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NOTES BRÈVES

26) Kings' ladies at Ebla's court — The label 'dam en list' is used to refer to sections of several administrative tablets mentioning the female members of the Ebla royal family. These women appear in the documents along with other members of the court as the recipients of garments and/or precious objects. Three new, complete lists of dam en have been published since the last comprehensive study on the topic by Tonietti (1989), and several fragmentary lists appeared in Lahlou and Catagnoti (2006). In this note I shall offer an updated index of the dam en lists, providing a few general remarks which might facilitate access to this material to a non-specialist public.

The group of women mentioned in the dam en lists includes different female members of the royal family. While Sumerian differentiates between human and non-human, Eblaite and other Semitic languages have two grammatical genders. We thus translate the Sumerian term dam ("spouse") as "wife" or "(adult) woman" depending on the context. However, the scribes of the Archives used the label dam en rather inconsistently, at times including in this group women who had a different kin relationship with the king (Biga 1987). Three facts corroborate this statement. First, in some lists, such as R₁ (see Table 1) the scribes made a clear distinction between the king's wives, addressed as dam en (Ra'utum, Kiršūt, Ḫinna-Šamaš, Rapešum, Mašgašatu, Maqaratu, Tašma-Damu, Rapešum-II), his daughters who are called dumu-mi₂ en (Ma'ut, Šanī-Mari), as well as several other high ranking women. Second, as Samir (2019, 9) noticed, the ladies maintained their status upon the succession of a new king to the throne, which was also the case for other individuals related to the king (*i.e.* his sons and daughters). There is, thus, a generational stratification that is not clearly reflected in the administrative lexis. Since Eblaite scribes never mention the king's name in the administrative records, distinguishing between the wives of the living king, his predecessor's wives, and other female relatives may prove to be difficult. However, bearing in mind that the order in these lists did not experience great alterations, it is possible to observe how over the years various ladies appear and disappear from the lists. Third, documents concerning food allotment of the Small Archive L.2712 demonstrate how flexible this category was for the scribes, since among the dam en they list also the king's daughters-in-law (Milano 1990, 336 and n49). Therefore, king Yiṭgar-Damu's dam en mentioned in list D₇ are actually: his mother (Dusigu), his wife and queen (Tabūr-Damu), his sister (Tinīb-dūrum), his 'step-mothers' (Ra'utum, 'Aba-dādu, Ḫinna-Šamaš, Mašgašadu, Maqaratu, Rapešum-II), his actual wives (Tašma'-Damu, Ṭaba-'adu, Yišartu, Kiršūt, Maškut, Ḫišut, Tardud, Nūrut, Yidu-'ila, Šū-na'immatu), and other women such as his wet-nurse (Qišatu), and his maternal aunts (his mother's sisters).

Furthermore, the scribes of the Archives distinguished between at least four sub-groups of dam en: the dam en maḥ, the dam en tur, the dam en lu₂ SA.ZA_x^{ki} and the dam en GN. Checking D₇ against other dam en lists allows the following division: five dam en maḥ (Ra'utum, Ḥinna-Šamaš, Mašgašatu, Maqaratu, Tašma'-Damu), and six dam en tur (Ṭāba-'adu, Yišartu, Maškut, Ḥišut, Tardut, Šū-na'immatu). The dam en maḥ (list R₅) were probably the eldest of the group, and in fact many among them are mentioned also in archaic documents (Pomponio 2008; 2013): on the contrary, the label dam en tur is most often adopted in the documents of the Small Archive L.2712 (all dated a few years before the destruction of the city; see 75.236 = *ARET* IX 37). It is not yet clear to me whether maḥ and tur indicate a difference in age, rank, or both: Bonechi (2018, 96) suggests that the dam en maḥ were “women of royal blood of first rank,” and the difference in food allotment pro capite suggests the presence of a hierarchy based on seniority. Moreover, dam en maḥ Ḥinna-Šamaš and Tašma'-Damu receive the same food allotment as the queen (two *KUBĀRUM* of barley, double the other ladies' allotment, in 75.537 = *ARET* IX 44). A further subdivision of this group is based on a geographical criterion. List D₆, for example, differentiates between the group of ladies “those of (the) SA.ZA_x^{ki}” (dam en lu₂ SA.ZA_x^{ki}) and other women, some associated with GNs. It is still a puzzle how these ladies were related to the GNs, most of which were, by the way, important cultic centers (Tonietti 1989, 85-86; Milano 1990, 164, 336).

Since, as stated above, the order in which the dam en are mentioned is generally fixed and evolves through time, it is possible to observe the disappearance from the lists of some of the ladies as well as the inclusion of new ones: Tonietti (1989, 1990) was able to reconstruct a chronological sequence of thirty-three dam en lists attested in the documents of the Great Archive L.2769 cross-linking this data with the events mentioned in published documents. Biga (1987, 43-44), Archi et al. (1988, 255-259), and Mander (1988) were the first to publish the dam en lists. Using this material, Tonietti classified them according to the names of the women who appear on the top of each list: Kiršūt (K), Ra'utum (R), Tagmul-Damu (DA), Dusigu (M), and *MALIKTUM* (= Tabūr-Damu, M). Table 1 offers an updated index of all the known dam en lists, ordered according to Tonietti's chronology. All the lists contained in unpublished documents have been quoted by Tonietti in her study. To these we can add two new parallel Dusigu lists that were quoted by Archi (1996, 106): the documents have now been published in their entirety by Samir (2019). The lists are 75.1298 = *ARET* XIX 3, obv.V:2-VI:10, and 75.1318+ = *ARET* XIX 5, obv. XII:13-XIII:15: they are certainly to be dated prior to 75.1793 = DA₁, since both mention Simin-kaspi, the king's daughter for whom a bridewealth is paid in 75.1793. She will thereafter leave Ebla to become the queen of Burman. Since lists D₁, D₂, and D₃ might be dated to the same year (Tonietti 2010, 78n105), the new lists are probably close in time to D₄ and DA₁. A third dam en list of the *MALIKTUM* series, 75.5368 = *ARET* XII 909, rev.IV':16'-V':10', has been published in Lahlou and Catagnoti (2006), along with fourteen new fragmentary lists.

Lists attested in the Great Archive L.2769 (updated from Tonietti 1989)

- K₁ 75.1321 = *ARET* I 11 = *MEE* 2 19, rev.X:16-XI:5
- K₂ 75.1319 = *ARET* XIX 6, rev.I:15-II:8
- K₃ 75.1263 = *ARET* XIX 2, obv.V':7-15
- R₁ 75.1730 = *MEE* 7 34, rev.XIII:24-XIV:7
- R₂ 75.2417, rev.X:20-XI:12; extensively quoted in Biga and Capomacchia (2012), 27-30
- D₁ 75.10153, obv.IX:15-X:15
- D₂ 75.1885, obv.III:16-IV:16
- D₃ 75.3534 = *ARET* III 469, obv.VI:17-VII:9
- D₄ 75.3002+3006 = *ARET* III 3, obv.VII:1'-8'
- 75.1298 = *ARET* XIX 3, obv.V:2-VI:10
- 75.1318+ = *ARET* XIX 5, obv. XII:13-XIII:15
- DA₁ 75.1793, obv.VII:9-VIII:2
- DA₂ 75.3139 = *ARET* III 119, rev.IV:1'-9'
- D₅ 75.10150, obv.IX:10-XI:3
- D₆ 75.2527+, rev.I:24-III:9
- D₇ 75.1770 = *ARET* XX 6, obv.X:1-XII:2
- D₈ 75.1731 = *ARET* XX 7 = *MEE* 7 35, rev.XIII:5-XIV:13
- 75.1860 = *MEE* 10 20, rev.VI:14-VII:2 (note that *Hi-su-ut* is wrongly omitted in *MEE* 10 20)
- M₁ 75.1868 = *ARET* IV 22, rev.VIII:10-X:7
- R₃ 75.1274 = *ARET* I 13 = *MEE* 2 7, rev.XI':1-X':4

- M₂ 75.1890, rev.I:1-II:15
 R₄ 75.1273 = *ARET* IV 5, obv.II:12-III:13
 M₃ 75.1419, rev.X:17-XI:11
 R₅ 75.2331 = *ARET* XX 19, rev.VII:11-17
 M₄ 75.1894, rev.VI:20-VII:1
 M₅ 75.3164 = *ARET* III 140 (+ 75.3168 = *ARET* III 144, see Tonietti 1990)
 M₆ 75.2443 = *ARET* XX 15, rev.IX:12-X:4
 M₇ 75.10170, rev.II:2-IV:2
 M₈ 75.2328 = *ARET* XX 17, rev.IV:1-27
 75.5368+ = *ARET* XII 909, rev.IV':16-V':10
 M₉ 76.542 = *ARET* VIII 542 = *MEE* 5 22, rev.I:5-II:16
 M₁₀ 76.525 = *ARET* VIII 525 = *MEE* 5 5, obv.IV:1-21
 M₁₁ 76.527 = *ARET* VIII 527 = *MEE* 5 7, obv.VI:7-VII:5
 M₁₂ 75.1876, rev.I:3-IV:2
 76.533 = *ARET* VIII 533 = *MEE* 5 13, obv.VI:8-15

Lists attested in the S(mall) A(rchive) L.2712 (Milano 1990, 141-142)

- SA₁ 75.236 = *ARET* IX 37, obv.I:1-V:10
 SA₂ 75.241 = *ARET* IX 38
 SA₃ 75.444 = *ARET* IX 39
 SA₄ 75.452 = *ARET* IX 40
 SA₅ 75.455 = *ARET* IX 41, obv.I:1-III:3
 SA₆ 75.537 = *ARET* IX 44

F(ragmentary) L(ists) (updated from Tonietti 1989)

- FL₁ 75.3051 = *ARET* III 40, obv.³II':1'-4' (*MALIKTUM* series, 3 names preserved)
 FL₂ 75.3184 = *ARET* III 158, obv.³II':2'-4' and obv.³III':2'-3' (3 names preserved)
 FL₃ 75.3732 = *ARET* III 660 (3 names preserved)
 FL₄ 75.3775 = *ARET* III 698, obv.³I':1'-4' (3 names preserved)
 FL₅ 75.4093 = *ARET* III 971, obv.³V':2'-6' (4 names preserved)
 FL₆ 75.4171 = *ARET* XII 59, obv.³I':4' (3 names preserved)
 FL₇ 75.4274 = *ARET* XII 137, obv.³I':2'-7' (4 names preserved)
 FL₈ 75.5101 = *ARET* XII 723, obv.³II':1'-4' (4 names preserved)
 FL₉ 75.5241 = *ARET* XII 821, obv.³I':1'-5' (2 names preserved)
 FL₁₀ 75.5251 = *ARET* XII 828 (6 names preserved)
 FL₁₁ 75.5274 = *ARET* XII 845, obv.VI:1-VII:3 (5 names preserved)
 FL₁₂ 75.5372 = *ARET* XII 912, obv.³II':1'-III':4' (13 names preserved)
 FL₁₃ 75.5570 = *ARET* XII 1060, obv.³III':1'-3' (3 names preserved)
 FL₁₄ 75.5856 = *ARET* XII 1262, obv.³IV':1'-5' (5 names preserved)
 FL₁₅ 75.5847 = *ARET* XII 1253, rev.VIII':1'-4' (4 names preserved)
 FL₁₆ 75.5848 = *ARET* XII 1254, obv.³III':1'-2' (2 names preserved)
 FL₁₇ 75.5872 = *ARET* XII 1278, obv.³I':1'-3' (3 names preserved)
 FL₁₈ 75.5901+5902 = *ARET* XII 1305, obv.³III':1'-5' (2 names preserved)
 FL₁₉ 75.5920 = *ARET* XII 1321, obv.³III':1'-5' (5 names preserved)

Table 1 – Updated index of the dam en lists

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27) Addenda et corrigenda to “Studies in Eblaite Prosopography:” the dumu-nita en — The documents of the Great Archive L.2769 contain repeated references to the sons of the Eblaite kings (dumu-nita en) listed in groups: in most cases they are mentioned as the recipients of various goods delivered on particular occasions, such as the wedding between Tabūr-damu and Yitgar-damu ([75.1730 = M 7 34] and [75.2417], see Biga and Capomacchia 2012). Several lists of royal sons have been identified and collected by Alfonso Archi, Maria Giovanna Biga, and Lucio Milano (1988) as part of their detailed study on the members of the kings’ and viziers’ families at Ebla. Only recently newly published documents with hitherto unknown data have taken our understanding of kin relationships at the court of Palace G to a new level. In this note I intend to revise and update the data published in Archi, Biga, and Milano (1988, 222-232) concerning the dumu-nita en.

Royal sons: Individual mentions

Daggers (†) indicate corrections with respect to the 1988 publication. New evidence suggests that individuals marked with an asterisk (*) might not belong to the group of royal sons. A superscript plus sign (+) marks new PNs not included in Archi, Biga, and Milano (1988). The abbreviation *EST* (*Ebla Scattered Texts*) refers to the digital edition of the tablets published on the *EbDA* database (Milano and Maiocchi 2011–).

A-a-du-lum: [75.1860 = M 10 20] rev.V:3; XII:27[†].

**A-bur-da-si-in*: he appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:19 (see below).

**A-ḫu-ma-i₃-lum*: he appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:18 (see below).

Ar-wa: [75.1731+75.2498 = A XX 7 = M 7 35] obv.V:5; [75.2240 = A XX 21] obv.VI:14. He also appears in [75.4161 = A XII 49] obv[†]II:2.

**A-zi*: see sub *Uš-ra-sa₂-mu*.

**Bu₃-da-ma-lik*: see sub *Uš-ra-sa₂-mu*.

**Ru₁₂(EN)-zi-da-mu*: [75.10219 = A XV 58] obv.XI:10. Based on the context I suggest that *Ru₁₂-zi-da-mu* was a son of the king of *Mu-nu-ti-um^{ki}*: see also [75.1361 = A XV 11] rev.II:8-11. Note, however, that one *Ru₁₂-zi-da-mu* was also son of the king of *Ma-nu-wa-ad^{ki}* (see [75.3535 = A III 470] obv.II:9-11).

GABA-da-mu: [75.2331 = A XX 19] obv.XI:19. He also appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:11.

Tug₂-du₈(GABA)-da-mu: [75.1395 = A XV 15] obv.XI:10. He also appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:12.

Ga-du-um: [75.1680 = M 7 23] obv.IX:14; [75.1775 = M 7 48] obv.IV:10; [75.2328 = A XX 17] obv.VIII:3; [75.2331 = A XX 19] rev.IV:11; [75.2334 = A XX 25] obv.X:11; [75.2508 = M 12 37] obv.XII:18; [75.2452 = A VII 11] does not contain this PN.

Ĥa-ba: [75.1743 = A XX 9] obv.XII:13[†]; [75.2327+75.4203 = A XX 24] obv.VI:20[†]; [75.2331 = A XX 19] obv.XI:14.

He also appears in [75.4171 = A XII 59] obv.³III':2'.

**Ib-du-lu*: see sub *Uš-ra-sa₂-mu*.

Ib-te-da-mu: [75.2273 = A XX 16] rev.I:2; [75.2328 = A XX 17] obv.IX:2[†]; [75.10052 = A XX 22] obv.VIII:5. He also appears in [75.4171 = A XII 59] obv.³II':3'.

Ib-za-da-mu: [75.1781 = M 7 50] obv.IV:2[†].

I-da-ni(ne)-ki-mu: [75.1298 = A XIX 3] obv.VII:1; [75.1322+75.4578+75.4584 = A XIX 8] rev.II:4; [75.1568 = A XV 30] rev.I:4[†]; [75.1730 = M 7 34] rev.XIII:7; [75.1743 = A XX 9] obv.I:3; [75.1781 = M 7 50] obv.II':3. He also appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:16 (spelled *I-ti-ni-ki-mu*); [75.3184 = A III 158] obv.²I':3'; [75.3819 = A III 739] obv.³II':4'. [75.1349 = M 2 33] is now published also as [A XV 9]. A man named *I-da-ne-ki-mu* frequently appears in the documents discovered between 1982 and 1984 in the southern wing of Palace G (Archi 1993).

I-da-ni-za-mu (= *I-da-ni(ne)-ki-mu*?): [75.1337 = A XIX 13] rev.VI:3.

