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NOTES BRÈVES

85) *Minima Eblaitica* 25: The Major Officials of Mari According to the Early Documents of Ebla — The major authorities of Mari are listed in MEE 2, 13 obv. I 1–IV 5: 5 minas of silver and a bracelet decorated with 35 shekels of gold: “gift for Enna-Dagan, king (of Mari)”, níg-ba *En-na-dDa-gan* lugal; 20 shekels of silver for “his son”, *dumu-nita-sù*; 10 shekels of silver for “the great vizier”, *sukkal:gal*; 10 shekels of silver for “the lord of the couriers”, *lugal kas₄-kas₄*; 10 shekels of silver for “the boatfaring merchant of the market of Mari”, *ga:raš ki:lam₁₁ Ma-ri^{ki}*. 1 mina of silver was then handed over to “the traveling merchant of Urana^a”, *u₅(MÁ.HU) U₉-ra-na-a^{ki}*, a town often connected with Mari (obv. V 4–VI 1). The title *sukkal-gal* is known also from a text from Mari: M.5.20 III 2' (Charpin 1987: 79).

The Eblaite scribe was not disturbed by the inconsistency in attributing the same Sumerogram to both the king and the chief of the couriers: he knew that the king of Mari was called *šarrum*, a term written “lugal” by his colleagues of Mari, and he wrote logographically the term for “chief, lord”, *ba^aalum*, according to the Ebla custom.

At Ebla during the last years of king Igriš-Ḫalab and the first six years of Irkab-damu, at the head of the administration of Ebla were Darmilu/Darmia and Tir. The office which we could define that of a great vizier was held then by Arrukum (last five years of this king), succeeded by Ibrum and his son Ibbi-zikir (respectively for the eighteen and seventeen years of the reign of Iš^aar-damu). They had received the title of *ba^aalum* (lugal) at the start of their career; no other title is known for them for the period in which they occupied the central office.

The grand vizier of Mari was referred to quite often, mostly only with his title *sukkal-gal* (or simply: *sukkal*) in the documents of the eleven years of Irkab-damu. In the following period he is mentioned apparently only in ARET XX 9 § 23: *I-ti-ki-um* lú *En-na-ni-il* di-kud *sukkal kaskal-kaskal in ʾÀ-za-an^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*, a passage which could be interpreted as it follows: “(garments to) Itikium, (the son) of Ennani-il, the judge: the vizier in charge of the expeditions has received (it) in GN” (cf. MEE 2, 35 obv. III 5–10: [silver], gift (for) the Elders (of Mari), Enna-i(l), the judge, (and) Ilzi-damu have handed over”.

The list in MEE 2, 13 (*supra*, and no. 22) concerns the officials of Mari in direct relation with Ebla: those in charge of “foreign relations”. The “lord of the couriers”, *lugal kas₄-kas₄* is again mentioned, together with the Elders, in rev. IV 4–V 5, being sent in another “expedition”, *kaskal*, by “Enna-Dagan, the king”. The preceding section concerns instead gift “handed over (as) a gift”, *šu-mu-tak₄* níg-ba, by Ikuwan, an Eblaite official, on the occasion of the funerary ceremony for Kešdut, the spouse of the king of

Ebla, Irkab-damu. This document concerns, therefore, deliveries (mu-DU) of metals by some officials of Ebla in part sent to Mari and in part for local needs.

Some other documents listed here below (as TM.75.G.1218, TM.75.G.1233+; nos. 18, 19) include many other people without any qualification. Several of them may have been those envoys called *maškim-e-gi₄* or “Elders”, *ábba-ábba*, being the recipients of goods handed over to Mari. Concise documents, such as ARET VII 2, TM.75.G.2225, MEE 2, 35, TM.75.G.1564 (listed below), and TM.75.G.1953 (Archi 1981, pp. 132–134), have simply: the king (of Mari) – the *maškim-e-gi₄* – the *ábba-ábba*. Some documents, however, include also recipients not belonging to Mari. The colophon of TM.75.G.10274 (no. 24) has: “Total: 27 minas 10⁷ shekels of silver: document concerning Mari (dub-gar lú *Ma-r^{ki}*)...”. The first registrations concern in fact Mari, other people have no qualification, and in rev. VI 1–3 it is registered: “silver (as a) gift (for) the city of Armiu”, a city north of Ebla. As Krecher (1987, pp. 190–192) has noted, such genre of texts are “verwirrend... weil uns die präzise Kenntnis der Wörter und des Verwaltungsablaufs noch abgeht”.

The relevant texts of the eleven years of king Irkab-damu (Arrukum was minister during the last five years) have been ordered in Archi 2016. The major officials referred to Mari are registered here below.

1. ARET VII 3 §§ 1–2, 5–6: (king Iblul-il) *lugal Ma-r^{ki}* – *Pa₄-ba₄* (the queen); §§ 3–4: *lugal Ma-r^{ki}* – *ábba-ábba*; § 7: *lugal Ír-ku-ud^{ki}*.
2. ARET VII 7 (Iblul-il) § 1: *lugal Ma-r^{ki}*; §§ 3, 5: *lugal*; § 4: *Pa₄-ba₄* (the queen) (// ARET VII 12).
3. ARET VII 2 (Iblul-il): *lugal* – *ábba-ábba*.
4. TM.75.G.2592 (Archi 1981, pp. 135–136; Iblul-il) §§ 1, 2, 4, 5: *lugal*; § 3: *ábba-ábba Ma-r^{ki}*.
5. TM.75.G.2225 (Archi 1981, pp. 140–141; Iblul-il): *lugal Ma-r^{ki}* – *ábba-ábba Ma-r^{ki}*.
6. ARET VII 4 (Iblul-il) § 1 (*passim*): *Ma-r^{ki}*; §§ 9, 16: *lugal I-ra-ku^{ki}*.
7. ARET VII 5 (Iblul-il) §§ 1–3: *Ma-r^{ki}*; § 4: *sagi*.
8. ARET VII 6 (Iblul-il) § 3: *dumu-nita ábba*; § 4: *dumu-nita sukkal:gal*; § 9: *ábba-ábba*; §§ 11, 12: *lugal*.
9. ARET VII 1+TM.75.G.12683 (king Nizi, 1st year) § 3: *lugal* (i.e. Nizi) – *sukkal* – *En-na-Da-gan^{am}* (the successor of Nizi) § 4: *lugal* – *ábba-ábba* // TM.75.G.1987 (Archi 1981, p. 139); §§ 5, 8, 9, 12: *lugal Ni-zi* – *ábba-ábba*; § 11: *lugal* – *A-bù-BÀD sukkal*; §§ 15, 22: *En-na-Da-gan^{am}* – *maškim-maškim-sù*; § 16: *Gul-la* u₅ *Ír-péš^{ki}*; §§ 18, 20: *HI-da-ar* (the king of Mari during several years of Ibrium and those of Ibbi-zikir).
10. TM.75.G.1000 (Nizi; Archi 2016, p. 13) obv. II 2, 3: *En-na-Da-gan*; obv. IV 7: *HI-da-ar*; *Gú-la* u₅ *Ma-r^{ki}* (obv. V 2–4).
11. TM.75.G.1866 (Archi 1981, pp. 139–140; Nizi) § 1: *Ni-zi lugal Ma-r^{ki}*; § 2: u₅ *Ga-sur^{ki}*; § 3: *sukkal:gal*.
12. ARET VII 16 (Nizi, 3rd year) § 3: *Gul-la* u₅ *Ír-péš^{ki}*; §§ 13, 16, 18, 24, 29: *maškim-e-gi₄ En-na-Da-gan^{am}*; §§ 18, 31: PN *maškim-e-gi₄ HI-da-ar*; §§ 30, 33, 34: *maškim-e-gi₄ ga:raš*.
13. TM.75.G.1299 (Archi 1981, pp. 137–138; death of Nizi) § 1: *Ni-zi* – *ábba-ábba* – *Ír-ra-ku^{ki}*; § 2: *En-na-Da-gan* – *Ír-ra-ku^{ki}*; § 3: *Ír-ra-ku^{ki}*.
14. ARET VII 17 (king Enna-Dagan; 1st year) § 1: *lugal* – *ábba-ábba*; § 2: *Gul-la šeš En-na^dDa-gan*; § 6: *maškim ga:raš*; § 7: *En-na^dDa-gan*; § 9: (Enna-Dagan) *lugal Ma-r^{ki}*.
15. MEE 12, 25 (Enna-Dagan) § 23: *sagi*; § 24: *HI-da-ar*; § 31: *Gul-la* u₅ *Ír-péš^{ki}*; § 32a: *ábba-ábba* (by the u₅ *Ga-sur^{ki}*); §§ 44a, 44b: *En-na-Da-ga-an sukkal maškim*; § 46: *lugal*; § 49: *en Ma-r^{ki} lugal* (“when the king of Mari became king”!); § 68: *Puzur^a-ra^dUTU simug Ma-r^{ki}*.
16. ARET VII 9 (Enna-Dagan) §§ 17, 19, 32: *lugal Ma-r^{ki}*.
17. MEE 2, 35 (Enna-Dagan) obv. I 5–6, II 3–7, III 2–6: *níg-ba lugal (Ma-r^{ki})* – *níg-ba ábba-ábba*.
18. TM.75.G.1218+ (Enna-Dagan) obv. II 8: *Gul-la*; III 5, V 4: *sagi*; IX 5: *lu[gal]*, 1'-2': *I-lsu-lwa-an sukkal*; rev. II 2: *lugal*; II 10–III 2, V 3–5, VII 2–4: *Íl-lum-ag* u₅ *U₉-ra-na-a^{ki}*; VI 8–9: *maškim-e-gi₄ ga:raš*.
19. TM.75.G.1233+ (Archi 1981, pp. 145–154) (Enna-Dagan 1st year: § 8) § 1, 4: *En-na^dDa-gan* – *maškim-maškim-sù*; § 2: *Sá-UD sagi* – *maškim-maškim-sù*; §§ 6, 28, 35 (*maškim-sù*): *ga:raš*; § 11: *Gul-la*; § 12: PN *dumu-nita ga:raš*; § 13: *HI-da-ar* – *maškim-sù*; §§ 15, 17: *sagi*; § 25: *lugal*; § 26: *ábba-ábba*; § 41: *HI-da-ar*; §§ 40, 44, 49: *maškin ga:raš*; § 50: *ga:raš En-na^dDa-gan*.
20. TM.75.G.1552 (Enna-Dagan) obv. II 2: *lugal I-ra-ku^{ki}*; IV 1: *maškim HI-da-ar*.
21. TM.75.G.1544 (Enna-Dagan) obv. III 4–IV 1: *maškim-maškim En-na-Da-gan^{ga-an}*; IV 3–4: *maškim ga:raš*; rev. IV 7: *lugal*.
22. MEE, 2, 13 (Enna-Dagan) obv. I 5–VI 1: *En-na^dDa-gan lugal* – *sukkal:gal* – *lugal kas₄-kas₄* – u₅ *U₉-ra-na-a^{ki}*; rev. IV 5–V 5: *lugal kas₄-kas₄* – *ábba maškim-sù (áš-du En-na^dDa-gan lugal)*.
23. TM.75.G.1559 (Archi 1981, pp. 155–161; Enna-Dagan; among several recipients) obv. II 5–6: u₅ *Ír-péš^{ki}*; II 8–9: *I-ti-lu En-na-Da-gan*; III 6–7, V 7–8, 12, VII 9–10: *maškim En-na-Da-gan*; obv.10–11, V 3–4, VI 4–5, VII 1–2, IX 6–7, rev. III 5–6: *maškim ga:raš*; obv. VIII 1: u₅ *U₉-ra-na-a^{ki}*; obv. XI 3: *sukkal:gal*; rev. II 1–5, IV 9–11:

PN₁ PN₂ PN₃ simug Ma-r^{ki}; rev. II 7, III 2, V 4: (*Im-mar-nu*) ga-raš. Colophon: “28;11 minas of silver (for) the Elders of Mari for 4 years”, ábba-ábba Ma-r^{ki} ás-du 4 mu.

24. TM.75.G.1564 (Archi 1981, pp. 142–145; Enna-Dagan) §§ 3, 5, 6: En-na-Da-gan; §§ 1, 2, 4, 7, 8: En-na-Da-gan – maškim-maškim-sù; § 9: En-na-Da-gan – maškim-maškim-sù – ábba-ábba; § 10: Sá-UD <sagi> maškim-maškim-sù.

25. TM.75.G.10274 obv. I 7⁷ – II 5:] 3 ma-na kù:babbar níg-ba lugal – tar kù:babbar sukkal – Gul-la – sagi – 5 gín DILMUN kù:babbar [ga-r]laš; II 8 – III 6: tar kù-babbar Ib-gi-a-ha 50 gín DILMUN kù:babbar Gul-l[a] 10 gín DILMUN kù-babbar Ba-zi – 2 ma-na kù:babbar Zi-lum 50 gín DILMUN kù:babbar maškim-maškim-s[ù]; VIII 4–6 : BAD.SUD.ÉRIN.X u₅ U₉-ra-na-a^{ki}.

The officials mentioned by a title in the texts above are: ábba-ábba, nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24; ga-raš: 12, 14, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25; Gul-la šeš En-na-Da-gan: 14, 18, 19, 25; (lugal) I^lIr-ra-ku^{ki}: 6, 13, 20; lugal kas₄-kas₄: 22; maškim-e-gi₄: 12, 18; sagi: 7, 15, 18, 19, 24, 25; simug: 15, 23; sukkal(-gal): 8, 9, 11, 15, 18, 22, 24, 25; u₅ Ga-sur^{ki}: 11, 15, – Ir-peš^{ki} (Gul-la): 9, 12, 15, 23, – Ma-r^{ki}: 10, – U₉-ra-na-a^{ki}: 18, 23, 25.

At the time of Nizi and Enna-Dagan Ebla reduced considerably its tribute to Mari, what provoked a menacing letter, ARET XIII 4, by Enna-Dagan. Not receiving a satisfactory answer, Mari mobilized its army in the 11th year of Irkab-damu. A battle was fought at Á-ti-id_x(NI)^{ki}, in the territory of Ebla, and Mari was defeated. Irkab-damu died in this same year or in the following one: he was “ill”, tu-ra, probably wounded. Enna-Dagan also died in that same year (Archi 2019, pp. 146–150). Having the balance of power changed, political relations were established through delegations which moved between the two cities even more frequently than once in the year, particularly from the last years of Ibrum (Archi 1999, pp. 147–152 = Archi 2015, pp. 179–187). The Mari delegation was led by a “steward”, sagi. Sá-UD was the steward in office from the period of king Enna-Dagan. Besides TM.75.G.1233+ and TM.75.G.1564 (nos. 19, 24 above), he is mentioned in ARET III 526 obv. I 1-2: (objects) Sá-UD, and in ARET XV 33 § 105: “(1 garment to) Sá-UD Ma-r^{ki}. He was succeeded by Ir-am₆-kur^{ki}, and by Šu-ga-du in the period of minister Ibbi-zikir. These two were assisted especially by Wa-ru₁₂-tum. The ga-raš of Mari is sometimes mentioned, but not the other officials.

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86) Minima Eblaitica 26: Tuttul in the dual — In a presentation of the documentation from Ebla concerning Tuttul on the Balih, the city identified by G. Dossin (1974) with Tell-al-Bi^a by al-Raqqā, on the basis of the texts of Mari, it had been remarked by the present writer that: *a*) the usual writing of this toponym was Du-du-lu^{ki}; *b*) a single text presents the mimation: Du-du-lum^{ki}; *c*) a rather rare form is Du-du-la^{ki} (with the variant Du-du-a^{ki}). (Archi 1990, p. 197, nt. 4 = Archi 2015, p. 391, nt. 4).

Tuttul was the seat of the cult of Dagan, known also with the epithet of “Lord of the country”, ^dBAD/BE (*ba^aalum*) *ma-tum* (i.e. *ma-tim*) at Ebla, ^dLugal kalam at Mari. The identification of this deity with Dagan is proven by the fact that someone from Ebla received a sheep for the Lord of the Country “on the occasion of his departure to Tuttul” (è-sù si-in Du-du-lu^{ki}), TM.75.G.2397 obv. VII 21–31 (Archi 2008, p. 684 = Archi 2015, p. 627).

