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## Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

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### NOTES BRÈVES

**56) The earliest kudurrus: a few annotations\*** — The volume OIP 104 (Ignace J. Gelb, Piotr Steinkeller, Robert M. Whiting, Jr., *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus*, Chicago 1991) has already received much attention in review articles. In the present note the focus is on some technical terms used in the *kudurrus* nos. 1–11. Nos. 1–12, 18 and 19 are classified as “earliest *kudurrus*” in OIP 104; with regard to the dating and the language in which they are written there are minor uncertainties. In OIP 104 nos. 1–11 are classified as dating to the Uruk III period, nos. 12, 18 and 19 as dating to the ED I-II period, nos. 19a and 19b as being “Pre-Sargonic or earlier”, in the CDLI except for no. 19a (ED IIIa) all texts are classified as dating to the ED I-II period. The language of those *kudurrus* “could be either Sumerian or Akkadian” (OIP 104, introduction, p.11); when discussing the individual texts, the language is usually specified as “Sumerian (?)” in OIP 104 and in the CDLI<sup>1)</sup>. For no. 18 (“figure aux plumes”) reference needs to be made to C. Wilcke’s contribution to the Festschrift R. M. Boehmer (Mainz 1995).

The stone tablets nos. 1–7 form a group (OIP 104, p. 27), connected by the term “SÌLA×DUG”<sup>2)</sup>; they contain, as far as can be ascertained, besides SÌLA×DUG field sizes, names and additional information (OIP 104, p. 30: “groups of signs that are ... difficult to interpret”). In addition the two stone figurines no. 8 (a sheep (?)) and no. 9 (a bird) have to be assigned to this group; in no. 9 it could be that this is the first *kudurru* where commodities given to the sellers are mentioned (see OIP 104, p. 30 and 38). SÌLA×DIN on no. 19 is reminiscent of SÌLA×DUG, but presumably has a different meaning (cf note 2). Based on the CDLI assignment to historical periods SÌLA×DUG is known from seven texts of the Uruk III period; besides the OIP 104 texts there is only one more ED I-II document: FMB 27 (CDLI no. P427655; “sale document?”); there are no further attestations after the ED I-II period. This might suggest that those *kudurrus* should be assigned (linguistically) to the Uruk III period (graphically, some signs already differ from their Uruk III counterparts, see, for example, UR in *kudurru* no. 1, ii1). Another indication of this might be the fact that many other terms are found in Uruk III texts, but not in ED I-II texts<sup>3)</sup>. Although the Uruk III texts, whenever they consist of more than just an enumeration of “objects”, cannot be interpreted as Sumerian texts, this does not necessarily mean that the *kudurrus* mentioned (especially nos. 1–7) are written in a language other than Sumerian. In *Prunkinschriften* the Sumerians could have used earlier (i.e. Proto-Euphratic) expressions that became obsolete from the Fara period on. This, too, would help explain why difficulties arise in an attempted Sumerian interpretation.

It is striking that in the earliest *kudurrus* compared to the ED III period and later *kudurrus* no verb appears to be present. However, the authors of OIP 104 consider treating ŠĪLA×DUG as a verb (“to alienate”, p. 30; but cf p. 31: “It is equally possible ... that (ŠĪLA×DUG) has a different, yet unknown, meaning ...”). It is unlikely that ŠĪLA×DUG is a verb (or the corresponding noun, “alienation”: OIP 104, p. 31). In c1/25 it denotes one of two field areas (to whom should the field have been transferred here?); one rather expects a designation of the field area as in m1/2–6 (GÁN EN, KI BU, GIŠ KI BAR)<sup>4)</sup>, a title (e.g., NÁM.DI: m1/2) or a personal name (cf m1/8 or W 17729,bq) to be mentioned with the field area. The position of ŠĪLA×DUG in W 20551,1 (Uruk III) corresponds to that of KI BU in m1/1 (a designation of a field area). KI BU will probably not correspond to later “ki gid(a)2 – measured land” (OBO 160/1, p. 208<sup>5)</sup>), compare m1/156 (a “mixed account”). KI BU might specify something else<sup>6)</sup>. The alternative is to consider ŠĪLA×DUG as a title or personal name. According to the authors of OIP 104 this sign group is “in immediate juxtaposition to the sign GÁN” (p. 28). This does not apply, for example, to text W 20552,8: ŠĪLA×DUG follows an enumeration of field areas and personal names; similar considerations apply to MS 3003 (no field areas<sup>7)</sup>) and to the *kudurru* no. 3 (cf OIP 104, p. 30). Since it cannot be assumed that one and the same person acts in all *kudurrus*, ŠĪLA×DUG is probably not a personal name but an occupational title; the official in question could have been mentioned as witness/guarantor for the correctness of the field survey/field transfer (?<sup>8)</sup>).

A similar consideration can be made for the term AB.APIN<sup>9)</sup>. It does not appear from the Fara period onwards. AB.APIN on the Blau Obelisk is the only ED I-II attestation (OIP 104, no. 10; here, even Akkadian is considered as the possible language); this attestation can hardly be separated from the Jemdet Nasr attestations. A translation “agricultural household” seems unlikely<sup>10)</sup>. The interpretation suggested in OIP 104, p. 40 (AB.APIN “=” APIN.AB = engar èš – *agronomos* of the temple household) cannot be considered accurate in the form presented here although its meaning might be correct. Without any doubt, the sign group must be read AB.APIN, not APIN.AB<sup>11)</sup>. The text a6/14335,w (a BA/GI list of allocations to recipients (?)), too, could reveal that AB.APIN denotes a person (not an institution)<sup>12)</sup>. AB appears in the precursor a3/9656,x of Lú A as an official; in Lú A, AB is the first constituent of at least two professions: AB.ME and AB.ÚMUN.KÙ; Lú A, no. 46 (‘AB’? [ ] ) is uncertain; furthermore, compare (?) AB.NI+RU (m1/2, 5+6, 26, ...), AB.GÎR.gunû (see note 11) and AB.UKKIN (m1/233). Three officials whose titles contain the sign APIN are known from the list Lú A: NÁM.APIN, (APIN.SUHUR) and MAR.APIN. AB.APIN could thus be the “‘AB-official’ of the ploughs”, so, again a kind of *agronomos*, but not interpreted in Sumerian (APIN AB = engar èš), but Proto-Euphratic (AB APIN). It is well known that some other PE officials are still to be found occasionally in administrative texts of the ED I-II period (e.g., NAMEŠDA: UET 2, 163 and 262).

\* Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2018/93 (please, pay special attention to the abbreviations “a, c, mM/NN” for “ATU, CUSAS, MSVO, vol. M/text no. NN”). – (ED: Early Dynastic; PE: Proto-Euphratic).

## Notes

1. More accurate: OIP 104, CDLI – no. 18 “Sumerian”; CDLI, nos. 10, 11, and 19a – “Sumerian”; no. 19b is not displayed in the CDLI.

2. In no. 6 instead of (?) ŠĪLA×DUG rather “ŠA DUG”. – The textual structure of no. 7 does not fit the usual pattern (see the remarks in OIP 104).

3. Only a selection of examples will be given. Possible units in personal names are also listed, see here the first entry under “No. 1 – Uruk” (here, a reading “MÍ.LĀL, TÛR” is more likely, cf the MÍ and NIN terms in OIP 104, p. 33 under “Notes”). In most cases only one reference is listed (Uruk IV–III, ED I–II), if possible a reference in which no further signs belong to that entry. **No. 1 – Uruk:** MÍ.TÛR – c1/105; ŠEN.A – m1/40; m1/243 (place name); UR.A – a3/20242 ([ ] ~); NUN.A – a5/9579,cs; a3/Wood 22 (without GIŠ: W 21418,5); a3/Geogr. 7; m1/243 (place name); GIŠ.TE – m3/1; a6/14731,a1; PA.KÛ.A – MS 2431; NAR.NAGA – often together with other signs (W 21184,1), possibly as a separate term in W 21500+; **ED:** É.SUKKAL – UET 2, 112, bottom of rev. (EZEN.~); **no. 2 – Uruk:** EN.DU – m1/235 (~[Ø?]); c31/109 (EN.DU, PAP; likewise in c31/189?); AN.EN – c21/106; **ED:** –; **no. 3 – Uruk:** ZI.AN, MÍ– cf “ZI.AN” in c31/19 (a woman) and in W 239991,1 (a female worker); NÍNDA×HI – is attested in both periods, Uruk and ED; É.DA – W 24007,4; DA.GI – W 20274,9; PIRIG.PAP – c1/8; MÍ.A – c31/89; É.BAR – c1/100; U<sub>4</sub>.SAG – W 24012,10 (term in the first entry); DU.PAP – a3/Unid. 45 and c1/108 (both “EN.DU.PAP”); c21/265 [school text] (PAP.DU); KA.TUR – W 20551,1 (~.SUG; fields; ŠĪLA×DUG appears in the subscript);

EN.DU – see no. 2; DU.DU – c21/244 (school text); **ED:** U<sub>4</sub>.SAG – part of personal names, see, e.g., UET 2, 94; KA.TUR – UET 2, 107 (TUR.KA); Dudu as personal name is known from later texts; **no. 4 – Uruk:** 3N<sub>57</sub>.PIRIG – a5/6573,b; PAP.GÁ.IB – W 20511,2; SI.A – c1/139; ŠĖ.tenû.EN – cf a3/Tribute 68 (EN.ŠĖ); UNUG.A – a5/9206,a1; **ED:** (3N<sub>57</sub>.PIRIG = LAK 252); SI.A – ATFU, no. 57, rev. 5; **no. 5 – Uruk:** NU<sub>11</sub>.AN – a3/Unid. 69; c1/17; MÍ.GURUŠ – a5/9311,a; TE.A – m3/67 i6 (~.TUR, PAP); KALAM.A – c21/46 (part of the subscript); É.KI – MS 2863/27; a3/Geogr. 3; **ED:** MÍ.GURUŠ – UET 2, 252; KALAM.A – see UET 2, 187 (a-kalam-si) and P462199 (CDLI no.; a-kalam [ED IIIb]); **no. 6 – Uruk:** ŠĖ.APIN – MS 2393 i2 and iii1; **ED:** –; **no. 7 –** (the use of GÉME and ÁRAD is striking); **Uruk:** GIŠ×ŠÚ – a6/14804,a+; DA.DU – MS 2694; DU.PAP – MS 2359 (SANGA KALAM, ~); cf c21/265 (PAP.DU; school text); DA.PAP – cf W 20511,1 i2 (DARA<sub>4</sub>~, DUG.GAL); PAP.SUKKAL – W 20511,2 iii (1N<sub>57</sub> ZATU659<sup>2</sup>, ~); {GIŠ.tenû.UR<sub>4</sub> – a6/15897,c2 [~.ÚR]; GIŠ.UR<sub>4</sub> – m4/19; LAGAB.UR<sub>4</sub> – a6/15897,c20}; SAG.GÎR.gunû – W 15771,w ([ ] .X~); **ED:** –; **no. 8 – Uruk:** SU.É.ŠAGAN – m4/27; UNUG.A – a5/9206,a1; ŠĖ.É – m1/82 vi (?); ŠĖŠ.KI – W 17729,bq (in the subscript; the sign is probably neither ŠĖŠ nor MÜŠ); **ED:** AN.GAL.NIN – UET 2, 9 (<sup>d</sup>Nin-gal-ak); ÚR.KÛ – OIP 104, 22, i36' (ED IIIb); MÜŠ.KI – cf OIP 104, 13 i4 (IM KI MÜŠ X); **no. 9 –** (mention of Lagaš (?); the “white cakes” and “white sheep” are unusual for the Sumerian language [OIP 104, p. 38; U<sub>4</sub> GÚG and U<sub>4</sub> UDU]; the term GIŠ.GI [Uruk and ED] and some others are not included); **Uruk:** LAGAB.GI – a7/21734,2; KI.A – c1/113; c21/228 (school text); m1/1 (GÁN KI.A); LAGAB.BAR – c21/252 (1N<sub>04</sub>, ~; school text); GIŠ.TE – a6/14731,a1 ([ ] ~); NUN.A – cf no. 1; SU.É – a3/Cities 58; (GÁN.GI – m1/11); U<sub>4</sub>.ŠAGAN – c1/100; **ED:** KI.A – UET 2, 168 iii (ME.~); SU.É – cf UET 2, 247 iv; **no. 10 (Blau Obelisk) – Uruk:** KU<sub>6</sub>.RAD – often as part of entries (m4/39: SANGA ~); KU<sub>6</sub>.ÚR – only in ÚR.KU<sub>6</sub>.RAD (a3/Cities 9; RAD is broken off in m4/5 and m4/9); IB.PAP – a7/20511,5 (PAP.IB); **ED:** ALAN.NE – cf UET 2, 47; **no. 11 (Blau Plaque) – Uruk:** EN.ŠĖ – a3/Vocab. 3; EN.A – m4/63; ~, PAP and PAP, ~ in c21/251 and 259 (school texts); GAL.ZATU687 – a3/Unid. 45x; MS 4558; LÁ.ŠĖ.tenû – cf W 17729,eh (LÁ.ŠĖ); 3N<sub>57</sub>.GAR – m1/84 rev. i; AN.ZATU687 – MS 2395 (part of an entry); MUN<sup>3</sup>.SAG (MUN instead of ŠITA.gunû [CDLI] according to J. Bauer, WO 24 [1993] 161–165) – cf a6/15775,i; **ED:** EN.A – cf (?) UET 2, 229 i (more likely as in UET 2, 128 iii and 247 i); AN.ZATU687 – UET 2, 62 ii (part of a personal name); NUNUZ.SAG – UET 2, 272 (NUNUZ.~).

4. Further specifications of the “KI BU” fields in m1/1: GÁN ŠĖ.ŠĖ, GÁN KI.A.

5. The “EN field” (GÁN EN) and the “border land” (GIŠ KI BAR) are also measured (m1/2–6).

6. Such as, for example, “public” land as opposed to EN land.

7. The subscript “[...] n [ŠĖ] BA” and the position of ŠĖLA×DUG on the tablet seem to exclude a “designation” (of a field or something else) for ŠĖLA×DUG.

8. Note OIP 104, section 2.5 (“Function of the Earliest Kudurrus”). The other texts (fragmentary) in which ŠĖLA×DUG occurs seem to be in accordance with this (W 15770,d; W 15771,h; W 15773,i).

9. Partial amendment of note 10b), *NABU* 2017/29.

10. See the CDLI, translation of text m1/1; former translation in OBO 160/1, p. 211: “NI+RU AB APIN – the plowing office in the household of NIRU”. The officials mentioned in the text (NĀM.DI and others) do not fit this interpretation. Also texts like c1/150, m1/21 or m1/99 do not speak in favour of a translation “agricultural household” (those texts are about small quantities of cereal products, not fields).

11. Cf m1/1, 97–99. The order “APIN, AB” occurs only once in one of the nineteen Uruk III attestations as part of a personal name (EN.APIN.AB, MS 2387 ii), but here, EN and APIN form a unit, cf c31/13 or m4/54. AB can be in the first and in the second position in a sign combination, see m1/184: SANGA AB AB GÎR.gunû – “the SANGA (title) of the AB (household), the AB (title?) of the GÎR.gunû”; compare m1/146 (SANGA NI+RU and SANGA AB), m1/175 and 219 (SANGA AB).

12. Admittedly there might have been yet another sign in front of AB.APIN (a title or an element of a personal name, see, e.g., UB in m1/20).

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**57) On three small Ebla lexical lists (ARET V 22, MEE 15 30, MEE 15 31)** — Five excerpts of acrographic Sumerian lexical lists of the éš-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> kind have been found in the Ebla Palace G archive L.2769 according to A. Archi, *Transmission of the Mesopotamian Lexical and Literary Texts*, in P. Fronzaroli ed., *Literature and Literary Language at Ebla, QuSem* 18, Firenze 1992, p. 16 (“The tablets belonging to this group are fourteen in number. Five of them are abstracts, two being devoted only to the section concerning words with NÍG-”). Some of them – i.e. TM.75.G.2197 = *ARET* V 22 (see M. Krebern timer *apud* D. O. Edzard, *Hymnen, Beschwörungen und Verwandtes, ARET* V, Roma, 1984, p. 41; photograph in *ARET* V, Taf. LII, handcopy *ibid.*, Taf. XXXIX), TM.75.G.2348 = *MEE* 15 31 (S.A. Picchioni, *Testi lessicali monolingui “éš-bar-kin<sub>x</sub>”, MEE* 15, Roma, 1997, pp. 96f., without photograph or handcopy), and

TM.75.G.2409 = *MEE* 15 30 (Picchioni, *ibid.*, p. 96, without photograph or handcopy) – belong to the same family of manuscripts that includes the monolingual list TM.75.G.2422+ TM.75.G.3175 + TM.75.G.3400 + TM.75.G.4535 + TM.75.G.4548 + TM.75.G.11302 = *MEE* 4 115 = *MEE* 15 1-5 and the four main sources of the bilingual list. In fact, with discontinuities, the entries of these three small tablets, only inscribed on the obverse, follow the order of the entries of those much longer texts. Given that the entries of TM.75.G.1304 = *MEE* 15 28 and TM.75.G.2414 = *MEE* 15 29 do not follow this same order, these two further excerpts do not belong to this family of manuscripts.

An updated edition of TM.75.G.2197 = *ARET* V 22, TM.75.G.2348 = *MEE* 15 31, and TM.75.G.2409 = *MEE* 15 30 is provided below (with the corresponding bilingual entries, indicated between parentheses on the right by the progressive *VE* number). These texts do not have entries in common, and the rationale governing the choice of their entries is not transparent (at least to me). However, their order can be established comparing their entries with those of the main monolingual list TM.75.G.2422+ = *MEE* 4 115 = *MEE* 15 1-5:

|                                 |                                        |                                                   |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
|                                 |                                        | <i>MEE</i> 15 1-5                                 |
| TM.75.G.2409 = <i>MEE</i> 15 30 | 12 entries of the acrographic sections | sag – ú – sa – é                                  |
| TM.75.G.2348 = <i>MEE</i> 15 31 | 29 entries of the acrographic sections | šu – á (– da <sup>?)</sup> – šag <sub>4</sub> – a |
| TM.75.G.2197 = <i>ARET</i> V 22 | 10 entries of the acrographic sections | ud – an – di – ki – maḥ                           |

TM.75.G.2409 = *MEE* 15 30

|      |           |                                  |                               |        |
|------|-----------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------|
| (1)  | obv. I:1  | ( <i>MEE</i> 15 1-5 obv. VII:27) | sag-gàr                       | (256)  |
| (2)  | obv. I:2  | (VII:28)                         | sag-du <sub>7</sub>           | (257)  |
| (3)  | obv. I:3  | (VII:29)                         | sag-KAK-bad-bad               | (258)  |
| (4)  | obv. I:4  | (VII:33)                         | SAGxNI+ME                     | (266a) |
| (5)  | obv. I:5  | (VIII:24)                        | <sup>u</sup> par <sub>4</sub> | (302)  |
| (6)  | obv. I:6  | (VIII:26)                        | <sup>u</sup> PÈŠxÉŠ           | (305)  |
| (7)  | obv. II:1 | (VIII:27)                        | <sup>u</sup> PI.NA[GA]        | (306)  |
| (8)  | obv. II:2 | (VIII:33)                        | sa-šu                         | (312)  |
| (9)  | obv. II:3 | (obv. IX:4)                      | é-TUŠ-TUŠ                     | (327)  |
| (10) | obv. II:4 | (obv. IX:5)                      | é-sag-kešda                   | (330)  |
| (11) | obv. II:5 | (obv. IX:13)                     | É-URUDA                       | (339)  |
| (12) | obv. II:6 | (obv. IX:14)                     | é-úr                          | (340)  |
|      | rev.      | (blank)                          |                               |        |

TM.75.G.2348 = *MEE* 15 31

|      |            |                                   |                                                                      |        |
|------|------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| (1)  | obv. I:1   | ( <i>MEE</i> 15 1-5 obv. XIII:18) | šu-ì-bar <sup>!</sup> (ŠÚ)                                           | (524)  |
| (2)  | obv. I:2   | (XIII:21)                         | šu-si                                                                | (527)  |
| (3)  | obv. I:3   | (XIII:22)                         | šu-gíd                                                               | (528)  |
| (4)  | obv. I:4   | (XIII:23)                         | šu-gíd-gíd                                                           | (529)  |
| (5)  | obv. I:5   | (XIII:24)                         | šu-šilig                                                             | (530)  |
| (6)  | obv. I:6   | (XIII:25)                         | šu-šu-ra                                                             | (531)  |
| (7)  | obv. I:7   | (XIII:30)                         | á-zi-da                                                              | (536)  |
| (8)  | obv. I:8   | (XIII:33)                         | á-KU                                                                 | (539)  |
| (9)  | obv. I:9   | (XIII:37)                         | á-úr                                                                 | (544)  |
| (10) | obv. II:1  | (XIV:1)                           | á-nígin                                                              | (546)  |
| (11) | obv. II:2  | (XIV:4)                           | á-aka                                                                | (549)  |
| (12) | obv. II:3  | (XIV:9)                           | á-ág                                                                 | (556)  |
| (13) | obv. II:4  | (XIV:10)                          | á-ḥum                                                                | (557)  |
| (14) | obv. II:5  | (XIV:11)                          | á-nam                                                                | (558)  |
| (15) | obv. II:6  | (XIV:12)                          | á-a-tag                                                              | (559)  |
| (16) | obv. II:7  | (XIV:13)                          | á-GÍRI                                                               | (560)  |
| (17) | obv. II:8  | (XIV:14)                          | á-GÍRI-aka                                                           | (561)  |
| (18) | obv. II:9  | (XIV:15)                          | á-dim <sub>4</sub>                                                   | (562)  |
| (19) | obv. II:10 | (XIV:19)                          | á-paḥ                                                                | (566b) |
| (20) | obv. III:1 | (XIV:20)                          | da <sup>!</sup> (Á) <sup>?</sup> -na <sup>!</sup> (DUL) <sup>?</sup> | (567)  |
| (21) | obv. III:2 | (XIV:26)                          | šag <sub>4</sub> -tùr                                                | (573)  |

|      |             |                  |        |                          |               |
|------|-------------|------------------|--------|--------------------------|---------------|
| (22) | obv. III:3  | (MEE 15 1-5 rev. | I:4)   | šag <sub>4</sub> -KUR-ki | (577)         |
| (23) | obv. III:4  | (                | I:11)  | šag <sub>4</sub> -ki-ág  | (584)         |
| (24) | obv. III:5  | (                | I:12)  | šag <sub>4</sub> -TAR-ki | (585)         |
| (25) | obv. III:6  | (                | I:20)  | šag <sub>4</sub> -GURUŠ  | (593)         |
| (26) | obv. III:7  | (                | I:19)  | šag <sub>4</sub> -kalga  | (592)         |
| (27) | obv. III:8  | (                | II:9)  | a-mú                     | (618)         |
| (28) | obv. III:9  | (                | II:10) | a-ga-DU                  | (619)         |
| (29) | obv. III:10 | (                | II:17) | a-sá                     | (628,<br>641) |
|      | obv. IV-V   |                  |        | (blank)                  |               |
|      | rev.        |                  |        | (blank)                  |               |

As for the entries (19-20), G. Pettinato, *Testi lessicali bilingui della Biblioteca L.2769. Parte I: Traslitteazione dei testi e ricostruzione del VE*, MEE 4, Napoli, 1982, p. 263, read this sequence of entries: á-tar (VE 566a) – ‘á’-[tar<sup>2</sup>] (VE 566b) – da-na (VE 567). G. Conti, *Il sillabario della quarta fonte della lista lessicale bilingue eblaita*, in P. Fronzaroli ed., *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 3, *QuSem* 17, Firenze, 1990, p. 159 fn. 449, with literature, rightly suggested that “VE 566a e VE 566b sono due voci diverse (consecutive) del VE”. These two entries are á-paḥ and probably da<sup>1</sup>-na<sup>1</sup> (but the reading of the latter requires further investigation, da-dul or á-dul being possible alternatives, cf. M. Bonechi, *On the Ebla Fragments of Sumerian Lexical List MEE 15 40, 41, 42, 43, 52, 53 and 61*, *Studia Eblaitica* 4 [2019], p. 218 and fn. 17). Also cf. S.A. Picchioni, *Testi lessicali monolingui “éš-bar-kin<sub>x</sub>”, cit.*, pp. 15 and 159 fn. 82f. as for the collated sequence of entries in TM.75.G.11302+ = MEE 15 1-5 obv. XIV:19f. (read “á-LUL” and “da-du<sub>6</sub>”, respectively attributed to VE 567b and VE 568a), and p. 97 as for the sequence of entries of TM.75.G.2348 = MEE 15 31 read “á-LUL” and “á-du<sub>6</sub>” (the former is attributed to VE 567b, the clear connection of the latter with “da-du<sub>6</sub>” is not noted).

|                          |           |                  |         |                                              |       |
|--------------------------|-----------|------------------|---------|----------------------------------------------|-------|
| TM.75.G.2197 = ARET V 22 |           |                  |         |                                              |       |
| (1)                      | obv. I:1  | (MEE 15 1-5 rev. | V:22)   | ud-te                                        | (774) |
| (2)                      | obv. I:2  | (                | VI:17)  | an-EN-te                                     | (804) |
| (3)                      | obv. I:3  | (                | VI:18)  | <sup>d</sup> Inanna                          | (805) |
| (4)                      | obv. I:4  | (                | VII:5)  | silim na-e                                   | (827) |
| (5)                      | obv. I:5  | (                | VII:9)  | sag <sub>7</sub> <sup>1</sup> -di            | (831) |
| (6)                      | obv. I:6  | (                | VII:12) | <sup>ki</sup> <sub>1</sub> kiri <sub>6</sub> | (837) |
| (7)                      | obv. I:7  | (                | VII:19) | kešda-ki                                     | (844) |
| (8)                      | obv. II:1 | (                | XI:8)   | al <sub>6</sub> -BU                          | (982) |
| (9)                      | obv. II:2 | (                | XI:14)  | al <sub>6</sub> <sup>1</sup> (DUG)<-èn>-tar  | (987) |
| (10)                     | obv. II:3 | (                | XI:19)  | al <sub>6</sub> -bal                         | (993) |
|                          | obv. II:4 |                  |         | (blank)                                      |       |
|                          | rev.      |                  |         | (blank)                                      |       |

As for the entry (9), M. Krebennik *apud* D. O. Edzard, *ARET* V, p. 41, read DUG.TAR, with reference to VE 940. My tentative reading al<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup><-èn>-tar depends on the fact that the previous entry corresponds to VE 982, so that a faulty spelling of the term attested in VE 987 can be suggested.

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**58) A ‘broken symmetry’ in Sumerian?\*** — In order to denote the sex of an animal, person, or other living being, many languages either use a generic term, e.g. porcupine, plus an additive such as he-, she-, male, female, -cock, -hen etc or they make a “natural” differentiation: e.g. sheep (the generic term) – ram or ewe. For another group of living beings one finds only “natural” pairs, such as uncle and aunt, Duke and Duchess, or the title Lord and Lady, with no generic terms. The situation is similar in Sumerian. “Natural” pairs in the second group are, for example, the nouns ‘ad’ – ‘ama’, ‘gu<sub>4</sub>’ – ‘áb’. Each of these nouns is written with its own sign. In the first group it is a little more complicated. The derivatives are usually formed

with UŠ (nita) and MÍ (munus), see, for example, ‘dumu’ (child), ‘dumu-nita’ (son) and ‘dumu-munus’ (daughter), with the additives retained in the pronunciation. Also the above-mentioned “natural” differentiations are graphically formed with UŠ and MÍ: ‘anše’ [and ANŠE.UŠ = anše-nita] ((male) ass) – ANŠE.MÍ = eme<sub>6</sub> and MÍ.ANŠE = ème (female ass; here, the additive does not appear in the pronunciation).

One pair deserves special attention: ‘en’ (*bēlu*, Lord) – ‘nin’ (*bēltu*, Lady), compare Enki – Ninki, Enlil – Ninlil. NIN = nin = MÍ.NÁM is (just as MÍ.ANŠE) a *derived* sign, but not, as would be expected, from EN = en. So the sign NIN was adopted by the Sumerians in (spelling and) meaning; however, only a term that already exists, i.e. a term that originates from another – in this case older – written language, can be adopted: that language is Proto-Euphratic. Thus EN does *not* mean “Lord” in the texts of the Uruk period, but it means what is depicted by the archetype of the sign EN (the tray with “goblets” on it) on the Uruk Vase (and in m4/73), namely an “offering<sup>1)</sup>” and figuratively “the one who offers up the sacrifice”, i.e. the priest (listed in an insignificant position [ii1] in Lú A, forerunner a3/9206.k; cf “plough” [APIN] and “the one who ploughs” [APIN in the reading ‘engar’] = farmer). The Sumerian (not PE!) spelling of ‘en’ = Lord is secondary, as it is a homonym of Sumerian ‘en’ = priest (the same title as in PE; the PE pronunciation is unknown). NÁM and EN are not synonyms: a5/9393.c i6 and iii2.

In the PE language (texts from the Uruk IV and Uruk III periods), it is not UŠ and MÍ, but prefixed KUR and MÍ that are used to distinguish male and female beings from one other (see MS 2863/9: KUR.KIŠ and MÍ.KIŠ<sup>2)</sup>). With sheep and goats, gender and age are differentiated by graphical variation of the “generic sign” UDU (cf MS 3886 rev. iii1)<sup>3)</sup>. In both PE and Sumerian there is no visible difference between male and female personal names<sup>4)</sup>; if persons are to be identified as female this must be explicitly stated<sup>5)</sup>.

With the above mentioned signs EN and NÁM four pairs can be formed: 1) NÁM – MÍ.NÁM (= NIN); 2) EN – MÍ.EN; 3) NÁM – MÍ.EN; 4) EN – MÍ.NÁM. A few remarks on that:

*Ad 1):* Since MÍ.NÁM = NIN which is borrowed from PE into Sumerian, means “Lady, dame, Herrin” in Sumerian (vs ‘ning’ = sister) the PE sign for “Lord, seigneur, Herr” must have been NÁM (“Lady” is thus also NIN with unknown pronunciation in PE); this fits the fact that the professions formed with NÁM are at the beginning of the list Lú A. In the subscripts of the Lú A witnesses MS 2429/2–4, written by one and the same scribe, the professions that mostly begin with the signs NÁM and GAL could be subsumed under “NÁM”. It is striking, however, that NÁM often appears in insignificant positions in administrative lists (in col. iii in a5/7227.a). NIN = nin can denote not only a woman in Sumerian (Ninlil), but also a man (Ninurta). The same should have already applied in PE (see point 4, below). The explanation is almost certainly<sup>6)</sup>: NÁM = Lord; NÁM + MÍ (women) = Lord + “his” female counterpart = (members of the) lordship (a singled out member can either be male or female, cf words like ‘dam’ = “spouse”); compare GURUŠ = male worker, GURUŠ + MÍ = male and female workers (m1/1); KUR = male slave, KUR + MÍ = male and female slaves (m1/212).

