f) = A19 782 (HSM 913.2.181 T1 = CM 12 no. 72//VAS 15 32 T1 = A20 \*57-1). T4 (733a) = A19 21A (HSM 913.2.181 T2 = CM 12 no. 1//VAS 15 32 T2 = A20 \*57-2) = A20 \*37-1—gryllos-head profile right; Greek Ο Δ, left. B2 (733d) = A19 297B. B4 (733c) = A19 326C = A20 \*29-8//Bab. 8 27f. L1 = A20 \*32-1//33-1. L2 (733k) = A19 1035B. L1 (733e) = A19 755M. T2 (733b) = A19 21C—female(?) head profile right. [B1] (x) = A19 705 = A20 \*8-9 = OECT 9 53 L2 = A20 426-8 (ring-bulla).

No. 95: s.v. Date BC, for “174/174” read “175/174”. T3 (735b) = C5 69-9 (ring-bulla) ≠ A19 1090; given the loss of most of the witnesses' PNs (ll. r.20–r.24), assigning T3 to WI #6 is premature.

No. 96: the iconography of L1 (736h) happily confirms my earlier assumption (AUWE 19 p. 156b [4]) that a single fish on seals also showing a crab and scorpion is an abbreviation for a bird and fish on a ribbon, i.e., Pisces. T1 (736e) ≠ A19 582.

No. 97: T2 (738i) = A19 701 (note horizontal crescent upper left)

No. 98: T2 (739j) = A19 1007. B1 (739h), see No. 90 L2, above. R2 (739c) = OECT 9 62 T2.

No. 99: T1 (740e) = A19 150 (HSM 913.1.7 = CM 12 no. 12; FuB 16 30f. 9 L2 = A20 \*42-1) = JANEH 2 72ff. B1 = A20 393-3, 547-1 (ring-bullae). B1 (740h) = A19 866. B2 (740i) = A19 896. T3 (740j)—twin gods' miters on baseline.

Nos. 100//101: p. 274, s.v. Witnesses, W6, for “Ubâr/Kidin-” read “Ubâr//Kidin-”. W7, add AN //Mušallim-Anu.

No. 102: T1 (742d) = No. 106 L2 (746i) = A19 657.

No. 104: B2 (744b) = A19 125. T3 (744d) = Bab. 15 188f. VII B3; restore AN //|[Ah-ütu]. T2 (744e) = A19 234 (VAS 15 27 T2 = A20 \*20-2).

No. 105: R2 (751d)—Aphrodite standing facing right adjusts her sandal.

No. 106: p. 284, s.v. Seals et passim, for “#747” read “#746”. L1, identified in SS III as 746g (lion profile right) is at variance with earlier descriptions of L1: “a Greek head, with helmet and plume” (LOFTUS 1857, p. 320, no. 1; “tête” (OPPERT-MENANT 1877, p. 322). T2 (746b) = A19 28A. B2 (746e) = No. 102 L1 (742c) = A19 208. B1 (746f) = A19 769 (VAS 15 27 T3 = A20 \*20-3) = OECT 9 62 T3. B3 (746a) = A19 21G. T1 (746c) = A19 114E. L2 (746i) = No. 102 T1 (742d) = A19 657. R1 (746j) = A19 972DD.

Nos. 109//Iraq 59 164f. 38: No. 109 B1 (747d)—winged quadruped walking profile right; horizontal crescent upper left) ≠ Iraq 59 38 B1 (= A19 257—seated sphinx profile right confronting crab at right). Both impressions at B1 are labeled <sup>ld</sup>60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu (= WI #5: /Ša-Anu-iššû/Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû), however, A19 257 was used nine years earlier by one Tanittu-Anu/Anu-ittannu//Gimil-Anu, who appears here as WI #3 and whose PN appears on both tablets at L1; further, No. 109 L1 and L2 are lost and Iraq 59 164f. 38 L1 (the sketch suggests a lion leaping profile right) ≠ No. 109 B1 (747d), while Iraq 59 164f. 38 L2 appears to be the impression of a convex hoop-ring intaglio. Jursa's remarks in Iraq 59, p. 120—unaware of the BM duplicate and the identical seal captions and concave hoop-ring impressions at B3, and certainly not expecting the additional scribal error at No. 109 B1 (747d)—may be disregarded; there is insufficient data to proceed further. T1 (-) = A19 712.

