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### NOTES BRÈVES

#### 100) A Partly Published Contract from Fara —

##### 1. Text, transliteration and translation

Recently B. Foster (2020) published 292 administrative texts hosted in Yale Babylonian Collections. They stem from Isin, Nippur, Šuruppak, Umma, Zabalam, Girsu, Kiš, Ešnunna, and from sites of uncertain or unknown identification. The present writer got interested in a contract concerning a house in Šuruppak, previously published in transliteration and copy. Due to the relevance of the Fara archive for our understanding of third millennium social and economic history, I thought it was worth completing the publication of this intriguing document with translation, comments, and photo. Thanks are due to both B. Foster, who kindly provided me with his own material, as well as to K. Wagensohn, Curatorial Affiliate of the Collection, for the high quality photo.

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- obv. i 1) [x e<sub>2</sub>] sar  
 2) [ ] ku<sub>3</sub> ma-na  
 3) [s]a<sub>10</sub>-bi  
 4) 10 ku<sub>3</sub> gin<sub>2</sub> (erasure by smoothing)  
 5) 1 bar-dul<sub>5</sub> (erasure by smoothing, large vertical wedge after dul<sub>5</sub>)  
 6) 2 ku<sub>3</sub> gin<sub>2</sub> x kaš  
 7) [ni<sub>3</sub>]-ba  
 8) [er]idu-[k]i-dug  
 9) [ ]-lu<sub>2</sub>
- ii 1) [ ]'x<sup>1</sup>  
 2) nin<sub>x</sub>(SAL.EŠ<sub>2</sub>)-ni  
 3) e<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>'e<sup>1</sup>-la<sub>2</sub>  
 4) inim-bi til  
 5) 1 lugal-me-lam<sub>2</sub>- sud  
 6) dam an-na  
 7) 1 mes-pa<sub>3</sub> maškim  
 8) 1 ša-ga-ni-dug<sub>3</sub>

- iii 1) [ ]  
 2) 1 e<sub>2</sub>-nam-zu-še<sub>3</sub>  
 3) 1 e<sub>2</sub>-zi  
 4) 1 [e]n-ni-uri<sub>3</sub>-x-zu  
 5) 1 ur<sub>2</sub>-mud  
 6) 1 me-dingir-zu-da  
 7) 1 lugal-igi-2-mu  
 8) 1 ur-[ ]

- iv 1) 1 [ ]  
 2) 1 gurun<sup>1</sup>-ne<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>3</sub>?  
 3) 1 AN.BU  
 4) 1 ama-sumun<sub>2</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>  
 5) 1 ama-eš<sub>3</sub>  
 6) 1 ama-LAK786  
 7) um-mi-a  
 8) 1 du-du  
 9) dub-sar

- v 1) [ ]-e<sub>2</sub>?  
 2) dub-sar  
 3) 1 lugal-en<sub>6</sub>-tar-sud<sub>4</sub>  
 4) 1 AMAR.U[D?].AŠ.LAK535  
 5) nimgir  
 6) lu<sub>2</sub>-ki-inim-ma  
 7) (erasure by smoothing)

rev. (uninscribed)

“[A house of [ x] sar, its purchase price is [x] minas of silver, 10 shekels of silver, 1 mantle, 2 shekels of silver and x jars of beer: gift of Eridu-kidug. ...., Ninni has weighed (the silver) for the house. The matter is over. 1 Lugal-melamsud, wife of Anna, Mespa is the responsible, 1 Šagani-dug, 1 Enamzuše, 1 E-zi, 1 Enni-uri-x-zu, 1 Ur-mud, 1 Me-dingir-zuda, 1 Lugal-igimu, 1 Ur-x, 1 ..., 1 PN, 1 PN, 1 Ama-sumun-ku, 1 Ama-eš, 1 PN, 1 Amabarasi, the expert, 1 Dudu, the scribe, ...the scribe, 1 Lugal-entar-sud, 1 PN, the messenger: they are the witnesses.”

### Commentary

obv. 1 4: traces of vertical wedges still visible at the end of the case.

obv. i 6: the sign BI at the end of the line is clear on photo.

obv. ii 1: first sign partly damaged. The graphemic compound SAL.EŠ<sub>2</sub> has also value egir<sub>3</sub> = Akk. *rubātum* “princess” (here as element of a personal name?).

## 2. Comparison of this text with other Fara contracts

All ED IIIa contracts invariably stem from Fara, and they concern fields and houses. According to Wilcke (2007: 17), the Fara documents “mark the beginning of an era with a new quality of communication”. The documents are structured as follows:

- 1) Items to be sold (fields or houses)
- 2) Main price (ni<sub>3</sub>-šam<sub>2</sub>) in silver or copper, sometimes in barley
- 3) Additional price (ni<sub>3</sub>-diri)
- 4) Gift (ni<sub>3</sub>-ba)
- 5) Items for the sellers (lu<sub>2</sub>-šam<sub>2</sub>-ku<sub>2</sub>)



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- 6) Items for other related sellers
- 7) List of witnesses (lu<sub>2</sub>-ki-inim-ma)
- 8) Items for institutional officials
- 9) Buyer's name
- 10) Name of the bala-official

Not all sections need to appear in a given contract. For instance, in WF 30, TŠ 66, WF 36 the ni<sub>3</sub>-ba is absent; in WF 33 the items for related sellers are absent; in WF 31, 38, 39, 40 the additional price, the items for other sellers and the name of the bala-official are absent. The names of the witnesses are however present in all contracts.

In the contract edited here, additional price, gift, items to other sellers, items to institutional officials are missing, as well as the name of the bala-official. It is however likely that some of these entries were originally present in the contract, but they are now lost due to the fact that the tablet is partly broken or illegible.

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**101) Gilgameš in Abū Šalābīḥ?** — Insbesondere aufgrund der prominenten Stellung von Kulaba vermutete Douglas Frayne, dass die Zame-Hymnen (ZH) eine ehemalige Hegemonie von Uruk/Kulaba zum Ausdruck bringen und dass an einer beschädigten Stelle wahrscheinlich auch Gilgameš genannt wird (Frayne 2009, 55). Dies lässt sich auch hier weder sicher beweisen noch widerlegen. Trotzdem lohnt es sich der Sache nachzugehen. Es wird sich dabei herausstellen, dass Fraynes These durchaus diskutierbar ist.

Frayne stützt sich auf die Umschrift von ZH 21-22 in Biggs 1974, 46 als: giš [b]il [x x]. Biggs Quelle ist A (OIP 99, 266). Es gibt nur ein unscharfes Foto. Der Umstand, dass [x x] bereits zur nächsten Zeile gehört, scheint Fraynes Vermutung zu widersprechen, denn ein Name wird sonst nicht auf zwei Kästchen verteilt. Zwar schreibt E aus Platzmangel (so bereits Krebernik 1994, 154) nu-nam-nir mit nu in ZH 6 und nam-nir in ZH 7, aber dies ist eine Ausnahme. Eine Ergänzung [(-ga)-mes] scheidet ohnehin aus. In der Umschrift wurden zwei Zeilen zu viel angenommen. Die für C, E als 22-23 gezählten Zeilen gehören zu ZH 20-21. Dies ergibt eine genaue Zählung für A ebenso wie ein Vergleich der Reste von C und E mit A und untereinander:

- 20) A: en nun tu-tu  
C: [x x] tu-[tu]
- 21) A: [d] in[anna] ĜEŠ.NEX<sup>r</sup>PA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>  
C: [...] <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup>  
E: <sup>d</sup>inanna NEX<sup>r</sup>PA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>
- 22) A: [...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>  
C: [...B]AD  
E: X BAD

In Tell Fāra, SF 1 xvii 25 wird der Name <sup>d</sup>ĜEŠ.NE.PA<sub>4</sub><sup>ga</sup>-mes geschrieben. In Abū Šalābīḥ tritt erstmals NEXPA<sub>4</sub> auf und dieses fällt dann mit dem Zeichen GIBIL zusammen, das darauf in den graphischen Realisationen NEXPA<sub>4</sub>, NEXKASKAL, NE-šessig erscheint (Keetman 2017). Nach CUSAS 12, 9, 42 (mittelbabylonisch) hat NE-šessig auch die Glosse gi-il. Die Kombinationen NE.ĜEŠ.GA, GIBIL.ĜEŠ.GA lassen sich als <sup>bil/bil</sup>bilga<sub>x</sub><sup>ga</sup> deuten (Keetman 2014, 33; George 2003, 78). Mit der neuen Glosse kommt man zu <sup>gil</sup>gilga<sub>x</sub><sup>ga</sup> also ĜEŠ = gilga<sub>x</sub>. Cf. YOS 10, 42, 2: a-mu-ut <sup>d</sup>ge-el-ga „Omen des Gilga(meš)“. Daraus folgt, dass man <sup>d</sup>ĜEŠ in den altbabylonischen Gilgameš-Erzählungen nicht nur als <sup>d</sup>gilgameš<sub>x</sub>, sondern auch als <sup>d</sup>gelga<sub>x</sub> interpretieren kann. George vermutet aufgrund des Namens <sup>d</sup>ĜEŠ.BÍL(-ga) (George 2003, 78), dass die Kurzform schon in Ur III belegt ist.

ĜEŠ in A ist sicher. Die Variante ohne ĜEŠ in E kann ein Schreibfehler sein. Sie könnte aber auch eine Schreibvariante in Abū Šalābīh sein. Siehe die Schreibung des Gottes Pabilsaĝ in Tell Fāra, SF 1 ix 4: <sup>d</sup>pa-saĝ-NE.ĜEŠ.PA<sub>4</sub> aber <sup>d</sup>pa-PA<sub>4</sub>.NE-saĝ bzw. <sup>d</sup>NExPA<sub>4</sub>-pa-saĝ in OIP 99, 83 v 5' bzw. 84 iii' 3'.

Die Auslassung von –mes muss keine jüngere Erscheinung sein. Altbabylonisch und wahrscheinlich in Ur III existierten beide Formen gleichzeitig. Auch die längere Form ist wahrscheinlich bereits eine Kurzform eines durch pabilga<sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-bil</sup>-mes-utu-pà<sup>1</sup>-da „der Vorfahre ist ein Prinz(?), den Utu berufen hat“ UET 2, 281 ii 5 (Keetman 2020, 353, Krebernik 2002, 15) belegten Namenstyps. Kürzere und längere Namen können bei der gleichen Person bereits zu Lebzeiten gebraucht werden. Cf. ED IIIb Lagaš: lugal-an-da(-nu-ĥuĝ-ĝá).<sup>1)</sup>

Zu den Indizien für Gilga(meš) gehört, dass sich die Hymne auf Kulaba bezieht. Auch dass Kulaba gleich nach Uruk genannt wird und insgesamt viermal in den ZH, passt zu der Erwähnung eines bedeutenden, mit Kulaba verbundenen Namens. Gilgameš und Kulaba werden, wenn es kein Zufall ist, dass unter Umgehung der häufigsten Anordnung nach identischen Zeichen vor Gilgameš in SF 1 xiii 6' <sup>d</sup>silā-gaba-kul-aba<sub>4</sub> steht, schon in Tell Fāra assoziiert.<sup>2)</sup> Allerdings steht der en kul-aba<sub>4</sub> in OIP 99, 329 vi 6 ohne Namen.

Das epische Fragment OIP 99, 327 (Wilcke 1987-90, 130f.; 2015, 203f.) schildert wie Lugalbanda Lamma-Ninsumun als Gemahlin gewinnt und es ist von zukünftigen Kindern die Rede. Spätestens ab der Ur III-Zeit galt Gilgameš als Sohn von Ninsumun und Lugalbanda. Dass in dem epischen Fragment nicht nur von der Eheschließung der beiden die Rede ist, sondern ausdrücklich auch von ihren Kindern, lässt an ebenfalls legendäre Nachkommen denken und Gilgameš ist der einzige Kandidat. In den ZH folgen die Hymnen auf Lamma-Ninsumun und Lugalbanda direkt aufeinander (83-86). Doch am Anfang, wo es um Uruk und noch erheblich länger um Kulaba geht, steht weder Lugalbanda noch Enmerkara. Gilgameš könnte dort genannt sein.

Das erste Zeichen in 22 gibt es so weder in Tell Fāra noch in Abū Šalābīh. Es erinnert an Archaic Cities 88 (W 20266, 75 = P000321). Das dortige Zeichen wird als Vorläufer von bād gesehen. Die jüngere Parallele SF 23 v 14 hat aber an der Stelle AŠ.EZEN\*xAŠ. Beachte auch dass bād in ED IIIa noch nicht EZENxBAD ist (LAK 619 und Abū Šalābīh, z. B. OIP 99, 68; 70; 112 passim). Daher ist die Interpretation von Archaic Cities als bād oder auch BĀD<sup>mm</sup> unwahrscheinlich.<sup>3)</sup> Somit ist auch unklar wie das Vorgängerzeichen von BĀD in Uruk III aussah. Unabhängig davon deutet die Rundung und der Umstand, dass es das Zeichen in ED IIIa sonst nicht gibt, der Umriss aber als EZEN<sub>a</sub> in Uruk III belegt ist, auf einen gewollten Archaismus und das nachgestellte BAD ebenso wie die bildliche Darstellung, die sich als Mauer mit vier Bastionen interpretieren ließe, auf intendiertes bād.

Für ein ähnliches Spiel mit der Graphik vergleiche šár nu šár = nu-šár-šár mit rundem šár in Z. 10. Im Zusammenhang 8-10: en du<sub>11</sub>-ga nu-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> nu-šár-šár „der Herr auf dessen Ausspruch man nicht zurückkommt, den man nicht diskutiert“. Cf. enim šár-šár = *muštabil amāti* AHW 1453b, Sulge B 227. Grundbedeutung ist „viele Worte machen“ = „diskutieren“, „überreden“, „bedenken“. Dazu auch: a-ba du<sub>11</sub>-ga-na a-ba šár-ra-na lú umma<sup>ki</sup>-a enim-da gur(-ra)-da-àm „Sollte ein Ummäer, durch wessen Reden, durch wessen Überreden auch immer die Sache anfechten“ Ean. 1 xviii 10-13 passim; nam-bé-šè itima-ka ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub> šà ka tab-ba ba-an-nú<sub>4</sub> im-zal enim im-šár-šár-šár enim ka-šè nu-ĝar-ra im-me „Deshalb ging er in seine Kammer, legte sich da unzufrieden hin, die Zeit verging, er erwog es unzählige Male. Worte sprach er, die man nicht zu Munde nimmt“ ELA 390-92.

Man könnte also mit Vorbehalt 21-22 interpretieren als „<für> Inanna hat Gilga(meš) die Stadtmauer(?) <gebaut(?)>“.

Es folgt: ĝepar:an / ĝepar:an-ki / kul-aba<sub>4</sub> an-gen<sub>7</sub> / šu nu-ti „Himmlisches Ĝepar, Ĝepar von Himmel und Erde, Kulaba, das man wie den Himmel mit der Hand nicht erreichen kann!“. Dass šu nu-ti wohl nicht für šu nu-ba-ti steht, zeigt ZH 222: men šu bat „er/sie hat die Priesterkrone empfangen“. <sup>4)</sup>

Abgesehen von der Einleitung enthalten die ZH auch für ED IIIa auffallend wenige grammatische Elemente und eventuell werden einzelne Verben sogar ganz ausgelassen. Das deutet auf ein höheres Alter und damit nähert sich der Text der Zeit, in der Uruk alleine schon aufgrund seiner Größe als eine dominierende, wenn auch mit einer Stadtmauer zu schützende also nicht unangefochtene Macht anzunehmen ist.

**Notes**

1. Selz 1995, 24. Für eine mögliche Lesung diġir statt an ebd. Anm. 50; Marchesi/Marchetti 2011, 162 Anm. 50. Andererseits gibt es in Lagaš auch Namen, die eine Verbindung zwischen An und dem Herrscher herstellen: lugal-an-né-ki-áġ „der König (ist einer) den An liebt“, lugal/nin-igi-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>-su „der König/die Königin (ist eine/r), den das Auge Ans kennt“, siehe Selz 1995, 22.
2. Nach einer Lokalität in/bei Kulaba benannt? „Gasse in der Front von Kulaba“? Cf. ZH 221f. silà daġal kul-aba<sub>4</sub> men šu bat „auf der breiten Gasse von Kulaba hat er die Priesterkrone empfangen“. Mit Bezug auf Kulaba/Uruk wird eine sila daġal auch in EWO 364; GBH Meturan D 55; DI H 15 erwähnt. Allgemeinbegriff und Eigenname zugleich?
3. Vgl. auch Sommerfeld 2006, 40-43. Siehe aber auch <sup>d</sup>nin-EZEN\*xAŠ-é-gal SF 1 vii 6, wo eine Interpretation „Herrin der Palastmauer“ möglich wäre. EZEN\* besteht aus einem Quadrat und vier kleinen Quadraten an den Kanten (EZEN<sub>a</sub>), während das „normale“ EZEN (z. B. EZENxKASKAL ED Lú A 64f. LAK 611) aus einem hochkantigen Rechteck in der Mitte und zwei Quadraten besteht und auf einen Kreis mit zwei Rechtecken zurückgeht (EZEN<sub>b</sub>). Das in bād mit bad kombinierte Zeichen, ist von beiden verschieden.
4. So auch in Tell Fāra geschrieben: Sollberger 1972, 7; Pomponio/Visicato 1994, 178f.

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**102) Akurgal und die Chronologie von Adab** — CUSAS 26, 69 handelt von der Schenkung von Sklaven und nennt dabei auch Akurgal von Lagaš. Westenholz nimmt an, dass der Text aus Adab stammt, weil nach der Fāra-Periode nur noch in Adab GAR.énsi statt énsi gebräuchlich sei und weist darauf hin, dass sich unter den Namen, die keinem Ort zugeordnet werden, Namen mit Beziehung zu Adab befinden (Westenholz 2014, 76).

Einen Sklaven geben ur-saġ-kèš und bīl-la-la. Dieser dürfte mit dem Sanga des zu Adab gehörigen Keš, bīl-làl-la in ELTS 32 A(ppendix) identisch sein. Dort wird ein ur-saġ-kèš als Bruder seiner Ehefrau làl-la genannt,<sup>1)</sup> sowie sein Bruder bu<sub>11</sub>-bu<sub>11</sub>-a und sein Diener kèš-pa-è, deren Namen sich auch in CUSAS 26, 69 finden, wobei kèš-pa-è als einziger der vier nicht an der Schenkung, sondern an der Überführung der Sklaven beteiligt ist.

ELTS 32 A lässt sich unterschiedlich interpretieren.<sup>2)</sup> Vielleicht handelt es sich um einen Verkauf als Vorbereitung für eine Erbteilung. Jedenfalls ist bīl-làl-la bereits gestorben, da von seinem Grab die Rede ist und ein Sohn als Verkäufer seines Feldes agiert. Er erreichte kein sehr hohes Alter, da ihn 7 Brüder und seine Ehefrau làl-la überleben. Der GAR.énsi von Adab é-igi-nim-pa-è kauft das Feld. Als Billala starb muss E'iginimpa'e schon länger regiert haben, denn in ELTS 32 werden bīl-làl-la und ein ur-é-maġ

genannt. Das é-maḥ wurde aber erst von E'iginimpa'e erbaut und ersetzte das é-SAR.<sup>3)</sup> Selbst wenn man annimmt, dass sich ur-é-maḥ umbenannt hat, liegt ELTS 32 A um zwei nichtalltägliche Dokumente später.

Die Personen, die zusammen mit den Stadtfürsten von Lagaš und a-U<sub>4</sub>.U<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> Sklaven schenken, gehörten sicherlich zur Elite von Adab. Es drängt sich die Vermutung auf, dass ur-saḡ-keš und der gleichnamige spätere Stadtfürst von Adab identisch sind. Die von Marchesi zusammengestellten chronologischen Argumente, widersprechen dem nicht.

In CUSAS 11, 68 Rs. ii 1-3 wird ein a-diḡir-ḡu<sub>10</sub> dub-sar-maḥ lugal-ki-NI-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> genannt und als dub-sar-maḥ wird er auch in CUSAS 35, 7 Rs. iii 6f. v 9f. unter dem Stadtfürsten von Adab enxme-nú (Enmeanu) genannt. Lugal-ki-NI-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> und Enmetena von Lagaš haben Bruderschaft vereinbart (RIME 1.9.5.3). Enmeanu sollte also während, etwas vor oder etwas nach Enmetena regiert haben. Eine Überschneidung mit Enannatum I bzw. Eannatum ist nicht ausgeschlossen.

In CUSAS 35, 3 ix 4-7 wird ein Herold é-du<sup>4)</sup> als Diener des Stadtfürsten genannt und es folgt Rs. i 12-15: u<sub>4</sub>-ba enxme-né GAR.énsi adab<sup>ki</sup> „damals war Enmeanu Stadtfürst von Adab.“ In CUSAS 35, 2 Rs. 10f. wird ein é-du unter den Herolden genannt. Der Text ist auf Ursaḡkeš datiert. Daraus folgt, dass Ursaḡkeš mit nicht zu großem zeitlichem Abstand vor oder nach Enmeanu regiert haben sollte. Setzt man ihn vor Enmeanu und diesen nicht allzu spät, so fällt die Regierungszeit von Ursaḡkeš in die Zeit der Söhne des Akurgal Eannatum und Enannatum I und auch eine Überschneidung mit Akurgal ist möglich.

Der Stadtfürst Ursaḡkeš ist in CUSAS 35, 2; 4; 8 belegt. Sonst ist der Name in FD IIIb Adab nur in den oben erwähnten Zusammenhängen belegt. In Anbetracht seiner herausragenden Stellung in CUSAS 26, 69 also wahrscheinlich die gleiche Person.

Marchesi argumentiert, dass E'iginimpa'e vor Ursaḡkeš anzusetzen ist<sup>5)</sup> und Mugsī sein Sohn war.<sup>6)</sup> Wenn man die beiden Ursaḡkeš genannten Personen als eine ansieht, folgt ersteres auch aus ELTS 32 A. Da Mugsī nicht auch als Bruder der Lalla genannt wird, kann er kein Bruder von Ursaḡkeš sein, als sein Sohn ist er unwahrscheinlich, da er schon eine bedeutende Rolle unter E'iginimpa'e spielte. Nicht auszuschließen ist, dass Mugsī ein Bruder von E'iginimpa'e war und Ursaḡkeš sein Sohn oder Neffe.

Dass die Schreibung bíl-la-la nun auch in Adab belegt ist und die zeitliche Verknüpfung mit Akurgal machen den von Wilcke geäußerten Verdacht, der Sanga von Keš, bíl-làl-la und der Hauptmann bíl-la-la in Ur-Nanše 51 könnten die gleiche Person sein, etwas wahrscheinlicher (Wilcke 2007, 85 Anm. 257). Dem steht entgegen, dass Ur-Nanše als Kriegsgegner nur Ur und Umma nennt. Siehe auch unten.

Für die Chronologie von Adab ergibt sich: Ursaḡkeš ist vor Enmeanu anzusetzen und seine Lebenszeit überschneidet sich mit Akurgal. Die Regierung von E'iginimpa'e hat sich wahrscheinlich mit Akurgal überschritten. Mugsī regierte wahrscheinlich eine kurze Zeit nach E'iginimpa'e und vor Ursaḡkeš. Auch wenn wie hier Enmeanu nicht an das Ende von Enmetena gesetzt wird, kann ur<sub>5</sub>-dú<sup>-d</sup>-aš<sub>8</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> sehr wohl der einzige Stadtfürst zwischen Enmeanu und Meskigala in Adab gewesen sein. Enannatum II, Enentarzi, Lugalanda und Iri'enimgena könnten zusammen um die 25 Jahre regiert haben. Zumindest der letzte überschneidet sich mit Lugalzagesi, der vor seinem 7. Jahr Meskigala in Adab einsetzte.<sup>7)</sup>

In CUSAS 26, 69 steht nicht, wem die Sklaven geschenkt wurden. Zweimal werden Sklaven weggebracht: ba-DU.DU, ba-DU, was sich auf Adab beziehen sollte. Die beiden Sklaven des Akurgal werden von keš-pa-è, der schon aufgrund des Namens Adab zuzurechnen ist, geleitet: 2 saḡ-ninta a-kur-gal GAR.énsi lagaš<sup>mušen ki</sup> keš-pa-è in-DU.DU v 4-vi 3. Zwei Leute müssen gefesselt gebracht werden: 1 saḡ-[ninta] 1 saḡ-munus ur-ḡidri šu:du<sub>8</sub> lú níḡ-mul-an mu-DU „ein Sklave und eine Sklavin des Ur-ḡidri, gefesselt hat sie ein Bote hergebracht“.<sup>8)</sup> Da mehrere Städte beteiligt sind, handelte es sich vermutlich um Geschenke für Enlil in Nippur, das nicht genannt wird. Offenbar wurden die Sklaven über Adab transferiert. Uruk und Isin werden nicht genannt und auch keine Städte im nördlichen Babylonien. Für diese Städte wäre der Weg über Adab ein Umweg gewesen.

Vermutlich der gleiche Billala findet sich auch in CUSAS 23, 80 iii 4-iv 2: 264 lú igi-niḡin lugal 541 lú ṛigi<sup>l</sup>-niḡin GAR.én[si] 185 lú bíl-làl-la. Wer war der König? Ur-Nanše oder doch eher ein König von Kiš? Kiš hatte keinen direkten Einfluss mehr auf den Grenzstreit Lagaš/Umma und die Erwähnung des Königs könnte ein später Beleg für eine Vorherrschaft von Kiš über Adab noch in der Zeit des Ur-Nanše sein (was nicht heißt, dass sie vorher ununterbrochen bestand). Eine letzte Frage stellt sich: Unterstützte Billala Umma im Auftrag von Kiš und schwieg Ur-Nanše darüber aus diplomatischer Rücksicht?

Dass Akurgal sich zusammen mit Personen aus Umma an der Schenkung von Sklaven beteiligte, spricht dafür, dass der Konflikt zwischen Umma und Lagaš, von dem am Anfang der Geierstele berichtet wird, nicht die ganze Regierungszeit Akurgals andauerte. Es muss auch eine friedliche Phase gegeben haben, sonst hätte Akurgal auch kaum in Antasura, also an der Grenze zu Umma, einen Tempel bauen können. Vermutlich hielt der Frieden, den sein Vater Ur-Nanše durch seinen Sieg über Umma und Ur erreicht hatte, eine Weile an. Das unterstreicht die Bedeutung der frühen Lagaš-Herrscher. In diesem Zusammenhang sei auf das Fragment einer Inschrift aus Kiš hingewiesen, in der sowohl Meyer-Laurin als auch Westenholz Eannatum sehen.<sup>9)</sup> Eannatum rühmt sich, dass Innana ihm neben dem nam-énsi von Lagaš auch das nam-lugal kiš<sup>ki</sup> gegeben habe. In der gleichen Inschrift berichtet er von Siegen über Kiš und Mari und der Zerstörung von Akšak, das nördlich von Kiš lag (RIME 1.9.3.5). Ob Eannatum tatsächlich in Kiš mit Waffengewalt eingedrungen ist, bleibt offen. Aber auch wenn er nur einer Gottheit in Kiš eine Weihgabe machen konnte, zeigt das eine gewisse Suprematie, denn eine Weihgabe schafft eine Art Dankesschuld des Gottes, in diesem Fall gegenüber einem fremden Herrscher. Es erinnert an die Stellung die Mesilim als König von Kiš (wörtlich?) innehatte, der sich sogar auf einem Streitkolben in Ĝirsu als Erbauer des Tempels des Ninĝirsu neben dem Stadtfürsten nennen konnte, die Grenze zwischen Lagaš und Umma festlegte und neben dem Stadtfürsten von Adab im Haupttempel von Adab auftrat.<sup>10)</sup> Während Eannatum Kiš auf der Geierstele noch als treibende Kraft darstellt – ĝiša<sub>x</sub>(<sup>ĝeš</sup>KÚŠU)<sup>ki</sup> kiš<sup>ki</sup>-am<sub>6</sub> „Ĝiša ist (im Grunde) Kiš!“<sup>11)</sup> – hat Kiš nach Eannatums Sieg, nach allem was bekannt ist, nie mehr im Süden eingegriffen.

#### Anmerkungen

1. ELTS 32 A v 3: ses-né-me muss „ihre Brüder sind es“ heißen, denn die Brüder von Bilalla wurden schon genannt.
2. Gelb et al. 1991, 100; Wilcke 2007, 85f. mit weiterer Literatur.
3. Marchesi gebraucht das Argument mit ur-é-mah in anderem Zusammenhang ebenfalls. Marchesi/Marchetti 2011, 126 Anm. 266.
4. Die Lesung legt ein Vergleich mit é-du-du ELTS 33 Rs. i 7; é-da-da ELTS 32 ii 3; gu-ni-du; gu-ni-da ELTS 33 iv' 6f. nahe.
5. Marchesi 2015, 152 Nr. 09.
6. Marchesi/Marchetti 2011, 125 Anm. 254; 126 Anm. 266.
7. Sallaberger 2004, 18-23; Visicato/Westenholz 2010, 6f.
8. ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>(.A) sargonisch als Logogramm für *kamū*. Westenholz 2014, 76: „prisoner of war“. Die Einschränkung auf Krieg ist aber nicht zwingend, denn es besteht ein semantischer Zusammenhang mit der Bedeutung „etwas (fest)halten“, Gleichung *kullu*. Z. B. le-um za-gìn šu im-mi-du<sub>8</sub> „er hielt eine Wachstafel mit Lapislazuli in der Hand“ Gudea Zyl. A v 3.
9. Meyer-Laurin 2011, 29 Anm. 3; Westenholz 2020, 688 Anm. 4, Foto: CDLI P221781. Auf dem Foto ist noch der Rest eines Waagrechten von dumu zu erkennen: [dum]u ʾa<sup>1</sup>-k[ur-gal] PA.TE[.SI] ŠIR.BUR.L[A<sup>ki</sup>]. Davor und danach ist alles abgebrochen.
10. Siehe seine Inschriften RIME 1.8.1-3 und RIME 1.9.5.1 (Enmetena).
11. RIME 1.9.3.1 = Eannatum 1 Vs. vii 1f. zur Deutung Keetman 2012; 2013.

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**103) More on Dudu, the Head of the Temple Household of Ningirsu under En-metena** — In a recent article, I studied the figure of Dudu, the chief administrator of Ningirsu’s household at Girsu (Steinkeller 2019a: 124-125). This official, who was active during the reign of En-metena, began his career as a scribe (*dub-sar*), subsequently becoming the head of Ningirsu’s household (*sanga*) or even a great *sanga* (*sanga mah*). Dudu had amassed such power that he succeeded to wrest the control of the household of Ningirsu from En-metena. Eventually, he co-ruled with En-metena over the city-state of Lagaš. Two representations of this individual have been known thus far: a seated stone statue of Dudu,<sup>1)</sup> and a relief depiction of him on a plaque made of bituminous stone.<sup>2)</sup>

It was only after the publication of my article that I became aware of the existence of yet another artifact associated with Dudu. The object in question is the upper section of a stone mace head, which was excavated, by a joint expedition of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University and the Metropolitan Museum, at the site of Al-Hiba (ancient Lagaš). Its specific find-spot was the temple of Ningirsu named Bagara. The earliest mention of this mace head I was able to find appears in an article by Donald Hansen of 1992, who offered a brief description and a photograph of it (Hansen 1992: 208, 209 photograph). A drawing of it has now been published by Darren Ashby (2017: pl. 33 3H-69), which I reproduce here as **Fig. 1**.

The surviving fragment depicts a lion-headed eagle (*IM-dugud*, the avatar of Ningirsu) perched on two gazelles, which are feeding on plants.<sup>3)</sup> To the right of this group, there is a standing male, facing left, who clasps his hands in a gesture of worship. Immediately to the right of this figure, there is a label reading *Du-du*.<sup>4)</sup> Undoubtedly, this is the name of the person in question. It is possible (but by no means certain) that the lower section of the mace head (now missing) recorded Dudu’s title and a dedication of the mace to Ningirsu.

Although Dudu’s title is not specified (or preserved), one may confidently conclude that this Dudu is the same person as the *sanga*(-mah) of Ningirsu I discussed earlier.<sup>5)</sup> This is indicated not only by the fact that the Bagara was one of Ningirsu’s shrines, but also by the elite character of the object donated by Dudu. Apart from providing us with yet another image of Dudu, this mace head is also important historically, for it confirms that, rather than being confined to Girsu, Dudu’s political influence obtained throughout the city-state, most significantly, at its religious capital, the city of Lagaš.

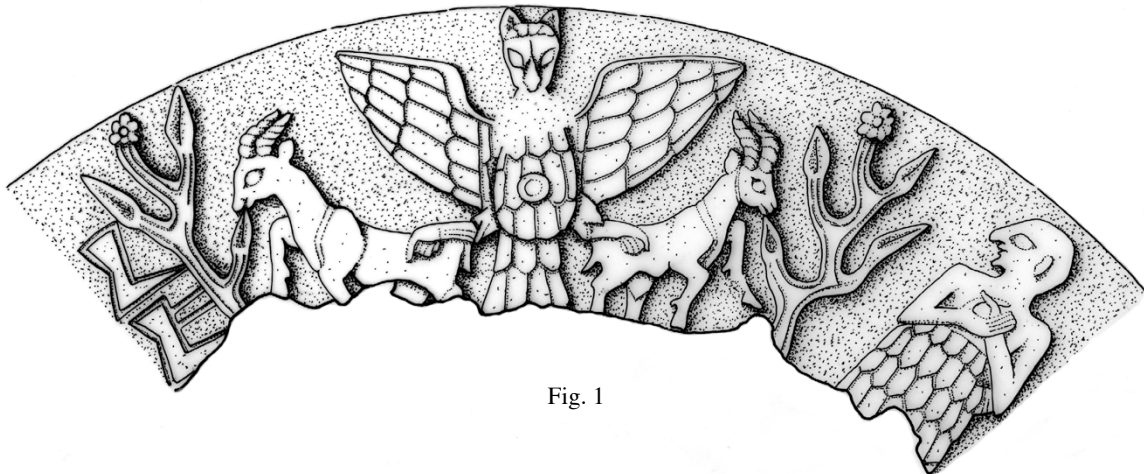


Fig. 1



Notes

1. See Strommenger 1962: figs. 86 and 87 (photographs); Steible 1982: 361-362 AnLag. 7 (inscription).
2. See Parrot 1960: 138 fig. 167A (photograph); Frayne 2008: 232-233 En-metena 28 (inscription). For the material of the plaque, see Steinkeller 2018: 183 and 198 n. 12.
3. Although IM-dugud is usually shown standing over two lions (Ningirsu's symbols), the latter may occasionally be replaced by deer, ibex, and gazelles. See Steinkeller 2019b: 996-999 and figs. 7-10. As argued there, those are the animals (or, actually, the avatars) of Ninhursag, Ningirsu's mother. Although it is commonly assumed that, in such images, IM-dugud is preying on the animals, he actually acts as their protector. See Steinkeller 2019b: 998.
4. For the position of this label in relation to the standing figure, see Hansen 1992: 209 photograph.
5. Hansen 1992: 208 identifies him merely as "a worshipper named Dudu."

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**104) Prisoners of War: Collated Edition of TCL 5, 6039\*** — TCL 5, 6039, is a well-preserved text involving barley distributions to captured people (še-ba nam-ra-ak; rev. column iv. line 10). The text was published as a handcopy (Genouillac 1922) and studied in the seminal article on prisoners of war by Gelb (1973).

**TCL 5, 6039: Obverse**

Crew #1 (Obverse: Column i)	Crew #2 cont'd (Obverse: Column ii)	Crew #4 cont'd (Obverse: Column iii)	Crew #6 cont'd (Obverse: Column iv)
1. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) tu a-šu-bar-bi	1. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) an-ne <sub>2</sub> -tum	1. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) aš-tu-ra	1. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) ga-na-na
2. uš <sub>2</sub> hu-ru-ut	2. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) e-la-x-[-...]	2. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ša <sub>3</sub> -zi dumu-ni	2. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) e-bi-na
3. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) bi-ra-du	3. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) igi-ba-na-am <sub>3</sub> -zi	3. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) bu <sub>3</sub> -du-la-ga	3. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) še-bi-na
4. uš <sub>2</sub> ar-bi <sub>2</sub> -al	4. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-na-na	4. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ma-ma-ad	4. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) i <sub>3</sub> -li <sub>2</sub> -a-zu
5. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) zu-ba-im-ša	5. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) wa-ma-da-a?	5. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) še-er-al-la	5. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) il-ku-ri <sub>2</sub>
6. uš <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -li <sub>2</sub> -ib <sub>2</sub> -na-u <sub>2</sub> -da dumu-ni	6. libir-me	6. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) pu-us <sub>2</sub>	6. 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) a-lju-e
7. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) eš-me-i <sub>3</sub> -dar	7. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ši-la-pi-ri <sub>2</sub>	7. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) an-na	7. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) zi-li-li
8. uš <sub>2</sub> tab-ba-u <sub>3</sub>	8. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) a-bi-in-za	8. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-ra-NE	8. 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) tur-ni-iz dumu-ni
9. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) um-ma	9. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ša-bi-na-gu	9. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) an-zu-ga-an	9. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) bu <sub>3</sub> -du-la
10. uš <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -ra-na-me dumu-ni	10. daḥ-lju-me	10. libir-me	10. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) a-ši-šu-bi
11. uš <sub>2</sub> ka-li	blank space	11. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) daḥ-lju la-al-la	11. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ar-da-in-gi <sub>4</sub>
12. 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) er <sub>3</sub> -gu-ka-ka-ša	11. šunigin 1(u) 2(diš) geme <sub>2</sub>	blank space	12. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) gu-zi-na
13. dumu-ni	4(ban <sub>2</sub> )	12. šunigin 1(u) 1(diš) geme <sub>2</sub>	13. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) kur-ni-tum
14. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) še-lib <sup>?</sup> še-bar-bi	blank space	4(ban <sub>2</sub> )	14. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) um-mi-a
15. uš <sub>2</sub> an-ne <sub>2</sub> -tum dumu-ni	12. še-bi 1(aš) 3(barig) gur	13. šunigin 1(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 2(ban <sub>2</sub> )	15. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) ga-na-an-na
blank space	13. ugula lu <sub>2</sub> -bala-saga	14. še-bi 1(aš) 2(barig) 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) gur	16. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) bu-za-tum
16. libir-am <sub>3</sub>	Crew #3	15. ugula ur <sup>d</sup> -šul-pa-e <sub>3</sub>	17. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) ma-a-a
17. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) an-na	14. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) lji-ka-dar	Crew #5	18. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) e-tu-ru
18. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ma-ma	15. uš <sub>2</sub> ma-ma-šu <sup>?</sup>	16. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) zi-ip-za-zu	19. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ba-ba
19. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-na	16. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) aš-tu-ra	17. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ši-da-ba-ru	20. 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ub-da-a-a
20. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) il-la-zu	17. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) tab-ba-u <sub>3</sub>		

21. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ša-at-e <sub>2</sub> -a 22. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ša-ša-ru-ut blank space 23. daḥ-ḥu-me blank space 24. šunigin 1(u) 2(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 25. šunigin 1(diš) dumu-nita <sub>2</sub> 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) blank space 26. še-bi 1(aš) 3(barig) 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> gur 27. ugula lugal-e <sub>2</sub> -maḥ-e Crew #2 28. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ša-ba-da-du 29. uš <sub>2</sub> er <sub>3</sub> -ad-da dumu-ni 30. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) gal-la-gir 31. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) i <sub>3</sub> -li <sub>2</sub> -a-zu 32. uš <sub>2</sub> am <sub>3</sub> -ma-ni 33. [...] ma-a-a 34. [...] -ga dumu-ni	18. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-la-du 19. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ši-in-gal 20. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-na-na-a 21. uš <sub>2</sub> zi-ib-mi-šar 22. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-na-ni-im 23. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) zu-u <sub>3</sub> -ba 24. libir-me 25. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ša-am <sub>3</sub> -ma-at 26. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) bi <sub>2</sub> -zu 27. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ši-bu-nu 28. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) nu-ba-an 29. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) an-na 30. daḥ-ḥu-me blank space 31. šunigin 1(u) 2(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 32. šunigin 1(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) blank space 33. še-bi 1(aš) 3(barig) 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) gur 34. ugula <sup>d</sup> šara <sub>2</sub> -za-me Crew #4 35. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ḥu-lu-ur <sub>2</sub> 36. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) nu-u <sub>3</sub> -ba-ni	18. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) gal-tu 19. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) am <sub>3</sub> -ma 20. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) e-ba-ni-a 21. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ši-da-ba-ru 2(diš)-kam 22. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) gal-la-gir 23. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ša-ba-da-du 24. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) a-ḥa-ti 25. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) me-da-u <sub>2</sub> -a 26. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-a-ga 27. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ba-ba blank space 28. šunigin 1(u) 2(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 29. še-bi 1(aš) 3(barig) gur 30. ugula a-du Crew #6 31. šu 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-a-ga 32. šu 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) tu tab-ša-ḥi 33. 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) ib-ri <sub>2</sub> -ba-tal dumu-ni 34. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) lu <sub>2</sub> -ri <sub>2</sub> -bi <sub>2</sub> -tum 35. uš <sub>2</sub> ba-ti-da-x-ga 36. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) ḥu-lu-ur <sub>2</sub> 37. tu 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) še-lu <sub>2</sub> -uz	21. uš <sub>2</sub> ni-a-na 22. uš <sub>2</sub> geme <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> nin-ur <sub>4</sub> -ra 23. dumu ša-ba-da-du 24. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) a-ḥa-ti 25. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) an-na 26. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ša-ku-ba-li 27. tu 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) tab-lu <sub>2</sub> -uz 28. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) ma-ma-a 29. uš <sub>2</sub> ša-ra-at-ni-mu 30. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) nu-ba-nu-ur <sub>2</sub> -ni 31. uš <sub>2</sub> ša-ki-in-zu 32. uš <sub>2</sub> ga-na-na dumu-ni 33. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) gu-zi-na 34. uš <sub>2</sub> an-na dumu-ni 35. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-na-na 36. tu 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) e-a-ga-ga 37. dumu-ni 38. uš <sub>2</sub> ši-gi <sub>4</sub> -dar 39. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) ga-na-na 40. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) zu-ba-na-ku 41. ki ur-ge <sub>6</sub> -par <sub>4</sub>
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**TCL 5, 6039: Reverse**

Grand Totals (Reverse: Column iv) blank space 1. šunigin <sub>2</sub> 1(geš <sub>2</sub> ) 3(u) 4(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 2. šunigin <sub>2</sub> 1(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 3(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 3. šunigin <sub>2</sub> 2(u) 2(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> 4. šunigin <sub>2</sub> 4(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5. šunigin <sub>2</sub> 3(diš) dumu 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> 6. šunigin <sub>2</sub> 2(diš) dumu 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 7. šunigin <sub>2</sub> 2(diš) šu geme <sub>2</sub> 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 8. gub-ba-me 9. še-bi 1(u) 5(aš) 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> gur 10. še-ba nam-ra-ak 11. i <sub>3</sub> -zi blank space 12. 'iti <sup>1</sup> sig <sub>4</sub> <sup>ges<sub>2</sub></sup> i <sub>3</sub> -šub-ga <sub>2</sub> -ra 13. 'mu <sup>1</sup> en-unu <sub>6</sub> -gal <sup>d</sup> inanna ba-ḥun	(Reverse: Column iii) blank space 1. še-bi 7(aš) 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) gur 2. ugula ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-tu List of Dead People 3. uš <sub>2</sub> ša-am <sub>3</sub> -zi 4. uš <sub>2</sub> a-a 5. uš <sub>2</sub> u <sub>2</sub> -na-ab-dan 6. uš <sub>2</sub> bi-ni-u <sub>2</sub> -e 7. uš <sub>2</sub> eš-me-dar 8. uš <sub>2</sub> ši-gu-a-šum 9. uš <sub>2</sub> u <sub>2</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub> 10. uš <sub>2</sub> ša-ki-in-zu 11. uš <sub>2</sub> x-dar blank space 12. sag dub-me 13. uš <sub>2</sub> a-tu-e 14. uš <sub>2</sub> gu-u <sub>2</sub> -u <sub>2</sub> 15. uš <sub>2</sub> en-dub-eš <sub>18</sub> -dar 16. uš <sub>2</sub> bu <sub>3</sub> -du-az-ma-lum 17. uš <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -la-zu 18. uš <sub>2</sub> igi-ba-na-am <sub>3</sub> -zi 19. uš <sub>2</sub> e-la-du 20. uš <sub>2</sub> am <sub>3</sub> -ma-ni 21. uš <sub>2</sub> um-ma-ki 22. uš <sub>2</sub> mu-da-a 23. uš <sub>2</sub> la-ni-ša 24. uš <sub>2</sub> mu-da-KU 25. dumu PA-me blank space numerical notes ? blank space erasures blank space	Crew #6 cont'd (Reverse: Column ii) 1. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) tu-ru-bi <sub>2</sub> -ša 2. e <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> nin-ur <sub>4</sub> -ra-še <sub>3</sub> 3. uš <sub>2</sub> ba-la-li <sub>2</sub> -a 4. e <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> gu-la-še <sub>3</sub> 5. a-ru-a lu <sub>2</sub> -dingir-ra-me 6. ki ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-tu 7. 3(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ša-ši-it-um i <sub>3</sub> -du <sub>8</sub> 8. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ša-ra-at-ni-mu ki lugal-a <sub>2</sub> -zi-da 9. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-na ki ba-saga sagi 10. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) um-mi ki lugal-e <sub>2</sub> -maḥ-e šeš a-ab-ba 11. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) tu-mi-na-a-u <sub>2</sub> ki lugal-ku <sub>3</sub> -ga-ni 12. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ur-ba-bi <sub>2</sub> -ri <sub>2</sub> 13. ki ur- <sup>d</sup> suen šu-ku <sub>6</sub> 14. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) še-en <sub>6</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> -la 15. ki ur-e <sub>11</sub> -e gala 16. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) bi-zi-ir 17. ki lu <sub>2</sub> -gi-na 18. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) gi <sub>4</sub> -za 19. ki al-la agrig 20. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) bu-ra-an-ka-gal 21. ki lu <sub>2</sub> -dingir-ra lu <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> gara <sub>2</sub> 22. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) su-ḥur-tum 23. ki lugal-ukken-ne <sub>2</sub> 24. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-la-bi 25. ki ur-am <sub>3</sub> -ma dumu na-silim blank space 26. šunigin 3(u) 5(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 27. šunigin 1(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 3(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 28. šunigin 2(u) 2(diš) geme <sub>2</sub> 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) 29. šunigin 2(diš) dumu 2(ban <sub>2</sub> )	Crew #6 cont'd (Reverse: Column i) 1. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) bi-zi-ir-bi 2. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) i <sub>3</sub> -li <sub>2</sub> -eš <sub>18</sub> -dar 3. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ši-gu-a-bi-ir 4. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) si <sub>2</sub> -si <sub>2</sub> -gu <sub>4</sub> -da-ni 5. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) gar <sub>3</sub> -ni 6. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ad-du-ša 7. uš <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> amar- <sup>d</sup> suen-ḥe <sub>2</sub> -gal <sub>2</sub> dumu gal-la-gir 8. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) gal-la-bi 9. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ši-šu <sub>2</sub> -ḥu-ul 10. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) an-ne <sub>2</sub> -e 11. uš <sub>2</sub> an-ti-a 12. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) a-da-me-na dumu-ni 13. tu 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) a-bi <sub>2</sub> -ba 14. uš <sub>2</sub> ba-mu-ša-ak dumu a-a-ba-BAD 15. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ši-gi <sub>4</sub> -la 16. uš <sub>2</sub> ši-la-bu-bi 17. 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ar-bi <sub>2</sub> -tum 18. uš <sub>2</sub> ḥu-bu-ul 19. uš <sub>2</sub> zi-zu-ba-al 20. uš <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> amar- <sup>d</sup> suen-ḥe <sub>2</sub> -gal <sub>2</sub> dumu la-al-la 21. tu 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) me-na 22. uš <sub>2</sub> ša-ra-du 23. uš <sub>2</sub> ši-gu <sub>4</sub> -ba-lu 24. uš <sub>2</sub> ši-in-ki-a-lu-bi 25. uš <sub>2</sub> me-da-u <sub>2</sub> -e 26. uš <sub>2</sub> an-u <sub>2</sub> dumu-ni 27. 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) na-an-na 28. uš <sub>2</sub> an-na blank space 29. sag e <sub>2</sub> -gal-ta gen-na-me 30. uš <sub>2</sub> aš-du-ša 31. tu 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) a-gu-a
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		30. šunigin 2(diš) dumu 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) silā <sub>3</sub>	32. uš <sub>2</sub> u <sub>3</sub> -bu-da-ni
		31. šunigin 2(diš) dumu 1(ban <sub>2</sub> )	33. e <sub>2</sub> dšara <sub>2</sub> -še <sub>3</sub>
		32. šunigin 2(diš) šu geme <sub>2</sub> 2(ban <sub>2</sub> )	

The text lists 185 workers all of whom are female adults or children, not counting the overseers (cf. Gelb 1973). Most of the prisoners of war in this text do not have Akkadian or Sumerian names. Among the listed 185 individuals, 56 people are clearly marked as dead (uš<sub>2</sub>). One further individual should be included among the dead from the damaged bottom left hand corner of the tablet, since only one of the two individuals is included in the subtotal (12)



Figure 1. Obverse Column i:33-34

and again in one of the grand totals, bringing the total number of dead workers to 57 (or 185 total). It is unclear which individual actually died, the mother [x]-ma-a-a or the child [x]-ga (See Figure 1). It is possible that the dead individual was the person marked as a dumu, since the living person counted in the total is described as a geme<sub>2</sub> receiving 40 liters. However, this is not necessarily the case. While the person who is included in the total received rations of 40 liters, another person marked as a dumu-ni (a-da-me-na, Rev. i:12) received rations of 40 liters but is counted among the adult females (geme<sub>2</sub>) in the subtotals and the grand totals. This indicates that the inclusion of familial ties, such as dumu-ni or dumu PN, does not preclude the possibility that the individual was of a mature enough age to receive a full ration.