The occurrences of the name of Tuttul collected in ARES II, pp. 202–204, show that the form *Du-du-lu^{ki}* was by far the most common. The name could be declined, and its genitive form is attested in one case, TM.75.G.1918 rev. IV 7 (minister Ibbi-zikir, year 05): ^dBAD *Du-du-lu^{ki}*.

An offering list of sheep (of the last two years of the central archive), TM.75.G.2598 rev. III 24, 28, V 9, uses the name of the city (with mimation) as the name of the god of Tuttul: 2 / 10 / 1 udu ^d*Du-du-lum^{ki}*/^{<ki>} (offered by *Íb-bí-šum* / the king / the crown prince Ir^oaq-damu respectively). The fact that DINGIR is written in the same case of the toponym suggests that it has to be considered a determinative. The other lists of this genre and period have instead the usual ^dBAD *Du-du-lu^{ki}*, or also ^dLugal *Du-du-lu^{ki}* (cf. TM.75.G.2075 obv. II 15–15; TM.75.G.2516 obv. IV 26–V 1).

Ordering chronologically the peculiar writings of this toponym one gets the following picture:

a) King Nizi of Mari (years 43–41 before the destruction of Ebla).

ARET VII 1 § 7: “1 mina of gold (which) Irda-malik (and) Tina have handed over (to) king Nizi (of Mari in) Tuttul”: lugal *Ni-zi* šu-mu-“tak₄” *Du-du-la-a^{ki}*. The lugal *Ma-r^{ki}* (i.e. Nizi) is mentioned again in § 14, while Enna-Dagan, who succeeded him, appears in §§ 3, 15, 22. *Hi-dar*, who became king during the mandates of the ministers Ibrium and Ibzi-zikir, is mentioned in §§ 18, 20. Nizi reigned about three years while the four or five years of Enna-Dagan coincided with the mandate of the minister Arrukum. On the synchronism between these kings of Mari and Irkab-damu of Ebla, see Archi 2016 (in particular p. 12).

b) Texts of the period of the minister Arrukum (years 40–36 before the destruction of Ebla).

TM.75.G.1376 (MEE 2, 48) obv. V 8–9: “offering” níg-ba ^dBAD *Du-du-la-a^{ki}*; rev. III 3: (a chariot for) ^dBAD *Du-du-la-a^{ki}*. ARET VII 79 § 1: (purchase of clothing at) “the market of Tuttul” ki:[la]m₁₁ *Du-du-la-a^{ki}* (probably of the period of Arrukum). TM.75.G.2410 rev. IV 9: (silver to) *Du-du-la-a^{ki}*. ARET XV 23 § 96: ^dBAD *Du-du-la^{ki}*. TM.77.G.730 rev. XI 6: (silver to) *Du-du-a^{ki}* (this writing presents the *l*-reduction, well known at Ebla).

The documents of Arrukum have apparently just in two cases the form which will become usual in the following years, TM.75.G.1737 rev. I 4: (silver handed over in) *Du-du-lu^{ki}*; TM.75.G.2596 rev. V 14–VI 1: níg-ba ^dBAD *Du-du-lu^{ki}*.

c) Texts of the period of the minister Ibrium (years 35–18 before the destruction of Ebla).

TM.75.G.2333 rev. XVI 12-13: “market of Tuttul” ki:lam₁₁ *Du-du-la^{ki}* (Ibrium year 01); TM.75.G.3481+ rev. IX 5: ^dBAD *Du-du-la^{ki}* (Ibrium year 06); ARET IV 15 § 1: [*Du-du-lu^{ki}*], § 15: (offering by Ibrium to) ^dBAD *Du-du-la^{ki}*, § 16: (a statue for) ^dBAD *Du-du-la^{ki}*, § 18: (offering in) *Ša-da^{ki}* (and in) *Du-du-la^{ki}*; § 25 (travel to) *Du-du-la^{ki}*. ARET XII 243 II 5–6: (PN) [*m*]-*nu Du-du-la^{ki}*.

d) All the other documents of the minister Ibrium and those of his successor Ibzi-zikir, have: *Du-du-lu^{ki}*; *Du-du-lum^{ki}* in the late offering lists (*supra*).

The Akkadian versions of the Sargonic inscriptions have: *in Tu-tu-lu^{ki}*, *lu Du-du-ul^{ki}*; the Sumerian version of an inscription of Sargon: Du₈-du₈-^{li}*ki*-a (Edzard, Farber, Sollberger 1977, p. 161). The inscription on an axe of this same period, presumably from Tuttul, has: *Íl-e-li-im en Tu-tu-lu^{ki}*, with the peculiar use of en for “king”, as in Ebla (Morrison 1984). The Ur III documents have once: *lu Tu-tu-ul^{ki}*, and twice: *énsi Tu-tu-la^{ki}* (Sollberger 1959/60; Owen 1992, pp. 152, nos. 55:11; 60:18; 70:18).

In the Amorite period the usual form (at Tuttul as in Mari) was *Tu-ut-tu-ul^{ki}*; much less frequently: *Tu-tu-ul^{ki}* (see Ziegler, Langlois 2016, pp. 373–374, where some other rare forms are listed).

It seems, therefore, that the earliest documents from Ebla have the original name of the city, which was changed progressively adding instead the ending of the nominative singular in agreement with the use of the other geographic names. The Akkadian scribes conformed with the usual form of their geographic names. The Ur chancellery of the Ur III period received the name by the messengers of Tuttul coming to Ur: a proof that /Dudul-ā/ was the original form, in the dual.

The simplest explanation is that this form referred to the two “tells” which characterize Tuttul: *E*, the palatial area, and *A* (+ *C*), where one has to look for the area of the celebrated temple of Dagan (Miglus 2014/16; see the photos in Miglus, Strommenger 2002, Pl. 5, 2; 6, 2).

The word for “mound”, *tīlu(m)*, *tillu* is known from the OAKk. period (AHw, p. 1359). The Sumerian equivalence, du₆(LAGAR*gunû*) suggests an *i/u* fluctuation. The simplest interpretation of the name Dudul/Tut(t)ul seems to be /du(l)dul-u(m)/, and in the dual: /du(l)dul-ā(n)/.

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87) Notes on a Recently Published Old Akkadian Letter* — The following note offers some improved readings of individual lines in an Old Akkadian letter recently published by KRAUS (2018). The letter in question is ROM 910x209.625, sent by an Akkadian official named Išarum to one Me-sag who was likely the *ensi* of Umma, and a good photograph is available on CDLI (P417333). Although Kraus’ copy and edition of the text is generally careful and reliable, we suggest a few improvements based on a collation of the text from the photograph. Our collations of obverse line 13 and reverse line 19 revealed the following additions:

Obv. 13: *u₃-le-ma PA.TE.[SI]-gu-ti-* 

Obverse line 13 was read *u₃-le-ma PA.TE.[SI] gu-ti-^rum¹* by KRAUS (2018: 3, 5), although the picture shows the final sign cannot have been an *-um*. Our collation demonstrates the sign had several visible vertical wedges in the beginning. Combined with an angled lower wedge, the sign was most likely a SU or ZU. References to an “*Ensi*[i] of (the province of) Gutium”, as translated by KRAUS, are rare (see *CUSAS* 27 no. 212 obv. 2’). The phrase is used by KRAUS to argue that the Gutian presence at the time was strong enough “to have an important *ensi*-ship”, and that Gutium was either under Akkadian control at this point in time or that Išarum had ambitions to conquer it and appoint an *ensi* over it (KRAUS 2018: 8). With the collations presented here, a more suitable reading of the lines in obverse 13-14 may be *ullēma iššiakkūtiššu ḥaššiš lū ašakkanūšu* “From that point on I shall appoint for him his *Ensi*-ship anew”. This suggested reading alters the meaning of the letter. Therefore, the sentence is actually part of the rhetoric employed by Išarum to convince Me-sag that the *ensi* of Adab, Lugal-ḡiš, can retain his current status if he submits and remains loyal.

Rev. 19: *...ki-ma sa₂¹(ki)-bi-* 

KRAUS (2018: 3, 5) read the last word as: *qi₂-be₂-i₃*. Although the use of BI in Old Akkadian to write the phonetic sound /be/ is unproblematic (see HASSELBACH 2005: 41ff.), the writing *qi₂-be₂-i₃* is ugly in Old Akkadian. Furthermore, with the discovery of the previously unnoticed ‘-a¹’ on the edge of the tablet, it now seems more plausible that reverse lines 19-20 are similar to the phrase in obv. 8 and should be read: *u anāku kīma ša’pēya yukallu īda* “but I know he will hold my feet”. This sentence therefore mirrors the similar phrases in obv. 8 and in the related letter L 11001 obv.² 5. The sign mistakenly written KI instead of DI was likely influenced by the *ki-ma* inscribed directly before.

Finally, we note that the broken sign in the beginning of reverse line 28 cannot have been the sign LU. Only a single vertical wedge remains, but there is not enough space for LU. However, we cannot propose a solution presently, as the sentence is problematic. More problems in the letter remain, such as the nuances of the idiomatic expression in reverse lines 24-25.

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88) Der Himmel als blühender Baum gedacht — Unter den verschiedenen Ausdrücken für Regionen des Himmels im Sumerischen stechen vier heraus, weil sie eine bisher nicht ganz verstandene Reihe bilden: ul₄-h_é, ul-h_é, ġeš-h_é, mu-h_é. Der Zusammenhang der letzten beiden ist klar, mu ist Emesal zu ġeš „Baum“, „Holz“.¹⁾ Akkadisch entsprechen die synonym gebrauchten Ausdrücke *šupuk/šipik šamê*, *šupuk burūmū*. Der erste Bestandteil ist von dem Verbum *šapāku* „hinschütten“, „aufschütten“ abgeleitet. Wayne Horowitz vergleicht *šupuk/šipik šadī* „Fundament des Berges“ und kommt so zu der Schlussfolgerung: „As such, the imagery suggested by *šupuk šamê/šipik šamê* and *šupuk burūmū* may be that of the sky serving as the foundation for the unseen higher regions of heaven above, just as mountains rise above their foundations.“²⁾

Demnach wären *šupuk šamê* etc. nicht wie manchmal übersetzt der „Horizont“, sondern das „Firmament“, der Hintergrund des Nachthimmels. In die gleiche Richtung weist die Übersetzung „(funkelnder) Sternhimmel“ für *burūmū*, *burūmmū* in AHW.

Das Wort ul kann die Bedeutungen „Blume“, „Blüte“, „Knospe“, „Rosette“ haben.³⁾ Das in Hh belegte Lehnwort *ullu* „Rosette“ zitiert CAD fälschlich unter *ullu A* „collar“ (CAD U/W 82a oben, sumerisch normalerweise ùl). Hh V 202f. ġeš₅ig a-zu, ġeš₅ig a-zu KÙ.GI = *da-lat a-si-e*, MIN.MIN KÙ.GI „Tür der (goldenen) Myrten“ (MSL 6, 22). Darauf folgt Hh V 204-6: ġeš₅ig a-zu gal, ġeš₅ig sig₅-ga, ġeš₅ig ul, alle geglichen mit MIN (*dalat*) *ul-li*. Zugleich ist ul auch mit *kakkabu* „Stern“ geglichen und kann ein Gegenstand aus Metall sein.⁴⁾

In der Geierstele heißt es: *addá-bé ul₄-h_é bé-lá* „seine (Ummas) Leichen reichten bis ans Firmament“ Ean. 1 vii 21f. Demnach dürfte ul₄-h_é die ältere Schreibung sein. Das Zeichen ul₄ ist ĠÍR-*gunû*, cf. ^{sem}ĠÍR = *asu* „Myrte“. Dies ist ein Strauch, dem es nicht an beeindruckenden Blüten fehlt. Später gehört die Lesung ul₄ vor allem zu einem Verbum mit der Bedeutung „eilig sein“, „sich beeilen“. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass die Lesung ul₄ ursprünglich von dem Wort für „Blüte“ kommt.

Ein Vergleich zwischen Blüten und Sternen, unterstützt durch den Anklang *mul* „Stern“, *ul/ul₄* „Blüte“, „Rosette“ liegt nahe. Der Nachthimmel würde dann einer Wiese gleichen, die von Blumen übersät ist oder einem blühenden Baum. Dieses Bild bringt ul₄/ul-h_é und ġeš/mu-h_é zusammen, wobei das zweite Element unerklärt bleibt. Ein altes Wort für „Himmel“ oder für „Pracht“?

Häufig ein Paar bilden *an-úr* = *išid šamê* und *an-pa* = *elât šamê*. Der erste Ausdruck steht für „Horizont“, der zweite wird vom Akkadischen her häufig als „Zenit“ interpretiert. Da sie zusammen aber den ganzen Himmel ausmachen, ist es näherliegend, in *an-pa* den Himmel oberhalb des horizontnahen Bereichs zu sehen.⁵⁾ Mit *úr* wird auch der Wurzelbereich von Bäumen bezeichnet und *pa* steht für „Zweige“, „Äste“.

All diese Überlegungen bewegen sich auf der etymologischen Ebene. Es gibt keinen Text, der den Himmel eindeutig als Baum beschreibt und die akkadischen Ausdrücke knüpfen nicht an die Metaphorik des Sumerischen an. Das wirft die Frage auf, ob es den „Himmelsbaum“ in der Mythologie gab.

In Gilgamesch, Enkidu und die Unterwelt gibt es den ^{ĝeš}ha-lu-úb-Baum, aber er ist nicht speziell mit dem Himmel verknüpft. Es wäre wohl eine Überinterpretation, aus ihm einen „Himmelsbaum“ zu machen. Dies gilt auch für die meisten anderen Bäume oder „Baum-Monster“, die in der sumerischen Literatur eine Rolle spielen.⁶⁾ Etwas anders sieht es mit dem Baum aus, den Enki im Abzu pflanzt:

lugal ^{ĝeš} mèš abzu-a dù-a kur-kur-ta íl-la	Der König, ⁷⁾ der einen Zürgelbaum(?) im Abzu pflanzte, der alle Berge überragt,
ušumgal maḥ eridu ^{ki} -ga gub-ba	ein riesiger Drache, der in Eridu hingetreten ist,
ĝessu-bé an ki-a dul-la	sein Schatten bedeckt Himmel und Erde
[^{ĝeš}]ter ĝeštin-na kalam-ma lá-a	(wie) ein Wald aus Reben ist er über das Land Sumer ausgebreitet.

Das könnte wahrlich die Beschreibung eines Himmelsbaumes sein. Mit dem Schatten, der Himmel und Erde bedeckt, könnte die Nacht gemeint sein. Das Pflanzen des Baumes geht allen anderen Handlungen Enkis zur Ordnung der Welt voran. Ein so grundlegender Schöpfungsakt, wie das Pflanzen eines Baumes, der zum Himmel wird, sollte man auch ganz am Anfang erwarten.

Ein im Abzu gepflanzter Baum, der alles überragt, ist auch schon bei Gudea belegt: ^{ĝeš}-gána abzu-gen₇ kur-kur-ra saḡ ba-ni-íb-íl-ne „wie den ‚Gešgana-Baum‘ des Abzu ließen sie ihn (den Tempel) über alle Berge das Haupt erheben“ Gud. Zyl. A xxi 22. Es handelt sich ziemlich sicher um den sonst ^{ĝeš}-kín geschriebenen *kiškanû*-Baum, der in *Utukkû Lemnûtu* XV 95 (CT 16, 46, 183f) als Baum in Eridu erwähnt wird.

Das Mythologem vom in Eridu gepflanzten Baum hat kein Äquivalent in akkadischen Texten. Das stimmt damit überein, dass die akkadische Etymologie der Himmelsregionen, keine wörtliche Übersetzung der sumerischen Ausdrücke darstellt.

Die Argumentation hat eine Schwachstelle. Der Autor wüsste keinen Text, in dem gesagt wird, dass ein Baum ul₄/ul trägt. Bäume tragen in der sumerischen Literatur vor allem Früchte gurun/gurun₇, auch der Zürgelbaum. Z. B. ^{ĝeš}ĝepar ^{ĝeš}mèš gibil-gen₇ gurun íl-la-na „in seinem Gepar, das wie ein junger Zürgelbaum Früchte trägt“ ELA 534; é-nú-da mu-dù-ne kur šár-da mèš kù abzu-a gurun₇ íl-la-àm „das Schlafgemach bauen sie – unter den zahlreichen Bergen ist es der heilige Zürgelbaum, der im Abzu Früchte trägt“ Gud. Zyl. A xxv 17-19.