*Ad 2):* EN and MÍ.EN in m1/2 are probably not to be interpreted as “ruler/chief administrator/lord” and “wife of the ~” (so OBO 160/1, p. 206/p. 209/CDLI, translation of text m1/2<sup>7)</sup>). Besides “offering” and “priest” (see above) EN could also mean “(of the) temple” (m1/2: GÁN EN = land/field of the temple). “Wife of ...” should have been expressed by ‘dam’; MÍ added to a male noun should first of all denote the female counterpart (see above). MÍ.EN should therefore primarily designate a female priest<sup>8)</sup>; it is more likely, however, that MÍ.EN in m1/2 means “the (male) priest (EN) + “his” female counterpart (MÍ)” = (members of the) priesthood “=” priest (see point 1, above).

*Ad 3):* NÁM and MÍ.EN do not form a “real” pair. In the list MS 3035, NÁM appears as an official or personal name, MÍ.EN as part of a personal name.

*Ad 4):* EN and MÍ.NÁM = NIN are listed together in list Lú A as part of the occupational titles ENKUM and NINKUM. Translating NIN = “Lady” NINKUM would, as far as can be judged, be the only female occupational title (analogous to MÍ.EN in m1/2). That is unlikely. NIN probably means “(secular) lord(ship)” (see point 1, above), EN “priest” („ecclesiastical”; see point 2, above). The readings ‘enkum’ and ‘ninkum’ are presumably mixed Sumerian Proto-Euphratic<sup>9)</sup>.

In summary: Starting from the four words occurring in the two PE pairs NÁM – MÍ.NÁM (=NIN) and EN – MÍ.EN, only the two words EN = en and NIN = nin (priest; Lord – Lady) survived as a new pair in Sumerian. If the PE pairs mentioned had been original Sumerian pairs there would have been no reason to additionally form a “mixed” pair: but that is exactly what happened. Genuine (i.e. original) Sumerian MÍ.NÁM = Lady would imply that NÁM means “Lord” in Sumerian; but that is not the case, “Lord” = EN. Genuine Sumerian EN = Lord would require MÍ.EN = Lady; MÍ.EN in this sense does not exist. The

following seems to be probable: the Sumerians were familiar with the two PE pairs. They adopted Proto-Euphratic NIN = Lady in spelling, but with a Sumerian pronunciation. They replaced Proto-Euphratic NÁM = Lord by EN “because of” the consonance of Sumerian EN = ‘en’ = priest (the same title as in PE) and ‘en’ = Lord. The pair NÁM – MÍ.NÁM falls into disuse after the Uruk period, but appears again later with the meaning “Lord – Lady” in a modified form<sup>10</sup>. MÍ.EN disappears completely except for one lexical attestation<sup>11</sup>. NIN can also denote a male person: Ninurta.

These considerations also shed light on the Sumerian pantheon, which does not yet exist in the PE texts. Enlil and Ninlil are, as already mentioned, an (ED!) pair (see ED Cities [CDLI: P499077] 94, 95). As is known, the component “lil” was written differently in Enlil and Ninlil in the ED period<sup>12</sup>. Only later is the spelling standardised. The spelling for Enlil is PE and therefore probably does not stand for Enlil, but for Nippur.

## Notes

\* The following remarks can be considered as an extension of the note *NABU* 2013/55. For the sake of a better understanding, some of the statements made there are repeated, but not necessarily marked as such.— Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2018/93 (please, note the abbreviations “a, c, mM/NN” for “ATU, CUSAS, MSVO, vol. M/text no. NN”).— (ED: Early Dynastic; PE: Proto-Euphratic).

1. Compare the later Sumerian word “bread offering” = PAD.AN.MUŠ = nindaba, nidba; the symbol of the goddess <sup>d</sup>MUŠ can also be found on the Uruk Vase next to the tray with goblets on it (EN).

2. Abbreviating also KUR and MÍ, summarising KIŠ or KIŠ.KUR.MÍ in c31/44 (here also somewhat “inconsistently” KIŠ.KUR beside KUR.KIŠ). KIŠ is related to ANŠE as is ŠÁĤ to ŠUBUR.

3. See Green, *JNES* 39 [1980] (*NABU* 2018/93, note 1) 5, fig. 3. NB: not SILA<sub>4</sub>-SAL(= MÍ), but SAL-SILA<sub>4</sub> = KIR<sub>11</sub>: c1/45; here is also to be found the variant KUR-SILA<sub>4</sub> of SILANITA. Compare SILA<sub>4</sub> in a5/9579, bx (generic name). See further SAL-MAŠ (“instead of” EŠGAR), but MAŠ.KUR (“instead of” MAŠ): MS 4492. The same applies to the specifications of AMAR: not AMAR-SAL and AMAR-KUR, but SAL-AMAR and KUR-AMAR, see, for example a7/20274,12 and c31/50.

4. Words that designate the natural gender, such as “aunt” in English, are an exception here (e.g. ÛZ [UD<sub>5</sub>] in MS 2387 i6); however, it is doubtful whether the feminine ÛZ can only be the name of a woman (cf the name of the poet Rainer Maria Rilke).

5. Cf OBO 160/1, p. 177.

6. Cf OBO 160/1, p. 176.

7. In later times the wife of a ruler (e.g., énsi) definitely plays a role, cf. G. J. Selz, *Freiburger Altorientalische Studien*, vol. 15,1, Text Nik 33.— It should be noted that EN occurs in m1/2 in two variants: EN<sub>a</sub> (generally translated as “the ruler”) and MÍ EN<sub>c</sub> (the ruler’s wife); in the Lú A forerunner a3/9206,k the variant EN<sub>b</sub> is to be found. In a5/8406 (Uruk IV) both EN<sub>a</sub> and EN<sub>b</sub> occur. The official (?) EN<sub>b</sub>.KISAL (a5/9656,hc; Uruk IV) appears in text P005400 [CDLI no.; Uruk III] as EN<sub>a</sub>.KISAL (according to the CDLI, EN<sub>b</sub> occurs only three times in the Uruk III period). Such a change of variants can, but probably does not have to be meaningful; cf OBO 160/1, p. 75, note 151 *ad* KID<sub>a/b</sub>. See also *NABU* 2014/58, note 7 (the here mentioned KU<sub>6</sub>.AB<sub>a</sub> appears as KU<sub>6</sub>.AB<sub>b</sub> [sic] in c31/150; both texts belong to the Uruk III period); c1/83; not a change of variants, but instead a different positioning of the sign: *NABU* 2018/93, p. 149, point b).

8. In the list a5/9656,ex MÍ.EN<sub>b</sub> appears in an insignificant position (rev. i2).

9. “The EN of the *kum*(s)” and “the NIN of the *kum*(s)”, where *kum* could be the remainder of a longer PE word; comparable to “K-Town”, the naming of the admittedly somewhat unwieldy place name Kaiserslautern by the American soldiers formerly stationed in Germany.

10. Cf the epsd attestations under ‘nam<sub>2</sub>’ and ‘egi<sub>2</sub>’ as well as those in the AHw and CAD under *rubû* and *rubātu*. The component NÁM can be (and usually is) replaced by ŠĒ. A dissenting voice is to be found in ATFU, no. 56 *ad* line i3; but cf ibidem, no. 60 (‘nám’ in the middle of a long list of names).

11. See OBO 160/1, p. 341 *ad* SF 57 (i7: EN MÍ URU×MIN [epsd]).

12. See OBO 160/1, p. 284. The entry EN.EN.KID in m1/107 could speak against the reading Enlil (reduplication is a common phenomenon; the translation proposed in *NABU* 2013/55 would thus have to be rejected; cf TAK<sub>4</sub>.TAK<sub>4</sub>.KI [a6/14334,e+; TAK<sub>4</sub>.KI is a common name], MÍ.MÍ.A [c31/101 ii2] and MÍ.A [c31/89 ii8] or MÍ.MÍ.EN [a6/15897,c3]).

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**59) dumu é-dub-ba-a! — u<sub>4</sub>-ul-la-àm...** — In ihrem gerade (2019, s. Bibliographie) erschienenen reichhaltigen Aufsatz erwähnt J. Matuszak (besonders S. 12, Anm. 38) N. Koslovas Deutung (2014) von diesem Incipit einiger Schuldialoge. P. Attinger, in seinem Kommentar zu Edubbâ A (auf seiner elektronischen Seite der Uni Bern) zitiert sie auch, adoptiert sie nicht, allerdings nicht ohne Bedenken (« contextuellement pas entièrement satisfaisant, mais pas non plus exclu »). Schließlich übersetzt er « dépêche-toi »; Matuszak dafür zögernd « es ist schon spät ». Nun scheint mir Koslovas Vorschlag nicht voll eingeschätzt worden zu sein. Ihre Annahme eines kurzen Dialogs ist sehr viel überzeugender:

— « Schüler! », — « immer (zu Diensten)! »,

wobei u<sub>4</sub>-ul-la-àm anscheinend eine vielleicht saloppe Abkürzung für u<sub>4</sub>-ul a-ra-zu ist, die höflichere Form, die Nuska normalerweise aus Rücksicht seinem König gegenüber verwendet. Die von Attinger im Kommentar in Erwägung gezogene Wiedergabe « tout de suite » (« gleich! ») wäre frei, aber m. E. richtiger als « dépêche-toi ».

Es klingt wie das Kreuzen der Klingen am Anfang des Gefechts, es gibt den Takt an für den kommenden Austausch, der gleich Lebhaftigkeit sprüht.

Weiters, trotz Attingers Bedenken (s. seinen Kommentar zu Enlil und Ninlil 36–37 auf seiner elektronischen Seite), kommt es mir gezwungen vor, u<sub>4</sub>-ul a-ra-zu von u<sub>4</sub>-ul-la(-àm) zu trennen, gerade wegen Enlil u. Ninlil 36–37, wo beide Verbindungen in zwei aufeinander folgenden Zeilen erscheinen. Nun bin ich heute wie damals, als ich für PSD das Lemma a-ra-zu redigierte, davon überzeugt, dass a-ra-zu nicht primär « Gebet » heißt, sondern ursprünglich « Dein Weg, Dein Wille » (wie ich auch in Cavigneaux (2011), 498 argumentierte). Natürlich gibt es Tausende von Belegen, wo a-ra-zu, parallel zu siskur und in ähnlich unmissverständlichen Kontexten, kaum anders als « Gebet » übersetzt werden kann, aber Gewohnheit ist trügerisch: die Litaneicoda a-ra-zu dè-ra-ab-bé könnte sehr wohl konkret aufgefasst werden (« er soll Dir *arazu* sagen »). Wirklich ausschlaggebend ist die Stelle in Fluch über Akkade 211, wo a-ra-zu-ta vom Kontext her etwa « in ehrfürchtigem Zuvorkommen », « in höflichem Entgegenkommen » heißen muss, denn in diesem Fall kann nicht von Gebet die Rede sein: die Worte, die folgen, sollen zwar bei Enlil Genugtuung und Wohlgefühl erwecken, jedoch nicht mit einem Gebet, sondern mit einem Fluch.

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**60) Some Notes on the King of The Four Corners** — The concepts of universalism and the deification of kings in Mesopotamia were connected, as was shown earlier (Sazonov 2007; 2016; 2018). The phenomena of the deification of rulers, their divine origin (Bock 2012), and universalistic titles and epithets have been studied by several scholars (Edzard 1974; Farber 1983; Seux 1967; Maeda 1981, 1984; Selz 2008; Emelianov 2008; Michalowski 2008; Brisch 2006, 2008, 2013). We see that almost all Mesopotamian rulers from Narām-Su'en until the end of the 3rd mil. who used the universalistic royal title *king of the four corners* (Maeda 1984; Sazonov 2016b: 73–76) were deified during their lifetimes. However, rulers who used another important royal universalistic title *king of the universe* (Maeda 1981), introduced by Sargon (previously known in Sumer as LUGAL KIŠ, used by some ED rulers as the hegemonic title of the ruler of the city-state of Kiš or of all Sumer – RIME 1: Me-silim E1.8.1.3), were never deified (e.g., Sargon, Rīmuš, Man-ištušu).



## Akkad

With Narām-Su'en the universalistic royal title *king of the four corners* was introduced for the first time (RIME 2: 174). Narām-Su'en introduced this universalistic title during his reign as a way to establish the deification of his person (Farber 1983; Sazonov 2007; 2016). The epoch that followed the reign of Narām-Su'en can be regarded as the decline of the Akkadian state, beginning in Narām-Su'en's later years, or after his death, and ending with the collapse of Akkadian statehood when the Gutian tribes conquered the Akkadian state. A. Westenholz writes the following about Šar-kali-šarri, successor of Narām-Su'en:

*"After his accession to the throne, he appears to have devoted most of his resources to the completion of the ambitious program begun by his father. In that task, he showed himself as a devoted son. But he also soon recanted on the more arrogant excesses of his father: he was not 'King of the Four Corners', but more modestly 'King of Akkade', nor did he claim divinity for himself"* (OBO 160/3: 56).

I do not agree with this idea; I think that king Šar-kali-šarri was also deified, but only for a very short time (Sazonov 2007: 333–7; 2016: 50–2), and that he even assumed the status of the son of Enlil – Ninurta (RIME 2: Šar-kali-šarri E2.1.5.2) – like Lipit-Eštar of Isin did later (Sazonov 2007: 333–7; 2016a: 50–2; Emelianov 2008: 135; Simkó 2013: 117). Šar-kali-šarri never used the title *king of the four corners* which was introduced by Narām-Su'en.

## Gutian period

Only one Gutian king, Erridu-pizir, who was probably victorious over the Akkadian king in battle, introduced the title *king of the four corners* (RIME 2: Erridu-pizir E2.2.1.1). We have no proof of the deification of Gutian kings and this could be seen as an exception to the paradigm. It is important to note here that Erridu-pizir was not Mesopotamian by origin. He introduced the ambitious title of Narām-Su'en to show the mightiness of Gutium, and he also wanted to present himself as a legitimate successor to Narām-Su'en. As P. Espak (2016: 78) points out:

*"the Gutians did not have their own centralized empire, but at least one of their rulers, Erridu-pizir, uses alongside his title 'king of the Gutians' the formula 'king of the four quarters': LUGAL gu-ti-im ù ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im. The Gutian war-lords or leaders obviously tried to picture themselves as equals to previous rulers of the Akkade dynasty and may have wanted to claim that they too were legitimate rulers in accordance with the traditions, ideology, and cultural traits of the previous Mesopotamian kings"*.

## Uruk V

From the Neo-Sumerian period we have several rulers who used the title *king of the four corners*: Utu-ḫeḡal, Šulgi, etc. The first Neo-Sumerian king to use this title was Utu-ḫeḡal who was victorious over the Gutians (Espak 2016: 80–6) and who had reclaimed from the Gutians the kingship of Sumer and the title *king of the four corners*. We have no proof that Utu-ḫeḡal was deified; he used title *king of the four corners*, (RIME 2: 281; ETCSL c.2.1.6, line 11) but never used the title *king of the universe*. D. Frayne remarks:

*"In all likelihood there was a considerable expansion of Uruk's power and influence during the seven-year reign of Utu-ḫeḡal. Noteworthy is the king's adoption of the title 'king of the four quarters' last used by Narām-Sîn and the Gutian ruler Erridu-pizir."* (RIME 2: 280).

## Ur III

No-one from the rulers of Ur III used the title *king of the universe*. The second ruler of this dynasty, Šulgi (Di Ludovico 2014), reintroduced the deification of the king, and all of his successors were deified during their lifetimes. It is important to mention here that the kings of Ur III since Šulgi until Ibbi-Su'en used the title *king of the four corners* (RIME 3/2: 247) and were deified. One more important form of deification must be mentioned: the claim from the kings of Ur III (since Šulgi) of possessing the status of sun-god, which exemplifies the so-called solar aspect of the ruler's ideology. It appears in the case of some kings from the Ur III period that the solar aspect of their kingship was clearly represented in royal ideology (Vacín 2009: 171–9). This solar aspect of the kingship of Šulgi is clearly visible in some texts: for example, in some of his hymns, e.g., *Šulgi C*, 25–27:

“As I rose over my city like sun-god Utu, suspended in its midst, I filled the Etemenniguru, founded with divine powers, with princely cornelian.” (ETCSL: t.2.4.2.03.).

Amar-Su’ena, continued his father’s tradition and was called “true god, sun god of his land” (dingir-zi<sup>d</sup>utu-kalam-ma-na) (RIME 3/2: Amar-Suena E3/2.1.3.16).

### 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty of Isin

As we know, the kings of the 1st Dynasty of Isin were deified; they all used the divine classifier dingir before their names and some of them used such epithets as “god of his nation” – dingir-kalam-ma-na (RIME 4: Išbi-Erra E4.1.1.2009; Sū-ilīšu E4.1.2.2). One salient example is the first four kings of Isin— Išbi-Erra, Sū-ilīšu, Iddin-Dagan and Išme-Dagan—all of whom were deified but none of whom ever used the title *king of the universe*, and at least two of them (Išbi-Erra, Išme-Dagan) used the title *king of the four corners* (Išbi-Erra E4.1.1.2006, line 3; Išme-Dagan E4.1.4.1 32).

### Conclusion

What conclusions can be drawn from this? Except in two cases—Erri-dupizir and Utu-ḫeḡal—every king who used the title *king of the four corners* was deified. Erri-dupizir was a foreigner, more like a tribal chief of the Gutians than a king, but he tried to legitimize his power by using Akkadian formulas, royal titles. Utu-ḫeḡal freed Sumer from the Gutian yoke and re-introduced old Akkadian ideological elements, including *king of the four corners*; he probably wanted to be as powerful as Narām-Su’ēn. We lack proof of the deification of Utu-ḫeḡal and we only have a few texts from his reign. More interesting is the fact that none of the Mesopotamian kings who used the title *king of the universe* in the 3rd mil., and even in the early 2nd mil. BC, were deified (or at least we lack any firm proof of this). How to explain this phenomenon? Supposedly the title *king of the four corners* had a slightly different meaning from *king of the universe*; however, both remain universalistic titles. The title *king of the four corners* was probably seen as a wider and more important universalistic title in the sense not only of universal rule, but also of ruling the divine universe and divine spheres (heaven, sun, stars). It seems that the title *king of the four corners* was related to the sun and the cosmos, to divine cosmic powers, and was connected to the universal order. We can see that the title *king of the four corners* was sometimes used to refer to gods, for example in the case of the god Tišpak in Ešnunna (RIME 3/2: Šū-ilīia E3/2.3.1), but never *king of the universe*. Even ED rulers, who never used universalistic titles/epithets to refer to themselves, addressed universalistic epithets to the main gods:

“Enlil, king of all lands, for Lugal-kiḡine-dudu – when the god Enlil truly summoned him, and (Enlil) combined (both) lordship and kingship for him” (RIME 1: Lugal-kiḡine-dudu E1.14.14.1).

LUGAL KIŠ in its early original meaning was seen only as “ruler over Kiš” or ruler over the northern part of Sumer; it was an important but more regional title. Only much later did it acquire the meaning “king of the universe” but I am not sure about that meaning at all. In that case, *king of the four corners* had a different meaning; the title designated not only ruling over the world but it probably included some kind of divine aspect as well (Michalowski 2010). In that case it could be seen as more universal than LUGAL KIŠ. Was LUGAL KIŠ in its Akkadian form *šar kiššati(m)* an universalistic title? Or was it a hegemonic title showing lordship over Sumer but not including the whole world? Could it be for this reason that the king who used the title *king of the four corners* had to be deified but the king who was LUGAL KIŠ was not?

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**61) Ein neuer Jahresname des Königs Būr-Sîn von Isin\*** — Būr-Sîn von Isin (1895–1874 v.Chr.) wurde in den verschiedenen Königslisten eine Regierungszeit von 21 oder 22 Jahren zugeschrieben.<sup>1)</sup> Trotzdem sind nur wenige Jahresnamen dieses Königs bekannt: In seiner Zusammenfassung der Jahresnamen der Isinkönige konnte M. Sigris (1988: 30) nur fünf Jahresnamen identifizieren, deren Reihenfolge noch nicht bestimmbar ist.<sup>2)</sup> J.-M. Durand (2014: 26) konnte kürzlich zwei neue Jahresnamen und eine Variante („D“+1) identifizieren.

Ein erst kürzlich erworbener Text der Privatsammlung P. Kress (Bochum)<sup>3)</sup> enthält einen bisher unbekannten Jahresnamen Būr-Sîns. Laut persönlicher Mitteilungen des Besitzers (22.02. und 05.03.2019) kommt die Tafel „Kress 290“ (CDLI P513512) aus dem englischen Kunsthandel, wo sie beim britischen Antikenhändler „Ancient Art“ (London) auf der Online-Plattform *Catawiki* angeboten wurde.<sup>4)</sup> Vom jetzigen Besitzer wurde sie am 02.02.2019 für 450 € erworben. Die Tafel wurde beim Verkauf folgendermaßen beschrieben: „This is an Old Babylonian contract for the sale of fallow land, of a standard type and formulary. In Sumerian. From Kisurra or Kazallu“, was später zu „It is of king Bur-Sin of the city Isin“ korrigiert wurde. Als Provenienz wurde „ex Jordanian family collection, 1970s-90s“ angegeben.<sup>5)</sup>

Da die Urkunde weder gereinigt wurde<sup>6)</sup> noch vom Verf. am Original untersucht werden konnte, ist eine vollständige Bearbeitung noch nicht möglich. Aus diesem Grund sei hier nur eine kurze Zusammenfassung ihres Inhalts gegeben: Aḫam-nūta kauft ein unbebautes Grundstück (KI.KAL) von 16,5 IKU (= 5,94 ha) von seinem Nachbarn Ennam-Sîn für 10 Sekel Silber. Ennam-Sîn schwört beim König, dass weder er noch seine Nachkommen das Grundstück beanspruchen werden. 5 Zeugen.<sup>7)</sup> Datum. Siegel des Ennam-Sîn.

Unabhängig vom Inhalt ist der Jahresname auf Kress 290 von historischem Interesse. Die entsprechenden Zeilen sollen hier in Umschrift wiedergegeben werden:

20.) ri<sup>ti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub>.SI.SÁ mu<sup>o</sup>do<sup>bur</sup>-d<sup>EN</sup>.ZU lu ga l

21.) bād é - ka b - ba<sup>ki</sup>

22.) *li-pi-it-kà-kà mu-un-dù*

„Monat II; das Jahr: ‚König Būr-Sîn hat die Mauer von Ekaba (namens) Lipit-Kakka gebaut‘.“

Mit diesem Beleg kann auch das Datum einer kürzlich veröffentlichten Urkunde entsprechend gelesen werden. In Fs. Součková-Siegelová S. 422 Nr. 13 Z. 6–10 findet sich das folgende Datum:<sup>8)</sup>

6.) *ri<sup>u</sup> BĀRA.ZAG.ĠAR*

7.) *ṛmu<sup>1</sup> d<sup>4</sup>bur-d<sup>EN</sup>.ZU ṛlu gal-e<sup>1</sup>*

8.) *[bà]d é-ka b<sup>rk<sup>i</sup></sup>*

9.) *[l]i-ṛpi-it<sup>1</sup>-kà-kà*

10.) *mu-«ba»-dù*

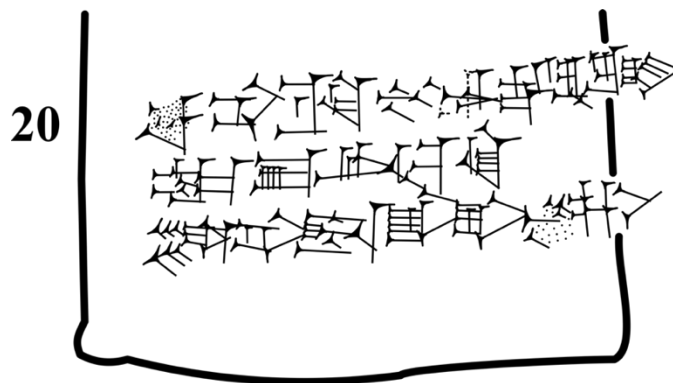
„Monat I; das Jahr: ‚König Būr-Sîn hat die Mauer von Ekab(a) (namens) Lipit-Kakka gebaut‘.“

Aus einem Vergleich der Mauernamen<sup>9)</sup> in den Jahresnamen der Isinkönige sowie in ihren Bauinschriften wird ersichtlich, dass die Letzteren in der Regel den vollständigen, zeremoniellen Namen der Mauer enthalten, der in den Jahresnamen abgekürzt werden kann. Dementsprechend hieß die von Damiq-ilīšu (neu)gebaute Stadtmauer Isins Damiq-ilīšu-migir-Ninurta „Damiq-ilīšu (ist) der Günstling des Ninurta“,<sup>10)</sup> die aber in den entsprechenden Jahresnamen, an einen Personennamen erinnernd, zu Migir-Ninurta „Günstling des Ninurta“ abgekürzt werden konnte.<sup>11)</sup> Dementsprechend ist anzunehmen, dass die Mauer von Ekaba Būr-Sîn-lipit-Kakka „Būr-Sîn (ist) das Werk des Kakka“ hieß.<sup>12)</sup>

Die im Jahresnamen erwähnte Ortschaft Ekaba (oder Ehuba?)<sup>13)</sup> ist bisher nicht identifiziert worden. Aufgrund des Jahresnamen „E“ des Ibni-šadûm von Kisurra,<sup>14)</sup> in dem der König behauptet, die Mauer dieser Ortschaft – wohl nach ihrem Aufbau durch Būr-Sîn von Isin – erobert zu haben, wurde angenommen, dass Ekaba in der Nähe von Kisurra lag.<sup>15)</sup> Eine weitere Erwähnung findet sich im Brief AbB 10, 103 (= OECT 13, 113), der möglicherweise aus Kiš stammt.

Die Ur III-zeitlichen Belege (überwiegend in Texten aus Garšana) weisen auf eine Lokalisierung in der Region von Karkar hin;<sup>16)</sup> eine Identifizierung von Ekaba mit Eduru-kabbi wurde vorgeschlagen.<sup>17)</sup> Eine Göttin namens Nin-Ekaba taucht in der Genouillac-Götterliste im Umkreis der Inanna/Ištar auf.<sup>18)</sup>

Die Ortschaft E. findet auch im 1. Jt. v.Chr. in der sog. „Sargon Geography“ Erwähnung: In Z. 26 wird das Gebiet zwischen É.ĤÛB.BA und Raḥabum als „das Land von Isin“ bezeichnet.<sup>19)</sup>



#### Anmerkungen

\* Der Verf. bedankt sich bei P. Kress für die Erlaubnis, die Datumsformel von Kress 290 veröffentlichen zu dürfen, bei Dr. L. Vacín für seine Unterstützung und Bereitschaft, die Probleme der als Fs. Součková-Siegelová S. 422 Nr. 13 publizierten Tafel zu besprechen und bei S. P. Schlüter für die sprachliche-stilistische Verbesserung des Manuskriptes. Für alle Fehler ist der Verf. allein verantwortlich.

1. 21 Jahre nach der Sumerischen Königsliste (s. zuletzt Glassner 2004: 124–125), 22 Jahre nach der Liste der Könige von Ur und Isin (s. zuletzt CUSAS 17, 100).

2. Zu „B“ s. SAOC 44, 16 und up. NBC 10120 (Beckman 1995: 134); zu „E“ s. Wilcke 1985: 311. Nicht nur bei den Jahresnamen aus Kisurra (Santag 9, 101, 199 und 202, s. Goddeeris 2009: 16 und 71), sondern auch bei dem aus Ur (UET 5, 447: „BS 01“ nach Sigrist 1988: 30) stellt sich die Frage, ob sich dieser auf die Eroberung der Stadt durch Būr-Sîn bezieht. Zur Lesung des Jahresnamens von Santag 9, 199 (s. Goddeeris 2009: 212) vgl. Wilcke 1989: 558 Anm. 8 und Dalley 2009: 13 Anm. 90; für ein weiteres Exemplar mit demselben Jahresnamen, möglicherweise aus demselben Archiv s. up. BM 29011 (Sigrist – Zadok – Walker 2006: 200).

3. Für weitere Veröffentlichungen aus dieser Sammlung s. Zólyomi 2015, Földi 2017 und Földi – Spada 2017. Für die in Nisaba 15 publizierten Ur III-Urkunden der Sammlung Kress s. Földi 2017: 19 Anm. 71.
4. Die einschlägige Webseite ist unter <https://auktion.catawiki.de/kavels/23940721-alter-babylonischer-terrakotta-keilschriftliche-verwaltungstablette-1> zugänglich (Zugriff 10.06.2019).
5. Des Weiteren wurde den potenziellen Käufern mit den folgenden Worten eine legale Herkunft des Artefaktes versichert: „The Supplier warrants that he/she obtained this lot in a legal manner.“
6. Dieser Umstand könnte darauf hindeuten, dass die Tafel aus neueren Raubgrabungen und nicht aus einer „jordanischen Privatsammlung“ stammt. Obwohl Isin von den Raubgräbern beinahe komplett zerstört wurde, sind bisher nur wenig Tafeln veröffentlicht worden; s. z.B. Matini et al. 2014 und Charpin 2018: 103–105.
7. Die meisten Namen, zumindest bei dem jetzigen Erhaltungszustand der Tafel, sind unlesbar. Einige Lesungsvorschläge: Puzur-[...]...; Ipqu-<sup>d</sup>[...], der Sohn des Šu-Kakka; Itūr-ālī...; Ilī(?)-rabi...; Lugal-gubba.
8. Ed. Vacín 2016: 422–423. Weitere Lesungsvorschläge zu den beiden altbabylonischen Urkunden in demselben Aufsatz: Nr. 13 Z. 1: *-re-me'-et*. Z. 4: É LÚ ANŠE.ĦĪ.A? Z. 5: <sup>d</sup>we<sup>l</sup>-er-ILLAT-*sū*. Siegel: <sup>d</sup>we<sup>l</sup>-er-ILL[AT-<sup>2</sup>-*sū*] / [x x (x)] x [x]. Nr. 12 Z. 2: *en-num-<sup>d</sup>ZU.GAL?* Z. 8: <sup>riti</sup>BÁRA.ZAG<sup>1</sup>[GAR]. Die beiden Tafeln wurden im Jahr 2002 im Rahmen einer Auktion erworben (Vacín 2016: 401).
9. Zu den Mauernamen im alten Mesopotamien s. Radner 2005: 41–42 (mit früherer Literatur).
10. Frayne 1990: 102–103 RIME 4.1.15.1.
11. RA 73, 77 AO 11139 und ARN 13 mit Sigrist 1988: 41; s. auch Matini et al. 2014: 43 Ojeil 2. Eine Abkürzung ist allerdings nicht zwingend; vgl. den Mauernamen Šu-ilīšu-rīm-Ištar, der sowohl in einer Bauinschrift (Frayne 1990: 18–19 RIME 4.1.2.3.) als auch im Namen des 6. Jahres des Königs vorkommt (BASOR 122, 47 mit Sigrist 1988: 23).
12. Dasselbe lässt sich bei den – ebenso in Jahresnamen erwähnten – Mauern Migir-Ninisina (BS „A“), Ibbi-Enlil und Imgur-Damu (beide BS „B“, s. SAOC 44, 16) vermuten.
13. Obwohl die Zeichen HÜB und KAB vor allem in der altbabylonischen Kursivschrift graphisch sehr ähnlich aussehen können, und die Zeichenform auf Kress 290 keine sichere Entscheidung zulässt, ist das Zeichen auf Fs. Součková-Siegelová S. 422 Nr. 13 eher KAB als HÜB zu lesen.
14. S. YOS 14, 344 und Santag 9, 245 mit Goddeeris 2009: 20.
15. Kingsbury 1980: 63b. Für die Annahme, Ekaba sei mit dem im Lagaba-Brief AbB 3, 54: Z. 7 und 10 erwähnten <sup>uru</sup>e<sup>(1)</sup>-ga-ba<sup>ki</sup> (in der Nähe von Lagaba, s. Frankena 1978: 177) identisch (Cavigneaux – Krebernik 2000), gibt es keinen Grund.
16. Heimpel 2009: 309, Steinkeller 2011: 388. Den Namen der Ortschaft übersetzt Heimpel (2009: 377) als „House of Willow“.
17. Steinkeller 2011: 388.
18. S. Cavigneaux – Krebernik 2000 (mit früherer Literatur) und Hilgert 2003: 50–51.
19. S. Horowitz 1998: 68–95 (mit früherer Literatur).