Counting the number of dead children and adults cannot be considered precise. The assumed pattern of dead individuals being denoted as children by the inclusion of the phrase dumu and the omission of the terminology for adults may not be accurate. First, the inclusion of patronymics does not necessarily imply a child in cuneiform tablets (see now Bartash 2018). Instead, the inclusion of patronymics could also be for specificity. Secondly, the tablet does not always include patronymics for children when their names are listed. These same individuals lacking patronymics or a dumu relationship can be included in the total with the term dumu, [one worker receives 2 (ban<sub>2</sub>) and the other receives 1(ban<sub>2</sub>) (obv. iv: 5, 20) but each one is qualified in the total as dumu 2(ban<sub>2</sub>)]. Further, as mentioned above, a person counted as a geme<sub>2</sub> in the total and receiving the full rations of 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) is listed with the term dumu-ni (a-da-me-na dumu-ni, Rev. i:12).

Returning to the structure of the text, there are 6 subtotals that represent what I call here a “crew.” Crew 1 consisted of 7 workers with 6 older workers serving as replacements to make up for the 7 dead individuals who formerly belonged to the crew. In this instance, 50% of the original crew died and were subsequently replaced. One of these workers is also listed as sick (tu). The workers each received 40 liters of barley, except for the male child (dumu-nita<sub>2</sub>), who received 15 liters instead. Apparently, the crew consisted of 14 workers, one of whom was a child. Seven members of the crew died. Six of these were replaced. The replacements (daḥ-ḥu-me) are all listed as old (libir-am<sub>3</sub> or libir-me). This is the general pattern for most of the crews listed.

Crew 2 consisted of 12 active workers who were all compensated at a rate of 40 liters of barley. There were 3 dead workers mentioned in this group, though as discussed above, the tablet is broken obscuring which individual was dead. The replacements for this crew were three older women.

Crew 3 consisted of 13 workers. 12 of these workers received the more standard ration of 40 liters for this text, while one worker only got 20 liters. Two workers are recorded as dead, but 5 older women are marked as replacements. One of these replacements received the reduced amount of 20 liters.

Crew 4 consisted of 12 workers, 11 of whom received the standard amount of 40 liters while one further received 20 liters. This crew listed two workers as sick. This crew did not have any listed deaths but consisted in one older person mentioned as a replacement (daḥ-ḥu).

Crew 5 lists 12 workers each receiving 40 liters. There are not any dead or sick listed in this crew. Replacements and old people are also absent.

Finally, in Crew 6, which was substantially larger than the other crews that consisted of roughly 12 workers each, there were 66 active workers. Of these, one person received 3(ban<sub>2</sub>). This is evident in the subtotal, rev. col. ii:27 and in the overall total at rev. col. iv:2. This indicates that one of the workers should also be listed in the text as receiving 3(ban<sub>2</sub>). After collation, it was clear that rev. col. ii:7 should be read as: 3(ban<sub>2</sub>) ša-ši-it-rum i<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> (see Figure 2). Genouillac’s handcopy listed this individual as receiving 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) (1922). The next section of the tablet breaks the previous structure of listing crews consisting of approximately twelve people. Instead, 66 women and children are listed together with 25 who are deceased. Some of these are described as slaves brought from the palace (sag e<sub>2</sub>-gal-ta gen-na-me) into various temples. Following the total of this section, there are two lists of dead people separated by one blank line. The first of these lists consists of ten dead individuals under the supervision of Ur-Nintu. After the blank line appears another list, this time of twelve individuals. These appear under the heading, high quality laborers (sag-dub-me). The twelve dead individuals are categorized as dumu PA-me (perhaps children of the overseers and, if so, read dumu ugula-me).



Figure 2. Collation of Reverse col. ii:7

Of the remaining 128 survivors, 24 are sick (tu). It is possible there are only 23 sick individuals. It depends on whether tu is included in part of the name 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) tu-mi-na-a-u<sub>2</sub> or as in indication of health 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) tu mi-na-a-u<sub>2</sub> (rev. ii:11). The sign tu, for sick, can appear before (obv. iii:3-4) or after (obv. i:1) the rations in this text. Among these 23-24 sick individuals there is one additional sick person not shown on the original handcopy. The final line of obv. iii begins with the sign še in the handcopy by Genouillac (1922). še, of course, is the beginning of the tu sign, which appears clearly on the tablet itself. The sick individuals do not receive reduced rations. The first five subtotals (šunigin) deal with crews of around 12 people. The text indicates that there was also a pool of replacement workers available. Over 30% of the listed workers are dead. Around 12% more are ill. This means that over 40% of these workers were either ill or dead.

The text reveals that there was a larger group of displaced prisoners of war, and that only some were employed in any official capacity. Since the names of the older people used as replacements are similar in kind to the other names found in the text, it is possible the nam-ra-ak listed on the tablet were but a portion of a larger displaced community brought into the region of Umma to live and work. Since not everyone was receiving rations, the able-bodied might have been left with trying to provide for those who were not given work. When someone died, an older female could replace the deceased and receive the rations allotted for the work performed. Such displaced communities might provide further substantiation of Piotr Steinkeller’s views about settlements of prisoners of war during the Ur III period (2013: 354, 357).

**Note**

\* My thanks go to the Louvre for permission to study this tablet. Thanks also goes to Jacob Dahl and Bertrand Lafont, who will be provide full collations for TCL 5. They kindly allowed me to include my notes for this text here.

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**105) The period of Uruk V and Ur III: At most 106 years** — Recently, a relative chronology for Akkad, Uruk IV, and Gutium has been proposed (MAHIEU 2019). The relative chronology for Isin, Larsa, and Babylon I is well established.<sup>1)</sup> To link the two periods, the durations of the two intervening dynasties, Uruk V and Ur III, should be fixed. The chronological data for the latter two dynasties mainly come from the king lists (*USKL* = *Ur III Sumerian King List*, *UIKL* = *Ur-Isin King List* [Erlenmeyer A and B], and *SKL* = *Sumerian King List*). They contain the following data (with y = year, m = month, and d = day):<sup>2)</sup>

	<i>USKL</i> <sup>3)</sup>	<i>UIKL</i>	<i>SKL</i> WB	<i>SKL</i> IB	<i>SKL</i> J	<i>SKL</i> P <sub>5</sub>	<i>SKL</i> Su <sub>1</sub>	<i>SKL</i> Su <sub>3-4</sub>	<i>SKL</i> TL
Utu-ḫegal	7y		420y and 7/6 y/m/d <sup>4)</sup>	26y, x+2m, and 15d	7y, 6m, and 15d				7y, 6m, and 5d
Ur-Namma	18y	18y	18y			18y		18y	10[+x]y
Šulgi		48y	46y			58y		48y	48y
Amar-Sin		9y	9y			9y		25y	9y
Šu-Sin		9y	9y			7y	20[+x]y	16y	9y
Ibbi-Sin		24y	24y		24y	25y	25y	15y	23 <sup>1)</sup> y
Total for Ur III			4 kings		5 kings	5 kings	5 <sup>1)</sup> kings	5 kings	
			108y		[x]y	117y	120[+x]y	123y	

With regard to the totals given for Ur III on the *SKL* tablets, the 108 years in WB are the sum of 18 + 48 + 9 + 9 + 24 years and assign 48 instead of 46 years to Šulgi (JACOBSEN 1939: 124 n. 333). The reduction to four instead of five kings in WB is often considered to be a miscount,<sup>5)</sup> but it might as well express that, among the five kings, one king was partly contemporary with a king of another dynasty (either Ur-Namma, as a contemporary of Utu-ḫegal of Uruk V; or Ibbi-Sin, as a contemporary of Išbi-Erra of Isin I). The other (preserved) totals all record five kings. The 117 years in P<sub>5</sub> correspond to the total of P<sub>5</sub>'s individual reigns: 18 + 58 + 9 + 7 + 25 = 117 years. The 123 years in Su<sub>3-4</sub> are one year higher than the sum of the figures in Su<sub>3-4</sub>: 18 + 48 + 25 + 16 + 15 = 122 years. The 123 years probably add an extra year for Ibbi-Sin: the 25 + 15 = 40 years in Su<sub>3-4</sub> parallel the 9 + 7 + 25 = 41 years in P<sub>5</sub> (see immediately below). In P<sub>5</sub>, Ibbi-Sin reigns 25 instead of 24 years. The total in Su<sub>3-4</sub> includes this extra year, whereas the individual reigns do not.

The study on the data for Akkad, Uruk IV, and Gutium in MAHIEU 2019 shows that the variants among the tablets are generally intentional and provide additional information. This is the case for Uruk V and Ur III as well. For instance, the 26 years for Utu-ḫegal in IB link his reign with the Gutian reign, which lasts 26 years (ibid. 11). Utu-ḫegal actually reigns 7½ years. The variants attested for Ur III can be harmonised as follows:

	<i>UIKL</i> (cf. <i>SKL</i> TL)		<i>SKL</i> WB		<i>SKL</i> P <sub>5</sub>		<i>SKL</i> Su <sub>3-4</sub>		
Ur-Namma	18		18		18		18		
Šulgi	48 = 46+2		46		58 = 48+10		48		
Amar-Sin	9		9		9		25 = 9+16		
Šu-Sin	9		9		7		16 = 9+7		
Ibbi-Sin	24	42	24	42	25 = 24+1	40 (9+7+24)	15	40 (25+15)	88 (48+40)
		88 (46+42)		88 (46+42)		88 (48+40)			

The first reign lasts 18 years in all cases.<sup>6)</sup> The subsequent 88 years consist of either 46 + 42, or 48 + 40 years. The 2-year difference (48 or 46, and 40 or 42) suggests an overlap of 2 years during Ur III. The 2-year period is reflected in the 48 or 46 years for Šulgi and in the 9 or 7 years for Šu-Sin. Factually, the overlap seems to concern the latter. Independently from any interpretation of the *UIKL* and the *SKL*, POMPONIO (1990) and LAFONT (1994) concluded on the basis of contemporary material that the last 2 years of Amar-Sin parallel the first 2 years of Šu-Sin. The 9 year-names of Amar-Sin + the 9 year-names of Šu-Sin<sup>7)</sup> actually last 9 + 7 years. This accounts for the 7 (instead of 9) years for Šu-Sin in P<sub>5</sub>, and for the 16 = 9 + 7 years for Šu-Sin in Su<sub>3-4</sub>. The 16 years count Šu-Sin's 9 year-names and 7 sole years together to

express the overlap. Su<sub>3.4</sub> also indicates the overlap between Amar-Sin's and Šu-Sin's reigns by the 25 = 9 + 16 years for Amar-Sin. The 25 years sum up Amar-Sin's 9 years and Šu-Sin's 16 years.

The tablets also transmit another variant: Šulgi's 48 years are given as 58 years in P<sub>5</sub>. The 10 extra years might precede the 48 years, i.e. they might parallel Ur-namma's last 10 years. If so, Ur-Namma's 18 years are split into 8 + 10. The change of Ur-Namma's title "king of Ur" into "king of Sumer and Akkad" evidences that his reign consists of two parts (SALLABERGER & SCHRAKAMP 2015: 131). On the basis of the split into 8 + 10, the change can be put after 8 years of reign. Moreover, since 8 years correspond to 7½ inclusive years (i.e. to the reign length of Utu-ḫegal), Ur-Namma's 8 years might parallel Utu-ḫegal's reign. The contemporaneity of Ur-Namma and Utu-ḫegal is indicated by several data, for instance, "Ur-[Namma], military go[vernor] of Ur," recognises Utu-ḫegal as his overlord (RIME 2.13.6.2001).<sup>8</sup> Two inscriptions of Utu-ḫegal mention "the man of Ur" in a conflict with Lagaš (RIME 2.13.6.1, 3) and might concern Ur-Namma of Ur. It is still unclear at which moment during (or after) Utu-ḫegal's reign Ur-Namma assumes power (SALLABERGER 2015: 423). The present analysis proposes that both reigns begin at the same time and that the second phase of Ur-Namma's reign begins at Utu-ḫegal's death. The contemporaneity lasts for 8 (7½) years. During these 8 years, Ur-Namma assumes the titles of "military governor of Ur" and "king of Ur." During the 10 years that follow Utu-ḫegal's death, he uses the title "king of Sumer and Akkad." The 18 years in the *USKL*, *UIKL*, and *SKL* represent Ur-Namma's entire government.<sup>9</sup>

Further research is needed, but the figures in the king lists at least suggest contemporaneity between Ur-Namma and Utu-ḫegal. Together with the 2-year overlap between Amar-Sin and Šu-Sin, this implies that Uruk V and Ur III reign at most 106 years (or 107 years, if 25 years are assigned to Ibbi-Sin):

Ur-Namma	18	8 = Utu-ḫegal 7½	
		10	58
Šulgi	48		
Amar-Sin	9		
		2	9
Šu-Sin	7		
Ibbi-Sin	24		
	106		

**Notes**

1. CHARPIN 2004: 385-387; SALLABERGER 2004: 40; cf. SALLABERGER & SCHRAKAMP 2015: 133 and n. 456: "[...] only a difference of +/-1 year seems possible."
2. For the edition of the *USKL*, see STEINKELLER 2003; for the editions of the *SKL*, see JACOBSEN 1939: 5-13; SALLABERGER & SCHRAKAMP 2015: 15-16; for the *UIKL*, see GEORGE 2011: 206-207.
3. Ur-Namma's years are the last ones recorded in the *USKL*. The list is compiled during Šulgi's reign: *USKL* vi.34'.
4. For Utu-ḫegal's reign length in the *SKL* WB, see MAHIEU 2019: 11 n. 66.
5. For instance, JACOBSEN 1939: 123 n. 332: "Since the easiest way to count the rulers in such a list is to count the numerals, which stand out from the other signs, it is possible that the miscounting was due to the identical figures for Būr-Sîn [i.e. Amar-Sin] and Shū-Sîn."
6. Ur-Namma is given 18 years on tablet W 22289 (dated to 251 BC) as well: HUNGER 1976: 20 (no. 2, obv. 2).
7. See FRAYNE 1997: 236-241, 285-294.
8. The reconstruction of the name as Ur-[Namma] is uncertain: SALLABERGER 2015: 424.
9. Cf. HUBER 1999-2000: 63: "Apparently, Utuhegal as king in Uruk and Ur-Nammu as governor in Ur start more or less simultaneously, shortly before the defeat of the Guti. [...] One may conjecture that Ur-Nammu took over the kingship in Ur only after Utuhegal's death (who died by a drowning accident, according to an omen), but that the king lists count his years from the beginning of his governorship." The change of the title "king of Ur" into "king of Sumer and Akkad" suggests, however, that Ur-Namma already becomes king (of Ur) before Utu-ḫegal's death and a more powerful king (a king of Sumer and Akkad) after the latter's death.

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**106) Again on the Meaning of ki-sa<sub>2</sub> (Akk. *kissû*)** — It is generally agreed that the Sumerian word ki-sa<sub>2</sub> (Akk. *kissû*), when appearing in building contexts, denotes “retaining wall.” Such walls, often made of baked bricks and thickly coated with bitumen, were sunk next to the building’s lower course and foundations in order to protect them from underground water. See, most recently, Steinkeller 2015: 193 n. 209 (with earlier literature).

An additional datum supporting this interpretation is the logogram KI.ŠEŠ.KAK(.A), which, in lexical sources, is given as an equivalent of *kissû*:

ki-is-sa KI.ŠEŠ.KAK = *ki-is-su-u* (Diri IV 313 = MSL 15 164-165);  
 ki-is-sa KI.ŠEŠ.KAK = *ba-ab ki-si-e* (Diri IV 314 = MSL 15 164-165);  
 KI.ŠEŠ.KAK.A = *kí-is-sú-ú* (Diri Oxford 341327 = MSL 15 44);  
 KI.ŠEŠ<sup>ki-is-sa</sup>.KAK = *ki-su-u* (Antagal G 42 = MSL 17 222).

This logogram is also attested in two Middle Babylonian building inscriptions:

KI.ŠEŠ.KAK.A mah E<sub>2</sub>-kur-ra-ka sig<sub>4</sub>-al-ur<sub>4</sub>-ra mu-tud, “he created a great retaining wall of Ekur, (made) of baked bricks” (AS 17 41 no. 52:7-10, Kadašman-Enlil);  
 KI.ŠEŠ.KAK.A sig<sub>4</sub>-al-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra mu-na-ni-dub,<sup>1)</sup> “he piled up / compacted for her (i.e., Nin-Isina) a retaining wall (made) of baked bricks” (Walker and Wilcke 1981: 98 Kadašman-Enlil A:13-15 = Wilcke 2018: 133 no. 25).

See also KI.SAR.A sig<sub>4</sub>-al-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra mu-na-dub (Walker and Wilcke 1981: 99 Kadašman-Enlil B:5'-7' = Wilcke 2018: 133 no. 26:6'-8'), where, as suggested by Walker and Wilcke 1981: 99, KI.SAR.A possibly is syllabic: ki-sa<sub>x</sub>-a.

There is no doubt that the meaning of the logogram in question is “(the one) erected (du<sub>3</sub>-a) in a brackish (sis) ground (ki).” The word sis<sup>2)</sup> (= ŠEŠ) corresponds to the Akkadian *marāru*, “to be bitter,” and *marru*, “bitter, saline” (CAD M/1 267-268, 286-287). The Ur III tablets dealing with fields occasionally qualify particular plots as a sis, “(under) brackish/standing water.” See, e.g., AfO 24 pl. 17 Truro 1 i 26, rev. i 17, 19, 21; ASJ 14 234 84 i 10'; ASJ 17 229 118 iv 20. However, I am unaware of any certain examples of ki sis in the third millennium sources, perhaps except for the mention of <sup>4</sup>Nergal ki-sis in an Ur III tablet from Umma (AnOr 1 88 rev. ii 19). Neither do I know of any attestations of the logogram KI.ŠEŠ.DU<sub>3</sub>(.A) in this documentation. This suggests that this logogram is an innovation, which was introduced only during the second millennium.

**Notes**

1. I assume that *dub* corresponds here to *šapāku*.

2. The generally accepted view that, when meaning *marāru* and *marru*, ŠEŠ is to be read [sis] is based on the following lexical entry: <sup>si-is</sup>ŠEŠ = *mar-[ru]* (Hh. III 334 = MSL 5 121). However, this is far from certain. As suggested by the variant forms ŠEŠ<sup>si-is</sup> mušen and ŠEŠ<sup>si-is</sup> mušen, which correspond to *marratu*, a type of bird (CAD M/1 285b), its phonemic shape could simply be [šeš].

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**107) Šulgi’s Foundation Pegs and Their Textile Wrappings** — The excavations of Inana’s temple at Nippur, conducted by the Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago and the Baghdad School between 1955 and 1958, brought to light seven foundation deposits of king Šulgi.<sup>1)</sup> Each of those included a canephore bronze peg depicting Šulgi. Uniquely, all of these pegs showed fragments of textiles adhering to them.

The most extensive remains of textiles were found on two pegs: OIM A31017 = 6 N 300, presently at the Oriental Institute, and IM 59587, presently at the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. These two objects were studied by Agnès Garcia-Ventura (2008), who published a photograph of the Oriental Institute peg, A31017 (ibid. 249 fig. 1, reproduced here as **Fig. 1**). Even though these textile fragments were never subjected to a chemical analysis, Garcia-Ventura concluded that they almost certainly represent linen (ibid. 251).

A few years later, a color photograph of both pegs was published by MacGuire Gibson (2011: 98 fig. 4). Thanks to the kind assistance of the Oriental Institute’s Research Archives, I was able to obtain a superior-quality print of that photograph, which is reproduced here as **Fig. 2** (A31017A, courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago). The photograph, taken in the field during the season of 1957-58, shows both pegs together (the Oriental Institute peg to the right, the Iraq Museum peg to the left). Another photograph of the Oriental Institute peg, which undoubtedly was taken in the field as well, appears in the Oriental Institute’s online database.<sup>2)</sup> See **Fig. 3**.

These two images are highly revealing, since they demonstrate that, when the two pegs were found, Šulgi’s body was, up to its neck and arms, completely covered with textiles.<sup>3)</sup> The color photograph also shows that the textiles were distinctly colored. These facts strongly indicate that they had been tailored to resemble actual garments.

A confirmation that the material of the textiles is linen<sup>4)</sup> is provided by an Ur III economic tablet. As discussed by this author, a group of texts from Umma record various materials that were expended for the foundation deposits of the temple of Šara at Umma, which was built by the king Šu-Suen (Steinkeller 2015: 193, 232-233 Text 67, 234 Texts 71, 72, and 73). These documents date to year Šu-Suen 2, when the project had commenced.<sup>5)</sup> One of them (BPOA 1 732:5-7 = Steinkeller 2015: 234 Text 73) contains the following entry: 2 gada gin 1 gada sag-ga<sub>2</sub> 4-kam-us<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>Šara<sub>2</sub>-ka temen si-ga, “2 (pieces of) ordinary linen (and) 1 piece of top quality linen, fourth rate, (were used) to install (lit.: to drive in) the foundation deposits in the temple of Šara.”

One may be confident that these foundation deposits (temen) contained pegs depicting Šu-Suen, and that the linens in question were specifically used to fashion Šu-Suen’s “garments.” It may also be conjectured that, throughout the third millennium and probably even later, the foundation pegs shaped as





Fig. 2

human figures were dressed in such linen garments as a matter of course, and that it is because of their perishable nature that they survived only in this particular instance.



Fig. 1



Fig. 3

#### Notes

1. Ellis 1968: 64-65. Their respective field numbers are 5 N 202 (Locus 55), 5 N 203 (Locus 56), 5 N 204 (Locus 57), 5 N 251 (Locus 86), 5 N 252 (Locus 87), 6 N 250 (Locus 127), and 6 N 300 (Locus 128). See Zettler 1992: 248, 250-251.
2. <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/a46d14bb-996f-4826-8400-89f85fd8f5fe> cited courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
3. These deteriorated subsequently, as shown by the photograph of the Oriental Institute peg in Fig. 1, taken some years later (the exact date is unknown), where their remains are less extensive.
4. See also Gibson 2011: 98, subscript to fig. 4: “Remnants of linen still cling to the statues.”
5. The temple was completed in year Šu-Suen 9 (as stated in the year-formula for that year).

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**108) Did Elamites set fire to Ur?** — The purpose of this note is to scrutinise the Sumerian phrase “*izi-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-eden-na*” attested in kirugu 5 of the Lamentation of Ur (henceforth LU) and kiguru 1 of the Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur (henceforth LSU). The passages are as follows: *u<sub>4</sub> mir-mir-da izi-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-edin-na bar ba-da-an-tab* “a fire (*izi-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-eden-na*) burns with raging storm” (LU.187), *u<sub>4</sub> babbar-re izi-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-edin-na ba-da-an-tab-tab* “a fire (*izi-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-eden-na*) unites with the bright day” (LSU. 80). In a number of secondary publications, this term has been translated as “fiery glow” and “shadow” (Samet 2014:65, Foster 1996: 12, ETCSL). In a lexical text cited by CAD, the Akkadian word *anqullu* (IZI.AN.NE) denoting an atmospheric phenomenon is written as an equivalent to “*izi-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-eden-na*” (4R 24 No. 2: 21, CAD A/II, P.143). The examples from LU and LSU explicitly refer to a destructive fire that burnt the whole city of Ur. But a question arises that what was the cause of fire? My argument is that the word “storm” in the Sumerian lamentation texts hardly refers to a natural phenomenon, but may well be a metaphor for foreign invaders. So I argue that the texts LU and LSU allude to a fire set by the Elamite invaders, though no archaeological evidence may prove such a massive fire in Ur during the Elamite invasion in the first place.

In LU, kirugu 5, there is a passage in which Enlil calls for a storm to destroy the city of Ur. The text reads:  $\dot{s}i\dot{s}$ tukul uru<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> saĝ-gaz i<sub>3</sub>-ak-e teš-bi i<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-e “a weapon in the city strikes people’s head and strikes the whole of it” (LU. 184). In the previous line, the storm is likened to a flood: im ħul-e a-maḥ e<sub>3</sub>-a-gin<sub>7</sub> a<sub>2</sub>-bi nu-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub> “the destructive storm, like an overflow flood, cannot be restrained” (LU. 183). This metaphor is usually used as a euphemism to express enemies. In other Sumerian city lamentations, this is a literary expression to describe the enemy’s invasion. For instance, a passage in LSU reads: u<sub>4</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> mar-uru-gin<sub>7</sub> teš<sub>2</sub>-bi i<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-e “the storm gathers to strike the whole of it like a flood”. Apart from the euphemism used in LU, LSU has explicit references to Elamites: sig-še<sub>3</sub> elam<sup>ki</sup>-ma u<sub>2</sub>-a e<sub>3</sub>-a-gin<sub>7</sub> KU-bi im-[...]X-le “to the south, the Elamites, like an overflowing flood...” (LSU. 257), elam<sup>ki</sup>-e a maḥ e<sub>3</sub>-a-gin<sub>7</sub> gidim im-ma-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-ĝar “Elam, like a swelling flood wave, only left the ghosts” (LSU. 405)”. As noted, storm and flood are two closely related metaphors in the Sumerian lamentation texts, and they often appear in parallel.

Moreover, the 22<sup>nd</sup> year name of Ibbi-Suen bears more evidence in this regard. The year formula says: mu <sup>d</sup>i-bi<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>en.zu lugal uri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma-ke<sub>4</sub> a-ma-ru ni<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ga diĝir-re-ne-ke<sub>4</sub> zag an-ki im-suh<sub>3</sub>-suh<sub>3</sub>-a uri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> URUXUD<sup>ki</sup> tab-ba bi<sub>2</sub>-in-gi-en “Ibbi-Suen, the king of Ur, secured Ur and Uru<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> stricken by a flood, ordered by the gods, which shook the whole world” (CDLI). Miguel Civil suggested that the word flood could be “a metaphor for one of the many political and military reverses suffered by Ibbi-Suen” (Civil 1987: 28). This might be an evidence to argue that “flood” in the year name and “storm” in the Lament texts are equal to foreign invaders. So I suggest that the storm that, according to LU and LSU, devastated the city of Ur was not a natural phenomenon, but a metaphor for the Elamite invaders.

Finally, following Foster (1996), I argue that the word izi-gi<sub>6</sub>-eden-na is different from the izi-an-ne (*anqullu*), though, as mentioned, an ancient lexicon gives such an equivalence between the two. The word izi-an-ne looks more likely to refer to an atmosphere phenomenon in the sky like glow, glare, or a shadow cast by such a phenomenon (Michalowski 1989:79). The elements gi<sub>6</sub> “black, dark” and eden “plain” in the izi-gi<sub>6</sub>-eden-na may well describe a phenomenon on earth. Foster assumed that *anqullu* refers to “the aftereffects of volcanic eruption, at some points visible in Mesopotamia” (Foster 1996:13). He cites some astrological omens of *anqullu*, all portending disasters such as the fall of kingship. However, a passage in LU reads: u<sub>4</sub> mir-mir-da izi-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-edin-na bar ba-da-an-tab “a fire (izi-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-eden-na) burns with an outraged storm” (LU. 188). The compound verb “bar...tab” has been translated as “enflammer le corps” by Attinger (Attinger 2004: 81). On the basis of the expression of “uĝ<sub>3</sub>-e še am<sub>3</sub>-ša<sub>4</sub>” in this kirugu, I think the target of u<sub>4</sub> and izi-gi<sub>6</sub>-eden-na might have been the “people” of Ur. In kirugu 6 of LU, the aftermath of the “storm” is depicted as follows: u<sub>4</sub>-ba u<sub>4</sub> kalam-ta ba-da-an-ĝar uĝ<sub>3</sub>-e še am<sub>3</sub>-ša<sub>4</sub> uĝ<sub>3</sub>-bi šika ku<sub>5</sub>-da nu-me-a bar-ba ba-e-si “that day, the storm was removed from the land, the people moan. Although it (the city) was not potsherd, its people (i.e. of Ur) littered outside” (LU. 209-210). It should be noted that line 227 and line 239 explicitly refer to fire: um-ma ab-ba e<sub>2</sub>-ta nu-e<sub>3</sub> izi mu-ni-in-si<sub>3</sub>-si<sub>3</sub>-ke-eš...ama<sub>5</sub> kalam-ma šar<sub>2</sub>-šar<sub>2</sub>-ra-ba izi im-ma-an-bar<sub>7</sub>-bar<sub>7</sub> “old women and old man that cannot escape from the houses which were consumed by fire... many storehouses in the land were ignited”. It seems possible that, at least according to LU and LSU, the Elamite invaders set fire to Ur, to the extent that the smoke of burning properties obscured the sunlight, as attested in the following lines of LU: an-bar<sub>7</sub>-gana<sub>2</sub> u<sub>4</sub> zalag e<sub>3</sub>-a-ba u<sub>4</sub> ħi-da ba-da-an-tab kalam-ma u<sub>4</sub> zalag-ga la-ba-an-e<sub>3</sub> mul usan-gin<sub>7</sub> ba-zal “at noon, the rising bright sun became dim. In the land, the bright sun didn’t rise, it shone like an evening star” (LU. 189-190); šika bar<sub>7</sub>-bar<sub>7</sub>-da saḥar im-da-tab-tab uĝ<sub>3</sub>-e še am<sub>3</sub>-ša<sub>4</sub> “potsherds and dusts are burning; peoples moan” (LU. 192). The text LSU contains a closely parallel sentence: u<sub>4</sub> ku<sub>10</sub>-ku<sub>10</sub>-ga šika bar<sub>7</sub>-bar<sub>7</sub>-ra sa-še<sub>3</sub> ba-ab-de<sub>6</sub> “in the dark days, flaming shards formed like a net” (LSU. 79).

Last but not least, archaeological excavations have revealed ample evidence indicating that Mesopotamian cities were destroyed and set on fire by conquering invaders. There is no factual evidence to know whether the Elamites set fire to the city of Ur when they invaded Mesopotamia in the same vein that many later Assyrian kings repeatedly claimed to have burned the captured cities, such as in a passage of a Tiglat-Pileser text we read: *naphar ālānišunu ina girri aqmu* “I burnt down all their cities” to give only one example (CAD I-J, P.230)

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**109) Kullassina-bēl** — Que ce soit aux lendemains du déluge ou à l’origine de l’histoire, lorsque les dieux font descendre la royauté sur terre, le second roi de Kiš porte un nom, Kullassina-bēl, « Eux tous sont seigneur », qui est tout un programme politique. La version de la chronique publiée par P. Steinkeller (*An Ur III Manuscript of the Sumerian King List, AV Claus Wilcke*, 2003, p. 269 : 5 ; p. 277 : 5) propose un autre nom qu’il lit *x-x-na-bi-ir*. Une collation de la photographie de la tablette montre que la silhouette des deux premiers signes est en tout point identique à celle des deux premiers signes de la ligne 2 de la tablette : Kiš<sup>ki</sup>. Les signes sont encore très nets et, du reste, la lecture s’impose. Le nom du roi est donc à comprendre, avec D.O. Edzard (*namir* « er ist glänzend », *ASJ* 16, 1994, pp. 7, et 11-14 sur l’alternance *nawir/nabir*), « Kiš est brillante ».

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**110) Literary Fragments Involving Iškur in the University Museum, Philadelphia** — To complement my treatment of the fragment CBS 15142 (NABU 2019 no. 8), the following communication presents several additional unpublished and/or unedited Sumerian literary fragments featuring the storm god Iškur from Old Babylonian Nippur in the hope that they can be placed further. For a comprehensive catalog of Sumerian cultic songs featuring Iškur, see Schwemer *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen* (2001), 175.

**N 1483+N 1484 (CDLI P276620)**

Small two-column tablet with notably square edges. The format is relatively anomalous among the Old Babylonian literary finds at Tablet Hill. It bears some resemblance in its size and quality to the single column so-called “type III” curricular text, although this format typically consists of a single column per side.

oi1) lugal nir-ĝal <sub>2</sub> [...] /ug <sub>2</sub> gal kur-[kur-ra]	King, authoritative one..., great <i>ug</i> lion of the lands
oi2) <sup>d</sup> Iškur nir-ĝal <sub>2</sub> [...] /ug <sub>2</sub> gal kur-kur-ra	Iškur, authoritative one..., great <i>ug</i> lion of the lands
oi3) a <sub>2</sub> zid-da <sup>d</sup> En-lil-le /x ki us <sub>2</sub> -sa	The right arm (of?) Enlil... founded
oi4) [...] x ĝal <sub>2</sub> [...] -ke <sub>4</sub> -ne	...
oi5) [...] e <sub>3</sub>	...
(lacuna of unknown length)	
oii1') u <sub>3</sub> ?-[tud? ...]	Given birth to/engendered by(?)...
oii2') AN x [...]	...
oii3') u <sub>3</sub> -tud [...]	Given birth to by/engendered by...
oii4') u <sub>3</sub> -tud UB x [...]	Given birth to by/engendered by...
oii5') am gal nam-nir [...] kur? x IM? x [...]	The great wild bull... supremacy/authority(?)...
(lacuna of unknown length)	
ri1') [.../in]im? zu-zu-u <sub>3</sub> -de <sub>3</sub>	...in order to make the word(?) known
ri2') <sup>d</sup> Iškur me-lam <sub>2</sub> huš / x x-ta e <sub>3</sub> -a	Iškur, a furious aura brought out from...
/[inim?]' zu <sup>1</sup> -zu-u <sub>3</sub> -de <sub>3</sub>	in order to make the word(?) known
ri3') kur gal-gal an-ki-bi-t[a?] /x-x-bi x [...]	The great mountains... both heaven and earth
/ <sup>d</sup> Iškur kur [...] /x [...]	...Iškur... the mountain...

oi1-2) Or perhaps read *piriĝ*.

**3N-T 901, 32(+)<sup>3</sup>N-T 906, 224 (Schwemer 2001: 175 n. 1237)**

This non-continuous join is based primarily on content and my examination of the pieces in person in the Babylonian Section in Philadelphia prior to their return to the Iraqi Museum. The hymn mentions Išme-Dagan of Isin and should be added to his corpus of “royal hymns.” I make no assumption here about any exact alignment between the two pieces: from curvature the obverse of 3N-T 906, 224, whose reverse is blank, appears to pertain to near the beginning of the composition and before the obverse of 3N-T 901, 32. In Heimerdinger SLFN no. 44, the fragment is listed as 3N-T 900, 32, presumably a typo for 3N-T 901, 32: the number is clear on the tablet.

3N-T 906, 224 o1') mur? ša <sub>4</sub> [...] / [...]?	Roaring(?)...
3N-T 906, 224 o2') u <sub>4</sub> edin [...]	The storm... the plain...
3N-T 906, 224 o3') šeĝ <sub>3</sub> an-[na? ...]	Rain of heaven...
3N-T 906, 224 o4') tum <sub>9</sub> gal [...]	Great wind[s](?)...
3N-T 906, 224 o5') ug <sub>2</sub> ud-d[a...]	<i>ug</i> creature(?)... the storm
3N-T 906, 224 o6') an-ki-a su-[zi/lim? ...]	In heaven and earth... aura(?)...
3N-T 906, 224 o7') ULU <sub>3</sub> [...]	Flood/southern storm(?)...
3N-T 906, 224 o8') erim <sub>2</sub> SUH <sub>3</sub> [...]	Confusing(?) the enemy...
3N-T 906, 224 o9') [...] x [...]	...
(lacuna of unknown length)	
3N-T 901, 32 o1') [...] x mah	...supreme...
3N-T 901, 32 o2') [...] -še <sub>3</sub> AK	...
3N-T 901, 32 o3') [...] -še <sub>3</sub> DI	...
3N-T 901, 32 o4') [...] <sup>d</sup> Iš]kur	...Iškur?
3N-T 901, 32 o5') [...] i]l?-le	...
3N-T 901, 32 o6') [...] -gar-gar	...piling
3N-T 901, 32 o7') [...] z]a-pa-aĝ <sub>2</sub> mah-zu	...your supreme scream
3N-T 901, 32 o8') [...] I]M.A an-na sir <sub>2</sub> -re	...thickening(?) the rain of heaven/the thick rain of heaven
3N-T 901, 32 o9') [...] KA? dub <sub>2</sub> -dub <sub>2</sub> -me-en	...you are the one who makes... tremble
3N-T 901, 32 o10') [...] a?] -a <sup>d</sup> Iškur	...father(?) Iškur
3N-T 901, 32 o11') [...] x dugud-da-zu	Your heavy/important...
3N-T 901, 32 o12') [...] x gu <sub>2</sub> ?-gin <sub>7</sub> AK-AK	...like...
3N-T 901, 32 o13') [sa?]-gid <sub>2</sub> -da-am <sub>3</sub>	It is the <i>sagida</i> refrain
3N-T 901, 32 o14') [...] <sup>d</sup> Iš]kur en he <sub>2</sub> -ĝal <sub>2</sub> -la	...Iškur, lord of abundance
3N-T 901, 32 o15') [...] <sup>d</sup> I]š-me- <sup>d</sup> Da-gan	...Išme-Dagan
3N-T 901, 32 o16') [...] x	
(lacuna of unknown length)	
3N-T 901, 32 r1') [...] -zu? an-ki-bi?-[da?]	...your... both(?) heaven and earth
3N-T 901, 32 r2') [...] nam... i] -ri-in-tar	...decreed a fate... for you
3N-T 901, 32 r3') [...] <sup>d</sup> Iškur	...Iškur
3N-T 901, 32 r4') [...] dug <sub>4</sub> -ga-zu	...you command(?)
3N-T 901, 32 r5') [...] -ši-im-ĝar-e	...sets towards(?)
(double ruling)	
3N-T 901, 32 r6') [...] NAM he <sub>2</sub> -šar <sub>2</sub> -re	...may(?)... proliferate(?)
3N-T 901, 32 r7') [...] -ma šu du <sub>8</sub>	...holding...
3N-T 901, 32 r8') [...] <sup>d</sup> Iškur	...Iškur
3N-T 901, 32 r9') [...] a]-a ugu-na	...of his birth father
3N-T 901, 32 r10') [...] <sup>um</sup> šeĝ <sub>3</sub> an-na-ka	...the rain(bearing wind) of heaven
3N-T 901, 32 r11') [...] x x si sa <sub>2</sub> -sa <sub>2</sub> -e	...putting in order...
3N-T 901, 32 r12') [...] <sup>d</sup> Iškur en kur-kur-re	...Iškur, the lord of the lands
3N-T 901, 32 r13') [...] šum <sub>2</sub> -mu	...giving...
3N-T 901, 32 r14') [...] in-ga-me-na-am <sub>3</sub>	...you too are...
3N-T 901, 32 r15') [...] -ra	...
3N-T 901, 32 r16') [...] šu? ur <sub>4</sub>	...gathering(?)...

**N 1356 (CDLI P276504)**

Small left edge *imgida* fragment.

o1') x [...] / [...]	...
o2') x x [...]	...
o3') x [...]	...
o4') u <sub>4</sub> AN x [...]	Storm...

o5') lugal x x [...]	King...
o6') <sup>d</sup> Iškur ud!?-da? [...]	Iškur, ...the storm(?)
o7') ur-saĝ ud x [...]	Hero, storm...
o8') a-a <sup>d</sup> Iškur [...]	Father Iškur...
o9') lugal ug [...]	King, <i>ug</i> lion...
o10' x x [...]	...
(lacuna of unknown length)	
r1' gur <sub>7</sub> d[u <sub>6</sub> gur <sub>7</sub> -maš ...]	The large grain heaps [and small grain heaps? ...]
r2' <sup>d</sup> Iškur [...]	Iškur...
r3' uĝ <sub>3</sub> saĝ-[giĝ <sub>2</sub> -ga...]	The people, the black headed...
r4' du <sub>x</sub> -du <sub>x</sub> (PU <sub>2</sub> -PU <sub>2</sub> ) x [...]	Mounds(?)...
r5' lugal x [...]	King...
r6' <sup>d</sup> Iškur [...]	Iškur...

r4') For reduplicated du<sub>6</sub> in an analogous context, compare CBS 15142 r5 and Enki and the World Order 311. Paleographically speaking, the sign is more like PU<sub>2</sub> (Mittermayer ABZ sign 410), but such a form is verified from elsewhere at OB Nippur, see Peterson 2014: 324. Perhaps technically this is an *Auslaut* value du<sub>x</sub> derived from the value tul<sub>2</sub>. The readings pu<sub>2</sub>-pu<sub>2</sub> or tul<sub>2</sub>-tul<sub>2</sub> are also possible, but less likely from context.

**N 2506+N 2507 (CDLI P277591)/Ni 9627 (ISET 1 pg. 176, Schwemer 2001: 175 n. 1237)**

Despite the duplication by two small unidentified fragments, I am currently unable to place this fragmentary content further.

