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NOTES BRÈVES

40) *Minima Eblaitica 24: níg-gú-DU, níg-dug-DU, GIŠ-dug-DU* — These three lexemes do not receive any Eblaite equivalence in the Bilingual Lexical List (MEE 4: 198, 250, nos. 5, 6, 448). FAOS 15.1: 511, 3. 5 has: 1 GIŠ-dug-gub “1 hölzerner Gefäßständer (?). Civil (ARES 4: 83 no. 119) mentions a dug-šá-gub^{urudu} “a container used in making/distributing beer”.

1) **níg-gú-DU.** According to ARET XV 58 §2, a monthly document concerning textile allotments of the period of minister Arrukum, “a messenger of Armi^{um} received 2 garments on the occasion on which he handed over the head of the king of GN₁ and the head of the king of GN₂”, *ma-za-um Ar-mi-um^{ki}* in ud sag en *Su-NE-du^{ki}* ù sag en *Za-ma-rúm^{ki}* šu-mu-tag₄. The lenticular text 75.689 (dated to the same month XI, iti MAXGÁNAtenū-sag) gives the name of this messenger and adds that he received also a plate of gold of 235 g: 1 dib GÁxLÁ tar kù-gi *Kùn-ti-du Ar-mi-um^{ki}* in ud sag en *Su-NE-du^{ki}* ù sag en *Za-ma-rúm^{ki}* šu-mu-tag₄. The yearly document concerning the distribution of objects in precious metals of the same year, 75.1902+ (MEE 10, 27) rev. III 6–IV 4, uses a different Sumerian verb: ... níg-ba *Kùn-ti-id_x(NI) Ar-mi-um^{ki}* in ud 1 sag en *Su-NE-du^{ki}* ù 1 sag en *Za-ma-rúm^{ki}* níg-gú-DU. This gracious gift (already commented in Archi 1998 = Archi 2015: 292–300) was, therefore, welcomed at Ebla, although the two dead kings could not, presumably, have been of great interest: their towns (whose names seem not to be attested elsewhere) must have lain in a remote region.

The term šu-mu-tak₄ (“DÚB”) has been explained by Krecher (1984: 142–143) as “er hat überlassen”, while Civil (1990) translates šu-tag₄ “to send out”. At Ebla šu-mu-tag₄ means “to hand over” (ARET I: 388; IV: 323; XII: 586: “to consign”). This verb expresses a free action: “to give something of his/her own accord”, as in the case of ARET XIV 90 §32, according to which the king of Mari (sent someone who) handed over some gifts: “1+1+1 garments, 4.70 kg of lapis lazuli (for) the king (of Ebla), the king of Mari has handed over (en lugal *Ma-r^{ki}* šu-mu-tag₄)”. It means also “to give something on the account of someone else”. According to ARET XIV 83 §38 (messenger from) Dulu handed over to Ebla goods which were “under the competence” of (i.e. were delivered by) Dugurasu: níg-ki-za *Du-gú-ra-su^{ki} Du-lu^{ki}* šu-mu-tag₄. It means also “to pass a message”: šu-mu-tag₄ *zu-lu-mu / KA-aš*, e.g.: “the agreement of princess Kešdut to marry the son of the king of Kiš” (Archi 2016: 40, nt. 56). In general šu-mu-tag₄ refers to an official, a messenger, who “hands over”, “brings” something on behalf of a superior authority. A list of goods which were the object of this action is given by Pomponio (1986).

This same meaning is expressed by níg-gú-DU, ARET XIV 79 §§42, 45: Šum-BE, a member of a delegation from Mari, “hands over”, níg-gú-DU, a garment for the king and some lapis lazuli beads for the queen. ARET XIV 81 §§48–49: the king of Dulu and Arratilu (one of his officials) “hand over”, níg-gú-

DU, their “gifts”, níg-ba, to the king of Ebla. For níg-gú-DU in documents of the chancellery, see ARET XIII: 289; XVI: 258. Fronzaroli (1997: 16) suggests that *u₉-si-ma-an*, /yušim-an/, from *sym “to place” could be an equivalent phonetic writing

The lexeme mu-DU “to deliver; delivery” expresses instead an action by a subordinate person or entity in relation to a superior recipient, ARET XIV 83 §§21–22 “1.39 kg of silver mu-DU of Ursāum (to Ebla); 0.91 kg of silver: mu-DU of Harran (to Ebla)”.

2) níg-dug-DU. The passages concerning this lexeme can be ordered in the following way:

a) 75.2252 obv. V 8–VI 4: 1 túg-NI.NI 2 “KIN” siki dam NE-na-ás^{ki} kin₅-ak maš-da-bù 1 na₄ siki níg-dug-DU è maš-da-bù “1 garment (and) 2 K.-measures of wool (to) the women of NEnaš for making the *pallium*; 1 stone-measure of wool (of) the níg-dug-DU (for) the going out of the *pallium*”. The same wording is in: ARET XII 238 rev.[?] II 1–3 (frag.); 75.1741 rev. IX 5–13; 75.2239 obv. VII 1–8. It seems that the single stone-weight of wool was the reward for bringing the *pallium* to NEnaš.

The *maštāpu* cloth was woven for the commemorative rite of the royal wedding celebrated every year at NEnaš (where the mausoleum of the ancestors was located) on the same day as the marriage of the royal couple. The woman who had to weave this cloth, presumably a kind of cloak, was rewarded with 1 garment (usually a túg-NI.NI), while the 2 K.-measures of wool were used as material for the *maštāpu* (Archi 2005; Archi 2012, pp. 17–18 = Archi 2015, pp. 547–550; Pasquali, 2013, pp. 49–50, gives in part a different interpretation).

b) The níg-dug-DU was a manufactured article because this term can be governed by the verb kin₅-ak “to make”, and it is numbered, 75.2417 rev. XVI 2–11: 1 siki na₄ 1 ēš:kiri 1 “KIN” siki kin₅-ak 4 níg-dug-DU 4 gud šu-mu-tak₄ ^dKu-ra si-in NE-na-ás^{ki} “1 stone-weight of wool: 1 bridle, 1 K.-measure of wool (= 4 bal-measures) for making 4 níg-dug-DU of the 4 oxen which have to bring the god Kura to NEnaš”. This journey of Kura (with his spouse Barama) on a cart pulled by four oxen is mentioned in the royal wedding ritual, ARET XI 1 §§25–26 // XI 2 §§25–26 (4 gud-mah).

Six bal-measures were employed for the níg-dug-DU in relation to the outgoing of the *maštāpu*, as well as the outgoing of another object for the goddess Išhara, 75.2468 obv. VIII 1–8: 6 bal siki níg-dug-DU è maš-da-bu 6 bal siki è gú-gú-ba-tum ^dIš:šára. This other object is rarely mentioned, 75.1352 obv. V 5:] 16 gú-gú-ba-tum; 75.1872+ARET III 338 obv. XI 8–9: 45 gín kù:babbar níg-sa₁₀ 9 gú-gú-ba-tum.

c) The following two passages make it clear that the 4 or 6 bal-measure (1 or 1½ “KIN”) of wool were for making the níg-dug-DU of the *maštāpu*, 75.2435+4145+10140 rev. V 11–20: 1 zara₆-TÚG 2 “KIN” siki 1 dam kin₅-ak maš-da-bù 4 bal siki níg-dug-DU maš-da-bù). 75.2450 rev. X 14–21: 6 bal siki níg-dug-DU 1 siki na₄ è maš-da-bù. It is this second passage which explains that 1 stone-weight of wool was the reward for bringing (its “outgoing”) the níg-dug-DU with the *maštāpu* to NEnaš.

d) According to the following passage, the níg-dug-DU was entrusted to two boys who received a cloth to be divided in half, 75.10281 obv II 4–18: ... ^dGa-na-na ... 1 dam ... 10 na₄ siki 10 dam ne-di 1 sal-TÚG tar 2 dumu-nita níg-dug-DU. Another passage could lead us to think that the wool counted in bal-measures was for the boy(s) who accompanied the journey of the *maštāpu* to NEnaš, 75.1946 rev. ii 7–16: 1 túg-NI.NI 2 “KIN” siki 1 dam kin₅-ak maš-da-bù 4 bal siki 1 dumu-nita níg-dug-DU “1 garment (and) 2 K.-measures of wool (to) 1 woman for making the *maštāpu*; 4 bal-measures of wool (to) 1 boy of the níg-dug-DU”. That “boys”, dumu-nita-dumu-nita, took part in the wedding ritual is known from ARET XI 1 §29 // 2 §29.

e) The verb kin₅-ak (above, b) requires an object not in metal, therefore in wool, perhaps a cord or a covering. It is uncertain if this is a satisfactory meaning also in the following passages, 75.2259 obv. IV 3–9: (1+1+1 garments) Ar-ra-ti-lu NI-ra-ar^{ki} níg-dug-DU en wa ma-lik-tum “(3 garments to) PN from GN (for) the *covering / ribbon* (to) the king and the queen”; 75.1889 rev. II 6–12: 1 zi-rí siki du₁₁-ga nídba ^dKu-ra 1 na₄ siki níg-dug-DU ^dIš:šára “1 z.-measure of wool for the invocation at the offering (for) the god Kura; 1 stone-measure of wool (for) the *covering / ribbon* of the goddess Išhara”; ARET III 337 rev. VI 2–7:]x níg-dug-DU gú-a-tum ^dA-da-ma wa ^dTU ^dĀ-da-NI^{ki} “[...] (for) the *covering / ribbon* of the g.-vessel of the goddesses Adamma and the Mother goddess of ‘AdaNI’.

3) gú-a-tum. This object is in general related to goddesses, as Adamma and TU in ARET III 337 rev. VI 2–7 (above). In the wedding ritual it is given to Barama, the spouse of Kura, ARET XI 1 §14 // 2 §16: “(a decoration) for a gú-a-ti-iš”. MEE 12, 18 obv. XI 2 has the writing: gú-a-du. Each of the seven Birth-goddesses receives such an object, 75.2622 obv. XV 29–XVI 10: “117 g of silver: sheet (to) cover the face, hands and feet of 7 statues (an-dùl); 4 g of gold: their hairpin(s); 23 g of tin to be melted with 284 g of copper (for) 7 gú-a-tum ^dGú-ša-ra-tum”. In all the twenty-two monthly lists of offerings to the deities, the term gú-a-tum / (al₆) gú-a-ti, is used only when referring to a goddess. These are: Adamma, Ganana, ^dGú-NE, Išhara, Ninkarra, Timudu, Utu.

In a single passage, however, this object is attributed to a male deity, Hadda, 75.1504 obv. III 1–2: 1 gú-a-tum lú ^dÀ-da. The following lists demonstrate that gú-a-tum was a small vessel, 75.1291 obv. 6–8: 1 si gud zabar (“1 horn of an ox in bronze”) 1 gú-a-tum zabar 1 níg-bànda zabar; 75.10077 obv. X 6–10: 20 gín babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 20 gú-a-tum (i. e. 7.83 g of silver for the decoration of each vessel) 4 ma-na 30 babbar:kù 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda. The gú-a-tum vessel could be provided with a kind of “brooch”, kù-sal, MEE 7, 34 rev. XVIII 10–15.

For gú-a-tum cf. Akk *qu*, Ug. *kw*.

4) GIŠ-dug-DU. Hecker (1987: 229–230) has opposed the following very frequently attested lexemes: ì-ti “anwesend sein” [actually: “to be back; to return; cf. 75.12450 obv. III 7–11: *I-bí-zí-kir* lú ì-ti in níg-kas₄ *Ma-ri*^{kí} “Ibbi-zikir, who came back in (relation to) the military expedition (against) Mari”] – GIŠ-dug-DU “ankommen” – DU.DU “gehen”. The meaning “to come” for GIŠ-dug-DU has been confirmed by the present writer (2003: 41–42). Some other clear passages are the following ones:

- a) “PN (and his messenger) from Ursāum (or a different GN) who came by the king (of Ebla), (GIŠ-dug-DU en)” ARET XX 9 §§4, 10; 15 §§11, 12; 18 §§5, 6.
- b) *Íl-ba-ma-lik Ra-²à-ak^{kí}* GIŠ-dug-DU “PN (from) Ra^{ak} came”; 15 §23: *Íl-ba-ma-lik* GIŠ-dug-DU en *Ra-²à-ak^{kí}* “PN who came (by) the king (of Ebla from) Ra^{ak}”, ARET XX 16 §27.
- c) “PN (from) GN who came for the second time (GIŠ-dug-DU-II)”, ARET XX 11 §6.
- d) “PN who came (by Dagan,) the Lord of Tuttul (GIŠ-dug-DU ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{kí})”, ARET XX 20 §10; 24 §27.
- e) 75.1486 obv. II 3–rev. II 2: “when the king and the queen came to their house (*in ud en wa ma-lik-tum* GIŠ-dug-DU *si-in é-sù*)”.

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41) Mit bu_{11}/pu_{11} (Ú) geschriebene Personennamen — Bei der Erörterung der Götternamen $^dba-bu_{11}$ und $^dab-bu_{11}$ hat der Autor darauf hingewiesen, dass eine Lesung bu_{11} bzw. pu_{11} auch in einer Reihe früher Personennamen möglich sei, weil es mehr Übereinstimmungen mit Namen gibt, die sonst mit $bù/pù$, bu/pu geschrieben werden, als mit Namen, die Ú enthalten. Außerdem ließe sich so die Zeichenkombination Ú.KA als $^{pu_{11}}KA = pū(m)$ „Mund“, „Ausspruch“ erklären.¹⁾ Einen Beweis der Vermutung hat überraschend rasch Ingo Schrakamp geliefert. Er weist auf einen Namen in ED IIIb Lagaš hin, der bei der gleichen Person $bù-za$ und Ú-za = $bu_{11}-za$ geschrieben wird.²⁾ Dies ist Anlass einen kurzen Blick auf die betreffenden Namen zu werfen.

Būṣa, Būṣāja: CAD stellt eine Reihe von aB und nB Personennamen zu būṣu C. Das Wort ist eine sonst nur lexikalisch belegte Bezeichnung für *iṣṣūr hurri* „Rebhuhn“.³⁾ CAD ist sich nicht sicher, ob die Namen zu diesem Wort gehören, doch die Zuschreibung ist sehr wahrscheinlich, denn auch von anderen Tiernamen abgeleitete semitische Personennamen sind bereits früh nachweisbar. Siehe aB (*h)uzālum*, (*h)uzālatum*, *uzāltum* „junge Gazelle“ (CAD U/W 360), dazu wahrscheinlich Ur III ú-za-lí NSATN 311 Rs. 8;⁴⁾ *humassīrum* und ähnlich, „Mäuschen“ von *humīstrum* „Maus“ (CAD H 236b); *hultum* „Mäuschen“ ELTS 41 Rs. ix 16 (sargonisch); *hu-zi-ra/ri* von *huṣīrum* „Schwein“ oder wegen der Nominalform eher „kleines Schwein“ (MAD 3, 136 + *hu-zi-rí* CUSAS 20, 383; cf. PN *huṣīrānum* AHw 362b); *buqāqum* „kleine Mücke“, *bu-ga-ku-um* RTC 428, 4 + Siegel (Ur III) und Mari (CAD B 323a). Unsicher bleibt die Ableitung von *bí-bí-um* IAS 531 ii 6 von *bibbum* „Mufflon“, da jüngere Parallelen fehlen. Auch Vögel sind vertreten, aB *summatum* „Taube“ (CAD S 379b) und vereinzelt nB *iṣṣūru* „Vogel“, „Sperrling“, „Spatz“ und in Elam das Femininum *iṣṣūrtu* (CAD I/J 210a; 212b). Es sind immer die Namen von kleinen, harmlosen Tieren, die hier für den Namensträger stehen. Die Herkunft von Kosewörtern für das Kleinkind ist offensichtlich. Das Rebhuhn *būṣum* reiht sich also gut ein. Anders sieht es aus, wenn die Namen Gottheiten nennen oder einen Bezug zu ihnen herstellen, wie *Ištar-laba(t)* „Ištar ist eine Löwin“, *Ri'muš* „sein/ihr Wildstier“,⁵⁾ *Rīm-Sīn* „Wildtier des Sīn“.