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**62) Translating šúru in Amorite Personal Names** — The noun *šúru* appears as an identifiable Central Semitic term among Amorite PNs. E.g., *šú-ri-ia*, (e.g., ARM 26 no. 2 312: 4') *šú-ri-<sup>d</sup>da-gan* (ARM 21 138: 2), *eš<sub>4</sub>-tár-šú-ri-LUGAL* (FM 4 3: iv 63), *a-bi-šu-ri* (FM 9 71, 9'), *š<sup>d</sup>iš-ha-ra-šú-ri* (FM 4 22: 14), *šú-ri-ḥa-am-mu* (e.g., ARM 6 73: 5). Many scholars translate the noun as "rock" (e.g., Gelb 1980: 34; Streck 2000: *passim*; Huffmon 1965: *passim*; Heimpel 1997: 1). Though we might note that ALBRIGHT 1959: 345 n.4 and CROSS 1962: 247 were keen to interpret the noun as "mountain" based on convictions about the god Yahweh, and so judged the Amorite names as early traditions of the biblical epithet. Yet, what justification exists for either translation of *šúru*? I submit that *šúru* is semantically ambiguous; it either denotes "rock" or "mountain". And with the current state of the data, it is impossible to confidently assign one primary function for *šúru*.

Typically, it is standard practice to employ other linguistic evidence from the indigenous language to assist interpretation and translation. The problem is that Amorite texts are nonexistent and *šúru* does not even appear in the tablets as a loanword. In short, the noun is only known from PNs. Consequently, to interpret *šúru*, one must appeal to cognates in other Semitic languages.

*Šúru* is etymologically related to Canaanite *š(w)r*, Ugaritic *šūru*, Old South Arabic *z(w)r* and Aramaic-Syriac *šūrā*. The noun probably derives from Proto-Central Semitic *\*šūr-* (PS *\*šVrr*, "flint") (Kogan 2015: 203). In syllabic cuneiform, *\*š* is rendered with the ZU, ZI, ZA sign and represents the phoneme /š/ (Streck 2000: 229). There is only one attestation of the noun's use in Akkadian, which appears in a Gilgamesh fragment from Tel Harmal in the phrase *e-li-i-ma a-na šú-ri-im ša<sup>KUR</sup>ša-dīm*, "go up to the cliff of the mountain" (IM 52615: 1). GEORGE 2003: 248 theorises that *šūrim* may have been mistaken for *šērum*, "back", "ridge", however. George's proposal is intriguing since I know of no other text that collocates *\*šūr-* with another noun for "mountain".

Even though *\*šūr-* is attested throughout the Central Semitic languages, the term is manifest in two, almost mutually exclusive ways. Based on the relevant, available texts, *\*šūr-* denotes i) "rock" or ii) "mountain". Indeed, the division is segregated enough that both the intension and extension of *\*šūr-* are distinct. Ugaritic and Aramaic use *\*šūr-* as the primary noun for "mountain": e.g., *bt<sup>KUR</sup> ḡry il špn bq<sup>d</sup>š* (KTU 1.3 III.29) or the Aramean toponym *<sup>KUR</sup>tu-ri-na-qa-di-na* (also e.g., Dan 2:35). DE MOOR 1965: 362–363 is incorrect that *ḡr* means "rock" in KTU 1.4 VIII: 1–9, however. *ḡr* in this text refers to the mountains that stand at the gates of the netherworld at the edge of the earth, which is a common cosmological motif in the ancient Near East (Katz 2018; Horowitz 1998).

Whereas \**tūr*- is used for "mountain" in Aramaic and Ugaritic, \**tūr*- is primarily used for "rock" in Canaanite and Old South Arabic inscriptions. The toponym "Tyre" has no business being translated as "mountain"; rather, the name refers to the "rock" (i.e., the once twin-islands) upon which the city is built (Phoenician *šr* > Greek τυρός). Similarly, Tyre's patron god Melqart bears the epithet *mlqrt l hsr*, "Melqart on the rock", obviously a play the toponym (Quinn 2017: 248 n.38). In epigraphic Hebrew, *šwr* only refers to the substance "rock" in the Siloam tunnel inscription (KAI 189: 3, 6) and a tomb inscription near the Old City in Jerusalem (Avigad 1955: 166). A handful of Sabaic texts use *ṣr* to denote "rock" as well. One such example is found on a rock-inscription from Hajar Zahra in Yemen. The lengthy dedicatory inscription mentions that a cult-statue of the god T'lb of Tr't was made known on the rock upon which the inscription is incised. In other words, *b-ḏn ṣrn* "on this rock" refers to the rock-monument itself (CIH 338: 5-6).

So, if one is compelled to employ comparative Semitics to determine the meaning of Amorite *šūru*, the above information is a sample of the nature of the data. On the one hand, there is Ugaritic and Aramaic which use \**tūr*- as their primary noun for "mountain". Canaanite and Old South Arabic texts use \**tūr*- to mean "rock", on the other.

The only possible overlap extant in the textual record is in biblical Hebrew, wherein a couple texts *šūr* may denote "mountain" (i.e., Num 23:9; Job 14:18; 18:4; 29:6). However, I posit that careful reading of these texts indicates that *šūr* is used deliberately as a form of style switching to mark the "foreignness" of the characters and books in question (cf. Rendsburg 2006). Notice the clustering of the terms: one is in the mouth of a Transjordanian prophet (Balaam) and the other is a text set in the Transjordan (the book of Job).

The point is that there is a general division among the Central Semitic languages for how \**tūr*- is semantically manifest. So, if one were to try to utilise comparative Semitics for translating Amorite *šūru* one must appeal to one of these two language clusters almost exclusively. Yet, and most importantly, where Amorite fits within the Semitic language family remains enigmatic. Even if Amorite is Northwest Semitic, it is undetermined if Amorite is more closely associated with Aramaic, Ugaritic or Canaanite, which differ in the use of \**tūr*-. If Amorite is more like Aramaic and Ugaritic, it is possible that *šūru* is semantically related to *ḡr* and *tūrā*, "mountain". However, if it is related to Canaanite, *šūru* is linked to *šr*, "rock", as in Phoenician or Hebrew.

I submit that there are two good reasons for remaining agnostic about the translation of Amorite *šūru*. First, we lack requisite data needed to observe the term in its indigenous tongue. Second, the jury is still out on Amorite's precise position in the Semitic family tree (or wave). Thus, whilst a translation may seem like a neutral judgment, my discussion here illustrates that to translate *šūru* as *either* "rock" or "mountain" strains the evidence too much. For now, we should be content to admit ambiguity and gloss *šūru* as "rock" or "mountain".

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**63) Early Monumental Representations of Constellations in Mari: the Moon between the Giant and the Bull of Heaven**

— Representation of constellations is a topic largely neglected in Assyriology and history of ancient Near Eastern art mostly because of the abuse made of this subject by panbabylonists,<sup>1)</sup> The article “On The Origins of ‘Aquarius’” by Edith Porada, which she contributed to the *Festschrift Reiner*, remains almost the only art-historian work on depictions of constellations (PORADA 1987).<sup>2)</sup> As is evident from the recent *NABU* note on the mural in salle 132 of the Mari palace (fig. 1) by Astrid Nunn (NUNN 2019), this paper of the greatest authority on Mesopotamian seals escaped the attention of her colleagues. I am indebted to Nunn whose note gave me a push to write this communication.

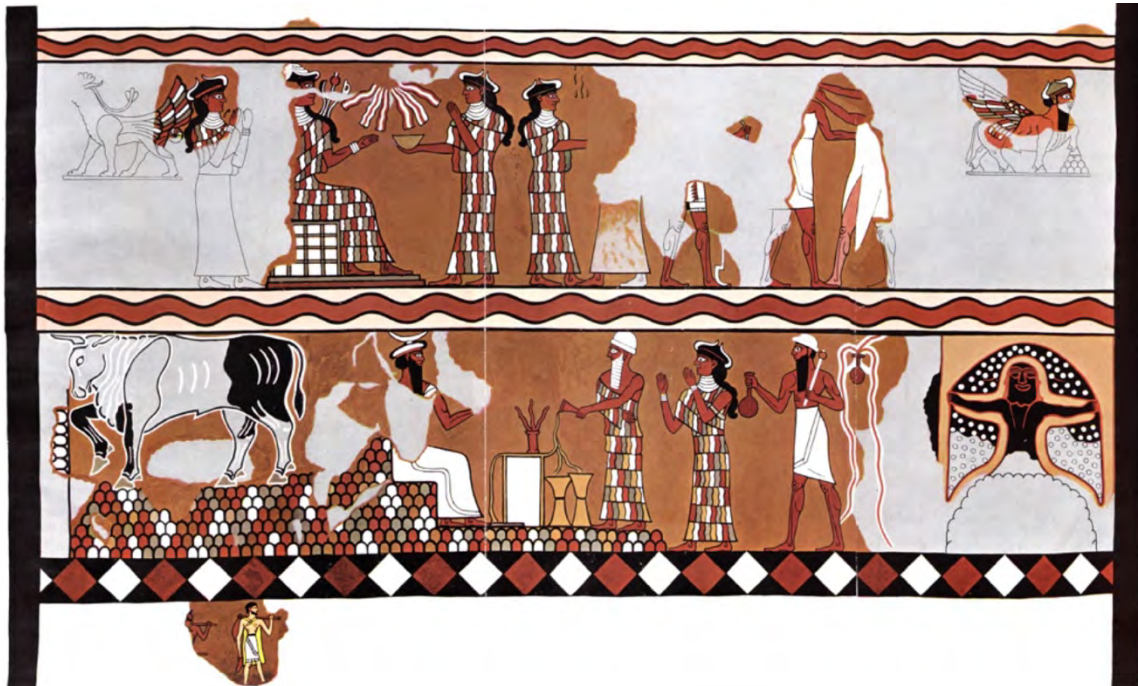
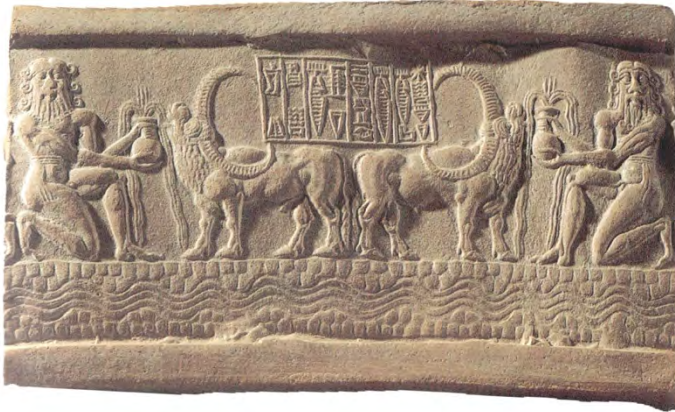


Fig. 1. Mural from salle 132 of Mari palace. Registers 3-5. Reconstruction of PARROT 1958: pl. E.

Basing on the previous work by Wiggerman, Nunn (2019: 26-27) had absolutely correctly identified the frontal depiction of a bearded naked personage with four long curls at the right-hand end of middle register (4) of the Mari mural as a protective spirit *lahmu*, also known in art history as a “*sechstockiger*” *Held* or naked hero.<sup>3)</sup> Further she reminds about the observation made already by Parrot that the backdrop against which the *lahmu* is depicted on this wall painting represents the starry heaven (NUNN 2019: 28). Her alternative suggestion that „Das Bild bliebe auch rätselhaft, wenn man im „Sternenhimmel“ Berge sehen möchte,“ is, however, wrong and the background of the *lahmu* indeed depicts the starry sky. There is nothing enigmatic in this image, especially in context of this mural painting as a whole.

Porada (1987) demonstrated that the naked hairy hero can serve a representation of the constellation <sup>mul</sup>GU(LA), Emesal for the “Giant,” starting already from the Early Dynastic period. There is no doubt that the *lahmu* against the background of a starry sky on the Mari mural stands for the constellation of the Giant.<sup>4)</sup> Flowing vase often associated with the Giant/*lahmu* appears on this mural next to him against a different background.<sup>5)</sup> Moreover, the bull at the left-hand end of the mural is the depiction of the other constellation—the Bull of Heaven (<sup>mul</sup>GU<sub>4</sub>[.AN.NA]). The latter is found in Mesopotamian imagery as early as the fourth millennium BCE as a part of a proto-Sumerian inscription, on the only known inscribed cylinder seal from archaic Uruk, deciphered by Vaiman as “EZEN ED<sub>0</sub>(=U<sub>4</sub>).NIN<sub>2</sub> (=INNIN) AN SIG.(NIN<sub>2</sub> AN) MUL.GU<sub>4</sub>, “the feast of raising (and) setting of Lady of Heaven (=Inana) in the constellation of the Bull.”





The Bull is represented by drawing and not by a pictogram.<sup>6)</sup> Combined representations of the two constellations together are known already in the art of Akkad (e.g., fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Seal of Ibni-šarrum, the scribe of Šar-kali-šarrī, with the constellations of the Giant (naked hero with the flowing vase) and the Bull of Heaven (the water buffalo)

The textual evidence for the constellations of the Giant and the Bull

of Heaven is much later than pictorial,<sup>7)</sup> although it is often suggested that the textual tradition goes back to the end of the Kassite period.<sup>8)</sup> <sup>mul</sup>APIN, the earliest dated Neo-Assyrian copy of which was written in 687 BCE,<sup>9)</sup> lists eighteen constellations of the path of the Moon (KASKAL <sup>d</sup>Sin), the Giant and the Bull of Heaven among them.<sup>10)</sup> On the Mari mural the ritual scene with the king libating before the Moon God appears between the Bull of Heaven and the Giant. Certainly, it represents some feast, which took place between the months associated with these constellations, apparently when the moon did its way between them. But in the absence of any textual evidence, it remains indeed an enigma what was this feast and when exactly it took place.<sup>11)</sup> The entire scene is put over the mountains (restored in case of the Giant), further suggesting that it depicts a heavenly landscape.

#### Notes

1. The interpretation of some of the *kudurrus* imagery as constellations was first suggested by Julius Oppert and further developed by William Hinke (1907: 7–73 with references to previous literature, 96–115). Fritz Hommel, however, brought it to absurd (HOMMEL 1920). It was well known to historians of science and van der Waerden mentions depictions of astral signs on *kudurrus* in his book (VAN DER WAERDEN 1974: 82, pl. 12). But Assyriologists and art historians of the ancient Near East never referred to this fact because of the use made of it by panbabylonists. In 1980–90ies Vladimir Tuman (DE MEIS, HUNGER 1995–1996) further abused the representations of constellations on *kudurrus* and by this put the last nail in a coffin. The fact that the *kudurrus* bear a developed system of representations of constellations continued to be neglected by the wider audience of the scholars of the ancient Near East. Thus, of all Ursula Seidl's extensive research on *kudurrus*, only her book (SEIDL 1989: 138–139) mentions in passing the representations of constellations on *kudurrus*.

2. The most comprehensive study of descriptions of constellations focusing, however, on textual rather than on pictorial representations is that of Gennady Kurtik (КУРТИК 2007). Since it is written in Russian, it escaped wider audience and is known only to few cuneiform astronomers.

3. On the variants of the hair dress and nakedness or dress(es) of this personage, see MAY forthcoming a and b.

4. It is striking that Porada, who doubtlessly knew the Mari mural did not treat it in her article.

5. This might be, however, due to the reconstruction. In the excavated image of the Giant the hands were not preserved (PARROT 1958: 79, fig. 60). Unlike on the reconstruction, the starry backdrop behind the hairy figure on the actual mural is not symmetric and a descending light-colour strip appears next to the right hand of this figure. This strip is definitely the remains of a stream flowing down from the vase. Thus, either the piece of the mural with the vase must be put next to the *lahmu*, or another vase should be reconstructed there.

6. ВАЙМАН 1998: 13–14, NISSEN, DAMEROW, ENGLUND 1990: 45, fig. 5a 1.

7. For the most complete list of the textual evidence and the information on the visual representations, see КУРТИК 2007: 177–183 for <sup>mul</sup>GU.LA and КУРТИК 2007: 187–193 for <sup>mul</sup>GU<sub>4</sub>.AN.NA.

8. E.g., HOROWITZ 2014: 30 for the Astrolabe B.

9. The text definitely originated in Babylonia, probably in the late second–early first millennium, as is cautiously suggested in HUNGER AND STEELE 2019: 16–19.

10. See HUNGER AND STEEL 2019: 21–163 for the text editions; list of constellations in the “path of the moon” in Tablet I iv 33–37 of the composite text, “path of the moon” in Tablet II i 1–6 and *passim*.

11. Much later Taurus and Aquarius are two of the four quarters of the Zodiac and the timespan between them corresponds to the season between the 11th (*Ajaru*) and 2nd (*Šabātu*) months of the Late Babylonian calendar. It is tempting to suggest that the great festival of the Moon God (e z e n - m a ḫ - N a n n a - k e <sub>4</sub>) of the 5th month of the Ur calendar, which involved offerings to Inana and Nanna (COHEN 1993: 129, 156–157) is represented here, since register 3 displays offerings to Ištar. But there is no evidence that this Ur festival was celebrated in Mari even in the *šakkanakku* period.

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**64) The ‘Sons of the King’ in the Emar Tablets Belonging to the Hirayama Collection** — In his study published this spring (Yamada 2019), the present writer dealt with the Hittite dignitaries designated as LÚ.UGULA (KALAM.MA), ‘Overseer (of the Land),’ and also those designated as DUMU LUGAL or REX.FILIUS, ‘Son of the King’ (but unknown as real princes), who are attested in the Emar texts of the Syro-Hittite type and the seal impressions on those tablets (as far as published in *Emar IV* and *BLMJE*).<sup>1)</sup> Almost concurrently with its appearance, he was made aware of the publication by Keiko Ishida (2017–18) of the seal impressions on the Emar (partly Ekalte<sup>2)</sup>) tablets belonging to the Hirayama Collection in Japan.<sup>3)</sup> Since her new study includes additional data on Sons of the King as well as princes, based mostly on Hieroglyphic Luwian legends of the seals deciphered by Mitsuo Nakamura (ibid., 25, 30), the present writer would like to deal with data on the Sons of the King on this occasion.<sup>4)</sup>

While eight (or seven) Sons of the King have hitherto been attested in the Emar sources,<sup>5)</sup> *BAOM* 37 provides further data on five individuals, only one of whom has been known to have this title (or better, status):

(01) Arma-nani

Hier.: LUNA-FRATER<sub>2</sub>(3×) REX.FILIUS (*BAOM* 37 B37 on *ASJ* 12-T 11 [seal 2]): seal of d<sup>30</sup>6)-ŠEŠ (l. 32+1b)

(09) Irna

Hier.: i+ra/i-na REX.FILIUS (*BAOM* 37 C57 on *ASJ* 12-T 13)

(10) Kuna-ziti

Hier.: ku-na-VIR<sup>d[i]</sup> REX.FILIUS (*BAOM* 37 C59 on *ASJ* 13-T 19 [seal 1]): seal of Kuna-LÚ (l. 24+2a), a son of Tila’e (l. 24+2b)

- (11) Šarri-Kušuh  
Hier.: [s]à+ra/i-ku-sà-ia REX.FILIUS (*BAOM* 37 A9 on *ASJ* 13-T 19 [seal 2]): seal of LUGAL-<sup>d</sup>30, a son of Tila'e (l. 24+1bf.)
- (12) Tuwariša  
Hier.: tu-wa+ra/i-sà<sup>7</sup>) REX.FILIUS (*BAOM* 37 B44 on *ASJ* 14-T 45 [seal 1]): seal of Tuwariša, Overseer of the Land (l. 11+1)

## Notes

(1) Among the above five individuals, only Arma-nani has been known as a Son of the King, and his seal *BAOM* 37 B37 is to be identified with *Emar* IV A104 (Ishida 2017–18, 47).<sup>8)</sup>

(9) Not “Ini-Tešup, the prince” (so Tsukimoto 1990, 205; but cf. d’Alfonso 2000, 283 n. 36). Since *BAOM* 37 C57 is impressed on the center of the tablet (the reverse) as we know was done with the seals of the kings of Ḫatti and of Carchemish, it might be better to presume Irna was a real prince of one of those countries.

(10–11) Both Kuna-ziti and Šarri-Kušuh were sons of the same “Tila'e, diviner (LÚ.ḪAL)” (*ASJ* 13-T 19: 4f., 6f.). This clearly shows that they were not real princes, as in the case of Laḫeya (son of Mudri-Tešub, who was most probably an Overseer of the Land).<sup>9)</sup> Also, we learn here that plural individuals, in this case brothers, with the title of ‘Son of the King’ could be active at the same time in Emar, although such an overlap is not known for the Overseers of the Land.

(12) Tuwariša was a holder of both the titles ‘Overseer of the Land’ and ‘Son of the King,’ as was the above-mentioned Laḫeya (*Emar* VI 90: 18; *Emar* IV A17 on *Emar* VI 217–220). It is interesting to note that Tuwariša (or the scribe) chose to use only the former title in reference to himself (or to him) as the first sealer in *ASJ* 14-T 45 (cf. Laḫeya as the first witness in *Emar* VI 90).

Finally, let us ask how to date these Sons of the King in the relative chronology of the Emar texts.<sup>10)</sup> The present writer discussed the dates of (1) Arma-nani and (12) Tuwariša in the previous article. Tuwariša, the last known Overseer of the Land (Yamada 2019, 198–200), is to be dated to the final phase, while Arma-nani seems to be dated to the middle phase through indirect synchronisms (*ibid.*, 207). For (10–11) Kuna-ziti and Šarri-Kušuh, we have no chronological clue, since all but one of the PNs referred to in *ASJ* 13-T 19 are those of members of the household of Tila'e, their father.<sup>11)</sup> As for the remaining (9) Irna, “Maryanni son of Tarḫunta-manadu, counselor (<sup>lú</sup>māliku),” appears in the same text (*ASJ* 12-T 13: 10), and it is possible that this Maryanni is a Son of the King (*ibid.*, 205 n. 63). If this is correct, Irna can be dated to the early phase of the Emar texts.

## Notes

1. The abbreviations used below in reference to sources (texts and seal impressions) from Emar and Ekalte follow those listed in Yamada 2019, 193 n. 2, with the following additions: *ASJ* 6-T = Tsukimoto 1984; *ASJ* 16-T = *idem* 1994; *BAOM* 37 = Ishida 2017–18; *Ekalte* II = Mayer 2001; *RA* 77-T = Huehnergard 1983.

2. The Ekalte texts in the Hirayama Collection are as follows: *ASJ* 13-T 32 = *Ekalte* II 90, *ASJ* 13-T 42 = *Ekalte* II 91 (see also Ishida 1917–18, 13), and *ASJ* 16-T (Yamada 2003, 187f.; Justel 2006).

3. Note the following corrections of tablet numbering in her study (Ishida 2017–18, 83): 24 → 26 (= HCCT-E 37 = *RA* 77-T 2) and 26 → 24 (= HCCT-E 25 = *RA* 77-T 3).

4. Although we do not deal with them in this study, the princes (of Carchemish) attested in the seal legends should be noted: Ḫešmi-Tešub (*BAOM* 37 A2 on *ASJ* 12-T 3 and *ASJ* 13-T 29) and Kunti-Tešub (*BAOM* 37 C60 on *ASJ* 14-T 46); cf. also Tili-Šarruma (*BAOM* 37 C56 [with only a cuneiform legend] on *ASJ* 6-T = *ASJ* 14-T 47).

Note also the following points concerning the Overseers of the Land. Firstly, the cuneiform legend of the seal of Aḫi-malik son of Ea-damiq (*ASJ* 13-T 36: 19+1af.) can be read as <sup>m</sup>a-ḫi-ma-lik A<sup>1</sup>.[BA] (see Ishida 2017–18, 52 on B52; cf. Tsukimoto 1991, 300). This would suggest that it is the same seal as that impressed on *TS* 24 (ME 12) for the same individual (l. 18) in view of the latter's legend, <sup>m</sup>a-ḫi-ma-lik A.[BA], “Aḫi-malik, sc[ribe]” (Cohen 2012, 16; cf. also Arnaud 1991, 57), although unfortunately the impression was not published in *Emar* IV. Secondly, two seal impressions of Mudri-Tešub with a legend in Hieroglyphic Luwian are published: *BAOM* 37 B32 on *ASJ* 14-T 44 (see l. 18+1), and *BAOM* 37 B35 on *ASJ* 13-T 21 (see l. 16+2), which has already been identified with *Emar* IV B49 on *Emar* VI 290 (Hawkins 2017, 251 on no. 32).

5. I.e. (1) Arma-nani, (2) Ku(wa)lana-ziti, (3) Laḫeya, (4) Piḫa-muwa, (5) Piḫa-Tarḫunta, (6) Sarisa, (7) Tarhu(n)tami and (8) Tuwata-ziti (see Yamada 2019, 204f.). Among these, Piḫa-muwa's identification as Son of the King can be doubted (*ibid.*, 205), though the present writer still holds it is possible that the untitled Maryanni referred to in *Emar* VI 201: 51 was a Son of the King (*ibid.*, 197 and n. 30, 205 n. 63).

6. See Singer 1995, 58 n. 5; cf. Tsukimoto 1990, 199 (“KUR”).

7. This spelling supports the reading of his PN in cuneiform, <sup>m</sup>tu-wa-ri-ša<sup>1</sup> (ASJ 14-T 45: 11+1; cf. Yamada 2019, 197 n. 31).
8. So Emar IV A104 is to be reclassified as a ring seal of the Syro-Hittite type (Ishida 2017–18, 47).
9. For Laḥeya and Mudri-Tešub in the Emar texts, see Yamada 2019, 194–197, 204.
10. The chronological framework of the Emar texts adopted here regards the texts of the Syrian type and of the Syro-Hittite type as synchronistic (ca. 1275–1275 B.C.); see Yamada 2013 with idem 2016, 134–136. Cf., e.g., Cohen and d’Alfonso 2008; Cohen 2013; Démare-Lafont and Fleming 2015; Torrecilla and Cohen 2018, 153f.
11. The exception is Kunti (l. 2), whose name is given without reference to his father’s name or his profession.

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**65) Emirgazi: a *huwasi*-precinct** — In a promising article published in *N.A.B.U.* 2015/1, no. 19, Patrick Michel made an important proposal to associate the EMIRGAZĪ “altars” with the Hittite religious term *huwasi*. Unfortunately he was dependent on earlier versions of this difficult text which I had published in 1995 and 2006. But the text has been subject to on-going new perceptions and interpretations, and I had already seen that significant revisions should be made to the text as available to Michel in 2015. These revisions superseded in varying degrees a number of his interpretations.

However I was pleased to be able to tell him at the time that I felt that his most important point, his identification of a Luwian form of Hittite *huwasi* in EMİRGAZİ 1, was valid, and that we could hope that the revised text would clarify the crucial passage.

His proposal was that the word which I had transliterated *hwi/a-i(a)-sa-ti-sa* (§§ 11, 12) could with the removal of *-i(a)-* be understood a *hwasatti-*, a Luw. form of Hitt. *huwasi-*. He also saw that the rule “initial-*a*-final” consistently followed in EMİRGAZİ 1, demanded that the *wal/i-tá* at the beginning of § 12 must therefore be enclitic on the final sign-group previously attributed to § 11, which he thus read *i(a)-zi/a-tá-sa-wal/i-tá*. With all of this I am in complete agreement, except for the floating *-i(a)-* which I would now attach to the preceding *hwi/a-sa-ti-i(a)-sa*. I would thus read:

§ 11. DEUS-*ní-zi/a* STELE *kwi/a-i(a)-sa hwi/a-sa-ti-i(a)-sa*

§ 12. *zi/a-tá-sa-wal/i-tá* STELE *pa-sa-\*a hwi/a-sa-ti-sa i(a)-zi/a-i(a)-ru*

Mark Weeden and I discussing the passage concluded that the following translation would make contextual sense:

§ 11. Which HWASATI (is) for the gods of the stele,

§ 12. let that one become the HWASATI for their stele.

Note. *zi/a-tá-sa-* understood as *zatas(a)n*, dat. sing. of \**zatasi-*, possess. adj. of the pluralized form of *za-*, thus “of these ones, their”; compare Lyc. *epttehi*, “of those ones”.

The importance of Michel’s recognition is that it identifies the Emirgazi site with its gods and stelae as parts of a *huwasi-* monument. For a recent bibliography on *huwasi-* see *HWb*<sup>2</sup> (III/2, Lief. 21, p. 829), with particular reference to Singer, 1986; Wilhelm, 1997; Hazenbos, 2003. Singer showed that a *huwasi-* was more than just a standing stone in that it could be entered, thus was a precinct or even a structure. Wilhelm, from the unusually clear wording of the introduction to the Sarissa spring festival (*KuT* 19 obv. 1-8) identified the *huwasi* precinct on the mountain above Kuşaklı; see also Müller-Karpe, *Sarissa* (Sonderband der Antiken Welt, von Zabern, 2017, pp. 121-126).

So it would seem that EMİRGAZİ 1, §§ 11-12, according to Michel’s proposal, signals the presence on Mount Sarpa (Arisama dağ) of a *huwasi* installation comparable with that on the Kulmaç dağ above Kuşaklı – Sarissa.

