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### NOTES BRÈVES

**38) A Cylinder Seal with a Spread-Wing Eagle and Two Ruminants from Baylor University's Mayborn Museum** — This study shares the (re)discovery of a cylinder seal (AR 12517) housed at Baylor University's Mayborn Museum Complex.<sup>1)</sup> The analysis of the seal offers two contributions: First, the study offers a rare record of the business transaction of a cylinder seal by the famous orientalist Edgar J. Banks. Second, the study adds an exceptional and well-preserved example of a cylinder seal engraved with the motif of a spread-wing eagle and two ruminants to the corpus of ancient Near Eastern seals. The study of this motif reveals that the seal published here offers one of the very few examples of a single-register seal which features a spread-wing eagle flanked by a standing caprid and stag.

#### **Acquisition History**

The museum purchased the cylinder seal for \$8 from Edgar J. Banks on April 1st, 1937. Various records indicate that Banks traveled to Texas occasionally for speaking engagements and even sold cuneiform tablets to several institutions and individuals in Texas.<sup>2)</sup> While Banks sold tens of thousands of cuneiform tablets throughout the U.S., this study adds to the comparably modest number of cylinder seals sold by Banks.<sup>3)</sup> Although Banks' original letter no longer remains, the acquisition record transcribes Banks' words as follow:

(Seal cylinders) were used for two distinct purposes. First, they were used to roll over the soft clay of the Babylonian contract tablets after they were inscribed, to legalize the contract and to make it impossible to forge or change the contract. Secondly, they were used as charms and were worn about the neck to keep off disease and evil.<sup>4)</sup>

A separate note which follows this transcription identifies the seal's origin from northern Babylonia and dates the artifact to the period of Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 B.C.). Although the record does not explicitly credit these observations to Banks, because his letter customarily described an artifact's basic content, purpose, date, and provenance, the proposed date and place of origin likely reflect Banks' initial assessment of the seal.<sup>5)</sup> A careful analysis of the seal's artistic motif, however, suggests that the seal originated from a much earlier date.

**Description of the Seal<sup>6</sup>**



Fig. 1. Provenance: Unknown  
Material: Black stone. Dimensions:  
Height: 1.9 cm. Diameter: 1.1 cm.

The seal’s impression comprises of a row of animals, including a caprid, an eagle, and a cervid. A left facing, spread-wing eagle occupies the central position. The engraver depicts the animals in a simple stylized manner, by representing the eagle’s head with a triangle, a net design marking the body, vertical strokes illustrating the tail feathers, and two palm-branch like wings extending outward from the body.<sup>7)</sup>

Two different quadrupeds stand beside the eagle. To the left of the eagle, a caprid with long curled horns (goat or ibex?) stands in a left oriented profile. A stag with branching antlers stands to the right of the eagle with its face turning left to gaze back at the eagle. The glyptic art’s composition with a central spread-wing eagle flanked by two quadrupeds, achieves a sense of balance, with the attention drawn to the central figure.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of provenance, when and where this object originated remains unknown. A comparison of the seal’s iconography with the corpus of ancient Near Eastern glyptic, however, narrows down the seal’s possible date and origin.

**Comparison**

The Mayborn Museum’s cylinder seal’s artistic typology belongs to the group of ancient Near Eastern seals which feature a heraldic eagle accompanied by various creatures. This combination of a spread-wing eagle with other animals appears as early as Uruk IV (Van Buren 1935-36, 58) and continues through the Post Akkadian period (Buchanan 1981, figs. 482–91; Keel-Leu & Teissier 2000, figs. 88–89), but this motif reaches the height of its popularity during the Early Dynastic III period. The motif also enjoyed widespread geographic distribution, appearing from sites such as Tell Brak, Syria (Matthews 1997 pl. 20.224, 227, 228; pl. 21.232–234; pl. 23.278–280), unearthed from the excavation at Ur (Legrain 1936, pl. 2.37, pl. 3.38, pl. 10.207, 209–214, pl. 11.215–219, 223; Legrain 1951, pl. 8.97, 111–114, 120, pl. 9.125), discovered at the Elamite city of Susa (Roach 2008, figs. 1050, 2059, 2064, 2065, 2067, 2071, 2072, 2166), and even attested on a seal which reflects Cypriot influence (Porada 1948, fig. 24). The motif can either appear as the sole decoration, but when it is part of a two-register seal, various scenes (i.e., a row of animals, banquet, or contest) appear in the accompanying register.

Within this corpus, the eagle either clutches the adjacent animals with its talons or simply appears stationed (at times elevated in the air) between the two animals. The most common animals that accompany the eagle include goats, ibex, antelope, mouflon, and deer, but on rare occasions can include bull, lion, and serpent. These accompanying creatures appear either kneeling, standing, or overturned.



Fig. 2. This photo is an enhanced version of Delaporte 1920, pl. 21.W10 (S 193).



Fig. 3. Line drawing by the author based on the photograph from Frankfort 1955, pl. 39.420.



Fig. 4. Line drawing by the author based on the photograph from Roach 2008, fig. 2065.

The combination of a heraldic eagle, a left facing, erect caprid, and a backward glancing deer is uncommon and appears primarily on two-register seals from Tell Brak, Syria. One notable example was discovered during an excavation of the palace of Naram-Sin and dates to the UR III period (Mallowan 1947 pl. 22.14; Matthews 1997, pl. 21.232; Wiseman 1962, pl. 29e; For two other seals, see Matthews et al. 1994, pl.13.12; Matthews 1997, pl. 21.233). The closest artistic parallel to our seal, however, comes from an Elamite cylinder seal from Susa (fig. 2). Like our seal, this Elamite seal portrays the eagle as comprising a head, body, and tail feathers –albeit the head is largely missing due to the damage to the seal– and flanks the eagle with a goat to its left and a stag to its right. The primary difference lies in the addition of a serpent that bites and hangs from the stag’s neck. Louis Delaporte dates this seal to the Early Dynastic period (Delaporte 1920, 21). Two additional seals also portray a central spread-wing eagle surrounded by two quadrupeds (figs. 3 & 4) but differs from our seal in two ways: First, the engraver omits the eagle’s torso and incises elongated tail feathers with diagonal lines that form a triangular shape. Second, the artisan chose to portray two goats next to the eagle, rather than depicting a stag on the right. The example from Khafajah, Iraq (fig. 3) comes from the surface layer during an archaeological excavation and the excavators date the seal to the Early Dynastic III period based on its artistic style (Frankfort 1955, pl. 39, n. 420). Similarly, K. Roach dates the Elamite seal from Susa (fig. 4) to the Susa IV period, which chronologically and stylistically parallels seals from the Mesopotamian Early Dynastic period (Roach 2008, 399). These closest analogues, therefore, securely date the Mayborn Museum’s cylinder seal to the Early Dynastic period.

The scene comprising a heraldic eagle with two ruminants also appears on seals with two-registers. Fitzwilliam Museum’s cylinder seal depicts two spread-wing eagles grasping the horn and rear of two kneeling goats on its top register, while the lower register features a contest between a lion and gazelle with a six-pointed star in the background (Munn-Rankin 1959 pl. 4.E24). Munn-Rankin dates the seal to the transitional Early Dynastic III-Sargonid period based on the seal’s iconography (Munn-Rankin 1959, 21). Another seal unearthed from a grave at Khafajah portrays a file of goats on its bottom register, whereas its top register contains a spread-wing eagle that grasps the hind of two kneeling antelopes that is accompanied by a scorpion (Frankfort 1955, pl. 36.371). The archaeological context and glyptic style both indicate an Early Dynastic III date for this object. These seals bolster that the scene featuring a spread-wing eagle contesting two ruminants attained popularity during the Early Dynastic III period, albeit, these two-register seals differ from our example in clearly depicting the eagle’s legs grasping its prey and portraying both caprids in a kneeling posture with turned heads.

### **Conclusion**

This article presents an analysis of a previous unpublished cylinder seal and provides an additional example of Edgar J. Banks’ business correspondence. Although the seal was originally dated to the Neo-Babylonian period –likely by Banks– the comparative study of the seal’s motif of a spread-wing eagle flanked by a caprid and a stag indicates that the seal dates to the Early Dynastic period (likely to be Early Dynastic III). If Banks accurately describes the seal’s provenance as “northern Babylonia,” the close parallel from Khafajah, as well as the concentration of seals which feature an eagle, stag, and goat from Tell Brak may suggest that our seal also originates from an area near or north of Baghdad. Where exactly the seal originated from, however, cannot be conclusively determined, due to the widespread popularity of the seals featuring a heraldic eagle between two quadrupeds which ranges from Syria to Elam. The Mayborn Museum’s cylinder seal, nevertheless, provides a well-preserved example of a scantily attested seal of its kind to the corpus of ancient Near Eastern glyptic.

### **Notes**

1. The early stage of this research was made possible by Mayborn Museum’s Bryce C. Brown Research Fellowship. I would like to especially thank Mrs. Sabrina Thomas with her assistance in tracking down the object’s acquisition record.
2. The institutions Banks lectured at includes the University of Texas (*The University of Texas Record* 1911, 306), the Carnegie Library at San Antonio (*Carnegie Library San Antonio*, 1916, 36), and Texas Christian University (Hall 1947, 166). The institutions which Banks sold artifacts include Southern Methodist’s University’s A. V. Lane Museum (now housed at the Bidwell Library), as well as the University of Texas Austin (Hallo 1977, 55–60).

3. Banks brought in at least 11,000 and as many as 170,000 cuneiform tablets to the United States (Wasilewska 2000, 161).

4. *Acquisition Record*, Baylor University Mayborn Museum, Waco, TX.

5. For other examples of letters concerning Banks' transaction of cylinder seals, see his correspondence with George A. Plimpton (Robson 2002, 259–260) and a letter sent to Truman State University's E. M. Violette Historical Museum (now housed at the Pickler Memorial Library).

6. Photographed by Laura Hayashi. Courtesy of Baylor University, Mayborn Museum Complex.

7. The heraldic eagle's three-part anatomic composition with a triangular head, net patterned body, and vertical/diagonal strokes for the tail feathers, parallels other seals including a transitional Early Dynastic III/Sargonid cylinder seal housed at the Fitzwilliam Museum (Munn-Rankin 1959, pl. 5.4), an ED/Late Agade seal from the Diyala region (Frankfort 1955, pl. 60.641). This differs from other heraldic eagles which lacks a body and simply depict the tail feathers with a triangle (Lambert 1966, pl. 15.14; Rehm 2003, fig. 17), vertical/diagonal lines (Frankfort 1955, pl. 36.371; pl. 39.420; pl. 51.534; Matthews 1997, pls. 23.279–280; Rehm 2003, fig. 16), or deep impression (Eisen 1940 pl. 4.28; Porada 1948, pl. 41.264E; Frankfort 1955, pl. 64.683).

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**39) Sur ká en uru-bar à Ébla** — Dans les passages des textes administratifs éblaïtes qui concernent les rites de nécromancie, on cite deux fois la fermeture rituelle (*za-ga-rí-iš* / *zi-ga-rí-iš*, datif-directif du sém. occ. \**sgr*, « fermer ; barrer ») de certaines portes (ká) de la ville : ká SA.ZA<sup>ki</sup> dans *ARET* XV 38 (40–47) et ká en uru-bar dans TM.75.G.2372 f. II:18–V:22<sup>1)</sup>. Comme j'ai proposé ailleurs<sup>2)</sup>, il est fort probable que ce soit par ces portes que l'on faisait sortir le bouc émissaire employé dans ces rites de nécromancie, c'est-à-dire une chèvre décorée d'un tissu en laine. La fermeture des portes devenait nécessaire afin que la chèvre, une fois sortie, ne puisse pas revenir avec son impureté. De plus, on rappellera que dans les rituels royaux

aussi on recourt à la pratique du bouc émissaire et en particulier que, dans le texte le plus ancien (*ARET XI 1* [52–54]), on laisse aller la chèvre vers la steppe (kur<sup>ki</sup>) d'*a-li-NI<sup>ki</sup>*, tandis que dans le texte le plus récent (*ARET XI 2* [55–57]), on l'enferme (GÁ×GÉME-gi<sub>4</sub>) dans ce même lieu sauvage<sup>3</sup>). Or, si la porte de SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> est connue aussi grâce à d'autres passages, de *ká* en *uru-bar*, en revanche, il n'y a pas, à ma connaissance, d'autres attestations dans la documentation à ce jour éditée. Dans les textes éblaites le sumérien *uru-bar* est généralement traduit comme « environs de la ville » en opposition à la campagne<sup>4</sup>), mais à mon avis le terme doit avoir dans ce contexte particulier une dimension symbolique bien plus ample. Tout d'abord, on remarquera que le terme *uru-bar* pourrait être attesté aussi dans le texte plus récent du rituel royal, si l'on accepte la reconstruction suivante<sup>5</sup>) de *ARET XI 2* (7-8) : *a-ti-ma / é / <sup>d</sup>KU-ra / mu-DU / si-in / bàd<sup>ki</sup> / nu mu-DU / [uru\*]-bar\*<sup>1</sup> / bàd<sup>ki</sup> / ki-ná / in / u<sub>4</sub> / ma-lik-t[um] / [è] / [é] / [a-mu-iš]*, « Tant que la reine n'entre pas dans le temple du dieu <sup>d</sup>KU-ra, elle n'entre pas à l'intérieur des remparts. [À l'exté]rieur des remparts elle se couche, quand la rei[ne quitte la maison de son père] ». Si cette reconstruction est correcte, alors le texte plus ancien du rituel nous fournit la lecture sémitique du sumérien *uru-bar*. En effet, dans *ARET XI 1* (5-6), on lit : *a-ti-ma / mu-DU / é / <sup>d</sup>KU-ra / si-in / bàd<sup>ki</sup> / nu mu-DU / bur-ti / bàd<sup>ki</sup> / [ma-lik-tum] / da-ne-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>al<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>*, « Tant que la reine n'entre pas dans le temple du dieu <sup>d</sup>KU-ra, elle n'entre pas à l'intérieur des remparts. À l'extérieure des remparts [la reine] se couche ». On peut expliquer la graphie phonétique *bur-ti*, qui correspond à *uru-bar* du texte plus ancien, d'après le sémit. occ. \**barr-*, « extérieur ; pleine campagne », et \**būr-*, « terre non cultivée »<sup>6</sup>). Dans *ARET XI 2*, cet endroit s'oppose de façon strictement symbolique à *má-la-sum* (*maḫrat-*, du sémit. \**hrt*, « labourer »)<sup>7</sup>), « champ labouré », qui indique le cosmos rituellement ordonné et civilisé de la ville. Cette interprétation nous aide à mieux comprendre la signification du terme *uru-bar* en connexion à la porte citée dans le rituel de nécromancie, dont nous avons parlé plus haut. En ce cas, il s'agirait d'une porte qui donne sur le « territoire non cultivé » et donc sauvage. On se souviendra à ce propos qu'en akkadien l'épithète *šar šēri*, le « roi de la steppe », indique le dieu de la mort Mot en tant que souverain de l'au-delà<sup>8</sup>). La steppe tout comme le désert sont des lieux liminaux, sauvages et chaotiques par excellence, dans la pensée des peuples anciens et donc idéaux pour reproduire l'expérience de la catabase aux Enfers<sup>9</sup>). Le dieu de la mort est aussi Azazel, qui reçoit l'offrande du bouc émissaire dans le rituel décrit dans le chapitre 16 du Lévitique. En effet, l'interprétation la plus convaincante de ce terme est qu'il s'agisse d'un théonyme composée de 'zz et 'l, du coup le « dieu féroce », qui est encore une fois l'un des épithètes du dieu de la mort chez les anciens peuples sémitiques<sup>10</sup>). Ce n'est donc pas un hasard si à Ébla on faisait sortir la chèvre, employée comme bouc émissaire durant les rites de nécromancie, par une porte ouverte vers le « territoire non cultivé ». On est exactement dans le même milieu culturel du récit biblique.

#### Notes

1. Voir Archi 2010 : 21 et 28, qui traduit « gate of the king (to) neighborhood ».
2. Pasquali 2016 : 58-59.
3. Pasquali 2016 : 47-49, avec bibliographie. Pour une possible signification du rite du bouc émissaire dans le cadre des rituels royaux, Pasquali 2019 : 4-5.
4. Voir récemment Fronzaroli 2020 : 285.
5. Voir en ce sens déjà Bonechi 2016 : 58, n. 35.
6. Fronzaroli 1993 : 24.
7. Fronzaroli 1993 : 74.
8. Tawil 1980 : 59 ; Gorman 1990 : 99.
9. Sur la symbolique du terroir sauvage dans la Bible, voir Gorman 1990 : 95-100 ; Peri 2003 : 79-101 ; Stravakopoulou 2010 : 55 et sv. Au niveau ethnologique et dans le folklore européen, voir Lombardi Satriani et Meligrana 1989 : 85-96.
10. Tawil 1980 : 58-59 ; Gorman 1990 : 99-100 ; Peri 2003 : 182-185. Malheureusement, afin de nier la possibilité que Azazel soit une divinité, on a fait appel aux hypothèses les plus absconses et improbables, pour lesquelles voir Janowski 1999 : 128-131.

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**40) Notes on the recently published Sargonic letter ROM 910x209.625** — Kraus 2018 published a previously unknown Sargonic letter, ROM 910x209.625. Valuable corrections to Kraus's edition have been offered in Arbøll–Westenholz 2019. In what follows, we suggest a few more commentaries.

L. 4-5. [*i*<sub>3</sub>-*t*]um-*ma* PN<sub>1</sub> [*u*<sub>3</sub>] PN<sub>2</sub> 'regarding PN<sub>1</sub> and PN<sub>2</sub>.' Kraus correctly reads here a preposition *ittum* 'as to.' It also appears in l. 29: '*i*<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-*tum ni-is-qi*<sub>2</sub>-*su* 'as for his *nisqū*-people.' Sommerfeld 2012: 245 earlier identified this preposition in Eš 2: r. 10': *it-tum mi-nim* 'why?', and in Gir. 37: 8 [*i*<sub>3</sub>]-*tum mi-nim* 'why?'<sup>1)</sup> We are now going to add more Sargonic examples. In CUSAS 27 253: 1, *i*<sub>3</sub>-*tum* is the first word in a damaged document that must be interpreted as a memorandum, which is proven by *lu-su*<sub>2</sub>-*si*<sub>2</sub>-*iš* 'for reminding' in the last line. The text organization reminds Old Babylonian memoranda that begin with *aššum* 'regarding' (Joannès 1984; 1985).<sup>2)</sup> MAD 1 241 is a list of personal names preceded by *i*<sub>3</sub>-*tum* 'regarding' (ll. 1, 6, 10, 11, 15, 17).<sup>3)</sup> In particular, ll. 15-16 read: *i-tum* PN<sub>1</sub> *ši* PN<sub>2</sub> 'regarding PN (dependent) of PN.' *Ši* is a relative pronoun in the genitive case, m. sg., agreeing with its head PN<sub>1</sub>. The genitive case of the relative pronoun corroborates the fact that *i-tum* is a preposition. Thus, Sargonic had a preposition *ittum*(*ma*) 'regarding,' a functional equivalent of the OB *aššum*, while the latter is absent from Sargonic. The etymology of the preposition *ittum* is unknown.<sup>4)</sup> For *-ma* after *ittum* in this line, cf. *aššum-ma* in Old Babylonian (ARM 10 116: 8; 26 468: 2'; AbB 1 68: 14; W 20473 (BaM 2, p. 56-71): ii 34, iii 6).

L. 6: [*x*]-*ar-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*in*. For Kraus, this is an unidentified verb form. We believe it is a noun in the dual referring to the two preceding PNs. [*sa*<sub>3</sub>]-*ar-re*<sub>2</sub>-*en*<sub>6</sub> 'the two criminals' suggests itself, but Walter Sommerfeld tells us in a p. c. that traces of the signs and the size of the lacuna are not compatible with the ZA sign.

L. 15-16: *mi-in si-ip-ru-su* [*a*]-*na pu-uš*<sup>ki</sup> *i-par*<sub>2</sub>-*su*<sub>2</sub>-*nim* 'Why were his messengers cut from (coming) hither to GN?' K.'s interpretation '(they) have been diverted to Puš' does not take care of the Venthive. Note that *yippar'sū-nim* is the first certain token of the N-stem found in Sargonic (cf. Arkhipov–Kalinin–Loesov in press, §2.3).<sup>5)</sup> *Mīn* 'why' also appears in early Old Babylonian (CUSAS 36 54: 5).

L. 23-26: '*šum*<sup>1</sup>-*ma la* '<sup>e</sup><sub>3</sub>-<sup>la</sup><sub>1</sub>-<sup>kam</sup><sub>1</sub>-<sup>ma</sup><sub>1</sub> [*i*]-<sup>dī</sup><sub>3</sub>-<sup>iš</sup><sub>3</sub> <sup>u</sup><sub>3</sub>-<sup>zu</sup><sub>1</sub>-<sup>un</sup><sub>1</sub>-<sup>su</sup> '<sup>iš</sup><sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>ta</sup><sub>2</sub>-<sup>ka</sup><sub>3</sub>-<sup>an</sup> '<sup>URU</sup><sup>ki</sup><sub>1</sub>-<sup>su</sup> <sup>u-uš</sup><sub>1</sub>-<sup>ma-at</sup> 'If he is not going to come to me and has set his attention aside, he will cause his city to die.' The *istakan* included, Išarum's two letters contain the only three likely tokens of the t-Perfect (or IPTARAS) in the whole of Sargonic (cf. Arkhipov–Loesov 2020).<sup>6)</sup> This usage of IPTARAS is unknown in OB, where IPARRAS-*ma* IPTARAS chains in conditional protases do not exist.<sup>7)</sup> However, Kraus's interpretation of the verb form looks plausible, and '<sup>iš</sup><sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>ta</sup><sub>2</sub>-<sup>ka</sup><sub>3</sub>-<sup>an</sup> must be an IPTARAS-Perfect.<sup>8)</sup>

The other two examples are from Gir 37: 2-7: *aš<sub>2</sub>-ma<sub>2</sub>-ma aḥ-ta<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>2</sub> en-ma a-na-ku<sub>8</sub>-ma sa<sub>2</sub>-pi<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-a-me u-ka<sub>3</sub>-al e-ni<sup>3</sup> a<sub>3</sub>-wa-at-su<sub>2</sub> i-di<sub>3</sub>-iš i-ta<sub>2</sub>-ḥa-az* ‘I heard (this) and rejoiced, thinking, ‘he is embracing my feet.’ Now he has taken his case aside.’

The temporal reference point of *aḥtadu* is the Past detached from the speech time, as it follows from the next lines, whose message actually reads: “But now he has switched his alliance.” This kind of past-time reference is incompatible with the Perfect as a universal grammatical value, in particular with that of the Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian IPTARAS (Loesov 2004; Kouwenberg 2017: 618-622). A very similar passage in an Old Babylonian letter uses IPRUS: *a-na-ku aḥ-du um-ma a-na-ku-ma a-ḥi it-ta-aš-ka-an ù at-ta ki-ma ḥa-bi-lim bi-ti tu-ḥa-la-aq* ‘I was happy to think, “My brother has been given a position!” but here you are, ruining my house like a crook!’ (CUSAS 36 39: 4-8).

By contrast, in *hinnī awat’su īdis ītaḥaz*, the IPTARAS form does comply with the requirement for the meaning of the Perfect: it is a situation observed from the vantage point of the speech time and an exact match of the British English Present Perfect.

Thus, in two of the three our instances, the use of IPTARAS is unexpected by the OB standards.<sup>9)</sup> We must conclude that these particular instances of the t-Perfect belong to the author’s dialect, in which IPTARAS was used differently from the 2nd millennium Akkadian, while in the rest of Sargonic there is no IPTARAS Perfect (Arkhipov–Loesov 2020).

L. 32: There is no place for SU<sub>4</sub> at the beginning of the line.

## Notes

\* We thank Bert Kouwenberg, Ekaterina Markina, Walter Sommerfeld and Aage Westenholz for their highly useful observations on a draft of this note.

1. Lit. ‘regarding what,’ cf. *aššum mīnim* in Old Babylonian with the same sense.

2. Note as well *aššum... ḥussusim* ‘about reminding’ in Joannès 1985, nos. 5 and 10.

3. Cf. the reeditions of this text in Sommerfeld 1999: 116 and Edzard 2001: 298.

4. According to Sommerfeld 2012: 245, the Sargonic *ittum* may have to do either with *itti* ‘with’ or with *ittum* ‘sign’.

5. As Bert Kouwenberg points out to us, the surface shape of this form is an isogloss with Babylonian rather than with Assyrian, where it looks *ippiršūnim*. He also notes two more new isoglosses between Sargonic and Old Babylonian occurring in this letter: *u-uš-ma-at* ‘he will let die’ (as against Old Assyrian *ušmāt*) and *ù-zu-un-su* ‘his ear’ (as against Old Assyrian *uzanšu*).

6. As for *it-tal-ku* in the same letter Gir 37: 3’, one cannot say whether it is a G-stem Perfect or a Gt-stem Preterite, since *atlukum* is well attested in Sargonic (Arkhipov–Loesov 2020: 38).

7. This is in particular the case of the CH. For the *ma*-chains in Old Babylonian epistolary *šumma*-clauses, see Cohen 2012: 60 (no IPARRAS-*ma* IPTARAS are attested). As for Old Assyrian, there is no description of *ma*-chains in *šumma*-clauses.

8. As Aage Westenholz points out to us, the edition’s IŠ<sub>11</sub> for /is/ rather than /it/ is suspect. The sign traces on the CDLI photo do not exclude a reading iš.

9. Two of the three assumed IPTARAS forms discussed in this note happen to appear as final links of *-ma* chains. However, this fact does not have to do with the choice of IPTARAS rather than IPRUS (Loesov 2004: 114 f.). In Sargonic letters there are attested three past-time *ma*-chains, all three have the structure IPRUS-*ma* IPRUS: Eš 1: 4-8; 3: 10-13; Ga 6: 5-9 (for an interpretation of *tastapu* ‘you kept silent’ in Ga 6 as a Gt-stem IPRUS, see Arkhipov–Loesov 2020: 42).

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**41) Ninurta the Rock Climber** — In Angim 135 (ed. Cooper, AnOr 52 [1978], p. 78), the implement that the hero carries has long been a puzzle: *níg kur gúr-gúr nun-lá TAR-imin-na-mu / nun á-tir-imin-na-mu / mukanniš šadī nu-na ša sibā abrašū*, discussed by Cooper, p. 125, who suggests “cutlass(?)”. In view of Wilcke’s convincing proposal for the implement used by Sag-buru and the magician to pull various creatures from the river, *nun zabar* “fish hook?”, (AOS Essay 12 [2012]: 84 note 192), Ninurta’s weapon may be best understood as a “grappling (lá) hook with seven tangs,” a tool useful for scaling walls, cliffs, and the like. In my brief career as a manager of military munitions, I was familiar with an updated grappling hook fired from a large pistol that elite troops used to cross watercourses too deep to wade safely or of unknown depth by engaging it with trees or brush on the far side, securing the line on the near side, then grasping the line as one crossed. Although seven tangs may be too many for a practical grappling hook, it is still more readily visualized than a cutlass with seven blades.

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**42) On some graphic puns in Dumuzi’s dream: the numun-plant and the singing crab** — Research on omen literature has proven that sign forms and polyphony largely determine the sequence of entries in the series, and the connection between the apodoses and protases. The studies focused mainly on omen series and commentaries,<sup>1)</sup> although puns are numerous in literary texts as well (Civil 1972; Klein – Sefati 2000).

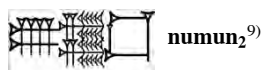
*Dumuzi’s dream* is a literary text containing a dream-omen. The symbols of the dream enumerate elements from the realm of the shepherd Dumuzi – reeds, trees, objects from the sheepfold etc.<sup>2)</sup> It is not easy to determine the logic behind the sequence, there are groups, such as plants in a growing order, followed by the objects of the sheepfold, animals, and finally the churn and the cup.<sup>3)</sup> The lines contain inner rhymes, and the choice of the symbols can be explained with formulas of oral poetry, and with the sound of the words according to Alster.<sup>4)</sup> It is not only oral poetry that explains the use of similar signs or words. Van de Mieroop has called attention to the pre-scientific logic in the omen series, the protases and the apodoses were often meant to be as similar to each other, as possible, and repetition was a common technique (Van de Mieroop, 2018, 27). Homophonic words, such as *saġ – saġ<sub>3</sub>*,<sup>5)</sup> and repeated signs (*zi – zi*)<sup>6)</sup> can be found in the present text as well (Alster 1972, 29; Van de Mieroop 2018.).

One can detect another kind of pun in the first dream-omen in *Dumuzi’s dream*. The line looks as follows:<sup>7)</sup>

27, 44. <sup>u</sup>*numun<sub>2</sub> ma-ra-an-zi-zi* <sup>u</sup>*numun<sub>2</sub> ma-ra-an-mu<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>*  
“the rushes rise, the rushes grow”



Looking at the sign forms, the graphemes used to write the verbs show resemblance to the grapheme of the subject of the line, the <sup>u</sup>numun<sub>2</sub> plant:<sup>8)</sup>



The first reduplicated verb (**zi-zi**) is the first part of the sign of **numun<sub>2</sub>**, and **mu<sub>2</sub>**, the second verb resembles the end of the sign:<sup>10)</sup>



Line 45, the solution part repeats the verb **zi** (**sa-gaz šubtum<sub>6</sub>-ta ma-ra-an-zi-zi** “the bandits rise from the lair”). As mentioned above, the words and some of the lines should rhyme with each other (**zig** and **zir** verbs in lines 27 and 30, both reduplicated as **zi-zi**) (Alster 1972, 29.). One manuscript, however, does not follow any of the established patterns. A 30289 (3 N-T 661, CDLI no: P356789.), writes **zi-ga** in line 45. A 30289 contradicts both Alster’s remark, and my suggestion on graphic plays. Without reduplication the line does not contain any rhymes, and thus, the scribe apparently did not consider it important. Also, **zi-ga** consists of one ZI and it does not mirror the double ZI signs in **numun<sub>2</sub>**. Statistics, on the other hand, suggests that the scribe of A 30289 did not get the joke: three manuscripts out of four wrote **zi-zi**.<sup>11)</sup> It may also be an explanation for the difference that the form **zi-ga** might have been in the mind of A 30289, which is known from other compositions (see *Pabilsağ’s journey to Nibru*, line 14. **ur-bar-ra-gin<sub>7</sub> šubtum<sub>6</sub>-ta zi-ga-ni dum-dam-e ak-da** “like a wolf, his rising from the lair makes much noise”).<sup>12)</sup> Bandits rising from the ambush is a cliché, and this textual variant could have been written by this scribe in *Dumuzi’s dream* (see, Delnero 2012).

A graphic pun could also explain an old problem of the text, how crabs can sing in line 7. Chanting frogs are not much of a surprise in line 8, but the singing crab<sup>13)</sup> in line 7 is one of the most intriguing parts of the composition (**al-lub i<sub>7</sub>-da giri<sub>16</sub> i-lu ġar-u<sub>3</sub>** “crab of the river, make a lament and wail!”).<sup>14)</sup> Alster suggested that the crab and the frog constitute a fixed pair in oral literature, and zoological facts, i.e., crabs do not croak, were secondary to the theme of singing.<sup>15)</sup> However, the two animals have a very few occurrences together, in fact, only one lexical text so far (MDP 27, no 45, 1-4 is a vocabulary text). Whether they constitute a fixed pair or not, it is possible that the idea of the singing crab also comes from a graphic pun. The word is written with the signs **al-lub** (NAR), and the second sign, NAR means ‘singer’.<sup>16)</sup> The name of the animal written with the sign NAR implies the assumed characteristics of the crab, but these features are theoretical scholarly reflections, based on the potentials of the writing system (see, Jiménez 2018; and Veldhuis 2004, 66 and Chapter 4).

Notes

1. See Böck 2000; Böck 2010; Brown 2000, 64ff.; Noegel 2007; Rochberg 2016, 92-93 with refs.
2. Oppenheim 1956, 213; Zgoll 2006, 125; for word plays in dreams, see Noegel 2001.
3. Alster 1972, 37-40; The elements are: grass, reed, double reed, forest, coal, churn, cup, shepherd’s stick, harrier, falcon, billy goat, ram, churn, cup.
4. Alster 1972, 29: “The reasoning behind this interpretation is the identical sound of the Sumerian words, ‘to tear out’ (**zi-zi**) and ‘to rise’ (**zi-zi**).”
5. See lines 46-47 (Alster 1972, 58). **Ugu** resembles the sign **saġ**, and the visual aspect might have been important, or they were chosen for their similar meaning: **ugu** ‘skull’ and **saġ** ‘head’ (**ama ugu-zu saġ ma-ra-an-saġ<sub>3</sub>-ge**).
6. See lines 44-45: **zi-zi**; 48-49: **ba<sub>9</sub>-re<sub>6</sub>** (Alster 1972, 58); lines 68-69: **hur-hur** (Alster 1972, 60).
7. A 30289 (3 N-T 661), CDLI no: P356789; AO 10665+ AO 10812, CDLI no: P453297; MS 3395, CDLI no: P252336.
8. For the use of similar techniques in omen-series, see Frahm 2010.
9. PSD: <http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd/psl/img/popup/Okos.png> 2019. 12. 10.
10. Michalowski (2010, 197-198) has a similar example, the verb in a line of a Šulgi-hymn is **zukum**, and the object is the *numun*-plant. Both of them are written with the same sign, the **numun<sub>2</sub>**.
11. UET 6, 186 (P346271); AO 10665+ AO 10812 (P453297); MS 3395 (P252336); AO 24146 (P368666).
12. CBS 11346 + CBS 13961 + CBS 15207 + HS 1472 + Ist Ni 04174, CDLI no. P268959.
13. For its identification as a crab, see MSL VIII/II, 92-94; Salonen 1970, 156-158; AHw **mur-tun<sub>3</sub>-na**; CAD A 1 360; Alster 1972, 85; Heimpel 1980-83, 223-225.
14. BM 113234: obv. 5; AO 10665 + AO 10812: obv. 7.

15. For science and literature, see Veldhuis 2004, 66. On singing crabs: Alster 1972, 85 and 26: "...we shall not be too surprised by finding an appeal to voiceless animals like crabs, to set up a lament... Again, the poet was forced by the parallelism to mention two kinds of animals in the swamp."; Heimpel 1980-83, 223: "Man hat also offensichtlich angenommen, daß Krebse Töne von sich gaben".

16. The word has many different spellings, see Salonen 1970, 157: **al-lub, a-lu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>x</sub>-lu**, "Wir sind der Meinung, dass allub, geschrieben al-lub, das alte khalkolitische auf -ub endende Substratwort für 'Krebs' ist... Wir haben also (a) Substrat allub, (b) sum. daran anklingend a-lu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>x</sub>-lu "with human arms"... und echt sum. mur-tun<sub>3</sub>-na..., (d) neuerfundenes Wortzeichen AL.LUL".

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**43) Vom Wüten der Innana** — In NABU 2020/4 hat Pascal Attinger meiner Übersetzung von Innana und Ebiḫ (InEb) 20<sup>1)</sup> mē-ba ḡ<sup>es</sup>tukul ūr-ra-gen<sub>7</sub> saḡ gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>-re-za „wenn du in der Schlacht, wie eine niederwalzende Keule, die Köpfe verbeulst“, NABU 2019/89 widersprochen. Attinger führt aus, dass man zwischen zwei Verben, nämlich kur<sub>4</sub> (GUR<sub>4</sub>)<sup>2)</sup> „être/devenir/rendre épais“ und gur<sub>(4)</sub> „se tordre, se tortiller“ und „(faire) rouler“ unterscheiden müsse. Insbesondere verweist er auf úru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi XXI 74: saḡ-du ḡ<sup>es</sup>ellá [g]ur/ḡ<sup>es</sup>kur<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-ra-àm mi-ni-ib-gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>-re-e-en = *qaqqadāti kīma pukkī kubbūti uštanaqrar* „Köpfe, die (wie) schwere (Holz-)Kugeln sind, lasse ich rollen“ (Übersetzung Volk 1989, 205, cf. Attinger 1998, 183). Agens ist ebenfalls Innana.

Auf das eigentliche Argument des Autors, dass Köpfe nur rollen können, wenn sie vorher auch abgeschnitten wurden, geht Attinger nicht ein. Wir würden ku<sub>5</sub>-ra statt ūr-ra erwarten, weshalb der jetzige Autor die Spur „rollen“ nicht weiter verfolgt hatte. Allerdings ist Attingers Argument unbestreitbar stark.

Attinger 2015, 355 übersetzt  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{tukul } \text{ur-ra-gen}_7$  „wie eine niedermähende Waffe“ und weniger frei Attinger 2019: „comme l’arme qui passe en nivelant (tout)“.

Mit  $\text{ur} = \text{sapānu}$  „niederwalzen, einebnen“ kommt man nicht zu einer Lösung, aber mit  $\text{ur} = \text{šakāku ša eqli}$  „eggen, vom Feld (gesagt)“. Vgl. auch  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{gāna-ur} = \text{maškakātu}$  „Egge“. Wenn man nach dem Umbruchpflügen und Zerschlagen der großen Schollen mit der Hacke das Feld mit der Egge bearbeitete, kamen sicher auch kleine Steine und Krumen ins Rollen und das wäre ein stimmiges Bild zu rollenden Köpfen. Also: „wenn du in jener Schlacht, wie Waffen die (das Schlachtfeld) eggen, die Köpfe rollen lässt“.

#### Anmerkungen

1. 19 in Attingers Zählung.

2. Die Lesung  $\text{gur}_4$  oder  $\text{kur}_4$  ist nicht eindeutig. Zu den von Attinger genannten Stellen kommt noch der regelmäßige Gebrauch von  $\text{gur}$  für  $\text{GUR}_4 = \text{kabru}$  „dick“ in FD IIIb Lagaš, siehe Selz 1989, 181. Im Semitischen wird in dieser Zeit in der Schrift zwischen  $\text{g/k}$  nicht unterschieden, doch dies lässt sich nicht auf das Sumerische übertragen.

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**44) Von Deichseln und Pappeln<sup>1)</sup>** — Für BU ist eine verwirrende Vielzahl ähnlicher Lesungen belegt. Proto-Ea 475a  $\text{dul}_{10}$  und aus späteren Listen:  $\text{madal}$ ,  $\text{mudul}$ ,  $\text{madla}$ ,  $\text{mudla}$ ,  $\text{mudlu}$ ,  $\text{malla}$ ,  $\text{mulla}$ .<sup>2)</sup> Dieser Befund bedarf der Erklärung. Hier soll die These vertreten werden, dass es sich um ein Lehnwort für den technischen Begriff „Deichsel“ handelt.<sup>3)</sup> Lehnworte etablieren oft konkurrierende Formen. Hinzu kommt die Vokalharmonie im Sumerischen, die einen Ausgleich nach /u/ und nach /a/ erzeugen kann. Bei Entlehnungen bzw. Rückentlehnungen können auch die semitischen Endung –a und –u(m) hinzukommen.

Die Lesungen  $\text{mudul}$ ,  $\text{madal}$ ,  $\text{madla}$ ,  $\text{madlu}$  überschneiden sich auch in den angegebenen Gleichungen. Siehe CAD M I 133a s. v.  $\text{makkû}$ . Lexikalisch belegtes  $\text{mudulu}$  ist wohl eine Entlehnung von  $\text{mudul}$  und ist mit  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{mudul}$  und  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{madal}$  geglichen (CAD M II 168a). Ein älteres Lehnwort ist wohl  $\text{muttû} = \text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{mu-ud-la}$  BU, CAD M II 313b. Dem geht Proto-Diri 170e:  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{BU} = \text{muttû}/\text{mattû}$  voraus.

Altsumerisch ist mit  $(\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}})\text{ma-dul}_{10}$  wahrscheinlich eine Deichsel gemeint. Es ist ein Gegenstand, der aus verschiedenen Hölzern in geringer Anzahl hergestellt wird.<sup>4)</sup> In DP 410 i 3; iv 6; DP 486 i 1 werden  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{ma-dul}_{10}\text{-mar}$  genannt. Selz interpretiert „Holzstiele für Spaten“. Wegen  $\text{anše-mar}$  deutet Bauer mit Verweis auf  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{mar} = \text{narkabtu}$   $\text{mar}$  altsumerisch als „Wagen“.<sup>5)</sup> Dazu passt die geringe Anzahl 1 bis 6. Es können nicht einfache Holzstiele gewesen sein, denn die Frau des Ensi von Adab schickt Baranamtara 6  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{ma-dul}_{10}$   $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{mèš-bābbar}$  5  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{ma-dul}_{10}$   $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{še-du}_{10}$  zusammen mit einer größeren Zahl von hölzernen Eimer.<sup>6)</sup>

In TSA 29 i 2 werden 7  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{še-du}_{10}$   $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{ma-dul}_{10}$   $\text{nîĝ-šu-ka}$  genannt. Deichseln von Handkarren? Davor 1  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{še-du}_{10}$   $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{ma-dul}_{10}$   $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{ĥar-ĥa-da-ka}$ . Selz vermutet in  $\text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{ĥar-ĥa-da}$  einen Rechen,<sup>7)</sup> Schrakamp übersetzt „Dreschschlitten“<sup>8)</sup>.

Nach Ur III Beschwörungen ist  $\text{mu-dul}_{10}$  gekrümmt:  $\text{li an-na } \text{ùri-bé ki } \text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{ĥa-l[u-úb-bé]} \text{ é-an-na-ka mu-dul}_{10}$   $\text{gurum-ma-bé eridu}^{\text{ki}}\text{-ga anzu}^{\text{mušen}}\text{-bābbar-[bé]} \text{ unug}^{\text{ki}}\text{-ga gu}_4 \text{ me } \text{àm-gùru-bé}$  „Wacholder, des Himmels Standarte, der Erde Ĥalub-Baum, des Eanna gekrümmte Deichsel, Eridus weißer Anzu-Adler, Uruks Stier, der mit ‚Me‘ angetan ist“ FSB 77 ii 1-7. Cf. Sulge E 234:  $\text{ma-da gu-ti-um}^{\text{ki}}\text{-ma } \text{ĝes}^{\text{t}}\text{muBU}^{\text{um}}\text{-gen}_7 \text{ mu-gurum}$  „das Land der Gutäer habe ich wie eine... gekrümmt“. Rudik interpretiert „gekrümmte Säule“ und nimmt an, dass Innanas Symbol gemeint ist.<sup>9)</sup> Letzteres ist nachvollziehbar, aber „gekrümmte Säule“ ist ein Notbehelf.

Gut zu sehen ist eine gekrümmte Deichsel auf Reliefs von Assurnasirpal II und Tiglathpileser III, PKG<sup>10)</sup> 202a, 203a, 204a, 205, 218. Was auf einem altakkadischen Siegel den Götterwagen mit den Gewitterlöwen verbindet, dürfte eher eine gekrümmte Deichsel als Taue sein, PKG 137d. An einem Bruchstück des Wagens auf der „Stele des Gudea“ ist noch eine vielleicht übertrieben gebogene Deichsel zu sehen, PKG 111b. Anscheinend band man dünne Hölzer zusammen, weil man eine Stange nicht biegen konnte.

Dieser sicher nicht vollständige Überblick über relevante Abbildungen zeigt, dass gebogene Deichseln üblich waren. Die Deichsel war beim Bremsen wichtig, damit der Wagen nicht in die Zugtiere rollte. Eine gebogene, leicht elastische Deichsel konnte den Stoß abfedern. Bei zweirädrigen Wagen diente die Deichsel auch dazu, den Wagen im Gleichgewicht zu halten und auch dabei war die Federwirkung einer gebogenen Deichsel wahrscheinlich ein Vorteil. Das oben als Material für <sup>ĝeš</sup>ma-dul<sub>10</sub> genannte Holz <sup>ĝeš</sup>še-du<sub>10</sub> wurde auch für Bögen verwandt,<sup>11)</sup> war also elastisch.

Das Bild der gekrümmten Deichsel findet sich auch in Innana und Ebiḫ 71: á nam-šita<sub>4</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> šu ḡá-ḡá<sup>mu</sup>mudulum<sub>x</sub>(BU)<sup>um</sup>-gen<sub>7</sub> gurum „die erforderlichen Requisiten(?) in Angriff zu nehmen – gekrümmt wie eine Deichsel“.

Die meisten mit mudul etc. geglichenen Worte sind nur in entsprechenden Gleichungen belegt. Eine Ausnahme ist *maššû*. CAD hat zwei verschiedene Worte als maššû A zusammengefasst, trennt aber unsere Gleichungen unter 2 ab. Die beiden einsprachigen Belege sind wenig erhellend. In YOS 13, 157 wird 1 ma-šū-ú am Ende einer Liste von Möbelteilen genannt. GCCI 2, 160, 3 ist neubabylonisch und bezieht sich auf Eisen u. a. von *maššû*. Denkbar wäre, dass Eisenbänder eine aus elastischen Hölzern gemachte Deichsel zusammenhielten oder dass das Eisen von einem Scharnier stammte.

Eine aufschlussreiche Gleichung steht nicht wie die obigen in Hh VI (+ Diri), sondern in Hh V 46 (MSL 6, 9): <sup>ĝeš</sup>mu-dul<sub>10</sub>-gigir = *mašaddu* „Deichsel“. Das Wort steht noch einmal in Hh VI 241-43 nach [ĝeš x].du, [ĝeš x x].DÛ, [ĝeš x].DÛ. Da in Hh I 240 wohl [ĝeš-ḡd-da] = MIN (*ariku*) zu ergänzen ist, könnte das erste x sehr wohl BU sein. Also [<sup>ĝeš</sup>mudu<sub>x</sub>]<sup>du</sup> ? DÛ ist wahrscheinlich gag „Nagel“, „Pflock“ zu lesen. Auch ein anderes Wort für Deichsel za-ra = *zarû* wird mit DÛ/gag kombiniert. Siehe CAD Z 70a.