Nun könnte ein Baum mit Früchten auch ein Bild für den Sternenhimmel sein und es ließen sich auch einige Argumente dafür anführen, dass gurun nicht nur „Früchte“, sondern auch Blüten meinen kann. Diese Diskussion soll hier unterbleiben, denn sie hilft bei der Erklärung von ul₄/ul-^hé offenbar nicht weiter.

Blüten an einem Baum könnten eigentlich nur als Vergleich in einem literarischen Text vorkommen und da mögen Früchte einfach attraktiver gewesen sein. Umgekehrt ist es leichter, ul mit dem Himmel zu verbinden: gu-za gú-en-na gub-ba-bé ^{ĝeš}gal kù an-na ul-la dú-ru-na-àm „sein (des Eninnu) Thron, der im Thronsaal hingestellt ist, ist wie die heiligen Thronsitze des Himmels, die in Blüten sitzen“ Gud. Zyl B xvi 17f. Man könnte noch überlegen, ob ul-la hier mit „seit langer Zeit“ zu übersetzen wäre. Doch vergleiche: ^{ĝeš}gal ^{ge}gerin-na gú-en-na si ḥa-ma-ab-sá-e-dè „dass mir ein von Blüten bedeckter Sitz im Thronsaal bereitet werde“ Angim 156.

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, dass die Sumerer die Vorstellung eines Himmelsbaumes kannten, die den Ausdrücken ^{ĝeš}-^hé und an-pa und ziemlich sicher auch ul₄/ul-^hé und an-úr zugrunde lag. Dass das bisher nicht erkannt wurde, liegt vor allem an den anders aufgebauten akkadischen Ausdrücken und daran dass diese Vorstellung mythologisch nicht sehr produktiv war. Es konkurrierten andere Bilder, wie das der Sterne als Schrift oder als Herde des Mondgottes. Immerhin kann man den ^{ĝeš}mèš-Baum, den Enki pflanzt, recht gut mit der Vorstellung eines Himmelsbaumes verbinden.

Anmerkungen

1. Siehe HOROWITZ 1998, 240. Dort in Anm. 29 auch zur Lesung des zweiten Elements.
2. HOROWITZ 1998, 240-41.
3. STEINKELLER 2002.
4. OUYANG und BROOKMAN 2012 §3.11.1/2.
5. Siehe bereits HOROWITZ 1998, 233.
6. Gudea Zyl. A xxvi 2; Lugale 132; Angum 39; Innana und Šukaletuda.
7. Oder ist zu interpretieren: „Königszürgelbaum“? Cf. Lugale 132: lugal-^{ĝeš}nimbar „Königsdattelpalme“.

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89) Innana macht dicke Köpfe — Dass Innana Köpfe aufhäuft, ist bekannt (EWO 445). Doch lässt sie in Innana und Ebiḫ auch die Köpfe rollen wie normalerweise übersetzt wird? Entsprechend müsste man für gur₄ (oder kur₄) entweder eine Bedeutung „rollen (lassen)“ oder „abschneiden“ annehmen. Eine andere Deutung empfiehlt sich:

en-ul en-šár-gen₇ šitá gur₄-gur₄-ra-za
 mè-ba ^{ĝeš}tukul ùr-ra-gen₇ saĝ gur₄-gur₄-re-za
 „wenn du wie (die Urzeitgötter) En’ul (und) Enšar mit der Šita-Keule kühn bist,
 wenn du in der Schlacht, wie eine niederwalzende Keule, die Köpfe verbeulst“ IEB 19f.

Die Waffe šitá¹⁾ ist eine Keule oder eine Art Morgenstern. ^{ĝeš}tukul ist ein allgemeinerer Begriff für Keule, eventuell auch generell Waffe und das Verbum ùr steht für „niederwalzen“, „niederdrücken“ (*sapānu*). Siehe giri₁₇-bé ki-šè na-ma-ra-ab-te-a-gen₇ nundum saĝar-ra na-ma-ra-ab-ùr-ra-gen₇ „da es seine Nase vor mir nicht dem Boden genähert hat, da es die Lippen vor mir nicht in den Staub gedrückt hat“ IEB 34f. ^{ĝeš}mi-ni-ib-ùr-ùr „er walzte die Bäume dort nieder“ Lugale 39.

In den Zeilen ist also vom schlagen mit Keulen die Rede und nicht vom Gebrauch schneidender Waffen. Daher die Annahme, dass gur₄ hier meint, dass sie mit ihren Schlägen den Feinden große Beulen zufügt. Dies passt zur Grundbedeutung von gur₄ „dick/massiv sein/werden/machen“. Z. B. ^{ĝeš}ba-gur₄ kuš-bé nu-mu-un-da-dar „der Baum war dick geworden, seine Rinde konnte man nicht spalten“ GEN 41; ^{ĝeš}i-riš-na-gen₇ úr h^é-gur₄-re „wie eine Wurzel möge das Bein (des Kindes) dick werden“ Sulge N 4.

Altsumerisch steht gur wohl für gur₄ wenn es sich um dicke (gemästete?) Tiere handelt, die zum Verzehr bestimmt sind: 4 udu gur-ra bu₁₁-bu₁₁ agrig-ge níĝ gu₇-dè ba-ra 1 udu gur-ra énsi é-MUNUS-šè e-ĝen-na-a é-muḫaldim-ma ba-sa₆ „4 dick gewordene Schafe hat Bubu, der Verwalter, zum Verzehr weggetrieben. 1 dick gewordenen Schaf wurde als der Stadtfürst zum Emunus ging in der Küche geschlachtet“ DP 218 i 1-ii 1.

Geglichen ist gur₄(-gur₄) mit *ba’ālu* „abnormal groß sein“; *kabāru* G, D „dick sein/werden/machen“, *rabū* „groß“; *puggulu* „sehr dick, massiv, stark“ und *kabtu* „schwer“ in dumu gur₄-ra = *māru kabtu* (BAW 1, 80, 6) „schweres Kind“ = „dickes Kind“.

Ferner kann gur₄ noch bedeuten, dass ein Becher oder Speicher randvoll gemacht wird (Innana und Enki C 29; NL 252), dass jemand wichtig ist, bzw. wichtig genommen wird (CKU 2, 17) und es steht elliptisch für ša gur₄ „mutig sein“ (Innana C 269, cf. ebd. 1).

Man kommt also von der Bedeutung „dick machen“ zu „Beulen machen“, „verbeulen“ z. B. von Köpfen.

Anmerkungen

1. Ich nehme einen instrumentalen Lokativ an und lese deshalb hier nicht údug. Cf. MSL 6, 84.

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90) Našše A 89-91 et 158 — Dans ma réédition de Našše A (Attinger 2019), j’ai traduit ^{ĝeš}du₃ (l. 89) par “planter des arbres” (p. 98 avec n. 71) et ge du₃ (ll. 91 et 158) par “faire une clôture de roseaux” (pp. 98 et 101; v. aussi p. 80)¹⁾. Un topos attesté dans des incantations contre le mauvais œil (Geller 2003:132 ll. 18-20 et 134 pour les parallèles postpaléobabyloniens et Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 1993:198 ll. 13-15) rend cette interprétation caduque.

1. Geller 2003:132 ll. 18-20 (v. Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 1993:202)

- 18) ^dnin-tin-ug₅-ga ge ħu-mu-du₃-e¹²²
 19) ^dda-mu ^{uruda}dur₁₀-tab-ba ħu-mu-sag₃-ge
 20) ^dgu-nu-ra ^{ġeš}dimgul₂ ħu-mu-un-du₃-e

2. Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 1993:198 ll. 13-15

- 13) MA ^dnin-til₃-lu-ga ge ħu^l(RI)-mu-un-du²-e
 MB ^dnin-ug₅-ga ge ħu-mu-u[n-d]u-e
 14) MA ^dda-mu dur₁₀-tab-ba ħu-mu-un-sa₆-e-ge
 MB ^dda-mu dur₁₀-tab-ba ħu-mu-s[a₆-g]e
 15) MA ^dgu₂-nu-ra dim₂-gal ħu-mu-un-du-e
 MB gu₂-[nu]-ra dim₂-gal ħu-mu-un-d[u-e(?)]

“Que Nintin/luga (// Ninuga) le transperce d’un roseau, que Damu le frappe avec la double hache, que Gunura le cloue avec un (grand) pieu!”³³)

Les versions postpaléobabyloniennes⁴⁾ ont partiellement réinterprété le passage (ge > ge-ta, du₃ > dar, etc.), mais conservé le sens général.

3. CT 17, 33:30-35

- 30) [...]ug₅-ga [...]
 31) [^dgu-l]a qa-ne₂-e^x[-...]
 32) [^dd]a-mu ^{uruda}MIR-tab-ba⁵⁾ ħu-mu-un-sa/ig₃-ga
 33) ^dda-mu ina pa-aš-tu₄ li-im-ĥa-as-^rsu^r
 34) ^dgu-nu-ra dimgul gal-bi ħu-mu-un-dar-r[a]
 35) ^dMIN ina tar₂-kul-le-e ra-bi-tu₄ lil-te-^rx^r

4. STT 179:47-52

- 47) ^dnin-tin-ug₅-ga ge-^rta^r ħu-mu-un-du₃
 48) ^dgu-la ina ^rqa^r-ne₂-e lis-ĥi-il-š_u₂
 49) ^dda-mu dur₁₀¹⁷-tab-^rba^r ĥe₂-en-sa/ig₃-ga
 50) ^dMIN ina p[al]-ti lim-ĥa-as-su
 51) ^dgu-nu-ra [dim]gul gal-bi ħu-mu-un-da⁶⁾
 52) ^dMIN ina dir-ku[l] ra-be₂-e li-ir-ti-š_u₂

Il n’est guère possible de dissocier Našše A 89-91 (que je retranslittère ici par souci de commodité) des passages mentionnés ci-dessus.

5. Našše A 89-91⁷⁾

- 89) erim₂ du₁₁-ga-bi erim₂-e im-gib^{ib}-a ġeš mu-na-an-du₃
 90) ^dnin-ug₅⁸⁾ dumu ur-saġ sul ^dsuen-na-ke₄
 91) ^dnašše-er eme niġ₂-ĥulu-bi-a ge mu-na-an/ab-du₃-e

“Des propos hostiles ayant été tenus, (Ĥendursaġa), faisant obstacle au méchant, l’a (le méchant) cloué pour elle (Našše) avec un pieu⁹⁾. Pour Našše, Ninug, l’enfant héroïque du juvénile Suen, transpercera avec un roseau la langue qui en (des réformes) dirait du mal.”

Problématique reste toutefois Našše A 158: a₂-tuku e₂-sir₂-ra ge du₃-a (un des méfaits énumérés dans les ll. 151-174). Il est possible que l’on ait affaire à un emploi figuré de “transpercer avec un roseau”, mais en l’absence de tout parallèle, la chose reste purement hypothétique.

Notes

1. Pour d’autres interprétations, v. Heimpel 1983:87 et 93, Jacobsen 1987:132 et 137 et Heimpel 1997:528 sq.
2. La lecture ħu-mu-ni-zalag (Geller 2003:132) est insoutenable au vu des parallèles de Tell Haddad. La copie a -du₃-ERIM; -du₃-u₄ serait épigraphiquement plus simple, mais orthographiquement singulier.
3. Pour une interprétation divergente à mon sens exclue, v. Geller 2003:132 sq.
4. V. Geller 2003:134 et CAD P 265 s.v. *paštu*, R 298 s.v. *retû*, S 29 s.v. *saġalu* et T 236 s.v. *tarkullu*.
5. Geller propose de lire MIR tun₃¹ (2003:134).
6. -da remonte à -du₃-a.
7. Je me contente de donner un texte reconstruit. Pour les variantes, v. Attinger 2019:86 et 91.
8. Pour la lecture ^dnin-ug₅, comp. supra ^dnin-ug₅-ga dans MB 13. Il existe une déesse ^dnin-ug₅-ga (et variantes), qui a été discutée récemment par Lambert (2013:240-244). Comme elle est égale à Gula (Lambert 3013:243), il y a de bonnes chances que l’on ait affaire à elle ici et dans le topos discuté supra.
9. Pour ġeš du₃, comp. aussi ġeš-a du₃ “empaler sur un pieu” dans Lugale 81.

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91) New interpretations of some proverbs featuring the fox — Short entries of the Sumerian Proverb Collections often prove to be a hard nut to crack because of their laconic style. As contextual knowledge available for the ancient reader is missing for the interpreter, translations of these pieces are usually content with a word-for-word rendering of the Sumerian phrases even if they often does not make sense. Proverb Collections are the products of the Old Babylonian period, thus grammatical inconsistency between the original and the translation could be explained by the incompetence of the ancient scribe. When paying attention to the details, our understanding can be improved in a number of cases.

As a by-product of working with Mesopotamian literary sources related to the fox, I could come up with new interpretations of some relevant proverbs which I aim to present here with a short commentary. I will contrast the reading and translation of Alster (1997) as well as that of the ETCSL (Black et al. 1998–) with my own suggestions followed by a short explanation or philological commentary wherever necessary.

SP 2.64	ka ₅ ^a -a a-numun ₂ še šu bi ₂ -in-dug ₄ niĝ ₂ -nam-tar-ra umuš-bi kur ₂ -ra-am ₃ -e-še
Alster 1997, 58:	A fox touched the barley water-rushes. “Nature has changed its mind,” it said.
ETCSL 2.64:	The fox watered (?) the barley with rush (?) water: “Nature has changed its mind.”
New interpretation:	The fox grabbed the halfa grass in the wheat field. “The plans of nature has been changed,” he said.

Comments: the lexem written as a-numun₂ is likely ^ua-numun₂ = *meburku* „halfa grass“, a weed commonly found in wheat crops.

SP 2.65	ka ₅ ^a giri ₃ -suhub ₂ am-ma-ke ₄ giri ₃ -ni bi ₂ -in-gub nu-ub-sig ₁₀ -e-še
Alster 1997, 58:	A fox trod on the hoof of a wild-ox. “It didn’t hurt!” it said.
ETCSL 6.1.02.65:	A fox trod on the hoof of a wild bull: “It didn’t hurt (!)”
New interpretation:	The fox trod on the hoof of the wild bull. “He cannot take revenge,” he said.
SP 8 Sec. B 19	ka ₅ ^a ur ₂ am-si-ka , giri ₃ -bi mu-un-gub ab-sig ₁₀ ab-điri-e-še
Alster 1997, 169:	A fox trampled on the feet of an elephant. “It’s enough, it’s too much,” it said.
ETCSL 6.1.08.b19:	A fox stamped on the crotch of an elephant: “It’s enough, it’s too much!”
New interpretation:	The fox trod on the lap of the elephant. “Retaliating would be exaggerated,” he said.

Comments: the interpretation of these proverbs was tentative and merely derived from the context. The verb in the fox’s saying is probably sig₁₀ „to rival, to take revenge“.

SP 5.58	ur-maĝ-e pu ₂ niĝ ₂ ĝiri ₃ -a-ka mu-šub ^{ub} ka ₅ -a ugu-bi-še ₃ un-ĝen
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kuš^e-sir₂-zu gu₂[?]-še₃ e₂-še₃ mu-tum₃-e-še

- Alster 1997, 130: After a lion had fallen into a pit,
a fox came to him and said:
“I am taking your sandals home to you on the other side.”
- ETCSL 6.1.05.58: A lion having fallen into a trap,
a fox came up to him and said:
“I’ll take your sandals home to the other side for you!”
- New interpretation: The lion has fallen into a leghold trap.
After the fox walked to him.
“I will take your sandals home by force,” he said.

Comments: the precise rendering of the Sumerian expression pu₂ niĝ₂ ĝiri₃-ak is leghold trap. This detail is meaningful for the story: the leg of the lion got nipped and thus the fox could take his shoes without resistance.

In the fox’s answer, there is no indication for a 2nd person allative case except in one manuscript (YBC 4604 i 3) with the verb form mu-e-ši-tum₂-mu-um-e-še, which can also refer to the first person singular. Also, the lexem meant here is rather gu₂ = *emūqu* „force“ and not gu₂ = *ahu, kišādu* „bank, side“ as suggested by Alster.