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**66) Resurrecting a Reading of the Broken Signs in KBo 3.7 ii 5\*** — In one part of the Hittite Illuyanka myth (CTH 321), the goddess Inara instructs the human Hupašiya to refrain from looking out of the window of her house, lest he see his family and desire to reunite with them. But once the goddess goes out on a journey, he disobeys her instruction and looks out the window and sees his family.<sup>1)</sup> For this section of the myth, the duplicate manuscript KUB 17.6 is better preserved than KBo 3.7. The relevant clause in KUB 17.6 reads: *nu DAM-SÚ<sup>1</sup> DUMU.MEŠ-[ŠU ...]* (line i 24'). The editions restore the verb [*a-uš-ta*] “he saw” in the break to enable the following translation: “[He saw] his wife (and) [his] sons.” Already in 1924, Heinrich ZIMMERN had tentatively suggested reading the signs of KBo 3.7 col. ii 5' as *a-uš-*: “*a-uš-* vielleicht auf der Haupttafel Kol. ii 5 teilweise erhalten” (p. 434 n. 11), which would confirm the restoration of the verb *a-uš-ta* in the break of KUB 17.6 i 24'. However, ZIMMERN’s suggestion has apparently been either rejected or forgotten. Instead of reading these signs in KBo 3.7 ii 5' as *a-uš-*, the editions and transliterations published since 1924 have taken the damaged signs in this line to be a duplicate of the DAM sign in KUB 17.6 i 24',<sup>2)</sup> though some do admit that the traces do not fit the normal shape of the DAM sign.<sup>3)</sup> After a new collation of the photo,<sup>4)</sup> I argue that ZIMMERN’s suggested reading of the sign traces as *ṽa-uš<sup>1</sup>* is correct.



Fig. 1. Copy of KBo 3.7 ii 5'

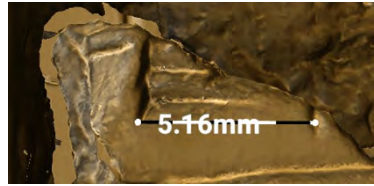


Fig. 2. 3D Photo of broken 'a-uš' in KBo 3.7 ii 5'

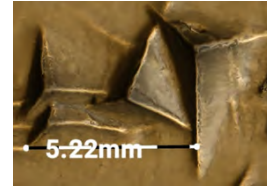


Fig. 3. 3D Photo of fully preserved UŠ sign from KBo 3.7 i 10

The first thing to note, is that the two stacked verticals of the A sign are adequately visible to confirm its reading (compare Figures 1 and 2). Second, in his hand copy of KBo 3.7, FIGULLA 1923 incorrectly interpreted the sign traces on the second sign as two in-line horizontals above a single horizontal (see Figure 1), instead of one horizontal with the beginning trace of a Winkelhaken above a single horizontal. As can be seen in Figures 2 and 3, comparing the fully preserved UŠ sign with that of the broken one, the traces for the beginning of the Winkelhaken match. Also, the trace location of the final vertical is properly placed. And finally, the size difference between the broken UŠ and the fully preserved UŠ is a negligible 0.06mm. Thus, ZIMMERN's suggested reading, and therefore also the restoration of the verb *a-uš-[ta]* "[he] saw" in the break of KUB 17.6 i 24', is confirmed.

#### Notes

\* I thank Petra Goedegebuure for her comments on a draft of this note.

1. For this scene, see §§11-14 of the text edition in RIEKEN et al. 2012.
2. LAROCHE 1965, p. 68; FRIEDRICH 1967, p. 52; BECKMAN 1982, p. 14; TRABAZO 2002, p. 90; TISCHLER 2006, p. 1225; RIEKEN et al. 2012; and MOUTON 2016, p. 448.
3. For example, RIEKEN et al. 2012 have "DAM<sup>12</sup>" and comment, "Das Zeichen sieht nach Kollation am Foto zwar anders aus als in der Autographie, ist aber kein einwandfreies DAM" (§12, n. 16). Cf. MOUTON 2016, p. 448.
4. For the images in Figures 2 and 3, see MÜLLER.

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**67) On the names Iyaya and Iya and their late diffusion in the Ancient Near East** — Iyaya is the name of a goddess of the pre-classical Anatolian pantheon. Her name occurs in a number of cuneiform sources from the Bronze Age Hittite archives in Boğazköy. In recent years, a couple of attempts have been made to identify the name of Iyaya with that of divine figures from the later phases of the Ancient Near Eastern history, notably in the Iron Age Luwian corpus (Lebrun, Gslmparati, 471ff.) and in a very late Roman gem from Cilicia (Mastrocinque, JANER 7, 197ff.). This would imply the diffusion by cultural and linguistic contact or by indirect inheritance outside of Anatolia. The name of Iyaya, or a segment thereof, has also been tentatively recognized in some even later Iron Age personal names from Greek epigraphic documents of Asia Minor, as they were collected by Zgusta (KPN §§447-449). In this note, I will review the data that have been collected to support the hypothesis of an Iron Age continuation of the cult and name of Iyaya.

Iyaya is mostly known from a specific type of documents of the Late Empire period, the so-called cult-inventories. They frequently contain descriptions of shrines and statuettes located in different towns that were under the control of the Hittite court. Quoting Cammarosano (SBL 40, 1),

*“The so-called cult inventories are reports on the cults of provincial towns and villages, documenting the interaction between central administration and local settlements on religious affairs.”*

According to these records, the goddess Iyaya was worshipped in several towns, including Lapana (not the same Lapana mentioned in the Amarna corpus and probably corresponding to modern Lebweh, but rather a city in central Anatolia; cf. also Forlanini StAs 5, 45 and Gander, Klio 96, 369), Taparuta, and Tiura. As most of the mentions of Iyaya belong to inventory texts, it is hard to find her precise collocation in the main pantheon, but, occasionally, she seems to be associated with some other deities. According to Burney’s *Historical Dictionary of the Hittites* (2004, s.v. Iyaya) she was a “local divinit[y], not in the first rank but much revered by the populace”. Of course, that she was much revered by the populace is a very interpretive reading of the limited sources we possess: everyday religion is very difficult to reconstruct for the cultures of the Ancient Near East. In the inventory KUB 38.1 iv 1-7 (cf. Cammarosano, SBL 40, 312), a wooden statuette of Iyaya, plated in gold and tin, is said to be located in a shrine in Lapana, sitting on a throne, with an enigmatic *hupita*-veil/hood, surrounded by two statuettes of goats and one of an eagle, two copper sceptres, and two bronze cups. Her priest is male. The description of the statuette of Iyaya in the town of Tiura (ibid. iv 8-14; Cammarosano, SBL 40, 312) is similar, but there are no theriomorphic figurines and the metal used to decorate the statuette is gold. She holds a cup and a SIG<sub>5</sub>-object. The priest in the temple is, in this case, a female entitled “mother deity priestess” (<sup>MUNUS</sup>AMA.DINGIR-LIM). In another similar source (KUB 38.26), the *Bildbeschreibung* refers to a statuette of the goddess that was made of iron. It is, however, the inventory text KUB 38.10+ (Cammarosano, KASKAL 12, 220f) that contains one of the most interesting occurrences of the divine name, which would play a central role in some of the hypotheses I wish to review in this short contribution. Here, two statuettes are mentioned. Both are made of wood, and one is a standing god AMAR.UTU, a logogram that could be interpreted either as Marduk or Sandas. The other one is a sitting Iyaya. Her name here is accompanied by an epithet which, however, is partly broken. It has been integrated MUNUS.[GA]BA, perhaps “nursing(?) woman”, but given the condition of the tablet it is impossible to safely reconstruct the compound logogram.

A few other occurrences of the name Iyaya exist; however, none of them contain specific information regarding the origin, function, and characterizations of the goddess. She was certainly involved in festivals (which means that she had a role in the official state cult and not only as a member of peripheral local *panthea*). There seems to be a good chance of a connection of Iyaya with the natural world; consider, obviously, the co-existence of her statuette and the representations of animals in the city of Lapana in KUB 38.1 iv 1-7 (see above). Furthermore, Iyaya has sometimes been called a mother-goddess in literature. Certainly, in the fragmentary inventory KUB 38.12 iii 9f., she seems to belong to the DINGIR.MAH circle together with Allinalli and a third unknown goddess. However, the cult inventories are a poor source regarding the functions and connotations of gods and goddesses, so the exact features and the role of Iyaya are only partly clear. Even her origin and the linguistic source of her name are obscure. While she might have been a Luwian deity, the geographical location of the cities in which statuettes of Iyaya were worshipped is debated (see Forlanini’s work on the middle Kızılırmak [StAs 5]). The reduplicated name is no indication of a specific etymology from one or another Anatolian language: formally, it is a noun-noun reduplication, pretty much like *hanna-hanna*-. The best thing one can do is to acknowledge that Iyaya was an Anatolian goddess (based on the name, originally not a Hurrian or a Hattian one), but a more specific definition of her cultural and linguistic provenance is currently impossible.

After having considered the main cuneiform sources from Hittite Anatolia, it is necessary to turn to the problem of Iyaya’s connection with other divine figures. We have already said that she may have belonged to a triad together with Allinalli. Another alleged association, defended by Taracha (DBH 27, 114) in a surprisingly optimistic tone, is the one with Santas. This is particularly relevant as regards the possibility of a diffusion of the cult and name of Iyaya in later stages of the history of the Ancient Near Eastern religion, because the survival of Santas’s (or Sanda’s) cult after the end of the Hittite Empire and



during the Iron Age of Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia is proven (see Rutherford, “Sandas in Translation”, in *Hittology Today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday/L'hittologie aujourd'hui : études sur l'Anatolie hittite et néo-hittite à l'occasion du centenaire de la naissance d'Emmanuel Laroche*, ed. by A. Mouton, Istanbul 2017, pp. 81-110). Luwian Santas is attested in a few HLuw. occurrences. Furthermore, indirect onomastic evidence comes from Cilicia (Rutherford, “Sandas in Translation”). During the Neo-Assyrian age, there is a cult in Tharsus. Finally, some Mesopotamian divine figures were identified with Santas, including Nergal and, possibly, Marduk (Rutherford, “Sandas in Translation”; previously Dalley AnSt 49, 73ff.). Santas has been presented as a male partner of Iyaya because of a passage in a Hittite cult inventory. In KUB 38.10+ iii 33ff. (Cammarosano, KASKAL 12, 220f.), two statuettes made of wood are mentioned: one is a standing AMAR.UTU, the other is a seated Iyaya. However, even if the writing AMAR.UTU here really indicates Santas, the presence of the two statuettes in a shrine is no proof of a consistent association, let alone of the fact that Iyaya was the “wife” of Santas as Taracha wrote (DBH 27, 114). If a vague association in a schematic text passage were enough to prove that two gods formed a divine couple, one could easily state that Santas’s female partner was the female demon Handašepa, based on the single occurrence of a joint sacrifice in the tablet Emar VI 471, ro. 15-19.

Iyaya’s alleged partnership with Santas was the main argument in support of Mastrocinque’s proposal to analyze the YOYO inscription on the reverse late Verona Gem, a Severan Age document from Roman Cilicia depicting a Sandas god (accompanied by a chimera) on the obverse, as a very late occurrence of the Anatolian female theonym:

Since, however, the relationship between the two gods is all but a stable one, and is only hinted at by the occasional reference in KUB 38.10+, the religious-historical argument immediately loses most of its vigour. In terms of language contact and adaptation, the case is even weaker. If we wanted to assume a direct passage from Luvic into Greek or into a variety of Greek, there would be no reason for the change of /a/ into /o/, especially given the fact that -a(-) is also a feminine morpheme in Greek, and it would not get lost in the adaptation of a female theonym. An involvement of Lydian, that features a secondary vowel /o/, is geographically unlikely and, even if it weren’t, would not yield /yoyo/ starting from /iyaya/.



These arguments obliterate the idea that the divine name Iyaya and the memory of the Anatolia goddess managed to survive in Roman Age Cilicia. Another proposal for a late – but not so late – survival of the divine name was made by Lebrun (GsImparati), who suggested that some Bronze age cuneiform occurrences of the name Iya would represent an abridged version of the name Iyaya, instead of being the rendering of the Mesopotamian divine name Ea, which is the traditional interpretation.

According to Lebrun’s interpretation, the male partner of Iyaya would not be Santas, but the Storm God. The hypothesis relies on the idea that the occurrence of the name (DEUS)*i-ya-sa* in the Iron age hieroglyphic text MARAŞ 1 would represent Iyaya’s abridged name and not Ea. While no proof was presented for this proposed identification, which was indeed not widely accepted in the scientific literature that followed the publication of Lebrun’s paper, it was also suggested that the theophoric element *Iya-*<sup>o</sup> contained in several personal names of Asia Minor (Zgusta KPN, §§447-449: *ια(ς)*, both masculine and feminine; the feminine *ιας* and *ιαη*; the masculine compounds *ιαζαομα*, *ιαζημις* and *ιαμαρας*) may have represented this abridged form of the female theonym Iya(ya). As a matter of fact, all of these onomastic pieces of evidence can be explained without hypothesizing the existence of this quite unusual abridged form of the Hittite theonym. Regardless of the origin and meaning of the Hittite (or more generally Anatolian) segment *iya-*<sup>o</sup>, the form appears to already be a personal name in the Bronze Age: a woman named *Iya* is mentioned twice in KuT 49, and also Iyaya is attested as a female human name for the queen and wife of Zidanta II in KUB 11.8 (the writing in ii 9 is



<sup>f</sup>I-ya-ya-an, with the female-PN determinative, contrary to the transcription <sup>m</sup>I-ya-ya-an by Gilan, KASKAL 11, 93). A man named Iya is mentioned in the Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of the BEIRUT vase (and he is a priest of Santas, but this is, of course, just a coincidence).

All in all, given the evidence collected so far, we can state that:

1. There is no reason to assume that an abridged form of the divine name Iyaya existed in the Bronze Age;
2. The (DEUS)<sup>i</sup>-ya- in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus can consistently represent the name of Ea, so the abridged version of the name did not exist in the Iron Age either;
3. In terms of language contact, the YOYO inscription on the Verona Gem cannot be analyzed as an adaptation of the name Iyaya- in any of the late Luvic languages of the Iron Age: if it is a name, it is treated as masculine in the Greek writing, but we cannot exclude that the signs were in fact a non-sense alphabetic decoration;
4. As for the late personal names recorded by Zgusta, the fact that Iya and Iyaya were already personal names in the Hittite and Luwian world during the Bronze and early Iron ages means that even if the theophoric element Iyaya might have played a role in earlier phases at least for the reduplicated forms like  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$  and  $\tau\alpha\iota\eta$ , the late survival of the personal names need not be connected to a survival and diffusion of the cult of the goddess.

Thus, the hypothesis that a shorter version Iya of the divine name Iyaya existed is currently not justified by the sources we have, nor should late onomastic materials or dubious specimina such as the Verona Gem be employed to assume a survival and diffusion of Iyaya's name and cult.

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**68) Nouveaux fragments de cunéiforme louvite** — Dans cette note utilitaire, six nouveaux fragments de cunéiforme louvite, qui n'ont pas été justement reconnus et donc mal placés lors de leur publication en autographie, seront présentés et édités. Le premier est KBo 44.241 publié par Otten et Rüster (2003). Une première édition de ce fragment se trouve chez Roszkowska-Mutschler (2007: 232), où la catégorie d'attribution est CTH 832 (*Hethitische Fragmente verschiedenen Inhaltes*). Cependant après un examen attentif du texte, il est possible d'attribuer ce fragment à un rituel louvite. La nouvelle transcription est la suivante:

1' ]x [  
 2' ] ki-iš-šā-an  
 -----  
 3' <sup>d</sup>ti-w]a-az x[  
 4' ]x-um-ma[  
 5' ku]-u-wa-ar-t[i  
 6' -n]a-aš-ša-an-za-t[i  
 7' -d]a-ar[  
 8' ]x-<sup>f</sup>ša<sup>21</sup>-[

Tout d'abord, à la ligne 2' du contexte hittite, nous avons à faire une phrase telle que *luwili kiššan ḫūkzi* 'il/elle invoque ainsi en louvite'. Le passage en langue louvite commence donc à la ligne 3' et s'étend jusqu'à 8'. À la ligne 3', on peut tenter d'y reconstruire le nom du dieu du soleil louvite <sup>d</sup>tiwad- au nominatif du singulier. Les signes préservés à la ligne 5' rappellent le verbe louvite *kuwari* 'il coupe', retrouvé dans le rituel du Kizzuwatna KUB 35.48 iii 19' et 20' (CTH 760). Ensuite, la ligne 6' donne un génitif adjectival en -aššali- suivi du marqueur du pluriel -nz- avant la marque de l'ablatif. Le mot à restaurer pourrait être soit *ta-tar-ri-ia-am-n]a-aš-ša-an-za-t[i* ou bien *ma-aš-ša-n]a-aš-ša-an-za-t[i*. Toutes ces observations permettent d'attribuer le fragment KBo 44.241 de façon provisoire à CTH 760 (*Ritual der Alten Frau* (<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI)).

Le second fragment KBo 47.136 a été publié en autographie par Otten, Rüster & Wilhelm (2005). Ce fragment a été traité avec hésitation par Soysal (2004: 67, 337, 472, 489, 631) comme fragment en langue hattî. Une translittération se trouve chez Groddek (2011: 122f.), où le fragment est attribué plutôt à CTH 790 (*Fragmente hethitisch-hurritischer Rituale und Beschwörungen*). Cependant, ayant identifié les deux passages (1'-3', 10'ff.) composés en langue étrangère comme étant louvite et non hattî ou hurrite, une nouvelle translittération comprenant aussi de nouvelles restaurations se doit d'être offerte.

|       |                                                                        |                                                |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1'    | [                                                                      | ]x a-š[a-                                      |
| 2'    | [                                                                      | ] -ṛi <sup>1</sup> -im-ma-an[]                 |
| 3'    | [ta-pa-ru ta-ta-ri-ia-am-ma-an ḫi-i-ru-ú-un] ma-a-ia-aš-š[i-in EME-in] |                                                |
| <hr/> |                                                                        |                                                |
| 4'    | [                                                                      | ]ḫu-pu-u-wa-a-i-i[a ]                          |
| 5'    | [                                                                      | ] EGIR-an-da-ma []                             |
| 6'    | [                                                                      | šu-u]ḫ-ḫa-a-an še-ra-a[š-ša-an]                |
| 7'    | [                                                                      | ]ḫa-aš-ši-i an-da []                           |
| 8'    | [                                                                      | n]u <sup>2</sup> NUMUN *x* ḫa-aš-ši-i []       |
| 9'    | [                                                                      | ḫu-u-uk-zi-ma] ki-iš-[ša-an]                   |
| <hr/> |                                                                        |                                                |
| 10'   | [                                                                      | ]x-ta pa-aḫ-ḫ[i-                               |
| 11'   | [                                                                      | ta-p]a <sup>2</sup> -ru ta-[ta-ri-ia-am-ma-an] |
| 12'   | [                                                                      | ]x-an-ti-ṛi <sup>2</sup> [-(-)                 |
| 13'   | [                                                                      | ] x[                                           |

Les lignes 2' et 3' peuvent être comparées directement à celles de KUB 35.70 ii 4-5 (CTH 762): [ ... ]x-ṛi<sup>1</sup>ta-a<sup>1</sup>-im-ma-an [ta]-pa-a-ru ta-ṛi<sup>1</sup>ta-ri-ia-am-ma-an ḫi-i-ru-ú-un ma-a-i]a-[aš]-ṛi<sup>1</sup>-<in> EME-in. Il s'agirait donc de deux phrases parallèles, ce qui justifie l'attribution du fragment KBo 47.136 à CTH 762 (*Fragmente des Großen Rituals(?)*). De plus, l'utilisation du récipient <sup>DUG</sup>ḫupūwāya- se trouve dans d'autres fragments de rituels louvites tels que KBo 46.55 ro.<sup>2</sup> 1' et KUB 35.65 iii 19', ce qui apporte un rapprochement de contenu entre ces fragments divers (courtoisie de I. Yakubovich). Concernant le mot incomplet paḫḫi- à la ligne 10', il appartient probablement au même verbe louvite que pa-aḫ-ḫi-it-ta-ru (KUB 35.49 iv 3) employé dans un rituel au contenu similaire à KBo 47.136.

Le fragment KBo 67.192 a été publié en autographie par Prechel (2015) et placé dans la catégorie CTH 832 (*Hethitische Fragmente verschiedenen Inhaltes*). Prechel (2015: vii) y voit un nom féminin <sup>ṛ</sup>Tāḫiti. Cependant, les terminaisons nominales tels que -inz(a) trouvées sur ce fragment sont définitivement louvites, ce qui nous amène plutôt à interpréter le substantif comme šaltāḫit- au lieu d'un déterminatif suivi d'un nom propre. Donc, ce fragment devrait être déplacé vers CTH 770 (*Luwische Ritualfragmente*).

|       |                         |
|-------|-------------------------|
| 1'    | ]x-ḫar-x[               |
| <hr/> |                         |
| 2'    | ]šal-ta-a-ḫi-t[i        |
| 3'    | šal-t]a-a-ḫi-ti a-ap-x[ |
| 4'    | -a]n-na-ni KI.MIN [     |
| 5'    | ]at-ta šal-ti-i[n       |
| 6'    | šal-t]i-in ḫa-at-t[a-   |
| 7'    | -t]i-in-za TÚG-a[n(-)   |
| <hr/> |                         |
| 8'    | ]ti-i[n(-)              |

La racine louvite *šalt-* obtenue ici dans l'abstrait *šaltāḫit-* ainsi que dans *šalt(i)-* est déjà connue grâce à deux dérivatifs, c'est-à-dire *ša-al-ti-in-ni-mi-in* (KUB 35.107+ iii 21'), attesté en contexte louvite, et *šal-ta-ṛi<sup>1</sup>in* (KUB 18.58 ii 40), attesté en contexte hittite. Enfin, la marque casuelle de l'accusatif du pluriel -t]i-in-za à la ligne 7' est sans conteste louvite.

Le prochain fragment est KBo 68.39, publié en autographie par van den Hout (2015) et attribué à CTH 470 (*Ritualfragmente*). Pour des raisons données ci-dessous, le fragment devrait être attribué à CTH 770 (*Luwische Ritualfragmente*).

1' -t]i<sup>2</sup>-iš [  
 2' ] ħu-i-pa-at-t[a  
 -----  
 3' ] šar-aḫ-ša-aš-ša[(-)  
 4' S]ISKUR [  
 5' ]-i-ia-  
 6' -(i)]a<sup>2</sup>-ma-]

Le mot *ħu-i-pa-at-ta* (ligne 2') est vu par van den Hout (2015: v) comme une forme nominale du substantif louvite *ħuipatta-* c. attesté quelques fois en contexte hittite. D'un autre point de vue, il peut être interprété comme forme verbale à la 3<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier prétérite. La racine est déjà connue en louvite dans la forme participiale *ħu-i-pa-ma-an-za* (KBo 13.260 ii 28) et chez la 3<sup>e</sup> personne du pluriel prétérite *ħu<sup>1</sup>-i-pu-un-ta* (KBo 13.263 3') ainsi que dans la forme nominale *ħu-i-pa-ia-ta-an* (KUB 7.53+ ii 60). Quant au mot trouvé à la ligne 3', il est peut-être incomplet. Néanmoins, il est très probable que l'on ait ici un génitif adjectival en *-ašša/i-* bâti sur un substantif *šar(a)ḫša-*, qui n'est autrement pas attesté.

Le fragment KBo 68.142 a été publié par van den Hout (2015) et attribué à CTH 832 (*Hethitische Fragmente verschiedenen Inhaltes*). Par contre, il peut être identifié comme fragment louvite et attribué à CTH 770 (*Luwische Ritualfragmente*), si l'on compare le mot *a-a-li-i]š* à l'adjectif louvite bien connu *āla/i-*. Il y a deux autres fragments louvites où une ligne commence exactement avec cet adjectif, soit KBo 9.127+ ii 4' et KBo 29.50 iii<sup>2</sup> 3'. Néanmoins, considérant la petite taille de ce fragment, son attribution reste hypothétique.

Colonne de droite  
 1' a-a-li-i]š  
 2' ku-r[a-  
 3' ša[r-

Le dernier fragment présenté ici est KBo 68.234. Ce dernier a été publié en autographie par van den Hout (2015) et attribué à CTH 832 (*Hethitische Fragmente verschiedenen Inhaltes*). Cependant, le texte écrit sur ce fragment d'écriture cunéiforme est en langue louvite et doit être attribué à CTH 770 (*Luwische Ritualfragmente*).

1' -i]a-at-t[a]  
 2' ]-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-un-za -ti[]  
 3' ]x-an a-aš-du[]  
 -----  
 4' ]x mu-ut-nu-uš-<sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-x[]  
 5' ]x-šar-ra-an -x[]

La forme verbale *a-aš-du* à la ligne 3' renvoie au verbe louvite *aš-/aš<sup>(ti)</sup>-* 'être', où le hittite emploierait *e-eš-du*. Quant au reste, nous avons affaire à des mots incomplets. La terminaison *-i]a-at-t[a]* à la première ligne pourrait être celle d'un verbe à la 3<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier. Ensuite, [ ... ]-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-un-za-ti peut être interprété comme forme nominale à l'accusatif du pluriel suivie du pronom réflexif *=ti* ou bien d'une forme suffixée en *-nt-* au nominatif du singulier suivi par le même pronom. Dans l'attente d'un joint, l'appartenance littéraire exacte du fragment restera obscure.

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**69) Syennesis: Personennamen, kein luwischer Herrschertitel** — Nach den Angaben der griechischen Autoren trugen zumindest drei Könige Kilikiens den Namen Syennesis: Syennesis I. (c. 585), Syennesis II., Sohn Oromedons (zur Zeit von Xerxes) und Syennesis III. (Ende des 5. Jhs., für die Beleglage s. zuletzt Gander 2017: 386 Anm. 140). Starke 1995: 120 Anm. 242, Oettinger 1995: 41-42, und Hawkins 2000: 153 stellten die Hypothese auf, der Name Syennesis gehe auf das in KARKAMIŠ A4a §10 belegte luwische Wort *zuwani-* (bzw. auf dessen Adiectivum genitivale) zurück, das Starke („wohl“) und Oettinger als Beamtentitel interpretierten. Die genauen Details blieben allerdings unklar: handelt es sich bei Syennesis um einen Personennamen, der aus einem Beamtentitel entstand, oder um einen aus dem Beamtentitel stammenden Herrschertitel, den die Griechen als Personennamen missverstanden haben? Die zweite Lösung wurde von Oettinger und mir (Simon 2008: 20) befürwortet (auch Starke erwog dies), aber Giusfredi 2010: 166-167 wies zu Recht darauf hin, dass die erste Lösung genauso möglich ist (Gander 2017: 386 ließ die Frage offen).<sup>1)</sup> Schließlich lehnte Oreshko 2013: 414-415 diese Idee insgesamt ab, weil *zuwani-* nach seiner Auffassung kein Beamtentitel war.

Im Rahmen dieser Diskussion erwähnte jetzt Gander 2017: 386 Anm. 140 (vgl. jedoch bereits Oettinger 1995: 41), ohne die Folgerungen zu ziehen, dass der Name Syennesis im 5. Jh. auch in Zypern und zwar als Name eines Arztes belegt ist (Arist. Hist. anim. 3.2-3). Dass ein kilikischer Name auch in Zypern benutzt wird, dürfte angesichts der zumindest ehemaligen (gemeint ist das 8.-7. Jh.) kulturellen Koine zwischen (Teilen von) Zypern und Kilikien, die nicht nur archäologisch (vgl. vor allem Novák 2010: 408) sondern u.a. auch namenkundlich (vgl. den zyprischen Königsnamen Wroykos als Wraykas unter den Herrschern von Hiyawa) greifbar ist (für die zyprisch-kilikischen Verbindungen s. zuletzt Simon 2018a: 327-330 mit Lit.), keine Überraschung sein. Da es allerdings unwahrscheinlich ist, dass das gleiche Wort gleichzeitig (im 5. Jh.) und zwar innerhalb des gleichen Kulturkreises sowohl als Personennamen als auch als Herrschertitel verwendet wurde und der Arzt Syennesis offensichtlich kein Herrscher war, sollte es sich auch im Fall des kilikischen Syennesis um einen einfachen Personennamen und keinen Herrschertitel handeln.

Es ist natürlich möglich, dass der Personennamen Syennesis letztendlich aus einem Beamtentitel stammt. Doch die Bedeutung von *zuwani-* als Beamtentitel ist nicht gesichert<sup>2)</sup> und es gibt zudem phonologische Probleme mit dieser Hypothese:<sup>3)</sup> da der luwische anlautende Konsonant (etwa [ts] oder [z]) dem Griechischen fremd war, muss man mit Lautsubstitution rechnen (Simon 2008: 26 Anm. 19). Die Frage ist dabei allerdings, welcher Laut im Griechischen als Substitut erscheinen würde. Denn es gibt keinen unabhängigen Beweis dafür, dass es sich dabei um /s/ handelt, seit Schürr 2017: 1-3 nachwies, dass die Namen auf -ηπας u.ä. in der griechischen Nebenüberlieferung nicht das luw(o)ide Namensselement -*zitali-* fortsetzen. Außerdem wies er auf den Fall *Tarhu-zarma-* ~ Τροχο-ζαρμα- hin, der sogar dagegen argumentiert, dass Syennesis phonologisch aus *zuwani-* hergeleitet werden kann, da <z> durch Zeta substituiert wurde.<sup>4)</sup> Daher ist die Etymologie dieses Personennamens wahrscheinlich in einem anderen, noch zu bestimmenden luwischen Wort zu suchen.

#### Anmerkungen

1. Nach Giusfredi 2010: 167 n. 333 ist eine griechische Verwechslung möglich, sogar „likely“ im Falle von Herodot, aber er würde eine solche Verwechslung im Falle von Xenophon für überraschend halten. Syennesis wurde schon von Georgiev 1960: 618 als Herrschertitel interpretiert (was Zgusta 1964: 477 für „weniger wahrscheinlich“ als Personennamen hielt), jedoch mit einer anderen anatolischen Etymologie.

2. Für die unterschiedlichen Auffassungen s. Meriggi 1975: 110; Starke 1995: 120 Anm. 242; Hawkins 2000: 153; Simon 2008: 20; Giusfredi 2010: 165-167; Oreshko 2013: 414-415; Sasseville 2017; Gander 2017: 385-386.

3. Man beachte, dass die gelegentliche Umschrift *suwani-* auf einer fehlerhaften Interpretation des Zeichens \*448 (*sū* statt *zū*) beruht, vgl. zuletzt Simon 2008, 2012: 171; Yakubovich 2010: 66 Anm. 58; Melchert 2012: 210, alle mit Lit.

4. Obwohl Houwink ten Cate 1961: 134-136 die ζαρμα-Namen aus Šarruma erklärt, lässt sich dies phonologisch nicht halten (vgl. auch Melchert 2013: 41 und Simon 2018b: 127 Anm. 22).

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**70) Another episode on cereal** — Here, Egyptian counterparts are suggested for two sets of Semitic words for types of grain, with some additional proposals.