No. 114: p. 297, s.v. Bibl., for “#661” read “#776”.

Cuneiform texts are cited in conformity with the CAD. Additional abbreviations include:

A(UWE) 19 = WALLNFELS, R. 1994. *Uruk: Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection I. Cuneiform Tablets*. Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte 19. Mainz am Rhein

A(UWE) 20 = LINDSTRÖM, G. 2003. *Uruk: Siegelabdrücke auf hellenistischen Tonbullänen und Tontafeln*. Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte 20. Mainz am Rhein

C(BCY) 5 = WALLNFELS, R. 2016. *Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection: Ring-bullae and Other Clay Sealings*. Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale 5. Bethesda, Md.

- CM 12 = *Id.* 1998. *Seleucid Archival Texts in the Harvard Semitic Museum: Text Editions and Catalogue Raisonné of the Seal Impressions*. Cuneiform Monographs 12. Groningen
- JANEH *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History*
- LOFTUS 1857 *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*. New York
- Louvre II = DELAPORTE, L. 1923. *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental. II. Acquisitions*. Paris
- OPPERT-MENANT 1877. OPPERT, J., & J. MENANT. *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*. Paris
- RIAA<sup>2</sup> BOY, T. 2003. "RIAA<sup>2</sup> 293–300. Hellenistic Legal Documents from Uruk in the 'Royal Museum of Art and History'". *Akkadica* 124: 19–64.
- SS III= MITCHELL, T. C., and A. SEARIGHT. 2008. *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp Seals III: Impressions of Stamp Seals on Cuneiform Tablets, Clay Bullae, and Jar Handles*. Leiden
- YOS 20 = DOTY, L. T. 2012. *Cuneiform Documents from Hellenistic Uruk*. Yale Oriental Series 20. New Haven

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**89) YOS 15 9 (PTS 2178): a sealed archival tablet from late Hellenistic Uruk<sup>1)</sup>** — The cuneiform tablet PTS 2178 was purchased in 1915 by O. T. Allis for the Princeton Theological Seminary from A. T. Clay, Curator of the Babylonian Collection at Yale University, with funds raised by individual donations from members of the Board of Trustees and others and from a special appropriation by the Board of Trustees<sup>2)</sup>. A hand copy of the cuneiform text was prepared by the late A. Goetze (d. 1971), and published recently as no. 9 in *Cuneiform Texts from Various Collections* (Yale Oriental Series Babylonian Texts vol. XV), edited by B. R. Foster (2009)<sup>3)</sup>. The tablet is largely complete but with significant surface damage to the reverse, including the loss of much of the scribe's date formula: previous suggestions for the dating of this tablet range from ca. 122–161 S.E. (OELSNER 1986: 161 [e]) to after 209 S.E. (VAN DER SPEK 2009).

YOS 15 9 records the sale of a built-upon urban lot, designated “tenured property” (*bīt ritti*: see BAKER 2005: 30–37; CORÒ-CAPITANIO 2012), consisting of two adjacent quadrangular areas of indeterminate size fronting to the west on a common public street in the Rēš district (“Village of the Temple of the Gods”) of Uruk; thus the tablet was more than likely drafted at Uruk. The statement of the purchase price of the property sold—8½ *šiqil u erbet maḥat kaspu qalū babbani* (ll. 17f.)—is unusual in at least two respects. Most noticeably absent here is the qualifying formula, “staters (*istaterānū*) of RN in good condition (*babbani*”), first introduced during the co-regency of Seleucus I and Antiochus. Although the reigning monarch's name would appear on the coins themselves, Alexander III's name appeared in the payment formula in cuneiform sale documents at Uruk until nearly a decade after Seleucid mints began to issue coined silver bearing Antiochus I's own portrait shortly after 278 BCE. The practice of inserting the reigning king's name into the payment formula in Uruk archival documents was continued by Antiochus' successors throughout the remainder of the Seleucid period at Uruk, with the most notable exceptions being several archival tablets drawn up in the brief period between 68 and 71 S.E., during the Third Syrian (Laodicean) War (WALLENFELS 2001: 222)<sup>4)</sup>, and several more from the reigns of Demetrius I and Alexander I at the end of the period. Although cuneiform archival scribes active into the reign of Alexander I were perfectly capable of writing the full formula, e.g., BiMes 24 12 8f. (162 S.E.), several abbreviations and variations are in evidence<sup>5)</sup>. The same abbreviated formula as seen here in YOS 15 9, which omits the RN, is also found in CM 12 IX 12 (153 S.E.) and is readily restored in OECT 9 61 14f. (153 S.E.); these two later Seleucid tablets were written by Anu-uballit/Ina-qibit-Anu//Ekur-zākir (see further, below). This abbreviated formula might also be restored in the early Arsacid tablet BRM 2 52 (109 A.E. = 173 S.E.)<sup>6)</sup>, written by one Anu-ahhē-iddin/Nidintu-Anu//Sīn-lēqi-unnīni (see further, below).