Attinger (persönl. Mitteilung) kritisiert Umschriften wie <sup>ĝeš</sup>mu<sup>mu</sup>mudulum<sub>x</sub>(BU)<sup>um</sup> als „très artificielles“ und verweist auf die Variante <sup>ĝeš</sup>al-la in InEb 71, MS 3340. Geglichen ist <sup>ĝeš</sup>al-la(-an) mit *allānu* nach CAD A I 354b sowohl „oak“ (cf. hebr. *allōn*) als auch „acorn“. Von der Verbreitung her und weil sie einen krummen, gewundenen Stamm hat, bietet sich die Aleppo-Eiche, *Quercus infectoria* an. Der höchstens 5 m hohe Baum oder Strauch ist allerdings nicht das, was man sich gemeinhin unter einer Eiche vorstellt. Der Wechsel mit <sup>ĝeš</sup>al-la in einem Vergleich ist nicht ausreichend, um einen realen Baum <sup>ĝeš</sup>mu-bu-um zu belegen. Dieser fehlt im Abschnitt über Bäume in ur<sub>5</sub>-ra *hubullu* III<sup>12)</sup> und dem Autor sind auch keine anderen Belege bekannt, die für einen realen Baum sprechen. Ein mythischer Baum wäre nur an den fraglichen Stellen belegt. Ein Vergleich mit einer gebogenen Deichsel passt hingegen gut. Attinger weist mich auch auf <sup>ĝeš</sup>/BU(-um) InEb N<sub>17</sub>, N<sub>III10</sub> als mögliche Stütze meiner Deutung hin „mais des fautes sont aussi envisageables“.

Nur unter Berücksichtigung der Geschichte der Zeichen lässt sich entscheiden, ob ein Bestandteil ein Lautindikator ist. Attinger liest ildág = A.AM aufgrund einer syllabischen Schreibung aus Meturan als <sup>e</sup>ldig. Da A syllabisch a zu lesen ist, leuchtet das nicht ein.<sup>13)</sup> Das Zeichen ist frühdynastisch GEŠTINxKUR (LAK 630, RSP 213, Bauer 1972, 259). AM ist eine Vereinfachung. Zwei in AM überflüssige Keile wurden vorgezogen und sind zu A geworden.<sup>14)</sup> Zu vergleichen wäre etwa die Entwicklung zweier horizontaler Keile zu PA bei ANŠE.<sup>15)</sup>

Die Entwicklung der Zeichen ist komplex und die Formen beeinflussen sich untereinander. Ein Beispiel ist <sup>ĝeš</sup>asál/asár (A.TU.GAB.LIŠ) „Euphrat-Pappel“.

Ein Charakteristikum der Euphrat-Pappel ist, dass sie häufig mehr als einen Stamm hervorbringt, bzw. der Stamm sich spaltet. In UET II S.134 lässt sich noch das Bild eines Baumes mit zwei Stämmen und Kronen erkennen. Der Anfang erinnert an UET II S.133 TU, ist aber nicht identisch. In Tell Fāra ist A als Lautindikator für /a/ hinzugekommen.<sup>16)</sup> TU (LAK 211) wird an den Anfang von asál angeglichen. Obwohl dies eine Entwicklung des Zeichens TU ist, bewirkt die Identität eines Teiles von asál mit TU die wesentlich spätere Aufteilung von asál und sie hat auch moderne Betrachter dazu gebracht, den Rest von

asál ebenfalls als eigenes Zeichen anzusehen. Der Rest von asál = LAK 212, RSP 55 wird in CAD S 109b fälschlich als NIR (NUN über NUN, LAK 122, RSP 102) gedeutet. In Wirklichkeit ist der hintere Teil als selbständiges Zeichen nicht vorhanden. Deimel schiebt den Rest zwischen LAK 119 und LAK 120 ohne eigene Nummer ein und verweist auf LAK 212, asál. In ED IIIb wird dann der Rest an den hinteren Teil von RSP 345 *ĝešnimbar* „Dattelpalme“ angeglichen. Weil der Anfang graphisch TU entspricht, kann das Zeichen frühsargonisch getrennt werden (TMH 5, 155, 6). Nach der Trennung durchläuft der hintere Teil einen ähnlichen Prozess. Sein Anfang wird an GAB angeglichen (Gud. Zyl. A xxii 18). Die verbleibenden Keile ergeben dann LIŠ.

#### Anmerkungen

1. Pascal Attinger hat das Manuskript gelesen und mir umgehend Kritik und Ergänzungen zukommen lassen. Dafür möchte ich mich auch hier bedanken! Die Verantwortung für Fehler liegt natürlich einzig beim Autor.
2. Borger 2010, 159. Beachte *muḏlu* nicht in CAD M I 313a, aber MSL 6, 58 angegeben.
3. Die Interpretation „Deichsel“ wurde bereits von Civil 1984, 96 vorgeschlagen.
4. Dazu Belege Selz 1989, 509f.
5. Bauer 1972, 191.
6. Nik. 1, 281, siehe Selz 1989, 509f.
7. A. a. O.
8. Schrakamp 2010, 157; siehe auch Steinkeller 1990 (Hinweis Attinger).
9. Rudik 2011, 405.
10. Abkürzung steht für Abbildungen in Orthmann 1985.
11. AWL 73 ii 1; TSA 29 i 3, Schrakamp 2010, 157.
12. MSL 5, 83-142, Ergänzungen MSL 9, 159-67, siehe auch Powell 1987.
13. Dazu ausführlicher in Keetman 2020.
14. So bereits Gudea Zyl. A v 8; vi 9.
15. Mittermaier 2005, 33-35.
16. Krebernik 1998, 283 Anm. 522; Bauer 1972, 259.

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**45) A propos de J. Keetman, How to transliterate Sumerian? (NABU 2020/3)** — Dans une note récente (NABU 2020/3), J. Keetman a discuté quelques-unes des lectures utilisées dans aBZL (Attinger 2006) et plus généralement regretté que les nouvelles lectures ne soient normalement pas, ou pas suffisamment, justifiées. J'ai évoqué brièvement dans Attinger 2007:37 les raisons de la chose, et il est inutile que j'y revienne ici. Je travaille actuellement à une version imprimée très augmentée de mon "Lexique sumérien-français" (Attinger 2019), qui contiendra entre autres choses une discussion des

translittérations proposées si elles diffèrent de l'usage courant. Dans le reste de cette note, j'aimerais revenir sur quelques-unes des propositions de Keetman.

**alam/alan:** Sur la base de PrEa 845 (a-la-am [Jy] // a-la-aĝ<sub>2</sub> [Jx]) et des gloses et graphies non-standards ppB, mais sans mention de de Maaijer/Jagersma 2003/2004:354 sq. et d'Attinger 2005:272, Keetman donne la préférence à alam. En fait, mis à part PrEa 845 et SEpM 6:2 X17d 1 (a-la-am), tout plaide pour une forme ancienne /alan/; cf. siškur<sub>2</sub> alan-na (AUCT 3, 85:6, MVN 13, 106:3, PDT 2, 2015:3, Rochester 86:4), alan-na ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> litt. “(de l'argent) à placer sur la statue” (CST 546:7), 'mu-sar-ra alan<sup>1</sup>-na (Sargon 11 col. 2 [copie pB]), alan-na-ni “sa forme, sa stature” (Ĝardu A 7) et a-la-na-ni = alan-a-ni (Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi, ZA 83, 178:15 MA).

**<sup>a</sup>arim<sub>x</sub>(NE.RU):** D'après l'auteur, deux termes différents se cacheraient derrière NE.RU, erim<sub>2</sub> et ne-ru, mais il ne prouve pas la finale vocalique de ne-ru. L'alternative serait de poser un seul lexème \*enerum (ainsi avec hésitation Attinger 1993:630 avec n. 1813), avec deux allomorphes conditionnés par le déplacement de l'accent. L'évolution /enerum/ > /nerum/ serait comparable à l'alternance /akan/ (akan<sub>2</sub>) vs /kan/ (kan<sub>4</sub>) “porte”. En ce qui concerne /erim/, on pourrait imaginer quelque chose comme /enerum/ > /enrum/ (cf. en-ru<sub>12</sub> à Ebla dans VE 197) > /enre/im/ (harmonie vocalique) /ere/im/ (simplification du groupe consonantique). Un argument en faveur de /enerum/ pourrait être la graphie d'Ur III A.NE.RU (aux attestations cités par l'auteur dans la note 2, ajouter 'nam-A<sup>1</sup>.NE.RU ku<sub>4</sub> dans Zettler, CM 31, 504:5 [Ur III, Nippur]), s'il faut lire e<sub>4</sub>-ne-ru; <sup>e</sup>erim<sub>2</sub> est toutefois également possible. La conjecture de Keetman que le lexème était originellement /arim/ et que A.NE.RU doit être lu <sup>a</sup>arim<sub>x</sub> n'est pas en soi exclue, mais elle repose sur l'hypothèse non prouvée que si A est un indicateur phonétique, il ne peut recouvrir que /a/. Ses essais d'éliminer A.ESIR<sub>2</sub> (<sup>e</sup>esir<sub>2</sub>), A.TIR (eša/eše<sub>4</sub> = <sup>e</sup>TIR) et A.AM (<sup>e</sup>eldig) ne sont à mon sens pas très convaincants. L'argument que e<sub>4</sub> n'est pas un phonogramme usuel est juste, mais le système des indicateurs phonétiques contient nombre de valeurs qui ne sont pas utilisées dans les gloses ou les textes “syllabiques” (e.g. ĝeš et tu<sub>9</sub> dans ĝeš-tu<sub>9</sub>ĝeštu et sag<sub>3</sub> dans sag<sub>3</sub>sag<sub>7</sub> [“sag<sub>2</sub>”]).

**bara<sub>2</sub> ou para<sub>10</sub>:** Si para<sub>10</sub> était la lecture ancienne, on ne voit pas pourquoi il aurait évolué en bara<sub>2</sub> à l'ép. ppB (ainsi Keetman). D'après lui, “[t]he reading para<sub>10</sub> may be a reflex of the loan *parakkum*” et un peu plus loin “[i]t could be a problem of the quality of some OB texts and not an unexplained development p > b in the younger tradition”. En fait, tout plaide pour /para/ à l'ép. pB, et même à l'ép. ppB, /para/ concurrence /bara/; cf. MSL 14, 113 n° 3 (pB, Ur) ii 9 (pa-ra) et les graphies non-standard pa-la-aG (Alster, ASJ 14, 15:152 [provenance incertaine], Samsuiluna F B 6' [provenance incertaine]) et pa-ra (Nanna M 16, 19 [Sippar?], UN B 66 B [provenance incertaine]). Les textes lexicaux tardifs ont soit une initiale /b/ (ba-ar dans S<sup>a</sup> 400, ba-ra dans S<sup>b</sup>B 352), soit une initiale /p/ (pa-ra dans CT 11, 43 i' [2'(?)]-8' [Idu], glose pa-ra-aG pour para<sub>10</sub>-k = šarru dans MSL 12, 93:29 [Lu short 29]). Quelle que soit donc l'origine de /para/, c'est la lecture standard à l'ép. pB et elle n'est pas seulement le fait de “some OB texts”.

**be<sub>6</sub>(PI):** Dans les textes littéraires pB, be<sub>6</sub> n'est attesté que dans be<sub>6</sub>-lu<sub>5</sub>-da (graphie historique). La valeur pi (plutôt que pe) est rare, mais pas inconnue (Keetman: “I don't know any occasion where a reading pi is used in Sumerian and even the OB examples for pe may be be<sub>6</sub>”). Cf. par ex. 'pi<sup>1</sup>-za-za = bi<sub>2</sub>-za-za “grenouille” (DuDr. 8 O' [Suse]) et pi-il = pe-el (adjectif et verbe) (Diatribes B A 16 [Isin] et emeš-enten 303 [dans trois duplicats // pe-el). En ce qui concerne pi-li-pi-li, noter en faveur de l'auteur pe-el-pe-le dans Samsuiluna A 53 B (Nippur).

**nin<sub>9</sub>-e<sub>5</sub> (“soeur princière”):** Keetman remet en question la justesse de la lecture nin-e<sub>5</sub> et propose diverses explications selon les passages (ereš<sup>c</sup>, nin<sub>9</sub> nin-ĝu<sub>10</sub> “my sister and ruler”, nin<sub>9</sub>-e-ĝu<sub>10</sub> “cette mienne soeur”). Dans les cas où il lit “nin<sub>9</sub> nin-ĝu<sub>10</sub>” (Lugalb. II 294 ± // 309 ± // 321 ± // 360 ± // 375, 387, dans “nin<sub>9</sub> nin-ĝu<sub>10</sub>” ku<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>innana-ke<sub>4</sub>/ra), il ne mentionne toutefois ni la graphie non-standard nin<sub>(9)</sub>-e-ĝu<sub>10</sub> (Lugalb. II 360 U et W, 375 et 387 W), ni le fait que le signe lu par lui nin est pratiquement toujours écrit NIN<sub>9</sub>. Ceci dit, je n'exclurais pas que dans EWO 403, 406 et 412, “cette mienne soeur” soit effectivement l'interprétation correcte.

**imi:** “i-mi” dans PrEa 660 (ainsi MSL 9, 119) n'existant pas, la lecture imi postulée par Lieberman (1977:328 n° 356) et maintenant par Keetman (loc. cit.) ne repose que sur le témoignage des textes lexicaux ppB. L'absence du directif après IM dans Gudea Cyl. A 11:23, où l'auteur voit un argument en faveur d'une lecture imi/ime<sub>x</sub>, ne peut être invoqué dans ce contexte. Indépendamment du fait que dans ce passage, il

faut probabl. lire IM tumu, un oblique non marqué après si sa<sub>2</sub> est fréquent chez Gudea si le verbe est conjugué et contient un élément “locatif” (v. déjà Attinger 1993:182 rem. 2; cf. Cyl. A 5:6, 10:8, 26, Cyl. B 4:9, St. F 3:12 sq.); particulièrement frappant est le contraste entre entre gud-e šu<sub>4</sub>-dul<sub>5</sub>-la si sa<sub>2</sub>-a-da (Cyl. B 15:10) vs gud-Ø šu<sub>4</sub>-dul<sub>5</sub>-la / si ba-ni-sa<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub> (St. F 3:12 sq.). Pour en revenir à la lecture de IM “pluie”, /im/ est assuré pour im “boue”, qui est étymologiquement certainement apparenté à IM “pluie”, par le très fréquent im-ma “dans la boue”. Dans l’acception “pluie”, cf. im-ḫulu im-ma-gen<sub>7</sub> (Ean. 1, 10:3), im-me-eš (Lugale 274 D<sub>1</sub> et F<sub>1</sub>) et im(-)ma(-)an-na = im an-na-k (ŠA 64 X<sub>12</sub>(?), X<sub>22</sub>, X<sub>25</sub>).

\*mi<sub>2</sub>: Les problèmes soulevés par la lecture de MUNUS sont plus complexes que ne le suggère le commentaire succinct de l’auteur; v. par ex. Lieberman 1977:393 sq. n° 478, Krecher 1978:31 n. 24, Attinger 1993:611, Krebernik 2002:14 n. 43. Les textes lexicaux plaident pour /mim/n/ et/ou /mem/n/ (PrEa ṛme<sup>1</sup>-em, etc.; v. Lieberman et Krecher, op. cit.), ni mi<sub>2</sub>, ni me<sub>x</sub> ne sont enregistrés. Ces deux valeurs sont toutefois assez vraisemblables dans les cas suivants:

– me<sub>x</sub>: dans le NP me<sub>x</sub>-sag<sub>3</sub>-nu-di = me-sag<sub>3</sub>-nu-di (DP 135 i 10; v. Krebernik, loc. cit.); me<sub>x</sub>-ṛa<sup>1</sup> = me-a (Nanna A 1 B [provenance incertaine]); [M]I<sub>2</sub> am<sub>3</sub>-MI<sub>2</sub> = mim am<sub>3</sub>-me (TMH NF 4, 79 rev. 15’; v. Attinger 1993:286 ex. 126); noter enfin la graphie non-standard me du<sub>11</sub>-ga pour mim du<sub>11</sub>-ga dans UET 6, 123:5 (Catalogue Ur2 5).

– mi<sub>2</sub>: Pour <sup>ges</sup>za<sub>3</sub>-MUNUS “lyre” (à distinguer de za<sub>3</sub>-mem<sub>x</sub> “(chant de) louange”; v. infra<sup>1</sup>), on a anciennement za<sub>3</sub>-me, et cette graphie est encore sporadiquement attestée à l’ép. pB (cf. par ex. ŠB 161 Ab). Toutefois dès l’ép. d’Ur III, les graphies standards et non-standards plaident pour /zami/; cf. surtout za-mi (Maekawa, ASJ 18,165 rev. i 11 [Ur III administratif, Umma<sup>2</sup>]) et (<sup>ges</sup>)za<sub>3</sub>-mi (dans les documents administratifs d’Isin; cf. Van De Mierop 1987:154 sq. et Michalowski 2010:219<sup>3</sup>). Le locatif (<sup>ges</sup>)za<sub>3</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub>/me-a dans ŠB 161 (quatre duplicats; (<sup>ges</sup>)za<sub>3</sub>-mIm-a serait orthographiquement anomal) et l’emprunt akkadien *sammû* plaident également pour une finale vocalique. Noter enfin mi du-ga-zu pour mim du<sub>11</sub>-ga-zu dans CT 44, 12:13 (v. Civil 1967:206).

Le terme pour “éloge, louange” en revanche est probabl. /zamen/ devant consonne et en finale absolue, mais /zame/ devant voyelle (type izin/m). Il est écrit anciennement za<sub>3</sub>-me (UGN ZADIM-me), à partir d’Ur III za<sub>3</sub>-MUNUS (à Ur III seulement dans les NP [8 attestations dans BDTNS]). Devant voyelle, le seul exemple que je connaisse est <sup>ges</sup>ig za<sub>3</sub>-mem<sub>x</sub>-ma “une porte de louanges” = “une porte (chantant mes) louanges” dans Šuilišu 1:15 (cf. Krebernik 1997:124 et Attinger 2009:38). Devant consonne et en finale absolue, za-am-me-en (Samsuiluna F B 7’ [provenance incertaine]), za-am-me-ni (Cavigneaux/al-Rawi, ZA 92, 28 ii 12 [Tell Haddad]) et za<sub>3</sub>-me-en (Ninisina C 43 [provenance incertaine]<sup>4</sup>), ŠC b 19 [Nippur]<sup>5</sup>) plaident pour /zamen/, za<sub>3</sub>-ma (Išbi-Erra E 118 X3; harmonie vocalique) et za<sub>3</sub>-mi (Išme-Dagan A 368 I [Ur]) pour une finale vocalique.

En bref, et pour résumer ces remarques complexes, il faudrait lire selon les cas me<sub>x</sub>, mi<sub>2</sub>, mem<sub>x</sub>/men<sub>x</sub> et mim/min<sub>2</sub>. Pour des raisons de commodité, je ne distingue pas mem<sub>x</sub>/men<sub>x</sub> de mim/min<sub>2</sub> et translittère normalement dans tous les contextes mim/min<sub>2</sub>.

še<sub>x</sub>: Une telle valeur n’est pas sûrement attestée à l’ép. pB. En ce qui concerne la base plurielle de til<sub>3</sub>, on connaît deux graphies non-standards: še aux époques (pré)sargoniques à Nippur (v. Steinkeller 1985, Meyer-Laurin 2011:52 n. 136, Keetman) et ze<sub>2</sub> à Ur III (Umma) dans Koslova, Santag 6, 154:9 (i<sub>3</sub>-in-ze<sub>2</sub>-eš-am<sub>3</sub>; v. Molina/Such-Gutiérrez 2004:4). La question de savoir si ga-še-a (Ur III Puzriš-Dagan et Umma, rarement aussi Ĝirsu) et ga-SIG<sub>7</sub>-a (Ur III Ĝirsu, Umma et Ur, pB) sont ou non deux graphies d’un seul et même terme n’est pas encore définitivement tranchée (v. la position réservée de Molina/Such-Gutiérrez 2004:5 n. 15). Dans les textes lexicaux p(p)B, une valeur /še/ n’est pas enregistrée. PrEa 413 et Klein/Sefati 2020:93 iv 14-18 (branche secondaire de Proto-Aa, provenance inconnue) ont Ze-e (ze-e ou se<sub>2</sub>-e)<sup>6</sup>, Aa V/3:177’ a si-i (traduction cassée). Dans ces conditions, le mieux est d’ajouter dans aBZL p. 78 n° 198 la valeur se<sub>12</sub>, comme Keetman le propose.

šer<sub>2</sub>: Keetman ne cite aucun exemple pB.

šilig: šilig n’est pas “cancelled in aBZL” (ainsi Keetman), mais seulement pas utilisé (cf. aBZL p. x: “In der Liste der Lesungen wird zwischen gut belegten (normal), selten belegten (in runden Klammern) und im *Glossaire sumérien* nicht benutzten (in eckigen Klammern) Lesungen unterschieden.”).

ze<sub>5</sub>: Cette valeur de AB<sub>2</sub>-ŠA<sub>3</sub>.GI est inconnue des textes pB.

**Notes**

1. Sur la lecture de <sup>(ĝes)</sup>za<sub>3</sub>-MUNUS et de za<sub>3</sub>-MUNUS, cf. Lieberman 1977:526 sq, Attinger 1993:758, Cavigneaux/al-Rawi 2002:51, Michalowski 2010:218 sq. Avec Michalowski, j'admets que <sup>(ĝes)</sup>za<sub>3</sub>-MUNUS et za<sub>3</sub>-MUNUS ne sont pas homophones.
2. Cf. Michalowski 2010:222.
3. Lire za<sub>3</sub>-mi, pas za-mi. Remarquer que <sup>(ĝes)</sup>za<sub>3</sub>-MUNUS est également attesté (BIN 9, 496:1 et 8).
4. Cf. Cohen 2017:90.
5. Cf. Castellino, StSem. 42, 260 G 15.
6. Dans Klein/Sefati 2020:93 iv 14-18 pour *banûm*, *damqum*, *warqum*, *raṭbum* et *lā banûm*.

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**46) A graphic Expedient for Counting Sheep in Ur III Ĝirsu** — In a few texts from Ur-III Ĝirsu, we can find a peculiar use of a well-known notation system aimed at offering a graphic expedient for a quick counting that, at the same time, distinguished sheep from goats.

As clear by their colophon, these texts record the number of sheep (udu) and goats (maš<sub>2</sub>) 'taken over' (dab<sub>5</sub>-ba) by individuals for grazing in a given field (a-ša<sub>3</sub>) in a given year (mu). In their main text, each listed individual is preceded by one or more AŠ or DIŠ, or even both. AŠ and DIŠ normally refer respectively to reduced and full labor service in the worker inspections (gurum<sub>2</sub> aka), or respectively to 1 gur (300 liters) and 1 ba-ri<sub>2</sub>-ga (60 liters) in the common capacity system. However, both the interpretations hardly fit with the context of such texts, where we would expect the number of sheep and goats grazing in



the mentioned field. At this point, one may wonder whether this kind of notation in this context aimed at distinguishing the number of sheep (AŠ) and goats (DIŠ) entrusted to each mentioned individual; this interpretation is indeed suggested by TÉL 262 (IS 1/-):

TÉL 262 (IS 1/-)  
 Obv. 1-7  
 2(AŠ) 1(DIŠ) Lu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Na-du<sub>3</sub>-a / šabra / 1(AŠ) Ab-ba-ge-na / <...> Lu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Na-du<sub>3</sub>-a engar / 2(AŠ) Ur-tu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>sag<sup>1</sup>engar<sup>1</sup> /  
 [...] lu<sub>2</sub>-[...] / [...]  
 Rev. 1- 10  
 [En]-i<sub>3</sub>-na-kal / [...] U<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>2</sub> sipa<sup>1</sup> / 2(AŠ) I<sub>7</sub>-a-bi-du<sub>10</sub> sipa / 1(AŠ) 1(DIŠ) Ba-za sipa / 2(AŠ) Ba-a-ga sipa / sipa ereš-  
 diġir <sup>d</sup>Ba-U<sub>2</sub>-me / 2(AŠ) 1(DIŠ) Im-ti-dam šabra / a-ša<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub> Ur-<sup>es</sup>gigir / **udu ba-dab<sub>5</sub> / 12 udu 10 maš<sub>2</sub>**  
 Left edge  
 mu <sup>d</sup>I-bi<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Suen / lugal

The sum of AŠ is 12, as the total number of sheep, while the sum of DIŠ is only 3, though the total number of goats is 10.<sup>1)</sup>

This notation can be also found in CUSAS 16, 104 (ŠŠ 1/-), listing individuals preceded by AŠ or DIŠ (or both) and ending with the total of sheep and goats taken over (rev. 24: šu-nigin<sub>2</sub> 50 udu 3 maš<sub>2</sub> dab<sub>5</sub>-ba). Notwithstanding the several breaks of the tablet, the number of sheep fits to the number of lines listing individuals.

Other texts where this kind of notation can be found are: MVN 6, 140 (Š 36/-), MVN 6, 415 (AS 1/-), MVN 6, 145 (AS 9/-), and MVN 5, 176 (ŠŠ 1/-), which record accounts (niġ<sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> aka) of sheep and goats that have grazed in a given field (a-ša<sub>3</sub>) in a given year (mu)<sup>2)</sup>. Unfortunately, these texts do not report the total number of sheep and goats, thus it is not possible to ascertain whether the number of AŠ and DIŠ correspond to the total number of animals counted. In my opinion, given their context, this is however the most suitable interpretation for this kind of notation in CUSAS 16, 104, MVN 6, 140, MVN 6, 145, MVN 6, 415, MVN 5, 176, and TÉL 262.

By moving the relevant information at the beginning of each entry, the scribe was enabled to quickly calculate the sum of the listed animals and, at the same time, to keep separate the number of sheep and goats counted.

#### Note

1. The remaining number of goats is likely lost in the breaks of the tablet.
2. These texts are part of a group of documents of similar content. The other texts of this group fully specify the number of sheep and goats entrusted to each individual (*n* udu *n* maš<sub>2</sub> PN). The present writer is preparing a study on them.

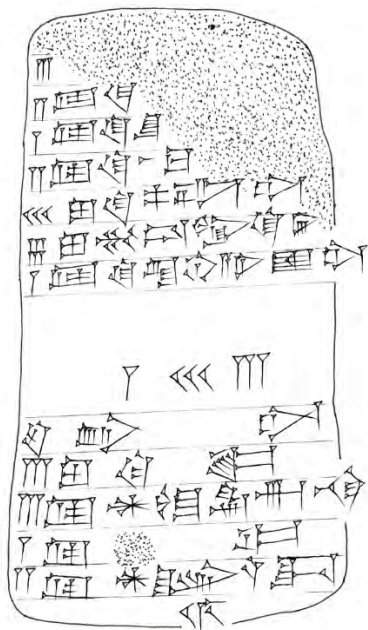
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**47) Six Neo-Sumerian Economic Texts in the Bridwell Library** — The following six cuneiform economic texts from the A. V. Lane Museum, Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University, are dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur (ca. 2112-2004 BC). Their proveniences are Puzriš-Dagan, Umma and Girsu. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to R. Arvid Nelsen, Daniel J. Slive and Eric White for generously granting permission for their publication. Any mistakes or errors, however, are my sole responsibility.

**1. Transaction of animals.** Identification Number: Lane Museum 05, Provenience: Puzriš-Dagan, undated, CDLI no.: P413897.

Obv.	1. [n x ki -ta]	[...from PN],
	2. 3 [n x ki -ta]	3 [...from PN],
	3. 2 sila <sub>4</sub> ki [ -ta]	2 lambs from [PN],
	4. 1 sila <sub>4</sub> ki Šu-[ -ta]	1 lamb from [PN],
	5. 2 sila <sub>4</sub> ki Aš-qu <sub>2</sub> -[da-num <sub>2</sub> -ta]	2 lambs from Ašqudanum,
	6. 30 udu ki šabra-ta	30 sheep from the chief temple administrator,
	7. 6 udu mu-DU Kiš <sup>ki</sup> -er	6 sheep delivery of Kiššer,
	8. 1 sila <sub>4</sub> ki La-te-ni-iš-ta	1 lamb from Lateniš,

- |  |    |                                 |
|--|----|---------------------------------|
| 9. =====   | 93 | (total:) 93.                    |
| 10. ša <sub>3</sub> -bi-ta                                       |    | Therefrom:                      |
| 11. 3 udu sa <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub>                      |    | 3 sheep, the regular offerings, |
| 12. 3 sila <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nin-ku <sub>3</sub> -nun-na |    | 3 lambs for Ninkununa,          |
| 13. 1 sila <sub>4</sub> [ <sup>d</sup> Nin-hur]-saĝ              |    | 1 lamb for Ninhursag,           |
| 14. 2 sila <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> Lugal-u <sub>4</sub> -da    |    | 2 lambs for Lugaluda,           |
| 15. 10-la <sub>2</sub> -1  |    | (total:) 9,                     |



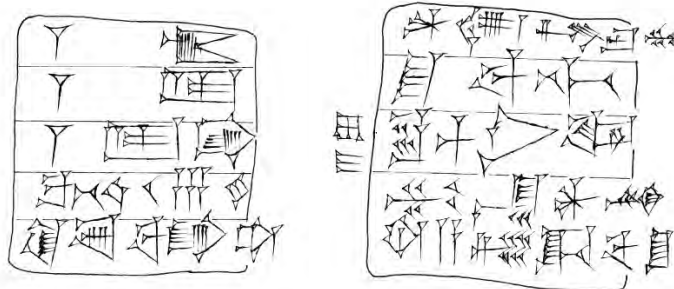
- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| Rev. 16. zi-ga lugal   |  | royal withdrawal;                            |
| 17. =====  |  |  |
| 18. 10 udu ša <sub>3</sub> e <sub>2</sub> -gal-še <sub>3</sub> Aš-qu <sub>2</sub> -da-num <sub>2</sub> |  | 10 sheep into the palace for Ašqudanum,      |
| 19. 0 udu ka <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> Gu-la   |  | 0 sheep for the gate of Gula,                |
| 20. 2 udu kaš-de <sub>2</sub> -a Al-l[a ]  |  | 2 sheep for the banquet of Alla-[x],         |
| 21. 1 udu la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> A-la-m[u ]  |  | 1 sheep deficit of Allamu [...],             |
| 22. -----  |  |  |
| 23. 13   |  | (total:) 13;                                 |
| 24. 6 udu Da-[x]-e <sub>3</sub> -[eb]  |  | 6 sheep for Da-[x]-e'eb                      |
| 25. 6  |  | (total:) 6;                                  |
| 26. 18 udu šabra [ ]   |  | 18 sheep for the chief temple administrator, |
| 27. 17 udu šabra [ ]   |  | 17 sheep for the chief temple administrator, |
| [ ]  |  | [ ]  |

19. Cf. Fs Levine 132-138.

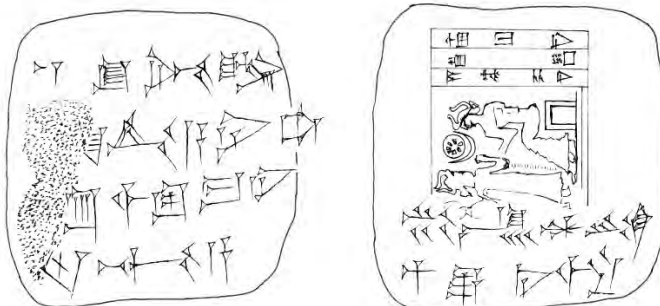
20. Cf. MVN 19 187: kaš-de<sub>2</sub>-a al-la-sar-ru-um.

**2. Receipt of slaughtered animals.** Identification Number: Lane Museum 06, Provenience: Puzriš-Dagan, Date: Amar-Suen 9 i 16, CDLI no.: P413898.

- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| Obv. 1. 1 ud <sub>5</sub>                        |  | 1 female goat,  |
| 2. 1 sila <sub>4</sub>                           |  | 1 lamb,   |
| 3. 1 sila <sub>4</sub> ga                        |  | 1 suckling lamb,  |
| 4. ba-ug <sub>7</sub> u <sub>4</sub> 16-kam      |  | slaughtered on the 16th day,                                |
| 5. ki Zu-ba-ga-ta                                |  | from Zubaga   |
| Rev. 6. <sup>d</sup> Šul-gi-iri-ĝu <sub>10</sub> |  | Šulgi-iriĝu   |
| 7. šu ba-ti                                      |  | received.   |
| 8. iti maš-da <sub>3</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub>      |  | Month: "Gazelle eating."                                    |
| 9. mu en <sup>d</sup> Nanna Kar-zi-da ba-huĝ     |  | Year: "The en-priestess of Nanna of Karzida was installed." |
| Left 10. 3 udu                                   |  | (Sum:) 3 sheep.   |

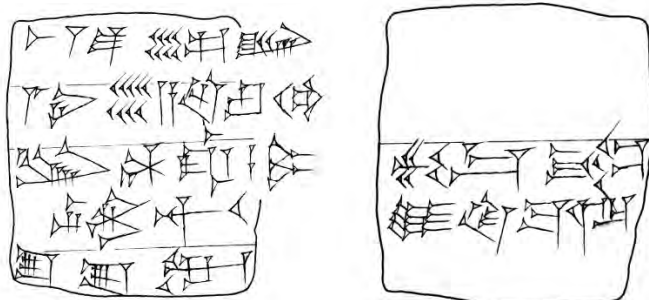


**3. Receipt of flour as bala duties.** Identification Number: Lane Museum 07, Provenience: Umma, Date: Šulgi 43, CDLI no.: P413899.



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Obv. 1. 1.1.0 zi<sub>3</sub>-gu lugal<br/>                 2. k[i] Šeš-a-ni-ta<br/>                 3. kiš[ib] U<sub>3</sub>-ma-ni<br/>                 4. ša<sub>3</sub> bala-a</p> <p>Rev. 5. ===== (seal)<br/>                 6. mu en <sup>4</sup>Nanna maš-e i<sub>3</sub>-pad<sub>3</sub></p> <p>Seal 1. U<sub>3</sub>-ma-ni<br/>                 2. dub-sar<br/>                 3. dumu Nam-ha-ni</p> | <p>1 gur 1 barig royal <i>zigu</i>-flour,<br/>                 from Šešani,<br/>                 under the seal of Umani,<br/>                 among the bala duties.</p> <p>Year: “The en-priestess of Nanna was chosen by the omen.”<br/>                 Umani,<br/>                 scribe,<br/>                 son of Namhani.</p> |
|---|--|

**4. Deficit of barley.** Identification Number: Lane Museum 09, Provenience: Girsu, Date: Šulgi 45, CDLI no.: P413900.

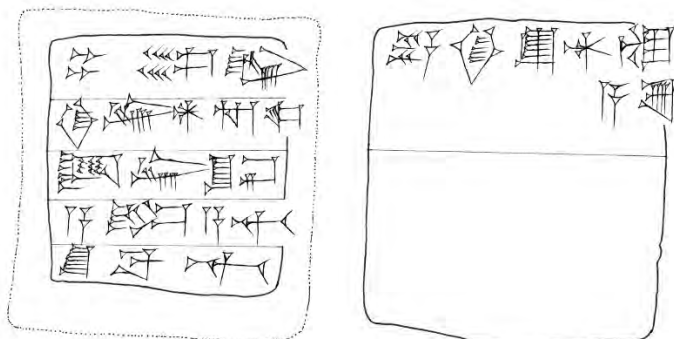


- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Obv. 1. 1.1.3 še gur lugal<br/>                 2. la<sub>2</sub>-ia<sub>3</sub> še a-ša<sub>3</sub> Iri-ul<br/>                 3. Lu<sub>2</sub>-diğir-ra dumu He<sub>2</sub>-ti<br/>                 4. su-su-dam</p> <p>Rev. 5. =====<br/>                 6. mu Ur-bi<sub>2</sub>-lum<sup>ki</sup> ba-hul</p> | <p>1 gur 1 barig 3 ban royal barley,<br/>                 deficit of the barley of the Iriul’s field<br/>                 Lu-diğira, son of Heti,<br/>                 replaced.</p> <p>Year: “Urbilum was destroyed.”</p> |
|---|--|

2. The expression a-ša<sub>3</sub> Iri-ul “field of (personal name) Iriul” is exclusively attested in Girsu texts, for instance, ASJ 2 32 91, HSS 4 29, MCS 8 65 AO 8091, MVN 20 119, TCTI 2 2582, UDT 26.

3. Other references to the person Lu-diĝira son of Heti are: SNAT 260, TCTI 2 3407, PPAC 5 600, BM Messenger 226, TLB 3 64, TUT 130, MVN 7 322, PPAC 5 294.

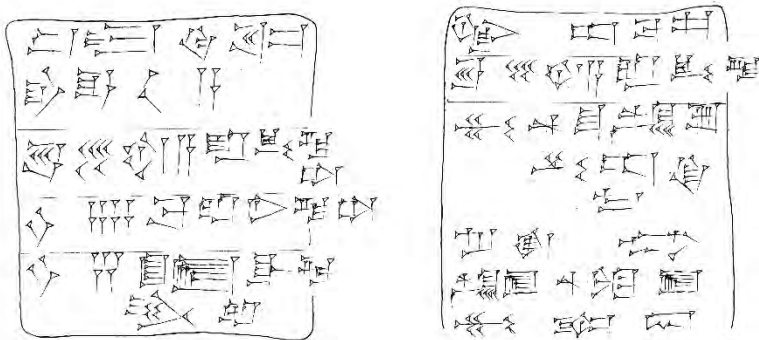
**5. Receipt of barley.** Identification Number: Lane Museum 10, Provenience: Puzriš-Dagan, Date: -- iv, CDLI no.: P413901.



Tablet & Envelope

<p>Obv. 1. 4.0.0 še gur lugal                  2. ki Lu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Inana-ka-&lt;ta&gt;                  3. a<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> huĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>                  4. A-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-ti                  5. šu ba-ti</p> <p>Rev. 6. iti ki-siki <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu                  7. =====</p> <p>Seal 1. A-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-[ti]                  2. dumu [ ]</p>	<p>4 gur royal barley,                  from Lu-Inana,                  for the wage of laborers,                  Abiati                  received.                  Month: "Kisiki of Ninazu."                    Abiati                  son of [ ].</p>
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**6. Offering of apple.** Identification Number: Lane Museum 12, Provenience: Umma, Date: Šu-Suen 8 iii, CDLI no.: P413902.



<p>Obv. 1. <sup>ĝi</sup>šhašhur sa<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub> bur-e šu<sub>2</sub>-a                  2. iti še-kar-ra-ĝal<sub>2</sub>-la-ta                  3. u<sub>4</sub> 8 ba-ra-zal-la-ta                  4. u<sub>4</sub> 5-še<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-gal-la ku<sub>x</sub>(KWU147)-ra</p> <p>Rev. 5. <sup>ĝi</sup>ri<sub>3</sub> Ab-ba-qur                  6. iti še-kar-ra-ĝal<sub>2</sub>-la                  7. mu <sup>d</sup>Šu-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU [lugal] Uri<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma                  ma-gur<sub>8</sub>-mah <sup>d</sup>En-lil<sub>2</sub>  <sup>d</sup>Nin-lil<sub>2</sub> mu-ne-dim<sub>2</sub></p>	<p>Apples, regular offerings covered bowl,                  from Month: "Barley brought to the harbor,"                  from the eighth day having passed,                  for five days brought into the palace,                  via Abbaqur.                  Month: "Barley brought to the harbor."                  Year: "Šu-Suen, king of Ur, built the big barge for                  Enlil and Ninlil.</p>
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**48) CUNES 39-01-026, a legal record about the repayment of a loan** — This short paper is about CUNES 39-01-026, an Ur III document recently published by David Owen (2018). It argues that this document is not a (loan<sup>2</sup>) contract but a judicial record about the repayment of a loan in barley.

The text of the document is preserved on both a tablet and an envelope; here the text of the tablet will be discussed, the differences between the two versions bear no relevance to my argument. The first eleven lines of the tablet read:

**(1) CUNES 39-01-026 tablet obv. 1-11 (Du-Enlila<sup>2</sup>, AS 7/x/2) (CDLI P325397)**

50.0.0 še gur, ur-<sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub>, dumu ur-niṅar<sub>x</sub>(UD.KID)-ke<sub>4</sub>, ur-<sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub>, dumu iš-me-lum-ra, in-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>,  
ur-<sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub>, dumu iš-me-lum-ke<sub>4</sub>, nu-un-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-da, ur-<sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub> dumu ur-niṅar<sub>x</sub>(UD.KID)-ra, mu lugal in-na-  
pad<sub>3</sub>

These lines are followed by a list of witnesses and by the date. The envelope is sealed with the seal of Ur-Šulpae, the mayor of Du-Enlila, son of Išmelum (CDLI S005423).

Owen's translation of ll. 1-11 is the following:

“50 bushels of barley Ur-Šulpae, the son of Ur-niṅara(k), returned to Ur-Šulpae the son of *Išmelum*. Ur-Šulpae (*hazannum* of Du-Enlila), the son of *Išmelum*, shall not give back (the barley). To Ur-Šulpae, son of Ur-niṅara(k), he [i.e. Ur-Šulpae, the son of *Išmelum*] swore in the name of the king.”

This translation leaves unclear the nature of the transaction recorded by the document. Why does Ur-Šulpae, the mayor swear? Why will he not give back the barley that was just returned by the other Ur-Šulpae?

In his commentary to l. 7, Owen states that “[t]he verb form, in-ni-gi<sub>4</sub> occurs here for the first time in the Ur III corpus”. Although not explicitly stated, but his further comments suggest that he would rather expect a form **in-na-gi<sub>4</sub>** here (a form with a dative prefix), corresponding to the **=/ra/** case-marker of **iš-me-lum-ra** in l. 5.

The verbal form **in-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>** is, however, fully according to expectations. The verb **gi<sub>4</sub>** “to return (something) to someone” governs as a rule not the dative but the locative2 case (see Zólyomi 2017: 206–214 for the nominal, verbal marking, and use of the locative2 case). Human verbal participants in the locative2 are case-marked with the enclitic **=/ra/**, while non-human participants with the enclitic **=/a/**. In the verbal prefix-chain, a 3rd ps. sg. human verbal participant in the locative2 is cross-referenced with the composite adverbial prefix **/nn/ + /i/** written as a rule with the grapheme NI (see Zólyomi 2017: 79–82 for the concept of composite adverbial prefix).

Although the verbal form **in-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>** is indeed attested only once, but the verb **gi<sub>4</sub>** “to return (something) to someone” is attested with the composite 3rd ps. sg. human locative2 prefix **/nn/ + /i/** three more times in the Ur III corpus of administrative texts, as exx. (2)–(4) below demonstrate; and these attestations may also contribute to the interpretation of CUNES 39-01-026.

**(2) NRVN 1 118 obv. 6-rev. 1 (Nippur, IS 8/vi-) (CDLI P122334)** (cf. also Lafont 2014: 189–190)

tukum-be<sub>2</sub>, nu-un-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>, e<sub>2</sub>-a-ne<sub>2</sub> ad-da-kal-la, ša<sub>13</sub>-dub-e, ba[...]

“(Adda-kala received 12 **gi<sub>17</sub>** silver, to be returned, from Adda-kala, the archivist...). If he does not return it to him, Adda-kala, the archivist will [...] his house. (Witnesses and date).”

**(3) NATN 72 rev. 1-6 (Nippur, ŠS 9/x/23) (CDLI P120770)** (cf. also Wilcke 2000: 282<sup>6</sup>)

tukum-be<sub>2</sub>, nu-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>, 1 sila<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub> udu-še<sub>3</sub>, 0.0.2 še-ta-am<sub>3</sub>, ab-ši-ṅa<sub>2</sub>-ṅa<sub>2</sub>-a, mu lugal-be<sub>2</sub> in-pad<sub>3</sub>

“(Adda-kala and Pussa, his wife, received 20 liters of sheep fat from Adda-kala. He is to return it by the 30th day of the 11th month.) He (= Adda-kala) made the promissory oath that if he does not return it to him, then he will replace each liter of sheep fat with 20 liters of barley. (Witnesses and date)”

**(4) Unpubl. 01.IS.71 rev. 1-4 (Umma, undated) (CDLI P499221)**

tukum<sub>x</sub>(ŠU.NIG<sub>2</sub>.TUR)-be<sub>2</sub>, nu-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>, en-na ku<sub>3</sub> ib<sub>2</sub>-su-su, 1(diš) guruš in-na-tum<sub>2</sub>-e

“(Gagaṅu received 1 **gi<sub>17</sub>** silver from Ur-Suana. He is to return it until the 9th month.) If he (= Gagaṅu) does not return it to him (= Ur-Suana), until he pays back the silver, he brings him a male worker. (Witnesses).”

Exx. (2)–(4) show two things. First, the person to whom something is returned is cross-referenced as a rule with the composite 3rd ps. sg. human locative2 verbal prefix /**nn**/ + /**i**/. Second, the examples also hint at the background of the transaction recorded on CUNES 39–01-026. This document is a record of the repayment of a loan by Ur-Šulpae, the son of Ur-niḡara in front of witnesses. Exx. (2)–(4) record the beginning of a loan transaction, CUNES 39–01-026 records its end, a full repayment.

This interpretation is confirmed by ll. 7–11 of the text. Here the object of the subordinate verbal form **nu-un-gi4-gi4-da** is not the loaned barley as assumed by Owen (in fact the verbal form is intransitive, as indicated also by the presences of the **-ed**/- suffix; cf. Zólyomi 2017: 127).

Ll. 7–11 constitute a no-contest clause (see, e.g., Steinkeller 1989: 44–49). The /**n**/ before the verbal base is the syncopated form of the composite 3rd ps. sg. human locative2 prefix /**nn**/ + /**i**/ (cf. Zólyomi 2017: 206–207 about this phenomenon), and it refers to Ur-Šulpae, the son of Ur-niḡara. Ur-Šulpae, the mayor makes here a promissory oath to Ur-Šulpae, the son of Ur-niḡara, that he will not return to him with any claims, i.e., he will not make any legal action against him anymore in this case. He thus regards the repayment of the loan as settled.

This explains in turn that the envelope is sealed with the seal of Ur-Šulpae, the mayor of Du-Enlila, son of Išmelum. The sealed document remains with Ur-Šulpae, the son of Ur-niḡara, who has now a sealed document to prove that he owes nothing to the mayor.

Accordingly, I would like to translate ll. 1–11 of CUNES 39–01-026 like this:

“Ur-Šulpae, son of Ur-niḡara, returned 15.000 liters of barley to Ur-Šulpae, son of Išmelum. Ur-Šulpae, son of Išmelum made that promissory oath to Ur-Šulpae, son of Ur-niḡara, that he will not contest him.”

This interpretation thus lends support to Owen’s assumption who himself opined “that the background of this text was a loan payment...” (2018: 497).

