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### NOTES BRÈVES

**1) Ebla: how many years?** — Essays on Ebla by the philologists who collaborate with the Archaeological Expedition to Ebla of the University of Rome – La Sapienza are published rather frequently, one after the other. They concern a society which is different in some way from those studied by other specialists of third millennium B.C. Ebla is something like a New World: personal names and many geographic names sound alien to these colleagues; some documentary forms are unusual; the lexicon coincides in large part, but not completely, with that of the Mesopotamian documents; Sumerian names are applied to local deities. No one can follow everything and must therefore rely (sometimes perhaps with a grain of salt) on what Eblaitologists say. Too many things are not as clear as one would wish, but this is what stimulates research. The situation becomes uncomfortable, however, if Eblaitologists disagree with each other on some basic features. This predicament is evident comparing the two essays, which in some way also concern Ebla, that appear in *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East I* (K. Radner ed.), New York 2020, an *opus* intended to replace the glorious *Cambridge Ancient History*, as far as the Ancient Near East is concerned.

V. Bartash, author of chapter 8, “The Early Dynastic Near East”, gives a concise picture of the Ebla state basing himself on the interpretations offered by the philologists of the Ebla Expedition (Bartash 2020: 579–583). P. Michalowski, author of chapter 10, “The kingdom of Akkad in Contact with the World”, rises instead doubts on some central interpretative points, as the following one: “there has been a consistent tendency to overestimate the size and power of [Ebla’s] polity, but as Marco Bonechi, for example, has argued, there are good reasons to assume that the kingdom, powerful though it may have been, was smaller than many have suspected and but one among a number of roughly equal powers in Syria and Anatolia... [Some other] neighboring... major powers such as Aleppo, Carchemish, and Armi...” (Michalowski 2020: 700–701).

It is a matter of fact that *’Ā-ma-du<sup>ki</sup>* (modern Ḥamath) was under the authority of an “overseer”, *ugula*, of Ebla (ARES II: 131–132), as also *Du-ne-ēb<sup>ki</sup>* on the Orontes (Tunip, Tell ‘Asharneh), while we do not know if also the oasis of Ḥoms belonged to Ebla (Archi 2010a). Carchemish is said to be “in the hands of the king of Ebla” in the Abarsal Treaty (ARES II: 238–239), and it was in fact controlled by a *ugula* (Archi, forthcoming). Ḥasuwan (later Ḥaššum, to be identified either with Tilbešar or Oylum, immediately to the north of the present Syrian-Turkish border), was ruled by a “king”, *en*, until the last year of king Irkab-damu; it was later included in the Ebla kingdom for the following 35 years (Archi 2019a: 10–11). Alalah belonged to Ebla (2019b). Ḥalab was at that time the seat of the cult of Hadda, the major god of Western Syria; it was visited for annual religious duties by the king of Ebla, and his family, and was not an independent centre (Archi 2010b). The limits of the Ebla kingdom to the west was the Jebel al-Ansāri (between the Orontes river and the coast), and that to the east,

southeast was the west bank of the Euphrates up to the kingdom of Emar (Tell Meskene). The semi-arid zone east of Ḥamath and Ḥoms, and even more to the north, close to the Jabbul plain, was the seat of the Ib'al confederation. The Ebla kingdom extended therefore ca. 230 km north-south and 200 km east-west as the crow flies. Similarly, the kingdom of Mari included Tuttul already from the very first decades of the 24<sup>th</sup> century, and to the east it came in competition with Kiš; differently from the Amorite period, the Ḥabur Triangle was instead under the control of Nagar (Tell Brāk). Political relations and exchanges of gifts demonstrate that the hegemony of Ebla extended until Ḥarran (south of Urfa), so that an Eblait princess married the crown prince of that city (Archi, 2019c). The political situation was therefore not much different to that of the Amorite period, when Yamhad, Mari, and Babylon “were followed” by several other kings.

Bonechi has also challenged the meaning “war” or “military expedition” for  $n\acute{i}\acute{g}-k a s_4$  in the texts of Ebla, established by M.G. Biga and the present author. According to him,  $n\acute{i}\acute{g}-k a s_4$  means “peaceful expedition”; “the Ebla’s aggressive wars against Mari [are] untenable”, and “an Ebla victory over Mari at  $'A_3-ti-id_x^{ki}$  never happened” (Bonechi, 2020a: 120–137), notwithstanding the dating registered in ARET VII 115 rev. II 1–6:  $in\ m u\ Ma-r\acute{t}^{ki}\ \grave{a}\ g a - ' k \acute{a} r '$  (ŠE<sub>3</sub>)  $\acute{a}\acute{s}-ti\ ' \grave{A}-ti-id_x(NI)^{ki}$  “in the year (in which) Mari was vanquished by the city of Atid(u)”.

The wars of Ebla with Mari have received two extensive treatments (Archi, Biga 2003; Archi 2019c); another extensive study (Archi 2021, forthcoming) collects the documentation concerning the wars during the eighteen years in which Ibrium was minister. Ebla was in war in all these years, either with rivals or its own revolted centres, if we exclude the year 07 (the documents of the years Ibrium 05, 06 have, however, large lacunae). This study has also given the opportunity to offer more documentation in support of the thesis that the army of Ebla was organized in “platoon”,  $ir-a-n\acute{u}m$ , made up by “squads”,  $\acute{e}-d u r u_5^{ki}$ . Each of these squads was formed by twenty men, with two overseers, each at the head of nine men. These squads were grouped into companies of one hundred soldiers (*centuriae*). The force of each  $ir_3-a-n\acute{u}m_2$  varied from 160 to more than 800 men, and the names of about forty leaders of these platoon are known (ARET XX: 200–212). The new presented documentation show that these men were provided with daggers, spearheads and also precious bracelets as reward. For Bonechi, instead, these men were simply workers;  $\acute{e}-d u r u_5^{ki}$  would mean “hamlet, estate”, and  $ir-a-n\acute{u}m$  “district, county” (Bonechi 2020b: 336–337).

Michalowski follows Bonechi also in his scepticism about these wars, in particular that “Mari, and indirectly Ebla, were involved with events concerning the Mesopotamian city of Kiš, with Mari taking part in a war against that city, presumably allied with Enšakušana of Uruk, while Ebla remains close to Mari... Ebla and Kiš concluded a diplomatic marriage alliance when the princess Kešdut, daughter of the last king of Ebla, was sent off to marry the son of the king of Kiš with a dowry that included more than five thousands animals. This is a compelling story, but much of it is based on translations that can be contested and must remain hypothetical at best” (Michalowski 2020: 701–702).

One can appreciate or not the microhistorical approach by the philologists of Ebla for such a kind of story which the Ebla archives make possible; in any case the philologist cannot disregard this kind of evidence. Minister Ibbi-zikir defeated the Mari army by Terqa, and the victory was celebrated with gifts distributed to members of the court, the kings of the allied cities, and also a delegation from Kiš which later reached Ebla. This could suggest that Mari had been attacked also from the east. The leader of the delegation received a gold plate of 40 shekels (313 g) of gold; seven elders ( $\acute{a}bba-\acute{a}bba$ ) 1 plate of 20 shekel and 6 of 16 shekels of gold. Six singers who had accompanied the delegation received 1 plate of 6 shekels of gold each:  $6\ d\acute{i}b\ 10\ (g\acute{i}n)\ sal\ nar\ Ki\acute{s}^{ki}\ l\acute{u}\ \grave{i}-ti\ in\ n\acute{i}g-k a s_4\ Ma-r\acute{t}^{ki}\ in\ SA.ZA^{ki}\ \acute{s}u-b a_4-ti$  “(6) singers (from) Kiš who were present in the military expedition (against) Mari have received at the Palace” (TM.75.G.2426 obv. VII 26–VIII 16). Five observers, who had to be present at the battle received 2.5 minas of silver:  $I\acute{s}-du-b\grave{u},\ Ga-wu-um,\ Na-NE\ I\acute{s}-dub-NI\ Su-ma-lium\ Ki\acute{s}^{ki}$  (TM.75.G.2426 rev. XIV 17–23). The arrangement of the marriage of Kešdut, the only princess said to be also daughter of the queen, has been already described in detail (Archi, Biga 2003: 26–29). The procedure which opened the agreement for this marriage deserved care, because nothing had to go wrong: *a*) a representative of Tupuḫu-Hadda (son of Ibbi-zikir) transmitted to his father (perhaps still on the field), “the consent of Kešdut”,  $\acute{s}u-m u-t a k_4$  KA.AŠ  $K\acute{e}\acute{s}-du-ut\ \acute{a}\acute{s}-du\ I-b\acute{i}-zi-kir$  (TM.75.G.2335 rev. V 12–20); a representative of the minister confirmed this (KA.AŠ  $K\acute{e}\acute{s}-du-ut$ ), MEE7, 23 obv. II 5–11); other three representatives of the minister

confirmed the “consent”, /sullumu/, of the princess: š u - m u - t a k <sub>4</sub> zu-lu-mu Keš-du-ut TM.75.G.2278 obv. IX 13-19, XI 6-13, rev. III 3-10. ARET XX 24 obv. V 8-11; in § 1 “the decision (’à-ti-gu, cf. Akk. *ḫatākum*) about Kešdut.

In any case, time will tell about the different interpretations of the data from Ebla. What is imperative, however, is that the validity of the relative chronology of the documents of Ebla be reaffirmed, because this has allowed W. Sallaberger and I. Schrakamp (2015: 94-104) to present at last a synchronism between Syria and Mesopotamia and even to place some events in Mesopotamia chronologically. Moreover, a correct chronological sequence of the sources is necessary to correctly evaluate the political events of Ebla.

A first classification as “annual”, and a reconstruction of their chronological sequence, of the documents which register “deliveries”, m u -DU, to the central administration, and of those concerning the “expenditures”, è, of metals, was published many years ago by the present writer (Archi 1996a, 1996b); M.G. Biga (1996), moreover, has dated several monthly documents of expenditures of garments in relation to the annual documents of the expenditure of metals on the basis of prosopographical elements. A prosopographical study of the “lords”, lugal-lugal, the highest officials of the administration, made it possible to state that “there are eighteen annual m u -DU texts of Ibrium” and “the annual accounts of expenditures attributed to Ibbi-zikir number seventeen”. All these thirty-five years were attributed to Iš’ar-damu, the last king (Archi 2000: 37). It was later provided a chronological list of the m u -DU documents together with that of the annual documents of metals expenditures, one in front to the other, with references confirming synchronisms between the two series. Eighteen years were again attributed to minister Ibrium; to his son and successor Ibbi-zikir seventeen years (Archi 2015: 167-170). The destruction of Ebla fell in the following year. Although five other documents for both these series were attributed to Arrukum, the minister who preceded Ibrium, they do not present data suitable for establishing their chronological sequence.

On several occasions Bonechi has suggested that the interpretation of these documents is wrong. Recently, he has written:

*“Here I cannot subscribe to the statements on p. 189 according to which ARET XX 1 is ‘an account concerning two of the first six years of king Irkab-damu (the year 46-41 before the fall of Ebla)’, and that Iš’ar-da-mu’s reign lasted thirty-five years, because I prefer a much shorter (the roman is mine) time frame for the reigns of the last two Palace G kings” (Bonechi 2020b: 335).*

In the same year Bonechi published a long study with the aim of demonstrating that the so-called Annual Accounts of expenditures of precious Metals (AAM) are not annual but include more than one year (Bonechi 2020a). He bases himself on the fact that sometimes the months are not quoted according to their chronological sequence and that some transaction seems to fall in a subsequent year. The scribes of Ebla, however, did not have at their disposal a device which permitted them to chronologically re-order their registrations once they were already written: they copied the essential data from several notes (single registrations, few of them are preserved) which were at hand; large erasures were not allowed in an official document, and small erasures are very few. Moreover, annual accounts might not necessarily have closed on 31st of December.

Again, I would like to stress some essential data concerning the typology of these documents. The annual m u -DU texts have the same structure for all the years of the ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir: 1) very large amounts of metals and garments “delivered”, m u -DU, by the minister; 2) deliveries by the lords (about twelve in number); 3) deliveries by the allied cities; and 4) other deliveries. The documents of Ibbi-zikir distinguish between a first delivery by the cities in month *irmi* (in *ir-mi*), and a second delivery in the second part of the year on the occasion of a ceremony (in *ma-wa-tim*). The Eblaite administration did not have the custom of dating documents with a year name. The scribe stated however at the end of few texts that these concerned the “deliveries of one year”, m u -DU DIŠ m u : ARET XIV 56, 57, 61, 62, 64 (all from the time of Ibrium). Two documents, moreover, are dated by two exceptional events: a) ARET XIV 71 (Ibrium year XVIII) by Ibrium’s death, DIŠ m u ú š *Ib-rí-um*; and b) ARET XIV 80 (Ibbi-zikir year IV) by the death of the king’s mother, DIŠ m u ú š *a ma - ga l e n*. For the typology of these kinds of documents one should consult the published text MEE 12 2 (= ARET XIV 87).

Text ARET XIV 92 registers one after the other the amounts of gold delivered *personally* by Ibbi-zikir over “seventeen years”, 17 m u , (the years in which he was in service) for a total of 287;33 minas (135.15 kg), besides some objects in silver. It reads in obv. I 10–II 10: 14 m a - n a k ù - g i 2;30 ma-na k ù : b a b b a r ... 3 m u “14 minas (6.50 kg) of gold, 2;30 minas (1.175 kg) of silver... (in the) 3rd year”. ARET XIV 79 (the document dated by the present writer to the third year of Ibbi-zikir) starts with some registrations of large amounts of silver, 8 minas of gold for some objects, and then (obv. II 3’–4’): 14 m a - n a k ù - g i n u <sub>11</sub> - z a G I Š - u š t i l a n - d ù l “14 minas of gold for the decoration of a throne (with) a statue <delivered personally by the minister>”.

“*Nisi video cuneus in tabellis non credam!*” ? The publication of ARET XIV (which includes photos), delayed for too many years, should appear soon.

Several annual documents of expenditures of metals (AAM) have already been published: MEE 7 47 and 34 = ARET XXI (Ibrium) 7, 17; MEE 10 20 and 29 = ARET XXII (Ibbi-zikir) 1, 5; MEE 12 35, 36, 37 = ARET XXII 8, 10, 9. These documents have a clear annual structure which has been described several times. First comes the delivery of 1 mina of silver “for the head of (the city-god) Kura” (a renewal rite); this is followed by the silver given to the two priestesses of the god ’Adabal. In month I a first gift to the Storm-god Hadda of Aleppo falls, followed by a second one in month VIII; Hadda of Lub received a gift in month IV; several other gifts (in part annually) to the gods, are dated according to months, not necessarily in chronological sequence (Archi 2010b: 6).

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Alfonso ARCHI <alfonso.archi@gmail.com>  
Rome (ITALY)

**2) Ur-Nanše und Adab (Nachtrag zu NABU 2020/102)** — CUSAS 26, 69 zeigt, dass in der Zeit des Akurgal ein *bíl-la-la* zur Führungsschicht von Adab gehörte, der aufgrund der mit ihm genannten Namen sehr wahrscheinlich mit dem Sanga von Keš *bíl-làl-la* in ELTS 32 A(ppendix) identisch ist. Wegen seiner hohen Position und weil der Name nicht häufig ist, wäre es durchaus möglich, dass auch der von Ur-Nanše gefangengenommene *nu-banda bíl-la-la* (Ur-Nanše 51 Rs. iv 2-4; RIME1.9.1.6b) mit ihm identisch ist. Ur-Nanše erwähnt als Gegner aber nur Ur und Umma. CUSAS 23, 80 behandelt die Ausgabe von Gerste an Leute, die einem *lugal*, einem *GAR.én[si]* und *bíl-làl-la* unterstehen. Wegen der Schreibweise *GAR.énsi* kommt die Tafel wohl aus Adab. Dies erinnert an den „König von Kiš“ Mesilim, der die Oberhoheit über den Ensi *Lugalša'engur* von Lagaš und den *GAR.énsi Lugalキサlesi* von Adab innehatte (RIME1.8.1.1-3).

Daher vermutete der Autor, dass auch zur Zeit des Ur-Nanše eine Vorherrschaft von Kiš über Adab bestand und dass der König von Kiš sich mit Unterstützungstruppen, befehligt von Billala am Krieg gegen Ur-Nanše beteiligte, was dieser womöglich aus diplomatischer Rücksicht nicht erwähnte.

Dies ist aber eine komplizierte und daher unwahrscheinliche Lösung. Es gibt eine einfachere Lösung: Die Könige von Umma/Gišša nahmen für sich selbst den Titel *lugal* in Anspruch, während die Herrscher von Lagaš diese Bezeichnung für ihre nördlichen Nachbarn vermieden haben. Es spricht also nichts gegen die Annahme, dass Umma Adab in der Zeit von Ur-Nanšes Gegner *Pabilgaltuku* dominierte.

Wilcke<sup>1)</sup> interpretiert ELTS 32 A v 11-vi 5: *5 kù ma-na níĝ-sa<sub>10</sub> làl-la dam bíl-làl-la saĝĝa kèš maru<sub>14</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ta a-duĝ als „5 pounds of silver, are the (part of the) price appurtenant to Lalla, the wife of Billala, the temple administrator of Keš. It had redeemed him from Maru“.* Wie Wilcke einräumt, ist diese Interpretation keineswegs zwingend. Andererseits würde sie bedeuten, dass der Sanga ebenso wie sein Namensvetter bei Ur-Nanše mindestens einmal im Leben in Gefangenschaft geriet. Der Ortsname *ma-ru<sub>14</sub><sup>ki</sup>* oder *ma<sup>IRIXA</sup><sup>ki</sup>* fügt sich nicht so leicht in eine Gleichsetzung der beiden Gefangenschaften. Das muss aber kein Widerspruch sein. Es wäre möglich, dass Ur-Nanše elamische Verbündete oder Söldner an seiner Seite hatte. Das würde auch zum Teil erklären, wie es ihm gelang, einer Koalition aus Ur und Umma, inklusive der Verstärkung aus Adab zu widerstehen.

#### Anmerkung

1. Claus Wilcke, *Early Ancient Near Eastern Law. A History of its Beginnings. The Early Dynastic and Sargonic Periods*, revised edition, Winona Lake, 2007, 85 Anm. 258.

Jan KEETMAN <jkeet@aol.com>

**3) Die Zeichenkombination ÁB.ŠÀ.GE und das Wort für „Galle“** — Frühdynastisch wird in sumerischen Texten ÁB.ŠÀ.GE zur Schreibung von /ze/ gebraucht.<sup>1)</sup> Da dies nicht strittig ist, hat der Autor als Umschrift *ze<sub>5</sub>* vorgeschlagen. ZÉ ist erstmals in Abū Šalābīḥ, Tell Beydar und Ebla für /ze/ bzw. ähnliche Silben belegt (Meyer-Laurin 2017, 223). Später ersetzt *zé* *ze<sub>5</sub>* überall. Thomas Balke hat gezeigt, dass sich die Zeichenform von *zé* graphisch aus ÁB.ŠÀ als Kurzform von ÁB.ŠÀ.GE ableiten lässt (Balke 2015, 5-7). Zwischenstufe ist LAK 539, das sargonisch in LAK 538 ABxGADA und ABxPA übergeht.<sup>2)</sup>

Wenn ZÉ die graphische Weiterentwicklung ist, dann liegt es nahe, auch das Wort *zé* = *martu(m)* „Galle“ für ÁB.ŠÀ.GE zu vermuten. Kommt hinzu, dass ÁB.ŠÀ.GE sonst als Phonogramm ohne eigene Bedeutung erscheint. Auf die unerklärte Kompliziertheit der Schreibung eines bloßen Silbenzeichens wurde schon mehrfach hingewiesen.<sup>3)</sup>

Abgesehen von *zé* in Ebla (siehe unten) kennt der Autor keinen Kontextbeleg, in dem frühdynastisch ein Wort für „Galle“ - sei es ÁB.ŠÀ.GE geschrieben oder anders - sicher wäre. Möglich ist das Wort in einem der in den Lagaš-Rätseln genannten Kanalnamen: *en ze<sub>5</sub>(ÁB.ŠÀ.†GE†) nu-DU* (BiMes 3, 26 ii 3). Eine Übersetzung als „Herr! Du hast (dich) nicht bewegt (i. e. fließt nicht)“ (Balke 2015, 2 + Anm. 9) kann nicht überzeugen, da es keine Kanal- oder Ortsnamen mit 2. Person gibt. Daher bleibt der Vorschlag „der Herr, der keine Galle bringt“, <sup>4)</sup> entweder weil der Kanal nie schmutziges Wasser bringt oder übertragen, dass er keine Trübsal bringt.<sup>5)</sup> Entsprechend könnte ÁB.ŠÀ GE = *libiš ge* im Sinne von *libiš ge<sub>17</sub>* „krankes Inneres“ eine Umschreibung für „Galle“ sein (Keetman 2012 Anm. 3).

Als Teil einer auch sonst belegten Wendung ist libiš ge in Ebla auch im Kontext mit der Galle belegt. Krebarnik analysiert in Anschluss an Pettinato ša ge li-bí-iš<sub>11</sub> ge mu-na-a ARET V 11 (= FSB 6) ii 1-3 als ša-gig libiš-gig mu-na-a<sub>5</sub> „machte ihm ein krankes Inneres, ein krankes Herz“ (Krebarnik 1984, 66; Rudik 2011, 125f.). Am Ende wird die „Galle“ (zé) genannt. Man kann hier auch ša „Herz“, libiš „Magen“, „Eingeweide“ übersetzen.

Während ša „Herz“ auch allgemein „Inneres“ bedeuten kann, hat libiš diese Bedeutung nur in Zusammenhängen in denen man auch „Bauch“, „Magen“ einsetzen kann. Z. B.: é ša-bé-ta libiš kalam-ma a-ga-bé-ta zi ša-ge si-a „von seinem Inneren aus ist der Tempel der Bauch des Landes Sumer, von seiner Rückseite her ist er die Lebenslust, die ins Herz gefüllt ist“ Keš-Hymne 90f. In einigen Belegen steht libiš explizit für „Magen“ oder dessen Inhalt (bildlich Galle): emédu na-an-sa<sub>10</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>-an ú libiš ge<sub>17</sub>-ga-àm „Kaufe keinen hausgeborenen Sklaven, er ist ein Kraut, das einen schlimmen Magen macht“ Instructions of Šuruppak 155; udúg libiš diri-ga-e zú ì-dub-dub-bé „die Udug-Keule, der vor Wut die Galle hochkommt, häuft die Zähne auf“ Lugale 258.<sup>6)</sup> Auf einen signifikanten Unterschied deutet der übertragene Gebrauch: Während ša „Herz“ mit allen Emotionen und Empfindungen stehen kann, wird libiš weit weniger gebraucht und hat per se eine negative Note. Z. B. u<sub>4</sub>-da nu-šè-sa<sub>10</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> ugula libiš-bé na-na-tag-ge „Wenn er nicht an ihn verkaufen wird, soll der Aufseher die entsprechend schlechte Laune ihn nicht fühlen lassen“ Ukg. 4 xi 29-31 und Uruamairabi Meturan H2 v ki-ru-gú 24, 11: igi mu-un-ši-in-bar igi libiš-a-kam „sie sah ihn an – es war der Blick des Grolls“, in der jungen Fassung ersetzt durch i-bí úš-a-ke<sub>4</sub> „Blick des Todes“.<sup>7)</sup> Der Gebrauch mit húl „sich freuen“, ki ág „lieben“, arhuš „Erbarmen“ (Gilgameš und Hubebe A 159) ist für ša aber so weit der Autor sieht nie für libiš belegt.

Die Überschneidung der Bedeutungen scheint also von ša bzw. *libbum* auszugehen, während eine Bedeutung „Herz“ oder „Inneres“ für libiš fraglich ist. Es steht eher für „Bauch“, „Magen“, „Eingeweide“, „Leibesinnere“ und wird vorwiegend für damit assoziierte Emotionen und Empfindungen wie „Zorn“ und „Schmerz“ gebraucht.

Balke schließt die obige Interpretation aus, da der jetzige Autor gi „als unorthographische Schreibung für /gig/ innerhalb eines festen DIRI-Kompositums interpretiert!“ (Balke 2015, 4 Anm. 16). Das Argument setzt aber voraus, dass es in den archaischen Texten aus Ur bereits eine eindeutig festgelegte Schreibung für das Wort gab. Die Beziehung von Form und Bedeutung ist bei MI+NUNUZ schon in Bezug auf kib „Weizen“ kompliziert und noch schwieriger für die Lesung ge<sub>17</sub>/geg (gig) „krank“, „schlimm“.

MI ist das Bild eines Schirms oder Baldachins und des von ihm geworfenen Schattens,<sup>8)</sup> woraus sich die Lesungen kukku<sub>5</sub> „dunkel“, gég „schwarz“, gē<sub>6</sub> (> mi) „Nacht“ und gē<sub>6</sub>MI = gēssu „Schatten“ herleiten. Von MI = gég ließe sich die Lesung ge<sub>17</sub>/geg sofort ableiten, doch NUNUZ bleibt unerklärt. Bei kib ist es einfacher. NUNUZ hat die Lesung nida = *gubūtu* „rasierte“ (Adjektiv, Plural) was auch als gú nida „rasierte Nacken“ bei Getreidearten vorkommt.<sup>9)</sup> Offenbar handelt es sich um Weizensorten, die keine haarigen Ähren besitzen wie die im Irak auch archäologisch belegten Weichweizenarten (*Triticum aestivum*, Renfrew 1984, 35). Da Weizen nicht irgendwie dunkel oder schwarz ist, bietet sich als Begründung für den ersten Bestandteil die Aussprache von gég an. Der Grad der phonetischen Übereinstimmung ist unklar. Der Auslaut könnte /gb/ gewesen sein, wofür zunächst die Vermutung eines Zusammenhanges zwischen sumerisch kib (oder doch gīb) und *kibum* „Weizen“ sprechen könnte (Powell 1984, 57). Außerdem wird MI+NUNUZ = ge<sub>17</sub> seit Tell Fāra in nu-ge<sub>17</sub>(-g) gebraucht und die Emesal-Form dazu lautet mu-ge<sub>17</sub>/ge-eb bzw. mu-geb<sub>x</sub>(MI+NUNUZ) mit b im Auslaut.<sup>10)</sup> Cf. níg-ge<sub>17</sub>(-g) > *ikkibu* „Tabuisiertes“. Sonst ist aber im Hauptdialekt wie im Emesal nur g im Auslaut von ge<sub>17</sub> bezeugt. Auf die Diskussion um /gb/ soll hier nicht eingegangen werden.<sup>11)</sup> Immerhin könnte diese Besonderheit erklären, warum MI+NUNUZ = kib/gīb und nicht einfach MI = gég zur Schreibung von ge<sub>17</sub>/geg gewählt wurde, aber das nicht notwendig von Anfang an.

Der älteste Beleg für ge<sub>17</sub> „krank“ ist aus Tell Fāra VAT 12524 ii‘ 1; iii‘ 2-4 (FSB 4). Auf der gleichen Tafel aber in einer anderen Beschwörung steht nur gég, wenn die Stelle richtig interpretiert ist (FSB 11).<sup>12)</sup> FSB 4 ist auch der älteste Beleg für ša ge<sub>17</sub> lipiš ge<sub>17</sub> „krankes Herz, kranke Eingeweide“. So auch mehrfach in CUSAS 32, 1, FD IIIb<sup>13)</sup> und in CUSAS 32, 3, FD IIIb.<sup>14)</sup> In Ebla überwiegt ge FSB 9; 10; 40 A, B, 56 A gegenüber ge<sub>17</sub> FSB 2 und ki FSB 56 B.

Also meint MI+NUNUZ ursprünglich (Weich-)Weizen und ge<sub>17</sub>/geg „krank“ ist davon abgeleitet. Ob es vor FD IIIa eine Standardschreibweise für /ge(-g)/ „krank“ gab, ist unklar. Da die Textgattung Beschwörung vor FD IIIa noch nicht belegt ist, kann man mit einer größeren Freiheit in der Schreibung rechnen.

ÁB.ŠÀ.GE setzt sich graphisch aus zwei Bestandteilen zusammen: ÁB+ŠÀ, GE. Dies kommt außer durch die Verschmelzung von ÁB und ŠÀ durch die Schreibung des Namens ze<sub>5</sub>-na in UET 2, 287 (Foto: P005877) als [G]E na ÁB+ŠÀ zum Ausdruck. Die Interpretation des ersten Teiles als ÁB.ŠÀ ist aufgrund von Parallelen ab Eannatum (LAK 404, 405 wobei Deimel das GE jeweils abtrennt) und insbesondere ÁB.ŠÀ.GE-na = ze<sub>5</sub>-na AWAS 73 iv 11 plausibel. Das als ÁB+ŠÀ interpretierte Zeichen (UET 2 S. 171) entspricht nicht ganz der Kombination der Zeichen ÁB (UET 2 S. 177) und ŠÀ. Die in ÁB aufeinander zulaufenden Keile verlaufen in S. 171 parallel. In Tell Fāra ist ein kleiner senkrechter Keil dazugekommen, der den unteren waagerechten Keil kreuzt. Das Zeichen ist LAK 386. In CUSAS 32, 1 vii 4; ix 4; 6 ist der senkrechte Keil vor die parallelen Keile gerückt. Diese Veränderung lässt sich aus der Annahme, es liege ursprünglich ÁB.ŠÀ vor, nicht erklären. Die Zweifel an der späteren Auflösung ÁB.ŠÀ betreffen aber nur die graphische Seite. Die Kombination ÁB'+ŠÀ bzw. X+ŠÀ entsprach sehr wahrscheinlich auch in Tell Fāra libiš (Balke 2015, 8 Anm. 2). Diese Genese passt gut zu der These, dass GE in ÁB.ŠÀ.GE ein Zusatz ist.

#### Anmerkungen

1. Krecher 1987, 85 Anm. 4; Jagersma apud Selz 1993, 533f. Meyer-Laurin 2011, 50-52; 2017, 223 Anm. 42f. Keetman 2012; 2013 Anm. 4; 2016 Anm. 1; Balke 2015.
2. MAD 3, 225. GADA > PA ist fließend: PA vereinzelt bereits sarg. GADA noch bei Gudea Zyl. A iii 6; 7; vi 13. Für Ebla ARET 2 S. 166. Bei einigen Zeichen, die in FD IIIb LAK 539 ähneln, handelt es sich um ungenaue Kopien von dé. Dazu Rosengarten 1967, 143 d und e. Ea IV 168f. gibt als Variante zu zé-iABxPA zé-iABxŠEŠ an (MSL 14, 362 ein Text nB).
3. Krecher 1995, 189 Anm. 99; Meyer-Laurin 2011, 50 nm. 125; Balke 2011, 4f.
4. Keetman 2012, Anm. 3.
5. Die Gottheit ist <sup>d</sup>nin-gur<sub>7</sub> „Herrin Getreidemagazin“ mit dem Beinamen nu-nus ú gal „Frau große Nahrung“.
6. Van Dijk 1983, 83: „la cognée qui arrache les entrailles, grinça des dents“, am jüngeren Text orientiert.
7. Dazu Jacques 2006, 92 mit Anm. 217.
8. Anders Anton Deimel zu LAK 391: „‘gestirnte Himmel‘ (= Nacht)“, René Labat, 1976, 2: „hachures sous un demicercle celle de l'obscurité tombant de la voute de ciel et, partant, l'idées de nuit et de noir“. Nach oben gerundete Schirme sind ab dem Ende der FD Zeit belegt. Siegel des *Jišqī-Mari*, Beyer 2007, fig. 17; Sargon-Steale, Stromenger/Hirmer 1962, Tf. 115.
9. Powell 1984, 53-56; CAD G 127a; AHw 296b.
10. Schretter 1990, 222f. und vgl. auch dort 168f. 186.
11. Civil 1973; Schretter 1990, 39; Keetman 2014, 34f.
12. Es liegt keine syllabische Schreibung ge<sub>6</sub> vor, sondern geg oder graphische Kürzung wie teilweise in Tell Fāra auch bei kib „Weizen“ (Powell 1984, 56). Ausgeschrieben kib in Tell Fāra: FTP 107; TSŠ 479; 757; 764. Ältere Belege UET 2, 31; 66; 190; 212. In UET 2, 2 Rs. iii 2 ist wahrscheinlich [n]u<sup>1</sup>-ge<sub>17</sub> zu lesen (ältester Beleg).
13. Altertümlich sind ta und za, eher jünger als Tell Fāra, z. B. mu, lú, ní.
14. Für jüngere Beispiele siehe Jacques 2006, 90f. Anm. 211.

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Jan KEETMAN <jkeet@aol.com>

**4) Eulen in Mesopotamien** — Eulen sind auch im Irak und seinen Nachbarländern weit verbreitet. Es gibt keinen Grund anzunehmen, dass das in der Antike anders war. CAD und AHw übersetzen *qadū* mit „owl“ bzw. „Käuzchen“ und bringen auch *eššebu* mit Eulen in Verbindung. Veldhuis 2004 widerspricht in beiden Fällen. Da weitere Worte daran hängen, wären Eulen entweder nicht belegt oder diese auffallenden Vögel nicht identifiziert. Dies hätte eine Parallele bei den Abbildungen. Die bekannteste Abbildung ist das Burney Relief, dessen Echtheit nicht gesichert ist und auch sonst gibt es wohl nur eine sichere Eulendarstellung und zwar halafzeitlich aus Yarim Tepe nahe Tal Afar im nördlichen Irak.<sup>1)</sup> Die Abbildungen von Vögeln können aber sehr ungenau sein. Ein Beispiel ist der durch Beischrift identifizierte Rabe in TCL 6, 12, der eher einer Gans als einem Raben gleicht.

Im Sumerischen mit *eššebu* und *iššūr lemutti* „Vogel des Unheils“ geglichen ist der <sup>d</sup>nin-ninná<sup>mušen</sup>, <sup>d</sup>nin-ninná-maš<sup>mušen</sup>, <sup>d</sup>nin-ninná<sup>mušen</sup>-ta (Veldhuis 2004, 272-75). Schreibung und Lesung des zweiten Bestandteils sind komplex: LAGABxSIG<sub>7</sub>, LAGABxEŠ, jünger auch verdoppelt, LAGABxMU (Delnero 2006, 2378f. Nungal A 50, dort auch insgesamt ne-ne-ta) und <sup>d</sup>nin-SIG<sub>7</sub><sup>ama mušen</sup> UET 6, 465, Shaffer 1995, 12b. Attinger apud Mittermayer 2005, 163 liest LAGABxEŠ ninni<sub>4</sub>. Ebenfalls belegt ist /nin/ (ZA 96, 11; CAD E 370b oben; cf. ġen SF 58 ix 5, P010649); ninnim<sub>4</sub> MSL 14, 198, 98a. LAGABxSIG<sub>7</sub> wird auch <sup>d</sup>nin-šára gelesen. Da diese Lesung nirgends unterstützt wird, ist es eine graphische Variante oder SIG<sub>7</sub> = immà Veldhuis 2004, 273f. Shaffer 1995, 12b. Hier knüpft vielleicht die jüngere Lesung ninná an. Weitere Schreibungen Veldhuis 2004, 274. –maš könnte aus mušen „Vogel“ entstanden sein.