The second unusual feature in YOS 15 9 is the use in the statement of the purchase price of the writing *ma-hat*, denoting 1/12 shekel (Aram. ፩፻፻). Its occurrence here was taken by VAN DER SPEK 2009, basing himself solely on tablets from Babylon dated to the reign of Mithridates II (OPPENHEIM 1973), to suggest that this tablet might be dated to the early first century BCE; however, this term appears significantly earlier at Uruk in BiMes 24 49 r.3, datable to the reign of Demetrius I (cf. SARKISIAN 1983: 133), and earlier yet throughout YOS 20 35 (NCBT 1066), dated 71 S.E. (for the *editio princeps*, see BEAULIEU 1989 no. 1). Thus, contra van der Spek, the appearance of the term *maḥat* in YOS 15 9 has no immediate bearing on the tablet's dating.

The seller and guarantor of the sale is one Ahīya-Anu/Anu-yəhab/Ana-rabūtīka-Anu *ēpiš dullu tīdi ša bit ilāni ša Uruk*. The buyers are Antu-tābat(?)/Anu-yəhab/Ana-rabūtīka-Anu—apparently the seller's sister, although this is nowhere stated in the preserved text—and another individual, one Kidin-

Anu/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-uballiṭ *atū ša bāb!*(tablet: sum) *iltāni*, likely Antu-ṭābat's husband (JURSA 2009: 49), though this too is nowhere stated in the preserved text. Compare the possibly analogous situation in TCL 13 235 (43 S.E.) wherein two brothers “sell” a house to their sister in the presence of their mother; MCEWAN (1995: 21) speculated that the mother was recently widowed and provided the funds for the fictive sale to provide a means for the continued maintenance of her unmarried daughter.

Among the owners of the immediately neighboring properties, all designated *bīt ritti*, are the seller’s acknowledged brother, Rīḥat-Ninurta (l. 7: ŠEŠ-ŠÚ); Rahūmā/Rīḥat-Anu, who gives the name of his paternal grandmother, Hannā-lātā, in his patronymic; and Idā-atāya/Hānīnāh<sup>7)</sup> *ēpiš dullu tīdi ša bīt ilānī ša Uruk*, a construction worker like the seller.

On the basis of the preserved seal impressions and their distribution on the tablet edges (serviceable images may found at <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P414464.jpg>), there appear to have been eight witnesses. None of the preserved seal impressions appear on other tablets known to this writer, however, at the same time, none would appear out of place on a tablet or ring-bulla dated to the Seleucid era; nonetheless, the motif of a goatfish confronting a draped herm (B2) is novel. Because of the damage to the witness list on the tablet reverse (ll. 28ff.), not all of the personal names given in the seal captions can be located in the witness list, where, further, it cannot always be decided with certainty where one witness’ personal name and patronymic ends and the next begins. Notwithstanding, note the following:

WI #2, Nidintu-[Anu]/Tanittu-Anu/Uppul//Ah-ūtu (ll. 29f., L1), was active between 130 and 154 S.E.<sup>8)</sup> Impressions of two different seals are known for this sealer, but neither appears impressed here<sup>9)</sup>.