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**49) More on a Neo-Sumerian Tablet from a Private Collection in Madrid** — A Neo-Sumerian tablet from a private collection in Madrid came recently to me. A colleague was kind enough to inform me that this text had already been published by Ll. Feliu and A. Millet Albà in their contribution to the Watson Festschrift volume entitled: “Cuneiform Texts in Private Collections in Barcelona”, in: G. Del Olmo Lete, J. Vidal, and N. Wyatt (eds.), *The Perfumes of Seven Tamarisks. Studies in Honor of Wilfred G. E. Watson*, AOAT 394, Münster 2012, pp. 37-38, hand-copy of the text and 2 photos (envelope and seal-impression) in p. 45. The partially conserved envelope on the obverse of the tablet is in fact strongly attached and cannot be separated, as one of the published photos suggests. Since more detailed photos of this interesting text from Garshana, and even a short comment on its seal-impression might still be of interest, I am sending these to N.A.B.U.

Seal-impression scene on the clay envelope left border: According to a usual pattern of the Ur III dynasty known hitherto, the scene conserves an enthroned (not bearded) Shu-Suen on the right. He wears a fluted ceremonial attire, held under the right armpit. He receives an entourage of two figures. They all



have headdress. The figure in front of king Shu-Suen seems to be the common standing goddess presenting him with a greeting. Between them we see the protective recumbent crescent moon god (Suen), possibly embracing his son, the solar disc (Utu/Shamash) -one of its rays can still be seen-. Two remnants of lines behind the ends seem to frame the whole scene.



Photos 1 and 2 : Obverse



Photo 3: Obverse lower border



Photo 4: Reverse



Photos 5, 6 and 7: Reverse right border



Photo 8: Reverse



Photo 9: Reverse lower border



Photo 10 (already published): Left border Cylinder-Seal impression

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**50) Some comments on Amurrum and Old Assyrian Family Religion** — In his recent comprehensive and extremely useful study on family religion Klaas R. Veenhof (2018) focused among others also on the god Amurrum and his appearance in the Old Assyrian documentation. Under the impression of a new instance for Amurrum I feel compelled to answer to some of Veenhof's statements since they in part differ from my own present views. It is impossible to take up the whole discussion that has evolved around Amurrum over the decades at this occasion. So I have to restrain myself on what refers directly to Veenhof's article mentioned above.

In Kryszat 2006 I collected the Old Assyrian evidence for Amurrum as it was known to me at that time. One of the most intriguing attestations for Amurrum was and still is surely KTS 2 52: 13-15, where we read:

*A-š[ūr] ù MAR.TU il<sub>5</sub>-kà il<sub>5</sub> kà-ki li-id-gu<sub>5</sub>-lá-ni*

This formulation, if taken literally, gives us an otherwise in the Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian documentation unattested characteristic of the god Amurrum. This reading is now rejected by Veenhof (2018, 69 with n. 107), with the explanation “*a unique designation, not expected here, and I consider KI a mistake*”. Veenhof wants to read:

*A-š[ūr] ù MAR.TU il<sub>5</sub>-kà <<il<sub>5</sub> kà-ki>> li-id-gu<sub>5</sub>-lá-ni*

But this does not only mean to take the KI as a mistake, as he states, but it is also taking the second *il<sub>5</sub> kà* as a Dittography, which would make 3 mistakes in such a short statement. I don't see a mistake here and will still translate the passage “Amurrum, your god, the god of the weapons, shall look upon me scrutinizing, (if I can speak the name of your servant without giving away your name!)”.



And now we have another instance for Amurru not attested anywhere else. In AKT VIc 547 (kt 94/k 1611) l. 10, published 2014 by Larsen. The edition reads  $\text{[x ma]}^{\text{d}}\text{MAR.TU li-}[\text{i-}]/\text{ik}$ . Veenhof did not include this in his study, most likely because Larsen, in his single and understandable note on the text, states “Cf. the somewhat uncertain name Iddin-Amurru in no. 534. The best reading in this text seems to be  $\text{šu-ma}^{\text{d}}\text{MAR.TU}$ , and in both cases one wonders whether we are in fact dealing with a personal name.” I suggest that Veenhof took it accordingly as personal name and this is the reason why he did not include it in his recent study.

But there is no name with Amurru as a theophoric element fitting the signs, as Larsen saw himself. A closer look at the photo (pl 26 on p. 301) shows us that in comparison with the line above there is too much space and that we surely have to add one more albeit small sign in the break at the beginning of l.10. But this has to be a very small one and can only be an *a* or a *za*. According to the photo one also has to accept the possibility to read *e* instead of *šu* following the one missing sign. After going through all the possibilities and having in mind that out of grammatical reasons the whole sentence had to begin and to end most likely in the same line I could think of only one solution, namely to read:

$[\text{a-}e^{\text{()}}\text{-ma}^{\text{d}}\text{MAR.TU li-}[\text{i-}]/\text{ik}$  „Where shall Amurru go?“

Unfortunately we do not know if this short statement, which looks very much like a winged word to me, refers to the lines before or to the completely broken lines following, so the context is not really clear. But this small statement in the form of a winged word again shows that the relationship between a number of Assyrians and the god Amurru was a special one. It might also be of interest that Damiq-pī-Aššur, the author of AKT VIc 547, is connected to the Innāya family, whose family god is no other than Amurru. He sends a.o. the letter CCT IV 14b where he mentions in l. 8 *A-šur ù il<sub>5</sub>-kà*, where the latter can only be Amurru. Concerning the question of the standing of Amurru within Old Assyrian family religion it might be of some relevance that in the private list of offerings kt 94/k 1119 (Barjamovic-Larsen 2008, 152 n. 28) Amurru is mentioned first, even before Adad, Šarra-mātān, Su'en, Bēlum and others.

Veenhof concludes his study with the statement: “While it is not unlikely that the identity of the family god of some Old Babylonian dynasties, as pointed out in § 2.7, reflects western, “Amorrite” roots, this is different for ancient Assur. Neither the texts nor the cult of these gods provides evidence of “Amorrite roots”, and the frequency in invocations of a god like Amurru could be mainly due to the fact that he figures prominently in the limited number of archives that have been well edited and studied” (Veenhof 2018, 88).

In my opinion the Old Assyrian people do not refer to some god of foreign newcomers when they invoke Amurru, but to an important element of *their own* ancestral religious tradition, which is a very different situation than we find in the non-amorrite evidence of Southern Mesopotamia.

When trying to build an image of Old Assyrian Amurru we first have –with respect to the extreme density of the Old Assyrian documentation as such– to take a look on *all* the Old Assyrian evidence for Amurru, which is to be found mainly in the context of family religion, and then we have to take a look at the other deities playing an eminent role within Old Assyrian family religion. And only if we face greater problems with understanding the reasons why Amurru is confronting us in the Old Assyrian documentation the way he does should we turn to other directions to find a better understanding for this deity in the Old Assyrian environment. But the problem, if one wants to call it so, is simply that *there is no problem*. Amurru fits perfectly well into the Old Assyrian environment, standing alongside other deities, who are more at home in the West as Bēlum, Išhara, Laban and others less prominent. And this is wherein I very much disagree with Veenhof’s above cited conclusion. In my eyes the *līmum*-system as well as the system of selfgoverning in Kaneš, reflecting to a high degree the situation in the city of Assur itself, finds its closest parallels in Late Bronze Age Emar and Ekalte on the middle Euphrates, cities whose documentation surprisingly shares a number of more parallels to the Old Assyrian one. To mention only one (aside from the eponym system) we can think of the frequently mentioned assembly of the Kārum *šaḥer rabi*, which comes to mind when we read in e.g. in WVD OG 102 2: 35 *gal-tu ù tur ša uru.ki pu-ḥu-ru*. Our task should be here to find out how far these parallels might be purely accidental or somehow ‘inherent in the system’. If we do not ask these questions, we will never know.

Concerning the question about an “Amorrite” tradition in the Assyrian sources this seems to me a simple question of definition. The geographical term *Amurru* did certainly not have the same content for everyone living in and neighbouring to the geographical area called *Amurru*. Not only the afterlife of the term in the mid-second millennium and later makes it more than clear that the area in question shifted, depending on the period you are looking into and of course on who is talking and from which perspective he does so.

Veenhof is completely right to say that there is only the smallest amount of Amorrite evidence in the Old Assyrian sources (2018, 52). But, and here I differ completely, that does not at all mean that the Assyrians do not have strong bonds to the land *they* call *Amurru*. And in this context we have to state that in the Old Assyrian documentation the closest parallel to the god Aššur as *theos* eponymous of the city Assur manifests itself in the geographical designation <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU/*Amurru*.

Apart from the discussion around *Amurru* there is at least one other point that needs to be rectified. Within the scope of the discussion around Šarra-matān Veenhof stated: “*Recently Kryszat presented all occurrences (for Š.), and argues for the meaning “King of two lands”, because of the occasional spelling with LUGAL- (at least once, alongside ten syllabic writings), but which two lands are meant is not clear. I conclude that the meaning of his name and his identity remain unclear*” (Veenhof 2018, 80). This quotation is not correct. Kryszat does not at all argue for the meaning ‘King of two lands’ “*because of the occasional spelling with LUGAL-*“. His argument is rather that all but one of the spellings for this god appear in the oblique cases with the ending *-ēn*. The only(!) instance of Šarru-mātān in the Nominative, identified by Dercksen (2011) is written with *-ma-ta-an* (AKT IV 42: 22). And this is in my eyes a grammatical proof for the understanding of the Dual (Kryszat 2018, 196f.). We have to find arguments why this change from *-ēn* in the oblique cases to *-ān* in the Nominative should be something else than the Dual if we do not want to believe that there is a Dual behind it. For now the evidence says it is Dual and I still translate “King of the two lands/people”. The question of which two lands the name might refer to is at least partly answered in Kryszat 2018 p. 187. One would be the city of Assur with its limited *Umland*, the other could as a hypothesis be *Amurru*, the geographic entity they provide with the divine determinative and maybe the ancestral homeland of part of the Assyrian people of the early 2nd mill. But this is just a hypothesis and of course open to debate. We always have to keep in mind that some Assyrian families call the god *Amurru* “the god of my/our father(s)”. Here might be an additional reason for it. Until then I keep it with Karel van der Toorn Résumé: “*For all elements of the population it holds true that their private religion is a form of devotion to their origins. Through the cult of their ancestors, they asserted and maintained a historical identity*” (Van der Toorn 1995, 93).

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**51) The 40 years of Išme-Dagan I: From Ennam-Aššur until Puzur-<sup>d</sup>[D]N** — The actual duration of the reign of Išme-Dagan I is still disputed. The *Assyrian King List* (henceforth *AKL*) records 40 years for Išme-Dagan I (Khors. ii.2-3).<sup>1)</sup> The Mari letters attest about a decade for Išme-Dagan I: Šamši-Adad I dies in Hammurabi’s year 18 (CHARPIN & ZIEGLER 2003: 163, 262; VEENHOF 2008: 29; BARJAMOVIC, HERTEL & LARSEN 2012: 24-25), and Išme-Dagan I is still attested in the latter half of Zimri-Lim’s year 11’ (when leaving Ekallatum) and early in the year 12’ (at Sippar, CHARPIN & ZIEGLER 2003: 236-237). Since Zimri-

Lim's years 11'-12' parallel Hammurabi's years 30-31 (ibid. 262), Išme-Dagan I rules for at least 12-13 years, from Hammurabi's year 18 until his years 30-31. The Mari archives halt at that instance, and contemporary evidence for subsequent years is missing. Hence it has been questioned whether Išme-Dagan I reigned for 40 years.<sup>2)</sup>

The present contribution proposes that the 40 years might include not only Išme-Dagan I's but also other reigns.<sup>3)</sup> In the *AKL*, Išme-Dagan I is succeeded by Aššur-dugul (Khors. ii.2-5). The Mari correspondence shows, however, that Išme-Dagan I had a son called Mut-Aškur (A.4814 = ARM 26.2 411, l. 33, CHARPIN et al. 1988: 285-286) and that Mut-Aškur succeeded Išme-Dagan I on the throne at Ekallatum (A.3610 = ARM 26.2 370, ll. 43'-47', ibid. 176-177). In VAT 9812 (*KAV* 14, SCHROEDER 1920: 24), Mut-Aškur and Rimu[š] appear as the immediate successors to Išme-Dagan I (*RIA* 6: 115; YAMADA 2017: 110):<sup>4)</sup>

3'. [Er]išum (II) [...]	
4'. [Š]amši-Adad (I)	Išme-[Dagan (I)]
5'. [Mu]t-Aškur	Rimu[š]
6'. [Ki]din-Ninua	Šarma-[Adad (II)]

To this lineage of Išme-Dagan I might still be added Asinum,<sup>5)</sup> a grandson of Šamši-Adad I (RIMA 1 A.0.40.1001, ll. 23-24), who worked on Šamši-Adad I's wall and palace at Aššur.<sup>6)</sup> These three possible successors to Išme-Dagan I who are absent from the *AKL* (i.e. Mut-Aškur, Rimu[š], and Asinum) might be included in the 40 years.

Such an inclusion is suggested by tracing the 40 years in the *Kültepe Eponym List* (henceforth *KEL*). The 40 years begin in the eponymy of Ennam-Aššur (the eponym following Ṭab-šilla-Aššur)<sup>7)</sup> and last until the eponymy of either Puzur-<sup>d</sup>[D]N (GÜNBATTI 2008: 109, 128, with Ennam-Aššur as *KEL G* 84 and Puzur-<sup>d</sup>[D]N as *KEL G* 124) or Qištili (BARJAMOVIC, HERTEL & LARSEN 2012: 95-96, with Ennam-Aššur as *KEL G* 88 and Puzur-<sup>d</sup>[D]N as *KEL G* 126), depending on whether 11 lines (GÜNBATTI: *KEL G* 113-123) or 9 lines (BARJAMOVIC, HERTEL & LARSEN: *KEL G* 117-125) are reconstructed at the head of col. iv in *KEL G*. In the first option, the 40 years end with Puzur-<sup>d</sup>[D]N, who might be identified with Puzur-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU, Puzur-Sîn (the author of RIMA 1 A.0.40.1001 and a ruler absent from the *AKL*).<sup>8)</sup> The position of Puzur-Sîn among the Assyrian kings is unknown. In the present analysis, he is the eponym Puzur-<sup>d</sup>[D]N, in office 40 years after the accession of Išme-Dagan I.<sup>9)</sup> Puzur-Sîn revolted against Asinum's work at Aššur and destroyed it completely. The rebellion brought an end to the Ekallatum line of Išme-Dagan I, Mut-Aškur, Rimu[š], and Asinum (the Šamši-Adad I dynasty) and brought Aššur to supreme and sole power (cf. GALTER 2002-2005: 10-13). The 40 years last from Išme-Dagan I until Asinum, who was deposed by the eponym Puzur-Sîn.

A further issue is how this line of rulers (and their 40 years) relate to the successors to Išme-Dagan I who are present in the *AKL*. The latter might rule at Aššur. Išme-Dagan I and Mut-Aškur reign at Ekallatum; Aššur belongs to their dominion but might have its own representatives. Already during the reign of Šamši-Adad I, Aššur enjoys some autonomy (VEENHOF 2017: 66). In the time of Išme-Dagan I, there is an overseer of the merchants of Aššur (A.1965 = ARM 26.2 342, l. 16, CHARPIN et al. 1988: 113), who might be a leader appointed by the community of Aššur (VEENHOF 2008: 141). Aššur is a centre of power parallel (though submitted) to Ekallatum. GASCHE et al. (1998: 52) and GALTER (2002-2005: 4-5; cf. YAMADA 2017: 111) suppose that, following Išme-Dagan I's reign, Mut-Aškur, Rimu[š], and possibly Asinum reign at Ekallatum, while Aššur-dugul and his successors contemporaneously reign at Aššur. In the present opinion, the parallel line might begin earlier, at the death of Šamši-Adad I. At that moment of turmoil and change, Aššur-dugul, "son of a nobody, who had no right to the throne" (Khors. ii.4-5, trans. GLASSNER), might have assumed power. He would be the representative of Aššur.<sup>10)</sup>

Such a contemporaneity between Išme-Dagan I and Aššur-dugul is suggested by a possible identification of Aššur-dugul's six contemporaries who are recorded in the *AKL*. In the time (*ina tarši*) of Aššur-dugul (Khors. ii.6), six "kings" (Aššur-apla-idi, Našir-Sîn, Sîn-namir, Ipqi-Ištar, Adad-šalulu, and Adasi) rule at *bāb tuppišu* (ii.6-11). Their reigns are generally included in the six years of Aššur-dugul (ii.5, e.g. JANSSEN 2007: 105-106; BAKER 2010: 158-159; JANSSEN 2012: 11 n. 51; cf. FREYDANK 2007: 227). The six "kings" have been proposed to represent eponyms.<sup>11)</sup> If so, this could explain the enigmatic

expression *bāb tuppišu*. The *bāb* (“beginning”) might reflect the custom of appointing eponyms at the beginning of the Assyrian year.<sup>12)</sup> One should thus attempt to detect the names of these six “kings”-eponyms in the *KEL*, taking into account possible alternations of the original names by the time of the final redaction of the *AKL*.<sup>13)</sup> The following correspondence between the eponyms following Ṭab-šilla-Aššur in the *KEL* and the six contemporaries of Aššur-dugul in the *AKL* might be proposed:

<i>KEL</i>	<i>AKL</i>
Ṭab-šilla-Aššur	
Ennam-Aššur	Sîn-namir (no. 3)
Aššur-emuqi	Aššur-apla-idi (no. 1)
Abu-šalim	Adad-šalulu (no. 5)
Puššanum	Našir-Sîn (no. 2)
Ikuppi-Ištar	Ipqi-Ištar (no. 4)
Ahiyaya	Adasi (no. 6)
Beliya	
Ili-bani	

The eponyms Beliya and Ili-bani resemble king Belu-bani, the son of Adasi (Khors. ii.12) and the successor to Aššur-dugul, in name. The form Belu-bani might be a contraction of Beliya and Ili-bani. If Aššur-dugul rules for six years during the eponymies running from Ennam-Aššur until Ahiyaya and if the reign of Belu-bani begins in the eponymy of Beliya, then Aššur-dugul succeeds Šamši-Adad I. Hence Išme-Dagan I (at Ekallatum), who succeeds Šamši-Adad I as well, is contemporary to Aššur-dugul (at Aššur).<sup>14)</sup>

If so, the 40 years of Išme-Dagan I (and Mut-Aškur, Rimu[š], and Asinum) parallel the years of Aššur-dugul and his successors. As a consequence, these 40 years should be omitted from the consecutive chronology.

#### Notes

1. The columns and lines are given according to the Khorsabad version of the *AKL*, transliterated and translated by GLASSNER 2004: 136-145 (no. 5); cf. *RIA* 6: 101-115 (§3.9).

2. GASCHÉ et al. (1998: 52, 59) and READE (2001: 5) propose about 11 years for Išme-Dagan I; SASSON (in VILLARD 1995: 882) about 12 years; VEENHOF (2003: 62) about 12 or 13 years.

3. VEENHOF (2003: 62, followed by CHARPIN & ZIEGLER 2003: 81 n. 43), on the other hand, proposes that, since Išme-Dagan I was appointed viceroy of Ekallatum during the reign of Šamši-Adad I, the 40 years are reckoned from Išme-Dagan I's instalment on the throne of Ekallatum. Cf. VEENHOF 2017: 68: “Did he [i.e. Išme-Dagan I] actually reign twenty-five years longer [after the close of the Mari archives]; do the forty years mentioned in the King List include his ten years as viceroy of Ekallatum; or is the round figure of forty anyhow suspect?”

4. The kings from Aššur-dugul until Lullaya (kings nos. 41-53 in the *AKL*) are absent from VAT 9812. Beginning with Kidin-Ninua (no. 54), the sequence in VAT 9812 again corresponds to that in the *AKL*. (Aššur-bel-nišešu, no. 69, is the last king mentioned in VAT 9812.) The dividing line between Rimu[š] and Kidin-Ninua in VAT 9812 indicates dynastic change: GRAYSON 1969: 110-111; YAMADA 1994: 25.

5. LANDSBERGER (1954: 31) proposes that Asinum was originally present in l. 5' of VAT 9812: [<sup>m</sup>Mu-u]t-áš-kur, <sup>m</sup>Ri-mu-x-(y<sup>2</sup>), <sup>m</sup>A-si-nu]. He is followed by GRAYSON 1969: 110; YAMADA 1994: 25, but questioned by READE 2001: 6. YAMADA (2017: 115 n. 7) now rejects the reconstruction.

6. READE (2001: 6) proposes, however, that the form *a-si-nim* in A.0.40.1001 (the sole attestation for Asinum) renders the substantive *assinum* (a priest of Ištar) rather than a proper name.

7. Šamši-Adad I dies during the eponymy of Ṭab-šilla-Aššur: CHARPIN & ZIEGLER 2003: 137; VEENHOF 2008: 29; BARJAMOVIC, HERTEL & LARSEN 2012: 24-25; BLOCH 2014: 195 and n. 17.

8. GÜNBATTI reconstructs the eponym's name in *KEL G* as Púzur-<sup>(d)</sup>M[UŠ] (2008: 109), i.e. Puzur-Nirah (ibid. 128). BARJAMOVIC, HERTEL & LARSEN (2012: 114) reject a reconstruction of the god's name as <sup>d</sup>Nirah or <sup>d</sup>UTU and propose <sup>d</sup>IM or <sup>d</sup>Ištar. The traces at the end of the name (see ibid. 114) might belong to the sign ZU.

9. The fact that Puzur-Sîn does not refer to (dynastic) succession (i.e. future kings as builders) in his curse formula – contrary to other rulers – but only has an impersonal passive form (l. 38 *inneppušu* “is rebuilt”) implies that he did not consider himself to be part of a dynastic line (GALTER 2002-2005: 16). This fits in with Puzur-Sîn being eponym.

10. Similarly, READE (2001: 7) proposes that Belu-bani, Libaya, and Šarma-Adad I (kings nos. 48-50) are governors of Aššur answerable to the contemporary rulers of Ekallatum.

11. READE 2001: 7. Cf. JANSSEN 2007: 106: “Möglicherweise hat man als Kontrollinstanz die Befugnisse des Jahreseponyms erweitert und ihn zu einer Art Koregenten bzw. Schattenkönig erhoben.”

12. For the meaning of *tuppi* (a period of maximally one year), see the studies by FREYDANK 2007; JANSSEN 2007; BAKER 2010.

13. Thus the *AKL* name Ibni-Addu (who is eponym when Šamši-Adad I takes Ekallatum, Khors. i.41-43) probably represents Inbi-Ištar (*KEL G* 48), and the *AKL* name Atamar-Ištar (the eponym when Šamši-Adad I goes up from Ekallatum, i.45-46) likely corresponds to Amur-Aššur (*KEL G* 52): BLOCH 2014: 197-201.

14. In the time of the house of Erišum I, eponyms are appointed at Aššur (VEENHOF 2000: 143-144). This custom might have continued during the Šamši-Adad I dynasty. The eponyms' residence at Aššur would explain why the *AKL* mentions the six eponyms with the Aššur line (of Aššur-dugul) and not with the Ekallatum line (of Išme-Dagan I).

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**52) En marge d'EcritUr, 9 : la liste des noms d'années de Sumu-El découverte au No. 1 Broad Street** — Sir Leonard Woolley, directeur des fouilles d'Ur de 1922 à 1934, écrivait régulièrement aux directeurs du British Museum et de l'University Museum of Philadelphia, qui finançaient sa mission archéologique, pour faire état de ses découvertes et de ses dépenses financières. Dans une lettre datée du

1<sup>er</sup> mars 1931 (écrite lors de la neuvième saison de fouilles), il a reproduit la liste des tablettes qui venaient d'être découvertes au no. 1 Broad Street, que venait d'établir son épigraphiste, Chauncey Winckworth. Parmi les textes recensés se trouve « 1 list of date formulae for the whole reign of Sumu-ilum, furnishing variants to dates recorded in Ur Inscriptions [= UET 1] »<sup>1)</sup>. Or, cette liste ne fait pas partie des tablettes associées au no. 1 Broad Street dans le rapport de fouilles final publié en 1976 (UE 7). Qu'est-elle devenue ?

Seules deux tablettes comportant uniquement les noms d'années du règne de Sumu-El ont été découvertes à Ur : UET 8 66A et UET 8 66B (= UET 6/3 683). La première tablette, qui est complète, a été copiée par E. Sollberger dans UET 8 (pl. xii). Ce dernier précise que le numéro de chantier U.16832 est inscrit sur la tablette, mais qu'il s'agit d'une erreur (UET 8, p. 12). Ce numéro n'est en effet associé à aucune tablette dans les fiches et les publications de L. Woolley. Le site Ur Online semble avoir attribué le numéro de chantier U.16832A à la tablette UET 8 66A<sup>2)</sup>, mais L. Woolley avait déjà attribué ce numéro à une tablette datée de l'année *Rim-Sin I 33* (UE 7, p. 245). Il s'agit là encore d'une erreur. De la deuxième tablette, UET 6 66B, il ne reste qu'un fragment sur lequel les années de règne 14 à 23 de Sumu-El sont partiellement lisibles. Cette tablette a été copiée par A. Shaffer dans UET 6/3 (no. 683, pl. 57). Grâce au projet Ur Online, une photographie est désormais disponible en ligne<sup>3)</sup>.

UET 6 66B (= UET 6/3 683) est trop fragmentaire pour être la tablette découverte au no. 1 Broad Street. Si tel avait été le cas, C. Winckworth n'aurait pas écrit qu'on venait de trouver une liste des noms d'années de tout le règne de Sumu-El. Il faut donc conclure que la tablette décrite dans la lettre de 1931 correspond à UET 8 66A. Le numéro de chantier en U.16+++ faussement attribué à UET 8 66A semble d'ailleurs corroborer cette hypothèse, car il correspond à un numéro de la neuvième saison de fouilles. Cette nouvelle tablette ajoute encore un peu plus à l'hétérogénéité des textes découverts dans les remblais du no. 1 Broad Street. Je prépare actuellement une étude sur ces textes.

Pour rappel, les autres tablettes énumérant les noms d'années des rois paléo-babyloniens trouvées à Ur sont les suivantes :

- UET 1 266 [U.6958] (= L<sub>2</sub> in RIA 2, p. 149-164) = [...] Sin-eribam > Rim-Sin [...].
- UET 1 265 [U.7144] (= L<sub>3</sub>) = [...] Gungunum 11-25 [...] Sin-iqišam > Warad-Sin [...].
- UET 1 298 [U.8810A] (= L<sub>4</sub>) = [...] Gungunum 6-12 [...] Abi-sare > Sumu-El [...].

Les tablettes UET 1 265 et UET 1 266 ont été trouvées lors de la quatrième saison de fouilles de Woolley, à l'intérieur du temenos : la première aurait été trouvée dans le Giparu (= KP) ou sur le site EH<sup>4)</sup> ; la seconde a été trouvée dans les remblais du Giparu<sup>5)</sup>. La tablette UET 1 298 a quant à elle été découverte lors de la cinquième saison, dans le quartier EM (situé au sud-ouest du temenos)<sup>6)</sup>.

#### Notes

1. À la page 4 de la lettre de L. Woolley (= p. 27 du PDF). Cette lettre a été scannée et mise en ligne sur Ur Online (<[http://www.ur-online.org/media\\_item/193954](http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/193954)>).
2. Cf. la fiche de U.16832A sur Ur Online : <<http://www.ur-online.org/subject/17714>>.
3. Cf. la fiche de UET 6 66B sur Ur Online : <<http://www.ur-online.org/subject/57593>>.
4. Il n'y a pas de Catalog Card pour cette tablette. En outre, le numéro U.7144 a été attribué à deux objets : à la tablette UET 1 265, puis à une tête en calcaire découverte (lors de la quatrième ou cinquième saison) sur le site EM (UE 4, p. 173 + pl. 42 = U.7144A sur Ur Online). Selon Th. Jacobsen (AJA 57, p. 128), ce numéro de chantier renvoie aux tablettes « from Šulgi's palace (K.P. [= Giparu], E.H. É-har-sag), from the Tomb mound [= EH], and a few from the Registrar's Office [= Dublamah] ». Concernant UET 1 265, voir aussi la fiche de U.7144B sur Ur Online (<<http://www.ur-online.org/subject/6589>>) et la Catalog Card de l'objet U.7144A, sur laquelle quelqu'un a écrit a posteriori : « number U.7144 is Royal Inscriptions 265 » (<[http://www.ur-online.org/media\\_item/254559](http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/254559)>).
5. Cf. la fiche de U.6958 sur Ur Online : <<http://www.ur-online.org/subject/6245>>.
6. Cf. la fiche de U.8810A sur Ur Online : <<http://www.ur-online.org/subject/8413>>.

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**53) En marge d'EcritUr, 10 : l'imbroglie des No. 1, No. 3 et No. 5 Store Street** — Travaillant sur « l'école » du No. 1 Broad Street à Ur, j'ai commencé à explorer les découvertes faites dans les alentours, et notamment dans les maisons voisines des No. 1 et No. 3 Store Street. Or, il existe des incohérences entre le rapport de fouilles intermédiaire, publié en 1931 (= AJ 11), et le rapport de fouilles final, publié en 1976 (= UE 7), qui révèlent qu'il y a eu une confusion entre ces deux maisons. Sur le plan du quartier AH publié dans AJ 11, la maison du No. 1 Store Street porte le No. 3, celle du No. 3 le No. 5 ; dans UE 7, la première se voit attribuer le No. 1 et la seconde le No. 3. Cette renumérotation des maisons et la confusion qu'elle engendra ont eu des répercussions sur l'inventaire des découvertes épigraphiques : d'après UE 7, les textes U.7770C-H, datés de l'époque d'Ur III, auraient été découverts au No. 3 Store Street. Ces textes proviennent en fait du No. 1 (ex. No. 3), comme le révèle la description qu'en fait l'archéologue en 1931 (AJ 11, p. 366) :

« No. III Store Street, next door to the school [= No. 1 Broad Street], lay at a higher level but was of old foundation, as tablets found in room 9 were of Third Dynasty date; there was nothing striking about its plan. »

Ces lignes prouvent que les tablettes U.7770C-H proviennent du No. 1 Store Street pour trois raisons :

- 1) quand L. Woolley les écrit, en 1931, la maison du No. 1 Store Street porte encore le No. 3 ;
- 2) la mention « next door to the school » ne peut renvoyer qu'au No. 1 Store Street (ex. No. 3), car c'est la seule maison à être immédiatement voisine de « l'école » du No. 1 Broad Street ;
- 3) enfin, Woolley affirme que les tablettes ont été trouvées dans une maison dont le plan n'a rien de frappant. Or, cette affirmation ne peut pas renvoyer à la maison du No. 3 Store Street (ex. No. 5), dont le plan est décrit comme inhabituel dans UE 7 (p. 139) :

« The building was a peculiar one; its frontage consisted of two lengths of wall running at a slight angle to one another and independently built, but the two were apparently connected; the arrangement of the inner rooms was unusual and the character of the building was unlike that of any other excavated by us. »

À l'inverse, le plan du No. 1 Store Street (ex. No. 3) est habituel.

Par conséquent, aucun texte n'a été découvert au No. 3 Store Street, et les tablettes U.7770C-H sont à ajouter à la liste des textes découverts dans la maison du No. 1 Store Street. Le rapport de fouilles de 1976 recensait déjà 21 tablettes découvertes dans cette maison : 1 tablette de l'époque d'Ur III se trouvait dans les remblais de la porte d'entrée (U.17205)<sup>1)</sup>, et 20 tablettes d'époque paléo-babylonienne avaient glissé dans une tombe de la pièce 8<sup>2)</sup>. La pièce 9, dans laquelle Woolley a trouvé les six tablettes U.7770C-H, était une chapelle (UE 7, p. 138). Cette pièce était en ruine (les murs étaient affaissés sous le niveau du sol et le dallage avait presque entièrement disparu, cf. UE 7, p. 138). Les tablettes se trouvaient très probablement dans des remblais, à l'instar de U.17205.

Voici la liste complète des textes de l'époque d'Ur III découverts au No. 1 (ex. No. 3) Store Street :

Date	No. de chantier — No. de publication Liens hypertextes	Contexte archéologique	Contenu
[...]	U.7770G — UET 3 721 - <a href="http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P137045">http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P137045</a> - BDTNS 011026	Pièce 9 (UE 7, p. 229).	Liste de divers objets en cuivre utiles pour l'agriculture et l'élevage (hache, herminettes, 736 houes, 732 faucilles, 4 fers à bétail, etc.).
-/x/[...]	U.7770H — UET 3 1298 - <a href="http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P137623">http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P137623</a> - BDTNS 011603	Pièce 9 (UE 7, p. 229).	Apport de poissons par les pêcheurs de Gu'edinna.
-/Šulgi 36 <sup>3)</sup>	U.7770F — UET 3 1302 - <a href="http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P137627">http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P137627</a> - BDTNS 011607	Pièce 9 (UE 7, p. 229).	Mort d'un pêcheur nommé Abba-gina.

-/Šulgi 37	U.7770C — UET 3 1396 - <a href="http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P137721">http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P137721</a> - BDTNS 011701	Pièce 9 (UE 7, p. 229).	Dépense pour le salaire de travailleurs transportant des roseaux.
-/v/Šulgi 42	U.7770E — UET 3 64 - <a href="http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P136380">http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P136380</a> - BDTNS 010369	Pièce 9 (UE 7, p. 229).	Dépense de cinq bottes de roseaux pour un sacrifice dans le temple de Ningal (é-nun). (Service de) l'administrateur-šabra Biduga.
-/v/Šulgi 43	U.7770D — UET 3 784 - <a href="http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P137108">http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P137108</a> - BDTNS 011089	Pièce 9 (UE 7, p. 229).	Réception de bois de peuplier par Lu-dingira.
-/viii/Amar-Sîn 5	U.17205 — UET 3 329 - <a href="http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P136650">http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P136650</a> - BDTNS 010634	Pièce 1. « Lower filling of doorway next that of School House, No.1 Store Street. » - <a href="http://www.ur-online.org/subject/18195">http://www.ur-online.org/subject/18195</a>	Dépense d'or et de pierres précieuses pour la statue en cuivre de l'enfant au sein et la statue en cuivre de la reine.

Autre conséquence de cet imbroglio : la photographie du caveau publiée dans le rapport de fouilles final, ayant pour légende « No. 3 Store Street; the entrance to the family vault under the chapel » (UE 7, plate 47), correspond à AHG/326 [= LG/82], un caveau surmonté d'une voûte à encorbellement découvert au No. 1 Store Street, dans la pièce 9/chapelle (UE 7, p. 202)<sup>3</sup>.

Pour finir, il convient de noter que la renumérotation des maisons de cette rue après 1931 a conduit à une autre erreur : les maisons No. 3 (ex. No. 5) et No. 5 Store Street décrites dans le rapport final (UE 7, p. 139-141) ne font qu'une. Cette erreur a déjà été signalée par M. Van De Mieroop, qui a justement fait remarquer que la maison No. 5 n'apparaît pas sur le plan du quartier AH publié en 1976 (UE 7, plate 124), et que les descriptions des deux maisons sont similaires (BBVO 12, p. 157).

#### Notes

1. U.17205 = UET 3 329 [-/viii/Amar-Sîn 5].

2. Ces tablettes portent le numéro U.17206. Noter que le rapport de fouilles final (UE 7 p. 202) et la Field Note de L. Woolley pour la tombe AHG/333 [= LG/83] (scannée sur Ur Online : <http://www.ur-online.org/file-detail/21091>) mentionnent 20 tablettes, alors que la Catalog Card du numéro U.17206 (+ UE 7 p. 138) ne mentionne que 16 textes. Le plus probable, c'est que 4 des tablettes trouvées par Woolley dans la tombe LG/83 n'ont pas reçu de numéro de chantier. Sur les tablettes trouvées dans cette tombe, voir : D. Charpin, « Les tablettes retrouvées dans des caveaux funéraires d'époque paléo-babylonienne à Ur », in D. Charpin (éd.), *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur la ville d'Ur à l'époque paléo-babylonienne*, Mémoires de NABU 22, Paris, 2020.

3. Pour une description de ce caveau et les croquis de Woolley, cf. Ur Online : <http://www.ur-online.org/location/917>.

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**54) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 11 : le sceau d'un prêtre ŠITA ÈŠ, serviteur de Nimintabba** — Parmi les documents inédits provenant des fouilles de L. Woolley à Ur dont les photos sont disponibles sur le site Ur Online se trouve U.16829(D)<sup>1</sup> (<http://www.ur-online.org/subject/42715>). Il s'agit d'une « étiquette » de forme carrée, avec deux trous de ficelle sur le côté gauche, en haut et en bas. Elle ne comporte qu'une seule ligne d'écriture :

[x.x.x] DUH                      « [x litres] de son. »

La quantité de son (*tuhhum*) du contenant auquel cette étiquette était vraisemblablement attachée initialement a disparu en raison d'un coup de piochon à cet endroit. Des étiquettes analogues relatives à des quantités de son ont déjà été publiées, mais elles comportent en général davantage d'indications<sup>2</sup>. Tout l'intérêt de cette étiquette vient de l'empreinte du sceau qui figure sur le reste de la surface (face, revers et



tranches). Comme de coutume, c'est la partie du sceau qui comporte la légende qui a été imprimée dans l'argile. On voit juste au-dessus de la première ligne une figure de « guerrier à la masse ». On peut lire :

<i>i-ku-un-ṣi₄-š[a]</i>	« Ikun-piša,
DUMU <i>im-gur-ḏEN.ZU</i>	filis d'Imgur-Sin,
ŠITA ÈŠ ḏ <sub>r</sub> x.x <sup>1</sup>	prêtre-ŠITA du sanctuaire de [ND]
ÌR ḏNIMIN.TAB.BA	serviteur de Nimintabba. »

Le même sceau est attesté sur une étiquette conservée au musée de Bagdad (IM 90244), copiée par J. Black et éditée par G. Spada dans *Nisaba* 19 (n° 104). Comme l'autre, cette étiquette fermait un récipient rempli de son, car on lit sur l'une des faces :

[x.0].3 DUH « [x]+30 litres de son. »

Le sceau déroulé sur cette étiquette est identique à celui déroulé sur U.16829D. La copie de J. Black permet de lire :

*i-ku-un-pi₄-ša*  
DUMU *im-gur-ḏEN.ZU*  
ŠITA ÈŠ ḏ[x].ṣ<sup>1</sup>  
[Ì]R ḏNIMIN\*.TAB\*.ṣBA\*<sup>1</sup>

Le titre qui suit le patronyme est ambigu : est-il celui du propriétaire du sceau ou celui de son père ? Les légendes de sceaux les plus claires indiquent « NP<sub>1</sub> / titre / DUMU NP<sub>2</sub> », comme « Zikir-ilišu, *gudapsûm* de Nanna, fils de Ku-Ningal » (HEO 22, p. 118). Les cas où l'on a « NP<sub>1</sub> / titre / DUMU NP<sub>2</sub> / titre » sont plus rares : voir l'exemple de « Ur-Nanna, *gudapsûm* de Nanna, fils de Ku-Ningal, *šandabakkum* de Nanna, serviteur de Warad-Sin » en HEO 22, p. 47<sup>3)</sup>. Dans le cas où l'on a « NP<sub>1</sub> / DUMU NP<sub>2</sub> / titre », on peut hésiter à attribuer le titre au père ou à son fils. Mais dans certains cas, on peut montrer que le fils a hérité de la charge de son père, de sorte que le titre vaut pour les deux. C'est ainsi qu'on connaît le sceau de « Ana-Sin-emid, fils de Šumum-libši, KA.KI » (HEO 22, p. 137) : père et fils sont attestés avec le titre de *kakikkum* (HEO 22, p. 138). Revenons à U.16829D : il faut noter qu'on connaît déjà un Imgur-Sin prêtre ŠITA ÈŠ<sup>4)</sup>. Il est témoin dans deux contrats datés de l'année Rim-Sin I 2 : HEO 12 93: 16 et BM 13960: 2 (coll.)<sup>5)</sup>. Ikun-piša aurait donc hérité de la charge de prêtre ŠITA ÈŠ de son père Imgur-Sin. Le nom de la divinité au culte de laquelle ils participaient n'est lisible sur aucune des empreintes de façon assurée<sup>6)</sup>.

Par ailleurs, la dévotion à la déesse Nimintabba dont témoigne ce sceau est à ajouter aux exemples réunis dans HEO 22, p. 146-147. Ils proviennent presque tous de la partie du site d'Ur proche du temple de la déesse, situé dans le quartier EH (partie sud-ouest du temenos)<sup>7)</sup>. Or les textes où le prêtre ŠITA ÈŠ Imgur-Sin est témoin montrent qu'il possédait une maison dans ce secteur ; cela renforce donc l'idée qu'on a affaire à un culte très localisé. Ikun-piša aurait hérité à la fois de la maison et de la dévotion de son père<sup>8)</sup>.

Il reste à déterminer la provenance de ces étiquettes. L'étiquette IM 90244 n'a malheureusement pas reçu de numéro de chantier. L'étiquette du British Museum porte le numéro U.16829 (inscrit sur la tablette). Mais d'après le rapport de fouilles final (UE 7 p. 245a), U.16829 est le numéro de chantier de la tablette UET 6/1 111, découverte au n° 1 Broad Street (un manuscrit des « Hymnes aux temples »<sup>9)</sup>). T. C. Mitchell précise que dans les carnets de fouilles de Woolley, la seule tablette associée au numéro de chantier U.16829 est UET 6/1 111. Sur Ur Online, l'étiquette porte le numéro U.16829B, mais une note précise que le suffixe « B » a été ajouté a posteriori car le numéro U.16829 était déjà attribué. En outre, le numéro U.16829B est déjà associé à la tablette UET 5 41, une lettre de Sin-bani à Ili-iddina qui selon Mitchell pourrait provenir du n° 1 Old Street (UE 7, p. 244b). Le numéro U.16829A est quant à lui associé à la tablette UET 5 22, une lettre d'Ilšu-tillassu à Ea-našir, qui pourrait aussi provenir du n° 1 Old Street (UE 7, p. 244b). Bref, il y a eu visiblement un gros problème lors de l'enregistrement de ces tablettes, de sorte que rien ne prouve que l'étiquette U.16829D provienne du n° 1 Broad Street.

#### Notes

1. U.16829B est un *duplicate number*, c'est pourquoi nous donnons le numéro U.16829D à cette étiquette.

2. Voir notamment les étiquettes provenant des fouilles d'A. Parrot à Larsa en 1933, publiées par D. Arnaud, « Les billets de livraison de tourteau du Palais de Nūr-Adad à Larsa », dans J.-M. Durand & J.-R. Kupper (éd.), *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris, 1985, p. 35-38 (copies dans BBVOT 3 n°s 7, 19,

20, 21, 22, 23, 25). Pour ce type d'étiquettes, voir D. Charpin, « Une technique méconnue d'archivage chronologique des tablettes comptables », dans I. Arkhipov, G. Chambon & N. Ziegler (éd.), *L'administration économique du palais au Proche-Orient à l'âge du Bronze : Actes des colloques franco-russes, 2014-2016*, PIPOAC 4, Louvain/Paris/Walpole, à paraître.

3. Les sceaux de Sin-nada découverts à Ur en 2017 constituent à cet égard une exception, puisqu'on a deux titres qui se suivent. On lit sur le mieux conservé des deux : <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-na-da / DUMU IGL.AN.NA.KE<sub>4</sub>.ZU / DUB.SAR.RA.KE<sub>4</sub> / UGULA É É <sup>d</sup>NIN.GAL / İR ši-lí-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR « Sin-nada, fils de Igianakezu le scribe, intendant du temple de Ningal, serviteur de Šilli-Adad » (cf. A. Otto, « Official Seal Motifs at Larsa and Ur in the 19th Century BC », dans G. Chambon, M. Guichard & A.-I. Langlois (éd.), avec la participation de Th. Römer & N. Ziegler, *De l'argile au numérique. Mélanges assyriologiques en l'honneur de Dominique Charpin*, PIPOAC 3, Louvain/Paris/Bristol, 2019, p. 764-776, spéc. p. 769). La marque du génitif .KE<sub>4</sub> à la fin de la ligne 2 montre bien que le premier titre se réfère au père et le second au propriétaire du sceau.

4. Pour le titre de ŠITA ÈŠ, cf. J. Renger, ZA 59, 1969, p. 129-132 et récemment F. Huber Vulliet, *Le personnel culturel à l'époque néo-sumérienne (ca. 2160-2003 av. J.-C.)*, BPOA 14, Madrid, 2019, p. 199-203, avec une lecture šita AB, qui laisse ouvert le choix entre šita ab(a) et šita èš(a), avec toutefois une préférence pour l'interprétation « prêtre-šita du sanctuaire » (p. 200).

5. Voir respectivement <http://www.archibab.fr/T22123> et <http://www.archibab.fr/T23291>. Pour ces deux textes, voir D. Charpin, « Ventes de terrains par le temple de Nanna à Ur sous les rois de Larsa », dans D. Charpin (éd.), *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur la ville d'Ur à l'époque paléo-babylonienne*, Mémoires de NABU 22, Paris, 2020, sous presse.

6. Dans l'index de Nisaba 19, p. 43, cette référence à šita-eš<sub>3</sub> figure sous <sup>d</sup>Nanna ; cette lecture a été jugée incertaine par F. Huber Vulliet, *Le personnel culturel à l'époque néo-sumérienne (ca. 2160-2003 av. J.-C.)*, BPOA 14, Madrid, 2019, p. 160 ; de fait, la photo de U.16829(D) ne permet pas une telle lecture. Mais on ne peut pas non plus lire <sup>d</sup>NIN.GAL, comme sur le sceau de Ku-Lugalbanda, qui est le seul à comporter le nom d'une divinité après ce titre à l'époque paléo-babylonienne (UET 5 617 etc.).

7. Pour ce temple, voir *Le Clergé d'Ur...*, HEO 22, 1986, p. 144-147 et R. L. Zettler, « From Beneath the Temple. Inscribed Objects from Ur », *Expedition* 28, 1986, p. 29-38 (paru trop tard pour être cité dans HEO 22).

8. Cf. D. Charpin, « Les divinités familiales des Babyloniens d'après les légendes de leurs sceaux-cylindres », dans Ö. Tunca (éd.), *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur J.-R. Kupper à l'occasion de son 70<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, Liège, 1990, p. 59-78.

9. Cf. M.-C. Ludwig, *Literarische Texte aus Ur. Kollationen und Kommentare zu UET 6/1-2*, UAVA 9, Boston/Berlin, 2009, p. 115-116.