Noch mehr Schwierigkeiten bereitet das –ta, das auch in syllabischer Schreibung und vor dem –e des Ergativs belegt ist. Es sollte daher zum Namen des Vogels gehören, steht aber nach dem Determinativ. Veldhuis 2004, 273 vermutet das Wort „probably ends in a /t/“. Dies erklärt allerdings nicht das /a/. Vielleicht ist –ta eine Verkürzung von ninta „Mann“, „männlich“. Siehe <sup>d</sup>nin-ninná-UŠ<sup>mušen</sup> in DDr 60 J' und R'/LA<sub>1</sub> (P247867) wo das Zeichen jedenfalls nicht ta ist. Vielleicht hielt man den größeren Vogel fälschlich für den männlichen.

Literarische Belege sind: <sup>d</sup>nin-ninná<sup>mušen</sup>-ta-e ġá udu-ka sila<sub>4</sub> šu ba-ni-ib-ti „ein... nahm in der Umzäunung der Schafe ein Lamm weg“ DDr 35 cf. 60 (Var. [x x] 'ni<sup>1</sup>-in-ta ġá...); lú-bé-e-ne buru<sub>5</sub><sup>(mušen)</sup> <sup>d</sup>nin-ninná<sup>mušen</sup>-ta šu-ta šub-ba-gen<sub>7</sub> „jene Leute sind wie Sperlinge, die einem... aus den Fängen zu entkommen trachten“ Nungal A 50; ġeš<sub>7</sub>illar-za <sup>d</sup>nin-ninná<sup>mušen</sup>-a ní mu-e-ni-šub-šub „von deinem Wurfholz, von dem... lässt du Furcht herabfallen“ ISET 2, 2 Rs. 2 Ningublaga A; āš-kam-ma <sup>d</sup>nin-ninná<sup>mušen</sup>-gen<sub>7</sub> iri



ʿu<sup>1</sup>-ku-a-ba gu mi-ni-ib-ra-ra „der sechste ruft wie ein... wenn die Stadt schläft“ Hendersağa A 83. Beachte die Mehrdeutigkeit: „der ‚iri-ukuaba‘ schreit“.

Veldhuis 2004, 273 lehnt die Übersetzung „Eule“ wegen des Vergleichs mit einem Wurfholz ab, vermutlich weil das Schwirren eines Bumerangs nicht gut zum typischen Gleitflug einer Eule passt. Da *eššebu* nach CAD eine weibliche Form *eššebītu* hat, vermutet Veldhuis einen Vogel mit starkem Geschlechtsdimorphismus und hält den „hen harrier“ (Kornweihe, *Circus cyaneus*) für wahrscheinlich.

Die Form *eššebītu* stellt AHW nicht zum Vogel *eššebu*, sondern zum Ekstatiker *eššebū*. Einen ausgeprägten Geschlechtsdimorphismus hat auch der Uhu (*Bubo bubo*) und er fliegt oft mit starkem Flügelschlag.<sup>2)</sup> Mit <sup>ges</sup>illar ist nicht immer ein „Wurfholz“ gemeint.

Die Bedeutung „Wurfholz“ erscheint ziemlich klar in SP 3.95 ur-ge<sup>7</sup> <sup>ges</sup>illar ra-a-gen<sup>7</sup> dum-dam anda-ab-za „er tönt wie ein Hund, den ein Wurfholz getroffen hat“, mit Variante <sup>ges</sup>ellag. Das ist ein hölzerner Poloball wie ihn Gilgameš in Gilgameš, Enkidu und die Unterwelt aus der Wurzel eines Baumes macht. Siehe auch <sup>ges</sup>illar-gen<sup>7</sup> edin ki nu-zu-ġā nam-ba-e-dē-šub-bu-dē-en „ich möchte nicht wie ein Wurfholz in der Einöde, an einem Ort, den ich nicht kenne fallen müssen“ Lugalbanda I 167. Das verwendete Zeichen RU hat exakt die Form eines Bumerangs und die damit geschriebenen Verben ru, šub haben auch die Bedeutung „werfen“. Auch für die akkadische Übersetzung *tilpānu* ist „Wurfholz“ wohl die richtige Interpretation in Gilgameš XII 17: *tilpāna ana eršeti lā tanassuk* „Schleudere nicht ein Wurfholz in die Unterwelt!“. Zwar kann *nasāku* auch „einen Pfeil schießen“ bedeuten, doch dann ist der Pfeil das Akkusativobjekt. Man kann sich auch fragen, ob an dieser aus dem Sumerischen übersetzten Stelle nicht auf den Rückkehreffekt eines Bumerangs angespielt wird. Es fällt auf, dass nur diese Waffe genannt wird. Allerdings wüsste der Autor keine andere Stelle in der mesopotamischen Literatur wo auf diesen Effekt angespielt wird.

Andererseits geht die Bedeutung „Bogen“ für *tilpānum* aus aB Texten aus Mari eindeutig hervor (Wilcke 1991). Wurfhölzer werden zur Jagd auf kleine Tiere, insbesondere Vögel gebraucht, aber nicht als Kriegswaffen. Der Gebrauch von <sup>ges</sup>illar als Kriegswaffe ist aber literarisch belegt. Z. B. <sup>ges</sup>pana gal-gal <sup>ges</sup>illar <sup>kuš</sup>e-ib-ur-ra téš im-da-gu<sup>7</sup>-e „die großen Bögen und die... fressen gemeinsam unter den Schilden“ LSU 384. Hier ist zwar nicht so klar, was <sup>ges</sup>illar bedeutet, aber Wurfhölzer sollten in dieser Kampfszene nicht genannt werden. Andererseits sollte <sup>ges</sup>illar als Kriegswaffe auch außerhalb literarischer Texte Erwähnung finden. Schrakamp 2010 führt <sup>ges</sup>illar aber nicht unter den Kriegswaffen der frühdynastischen und sargonischen Zeit auf. Mithin kann man annehmen, dass „Wurfholz“ die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes war und dass das Wort aufgrund der Ähnlichkeit der Form während Ur III oder aB auch für einen bestimmten Bogentyp gebraucht wurde ohne dass die alte Bedeutung sofort verloren ging. Daher besteht die Möglichkeit, dass der Text nicht ein schwirrendes Wurfholz, sondern einen gespannten Bogen mit einer Eule vergleicht, die jederzeit losstürzen kann.

Für eine Eule spricht, dass der Vogel bei Nacht auffallend schreit. Da ihm zugetraut wird, ein Lamm fortzunehmen, sollte es ein besonders großer Vogel sein. Das spricht für den Uhu, der auch größer ist als eine Kornweihe. Auffallend ist das Gottesdeterminativ. Abgesehen von den frühen Vogelgottheiten: <sup>d</sup>KASKAL.GAL<sup>mušen</sup>, <sup>d</sup>(nin-)ki-ki<sup>mušen</sup>, <sup>d</sup>saġ-ġā<sup>mušen</sup> haben an realen Tieren sonst nur der Mungo <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim, die gehörnte Viper <sup>d</sup>nirah und der Pfau <sup>d</sup>ha-jā<sup>mušen</sup> dieses Determinativ - alles sehr auffallende Tiere. Aus dem Geburtsomen YOS X 56 i 28, CUSAS 18, 50 kann man schließen, dass der mit *eššebu* gleichgesetzte *iššūrum lemuttum* (so im Omen) ein markantes Gesicht hatte, was für Eulen sicher zutrifft.

Auch *qadû* = iri-ḫul-a<sup>mušen</sup> könnte durchaus für Eulen stehen. Veldhuis 2004, 258 schließt sich Landsbergers Identifikation „Sandflughuhn“ (*Pterocles orientalis*) an. Argumente sind, dass das Sandflughuhn an trockene Habitate angepasst ist, was zu Ruinen passt, der arabische Name *qaṭā*, der an *qadû* erinnert, wobei beide Worte wie viele Vogelnamen wohl den Laut des Vogels nachahmen. Dies ist bei *qadû* auch offensichtlich, da es das Wort auch als Verb für das Rufen dieses Vogels gibt, obwohl der Ruf in KAR 125, 9' als *tukku-tukku* wiedergegeben wird.

Eulen werden aber aufgrund verschiedener Rufe charakterisiert. Das synonym mit Eule gebrauchte Wort „Kauz“ ist wahrscheinlich ebenfalls lautmalend. Nach Psalm 102,7 wohnt ein Vogel *kōs* in Ruinen. Der als Eulenart gedeutete Vogel (cf. unten zu Jesaja) schlägt vom Klang eine Brücke zwischen *qadû* und „Kauz“. Die Bandbreite lautmalender Bezeichnungen ist in Mesopotamien gut vertreten: u<sup>8</sup>-a<sup>mušen</sup> = ḫu-ú-

[a] = *qadû* und *lal-la-ri<sup>mušen</sup>* = *qadû*, *qadû* = *akkû* (CAD Q 51a). Cf. „Eule“, „owl“, althochdeutsch *ūwila*; Uhu mit Varianten Schuhu, Huhu, Buhu, türkisch *puhu* und „Kauz“. Auch *iri-ḫul-a<sup>mušen</sup>* könnte eine Deutung des Vogelrufs sein. Eulen meiden trockene Gebiete keineswegs, z. B. Wüstenuhu (*Bubo ascalaphus*), Schleiereule (*Tyto alba*) und Steinkauz (*Athene noctua*). Trümmer können Eulen als Unterschlupf dienen. Jesaja 13,21 prophezeit den Einzug von Eulen (וֹהָא) in verlassene Häuser.

Kulturübergreifend kündigen Eulen Tod an. Shakespeare lässt eine Eule schreien während Macbeth König Duncan ermordet und er lässt den Mord an Julius Caesar ebenfalls durch das Geschrei einer Eule ankündigen. Vergil lässt vor Didos Tod eine Eule vom Dach des Tempels rufen. Ganz ähnliche Vorstellungen gibt es auch in Südindien, Tansania, Namibia, Kamerun und Kanada.<sup>3)</sup> Dass Eulenrufe den Tod ankündigen, hat der Autor auch selbst in Deutschland und der Türkei gehört. Dem entspricht *ù-ku-ku-ba-ug<sup>7mušen</sup>* = *ittīl imūt* „er schlief, er starb“ = *qadû* (CAD Q 51a) und der nächtliche Schrei des *⁴nin-ninná<sup>mušen</sup>*, des „Vogel des Unheils“ in Hēndursağa 83. Cf. griechisch *κουκουβαγία, γλαυξ* „Eule“.

Der *eššebû* dürfte eine Nisbenbildung zu *eššebu* sein. Er hat eine besondere Haartracht und wird mit Personen erwähnt, die mit Zauberei zu tun haben. Erklärt wird *eššebû* mit *mahḫû* „Ekstatiker“, „Prophet“. Gleichgesetzt wird *eššebu* mit dem „Boten(vogel)“ *našpartu* in *Šumma ālu* (CAD *našpartu* C, cf. A, B).<sup>4)</sup> Dies passt zur geläufigen Verbindung von Eulen mit Zaubern, Hexen, Magie und Botschaften. Z. B. verwandelt sich in Grimms Märchen Joride und Joringel eine Zauberin in eine Eule.

Aussehen, Ruf und Lebensweise von Eulen haben die menschliche Phantasie stark angeregt und sehr oft in der gleichen Weise. Auch die positiven Aspekte des Vogels der Athene könnten in Mesopotamien vorhanden sein. Nach KAR 125, 9' ist der *qadû* der Vogel des Ea, was sich vielleicht mit Weisheit und Rat verbinden lässt und jedenfalls von der Todesmetaphorik wegführt. Es ist schwer zu sehen wie irgendwelche anderen Vögel in dieses Geflecht von Übereinstimmungen passen könnten. *⁴nin-ninná<sup>mušen</sup>/eššebu* ist wohl zunächst die größte Eule, der Uhu. Ob das für die jüngeren Texte auch noch gilt, wäre zu untersuchen. *iri-ḫul-a<sup>mušen</sup>/qadû* könnte ein allgemeineres Wort für Eule sein oder eine weitere Eulenart meinen.

Nicht erwähnte Worte, die sicher oder wahrscheinlich Eulen meinen: *enšubul/enšūpu*, *iššūr kiltli*, *kiltlu*, *ḫusû*, *šallālu* bereits indirekt genannt: *lallāru*, *ḫū'a(-iššūru)*.

#### Anmerkungen

1. Von der Osten-Sacken 2002, 479 mit Anm. 3-9.
2. <https://footage.framepool.com/de/shot/224320549-uhu-art-wegfliegen-felswand-fruehling>.
3. Berichte und Lit. unter [https://www.owlpages.com/owls/](https://www.owlpages.com/owls/articles) articles > Mythology > Owls in Lore and Culture. Siehe auch Benker 1993.
4. Das Fragment Rm 488, P424798 hat die Abfolge: [d?]nin-ninna<sup>muš[en]</sup>, iš-še-bu, [n]a-aš-pár-tum<sup>mušen</sup>, [iššūr] le-mut-tum. Außerdem wird *na-aš-pár-tum<sup>mušen</sup>* durch *eš-š[e-bu]* erklärt: RA 17, 140, 4.

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Jan KEETMAN <jkeet@aol.com>

**5) Lagaš II in the days of Akkad and Gutium** — Recently, the end of the reigns of both Akkad and Gutium has been situated at the time of Utu-ḫegal of Uruk V.<sup>1)</sup> This newly proposed setting sheds light on the composition of the dynasty of Lagaš II as well. The two main proposals for the sequence of the rulers of Lagaš II are:

1) Ur-Ningirsu I, Pirigme (a son of Ur-Ningirsu I), (Ur-Mama?), Kaku, Ur-Ba'u, Ur-GAR, Nammaḥni/Namḥani (a son of Ur-GAR and a son-in-law of Ur-Ba'u), Ur-abba, (Ur-Mama?), Gudea (a son-in-law of Ur-Ba'u), and Ur-Ningirsu II (a son of Gudea).<sup>2)</sup>

2) Ur-Ningirsu I, Pirigme, Ur-Ba'u, Gudea, Ur-Ningirsu II, Ur-GAR, Ur-abba, Ur-Mama, and Nammaḥni/Namḥani; with Kaku, Lu-Ba'u, and Lugula as close contemporaries of Ur-abba, Ur-Mama, and Nammaḥni.<sup>3)</sup>

Two arguments can be added in favour of the first order. First, an inscription attests a ruler called Nammaḥni as governor of Umma in the days of the Gutian king Jarlagan: “For the goddess Ninura, mother of Umma, Namahni, governor (ÉNSI) of Umma, built her E-ula temple (and) restored it. At that time Jarlagan was king of Gutium” (trans. RIME 2.11.12.1). Since the Gutian king Jarlagan rules at the very end of the Gutian dynasty (MAHIEU 2019: 12), Nammaḥni's governorship can be dated to the end of the Gutian reign and thus about the time of Utu-ḫegal. This Nammaḥni of Umma might be identified with Nammaḥni, the governor of Lagaš II (MONACO 1990: 97-98).

Nammaḥni is attested in the days of Ur-Namma of Ur III as well. Ur-Namma either promotes (FRAYNE 1997: 47; SALLABERGER & SCHRACKAMP 2015: 120-121 and n. 418) or deposes (WILCKE 2011: 33 n. 18) a governor (ÉNSI) of Lagaš called Namḥani (RIME 3/2.1.1.20, i 75-78). This Namḥani of Lagaš has generally been identified with Nammaḥni of Lagaš II. Since Ur-Namma is a contemporary of Utu-ḫegal (MAHIEU 2020), who, in turn, is close in time to Jarlagan, Ur-Namma's contemporary Namḥani/Nammaḥni of Lagaš can be identified with Jarlagan's contemporary Nammaḥni.<sup>4)</sup> The fact that Nammaḥni recognises the Gutian power (RIME 2.11.12.1) implies that Nammaḥni's reign begins before that of Ur-Namma and that he is on the Gutian side. As a consequence, he is deposed (rather than promoted) by Ur-Namma, following the defeat of the Gutians.

The year-names of Ur-abba, another governor of Lagaš II, show that Ur-abba recognises the reign of Ur-Namma (MICHALOWSKI 2013: 180). Hence Ur-abba likely follows Nammaḥni: the deposition of Nammaḥni is followed by the institution of an ÉNSI who recognises Ur III, Ur-abba (cf. FALKENSTEIN 1966: 12 n. 1). In the first sequence, the one by WILCKE, Nammaḥni immediately precedes Ur-abba, which agrees with the present argumentation, whereas the second sequence situates Nammaḥni after Ur-abba.

A second argument favours the first sequence as well. Nammaḥni of Lagaš is a son of Ninkagina and a grandson of Kaku of Lagaš (WILCKE 2011: 36). A ruler called Kaku is attested in the days of Rimuš of Akkad: Rimuš captures Kaku, king of Ur (KA-kù LUGAL ÚRI.KI), together with Kituš-id, governor of Lagaš (ki-tuš-íd ÉNSI *lagaš*[LA.ŠIR.BUR].KI, RIME 2.1.2.3, ll. 14-23). Another inscription states that Rimuš captures Kaku, king of Ur (KA-k[ù] LUGAL ÚRI.KI), together with his governors (RIME 2.1.2.4, ll. 16-23 and Caption 3'). The fact that Kaku is mentioned together with the governor of Lagaš in RIME 2.1.2.3 evidences that Kaku is related to Lagaš.<sup>5)</sup> He might well be the ruler Kaku of Lagaš II. The reign of Rimuš ends 80 years before the end of the Gutian reign (MAHIEU 2019: 22), i.e. about 80 years before the governorship of Nammaḥni. Hence Nammaḥni's grandfather Kaku can be this Kaku of Rimuš's days. The present reconstruction implies that Kaku's governorship of Lagaš comes about 80 years before Nammaḥni's. In the first sequence, Kaku comes well before Nammaḥni.

This setting of Nammaḥni's grandfather Kaku in Rimuš's days further bears on the time span between Lagaš I and Lagaš II. Since Kaku is a contemporary of Rimuš, it follows that Ur-Ningirsu I, the first ruler of Lagaš II – who rules two reigns before Kaku in the first sequence – is likely a contemporary of Sargon, the first king of Akkad and the father of Rimuš. The last ruler of Lagaš I, Urukagina, reigns shortly before Sargon: Urukagina is defeated by Lugalzagesi of Uruk III (RIME 1.9.9.5, viii 11-ix 3), and Lugalzagesi is, in turn, defeated by Sargon (RIME 2.1.1.2, ll. 12-34). Lagaš I is thus (almost) immediately succeeded by Lagaš II.

In conclusion, the relationships can be paralleled as follows:

Urukagina (the last ruler of Lagaš I)	Lugalzagesi of Uruk III
Ur-Ningirsu I (the first ruler of Lagaš II)	Sargon of Akkad
Pirigme	Rimuš and Man-ištuš of Akkad
Kaku	
Lugal-ušumgal <sup>6)</sup>	Naram-Sîn of Akkad
Ur-Ba'u	Šar-kali-šarri of Akkad
Ur-GAR	
Nammahni	Jarlagan of Gutium
Ur-abba	Ur-Namma of Ur III

#### Notes

1. See the concluding scheme in MAHIEU 2019: 22.
2. WILCKE 2011: 34 n. 22, 35-37.
3. SALLABERGER & SCHRAKAMP 2015: 28-31, 120 and n. 417; cf. MICHALOWSKI 2013: 180-181.
4. SALLABERGER & SCHRAKAMP (2015: 130 [Table 36]), however, differentiate Nammahni of Umma from Nammahni/Namhani of Lagaš. MONACO (1990: 98-99), on the other hand, differentiates Nammahni of Lagaš and Umma from Namhani of Lagaš.
5. WESTENHOLZ 1984: 339: "In view of these two references, it seems certain that Lagash at this time was under the sway of the ruler of Ur." Westenholtz, however, differentiates Kaku of Ur from Kaku of Lagaš II because of the conventional two centuries between Rimuš (the contemporary of Kaku of Ur) and Ur-Namma (the contemporary of Nammahni of Lagaš II, the grandson of Kaku).
6. Lugal-ušumgal, who is ÉNSI of Lagaš in the days of both Naram-Sîn (RIME 2.1.4.2004) and Šar-kali-šarri (RIME 2.1.5.2004), should be inserted in the sequence.

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Bieke MAHIEU <assistant.au.projet.b.e.s.t@gmail.com>  
École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem (ISRAEL)

**6) KI.ŠEŠ.KAK(A)** — D'après P. Steinkeller (NABU 2020/106), il n'y aurait "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)'"'. Un argument ténu en faveur de son hypothèse pourrait être la graphie non-standard ka-ses-a dans Enlil A 45 N<sub>16</sub>, quoiqu'on voie mal pourquoi ka aurait évolué en ki<sup>1)</sup>.

Une alternative à mon sens préférable est toutefois de lire KI.ŠEŠ.KAK(.A) ki urin du<sub>3</sub>(-a) “lieu où sont plantés les étendards” (v. déjà P. Attinger, CM 50 [2020] 84). Dans deux passages en effet, kissa-k est associé aux étendards:

Enlil A 45 sq. (variantes non notées): kissa urin mul-la-ba / di-ir-ga me ul-e šu im-ta-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> “*Sur ses (de l’Ekur) murs de soutènement, où scintillent les étendards, les arrangements rituels et les ordonnances cultuelles sont exécutés à la perfection.*”

Löhnert, AOAT 365, 181:18 = 409:15 (variantes non notées): kissa-ka urin mul-la-ta “*Depuis les étendards scintillant sur les murs de soutènement (...)*”<sup>22</sup>).

#### Note

1. Si KA.ŠEŠ.A est une graphie fautive pour KA.ŠEŠ<.KAK>.A = /kassa/, /ka/ s’expliquerait facilement par l’harmonie vocalique (/kissa/ > /kassa/). Une graphie phonétique ka-ses-a serait enfin aussi envisageable, quoique ka- fasse dans ce cas également difficulté.

2. Vu kissa-ka (pas kissa), la traduction contextuellement préférable “*Depuis les murs de soutènement, où scintillent les étendards (...)*” semble exclue.

Pascal ATTINGER < pascal.atinger@iaw.unibe.ch >  
Neuchâtel (SUISSE)

**7) An Ur III Account of Fish from Umma** — The tablet here published belongs to a private collection in the United States, whose whereabouts are currently unknown. I wish to thank Professor Piotr Steinkeller for having kindly allowed me to study the material in his possession, which he originally received from Edward Praczukowski, former Professor of Art at the University of Washington. The tablet comes from the Ur III provincial archive of Umma and records a fish delivery to the institutional economy.

#### obverse

1. '236<sup>1</sup> ku<sub>6</sub> gi<sup>2</sup>hal
2. ki ur-<sup>d</sup>kal-kal-ta
3. 37 ku<sub>6</sub> hal 0.0.5-ta
4. 1290 ku<sub>6</sub> kun-zi
5. 1620 ku<sub>6</sub> saĝ-/kur<sub>2</sub>
6. ki amar-i<sub>3</sub>-sin<sub>2</sub>'(TU)-ta
7. 67 ku<sub>6</sub> hal 0.0.5 4-ta

#### reverse

8. 1080 ku<sub>6</sub> kun-zi
9. 1920 ku<sub>6</sub> saĝ-/kur<sub>2</sub>
10. 'ki<sup>1</sup> ba-da-ga-ta
11. šu-niĝin<sub>2</sub> 2370 ku<sub>6</sub> kun-zi
12. šu-niĝin<sub>2</sub> 3540 ku<sub>6</sub> saĝ-/kur<sub>2</sub>
13. šu-niĝin<sub>2</sub> 340 ku<sub>6</sub> hal
14. e<sub>2</sub>-kišib-ba-ka ku<sub>4</sub> (KWU147)-ra
15. ĝiri<sub>3</sub> ur-niĝar<sup>gar</sup>

“(1-2) 236 *hal*-baskets<sup>1</sup>) of fish from Ur-Kalkal; (3-6) 37 *hal*-baskets of fish of 50-litre capacity each, 1290 pond fish, 1620 “headed” fish, from Amar-Isin; (7-10) 67 *hal*-baskets of fish of 54-litre capacity each, 1080 pond fish, 1920 “headed” fish, from Badaga. (11-14) Totals: 2370 pond fish, 3540 “headed” fish, 340 *hal*-baskets of fish, entered in the warehouse; (15) conveyor Ur-niĝar”.



The three men mentioned in the tablet are known fishermen of the Umma province.<sup>2)</sup> According to the inspection record CUSAS 39 133, Ur-Kalkal was an overseer (ugula),<sup>3)</sup> who supervised fishermen designated to convey the fishery dues (šu-ku<sub>6</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-na-me). Ur-Kalkal operated in the proximity of marshes (ambar-da tuš-a-ta), one of the environmental niches that fishermen were called to exploit, and his position granted him a field plot. The same inspection record also mentions Amar-Isin as one of the assistant fishermen (šeš-tab-ba).<sup>4)</sup> Badaga's presence in the fishermen dossier can be traced back to Šulgi 47 and lasts until Šu-Suen 5;<sup>5)</sup> during this period, he supervised the transfer of personnel to the "roadhouse of the coast (of Pašime)",<sup>6)</sup> acted as conveyor for cultic provisions of fish (niĝ<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub> du<sub>6</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>-ga), and forwarded silver payments to the central administration in lieu of the expected fish output (a<sub>2</sub> šu-ku<sub>6</sub>).<sup>7)</sup>

The mention of this roadhouse, whose first occurrence in the Umma archive dates to the end of Šulgi's reign,<sup>8)</sup> as well as the presence of these fishermen in the inspection record dated to Amar-Suen 5, suggest for this tablet a possible date in this timespan.

The delivery of fish in reed baskets (<sup>gi</sup>hal) is common in Ur III records, but these containers are almost exclusively attested in the Umma archive. Fishermen could manufacture such baskets themselves (SNAT 260), spending between 7.5 and 10 days to produce a 60-litre capacity specimen<sup>9)</sup> – the most commonly used – while other capacities ranged from 6 (BPOA 2 2577) to 120 litres (AUCT 1 375). An elongated version of these baskets was meant to contain birds (<sup>gi</sup>hal gid<sub>2</sub>-da mušen). As for the workdays required to catch and process "headed" and pond fish, Englund estimated an average of 10 and 2 fish per day, respectively (ENGLUND 2012: 450). Fishing in artificial and natural ponds and canals was particularly developed in the rural outskirts of the Umma province, differently from the neighbouring Ġirsu/Lagaš where the exploitation of the coastal environment was preferred (BORRELLI forthcoming).

#### Notes

1. The determinative gi is postponed to hal, while it is omitted in the remaining entries.
2. These fishermen appear together in CUSAS 39 133 (AS 5.VII.15) and AAICAB 1/4, Bod. S 411 (undated).
3. Ur-Kalkal's activity began at least already in Šulgi 46 (Nisaba 9 186) and he also appears delivering "headed" fish and sprouted *naĝa*-herb to a roadhouse in SAT 2 471 (undated).
4. In addition to CUSAS 39 133 and AAICAB 1/4, Bod. S 411, Amar-Isin features also in SAT 2 532 (Š 47).
5. Santag 6 80 (Š 47), YOS 4 189 (Š 47.VIII.15), Princeton 1 531 (AS 2), CST 741 (ŠŠ 5), AAICAB 1/4, Bod. S 411 (undated), Orient 16 106 170 (undated) where he is mentioned as an overseer.
6. YOS 4 189: e<sub>2</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> gaba (ba-šim-e<sup>ki</sup>). The same roadhouse is also mentioned in CUSAS 39 133. For this translation see STEINKELLER 1982: 242-243, note 18. For a different interpretation of this toponym and the possible identification with the roadhouse of Anzagar see POMPONIO 2018: 16.
7. On these types of silver transfers see OUYANG 2013: 156.
8. YOS 4 189 (Š 47.VIII.15), BCT 2 50 (AS 1), SAT 2 703 (AS 2), CUSAS 39 133 (AS 5.VII.15), TCL 5 6038 (AS 7).
9. Respectively, MVN 14 230 and TCL 5 6036. For other labour norms concerning baskets see ENGLUND 2012: 454.

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Noemi BORRELLI <noemi.borrelli@unibo.it>

Università di Bologna, Dipartimento Filosofia e Comunicazione (ITALY)

**8) One More sá-dug<sub>4</sub> Tablet from Umma\*** — The following small, brown baked, tablet is published here by the kind permission of Cecilia Jardanovsky from Bror-Hayil, Israel, who received it as a gift more

than 70 years ago. I am indebted to Professor Mordechai Aviam of the Kinneret Academic College, who drew my attention to the tablet and made it available to me for study and publication.



Obv.



Rev.

The tablet, measuring 40x45 mm, is nearly complete (with a small break on the lower right corner). Both of its sides are covered with a hardly legible seal impression, the whole of which is enrolled upon a blank space on the reverse, between the Month Name and the Year Name. The tablet which apparently hails from Umma, is dated to the 11th month of Amar-Suena's 8th regnal year (AS 8 XI). It records the regular delivery (sá-dug<sub>4</sub>) of bread for the 18th day of the month, endorsed by the seal of the ensi whose name is not visible.

<b>Obverse</b>	1	1(barig) 1(bán) 5 sila <sub>3</sub> ninda	75 liter bread,
	2	ud 18-kam	For the 18th day.
	3	sá-dug <sub>4</sub> (erin-šè <sup>1?</sup> )	Regular delivery.
	4	kišib <sub>3</sub> ensi <sub>2</sub> -ka <sup>1?</sup>	The sealed-document of the ensi.
<b>Reverse</b>	1	iti pa <sub>4</sub> -kuš-e	Month Pakuše (=11th month).
	2	(seal impression)	(seal impression)
		mu en-eridu <sup>ki</sup> ba-hu <sup>6</sup>	Year: The en-priestess of Eridu was appointed (=8th year).

#### Seal Inscription

[ <sup>d</sup> amar- <sup>d</sup> suen <sup>?</sup> ]	[aya <sub>2</sub> -kal-la]
lugal <sup>?</sup> kalag <sup>?</sup> -ga <sup>?</sup>	[PA] TE <sup>?</sup> .[SI]
lu[gal ur <sup>?</sup> ]-ma	[ĜÍŠ].KUŠU <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>
lugal an <sup>?</sup> ub <sup>?</sup> -da <sup>?</sup> /limmu <sup>?</sup> -[b]a <sup>?</sup>	ir-zu

#### Commentary

**Obverse 1: 1(barig) 1(bán) 5 sila<sub>3</sub> ninda:** This relatively small amount of bread ration is attested in only two other fragmentary and undated Ur III documents (followed by other commodities): ASJ 11, 328 25 obv 2 (petit tablet with no date and provenance); and TUT 261 (from Ĝirsu).

**2: ud 18-kam:** For the only other document referring to the date Amar-Suen 8 XI 18, see the summary tablet TCNU 497, which lists disbursement of bread rations (sá-dug<sub>4</sub>) for the days 18-23 of the month, similarly designated as “sealed document of the ensi”, and sealed by the ensi Ayakala. Note however, that the amount of bread listed in this document for the 18th day (5 bán 5 sila<sub>3</sub> ninda) does not correspond to the amount listed in our tablet. Otherwise, we were able to find six more tablets from Umma listing disbursements of various provisions (sá-dug<sub>4</sub>) dated to month XI of this year, likewise all sealed by the ensi Ayakala (see comment to Seal Impression below).

**3:** The damaged sign following sá-dug<sub>4</sub> seems to be an incomplete or erased erin-šè<sup>1</sup> “for the troops”. For tablets from Umma, recording provisions of bread assigned as food for workers (ša-gal erin-šè), see e.g. MVN 1, 199:obv 4 (Šulgi 28); Nisaba 17, 43:obv 2 (Šulgi 48); TCTI 2, 3840:rev 1 (Šū-Sîn 6). See further provisions for workers (erin-šè) engaged in orchard planting, all small documents dated to Šū-Sîn 2, and signed by the ensi Ayakala: AfO 24, 120, pl. 15 S 214, obv 1-2; NYPL 21, obv 1-2; SANTAG 6, 241, obv 1-2.

**4: kišib<sub>3</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>-ka<sup>1?</sup>:** This phrase appears in the Ur III documents regularly before the date formula (especially before the Month Name in small documents). The long form kišib<sub>3</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>-ka is far more frequent than the short form kišib<sub>3</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub> in such documents from the reign of Amar-Suen. All six tablets from Amar-Suen 8 XI, discussed below, have also kišib<sub>3</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>-ka.

**Reverse 1: iti pa<sub>4</sub>-kuš-e** – 11th month in Umma (cf. Cohen, *Calendars* 183ff.). Note that only two unsealed documents, recording expenditure of barley, could be found dated to this month from Šulgi 28 (Ontario 2, 439; and YOS 4, 280).

In both of these the YN uses the long form of the verb: ba-ḫuḡ-ḡá. On the other hand, ca. 65 documents could be dated to this month from Amar-Suen 8, and all of them use in the YN the short verbal form ba-ḫuḡ. This further indicates that our document is dated to Amar-Suen 8, and not to Šulgi 28. For the documents dated to AS 8 XI, and sealed by Ayakala see discussion to the seal inscription below.

**2: mu en eridu<sup>ki</sup> ba-ḫuḡ:** The short form of this YN is documented in the Ur III period to Šulgi 28 and Amar-Suen 8 (see M. Sigrist and Tohru Gomi, *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets*, Bethesda MD 1991, pp. 322; 326; D. Frayne, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods 3/2*, p. 104; 239-241). However, we can find only two documents from Umma dated to Šulgi 28: UTI 4, 2809 (month VI) and Nisaba 11, 33 (month not indicated). On the other hand, we can find over 1200 documents from Umma, dated Amar-Suen 8, with ca. 65 documents dated to the 11th month (for six of these sealed by Ayakala, see comment to seal impression below).

#### Seal Impression

The available Ur III administrative documents indicate that while tablets attested from Šulgi 33 to Amar-Suen 8, name Ur-Lisi, the son of the influential chief livestock administrator Ur-niḡar, as the ensi of Umma, tablets attested from Amar-Suen 8-9 and Šu-Sin 1-7 name his brother Ayakala as ensi of this city (cf. J. Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, Leiden 2007, pp. 51-67; D. Frayne, RIME 3/2, pp. xli-xliii; 214; 281f.). Accordingly, Ayakala replaced Ur-Lisi as ensi of Umma sometime during Amar-Suen's 8th regnal year. Hence, in order to determine whose name is to be restored in the seal inscription of our tablet, dated to the 18th day of month XI, we have to know when during this year did this change occur.

Dahl (ibid. p. 63) suggests that Amar-Suen died in **his 8th regnal year**, and Ur-Lisi's tenure ended upon Amar-Suen's death in months X or XI of this year. He concludes this from **MVN 16, 627**, a document dated to Amar-Suen 8 XI and sealed by Ayakala as ensi. However, according to W. Sallaberger (sub "Šu-Suen", RLA 13, p. 363), Amar-Suen **died early in his 9th regnal year** (possibly before Month II of that year). He notes though that several documents with Amar-Suen dates but seals dedicated to Šu-Suen led to the assumption of co-regency of the two for some time before that.

A survey of the documents from Amar-Suen 8 indicates that Ur-Lisi as ensi of Umma is still mentioned in these documents over 90 times, and out of these he appears under this title in ca. 50 of his own seal inscriptions. However, most documents with Ur-Lisi's seal inscriptions from this year are dated to months I-VII. Thereafter, we find only one document with a seal inscription, dedicated to him by an official named Ur-gigir, dated to month XII of this year (BPOA 1, 1339). We could not find any document with a seal inscription of Ur-Lisi in month XI. That Ur-Lisi died sometime during Amar-Suen 8, is also indicated by a summary document which records barley from his foreclosed estate from this year on (cf. AAS 81: rev 10: níḡ-ka<sub>9</sub>-ak še **é-du<sub>6</sub>-la** ur-<sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>-ka).