Ib(Īk)-su-ub-da-mu: [75.447 = A IX 66] obv.VI:12; [75.1604 = M 7 7] obv.II:4; [75.1643 = M 7 14] obv.III:1; [75.1781 = M 7 50] obv.IV:1[†]; [75.1903 = A XX 12] obv.IV:8; [75.2328 = A XX 17] obv.VII:8; [75.2429 = M 12 36] rev.XIII:21, rev.XIX:3, but also rev.III:23; [75.2443 = A XX 15] obv.II':17. [75.2278 = EST 33 = Archi and Biga (2003), 40] does not contain this PN. He appears also in [75.1775 = M 7 48] obv.IV:5; [75.2508 = M 12 37] obv.XII:19.

I-in^{dingir}A₃-da: [75.1322+75.4578+75.4584 = A XIX 8] rev.II:7; [75.1337 = A XIX 13] rev.VI:6; [75.1361 = A XV 11] obv.VII:18; [75.1730 = M 7 34] rev.XIII:8. He also appears also [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.IX:1; [75.4161 = A XII 49] obv.³II':5.

Ig-ri₂-iš-da-mu: [75.1393 = A XV 14] obv.VI:5. He appears also in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:14.

Ig-ri₂-su: [75.4612 = A XII 385] obv.³II':3'.

I₃-lum-a-bi(Īu/Īa): [75.1298 = A XIX 3] obv.VII:2; [75.1322+75.4578+75.4584 = A XIX 8] rev.II:6; [75.1337 = A XIX 13] rev.VI:5; [75.1730 = M 7 34] rev.XIII:6; [75.1731+75.2498 = A XX 7 = M 7 35] obv.V:3. He also appears in [75.3184 = A III 158] obv.²I':4'; [75.3819 = A III 739] obv.³II':3'.

**Il₂-zi*: see sub *Uš-ra-sa₂-mu*.

Il₂-zi-da-mu: [75.2328 = A XX 17] obv.IX:5. He also appears in [75.4171 = A XII 59] obv.³II':4'.

I-mu-da-mu: [75.1373 = M II 47] is a document concerning silver incomes (mu-ku_x) dated to royal daughter *Dar-kab-du-lum*'s departure for Kakmium (see also [75.1371+75.1372 = M 2 45] rev.I:5-II:3). Pettinato (1980) could not read the three signs following *I-mu-da-mu*'s name (rev.I:3): see however Archi (2000, 26) where the same passage is quoted as *I-mu-da-mu dumu-nita en*.

**Ir₃-am₆-da-mu*: [75.2331 = A XX 19] obv.XI:17. However, note that [75.2331 = A XX 19], rev.XI:13-XII:3, is not a list of royal sons. Although *Ĥa-ba* and *Šu-ra-da-mu* appear at obv.XI:14-15, the other individuals mentioned are: *I-ri₂-ik-da-mu* (Yibrium's son), *Ir₃-am₆-da-mu* (lugal and judge), *In-ma-lik* (Yibrium's son), *GABA-da-mu* (lugal), *[Ir₃]-i₃-ba* (lugal), *Iš₁₁-ga-<ba->ir₃* (lugal), *U₃-ti* (lugal and Yibrium's son), *Na-zu-mu* (?). The only other mention of *Ir₃-am₆-da-mu* as a royal son is still unpublished ([75.1946]). Another man named *Ir₃-am₆-da-mu*, a judge (di-ku₅), appears frequently in the administrative record.

**Iš₍₁₁₎-maĥ-da-mu*: [75.1780 = A XX 18] obv.IX:2. The other two mentions of *Iš₍₁₁₎-maĥ-da-mu* as a royal son are still unpublished ([75.1060] and [75.10273]).

I-ti^{dingir}A₃-da: he also appears in He also appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:13.

KU(Šu)-ra-da-mu (also *Gu₄-<ra->da-mu*?): [75.1322+75.4578+75.4584 = A XIX 8] rev.II:8; [75.1730 = M 7 34] rev.XIII:9; [75.1731+75.2498 = A XX 7 = M 7 35] obv.V:4; [75.2327+75.4203 = A XX 24] obv.VI:19[†]. The name does not appear in [75.2429 = M 12 36]. He also appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.IX:2 (spelled *Gu₄-<ra->da-mu*); [75.4161 = A XII 49] obv.³II':1; [75.4171 = A XII 59] obv.³III':3'.

*^{dingir}*KU-ra-ma-i-da*: see sub *Uš-ra-sa₂-mu*.

Maĥ-ra-da-mu: [75.1298 = A XIX 3] obv.VI:15; [75.1322+75.4578+75.4584 = A XIX 8] rev.II:2; [75.1337 = A XIX 13] rev.VI:1; [75.1730 = M 7 34] rev.XIII:5; [75.1731+75.2498 = A XX 7 = M 7 35] obv.V:2; [75.1743 = A XX 9] obv.XII:11; [75.2273 = A XX 16] rev.IV:27; [75.2327+75.4203 = A XX 24] obv.VI:18[†]; [75.2460 = A XX 10] obv.IX:2. He also appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:17 (spelled *Ma-ĥa-ra-da-mu*); [75.3184 = A III 158] obv.³I':2'; [75.3819 = A III 739] obv.³II':1'.

**Mi-ga-i₃*: [75.1451 = EST 39 = Archi (1981), 6-8] obv.VI:2. According to this document he was a royal son, but [75.10170] is still unpublished.

SAG-da-mu: [75.1567 = A XV 29] obv.II:13[†] and X:14 (mistakenly quoted as [75.1576]); [75.2165 = A XV 47] rev.VI:3; [75.2273 = A XX 16] rev.I:1; [75.2328 = A XX 17] obv.VIII:11. He also appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:10; [75.4171 = A XII 59] obv.³II':2'.

**Uš-ra*₍₂₎-*sa₂-mu*: of the nineteen men appearing in [75.10170], six are never pointed out elsewhere as royal sons (*A-zi*, *Bu₃-da-ma-lik*, *Ib-du-lu*, *Il₂-zi*, ^{dingir}*KU-ra-ma-i-da*, and *Uš-ra-sa₂-mu*). More than one individual named *Uš-ra-sa₂-mu* existed during the age of the Archives: one is attested as a collector (*ur₄*; see Cianfanelli 2020), one as a ‘priest’ (*lu₂ dingir-dingir-dingir*; see Catagnoli and Fronzaroli 2010, 98), one as a military commander (*aga-us₂*; see Bonechi 2016i). The identities of the other five remain unknown.

Za-a-da-mu: [75.1337 = A XIX 13] rev.VI:7. *Za-a-da-mu* is probably a different spelling for *Šu-ra-da-mu* (Samir 2019, 204).

Ze₂(/Zi)-da-mu: [75.447 = A IX 66] obv.VI:14; [75.1643 = M 7 14] obv.III:2; [75.1903 = A XX 12] obv.IV:9; [75.1950 = A XX 20] obv.IX:9; [75.2327+75.4203 = A XX 24] rev.VII:3⁺; [75.2328 = A XX 17] obv.VII:10; [75.2429 = M 12 36] rev.XIX:5.

Zi-ib₍₂₎-*da-mu*: [75.1775 = M 7 48] obv.IV:11 (spelled *Si-ib₂-da-mu*); [75.2240 = A XX 21] obv.IV:1; [75.2328 = A XX 17] obv.VIII:7; [75.2331 = A XX 19] rev.IV:12; [75.2508 = M 12 37] obv.XII:19[†]. He also appears in [75.4171 = A XII 59] obv.²II:1[†].

Zu₍₂₎-*du*: [75.1731+75.2498 = A XX 7 = M 7 35] obv.V:6. [75.2538] has been mistakenly quoted as [75.2358]. He also appears in [75.4161 = A XII 49] obv.²II:3.

Royal sons: Complete lists

Pomponio published one new list of *dumu-nita en* ([75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:9-14; Pomponio 2008, xx). However, note that the proper names appearing in lists [75.1862 = A XV 36] rev.IX:1'-9', [75.1843 = A XV 38] rev.IV:5-15, [75.2246 = A XV 49] obv.XIII:8-17, and [75.10276 = A XV 59] obv.IX:1-11 are, at least in part, female (see for example Archi, Catagnoli and Fronzaroli 2008–, G, s.v. *Ga-du-wa-du*).

[75.2327+75.4203 = A XX 24] obv.VI:8-22 is a list of individuals who probably participated in *Keš₂-du-ut*'s wedding, but not all the names on this list belong to royal sons. Similarly, [75.2331 = A XX 19] obv.XI:13-XII:3, lists several high representatives (*abba₂*) of whom at least two were royal sons (see above sub ²*Ir₃-am₆-da-mu*). A superscript plus sign (+) marks new lists not included in Archi, Biga, and Milano (1988).

75.1322+75.4578+75.4584 = [75.1322+75.4578+75.4584 = A XIX 8] rev.I:18-II:10: 5 'a₃-*da-um*^{ti}_{g-II} / 2 'aktum^{ti}_{g1} 5 *ib₂+III sa₆ gun₃^{ti}g* / *Maḥ-ra-da-mu* / *wa* / *I-da-ni-ki-mu* / *wa* / *I₃-lum-a-hu* / *I-in*-^{dingir}*A₃-da* / *Šu-ra-da-mu* / *dumu-nita* / *en*

75.1337 = [75.1337 = A XIX 13] rev.V:16-VI:8: [5 'a₃-*da-um*^{ti}_{g-II}]² / *Maḥ-ra-da-mu* / *wa* / *I-da-ni-ki-mu* / *wa* / *I₃-lum-a-hu* / *I-in*-^{dingir}*A₃-da* / *Za-a-da-mu* / *dumu-nita* [e]n

+ [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:9-14: 5 aktum^{ti}_g / *SAG-da-mu* / *GABA-da-mu* / *Tug₂-du₈-da-mu* / *I-ti*-^{dingir}*A₃-da* / *Ig-ri₂-iš-da-mu* / 6 TAR *zara₆^{ti}g* / *I-ti-ni-ki-mu* / *Ma-ha-ra-da-mu* / *A-hu-ma-i₃-lum* / *A-bur-da-si-in* / *I-in*-^{dingir}*A₃-da* / *Gu₄-<ra->da-mu* <dumu-nita-en>

75.1730 = [75.1730 = M 7 34] rev.XII:11'-XIII:11: 15 *ma-na ku₃;bar₆* / 'š_u-*bal-ak¹* / [3] *ma-na ku₃-gi* / *kin₅-ak* / 6 *ib₂-la₂* 6 *ši-di-tum* 6 *gir-kun* / *nig₂-ba* / *Maḥ-ra-da-mu* / *I₃-lum-* 'a'-*hi* / *I-da-ni-ki-mu* / *I-in*-^{dingir}*A₃-da* / *KU-ra-da-mu* / *dumu-nita* / *en*

75.1731 = [75.1731+75.2498 = A XX 7 = M 7 35] obv.IV:21-V:8: 5 'a₃-*da-um*^{ti}_{g-II} / 5 aktum^{ti}_g '5' *ib₂-III*^{ti}_g *sa₆ gun₃* / *Maḥ-ra-da-mu* / *I₃-lum-a-hi* / *Šu-ra-da-mu* / *Ar-wa* / *Zu-du* / *dumu-nita* / *en*

75.2328 = [75.2328 = A XX 17] obv.VII:7-IV:8: 1 'a₃-*da-um*^{ti}_{g-II} 2 aktum^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* 5 aktum^{ti}_g *ti*^{ti}_g 1 *gada*^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* 1 *ib₂-III*^{ti}_g *sag SAL* 1 *ib₂-III*^{ti}_g *sa₆ gun₃* / *Ih-su-ub-da-mu* / 1 'a₃-*da-um*^{ti}_{g-II} 2 aktum^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* 5 aktum^{ti}_g *ti*^{ti}_g 1 *gada*^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* 1 *ib₂-IV*^{ti}_g *SAL* 1 *ib₂-III*^{ti}_g *sa₆ gun₃* / *Ze₂-da-mu* / 1 'a₃-*da-um*^{ti}_{g-II} 2 aktum^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* 3 aktum^{ti}_g *ti*^{ti}_g 1 *gada*^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* / 2 *ib₂-III*^{ti}_g *sa₆ gun₃* / *Ga-du-um* / 1 'a₃-*da-um*^{ti}_{g-II} 2 aktum^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* 3 aktum^{ti}_g *ti*^{ti}_g / 1 *gada*^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* / 2 [+]² *i*[*b₂-III*^{ti}_g *sa₆ gun₃*] / *Zi-ib₂-d[a-mu]* / 2 'a₃-*d[a-um]*^{ti}_{g-II} 2 aktum^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* 2 aktum^{ti}_g *ti*^{ti}_g / 1 *gada*^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* / 2 *ib₂-III*^{ti}_g *sa₆ gun₃* / *S[AG-]d[a-mu]* / 1 [*a₃-d[a-u]*]^{ti}_{g-II} / 2 aktum^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* 2 aktum^{ti}_g *ti*^{ti}_g 1 *gada*^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* 2 *ib₂-III*^{ti}_g *sa₆ gun₃* / *Ib-te-da-mu* / 1 aktum^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* 1 *gada*^{ti}_g *mu₄^{mu}* / 2 aktum^{ti}_g *ti*^{ti}_g / *Il₂-zi-d[a-mu]* / [N i]*b₂-IV*^{ti}_g [s]*a₆ gun₃* / *x²-ša-x²* / [...]

Royal sons: Fragmentary lists

[75.1435 = A IV 13] obv.XII:14-18 (four names preserved)

+ [75.3184 = A III 158] obv.²I:1'-4' (four names preserved)

+ [75.3819 = A III 739] obv.²II:1'-5' (five names preserved)

+ [75.4161 = A XII 49] obv.²II:1-3 (three names preserved)

+ [75.4171 = A XII 59] obv.²II:1-III:3' (seven/eight names preserved)

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28) An unrecognized occurrence of mē, “battle”, in an Ebla Palace G administrative text — The attestations of the Sumerogram mē, “battle”, in the cuneiform texts found in the Palace G of Ebla (late 24th century BC) are remarkably few. To those already known, that in TM.75.G.1714 = *MEE* 7 31, rev. I:2-II:2, must be added: TAR lá-2 <GÍN.DILMUN> kù-sig₁₇ / 1 ma-na TAR <GÍN.DILMUN> nagga / mu-DU / NI-sa-ba₄ / in ud // mē¹⁾ / Gú-ra-ra-bal^{ki}. According to this record, 28 shekels of gold and 90 shekels of tin were the income of NI-sa-ba₄ (a man from Gáb-lu₅-ul^{ki}) “on the occasion of the battle of Gú-ra-ra-bal^{ki}”. Interestingly, in rev. II:5-V:3 TM.75.G.1714 = *MEE* 7 31 also informs us that this event happened in the same year as the death of an Ebla king (surely Yirkab-damu) and his wife, the Ebla queen. I will fully discuss these crucial records (together with those in TM.75.G.2165 = *ARET* XV 47 and related texts) in a forthcoming article.

Note

1. In F. D’Agostino, *Testi amministrativi di Ebla. Archivio L.2769, Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla* 7, Roma, 1996, p. 152, this sign, clearly visible in the photograph of *MEE* 7, Tav. XIV, was read nam-tar³ (“decisione del destino³”). Rightly, doubts on such reading were already put forward in A. Catagnoti, *Sul lessico dei giuramenti a Ebla: nam-kus*, in P. Fronzaroli ed., *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 4, *Quaderni di Semitistica* 19, Firenze, 1997, p. 126 n. 55.

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29) Weiteres zu Eulenrufen in Mesopotamien — Der Autor hat in NABU 2021/4 dafür plädiert, *qadû* und *eššebu* und ihre sumerischen und akkadischen Entsprechungen weiter als Eulenarten zu interpretieren. Zu den Merkmalen dieser Vögel gehört, dass es darunter besonders große Raubvögel gibt, dass sie mit der Nacht assoziiert werden, dass sie gerne Unterschlupf in verlassenen Gebäuden suchen und dass sie mit Tod, Unheil, Botschaften und Magiern assoziiert wurden wie kulturübergreifend die Eulen. Hier soll noch einmal auf einige der Rufe eingegangen werden, die diesen Vögeln entweder aufgrund der Annahme lautmalender Namen oder durch die direkte Wiedergabe zuzuordnen sind. Einen Teil davon würde man nicht gleich mit Eulen assoziieren.