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**55) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 12 : une femme propriétaire d'une prébende** — Lorsqu'en 1980 j'ai édité et commenté le texte HEO 12 20 (24/x/Rim-Sin 24)<sup>1)</sup>, je m'étais essentiellement attaché à déterminer la nature de la prébende objet de la transaction ; on sait aujourd'hui qu'il s'agit de la charge de « fournisseur » (NAM.GIR<sub>4</sub>), c'est-à-dire de responsable du four (GIR<sub>4</sub>) du temple de Nanna<sup>2)</sup>. Mais j'ai négligé de commenter un des aspects les plus intéressants du contrat : le fait qu'Apilša ait donné cette prébende à sa sœur Ali-abuša<sup>3)</sup>. C'est à ma connaissance le seul exemple à Ur où l'on voit une femme propriétaire d'une prébende, alors que cette situation est davantage documentée à Nippur<sup>4)</sup>.

Il aurait également fallu attirer l'attention sur un des témoins : il s'agit d'une femme nommée Šat-Sin, qui porte le titre de NIN.DINGIR<sup>5)</sup>. De façon très étonnante, son nom apparaît en fin de liste sur la tablette, mais figure au contraire en tête sur l'enveloppe. Il semblerait que les scribes d'Ur de l'époque de Rim-Sin étaient beaucoup moins attentifs à l'ordre hiérarchique des témoins que leurs confrères de Sippar plus d'un siècle plus tard<sup>6)</sup>. À moins qu'il ne faille imaginer ce scénario : une fois la tablette intérieure rédigée, il y aurait eu des protestations, et le scribe fut obligé de mettre Šat-Sin en tête de la liste des témoins lorsqu'il écrivit le texte de l'enveloppe<sup>7)</sup>.

Quoi qu'il en soit, on doit noter qu'à Nippur seules des religieuses-*nadītum* apparaissent comme propriétaires de prébendes. Bien que le statut d'Ali-abuša ne soit pas indiqué dans HEO 12 20, la présence de la NIN.DINGIR Šat-Sin comme témoin dans cet acte de donation rend vraisemblable qu'il s'agissait également d'une femme consacrée<sup>8)</sup>.

## Notes

1. D. Charpin, *Archives familiales et propriété privée en Babylonie ancienne : étude des documents de « Tell Sifr »*, HEO 12, Genève-Paris, 1980, p. 47-49 (§ 9 TS 20 : traduction et commentaire) et p. 213-214 (TS 20 : transcription). Je cite désormais les textes de ce volume à la manière d'ARCHIBAB, soit en l'occurrence HEO 12 20 ; cf. <http://www.archibab.fr/T22153>. Cette tablette fait partie du lot découvert par J. G. Taylor à l'automne 1854 sur le site EM, dans un vase fermé ; cf. D. Charpin, « Les découvertes épigraphiques de Taylor à Ur en 1854 : nouvelle approche », dans D. Charpin (éd.), *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babylonienne*, Mémoires de NABU 22, Paris, sous presse.
2. Voir D. Charpin, « *Retractatio*. À propos de la prébende de cuisinier à Ur à l'époque paléo-babylonienne », *NABU* 2014/14, ainsi que D. Charpin, « Le temple d'Enki-d'Eridu : nouvelle approche du clergé d'Ur », dans D. Charpin (éd.), *ARCHIBAB 4*, Paris, sous presse.
3. Je n'avais pas lu correctement le nom de leur père, AN.ÀM (ou DINGIR.ÀM). Malgré la rareté de ce nom, il est peu vraisemblable qu'il s'agisse du roi d'Uruk, bien que cela soit chronologiquement possible.
4. Voir W. Meinhold, « Prebends and Prebendaries in Old Babylonian Nippur », *JANER* 19, 2019, p. 55-70.
5. Cette référence a échappé à M. Stol, « Titel altbabylonischer Klosterfrauen », dans J. Marzahn, H. Neumann & A. Fuchs (éd.), *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997*, AOAT 252, Münster, 2000, p. 457-466, spéc. p. 462 n. 36 où il donne la liste de toutes les femmes « NIN.dingir » d'Ur qu'il connaît. Il n'est pas possible de savoir si c'est la même Šat-Sin qui avait été adoptée par Belessunu en HEO 12 13 (-/v/Rim-Sin 15).
6. Voir récemment M. Tanret, « Gimil-Marduk. Une carrière de juge ou un juge de carrière ? », dans G. Chambon, M. Guichard & A.-I. Langlois (éd.), avec la participation de Th. Römer et N. Ziegler, *De l'argile au numérique. Mélanges assyriologiques en l'honneur de Dominique Charpin*, PIPOAC 3, Louvain/Paris/Bristol, 2019, p. 1031-1057.
7. Pour un autre exemple de femme en tête des témoins dans un contrat d'Ur, voir UET 5 149 (<http://www.archibab.fr/T6274>) ; texte édité et commenté par D. Charpin, « Les tablettes retrouvées dans des caveaux funéraires d'époque paléo-babylonienne à Ur », dans D. Charpin (éd.), *ARCHIBAB 4*, Paris, sous presse.
8. On sait qu'à Sippar, à Nippur et à Kiš, les religieuses-*nadītum* étaient souvent présentes dans les contrats impliquant l'une des leurs ; cf. L. Barberon, *Archibab 1. Les religieuses et le culte de Marduk dans le royaume de Babylone*, Mémoires de NABU 14, Paris, 2012, p. 14 n. 40.

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**56) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 13 : le sceau de la prêtresse-en Enanatuma** — Analysant l'importance politique des prêtresses-en à Ur à l'époque paléo-babylonienne, J. G. Westenholz avait souligné, à la suite de bien des auteurs, qu'Enanatuma, fille du roi d'Isin Išme-Dagan, fut maintenue à son poste après que le roi de Larsa Gungunum se fut emparé de la ville d'Ur<sup>1</sup>). Mais elle ajouta un argument supplémentaire : « Her seal continued <to be> in use into the years of Warad-Sîn (Spada 2007: 89-91, no. II 23 U.31243), with the authority, similar of that, of a royal dynastic seal ». Un tel usage étant exceptionnel, et les conclusions qu'on peut en tirer importantes, il vaut la peine d'y regarder de plus près.

Le texte Nisaba 12 II 23<sup>2</sup>) enregistre un apport de denrées (sans doute du beurre et du fromage) au Ganunmah de Ningal par un responsable de bovins nommé Ili-asum. Le scribe a précisé que la tablette comportait l'empreinte du « sceau d'Enanatuma et des intendants-*šatammû* » (<sup>R.6</sup> KIŠIB EN.AN.NA.TÚM.MA <sup>7</sup> ù ŠÀ.TAM.E.[N]JE). Malheureusement, parmi les sceaux dont les empreintes ont été déchiffrées, on ne trouve pas celui de la prêtresse, mais son emploi semble assuré par l'indication du scribe. La date du document n'est pas conservée ; G. Spada a estimé qu'elle devait être comprise entre les années 2 et 5 de Warad-Sin (Nisaba 12, p. 90-91). Son hypothèse se base sur le sceau n° 2, dont elle a transcrit les traces, très ténues : « Ur-<sup>d</sup>Nann[a] / [gudu<sub>4</sub>-abzu] <sup>d</sup>Nan[na] / [*cancelato*] ». Elle identifie ce sceau à celui d'Ur-Nanna où celui-ci porte à la ligne 2 le titre de *gudapsâm* de Nanna et qui est employé dans des textes datant des années 2 à 5 de Warad-Sin<sup>3</sup>). Du coup, elle propose de situer Nisaba 12 II 23 dans le même laps de temps.

Pour expliquer une telle situation, G. Spada a supposé que le sceau d'Enanatuma n'a pas été utilisé par la prêtresse elle-même, alors morte depuis longtemps, mais par un de ses descendants, qui aurait fait partie des *šatammû*<sup>4</sup>). En réalité, la prosopographie permet de dater Nisaba 12 II 23 sans aucun doute de la période entre Gungunum 26 et Abi-sare 9, en raison de la présence du même responsable de troupeau Ili-

asum (DINGIR.A.ZU) dans des apports de denrées au Ganunmah de Ningal : UET 5 602 : 5 (Gu 26), 619 : 5 (Gu 27), 632 : 9 (Gu 27) et 621 : 15 (AS 9). Le sceau n° 2 doit avoir appartenu à un Ur-Nanna homonyme du *gudapsûm* connu du temps de Warad-Sin<sup>5</sup>).

L'idée que le sceau d'une prêtresse-e n ait pu être utilisé après sa mort comme une sorte de sceau dynastique ne repose donc actuellement sur aucune donnée vérifiée. Ce texte prouve seulement l'intervention de la prêtresse-e n Enanatumma dans la gestion du Ganunmah de Ningal à l'époque de Gungunum, ce qui est en soit une information très importante.

#### Notes

1. J. G. Westenholz, « EN-Priestess: Pawn or Power Mogul? », dans G. Wilhelm (éd.), *Organization, Representation and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg 20-25 July 2008*, Winona Lake, 2012, p. 291-312, spéc. p. 305.

2. Édition par G. Spada, *Testi economici da Ur di periodo paleo-babilonese*, Nisaba 12, Messine, 2007, p. 89-91 (U.31243) ; photo dans <https://cdli.ucla.edu/P381932.jpg> ; édition électronique dans <http://www.archibab.fr/T22455>.

3. Elle renvoie à D. Charpin, *Le Clergé d'Ur*, p. 47 sqq. Depuis lors, le comput des années de Warad-Sin a changé : ce que M. Sigrist notait Warad-Sin 5 dans IAPAS 3, 1990, est devenu Warad-Sin 4 selon K. Abraham, *RA* 102, 2009, p. 27-38.

4. « Sulla base di queste considerazioni, potremmo escludere che sia stata la sacerdotessa in persona a sigillare la tavoletta, ma piuttosto un suo discendente, appartenente al gruppo degli *šatammū* » (Nisaba 12, p. 90). Cette hypothèse repose sans doute sur la présence en YOS 5 46, 50 et 51 du sceau de A.AB.BA / DUMU EN.AN.ʿNA.TUM<sup>1</sup>.MA / EN (d)ŠEŠ.KI, à côté de celui du *gudapsûm* Ur-Nanna. Abba possédant son propre sceau, il n'est pas vraisemblable qu'il ait utilisé celui d'Enanatumma en Nisaba 12 II 23.

5. C'est d'autant plus vraisemblable que dans les textes où apparaît le sceau du *gudapsûm* Ur-Nanna, les autres sceaux sont presque tous les mêmes (YOS 5 46, 47, et 50 à 53). Or le sceau n° 1 de Nisaba 12 II 23 n'est pas attesté ailleurs. G. Spada transcrit : [Lu<sub>2</sub>]-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU / dub-sar / dumu Lugal-ku<sub>3</sub>-zu (sans justifier la restitution de la l. 1).

Dominique CHARPIN

**57) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 14 : les Gipar d'Ur et d'Uruk et le palais de Mari : architecture et lexicographie** — Le Gipar des prêtresses-e n de Nanna à Ur est bien connu pour avoir été fouillé par L. Woolley en 1925-26 (cf. *AJ* 6/4, 1926, p. 366-382 ; <http://www.ur-online.org/location/15/>). Mais un g i p a r pouvait selon le cas être aussi bien la résidence d'un prêtre-e n que d'une prêtresse-e n. À l'époque paléo-babylonienne, le roi ANam construisit à Uruk un Gipar pour le prêtre-e n de la déesse Inanna (RIME 4, p. 471-472 n° 1). L'emplacement de ce bâtiment pose un problème.

Pour P. Steinkeller, « According to Anam 1 : 9-12, it was situated in the “outer courtyard,” evidently of Eanna: *kisal-bar-ra é-gi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>4</sub> en-na ki-tuš šag<sub>4</sub> húl-la-na mu-na-dù*, “in the outer courtyard he erected for her (i.e. Inanna) the gipar of the en priest, her dwelling of rejoicing.” Cf. Anam 2: 10-21: *é An <sup>d</sup>Inanna níg-dím-dím libir-ra <sup>d</sup>Ur-<sup>d</sup>Namma <sup>d</sup>Šul-gi-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> mu-un-gibil<sub>4</sub>-a ki-bi bí-gi<sub>4</sub>-a é-gi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>4</sub> en-na ki-tuš šag<sub>4</sub> húl-la(!)-na la-la-bi-šè túm-ma mu-un-ki-gar é gibil<sub>4</sub>-gim hu-mu-ù-tu*, “when I renovated and restored to its former condition the temple of An (and) Inanna, the ancient work of Ur-Namma and Shulgi, I founded the gipar of the en priest, her (i.e., of Inanna) dwelling of rejoicing, suitable for (her) delight; I created it as if it were a new temple” »<sup>1)</sup>.

Je ne suis pas sûr qu'il faille comprendre *k i s a l - b a r - r a* comme une « cour extérieure », au sens d'une avant-cour dans le temple. Il me semble en effet qu'un rapprochement peut être effectué avec une lettre de Mari très célèbre, celle où Samsi-Addu reproche à Yasmah-Addu d'avoir mis à l'écart la fille du roi de Qatna Išhi-Addu et lui enjoint de ne pas imiter la conduite de Yahdun-Lim (A.2548 = LAPO 18, p. 175-177 n° 1010 ; <http://www.archibab.fr/T4259>) : (14) *ia-ah-du-li-im* (15) *ša-we-ti-šu ú-ša-qí-ir-ma* (16) *aš-ša-ti-šu ú-pa-ri-is-ma* (17) *i-na ki-di-im ú-še-ši-ib* « Yahdun-Lim, par passion pour ses favorites, a mis à part ses épouses et les a fait habiter à l'extérieur (*ina kîdim*) ». Samsi-Addu termine sa lettre ainsi : (24) *i-na é-kál* <sup>giš</sup>GÍŠIMMAR (25) *ki-sa-al-lu ma-du-tum-ma* (26) *i-ba-aš-šu-ú* (27) *1 ki-sa-al-lam* (28) *li-iš-ta-as-sí-qú-ši-im-ma* (29) *i-na ki-sa-al-lim ša-a-ti* (30) *li-ši-ib* (31) *a-na ki-di-im la tu-še-[še]-ši* « Dans le palais du Palmier, il y a beaucoup d'appartements (*kisallum*). Qu'on choisisse pour elle un appartement et qu'elle habite cet appartement. Ne la fais pas sortir à l'extérieur (*ana kîdim*) ».

Comme l'a indiqué J.-M. Durand (*MARI* 4, 1985, p. 406), le contexte montre que *kisallum* a ici, non pas le sens de « cour » mais celui d'« espace, appartement ». Un tel sens doit manifestement se retrouver dans l'inscription d'ANam<sup>2</sup>). À Uruk, le Gipar se trouvait dans un espace à l'extérieur (b a r) du temple d'Inanna, de la même façon que Yahdun-Lim avait fait habiter ses épouses à Mari « à l'extérieur » (*ina kîdim*), c'est-à-dire en dehors du palais (*kîdum* étant l'équivalent akkadien du sumérien b a r).

Peut-on comparer cette situation avec celle d'Ur ? Sous la III<sup>e</sup> dynastie d'Ur et à l'époque paléo-babylonienne, le Gipar était situé à l'extérieur de l'Ekišnugal, au sud-est. La fouille d'Uruk n'a pas encore permis de localiser le Gipar, mais il vaut mieux le considérer comme un ensemble indépendant, non une construction située dans une avant-cour de l'Eanna : l'inscription d'ANam n° 2 indique simplement la simultanéité de deux opérations, la rénovation du temple et la construction du Gipar.

#### Notes

1. P. Steinkeller, « On Rulers, Priests and Sacred Marriage: Tracing the Evolution of Early Sumerian Kingship », dans K. Watanabe (éd.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East. Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East — The City and Its Life held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo) March 22-24, 1996*, Heidelberg, 1999, p. 103-138, spéc. p. 107 n. 8. La traduction de D. Frayne dans RIME 4, p. 472 n'est guère satisfaisante : « Anam (...) built for her (= Inanna) the outer courtyard of the *gipar* of the en priest(ess), her abode of rejoicing ».

2. Il faut rappeler à quel point les textes du palais dit « de Sin-kašid » (qui couvrent les règnes de Sin-iribam, Singamil, et surtout ceux de ANam et Irnene) présentent des similitudes avec ceux de Mari : cf. D. Charpin & J.-M. Durand, « Notes de lecture: Texte aus dem Sînkāšid Palast », *MARI* 7, 1993, p. 367-375 et D. Charpin, « Uruk à l'époque paléo-babylonienne », dans M. van Ess (éd.), *Uruk. Altorientalische Metropole und Kulturzentrum*, 8. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 25.-26. April 2013, Berlin, CDOG 8, sous presse (manuscrit remis en novembre 2014...).

Dominique CHARPIN

**58) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 15 : l'Ehursag existait-il encore à l'époque paléo-babylonienne ?** — Le bâtiment appelé Ehursag est sans doute un des plus mystérieux découverts à Tell el-Muqayyar. Mon propos ici n'est pas de déterminer la nature exacte de cet édifice, mais de vérifier s'il existait encore à l'époque paléo-babylonienne. Dans sa récente étude du téménos d'Ur, M. Gruber ne lui a consacré que quatre lignes (p. 183) et n'a pas représenté le bâtiment sur le plan de l'époque « Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian »<sup>1</sup>). M. Van De Mierop avait souligné les incertitudes sur ce point<sup>2</sup>). En effet, dans le volume consacré à la période paléo-babylonienne, Woolley parlait de « the (now deserted?) E-ḫur-sag » (UE 7, p. 9). Mais le catalogue du même volume signalait la découverte dans ce bâtiment de trois cônes (U.6963, U.6964 et U.6966) et deux tablettes (U.6974 et U.6975)<sup>3</sup>). Th. Richter a donc estimé que l'Ehursag était encore occupé à cette époque : « Aufgrund einiger im Gebäude gefundener Texte kann angenommen werden, daß es noch in der Isin/Larsa-Zeit genutzt wurde »<sup>4</sup>). Il notait cependant que les trois inscriptions commémoratives (une de Lipit-Ištar [U.6964] et deux de Warad-Sin [U.6963 et U.6966]) n'étaient pas *in situ*. Les deux tablettes sont :

– U.6974, tablette et enveloppe, avec empreinte du sceau d'un serviteur de Lipit-Ištar (UET 1 107 = UE 10 440 = RIME 4, p. 60-61 n°2001 [corriger U.6874 en U.6974]). Le contrat lui-même semble toujours inédit. Dans UET 1 p. xv, la provenance est notée comme « “E-ḫursag”, loose ».

– U.6975 : l'empreinte de sceau a été publiée comme UET 1 133. La tablette avec enveloppe correspondante, quoiqu'ayant perdu son numéro en U., a pu être identifiée comme UET 5 445<sup>5</sup>). Là encore, la provenance était indiquée dans UET 1 p. xvi comme « “E-ḫursag,” loose ».

Une fois de plus, l'accès à la documentation de la fouille procuré par le projet Ur-Online permet d'aller plus loin. L. Legrain était l'épigraphiste de la 4<sup>e</sup> campagne en 1925-26 lorsque ces deux tablettes furent découvertes. Lorsqu'on regarde les fiches de chantier qu'il rédigea, on s'aperçoit que la provenance est dans les deux cas notée comme « DP »<sup>6</sup>). Cela est également le cas des trois inscriptions commémoratives : U.6963 ([http://www.ur-online.org/media\\_item/243760/](http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/243760/)), U.6964 ([http://www.ur-online.org/media\\_item/243761/](http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/243761/)) et U.6966 ([http://www.ur-online.org/media\\_item/243763/](http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/243763/)). La notice d'Ur-Online explique l'histoire compliquée de la recherche de l'Ehursag par Woolley (<http://www.ur-online.org/location/14/>).

On sait maintenant que le sigle DP (« Dungi Palace ») ne correspond nullement au bâtiment identifié de nos jours comme l'Ehursag, mais à la partie septentrionale du site EM, où Woolley crut dans un premier temps qu'il avait trouvé le palais de Šulgi qu'il recherchait (cf. <http://www.ur-online.org/location/32/>)<sup>7)</sup>. Les cinq textes supposés prouver que l'Ehursag a été occupé après la chute de la III<sup>e</sup> dynastie d'Ur sortent donc du dossier.

Mais l'enquête doit être poursuivie. En effet, dans sa publication définitive de l'Ehursag, Woolley indiquait : « The building, overthrown by the Elamites at the end of the Third Dynasty, was restored and used by the Larsa kings. The NW wall of room 29 was razed to the floor and a new wall built farther to the SE with the old material, but the Ur-Nammu bricks were now laid in mud mortar; apart from this no real change of ground-plan could be distinguished. Clay tablets found at floor level—accounts and business documents—were dated to the reigns of Gungunum and Idin-Dagan, and proved that the building was in use in the time of the Isin and Larsa kings »<sup>8)</sup>. Il faut donc chercher à identifier ces tablettes. Le seul élément que j'ai pu trouver est la tablette BM 114059, découverte par Hall en 1919, dont seule la date a été publiée (UET 1 215 : UET 1/1, p. xx, copie UET 1/2, pl. L) : MU ÚS.SA / <sup>d</sup>i-din-<sup>d</sup>da-gan / LUGAL.E <sup>gi</sup>S.GU.ZA BARA<sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR.IM<sup>ki</sup>.RA / MU.NA.DÍM (cf. M. Sigrist, IAPAS 2, 1998, p. 25 = J). On sait que Hall a commencé la fouille de l'Ehursag en 1919, mais rien n'indique que cette tablette provienne de ce locus. Dans les fiches rédigées par Legrain pour les textes découverts lors de la 4<sup>e</sup> campagne (1925-26), rien ne permet de retrouver les tablettes mentionnées par Woolley : on aurait aimé plus de détails de sa part. On peut penser qu'il fit une confusion avec ses découvertes dans le Gipar-ku, qu'il fouilla lors de la même campagne ; on y trouve en effet des tablettes datées de Gungunum – mais pas d'Iddin-Dagan.

Jusqu'à plus ample informé, mieux vaut donc considérer que l'Ehursag ne fut pas réoccupé à l'époque d'Isin-Larsa. Peut-être des bâtiments furent-ils construits au-dessus de ses ruines, comme ce fut le cas du « Mausolée » : mais ils ont été si érodés qu'un relevé n'en a pas été effectué<sup>10)</sup>.

#### Notes

1. M. Gruber, « The Topography of the Temenos at Ur and Its Changes from the Third Dynasty to the Kassite Period », dans K. Kaniuth, D. Lau & D. Wicke (éd.), *Übergangszeiten. Altorientalische Studien für Reinhard Dittmann anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstags*, marru 1, Münster, 2018, p. 171-193 ; comparer la Fig. 5 (p. 185) avec la Fig. 4 (p. 184).
2. M. Van De Mieroop, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur*, BBVO 12, Berlin, 1992, p. 42.
3. UE 7, p. 226b. Ces 5 numéros sont les seuls du catalogue de UE 7 signalés comme « From E-ḫur-sag ».
4. T. Richter, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit (2. verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage)*, AOAT 257, Münster, 2004, p. 418 n. 1767.
5. D. Charpin, « En marge d'ÉcritUr, 7 : à la recherche d'une tablette perdue », *NABU* 2019/98.
6. Pour U.6974, cf. [http://www.ur-online.org/media\\_item/243771/](http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/243771/) ; pour U.6975, cf. [http://www.ur-online.org/media\\_item/243772/](http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/243772/).
7. On notera d'ailleurs que les fiches de chantier de la campagne distinguent « DP » de l'Ehursag, qui s'y trouve désigné comme « Hall's building » (cf. par ex. U. 6957 [http://www.ur-online.org/media\\_item/243754/](http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/243754/)), ou encore « HT » (pour Hall's Temple) ; cf. U.6997 (<http://www.ur-online.org/subject/6286/>) Noter en outre que U.6969 est un sceau-cylindre originaire de « D.P. grave » ; la fiche porte cette indication postérieure « Back of Quiet St. », qui montre bien que D.P. est la partie nord du quartier EM ; l'objet y est d'ailleurs localisé dans UE 7, p. 226b. Le catalogue de Ur-Online n'enregistre que 21 objets originaires de « Ehursag | HT » (<http://www.ur-online.org/location/14/>).
8. L. Woolley, *The Buildings of the Third Dynasty*, UE 6, Philadelphie, 1974, p. 39.
9. Woolley disait de la partie Nord-Ouest de l'Ehursag dans son rapport préliminaire : « This is so much destroyed by the later buildings on the site (which are not in themselves of sufficient interest to merit description here) that its details must remain conjectural ». Ces bâtiments plus tardifs pourraient être d'époque néo-assyrienne, puisque c'est sur le site de l'Ehursag que Hall découvrit 4 tablettes datées de Šamaš-šum-ukin et Assurbanipal ; cf. R. Tarasewicz, *The Neo-Babylonian Records from Ur from the Hall Collection of the British Museum*, dubsar 7, Münster, 2018, p. 55-57 « Early Archive ». Noter que Woolley ne dit rien du site de l'Ehursag dans UE 8 (L. Woolley, *The Kassite Period and the Period of the Assyrian Kings*, UE 8, Londres, 1965).

Dominique CHARPIN

**59) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 16 : une offrande du roi de Babylone Sumu-la-El à Ur ?** — Un petit texte comptable, découvert dans le Ganunmah lors de la 3<sup>e</sup> campagne de Woolley à Ur (1924-25), mérite de retenir l'attention. Il s'agit de U.2588 (D. Loding, *JCS* 28, p. 235-236 n° 7, copie p. 240 ; photo <http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P466539>). Cette tablette, non scellée, enregistre une dépense de [...]¹, d'huile, de fromage et de dattes. En suivant le résumé de D. Loding, on devrait donc transcrire le texte ainsi :

F. 'x¹ [...]  
 2 'x x¹ [...] 'IN¹ / 'TU¹.RA  
 10 GÍN Ì.NUN  
 4 <sup>gis</sup>ŠU.NIR *su-mu-la-el*  
 BA.AB.DUL₄?  
 6 0,0.1 Ì.GIŠ 4 SILA₃ GA. 'ÀR¹  
 R. 0,0.3 ZÚ.LUM  
 8 'SISKUR₂ *su-mu-la-el*¹  
 KI LUGAL.EZEN.TA  
 10 BA.ZI « suivi d'une ligne anépigraphie »  
 ITI ŠU.NUMUN.A  
 12 MU ÚS.SA EN ⁴UTU  
 MÁŠ.E Ì.PÀD

D. Loding avait noté : « I can offer no parallels or interpretation for the use of the PN *Su-mu-la-el* in this text » (*JCS* 28, p. 236). Dans la deuxième édition de son livre sur les panthéons de Babylone méridionale et centrale, Th. Richter a proposé qu'il s'agisse du roi de Babylone²). Il a daté ce texte de « Absa 24 » : le règne de Abisare n'ayant duré que 11 ans, il s'agit manifestement d'un lapsus pour Sumu-El 24³).

L'identification du Sumu-la-El porteur d'un emblème et d'un sacrifice à Ur avec le roi de Babylone fondateur de la première dynastie poserait un problème politique. En effet, l'avènement de Sumu-la-El est contemporain de l'an 13 du roi de Larsa Sumu-El. L'interprétation historique du passage serait donc délicate : comment imaginer que le roi de Babylone ait procédé à une telle offrande dans le sanctuaire d'Ur, alors contrôlé par le roi de Larsa ? En outre, il faut noter que la lecture du nom n'est pas tout à fait sûre. L. Legrain, épigraphiste expérimenté, avait lu *su-mu-la-ni-si*. De fait, le signe EL commence en principe par MUNUS, et non par NI : or copie et photos de la ligne 3 coïncident pour une séquence NI SI. Je n'ai pas trouvé de parallèle à *su-mu-la-ni-si*, mais on doit noter l'existence de *su-mu-la-a-ni* (Santag 9 87 : 4), ainsi que *su-mu-la-na-si* (FM 16 18 : 3) et l'on sait à quel point la notation des noms amorrites peut être variable.

Par ailleurs, la date de U.2588 ne correspond pas au nom de l'année 24 de Sumu-El : ce dernier commémore l'installation d'une prêtresse vouée au dieu *Nanna* (MU ÚS.SA EN ⁴NANNA BA.HUN.GÁ), alors qu'il est question dans U.2588 du choix par divination (MÁŠ.E Ì.PÀD) d'une prêtresse vouée au dieu *Šamaš*.

Enfin, il faut prendre en compte le contexte archéologique dans lequel la tablette U.2588 a été découverte, à savoir la pièce « R 34 » du Ganunmah⁴). La fiche de chantier indique : « Probably time of Gungunu » ([http://www.ur-online.org/media\\_item/242009/](http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/242009/)) ; à la suite de L. Legrain, D. Loding a daté ce texte de l'an 7 de Gungunum. De fait, sur les 38 textes découverts dans le même locus, 7 datent de Lipit-Ištar et 23 de Gungunum, aucun n'étant postérieur⁵). C'est donc la datation en l'an 7 de Gungunum qui paraît dans l'état actuel du dossier la plus probable, et l'offrande mentionnée par U.2588 n'a rien à voir avec le roi de Babylone Sumu-la-El, dont le règne a commencé 47 ans plus tard.

#### Notes

1. Il est probable que la l. 2 enregistre de l'huile donnée à un malade (TU.RA = *maršum*).
2. Th. Richter, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit (2. verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage)*, AOAT 257, Münster, 2004, p. 422 n. 1790. Sa note indique que ce texte « von einem <sup>gis</sup>š u - n i r und einem s í s k u r des Sumu-lā-el, König von Babylon (1880-1845), handelt ».
3. La note 1790 se trouve d'ailleurs à la fin du paragraphe consacré à Sūmū-el.
4. A. Schmitt, « Hidden under the Floors. The Inventories and Archives of the Ganunmah at Ur from the Third to the First Millennium BC », dans J. M. Evans & E. Roßberger (éd.), (in cooperation with P. Paoletti), *Ancient Near Eastern Inventories in the Third and Second Millennia BCE: Intergating Archaeological, Textual, and Visual*

Sources, MAAO 4, Gladbeck, 2019, p. 83-106, spéc. p. 100 (face à U.2588, on peut remplir les 3 premières colonnes : UPM no no | Loding1976-07 | OB).

5. U.2603 a été daté par A. Schmitt de Abi-sare (MAAO 4, p. 100) à la suite de M. Van De Mieroop, BBVOT 12, p. 258 (« AS 9? »), mais la fiche de Legrain note que le nom d'année contient le nom de Gu-un-[gu-nu...] et celui d'Isin ([http://www.ur-online.org/media\\_item/242024/](http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/242024/)) : il s'agit à peu près sûrement de l'année 16 de Gungunum : MU *gu-un-gu-nu-um* É<sup>d</sup>NIN.Ī.SI.IN<sup>ki</sup>.NA ŠÀ UD.UNU<sup>ki</sup>.MA MU.DÙ. La tablette est inédite et sa photo ne figure pas sur le CDLI.

Dominique CHARPIN

**60) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 17 : offrandes à une statue de Sin-iddinam dans la grande cour (kisal-mah) du temple de Nanna** — J'avais jadis attiré l'attention sur un texte découvert en 1854 par Taylor à Ur, qui mentionnait une prébende de 40 jours définie comme « charge-*pašišum* de la statue de Sin-iqīšam » (HEO 12 88 : <sup>(13)</sup> U<sub>4</sub>(!) 40≤.KAM≥ NAM.GUDU<sub>4</sub> <sup>undu</sup>ALAM <sup>(14)</sup> dEN.ZU-*i-qī-ša-am*). J'avais alors indiqué (HEO 12, p. 52) : « Sans doute cette prébende attachée à la statue de Sîn-iqīšam consistait-elle à pourvoir à son entretien, notamment par des onctions comme en témoigne, dans un texte de livraison d'huile, la mention : 4 sila<sub>3</sub> gaba.ri *a-na* urudu.alam <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-*i-dī-nam* (Langdon, *Babyloniaca* VII, 1914, texte "b" p. 46, L. 4 [3/IX/RS 5]). » Ce texte publié par Langdon (<http://www.archibab.fr/T22832>) pourrait être mis en rapport avec le nom de l'an 6 de Rim-Sin, selon une hypothèse toute récente de B. Fiette : « A statue of Sin-iddinam – for the cult of which oil is delivered – is attested in Langdon 1913: 46, text b : 4, dated to ix/3/Rim-Sin 5. May this text refer to the golden statue commemorated in the year name Rim-Sin 6? » (B. Fiette, « "King" Kudur-Mabuk. A Study on the Identity of a Mesopotamian Ruler Without a Crown », *WO* 50/2, 2020 [sous presse], n. 82). Un texte d'Ur permet peut-être d'aller plus loin.

La tablette UET 5 775 (<http://www.archibab.fr/T12824> ; U.17246K = <http://www.ur-online.org/subject/18643/>) fait partie d'un lot de 23 tablettes découvertes sur le site du Mausolée, au S-SE du téménos à proximité de la « House 30/E » (<http://www.ur-online.org/location/60/>) ; ces textes documentent les activités du grenier-*karûm* de Nanna (HEO 22, p. 245-250). Figulla avait ainsi résumé le contenu de UET 5 775 : « Issue of grain as *sá-dug*<sub>4</sub> to be offered in the É-mah, taken from the granary of (d)Nanna and sealed by Imgur-(d)Sin. Rim-Sin, 30.III.5 » (UET 5, p. 23b ; cf. son édition dans *Iraq* 15, 1953, p. 89). J'avais suivi la lecture É.MAH dans *Le Clergé d'Ur* (HEO 22, p. 248, avec une lecture différente de la l. 2). Il existait bien un É.MAH à Ur : ce temple de Ninsun fut construit par Ur-Namma, selon une tablette de fondation découverte par Hall en 1919 dans un contexte secondaire (RIME 3/2, p. 58-59 n° 23). Selon A. George, ce temple serait « mentioned in an OB disbursement of offerings » (MC 5, p. 119 n° 717 avec référence à UET 5 775 : 3). Il me semble plus vraisemblable de lire (avec la photo du CDLI [P415645]) :

- 0,1.5 6 SILA<sub>3</sub> ŠE.GU<sub>4</sub>  
 2 SÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> 1 <sup>undu</sup>ALAM\*  
 ŠÀ KISAL\*.MAH  
 4 GUR<sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI.TA  
 BA.ZI  
 6 KIŠIB *im-gur*-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU  
 DUMU <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI.MA.AN.SUM  
 R.8 ITI SIG<sub>4</sub>.A U<sub>4</sub>.30.KAM  
 MU 2 <sup>undu</sup>ALAM *ku-du-ur-ma-bu*≤-uk≥  
 10 ù <sup>undu</sup>NA.RÚ.A  
 É.GAL.BAR.RA I.NI.IN.KU<sub>4</sub>

La présence de symboles divins et de statues dans les KISAL.MAH de temples est un phénomène qui n'a rien de rare<sup>1)</sup>. Or il n'existe pas de mention d'un temple nommé É.MAH dans les textes d'archives paléo-babyloniens d'Ur<sup>2)</sup>, alors que celles de la « grande cour » (KISAL.MAH) sont nombreuses : vente de prébende de KISAL.LUH du temple de Sin avec précision qu'il s'agit de la « grande cour » (Haldar 1 [Andersson OrS 57, p. 8-13]) ; UET 5 517 (HEO 22, p. 307-309) : ii 4 ; UET 3 270 : i 7 (ŠÀ KISAL.MAH IGI É PA<sub>4</sub>.PAH). D'autres mentions se trouvent dans des textes littéraires, comme UET 6/2 402 : 24 (ŠÀ KISAL.MAH *me-eh-re-et* É.KIŠ.NU.GÁL<sup>3)</sup>). On notera en particulier UET 6/1 106 : 17, où il est fait



allusion au fait que le roi Rim-Sin entasse(?) les offrandes alimentaires (n i d b a) dans le k i s a l - m a h de l'Ekišnugal<sup>4)</sup>.

Je ne reviendrai pas ici sur la question de savoir si cette « grande cour » doit être identifiée ou non à ce que Woolley a désigné comme « Court of Nannar » (discussion dans HEO 22, p. 333-335). Certes, la statue à qui sont destinées des offrandes-*sattukum* dans UET 5 775 n'est pas identifiée ; mais il est difficile de ne pas rapprocher cette mention du fait que Rim-Sin ait entrepris précisément à ce moment la fabrication d'une statue du roi Sin-iddinam, comme l'indique le nom de sa 6<sup>e</sup> année. Elle commémore l'exécution d'« une statue en or du roi de Larsa Sin-iddinam » : les offrandes de UET 5 775 étaient très vraisemblablement destinées à cette statue, dont on connaît de ce fait l'emplacement.

Le scénario suivant me semble donc pouvoir être proposé. Rim-Sin fit faire une statue de Sin-iddinam dès le début de l'année 5 et l'installa dans la « grande cour » du temple de Nanna : on lui fit des offrandes de céréales provenant du grenier de Nanna (UET 5 775, le 30/iii/RS 5), des onctions d'huile livrée par un autre bureau (Langdon *Babyloniaca* 7 b, du 3/ix/RS 5). L'installation de cette statue fut commémorée dans le nom de la 6<sup>e</sup> année de Rim-Sin. De tels soins confirment la très intéressante hypothèse de P. Steinkeller, selon qui Kudur-Mabuk aurait épousé une fille du roi Sin-iddinam<sup>5)</sup> : Rim-Sin aurait ainsi rendu hommage à son grand-père maternel.

#### Notes

1. « A number of Isin-Larsa inscriptions from Ur refer to the setting up of statues in the kisal-mah 'main courtyard' » (D. Frayne, RIME 4, p. 173) ; à vrai dire, je n'ai trouvé qu'une référence dans une inscription de Kudur-Mabuk (RIME 4 p. 211 n° 9 : ii 9, où le temple de Nanna est d'ailleurs cité comme é-ěš-ki-te [cf. A. George, MC 5, p. 84 n° 276]).

2. Dans la lettre UET 5 13 : 10, plutôt que *i-na* KISAL É.MAH, il me semble qu'il faut lire *i-na* {KISAL} KISAL.MAH. Cette lettre appartient aux archives d'Ilšu-ibbišu, découvertes dans le site EM, Quality Lane (<http://www.archibab.fr/A186>).

3. Voir HEO 22, p. 326-329 ; voir depuis J. Lauinger, « The Curricular Context of an Akkadian Prayer from Old Babylonian Ur (UET 6 402) », dans M. Kozuh, W. Henkelman, Ch. E. Jones & C. Woods (éd.), *Extraction & Control. Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*, SAOC 68, Chicago, 2014, p. 189-196.

4. Voir HEO 22, p. 295-297 ; voir depuis N. Brisch, p. 236-237 (« Rīm-Sîn G ») : lugal nidba-zu egir-bi kisal-mah-a <dù-dù-ra ma-ra-dù-dù-ra> « O king, afterwards <you heaped up in heaps> your food offerings in the great courtyard » ; J. Peterson, « The Literary Sumerian of Old Babylonian Ur: UET 6/1-3 in Transliteration and Translation with Select Commentary. Part I: UET 6/1 », CDLP 15, 2019, p. 275 : « 17. lugal nindaba-zu egir-bi kisal-mah-a «King, the last of your nindaba offerings in the great courtyard" ».

5. P. Steinkeller, « A History of Mashkan-shapir and Its Role in the Kingdom of Larsa », dans E. Stone & P. Zimansky (éd.), *The Anatomy of a Mesopotamian City*, Winona Lake, 2004, p. 26-42, spéc. p. 41 n. 77. Je m'écarte cependant de P. Steinkeller sur deux points : É-gal-bar-ra n'est pas une « royal funerary chapel » (cf. *NABU* 2018/11) et ce n'est pas l'endroit où fut installée la statue de Sin-iddinam.

Dominique CHARPIN

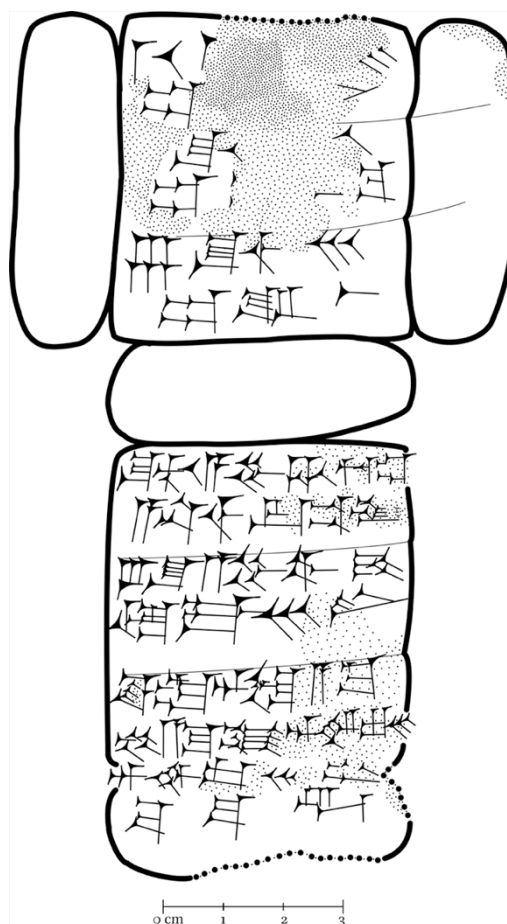
**61) Eine Urkunde mit einem neuen Jahresnamen des Königs Imgur-Sîn von Malgium\*** — Imgur-Sîn, Sohn des Ilī-abī und König von Malgium ist seit 2013 bekannt; in diesem Jahr veröffentlichte R. de Boer die erste Ziegelinschrift dieses Herrschers.<sup>1)</sup> Die kürzlich erfolgte Identifikation von Tell Yassir als Malgium gelang vor allem aufgrund zahlreicher Bauinschriften,<sup>2)</sup> u. a. weiterer Exemplare derselben sowie einer nahezu identischen Inschrift des Imgur-Sîn.<sup>3)</sup> Gleichzeitig tauchten im Kunsthandel zahlreiche Tontafeln aus Malgium auf,<sup>4)</sup> anhand derer mindestens ein Jahresname des Imgur-Sîn identifiziert werden konnte.

Eine Tafel in der Privatsammlung P. Kress (Bochum),<sup>5)</sup> die Verf. bei seinem letzten Besuch untersuchen durfte,<sup>6)</sup> trägt einen bisher unbekanntes Jahresnamen von Imgur-Sîn. Laut persönlicher Mitteilung des Besitzers (12.07.2017) wurde die Tafel „Kress 272“ (CDLI P500510) beim U.S.-amerikanischen Antikenhändler „Artemis Gallery“ (Louisville, CO) auf der Online-Plattform *LiveAuctioneers*<sup>7)</sup> am 11.07.2017, für 725 \$ erworben. Die Tafel wurde dort mit der folgenden Beschreibung zum Verkauf angeboten: „Ancient Near East, Late Ur III period or Isin Dynasty, ca. late 3rd millennium to early 2nd millennium BCE. A ceramic cuneiform “biscuit”, translated. The translation is

included with the item. In summary it is a list of witnesses with a partial date. The witnesses indicate that this is an administrative receipt from a contract or from a legal case. Size: 1.9" W x 1.95" H (4.8 cm x 5 cm)". Als Provenienz wurde auf eine nicht namentlich genannte Privatsammlung in Texas hingewiesen.<sup>8)</sup>

Die Tafel misst 5.0x4.6x2.1 cm und ist nicht gesiegelt. Die Vorderseite ist stark beschädigt; der beschädigten Oberfläche wurden mehrere Tonstücke mittels Kleber hinzugefügt, die aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zu einer oder mehreren anderen Tafeln gehören.<sup>9)</sup> Der Text dokumentiert den Empfang einer größeren Menge von Kupferobjekten. Hier folgt eine Umschrift mit Übersetzung und kurzem Kommentar.

- Vs. 1.) 600 <sup>r1</sup>[+x šu<sup>2</sup>-š<sup>2</sup>] <sup>r30</sup><sup>2</sup>  
 2.) urudu[x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 3.) [1<sup>2</sup>] šu-š[i x+]10  
 4.) urudu<sub>D</sub>[UR<sub>10</sub><sup>2</sup>] <sup>r</sup>TAB<sup>2</sup>.BA  
 5.) 6 šu-š<sup>2</sup> 30  
 6.) urudu<sup>2</sup>ŠEN.DIL  
 u.R. (-)  
 Rs. 7.) ŠU.TI.A pu-ḫa-<sup>r</sup>ḫu<sup>1</sup>-um  
 8.) a-na š<sup>2</sup>i-<sup>r</sup>ib-ša-tum<sup>1</sup>  
 9.) NÍĜ.ŠU a-bu-wa-qar  
 10.) ù DUMU.MEŠ LÚ  
 11.) <sup>iti</sup>e zen-<sup>d</sup>nin-a-<sup>r</sup>zu<sup>1</sup>  
 12.) mu <sup>idi</sup>igna/zubi-<sup>r</sup>im-gur-30<sup>1</sup>  
 o.R. 13.) <sup>d</sup>im-gur-30 <sup>r</sup>lugal<sup>1</sup>  
 14.) ba-ba-al  
 (-)



(<sup>1-2</sup>)690+ ... aus Kupfer; (<sup>3-4</sup>)70+ Doppeläxte(?) aus Kupfer; (<sup>5-6</sup>)390 Kupferkessel: (<sup>7-8</sup>)Empfangen von Puḫāḫum, zum ... (<sup>9-10</sup>)Unter der Verwaltung von Abu(m)-waqar und den Söhnen (oder: Kinder) des Mannes.

(<sup>11</sup>)Monat Ezen-Ninazu (VI), (<sup>12-14</sup>)das Jahr: „Der ‚Tigris/Zubi-Kanal-des-Imgur-Sîn‘ wurde von König Imgur-Sîn gegraben.“

Z. 7: Der Name B/Puḫāḫum ist äußerst selten und bisher hauptsächlich aus den im Rahmen der Schreiberausbildung verwendeten Personennamenlisten bekannt, s. PBS 11/2, 1: IV 11<sup>10</sup>) mit Chiera 1916: 121 Nr. 156, dort als amurritisch eingestuft.<sup>11)</sup>

Z. 8: Die Verwendung des Wortes *šibšatum* in diesem Kontext ist unerwartet, da *šibšatum* eine aus Mari und Nordmesopotamien bekannte Pluralform des Wortes *šibšum* ist, die zur Bezeichnung einer Art Getreideabgabe benutzt wurde.<sup>12)</sup> Ob in diesem Text eine derartige Abgabe gemeint war, verbleibt unklar. Andererseits lässt die hohe Anzahl der kupfernen Objekte einen Zusammenhang mit einem staatlichen Büro und/oder Werkstatt vermuten.

Z. 10: Das letzte Zeichen ist nicht LUGAL. Wahrscheinlich steht LÚ für *awtlum* und wird als Bezeichnung für einen hochrangigen Mann verwendet.