Für den Namen finden sich die Schreibungen *bu-su-um*, *bu-ṣa-tum*, *bu-ṣa-a*, *bu-ṣi-ja* und nB als Familienname *bu-ú-su*. Neben den Endungen des Nominativs m/f. wird also noch ein weiteres Suffix gebraucht. Es könnte nach Herkunft und Form mit dem Suffix *-aq* identisch sein, das sonst zur Bildung von Völker- und Einwohnerbezeichnungen verwendet wird (GAG³ § 56p) kombiniert mit prädikativem *-a⁶* statt *-um*. Oder man sieht in *-aq(j)a* eine eigenständige Koseform. Bei den voraltbabylonischen Formen des Namens ist es offen, ob *bu-za* für *būṣa* Prädikativ oder für *būṣāja* steht.

Vielelleicht abzutrennen ist *bù-za-um* ELTS 35 (DP 2) Rs. i 2 ED IIIb aus Sippar oder Umgebung. Es könnte sich auch um einen von dem Ortsnamen *pu-ús^{ki}* (RGTC 2, 153f. RIA 11, 120) abgeleiteten Personennamen handeln. Der in Ur III und aB belegte ON wird aber im Genitiv als *pu-ús^{ki}-sa* gebildet. Deshalb ist ein Zusammenhang mit dem Namen *pù-za-um* oder *pù-sà-um* weniger wahrscheinlich. Abzutrennen ist auf jeden Fall *pù-sa* (z. B. CUSAS 35, 347 Rs. 1). Es handelt sich um eine Kurzform. Vgl. *pù-sa-GAL = pūša-rabi* „ihr Ausspruch ist groß“ (FAOS 8, 55).

Etwas jünger als ED IIIb Lagaš *bù/bu₁₁-za* ist *bu-za* CUSAS 35, 263 i 9 aus Adab. Bartash schreibt zur zeitlichen Einordnung: „The prosopography of the text suggests an either Early or Middle Sargonic date, but it is certainly younger than the Meskigala texts“. (Bartash 2017, 238). In Ur III gehören wahrscheinlich *bu-zu-um* Sumer 43, 199, 25 Vs. i 4 und *bù-zum* UET 3, 92, 2 ebenfalls zu *būṣum*.⁷⁾

Pū-il, Pū-ilum „der Ausspruch ist (ein) Gott“, geschrieben $pu_{11}-il$, $^{pu_{11}}KA-il$, KA-il, *pù-ì-lum*.⁸⁾ Die Reihe der Schreibungen spricht für sich selbst. Nicht direkt vergleichbar ist *ù-ì-lí* „Oh mein Gott!“ ELTS 40 B xii 8.

Pū-Mama: geschrieben $pu_{11}-ma-ma$ (TMH 5, 11 iii 1) und [K]A-ma-ma oder [p]ù-ma-ma (AnNip 5, 2 = P222760). Eine Variante *ù-ma-ma ist so weit ich sehe nicht belegt, würde aber der obigen Deutung auch nicht grundsätzlich widersprechen, da sich [K]A/[p]ù-ma-ma jedenfalls nicht hiervon ableiten lässt.

Pū: Kurzform zu den verschiedenen Namen mit *pū(m)* „Mund“, „Ausspruch“, geschrieben $^{pu_{11}}KA$: FT 67 ii 1; CUSAS 20, 64 Rs. 1‘; $^{pu_{11}}KA$: CUSAS 11, 347 Vs. i 4.

Bu₁₁-bu₁₁, Bu₁₁-bu₁₁-a(ja), É-bu₁₁-bu₁₁: Die Bevorzugung von bu_{11} gegenüber Ú beruht auf einem Vergleich mit é- bu_{11} - bu_{11} Banca Adab 11 und bu_{11} - bu_{11} -a im gleichen Text (ED IIIa). Würde man hier ú-ú lesen, so wären es Namen mit 3 Vokalzeichen *é-ú-ú und *ú-ú-a, was ganz ungewöhnlich ist. Diesem

typologischen Argument für *bu₁₁* steht kein valides Argument für *ú* entgegen. Dem Vergleich von *Ú.Ú* mit *ù-ù* steht der Vergleich mit *BÙ-BÙ* gegenüber und eine Vorverlängerung des Namens *ú-a* „Versorger“ zu **ú-ú-a* ist typologisch nicht belegt. Wenn ein Name durch Verdoppelung einer Silbe verlängert wird, so ist dies die letzte Silbe. Z. B. *amar-abzu* OSP 2, 90 ii 12; *amar-ab-zu-zu* CUSAS 11, 359 i 4.

Der genannte *é-bu₁₁-bu₁₁* ist der Sohn eines Mannes mit dem gut sumerischen Namen *lugal-kisal-si*. Bekanntlich hieß der Vater des *Lugalzagesi bu₁₁-bu₁₁*. Ein Bruder des *Sanga*-Priesters von *Keš bīl-lāl-la* heißt *bu₁₁-bu₁₁-a*. Die übrigen Brüder *ur-^den-līl*, *x-ma-ni-du₁₀*, *ur-^dšul-pa-è*, *é-úr-bé-du₁₀*, *é-me-me*, *ur-ur*, der Sohn von *ur-ur* *An-na-bí-kúš* und der Sohn von *bīl-lāl-la* *lugal-ezen*, sowie seine Ehefrau *lāl-la* und deren Brüder *sağ-ku₅* und *ur-sağ-kès* tragen alle sumerische Namen, nur bei *é-me-me* ist dies nicht sicher aber gut möglich.⁹⁾ In ED IIIb *Lagaš* gibt es zu *bu₁₁-bu₁₁* fünf verschiedene Filiationen und in jeder trägt der Vater einen sumerischen Namen.¹⁰⁾ In dem stark sumerisch geprägten Onomastikon von ED IIIb *Lagaš* sind gut ein Dutzend verschiedene Träger dieses Namens in sehr verschiedenen Berufen vertreten. Beispiele reichen vom Schweinehirten (*sipa šáh* Nik 302 ii 4-iii 1) bis zum Schreiber (*dub-sar* DP 115 ix 10), Verwalter (*agrig* DP 338 iv 1'f.) und *Sanga* (*sağğa é-gal* Fö 28 iii 4; *sağğa abzu* DP133 vi 9). Dieser Befund spricht entschieden dafür, *bu₁₁-bu₁₁* dem sumerischen Onomastikon zuzurechnen.

Deshalb ziehen wir es vor, *bu₁₁-bu₁₁-A* nicht mit obigem *Būšāja* zu vergleichen. Sumerisch bietet sich eine Erklärung durch *a = /aja/* Vater an: „Bubu ist (wie) ein Vater“. Plausibel erscheint, dass *bu₁₁-bu₁₁* aus der Kindersprache stammt und sich auf den Bruder bezieht. Vgl. *ses-a(-gu₁₀)* „der Bruder ist (mein) Vater“ (CUSAS 14, 141 i 4; ELTS 32 Rs. i 15). Entsprechend lässt sich *é-bu₁₁-bu₁₁* mit *é-ses* „der Tempel ist ein Bruder“ CUSAS 26, 151 v 4 vergleichen.

Nicht so klar ist das Ergebnis bei *Bù-bù* bzw. *Pù-pù*. Bei dieser Orthographie gibt es sowohl Träger mit Verwandten, die sumerische als auch die semitische Namen tragen. Der Autor konnte auch kein Beispiel für den Namen **bù-bù-a* finden. Möglicherweise gab es neben dem sumerischen *Bu₁₁-bu₁₁* einen ähnlichen semitischen Namen, etwa durch Verdoppelung des Namenselementes *pū* als *Pūpū* zu erklären, was nicht ausschließt, dass *BÙ.BÙ* in einigen Fällen zu *Bu₁₁-bu₁₁* zu stellen ist und in entsprechendem Kontext umgekehrt. Eine dritte Möglichkeit für *BÙ.BÙ* ist eine Kurzform eines Namens des Typs *šùd-šùd-ğá-ì-du₁₀* „durch meine Gebete wurde es gut“ DP 113 vii 11 passim.

Notes

1. Keetman 2018.
2. Schrakamp 2019. Der Autor verdankte bereits für Keetman 2018 Schrakamp einen wichtigen Hinweis.
3. Veldhuis 2004, 231-33.
4. Cf. Hilgert 2002, 434 Anm. 133.
5. Zu diesem Namen Sommerfeld 2003, 407-423.
6. Zum Prädikativ zuletzt Keetman 2013, 442-44.
7. Anders Hilgert 2002, 222.
8. Belege bei Sommerfeld 2010, 132 und 135.
9. Für diese Familie ELTS 32 Appendix.
10. DP 88 iii 6; DP 92 ii 1; DP 120 ii 8; DP 135 xii 7; 9.

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42) Nachträge zur Konstruktion von Ja-/Nein-Fragen im Sumerischen — In BiOr 73, 280f. ist der Autor kurz auf die Markierung von Satzfragen im Sumerischen eingegangen. Als Markierung ist nur ein Frageton möglich. In der Schrift kann der Frageton wohl nur als Pleneschreibung des Vokals ausgedrückt werden, wobei sicherlich nicht jede Pleneschreibung für einen Frageton steht. In der Literatur wurden als wahrscheinliche Fälle Gilgameš und Aka 69; 97 und Stellen aus literarischen Briefen genannt. Der Autor konnte dem nur die überraschte Nachfrage in Lugalbanda II 286f. und die Möglichkeit, dass a-ba-a „Wer?“ zur Verstärkung einen Frageton enthält hinzufügen.

Entgangen ist dem Autor, dass die grammatischen Texte des 1. Jahrtausends Hinweise auf einen durch zusätzliche Vokalzeichen ausgedrückten Frageton im Sumerischen enthalten: ù, a, i, e = *ma-a u maru-tum* NBGT I 455ff. cf. 411ff. Das zweite Wort bezieht sich zweifellos auf die *maru*-Form und berücksichtigt die Beeinflussung durch den Vokal der Wurzel. Für *ma-a* kommt die Partikel *mā* zur Einleitung der direkten Rede in Frage, die auch Satzfragen einleiten kann (CAD M I 1 unter *mā* 1) und suffigiertes *-mā* zur Bezeichnung von Satzfragen (GAG³ § 123b, AHw 570f.). Letzteres dürfte gemeint sein.

Pascal Attinger hat mich auf seine Interpretation von CKU 2 hingewiesen (auf Attingers Homepage bei der Uni Bern), die mir bei der Abfassung des Artikels nicht bekannt war. Außerdem vermutet Attinger, dass Pleneschreibungen auch der Betonung dienen könnten. Diese Möglichkeit möchte der Autor nicht in Abrede stellen. Speziell in CKU 2, 2f. würde das auch gut zum Kontext passen, falls man ihn wie Attinger versteht.

Als weiteres Beispiel für in-nu-ù weist mich Attinger auf SP 1.52 hin: ^{ninda}gúg-du₈ šà níg-sila₁₁-gá in-nu-ù von Alster übersetzt: „There is no baked cake in the middle of the dough“. Als Bild etwas seltsam, aber möglich. Eine Übersetzung als rhetorische Frage ist aber auch möglich: „Ist nicht ein gebackener Kuchen der Wunsch eines jeden Teiges?“ Zu dieser Verwendung von šà vgl. šà-ga-né nu-mu-zu „wonach er trachtet, habe ich nicht verstanden“ Gud. Zyl. A iv 21; šà lugal-la-na u₄-dam mu-è „der Wille seines Herrn geht ihm wie der Tag auf“ Gud. Zyl. A xix 28. In diesen Beispielen bezieht sich šà immer auf eine Person. Das schließt aber den entsprechenden Gebrauch für ein Ding in einem Sprichwort nicht aus. „Teig“ und „Kuchen“ sind wahrscheinlich ohnehin auf eine Person gemünzt.

Im Brief CKU 1 beschwert sich Aradû darunter, dass er von Apillaša, einem anderen Untergebenen Sulges, nicht so empfangen wurde, wie es einem Vertreter der Krone gebührt und dass Apillaša sich aufführt, als wäre er ein unabkömmliger Souverän. Sulge antwortet ihm, dass er seinen Auftrag nicht verstanden habe und Apillašas Verhalten nicht richtig deute. Apillaša müsse so handeln, um seine Autorität durchzusetzen. Es geht hier um den Anfang von Sulges Antwort:

lú in-ši-gi₄-in-na-zu lú dun-a-zu in-nu-ù
šu-su-ta-àm á-ág-gá šu la-ba-ra-ab-te-ğe₂₆-e

Michałowski übersetzt: „(Apillaša), the one I sent you to – is he not your own trusted subordinate? Did he not receive (his) orders from your own hand?“ Attinger übersetzt keine Frage, sondern eine Feststellung. Demnach würde Sulge Aradû als erstes darauf hinweisen, dass er Apillaša gar keine Befehle zu erteilen habe. Dazu passt, dass Sulge anschließend den Auftrag wiederholt, den er Aradû gegeben hat. Der Auftrag enthält tatsächlich keinen Hinweis darauf, dass Aradû Apillaša Anweisungen erteilen soll.

Andererseits hat Aradû nicht geschrieben, dass er daran gehindert wurde Anweisungen zu geben oder dass sie nicht befolgt wurden. Dass Aradû eigentlich der Vorgesetzte des Apillaša ist, aber dessen spezielle Situation nicht versteht, ist durchaus möglich. Das passt dazu, dass das mutmaßliche historische Vorbild des Aradû, der sugal₇-maḥ Arad-Nanna (Michałowski, MC 15, 64-70) die höchste Position unterhalb des Königs innehatte. In dieser Version besagt der Vorwurf an Aradû, dass er nicht durchschaut, dass Apillaša den Herrscher nur spielt und mit dem Einverständnis Sulges sogar spielen muss.

Dass Aradû tatsächlich höher steht, kann man aus Z. 28 herauslesen: i-gur₄-re-en agà-ús-zu nu-e-zu. Attinger übersetzt: „Tu es certes quelqu'un d'important, mais tu ne connais pas tes soldats.“ Es geht um das Verhältnis Aradûs zu seinen Untergebenen, was zu Michałowskis Deutung passt. Auch in CKU 6 belehrt Sulge Aradû über den Umgang mit einem Untergebenen.