Eulen, insbesondere der auch im Irak vertretene Uhu (*Bubo bubo*) bringen eine Vielzahl sehr verschiedener Rufe hervor. Der normale Revierruf des Männchens ist ein dunkles *uuhu*. Vgl. deutsch und ungarisch „Uhu“, hebräisch *oħa*, finnisch *huuhkaja* und *u₈-a = ĥu-ú-[a] = qadû*, *a/ak-ku-ú = qadû* (CAD Q 51a). In der Balz lässt das Weibchen ein helleres *u-hu* ertönen, während das Männchen *buho* ruft. Vgl. deutsch *Buhu*, lateinisch *bubo*, Türkisch *puhu* „Uhu“. Weibchen und Männchen sind bei der Balz auch im Duett zu hören. Das mag dann klingen wie *ù-ku-ku-ba-ug₇/úš = ittl imüt* „er schlief, er starb“ = *qadû*, bzw. gr. *κουκουβαγια* „Eule“. Bei der Paarung gibt es vom Weibchen ein schrilles „wiwiwi“ und „hohohoho“ vom Männchen. Andere Rufe sind *uu-uu-uu* und Laute wie *kveck-kveck*. Auch das sind noch nicht alle Laute dieser Vögel. Mebs und Scherzinger schreiben:

Mit weich im Glissando verschmelzenden Silben „buhju“ oder „ujo“ lockt das Männchen beim „Nestzeigen“ und zur Beuteübergabe. Diese „eindringlichen“ Laute werden sowohl in rascher Folge gereiht als auch einzeln mit anderen Lautäußerungen kombiniert (z. B. Fütterungslaut). Eine verhaltenleise Serie glucksend-gackernder Silben wird vom Männchen zur Demonstration einer prospektiven Nistmulde in rascher Reihung eingesetzt (weiches „gu.dugg-gu.dugg-gu.dugg“, mit Betonung der jeweils 2. Silbe). Dieser Laut entspricht im Charakter dem Fütterungslaut („dugge-dugge“ bzw. „glugg-glugg“), mit dem das Weibchen die Nestlinge zur Abnahme von Beutestücken anregt.¹⁾

Hier schließen sich wohl die Bezeichnungen deutsch *Kauz/Käuzchen*, griechisch *γλαυξ* „Eule“ und der in Ruinen lebende hebräische *kōs* an. Siehe auch KAR 125, 9': *qa-du-ú iš-šur d^é-a tuk-ku tuk-ku ištanassi*(KA.KA^s[1]) „der Kauz ist der Vogel des Ea, er ruft beständig ‚tukku-tukku‘“. Nanše und die Vögel D 24f.: *ù-ku-ku^{mušen}-e di-li-bi-pi/wi/wa/wu-la u₄ mi-ni-íb-zal-zal-e* „der Ukuku-Vogel verbringt die Dämmerung in ‚dilibiwila‘(-Gesang)“. In der friedlichen Szene am Ende der Hymne, ruft der Uhu nicht mit seinem üblichen, mit Unheil assoziierten Ruf, der aber sehr wohl in seinem Namen steckt. Man mag versucht sein, den *ù-ku-ku^{mušen} = šallālu* „Schläfer“ vom *ù-ku-ku-ba-ug₇/úš = qadû* abzutrennen. Aber er ist genauso wie der *qadû = iri-ħul-a^{mušen}* mit zerstörten Städten verbunden. Siehe Fluch über Akkade 259 und Eridu Klage 81f.: *mušen úru gul-la-ke₄ gūd [...-ús] ù-ku-ku^{mušen} mušen šā-sāg-ga-ke₄ ki[?] [...]* „Der Vogel der zerstörten Städte [baut dort] das Nest. Der Ukuku, der Vogel der Kümmeris...“. Das erinnert auch an den Unheilsvogel (*iššūr lemutti*) *eššebu*. Im Akkadischen wurde offenbar aus der Übersetzung von *ù-ku-ku* ein eigener Name.

Wahrscheinlich ist auch das Schriftzeichen für *mušen* „Vogel“, wegen eines Eulentrufes zum Lautwert *ħu* gekommen.

In ED Bird 99 (SF 58 x 15) steht ein *ú^{mušen}*, so auch *aB*, in Ebla aber *ħu^{mušen}* (Veldhuis 2004, 160). Um eine andere Schreibung für den von Veldhuis als „Gans“ identifizierten *u₅^{mušen}* wird es sich kaum handeln, denn *u₅^{mušen}* steht in ED Bird 1 (so auch in Ebla). Man denkt natürlich an den mit *qadû* geglichenen *ħūa*-Vogel. Nach Aa II/6 (MSL 14, 92; 94) wird auch *u₅^{mušen}* im Akkadischen so benannt. Offenbar gab es also zwei *ħūa*- bzw. *ħū'u*-Vögel im Akkadischen, denn der *qadû* ist vom *u₅^{mušen}* (zum *u₅^{mušen}* und anderen Identifikationen „Schwan“, „Pelikan“, „Kormoran“ Veldhuis 2004, 294f.) deutlich verschieden. Am Anfang von Nanše und die Vögel kommt der *u₅^{mušen}* aus dem Schilfdickicht (*geš-ge*) und verbringt den Tag am Himmel. Der *qadû* wird mit Ruinen assoziiert, mit *iri-ħul-a^{mušen}* „Zerstörte-Stadt“-Vogel geglichen und dies dient auch als Wortzeichen für *qadû*. Siehe ferner CT 30, 9, 14: *šumma amūtu kīma imšukkima marta saħrat* IRI.BI ŠUB-*ma ina ŠÀ-šū qa-du-ú i-qad-du-ú* „Wenn die Leber wie eine Tafelhülle ist und die Gallenblase umfängt - jene Stadt wird verlassen werden und in ihrem Inneren werden die Käuze ihren Ruf rufen“. Vgl. den Einzug des Vogels *oħa* in das verlassene Babylon nach Jesaja 13, 21. Den Zusammenhang zwischen Protasis und Apodosis kann man sich so denken, dass die leere Hülle, an eine verlassene Stadt

erinnert und die umfangende Gallenblase an die auch im Irak heimische Schleiereule (*Tyto alba*). Diese heißt englisch barn owl, weil sie die Gewohnheit hat, sich in alten Scheunen niederzulassen. Das Omen TCL 6, 1 Rs. 2 hat die gleiche Apodosis aber die Protasis ist nicht ganz klar: *šumma amūtu kakkī kīma di-ḫu malāt* „Wenn die Leber von Waffen wie von... voll ist“. Während der u₅^{mušen} in der Ur III-Zeit mit Gerste gefüttert wurde, wird der *qadû* mit der Abwesenheit von Menschen assoziiert.

Natürlich wäre es gewagt, Vögel alleine aufgrund des Klangs der ihnen zugeschriebenen Rufe, bzw. der Deutung ihrer Rufe zu identifizieren. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist der in ED Bird 100 genannte ga-uš_x(LAK 672a)^{mušen}, in Ebla ga^{mušen}. In YBC 4613 (aB) wird daraus GAN-úš. Zu Zeichen und Lesung Krebernik 1998, 277 mit Anm. 470. Man könnte an „Ich will töten!“ und gan-úš „Ich will ihn töten!“ oder ḫé-úš „Er soll sterben!“ denken. Eine typische Assoziation für Eulenufe. Doch es handelt sich um einen kleinen Wasservogel, wenn die nicht ganz unproblematische Gleichung mit *kakkiš nāri* „Kakkišu(-Vogel) des Flusses“ und *ṭabbi’u* zutreffen. Wegen *ṭebû* „untertauchen“ handelt es sich um einen „Taucher“, so auch in AHW. Das Untertauchen des Vogels wurde wohl mit einem Selbstmord verglichen: „Ich will sterben!“ und aB auch „Er ist wahrlich gestorben!“

Beim *qadû* weisen aber gleich mehrere Merkmale in Richtung Eule. Dazu gehört auch die große Bandbreite charakteristischer Rufe, die sich dem *qadû* zuordnen lassen.

Hier wurden speziell die Rufe des Uhu betrachtet. Das heißt natürlich nicht, dass *qadû* auf diesen Vogel einzuschränken ist. Es könnte auch ein allgemeines Wort für Eulen sein. Auch andere Eulen, wie z. B. der im Irak anzutreffende Steinkauz (*Athene noctua*) besitzen ein breites Stimmrepertoire.

Note

1. Mebs/Scherzinger 2008, 157. Mehr zu den Rufen dort und in König/Weick 2008.

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30) Enki(k) „Herr der Erde“ – Warum nicht? — In NABU 2017/59 hat der Autor argumentiert, dass der Name des sumerischen Gottes nicht wie manchmal vermutet einen Bestandteil *kig enthalten kann, da die ältesten Schreibungen nur k im Auslaut zeigen. Im Sumerischen wird k im Auslaut zumindest ab Ur III vermieden. Zu den wenigen Ausnahmen gehört die Genitivendung –a(k), die k vor Vokal bewahrt. */kiak/ > /kik/ > /ki/ könnte eine Ausnahme sein wie in ^dnin-MAR-ki(-ka/ga). Ziemlich sicher ist ki phonetischer Indikator, was unter anderem aus ^dnin-MAR^{gi}, Mander 1986, 28, 205, gefolgt von ^dnin-ḡeš-gi und dem Fehlen eines Toponyms *MAR^{ki} (zu erwarten wäre eine Benennung nach Gu’aba) hervorgeht. Dazu Attinger 1995, Sallaberger 1998-2001, 463, Krebernik/Lisman 2020, 139f.

Ceccarelli 2020, 41f. wendet ein, dass der vermutete Namensbestandteil /ki/ „Gunst“ auf *kik zurückgehen könnte. Das fügt zwar eine Hypothese hinzu, ist aber ein möglicher Einwand. Das fragliche Wort wird aus dem sehr seltenen Adjektiv ki-ig „geliebt“ Gudea Zyl. B xi 3; Išme-Dagan N (STVC 73) Vs. 21 abgeleitet und mit der einmal im Hauptdialekt (Ur-Ninurta C 19) und sonst nur im Emesal belegten Nebenform ki-ig(-ga) áḡ, ki-ga áḡ, ki-en-ga áḡ (Schretter 1990, 199f.) zu ki áḡ „lieben“ verbunden. Es gibt aber nur ^den-ki(-ka/ga), nie *^den-ki-ig, *^den-ki-ig-ga, *^den-ki-en-ga, Emesal *^dam-an-ki-ig etc. noch wurden Kontextbelege für KI mit einer Bedeutung „Gunst“ o. ä. reklamiert.

In der UGN-Orthographie wird das ki in ^den-ki durch das Zeichen UNU ersetzt, das auch sonst für ki „Erde“ stehen kann. Im Emesal lautet der Name mit Anspielung auf en = umun „Herr“ ^dam-an-ki „Wildstier von Himmel und Erde“. Auch dazu wird im Genitiv ^dam-an-ki-ga(-k) gebildet. Die Abfolge ^den-ki, ^den-an-ki = ^dé-a An *Anum* II 129f. legt ebenfalls eine Interpretation als ki „Erde“ nahe. Das Wort ki-

ig/*kik taucht nirgends in Texten auf, die auf Enki Bezug nehmen. Sefati 1998, 159 sieht in ki-IG lediglich eine Variante zu ki-áĝ. Doch das Emesal ki-ig-ga (áĝ) etc. bereitet Schwierigkeiten. Es gibt nur eine vage Möglichkeit, Enki mit ki-ig zu verbinden, nämlich dass Enki/Ea oft als ein wohlwollender Gott erscheint.

Enki ist der Herr des Abzu und dessen kosmischer Ort ist in der Erde. In Ur-Nanše 49 (RIME1.9.1.32) ii 1f. ist es Enki, der dafür sorgt, dass für die Wurzel des heiligen Rohres ein Loch in der Erde vorhanden ist. Irikagena erwähnt ein „Rohr des Enki“ im Zusammenhang mit Bestattungen: gi^den-ki-ka-ka lú ù-túm kas-né 7 dug indà-né 420-nam 2 (ul) še 1 túg 1 ĝeš-nú ĝeš^{es}dúr-ĝar uruĥ_x(^{ub}MÜŠ)-e ba-de₆ 1 (gur) še lú-umum-ma-ke₄ ba-de₆ „wurde jemand im ‚Rohr des Enki‘ bestattet, nahm der Beerdigungsleiter 7 Krüge Bier, 420 Brote, 72 Liter Gerste, ein Bett, einen Thron, die Klagefrauen nahmen 1 Kor (144 Liter) Gerste“ Ukg. 4 vi 15-27; 5 vi 6-18; cf. Ukg. 4 ix 35-x 9; 5 ix 2-9. Im Fluch über Akkade agiert Enki aus dem unterirdischen Abzu: me-lem₄ an-né im-ús-sa-a-bé an-né an-šà-ga ba-an-e₁₁ ĝeš^{es}dimgul kù dù-dù-a-bé^den-ki-ke₄ abzu-a mi-ni-in-bu „seine (Akkades) schreckliche Aura, die bis an den Himmel reichte, ließ An ins Himmelsinnere davonsteigen, seine aufgestellten reinen Poller zog Enki in den Abzu“ Z. 72-75. In Eridu VI und VIII (Ubaid-Zeit) wurden Schlangendarstellungen gefunden, die für einen chthonischen Kult sprechen (Espak 2006, 10f.). Das ist in einer Zeit ohne schriftliche Zeugnisse und später hat Enki nicht mehr viel mit Schlangen zu tun. Doch die Tradition eines chthonischen Gottes scheint an seinem Kultort vorgezeichnet zu sein. Immerhin gibt es nach Gudea Zyl. A xxi 17 in Enkis Abzu noch ušum-Ungeheuer, die weil sie ebenda mit Hölzern verglichen werden, einen Schlangenleib gehabt haben dürften, obwohl sie nach Gudea Zyl. A xxiv 19 auch Pranken hatten. Im Abzu wohnte auch die Niraĥ-Viper (Gudea Zyl. A xxvii 1; VAS 17, I iv 1).

Im semitischen Milieu wurde Enki mit einem Gott *ħajjal/ħajjum* identifiziert (Tonietti 2003; 2011) dessen Name von einer semitischen Wurzel mit der Bedeutung „leben“ kommt. Ausgehend von der alten Namensform fand dieser Gott als ^dħa-jà Aufnahme im sumerischen Pantheon und wurde mit Nisaba, der „Herrin der Getreidezuteilungen“ (Selz 1989) verheiratet, während er insbesondere als ^dé-a in den Bann der vielfältigen Persönlichkeit des sumerischen Enki geriet. Was Enki mit *ħajja* verbindet ist wohl seine Beziehung zum Pflanzenwachstum zu dem seine Rolle am Anfang von Ur-Nanše 49 passt. Die Rolle, die er bei Bauritualen bei Ur-Nanše und Gudea spielt (Selz 1995, 125) könnte ebenfalls mit seiner Beziehung zur Erde zusammenhängen.

Nicht alle Züge dieses Gottes lassen sich ohne Umwege aus seiner Beziehung zur Erde ableiten. Doch bei einer Interpretation als „Gunst“ o. ä. würde das mutatis mutandis auch gelten. Die Erde um Eridu war auch ein sehr feuchter Grund. Entsprechend ist Enkis Beziehung zum Wasser auf erdnahe Wasser beschränkt. Mit dem Regen oder dem offenen Meer wird er nicht assoziiert.

Enkis häufige Gegenspielerin Innana, heißt im Emesal ^dgašan-an-na „Herrin des Himmels“. Sie besitzt einen Tempel é-an-na in Uruk, Lagaš und Ğirsu und ein Boot má-an-na in Enki und Innana. Während Innana die Attribute einer Himmelsherrin hat, besitzt der Himmelsgott An nicht einmal einen eigenen Tempel. Daher ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass ihr Name nin an-na(-k) „Herrin des Himmels“ bedeutet (cf. Selz 1995, 146f.). Ein perfektes Gegenstück zu en ki(-k) „Herr der Erde“. Auch Innanas Wesen folgt nicht alleine aus ihrer Beziehung zum Himmel. Vergleichen könnte man auch ^dnin-ĥur-saĝ-ĝá „Herrin des Gebirges“, ^dereš-ki-gal-la „Herrin der Unterwelt“ und ^dnin-urta, der nach einer nicht restlos geklärten, aber wahrscheinlichen Etymologie (Streck 1998-2001, 513) ebenfalls „Herr der Erde“ heißt. Der Name steht zwar im Zusammenhang mit Ninurtas Rolle in der Landwirtschaft, aber auch seine Rolle geht darüber hinaus. Die Benennung nach einer Charaktereigenschaft wäre zumindest bei einem großen Gott singular.