Z. 11: Texte aus Malgium verwendeten die Monatsnamen des Kalenders von Ur;<sup>13)</sup> diese kommen altbabylonisch selbst in Ur nur noch selten vor (s. Cohen 2015: 250–251).

Z. 12–14: Da es in Z. 12 keine Spuren einer Rasur gibt, ist der Name des Königs wahrscheinlich nicht versehentlich wiederholt worden: Die erste Erwähnung könnte zum Namen des Kanals gehören.<sup>14)</sup> In dem ersten Teil des Namens lässt sich zwischen den Zeichen ZUBI und IDIGNA nicht mit Sicherheit entscheiden, da diese paläografisch sehr ähnlich sind.<sup>15)</sup> Die Arbeiten am Tigris<sup>16)</sup> ließen sich gut mit der Lage Malgiums vereinbaren, vgl. die Jahresnamen und die Bauinschrift des Königs Šu-Amurru, die über die Zerstörung (und den Neubau) der Mauer von Dunning am Tigris berichten.<sup>17)</sup> Dies ist der zweite Jahresname von Imgur-Sîn; der erste über den Bau zweier Mauern bzw. Festungen wurde nur in Umschrift publiziert (CUSAS 40, 1679 und 2057-10).<sup>18)</sup> In allen Fällen wird der Name des Königs mit dem Gottesdeterminativ geschrieben.<sup>19)</sup>

## Anmerkungen

\* Der Verf. bedankt sich bei P. Kress für die Erlaubnis, Kress 272 veröffentlichen zu dürfen, bei L. Colonna d'Istria für seine Anmerkungen sowie bei S. P. Schlüter für die sprachlich-stilistische Verbesserung des Manuskriptes. Für alle Fehler ist der Verf. allein verantwortlich.

1. S. de Boer 2013a.
2. S. Ali – Abdulridha – Jbarah – Abbas 2019.
3. Sumer 65, 82 T1\_T1 // T1\_T2 sowie Sumer 65, 81 Yis\_T12.
4. S. Mayr 2012, dazu de Boer 2013b und zuletzt Colonna d'Istria 2020.
5. Für weitere Veröffentlichungen aus dieser Sammlung s. Zólyomi 2015; Földi 2017; Földi – Spada 2017; Földi 2019; Notizia 2020 (Nr. 1 und 9) sowie Földi – Zólyomi *im Druck*. Für die in Nisaba 15 publizierten Ur III-Urkunden der Sammlung Kress s. Földi 2017: 19 Anm. 71; zu diesen vgl. jetzt CUSAS 40, 1443 (erkannt als Innentafel zu Kress 225).
6. Bei diesem Besuch stellte sich ferner heraus, dass die Tafel „Kress 290“, deren Jahresname von Földi 2019 besprochen wurde, tatsächlich das Siegel des Ennam-Sîn trägt: In der Siegelinschrift wird er als Sohn des Ilī-ātanah bezeichnet (*en-nam*-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU / DUMU *i-lī-a-ta-na-ab*). Zum Jahresnamen selbst vgl. jetzt CUSAS 40, 1967 (dort als Ibni-šadūm „f“ identifiziert).
7. Die entsprechende Webseite ist unter <https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/54305430> weiterhin zugänglich (mit Fotos; Zugriff 29.03.2020).
8. Mit der folgenden Aussage wird versucht, die potenziellen Käufer von einer legalen Herkunft des Artefaktes zu überzeugen: „All items legal to buy/sell under U.S. Statute covering cultural patrimony Code 2600, CHAPTER 14, and are guaranteed to be as described or your money back.“
9. Dieser Umstand wurde auf der Webseite mit den folgenden Worten geschildert: „One side is unreadable due to ancient damage and has a small area of remaining adhesive from a previous repair. The other side is fairly readable, with light encrustation in the lower profile areas.“
10. Mit den von J. Peterson (2011: 254 Anm. 35) gejointen weiteren Fragmenten heute IV 17, vgl. das Foto auf CDLI (P227882).
11. Zu den „amurritischen“ Namen der sog. Chiera-Liste s. Streck 2000: 148–149.
12. S. Lacambre – Millet Albà 2008 mit Oliva 2010: 150–151.
13. Mayr 2012: 410 und de Boer 2013b: 23b; vgl. Sigrist – Ozaki 2019: 329. Es ist anzunehmen, dass ein erheblicher Teil der altbabylonischen Texte, die in CUSAS 40 publiziert wurden und die ebenfalls nach diesem Kalender datiert wurden, aus demselben Königreich stammen.
14. Freundl. Hinweis von L. Colonna d'Istria (pers. Mitt.).
15. Für eine Parallele mit derselben Problematik vgl. den Jahresnamen Abī-ešuh „i“ (dazu s. Blaschke 2018: 101).
16. Zu den Jahresnamen mit Erwähnung des Tigris s. Blaschke 2018: 224–225.
17. S. kürzlich Colonna d'Istria 2020 (Jahresnamen) sowie Sumer 65, 79 Yis\_T1 // Yis\_T2.
18. S. Sigrist – Ozaki 2019: 118 Nr. 18–19.
19. S. de Boer 2013a und 2013b: 20.

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**62) BM 87642: an Old Babylonian oil omen fragment about marriage** — In the Old Babylonian omen corpus, oil omens are relatively few according to what has been recovered to date. Anor and Cohen 2018:195-200 note that so far eight tablets recording Old Babylonian oil omens are edited: BM 22446, IM 2967, YOS 10 58, YOS 10 57 (Pettinato 1966, Pientka-Hinz 2008:31-34), BM 22447, YOS 10 62 (Pettinato 1966), BM 87635 (Anor 2018), and the authors’ new identification with edition of KUB 37.198 and KUB 34.5 as part of a single text. Khait 2018 additionally points to two unpublished fragments held at the British Museum: BM 87642 edited here with thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum, and BM 87655 (Ait Said-Ghanem, forthcoming).

BM 87642 is a small triangular shaped fragment that records predictions about marriage based on oil divination (see photos below). Only its obverse is inscribed and it preserves fifteen lines of text of which only the middle part remains. The reverse is flat and smooth, and the undamaged lower edge indicates that what we have here is the end of a tablet. BM 87642 is exciting on several counts. First, although the beginning and end of every sentence is missing, apodotic statements about husband and wife marrying or not (*mūtum u aššatum (la) innahhazū*) can be read. This topic is somewhat rare in the corpus overall. As discussed in Maul 2018:141 fn 81, and Anor 2017:72, the subject of marriage is treated once in BM 22447:14 (originally edited by Pettinato 1966:62). The present fragment shares other traits with BM 22447 including the use of *šmtum* to announce the apodosis’ prediction.

BM 87642 is also noteworthy for its purchase history, one that links it to the OB oil omen fragments BM 87655, and BM 87635 (edited by Anor 2018). All three fragments were purchased by the British Museum in 1900 from the British shipping company F.C. Strick & Co, and seem to have been part of a large lot of fragmentary tablets brought from southern Iraq. Many date to the Third Dynasty of Ur, others to the Old Babylonian period generally, and some specifically to Hammurapi’s reign (contracts). The BM’s online catalogue indicates that just under 1,900 cuneiform tablets were bought from this company between 1895 to 1900, most unprovenanced, a few others marked as ‘acquired/found’ in Umma. From 1892, F. C. Strick & Co traded goods to and from the Persian Gulf and regularly anchored at Basra via the Shatt-el-Arab waterway. This southern access to Iraq could be a clue to the provenience of these three tablets.

The quality of BM 87642’s clay (its colour and polished surface) and the handwriting style of the scribe are strikingly similar to BM 87655. Two textual features make me hesitate to identify them as indirect joins however. As will be seen below, BM 87642:2’ opens with the observation of something separating into six parts using the verb *parāsum (iprus)*. Observations of the oil separating in 2, 3, and 4 parts are the very topic of BM 87655 (ll. 4’, 6’, and 7’), but in that text the verb used each time is *zuāzum (izuz)*. My second reservation is that BM 87642 uses the second person singular to describe the diviner’s actions. Not enough of the beginning of BM 87642 remains to determine the full content of protases, and conversely the

end of protases in BM 87655 are missing, but from what is left, the protases of BM 87655 do not speak to or of a second person.

The clay, colour, shape, and handwriting style of BM 87642 are also the same as those of BM 87635 (Anor 2018), its reverse especially, but this third fragment seems to stand independently from the other two (the scribe's 'typesetting' of BM 87635 is different to BM 87655 for example, a text in which every DIŠ Ì are written on the left edge unlike BM 87635). These fragments are probably all independent texts but I would say that the quality of their clay and the handwriting traits they all share point to their having been written by the same hand and produced in the same place.

BM 87642 is presented here with brief notes\*. I am happy to share photographs with anyone interested in this tablet. I thank the British Academy who funded my research.

- 1§. 1'- [...m]a-an-za-az [...]  
 2§. 2'- [.....] a-na 6 ip-ru-us m[a<sup>2</sup>...]  
 3'- [.....] a-na ma-ka-{space}-[a<sup>2</sup>-lim<sup>2</sup>...]  
 3§. 4'- [...kima<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>2</sup>-k]a-al-tim i-na na-di-[ka<sup>2</sup>...]  
 4§. 5'- [...ta-ad]-di-ma la iṣ-ša-ab-{space}[tu<sup>2</sup>...]  
 6'- [...mu-tum ù aš-ša]-tum ú-ul in-na-ha-[zu-ma<sup>2</sup>...]  
 {separating line}  
 5§. 7'- [...ta-a]d-di-ma iṣ-ša-[ab-tu<sup>2</sup>...]  
 8'- [.....] ši-im-tum mu-tum ù aš-ša-tum i[n-na-ha-zu-ma<sup>2</sup>...]  
 6§. 9'- [.....ta]-[a]d-di-ma la iṣ-ša-ab-tu 1 na-wi-ir [...]  
 10'- [...mu-tum ù] aš-ša-tum in-na-ha-zu-ma 1 i-ma-[at<sup>2</sup>...]  
 7§. 11'- [...DI]<sup>2</sup> 1<sup>2</sup> ta-ad-di-ma iṣ-ša-ab-tu ki-bi-ir Ì.GIŠ ta-[...]  
 12'- [...m]u-tum [ù] aš-ša-tum in-na-ha-zu-ma ú-ul i-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[at<sup>2</sup>...]  
 8§. 13'- [...] <sup>1</sup>DI<sup>2</sup> 2 ta-ad-di-ma iṣ-ša-ab-tu a-na qá-ab-[...]  
 14'- [...] <sup>1</sup>i-na<sup>1</sup> na-di-ka a-na 2 um-ma-tum i-zu-[uz<sup>2</sup>...]  
 15'a- [...mu-tum] ù aš-ša-tum in-na-ha-zu-ma in-ni-<sup>1</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-[...]  
 15'b- ..... / n[e<sup>2</sup>] [...]

Translation

- 1§. 1'- ...[pr]esence of...  
 2§. 2'- ...separates into 6...  
 3'- ...for [food offering?]  
 3§. 4'- [if... like? ...a p]ouch in [your?] pouring out...  
 4§. 5'- [...you po]ur and [they?] do not connect (seize each other)...  
 6'- [...] should husband and wife] not be marri[ed then?...]  
 {separating line}  
 5§. [If... you] pour... and [they?] connect (seize each other)...  
 8'- [...] the prediction is should husband and wife be [married then?...]  
 6§. 9'- [If... you] po[ur...] and they do not connect (seize each other), one is bright...  
 10'- ...should [husband and] wife be married then one will [die?]  
 7§. 11'- [if...] you pour 'two bubbles'<sup>2</sup>... and they connect (seize each other), ...the edge of the oil...  
 12'- ...should husband [and] wife be married then [he/she] will not d[ie?]  
 8§. 13'- [if...] you pour 'two bubbles'<sup>2</sup> and they connect (seize each other), (and) in the middle part of...  
 14'- ...in your pouring out, (and) the main body (of the oil) div[ides?] in two...  
 15'a- [...] should [husband] and wife be married then [he/she/they] will be...  
 15'b- ....x...

Notes

\* I thank Andrew George and Netanel Anor who discussed this tablet with me, and the assistant curators of the BM who so kindly accommodated my multiple visits.

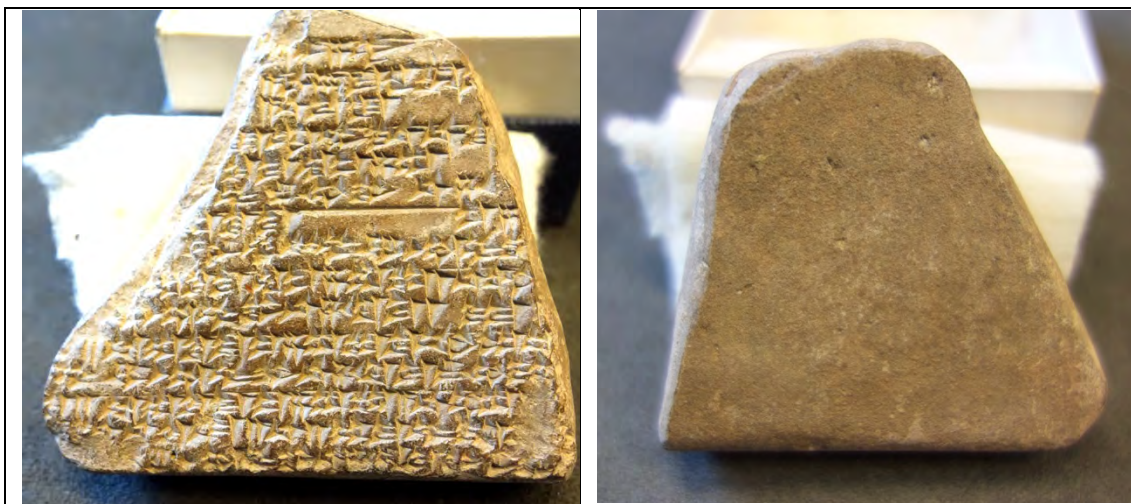
2§. Ll. 1', 2', and 3' seem different to those that follow, both in structure and theme. From what is left of the text, marriage between husband and wife is not yet visible in these early lines. L. 1' seems to represent the end of an apodosis about the presence, presumably of a deity or historical figure (*manzāz PN/DN*), with ll. 2'-3' forming an omen sentence made of two lines. I read number '6' in l. 2' but a deep scratch on the last horizontal wedges may hide another wedge so that this could be number 7. A possible parallel to l. 3' could be BM 22447:63 (Pettinato 1966:66) which reads *ma-za-az ku-bi a-na ma-ka-a-lim*, omen of Kubi for food-offering (see CAD M1:124, *mākālum* b).

3§. 4': I was tempted to restore *tākaltim* based on BM 22447:8 (Pettinato 1966:62): *Ī.GIŠ ki-ma ta-ka-al-tim ša im-me-ri ib-ši*, if the oil is formed like the pouch of a sheep.

5§. The word *šimtum*, fate, destiny, in l. 8' is found in several lines of BM 22447 to announce the prediction about to be given in the apodosis. See BM 22447:3, 4, 5, and especially l. 14 where the topic of marriage occurs and reads *ši-im-tum in-na-ha-zu* 'prediction: they will be married' (Pettinato 1966:61-62).

6§. L. 9': The mention of the oil's brightness *nawir* is also found in BM 22447:18 (Pettinato 1966:63; Anor 2017:72) and BM 22447:53 (Pettinato 1966:65).

8§. BM 22447 uses the sign DI to express the *šulumum*-bubble when it is plural (see BM 22447:37 to 41, the text seems to write it syllabically when the word is singular), hence I propose reading DI 2 for *šulmī šina* in 13' (followed by number 2) for two bubbles or drops of oil (though as pointed out by Andrew George, the signs look like K1.MIN). This accusative to *taddi* could give us a clue as to what is being observed as 'connecting', especially in light of BM 22447:14, the very line that speaks about marriage. There, two oil bubbles or drops are observed, one that represents the future wife and the other the husband (Maul 2018:141 fn 81, Anor 2017:72). Note that *ummatum* is l. 14' is also found in BM 22447:1 [*šumma... šamnam*] *a-na me-e i-na na-di-ia um-ma-tum ki-bi-ir ka-sī-im* (see CAD U:117 *ummatum* c). The sign n[e<sup>2</sup>] in l. 15'b is inscribed on the bottom edge of the fragment. It is indented and written to the very right just below the broken sign that follows the sign IN on the line above.



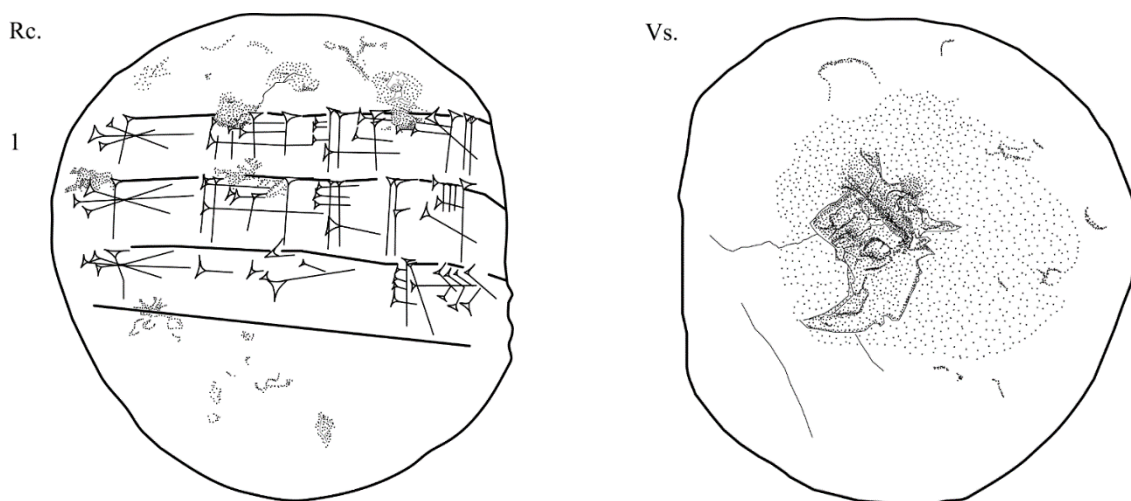
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**63) An Old Babylonian extract from a god list and a brick of Nebuchadnezzar II from the online antiquities market<sup>1)</sup>** — This note is a small contribution to improve scientific access to the immense number of cuneiform tablets sold online. Tablets on the online market often sell on short notice and then disappear into private collections for an unpredictably long time, or for good. While it is mostly frustratingly difficult to find out anything about modern ownership history, internal criteria often can at least hint towards their ancient provenance, as with tablet no. 1.

The Madrid-based gallery Ars Historia Archaeology sold the first tablet via the online-platform *invaluable.com* (<https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/cuneiform-clay-tablet-b354732b62>)<sup>2)</sup> in October 2019 alongside two similar objects (<https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/cuneiform-clay-tablet-3-c-7654fd8ad0> and <https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/cuneiform-clay-tablet-4-c-75c43f689b> all accessed May 18th 2020). The buyer is unknown, it stems allegedly from a “J. F. Private Collection“, but I’ve been unable to confirm any information. Measurements according to the site are 7x7.5 cm. There are no lines, but a rough depression on the reverse, though it is unclear whether it is ancient or stems from a modern tool. Salt incrustation has set in on the surface.



- Rc.  
 1. <sup>d</sup>ama-ra e<sub>3</sub>-a  
 2. <sup>d</sup>ama-ra a-zu  
 3. <sup>d</sup>aš<sub>7</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>

The tablet is certainly a school excerpt of a god list. The deities are found in several lists, the first two mostly as subsequent entries, though in varying order. The first deity is also written <sup>d</sup>ama-ra- $\text{he}_2$ -a $\text{g}_2$  (Fara god list SF I col. x l. 12),<sup>3)</sup> <sup>d</sup>ama-ra- $\text{he}_2$ -e<sub>3</sub>-a (An = *A-nu-um* col. iii l. 42), <sup>d</sup>ama-ra- $\text{he}_2$ -a $\text{g}_2$ -e (Genouillac god list rc. col. iv l. 23), <sup>d</sup>ama-ra- $\text{he}_2$ -e<sub>3</sub>-a (Weidner god list l. 15).<sup>4)</sup> The second deity is also found in Old Babylonian as <sup>d</sup>ama-a-ra-zu and <sup>d</sup>amar-ra-a-zu but is missing in Fara. A Middle Babylonian list from Ugarit equals <sup>d</sup>ama-ra-a-zu with (phonetic) *a-ma-ar-a-zu* (vs. col. ii l. 5).<sup>5)</sup>

All three deities in this orthographic variant, though in different order, are to my knowledge only found in a local god list from Isin:

- B V 4 <sup>d</sup>AŠ<sub>7</sub>.ŠIR-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 A VII 31 <sup>d</sup>Ama-ra-e<sub>3</sub>-a  
 B VIII 34 <sup>d</sup>Ama-ra-e<sub>3</sub>-a  
 A VII 32 <sup>d</sup>Ama-ra-a-zu  
 B VIII 35 <sup>d</sup>Ama-ra-a-zu<sup>6)</sup>

Whether the combination in this tablet is part of a different edition of the list (witness C is mostly destroyed) or an individual variation (difficult dictation exercise?), is unclear. In any case, the orthographic similarity is a good indication regarding the provenance of the tablet.

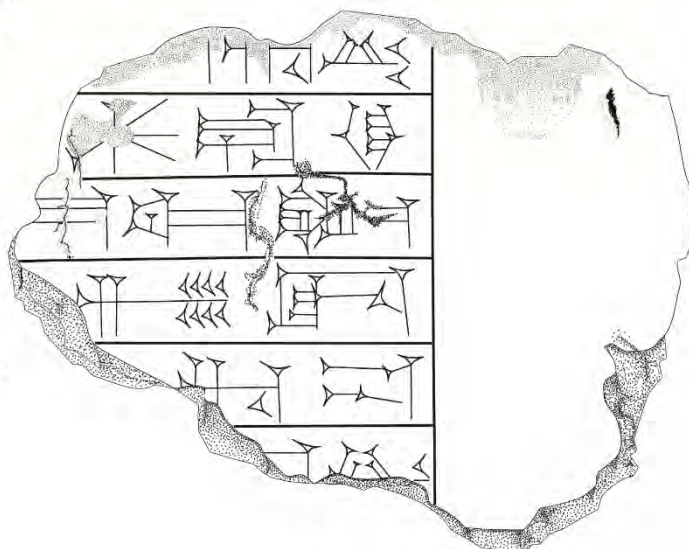


The second object is an inscription fragment of Nebuchadnezzar brick 41 and is still on offer (May 2020) on the website <https://www.trocadero.com/stores/Senatus/items/1357983/Sumerian-Cuneiform-large-fragment-Foundation-Brick> for 695\$ as „highly interesting and quite rare larger fragment of a burned clay brick – likely a foundation brick” by the Danish seller [www.senatus-consulto.dk](http://www.senatus-consulto.dk). Allegedly, it was acquired from the widow of a Danish construction contractor, but nothing could be found out regarding this claim. Measurements are given as 13.5 x 10 cm.

Rc.

1

5



Rc.

1. [<sup>d</sup>na<sub>3</sub>-ku-du]r<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>-ri<sup>1</sup>-urin
2. [lugal ka<sub>2</sub>]-diĝir<sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>ki</sup>
3. [za-nin e]<sub>2</sub>-saĝ<sup>1</sup>-il<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>
4. [u<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>]-zi-da
5. [ibila a-ša]-re<sup>1</sup>-du
6. [ša<sup>d</sup>na<sub>3</sub>-ibil]a-'urin<sup>1</sup>
7. [lugal ka<sub>2</sub>-diĝir-ra<sup>ki</sup>]

#### Notes

1. The tablets were chosen as part of my master's thesis "Save what is left? Cuneiform texts on the online antiquities market – discussion and edition" at Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany, supervised by Dr. Gösta Gabriel and Dr. Brit Kärger.
2. Any images not available online can be obtained from the author.
3. S. Manfred KREBERNIK, „Die Götterlisten aus Fara“, ZA 76 (1986): 161-204.
4. S. Richard L. LITKE, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists. AN: <sup>d</sup>A-nu-um and AN: Anu šá amēli* (TBC 3), New Haven 1998; Henri DE GENOUILLAC, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre* (TCL 15), Paris 1930; Ernst F. Weidner, „Altbabylonische Götterlisten“, AfK 2 (1924/25): 1-18.
5. S. Jean NOUGAYROL, *Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit* (Ugaritica 5), Paris 1968, here no. 137.
6. Claus WILCKE, „Inschriften 1983-1984“, in: B. Hrouda (Hg.), *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1983-1984 (7. Und 8. Kampagne)*, Isin – Išān Bahriyāt vol. 3 (AbhMünchen NF 94), München 1987, 83-120, here 95.97.

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**64) The Divine Determinative and the Names of Babylonian Rulers** — The divine determinative, or “dingir-sign”,<sup>1)</sup> in the writing of royal names in cuneiform has long been a part of the debate on the issue of royal deification in ancient Mesopotamia.<sup>2)</sup> This brief article discusses the presence (and absence) of the divine determinative in the writing of the names of the kings of Babylon and thus contributes to the debate on royal deification in Babylonia.<sup>3)</sup> It complements an earlier article centred on the divine determinative and the names of *Assyrian* rulers (KARLSSON 2020).

After having conducted searches in the online databases RIBo (Royal Inscriptions of Babylonia online) and CKST (Corpus of Kassite Sumerian Texts), complemented by a read through of the book RIME 4,<sup>4)</sup> thus covering the royal inscriptions of the kings of Babylon of the Old, Middle, and Neo-Babylonian periods, the following attestations of the writing of the names of the kings of Babylon with the divine determinative were found<sup>5)</sup>:



Old Babylonian Period:

<sup>d</sup> sa-am-su-[i-lu-na]	Samsu[iluna]	RIME 4, E4.3.7.2010:4
<sup>d</sup> sa-[am-su-i-lu-na]	Sa[msuiluna]	RIME 4, E4.3.7.2014:3

Middle Babylonian Period:

[ <sup>d</sup> ku-ri-gal-zu]	[Kurigalzu]	MSKH 1, IM050009: vii 47-49
<sup>d</sup> ku-ri-gal-zu	Kurigalzu	MSKH 1, IM0500010: iv 18-20'
<sup>d</sup> ku-ri-gal-zu	Kurigalzu	UET 1, 155: e. 3
<sup>d</sup> ku-ri-gal-zu	Kurigalzu	UET 1, 155: o. 4

Neo-Babylonian Period:

Before commenting on the attestations listed above, it should be remarked that these are strikingly few, considering the great quantity of Babylonian (especially Neo-Babylonian) royal inscriptions.<sup>6)</sup> Anyway, there are a few attestations from the Old Babylonian period (the reign of Samsuiluna) and a number of attestations from the texts of one or two Kassite, Middle Babylonian rulers named Kurigalzu. As for the latter, because of the lack of patronyms, the texts can be attributed both to Kurigalzu I and II.

Beginning with the attestations from the Old Babylonian period, the name of Samsuiluna (1749-1712) is written with the divine determinative (<sup>d</sup>sa-am-su-[i-lu-na], <sup>d</sup>sa-[am-su-i-lu-na]) in two different impressions of seals of servants (*wardum*) of this king. The two texts (RIME 4, E4.3.7.2010, 2014), dated to the fourth and 23rd regnal years respectively, briefly present the owner of the seals.

Continuing with the attestations from the Middle Babylonian period, the name of Kurigalzu is written with the divine determinative in some of the extant Kassite Sumerian royal inscriptions. Kurigalzu I (CLAYDEN 1996: 116) of the 14th century BCE presents himself as “I am Kurigalzu” (<sup>d</sup>ku-ri-gal-zu-me-èn) in an inscription (MSKH 1, IM0500010: iv 18-20') on a statue fragment from Dur-Kurigalzu which focuses on the well-being (thanks to the king) of the deities. The same passage can be reconstructed on another fragment of the same statue (MSKH 1, IM050009: vii 47-49). Kurigalzu I(?) is also provided with a divine determinative (<sup>d</sup>ku-ri-gal-zu) in a building inscription (UET 1, 155: e. 3, o. 4) on a brick from Ur which tells of Kurigalzu (referred to as “king of Ur”, beside “strong king, king of Sumer and Akkad”) renewing (m u - u n - g i b i l) the temple of the moon-god Nanna, the patron god of Ur. According to a Kassite-Akkadian list of personal names, Kurigalzu means “shepherd (ku-ri) of the Kassites (gal-zu)” (BEAULIEU 2018: 137), so (at least) the first element of the name should not point to the divine sphere. In parantheses it can be said that the name of Hashmargalshu, supposedly referring to a local Kassite ruler in Babylonia (Nippur?), is also written with the dingir-sign.<sup>7)</sup>

Concluding with the Neo-Babylonian period, there are no attestations from this period.<sup>8)</sup> None of the kings whose names begin with a non-divine element (such as Itti-Marduk-balatu and Amel-Marduk) have their names written with a preceding divine determinative. The only ruler whose name is written in such a way is Shulgi (2094-2047) of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Shulgi is referred to thus (<sup>d</sup>š u l - g i) in a text (RIMB 2, B.6.21.1:3) of Marduk-apla-iddina II (721-710, 703), as well as (<sup>md</sup>š u l - g i) in an inscription (e.g. AOAT 256, 2.2: i 10, 12, 15, 19) belonging to Nabonidus (555-539).<sup>9)</sup>

Putting the writing of Hashmargalshu's and Shulgi's names aside,<sup>10)</sup> how should the results of the data collection (presented above) be understood? To begin with, the overwhelming absence of divine determinatives in front of “worldly” word elements that form part of the royal names must be stressed. Then, the Samsuiluna and Kurigalzu attestations are not self-evidently expressing deification either.

Samsuiluna himself did not write his name with the divine determinative in his 11 texts, and most of the inscriptions from his officials (18 out of 20) also lack the sign in question. Also, the dingir-sign in front of the word *samsu* (Akkadian *šamšū*), which means “sun”, may classify this celestial body rather than the person of the king. On the other hand, in one of his (bilingual) inscriptions (RIME 4, E4.3.7.5:35, 37), Samsuiluna presents the goddess Ninmah as “the mother who created me” (*ummi bānītīya / a m a i n - d i m - e n - n a - < m u > - u š*), and in another inscription (RIME 4, E4.3.7.7:131), Samsuiluna is the “favourite brother” (*talīmu*) of the god Zababa and the goddess Eshtar.<sup>11)</sup> Of course, the question is whether to interpret these examples literally (king as a god) or figuratively (expressing close relationship). Kurigalzu I(?) almost always (in more than 50 CKST-texts) wrote his name without a determinative or with

the personal determinative. Also, the religion and vocabulary of the Kassite culture and language are poorly conveyed.<sup>12)</sup> On the other hand, it would make sense for Kurigalzu I (if the attestations do belong to him), the great builder and founder of Dur-Kurigalzu (BEAULIEU 2018: 137-140), to elevate himself. A parallel to the Assyrian evidence, which reveals that the dingir-sign can determine the name of Tukulti-Ninurta (KARLSSON 2020: 34-35), can be drawn. It is plausible that Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208), a reformer of royal ideology and behind the historic shift of capital from Assur to Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta (KUHRT 1997: 355-358), should have dared such a move. Perhaps Kurigalzu I can be identified as a similarly bold ideological reformer. Still, fact remains that the writing of the names of these rulers *without* the dingir-sign ahead of *tukulti* or *ku-ri* is the norm.

In sum, in the debate on royal deification in Babylonia, the factor of divine determinatives consistently speaks in favour of the idea that the kings of Babylon did *not* claim divine status in their inscriptions. Rather, they presented themselves as mortals who were supported from “above” in the execution of their divine office (created by Marduk and the great gods) – the Babylonian kingship.

### Notes

1. Sign no. 10 in MZL (pp. 248-250) in its classificatory function.
2. See e.g. the classical works by R. LABAT (1939) and H. FRANKFORT (1948).
3. For recent works on divine kingship in Mesopotamia and beyond, see BRISCH 2008 and HILL et al. 2013.
4. <http://oracc.org/ribo/corpus/> (2020-03-30), <http://oracc.org/ckst/corpus/> (2020-03-30), and FRAYNE 1990 respectively. The former database is largely based on the books RIMB 2, SANER 3, and AOAT 256. At the time of the search, also a significant corpus of the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562) were available. With regard to the latter database, the Kassite rulers almost exclusively composed their royal inscriptions in Sumerian (BRINKMAN 1977: 73-74), hence CKST. The one exception (giving no new attestations) is a royal inscription (VAS 1 34) by Marduk-apla-iddina I (1171-1159) in Akkadian (BRINKMAN 1977: 73). As for the searches, the search-element was ‘d’ (standing for the divine determinative sign). It is only natural to focus on royal inscriptions, considering the inherently ideological character of this text genre. The much less rhetorical text genres of land grants, other economic-administrative texts, and royal chronicles were not focused on. Anyway, a read through of the Babylonian chronicles (GRAYSON 1975) did not result in any attestations.
5. Divine determinatives that directly precede divine names in the names of kings of Babylon are ignored in this article. Both personal names of reigning kings (living rulers) and royal predecessors (deceased rulers) are included in the discussion. Only the texts of rulers based in Babylonia are considered. Thus, the texts of Shamash-shuma-ukin, but not those of other (Assyria-based) Assyrian kings, are considered. Anyway, according to RIBO, the Babylonian royal inscriptions of Assyrian kings present just three attestations (Sargon II (721-705); B.6.22.4-6). The Babylonian royal inscriptions of Persian and Seleucid rulers are not considered either. Anyway, the texts incorporated into RIBO from these rulers did not yield any attestations.
6. There is a possibility that royal deification may be “hidden” behind the divine determinatives preceding divine names (see e.g. the royal names Marduk-apla-iddina and Nabopolassar where the divine elements come first). However, an added personal determinative regularly and supposedly distinguishes the mortal ruler from the divinity, as in <sup>md</sup>*en-lil-DÛ* (Enlil-bani) and <sup>md</sup>*U.GUR-LUGAL-ÛRU* (Neriglissar). When the divine name concludes the royal name, the divine determinative is postponed accordingly, as in *ka-da-âš-ma-an-<sup>d</sup>en-lil* (Kadashman-Enlil) and <sup>m</sup>*LÛ-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU* (Amel-Marduk). Royal names without divine names lack divine determinatives, as in *ha-am-mu-ra-pí* (Hammurapi) and *sà-bu-um* (Sabium). There are no examples of double divine determinatives (classifying the divinity *and* the king) in the relevant text corpus.
7. On a brick from Nippur (YOS 9, 67:2), this Hashmargalshu (<sup>d</sup>*ha-aš-mar-gal-šu*) speaks of his “delivering (m u - DU) bricks for the Ekur for Enlil, his lord”. An unprovenanced text (MSKH 1, pl. 06 11:2) of the same man carries the same message. In another unprovenanced text (YOS 9, 66:3), he presents himself as “strong male, son of Malabharbe” and claims to have fashioned (m u - n a - d í m - d í m) the temple to the Divine Seven, “his lords”. In yet another unprovenanced text (MSKH 1, pl. 02 02:4), Hashmargalshu, presented as above, claims to have dedicated (a m u - n a - r u) the inscribed brick to Enlil, “his lord”. The element *hašmar* simply means “falcon” in Kassite, according to the Kassite-Akkadian vocabulary from Ashurbanipal’s library (BEAULIEU 2018: 177). For Hashmargalshu and his texts, see BRINKMAN 1977: 325-327.
8. The determinatives in the names of Simbar-<sup>d</sup>Shipak (1026-1009) and <sup>d</sup>Kasshu-nadin-ahhe (1008-1006), kings of the second Sealand dynasty, can be explained by Shipak being a (Kassite) god and by Kasshu being a Kassite demonym (BRINKMAN 1968: 150, n. 901; BEAULIEU 2018: 177). The determinative in the name of <sup>d</sup>Mar-biti-apla-usur (985-980) of the Elamite dynasty can be explained by Mar-biti being a Mesopotamian (associated with Der) god (BRINKMAN 1968: 165, n. 1002). As for (possible) royal deification (the issue of divine determinatives aside), Adad-apla-iddina (1069-1048) of the second dynasty of Isin calls himself “son (d u m u) of (the goddess) Ninisina” (RIMB

2, B.2.8.10:3), while Nabopolassar (626-605) and Nabonidus of the Neo-Babylonian empire claim to be the “creation (*binûtu*) of (the goddess) Ninmenna” (SANER 3, C12:2) and “creation of the sage of the gods – the god Marduk” (AOAT 256, 2.1: i 4) respectively.

9. Sargon II, king of Assyria, also refers to Shulgi (<sup>d</sup>š u l - g i) with the divine determinative (RIMB 2, B.6.22.3: i 18). It is noteworthy that the name of Naram-Sin of Akkad (2260-2223), by contrast, is not written with the dingir-sign in front of the first name element (see e.g. AOAT 256, 2.4: i 18), and that Nabonidus, who refers to many different predecessors (including Assyrian) when narrating his building projects (see e.g. AOAT 256, 2.17), only grants Shulgi the dingir-sign.

10. Neither are referred to as kings of Babylon, and the dingir-sign in the writing of the latter’s name may be explained by Shulgi being seen more as a mythological figure (like Gilgamesh) than a historical person in first millennium BCE Babylonia. Nevertheless, Shulgi is spoken of in a down to earth-manner as the son of Ur-Nammu (2112-2095; written <sup>m</sup>u r - <sup>d</sup>n a m m a) and/or as a former builder in the cited passages from the inscriptions of Marduk-apla-iddina II and Nabonidus.

11. As for (possible) royal deification through similes and metaphors, Hammurapi (1792-1750) claims that his people may see him “as a god” (*kīma ilim*; RIME 4, E4.3.6.2:77), in his being the “god of his nation” (*dingir-kalam - [ma]*; RIME 4, E4.3.6.10:1). These examples should be seen in the light of the absence of the dingir-sign in the writing of this ruler’s name.

12. As observed by J.A. BRINKMAN (1977: 405) with regard to the dingir-sign and Kassite texts, the significance of the dingir-sign in the relevant position is difficult to evaluate, and the relevant attestations are exceptions to the rule. BRINKMAN here states that, “no royal name without an initial theophoric element is ever consistently preceded by a divine determinative in the economic texts; and royal inscriptions do not, with the exception of a few Kurigalzu texts and a royal grant of a Kadasman-Enlil [J.4.1.3], prefix the divine determinative to such names.” For this royal grant, see BBSt, no. 1.

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 MZL = R. BORGER, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* (AOAT 305). Münster, 2003.  
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 RIME 4 = see FRAYNE 1990.  
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**65) La Stèle de Cutha** — Le texte est documenté par des versions paléo-babylonienne tardive (Sippar), médio-babylonienne (Hattuša) et néo-babylonienne (Ninive - aux six exemplaires mentionnés par J. Goodnick Westenholz, ajouter K 10.788, publication aux bons soins de S. Adali -, Huzīrīna et, peut-être, Kiš). L'œuvre fut adaptée en hittite.

La version paléo-babylonienne se présentait sur deux tablettes et comportait approximativement cinq cents lignes, la version néo-babylonienne n'en contenait que 180. C'est dire assez que le texte subit d'importantes variations au cours de son histoire. Chaque éditeur incluait dans son travail ses propres intentions. Les variables ou les éloignements qui en résultaient doivent nécessairement être pris en compte comme contributions à l'intelligence générale de l'œuvre. Les similitudes, parfois, menacent de masquer des différences.

Version paléo-babylonienne tardive : dans la tablette I, il convient d'inverser l'ordre de lecture des colonnes afin de rétablir l'enchaînement logique des épisodes :

– colonne i (ex colonne vi) perdue ;

– colonne ii (ex colonne v) : création des armées ennemies et des Ummān-manda. On peut lire encore, en ii 5', au sein d'un passage autrement perdu : [um-ma]-šū-nu Me-li-li, « leur mère était Melili » : ce nom se retrouvait dans la version néo-babylonienne (ligne 39), elle était la mère des six/sept rois qui commandaient l'armée ennemie. Le passage relatait cet épisode. Semblablement, en ii 13', il est possible de lire : [...] ù ki.lam za an ga, une suite de signes, qui correspondait à la ligne ii 12' de la version médio-babylonienne où il était question de la création des Ummān-manda.

– colonne iii (ex iv) : destructions causées par l'ennemi ;

– colonne iv (ex iii) : les trois défaites sévères subies par Narām-Sîn en l'espace de trois ans ; première réaction du monarque ;

– colonne v (ex ii) : suite des réflexions de Narām-Sîn.

– colonne vi (ex i) : perdue.

La narration se poursuivait sur la seconde tablette, entièrement perdue excepté deux lignes et le colophon.

Tablette II i 1-2 :

*qá-ab-lam iš-ta-tu i-na mu-uh-hi-ša  
ki-ma kar-mi uš-te-wu*

« Ils tramaient la guerre contre elle, ils se la représentaient (déjà) comme une ruine. »

Version médio-babylonienne : l'influence paléo-babylonienne y est manifeste, mais le témoin de Sippar n'en était pas la source directe. En ii 2', on restitue na.r[u<sub>6</sub>.a]. En ii 8'-13' était décrite la création des Ummān-manda par Éa :

*É-a be-lum [erin<sub>2</sub>-ma-a]<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>-[da]  
[x n]a zu\* mi\* iš\*-pu\*-ur\* qa-ti-šū ib-ni-šū-nu-[ti]  
10' x-x-šū-nu-ti-ma ša-lu-um-ma-at ur.mah.[meš]  
mu-ú-tam nam-ta-ra gi-i-le-e še-bi-iṭ [ša-ri]  
[ni-ib-r]i-ta hu-ša-ah-ha ù ki.lam ša an qa an ga  
[x-x]-ra-bu-ú it-ti-šū-nu iṭ-ru-ud*

« Éa, le Seigneur, dépêcha les Ummān-manda( ?) pour/vers... Il les créa de sa main et les... Le grand... envoya avec eux l'épouvante des lions, le décès, la mort, la lamentation, la maladie šibiṭ šāri, la famine, la misère, la perte financière( ?). »

B. Foster (*Before the Muses*, p. 347) considère avec raison la ligne 9' comme corrompue, et traduit : « He created them from the dirt( ?) of his nails( ?) », lisant šu !-pu-ur.

Dans cette même version (*KBo* 19, 99 est trop fragmentaire pour être pris en compte), à la différence des témoins paléo- et néo-babyloniens, et à l'exception de la première colonne, le texte était subdivisé en paragraphes que des séparateurs isolaient les uns des autres. Pour J. Goodnick Westenholz (*Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, p. 281), ces séparateurs n'avaient aucune signification syntaxique. Tel ne semble pas avoir été le cas :

– entre ii 4'-5' : changement de thème ; présentation des armées ennemies ; introduction au discours d'Éa

– entre ii 14'-15' : discours d'Éa

– entre ii 19'-20' : suite du discours d'Éa

– entre ii 25'-26' : changement de thème ; présentation des armées ennemies

– entre iii 7'-8' : changement de thème.

– entre iii 15'-16' : changement de thème.

Deux points font saillie : les trois paragraphes ii 5'-25' se succédaient dans un ordre logique ; il en allait de même des paragraphes iii 8'-21'. Par contre, les lignes ii 7'-8' et ii 26'-27' se répétaient, avec la même allusion aux six frères et à leurs six cents soldats. Sans doute, des séquences narratives purent être mal articulées, mais ces observations, certes fragiles, tendent à montrer que la version médio-babylonienne était composée à partir d'extraits accolés d'au moins deux versions différentes de l'œuvre. Le scribe de Boghazköy a visiblement disposé et maladroitement accordé ces extraits qu'il découvrait sur des tablettes séparées et qu'il tenta de mettre bout à bout. Les séparateurs mémorisaient cette multiplicité des sources. Il est évident, en outre, que la première mention des six rois et de leurs troupes se trouve dans un contexte corrompu. Les versions hittites (il en exista au moins deux) étaient également munies de séparateurs.

Version néo-babylonienne :

– vers 21 : on peut encore lire les derniers mots de la réponse oraculaire à la question posée aux devins par Enmerkar : O.R. Gurney, *An.St.* 5, 1955, p. 98 lisait *tam-haş*, dont il ne faisait rien, avant de proposer *li-par-qud* (*An.St.* 6, 1956, p. 163), repris par J. Goodnick Westenholz, tout en sachant que la forme n'était pas attestée (on attend *lipparqid*). On propose de lire *uṭ-ṭir pa-gar-ka*, « sauve-toi ! ». Et tel était la recommandation que Narām-Sîn adressait à ses successeurs : *pu-ut-ka šul-lim*, « sauve-toi ! » (vers 165).

– vers 94-96 : Éa s'accusait d'avoir créé le déluge au nom de l'assemblée des dieux. Dans la version médio-babylonienne il avait créé les Ummān-manda, qui en étaient les instruments et qui présentaient, à peu de chose près, les mêmes traits :

šá-lum-mat né-e-ši mu-u-tu nam-tar a-ru-ur-tú  
95 na-mur-ra-tu hur-ba-šú ì-bí-su-u ni-ib-ri-tu  
[hu-šah]-hu di-lip-tu ma-la ba-šu-u [i]t-ti-šu-nu it-tar-da

« L'épouvante de lions, le décès, la mort, le tremblement,  
la terreur, l'effroi, la perte financière, la disette,  
la famine, l'insomnie, tous les maux fondirent sur eux. »

Ce qui confirme la restitution du nom Ummān-manda dans la version médio-babylonienne (ii 8'). On note que *arādu* prenait dans la version néo-babylonienne la place de *tarādu* : changement de racine verbale ou erreur du scribe ?

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**66) La Stèle de Cutha – suite** — Narām-Sîn interrogea les dieux par le truchement d'une consultation divinatoire pour connaître leurs desseins, et se heurta à leur réponse négative à son endroit : *nam-za-aq dingir.meš ana a-la-ki-ia u za-qí-qí-ia ul i-di-na-am-ma* (version néo-babylonienne 78). Ce vers difficile a été interprété de diverses manières (voir J. Goodnick Westenholz, *Legends*, p. 316, note 78) ; R. Labat, *Religions*, traduisait : « Le veto des grands dieux m'interdit de marcher à ma perte » ; J. Goodnick Westenholz, *Legends*, p. 317 : « The 'latch-hook' of the great gods did not give me permission for my going and my demoniacal onrush » ; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *SAAS* 10, 1999, p. 9 : « Das 'Schloss' der grossen Götter gab mir keinen (Hinweis) für mein durch göttliche Zeichen bestimmtes Schicksal und mein durch einen Traum gesandtes Zeichen » ; B. Foster, *Muses*, p. 352, avec des réserves en note : « The latchkey of the great gods did not give me or my dream spirit permission to go ».