WI #3: [<sup>1</sup>AŠ]-qī-bit-[<sup>d</sup>60 A šá<sup>1</sup>...-M]U A šá<sup>1</sup>[d]60-[ik(?)-su]r(?) A <sup>1</sup>kur-i (ll. 30f., B3); compare one Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-ah-iddin/Anu-iksūr//Kurâ, active 138–161 S.E.<sup>10)</sup> The impression of neither of the two seals known for this sealer, (1) A19 707 (138 S.E.) and (2) A19 49 (139 S.E.), appears here.

WI #4: Anu-šum-līšir/Anu-ah-ittanu/[...]/Luštammar-Adad (ll. 31f., [L2]); compare the similarly named figure, grandson of Balātu, active 138–159 S.E.<sup>11)</sup> None of the three different seals known for this sealer appears here<sup>12)</sup>.

WI #5: [...] -<sup>d</sup>60 A šá<sup>1</sup>[...].MEŠ-MU A šá<sup>1</sup>BAD<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN A.MEŠ [<sup>1</sup>]lu-uš-tam-[mar-<sup>d</sup>I]M (ll. 31f.); compare one Illūt-Anu/Anu-ahhē-iddin/Dannat-Bēlti/Luštammar-Adad, active during the reign of Demetrius I<sup>13)</sup>. One seal impression is known for this sealer, A20 \*20-8 (156 S.E.), but does not appear here.

WI #7: [<sup>1</sup>... A šá<sup>1</sup>...]-MU A <sup>1</sup>d30-TI-ÉR (ll. 33f.), might, in light of the seal caption at T3, be compared with one Ṭāb-Anu/Illūt-Anu/Anu-zēr-iddin/Sîn-lēqi-unnīni, active 155–159 S.E.<sup>14)</sup> The impression of neither of the two seals known for this sealer, (1) A20 \*43-6 (155 S.E.) and (2) A19 283 (159 S.E.), appear here.

The two-line scribe’s subscription at the bottom of the tablet reverse (ll. 36f.) is largely lost, leaving only the scribe’s family name, Ekur-zāki[r]. During the nearly two decades spanning the reigns of Antiochus V, Demetrius I, and Alexander I, at least nine different archival scribes from the Ekur-zākir family practiced at Uruk to the virtual exclusion of all others, writing in total some sixty tablets. Two exceptions here include Anu-ahhē-iddin/Nidintu-Anu//Sîn-lēqi-unnīni<sup>15)</sup>, who was also the scribe of five of the six-known dated early Arsacid tablets<sup>16)</sup>, and a Gimil-Anu-family scribe who wrote four other tablets<sup>17)</sup>. The situation was quite different, however, prior to those last twenty years of Seleucid rule at Uruk: throughout the first century of the Hellenistic period at Uruk through the reign of Seleucus III, archival scribes overwhelmingly claimed descent from Sîn-lēqi-unnīni. However, during the reigns of Antiochus III and Seleucus IV, Ekur-zākir-family scribes appear to predominate, until displaced once again by Sîn-lēqi-unnīni scribes during the reign of Antiochus IV. Very much smaller numbers of sealed archival tablets were also drawn up at Seleucid Uruk by a few members of the Kurâ<sup>18)</sup>, Gimil-Anu<sup>19)</sup>, and Ah-ūtu<sup>20)</sup> families as well as by a dozen or so predominantly earlier scribes prior to 43 S.E. who did not regularly include an ancestor name in their patronymics. Curiously, in the Arsacid period at Uruk, no one from the Ekur-zākir family is to be found acting in any capacity whatsoever in any of the six extant tablets. Although there have been several recent individual case studies (e.g., OSSENDREJVER 2011; STEVENS 2013; ESCOBAR & PEARCE 2018), a comprehensive examination of the Seleucid Uruk archival and canonical scribes—from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives—remains a desideratum.

In light of the above, despite the equivocal evidence from the seal impressions, YOS 15 9 (PTS 2178) appears not to be the latest sealed archival tablet from Uruk, but rather to have been written during the reign of Demetrius I or Alexander I in the decade and a half or so prior to the Seleucid withdrawal from Uruk in 166 S.E.

<sup>1)</sup> This communication stems from a paper entitled, “Parthian-period sealed archival cuneiform tablets from Uruk”, read at *The EDFU Connection: Hellenistic Sealings and Archives. International conference, 23–24 January 2018*, Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam.

<sup>2)</sup> Courtesy Kenneth W. Henke, Curator of Special Collections and Archivist, Princeton Theological Seminary (pers. com.).