On the other hand, we could find altogether 32 documents from Umma, dated to Amar-Suen 8, with the seal inscription of Ayakala as ensi, according to the following distribution: 2 documents dated to month I, one – to month VIII, one – to month IX, 5 – to month X, **6 – to month XI**, and 8 – to month XII. The six documents with Ayakala's seal inscription, dated to month XI of this year are: **TCNU 497; MVN 1, 65; MVN 13, 777; BPOA 6 193; BJRL 64, 107 48; MVN 16, 1377**. Accordingly, in the seal inscription of **Nik 2, 309** dated to month XI, the broken name of the ensi should also be restored as Ayakala.

Since, as stated above, no less than 6 documents carry Ayakala's seal inscription from month XI, with all probability, the name to be restored in our seal inscription is that of Ayakala. On the basis of the above data it is reasonable to assume that Ur-Lisi served as the ensi of Umma until at least month VII of Amar-Suen 8, and was replaced by Ayakala sometime between months VIII-X of this year. Accordingly, the broken name of the ensi in the seal inscription of UTI 4, 2658, dated to **Amar-Suen 8 IX**, should also be restored as Ayakala.

#### Note

\* Most of the statistical data in the present study is based on the following digital databases: CDLI = Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (<https://cdli.ucla.edu/>) and BDTNS = Data Base of Neo-Sumerian Texts (<http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/index.php?p=home#>).

Jacob KLEIN <jacob.klein@biu.ac.il>  
Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan (ISRAEL)

**9) Cuneiform Tablets from Various Auctions – Part II: The Third Dynasty of Ur** — The present article offers a compilation of inscribed clay tablets from various auctions and collections. It continues the first part, which contains material from the Third Millennium B.C. up to the beginning of the Third Dynasty of Ur. This first part was published in N.A.B.U. 2017 (see Theis 2017). The aim of this collection is, to



make the artefacts available for scholars and for research. Most of the objects mentioned below have certainly not been acquired by a museum or a research institute and are thus unavailable for researchers in private collections now. Nevertheless, due to the fact that some of the cuneiform tablets were mentioned in the auction's catalogue with their inscription, at least some of the information can be used for further research.

The tablets were entered according to their date in the first part of the article, the second part contains material without an exact date mentioned. They were just labeled as "Third Dynasty of Ur".

#### Cuneiform tablets with an exact date

— Clay tablet from the archives of Umma with a receipt for forty bundles of reeds, rolled with the scribe's seal. From the 32nd year of Šulgi. 4,2 \* 4,2 cm; six lines of text. Auction: 19th May 1975 → Sotheby's 1975, no. 155.

— Clay tablet with the recording of a handing over of the carcass of an animal, rolled with the seal of the scribe Akalla. From the 35th year of Šulgi. 3,5 \* 3,5 cm; five lines of text. Auction: 19th May 1975 → Sotheby's 1975, no. 159.

— Clay tablet with a receipt for two tablets of sticks and twenty bundles of reeds, rolled with the scribe's seal. From the 36th year of Šulgi. 3,8 \* 3,5 cm; seven lines of text. Auction: 19th May 1975 → Sotheby's 1975, no. 156.

— Clay tablet with a delivery of a goat. From the 36th year of Šulgi. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie's 2014, no. 105.

— Clay tablet with a receipt for eleven bundles of reeds. From the 36th year of Šulgi. 3,5 \* 3,5 cm. Auction: 8th November 1976 → Sotheby's 1976a, no. 188.

— Clay tablet with the hiring of two men by a city official for three months. From the 39th year of Šulgi. 3,8 \* 3,8 cm; ten lines of text. Auction: 19th May 1975 → Sotheby's 1975, no. 162.

— Clay tablet with a receipt for specific quantities of two different milled products, rolled with the seal of the scribe Lugalbaša. From the 39th year of Šulgi. 3,8 \* 4,1 cm. Auction: 8th November 1976 → Sotheby's 1976a, no. 186.

— Clay tablet with the recording of the assignment of fifty serfs for one day and fifteen for another, rolled with the seal of the scribe Lugalezen. From the 40th year of Šulgi. 4,2 \* 4,2 cm; thirteen lines of text. Auction: 19th May 1975 → Sotheby's 1975, no. 158.

— Clay tablet recording the rations of barley issued to three groups of workers. The last group receives less than the other two, as the stock was almost exhausted. From the 40th year of Šulgi. 8,5 \* 4,4 cm; thirteen lines of text. Auction: 14th May 1973 → Sotheby's 1973, no. 72 (Parallel: Jones a. Snyder 1961, no. 180).

— Clay tablet with the seal of Girine'ischa, son of Ure'e, who received four pots with 15 liters from a certain Atu. From the 40th year of Šulgi. 3,4 \* 3,6 \* 1,5 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,5.

— Clay tablet with a seal of the scribe Uramma, servant of Urlisi, about 119 workers of a field. From the 40th year of Šulgi. 3,8 \* 3,7 \* 1,4 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,9.

— Clay tablet recording an account of fish received. From the 40th year of Šulgi. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie's 2014, no. 104.

— Clay tablet with a receipt and the seal of Uršara. From the 42nd year of Šulgi. 3,8 \* 4,1 cm. Auction: 8th November 1976 → Sotheby's 1976a, no. 189.

— Clay tablet with a recording of a delivery of animals. From the 44th year of Šulgi. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie's 2014, no. 105.

— Clay tablet with a receipt for three wooden objects, rolled with the seal of Lubalasig. From the 45th of Šulgi. 3,8 \* 3,8 cm; seven lines of text. Auction: 19th May 1975 → Sotheby's 1975, no. 161.

— Clay tablet. From the 47th year of Šulgi. 4,5 \* 4 cm; two lines of text: "One *kor*, sixty *sila* millet, as a regularly sacrifice for the divine (king) Šulgi, of Lú-Babbar. Seal of Alullul; in the eleventh month of the year in which the city Kimas was destroyed." And on the reverse: "[...] son of Alullul, priest of the divine (king) Šulgi". Auction: 16th–18th December 2003 → <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2003/european-collections-elegant-living-on-the-continent-am0913/lot.805.html> [Accessed 18th December 2020].

— Clay tablet with a receipt for four wooden objects. From the 45th year of Šulgi. 3,8 \* 4,1 cm. Auction: 8th November 1976 → Sotheby's 1976a, no. 187.

- Rectangular steatite cuneiform tablet from the reign of Šulgi. The inscription records the dedication of a temple by king Šulgi “For Šullat and Haniš, his master, Šulgi, the mighty man, king of Ur, King of Sumer and Akkad, built his temple”. 7,9 cm long; seven lines of text. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie’s 2014, no. 101 (Parallel: Azara 2012, p. 180).
- Clay tablet with the seal of the coppersmith La’amu, son of Lugalnetenna. From the first year of Amar-Sîn. 4,4 \* 4,3 \* 1,6 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,7.
- Clay tablet with a list of rations of the scribe Luansianaka about 163.028 liters of grain. From the first year of Amar-Sîn. 10,1 \* 4,6 \* 2,3 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,8.
- Clay tablet recording the accounting of a large amount of grain and its milled flours. From the second year of Amar-Sîn. 14,7 cm long; 96 lines of text. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie’s 2014, no. 102.
- Clay tablet recording the bringing of ten shekels to the palace at Lagaš. From the second year of Amar-Sîn. 4,1 \* 3,1 cm; eleven lines of text. Auction: 14th May 1973 → Sotheby’s 1973, no. 70 (Parallel: Jones a. Snyder 1961, no. 305).
- Clay tablet with records of assignments of fifty-eight serfs for one day to load barley into a granary, rolled with the seal of the scribe Lugalhegal. From the third year of Amar-Sîn. 3,5 \* 3,5 cm; eight lines of text. Auction: 19th May 1975 → Sotheby’s 1975, no. 157.
- Clay tablet with the seal of Urningišzida about the receipt of 3000 liters of oil. From the third year of Amar-Sîn. 3,8 \* 3,6 \* 1,5 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,14.
- Clay tablet recording an account of a delivery of animals. From the third year of Amar-Sîn. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie’s 2014, no. 104.
- Clay tablet with a disbursement of animals. From the fourth year of Amar-Sîn. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie’s 2014, no. 105.
- Clay tablet with receipts for cattle, goats, sheep, and other goods. From the fourth year of Amar-Sîn. Auction: 7th June 2005 → <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2005/antiquities-n08104/lot.54.html>.
- Clay tablet recording that on the 30th day of the second month of the seventh year of the reign of Amar-Sîn, an official at Drehem, Lu-šalim, received fifty-five animals and issued thirty-two. 9,5 \* 4,7 cm; thirty-four lines of text. Auction: 14th May 1973 → Sotheby’s 1973, no. 69 (Parallel: Jones a. Snyder 1961, no. 101).
- Clay tablet with an account of the transactions carried out by one of the offices at Drehem over a period of a month. From the seventh year of Amar-Sîn. 10,1 \* 6 cm; eighty lines of text. Auction: 14th May 1973 → Sotheby’s 1973, no. 74a (Parallel: Jones a. Snyder 1961, no. 103).
- Clay tablet recording an amount of barley used for fodder for asses. From the eighth year of Amar-Sîn. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie’s 2014, no. 104.
- Clay tablet with a receipt of barley. From the eighth year of Amar-Sîn. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie’s 2014, no. 105.
- Clay tablet recording that an official at Drehem named Kamu had taken over four separated groups of animals, totaling two hundred and fifty at all. The text bears some mathematical errors due to the alteration of the table. From the twelfth month of the eighth year of Amar-Sîn. 7,6 \* 4,4 cm; seventeen lines of text. Auction: 14th May 1973 → Sotheby’s 1973, no. 74 (Parallel: Jones a. Snyder 1961, no. 315).
- Clay tablet about baskets for food, with a destroyed seal. From the ninth year of Amar-Sîn. 5,7 \* 4,4 \* 1,8 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,15.
- Clay tablet with a summary of disbursements of beer. From the second year of Šu-Sîn. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie’s 2014, no. 104.
- Clay tablet with the seal of Lugalnanda and a list of large amounts of food, beer and bread. From the third year of Šu-Sîn. 5,2 \* 4,4 \* 1,7 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,1.
- Clay tablet recording the issue of five barley-fed sheep from Drehem for a festival at Girsu and two for the temple of Inanna at Uruk. From the third year of Šu-Sîn. 4,4 \* 3,8 cm; fifteen lines of text. Auction: 14th May 1973 → Sotheby’s 1973, no. 71 (Parallel: Jones a. Snyder 1961, no. 70).
- Terracotta tablet with a receipt for quantities of barley. From the fourth year of Šu-Sîn. Height 7,2 cm; twenty lines of text. Auction: 8th December 2010 → Sotheby’s 2010, no. 106.
- Terracotta tablet with a receipt of wool garments with their quality and weights. From the sixth year of Šu-Sîn. Height 9,9 cm; twenty-one lines of text. Auction: 8th December 2010 → Sotheby’s 2010, no. 106.

— Clay tablet with the seal of the scribe Šaraḫegal about works on a canal. From the sixth year of Šu-Sîn. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,11.

— Clay tablet with a message describing food and travel supplies. From the sixth year of Šu-Sîn. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie's 2014, no. 105.

— Clay tablet with a receipt for the delivery of a lamb. From the sixth year of Šu-Sîn. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie's 2014, no. 104.

— Clay tablet recording the issue of sixty-five ordinary sheep, one fat-tailed sheep and a goat from Drehem on five days during the sixth month of the eighth year of the king. From the eighth year of Šu-Sîn. 8,8 \* 4,4 cm; thirty-four lines of text. Auction: 14th May 1973 → Sotheby's 1973, no. 73 (Parallel: Jones a. Snyder 1961, no. 80).

— Clay tablet with the seal of Lugalnilagare and a receiving of delivery of reed. From the ninth year of Šu-Sîn. 3,8 \* 3,7 \* 1,5 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,10.

— Clay tablet with a list of cows and bulls. From the first year of Ibbi-Sîn. 12,0 \* 5,8 \* 2,7 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,6.

— Clay tablet recording the disbursement by royal decree of sheep and goats as offerings to various gods. From the second year of Ibbi-Sîn. 10,7 \* 5,3 cm; seventy-four lines of text. Auction: 14th May 1973 → Sotheby's 1973, no. 68 (Parallel: Jones a. Snyder 1961, no. 88).

#### **Cuneiform tablets without an exact date**

— Clay tablet with a ration of grain from a certain Irmu. From the 4th month of an unknown king. 7,7 \* 4,2 \* 1,8 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,2.

— Large clay tablet with an account of oxen and cows, which were received at Drehem from officials of various cities. It continues with a record of the groups in which the animals were sent out again and the herdsman involved. There is a balance of forty-two oxen at the end. 12 \* 8,3 cm. Auction: 28th January 1974 → Sotheby's 1974, no. 141 (Parallel: Jones a. Snyder 1961, no. 96).

— Clay tablet with lists of rations of barley-flour for three days. 3,5 \* 3,5 cm; eight lines of text. Auction: 19th May 1975 → Sotheby's 1975, no. 160.

— Three clay foundation cones; one inscription reads "The king of the city dedicated in the platform [...] five pigs and two heavy woven mats in total. I gave two large young oxen skins, which one man killed for the gods of the heavens [...] one of which measuring two small weights. I sacrificed fifty large wild oxen. I sacrificed not only ten small oxen but another twelve oxen. I gladly gave woven mats and the produce of sixty fields. Not only twelve oxen I sacrificed [...]". Height 12,7 to 15 cm; two columns of text each. Auction: 20th June 1990 → Sotheby's 1990, no. 235.

— Three clay tablets concerning the receipt of a delivery of cattle and with the payment of certain measures of grain as wages. Auction: 18th May 1970 → Sotheby's 1970, no. 65.

— Clay tablet with a record of rations of barley issued to named individuals. 4,1 \* 4,1 cm. Auction: 8th November 1976 → Sotheby's 1976a, no. 189.

— Clay tablet with a delivery of sheep. Auction: 8th November 1976 → Sotheby's 1976a, no. 190.

— Copper foundation figure from Girsu. Height 17 cm; three columns of text. Auction: 10th July 1989 → Sotheby's 1989, endtitle.

— Clay tablet, recording an account of labor for field work. 9,1 cm long. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie's 2014, no. 103.

— Clay tablet with an account of flour. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie's 2014, no. 103.

— Clay tablet with an account of animals for offerings to the god Ninḫursag. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie's 2014, no. 103.

— Clay tablet with an account of barley rations. Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie's 2014, no. 103.

— Clay tablet with a list of gods and temples. 7,1 \* 4,1 \* 2,9 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, No. 668,1.

— Clay tablet with a list of rations. 6,1 \* 4,4 \* 1,9 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,3.

— Clay tablet with an administrative account of labor for work at a reservoir with a seal "Gugua, scribe, son of Mansum", from the city of Umma (see Watson 2011, p. 16). Auction: 4th June 2015 → Christie's 2014, no. 105.

- Clay tablet with some notices of compulsory services. 4,1 \* 3,8 \* 1,8 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, Nr. 668,12.
- Clay tablet recording the digging of a canal over a period of two years, with the progress made each day and the wages paid to the workmen. Auction: 14th May 1973 → Sotheby's 1973, no. 74a (Parallel: Jones a. Snyder 1961, no. 318).
- Clay tablet with a letter of Akalla to Šaninga without date. 4,5 \* 4,0 \* 1,8 cm. Auction: 7th November 1994 → Sternberg 1994, no. 668,16.
- Collection of 300 cuneiform tablets, some with seal impressions. Auction: 14th December 1978 → Sotheby's 1978, no. 181.
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Christoffer THEIS <Christoffer\_Theis@web.de>

**10) Le début de la Chronique royale assyrienne** — Trois noms tiennent une place centrale dans la première partie de la chronique, telle qu'elle nous est transmise à la suite de réécritures successives, au cours des temps, ceux d'Ilā-kabkabû, d'Aminu et de Samsī-Addu. La version, dont nous disposons, date du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, et en fait les membres d'une même famille, le premier étant le père des deux autres.

Selon la chronique éponymique de Mari, Ilā-kabkabû s'empare de Šuprum, une ville située non loin de Mari, Aminu prend Šaduppûm, dans la vallée de la Diyālā, défait Ipiq-Adad II d'Ešnunna, avant d'être vaincu par lui ; il meurt du vivant d'Ilā-kabkabû, l'année suivant celle de la naissance de Samsī-Addu. Celui-ci monte sur le trône paternel l'année consécutive à la prise de Šuprum ; la source ne précise pas le nom de la ville, où ils exercent leur royauté. Un quart de siècle plus tard, de retour de Babylonie, où il a trouvé refuge sous le règne de Narām-Sîn d'Assur, il prend possession d'Ékallātum, où il réside pendant trois ans, avant de partir à la conquête d'Assur et de chasser Ērišum II, le successeur de Narām-Sîn, du trône. Ses exploits le rendent très présent dans la chronique, auxquels son fils Išme-Dagān est parfois associé.

Les commentateurs modernes montrent un vif intérêt pour cette section de la chronique royale, dont ils scrutent les assertions avec une attention soutenue. Ils prennent pour points de départ deux présupposés : la chronique dit une vérité, qu'il faut retrouver derrière des accommodements, et le premier commanditaire, Samsī-Addu, y fait valoir la légitimité de ses prétentions sur le trône d'Assur. Adeptes de l'histoire positive et à l'affût d'une vérité historique, ils tentent de reconstituer la chronologie des règnes et des événements, faisant preuve d'une solide érudition et d'une imagination inventive, qui témoigne d'un certain désarroi devant la source (B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8, 38 ; F.R. Kraus, *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen* 28, 1965, 123-142 ; J.-J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 20, 95-118 ; Y. Wu, *A Political History of Eshnunna, Mari and Assyria*, IHAC, Shangchun, 1994, 62-65 ; Sh. Yamada, *ZA* 84, 1994, 11-37 ; J. Azize, *Abr-Nahrain* 35, 1998, 1-27 ; L.R. Siddall, *Or.* 76, 2007, 368-378 ; Th. Janssen, *NABU* 2015/30 et 2016/35 ; J. Valk, *JANEH* 5, 2018, 1-17).

Il est de notoriété que les affirmations de la chronique royale ne peuvent être acceptées telles quelles par l'historien. Sans évoquer la délicate question de la transmission de l'œuvre, source inépuisable de fautes et d'omissions, la longueur de certains règnes peut être minorée, un nom omis, des généalogies perturbées. Il n'est pas dans les intentions de l'auteur d'écrire une histoire de l'Assyrie. Il ambitionne de montrer que l'ensemble des monarques ayant régné sur ce pays appartient à un même lignage.

Consultons les sources contemporaines des événements. Un nom d'année mentionné sur une tablette de Šaduppûm fait état de la mort d'Aminu ; on ignore le nom de la ville, dont il est le roi. Deux sceaux sont connus ayant appartenu à deux serviteurs d'un certain Aminu (*RIMA* 1, A.O.26. 2001 et 2002 ; Janssen *NABU* 2015, 30, ils sont d'époque d'Isin-Larsa), mais, dépourvu de toute titulature, celui-ci ne peut être qu'un homonyme du roi. Le nom d'Ilā-kabkabû figure sur une tablette découverte à Tutub, dans la vallée de la Diyālā (Greengus, *BM* 19, 4, n° 237 : 4). Samsī-Addu est un fils d'Ilā-kabkabû, comme l'attestent son sceau et des briques estampillées (*RIMA* I, A.O.39.9 et AO.39. 10). L'empreinte du sceau d'un de ses serviteurs se trouve sur une tablette de Šaduppûm datée de l'an 10 d'Ibāl-pî-el II d'Ešnunna (Wu, *op.cit.*, 63). Au cours de sa carrière, il est un temps au service du roi d'Ešnunna (Charpin, *ARM* 26/2, 156 et note 101). Sa dernière résidence est Šubat-Enlil. Il ressort de ce qui précède que les trois personnages ont en commun d'être actifs dans la vallée de la Diyālā. L'époque est alors, ici comme ailleurs, à la prolifération de petits royaumes indépendants. Il n'est pas un bourg qui n'ait son roi !

L'auteur de la version standard de la chronique fait de Sulili/Sulê un fils d'Aminu. Samsī-Addu n'apparaît que plus tard, comme un second fils d'Ilā-kabkabû. Il est pourtant l'homme, que la tradition assyrienne identifie comme le véritable fondateur de la monarchie, ayant introduit le terme « roi », *šarrum*, dans la titulature (même s'il est toujours, comme le veut l'usage à l'époque, *en si 2*, « administrateur », du dieu Assur (le même respect de la tradition assyrienne se retrouve dans le décor de son sceau : J. Patrier, *RA* 109, 2015, 1-10), il porte le titre royal dans la formule « roi » d'Akkadé).

Nous savons aujourd'hui, par l'inscription de son propre sceau, que Sulili est le fils d'un certain Dakiki (Michel, *RIA* 12, 282). Cette attribution de paternité et la relégation de Samsī-Addu sont d'habiles manipulations de l'histoire. Elles permettent d'intégrer le premier dans la série des rois d'Assyrie et de situer le second à sa juste place, postérieurement aux règnes de Narām-Sîn et d'Ērišum II. Comme l'avait

proposé B. Landsberger, les dix ancêtres royaux de la liste sont les siens. La mention d'Aminu tient au simple fait que son nom est cité dans la version paléo-assyrienne de la chronique.

Samsī-Addu ayant pris pour modèle la chronique de la monarchie une dans sa version d'Akkadé ou d'Isin-Larsa (la version dite *USKL* en est une relecture par un scribe : J.-J. Glassner, *NABU* 2005/46), on postule que, dans la version paléo-assyrienne de la chronique royale, plusieurs villes se relaient pour la détention de la royauté. On ne sait où a régné Aminu, mais Zaralulu ou Šaduppûm sont des hypothèses envisageables (Kikkiya et Akiya, les successeurs immédiats de Sulili selon la chronique, sont totalement inconnus). Samsī-Addu succède à son père dans une ville également inconnue, mais dont il y a fort à penser qu'il s'agit d'Ékallātum. C'est là qu'il revient de son exil babylonien, c'est là qu'il installe son fils Išme-Dagān comme vice-roi. La troisième ville est Assur, où règne une dynastie initiée par Puzur-Aššur I<sup>er</sup> et Šalim-ahum, le père d'Ilu-šūma, laquelle s'éteint avec Ērišum II, chassé, précisément, par Samsī-Addu. Celui-ci déplace alors le siège de la royauté d'Ékallātum à Assur, à l'imitation de son modèle, les souverains d'Akkadé, et fonde une monarchie supposée durer toujours, et qui recueille les héritages des trois capitales antérieures. La question de sa légitimité ne se pose pas.

Il a pour successeur, selon la chronique, son fils Išme-Dagān. La réalité historique du personnage, abondamment mentionné dans les archives de Mari, ne peut être mise en doute, même si l'on ne possède aucune inscription de lui. Comme son père, il connaît l'exil à Babylone (B. Lafont, *ARM* 26/1, 469 et note 39). Celui-ci a lui-même pour successeur, toujours selon la chronique, un certain Aššur-dugul, « un nouveau venu, qui n'a aucun droit sur le trône », et qui est lui-même confronté à six compétiteurs, dont le dernier, Adasi, sera considéré plus tard comme le véritable fondateur de la lignée royale assyrienne.

Il existe, parallèlement à la chronique, des traditions divergentes, dont témoignent plusieurs sources. L'une d'elle est une liste dissidente (*KAV* 14), dont il ne subsiste qu'un fragment, qui admet l'existence d'une lignée royale issue de Samsī-Addu, et qui comporte quatre noms, Išme-Dagān, Mut-Aškur, Rīmuš et Asīnum (le dernier est restitué, sur la foi de l'inscription de Puzur-Sîn, dans une lacune), que la liste officielle ignore. Leurs noms sont séparés des autres membres de la litanie des rois par deux traits horizontaux. Elle figure entre Ērišum II et Šū-Ninua, passant sous silence quinze rois de la liste canonique. Un certain Puzur-Sîn, dans une sienne inscription (A.K. Grayson, *ARRIM* 3, 1985, 9-14), dit avoir chassé Asīnum, le dernier représentant de cette dynastie, qu'il qualifie de « fléau étranger, non de chair assyrienne ». Mut-Aškur est plusieurs fois mentionné dans les archives de Mari comme un fils d'Išme-Dagān (Brinkman, *RIA* 8, 500).

Jean-Jacques GLASSNER <jglassner@wanadoo.fr>

**11) Chronique éponymique de Mari** — Après collation d'après la photographie publiée dans *MARI* 4, p. 241, de M.7481 + M.11250, on propose de lire la première ligne comme suit : *iš-tu re-eš giš.g[u.za šar-ru-ti-im iš-tu] li-im ʾŠu(?)<sup>1</sup>-Iš<sub>8</sub>-tár dumu Na(?)<sup>2</sup>-bi(?)* [...]. La graphie du signe LI est identique à B 7' et *passim*.

Jean-Jacques GLASSNER <jglassner@wanadoo.fr>

**12) The e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a in the Rīm-Anum Texts: a New Document** — This paper presents a study of a small group of texts from the *bīt asīrī*, 'the house of prisoners of war' dating to the reign of Rīm-Anum, in which the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a occurs. To the four documents already published, another tablet kept in the British Museum may now be added:<sup>1)</sup>

**Museum no.** BM 86101

**Date:** 1st.VIII.Rīm-Anum 2

**Size (mm):** 42 x 38 x 21

- obv.*
1. ʾr<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU<sup>1</sup>-a-ʾḫi<sup>1</sup>-i-ʾdin<sup>1</sup>-nam
  2. lú eš<sub>3</sub>.nun.na<sup>ki</sup>
  3. ša i-na ka<sub>2</sub>.ʾgal<sup>1</sup> u<sub>2</sub>-te-er-ʾru<sup>1</sup>
  4. -ni-iš-šu
  5. a-na e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a

<sup>1-2</sup> Sîn-aḫī-iddinam, man of Ešnunna,

<sup>3-4</sup> whom they took captive in the "Gate",

<sup>5</sup> (is given) to the "house of the birds"

- lo.e. 6. ʾnam<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-ar-ti  
 rev. 7. <sup>ld</sup>marduk-mu-ša-lim  
 8. ṣa e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a  
 9. ʾzi<sup>1</sup>.ga ni<sub>3</sub>.šu <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-še-mi  
 10. ugula a-si-ri
- 6-8 Received by Marduk-mušallim,  
 of the “house of the birds”.  
 9-10 Issued by the authority of Sîn-šemi,  
 overseer of the prisoners of war.

unwritten

11. iti ʾapin<sup>1</sup>.du<sub>8</sub>.a u<sub>4</sub>.1.kam  
 12. mu ʾunug<sup>ki</sup> u<sub>3</sub> ʾa<sub>2</sub>.dam.ʾbi<sup>1</sup>  
 13. ʾun suḫ<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>.[a.bi]  
 14. [si] ʾbi<sub>2</sub>.in<sup>1</sup>. [sa<sub>2</sub>]
- 11-12 VIII month, 1st day, Unug-year-name

Seal <sup>d</sup>[marduk-mu-ša-lim]  
 [dumu a-bi-ya-tum]  
 ir<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>inanna<sup>1</sup>  
 u<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>na-ʾbi-um<sup>1</sup>

Marduk-mušallim,  
 son of Abīyatūm,  
 servant of Inanna,  
 and Nabium.

Notes

Obv. 2 Prisoners of war, men of Ešnunna, are frequently mentioned in the *bīt asīrīt* texts, sometimes – like here – simply as men; elsewhere they are qualified as messengers, or as men of high rank, for example ugula mar.tu, ensi<sub>2</sub>, and maybe *rubām* of Ešnunna.<sup>2)</sup>

Obv. 3 For the ka<sub>2</sub>.gal, *abullu*, see CAD A/1, 82–87. A ka<sub>2</sub>.gal also occurs in Rositani 2003, II.43 rev. 5: ka<sub>2</sub>.gal <sup>d</sup>lugal-ir<sub>3</sub>-ra.

Rev 12–14: Seri 2013 dates the text to RīA [...]/VIII/1.<sup>3)</sup> The reading of the year-name suggested here is based on direct study of the text. For the reconstruction of the second year of Rīm-Anum see most recently Charpin 2014, 126–127: mu ri-im-<sup>d</sup>a-nu-um lugal.e numun.da.ri<sub>2</sub> nam.en.na.ke<sub>4</sub> unug<sup>ki</sup>.ga u<sub>3</sub> a<sub>2</sub>.dam.bi un suḫ<sub>3</sub>.a.bi si bi<sub>2</sub>.in.sa<sub>2</sub> (/mi.ni.ib.gi<sub>4</sub>), “Année où le roi Rīm-Anum, semence éternelle de royauté, proclama une *mīšarum* pour la population déroutée (= troublée) d’Uruk et de ses environs”. The complete year-formula refers to the proclamation of a *mīšarum* edict by Rīm-Anum in the first year of his reign, and it would clearly be the year-formula of the second year of Rīm-Anum’s reign.<sup>4)</sup> For studies concerning the year-names of Rīm-Anum and their chronological placement in relation to the year-names of Rīm-Sîn II of Larsa and Samsu-iluna of Babylon see (in order of publication): Rositani 2003, 10–20; Charpin 2004, 338; Stol 2006; Michałowski – Beckman 2012; Seri 2013, 30–31, 52–54; Charpin 2014, especially 125–130; Rositani 2018, 43–45; Rositani 2017–2019, 288–289; Rositani 2020, 194–199.

Seal. For the reconstruction of the seal legend see Seri 337, collation at Rositani 2003, no. II. 60. See also Rositani 2003, nos. II. 14, and 38; Loretz 1978, no. 31.

There are only four other tablets, already published, from the *bīt asīrīt* that mention the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a:

Loretz 1978, no. 4 (BM 14028)	19th.I.Unug-year-name = Rīm-Anum 2
Loretz 1978, no. 31 (BM 14094)	26th.V.Unug-year-name = Rīm-Anum 2
Rositani 2003, no. II.14 (BM 22718)	6th.XI.Lugal-year-name(?) = Rīm-Anum 1(?) <sup>5)</sup>
Rositani 2003, no. II.38 (BM 23257)	4th.I.Unug-year-name = Rīm-Anum 2

Together, the texts register the assignment of eight prisoners of war to the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a, the “house of the birds”, two published in Loretz 1978, no. 4 where we read that: Erībūni, who was captured in the frontier (of an urban district) by a man of Kisurra, (and) Ibni-Adad, of Natbakum, whom Awīliya, the ugula mar.tu, “the general”,<sup>6)</sup> brought from Šuḫani (were sent) to the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a. They were received by Marduk-mušallim, of (ša) the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a, (as in the text discussed here). Issued under the responsibility of Sîn-šemi, ugula *asīrīt*.

In Loretz 1978, no. 31 a man belonging to Imgur-Sîn son of Qarradum, who from the personnel of the ox-drivers under the responsibility of Imgur-Sîn, came back to the *bīt asīrīt*, was then assigned to the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a. He was received by Marduk-mušallim, the ugula of the “house of the birds”. Issued under the authority of Sîn-šemi, the overseer of prisoners of war (ugula *asīrīt*).

This text relates that the prisoner, upon finishing his work as an ox-driver, comes back to the *bīt asīrīt* and is later delivered to the house of the birds. It is likely that this is how prisoners of war were managed: they were delivered to carry out specific work. However, they always remained under the authority of the *bīt asīrīt*, to which they returned after the consignment period. Moreover, thanks to this

text, we can presume that the indication “PN of Imgur-Sîn” is to be interpreted as “PN under the authority of” and not as an indication of ownership of the prisoner.<sup>7)</sup>

In Rositani 2003, no. II.14, we read: Kuzzari of Inbi-eršetim, the ugula mar.tu; AN-muballit of Sam-mîtar;<sup>8)</sup> Ĥummurum of Ibbi-Amurum, the ugula mar.tu of Malgûm (are given) to the “house of the birds” (e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a). Received by Marduk-mušallim, ugula e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a. Issued under the responsibility (zi.ga ni<sub>3</sub>.šu) of Sîn-šemi, ugula asîrî.

Finally, Rositani 2003, no. II.38 registers the assignment to the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a of Šamaš-iddinam, a man from Larsa captured in Pī-nārātīm.<sup>9)</sup> Šamaš-iddinam is qualified as lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> gurušda (*bīt mārî*),<sup>10)</sup> i.e. the man of “the fattening house”.<sup>11)</sup> He is received by the same Marduk-mušallim, the ugula e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a. Issued under the responsibility of Sîn-šemi, ugula asîrî.

In all these texts Sîn-šemi<sup>12)</sup> occurs as ugula asîrî and not as ugula *bīt asîrî*, so we can suggest that in these registrations he authorized the transaction as “overseer of the prisoners of war”, and not as overseer of the “house of the prisoners of war”. The same is found in the texts that register assignments of prisoners of war to the “house of the weavers” and to other “houses”. It seems that in these documents Sîn-šemi’s function of ugula was expressed in relation to the people that were subject to his control and not to the centre in which this control was usually exerted: the prisoners had left the *bīt asîrî*, so it was inappropriate to define Sîn-šemi as overseer of the place in which the prisoners were not present at that time. However, they remained prisoners, *ergo* under the responsibility of Sîn-šemi.<sup>13)</sup>

In all five texts, the prisoners assigned to the “house of the birds” are male, and they were always received by Marduk-mušallim, the overseer of the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a, the only official attested in relation to this “house”. Marduk-mušallim also occurs in another text, Rositani 2003, no. II.60, where: Ilī-ippašram of Gimil-AN, the overseer of the house (ugula e<sub>2</sub>), (was assigned) to a team of ox-drivers (erin<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>3</sub>.gud.meš), and received by an ensi<sub>2</sub>, here an “agricultural manager”, under the responsibility of Marduk-mušallim, son of Abīyatūm, issued under the responsibility of (zi.ga ni<sub>3</sub>.šu) Sîn-šemi, ugula asîrî.

The name of Marduk-mušallim’s father makes it certain that the same Marduk-mušallim is referred to in the five e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a texts analyzed here. Although the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a is not mentioned in this text, it is possible that the prisoner Ilī-ippašram was transferred from the “house of the birds” to the team of ox-drivers, as would be presumed by the reference to Marduk-mušallim, under whose responsibility (ni<sub>3</sub>.šu) the assignment of Ilī-ippašram took place. Nearly a month later Loretz 1978, no. 31, the text Rositani 2003, no. II.60 (dated to the 25th.VI.Unug-year-name), registered the opposite transfer of a man from the “house of the birds” to the team of ox-drivers.

Moreover, reference to Sîn-šemi, ugula asîrî, also in the latter text strengthens the hypothesis that each movement of prisoners of war occurred under his authority, even when other figures of authority were involved: such prisoners were always assigned under the supreme authority of Sîn-šemi, overseer of the asîrî.

In more than 400 texts dated to Rīm-Anum’s reign,<sup>14)</sup> only five attestations are found of the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a, “house of the birds”, or “poultry house” or a more general “house of fowl” – that we may presume to be an administrative unit such as the e<sub>2</sub>.(mi<sub>2</sub>).uš.bar(.meš), the “house of the weaver(s)”,<sup>15)</sup> or the e<sub>2</sub>.agrig, the “house of the administrator(s)”,<sup>16)</sup> more frequent in the *bīt asîrî* texts.