On propose de traduire : « Le 'verrou' des grands dieux ne me permit pas de réaliser le rêve me concernant ».

On comprend que les dieux refusèrent d'entériner un projet qui lui aurait été délivré lors d'un rêve antérieur. La phrase s'éclaircit grâce à la référence, dans les deux lignes suivantes, à l'extispicine et à l'oniromancie (version néo-babylonienne 80 et 81).

- 80 *a-a-ú ur.mah bi-ri ib-ri*  
*a-a-ú ur.bar.ra i[š]-al šá-il-tu*
- 80 'Quel lion a (jamais) pratiqué l'extispicine ?  
 Quel loup a (jamais) interrogé l'interprète des rêves ?

À l'évidence, les verdicts rendus dans l'une et l'autre discipline étaient opposés !

L'introduction brutale du motif du rêve, au moyen d'une séquence narrative resserrée et mal articulée, était une allusion implicite au rêve mentionné dans la *Malédiction d'Akkadé*. Dans la version paléo-babylonienne, c'était le dieu des rêves qu'invoquait Narām-Sîn. Le motif n'était pas absent dans la *Stèle*.

Il est très généralement admis que, dans la version néo-babylonienne de la *Stèle*, Narām-Sîn se mettait seul en accusation et prenait conscience qu'il se comportait comme un prédateur à l'image du lion ou du loup (U. Steinert, *Aspekte des Menschseins*, pp. 210ss). De fait, un écart important existe entre les versions paléo- et néo-babylonienne, séparées par un bon millénaire ! Le dieu, mentionné dans la première, ne figurait plus dans la seconde, où le monarque se mettait seul en accusation. Le contact avec la sphère divine, dit-on, était rompu, les dieux étant encore plus éloignés de l'humanité qu'auparavant. Mais observons un court instant les deux passages incriminés :

— Version paléo-babylonienne I iii 10 et 13 :

*um-ma a-na-ku-ma dingir a-na bala-ia mi-nam ub-lam*  
 [...]  
*ia-a-ši bala-e mi-na ub-lam*

« Moi-même, donc, (disant) : 'Qu'est ce que le dieu m'a apporté concernant mon règne ? [...] Que mon règne m'a-t-il apporté, à moi ?' »

— version néo-babylonienne 89, 90 et 124, une leçon admise par les trois manuscrits où ces phrases figurent encore, deux de Ninive et un de Huzirîna :

*ki-a-am aq-bi ana lib-bi-ia um-ma lu-u a-na-ku-ma*  
*a-na pa-le-e mi-na-a e-zib*

« Ainsi me parlai-je en mon for intérieur, et donc, moi-même, de fait (j'affirmais) : 'Qu'ai-je laissé concernant mon règne ?' »

[...]  
*ki-a-am aq-bi ana lib-bi-ia um-[ma lu-u a-na-ku-ma]*

« Ainsi me parlai-je en mon for intérieur, et donc, moi-même, de fait (j'affirmais) : »

Tout semble s'être passé comme si un scribe, à une date indéterminée, avait commencé à copier le début de la ligne 10, mais s'était ensuite trompé et, ayant porté son regard sur la fin de la ligne 13, avait reproduit cette dernière. La faute d'un copiste anonyme, entraînant la disparition du dieu interpellé dans la version paléo-babylonienne, aurait-elle généré une nouvelle interprétation du texte à l'époque néo-babylonienne ? Elle était de nature à fonder la thèse selon laquelle l'écart ne cessait de se creuser entre les hommes et les dieux. L'hypothèse est tentante, mais elle n'est pas totalement convaincante. Elle n'explique pas le remplacement du verbe *wabālum*, sous la forme *ublam*, par le verbe *ezēbu*, sous la forme *ezib*, qui aurait pu se produire, de manière volontaire, à un autre moment de la transmission.

Il y a plus important. Le lettré néo-babylonien introduisit dans l'expression paléo-babylonienne *um-ma a-na-ku-ma* la particule volitive *lū*, qui insistait sur le fait que le sujet agissait en accord avec son propre rôle et son engagement politique et social. Elle traduisait la détermination de la part de Narām-Sîn à exprimer une décision conforme à ses intentions. À travers le monologue intérieur qu'il poursuivait, il prenait pleinement conscience de ses actes et en assumait la réalisation.

Dans le drame qui se nouait, il était seul à mener le jeu. Par sa propre ingéniosité, il se montrait capable d'accomplir cet exploit cognitif qu'était son changement d'opinion. Il choisit entre acquiescer ou

non la part qui lui était allouée par les dieux, assumer son désir d'émancipation ou accepter une liberté assujettie à la contrainte.

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**67) Stèle de Cutha – suite 2** — Avant Narām-Sîn, Enmerkar avait été confronté à l'assaut d'une troupe étrangère, les Ummān-manda ou les Guti, le nom est perdu dans une lacune de la tablette (les seconds selon la *Chronique de l'Esagil*). Il ne laissa aucun document pour dire comment il en triompha et Narām-Sîn, dans la *Stèle*, s'interrogea : *šá igi-gal-la-šú giš.tukul-šú érin šu-a-tu ik-mu-ú ik-šu-du i-na-ru* ; la proposition est à comprendre comme une phrase interrogative : « A-t-il paralysé, capturé et anéanti cette armée par son intelligence ou par ses armes ? » (version néo-babylonienne 28). Au début de la ligne 22 du même texte, selon le manuscrit C, il est encore possible de lire les signes A et LA ; et selon le manuscrit G : *a-di* ; on en conclut que la séquence des signes était *a-di la*, et l'on peut comprendre : « Avant que les grands dieux aient fini de parler » (cette lecture est admise par H. Schaudig, *Explaining Disaster*, p. 386). À la ligne 23, H. Schaudig suggère avec raison de restituer la phrase : *En-me-kár lú.b[ad-taš i-mi-(ma)]*, « Enmerkar était devenu comme un cadavre ».

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**68) The *huwaši*-precinct and the use of metonymy** — Thanks to the recently published article by David Hawkins (*NABU* 2019/65), we are getting much closer to the understanding of the Emirgazi inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. I do warmly thank David Hawkins for asking me to answer him in another short note and to publish the content of our discussions.

The meaning given by D. Hawkins is that of *huwaši* being an installation, a monument or more precisely a “precinct” as it seems it would be possible to enter in it.

In *HW* (2013, 830) *huwaši* is translated as “Stele, Kultstein; Stelen (-Areal)” and several categories are created to distinguish different kinds of *huwaši*. The object is sometimes described as “good” (*aššu-*) or “polish” (*hašhaš-*) (KUB 25, 23 (+) i 34), “covered with metal” (KUB 15, 1 ii 3 sq.) or “cut up” (Bo. 2004/1). It is normally made of stone, as indicated by the determinative NA<sub>4</sub>, but can also be attested in wood or metal. Two different metals are known for *huwaši*: silver (KÛ.BABBAR in KBo 26, 228 i 9. and KBo. 26, 197: 4) and iron (AN.BAR in KUB 17, 35 ii 35). Finally, the *huwaši* can be plated (*hališšiant-*), mostly with silver (Bo. 4071 = CTH 790, KBo 2, 1 ii 12 sq. and KUB 17, 35 ii 6 sq.), or decorated (CTH 525, KUB 17, 35 ii 6 and CTH 584, KUB 15, 1 ii 3-4). In the difficult Cult Inventory KBo 2, 1 i 33, it is attested once with relief on it. Size is also variable as portable *huwaši* are as well attested (KUB 35, 133 (+) I 15 sq.).

As mentioned in the *HW* (2013, 830), the word *huwaši* is attested, during the middle-hittite period, written <sup>na</sup>ZI.KIN explained by Jean-Marie Durand as a pseudo-Akkadogram based on *sikkānu*<sup>2</sup>. This was already anticipated by H. Bossert, who could not know at that time the occurrences of the word *sikkānu* in the texts from Mari, Emar or Tell Munbaqa<sup>3</sup>. The equation *huwaši* = ZI.KIN is confirmed by CTH 594, where A (KUB 10, 18) gives <sup>na</sup>ZI.KIN, text B (KUB 10, 17) writes syllabically (<sup>na</sup>*hu-wa-ši-ia*).

Following the given definitions, a *huwaši* is normally used in a ritual context and is made of stone (with determinative NA<sub>4</sub>), but can also be attested in wood with GIŠ (and thus being a portable object?) or even in metal. From most of the ritual texts and Cult Inventories, one understands that a *huwaši* could be considered a *standing stone* and that offerings are indeed attested for *huwaši* such as it is suggested in CTH 517<sup>4</sup>) (KUB XXVII 70, col. II, 31: (offerings) ANA <sup>na</sup>ZI.KIN EGIR-*pa tianzi*).

There seems however to be an ambiguity of *huwaši* being used both for a cultic object and for a sanctuary (Ort von Opfern, Stelen-Areal). In the 3rd tablet of the KI.LAM festival text, one can read that the <sup>na</sup>*huwaši* (standing stone) of the Storm-god is situated in a built area that has a center (B x + i 20) and a wooden door (B x + i 22) and is surrounded by walls (B x + i 21 et F iii 12). Following Singer<sup>5</sup>, Van

den Hout<sup>6)</sup> interpreted the *huwaši* in this context as a structure which it was possible to enter. This interpretation is developed again by Hawkins (2019: 115).

As it appears to me, the KILLAM text does not primarily say “in the *huwaši*” but rather in front of it : B x + I 8 “<sup>na4</sup>*hu-u-wa-ši-ia (-)x pi-ra-an*” also attested in line 10; 16 et F III 10 “<sup>na4</sup>*hu-wa-ši-ia pi-ra-an*”. Further, however, the KILLAM festival text CTH 627 (KUB 2, 3: 32-33) gives another formulation, saying literally that one could enter into a <sup>na4</sup>*huwaši*: LUGAL-*uššan* <sup>d</sup>U-*aš* <sup>na4</sup>*huwašiya anda paizzi*. And the same expression is also attested in CTH 636.2 (KUB 20, 99 ii 4).

What does then *anda paizzi*, with a dative-locative of <sup>na4</sup>*huwaši*, mean? In the KILLAM, the dative-locative of <sup>na4</sup>*huwaši* is attested either with *piran* or *anda*. The key is to be found in the text CTH 636.3 (KUB 20, 99 ii 4) that gives <sup>na4</sup>*huwašiya peran anda paizzi* which should be translated “go inside /enter in front of/in the presence of the standing stone”. From this passage, it seems rather that the stone stands in a built area, which the king enters. The text continues indeed with the king kneeling in front of the holy stone.

For these reason, I would suggest that the understanding of the *huwaši* concept, and thus its translation by “precinct”, would be the result of a metonymy process: the standing stone giving the name of a place of worship.

The comparison with ancient Sarissa could be useful, even if “speculative<sup>7)</sup>”. As stated by Hawkins, I believe that the Emirgazi texts could refer to a cultic installation similar to the one that existed on the Kulmaç dağ.

#### Notes

1. At present time, for a general discussion, one should also consider the recent publication by CAMMAROSANO, M., 2019, “Huwasi. Cult Stelae and Stela Shrines in Hittite Anatolia”, in: Engels, B., Huy S., Steitler, Ch. (eds.), *Natur und Kult in Anatolien* (Byzas 24), p. 303-332. Concerning my linguistic analysis of the Emirgazi inscription, CAMMAROSANO (2019, p. 323) does not agree that the demonstrative meaning “these stelae” could refer to the very objects on which the inscription is written even if the claim making *hwi/ a-i(a)-sa- ti-sa* (§ 11, 12) a Luwian cognate of Hittite *huwaši* may prove correct (see also by HAWKINS, D., 2019, “Emirgazi: a huwasi-precinct”, *NABU* 2019-3, n°65, p. 114-115).

2. DURAND, J.-M., 1988, “Le nom des bétyles à Ebla et en Anatolie”, *NABU* 1988-8, p. 5-6.

3. BOSSERT, H. Th., 1952, “Das H-H Wort für ‘Malstein.’”, *Belleten* (Türk Tarih Kumuru 16), n°65, p. 495-546.

4. Vs. CAMMAROSANO, 2019, p. 323.

5. SINGER, I., 1986, “The *huwaši* of the Storm-God in Hattuša”, *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Türk Tarih Kumuru Basimevi), p. 254-253. For a discussion on Singer’s hypothesis, see also Cammarosano, 2019, p. 321-323.

6. VAN DEN HOUT, Th., 1993, “Some remarks on the third tablet of the Hittite KILLAM festival”, *Jaarbericht, ex Oriente Lux* 32, p. 101-108.

7. CAMMAROSANO, 2019, p. 320 “any assumption on the nature of the rocks must remain entirely speculative”. See also now MICHEL, P., 2019, “What does a *huwaši* look like ?”, in : Süel, A. (ed.), *Acts of the IXth International Congress of Hittitology (Corum, 08-14 September 2014)*, p. 579-594.

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**69) Hittite “*tu(?)zumazuwant-’*”\*** — The fragment of evocation to the Storm-god of Nerik *KUB* 36.90 shows in l. 30 vo. an odd, obscure hapax generally read “*tu(?)zumazuwant-’*”.<sup>1)</sup>

A close examination of the autograph by H. Otten — cf. also the photograph of the tablet presented by the “Mainzer Photoarchiv” (hethiter.net/:fotoarch BoFN07054 - Bo 2736: see **Pl. 1**) — allows, however, another possibility to read the start of the word, in view of the two oblique wedges which may reflect the “Glossenkeile”.<sup>2)</sup>

In this case we would obtain the reading <sup>4f</sup>*ma<sup>1</sup>-zu-ma-<sup>z</sup>u-<sup>f</sup>wa-an-ta<sup>1</sup>-(za, Abl. Sg., see translation below).<sup>3)</sup> This should be viewed as an adjective<sup>4)</sup> related to the verbal root *maz(z)-* ‘withstand, offer resistance’,<sup>5)</sup> with reduplication of intensive character of the entire verbal root.<sup>6)</sup>*

In the light of the context:

[*e-h*]u<sup>17)</sup> <sup>1D</sup>*Ma-r*{*a-as-sa-an-t*}*a-za*

30 <sup>4f</sup>*ma<sup>1</sup>-zu-ma-<sup>z</sup>u-<sup>f</sup>wa-an-ta<sup>1</sup>-za wa-ap-pu-wa-za*

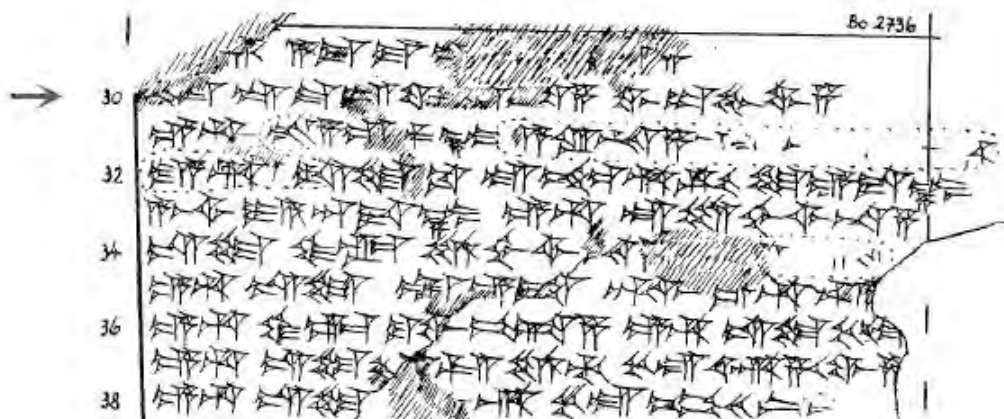
*e-hu* <sup>URU1</sup>*Za-al-pa-a<sup>z</sup> a-ru-na-za* (erasure)



‘[Com]e (scil. o Storm-god of Nerik) from the Mar[assant]a river!  
 30 Come from the highly resistant bank!  
 Come from Zalpa, from the sea!’,

the interpretation of  $\text{ma}^1\text{zumazu}^1\text{want}^{-1}$  as ‘very robust, resistant, stabile, firm’(attribute), appears perfectly coherent and suitable to a river-bank, which must hold back the thrust of the current and withstand the pressure of the waters.<sup>8)</sup>

Pl. 1



KUB 36.90

### Notes

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1. Haas 1970: 178; Lebrun 1980: 365; Deighton 1982: 87; Steiner 1993: 591; Haas 1994: 597; Jie 1994: 54b; Tischler 1994: 505, 2008: 207; Ünal 2007: 747b; Maier 2013: 179; Tischler 2016: 295 s.v. *wappu*-.

2. On the implications regarding the use of such a marker in Hittite and Luwian cf. most recently, with further literature, Görke 2013, Zorman 2016, Busse 2018/2019 and Kitazumi 2016. — Three “Glossenkeilwörter” (*lalama*-, *ipatarmaya*- and *marwatar*) peep out also in another “eng verbunden” (Haas 1970: 140; Rieken et al. 2015 ad “translatio” § 1 fn. 1) prayer to the Storm-god of Nerik, *KUB 36.89* (ro. 23, vo. 12, 26 respectively; cf. van den Hout 2007: 250).

3. For which cf. — albeit with omission of the marker and lack of commentary — also Singer 2002: 106 § 2, followed by Haas 2006: 270. Holland / Zorman 2007: 69 with fn. 45 adopted in their turn this decoding, but — weirdly — resorted to the “rendering *tu(?)zumazuwanta*-” of Lebrun 1980: 365 (fn. 1 above).

4. Deverbal (like for example *kartimmiyawant-* ‘having anger, angry’)? On this category see Kronasser 1966: 267-268 ad § 150.5; Hoffner / Melchert 2008: 61 ad 2.50. — With regard to the analysis of these formations as derived from verbal substantives (-*war/-was* → -*wa-nt-*) cf. Oettinger 1988.

5. Güterbock / Hoffner 1983: 213b-214 as well as Puhvel 2004: 106-108. It is undemonstrated (but excluded by Starke 1986: 164b) that this root is somehow connected with *\*ma-za-al-la-* Nom.-Acc. Pl. Nt. (KUB 21.42 left edge 4) and the iter. *ma-az-za-al-la-sa(-du-wa-ri)* Pres. 2nd Pl. Midd. (KUB 21.29 iv 13).

6. As in, e.g., *hashas-* ‘scrape away, scratch off’: cf. Hoffner / Melchert 2008: 173 ad 10.3. In the case we are discussing, however, the -*u-* in the second syllable might reflect a reduplication based on the verbal noun *\*mazzuwar*, Genit. Sg. *mazzuwas* (on the latter see Puhvel 2004: 107, Güterbock / Hoffner 1983: 214a); alternatively (according to a personal communication by Craig Melchert), the form might render “[matsmatstswant]”, “with -*zu-* representing an ‘empty vowel’ because of both the following -*mV-* and the later -*zu-wa-* [...]”. Of course, one great limitation of cuneiform is that we cannot know whether such clusters actually had at least a phonetic (not phonological) transition vowel. But it would have been colored to something *u*-like in this instance in both clusters.” In any event, for a parallel reduplicated verb containing -*u-* vs.  $\emptyset$  in the same position cf. *dakkudakuwa(i)-* vs. *dakdakuwa(i)-* (on which see recently Sasseville 2019). — On -*zz-* vs. -*z-* in the same term (e.g. *glkazzarnul* : *kazzarnul* ‘(a sort of) linen cloth’ [Rössle 1998: 111-118, 123; Rieken 1999: 467]) cf. Melchert 1994: 23-24, and Patri 2019: 357-358 in particular, and the summary on p. 230 fn. 106: “Les fluctuations dont font preuve les graphies géminées *zz* par rapport à *z* se constatent dans toutes les strates chronologiques et s’observent éventuellement dans les variantes graphiques d’un même mot.”

7. The signs must have been elongated (cf. the writing *A-NA* in the beginning of l. 13); the outer “Winkelhaken” might be due to a slip of the scribe’s hand.

8. Erich Neu’s suggestion (ap. Tischler 1994: 505 s.v. “*tuzumazuwant-*” [above, fn. 1]; cf. also Maier 2013: 179) “daß ein Flußname vorliegt (trotz fehlenden Determinativs <sup>1D</sup>) zu dem *wappuwaza* eine partitive Apposition bildet, die auch zum vorher genannten <sup>1D</sup>*Marassantaza* gehören könnte: ‘[Kom]m von den Ufern des *M.* (und) *T.*!’” should be considered unsubstantiated. A similar proposal was put forward by Rieken et al. 2015 ad “partitura” § 4’.23, with a still different reading — “<sup>1D</sup>*zu-ma-<sup>1</sup>zu<sup>1</sup>-wa-<sup>1</sup>an-ta<sup>1</sup>-za* ‘vom (Fluss) Zumazuwanta’” — as well as the integration “[*ar-h*]a” in the beginning of l. 29 and *e-hu* shifted at the end of each line from here up to l. 38. What is more, an Anatolian kind of hyronym in -*want-* would look unusual so far north.

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**70) A GAM AG<sup>2</sup> NI in the Birth Ritual of Pittei (KBo 13.241+ rev. 22)\*** — In the birth ritual of Pittei (CTH 767.7; LNS), the following *historiola* can be found:

KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 22-24

22. EME<sup>HLA</sup> EME<sup>HLA</sup> *ku-wa-pí-wa pa-<sup>l</sup>it-te<sup>l</sup>[ni] <sup>rNA<sub>1</sub></sup>pé-ru-ni :pal-<sup>h</sup>u-na pa-a-i-u-e-ni* A GAM <sup>r</sup>AG<sup>2</sup> NI  
 23. A-NA <sup>NA</sup>ZÚ :*du-wa-ar-nu-ma-a[n-zi p]a-a-i-u-e-ni* UR.MAḪ GIŠ-*ru-an-zi* KI.MIN  
 24. UR.BAR.RA :*pa-tal-<sup>h</sup>a-ú-na* KI.MIN :*za-am-ma<sup>l</sup>-an-ti* DUMU.NITA *la-la-u-na<sup>l</sup>* KI.MIN

“‘O tongues, o tongues, where are you goin[g]?’” – “‘We are going to the rock for stretching out<sup>?</sup>... To flint<sup>?</sup> for breakin[g] we are [g]oing; (to) the lion for pouncing likewise; (to) the wolf for fettering likewise; (to) the mortal for seizing<sup>?</sup> likewise.’”<sup>1)</sup>

At the end of line 22, after the verb *pa-a-i-u-e-ni*, a puzzling sequence of four signs occurs (fig. 1), consisting of: (1) a small A sign written on the NI sign of the verb *pa-a-i-u-e-ni*; (2) seemingly, the sign GAM; (3) a damaged sign, possibly AG (based on Otten’s handcopy); (4) the sign NI written on the right edge.

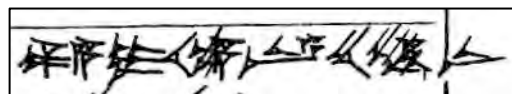


Fig. 1. Detail of KBo 13.241+ rev. 10’ (= 22).

Such a sequence has been variously interpreted. The HW<sup>2</sup> A: 53 reads the line (without the join with KUB 44.4) as <sup>NA</sup>*pí-ru-ni :pal-<sup>h</sup>u-na pa-a-i-u-e-ni :ak<sup>?</sup>-ni* (11) [X p]*a-a-i-u-e-ni*, “zum Felsen (zum) p. gehen wir; zum a... gehen wir”, not considering the sign A (seemingly taken as a part of a corrupt NI), interpreting GAM as a *Glossenkeil*, and explaining *akni* as a dative singular, perhaps denoting an “Örtlichkeit oder Gegenstand”. However, based on collation by Otten, the reading *ak* is regarded as very uncertain. Hoffner (1978: 245), in his review of the first *Lieferung* of the HW<sup>2</sup>, notes that the sequence is “something like GAM + ? + NI”, excluding that the first sign is a *Glossenkeil* and confirming that the reading *ak* is problematic.<sup>2)</sup> Beckman (1983: 178) reads A GAM AG NI, simply stating that “The four<sup>2</sup> signs at the end of this line are completely unintelligible” (p. 195), while Starke (1985: 235) opts for A GAM x NI, referring to Hoffner 1978 (fn. 111). Starke’s reading is replicated by Bachvarova (2013: 137),

without further comments, while Francia (2016: 4, with fn. 11) accepts the tentative reading *:ak<sup>2</sup>-ni* of the HW<sup>2</sup>. Finally, Torri and Barsacchi (2018: 270) transliterate A<sup>3</sup> GAM x NI.<sup>3)</sup>

Since Beckman's A GAM AG NI and Starke's A GAM x NI do not make any sense, the only reading that can be evaluated is *:ak<sup>2</sup>-ni*, suggested by the HW<sup>2</sup> and accepted by Francia. As mentioned, such a solution involves some problems: (1) the sign A is not considered; (2) the GAM sign is very different from the *Glossenkeile* frequently occurring in the text; (3) the meaning of the alleged *hapax akni* is unknown.

As a further counterargument, we should note that an alleged dative *akni* would be totally isolated in the context of the *historiola*, which shows a clear structure, including a noun in dative case in initial position, followed by an infinitive and the verb *pai-* 'to go' (replaced by KI.MIN 'ditto' after the second occurrence), as summarised in the following table:<sup>4)</sup>

DATIVE	INFINITIVE	VERB PAI-
<sup>NA</sup> <sub>4</sub> peruni	<i>:palhuna</i>	<i>pāiweni</i>
ANA <sup>NA</sup> <sub>4</sub> ZÚ	<i>:duwarnumanzi</i>	<i>pāiweni</i>
UR.MAḪ	GIŠ-ruanzi	KI.MIN
UR.BARRA	<i>:patalhauna</i>	KI.MIN
<i>:zammanti</i> DUMUNITA	<i>lalauna</i>	KI.MIN

The presence of an alleged dative *akni* after the first *pāiweni* would be consistent with this structure, but also an infinitive and the verb *pāiweni* would then be expected, which is not the case, as is clear after the join with KUB 44.4.

We should therefore conclude that the sequence of four signs at the end of line 22, regardless of its reading, cannot belong to the text of the *historiola*, but should be explained in a different way.

First of all, I would like to offer a new tentative reading for this sequence of signs. The first and the last signs are not particularly problematic: they appear to be A and NI, respectively. As for the second sign, although GAM seems to be the best match, I would like to suggest that it may actually be U, written over another U previously traced. Finally, based on the handcopy, I think that the traces of the damaged third sign (allegedly AG), although almost entirely illegible in the photo on the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*,<sup>5)</sup> could be compatible with the sign E. Therefore, my tentative reading is *a-u<sup>1</sup>-r<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ni*.<sup>6)</sup>

Because, as previously mentioned, this *a-u<sup>1</sup>-r<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ni* cannot be part of the text and resembles a pres. I pl. ending, we may imagine that it could be somehow related to the preceding verb *pa-a-i-u-e-ni*. Particularly, I would like to suggest that possibly it represents a variant of the verbal form *pa-a-i-u-e-ni*, i.e. *pa-a-u-e-ni*, less common, but equally attested in Hittite.<sup>7)</sup> Therefore, in my view, the scribe may have initially had doubts about the "correct" verbal form, so he decided to write them both down (if the text was dictated, the doubt can also be ascribed to who dictated it). Starting from this hypothesis, different possible scenarios arise, which depend on the evaluation of what can actually be seen in the only available photo.

Looking at the photo, the sign NI of *pa-a-i-u-e-ni* seems to have been written invading the field of the following sign A. Since an erasure after the sign E of *pa-a-i-u-e-ni* is perhaps visible in the photo (although there is no indication of it in the handcopy), we may imagine that the scribe initially wrote the variant *pa-a-u-e-ni* immediately after the preceding *pa-a-i-u-e-ni*, then opting for the latter form (also recorded in the following sentence) by deleting both the original final NI of *pa-a-i-u-e-ni* (perhaps by mistake) and the initial PA of the variant *pa-a-u-e-ni*,<sup>8)</sup> and rewriting the final NI of *pa-a-i-u-e-ni*, longer than usual, thus also covering part of the sign A of *pa-a-u-e-ni*.<sup>9)</sup> The four signs at the end of the line would thus be the remnants of a discarded variant of the verbal form.<sup>10)</sup>

However, because the photo is not very clear and the presence of an erasure is not assured, it is also possible that the sign A was not partly covered by the final NI of *pa-a-i-u-e-ni*, but was rather written smaller above a previously drawn NI sign. Were this the case, the sequence *a-u<sup>1</sup>-r<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ni* could be equally explained as a gloss pointing to the variant *pa-a-u-e-ni*, added by starting in superscript above the last sign of the verbal form involved. To explain the absence of initial *pa* in this gloss, we may imagine that the scribe originally decided to only note the relevant variation in superscript, i.e. *a-u* (vs. *a-i-u* in *pa-a-i-u-e-*

ni), then added the other cuneiform signs to make it more clear (rewriting the U over the previous one, perhaps to move from the superscript to the line, in order to have more space for the sign E).<sup>11)</sup>

I admit that the explanation of this enigmatic sequence of signs as a gloss recording a variant is perhaps not entirely satisfactory, but it may well fit with the nature of the text under consideration. As a matter of fact, the birth ritual of Pittei is full of scribal mistakes and Luwianisms, mostly with Luwian endings and marked by the *Glossenkeil*, which point to a draft written by or under dictation of a Luwian native speaker with imperfect Hittite skills.<sup>12)</sup> Therefore, doubts on some Hittite forms may be not surprising, especially when a verb rich in allomorphic variations like *pai-* is involved,<sup>13)</sup> whether the scribe himself was a native Luwian speaker or was just transcribing words dictated in imperfect Hittite. Furthermore, the Hieroglyphic Luwian cognate verb seems to consistently show the stem *pa-*,<sup>14)</sup> so that, if this stem can be traced back to the Empire period, not only the existence of a variation in the Hittite paradigm, but also Luwian interference may explain the doubt between the two forms.

Finally, as a possible alternative, the third damaged sign of the sequence, which I suggested read E, may also be UN, thus providing the reading *a-u<sup>1</sup>-un<sup>1</sup>-ni*, pointing to the Luwian expected pres.1pl. *pāūnni*, perhaps the form originally dictated and replaced by the scribe with Hitt. *pāiweni*. It should also be noted that, according to Carruba (1968: 18 fn. 10), the verbal form occurring in lines 22 and 23 is Luw. *pa-a-i-u-un-ni*, not Hitt. *pa-a-i-u-e-ni*, although it is not fully clear. Were this the case, the gloss *a-u<sup>1</sup>-un<sup>1</sup>-ni* could be explained as a correction, because, as previously mentioned, the Luwian expected form was probably *pāūnni*, not *pāiūnni*. However, in my view this is unlikely because, based on the photo, the sign visible in the verbs of lines 22 and 23 is quite different from the sign UN in line 16 (:zu-un-ni-mi-iš-ti), so that the Hittite reading *pa-a-i-u-e-ni* should be preferred.

In any case, collation of the original tablet would be needed in order to confirm the readings suggested here.

#### Notes

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1. Translation according to Beckman 1983: 179. See Giorgieri 2004, Bachvarova 2013, and Francia 2016 for other interpretations.

2. “The first two wedges are aligned differently than the *Glossenkeile* in lines 22, 31, 32, 33. Otten is right; the reading *ak* is problematic”.

3. Further note that no transliteration is offered in Haas and Thiel 1978: 154 and Yakubovich 2010: 373 (but A GAM AG NI in Yakubovich 2010: 403).

4. The same structure is also found in the parallel *historiola* in KUB 12.62+ rev. 10' EME<sup>1</sup>-aš EN-aš ku-wa-pí pa-a-ši KASKAL-ši ka-ri-pu<sup>1</sup>-wa<sup>1</sup>-an-[zi pa-a-i-mi] (11') UR.MAḪ tar-wa-u-wa-an-zi pa-a-i-mi a-li-li wa-ar-šul-wa-an-zi pa<sup>1</sup>-a-i-mi<sup>1</sup> (12') DUMU.<LÚ>U<sub>19</sub>.LU la-la-u-wa-an-zi pa-a-i-mi, “O lord of the tongue, where are you going?” – “To the road for devour[ing I am going], (to) the lion for pouncing<sup>2</sup> I am going. To the *alili*(-bird<sup>3</sup>) for plucking I am going. (to) the mortal for speaking I am going” (transl. according to Beckman 1983: 193; for a different interpretation cf. Francia 2016: 3-4 with references).

5. Cf. hethiter.net/: fotarch B0206c.

6. I would exclude the possibility that the four signs represented an aborted attempt to write A-NA<sup>NA4</sup>ZÚ at the end of the line: A would be compatible with this solution, and NI on the right edge may be part of the sign NA<sub>4</sub> (= NI.UD), but the two *Winkelhaken* after A are not compatible with the sign NA (there is no space for the horizontal, and the vertical wedge is missing), and the third sign would remain unexplained.

7. Cf. CHD P: 20 for the occurrences.

8. The space between the sign E of *pa-a-i-u-e-ni* and the traces of A seems to be large enough to contain both NI and PA, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the scribe simply forgot to write the final NI of the first verbal form and then corrected the mistake.

9. Although no traces of the sign A are visible below the lower horizontal of the sign NI, a comparison with the sign A of the verb *pa-a-i-u-e-ni* shows that A may have been quite short.

10. A possible parallel for this kind of gloss can be found in KUB 6.7+ iv 14' (CTH 572; LNS), where the mistaken sequence :nu-pát-za-ma is immediately followed by the correct one :nu-mu-za (cf. Güterbock 1956: 119).

11. Perhaps, if the text was dictated, the poor and incomplete character of the gloss could also be easily explained by the haste of the scribe in writing under dictation.

12. Cf. Yakubovich 2010: 403-404. See especially Giorgieri 2004, Bachvarova 2013, and Francia 2016 for a thorough analysis of the text. Also note that the find spot of the tablet is the *Haus am Hang*, which is consistent with the hypothesis of a draft (on this building and its tablet collection, cf. e.g. Torri 2009).

13. See Oettinger 1979: 388-392.

14. Cf. (“PES<sub>2</sub>”)pa-tu (ASSUR letter e §24) vs. Hitt. *paiddu* and the imperfective stem (PES<sub>2</sub>)pa-za- vs. Hitt. *paiške-*.

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**71) Gibt es einen Synchronismus zwischen dem 7. Regierungsjahr des Kassitenkönigs Kaštiliaš IV. und dem Amtsjahr des assyrischen Eponymen Enlil-nādin-apli? – Ein Kommentar zum Beitrag von Werner Nahm in N.A.B.U. 2020/19** — In seinem Beitrag „The eponym Enlil-nādin-apli and the capture of Kaštiliaš IV“ in N.A.B.U. 2020 n°1 stellt Werner Nahm heraus,<sup>1)</sup> dass die am oberen Dijala gelegene babylonische Siedlung Tell Zubeidi im 7. Regierungsjahr Kaštiliaš IV. zerstört wurde, wahrscheinlich durch Truppen des Assyrerkönigs Tukultī-Ninurta I.

Dieses Ereignis verbindet er mit einem im Eponymenjahr des Enlil/Elilil-nādin-apli erfolgten Feldzug nach Ḫalmān.

Es stellt sich die Frage, ob dies tatsächlich angenommen werden muß und wir somit einen Synchronismus zwischen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Chronologie haben.

Die Truppen Tukultī-Ninurtas kämpften mehrmals in Babylonien, im Eponymenjahr des Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat ebenfalls im Gebiet östlich des Tigris.<sup>2)</sup> Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß es weitere assyrische Vorstöße in das Osttigrisland gab.

Deswegen ist es nicht erwiesen, dass Tell Zubeidi ausgerechnet während des oben genannten Feldzuges im Eponymenjahr des Enlil-nādin-apli zerstört wurde.

Verschiedene Umstände sprechen gegen einen so frühen Ansatz des Enlil-nādin-apli.

1. Im Eponymenjahr des Enlil-nādin-apli kamen Gesandte aus Ḫatti und Kanaan nach Assyrien. In den Texten aus Tell Chuēra wird nur noch einmal, im Eponymenjahr Ninu'ayu, die Durchreise ausländischer Diplomaten erwähnt. Diese Aktivitäten scheinen also mehr als nur Routine gewesen zu sein.<sup>3)</sup>

Sie passen eher in die Zeit nach dem Sieg Tukultī-Ninurtas über Kaštiliaš IV. in dessen 8. und letztem Regierungsjahr,<sup>4)</sup> als in die Zeit vor diesem internationalen Erfolg, als noch unklar war, welcher der beiden Kontrahenten obsiegen würde.

2. Zu Beginn des Eponymenjahres des Enlil-nādin-apli wurde bereits die zweite Gruppe elamitischer Kriegsgefangener im obermesopotamischen Bezirk von Ḫarbe/Tell Chuēra angesiedelt.<sup>5)</sup> D.h. die Gefangennahme der Elamiter muß vorher erfolgt sein.

Andererseits ging der Elamiterkönig Kiden-Ḫutran (assyrl. -Ḫutru-diš) erst nach der Niederlage Kaštiliaš IV. in die Offensive, fiel in Babylonien ein und beendete die Herrschaft des Enlil-nādin-šumi, des Nachfolgers des Kaštiliaš.<sup>6)</sup>

Während der Regierung des Enlil-nādin-šumi, wurde das zerstörte Tell Zubeidi bereits wieder aufgebaut.<sup>7)</sup>

Fazit:

Während Tell Zubeidi während der Regierung Kaštiliaš IV. zerstört wurde, dürfte das Eponymenjahr des Enlil-nādin-apli in die Zeit nach Kaštiliaš IV. und Enlil-nādin-šumi gehören.

Als Möglichkeit bleibt die Einordnung des Enlil-nādin-apli zwischen den Eponymen Aššur-bēl-ilāni und Aššur-zēra-iddina.<sup>8)</sup>

Zwar erwähnt die Urkunde DeZ 3365 (= BATSH 9 80) das Jahr des Aššur-zēra-iddina nach dem Jahr des Aššur-bēl-ilāni. Aber eine unmittelbare Folge ist nicht zwingend und in den unruhigen Zeiten ist mit Abweichungen in den Dokumenten der Getreideverwaltung zu rechnen.<sup>9)</sup>

Unter diesen Voraussetzungen ergibt sich:

7. Jahr Kaštiliaš IV.:

Zerstörung von Tell Zubeidi.

> 8. Jahr Kaštiliaš IV. / Eponymenjahr des Etel-pi-Aššur:

Tukultī-Ninurta I. besiegt Kaštiliaš IV. und beendet dessen Regierung.

> 1. Jahr Enlil-nādin-šumi / Eponymenjahr des Ušur-namkūr-šarri:

Wiederaufbau von Tell Zubeidi.

Der Elamiterkönig Kiden-Ḫutran fällt in Babylon ein und stürzt Enlil-nādin-šumi.

> Eponymenjahr des Aššur-bēl-ilāni:

Tukultī-Ninurta I. ist in Babylonien mit Elam konfrontiert. Assyrer nehmen elamitische Soldaten gefangen.

> Eponymenjahr des Enlil-nādin-apli:

Elamitische Kriegsgefangene bereits in Ḫarbe angesiedelt.

Tukultī-Ninurta I. zieht gegen Ḫalman.

> Eponymenjahr des Aššur-zēra-iddina

#### Anmerkungen

1. Nach R.-M. Boehmer et alii, Tell Imlihiye, Tell Zubeidi, Tell Abbas (Baghdader Forschungen 7), Mainz 1985, S. 18f., 77ff.

2. E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, Die mittellassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šēḫ Ḫamad (BATSH 4), Berlin 1996., Briefe 11 und 12.

3. Stefan Jakob, Die mittellassyrischen Texte aus Tell Chuēra, Wiesbaden 2009, S. 9ff. und Text Nr. 54, S. 84f.

4. Das entspricht höchstwahrscheinlich dem assyrischen Eponymenjahr des Etel-pi-Aššur, siehe S. Jakob, Sag mir quando, sag mir wann...; L. Feliu et alii (eds.), Time and History in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 56th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Barcelona. 26-30 July 2010 (Winona Lake 2013) S. 509-523.

5. S. Jakob, ibid, Text 70, S. 99f.

6. J.-J. Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles, SBL, Atlanta 2004, S. 280f.

7. R.-M. Boehmer et alii (wie Anm. 1), S. 80.

8. S. Salah, Die mittellassyrischen Personen- und Rationenlisten aus Tall Šēḫ Ḫamad/Dūr-Katlimmu (BATSH 18, Texte 6), Wiesbaden 2014, Seiten 59 und 250. Einschränkungender Kommentar von Y. Bloch zu den Ausführungen Salaha auf S. 59 und 250: „Concerning Ellil-nādin-apli,... based on BATSH 9, no. 53, it is difficult to place this eponym between Ušur-namkūr-šarri and Aššur-bēl-ilāni.

As for Salah's reasons for dating BATSH 18, no. 59, before BATSH 18, no. 60, I don't agree with him. It appears that BATSH 18, no. 59, does not include some of the family members of the workers mentioned therein in the workers' rations. For example, Ahāt-tābat, Tašme-Diglat and Ubartāni, the daughters of Ša-Ištar-damqat, are

mentioned in no. 60, and they were certainly alive at the time when no. 59 was written. Nonetheless, they are not included in the rations recorded for Ša-Ištar-damqat in no. 59. Similarly, Ahāt-uqrat, the sister of Musriyā'u, is not included in the rations given to Musriyā'u in no. 59 (as pointed out by Salah himself). So, it does not seem that the suckling children mentioned in no. 60 and not mentioned in no. 59 were not yet born at the time when no. 59 was written.

Concerning the 3 sūtu ration of Zabibâ in no. 59, which, according to Salah, includes a ration for her daughter Amtu as pirsu, I think that Amtu was similarly not included in the rations recorded in no. 59, and “3 sūtu” in the ration for Zabibâ may be a scribal error for “2 sūtu.” (persönliche Mitteilung Y. Bloch).

9. H. Reculeau, *Climate, Environment and Agriculture in Assyria*. Studia Chaburensia 2, Wiesbaden 2011, S. 166.

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## 72) Shutruk-Nahunte I Inscription in Yasuj Museum –

- 1) [e d.man-za]-[a]t<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup>-ra<sup>2</sup> na-pír ú-[ri v.ú]
- 2) [v.šu-ut-ru]-**uk-d.nah-hu-un-te**-[gi-ik]
- 3) [li-ba]-**ak d.in-šu-ši-na**-[ak-gi-ik su-un-ki-ik]
- 4) [an-za-an] **šu-šu-un-ka<sub>4</sub> hu-sa-hi**-[te-ik-ip-pa]
- 5) [hu-uh]-**ta-ah hi-šu-me a-ha ta**-[al-lu-uh a-ak]
- 6) [ta-ak-me u-me a]-**ak SAL.d.nah-hu**-[un-te-ú-tú-me]
- 7) [a-ak ir]-**ki-in-ti ni**-[ka<sub>4</sub>-me-ma d.ma-an-za]
- 8) [-at-ni-ra] **na-pír ú-ri** [i du-ni-ih]



- 1) oh! Manzat-nira my god, I am
- 2) Shutruk-Nahunte,
- 3) servant of Inshushinak, King of
- 4) Anzan and Susa, marble-guise stones
- 5) I made, my name I wrote on it and
- 6) for my life and Nahunte-utu
- 7) and for our future, to Manzat-
- 8) -nira my god I offered them.

### Comments

Marble, marble-kind, marble-guise? Stone. Yasuj museum, Irán.

The piece appears in the web Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (cdli.ucla.edu/elamite). The transcription there is somewhat divergent and clearly erroneous.

Our transcription is hypothetical. In bold letters the extant signs.

The content of the text can be related to Shutruk-Nahunte n° 2 a (web CEPOAT, Murcia), published by Eilers: AMI 8, 1975, 43-45 = MDAI 53, n° 8. See also EIW sub hu-sa-hi-te-ik-ip-pa, Vol. II, p. 703. Cf. Silhak-Inshushinak 8e, agate stone.

For the second line (first readable), you can compare: Oruru, Reverse 24/25): d.šá-šum el-ha-la-e-ra h.gi-sa-at-ir-ra d.na-pír ú-ri, and Shuturnahunte I n° 1 (EKI 71 A+B): 4)...d].pi-ni-gir ki-ik-ki gi-li-ir-ra na-pír ú-ri. This means that the three first signs could be read as they are underlined.

The hypothetical transcription here adopted implies an hápax: the mention of the goddess Manzatnira in an Elamite text, but she can be related with d.Man-zi-ni-ri or d.ma-an-zi-ni-ri of Assyrian texts, notably the letter from Essarhadon to Urtaku, where she is mentioned among other Assyrian gods (ABL 918, SAA XVI, n° 1:11). Cf. EIW *sub voces*.

The goddess Manzat is a star in three texts of Shutruk-nahunte: n° 1 (web CEPOAT = CHI 147-149), n° 15 (web CEPOAT = MDAI LIII n° 10) y n° 16 (web CEPOAT = MDAI LIII n° 9 = EKI 42).

The name Nahunte-utu would be equally a hapax in the texts of this Elamite king.

### Bibliographical Abbreviations

ABL: Assyrian and Babylonian letters, London and Chicago 1892-1914, by R.F. Harper.

AMI: Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, ed. By E. Herzfeld.

CEPOAT: Centro de Estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo y la Antigüedad Tardía. Web de la Universidad de Murcia (<http://www.um.es/cepoat/elamita>).

CHI: Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran, Une inscription élamite de Tépé Horreeye, Paris 1990, by F. Vallat.

EKI: Die elamischen Königsinschriften, Graz 1965, by F.W. König.

EIW: Elamisches Wörterbuch, Berlin 1987, by Hinz-Koch.



MDAI LIII: Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran (= Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse),  
Nouveaux Mélanges Épigraphiques, Nice 1987, by M.-J. Steve.

SAA XVI: State Archives of Assyria, The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon. Helsinki 2002, by M.  
Luuko and G. van Buylaere.