<sup>3)</sup> Note the following copy errors (collated): 1. 11, for “*meš-ḥat a-tu₄*” read “*meš-ḥat II-tu₄*”; 1. 20, for “[NÍG].”SUM.MU”-GUR” read “[NÍG].”SUM.MU”-⁹⁶⁰”; 1. 31, for “[⁹⁶⁰-NUMUN-GIŠ]” read “[⁹⁶⁰-MU-GIŠ]”.

<sup>4)</sup> For evidence suggesting that the withdrawal of Ptolemaic forces from West Asia, bringing the Third Syrian War to a sudden close, was due to revolts in Egypt associated with famine precipitated there by volcanically-induced diminished summer flooding (“Nile failure”), see MANNING *et al.* 2017.

<sup>5)</sup> *kaspu qalū* (BRM 2 41 22//BiMes 24 35 r.3: 152 S.E.; BIN 2 136 15: 163 S.E.; STUBM 105 14'f.: –); *kaspu babbani* (Jursa Iraq 59 164f. 38 14//STUBM 109 15: 162 S.E.; cf. STUBM 104 12: 160 S.E.); *kaspu qalū ša Alexander* (BRM 2 49 9: 166 S.E.); *kaspu qalū ša Alexander babbani* (YOS 20 82 11//CM 12 X 11: 162 S.E.).

<sup>6)</sup> BRM 2 52 12 [...] *bab-ba-nu-ú*.

<sup>7)</sup> Reading *ḥa-nin!*(tablet: kid)-na-a.

<sup>8)</sup> VAS 15 12//Boissier Babyl. 8 27f. (130 S.E.); TCL 13 244//STUBM 94 (132 S.E.); VAS 15 39//40//49 (132 S.E.); BRM 2 45 (154 S.E.).

<sup>9)</sup> (1) A19 326C: A20 \*29-8//Boissier Babyl. 8 27f. L1 (130 S.E.) = RUTTEN 1935, pl. II, no. 29//SS III 733c (132 S.E.) = A20 \*32-1//\*33-1 (132 S.E.); (2) A19 542 (154 S.E.).

<sup>10)</sup> YOS 20 69 r.5 (138 S.E.); BRM 2 38 23 (139 S.E.); VAS 15 33 22 (145 S.E.); YOS 20 76 26 (156 S.E.); Rutten Bab. 15 188f. VII 20 (161 S.E.).

<sup>11)</sup> YOS 20 68 r.6' (138 S.E.); BiMes 24 32 r.9f./37 r.9' (140 S.E.); BRM 2 40 31f./Sarkisian FuB 16 30f. 9 r.10' (150 S.E.); CM 12 IX 27f. (153 S.E.); Sarkisian VDI 1955/4 146f. III 5f. (159 S.E.).

<sup>12)</sup> (1) A19 722 (138 S.E.) = A20 47-4 (ring-bulla; n.d.); (2) A19 1014 (150 S.E.); (3) CM 12 28 (153 S.E.); cf. STUBM 104 B1 (SS III 744f.) (160 S.E.).

<sup>13)</sup> OECT 9 60 31 (153 S.E.); VAS 15 27 33, B2 (156 S.E.); Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 315f. 5 35f. ([151–161] S.E.).

<sup>14)</sup> Sarkisian FuB 16 26f. 2+Sarkisian AoF 5 82 (W 15034 i+k) 33//Sarkisian FuB 16 34f. 16 (155 S.E.); YOS 20 77 (159 S.E.).

<sup>15)</sup> STUBM 102 (157 S.E.); RIAA<sup>2</sup> 297 (160 S.E.); YOS 20 78 (160 S.E.); BIN 2 136 (163 S.E.).

<sup>16)</sup> VAS 15 37 (107 A.E. = 171 S.E.); BRM 2 52 (109 A.E. = 173 S.E.); BiMes 24 44 (115 S.E. = 179 S.E.); BRM 2 53 (180 S.E.); BiMes 24 43 (120 A.E. = 184 S.E.). The sixth tablet, Kessler BaM 15 274f. (139 A.E. = 203 S.E.), was written by one [...] Anu/Riḥat-Anu/[...].