SP 8 Sec. B 21 ka₅^a šir-gud-e , al-us₂-us₂
i-gi₄-in-zu¹(ŠUB) , en-na ša₃-ĝar-ra-na ug₅-ga diš-a

- Alster 1997, 169-170: A fox was pursuing the testicles of a wild bull (who said),
“Indeed, as long as his hunger lasts, I(?) shall be dying.”
- ETCSL 6.1.08.b21: A fox was pursuing the testicles of a wild bull,
as though about to die of hunger.
- New interpretation: The fox trod down the cucumber tendrils
until he almost died of hunger (at once).

Comments: previous translations were based on the lexem šir am=ak „testicles of a wild bull“. However the sign preserved in the manuscript is GUD, thus the correct lexem is šir-gud^{sar} = *šarūrum* „cucumber tendril“.

Also, there is no indication in this proverb that the fox gets quoted. The sign DIŠ might be erroneous as understood by previous editions, the last sign would be in this case superfluous though. Therefore I assumed diš-a was intended, being a Sumerian equivalent of Akkadian *ištiššu* „(at) once“.

SP 8 Sec. B 22 ka₄^a-e al du , gu-du gurum-ma-ĝu₁₀
lu₂ na-me igi nu-mu-ni-in-gid₂-e[?]-še[?](DU₈)

- Alster 1997, 170: A fox went down to a dike.
“Nobody has seen my bent over behind.”
- ETCSL 6.1.08.b22: A fox was scrabbling in a dyke:
“Nobody has ever seen my bent-over behind.”
- New interpretation: The fox, while digging:
“Nobody frowned on my bent over behind,” he said.

Comments: the proposed adjustments concern two verbs. On the one hand, in light of the fox’s remark, the first verb might be a phonetic writing of the composite verb al – du₃ „to dig“, just as irregular as the phonetic writing KA₄ of the fox. The previous interpretations assumed that the noun eg₂ „dike“ and the verb du „to go“ is attested in the phrase, however, the grammatical construction would be odd, as neither eg₂ is case-marked with a locative or allative case, nor the verb is transitive.

The other composite verb, igi – gid₂ „to look with disfavor“ should be considered in the translation. The verb is constructed under the influence of Akkadian syntax with double object.

SP 8 Sec. B 25 ka₅^a maš₂-be₂ mu-un-šub
maš₂ tab-ba-ne₂ am₃-i-i

- Alster 1997, 170: The fox dropped her young. Her twins came out.
- ETCSL 6.1.08.b25: The fox dropped her young. They came out as twins.
- New interpretation: The fox decreased the interest rates:
It resulted in the double of his interest rates.

Comments: my assumption is that the lexem attested here is not maš₂ „young (of an animal)“, but maš₂ „interest rate“. Especially the verb šub „to fall“ seems to be inadequate instead of tud „to give birth“.

- SP 8 Sec. B 33** ka₅^a nam-lul-la , geštu₂-ga-ne₂ in-gub-ma
 ba-šub-bu-de₃-en , id₂-da mi-ni-ib-tum₂-en-e-še
- Alster 1997, 172: The fox set his mind on some treachery and said,
 “I am throwing it out. I am bringing it to the river.”
- ETCSL 6.1.08.b33: The fox set his mind on some treachery:
 “I am throwing it out. I am carrying it to the river.”
- New interpretation: The fox set his mind on a treachery and said:
 “If I fail (lit. fall), I will make it suitable for the river.”

Comments: this proverb probably refers to a river ordeal. A variant of this proverb is known from the ms. UET 6/2 217: id₂-da uru-ĝu₁₀ al-tum₂-mu-un-e-še. This version probably resulted from a scribal error. The lexem behind id₂-da(-)uru-ĝu₁₀ might be id₂-lu₂-ru-gu₂ „ordeal river“. Thus the proper translation of this variant should be „(...) I will be suitable for the ordeal river“.

- SP 8 Sec. B 34** ka₅^a ĝeš-šub-e mu-un-niĝin
 kaš-de₂-a ne-en dug₃-ga
 a-ba-a ba-ab-šum₂-mu-e-še
- Alster 1997, 172: A fox walked around a throw-stick:
 “Who is going to give a banquet, and that a good one?” he said.
- ETCSL 6.1.08.b34: A fox walked around a throw-stick:
 “Who is going to give a party as good as that?”
- New interpretation: The fox circled around a quarry.
 “Who is giving this good banquet?” he said.

Comments: previous translations were based on the reading ĝeš^{ill}lar „a weapon, throw-stick“, this reading does not make much sense though in the given context. The reading ĝeš-šub „lot, share“ might refer to the prey left behind for the fox by other animals, e.g. wolves.

- SP 8 Sec. B 35** ka₅-a lu₂-igi-ze₂-ze₂ u₃-bi₂-in-dab₅
 ne-eš₂ er₂ mu-e-še₈-še₈ šu ba-mu-u₈-e-še
- Alster 1997, 172: A fox had been caught by a “dry-eyed” (?) man.
 “Why are you crying?” (said the man). “Set me free!” said (the fox).
- ETCSL 6.1.08.b35: A fox had been caught by a partially-sighted (?) man:
 “Is this why you are crying?” The fox replied: “Set me free!”
- New interpretation: After the fox got caught by a blear-eyed man:
 „And now you are crying? (Rather) set me free!“ he said.

Comments: there is no indication that this story contained a dialogue. It is more likely that the fox indicated in his remark that the blear-eyed man, his eyes being sore and watery, was crying because he regretted to catch him. The proposed adjustments and corrections hopefully lead to a better understanding of these entries known from Sumerian Proverb Collections. Besides these proverbs and short stories also contribute to our sources on the character type of the fox, known from several literary sources as clever, cunning and boastful.

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92) On the Seal of Aba-kala, son of Ur-mes — It is not often that an original cylinder seal of an individual known only from his/her appearance on a tablet is discovered.¹⁾ The possible existence of such a seal was indicated not from its impression on a tablet but only from the mention of the owner and his patronymic on two, previously published, tablets from the Third Dynasty of Ur, quoted below. Its identification is rare example of a cylinder seal from this period associated with an individual attested in economic texts albeit not from its impression on these or any other tablet. The texts were published twenty

years apart (1975 and 1995) – the first is from Adab and dated to Šu-Suen’s 5th year, and the second, without date, comes from Ġirsu. The dated text concerns the sale of a house and threshing floor, while the other is an undated court case concerning the division of the, otherwise unattested, *Huwawa*-garden in *Ebih*(EN.TI^{ki}), a city attested only in texts from Ġirsu. The texts appear to come from different cities and, aside from the participation of Aba-kala son of Ur-mes, they do not have anything in common other than his participation. Thus, the association with the seal of Aba-kala assumes particular significance by placing him in these two cities and his involvement with different local issues, the first as a witness, the second as a maškim-official. Nevertheless, he never reappears in the published Ur III corpus.



The hematite(?) seal is well-preserved, albeit not of the highest quality. The typical Ur III presentation scene, unlike the associated inscription, is carefully and deeply cut and incorporates the more or less standard motifs with a lahmū figure filling the center. The glyptic scene (no apparent wear) contrasts with the more crudely inscribed, two-line, seal legend, engraved over the partially erased three-line, original seal legend, with traces of

the previous lines remaining visible and seen clearly on the attached photo. It shows without doubt that the impression, pictured here, was made from the original seal shown on CDLI.²⁾ Curiously, none of the individuals with patronymics mentioned in the two texts quoted below, other than Aba-kala, appears among the many thousands of published tablets.

D.I. Owen, MVN 3 (1975) 268 (Adab, ŠS 5/-/-, [B(DTNS)018211 / P113828]): (1.) 1 1/3 sar 6 gín é-dù-a ù kishlah (2.) é-a-za-da-kam (3.) 4 1/3 gín kù-babbar-šè (4.) šu-ì-lí (5.) in-ši-sa₁₀ (6.) 1 **ab-ba-kal-la dumu ur-mes** (7.) 1 bu-ú-za-nu-um dumu ša-bu-lum (8.) 1 a-da-lâl dumu puzur₄-^{daš}aš₇-gí₄ (9.) 1 šu-ma-ma dumu má-gur₈-re (rev. 10.) 1 lugal-ané dumu ur-^dšul-pa-è (11.) 1 ur-^den-líl-lá dumu zu-la-a (12.) 1 i-pá-lí-is dumu i-zu-bu (13.) 1 ur-^dšul-pa-è dumu šeš-kal-la (14.) 1 inim-ma-AN dumu šu-ga-tum (15.) 1 lugal-ezem simug (16.) 1 ^damar-^dsuen-an-dùl dub-[sar] (17.) lú-inim-ma-bi-me (18.) igi-bi-šè é ba-sa₁₀ (19.) mu lugal-bi in-pàd (20.) šu ha-ba-lu₅-gé énsi-adab^{ki} (21.) mu ús-sa ^dš^du-^dsuen [lugal]-uri₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄ bàd-mar-dú-mu-ri-iq-ti-id-nim mu-[dù] Seal a-za-da / dumu e-núm-ma

M. Sigrist, *Studies Greenfield* (1995) 616 (Ġirsu, n.d. [B038117 / P145897]): (1.) di-til-la (2.) ^{éš}kiri₆-hu-wa-wa / šà ebih(EN.TI)^{ki}-ka (3.) lú-^dnin-ġír-su ti-a (4.) ur-kù-nun-da in-da-an-ba (5.) mu 10-àm in-da-/an-gu₇-a (6.) lugal-ušur₄ (7.) ^dlama-ra (8.) nam-érim-àm (9.) ^{éš}kiri₆-hu-wa-wa-/ebih(EN.TI)^{ki}-ka (lower edge 10.) ki-sá-a-bi (rev. 11.) ki ur-kù-nun-ta (12.) dumu lú-^dnin-ġír-su-/ke₄-ne (13.) ba-ne-ge-en (14.) **ab-ba-kal-la dumu ur-mes** / maškim (15.) DOUBLE LINE (16.) šu-ì-lí (17.) ur-^dištaran (18.) árad-hùl-la (19.) di-ku₅-bi-me (20.) lú-ġír-su^{ki} (21.) lú-NINA^{ki} nu-bànda (22.) lugal-zúluhu dumu énsi (bot. edge 23.) lú-mar-za ki-ba / gub-ba-me

Notes

1. The photo of the seal impression was provided to me by a colleague from an impression made years ago when he had seen the seal in London. The seal remains in an unidentified private collection.

2. Photos of the original seal are posted on CDLI:

https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/search_results.php?SearchMode=Text&requestFrom=Search&PrimaryPublication=&order=PrimaryPublication&SealID=S001532. It is described as coming from Umma, albeit without any confirming evidence.

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93) Arûm (*arum ?) ‘ville’ et arrum ‘assemblée’ — Le hasard a voulu que deux articles des mélanges C. Wilcke, sans qu’il y ait aucun lien entre eux donnent chacun un exemple du mot *arûm* (aussi *arum/ārum* ?), ignoré des dictionnaires et qu’on peine à retrouver dans les textes.

1) [e]ri^{e-ri-gu-ul} gul : *ḫābitat ri-i-im* « destructrice de ville : destructrice de... » BT 9, 19' in J. Klein, Fs. Wilcke 140 et 142. Comme Klein, je considère que *ḫbt* est ici une variante de *'bt*, et non le verbe *ḫbt* 'piétiner, patauger, faire violence...'.
 2) Ibni-Sîn DUMU É.DUB.BA.A à *šībūt a-ri-šu* « Ibni-Sîn le scribe militaire et les anciens de son a. » in K. Veenhof, Fs. Wilcke, 314, l. 5 // 316, l. 47 et 53. Comme le souligne Veenhof, le passage est répété trois fois, ce qui interdit de corriger *a-ri-šu* en **a-li-šu*.

On a encore un exemple dans les lettres de Mari :

3) LÚ.TUR^{meš}-ja *ša a-ri wašbū lutrām-ma ina Sapīratim^{ki} lušib* « je veux emmener mes serviteurs qui habitent mon a. et m'installer à Sapīratum » in D. Charpin, MARI 8, 349, l. 16 (Charpin avait corrigé le texte en *ša a-<ša ->ri*).

Le passage bilingue (ex. 1) et le contexte des deux autres attestations suggèrent sans ambiguïté le sens de 'ville, localité, agglomération'. Le mot a presque disparu en akkadien, qui l'a remplacé par *ālum*.

Les rares attestations nous obligent à poser une forme *arûm* plutôt que *arum*. Ce mot rappelle certes l'hébreu *'ār*, d'emploi très restreint, qui désigne une réalité géographique (une ancienne capitale ?) associée à Moab ; ce mot *'ār* pourrait en effet être rattaché à *'tr* (dont le pl. *'ārīm* suppose une forme secondaire **'ār*). Cependant l'ex. 1 suggère aussi une finale longue (*arûm*), peut-être un nisbe (*arūm*) ; l'accent qu'elle porte peut même faire disparaître la première syllabe. Si P. Michalowski 1993, p. 123 a raison de considérer le sum. *uru/eri* comme un emprunt au sémitique, la forme d'origine doit être disyllabique. Mais comme rien ne dit dans quel sens va l'emprunt, le disyllabisme pourrait aussi s'expliquer par le sumérien, les mots sumérien et sémitique s'influençant réciproquement. Les langues sémitiques n'ont pas de mot commun pour la ville, et après tout la Mésopotamie connaissait la ville bien avant l'arrivée des Sémites. On peut envisager aussi l'hypothèse d'un doublet, avec un monosyllabique *arum* et un disyllabique *arûm* (comme en hébreu *'tr/qirjā*).

La glose eblaïte *uru-bar* : NI-rí-a-tum (MEE 4, 323, 1151) peut être lue *ì-rí-a-tum* ou *'a₅-rí-a-tum*. Pour son interprétation ('villages', un pluriel), v. P. Fronzaroli, SEB 1 (1979), p. 9 ; QdS 13 (1984), 131 ; ARET 13, p. 71 (*ad par.* 56). En ce cas il s'agit clairement d'un nisbe.

Le mot subsiste peut-être aussi en akkadien dans la forme adverbiale figée *aria/iria* 'côte à côte', puisque la contiguïté des habitations est une caractéristique essentielle de la ville.

On peut se demander s'il faut rapprocher notre *arûm/*arum* du *arrum* également attesté dans l'akkadien de Mari. J.-M. Durand, SEL 8 (1991), 188–189 cite le NP *Mut-arri* 'l'homme du a.') et, dans Amurru 3 (2004), p. 188–189, traite plus systématiquement du mot *arrum* 'réunion, assemblée' dont il a découvert deux attestations dans les textes. La première (*ša ar-ra-am... iptû*) me paraît assez délicate à interpréter (Durand comprend « qui... ont ouvert l'*arrum* », dans le sens 'ouvrir une séance, un débat', le sens du verbe *ptḫ* dans l'hébreu rabbinique, mais ce n'est pas tout à fait cohérent avec le sens d'assemblée). Pour la deuxième on a la citation complète *ibid.* p. 141, n. 174 : *ḫa-na^{meš}... puḫram ana maḥanîm argum ar-ra-am upaḫḫir-ma NP wu'urti bēlija ina ar-ri-im idbub* « J'ai convoqué les bédouins à une réunion au 'campement', j'ai réuni l'a. et NP a exposé les instructions de mon maître dans l'a. ». Dans ce cas, comme 'assemblée' est déjà présente dans *puḫrum*, *arrum* doit avoir un sens différent, soit groupe restreint habilité à débattre et décider, soit ensemble des présents, tous les habitants du lieu. Durand rattache le mot à l'arabe *'rr* 'crier', akk. *arāru* 'maudire', ce qui exclurait tout rapport entre les deux mots en question. Quoiqu'il en soit, comme la reduplication du *r* est claire dans la graphie *ar-ru-um*, et comme les contextes ne sont pas sans ambiguïté, il est plus sage de distinguer les deux mots *arrum* et *arûm/*arum*.