Figure 1: The Middle Elamite Inscription in Yasuj Museum (Photo by: Ebrahim R. Farsi)

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**73) A. 1998: A “Green Tiger” or endangered species?** — The question of Kassite chronology was greatly complicated when, in 1982, Veysel Donbaz published a clay tablet (A. 1998 = Bab 39031) from the Istanbul Museum, which refers to business matters “from the accession year of Kadashman-Enlil to the twelfth year of Kadashman-Turgu, king”. The order of the two kings seems to flatly contradict that of the pair Kadašman-Turgu and Kadašman-Enlil, known from a letter of Hattusili III of Hatti (13th century BC).<sup>1)</sup> Brinkman (1983) analysed the problem in detail, weighing up two possible explanations:

A. there was another Kadašman-Enlil before Kadašman-Turgu;

B. there was a second Kadašman-Turgu after Kadašman-Enlil II.

Solution A was accepted by Boese (2009) who argued that there was in fact another Kadašman-Enlil between Nazimaruttaš and Kadašman-Turgu.<sup>2)</sup> The evidence comes from a cylinder seal used for eight tablets or envelopes from the year 4 of Nazimaruttaš. The seal belonged to a priest of Enlil, called [Be?]lanum son of Kadašman-Enlil and grandson of Kurigalzu, *šar kiššati* (“king of the world”). As Kurigalzu is the (only) king named on it, Boese thought it must have been cut during his reign and continued in use under Nazimaruttaš. Some have tried to identify him as Kurigalzu I; but, as Boese observed, this would add seventy years or more to [Be?]lanum’s career, as several reigns intervened between Kurigalzu I and Nazimaruttaš. Boese concluded that Kurigalzu II must have been the king in question and that this “new” Kadašman-Enlil (IIa) was a younger brother of Nazimaruttaš. This was also the conclusion of

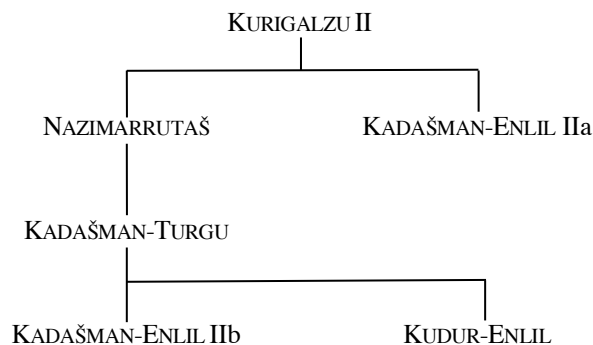
Matthews and Brinkman (1990) who published the seal. They noted that as “...very few texts can be assigned with certainty to Kurigalzu I... it has yet to be ascertained whether he was credited with the title *šar kiššati* in his lifetime or shortly thereafter...” Hence

If the Kurigalzu in line 4 was the second Kurigalzu (1332-1308), the king would have died only four years before the seal bearing his grandson’s name was used. This Kurigalzu is known to have borne the title *šar kiššati*, at least in economic texts. But in this case one would have to postulate an otherwise unknown Kadašman-Enlil as a brother of the reigning Nazi-Maruttaš.

Two further points support this conclusion. Bartelmus (2010: 155, n. 60) has argued that the title “king of the world”, replaced the Sumerian titles “king of Sumer and Akkad” and “king of the four quarters” from the reign of Kurigalzu II onwards. Regarding the second title accorded the king on the seal, “servant of Nusku”, this also fits with the same time period. Several votive objects were dedicated by Kassite kings to Nusku, namely (in alphabetical order, from *MSKH*): two from a Kadašman-Turgu (L.2.1, L.2.5), one from Kastililaš (0.2.3), one from Kudur-Enlil (P. 2.4), one from a Kurigalzu (Q.2.84), two from Nazimaruttaš (U.2.12, U.2.13) and one from Šagarakti-Šuriaš (V.2.1). All are on lapis disks, except the Kurigalzu text which is on an agate eye (?) stone; and all except that of Šagarakti-Šuriaš are reported as coming from the same cache at Nippur, a small room on the edge of the “canal” (depression), outside the large southeastern wall of the Temple area (*MSKH*: 120). These can thus be treated as a group. Most were collected long ago by Dyneley Prince (1904: 71) who, using the chronology of his day, concluded “that Nusku was a god of sufficient importance in ancient Babylonia, from 1350-1278 B.C., to justify the Babylonian monarch of the day in dedicating votive objects to his name”. Brinkman likewise noted that the rulers named in this cache date to the 14th-13th century BC.<sup>3)</sup> As Nazimaruttaš is called “son of Kurigalzu” on U.2.12, it is reasonably clear that the Kurigalzu who inscribed the agate cameo (Q.2.84) was the second ruler of that name. Hence Kurigalzu II was a devotee of Nusku like the ruler on [Be?]anum’s seal. Both the association with Nusku and the title *šar kiššati* reassure us that the seal concerns a grandson of the second Kurigalzu. It seems clear enough, then, that he had a son Kadašman-Enlil as well as Nazimaruttaš.

To summarise, there is sound evidence for a Kadašman-Enlil son of Kurigalzu II, a prince at least, whom Boese identified with the “new” king Kadašman-Enlil “II(a)” of A. 1998. Boese assumed that this Kadašman-Enlil had a short reign only, consisting of only his accession year and tentatively reascribed two accession-year dated documents from Nippur to this king; though how long his reign may have been remains a moot point. To which of the three possible kings of this name the dated documents from Nippur belong requires further examination and the figures given in Babylonian Kinglist-A should not be taken as a rigid guideline (see below).

From the seal, A. 1998 and other data Boese offered the following *stemma*:



While other scholars (notably BLOCH 2010: 70; 2012: 392, n. c; FURLONG 2010: 48-52; MILLER 2017: 104, n. 24, 105, Fig. 3.03, 106, Fig. 3.04) have accepted the existence of “Kadašman-Enlil IIa”, or preferably “Kadašman-Enlil A”, critics of the probity of A.1998 have tended to overlook the arguments of Boese. To judge from the extraordinary hyperbole employed in a short note by NAHM (2016), it would appear that he finds the evidence of A.1998 too uncomfortable:

Occasionally young scientists are told the following story. An explorer comes home with a photo of a green tiger. One just about may discuss the existence of such an animal. If he shows a picture of a green deer in addition, one rather will discuss his equipment or his personality. The archive of Itti-Ezida-lummir in Babylon (Pedersén M8) contains two texts allegedly dated by ancient kings, A. 1998 (= Bab 39031) from the reign of Kadašman-Turgu, successor of Kadašman-Enlil and Bab 39045 from the 10th year of Kadašman-Harbe II. The latter text received little comment, but the former misled several authors to insert a king Kadašman-Enlil IIa into the Kassite kinglist. Pedersén had warned that the text may be an ancient fake and in view of Bab 39045 this is indeed the most likely possibility. Perhaps efforts to identify scribes on the basis of 3D recordings of cuneiform texts can use the two probable fakes and the tablets written by Itti-Ezida-lummir as a test case.

Nahm does not name those scholars who have been “misled”, barely masking a quite *ad hominem* slur with an oblique remark about the “personality” of those that accept the existence of “green” tigers and deer. His only evidence for the idea that Itti-Ezida-lummir’s tablets were “fakes” is a hunch of Pedersén, glossing over a subtlety – when Pedersén (2005: 97) suggested that A.1998 might be “Fälschung”, his meaning (like that of Brinkman) was to wonder whether the information on the tablet is a forgery, made with the intent of securing property; not that it was a “fake”, with the loaded and potentially misleading connotation that carries. As for Bab 39045, casually dismissed as a “green deer”, Nahm failed to note the question mark clearly printed in PEDERSÉN 2005: 98, after the putative year “10?” which Nahm imagines is so incriminating. One wonders about the motivations for publishing such a note, which brought nothing new to the table.<sup>4)</sup>

Brinkman (2016) threw a much more nuanced light on the matter:

The data merit closer examination. Bab 39045, known at present only from the photos PhBab 1769-1770 2,6, was catalogued in PEDERSÉN 2005 (p. 98, M8:18) as dating to Kadašman-Ḫarbe II, year “10?”—the doubt as to the reading of the regnal-year number not mentioned by Nahm. The relevant photo, PhBab 1769, shows after the MU in this line an almost vertical wedge in slight shadow which favors a reading MU.1.KAM—the slant of the “1” here is similar to that of the *-dāš-* in the following royal name and differs markedly in shape and angle of impression from the “10” sign in the day date in the preceding line. Many late Middle Babylonian tablets are written in a script heavily slanted downward toward the right; this is not surprising to those familiar with their paleography. A date in year 1 of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II is also attested in YBC 7652—thus obviating the proposed reason for doubting the authenticity of this tablet. A. 1998 (Bab 39031) presents a different set of problems, and I share Pedersén’s and Nahm’s qualms about the authenticity of this text.

To summarise the arguments that A. 1998 is an ancient forgery:

(1) Nahm: that Pedersén had warned this may be the case. This does not count as an argument, and Pedersén’s remarks are addressed below.

(2) Nahm: that its relationship to Bab 39045 (with a date of the 10th year of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II) makes (1) the “most likely possibility”. Yet why was doubt thrown on the authenticity of Bab 39045? As Brinkman stressed, Nahm did not mention the published doubt (the question mark) of Pedersén. Brinkman’s suggestion that the year is actually “1”, with a first year of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II being attested elsewhere, does, as he says, obviate “the proposed reason for doubting the authenticity of this tablet”. This removes 50% of Nahm’s “case”, the other part merely being to cite an opinion about A.1998.

(3) Pedersén’s reason for doubting the probity of A. 1998 was that: “Kadašman-Turgu Kadašman-Enlil erscheint; umgekehrt in den Königslisten.” But there is no kinglist giving that order, except the ones in modern textbooks. Likewise, Boese (2009: 86) thought there might be the same objection from Babylonian Kinglist A to his additional king. But BKL-A just has a *Kadaš* [...] before Kudur-Enlil, while the preceding entry is only *K* [...] (GRAYSON 1980: 91), more precisely *Ka-<sup>1</sup>dá š<sup>1</sup>-[ ]* and *<sup>m</sup>K<sup>1</sup>[a- ]* (MSKH: 16). Thus, at best, we *may* have two *Kadaš-* names (allocated numbers 24, 25) but no order. No clues are provided by the preceding name 22 and 23 which are too damaged to be readable, though usually (completely) restored as “Kurigalzu (II)?” and “Nazi-Maruttaš”. As for the preceding kings (allocated nos. 15-21), “this section of the dynasty is not preserved in any of the lists” (BRINKMAN 1974: 16). Besides, should we still be using a document which cannot have been drawn up any earlier than the late 7th century as the ultimate arbiter of Middle Kassite chronology? If one were to liberally restore this portion of BKL-A – though *not* a recommended strategy – one could just as well imagine an order Kadašman-Enlil/Kadašman-Turgu/ Kadašman-Enlil. So the BKL-A alone should not control the two possibilities considered by Brinkman (above). Pedersén’s statement here amounts to saying that as the modern Kinglist disagrees

with the evidence of A. 1998, the latter cannot be used to question the standard model – a perfectly circular, thus invalid, argument. NB there is no reference to this pair of kings in the record of their presumed contemporaries Adad-nīrārī I and Shalmaneser I.<sup>5)</sup>

(4) Brinkman (2016): “There is no other supporting evidence for a Kadašman-Enlil as immediate predecessor of Kadašman-Turgu.” Yet this overlooks the evidence provided by Boese (see above), on which Brinkman does not appear to have commented. As a general observation, the literature on ANE chronology is littered with “factoids” based on far more slender evidence. For example, the very appearance of a “Karaḥardaš” between Burnaburiaš and Nazibugaš in many standard modern kinglists (based on Brinkman’s) is hardly supported. Such a person is known only from the late Assyrian composition the *Synchronistic Chronicle* (Chronicle 21) which is flatly contradicted by the Babylonian *Chronicle P* (Chronicle 22), where his place is taken by a Kadashman-Ḥarbe. The only claimed contemporary source alleged to mention this name is VAT 11187, with a fragmentary reference to a “[Ka (-)ra]-ḥardaš”.<sup>6)</sup> One wonders why this putative king is given preferential and often unqualified treatment in some recent literature compared to the Kadašman-Enlil in question here, whose name is clearly and fully readable on a Kassite-period document.

(5) Brinkman (2016): “The title to real estate pledged as a security for debt in this document could furnish sufficient motive for forgery.” It could – conceivably. But a possible and entirely hypothetical motivation for a crime is not evidence of a crime, while forging a land deed with the name of an *imaginary* monarch does not seem at all likely. Are we to assume that the author’s contemporaries had no memories or genuine public records by which to authenticate claims? The more one contemplates this argument the less convincing it becomes.

(6) Brinkman (2016) further remarks that the

...citation of a copper standard of value measurement here (lines 15, 19, 21, and 36) is anachronistic. This standard is attested in dated or datable Babylonian texts only in the twelfth century between 1175 (Meli-Šipak, year 12) and c. 1130 (Itti-Marduk-balātu, year not preserved), after political disturbances at the eastern end of the Mediterranean had shut off the flow of gold from Egypt. By contrast, in the early thirteenth century, a gold standard—or less commonly a silver standard—would have been cited.

Maybe such things could be said if the internal chronology of the Kassite period was a settled matter, which begs the question. Do we really have enough evidence to discern a clear profile? There is really little comparative material to work from here: Brinkman (1987: 34-35) cites 2 further “late Kassite” texts to support his idea of a copper standard but, as they are undated, for all we know they might come from the 13th century. The caveat expressed by Powell (1996: 229, emphasis added) needs to be taken with due seriousness:

In Babylonia grain and silver served as basic monies from at least the mid-third millennium on. Copper or bronze (probably both: distinguishing between these remains problematic) is attested for a time in the third millennium (in the so-called Fara and Presargonic periods) as a low to mid-range money, then practically disappears, turns up again in the Kassite period, *but was perhaps used more widely as money than our present evidence indicates*. Gold, which is in general rare, seems to have functioned rather commonly in the Kassite period (14th-13th centuries B.C.), but the reasons for this as well as the precise character of this “gold” remain obscure.

What does A. 1998 actually say on the matter? Brinkman notes four lines that purportedly refer to a copper standard. It should surely be the totals which are most significant: lines 15 and 19 which mention copper are not totals. The three totals (PAB I MA.NA) are written underneath scored lines. Line 13, not in Brinkman’s list, reads (trans. Donbaz): “Total: 1½ minas 4½ shekels of gold”; lines 20-21 read “Total: 1½ minas 4½ shekels of gold, 3 talents”; lines 34-35 read “Total: 1 mina 5½ shekels of gold belonging to Martukku he gave to Arad-Marduk”. Line 36 which Brinkman lists is an addition to the total in which ⅕ of a mina of gold and 3 talents, 48 minas of copper are given for a twelve-roomed house. When the amounts of copper exchanged are converted into gold in the totals are we really seeing a copper standard here at all? Even were one to take the references to copper as somehow more important, this would only show that there was a mixed system current when the tablet was written and, if anything, that the gold currency was still predominant. Kleber (2016: 45) talks quite comfortably about three standards running concurrently in

the late Kassite period (13th-12th centuries BC): gold, silver and copper.<sup>7)</sup> The point about an economic anachronism is therefore overdone.

(7) Brinkman (1983: 68 & n. 6) originally wrote: “To begin with, it is clear that A. 1998 is atypical in form, content, and alleged provenience... one wonders how a Middle Babylonian legal text (provenience undesignated in the inscription) came to be in the Assur collection in Istanbul.” The obvious answer was predicted by Brinkman: “As is well known, not all tablets are correctly classified by their actual place of origin.” Yet when he later discussed the fact that it has now been provenanced, to the M8 archive from a house in the Merkes district of Babylon, Brinkman (2017: 24, n. 217) continues to see a problem: “With Pedersén’s discovery that this text actually comes from Babylon, not Assur and is part of a datable archive there (PEDERSÉN 2005: 97 M8.4), it becomes clearer that the tablet is a twelfth-century forgery, in connection with a claim to real estate.” One would have thought that the fact that it is now known to come from a datable archive would make it *less* clear that there is something dubious about it. Nor is the archive exclusively “12th-century”. The M8 archive includes a tablet of Adad-šuma-ušur year 10 (BRINKMAN 1206 BC) and another with Kaštiliašu year 0 and, given that Brinkman now allows the probity of Bab 39045, it also includes a text of Kadašman-Ḥarbe II (1224 BC). The characterisation of the archive as “twelfth-century” is an undue over-emphasis. Some tablets, presumably kept through the family, were earlier.

(8) Brinkman (2017: 24, 217): “The text is set at a putative date (Kadašman-Turgu, year 12 = 1270 BC) much earlier than other texts in the archive”. Yet is the distance here so long or significant? There is also the tablet of Kaštiliašu year 0 (Brinkman 1233 BC), perhaps from a deeper level (PEDERSÉN 2005: 94), as well as that of Kadašman-Ḥarbe II (1224 BC). So the gap is only 37 or 46 years, both within the scope of a single lifetime. Besides, as the chronology of this period is the very point at issue, the length of this period may be uncertain. *Nor has the archive yet been fully published.* Judgments based on the absence of documents from other reigns are surely premature.

(9) Returning to his earlier published doubts, Brinkman (1983: 68) added that

...this text would be by some centuries the earliest example of a pledge (*maškanu*) of a house as security for a debt. Second, it is the only Middle Babylonian legal document that has two gods, Shamash and Marduk, listed by name as the first witnesses. Third, for its period, it has unwonted legal phraseology and is the only Kassite legal text of which I am aware that is both sealed and impressed with fingernail marks.

He did conclude, however, that “despite these abnormalities and any reservations they might arouse, there seems to be no compelling *prima facie* reason to doubt the genuineness of the text.” These reservations, it should be noted, are entirely from negative arguments – e.g. no other tablet *yet known from this period in Babylonia* has these features. It should not really need reminding, but as Pedersén (2011: 58) has stressed: “Only some 5% of the excavated tablets from the Middle Babylonian period in Babylon have so far been published... Much more are of course still hidden in the earth, under later levels and partly underground water.” He also estimates that a mere 0.05% of the city has yet been excavated.

We should also bear in mind that the earlier remarks of Brinkman were made when the tablet was a lone museum object. They should lose their impact now that we know the tablet has a provenance as an excavated object and was not some kind of “fake”, modern or ancient (as Nahm might imagine). One wonders, all the same, about the questions of the fingernail marks and the two divine witnesses. On fingernail-marking, one can turn to the *CAH* (GADD 1975: 37) to read about:

...the appearance on Kassite tablets of nail-marks imprinted by the parties to deeds of sale, hire, loan, and pledge as (apparently) a more personal form of attestation than the traditional seal-impression, a practice virtually unknown to tablets of the First Dynasty of Babylon, but on the contrary frequent in the legal documents found at Susa, which were contemporary with these. It might seem therefore that the custom had spread from Elam and been adopted thence in Kassite Babylonia.<sup>8)</sup>

It was the authentication with both fingernail marks (three sets on the left edge) and a seal (faint impressions of an inscribed seal on all edges) which Brinkman found distinctive. So, given that fingernail authentication appears to be an Elamite innovation, one should look to the available corpus of Middle Elamite texts for comparison. Are there any Elamite tablets similarly sealed with both a cylinder and fingernails? Elamite influence on the scribal practice employed in this tablet also seems to be evidenced by the use of two divine witnesses, which was the common practice in Elam. See for example MDP 23, 271

signed before Šamaš and Inšušinak (see BADAMCHI & PFEIFER 2019: 27), perfect equivalents to the Šamaš and Marduk of A. 1998.

In conclusion it is hard to resist the feeling that it is really the “anomalous date” on A. 1998 which is the real reason for questioning its reliability. On the principle of taking an ancient document as innocent until proven guilty, it would surely be a better strategy to consider that it may indeed be genuine. Such “anomalous” style it might contain suggests a line of enquiry into the area of possible Elamite influence on the scribe of the M8 archive in Babylon. While Brinkman’s doubts were seriously expressed they can all be addressed, but the approach of Nahm, handwaving away both this tablet and Bab 39045 by comparing them with a paranormal phenomenon is inappropriate and runs the risk of overlooking some potentially rare evidence of an Elamite-Babylonian connection during the Kassite period as well as new chronological information. As Brinkman (1983: 74) himself once remarked:

This text at minimum may serve as a salutary reminder that present reconstructions are hypothetical; but we will need additional evidence before pronouncing in favor of scribal error (for A. 1998) or for serious chronological restructuring. We have obviously not seen the last revision or reevaluation of Middle Babylonian chronology.

Arguably that additional evidence has since been provided by Boese (augmented above), showing that there was another Kadašman-Enlil, the brother of Nazimaruttaš and grandson of Kurigalzu.

#### Notes

1. KBo 1.10 + KUB 3.72; trans. BECKMAN 1996: 132-137.
2. With Nazimaruttaš otherwise attested as the father of a Kadašman-Turgu (*MSKH* U.3.3).
3. Nevertheless, in her overview of the consecration activities of safely identifiable Kassite rulers (original texts), BARTELMUS (2017: 285) remains uncertain about many of the attributions of votive objects to Kurigalzu, including those to Nusku.
4. Nahm’s suggestion of 3D imaging of the two tablets was not properly thought out and is inapplicable. As Brinkman (2016) points out, over half the M8 archive is missing, with many only known from excavation photos, including the Kadašman-Ḫarbe tablet under discussion.
5. MUNN-RANKIN 1975: 275, 282; cf. DEVECCHI 2017: 113: “Neither the chronicles nor the royal inscriptions refer to any common event in the history of the two kingdoms during the reign of Shalmaneser I.”
6. BRINKMAN 1976: 166: “restoration and date uncertain”. MLADJOV (2016: 19-20) rightly describes “Karaḫardaš” as unattested and suggests, with good reason, that it was the Assyrian, and not Babylonian scribe, who was mistaken in miswriting the name of Karaindaš. Cf. SASSMANNSHAUSEN 2004, 61, n. 3.
7. Admittedly her only cited source for a 13th-century BC “copper standard” was BRINKMAN 1987, in which A. 1998 was then accepted as genuine.
8. There is also an Ur III example.

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**74) K.8576: Not a Witness to *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*** — The small fragment K.8576 is not a witness to *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*. Following some notes in Lambert’s folios, Takayoshi Oshima, in the very last stages of preparing his edition,<sup>1</sup> treated the two very fragmentary lines of text on the reverse (lines 1’–2’) before the colophon (rev. 3’–4’) as a witness to the last couple of lines in the poem, *Ludlul* V 119–120 (see Oshima 2014: 438, his MS V.L). The ten broken lines on the fragment’s obverse, he suggested, might belong to the earlier part of the same Tablet of the poem, V 23–41 (according to Oshima 2014: 114) or V 27–42 (according to Oshima 2014: 379n.9).<sup>2</sup> He also recognized, “[h]owever, because there is no overlapping line [with the known text of Tablet V], it is impossible to determine their exact place in the poem. Needless to say, it is also possible K 8576 does not belong to the poem at all.” This last judgment is the correct one. I offer two supporting reasons for this evaluation below. Although neither is absolutely definitive, I think the preponderance of evidence indicates that K.8576 does not bear witness to the text of *Ludlul*.

The first reason for this judgment becomes clear only after a careful study of the piece’s formulaic, fragmentary Assurbanipal colophon, which reads:

{double ruling}<sup>3</sup>  
rev. 3’ [...] *iš-ru-ku-u[š]*  
rev. 4’ [...] *šip-ru šu-a-tu<sup>1</sup>[la]*  
{the tablet breaks off}

One of the first things we may note here is that if this were a colophon attached to a tablet containing a literary text, we would expect the first line of the colophon to identify the title of the text and the tablet within its series.<sup>4</sup> Among the manuscripts of *Ludlul*, see MSS I.J, I.Q, II.G, II.H<sub>1</sub>, II.I, and V.B. This feature is *always* present in the manuscripts from Nineveh preserving the first line of an Assurbanipal colophon (I.J, II.G, II.H<sub>1</sub>, and II.I). It is only absent in II.N from Huzirina. There is no room for the title and tablet number in the first line of the colophon in K.8576, if the identification of its formulaic colophon is correct.

About the colophon's identification: Both of the above phrases occur in Assurbanipal colophon types c, d, and q.<sup>5)</sup> The two lines above represent the ends of the first two lines of the colophon as inscribed on the tablet. In colophon type c these phrases end the third and fifth lines and in colophon type d they end the second and fourth in Hunger's editions. The first line of the colophon on K.8576 also matches the end of the first line of Assurbanipal colophon type q and its second matches a phrase from near the end of colophon type q's third line in Hunger's edition. Taking into account flexibility of line breaks in the actual inscribing of these formulaic colophons, the colophon on K.8576 is most likely to be identified as colophon type d, it seems to me, by a process of elimination. Given what we know of the text on K.8576 and colophon type q's use primarily on medical tablets, type q is unlikely the correct identification, whether K.8576 is part of *Ludlul* or not.<sup>6)</sup> If the colophon were to be identified as colophon type c, and the scribe wrote the first five lines of the colophon in Hunger's edition on two lines of the actual tablet, then he likely would have written the remaining seven lines in Hunger's edition on two or three more double spaced lines on the tablet. This scenario seems very unlikely to me. Streck's early study of this colophon type suggests it is typically written on eight to sixteen lines and never on as few as four or five.<sup>7)</sup> We, of course, await a more recent and comprehensive study of the Assurbanipal colophons, which may very well require a revision to these judgments. Be that as it may, it seems most likely that we have an example of colophon type d on K.8576.

This identification has implications for the placement in the poem of the text on K.8576's obverse, which is currently unknown and not represented in any text edition of *Ludlul*,<sup>8)</sup> that is, if it were actually part of *Ludlul*—which it is not. If the colophon is type d, then there would only be two to three more double spaced lines remaining on the reverse.<sup>9)</sup> This space required for the colophon on the reverse implies something around only four to eight single spaced lines missing at the beginning of the fragment's obverse. The hypothetical nature of the argument dictates caution in terms of exact numbers. (I recognize that this line count at the beginning of the obverse is based on the assumption that the colophon extended to the bottom of the tablet. It is possible, of course, that the tablet had a blank space between the end of the colophon and the bottom of its reverse. But, I think this is unlikely.<sup>10)</sup> If the length of the colophon in relation to the bottom edge of the reverse is accepted, then the preserved text on the obverse of K.8576 cannot be placed in the second fifth of *Ludlul* V (around lines 24–48). Those lines in *Ludlul* V would be much too low physically on the obverse of the tablet to which K.8576 originally belonged. The first preserved line on K.8576 more likely represents a line with a single digit number on the tablet to which it belonged originally, placing the text of K.8576's currently-preserved obverse—a fragmentary ten lines—somewhere in the opening twenty lines of Tablet V, if it were to be placed in the poem. The text on the obverse of K.8576, however, does not fit at all with *Ludlul* V 1–20, which are mostly recovered with several witnesses and thus basically known.<sup>11)</sup>

Perhaps, one might consider, the text on the obverse represents some of the early lines of Table IV, which are completely unknown. In this case, the original tablet to which K.8576 belonged would have had two columns to a side, making room for about 240 lines of text from *Ludlul* IV and V, plus the colophon. In this case, K.8576 would only represent a part of obv. i and rev. ii. Yet, the content of the lines on the obverse of K.8576 (see Oshima 2014: 114), which read very much like a prayer, do not fit thematically with a) the end of Tablet III, b) the five unplaced lines from the commentary to *Ludlul* that fall somewhere between what we know of Tablets III and IV, and c) the text of Tablet IV §A.<sup>12)</sup> Given this problem, it seems unlikely that K.8576 obv. attests an unknown section of Tablet IV; rather, it is more likely that K.8576 is in fact not part of *Ludlul* at all.

The current basis for K.8576's inclusion in *Ludlul* is very slim: two broken signs on rev. 1' are identified with *Ludlul* V 119, and the one word preserved in rev. 2' are identified with the last word in *Ludlul* V 120. After renewed examination of the fragment, this seems to me an unlikely identification of the text in rev. 1'–2', which I read:

rev. 1' [...x]x-x[x]<sup>13)</sup>  
 rev. 2' [...] *ta-bat*

Oshima reads these lines as follows:<sup>14)</sup>

...-š]i-<sup>†</sup>meš<sup>†</sup>l-r[e-e-...], which implies ...šub-š]i-<sup>†</sup>meš<sup>†</sup>l-r[e-e-<sup>d</sup>šákkan]  
 ...] *ta-bat* [...]



The other two witnesses to the final line (Oshima’s MSS V.B and V.F) suggest the last two words of *Ludlul* are *tanittaka/šū tābat*, “your/his (i.e. Marduk’s) praise is sweet” (see Oshima 2014: 438). This phrase goes back to a stereotypical Sumerian doxological phrase used at the very end of celebratory poems (*zà-mí-zu dūg-ga-àm*).<sup>15</sup> Even in Akkadian, it is not unique to the conclusion of *Ludlul*.<sup>16</sup> If what K.8576 preserves were in fact the final phrase of *Ludlul*, then there would not seem to be room in K.8576 rev. 1’ for the signs that form the theophoric element of Shubshi-meshre-Shakkan’s name, preserved completely in MS V.B, before coming up against the right edge of the tablet (or the margin of the column, if the original tablet was multi-columned). Although one cannot discount the scribe squeezing the two or three signs in, perhaps partly on the side of the tablet (or in the margin), it seems to me that the reading of the name is based mostly on the presumption of its presence rather than its actual presence. There is very little to go on—mere traces. Given the uncertainty of the reading in rev. 1’, the space that would be required if rev. 1’ were in fact *Ludlul* V 119, and the difficulty of placing the text on the fragment’s obverse anywhere in *Ludlul*, it is perhaps more probable that *ta-bat* on the next line is not the last word of *Ludlul* but in fact the stereotypical ending of some other composition, perhaps, as the obverse suggests, a long prayer, that ends with praise.

Although my reasoning is based on a few assumptions and thus cannot be considered absolutely definitive, I think the preponderance of evidence excludes K.8576 from the witnesses to *Ludlul*.<sup>17</sup>

#### Notes

1. See Oshima 2014: VIII–IX, where he mentions receiving relevant materials for *Ludlul* from Lambert’s *Nachlass* some six months after completing the work on his edition, requiring a quick revision. I thank Dr. Oshima for a collegial and constructive correspondence about the contents of this note.

2. For Lambert’s copy, see now George and Taniguchi 2019, no. 165 with notes identifying it as “*Ludlul bēl nēmeqī* IV/V(?)” on p. 9. For a photograph of the tablet, see <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P397684.jpg>. Dr. Oshima has reported in a personal correspondence with me (6 May, 2020) that his line assignments should have been deleted in his final revision of the edition. He agrees that obv. K.8576 has no place in these lines.

3. The fact that there is no catchline to another tablet indicates we are dealing with a stand-alone text or the last tablet of a composition, as would be the case for *Ludlul* V.

4. I thank Dr. Oshima for reminding me of this important point.

5. See Hunger 1968, nos. 319c, 319d, and 329.

6. See Streck 1916: LXXX.

7. See Streck 1916: LXXXV.

8. See Oshima 2014: 114.

9. This scenario of a four to five line colophon type d on K.8576 is within the line parameters set out in Streck, who notes the type d colophon tends to be written on four to ten lines (1916: LXXXVI).

10. A brief perusal through images of Kuyunjik tablets on CDLI turned up several examples of such an arrangement, all of which showed the very brief colophon type a. Insert P394348, P393758, P394237, and P395455 after the URL <https://cdli.ucla.edu/> for examples. The colophons were likely added later than the time of the tablet’s original inscription.

11. See Oshima 2014: 429–430 for his partitur.

12. See Oshima 2014: 100–103 for the text of these parts of the poem.

13. Two possibilities that come to mind: [...NA]M-T[AR] and [...Z]I-M[U], “[f]at[e]” and “m[y li]fe,” respectively.

14. 2014: 438. Lambert’s copy shows barely a hint of the sign Oshima reads as Š̄I (George and Taniguchi 2019, no. 165).

15. For examples of attestations, search za3-mi2-zu under the advanced search option at the ETCSL (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>).

16. See its use in, e.g., the bilingual “The Scholars of Uruk” (George 2009: 88).

17. In addition, the fragment is unlikely to belong to the same tablet as K.8306, which looks to be a bilingual; see George and Taniguchi 2019: 9–10, who interpret Lambert’s laconic notes to that effect.

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**75) The Decoration of the Southwest Wall of Façade n at Dur-Sharrukin: Adjustments and Significance** — The bas-reliefs lining the walls of the royal palace of Sargon II at Dur-Sharrukin abounds with parades of Assyrian attendants, officials, and foreigners moving towards the king. As it is well known, these were illustrated in drawings made at the time of their discovery by Eugène Flandin in the nineteenth century's French excavation of Paul Emile Botta. Some examples of bas-reliefs and small finds were later shipped to Paris. Excavations were renewed some years later by Victor Place, although most of bas-reliefs and smaller objects that were placed on rafts to be transported to Paris were sunk in the Tigris River.<sup>1)</sup> Flandin's drawings, accordingly, represent the main source for investigation. Nonetheless, the unearthing of some bas-reliefs by the Oriental Institute expedition (1929-1935), predictably, highlights unavoidably Flandin's mistakes and inaccuracies and allows reconstructing the figurative program of the palace. Relying on the original drawings and the discoveries made by the Oriental Institute, I would like to use the facilities of NABU to highlight some adjustments that are required to the southwest wall of façade n in the Throneroom Courtyard (VIII).

Flandin's drawing is the main source for a panoramic picture of the bas-reliefs lining the southwest wall of façade n (fig. 1, above). However, working in Courtyard VIII, the Oriental Institute expedition discovered other slabs at a considerable distance from their original location and some agree with Flandin's drawing, while others can be fitted into the decorative scheme only if they are substituted with bas-reliefs in Flandin's drawing.<sup>2)</sup> The subject of the slabs discovered fits the general theme displayed on façade n, and Pauline Albenda has tentatively placed some of them along the wall: two officials with folded hands (OIM A 7367=slab 28),<sup>3)</sup> two beardless attendants carrying a high-backed throne (IM 18628=slab 29), two beardless attendants carrying perhaps a backless chair (IM 18629=slab 30), two beardless attendants, one of whom carries a model of a city in both hands, while the second holds a long staff in the right hand and a footstool in the left hand (IM 18631=slab 31), two beardless attendants carrying a richly decorated table (IM 18630), two beardless officials, the first of whom clasps his hands, while the second extends his right arm up and his left arm down (OIM A 7366=slab 33), the crown prince who raises his right hand and rests his left on the pommel of the sword, followed by a beardless official who extends his right hand downward, and his left hand rests on the pommel of his sword (OIM A 7368=slab 36).<sup>4)</sup> Albenda's reconstruction (fig. 1, middle) seems largely correct, although it appears problematic in two aspects. Firstly, OIM A 7367 shows the tip of a scabbard on the left side of the slab. This element implies the presence of an armed figure in the adjacent slab 29, which actually does not exist either on Flandin's drawing or on relief IM 18628. Furthermore, procession scenes in Sargon II's bas-reliefs (e.g. façade L) normally separate attendants bringing furniture on one side, and armed officials on the other side, without mixing them within the same group.<sup>5)</sup> This suggests that the subject of OIM A 7367 would be expected only among the figures standing before the king, rather than among attendants bringing equipment. As a consequence, the slab might be located as slab 35, since beardless figures usually follow the crown prince. Secondly, Albenda does not assign any position to IM 18630, suspecting that several slabs discovered by the Oriental Institute expedition may have belonged to another wall in the vicinity. However, since the display of long lines of attendants bringing furniture and equipment is a common theme in the palace of Sargon II, there is good reason to believe that this slab may also have belonged to this procession scene and should be placed somewhere along façade n, perhaps as slab 28 (fig. 1, below).

If this reconstruction is correct, I feel the new proposal offers further hints on the identification of the activity performed on façade n, and shed new light on the use of throne rooms in the Assyrian palace. Attendants moving along the wall actually bring in the main throne room (VII) a specific array of furniture:

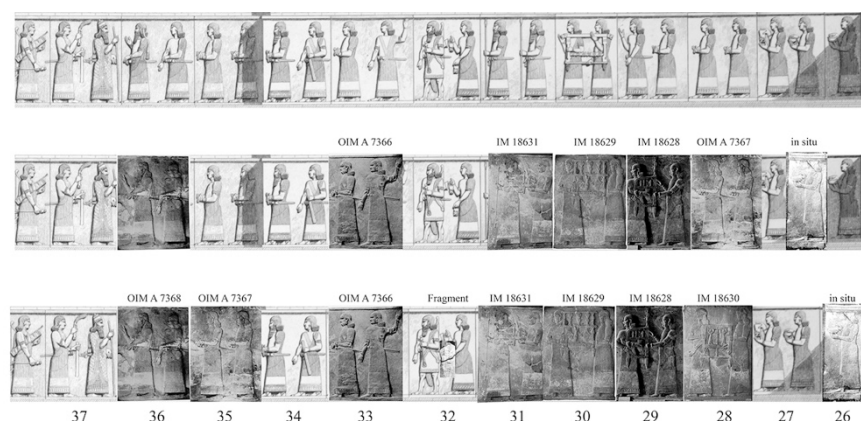
a footstool (slab 31/IM 18631) and a high-backed throne (slab 29/IM 18628), a backless chair (slab 30/IM 18629) and a table (slab 29/IM 18630).<sup>6)</sup> Each furniture element is depicted in an Assyrian ivory showing a royal banquet (fig. 2), suggesting that all of the items were actually used in banquet contexts. According to textual evidence, we are in fact informed that rooms were usually emptied and furniture was brought in on occasion.<sup>7)</sup> As a consequence, this visual and textual parallelism strongly suggests that the persons moving along the southwest wall of façade n are going to take part in a banquet with the king, most likely within the main throne room. This evidence invites one to think on the variety of activities that were performed in the throne room of an Assyrian palace, which was not only the stage for audience with the king but also for banquets and other court entertainments that were proffered to king's guests.

#### Notes

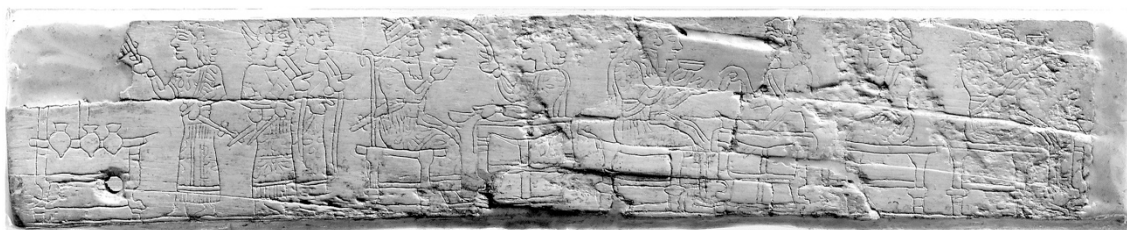
1. Albenda 2003.
2. Loud 1936: 38.
3. The upper part of the slab was restored, thus it is not possible to know with confidence whether the figures depicted were bearded or beardless officials (May 2012: 190 footnote 8).
4. Albenda 1986: 64. See also May 2012: 190 and fig. 8.7. A slab's fragment shown in a photograph of the Oriental Institute (Albenda 1986: fig. 44) most likely belongs to slab 32 (see also Russell 1989: 91).
5. Botta and Flandin 1849: pls. 10-23.
6. See Curtis 1996.
7. SAA 20 33.

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**Figure 1.** Dur-Sharrukin Palace: bas-reliefs lining the southwest wall of façade n according to Botta and Flandin (above), Albenda (middle), author (below)



**Figure 2.** Assyrian-style ivory plaque showing a royal banquet, Kalhu, Fort Shalmaneser (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 59.107.22)

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**76) BM 33406 (Rm. 3, 83), a duplicate of text Funk 3 (Köcher, *AfO* 18, 72, 76 text B), *šumma ālu* tablet 85** — When studying the Late Babylonian omen tablet BM 33406 I noticed that it duplicates the tablet Funck 3 published by Franz Köcher in *AfO* 18 (1957). Funck 3 is a Neo-Babylonian tablet (CAD M II 239b, P 239a and T 257b understands it as Old Babylonian while CAD P 155a; K 248a; S 34b, 56a and 404a as Standard Babylonian) from the private collection of Pastor Adolphe Funck from Roubaix near Lille. Its location was unknown already in 1957 (see *AfO* 18: 62 note 2, and Ernst F. Weidner, *AfO* 21 (1966) 46b). Köcher knew of it from a copy made by Friedrich Delitzsch in 1874 (published *AfO* 18: 72) when he was making his first original copies of cuneiform tablets that were later considered “verständlicherweise nicht ganz einwandfrei” (Weidner, *AfO* 21: 46b). Still, both Funck 3 and the duplicate BM 33406 “missed” the same signs in one word in omens 31 and 32, which means that either both go back to the same defective exemplar, or the exemplar of BM 33406 goes back to Funck 3, and Delitzsch’s copy was better than previously thought.

The omens of the duplicated sequence refer to someone who takes the road for a purpose (*ana ÁŠ-šú*), and while walking along a person in fetters crosses in front of him (A obv. 20). Other people cross his path or objects lie in front of him. Nearly every event is interpreted as either accomplishing the purpose (KUR ÁŠ) or not (NU KUR ÁŠ), which means the prediction refers directly to the intention of the person’s initial undertaking, walking in the street. Many of the negative apodoses are provided with the instruction for a specific action of that person which would result in *pašir*, “he is released (from evil)” or “it (i.e. the evil spell) is undone”. Thus, the ritual to release from the evil influence of the ominous sign is added. A feature of this tablet is that the scribe does not repeat a verb describing the movement of the person or the way an object is lying on the ground in any subsequent line, nor does he refer to it with MIN or KI.MIN, “ditto”; he also does not leave a blank space to mark the omission (so clearly in rev. 3’-5’). In the tradition of omen texts this would be considered at least unusual.

The feature of a purpose stressed in the protasis is shared by other omens that observe the flight of birds (Nicla De Zorzi, *KASKAL* 6 (2009) 85–135), or the flaring up of falling stars (see Nils P. Heeßel, *AfO* 48 (2001) 44b–45; Fincke, *Iraq* 75 (2013) 193–94) when someone comes out for a purpose (DIŠ NA *ana Á.ÁŠ-šú ZI-ma*). Some of the omens from the falling star sequence can also be found in tablet 1 of the diagnostic omen series SA.GIG (omens 63-71), but the introductory protasis mentioning the purpose is missing here; instead the intended subject from the first line is the *āšipu* walking to the house of the patient (Andrew R. George, *RA* 85 (1991) 137–67; Heeßel, *AfO* 48: 44b). All of these omens describe someone or something is moving, someone walking (BM 33406 // Funck 3), a bird flying (bird omens) or stars falling (meteor omens and SA.GIG). As such, they describe an action and not a snapshot in time like most of the other omens. The action is spontaneous and cannot be influenced, so it can be interpreted with reference to the planned project or purpose of the person.

The omen tablet represented by Funck 3 and BM 33406 is understood to be part of the series *šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*. Sally M. Freedman (*If a City Is Set on a Height*, 1998, 69) assumes that its tablet number was in the 80’s. When looking at the known incipits of these tablets that she provides on p. 341, no. 85

seems to be the most likely candidate because of its apodosis: “[If...] he sees..., he will not accomplish his purpose” (K. 6417++ rev. 1’: [DIŠ...] ‘x x x uš IGI’ Á.ÁŠ-su NU KUR-ád). The incipit for *šumma ālu* 85 she had given in 1978 in her dissertation (Sally M. Moren, *The Omen Series “Šumma Ālu”: A Preliminary Investigation*, PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1978, pp. 51, 57, esp. 109) and called “Tablet 85 alt” in 1998 (*If a City...*: 341) corresponds with the general subject of our text: “If a man while walking along a road sees someone who carries a god [...]” (as catch line on tablet 84, Rm. 1 = BM 131656 (*AfO* 11 pl. I): DIŠ LÚ SILA *ina* GIN-šú LÚ DINGIR ÍL-*ma* IG[...]); or on the excerpt tablet Sm. 332 obv. 12 (*AfO* 18: 71, see also below text B): DIŠ SILA *ina* GIN-šú šá DINGIR *na-šú-u* IG[...]). It is therefore likely, that both incipits refer to the same tablet, which is represented by BM 33406 and Funck 3.

#### Sources

- A = Funck 3; copy by Delitzsch: *AfO* 18: 72; transliteration: Köcher, *AfO* 18: 76; Neo-Babylonian ductus.  
 B = Sm. 332 reverse; photograph: *AfO* 18: 71; CDLI P425359; transliteration: Köcher, *AfO* 18: 75–6 (obverse and reverse are mixed up); Neo-Assyrian ductus; excerpt tablet.  
 C = K. 4134; photograph: CDLI P395417; copy: AMT 65, 4; transliteration: Köcher, *AfO* 18: 75; Neo-Assyrian ductus; excerpt tablet.  
 D = BM 33406; copy: see figures 1 and 2; Late Babylonian ductus.