We may also conclude that this e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a or *bīt išṣūrî* was not merely an “administrative unit”, but a real place with a physical collocation, such as the e<sub>2</sub>.(mi<sub>2</sub>).uš.bar(.meš), “house of the weaver(s)”, the same *bīt asîrî*<sup>17)</sup> itself and the other “houses” mentioned in Rīm-Anum’s texts.

A better understanding of the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a in the Rīm-Anum period may be obtained by comparison with the “birdhouse”, e<sub>2</sub>.mušen, of the Ur III period. It seems that the Ur III “birdhouse” was probably “an economic unit devoted to bird husbandry”<sup>18)</sup> “provided with tower to host pigeons and also with cages and adobe-made partitions (*di’um*) to host small birds and rodents”.<sup>19)</sup> Some elements in the Rīm-Anum texts let us imagine the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ĥi.a as a place where the birds –different species of birds– were also fed, something more generic than a “poultry house”,<sup>20)</sup> so I think it is better to imagine it as a “house of birds” similar to the “birdhouse”, e<sub>2</sub>.mušen, of the Ur III period.

In the same way, the Ur III reconstruction of the royal “Industrial Park” of Ĝirsu/Lagaš, could be very useful for understanding the nature of the complex in which the *bīt asîrî* was located. Mention of the



e<sub>2</sub>.gurušda, “fattening house”<sup>21)</sup> in Rositani 2003, II.38, in connection to Šamaš-iddinam, qualified as lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>.gurušda and moved to the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a, suggests a certain proximity between the two economic units; we have seen something similar regarding the assignment to the e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a of a man who before was in the ox-drivers’ team (Loretz 1978, no. 31); and we have also seen the opposite transferral of another man from the “house of the birds” to the team of ox-drivers (erin<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>3</sub>.gud.meš) in Rositani 2003, no. II.60. Moreover, we know that Rīm-Anum’s texts also refer to the e<sub>2</sub>.agrig, that can be interpreted as “palace kitchens”, and at least two cooks, muḫaldim, are known from the *bīt asīrī*: Etel-pī-Šamaš and Ilīma-ilum.<sup>22)</sup>

Therefore, we can imagine the Sîn-kāšid palace, from which come all the texts dated to the reign of Rīm-Anum, as being similar to the royal “Industrial Park” of Ġirsu/Lagaš. It can be understood as a production complex comprising several economic units: the “house of the weaver(s)”, e<sub>2</sub>.mi<sub>2</sub>.uš.bar(meš), the “house of the birds” (e<sub>2</sub>.mušen.ḫi.a) and the “fattening house” (e<sub>2</sub>.gurušda or *bīt mārī* in Akkadian), to which may be added a place for cattle, the “palace kitchens” (corresponding to e<sub>2</sub>.agrig, “house of the administrators” with the muḫaldim, “cooks”),<sup>23)</sup> a granary for flour production where prisoners of war were employed in grinding flour,<sup>24)</sup> and the *bīt asīrī* itself, with numerous prisoners of war available for forced labour, given to individuals or houses as temporary workers under a designated person’s authority, but kept in the *bīt asīrī* before being assigned, or between various allocations.



## Notes

1. I wish to express my gratitude to the *Trustees* of the British Museum, and especially to Dr Jonathan Taylor (Assistant Keeper / Curator of Cuneiform Collections in The Department of the Middle East) for giving me the opportunity to study and take photographs of the unpublished tablet presented here. I am also very grateful to Dr Christopher Walker (Curator of Cuneiform Collections, now retired) for his kind assistance.
2. Regarding Ešnunna in relation to the Rīm-Anum texts see Cavigneaux–Clevenstine 2020, 28; Charpin 1998; Charpin 2004, 340–341, 347–348; Charpin 2014, 127–129, with references to previous bibliography; Guichard 2016, especially 17–29; van Koppen–Lacambre 2008–2009; Kupper 1980; Rositani 2003, 15–26; Rositani 2018, 47; Rositani 2017–2019, 258–260 with references to previous bibliography and table on p. 263; Saporetti 2002, especially 222, 226, 231, and 377; Seri 2013, 47–51, 231–234; see lastly Rositani 2021, forthcoming.
3. See Seri 2013, 114, 141, 159 with fn. 50, 181 fn. 30, 367, 404, and 438.
4. Charpin 2014, 129 prefers to list the year-names of Rīm-Anum beginning with the year 0 (here Rīm-Anum 1), so the second year of Rīm-Anum's reign is Rīm-Anum 1 in his reconstruction (here Rīm-Anum 2) and the third year is Rīm-Anum 2 (here Rīm-Anum 3).
5. This text features an unusual year-name abbreviation; at *rev. 7* we read only [mu] *ri-im-<sup>rd</sup>a-nu-um*<sup>1</sup>, anything else would have been written in the space under this line, that was left blank. The same abbreviation is seen in Rositani 2003, III.1, with only mu *ri-im-<sup>d</sup>a-nu-um*. According to Rositani 2003, 16 fn. 28 this abbreviation was not an abbreviation of Rīm-Anum's first year, but a defective form of a general Rīm-Anum year-formula. This hypothesis is based on the idea of Falkenstein and Charpin 2001, 91a that a longer formula such as “mu *ri-im-<sup>d</sup>a-nu-um* lugal.e” could be the abbreviation of any year-name of a king. See also Pomponio–Rositani 1998, 639 and Charpin 2014, 125 with fn. 28. On the other hand, Seri 2013, 343 and 347 considers “mu *ri-im-<sup>d</sup>a-nu-um*” to be an abbreviation of the first year of Rīm-Anum's reign, referred to the Lugal-year-name.
6. For this military title, PA MAR.TU or *rabi Amurrim* see Charpin 2004, 282 and Stol 2004, 805.
7. On Loretz 1978, no. 31 see most recently Rositani 2020, 211–212 with reference to previous bibliography.
8. See Seri 2013, 159 with fn. 51.
9. Near Kutha and Kiš, see Streck 2005, 566–567.
10. Or *bīt mārī*, according to the collation of Seri 2013, 332.
11. See Borger 2010, no. 171; Deller 1985, 358–359, see also CAD M/1, 306–308, especially 307 *s.v. marû A*.
12. In the great majority of the *bīt asrīr* texts Sîn-šemi, ugula (e<sub>2</sub>) *asrīr* occurs.
13. See Rositani 2020, 210.
14. For a list of all the texts dated to the Rīm-Anum's reign see Rositani 2018, 42–43 fn. 2, and 44 with fn. 6; Rositani 2017–2019, 288 fn. 4 and 289 fnn. 6–7; Rositani 2020, 194–195 fnn. 2 and 6; Seri 2013, 343–406. To which may be added some more texts kept in the British Museum that the author has studied and will publish in the near future.
15. Regarding the e<sub>2</sub>.mi<sub>2</sub>.uš.bar(meš) see Rositani 2003, 33–35; Rositani 2017–2019, especially 261–269; Rositani 2020, 206–208; Seri 2013, 154–158, 408.
16. On the e<sub>2</sub>.agrig see Rositani 2003, 35–36; Seri 2013, 149–154, 408; Rositani 2017–2019, 259 with fn. 14; Rositani 2020, 209–210. According to Ziegler 1999, 98 with fn. 597, the e<sub>2</sub>.agrig corresponds to the *bīt abarakkātīm* in the texts from Mari, where it designates the palace kitchens.
17. See Charpin 2014, 132–133, and 138; Lacambre 2010, especially p. 108. In contrast, Seri 2013, 20, and 139–140, suggests that the *bīt asrīr* was not a physical location but an administrative unit, that functioned more like a group for the workforce management. Her opinion is referred to also in Reid 2016, 95–96 where the author concludes that “the *bīt asrīr* was a house of confinement to work and oversee political prisoners, which, of course, should be distinguished from prisoners who are criminals of sorts.” Of interest is his reference to the Mari *bīt šibittim*, with citation of previous bibliography.
18. See Borelli 2019, 110 with reference to previous bibliography.
19. See Borelli 2019, 110 fn. 33 and Heimpel 2009, 167.
20. See Seri 2013, 137, 158–159, 181–182.
21. On the e<sub>2</sub> kurušda/gurušda in the Ur III period see most recently Borelli 2019, 110 and 112.
22. See Loretz 1978, no. 54; Seri 2013, 302 no. 18, see also p. 192.
23. And also some other economic activities probably connected with reeds and wood, that are mentioned in the Rīm-Anum texts discovered in area 30 of the Sîn-kāšid palace.
24. See Rositani 2018.

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Annunziata ROSITANI <arositani@unime.it> <annunziata.rositani@gmail.com>

University of Messina (ITALY)

**13) The Old Babylonian Ritual Text BM 29638, *Enūma eliš*, and Developments in Marduk’s** — BM 29638 is a late Old Babylonian ritual text published by Nathan Wasserman (2006). The text—which represents a laconic 28-line report of ritual activities on the occasion of Marduk’s visit by boat to a town or village (*silakku*) outside Babylon and entry (*erēbum*) into a local temple—has been understood as a possible reference to the kind of performance later captured by the *Akītu* ritual. While Wasserman accurately concludes (2006, 210) that there are “no definite textual matching, nor even clear thematic correspondences” between the BM 29638 and the *Akītu* ritual, there is, in fact, one secondary point of

connection between the late OB ritual and the performance of the *Akītu* in Babylon by way of *Enūma eliš* that Wasserman does not observe: the figure of the *tārītu*.

TEXT	Ritual to Marduk (BM 29638)	<i>Enūma eliš</i> (various texts)	Ritual for <i>Kislīmu</i> (BM 32206 + 32237 + 34723)	<i>Akītu</i> (various texts)
DATE	late Old Babylonian <sup>2</sup>	often understood to be a creation of the late second millennium BCE	Late Babylonian	earliest references in 3rd millennium BCE; details known through first millennium BCE ritual texts
CONTENT	ritual instructions for Marduk's travel by boat to a town or village with the help of sailors (MA.LAH <sub>5</sub> -ū), concluding with an offering of the nurses ( <i>ša ta-ri-a-tīm</i> )	myth read aloud during ritual performance in the first millennium BCE; in tablet I, line 86 Marduk is said to be raised by a <i>tārītu</i>	ritual featuring recitation of <i>Enūma eliš</i> and with reference to sailors ( <i>malāhū</i> )	ritual featuring recitation of <i>Enūma eliš</i>

In line 28 of the short ritual, offerings to Marduk are said to be given by the *tārīatum* (*ša ta-ri-a-tīm*), or “nurses,” on the third day, after his arrival at an unnamed town, as he travels by boat with the help of “sailors,” *malāhū* (MA.LAH<sub>5</sub>-ū). Although the *Akītu* ritual makes no mention of a professional group of nurses, the *tārītu* does appear in *Enūma eliš*, which was read aloud during the *Akītu* festival. In *Enūma eliš* (tablet I, line 86), a *tārītu* is said to be responsible for raising Marduk and endowing him with awesomeness (*ta-ri-tu it-tar-ru-šu pul-ha-a-ta uš-ma-al-li*). Both BM 29638 and *Enūma eliš* appear to be familiar with the same mythic trope—that Marduk was raised by the otherwise little-known figure of the *tārītu*. Parallels between the characters of the myth and ritual performances of the second and first millennia BCE do not end with the figure of the *tārītu*: elsewhere in a ritual text dealing with a festival during the month of *Kislīmu*, sailors (*malāhū*) are part of a ritual performance that includes the recitation of *Enūma eliš*.<sup>1)</sup>

In addition to raising questions about the mythological underpinning of the laconic late OB ritual text, these parallels re-open questions about the dating of the *Enūma eliš*, typically understood to be a creation of the later second millennium BCE. Below, discussion of the noun *tārītu* is followed by notes on the dating of the two texts and comments on changes in ritual practices revolving around the figure of Marduk.

### The *tārītu*

The noun *tārītu* is known beginning in the Ur III period and appears with the meaning “dry nurse” or “nursemaid” throughout texts of the second and first millennium BCE (*AHw* 1330a; *CAD* T, 232–233). *tārītu* (UM.ME.DA) frequently occurs in tandem with *mušēniqtum* (UM.ME.GA.LÁ), “wet nurse”—highlighting the related roles of the women who nourished and nannied young children. The *tārītu* in particular seems to have played an important role in the rearing of children, following them through their early years of life.

Archaeological evidence from Urkesh (Tell Mozan) dating to the Ur III period reflects the importance of the *tārītu* for the rearing of royal children. Two seals belonging to a nurse (UM.ME.DA) in the local royal court by the name Zamena show the *tārītu* in the company of the queen and royal children (Buccellati and Kelly Buccellati 1997, 81 and 88).<sup>2)</sup> The evidence suggests that the nurse enjoyed a high status at the royal court of Urkesh and played an important role in royal succession in witnessing the legitimacy of the child (in being the first one to see it) (Pongratz-Leisten 2003, 152–155). Similarly, Old Babylonian period texts from the Mari palace archives refer to the *tārītu* as a key figure in the royal household, raising elite children.<sup>3)</sup>

Whereas the evidence from Urkesh and Mari focus on the role of the *tārītu* in the royal household, the *tārītu* also appears in reference to temple activities in an Old Babylonian period text, where the goddess Ištar “paces back and forth within Ekur like a nursemaid” (CT 15 6 vii: [*ki-ma*] *ta-ri-i-tim it-ta-na-al-la-ak-ke-er-bum é-kur*).<sup>4)</sup> The idea that Marduk—the future head of the pantheon and king of the gods—is raised by a *tārītu* (as seen in *Enūma eliš*) thus finds some support in the archaeological and textual evidence of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, where a *tārītu* is responsible for the king's children and can be

found within the temple. An Amarna letter sent by Tušratta (EA 25 iii 58 and 62) and a Middle Assyrian text (VAS 19 40:16) both continue to identify the *tārītu* in relationship to royal contexts.

In the first millennium BCE, references to the figure of the *tārītu* are less prevalent. An Assyrian prophecy (SAA 9 7, R. 6-11) identifies Ištar as the *tārītu* for the crown prince, where Ištar-Mullissu states:

<sup>R.6</sup> *ma-a šá<sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL AMA-šú-ni la ta-pal-làh šá GAŠAN—arba-il ta-ri-su-ni la ta-pal-làh<sup>7</sup> ma-a ki-i ta-ri-ti ina UGU gi-iš-ši-ia ÍL<sup>1</sup>-ši-ka<sup>8</sup> ma-a GIŠ.HAŠHUR<sup>1</sup>.KUR.RA ina bi-rit UBUR.MEŠ-ia a-šak-kan-ka<sup>9</sup> šá mu-ši-ia e-rak an-šar-ka šá kal—UD-me hi-il-pa-ka ad-dan<sup>10</sup> šá kal-la-ma-ri un-na-ni-ka ú-šur ú-šur up-pa-áš-ka<sup>11</sup> ma-a<sup>1</sup> at-ta la ta-pal-làh mu-u-ri šá ana-ku ú-rab-bu-u-ni*

“You whose mother is Mullissu, have no fear! You whose nurse (*tārītu*) is the Lady of Arbela, have no fear! I will carry you on my hip like a nurse (*tārītu*), I will put you between my breasts (like) a pomegranate. At night I will stay awake and guard you; in the daytime I will give you milk; at dawn I will play “watch, watch your...” with you. As for you, have no fear, my calf, whom I (have) rear(ed).”<sup>5)</sup>

Similarly, Ištar of Nineveh, is explicitly equated with the *tārītu* of *Enūma eliš* in a commentary that was recently published in full by Frahm and Jiménez (2015, 300–301).<sup>6)</sup> Yet while Ištar of Nineveh is tied to the story of Marduk in other first millennium BCE texts, including the Nineveh version of the *Marduk Ordeal* (SAA 3 35 l. 39) and a cultic commentary (SAA 3 39 v, 19–21), these texts do not refer explicitly to the figure of the *tārītu*.<sup>7)</sup> Instead, texts from the first millennium BCE cast Ištar as a wet nurse for kings, or as otherwise responsible for their upbringing in a general way, without use of the noun *tārītu*.<sup>8)</sup>

#### Dating BM 29638 and *Enūma eliš*

Because BM 29638 lacks archaeological context, Wasserman relies upon the text’s script, orthography, and lexicography to determine a plausible date of composition (2006, 208–209). Whereas the script and syllabary of the text, in addition to the *plene* writings and the non-contracted spelling of *tāriātum* fit well with the Old Babylonian period, several lemmas found in the text are not otherwise known until the Middle Babylonian period. Wasserman notes that the orthography of the text is southern—a perhaps surprising feature, given the focus on Marduk—and suggests that text could have been written in the late Old Babylonian or early Middle Babylonian period by “an exiled southern scribe who found haven in the North, perhaps even in the city of Babylon.”

Extant copies of *Enūma eliš* are known from first millennium BCE Assyrian and Babylonian contexts (Lambert 2013, 4). The myth is sometimes dated to the first millennium BCE (Abusch 1999, 547–548), but many scholars understand *Enūma eliš* as the product of the late second millennium BCE (e.g., Lambert 1964; 2014, 271–274; Foster 2005, 21). The myth has long been associated with the triumphant return of the statue of Marduk to Babylon during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (ca. 1125–1104 BCE), after being carted off to Elam fifty years earlier. In this interpretation, the historical return of Marduk’s statue during Nebuchadnezzar I’s reign is conceived to be the kind of turning point in the history of Babylonian religion capable of acting as the catalyst for the composition of a major literary work (Lambert 1964).

Various lines of evidence, however, suggest that a far more complex history of composition and redaction may lie behind the manuscripts of *Enūma eliš* that are known today. First, it is unlikely that one particular historical event was the sole catalyst for the composition of the myth. Indeed, the well-known Elamite abduction of the statue of Marduk from Babylon was not a unique event in history, and statues of Marduk were taken from Babylon during Hittite, Elamite, and Assyrian raids throughout the second millennium (Dalley 1997, 163–167). Observing that a statue of Marduk taken by Tukulti-Ninurta I after his defeat of Kaštiliaš IV was not yet returned to Babylon at the time when the king of Elam, Kudur-Nahhunte, raided Babylon and took another Marduk statue, Dalley concludes that there must have been multiple statues of Marduk (Dalley 1997, 167).<sup>9)</sup> She therefore argues that the association of the myth with the celebrations under Nebuchadnezzar I is far from certain (Dalley 1997, 166). Indeed, an Old Babylonian letter referring to the *Akītu* festival of Marduk and Nabû (Dalley 1997, 169) suggests that ritual traditions around Marduk’s exalted position were in place before the late second millennium BCE, when *Enūma eliš* was supposedly written. Thus, while many scholars continue to understand *Enūma eliš* as a product of the later second millennium BCE, Dalley has argued that the myth may have begun to take form much earlier, perhaps at the end of Hammurabi’s reign and then underwent various modifications over the ensuing centuries (Dalley 1997, 171).

Second, it is possible that the myth evolved in stages, beginning already in the Old Babylonian period, when Marduk already was celebrated as a top-tier deity in texts like a hymn from Sippar (Dalley 1997, 169).<sup>10)</sup> Many of the texts that discuss the absence of Marduk from Babylon (due to Hittite, Elamite, and Assyrian raids) are now understood to have complex relationships to historical events,<sup>11)</sup> and other great literary texts like *Anzû* and *Etana* also evolved in stages. Indeed, a high degree of intertextuality between narrative poems about the warrior god Ninurta (Foster 2005, 25; Machinist 2005), the god list *An=Anum* (Sommerfeld 1982, 176ff.) and other texts can also be observed in *Enūma eliš*, pointing to the complexity of the myth's development.<sup>12)</sup>

The figure of the *tarītu*—mentioned in tablet I of *Enūma eliš* and now attested in the late OB ritual—prompts us to return to questions about the compositional history of the myth and the development of Marduk's cult. The reference to the professional group of the *tāriātum* in BM 29638 together with the Ur III and OB evidence for the importance of the *tarītu* to royal child-raising raises the possibility that a mythic tradition involving the role of a divine *tārītu* in raising Marduk already existed in the earlier second millennium BCE. Wasserman himself (2006, 203–5) noted a handful of literary terms (including *sahhītum* (line 2) and *merdītum*<sup>7</sup> (line 19)) that appear in the otherwise laconic ritual text, suggesting that the individual responsible for the text's production was highly educated in the cultic lore of Mesopotamia. There are, however, many mythic tropes that appear in the *Enūma eliš*, and only the reference to the *tarītu* is clearly shared with the Old Babylonian ritual text.

Ultimately, the dating of *Enūma eliš* is tied up in questions about the connections between the development of Akkadian literature, on the one hand, and ritual practice, on the other. *Enūma eliš* is one of the few Akkadian mythological texts known to have played a part in cultic activities.<sup>13)</sup> Early interpretations of the *Akītu* festival favored the idea of a dramatic performance in form of a Sacred Marriage Rite (Pallis 1926), a seasonal drama that was at the origin of *Enūma eliš* (Gaster 1987), or a reenactment of the divine battle between Marduk and Tiamat (Jacobsen 1975; Frymer-Kensky 1987). These interpretations all understood *Enūma eliš* as the written parallel of the ritual performance. The emphasis on ritual as pure reenactment of *Enūma eliš*, however, neglects the complexity of ritual performance, which, beyond narrating a particular story, invokes political and theological messages promoting Babylon's function as political, cultic, and theological center of Babylonia (Pongratz-Leisten 2012, 1157).<sup>14)</sup>

Given the complex interworking of myth and ritual, we would like to suggest that an early mythical tradition could have been first formulated as a response to the rise of Marduk more generally, removing the need to connect the origin of *Enūma eliš* to the return of a Marduk statue to Babylon. If so, the offering of the *tāriātum* in BM 29638 could be understood as an allusion to an already existing strand of the story of Marduk's upbringing that would later reappear in the first millennium version of *Enūma eliš*.

#### Marduk's Cultic Travels

Both the late OB ritual BM 29638 as well as the form of the *Akītu* festival known from later texts are characterized by Marduk's appearance outside his temple and his journey beyond the confines of the city walls. Unfortunately, in BM 29638, the city or village he is travelling to is not named, and so it is difficult to categorize his trip by boat in definite terms. The trip may represent a divine tour of the god's temples that moves beyond the sphere of the city, but it could also represent a visit to the temple of another god. Parallels for both types of divine journeys are known.<sup>15)</sup> Yet it seems unlikely that this ritual represents a visit to the temple of another deity, as such divine visits were paid by lower ranking deities to the supreme god of the pantheon and Marduk was already part of a political and theological endeavor that slowly promoted him to the head of the pantheon in the late OB period.<sup>16)</sup> Instead, BM 29638 could represent one leg of a tour that took Marduk to the various temples and shrines associated with the territory of Babylon, perhaps even his own temples in other cities like Dilbat and Kish.<sup>17)</sup> By touring nearby temples and shrines, Marduk's influence over a whole territory would have been on display. This is the very kind of ritual performance that could have played a primary role in the developing political and theological implications of Marduk's supremacy and helped advance the composition or ongoing redaction of *Enūma eliš*.

By the late OB period, when the ritual text BM 29638 seems to have been written, the role of a *tārītu* in the upbringing of royal children was well established. BM 29638 shows the incorporation of this figure into a ritual for Marduk, suggesting that the *tārītu* could have been already woven into traditions around

the god. Appearing again in *Enūma eliš*, the *tārītu* is said to be responsible for Marduk's upbringing. Yet this mythic trope appears nowhere in the ritual texts of the first millennium BCE, when *Enūma eliš* is known to have been read as part of festivals like the *Akītu*, raising questions about the compositional history of *Enūma eliš* and the history of Marduk's cult. The evidence discussed above supports earlier scholarly understandings of *Enūma eliš* as a text that is deeply steeped in the literary traditions of the earlier Old Babylonian period. The attestation of the *tārīatum* in BM 29638 hints at the possibility that the notion of a nurse raising Marduk might have entered the composition of *Enūma eliš* at an early stage. Such a story would have echoed practices found in royal households even before the Old Babylonian period. Yet the identification of a figure known as the *tārītu*, who worked with the wet nurse to raise kings, both divine and human, seems to fade out in the first millennium BCE. While texts from the first millennium cast the goddess Ištar as a wet nurse for rulers or even as the figure responsible for raising Marduk, the figure of the *tārītu* is no longer part of these texts. What we find in both BM 29638 and *Enūma eliš*, therefore, may reflect an earlier second millennium BCE social and religious set of practices.

## Notes

1. Çağırhan and Lambert 1991–1993. Information for this ritual performance is only known for the third and fourth days of the festival. On the fourth day, similar to the *Akītu* festival in Nisannu, *Enūma eliš* is recited in front of Marduk. While there is no reference to the *tārītum/tārīatum*, a major role is taken up by a *nadītu*, who writes seven inscriptions, and enters the temple of Ea with an *alū*-drum and palm fronds after two sailors (*malāhū*) have docked the boat with the palm frond at the Water Gate.
2. The seals, known from ancient impressions, feature legends that identify Zamena as the UM.ME.DA of Uqnitum, the queen.
3. CAD T, 232 and N. Ziegler 1999, 108–109 (additional references can be found through archibab.fr).
4. Here, the goddess appears to be concerned for Išum. See further Römer 1966.
5. Translation following Parpola 1997.
6. While *Enūma eliš* does not identify Marduk's *tārītu* as Ištar of Nineveh, it would seem that this connection could be made in the first millennium BCE, transforming cultic personnel into divine beings. See da Riva and Frahm (1999/2000, 173–175) for a discussion of the Ištar of Nineveh temple in Babylon.
7. In the Nineveh version of the *Marduk Ordeal* (SAA 3 35), for example, milk is placed before Ištar of Nineveh because of her role in raising the god (line 39: [šī-iz-bu ša ina IGI<sup>d</sup>15 ša NINA.KI i-hal-li-bu-ni nē-mi-il šī-i tu-ra-bu-šū-ni re]-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-mu ina UGU-hi-šū ū-kal-lim ina Ê—šib-ta-te-šū tu-še-bal-āš-[šū]). Elsewhere in a first millennium BCE cultic commentary (SAA 3 39), Ištar of Nineveh is identified as the wet nurse of Bel (lines 19: [<sup>d</sup>]r<sup>15</sup>1<sup>1</sup> ša URU.dur-na ti-amat šī-i UM.ME.GA.LÁ ša<sup>d</sup>EN šī-i\*-i\*-ma\*). Though neither text uses the noun *tārītu*, both refer to Marduk's rearing as an essential component in ritual performance.
8. Prophetic texts from this period appear to be produced by erudite professionals (Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 267; Nissinen 2000), and the mention of Ištar of Nineveh as the one raising Marduk in the Assur and Nineveh versions of the commentary text known as *Marduk Ordeal* (SAA 3 34 33 and SAA 3 35 39) also fits this framework. In both the late Sargonic and later Seleucid period *Akītu* texts, there is no evidence for the figure of the *tārītu*.
9. The events of Tukulti-Ninurta I's capture of a Marduk statue are recorded in *Chronicle P* (Chronicle P = Chronicle 22: 176, iv 5-6) in the following terms: "He took out the property of Esagila and Babylon amid the booty. He removed the great lord [from] his [dais] and sent (him) to Assyria" (Grayson 1975, 170–177).
10. Among the top-rank titles attested in this text are "(he) who makes the tempest pour out the seven winds, who conquers the enemy" (*muštarhe mehê 7 šarī kāšid ayyābī*), "whose right hand holds the collection of all rites" (*kali himmat paršī imnītašu ukāl*), and "the designs (of the universe) fill his hand" (*uṣurātīm mullâ qātīššu*), as well as "king of all the Igigi-gods" (*šar kullat Igigi*). Such titles reveal Marduk's supremacy within the regional pantheon and supreme position in Babylon, the regional capital. Note, however that there is no direct evidence of Marduk having acquired already supreme status in Babylonian pantheon as told in *Enūma eliš* (Lambert 1964, 5-6). In royal inscriptions, the kings refer to Marduk as the one at whose command or with whose wisdom they execute their power, but often he is still paired with other gods in this regard including the sun god and the moon god (Sommerfeld 1982, 106–107).
11. On the recovery of Marduk's statue from the Hittites, see *Agum-Kakrime and the Return of Marduk* (Foster 2005, 360–364 with relevant bibliography); on the Elamite raids of Babylon and Nippur, see the *Kedor-Laomer Texts* (Foster 2005, 369–375 with relevant bibliography). Multiple historical-literary texts revolve around Nebuchadnezzar I, including *The Seed of Kingship*, *The War with Elam*, *Nebuchadnezzar in Elam*, *Nebuchadnezzar to the Babylonians*, and the *Marduk Prophecy* (Foster 2005, 376–391 with relevant bibliography). See further Nielsen 2012 and Takuma Sugie 2014 on the history of these texts and their possible relationship to Esarhaddon's attempt to return Marduk's statue to the Babylonians after it had been abducted by Sennacherib during his destruction of Babylon. Nielsen (2012) suggested that cultural memory of the former cases of Marduk's abduction generated the compositions of these first millennium texts in order to gain the support of the Assyro-Babylonian elites either in the time of Esarhaddon. Sugie

(2014, 110) observes several context-based intertextual relationships between the historical inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal and the *Marduk Prophecy*.

12. For additional observations on the intertextuality of *Enūma eliš*, see Seri 2014, 97–104. Further points of connection with Middle Babylonian *kudurrus*, *Šurpu* and *Maqlû*, and astronomical series) can be observed.

13. According to *Akītu* ritual texts and the *Marduk Ordeal*, the entire text of *Enūma eliš* was read on the evening of the fourth day of the *Akītu* festival (Lambert 2013, 6–9).

14. Note that, for the *Akītu*, the first eight days of ritual performance occur within the temple—excluding the public from any kind of dramatic performance (van der Toorn 1991, 337). For more on the relationship between myth and ritual, see Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 75 and text no. 8. The Old Babylonian period *Praise of Bazi* (George 2009, 1–15; Zgoll 2019) offers another example of a text that shows the complex relationship between ritual and myth. Buccellati (1982), suggests that the Sumerian *Descent of Inanna* may refer to the ritual journey of a statue that needed refurbishing.

15. C.f., Nanna's journey by boat from his temple in Ur to his AKITI-house in Gaeš, located at the outskirt of Ur. For the visit to the temple of another god, see Cohen 2015, 104.

16. On divine journeys, see the Old Babylonian period Sumerian compositions known as the *Journeys of the Gods* (Wagensonner 2005; Pongratz-Leisten 2006, 100) as well as the later Babylonian *Akītu* festival.

17. If so, this ritual text could be understood along the lines of the travels of the goddess Belet-Nagar, known from a slightly earlier date (Guichard 1994 and 1997). Note that Matthews and Richardson (2018, 738–743) suggest that the so-called “city-seals” of the Uruk III phase attest to a similar practice. On the locations of Marduk's temples, see Sommerfeld 1982.

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Beate PONGRATZ-LEISTEN <bp12@nyu.edu>

Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York (USA)

Elizabeth KNOTT <elizabeth.knott@yale.edu>

Yale University, New Haven (USA)

**14) A small addition to CTH 139** — I have been provided with a photograph of an edge piece of a Hittite tablet currently in an American private collection. Since I have not handled the fragment myself, I cannot report its dimensions or read with certainty all of the signs on its lateral surface. Nonetheless, I have been able to identify it as belonging to CTH 139, *Traité passé avec les Gasgas*. Since the new piece duplicates a portion of the text present in both of the two previously identified manuscripts of the composition, it must be part of yet a third copy. While both A and B show Middle Hittite script, the new fragment seems to have been written by a scribe working in the empire period (see in particular the AK-sign in C 7'). Below I give an edition of the duplicated portion of CTH 139. For a fuller treatment, see N. İlgi Gerçek, *The Kaska and the Northern Frontier of Hatti* (Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming).

CTH 139

A. KUB 40.36 + KUB 23.78 + KUB 26.6

B. KBo 8.35

C. private collection

B ii 1'. [...] ḫa<sup>1</sup> [...]

C 1'. [...] INIM.MEŠ ku-i-e-eš ḫar-kán-zi<sup>2</sup>

B ii 2'. [...] x ták-[š]u-la-aš [...]

C 2'. [...] k]u-en-na-an-zi<sup>1</sup>

B ii 3'. [...] i]z-ḫi<sup>1</sup> nu e-eš-ḫar ki-ša-r[i...]

C 3'. [ ... ] nu e-eš-ḫar ki-i-ša<sup>2</sup>

B ii 4'. [...] x an-da Ú-UL tar-na-at-te-ni x [...]

C 4'. [ ... ]-UL tar-na-at-te-ni

A ii	1'.	[...]	...]	nu- <sup>r</sup> mu <sup>?</sup> 40 <sup>?</sup> ÉRIN <sup>?</sup> .MEŠ <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup>
B ii	5'.	nu [ o ] x x <sup>r</sup> -ya <sup>1</sup> [a]n-da-ma 4 URU.DIDLI.ĤI.A šu-me-eš nu-mu 40 <sup>r</sup> ÉRIN <sup>?</sup> [(MEŠ)]		
C	5'.	[...]	].ĤI.A šu-me-e-eš nu-mu 4[0 <sup>?</sup> ...]	
A ii	2'.	[...] x x x [ ... ]	<sup>r</sup> Ú <sup>1</sup> -UL pí-ih-ĥi	
B ii	6'.	<sup>m</sup> Ša- <sup>r</sup> pal <sup>1</sup> -li-in-na-aš-ma-aš a-ap-pa	Ú-UL pí-ih-ĥi	
C	6'.	[ ... ]	pí-i]ĥ-ĥi	
A ii	3'.	ku-wa-pí-i[(t URU <sup>?</sup> -r)i]	ú-wa-te-et-ta-ni [(na-an-ša-ma-a)]š a-ap-pa	
B ii	6'f.	ku-wa-pí-it <sup>r</sup> URU <sup>?</sup> -r[i <sup>?</sup> ] / ú-wa-te-et-ta-ni na-an-ša-ma-aš a-ap-pa		
C	7'.	[ ... ]	EG]IR-pa	
A ii	4'.	a-pí-ya-[(ak-k)]u pí-ih-ĥi		
B ii	7'.	a-pí-ya-ak-ku pí-ih-ĥ[i]		
C	7'.	a-pí-ya-ak-k[u...]		
A ii	5'.	nu ka-a-š[(a li)]-in-ga-en i-ya-u-en nu DINGIR.MEŠ-[(mu-u)]š ĥu-u-ma-an-du-uš		
B i	8'.	nu ka-a-ša li-in-ga-i[n] <sup>r</sup> i <sup>?</sup> -ya-u-en nu DINGIR.MEŠ-mu-uš ĥu-u-ma-an-du-uš		
C	8'.	[ ... ]	ĥu-u-ma-an-du-uš	
A ii	6'.	tu-li-ya [(d)]a-i-u-e-en <sup>d</sup> UTU-un <sup>r</sup> dIM-an <sup>r</sup> dZA-BA <sub>4</sub> -BA <sub>4</sub> -an <sup>d</sup> LAMMA		
B ii	9'.	tu-li-ya da-i- <sup>r</sup> ú <sup>1</sup> -en <sup>r</sup> dUTU-un <sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup> IM-an <sup>d</sup> ZA-BA <sub>4</sub> -BA <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> LAMMA-aš		
C	8'.	[ ... ]	<sup>d</sup> LAMMA	
A ii	7'.	<sup>d</sup> EN.ZU [( <sup>d</sup> IŠT)]AR-in <sup>d</sup> Iš-ĥa-ra-an li-in-ki-ya-<-aš> iš-ĥa-a-aš <sup>r</sup> ne <sup>1</sup> -pí-ša-an		
B ii	9'f.	<sup>d</sup> E[N.ZU] / <sup>d</sup> IŠTAR-in <sup>d</sup> Iš-ĥa-ra-aš li-in-ki-aš iš-ĥa-a-aš ne-e-pí-i-ša-aš...		
C	8'f.	<sup>d</sup> EN.ZU / [ ... ]	ne-p]í-ša-an	

#### Note

1. Following the end of this line there is run-over from the other side: -e]n<sup>?</sup>-zi.

#### Translation

[...] those who have the affairs [...] the ally [...] they will kill [...] Then bloodshed shall occur. [...] you will not allow inside [...] And in [...] you are (the people of) four towns and [you must give(?)] me 40 soldiers. I will not give Šapalli back to you. In whatever town(?) you bring (the soldiers?), I will give him back to you then and there.