Im Mittelpunkt des Interesses steht die unerwartete Wendung, dass Sulge Apillašas Verhalten sanktioniert. Das wird als das System seiner Herrschaft in den Randgebieten vorgestellt. Es könnte sein,

dass hier ein Bogen über mehrere Briefe gespannt wird: Sulge und nach ihm Šu-Sîn bestehen darauf, dass sich ihre Provinzfürsten wie selbständige Herrscher aufführen sollen, damit sie mehr Autorität genießen, wovon letztlich der König profitiert. Ibbi-Sîn scheitert aber genau daran, dass ein Untergebener seine Rolle missbraucht. Der Schein verwandelt sich am Ende doch in Wirklichkeit.

Eingeräumt sei, dass verschiedene Auffassungen bestehen und daher in-nu-ù hier kein sicheres Beispiel für einen Frageton ist.

Gábor Zólyomi macht mich auf seine Behandlung von Entscheidungsfragen in Gilgameš, Enkidu und die Unterwelt aufmerksam (Zólyomi, Copular Clauses and Focus Marking in Sumerian, De Gruyter Open Ltd. Warsaw/Berlin, 2014, 180f.). Ab Z. 255 fragen und antworten Gilgameš und Enkidu immer wieder: igi bí-du₈-àm igi bí-du₈-àm a-na-gen₇ an-AK „Hast du ihn gesehen? – Ich habe ihn gesehen. – Wie verhält er sich da?“ Mit Verweis auf eine Parallele in Bantu-Sprachen vermutet Zólyomi, dass die Kopula bei Frage und Antwort zum Ausdruck einer „polarity question“ im Sumerischen dient. Mir scheint, der Umstand, dass nicht nur die Frage, sondern auch die Antwort die Kopula hat, eher dafür zu sprechen, dass die Kopula nicht die Frage ausdrückt. Gut passen würde hingegen ein Hinweis auf die Faktizität: „Du hast ihn tatsächlich gesehen? – Ich habe ihn tatsächlich gesehen.“ Im Deutschen und anderen Sprachen ist es möglich, dass die Funktion des Satzes als Frage nur aus dem Kontext zu erschließen ist. Die Hinzufügung eines eigentlich redundanten Ausdruckes „tatsächlich“ würde dann die Funktion als Frage unterstreichen. Damit nähert sich die Deutung der von Zólyomi.

Der Kontext erlaubt es sehr wohl, den ersten Satz jeweils als nicht markierte Frage zu verstehen. Kein einziger der Textzeugen im ersten Satz eine Pleneschreibung. Auch in der akkadischen Version werden die Fragen in der Schrift nicht markiert.

Für igi ... du₈-àm im Sinne von „tatsächlich sehen“ siehe noch: lugal-né-er u₄-ne maš-ge₆-ka gù-dé-a en ḫnin-ḡír-su-ra igi mu-ni-du₈-àm „seinen Herrn, den Herrn Ningîrsu sah Gudea damals tatsächlich im Traum“ Gud. Zyl. A 17f. é ba-zi-zi-ka 1 ḫes gígir-é-UMBINxLU.MIN al-ḡál lú-ḡu₁₀ im-mi-du₈-àm „im Haus des Bazizi gibt es einen zweirädrigen Kastenwagen, mein Mann hat ihn tatsächlich gesehen“ Ad 8, 9-12 und eventuell kaskal dana^{na} 15-àm šu hu-mu-niḡén saḡ-ur-s[aḡ-ḡ]u₁₀-ne igi hu-mu-un-du₈-uš-àm „ich durcheilte einen Weg von 15 Meilen, meine Saḡ'ursaḡ haben es tatsächlich gesehen“ Sulge A 76f. Z, ebenso TT, andere Texte –uš(-a).

Zusammenfassung: Für einen Frageton im Sumerischen spricht, dass es keine Alternative zur Kennzeichnung entsprechender Sätze gibt. Dazu kommen nur wenige sichere Belege für Pleneschreibungen in entsprechendem Kontext und schließlich die erwähnten Hinweise aus NBGT. Außerdem gab es aber auch die Möglichkeit wie in anderen Sprachen, den Fragecharakter einer Aussage nur aus dem Kontext zu folgern. Doch sollte man erwarten, dass es eine Möglichkeit gab, einen Fragesatz von einem Aussagesatz auch ohne Rückgriff auf den Kontext zu unterscheiden. Über einige Beispiele mag man verschiedener Meinung sein, der Frageton an sich ist aber ziemlich sicher.

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43) A new duplicate of a Sumero-Akkadian incantation — In a recent contribution about the early Akkadian magical tradition and its tablet formats Nathan Wasserman notes that there are only eight Sumero-Akkadian incantations in the corpus of second millennium BC magical literature. Wasserman includes *YOS* 11, 67 as one among these incantations. In her previous treatment of Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian incantations Elyze Zomer only acknowledges five of these to be bilingual incantations, since on three of them – *YOS* 11, 67 included – the Sumerian and the Akkadian are not versions of the same text (Zomer 2018: 124 with note 440). Wasserman further notes that in the corpus of second millennium incantations only three Akkadian incantations have duplicates (Wasserman 2014: 58 with notes 41 and 42).

The tablet published as *YOS* 11, 67 is a rather curious and still widely unintelligible incantation. It was edited by Antoine Cavigneaux and Farouk Al-Rawi and was left untranslated due to its obscurities (1994: 81–82). As the editors state, the incantation starts with four lines of what appears to be Pseudo-Sumerian. These lines seem not to contain any “abracadabra” type spell as known from many incantations (see, for instance, Prechel and Richter 2001), but might be written in a non-orthographic fashion. This may find some confirmation in the Sumerian technical term in line 7.

In lines 5–6 the text switches to Akkadian, although these two lines are certainly not a translation of the preceding lines. They nevertheless seem to belong to the same incantation. Line 7 continues with phonetic Sumerian. Here, as was already noted by Andrew George in his review of *YOS* 11, *k i - k i - b i* should be understood as spelling for more common *k i d₃ - k i d₃ - b i* introducing a ritual that follows (1987: 360). On *YOS* 11, 67 this ritual, also rendered in Akkadian, is only partially preserved due to the state of preservation of the tablet (MLC 640). It ends in the first line of the reverse on this tablet in landscape format and is separated by a single ruling from the remainder of the tablet. What follows might be a different spell: In each of the following five lines a sign is repeated seven times. A sixth line contains the priest title *n u - e š₃* followed by the number 7 and thus indicating that also this title should be read seven times. These lines were recently discussed by Anne-Caroline Rendu-Loisel (2018: 104). The text of *YOS* 11, 67 ends in two lines of rather unintelligible nature, but which can be considered at least partially written in (pseudo-)Sumerian or non-orthographic Sumerian.

Curiously, the Yale Babylonian Collection holds a duplicate to this incantation that had hitherto been overlooked, and which is published in this short note for the first time. MLC 334 (here text B) is another tablet in landscape format. The scribal hand of this manuscript is rather crude compared to text A. The only significant difference is the fact that the signs on the reverse are not repeated in lines, but in columns. The columns are separated from each other by vertical rulings. Among the tablets and other textual artifacts bearing such (magical) repetitions of signs this format is unique to my knowledge (see also comments to lines 11–16 below). Additionally, the tablet turns along its short axis rather than its long axis (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. MLC 640 (left) and its duplicate MLC 334 (right)

Edition

Manuscripts

A	MLC 640	YOS 11, 67	55.3 × 83.1 × 24.5 mm	Fig. 2
B	MLC 334	–	54.3 × 66.0 × 18.3 mm	Fig. 3

Obverse

1	A	o,1	a1-	ʳmu-mu ¹
	B	o,1	al-	ʳmu-mu ¹
2	A	o,2	ki-	mu-ʳmu ¹
	B	o,2	ʳte ¹	mu-ʳmu ¹
3	A	o,3	al-ʳma ¹	ᵈen-ki-ʳke ₄ ¹
	B	o,3	al-ma	ᵈen-ki-ke ₄
4	A	o,4	ki-ma	ʳᵈen-ki-ke ₄
	B	o,4	di-ma	ᵈen-ki-ke ₄
5	A	o,5	ᵈe n-1 i l ₂ mu-hu ur ze-ʳra-ka ¹	
	B	o,5	ᵈe n-1 i l ₂ mu-hu ur ze-ra-ka	
6	A	o,6	mu-hu ur	ze-ʳra ¹ -[ka]
	B	o,6	ʳmu ¹ -hu-ʳur ¹	ze-ra ¹ -ka
7	A	o,7	ki-ki-bi MIN ² an-ni-a-tim i-na ² × ¹ [
	B	o,7	ki-ki-bi MIN ² an ⁰ -ni-a-tum i-na × nim ¹ [(-)]	
8	A	o,8	la-bi-ri-im ḫpa-ni × ¹ [...]	
	B	o,8	la-bi-ri-im pa-ni ḫi-ki ² × [
9	A	lo.e.	ta-ʳx ¹ [...]	
	B	o,9	te ² -ṣi ₂ -ir-ma i-na bi ² -ti [(-)]	

Reverse

10	A	r,1	u ₃ ḫil ² -ta ² -nim ² × ¹ [
	B	lo.e.	[u ₃ (?)] il-ta-nim i-ba-×	[...]
	A		(single ruling)	
11	A	r,2	AN AN AN AN AN AN [AN]	
	B	r,i	AN AN AN AN AN AN	
12	A	r,3	KI KI KI KI KI KI [KI]	
	B	r,ii	ʳKI ¹ KI KI KI KI KI KI	
13	A	r,4	EN EN EN EN 'EN ¹ [EN EN]	
	B	r,iii	'EN ¹ EN EN EN 'EN ¹ EN EN	
14	A	r,5	ME ME ME ME ME ME [ME]	
	B	r,iv	ʳME ¹ ME ME ME ME ME	
15	A	r,6	TUR ₃ ḫTUR ₃ ¹ TUR ₃ TUR ₃ ḫTUR ₃ ¹ [TUR ₃ TUR ₃]	
	B	r,v	TUR ₃	
16	A	r,7	NU.EŠ ₃ ⁰ ḫ7 ¹	
	B	r,vi	NU.EŠ ₃ . ¹ A ¹ NU.EŠ ₃ .A	
17	A	r,8	la-ga-ge-en ba-ab-×	
	B	r	ʳla ¹ -ga-ge-en ba-ab-du ₁₁	
18	A	r,9	ḡiri ₃ × × ud an ša ₃ -gal	
	B		(omitted)	

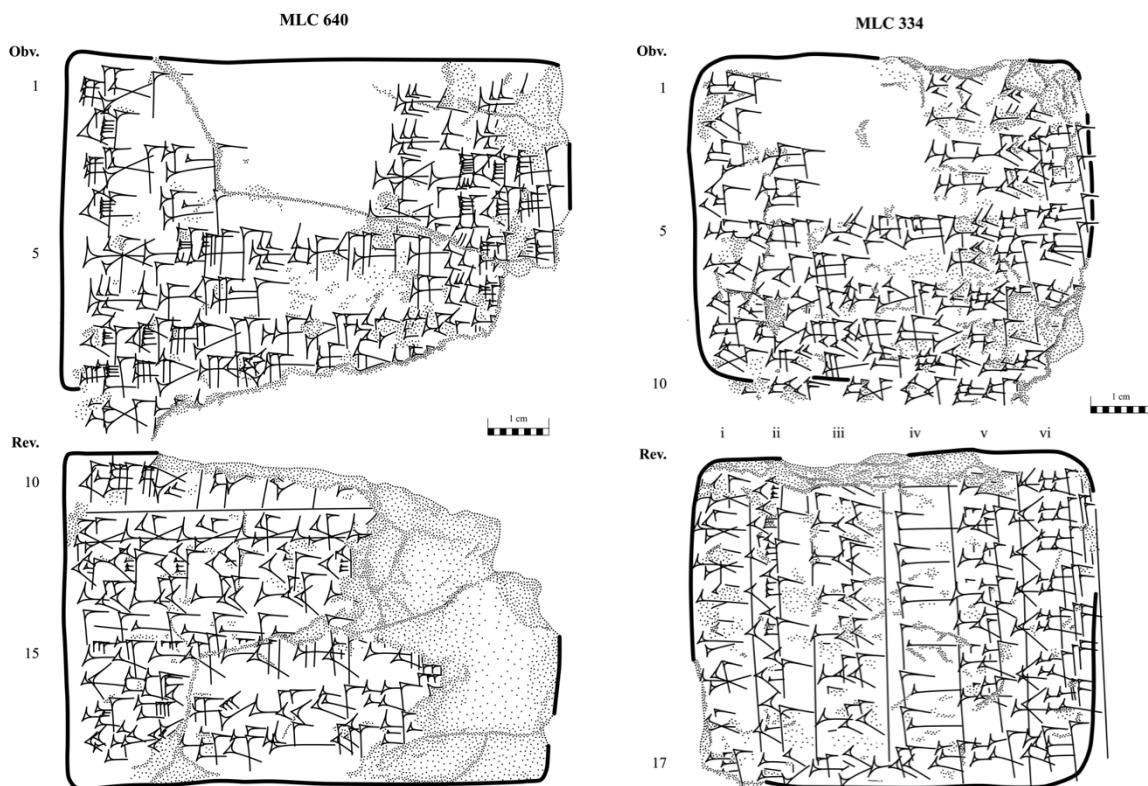


Fig. 2. New hand drawing of MLC 640 (= YOS 11, 67)

Fig. 3. Hand drawing of MLC 334

Comments

(1–4) This passage written in what appears to be non-orthographic Sumerian can be divided into two couplets. Both *a l - m u - m u* and *a l - m a* (lines 1 and 3) resemble verbal phrases. Whether *a l* is supposed to be the preformative *a l -* or represents a Sumerian word (e.g., *a l* for *šeš a l*, “hoe”), must remain opaque. Written in conventional orthography is the divine name *d e n - k i*.

(7–10) As mentioned above, the ritual is introduced by a Sumerian technical term, which is usually written *k i d 3 - k i d 3 - b i*, but appears on both manuscripts in non-orthographic *k i - k i - b i*. Compare the fragmentary incantation on *ABoT2*, 258 from Hattusa, whose ritual is introduced by *k i - k i - i b - b i*. For a probable Sumerian loan word in Akkadian see Maul 2009 and Zomer 2018: 31. The term is followed by a ritual in Akkadian. While on *YOS 11, 67* the ritual is rather damaged, the new text offers a few more signs. Line 9 appears to contain a verbal form *teşsir*, “you draw.” If correct, then the location for the drawing appears in lines 7 and 8: *ina... nim(?) labtrim*, “on an old...” The sign remains in line 7 do not support *abnu*, “stone.”

(11–16) The new manuscript writes the priest title *n u - e š 3 - a* instead of more common *n u - e š 3*. A manuscript of *Proto-Lu₂* from Isin reads entries 205–207: *'e n 1, 'l a g a r 1*, and *'n u - e š 3 - a 1* (IB 1514a+ obv. v, 18–20; see Wilcke 2018, no. 191). Similar magical repetitions occur on a number of other texts as well. These were discussed together with recent bibliography in Rendu-Loisel 2018. Additional texts – three amulets kept at the Yale Babylonian Collection (YBC 2390, NBC 2531, and YPM BC 038055 from the former Ott collection) – will be treated by Jonathan Beltz (Yale University).