#### Transliteration

20	A obv. 20	DIŠ NA KASKAL DIB- <i>ma</i> GIN- <i>ak-ma</i>	<i>ka-su-ú ana</i> IGI-šú GIL NU KUR-ád ÁŠ
	B rev. 15	DIŠ NA <i>ana</i> ÁŠ-šú SILA DIB- <i>ma</i>	<i>ka-su-u ana</i> IGI-[šú] GIL
	C rev. 21	DIŠ NA <i>ana</i> Á.ÁŠ-šú SILA DIB- <i>ma</i> GIN- <i>a</i> [ <i>k-ma</i>	
...			
26	A obv. 26	DIŠ <i>ha-rim-tu<sub>4</sub> mu-suk-ka-tu<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>ana</i> IGI-šú NU KUR ÁŠ ‘UBUR <sup>1</sup> .šá TAG- <i>ma pa-šir</i>
	B rev. 18	DIŠ KAR.KID <i>mu-suk-ka-t</i> [ <i>i</i>	
	D obv. 1’	[... - <i>t</i> ] <sub>4</sub> ‘ <i>ana</i> ’ IGI-š[ <i>u</i>	
27	A obv. 27	‘DIŠ <i>ina</i> ’ SILA LA <i>a-šú-ú ana</i> IGI-šú KUR ÁŠ : NU KUR ÁŠ	
	D obv. 2’	[... ]-‘ <i>ú</i> ’ <i>ana</i> IGI-‘šú’ [	
28	A obv. 28	DIŠ <i>ina</i> SILA LA <i>ana</i> IGI-šú <i>zaq-<sup>1</sup>pat<sup>1</sup></i> NU KUR ÁŠ <i>ina</i> ĞIR-šú šá 150 <i>i-kab-ba-si-ma pa-šir</i>	
	B rev. 19	DIŠ <i>ina</i> SILA LA- <i>tú ina</i> IGI-šú <i>zaq-<sup>1</sup>pat</i>	
	D obv. 3’	[... ] <i>ana</i> IGI-šú <i>zaq-<sup>1</sup>pat<sup>1</sup></i> N[U	
29	A obv. 29	DIŠ ‘LA’ <i>ana</i> IGI-šú <i>šu-&gt;šu-&lt;šur</i> KUR ÁŠ	
	D obv. 4’	[... ] <i>ana</i> IGI-šú <i>šu-šur</i> KUR [	
30	A obv. 30	D[‘IŠ LA’ ‘ <i>ana</i> ’ [EG]IR? ĞIR-šú ŠUB- <i>ut</i> NU KUR ÁŠ LA.BI <i>ana</i> ÍD ŠUB- <i>ma pa-šir</i>	
	D obv. 5’	[... ]-šú <i>im-<sup>1</sup>qut!</i> (KUR) NU KUR ÁŠ ‘LA’.BI <i>ana</i> ÍD ŠU[B	
31	A obv. 31	[DIŠ DUG DU]G.ŠILA.BUR <i>ana</i> IGI-šú NU KUR ÁŠ <i>kur-gi-ru</i> IGI- <i>ma pa-šir</i>	
	D obv. 6’	[... ] <i>ana</i> IGI-šú NU KUR ÁŠ < <i>kur-&gt;-gi!</i> (GIL)- <i>ru</i> IGI-‘ <i>ma</i> ’ [	
32	A obv. 32	[DIŠ x x x ]x <i>ana</i> IGI-šú <i>sa-<sup>1</sup>hi-<sup>1</sup>ip</i> NU KUR ÁŠ KUR.<GAR.>RA IGI- <i>ma pa-šir</i> ]	
	D obv. 7’	[... ] <i>ana</i> IGI-šú <i>sa-<sup>1</sup>hi-<sup>1</sup>ip</i> NU KUR ÁŠ ‘KUR’.<GAR.>‘RA’[	
33	A obv. 33	[DIŠ	<i>ana</i> IGI]-šú KUR [ÁŠ]
	D obv. 8’	[	<i>ana</i> I]G[I]-‘šú’ KUR [
34	A obv. 34	[DIŠ	<i>ana</i> EGIR?-šú] <i>sa-<sup>1</sup>hi-<sup>1</sup>ip</i> NU KUR ÁŠ ‘ŠIM?’ [
	D obv. 9’	[	<i>s</i> ] <i>sa-<sup>1</sup>hi-<sup>1</sup>ip</i> NU KUR ÁŠ Š[‘M?’ IGI <i>pa-šir</i> ]
35	A obv. 35	[DIŠ	] NU KUR ÁŠ G[AZ...]
	D obv. 10’	[	Á]Š GAZ IGI- <i>ma</i> [ <i>pa-šir</i> ]
36	A obv.	(remainder is missing)	
	D obv. 11’	[DIŠ	<i>ana</i> IGI-šú...-g]i? NU KUR ÁŠ! x[... IGI <i>pa-šir</i> ]
37	D obv.	(remainder is missing)	
	D rev. 1’	[DIŠ	<i>ana</i> IGI-šú NU KUR- <i>at</i> Á]Š? <i>ana</i> x[... <i>pa-šir</i> ]
	D rev. 2’	[DIŠ	<i>ana</i> IGI-šú NU K]UR- <i>at</i> [ÁŠ]
	D rev. 3’	[DIŠ	<i>ana</i> IGI-šú ‘NU’ KUR- <i>at</i> ÁŠ <i>ú-šá-as-<sup>1</sup>...pa-šir</i> ]
	D rev. 4’	[DIŠ	<i>ana</i> I]GI-šú NU KUR ÁŠ <i>ana</i> EGIR x[... <i>pa-šir</i> ]
	D rev. 5’	[DIŠ	<i>a</i> ] <i>ana</i> IGI-šú NU KUR- <i>at</i> ÁŠ <i>bi-i</i> [ <i>t-...pa-šir</i> ]
	D rev. 6’	[DIŠ	<i>a</i> ] <i>ana</i> IGI-šú NU KUR- <i>at</i> <i>ana</i> ÍD [... <i>pa-šir</i> ]
	D rev. 7’	[DIŠ	- <i>i</i> ] <i>s-<sup>1</sup>ši ne<sup>1</sup>-e-eh</i> ù x[
	D rev. 8’	[DIŠ	] x <i>a-šib-ma</i> <i>i</i> -[
	D rev. 9’	[DIŠ	] x <i>a-šib-ma</i> <i>i</i> -[
	D rev. 10’	[DIŠ	] x <i>a-šib-<sup>1</sup>ma</i> [

D rev. 11' [DIŠ ]-r<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> A A x[  
 D rev. (remainder is missing)

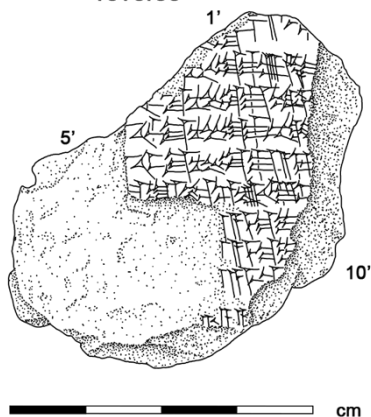
**Translation**

- 20 If a man takes the road (B, C: for a purpose) and while walking along (omitted by B) a person in fetters crosses in front of him, he will not accomplish the purpose.  
 ...  
 26 If an unclean *ḫarīmtu*-woman (crosses) in front of him, he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) he touches her breast, he is released.  
 27 If in the street a protruding sherd (lies crosswise) in front of him, he will accomplish the purpose (var.): he will not attain his purpose.  
 28 If in the street a sherd sticks out in front of him, he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) he steps (on it) with his left foot, he is released.  
 29 If a sherd lies straight (i.e. flat ?) in front of him, he will accomplish the purpose.  
 30 If a sherd falls [beh]ind (?) his foot, he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) he throws this sherd into the river, he is released.  
 31 If the pot of a p]lotter (falls) in front of him, he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) he sees a *kurgarrû*-performer, he is released.  
 32 If a...]. turns over in front of him, he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) he sees a *kurgarrû*-performer (!), he is released.  
 33 If a... (turns over in fr]on[t] of him, he will accomplish [the purpose].  
 34 If a...]. turns over [behind him (?)], he will not accomplish his purpose; if [he sees] a brew[er (?), he is released].  
 35 If a... ..in front of him], he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) he sees a fight, [he is released].  
 36 If a... ..]. [in front of him], he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) [he sees a] .[...], he is released].  
 37 (remainder is missing)
- rev. 1' [If a... ..in front of him, he will not accomplish the pur]pose(?); (if) [he... ] to [...], he is released].  
 rev. 2' [If a... ..in front of him, he will not ac]omplish [the purpose].  
 rev. 3' [If a... ..in front of h]im, he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) he ..[...], he is released].  
 rev. 4' [If a... ..in fr]ont of him, he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) [he... ] behind .[...], he is released].  
 rev. 5' [If a... ..i]n front of him, he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) [he ..] .[...], he is released].  
 rev. 6' [If a... ..i]n front of him, he will not accomplish the purpose; (if) [he... ] to the river [...], he is released]  
 rev. 7' [If... ..]. is slow and .[...].  
 rev. 8' [If... ..]. sits down and he [...].  
 rev. 9' [If... ..]. sits down and he [...].  
 rev. 10' [If... ..]. sits down and [...].  
 rev. 11' [If... ..]. sits down ...[...].  
 rev. (remainder is missing)

**BM 33406**  
obverse



**BM 33406**  
reverse



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**77) *ašar niširti* / *bīt niširti*** — In astronomical contexts the terms *ašar niširti* / *bīt niširti* and *bēlū niširti* normally give the translation of *niširti* as ‘secret’. This has been accepted for more than a century, and has not been questioned by later assyriologists working on astronomical texts (see e.g. Rochberg-Halton 1988; Hunger and Pingree 1999; Beaulieu, Frahm, Horowitz and Steele 2018; Reynolds 2019). This gives the word the same meaning as that found in colophons and literary texts, where it is often paired with *pirištu* ‘secret’; in those contexts it is undoubtedly correct. Reynolds (2019: 7) has elaborated slightly on the meaning ‘secret’ in suggesting there was a ‘doctrine of planetary places of secret knowledge’, extending the translation of *niširtu* to ‘secret knowledge’. This suggests a mystical status to the translation of the one word.

In two inscriptions of Esarhaddon concerning the rebuilding in Babylon of Esagila, the ziggurat E-temen-anki, and the walls of the citadel (Leichty 2011: nos. 104: ii.39 and 105: iii.16) the term *ašar niširti* is translated, as understood by Rochberg-Halton (1988: 54-55) and others, as ‘hypsoma’. This indicates that the concept, expressed by the later-recorded Greek term, was already known in Assyria before the fall of its empire. Reynolds (2019: 280-81; Rochberg-Halton 1988: 54) describes the constellations used in this context by Esarhaddon’s text as ‘not yet zodiacal signs’ according to the current understanding that the zodiac was a later concept.

The term *bīt niširti* occurs in identical contexts to *ašar niširti*, but has received no attention among the astronomical specialists. Since in Neo-Assyrian dialect *bēt* (logogram é, corresponding to Babylonian dialect *bīt*) replaces Babylonian *ašar* as a subordinating conjunction (von Soden 1953 §175c), we suggest that it serves the same function as a construct before the genitive *niširti*. *ašar* does not directly mean a building, but *bēt* certainly can mean a building, and should perhaps be considered as the origin of the astrological concept of ‘houses’ by later interpretation of the word in astrology. The difference between the two words in the 7th century BC may help to distinguish those late astronomical texts that come via an Assyrian textual tradition, and those that come via a Babylonian one. Whether this suggests an earlier date for a full zodiac (rather than ‘pre-zodiac’) is a question for experts in Mesopotamian astronomy and astrology. See the comment of Rochberg (2004: 205) on the ‘place’ of the planets in a Seleucid prediction for the king as a rarity compared with nativity omens.

As Reynolds has shown, the calendar text which she has published in detail concerns the defence of Babylon, specifically Esagila and for protection against usurpation, giving appropriate incantations and rituals etc. for each month of the year. In the texts of Esarhaddon referred to above, the context is purely Babylonian, concerning the Assyrian king’s restoration of Marduk’s temple, of the ziggurat, and of the walls. The inscriptions are written in Babylonian, not Assyrian dialect, and were very likely written by Babylonian scribes.

Although the word *niširtu* is commonly used to mean ‘secret’, it has another meaning by semantic extension. CAD translates as ‘fortification’ in the passages listed from VAB 4 (Langdon 1912), CDA as ‘protection, place of shelter’. The word is used without an overt astronomical context not only in those royal inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, where the phrasing is repeated, in parallel with *maššartu* ‘watch, guarding’ (Langdon 1912: nos. 14, 15, 17, 20, 21), and correctly translated by him, but also in a very similar context by Esarhaddon, in which the translation used by Leichty ‘hypsoma’ is also justifiable.

The word in astronomical contexts need not be given a mystical interpretation. In the case of Reynolds’ calendar text she has clearly indicated that it consists of a scheme for guarding the most sacred buildings in Babylon from invasion, in which a planet with a related constellation, one month each in turn, takes on the responsibility for warding danger from Esagila and for preventing usurpation. This matches the context found in royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon and of Nebuchadnezzar II.

The term *bēlū niširti* as ‘lords in charge of protection’ works with the same proposed meaning as elsewhere in astronomical contexts.

The meaning suggested here for *niširti* would indicate even more strongly than under the old translation ‘secret’, that the hypsoma had the function of guarding, protecting, and was understood as such in the 7th century BC. But the difference in usage between *ašar niširti* and *bēt niširti* may help to disentangle different strands of tradition in later periods.

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**78) Amours contrariées (bis)** — Les institutions néo-babyloniennes voyaient d'un mauvais œil le développement d'une relation amoureuse remettant en cause les principes du droit, et y mettaient en général obstacle, comme en témoigne la décision rendue contre Tābat-Issar et Kulū dans le texte *Cyr. 307*, étudié dans NABU 1994/72 («Amours contrariées»). Mais *Cyr. 307* n'est pas le seul exemple d'une intervention de ce type. Une relecture du texte CT 55 97, en prévision de sa prochaine mise en ligne sur le site *Achemenet.com* a permis de reconstituer un formulaire pratiquement identique, même si les parties concernées n'ont pas le même statut. La reconstitution proposée est la suivante:

CT 55 97

<p>[ina u<sub>4</sub>-mu<sup>mi</sup>]da-a-kil-li-in-nu</p> <p>2 [gemé šá<sup>1</sup>ND]-pap-mu a-šú šá<sup>1</sup>mu-mu [a<sup>1</sup>x x]-di it-ti<sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>.dnà-dum-qi<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup></p> <p>4 [lú qal]-la šá<sup>1</sup>re-mut a-šú šá<sup>1</sup>[NP] [t]a-ta-nam-ru u ina pi-[ir-ša-tu<sub>4</sub>]</p> <p>6 i-tab-ka-ši-ma te-e[r-du la tal-tak-nu] u a-na en é la taq-[bu-ú]</p> <p>8 [a]p-pu ù geštu<sup>1</sup>1 [a-maḥ-ḥar] [ina u<sub>4</sub>]-mu šá<sup>1</sup>ršá<sup>1</sup>1-[dnà-dum-qi-i(?)]</p> <p>10 [mi]da-a-kil-li-in-nu i-tab-ka ap-pu ù geštu<sup>1</sup>1 im-mah-har</p> <p>12 lú mu-kīn-nu<sup>1</sup>en-a-mu a-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>kaskal-kur-ú a lú-sanga sip-par<sup>ki</sup></p> <p>14 <sup>1</sup>mu-amar-utu a-šú šá<sup>1</sup>kal-ba-a a<sup>1</sup>dù-eš-dingir <sup>1</sup>dub-numun a-šú šá<sup>1</sup>utu-šeš-mu lú umbisag</p> <p>16 [i]r<sup>1</sup>en a-šú šá<sup>1</sup>en-gi a<sup>1</sup>IM-šam-me-e [zimbir]<sup>ki</sup> iti izi u<sub>4</sub> 29-kam</p> <p>18 [mu 8]-kam<sup>1</sup>kur-raš lugal e<sup>ki</sup> [lugal kur]-<sup>1</sup>kur<sup>1</sup></p>	<p>«Le jour où Aya-killīni, la servante de [...] aḥ-iddin, fils de Šum-iddin, descendant de [...].]di, aura encore été vue avec Ša-Nabû-dumqī l'esclave de Rēmūt, fils de [...], ou bien qu'il l'aura entraînée par de fausses promesses sans qu'elle y fasse obstacle, ni qu'elle (en) parle au chef de famille (= son propriétaire), elle recevra (le châtement) « nez et oreilles ».</p> <p>Le jour où Ša-Nabû-dumqī aura enlevé Aya-killīni, il recevra (le châtement) « nez et oreilles ».</p> <p>Témoins: Bêl-apla-iddin, fils de Balīḫu, descendant du Šangû-Sippar; Iddin-Marduk, fils de Kalbaia, descendant d'Eppēš-ili; Šāpik-zēri, fils de Šamaš-aḥ-iddin. Scribe: Arad-Bêl, fils de Bêl-ušallim, descendant d'Adad-šammē.</p> <p>[Sippar], le 29 du mois d'Abu [de l'an 8] de Cyrus, roi de Babylone, roi des pays.</p>
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1. *Localisation et datation* : malgré les cassures de la fin, le texte peut être localisé assez sûrement à Sippar et fait partie des archives de l'Ebabbar. La décision de justice est en effet rendue devant des témoins qui sont bien connus par ailleurs : Bêl-apla-iddin/Balīḫu/Šangû Sippar est *erib bīti* de l'Ebabbar, attesté également comme scribe du temple et devint ensuite probablement *aḫu rabû* du collège de l'Ebabbar (Bongenaar 1997, p. 387 et 448). Il est attesté à Sippar entre 575 et 530 (et peut-être jusqu'à 522). Iddin-Marduk/Kalbaia/Eppēš-ili est identifié par Bongenaar 1997, p. 387 comme un orfèvre de l'Ebabbar, cité comme témoin de textes produits par le temple entre Cyrus 6 et Cyrus 9. Enfin Šāpik-zēri/Šamaš-aḥ-iddin est identifié par M. Jursa (Jursa 1995, p. 85-116) et par A. Bongenaar (Bongenaar 1997, p. 428) comme un fermier général de l'Ebabbar (*ša muḫḫi sūti ša Šamaš*). Sa première attestation est de la fin de l'année 7 de Cyrus. Si l'on admet que c'est en tant que responsable administratif de haut rang qu'il siège comme témoin dans le texte CT 55 97, on peut émettre l'hypothèse que le texte date de la fin du mois d'Abu de l'an 8,



exactement du 28 août 531. Cette date s'accorde bien avec celle du texte Cyr. 307, qui date du 4 juillet 531. Elle concorde aussi avec les activités du scribe Arad-Bêl/Nabû-ušallim/Adad-šammē, dont M. Sandowicz a montré récemment qu'il travaillait au service de l'Ebabbar et qu'il avait rédigé un nombre important de textes de nature judiciaire produits par le temple (Sandowicz 2019, p. 66 et note 144). On peut même établir qu'Arad-Bêl était à Babylone à la fin du mois ii de l'an 8 de Cyrus (fin mai 531), d'après Cyr. 301, qu'il a ensuite exercé son activité à Sippar en juillet-août (Cyr. 307, CT 55 97), avant de repartir à Babylone à la fin du mois de septembre (Cyr. 318), puis de revenir à Sippar, où il est attesté en mars 530 (Camb. 412, Cyr. 328).

2. *Nature du texte.* Bien que rédigé sous l'autorité de hauts responsables de l'Ebabbar, le texte CT 55 97, comme Cyr. 307, traite d'une affaire privée. Il interdit à Aya-killīni (sur ce nom, cf. Hackl 2013, p. 151) de continuer à fréquenter un dénommé Ša-Nabû-dumqī. Les deux protagonistes ne sont pas attestés par ailleurs et la question se pose de leur statut social. À la différence de Tābat-Issar de Cyr. 307, Aya-killīni n'est probablement pas la fille du personnage cité à la l. 2, [...]aḥ-iddin/Šum-iddin, descendant de...]-di (peut-être lú *man-di-di*, mais ce nom d'ancêtre n'est pas attesté à Sippar). Comme on le verra, le châtement dont elle est menacée s'applique à quelqu'un qui est déjà esclave. Il paraît donc plus logique de restituer [gemé *šá*] que [dumu-mí-su *šá*], au début de cette ligne. La seconde personne mise en cause, Ša-Nabû-dumqī (peut-être une variante du plus courant «Ša-Nabû-damqā») ne peut, de même, pas être le fils de Rēmūt, (l. 4) et la copie permet de lire assez clairement: [lú *qal*]-la. Il s'agit donc d'une relation entre deux esclaves, qui appartiennent à des propriétaires différents, et qui sont soupçonnés par ces derniers de préparer une fuite commune. Comme dans le cas de Cyr. 307, c'est l'Ebabbar qui statue sur cette affaire, sans que le temple ait eu a priori de relation avec les personnes impliquées et cette situation confirme l'opinion de M. Sandowicz (Sandowicz 2019, p. 70 : « the jurisdiction of the body headed by the high priest of Sippar extended over people who were not members of the temple household and included cases that did not concern temple property or cultic issues »). On remarque enfin qu'à la différence de Cyr. 307, où seule Tābat-Issar était menacée de recevoir la marque d'esclavage, ici les deux contrevenants sont également susceptibles d'être punis : Aya-killīni, si elle continue volontairement de fréquenter Ša-Nabû-dumqī ou se laisse séduire et entraîner à son insu, et sans l'autorisation de son maître, et Ša-Nabû-dumqī, s'il enlève purement et simplement sa partenaire. Comme il est peu probable qu'il ait pu convoler avec elle chez son propre maître, Rēmūt, sans que celui-ci risque d'être accusé de vol d'esclave par le propriétaire d'Aya-killīni, on peut supposer que les deux propriétaires craignaient une fuite pure et simple des deux esclaves, mais ne tenaient pas à s'accuser mutuellement de leur disparition. Ils ont donc fait appel aux autorités de l'Ebabbar pour rendre une décision préventive.

3. *Le châtement.* Si les deux esclaves commettent le délit dont on les soupçonne, un châtement leur sera appliqué, qui est présenté de façon assez elliptique: *appu u uzne mahāru*, mot à mot : « recevoir le nez et les deux oreilles » (l. 8: [a]p-pu ù 'geštu<sup>11</sup> t[a-mah-ḥar]; l. 11 ap-pu ù geštu<sup>11</sup> im-mah-har). Dans cette dernière mention, il ne s'agit pas d'un inaccompli IV,1 mais d'une graphie fautive pour *i-mah-ḥar*. L'emploi du passif supposerait que le nez et les oreilles soient le sujet du verbe, et celui-ci devrait alors être au pluriel ; de plus, la formule dans son ensemble n'aurait pas grand sens. Le texte n'est pas exempt par ailleurs de graphies irrégulières : à la l. 5, par exemple, on attendrait *tattanamru* au lieu de *tatanamru*. On envisage évidemment que les deux fautifs « reçoivent » un châtement, et celui-ci est exprimé de façon elliptique mais vraisemblable comme une mutilation : il faut donc sous entendre le verbe *nakāsu* dans l'exposé de la punition. Ce châtement est d'ailleurs en partie conforme à ce que prévoit le § 282 du Code d'Hammurabi : « Si un esclave a dit à son propriétaire “tu n'es pas mon propriétaire”, son propriétaire prouvera qu'il s'agit bien de son esclave et lui coupera l'oreille ». La jurisprudence du 1<sup>er</sup> millénaire a ajouté le nez, peut-être sous l'influence de la législation médio-assyrienne qui prévoit de couper nez et oreilles aux esclaves receleurs des biens volés à leur maître (cf. CAD U, p. 282 b pour les différents cas de mutilation des oreilles et du nez).

Comme dans le texte Cyr. 307 qui réaffirmait les droits du père de famille sur sa fille, ceux du propriétaire sur son esclave, quel qu'en soit le genre, restaient strictement rappelés en Babylonie durant le « long sixième siècle », en s'appuyant sur la législation hammurabienne. On ne sait cependant pas si ce fut suffisant pour contrecarrer les projets d'Aya-killīni et de Ša-Nabû-damqī.

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**79) A new spelling for the name of Laodice in cuneiform: a matter of literacy?** — A large number of Greek names are recorded in cuneiform sources,<sup>1)</sup> less than a dozen of which refer to women. Among them is that of Laodice, identifying either the wife of Antiochus II or the daughter of Antiochus III. The fame of the former in Babylonian documents is mainly connected to the endowment of royal land she made for the citizens of Babylon, Borsippa and Kutha, recorded in the so-called Lehmann text.<sup>2)</sup>

While the name of the second Laodice is spelled in cuneiform as <sup>f</sup>lu-di-qé-e,<sup>3)</sup> more variability characterizes the writings of the name of the Laodice married to Antiochus II, who is recorded in documents written between 245 and 140 BC as <sup>f</sup>lam-ú-di-qé-'e, <sup>f</sup>lu-da-qé-e or <sup>f</sup>lu-di-qé-e.<sup>4)</sup>

The recent publication of a tablet in the British Museum recording a duplicate copy of the so-called Lehmann text bears witness to the existence of a further spelling of the same name in addition to those collected by Monerie, i.e., <sup>f</sup>la-ú-di-qé-e.<sup>5)</sup>

A comparison of the different spellings for the name and the sources in which they occur appears in the Table.

spelling	Texts	Date BC	nr of signs
<sup>f</sup> lam-ú-di-qé-'e	AD 2 -245B, obv. 5'	245	5
<sup>f</sup> la-ú-di-qé-e	CTMMA 148B: iii 1	lost	5
<sup>f</sup> lu-da-qé-e	CTMMA 148A: obv. 7 <i>et passim</i>	173/172	4
<sup>f</sup> lu-di-qé-e	AD 2 -247B, obv. 4' AD 3 -140A, u.e. 4 AD 2 -181, rev. 7	247 140 181	4

Variability in transcribing Greek names into Babylonian comes as no surprise in cuneiform sources from the Hellenistic period. Writing Greek names in Babylonian, the scribes were confronted with a number of difficulties. First, the Babylonian language was written using a non-alphabetic system, lacking some of the necessary phonemes (e.g., the vowel *o*, which had to be replaced with a different phoneme, usually *u*). Second, at a time when the pronunciation of Greek no longer exactly corresponded to its written form, they apparently relied more frequently on the pronunciation of the name than on reproducing its written form in the original language.<sup>6)</sup> In this process individual preference played a major part, and the scribes could opt for a different subset of signs to render the same sequence of phonemes, according to how they heard them pronounced, which resulted in different outcomes for the same entry. The origins of the scribes may also have played a part in giving prominence to particular phonetic phenomena (such as assimilation),<sup>7)</sup> and different kinds of document might have required of the scribes varying degrees of accuracy, depending on the audience for which the texts were composed.

However, a certain trend towards normalizing the spellings is observable. This applied all the more quickly with more common names, especially those of the kings (which were usually written by the scribes in the date-formulas of the documents they compiled on an everyday basis).<sup>8)</sup>

It is difficult to detect a clear process of normalization in the spellings of the name of Laodice. First, because the variability applies to a small number of occurrences, and second, because the different spellings

are distributed over an uneven period of time, and among different kinds of sources. More likely the different spellings show the preference for specific solutions by the scribes who produced them.

Indeed, as one can see in the Table (above) the documents record two different 4-sign writings of the name (<sup>f</sup>*lu-di-qé-e* and <sup>f</sup>*lu-da-qé-e*); and two 5-sign writings (<sup>f</sup>*la-ú-di-qé-e*; <sup>f</sup>*lam-ú-di-qé-'e*). The second 5-sign spelling (<sup>f</sup>*lam-ú-di-qé-'e*), occurring once in the Diary for 245 BC, may reflect the attempt by the scribe to reproduce in Babylonian the Greek pronunciation of the name (with intervocalic *m* for *w*, typical of the Late-Babylonian period, *u* for missing *o*, and the final aleph sign as a device to render the actual pronunciation of the Greek  $\eta$ ).<sup>9)</sup> Instead, both the shortest spellings merge the original Greek vowel cluster *ao* in a single vowel *u* (according to the general trend to simplify vowel clusters into one vowel only, but privileging the second vowel instead of the first, which was more common; original *o* is then converted into *u* since no *o* phoneme existed in Babylonian).

All the spellings fully render the long vowel  $\eta$  for the Greek feminine ending either by repeating the vowel *e* in two following syllables (a device frequently used to render the ending of Greek feminine names into Babylonian, as it was facilitated by the similarity of the composition of these names with the Babylonian ones), or using an aleph sign for the purpose.<sup>10)</sup>

The second syllable of one of the 4-sign forms (<sup>f</sup>*lu-da-qé-e*), conversely, features a vowel *a* (*-da-*), instead of *i* (*-di-*), for Greek *ι*. The rendering of Greek *iota* with *i* in Babylonian is usually consistent (as underlined by the fact that Monerie arranges our example of *-da-* instead of *-di-* among the few exceptions to the general rule). That a vowel *i* was expected to express the phoneme seems, on the other hand, confirmed by the use of the syllable *-di* in the same position in all the remaining examples of spellings of the name (<sup>f</sup>*lu-di-qé-e*, and <sup>f</sup>*lam-ú-di-qé-'e*, and <sup>f</sup>*la-ú-di-qé-e*).<sup>11)</sup>

The presence of the syllable *-da-* in the Lehmann text (CTMMA 4 148A) looks therefore odd, and the more so if one compares this spelling with that of its duplicate tablet in the British Museum, (CTMMA 4 148B =BM 47926), which conversely exhibits a transliteration of the Greek name into Babylonian perfectly recalling its original written form,<sup>12)</sup> i.e., <sup>f</sup>*la-ú-di-qé-e* for  $\Lambda\alpha\omicron\delta\iota\chi\eta$ .

According to its colophon, the Lehmann text (CTMMA 4 148A) was apparently copied by an apprentice scribe for the personal collection of an older scribe, according to the Babylonian school tradition:<sup>13)</sup> it is arranged in one column only and is the work of a young scribe; this is especially clear if one compares it to the other copy of the document, CTMMA 148B, whose compiler is unknown but which (as one can argue from what remains of it) was clearly accurately arranged in columns. It would thus be tempting to assign it to the hand of a more advanced scribe than the other.

In light of this, it is possible to interpret the two spellings of the name of Laodice in these documents as clues to different degrees of expertise of the scribes who wrote them. The form <sup>f</sup>*lu-da-qé-e* of CTMMA 148A would represent the inaccuracy of an unexperienced scribe (or of a scribe who was not much familiar with the Greek language);<sup>14)</sup> while the spelling <sup>f</sup>*la-ú-di-qé-e*, perfect rendering into Babylonian of the written form of the Greek name, conceivably speaks in favor of the work of an experienced scribe.

We have no idea how the scribes operated in order to produce their documents, *i.e.* if by dictation or reading from the original: it thus remains to be ascertained whether the second scribe was so well versed in Greek (as well as in Babylonian) as to be able to make the most faithful transcription of the Greek name into cuneiform (whatever original form of the name he may have heard) or, conversely, if his expertise consisted in the ability to reproduce (making no mistakes) the ‘difficult Greek’ name that he found on the master document. In this second case, the form <sup>f</sup>*la-ú-di-qé-e* would have been already in the document the scribe copied from, *i.e.* on the official stele erected to issue/celebrate the endowment, conceivably representing the official spelling of the queen’s name (that we might expect derived directly from some original Greek document related to the land grant).

Be that as it may, spelling variation in the name of Laodice is likely to reflect the fact that although the Babylonian scribes had some familiarity with the queen’s role in the episode of the royal grant, they did not feel so much at ease with her name as to fully overcome the difficulties of transliterating it into cuneiform. Differently from the king’s, the queen’s name was not part of the date formulas of the documents and the scribes never became acquainted with the praxis of writing it on an everyday basis, so as to establish

a normalized spelling for it. Instead, they had to resort to their scribal abilities and cultural background in order to solve the riddle of writing this odd name, and this is reflected in the outcomes of their work.

Indeed, the queen's renown in Babylonia apparently did not reach far beyond her connection to the endowment: her name is, for example, absent, to the best of our knowledge, from the onomastic repertoire of Greek female names from Babylonia (i.e., no 'ordinary' woman with a Greek name was called Laodice in cuneiform sources).<sup>15)</sup>

#### Notes

1. Monerie 2014.
2. Documented by CTMMA 4, 148A and 148B. See Van der Spek and Wallenfels in Spar – Jursa 2014, pp. 213-227. On the queen and her role in the episode as recorded in cuneiform sources, see Corò, forthcoming.
3. The occurrence appears in AD2 -181: see Monerie 2014, s.v. Laodice<sup>2</sup>, pp. 149-150. On the daughter of Antiochus III and the debated question of her marriages with her brothers, see in particular Rougemont 2012, pp. 64-65.
4. For the occurrences see Monerie 2014, pp. 149-150. See also pp. 47, 53 and 59 for specific observations on the rendering of different Greek letters. The spelling of the name of Laodice in AD2 -245B obv. 5' is recorded by Monerie, in accordance with the editors of the text, as <sup>l</sup>lam-ú-dì-qé-'a-a . It is however likely that the last vowel does not belong to the queen's name and the spelling here is <sup>l</sup>lam-ú-dì-qé-'e, as already suggested by Del Monte 1997, p. 43, fn. 87, who reads it <sup>l</sup>lam-ú-di-ki-'i. I wish to thank Bert Van der Spek for drawing my attention to this point.
5. The tablet in the British Museum is published by Van der Spek and Wallenfels as CTMMA 4, 148B; the publication also includes a re-edition of the Lehmann text (CTMMA IV, 148A). See Spar – Jursa 2014, pp. 213-227.
6. Monerie 2014, p. 36.
7. Monerie 2017, p. 37.
8. Monerie 2014, pp. 37-41.
9. For similar renderings of the vowels of Aramaic in Babylonian see Geller 2006 (I wish to thank M. Jursa for drawing my attention to this reference). According to Monerie 2014: pp. 46-47, the use of intervocalic *m* for *w* betrays here the presence of an original Greek *digamma* between the two vowels, which disappeared from Greek writing back in the 6th century BC.
10. According to Monerie, p. 59.
11. Pace Lehmann 1892: pp. 331-332, who thinks that the use of the syllable *da* instead of *di* in this spelling would demonstrate the shift of short *a* to short *i* in Late Babylonian.
12. On the inconsistencies between these two documents see Van der Spek/Wallenfels in CTMMA fn. 14; in general, on the small differences between duplicate copies of the same documents in Akkadian literature, see Worthington, Principles, pp. 6-19.
13. On the scribe who wrote the text and the context of its composition, see Van der Spek and Wallenfels in Spar-Jursa 2014, pp. 224 and p. 226, fn. 3.
14. If this interpretation is correct, it is also conceivable that the spelling <sup>m</sup>se-lu for <sup>m</sup>se-lu-ku to identify the king in the BM tablet, an abbreviation typical of the Diaries, betrays the high-level scholarly background of the scribe of CTMMA 148B.
15. Royal names (especially Seleucid and Argead) represent about 10% of the Greek names in the onomastic repertoire of Babylonia in the Hellenistic period, and the name of king Antiochus is echoed in that of Antiochis, one of the few women with a Greek name whose deeds have come down to us: Monerie 2014, 75.

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**80) Two Fake Old Persian Tablets (Malformed, incomplete copies of DSe and DHa/DPh) — With great thanks to Rüdiger Schmitt.**

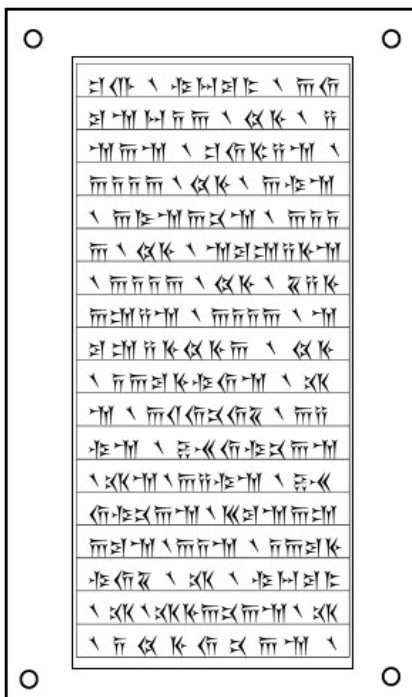
**Introduction**

Schmitt's book "Pseudo-altpersische Inschriften: Inschriftenfälschungen und moderne Nachbildungen in altpersischer Keilschrift" which is a great investigation on fake Old Persian tablets has divided the fake ones into three categories, Inauthentic Achaemenid inscriptions, Forgeries and imitations.

In the section 3 of this famous book there are discussions on modern forgeries and these two we are going to introduce are examples of modern forgeries (Skjærvø 2008, 217-8).

Some months ago a picture of a gold tablet and a stone piece with cuneiform on were sent to me by a friend from Khuzestan. The place they were sent from would take anybody's attention. But their shapes were quite dissimilar to the genuine existing ones. Since the tablets are not available, nothing can be said about their exact size.

**Gold Tablet** Size: ? × ? × ? – Material: Gold – Language: Old Persian



The cuneiform is carved on a very thin piece of gold sheet which its traces can be seen on its back. The tablet has eighteen lines carved in a two-line box with four holes on the four corners of the tablet and two ruptures can be seen, one in the third line and another one covering line fifteen and sixteen.

The graphemes are badly carved and sometimes with illogical space between them.

This is an incomplete copy of DSe. The Old Persian version of this inscription is not preserved as complete and has been restored based on the Akkadian version which is almost complete. DSe is in three languages which the OP version consists of 11 broken fragments (Schmitt 2009:14 Kent 1953: 110)

The photo was also sent to Professor Rüdiger Schmitt and he also commented that since it breaks off in § 2 in the midst of the self-predication of the Great King and ending just at this point is without any parallel therefore it is entirely impossible. Moreover, a tablet with four holes in the corners likewise is unparalleled. And a further reason is that the characters themselves are engraved quite carelessly. This does not agree with the value of a gold tablet.

Since the text of DSe is nowhere preserved completely, but is composed only from a number of fragments (on various materials), the forger must have used some modern edition. Schmitt believes that the forger must have used Ralph Norman Sharp's.<sup>1), 2)</sup>

**§ 1**

1. b-g : v-z-r-k : a-u-
2. r-m-z-d-a : h-y : i-
3. m-a-m : b-u-m<sup>l</sup>-i-m :
4. a-d-d-a : h-y : a-v-m
5. : a-s-m-a-n-m : a-d-d-
6. a : h-y : m-r-t-i-y-m
7. : a-d-d-a : h-y : š-i-y-
8. a-t-i-m : a-d-d-a : m-
9. r-t-i-y-h-y-a : h-y
10. : d-a-r-y-v-u-m : XŠ-
11. m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-u-š : a-i-
12. v-m : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-n-a-m
13. : XŠ-m : a-i-v-m : p-r<sup>u</sup>-

14. u-v-n-a-m : f-r-m-a-t-  
15. a-r-m :

§ 2

15. a-d-m : d-a-r-y-  
16. v-u-š : XŠ : v-z-r-k  
17. : XŠ : XŠ-y-a-n-a-m : XŠ  
18. : d-h-y-u-n-a-m :

**Transcription**

§ 1 <sup>1</sup>baga vazrka A.u<sup>2</sup>ramazdā haya i<sup>3</sup>mām būmīm <sup>4</sup>adadā haya avam <sup>5</sup>asmānam adad<sup>6</sup>ā haya martiyam <sup>7</sup>adadā haya šiy<sup>8</sup>ātīm adadā ma<sup>9</sup>rtyahyā haya <sup>10</sup>Dārayava.um xšāyaθiya<sup>11</sup>m akunauš a<sup>12</sup>vam parūnām <sup>13</sup>xšāyaθiyam aivam par<sup>14</sup>ūnām framāt<sup>15</sup>āram.

§ 2 adam Dāraya<sup>16</sup>va.uš xšāyaθiya vazrka <sup>17</sup>xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya <sup>18</sup>dahyūnām

**Translation**

§ 1 <sup>1-15</sup> A great god (is) Ahuramazda, who set in place this earth, who set in place yonder sky, who set man in place, who set in place happiness for man, who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many.

§ 2 <sup>15-18</sup> I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of lands... (Ibid, 98)

**Stone Piece Size:** ? × ? × ? – **Material:** Stone – **Language:** Old Persian

§ 1

1. d-a-r-y-v-u-š  
2.: XŠ : v-z-r-k :  
3. XŠ : XŠ-y-n-a-  
4. m : n<sup>1</sup> : d-h-y-u-  
5. v-n-a-m : v<sup>1</sup>-i-  
6. š-t-a-s<sup>1</sup>-p-h-  
7. y-a : p-u-d<sup>1</sup> :  
8. h-<sup>1</sup>x-a-m-n-[i-š-i-y :]



**Transcription**

§ 1 <sup>1</sup>Dārayava.uš <sup>2</sup>xšāyaθiya vazrka <sup>3</sup>xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānā  
<sup>4</sup>m n<sup>1</sup> dahyū<sup>5</sup>nām Vi<sup>6</sup>štās<sup>7</sup>pah<sup>7</sup>yā puda<sup>8</sup>Ha<sup>8</sup>xāmanišiya.

**Translation**

§ 1 <sup>1-8</sup> Darius the great king, king of kings, king of lands, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid (Ibid, 124-5)

This Stone piece is another incomplete, poor and unfaithful copy of DPh or DHa. The characters are engraved quite unprofessionally and unbeautifully. In line 4 the forger has used an *n* 𐎠 instead of XŠ 𐎠𐎡 which seems to be because of similarity between the two graphemes. In line 6 the forger has used an ambiguous character 𐎠𐎡 instead of *s* 𐎠𐎡. In line 7 the word must be *p-u-ç* (*puça*) which the grapheme *d* 𐎠 has wrongly been used for *ç* 𐎠𐎡 which again may be because of similarity and profound ignorance. In line 8 the forger has inserted an extra and ambiguous character 𐎠 between *h* 𐎠𐎡 and *x* 𐎠𐎡 which may be because of being incognizant of Old Persian graphemes and phoneme inventory and in addition to that, the scribe has left the line broken.

**Notes**

1. Personal correspondence with R. Schmitt.
2. Sharp, R. N. (1973). The inscriptions in Old Persian cuneiform of the Achaemenian emperors . Central Council of the Celebration of the 25th Century of the Foundation of the Iranian Empire.

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SCHMITT, R. (2009). Die altpersischen Inschriften der Achaimeniden: Editio minor mit deutscher Übersetzung. Reichert Verlag.

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Figure 1: The fake Old Persian Gold Tablet 1



Figure 2: The fake Old Persian Stone Piece 2

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**81) Corrigenda to Schmidtchen, E., *Simplicia and Unpublished Fragments of Alamdimmû from the British Museum*, in: Panayotov, S. V./Vacín, L. (eds.) *Mesopotamian Medicin and Magic. Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller*, AMD 14, 2018, Leiden/Boston: Brill, p. 462-500** — I am much obliged to Henry Stadhouders for spotting some unfortunate mistakes of mine within the discussed paper as well as for sharing his corrections with me. These and some minor corrections from my part are presented below.

**p. 470 and 489:** K. 7198 instead of K. 7189.

**p. 477** (K. 8920) l. 8': read *maš-re-e* instead of *par-re-e*.

**p. 480f.** (K. 7958) l. 5': restore most likely <sup>1</sup>*uš-te<sup>1</sup>-(né)-es-ši* after É.<sup>1</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>.

**ibid.** l. 7': read <sup>1</sup>GEN<sub>7</sub> *su-ru-um-mi* “like *s.*-intestines”, which may refer to the coiled condition or appearance of the surface of the respective body part, maybe the tongue.

**ibid.** l. 8': SIG<sub>7</sub> *ma-SI-at* might be either a defective or playful writing for *urqa malât* “is full (of yellow)”. The following qar-sign might belong to *qar-[rad]* “(he is) a warrior”.

**ibid.** l. 10': The interpretation as *pa-ris* (*pāris*) “he is resolute; the one who decides” or similar seems not out of place.

**ibid.** l. 11': restore *ra-i-<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>* [TUK(-*š*)].

**ibid.** l. 12': much likely to be read NINDA *at-ra* {x} [GU<sub>7</sub>] or together with an unmarked variant like NINDA *at-ra* <> <sup>1</sup>NINDA<sup>1</sup> [*nap-šá<sup>2</sup>* GU<sub>7</sub>] or similar.

**ibid.** l. 15': read possibly *an-ni šil-la-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>* “punishment for insolence”.

**p. 481**, l. 11': translate “he will lack food” for NINDA *i-ber-ri*.

**ibid.** l. 16': the first apodosis has probably to be translated “he consumes bread/food without exertion”.

**p. 484** (K. 7956) ll. 13', 15', 17': read DIŠ MIN 2 MIN at the beginning.

**p. 487** (K. 17899) ll. 1', 6': read DU<sub>11</sub> instead of KA.

**ibid.** l. 11': restore [*i-šal-lim*] at the end of the line, following the new fragment BM 39172 presented on p. 217f. in Fincke, J., *Of tirkū, Moles and Other Spots on the Skin according to the Physiognomic Omens*, in: *Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller*, AMD 14, 2018, p. 203-231.

**p. 493** (first line): K. 10812 instead of K. 108112.

**ibid.** (K. 8625) l. 7': read *ap-pa-<sup>1</sup>rat<sup>1</sup>* “it (the hair) is tufted”.

**ibid.** l. 9': read *ku-<sup>1</sup>ús-sa<sup>1</sup>-[at]* instead of *ku-<sup>1</sup>us-sa<sup>1</sup>-[at...]*.

**p. 499** (K. 5651) l. 6': read <sup>1</sup>*ku<sup>1</sup>-um-mu-da* which is in accordance with the traces given in SpTU IV, 149 ii 19 (emended in Böck, B., *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie*, AfO Beiheft 27, 2000, p. 158 l. 126 to *š<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-um-mu-<sup>1</sup>ta*). See similar also TBP 28:7' (referring to the fingers) and TBP 11c vi 23' (cf. Böck, B., *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie*, AfO Beiheft 27, 2000, p. 156 l. 107 referring to the hands). For the possible meaning here as “woven/interwoven (lines of the hand?)” see CAD K, 108.

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**82) Corrigenda to Foster, *Sargonic and Pre-Sargonic Cuneiform Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (2020)** — p. 4 third paragraph should read: No tablet at Yale has so far been securely identified as having come from Abu Habba (Sippar), though No. 212 (NBC 10207), which may have been part of the “Quradum Archive,” seems a strong possibility. *Texts*: read with copies against indices, 129.8 inim šeš-ni-ta “at the word of his brother,” 131 ii 2 šeš-ni “his brother,” 198.2 Šeš-kur-ra.

Benjamin R. FOSTER

**83) Corrections concerning two publications resulting from the project ‘The Trojan Catalogue (Hom. Il. 2.816-877) and the Peoples of western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age’** — We would like to add the following information to each of the two publications listed below: ‘The paper is written as a part of project “The Trojan Catalogue (Hom. Il. 2.816-877) and the Peoples of western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. A Study of the Homeric Text in the Light of Hittite Sources and Classical Geographical Tradition” (2015/19/P/HS3/04161), which has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 665778 with the National Science Centre, Poland (POLONEZ 1, 2016-2018)’. The two publications in question are:



- 1) Taracha, P. Approaches to Mycenaean-Hittite Interconnections in the Late Bronze Age, in: Ł. Niesiołowski-Spanò – M. Węcowski (eds.), *Change, Continuity, and Connectivity. North-Eastern Mediterranean at the Turn of the Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018: 8-22.
- 2) Taracha, P. On the Nature of Hittite Diplomatic Relations with Mycenaean Rulers, in: R. Koliński – J. Prostko-Prostyński – W. Tyborowski (eds.), *Awilum ša la mašê – man who cannot be forgotten. Studies in Honor of Prof. Stefan Zawadzki Presented on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (AOAT 463), Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2018: 215-230.

We also would like to use the opportunity to draw your attention to the project internet site at which a description of its principal results, as well as the links to all resulting publications may be found: [http://orient.uw.edu.pl/project-trojan-catalogue-oreshko\\_rostislav/](http://orient.uw.edu.pl/project-trojan-catalogue-oreshko_rostislav/). For further information please feel free to contact the principal investigator of the project (R. Oreshko).

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**84) A note to our colleagues** — The editorial board of the *Occasional Publications of the Museum of the Sealand* wishes to advise and remind colleagues that work published in OPMS is for satirical purposes only, including the past titles “Making Sumer Great Again” and “Already Tired of Winning: New Akkadian Prophecy Texts.” While we remain committed to the important purpose of amusing our colleagues, we do not wish for them to think that its articles or book reviews contain even one ounce of truth. And so we urge all to take notice of (and enjoy) the fictitious, fabricated, and facetious nature of these and future works.

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