Die nächste Parallele sind die chthonischen Enki-Ninki/Nunki-Gottheiten (Espak 2006, 46-49; Cavigneaux/Krebernik 2000; Krebernik/Lisman 2020, 107f.). Abzutrennen davon ist ^dNIN-ki alleine. Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um eine ältere Form des Namens ^dereš-ki-gal(-la(k)), die sonst vor Irikagena nicht erwähnt würde (cf. Selz 1995, 132). Enki könnte sich als großer Gott von den Enki-Ninki emanzipiert haben. Nach IAS 114 i 3'-12' zeugen die Enki-Ninki Enki: ^den(GAL)-ki ^dnin-ki šeĝ_x(MIN_xAN für A.AN)-ta 7 dú a ki(UNU) šem de₆(LAGAB) rig₈ du₁₀ na₅-nam a pú-šè <de₆?> rig₈ du₁₀ na₅-nam ^d(U₄)en(GAL)-líl(NUN) ṽa-dú(AMA) ^den(GAL)-ki(UNU) ^d(U₄)nín-ki ^den(GAL)-ki(UNU) a-dú(AMA), „7 (Paare?) Enki-Ninki-Gottheiten wurden durch den Regen gezeugt. Wasser brachten sie der duftenden Erde, es war eine gute Weide! Wasser brachten sie zu den Brunnen, es war eine gute Weide! Enlil wurde geboren. Die Enki-

Ninki zeugten (auch?) Enki.⁴¹ Nachdem die Enki-Ninki den Anfang gemacht haben, ist Enki der Hauptakteur. So auch in späteren Texten: Die Enki-Ninki bleiben Urzeit-Götter, für die Ausgestaltung und Ordnung der Welt ist Enki zuständig und trägt den Beinamen ^dnu-dím-mud „der macht (und) erzeugt“. Er wirkt teils biologisch mit seinem Penis, teils durch *know how* und ist als Schöpfergott eine Steigerung der Enki-Ninki/Nunki.

Es gibt keinen Grund, die naheliegende Deutung „Herr der Erde“ auszuschließen.

Anmerkung

1. Lisman 2013, 23f. 225 geht stillschweigend von einer ungewöhnlichen Satzstellung aus. Die Lesung *ám* ist erst sargonisch belegt, *rig*₈(PA.HÚB) für *saĝ-rig*₈/*rig*₇ „Geschenk“ unwahrscheinlich. Hier wird *rig*₇ = *mirġtu* „Weide“ vorgezogen. IAS 114 i 3'-13' entspricht SF 37 i, wodurch AMA = *dú* gesichert ist. SF 37 i 5' hat abweichend 'x' *pú rig*₈(PA.[HÚ]B) *nám-mu*(NUN)-*du*₁₀ „...Brunnen (und) Weiden machten sie wahrlich gut“. Cf. SF 38 ii' 4: *rig*₈ 'nám^l-*mu*(NUN)-*du*₁₀. Davor werden Wildschafe (*dàra* oder *šeg*₉) erwähnt.

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31) Le dieu ^dki-nu₂ au troisième millénaire — La religion en Mésopotamie au troisième millénaire a fait l'objet, durant ces dernières décennies, de nombreuses publications, e.g. Selz 1995, Such-Gutiérrez 2005/2006, Wang 2011. Certaines d'entre elles, ont récemment abordé la question des objets divinisés (Selz 1997 et Bramanti 2017). Parmi eux, le lit (en sumérien **ki-nu₂**) n'a pas vraiment retenu l'attention ou n'a pas été identifié comme tel pour cette période.

Or, la preuve de l'existence d'un lit déifié se retrouve dans l'onomastique du troisième millénaire, nous y reviendrons, mais aussi dans la liste des noms divins de Fara (SF 1 f. iv 5) sous la forme ^dnin-ki-nu₂, « La Divine Dame du Lit » (cf. « Herrin (des) Bett(s) » Cavigneaux / Krebernik 1998–2001a). Mander (1986, 94 et 95) propose aussi la lecture **ereš_x** pour le signe **NA₂** dans ce contexte, mais une ^dnin-ereš_x est peu probable et cette lecture n'est pas attestée ailleurs. L'existence d'une ^dnin-ki-nu₂ ne constitue pas une grande surprise si l'on pense aux nombreuses dames d'objets déifiés dans la documentation mésopotamienne du troisième millénaire – c'est le cas, entre autres, des dames du piédestal (**bara₂**), de la couronne (**men**) et du sceptre (**ġidru**). L'occurrence occasionnelle du double déterminatif divin dans ces

noms confirme la nature divine à la fois de la dame et de l'objet (e.g. ^dnin-^dgidru, WF 27 f. iii 3). Selz (1997, 172) discute de la possibilité d'interpréter le deuxième terme de ces noms divins comme un génitif (« la Dame de l'Objet Divin ») ou comme une apposition (« la Dame, l'Objet Divin »). Néanmoins, cette discussion n'invalide pas notre thèse actuelle. Les auteurs sont conscients de la difficulté à identifier le genre des noms divins commençant par le mot **nin** (cf. Cavigneaux/Krebernik 1998–2000b), c'est pourquoi ils ont choisi de les traiter de façon conventionnelle en tant que divinité féminine.

Bien que le dieu ^dki-nu₂ soit absent des listes lexicales, il est attesté à plusieurs reprises dans l'onomastique :

1	2 (iku) ur- ^d ki-nu ₂ -zi saĝ-du ₅	BIN 8,55 f. i 3	Distribution de parcelles	DA IIIb (Lugalzagesi)	Zabala
2	5 ½ (iku) ur- ^d ki-nu ₂ -zi saĝ-du ₅	BIN 8,82 f. ii 9	Distribution de parcelles	DA IIIb (Lugalzagesi)	Zabala
3	1 (eše ₃) ur- ^d ki-nu ₂ -zi saĝ-du ₅	BIN 8,86 f. ii 15	Distribution de parcelles	DA IIIb (Lugalzagesi)	Zabala
4	5 ¼ (iku) ur- ^d ki-nu ₂ -zi saĝ-du ₅	BIN 8,86 f. vi 9	Distribution de parcelles	DA IIIb (Lugalzagesi)	Zabala
5	½ ¼ (iku) še 3 ¼ (iku) maḥ ur- ^d ki-nu ₂ -zi saĝ-du ₅	JCS 31,42 r. ii 10	Distribution de parcelles	DA IIIb (Lugalzagesi)	Zabala
6	4 (iku) ur- ^d ki-nu ₂ -zi saĝ-du ₅	Powell 1978, 1 f. iii 3	Distribution de parcelles	DA IIIb (Lugalzagesi)	Zabala
7	1 (bur ₃) še 4 (iku) maḥ ur- ^d ki-nu ₂ -zi saĝ-du ₅	Bramanti 2020, BM 140672 f. vi 7	Distribution de parcelles	DA IIIb (Lugalzagesi)	Zabala
8	[...] ur- ^d ki-nu ₂	Catagnoti 2003, BM 140668 r. ii 9	Personnel	Sargonique	Région d'Umma
9	ur- ^d ki-nu ₂	MAD 4, 108 f. 2	Reçu d'orge	Sargonique	Région d'Umma
10	ur- ^d ki-nu ₂	MAD 4, 120 f. 2	Reçu d'orge	Sargonique	Région d'Umma
11	8 ku ₃ gin ₂ / ur- ^d ki-nu ₂	Mittermayer 2020, TJI9_2A_K66_T1 f. 1–2	Argent	Sargonique	Jokha
12	5 (bur ₃) ur-ki-nu ₂	Limet 1973, 31 f. 10	Distribution de parcelles	Sargonique	Ĝirsu

Presque toutes les attestations proviennent de la région d'Umma et toutes datent de la fin des dynasties archaïques ou de la période sargonique. Le déterminatif divin est absent sur une tablette sargonique de Ĝirsu (12), mais il s'agit sans doute du même nom. **ur-^dki-nu₂** « le Serviteur du Lit Divin » n'est que la version abrégée du nom **ur-^dki-nu₂-zi** « Le Serviteur du Juste Lit Divin ». Pour ce que l'on sait, ce nom n'est plus attesté après l'époque sargonique. Du point de vue prosopographique, on peut remarquer que toutes les attestations des archives de Lugalzagesi (1–7) se réfèrent à la même personne, **ur-^dki-nu₂-zi saĝ-du₅** « Ur-Kinuzi, le chef du cadastre ». Ce qui est aussi valable pour les attestations 9 et 10, puisque les deux textes appartiennent à la même archive – les deux concernent des reçus d'orge de petits formats avec la même mise en page et le même lexique (e.g. **še ĝiš-ra-a** « orge battue »). Puisqu'il n'y a aucune raison de reconstruire un lien prosopographique entre le texte de Ĝirsu et ceux d'Umma, on peut postuler que les douze attestations de notre catalogue concernent entre trois et de cinq personnes différentes.

L'attestation **ur-^dki-nu₂**¹ du texte CUSAS 20, 326 f. 7 (Adab sargonique, voir fig. 1) n'a pas été prise en considération dans notre catalogue. Les traces ne correspondent pas au signe **NA₂** dans la paléographie d'Adab de cette période (fig. 2), il s'agit donc probablement d'un autre nom.

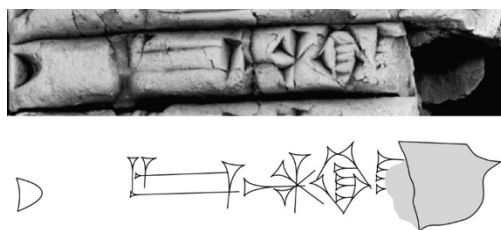


Fig. 1. CUSAS 20, 326 f. 7

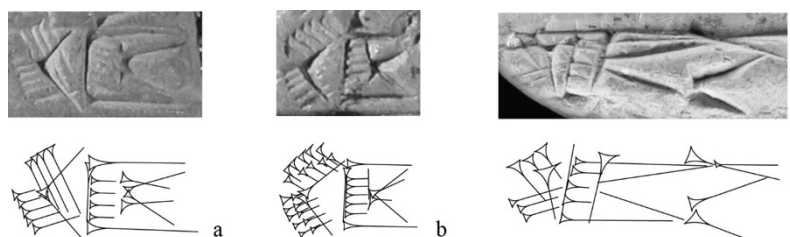


Fig. 2. La paléographie du signe **NA₂** à Adab à l'époque sargonique : a. CUSAS 35, 245 f. 4 ; b. CUSAS 35, 276 r. ii 4 ; c. CUSAS 20, 188 f. 6. Il faut noter que le premier élément à gauche, la « couronne » du signe, peut apparaître simple (a et c) ou redoublé (b). Néanmoins, les clous de la couronne ne sont jamais entièrement horizontaux comme dans CUSAS 20, 326. Comme dans de nombreux signes similaires, les deux clous obliques opposés de la « tête » du signe peuvent être remplacés par un seul plus profond (c) et, plus tard, par un *Winkelhaken*. L'élément central peut être fermé par des clous verticaux à la fois à gauche et à droite (b[?] et c) ou non (a). Les deux « pattes » du signe peuvent être accompagnées de deux paires de clous plus petits à droite du signe (c) ou non (a et b).

L'élément **ki-nu₂** « lit » est déjà connu de l'onomastique sumérienne avec le nom **e₂-ki-nu₂-bi-du₁₀** « Le Lit de la Maison est Doux » (Bauer 2020 f. v' 1, Adab sargonique) et dans son abréviation **e₂-ki-nu₂** (e.g. Foster 1982 no. 45 f. ii 11, Umma sargonique ; AnOr 1, 226 f. 5, Umma Ur III ; cf. Limet 1968, 404). Néanmoins, nous n'avons aucune raison de considérer ce lit comme un objet déifié (cf., e.g., les noms **e₂-ur₂-bi-du₁₀** et **e₂-mu-bi-du₁₀**).

D'après les éléments présentés, il est fort probable qu'un culte ait aussi existé pour le lit parmi les autres objets déifiés en Mésopotamie, mais dont les traces auraient survécu en grande partie à travers l'onomastique et, d'une manière ou d'une autre, dans la liste des noms divins de Fara.

Toutefois, cette idée n'est pas sans rappeler les deux lettres royales néo-assyriennes, mentionnant un évènement particulier ayant trait à un lit (SAA 1 54, f. 14–17 et SAA 1, 55 f. 13' ; cf. Porter 2006 et Gaspa 2012, 160–161). Dans ces dernières, le lit est transporté et gardé sur un bateau où il doit rester durant toute une nuit et à qui sont faites des offrandes. Les lits semblent être, au premier millénaire, des lieux privilégiés à la fois pour les offrandes et les rituels, liés notamment aux cultes des divinités auxquelles ils sont associés, voire au lit lui-même, ce qui pose encore la question de la déification de certains lits à des époques beaucoup plus tardives (Gaspa 2012, 260 ; Porter 2006, 314–315). Ces offrandes faites aux objets cultuels (même lorsqu'ils ne sont pas déifiés) sont aussi largement attestées au troisième millénaire (cf. Selz 1995, 173–174 [DA] et, plus particulièrement pour les lits – ici **giš-nu₂**, Porter 2006, 324 [MVN 10, 144 f. iii 7 et PDT 1, 527 f. 16, Ur III]).

On peut donc en conclure que pendant les périodes anciennes en Mésopotamie l'existence d'un culte dédié à un lit déifié est attestée à travers la mention de la Divine Dame (du) Lit dans la liste de Fara SF 1 (DA IIIa) et dans le nom propre Ur-Kinuzi. Les attestations de ce nom sont toutefois limitées aux dynasties archaïques et à la période sargonique et ce principalement dans la région d'Umma. Il reste difficile de combler le vide de la documentation pour les autres régions mésopotamiennes, ainsi que pour les périodes suivantes, pour lesquelles on ne peut ni exclure ni soutenir l'idée de ce culte. Il est aussi possible que les offrandes faites à certains lits au premier millénaire soient des traces résiduelles d'un culte beaucoup plus ancien.

Note

Ce manuscrit est le résultat de l'effort conjoint des deux auteurs, qui partagent également la responsabilité de toute erreur. Cependant, il est possible d'identifier la paternité de ses parties comme suit : idée générale, considérations sur la documentation du premier millénaire et correction du manuscrit (R.L.) ; considérations sur la documentation du troisième millénaire et sur la paléographie (A.B).

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32) Daily Meal at Ur III: Collated Edition of SAKF 127 — The tablet here discussed belongs to the cuneiform collection hosted at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, which was assembled in the early 1930's by Giuseppe Furlani and Doro Levi. The collection is now the object of a systematic and updated edition, a project lead by Amalia Catagnoti with the support of the Dipartimento Storia, Archeologia, Geografia, Arte, Spettacolo (Università di Firenze) and Direzione regionale musei della Toscana.¹⁾ The text was first published in Oberhuber's monograph (1958/1960).