1) N 2506+o1' [...] hu?-mu-[...]	...
2) N 2506+o2' [...] an?-še <sub>3</sub> -am <sub>3</sub> [...]	...is towards heaven(?)...
3) N 2506+o3' [...] x ba-ra-mu-x [...]	...therefore not...
4) N 2506+o4' [...] x ad kur-ra x [...]	...sound(?)... of/in the mountain/land
5) N 2506+o5' [...] x ba-ši-[...]	...
6) N 2506+r1 [...] gal-e pa hu-mu-ri-mul	The great... made the branches shine for you(?)
7) N 2506+ r2 [...] nu-kuš <sub>2</sub> -u <sub>3</sub> en <sub>3</sub> e-ne ba-[...]	...not tiring, he(?) inquired after(?)
Ni 9627 1' [ ] en <sub>3</sub> ? [ ]	
8) N 2506+ r3 [...-t]a? muru <sub>9</sub> -gin <sub>7</sub> ki e-ne ba-am <sub>3</sub> -[us <sub>2</sub> ?]	...touched the ground(?) like a fog
Ni 9627 2' [... m]uru <sub>9</sub> -gin <sub>7</sub> ki e-[ ]	
9) N 2506+ r4 [...] x gur <sub>7</sub> lul-la e-ne x x [...]	...grain pile(?), the false one(?)...
Ni 9627 3' [... ] gur <sub>7</sub> lul-la e-[ ]	
10) N 2506+ r5 [...] a-gar <sub>3</sub> ma-na-[... ]	...meadow...
Ni 9627 4' [... ]-gar <sub>3</sub> ma-na-x [...]	
11) N 2506+ r6 [... g]e ki šar <sub>2</sub> -ba alan [...]	Pure... in the whole earth... form...
Ni 9627 5' [...] kug-ge ki šar <sub>2</sub> -ba a[lan?...] ]	
12) N 2506+ r7 [ ]-ra <sup>d</sup> Iškur-r[e? ...]	...many... Iškur... allure(?)...
Ni 9627 6' [...] x šar <sub>2</sub> -ra <sup>d</sup> Iškur-e hi-l[i? ...]	
13) N 2506+ r8 [...] x x [...]	...with (hail?)stones... together
Ni 9627 7' [...] na <sub>4</sub> teš <sub>2</sub> -bi-da ba-ra-[...]	
14) Ni 9627 8' [...] ki?-in-du KA-na ba?-[...]	...the earth... in? his mouth/voice?
15) Ni 9627 9' [...] he <sub>2</sub> -em-[...]	...
16) Ni 9627 10' [...] mu-[...]	...

6) This is a rare example of the combination pa... mul occurring as a finite verb and its patient: compare also, for example, Šulgi P 6.

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**111) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 19 : A 5501, a fragmentary tablet from Ur at the Oriental Institute —**  
 In 1973-1974, I transliterated this fragmentary tablet kept in the Tablet Collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, which can be located at Ur. I wish to thank Susanne Paulus, keeper of the Tablet Collection of the Oriental Institute, who allowed me to reproduce the photos taken by Clara Mikhail for the Tablet Collection.

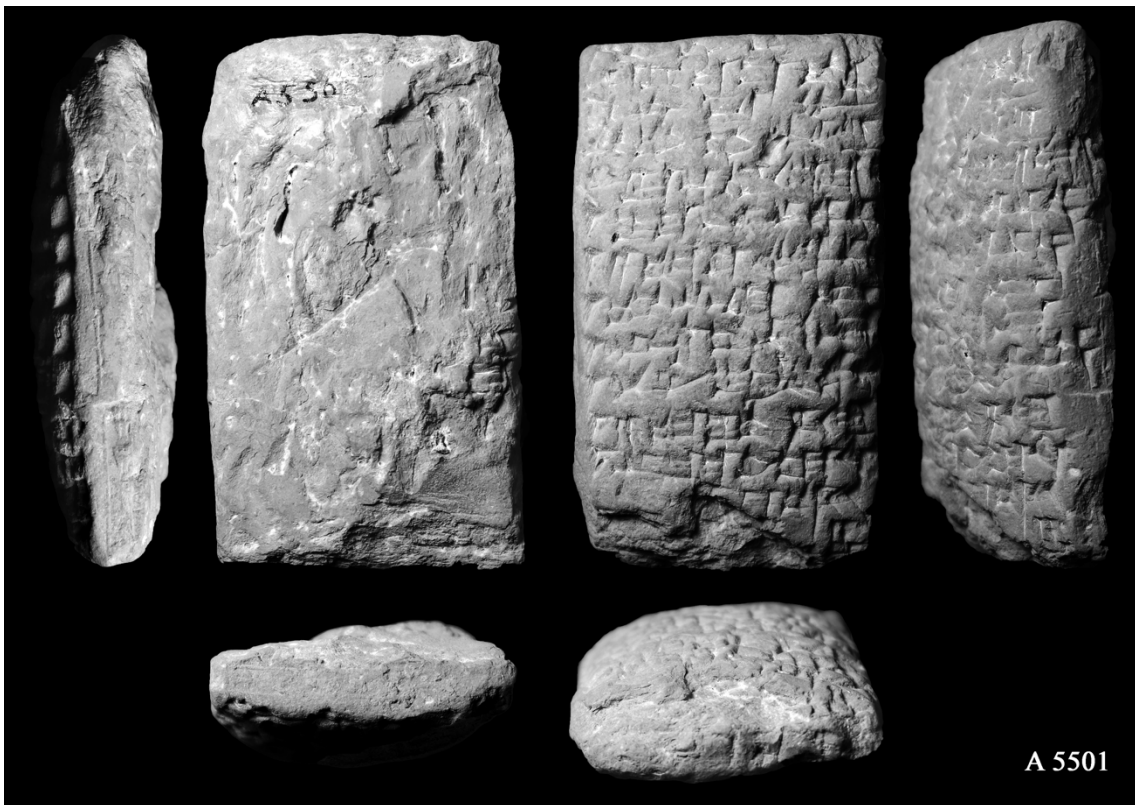
**A 5501 (The Oriental Institute, Chicago)**

The dimensions of the tablet are 84x48x21 mm. Only the reverse is preserved.

The tablet was purchased in 1924 from Father Naayem of the Chaldean Rescue.

- R. in-na-an-l[á]  
 inim-gál-la é-bi-šè  
 in-na-gub-bu  
 mu lugal-bi in-pàd  
 5' igi(!) ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-sún dumu a-pil- x x  
<sup>P</sup>i-ba-a<sup>š</sup>-š<sup>š</sup>i-dingir gudu<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>utu  
<sup>P</sup>a-pil-ki-tim gudu<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>utu  
<sup>P</sup>KUM-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU šitim  
<sup>P</sup>danna-ga-mil šitim  
 10' <sup>P</sup>be-lí-i-din-nam gudu<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>utu  
<sup>P</sup>a-pil-ku-bi bur-gul  
<sup>P</sup>dingir-š<sup>u</sup>-ba-ni KA-KI  
 l[ú inim-m]a(?)-bi-meš  
 [iti...]-a  
 15' [mu...] x (x)

“Bur-gul” seal (upper edge and left edge) : [...] / dumu lú-<sup>d</sup>[...]



**Notes**

6'. Apud Renger, ZA 59 157. Name frequent in Ur; UET 5 p. 40a.

8-9'. Cf. UET 5 106 rev. 9-10, two other šitim's (Jahn, *Altbab. Wohnhäuser* 110 f.). [D. Charpin : The witness l. 8 is known in UET 5 162 : 20 <sup>P</sup>KUM-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU 'šitim', text dated to year 3 of Warad-Sin, which allows an approximative date for A 5501].

12'. Well known from Ur. [D. Charpin : cf. *Clergé d'Ur*, p. 138; there are 19 refs. to this man in Archibab, between Warad-Sin 12 and Rim-Sin 35].

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**112) BM 87655 – a fragment of Old Babylonian oil omens** — As noted in Khait 2018 and Cingolo 2016:94 (fn 2), BM 87655 is a fragmentary tablet inscribed with oil omens from the Old Babylonian period. The obverse preserves the beginnings of 20 partial lines of text, 11 of which begin with the undamaged sign DIŠ inscribed on the left edge, followed by Ī.GIŠ (*šammum*-oil) on the obverse's flat surface. The right side of the tablet is entirely broken, so that no omen sentences, apodoses especially, are complete. The reverse is uninscribed but carved with a drawing, perhaps representing a statue. Though little of the text remains, this fragment preserves protases not encountered elsewhere in the OB oil omen corpus, and omens that echo those in YOS 10 62 and BM 22446 (Pettinato 1966). This note presents a transliteration and translation of the text, with a brief journey into the acquisition history of the tablet in continuation to Ait Said-Ghanem 2020. I thank the Trustees of the British Museum for having allowed this study, and the British Academy who funded my research. I am also grateful to Professor Andrew George who kindly commented on the early drafts of this note.

#### **Provenance**

BM 87655 was bought by the British Museum in 1900 together with two other fragmentary tablets that record oil omens, BM 86735 (Anor 2018) and BM 87642 (Ait Said-Ghanem 2020), from a seller listed as F.C. Strick & Co. No provenance is known for these fragments, but information about their provenance can be pieced back from their recent acquisition history. Like its two companions, the orthography of BM 87655 has southern traits: the scribe uses the sign PI to express the phoneme /pi/ (4') for example, the sign UZ for /uz/ and /us/ (4'-7'; 8'), and ZU (8') for /sú/. These southern inclinations fit well with the trading history of Strick & Co, a steamship company that regularly anchored in Basra, southern Iraq, from the mid-1890s. Set up in 1887, Strick & Co began to trade coal from Swansea (southwest Wales, UK) to Italy, then added iron ore to their trade, taken from Beni Saf in West Algeria, so that by 1889, the company branched out as the 'Anglo-Algerian Steamship'. As described by the Royal Museums Greenwich's profile of the company, following a successful trip to the Persian Gulf in 1892, Strick & Co expanded again as the 'Anglo-Arabian and Persian Steamship'. After the Suez Canal was opened for navigation in 1869, trade to and from Iraq had vastly increased, with large exports from Iraq of dates and grain for example, and imports of textile from the UK to Basra (Robertson 2020:243-244). It must have been from their new and thriving anchor point that Strick & Co became involved in the trade of cuneiform tablets, and began to ship crates of them over to the UK. The BM's online records in fact state that they purchased from Strick & Co a total of 1,874 objects between 1895 and 1900.

One sale dated to 1900 is recorded in letters exchanged between the BM and Strick & Co, still kept in the BM's central archive (letters generously copied and shared with me by the archivists while Covid-19 related measures keep the archives closed as I write). A letter dated 29 October 1900 sent by Strick & Co to Wallis Budge thanks the latter for the £100 pounds that would soon be received (on 16 Oct 1900) in payment for a lot of tablets discussed the year before, on 1 September 1899. On 6 September 1900, Strick & Co name the individuals behind the sale: "Mr Asfar of Baghdad and Bassorah" and his representative I. E. Géjou, the well-known antiquity dealer born Ibrahim George Géjou in Baghdad on 12 May 1868 (Archives Nationales de France, 1913). Mr Asfar is likely either a relative of, or the very same J. Asfar described by Parrot 1946:127 as "une des personnalités de Bassora" whom E. De Sarzec had gone to consult in 1877 when he was looking for a site to excavate in the South of Iraq. De Sarzec had been told by Asfar of the inscribed statues that Iraqis living in Tello had found, and had decided to excavate there with the result we know (Parrot 1946:128). Finding Géjou tied to the acquisition of Old Babylonian omens is particularly exciting for a provenance history of the OB omen corpus because Géjou is also behind the acquisition of many divination texts by the Louvre and the Yale Babylonian Collection. In 1913, the YBC purchased 41 "presage tablets" from Géjou, from two different lots. A single tablet had been sent by Géjou to Albert T.



Clay on 21 May 1912, as a specimen from an unprovenienced lot of 53 “presage tablets” - the other 52 were sold to the Louvres for “£1500 (\$7500)” that summer, at Clay’s great annoyance. The other 40 were from a subsequent unprovenienced lot Gėjou sold Yale on 11 February 1913 (Dessagnes 2017:202-203). This is of interest because according to Yale’s conservation records (as confirmed to me by Dr Agnete Lassen by private communication and whom I warmly thank) many of the OB omen tablets published by Goetze 1947 in YOS 10 were treated as a group in 1913 – but that is another and forthcoming story.

The letter of 1 September 1899 mentioned by Strick & Co still exists in the BM’s central archive. Sent by Budge, it offers £100 for the lot made of “780 or 781” tablets, 300 of which “too small” for publication purposes. Other letters show that discussions about the sale went on for the best part of a year - sellers having hoped for a better offer - until the £100 was accepted and paid on 16 October 1900. Given the date and the fact that no other sale is recorded in 1900, it is presumably from this lot that BM 87655, BM 87635, and BM 87642 come from, and they were not the only omens in the crate. Two other Old Babylonian omen tablets were also part of this Strick & Co lot: BM 87572 and BM 87631, two extispicy texts published by Jeyes in her volume *Old Babylonian Extispicy: Omen texts in the British Museum* (OBE, 1989), respectively listed as nos. 17 and 18. But while our three fragments could be southern, the extispicy texts are said to be from Sippar. Jeyes 1989:4 names Sippar as “*the most likely provenance of the tablets in this corpus*” based on orthography (“*the orthography of nos. 17 and 18 which were bought from F.C. Strick and Co. is the only guideline to the provenance*”).

And so, the question remains: from which ancient cities could the fragments come from? Retracing part of Gėjou’s activities may help in getting closer to an answer, especially because it is clear, from the records, that Gėjou came by a striking number of omen tablets between 1899 and 1917, including the Old Babylonian omen text BM 103165 (Wagensonner 2018) bought from Gėjou by the BM in 1910. Searching for the individuals part of Ibrahim Elias Gėjou’s supply chain (one that included his brother Isaac) might just lead to substantial clues about these tablets’ provenience.

### Description

This triangular fragment measures 7.5cm in length. At its widest, it extends to 4.3cm, and reduces in size until the lower pointed-part reaches 5mm. The similarity in the handwriting of this fragment with that of BM 87642 and BM 87635 (Anor 2018) is noted in Ait Said-Ghanem 2020.

	<b>Transliteration</b>	<b>Translation</b>
§1.	1' - [...a]m mu [...] 2' - [n]a-ak <sup>2</sup> -rum ú-še-ri <sup>2</sup> -b[a <sup>2</sup> ]-x [...] 3' - ú-še-{blank space}-[ši <sup>2</sup> ...]	<i>[If the oil...]-...the enemy will ent[er<sup>2</sup>...]; (he) will b[ring out<sup>2</sup>...]</i>
§2.	4' - DIŠ Ì.GIŠ a-na ši-na i-zu-uz pi-it-ru-u[š <sup>2</sup> -tum <sup>2</sup> ] 5' - ma-mi-it <sup>d</sup> UTU a-wi-lam [ša-ab-ta-at]	<i>If the oil divides in two - 'diver[gence<sup>2</sup>']; the curse of Šamaš [is seizing] the man</i>
§3.	6' - DIŠ Ì.GIŠ a-na ša-la-aš-ti i-zu-uz ta-[-...]	<i>If the oil divides in three (and)...-...</i>
§4.	7' - DIŠ Ì.GIŠ a-na er-bi-it i-zu-uz bi-i[t <sup>2</sup> ...]	<i>If the oil divides in four -...</i>
§5.	8' - DIŠ Ì.GIŠ me-e-šu ik-sú-us ni-ki-i[m-tum <sup>2</sup> ...]	<i>If the oil 'consumes' its water - div[ergence<sup>2</sup>...]</i>
§6.	9' - DIŠ Ì.GIŠ ina qá-ab-li-a-tim [...] 10' - uz-zi i-li a-wi-lim a-na [...]	<i>If the oil...in its middle...- the anger of the man's god is... on...</i>
§7.	11' - DIŠ Ì.GIŠ me-e-šu il-hi-ib ma-a[t <sup>2</sup> ...] 12' - a-na a-wi-lim	<i>11'-12' - If the oil 'blisters over' its water - the la[nd<sup>1</sup>...] for the man</i>
§8.	13' - DIŠ Ì.GIŠ me-e-šu ú-ka-a[l...] 14' - ni-ig-mu-um a-na K[ASKAL <sup>2</sup> ...]	<i>If the oil hol[ds<sup>2</sup>] its water...- clamour; for the cam[paign<sup>2</sup>...]</i>
§9.	15' - DIŠ Ì.GIŠ su-ma-am ù [...]	<i>If the oil...red and...-...</i>
§10.	16' - DIŠ [i]-mi-it-ti Ì.GI[Š...] 17' - mar-šum i-na m[u-ur-ši-šu <sup>2</sup> ...] 18' - a-na KASKAL lu-m[u <sup>2</sup> -um <sup>2</sup> ...]	<i>If the right of the oil...- the sick person [will...] in [his<sup>2</sup> illne]ss<sup>2</sup>; for the campaign, ba[d<sup>1</sup>...]</i>
§11.	19' - DIŠ Ì.GIŠ su-[ma-am...]	<i>If the oil...r[ed<sup>1</sup>]...-...</i>
§12.	20' - DIŠ ša-ar [...] 21' - ma-an[-za-az <sup>2</sup> ...]	<i>If the wind of [the four quarters<sup>2</sup>]...- pres[ence of]...</i>

Notes

§1. As discussed by Anor 2017, the enemy is not often encountered in the oil omen corpus. For mentions of the enemy elsewhere see BM 22446:28, IM 2967:28, for example.

§2 and §3 and §4: omens about the oil splitting in several parts are found in broken contexts in YOS 10 62:3, 9, and possibly 13. In line 4', the reading *piṭrum*, a split, is possible. The reading *piṭruštum* is also found in BM 22446:40 (Pettinato 1966:20) where the oil splits to the right and left. For a discussion of this term often found when *amārum* is used (in the protasis in relation to a lightness in colour, or in the apodosis in relation to a meeting), see Starr 1975:242, who translates it 'disengagement', and Winitzer 2017:337, 4.95. The term is also associated to an ambiguous reading as noted in George 2013:150, note 21-22, who translates it 'divergence'. The apodosis l. 5' is found in BM 22446:29 where instead of *Šamaš* the word *eršetim* is used ('the curse of the earth', *māmīt eršetim*) and in BM 22446:68 with *ilim* (the 'curse of the god', *māmīt ilim*). See Pettinato 1966:19 & 23.

§5'. BM 22446:68 (Pettinato 1966:23) also records this protasis.

§8. The verb *ú-ka-a[l...]* is broken and I read it as D *kullum*, to hold an object, contain (CAD K:508). If this is correct I can visualise the oil containing its water only if it is water that is being poured on it, with water remaining within the oil's hold. For omens about water poured on oil see for example BM 22446:32-40 (Pettinato 1966:19-20) and BM 87655:7 (Anor 2018:30).

§7. *La'ābum* (CAD L:6 "to infect (a)", AHW L:521 "strapazieren") is linked to the *li'bu*-disease, and to being 'afflicted' by sorcery. These meanings do not work here for a meeting of water and oil. As pointed out to me by Andrew George, *la'ābum* occurs in the Epic of Gilgamesh tablet V:14' (Al-Rawi and George 2014:76) as a stative (*la-i-ib'*) to describe scabs on bark, translated by George 2020:36 as "Cedars scabbed with resin grew sixty cubits high". The use of *la'ābum* to describe the result of a meeting of surfaces (one bark) that results in scabs, seems fitting here, and I opted for the English word 'blister' to express both the idea of a burning and of a strain produced by the meeting of oil and water.

§8. BM 22446:50: *ana marši rigmum ana KASKAL um-ma-ni zi-it-tam i-ka-al.*

§9. BM 22447:6: *Ì.GIŠ a-na me-e i-na na-de-ia su-ma-am ù ú-úr-qá-am* (Pettinato 1966:61).

§10. BM 87635:15' (Anor 2018:31): *mar-šum i-na mu-ur-ší-šu i-lum u-sà-an-na-qa-šu-ma.*

§12. IM 2967:81 (Pettinato 1966:46): *U<sub>4</sub> ša-ar [4-šu] ir-ši.*



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**113) Drei Multiplikationstabellen und eine Liste von Tornamen<sup>1)</sup>** — Multiplikationstabellen gehören zum Standardrepertoire der babylonischen Mathematik. Ob sie ausschließlich als Teil des Schulcurriculums zu sehen sind oder auch praktisch eine Rolle gespielt haben, ist nicht sicher zu bestimmen. Es fällt jedenfalls auf, dass man auf den bisher bekannten Tabellen ausschließlich hexadezimale Notationen findet und nicht die im Alltag sicher gängigeren Dezimalnotationen.

Die hier vorgestellten Tabellen sind Teil einer mitteleuropäischen Privatsammlung. Zum Fundort der Multiplikationstabellen liegen keine Angaben vor und es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, dass sie ursprünglich aus dem selben Archivzusammenhang stammen, da sie zu unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten von verschiedenen europäischen und amerikanischen Händlern erworben wurden. Im folgenden werden die Inventarnummern der Sammlung übernommen.

Alle drei hier edierten Tabellen enthalten jeweils eine Einzelmultiplikationstabelle, wobei die Tabellen 3 und 16 in dem von NEUGEBAUER (1935 [1973]: 32) als Typus A bezeichneten Schema angeordnet sind. Die in den Tabellen verwendeten Kopffzahlen 1,30 (90); 2,24 (144) und 8,20 (500) sind Teil des Kopffzahlbestandes sowohl in Einzel- als auch in Sammelmultiplikationstabellen (NEUGEBAUER 1935 [1973]: 34-5; NEUGEBAUER & SACHS 1945: 25-33).

Die Tabellen 3 und 16 enthalten die Multiplikationen von eins bis zwanzig und dazu noch das Dreißig-, Vierzig- und Fünfzigfache der Grundzahl. Beide Tabellen schließen mit einem Doppelstrich. Die Multiplikationstabelle von Tafel 9 ist nur bis zum vierten Eintrag erhalten, so dass nicht gesagt werden kann, ob sie im weiteren Verlauf auch diesem Schema gefolgt ist. Der untere Teil dieser Tafel enthält dagegen eine Liste von Tornamen. Bei näherer Betrachtung der Tafel zeigt sich jedoch, dass sie aus zwei ursprünglich nicht zusammengehörenden Stücken zusammengesetzt worden ist. Ob die Tafel schon kurz nach ihrer Auffindung oder erst viel später im Kunsthandel „repariert“ worden ist, lässt sich nicht klären. Der Ton der beiden Stücke sieht zwar ähnlich aus, allerdings sind sie mit Sicherheit von zwei verschiedenen Schreibern geschrieben worden.

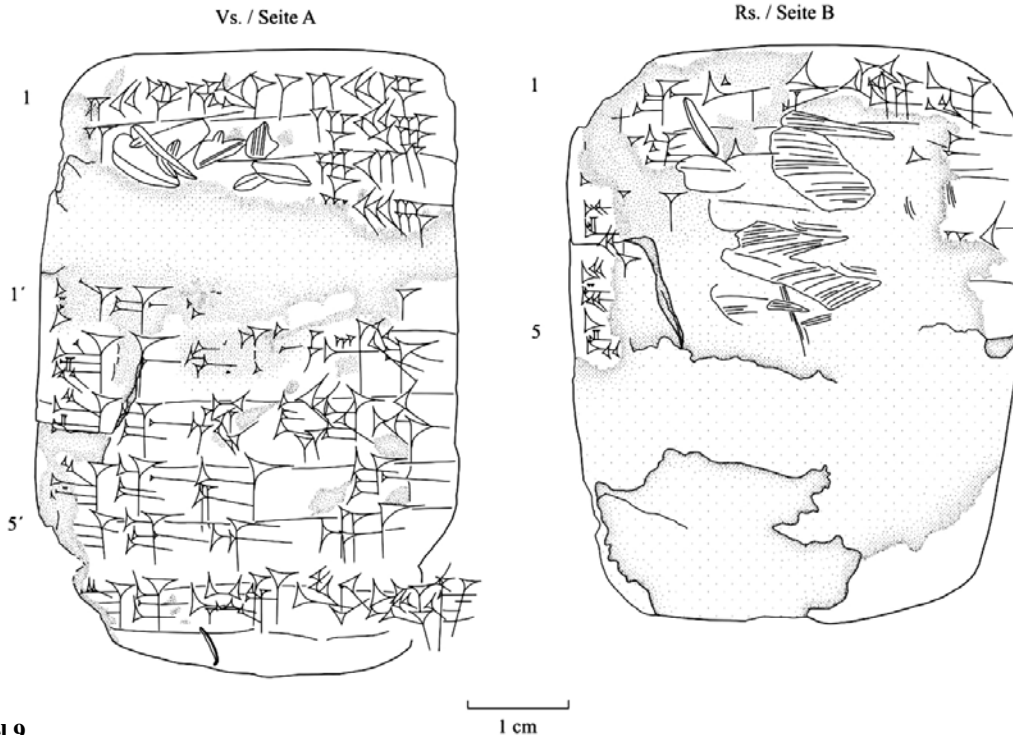
Tafel 3

Vs.	1	1,30 (90) a-rá 1	1,30 (90)	Rs.	1	[a-rá 14]	21,00 (1260)
	2	a-rá 2	3,00 (180)		2	[a-r]á '15'	22,30 (1350)
	3	a-rá 3	4,30 (270)		3	'a <sup>1</sup> -rá '16'	24,00 (1440)
	4	a-rá 4	6,00 (360)		4	a-rá '17'	'25',30 (1530)
	5	a-rá '5'	7,30 (450)		5	a-rá '18'	27,00 (1620)
	6	a-rá 6	9,00 (540)		6	[a-r]á '19'	'28',30 (1710)
	7	a-rá 7	10,30 (630)		7	[a-rá 20]	30,00 (1800)
	8	[a-r]á 8	12,00 (720)		8	[a-rá 30]	'45',00 (2700)
	9	[a-r]á '10 lá 1'	13,30 (810)		9	[a-rá 40]	1,00,00 (3600)
	10	'a-rá <sup>1</sup> 10	15,00 (900)		10	'a <sup>1</sup> -[rá 50]	'1',15,00 (4500)
	11	a-'rá <sup>1</sup> 11	'16',30 (990)				
	12	[a-rá] 12	18,00 (1080)				
	13	[a-r]á 13	19,30 (1170)				

(Ende Vs.)

(ca. 2 Zeilen abgebrochen)

Rs. 6: Wegen der Beschädigungen ist die Schreibweise von 19 nicht eindeutig zu bestimmen.  
Das Zeichen 4 ist in Zeile Vs. 3 und in Rs. 3 im Ergebnis wie NÍG und im Multiplikator in Vs. 4 wie ZA geschrieben.



Tafel 9

Vs. (Multiplikationstabelle)		
1	2,24 (144) a-rá 1	2,24 (144)
2	'x <sup>1</sup> [ ]	4,48 (288)
3	[ ]	7,12 (432)
4	[ ]	'9',36 (576)

(Bruch)

Seite A (Stadtliste)  
 1' 'abul x<sup>1</sup> [ ] 'x<sup>1</sup>  
 2' 'abul maḥ ud-nun<sup>ki1</sup>  
 3' abul gú-edin<sup>2</sup>-na  
 4' abul é-gal  
 5' 'abul<sup>1</sup> <sup>di</sup>inanna  
 6' 'abul<sup>1</sup> maḥ úrim<sup>ki</sup>  
 (Ende von Seite A)

Seite B (Stadtliste)  
 1 'abul na-né pàd-da<sup>1</sup>  
 2 'abul x<sup>1</sup> [ ] 'r<sup>ki1</sup>  
 3 'abul<sup>1</sup> [ ]  
 4 'abul<sup>1</sup> [ ] 'x<sup>1</sup>  
 5 'abul<sup>1</sup> [ ]

(Rest der Seite B ist abgebrochen)

Aufgrund der erhaltenen Größe und des Inhalts der Tafel ist es wahrscheinlich, dass es sich bei der Torliste um ein Exzerpt aus einer lexikalischen Liste handelt, das als Schulübung diente. Eine Zugehörigkeit zur lexikalischen Liste *ká-gal* = *abullu* (fortan als *Kagal* bezeichnet) ist angesichts der hohen Textvariation in den altbabylonischen lexikalischen Listen (CIVIL 2011: 229; vgl. auch die in MSL 13 publizierten Manuskripte von Proto-Kagal und Kagal) möglich.

S. A 5': // kanonischer Kagal I i 11 (MSL 13: 228)

S. A 6': Ähnlich sind die Erwähnungen im Jahresnamen von Gungunum 20 ("mu abul maḥ úrim<sup>ki</sup> ba-dù") und in U 7734 aus dem altbabylonischen Ur. In der kanonischen Version von Kagal I i 3 findet sich der Eintrag "ká-gal maḥ igi-bi úrim<sup>ki</sup>-šè" (MSL 13: 228).

S. B 1: // Proto-Kagal 8 (MSL 13: 67)

**Tafel 16**

<table border="0"> <tr><td>Vs. 1</td><td>ʿ8<sup>1</sup>,20 (500) a-r[á 1</td><td>8,20 (500)]</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>a-rá 2</td><td>16,40 (1000)]</td></tr> <tr><td>3</td><td>a-rá 3</td><td>25 (1500)</td></tr> <tr><td>4</td><td>a-rá 4</td><td>33,20 (2000)</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>a-rá 5</td><td>41,40 (2500)</td></tr> <tr><td>6</td><td>a-rá 6</td><td>50 (3000)</td></tr> <tr><td>7</td><td>a-rá 7</td><td>58,20 (3500)</td></tr> <tr><td>8</td><td>a-rá ʿ8<sup>1</sup></td><td>1,6,40 (4000)</td></tr> <tr><td>9</td><td>a-rá [9]</td><td>1,15,0 (4500)</td></tr> <tr><td>10</td><td>[a-rá] ʿ10<sup>1</sup></td><td>[1],23,20 (5000)</td></tr> <tr><td>11</td><td>[a]-ʿrá 11<sup>1</sup></td><td>1,31,40 (5500)]</td></tr> <tr><td>12</td><td>[a]-rá ʿ12<sup>1</sup></td><td>ʿ1<sup>1</sup>,40,0 (6000)</td></tr> <tr><td>13</td><td>a-rá 13</td><td>ʿ1,48<sup>1</sup>,20 (6500)]</td></tr> <tr><td>14</td><td>a-rá 14</td><td>1,5[6,40 (7000)]</td></tr> </table> <p>(Ende Vs.)</p>	Vs. 1	ʿ8 <sup>1</sup> ,20 (500) a-r[á 1	8,20 (500)]	2	a-rá 2	16,40 (1000)]	3	a-rá 3	25 (1500)	4	a-rá 4	33,20 (2000)	5	a-rá 5	41,40 (2500)	6	a-rá 6	50 (3000)	7	a-rá 7	58,20 (3500)	8	a-rá ʿ8 <sup>1</sup>	1,6,40 (4000)	9	a-rá [9]	1,15,0 (4500)	10	[a-rá] ʿ10 <sup>1</sup>	[1],23,20 (5000)	11	[a]-ʿrá 11 <sup>1</sup>	1,31,40 (5500)]	12	[a]-rá ʿ12 <sup>1</sup>	ʿ1 <sup>1</sup> ,40,0 (6000)	13	a-rá 13	ʿ1,48 <sup>1</sup> ,20 (6500)]	14	a-rá 14	1,5[6,40 (7000)]	<table border="0"> <tr><td>Rs. 1</td><td>ʿa-rá<sup>1</sup> 15</td><td>2,ʿ5<sup>1</sup>,0 (7500)]</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>a-rá 16</td><td>2,ʿ13<sup>1</sup>,20 (8000)]</td></tr> <tr><td>3</td><td>a-rá 17</td><td>2,ʿ21,40<sup>1</sup> (8500)</td></tr> <tr><td>4</td><td>ʿa-rá<sup>1</sup> 18</td><td>2,30,0 (9000)</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>a-rá ʿ20-lá-1<sup>1</sup></td><td>2,38,20 (9500)</td></tr> <tr><td>6</td><td>a-rá 20</td><td>2,46,40 (10000)</td></tr> <tr><td>7</td><td>a-rá ʿ30<sup>1</sup></td><td>4,10,0 (15000)</td></tr> <tr><td>8</td><td>a-rá ʿ40<sup>1</sup></td><td>ʿ5,33,20<sup>1</sup> (20000)</td></tr> <tr><td>9</td><td>a-rá 50</td><td>ʿ6,56,40<sup>1</sup> (25000)</td></tr> </table> <hr/> <p>(Rest der Tafel ist unbeschrieben)</p>	Rs. 1	ʿa-rá <sup>1</sup> 15	2,ʿ5 <sup>1</sup> ,0 (7500)]	2	a-rá 16	2,ʿ13 <sup>1</sup> ,20 (8000)]	3	a-rá 17	2,ʿ21,40 <sup>1</sup> (8500)	4	ʿa-rá <sup>1</sup> 18	2,30,0 (9000)	5	a-rá ʿ20-lá-1 <sup>1</sup>	2,38,20 (9500)	6	a-rá 20	2,46,40 (10000)	7	a-rá ʿ30 <sup>1</sup>	4,10,0 (15000)	8	a-rá ʿ40 <sup>1</sup>	ʿ5,33,20 <sup>1</sup> (20000)	9	a-rá 50	ʿ6,56,40 <sup>1</sup> (25000)
Vs. 1	ʿ8 <sup>1</sup> ,20 (500) a-r[á 1	8,20 (500)]																																																																				
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8	a-rá ʿ40 <sup>1</sup>	ʿ5,33,20 <sup>1</sup> (20000)																																																																				
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**Anmerkung**

1. Wir möchten uns bei den Eigentümern für die Erlaubnis bedanken, diese Tafeln hier zu publizieren, und bei Nils P. Heeßel und Elyze Zomer für ihre wertvollen Verbesserungsvorschläge.

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**114) Adad-nīrārī I. und die Erschaffung der AKL** — Bekanntlich wogt die Debatte seit Jahrzehnten, wann und zu welchem Zweck die Assyrische Königsliste (AKL) kompiliert worden ist. Wurde sie bereits im 18. Jh., von Šamšī-Adad I. bzw. seinen Nachfolgern erschaffen, wie Landsberger (1954) annahm und diente sie zur Selbstlegitimation dieser Dynastie, wie Kraus (1965) vermutete? Unter den Gelehrten, die diesen Ansichten nicht zustimmen konnten, wurden Gegenvorschläge laut, die die Liste in die Zeit von Kidin-Ninua bis Aššur-našir-pal I datierten (vgl. zuletzt die Aufstellung bei Valk 2019, 10f.). Der Umstand, dass eine Bilingue aus der Zeit Tukulti-Ninurtas I. offenbar Informationen enthält, die aus einer Königsliste stammen müssen (Lambert 1976; Wu 1990), machte es mehr als wahrscheinlich, dass AKL spätestens zu dieser Zeit existiert haben musste.

Von dieser Tatsache ausgehend hat man kürzlich dafür plädiert, die Entstehung der AKL Aššur-uballit I. zuzuschreiben (vgl. Valk 2019). Ich selber habe in einer meiner Arbeiten, die sich mit den Strukturen des sog. ‚Grundstocks‘ der AKL beschäftigen, *en passant* angemerkt, dass die Assyrische Königsliste spätestens unter Adad-nīrārī I. vorhanden gewesen sein muss (Janssen 2019). Damit wäre also ein Zeitraum von Aššur-uballit I. bis Adad-nīrārī I. definiert, innerhalb dessen die mittelassyrische AKL entstand, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach unter Verwendung eines im 18. Jh. verfassten ‚Grundstocks‘.

Valk (2019, 6) scheint jedoch der Ansicht zu sein, der ‚Grundstock‘ sei eine mittelassyrische Kompilierungsleistung. Nach Analyse der Strukturen dieses Abschnitts der AKL komme ich zu einem anderen Urteil (Janssen 2016; 2019). Der ‚Grundstock‘ ist eine Amoritische Königsliste des 18. Jh., weil er von Ordnungsprinzipien regiert wird, für die sich die Mittelassyrier (im Rahmen ihrer Königsliste) offenbar nicht interessiert haben. Diese Ordnungsprinzipien gehen bis auf das 3. Jt. zurück und waren den Amoritern nachweislich bekannt. Diese Ordnungsprinzipien sind vermutlich auch für die Einteilung der Liste in vier Abschnitte verantwortlich und dienten *ursprünglich* dazu, im Kontext der sog. „qualitativ bewerteten Zeit“ (Liverani) Legitimationsansprüche und Handlungsmotive zu begründen (vgl. Janssen 2019, mit Lit.). Im Gegensatz dazu macht die oben erwähnte mittelassyrische Bilingue unmissverständlich klar, was die AKL für die Assyrer jener Zeit war: ein Verzeichnis derjenigen ihrer Könige, die ihr Amt zur Zufriedenheit des Gottes Aššur ausgeübt haben (Lambert 1976, 91 Zeile 6). Dies ist der große Unterschied zwischen den beiden Konzeptionen: die Assyrer müssen missliebige Könige aus dem Kanon streichen, während das ältere Konzept in der Lage war, sie zu bewahren und durch Platzierung innerhalb der Abfolge als „bad guys“ darzustellen. Dieses letztere Konzept war im alten Orient so bekannt, dass die Beamten es gar nicht mehr ausformulieren mussten: ein Blick genügte (vgl. Janssen 2019).

Daraus folgt, dass die Amoritische Königsliste des 18. Jh. ursprünglich eine eigene Tafel war, die mit den letzten Amoritern oder deren ersten Nachfolgern (Puzur-Sîn?, Aššur-dugul?) endete und nicht weiter fortgesetzt wurde. Man hat vermutlich irgendwann im Laufe der frühen Adasi-Dynastie eine neue Königsliste begonnen, die jenen Adasi als ersten König aufführte. Wie diese Liste optisch gestaltet war entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis. Möglicherweise hatte auch sie keine lange Laufzeit, denn Adasis Dynastie scheint schon mit Lullaja an ihr Ende gekommen zu sein. Das scheint jedenfalls derjenige König so gesehen zu haben, der die erwähnte mittelassyrische Bilingue verfassen ließ (wohl Tukultī-Ninurta I.). Er erwähnt dort eine Gruppe von 40 Herrschern, von denen 24 „of royal seed“ seien (Wu 1990). Lambert (1976, 87f.) sah darin eine Anspielung auf die ersten 40 Könige der AKL, doch meine diesbezügliche Skepsis verschärfte sich, als ich einfach die 24 Vorgänger Tukultī-Ninurtas I. abzählte. Man erhält dann die Sequenz von Kidin-Ninua bis Salmanassar I. Dies ist in gutem Einklang mit der Tatsache, dass der zweite Teil von KAV 14 mit Kidin-Ninua beginnt. Wenn aber mit diesem König eine neue Dynastie beginnt, dann war er gewiss nicht der Sohn des Bazaja, wie AKL behauptet. Vielmehr hat man wahrscheinlich bei der Genese der mittelassyrischen AKL die ursprünglichen genealogischen Angaben von Lullaja und Kidin-Ninua einfach vertauscht; in Wirklichkeit endete die Adasi-Dynastie mit Lullaja und Kidin-Ninua war der Niemandsson. Lambert (1976, 88) lehnte übrigens die Gleichsetzung der 40 Könige mit den 40 Vorgängern des Tukultī-Ninurta ab, da er zutreffend beobachtet hatte, dass diese Sequenz „after Narām-Sin“, also mit Erišum II, beginnen würde. In der Tat würde man erwarten, dass die Sequenz mit Šamšī-Adad I. beginnt, doch das ist vermutlich kein großes Problem. Die 40 Könige könnten gerundet oder schlicht verzählt worden sein; zudem sollte man die Möglichkeit nicht ausschließen, dass Tukultī-Ninurta sich selbst mitgezählt hat oder die Bilingue von Aššur-nādin-apli stammt. In beiden letztgenannten Fällen beginnen die 40 Könige dann mit Šamšī-Adad I. und die Sequenz der 24 Könige „of royal seed“ liefere von Šarma-Adad II. bis Tukultī-Ninurta I., wobei der Usurpator Kidin-Ninua ausgeschlossen bliebe. Somit haben wir also drei potentielle Dynastien bzw. Königslisten, die in die AKL eingegangen sein dürften: die amoritische Liste (AmKL), die Adasi-Liste und die Kidin-Ninua-Liste. In KAV 14 wurden offenbar die erste und die dritte Liste zusammengefasst, ob die zweite aus ideologischen oder anderen Gründen fehlt, ist unklar.

Irgendwann zwischen dem Regierungsantritt Aššur-uballiṣ I. und dem Regierungsende Adad-nīrārī I. wurden also diese Listen zu einer einzigen verschmolzen, deren herausragendes Merkmal ist, dass sie neben den Namen der Herrscher auch ihre Filiationen und Regierungszeiten angibt und gelegentlich Glossen zu verzeichnen sind. Meiner Ansicht nach war Adad-nīrārī I. der König, der diese beeindruckende Liste in Auftrag gab, und zwar nachdem er Ḫanigalbat erobert hatte. Damit war – mit Ausnahme von Mari - Šamšī-Adads obermesopotamisches Königreich wiederhergestellt, nur diesmal von einem assyrischen König, der in einer assyrischen Hauptstadt saß und der - gar nicht zufällig - zu Beginn seines Eroberungsberichtes den Titel *šar kiššati* für sich in Anspruch nimmt (Grayson 1987, A.0.76.3). Diesen Titel hatte zuletzt Šamšī-Adad I. getragen (s. schon den Hinweis bei Weidner 1932, 27). Die Übernahme

dieses Titels macht deutlich, dass sich Adad-nīrārī I. bewusst war, dass er Šamšī-Adads obermesopotamisches Königreich wiederhergestellt hatte. Nicht von ungefähr hat daher Liverani (2014, 350f.) Adad-nīrārīs Königreich als „Upper Mesopotamian empire“ bezeichnet. Falls es richtig ist, dass Adad-nīrārīs Eroberung Hanigalbats ungefähr gleichzeitig mit der Qadeš-Schlacht (1285) war (Harrak 1987, 115-131 mit Lit.), fiel die Entstehung der mittelassyrischen AKL in das letzte Drittel seiner Herrschaft (1284-75), parallel zur Etablierung der ersten mittelassyrischen Provinzen. Llop hat gezeigt, dass die diesbezüglichen *termini technici* erst unter Adad-nīrārī I. belegt sind, wenn auch immer wieder Aššur-uballī I. für diese Gründungsleistung in Anspruch genommen wurde (vgl. Llop 2011, 597-601). Dies ist eine interessante Analogie zu unserem Problem, wer als Urheber der mittelassyrischen AKL zu gelten hat.

Es gibt jedoch noch einen weiteren Grund, in Adad-nīrārī I. den Urheber der AKL zu sehen. Eine Innovation wie die AKL, die die bisher vorhandenen assyrischen Königslisten auf eine höhere Ebene gehoben haben dürfte, ist von allen mittelassyrischen Königen am ehesten Adad-nīrārī I. zuzutrauen, da dieser bekanntlich anlässlich der Eroberung von Hanigalbat auch das Inschriftenformular verändert (Grayson 1987, A.0.76.3). Nun findet sich erstmals in den assyrischen Inschriften ein durchgehendes historisches Narrativ, das hinter der Genealogie platziert wird, während zuvor (und auch danach bei Salmanassar I.) historische Informationen mit den Königsephitheta (vor der Genealogie) verknüpft wurden (vgl. Grayson 1987, 128, 135, 180).

Adad-nīrārī I. ist jedoch noch aus einem anderen Grunde die bessere Wahl als Aššur-uballī I. Eine Königsliste ist ein innenpolitisches Dokument; es wird nicht in der Außenpolitik verwendet. Der erste assyrische Herrscher, der auch nach innen als König auftritt, ist Arik-dēn-ili, der Enkel Aššur-uballīs I. (Grayson 1987, A.0.75.1 und weitere). Auch Yamada (1994, 32-35) erkennt die Wichtigkeit der Phase von Arik-dēn-ili bis Tukulti-Ninurta I. für die AKL, aber ihm wie auch Valk entgeht der besondere Zusammenhang mit Adad-nīrārīs Situation. Aššur-uballī I. hat zwar seinen Anteil an der Niederwerfung Mittanis, doch Adad-nīrārī I. hat mit der Eroberung Hanigalbats und der damit verbundenen Schaffung der ersten assyrischen Provinz viel mehr erreicht und dies mit der Übernahme des höherwertigen *šar kiššati*-Titels gekrönt. Er war der erste assyrische König, der sich so gut wie ebenbürtig mit Šamšī-Adad I. wähen durfte. Es wäre nicht verblüffend, wenn der bekannte Brief eines hethitischen Königs, in dem dieser ein Ansinnen um „Bruderschaft“ brüsk zurückweist, tatsächlich an Adad-nīrārī I. gerichtet gewesen wäre (KUB 23.102; Harrak 1987,77).

Alle innen- und außenpolitischen sowie die literarischen Aspekte sprechen dafür, dass Adad-nīrārī I. für die Entstehung der AKL verantwortlich zeichnet. Dass hier alles miteinander zusammenzuhängen scheint, ist nicht weiter verwunderlich. Die Vorgänger Adad-nīrārīs I. hatten die Bedingungen der Möglichkeit für diesen „kick-start“ gelegt, der mit der Eroberung Hanigalbats seinen Anfang nahm. In nur 10 Jahren wurden die mittelassyrischen Provinzen, die mittelassyrische AKL und ein neues Inschriftenformular geschaffen sowie der *šar kiššati*-Titel reaktiviert. All dies war möglich, weil man von nun an über eine neue Selbstwahrnehmung verfügte: Assyrien war nicht mehr das Gebiet eines Statthalters oder eines Königs, sondern das Reich eines Großkönigs geworden.

Dass Adad-nīrārī I. dabei eine Königsliste aus der Zeit der Šamšī-Adad-Dynastie als Beginn für seine eigene verwendet hat, spricht Bände. Gerade dies, wie auch die Übernahme des Titels *šar kiššati* sollte die Verbindung der beiden Reiche symbolisieren und verstetigen. Allerdings konnte Adad-nīrārī die Amoritische Königsliste nicht unverändert übernehmen, sondern er musste ihre *message* entschärfen, denn diese Liste war genau in *der Zeit* entstanden, in der die jüngeren Amoriter über Aššur regierten, an die auch die Mittelassyrier nicht mehr erinnert werden wollten. Zur assyrischen Vereinnahmung des Šamšī-Adad I. und seines Sohnes taugte die Liste dennoch, siehe zu all dem Janssen (2016; 2019).