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94) Old Assyrian *parsum* — No 36 of the OAss. texts published by Th. K. Hertel in the volume *CUSAS* 34 (2017) is a bread list, to be added to those already known, which I discussed in my *AKT* 8, 193f. It lists in the main quantities 100 or 50 *mazītu*-breads of which its anonymous writer at the end (lines 25-26) states: “All this I gave each of them (Gtn) when I made (them?)” (I take *ēpušuni* as a form with the double subjunctive, not as one with a pron. acc. suffix). In most cases a few shekels of silver ($3\frac{1}{2}$, 2×5 , $2 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ are added asyndetically to the number of breads. It might be the price the recipients have to pay (see my observations in *AKT* 8, 189f.), but the amounts of silver and breads (“100 breads - $5\frac{1}{2}$ shekels” and “50 breads - 5 shekels”) do not correlate. This is also not the case in the list *ICK* 2, 343 = *APU* 340, where 100 breads are three times followed by 3 shekels and 50 breads by both 3 and 2 shekels. Hertel’s conclusion “one could get around ten breads for one shekel” is therefore not warranted. The single higher amount of 10 shekels (lines 12-13) could be the higher price for “100 *mazītu*-breads (and) a *kubāšum* (meaning unknown) of one jar”, but here a copula is added: *ù 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR* (Hertel rendering by “thus 10 shekels” is dubious). The relation between the amounts of silver and the products delivered therefore remains unclear, also in comparable lists that occasionally mention amounts of silver (*APU* 339: 5: “50 breads, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shekel of silver PN”; 340:17f., “100 breads, 3 shekels of silver PN”; l. 21, 100 breads 3 shekels [of silver] for PN”). That the silver is not necessarily the price of the breads is clear from *APU* 340:7f. and 12f., where we read “100/50 breads PN, $\frac{3}{2}$ shekels of silver I gave him when I brought him in” (*inūmi ušribušu*). Where this happened is not stated, but *CUSAS* 34, 36:20f. may offer a clue: “100 *mazītum* breads, (in) the temple of Išhara, for Aššur-tāb”, which might point to a cultic setting.¹⁾ Unfortunately, the anonymous writer of our text cannot be identified, because it stems from the antiques trade and has lost its archival context, which proved useful in trying to understand *AKT* 8,142.

In three cases the silver in this list is said to be *qadum pá-ar-sí-šu*, which Hertel renders by “together with its separate (payments)”, admitting that he cannot explain it. An interesting occurrence of *parsum* is now found in the letter *AKT* 6, 638, which deals with a conflict about 3 minas of silver owed by A. and taken by his creditor Š. The writers ask it back for A., because he would already have paid him most of it (lines 17f., “only little is still due”, *ešumma ahhur*). When Š. denies this and still refuses they tell him: “If A. has (indeed) satisfied you and only little is still due, will you then not pay one *parsum* per mina?” (lines 24-25, *manaum paras la tašaqal*). This occurrence is now also registered in *SAD* (= *Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries*) 1 (Wiesbaden 2018), 70. *Paras* must be in the absolute state used with measures “for a quantity of one, with or without an explicit numeral”, well attested in OA (see N.J.C. Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian* [HdO, Leiden 2017] § 5.7.1). What Š. is told follows the usual OAss. method of solving such payment problems by delivering a kind of ultimatum, called *dannatam qabā’um*, “to state a harsh condition” (see my remarks in *OrNS* 84 [2015] 237f., b). The person who refuses or denies a payment is asked, in the presence of witnesses, whether he will pay a penalty, often the double or triple (*šušalšum*) of the amount at stake, if evidence is produced to prove him wrong. Accepting such a “harsh condition” by answering “Yes, I will pay,” almost counts as proof that one speaks the truth. Such a confrontation may lead to a “binding agreement” (*tarkistum*), which secures the payment and makes a formal lawsuit superfluous.²⁾ Unfortunately, the statement in *AKT* 6, 638, that of the original debt “little is still due”, hides for us how much still had been paid and consequently how much the penalty of “one *paras* per mina” was. Perhaps the writers themselves were not certain, so that not a fixed penalty, but a proportional one was proposed.

Parsum,³⁾ “fraction”, from *parāsum*, “to cut off”, by nature is a general term and requires further definition, as the compounds *parasrab*, “the great fraction” = “ $\frac{5}{6}$ ” (both of a shekel and of a mina, only in lexical texts) and *paraššehru*, “the small fraction”, “ $\frac{1}{3}$ ”, once attested at Nuzi, show. The Emar version of Hh 16 (*Emar* VI/4, 223:222; see *SAD loc.cit.*) lists $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* = *pa-r[a-as]* (followed by $\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na* = *šu-uš-[x-x]*), presumably a derivative of the root *šlš*, “three”), which suggests that its meaning here was narrowed down to “half a mina”, also because “ $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel” in l. 229’ is equated with *zūz* (in itself also a general term).⁴⁾ If we apply this in *AKT* 6, 638, Š., when proved wrong, would have to pay “one half per mina”, .i.e. a 50% penalty over the amount he had denied.

In the bread list *CUSAS* 34, 36:2f., 5f. and 16f. the amounts of $5\frac{1}{2}$ ($2 \times$) and $3\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver are each time followed by *qadum parsišu*, “including its *parsum*”, but the round figures of 5 and 10 shekels

not. Here “½ shekel” added to the round amounts must be “its *parsum*”, apparently a surcharge of ½ shekel, which shows that *parsum*, “half”, can also be applied to the shekel. In his comment on *AKT* 6, 638 Larsen observes that some of the passages quoted in *CAD P* s.v. *paršu*, meaning 7, “show a clear connection with this text”. He mentions *CCT* 6, 20b:9-10, where P. asks A. to buy some items for the ½ mina of silver he still owes him and to give them to the servants he will send to him. “If not, I will not spare you the *parsum* and the interest on it!” (*par-sà-am ù šibassu la agammilka*). A. then apparently will be forced to pay what he owes him, the *parsum* = half a mina, plus interest on it.

Other occurrences of our *parsum* are those where, as in *CUSAS* 34, 36, an amount of metal *qadum parsišu* occurs. In the first place in *CCT* 3, 37a:5: “The 15 minas of earlier copper and separately ½ mina of copper which proved to be there in addition (or unpacked; *ša elānum ibbišū*),⁵ together with its *parsum* came to 15½ minas” (*qādum parsišu ana 15½ mana itūr*), where *parsum* again must refer to ½ mina. The letter continues in lines 7-11 with: “As for the 15 shekels of copper that we will add for him for/as *parsū* (*ana pá-ar-sé-e*), write to us where we have to add the copper, then we will take it and add it.” A small amount of copper apparently has to be acquired to be “added for him” (to the 15½ minas mentioned before?) as *parsū*, but both the identity of “him” and the plural *parsū* are puzzling. A second reference is in the letter *TC* 3, 5:22, whose writer had asked a man to make I., the representative of A., give him copper as payment for the 5 *kutānu*-textiles he owed. I. answered that he had no copper and in lines 21-24 explained why: “Three wagons together with their *parsum* cost 40½ minas of copper” (*3 eriqātum <u>qadum pá-ar-sí-ši-na itbalā*). The copper must have been used to hire the wagons,⁶ but it is not clear how much of this amount was “the *parsum* for them” (three times ½ minas is a possibility, but a guess).

A new occurrence (ref. N.J.C. Kouwenberg) is in *AKT* 9a, 65, which confirms the meaning “half (a mina)”. *Lā-qēpum* writes that when he departed he had taken 3 textiles of I. for ½ mina of silver (*ana ½ mana kaspim alqe*). “Here he (I.) said (to me) about the ½ mina of silver: ‘Was it not ½ mina plus 5 shekels of silver?’ (lines 12-15a). *Lā-qēpum* then asks his addressees: “If you have promised him something in addition to the ½ mina of silver, give him that extra, (but) if it was only ½ mina he has already received his half (mina)” (*šumma ina ½ mana kaspim watram taqbiāšum watram dināšum šumma ½ mana-ma*²⁰ *pá-ra-sú ilteqe*).

In a different context *parsum* occurs in the letter *BIN* 4, 92:12, where of a shipment of nominally 130 minas of tin (= one donkey load) eventually only 126 minas 54 shekels become available, because the packets contained 2⅓ minas less than stated and because “we paid 26 shekels as my *parsum* (*pá-ar-sí*) to the *kārum* office” (ca. 3% of the total shipment). Similar is *CCT* 2, 24:6, where a shipment of 62½ minas of tin was unpacked (*paṭārum*) and 60 minas 42 shekels remained after deduction of a deficiency (*imṭi*) of ½ mina, of 52 shekels as *šaddu’utu*-tax and 26 shekels as *pá-ar-sú*, apparently also paid to the *kārum*. The identity with the amount of *parsum* in these two texts is striking, because the amount of tin in *CCT* 2, 24 is only half of that in *BIN* 4, 92. Puzzling is also that these are the only two cases where a charge on imported tin is called “its *parsum*”, while caravan letters describe hundreds of similar situations (with mention of deficiencies and tax payments), where *parsum* never occurs. I cannot solve this puzzle nor discover the reason for charging *parsum*, let alone its tariff.

Finally we have *parsum* in *CUSAS* 34, 37:14, in a first person note on textiles, “7 *kutānu*-textiles have been deposited *ina parsim*”, which after lines 8-9 mentioning textiles *ša ina nikkassē la šaknū*, “which have not put on the account”, may refer to an accounting procedure.

I call attention to *parsum* because its meaning is disputed, several references are hidden in *CAD P* under *paršum* (which has not been corrected in *SAD*), and because the word is not discussed in M. Powell’s article “Maße und Gewichte “in *RIA* 7 (1990). That several occurrences are in recently published texts fosters the hope that new, more explicit documents may shed more light on its meaning.

Notes

1. Obscure are lines 22-24, “100 *maṣṣitu* breads *ina li-DÍ-šu paniātīm ana E.*”, because the meaning of *litū* is not known (see for some remarks on this word the comments on *AKT* 8, 223:10-11, where the plural *litātum* occurs).
2. *KTS* 1, 5a:25-26, *ana ša inakkiruka dannatam qibišum*; *TC* 3, 262, tablet:16-18, “K. said: ‘If you have not paid your share will you not pay 12 shekels silver for the 6 shekels?’ (Š. answered): ‘I will pay you’”; envelope, rev. 1-6, *tarkistum ša Š... ana 6 GÍN [KÜ.B.] 12 GÍN KÜ.B.] išaqqal*, “contract of Š... for 6 shekels he will pay 12 shekels of silver”.

3. CAD P does not list *parsum/paras* as a separate entry and also does not treat it under *parsu*, “divided, separated, secluded”. Additional occurrences figure under *parsu*, 7) “(uncert. mng.), a), a payment or tax, OA”, presumably because of BIN 4, 92:12, where the *parsum* is paid to the *kārum* (see below).

4. The meaning “half a mina/shekel” brings to mind the story of the writing on the wall in Babylon’s throne room, narrated in Aramaic in Daniel 5. One has to assume that pictures of standard (duck?) weights in different sizes appeared, which puzzled the scholars, but which Daniel in vs. 25 ‘read’ as *m^ene’ r^eqèl uparstn*, “mina, shekel and (two?) ‘fractions’ ”, where *parstn* in this sequence obviously are “half-shekels”. That Aramaic *prs*, used for “half” of a standard measure (a mina, shekel, ardab, perhaps homer), was borrowed from Akkadian was already claimed by H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* [1917] 21). Note also in line 6 of the Panammu inscription from Sam’al, in a description of the economic disaster that befell the city, *wqm prs bšql*, “and a half (mina?) had a value of a shekel”. See for literature simply L. Koehler – W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden 1995), 1776 s.v. *p^res*.

5. See N.J.C. Kouwenberg, *Grammar of Old Assyrian* (Leiden, 2017) 404f.

6. J.G. Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia* (Istanbul 1996) 67, note 215, mentions amounts of 14 and 20 minas of copper, 2 minas of tin and 6½ shekels of silver paid as rent for one wagon.

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95) Der Anfang der Assyrischen Königsliste: Vertiefung des Sachverhalts — In Janssen (2016) hatte ich versucht zu zeigen, dass das von Steinkeller (2003) für die USKL beobachtete Wertungsmuster, wonach die Uruk-Könige als illegitime Disruption und Abweichung zwischen der Kiš- und der Akkade-Dynastie fungieren, auch mutatis mutandis im sog. ‚Grundstock‘ der AKL wiederzufinden sei – mit den Amoritern als *good guys* und den Assyriern als *bad guys*. Zusätzlich war zu bemerken, dass dann Šamši-Adad I. genau die Position einnimmt, die in USKL Sargon von Akkade innehat. Diese Rollenzuschreibungen machten deutlich, dass der ‚Grundstock‘ tatsächlich während der amoritischen Phase Aššurs entstanden sein musste und somit besser als Amoritische Königsliste (AmKL) anzusprechen sei. Von einer *assyrischen* Königsliste konnte zu dieser Zeit noch keine Rede sein.

Kurz nach Veröffentlichung meines Beitrags stieß ich bei Seminara (2015, 420-22) auf ein archaisches Konzept, über das bereits ein paar Gelehrte (insbesondere Liverani 1973, 187; 1976, 462-76; 2011, 29) geschrieben hatten, dass aber von den meisten Assyriologen weitgehend ignoriert worden war (siehe aber die Beispiele bei Veenhof 2001, 29). Meine (unveröffentlichte) Analyse der Distanzangabe des Meša von Moab führte dazu, dass ich reichlich Literatur von Alttestamentlern gelesen habe – und dort war dieses archaische Konzept wohlbekannt (meist nur als allgemeine Erwähnungen, wichtig ist aber Barstad 2008, 17f.). Es wurde klar, dass dieses Konzept den Kontext für die in Janssen (2016) gemachten Beobachtungen bereitstellte. Vor kurzem habe ich dieses Konzept nun auch in der Distanzangabe Šamši-Adads I. aufgefunden. Höchste Zeit also, die Sache mit dem ‚Grundstock‘ noch einmal aufzugreifen.

Liverani und Seminara nannten das Konzept „die Auffassung von der qualitativ bewerteten Zeit“ und diese Benennung verwende auch ich. Meine Darstellung dieses Konzepts ist eine Melange aus den Beschreibungen, die meine erwähnten Gewährsleute liefern. Man muss sie alle lesen, denn keiner bietet das volle Bild.

Bei diesem Konzept handelt es sich um eine im gesamten alten Orient und zu allen Zeiten bekannte Phasentheorie der Vergangenheit und der anbrechenden Gegenwart. In der ausführlichen Fassung besteht sie aus vier Phasen: 1. Schöpfung/Anfang – 2. Goldenes Zeitalter – 3. Disruption/Verirrung/Fehlverhalten – 4. Berichtigung/Rückkehr des Goldenen Zeitalters. In Israel und Norwegen (!) wird der ersten Phase noch ein Wanderungsmythos vorgeschaltet (vgl. Barstad 2008, 17f.). Auf den ersten Blick wird klar, dass das oben für den Anfang der AKL erwähnte Schema mit den Phasen 2-4 der qualitativ bewerteten Zeit identisch ist (Liverani 1973, 187 bezeichnet es sogar wörtlich als *good-bad-good*). Das Fehlen der ersten Phase ist durchaus nicht selten (Seminara 2015, 421), auch die zweite wird öfters weggelassen. So hat etwa Kilamuwa überhaupt kein Problem, seine vor ihm regierenden Verwandten zu diskreditieren, um selbst besser dazustehen. Nabonid beschwert sich, dass die Tempel Nebukadnezars II. nach nur einem halben Jahrhundert schon wieder kaputt gehen, weil dieser nicht die originalen Fundamente aufgesucht habe. UruKAgina legitimiert seine Reformen mit Hilfe dieses Schemas (ausführlich Seminara 2015). Diese

Beispiele lassen sich ohne Weiteres vermehren, doch sollte man die ägyptische Erzählung *Neferti* gesondert erwähnen. Während im Normalfall der Sprecher sich am Beginn von Phase 4 befindet und die Verbesserung der Verhältnisse als sein Verdienst rühmt, spielt die Erzählung am Hofe Königs Snofrus (Goldenes Zeitalter), wo Neferti den Niedergang Ägyptens (1. Zwischenzeit) und die Heraufkunft des Amenemhet I (Beginn Mittleres Reich) prophezeit (vgl. zum Text: Shupak 1997). Der älteste Beleg für das Konzept der bewerteten Zeit ist jedoch nicht *Neferti* sondern geht wohl bis auf Enmetena von Lagaš zurück (Semina 2015, 421).