<sup>17)</sup> Corò-Capitanio St. Fales 157ff. (139 S.E.); STUBM 97 (144 S.E.); Wallenfels JANEH 2 72ff. (149 S.E.); BiMes 24 25 (155 S.E.).

<sup>18)</sup> Anu-erība/Rabi-Anu (53–72 S.E.: BRM 2 20//YOS 20 34; OECT 9 15; STUBM 27) and his son Ištar-šum-erīš (75–101 S.E.: BiMes 24 18//48, 21, 34, 45; BRM 2 21, 22//BiMes 24 1, 23//YOS 20 38, 24//YOS 20 40, 26, 27//CM 12 III, 29; OECT 9 18, 21, 24, 25, 36–38; RIAA<sup>2</sup> 293, 298/300; VAS 15 35; VDI 1955/4 154f. VII//STUBM 68; YOS 20 39, 47).

<sup>19)</sup> Anu-ahhē-iddin/Anu-ab-uṣur (17 S.E.: YOS 20 10); [...] Nidintu-Anu ([32–45] S.E.: Doty Uruk 416f.).

<sup>20)</sup> Anu-uballit/Enlil-ahhē-iddin (15 S.E.: STUBM 3).

A(UWE) = Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte 19. R. Wallenfels, *Uruk: Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection 1. Cuneiform Tablets*. Mainz am Rhein, 1994. 20. G. Lindström, *Uruk: Siegelabdrücke auf hellenistischen Tonbullen und Tontafeln*. Mainz am Rhein, 2003.

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Ronald WALLENFELS

**90) Nachtrag zum Beitrag Gernot Wilhelms „Ein Testament aus Tell Fray“ in der Festschrift für Hans Neumann —** Beim Beitrag von Gernot Wilhelm „Ein Testament aus Tell Fray“ in der Festschrift für Hans Neumann (*Grenzüberschreitungen. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Hans Neumann zum 65. Geburtstag am 9. Mai 2018* (Dubsar 5), hrsg. von K. Kleber, G. Neumann, S. Paulus unter Mitarbeit von Ch. Möllenbeck, Münster: Zaphon 2018) ist uns leider ein Fehler unterlaufen. Um die Qualität der Abbildungen zu gewährleisten, haben wir einige Fotos digital nachbearbeitet, was ein Herausnehmen und Wiedereinsetzen aller Abbildungen notwendig machte. Dabei sind die Kopie und die Tafelfotos, die zu G. Wilhelms Beitrag gehören, leider vergessen worden. Wir bitten dies zu entschuldigen, und möchten hiermit die Abbildungen nachreichen. Im e-book sind alle Abbildungen korrekt enthalten.