(17–18) Only the first of these two lines is present on the new manuscript. Thanks to the new text the end of line 17 can be restored: *b a - a b - d u 1 1*, “it is said,” appears to be a proper Sumerian form. It is preceded, however, in both texts by *l a - g a - g e - e n*. A. Cavigneaux and F. al-Rawi (1994: 81, note 17) interpret *- g e - e n* as phonetic rendering of the equative postposition *- g e n* and offer the translations: “comme un malfaiteur” or “comme une motte dans l’eau.”

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44) A new source of “Word List C” — While working through a corpus of Old Babylonian administrative texts at the Jeanette and Jonathan Rosen Tablet Collection at Cornell University in February 2018, I was able to identify a new manuscript of “Word List C.” This fragment will be added to the volume on literary and lexical texts at Cornell, which is being prepared by Alexandra Kleinerman and Alhena Gadotti. I nevertheless would like to use this chance to briefly discuss this new manuscript and its specific tablet type in relation to other identified manuscripts. Following Miguel Civil’s recent tally of manuscripts of this composition, the new fragment should be designated X₉ (Civil 2013: 53).

The fragment (measurements: 61 × 66 × 35 mm) comes from the lower left corner of a large, multi-column tablet. SC 3,36 (*CDLI* P388293) in the Cotsen Collection of Cuneiform Tablets at UCLA is another manuscript of *Word List C*. The lost lower left corner was replaced by clay bits in modern times, but though close, the Cornell-piece does not join to this manuscript. An antiquities dealer used the Cornell fragment for a modern pastiche. It preserves remnants of the first two columns. An intriguing feature are double rulings after the last entry of each column. This is a feature also known from other manuscripts of this composition. MS 3373 (*CDLI* P252314) is here of particular interest. This large tablet fragment is remarkably similar to the present text. Due to the text history of “Word List C” it can be dated either to the Ur III or Old Babylonian period (see Civil 2013: 53, ms. X₅). Civil identifies MS 2722 (*CDLI* P251735), a manuscript containing a version of *ED Fish*, as being by the same hand. Both manuscripts share a specific feature: the last entry in each column is followed by a double ruling and some blank space. Besides the new manuscript at Cornell, a very similar feature occurs on the six-sided prism CBS 8237 + Ist Ni 1597 (*CDLI* P228051) as well. The Istanbul-fragment is the lower end of this prism (see the handcopy in Civil 2010: 228 and Civil 2013: 67, Fig. 5). Both prism and tablet manuscripts share the same column divisions.

Double rulings are an intriguing and oft-neglected feature of early scholarly texts. At Fara in the late Early Dynastic period double rulings (sometimes with cross-hatching) were used as spatial separators both to delimit compositions on compilation tablets (see, for instance, SF 9 [*CDLI* P010576]) or to clearly mark the boundaries of columns starting on the top edge and reaching onto the bottom edge (see, for instance, besides SF 9 also SF 20 [*CDLI* P010595]). Another purpose of double rulings becomes clear in the lexical lists from Ebla that date slightly later. There, double rulings were used to mark on *draft* versions the boundaries of columns on *model* texts. This feature occurs both on two manuscripts of *ED Lu₂ A* and the still unpublished list *ED Fish*. The colophon on *MEE* 3, 1 (*CDLI* P218307), for instance, refers to the scribe of the larger model text *MEE* 3, 2+5 (*CDLI* P242115) (see Archi 1992: 2–3 and also Taylor 2008: 209).

In a recent article I argued that an Old Babylonian manuscript of *Word List Z* in the Cotsen Collection (PARS 12/01, 131 = *CDLI* P273861) attests to the same feature (Wagensonner 2015). The Cotsen tablet is only a fragment of a large compilation tablet. Double rulings occur in each column roughly at the same location, which suggests that these rulings also flag the boundaries between columns on the model text on which the copy on the Cotsen tablet was based (see Wagensonner 2015: Figs. 2 and 3).

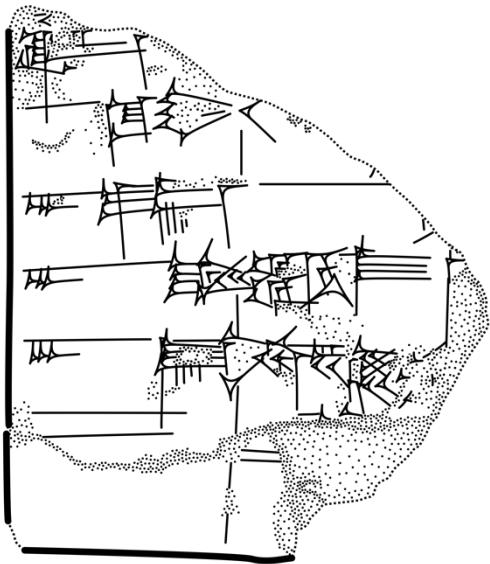
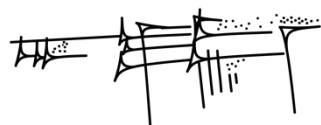


Fig. 1. Drawing of CUNES 49-00-34

Comments

(15) Both manuscript X₅ and the new text read GANA₂ instead of GEŠ (see fig. 2)



CUNES 49-00-34



CUNES 49-00-34



MS 3373



Fig. 2. Entry 15 of WLC on the new manuscript and manuscript X₅

Fig. 3. Entry 32 of WLC on the new manuscript and manuscript X₅

(17) The entries of this fragment follow very much the same tradition as the unprovenanced manuscript X₅ mentioned above. This is best exemplified in entry 17, which also lacks the sign U in U:GA (see Civil 2013: 27).

(32) Both X₅ and the new manuscript use a sign KISAL instead of IŠ as some other manuscripts have (see fig. 3).

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45) En marge d'EcritUr, 6 : CUSAS 10 17 et l'onomastique théophore de Dumununna* — Le procès CUSAS 10 17 est un des textes paléo-babylonien les plus intéressants qui aient été publiés ces dix dernières années. Son éditeur, A. George, estime que ce procès (di-til-la) découvert à Dur-Abiešuh en trois exemplaires et datant de l'année 5 de Samsu-ditana, constitue un exercice pédagogique, et non un document de la pratique. En faveur du caractère littéraire fictif du document, A. George y a relevé ce qu'il appelle des anachronismes, mais les arguments qu'il donne ne sont pas très probants : « The frequent mention of the assembly of Nippur in the present text thus appears to be an anachronism (...). More striking still is the rubric di.til.la (81) which was the usual “Gerichtsvermerk” in Ur III times but was superseded in the Old Babylonian period by Sumerian di.dab₅.ba and Akkadian *dīnum* » (CUSAS 10, p. 145a) : ces deux éléments ne sont guère pertinents, précisément parce que nous n'avons pas d'autres sources nippuriotes entre Samsu-iluna et Samsu-ditana.

Le troisième argument est encore moins convaincant, à savoir le fait que la généalogie remonte à l'arrière-grand-père du plaignant (CUSAS 10, p. 145b) : des documents paléo-babylonien tardifs montrent des cas du même genre (cf. dans CRRAI 1986, p. 136-137 mon analyse de YOS 13 96, un texte de Kiš datant de l'an 10 de Samsu-ditana).

C'est sur le quatrième argument que je voudrais ici surtout attirer l'attention. L'arrière-grand-père du plaignant est présenté à plusieurs reprises dans CUSAS 10 17 comme se nommant Lu-Dumununna (LÚ.DUMU.NUN.NA lignes 1, 4, 5, 18, 72) : « It is not genuine Sumerian but a back-translation from Akkadian (= the common Awīl-Sîn). Sumerian aliases were characteristic of famed scholars from the Old Babylonian period on and became increasingly recherché (...). In this light, Gimil-Marduk's patronymy can be taken as an early example of what later became conventional for scribes of Nippur, the citation of an illustrious ancestor bearing a Sumerianized name. This scribal conceit and the legal anachronisms identified in the preceding paragraph demonstrate that the texts originated in an intellectual environment significantly influenced by academic practices » (CUSAS 10, p. 145b).

Cependant, le nom divin Dumununna ne se trouve pas seulement dans des anthroponymes de Dur-Abiešuh à l'époque paléo-babylonienne tardive : on en trouve deux exemples à Ur sous Hammu-rabi et Samsu-iluna. C'est ainsi que dans Grant Smith College 264 : 13, figure comme témoin un individu nommé KÙ.DUMU.NUN.NA, portant le titre de DUB.SAR (www.archibab.fr/4dcgi/listestextes3.htm?T22375). Ce texte a été rédigé à Ur, comme le montrent certains titres, ou encore des témoins connus par ailleurs :

- 1. 9, *gi-mil-lum* GUDU₄ DUB.LÁ.!MAH! ;
- 1. 11, ^dEN.ZU-ma-gir ^dDU₈ GÁ.NUN.MAH ;
- et surtout 1. 12, *a-na-*^dEN.ZU-e-mi-id KA.KI : pour cette famille de *kakikkum* d'Ur, cf. HEO 22, p. 138.

En l'occurrence, s'agissant d'un nom sumérien en KÙ+ND (et non en LÚ+ND), un phénomène de « rétro-traduction » est très peu probable. On retrouve le nom KÙ.DUMU.NUN.NA porté par un témoin qualifié d'UM.MI.A dans un contrat de location de maison, UET 5 243 : 12 (édition dans www.archibab.fr/4dcgi/listestextes3.htm?T23845) ; ce texte datant du 15/viii/Samsu-iluna 10, il n'est pas impossible que l'on ait affaire au même scribe, porteur d'un titre plus prestigieux.

Tout comme Ku-Dumununna, Lu-Dumununna était, certes, un nom « chic », mais nullement artificiel : même si Lu-Dumununna ne se rencontre pas ailleurs qu'à Dur-Abiešuh dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, il n'y a pas de raison de considérer ce nom comme une invention – d'autant que, comme A. George l'avait lui-même noté, il était réellement porté par des individus dans des textes de Dur-Abiešuh¹⁾.

Le dernier point en faveur de l'authenticité de CUSAS 10 17 est que le plaignant Gimil-Marduk se retrouve dans les archives dans les archives de Dur-Abiešuh. Il est en effet le premier témoin de CUSAS 8 51 : 12, avec le titre de « prêtre-*pašišum* de Ninlil ». Son titre a été lu par K. Van Lerberghe GUDU₄(d)NIN.URTA x (en notant « x erased »), mais la copie permet de lire sans trop de problème (d)NIN.LÍL(!)²⁾. Ce texte, datant du 17/ii/Samsu-ditana 10, montre que Gimil-Marduk est bien rentré en possession de la prébende qu'il revendiquait quatre ans et demi auparavant : CUSAS 10 17 reflète donc un procès qui eut réellement lieu³⁾. Faute de contexte archéologique, la question du statut des trois tablettes par lesquelles il nous est connu reste ouverte : il peut s'agir de brouillons, ou de copies remises à diverses parties prenantes.

Notes

* Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre du projet ANR « EcritUr ».

1. A. George ne disposait pas encore du volume CUSAS 8 en écrivant CUSAS 10 et depuis d'autres textes ont été publiés. On retrouve le nom LÚ.DUMU.NUN.NA en CUSAS 8 60 : 22 (Sd 10) ; 62 : 36 (Sd 10) ; 89 : 9 (–) ; CUSAS 29 134 : 1 (Ad 23) ; 170 : 5 [Ad [...]]) et 181 : 4' (–).

2. Et cf. la photo sur le site http://cuneiform.library.cornell.edu/sites/default/files/CUNES51-01-055_r1.jpg. Il serait de toute façon bien étrange qu'il ait vécu à Dur-Abiešuh en Samsu-ditana 10 un Gimil-Marduk *paššum* de Ninurta, alors qu'on s'interroge sur l'existence à cette époque d'un homme de ce nom *paššum* de Ninlil.

3. Le texte a de ce fait été entré dans la base Archibab, où il est directement accessible via l'URL www.archibab.fr/4dcgi/listestextes3.htm?T23844.

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46) Ugarit S^a Voc. No. 30 — In a Ras Shamra tablet containing part of the polyglot version of Syllabary A Vocabulary (S^a Voc.), RS 20.189, published by E. Laroche in *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979), pp. 477–80, lines 7–9 read as follows:

line	S ^a Voc. no.	sign	Akkadian	Hurrian	Ugaritic	
7	30	[DIM ₂ (ŠITIM)]	<i>itinnu</i>	<i>i-t[i]n-ni</i>	<i>ha-ra-^ršu¹</i>	‘craftsman’
8	30 or 30a	[DIM ₂ or PAN]	?	[<i>x-x¹</i>]	<i>RI-GI-^rmu¹</i>	‘?’
9	30a	[PAN]	<i>qaštu</i>		<i>qa-aš-tu₄</i>	‘bow’

In my *Ugaritic Vocabulary and Syllabic Transcription* (UVST, 1987, pp. 24–25, 50), line 8 was left unidentified. Laroche (p. 479) suggested that the Ugaritic word written *RI-GI-mu* be read /rig(i)mu/ ‘parole(?)’, i.e., a *qitl* form (with epenthetic vowel) of the common root *r-g-m*.¹⁾ But, as was noted in the revised edition of UVST (2008, p. 382), neither S^a Voc. sign no. 30, DIM₂, nor sign no. 30a, PAN, is associated with the meaning ‘word’ or ‘to speak’.

It was also noted in UVST (p. 50) that the Ugaritic column of line 8 may be read *tal-gi-mu* (for RI with the value *tal* at Ugarit, see my *Akkadian of Ugarit*, 1989, p. 362). The root *l-g-m* is not yet attested in alphabetic Ugaritic texts,²⁾ but I propose that we compare the common Arabic noun *lijām* ‘bridle, reins’, as well as Syriac *lgāmā* ‘bit’.³⁾ These suggest an interpretation of the Ugaritic column of line 8 as /talgiμu/, a *taqtīl* form meaning ‘bridle, bridling, harness(ing)’ or the like.⁴⁾ But, again, neither DIM₂ nor PAN is associated with such a meaning. There are, however, several instances in which the scribes of the Ugarit S^a Vocabulary texts mistook an entry for a homophone of the canonical sign; examples include ZU for SU, BIL₂(GIBIL) for BIL₃, I for I₇(ID₂), LAL₂ for LAL, URU₈(UR₂) for URU₃ (see UVST, pp. 46, 64, 66, 69, 72). It is possible, therefore, that line 8 had DIM₂ but that the scribe glossed it as though it were DIM₁. Now, in the lexical series Syllabary B (S^b), DIM₁ is glossed by Akkadian *riksu* (MSL 3, p. 141, l. 162); in the lexical series Aa, too, one of several Akkadian glosses of DIM₁ is *riksu* (MSL 14, p. 500, l. 118).⁵⁾ Among the most basic of the various meanings of *riksu* is ‘band, tie, strap’, which is in roughly the same semantic range as ‘harness’ (note too that the verb *rakāsu* is used of harnessing an animal). In summary, line 8 may have read thus:

8	30	[DIM ₂ (for DIM ₁) <i>riksu</i>]	[<i>x-x¹</i>]	<i>tal-gi-^rmu¹</i>	‘harness(ing)’
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Notes

1. Laroche was followed in this interpretation by W. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit* (1991), p. 703, and by J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*² (2012), p. 169.