Auch Šamši-Adad I. verwendet dieses Schema in der Ninive-Inschrift RIMA A.0.39.2. Er schreibt dort: (i 7-25) “The temple Emenue – which (is) in the district of Emašmaš, the old temple – which Maništu, son of Sargon, king of Akkad, had built, (that temple) had become dilapidated. The temple which none of the kings who preceded me from the *fall* of Akkad until my sovereignty, until the capture of Nurrugu – seven generations had passed – had rebuilt and” (Lacuna?). (Übersetzung Grayson 1987).

Dies ist die älteste Distanzangabe überhaupt und es lässt sich viel mehr über sie sagen, als ich hier Raum habe. Als ich das Schema der qualitativ bewerteten Zeit darauf anwendete, wurde es zu einem echten Augenöffner:

Nr.	Schema	Ereignis
1	Schöpfung/Anfang	Maništu erbaut den Ištar-Tempel in Ninive
2	Goldenes Zeitalter	Endet mit dem Fall von Akkade
3	Verfehlung/Verirung	7 dāru (= 420 Jahre) wird der Tempel von keinem König erneuert
4	Rückkehr der Goldenen Zeit/ Berichtigung	Šamši-Adad I. erobert Ninive und Nurrūgum und erneuert gemäß seinen Pflichten den Tempel

Das Schema zeigt, dass Maništu und *šulum Akkade* zwei unterschiedlichen Phasen angehören und nicht dasselbe Ereignis bezeichnen, wie vor allem Boese (1982, 45) glaubte. Die von Boese, Borger (1961, 10) und Glassner (2004, 5) favorisierte Ansicht, Šamši-Adad I. habe *šulumum* in der Bedeutung „Blütezeit, Apogee“ verwendet, konnte auch chronologisch widerlegt werden (Janssen 2017).

Das Schema ist außerdem ähnlich dem von AmKL und USKL, wo allerdings Phase 1 (wie so häufig) weggefallen ist:

Nr.	Schema	Ninive	AmKL (Janssen 2016)	USKL
1	Anfang	Maništu	-	-
2	Goldene Zeit	Bis Fall von Akkade	Ältere Amoriter	Kiš
3	Verirung	<i>7 dāru</i>	Assyrer	Uruk
4	Berichtigung	Eroberung von Ninive und Nurrūgum	Šamši-Adad-Dynastie	Akkade

In AmKL und in der Ninive-Inschrift ist Šamši-Adad I. der Erbe der Könige von Phase 2, der die Störung (3. Phase) überwindet. Eine andere Rolle kann er nicht gehabt haben. Natürlich fällt nun auf, dass die Zeltkönige in AKL der 1. Phase des Schemas entsprechen könnten, so dass Abschnitt 2 der AKL die geordnete (oder goldene) Zeit darstellt. Die ersten 6 Assyrer (AKL-Abschnitt 3) wären dann die Schurken. So oder so verbleibt der Schwarze Peter bei den Assyrern. Falls also die 4 Abschnitte, in die AKL gegliedert ist, irgendetwas mit diesen 4 Phasen der qualitativ bewerteten Zeit zu tun haben sollten, kann die Trennlinie zwischen Ilušuma und Erišum I. nicht ursprünglich dort gezogen worden sein, sondern wohl eher zwischen Erišum II. und Šamši-Adad I. In jedem Fall gilt also, dass die ursprüngliche Erzählung manipuliert wurde (s. unten) und in AKL die Einführung der Eponymdatierung als ein sekundäres, arbiträres Unterscheidungsmerkmal herangezogen wurde.

Wir sehen nun, dass sowohl Šamši-Adads Distanzangabe als auch das in der AmKL zu findende Bewertungsschema in den großen Kontext der „qualitativ bewerteten Zeit“ gehören und somit bloße Anwendungsfälle dieses Konzepts darstellen. Die AmKL, die andere den „Grundstock“ nennen, wurde somit definitiv in der amoritischen Phase Aššurs im 18. Jh. kompiliert.

Außerdem ist deutlich geworden, dass das Schema „Gut-Schlecht-Gut“ so offensichtlich ist, dass meine Wenigkeit es sogar ohne die Kenntnis der oben genannten Gewährsleute (aber basierend auf Steinkeller 2003) erfassen konnte. Mit Steinkeller bin ich der Ansicht, dass es eine akkadische Rezension

der USKL gegeben hat, denn hier passt das seit dem Frühdynastikum bekannte Gut-Schlecht-Gut-Schema perfekt. Als man dann weitere Dynastien anhängte, wie in USKL, wurde dieses Schema natürlich verwässert und die Ideologie vom wandernden Königtum blieb übrig. In Assyrien wurde das ursprüngliche Schema mittels fiktiver Filiationen umgestaltet. Es ist auch durchaus unklar, ob die Glossen zu den Trennlinien nicht späteren Datums sind, so wie dies für die Šamši-Adad-Glosse der Fall ist, die fiktive Eponymen nennt (insofern haben Barjamovic et al. 2012 nolens volens die Hypothese von Azize 1998 bestätigt. Dessen Spätdatierung der AKL geht aber zu weit).

Für unsere Diskussion ist somit klar, dass die Šamši-Adad-Dynastie das Konzept der qualitativ bewerteten Zeit kannte und in der Lage war, es auf die Herrscher von Ninive anzuwenden. Die Amoriter haben das Konzept folglich auch benutzt, um die Assyrer in der Amoritischen Königsliste (aka ‚Grundstock‘) zu diskreditieren und sich selbst als legitime Herren über Aššur zu präsentieren. Bestimmte Details der Binnenstruktur machen deutlich, dass man sich dabei an (einer akkadischen Version) der USKL orientiert haben dürfte (Janssen 2016). Das angebliche Vorrecht der Amoriter auf Basis der qualitativ bewerteten Zeit ist die ursprüngliche Erzählung der AmKL. Diese wurde dann von den Assyrern verfremdet und den eigenen legitimatorischen Bedürfnissen angepasst, wobei man sich auch gleich Šamši-Adad I. und dessen mythische wie reale Vorgänger aneignete. Wann diese sekundäre Entwicklung geschah, ist unbestimmt, denn ohne Kenntnis der älteren Quellen lässt sich schlicht nicht zwischen dem Datum einer Komposition und einer entschlossenen Redaktion derselben unterscheiden. Da Tukulti-Ninurta I. eine AKL zur Verfügung hatte (Lambert 1976) und Salmanassar I. bereits Distanzangaben verwendet, sollte die AKL in ihrer bekannten Form spätestens unter Adad-nīrārī I. entstanden sein.

Vor 120 Jahren hat man ernsthaft diskutiert, ob Karl der Große als Deutscher oder als Franzose anzusehen sei – er war natürlich keins von beidem. Die AmKL ist keine AKL, aber sie ist Teil der AKL. Die Entstehung von AmKL ist daher nicht identisch mit dem Entstehen der AKL, wenn man unter AKL die bekannten Rezensionen A-E versteht. Ich habe daher kein Problem, die Königsliste ab der mittellassyrischen Zeit AKL zu nennen und gleichzeitig darauf zu insistieren, dass AmKL unter den Nachfolgern Šamši-Adads I. entstand, um ihre Herrschaft zu legitimieren. Um AmKL für AKL verwenden zu können, musste ihre ursprüngliche Aussage verändert werden. Allein schon deshalb ist der Nachweis der Existenz einer ursprünglich amoritischen Version, die im Kontext der qualitativ bewerteten Zeit steht, so wichtig.

Abschließend noch einmal der Hinweis: Die qualitativ bewertete Zeit umfasst 4 Phasen und die AKL ist in 4 Abschnitte gegliedert – ist das Zufall oder gibt es hier einen Zusammenhang? Liegt hier amoritisches Erbe vor oder geht diese Gliederung auf die Assyrer zurück? Das Problem wann, von wem und warum diese 4 AKL-Abschnitte angelegt wurden (und ob die Glossen später hinzugefügt wurden oder nicht) muss m. E. von Grund auf neu und ergebnisoffen durchdacht werden.

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96) A Brief OB Incantation Against Stomach Ailments from Nippur, Area TA, House F — 3N-T 916, 326 (SLFN 77, CDLI P356381) is a largely intact small landscape tablet. It appears to belong to the corpus of incantations against digestive disorders that has been recently assembled and discussed in an excellent study by Steinert and Vacín (2018). As such, it is a relatively exceptional example of an incantation from Area TA, House F at Nippur. The final line, which occurs on the reverse, could reflect the label <tu₆> en₂-e₂-nu-ru, which is sometimes advanced at the end of Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations prior to a subscript, or it may reflect a negated sentence or phrase that I cannot further recover.

The interpretation of the terse contents advanced here is highly tenuous, but the presence of the key phrases šag₄ gig and lipiš gig “diseased/sick belly and intestines” (rendered by the non-standard writing gi for gig), gu-du “anus,” and probably also tu₁₅/tumu “wind” seems assured.

obverse	1) šag ₄ gi piriĝ DU-zu	1) Your afflicted stomach, a running lion
	2) lipiš gi piriĝ DU-zu	2) Your afflicted intestines, a running lion
	3) šag ₄ gi gu-du im-ta	3) The afflicted stomach, (the illness comes out?) from(?) the anus
	4) tumu- ^r gin ₇ ? gu-du im-ta	4) Like(?) wind(?), (it comes out?) from(?) from(?) the anus
	5) ^r du ₈ ? tumu- ^r gin ₇ ?	5) The release(?) like(?) wind(?)
	6) [...] x [...]	6) ...
reverse	7) [<tu ₆ > en ₂ -e ₂ !?-nu-r[u?]	7) enenuru incantation(?)

1-2) The description of šag₄ /gig/ and lipiš /gig/ as a running lion (piriĝ DU) is reminiscent of the hydronym i₇ nemur/ug/piriĝ-gin₇-DU, a canal in the vicinity of Lagaš/Ĝirsu that was included in the list of hydronyms in the ur₅-ra tradition (for references and discussion, see, for example, RGTC 1 225-226, Marchesi 1999, 8), probably utilized here to describe diarrhea as a swiftly flowing waterway. Thus, it may constitute additional evidence for the conception of the bowels on a hydraulic model, as has been discussed by Steinert and Vacín, 2018, 703-704. The feline designation piriĝ is also used to describe šag₄ /gig/ and lipiš /gig/ (spelled with gi₄) in the Ur III incantation AUAM 73.3094 oi7-8 (Sigrist 1980: 154-155, with the improved interpretation of Steinert and Vacín, 2018, 702 n. 9), where the imagery seems to be based on the attacking animal.

3-4) This translation assumes that im-ta reflects a prefix chain functioning as an abbreviation for a finite verb e₃, which would be a relatively novel type of abbreviation. It is possible that reflect an abbreviation of the known evacuation formula enjoining an ailment by an epistemic modal construction or a command to leave the afflicted person's anus like wind, which is generally accompanied with an exhortation to evacuate through the mouth by belching, and sometimes additional, less intuitive orifices (see, for example, the citations and discussion of George CUSAS 32: 125 and Steinert and Vacín 2018: 708-709).

5) The reading of the GABA sign is uncertain from the traces.

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97) IM 31081 : une enveloppe de Tutub parmi les textes de Nerebtum — Parmi les tablettes de l'Iraqi Museum de Bagdad, dont j'ai reçu les photographies en 2012 avec l'accord de la Directrice du Musée Dr. A. Eidan¹⁾ et du Prof. C. Reichel, je donne l'édition du texte IM 31081. Selon le catalogue de P. Gentili, dressé en 1999, la tablette correspondant à ce numéro d'inventaire serait une lettre de Sin-remanni à Abisum, le SANGA, provenant de Ischchali/Nerebtum. En réalité, les photos de IM 31081 montrent une enveloppe en bon état, ouverte sur la tranche supérieure et scellée sur les tranches (inférieure et latérales gauche et droite) avec un sceau anépigraphe encore bien visible. Lors de l'étude du texte, après une recherche onomastique sur ARCHIBAB, l'enveloppe s'est avérée être celle de *JCS* 9 34, une tablette éditée par R. Harris comme provenant de Khafajah/Tutub. Il s'agit d'un prêt-*hubbulum* d'orge à intérêt à payer lors de la moisson, avec liste de témoins et formule de datation.

Ci-dessous le texte présent sur l'enveloppe :

- [10,0.0 ŠE GUR ŠE UR₅.RA SAG×DU]
- 2 ŠÀ É (d)ŠEŠ.KI
KI (d)EN.ZU
- 4 (I)i-lí-[ki]-it-ti
DUMU-šu-mi-a-ia
- 6 ù (d)EN.ZU-ga-mi-il
[DUMU¹ (d)EN.ZU-i-dí-nam
- 8 [ŠÀ] [DU₆¹.DUB(ki)
[ŠU].BA.AN.TI.EŠ
- 10 [1] GUR-um 1,1.14¹.TA
- R. [MÁŠ¹.BI ú-ša-ab
- 12 [a¹-na U₄.BURU₁₄.ŠÈ
i-ma-da-du
- 14 IGI i-lí-ih-nu-ú
DUMU za-ri-hu-um
- 16 IGI u-bar-(d)EN.ZU
ŠÀ [EN¹
- 18 MU BÀD-ri-muš(ki)
[BA].[DÍM¹

Une première remarque concerne la ligne 17 de l'enveloppe (= *JCS* 9 34 :15). R. Harris avait déjà remarqué que la formule ŠÀ EN était inhabituelle et elle ne semble pas avoir de parallèles encore aujourd'hui. L'éditeur de la tablette suggérait une référence générique au temple de Sin. Il est possible que cette ligne indique que la transaction fait partie des affaires sous le contrôle direct de l'*entum* du temple de Nanna/Sin²⁾.

En ce qui concerne l'enveloppe, elle présente l'ajout des lignes 10-11 avec l'intérêt à payer par le débiteur. Mise à part cette insertion, le texte est identique à la tablette *JCS* 9 34. R. Harris, dans son édition, fait mention des lignes 10-11 comme variantes, et elle donne la translittération sans toutefois mentionner l'enveloppe.

L'ajout de ces deux lignes sur l'enveloppe est particulièrement intéressant car il semble confirmer l'interprétation proposée par A. Jacquet (2019) concernant les prêts-*hubullum*, selon laquelle ce type de prêt prévoit toujours un taux d'intérêt même lorsqu'il n'est pas expressément mentionné sur la tablette³⁾. La comparaison entre l'enveloppe IM 31081 et sa tablette *JCS* 9 34 montre précisément ce cas de figure. La tablette conserve la première ligne avec le sumérogramme UR₅.RA (*hubullum*) pour la typologie du prêt, mais la structure complète du contrat avec la mention de l'intérêt est rédigée seulement sur l'enveloppe. L'omission de la clause d'intérêt dans certains prêts-*hubullum* pourrait ainsi être attribuée à la présence d'une enveloppe avec l'ensemble des clauses acceptées par les parties. Le sumérogramme UR₅.RA sur la tablette qui détermine le type de prêt suffirait à indiquer la présence de l'intérêt dans le contrat.



Les sceaux cylindres déroulés sur les tranches sont anépigraphes et montrent deux scènes d'intercession différentes. Sur les tranches gauche et supérieure, on trouve la double impression d'un sceau représentant un palmier suivi par un homme en position de prière avec le bras droit plié devant son visage et le bras gauche en second plan. Cette figure est debout devant une « structure cannelée » surmontée du disque solaire et du croissant de lune. La suite est mal conservée mais on peut distinguer les traces d'une deuxième figure au-delà de la structure qui tient par la main le fidèle lors de sa présentation devant une troisième figure qui est absente dans notre empreinte. Il s'agit d'une scène connue dans la glyptique paléo-babylonienne de la Diyala. Un parallèle mieux conservé est celui de As. 34 : 125 :



IM 31081



OIP 72 :539 (As. 34 :125)

La scène représente l'introduction du fidèle devant la divinité avec à peu près les mêmes éléments graphiques.

Sur la tranche droite sont visibles deux empreintes du second sceau avec trois figures humaines. À gauche, une divinité suppliante avec une tunique longue à volants suit le roi qui apporte un animal en offrande au dieu soleil ascendant. Ce dernier est représenté dans sa pose habituelle, avec la jambe pliée et posée sur une montagne (hachurée ?). Entre ces deux figures, outre l'animal en offrande, le disque solaire au-dessus du croissant de lune est visible.