SAKF 127

Umma, undated
11.8 × 5.2 × 3 cm

obverse

1. [0.0.1 3] sila₃ šim 4 sila₃ mun
2. [100 sa] ḡi¹ 24 gu₂ ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)
3. [41] ḡu₂¹ gi-RU.UŠ 10 ḡsa¹ gi ku₆-še₃
4. [u₄] ḡ11¹-kam
5. ḡ7¹ [sila₃ šim 4] ḡsila₃¹ mun
6. 90 [sa gi 41 gu₂] ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)
7. 16 [gu₂ gi-RU.UŠ u₄ 12]-kam
8. 8 ḡsila₃ šim 2 sila₃ mun¹
9. 100 ḡsa gi¹ 26 gu₂ ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)
10. 31 gu₂ gi-RU.UŠ 10 sa gi ku₆-še₃
11. u₄ 13-kam
12. 7 sila₃ šim 1 ½ sila₃ mun
13. 90 sa ḡi¹ 24 gu₂ ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)
14. 33 gu₂ gi-RU.UŠ 10 sa gi ša₃-ḡar-du₁₀
15. u₄ 14-kam
16. 0.0.1 3 sila₃ ḡšim¹ 4 sila₃ mun (x)
17. 100 sa gi 22 gu₂ ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)
18. 32 gu₂ gi-RU.UŠ 10 sa gi ku₆-še₃
19. u₄ 15-kam
20. 8 sila₃ šim 3 sila₃ mun
21. 90 sa gi 21 gu₂ ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)
22. 38 gu₂ gi-RU.UŠ 10 sa ḡi¹ [ša₃]-ḡar-/du₁₀¹
23. u₄ 16-kam

reverse

1. 7 sila₃ šim 2 sila₃ mun
2. 90 sa gi 22 gu₂ ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)
3. 32 gu₂ gi-RU.UŠ 10 sa gi ku₆-še₃
4. u₄ 17-kam
5. 0.0.1 3 sila₃ šim 4 sila₃ mun
6. 100 sa gi 20 gu₂ ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)
7. 34 gu₂ gi-RU.UŠ u₄ 18-kam
8. 8 sila₃ šim 3 sila₃ mun
9. 80 sa gi 22 gu₂ ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)
10. 32 gu₂ gi-RU.UŠ 10 sa gi ša₃-ḡar-du₁₀
11. u₄ ḡ19¹-kam
12. 0.0.1 2 sila₃ šim 4 ḡsila₃ mun¹
13. 90 sa gi 25 gu₂ ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)¹
14. 37 gu₂ gi-RU.UŠ 20 ḡkaskal
15. 60 ḡkid 10 sa gi ku₆ ba-ra-šeḡ₆
16. u₄ 20-kam
17. šu-niḡin₂ 0.1.3 6 sila₃ šim šu-niḡin₂ 0.0.3 1 ½ sila₃ mun
18. šu-niḡin₂ 1010 sa gi 247 gu₂ ḡis^{is}asal_x (A.TU.NIR)
19. šu-niḡin₂ 326 gu₂ gi-RU.UŠ
20. šu-niḡin₂ 60 ḡkid šu-niḡin₂ ḡ20¹ [ḡi¹]kaskal
21. a₂ u₄-da 20-kam

Inv. 093962

(© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze)

The tablet is broken in different sections, with a considerable fracture on the obverse that causes a partial loss of signs from lines 1 to 7. Due to the predictable formulary, however, the lacuna can be restored with reasonable certainty. This apparently negligible account is the missing piece of a three-part series of tablets that covers a 30-day sequence of daily



expenditures borne by the Umma provincial economy. The Firenze tablet covers days 11 to 20 and fits right in the middle of MVN 9 187, recording days 1 to 10, and CUSAS 16 273, recording days 21 to 30. The three specimens share the same portrait shape, same layout, same content, same writing of *asal*_x(A.TU.NIR), and remarkably they broke almost in the same points. None of them is dated to the month or year, and providers, recipients, or conveyors lack entirely.

The daily disbursements included crushed fine spices and salt to season soups,²⁾ and fuel used in part to cook fish and tripe (*ša*₃-*ĝar-du*₁₀).³⁾ In MVN 9 187, this is delivered to the slaughterhouse (*e*₂-*gu*₄-*gaz*), a synonym for the kitchen of Puzriš-Dagan used in the provincial archives of Umma and Ĝirsu/Lagaš (Steinkeller 2008: 190). Also, reed mats and travel baskets were issued on specific days.⁴⁾ The third tablet, CUSAS 16 273, lacks any reference to tripe but includes more ingredients, such as fine groats (*ni*_ĝ₂-*ar*₃-*ra sig*₅), coriander (*še-lu*₂), and *gazi*-plants, which were explicitly used to season soup. According to Brunke's study on the recipes from GARšana, stews seasoned with salt and spices were meant for more refined guests or special occasions, such as banquets (*kaš-de*₂-*a*) and libations (*ki-a-na*_ĝ), while soups for ordinary workers were usually more frugal (Brunke 2011: 169).

Disbursements follow a quite fixed pattern, with slightly oscillating quantity from day to day, and as far as the reconstructed sequence allows to observe, fuel was used to cook tripe or fish every other day. The total expenditures for all 30 days are quite staggering: 214 litres of spices, 84.5 litres of salt, 60 litres of groats, 3330 bundles of reeds, 636 poplar branches, 1034 loads of *gi-RU.UŠ* reeds, 4 litres of coriander, 3 litres of *gazi*-plants, 300 reed mats, and 100 travel baskets. Since the quantity of meat or fish is never mentioned, it is obvious that these accounts are just a part of the actual expenses required to prepare these daily meals, which consisted of soups, fish, and tripe, to which beer and bread were most certainly added. Such volumes point to thousands of people. If one considers as a proxy the average use of 88 grams of salt for each litre of concentrated soup (Brunke 2011: 184, after CUSAS 3 1025), the 182.5 kg of salt recorded in the three tablets would have seasoned up to 2074 litres of concentrated soup, which further diluted with water and seasoned with the remaining spices would have resulted in more servings.

A few years ago, Steinkeller (2008) already noted the resemblance between MVN 9 187 and a group of individual daily receipts issued by the Umma administration on month VIII of Amar-Suen 8, among which features another tablet from the Firenze collection (SAKF 111).⁵⁾ These daily receipts are the only documents preserved so far that record similar expenditures of fuel for the slaughterhouse, reeds to cook fish and tripe, and of spices and salt, which are explicitly meant to season meat broth (*a-uzu gu*₄ *niga*). One of these daily disbursements also records the expenditure of reed bundles for the household of *DIGIR-dan*, an envoy frequently attested at Puzriš-Dagan (SAKF 111, rev. 3-4).

Since all these receipts make use of the *Reichskalendar* and mention the slaughterhouse, Steinkeller suggested that these expenditures were part of the *bala*-contribution due by the Umma province and processed in the royal establishment of Puzriš-Dagan, most likely to cook meals for workers. Numerous tablets confirm that the *bala*-month for the Umma province in Amar-Suen 8 was indeed month VIII when the Tummal Festival took place. It is worth noting, however, that the volumes of the commodities recorded in the individual tablets do not match the corresponding daily entry in the three-tablet series, sometimes by default, others by excess. Moreover, the daily receipts always mention the use of fuel to cook fish and lamb tripe concurrently.

The only hints to particular events, which could date the three-part series, are the mentions of a banquet for Allašarrum, the wet nurse of the princess ME-Ištaran (MVN 9 187, rev. 7, day 9), and the supply for the Moon Festival (CUSAS 16 273, obv. 21, day 26). The presence of Allašarrum among the royal entourage during Amar-Suen's final years is confirmed by a tablet from Puzriš-Dagan recording the donation – taking place at Tummal – of a bed to the wet nurse, which was delivered by the courier of the princess (TRU 303, Amar-Suen 9.VIII). Although the events behind the 30-day disbursements cannot be determined, the volume of commodities provides a blueprint for the considerable number of people for whom the Puzriš-Dagan kitchen had to cater on that specific month, using assets and foodstuffs that the central government required from the Umma province to meet this demand.

Notes

1. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Mario Iozzo, Director of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, and Prof. Amalia Catagnoti, Università degli Studi di Firenze, for granting me the permission to study this tablet. Also, my thanks go to Dr Sebastiano Soldi, Assistant Curator of the Near Eastern Collection (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze), for having provided measurements and additional photographs.
2. Proportions between spices and salt range from 3:1 in SAKF 111 and 4:1 in CUSAS 16 273.
3. A standard amount of 10 bundles of reed are used to cook either fish or tripe. On one occasion, poplar is used to cook tripe (MVN 9 187, rev. 8, day 9).
4. Two unidentifiable days between the 1st and the 10th, plus 20th, 24th, and 27th.
5. MVN 13 762 (AS 8.VIII.18), SAKF 111 (AS 8.VIII.20), CUSAS 16 306 (AS 8.VIII.21), MVN 13 131 (AS 8.VIII.23), MVN 13 132 (AS 8.VIII.24), CDLI P235234 (29), MVN 13 130 (AS 8.VIII.30).

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33) An Interesting Ur III Year Name — The text under consideration, NBC 6712, is a receipt of a regular delivery of barley and contains an interesting late Ur III year name. This unpublished tablet had been incorrectly catalogued in the Yale Babylonian Collection’s electronic database as from Amar-Suen 9, but, upon closer inspection, it should instead be attributed to the first month of Ibbi-Suen 16. It is currently the latest known Ur III text from Nippur. Sigrist 2001 p. 212 transliterated the seal impression and correctly identified the date, but no special mention of the year name itself was made. The whole text is now presented here with the kind permission of the curators of the Yale Babylonian Collection, Benjamin R. Foster and Agnete Lassen.

NBC 6712 (Ibbi-Suen 16 Nippur I) 39 x 40 x 11 mm

obv. 1	2;1.0.0 še gur sa ₂ -du ₁₁ K[AL [?] (x)] 'x ¹ [(x)]- ^r še ₃ ¹ ki Er ₃ -r[a-ba]-aš-ti-ta I-šar-pa ₂ - ^r dan ¹	2 gur 1 bariga of barley, regular delivery [], from Err[a-b]āš ^{tī} , Išar-padan received.
5	šu ba-ti	Month: “bara ₂ -za ₃ -gar.”
rev. 1	iti bara ₂ -za ₃ -gar mu us ₂ -sa ^d I-bi ₂ - ^d Suen lugal-e ^d Nanna-e ša ₃ ki-/aĝ ₂ -ĝa ₂ -ni dalla/ mu-na-e ₃	Year following “To Ibbi-Suen, the king, Nanna, the beloved of his heart, manifested himself.”
seal	I-šar-pa ₂ -dan dumu E ₂ ² -[x x (x)]	Išar-padan, son of E ₂ ² -[].

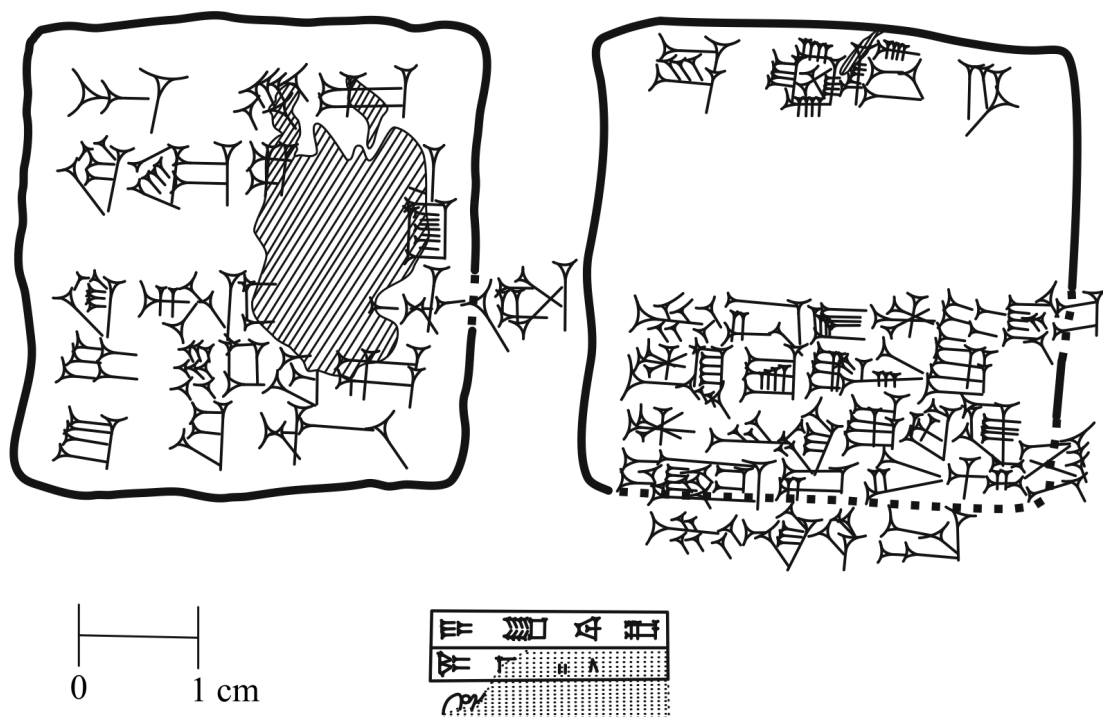
Obv. 3: Cf. OZAKI & YILDIZ 2002 p. 2, no. 9 (Ibbi-Suen 3 Umma VI) and *TUT* no. 210 (— Ĝirsu —).

Seal: The same seal appears on AS 17 no. 26 (— Nippur —) and NBC 9943 (Ibbi-Suen 7 Nippur I), which was catalogued in Sigrist 2001 p. 227, but remains unpublished. The patronymic is unclear in all three instances.

The presence of a month name, bara₂-za₃-gar, from the Nippur calendar renders the text the latest known Ur III tablet from that city. Previously, the two latest known texts from Nippur had been HS 1060 (*TMH NF* 1-2 no. 60), which dates to the eleventh month of Ibbi-Suen 11,¹⁾ and UM 29-13-117 (*NATN* no. 533), which belongs to the third month of Ibbi-Suen 8.

Moreover, while the year name for Ibbi-Suen 15 is relatively well-represented (See, for example, *UET* 3 no. 259 and *UET* 9 no. 490), its mu us₂-sa was previously unattested. The writing of the Ibbi-Suen 15 portion of the year name in this text is also unique. Normally, the suffix following ^dNanna is not -e but

rather -a. The verbal chain at the end has been shortened from the more common mu-un-na-e₃-a to simply mu-na-e₃.



Note

1. The year name is to be restored most probably as: mu en ^dEn-[ki Eridu]^{/ki}-ga maš₂-e <i₃>-pa₃. Thanks are due to Tohru Ozaki for pointing out this text.

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- Abbreviations: *AS 17* = BUCCELLATI & BIGGS 1969; *NATN* = OWEN 1982; *TMH NF 1-2* = POHL 1937; *TUT* = REISNER 1901; *UET 3* = LEGRAIN 1937; *UET 9* = LODING 1976.
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34) Iddin-Dagan A 171-175 — Dans BaBi. 8 (2014) 23, 37 et comm. pp. 54 sq., je translittérais et traduisais Iddin-Dagan A 171-175 de la manière suivante¹⁾:

- 171) nam kur-kur-ra tar-re-da-ni (x 4 // zi kur-kur-ra en₃ tar-re-de₃ [A et probabl. H²⁾)
 172) u₄ sağ zi-de₃ igi KARA₂.KARA₂-de₃ (A // igi kara₂-ke₃-de₃ [B, C et probabl. F])
 173) u₄-nu₂-a me šu du₇-du₇-da (A et peut-être F // du₇-du₇-de₃ [B et C])

174) za₃-mu u₄ ġarza-ka

175) nin-ġu₁₀-ra ki-nu₂ mu-na-an-ġar (A // ba-an-da¹²-ġar [B] //)

“Comme elle s’apprête à déterminer le destin de tous les pays, au jour où les bons serviteurs doivent être inspectés, au (jour de) la disparition de la lune, où les *me* sont accomplis, au point culminant de l’année, au jour des rites, une couche est installée pour ma maîtresse.”

Dans son récent *Mesopotamische Schöpfungstexte in Ritualen. Methodik und Fallstudien zur situativen Verortung* (= Mythological Studie 3, 2021) 66 sq., K. Maiwald, s’inspirant d’une suggestion de A. Zgoll, a proposé une traduction différente de ce passage: “Als sie (= die Göttin) dabei war, das Schicksal für die Fremdländer zu entscheiden, **(am) Tag**, um die rechten Köpfe zu inspizieren, **(am) Tag des (rituellen) Niederlegens** (= von Innana), um die *me* (= göttliche Machtmittel) vollkommen zu machen, **an der Jahresgrenze, an (diesem) Tag der Kultbräuche**, stellte er (= der König) für meine Herrin ein Bett auf” (caractères gras de l’auteur) (p. 66). Et elle précise (p. 67): “Zeile 173 ist eine Vorwegnahme der Zeile 175 (Aufstellen des rituellen Bettes) und des damit verbundenen Rituals, das rituelle Niederlegen der Göttin Innana im Rahmen der Heiligen Hochzeit.” La traduction usuelle par “à la nouvelle lune”/“au (jour de) la disparition de la lune” serait d’après elle invraisemblable, parce que la nouvelle lune est un jour néfaste, impropre donc à la consommation du mariage sacré.