Wir sind somit in der Lage, nun das moderne gelehrte Tauziehen um die Legitimierung des Šamšī-Adad I. und seiner Vorfahren besser zu verstehen: beide Lager haben Teilaspekte des Sachverhalts korrekt gesehen, doch die Stimmung war zu konfrontativ. Es handelt sich nicht um ein „entweder-oder“ sondern um ein „sowohl als auch“. Die amoritischen Nachfolger Šamšī-Adads wollten sich über AmKL legitimieren; Adad-nīrārī I. wollte vom Prestige des schon seit Kidin-Ninua rehabilitierten Amoriters profitieren. Mit dem Titel *šar kiššati* erhebt sich erstmals ein Assyrer zu einem wahren Amtsnachfolger des großen Rollenvorbilds, als das Königreich von Obermesopotamien wiederersteht. Dieses Ereignis wird

nicht nur mit dem ersten historischen Narrativ der assyrischen Geschichte gefeiert, sondern auch mit der Schaffung der AKL unter Rückgriff auf die AmKL. Letztere wiederum befließigte sich des bekannten Schemas der „qualitativ bewerteten Zeit“ (Liverani) und wohl auch der USKL (vgl. Janssen 2016; 2019).

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**115) Two Little-Known Governors of Nippur under the Kassite Dynasty: Bēlānu and Ninurta-apla-iddina\*** — Reconstructing the sequence of governors at Nippur in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. poses considerable difficulty, even though there is abundant contemporary cuneiform documentation for the years 1360-1223.<sup>1)</sup> Some governors such as Enlil-kidinnī in the time of Burna-Buriaš II (1359-1333) and Amīl-Marduk under Šagarakti-Šuriaš (1245-1233) are well attested; others are poorly documented and remain elusive. A persistent problem is that prominent officials commonly appear without title or filiation in the inscriptions, which are often damaged and have no preserved dates.

Here I present evidence of diverse quality for two lesser-known governors from the period, Bēlānu and Ninurta-apla-iddina, derived from: (a) the few texts that record the name and title of either man; and (b) seals and sealed tablets/envelopes which refer to the same or a homonymous name, but without a governor's title. Problems for combining the two types of evidence will then be sketched.

Bēlānu and Ninurta-apla-iddina are attested by name and title in three unpublished texts. Bēlānu appears on two tablets, one probably a contemporary inscription (UM 29-15-728), with his title *šandabakku* expressed as GÚ.EN.NA, and the other a slightly later text (UM 29-16-180), in which his title is written in an older style as GÁ.DUB.BA.A. Ninurta-apla-iddina is referred to as GÚ.EN.NA in a single document, Ni. 2574, also a slightly later tablet. Both these later texts date toward the end of this archival period, since each mentions the governor Amīl-Marduk.

Bēlānu first appears in the context KI.MIN <sup>m</sup>be-la-ni GÚ.EN.NA at the end of an entry in an agricultural-land account, UM 29-15-728:12' (available as CDLI P256443); the referent for KI.MIN in this line has not been determined. The entries for the next fourteen lines in the corresponding position are written KI.MIN <sup>m</sup>KI.MIN, indicating that Bēlānu was involved with additional agricultural holdings. It seems unlikely that he was discharging his function as governor here, since there are other persons listed without title in similar roles in the account. The same name appears again later in the text, without title, in a damaged summary line: [ni]-<sup>r</sup>di-it<sup>1</sup>-ti <sup>m</sup>be-la-ni ù <sup>m</sup>LÀL-ŪR-<sup>df</sup>ALIM<sup>q</sup>] (rev. 14). The text has no preserved date, and attempts at dating through prosopography have not yet proved successful.

A further reference to Bēlānu is found on the tablet fragment UM 29-16-180:8' (CDLI P256762) as <sup>m</sup>be-la-nu GÁ.DUB.BA.A. His name is mentioned along with the names of other persons known to have been governors of Kassite Nippur, Enlil-kidinnī, Enlil-alsa, and Amīl-Marduk, though their titles are not specified in the text. It is unclear what type of document this is, perhaps a letter or some kind of narrative with quoted dialogue (note *ki-a-am*, DUMU *a-ḥa-ti-ka*, *ta-ad-bu-ub* in lines 12'-15').



Ninurta-apla-iddina occurs as <sup>md</sup>NIN.IB-IBILA-SUM-na GÚ.EN.NA in Ni. 2574:13. This is a document consisting of thirteen separate entries (one or two lines long), each beginning with MU and followed by a phrase and/or clause(s). The full pertinent entry in this case (lines 13-14) is MU 40 GIŠ *gu-šu-ri ša* <sup>md</sup>NIN.IB-IBILA-SUM-na GÚ.EN.NA *a-na É GAŠAN-ia šú-ul-lu-li id-di-nu* (“MU: forty beams which Ninurta-apla-iddina, the *šandabakku*, gave to roof the House of My Lady”). It is followed by a similar, shorter entry referencing Amīl-Marduk (<sup>m</sup>LÚ-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU GÚ.EN.NA) and twenty beams donated (line 15). The text is difficult to classify. Several entries concern temple property, sometimes dealing with trivial misuse or disappearance of objects. It seems unlikely that this is a list of year names, though the latter are not unknown in later Kassite times (see the Excursus below), because some of the entries relate to misdeeds on a minor local level.<sup>2)</sup>

These three texts offer at present the sole explicit references to Bēlānu and Ninurta-apla-iddina as governors. We next turn to evidence from two seals which are inscribed in the name of a Bēlānu and of a Ninurta-apla-iddina, but without a gubernatorial title. Not wishing to presume that these seal designees are the same persons as the homonymous governors, we will distinguish the two sets of names: Bēlānu A and Ninurta-apla-iddina A for the governors, Bēlānu B and Ninurta-apla-iddina B for the persons whose names are inscribed on the seals.

We begin with seal KGN no. 61, inscribed with the name of [*be*]-*la-nu-u*[*m*],<sup>3)</sup> listing his title *nišakku* of Enlil, as well as the names of his father and grandfather, Kadašman-Enlil and Kurigalzu, with a royal title following the name of the latter. This seal has been identified on eight tablets or envelopes. Four of these documents deal with livestock; two are inventory-stipulations texts<sup>4)</sup> (CBS 8872 and UM 29-15-691, the latter mentioning Bēlānu, though without title), and two are receipts for rams received by Innibu on behalf of Irēmāni-Adad (BE 15 15 and MUN 324). Four texts are simple accounts about Martuku dealing with grain, flour, beer, containers, and—in one case—two sheep (BE 15 18, 23, 25, and 31); the second and third of these documents are *aklu* accounts. Only one of these eight texts bears a date with an ordinal year and royal name: MUN 324 is dated in month XII—year 4 of Nazi-Maruttaš (1304);<sup>5)</sup> and its close parallel BE 15 15 is also dated in XII—year 4, without RN, but presumably in the same reign. None of the other texts contains a royal name: the inventory-stipulations tablets are dated in years 10[(+)] and 12?[(+x)], and the Martuku accounts are dated in years 7, 9, 10, and 12. UM 29-15-691, however, is closely paralleled by Ni. 421, another livestock inventory-stipulations text dated in month XI—year 12 (no information available about whether this text is sealed or not), which also mentions Bēlānu (without title) and his involvement with the stipulations (*ri-kil-tum ša* <sup>m</sup>*be-la-nu a-na* SIPA *ù ħa-za-an-ni* <sup>r</sup>*ir-ku-su*<sup>1</sup>, lines 23-24). It remains unstated what role Bēlānu may have played in any of the transactions other than the inventory-stipulations procedure, in which he is credited with the issuance of the stipulatory regulations for herding personnel and then named as the individual to whom penalties are to be paid if the conditions are not fulfilled.

Next we consider the seal bearing the name of [N]inurta-apla-i[ddina] B (KGN no. 20),<sup>6)</sup> known from a single example, impressed on BE 14 48, dated in month II—year 5 of Nazi-Maruttaš (1303). Only a few signs other than the personal name are visible on the seal inscription and do not provide coherent context. The tablet is an inventory-stipulations text dealing with a collection of sheep and goats, but unusual in that its second and third sections are exceptionally brief. After the inventory, there is only one person listed as responsible for the herding and a short stipulation about what is to be done with animal products, including a textile (with no provision concerning expected herd increase).<sup>7)</sup>

This glyptic evidence yields some features of interest. Common to Bēlānu B and Ninurta-apla-iddina B is use of their seals on livestock inventory-stipulations texts. Such texts are not widely attested from MB Nippur; the only other examples known at present are later documents from the time of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (1245-1233).<sup>8)</sup> In these later texts, there is a caption on the tablet indicating that the seal used is that of Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur; in the earlier texts, there is no such caption identifying the sealer. It is worthy of note that, with the exception of two of the Bēlānu B tablets (Ni. 421, UM 29-15-691), all known inventory-stipulations texts—earlier as well as later—do not mention the sealer as participating in any way in the transaction; the sealing itself is the sole testimony to his involvement. The Bēlānu B texts, as mentioned above, reveal that the stipulations (*rikiltu*) are set up by Bēlānu himself; and he is the person to

whom the penalty is due. In his seal inscription, Bēlānu B is called *nišakku* of Enlil, a title shared with some other MB governors of Nippur (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, Enlil-kidinnī, Enlil-alsa). It would not be unreasonable to consider as a working hypothesis that Bēlānu B, *nišakku*, descendant of the royal house, sealer of inventory-stipulations texts, and enacter of a *rikiltu*, was identical with Bēlānu A, the governor.<sup>9)</sup> For Ninurta-apla-iddina B, we have so little additional evidence that it would be hard to make a comparable assertion of identification with Ninurta-apla-iddina A, except for the glyptic-based parallel with Bēlānu B.

Before proceeding to further discussion, it is worth pointing out that seal inscription types and seal usage have not been comprehensively studied for the Kassite period. Furthermore, it is well known that some users of seals, even for official documents, did not refrain from employing seals inscribed with the name of another person. To take only one of the more obvious examples, there is an inscription of the governor Enlil-alsa (with his gubernatorial title and patronym) on KGN no. 189, the most frequently attested sealing in the corpus assembled by Matthews (impressed on more than one hundred tablets). Yet this seal was used most often by a man named Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, principally during the later reigns of Kadašman-Enlil II (1263-1255) and Kudur-Enlil (1254-1246);<sup>10)</sup> there is no known example of its use by Enlil-alsa himself. Instead on tablets bearing a caption “seal of Enlil-alsa”,<sup>11)</sup> the seal used was KGN no. 148; and an impression of that same seal appears on other tablets where it is labelled “seal of Rīmūtu” (e.g., BE 14 81, 82, 87) and once even “seal of Ninurta-kī(n)-pīšu” (BE 14 87a).<sup>12)</sup> This would suggest caution in weighing glyptic evidence.

Though mindful of this caveat as well as of other flaws in the chain of evidence here, we shall at least advance for further consideration one of many possible hypotheses, namely that Bēlānu B may also have been the governor of Nippur, and propose a rough chronology for the use of the two seals KGN nos. 20 and 61 in the reigns of Kurigalzu II (1332-1308) and Nazi-Maruttaš (1307-1282). This is not to assert that each sealing was impressed by or in the name of a sitting governor, since some early Bēlānu sealings could have been applied before his accession to that office (when he may indeed have been only *nišakku* of Enlil earlier in his career).

- 1326-III earliest attested sealing of Bēlānu (year 7; BE 15 18)
- 1321-XI *rikiltu* of Bēlānu invoked (year 12, Ni. 421)
- 1304-XII latest attested sealing of Bēlānu (year 4, Nazi-Maruttaš; MUN 324; cf. BE 15 15)
- 1303-II sealing of Ninurta-apla-iddina (year 5, Nazi-Maruttaš; BE 14 48)
- 1300-IX attestation of Enlil-alsa as governor (year 8, Nazi-Maruttaš; MUN 434)

There are at present no chronological inconsistencies in this pattern of seal usage, even if all these sealings were done in the name of a sitting governor; in the latter case, the governor’s office would have changed hands in the short interval comprising XII—year 4 to II—year 5 of Nazi-Maruttaš. This in turn would help to explain why there are so few attested sealings of Ninurta-apla-iddina, who could have had a relatively short term in office, since sealings of Enlil-alsa—without title—begin already in year 6.<sup>13)</sup> It must be stressed that this reconstruction is only one of several hypothetical solutions, and that it posits not only the identification of Bēlānu A with Bēlānu B (allowing the identification of Ninurta-apla-iddina A with Ninurta-apla-iddina B as well), but also an assumption that the dated sealings for KGN nos. 20 and 61 do not overlap chronologically.<sup>14)</sup> These remain conjectures and need to be more closely documented.

In conclusion, it is clear that Bēlānu and Ninurta-apla-iddina served as governors at some point during this archival period. If one is willing to speculate that the homonymous individuals (Bēlānu B and Ninurta-apla-iddina B) associated with seals KGN nos. 61 and 20 are to be identified with the governors, one can further propose that their terms of office fell in the final quarter of the fourteenth century. As the Kassite Nippur archives continue to be read and published, it will be interesting to see whether further evidence emerges to confirm or confute this picture.

**Excursus. The Use of Year Names in Texts of the Later Kassite Period**

MSKH 1 pp. 402-403 discussed the use of year names in early Middle Babylonian Nippur texts written in the time of Kadašman-Ḥarbe I, Kurigalzu I,<sup>15)</sup> and Burna-Buriaš II. Here I would like to call attention to what seems to be a later ephemeral usage, two year names employed in the time of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, under whom texts were usually dated by ordinal years. Neither of these attestations has yet been comprehensively read, but they are worth citing even in their present unresolved forms. A legal tablet in the Shlomo and

Aliza Moussaieff Collection published in Levavi 2017:88-92 has a year date reading  $\text{rMU LUGAL}^1 \text{d}\check{\text{s}}\text{a-garak-ti-}\check{\text{s}}\text{u-ri-ia-a}\check{\text{s}} / \text{x x x } \check{\text{s}}\text{a} \text{d}\check{\text{z}}\text{a-ba}_4\text{-ba}_4 / \text{ul-zi-zu}$  (read from photo in the article), “the year when Šagarakti-Šuriaš erected the x of Zababa”. This text and the other three tablets published with it are originally from the site tentatively identified as Dūr-Enlilē (the source of the archives recently published in CUSAS 30 and 37).<sup>16)</sup> NBC 7992, an account in the Yale Babylonian Collection, also bears a year name:  $\text{MU.AN.NA LUGAL} / \check{\text{s}}\text{a-ga-rak-ti-}\check{\text{s}}\text{u-ri-ia-a}\check{\text{s}} / \text{x x (x) x ud-di-}\check{\text{s}}\text{u}$  (lines 10-12), “the year when Šagarakti-Šuriaš renewed x.” We await better resolution of the readings of these names and perhaps the appearance of more such names.

#### Notes

\* I wish to thank Agnete Lassen for sending a photo of NBC 7992. I am also grateful to Stephen Cole, Ami Huang, Marina Redina-Thomas, and Jonathan Tenney for reading and offering helpful comments on an advanced draft of this note.

1. Discussion of the sequence of governors in Kassite Nippur may be found in Sassmannshausen 2001:16-21 and in Redina-Thomas 2015 (paralleling individual prosopographical assignments in Hölscher 1996).

2. MU could also be interpreted as *aššum*; but the individual entries are so varied in content (beneficial, detrimental, neutral) and in style that the text could hardly be categorized simply as a judicial or criminal listing similar to PBS 2/2 116.

3. The restoration of the first sign, proposed by Lambert in KGN, p. 87, is congruent with a reference to Bēlānu in one of the tablets sealed with KGN no. 61 (UM 29-15-691) and with the mention of <sup>m</sup>*be-la-nu* DUMU LUGAL in CBS 3776 rev. 1', a notice dated in [yea]r 27, scil. of Burna-Buriaš II (for which, see van Soldt 1997:104). In the initial publication of this seal inscription (NABU 1990/103), there was doubt expressed as to whether the Kurigalzu cited as grandfather would have been the first or second king of that name. With the appearance of the prince Bēlānu in CBS 3776, before the accession of Kurigalzu II, the balance now seems to favor Kurigalzu I. This is one of the very rare instances in MB Babylonia where a DUMU LUGAL (other than one who eventually acceded to the throne) is known by name. It should also be noted that there is no Middle Babylonian evidence in favor of an assertion that a DUMU LUGAL must be the son of the reigning king (Sassmannshausen 2001:14 n. 158).

4. By “inventory-stipulations” texts, I designate a type of document which consists of three basic elements: (1) a detailed livestock inventory (by number of animals distinguished by sex and age categories and belonging to a group either of bovines or of ovines-and/or-caprids) and short note about animal products (e.g., wool, ghee); (2) a listing of herding personnel and/or supervisors; and (3) stipulations about expected yield from the herd (usually expressed in terms of natural increase by birth, but sometimes including hides, sinews, ghee, tallow, or a textile to be provided by the herder). On some of these tablets, the seal has been rolled across at least the obverse of the text itself, making it difficult for anyone to make later alterations without leaving clear traces of tampering.

5. For present purposes, I will be prescinding from the inclusion or omission of days in dating formulae, but focusing on months and years or, in some cases, years only.

6. [dN]IN.JB-*ap-lam-i-[din-nam]*, according to Matthews' line drawing and Lambert's restoration in KGN and Hölscher 1996:153. The restoration is likely, but not beyond question. DN-*apla*-verb names (with the verb form beginning with *i-*) in MB Nippur most commonly end in *-iddin(a)*, rarely in *-iqīša* or *-triš*.

7. Perhaps because in month II the lambing and kidding seasons were already finished. Most other inventory-stipulations texts dealing with sheep and goats are dated in months X and XI.

8. E.g., BE 14 137 and MUN nos. 318, 319, 321, 329-330 (phraseology as corrected in JAOS 124 [2004] 290-291).

9. If so, he would be the first known MB governor of Nippur to be of royal lineage.

10. It is at least a curious coincidence that Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, the primary user of this seal, bears the same name as Enlil-alsa's grandfather.

11. BE 14 48a (dated month V—year 6, Nazi-Maruttaš), CBS 10250 (month IV—year 6, no royal name), and possibly UM 29-15-685 (month I—year 8, Nazi-Maruttaš). In the last case, one would presumably have to restore the final line, immediately after the date, as [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>md</sup>]EN.LÍL-al-sa<sub>6</sub> (CDLI P256402).

12. Matthews, KGN, pp. 111-114.

13. KGN 148 as represented on BE 14 48a and on CBS 10250. One may observe in passing that in Kurigalzu year 13 (1320) an Enlil-alsa was mentioned in a transaction involving a Ninurta-apla-iddina, son of a Bēlānu (MUN 391); we leave that poignant configuration of names for future consideration.

14. It would also require that Bēlānu, or at least his seal, was functioning some 56 years after his father's death. With this chronology there would be a sixteen-year gap (1320-1305, inclusive) without attested sealings.

15. Later published in Donbaz 1987:72-75.

16. Several persons in Levavi text no. 2 appear in the CUSAS 30 documents, mostly from early in the reign of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. Alsītu (not Ilšītu) and Yātu, her escapee sister, are attested together several times in the CUSAS 30 corpus (e.g., nos. 299:5-6, 300:5-6, 301:4-5). The five principal witnesses to the text appear elsewhere in CUSAS 30: Ninurtaya DUMU A.ZU (CUSAS 30 9:20, 204:13, 242:14), Qunnunu *sak-ru-maš* (390:16), Rigim-Adad *errēšu* (91:18), Adad-šumu-līšir the “son” of Kurgarrū (126:18, 201:15, 204:11, 280:5, also a witness in Levavi no. 3), Ayyaru his brother (204:9, 207:9, 247:7). There are also persons in other Levavi texts showing up in the same corpus, e.g., Marduk-kīna-ušur son of Arad-Ea (not Arad-Sukkal) in text no. 1:5 (CUSAS 30 74:7, 359:7) and Amurru-aḥa-iddina (DN written

as KUR) son of Zākuru, the *mandidu*, in text no. 3:27 (CUSAS 30 389:7-8, where the 'KUR' has been omitted in the transliteration following the DINGIR, collated from photo). Mudammīq-Adad, the scribe who wrote the four Levavi texts, is attested as the writer of more than half a dozen legal documents in CUSAS 30, ranging in date from Kadašman-Enlil II year 8 to Šagarakti-Šuriaš year 3, i.e., 1256-1243 (references in CUSAS 30, p. 555, index). If he is identical with the scribe of the same name attested in CUSAS 37 327:25'-26' (Kadašman-Turgu year 5), that would give him at least a thirty-four-year career. Devecchi, CUSAS 37 p. 41 n. 2 suggests an even longer activity for this scribe, reaching back into the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš; but this extension is based on CUNES 52-18-138 (CUSAS 30 17), in which there is no royal name and the very damaged year number is not '23?', but has only a few clear vertical wedges: 3.K[AM]—the earlier part of the line is a modern repair with recently added clay and much more lightly impressed scratches imitating wedges (collated from conservation lab photo).

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**116) Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi Tablet I, Line 48: A Conjectural Emendation** — The various manuscripts attesting *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I 48 present a problem for our understanding of the two-word phrase comprising the second half of the line. The witnesses as I know them are as follows:<sup>1)</sup>

A o i 1'	[...]-[niš <sup>2)</sup> ] iš-ḫi-i[?]
I.D o11'	[...-tu]m ip-pa-ri-is-ma [...]
I.F o48	[...-r]i-is-ma ta-ra-niš iš-ḫi-i[?]
I.I o2'	'si <sup>1)</sup> -i[m-...]
I.K o6'	[...-r]i-is ta-ra-ni iš-ḫi-i[?]
I.Q o48	[s]i-[im]-ti i[p-...]
I.R o11'	'si <sup>1)</sup> -im-ti ip-pa-ri-iš <sup>3)</sup> ta-ra-na iš-ḫi-i[?]
I.w o1	[...-t]u ip-<pa>-ri-is <sup>4)</sup> ta-ra-niš iš-ḫi-i[?]

As one can see, the manuscripts seem to agree on the verb at the end of the line, *išḫiṭ*, even if none attests it without damage. The manuscripts disagree about the ending of *tarānu*, "roof, canopy, protection" (CAD T, 206): one manuscript indicates *tarāni* or *tarānī* (MS I.K from Nineveh), one has *tarāna* (MS I.R from Sultantepe), and three show *tarāniš* (MS A from Babylon, MS I.F from Sippar, and MS I.w, a late Babylonian exercise tablet). In what follows, I argue that none of the manuscripts preserves what is likely the best reading of the final two words of the line, *tarānī šaḫiṭ*, a reading that was lost due to common scribal mistakes.

A quick review of issues surrounding the understanding of each word in question will provide the requisite background for my proposed emendation. First, *tarānu*. In SAACT 7 (Annus and Lenzi 2010: 32) we followed Foster (2005: 396), reading *tarāniš išḫiṭ*, "it jumped for cover," and assumed the explanation of George and Al-Rawi that the variation in *tarāni/a* and *tarāniš* in the various manuscripts "perhaps derives by false analogy from the adverbial endings *-āniš* and *-ānī*" (1998: 198). George and Al-Rawi cite Farber (1982) in support of the idea (about which see now the cautions in Worthington 2012: 85–86). If this explanation is correct, such would account for all of the manuscripts. Steinert, however, makes a good case that *tarānī*, which she translates "mein Schutz(schirm)," in this context "ein konkreter Terminus ist, der hier wahrscheinlich in einer idiomatischen Wendung gebraucht wird, jedoch semantisch auf die persönlichen Schutzgottheiten verweist" (2012: 421–422). On this reading *tarānī* is the fourth term in a series of terms closely associated with the sufferer's person in the couplet that comprises lines 47–48, the

previous three being his dignity (*bāštu*, I 47a), masculine features (*dūtu*, I 47b), and characteristic manner (*simtu*, I 48a), all of which bear a first person possessive pronominal suffix. These four terms, following Steinert’s final point about the personal god (and elaborated in the cited pages),<sup>5)</sup> are collocated closely here (and variously elsewhere<sup>6)</sup>) with agents of divine protection, enumerated in I 43–46: the personal god (*ilu*), the personal goddess (*ištaru*), the protective spirit (*šēdu*), and the divine guardian (*lamassu*). It is worth mentioning in this regard that the commentary to I 48 equates *tarānu* with *šillu* (see K.3291 obv. 7’),<sup>7)</sup> a term commonly used to denote divine protection (CAD S, 190–191). Given this, it seems to me that *tarānī*, understood as a culmination of terms for both the protagonist’s person and his divine protection, is the best reading in context (likewise, e.g., von Soden 1990: 117 and CAD T, 207). The variants are explained below.

As for the verb in the line, *išhiṭ*: All of the manuscripts point to *išhiṭ* as the proper reading. The form *išhiṭ* must derive from *šaḥāṭu* A, “to jump, leap, escape, run away” (CAD Š/1, 88), because of its *i*-theme vowel rather than from *šaḥāṭu* B, “to take off, strip away, cast off” (CAD Š/1, 92), which is an *al/u* verb. Yet *išhiṭ* is an oddball in the context of I 47–48, the couplet that contains the four terms for the protagonist’s person. Of all of the verb forms in I 47–48, [*i*]nneṭir, *ūtammil*, *ipparis*, and *išhiṭ*, only the last is in the active voice. The others describe the protagonist’s loss of an element of his person in an agentless, passive voice, essentially making him powerless in his personal diminution. Given this contextual anomaly, one might suggest emending the verb to the N preterite of *šaḥāṭu* B, *iššaḥiṭ*, yielding “my protection was stripped off.” This is possible. And it is not difficult to imagine how such a reading could be lost: the ŠA simply dropped out at some point due to lipography, aided and abetted by the relative similarity of the signs IŠ and ŠA (in the ductus of different time periods in both Babylonian and Assyrian scripts).<sup>8)</sup> But, *iššaḥiṭ* at the end of a poetic line would create an atypical closure; the verb’s accent would fall on the antepenultimate syllable rather than, as is typical, the penultimate. I suggest we emend the oddball *išhiṭ* therefore to the G predicative form *šaḥiṭ*. This form would preserve the expected trochee at the end of the line, allow a derivation from *šaḥāṭu* B, and account for the verb form in all of the extent witnesses by way of a simple sign misidentification (IŠ for the correct ŠA) at some point (or points) in the lines of textual transmission.<sup>9)</sup> One other feature of *šaḥiṭ* commends this emendation. Equally agentless as the preceding passive verbs, the predicative would not describe a final action in the couplet so much as the culminating condition of the protagonist’s losses. At the end of line 48 *šaḥiṭ* emphasizes that the sufferer had entered an unprotected state of being, one that would leave him exposed to the kinds of suffering described in the subsequent lines.

I 47–48

*inneṭir bālṭī      dūtī ūtammil*  
*simṭī ipparis      tarānī šaḥiṭ*

My dignity was taken, my masculine features obscured,  
My characteristic manner was cut off, my protection (now) stripped away.

How do we explain the variant endings on *tarānu*? Well-known scribal mistakes account for their presence among the textual witnesses. I consider the possibilities on two levels: first, at an atomistic level of scribal errors (i.e., sign forms and sounds) and then at the semantic level, in which scribes might have attempted to make sense of a corrupted context. Looking at the manuscripts from Babylonia that attest *tarāniš* (MS A [Babylon], MS I.F [Sippar], and the Babylonian exercise tablet MS I.w) atomistically, one might well wonder if the signs NIŠ IŠ could be the result of an (internal?) aural mistake of *-ni iš/*- (after the verb was changed) or *-ni ša/*- (before the verb was changed). Perhaps less likely, NIŠ could have resulted from a scribe misconstruing the wedges that comprise NI (in low lighting?) as NIŠ.<sup>10)</sup> One or other of these explanations on the sign/aural level could have been operative in the Babylonian manuscripts variously.<sup>11)</sup> At the semantic level, the manuscripts from Babylonia indicate an adverbial function for *tarāniš*: as a locative, so, for example, George and Al-Rawi, who translate “it (i.e., the protagonist’s *simtu*) fled by the sunscreen” (1998: 195) and my previous rendering noted above; or, less likely in my opinion, as a comparative, so Oshima, “it took flight like a canopy” (2014: 81). Given this, the Babylonian manuscripts may represent deliberate attempts to make sense of *ta-ra-ni* after the following verb was changed to *išhiṭ*, defining how or whence the newly construed subject of the verb, the sufferer’s *simtu*, jumped or escaped. Or, one might also imagine that *tarāniš* arose accidentally first via one of the atomistic

mechanisms described above and the resulting *ta-ra-niš* motivated the deliberate change of the verb from the now nonsensical (even if earlier) *šaḫiṭ* to the odd but at least somewhat sensible *išḫiṭ*. In any case, the Babylonian manuscripts have the protagonist's *simtu* jumping or escaping to a *tarānu*. And if this is the case, perhaps we should render the phrase "it jumped/escaped to the roof," a semantically similar expression to the description of a scared ale-wife who locked her gate and went up to the roof (*ētelâ ana ūri*) when a harried Gilgamesh approached (see *Gilgamesh* X 16, 21, 27; George 2003: 1.678).<sup>12</sup> The ending attested at Sultantepe, *-a* (MS I.R), may also represent an adverbial understanding of the word or it may simply be a scribal (presumably, a student's) mistake—there are almost ten others in this manuscript. Also to bear in mind: It is possible, even likely, that *ta-ra-na* is simply another example of what Lambert identified as the scribal propensity at Sultantepe for signs with an *a*-vowel, regardless of the grammatically correct or expected vowel (Worthington 2012: 212n.704; see Lambert 1959: 125). Although we might not be able to pin down the precise mechanism for the creation of each variant, it is not difficult to imagine how *tarānt* could become corrupted to *tarāniš* or *tarāna*.

"In formulating conjectures," Martin Worthington writes in his excellent book *Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism* (2012), "sense is the most important guide of all." In *Ludlul* I 48 *tarānt šaḫiṭ* makes the most sense in context.

#### Notes

1. The sigla of the witnesses follow Oshima 2014: 377–378.
2. Lambert's copy (see George and Taniguchi 2019, no. 149) shows a hint of a sign before the NIŠ. I see this in my photographs of the tablet, though I am not sure it is in fact a trace of a sign.
3. Lambert prefers to read this sign as IŠ and transliterate the verb as *ippariš*, "flew away," from *naprušu* (1960: 33). See likewise Oshima 2014: 385.
4. Mayer (2014: 277) reads [*si-im-]tu ip-ri-is*; similarly, Oshima 2014: 385. I follow Streck's suggestion: *ip-<pa>-ri-is* (2013: 219).
5. Note also the OB personal name in YOS 13 496: 7, *Nabium-tarānt*, "Nabu is my protection," cited in CAD T, 207.
6. See Erimḫuš II 15–18, where *dūtu*, *bāštu*, *šēdu*, and *lamassu* occur together (MSL 17, 27: 15–18), and the OB Lu<sub>2</sub> lexical list, where *ilu*, *šēdu*, *lamassu*, and *bāštu* occur together (MSL 12, 159: 61–66, 179: 18–24 and note Steinert's exposition [2012: 458–460], where she argues *bāštu* in the list should be understood as *bāštu*).
7. See Lenzi 2015 (<https://ccp.yale.edu/P394923>) for an edition of the *Ludlul* commentary.
8. For errors of lipography, see Worthington 2012: 104–105.
9. Commenting on a similar sign mix-up in a different text, Worthington notes a principle worth bearing in mind: "the error of sign identification could have been made independently in multiple centers" (2012: 119). Thus, we need not assume one mistake that led genetically to a corruption in all future copies, though this should not be excluded.
10. For examples of these kinds of errors, see Worthington 2012 *passim*. For errors of sign similarity and sign identification specifically, see pp. 92–95; on errors of phonetic similarity, see especially pp. 98–102.
11. It bears noting: The fact that three witnesses preserve the *-iš* ending on the noun lends no weight to its superiority. See Worthington 2012: 295–297 for the principle and pp. 122–123 for an excellent example.
12. As Worthington notes, "[w]hen a corrupt or suspectedly corrupt passage is attested on many manuscripts, one must... take note that this is how the composition was known to many readers in antiquity, so the corrupted version has its place in Akkadian literary history" (2012: 300n.967).

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**117) Spätluwisch *appan muwai*** — Die Phrase *appan muwai* ist zweimal in spätluwischen Inschriften der Region Tabal (Kappadokien) belegt, und zwar im Kontext von Fluchformeln SULTANHAN und KAYSERĪ (Hawkins 2000: 466f. und 473), *á-pa-na mu-wali-i* bzw. *POST-na FORTIS-wali-i* geschrieben. Beide Inschriften stammen von ‚Dienern‘ des Königs Wasusarrumas.

In SULTANHAN haben wir nach einer Lücke § 30-33 in der Übersetzung von Hawkins:

„and he shall come up from his<sup>1)</sup> seat,  
and the Moon God of Harran shall put him on his horn,  
and<sup>2)</sup> Kubaba of Kar(ka)mis shall *attack* him *behind*.  
May the gods of the ATAHA- eat him up,  
the gods of the sky and of the earth, the male and the female!“

In KAYSERĪ ist die Kette der Fluchformeln wesentlich länger; § 7-12 lauten in der Übersetzung von Hawkins:

„[him] Tarhunzas shall smite with his axe,  
for him may Maruwa-ean Nika[ruha]s [. . .],  
and for him [. . .]  
and for him they [shall come up(?)] from (their) throne,  
[and him] Kubaba shall attack behind,  
and him may the gods of the ATAHA-, the... (ones), eat up.“  
Der Mondgott folgt hier erst in § 16.

Hawkins' „*attack him behind*“ könnte im ersten Fall vielleicht passen, wenn man voraussetzt, daß der Mondgott von vorn angreift; im zweiten Fall erscheint es völlig unmotiviert. Und ‚hinterrücks‘ anzugreifen, galt vielleicht schon damals als unfair. In beiden Fällen geht der Kubaba-Aktion direkt oder mit Einschub einer Mondgott-Aktion eine Aktion voraus, deren Subjekt unklar ist und in SULTANHAN singularisch ist, in KAYSERĪ nach Hawkins pluralisch<sup>3)</sup>. Vermutlich war das Subjekt im vorausgehenden Satz genannt. ‚Hoch/nach oben/herauf kommen‘ ist da offenbar eine negative Aktion, im Gegensatz zu SULTANHAN § 15 „and the corn-stem(s) will come up from the earth, and the vine“ und dem Fluch ALEPPO 2 § 16 „and let not (M)URUWATA(N)ZA come up from the earth“ (Hawkins 2000: 236). Statt „from the earth“ steht hier das sonst nicht belegte *i-sà-tara/i-la-ti*, wofür Hawkins „seat“/„throne“ annimmt. Von einem Sitz hochkommen hat an sich kaum etwas Negatives an sich, und so wird nicht der Übeltäter das Subjekt sein, auch wenn es in SULTANHAN so zu sein scheint – passender wäre, daß hier ein Gott bzw. Götter ‚hochkommen‘ sollen, es sich also um „a divine hostile act“ (Hawkins 2000, 474) handelt – und um Sitze, die in der Unterwelt zu denken sind und hier vielleicht euphemistisch anstelle der Unterwelt genannt sind.

In den beide Male, allerdings nicht direkt, folgenden *á-ta-ha-ssinzi massaninzi* hat bereits Bossert 1950: 267 „die unterirdischen Götter“ gesehen, und das ist m. E. noch immer attraktiv, weil sie in SULTANHAN offenbar von den „Göttern von Himmel und Erde“ unterschieden werden und in KULULU 5, dem einzigen anderen Beleg (ebenfalls Tabal), von „diesen Göttern“, d. h. den in § 1 aufgeführten

Götterpaaren: Tarhunzas (und) Hebat, [Ea] (und) Kubaba, Sarrumas {von Harran<sup>4)</sup>} (und) Allanzu in Harmana, Mondgott von Harran (und) Sonnengott (bzw. eher Sonnengöttin) [ (Hawkins 2000: 485f.)<sup>5)</sup>.

Diesen wird übrigens eine dreistufige Aktion (§ 8-10) zugeschrieben:

„for him may these gods come fatally<sup>6)</sup>!  
Let them smite him,  
let them destroy his [name]“ (Hawkins a. a. O.).

Analog dürfte in KAYSERĪ das Hochkommen auf die mutmaßlichen Unterweltsgötter zu beziehen sein, nur von Kubaba unterbrochen. Und auch hier könnte es sich um eine dreistufige Aktion handeln, denn sie dürften ja schon in § 9 namentlich genannt gewesen sein. In SULTANHAN ist der Zusammenhang wegen des Singulars und dem auch noch eingeschobenen Mondgott nicht so eng.

Kubaba wird auch in anderen Fluchformeln der Region Tabal genannt: in BULGARMADEN § 17<sup>7)</sup> nach Tarhunzas (plus Götter), Mondgott und Nikarahas, mit einer unklaren Aktion (Hawkins 2000: 523), in KARABURUN § 8 und 10 zusammen mit dem (Mondgott) von Harran beim Hinunterschlingen von Augen und Füßen (Hawkins 2000: 481), während in KULULU 5 beide zu „diesen Göttern“ gehören, die da säuberlich von den mutmaßlichen Unterweltsgöttern getrennt sind, während sie in SULTANHAN und KAYSERĪ mit ihnen verschränkt sind. Außerdem erscheint in KULULU 1 § 11 ein Hund der Kubaba, der *á-pa-na-* (...) *i-zi-ia-tu*, „‘make after’ him“ soll, erst im nächsten Satz ‚auffressen‘ (Hawkins 2000: 443). Da gibt es also zwei Phasen. Und da kehrt *appan* wieder, anscheinend im Sinn von ‚hinter einem her‘ sein, ‚ihn jagen‘, vor dem Auffressen wie *appan muwai*. Aber in KARATEPE 1 § XL (Kilikien) ist eine analoge Phrase in positivem Sinn belegt, POST-*na sá-ta*: „So Tarhunzas and Runzas were after me for this fortress to build (it)“ (Hawkins 2000: 53). Dieses ‚hinter einem her sein‘ dürfte im Hinblick auf die phönizische Version „sent me to build it“ etwa den Sinn von ‚antreiben‘ haben.

Nun ist in SULTANHAN das Verb *muwa-* später nochmals belegt: In § 44 heißt es von dem Weinberg, daß ihn „no one“ *muwata*, und da paßt „attack“ auf keinen Fall, das von Hawkins 2000 gewählte „dominated“ auch schlecht, nur „strengthened“ (so Hawkins 1975: 141) gut<sup>8)</sup>. Es ist nicht plausibel, daß in dieser Inschrift zwei vollkommen verschiedene Bedeutungen des gleichen Verbs vorliegen, und *appan* kann die Bedeutung nicht verkehren, wie das Hawkins noch 1981, 173 annahm: Für „un-man“ sollte man *ARHA muwa-* erwarten. Nimmt man die Bedeutung ‚stärken‘ auch für die Kubaba-Aktion an, ist sie nicht mehr auf den Übeltäter zu beziehen. In KAYSERĪ ist sie § 11 mit *ǰwáǰ-tá-* statt *-wáǰ-na* SULTANHAN § 32 eingeleitet, wo wegen dieser Parallele Hawkins davor (*a*)*pan* „him“ annahm. Aber die belegte Zeichenfolge kann /a-wa-ada/ „und sie (-ada, Nom./Akk. Pl.)“<sup>9)</sup> oder /a-wa-ad(a)-tta/ mit zusätzlichem Ortspartikel<sup>10)</sup> repräsentieren und sich dann auf *-ada* als Nom. Pl. im vorausgehenden Satz und auch die mutmaßlichen Unterweltsgötter im folgenden Satz beziehen. Dann macht auch die Beifügung von *appan* Sinn: die Phrase *appan muwai* kann etwa ‚den Rücken stärken‘ bedeuten. Damit erhalten wir:

„und für ihn [sollen die Götter der Unterwelt? ...]  
und für ihn [sollen] sie [hochkommen] von den Sitzen,  
und sie soll Kubaba (von) hinten stärken,  
und ihn mögen die Götter der Unterwelt, die Soundso, auffressen!“

Es ist allerdings nicht naheliegend, daß Kubaba hier Unterweltsgötter unterstützt; verständlicher ist die Version von SULTANHAN, wo sie den Mondgott unterstützt, der „zusammen mit“ (*ku-ma-pi*) ihr in KARABURUN das Auffressen selbst besorgt, während das in KULULU 1 an einen Hund der Kubaba und in SULTANHAN und KAYSERĪ an die mutmaßlichen Unterweltsgötter delegiert wird. Und mit dem Einschub von (Mondgott und) Kubaba in deren Aktionen ergibt sich eine wirkungsvolle Steigerung. Nur in KARABURUN und SULTANHAN bilden Mondgott und Kubaba ein Paar, was damit zu tun haben mag, daß sie beide aus syrischen Städten stammen.

Ähnlich wie das nur in KARABURUN belegte *ku-ma-pi* spricht REL-*i-pa*<sup>11)</sup> in SULTANHAN für einen engeren Zusammenhang:

„und der Mondgott von Harran soll auf \*ihn seine KIPUTA setzen<sup>12)</sup>,  
während ihn die Kubaba von Karkamiš (von) hinten stärken soll“.



Vielleicht läßt sich aus den beiden Versionen eine Ausgangsversion rekonstruieren:

„und für ihn [sollen die Götter der *Unterwelt*? ...]  
und für ihn [sollen] sie [hochkommen] von den Sitzen,  
und der Mondgott (von Harran) soll auf \*ihn seine KIPUTA setzen,  
während ihn die Kubaba (von Karkamiš) (von) hinten *stärken* soll,  
und ihn mögen die Götter der *Unterwelt* auffressen!“

Übrigens ist die Phrase *appan muwa-* nach der Lesung von Poetto 1993: 57 schon in Block 11 von YALBURT (13. Jh.) belegt: „*APA mu-wali-ha*“, während Hawkins 1995: 68 statt POST als zweites Zeichen des vorausgehenden Toponyms *ta*<sup>2</sup> liest. Das kann analog „und die *aliwani* (Pl.) (von?) *A-pa?-ali*?(URBS?/REGIO?) *stärkte* ich (von) hinten“ bedeuten, auch wenn der Satz „und der Wettergott, der Herr, eilte mir voran“ vorausgeht, aus dem Hawkins auf „conquered“ schloß, was ihn dann zur Annahme von „attacked“ in SULTANHAN und KAYSERİ führte. In YALBURT ergibt sich damit eine hübsche Antithese von PRAE und POST; was folgt, ist leider unklar.

#### Anmerkungen

1. fehlt. Für Auskünfte, Hinweise und Stellungnahmen danke ich Natalia Bolatti, Craig Melchert, Zsolt Simon und Ilya Yakubovich.
2. Da ist REL-*i-pa-* ausgelassen, siehe dazu am Ende.
3. In der Partikelkette erscheint *-tu-wali-t[a]* für *!-tu-ada*, wobei letzteres Nom. Pl. oder Sg. n. sein kann. Letzteres würde aber nicht zum Hochkommen vom Sitz passen und die Kette göttlicher Agenten unterbrechen.
4. Wohl irrtümliche Vorwegnahme des Mondgott-Beinamens.
5. Ilya Yakubovich verdanke ich einen Etymologie-Vorschlag: *!ant(a)-ahh(a)-assinzi/* ‚diejenigen, die von drinnen sind‘ also so etwas wie ‚Insider‘, vgl. zur Bildung SULTANHAN § 19 SUPER+*ra/i-ha-* und BULGARMADEN § 6 PRAE-*i-ha* (Yakubovich 2012: 331f.). Das wäre also auch ein Euphemismus.
6. *Wali-la* im Kontrast zu *wali-s[u]-u* ‚gut‘ kommen, das § 14 folgt, während SUPER+*ra/i* in SULTANHAN nur die Richtung anzeigt. Die Parallele in ANKARA § 9 hat „himmlische und irdische Götter“ (Hawkins 2000, 560).
7. Das ist die einzige der hier behandelten tabalischen Inschriften, die nicht im Nordbereich, sondern ganz im Süden zu finden ist.
8. Weiter dazu Schürr 2017.
9. Siehe die Schreibung mit *t[a]* in § 10, statt der ‚normalen‘ mit *tà*.
10. Siehe Rieken 2008, 641. Ein Ortsartikel fehlt aber in der Parallele SULTANHAN § 32.
11. Siehe Melchert 2002: 227f.
12. Im Anschluß an Yakubovich 2002: 207, mit Korrektur von *-na* (Akk.) in *-tu* (Dat.).