We have just concluded an oath and we have brought all the gods into assembly: (list of deities continuing through A ii 9' / B ii 12').

Gary BECKMAN <sidd@umich.edu>

University of Michigan (USA)

**15) The indefinite pronoun in Cuneiform Luwian** — There is a *communis opinio* regarding the general meaning of Cuneiform Luwian *kwišĥa*, *kwiĥa* as an indefinite pronoun (Puhvel 1997: 231) or similar: ‘quiconque’ (Laroche 1959: 56);<sup>1)</sup> ‘wer auch immer’ (Tischler 1977-1983: 614, but later ‘manche(r), irgendetwas’ [2008:91] and ‘quelqu’un, quelque chose’ [2016: 171]); ‘quisque’ (Dunkel 1982-1983: 198 n. 119); ‘irgendein’ (Starke 1990: 466 n. 1698); ‘some/any(one)’ (Melchert 1993: 119 and Kloekhorst 2008: 489); ‘something’ (Marcuson 2016: 291); ‘herhangi birisi’ (Ünal 2016: 961). However, since the category of indefinite pronoun includes several different pronouns, a more sophisticated categorization is required, which was only provided by the systematic overview of Sideltsev and Yakubovich (2016: 13-22). The expression of the types of indefinite pronouns is language specific, and therefore, it cannot be automatically assumed that a word identified as indefinite pronoun expresses all types, so a separate investigation is needed. Sideltsev and Yakubovich distinguished the following types (2016: 3-4 with refs.):

1. Universal quantifier: “I kissed each one”.
2. Free choice expression (i): “I can kiss anyone”.
3. Free choice expression (ii): “I can kiss anyone/whoever you wish”.
4. Negative polarity item (i): “I did not kiss anyone”.
5. Negative polarity item (ii): “Even if I kissed someone/anyone, I would not tell it”.
6. Existential quantifier: “I kissed someone”.

As far as the Cuneiform Luwian transmission is concerned, Sideltsev and Yakubovich argue that *kwišĥa*, *kwiĥa* is attested as the universal quantifier ‘each’ and as the negative polarity item ‘anything’ (2016: 15-16, 20-21, resp.):

For the universal quantifier ‘each’, they quote KUB 35.88 iii 4’. Unfortunately, its context (and that of its parallel, KUB 35.89, 7’) is fragmentary, and thus their argument is based only on the contrast with the phrase [wā]naššan *tanimaššan* ‘to all women’ two lines later. Besides, they argue that the deity <sup>D</sup>*Kwišḫamaššan* (KUB 38.25 ii 8) / <sup>D</sup>*Kwišḫa*-DINGIR<sup>LM</sup>-*ni* (KBo 55.186 ii 24 and its parallel, KUB 60.117, 6’, Košak 1994: 289-290) does not mean ‘any god’<sup>2)</sup> but ‘each god’ since the cult of “a random deity” does not have parallels in the local religions, unlike invoking gods collectively and thus, they suggest that the Hittites reinterpreted the expression ‘each god’ occurring at the end of a Luwian divine list as genuine theonym. However, they (like all other scholars) overlooked Otten (1980-1983), who had already pointed out that this goddess (!, since described as ALAM.SAL ‘statue of a woman’) appears with specific attributes in a cult inventory text (she holds a golden vine in her right hand, KUB 38.25 ii 8-9; Jakob-Rost 1963: 181-182) and thus, the translation ‘any god’ is not correct and the same applies also for the translation ‘each god’. Furthermore, it is improbable that the general phrase ‘each god’ will be reinterpreted as a goddess connected to vine (all the other attestation tells is that she receives an iron cult stone).

For the negative polarity item ‘anything’, they quote KUB 35.43 ii 7. However, this case (*mān=ata išsarati kwiḫa* ‘whether it is anything from the hand...’), together with its parallel cases in KUB 35.43, is not a negative polarity item. In fact, it is ambiguous, being either a free choice expression (type: “I can kiss anyone”) or an existential quantifier, as translated by Marcuson 2016: 291 (‘whether it is something (...’), type: “I kissed someone”). Negative polarity items were instead expressed in combination with a prohibitive particle, in Cuneiform transmission with *nāwa* (e.g. *nawa kwiḫa*, KUB 35.79 iv<sup>3</sup> 13’). Note that there is no difference from this point of view between the Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic transmission (*contra* Sideltsev and Yakubovich), since one of the Hieroglyphic Luwian examples of Sideltsev and Yakubovich (2016: 21) is expressed by a prohibitive particle (KULULU 1 §14) and the other one is not a negative polarity item but a free choice expression or existential quantifier (KARATEPE 1 (Hu.) §49: REX-*ta-ti-i-pa-wali* REL-*ra/i* REL-*sa-há* ‘If anyone rules as a king / from (among) kings’, see the discussion in Sideltsev – Yakubovich 2016: 21 n. 21 on the different translations).

The value of other attestations is unfortunately limited. Setting aside the fragmentary passages (KUB 32.10 [similar to KUB 35.43] and KBo 7.68), only the identical contexts of KUB 35.133 iii 21 and 23 can be quoted: although they are also fragmentary, *kwišḫa* is the subject of the verb *mammanaddu* ‘(s)he/it shall look at’, and thus, an interpretation as universal quantifier is probable.

All in all, regarding the precise meaning of Cuneiform Luwian *kwišḫa*, *kwiḫa* although the attestation of the negative polarity item ‘anything’ cannot be confirmed, either the free choice expression or the existential quantifier ‘any/someone/thing’ can also be added to the probably attested universal quantifier ‘each’.

## Notes

\* This paper was written in the framework of the *Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages* financed by the DFG.

1. But only for *kwišḫa*, since for *kwiḫa* Laroche assumed the obsolete meaning ‘inscrire, marquer’ (with a question mark, entertaining the possibility of a pronoun in KUB 35.79 iv 13).

2. *Contra* Neumann 1964: 51; Tischler 1977-1983: 612, 614, Tischler 2008: 91, 2016: 171; Melchert 1993: 120; Haas 1994: 307; and Hutter 2003: 218.

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Zsolt SIMON <zsltsimon@gmail.com>

Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie, LMU München (GERMANY)

# 16) The Recently Found Upper Part of the Inscribed Arin Stele of Urartian King Argišti I: About A Royal Vineyard and Orchard

Argišti I (ca. 785/80–756 BCE) was one of the most powerful kings of Urartu, and the kingdom can be said to have reached its widest borders during his reign. Thus, the subject of most of the extant inscriptions of Argišti I consists of military campaigns and booty taken as a result of conquests. We know through some inscriptions that Argišti I also made some architectural and agricultural investments, although less than his father or predecessor Minua (ca. 810–785/80 BCE). Foremost among them are the cities/fortresses of Arin-berd (*Erebuni*)<sup>1)</sup> and Armavir-Blur (*Argištiḫinili*)<sup>2)</sup> that Argišti I founded in the Yerevan plain. We also know of another city/fortress that Argišti I named after himself (*Argištiḫinili*) through the Kepenek inscription in the Muş Plain (CTU I. A 8-22)<sup>3)</sup>. Besides these investments in the hegemonic areas of Urartu, we do not yet know whether there was another fortress or settlement that Argišti I founded in the Lake Van basin at the center of the kingdom. The only evidence for the existence of such a city/fortress is the inscribed column base (CTU I. A 8-38) found at Guganis (officially Köklü) to the south of Lake Van (Fig. 1).

However, this column base was transported from its original site most probably in the Medieval period, as Armenian inscriptions and crosses on it indicate. Also, inscriptions of Argišti I that were found at Yukarı Anzaf Fortress (CTU I. A 8- 40), which was founded by Urartian king Minua, and at Kalecik (CTU I. A 8- 41), (Fig. 1) consist of short texts of units of measurements that could not been completely translated so far, rather than architectural and agricultural activities. Until recently, we did not know whether Argišti I was involved in agricultural activities in the Lake Van basin apart from the construction of a settlement. This issue has started to become clearer with the discoveries made in recent years. As an interesting coincidence, there has been an increase in the number of inscriptions of Argišti I discovered in the lake basin and its vicinity in the recent years. The first of these inscriptions is a stele fragment with a curse text, which was found in the village of Arinçkus (officially Kavuştuk) in the Arin Plain on the northwest coast of Lake Van in 2013 and transported to Ahlat Museum (Fig.2)<sup>4)</sup>. In 2017, a large inscribed stele fragment of Argišti I was discovered by Işık, (one of the authors of this article) in the village of Salmanağa (Ardzvaferd) about 6 km northeast of Erciş to the north of Lake Van (Fig.1), and was transported to Van Museum. This inscription made significant contribution to the localization of the *Dainalitini* stream (modern Deliçay) mentioned in Urartian inscriptions<sup>5)</sup>, the location of which was unknown until recently, as well as to our understanding of agricultural sacrificial rituals of Urartu<sup>6)</sup>. Lastly, the subject of a stele inscription of Argišti I that we found at Malazgirt to the northwest of Mount Süphan, which rises on the northwest of the Lake Van basin, is the construction of a vineyard and an orchard (Fig.1)<sup>7)</sup>. Yet another inscribed stele fragment of Argišti I was found by villagers in a field close to the Adilcevaz-Erciş road in the Arin Plain extending to the northwest coast of Lake Van and the east of Mount Süphan (Sipan) (Fig.1,4), like the Arinçkus stele fragment. The stele measures; 70 cm height, 76 cm width

and 40 cm thickness<sup>8)</sup>. These measurements fit with the measurements of the inscribed stele fragment of Argišti I that is reported to have come from the village of Arinçkus in the Arin Plain and that is now in Ahlat Museum<sup>9)</sup>. Arinçkus stele fragment, as other Urartian steles, includes a curse text for the protection of the stele inscription (Fig.3).

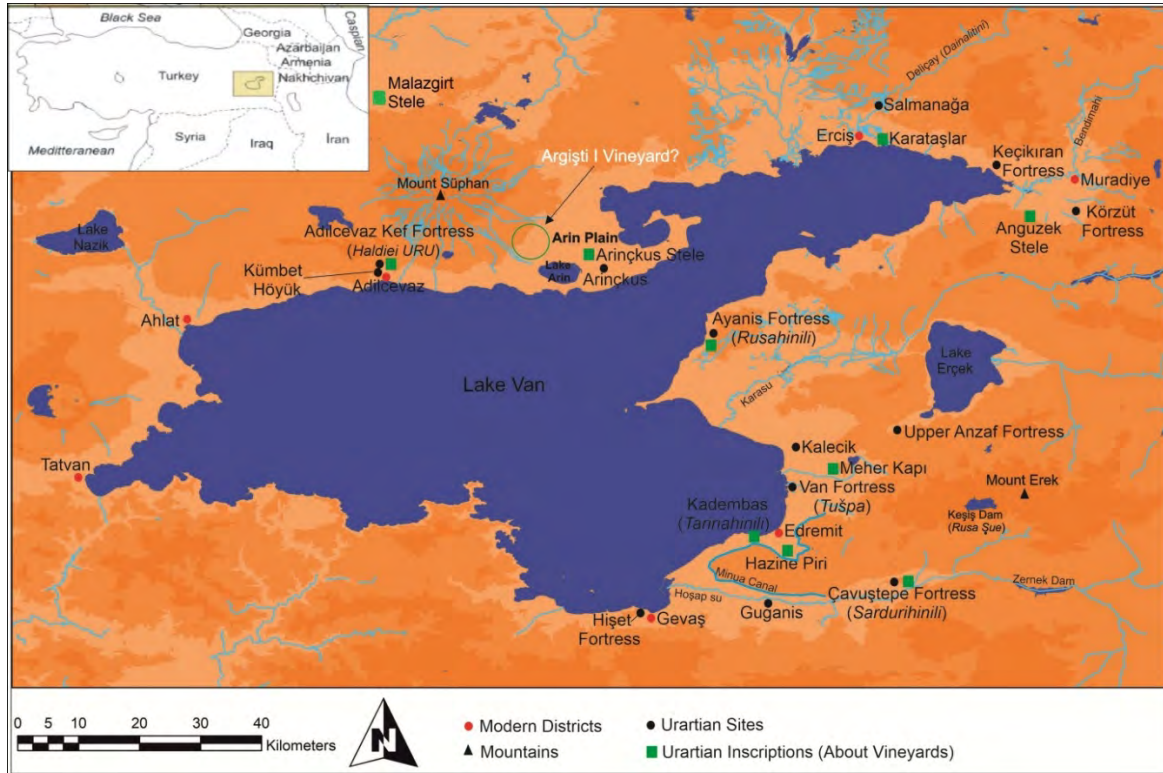


Fig. 1. Urartian sites and Inscriptions Points in the Lake Van Basin



Fig. 2. Lower Part of Arinçkus (Arin) Stele Fragment



Fig.3. Arinçkus (Arin) stele with the cursing text

#### Arinçkus/Arin Stele (Reverse)

[<sup>m</sup>a]r-gi-iš-ti-i-še <sup>m</sup>mi-[nu]-ù!-a!-h̄i-ni-[-še]  
 [a-l]i-e a-lu-še i-ni [<sup>NA</sup>]pu-lu-si e-si-[-ni]  
 [s]u-ú-i-du-li-e a-[lu]-še še-er-du-li-[-e]  
 [a]-lu-še DUB-te pi-tú-li-e [a-lu-]ʿše¹ a-i-ni-[-i]  
 i-ni-e-li du-li-i-e a-ʿlu¹-[-še] ʿú-li-ʿe¹-[-še]  
 ti-ú-li-i-e i-e-še za-du- b[i] tú-ri-ni-n[i]  
 ʰd̄hal-di-i-še ʰIM-še ʰUTU-[ni?] DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>[-še]  
 [ma]-a-ni ar-mu-zi-i ʰUTU-ni pi-i-n[i]  
 [m̄]-ʿi¹ ar-h̄i ú-ru-ʿli¹-a-ni m̄-i-i i-na-i-ni  
 [m̄]-ʿi¹ na-a-ra-a a-ú-i-e ú-lu-li-e

“(1-3) Argišti, son of Minua, says:  
 whoever removes this stela from its place,  
 (3-6) whoever hides (it), whoever damages  
 the inscription, whoever has someone else these things  
 done, whoever says as someone else ‘I did it’,  
 (6-7) him should annihilate god ʰaldi, the god  
 storm, the sun god, and (all) the gods, him (and)  
 his seed under (the light of) the sun”,  
 (8-10) continuation of the curse untranslatable<sup>10)</sup>.



The curse text indicates that this fragment is the lowest part of the stele. This stele fragment has a foot that would fit into the base (Fig.2). In conclusion, the two stele fragments belong to the same stele in terms of period, dimensions, form, and finally their find locations. Therefore, we can name “Arin Stele” for both basalt fragments.

The recently found inscription is on the rounded upper part of Arin stele. There is 11 lines of text on the stele fragment (Fig.5).

Arin Stele (Observe)

- 1 <sup>[D]</sup>ḫal-di-i-e e-ú-ri-e-i-[e]
- 2 [i]-ni <sup>NA</sup>pu-lu-si <sup>m</sup>ar-gi-iš-ti-[ḫi-še]
- 3 <sup>[m]</sup>mi-nu-ú-a-ḫi-ni-še ku-gu-ú-ni-[e]
- 4 <sup>[m]</sup>ar-<sup>r</sup>gi-iš-ti-e a-li-e qi-u-ra-[ni-e]
- 5 <sup>r</sup>qu-ul-di<sup>l</sup>-ni ma-nu <sup>ú-i</sup>gi-e-i iš-ti-n[i]
- 6 [ši-d]a-ú-ri <sup>D</sup>ḫal-di-ni-ni al-su-ši-ni-[e]
- 7 <sup>[m]</sup>ar<sup>l</sup>-gi-iš-ti-še <sup>m</sup>mi-nu-a-ḫi-ni-še a-li-[e]
- 8 <sup>[G]</sup>ul-di-e <sup>G</sup>ša-a-ri-e te-ru-ú-[bi-e]
- 9 <sup>[m]</sup>ar-gi-iš-ti-ni MAN *DAN.NU* MAN al-su-[ni-e]
- 10 [MAN šu-ra]-a-ú-e MAN <sup>KUR</sup>bi-a-i-na-[ú-e]
- 11 [MAN MAN<sup>MEŠ</sup>]-ú-e a-lu-si <sup>URU</sup>tu-[uš-pa URU]

“(1-3) Argišti, the son of Minua, erected this stele for Ḫaldi his Lord,

(4-6) Argišti says: The land was deserted, nothing was built here (before).

Through the greatness of Ḫaldi,

(7-8) Argišti, the son of Minua says:

(I) planted (a) vineyard and (an) orchard,

(9-11) Argišti, mighty king, great king,

king of lands, king of Biainili,

lord of the Tušpa-City”.



Fig.4.Upper Part of Arin Stele Fragment



Fig. 5.Text of Upper Part of Arin Stele Fragment

The text reveals that Argišti I erected this stele for a vineyard and an orchard that he established. The first conclusion of the recently found stele fragment is the existence of Urartian royal investments in the Arin Plain for the first time. However, this leads to the question of where exactly the stele was erected, i.e. where the vineyard and the orchard mentioned in the text were established. Past surveys conducted in this plain found only ceramic sherds dated to the Middle Iron Age and traces of some building units that were made of roughly worked stones on a rocky hill called Ziyarettepe/Terhan at Arinçus<sup>11)</sup>. However, these traces are far from reflecting the properties of a monumental royal Urartian fortress/city. On the other hand, the fact that both fragments were found in this plain brings to mind the probability that the stele was cut into pieces here, and therefore means that the original site where the stele was erected was not far. Like many other Urartian steles, Arin stele was probably transported here and cut into pieces by Armenians in the Medieval period to be used as *hačkar* (gravestone). Thus, the fact that at least the bottom part of the stele was used as a *hačkar* supports the probability that it was transported here. Such transportation could sometimes involve long distances as in the cases of Muradiye-Karahan<sup>12)</sup>. However magnificent basalt hills formed from the lava from the volcanic Mount Suphan that rises just to the west of Arin plain amply supply the need for stones in the plain. This weakens the probability that the stele was brought from far away. Lastly, considering the dimensions of the stele, we can say that it was transported to Arin plain from a location that was not far away.

The phrase “The land was deserted, nothing was built here (before)”, which was often included in architectural Urartian inscriptions associated with the foundation of a fortress/city, was used for a vineyard and an orchard in the new stele inscription. According to this phrase, there were no royal investments in

this area before. At this point it would be proper to discuss the choice of locations for Urartian royal vineyards and orchards. Urartian agricultural investments that are reflected in inscriptions were usually made in places near centers that were built in the scope of royal city/fortress foundation projects<sup>13)</sup>. But vineyards and orchards known from some Urartian inscriptions were not mentioned together with a settlement name. These can be said to have been independent investments on the fields. Among these, the vineyard that Minua established at Katepans/Kadembas on the Şamran irrigation canal (*Minuai pili* in Urartian) for his wife Tariria (*Taririaḫinili* in Urartian) is quite extraordinary for Urartu. This place is also on the route that follows the southeast coast of Lake Van and is located between the lake and Edremit hills (CTU I.A 5 A-1). Another vineyard that is interesting for its location was established in the region of Erciş/Karataşlar with its *in-situ* inscriptions belonging to Urartian king Sarduri II (756-730 BCE) carved on the bedrock (CTU I. A 9-10; A 9-11). This vineyard was established on the north coast of Lake Van at a point that had to be passed at the entrance of the Erciş Plain (Fig.1). This brings to mind that this vineyard was a kind of a rest stop on the western routes of Urartu. Arin plain where stele fragments of Argišti I were found too is a flat area to the northwest of Lake Van between Mount Suphan and the lake, through which itineraries had to pass. The Arin route, where routes from Erciş to the east and from Patnos to the north connect, follows the western coast of the lake and continues towards Adilcevaz (Fig.1). Where this coastal route arrives at Adilcevaz is Kümbet Höyük<sup>14)</sup> with remains of Transcaucasian culture as well as Middle Iron Age, and on a steep hill to the north of Adilcevaz is the site of Kef Kalesi (*Ḫaldiei URU* in Urartian), founded by Rusa (III? 673/72-652? BCE) son of Argišti, one of the last kings of Urartu (Fig.1).

Going back to the subject of choice of locations for establishing vineyards in Urartu, we see that flat plains such as the one where Arin stele fragments were found were not preferred. Immobile Urartian rock inscriptions that make up our main references support this view. These inscriptions on foundations of vineyards are located on the slopes of hills or ridges<sup>15)</sup>. Zıvıstan/Hazine Piri rock inscription (CTU I. A 2-5) of king Išpuini (ca. 830–820 BCE), which is the first vineyard inscription of Urartu, Kadembas/Tariria rock inscription (CTU I. A 5A-1), and Erciş/Karataşlar rock inscriptions (CTU I. A 9-10; A 9-11) are among this type of inscriptions. Gusak Stele (CTU I. A 5-33), which we rediscovered during our 2017 survey, was found in the village of Anguzek (officially Topuzarpa) on a ridge of the hills that rise to the south of Muradiye Plain. These inscriptions mention the vineyards that were founded near them, using the demonstrative pronoun “this” (in Urartian *ini*). Thus, it appears that vineyards were founded on terraces on ridges of hills. The stele found in the Arin plain can be considered to have been brought from the slopes of a hill on which the vineyard and orchard it mentions were founded. The hills of Mount Suphan that extend towards the Arin plain are ideal places for them. We can hope for the discovery of the base or other fragments of the stele for more definite localizations in the future.

#### Notes

1. K. L. Oganessian, 1961, p.5.
2. A. A. Martirosian, 1974, p.7.
3. Also See N. Koçhan-M. Salvini, 2000, p.303–305.
4. K. Işık, 2015, p. 215–216.
5. The subject of the stele inscription that was reused as a building-stone in Salmanağa Church (Asdvadzadzin in Armenian) is the construction of an irrigation canal during the reign of Urartian king Minua, and mentions the name *Dainalitini* (CTU I. A 5-17 Ro,26). Also, in Horhor chronicles of Argišti I, mention an irrigation canal dug from the waters of *Dainalitini* (with determinative ID = river) (CTU I. A 8–3 v 17–18).
6. K. Işık, 2019, p. 204–213.
7. Our work on Urartu inscriptions found in Malazgirt is in the process of publication.
8. Unfortunately it was not possible to access this stele fragment that was found in the Arin plain like Arinçkus because of the negative response from the villagers. We thank science enthusiast and educator İzzet Karakurt who shared with us the photograph here and information on the stele fragment and thus enabled us to present this important Urartian inscription to the scholarly community. Our hope that the stele fragment is transported to a museum where it can be protected as soon as possible.
9. K. Işık, 2015, p. 216.
10. K. Işık, 2015, p 217.
11. C. Burney, 1957, p. 43, Fig. 1, no. 235; A. Özfırat, 1999, p.4.
12. About 20 inscribed stele fragments found at Karahan on the northwest coast of Lake Van were probably transported from Van region in the Medieval period by Armenians to be made into *haçkars*. See. K. Işık *et al.* 2019,

p. 100-119.

13. For some examples of vineyards and orchards that were founded together with royal cities/fortresses mentioned in Urartian inscriptions, see Gusak (Anguzek) Stele (CTU I. A 5-33)= For Körzüt Fortress/ Urartian *Haldi URU*); Sardarabad inscription (CTU I. A 8-16)= For Armavir-Blur/Urartian *Argištihinili*; Ayanis construction inscription (CTU I. A 12-9)=For Ayanis Fortress/Urartian *Rusašinili Eidurukai*.

14. Kümbet Höyük, located to the south of Kef Kalesi at the center of modern Adilcevaz, can answer long-discussed questions about the lower settlement of Kef Kalesi. The mound is used as a cemetery at present and yields pottery sherds from the Bronze and Iron Ages. These sherds are distributed to the surface from pits dug for graves and make up important data on settlement history of Adilcevaz. The existence of Iron Age sherds in particular probably sets the Urartian period in this region to before Kef Kalesi. Adilcevaz, known today for its vineyards, orchards and wet areas, also exhibited a landscape of vineyards and orchards with Kümbet Höyük at the center in the Urartian period. This settlement seems to have been constructed on the high hilly area to the north of Kef Kalesi.

15. Vineyards are known to have been established on the southern slopes of hills from the Medieval period onwards in this region. This phenomenon is largely related to the climate. Southern slopes that receive sunlight must have been used primarily in the Iron Age also.

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Kenan IŞIK <ke\_nan123@hotmail.com>  
 Van (TURKEY)

Bülent GENÇ <bulendgenc@hotmail.com>  
 Mardin/Artuklu University (TURKEY)



**17) Fragment of a stone slab with an Assyrian inscription<sup>1)</sup>** — In the course of a seminar, the attention of the author was called to two Assyrian fragments in a private collection. One of them, a fragment of a clay nail, was published in 2016 (PFITZNER 2016). This note is on the other object, a fragment of a stone slab, presumably containing a number of signs known from a number of inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II (e.g. Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.01, iii 121-122, see commentary on this inscription in GRAYSON 1991: 193 for parallel passages in the other inscriptions). This fragment stems from Kalhu/Nimrud (palace of Aššurnasirpal).

The dimensions of the object are 12.5 cm x 12 cm x 9 cm; height of signs: approximately 2.5–3 cm.

1' [...D]U<sup>2</sup>.!DU<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>2</sup>l-m[a<sup>2</sup>...]

2' [...<sup>KUR</sup>I]ab-na-na [...]

3' [...SA]G<sup>2</sup>e-ni [...]



# Note

1. The paper results from research conducted under the auspices of the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum: Animal Omens in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Universität Wien) that has received funding from the Austrian Science Fund (FWF des Wissenschaftsfonds) (Project no. P 31032). The author thanks the owner for the permission to publish the object. Further thanks go, once more, to James Watson for correcting the English of this note.

## Bibliography

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Judith PFITZNER <judith.pfitzner@univie.ac.at>  
University of Vienna (AUSTRIA)

**18) Note sur le texte RIMA 2 A.0.101.61 d'Aššurnāširpal II** — Aššurnāširpal II fut non seulement un grand conquérant mais aussi un grand bâtisseur. Si ses plus fameuses activités de constructeur furent celles qu'il conduisit sur le site de Kalhu pour en faire une des métropoles de l'empire, il n'oublia pas l'antique Ninive. Les fouilles qui y furent conduites, notamment par R. C. Thompson au début des années 30 livrèrent un très grand nombre d'inscriptions, tant sur bas-reliefs (par exemple l'inscription « standard » = RIMA A.0.101.40) que sur des cônes. La masse des fragments de cônes fut un véritable casse-tête pour les éditeurs modernes, comme le rappelle A. K. Grayson, RIMA 2, p. 328, pour en proposer une édition cohérente. Une bonne partie d'entre eux servit à produire le texte RIMA A.0.101.56 tandis que d'autres, bien que rattachés probablement à la rénovation du temple d'Ištar furent édités individuellement. C'est par exemple le cas de RIMA A.0.101.61 (= BM 121135). La photographie de ce texte accessible sur le site du CDLI (P422386) permet d'en proposer quelques améliorations de lecture et de tirer quelques conclusions historiques.

BM 121135

- 1' [ ù a-a]b\*-[ba gal-te
- 2' [ a-di ni-ir]-<sup>r</sup>bī\*<sup>1</sup> šá be\*-ta-a-n[i\* ]
- 3' [ ana gi]r\*-ii\*-meš-ia ú-š[ék\*-niš
- 4' [ uru bà]d-lu-lu-ma-a-a [
- 5' [ ša] el-<la>-an kur za-<sup>r</sup>ban<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>a\*<sup>1</sup>[di
- 6' [ ana mi-ši]r kur-ia [a]m-nu i[na\*
- 7' [ gú-u]n\* ma-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-tu <sup>r</sup>u\*<sup>1</sup>[kin
- 8' [ an]-hu-su u[d\*-di-šu
- 9' [ dan-na-s]u\* ak-[šud

Ce fragment est donc presque parallèle au texte mentionnant la rénovation du temple d'Ištar RIMA A.0.101.56, que l'on pourra utiliser pour combler les lacunes. Cela semble confirmer qu'il s'agisse d'un texte produit pour la rénovation du temple d'Ištar.

En revanche, A. K. Grayson a eu raison de ne pas le rattacher au texte 56, car la mention ligne 4' de la ville de Dûr-Lullumê permet de conclure que ce fragment appartient à une autre version du récit de construction.

Dans les inscriptions de Ninive, les descriptions des espaces dominés par le souverain sont quasiment toutes identiques, à l'exception de celles décrivant la zone est au-delà de la passe de Babite.

Ainsi, dans l'« inscription standard de Ninive » (RIMA A.0.101.40) la zone est décrite ainsi :

24-25 : (...) ta né-re-be šá uru ba-bi-te a-di kur nam-ri, **ana un-meš kur-ia am-nu** (...).

Elle est détaillée ainsi dans les cônes formant le texte RIMA A.0.101.56 :

11 : [ta né-re-be] šá uru ba-bi-ti a-<sup>r</sup>di kur<sup>1</sup> haš-mar [kur za-mu-a **ana**] <sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-hîr-ti-šá kur-<sup>r</sup>ud<sup>1</sup>.

Ces deux exemples montrent que, dans ce cas précis, les inscriptions du souverain ont connu au moins deux mises à jour, à la fois de style (en gras) mais aussi topographique (en souligné). Des textes provenant d'autres sites peuvent eux-aussi illustrer certaines variations, tels ta kur né-re-be šá uru ba-bi-te a-di kur haš-mar, **ana un-meš kur-ia am-nu** à Nimrud texte RIMA A.0.101.26 : 29-30 // texte RIMA A.0.101.30 (stèle du banquet) 19-20. Cela semble illustrer une progression dans la domination, ou du moins

une conception différente de cette domination : tout d’abord de Babite à Hašmar et l’ensemble du pays de Zamua, et enfin de Babite jusqu’au Namri. Si la ville de Dûr-Lullumê n’apparaît dans aucune d’entre elles, elle est située dans cette région, comme l’indique le récit de la 3<sup>e</sup> campagne menée dans la région du mont Nišir, dans le pays de Zamua. Elle fait partie des villes conquises par le souverain, mais est rarement mentionnée dans ses inscriptions.

Il faudrait alors supposer qu’elle apparaisse dans ce contexte dans l’inscription RIMA 101.61, et donnerait ainsi une des limites d’extension de l’empire au moment de la rédaction du texte. Le toponyme apparaît aussi dans un texte très abimé du souverain, dont seul un estampage est connu (RIMA A.0.101.43).

Si l’on compare les différentes versions de ce passage dans les inscriptions de Ninive il est possible de proposer les restaurations suivantes :

- Texte 40 ta *né-re-bi* šá kur *hab-ru-ri a-di* kur *gíl-za-ni*  
 Texte 56 *iš-tu [né-re-bi]* šá<sup>1</sup> kur *hab-ru-ri a-di* kur *gíl-za-a-[ni]*  
 Texte 43 [*iš-tu né-re-be šá* kur *hab*]-*ru-ri a-di* [kur *gíl-za-a-ni*]
- Texte 40 ta *né-re-be* šá uru *ba-bi-te a-di* kur *nam-ri ana* un-meš kur-ia *am-nu*  
 Texte 56 [*iš-tu né-re-be*] šá uru *ba-bi-ti a-di* kur<sup>1</sup> *haš-mar* [kur *za-mu-a ana*] š<sup>1</sup>*si<sup>1</sup>-hír-ti-šá* kur-ud<sup>1</sup>  
 Texte 43 [*iš-tu né-re-be šá* uru *ba-bi-ti a-di*] uru *bād-lu-lu-ma-a-ia* [kur *za-mu-a a-na si-hír-ti*]-šá kur-ud  
 Texte 61 [*iš-tu né-re-be šá* uru *ba-bi-ti a-di* uru *bā*]d-lu-lu-ma-a-a [kur *za-mu-a a-na si-hír-ti-šá* kur-ud]
- Texte 40 ta *e-ber-tan* id *za-ba-ki-ta* en uru *du<sub>6</sub>-ba-a-ri šá el-la-an* kur *za-ban*  
 Texte 56 ta *e<sup>1</sup>-ber<sup>1</sup>-ta-an* id *za<sup>1</sup>-ban<sup>1</sup>-ki-ta a-di* du<sub>6</sub>-[*ba-a-ri šá el-la-an* kur *za-ban*  
 Texte 43 *iš-tu [e-ber-ta-an id za-ban ki-ta a-di]* uru<sup>1</sup> *du<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>-ba-a-ri* [šá *el-la-an* kur *za-ban*]  
 Texte 61 [ta *e-ber-ta-an id za-ban-ki-ta a-di* du<sub>6</sub>-*ba-a-ri šá*] *el-<la>-an* kur *za<sup>1</sup>-ban<sup>1</sup>*
- Texte 40 en uru *du<sub>6</sub>-šá<sup>m</sup>-za-ab-da-ni u* uru *du<sub>6</sub>-šá<sup>1</sup>-ab-ta-a-ni*  
 Texte 56 *a-di du<sub>6</sub>-šá<sup>m</sup>-za-ab-da-a-ni u* du<sub>6</sub>-[šá<sup>m</sup>]*ab-ta-a<sup>1</sup>-ni*  
 Texte 43 [*a-di uru du<sub>6</sub>-šá<sup>m</sup>]-za-ab-da-a-ni [...]  
 Texte 61 <sup>1</sup>*a<sup>1</sup>-[di du<sub>6</sub><sup>m</sup>-šá-za-ab-da-a-ni u du<sub>6</sub>-šá<sup>m</sup>-ab-ta-a-ni]**
- Texte 40 uru *hi-ri-mu* uru *ha-ru-tú* uru *bi-ra-a-te šá* kur *kar-du-ni-áš a-na mi-šir* kur-ia *ú-ter*  
 Texte 56 uru *hi-ri-mu* *ha-ru-tú bi-ra-a-te šá* kur *kar-du-ni-áš* [ana] *me-šir* kur-ia *am-nu*  
 Texte 43 [ ]  
 Texte 61 [uru *hi-ri-mu* *ha-ru-tú bi-ra-a-te šá* kur *kar-du-ni-áš ana mi-ši*]r kur-ia [a]m-nu

Ces restaurations permettraient de proposer que ces textes illustrent trois mises à jour des inscriptions du souverain. La plus ancienne documentée par les textes 43 et 61, dans laquelle la domination du souverain va jusqu’à la ville de Dûr-Lullumê, une deuxième représentée par le texte 56 où la domination englobe le pays de Zamua, et une troisième, la plus récente, documentée notamment par le texte 40 où elle s’étend jusqu’au pays de Namri. Il n’est d’ailleurs pas étonnant que le texte 40 puisse fournir une version plus récente que le 56, car ce dernier est rédigé sur des cônes qui devaient être placés dans les fondations du bâtiment tandis que le 40 l’était sur des éléments décoratifs du palais, et donc mis en place à la fin de la construction de ce dernier. Cela confirmerait la mention de la ville de Dûr-Lullumê avant Hašmar.