Indépendamment du fait que la syntaxe serait assez bizarre (u₄ et u₄ nu₂-a pendent), cette hypothèse suppose pour u₄(-)nu₂-a une acception tout à fait inhabituelle (le seul autre exemple possible que je connaisse est Alster, OLP 21, 11 sq. 1.11 // 1.26, mais le sens n’est pas assuré³). Par ailleurs, sa critique de l’interprétation traditionnelle n’est pas fondée. La ligne 173 est à la jonction entre l’inspection du personnel (167-169) et le mariage sacré (174 sq.). Or il est bien connu d’une part que ces deux événements sont associés (v. D. Charpin, *Le clergé d’Ur au siècle d’Hammurabi (XIX^e-XVIII^e siècles av. J.-C.)* [1986] 213 sq. avec litt. ant. et P. Attinger BaBi. 8 [2014] 54 sq.), de l’autre que la nouvelle lune est certes un jour néfaste, mais aussi un jour “décisif pour l’accomplissement des grands rites et même pour le destin personnel” (A. Cavigneaux, ZA 104 [2014] 33 ad 164); cf. surtout les passages suivants:

- Adapa 164: u₄-nu₂-a u₄ di du₁₁-ga-a-ba “à la nouvelle lune, en ce jour où les jugements sont rendus”.
- Elégie 1:90: ^dnanna-a u₄-nu₂-a nam-zu ħe₂-tar-re “Que Nanna fixe ton destin à la nouvelle lune!”
- Išme-Dagan Ma 19 sq.: [u₄-n]u₂-a iti šu du₇-a-zu uġ₃¹²-e u₃-me-^fx¹[p]_{a3} / [e]n kur-ra di gal ^fmu¹-ku₅-re₆-en ka-aš ma[h] m]u-bar-re-en “(A ton [de Nanna] jour du coucher, où tu as accompli le mois/où le mois est accompli =) Au jour de la nouvelle lune, lorsque le mois est révolu, seigneur, tu rends de grands jugements dans le monde infernal, tu y prends des décisions sublimes” (noter šu du₇ comme dans Iddin-Dagan A 173).
- Dans la série Inbu enfin, le 29^e jour (U₄ 29-kam₂ U₄.NU₂.AM₃) est le jour où les Igigi et les Anuna sont “*passés en revue*” ou “*mis en ordre*” (*in-neš-še/ši-ru*) (cf. Livingstone, CUSAS 25, 210 rev. i 35, 222 rev. ii 37’ sq. et 232 rev. i 22’ sq.). Quel que soit le sens exact d’*ešēru* N (comp. les traductions divergentes dans CAD E 363 s.v. ešēru 15 et B 299 s.v. bubbulu 2, b), l’idée reste la même. On a affaire à une “remise en ordre” du monde des dieux.

Pour en revenir à notre passage, il ressort des ll. 167 sq. que la cérémonie se déroulait sur plusieurs jours. Elle débutait à la nouvelle lune par une inspection du personnel et était suivie (certainement en un jour faste!) du mariage sacré.

Notes

1. Ma translittération ne reproduit pas exactement l’original.
2. A et H sont normalement les deux meilleurs duplicats, mais leur leçon est ici inférieure à celle de BCD²F tant grammaticalement (absolutif après en₃ tar) que sémantiquement.
3. u₄(-)nu₂-a ma-mu₂-zu ħe-en-sa₆ / zi-ga-am₃ enim-ġar-ra-zu ħe-en-sa₆. La traduction classique et sémantiquement la plus naturelle est “Lorsque (tu) es couché, puissent tes rêves être de bon augure, lorsque (tu) es debout, puissent tes présages être favorables!” Problématique est toutefois le fait que u₄(-)nu₂-a (A et D) n’est syntaxiquement pas parallèle à zi-ga-am₃ (A et D) et que l’on attendrait de toute façon nu₂-a-zu-ne/zi-ga-zu-ne. Une temporelle de type u₄ B_{non-conj}(-a) n’est pas une structure usuelle, et si u₄ nu₂-a signifiait littéralement “le moment de l’être couché”, u₄ nu₂-a-ka serait alors de mise. L’alternative serait de traduire “(Même) à la nouvelle lune (un jour néfaste), puissent tes rêves être de bon augure! (C’est le lever =) Au lever, puissent tes présages être favorables!” Elle est grammaticalement préférable, mais semble très artificielle.

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35) A Larsa period silver loan (Kress 250) — This short contribution provides an edition of a silver loan from the Larsa period. The tablet is in the collection of Peter Kress (Kress no. 250) in Bochum, and he has courteously allowed me to publish the tablet. I started to work on it for my master thesis supervised by Gösta Gabriel and Brit Kärger, whom I want to thank for their advice and help. In 2019 I only had the dealer's images to work with (<https://www.trocadero.com/stores/biblicalartifacts/items/662597/AN-OLD-BABYLONIAN-CUNEIFORM-TABLET>; last access March 25 2021), because I was not aware of the tablet being in Bochum. Over time it has further disintegrated, and the hand copy is thus a graphic collation produced from old photographs on the dealer's website, in which angle and light are worse, but the state of conservation is better than in the newer high-quality photographs by Zsombor Földi, whom I want to thank for the courtesy of sending me his images and for the helpful comments on the transliteration. A selection of older and newer photographs can be found online (https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P496546; last access March 25 2021).

The tablet was purchased by Peter Kress from the New York gallery Ander's Auction Inc on December 12 2015 (https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/42866899_ancient-near-eastern-clay-tablet; last access April 6 2021). Before that, it was sold by a Jerusalem-based dealer (<https://www.biblicalartifacts.com/> last access March 25 2021). According to the inquiries of Peter Kress and the late Robert Englund it was sold by the London gallery Sam Fogg (<https://www.samfogg.com/>; last access April 6 2021) in between. Repeated attempts to contact the dealers and galleries for additional information proved futile.

The tablet is dated to the first year of Nūr-Adad. He was King of Larsa from 1801 BC to 1785 BC, and the city of Larsa proper and cities like Ur are possible candidates for the provenience. Unfortunately, although there are eleven names and a seal in the document, some of which are rare (e. g. *pa-ga-nu-um*, *i-la-a-a*), no connection with any known archives from the time could be established (for the Larsa tablets of the time see among others BBVOT 3; BIN 7; OECT 15; SLB 1; YOS 2; 5; 14 and cf. the very helpful website <http://www.archibab.fr/> (last access April 6 2021).

Abbreviations follow Reallexikon der Assyriologie.

Edition

Collection no.: Kress 250

CDLI no.: P496546

Dimensions: 6.8 x 4.8 x 2.8cm

<p>obv. 1 1/3 ma-^rna¹ 2 gin₂ ku₃-babbar 2 ki <i>i-la-a-a</i> ta 3 nam dam-gar₃-e-de₃ 4 ^{md}utu-<i>en-nam</i> 5 dumu ^dutu-<i>da-a-an</i> 6 šu ba-^ran¹-ti 7 iti gan-gan-e₃ 8 ku₃ i₃-la₂-e 9 igi ^dma-<i>lik-ra-bi</i> dam-gar₃</p> <p>seal: 1 ^rutu-<i>en-nam</i>¹ 2 ^rdumu ^dutu-<i>da-a-an</i>¹</p>	<p>rev. 10 igi ^di-šum-<i>mu-ba-li₂-i_ṭ</i> 11 igi ^{d+}en-zu-<i>be-el-i₃-li₂</i> 12 igi <i>pa-ga-nu-um</i> 13 igi ^{d+}en¹-zu-<i>i-qi₂-ša-am</i> 14 igi <i>er₃-ra-ga-me-el</i> 15 igi ^dšul-pa-e₃-<i>ba-ni</i> 16 igi <i>er₃-^rra¹-^ri¹-^rmi¹-^rti¹</i> 17 iti gan-gan-e₃ 18 mu <i>nu-ur₂-^diškur lugal</i></p>
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¹⁻⁶ Šamaš-ennam, son of Šamaš-dayyān, received a third of a mina and two shekels of silver for business (or: for the merchants) from Ilāya. ⁷⁻⁸ In the month Kislev he will weigh out the silver. ⁹⁻¹⁶ Witnesses: Malik-rabi, the merchant, Išum-muballit, Sîn-bēl-ilī, Pagānum, Sîn-iqīšam, Erra-gamel, Šulpa'e-bānī, Erra-imittī. ¹⁷⁻¹⁸ Month of Kislev, year in which Nūr-Adad (became) the king.

Textual notes

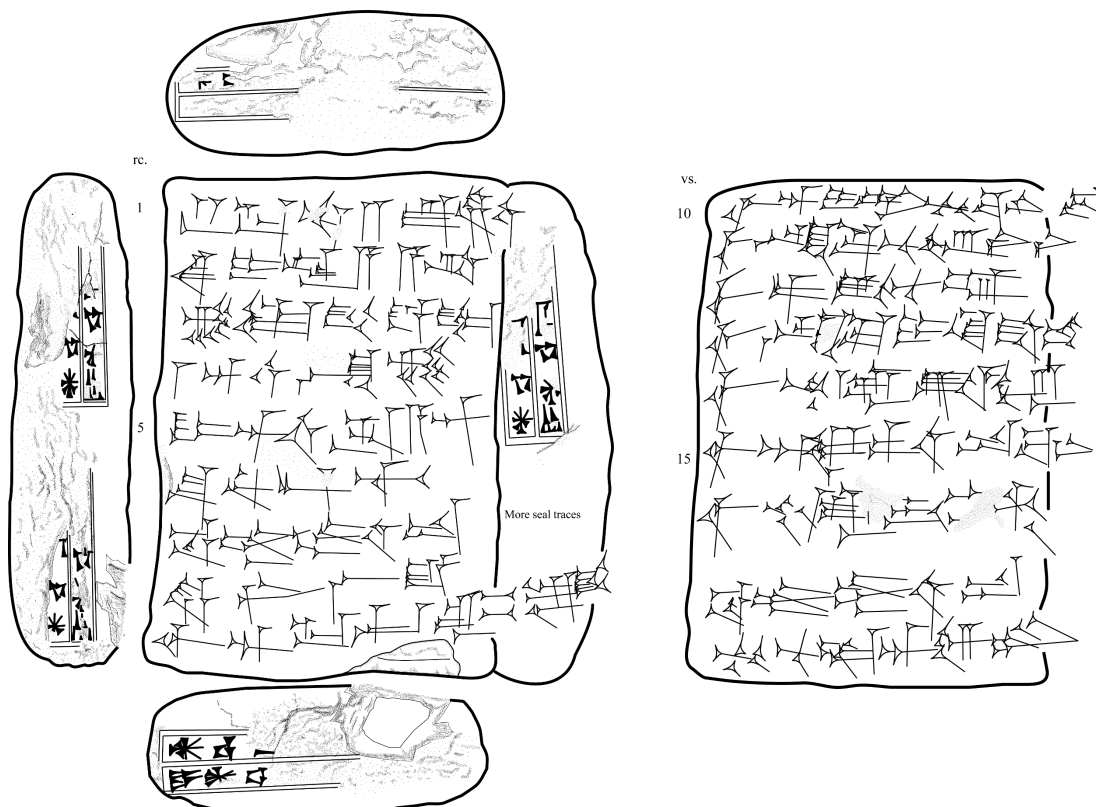
I.1: The amount of 22 silver shekels probably means this is a business loan.

I.2: Ilāya is an Amorite name.

I.3: This line is a little puzzling. I see two viable readings here. nam dam-gar₃-e-ne/*ana tamkārī*, “for the merchants” and nam dam-gar₃-e-de₃/*ana tamkārīti*, “for (doing) business”. The first option has Old Babylonian text examples on its side (e. g. nam for *ana* in FAOS 2, 68, 7, the plural marker e-ne with dam-gar₃ in BIN 7, 31, 4), but it is uncertain what “for the merchants” meant in such a case. Would that be a loan to settle a different debt? Or money to bring to the merchants or moneylenders to make a profit?

On the other hand, the abstract *nam-dam-gar₃* is, to my knowledge, only found in a Sumerian Proverb collection (SumProv. 3, 66). So, this is either a most uncommon instance where *nam-dam-gar₃* stands for *tamkarūtu* just as *nam-lugal* stands for *šarrūtu* or *nam* is indeed a logogram for *ana*. Just as with *ki* and *ta* in the line above, this would leave us with a pleonastic rendering, in this instance of a final construction: *ana tamkarūti*. The problem is that grammatically *-e-de₃* demands a verbal base, yet Old Babylonian economic texts are also notorious for their creative application of Sumerian grammar. Thus, while with the former reading one is on the safer side regarding lexemes and grammar, the latter reading may offer a more fitting meaning, especially considering the amount of silver.

I.12: The personal name *pa-ga-nu-um* is also found in AbB 14, 66, and UET 5, 569 (Sumu-EI 11), but is very rare. Perhaps it is to be read *pagānum* from *pagū(m)*, “monkey” (as personal name e. g. in BE 15, 155, 34; 174, 8) plus the particularizing *-ān* Suffix in diminutive function (GAG §56r). For animal names as personal names s. MVAeG 44, 253-255.



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36) En marge d’EcritUr, 20 : les serments par Nanna/Sin et le roi sous Abi-sare et Sumu-EI —

On a remarqué depuis longtemps la place qu’occupait la ville d’Ur dans la titulature des rois de Larsa après qu’elle ait échappé au royaume d’Isin suite à sa conquête par Gungunum¹⁾. Dans ce contexte, un phénomène n’a cependant pas encore été noté : l’apparition d’une nouvelle formule de serment par le dieu Nanna/Sin sous Abi-sare et Sumu-EI.

C’est ce que montrent d’abord à Ur les archives d’Aha-nirši, qui couvrent les règnes de Gungunum, Abi-sare et Sumu-EI²⁾. On y trouve trois formules :

- A) MU LUGAL.BI : UET 5 101 (Gungunum 24) ; UET 5 134 (Abi-sare 10) ; UET 5 133 (Abi-sare 10) ; UET 5 132 (Abi-sare 11) ; UET 5 164 (Sumu-EI 3) ; UET 5 169 (Sumu-EI 5) ; UET 5 170 (Sumu-EI 7) ; UET 5 237 (Sumu-EI 20?)
- B) MU ^dEN.ZU à Sumu-EI : UET 5 88 (en akkadien ; Sumu-EI 5) ; UET 5 427 (date : entre Sumu-EI 23 et 29).
- C) MU ^dNANNA à Sumu-EI : UET 5 171 (Sumu-EI 9) ; UET 5 198 (Sumu-EI 15) ; UET 5 265 (Sumu-EI –).

La formule C se rencontre dans d'autres contrats³⁾ : UET 5 190 (Sumu-El 9) ; UET 5 104 (Sumu-El 24).

Ce tableau indique clairement que l'introduction du serment par le dieu Nanna/Sin et le roi (nommé) s'est produite avant que Sumu-El ait momentanément perdu le contrôle sur Ur au profit du roi d'Isin Bur-Sin : en effet, la formule B est attestée dès l'année 5 et la formule C dès l'année 9. Par ailleurs, la formule MU LUGAL.BI fut employée à Ur avant la perte de la ville, mais aussi après sa reconquête par Sumu-El, comme le montrent UET 5 374 (Sumu-El 24[?]) et UET 5 172 (Sumu-El 27).

On sait maintenant que le recours à la formule de serment B n'a pas été limité à la ville d'Ur. En effet, parmi les textes découverts à « Tell Waresht 2 » récemment publiés, on trouve un contrat d'adoption comportant un serment par Nanna et Sumu-El⁴⁾. Ce tell, qui n'a pas encore été identifié (= Adams n° 1031), se situe à 12 km à l'est de Nippur. Il faut également réexaminer la situation à Nippur même. En effet, A. Goddeeris a lu le serment de TMH 10 27 : 11-12 MU ^dEN.LÍL / *ù su-mu-èl*, avec ce commentaire : « This oath, mentioning the name of the king is atypical for Nippur contracts. Maybe it can be explained by the early date of the text »⁵⁾. Elle n'a cependant pas souligné le plus étrange, à savoir que la divinité mentionnée serait Enlil : à Nippur, on attendrait en effet plutôt la divinité poliade, à savoir Ninurta⁶⁾. La consultation de la copie (pl. 40) supprime le problème : elle montre clairement que le serment doit être lu MU ^dEN.ZU* / *ù su-mu-èl*. Autrement dit, on retrouve dans ce contrat de Nippur la formule B. Le serment nominatif par Nanna/Sin et Sumu-El n'est donc nullement propre à Ur, puisqu'il apparaît dans des textes d'autres localités du royaume de Larsa sous son règne.