(a) Barley: Ugaritic *glb*, “a type of barley”, possibly *Hordeum spontaneum*<sup>1)</sup>, has long been compared with Akk. *gulbātu*, *gulubātu* “Gerste” (AHw, 296); “a cereal” (CAD G, 127); “(a kind of cereal)” (CDA, 96)<sup>2)</sup>. More recently, an additional cognate was mentioned in a previous note in this Bulletin<sup>3)</sup>, namely Aram. *gwlb*, “a grain” (DJBA 286). Yet another equivalent (or loan) that can be cited, previously unnoticed, may be Eg. *q3bwt*, “grain” (Wilson 1997, 1218-1219)<sup>4)</sup>, a word dating back to the Middle Kingdom<sup>5)</sup>.

(b) Wheat: Ug. *ḫtt* (pl. *ḫtm*), “wheat”<sup>6)</sup>, has as a whole range of cognates in Semitic: Akk. *uṭṭatu*, “grain” (AHw, 1446); “Getreide, Gerste, Korn”, “edible grain (wheat or barley)” (CAD U/W, 349-357)<sup>7)</sup>; “grain, barley” (CDA, 431a); Emar Akk. */ḫittu/*, “wheat”<sup>8)</sup>; Heb. *ḫṯh*, “wheat” (HALOT, 307); OArām. *ḫ(n)t(t)*, “wheat” (DNWSI, 363); Arab. *ḫinṭat*, “wheat” (AEL 657); Syr. *ḫettā*, “wheat” (SL, 444); Arām. *ḫṯṯā*, “wheat” (DJBA, 453a); *ḫyṯh*, “wheat” (DSA I, 263a); *ḫyṯh* (pl. *ḫyṯyn*), “wheat” (DJPA, 197b); Mand. *ḫaṯia*, *ḫṯia*, *ḫṯia*, “wheat” (MD, 118b, 140b, 143a) and even Mlaḥsô *ḫeto*, “wheat”<sup>9)</sup>. Ug. *ḫtt* has been

compared with Eg. *it*, “grain, barley, corn” (DLE I, 50). “barley” (WILSON 1997, 119-120)<sup>10</sup>), but there is much a closer equivalent that seems to have been overlooked. This is Eg. *htyt*, “Getreide” (GHWb, 566a); “grain” (WILSON 1997, 685; cf. Wb 3, 182)<sup>11</sup>). It may indicate that the Semitic forms with /n/ are due to secondary dissimilation.

These are not the only Semitic terms for “grain” that may have equivalents in Egyptian. Two others that can be mentioned are: Mari Akk. *burrum* “(a kind of cereal)” (CDA, 49a)<sup>12</sup>) corresponding to Eg. *b3.t*, “grain, cereal” (EDE II, 29-32), and Ug. *gdl*, “ripe (grain)”, equivalent to Eg. *dd3*, “to ripen (of corn)”<sup>13</sup>). Note also Sem. *šr*, “barley”, borrowed as Eg. \**ša<sup>c</sup>arū*, *ša<sup>c</sup>ara*, “barley (field) or scrub country”<sup>14</sup>) and a term for a type of bread, i.e. Ug. *ht*, “unleavened loaf”, Arab. *hutt*, “bread without any seasoning” (AEL, 512; cf. DUL, 373) and Eg. *hs3*, “dough, fluid, paste” (WILSON 1997, 675)<sup>15</sup>).

In view of the widespread trading networks around the Mediterranean, it is not surprising that various terms for grain and bread were interchangeable among speakers of different languages.

## Notes

1. KTU 4.269:29; 4.275:16; also in TNN 2.62:5; 4.303:2; cf. DUL, 294.
2. By DIETRICH – LORETZ – SANMARTÍN 1973, 106; cf. also WATSON LSU, 83 §2.2.02.1 (67).
3. WATSON 2013.
4. However, cf. Eg. *d3b.wt*, “[Früchte]” (Wb 5, 522.7) and *d3bwt*, “Art Früchte” (GHWb, 99a).
5. For Eg. /3/ as equivalent to Sem. /l/ and Eg. /d/ as corresponding to Sem. /g/ see the table in TAKÁCS EDE I, 263 and the corresponding examples, *ibid.*, 61-67 and 249-255.
6. KTU 1.14 ii 29; 1.14 iv 10; 1.16 iii 9; 4.211:5; 4.225:9, 11; 4.269:25, 32; 4.345:5; 4.400:4, 9, 13, 17; 4.608:4; 6.61:2; as *hṫm* in KTU 4.710:4, 7.
7. Some of the Semitic cognates listed here are also given in CAD U/W, 357a, where it is noted that they “all designate ‘wheat’”, with the rider: “Given the free writing variations and the temporal and geographical distributions, it appears that *uṫtatu*... could be used to designate the main domesticated edible cereal crop of the region, whether wheat or barley”.
8. PENTIUC 2001, 70.
9. Cf. BARSKY – KALININ – LEOSOV 2018, 234; Mlaḥsô is “an Eastern Neo-Aramaic language of Upper Mesopotamia (South Eastern Turkey) now extinct” (*ibid.*, 209).
10. For a different equivalent in Egyptian see HOCH 1994, 85 (§104).
11. It occurs “[i]n the phrase *npr-htyt* which may be a general term for grains of various kinds... It is uncertain whether *npr* and *htyt* are separate commodities, or whether the expression is a phrase for ears and stalks of grain plants, where the *htyt* represents the longer stem and *npr* the ear, so that together they indicate the whole stalk, or whether there is one type of grain simply called *npr-htyt*” (WILSON 1997, 685).
12. As well as several other cognates in Heb., OSA, Arab., MSA etc.; cf. TAKÁCS EDE II, 30 §1.
13. Details in WATSON 2010, 166, with further references.
14. HOCH 1994, 255-256 (§358).
15. This is a new suggestion. See also Eg. \**šaḥaqa*, “pulverized grain; a type of bread” and Sem. *šḥq*, “to grind” (HOCH 1994, 287-288 §411) and, in a related semantic field, it may be worth noting that the term for “threshing floor” was also borrowed in Egyptian: cf. *ibid.*, 352 §319.

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- Wb A. ERMAN – H. GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, vols. 1-7 (Berlin 1926-63) vols. 1-6 and *Belegstellen* vols. 1-5 (Leipzig 1825-1955), courtesy of the TLA website.

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**71) More apt cognates for Ugaritic *ypt*** — As far back as 1937, Theodore Gaster<sup>1)</sup> had compared Ug. *ypt* (KTU 1.10 iii 3 // *ālp*) with Arab. *fn̄t*, “breeding cow”, a comparison he reiterated in 1950<sup>2)</sup>. In fact, the relevant dictionary references are: Arab. *fanāt*, “a bull or cow” (AEL, 2451); Arab. *yafan-*, “jeune taureau âgé de quatre ans”; *yafanat-*, “vache, vache pleine” (BK II, 1640b); Arab. *yafan*, “four years old bull”; *yafanat*, “cow in calf” (Hava, 903b). This equivalence has been accepted, generally, by most scholars<sup>3)</sup> and since then, the number of cognates cited has increased<sup>4)</sup>.

However, two other apparently related (or cognate) terms seem to have been overlooked. One is Eg. *wpw*, “Hornvieh (Bez. der Rinder)” (Wb 1, 298.6); “cattle, cows” (PL, 225)<sup>5)</sup>; cf. also Eg. *wpt*, “Gehörn (*d. Rindes*)” (GHWb, 189b)<sup>6)</sup>. Could this indicate some sort of wordplay in Heb. *pārôt* *y<sup>e</sup>pôt*, “beautiful cows”, in Genesis 41:2 (cf. v. 18), which has an Egyptian setting<sup>7)</sup>?

The other may be Akk. *ub/pātum*, “dicke (= trächtege?) Kuh” (AHw, 1400a); Akk. *upātum*, *ubātum*, “fat (cow)”; OB, i.e. pregnant?” (CDA, 163b), both mentioning a possible derivation from *ebû*, “to be thick” (cf. CDA, 65a), although “adj. fem. mng unkn.” (CAD U/W, 178b) is more equivocal. If these comparisons hold good, they would suggest that the spelling in Akkadian is *upātum* rather than *ubātum* and that the proposed derivation may be incorrect. They certainly corroborate the meaning “cow” proposed for Ugaritic *ypt*, which only occurs once<sup>8)</sup>.

#### Notes

1. T. H. Gaster, “Notes on Ras Shamra Texts. III”, *OLZ* 40 (1937) 670.
2. T. H. Gaster, “Ugaritic Philology”, *JAOS* 70 (1950) 8-18 (10).
3. E.g. “junge Kuh” (Aistleitner WUS, No.1214 p. 133); “cow” (Gordon UT §19.1137); “vaca, bercerra” (Del Olmo Lete MLC, 472, 561); “heifer” (Wyatt RTU, 158); “cow, yearling calf” (DUL, 960). However, one opinion is undecided: “selon Gordon, nom apparenté à l’hébreu *yāpāh*, « beau », « les belles (bêtes) » ; selon d’autres, identique à l’arabe *yafana’*, « vache pleine »” (TOug I, 286 n. t’), followed by Gibson CML, 148a.
4. See SED II, 319-320, No. 250: \**yapan-* ‘young bull’, for equivalents in Ge’ez, Tigrinya, Amharic, Wolane etc.
5. Wilson notes that in occurrences with the cow sign, “*wpw* may be specifically a milk cow” (PL, 225).
6. If correct, this may explain the initial *w-* in some of the Ethiopic forms, e.g. Amharic *wäyḥān*, “young bullock, calf of 2-3 years”, cited in SED II No. 250. For Eg. /*w*/ as equivalent to Sem. /*y*/ see Takács EDE I, 102-103, 263.
7. Curiously, besides the reference to this text, Gordon (UT §19.1137, quoting a student) refers, somewhat irrelevantly, to the cow’s horn hieroglyph in the spellings of Eg. *īpt*, “mission” and *īpwty*, “messenger”, but makes no mention of Eg. *wpw*. See note 5, above.
8. However, Ug. *ārḥ*, “cow” is similarly rare, occurring six times in KTU 1.10 and only seven times elsewhere, but also only in the mythological texts.

**Abbreviations** (besides the ones quoted in note NABU 2019/70)

- BK A. DE BIBERSTEIN-KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, vols 1-2 (Paris 1860).
- CML J. C. L. GIBSON, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh 1978).
- Hava J. G. HAVA, *Al-faraid Arabic-English dictionary* (Beirut 1964).
- MLC G. DEL OLMO LETE, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit* (Valencia/Madrid 1981).
- PL P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (OLA 78; Leuven 1997).

- RTU N. WYATT, *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (The Biblical Seminar 53; London/New York 2002).  
 SED II L. KOGAN / A. MILITAREV, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary*, vol. II. *Animal Names* (AOAT 278/2; Münster 2005).  
 TOug 1 A. CAQUOT / M. SZNYCER / A. HERDNER, *Textes ougaritiques. Tome I. Mythes et Légendes. Introduction, traduction, commentaire* (LAPO 7; Paris 1974).  
 UT C. H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Textbook* (AnOr 38; Rome 1965; revised reprint 1998).  
 WUS J. AISTLEITNER, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (edited by O. Eissfeldt; Berlin 1974).

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**72) The Gilgamesh Epic and Ugaritic Once More** — This is an unrelated sequel to my note “The Gilgamesh Epic and Ugaritic” (*NABU* 1998/114). As is well-known, in the Ugaritian *Epic of Kirta*, the eponymous hero is offered wealth in exchange for his bride-to-be, which he rejects in favour of being able to marry and produce an heir. The list of items on offer runs as follows:

|                                       |                                                            |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>22</sup> <i>qh ksp wyrq hrs</i>  | Take silver and yellow gold                                |
| <sup>23</sup> <i>yd mqmh w'bd 'lm</i> | with its immutability, <sup>1)</sup> and perpetual slaves, |
| <sup>24</sup> <i>tl't sswm mrkbt</i>  | copper, <sup>2)</sup> horses (and) chariots                |
| <sup>25</sup> <i>b trbs bn amt</i>    | from the stable of a slave-girl's son. <sup>3)</sup>       |

This catalogue has a close counterpart in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, as has been recognised,<sup>4)</sup> where Gilgamesh is similarly offered bribes by Ishtar (which he also rejects):

The lady Ishtar looked covetously on the beauty of Gilgamesh:  
 “Come, Gilgamesh, you be the bridegroom!  
 Grant me your fruits, I insist!  
 You shall be my husband and I will be your wife!  
 Let me harness for you a chariot of lapis lazuli and gold,  
 whose wheels are gold and whose horns are amber.  
 You shall have in harness “storm-lions”, huge mules.<sup>5)</sup>

There is another passage in the same vein, in a much abbreviated form, in an *Ardat lilī* incantation:

I shall fill your lap with silver and gold!  
 You be my wife, I will be your husband.<sup>6)</sup>

However, in the comparison with the Ugaritic text, the corresponding passage in the Middle Babylonian version from Boğazköy seems to have gone unnoticed:

Let me be your <wife and you> be my <husband.  
 If> you will marry me [...]  
 ...precious stones...[...]  
 slave-girls that blue-green...[...]  
 great donkeys I will make perfect [...]  
 rock-crystal at your feet and [...]  
 let it be brought [...]<sup>7)</sup>

Significantly, in spite of the lacunae, this passage refers to “slave-girls”, as in the Ugaritic text, whereas there is no mention of them in the Standard Babylonian version. Of further interest is that a somewhat similar list can be found in Homer's *Iliad*, where again “slave-girls” are included. With this list, Antilochus is describing the possessions of Achilles in order to show how wealthy he is:

εἰ δέ μιν οἰκτίρεις καὶ τοι φίλος ἔπλετο θυμῷ,  
 ἔστί τοι ἐν κλισίῃ χρυσὸς πολὺς, ἔστι δὲ χαλκὸς  
 καὶ πρόβατ', εἴσι δέ τοι δμῳαὶ καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι  
 τῶν οἱ ἔπειτ' ἀνελὼν δόμεναι καὶ μέζον ἄεθλον,  
 ἦε καὶ αὐτίκα νῦν, ἵνα σ' αἰνήσωσιν Ἀχαιοί.

And if you pity him and he is a comrade to your heart,  
 there is in your tent much gold, and there is bronze  
 and livestock, and there are slave-girls and single-hoofed horses;  
 taking then from these give him an even greater prize  
 than the one you offer right now, so that the Achaeans praise you.<sup>8)</sup>



Furthermore, the reference to “bronze” in the Greek text may provide confirmation of the translation “copper” for Ug. *tl̄t*, as has been suggested by O. LORETZ (see above). It would seem, then, that a list of possessions denoting wealth (including precious metals or gems, horses and/or donkeys and slave-girls), is a motif shared by Ugaritian, Babylonian and Greek epic poetry, though how it was actually transmitted remains uncertain.

#### Notes

1. LORETZ (2011, 40) correctly rejected meanings denoting the place where gold was found (“mine” etc.) and instead suggested “Ort, Aufbewahrungsort”, i.e. the palace treasury. As a possible alternative, it is proposed here that Ug. *m̄qm* may correspond to Palm. *m̄qmw*, “immutability, validity” (DNWSI, 680); cf. also Arab. *muqawwam*, “valuable, valued, treasured, prized” (DMWA, 802a), Arab. *q̄tma*, “value, worth” (DMWA, 800a; cf. AEL, 2996) and Harari *q̄tma*, “cost, price” (EDH, 125a). Perhaps something like “unchanging value” is intended. Even so, the expression *yd m̄qmh* remains difficult.
2. As proposed by LORETZ 2001, 41-42; his translation is: “Nimm Silber und gelbes Gold zusammen mit seinem Aufbewahrungsort und den/einen Dauersklaven, Kupfer, Pferde, Wagen aus dem Hof, den/einen Sohn einer Sklavin!”; see also DIETRICH 2016, 9. For Ug. *tl̄t*, “copper, bronze”, cf. DUL, 897-898.
3. KTU 1.14 iii 23-25 // iii 34-37 // v 34-38 // vi 4-8 // vi 17-22.
4. For example, see LORETZ 2011, 259, where this text is cited.
5. GE VI 6-12: GEORGE 2003 I, 618-619; II, 829-831.
6. Cited in connection with the Gilgamesh Epic by GEORGE 2003 II, 829, from LACKENBACHER 1971, 126 lines 12-14.
7. GE MB Boğ<sub>2</sub> rev.col.VI(?) 5'-10': GEORGE 2003 I, 320/321.
8. *Iliad* 23.548-552; text and translation as in KELLY 2017, 97.

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#### Abbreviations (besides the ones quoted in note NABU 2019/70)

- DMWA H. WEHR – A. COWAN, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Wiesbaden 1971).
- DNWSI J. HOFTUZER – K. JONGELING, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, vols 1-2 (HdO I/21; Leiden 1995).
- EDH W. LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari* (Los Angeles 1963).

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**73) Šumma ālu Tafel 6 und die Parallelen VAT 9900 und K.45+** — Seit der Edition von Freedman (1998) konnten zwei kleine neue Fragmente für die 6. Tafel der Omenserie *Šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin* identifiziert werden. Sie lassen sich an die Manuskripte a und B der 6. Tafel anfügen (Textbezeichnungen nach Freedman 1998: 109) und erlauben eine bessere Rekonstruktion der Zeilen 80-85 und 86-91. Beide Abschnitte umfassen sechs Zeilen und sind jeweils von dem vorangehenden und folgenden Passus durch eine Trennlinie abgesetzt. Die neue Lesung der Zeilen erlaubt zudem Rückschlüsse auf den mittellassyrischen Vorläufer VAT 9900 (Heeßel 2007: 23-26) und auf die neubabylonische Parallele K.45+ (CT 40, 1-4; Transliteration bei Nötscher 1929: 13-21).

- Manuskript a: K.190; auf CDLI P237750 mit Join K.16658
- Manuskript B: K.2159+; Join mit K.5786 (Identifizierung: F. Huber Vuillet)
- B<sub>1</sub>: K.2159+
- B<sub>2</sub>: K.12801
- Manuskript Ex(2): K.6715+

**T.6 Z. 80-85 : Phänomene von Menschhand auf einer Wand**

|                   |                                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Z. 80             | <i>šumma ina bīt amīli kutū ina igāri sanip tību puḥpuḥhū ana bīti šuāti isaddir</i>                                                               |
| K.190 Rs. 22      | DIŠ ina E <sub>2</sub> NA <sup>giš</sup> (UD.)MUNUS.ḪU]B <sub>2</sub> ina EGAR sa-ni-ip <i>b[u] KIMIN<br>pu-uh-pu-uh-ḫu-u <sub>2</sub> ana ʿḫ[...] |
| K.12801 Rs. 4'    | [ <sup>giš</sup> (UD.)MUNUS.ḪU]B <sub>2</sub> ina EGAR sa-ni-ip t[i-bu ...]                                                                        |
| + K.5786 Rs. 1'   | [ ...]-ʿpu-uh <sup>1</sup> -ḫu-u ana E <sub>2</sub> BI i-s[ad-dir]                                                                                 |
| //VAT 9900 ii 19' | DIŠ ina E <sub>2</sub> LU <sub>2</sub> <sup>giš</sup> UD.MUNUS.ḪUB <sub>2</sub> i+na EGAR sa-ni-ip KIMIN                                           |
| //K.45+ Vs. 16    | [DIŠ] TA E <sub>2</sub> NA <sup>giš</sup> <UD>.MUNUS.ḪUB <sub>2</sub> TA EGAR s[a-ni-ip ...]                                                       |
| Z. 81             | <i>šumma ina bīt amīli nēšū ina igāri ešir (tību puḥpuḥhū ana bīti šuāti isaddir)</i>                                                              |
| K.190 Rs. 23      | DIŠ ina E <sub>2</sub> [NA UR].ʿMAḪ <sup>1</sup> [ina E]GAR e-šir Š[U.BI.AŠ.AM <sub>3</sub> ]                                                      |
| K.12801 Rs. 5'    | [ UR.MA]Ḫ ina EGAR e-šir KIMIN [ ]                                                                                                                 |
| + K.5786 Rs. 2'   | [ ] (leer) [ ]                                                                                                                                     |
| //VAT 9900 ii 20' | DIŠ ina E <sub>2</sub> LU <sub>2</sub> UR.[M]AḪ i+na EGAR e-šir KIMIN                                                                              |
| //K.45+ Vs. 17    | DIŠ TA E <sub>2</sub> NA UR.A TA EGAR e-š[ir] [ ]                                                                                                  |
| Z. 82             | <i>šumma ina bīt amīli kalbu ina igāri ešir : epiš (tību puḥpuḥhū ana bīti šuāti isaddir)</i>                                                      |
| K.190 Rs. 24      | DIŠ ina E <sub>2</sub> [NA UR].GI <sub>7</sub> ina EGAR e-šir : DU <sub>3</sub> Š[U.BI.AŠ.AM <sub>3</sub> ]                                        |
| K.12801 Rs. 6'    | [ UR.GI] <sub>7</sub> ina EGAR e-šir : DU <sub>3</sub> KIMIN [ ]                                                                                   |
| K.5786 Rs. 3'     | [ ] (leer) [ ]                                                                                                                                     |
| //VAT 9900 ii 21' | ʿDIŠ <sup>1</sup> [ina] ʿE <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> LU <sub>2</sub> ʿUR <sup>1</sup> . [GI <sub>7</sub> ] ʿi+na EGAR <sup>1</sup> e-šir [K]IMIN   |
| //K.45+ Vs. 18    | DIŠ TA E <sub>2</sub> NA UR.GI <sub>7</sub> TA EGAR e-š[ir] [ ]                                                                                    |
| Z. 83             | <i>šumma ina bīt amīli umāmu ina igāri ešir ana bīti šuāti niziqtu sadrassu</i>                                                                    |
| K.190 Rs. 25      | DIŠ ina E <sub>2</sub> [NA u <sub>2</sub> -ma]-mu ina EGAR e-šir ana E <sub>2</sub> BI ni-ziq-tu <sub>4</sub> [ ]                                  |
| K.12801 Rs. 7'    | [ u <sub>2</sub> -m]a-ʿmu <sup>1</sup> ina EGAR e-šir ana E <sub>2</sub> B[I] [ ]                                                                  |
| K.5786 Rs. 4'     | [ B]I ni-ziq-tu <sub>4</sub> sad-r[at-su]                                                                                                          |
| //VAT 9900 ii 22' | [ ni]-ziq <sub>2</sub> -tu <sub>4</sub> sad-rat-su                                                                                                 |
| //K.45+ Vs. 19    | DIŠ TA E <sub>2</sub> NA ʿu <sub>2</sub> -ma-mu <sup>1</sup> TA EGAR e-š[ir] [ ]                                                                   |
| Z. 84             | <i>šumma ina bīt amīli [x] ʿx<sup>1</sup> me ina igāri ešir ana bīti šuāti tību sadiršu</i>                                                        |
| K.190 Rs. 26      | DIŠ ina E <sub>2</sub> [NA in]a EGAR e-ʿšir ana <sup>1</sup> [E <sub>2</sub> ] ʿBI <sup>1</sup> ti-bu [ ]                                          |
| K.12801 Rs. 8'    | [ ] ʿEGAR <sup>1</sup> e-šir ana E <sub>2</sub> [ ]                                                                                                |
| K.5786 Rs. 5'     | [ ] ʿBI <sup>1</sup> ti-bu sa-d[ir-šu]                                                                                                             |
| //VAT 9900 ii 23' | [ s]a-dir-šu                                                                                                                                       |
| //K.45+ Vs. 20    | DIŠ [ ] ʿx <sup>1</sup> me ina EGAR e-š[ir] [ ]                                                                                                    |
| Z. 85             | <i>šumma kabtu bīssu ušerta ʿšir še'u ina bīt amīli iḥḫaššaḥ</i>                                                                                   |
| K.190 Rs. 27      | DIŠ IDIM E <sub>2</sub> -su u <sub>2</sub> -šer]-ʿtaš <sup>1</sup> i-šir [ŠE in]a ʿE <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> N[A <sup>2</sup> ] [ ]              |
| K.12801 Rs. 9'    | [ i]-ʿšir <sup>1</sup> ŠE [ ]                                                                                                                      |
| K.5786 Rs. 6'     | [ ] E <sub>2</sub> LU <sub>2</sub> ʿi-ḫa <sup>1</sup> -[ ]                                                                                         |
| K.6715+ Vs. 32    | DIŠ IDIM E <sub>2</sub> -su u <sub>2</sub> -šer-[ ]                                                                                                |

- Z. 80 „Wenn im Haus eines Mannes eine *kutū*-Kanne an die Wand gebunden ist: Aufstand und Streit werden für dieses Haus beständig sein.
- Z. 81 Wenn im Haus eines Mannes ein Löwe an die Wand gezeichnet ist: gleichermaßen.
- Z. 82 Wenn im Haus eines Mannes ein Hund an die Wand gezeichnet ist (oder) errichtet ist: gleichermaßen.
- Z. 83 Wenn im Haus eines Mannes ein Wildtier an die Wand gezeichnet ist: Trauer wird für dieses Haus beständig sein.
- Z. 84 Wenn im Haus eines Mannes ein ... auf die Wand gezeichnet ist: Aufstand wird für dieses Haus beständig sein.
- Z. 85 Wenn ein bedeutender Mann einen Plan an/auf sein Haus zeichnet: im Haus dieses Mannes wird Gerste gebraucht werden.“

Freedman (1998: 116-117) hatte aufgrund der in Manuskript B erhaltenen Spuren sowohl in Z. 80 als auch 81 <sup>giš</sup>(UD.)MUNUS.ḪU]B<sub>2</sub> ergänzt.<sup>1)</sup> Danach rekonstruierte sie mithilfe der Paralleltexte [UR.A] (Z. 82), [umā]mu (Z. 83) und [UR.GI<sub>7</sub>] (Z. 84). Heeßel (2007: 24) nahm für das mittellassyrische Manuskript VAT 9900 ii 20-21 die Abfolge UR.[M]AḪ – UR.[A] an. Aufgrund der Spuren in K.16658 kann nun jedoch neu für die Z. 81-83 die Abfolge [UR].ʿMAḪ<sup>1</sup> – [UR].GI<sub>7</sub> – [u<sub>2</sub>-ma]-mu nachgewiesen werden. Hierdurch wird die Überlieferung in VAT 9900 // K.45+ // T.6 80-85 wesentlich einheitlicher als bisher angenommen. Die einzige Abweichung liegt in K.45 Vs. 17 vor mit UR.A statt UR.MAḪ:

|                                                     |                                               |                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Tafel 6                                             | VAT9900 ii                                    | K.45+ Vs.                                 |
| Z. 80 [g <sup>is</sup> (UD).MUNUS.ĤU]B <sub>2</sub> | 19' g <sup>is</sup> UD.MUNUS.ĤUB <sub>2</sub> | 16 g <sup>is</sup> MUNUS.ĤUB <sub>2</sub> |
| Z. 81 [UR].MAĤ                                      | 20' UR.[M]AĤ                                  | 17 UR.A                                   |
| Z. 82 [UR].GI <sub>7</sub>                          | 21' UR.[GI <sub>7</sub> ]                     | 18 UR.GI <sub>7</sub>                     |
| Z. 83 [u <sub>2</sub> -ma]-mu                       | 22' [u <sub>2</sub> -ma-mu]                   | 19 'u <sub>2</sub> -ma-mu <sup>1</sup>    |
| Z. 84 [...]                                         | 23' [...]                                     | 20 'x <sup>1</sup> me                     |

Die Rekonstruktion von Z. 84 muss vorläufig offen bleiben. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass K.45+ durch die vorliegende Rekonstruktion neu parallel zu T. 6 Z. 80-83 ist, darf vermutlich Z. 84 parallel zu K.45 Vs. 20 gesehen werden.

#### T.6 Z. 86-91: Beobachtungen am alten Haus

|                           |                                                                                                                                                                |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Z. 86                     | <i>šumma bītu ʔda išḫuṭ bītu šū ašib libbīšu ul ibār bītu šū innaddi</i>                                                                                       |
| K.190 Rs. 28              | DIŠ E <sub>2</sub> I[M E <sub>2</sub> BI] 'a <sup>1</sup> -šib ŠA <sub>3</sub> -šu <sub>2</sub> N[U ]                                                          |
| K.12801 Rs. 10'           | [ B]I <sup>2</sup> 'a-šib <sup>1</sup> [ ]                                                                                                                     |
| +K.2159+ 2'               | [ ] E <sub>2</sub> BI ŠUB-di                                                                                                                                   |
| +K.5786 Rs. 7'            | [ ] 'NU <sup>2</sup> i <sup>2</sup> 1-[bar ]                                                                                                                   |
| //K.45+ Vs. 45            | DIŠ [E <sub>2</sub> ] IM iš-ḫu-ṭ E <sub>2</sub> BI a-šib ŠA <sub>3</sub> -šu <sub>2</sub> NU i-bar E <sub>2</sub> BI ŠUB                                       |
| Z. 87                     | <i>šumma bītu labīru sīra kīdia išḫuṭ lū bēl bīti lū bēlet bīti imāt</i>                                                                                       |
| K.190 Rs. 29              | DIŠ E <sub>2</sub> [ iš]-'ḫu-ṭ <sup>1</sup> l[u U]Š <sub>2</sub>                                                                                               |
| K.2159+ Rs. 3'            | [ N]IN E <sub>2</sub> UŠ[ <sub>2</sub> ]                                                                                                                       |
| //K.45+ Vs. 48            | DIŠ E <sub>2</sub> LIBIR.RA si-ra ki-di-a iš-ḫu-ṭ lu EN E <sub>2</sub> lu IBILA UŠ <sub>2</sub>                                                                |
| Z. 88                     | <i>šumma bītu [labīru(?) lū bēl bīti l]ū bēlet bīti imāt</i>                                                                                                   |
| K.190 Rs. 30              | DIŠ E <sub>2</sub> [LIBIR.RA(?) ] KIMIN                                                                                                                        |
| K.2159+ Rs. 4'            | [ l]u <sup>2</sup> NIN E <sub>2</sub> U[Š <sub>2</sub> ]                                                                                                       |
| Z. 89-„90“ <sup>(2)</sup> | <i>šumma bītu [labīru(?) ] ḫu ul innezziḫ<sup>2</sup> aplu imāt [ ] ...šu izzibūšu<sup>2</sup></i>                                                             |
|                           | <i>šumma bēl bīti imāt</i>                                                                                                                                     |
| K.190 Rs. 31              | DIŠ E <sub>2</sub> [LIBIR.RA(?) ] 'x x <sup>1</sup> -šu <sub>2</sub> TAG <sub>4</sub> .ME-šu <sub>2</sub>                                                      |
|                           | <i>šum<sub>4</sub>-ma EN E<sub>2</sub> UŠ<sub>2</sub></i>                                                                                                      |
| K.2159+ Rs. 5'            | [ ] ḫu NU TAG <sub>4</sub> IBILA U[Š <sub>2</sub> ] / [ TAG <sub>4</sub> .M]EŠ-šu <sub>2</sub>                                                                 |
|                           | <i>šum<sub>4</sub>-ma EN E<sub>2</sub> [UŠ<sub>2</sub>]</i>                                                                                                    |
| Z. 91                     | <i>šumma bītu labīru iḫbur [bēl] bīti nakru ikaššassu inakkir</i>                                                                                              |
| K.190 Rs. 32              | [ ] 'KUR-su <sup>1</sup> KUR <sub>2</sub> -ir                                                                                                                  |
| K.2159+ Rs. 6'            | [ ] E <sub>2</sub> KUR <sub>2</sub> KUR-su KUR <sub>2</sub> -[x]                                                                                               |
| K.6715+ Vs. 33            | DIŠ E <sub>2</sub> LIBIR.RA i[ḫ-bur ]                                                                                                                          |
| //K.45+ Vs. 44            | DIŠ E <sub>2</sub> LIBIR.RA iḫ-bur E <sub>2</sub> BI EN-šu <sub>2</sub> KUR <sub>2</sub> KUR-ad <sub>2</sub>                                                   |
| Z.86                      | „Wenn ein Haus Lehm ‚abwirft‘: der Bewohner dieses Hauses wird nicht gesund sein, sein Haus wird einstürzen.                                                   |
| Z. 87                     | Wenn ein altes Haus Putz an der Außenseite ‚abwirft‘: entweder der Herr des Hauses oder die Herrin des Hauses wird sterben.                                    |
| Z. 88                     | Wenn ein [altes?] Haus [...: entweder der Herr des Hauses od]er die Herrin des Hauses wird sterben.                                                            |
| Z. 89-„90“                | Wenn ein [altes?] Haus [...: ...] wird nicht zurückgelassen, der Erbsohn wird sterben, seine [...] werden es verlassen, oder der Herr des Hauses wird sterben. |
| Z. 91                     | Wenn ein altes Haus knarrt: ein Feind wird den Herrn des Hauses ergreifen, er wird wechseln.“                                                                  |

Dank der auf dem kleinen Join K.16658 erhaltenen Zeichenspurten können die Z. 86-87 als parallel zu K.45+ Vs. 45 und 48 gedeutet wird. Hierdurch wird es vertretbar, K.45+ Vs. 44 über die Apodose mit der Zeile 91 in Verbindung zu bringen. Dieselbe Zeile ist auch in der Exzerpttafel K.6715+ überliefert. Durch die neue Parallele mit K.45+ wird es deutlich, dass sich der sechzeilige Abschnitt mit alten Häusern und den damit verbundenen Phänomenen befasst, wie z. B. abbröckelndem Lehm und Verputz. Aufgrund der Nennung von E<sub>2</sub>.LIBIR.RA in Z. 87 und 91 ist anzunehmen, dass zu Beginn der Z. 88 und 89-„90“ derselbe Terminus zu ergänzen ist. Sämtliche Apodosen sind negativ.