2. This is not unusual; about 22% of the words in the Ugaritic column of the polyglot S^a Voc. tablets are not yet attested in alphabetic texts (UVST, p. 14 with n. 65).

3. For the Arabic, see M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, vol. 2 (1983), pp. 248–53; for the Syriac, see M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* (2009), p. 673. Note also Classical Ethiopic *ləgʷām* ‘bridle, rein, halter’, as well as the associated verb *lagʷama* ‘to bridle, restrain’, possibly borrowed from Arabic or Aramaic; see W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (1987), p. 307.

4. For *taqtīl* forms in Ugaritic, see UVST, p. 315, and especially Tropper, *Grammatik*, pp. 269–71.

5. Another gloss of DIM in Aa is *markasu* ‘rope, cable’ (MSL 14, p. 500, l. 108), which would also fit the Akkadian column in the interpretation proposed here.

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47) A Harrowing Birth — The Middle Assyrian incantation for a woman in difficult labor, first edited by W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 31 (1969): 28-39 and re-edited by Zomer, LAOS 9 (2018): 254-6, with further bibliography, still presents numerous problems of reading and interpretation. This note proposes that the pair of similes in lines 38 and 39 should read *ki-i gišGIGIR ú-bu-ha-at BA.MEŠ ta-ha-zí ki-i gišAPIN ú-bu-ha-at BA.MEŠ <>UR! .MEŠ* “She is covered with the dust of battle, like a chariot, She is covered with the dust of constant chafing on the ground, like a plow.” In the following line, she is sprawled out in her own blood like a fallen warrior: *ki-i UR.SAG mu-ut-tah-iş ina ÚŠ.MEŠ-šá şa-la-at*, so the proposed emendation fits the parallelism well. The reading of the tablet, *gišTIR.MEŠ*, makes no sense, whereas the easy emendation of TIR to *UR* brings the simile closer to plowing. Since harrowing and plowing are more or less opposite processes, one may search among the various meanings of *UR*, such as have been clarified initially, *inter alia*, by Landsberger, ZA 37 (1927): 216 note 4; Falkenstein, ZA 44 (1937): 23; and Sjöberg, AfO 24 (1973): 39, in the semantic range to strike, slap, slither, rub (with the intention of making smooth), drag, level off, hence, harrow a field. One suspects that the source for the tablet had *UR.MEŠ*, for a tandem of one of the various Akkadian equivalents, but gained a *giš*-determinative by attraction from *gišAPIN* and misreading *UR* for *TIR*; the thereby meaningless but presumably correct *MEŠ* remained.

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48) The Incirli Stela and Tiglath-pileser III's Operations on the Gurgum-Que Border — The village of Incirli is located about six kilometers north of Sakçegözü, at the southern end of the Kahramanmaraş district in south Turkey. In 1993, in the course of a regional survey she conducted in this region, ELIZABETH CARTER discovered an inscribed stela with an image of Warikkus, King of Que, engraved on its front. LYNN SWARTZ DODD (2012) published a detailed account of the discovery, alongside the archaeological finds discovered in the region where the stela was found and a possible historical scenario of the background of the stela's erection.

The stela is badly eroded, and use of an innovative photograph technique was required to decipher its worn inscription. STEPHEN KAUFMAN (2007) published the stela in an article in which he described its physical features, suggested a tentative transliteration and translation of the inscription, and added detailed philological comments on the text. He also published some photographs of the inscriptions, but not a hand-copy of the inscription. In light of the worn condition of the text, the photographs do not really help in examining the textual decipherment he suggested.

The stela was inscribed on all four sides. Almost all of it was written in Phoenician, but KAUFMAN (2007: 8) observed traces of Luwian hieroglyphs on the top-right portion of the stela and two lines of eroded cuneiform text written on its right-side portion. Half of the back top of the stela was reused in antiquity to write a Greek inscription, which caused great damage to the underlying Phoenician inscription.

Due to its worn condition and the fact that neither hand copy of the inscription nor detailed photographs of the stela have been published, the inscription did not receive the attention it deserves. Except for KAUFMAN's *editio princeps* and DODD's detailed remarks, I found no other discussions that analyzed the inscription, suggested alternative readings, and re-evaluated its contribution to historical research.

In what follows, I first suggest a tentative translation for the first ten lines of the inscription and add a short commentary to justify my translation. I then examine the contribution of the stela to the historical research of Tiglath-pileser's campaigns to southwestern Anatolia and north Syria in the years 743-740 BCE. Needless to say, in the absence of a hand copy and new photographs, all treatments of the inscription depend on the careful, meticulous decipherment offered by KAUFMAN and his vast knowledge of the Phoenician language in which the inscription was written.

Translation of lines 1-10

1. The boundary stone (*הגבָל*) that Tiglath-pileser, פָאֵל, King of Assyria gave? (נִתְן?)
2. to the king and the descendants (*וּלְשָׁפָט*) of the Danunians' king. The boundary stone (marks) the boundary (*גָבֵל*)
3. between the district (*פְּחוֹת*) of Beyond-the-River² and Gurgum^{???} from the days of Shamshi-Adad, the King (וְשָׁמְשִׁי-עֲדָד)
4. of Assyria, until all the days of Tiglath-pileser, פָאֵל, the Great King
5. of Assyria. This boundary stone (*הגבָל*) is the boundary between Mount Gurgum and my district (*פְּחוֹתִי*).

6. It (the boundary) is new (הַחֲדֵשָׁת) up to where it reaches the Assyrian district, delimiting it (לְהַגְּבֵלִי) up to
7. to the entrance? (?) לְמַתָּחֶת גָּרְגָּם (???) as you reach River *Sns* up to
8. Mount Urartu. I am Warikkus (וַיְרַק), King of the House of Mopsos,
9. servant of King Tiglath-pileses, king of Assyria. (I am) the King of Que,
10. King of the House of Mopsos and the entire district of Hatti up to (Mount) Lebanon.

Textual Notes

Line 1: The translation “boundary stone” follows the texts of two Assyrian stelae: (a) the Antakia stela, which opens with the statement, “Boundary stone (*tahūmu*), which Adad-nīrārī, king of Assyria... [estab]lished between Zakkur of the land of Hamath and Atarshumki, son of Adramu” (GRAYSON 1996: 203); (b) the Pazarcik stela, which opens with the words, “Boundary stone (*tahūmu*) of Adad-nīrārī, king of Assyria” (GRAYSON 1996: 205). I suggest that הַגְּבֵל at the beginning of the Incirli stela and in lines 2 and 5 is semantic parallel to *tahūmu*, which opens the above-mentioned Assyrian royal stelae.

The interpretation of the name/title אלָא for Tiglath-pileses will be discussed at the end of the article.

I tentatively rendered מִתְּנָה (“gave”) in place of KAUFMAN’s מִתְּנָה in light of the reverse of the Pazarcik stela (lines 11-13), which relates that, “on my return (from Damascus) I gave (*addir*) this boundary stone (*tahūmu šuātu*) to Ushpilume, king of the Kummuhites” (GRAYSON 1996: 240).

Line 2: The noun שְׂפָה in the sense of “clan, family, descendant” also appears on the front of the stela (lines 24-25) and in the Çineköy bilingual inscription (line 2). For discussion of the term, see LEMAIRE 2000: 996.

Lines 2-4: KAUFMAN (2007: 11) restored them, “the border between the land/province of Beyond the River and Kummuh”. Kummuh, however, is located far east from the place where the Incirli stela was discovered. Since the inscription refers to the stela’s location in reference to the boundary in power from the time of Shamshi-Adad V (823-811) until Tiglath-pileses’ rise to the Assyrian throne (745 BCE), I assume that it marked the border between the district of *ebir-nāri*, including the Kingdom of Sam’al, on one side, and the Kingdom of Gurgum located to its north.

Throughout the inscription, I translated תְּהִלָּה as “district” in the broad sense of the term, rather than “province”, as KAUFMAN translates it (2007: 21 ad line 5). It seems to me that the term does not refer to the Assyrian province system, but rather to large regions dominated by the named kingdoms.

Line 3: For the term שְׁמַרְן in reference to Shamshi-Adad V (823-811), see the designation שְׁמַרְן for Ikausu son of Padi, King of Ekron (GITIN, DOTHAN and NAVEH 1997: 9-11). Perhaps, Warikkus may have sought to emphasize the high status of his lord, Tiglath-pileses, and thus assigned a lesser title to Shamshi-Adad, one of his predecessors on the Assyrian throne.

Lines 5-6: The statement, “this boundary stone is the boundary between Mount Gurgum and my district. It is new...”, refers to the delineation of a new border and the annexation of Gurgum’s southernmost district to the King of Que (see below for more detail).

Lines 6-7: KAUFMAN (2007: 15, 22) rendered the text, “...through this region of the Turtānu’s dynasty along the river Sinis”. However, the province of the Turtānu was established east of the Euphrates, in the former districts of the King of Arpad (PARPOLA and PORTER 2001: map 3, ref. B3). According to the Incirli inscription, Mati’-il, King of Arpad, was in power when the stela was erected (his name as an opponent of Que appears in the left and back sides of the stela). This indicates that the stela was erected before Arpad was annexed to Assyria (740 BCE) and before the Province of the Turtānu was established on Arpad’s northern districts. Tentatively, I restored in line 7 as לְמַתָּחֶת גָּרְגָּם (“to the Land of Gurgum”), and suggest that the River Sinis was the name of the Aksu River that runs eastward through the midst of the Kahramanmarash district (see the map in DOD 2012: 231). For תְּהִלָּה in the sense of “land”, see line 11 ([תְּהִלָּה מִתְּהִלָּה]).

Discussion

According to the Eponym Chronicle, Tiglath-pileses conducted four campaigns against Arpad in the years 743-740 BCE (MILLARD 1994: 43-44, 59; TADMOR 1994: 232). Yet whereas the details of the 743 campaign are known fairly well, very little is known of the other three campaigns. The most detailed source of the 743 campaign is the Iran stela (TADMOR and YAMADA 2011: 84-85). It describes Tiglath-pileses’ attack on the troops of Urartu and its allies and his decisive victory in battle. Following the coalition’s defeat and Sarduri King of Urartu’s flight, Tiglath-pileses attacked the Kingdom of Gurgum, destroyed many of its cities and subdued its king (TADMOR and YAMADA 2011: 85, lines 32-42a). He then proceeded and attacked a second kingdom, whose identity is not clear as the stela breaks at this point. In light of the reference to the town of Kadamu and its possible identification with the town of Ka [...] mentioned in the list of Arpad’s cities (TADMOR and YAMADA: 109, line 3), I assume that after Gurgum’s submission, Tiglath-pileses attacked Mati’-il, King of Arpad, his main rival in the areas west of the Euphrates River.

As Mati’-il is mentioned in the Incirli stela as an enemy of Que (see above), it is clear that the stela’s erection antedated the Assyrian final victory over Arpad and the annexation of its territory in 740 BCE. In

this light, I suggest dating the erection of the stela to either the second or the third campaign of Assyria against Arpad (ca. 742-741).

The Incirli stela indicates that Tiglath-pileser severed the southernmost district of Gurgum and transferred it to Warikkus as a reward for his loyalty. By erecting this stela, the King of Que celebrated the transfer of this district to Que and his kingdom's expansion to the areas east of the Amanus range (DODD 2012: 226-230).

Finally, the author of the inscription attached four times the name/title 'ΛΑ to the name of Tiglath-pileser (KAUFMAN 2007: 11, lines 1,4; 13, lines 3, 7; 20). This exceptional attachment requires explanation (see KAUFMAN 2007: 20). In his edition of Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions, HAYIM TADMOR (1994: 280 n. 5) discussed the king's other name, Pul, which appears in the Bible and the Hellenistic sources. He concluded that it is either the king's original name or a quasi-hypocoristic for the second element of his name. The Incirli stela proves that the first alternative is preferable. Moreover, its rendering of the name/title with an internal aleph distances it from the Assyrian personal name Pulu/i, which TADMOR (*ibid.*) suggested as parallel to the biblical personal name Pul.

The four references to 'ΛΑ in the Incirli inscription, written by Warikkus of Que, bring to mind the name Bit-Pa'alla by which Sargon II called the Kingdom of Gurgum, Que's northern neighbor (see references in BAGG 2007: 52). DAVID HAWKINS (1974: 73-75; 2000: 25 n. 32) demonstrated that Palalam (Akkadian)/Laramas (Luwian) was the name of the founder of Gurgum's dynasty and that Sargon called it Bit-Pa'alla after its founder's name.

How can we explain the close similarity between the Pa'alla, the name of the founder of Gurgum's dynasty, and Tiglath-pileser's name/title 'ΛΑ in Warikkus' stela? One might hypothesize that Tiglath-pileser was the son of a Gurgumite princess that Adad-nirari III deported from Gurgum/Bit Pa'alla after his successful campaigns to south Anatolia in his early years (SIDDALL 2013: 38-40, 56-57), and the designation 'ΛΑ refers to his Gurgumite connection. Indeed, in one of his inscriptions, Tiglath-pileser mentions Adad-nirari III as his father (TADMOR and YAMADA 2011: 148; SIDDALL 2013: 95). In this light, we may further speculate that the deported Gurgumite princess entered Adad-nirari's royal harem and bore there the future Assyrian king. This hypothesis might explain why Warikkus repeated this name several time in his inscription as a way to emphasize the Great King's descent from the royal house of Gurgum and thereby legitimize his deed of severing Gurgum's territory and transferring it to a neighbouring kingdom.

Needless to say, this understanding is no more than a hypothesis that cannot be verified. Nevertheless, such a possibility must be considered in case new evidence of Tiglath-pileser's origin comes to light.

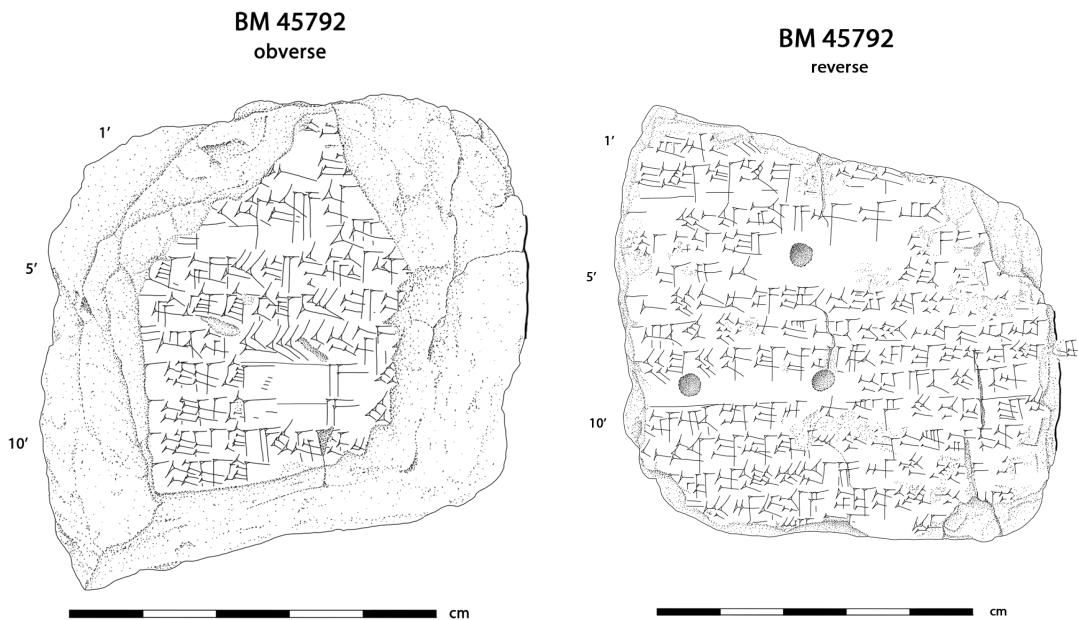
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49) Addition to NABU 2019/32 : the copies of BM 45792 (1881-07-06, 209), Maqlû VII 79a-93 and 143-161 — La rédaction de NABU a malencontreusement omis de publier les copies du texte. Toutes nos excuses à J. Fincke.