On poursuivra en examinant le cas d'un lot d'archives de 25 tablettes publié en 2006 dont le personnage principal se nomme Ipqu-Sin⁷⁾. Le fait qu'on trouve des serments par Nanna/Sin et Sumu-El en dehors d'Ur permet de confirmer ce que j'ai récemment indiqué dans ARCHIBAB 4, à savoir qu'il n'y a pas de raison de considérer les archives d'Ipqu-Sin comme originaires d'Ur⁸⁾. L'argument donné pour une telle localisation m'avait paru insuffisant : il reposait seulement sur l'existence de serments par Sin et Sumu-El (lettre TCVP III-3) ou par Nanna et Sumu-El (contrats TCVP III-13 [Sumu-El 10] et TCVP III-14 [Sumu-El 23])⁹⁾.

Mais ce lot d'archives est très important pour une autre raison : on y trouve en effet un contrat d'achat de champ par Ipqu-Sin qui comporte un serment par Nanna *et Abi-sare* (TCVP III-15)¹⁰⁾. Autrement dit, l'introduction du dieu d'Ur dans les formules de serment des contrats rédigés dans le royaume de Larsa avait déjà eu lieu du temps du prédécesseur de Sumu-El. Cela confirme à quel point la ville d'Ur avait une importance toute particulière aux yeux des rois de Larsa qui succédèrent à Gungunum : elle pourrait bien avoir éclipsé leur propre capitale et son dieu Utu/Šamaš. En effet, on connaissait déjà un serment par Nanna, Utu et Abisare dans UET 5 131, contrat qui date de l'an 3 de ce roi¹¹⁾. Or le dieu Utu semble avoir disparu des serments nominatifs sous Sumu-El. M. Fitzgerald avait déjà signalé que Sumu-El était le premier roi de Larsa qui ait été divinisé et que sa titulature reprend celle des rois d'Ur III, *sans faire mention de Larsa*¹²⁾. Elle a mis ces phénomènes en rapport avec la victoire d'Abi-sare sur le roi d'Isin Ur-Ninurta, suite à laquelle Abi-sare et Sumu-El se seraient considérés comme les successeurs des rois d'Ur (les rois d'Isin ne pouvant plus prétendre à cet héritage) : on peut désormais verser au dossier l'introduction sous ces deux rois d'une formule de serment par le dieu tutélaire d'Ur, parfois associé à Utu sous Abi-sare, mais seul sous Sumu-El. Le nombre de textes désormais disponibles me semble suffisant pour qu'on ne puisse parler d'un hasard.

Un dernier élément pour la « promotion » d'Ur à cette époque pourrait être fourni par Ibni-šadum, roi de Kisurra, qui était le gendre de Sumu-El¹³⁾. En effet, son nom d'année "e" commémore une offrande au dieu Nanna à Ur¹⁴⁾. Voulant plaire à son beau-père, c'est au dieu de la ville d'Ur qu'Ibni-šadum fit une offrande, qu'il jugea assez importante pour servir à dénommer une de ses années.

Notes

Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre du projet ANR « EcritUr ». Je remercie F. Nebiolo et B. Fiette avec qui j'ai pu discuter les questions abordées dans cette note, sur lesquelles ils travaillent également.

1. Voir M. A. Fitzgerald, *The Rulers of Larsa*, Unpublished dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 2002, p. 71-73 et plus récemment B. Fiette, « Ur et les rois d'Isin et de Larsa », dans M. Béranger, F. Nebiolo & N. Ziegler (éd.), *Dieux, rois et capitales dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Compte rendu de la LXV^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-12 juillet 2019)*, PIPOAC 5, Louvain/Paris/Bristol, sous presse.

2. N. Ait Said-Ghanem & D. Charpin, « Les archives d'Aha-nirši à Ur de Gungunum à Sumu-El », dans D. Charpin *et al.*, *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babylonienne*, Mémoires de NABU 22, Paris, 2020, p. 119-152.

3. Je remercie F. Nebiolo pour ces deux références supplémentaires. Noter que UET 5 185, qui date de Sumu-El 8 et se rattache à la même affaire que UET 5 190, comporte un serment de type A.

4. A. Al-Hussainy, R. de Boer & J. Jawdat, « Tell Waresht, Early Old Babylonian Tablets from the Season of Rescue Excavations (1990) », *RA* 113, 2019, p. 59-70, spéc. p. 62 n° 3 : 19 : [MU] ^dŠEŠ(!).KI ù *su-mu*-DINGIR IN.PÀD.

5. A. Goddeeris, *The Old Babylonian Legal and Administrative Texts in the Hilprecht Collection Jena*, TMH 10, Wiesbaden, 2016, p. 100. On ne comprend pas très bien l'argument de l'« early date ». Notons en tout cas que TMH 10 26 (Sumu-El 21 [et pas 22 comme l'indique l'édition]) comporte la formule traditionnelle MU LUGAL.BI.

6. Pour Ninurta comme divinité tutélaire de Nippur, voir R. M. Sigrist, *Les sattukku dans l'Ešumeša durant la période d'Isin et Larsa*, *BiMes* 11, Malibu, 1984, p. 7 ; D. Charpin, compte rendu de P. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur III Period*, *FAOS* 17, 1989, dans *RA* 84, 1990, p. 92b-93a et W. Sallaberger, « Nippur als religiöses Zentrum Mesopotamiens im historischen Wandel », dans G. Wilhelm (éd.), *Die orientalische Stadt: Kontinuität, Wandel, Bruch 1. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 9.-10. Mai 1996 in Halle/Saale*, CDOG 1, Sarrebruck, 1997, p. 147-168 (p. 162).

7. Cf. P. Mander, M. P. Pers, A. Rositani & M. Stol, « Le tavolette paleo-babilonesi », dans F. Pomponio, M. Stol & A. Westenholz (éd.), *Tavolette cuneiformi di varia provenienza delle collezioni della Banca d'Italia. Volume II*, Rome, 2006, p. 159-248 (= TCVP) ; l'archive d'Ipqu-Sin a été éditée p. 167-210, l'édition des lettres étant due à M. P. Pers (n^{os} III-1 à III-10, p. 169-179) et celles des contrats et textes administratifs à A. Rositani (n^{os} III-11 à III-25, p. 179-210).

8. D. Charpin, « Les documents d'archives paléo-babyloniens d'Ur issus de fouilles irrégulières : catalogue commenté », dans D. Charpin *et al.*, *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babylonienne*, Mémoires de NABU 22, Paris, 2020, p. 43-60, spéc. p. 54.

9. « La provenienza di questo lotto di testi dal mercato dell'antiquariato rende difficile l'individuazione del luogo esatto di origine dell'archivio, che comunque può essere Ur: lo suggeriscono alcuni contratti di questo archivio (III-13, 14, 14a) che menzionano un giuramento «nel nome di Nanna e del re» e una letter-order (III-3), che riporta un giuramento per Šin e il re, poiché Nanna-Šin era il dio poliade di Ur » (O. Bulgarelli, « L'archivio paleo-babilonese di Ipqu-Sin e la collezione di tavolette cuneiformi della Banca d'Italia », dans P. Notizia & F. Pomponio (éd.), *Scritti in onore di Pietro Mander*, *AION* 72, Naples, 2012, p. 27-40, spéc. p. 27).

10. Cette référence aurait dû être signalée après le tableau de TCVP, p. 164 (et par O. Bulgarelli, *Mél. Mander*, p. 27 n. 1), puisqu'elle montre que l'archive d'Ipqu-Sin ne débute pas avec le règne de Sumu-El, mais avait déjà commencé du temps de son prédécesseur.

11. UET 5 131 Env. : (12) MU ^dŠEŠ.KI ^dUTU (13) ù *a-bi-sa-re-e* [N.P]ÀD.

12. M. A. Fitzgerald, *The Rulers of Larsa...*, p. 72-74.

13. D. Charpin, « Ibni-šadûm, roi de Kisurra, fils de Manna-balti-El et gendre de Sûmû-El de Larsa », *NABU* 2002/39.

14. La formule est MU ÚS.SA ZAG.U ^dŠEŠ.KI ŠEŠ.UNU^{ki} *ib-ni-ša-du-ú* MU.UN.DÍM (OECT 13 7 et 12 [ce dernier sans mention d'Ur]. A. Goddeeris a lu ZAG.10 « dîme » (Santag 9, p. 20), mais D. Foxvog a proposé qu'il s'agisse d'un objet (zà-šu₄ « brand ») : cf. M. Fitzgerald, *The Rulers of Larsa...*, p. 66 (il faut y corriger l'identification d'Ibni-šadum comme roi de Kazallu/Marad).

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37) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 21 : localisation définitive du chantier de Taylor sur le site EM d'Ur —

Il est souvent décourageant de se plonger dans les rapports de fouilles anciennes. Ce n'est pas tant que nos devanciers ont mal fouillé – ils furent plus ou moins le produit de leur temps –, c'est surtout que les résultats qu'ils présentent, dans leur forme comme leur contenu, répondent à des normes et à des problématiques qui ne sont plus les nôtres. Ils s'adressaient à leur contemporains et nous aurions tort de les lire comme si nous pouvions les aborder de plain-pied. La distance, le dépaysement sont de mise. La persévérance aussi. Un travail d'historien, en somme. C'est pourquoi trouver ce qu'on cherche dans les publications des pionniers de l'archéologie demande généralement une enquête aussi minutieuse que celle qu'entreprendraient n'importe quel archéologue ou épigraphiste sur un corpus donné.

Un bon exemple en est le cheminement suivi par Dominique Charpin dans sa récente publication intitulée « Les découvertes épigraphiques de Taylor à Ur en 1854 : nouvelle approche »¹⁾. Rassemblant

indices archéologiques, épigraphiques, muséologiques et historiographiques, l'auteur conclut que le chantier d'Ur où Taylor trouva en 1854 une trentaine de tablettes – dont beaucoup sous enveloppe – dans deux poteries placées l'une sur l'autre se situait dans le secteur que Woolley nomma plus tard EM. Taylor fournit non seulement une description des bâtiments et des objets qu'il mit au jour, mais aussi un plan commenté de la zone fouillée²⁾. Comme, en plus, on trouve cité par D. Charpin un passage du rapport préliminaire de Woolley dans lequel ce dernier signale en EM les traces d'anciennes fouilles qu'il attribue à Taylor³⁾, rien n'était plus tentant que d'essayer de localiser précisément le chantier de Taylor dans ce secteur.

Dans le même article, Taylor publie les plans de bâtiments qu'il a dégagés dans deux zones distinctes à Eridu. Leur étude (qui sera l'objet d'une publication à venir) a fini par montrer que 1) ceux de la zone est n'étaient pas orientés au nord, mais au sud, 2) qu'ils avaient été refouillés ultérieurement et 3) que ni les proportions ni les mesures qu'on pouvait tirer du plan n'étaient fiables. Seul l'agencement global était significatif. En partant de ce diagnostic, on pouvait présumer que le plan du chantier d'Ur n'était pas forcément orienté au nord lui non plus et que la disposition des murs l'emportait sur toute autre considération. L'espace allongé qui traverse le plan horizontalement en son milieu ressemblait à une rue. Une ou deux portes donnaient sur celle-ci. En toute logique, il suffisait de vérifier quelle(s) porte(s) étai(en)t associée(s) à des espaces ayant une configuration similaire dans les plans de Taylor et de Woolley.

Ces principes posés, la chasse fut courte. Taylor avait fouillé l'entrée de la maison du numéro 1 de Quiet Street et l'entrée du numéro 2 qui lui fait face (fig. 1). Au-delà de cette identification visuelle, plusieurs éléments confirment définitivement cette hypothèse. Taylor décrit comme « *a kind of step* » (une sorte d'emmarchement) la maçonnerie en g sur son plan, ce que Woolley confirme quand il parle de « *staircase* » (escalier) et de « *three brick treads* » (trois marches de briques)⁴⁾. Woolley écrit à propos du numéro 2 : « *The west angle of the entrance-lobby (Room 1) had been destroyed by Taylor's excavations* » (l'angle ouest du vestibule d'entrée (Pièce 1) avait été détruit lors des fouilles de Taylor) ; et aussi : « *The whole of the NE end [of Room 6] was destroyed by a trench made in Taylor's excavations* » (toute la partie sud-est [de la pièce 6] était détruite à cause d'une tranchée de fouille de Taylor)⁵⁾.

Ces observations assurent que le sondage de Taylor en EM se trouvait à cet emplacement, mais faut-il attribuer à ce fouilleur les dommages causés aux murs des pièces 8 et 9 du numéro 2 (et peut-être aussi de la pièce 11 en partie), comme le suggère Woolley⁶⁾ ? Le chantier de Taylor ne se serait pas étendu jusque là si l'on en croit le dessin qu'il en a publié. Faut-il lui imputer, du reste, tous les autres dégâts dont Woolley fait mention ? Au numéro 2, le mur NO des pièces 1 et 6, qui était bâti en briques cuites, s'élevait à plus de 3,6 m (12 pieds) selon Taylor⁷⁾ et l'on imagine mal l'intérêt qu'il aurait eu à les détruire. Il n'a rien fait de tel à Eridu, semble-t-il, où les murs qu'il a dégagés étaient en briques crues. Ne serait-ce pas, en partie au moins, l'œuvre ultérieure de pillards ?

De même, il reste bien difficile de déterminer auxquelles des trois phases de la maison 1 telles qu'elles ont été définies par Woolley⁸⁾ correspondraient les deux sols de briques cuites entre lesquels les poteries remplies de tablettes furent trouvées – même si la formulation de Taylor dans les notes qui accompagnent son plan invite à penser qu'elles reposaient sur le sol de la phase principale à laquelle aurait succédé une phase plus récente mal conservée. Woolley ne signale pas, d'ailleurs, que les pavements de briques cuites des maisons 1 ou 2 aient été défoncés ou carrément percés pour atteindre des niveaux inférieurs.

Un dernier mot à propos des récipients qui contenaient les tablettes. Taylor emploie « *jars* » et « *vases* » pour les décrire⁹⁾, ce qui fait référence à des formes plus hautes que larges, y compris dans l'anglais du XIX^e siècle¹⁰⁾. Sur des bases lexicales, il s'agirait donc plutôt de deux jarres empilées que de jattes dont l'une aurait été renversée sur l'autre comme on en voit sur la photo reproduite en figure 2 du chapitre de D. Charpin. Au numéro 2, Woolley décrit deux niveaux de sol séparés de 50 cm¹¹⁾. Si tel était le cas dans la pièce 3 du numéro 1, il y avait assez de place pour que deux petites jarres placées l'une sur l'autre puissent tenir en hauteur dans une couche de cette épaisseur. En tout cas, la présence de ce lot de tablettes indique que la pièce 3 a peu de chance d'avoir servi de cabinet de toilette (« *lavatory* »), comme Laura Battini l'avait déjà soutenu¹²⁾. Il se serait agi d'un dégagement sous l'escalier servant d'espace de rangement.

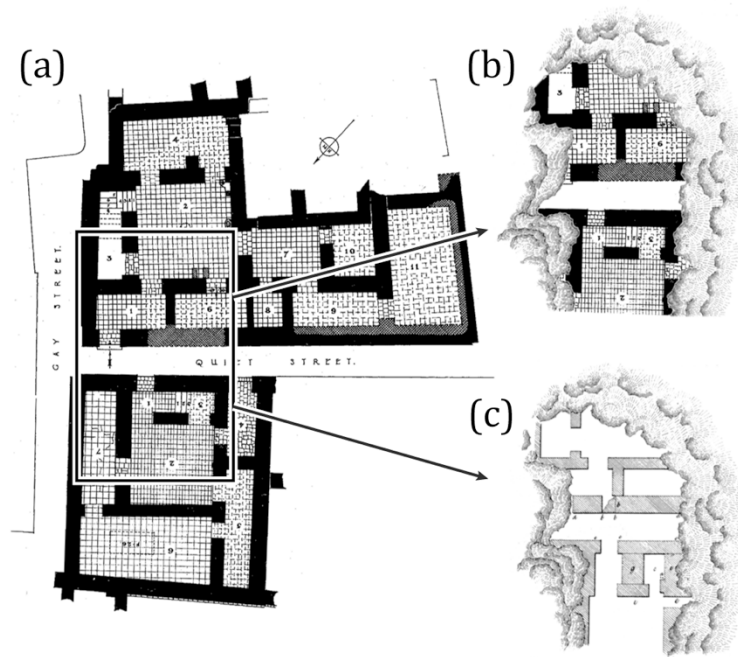


Fig. 1. (a) Plan des n°s 1 et 2 de Quiet Street d'après WOOLLEY & MALLOWAN 1976, fig. 28 et 29. (b) Secteur de fouille de Taylor superposé au plan de Woolley. (c) Plan de fouille de Taylor d'après TAYLOR 1855, pl. III.