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**118) An obscure Luwian Song** — In the following short article, a Luwian song recovered through the joining of four cuneiform fragments from Hattuša is presented. The first two fragments KUB 35.122 and KUB 35.156 are already known from Starke’s edition of Cuneiform Luwian texts (Starke 1985: 413, 416f.) and are joined here together, in which KUB 35.156 l.col. 1’–2’ completes KUB 35.122, 3’–4’. Concerning the third fragment KBo 33.104, its linguistic category has been debated. While it was first considered to be Hurrian for its publication in autography, Soysal (2002: 756–758) points out that there is no evidence for a Hurrian identification. He suggests tentatively that the text is Hattian, which could be supported, in comparison to Hattian cult songs, by its melodious character. Indeed, the fragment contains strophes made of three lines each accompanied by the same lexemes repeated in the second and third lines. Nevertheless, a Luwian identification is more adequate and can be supported on lexical grounds (see below) as well as on the fact that the fragment shows the same handwriting and similar strophes as KUB 35.122 and KUB 35.156. Based on the inclination of the lines, KBo 33.104 is likely to be positioned a little lower than the other two fragments, although a direct join is not possible. Finally, the last fragment joined here is KBo 35.21, which has been classified as Hurrian by Trémouille (2005: 58), but as “unknown language” by Groddek & Kloekhorst (2006: 23). Since most words are incomplete, it is very difficult to argue on linguistic or lexical grounds. However, the fragment shows the same handwriting as the other three above as well as a similar strophic pattern, which calls for an assignment to the very same tablet. Judging by the lines, which tend to go upward, and the space left at the bottom of the paragraph, it is likely (but not absolutely assured) that it comes immediately after KBo 33.104. Therefore, we present a provisory edition of the following tablet, originating in the archives of Büyükkale:

KUB 35.122 + KUB 35.156 (+) KBo 33.104 (+) KBo 35.21

l.col.		
1 <sup>*35.122</sup>	]r̄aš <sup>1</sup> ši-r̄i <sup>1</sup> -r̄[	u-ut-ti-i-iš
2 <sup>’</sup>	] la-a-la-aš-ḫa-a[š	
-----		
3 <sup>’</sup> / 1 <sup>*35.156</sup>	]x ši-i-wa-ar[ ] -ša	
4 <sup>’</sup> /2 <sup>’</sup>	ši-i-ru-ut-ti]-i-iš	wa-ra-a[n-n]i-iš
5 <sup>’</sup> /3 <sup>’</sup>	]x	[]
-----		
(undeterminable number of lines missing)		
1 <sup>*33.104</sup>	la-a-la-aš-ḫa-a]-aš	
2 <sup>’</sup>	-t]a	
3 <sup>’</sup>	]	
-----		
4 <sup>’</sup>	la]-r̄a <sup>1</sup> -la-aš-ḫa-a-aš	
5 <sup>’</sup>	]x-ta	
r.col.		
1 <sup>*35.156</sup>	ši-r̄i <sup>1</sup> -r̄[	u-ut-ti-i-iš
-----		
2 <sup>’</sup>	wa-a-u-r̄i <sup>1</sup> -[	
3 <sup>’</sup>	r̄ši <sup>1</sup> -i-r̄[	u-ut-ti-i-iš
(undeterminable number of lines missing)		
1 <sup>*33.104</sup>	š[i <sup>?</sup> -i-ru-ut-ti-i-iš	
2 <sup>’</sup>	ḫa-r̄ap <sup>1</sup> -[	pa-aš-ḫa-a-aš
-----		
3 <sup>’</sup>	ḫa-a-ru-[	
4 <sup>’</sup>	ši-i-ru-ut-[	ti-i-iš
5 <sup>’</sup>	ḫa-ap-pa-aš-[	ḫa-a-aš
-----		
6 <sup>’</sup>	a-am-li-iš [	
7 <sup>’</sup>	ši-i-ru-ut-ti-i-i[š	
8 <sup>’</sup> /1 <sup>*35.21</sup>	ḫa-ap-pa-aš-ḫa-a- [aš ] [	
-----		
2 <sup>’</sup>	[... ](-)tu-u-pí	ḫa-a-a[r-
3 <sup>’</sup>	[... ]-pí-iš	ga-a-za-a[m-
4 <sup>’</sup>	[... ]x-i	tu-u-ḫa-an-z[a
-----		

The abstract noun *ḥappašḥā-* c., which is repeated multiple times in KBo 33.104, is otherwise attested once on a Luwian fragment serving as an epithet of the Storm-god, i.e. *ḥa-a)p-pa-aš-ḥa-a-aš* <sup>d</sup>U<sup>l</sup>-a[š<sup>?</sup> (KUB 35.97, 1'). Furthermore, it is the derivational base of *ḥappašḥandaš* found on KUB 35.128 iii<sup>?</sup> 2'-4'. Its meaning cannot be recovered from the broken contexts, although it is surely related to the root *ḥapp-* 'to join, bind', and thus *ḥappašḥā-* would mean 'joining, binding'. Another abstract noun in *-ašḥā-* c. occurring in the song is *lālašḥā-* c., which is also found in the base of the denominative verb *lālašḥa-*.<sup>(ii)</sup> (KUB 35.128 iii<sup>?</sup> 11'-12'). If it is derived from the Luwian verb *lāla-*.<sup>(i)</sup> 'to take (redupl.)', the abstract noun would refer to the act of taking (repeatedly).

The word *šruttīš* occurs most frequently in our song. Because of the *plene* spelling of the last syllable, it can be best interpreted as an adjective in *-i(ya)-* (Rieken 2017) derived from a non-attested noun *\*šrutt(i)-*. If our restoration of KUB 35.122, 4' is correct, *šruttīš* would modify *waranniš* 'the speaking one' (*\*uer-é-no-*), i.e. 'the speaker of the *šruttī*'. The morphology of *šruttīš* recalls not only the one of Luw. *kalut(t)i-* 'circle' and *marrutti* '?' (KUB 35.124 ii 3, 4), but also of Pal. *šunmuttila* 'stuffed' and *ḥuruttilyaš* '(some kind of stew)' (KBo 19.160 iii 5). The morphological segment *-utti-* is equal to Hitt. *-uzzi-*, as in *išḥuzzi-* 'belt' and <sup>GIS</sup>*ḥariyuzzi-* 'wicker table (?)'. Nevertheless, the meaning of Luw. *šruttīš* remains unknown. Semantically obscure is likewise *šrwar=ša*, which seems to represent a *-war/n-* abstract noun derived from a root *šr-* and which is perhaps cognate to the *Glossenkeil* word *šīwar-īya-* (as indirectly suggested by Melchert 1993: 195). Other words such as *āmliš* (cf. Soysal 2002: 757), *gāzam[ma/i-<sup>?</sup>* and *tūhanz(a)* are so far isolated and do not contribute to the understanding of the context.

In addition to the Luwian cult songs of Iṣtanuwa and the Luwian song of growth performed during a ritual involving the Palaic pantheon (KUB 32.18+ iv, KUB 32.16; see Sasseville 2021: 368–371), the tablet of KBo 33.104+ (presented above) represents another piece of Luwian musical tradition, whose exact provenance and purpose however remain obscure until further fragments of the tablet are identified and joined.

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**119) TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, A New Reading and Interpretation** — In this short note, I offer some corrections and a new translation for the recently published inscription of TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, Konya (Goedegebuure et al. 2020), by king H/Kartapu, a name which can be interpreted as Akkadian *kartappu*, comparing it with the names consisting of Luwian *tarupasana/i-* 'charioteer.' In the original edition – where incidentally a word-divider (§ 1 line 1, lFILIUS not FILIUS), all the line-dividers and line-numbers are missing – I suggest that in § 3 line 2 there could be a space filler (IPES<sup>a</sup>) or less likely a phonetic complement (IPES-*a*), rather than accepting the sign *a* (L450) following PES as a phonetic indicator. In § 4 line 2, instead of DARE-*ta*<sub>6</sub>, my suggestion is to consider MANUS as indirect object, and CRUS as the verb. In § 5 line 2, not l SUB PONERE but lINFRA CAPERE, in fact agreeing with one of the possibilities listed in the published commentary but actually considered there to be an unlikely one by the editors. For § 6 line 3, I suggest a different transliteration below. On the grounds of these corrections, a new transliteration and translation of the inscription follows:

### Transliteration

1. § 1 MAGNUS.REX *Ka+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* HEROS URBS-*li-si-sa* |FILIUS  
§ 2 *Mu-sà-ka*(REGIO) REL BOS\**-tá* ||
2. § 3 *ara/i-ní* TERRA INFRA-*tá-a* |PES<sup>aj</sup>-*a*  
§ 4 13 REX SOL<sub>2</sub> MAGNUS.REX *Há+ra/i-tá-pú* MAGNUS.REX (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM  
DEUS-*ni* OMNIS<sub>2</sub> MANUS CRUS  
§ 5 13 REX L273 VITELLUS-*há* 1 ANNUS MAGNUS SCALPRUM+*ra/i*<sup>2</sup> 10 CASTRUM FORTIS  
IINFRA CAPERE ||
3. § 6 *a-wa/i* [...] SCRIBA[-*la*<sup>2</sup>... CAPERE+|SCALPRUM\* *a-zá*<sup>2</sup>/*pa*<sup>2</sup>+*ra/i*-[...]-](DEUS)SOL

### Translation

- § 1 Great King Kartapu, Hero, Mursili's son.
- § 2 When he (i.e. Kartapu) conquered the country of Muska,
- § 3 the enemy came down (into) the land.
- § 4 The Storm-god of heaven (and) all the gods placed 13 (enemy) kings (into) the hand (of) His Majesty, Great King Hartapu.
- § 5 (And) he (i.e. Hartapu) took (these) 13 kings down, (with their) *shields/protection* (see Peker 2016: 17) and *cattle* (at their/and) 10 mighty-fortresses (with their) great orthostats/stones/walls (within) a year.
- § 6 And Azari-Tiwata (or less likely Ap(a)ri-Tiwata), the scribe, car[ved (this)].

Following this new interpretation and translation, one can not agree on the distribution of 'old' enemies to the fortresses (according to the editors 'strong-walled fortresses') to serve (with stripped commanding roles) the victorious king (i.e. Hartapu). Thus, § 5 and § 6 can not be about such speculative deeds of Hartapu. My interpretation for § 5 gives details of the victory of Hartapu in his land and/or in the land of Muska and it is not about the installation of 13 kings to 10 fortresses, but it is rather about destroying 10 fortresses (with their great walls). And § 6 is not the state of these 13 'old' enemy kings but it is a simple 'scribal signature', the sign L330 with an open-top chisel (not \*520), and with a misplaced SCRIBA sign (one expects it after the personal name).

One final remark concerns a questionable approach which is becoming popular in Hieroglyphic Luwian studies, i.e. not citing primary/recent editions. Some (not all) of these missing citations in Goedegebuure et al 2020 are: B. Dinçol et al. 2015, the *editio princeps* of ARSUZ 1-2; Hawkins 2011 for ALEPPO 6 and 7; Şenyurt 2010 for GÖSTESİN; Tekoğlu et al. 2000 for ÇİNEKÖY.

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**120) The Location of Beth-Car (1 Samuel 7:11)** — The account in 1 Sam 7:7-11 relates that following the Israelite assemblage at Mizpah, the Philistine conducted a campaign and attacked them. The Israelites won the battle and "pursued the Philistines, and smote them as far as below Beth-car" (v. 11). Then Samuel erected a memorial stone near the battlefield, between Mizpah and Jeshanah, and named it Eben-ezer.

Where should we look for Beth-car, the end location of the pursuit after the running Philistines? Its proposed identification at lower Beth-horon (Beit ‘Ur et-Tahta) is unlikely, given the difference in rendering of the two toponyms and because it is located within the hill country (for discussion of its location, see McCarter 1980: 146).

As the liberation from the Philistine yoke after a decisive victory is common to the histories of Samuel, Saul and David, we should examine the way that the authors of the latter kings’ histories depict their pursuit after the running Philistines.

Following his victory in the battle at Michmash, Saul pursued the Philistines “from Michmash to Aijalon” (1 Sam 14:31). Aijalon is located in the Shephelah, near the southwestern border of the future Kingdom of Israel. David defeated the Philistines in the second battle at the Valley of Rephaim and pursued them up to Gezer (2 Sam 5:25). Like Aijalon, Gezer is located near the southwestern border of the Kingdom of Israel. In light of these parallels, we should best look for Beth-car near the Kingdom of Israel’s southwestern border, probably not far from Aphek, where the Israelites under the Elides suffered defeats from the Philistines (1 Sam 4:1–11).

I suggest that the toponym Beth-car is a rendering of Akkadian *bīt kāri*, a royal trading post or custom house, well attested in documents dated to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods (CAD K 237b–238b; Yamada 2005: 74–76). The importance of Aphek (*Apqu*), “which is in the region of Samaria (*Same<ri>na*),” in the Neo-Assyrian road system is indicated in an inscription of Esarhaddon that describes his campaign to the southern border of Philistia (Leichty 2011, 87: lines 16–17). I recently suggested identification of an Assyrian Road Station (*bīt mardīti*) near Tel Aphek (Na’aman 2019: 135–136). Aphek is also mentioned in the Aramaic papyrus from Saqqarah. In this papyrus Adon, probably the king of Ekron, reported to the King of Egypt that the Babylonian troops reached Aphek (Porten 2003). Thus, the centrality of Aphek in the road system of the 7th–6th centuries is self-evident.

In this light, I suggest that Beth-car/*bīt kāri* was the name of a well-known trading post located near Aphek and administered by the governing empire at that time. Like the accounts of Saul and David, the author of Samuel’s history related how his protagonist pursued the running Philistines up to the southwestern border of the future Kingdom of Israel. By this account, the author closed the circle of defeat and victory that was opened with the Israelite defeat in the battle of Aphek.

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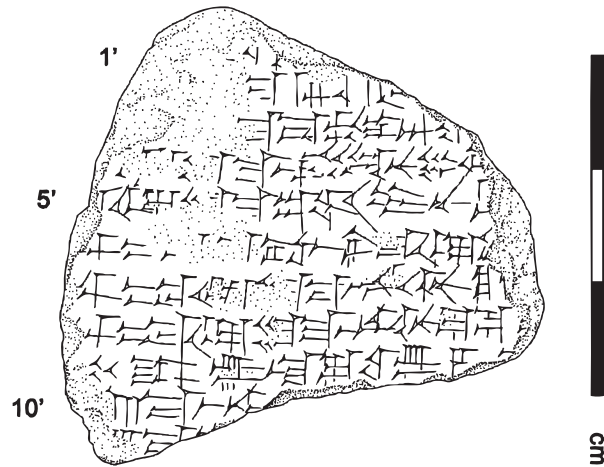
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**121) BM 35872 (Sp. III 404), *šumma izbu* tablet 1 omens 85-94** — In her edition of the series *šumma izbu*, Nicola De Zorzi, *La serie teratomantica Šumma Izbu. Testo, tradizione, orizzonti culturali* (History of the Ancient Near East, Monographs 15; Padova; 2014) presented twelve copies of tablet 1 (pp. 337-390, see 338-339 for the sources). Three of them are fragments of Late Babylonian tablets from Babylon: I = BM 38726 [1880-11-12, 610] (omens 52-70, 91-99); K = BM 36054+36087\* [Sp. III 600+633] (omens 51-52); L = BM 35754\* [Sp. III 277] (omens 100-107).

One more Late Babylonian fragment from Babylon can now be added: BM 35872\* (Sp. III 404). It has text on one side only containing omens 85-94. Since the text overlaps with source I, both fragments must come from individual tablets. Following De Zorzi’s system for the tablet 1 sigla (A-L), this new fragment will be quoted as M. I publish this fragment courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

BM 35872



Sources used here

A = W 23272; SpTU 3 90.

M = BM 35872\* (Sp. III 404); see the figure.

The translation follows source M

1. 85

A 5' BE MUNUS 2 NITA.MEŠ *še-pa-nu-šú-nu* Û.TU É B[I BIR-*ah*]

M 1' [BE MUNUS 2 NIT]A.M[EŠ

[If a woman gives birth to two bo]ys [feet-first, that house will be scattered].

1.86

A 6' BE MUNUS 2 Û.T[U]-*ma* 1 NITA 1 MUNUS NU ŠE.ŠE.GA *ina* KUR GÁL-*ma* É [BI TUR-*ir*]

M 2' [BE MUNUS 2 Û.TU]-*ma* 1 'NITA 1 MUNUS 1 [

[If a woman gives birth to two (children)] and one is a boy and one is a girl, [there will be dissension in the country and that house will decrease (in size)].

1.87

A 7' BE MUNUS 2 Û.T[U-*m*]a GIM GU<sub>4</sub> DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU DIB.DIB-*tu* LUGAL *a-a-bi-šú* ŠU-*s*[u KUR-*ád*]

M 3' [BE MUNUS 2 Û.TU-*m*]a GIM GU<sub>4</sub> DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU 1 [

[If a woman gives birth to two (children) an]d [they are joined] like the 'Bull, the son of Šamaš', [the king will conquer his enemy].

1.88

A 8' BE MUNUS 2 Û.TU-*ma* *ina* GÚ.MURGU-*šú-nu in-nen-du-ma pa-nu-šú-nu a-še-<sup>r</sup>e 1 [GAR]*

M 4' [BE MUNUS 2] 'Û.TU-*ma* 1 *ina* GÚ.MURGU-*šú-nu in-nen-*[

[If a woman] gives birth [to two (children)] and they are connec[ted] at their spine, [but their faces are placed opposite (to each other)].

A 9' KUR DINGIR.MEŠ-*[šú]* TAG<sub>4</sub>.ME-*šú* LUG[AL *u*] DUMU.ME[Š-*šú* NU ŠE.ŠE.GA]

M 4' [

[the gods will leave the country, the king and his sons will dissent].

1.89

A 10' BE MUNUS 2 Û.TU-*ma ap-pi u* ĞÌR NU TUK.ME K[UR] LUGAL *kar-m*[*u*]-*ta*<sub>5</sub> D[U-*ak*]

M 5' [BE MUNUS 1+] 1 Û.TU-*ma* 1 *ap-pi u* ĞÌR NU TU[K.ME

[If a woman] gives birth [to t]wo (children) and they hav[e] neither nose nor foot, [the country of the king will go to ruin].

1.90

A 11' BE MUNUS MAŠ.TAB.BA *uš-ta-[aš]-ni-ma* Û.TU [KU]R BI ZÁ[H] É LÚ BIR-*ah*

M 6' [BE MUNU]S MAŠ.<sup>r</sup>TAB.BA *uš<sup>r</sup>-ta-aš-ni-<sup>r</sup>ma* 1 Û.T[U

[If a wom]an gives birt[h] to twins for a second time, [that country will be ruined, the house of the man will be scattered].

1.91

A 12' BE MUNUS MAŠ.TAB.BA Û.TU-m[a ina TI-šú-nu DIB.D]IB [KUR] šá 1-en i-be-lu-š[i] <2 i-be-lu-ši>  
M 7' [BE MUN]US MAŠ.TAB.BA Û.TU<sup>1</sup>-ma ina TI-šú-nu DIB.D]IB  
[If a wom]an gives birth to twins for a second time and they are join[ed] at their rib(s), the country that one ruled will be ruled by two].

1.92

A 13' BE MUNUS MAŠ.TAB.BA Û.TU-ma i[na TI-šú-nu DIB.DIB-ma šá 1]5 [ŠU-su š]á  
15 [NU G]ÁL KÚR ina GIŠ.TUKUL GAZ-an-ni-ma  
M 8' [BE MUNU]S MAŠ.TAB.BA Û.TU<sup>1</sup>-ma ina TI-šú-nu DIB.DIB-m[a  
[If a wom]an gives birth to twins and they are joined at their rib(s), an[d the right one has no right hand, an enemy will defeat me in battle and]

A 14' KUR TUR ú-la-lu-ta<sub>5</sub> ù<sup>1</sup>-[šá-al-lak BAD<sub>5</sub>.BA]D<sub>5</sub> [ÉRIN-i]a<sub>5</sub> i-dak

M 9' ù<sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> TUR ú-la-lu-ta<sub>5</sub> ú-šá-a[l-lak

diminish the country; he will mak[e] it helpless; [he will defeat my army].

1.93

A 15' BE MUNUS KI.MIN-ma ina TI-šú-nu DIB.[DIB-ma šá 150 ŠU-su š]á 150 NU [GÁL ina G]IŠ.TUKUL  
KÚR GAZ-šú-ma GABA.RI

M 10' [BE MUNUS K]I.MIN-ma ina T[I-šú-nu

[If a woman dit]to, and they [are joined] at [their] ri[b(s)], and the left one has no left hand, he will defeat the enemy in battle and the same (i.e. he will diminish the country; he will make it helpless)].

1.94

A 16' BE MUNUS KI.MIN-ma ina TI-šú-nu DIB.[DIB-ma šá 15 Š]U-šú-nu NU GÁL.ME[Š ZI]-bu BURU<sub>14</sub>  
KUR KÚR GU<sub>7</sub>

M 11' [BE MUNUS K]I.<sup>1</sup>MIN-ma<sup>1</sup> [

[If a woman dit]to, and [they have no hands, an attack; the enemy will consume the harvest of the country].

M (remainder is missing)

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**122) Explanatory texts related to the extispicy series *Bārātu*: BM 131658 joins K 10877 (Koch 2005, 412-428 no. 65 ms. B)**<sup>1)</sup> — The unpublished tablet BM 131658 documents part of an explanatory text (Koch 2005, 412-428 no. 65) related to the extispicy series *Bārātu*.<sup>2)</sup> BM 131658, which is written in Neo-Assyrian ductus, cites individual signs related to *ubān ḥašī qablītu* “the Middle Finger of the lungs,”<sup>3)</sup> *kaskasu* “the Xiphoid,” *tal libbi* “the Diaphragm,” and *tirānū* “the Coils of the Colon,” and describes their effect in the context of a favourable or unfavourable extispicy. The omens are introduced by the phrase BE MIN (= UR<sub>5</sub>.ÚŠ DÙ)-ma ina SILIM-ti “If you perform an extispicy and in a favourable extispicy,” followed by the description of the sign. BM 131658 joins K 10877, which is ms. B in Koch’s edition. K 10877 contains entries 60-65 of the text reconstructed by Koch (B r. 1’-8’). BM 131658 joins K 10877 at the level of entries 64 and 65:

**K 10877 + BM 131658**

7'. (64) [BE MIN-ma ina SILIM-ti ŠU]!<sup>1</sup>SI<sup>1</sup>MUR<sup>1</sup>MURUB<sub>4</sub> ana 15 u 150 TI-at ik ð<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...NU SILIM-at ina NU SILIM-ti SILIM-át]

8'. (65) [BE MIN-ma ina SILIM-ti S]AG ŠU!<sup>1</sup>SI<sup>1</sup>MUR<sup>1</sup>MURUB<sub>4</sub> BAR-ma DU<sub>8</sub> ŠIG-{erasure}-i<sub>5</sub> ŠUB-ut ÉRIN-ni S[UD-sa GUR-ra ina TAG-ti SILIM-át]

“[If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy] the Middle [Fin]ger of the lungs is lacking(?)<sup>4)</sup> towards the right and left side... [...it is unfavourable. In an unfavourable extispicy it is favourable].”

“[If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy the to]p of the Middle Finger of the lungs is split in the middle (and) flattened – repeated defeat of my army, [it will return] emp[ty]-handed. In an unfavourable extispicy it is favourable].”

The broken sections are restored from K 59+ (Koch 2005, 412-428 no. 65 ms. A; CDLI: P393734), which is Koch's main source for this explanatory text. The rest of BM 131658 duplicates K 59+ r. 21-35 and helps fill some of the breaks in that manuscript:

9'. (66) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM*]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> ŠU.SI MUR MURUB<sub>4</sub> 15 u 150 *šat-qat* GABA.UŠ NU 'SILIM<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>át<sup>1</sup> [*ina NU SILIM-ti SILIM-át*]

10'. (67) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM*]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> ŠU.SI MUR MURUB<sub>4</sub> *nu-ku-rat* NU SILIM-*at ina NU SILIM-ti* 'SILIM<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>át<sup>1</sup>]

11'. (68) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM*]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> ŠU.SI MUR MURUB<sub>4</sub> *hal-qat* NIN-*tu*<sub>4</sub> ÚŠ NU SILIM-*at ina NU SILIM-ti* 'SILIM<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>át<sup>1</sup>]

12'. (69) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti*] 'KAK.ZAG.GA 15 u 150 *na-pár-qud* GABA.UŠ KÚR NU IGI-*mar* [KI.MIN]

13'. (70) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* KAK.Z]AG.GA 15 DU<sub>8</sub> ÉRIN-*ka* KAR-*ta*<sub>5</sub> DU-*ak* [KI.MIN]

14'. (71) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* KAK.Z]AG.GA 150 DU<sub>8</sub> ÉRIN KÚR KAR-*ta*<sub>5</sub> DU-*ak ina TAG-ti* BA[R-*tu*<sub>4</sub>]

15'. (72) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* KAK.ZAG.GA] *šà* 15 u 150 GE<sub>6</sub> GABA.UŠ *ina NU SILIM-ti* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-*tu*<sub>4</sub>]

16'. (73) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* *tal*] ŠÀ<sup>1</sup> 15<sup>1</sup> u 150 SA<sub>5</sub> *pa-ri-ik* GABA.UŠ NU SILIM-*at ina NU SILIM-ti* SILIM-<sup>r</sup>át<sup>1</sup>]

17'. (74) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* ŠÀ].NIGIN<sup>1</sup> 15 IZI.GAR SILIM-*tú* NU TAG.MEŠ TAG.MEŠ NU SILIM.MEŠ *šá* ĤUL.MEŠ-*šá i-šu* SILIM-<sup>r</sup>át<sup>1</sup>]

18'. (75) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* ŠÀ.NIGIN] BAL.MEŠ NUN KUR-*su* BAL-*su* NU SILIM-<sup>r</sup>át<sup>1</sup> *ina NU SILIM-ti* SILIM-<sup>r</sup>át<sup>1</sup>]

19'. (76) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* ŠÀ.NIGIN *a*]na 2 BAR.MEŠ KUR-*ka ana* 2 BAR.MEŠ NU SILIM-<sup>r</sup>át<sup>1</sup> *ina NU SILIM-ti* SILIM-<sup>r</sup>át<sup>1</sup>]

20'. (77) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* ŠÀ.NIGIN] 10 GÛ-*mu ana* ÉRIN-*ni* ŠUB-*ut* KI.MI[N]

21'. (78) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* ŠÀ.NIGIN 20 IZI].GAR ÉRIN AŠ.TE KUR KÚR *šá-niš* DUMU LUGAL AD-*šú i-bar* AŠ.TE DAB-*bat* KI.MI[N]

22'. (79) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* ŠÀ.NIGIN IGI.MEŠ] *u* BAR.MEŠ GABA.UŠ [KI.MIN]

23'. (80) [BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* ŠÀ.NIGIN *ina* ŠID-*šú*]-*nu nar*-[*pa*]-*šá-a ub-lu*-[*ni...*]

24'. [...]<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]

(break)

### Commentary

10'. Koch's source for this entry, K 59+ (A) r. 22, has a break between *nu-ku-rat* and NU SILIM-*at*. According to the version preserved on BM 131658, there are no signs missing in the break.

11'. NIN-*tu*<sub>4</sub> is broken on K 59+ (A) r. 23: BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti* ŠU.SI MUR MURUB<sub>4</sub> *hal-qat* [x x x]-*bat* NU SILIM-*at* (...) (Koch 2005, 424). Koch's *bat* should now be read ÚŠ. This entry should thus be translated as follows: "If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy the Middle Finger of the lungs is missing – the mistress will die, it is unfavourable. In an unfavourable extispicy it is favourable."

16'. The middle section of this entry is damaged on K 59+ (A) r. 28. Koch (2005, 425) read: *tal šà* 15 u 150 sa<sub>5</sub> pa [x] [x] gál gaba.uš-*tum* (...). Upon collation, K 59+ (A) r. 28 reads here: (...) *tal ŠÀ* 15 u 150 sa<sub>5</sub> *pa*-[*r*]*i-ik* GABA.UŠ-*tu*<sub>4</sub> (...). Entry 73 should thus be translated as follows: "If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy the Diaphragm on the right and on the left side is red (and) lies in a transversal position – it is a *pitruštu*-sign, it is unfavourable. In an unfavourable extispicy it is favourable." The sign *pitruštu* is a powerful sign which decides the outcome of an extispicy and is consistently associated with the right/left dichotomy: see Koch 2005, 10-21.

17'. On K 59+ (A) r. 29 there is a large break between ŠÀ.NIGIN 15 and the first TAG.MEŠ. Koch (2005, 425) tentatively read: *be 2-ma ina silim-ti šà.nigin* 15 [u 150] tag.meš tag.meš nu silim.meš-*šá* Ĥul.meš-*šá i-šu* silim-<sup>r</sup>át "If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy the Coils of the Colon are destroyed on the right [and left]: Evil-portending (signs), its unfavourable signs, its bad signs are few that is favourable." In fact, the line reads: "If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy the Coils of the Colon are 15 – it is a *nipĥu*-sign, (but) favourable features cannot be considered unfavourable, unfavourable features cannot be considered favourable; (an extispicy) whose negative signs are few is favourable." The entry comments on the meaning of *nipĥu*, which is a sign



whose function in extispicy seems to have been that of inverting the (positive or negative) meaning of an omen: see Koch 2005, 10-21.

18'-19'. The middle section of this entry is damaged on K 59+ (A) r. 30. Koch (2005, 425) reads: (...) šà.nigin bal.[meš x x x] iḫ nu silim-at [...]. Koch's iḫ corresponds to the two final vertical wedges of SU. Note the repetition of BAL as verb of the protasis, describing a condition of the coils of the colon, and as verb of the apodosis. Likewise, BAR is used both in the protasis and in the apodosis in the following entry. Note that K 59+ (A) r. 31 (Koch 2005, 425) is broken after KUR-*k[a]*. Entries 75-76 should now be translated as follows: (75) "If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy the Coils of the Colon are upside down - the prince's land will rebel against him, it is unfavourable. In an unfavourable extispicy it is favourable; (76) If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy the Coils of the Colon are divided in two - your land will be divided in half, it is unfavourable. In an unfavourable extispicy it is favourable."

20'. The second half of this entry, including the apodosis, is not preserved on K 59+ (A) r. 32 (Koch 2005, 426). The entry should now be translated as follows: "If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy the Coils of the Colon are ten - wailing will befall my army. Ditto (= it is unfavourable. In an unfavourable extispicy it is favourable)."

21'. The reconstruction of the apodosis is uncertain: we suppose here that ÉRIN AŠ.TE KUR KÚR is to be connected with DAB-*bat* at the end of the line, with šá-*niš* introducing a variant: "If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy the Coils of the Colon are twenty - it is a *niphu*-sign, the army will seize the throne of the enemy's land, alternatively; the king's son will rebel against his father (and) seize the throne; ditto (= it is unfavourable. In an unfavourable extispicy it is favourable)."

22'. BM 131658 allows reconstruction of the end of this entry, thus filling the break on K 59+ (A) r. 34. The entry should now be translated as follows: "If ditto (= you perform an extispicy) and in a favourable extispicy the Coils of the Colon are visible and split - it is a *pitruštu*-sign. Ditto (= it is unfavourable. In an unfavourable extispicy it is favourable)."

#### Notes

1. This article results from research conducted under the auspices of the project REPAC "Repetition, Parallelism and Creativity: an Inquiry into the Construction of Meaning in Ancient Mesopotamian Literature and Erudition" (2019-2024, University of Vienna) that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement no. 803060). The Trustees of the British Museum, London, are thanked for permission to publish BM 131658 and cite other tablets in their collections.

2. The divinatory literature of the first millennium BCE includes a number of scholarly compositions which developed around the extispicy series *Bārātu* and represent the diviners' efforts to reach a certain degree of methodological abstraction. This is the goal of the final chapter of *Bārātu*, known as *Multābiltu* "Interpretation" (Koch 2005, 84-272). The chapter does not concern any specific part of the liver or the entrails, but presents general rules for their interpretation, sometimes expressed in abstract terms. Similar material is found in the so-called *Niširti bārūti* ("the secrets of the art of the diviner") texts (Koch 2005: 34-72), a genre which treats technical issues such as the calculation of the "stipulated term" (the period for which the divination was valid), the effects of various "joker signs" on the interpretation of an extispicy observation and the value of all possible subdivisions of the zones of the liver and the lungs.

3. The "Middle Finger of the lungs" is the most frequently mentioned part of the lungs in extispicy texts and can be confidently identified with the accessory (intermediate) lobe of the right lung. See, e.g., Koch 2005, 77 and 81. See also my forthcoming article, "Written on the lungs: the Neo-Assyrian lung model Rm 620 and Ancient Mesopotamian lung divination" (*WdO*).

4. The verb of the protasis is *TI-at*, and not *BAL-at*, as suggested by Koch (2005, 423-424 B r7'). Note that Koch emends *TI-at* in K 59+ (A) r19' in *bal?-at* ("If... the Middle Finger of the lungs is turned? to the right and left (...).") The emendation is not necessary.

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**123) Additions to K. 6448+ K. 8459 (“If a star changes into...”)** — In NABU 2020/1, no. 29, E. Zomer edited K. 6448+ K. 8459 (CDLI P396541), a tablet with omens of the type *šumma kakkabu ana... itūr* (DIŠ MUL *ana...* GUR), “If a star changes into...”. Two new joins can now be added to this tablet: K. 4546 and K. 11128.<sup>1)</sup> Both of them join the upper section of the tablet, almost completely restoring the first 17 lines of the tablet (see the edition below). On the reverse, only eight lines of K. 4546 are preserved.

The fragment K. 4546 was published in Virolleaud 1910, 268 (transliteration) and 275 (copy), and it was also included as manuscript Nin 2 in the edition of the text “If a star changes into...” by J. Fincke (2013, 179; 185–192). A copy of the previously unpublished fragment K. 11128 is presented below in Fig. 2, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. In addition, a sketch of joining pieces is given (Fig. 1).

Because the new joins offer new information only for the first 17 lines of the obverse, only those lines are edited below. For editions of ll. o. 18–46 and ll. r. 1’–8’ see Zomer, NABU 2020/1, no. 29 and Fincke 2013, 189–190, respectively.

Transliteration (K 4546+ K 6448+ K 8459+ K 11128, o. 1–17)

- o. 1 [šumma(DIŠ) kak]kabu(M)UL ana ku-za-a-zi itūr(GUR) miqitt[u(ʿRI.RI¹.G[A] x ina bīti/māti(É/KUR) ibašši(GÁL)]
- o. 2 [šumma(DIŠ) kak]kabu(M)UL ana kalab Šamaš(UR-<sup>dr</sup>UTU¹) itūr(ʿGUR¹) magāru(ŠE.GA) ʿina¹ bīti(ʿÉ¹) [ibašši(GÁL(-šī))]
- o. 3 [šumma(DIŠ) kak]kabu(M)UL ana ši-nu-nu-ú-i itūr(GUR) ta-li-it-ʿtu₄¹ [ina² māti(KUR²) ibašši(GÁL²)]
- o. 4 [šumma(DIŠ) kak]kabu(M)UL ana er-bi-ʿi¹ itūr(GUR) magāru(ŠE.GA) i[na māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL)]
- o. 5 [šumma(DIŠ) kakkabu(MUL) ana nēši(UR-ʿMAH¹) itūr(GUR) dannatu(MUNUS.KALAG.GA) ina māti(ʿKUR¹) iba[šši](G[ÁL])]
- o. 6 [šumma(DIŠ)] kakkabu(MUL) ana šelebi(KA₅.A) itūr(GUR) nu-ul-la-a-ti ina māti(KUR) ibaš[ši](G[ÁL])
- o. 7 [šum]ma([DI]Š) kakkabu(MUL) ana šaḥī(ŠAH) itūr(GUR) lā(NU) řābu(DÜG.GA) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(ʿGÁL¹)
- o. 8 [šumma(DIŠ) kak]kabu(M)UL ana nūni(KU₆) itūr(GUR) mi-šir-ʿtu₄¹ ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL)
- o. 9 [šumma(DIŠ) kaka]bu(MU)L ʿana¹ ʿku¹ [x] ʿi¹ itūr(GUR) lā(NU) řābu(DÜG.GA) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL)
- o. 10 [šumma(DIŠ) kakkabu(MUL) ana ār]ibi(U)GA<sup>mušen</sup>) itūr(GUR) du-un-nu ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL)
- o. 11 [šumma(DIŠ) kakkabu(MUL) ana...] x ʿni¹ itūr(GUR) na-ma-ra-a-ti ina māti(KUR) ibaššā(GÁL-a)
- o. 12 [šumma(DIŠ) kakkabu(MUL) ana...] ʿši¹ itūr(GUR) KI.MIN
- o. 13 [šumma(DIŠ) kakkabu(MUL) ana...] ʿna¹ itūr(GUR) lā(NU) magāru(ŠE.GA) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL)
- o. 14 [šumma(DIŠ) kakkabu(MUL) ana kaspī(KÜ.BABBAR)] itūr(GUR) KI.MIN
- o. 15 [šumma(DIŠ) kakkabu(MUL) ana] ḥurāši(ʿKÜ.GI¹) itūr(GUR) magāru(ŠE.ʿGA¹) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL)
- o. 16 [šumma(DIŠ) kakkabu(MUL) ana] erī(URUDU) itūr(ʿGUR¹) ʿKI.MIN¹
- o. 17 [šumma(DIŠ) kakkabu(MUL) ana pa]rziilli(A)N.BAR itūr(ʿGUR¹) amēlu(LÚ) šū(BI) mār[ā]šū²(DUMU.M[ES]-ʿšū²) [imuttū²]([ÚŠ².MEŠ²])

Translation

- o. 1 [If a s]tar [changes] into a wood-was[p]: [there will be (?)] downfal[l of... in the household/land].
- o. 2 [If a s]tar changes into a “Dog of Šamaš”: there will be consent in the household.
- o. 3 [If a s]tar changes into a *šinūnātu*-swallow, [there will be] offspring of animals [in the land²].
- o. 4 [If a s]tar changes into a locust, [there will be] consent i[n the land].
- o. 5 [If] a star changes into a lion, there will b[e] hard times in the land.
- o. 6 [If] a star changes into a fox, there will b[e] malicious talk in the land.
- o. 7 [I]f a star changes into a pig, there will be unhappiness in the land.
- o. 8 [If a s]tar changes into a fish, there will be yield of the sea and rivers in the land.
- o. 9 [If a sta]r changes into..., there will be unhappiness in the land.
- o. 10 [If a star] changes [into a cr]ow, there will be *severe conditions* in the land.
- o. 11 [If a star] changes [into]..., there will be fattened animals in the land.
- o. 12 [If a star] changes [into]..., ditto.
- o. 13 [If a star] changes [into]..., there will be no consent in the land.
- o. 14 [If a star] changes [into silver], ditto.
- o. 15 [If a star] changes [into] gold, there will be consent in the land.
- o. 16 [If a star] changes [into] copper, ditto.
- o. 17 [If a star] changes [into i]ron, the childr[en] of that man [will die²]

### Comments

o. 3 The sequence of apodoses with *ina māti ibašši* in ll. o. 4–16 suggests that such a prognosis should also be reconstructed in this line.

o. 10 This line is not attested in the duplicate manuscripts. The reading [U]GA<sup>mušen</sup> seems certain, and it fits the passage that groups various animals. The syllabic spelling of *dunnu* is clear, but no parallels to this apodosis are listed in the dictionaries. My interpretation is that it here perhaps refers to severe weather conditions (see CAD D, 184–185 s.v. *dunnu* 3).

o. 11 The apodosis is attested in the duplicate manuscript K 139, 44 with a protasis that refers to *dušû*, “rock-crystal” (<sup>na</sup>DUḪ.ŠI(.A)) (see Fincke 2013, 188 [l. 33; Ms Nin 1]). It is clear that the entry here does not involve a logographic or a syllabic spelling of that noun. It is certainly possible that rock-crystal (<sup>na</sup>DUḪ.ŠI) is mentioned in the protasis of the following entry (l. o. 12): [*šumma*(DIŠ) *kakkabu*(MUL) *ana...*] ṽšī<sup>1</sup> *itūr*(GUR) KI.MIN. However, only the sign ŠI is preserved, and therefore the reading is left open.

#### Notes

1. The joins were discovered in the context of the project “Electronic Babylonian Literature” led by E. Jiménez (LMU München). Zs. Földi initially identified K. 11128 as a fragment of the type “If a star changes into...”; both joins were made by A. Häntinen. I thank E. Jiménez for his comments on this note.

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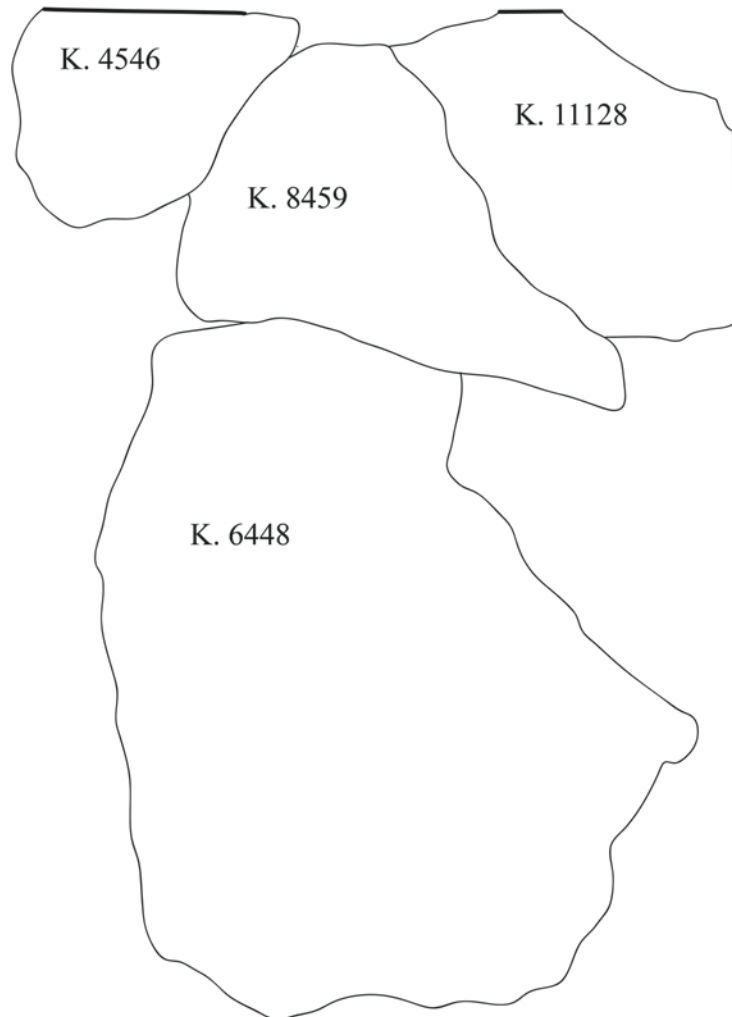


Fig. 1. Sketch of the joining fragments, obverse (K. 4546+ K. 6448+ K. 8459+ K. 11128)

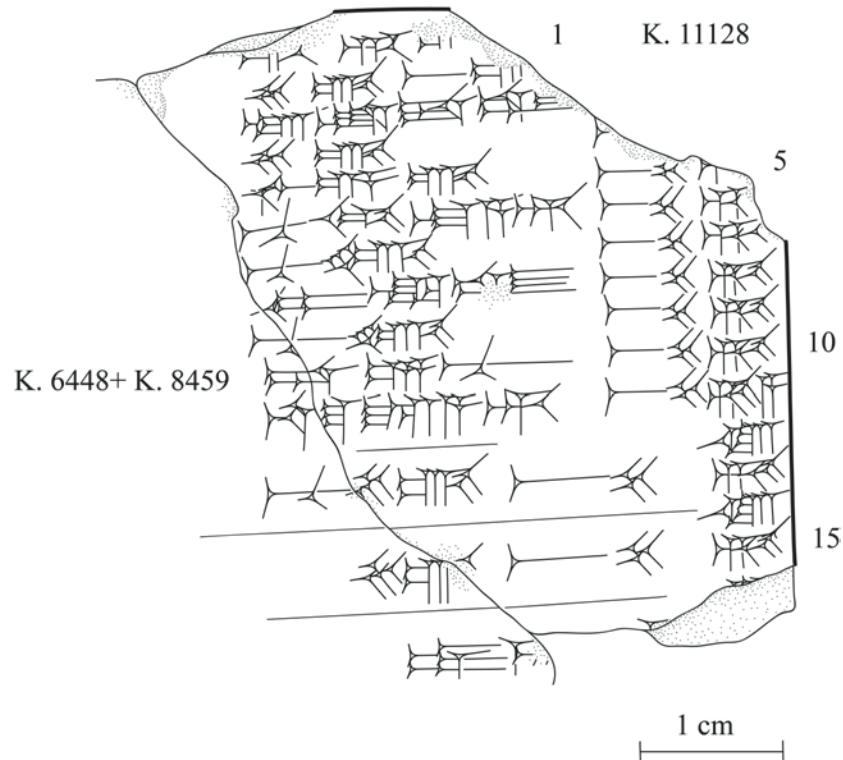


Fig. 2. Copy of K. 11128

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**124) Faces of King Ashurbanipal** — Portraiture in ancient Mesopotamian art and its broader analysis have been treated previously (Schlossman 1981; Winter 1997, 2009). In addition, Assyrian texts record that royal images (*šalmê sarrâni*) consisted of statues and steles that were set up in temples, exterior locations, and foreign territories (Cole and Machinist 1998: XIII-XV, nos. 19, 34; Van Buren: 1941: 72-75).

Royal images were likewise represented on the Assyrian palace bas-reliefs which displayed the respective kings in various narrative and religious scenes. Of the many sculpted representations of Assyrian kings that are extant, chosen for study in this paper is the portrait of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BCE), of his profile face. The illustrated examples are limited to his facial image on the Esarhaddon monolithic stele from Sinjirli/Sam'al, presently housed in the Pergamon Museum (VA 02708), dated to 670 BCE (Luschan 1898: 11, pls. 1-3; Porter 2003: 74-75, pls. 28, 32), and on several wall reliefs of later date that originate from Rooms S and C of the North Palace at Nineveh (Barnett 1976: 37-38, 51-52) presently housed in the British Museum. The selected portraits come from three phases of the king's reign – early, middle, late. The focus here is to explore the extent to which Ashurbanipal's facial features were modified, however slight, as indicators of age, notwithstanding that different sculptors were responsible for the artworks.