L'identification de cette enveloppe comme provenant de Khafajah/Tutub, montre que les informations sur les textes catalogués par P. Gentili ne correspondent plus complètement à la situation actuelle des documents. Sur la base du catalogue dressé en 1999, l'étude en cours de ce lot de tablettes vise aussi à faire le point sur l'état de cette documentation.

Notes

1. Les vingt-six tablettes en question font partie du lot catalogué par P. Gentili dans *JNES* 63/4. Les photos en ma possession ont été prises par l'archéologue irakienne Dr. Fatma Husain en 2012. Elles sont en cours d'étude et de publication.

2. D. Charpin, 2004, *NABU* 2004/78.

3. A. Jacquet, 2019, p. 50.

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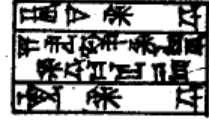
JACQUET, A., « The *hubullum*-debt in the Old Babylonian period and its trace in the loan contract documentation », in : S. DÉMARE-LAFONT (éd.), *Debt in Ancient Mediterranean Society. A Documentary approach*, HEO 56-8, Genève, 2019, p. 25-59.

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98) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 7 : à la recherche d'une tablette perdue — Sur le site d'Ur, Woolley travaillait avec un grand nombre d'ouvriers et ses collaborateurs avaient parfois du mal à suivre le rythme des découvertes. Une partie non négligeable des tablettes ont perdu leur numéro de chantier, ce qui rend actuellement leur localisation impossible. Un des objectifs du projet ÉcritUr est de réduire le nombre de ces tablettes « orphelines », de façon à pouvoir les resituer dans leur contexte archéologique. Un exemple en est ici donné, qui montre comment la combinaison des outils de recherche en ligne (Ur Online, CDLI et ARCHIBAB) permet d'avancer.

Le point de départ est une empreinte de sceau publiée dans UET 1 par Legrain sous le n° 133. Le catalogue (UET 1, p. XVI) donne comme numéro de chantier U.6975 et décrit la nature de l'objet comme « seal impression » ; le locus est « “E-khursag,” loose ». La colonne 3 comporte un x, qui signifie que la collection à laquelle l'objet devait être attribué (British Museum, Penn Museum ou Iraq Museum) était inconnue en 1928. Le texte avait été transcrit par Legrain de cette façon (UET 1, p. 38) :

- (i) *ši-lí-dšamaš* (2) *mar ri-im-dsin-samsi^{si}-ma-a-su* (3) *warad dšamaš*
 (i) Šili-Shamash (2) son of Rim-Sin-samsi-masu, (3) servant of Šamaš. »



L'examen de la copie de Legrain (pl. XXV) permet aujourd'hui de lire :

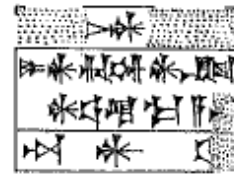
- (i) *ši-lí-(d)UTU* (2) *DUMU ri-im-(d)EN.ZU-/-(d)UTU-la*-ma*-sà*-šū* (3) *IR₁₁ (d)UTU*.

Un progrès a été rendu possible par la parution en 1976 du catalogue de UE 7, qui permet de connaître le support de cette empreinte de sceau : « U.6975. Tablet with seal impression. *U.E.T.* I, No. 133. From E-ḫur-sag » (UE 7, p. 226b). La fiche originale du catalogue de Woolley, désormais accessible grâce à la base Ur Online (http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/243772/), indique de façon plus précise (de la main de Legrain, épigraphiste de la 4^e campagne, en 1925-26) : « Case tablet. Receipt: 15 gur of barley. Dated Rim-Sin. Seal of Ši-li-Shamash son of Rim-Sin, Šamash simašu servant of Šamash. » Il suffit donc de chercher parmi les textes d'Ur un reçu de grain par Šilli-Šamaš daté de Rim-Sin pour espérer retrouver la tablette en question.

Grâce à la base Archibab, le résultat est facilement obtenu : il s'agit de UET 5 445, tablette qui est – logiquement – dépourvue de cote en « U. » : celle-ci était donc U.6975. Figulla n'avait pas lu correctement la légende du sceau, puisque l'index de UET 5 p. 60a indique *s. n.* Ši-lí-(d)Šamaš : « *s. of (d)Rim-(d)Sin₂ and (d)Šamaš-lamazi : 445, seal.* » En dépit de cette indication, je ne crois pas que quiconque ait attribué au roi Rim-Sin une épouse nommée Šamaš-lamassi ainsi qu'un fils nommé Šilli-Šamaš, et heureusement... La lecture correcte du nom Rim-Sin-Šamaš-lamassašu a été donnée par M. Stol, *SEL* 8, 1991, p. 209 n. 182, mais sans que le rapprochement avec UET 1 133 ait été fait¹⁾. Un détail doit être remarqué. La copie de Figulla permet de lire clairement :

DUMU (d)ri-im-(d)EN.ZU-/-(d)UTU-la-ma-sà-š[u]

avec un déterminatif divin devant le premier élément de ce nom composé (soit Rim-Sin-), comme dans la grande majorité des noms de ce type (on sait que le nom du roi lui-même fut précédé du déterminatif divin à partir de l'an 22 ; cf. HEO 22, p. 300) ; ce détail manquait dans la copie de Legrain, faite pourtant à partir d'un original en meilleur état.



UET 5 445 est un reçu de grain daté du 13/xii/Rim-Sin 25. Le catalogue de UET 5 (p. 16) indique qu'il s'agit à la fois d'une tablette et de son enveloppe ; la copie de Figulla correspond au texte de la tablette, les variantes de l'enveloppe ayant été indiquées. La tablette et son enveloppe sont conservées à Philadelphie (UM 52-30-167). Leurs photos sont désormais disponibles grâce au CDLI (P415322 et P415322_e), qui permettent de donner l'édition suivante :

Tablette :	Enveloppe :
15.0.0 ŠE GUR	[15.0.0] ŠE GUR
2 KI <i>ši-lí-iš₈-tár</i>	2 [Š]U.TI.A <i>ši-lí-(d)UTU</i>
DUMU <i>a-bi-iš₈-ta-mar</i>	KI <i>ši-lí-iš₈-tár</i>
4 ŠU.TI.A	(reste face et début revers anépigraphé)
(I) <i>ši-lí-(d)UTU</i>	R.4 ITI ŠE.KIN.KU ₅ U ₄ 13.KAM
R. (début revers anépigraphé)	[MU URU(ki)-dam]- <i>qí-í-lí-šū</i>
6 ITI ŠE.KIN.KU ₅ U ₄ 13.KAM	6 [BA].AN.DAB ₅
MU URU(ki)- <i>dam-qí-í-lí-šū</i>	
T.8 BA.AN.DAB ₅	

Le CDLI a attribué le n° P468132 à UET 1 133 : il faut désormais fusionner cette fiche avec P415322(_e), puisqu'il s'agit en réalité du même objet.

Quant au locus de découverte, la fiche du catalogue original indique « DP », ce que la liste des abréviations de UE 7 traduit de manière quelque peu trompeuse par « E-ḥur-sag site » (p. xv). L'explication a été donnée par le site Ur Online (<http://www.ur-online.org/location/32/>) :

« Area DP became the northern portion of area EM, but only partial houses are shown here along what Woolley termed Quality Lane. The houses here were never published in great detail, but many of the DP graves appear on the area EM map as falling along Quality Lane ».

Cette tablette est donc une épave rescapée d'archives qui se trouvaient dans les maisons du nord du quartier EM, partiellement emportées par l'érosion et dont subsistaient surtout les caveaux funéraires. C'est seulement lors de la 5^e campagne, en 1926-27, que les maisons bien conservées du reste du quartier EM furent exhumées, avec le succès que l'on sait.

Note

1. Leemans n'avait pas été loin de la solution dans sa recension de UET 5, où il relevait à propos du n° 445 que Šilli-Šamaš était « the son of a man with the curious name ^dRi-im-^dSin-^dŠamaš-la-ma-a-s[u] » (*BiOr* 112, 1955, p. 116a n. 23).

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99) Tallying Expected and Actual Deliveries at the Sealand I Palace – Some Remarks — Several texts in table format dating to the First Dynasty of the Sealand tally expected quantities of incoming goods with actual, received ones, followed by the quantities outstanding, that is, arrears or deficit. My comments in the present paper are based on the ten(?) tablets of that type that belonged to the palace archive published by DALLEY (2009): CUSAS 9, 409; 419(?); 420; 422; 424; 428; 430; 436; 445; 447. One pertains to deliveries of bricks (CUSAS 9, 420), four are concerned with the collection of agricultural taxes (CUSAS 9, 428; 430; 445; 447), and the remaining five deal with the delivery of various types of flour. A number of headers in these tables were misread in the *editio princeps*, which caused their structure to remain unrecognized.¹⁾ Note that, besides these texts, a few unpublished tablets from Tell Khaiber²⁾ apparently present the same or similar features; in addition, one unpublished fragment from Qal'at al-Bahrein (QA 01.4), which may or may not be of Sealand I date, could also belong to that type of table (ANDRÉ-SALVINI – CAVIGNEAUX *forthcoming*).

In all tables discussed here, the last column contains the names of the individuals delivering/owing certain goods to the palace. The expected quantities, the actual quantities, and the arrears are recorded in separate, ruled columns, each labelled with a header. In tables of bricks and agricultural taxes, these columns are adjacent to one another: expected quantity (col.i); actual quantity (col.ii); arrears (col.iii). The structure of flour tables is more complex and will be discussed below.

The column recording the arrears (quantities outstanding/deficit), is always called LÁL.Ì or LÁLxÌ³⁾ (*muṭû*). For nearly all preserved entries, the value in this column is recorded as Ì.SÁ (here with the meaning “balanced,” without arrears),⁴⁾ in other words, a difference of “0” between the expected and actual quantities. The expected quantity, is called in most cases SAG.NÍG.GA (*rēš makkūri*; “available assets”). In at least one table pertaining to agricultural taxes, CUSAS 9, 428, the expected quantity is labelled more specifically ḪA.LA É.GAL (*zitti ekalli*, “the share of the palace”). This is a direct reference to the splitting of the (taxable) harvest between the palace and the taxpayers that is well documented in several ledgers of the same archive, e.g., CUSAS 9, 410. In these ledgers, the share owed to the palace is called ḪA.LA É.GAL (BOIVIN 2016), it is thus indeed the quantity expected by the palace. Based on what is preserved of it, CUSAS 9, 447 was probably of the same type.

In tables of bricks and agricultural taxes, the header of the column recording the quantities actually delivered (col.ii) refers explicitly to their receipt or payment. In CUSAS 9, 420, recording bricks (*libittu* written SIG₄-*tum*), this header reads *ma-ḫi-ir-tum* (which should be interpreted as “received” fem. sing.). In the tables recording the delivery of taxes in grain, this header should be read *ma-an-du*⁵⁾ “measured out” < G *madādu* with dissimilation and nasalisation of the geminate (CUSAS 9, 428; 430?; 445; 447?). This

way of naming the quantities that were actually received corresponds to the choice of words in the main header of CUSAS 9, 428 and 447 (line 1), where *madādu* appears in the N-stem. It is best preserved in CUSAS 9, 428 and should be read: [ŠE] *ši-ib-šu ša* (GN) *e-zu-zu im-ma-an-du* MU.DU 'a-na' [É.GAL], namely “[Barley of] the *šibšu* of (GN) which was split (and) measured out; delivered/delivery to the palace.” Again, the “splitting” (*zāzu*) refers to the apportioning of the taxable harvest between the “share of the palace” (the tax) and the share remaining with the taxpayer (BOIVIN 2016).

The other tables in which an “arrear” column is present are more complex. They all record deliveries of flour/groats to the palace, probably from a *nupāru*-workhouse (BOIVIN 2018: 147ff.). The best-preserved exemplars are CUSAS 9, 422 and 436. They have 11 columns, the last one for the names of the workers. Col.i is SAG.NÍG.GA; col.ii through col.v are for various types of flour/groats; col.vi has the header ŠU.NIGIN (a sum); col.vii is called ŠE *ti-rum* (possibly corresponding to *te-er-ru*, a loanword from Elamite⁶); col.viii has the header ŠU.NIGIN (a sum); col.ix should be read LÁL.Ì (arrears); col.x is called ŠE ŠU.TLA (grain received). The arrears are always nil, that is, Ì.SÁ (balanced); the quantity of ŠE *ti-rum* is also often nil (recorded as NU). It appears thus that col.vi is a partial sum of the various types of flour/groats (col.ii—col.v), col.viii presumably adds the ŠE *ti-rum* to that partial sum.⁷ Col.x, what was actually received by the palace(?), corresponds in most cases to the total in col.viii. The arrears recorded in col.ix are thus presumably the difference between the SAG.NÍG.GA (col.i) and the quantities received col.x.

Tallying expected and actual deliveries in table format was thus sometimes integrated in larger tables recording more information, for instance the various types of flour produced, sometimes recorded in a separate document, as in the tables pertaining to agricultural taxes. In the latter case, these tables were part of a set of documents produced by the administration: single records (corresponding to entries in ledgers); ledgers indicating the taxable harvest, the amounts of one or several tax(es), as well as the portion remaining with the taxpayers; and tables tracking the payment of one such type of tax by tallying the expected quantity with what was received by the palace (BOIVIN 2016; 2020). These differing strategies could reflect the level of complexity involved: receiving flour from what were probably unfree workers was probably more predictable and less complex than collecting taxes.

The extant documents appear to reflect the end of the process of receiving goods since the arrears are almost always nil. Two exceptions can be found in tax-related tables: CUSAS 9, 428 and 445. In the latter case, the arrears represent more than half of the expected quantity. This confirms the interpretation that in these texts LÁL.Ì was a payment still outstanding, not a loss during transport as in BM 13934, an Old Babylonian account of grain.⁸ Otherwise, this table, dated to the reign of Samsu-iluna (provenance unknown), presents a structure very similar to that of CUSAS 9, 420; 428; 430(?); 445; 447(?); it also uses the term SAG.NÍG.GA for the expected quantity, as in most of the Sealand tables of this type, as well as the term LÁL.Ì for the difference. The Sealand tables tallying expected and actual deliveries thus have, without surprise, their immediate roots in Old Babylonian administrative practices.⁹

Notes

1. Eight of these tablets were identified as containing an arrears column by CAMPBELL *et al.* 2017: 29 fn.26. To my knowledge there are no such tables among the texts from the palace archive that are housed in the Musée du Cinquantenaire (DALLEY 2009: 1; BOIVIN 2018: 10 fn.14).

2. The texts are being currently edited by E. ROBSON. For the relevant tables cf. CAMPBELL *et al.* 2017: 9–10.

3. For instance in CUSAS 9, 409 (header of the fifth preserved column); 422 (header of col.ix). Outside this corpus, it can also be written LAL.Ì (e.g., PBS 8/2, 126, header of col. ii).

4. See also CAMPBELL *et al.* 2017: 9, who suggest as possible reading *išaru(m)*, and ANDRÉ-SALVINI – CAVIGNEAUX *forthcoming*. Note that Ì.SÁ, as a noun (the balance), could be recorded separately from the arrears/deficit, e.g., in PBS 8/2, 126, an account from Nippur, dated to Hammurapi. As observed by ROBSON (2004: 135), in that table an arrear/deficit (LAL.Ì) is entered only when the balance (Ì.SÁ) exceeds a certain amount.

5. The writing is somewhat careless, but collation from the photographs on <https://cdli.ucla.edu/>, comparison of the corresponding passages in CUSAS 9, 428 and 445, line 2, col.ii, as well as the use of the verb *madādu* in the main header of texts CUSAS 9, 428 and 447 (line 1) all suggest this corrected reading. For similar forms and usage of *madādu* in Middle Babylonian texts, CAD *madādu* A 1 2' f' (p.7).