Lionel MARTI <lionel.marti@college-de-france.fr>  
 CNRS, UMR 7192, Paris (FRANCE)

**19) A Neo-Assyrian seal depicting “Istar, worshipped by an Assyrian King and Queen” and a scorpion as well: Notes on the BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 stamp seal, formerly kept in the Southesk Collection\*** — The British Museum acquired the chalcedony stamp seal described as “The property of a lady” in an auction held in London (15 May 2002).<sup>1)</sup> Although I published this stamp seal in 2008<sup>2)</sup> and a few publications about it have emerged since its appearance at the auction,<sup>3)</sup> I would like to comment on some new aspects on this object related to its modern history, iconography, date, and its connection with sealings depicting very similar scenes.

#### I. Modern history of BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 stamp seal, “The property of a lady”

According to the database of the British Museum, the stamp seal was sold by the widow of Howard Blackmore (1917–1999), thus revealing the identity of the previous (*i.e.* the alleged) owner mentioned in

the auction catalogue. However, the first occurrence of the stamp seal is in the catalogue of the collection of James Carnegie, the ninth Earl of Southesk K.T. (1827–1905), which provides a description and a photograph of the modern seal impression (fig. 1: I).<sup>4)</sup>

This collector and amateur pioneer of early glyptic research in the late 19th and early 20th centuries already recognized the high quality and importance of the stamp seal. As for the iconography, he noted that it is “so finely designed and engraved that Dr. [T. G.] Pinches suggests that it might have been a royal signet. I have seen nothing better in its kind. [...] though the seal itself is internally flawed and abraded round the edges of the slightly convex bezel. I very highly value this gem.” According to his description, the seal depicts “ISTAR, worshiped by an Assyrian King and Queen” and the dome-shaped (*hemispherical*) stamp seal is “white chalcedony; lcx. [low convex] 6 × 6 [*eighths of an inch*] (flawed and slightly chipped). N.: 1900” (CARNEGIE 1908, vol. I, 212–213 no. O 32).

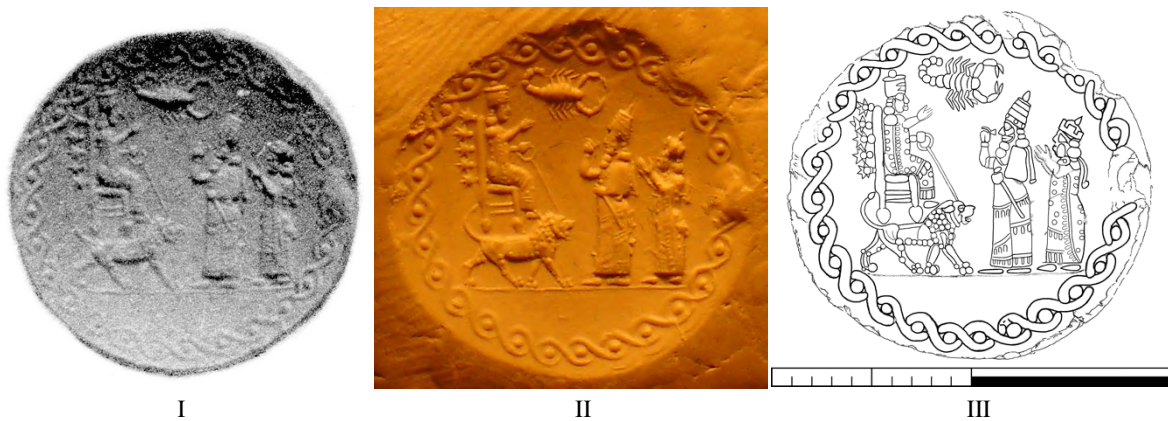


Fig. 1: I: seal impression (CARNEGIE 1908, vol. I, pl. XVII: O 32) – II–III: impression and inverted drawing made of stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1. The photograph (fig. 1: II) is published here by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Besides the evidence withdrawn from the parameters given and the published photograph, the large chip on the guilloche border behind the standing female figure makes it clear that this stamp seal is identical with BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 (fig. 1: II). Moreover, it is important to note that the gold wire attached to the stamp seal is without doubt recently applied, since the description takes no account of it. The chipped circular edge around the guilloche reveals that the object had an original setting that is now lost. The catalogue of Carnegie also informs us that it was acquired in 1900. Although the place of acquisition and dealer or previous owners of most items are mentioned, there is no more information about the provenance of this stamp seal. As for the later history of the collection, Helena M. Carnegie – who edited the manuscript for publication after her father’s death in 1905 – noted in the Preface (xiv) “that sixteen of the gems comprised in the Catalogue are marked as being no longer in the collection. As, however, the majority of these have only been removed since my father’s death and remain in the possession of members of his family...”.

## II. The seal image

The cultic scene (fig. 1) is encircled by a dotted guilloche border within which there is a composition of three figures with a scorpion above. The king is the central figure and his consort is behind him, while in front of them a goddess is seated on her throne, which is itself placed on the back of a *lion passant*.<sup>5)</sup> The seal image reflects the most developed and elaborate modelled style whose distinctive features are the figures’ very fine plastic details formed with a cutting-wheel while the anatomical and decorative elements are, in part, shaped with different-sized drills.

Based on the scene and the shaping of the figures, the stamp seal may be dated to the reigns of Sennacherib (704–681) or Esarhaddon (680–669). Regarding the posture and clothing, the king may be compared with the figures of the two kings mentioned above on the rock carvings of Maltai (fig. 2: I) and the Zinçirli stele (fig. 2: II) respectively. On the Maltai depiction the figures of the king frame the divine procession on either side, while on the main depicted field of the Zinçirli stele, although the two subjugated

adversaries are in front of the king (who holds them on leashes), the royal posture and the ceremonial clothes also reveal the cultic character of the scene, since the king is in front of the divine figures and symbols situated on the upper field.

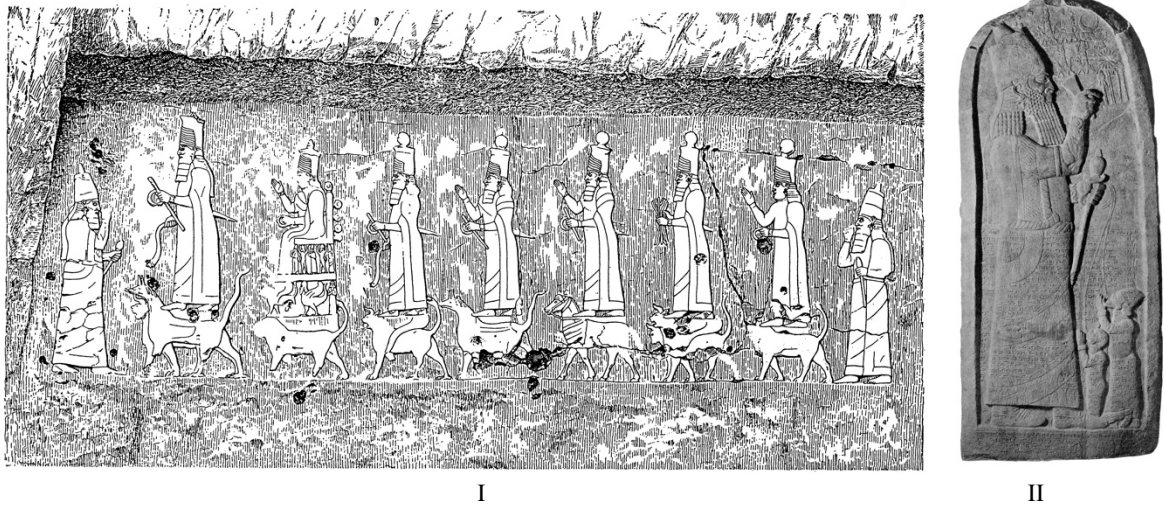


Fig. 2: I: “panneau B”, one of the Maltaï rock carvings (THUREAU-DANGIN 1924, 187 and 188 no. 1 [drawing of André Lespinnasse]) – II: main depicted field of the Zinçirli stele (VON LUSCHAN 1893, pl. 1).

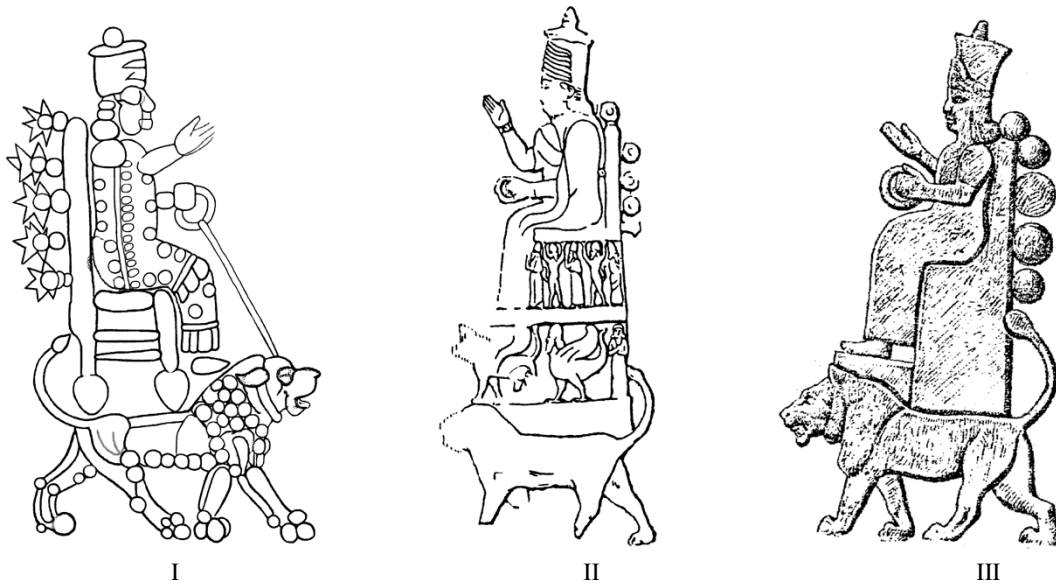


Fig. 3: I: detail of inverted drawing made from stamp seal BM WA 2002-05-15, 1 – II: detail from “panneau B”, one of the Maltaï rock carvings (THUREAU-DANGIN 1924, 187 and 188 no. 1) – III: detail of the Zinçirli stele (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler I, pl. 7).

The seated goddess (fig. 3: I) can be identified with Ištar based on the attributes (the headdress, the row of stars on the back of the throne and the *lion passant*). In comparison with this image the goddess's cultic effigy (the syncretic figure of Ištar of Nineveh and Mullissu, consort of Aššur)<sup>6</sup> is known to us only from depictions such as the rock carvings of Maltaï (fig. 3: II) and the Zinçirli stele (fig. 3: III).

Behind the king on the seal depiction (fig. 1) there is a third figure that raises her hands in prayer towards the goddess. This female figure is also related to the Assyrian court. Her headdress (the mural crown), the shape of which is similar to crenellated wall, and her clothing, on which there are decorated rosettes marked by drill-holes, identify her as one of the royal consorts. On the depicted field of the stamp seal the scorpion appears as a *filling motif* above Ištar in the cultic scene.



The presence of the royal couple and the homage paid before Ištar, also the artistic level of the depiction, make the importance of this stamp seal evident as well as it identifies the primary role of its owner. For further study of the subject, the next subsection will present one group of contemporary stamp seal impressions from Aššur and Nineveh.

### III. A reconstructed group based on a comparison of sealings (along with questions about their dates and owners)

During the excavations in Nineveh, Austin Henry Layard discovered six sealings (a–f) and Walter Andrae found another (g) in Aššur whose sealed depictions<sup>7)</sup> are connected with the aforementioned cultic scene (fig. 1). These clay sealings were used as identity markers which designated the properties and activities of the owners of the stamp seals.<sup>8)</sup>

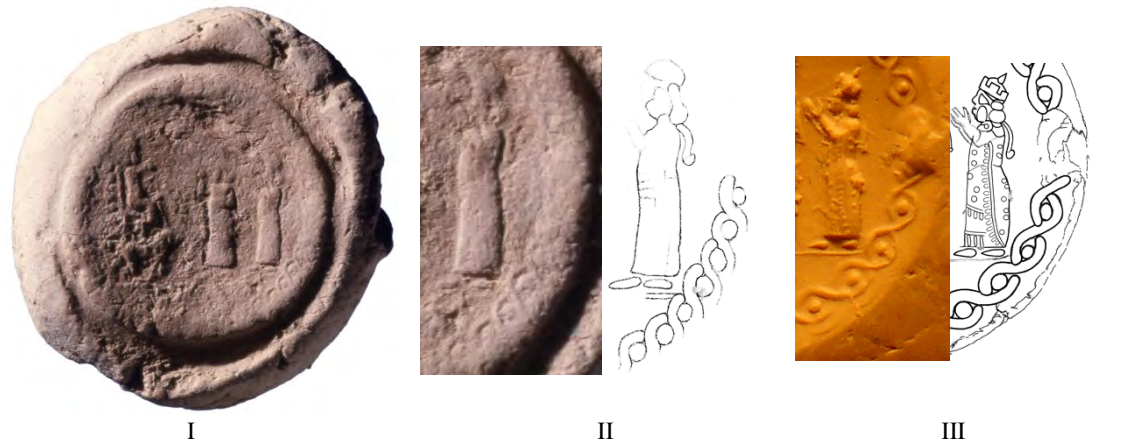


Fig. 4: BM WA 84671 sealing (note 7: a): I: photograph<sup>9)</sup> and its details (II) *versus* details (III) of BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 stamp seal (see fig. 1).



Fig. 5: BM WA 84553 sealing (note 7: d): I (LAYARD 1853, pl. 69: 6) and II (photographs).



Fig. 6: K 348 + Ki 1904–10–9, 246 (BM WA 99214) textile docket (note 7: f): I: obverse and II: reverse (photographs). The photographs (figs. 4–6) are published here by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Based on the divine depictions we can identify two types illustrating the main differences among the seal images. Although both types of the goddess are on the back of a *lion passant*, one is sitting on her throne (note 7: *a*, fig. 4: I) as on the stamp seal (fig. 1), while another one is represented in a standing position (note 7: *b–g*, e.g. fig. 5). As with the first type, the stars constitute the main characteristics of this figure, whose body is encircled by stars as a *nimbus*. This image of Ištar can be compared to another type, *i.e.* Ištar of Arbela who is named after her cultic centre on the evidence provided by the stele of Til Barsip.<sup>10)</sup>

Among the collected clay sealings, the textile docket (fig. 6) constitutes the only textual evidence which enables us to precisely date and identify its sphere of application. Its inscription mentions a certain quantity and quality of textiles, reserved for transport or storage, and is dated to the month of Kislev (IX), eponym year of Nabû-aḥḫē-ēreš (681), during the reign of Sennacherib.<sup>11)</sup>

As for the connection between stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 (fig. 1) and the sealings, as well as the identification of the owner of the stamp seal, Karen Radner noted (based on Dominique Collon's direct observation of the material) in her publication of 2008 that “BM 84671 [(fig. 4: I)] is certainly an impression produced with this seal [BM WA 2002–05–15, 1], and this is also likely in the case of K. 348+ [textile docket (fig. 6)], although the poor quality of the two impressions on that docket make it impossible to be absolutely certain” (RADNER 2008, 498 note 33). In her publication “The Seal of Tašmetum-šarrat, Sennacherib's Queen, and Its Impressions” (2012), she mentions that, besides them, the seal impression of BM WA 84553 (fig. 5) was also made with the stamp seal.<sup>12)</sup> Moreover, she concluded that the dated textile docket (fig. 6) was sealed with Tašmetu-šarrat's stamp seal which is stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 (fig. 1).

As regards this interpretation, I agree that the textile docket was sealed with the stamp seal of a royal consort (who could be Tašmetu-šarrat) based on the date. However, I have to reject the identification of the aforementioned three sealings (note 7: *a, d, f*, figs. 4–6) as impressions made using stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 (fig. 1). The identification of Tašmetu-šarrat as the owner of stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 also seems to be questionable due to the lack of conclusive iconographical and textual sources.

Concerning the connection between stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 and the three sealings (figs. 4–6), the following remarks are worth mentioning:

- BM WA 84671 (note 7: *a*, fig. 4: I): Although this sealing attests the same depiction and characteristics as stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 (fig. 1), including the dotted guilloche border, this repetitive and well-executed regular pattern, within which there is the depicted cultic scene, allows us to distinguish the two seal images from each other (fig. 1 *versus* fig. 4: I). While most of the guilloche border is very faint or completely invisible around the scene on the BM WA 84671 impression, there are two recognisable details of the guilloche design. One is situated behind the seated divine figure, while the other is behind the standing female figure's lower body and below her feet. By comparing the latter (fig. 4: II) – which is clearly visible in the published photographs (note 9) – with the guilloche on the impression of stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 (fig. 4: III), we can conclude that the arrangements of overlapping curved bands are represented in opposite directions relative to each other. In other words, these regular patterns encircling the scenes are engraved differently on the two seal depictions. Moreover, regarding the number of segments of the two guilloche borders (*i.e.* overlapping curved bands around the central dots), we can conclude that the guilloche border on the seal impression consists of more elements (overlapping spirals and drilled holes) than on stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 (as visible on the photographs and drawings: fig. 4: II *versus* III).

- BM WA 84553 (note 7: *d*, fig. 5): Contrary to the latter sealing (fig. 4: I), the standing figure of Ištar is depicted on this seal (fig. 5). Her silhouette and the globe-tipped elements representing the radiance of the stars that encircle her upper body – which is clearly visible on the drawing (fig. 5: I) published by Layard with the following description “...a deity standing on a lion, and surrounded by seven stars” (LAYARD 1853*b*, 154 no. 1)<sup>13)</sup> – prove that we have to reject the possibility that the goddess is depicted in a sitting position.

- K 348 + Ki 1904–10–9 (note 7: *f*, fig. 6): In the case of the dated textile docket, which constitutes the focal point of the suggested interpretation, the seal impressions (see obverse and reverse in fig. 6: I–II) are of “poor quality”; nevertheless, the goddess seems to be the standing figure of Ištar based on the

silhouette, proportions and her arrangement in relation to the *lion passant* (fig. 6: I). There is no trace of a throne or indication of a seated position; however, the upright longitudinal silhouette of her lower body as well as the oval-shaped form designating the *nimbus* around her upper body do allow us to recognise the standing figure of the goddess.<sup>14)</sup>

#### IV. Conclusions

As for the collected sealings, the use of seven different stamp seals (note 7: *a–g*) belonging to the reconstructed group may be identified. Among them, one of the seals depicts the seated divine figure (fig. 4: I); however, it was not sealed with stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 (fig. 1). There is also a sealed textile docket (fig. 6) which is dated to the last year of Sennacherib (when Tašmētu-šarrat was queen). We can conclude that these sealings were made with the stamp seals of royal consorts; however, linking them to any of the known queens<sup>15)</sup> is problematic due to the lack of inscriptions on them and because of the high number of different seals.

Regarding the date of this group, they seem to have been made and used during the reigns of Sennacherib and of Esarhaddon. The use of these stamp seals after the reign of Esarhaddon is questionable due to a lack of evidence. Nevertheless, it is possible that at least some of the seal impressions studied in this paper were made with personal stamp seals of the royal consorts of Ashurbanipal (668–c.630) or his successors.

Although the stamp seals themselves have been lost, we can conclude that their depictions follow the same iconographical conventions as regards their themes, applied technologies and artistic level. Apart from the two types of Ištar which can be identified on them, the structural principle of the depicted scenes, the framing dotted guilloche borders (when they are recognisable), as well as the arrangement and characteristics of the figures attest similarities. These stamp seals are consistently copied compositions, a fact which demonstrates that they were manufactured in series and in workshops under central control.

#### Notes

\* I am very grateful to John E. Curtis and Jonathan Taylor, who allowed me to study stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 (fig. 1) and six sealings (note 7: *a–f*) in the British Museum (January 2008 and May 2010) and to Nadja Cholidis who allowed me to study one sealing (note 7: *g*) in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (January 2017). I am also indebted to Mark W. Hamilton (Abilene Christian University), Huba Lőrincz (ELTE Budapest), Éva Varga (ELTE Budapest), and Philip Young (Warburg Institute) for their comments and linguistic suggestions. The drawings (figs. 1: III, 3: I, 4: II–III) presented are made by the author. This research was funded by the Henri Frankfort Fellowship, which supported my work on the present manuscript in the Warburg Institute (May and June 2014), and by the ANR-FWF project “Material Culture of Babylonia during the 1st millennium BC”. The main results of this paper were presented in my talk “Imagery of the Neo-Assyrian seals belonging to the Palace”, *Ancient Near Eastern Seals as Markers of Identity (ANESMI)*, Ghent University (June 2014). The paper, with further iconographical and philological analysis, will be presented in the author’s forthcoming monograph on the imagery of the divine world.

1. Christie’s. *South Kensington: Antiquities. Tuesday 14 and Wednesday 15 May 2002* (Auction Code: ANT–9380/2) lot 288.

2. NIEDERREITER 2008, 61 fig. 10 and 84 no. II.b.13.

3. MITCHELL – SEARIGHT 2008, 102 no. 221; RADNER 2008, 498 note 33. For further publication mentioning the objects, see e.g. RADNER 2012, esp. 687–690 figs. 1–2; TSOUPOPOULOU 2014, 53.

4. CARNegie 1908, vol. I, 212–213 no. O 32 and pl. XVII: O 32.

5. Contrary to my previous paper in which the drawing of the intaglio (*i.e.*, the stamp seal depiction) was inserted (NIEDERREITER 2008, 61 fig. 10), the drawing is worth presenting (fig. 1: III) as it appeared on the impressions since the positive version reflects its real use and the iconographical conventions. It means that the goddess raises her right hand and holds the leash of the lion in her left while the king (who is depicted in the so-called *lābin appi* posture) raises a particular object towards his nose, and the mace, his symbol of power, appears in his left, held about waist height.

6. The identification of Mullissu’s figure and the syncretism of Ištar and Mullissu based on the iconographical and textual evidence constitute one chapter of my monograph under preparation.

7. The following summary presents the primary bibliographical references about the seven clay sealings (*a–g*):

(*a*): BM WA 84671 (51–9–2, 190): READE 1987, 145 fig. 7; HERBORDT 1992, 138 and pl. 32: 3; MITCHELL – SEARIGHT 2008, 102 no. 221; NIEDERREITER 2008, 84 no. II.b.12; RADNER 2008, 498–499 no. A.4.2 (fig. 14); RADNER 2012, esp. 688–689 fig. 3;

(*b*): BM WA 84789 (51–9–2, 313): READE 1987, 144–145 fig. 5; HERBORDT 1992, 137–138 and pl. 32: 5; MITCHELL – SEARIGHT 2008, 103 no. 223: a; NIEDERREITER 2008, 83 no. II.b.6; RADNER 2008, 497–498 no. A.3.1 (fig. 9);

(c): BM WA 84802 (51–9–2, 349): LAYARD 1853, 7 no. 16 and pl. 69: 16; READE 1987, 144–145 fig. 6; HERBORDT 1992, 137–138 and pl. 32: 4; MITCHELL – SEARIGHT 2008, 103 no. 223: b–c; NIEDERREITER 2008, 83 no. II.b.7; RADNER 2008, 497–498 no. A.3.2 (fig. 11<sup>1</sup>);

(d): BM WA 84553 (51–9–2, 71): LAYARD 1853, 7 no. 6 and pl. 69: 6; LAYARD 1853b, 154 no. 1; HERBORDT 1992, 138 note 50; MITCHELL – SEARIGHT 2008, 103 no. 222; NIEDERREITER 2008, 83 no. II.b.8; RADNER 2008, 499 no. A.4.3 (fig. 15); RADNER 2012, esp. 689 fig. 4;

(e): BM WA 50781 (82–3–23, 1773): MITCHELL – SEARIGHT 2008, 103 no. 224; NIEDERREITER 2008, 83 no. II.b.9; RADNER 2008, 497–498 no. A.3.3 (fig. 10<sup>1</sup>);

(f): K 348 + Ki 1904–10–9, 246 (BM WA 99214): FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 108 no. 94; HERBORDT 1992, 252 no. Ninive 203 and pl. 14: 13; MITCHELL – SEARIGHT 2008, 46–47 no. 44; NIEDERREITER 2008, 83–84 no. II.b.11; RADNER 2008, 498–499 no. A.4.1 (fig. 13: a–b); RADNER 2012, esp. 689 fig. 5;

(g): Ass 18956 (VA Ass 4276): KLENGEL-BRANDT 1994, 147–149 and pl. XV: a; NIEDERREITER 2008, 83 no. II.b.10.

8. Besides written documents, sealings were used to close locking devices or different storage devices (ceramic vessels, wooden boxes or reed baskets) (HERBORDT 1992, 279–281).

9. For the same photograph, see READE 1987, 145 fig. 7; ORNAN 2002, 461: D and 463 fig. 5a.3 (the sealing is designated incorrectly as 84871).

10. The votive inscription on the stele of Til Barsip names the goddess depicted on it (lines 1–2): “For Ištar, who lives in Arbela, his lady...” (*ana<sup>d</sup> 15 a-ši-bat<sup>um</sup> Arba-il<sub>3</sub> / GAŠAN-štu<sub>2</sub>...*) (THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, 156–157 no. 4 and pl. XIV: 1).

11. FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 108 no. 94. For the date of the textile docket and its connection to the reign of Sennacherib, see RADNER 2008, 498–499 no. [A.4.1]; RADNER 2012, 689–690 fig. 5.

12. RADNER 2012, esp. 688–690.

13. For another drawing, see MITCHELL – SEARIGHT 2008, 103 no. 222.

14. On the published drawings of the seal depiction, the silhouette of a standing figure on the *lion passant* is visible with the following descriptions: “Zwei menschliche Figuren (Beter?) stehen vor einem Löwen(?), der auf dem Rücken Symbol(e) trägt. Nur der Kugelpfeiler ist erkennbar.” (HERBORDT 1992, 252 no. Ninive 203 and pl. 14: 13) and “Two worshippers to left facing symbol on the back of a lion.” (MITCHELL – SEARIGHT 2008, 46 no. 44).

15. As for the lists of the identified Neo-Assyrian queens based on the written sources, see SVÄRD 2015, 48: Table 2.

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Zoltán NIEDERREITER <zniederreiter@gmail.com>

MTA–ELTE Lendület Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals and Divine World Research  
Group and ELKH, Budapest (HONGRIE)

**20) The motivation question of ancient Mesopotamian scholarship** — The question about what motivated ancient Mesopotamian scholars to invent and produce enormous amounts of the knowledge texts such as word lists, omens, mathematical and astronomical calculations and similar items of scholarship can be answered in manifold ways. N. Veldhuis addressed this topic when investigating the lexicographic lists, asking: “what did these lists mean to those who copied, owned and collected them?” (2013: 1). The authors of cuneiform lists possibly intended to create an order of the world by naming its objects, or they wanted to produce tools for learning or to construct and maintain the group identity of scribes (Veldhuis 2013). It can be assumed that all these components played a role in motivating ancient scholars. However, it is also possible to analyse the motivation question from the point of view of human neurology.

In his recent book *The Pattern Seekers* (2020) the leading autism researcher Simon Baron-Cohen discusses how the neural structure called Systemizing Mechanism has driven human invention for at least 70 000 years. He also points to ancient Mesopotamia as “a remarkable location for early systemizing” (Baron-Cohen 2020: 166). The motivation to study systematically one’s environment is also triggered by biological factors and the study of patterns is a species-specific behaviour in humans that is not found in other animals. The Systemizing Mechanism leads to observation and testing of “if – then” patterns and drives curiosity for its own sake, the satisfaction of which is the pleasure gained from this activity. In persons on the autistic spectrum the Systemizing Mechanism is tuned very high (Baron-Cohen 2020).

From this reasoning it follows that the knowledge texts in ancient Mesopotamia were often composed and copied by people, who were hyper-systemizers by nature, sharing the same kind of mind as autistic people. This clinical label adds a natural component to the motivation question of the ancient Mesopotamian scholars who recorded their observations in cuneiform knowledge texts. The neurological notions of autism and hyper-systemizing can be useful for cultural studies of the ancient Mesopotamian knowledge and religion (Annus 2018). Autism is a highly inheritable condition and when discussing its full spectrum, narrow views should be avoided in favour of a broader autism phenotype. According to most experienced clinicians, autism is “one of the most complex spectrums in terms of variability that one can find in psychology and psychiatry” and there is “no “tick box” instrument or questionnaire that can cover this variability” (Fitzgerald 2018: 317). A small portion of persons affected with autism are very talented as scientists or have a related condition of savantism, which refers to distinguished abilities in a domain of knowledge and/or skills (Fitzgerald 2004).

Social communication difficulties are often found in autistic spectrum, but the condition can also bring along strong intellectual interests. The hyper-systemizing minds are interested in organisable systems, are prone to cataloguing and classifying, making lists, learning lists of names, events or facts, and collecting word meanings (Baron-Cohen 2008: 82-83). All these activities are abundantly attested in cuneiform knowledge texts that were committed into writing in the list format or using “if – then” patterns. The most prolific genre in cuneiform is lexicographic lists of words, which no other ancient culture developed to a comparable degree. These lists are always systematically organized either according to certain elements of script or listing certain type of objects. Some of these lists acquired canonical status once they were written down and subsequently copied in identical form for hundreds of years. Some copies of such lists show that they were assigned a high social prestige. However, the list-making activity was open to innovation because occasionally new lists were spontaneously generated and some manuscripts can be shown to elaborate on the basis of already existing lists (Mieroop 2016). These facts demonstrate that the lists were not only

copied for social prestige but their scholarship was also motivated by neurologically driven curiosity. The lists are testimonials to intellectual curiosity of scribes in which practical considerations and social aspirations often played no role, for example “in copying long lists of rare words and obsolete signs that had no obvious practical relevance for the scribal profession” (Veldhuis 2014: 4). According to S. Baron-Cohen such cerebral activities are driven by Systemizing Mechanism, although in the case of ancient Mesopotamia, the systematic approach was also applied to the realms of the imaginary, as the elaborate lists of deities exemplify. M. van de Mieroop rightly considers this striving for speculative wisdom as the “pursuit of truth” (2016). Whatever is presented as knowledge in cuneiform sources is a product of the Systemizing Mechanism, which also underlies the achievements of modern science.

The ancient Mesopotamian civilization became very advanced in mathematics and astronomy. The findings of recent years have brought this even more to the fore. M. Ossendrijver (2016) has pointed out evidence for the use of geometrical methods in Babylonian mathematical astronomy, which was previously viewed as operating exclusively with arithmetical concepts. The cuneiform scholarship took its first steps to calculus (Cowen 2016). Accordingly, it can be speculated that some of ancient Mesopotamian scholars may have possessed a high level of autistic traits just as some modern scientists of eminence (James 2003). Although it may be very difficult to trace such characteristics in texts, my research has indicated a short passage in Akkadian literature, which possibly features an autistic mathematical savant. The text in question is the *Hymn to Ninurta as the Helper in Misery*, known mainly from the clay cylinders of the first millennium BCE (Mayer 1992). The hymn consists of many short exempla in poetic form, which plots describe a character under unfavourable conditions who is granted favour or rescue when the deity intervenes. The section XVIII describes a disadvantaged person with mathematical abilities gaining favour due to the god Ninurta, who makes his appearance handsome and his body odour pleasurable to the nobles. The text passage mentions three characteristics of this person – he has difficulties in hearing, has unfocused eyes and unpleasant appearance that possibly results from poor self-care. All these features are consistent with autism, although this connection must remain speculative.

Text of the Section XVIII (Mayer 1992: 25-26)

*šah-hu-ú* (var. *šá-hu-ú*) *šá ina i-ni nu-muš-ku-ú ina uz-ni ru-ú-qa*  
*apkal* (NUN.ME) *šá-ma-mi mu-za-a-a-in-ni bal-tú*  
*ta-nam-din-šum-ma a-ra-ka-šú kīma* (GIM) *za-‘i-i*  
*ana uš-šu-nu ru-bé-e iš-šu-uš*

“O weakling, whose eyes are squinted and who is distant in ears,  
 (you, Ninurta), the sage of heaven, who makes appearances comely,  
 you give him his abacus as (aromatic) resin,  
 wood of which the nobles will sniff.”

The editor W. Mayer understood this passage as follows: “The work that the poor clerk (?) employed in accounting (?) does is as pleasing and pleasant to the nobles as the scent of a fragrant resin” (1992: 40). In its literary context this interpretation makes sense. The first word of the section – either *šahhû* or *šahû* – is not found in Akkadian dictionaries and is perhaps a colloquialism. Mayer’s explanation of the word as miscopied *šulhû* “scribe” is not convincing (1992: 40). The word may be cognate to the Akkadian *šēhānu* with the meaning “ecstatic” that is equated with LU<sub>2</sub>.KA.TAR and *mah-hu-ú* “mad, lunatic” in lexical lists (CAD Š/2 263). Because the text is late an Aramaic loanword can also be considered, which is assumed to be *\*šhy* “to grow faint, to become weak” in the above translation. However, the word still lacks the conclusive explanation, it is probably the colloquial word *šahû* that designates an autistic type of person, which specimen is described in the passage.

The phrase *inī numuškû* “squinted eyes” probably refers to piercing eyes, stiff and slow gaze that is characteristic to many persons with autism. The verb is a late Babylonian form of Akkadian *namarkû* (D) “to be late, delay” (Mayer 1992: 40-41). This kind of gaze was also characteristic of the mathematician Srinivasa Ramanujan (1887-1920), who has been posthumously diagnosed as autistic (Fitzgerald 2004). According to a fellow student in the school Ramanujan had particularly captivating gaze and when he concentrated hard the pupils in the eyes would vanish making it appear that he had squint or something similar (Fitzgerald 2004: 212). Ramanujan always dressed in the same peculiar way and was careless about

personal hygiene. The Babylonian text describes similar traits in a person whom the divine patron Ninurta helps by making his appearance and odour pleasant and acceptable to the ruling elite, granting him a favourable status. The autistic people tend to be slow and absent-minded in reacting to speech directed to them due to their self-absorbed state of mind that may be referred with the Akkadian phrase *ina uзнī rūqa* “distant in ears”. Another difficult word in the text is *a-ra-ka-šū*, which probably refers to computing device or abilities, presumably related to the Sumerian A.RÁ – “calculation”.

Mathematics is indeed a field in which hyper-systemizers can flourish (Bressan 2018). Autistic traits are very common in the mathematical world in which they pass almost unnoticed (Fitzgerald, James 2007). S. Baron-Cohen’s book (2020) about Systemizing Mechanism in the human brain will open new vistas also in the study of the texts from the ancient world and helps us understand the motivation of ancient scholars in more neurological manner. Baron-Cohen’s book can help to build a new approach to the ancient scientific and religious scholarship from the point of view of modern neuroscience.