The preserved youthful figure of Ashurbanipal - the designated heir to the Assyrian throne - carved on the Sinjirli stele allows an investigation into his portrayal. In this example Ashurbanipal is depicted with a disproportioned slender body, and he stands on an irregular groundline with hands clasped. His mark of royalty is the decorated headband that he wears over the front-to-back curved rows of hair that extend to the level of the shoulder (Fig. 1). The face has minor surface damage on the nose and large eye, and a thick moustache partially overlaps a two-tiered Assyrian type beard. Overall, the sculpted face and body of Ashurbanipal tend to be provincial since the sculptor responsible for the carving combined Assyrian and local styles (on Assyrian provincial styles, see Wicke 2015: 565 ff).

Among the royal hunts depicted on the three-register stone reliefs from Room S are several intact small portraits of the adult Ashurbanipal. One exceptional example is the king on horseback who shoots at

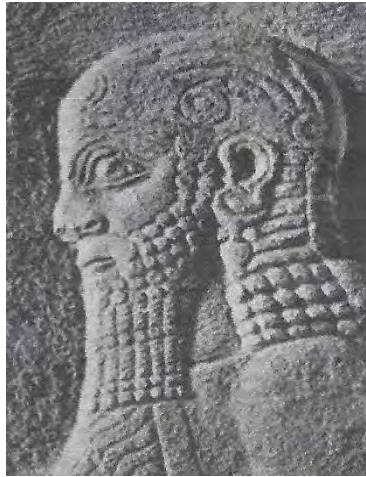
fleeing wild horses with bow and arrow (BM 124875). His body tilts forward in an action pose, but his head, some 10 cm in height, is held upright to highlight a profile that includes a straight nose (Fig. 2). The face is delicately modeled along the cheek, and the linear rendering of the visible eye and lips disclose observed study. Interestingly, the moustache does not extend beyond the lips. Ashurbanipal's headdress consists of a diadem - an 'open crown' - perhaps of gold (cf. Oates, J. and D. 2001: 82, pls. 4a, 4b; Álvarez-Mon 2015: 45, figs. 5-6), that is wider at the front and embellished with vertical stripes framing rosettes. A pair of long ribbons extending down and outward to the level of the king's waist is attached to the back of the diadem. A second depiction of Ashurbanipal on horseback, this time spearing a lion, occurs among the same series of stone reliefs (BM 124875-6). A similar formula for depicting the king's face seems to have been followed (Fig. 3), although minor differences suggest the handiwork of another sculptor. Here, one may note that the diadem is of uniform width and partially covers a less precise rendering of the king's wavy hair.

The Room C royal hunts of lions are much grander in scale and evidently were created much later by master artists attached to the royal workshop. Three times on the reliefs the king is depicted standing in his chariot and actively attacking lions, if one excludes the small version seen on the monument atop the hill. On the northeast wall Ashurbanipal, now wearing a decorated fez (Reade 2009: 256), faces forward to the viewer's left (Fig. 4) and shoots with bow and arrow (BM 124867-8). His visible eye - the pupil is damaged - tilts downward at the front and is outlined with a wide upper lid, below a pronounced flesh extension to the brow. Beneath the nose, rounded at the tip, is a bulky mustache with curled end that covers the upper lip and overlaps the beard. The line of the lower lip serves for the start of the beard below the face. The king's facial features are that of a mature person. On the southwest wall one of the two royal representations illustrates Ashurbanipal facing to the viewer's right (Fig. 5), in the act of spearing a lion (BM 124854-5). In this royal portrait the visible eye, tilted downward at the front, is mostly damaged, but the line of the thick upper lid can still be traced. The king's moustache extends to the end of the upper lip and then merges into the line of the beard. This last detail seems odd and possibly due to the handiwork of another sculptor.

In sum, an overview of the above selected royal portraits carved on the Rooms S and C wall reliefs reveal some variations between them, which to a certain extent was a consequence of Ashurbanipal's growing older. It may be that an intention behind the creation of the Room C scenes was to reconfirm the king's skillfulness in the lion hunts at an older age (about aging, see Harris 2000: 23-31).

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Pl. 1. Detail: Luschan 1898, pl. 3.



Pl. 2. Detail: Barnett 1976, pl. 52 (BM 124876)  
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Pl. 3. Detail: Barnett 1976, pl. 52 (BM 124875-6)  
© The Trustees of the British Museum



Pl. 4. Detail: Barnett 1976, pl. 8 (BM 124867-8)  
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Pl. 5. Detail: Barnett 1976, pl. 12 (BM 124854)  
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**125) An ointment for ‘beating the hand of ghost’. An edition of a Late Babylonian tablet BM 46885<sup>1)</sup>** — A small Late Babylonian tablet BM 46885 (1881,0830.351) belongs to the consignment originating from three northern Babylonian sites (Babylon, Dilbat or Borsippa) excavated by H. Rassam.<sup>2)</sup> According to the register of the British Museum, BM 46885 comes from Babylon.<sup>3)</sup> The tablet contains a single medical treatment for ‘beating the hand of ghost’ (*miḫiṣ qāt eṭemmi*). The archival context of the tablet is not known and due to the lack of a colophon, the name of the owner of the tablet remains unknown. Medical tablets with a single prescription against a ghost are not frequent in published text material, and I know of only two further Late Babylonian medical tablets which similarly include a single treatment against the hand of a ghost.<sup>4)</sup> The discussed tablet has a landscape format and it includes fifteen lines which were written on both sides and also on its edges. The text was written in a neat Late Babylonian script and the determinatives were always carefully placed before the drug names. The tablet seems to be a product of an experienced scribe or physician who probably made it as an *aide-mémoire*. Unfortunately, any duplicate of this text is not known to me but similar treatments against a ghost or hand of a ghost were part of Late Babylonian medical compendium tablets.<sup>5)</sup>

**Transliteration, translation and hand-copy**

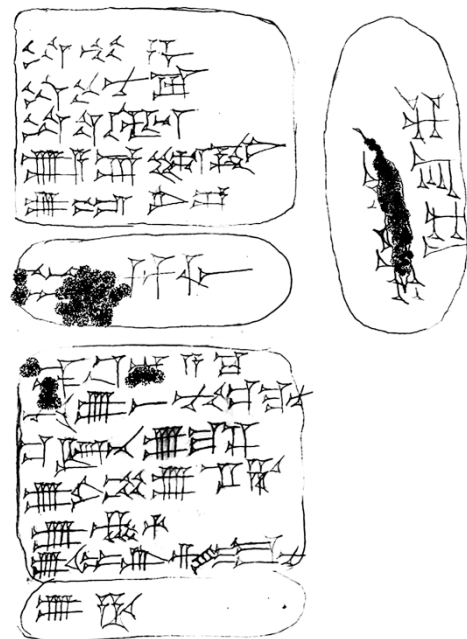
Obverse	Reverse
1. <sup>na4</sup> mu-ša	7. 𐎠𐎵𐎶 <sup>11</sup> 𐎠𐎥 <sup>1)</sup>
2. <sup>na4</sup> KUR-nu DAB	8. NUMUN 𐎠𐎠𐎠 DILI NUMUN 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶
3. <sup>na4</sup> ALGAMEŠ	9. 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 EREN SUMUN 𐎠<šū->-ba-rim
4. 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 ILLU LI.DUR	10. 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶.DUḪ 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶
5. 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶-né-e	11. 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶.NAM.TAR
Lower edge	12. 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶-me-er-gi-ra-nu
6. 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶.MAŠ.SAL <sup>1)</sup>	Upper edge
	13. 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶.KU <sub>6</sub>
	Left edge
	14. 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶-šal-ti <sup>1)</sup>
	15. 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 <sup>2)</sup> ŠIG ŠU.GIDIM <sub>7</sub>

<sup>1)</sup> *Mūšu* stone, <sup>2)</sup> magnetite, <sup>3)</sup> *algamešu*-stone, <sup>4)</sup> ‘juice of *abukkātu*’-plant, <sup>5)</sup> *urnū*-plant, <sup>6)</sup> *nikiptu*-aromatic plant, *rutūtu*-sulphur, <sup>8)</sup> seed of *ēdu*-plant, seed of *ēru*-tree, <sup>9)</sup> old cedar-tree, Subarian plant, <sup>10)</sup> *kamantu*-plant, *stḫu*-plant, <sup>11)</sup> mandrake, <sup>12)</sup> *mergirānu*-plant, <sup>13)</sup> *šimru*-plant: <sup>14)</sup> an ointment <sup>15)</sup> for beating of the hand of ghost.

**Commentary**

The medical incipit ‘for beating of the hand of ghost’ (*ana miḫiṣ qāt eṭemmi*) is not known to me in another medical prescription against ghost. The attack of the ghost was described usually with the terms DIB (*šibtu* = ‘seizure’) or KIN (*šipru* = ‘affliction’) and the term ŠIG (*miḫiṣu* = ‘beating’ or ‘strike’) relates mostly to the attack of various demons (references in CAD M/2 p. 61). On the other hand, the verb *maḫāṣu* occurs in the description of physical pains caused by the ghost ‘(which) strikes my skull and so paralyzes my head, (which) strikes my cheek’ (Scurlock 2005, 514 no. 219 line 42). The treatment is an ointment (*napšaltu*) which consists of sixteen drugs. The list of drugs starts with three stones which was followed by healing plants. The addition of 𐎠<šū->-ba-rim in line 9 is quite hypothetical (I owe this suggestion to M. Geller). Similar writing form of *urnū*-plant can be found in a further prescription against ghost: CT 23 plates 15-22 i 12 (Scurlock 2005, no. 53 line 2), BAM 221 ii 16’ // AMT 97/6 i 8 (Scurlock 2005, no. 308a line 3) and AO 17618 line 6 (Kessler 1992, 471 and Scurlock 2005, no. 323). In the case of the drug ‘juice of *abukkātu*-plant’ (line 4) the determinative of the plant stands before ILLU which seems a scribal error.

The sequence of the three stones (*mūšu*-stone, magnetite and *algamešu*-stone) in lines 1-3 is not known to me in another medical prescription against a ghost or a hand of ghost. It is important to note that the *mūšu*-stone was also used as an ingredient of various ointments against the attack of a ghost (Scurlock 2005, nos. 87 (together with magnetite), 88-89, 114a (together with magnetite), 114b (together with magnetite), 122? (together with magnetite), 123, 124 (simplicium), 125 (together with



magnetite), 127 (together with magnetite), 188 (together with magnetite), 213, 215, 290, 291 (together with magnetite), 299, 300). This stone was also applied as an ingredient of a phylactery (Scurlock 2005, nos. 31, 32, 58, 59 (together with magnetite), 127 (together with magnetite), 204, 206, 208, 209, 210, 214, 238, 241, 242, 245, 344, 345) or for fumigation (Scurlock 2005, nos. 140, 245) for diseases related to the ghost. The *mūṣu*-stone also occurs in all amulet stone lists against ghosts (Schuster-Brandis 2008, Kette nos. 136-141), furthermore, in one of them the three mentioned stones can be attested together (Schuster-Brandis 2008, Kette no. 138).

The sequence of plant seeds can be identified in line 8 (seed of *ēdu*-plant and seed of *ēru*-tree). I know only single further prescription against ghosts which mentions these two types of seed together: 'tamarisk seed, seed of *ēru*-tree, seed of *ēdu*-plant, flax seed' (BAM 199 2-3 // BAM 471 ii 14'-15' // BAM 385 I 4'-5' edited by Scurlock 2005 no. 187b).

#### Notes

1. I thank the Trustees of the British Museum, for permission to publish this tablet. I am greatly indebted to Mark Geller for his suggestions and corrections, but the responsibility for all remaining errors is mine.

2. Reade 1986 xxxi-xxxii. Finkel identified 115 tablets and fragments with mixed contents as follows: lexical texts, royal cylinders, omens, hemerological texts, magical and medical texts, mathematical texts, god lists, astrological texts, administrative texts, school texts (Finkel 2013, 19-20). The consignment was described in the relevant catalogue of the British Museum (Leichty – Finkel Walker 2019, 632-656) and it contains eighteen further therapeutic tablets.

3. Leichty – Finkel Walker 2019, 632.

4. The tablet W 21276 is a landscape format tablet from Uruk and it contains a list of seven drugs (Kessler 1992, 470 and Scurlock 2005, 634 no. 313). The tablet AO 17618 is a portrait format tablet of unknown provenance and it contains a rinse made of nine drugs (Labat 1960, 171 Kessler 1992, 471 and Scurlock 2005, 648 no. 323).

5. A recent example can be identified in the unpublished Late Babylonian medical compendium tablet BM 32277+ i 10-12, which is a duplicate of the text preserved on W 21276. BM 32277+ will be published soon by the present author (Bácskay forthcoming).

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#### 126) YOS 3, 26 – A letter from the early reign of Nebuchadnezzar II from the temple of Amurru in the Sealand

— Letters from the beginning of the Neo-Babylonian empire have recently been edited as a coherent group by Levavi (2018). Here, we present a small addition to this corpus. The protagonists of YOS 3, 26 (YBC 3585) bear names well-known in the Eanna archive, Nabû-mukīn-zēri and Nādin. At first glance, one would be tempted to identify this letter as being exchanged within the temple, between the *šatammu* Nabû-mūkin-zēri, attested from 17 Nbn-1 Cyr (Kümmel 1979: 143) and his colleague Nādin, a temple scribe attested from 12 Nbn-6 Camb (Kleber 2008: 35, Kümmel 1979: 122, Schmidl 2019: 11<sup>45</sup>). Alternatively, letters addressed to a Nādin have been assigned to the city governor of Uruk of that name (Beaulieu 1991: 78), attested from 13 Nbn-1 Cyr (Kleber 2008: 39). In the latter case, however, it is unclear how these letters could have become part of the Eanna archive.<sup>1)</sup> Early Achaemenid letters of the Eanna archive which were incoming to the temple and addressed to a Nādin usually address the temple scribe (Schmidl 2019: 188), or can be re-dated, as I propose for YOS 3, 26. In the present case, the phrasing of



the request is unlike all other instances of interaction between the *šatammu* of the late Neo-Babylonian or early Achaemenid period and one of the temple scribes, his subordinates, from both an interpersonal and a chronological perspective (Schmidl 2019: 179-194; a full edition of the letter is given below). This opens up new avenues of identification.

I identify the sender of this letter as a different *šatammu*, the *šatammu* of the temple of Amurru in the Sealand,<sup>2)</sup> also called Nabû-mukîn-zēri. This official is attested in PTS 3245 (Beaulieu 2003: 329). PTS 3245 pertains to Nebuchadnezzar II's construction of the north palace, and can be roughly dated to 24-28 Nbk through prosopography, as it mentions the *šatammu* of the Eanna temple during this time, Marduk-bēlšunu (Kleber 2008: 33; see Beaulieu 2003: 329 and Beaulieu 2005: 48<sup>8</sup>, 68 on this text). The deities invoked in the greeting formula of the letter, Marduk and Nabû, do not help to identify the letter's place of origin.<sup>3)</sup> This new time frame opens up a new possibility for the recipient of this letter. I identify him as Nādin, *šatammu* of Eanna attested from 15 Npl-3 Nbk (Kleber 2008: 33). This leads us to a dating of this letter to the early years of Nebuchadnezzar II. This dating is roughly congruent regarding our suggested sender – a period of office of twenty years is possible for temple officials. The letter may provide additional – though weaker – hints supporting this dating: the audience gift mentioned could fit a dating to the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar II's reign, and the rhetoric of the letter also advocates for an earlier dating (see commentary to l. 22).

A previous edition of the text was provided by Ebeling (1930-34: 24-26). A translation of most of the letter (ll. 5-25) is given by Olmstead (1948: 71).

<p>1 im<sup>ld</sup>+ag-du-n[umun] a-na<sup>1</sup>na-din šeš-ia <sup>d</sup>+ag u<sup>d</sup>amar.utu a-na šeš-ia lik-ru-ub</p> <p>5 a-ga-a-ia ki-i<sup>r</sup>šeš-ú-tu<sup>1</sup> u en-mun-tu<sup>1</sup>-tu mi-nu-ú taq-ba-a<sup>7</sup> lu-ú ma-a-du lu-ú mi-i-ši</p> <p>10 al-te-me ti-i-de 4 udu.nitá a-na na-mu-uš-ti<sup>1</sup>-iá</p>	<p>rev <i>ha-áš-šá-ak</i> <i>a-di<sup>lu</sup>ra-šip-ti a<sub>4</sub></i></p> <p>15 <i>it-tah-ú a.ab.ba</i> <i>kù.babbar a<sub>4</sub> ina muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu</i> <i>lu-us-su-uk-kám-ma</i> <i>udu.nitá<sup>mes</sup> a-na na-mu-uš-ti-iá</i> <i>lu-um-ḫur-áš-šú-nu-tú</i></p> <p>20 <i>at-ta a-na ar-rak-a-a-tú</i> <i>ta-šak-kan</i> <i>ul kaskal<sup>ll</sup> šá en-mun-tú-tú</i> <i>šu-ú nu-bat-tú</i> <i>la i-ba-a-t[u<sub>4</sub>]*</i></p> <p>uE <i>šu-bi-la</i></p>
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<sup>1-4</sup> Letter from Nabû-mūkin-zēri to Nādin, my brother. May Nabû and Marduk bless my brother. <sup>5-10</sup> Is this like brotherhood and benefaction? Whatever you asked (from me in the past), be it a lot or a little, I have heard it (and complied). <sup>10-13</sup> You should know, I need four sheep for my (audience) gift. <sup>14-19</sup> I will impose this silver on them, (on everybody) down to these *Rasiptu*-people at the edge of the sea and I will receive the sheep for my (audience) gift from them. <sup>20-25</sup> You just keep putting off (my request); this is not the way of benefaction! He (a messenger) should not waste time, have (the sheep) delivered!

### Commentary

6, 22 The usage of *ṭābtu*, ‘good deed, favour’ for the purpose of persuasion is unevenly distributed in the administrative letter corpus: it is attested several times in the early letter corpus from the beginning of the Neo-Babylonian period, but is almost completely absent at the beginning of the Achaemenid empire. Only one instance can be found in the late letter corpus, YOS 3, 16 (no. 55 in Schmidl 2019), a letter by a West-Semite to Nabû-mukîn-zēri, the aforementioned *šatammu* of the Eanna, which could date either to the last year of Nabonidus or to the beginning of Cyrus’ reign. By contrast, *ṭābtu* is attested eight times in the early letter corpus published by Levavi (2018, see the glossary on p. 594<sup>4)</sup>). It is also attested in royal contexts, for instance in a letter from later in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (BIN 1, 93: 4). When we look at the interpersonal distribution of *ṭābtu* in the early letter corpus, it becomes clear that in inner-temple correspondence, i.e., correspondence between officials of the same temple, it is usually employed in letters from subordinates to their superiors, not the other way round (e.g., Levavi 2018, no. 15: 18<sup>5)</sup>). The only exception is the rhetorically exceptional letter no. 30 in Levavi 2018 (BIN 1, 40). This letter was sent by the *qīpu* to the *šatammu* and the *ṭupšar bīti*,<sup>6)</sup> but addresses these officials as ‘lords’ in the body of the letter, despite the superior rank of the *qīpu*. This means that within the framework of the letter, the *qīpu* is presenting himself as subordinate to express his dependence on these two officials (Levavi 2018: 264). The other letters which employ *ṭābtu* were sent to the temple by officials with a different institutional affiliation. This means that they were not included in the direct temple hierarchy even if they were of high status, lending more importance to the use of rhetoric to convince

the recipient(s). Examples are no. 34 in Levavi 2018 (YOS 21, 159), by a *bēl pīḫāti*, and no. 202 in Levavi 2018 (CT 22, 155), a letter by an Urukian to the scribes of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar. This pattern fits the new identification of the parties of our letter in question here.

13 I take *ḫa-āš-šá-ak* as a stative form of *ḫašāḫu*, cf. already Ebeling 1930-34: 25.

14 This designation of people is unclear. There is no suitable toponym listed in Zadok 1985. I take this to be a reference to an otherwise unattested tribal designation, possibly of an Aramean group. Less likely, we may be dealing with an occupational designation, i.e., derived from (possibly) *rašāpu*, ‘to erect, pile up’, (e.g., walls) and ‘to keep in good repair’, possibly meaning ‘maintenance workers’. The form, however, is far from ideal for such a reading. One could think of a term expressing the notion that everybody will have to pay silver, no matter how small their task, but it could just as well be a simple reference to a tribal designation or a type of workers followed by their location.

15 This reference to the sea also supports a southern framework for our letter to some extent.

20-21 For a similar attestation of this phrase, cf. SAA 17, 152: 17-18, [*a*]-*na ár-ra-ka-a-ti la it-[ta-na-āš]-kan*, translated as “It may not be postponed until later!” (Dietrich 2003: 134).

24 I take the third person form to refer to a messenger, as the imperative in l. 25 also implies a delivery through a third party. Less likely, the sender may have switched from the second to the third person to address the recipient. In this case, one would expect an appellation used in combination with the verbal form.<sup>7)</sup>

## Notes

\* This note was written within the framework of the project REPAC “Repetition, Parallelism and Creativity: an Inquiry into the Construction of Meaning in Ancient Mesopotamian Literature and Erudition” (2019-2024, University of Vienna) funded by the European Research Council within the Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement no. 803060). It is based on research done and material collected under the auspices of the Austrian National Research Network “Imperium and Officium” that was financed by the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Vienna), including photographs of the tablet by K. Wagenonner. Parts of this note were developed with the support of a Dissertation Completion Fellowship by the University of Vienna. I thank Michael Jursa for discussing this paper with me, and especially the edition. Frank Simons kindly corrected my English. None of them should be held accountable for any remaining errors.

1. Outgoing letters from the temple should only be part of the archive if they were brought back to the temple or if they were copied for storage. Copies of outgoing letters are rare, and are often of a distinct format or epigraphical style (Levavi 2018: 37). For an example of a copy from the early Achaemenid period, see no. 13 in Farber with Jursa 2018 (pp. 74-80).

2. For the god Amurru and his cult in the Sealand according to texts from the Eanna archive, see Beaulieu 2003: 327-330. For the relationship of the Eanna temple with the Sealand in the formative phase of the Neo-Babylonian empire with an emphasis on letters, see Levavi in press.

3. They are, however, often attested with the type of greeting formula employed in YOS 3, 26, the blessing formula, see Levavi 2018: 49 and Schmidl 2019: 35.

4. Disregarding Levavi 2018, no. 156 (TCL 9, 117): 29, where we are dealing with *ṭābtu* ‘salt’, and no. 35 (BIN 1, 11): 21 and no. 177 (YOS 21, 27): 29, which refer to a form of *ṭābu* ‘to be good’. I thank Yuval Levavi for discussing the latter two texts as well as Levavi 2018, no. 30 (BIN 1, 40) with me.

5. Cf. also Levavi 2018, no. 29 (YOS 21, 172): 13, where a subordinate addresses a superior, using *ṭābtu* with rhetorical intent, which is actually given as a quotation of something the superior had said before.

6. From the time of Nabonidus onwards, the office of *ṭupšar bīti* was held by several officials at the same time, who all served as temple scribes, see Kleber 2008: 28. For changes at the top of the temple hierarchy of the Eanna temple in Uruk from Nabopolassar until Darius, see Kleber 2008: 26.

7. See Schmidl 2017 for a discussion of such changes and their possible meanings in letters by Eanna officials.

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**127) The sign maK** — The MA<sub>5</sub>-sign (KA × KU/ŠĒ) is attested with the syllabic value maK in a Late Babylonian manuscript of the Love Lyrics and in a Late Babylonian bilingual lamentation, as pointed out by Jursa (1995, 57 n. 110). A further example of the sign with this syllabic value occurs in a letter from the Babylonians to a Middle Elamite king, ll. 12' and 14', where it is used to write *imaggar* (in context: “will (it) agree?”). The relevant lines run as follows:<sup>1)</sup>

10'. <i>su-gúl-lum u barbaru</i> (UR.BAR.RA) <i>ḫab-ba-a-tú i-ma-ag-ga-[ru</i> (... .. )]
11'. <i>kun</i> <sup>1</sup> (AḪ)- <i>šil-lu</i> <sup>1</sup> (KU) <i>ki-i-nu a-re-bi mut-tap-ri-šu i-ra-m[u</i> (... .. )]
12'. <sup>1</sup> <i>i</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>mag-gàr a-re-bi šerru</i> (MUŠ) <i>mut</i> <sup>1</sup> (ḪU)- <i>tab-bi-ik mar-tum</i> [(... .. )]
13'. <sup>1</sup> UR <sup>1</sup> .GI <sup>7</sup> <i>ka-si-is ešemti</i> <sup>1</sup> (GĪR <sup>1</sup> .PAD.DA) <i>i-ma-ag-ga-ár šikká</i> <sup>d</sup> (NIN[KILIM]) (... .. )]
14'. <i>i-mag-gàr mušḫuššu</i> (MUŠ.ḪUŠ) <sup>16</sup> <i>ḫab-ba-a-tum ta-bi-ik d[a-mi</i> (... .. )]
10'. Will livestock and thieving wolf ag[ree? (... .. )]
11'. Will the firm thorn(-bush?) and winged crow lov[e] one other? [(... .. )]
12'. Will the crow agree with the snake that constantly spits poison? [(... .. )]
13'. Will the dog that gnaws bones agree with the mon[goose? (... .. )]
14'. Will the <i>mušḫuššu</i> agree with the b[lood]-shedding thief? [(... .. )]

The letter from the Babylonians to a Middle Elamite king is known from one manuscript, BM 35404, that probably dates to some point in the last three centuries BCE.<sup>2)</sup> Since all known attestations of MA<sub>5</sub>-sign with the value maK are found in Late Babylonian manuscripts, the value probably represents an invention of scholars of the Late Babylonian period. Another syllabic CVC value that seems to be an invention of Late Babylonian scholars is the value pašx for the GĪN-sign, which is attested in several colophons on Late Babylonian scholarly tablets.<sup>3)</sup> As pointed out by Finkel (2007, 30-31), the value is probably derived from that the equation GĪN = *pāšu* (“axe”).

The choice of the MA<sub>5</sub>-sign to represent the value maK is perhaps due to the reversal of the first two root consonants of its Akkadian equivalent, *qamû*, “to grind.”<sup>4)</sup> On the use of “retrophony” in cuneiform see Beaulieu (1995, 6-7).

#### Notes

1. Earlier editions read *i-ma<sub>5</sub>-gàr* (Brinkman 1968, 80-81; Lambert in Reynolds 1994, 574-579) while the earliest (mis)read *i-nak-kar* (Pinches 1897, 51-57; Jeremias 1917, 92-95).
2. Both the manuscript’s museum consignment, Sp. 2 987, and the fact that its signs LU, KU and ŠAR lack a top horizontal wedge are consistent with a date in the Hellenistic or Parthian eras: see Clancier (2009, 418-429) for the dates of the astronomical texts in the consignment and Frame & George (2005, 266) on the absence of a horizontal wedge as “suggestive of a date of writing somewhere in the twilight of cuneiform.”
3. Finkel (2007, 30) identifies four colophons in which the value appears in the formula *lâ i-pašx-šit*. Frame & George (2005, 265-270, see 270 ad l. 23) add a fifth one, Jiménez (2016, 228 n. 3) points out three more, and Reynolds (2019, 112 and 117 with n. 49) publishes a ninth example.
4. For the equation in lexical lists see CAD Q 78b.

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**128) Arameo-Akkadica II<sup>1)</sup>** — All the five lexemes discussed below are Aramaic loanwords in Neo-/Late-Babylonian (NB/LB) texts, except for the first one which occurs in a Neo-Assyrian text and can be considered an Akkadian survival in Aramaic.

1. *biškānu* - JBA *byskn' / bsk'n'* "load", an isolated lexeme (Sokoloff 2002: 224a), phonologically matches the NA hapax *biškānu* (*bi-iš-ka-ni*, *biš-ka-ni*, *bé-eš-ka-ni*) "pupa, cocoon's cover" (of a caterpillar, AHw.: 131a; CAD B: 270a). For NA /š/ one expects /s/ in the hypothetical NB/LB precursor of the JBA lexeme. Regarding the semantics, to the spectator it seems that the cover is carried by the creature; therefore the cover can be considered a load.

2. *ek/ik-bi* (hapax, Sippar, 23.VIII.19 Nbk. II = 586 BC, TuM 2/3, 108, 10) can be a *qitl* (> *qetl*)-substantive of ʿ-K-B, i.e. "delay, prevention, invalidation". The denotation matches the context: the passage *kūmu miṭṭi u ek/ik-bi ša ana muhhi PN nadû*, i.e. "for the nonfulfillment and delay (etc.) which are charged against PN" (referring to performance of a work assignment).<sup>2)</sup> The verbal root is recorded in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and Middle Hebrew. The derived *nomina actionis* are extant in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, viz. 'kb' (vocalized as *qattālā*, originally an infinitive) and 'ykwb' (*qittūl*, Sokoloff 2002: 853-854, 860-861, s.vv.). Both formations (*qattāl* and *qittūl*) belong to verbs of the D stirps, which is indeed the case with ʿ-K-B, but there is no telling whether the verb did not exist also in the G stirps in Old and Official Aramaic, which are coeval with NB/LB. The context of *ek/ik-bi-in-ni* (*ina* ~, hapax, apparently from central Babylonia, late Achaemenid, VS 3, 192, 5) is less helpful. The term refers to delivery of dates from two successive years. An interpretation "with delays", in which case <*in-ni*> renders the Aram. pl. m. /īn/, is compatible with the envisaged scenario, but there is no telling whether this is the only plausible explanation, given the polyphonic nature of the initial sign (*ig/k/q-*) and the dearth of information of this damaged administrative record.

3. *ga-bi-bi* (5x, Uruk, Sippar and Babylon regions, 3 Nbn.-23 Dar. I) is always preceded by *kalû* (this pair is twice preceded by *kaslu*). It refers to land of inferior quality, but suitable for pasture according to CAD G: 6a, who state "probably West Sem. lw." AHw.: 272 considers it as a foreign word of unknown origin. It is apparently an Aramaic *qattl*-passive participle of G-B-B (compare OSyr. *gbyb'* and the resembling Mandaic form, cf. Zadok 1981: 198). The JBA passive participle *gyb* is with conflation of verbs with identical 2nd and 3rd radicals and *verba mediae infirmae*. G-B-B means "to bend (over)" in Aramaic (Mand., JBA, OSyr.). Here it is used in a figurative sense, presumably referring to a peculiar topographical elevation ("bent, curved, convex, hunchbacked").

4. *hālilu* - This iron tool is recorded only in the archive of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar during the long 6th century BC. The spellings *ha-li-il* (Nbn. 358, 1), *ha-li-lu* (BM 63810 = Bertin 1121, 4), *ha-li-li*

(CT 55, 281, 14) and *hal-li-li* (CT 55, 216, 7) refer to a single tool, but there are cases where the same spellings refer to multiple tool, viz. *ha-li-li* (VS 6, 205, 1, 3: *ha-l[i-li]*, 11, 14) and *hal-li-li* (*Camb.* 18, 7, 11, 13, 14; MacGinnis 2012, 54, 4). Forms with the plural marker are *ha-li-la-nu/ha-lil-la-nu* (CT 55, 248 rev. 1, UET 4, 145, 1, 4, 6 and CT 55, 204, 4 respectively) and [*h*]a-li-li<sup>mes</sup>/hal-li-li<sup>mes</sup> (VS 6, 205, 1 and *Camb.* 18, 3 respectively). The late occurrence of this tool (not before the period of the Neo-Babylonian empire) is understandable in view of the fact that it was made exclusively of iron and the diffusion of iron tools replacing bronze ones was relatively slow during the first half of the 1st millennium BC. The transcription *hālilu* (AHw.: 311-312; CAD H: 42 transcribe it at face value as *hallilu*), i.e. a *qātil* formation (G active participle) of 𐤆-𐤋-𐤋 “to bore, pierce”, Aram. “to hollow out”, would fit an implement used for digging canals (cf. the reservations of Abraham and Sokoloff 2011: 33b:70). Bongenaar (NB *Ebabbar*: 45) renders *hālilu* as “(iron) shovel” (cf. 131, 371, 381) and Macginnis (2012, 54, 4) as “hoe”. The single spelling *ha-lil-la-nu* (CT 55, 204, 5) does not justify a normalization *halillu* (see Streck 2001: 86:6.3; 2003-2005: 139-140: B, 4.6 c; 2007:153 *ad* 162, 21), the more so in view of JAram. (Targ.) *hwlyl* (i.e. a *qātil*-formation with *ā > ō* which took place in Western Aramaic). The variant *hal-li-li* corroborates this classification. JAram. (Pseudo-Jonathan Targum [PsJ]) *hwlyl* renders BHeb. *hgrzn* “the ax” in 1 Kings 6, 7 and Isaiah 10, 15 (see Tal 1975: 91, who mentions the NB/LB word and points out on 154 that the word is not recorded in any other Aramaic dialect; he also notes the Aram. pl. *hwlylyn*, 207). The problem is that Akkadian has at least three other terms for “ax”, viz. *haššinnu* (a cognate of Aram. *ḥsyn*, see Kaufman 1974: 54, s.v., and presumably of Heb. and Eg. *grd/zn*, cf. AHw.: 332, s.v.), *qulmû* and *pāšu* (listed as synonyms in lexical lists, but perhaps used for different purposes). The latter is a cognate of CA *fa’s* (see Kaufman 1974: 82, s.v.) and apparently of JPA *ps*. However, *ps* is rendered “spade, shovel” (see H.L. Fleischer *apud* Levy 1924, 4: 227, cf. Sokoloff 2017: 496b). The Aramaic terms for “ax” are (apart from *ḥsyn*) *nrg’* and *plq’*. One gathers from the table below that *hālilu* is listed once with *haššinnu* (#4) and twice with *qulmû* (#2, 3). It may be surmised that it was of a different type than *haššinnu* and *qulmû*; the same difficulty of assigning accurate meaning to tools is caused by the co-occurrence of *marru* “spade” and *našiptu* “spade or shovel” in the same documentation (##1-3); only the former has an established denotation thanks to its later and modern survivals. All these implements were used for digging, notably of canals. One may ask whether the translator into Aramaic had a reliable transmission of the term *hwlyl*. Doubts about the reliability of rare words contained in PsJ (without excluding the section edited by Tal 1975) are expressed by Sokoloff (2017: xxxvii, n. 5). The post-1975 pertinent publications dealing with the NB/LB occurrences do not refer to the Hebrew publication of Tal 1975.

Table. The texts where *hālilu* is recorded together with other tools (or without them)

no.	source	place and date	<i>hālilu</i> and other tools in their original sequence
1	BM 63810 = Bertin 1121	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 26.X.35 Nbk. II = 569 BC	4 <i>hālilu</i> , [x] (iron) <i>marru</i> , [x] (iron) <i>našiptu</i> < t > u
2	<i>Camb.</i> 18, 7, 11, 13, 14	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 5.XII.0 Camb. = 529 BC	<b>a.</b> (quantity not indicated). multiple (iron) <i>marru</i> , multiple <i>hālilu</i> , multiple (iron) <i>qulmû</i> , multiple (iron) <i>našiptu</i> . <b>b.</b> 7 <i>marru</i> , 7 <i>hālilu</i> , 3 (iron) <i>qulmû</i> , 3 ID-na- [...], 1 <i>ar-ra-ša-ba-tu</i> , <sup>3)</sup> <b>c.</b> 8 <i>marru</i> , 8 <i>hālilu</i> . <b>d.</b> 2 (iron) <i>marru</i> , 2 <i>hālilu</i> . <b>e.</b> 1 <i>hālilu</i> , 2 <i>qulmû</i> .
3	CT 55, 204, 4	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 6.XII.0 early Achaemenid	multiple (quantity not indicated, all made of iron): <i>marru</i> , <i>qulmû</i> , <i>našiptu</i> , <i>hālilu</i> .
4	CT 55, 216, 7	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), XI? year lost, RN perhaps Npl., Nbk. II or Nbn.	1 <i>haššinnu</i> , 1 <i>hālilu</i> , 2 <i>ma-ti-qa-nu</i> , 4 <i>semeru</i>
5	CT 55, 248, rev. 1	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 15.XI. 2 [+x], RN lost	27 (or 37) <i>hālilu</i> , 3 <i>našiptu</i>
6	CT 55, 281, 14	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 23.-.8 Cyr. = 531/0 BC	2 <i>marru</i> , 2 <i>hālilu</i> .
7	MacGinnis 2012, 54, 4	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 14.-.3 Dar. I = 518 BC	[x] <i>marru</i> , 3 <i>hālilu</i> (the other items are not tools)

8	Nbn. 358, 1	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 10.VII.9 <Nbn. ?> = 547? BC	<i>hālitu</i> is the only tool
9	UET 4, 145, 1, 4, 6	Ur (implicit: findspot), 23.XII.15 no RN (script not late, hence probably Npl., Nbk. II or Dar. I) = 610, 589, or 506 BC	<i>hālitu</i> is the only tool
10	VS 6, 205, 1, 3, 11, 14	Sippar (implicit: Ebabbar archive), 23.XII.14 no RN (probably Npl., Nbn. or Dar. I) = 611, 541 or 507 BC	<i>hālitu</i> is the only tool

**5. *ma-as-tar*** “shelter” (for sheep, early NB, BRM 1, 6, 6) is recorded in a rural archive, presumably from southern Babylonia (see Zadok 1981: 200; Jursa 2005: 150; 2010: 506-509). The word is recorded in QA *mstry*n (pl., Henoah 4: “hiding places”, *maq̄tal* of S-T-R, a formation which denotes locales). Its occurrence in NB indicates that it is not a Hebraism in Henoah as was argued by Beyer (1984: 234), who was not aware of the NB occurrence. Stadel (2008: 85 with nn. 640, 641) is less resolute; he points out that the root S-T-R “to hide, conceal” is amply recorded in Aramaic (Old Aram., BAram., JBA, OSyr. and SA).

#### Notes

1. Cf. NABU 2020/27. Abbreviations (mostly of editions of cuneiform texts) are as in A.L. Oppenheim *et al.* (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (= CAD; Chicago and Glückstadt 1956-2010), unless otherwise indicated. The months (in Roman figures) are the Babylonian ones. Abbreviated rulers' names: Camb. = Cambyses; Cyr. = Cyrus; Dar. = Darius; Nbk. = Nebuchadnezzar; Nbn. = Nabonidus; Npl. = Nabopolassar; Non-bibliographical abbreviations: Aram. = Aramaic; BAram. = Biblical Aramaic; BHeb. = Biblical Hebrew; CA = Classical Arabic; JAram. = Jewish Aramaic; JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; Mand. = Mandaic; OSyr. = Old Syriac; QA = Qumran Aramaic; SA = Samaritan Aramaic; Sem. = Semitic. I should like to thank Mr C.B.F. Walker who allowed me to consult the Bertin copies in the British Museum.

2. Cf. Abraham and Sokoloff 2011: 30:43, who quote the translation of CAD M/2: 147a, s.v. *miṭtu*, f, where the word in question is left untranslated. CAD I/J: 48b, s.v. *ikbu* state “Possibly a word for “fine” or “loss”. The essence of the rare collocation *miṭti u eklik-bi* can be compared with the very common term *baṭlu* “interruption, cessation” in guarantee clauses contained in working contracts (cf. CAD B: 177-178, s.v.). The sequence here is with semantic gradation as *miṭtu* and *eklik-bi* refer to a terminal and temporal stoppage respectively.

3. An agricultural implement (CAD A/2: 308b). It is preceded either by units (one *a.*) or by weight (13.5 minas, therefore AHw.: 71b lists only the occurrence with weight, viz. YOS 6, 218, 47, and renders it as “ein Rohstoff?”). From the point of view of Semitic historical phonology, the Akkadian form can be the equivalent of BHeb. *hṛsbwt* (pl., sg. \**hṛyb*, Bauer and Leander 1922: 484:61ce) “bonds” (ll' *gdwt*), which is compared with CA *ḥadrama* “to tighten a rope”. The indication of weight would accord well with the meaning “bonds”.

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**129) Four Loanwords in Neo-/Late-Babylonian<sup>1)</sup>** — The case for an Aramaic derivation of 1. *he-sa-a-nu* is presented below. It has long been proposed that 4. *la-mu-ta-nu* is originally Aramaic; its structure and morphological parallels are thoroughly investigated below, thereby freeing it from isolation. 3. *kūzu* and a form resembling 2. *kandaku* are recorded later in Middle Iranian, but not in Old Iranian which is contemporary with NB/LB. All the Indo-Iranian comparanda are devoid not only of Old Iranian forerunners, but also— as far as I can see— of any cognates within the wider Indo-European linguistic framework (cf., e.g., Mayrhofer 1992: 363, s.v. *kuṇḍa-*). It seems that like many terms of realia, *kandaku* and *kūzu* are originally culture words.

**1. *he-sa-a-nu*** (4x: BE 9, 94, 4; PBS 2/1, 194, 3, 14; UCP 9/3: 276, 23) with the variants *he-sa-anu/ni* (3+4 = 6x),<sup>2)</sup> *he-sa-nu* (9x)<sup>3)</sup> and *ah/eh-he-sa-nu* (2x, BE 10, 65, 16, le.e. The defective spelling *he-s[a-...]* in Donbaz and Stolper 1997, 52, 20 is not taken into account) is recorded in the name of an organization (*haṭru*) of dependents of the *šušānu*-class. The bow-fiefs of this organization are explicitly recorded in the Murašû archive from Nippur between 20.I.22 Art. I = 443 and 4.VII.4 Dar. II = 420 BC (see Stolper 1985: 77, 84-85). They were scattered in at least six settlements. They were administered by the foremen (sg. *šaknu*) Kāširu s. of Bēl-nāšir (Kšr s. of Blnšr on the Aramaic docket) in the earliest occurrence (Stolper 1985: 3a, 2, le.e.: with a cylinder seal, Bregstein 1994: 613:215), by Iddin-Marduk on 25.XIIb.29 Art. I = 435 BC (Donbaz and Stolper 1997, 52, le.e., cf. 18ff.; he apparently had a representative), and by Bēl-šarra-ušur s. of Marduk-bēlšunu from 20.VI.41 Art. I = 424 BC (at the latest) until the latest mention. Bēl-šarra-ušur was represented in many transactions by his “brother” (presumably colleague) Aplā. The dependents of the *šušānu*-class are described as *mārē* (DUMU<sup>mes</sup>) *he-sa-a-nu* (etc.). This compound designation can be compared with that of the dependents of the *šušānu*-class of the foremen’s estate (*bīt-šaknūtu*) in the same archive. That designation, viz. <sup>lú</sup>šū-šá-né-e *mārē* (DUMU<sup>mes</sup>) *šaknūtu* (<sup>lú</sup>šak-nu<sup>mes</sup>),<sup>4)</sup> alternates with <sup>lú</sup>šū-šá-né-e šá *bīt* (É) <sup>lú</sup>šak-nu-tu.<sup>5)</sup> This alternating designation is rendered as “*šušānus* of the estate of foremen = “*šušānus* ‘sons’ (i.e. members of the class) of foremen”.<sup>6)</sup>

Unfortunately, the information presented above does not contain a clue for the meaning of the name of the organization. The tentative rendering of *he-sa-a-nu* (etc.) by Cardascia (1958: 59, n. 2) as “guardsmen” is unfounded. The word has no Iranian etymology (despite CAD H: 201: “probably Old Pers. lw.”), but might have been borrowed from Aramaic. The LB form renders \**ahsān* which is identical with the base of the infinitive of the Aramaic causative (C) stirps. SA *hsnh* renders BHeb. *’hzh* (Gen. 23, 9) “possession”. Perhaps it originates from a form *’hsnt* (see Tal 2000: 287a). JAram. (Targ.) *’hsn* renders BHeb. *nhlh* “inheritance” (see Tal 1975: 22, 99, 103, also in Onkelos; Neofiti *byt* *’hsnw* and QA *’hsnw* is with the feminine suffix *-w*, Cook 2015: 6). The word is recorded also in JBA and JPA *’hsnh* “inheritance” (Kaufman and Sokoloff 1993: 34-35, to Ḥ-S-N, C “to maintain or acquire possession”). The suffix of the infinitive of the C stirps is interchangeable: it ends with the feminine suffix in Western Late Aramaic (JPA, SA, CPA and OSyr.), but with *-y* in Eastern Late Aramaic (JBA, *-y*’ in Mandaic, cf. Bar-Asher Siegal 2016:

137-138:5.4). The infinitive of the C stirps is recorded without suffix in Old Aram. *hskr* “to deliver, hand over” from Sfire (cf. Degen 1969: 70; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 2: 786, s.v. *skr*<sub>1</sub>). Two rare substantives without an ending, namely JPA *'psd* “loss” and *'tmh* “question (mark”, see Ben-Hayyim 1967, 3/2: 218-219, n. ad 65), are analogous to the infinitive of the C stirps. It seems that they are ancient survivals. It may be argued that the pristine form of the C-infinitive was without suffix, like the situation in Biblical Hebrew.<sup>7)</sup> The LB term, which may reflect \**'ahsān* (> *hsān* is exemplified by the two occurrences of *ah-he-sa-nu* in the same document, cf. SA *hsnh*), would resemble these early forms. The interchange of <-an-ni/nu> with <-a-nu> in about half of the occurrences very probably renders an oxytone. This is not contradicted by the impressive number of the shorter spelling *he-sa-nu* (9x) because this defective spelling was dictated by lack of space as it mostly occurs either in captions of seals (4x) or at the end of lines (2x). My decision to transcribe *-ā-* after the 2nd radical is compatible with the MT vocalization of the C-infinitives of Biblical Aramaic in the same position with *qāmes* (marked in bold), viz. *'hwyt* (cstr. st.), *hktbh*, *hnsqh*, *hnzqt* (cstr. st.), *hšlh*, *hškh*, *hšnyh*, *hšplh*, *hwbdh*, *hwđh*, and after the 1st radical in verbs with identical 2nd and 3rd radicals (*h'lh*) and *verba mediae infirmae* (*hzdh* as well as *hqmwt* and *htbwt*). It stands to reason that the LB form renders an Aramaic abstract noun with the meaning “inheritance, possession”. Its 1st meaning is the same as *ia-a-ri-tu-tu/ia-ri-tu-tu* “inheritance” (CAD I/J: 325-326, cf. Abraham and Sokoloff 2011: 56b:271), which is borrowed in NB. The estates employing *šusānus* belonged to the palatial system (the only exception may be that of Itti-Šamaš-balātu in view of the Babylonian name of its owner). Regarding terminology, “inheritance, possession” as an estate name, can be compared with the name of the estate of the treasury (*nakkandu*) in the same archive (cf. Stolper 1985: 77, 89). The term *he-sa-a-nu* (etc.) is never preceded by *bīt*, presumably because “inheritance, possession” generally contains landed property as its core component, especially if it is part of the palatial sector (unlike *byt 'hsnw* above which refers to a familial landed property).