Der Verputz eines Hauses taucht zuvor bereits zweimal in der 6. Tafel auf. In den Z. 28-32 werden die verschiedenen Farben genannt (weiss – schwarz – rot – gelbgrün – bunt gemischt) und in den Z. 51-53 wird das Abbröckeln des Putzes im Kontext der Wände besprochen.

#### Die Parallelen VAT 9900 und K.45+

Die Parallelen VAT 9900 und K.45+ sind nicht nur für die Rekonstruktion von (unter anderem) Tafel 6 der kanonischen Version von Bedeutung, interessant sind auch die Gemeinsamkeiten der zwei Manuskripte. Beide gruppieren Passagen, die in der kanonischen Version in den Tafeln 6, 10, 19 und 21 zu finden sind; K.45+ weist außerdem Parallelen zu den Tafeln 5, 7 und 13 auf.<sup>3)</sup> Vor den Zeilen „Wand mit Phänomenen von Menschhand“ (T.6 80-84) platzieren beide Manuskripte zwei Omina, die in der kanonischen Fassung Tafel 10 (Z. 224-225) zugeordnet sind. Auffällig ist hierbei, dass beide Apodosen identisch sind mit denjenigen der folgenden Zeilen (s. oben Z. 80-82):

T.10 224 DIŠ ina E<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> DINGIR ana qe<sub>2</sub>-re-e-ti KU<sub>4</sub> ZI.GA u pu-uh-pu-uh-*hu*-u<sub>2</sub> ana LU<sub>2</sub> i-[sad-dar]  
225 DIŠ ina E<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> NINDA na-di-in ZI.GA u pu-uh-pu-uh-*hu*-u<sub>2</sub> ana LU<sub>2</sub> i-[sad-dar]

Zudem sind in beiden Manuskripten sieben Omina bezüglich eines Kultsockels überliefert,<sup>4)</sup> die in dieser Ausführlichkeit und Reihenfolge in keinem anderen Manuskript auftauchen. Einzelne der Kultsockel-Omina finden eine Parallele zu Beginn der 10. Tafel.

| K.45+              | VAT 9900        | // kanonisch                   |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Vs. 6-11           | Rs. iii 11'-15' | T.21 Z. 20-24, 25?             |
| Vs. 14-20          | Vs. ii 17'-23'  | T.10 Z. 224f. + T.6 Z. 80-84   |
| Vs. 50-52, Rs. 1-4 | Rs. iii 4'-10'  | T.10 Z. 19'<br>cf. T.10 Z. 20' |
| Vs. 52             | Rs. iii 6'      |                                |
| Rs. 2              | Rs. iii 9'      |                                |

Der Anfang von Tafel 10 ist ausschließlich auf der Basis von Exzerpttafeln rekonstruiert (K.6715+ und Sm.1353; s. Freedman 1998: 159), die lediglich ausgewählte Zeilen der kanonischen Version zitieren. Es ist anzunehmen, dass der Abschnitt zu den Kultsockelomina länger war und dass vermutlich mehrere Omina, die nur in den entsprechenden Abschnitten von K.45+ und VAT 9900 überliefert sind, auch in der kanonischen Version vertreten waren.

#### Notes

1. S. Heeßel (2007: 26) zu Z. II 19' für <sup>gis</sup>UD.MUNUS.ĤUB<sub>2</sub> mit der Lesung *kutû* „Kanne“ statt *atānu/urītu* „Eselin“ (so Freedman 1998: 116-117).
2. Freedman (1998: 127) interpretiert K.2159+ Rs. 5' als zwei Omina (= Z. 89 und 90). Ein Vergleich von K.2159+ Rs. 5' mit K.190 Rs. 31 zeigt jedoch, dass die Zeile auf K.190 extrem eng auf eine einzige Textzeile geschrieben wurde, während der Schreiber von K.2159+ denselben Text auf eine Doppelzeile verteilt. Der Einfachheit halber wird hier die Zeilenzählung von Freedman beibehalten.
3. Von VAT 9900 ist ein Teil der rechten Tafelseite erhalten, die Spalten i und iv sind größtenteils weggebrochen.
4. Der Abschnitt wird in K.45+ Rs. 5 mit folgender Zeile resümiert: DIŠ 7 MU.MEŠ GIŠKIM *pa-rak-ki*.

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**74) A new fragment of *šumma tīrānu* Tablet 3 (BRM 4, 13)** — BRM 4, 13 is a Seleucid tablet containing the complete third tablet of *šumma tīrānu* "If the coils" (Koch 2015, 99). A duplicate from Kouyunjik (K 3805) was already published by Boissier (1905, 191). An older witness was found in Assur and published by Heeßel (2012, 85ff.). During a visit at the British Museum, I had the opportunity to discover a new small fragment from Kouyunjik, K 2717 (P394628) copied here. It duplicates the end of

BRM 4, 13 and contains an Assurbanipal's colophon. It shows some variants from the main text of BRM 4, 13. I quote the lines 65-82 of BRM 4, 13 with the duplicates.

A: BRM 4, 13, lines 65-82

B: K 3805, lines 5'-11'

C: VAT 9949+VAT 11051, lines r.10'-14'

D: K 2717

A 65. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM IGI <sup>d</sup>HUM.ĤUM BA<sub>3</sub>-ut LUGAL NI<sub>2</sub>.GI ša<sub>2</sub> KUR DU<sub>3</sub>.A.BI i-be-el  
šumma tīrānu kīma pān Ĥumĥum amūt šar ĥammā'i ša māta kalāša ibēl

B 5'. [BE Š]A<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM IGI <sup>d</sup>HUM.BA.BA [...]

C r.10'. [BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN k]i-ma IGI <sup>d</sup>HU.UM.B[A.BA]  
šumma tīrānu kīma pān Ĥumbaba [...]

If the coils are like the face of Ĥumĥum (B and C : Ĥumbaba), it is an omen of an illegitimate king who will rule the entire land.

C r.11'. [BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN k]i-ma x x [...]  
šumma tīrānu kīma [...]

If the coils are like [...]

A 66. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM GIR<sub>2</sub>.TAB E<sub>2</sub>.GAL TUK-ma <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL LUGAL.GI.NA  
šumma tīrānu kīma zuqaqīpi ekalla iraššū-ma kak Šarru-kīn

B 6'. [BE] ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM GIR<sub>2</sub>.TAB-ma E<sub>2</sub>.GAL TUK.MEŠ <sup>rīš</sup>[...] [...]

C r.12'. [BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN k]i-ma 'GIR<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>.TAB-ma [...]  
šumma tīrānu kīma zuqaqīpi-ma ekalla iraššū kak [...]

If the coils are like a scorpion (and) they have a “palace”, it is the weapon of Sargon.

B 7'. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM GIR<sub>2</sub>.TAB-ma E<sub>2</sub>.GAL NU TUK.MEŠ [...]

C r.13'. [BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN ki-m]a GIR<sub>2</sub>.TAB-ma E<sub>2</sub>.[GAL ...]  
šumma tīrānu kīma zuqaqīpi-ma ekalla lā iraššū [...]

If the coils are like a scorpion and they have no “palace” [...].

A 67. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM <sup>d</sup>LAMA.GADA.MAĤ LUGAL kiš-ša<sub>2</sub>-ti ina KUR GAL<sub>2</sub>-ši

B 8'. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM <sup>d</sup>LAMA.GADA.MAĤ [...]

C r.14'. [BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN ki]-'ma<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>LAMA.GADA.MAĤ [...]  
šumma tīrānu kīma Lamassi-gadmāḥi šar kiššati ina māti ibbašši

If the coils are like a Lamassu-gadmāḥu, an omnipotent king will reign in the land.

A 68. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM GU<sub>4</sub>.ALIM<sup>ku-sa-ri-ik</sup> ša<sub>2</sub> NU KUR-su ina AŠ.TE TUŠ-ab

B 9'. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM ku-sa-rik-ki [...]  
šumma tīrānu kīma Kusarikki ša lā māssu ina kussī uššab

If the coils are like a Kusarikku, somebody whose land it is not, will sit on the throne.

A 69. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM ALAM ma-ḥi-ši-AM-im-ma ana 15 ZI.MEŠ KAL-an LUGAL u ERIM<sub>2</sub>-ni-šu<sub>2</sub>

B 10'. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN 'GIM ALAM ma-ḥi-ši<sup>1</sup> [...] ana 15 ZI.MEŠ 'KAL<sup>1</sup> [...]

šumma tīrānu kīma šalam māḥi-ši-im-ma ana imitti tebû danān šarri u ummānišu

If the coils are like the image of a slaughter and are raised to the right, force of the king and his army;

A 70. ERIM<sub>2</sub> LUGAL e-ma DU-ku GABA.RI NU TUK-ši

ummān šarri ēma illaku māḥira ul irašši

The army of the king wherever it marches, will have no rival.

A 71. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM ALAM ma-ḥi-ši-AM-im-ma ana 150 ZI.MEŠ KAL-an KUR<sub>2</sub> u ERIM<sub>2</sub>-ni-šu<sub>2</sub>

B 11'. [...] '150 ZI.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [...]

D 1'. [...] 'x x<sup>1</sup>

šumma tīrānu kīma šalam māḥi-ši-im-ma ana šumēli tebû danān nakri u ummānišu

If the coils are like the image of a slaughter and are raised to the left, force of the enemy and his army;

A 72. ERIM<sub>2</sub> KUR<sub>2</sub> e-ma DU-ku GABA.RI NU TUK-ši

D 2'. [...] x NU 'TUK-ši(?)<sup>1</sup>

ummān nakri ēma illaku māḥira ul irašši

The army of the enemy wherever it marches, will have no rival.

A 73. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM šu-uš-kal-li BA<sub>3</sub>-ut A-dan-šu<sub>2</sub>-lik<sup>1</sup>(LU)-šu-ud <sup>lu2</sup>ŠA<sub>3</sub>.TAM <sup>lu2</sup>UŠ.MEŠ ša<sub>2</sub> ina ŠA<sub>3</sub>  
ERIM<sub>2</sub>-ni-šu<sub>2</sub>

D 3'. [...] x ša<sub>2</sub>-pir <re>-di-i

*šumma tīrānu kīma šuškalī amūt Adānšu-likšud šatam rēdī ša ina libbi ummānišu*

If the coils are like a net, it is the omen of Adānšu-likšud, the *šatammu* of the *rēdû*-soldiers that fell in the middle of his army

D : [...] the *šāpiru* of the *rēdû*-soldiers

A 74. *ana šit-ul* ID<sub>2</sub> ŠUB.ŠUB-tu<sub>2</sub>

D 4'. [...] *-ti* ŠUB-tu<sub>2</sub>  
*ana šitūl nāri imaqqutu*  
at the demand(?) of the river(?).

A 75. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM SAG.DU <sup>šis</sup>BAL UMUŠ KUR MAN-ni

D 5'. [...] MAN-ni  
*šumma tīrānu kīma qaqqad pilaqqi tēm māti išanni*  
If the coils are like the head of a spindle, the mind of the land will change.

A 76. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM rit-ti NAM.LU<sub>2</sub>.U<sub>18</sub>.LU SU.KU<sub>2</sub> ina KUR GAL<sub>2</sub>-ši

D 6'. [...] ina KUR GAL<sub>2</sub>-ši  
*šumma tīrānu kīma ritti amēlūti hušahhu ina māti ibbašši*  
If the coils are like a human hand, there will be famine in the land.

A 77. BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN GIM GIR<sub>3</sub> NAM.LU<sub>2</sub>.U<sub>18</sub>.LU KIŠ.<sup>d</sup>I-šum

D 7'. [...] 'LU<sub>2</sub>' HUŠ-ši  
*šumma tīrānu kīma šēp amēlūti Kiš-Išum* (D : Luḥuššū)  
If the coils are like a human foot, it is Kiš-Išum (D : Luḥuššū)

A 78. IM 3.KAM.MA BE ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN IM 7.KAM.MA EŠ<sub>2</sub>.GAR<sub>3</sub> ba-ru-tu<sub>2</sub> NU AL.TIL

*tuppu 3 šumma tīrānu tuppu 7 iškar bārūtu ul qati*  
5th tablet of *šumma tīrānu*; 7th tablet of the *bārūtu* series; it is not finished.

A 79. BE E<sub>2</sub>.GAL ŠA<sub>3</sub>.NIGIN NU TUK-ši BALA LUGAL TIL AŠ.TE KUR<sub>2</sub>-ir KUR<sub>2</sub> EN ul-la UŠ-an-ni

D 8'. [...] 'KUR<sub>2</sub>' EN ul-la UŠ-an-ni  
*šumma ekal tīrāni lā irašši palē šarri iqatti kussū inakkir nakru adi ulla ireddānni*  
If there is no "palace" of the coils, the reign of the king will end, the throne will change, an enemy will pursue me constantly.

A 80. IM ša<sub>2</sub> ŠUM<sub>2</sub>.MU.<sup>d</sup>DIŠ A ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>md</sup>DIŠ.EN-šū<sub>2</sub>-nu A <sup>m</sup>E<sub>2</sub>.KUR-za-kir <sup>lu2</sup>MAŠ.MAŠ <sup>d</sup>DIŠ u An-tu<sub>4</sub> qat<sub>3</sub>  
<sup>md</sup>DIŠ.PAP.GAL<sub>2</sub>-ši A ša<sub>2</sub>

D 9'. [...] MU.DIDLI.ŠID.IM  
*tuppu ša Nidinti-Ani apli ša Anu-bēlšunu apal Ekur-zakir mašmaš Ani u Antu qāt Anu-aḥa-ušabši apli ša*  
Tablet of Nidinti-Ani, son of Anu-bēlšunu, of the family of Ekur-zakir, the exorcist of Anu and Antu; by the hand of Anu-aḥa-ušabši, son of  
D : [...] it is the counted lines.

A 81. A ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>m</sup>Ina-qibit-bit-<sup>d</sup>DIŠ A <sup>m</sup>E<sub>2</sub>.KUR-za-kir <sup>lu2</sup>MAŠ.MAŠ <sup>d</sup>DIŠ u An-tu<sub>4</sub> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-u UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 7

D 10'. [...] x MAN KUR AN.ŠAR<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>  
*apli ša Ina-qibit-Ani apal Ekur-zakir mašmaš Ani u Antu urkū Uruk <sup>iii</sup>Ajjāru ūmu 7*  
Son of Ina-qibit-Ani, of the family of Ekur-zakir, the exorcist of Anu and Antu from Uruk, Uruk, month Ajjāru, 7th day,  
D. [...]... šar māt Assur  
D : [...]... the king of the land Assur.

A 82. MU 139.KAM <sup>m</sup>An-ti-'u-ku-su LUGAL

*šattum 139 Anti'ukusu šarru*  
139th year (of) Antiochus, the king.

## Commentary

65. Graphically <sup>d</sup>Ḫum-ḫum is only attested in text A. It builds an alliteration with *ḫammā'i* (Ḫumḫum // *ḫammā'i*) of the type lum-lum // lam-lam. Ḫumḫum is not attested elsewhere as a god. Here it is a graphic variant of <sup>d</sup>Ḫumbaba quoted in the parallel texts. The grinning face of Ḫumbaba is often compared to the coils of a sheep's intestines in the divinatory texts (George 2003, 144-146). BM 116624, published by Smith 1924, is a model of the coils in the form of the head of Ḫumbaba. The head comes from Sippar and is dating of the Old Babylonian time. At the back of the head, the inscription is a commentary of the representation and corresponds to line 65 of *šumma tīrānu* Tablet 3: BE *tī-ra-nu* SAG *ḫu-wa-wa* MIN BA<sub>3</sub>-ut *šarru-ki-in ša* KUR-ta *i-be-lu* "If the coils (are like) the head of Ḫuwawa *dito*, it is an omen of Sargon who has ruled the land".

The lack of the subjunctive ending -u after *ibēl* might be explained as the loss of final short vowels in the late period (Kouwenberg 2010, 221).

67. The protective goddess depicted on the cylinder seals and represented on a Kassite stele (Metropolitan Museum of Art and Spycket 1960 fig.2) is the LAMA-*gadmāhu*. Her white linen dress forming loops around her body looks like the intestines.

68. Kusarikku is an Akkadian loanword from the Sumerian GU<sub>4</sub>.ALIM and denotes in Akkadian the "bison-man" (Wiggermann 1992, 174-179). The head of the bison-man appears on seals and is similar to the head of Humbaba (Amiet 1980, 137 and fig. 978, 979, 984, 991). This head had probably the same apotropaic function as the head of Humbaba.

In the apodosis of this omen, there is a pun with the name of the preceding quoted Lamassu: *ša lā māssu*. The Lamassu and the Kusarikku are not represented together, but they both were protective spirits at doorways.

69 / 71. The sign ALAM of BRM 4, 13 with two GU<sub>4</sub> at the beginning is an archaizing sign. It proves that the original text was Old Babylonian.

*māhiṣi* AM-*im-ma* is corrupt (cf. CAD M/1, 102). AM-*im* is either an old gloss written on the line or AM is a mistake and should be erased. AM is perhaps attracted by GU<sub>4</sub>.ALIM of the preceding line. The reading *rīmi*(AM)-*ma* is not correct, because we expect *māhiṣ rīmi*(AM)-*ma* "the one who hit the bull" (cf. BRM 4, 13:19). AM is also attested in BRM 4, 13 line 9 (with the parallel *rīmi*(AM) (9) // *rēmi*(ARḪUŠ) (10)) and line 19.

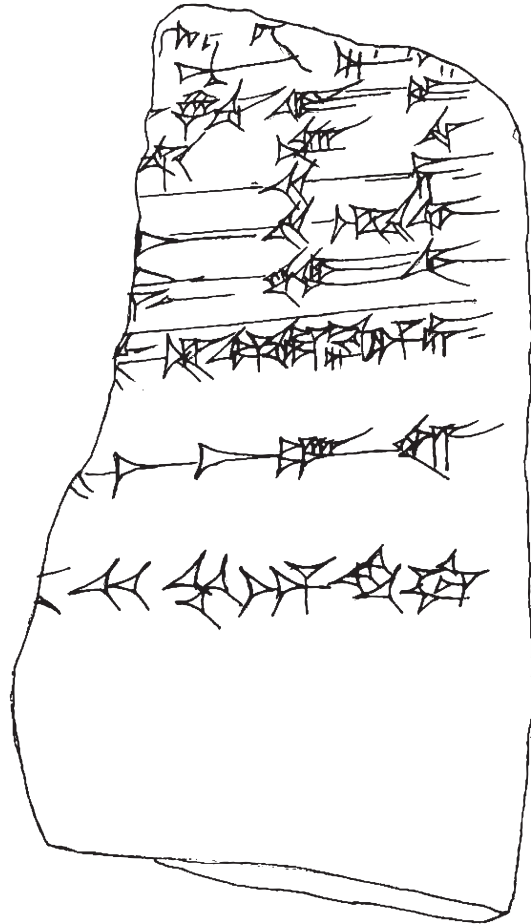
The king as a *māhiṣu* is described on the Daduša Stele (Daduša Stele xii 3-4). He is also represented on the stele as a *māhiṣu*, raising his arm to smite his enemy (Suter 2018). *māhiṣu* is the king threatening to hit and does not need to have an object.

73. Andānšu-likšud was a very important commander (*šāpiru*) of the *rēdū*-soldiers (Gallery 1976, 96). His name appears also in others texts dating from Si 27 and Si 30 (Charpin 1997, 188-190) and in the *tamītu* texts concerning the campaign of Ḫammurapi of Babylon (Lambert 2007 No.1 ND 5492:9-10). In BRM 4, 13, his title is *šatammu*, a mistake for *šāpiru*. A *šatammu* was not a military official but an administrator in charge of temples especially of the Esagil in Babylon in the Seleucid period (van der Spek 2000).

74. The sign TI in K 2717 could also be a Neo-Assyrian or later NIGIN (cf. BRM 4, 13:11-12). The line is corrupt in the Seleucid text and K 2717 does not help to understand *šit-ul* ID<sub>2</sub>. It tells perhaps how or by whom Andānšu-likšud fell (many times) in the middle of his army.

77. Kiš-Išum of BRM 4, 13 is a mistake for *Luḫuššū* (LU<sub>2</sub>.ḪUŠ "the terrifying one") a manifestation of Nergal of Kiš in K 2717 (Leichty 1970, 56 ad 27). In Izbu III 27, his name appears in the protasis after three omen that refer to birds and Leichty suggests that *Luḫuššū* had the form of a bird. Because deities in Mesopotamia are not theriomorphic, *Luḫuššū* might have had a demon-like appearance (De Zorzi 2014, 432-433). He appears in Šumma ālu I 154 with a list of other demons.

80. Nidinti-Ani of the family of Ekur-zākir, the exorcist, was a priest in the Eanna in Uruk. Anu-aḫa-ušabši was a scribe belonging to the same family (Clancier 2009).



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**75) A newly identified fragment of the Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra Tablet I, kept in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston** — MFA 1981.155 (fig. 1)<sup>1)</sup> is a fragment of a multi-column tablet which was offered to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by the John Gardner Greene Trust in 1981. The obverse of this fragment does not preserve any cuneiform signs because of its damaged state; however, the two preserved columns on the reverse provide a detail from the Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra Tablet I and one fragmentary sign belonging to the colophon, respectively. The inscription is written in Neo-Assyrian script. The following particular sign forms attest scribal characteristics: *i[h]* (line 10') MEŠ (lines 5', 13') and NE (lines 8', 12'). In terms of the hand in which they are written, we can note the four horizontals in the case of sign MEŠ, while there are five oblique wedges forming *hi* in the cases of NE and *i[h]*. Concerning the colophon, we can discern sign *ti*, whose second half is clearly visible (line ii 1''), and three horizontal lines which constitute the prolongation of cuneiform signs in different lines. We suppose that the colophon is identical to the colophon on the tablet B (Rm 2, 200 + Rm 2, 428 + 1879-07-08, 324), which originates from Assurbanipal's library and which also contains the same part of the text.<sup>2)</sup>

The fragment originates from a four- or six-column cuneiform tablet. Regarding the arrangement of the text on the reverse, double upright rulings divide the two preserved columns and the sub-columns presenting the lexical text. The remaining section on the fragment provides 19 lines from the Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra Tablet I of which the partiture of the relevant examples (= MSL V, 33-35 lines 316-334) is presented below. These texts, parallels (B, M, N, O, P, W) to the studied text ( $\chi$ ), originate from Assurbanipal's library.<sup>3)</sup> The text  $\zeta$  is from H. Rassam's excavations of Babylon. The text  $q(+)\pi$  originates from Sultantepe.

- $\chi$  MFA 1981.155 (rev i' 1'-19' = lines 316-334) – the number of columns cannot be identified;
- B Rm 2, 200+ (rev. v 1'-12' = lines 322-334) – six-column tablet;
- M K 8687 (rev. i' 1'-9' = lines 326-334) – the number of column cannot be identified;
- N BM 98893<sup>4)</sup> (rev. i' 1' = line 334) – the number of columns cannot be identified;<sup>5)</sup>
- O K 8521 (obv. ii 46 = line 316) – fragmentary four-column tablet;
- P BM 64390 (rev. 1-6 = lines 329-334) – the number of columns cannot be identified;
- W K 4158 (rev. ii' 11'-21' = lines 316-326) – the number of columns cannot be identified;
- $\zeta$  BM 46459 (rev. v 31'-42' = 316-327) – six-column tablet;<sup>6)</sup>
- $q(+)\pi$  = STT 1952 56(+125a(+323+240+247+295(+314(+380 (rev. v 27'-28' = lines 323-324 and rev. vi 1'-2' = lines 333-334) – six-column tablet.<sup>7)</sup>





Fig. 1. MFA 1981.155 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) height: 50.2 mm, width: 51.5 mm, thickness: 13.0 mm  
(copy of the tablet by Z. Niederreiter)

The partiture below follows the line ordering of Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra Tablet I published in MSL V (lines 316–334).

|                     |                         |                                   |   |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 316.                |                         |                                   |   |
| $\chi_i^i 1^{(8)}$  | [mu-un-d]e <sub>6</sub> | [                                 | ] |
| O <sub>ii</sub> 46  | [ -d]e <sub>6</sub>     | ub-lu                             |   |
| W <sub>ii</sub> 11' | [                       | ]-lu <sub>4</sub>                 |   |
| $\zeta_v 31'$       | [                       | u]b-lu <sub>4</sub>               |   |
| 317.                |                         |                                   |   |
| $\chi_i^i 2'$       | [i]-túm                 | [                                 | ] |
| W <sub>ii</sub> 12' | [                       | MIN <sup>2</sup> ]                |   |
| $\zeta_v 32'$       | ḡ <sup>1</sup> -[       | SU-u] <sup>2</sup>                |   |
| 318.                |                         |                                   |   |
| $\chi_i^i 3'$       | [a]n-túm                | [                                 | ] |
| W <sub>ii</sub> 13' | [                       | MIN <sup>2</sup> ]                |   |
| $\zeta_v 33'$       | [                       | SU-u] <sup>2</sup>                |   |
| 319.                |                         |                                   |   |
| $\chi_i^i 4'$       | an <sup>1</sup> -túm-e  | [                                 | ] |
| W <sub>ii</sub> 14' | [                       | ub <sup>2</sup> ]-bal             |   |
| $\zeta_v 34'$       | a[n-                    | u]b-ba-al                         |   |
| 320.                |                         |                                   |   |
| $\chi_i^i 5'$       | an-túm-e-meš            | [                                 | ] |
| W <sub>ii</sub> 15' | [                       | u]b <sup>2</sup> -lu <sub>4</sub> |   |
| $\zeta_v 35'$       | a[n-                    | u]b-ba-lu                         |   |

321.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 6'}$  ki-bi-in-ġar |  $p[i-ha-tu_4]$   
 $W_{ii' 16'}$  [ ] | ]- $tú$   
 $\zeta_v^{36'}$  ki-bi-in-[ġar |  $p[i-ha-tu_4]$
322.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 7'}$  ki-bi-in-ġar-ra |  $pi-[ha-as-su]$   
 $B_v^{1'}$  [ ] | ]- $as^{21}$ -[ ]  
 $W_{ii' 17'}$  [ ] | ]- $su$   
 $\zeta_v^{37'}$  ki-bi-in-ġar- $ra^1$ -a-ni |  $[p]i-ha-as-su$
323.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 8'}$  ki-bi-in-ġar-e-ne-ne |  $pi-h[a-as-su-nu]$   
 $B_v^{2'}$  [ ] | ]- $ne^1$  |  $pi^1-ha-tu-šú-nu$   
 $W_{ii' 18'}$  [ ] | ]- $su-nu$   
 $\zeta_v^{38'}$  ki-bi-in-ġar- $e^1$ -ne- $ne^1$  |  $pi-ha^1-as-su-nu$   
 $Q(+)\pi_w^{27'}$  [ ] | ]- $x-su-nu^1$
324.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 9'}$  gaba-ri |  $šU-u$   
 $B_v^{3'}$  [ ]-ri |  $šU-u$   
 $W_{ii' 19'}$  [ ] |  $MIN^2$   
 $\zeta_v^{39'}$  gaba-ri |  $šU-u$   
 $Q(+)\pi_w^{28'}$  [ ] | ]
325.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 10'}$  gaba-ri |  $mi-iĥ-[ru]$   
 $B_v^{4'}$  [ ]-ri |  $mi-iĥ-ru^1$   
 $W_{ii' 20'}$  [ ] | ]- $iĥ-ru$   
 $\zeta_v^{40'}$  gaba-ri |  $mi-iĥ^1-ri$
326.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 11'}$  gaba-ri-a-ni |  $mi-hi[r-šú^2]$   
 $B_v^{5'}$  [ ]-ri-a-ni |  $mi-hir-šu$   
 $M_{rev. i 1}$  gaba-ri- $a-ni^1$  | [ ]  
 $W_{ii' 21'}$  [ ] |  $MIN^1$   
 $\zeta_v^{41'}$  gaba-ri-a-ni |  $[mi]-hir^1-šú$
327.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 12'}$  [gab]a-re-e-ne-ne |  $mi-hir-š[ú-nu]$   
 $B_v^{6'}$  [ ]-re-e-ne-ne |  $mi-hir-šu-ru^1$   
 $M_{rev. i 2}$  gaba-re-e- $ne^1$ -n[e] | [ ]  
 $\zeta_v^{42'}$  [gaba]- $re^1$ -[ ] | ]- $š[ú-nu]$
328.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 13'}$  [šu-r]i-àm |  $meš-la- $a^1$ -[nu]$   
 $B_v^{7'}$  [ ]-ri-àm |  $meš- $la^1$ -nu$   
 $M_{rev. i 3}$  šu-ri- $a^1$  | [ ]
329.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 14'}$  [igi-3]-ġál-la |  $šal-šá-a-[tu_4]$   
 $B_v^{8'}$  i[gi]-3-ġál-la |  $šal-šá-a-ti$   
 $M_{rev. i 4}$  igi-3-ġál[1-la] | [ ]  
 $P_{rev. 1}$  igi-3-ġál-la |  $[šal-šá]-a-tu_4$
330.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 15'}$  [igi-4-ġál]l-la |  $ri-ba-a-[tu_4]$   
 $B_v^{9'}$  ig[i]-4-ġál-la |  $ri-ba-a-tu_4$   
 $M_{rev. i 5}$  [i]gi-4-ġ[ál]-la | [ ]  
 $P_{rev. 2}$  igi-4-ġál-[la] |  $ri-ba-a-tu_4$
331.  
 $\chi_i^{i' 16'}$  [igi-5 a]g $^2$ -a |  $haš-šá-a-[tu_4]$   
 $B_v^{10'}$  igi- $5^1$  ag-a |  $haš-šá-a-tu_4$   
 $M_{rev. i 6}$   $ri^1$ gi $^1$ -5 [ ] | [ ]  
 $P_{rev. 3}$  [igi]-5-ġál-[la] |  $ha-an-šá-a-tu_4$

332.

|                 |                                           |                                                     |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| $\chi_{i' 17'}$ | [igi-10-ġál-l]a                           | uš-re-e-t[u <sub>4</sub> ]                          |
| $B_v 11'$       | igi- <sup>1</sup> 10-ġál <sup>1</sup> -la | uš-re- <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup> -tu <sub>4</sub> |
| $M_{rev. i 7}$  | igi-10-ġál-l-la                           |                                                     |
| $P_{rev. 4}$    | [igi]-10-ġál-la                           | uš-re-e-tu <sub>4</sub>                             |

333.

|                   |                                   |                                                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| $\chi_{i' 18'}$   | [zag-10]                          | <sup>1</sup> eš <sup>1</sup> -re-e-t[u <sub>4</sub> ] |
| $B_v 12'$         | z[ag]-10                          | eš-re-tu <sub>4</sub>                                 |
| $M_{rev. i 8}$    | zag-[                             |                                                       |
| $P_{rev. 5}$      | <sup>1</sup> zag <sup>1</sup> -10 | MIN                                                   |
| $Q(+)\pi_{wi 1'}$ | [ ]                               | MIN                                                   |

334.

|                   |                                   |                                                             |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| $\chi_{i' 19'}$   | [2/3-bi]                          | [šī-n]i- <sup>1</sup> pa-a <sup>1</sup> -[tu <sub>4</sub> ] |
| $B_v 13'$         | <sup>1</sup> 2/3 <sup>1</sup> -bi | šī- <sup>1</sup> nī <sup>1</sup> -pa-tu <sub>4</sub>        |
| $M_{rev. i 9}$    | <sup>1</sup> 2/3 <sup>1</sup> -[  |                                                             |
| $N_{rev. i' 1'}$  | [                                 | ]- <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -[ ]                         |
| $P_{rev. 6}$      | <sup>1</sup> 2/3 <sup>1</sup> -bi | šī-ni-pa-a-tu <sub>4</sub>                                  |
| $Q(+)\pi_{wi 2'}$ | [ ]                               | šī-n[i-pa-tu <sub>4</sub> ] <sup>2</sup>                    |

*remaining part of the column is broken*

ii'

|                |   |     |
|----------------|---|-----|
| $\chi_{ii 1'}$ | [ | ]-x |
| $\chi_{ii 2'}$ | [ | ]-x |

*circa three lines missing*

|                 |   |      |
|-----------------|---|------|
| $\chi_{ii 1''}$ | [ | -t]i |
| $\chi_{ii 2''}$ | [ | ]-x  |

*remaining part of the column is broken*

## Notes

1. First of all, we would like to express our sincere thanks to Lawrence M. Berman (Norma Jean Calderwood Senior Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art), who allowed us to publish the MFA 1981.155 cuneiform tablet. The presented drawing (Fig. 1) is by Z. Niederreiter, who was able to directly examine this cuneiform tablet at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in May 2017. That research was supported through the New National Excellence Program of the Ministry of Human Capacities (Hungary). A. Bácskay collated the following tablets: B, M, O and W (in March 2019). That research was supported by the Central Funds Program of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University.