6. The term *te-er-ru* is attested in Elamite texts written in Akkadian: MDP 23, 289 (lines 8; 22) and its duplicate 290, a land grant, in which it qualifies land and perhaps water, and a stela found in a tomb at Haft Tepe (*AfO* 24, 93ff., lines 1; 7; 14; 20), where it qualifies funerary offerings. REINER (1973, 94), reviewing the evidence, suggested

a general meaning “in the range of ‘delivery’,” more specifically one resulting “from a possession (one has oneself) received,” for instance through a land grant. For entries containing *te-ir*, some of which are of Middle Elamite date—that is, partly contemporary with the First Sealand Dynasty—the *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (HINZ–KOCH 1987: 316–317) proposes definitions related to the same idea, namely capital or loaned capital, perhaps with a more specific nuance of debt and mortgage for the Akkadianized form *te-er-ru*. If this is indeed the word behind the orthography *ti-rum* in the Sealand I material, the general idea of “delivery” (to the palace), perhaps based on raw materials provided (by the palace), could be the meaning of that term, although it remains hypothetical. The use of this loanword would also be an additional sign of the interactions between Elam and the Sealand at the time (BOIVIN 2018: 104–107; 183–184).

7. Entries of ŠE *ti-rum* that are not nil are found in CUSAS, 409; 419; 424. In all of them, portions of the relevant numbers are damaged. The entries in Nr. 409 appear to confirm the explanation proposed here, although it remains uncertain. I had discussed very briefly the structure of these accounts of flour in BOIVIN 2018: 149 fn.107, without going past some general observations. The explanation proposed here remains tentative, since a few small quantities (e.g., 2 *qû*) seem to appear or vanish in some entries in a manner that I cannot account for.

8. That table tallies quantities sent (*ub-lam*) and delivered (MU.DU). A transliteration is available on <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/obta/corpus/>; it is briefly discussed in ROBSON 2004: 134f.

9. For the longer-term genesis of tables, see ROBSON 2004.

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100) Nomen Omen — In the recent collection of all known Mesopotamian instances of the phrase “who, like his name,”¹⁾ a passage from a syncretistic hymn to Gula escaped attention, although another passage from the same text was cited as no. 8:

(8b.) [d]nin-líl šá kīma(GIM) šumū(MU)-šá-ma mu-du-tu šá-da-a u māti(KUR)

Ninlil who, as her name indicates, knows the mountain and the land.

Syncretistic Hymn to Gula 102’ (BM 75974 // BM 68611)

As seen by M. Krebernik (*privatim*), the interpretation of the name given is based not on the explanandum, i.e., Ninlil, but rather on Ninlil’s name Sud. Sud is normally written ^dsūd(SU.KUR.RU), whereby SU = ZU = *mūdû* and KUR = *šadû* and *mātu*.

Another relevant passage from an unpublished hymn to Nabû on a cylinder reads:

(12.) [...] x kalāma(DÛ.A.BI-ma) šuma(MU) ṭāba(DU₁₀.GA) ibbī(SA₄-bi)-¹ku¹ šá kīma(GIM^{ma}) šu-mi-ka-a [o o (...)]
[...]. . . of everything gave you a sweet name, as your name indicates, [...] BM 34178 l. 5’

The name in question here is, of course, ^dMU-DU₁₀.GA-SA₄.A. The -a in *šu-mi-ka-a* probably represents a Late Babylonian -ma. The etymology here seems to precede the phrase *ša kīma šumīkā-(m)a*, as in the passage given as no. 4 in the above-mentioned article.

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With typical erudition, M. Krebernik has pointed to the existence of a similar phrase in Arabic literature (*ka-smih̄*), and to the thorough study on it by A. Spitaler.²⁾ Spitaler collects forty passages from Arabic literature that use the expression, the earliest of which dates to the pre-Islamic period (p. 637). The phrase, which is not current in modern Arabic dialects (p. 644 fn. 18), was originally used to play with homonyms: thus, in the expression *aṣ-ṣabru ka-smih̄*, “patience is as its name indicates,” the tertium comparationis is “bitter,” since *ṣabru* means both “patience” and “aloe.”

Spitaler notes in an appendix (p. 655–656) that a similar phrase (*kī-šmō*) exists also in two passages of the Hebrew Bible, and expresses his hope that “vielleicht findet er [*scil.* the expression] sich eines Tages auch noch in anderen semitischen Sprachen.” The remarkably similar Sumerian and Akkadian passages collected in the article cited above confirm Spitaler’s prophecy.

Notes

1. JIMÉNEZ, E. 2018. “As Your Name Indicates”: Philological Arguments in Akkadian Disputations. *JANEH* 5, 87-105.
2. SPITALER, A. 1967. *Aṣ-ṣabru ka-smih̄, as-safāhātu ka-smih̄* und Ähnliches. Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Phraseologie; in: Hoenerbach, W. (ed.) *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966*. Wiesbaden, pp. 634-656.

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101) Dating the Reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes — The pivotal date of 465 BCE for the death of Xerxes has been accepted by historians for many years without notable controversy. However, according to Thucydides, a historian renowned for his high chronological accuracy, Themistocles met Artaxerxes, who had succeeded Xerxes, his father, just after the fall of Naxos (The Peloponnesian War I:98;137) which occurred after the fall of Skyros dated at the beginning of the archonship of Phaedo in 476 BCE, according to Plutarch (Life of Theseus §§35,36). Thus, the meeting with Themistocles would have occurred soon after 475 BCE, not 465.

The present Achaemenid chronology comes mainly from official Babylonian king lists, which ignore coregents and usurpers. This official version is contradicted by contracts dated in “year, month, day” proving the existence of frequent co-regencies and usurpers. In addition, according to the astronomical tablet referenced BM 32234, the death of Xerxes is dated 14/V/21 between two lunar eclipses, one dated [14/III]/21 (26 June 475 BCE), which was total, and a second dated 14/VIII/21 (20 December 475 BCE), which was partial (in 465 BCE, the reverse happened). Thus, the death of Xerxes has to be dated 24 August 475 BCE. Likewise, the death of Artaxerxes I is fixed precisely by Thucydides (The Peloponnesian War IV:50-52) just before a partial solar eclipse (21 March 424 BCE) which would imply an absurd co-regency of Darius II with a dead king for at least one year! In fact, Plutarch and Justinus effectively described a long co-regency of Artaxerxes but with his first son Darius B (434–426), not Darius II, and afterward two short reigns: Xerxes II for 2 months then Sogdianus for 7 months, which occurred before the reign of Darius II.

The arrangement of the intercalary months in a chronology without co-regency has several anomalies, especially the presence of two months Ulul in a single cycle. By contrast, in a chronology with co-regency, and thus two distinct cycles, the abnormal intercalary month in year 30 of Darius (Persepolis) corresponds to another cycle ending in year 4 of Xerxes. The titlature of Xerxes (496–475) in Egypt and the data of Diodorus confirm the co-regency of 10 years with Darius (522–486), as do Elephantine papyri with many double dates with civil and lunar calendars.

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

102) 'Gifts of the Nile' for Mesopotamian Sciences — Every Assyriologist has his own idea on the opportunity to compare cuneiform sources with other corpora from the ancient world. In particular, there are contrasting views on the similarities between ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations: the points of contact between the two cultures, because of their similar environmental premises, are seen as either not decisive or remarkable. We noticed (and experienced ourselves) that the complexities of our source material force most of us to focus entirely on our specific research topic. The time left for comparative analyses is so restricted that these are usually postponed, in the hope to conduct them more thoroughly in an unknown future.

Nevertheless, we believe that the study of other ancient corpora can be extremely helpful to our comprehension of the ancient Near East. We had our decisive epiphany last September thanks to two different conferences organised by fellow Egyptologists. We take full advantage of the pages of NABU to present them.

Clémentine Audouit, Bernard Mathieu and Elena Panaite have organised the international conference *Bodily Fluids in Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Civilizations*. The meeting took place on 5th-7th September at Université Paul Valéry in Montpellier. The organizers are credited not only with inviting several researchers working outside Egyptology, but also with choosing such an unusual and controversial subject.

From a physiological perspective, bodily fluids and discharges (such as blood, sweat, bile, tears, pus, water, urine and faeces) play a fundamental role for the existence of every living being. Nevertheless, in our everyday life we feel embarrassed when faced our own liquids or those of others. Even if they are a natural component of human life, we perceive and associate them with shame, uncleanliness, dirt and impurity. The consequent (more or less conscient) reticence about bodily fluids has affected also scholarship. Only recently in cultural anthropology has this topic received attention by dedicated monographs and found its place in the framework of the anthropology of the body. The same tendency can be traced also in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern studies. Most recently, the use of specific fluids (such as blood, spittle or water) mentioned in rituals has been investigated, as well as the role of bodily fluids in medical therapy. These interests are confirmed by the papers presented by Ancient Near Eastern scholars and researchers invited at the conference. Alice Mouton (CNRS, UMR 8167, Paris) focused on the role of bodily fluids (especially blood, saliva and urine) in Hittite religious texts; Lionel Marti (CNRS, UMR 7192, Paris) tackled the issue of blood taboo in ancient Mesopotamian by analysing the case of butchery and meat processing; Vèrène Chalendar (Erlangen-Nurnberg) addressed the role of animal bodily fluids in Assyro-Babylonian therapy; we have discussed the perception of bodily fluids in procreation, pregnancy and childbirth according to Sumerian and Akkadian sources. In particular, the last two Assyriological papers found an Egyptological counterpart, allowing us to notice common ground among Egyptian and Babylonian medical theories and practices.

Clémentine Audouit presented the secretions and bodily fluids (of both animal and human origin) in the medical papyri from Middle Kingdom to Late Period. After pointing out to the shared problem of *Dreckapotheke*, she illustrated the different types of fluids and their specific therapeutic uses. Her presentation allowed us to find several points of contact with the ingredients presented by Vèrène Chalendar, as most of them are identical or have been identified with similar strategies. However, it showed also the specificities of Egyptian *materia medica*, pointing out how its culture took advantage of the flora and fauna at its disposal and how it developed its own associations and uses. To give some examples, 'fly excrements' have been recognised as a secret name for propolis, in a similarly way to 'dove dung' / in cuneiform (cf. BAM V 499, obv. 17', according to Köcher 1995: 205, 209). The 'milk of a woman who gave birth to a son' finds a similar parallel in cuneiform therapy, differently from 'menstrual blood'.¹⁾ Apropos female bodily fluids and procreation, Bernard Mathieu presented an insightful interpretation of the ancient Egyptian 'theogamy'. In particular, by illustrating the text from Luxor's temple (scene IV, cols. 5-9), he showed the ancient Egyptian view on the role of masculine and feminine fluids in conception. The similarity with the OB incantation YOS 11 86 is striking.²⁾ Both narratives attribute an equal, complementary role in procreation to men and women alike. They also explain the genetic process in forming both soft and hard components (i.e. flesh and bones). However, they differ in identifying the feminine fluid either with blood (in cuneiform sources) or milk (in the Egyptian theogamy). Overall, the organizers proposed a rich programme with engaging papers, ranging from Egyptology to Assyriology, Coptic studies and even forensic medicine. Each contribution built on others, proving that the *fil rouge* of bodily fluids is a fruitful perspective for the study of ancient medical sources and beyond. The content of the papers and the following discussions will be available in the form of conference proceedings in the near future.

Equally rich and stimulating was the conference *Scientific Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near East*, which took place on 19th-20th September at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (ISAW) at New York University. The conference has been organised by Amber Jacob (ISAW), Sofie Schiødt (Copenhagen), Lingxin Zhang (Johns Hopkins) and Alexander Jones (ISAW). This was the second meeting of the international research collaboration "Scientific Papyri from Ancient Egypt" (SPAE), established by the University of Copenhagen in collaboration with other institutions (ISAW, Johns Hopkins University, Freie Universität Berlin, Musée du Louvre). The aim of the initiative is to support PhD students working on unpublished scientific papyri, mainly from the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection at University of Copenhagen. The doctoral students are assisted closely by leading experts working on scientific texts from the ancient world. All of them delivered papers over the two-day conference at ISAW together with other young researchers and scholars working on ancient sciences overall. On this occasion, an Assyriological perspective has been provided by Barbara Böck (CSIC, Madrid), who considered the

ancient Babylonian conception of the body; the preliminary results of our comparative study of terrestrial and diagnostic omens; and Jonny Russell and his ongoing comparative research on Egyptian and Mesopotamian medicine.

Most of the Egyptological papers presented current research on unpublished papyri, especially those collected from Tebtunis Temple Library and now preserved at the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection. In fact, the study of these sources is shedding new light on the divination and medical traditions of ancient Egypt, complementing and partially extending our knowledge on previously edited medical papyri (such as pEbers). The provisional results of these activities are particularly interesting in the light of the ongoing study of cuneiform medical sources, such as those pertaining to dermatology.

Amber Jacob (ISAW) is currently working on an unpublished corpus of Demotic medical texts from Tebtunis. The material collects remedies for different types of ailments, pertaining to nephrology, proctology, gastro-intestinal problems, ophthalmology and especially dermatology. The latter was the topic of Jacob's presentation, focused on both medical and shared beliefs related to skin complaints. In fact, the corpus was found in a temple library together with other Greek medical papyri concerned with dermatological complaints. This may indicate that skin diseases were associated with a cultic taboo and its professional implications. The *Book of the Temple* confirms that people affected by skin anomalies were prevented from cultic office (Quack 2005: 64). Moreover, according to Herodotus, priests shaved their heads every two days to avoid louse and other parasites while on cultic duty (cf. Hdt II 37). Even if the Greek historian proved to be untrustworthy on other matters, his argument may be applied also to ancient Mesopotamia, as Babylonian sources attest similar practices for both shaving and inspecting the body of cultic candidates.³⁾

The research project of Sofie Schiødt (Copenhagen) focuses on the partially unpublished pLouvre-Carlsberg. This New Kingdom manuscript collects several treatises, including one dedicated to skin lesions. It describes the appearance and symptoms of swellings, which are ascribed to the moon god Khonsu. Schiødt's paper was of extreme interest from an Assyriological viewpoint, as cuneiform sources preserve not only descriptions of the appearance of skin ailments (as in *Sakikkû* 33), but also a link with the moon god Šin (especially in the curse formulas, as in MB kudurrus; see Watanabe 1984; Kitz 2004). Worth mentioning is also the appeal to foreign gods, such as Iškur and Išhara, in the treatment of diseases with an alleged foreign origin.

The organizers plan to publish the first two SPAE conference proceedings together in the upcoming year.

By presenting these two initiatives originated in the framework of Egyptological studies – and commenting briefly on three case studies (*Dreckapotheke*, procreation and dermatology), we aimed at showing how current researches in Egyptology and ancient Egyptian sources themselves can contribute to our comprehension of Assyro-Babylonian medicine and science in general. We sincerely hope that such examples will be further replicated in the near future to the benefit of our Assyriological researches.

Notes

1. See BM 108872 + BM 109097a, v. 21-22: GA^{MUNUS}Ú.[ZÚG] šá NITA Û.TU, 'milk of an impure woman who gave birth to a male' (see Heeßel 2008). This ingredient was used as an excipient in the treatment of a black *ugudillû*. The use of white, impure milk to treat a black skin imperfection was believed possibly to counteract both the impurity and the colour of the cutaneous feature. On the impurity of women who just gave birth see Minen 2018a: 196-197. The use of menstrual blood in therapy seems attested also in Roman and Chinese medicine (see Lowe 2013: 349).

2. For YOS 11 86 see Van Dijk 1973: 504-505; Stol 2000: 10-11; also Steinert 2017: 307-310 for a more recent comment.

3. In fact, Herodotus states that there were no physicians in Babylon (Hdt I 197); nevertheless, the study of the Mesopotamian medical sources has proven him wrong. For a deeper problematization of this Herodotean passage, see the discussion in Fales 2016: 6, fn. 21 and Geller 2018. To the contrary, Herodotus' remark on the bodily inspection of Egyptian cultic candidates can be confirmed by Achaemenid Babylonian sources, previously commented on the pages of NABU. In fact, F. Joannès (1995: 17-18) corrected with *ša bānūtu* the reading **garbānūtu*, previously interpreted as 'office of dealing with people affected by the skin disease *garbānu*' (see CAD G 50). This new reading, to be interpreted as 'inspecting someone's physical soundness', fits better in the original contexts of an office duties' prebend, as it is paired with the office of *gallabūtu*, i.e. 'shaving'. See also Jursa 2005: 1133-1134 (and fn. 1033) and Waerzeggers 2008: 21-22. On cultural beliefs on skin ailments attested by cuneiform sources see Minen 2018b: 25-30.

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