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50) BM 48049; some physiognomic omens from the tablet DIŠ ŠE (*šumma kittabru*) ll. 46-58 — The series of physiognomic omens (*šumma alamdimmû*) in some chapters distinguishes between men and women, and devotes an individual tablet for the same physical appearance in them both. This happens also with omens referring to ŠE, Akkadian *kittabru*, a dermal spot or growth. In her edition of these omens, Barbara Böck (*Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie*, AfO Beih. 27; 2000) was able to collect 13 sources for the text dealing with ŠE omens for a man and then to restore 132 omens (pp. 212–29). Three additional fragments of *šumma kittabru* have recently been published by Eric Schmidtchen in: S. V. Panayotov and L. Vacín, *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic* (FS Geller), 2018, 469–99: BM 72564 (= ll. 123-131); K. 7189 (= ll. 79-92) joined to K. 12550; K.16870 (= ll. 8-14) joined to K. 4039+.

One more Neo- or rather Late Babylonian fragment of unknown origin from the tablet collection of the British Museum which restores some of the omens: BM 48049 is part of the obverse of a tablet with a completely flat face. Since the fragment records the end of omens one would expect a column to the right has been lost. The text is written in a tiny but clear script, each line is about 2.5 mm high. I publish it here by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

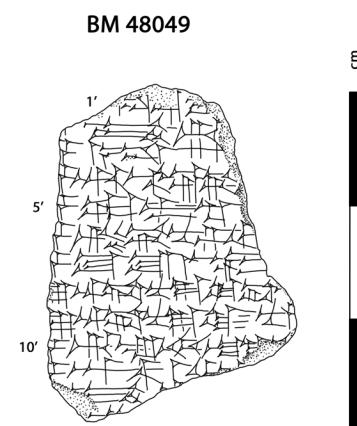


Fig. 1.

The text sources for this passage are:

G = BM 57612; Böck, *Morphoskopie* pl. 18–19 (lines marked * are collated)

H = BM 66902+; Böck, *Morphoskopie* pl. 20–21 (lines marked * are collated)

J = W 20851; UVB 21 (1965) pl. 16g

X = BM 48049* (1881-11-3, 758); measurements (width × height × thickness): 23.2+ × 30.3+ × 2+;

see figure 1

- 46 G obv. 24' DIŠ Š[E] *ina UGU M[U]D a-*b*[i]* 150-šú GAR [
 H obv. 3' [] 150-šú [
 J obv. 12' [UG]U MUD *a-*b*i* 150-[
 X obv. 1' [SA]G.[!]DU-su *i^l-q[*à**l*³-*l*³]*
 If a *kitt[abru]* is set on top the area of his left shoulder-joint (or: armpit), he will [lose[?] f]ace.
- 47 G obv. 25' DIŠ [Š]E *ina* -šú GAR [
 H obv. 4' [] 15-šú GAR [
 J obv. 13' []x 15-šú [
 X obv. 2' [GAR] *i-šár-ri* [
 If a *[kittabru]* is set on his right [...], he will become rich; [...].
- 48 G obv. 26'* [DI]Š [Š]E *ina x[]* 150-[
 H obv. 5'* [] 150-šú GAR Ú[KU-
 J obv. 14' []x 150-šú [
 X obv. 3' [GA]R ÚKU-[*in*]
 [I]f a *[kitt]abru* is set on his left [...], he will become poor.
- 49 G obv. 27' [DIŠ Š]E *ina MU[D a-*b*]i* 15-šú GAR [
 H obv. 6' [] 15-šú GAR DINGIR [
 J obv. 15' [MU]D² *a-*b*i* 15-šú [
 X obv. 4' [G]AR DINGIR-šú *ina MUNUS.KALAG.GA U[Š-šú]*
 [If a *kitt]abru* is set on the area of his right shoulder-joint (or armpit), his god will le[ad him] during hard times.
- 50 G obv. 28'* [DIŠ Š]E *ina MUD a-[*b*]i* 150]-šú GAR 'SAG.PA.RIM¹ [
 H obv. 7'* [] 150-šú GAR S[AG].
 J obv. 16' [MU]D² *a-*b*i* 150-šú [
 X obv. 5' [G]AR SAG.PA.RIM [TUK²-ší?]
 [If a *kitt]abru* is set on the area of his left shoulder-joint (or armpit), [he will have[?]] grief.
- 51 G obv. 29'* [DIŠ Š]E *ina KA.KEŠDA 'am-mat¹* 15-šú GAR [] NU x x tu² [
 H obv. 8' [] 15-šú GAR [
 X obv. 6' [G]AR ZI.GA NU TUK-ší [
 [If a *kitt]abru* is set on his right elbow, he will not have losses, ...
- 52 G obv. 30'* [DIŠ Š]E *ina KA.KEŠDA 'am-mat¹* 150-šú 'GAR ŠU-su LAL¹-aş x x x [
 H obv. 9'* [-ma]t 150-šú GAR [
 X obv. 7' [G]AR ŠU-su LAL-aş [
 [If a *kitt]abru* is set on his left elbow, his hand will reach out (for something); ...
- 53 G obv. 31'* DIŠ ŠE *ina si-*si*-*ti* ŠU¹* 15-šú 'lu AN.TA-nu KI.TA¹-nu GAR Š[E².GA²? GAR?-šú?]
 H obv. 10' [ŠU]-*ti* 15-šú AN.TA-nu *lu* KI.TA-n[u
 X obv. 8' [l]u AN.TA-nu *lu* KI.TA-n[u
 If a *kittabru* is set on his right wri[st] either above or below, to be listened to and ob[eyed] is set for him].
- 54 G obv. 32' DIŠ ŠE *ina si-*si*-*ti** [Š]U KI.MIN GAR É-su BIR-[*a**b*] [
 H. obv. 11' []-*ti* 150-šú *lu* AN.TA *lu* KI.TA-nu [
 X obv. 9' [l]u AN.TA-nu *lu* KI-nu GA[R
 If a *kittabru* is set on his left wri[s]t either above or below, his house will be scattered.
- 55 G obv. 33' DIŠ ŠE *ina su-*hat** 15-šú GAR tal-lak-*ti* la ku-UZU [GIN.MEŠ]
 H obv. 12' [] 15-šú GAR[-UZ]U GIN
 X obv. 10' [DIŠ ŠE *ina su-*hat** 15-šú G]AR tal-lak-*ti* la 'ku¹U[ZU GIN.MEŠ]
 If a *kittabru* is set on his right armpit², he will constantly undertake unprofitable enterprises.

- 56 G obv. 34' DIŠ ŠE *ina su-hat* 150-šú GAR DINGIR *ana MUNUS.SIG₅ ÚŠ.M[EŠ]*
 H obv. 13' [] 150-šú GAR [].SIG₅ ÚŠ.MEŠ-[šú]
 X obv. 11' [G]AR DINGIR-šú *ana* 'SIG₅' [
 If a *kittabru* is set on his left armpit⁷, his god will follow him (to bring him) luck.
- 57 G obv. 35' DIŠ ŠE *ina ku-tal* KIŠIB-šú *lu šá* 15 [lu] šá 150 GAR *i-sár-rù MU-šú* [
 H obv. 14' [] lu šá 15 lu šá 150 GA[R M]U-šú SIG₅-[iq]
 X obv. 12' [GAR] 'i¹-sár-r[i
 If a *kittabru* is set on the back of his hand, either the right or the left, he will become rich; his name will be well known.
- 58 G obv. 36'* DIŠ ŠE *ina SU[HUŠ]* KIŠIB-šú *lu šá* 15 *lu šá* 150 GAR SAL x[] *ku²-[UZU*
 H obv. 15'* [] 15 *lu šá* 150 GA[R *i-maṭ]-tú-ú ana ku-UZU GAR-š[u?]*
 X obv. 13' [SA]L x[
 If a *kittabru* is set on his carpus, either the right or the left, ...[... will dim]inish, [h]e is set for success (lit.: success is set for h[im⁷]).
- 59 X breaks off

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51) Calendrics and pharmacology combined — In recent years the knowledge about the hemerological and menological cuneiform texts greatly increased by the edition of A. Livingstone (2013) and the following publications that contain necessary corrections of this work and additions to the corpus (Marti 2014; Jiménez/Adalı 2015; Jiménez 2016). The so-called Exorcist's Almanac, even it is not part of the edition of hemerologies mentioned above, can be categorized as part of the genre. The almanac gives the appropriate dates for a number of magical rites. In the Late Babylonian period it was astrologically reworked, whereby days and months of the calendar were transformed into ecliptic positions: signs of the (Micro)-zodiac and degrees (see e.g. Geller 2014: 27–60 with previous literature, and Schreiber forthcoming). The Exorcist's Almanac is nearly complete preserved on the Neo-Assyrian tablet STT 300 and mostly represented by it. There are two other fragments that are partly duplicating this text. One is the hemerological compilation CBS 562 which contains sections from the Prostration Hemerology and the Exorcist's Almanac (both obv.), and a commentary on *materia medica* reminiscent of Uruanna (rev.) (Jiménez/Adalı 2015: 173, 177, 186 fn. 56; Rutz 2018).

The other is the fragment BM 37080 (1880-6-17, 827) which comes from the excavation of Hormuzd Rassam, beside some exceptions the provenance of the whole collection given by the register is Babylon (CBT VI p. xxx). It can roughly be dated to the Neo/Late Babylonian period. Like CBS 562 it combines hemerological and pharmacological content. On the obverse preserved are some entries from tablet III of the pharmacological series Uruanna, the so-called AŠ section with alternative names of some drugs (in the past often interpreted as Decknamen or secret names; for an edition cf. Rumor 2017, for a discussion of the term AŠ cf. Rumor 2015: 152–156). The pharmaceutical drugs in what is preserved of BM 37080 are roughly corresponding to Uruanna III (5/6²)–18, some entries are omitted. They are forming groups of four, with each group seemingly preceded by the name of a month. Parts of the months II–IV are preserved. Most likely the beginning (Uruanna III 1–4) was corresponding to the first month Nisannu (therefore this side is to be identified with the obverse, the hemerological content on the reverse starts with the sixth month, most likely it is the left column). The four drugs of each group are maybe connected to the four (month) triplicities. The reverse contains some lines that for the most part are duplicating entries from the Exorcist's Almanac (months VI–IX), not completely in the same order (but in accordance with the monthly sequence) and some entries are also omitted.

This form of Uruanna material in combination with the calendar and the Exorcist's Almanac is so far not attested elsewhere. Because any reference to the zodiac is missing, it can be identified as part of the intermediary form of calendrical medicine and magic, a precursor to later astrological medicine.

BM 37080

obv.

01' [GU ₄] ū šu-mut ¹ -[tu ₄	AŠ...]
02' [Ú] GURU[N	AŠ iški amēlūti]
03' [Ú] kam-kád-du	[AŠ išqippu]
04' [Ú] HAB	[AŠ zumbi kalbi]
05' [SIG ¹] ū ŠIM	AŠ [timbutti egli nadīti]
06' ū ti-ja-a-tum	AŠ [...]
07' ū A.Š.À	AŠ [galgaltu ša šadī]
08' ū ak-tam	AŠ [timbutti egli nadīti]
09' [ŠU ¹] ū ti-a-rū	AŠ [...]
10' GIŠ KIŠI ₁₆	AŠ [galgaltu ša halli imēri]
11' ū BAR GIŠ.GI	AŠ x [...]
12' ū PA GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA	AŠ G[I.MEŠ haşsusüte]

rev.

01 DIŠ ina iti ¹ KIN u iti ¹ DU ₆ [...]	
02 ù LÚ ina IGI LÚ GAR-[ni...]	
03 DIŠ ina iti ¹ DU ₆ TA <UD>-16-KAM EN UD-20-[KAM...]	
04 DIŠ ina iti ¹ APIN LÚ ana KI.BI.[GAR.RA-šu GUR-ri...]	
05 KA.DAB.BÉ.D[A...]	
06 DIŠ ina iti ¹ GAN qí-b[it KA-šú (?)...]	
07 u gišgal ¹ x [...]	
08 x x x [...]	

Translation

obv.

01' [Ayyaru]: Drug šumuttu	AŠ...]
02' [Drug] 'frui[t'	AŠ human testicle]
03' [Drug] kamkadu	[AŠ išqippu-earthworm]
04' Drug bu'šānu	[AŠ dog flea]
05' Simānu: Drug juniper	AŠ [cricket of the fallow]
06' Drug tīyatū	AŠ [...]
07' Drug '(plant) of the field'	AŠ [galgaltu-insect of the mountain]
08' Drug aktam	AŠ [cricket of the fallow]
09' Du'uzu: Drug tiyāru	AŠ [...]
10' ašāgu-thorn	AŠ [galgaltu-insect from the crotch of a donkey]
11' Drug 'bark of the reed thicket'	AŠ... [...]
12' Drug 'leaf of the kūru-plant'	AŠ [snapped off] re[eds]

rev.

01 If in the months of Ulūlu or Tašritu [...]	
02 or (spells) for a man being set against (another) man [...]	
03 If in Tašritu, from the 16th day to 20th day [...]	
04 If in Arajsamna, (you perform the spells) for ['having] a man [return] through [his] substi[tute (image)']...]	
05 (the spells for) causing aphasi[a...]	
06 If in Kislimu, (you perform the spells for) 'wo[rd of his mouth(?)...]	
07 and... [...]	
08... [...]	

Commentary

Obv.: The counting of lines from Uruanna III follows Rumor 2017.

1'-4': the entries for Ayyaru(II) correspond to Uruanna III [5/6'], 7, 8, 10.

5'-8': the entries for Simānu(III) correspond to Uruanna III 12, 15¹, 15a, 13.

6': the tīyatū-plant is not preserved in the known manuscripts that contain this section, but maybe the lost plant name of Uruanna III 15 (Rumor 2017: 6) is to be reconstructed as tīyatū.

9'-12': the entries for Du'uzu(IV) correspond to Uruanna III 16, 17, ?, 18

9': there are different AŠ names known for the tiyāru-plant (e.g. NAM.TAR sişē “pillū of the swamp” NUNUZ dadari¹ “bud of dadaru(?)” (cf. Rumor 2017: 6).

11: The ‘bark of the reed thicket’ is so far not appearing in this section of Uruanna III.

12: Ú PA GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA “drug ‘leaf of the *kuru*-plant” is slightly different from the other known texts which have GIŠ Ú ZÚ.LUM.MA “drug date palm” for Uruanna III 18.