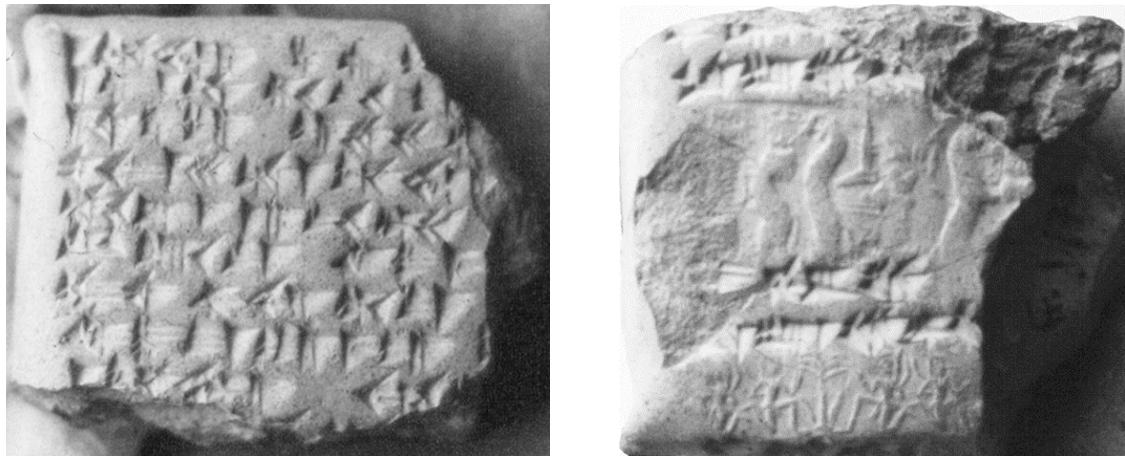


Abb. 1: Foto des Textes, Rückseite mit Siegelabrollung

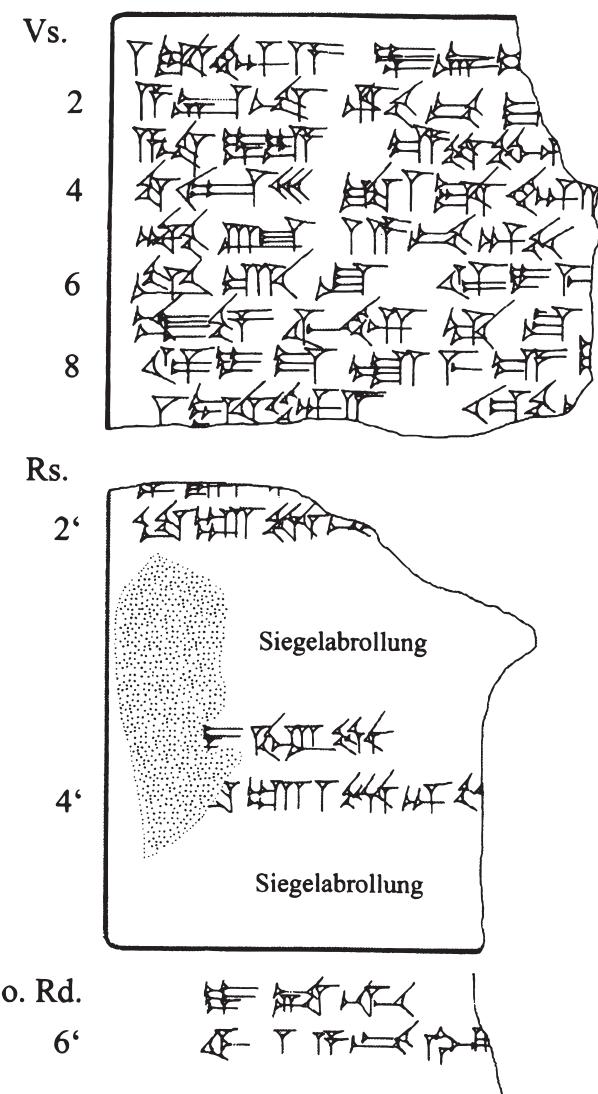


Abb. 2: Kopie des Testamente aus Tell Fray

Kristin Kleber, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam ([k.kleber@vu.nl](mailto:k.kleber@vu.nl))  
 Georg Neumann, Freie Universität Berlin ([georg.neumann@fu-berlin.de](mailto:georg.neumann@fu-berlin.de))  
 Susanne Paulus, Oriental Institute Chicago ([paulus@uchicago.edu](mailto:paulus@uchicago.edu))

**91) NABU 2018/52** — Nous recevons de l'auteur Bieke Mahieu, ces remarques : « Il y a (...) deux erreurs dues à la mise en page [dans la note de *NABU*] :

- p. 85 "Yet Sardanapalus might rather be identified with **Ashur-danin-pal** : Their names are very similar". La partie "Their names are very similar" est le premier d'une énumération de quatre arguments. Dans le document original ces quatre arguments étaient tous introduits par une puce (...). L'enlèvement de ces puces a la conséquence que maintenant on lit "Ashur-danin-pal: Their" avec une majuscule (Their) après le double point. En fait, la partie "Their names are very similar" ne continue pas la phrase "Yet Sardanapalus might rather be identified with Ashur-danin-pal" mais introduit l'énumération.

- p. 86 l.4 "with the element -": ce trait d'union (à la toute fin de l.4) devrait se trouver directement avant "balassu-" (au tout début de l.5); ce qui est en vue est "-balassu-".

**92) Nouvelle adresse pour l'envoi des manuscrits** – Merci d'envoyer désormais vos manuscrits (sous forme Word ou RTF et PDF) à l'adresse suivante : nabu@sepoa.fr.

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ISSN n° 0989-5671. Dépôt légal: Paris, 10-2018. Reproduction par photocopie

*Directeur de la publication: D. Charpin*