**2. *kandaku*** - *ka-an-da-ki-šú*, viz. “his *k*.” (hapax), a container, is mentioned in an undatable letter (CT 22, 44, 12, see CAD K: 148a). It apparently ends with the very common Old Iranian suffix *-ka-*, attached to an *-a* stem. Unlike the sequence *-a-k* in this case, the only Iranian comparandum, viz. *k/qndwg* “storage jar” (with Middle Persian *k > g*, the *-k* is retained in the loanword *khanduk* in Armenian), ends in *-ūk* (< Old Iran. *-ūka-*). OSyr. *kndyqwn'* (diminutive, see Ciancaglini 2008: 196-197 where all the later comparanda are discussed) shows that the suffix *-wk-* interchanges with *-yk-*, but an ascertained interchange with *-ak* cannot be demonstrated. The word is not recorded in the restricted Old Iranian corpus.

**3. *ku-ú-zu*** in the deed BM 84129(, 8', not *-SU* as erroneously read by Roth 1989: 25, collated on 18.2.2020) renders *kwz* (JPA, JBA, Mand. *kwz'*) “pitcher”. The deed is a typical late Achaemenid –early Hellenistic thick tablet with a ring seal, presumably from the Babylonian Isthmus. Ciancaglini (2008: 191) is of the opinion that the word was borrowed from Iranian. There are no ascertained Old Iranian cognates and it should be remembered that none of the comparative Iranian cognates predates the Middle Iranian stage. This word, like *kndwg* (2 above), was well-integrated in later Aramaic where JBA has also forms with Aramaic suffixes, viz. *kwz't'* and *kwzynt'*, presumably diminutives (analogous to the case of OSyr. *kndyqwn'*, above, 2).

**4. *la-mu-ta-nu*** (*lawûtānu*) “slave, retainer” is based on a form deriving from L-W/Y-Y “to join, accompany, escort, attend” (Aram., Heb., cf. Minaic *lw'*)<sup>8)</sup> as its <VmV> can render /w/ in NB/LB (CAD L: 77-78, cf. Fales 1980: 263). There is a certain overlapping between the status and function of the *la-mu-ta-nu-s* and that of the *qallu*-slaves: The same person is defined as *lawûtānu* and *qallu* at the same time.<sup>9)</sup> In one case it is stated: <sup>li</sup>*la-mu-ta-nu* ÌR<sup>meš</sup>-ka, i.e. “the *lawûtānus*, your servants” (TCL 9, 118 = Levavi 2018, 50, 6, probably time of Nbk. II). Pairs of slaves as well as groups consisting of three and four slaves are described as <sup>li</sup>*la-mu-ta-nu*: pair (OECT 10, 357, 4'); groups (Wunsch, *Urkunden*, 38, Larsa, 17.X.6 Nbn. = 549 BC); <sup>li</sup>*la-mu-ta-[nu]* (Babylon, 18.VI.3 Nerigl. = 557 BC, Wunsch, *Egibi*, 15) refers to two individuals. *La-mu-ta-nu* is both singular and plural, presumably because its *-ān*, being homophonous with the suffix of the Akkadian masculine plural as it was probably pronounced in NB/LB (*-ān* < *-āni*), was perceived as a plural form by the Babylonian scribes where the context required it. Due to this perception, the hapax *la-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>* with the same denotation as *la-mu-ta-nu* can be regarded as a back formation.



Since *la-mu-ta-nu* or any closely resembling form does not exist in any Aramaic dialect, Abraham and Sokoloff (2011: 39a:117) are sceptic whether *VmV* here = /*wl*/, but this can be supported by the numerous spellings with a single *m* (at least 30x, plus the hapax *la-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>*, cf. just above; there is only one exception, viz. *lam-mu-ta-nu<sup>10)</sup>*) and *la-ú-ta-[ni-šú]* (*Nbn.* 1098, 5), provided the restoration is correct. They admit that the derivation is theoretically possible. Streck (2010: 651 with n. 35) presents forms deriving from L-W/Y-Y in support of an Aramaic derivation. The compound suffix *-(a)t-ān* forms adjectives in Aramaic (see Nöldeke 1875 [1964]: 57, 139; Duval 1881 [1969]: 236-237:251; Brockelmann 1908 [1961]: 392-393:215; Macuch 1965: 196; 143, b) and Middle Hebrew (cf. Segal 1936: 83:133). It was pointed out that in most cases these adjectives are not based on abstract nouns or on substantives ending in *-t*, but on adjectives of the *qtwl*-formation (see Nöldeke 1904: 78-79:129c). There are ample cases of adjectives of the *qatūl-t-ān* pattern, viz. OSyr. *ʿywqtn* “sorrowful, melancholic”, *dlwltn* “fearful”, *hywstn* “compassionate”, *nkwltn* “cunning, crafty”, *rgwštn* “sensitive”, *rgwztn* “angry, very irascible” (cf. JPA *rwgztn* “quarrelsome”), *rywgttn* “lustful, voluptuous, avaricious” (from R-G-G “to desire greatly” conflated with the *verba mediae infirmae* class), *šnwʿtn* “sly”, *šgwštn* “turbulent”, *špwrtn* “low, cringing flatterer, sycophant”, *škltn*/*škwlttn* “intelligent” (JPA *swkltn*, cf. *škl* “mind”); and *yšwptn* “diligent, careful”. Hence the NB/LB form can originate from *\*lawūy-t-ān* and normalized as *\*lawūtān* with contraction of *-y-* (to *qatūl*). It is well-established that *-ān* is an adjectivising suffix, but it can be argued that also *-(a)t* has the same function in few cases. In addition, *<la-mu-ta-nu>* cannot be based on nominal forms of L-W/Y-Y, such as CPA *lwyt*, JPA *lwyyt* and Mand. *lwita/lwayta* “party, company, accompaniment” (Sokoloff 2017: 304a), which are of different formations.

It should be pointed out that *lawūtānu* refers to both sexes: a female slave and her one-year daughter are defined as *lawūtānu* (see Zadok 2019: 206 ad B.I.3 = IAC 225, 8-9). The form *la-ta-(a)-nu*, which invariably refers to females (8x), is thought to be related. CAD (L: 77-78) list both forms together without assigning a sub-section for *lātānu* which is considered a mere variant, apparently an allegro form. This variation reminds one of the homonymous pair BHeb. *lwytn* (LXX Λευιαθων, i.e. *qitl+-at-ān*, cf. Mand. *lywyʿtʿn*, Nöldeke 1875 [1964]: 57); Ug. *ltn* (a mythical monster, del Olmo Lete *et al.* 2015, 2: 502), but this does not imply a continuity given the very long chronological gap as well as the different meaning. The shorter forms are thought to originate from the longer ones, viz. *lātān* < *\*lawātān* < *\*lawayatān* (see Tropper 2012: 272:51.46, e.). It can be envisaged that *lātānu* originated from *lawūtānu* with omission of *-wū-*, with the result that the *-a-* of the 1st syllable has undergone a compensatory lengthening. Emerton (1982) suggested for *ltn* a vocalization *\*lītānu* (< *\*līyitānu* < *\*liwyatānu* in view of LXX *-ē-*). Both he and Tropper do not mention the NB/LB appellatives.

*Lawūtānu*-people belonging to the temple are recorded from the late Sargonid (c. 652-649 BC (ABL 960 = Parpola 2018, 106, rev. 1, cf. 92 ad loc. and 148b) until the early Achaemenid period (cf. the letters BIN 1, 15, 5; CT 22, 213, 14; TCL 9, 118 = Levavi 2018, 50, 6; YOS 6, 246 and YOS 3, 160, 14; 193, 26). They also belonged to private individuals and to officials.

## Notes

1. Abbreviations (mostly of editions of cuneiform texts) are as in A.L. Oppenheim *et al.* (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago and Glückstadt 1956-2010), unless otherwise indicated. The months (in Roman figures) are the Babylonian ones. Abbreviated rulers' names: Art. = Artaxerxes; Dar. = Darius; Nbk. = Nebuchadnezzar; Nbn. = Nabonidus; Nerigl. = Neriglissar. Non-bibliographical abbreviations: Aram. = Aramaic; BHeb. = Biblical Hebrew; CPA = Christian Palesinian Aramaic; cstr. st. = construct state; Iran. = Iranian; JAram. = Jewish Aramaic; JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; Mand. = Mandaic; OSyr. = Old Syriac; QA = Qumran Aramaic; s. = son; SA = Samaritan Aramaic; Sem. = Semitic.

2. *he-sa-an-nu* (BE 10, 14, 4; 49, 4; PBS 2/1, 30, 2); *he-sa-an-ni* (BE 10, 61, 5; Donbaz and Stolper 1997, 83, 10; PBS 2/1, 162, 13).

3. BE 10, 61, 17; PBS 2/1, 54, u.e.; 63, 14, 18 (end of line), u.e. (caption); 66, lo.e. 1 (caption); 87, 13, 17 (end of line); 194, le.e. (caption).

4. <sup>lū</sup>ha<sup>l</sup>-a<sup>l</sup>-ri šá <sup>lū</sup>šū-<sup>lū</sup>šá-né]-<sup>l</sup>e<sup>1</sup> DUMU<sup>meš</sup> <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu<sup>meš</sup>, <sup>9lū</sup>ha<sup>l</sup>-a<sup>l</sup>-ri šá <sup>lū</sup>šū-<sup>lū</sup>šá-né]-<sup>l</sup>e DUMU<sup>meš</sup> <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu<sup>meš</sup> (BE 10, 112, 3, 9); <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu (no PN) šá <sup>lū</sup>šū-šá-né-e<sup>6</sup>, <sup>12</sup>DUMU<sup>meš</sup> <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu<sup>meš</sup> (BE 10, 112, 5f., 11f.); <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu šá <sup>lū</sup>šū-šá-nu<sup>meš</sup> <sup>12</sup>DUMU<sup><meš></sup> šá <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu-tu (BE 10, 64, 11f.).

5. <sup>lū</sup>ha-a<sup>l</sup>-ri šá <sup>lū</sup>šū-šá-né-e šá É <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu-tu; <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu šá <sup>lū</sup>šū-šá<sup>l</sup>-né-e šá É <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu-tu (PBS 2/1, 117, 5, 1e.e); <sup>lū</sup>ha-a<sup>l</sup>-ri <sup>3</sup>šá <sup>lū</sup>šū-šá-nu<sup>meš</sup> šá É <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu-tú (PBS 2/1, 181, 2f.); <sup>lū</sup>ha-a<sup>l</sup>-ri šá <sup>lū</sup>šū-šá-né-e <sup>5</sup>šá É <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu-<sup>lū</sup>tú]; <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu <sup>6</sup>šá<sup>l</sup> É <sup>lū</sup>šak-nu-tú (PBS 2/1, 226, 5f.).

6. See Stolper 1985: 77:41, but cf. *šušānu* DUMU<sup>meš</sup> ENGAR<sup>meš</sup> lit. “*šušānus* ‘sons’ of *ikkarus*” (cf. Stolper 1985: 77:46: “*šušānus* ‘sons’ of field hands”), which need not be a complementary apposition. It is not contradicted by the rendering “field hands” since *ikkaru* covers a wide spectrum and does not display a linear degradation, but can be a genitive compound, expressing dependency, viz. “*šušānus* dependents of the *ikkarus*”, “the farmers’ *šušānus*” as rendered by CAD I/J: 54b, s.v. *ikkaru* in *mār ikkari*, c; *mār ikkari* is of the same type as JBA *br ḥmr*. They are the semantic equivalents of “ploughman” and “donkey driver” respectively (cf. JBA *br ’mwd’y* = *’mwd’h* “diver”, Sokoloff 2002: 139a, 234b).

7. It seems that the insertion of *-t* was motivated by its function as a substantive, the more so since it interchanges with *-w* (constr. state *-wt*), a suffix of abstract nouns: e.g., BAram. *hšlh/hšlw* and *hwd’h/hwd’w* (cf. *hqmwt* and *htbwt*, for the alternation see Muraoka 1997: 207-208) and JPA *’hšn’/’hšmw*. It is noteworthy that *-n* was inserted to the Old Sabaic C-infinitive *hqtł* in the later stage of this Ancient South Arabian dialect and that verbal nouns of C-verbs, viz. *’hqtłt*, end in *-t* (cf. Stein 2013: 60-61:4.2.2.7 *ad ’hftl* and 85:7.2.1 *ad hftl/hftln*). This typological analogy may corroborate the special relationship between early Aramaic and Sabaic which is advocated by Kottsieper and Stein 2014.

8. See Albright 1919: 184 who is followed by von Soden, AHw.: 534a, s.v. *lam/wūtānu*. More documentation is presented by Bongenaar, *NB Ebabbar*: 301, 311, 334-336, 341, 343, 365 *ad* CT 55, 850, 2; 866, 4-5; 57, 491, 2-5 and BM 63962, 4.

9. Cf. Bongenaar, *NB Ebabbar*: 315, 317-318, 339. For a thorough discussion with most of the pre-1984 material see Dandamayev 1984: 94-96. Additional references have the same spelling (e.g. *la-mu-ta-nu*, OECT 10, 53, 4, 11; cf. Zadok 2018: 125-126:CUA 5b). PN<sub>1</sub> and PN<sub>2</sub> <sup>lu</sup>*la-mu-ta-nu* of <sup>9</sup>PN<sub>3</sub>, *Zazannu*, 13 Dar. I = 509/8 BC, Zawadzki 2000: 736-737:5, 8f.).

10. BIN 1, 33, 36 and *Nbk*. 207, 2 respectively. The former refers to several dependents; I suspect that the scribe regarded *-ūt* in this case as the plural form of a masculine adjective.

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Ran ZADOK

**130) Intercalations during the co-regency of Xerxes with Darius I** — The chronological debate among Greek historians as to whether Xerxes died in 475 BCE, according to Herodotus and Thucydides, or in 465 BCE, according to the Babylonian royal lists, was decided by the famous Greek astronomer, Claudius Ptolemy, who published around 150 CE the Babylonian (and Achaemenid) chronology dated after the Nabonassar era, which began in 748 BCE. Claudius Ptolemy converted all Babylonian dates into the Egyptian civil calendar, which allowed him to verify historical synchronisms with Egyptian chronology. He also verified the accuracy of some lunar eclipses mentioned in astronomical tablets dated in Year of the King (Almagest). As a result of Ptolemy's reliance on verifiably-dated eclipses, all historians after 150 CE, without exception, adopted this Babylonian chronology and modified the Greek chronology to bring it into line with this new absolute chronology of the Achaemenid period. The Babylonian chronology established by Claudius Ptolemy was confirmed by the BM 34576 tablet (copy of the King List dated 99 BCE). A study of all tablets (contracts or inscriptions) dated during the period 626–331 BCE was published (Parker, Dubberstein: 1956) and demonstrated that all the durations of the Achaemenid period agreed with those of the Babylonian royal lists, providing that several short co-regencies were admitted shortly before and also during the enthronement of the new king. Although this study confirmed the Babylonian chronology from the King Lists, it also contradicted the transition between Artaxerxes I and Darius II precisely described by all Greek historians. It had to be admitted that the reign of a legitimate king, Xerxes II (425–424), and a

usurper, Sogdianus (424–424), who had succeeded Artaxerxes I before Darius II came to power, was historically contradicted by Babylonian chronology. A study including all the Babylonian contracts listed, as well as all the astronomical tablets, made it possible to reconstruct the chronology of the Achaemenid period (Gertoux: 2018, 179-206). This study showed that the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes had been shifted by 10 years (Reign\*) with respect to astronomical dates (highlighted in black):

Babylonian king	#	Reign	Reign*	Regnal year	Year of Nabonassar	Date of eclipse (BCE)	Almagest
Nabonassar	14	748–734	748–734		1		
Merodachbaladan II	12	<b>722–710</b>	<b>722–710</b>	1st year	27	19 March 721	IV:6
				2nd year	28	8 March 720	IV:6
				2nd year	28	1 September 720	IV:6
Nabopolassar	21	<b>626–605</b>	<b>626–605</b>	5th year	127	22 April 621	V:14
Cambyses II	8	<b>530–522</b>	<b>530–522</b>	7th year	225	16 July 523	V:14
[Bardiya]			523–522		**		
Darius I	36	<b>522–486</b>	<b>522–486</b>	20th year	246	19 November 502	IV:9
				31st year	257	25 April 491	IV:9
Xerxes I	21	486–465	<b>496–475</b>	21st year	262**	26 June 475	BM 32234
				21st year		20 December 475	BM 32234
Artaxerxes I	41	465–424	<b>475–434</b>		283**		
[Darius B]			434–426				
[Artaxerxes I]			426–425				
[Xerxes II]			425–424				
Darius II	19	<b>424–405</b>	<b>424–405</b>	2nd year	326	8 August 422	LBAT 1426
Artaxerxes II	46	<b>405–359</b>	<b>405–359</b>	26th year	369	17 April 379	LBAT 1416
Artaxerxes III	23	359–336	359–336				
Darius III	5	<b>336–331</b>	<b>336–331</b>	5th year	412	20 September 331	BM 36761

The changes<sup>1)</sup> due to the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I forced the Babylonian scribes to reorganize the royal lists and to shift the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I by 10 years. For example, the observations in year 13 of Xerxes were moved to year 3, the observations in year 21 of Xerxes replaced those in year 10 of Artaxerxes I, in 465 BCE, the observations in year 33 of Artaxerxes I were moved to year 23, and so on (Huber, De Meis: 2004, 3,94-112). This 10-year time delay was not due to chance, as Babylonian astronomers classified lunar eclipses according to an 18-year Saros cycle, because they had noticed that astronomical phenomena were reproduced identically in the 19th year of the solar cycle and almost identically in the 11th year (to within a day). The 19 solar years last 6939.6 days = 19x365.24219 days and correspond exactly to 19 lunar years plus 7 intercalary months, which last 6939.7 days = ([19x12]+7) x 29.530588 days. The 11 solar years last 4017.6 days = 11x365.24219 days and correspond to 11 lunar years plus 4 intercalary months, which last 4016.2 days = ([11x12]+4) x 29.530588 days. Because of these astronomical cycles the two lunar eclipses of 475 BCE (total then partial) were reproduced in 465 BCE, but in reverse order (partial then total). For example, the two lunar eclipses of 475 BCE were exactly reproduced in 457 BCE on 6 July (total) and 31 December (partial). The rearrangements made by Babylonian astronomers changed the chronology of the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, including the Metonic cycle of the intercalary years. This 19-year cycle is a mathematical cycle that perfectly synchronizes the 19 lunar years with 19 solar years by adding intercalary months, a second Adar month (XIIa) or a second Ulul month (VIb), in 7 years of the 19-year cycle (3A, 6A, 8A, 11A, 14A, 17U, 19A). However, this 19-year cycle was based on observations, not on calculations (Steele: 2007, 121-123) and the computed data in diaries (purely computational, not the combination of observational and predictive methodologies) appear a little before 350 BCE (Rochberg-Halton: 1991, 107-120). The reading of a few months in between is disputed, for example the year 7A (XIIa) of Xerxes should perhaps be replaced by the year 8U (VIb) of Xerxes (Ossendrijver: 2018, 138-143).

The chronology of the Achaemenid reigns shows that the metric cycle was respected with very few errors: 0U\*\* instead of 0A and 3U\*\* instead of 2A in the reign of Cambyses II; 11U\*\* instead of 11A, 22A\*\* instead of 22U and 30U\*\* instead of 30A in the reign of Darius I; 2U (Persepolis) instead of 1A (Babylon) in the reign of Xerxes; 19A\*\* instead of 19U and 38A instead of 38U in the reign of Artaxerxes I; 51/0 instead of 51/0A in the reign of Darius II (deleted parts in the royal lists have been hatched):

BCE	Meton cycle	Coregent	King	Meton cycle	King List (conventional)	Meton cycle
530	6A		<b>0U** Cambyses II</b>	6A	<b>0U** Cambyses II</b>	6A
529	7		1	7	1	7
528	8A		2	8A	2	8A
527	9		<b>3U**</b>	9	<b>3U**</b>	9
526	10		4	10	4	10
525	11A		5A	11A	5A	11A
524	12		6	12	6	12
523	13	<b>0 Bardiya</b>	<b>7</b>	13	<b>7</b>	13
522	14A	1/0 Nebuchadnezzar III	<b>8/0A Darius I</b>	14A	<b>8/0A Darius I</b>	14A
521	15		1	15	1	15
520	16		2	16	2	16
519	<b>17U</b>		<b>3U</b>	<b>17U</b>	<b>3U</b>	<b>17U</b>
518	18		4	18	4	18
517	19A		5A	19A	5A	19A
516	1		6	1	6	1
515	2		7	2	7	2
514	3A		8A	3A	8A	3A
513	4		9	4	9	4
512	5		10	5	10	5
511	6A		<b>11U**</b>	6A	<b>11U**</b>	6A
510	7		12	7	12	7
509	8A		13A	8A	13A	8A
508	9		14	9	14	9
507	10		15	10	15	10
506	11A		16A	11A	16A	11A
505	12		17	12	17	12
504	13		18	13	18	13
503	14A		19U** ( <i>Persepolis</i> )	14A	19U** ( <i>Persepolis</i> )	14A
502	15		<b>20</b>	15	<b>20</b>	15
501	16		21	16	21	16
500	<b>17U</b>		<b>22A** (Babylon)</b>	<b>17U</b>	<b>22A** (Babylon)</b>	<b>17U</b>
499	18		23	18	23	18
498	19A		24A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	19A	24A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	19A
497	1		25	1	25	1
496	2	<b>0 Xerxes I</b>	26	2	26	2
495	3A	1**	27A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	3A	27A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	3A
494	<b>17U</b>	<b>2U (Persepolis)</b>	28	4	28	4
493	18	3	29	5	29	5
492	19A	4?A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	<b>30U** (Persepolis)</b>	6A	<b>30U** (Persepolis)</b>	6A
491	1	5	<b>31</b>	7	<b>31</b>	7
490	2	6	32A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	8A	32A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	8A
489	3A	7?A ( <i>Persepolis</i> )	33	9	33	9
488	4	8	34	10	34	10
487	5	9	35A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	11A	35A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	11A
486	6A	10A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	36	12	36/0 <b>Xerxes I</b>	12
485	7	11		13	<b>1**</b>	13
484	8A	12A ( <i>Persepolis</i> )		14A	<b>2U (Persepolis)</b>	17U
483	9	13	<b>LBAT 1419 (18 Nov.)</b>		[3]	18
482	10	14			4?A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	19A
481	11A	15A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	Papyrus B23 (15 Sep.)		5	1
480	12	16			6	2
479	13	17			7?A ( <i>Persepolis</i> )	3A
478	14A	18A ( <i>Babylon</i> )			8	4
477	15	19			9	5
476	16	20			10A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	6A
475	<b>17U</b>	<b>21U-0 Artaxerxes I</b>	<b>LBAT 1419 (26 Jun.; 20 Dec.)</b>	<b>Dec.</b>	11	7
474	18	1	Papyrus B24 (5 Jan.)		12A ( <i>Persepolis</i> )	8A
473	19A	2A			13	9
472	1	3			14	10
471	2	4			15A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	11A
470	3A	5A			16	12

469	4	6	Papyrus B25/26 (4 Dec.)		17	13
468	5	7			18A ( <i>Babylon</i> )	14A
467	6A	8			19	15
466	7	9	Papyrus B34 (16 Dec.)		20	16
465	8A	10A			21U-0 Artaxerxes I	17U
464	9	11			1	18
463	10	12			2A	19A
462	11A	13A			3	1
461	12	14	Papyrus B35 (9 Jul.)		4	2
460	13	15			5A	3A
459	14A	16	Papyrus B28 (17 Oct.)		6	4
458	15	17			7	5
457	16	18			8	6A
456	17U	19A**	Papyrus B29 (19 Nov.)		9	7
455	18	20			10A	8A
454	19A	21A			11	9
453	1	22			12	10
452	2	23			13A	11A
451	3A	24			14	12
450	4	25	Papyrus B30 (29 Aug)		15	13
449	5	26			16	14A
448	6A	27			17	15
447	7	28	Papyrus B37 (17 Sep.)		18	16
446	8A	29A			19A**	17U
445	9	30			20	18
444	10	31	Papyrus B38 (1 Nov.)		21A	19A
443	11A	32			22	1
442	12	33	<b>LBAT 1426 (24 Mar.)</b>		[23]	2
441	13	34			24	3A
440	14A	35A			25	4
439	15	36			26	5
438	16	37			27	6A
437	17U	38A**	Papyrus B39 (15 Jun.)		28	7
436	18	39			29A	8A
435	19A	40A			30	9
434	1	41 CBS 4986	<b>0 Darius B</b>		31	10
433	2	42	1		32	11A
432	3A	(43)	2A		33	12
431	4	(44)	3		34	13
430	5	(45)	4 Papyrus B31 (4 Oct.)		35A	14A
429	6A	(46)	5A		36	15
428	7	(47)	6		37	16
427	8A	(48)	7A		38A**	17U
426	9	(49)	8 Papyrus B42 (25 Sep.)		39	18
425	10	50 BM 65494	<b>(0) Xerxes II</b>		40A	19A
424	1**	<b>[51]-0 Darius II</b>	<b>(1A) LBAT 1426</b>	11A	<b>[51]-0 Darius II</b>	1
423	2	1		12	1	2
422	3A	<b>2A</b>		13	<b>2A</b>	3A
421	4	3			3	4
420	5	4			4	5
419	6A	5A			5A	6A
418	7	6			6	7
417	8A	7A			7A	8A
416	9	8			8	9
415	10	9			9	10
414	11A	10A			10A	11A
413	12	11			11	12
412	13	12			12	13
411	14A	13A			13A	14A
410	15	14			14	15
409	16	15			15	16
408	17U	16A**			16A**	17U
407	18	17			17	18

<b>406</b>	19A	18A				18A	19A
<b>405</b>	1	19 Artaxerxes II				19 Artaxerxes II	1
<b>404</b>	2	1				1	2
<b>403</b>	3A	2A				2A	3A

Elephantine papyri are letters (B23 to B42) dated in both the lunar calendar and the Egyptian civil calendar, so they provide absolute dates (Porten: 1996, 152–234), assuming that the lunar calendar started at the new moon to be in line with conventional Babylonian chronology, but it doesn't work well (Stern: 2000, 159–171). In fact, the Egyptian lunar calendar began with the full moon, which corresponds perfectly to the absolute dates of the Babylonian astronomical tablets (highlighted in sky blue).

Abnormal intercalary years with respect to the Metonic cycle (A\*\* and U\*\*) are simply the result of the observation process<sup>2</sup>. If the first lunar crescent of the 7th month (VII) appeared before the autumnal equinox (29 September), a second month Adar (XIIa) was added (for example in 514 BCE), and if the first lunar crescent of the 1st month (I) appeared before the spring equinox (26 March), a second Ulul (VIb) was added (for example in 511 BCE). The coincidence of the intercalary years with the Metonic cycle thus comes from the meticulous astronomical observation of the Babylonian astronomical priests.

BCE	cycle	spring	< I/I	I/VI	I/VIb	autumn	< I/VII	I/XII	I/XIIb	
<b>517</b>	19A	26 Mar.	29 Mar.	24 Aug.		29 Sept.	22 Sep.**	17 Feb.	19 Mar.	5A
<b>516</b>	1	26 Mar.	17 Apr.	11 Sep.		29 Sept.	11 oct.	8 Mar.		6
<b>515</b>	2	27 Mar.	7 Apr.	1 Sep.		29 Sept.	30 Sep.	26 Feb.		7
<b>514</b>	3A	27 Mar.	27 Mar.	21 Aug.		29 Sept.	19 Sep.**	15 Feb.	16 Mar.	8A
<b>513</b>	4	26 Mar.	14 Apr.	8 Sep.		29 Sept.	7 Oct.	5 Mar.		9
<b>512</b>	5	26 Mar.	3 Apr.	29 Aug.		29 Sept.	27 Sep.	22 Feb.		10
<b>511</b>	6A	27 Mar.	23 Mar.**	18 Aug.	17 Sep.	29 Sept.	16 Oct.	13 Mar.		<b>11U</b>

The accession of Xerxes in year 26 of Darius I (496 BCE) occurred in a normal year, his first year of reign should have been an intercalary year (in Babylon), but as Xerxes resided in Persepolis the Persian astronomical priests did not add an intercalary month at the end of the year (XIIb), they visibly started a new intercalation cycle from the 2nd year of Xerxes (2U), which shifted the intercalation cycle for Xerxes, which had started in Persepolis (Ossendrijver: 2018, 141), from that of Darius. The cycle of intercalations begun during the reign of Xerxes continued until the end of the reign of Artaxerxes I, but the very complicated transition between Year 50 of Artaxerxes and Year 1 of Darius II (Xerxes II and Sogdianus) made it impossible to count the intercalation during Year 1 of Xerxes II (1A) corresponding to the 11th year of the cycle (11A). The astronomical priests thus began a new 19-year cycle from the 1st year of Darius II.

The realization of a 19-year cycle with its 7 intercalary months by Babylonian astronomers is truly remarkable. However, this 19-year cycle was based on observations, not on calculations and the computed data in diaries appear a little before 350 BCE. It was not a theoretical cycle, like the cycle of Meton, but an empirical cycle based on observations. The presence of four months Elul2 (VIb) in the period 603-596, instead of only one, proves that the Babylonian system of intercalary months was empirical. These intercalary months (VIb) were mainly used to calibrate the 1st Tishri (month VII) just after the autumn equinox. Historians of Babylonian astronomy have in recent decades come to the conclusion that the cycle was known to the Babylonians by about 500 BCE, but it must be admitted, however, that there are still problems with the list of intercalary months during the later years of the Achaemenid empire. For instance, in the 16th year of Darius II, three sources suggest an intercalary Ulul2 but one an intercalary Adar2; in the 16th year of Artaxerxes II, two sources suggest an intercalary Ulul2 but one an intercalary Adar2; and two sources (including a contemporary astronomical Diary) suggest an intercalary Adar2 in the 20th year of Artaxerxes II whereas two other sources (including the Saros canon) attribute the intercalary month to his 21st year (Walker: 1997, 23-24). A table of intercalary months gives the impression that the 19-year cycle was standardized from 500 or 483 BCE, depending on the way to group periods (Britton: 2002, 25-35), with some exceptions. However, Parker and Dubberstein assumed, because of these anomalies that the Babylonian calendar had really been standardized as from 367 BCE instead of 500 BCE (Parker, Dubberstein: 1956, 1-6). In the 19-year cycle there can be only 7 intercalary months. However, during the reign of Cyrus to the reign of Darius I, two cycles contain 10, which means that multiple calendars depended

on several Persian capitals (Persepolis, Suse, Ecbatana, Pasargadae), not just on Babylon. In the reign of Artaxerxes II we find an intercalary month in the year 40 (Steele: 2007, 123), but also in the years 42, 43, 44 and 45 (Hunger: 2001, 215, 217, 227, 247, 261), which is unlikely. Anomalies (have been hatched) are much more numerous than in the study of Parker and Dubberstein (1956). The intercalary years of the reign of Xerxes come from astronomical tablets copied late in Babylon after the reign of Artaxerxes I. It is thus probable that the compiler of these texts might not have possessed a complete list of intercalations for earlier periods. It is therefore conceivable that some intercalations during the reign of Xerxes were extrapolated backwards, especially if they agree with the final pattern (Ossendrijver: 2018, 142-143).

cycle	BCE	538	519	500	481	462	443	424	405	386	367	348
<b>1</b>			U	A								
<b>2</b>	537	U								A		
<b>3 A</b>	536	A	A	A	a	A	a	A	A		A	a
<b>4</b>	535		U									
<b>5</b>	534	A								A	A	
<b>6 A</b>	533	A	A	A	a	a	a	A	A		A	a
<b>7</b>	532										A	
<b>8 A</b>	531				A	A	A	A	a	a	A	a
<b>9</b>	530	U	U	U								
<b>10</b>	529											
<b>11 A</b>	528	U	A	A	a	A	a	A	a	A	a	a
<b>12</b>	527	U										
<b>13</b>	526		U									
<b>14 A</b>	525	A	A	A	a	a	A	A	A	A	a	a
<b>15</b>	524		U									
<b>16</b>	523	A										
<b>17 U</b>	522	A	U/A	U	U	A	A	U	u	U	U	u
<b>18</b>	521											
<b>19 A</b>	520			A	a	A	A	A	A	a	a	a
<b>total</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>

(A: attested Adar2; U: attested Ulul2; a: supposed Adar2; u: supposed Ulul2)

Assuming that the dates actually come from two Persian capitals: Babylon (B.) and Persepolis (P.) whose cycle has been shifted by one year, all anomalies disappear. This hypothesis remains fragile because the provenance of several tablets is unknown, moreover, the main production centre for dated contracts was in Babylon not Persepolis. We notice that many intercalary months are not attested (months a and u) for Persepolis (10 out of 14). The synchronization of the lunar calendar in the Achaemenid Empire was due to the quality of astronomical observations (excellent in Babylon for more than a millennium), but the choice of the intercalary years depended on the astronomical priests of each capital of the Achaemenid Empire, but also exceptionally on the king who could decide to fix an identical intercalary year for his whole kingdom when there was a debt remission or to celebrate an important festival. The decision as to whether to intercalate was important for the ritual calendar, and in particular for the preparations for the major festivals<sup>3</sup>). The desynchronization of the intercalary years between Babylon and Persepolis was of no consequence because the dated contracts were managed by the capital that had dated them.

BCE	Per.	cycle <sup>P</sup>	Bab.	cycle <sup>B</sup>	P.+B.
<b>386</b>		2		1	
<b>385</b>	A <sup>P</sup>	3A		2	A <sup>P</sup>
<b>384</b>		4	A	3A	A
<b>383</b>		5		4	
<b>382</b>	A <sup>P</sup>	6A		5	A <sup>P</sup>
<b>381</b>		7	A	6A	A
<b>380</b>	a <sup>P</sup>	8A		7	
<b>379</b>		9	A	8A	A
<b>378</b>		10		9	
<b>377</b>	a <sup>P</sup>	11A		10	

BCE	Per.	cycle <sup>P</sup>	Bab.	cycle <sup>B</sup>	P.+B.
<b>367</b>		2		1	
<b>366</b>	a <sup>P</sup>	3A		2	
<b>365</b>		4	A	3A	A
<b>364</b>		5		4	
<b>363</b>	A <sup>P</sup>	6A		5	A <sup>P</sup>
<b>362</b>		7	A	6A	A
<b>361</b>	A <sup>P</sup>	8A		7	A <sup>P</sup>
<b>360</b>		9	A	8A	A
<b>359</b>		10		9	
<b>358</b>	a <sup>P</sup>	11A		10	



376		12	A	11A	A	(A:
375		13		12		
374	a <sup>p</sup>	14A		13		
373		15	A	14A	A	
372		16		15		
371	u <sup>p</sup>	17U		16		
370		18	U	17U	U	
369	a <sup>p</sup>	19A		18		
368		1	A	19A	A	
357		12	A	11A	A	
356		13		12		
355	a <sup>p</sup>	14A		13		
354		15	A	14A	A	
353		16		15		
352	u <sup>p</sup>	17U		16		
351		18	U	17U	U	
350	a <sup>p</sup>	19A		18		
349		1	A	19A	A	

attested Adar2; U: attested Ulul2; a: supposed Adar2; u: supposed Ulul2)

#### Notes

1. The foregoing table shows that the Babylonian royal lists have been purged of all co-regencies: Bardiya (523-522) with Cambyses II (530-522); Xerxes I (496-475) with Darius I (522-486); Darius B (434-426) with Artaxerxes I (475-425), as well as all usurpers (Nebuchadnezzar III and IV, Bel-shimanni; Shamash-eriba; Sogdianus) including kings who were later considered illegitimate Bardiya (523-522) and Xerxes II (425-424).

2. <https://promenade.imcce.fr/fr/pages4/441.html> – <https://promenade.imcce.fr/fr/pages4/439.html>

3. For example, in the sixth month of 671 BCE, Marduk-šakin-šumi, the chief exorcist, wrote to the king after his decision to insert an intercalary Month VI asking when a festival should take place. However, most letters do not mention king's authority. For example, a letter reads: A word from the king to Kurbanni-[Marduk]: I am well, you can be happy. For your information: I have intercalated this Addar (Month XII) of the 15th year [of Nabonidus]. Interestingly, two similar letters from the reigns of either Cyrus or Cambyses were written by officials in the Esangila temple and do not mention the king's authority. The absence of a reference to the king seems to suggest a shift in responsibility from the king to the temple, although it may be that the temple was merely the conduit through which the king chose to communicate at this time (Steele: 2011, 477-478).

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### 131) A Multi-year Audit Belonging to the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila Archive: A New Text\* –

#### 1. Introduction

This note consists of the primary publication of a text that relates to the Esangila temple of Marduk in Babylon and deals with the period of time between year 44 of Artaxerxes II and year 3 of Artaxerxes III

(ca. 360-356 BC) (see Kleber 2008 chapter 2, on the Esangila archive). Typically, it can be unclear which Artaxerxes is in view within a text, but any texts mentioning more than 21 regnal years must be dated to Artaxerxes II, since Artaxerxes III only reigned for 21 years. As such, the text belongs to the “Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive” (Hackl 2018: 167). Michael Jursa offers a provisional discussion of the Late Achaemenid and early Hellenistic Esangila archive. Jursa states that there are well over two hundred texts, many of which remain unpublished that belong from the temple to Marduk in Babylon during the period (Jursa 2005: 73).

According to Michael Jursa, this archive consists of two main groups. First, there are approximately 150 texts dealing with rations paid to temple dependents. These texts discussed by Jursa could be dated between Artaxerxes (III) year 4 and Alexander (IV) year 10. Approximately another 50 texts can be dated sometime between Artaxerxes (II) and 75 SE. The present text belongs with the first group of 150 tablets that are “often large and thick tablets (usually fragmentary) containing lists of temple personnel receiving rations for stated periods of time” (Jursa 2005: 73-74). This text is large and thick, except it is reasonably well preserved, despite some unfortunate breaks. The extant portion of this text provides new evidence, confirming that the archive securely belongs to at least the latter years of the reign of Artaxerxes II (Jursa 2005: 73-74).

The new tablet (2012.44.77 = X.3.292 = CDLI P433264) was received into the Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University in 2012 and was donated by James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell. The author does not know how the Ferrells acquired the tablet. However, the late archive to which this tablet originally belonged currently exists in museums as the result of “clandestine diggers and acquired on the antiquities market,” as described by Hackl (2018: 167-168). The non-scientific excavation and subsequent disbursement of the tablets have complicated the reconstruction of the archive, which can now only be done in the context of museum collections.

As this text belongs to the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive, the period in question is not nearly as well attested as the Neo-Babylonian period. The text further stands out in the record, as we possess relatively few multi-year inspections. This leads to the question of whether this text was a routine audit or if some unique event, such as suspected embezzlement, resulted in the collection and documenting of the records. For an example of embezzlement, see the well-known case of Gimillu. See Jursa 2004 and Kozuh 2014: 159-176, 304-305.

The text establishes the rations allotted to the assembly of priests (see discussion below of the *kiništu*), as well as the amount levied from their allotment. As expected, the text points toward common features of the operation and support of temples and the related functionaries, namely the management of sacrifices for the temple as well as the preparation of meals.