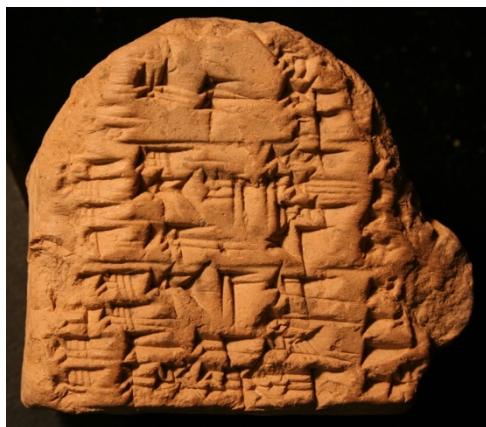
Rev.: Entries for the months Ulūlu(VI) to Kislimu(IX).

1-2: || STT 300, 24.

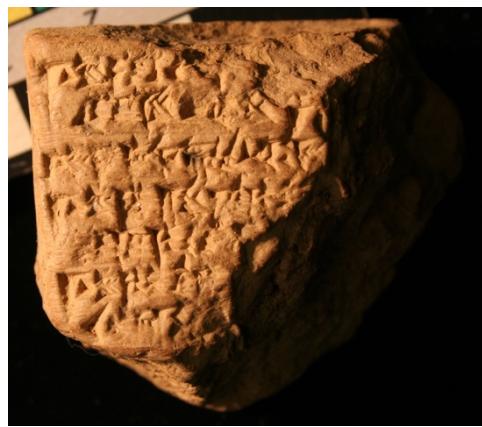
3: similar to STT 300, 20–21. BM 37080 leaves out some days and rites, and skips after the month directly to information related to the 16th–20th day.

4-5: || STT 300, 31.

6-7: the beginning is similar to STT 300, 34, but that what is preserved of the second line seems not to be in accordance with STT 300.



BM 37080 obverse



BM 37080 reverse

Measurements: 4,2 × 3,8 × 2,5 cm

I wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to study and publish the tablet.

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52) Eine neuassyrische Vereinbarung zur Schuldübernahme — Unter den Urkunden, die zum unlängst veröffentlichten Archiv des Weinimporteurs Dūrī-Aššūr aus dem neuassyrischen Assur gehören, befindet sich ein singulärer Text, dessen Deutung nicht unproblematisch ist, da er keinem Formular folgt, einige Auffälligkeiten aufweist und wir den sachlichen Hintergrund nicht kennen. Karen Radner, die Bearbeiterin des Textes, hat ihn mit der Überschrift „Vergleich zwischen Aššur-mātu-taqqin und Nabū-mudammiq (postkanonisch: 639 v. Chr.)“ versehen, ohne diese Interpretation näher zu begründen.¹⁰ Mit der gebotenen Vorsicht möchte ich im Folgenden eine alternative Leseart vorgeschlagen, die zwar nicht alle Fragen zufriedenstellend beantworten mag, aber sich inhaltlich als schlüssiger bewährt:

¹ na^qkišib ^{md}pa-^rmu-sig¹²dub^{?! (Kopie: ta*) ša} ^m15-ta-su ³ta* igi ^lu-un-dir-a-a il-qu-u-ni⁴^maš+šur-kur-lal ^{md}pa-mu-sig ⁵ú-sa-maš-ši-lu (drei identische Stempelsiegelabdrücke) ⁶dan-nu-tú la-bir-tú ša ^m15-ta-su ⁷il-qu-u-ni ina igi ^maš+šur-kur-lal ⁸dan-nu-tú gibil šá ^mnu-man-e ⁹ša ^{md}pa-man-pap-meš-šú il-qu-u-ni ¹⁰ina igi ^{md}pa-mu-sig (Datum und Zeugen).

„¹Siegel des Nabû-mudammiq. ²Die Tafel“, die Issâr-tarîba ³von dem Transportunternehmer genommen hat, ⁴haben Aššûr-mâtu-taqquin (und) Nabû-mudammiq ⁵gleich gemacht (d. h. kopiert). (Drei identische Stempelsiegelabdrücke) ⁶Die alte Urkunde, die Issâr-tarîba ⁷genommen hat, (ging) zu Lasten des Aššûr-mâtu-taqquin. ⁸Die neue Urkunde, die Şalam-şarri-iqbi ⁹(und) Nabû-şar-ahhêšu genommen haben, ¹⁰(geht) zu Lasten des Nabû-mudammiq.“ Es folgen das Datum und die stark zerstörte Zeugenliste.

Die Verbalform in Z. 5 wird von Radner kommentarlos mit „sie haben einen Vergleich abgeschlossen“ übersetzt. Allem Anschein nach handelt es sich um ein m. W. sonst nicht belegtes ŠD-Perfekt des Verbs *mašālu*, „gleichen“, im ŠD-Stamm „gleich machen“, hier im Sinne von „eine Kopie machen“. Letztere Bedeutung wird durch die Nennung einer alten und einer neu angefertigten Urkunde bestätigt und ist der Grund für meine vorsichtige Emendation *dub^{?! = tuppū}*, „Tafel“, zu Beginn der Z. 2.²⁾ Der rechtliche Vorgang, der hier dokumentiert wird, ist m. E. eine Schuldübernahme. Aššûr-mâtu-taqquin (Altschuldner) scheidet aus seinem Schuldverhältnis gegenüber dem Transportunternehmer (Gläubiger) aus und seine Schuld wird von Nabû-mudammiq (Neuschuldner) übernommen. Zu diesem Zweck händigt der Transportunternehmer dem Issâr-tarîba, vermutlich einem Vertreter des Aššûr-mâtu-taqquin, die (alte) Schuldurkunde aus, was seine Zustimmung zum Schuldnerwechsel voraussetzen dürfte.³⁾ Aššûr-mâtu-taqquin und Nabû-mudammiq setzen eine neue Urkunde auf, welche bis auf den Namen und das Siegel des Schuldners identisch mit der alten Urkunde ist, und lassen sie von Şalam-şarri-iqbi und Nabû-şar-ahhêšu (ehemaligen Vertragszeugen?, Vertretern des Gläubigers?) dem Transportunternehmer überbringen. Die alte Urkunde wird sicherlich zerstört und ungültig gemacht. Die Notwendigkeit von Vermittlern könnte darin begründet sein, dass sich die involvierten Personen berufsbedingt außerhalb von Assur aufhielten. Von Aššûr-mâtu-taqquin wissen wir, dass er Partner des Archivinhabers war und häufig auf Reisen war.

Folgt man der dargestellten Auffassung, dann dokumentiert die vorliegende Tafel die Vereinbarung zwischen dem Altschuldner und dem Neuschuldner und ist zu Beweiszwecken für den Ersten aufgesetzt worden. Daher ist sie vom Zweiten gesiegelt worden. Der Anlass für die Schuldübertragung wird nicht genannt. Der archivalische Kontext lässt an einen kommerziellen Hintergrund denken.

Die Änderung des Schuldverhältnisses ist auch von Seiten des Gläubigers möglich, wie einige Urkunden nahelegen, in denen der Empfänger der verbrieften Leistung ein Dritter ist, der nicht zu den Vertragsparteien gehört.⁴⁾ Es handelt sich dabei höchstwahrscheinlich um einen Gläubiger des ursprünglichen Leistungsempfängers, auf den dieser sein Forderungsrecht überträgt und der auf diese Weise befriedigt wird.

Anmerkungen

1. K. Radner, Die beiden neuassyrischen Privatarchive, in: P. A. Miglus / K. Radner / F. M. Stępnowski, Ausgrabungen in Assur: Wohnquartiere in der Weststadt. Teil I, WVDOG Band 152, 2016, 92–93, Text Nr. I.14. Hans Neumann hat dankenswerterweise die erste Fassung der vorliegenden Notiz gelesen.

2. Der allgemeine Terminus *tuppu*, „Tontafel“, wird neuassyrisch auch zur Bezeichnung von Rechtsurkunden verwendet, insbesondere im Ausdruck *sâbit tuppi*, der mit *sâbit dannitu* und, seltener, mit *sâbit egirtu* und *sâbit kaniki* alterniert; siehe K. Radner, Die neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt, SAAS 6, 1997, 53–63. Radner, op. cit., 89–92 übersetzt den Ausdruck mit „Verwahrer der Tafel“. Dagegen J. N. Postgate, Making tablets or taking tablets? *tappa/u šabâtu* in Assyria, Iraq 73, 2011, 156–158: „scribe who wrote the tablet“.

3. Auffällig ist allerdings die Verwendung des Wortes *dannutu*, das in der Regel „Erwerbs“ oder „Kaufurkunde“ bedeutet, für eine Schuldurkunde (assyrisch *egirtu*). Zur Begrifflichkeit und ihrer Problematik siehe zuletzt Postgate, op. cit., besonders Seite 154–155.

4. R. Jas, Neo-Assyrian Judicial Procedures, SAAS 5, 1996, 71–73, Text Nr. 46; K. Radner, Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šeh Hamad, BATSH Band 6, 2002, 28, Text Nr. 2.

53) New Light on the Assassination of Sennacherib — Tablet 1880-7-19, 28 in the Kuyunjik Collection of the British Museum (most recently published by Frances Reynolds as SAA 18, 100) has long been known to contain invaluable information about the conspiracy to assassinate Sennacherib in 681 BC (Parpolo 1980). In 2005 an additional fragment (K. 21923) was joined to the tablet by Jeanette C. Fincke but has until now remained unpublished.¹⁾ While the beginning and the end of the tablet remain missing, this restoration provides new information about the plot against Sennacherib and the identities of the persons involved. After examining and collating the tablet at the British Museum in September 2018, I offer a hand copy (fig. 1) and transliteration of the newly joined sections as well as a translation and commentary:

Obverse	Reverse
1' 'x'	8. 'u ¹ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú i-d[uk-ku]
2' mu-x [...]	9. šu-n[u-t]e ERIM.MEŠ 'ŠE'.BAR ¹ DÙG-ia [...]
3' šá l rd [...]	10. u ¹ AG—ŠEŠ—APIN-eš ki-i ¹ [iš-mu-ú]
4' šá 4(bán) x ti x [...]	11. la i-qi-pi ERIM.MEŠ šá É AR[AD ^d NIN.LÍL]
5' 3 ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ni URU.TIN.TI[R.KI.MEŠ...]	12. LUGAL 'li ¹ -šá-al-la : en-n[a a-du-ú]
6' LÚ.KUG.DIM ¹ .MEŠ i-na É [...]	13. da-ba-ba bab-ba-nu-ú šá [...]
7' a-de-e šá si-i-hi šá x- [...]	14. ki-i [ni]m ¹ -har-ru a-na LU[GAL EN-a-ni]
8' ki-i iš-mu-ú 1.en i-n[a ŠA-bi-šú-nu	15. ki-i [i]š-pu-ru LUGAL [EN-a-ni]
9' i-na pa-ni <ni>-ir-ti a-mat LUGAL i[q ² -ta-bi]	16. x [...]

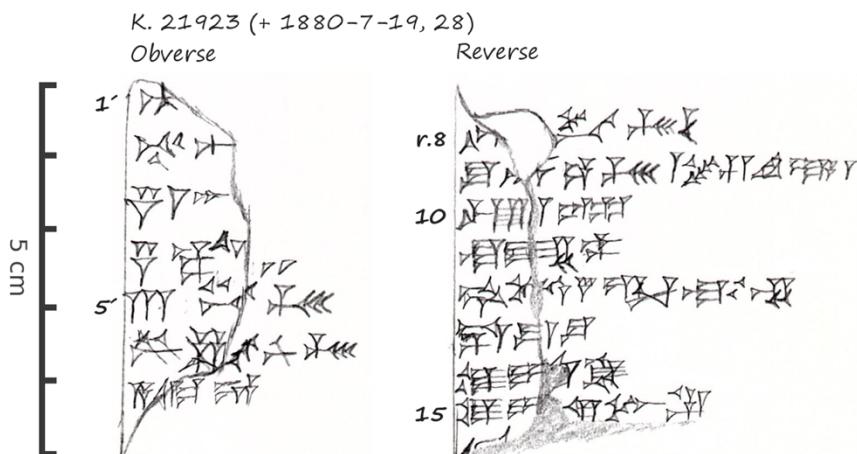


Figure 1. Hand copy of K. 21923 where it joins to tablet 1880-7-19, 28 (=SAA 18, 100)

Commentary

4'. This line numbered as line 1' in SAA 18, 100.

5'. (Line 2' of SAA 18, 100). The join confirms the reconstruction of the second sign of this line as ŠEŠ, and adds the number "3" before it.

6'. (Line 3' of SAA 18, 100). The signs LÚ.KUG are clearly visible in the joined fragment. SAA 18, 100 reconstructed the first word of this line as the personal name [^mDI]-mu¹—PAB-MEŠ or Šulmu-ahhe, which can now be shown to be incorrect. The next sign in the line is actually DIM, forming the logogram LÚ.KUG.DIM or *kutimmu*, "silversmith." This logogram is attested in Neo-Babylonian texts (CAD, K p. 608-609) but also appears in a list of Babylonian deportees from Nineveh (SAA 11, 155: 5).

7'. Here the join confirms Reynolds' reconstruction.

8'-9'. The join ends on line 7'. These lines are included here from SAA 18, 100: 5'-6' for clarity.

r. 8. The conjunction *ū* is partially visible and can be clearly reconstructed here. The numbering of lines on the reverse matches those from SAA 18, 100.

r. 9. The first personal name on this line was read TUR by Reynolds, although marked as an uncertain reading. TUR, normalized as *suhru*, “youth”, is only otherwise attested as a woman’s name while here it bears the determinative for a man’s name (SAA 10, 194 r. 10; PNAE 3-1 p. 1178). I suggest the name should be read ŠE.BAR, or *ut̄tatu*, “barley,” although this name is otherwise unattested.

r. 9-10. These lines list the names of several persons. Reynolds’ reconstruction interprets the names on line 9 as the subject of a reconstructed verb *qabû* at the end of line 10, and Nabû-aha-ereš as the object. The join gives a conjunction *ū* at the beginning of line 10, suggesting that Nabû-aha-ereš was part of the same list of names which began on line 9, and that all of them are the subject of the verb which originally appeared after *kī* on line 10. Here I have reconstructed the verb as *šemû*.

r. 14. *nimharu* = mahāru G-preterite 1cp.

Translation

1⁴' ...whom [PN lost]... 4 *sūtu* of...

5⁹' ...three brothers, Babylonians... silversmiths in the house of [...] when they heard of the treaty of rebellion which [...], one of them appealed to the king prior to the murder.

(For a translation of lines 10'(-7')-r. 2, see SAA 18, 100)

r. 3-8 When they uncovered his face, Arda-Mullissi questioned him. They killed [him] and his brothers.

r. 9-16 These are the people: Ut̄tatu, Tabiya, [PN lost] and Nabu-ahu-ereš, when [they heard it] they did not believe it. The king should question the men of the house of Arda-Mullissi. Now, when we confronted (them) [they] talk excellent nonsense about [...]. Then they wrote to the king [our lord]. The king [our lord]...

As Parpola (1980: 173) has pointed out, this letter must post-date Sennacherib’s assassination. It was most likely written in the time immediately following Esarhaddon’s seizure of the throne, and was the product of an investigation ordered by Esarhaddon into the circumstances of his father’s death with the intent of uncovering any accomplices or co-conspirators who were still at large. The use of the first-person plural verb *nimharu* in r. 14 shows that the letter had at least two authors who were carrying out the investigation.