2. The colophon is Asb. type d (HUNGER 1968, 97–98). For discussion of the correlation between the colophon (Asb. type d) and the text type, that is, word list, see HUNGER 1968, 21, with reference to the earlier literature. The same colophon can also be found on further tablets of Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra: CT 14, pl. 40: Rm 2, 41 (Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra 17), Rm 606 + Sm 13 + Sm 1670 (Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra 19) and Rm 2, 200+ (Ura 1, same colophon).

3. The sigla of the cuneiform texts follow the system in the relevant MSL volume. Text MFA 1981.155 is designated with  $\chi$ .

4. We are indebted to Jonathan Taylor, who kindly provided us with photos of the tablet BM 98733.

5. MSL V doesn't provide this line of BM 98893 (for the description of this tablet, see MSL V, page 2).

6. We made the transliteration of this tablet based on MSL V and the photo of the tablet available on the British Museum's image gallery: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=991980001&objectid=327030](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=991980001&objectid=327030) (accessed 24-05-2019).

7. The two STT fragments edited in MSL as Mss. q (STT 380) and  $\pi$  (STT 125a+) are non-physical joins of a six-column tablet (GURNEY 1981/1982, pl. 11).

8. In Ms.  $\chi$ , the reconstructed prefix 'mu-un-', which is omitted in the present versions, is suggested based on line 316 of MSL V.

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**76) Sippar meets Kuyunjik: Join of BM 68458 and K.11550** — The fragments BM 68458 (82-9-18, 8456) and K.11550 with Neo-Babylonian script were edited as manuscripts D and F, respectively, of the ritual text KAR 223 (VAT 8004)// by H. Stadhouders and U. Steinert in JMC 32 (2018), 56-76.<sup>1)</sup> Collation of these two fragments at the British Museum in February 2019 revealed, however, that they are in fact pieces of a single Neo-Babylonian tablet. The join confirms that the tablet has a portrait format and that the preserved parts belong to the middle and lower sections of the tablet. Approximately 10-12 lines are missing in the upper section, and only 2-3 in the lower part. A copy of the joined pieces, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, is presented below (Figs. 1 and 2) together with a transliteration. For a translation of the passage, see Stadhouders & Steinert 2018, 69-70.

The join of the fragments BM 68458 (82-9-18, 8456) and K.11550 is surprising since they supposedly derive from different locations. As a fragment bearing a K-number, K.11550 was thought to come from Kuyunjik (Nineveh), and BM 68458 was acquired by Hormuzd Rassam during his excavations in Babylonia, and it most likely was found at Sippar.<sup>2)</sup> How pieces of the same tablet ended up in two different collections at the British Museum remains unclear, but it can be assumed that it was due to an error in processing the incoming tablets.<sup>3)</sup> Likewise, the question of the origin of the tablet BM 68458+K.11550 remains unanswered, although the format and the script of the tablet suggest that Sippar may be the place of origin.<sup>4)</sup> Future joins will hopefully provide further insights into the matter.

BM 68458+K.11550

- o. 1 'GUB<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>az<sup>1</sup> 'ana<sup>1</sup> [pān Sîn qātīša imessi]  
 o. 2 a-na <sup>d</sup>30 'kam<sup>1</sup> [iqabbi]  
 o. 3 ÉN 30 <sup>d</sup>+Nanna-ra A[N-e u eršeti ultu]  
 o. 4 UD.1.KAM<sup>v</sup> šá <sup>ii</sup>BÁRA 'a<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> UD.1.KAM<sup>v</sup> 'šá<sup>1</sup> [it]<sup>ir</sup>GU<sup>4</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 o. 5 piq-dan-ni-ma lu-uš-lim lu-ši-r[a<sup>2</sup>]  
 o. 6 'IGI<sup>1</sup>-ka 'šèr<sup>1</sup>-ri li-mu-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> nu-ru  
 o. 7 [na]r-<sup>1</sup>bī<sup>1</sup>-ka lu-šá-pi dā-lí-lí-ka lud-lu[l]  
 o. 8 [3-šú] DU<sup>11</sup>.GA-ma ana qaq-qa-ru ur-ra-dam-ma  
 o. 9 [<sup>u</sup>A]K.TAM <sup>u</sup>IGI.LIM a-na Ì.GIŠ ŠUB-di-ma  
 o. 10 [ip-p]a-ši-iš<sup>1</sup>(tablet: KA) kal GÚR.GÚR GAZI<sup>sar</sup> ZÀ.ĦI.L[I]  
 o. 11 [mušāṭī zēr kitī a-d]i? 'u<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-d[u ina ūmēni tuqattaršī]  
 (rest broken away)  
 r. 1' [dayyān Igigī rubū] 'pa<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-is EŠ.B[AR šamē u eršeti]  
 r. 2' [mušīm NA]M.MEŠ šab-tu šal-la u ka-<sup>1</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-[u]  
 r. 3' [i-ša]-su-ka ka-a-šá šá-pal-ka ak-mis  
 r. 4' [a]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[k]u al-si-ka <sup>mūnus</sup>NENNI-tú DUMU.MUNUS NENNI-tum  
 r. 5' [šá] DINGIR-šú 'NENNI<sup>1</sup> <sup>rd</sup>[15-š]a NENNI-tum <sup>gis</sup>MÁ ma-li-ti ana-ku  
 r. 6' <sup>rd</sup>UTU šī-man-ni [r]e-man-né-e-ma mu-gur téš-li-tú  
 r. 7' áš-šú šu-tu-qí 'ITI<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> <sup>ii</sup>BÁRA as-ḥur-ka eš-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>  
 r. 8' TÚG.SÍK-ka aš-bat áš-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> GISKIM ĦUL-tim šu-t[u-qu]  
 r. 9' ki-šir lum-nu pa-t[a-r]i 'KI<sup>1</sup>-ka ba-šú-<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>  
 (rest broken away)

## Notes

1. The same text, KAR 223//, is also treated by the present author in the dissertation *The Theologies and the Cults of the Moon God Sîn in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Times* (currently in preparation for publication).

2. The consignment 82-9-18 was sent by Rassam, and the majority of the cases (11 of 12) were from Abu Habbah (Sippar), the remaining one case being from Babylon (see Leichty 1986, xxxiii).

3. Note that in the year when the BM 68458 (82-9-18, 8456) was registered, 1882, the British Museum received 63 boxes of cuneiform tablets “from Kouyunjik and Abu Habbah” according to its Parliamentary Return (official government publication) of 1883 (Leichty 1986, xxvi). The same report further specifies that 33 boxes of the total of 63 had been opened and the rest was left to wait until the Museum had cleared more space for the collection. The delay in registering the incoming tablets at times led to confusion as the objects of a single consignment were dispersed due to reasons such as repacking (see Leichty 1986, xxvi-xxvii). Moreover, as outlined in Lambert 1992, ix-x, Neo-Assyrian tablets presumably from Kuyunjik are found in Babylonian collections of the British Museum, and according to the list in *ibid.*, 74-75, there are 8 known such cases among the tablets registered with the date 82-9-18.

4. As noted by Jeanette Fincke (personal communication), the Babylonian tablets from Nineveh display a format and script that differs from BM 68458+K.11550.

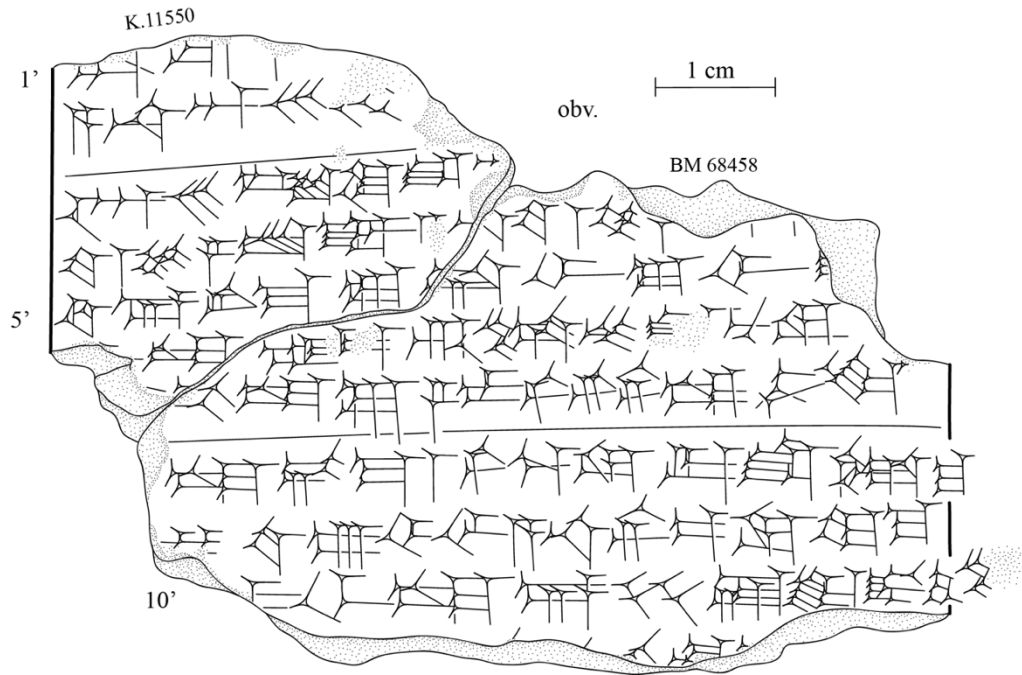


Fig. 1. BM 68458+K.11550 (obv.)

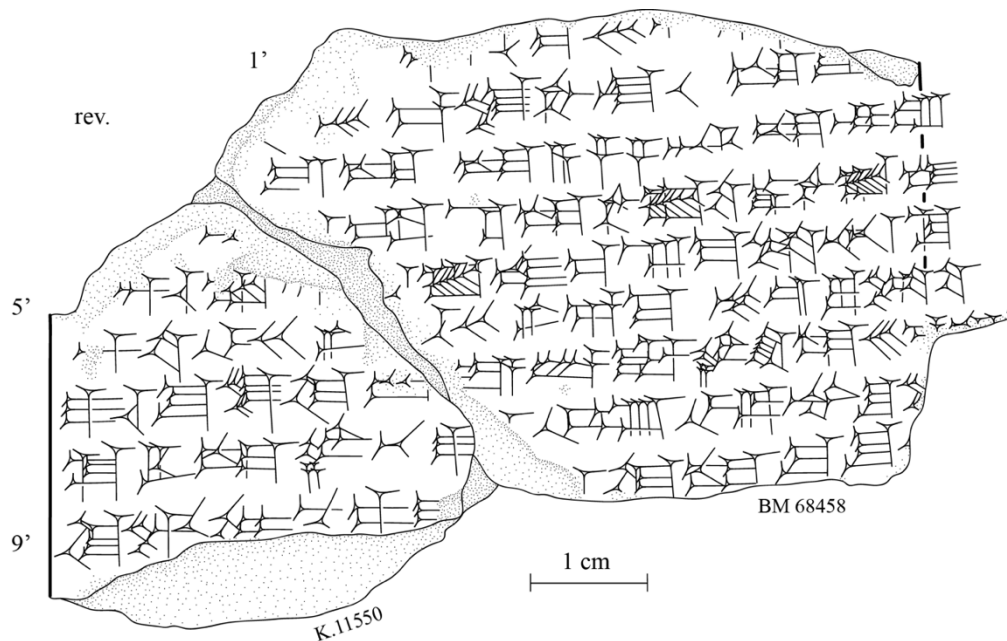


Fig. 2. BM 68458+K.11550 (rev.)

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**77) Marginalia on the Cuneiform Commentaries Project. No. 2: An Incantation for Childbirth** — 11N-T3 contains one of the most famous commentaries from ancient Mesopotamia. The tablet, completely preserved, was found during the eleventh post-war campaign of the Oriental Institute at Nippur, and is according to its colophon the work of Enlil-kāšir, of the Ludumununa family. It was published by CIVIL 1974, and thoroughly studied by CAVIGNEAUX 1987 and FRAHM 2011, 230–2. An electronic edition is available as CCP 4.2.A.a (JIMÉNEZ 2014).

The commentary strives to demonstrate that every word of its base text, a ritual for childbirth, is aimed at easing the birth of the child, or somewhat related to the child or its conception. At least some of the incantations from the underlying ritual are bilingual, which provides the commentator with fertile ground for his etymological tour de force:

(8) **gi èn-bar bàn-da šu u-me-ti** : gi : *sin-niš-ti* : bar : *a-šu-u* : bàn-da <sup>(9)</sup> *še-er-ri* : *ša-aḫ-ri* : **saḫar sila<sup>la</sup>** : saḫar : *e-pe-ri* : *sa-ḫar u ṣa-ḫar iš-ten-ma* <sup>(10)</sup> **sila lam<sub>4</sub>-ma** : si : *e-še-ri šá a-la-ku* : la : *la-a* : *ša-ḫar* : *am-ma* : *ze-ri* <sup>(11)</sup> **šá-am-nu** : <sup>ni-ig</sup> *NÍG sin-niš-ti* : *am* : *ze-ri* : *nu* : *ba-nu-u šá-niš-ti* <sup>(12)</sup> **šá-am-nu** : i : *a-šu-u šá* NUMUN :

(8) (In) “Take a small (*banda*) reed (*gi*) from the marsh (*enbar*),” *gi* means “woman,” *bar* means “to go out,” *banda* means <sup>(9)</sup> “baby,” (i.e.) “little one” (*ṣaḫru*). (In) “Dust (*saḫar*) from the street (*sila*),” *saḫar* means “dust.” “Dust” (*saḫar*) and “little one” (*ṣaḫar*) are one and the same thing. <sup>(10)</sup> (In) “Crossroad” (*sila-lamma*), *si* means “to go straight” said of walking; *la* means “child” (*la’û*), i.e., “little one” (*ṣaḫar*); and “people” (*ammu*, written *amma*) means “seed.” <sup>(11)</sup> (In) “Oil” (*šamnu*), the sign *gar* (= *šá*), read /nig/, means “woman;” “people” (*ammu*, written *am*) means “seed;” and *nu* means “to build.” Alternatively, the sign *l*, read /i/, means <sup>(12)</sup> “oil;” *i* means “to go out” said of the seed.

The base text of the commentary was reconstructed by VELDHUIS 1989 from BAM 248 and duplicates. The fragment N 1568 is the first known Neo-Babylonian manuscript of the incantation to stem from Nippur, and provides for the first time the base text for lines 8–12 of the commentary.

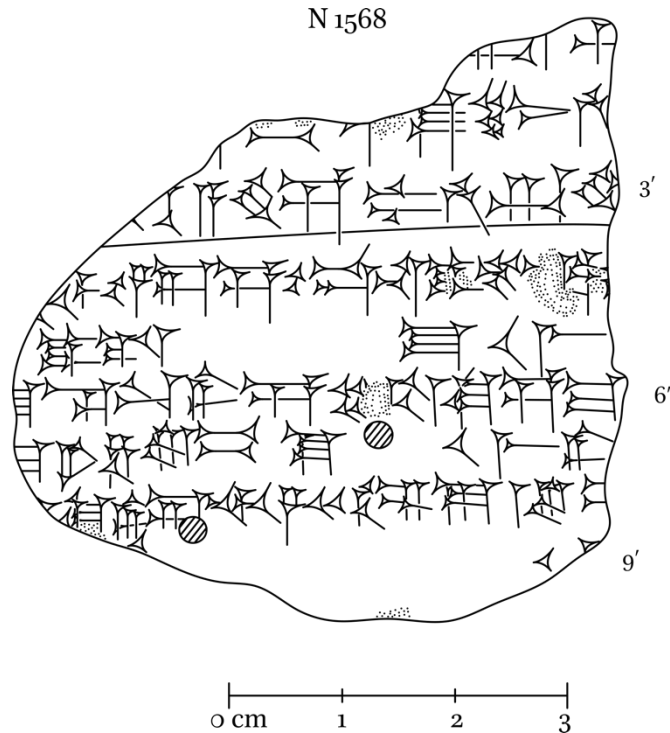
1'. [...] x x [o o]  
 2'. [...] x-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>bar<sup>1</sup>-šè in-kud [o]  
 3'. [...] x-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> a-ḫe-e up-tar-ri-<sup>r</sup>1 [ø]  
 4'. [<sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḫi] i igi : níḡ-ḡá-e : ḡen-na dumu-ḡu<sub>10</sub> <sup>r</sup>dasal<sup>1</sup>-l[ú-ḫi]  
 5'. [gi èn-bar]-bàn-da šu u-me-[ti]  
 6'. [ultu o] x-si qa-né-e le-qé-e-ma [ø]  
 7'. [saḫar sila-lam<sub>4</sub>-b] a ì kù šà-bi-šè u-me-ni-[dub/dé]  
 8'. [eper s]u-qí er-bet-ti šá-man el-lu ana lib-b[i-šú šupuk]  
 9'. [...] x u-m[e-o o]

In 6', compare the Old Babylonian parallel <sup>gi</sup>sú-ug-bàn-da eri<sub>4</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>-ga šu [ù-me-ti] | *qá-na-a ša sú-ug-bàn-da* <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> eri-du<sub>10</sub>-ga i-na [*le-qí-i*] (COHEN 1976, 138 l. 42f.). It is uncertain how the Akkadian counterpart of èn-bar-bàn-da should be read in the present tablet. *šukūsu*, “allotment of land,” is a possibility, since the traces are compatible with [K]U and the word’s Sumerian equivalent, *šUK*, sounds similar to *SUG* = *AMBAR*.

\* N 1568 is published by permission of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Thanks are expressed to J. Peterson, who brought the tablet to the author’s attention for a forthcoming study of elementary schooling at Nippur, and to E. Frahm and U. Gabbay for their comments.

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**78) Another attestation of Basiya, son of Ariḫ, a Judean Merchant in Sippar<sup>1)</sup>** — The merchant family of Ariḫ was studied by Alstola (2017), Bloch (2014), and Jursa (2007). The consensus of scholars is that this family, which was based in Sippar, was of Judean descent and assimilated well into the Babylonian cultural and commercial world as merchants (Alstola 2017: 29, Bloch 2014: 129, Jursa 2007). Already known are six texts that relate to this family (Alstola 2017, Bloch 2014), but thus far overlooked has been Strassmaier Nbk. 454, a short document that records the purchase of gold with silver by Basiya, son of Ariḫ. Basiya was already known from one text, BM 75434, noted by Jursa (2007) and translated by Bloch (2014: 152-53). This text mentions Basiya with the title *tamkār šarri* “royal merchant” and shows him loaning ½ mina of silver during Nabonidus’ 10th regnal year (546 BCE). Basiya’s brothers Amušê and Mardukā were likewise involved in trading activities and there are some indications that they were trading with the funds of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar and were generally connected to this temple and its community (Bloch 2014: 131). The brothers’ trade in gold, in particular, can be seen in BM 68420, in which Amušê received silver for gold, and BM 74411, in which Mardukā sold gold to the Ebabbar; he was paid for this with silver taken from house rents. Nbk. 454 demonstrates that Basiya was also engaged in the exchange of silver for gold:

**Strassmaier Nbk no. 454 (Sippar)**

Obv.

1. 2 GIN<sub>2</sub> 4-ut KU<sub>3</sub>.GI ½<sup>1</sup> 5 GIN<sub>2</sub> 3 re-bat
2. 1 GIN<sub>2</sub> bit-qa LA<sub>2</sub>-ti 7 GIN<sub>2</sub>
3. 2 GIN<sub>2</sub> 4-ut bit-qa 13 GIN<sub>2</sub> 3 re-bat
4. PAP 5 ½ GIN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3</sub>.GI a-na
5. ⅔<sup>1</sup> ma-na 5 ½ GIN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR

Edge

6. <sup>m</sup>ba-si-ia A <sup>m</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ri-ḫi

Rev

7. NU na-din

2 ¼ shekels of gold (for) 25 shekels (and) ¾ (shekels) (of silver); 1 shekel minus ⅙ (of gold for) 7 shekels (of silver); 2 ¼ (and) ⅙ shekels (of gold for) 13 ¾ shekels (of silver); total: 5 ½ shekels of gold for ⅔ minas (and) 5 ½ shekels of silver:

(from) Basiya, son of Ariḫ.<sup>2)</sup>

It has not (yet) been paid.

Unfortunately, the text does not contain much information other than quantities of gold and the rates at which it was purchased: 1:11, 1:8, and almost 1:6 for a total rate of about 1:8, which are within the known range for gold prices (Kleber 2017: 15, Kleber 2016: 123).<sup>3)</sup> As the Ariḥ family had dealings with the Ebabbar in Sippar, one may presume that this purchase was related to the commercial activities of the temple; namely, its need for gold with which to make cultic implements. It is important to note that, while this tablet has been attributed to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II by Strassmaier, it is in fact undated and therefore does not add to the time period in which this family is attested. Regardless, Nbk. 454 is a welcome addition to the dossier on this Judean family.

#### Notes

1. This discussion was written within the Horizon 2020 project “The King’s City: A Comparative Study of Royal Patronage in Assur, Nineveh, and Babylon in the First Millennium BCE,” undertaken at the University of Vienna with the supervision of Michael Jursa, who I thank for his corrections on this note.
2. The copy shows indistinct traces for the first sign, but the subsequent signs and prosopography leave no doubt that the reading suggested here is warranted.
3. Strassmaier’s copy reads  $\frac{2}{3}$  in line 1 and  $\frac{5}{6}$  in line 5, but this would result in a ratio of gold to silver in line 1 that is much higher than attested rates and a silver total of more than one mina, which cannot be read into Strassmaier’s copy of line 5. As copying fractions with an additional wedge not found on the tablet is a common mistake in Strassmaier’s copies, we can confidently amend  $\frac{2}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{3}$  and  $\frac{5}{6}$  to  $\frac{2}{3}$ , respectively.

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**79) Doch keine *maḥir*-Anomalie im Eanna-Archiv?\*** — In dieser Notiz wird der Versuch, „die Grammatik zu retten“ und die Eindeutigkeit von Feststellungen zu wahren, unternommen.<sup>1)</sup> Vorgestellt werden ein paar Überlegungen zu dem Artikel „Neues zur Verwendung von *maḥir* im Eanna-Archiv – eine Anomalie?“ von B. Janković und M. Weszeli<sup>2)</sup>; die Bezeichnungen „Text A“ und „Text B“ werden übernommen (Text A wurde vermutlich drei Tage vor Text B geschrieben; beide Texte könnten auch am selben Tag geschrieben worden sein, am Ergebnis änderte sich dadurch nichts). Die beiden Autorinnen haben sorgfältig das Für und Wider (Anomalie oder nicht?) gegeneinander abgewogen. Ein eindeutiges Ergebnis wird nicht gewonnen (vgl. besonders den letzten Absatz des Artikels).

In Text B wird in Z. 5 (nicht erst in Z. 6-9) festgestellt, dass dem namentlich erst später genannten PN ein Silberbetrag zur Verfügung steht (*ina* IGI-šú); in Text A ist der Ausdruck nicht erhalten, wohl aber zu ergänzen. In der Summierung (PAP.PAP) steht in Text A „m KÛ.BABBAR ŠÁM n ŠE.BAR ... PN IGI-ir“<sup>3)</sup>, das durch „m Silber, Preis von n Gerste ...: <die Gerste> ist von (= „aus der Hand von“) PN <durch den Tempel (= Eanna)> erhalten worden“ wiedergegeben werden kann. PN ist der Lieferer der Gerste. Die Autorinnen des besprochenen Artikels „ersetzen“ ‘<Gerste>’ durch „m Silber, Preis von n Gerste ...“ und postulieren dann eine Ausnahme: „m Silber, Preis von n Gerste ..., hat PN <vom Tempel> erhalten“; „richtig“ wäre jedoch „m Silber, Preis von n Gerste ..., ist <durch den Tempel> (aus der Hand) von PN erhalten worden“. Das wird aber durch Text B, Z. 5 ausgeschlossen (s. o.). Vermutlich hatte der Schreiber den Text vorbereitet (weil die Übergabe der Gerste für einen bestimmten Tag vorgesehen war); er schrieb auf, dass PN m Silber für den Kauf der Gerste zur Verfügung stand (Text B, Z. 5) und jetzt die Gerste durch PN abgeliefert worden sei (Text A, Z. 9: <ŠE.BAR> PN IGI-ir); später wurde ihm mitgeteilt, dass die



Übergabe nicht „wie geplant“ stattgefunden habe; daraufhin hat er den zweiten Text (Nummer B) aufgesetzt, in dem die Gerstelieferung durch PN noch erwartet wird (Text B, Z. 8: *ina* IGI PN).

Es geht nicht an, dass sich der Leser einer Urkunde aussuchen kann, ob eine Verbalform aktivisch oder passivisch zu fassen sei; die Folge wäre vermutlich eine Prozessflut. Ein Missdeutung liegt auf p. 693 unten vor: „G. kam zu dem Schluss, dass ... „Objekt PN *maḫir*“ ... in so gut wie allen Fällen ... die Transferrichtung zum Tempel hin beschreibt ... Anders ausgedrückt, der Empfänger war der Tempel, niemals die genannte Person“. Grammatik ist nicht „ortsabhängig“ („Eanna“<sup>4)</sup>); die Entsprechung von „niemals“ wäre im Übrigen „in allen Fällen“.

#### Notes

\* Abkürzungen: p. – Seite; PN – Person(enname); Z. – Zeile.

1. Eindeutigkeit gibt es bekanntlich (fast) nie. In dem Satz „Hans schlägt Franz“ können beide Personen Subjekt sein. Für Wirtschaftstexte, um die es in dieser Notiz geht, vgl. *NABU* 2004/74, Absatz 2.

2. *Studies in Economic and Social History of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Péter Vargyas* (Eds. Z. Csabai & T. Grüll) [2014] 671–681.

3. Es geht um die Grammatik, nicht um die Edition eines Textes; „daher“ ‘n ŠE.BAR’ an Stelle von ‘[n ŠE].BAR’. Entsprechendes gilt für die Benutzung von Anführungszeichen bei Zitaten.

4. Es gibt Ausnahmen: Im Ungarischen wird „in (Stadt) NN“ normalerweise durch das Suffix „-ban/-ben“ ausgedrückt: „in Frankfurt – Frankfurt*ban*“, „in Debreczin (Debrecen) – Debrecen*ben*“, aber „in Budapest – Budapest*en*“.