## 2. Edition

### Transliteration

- Obv. 1. *broken*  
 2. *traces*  
 3. [mu 44] <sup>m</sup>kam <sup>m</sup>ar<sub>2</sub>-tak<sup>1</sup>-[šat-su lugal ...]  
 4. [mu] 3<sup>?</sup>.kam <sup>m</sup>ar<sub>2</sub>-tak<sup>1</sup>-šat-[su...]  
 5. [<sup>m</sup>x]-<sup>r</sup>d<sup>+</sup>ag<sup>1</sup>-pap <sup>lu</sup>2umbisag.meš ša<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>.sag.<sup>r</sup>il<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 6. [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>d<sup>+</sup>en<sup>1</sup>-uru<sub>3</sub>-š<sup>u</sup><sub>2</sub> a <sup>md</sup>+en-tin-su <sup>lu</sup>2kab.sar-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>  
 7. <sup>md</sup>+en-tin-su <sup>md</sup>+en-ad-uru<sub>3</sub> <sup>md</sup>be-uru<sub>3</sub>-š<sup>u</sup><sub>2</sub>  
 8. <sup>m</sup>ta-nit-tum-<sup>d</sup>+en a.meš ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>m</sup>mu-<sup>d</sup>+en<sup>?</sup> [...]  
 9. <sup>md</sup>+en-tin-su-e a <sup>m</sup>ša<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>+ag-mu <sup>md</sup>be-[ x x]  
 10. <sup>md</sup>+en-sur-ru u <sup>md</sup>di.kud-mu-mu a.meš <sup>m</sup>[...]  
 11. <sup>md</sup>+en-a-mu <sup>md</sup>+be-mu <sup>md</sup>+ag-ik-šur u [...]  
 12. <sup>md</sup>+en-su a.meš ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>md</sup>be-kad<sub>2</sub> <sup>m</sup>kar-<sup>d</sup>š<sup>u</sup><sub>2</sub> a <sup>m</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[...]  
 13. <sup>m</sup>tin-su-<sup>d</sup>+en a <sup>md</sup>amar.utu-mu-š<sup>eš</sup> <sup>md</sup>+en-mu [...]  
 14. a <sup>md</sup>be-ad-uru<sub>3</sub> i-mu-ru-u<sup>1</sup> 12 1/2 <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[...]  
 15. ša<sub>2</sub> ina a-mir-tum ša<sub>2</sub> mu 44.kam šat-ra u<sub>3</sub> x[...]  
 16. ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>lu</sup>2umbisag.meš u<sub>3</sub> <sup>lu</sup>2en.meš piq-ni-e-tim.<sup>r</sup>meš<sup>1</sup>  
 17. u<sub>3</sub> ina igi-š<sup>u</sup><sub>2</sub>-nu paq-du<sup>?</sup> 1 1/2 ma.na ku<sub>3</sub>.babbar  
 18. 1/2 gin<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>.gi ir-bi ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>giš</sup>qu-up-pu ša<sub>2</sub> ta iti.bar<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup>

19. mu 44.kam en til iti.še mu 3.kam <sup>m</sup>ar<sub>2</sub>-tak-šat-[su lugal]
20. 36 (gur) še.bar 24 <gur> ziz<sub>2</sub>.am<sub>3</sub> ir-bi ša<sub>2</sub> ka<sub>2</sub>
21. <sup>r</sup>ša<sub>2</sub> ta<sup>1</sup> iti.bar<sub>2</sub> mu 44.kam en til mu 3.kam
22. <sup>r</sup>x+ 4(gur) ziz<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>.am<sub>3</sub> 1 me 44(gur) še.bar ab<sub>2</sub> ka x ma
23. [...ku<sub>3</sub>.bab]bar gi-nu-u<sub>2</sub> 1 1/2 ma.na<sup>o</sup> ku<sub>3</sub>.babbar a-na i-di-x <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>
24. [.....] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> u<sub>3</sub> mun ša<sub>2</sub> ta iti.bar
25. [mu 44.kam en til iti.] še mu 3.kam
26. [...]tu

- Rev.
1. [...] <sup>r</sup>še.bar pad<sup>1</sup>.hi.a <sup>lu<sub>2</sub></sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[niš-tum]
  2. [...] x [ip]-pu-uš <sup>lu<sub>2</sub></sup>ki-niš-tum<sup>r</sup> u<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> [...]
  3. [te-li-tum] <sup>r</sup>gab-bi<sup>1</sup> ša<sub>2</sub> ta iti.bar<sub>2</sub> mu 44.[kam<sub>2</sub> <sup>m</sup>ar<sub>2</sub>-tak-šat-su lugal]
  4. [a-di iti.]še mu 3.kam <sup>m</sup>ar<sub>2</sub>-tak-šat-su <sup>r</sup>lugal<sup>1</sup> [x]
  5. [...] ša<sub>2</sub> giš x x u<sub>3</sub> gi-iž-zī [...]
  6. (erasure) ša<sub>2</sub> ina a-mir-tum
  7. ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>.[4<sup>2</sup>]-kam ina igi-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu ša<sup>r</sup>-ra a-na gi-nu-[u<sub>2</sub> u]
  8. pad.hi.a <sup>lu<sub>2</sub></sup>ki-niš-tum ip<sup>1</sup>-pu-uš <sup>lu<sub>2</sub></sup>ki-niš-tum<sup>1</sup>
  9. u<sub>3</sub> te-li-tum <sup>r</sup>gab-bi ša<sub>2</sub> ta iti.bar<sub>2</sub> mu 44.kam
  10. en til iti.še mu 3.kam <sup>m</sup>ar<sub>2</sub>-tak-šat-su lugal
  11. mun-na-aš<sub>2</sub>-nu-tu re-<sup>r</sup>hi u še.bar x x x ziz<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
  12. u zu<sub>2</sub>.lum.ma bi-ri-nu 9 pu-<sup>r</sup>hal 1 me 3 a-lit 5 par-ri
  13. 25 par-rat pap 1 me 42 babbar.meš 12 maš<sub>2</sub> gal 1 uz<sub>2</sub>
  14. pap 3 gi<sub>6</sub>.meš pap-ma 145<sup>2</sup> babbar.meš u gi<sub>6</sub>.meš
  15. ina igi <sup>lu<sub>2</sub></sup>sipa.meš erasure
  16. uk-tal-li-mu-u<sup>1</sup> 1+en du-u<sub>2</sub>-du zabar <sup>r</sup>hu (1+en?) šu-[x]
  17. 1+en ši-in-du-u<sub>2</sub> zabar 1+en ša<sub>2</sub>-aš-lam-mu zabar
  18. 2 du-u<sub>2</sub>-du zabar 1+en da-la zabar 5/6 <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-na pap<sup>2</sup> [...]
  19. 1+et <sup>ku<sub>3</sub></sup>na-aš<sub>2</sub>-tu-<sup>r</sup>uq<sup>1</sup> nig<sub>2</sub>.na<sub>4</sub> meš la-nu-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>
  20. gi-nu-u<sub>2</sub> pad.hi.a <sup>r</sup>lu<sub>2</sub>ki-niš-tum ip<sup>1</sup>-pu-uš
  21. [x] ki-niš-tum u<sub>3</sub> te-li-tum gab-bi
  22. [mu]-na-aš<sub>2</sub>-nu-tu nig<sub>2</sub>.šid mu-tim
  23. <sup>r</sup>u<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-kal-li-mu-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>HU x IGI<sup>1</sup>-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu
  24. [e]-lat 5 ma.na 8 <sup>r</sup>gin<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> ku<sub>3</sub>.babbar <sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-[šu-tu] <sup>r</sup>ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> ina mu <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>.[kam]
  25. [ina] <sup>r</sup>igi<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>mu-<sup>dt</sup>en u <sup>lu<sub>2</sub></sup>ki-na-at-ta ... <sup>lu<sub>2</sub></sup>ki-niš-tum<sup>1</sup>
  26. <sup>r</sup>u<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> e-lat im.ša<sub>2</sub>-ta-ra sumun.meš ša<sub>2</sub> ina igi <sup>lu<sub>2</sub></sup>un.meš

Translation

Obverse

(1-5) [These are the *mār banê* who the inspection of]... from the 44th year of Artaxerxes II [...] 3rd [year] of Arta[xerxes III, king ... (PN)] [and] Nabû-nāšir the scribes of Esagil;

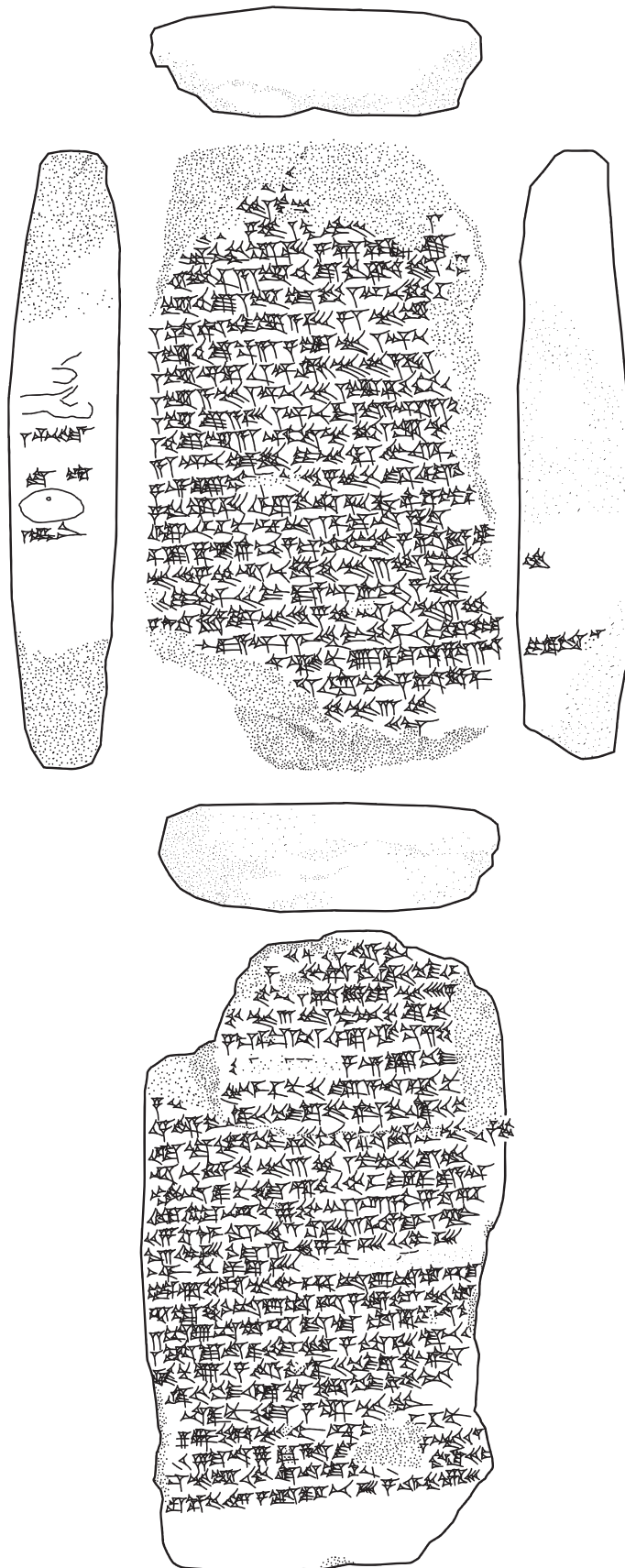
(6-19) Bêl-ušuršu descendant of Bêl-uballissu, the stone carver, Bêl-bullissu, Bêl-ab-ušur, Ea-ušuršu, Tanittum-Bêl, descendants of Iddin-Bêl. Bêl-balässu-iqbi, descendant of Ša-Nabû-šû, Ea-[...], Bêl-êtir and Madānu-šuma-iddin, descendants of [...], Bêl-aplu-iddin, Ea-iddin, Nabû-ikšur and Bêl-eriba, descendants of Ea-kāšir, Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of [...], Uballissu-Bêl, descendant of Marduk-nādin-aḫi, Bêl-iddin [...] descendant of Ea-ab-ušur, have seen (= made the inspection): 12 1/2 [minas of silver], which in the inspection of the 44th year were written and ... of the scribes and the trustees, and before them were entrusted: 1 1/2 mina of silver 1/2 shekel of gold, income of the treasury that from the 1st month of 44th year until the end of the 12th month of the third year of Artaxerxes III [king].

(20-26) 36 gur barley 24 gur emmer, income of the door (cash box) from the 1st month of year 44 until the end of year 3, 4+ gur emmer, 144 gur barley, 12 gur dates, [...] regular silver, 1 1/2 mana silver for/as wages ..., [...] and salt that from the first month [of the 44th year until the end of] 12th [month] of the 3rd year. [...]

Reverse

(1-2) [...] barley rations for [assembly...] [...] was made. (2-8) The assembly and [...]

the whole [income] that from the 1st month 44th year [Artaxerxes II] [until the] 12th [month] of the 3rd year of Artaxerxes III, the king,... of ... and the sheering, which in an inspection of the fourth year is written before them (i.e. at their debit), for the *gin[û]*-offerings and] rations for the assembly was make. (8-11) The assembly (...) and the entire income from the first month year of the 44th year until the end of the 12th month of the 3rd year of Artaxerxes III, the king, have been calculated for/charged against them (11-16) They have at their disposal the outstanding balance and the barley ... emmer and dates, our mutual account (being) 9 studs, 103 (females able to give) birth, 5 males, 25 females,



altogether 142 white ones, 12 he-goats, 1 she-goat. Total 3 black ones, grand total 145 white and black ones at their disposal (i.e. these are counted as owed by the shepherds).

(16-20) One bronze kettle ... one bronze *šindû*-container was made. One bronze ... 2 bronze kettles, one bronze bucket (of) 5/6 mina, one leather bag (purse) x money bag... regular (offerings), rations for the assembly.

(21-23) [Rations of] the assembly and the entire income calculated for/charged against them! This account they have at their disposal... before them. (24-26) (This is with the) exception of five mina eight shekels silver, a cl[aim that is] in the *N* year at the disposal of Iddin-Bēl and his colleagues ... assembly (and) apart from (any) written records that are before with the people (i.e. citizens).

### 3. Notes and Discussion

The structure of the text follows the anticipated formula of debits, credits, and what Jursa calls “balance” (2005). In this instance the text deals with an inspection of records over a five year period in order to establish the amount debited to the accounts of the assembly. The inspection lists an amount that is owed by the assembly.

*Obverse*

(1-5)

While the first part of the text is broken, it is reconstructed to begin by establishing the “free citizens” (*mār banē*) before whom the audit was performed, together with the years in question. Based on the rest of the tablet, the years may be constructed to span from Artaxerxes II Year 44 until the beginning of Artaxerxes III Year 3. Line 5 identifies, in a partially broken context, the scribes of Esangila (<sup>102</sup>umbisag.meš ša<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>.sag.il<sub>2</sub>).

(6-19)

In these lines, there are 14 *mār banē* identified before whom the inspection will be performed. These are listed by name and patronymics in the table below.

Name	Family	Profession
Bēl-ušuršū	Bēl-uballissu	stone carver
Bēl-bullissu	Iddin-Bēl	
Bēl-ab-ušur	Iddin-Bēl	
Ea-ušuršū	Iddin-Bēl	
Tanittum-Bēl	Iddin-Bēl	
Bēl-balāssu-iqbi	Ša-Nabû-šū	
Ea- [...]	[...]	
Bēl-ētir	[...]	
Madānu-šuma-iddin	[...]	
Bēl-aplu-iddin	Ea-kāšir	
Ea-iddin	Ea-kāšir	
Nabû-ikšur	Ea-kāšir	
Bēl-erība	Ea-kāšir	
Mušēzib-Marduk	[...]	
Uballissu-Bēl	Marduk-nādin-aḫi	
Bēl-iddin [...]	Ea-ab-ušur	

Presumably, at the bottom of the reverse, these *mār banē* would be indicated to be witnesses to the inspection, since the text is clearly establishing that they saw the inspection performed.

(20-26)

The starting point of the inspection in question begins here. It identifies the amount of the inspection from year 44, namely 12 1/2 [minas of silver]. This is followed by the amount received by the temple functionaries from month 1 year 44 until month 12 of year 3 of Artaxerxes III. These amounts are divided between the income of the door, the income of the treasury, and perhaps one other source that is broken in the text:

Income of the Treasury: 1 1/2 mina of silver 1/2 shekel of gold

Income of the Door: 36 gur barley 24 <gur> emmer

Income ...: 4+ gur emmer, 144 gur barley, 12 gur dates, [...] regular silver, 1 1/2 mana silver for ..., [...] and salt

*Reverse*

(1-16a)

On the reverse, the audit continues and discusses the rations given to the assembly, <sup>lu2</sup>*kiništu*. CAD K defines these as “a class of priests of a low status (concerned with the preparations for food offerings).” Johannes Hackl (2013, I 298-299), by contrast, takes the term to be used for a group of temple functionaries of higher rank during this period. Further, Hackl (2018:172) describes the <sup>lu2</sup>*kiništu* as the temple assembly that consisted of prebendaries and priests, who represent the higher stratum of temple functionaries, as opposed to the lower ranking individuals who were necessary for the everyday workings of the temple. The <sup>lu2</sup>*kiništu* represent the group of functionaries who are also called in the Esangila archive *tušarrū u bēl piqnēti ša Esangila*. The terms *tušarrū u bēl piqnēti* appear in line 16 of the obverse written as *ša<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>umbisag.meš u<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>en.meš piq-ni-e-tim<sup>meš</sup>*. The scribes and the trustees represented by the latter term together make up “the highest level of Esangila’s administration in the Late Achaemenid period” (Hackl 2018:174).

In relation to the assembly, the entire income (<sup>lu2</sup>*ki-niš-tum u<sub>3</sub> [...] [te-li-tum] ᵀgab-bi<sup>1</sup>*) is given. Waerzeggers (2010: 329-337) provides an excellent discussion of the term *tēlītu*: “a redistributive system *within* the priesthood; it re-allocated income of certain prebendaries to the benefit of others.” In short, the *tēlītu* was a portion of money paid from income received by some and redistributed for the support of other temple personnel.

After this, the text deals with the amount owed by shepherds at the sheering. For a discussion of the sacrificial economy and related audits, see Kozuh (2014), who discussed the Eanna temple.

*rēhu* – The balance is an amount owed after the inspection which would have consisted of debits and credits (see Jursa 2004: 156-157).

*munnâššunūtu* – this form presumably comes from *munnu-am-šunūši*; CAD *manû* D – “to be charged against.”

(2, 8, 20)

The scribe wrote *lu-pu-uš*, which does not make sense in this context. The text is emended to *ip-pu-uš* to align with the third person used elsewhere in the text.<sup>1)</sup> Since the scribe wrote the form incorrectly twice in 8, 20, it may be assumed that the same occurred in line 2 where the break occurs.

(16b-20)

This section details the rations that are given to the assembly in the form of finished products (one bronze kettle ... one bronze *šindû*-container. One bronze ...2 bronze kettles, one bronze bucket (of) 5/6 mina, one leather bag (purse) x money bag...regular (offerings), rations for the assembly).

(21-26)

The final section of the preserved tablet deals with establishing that the rations have been distributed to the assembly, minus a claim “of five mina eight shekels silver, a claim that is] in the *N* year at the disposal of Iddin-Bēl- and his colleagues.”

#### 4. Conclusions

In the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive, the temple functionaries are referred to as <sup>lu2</sup>*umbisag.meš u<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>en.meš piq-ni-e-tim.meš* or <sup>lu2</sup>*kiništu* rather than by name (see Hackl 2018: 173-174). Further, the functionaries receive rations (še.bar pad.ḫi.a). Scholars have attributed changes from the earlier prebendary system, which mentioned the elite by name and provided finished products as part of their income, to the rebellion during the reign of Xerxes.

The current text audits the receipt and redistributive responsibilities related to the temple functionaries from Artaxerxes (II) year 44 to Artaxerxes (III) year 3. We cannot finally see who took over the distribution of the goods due to the break in the text, and it is unclear why the audit occurred. But the text remains an important addition to this archive which has been dispersed throughout collections around the world.

#### 5. Notes

\* I would like to thank Cornelia Wunsch for helping me with this text. Thanks also goes to Henry Stadhouders for reading an early draft. Of course, I am responsible for any mistakes or errors.

1. I would like to thank Johannes Hackl for suggesting this emendation in personal correspondence.

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**132) Edward Hincks (1792-1866) and Sumerian** — As early as 1849 Edward Hincks was reaching the conclusion that Akkadian (at the time called Assyrian) was not the language of the inventors of cuneiform writing: "It is possible that the word from which the phonetic value is derived may be one belonging to a different language" (Hincks 1850: 19 n\*). At the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Edinburgh in July 1850, Hincks delivered a lecture "On the Language and Mode of Writing of the Ancient Assyrians". Only the handout and a short summary were published, but in the summary it is stated that Hincks "maintained, in opposition to all other writers, that the characters had all definite syllabic values... though the language of the Assyrians was Semitic, their mode of writing was not" (Hincks 1851: 140). In a paper presented to the Royal Irish Academy in May 1852, "On the Assyrio-Babylonian Phonetic Characters" (Hincks 1852), a paper in which he listed hundreds of signs with their values when it was published later that year, Hincks wrote (295):

It has been assumed by all other investigators, that the mode of writing used in the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions was contrived with a view to represent the words of the language of those inscriptions. This language is unquestionably of the family commonly called the Semitic; and it is therefore taken for granted that the characters used in the inscriptions represent Semitic letters. I can have no doubt whatever that this is a mistake; and moreover, that it is one of so serious a nature as to render it impossible for those who labour under it to attain any accurate knowledge of the grammar of the language. I am myself fully satisfied, and I hope in the present paper to satisfy all who will take the trouble to follow my arguments, that the characters all represent syllables, and that they were originally intended to represent a non-Semitic language.

Hincks held the view that "no Semitic people could have invented a system of writing so uncongenial to their language" (1856a: 132). Several discoveries contributed to his work on Sumerian (he called it Akkadian, though later he preferred the name Chaldean or Old Chaldean). The importance of his identification of the fragmentary text K 62, which is known today as Syllabary A (Hincks 1852: 342; Hallock 1955), has been described elsewhere (Daniels 1994: 48; Cathcart 2011: 8). In 1854 Hincks announced that he had found tablets of a similar kind, including the tablet K 110 which is known today as Syllabary B (Hincks 1854b: 707; 1856a: 131; Landsberger 1955); and in the report on certain cuneiform tablets, which he prepared for the trustees of the British Museum, he stated the "peculiar importance" of some of the tablets for giving confirmation to the view of the Assyrian verb which he had been led to take by careful study (Hincks 1854a: 17-18). He pointed out that one of the tablets he examined gave different forms of the verbs *šakānu* and *šarāku*, which he transliterated as follows: *is-ku-un*, *is-ku-nu* and *is-ru-uk*, *is-ru-ku*, etc. Hincks held the view that there was no *š* in Akkadian and where we expect *š* in the transliteration of Akkadian texts he writes *s*. He also noted that the same Sumerian, in-gar, in-gar-re-eš

(Hincks wrote in-gar-ri-is) etc., represented the forms of both Akkadian verbs.<sup>1)</sup> The tablet where he found these verb forms in 1854 belongs to the series *ana ittišu* (Landsberger 1937: 5-6, Tablet I, ii 9-32).

In this short article I wish to give some attention to Hincks's publication of "specimens of the language of the bilingual tablets on clay in the British Museum" (Hincks 1856b). On 24 January 1856 Hincks sent Hermann Brockhaus, the editor of *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, a letter to which he attached nine examples of bilingual texts, but he did not indicate which British Museum tablets he had copied them from (Cathcart 2008: 303-304).<sup>2)</sup> The texts numbered 1 to 8 in Hincks's article belong to the series *ana ittišu* (Landsberger 1937). Text no. 9 has only short snippets presented like this: *id-gi-da-mu* = *ina im-ni-ya* and *id kap-pu-mu* = *ina su-mi-li-ya*. These are almost certainly from Tablet 3: 68-69 of the canonical Udug-ḥul / *Utukkū Lemnūtu* incantations (Geller 2016: 105; see also Geller 2007: 13, 103, 199 for an eclectic text in cuneiform and transliteration with translation; and CT 16 3:91-94).

Below I give the bilingual texts as Hincks presents them in *ZDMG*. In the case of numbers 1 to 8 I place Landsberger's transliteration and translation after each for comparison. In most of his publications Hincks transliterates cuneiform texts and only occasionally normalizes the Akkadian, so I have replaced his normalizations by transliterations. I have retained Hincks's German translations for comparison with Landsberger's. Hincks put doubtful readings of Sumerian signs in italics.

Hincks: no. 1 and no. 3

in-lal = *is-ku-ul* "er wog"  
 in-lal-is = *is-ku-lu* "er hat gewogen"  
 in-lal-i = *i-sa-qal* "er wäge"  
 in-lal-i-kum = *i-sa-qa-lu* "er wird wägen"

in-na-an-lal-is = *is-ku-lu-su* "er hat es gewogen"  
 in-na-an-lal-i = *i-sa-qal-su* "er wäge es"

Landsberger: I, ii 1-4, 6-7 (p. 5)

1. in-lá = *iš-qú-ul* "er hat dargewogen"
2. in-lá-eš = *iš-qú-lu* "sie haben dargewogen"
3. in-lá-e = *i-ša-qal* "er wird darwägen"
4. in-lá-e-ne = *i-ša-qa-lu* "sie werden darwägen"
6. in-na-an-lá-eš = *iš-qú-lu-šu* "sie haben ihm dargewogen"
7. in-na-an-lá-e = *i-ša-qal-šu* "er wird ihm darwägen"

In the letter accompanying his selection of texts, Hincks explains his substitution of *k* for *q*, when in immediate contact with *s* in some forms of the verb, as being "in accordance with a euphonic rule" (Hincks 1856b: 516; Cathcart 2008: 300). In the fourth line Hincks puts *kum* in italics to indicate that he is unsure about which value is to be read here.

Hincks: no. 2

in-nu = *yu-na-ki-ir* "er hasste"  
 in-nu = *yu-sa-an-ni* "er hasste"  
 in-nu-is = *yu-na-ki-ru* "er hat gehasst"  
 in-nu-is = *yu-sa-an-nu-u* "er hat gehasst"  
 in-nu-ri = *yu-na-ak-kar* "er hasse"  
 in-nu-ri = *yu-sa-an-na* "er hasse"  
 in-nu-ri-kum = *yu-na-ka-ru* "er wird hassen"  
 in-nu-ri-kum = *yu-sa-an-nu-u* "er wird hassen"

Landsberger: I, iii 58-65 (p. 11)

58. in-kúr = *ú-na-ki-ir* "er hat geändert"
59. in-kúr = *ú-ša-an-ni* "er hat geändert"
60. in-kúr-eš = *ú-na-ki-ru* "sie haben geändert"
61. in-kúr-eš = *ú-ša-an-nu-u* "sie haben geändert"
62. in-kúr-re = *ú-na-ak-kar* "er wird ändern"
63. in-kúr-re = *ú-ša-an-na* "er wird ändern"
64. in-kúr-re-ne = *ú-na-ka-ru* "sie werden ändern"
65. in-kúr-re-ne = *ú-ša-an-nu-u* "sie werden ändern"



As in text 1 Hincks is unsure of the value kum (kùm?) (today read ne). Seven years later he assigned the value iz to the sign (Hincks 1863: 73) and he still maintained that the Sumerian (he now called it Chaldean) verb nu (today read kúr) meant “to hate”. Hincks obviously related *šanû* to Heb. *šn’*, “to hate”. But this root is lacking in Akkadian where *zêrum* is used for “to hate, dislike”. The Akkadian verb is related to Heb. *šnh/šn’*, “to change”; Aram. *šny*, “to be different, to change”. Hincks had probably come across *nakāru*, “to become hostile”; D “to turn hostile, to turn into an enemy”, but not its meaning “to change”. There is no cognate *nkr* in Northwest Semitic with the sense “to hate”, but Hincks may have known that forms V and X of Arabic *nakira* mean “to treat with hostility, shut out from one’s heart” and “to detest, loathe”, respectively. Hincks’s *yu* (for *ú*) (see also no. 6) is among the most confusing elements in his work on Akkadian grammar and he was not sure whether or not the *y* was pronounced. See Daniels 1994: 46; Cathcart 2012: 3-4.

Hincks: no. 4

nam-gab = *ip-ṭi-ru* “die Befreiung”  
 nam-gab-a-ni = *ip-ṭi-ru-su* “seine Befreiung”  
 nam-gab-a-ni-ku = *a-na ip-ṭi-ri-su* “für seine Befreiung”  
 nam-gab-a-ni-ku k? in-lal = *a-na ki* k? *is-kul* “für seine Befreiung das Silber er wog”

Landsberger: II, iv 16-19 (p. 29)

16. nam-du<sub>8</sub> = *ip-ṭi-ru* “Lösegeld”<sup>3)</sup>  
 17. nam-du<sub>8</sub>-a-ni = *ip-ṭi-ru-šu* “sein Lösegeld”  
 18. nam-du<sub>8</sub>-a-ni-šè = *a-na ip-ṭi-ri-šu* “als sein Lösegeld”  
 19. nam-du<sub>8</sub>-a-ni-šè kù bí-in-lá = *a-na MIN kaspá iš-qul* “als sein Lösegeld hat Silber dargewogen”

Hincks added the note “die Lesung unbekannt” to k? in the fourth line, but he knew it meant “silver”. It seems that he did not know the value of the sign, today read bí, that follows it and thought it was part of the word for silver.

Hincks: no. 5

*il-kul-du* = *si-bir-tu* “das Lösegeld”  
*il-kul-du-a-ni* = *si-bi-ir-ta-su* “sein Lösegeld”  
*il-kul-du-ni in-si* = *ki* *id-din* “sein Lösegeld er gab”

Landsberger: II, iv 24-26 (p. 29)

24. kù-pad-du = *ši-bir-tu* “Metalblock”  
 25. kù-pad-du-a-ni = *ši-bi-ir-ta-šu* “sein Metalblock”  
 26. kù-pad-du-ni in-sum = MIN *id-din* “seinem Metalblock hat er gegeben”

Hincks: no. 6

nam-ga-an-ku-a = *as-sa-bu-tu* “die Wohnsitze”  
 nam-ga-an-ku-a-ku = *a-na as-sa-bu-ti* “für die Wohnsitze”  
 nam-ga-an-ku-a-ku = *a-na as-sa-bu-ti* “für die Wohnsitze” oder “die Niederlassungen”  
 tun-ta-an-tu-du = *yu-si-si* “sie wurden herausgeführt” / “er führte heraus”.  
 Compare in-ku = *yu-si-si-ib* “er setzte” (Heb. *hōšēb*)

Landsberger: IV, iv 5-8 (p. 64); I, iii 71 (p. 11)

5. nam-ga-an-tuš/KU-a = *áš-ša-bu-tu* “das Bewohnen”  
 6. nam-ga-an-tuš/KU-a-šè = *a-na áš-ša-bu-ti* “zum Bewohnen”  
 7. nam-ga-an-tuš/KU-a-šè = *a-na áš-ša-bu-ti* “zum Bewohnen”  
 8. íb-ta-an-è = *ú-še-si* “hat er gemietet”  
 71. in-KU = *ú-še-si-ib* “er hat sitzen lassen”

Hincks: no. 7

*id-ra-pa-u-a-ni* = *ma-na-aḥ-ti-su* “seine Geschenke”  
*ba-an-na-ab-lal-i* = *i-sa-qa-lu* sie wägen dieselben”

Landsberger: IV iv 33-35 (p. 66)

33. en-e kù-babbar-ra = *a-di kasap* “bis er das Silber”  
 34. á-kúš-ù-a-ni = *ma-na-aḥ-ti-šu* für seine Arbeit  
 35. ba-an-na-ab-lá-e = *i-ša-qa-lu* bezahlt haben wird”

In this and the following text Hincks misread the sign kúš as two signs ra and pa.

Hincks: no. 8

id-ra-pa-u-a-ni [= *ma-na-aḫ-ta-su*] “seine Geschenke  
ba-an-na-an-sim-mu [= *id-din*] sie gaben dieselben”

Landsberger: IV, iii 34-35 (p. 61)

33. lugal-kiri<sub>6</sub>-ke<sub>x</sub> lú-nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>-ra = *bēl k[ir]ḫ a-na nukaribbi* “der Eigentümer des Gartens wird dem Gärtner”

34. á-kúš-ù-a-ni = *ma-na-aḫ-ta-šu* “seine Arbeit

35. ba-an-na-an-sum-mu = *id-din* ersetzen”

Hincks: no. 9

*id-gi-da-mu* = *ina im-ni-ia* “an meiner rechten Hand”

*id-kap-pu-mu* = *ina su-mi-li-ia* “an meiner linken Hand”

Udug-ḫul / *Utukkū Lemnūtu* Incantations Tablet 3: 68-70 (Geller 2016: 105. See also Geller 2007: 13, 103, 199).

Tablet 3

68. udug sig<sub>5</sub>-ga á-zi-da-mu mu-un-da-an-gen-na

*še-e-du dum-qí ina [i]m-ni-ia a-la-ku*

69. <sup>d</sup>lamma sig<sub>5</sub>-ga á-gùb-bu-mu mu-un-da-an-gen-na

*la-mas-si dum-qí ina šu-me-li-ia a-la-ku*

70. <sup>d</sup>nin-geštin-an-na dub-sar mah arali šir-kù nam-šub igi-mu mu-un-na-an-šid

<sup>d</sup>MIN *ṭup-šar-rat šir-tu<sub>4</sub> šá a-ra-al-le-e šip-tú KÙ-ti ina pa-ni-ia i-man-nu*

68. In order for the good *šēdu*-spirit to go on my right,

69. and for the good *lamassu*-genius to go on my left,

70. Ningeštinna, the exalted scribe of the Netherworld, recites the pure incantation in front of me.

The pairs á-zi-da-mu / á-gùb-bu-mu and *imniya* / *šumēliya*, “my right hand” / “my left hand”, are also found in 3: 109-110, 175-176, 181; 8: 33-34; 10: 75-76.

In a paper read at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1857, Hincks made an unconvincing proposal that Sumerian was a “sister language to the primitive Indo-European language” (1858: 138). On 28 December 1861 he wrote to H. F. Talbot: “I am surprised at your speaking of the Chaldean inscriptions as Hamitic and difficult to decipher. I find them almost as easy to translate as the Assyrian and they have not the slightest resemblance to the Egyptian. They are an agglutinated or Turanian language” (Cathcart 2009: 114).<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence to support Hincks’s claim that he could read Sumerian as easily as he could Akkadian. In an article he prepared for Peter le Page Renouf in Dublin (Hincks 1863), he wrote what were effectively his last published thoughts on Sumerian. There are some detailed comments on grammar and there is an attempt to identify the meaning and nature of é-sag-íl and é-zi-da (“i-sak-gadu and i-zida, which are commonly found joined together”). He thought the former was a “barack” (*domus capitis frequentis*) representing military institutions, and the latter “the judgment hall” (*domus dextra*), representing civil institutions (Hincks 1863: 75). In 1864 Hincks wrote a letter to the editor of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* in which he accused A. H. Sayce of attributing to him interpretations of Sumerian (“Old Chaldean”) which he had never held (Hincks 1864; Sayce 1864). Sayce, who was only eighteen years old at the time, had read Hincks’s article in *The Atlantis* (1863) and decided too hastily to criticize it. In later years he was full of praise for Hincks’s acumen and scholarship. Hincks wrote nothing more on Sumerian grammar in his final years and he was busy with his *Specimen Chapters of Assyrian Grammar* (1866), during the last year of his life.

#### Notes

1. Hincks recognized the value gar as early as 1852 (1852: 336). For gar = *šakānu*, see T. Jacobsen, 1956: “The Paradigm gar = *šakānum*”, *MSL IV* (Rome) 33\*-50\*; “Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts”, ed. R. Hallock and B. Landsberger, *MSL IV* (Rome): 79-87 (OBGT VI); P. J. Huber, 2019: “Early Linguists”, *Cuneiform Digital Library Preprints* 13.1: 10-14.

2. The English original of Hincks’s letter to Brockhaus is in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen (MS: 80 Cod.Ms.philos.198:146). Hincks provided his own German translations of the bilingual texts.

3. Without explanation Hincks later abandoned the correct reading *ipṭiru* and wrote *ipdiru* (Hincks 1864: 424).

4. For a discussion of the nineteenth-century theory which divided languages into three families, called the Semitic, Aryan and Turanian, see G. van Driem, *Languages of the Himalayas*, I (HdO 2/10; Leiden, 2001): 334-348. The Turanian theory was particularly popular in Britain.

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**133) Corrigenda and addenda to "Four Middle Babylonian Legal Documents Concerning Prison" (Levavi 2017)** — The following note presents reading corrections and prosopographical additions to the documents published in Levavi 2017. The prosopographical notes are especially interesting because they link these texts with the tablets published in CUSAS 30 (van Soldt 2015) and CUSAS 37 (Devecchi 2020), suggesting that they might have all stemmed from the same archival context. For each text, we present reading corrections followed by prosopographical addenda; new readings based on collations are marked with \*. Absolute dates for the reigns of Kassite kings follow Brinkman 2017: 36.

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**Text No. 1** (1 ŠŠ, 1245/6 BCE)

a) Corrigenda

- l. 5 ḫr-<sup>d</sup>sukkal → ḫr-<sup>d</sup>é-a  
 l. 28 <sup>ld</sup>nin-ši-kù-<ka>-ra-bi-iš-me → <sup>ld</sup>nin-ìmma-kára<sup>a</sup>-bi-iš-me  
 l. 31 dumu ḫr-<sup>d</sup>é-a → dumu ḫr-<sup>d</sup>é-a (determinative was wrongly omitted)

b) Prosopographical addenda

**Marduk-kīna-ušur/Arad-Ea:** CUSAS 30, 74: 7 (1 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 359: 7 (2 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 79: 46 ([xx]); CUSAS 30, 427: 21 (2 [xx]<sup>11</sup>).

**Uballissu-Papsukkal:** he must be identical with Uballissu-Papsukkal, son of the shepherd [...]Adad, who appears as recipient of a quantity of wool originating from Kār-Nabû: CUSAS 30, 362: 7 (3 ŠŠ).

**Ninimma-karābī-išme**<sup>2)</sup>: CUSAS 30, 387: 15 (9 KuE); CUSAS 30, 369: 19' (3 ŠŠ).

**Aḫu-damqu/Arad-Ea** (brother of Marduk-kīna-ušur?): CUSAS 30, 359: 3 (2 ŠŠ).

**Mudammiq-Adad, scribe and diviner:** he is one of the “main actors” of CUSAS 30 and CUSAS 37 (see van Soldt 2015: 555; Devecchi 2020: 41, 366), where he frequently acts as a scribe of legal documents: CUSAS 30, 17: 19' (23<sup>2</sup> [NM]), CUSAS 37, 327: 25' (5 KT), CUSAS 37, 330: 14 (14 KT), CUSAS 30, 2: 14' (8 KaE; here, he also bears the title of <sup>ld</sup>ḫal “diviner”), CUSAS 30, 10: r.6 (1 KuE), CUSAS 30, 11: 18 (9 KuE), CUSAS 30, 12: 14 (x KuE), CUSAS 30, 7: 28 (0 ŠŠ), CUSAS 30, 8: 19 (3 ŠŠ), CUSAS 30, 9: 23 (x ŠŠ), CUSAS 30, 16: 20<sup>2</sup> (2 [xx]), CUSAS 37, 334: 7' ([xx]).

**Text No. 2** (0 ŠŠ, 1245 BCE)

a) Corrigenda

- l. 4 (and passim): <sup>f</sup>II- → <sup>f</sup>AI-  
 l. 5 gaba.ri ma-am-ma → <sup>u</sup>\*-še\*-ri-ba\*-am-ma. The awkward translation “Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni imprisoned <sup>f</sup>Isitu, her sister, in prison in her place” (Levavi 2017: 93), should therefore be “Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni brought in <sup>f</sup>Alsitu, her sister, and imprisoned her in prison”.  
 l. 14 a-na ka ša<sup>1</sup>(T. šu) di-ni → a-na ka-šu ki\*-ni. The translation “Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni freed <sup>f</sup>Isitu and relinquished to him according to the judgement” (Levavi 2017: 93), should now be “Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni freed <sup>f</sup>Alsitu and relinquished (her) to him (i.e. Ibni-Marduk) based on his reliable statement/word”.  
 l. 22 <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-ia-KAL-su<sup>2</sup> → <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-ia dumu a.zu  
 l. 23 <sup>l</sup>qu-nu-nu-iš<sup>2</sup>-giš.tuk<sup>2</sup>-me<sup>2</sup> → <sup>l</sup>qu-nu-nu sak\*-ru\*-maš<sup>2</sup>  
 l. 25 <sup>ld</sup>im-mu-si.sá dumu kur gar-ra → <sup>ld</sup>im-mu-si.sá dumu kur.gar.ra; i.e. mār kurgarrī (“son of Kurgarrī”) rather than mār māṭ G/Šarra (“a man of G/Šarra”). The same individual appears as a witness in Text No. 3: 28.  
 l. 30 du.14.kam → ud.14.kam

b) Prosopographical addenda

**<sup>f</sup>Yātu and <sup>f</sup>Alsitu, daughters of the leatherworker:** these sisters appear together as recipients of cereals in the following texts, which date to before <sup>f</sup>Yātu’s escape: CUSAS 30, 297: 4, 5 (8 KuE); CUSAS 30, 298: 6, 7 (9 KuE); CUSAS 30, 299: 5, 7, r.7 (0 ŠŠ); in CUSAS 30, 321: 29 ([xx]) there is no checkmark in correspondence of <sup>f</sup>Yātu: perhaps she was already absent and her share was not delivered; <sup>f</sup>Yātu is identified as záh “escapee” in CUSAS 30, 300: 5, 6 (0 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 301: 4, 5, 29 (0 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 322: 1', 26' ([xx]); further attestations of “anonymous” <sup>f</sup>Yātu and <sup>f</sup>Alsitu in CUSAS 30 probably refer to the same women, based on the date and context of the texts.

**Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni:** Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni is one of the central officials in CUSAS 30, where he occurs in 36 texts: see van Soldt 2015: 24, 558.

**Ninurtāya, son of the asū:** CUSAS 30, 9: 20 (x ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 204: 13 (1 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 242: 14 (2 ŠŠ).

**Qunnunu, sakrumaš:** CUSAS 37, 245: 2 (9 KuE); CUSAS 30, 390: 16 (0 ŠŠ); based on their dates and contexts, further attestations of an “anonymous” Qunnunu in CUSAS 30 might refer to the same person: see e.g. CUSAS 30, 204: 18 (1 ŠŠ).

**Rigim-Adad, plowman:** CUSAS 30, 91: 19 (6 KuE); CUSAS 37, 244: 14 (6 KuE).

**Adad-šumu-lišir, mār kurgarrī** (brother of Ayyaru): CUSAS 30, 126: 18 (6 [xx]); CUSAS 30, 201: 15 (8 KuE); CUSAS 30, 280: 5 (8 KuE); CUSAS 30, 204: 11 (1 ŠŠ).

**Ayyaru** (brother of Adad-šumu-lišir): CUSAS 30, 204: 9 (1 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 207: 9 (2 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 247: 7 ([x] ŠŠ).

**Mudammiq-Adad, scribe:** see Text No. 1 above.

**Text No. 3** (2 ŠŠ, 1243 BCE)

a) Corrigenda

- l. 1 <sup>h</sup>x-iš<sup>2</sup>-ša-ba → x x ní<sup>2</sup>.ba; it is unclear whether the penultimate sign is a z/ša or a ní<sup>2</sup> written with a slightly split

stylus. While níg.ba, for qīštu, may seem a better reading, this element is otherwise unknown to be used as the second part in contemporary onomasticon (all published examples are of the Qīšat/Qīšti-DN pattern).

l. 2 BAD dam.ᵀgár x¹ → be-el ᵀIDᵀ/DAᵀ x¹?

l. 27 ᵀ30-šeš-sum.na → ᵀkur-šeš-sum.na

l. 28 kur gar-ra to be read kur.gar.ra: see corrigenda to Text No. 2: 25 above.

b) Prosopographical addenda

**Arad-nubatti:** he should probably be identified with the homonymous *ḫazannu* who is frequently attested in CUSAS 30 and CUSAS 37 (see van Soldt 2015: 25, 537; Devecchi 2020: 20, 352; see also Text No. 4 here); he is identified once as *ḫazannu* of the House of Enlil-kidinnī or Bīt-Enlil-kidinnī (CUSAS 37, 337: 7-8; n.d.), twice perhaps also as *ḫazannu* of Dūr-Enlilē (CUSAS 30, 198: 11, [x] KTᵀ; CUSAS 30, 358: 12–13; 1 ŠŠ); cf. also Arad-nubatti *bēl āli* and Arad-nubatti scribe in MUN 13: 12', 14' (2 ŠŠ).

**Amīl-Gula/Ḫulālu:** CUSAS 30, 387: 14 (9 KuE); CUSAS 30, 69: 19 (1 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 359: 8 (2 ŠŠ).

**Arad-nubatti, carpenter:** CUSAS 30, 38: 13 (2 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 58: 34 (2ᵀ ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 119: 8 (0 Kšt).

**Amurru-aḫa-iddina<sup>3)</sup>/Zākīru, measuring official:** a certain ᵀdingir-šeš-sum.[na] dumu ᵀza-ki-ri man-di-di is attested in CUSAS 30, 389: 7–8 (0 ŠŠ); see also Text No. 4 below; the identification seems reasonable, but further collation is needed. A measuring official named Zākīru is listed as a witness in two legal texts that date to one generation earlier: CUSAS 30, 17: 16' (23ᵀ [NM])ᵀᵀ and CUSAS 37, 330: 13 (14 KT).

**Adad-šumu-lišir:** see Text No. 2 above.

**Mudammiq-Adad, scribe:** see Text No. 1 above.

**Text No. 4 (2 ŠŠ, 1243 BCE)**

a) Corrigenda

l. 14 ᵀipᵀ-[pa]-ᵀadᵀ-su → ᵀipᵀ-[pa]-ᵀadᵀ-ma\*

l. 17–18 [...ᵀmu-še-zᵀ]i-ib-ᵀu.gur ka šu i [...] / [...] x x x ᵀki-amᵀ iq-bi → [...ᵀmu-še-zᵀ]i-ib-ᵀu.gur ka-šu i-p[u-uš-ma] / [a-na ᵀna]m-ᵀri ki-a-amᵀ iq-bi, thus “Mušēzib-Nergal ope[ned] his mouth and spoke [to Na]mru as follows”.

l. 20 The phrase [la] a-ma-a-at, “I will not die (in prison)” (Levavi 2017: 97), may be read as the less dramatic [la] a-ba\*-a-at, “let me not spend the night (in prison)”. However, one may still incline to maintain the original reading, since in this specific context, a hyperbolic speech might actually fit better than a “dry” statement. Be that as it may, both readings are possible and the meaning of the text does not change (only the tone).

l. 30 ᵀraᵀ-ba-ᵀaᵀ>ᵀdim SU-ᵀḪIᵀ-TL-ᵀlugalᵀ → ᵀeriᵀ\*-ba-ᵀdim šu-ḫur\*-ti ᵀlugalᵀ

l. 31 ᵀᵀᵀ[x]-sum.na → ᵀdingir-šešᵀ-sum.na

l. 33 [igi ᵀ]ᵀxᵀ-niᵀ-ia ᵀigi ᵀi-lᵀ-ia

b) Prosopographical addenda

**Arad-nubatti, ḫazannu:** see Text No. 3 above.

**Ḫi-aḫa-iddina, measuring official:** CUSAS 30, 204: 17 (1 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 207: 7 (2 ŠŠ); CUSAS 30, 391: 11 (1 ŠŠ); see possible connection to Amurru-aḫa-iddina/Zākīru, measuring official, in Text No. 3 above.

**Mudammiq-Adad, scribe:** see Text No. 1 above.

**Notes**

1. This attestation is uncertain, since the text mentions Marduk-kīna-ušur without patronymic (contra van Soldt 2015: 554).

2. Previously read Ninšiku-karābī-išme.

3. Previously read Šin-aḫa-iddina.

4. Read [ᵀZa]-ᵀkiᵀ-rù instead of [ᵀx]-ᵀxᵀ-rum (see Devecchi 2020: 43 fn. 4).

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## VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

**134) Parution d'ARCHIBAB 4** — Dans le sud de l'Irak, Tell al-Muqayyar a depuis longtemps attiré l'attention en raison de la masse imposante de sa ziggourat. Des fouilles y ont eu lieu en 1854, puis entre 1922 et 1934 sous la direction de L. Woolley et enfin sous la direction d'E. Stone en 2015, 2017 et 2019. Ur permet de reconstituer la vie d'une cité mésopotamienne, grâce à l'extraordinaire abondance des archives paléo-babyloniennes découvertes aussi bien dans les grands bâtiments que dans les quartiers d'habitation. Tel est l'objet du livre qui vient de paraître : D. Charpin, M. Béranger, B. Fiette, A. Jacquet, avec la collaboration de N. Ait Said-Ghanem & V. Chalendar, *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babylonienne*, Mémoires de NABU 22, Paris, 2020.

Dans le présent ouvrage, on a d'abord voulu mieux prendre en compte les 230 textes découverts antérieurement aux fouilles de Woolley (sur un corpus total de 1500). Par ailleurs, les tablettes découvertes lors des fouilles de Woolley ont été publiées sans qu'une attention suffisante ait été portée aux données archéologiques. S'appuyant sur le projet « Ur Online », les auteurs sont parvenus à pallier les déficiences de l'enregistrement et à reconstituer de nombreuses archives, qu'il s'agisse d'organismes comme le Ganunmah, ou d'individus comme Dumuzi-gamil ou Ea-našir. Mieux définir la nature des échantillons textuels qui nous sont parvenus a permis de corriger certaines généralisations prématurées et de reprendre des études synthétiques, portant sur des activités comme le prêt ou des groupes comme le clergé du dieu Enki-d'Eridu. Les progrès dans nos connaissances rendent par ailleurs très fructueux le travail de collation, sur les originaux ou sur photos : sur cette base, plus d'une centaine de textes sont ici édités, dont sept publiés pour la première fois. Les abondantes découvertes épigraphiques effectuées lors des récentes campagnes de fouilles ont directement inspiré certaines études du présent recueil, notamment à propos des tablettes trouvées dans des caveaux funéraires. Elles ont également contribué à remettre en cause la soi-disant faible attestation de la présence babylonienne pendant vingt-cinq ans, avant que la ville d'Ur ne soit largement abandonnée en l'an 12 de Samsu-iluna.

Les quinze contributions réunies dans ARCHIBAB 4 ont été préparées dans le cadre du projet « EcritUr » financé par l'ANR. Elles sont suivies de résumés en français et en anglais. Pour acheter le livre : <https://sepoa.fr/produit/2020-archibab-4/> Pour télécharger le pdf : <https://sepoa.fr/produit/2020-memoires-de-nabu-22-pdf/> Table des matières : [https://sepoa.fr/wp/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/ARCHIBAB-4-complet-Lite\\_extract-1.pdf](https://sepoa.fr/wp/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/ARCHIBAB-4-complet-Lite_extract-1.pdf)

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