The beginning of lines 5'-6' reveal that the plot against Sennacherib by his son Arda-Mullissi was discovered by three Babylonian silversmiths, all brothers, who worked in a royal or temple household whose name has unfortunately been lost. It is possible, based on r. 11, that they worked in the household of Arda-Mullissi himself, although this cannot be considered certain.

One of the three brothers sought to appeal to Sennacherib personally and disclose the conspiracy to him. He was met by Nabû-šumu-iškun and Sillaya, members of Sennacherib’s household who, unknown to the silversmith, were part of the plot and betrayed him to Arda-Mullissi (Parpola 1980: 172; PNAE 2:2 p. 888). This join reveals that not only did Arda-Mullissi and his co-conspirators kill the would-be informant, but tracked down and killed his brothers as well.

The four men listed in r. 9-10 appear to be persons in the household of Arda-Mullissi. Given this, Nabû-ahu-ereš in r. 10 is almost certainly not to be identified with the Nabû-ahhe-ereš who served as governor of Sam’al and as eponym in 681 BC (Millard 1994: 61). It is unclear what the four men did not believe. Did they also hear rumors of the plot against Sennacherib but discount them? Or did they disbelieve rumors of the murder of the three Babylonian silversmiths? In any case, given that three people were murdered and disposed of prior to the assassination, the authors of the letter were skeptical towards the claims of innocence being made by members of Arda-Mullissi’s household after the fact. They recommend further investigation be made of the former members of Arda-Mullissi’s household.

Notes

- I would like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish, and especially thank Mr. Imran Javed for making a special effort to locate this tablet in the museum’s collection.

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54) Nebuchadnezzar II's Bricks in Cracow* — The bricks published here are part of a collection known as “the Field Museum”, created in 1943 by Jaroslaw Sagan, a soldier in the Polish Army that was formed in the Soviet Union in 1941. The itinerary of this army, under the commandment of General W. Anders, passed through Iran, Iraq, and Palestine where it became the 2nd Polish Corps. Sagan, the museum treasurer in a town near Drohobycz before the war, collected items that were bought by soldiers of the Polish Army in Middle Eastern bazaars. The collection has been brought to Poland in 1948 and most of it was conveyed to the Archaeological Museum of Cracow. A unique note in the inventory of “the Field Museum” concerning the provenience of the bricks published here, tells that they were purchased by soldiers in Iran.

All the four bricks (I, II, III, IV onwards) feature an intermediate ruling and are stamped on their face with the very well-known Standard Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II.¹⁾ Bricks I and II bear the 6-line inscription which corresponds to type “B5” according to Da Riva’s classification.²⁾ Artefacts III and IV bear the 7-line inscription which corresponds to Da Riva’s type “B6”.³⁾ The average weight of the bricks is 12.6 kg. The photographs of the items are presented in CDLI.

I. MAK/AS/118/ EW/3740

CDLI no.: P513520

31 x 31 x 7 cm

Dimensions of stamped area: 16 x 10 cm

II. MAK/AS/126/EW/3738

CDLI no.: P513522

31 x 31 x 8 cm

Dimensions of stamped area: 15 x 8.5 cm

The brick is slightly damaged in its right corner.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | ^d nabû(nà)-ku- ^r dúr ^l -ri-usur(urù) |
| 2 | šar(lugal) ba-bi-lu ^{ki} |
| 3 | ^r za ^l -ni-nu é-sag-íl |
| 4 | ù é-zi-da aplu (ibila) |
| 5 | ašarēdu(sag.kal) šá ^d nabû(nà)-apla(ibila)-uṣur(urù) |
| 6 | šar(lugal) ba-bi-lu ^{ki} ana-ku |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | ^d nabû(nà)- ku-dúr- ^r ru-usur(urù) ¹ |
| 2 | šar(lugal) ba-bi-i-lu ^{ki} |
| 3 | za-ni-in ^r é ^l -sag-íl |
| 4 | ù é-zi-da |
| 5 | mār (dumu) ^d nabû(nà)-apla(ibila)-ú-sur |
| 6 | šar(lugal) ba-bi-i-lu ^{ki} ana-ku |

The arrangement of the two 6-line inscriptions on I and II conforms to the “6-line stamp (variant)” in Black’s classification.⁴⁾ A specificity of this variant is the addition of *ana-ku* in line 6. Another particularity of “6-line stamp (variant)”, the use of a syllabic spelling for the name of Babylon, also occurs in the two Cracow bricks, namely *ba-bi-lu* on I and *ba-bi-i-lu* on II.⁵⁾ An additional feature of the “6-line stamp (variant)”, attested in I, is the spelling *za-ni-nu é-sag-íl* instead of regular *za-ni-in é-sag-íl*. Although the format of the inscription on II accords with Black’s “6-line stamp (variant)”, Nebuchadnezzar is referred to as *mār* (dumu) ^dnabû(nà)-apla(ibila)-ú-sur instead of the typical, ceremonial expression *aplu* (ibila) *ašarēdu(sag.kal) šá ^dnabû(nà)-apla(ibila)-uṣur(urù)* as in I.

III. MAK/AS/119/EW/3741

CDLI no.: P513521

32 x 32 x 7 cm

Dimensions of stamped area: 15 x 11 cm⁶

- 1 *d^anabû(nâ)-ku-du-úr-ri-uşur(urù)*
- 2 *šar(lugal) bābili(^aká.dingir.ra^{ki})*
- 3 *za-^aní-in¹ é-sag-íl*
- 4 *ù é-zí-da*
- 5 *aplu (ibila) a-ša-re-du*
- 6 *ša ^anabû(nâ)-apla(ibila)-uşur(urù)*
- 7 *šar(lugal) bābili(ká.dingir.ra^{ki})*

IV. MAK/AS/172/EW/3739

CDLI no.: P513523

31 x 31 x 8 cm

Dimensions of stamped area: 14 x 11 cm

The right side of the inscription is slightly damaged.

- 1 *d^anabû(nâ)-ku-du-úr-ri-uşur(urù)¹*
- 2 *šar(lugal) bābili(^aká.dingir.ra^{ki})*
- 3 *za-ní-in¹ é-sag-íl¹*
- 4 *ù é-zí-da¹*
- 5 *aplu (ibila) a-ša-re-du¹*
- 6 *ša ^anabû(nâ)-apla(ibila)-uşur(urù)¹*
- 7 *šar(lugal) bābili(^aká.dingir.ra^{ki})*

The arrangement of the two 7-line inscriptions published here as III and IV, corresponds to Black's "7-line stamp" pattern.⁷ The identical spelling in both of them is exact as in Frazer 2017, 102-103, BMAG 7, Walker 1982, 81-82, no. 102, and Pettinato 1970, 51, Type A.

Notes

* I wish to thank the Archaeological Museum of Cracow for the kind permission to publish the four bricks. Special thanks go to Dr. Krzysztof Babraj, a treasurer of the Museum, for providing me the photos, the dimensions of the items as well as the information concerning "the Field Museum" collection. I am also grateful to Prof. Uri Gabbay for reading the draft of this note, and for his advice.

1. So far ten different arrangements of this inscription are known (Black 1987, 26-27).
2. Da Riva 2008, 117. "B5" corresponds to Berger 1973, A_p(b')₆ and Walker 1981, no. 103.
3. Da Riva 2008, 117. "B6" corresponds to Langdon 1912, Nbk. no. 41, Berger 1973, A_p(b')₇, and Walker 1981, no. 102.
4. Black 1987, 27.
5. For the spelling *ba-bi-i-lu*, cf. Bramanti 2015, 394-395.
6. Cf. the identical dimensions of the stamp, Pettinato 1970, 63, no. 35.
7. Black 1987, 27. For the list of publications concerning the spelling variants and the dimensions of the stamped area of this format, see Frazer 2017, 102, note 13.

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55) The “House of Joy” at Hatra and Babylon’s Esagila — The main sanctuary of Hatra, the monumental city of the Iraqi Jazirah that thrived in the Arsacid period (1st – 3rd cent. AD) and has yielded a substantial Aramaic corpus, was dedicated to Maren “Our Lord”, i.e. the Sun-god Šamš, and named *sg(y)l-Sagil*. This is well known to be the Aramaic rendering of the name of Marduk/Bēl’s temple at Babylon, the Esagila, already attested as *sngl* in an Aramaic epigraph on a cuneiform tablet dated to the 6th year of Alexander (Delaporte 1912 n°99:2)¹¹. “Sagil” is a clear Babylonian influence in Hatra, often cited as paramount evidence for the prestige of Babylon and the continuity of Babylonian cults beyond the cuneiform tradition.

The Sagil is attested in several Hatran inscriptions, notably H 107, a monumental text on a limestone slab. For its editions, see Healey (2009, 276-277 with literature and photo). The following translation differs slightly from those published so far.

1. [']n' [gdy] br 'b[y]gd [br]
2. gdy br [']bygd br kbyr[w]
3. mn bny rpšmš 'dryt
4. lšmš 'lh' rb' bd
5. tbt' byt hdy' 'ly' d[y]
6. sgyl hykl' rb' dy bn'
7. brmrn lšmš 'bwhy 'l
8. hyy w'l hyy mn dy rhym ly k[lh]

“I, [Gadday], son of Ab[ī]-Gad, [son of] Gadday, son of [A]bī-Gad, son of Kabīr[u], of the Bani Rap-Šamš, have helped Šamš, the great god, the benefactor: (in) the elevated House of Joy of[f] Sagil, the great temple, which Barmaren built for his father Šamš. For my life and the life of everyone who loves me.”

Commentary

1: The line is almost entirely damaged and names are reconstructed according to papponymy. As the hand-copy in the *editio princeps* (Safar 1962, 28) bears [...]n' [...] br 'b[y]gd [...] , the line may have been more readable when the inscription was discovered.

4: For the preposition *l-* as *nota accusativi* see Aggoula (1991, 67); cf. instead “*zugunsten des großen Gottes*” (Beyer 1998, 53) or “for (the honour of) Shamash” (Healey 2009, 276).

5: A preposition of place *b-* may not be expressed in the genitive construction *byt hdy' 'ly* “(in) the elevated House of Joy”. See also Beyer’s (1998, 53) reading *byt hry’* “das Haus der hohen Adligen (= der Versammlungsraum des Senats?)” with <r> rather than <d>.

The text was found in Iwan n°4 (numbering according to Andrae 1912 Taf. VII), a comparatively small room in the Sagil itself, and it is likely to commemorate some restoration works in the building, which were sponsored by one Gadday, of the tribal group known as Bani Rap-Šamš. The expression “the great temple, which Barmaren built for his father Šamš” (lines 6-7) implies that the Sagil was built with the financial support of Barmaren’s (i.e. “the Son of Our Lords”) temple community.

The expression *byt hdy' 'ly' d[y] sgyl* “(in) the elevated House of Joy of[f] Sagil” (lines 5-6) has been repeatedly discussed. Aggoula (1998, 38-39; 66) suggested “*la maison (salle) haute de réjouissance*”, a ceremonial room on an upper floor (“*haute*”); Healey (2009, 277) translated “House of the Joyous” and compared this name to that of Sīn’s temple in Harran, Ehulhul (E₂.HUL₂.HUL₂), Akkadian *Šubat Hidati* “House which gives Joy” (George 1993, 99; Sima 1995-1996, 319). The translation offered here follows *DNWSI* (p. 349, s.v. *hdy*₃ with literature). Although the spelling *hdy'* seems to point indeed to the adjective *hdāyā* “joyous”, whereas for “House of Joy” one would expect **byt hdt'* or **byt hdwt'*, a feminine word for “joy” is common in Late Aramaic (Syriac, Jewish Babylonian, Mandaic) but so far unattested in more ancient phases of the language. Moreover, “the Joyous” as a divine epithet or epiclesis is not attested elsewhere in the Hatran corpus, therefore it seems reasonable to translate *hdy'* as “joy”.

Going back to the Akkadian origin of the expression, Hatra’s proximity to Harran makes it plausible that some Harranian religious concepts could be assimilated by Hatrene culture, as witnessed by the attestation of the Edessene theonym Māralāhē in Sa‘diya, 20 km east of Hatra (Beyer 1998 S 1). However, an alternative explanation for the Hatrene “House of Joy” can be found in Babylon itself rather than far north. The cuneiform series Tintir, which lists the main Mesopotamian holy cities and their sacred

buildings, displays in fact E₂.HUL₂[...], likely to be restored E₂.HUL₂.[LA], as the name of a shrine in the Babylonian Esagila (Tintir II:5”; George 1992, 50-51 “Joyful House”; 1993, 99). The correspondence is even more striking if one considers that H 107 was found in Iwan n°4, a room that might have well functioned as a smaller shrine within the larger temple complex. The Hatrene “House of Joy” may thus even have been Iwan n°4. The analogy becomes even clearer if one translates line 5 “in the elevated House of Joy”, with a fully expressed preposition of place (see Commentary above).

Hatra’s Sagil has not yielded other texts that can prove that other rooms in the sanctuary bore ceremonial names inspired by the Babylonian Esagila. There is no proof either that the Hatrenes were fully aware of such a connection, as the name “House of Joy” may have been intended as a centuries-old expression or stock phrase. Yet, the abundant Mesopotamian religious heritage discernible in Hatra has been recognized as more distinctively Babylonian than Assyrian (Dirven 2014, 219). In this respect, it may be useful to recall the archetypal value of Babylon’s Esagila as a model for several other temples in the 1st millennium BC: Ezida at Borsippa, Ebabbar at Sippar, and perhaps the Neo-Babylonian “double” temple at Tell Ingharra-Ḫursagkalamma (George 1999, 74). Such a role lies in the temple’s manifold connotation as Marduk/Bēl’s dwelling: a place from which the god ruled the universe and where other gods and mankind paid their tribute to him (George 1992, 296-297; 1999, 67-68). Just as Babylon was the place where all gods converged, as celebrated in *Enūma elīš* (George 1999, 70), the Sagil of Hatra, in the city’s huge Temenos, fulfilled an identical function. It has been noted that gods and goddesses attested in the Temenos can appear also in other smaller shrines in the whole city, whereas the contrary does not always happen. Furthermore, Hatra’s Temenos was a massive embodiment of the religious and political programme carried on by the city’s rulers: it was the focal point of all cults practised in the city and –on a superregional level– the point of convergence of substantial pilgrimages and of a closely-woven net of diplomatic relations with neighbouring political entities. The available evidence is not compelling enough to allow to hypothesize that Hatra’s Temenos, and notably its Sagil, was directly inspired by Babylon’s Esagila and that Hatra’s rulers aimed at mirroring Babylon. Nevertheless, the presence of the “House of Joy” at Hatra constitutes important evidence for the continuity of Babylonian culture and can be added to the list of ancient Mesopotamian features that can be retrieved in this Aramaic-speaking city of the Arsacid period.

Notes

1. Tubach (2013, 207 fn. 57) proposed that *sgyl* may be a shortened transcription of Sumerian E₂.SAG.IL₂: the morpheme E₂ would have been still correctly understood and therefore omitted to avoid redundancy. Such a suggestion, though, should be evaluated carefully.

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