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**80) Dating the death of Xerxes** — Traditionally, it is assumed that Xerxes died in the year 465 BC. Recently, Gérard Gertoux (2018) has argued for a 10 years higher date. As explained in his abstract, he bases that date primarily on the Babylonian eclipse text BM 32234. Unfortunately, as I shall show in the following, a more careful scrutiny of that text does not support the higher date. On the contrary, it flatly contradicts it!

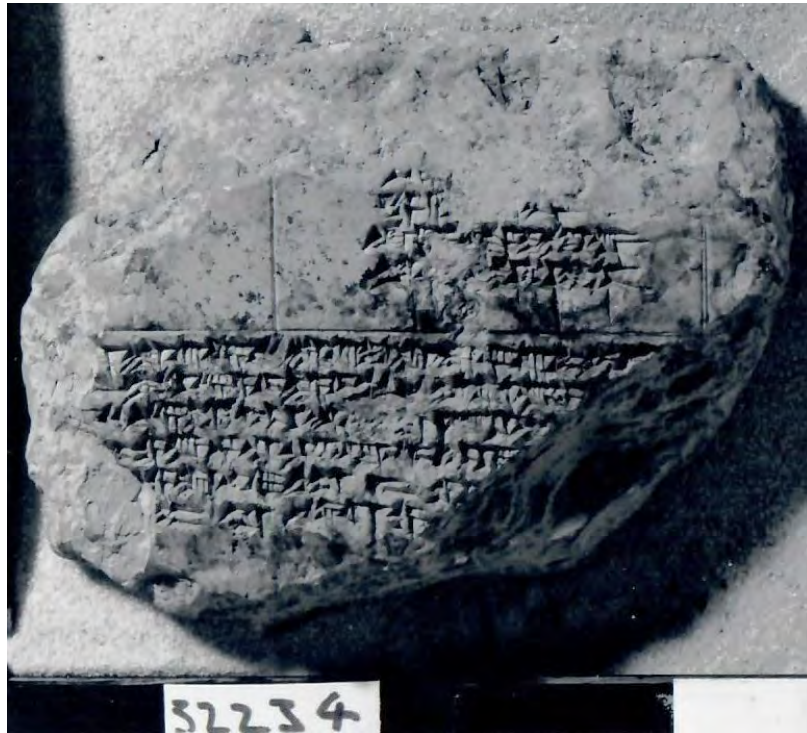


Figure 1. Reverse of BM 32234.

The text BM 32234 in question is a fragment of large collection of eclipse observations. That collection is organized as a kind of spreadsheet: each cell contains one eclipse description, and the cells follow a Saros arrangement: if you move one cell down, you reach the next eclipse possibility 5 or 6 months later, if you move one cell to the right, you reach an eclipse possibility 18 years later. For a photo of the text, see Fig.1; see also Hunger (2001) Vol V, Plate 2.

The reverse of BM 32234 covers parts of five columns and two rows of the spreadsheet. The report in col. IV top mentions the death of Xerxes. If we accept the traditional date, the reports cover the years

|                       |                      |                       |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| -518MAY04<br>5965 ++  | -500MAY15<br>6188 -- | -482MAY26<br>6411 --  | -464JUN05<br>6634 ++  | -446JUN17<br>6857 -- |
| -518OCT28<br>5971 - + | -500NOV07<br>6194 ++ | -482NOV19<br>6417 + - | -464NOV29<br>6640 - + | -446DEC10<br>6863 ++ |

Each cell of this little table gives the date in the Julian calendar and the Goldstine (1973) syzygy number. The + and - signs indicate whether the beginning and end of the eclipse, respectively, were above (+) or below (-) the horizon; if those positions are left blank, there was no eclipse at all. These tables are extracted from Huber and DeMeis (2004: 4).

With Gertoux's higher date, they cover the years

|                      |                       |                      |                       |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| -528MAY24<br>5842 -- | -510JUN04<br>6065 --  | -492JUN14<br>6288 ++ | -474JUN26<br>6511 + - | -456JUL06<br>6734 --  |
| -528NOV17<br>5848 ++ | -510NOV29<br>6071 + - | -492DEC09<br>6294 -- | -474DEC20<br>6517 ++  | -456DEC31<br>6740 + - |

#### Results of calculation for the 10 eclipses listed above

The results are excerpted from the eclipse canon of Huber and DeMeis (2004: 188-191).

First, for the traditional date:

| Babyl.Date     | Jul.Date  | UT    | LT-UT | LL    | I      | II     | III    | IV     | Magn | E   | A   | MR    | SS    | SR   | MS   |
|----------------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|------|------|
| DARII 3U II    | -518MAY04 | 21.90 | 3.06  | 217.2 | 23.21  | .37    | 1.62   | 2.78   | 1.37 | 88  | 299 | 18.30 | 18.71 | 5.28 | 5.53 |
| DARII 3U VII   | -518OCT28 | 12.50 | 3.16  | 29.5  | 13.66* | 14.90* | 16.39* | 17.63  | 1.48 | 85  | 245 | 17.52 | 17.60 | 6.41 | 7.09 |
| DARII 21 II    | -500MAY15 | 5.39  | 3.09  | 227.7 | 6.77*  | 8.02*  | 9.02*  | 10.26* | 1.23 | 81  | 300 | 18.09 | 18.86 | 5.13 | 5.11 |
| DARII 21 VIII  | -500NOV07 | 20.69 | 3.16  | 40.6  | 21.87  | 23.11  | .59    | 1.83   | 1.47 | 88  | 247 | 17.12 | 17.44 | 6.57 | 6.96 |
| XERXS 3 II     | -482MAY26 | 12.85 | 3.10  | 238.1 | 14.31* | 15.74* | 16.28* | 17.71* | 1.09 | 74  | 301 | 19.04 | 19.00 | 4.99 | 5.62 |
| XERXS 3 VIII   | -482NOV19 | 4.96  | 3.14  | 51.8  | 6.12   | 7.36*  | 8.83*  | 10.07* | 1.47 | 91  | 250 | 16.72 | 17.29 | 6.72 | 6.80 |
| XERXS 21U III  | -464JUN05 | 20.29 | 3.09  | 248.5 | 21.81  | —      | —      | 1.08   | .95  | 65  | 302 | 18.80 | 19.10 | 4.90 | 5.23 |
| XERXS 21U VIII | -464NOV29 | 13.27 | 3.09  | 63.0  | 14.39* | 15.62* | 17.09* | 18.32  | 1.47 | 95  | 254 | 17.04 | 17.16 | 6.85 | 7.53 |
| ARTX1 18 III   | -446JUN17 | 3.73  | 3.06  | 259.0 | 5.32*  | —      | —      | 8.44*  | .81  | 56  | 302 | 18.54 | 19.17 | 4.83 | 4.84 |
| ARTX1 18 IX    | -446DEC10 | 21.59 | 3.01  | 74.2  | 22.63  | 23.87  | 1.33   | 2.56   | 1.46 | 100 | 258 | 16.66 | 17.07 | 6.93 | 7.31 |

Now, for Gertoux's higher date.

| Babyl.Date     | Jul.Date  | UT    | LT-UT | LL    | I      | II     | III    | IV     | Magn | E   | A   | MR    | SS    | SR   | MS   |
|----------------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|------|------|
| CAMBS 1 II     | -528MAY24 | 4.68  | 3.10  | 236.0 | 5.90*  | 7.06*  | 8.37*  | 9.54*  | 1.39 | 95  | 304 | 18.21 | 18.97 | 5.03 | 5.05 |
| CAMBS 1 VIII   | -528NOV17 | 18.65 | 3.14  | 50.6  | 20.08  | —      | —      | 23.19  | .58  | 109 | 208 | 17.03 | 17.30 | 6.71 | 7.21 |
| DARII 11U III  | -510JUN04 | 12.04 | 3.09  | 246.4 | 13.23* | 14.34* | 15.80* | 16.92* | 1.54 | 96  | 296 | 19.16 | 19.09 | 4.91 | 5.50 |
| DARII 11U VIII | -510NOV29 | 2.79  | 3.09  | 61.8  | 4.17   | —      | —      | 7.29*  | .59  | 113 | 212 | 16.70 | 17.18 | 6.83 | 7.03 |
| DARII 29A III  | -492JUN14 | 19.42 | 3.07  | 256.8 | 20.59  | 21.68  | 23.23  | .31    | 1.68 | 95  | 287 | 18.87 | 19.16 | 4.84 | 5.20 |
| DARII 29A IX   | -492DEC09 | 10.90 | 3.02  | 72.9  | 12.21* | —      | —      | 15.34* | .60  | 117 | 217 | 16.99 | 17.08 | 6.93 | 7.75 |
| XERXS 11 III   | -474JUN26 | 2.87  | 3.03  | 267.3 | 4.01   | 5.07*  | 6.67*  | 7.74*  | 1.81 | 95  | 279 | 18.54 | 19.19 | 4.81 | 4.89 |
| XERXS 11 IX    | -474DEC20 | 18.98 | 2.93  | 84.1  | 20.20  | —      | —      | 23.36  | .61  | 121 | 222 | 16.71 | 17.03 | 6.97 | 7.48 |
| ARTX1 8A IV    | -456JUL06 | 10.39 | 2.99  | 277.8 | 11.51* | 12.57* | 14.17* | 15.23* | 1.84 | 94  | 271 | 19.31 | 19.18 | 4.82 | 5.63 |
| ARTX1 8A X     | -456DEC31 | 2.98  | 2.85  | 95.3  | 4.08   | —      | —      | 7.27*  | .63  | 125 | 228 | 16.45 | 17.02 | 6.97 | 7.19 |

The Julian Date and Universal Time (UT) are given for mid-eclipse. LT-UT is the difference between true local time LT and UT. LL is the geocentric lunar longitude at mid-eclipse. The true local times of the four contacts are starred if below the mathematical horizon (for accurate visibility conditions, use MR and MS). E and A: entrance and exit angles in degrees (0° north, 90° east, 180° south, 270° west), calculated in the equatorial coordinate system. MR, SS, SR, MS: true local times of moonrise, sunset, sunrise, and moonset. They have been calculated for the upper rim of Sun and Moon, i.e. using a zenith distance of 91°12' for the Sun, plus parallax for the Moon.

#### Comparison of the observations with calculation

The transliterations and translations have been culled from Huber and DeMeis (2004); occasionally I have substituted somewhat clearer translations by Hunger (2001) Vol. V. See there for details. Note that observed Babylonian time intervals are not very accurate, they may have errors of 20% or so.

The calculated beginnings and endings of the eclipses have a standard error of about 3 minutes due to the uncertainty in  $\Delta T$ , see Huber and DeMeis (2004: 26). This is in addition to a systematic error of a similar size due to uncertainties in our modeling of the Babylonian visual observations, see Huber and DeMeis (2004: 23).

#### Rev I top

*Only traces of the tablet surface and nothing of the text are preserved.*

#### Rev I bottom

|                                                             |                              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1'. [... ... g]e <sub>6</sub> <sup>?</sup> ana <sup>?</sup> | [... ...] ...                |
| 2'. [... ...] pap <sup>?</sup>                              | [... ...] watched (?)        |
| 3'. [... ana š]ú <sup>?</sup> šamáš                         | [... before] sunset (?)      |
| 4'. [ki pap nu] igi <sup>?</sup>                            | [when watched, not] seen (?) |
| 5'. [... ...]                                               | [... ...]                    |

*Apparently, the Babylonian watched out for the eclipse, but it is not clear what, or whether anything at all, he was able to see.*

Calculation for low chronology (–518OCT28):

The upper rim of the moon began to rise 17.52 LT, 0.11h = 7 min before the end of the eclipse (17.63 LT).

Calculation for high chronology (–528NOV17):

Partial eclipse, above the horizon from beginning to end.

The eclipse record suggests marginal visibility conditions. This agrees better with the low chronology.

#### Rev II top

*Blank cell; the first few lines are broken off. Presumably, the missing lines contained merely the date and a brief remark that the eclipse “passed”.*

Calculation gives for both the low (–500MAY15) and the high chronology (–510JUN04) an invisible eclipse below the horizon.

#### Rev II bottom

|                                                  |                                                                  |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. apin 13 ina 15 ina kur                        | Month VIII, 13. In 15° (from) in the east,                       |
| 2. gab šú 25 ír                                  | totally covered. 25° duration of the maximal phase.              |
| 3. ina 25 ta kur ana mar                         | In 25° from east to west                                         |
| 4. zalág dir ina gar si                          | it became bright. Clouded (or red?). During onset, north (wind), |
| 5. [ina] zalág ulù <gin> ina 1 <sup>?</sup> , 17 | during clearing south(wind) blew. At 1(?), 17°                   |
| 6. ge <sub>6</sub> gin                           | after sunset.                                                    |

Calculation for low chronology (–500NOV07):

The eclipse was total, and above the horizon from beginning to end. The timings agree reasonably well with calculation (observed 15°+25°+25°=65°, calculated 19°+22°+19°=60°). The Babylonian timings are given in time degrees: 1° = 4 minutes. Also the time of the beginning (77°?=5.13h? **after sunset**) is compatible with calculation (4.43h=66°).

Calculation for high chronology (–510NOV29):

The eclipse was partial, beginning 2.66h=40° before sunrise, and the moon set eclipsed.

*The high chronology is incompatible with the observation.*

#### Rev III top

Blank cell; the first few lines are broken off. Presumably, the missing lines contained merely the date and a brief remark that the eclipse “passed”.

Calculation for low chronology (–482MAY26):

The eclipse was below the horizon and invisible.

Calculation for high chronology (–492JUN14):

The eclipse was total and above the horizon of Babylon from beginning to end.

*The high chronology is incompatible with the observation.*

#### Rev III bottom

- |                                            |                                                              |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. apin 13 id ulù                          | Month VIII 13. Beginning on the south (error for east) side. |
| 2. tab ír nu pap <sup>2</sup> ád           | Maximal phase not observed, it set                           |
| 3. šú ina an-mi ʿdele-bar <sup>1</sup> gub | eclipsed. During the eclipse, Venus stood (there),           |
| 4. tag <sub>4</sub> ʿudu-idim-me           | the other planets                                            |
| 5. nu gub-me                               | did not stand (there).                                       |
| 6. ina 10 uš ana zalág                     | At 10° before sunrise                                        |

Calculation for low chronology (–482NOV19):

The eclipse began 0.60h = 9° before sunrise and 0.68h = 10° before moonset, and the moon set before the beginning of totality. Venus was the only planet above the horizon.

Calculation for high chronology (–492DEC09):

The eclipse was below the horizon and invisible.

*The high chronology is incompatible with the observation.*

#### Rev IV top

- |                                                         |                                                                   |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1'. [... ...]                                           | [... ...]                                                         |
| 2'. ina 18 <sup>2</sup> [... ...]                       | In 18°(?) [it became bright.]                                     |
| 3'. 40 gar í[r u zalág ...] túg an gar                  | 40° onset, m[aximal phase and clearing.]                          |
|                                                         | The ‘garment of the sky’ was in place.                            |
| 4'. ina ki 4-àm ár šá pa ád kin dir                     | In the region of the 4 rear stars of Sagittarius it was eclipsed. |
|                                                         | Month VI <sub>2</sub> .                                           |
| 5'. izi 14[+x] hi <sup>2</sup> -šú-ár-šú dumu-šú gaz-šú | Month V 14[+x] Xerxes was murdered by his son.                    |

*The text spills over into the blank parts of Rev III top and Rev V top. The eclipse is described as lasting 40° = 2.67h from beginning to end.*

Calculation for low chronology (–464JUN05):

Large partial eclipse, above the horizon from beginning to end, lasting 3.27h = 49°. According to Roughton and Canzoneri (1992), the “4 rear stars” are  $\nu^1$ ,  $\nu^2$ ,  $\xi^1$ ,  $\xi^2$  Sagittarii; for –464 the coordinates of  $\nu^2$  were long: 248.41, lat: 0.48. The lunar longitude at mid-eclipse was LL=248.5.

Calculation for high chronology (–474JUN26):

The moon set 0.88h = 13° after the first contact, before the beginning of totality. A duration of 40° does not fit, nor does the position of the moon (LL=267.3).

*The high chronology is incompatible with the observation.*

#### Rev IV bottom

- |                                      |                                         |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. apin 14 13 ge <sub>6</sub>        | Month VIII 14. (After) 13° night        |
| 2. gin ta dir e                      | it came out from a cloud.               |
| 3. 4-ú hab-rat i[d si <sup>2</sup> ] | A quarter of the disk [on the north(?)] |

- |                                      |                                                           |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 4. <i>u mar šú 7 (? or 8?) [...]</i> | and west side was covered. 7°(? or 8°?) [until it became] |
| 5. <i>zálág [... ...]</i>            | bright. [... ...]                                         |
| 6. <i>[... ...]</i>                  | [... ...]                                                 |

*Only the final phase of this eclipse could be observed; apparently, it ended about 20° or 21° after sunset.*

Calculation for low chronology (–464NOV29):

The moon rose shortly before the end of totality, and the eclipse ended 1.16h = 17° after sunset.

Calculation for high chronology (–474JUN26):

The eclipse began more than 3 hours after sunset and ended more than 5 hours after sunset.

*The high chronology is incompatible with the observation.*

#### Rev V top

*No text preserved, probably blank. An eclipse that “passes”?*

Calculation gives for both the low (–446JUN17) and the high chronology (–456JUL06) an invisible eclipse below the horizon.

#### Rev V bottom

- |                             |                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>gan 13(+x) [... ]</i> | Month IX 13(+x) [...] |
| 2. <i>[... ...]</i>         | [... ...]             |

*Not enough text for interpretation.*

#### Conclusions

All eclipse observations of BM 32234 Rev. are compatible with calculations for the low chronology (death of Xerxes in 465 BC). But at least five of them flatly contradict the calculations for Gertoux’s higher chronology.

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**81) First Elymaic attestation of *Elymais*** — Amongst the objects belonging to the *al-Sabah Collection* in Kuwait, four decorated silver bowls enriched by the engravings of seven inscriptions in Elymaic script (*cat. nos.* 77-80) have been recently examined through the valuable work of Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams (Carter 2015, pp. 288-289)<sup>1)</sup>. Before going into further details, it is critical to point out that the absence of an archaeological report, within which the silver vessels were unearthed and stratigraphically contextualized, recommends caution in order to avoid the risk of speculation (Muscarella 2000; *idem* 2013).

The inscriptions on the silver vessels of the *al-Sabah Collection* are more extensive than the traditional material characterized by badly preserved rock-reliefs texts (collected in Gzella 2008) and short monetary legends encountered within the territories of ancient Parthian Elymais (modern Khuzestan in southwestern Iran, along the Zagros Mountains in the Bakhtiari area). Moreover, the higher quality standard of the script present on the silver vessels enable the inscriptions to be more legible and

consequently to confirm – or in some cases to correct – the previous identification of local Middle Aramaic (Elymaic) graphemes. The presence then of numerical signs used to indicate precise temporal events provides a historical setting for three of the four bowls on the basis of the Seleucid chronology starting in 311 BC (Sims-Williams in Carter 2015, p. 288).

Taking into consideration the inscription engraved on exterior, just below the rim, of a silver vessel (Carter 2015, *cat. no.* 77, also identical in *cat. nos.* 78, 80), it is of considerable significance the presence of the term ‘YL’M “Elam/Elymais” which represents the first attestation of *Elymais* in a local language (Elymaic) that we have identified so far, indicating that the latter was only an alteration of the more ancient toponym of *Elam*, evidently still in use during the Parthian time.

[Cat. no. 77 in Carter 2015]

byrh tšry šnt 4-100-20-20-20-8<sup>2)</sup> bl’w kzy kbšškyr  
wrwdprh mlk’ ‘m prtwyh mn m’dy b’yl’m ‘th ‘l mlkw’  
s’m ‘dyn k’s’ znh zy klh p’grh ‘štr’ zy bl’w prtwyh b’b’r’  
nsybw wtyb’ wrwdprh mlk’ hkmr nsyb mnhwmlklh p’grh  
z’ hn’yl zy ‘bwth t’hw dwn’trwth thwh ‘d l’l’m.

[Sims-Williams in Carter 2015]

*In the month of Teshri of year 488 [...] when King Kamnaskires  
Orodes-Phraates came with the Parthian from Media to Elam,  
into the kingship, then he deposited this cup [so] that all ... the  
Parthians [...] King Orodes Phraates, taking [...] from them,  
brought in all that [...], so that it might intercede upon his behalf  
and be his protection forever.*

At first glance, the phonetic similarity of *Elymais* and *Elam* appears immediately evident, with the term *Elymais* presumably revealing a Graecization of the Biblical Hebrew form עֲלַמַי or, therefore, the Elymaic ‘YL’M (i.e. *Elam*). How this process could have taken place is not entirely clear but what instead seems noticeable is that this association was quite definite in ancient sources in light of the *Babylonian Astronomical Diaries* (Hunger and Sachs 1996; see also Del Monte 1997), where Babylonian authors continued to use the terms *Elam* and *Elamite*, written logographically NIM.MA<sup>ki</sup> and <sup>lu</sup>NIM.MA<sup>ki</sup> (Potts 2016, pp. 371-374, table 10.2) where the Greek sources spoke of *Elymais* and *Elymaean*. Given this lexical correlation, it would be intriguing to dwell on how the Graecization of the word *Elam* occurred. Tracing the presumed root of the term *Elymais* to Ἐλυμαΐδ-, it is interesting to note that the Greek word Ἐλυμαΐς (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI.1.17; I.Maccabees.6:1) has the derivative suffix -ις, gen. -ιδος (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI.1.18), which among other things designates “territory”, as in Θηβαΐς (gen. Θηβαΐδος) “the territory of Thebes” (in Egypt), i.e. the Thebaid (Buck 1933, p. 340, §492.3.) or in Περσς (gen. Περσςδος), i.e. Persia. In the same way, Ἐλυμαΐς (gen. Ἐλυμαΐδος) might indicate “the territory of Elam(?)”, namely the Elymaid (i.e. *Elymais*)<sup>3)</sup>.

If previously the absence in the scant local sources (e.g. rock-relief inscription, monetary legends) of a place name indicating the Elymaean territories suggested that *Elymais* was a sort of “label” used first by the Mesopotamians and then by the Greeks in order to generally designate the highland on the east (cf. Zadok 1987, p. 3), the appearance of the term ‘YL’M on silver vessels of the *al-Sabah Collection* seems to reveal a quite different perspective showing as the term *Elam/Elymais* represented a notion of place intimately well-rooted within the “ethnic” self-identity of people along these territories. Therefore “the notion and identity” of *Elymais* is nothing else than another one among “noticeable alterations that forced the reformulation of [...] territorial, political, social, and cultural character” of *Elam* (Álvarez-Mon 2012, p. 740).

## Notes

1. The texts present in the Carter’s catalogue of the *al-Sabah Collection* (Carter 2015) represent only a small fraction of the discovered material still waiting for being published (Prof. N. Sims-Williams, personal communication, August 23, 2016).
2. The numerical formula, in this case in order to indicate a date, seems to be identical to the other sample revealed on *Inscription A* (line no. 5) at Bard-e Neshandeh (Ghirshman 1976, Pl. XXXV.4; Harmatta 1976, p. 294).
3. For the complete declension of the term *Elymais* see Salaris 2017, p. 61.

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**82) Errata** — I ask readers of CUSAS 38 (*Sumerian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection Volume 1: Literary Sources on Old Babylonian Religion*, University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019) please to correct my following inadvertences:

- p.32, 'obv.' 7: read ša<sub>3</sub>-ga
- p.39, iv 103: read ħe<sub>2</sub>-em-me-a-ke<sub>4</sub>-eš
- pl. xv, iii 67: final sign is -le
- pl. xxx, rev. 16b: first sign in the indented line is e-
- pl. xxxii, obv. 13: first sign is ud (in ud.du = e<sub>3</sub>)

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## VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

**83) Second meeting of Giovani Ricercatori Italiani di Storia e Filologia del Vicino Oriente antico (GRISeF)** — On 21 and 22 February 2019 the second meeting of *Giovani Ricercatori Italiani di Storia e Filologia del Vicino Oriente antico* (GRISeF) took place at the University of Rome "La Sapienza". The event was organized by Ludovica Bertolini, Marinella Ceravolo and Flavia Pacelli and funded by the PhD Courses in "History, Anthropology and Religions" and in "Philology and History of the Ancient World". The conference was the prosecution of the meeting held at the University of Verona on March 2018 following the initiative of Francesca Minen and Silvia Salin (see *NABU* 2018/36, p. 59-60). In order to promote an interdisciplinary approach and encourage the comparison between different methodologies in the ancient Near East studies, the second GRISeF meeting hosted lectures in several fields, as philology, history and history of religions. Therefore, under the main topic "Human Space and Divine Space: Thinking and Dealing with Spatiality in the Ancient Near East" ("Spazio umano e spazio divino: pensare e gestire la spazialità nel Vicino Oriente antico"), this conference was attended by fifteen speakers, including undergraduate, doctoral and post-doctoral students, who presented their works in the following thematic sessions:

- *Man between internal and external spatiality*: Gioele Zisa; Andrea R. Marrocchi Savoi; Francesca Minen & Silvia Salin.
- *The Space of Writing: Paleography and Epigraphy*: Armando Bramanti; Valerio Pisaniello.
- *Give way to Research!*: Giovanna Matini.
- *Space and Gods*: Beatrice Baragli; Geraldina Rozzi; Francesca Nebiolo; Bernardo Ballesteros.
- *Managing Space. Landscape and resources*: Edoardo Zanetti; Sergio Alivernini.
- *Building Space. Edification and Decoration*: Maddalena Diaco; Ludovico Portuese.

To enrich and close each session, Franco D'Agostino, Lucia Mori, Claus Ambos and Lorenzo Verderame held four key lectures. At the end of the second day of the conference, Anna Maria Gloria Capomacchia attended the Round Table. In closing, all the GRISeF members supported the debate on the main conference issues, as well as the discussion concerning the need of an interdisciplinary perspective based on national and international collaborations between scholars. In order to encourage the cooperation between Italian researchers, who are working not only in Italy but also in foreign institutions, a third GRISeF meeting will be held in 2020 (to be defined). For those interested both in exploring the topics covered in the previous meetings and taking an active part in future GRISeF projects, an informative web page is available: <<https://griassiriologia.wordpress.com>>.

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**84) 65e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 8-12 juillet 2019** — La 65<sup>e</sup> RAI a été incontestablement un succès : plus de 570 personnes étaient inscrites, avec un total de 225 communications, réparties entre le thème principal (« Dieux, rois et capitales dans le Proche-Orient ancien ») et 15 ateliers (*workshops*) :

- "Anatomy of Seals: Considering Materiality, Meaning and Society." Organisatrice : L. Battini (CNRS).
- "Artefacts, Artisans et Techniques. Nouvelles approches contextuelles sur la culture matérielle au Proche-Orient ancien." Organisateurs : G. Chambon (EHESS/PSL), M. Guichard (EPHE/PSL), F. Joannès (Université Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne), L. Quillien (Université Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne) et M. Ramez (EPHE/PSL).
- "Assyriology and Anthropology." Organisateurs : E. Pfoh (CONICET / National University of La Plata) et L. Verderame (Università degli Studi di Roma).
- "Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq: The Transtigrine Region." Organisateurs : L. Marti (CNRS) et C. Pappi (University of Innsbruck).
- "Current Research in Early Mesopotamian Studies." Organisateurs : A. Bramanti (Istituto svizzero di Roma), N. Kraus (Freie Universität Berlin) et P. Notizia (Università degli Studi di Pisa).



- “Current Research in Middle Assyrian.” Organisateur : J. de Ridder (Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena) et D. Shibata (University of Tsukuba).
- “Digital Practices in Western Asiatic Studies: experiments and advances.” Organisateur : V. Bigot Juloux (EPHE/PSL, Paris) et A. Di Ludovico (Sapienza Università di Roma).
- “Luwian in Cuneiform.” Organisateur : A. Mouton (CNRS) et I. Yakubovich (Russian Academy of Sciences / Philipps-Universität Marburg).
- “Mathématiques dans différents cadres institutionnels : palais, temples, écoles, maisonnées.” Organisatrice : C. Proust (CNRS & Université Paris Diderot).
- “Médecine Mésopotamienne.” Organisateur : A. Attia (UMR 7192) et G. Buisson (UMR 7192) avec la collaboration de M. Geller (University College London).
- “Oracc Workshop.” Organisateur : S. Tinney (Penn Museum), E. Robson (University College London) et J. Novotny (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München).
- “Practical Education in Ancient Mesopotamia.” Organisateur : M. Béranger (Collège de France) et P. Delnero (Johns Hopkins University).
- “René Dussaud et la « question archéologique syrienne »” Organisateur : M. Al-Maqdissi (DAO-Musée du Louvre).
- “Researching Metaphor in the Ancient Near East: Perspectives from Texts and Images.” Organisateur : L. Portuese (Freie Universität Berlin) et M. Pallavidini (Freie Universität Berlin).
- “The Shape of Stories: Narrative Structures in Cuneiform Literature.” Organisateur : G. Konstantopoulos (University of Helsinki) et S. Helle (Aarhus University).

Douze posters ont également été affichés et discutés avec leurs auteurs (liste sur <https://rai2019.digitorient.com/posters/>).

On peut encore accéder à l'ensemble des informations via le site internet de l'IAA (<https://iaassyriology.com/rencontre/>) ; la photo officielle ainsi que de très nombreux clichés pris durant les cinq jours sont accessibles directement sur le site de la RAI (<https://rai2019.digitorient.com/photos/>).

Plusieurs événements ont été organisés : deux réceptions (une au Collège de France, une au Louvre), une soirée jeunes chercheurs (sur la terrasse du Collège de France) et un concert donné par le guitariste Christian Lavernier, avec la création d'une œuvre inspirée par une visite des salles de Khorsabad au Louvre. La journée du mercredi, à l'Ecole du Louvre, s'est terminée par la projection d'un film de souvenirs de Pierre Amiet, auquel les participants ont pu rendre hommage. Ils ont ensuite pu visiter le Département des Antiquités orientales ainsi que les expositions sur les *Royaumes oubliés* et sur les 90 ans de fouilles à Ougarit.

Lors de cette RAI, deux volumes de *Mélanges* ont été remis :

- G. Chambon, M. Guichard & A.-I. Langlois (éd.), avec la participation de Th. Römer et N. Ziegler, *De l'argile au numérique. Mélanges assyriologiques en l'honneur de Dominique Charpin*, Publications de l'Institut du Proche-Orient ancien du Collège de France 3, Louvain/Paris/Bristol, 2019 (cf. le site de Peeters) ;
- Ph. Abrahams & L. Battini (éd.), *Ina ḏmarri u qan ṭuppi. Par la bêche et le stylet ! Cultures et sociétés syro-mésopotamiennes. Mélanges offerts à Olivier Rouault*, Oxford, 2019 (cf. le site d'Archeopress).

L'organisation avait opté pour une démarche écologique : sacs en coton recyclé *made in France*, verres en verre lors des réceptions, récolte des badges à la clôture de la RAI.

Nous travaillons actuellement à l'édition des actes de la RAI, dont la parution est prévue pour 2020. Des consignes seront prochainement envoyées aux auteurs.

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