#### Note

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Amar ANNUS <amar@ut.ee>

University of Tartu – School of Theology and Religious Studies (ESTONIA)

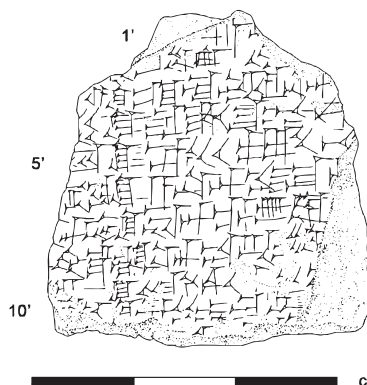
**21) BM 39617\* (1880-11-12, 1504), duplicate of Scheil, RB 6 (1897) 29-30 no. II = RT 19 (1897) 61 no. 2** — BM 39617\* (1880-11-12, 1504) is a fragment from the left part of the obverse of a tablet with all the edges missing that I publish here by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. It is written in Late Babylonian ductus. The catalogue of the British Museum tablet collection, CBTBM 4-5 p. 381, describes the tablets of the 1880-11-12 collection as coming from the excavations of Hormuzd Rassam according to the register; tablet number 1504 is among the numbers said to come from Babylon. CBTBM 4-5 p. 422 lists this tablet wrongly as astronomical. Each line of the preserved text seems to begin with the name of a city followed by an epithet. The text is the duplicate of a text published by Scheil twice in 1897.

Vincent Scheil published the duplicate text, a text “de nature prophétique”, in transcription and translation in *RB* 6 (1897) 29-30 as no. II. He wrote that the tablet was housed unnumbered in “Constantinople”; the other tablet he published in this article was no. 341 of the “musée de Constantinople”. Scheil assumed that both tablets came from Babylon. In the same year, Scheil republished the tablet in *RT* 19 (1897) 61 as no. 2, this time in transliteration and translation. I have not found any hand copy of this tablet nor a re-edition. Borger, HKL I, 459 characterised this text as “Hymnus auf Nabû ?” with reference

to CAD A/I 285a where line 3 of the Late Babylonian literary text was quoted as referring to Nabû. The god Nabû, however, is not named, but he is the main god of the first city that is named in the first preserved line of Scheil's tablet, Borsippa. According to Scheil's edition the left edge of the tablet is preserved while the right one is missing. Although he transcribed and transliterated each entry in just one line, the scribe must have written entries 1-4 each in two subsequent lines of which the second one was most likely indented, since Scheil indicates that text is broken away within the lines. In addition, an introduction to the text is missing, so the tablet's upper edge must also be missing, and so is the reverse of the tablet. It is striking that in both tablets the lines break more or less at the same point.

The entries begin with the phrase *tabnīt* city x, "creation of city x", or "offspring of city x", followed by epithets. The first city named in the tablet published by Scheil is Borsippa. The other cities are Dilbat, Kiš, Kutha, Isin, Uruk, Akkad, Keš, Lagaš, Karkara, Dēr and Aššur; here both tablets break. Except for Aššur, which is only preserved in the tablet Scheil published, only Babylonian cities are named. It is not certain that the first preserved entry of Scheil's tablet is the first entry of the sequence beginning with *tabnīt* + city name. Since no god is named at the beginning of the lines, all entries would seem to refer to the same god, whose name must have been introduced at the beginning of the tablet that is now lost. The god in question could be Marduk considering that both copies most probably come from Babylon. One is reminded of the 50 names that Marduk was given in the epic of creation *enūma eliš* in order to bestow the characteristics and powers of these gods on him. However, Babylon could just be the place where this composition was read and copied and it originated somewhere else, so in that case it would refer to another god, or even to a demon.

#### BM 39617\*



The epithets are not necessarily related to the main divinities of the given cities (see comment to entry 8'); they generally have a warlike character. They describe a powerful (11') male god who has no equal (1') and whose influence can be felt in heaven and on earth (6'). His main characteristics are heroism (1') and ferocity (4', 9') in battle (4', 7', 10'), where he functions as a "weapon without rival" (4'). He is someone who "consumes" enemies in "a blaze of fire" (3') and generally destroys by fire like the fire god Girra (8'). This description could refer to Nergal or Erra, but also to several other gods. The composition addresses an individual, a god or a king, since it refers to "[your?] mid[dle?...] and "your enemies" (3'), and to the touch of "yo[ur?] hand" (5') which the god in question, the "creation of Isin", dealt with.

#### Sources

- A Scheil, *RB* 6 (1897) 29-30 no. II, and *RT* 19 (1897) 61 no. 2 (no hand copy); the tablet is housed in "Constantinople", no number is known. Left part fragment from the obverse of a tablet written in Late Babylonian ductus. Babylon is assumed as origin.
- B BM 39617\* (1880-11-12, 1504). Middle part fragment from near the left edge of the obverse of a tablet written in Late Babylonian ductus. The tablet's origin is Babylon. For the hand copy see the figure.

#### Transliteration

- 1' A 1' *tab-nit* BĀR.SIPA.KI (Scheil: *bar-sip*.KI) *qar-du muq-[tab-lu...]* (or *mug-[da-aš-ru...]*)
- A 2' *ša-nin-u* NU [išû]
- 2' A 3' *tab-nit* dil-bat.KI NAM.TAR.MEŠ [
- A 4' *ul in-nam-ma-ru* [
- 3' A 5' *tab-nit* KIŠ.KI *a-ku-ka-a-ti qé-[reb-ka*
- B 1' [... -k]a²-a-t[i²]
- A 6' *qa-mu-u na-ki-ri-ka* [
- B 2' [ x x ]x ¹ma²-te-eḫ I[M?
- 4' A 7' *tab-nit* GÚ.DU₈.A.KI GIŠ.TUKUL *la maḫ-ri* [
- A 8' *la a-di-ru* [tāḫaḫi
- B 3' [*tabnīt* GÚ.D]U₈.A.KI GIŠ.TUKUL *la maḫ-ru na-an-[du-ru*

- 5' A 9' *tab-nit* PA.ŠE.KI *ra-piš* <ŠU>TAG-[  
B 4' [*tabnīt* PA.Š]E.KI *ra-piš* ŠU.TAG-k[a<sup>2</sup>
- 6' A 10' *tab-nit* UNUG.KI *e-liš u šap-liš* [  
B 5' [*tabnīt* U]NUG.KI *e-liš u šap-liš*<sup>1</sup> *ina* x[
- 7' A 11' *tab-nit* a-kà-dè.KI *qa-na-a-ti* [  
B 6' [*tabnīt* a]-kà-dè.KI *a-na-an-tu*<sub>4</sub>-šu x[
- 8' A 12' *tab-nit* KÈŠ.KI (Scheil: AN.ĤAR.KI) *ki-ma* du-ka (?) ma (?) [  
B 7' [*tabnīt* K]ÈŠ.KI GIM <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *ú-šar*-[*ra-pu*
- 9' A 13' *tab-nit* ŠIR.BUR.LA.KI *na-an-du-ru* [  
B 8' [*tabnīt* Š]IR.BUR.LA.KI *na-an-du-ri* <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-x[
- 10' A 14' *tab-nit* IM.KI *tu-qut-ti* [  
B 9' [*tabnīt* I]M.KI *tu-qut-ti* *ana*<sup>2</sup> <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>2</sup> x[
- 11' A 15' *tab-nit* BÀD.AN.KI *e-mu-uq* [  
B 10' [*tabnīt* BÀ]D.<sup>r</sup>AN.KI *e-mu-qan* <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup>]
- 12' A 16' *tab-nit* Aššur.KI *giš tu ir* [  
B 11' [*tabnīt* x x] x x x x[
- A, B (remainder is missing)

### Translation

- 1' Creation of Borsippa, the heroic one, wa[rrior...] (or mi[ghty] hero [...]), who [has] no equal.  
2' Creation of Dilbat, the *namtāru*-demons [...], they are not seen [...].  
3' Creation of Kiš, the blaze of fire of [your?] mid[dle?...] (A:) the one who consumes your enemies, [...] / (B:) [...]..., the one who lifts<sup>2</sup> up<sup>2</sup> [...].  
4' Creation of Kutha, the weapon of no rival, the furi[ous one...], (who) is not afraid [of battle...].  
5' Creation of Isin, the one who enlarges (or expands) what yo[ur?] hand has touched, [...].  
6' Creation of Uruk, above and below in [...].  
7' Creation of Akkad, (A:) arrows [...] / (B:) his battle [...].  
8' Creation of Keš, like Girra he bur[ns...].  
9' Creation of Lagaš, the furious one, ...[...].  
10' Creation of Karkara, who [...] battle to the country, [...].  
11' Creation of Dēr, whose strength is... [...].  
12' Creation of Assur,... [...].  
(remainder is missing)

### Comments

CAD quoted the following entries after the Scheil text in: CAD A/1 285a (3'); M/1 62b (4'); N/1 258a (9'); Q 78a (3'), 130b (1'); Š/I 466b (6'); T 30a (1'), 483a (10').

1' Scheil restored the line to *qar-du muq*-[*tab-lu*...], “the heroic one, wa[rrior...]”. Another maybe more likely option, because it is attested more often as epithet and even together with *qardu*, would be to restore *mug*-[*da-aš-ru*], “mighty”; see Mār-bīti *qar-du mug-da-aš-ru*, “Mār-bīti, mighty hero”, in a Neo-Babylonian *kudurru* (see CAD M/II 169b), and *qarrādu mug-da-šir/ši-ru* as epithet of Lugal-Marrada, see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 163.

3' Restoration of *qé*-[*reb-ka*...] by Scheil.

4' Compare the epithet of Zababa, the main god of Kiš: *ša kakka-šu la immaḥḥaru qabal-šu dan-nu*, “whose weapon cannot be confronted, whose fight is strong”, see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 483. Nergal, the main god of Kutha, is said to have an attack that “cannot be faced”, *ša qabalšu la immaḥḥaru*, see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 212, CAD M/1 71a. For the restoration of *tāḥāzi* see CAD A/1 109a; another option would be *tuqmāti*, “battle”, see CAD A/1 109a-b. This restoration is based on the assumption that the scribe began a new epithet at the new, indented line. Otherwise, compare the epithet *qar-ra-du la i-di-ru/ri*, “the fearless warrior”, as epithet of Ninurta, see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 163.

5' Scheil read and restored *ra-biš šum*-[*dulat*...], which he translated “au loin s’étend”.

7' While the tablet published by Scheil begins the epithets with *qanāti*, BM 39617 begins it with *anantu*, “battle”. Because of the duplicate, the meaning “arrows” is preferred over “reeds” for Scheil’s tablet. Maybe, one could even restore *tāḥāzi*, “battle; combat”, at the end of the line to have “arrows [of the combat]”; compare GI/*qá-an ta-ḥa-zi* in the royal inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, see CAD Q 89a-b.

8' The signs Sheil transliterated du-ka (?) ma (?) might have to be read <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR <sup>u</sup>1[...]. Since the main divinity of Keš is the mother goddess Nintu or Ninḫursag, the epithet referring to the fire god Girra, who destroys by fire, comes unexpectedly. Either the epithets are not related to the main gods of the named cities or the composer of this text confused Keš with Kiš at this point. The epithets of both, Kiš (3') and Keš, refer to fire and burning.

11' While text A uses the plural *emūqī*, text B has the dual, *emūqān*. The sign after *emūqān* seems to be *la*, but for the well-known epithet *emūqan lā šanān*, "(whose) strength (is) without rival", see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 24, one would have to emendate the visible signs to <sup>l</sup>1<sup>1</sup> <sup>š</sup>á<sup>12</sup>-n[<sup>a</sup>1<sup>12</sup>-an...]. The most common divine epithet to accompany *emūqu* is *emūqān šīrāti*, "(whose) strength (is) exalted", see, e.g., Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 24, but, again, one would have to make an emendation to <sup>š</sup>ī<sup>12</sup>-ra<sup>12</sup>1<sup>1</sup>[<sup>a</sup>-ti...].

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Jeanette C. FINCKE <jeanette.fincke@ori.uni-heidelberg.de>  
NINO, Leiden (THE NETHERLANDS)

**22) A peculiar manuscript of *Šumma ālu* 104<sup>1)</sup>** — *Šumma ālu* 104, the second of two so-called "Sex Tablets", is relatively well-attested.<sup>2)</sup> The three manuscripts used for the composite copy of CT 39, pl. 44–46 (K.126 = P366143, K.1994 = P370809, and Rm.2,139 = P370811) together preserve all 72 omens of this Tablet, with only the beginnings of 14 lines missing. Four other, more fragmentary manuscripts (K.2308 = P370810, K.6192 = P238631, K.7088 = P397017, and K.8046 = P397458) duplicate these and contain hardly any variants, attesting of a very stable tradition. With Sm.1497 (P425947) we now have yet another manuscript of *Šumma ālu* 104, but one that stands out from the others in several respects.

First of all, the manuscript contains only the protases of the omens. While this is not common, other examples are known, albeit from excerpt tablets.<sup>3)</sup> More surprising is the abbreviated form these protases take. This is especially clear in obv. 7', which gives a shortened version of omen 36: the single word "(female) genitals" (<sup>l</sup>GAL<sub>4</sub>.LA<sup>7)</sup>) refers to the phrase "she keeps touching her genitals with her hands". In Sm.1497, the subject of the protasis (NA, "a man", in the other sources) is never made explicit, and where the other sources consistently mark the repeated circumstances under which an omen occurs (MIN MIN-*ma*), Sm.1497 does so only sporadically.

Perhaps even more remarkable are the many logographic writings used only in this manuscript. Sm.1497 often writes a logogram, where all other manuscripts have a syllabically written form. The manuscript even resorts to two different logograms (TAG<sub>4</sub> and ŠUB) in two consecutive omens that have the same verbal form written syllabically in the other sources.

Sm.1497:	All other manuscripts:
ina KUR	ina ni-pi-iḫ
TAG <sub>4</sub>	i-zi-ib
ŠUB- <i>ma</i>	i-zi-ib- <i>ma</i>
DÚR	aš- <i>bat</i>
GUR- <i>ši</i>	i-tu-ur- <i>ši</i>
MIN- <i>u-ma</i>	šá-nu-um- <i>ma</i>
EGIR.MEŠ- <i>šá</i>	ar-ka-ti- <i>šá</i>
KIN.KIN	iš-te-ne-'i-i
LAL	iḫ-nu-uq- <i>ši</i>
ina NÍG.AG.A	ina ú-pi- <i>ši</i>
D[IB]	ú-ša-bit- <i>si</i>
UKKIN	pu-uḫ- <i>ra</i>
PÀ[D]	ú-kal-lim- <i>ši</i>

In some other instances, where the other manuscripts do have a logographic writing, Sm.1497 uses a different logogram or a syllabic writing instead.

Sm.1497:	All other manuscripts:
ILIMMU <sub>4</sub>	MUNUS.UŠ.DAM-šú
NINDA	ŠUK
MUNUS DIN	DAM LÚ TI
i[t- <i>hi</i> ]	TE
e-ne	U <sub>4</sub> -ma
[ <i>hi</i> ]-rat-su	MIN (MUNUS.UŠ.DAM-šú)

The sheer number of these examples is significant, seeing that only 18 protases of the manuscript are (partially) preserved. These conspicuous variants appear very intentional and attest of a profound scribal knowledge – as was, perhaps, their purpose. Some of the logograms used, such as LAL for *iḫnuqši* and PĀD for *ukallimši*, are very unusual and draw on the lexical tradition.<sup>4)</sup>

There are a few other *Šumma ālu* fragments that share (some of) these characteristics with Sm.1497 and that are, moreover, written in a similar handwriting. They may have been the work of the same scribe. Both 1880,719.120 (P451985) and 1879,708.197 (P451881) stem from excerpt manuscripts and, like Sm.1497, preserve only protases. 1880,719.120 preserves part of two excerpts, the first with omens related to bathing, from a Tablet best known from the Uruk manuscript W.22650 (P348639),<sup>5)</sup> the other with omens that occur on a day of prayer, from a Tablet (or segment) provisionally known as *u<sub>4</sub>-um*.<sup>6)</sup> The omens of 1879,708.197 concern garments and, like those of Sm.1497, when compared to parallel omens of other manuscripts they are more succinct (for example, there is no MIN sign in line 6') and contain more logographic writings (*ina* MURU[B<sub>4</sub>] in line 3'; *ina* UD in line 7').<sup>7)</sup>

#### Transliteration of Sm.1497

obv. 1'	[DIŠ (x)] 'x' [...]	T.104 30?
obv. 2'	DIŠ <i>ina</i> S[ILA SAG.GI <sub>4</sub> TE]	T.104 31
obv. 3'	DIŠ <i>ana as</i> -[ <i>sin-ni</i> TE]	T.104 32
obv. 4'	DIŠ <i>ana</i> GÌR.S[Ī].GA' [TE]	T.104 33
obv. 5'	DIŠ <i>du-uš-šum</i> i[t- <i>hi</i> ]	T.104 34
obv. 6'	DIŠ <i>ana</i> MUNUŠ <i>ina</i> KUN <sub>4</sub> [TE]	T.104 35
obv. 7'	DIŠ <i>e-nu</i> KI MUNUS <i>šu-ta-tú</i> GAL <sub>4</sub> .LA'¹	T.104 36
obv. 8'	DIŠ <i>ina</i> KUR <sup>mul</sup> ŠUDUN <i>ana</i> DAM-šú TE	T.104 38
<hr/>		
obv. 9'	DIŠ NA MUNUS.UŠ.DAM-su TAG <sub>4</sub>	T.104 39
obv. 10'	DIŠ ILIMMU <sub>4</sub> ŠUB-ma NINDA <i>in</i> -¹ <sup>1</sup> <i>din</i> ¹	T.104 40
rev. 1	DIŠ MIN ŠUB-ma <i>ina</i> É²-šú DÚR	T.104 41
rev. 2	DIŠ MIN MIN GUR-ši	T.104 42
rev. 3	DIŠ MIN EGIR.MEŠ-šá KIN.KIN	T.104 43
rev. 4	DIŠ MIN MIN-u-ma [TUKU²]-¹ <sup>2</sup> <i>šif</i> ¹	T.104 44
rev. 5	DIŠ MIN LAL [(...)]	T.104 45
rev. 6	DIŠ <i>ina</i> NÍG.AG.A D[IB (...)]	T.104 46
rev. 7	[DIŠ] UKKIN PĀ[D (...)]	T.104 47
rev. 8	[DIŠ] MUNUS DIN [...]	T.104 48
rev. 9	[DIŠ <i>hi</i> ]-rat-su ŠUB-m[a...]	T.104 49
rev. 10	[DIŠ...] 'x' [...]	T.104 50?
(rest of reverse broken)		

#### Translation

obv. 1'	[...]...[...]
obv. 2'	If [he (sexually) approaches] (a woman) in [a blocked] st[reet]
obv. 3'	If [he (sexually) approaches] an <i>as</i> [ <i>sinnu</i> ]
obv. 4'	If [he (sexually) approaches] a <i>girs</i> [ <i>eqû</i> ]
obv. 5'	If he (sexually) ap[proaches] a slave born in the house
obv. 6'	If he [(sexually) approaches] a woman on the stairs
obv. 7'	If, when facing a woman, genitals
obv. 8'	If he (sexually) approaches his wife at the rising of the Yoke star

- obv. 9' If a man divorces his wife  
 obv. 10' If he abandons the above (his wife), but gives her bread  
 rev. 1 If he abandons ditto (his wife), but she lives in his house  
 rev. 2 If ditto ditto (he abandons his wife), but he returns to her  
 rev. 3 If ditto (he abandons his wife), but he keeps inquiring about her  
 rev. 4 If ditto (he abandons his wife) and someone else [takes her]  
 rev. 5 If ditto (he abandons his wife) and he strangles (her)  
 rev. 6 If he cat[ches (her)] (involved) in sorcery  
 rev. 7 If he sh[ows (her)] to the assembly  
 rev. 8 [If he takes] the wife of a living man  
 rev. 9 [If] he abandons his [wi]fe an[d...]

#### Notes

1. This note was written in the context of the project “Edition of the Omen Series *Šumma Alu*” (100011\_175970) funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (<http://p3.snf.ch/project-175970>).
2. A partial edition by J.C. Pangas, *AuOr* 6 (1988), 211–226 treats omens 1–38. A.K. Guinan has announced a new edition (personal communication 2019).
3. K.6458 (P396551) + K.10457 (P398700) (+) K.9238 (P397987) represents another example; for this manuscript see Boddy/Lerculeur (in preparation).
4. Akkadian *ḥanāqu* is an equivalent for LAL in Syllabary A Vocabulary (VAT 10388 + VAT 11508 (P381857) obv. iii 31'; see B. Landsberger/R.T. Hallock, *MSL* 3 (1955), 71). For the equation between PĀD and *kullumu* see, for example, *Nabnitu* 1 253 (I.L. Finkel, *MSL* 16 (1982), 57).
5. Editions by E. von Weiher, *SpTU* 2 (1983), 149–153 and W. Farber *OrNS* 58/1 (1989), 86–101.
6. For score texts of these Tablets see the forthcoming online edition of the Geneva *Šumma ālu* project.
7. For a score text of the Garments Tablet of *Šumma ālu* see the forthcoming online edition of the Geneva *Šumma ālu* project.

Kaira BODDY <kaira.boddy@unige.ch>  
 Université de Genève (SUISSE)

**23) Carian names in Babylonian records: some new analyses<sup>1)</sup>** — Several groups of Carians are recorded in Babylonian texts from the mid-first millennium BCE. The evidence for the presence of Carians in the city of Borsippa, attested in several private archives mostly dating between the fifth year of Cambyses and the ninth year of Darius I, has been presented by Waerzeggers (2006), Zadok (2005, 80–95) and Zilberg (2019, 40–46). The historical context of the Carians living in the city of Nippur and its surrounding villages, attested in the so-called Carian Archive, was discussed by Zilberg (2019, 46–61). The Carian dossiers from Borsippa and Nippur are rich in onomastic material. Although Simon's contribution (2016) covers an important part of the Borsippean material, the Carian dossiers from Borsippa and Nippur had not yet been investigated in full. Here, the analysis of several personal names addressed by Simon (2016) will be adjusted or supplemented where necessary. Additionally, a new Carian analysis for several other names in the Carian dossier from Borsippa will be presented.<sup>2)</sup> On the basis of the analyses described below, an updated exhaustive list will be presented containing all names in Babylonian records that may have Carian origins.<sup>3)</sup>

- <sup>t</sup>*tu-tu-bu-e-su* (BM 26612 2x, BM 26756), <sup>t</sup>*tu-tu-bi-is-su* (VS 6 123), <sup>t</sup>*tu-tu-bu-<sup>t</sup>su*<sup>1</sup> (BM 94832), <sup>t</sup>*tu-tu-<sup>t</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[e-su]* (BM 82682), <sup>t</sup>*tu-tu-bé-e-su* (BM 109365)

All (but one) of these attestations are accompanied by the ethnonyms *karsāya* or *miširāya*, and in four out of six texts, her son Nadiršu occurs as well. Also, all of the attestations are from the same archive (Ilia A+B). We therefore have no reason to think that these variant spellings refer to different persons, which must in turn mean that they are all different representations of the same name.

This name is generally connected to the Egyptian name *T3.dj(.t)b3st.t* ‘Given by Bastet’ (Schürr 1996, esp. 61–62). It clearly corresponds to a Carian name that is attested as *ttbazi*, *tubazi* or *ttbazi[s]*, which is indirectly attested in Greek sources as Τετοβάστις /tetobastis/ (Adiego 2007, 423). Note that Carian -z- probably represented an affricate [tʃ] or something similar (Adiego 2007, 251). It is striking to see that, in spite of the many alternations in the Akkadian as well as the Carian spellings of this name, the last consonant is consistently spelled with *s* and *z* respectively. This, in combination with the Greek and Egyptian spellings with /st/, makes the correspondence of Carian *z* with Akkadian *s* fairly strong.



It is difficult to decide whether this name entered Akkadian directly from Egyptian or through a Carian intermediary; from a historical point of view, both are equally possible, since the name-bearer was a member of the Caro-Egyptian community. The fact that her son Nadiršu (*na-di-ir-šū*) is a Caro-Egyptian bearing a Carian name (Schürr 1996, 65; Simon 2016, 278) cannot help in deciding on this matter, as it seems to have been possible for a Caro-Egyptian with an Egyptian name to have a son with a Carian name. However, the fact that the second consonant in Akkadian is *-t-* rather than *-d-* points into the direction of a Carian origin of this name (*pace* Simon 2016, 278 who eventually assumes Egyptian origins for this name).

○ <sup>l</sup>*sis-i?l-mu-su* (BM 102030)

Simon (2016, 276) recognizes the element *-mu-* in this name, which is a frequent suffix in Carian (compound) names and which is thought to mean ‘might’. The element *-su-* could in his view be an Akkadian rendering of the Carian personal name suffix *-si-* or *-š-*. The gap in Simon’s analysis is formed by the element *sis-*, which is left unexplained. He therefore prefers an Egyptian explanation. However, I think a Carian parallel for this name can be found in Σασσωμος /sassōmos/ (indirectly attested in Greek sources (Adiego 2007, 462)). The vocalism of the first two syllables of the Carian form Σασσωμος forms a mismatch with that of the Akkadian form <sup>l</sup>*sis-i?l-mu-su*. Although this cannot be said with any certainty, these vowels could in theory represent underlying Carian vowels that were unknown in the Greek and Akkadian phonological systems (cf. Adiego 2007, 234–237).

With regard to the personal name suffix *-si-* or *-š-*, the latter form is probably more likely for the following reason: As we have seen above, Akkadian *s* corresponds to Carian *z*. However, there is no reason to assume that the Carian name that underlies Σασσωμος contained *z*, so Akkadian *s* in <sup>l</sup>*sis-i?l-mu-su* probably reflects something else. We could in theory assume that Akkadian *s* also reflected one of the other voiceless sibilants (or affricates) of Carian (e.g. *š*, or *ṣ̌*), that was interpreted as *s* in Akkadian because Akkadian phonology made other distinctions (note that the same goes for the Greek spelling, as Greek only had one sibilant /s/). It should be underlined, however, that our limited knowledge of the phonetic values of most of the Carian sibilants makes this theory quite uncertain.

○ <sup>t</sup>*tar-ta-e-si* (BM 29107)

In the same way, the name <sup>t</sup>*tar-ta-e-si* may be compared with the Carian name Τερριτος /territos/ which is attested in Greek sources (Adiego 2007, 513). Perhaps the presence of the vowel *-i-* in Τερριτος and the absence of a vowel between *-r-* and *-t-* in Akkadian may be explained as being reflexes of an underlying palatalized /r/ in Carian, taken that the theory that Carian had such a phoneme is correct (Adiego 2007, 248). The final element *-si* in the Akkadian form may represent the Carian personal name suffix *-si-*, as Simon (2016, 275) has carefully suggested (but see above). In Greek, it was probably replaced by the nominative singular ending *-ς* /s/. The fact that the name-bearer is the mother of Nabû-silim, a Caro-Egyptian (BM 29107), may in this case support the hypothesis that her name has Carian origins.<sup>4)</sup>

○ <sup>l</sup>*ul-ú-tu-e* (BM 29107)

The name <sup>l</sup>*ul-ú-tu-e* represents a good candidate for the Akkadian parallel of the Carian name *wljat/wliat* (*w-* representing a semivowel), which is also attested in Greek sources as Ολιατος /oliatos/ and Υλιατος /uliatos/ (Adiego 2007, 428) and perhaps also Ολοητος /oloētos/ and Ολετας /oletas/. Similar to what was described above, *-ς* /s/ in the Greek renderings was probably added since it is the Greek nominative singular ending (the Carian nominative singular being unmarked). The lack of *-s* in Akkadian is therefore not a problem for the proposed link with Carian *wljat/wliat*. Simon (2016, 279–280) proposed that the name Ulutue represents Carian *Oaloalos* < \**Walwalla/i* (containing the Luwic root for ‘lion’ and the personal name suffix *-alla/i-*). This analysis, however, is less attractive because it neither explains the presence of the element *-tue* nor the absence of the second *-l-* in Akkadian. Furthermore, it is based on the Proto-Luwic word for ‘lion’ which, hypothetically, would have yielded Carian \**walwa-*. This remains hitherto unattested, however.

○ <sup>l</sup>*ku-un-na-at-te-e* (BM 102277)

This name is attested as the patronym of a certain person whose name is spelled as <sup>l</sup>*am-mar-x-is?-su*. The origins of the latter name are still unknown (perhaps Egyptian, cf. Zadok 2005, 84), but the name-bearer is designated as *karsāya*, i.e. a Caro-Egyptian. Therefore the possibility that <sup>l</sup>*am-mar-x-is?-su* and the patronym <sup>l</sup>*ku-un-na-at-te-e* are Carian names should be reckoned with. Simon (2016, 278–279) had already found that <sup>l</sup>*ku-un-na-at-te-e* may be a Carian compound name, consisting of the element /kunnV-/ as found in non-Carian Luwic names such as *Kuna*, *Kunni* and compound names of the shape *Kunniya-X*.<sup>5)</sup> Moreover, the Carian onomasticon contains a set of names ending in *-at-*, such as *Mwsat* (Simon, *ibid.*). I would like to add to this that the Carian name Αττης /attēs/ is attested indirectly in Greek (Adiego 2007, 460; for an explanation of the final *-ς*, see above). The existence of a Carian parallel for the second element in <sup>l</sup>*ku-un-na-at-te-e* makes it even more likely that we are dealing with a Carian compound name.

○ <sup>l</sup>*pir-ru-u’* (BM 26568)

No analysis for this name is provided by Simon (2016). This name should be distinguished from the name <sup>l</sup>*pir-’u* (transliterated as *Pir’u*) which is commonly attested in Babylonian records (Waerzeggers, Groß et al. 2019). The name <sup>l</sup>*pir-ru-u’* as attested in the Carian dossier from Borsippa (BM 26568) should perhaps be compared with the

Carian name *Puorś* (-ś being the Carian genitive ending), which is probably based on the Egyptian name *Pz-whr* ‘dog’ (Vittmann 2001, 41). In this case, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that the name ‘*pir-ru-u*’ in the Carian dossier from Borsippa was directly based on the Egyptian form. Interestingly, ‘*pir-ru-u*’ is attested with a patronym spelled ‘*pa-ad-e-mu-u*’, which is likely a Carian name as was convincingly argued by Simon (2016, 279).<sup>6)</sup> Still, the name ‘*pir-ru-u*’, borne by a member of the ethnic group of Caro-Egyptians (cf. the designation *miširāya* on BM 26568), may be of either Carian (and indirectly Egyptian) or directly of Egyptian origin.

○ *ku-lut-tu-di-me-e-nu* (BM 102030)

Lastly, Simon has adduced a Carian account for the Akkadian name *ku-lut-tu-di-me-e-nu*, along with the ethnonym *miširāya* (BM 102030). He draws a parallel with the Carian name *ktmno*, *ktmñōś*, and perhaps *ktmn*, rendered in Greek as Ἑκατόμνως /hekatomnōs/. Since the mismatch in consonantism between the Akkadian form and the Carian and Caro-Greek forms is obvious, the idea that *ku-lut-tu-di-me-e-nu* is a Carian name cannot be accepted for now.

We have seen above that some of the analyses offered by Simon (2016) may be adjusted or supplemented, and that some names that were not discussed by Simon can be identified as Carian as well. These findings require an update of the list of personal names in Babylonian records that are found to have possible Carian origins:

*tu-tu-bu-e-su* (with varying spellings), *sis-i-me-su*, *tar-ta-e-si*, *ul-ū-tu-e*, *ku-un-na-at-te-e*, *pir-ru-u*, *ku-lut-tu-di-me-e-nu* (see above);

*ak-ta-ti-ma-su*, *lu-uk-šu*, *na-di-ir-šú*, *pa-ad-e-mu-u*, *pa-ne-is-si-i*, *šá-am-mu*, *šá-mu-ú* (discussed in Simon 2016).<sup>7)</sup>

## Notes

1. This article results from research funded by the Research Traineeship Programme of Leiden University’s Faculty of the Humanities (2020). I would like to thank Melanie Groß, Alwin Kloekhorst and Caroline Waerzeggers for reviewing this manuscript.

2. An investigation of the onomastic material in the Carian Archive (Nippur) has yielded no new insights on the origins of these names; as far as we are able to tell, this archive contains no Carian material.

3. The names are presented by means of a sign-by-sign transcription in order to prevent us from formally interpreting them from an Assyriological perspective.

4. For the interpretation of the ethnonyms *miširāya* and *karsāya* as denoting “Caro-Egyptians”, i.e. the group of Carians that lived in Egypt before they migrated to Babylonia, see Waerzegger 2006. The terms were probably used interchangeably since no correlation is found with the archive, scribe, or even individual; the scribe Nabû-zēru-iqīša, son of Kabtia, labels Tutubisu as *karsāya* in one text (BM 109365) and as *miširāya* in another (BM 26756).

5. The fact that this element is not found in Carian itself may well be a coincidence since Carian is only fragmentarily attested.

6. ‘*pir-ru-u*’ is the only name addressed here whose bearer is recorded along with a patronym.

7. These names may be found in the Prosobab database by means of their sign-by-sign transcriptions, or alternatively by the following bound transcriptions: *Tutubisu*, *Sisimusu*, *Tartaesi*, *Ulutue*, *Kunnattê*, *Pirrū*, *Kuluttudimenu*, *Akta-timasu*, *Lukšu*, *Nadiršu*, *Pademû*, *Panessî*, *Šammu* and *Šamû*.

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Laura C. DEES <l.c.dees@umail.leidenuniv.nl>  
 Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (THE NETHERLANDS)

**24) The Earliest Translation of the Epigraphs on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III** — When Henry Creswicke Rawlinson published a translation of the inscriptions on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, he did not include the five epigraphs. Instead, he made the following observations (1850: 447-448):

(The epigraphs) do not follow the series of offerings as they are represented in the sculpture with any approach of exactitude... I cannot pretend, at present, to identify the various articles which are named in these epigraphs; gold and silver, pearls and gems, ebony and ivory, may be made out I think, with more or less certainty; but I cannot conjecture the nature of many other of the offerings; they may be rare woods, or aromatic gums, or metals, or even such articles as glass or porcelain. With regard to the animals, those alone which I can certainly identify are horses and camels, the latter being, I think, described as “beasts of the desert with the double back”. I do not think any of the remarkable animals, such as the elephant, the wild bull, the unicorn, the antelope, and the monkeys and baboons, are specified in the epigraphs; but it is possible that they may be spoken of as rare animals from the river Arki and the country beyond the sea.

One reason why Rawlinson was not yet in a position to translate Akkadian texts with a sufficient degree of accuracy in 1850-1851 was his imperfect understanding of the writing system and the language. He regarded “the system of the Assyrian writing in the last degree obscure, and the language in which the writing is expressed, unintelligible, except through the imperfect key of the Behistun translations, and the faint analogies of other Semitic tongues” (Rawlinson 1850: 420). He expressed these views in the very same article in which he was offering a translation of the annals on the obelisk. In his “transliteration” of the Babylonian text from Behistun (Rawlinson 1851), he frequently represents cuneiform characters by single letters, for he had not yet shaken off his view that “the alphabet is partly ideographic and partly phonetic, and the phonetic signs are in some cases syllabic; and in others literal... There is, it may be admitted, an extensive syllabarium, but at the same time many of the characters can only be explained as single consonants” (Rawlinson 1850: 404-405). Although his reference to “the faint analogies of other Semitic tongues” might be taken as a fair note of caution about expectations in the use of the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages and the search for etymological equivalents in the lexica of Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew, the fact remains that not a few words in the epigraphs could be explained by reference to these languages. See, for example, *dalû* pl. *dalāni*, *ḫuṭartu*, *maddattu*, *qabūtu*, and *saplu*. Indeed, Rawlinson (1851: xxvii) certainly had no hesitation in comparing *maddattu* with Aram. *mdh* and *mndh*.

In 1853 Edward Hincks published a translation of the annals on the Black Obelisk but not of the epigraphs. He gave only incomplete lists of the articles and animals, which the epigraphs record as the tributes of the five kings or peoples (Hincks 1853: 426). However, translations of the epigraphs follow his revised version of the annals on the obelisk in a manuscript he presented to the Trustees of the British Museum as part of the work which he agreed to carry out for them from April 1853 to April 1854.<sup>1)</sup> In the notes which he provides with his translation, he sometimes mentions the animals and objects depicted in the carved panels of the obelisk. Therefore, it is surprising to find that, in an article he wrote a year later, he thinks that the carvings are “wholly independent” of the Assyrian writing around them (Hincks 1855: 252-253).

These earliest translations of the epigraphs are published for the first time in this article. Where they are relevant I cite Hincks’s notes or refer to them in my annotations.<sup>2)</sup> For convenience I give the text of each epigraph in a modern transliteration, largely following Grayson (1996: 148-151) but without his corrections and emendations which I shall refer to separately in the notes.<sup>3)</sup>

#### Epigraph 1

*ma-da-tu šá<sup>m</sup>su-ú-a KUR gíl-za-na-a-a KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ AN.NA.MEŠ ÚTUL.MEŠ ZABAR GIŠ ḫu-ṭar-a-te.MEŠ šá ŠU LUGAL ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ šá šu-na-a-a še-ri-ši-na am-ḫur-šu*

The tribute of Sua the *Gilzanian*,<sup>a)</sup> silver, gold, tin,<sup>b)</sup> pots of copper,<sup>c)</sup> rods,<sup>d)</sup> royal *linen*,<sup>e)</sup> horses, camels<sup>f)</sup> whose humps are double, I received it.

a. Although Hincks was unsure of the value of the first sign (*gíl*), it turned out that he had read the sign correctly. Oppert (1865: 108) and Ménant (1874: 104) read *kir* (*kir*): “Kirzan(a)”.<sup>2)</sup>

b. Hincks thought the signs represented an Assyrian word *anna*, “tin”; and elsewhere (Hincks 1855: 256) he proposed that “*anna* for *anka*, ‘tin’ or ‘lead’” was an example of assimilation of an adjoining consonant. Sayce (1875: 41), Scheil (1890: 52) and Luckenbill (1926: I, 211) preferred the meaning “lead”,

and Ménant 1874: 104) has “fer”. However, the meaning “tin”, especially in this context, is certain. See Landsberger (1965), Mankowski (2000: 35-36).

c. In a note Hincks writes: “*Kams* of copper (the reading of the name is very doubtful) are perpetually mentioned. It certainly included pots for culinary use; but I suspect it to be a generic term including vessels of all sorts”. It is obvious that Hincks did not know the value ÚTUL = *diqāru* and he thought *kam* might be the word for “pot” or “vessel”. See also Ménant, 1874: 104. Among modern translations, “casseroles” (Grayson 1996: 149) and “cauldrons” (Taylor 2015) are suggested. Michel (1955: 141) interprets *diqārē* (ÚTUL.MEŠ) and *siparru* (ZABAR) as two separate items: “tönerne Gefäße, Kupfer”.

d. Although Hincks considered the possibility that *ḥuṭārāte* (he read *ḥutarati* with *tar* for *ṭar*) “may have been fruits which are represented as borne on men’s heads”, he thought it was more probable that they were “rods of wood, perhaps canes, which are also represented in the sculptures underneath these inscriptions”. It is probable that he took into account Heb. *ḥṭr*, “rod, branch” and Aram.-Syr. *ḥwṭr*, “stick, staff”. See CAD H 264; CDA 123, “stick, staff”. Oppert (1865: 108), Sayce (1875: 41), Scheil (1890: 52) have “sceptres”, and Luckenbill (1926: I, 211) has “staves”. Modern scholars prefer “staffs”; see Elat’s discussion of the staff as “a symbol of protection or ownership of property”, and a rejection of the meaning “sceptre” (Elat 1975: 33-34).

e. *ša ŠU LUGAL* (*ša qat šarri*), “of the king’s hand”, was read *šašu šarri* by Hincks and given the speculative meaning “royal linen” (“royal robes” in the notes). He must have arrived at his proposed *šašu* through Heb. *šš*, “linen” (cf. Egyptian *šš*).

f. The meaning “camels” for ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ on the Black Obelisk was already recognized by Hincks some years previously (1850: 29 n.\*). See also Hincks 1855: 253-254. However, he assumed an Assyrian form *abba*. Hincks’s mixed success with sorting out words for camels is discussed in Cathcart 2012: 9-10. In February 1850 Hincks sent a letter with drawings of the two-humped camels as they appear on the obelisk to Edward Clibborn, assistant librarian at the Royal Irish Academy, asking him to consult qualified naturalists. Clibborn replied on 9 February 1850. The tracings of the panels are preserved with Clibborn’s letter in the Griffith Institute Oxford (MS: GIO/H 116). See Cathcart, 2008: 5. Scheil (1890: 52) has “dromedaries” for the two-humped camels.

## Epigraph 2

*ma-da-tu ša<sup>a</sup> ia-ú-a DUMU<sup>m</sup> ḥu-um-ri-i KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ sap-lu KÙ.GI zu-qu-ut KÙ.GI qa-bu-a-te.MEŠ KÙ.GI da-la-ni.MEŠ KÙ.GI AN.NA.MEŠ GIŠ ḥu-ṭar-tú ša ŠU MAN GIŠ pu-aš-ḥa-ti am-ḥur-šu*

The tribute of Yahua the son of Ḥumri,<sup>a)</sup> silver, gold, bowls of gold, *chains* of gold,<sup>b)</sup> goblets of gold,<sup>c)</sup> *jars* of gold,<sup>d)</sup> tin, rods, royal *linen*, and *staves with sharpened ends*,<sup>e)</sup> I received it.

a. In his diary for 21 December 1851, nearly two years before he published a translation of the annals, Hincks wrote: “Thought of an identification of one of the obelisk captives with Jehu, king of Israel, and satisfying myself on the point wrote a letter to the *Athenaeum* announcing it” (Cathcart 2008: 74 n. 1). In the letter he writes (Hincks 1851: 1384): “He is called *Ya-u-a* the son of *Ḥu-um-ri-i*”. Rawlinson (1850: 447) was puzzled by the name, which he rendered “Yahua, son of Hubiri”, adding that the royal person named was “a prince of whom there is no mention in the annals, and of whose native country therefore I am ignorant”. In the same letter, Hincks pointed out that the king whom Rawlinson called Khazaqan of Atesh was none other than Ḥaza’il of Damascus. He recognized that the last sign of *ḥa-za-a’-DINGIR* was “the ideograph for God” and should be read *il*.

b. The translation “chain(s)” for *zūqutu*, pl. *zūqāte*, a kind of metal dish, in *zūqut ḥurāši* must be due to a tentative connection with Heb. *zq*, “chain, fetter” (see Nah. 3:10, Ps. 149:8); Aram. *zyq’*, pl. *zyqyn*, “chains, fetters” (Tg 2 Sam. 3:34; Tg Est II 1:2 [*zyqyn* for *zqyn*]). Hincks thought *zūqut* was a plural form.

c. Just as scholars have done in the modern era (AHw 890; Cathcart 1973: 57), Hincks probably related *qabūtu*, pl. *qabūate* to Heb. *qb’t*, Aram. *qwb’*, usually rendered “goblet”. The evidence from Akkadian texts supports the meaning “bowl”; and the Northwest Semitic *qb’t* is best translated as “drinking-bowl”. For the shape of the Phoenician and Hebrew *qb’t*, “drinking-bowl”, see Avigad and Greenfield (1982: 122-123).

d. Concerning *dalû*, pl. *dalāni*, “bucket, pail”, Hincks writes: “I take the *dalani*, which I render ‘jars’, to be those small buckets with handles at the top, which are so frequently represented in the great sculptures, in the hands of the figures, and which are also represented on the obelisk”. Why, then, did Hincks not render *dalāni* “buckets”? See Michel (1955: 141), “Schöpfeimer aus Gold”.

e. In Hincks’s transcription there is a space between *pu* and *aš-ḥa-ti*. His note on the tentative translation “staves with sharpened ends” is interesting: “The staves here mentioned seem to have been either spears or clubs, as the father of this king used them to kill some wild animals”. Did Hincks interpret *pu* (*pû*), “blade or point of a weapon”, having in mind Akk. *pî patri* or Heb. *pî ḥereb*? In any event he read the individual signs correctly. There is general agreement that the word is *puašḫāti* (sing. *pašḫu*), “spears”. Michel (1955: 141) mentions an earlier reading *bu-dil-ḥa-ti*; cf. Oppenheim (ANET 281 n. 2), who reads *b/pu-ru<sub>4</sub>-ḥa-ti*, adding “meaning unknown”.

### Epigraph 3

ma-da-tu šá KUR mu-uš-ri ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ šá šu-na-a-a še-ri-ši-na al-ap ÍD sa-ke-e-ia su-ú-su pi-ra-a-ti.MEŠ ba-zi-a-ti ú-du-mi.MEŠ am-ḥur-šu

The tribute of Mušri;<sup>a)</sup> camels whose humps are double, an elephant of the river<sup>b)</sup> Sakiya, mares, heifers,<sup>c)</sup> monkeys and baboons;<sup>d)</sup> I received it.

a. Hincks believed that Mušri lay to the northeast of Nineveh and comprehended a mountain district. See Sayce (1875: 42), “Armenian Muzri”, Scheil (1890: 52), “north-east of Khorsabad”. Among modern scholars, Taylor (2015) looks further east: “Mušri, meaning ‘borderland’, probably refers to a country far to the east”. He regards two attendants in side C of Epigraph 1, the “rhinoceros” in side B of Epigraph 3, and the “female elephants” in side C of Epigraph 3 as Indian. According to Klein (1979: 156 n. 42), the iconographic evidence suggests that in the third and second millennia monkeys were brought from the east, but in the first millennium they were imported from Egypt. Most scholars think that on the obelisk Mušri is Egypt. See the discussion in Tadmor (1961).

b. *alap nāri*, “water buffalo”, is wrongly interpreted as “elephant of the river” and the following word *sak*, *notya* is understood as the name of the river. See Oppert (1865: 109), “des boeufs du fleuve de Sakea (peut-être des elephants)”; Ménant (1874: 105), “des éléphants (*al-ap*) du fleuve Sakia”; Sayce (1875: 42) and Scheil (1890: 52), “an ox of the river Sakeya”. *sakēya*, now read *sadēya*, is thought to mean “rhinoceros” (Landsberger 1934: 143). It has been suggested that the sculptor of the obelisk had never seen a rhinoceros (Taylor 2015). By tortuous arguments, Hincks relates *alab/alap* to Heb. *hbym* (sing. *hb\** in HALOT 236), from a supposed form *\*hlb*, pl. *\*hlbym*. However, *hbym* is attested only in the Biblical Hebrew composite noun *šnhbym*, “ivory” (lit. “teeth of elephants”), which occurs in 1 Kgs 10:22; 2 Chr. 9:21. Heb. *hb\**, *hbym* is thought to be related to Egyptian *ibw*, “elephant” and Hincks mentions the Egyptian word in his later discussion (1855: 253).

c. The translation “heifers” is probably due to an association of *pīrāti* with Heb. *prh*, pl. *prwt*, “cow”. Scheil (1890: 52) correctly rendered *sūsu*, “antelope”.

d. See Michel (1955: 141), “Meerkatzen (?) und Paviane (?)”. The text should be emended slightly and read *ba-gi-a-ti ú-qup* MI.MEŠ, “female monkeys (and) black apes” (see *pagītu*, pl. *pagiātu*, “female monkey”) (CAD U 204). Deller (1983) proposed the reading *ú-qup* GE<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ, “black apes”. CAD P 18 follows Grayson (1996: 150), *ú-qup-pu*.MEŠ, “apes”. Klein (1979: 157 n. 42) is of the view that on the obelisk *pagītu* is “a small monkey” and *uqūpu* is “a large baboon”. As in the case of the rhinoceros, the curious way in which the monkeys and apes are carved may indicate that the sculptor has not seen these animals. However, Taylor makes the point that “monkeys were not new sights for the Assyrian court at the time”.

### Epigraph 4

ma-da-tu šá<sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-A-PAB KUR su-ḥa-a-a KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ da-la-ni KÙ.GI ZU.MEŠ AM.SI GIŠ pu-aš-ḥa-a-ti.MEŠ bu-ú-ia TÚG lu-bul-ti bir-me u GADA.MEŠ am-ḥur-šu

The tribute of Mardukbalyušur,<sup>a)</sup> the Suḥian; silver, gold, jars<sup>b)</sup> of gold, elephants’ tusks,<sup>c)</sup> staves with sharpened ends for my sceptres<sup>d)</sup> and cloth dyed with *birmi* and *kum*;<sup>e)</sup> I received it”.

a. Marduk-apla-ušur: Hincks insisted on writing *yušur* for *ušur*.

b. See Epigraph 2 n. d.

c. Ménant (1874: 105) has “des cornes de buffles” and Sayce (1875: 42) “tusks of the wild bull”. In his article on animals in Assyrian inscriptions, Hincks discusses AM.SI (his *amsi*) at length (1855: 259-260) and he notes that it is often mentioned in the texts with frequent reference to its teeth or tusks. A year later he was “inclined to identify it with the *rē’ēm* (“wild bull”) of the Bible” (Hincks 1855: 259), but he reverted to the meaning “elephant” in his translation of parts of the inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, used for the famous “test case” of 1857 to prove that the decipherment of Mesopotamian cuneiform had been accomplished (Talbot et al. 1857). See his translation of vi 70-75 (Talbot et al. 1857: 57 [= 1861: 203]) and note that Rawlinson has “buffaloes” and Talbot *amsi* without translation. Hincks could now exclude his idea that AM.SI in the epigraph might be “wild bull”, because in the Tiglath-pileser I inscription, vi 62, he had come across 4 *puḫāl rīmāni* (AM.MEŠ), which he correctly rendered “four wild bulls” (Talbot et al. 1857: 55 [= 1861: 201]). Here was *rīmu* with which Heb. *r’m* was cognate. See Ugar. *rum*.

d. See Epigraph 2 n. e. Scheil (1890: 52) wrote *būya* without translation and Hincks read *puya*, which he seems to have interpreted as “my sceptres”. However, *bu-ū-ia* is the engraver’s error for *bu-ū-ši*, “linen”. See Grayson 1996: 150. Hincks was familiar with the word *būšu* but did not think of it here.

e. In his notes Hincks writes that these two words “seem to be dyestuffs”. He admits that the reading *kum* is very doubtful and he offers no meaning for *birmi*, though he does think it may be related to Ar. *barama*, “to twist, to twine”; *mubram*, “multi-coloured fabric”. See Lane (195), *HALOT* (162). Hincks admits that the Arabic implies primarily twisting together; it does not support the idea that *birme* is a dye. Scheil’s “embroidered vestments (and) linen” (1890: 52) was a reasonable attempt, but he should have followed the earlier translation “garments of many colours, (and) linen” by Sayce (1875: 42).

#### Epigraph 5

*ma-da-tu šá ṁqar-pa-ru-un-da KUR pa-ti-na-a-a KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ AN.NA.MEŠ ZABAR ar-ḫu*  
*ÚTUL.MEŠ ZABAR ZÚ.MEŠ AM.SI.MEŠ GIŠ.ESI.MEŠ am-ḫur-šu*

The tribute of Garparunda the *Ḫattinian*;<sup>a)</sup> silver, gold, tin, copper, *arḫu*<sup>b)</sup> and pots of copper,<sup>c)</sup> elephants’ tusks,<sup>d)</sup> and canes;<sup>e)</sup> I received it.

a. With hesitation (note the italics) Hincks chose the value *ḫat* over *pa*. This was a foretaste of divided opinion in later years. For the reading *ḫat-ti-na-a-a*, see Luckenbill (1926: I 211), Michel (1955: 141) and Oppenheim, *ANET* 281; for *pa-ti-na-a-a*, see Sayce (1875: 42), Ungnad (1906: 225 n. 1), Grayson (1996: 150-151), and Taylor (2015).

b. The meaning of *arḫu* was unknown to Hincks. *siparru* (ZABAR) *arḫu* is usually rendered “bronze compound” (lit. “fast bronze”). *CAD* A/2 257 has “a.-compound” but omits “bronze” in the translation of the epigraph.

c. See Epigraph 1 n. c.

d. See Epigraph 4 n. c.

e. The translation “canes” indicates that Hincks thought the items were from a tree or made of wood. Today GIŠ.ESI = *uṣū* is rendered “ebony” (*CDA* 429). See already Ménant (1874: 1105); and note Sayce (1875: 42), “ebony”, lit. “pieces of hard wood”. *CAD* U 326-329 has simply “a tree” and the wood from it. Scheil (1890: 52) has “boxwood”; see Michel (1955: 143), “Buchsäume” (*taskarinnu*).

#### Notes

1. Hincks wrote his translations in two hardcover exercise books. In the British Library the books are catalogued as one manuscript, MS BL Add.22097, under the title *Readings of Inscriptions on the Nineveh Marbles* by Dr Hincks”. The translations of “The Inscriptions of Sennacherib” and “The Annals of Shalmaneser III”, which were received at the British Museum on 6 May 1854, are contained in fols 1-27 (Hincks numbered the pages 1-53); and “The Inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II”, which were received on 20 May 1854, are in fols 28-56 (Hincks’s pp. 1-58; pp. 28 and 31 are out of order: fol. 41 = pp. 26-27; fol. 42 = pp. 29-30; fol. 43 = pp. 28, 31). The manuscript is cited with the permission of the British Library.

2. Hincks’s brief notes on the epigraphs are on fols 19v-20r of the manuscript. The full text of these will appear in a volume I am preparing, which contains Hincks’s published and unpublished translations of Assyrian and Babylonian Royal Inscriptions.

3. Hincks provides a complete transcription or normalization for just one of the epigraphs, Epigraph 3: *madatu sha Muṣri (h)abba sha sunaya širishina alap barti Sakiya susu pirati baziati udumi amkharsu*.

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Kevin J. CATHCART <kevin.cathcart@ucd.ie>  
8 Friarsland Rd, Dublin 14 (IRELAND)

**25) From Mesopotamian Nanāia to Indian Durgā** — The Mesopotamian goddess Nanāia was goddess of erotic love (Stol 1998-2001: 147). She was mentioned for the first time, probably, in Ur III. In Dhehem Nanaya was mentioned in different years of Šulgi (e.g., Šulgi's 26th year – Ozaki, Sauren 2020; Šulgi's 35th year – BDTNS, AnOr 07 056, CDLI P101351, [http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/ficha\\_simple\\_ventana\\_lexema.php?miReferencia=34](http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/ficha_simple_ventana_lexema.php?miReferencia=34)).

We know that some offerings to Nanāia were performed during the reign of Šulgi (e.g., the 33rd or 32nd year). For example, we can find some information about this fact from the texts of Dhehem

(Drewnowska-Rymarz 2008: 33). Nevertheless, we know that offerings of lambs were performed in “various months, starting in the 44th regnal year of Šulgi (2094–2047) and continuing until the second year of the rule of Ibī-Sîn (2028–2004)” (Drewnowska-Rymarz 2008: 33). There were some other types of offerings, too, e.g., kid offerings (they were mentioned for the first time in the 35th regnal year of Šulgi) (MVN XVIII 56 = AnOr 7, 56, PDT 32, 998, Drewnowska-Rymarz 2008: 34). So, in other words, until the end of Ur III. It is worth noting here that in the cities of Ur and Uruk, during the whole Ur III period, some texts describing offerings were made for the following goddesses: Inanna, Nanāia, Bēlat-tirraban, Bēlat-suhnir, Ulmašitum and Annunītum, and others (Drewnowska-Rymarz 2008: 34; Cohen 1993: 136–140). According to W.G. Lambert (1989: 324), Ulmašitum and Annunītum are Ištar of Akkad and Ištar of Babylon, respectively. Hence, Nanāia was one of the highest deities mentioned together with Inanna and Ištar (Stol 1998–2001: 147; Charpin 1994: 37), and one of her earliest main attributes was to be a ‘*mother goddess*’ (A1). Nanāia’s name occurs in OB period as <sup>d</sup>na-na-a in Weidner’s God List (Weidner 1924: 1–18), line 12 (Weidner’s God List was most probably composed in OB period – see Johandi 2019: 15; Pomponio 1998–2001: 21; Veldhuis 2003: 628).

‘*Love (fertility)*’ (A2) as one of her additional attributes is reconstructed from analysis of the royal inscriptions since the early second millennium BC, i.e., since the Isin-Larsa period and Old Babylonian period (2000–1595 BC). This reconstruction is based on identifying Nanāia with Inanna. This identification took place at the time of Sîn-iqīšam – see (Sigrist 1984: 147; Drewnowska-Rymarz 2008: 5). For example, Būr-Sîn, the ruler of Isin, begins his inscription by mentioning Nanāia, to whom he dedicated this text as a whole:

1-7. <sup>d</sup>na-na-a nin-a-ni-ir nam-ti <sup>d</sup>bur-<sup>d</sup>EN.zu lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri ki-ág-<sup>d</sup>in[anna] ù <sup>d</sup>na-na-a-<sup>f</sup>šē<sup>1</sup> – “For the goddess Nanāia, her lady, for the life of Būr-Sîn, king of the land Sumer and Akkad, beloved of the goddesses In[anna] and Nanāia” (RIME 4: Būr-Sîn E4.1.7.3, lines 1-7).

It is also important to refer here to a cone inscription from Ur describing the construction of a temple devoted to the goddess Nanāia. This inscription belongs to Sūmû-El, the ruler of Larsa in the 19th cen. BC:

<sup>d</sup>na-na-a-a nin ħi-li-a šu-du7 <sup>d</sup>su-mu-él nita-kala-ga lugal-uri5.Ki-ma lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri – “For the goddess Nanāia, the lady with perfect voluptuousness, Sūmû-El, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad” (RIME 4: Sūmû-El E4.2.7.2, lines 1-6).

The name of Nanāia also appeared in the “sacred marriage” of Rīm-Sîn I. This “sacred marriage” joined Rīm-Sîn I and Nanāia (YOS 11 24 = YBC 4643; Sigrist, Westenholz 2008: 667–704). In this context, we can reconstruct the following new attribute of Nanāia: to be a ‘*royal patron*’ (A3) granting forces and powers to kings. Nanāia has been mentioned in many inscriptions of Rīm-Sîn I, such as some inscriptions which are known from one bronze foundation canephore and three stone foundation tablets. They are devoted to the building of the temple of Nanāia by Kudur-mabuk and his son Rīm-Sîn I (RIME 4: Rīm-Sîn I E4.2.14.3, lines 1-5):

<sup>d</sup>na-na-a nin ħi-li še-er-ka-an-di nam-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga-ni gal diri dumu-zi-le-an-gal-la nin-a-ne-ne-er – “For the goddess Nanāia, lady adorned with voluptuousness, whose beauty is excessively great, comely daughter of great Anu, their lady”.

Innana and Nanāia are mentioned together in one inscription of this king, but separately (Rīm-Sîn I E4.2.14.3). Thus, we have another confirmation of the attribute ‘*love (fertility)*’ (A2). Besides the royal inscriptions and other text, Nanāia often also played an important role in cultic texts (hymns). For instance, there is the *Hymn to Nanaya* (Foster 1996: 72) which ends in a conclusion consisting of a blessing for the king. It is important to note that the structure, vocabulary and content are quite similar to the *Hymn to Ištar*. Thus, in this hymn we see the three attributes of Nanāia simultaneously: ‘*mother goddess*’ (A1), ‘*love (fertility)*’ (A2), ‘*royal patron*’ (A3).

It is notable that Nanāia was also mentioned in the NA list from Sultantepe (STT, 376–386) and that the name of Nanāia appears after the Dumuzi-Innana deity group (Drewnowska-Rymarz 2008: 24). There is also other evidence, but we mention only some to show the link between Nanāia and the Dumuzi-Ištar (Innana) group. Hence, in the Neo-Assyrian (see also about warlike Ištar – Stol 1998–2001:148, Nanaya



Hymn to Sargon II, SAA 3, Nr. 4, pp. 13-16) and Neo-Babylonian periods we see the same attributes of Nanāia: ‘*mother goddess*’ (A1), ‘*love (fertility)*’ (A2), ‘*royal patron*’ (A3).

The goddess Nanāia has become extremely popular in Bactria and Gandhāra (today’s Afghanistan and Pakistan) since the 2nd cen. BC. First, her images appeared within the classical Hellenistic iconography of Cybele in the “Temple with Indented Niches” at Ai-Khanoum (Afghanistan) and in the “Oxus Temple” at Takht-i Sangin (Tajikistan). They then appeared on the coins of the Kuṣāṇa rulers with legends in Greek mentioning her name Ναναια (Nanāia). At that time she was the main royal patron of the dynasty of Kuṣāṇas. So, ‘*royal patron*’ (A3) was her main attribute there. These Kuṣāṇa rulers spoke Bactrian (one of the Eastern Iranian languages) and at the height of their power reigned over the territory of modern-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, and North India at least up to Varanasi. This dynasty existed from the early 1st century AD until the late 4th century AD. Initially, they used Greek as their official language, but the situation changed after the reform of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kanīška (Bactrian: Κανη|βκι), presumably in 127 AD, that was mainly devoted to changing the official language of the Kuṣāṇa Empire from Greek to Bactrian. The text of this reform is known as the Rabatak inscription (Mukherjee 1995; Sims-Williams 1998: 2008) and, after the reform, all the legends on the Kuṣāṇa coins were written only in Bactrian and the goddess was called Νανα (Nanā). So, after 127 AD, the spelling of the name of goddess in Bactria and Gandhāra changed (it became Nanā), but it remained the same in Soghd: *nny* (Nanāia).

In the Rabatak inscription we see an identification of Nanā with Umā, the Buddhist goddess: “the lady Nanā and the lady Umā” (ια αμσα Νανα οδο ια αμσα Ομμυα). In Buddhism of the 2nd century AD Umā had the following attributes: ‘*mother goddess*’ (A1), ‘*love (fertility)*’ (A2), and ‘*marriage (children)*’ (A2-1 as paradigmatically subordinated to A2), and she was considered a wife of Maheśvara (Bactrian: Οηβο; Sogdian: *wyšprkr*), the Buddhist-Zoroastrian deity of wind and exaltation (Shenkar 2014: 82). In Hinduism, Umā became a wife of Śiva and she has the same attributes now.

We can assume that the name *nanā* started to take on the meaning of “mother” in Sanskrit and later in Farsi (this word ننه in Farsi has the additional meaning of being an old lady) only after the Kuṣāṇas. It is worth noting that this meaning of *nanā* “mother” is missing in Vedic and Avestan languages, but it corresponds to the main connotation of the name Nanāia/Nanā as divine mother.

Hence, the dynamics of the identification of Nanāia/Nanā and her attributes from the earliest references in Ur III allow us to understand which of her attributes were finally accepted in Central and South Asia and could have continued as some attributes of Durgā as the Hindu goddess, such as ‘*mother goddess*’ (A1) and ‘*woman warrior*’ (A4). Let us trace back these dynamics in more detail.

The earliest archaeological evidence of Nanāia in Central and South Asia is to be found in Bactria and dated to the 2nd cen. BC and then in Sogdiana and dated to the 2nd cen. AD. Her main attribute is to be ‘*sitting on a lion*’ (A4-1). (Mesopotamian Inanna/Ištar was also often represented with lion in iconography, and even compared with lion, see e.g., *Inanna and Ebih*, lines 7-9, ETCSL, <https://etcs1.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section1/tr132.htm>). This ‘*sitting on a lion*’ (A4-1) can be identified as paradigmatically subordinated to the attribute ‘*woman warrior*’ (A4) and it may be treated as a diffusion of the cult of Cybele in the Hellenistic states of India (Shenkar 2014: 118). It is worth noting that ‘*sitting on a tiger*’ (A4-1-1) meaning a ‘*woman warrior*’ (A4) is the main attribute of Durgā now. This attribute denoted by A4-1-1 is paradigmatically subordinated to ‘*sitting on a lion*’ (A4-1).

Nanāia as ‘*mother goddess*’ (A1) was very popular first in Bactria and Gandhāra (from the 2nd cen. B.C. to the 8th century AD) and later in Sogdiana and Khorasmia (from the 2nd cen. AD to the 9th cen. AD)—see (Tanabe 1995; De Jong 1997: 268–284; Potts 2001). Her attribute ‘*sitting on a lion*’ (A4-1) occurs in different forms. So, in the mural from Jartepa II Temple (Sogdiana) dated to the 4th or early 5th cen. AD, she is depicted as sitting on a throne, the legs of which are formed in the shape of lion protomes (Berdimuradov & Samibaev 2001: 59). On the Kuṣāṇa coins she is depicted as a lion or a woman holding the lion protome. On these coins her name is spelled Ναναια (Nanāia), Νανα (Nanā), or Ναναβαο (Nanā-šah, “Nanā, the ruler”).

Nanāia sometimes appears on the coins of Kuṣanśahs, too. The Kuṣanśahs are a branch of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty becoming satraps of the Sasanian rulers. So, on the coins of Pērōz I (Bactrian: Πιρωσο χοβανο βαηο) dated from ca. 245 to ca. 275 AD we observe a nimbate Nanāia with a crescent on top of its head,

appearing in the form of a female bust mounted on an altar. On both sides of the bust there is the Bactrian inscription Bayo Nāvo “the goddess Nanā”. Her attribute here is represented by a ‘crescent moon’ (A1-1) on the top of her head (Cribb 1990: no. 31). This attribute is paradigmatically subordinated to the attribute ‘mother goddess’ (A1). This image of bust on an altar was borrowed from a Bukharan coin (Naymark 1995: 43, 3).

Nanāia was a patron goddess for the Kušāṇa dynasty, and later for the Kušanšahs. As we can see, her attribute ‘royal patron’ (A3) was very significant at that time. The same attribute is reconstructed in Sogdiana as well. So, in the Panjikent city of Sogdiana, Nanāia was a patron goddess, also being represented as the most significant deity in several private houses (III/7; VI/26: VI/41; XXI/2; XXIII/50; XXV/12) – see Shenkar (2017: 198). Her image appears not only on the coins of Kušāṇas and Kušanšahs, but also on the coins of Sogdiana – on the coins minted during the reign of Dhēwāshtīch (died in 722 A.D.) with the Sogdian legend *pncy nn(δ)-βnpn-wH* “Nanāia, the Lady of Panč” (Lurje 2004).

Hence, the Mesopotamian attributes of Nanāia: ‘mother goddess’ (A1) and ‘royal patron’ (A3) continued in Central and South Asia. An additional attribute was presented as ‘woman warrior’ (A4) with the sub-attribute ‘sitting on a lion’ (A4-1).

‘Love (fertility)’ (A2) as the Mesopotamian attribute of Nanāia was well expressed within her sub-attribute ‘marriage (children)’ (A2-1) in Central and South Asia. So, according to the Rabatak inscription (Mukherjee 1995; Sims-Williams 1998: 2008), Nanāia can be associated with her manifestation *Ομμᾱ/Ομμο* (Umā), the wife of the bodhisattva Maheśvara. On some coins of Huviška (Bactrian: *Ονηβρι*), the son of Kaniška, we can see the couple *Ομμο/Οηβο* (Umā/Oešo) – see (Rosenfield 1967: 94, c.166; Cribb 1997: 35, pl. G8). This Oešo is the most important royal patron of Kušāṇas, together with Nanāia. He is very often depicted on their coins with the following main attributes of the Buddhist deity Maheśvara: bull; two-, four- or six-armed; single or three-headed; trident-axe or simple trident; thunderbolt; water pot; lion skin; lotus flower; antelope; elephant goad; wheel; club; nimbus (sometimes flaming); diadem as Kušāṇa royal crown (Shenkar 2014:154). On the coins of Kušanšahs we quite often find a female bust mounted on an altar. She is identified as Nanāia (or Anahita). We also find a bearded male bust mounted on an altar, but very often without inscriptions (Cribb 1990: no.24–29). He can be identified as Oešo (Bago Borzando) on the basis of one coin where he is depicted with the inscription in Pahlavi: *bwrz’wndy yzdy* “the god who acts in the high regions” (Cribb 1990: no.59). On the coins of Kušanšahs of other types we see the classical iconography of Oešo, i.e., a bearded man holding a trident accompanied by a bull. The Bactrian legend is as follows: *βορζοανδο ιαζαδο* or *βαγο βορζανδο* “the god who acts in the high regions”, the same as in Pahlavi. Thus, this deity is identified as Oešo (*Οηβο*) from the earlier Kušāṇa coins of Kaniška and Huviška (Shenkar 2014: 82).

In the paintings of Panjikent in Sogdiana, Oešo (*Οηβο*) is represented under the Sogdian name *wyšprkr* (Wēšparkar). The latter name is treated as deriving from the following Avestan epithet of Vayu: *vaiiuš uparō.kairiio*, “Vayu, whose activity lies in the upper region”. Therefore the Bactrian name *Οηβο* may represent *wēš*, delivered from the Avestan *vaiiuš* (Humbach 1975).

For the Kušāṇas, the wind god Wēšparkar/Oešo was considered an emblem of royal glory (Lo Muzio 1995: 169) to the same extent as Nanāia. There is no doubt that Wēšparkar/Oešo is associated with Maheśvara (treated as bodhisattva from Mahāyāna *sūtras*).

Hence, for the Kušāṇas and Kušanšahs, Nanāia possesses the following attributes and subattributes: ‘mother goddess’ (A1), ‘crescent moon’ (A1-1), ‘love (fertility)’ (A2), ‘marriage (children)’ (A2-1), ‘royal patron’ (A3), ‘woman warrior’ (A4), ‘sitting on a lion’ (A4-1), ‘four or many arms’ (A4-2). Meanwhile, in the paintings of Panjikent (the temple II) dated to the 7th cen., the divine couple of Nanāia and Wēšparkar/Oešo can be treated according to its iconography as the Umāmaheśvaramūrti, i.e., a representation of Maheśvara along with his wife Umā, sitting on the bull (Lo Muzio 2002: fig. 2).

To sum up, Durgā as a ‘warrior woman’ (A4), ‘sitting on a tiger’ (A4-1-1) with ‘four or many arms’ (A4-2) can be traced back to the Mesopotamian goddess Nanāia.

#### Note

In enumerating divine attributes we follow the structuralist approach established by Claude Lévi-Strauss. We therefore distinguish the following two orders in their enumeration: syntagmatic (horizontal) and paradigmatic

(vertical). The syntagmatic order: **A1, A2, A3**,... shows the most important attributes belonging to a god or goddess, but each attribute from this line can have an additional paradigmatic order: **A1-1, A1-2, A1-3**,... or **A2-1, A2-2, A2-3**, etc.

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Andrew SCHUMANN <andrew.schumann@gmail.com>

Dept of Cognitive Science, Univ. of Information Technology and Management in Rzeszow (POLAND)

Vladimir SAZONOV <sazonov@ut.ee>

Center for Oriental Studies, University of Tartu (ESTONIA)

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