Notes

1. CHARPIN 2020.
2. TAYLOR 1855, p. 414 et pl. III.
3. CHARPIN 2020, p. 15.
4. WOOLLEY & MALLOWAN 1976, p. 104 et 105.
5. WOOLLEY & MALLOWAN 1976, p. 104.
6. WOOLLEY & MALLOWAN 1976, p. 105.
7. TAYLOR 1855, pl. III.
8. WOOLLEY & MALLOWAN 1976, p. 104.
9. TAYLOR 1855, p. 414 et pl. III.
10. Voir par exemple le *Webster's Complete Dictionary of the English Language*, 1886.
11. WOOLLEY & MALLOWAN 1976, p. 104.
12. BATTINI 1999, p. 113, *contra* WOOLLEY & MALLOWAN 1976, p. 103. Merci à D. Charpin de m'avoir indiqué cette référence.

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38) Some Further Remarks on the Gift of Prisoners of War to the Gods — In my contribution “War Prisoners as Gifts of the King Rīm-Anum for Goddesses and Gods: Two New Texts” recently published in *Notizia – Rositani – Verderame* 2021, pp. 257-284, I have presented a study on a group of nine cuneiform texts coming from the *bīt asīrī*, “the house of prisoners of war”, dating to the kingdom of Rīm-Anum, in

all of which the gift of prisoners of war by the king Rīm-Anum to different deities is registered. Unfortunately, due to lockdown difficulties that made libraries inaccessible, among the texts already published, I have not counted a text, similar in content and origin, published in Jursa 2019.¹⁾ The text in question, Birmingham A.1731-1982,²⁾ is dated to the 22nd.XI.Lugal-year-name³⁾ and fits perfectly into the chronology of the other Rīm-Anum texts that record the gift of prisoners of war by the king to deities, not all mentioned in Jursa 2019 and presented here in their chronological order:

Text	Date	God/Goddess	Received by	Prisoners
Figulla 1914, 18 no. 36 (VAT 3964) ⁴⁾	6th.XI.Lugal-year-name=Rīm-Anum 1	Rammānum	Iddin-Šamaš, sanga of Rammānum	From the booty of Isin
Rositani 2021, no. 8 (BM 86108) ⁵⁾	7th.XI.Lugal-year-name=Rīm-Anum 1	Šubula	Ninurta-..., sanga of Šubula (+Seal)	From the booty of Isin
Rositani 2003, no. II.16 (BM 23214) ⁶⁾	11th ²⁾ .XI.Lugal-year-name=Rīm-Anum 1	Kanisurra	Ana-Marduk-atkal, sanga of Kanisurra (+ Seal)	NP ₁ man of Zibbatum – NP ₂ man of Ešnunna ⁷⁾ – NP ₃ from the booty of Isin
Jursa 2019, pp. 507-508 (Birmingham A.1731-1982)	22nd.XI.Lugal year-name=Rīm-Anum 1	An-Inanna	Lu-Ikkala and Akua, the purification priests	NP ₁ man of Nērebtum – NP ₂ and NP ₄ men of Ešnunna – NP ₃ man of Akkad sent from Mutiabal by Daganma-AN ⁸⁾
Rositani 2003, no. II.22 (BM 16449) ⁹⁾	22nd.XI.Lugal-year-name=Rīm-Anum 1	Rammānum	AN-ilī, sanga of Rammānum (+ Seal)	Man of Ešnunna sent from Mutiabal by Daganma-AN
Rositani 2003, no. II.23 (BM 16453) ¹⁰⁾	22nd.XI.Lugal-year-name=Rīm-Anum 1	Šamaš	Ubār-Šamaš, sanga of Šamaš	Man of Ešnunna sent from Mutiabal by Daganma-AN
Rositani 2003, no. II.25 (BM 86052) ¹¹⁾	22nd.XI.Lugal-year-name=Rīm-Anum 1	Lugal-irra and Meslamtaea	Iddin-Šamaš and Lugal-ID-da, the purification priests	NP ₁ man of Malgūm – NP ₂ man of Ešnunna sent from Mutiabal by Daganma-AN
Rositani 2021, no. 9 (BM 88590A) ¹²⁾	22nd.XI.Lugal-year-name=Rīm-Anum 1	Enlil	Iddin-Enlil, sanga of Enlil (+Seal)	A man of Ešnunna sent from Mutiabal by Daganma-AN
Rositani 2003, no. II.24 (BM 23227) ¹³⁾	22nd.XII(?) ⁴⁾ .Lugal-year-name=Rīm-Anum 1	Kanisurra	Ana-Marduk-atkal, sanga of Kanisurra (+Seal)	A man out of the prisoners of war sent by Daganma-AN
Speleers 1925, 82 no. 250 (MRAH O.0154) ¹⁵⁾	Not dated	Nanāya	Ninurta-ibnišu and Ikūn-pī (+Seal: Ikūn-pī)	From the booty of Isin

In the light of Jursa 2019, p. 507, *rev.* 13-14: *nam-har-ti lú-dik-ka-la ù a-ku-a išib^{meš}*, here I would like to correct my reading of the text Rositani 2003, no. II, 25 *rev.* 11-12: *nam-ḥa-ar-ti i-din-dšamaš ù lugal-ID-da-me-meš* as still read in Rositani 2021, pp. 267-269 text no. 5, and also recorded in the Indices of Seri 2013. The latest signs of Rositani 2003, no. II, 25 *rev.* 12 are to be read *išib^{meš}*; therefore, Iddin-Šamaš and Lugal-ID-da are two purification priests as Lu-Ikkala and Akua in the Birmingham text published by Jursa.

However, some problematic elements remain to be highlighted: both Iddin-Šamaš and AN-ilī are qualified as sanga Rammānum, i.e. chief-administrators of the temple of the god Rammānum, in two different texts dated 16 days apart: Iddin-Šamaš occurs in Figulla 1914, 18 no. 36 *obv.* 7, dated to the 6th.XI.Lugal-year-name; AN-ilī in Rositani 2003, no. II.22, dated to the 22nd.XI.Lugal-year-name. In addition, an Iddin-Šamaš, as mentioned above, also occurs in Rositani 2003, no. II.25, dated to the 22nd.XI.Lugal-year-name, qualified as purification priest, *išib*. In the first case it can be thought that one of the two had the function of secondary sanga,¹⁶⁾ in the second case a simple homonymy.

The idea of an Iddin-Šamaš that in the span of time between the three texts, passes from sanga Rammānum to *išib* in the temple of Lugal-irra and Meslamtaea, while at the same time AN-ilī becomes sanga Rammānum, remains suggestive but unlikely.¹⁷⁾ It is known, indeed, that the sangas often belonged to a few families, and the sanga office was usually transmitted from father to son, inside the same family, such as true dynasties of sangas are known from Sippar and so at Ešnunna for the temple of Ištar *Kittum* of Ishchali-Nērebtum.¹⁸⁾ Given the attribution of the correct qualification of *išib* to the Iddin-Šamaš mentioned in Rositani 2003, no. II.25 falls the hypothesis that Iddin-Šamaš sanga Rammānum could carry out simultaneously the office of sanga, also in the temple of Lugal-irra and Meslamtaea.¹⁹⁾ However, it should be highlighted that in no Rīm-Anum's text the mention of the Lugal-irra and Meslamtaea's sanga occurs.

Notes

1. Fortunately, Prof. Jursa then inserted a pre-print version on Academia.
2. See Jursa 2019, pp. 507-508.
3. “The year in which Rīm-Anum (became) king”, mu *ri-im^da-nu-um* lugal = Rīm-Anum 1 = Rīm-Anum 0 according to the reconstruction of Charpin 2014, p. 129.
4. See also Rositani 2021, pp. 260-262 text no. 1, with reference to the previous bibliography.
5. See Rositani 2021, pp. 273-274.
6. See Jursa 2019, p. 509; Rositani 2021, pp. 262-264 text no. 2, with reference to the previous bibliography.
7. About Ešnunna see lastly Rositani 2021, pp. 263-268, 274-275, 277-278 with reference to the previous bibliography.
8. Daganma-AN occurs in many Rīm-Anum’s texts; he usually sent war prisoners to Uruk from Mutiabal; the prisoners are often qualified as men of Ešnunna, whereas in a few texts are designated as men of Malgûm. He could be a king of Mutiabal or a claimant to the throne in this area, ally of Uruk or at Rīm-Anum’s service, or, more likely, a prestigious military ranking under the order of Rīm-Anum: see Rositani 2003, pp. 20-22, 24 and Rositani 2021, p. 277. See also Jursa 2019, pp. 508-509 and Seri 2013, pp. 48-49, 118-120.
9. See Jursa 2019, pp. 508-509; Rositani 2021, pp. 264-265 text no. 3, with reference to the previous bibliography.
10. See Jursa 2019, pp. 508-509; Rositani 2021, pp. 265-267 text no. 4, with reference to the previous bibliography.
11. See Jursa 2019, pp. 508-509 and Rositani 2021, pp. 267-269 text no. 5, with reference to the previous bibliography.
12. See Rositani 2021, pp. 274-275. The text, still unpublished, was mentioned in Seri 2013, 48 fn. 32, 114, 115, 121, 141, 349, 405; see also Jursa 2019, p. 508 fn. 3.
13. See Jursa 2019, p. 509; Rositani 2021, pp. 270-271 text no. 6, with reference to the previous bibliography.
14. I had previously read the name of the month as *zíz-a*, the reading here proposed follows the collation of Seri, p. 330. See also Rositani 2003, pp. 133, 243; and Rositani 2021, p. 271.
15. See also Rositani 2021, pp. 271-272 text no. 7, with reference to the previous bibliography.
16. See Tanret 2010, especially pp. 202-204, and Rositani 2021, p. 269.
17. See Rositani 2021, p. 269.
18. See Saporetta 2002, p. 231 with reference to the previous bibliography about Ešnunna; Tanret 2010, especially pp. 201-204 about Sippar.
19. See Rositani 2021, p. 269.

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39) Ugarit and Mari: rations or recruits? — In the main, two translations have been proposed for *ngb* in the Ugaritic passage *‘dn ngb w yšl šbū šbī ngb w yšl ‘dn m’* (KTU 1.14 ii 32-34 || 1.14 iv 13-15):

- (a) Let a force be victualled and let it set out.
Let a mighty host be victualled
and let a force go forth.¹⁾

- (b) Let a multitude be gathered and go forth,
let a mighty army be gathered,
then let the multitude go forth together.²⁾

In other words, the term *ngb* may refer either to the way in which the army was provisioned or to how it was assembled.³⁾ These two possibilities are now discussed in turn.⁴⁾

- (a) Ug. *ngb* = “victualling/be victualled”

This translation, based on a text from Boğazköy, was first indicated by Gaster in 1947.⁵⁾ Then, a few years later Virolleaud (1954) cited a passage from the Mari texts, i.e. *ša-bu-šu ši-di-tam na-gi-ib*, “ses troupes sont pourvues (?) de ravitaillement” (ARM 2, 69 rev. 6’),⁶⁾ which also implied much the same interpretation. He was followed by Herdner (see below). In this version, the meaning of Ug. *ngb* is based on Mari Akk. *nagāp/bum*, “versehen mit” (?) (AHw, 710); *nagap/bu*, “a foodstuff” (CAD N/1, 105); *nagābum*, “to store up” (CDA, 230b) and *nagbu(m)*, “stored” (CDA, 231a).⁷⁾ This verb may also occur in Ebla as *na-gi-ba* (/nagibay/), meaning “they are prepared”, referring to two cypress trees.⁸⁾

- (b) Ug. *ngb* = “be assembled/conscripted”

Originally, this meaning had been suggested nearly eight decades ago by Herdner (1942: 278), in her review of an edition of the Kirta Legend (Pedersen 1941). Here, Ug. *ngb* is analysed as an N form of the root **GB*’ or **GBB*, “to collect; to choose”, which is supported by several cognates.⁹⁾ Later, in view of Virolleaud’s article (see above), Herdner (1957: 359b) retracted her translation and preferred solution (a).¹⁰⁾ In his second edition of the Krt Legend, Gray (1964: 13, 15) retained his previous translation in the main part of the book:

Let the crowd muster and come forth,
The élite of the fighting men mustered,

Additionally, to reflect Herdner’s review, as an alternative, in the notes, Gray (1964: 39) also included the translation:

Let the crowd be provisioned and come forth,
The élite of the fighting men, provisioned.¹¹⁾

Curiously enough, while one text from Mari seems to favour version (a), several texts, also from Mari, can provide support for explanation (b) and help to resolve the dilemma. The passages in question are as follows¹²⁾:

- *šābum kalūšu gi-bé-tum*, “the whole army comprises conscripts” (A.1221:10)¹³⁾
- *ša-ab ha-am-mu-ra-bi gi-bé-e-tum*, “the troop of Hammurabi’s conscripts” (A.4511+8681:6; A.2475+M.14903:7)¹⁴⁾
- *ša-bu-šu gi-bé-e-tum*, “the army of conscripts” (A.3610:22’)¹⁵⁾
- *warkat šābim anāku parsāku ša ina šābim gi-¹bé-tim¹ bēlī illakma*, “I am checking the troops so that my lord can march with a well-prepared army...” (FM 2: 206, lines 43-44)¹⁶⁾

From these texts it is clear that *gibētum* denotes troops of some kind¹⁷⁾ and *šābum gibētum* means “troupe des conscrits”.¹⁸⁾ More specifically, Abrahams (1997: 5) states: “il faut... comprendre que le *gibētum* désignait un grand ensemble constitué par les troupes régulières et celles que l’obtient par la mobilisation en masse. Comme pour *pihrum* le thème du rassemblement est ici aussi suggéré si l’on tient compte de l’étymologie qui en sémitique signifie «réunir». This is an indication that Ug. *ngb* –in the context of a general mobilisation– could also denote conscripts or recruits of some kind and may have a similar etymology.

While either solution for the Kirta passage may be viable, both based on equivalents to Ugaritic words in the Mari texts,¹⁹⁾ the second (b) seems preferable for several reasons: First, the victualling or provisioning of the army had already been described in the previous lines, where wheat was to be or had been collected and baked as bread (KTU 1.14 ii 27-31 || 1.14 iv 9-12).²⁰⁾ Then comes the long description of an enormous army being mustered (KTU 1.14 ii 32-47 || 1.14 iv 13-25). Why would food be mentioned again in this section? Second, the expression “army of victualling” seems strange, in spite of the cited parallels in Mari and Boğazköy, especially as an equivalent of *ši-di-tam* is apparently missing from the

supposed Ugaritic equivalent.²¹⁾ Third, no etymology for Mari *nagab/pu* or *nagāb/pu* has been proposed.²²⁾ And finally, the five passages from Mari quoted²³⁾ seem to clinch the meaning of “recruited” or the like for Ug. *ngb*, as first proposed by Andrée HERDNER, and even confirm its etymology.²⁴⁾

Therefore, the passage in question (and with the requisite changes, its parallel) can now be translated as follows:

Let an army be assembled and depart,
let a mighty army be assembled,
then let the multitude depart as one.

Notes

1. WYATT 2002: 189 (adding in n. 61 that the final “together” was omitted from his translation), 199; similarly, HERDNER TOu 1, 516, 528 (see below); DIETRICH & LORETZ 1980: 193, 194; DEL OLMO LETE 1981: 293, 296; DE MOOR & SPRONK 1987: 195, 199; RENFROE 1987: 231; GREENSTEIN 1997: 15, 19; LORETZ 2008: 513, 516; DUL, 614. On Ug. *m^c*, “together”, see WATSON 2021: 572-573 (§4.2).
2. GIBSON 1978: 84b, 87b, following DRIVER 1956: 31a, 33b. Similarly, GINSBERG 1969: 143; also TROPPER 2012: 677 (but see 533, 813), 726.
3. For various other versions see LORETZ 2008: 509-512, with additional bibliography.
4. My thanks to Nick Wyatt for his comments.
5. He noted: “reference to the Hittite-Accadian bilingual, KUB I 16, iii 61-62, where *ṣabē* (ZAB.MEŠ) *nagbāti* occurs as a technical term (identical with Hittite *pankus*) for the ‘host’ or entourage of the king” clarifies the meaning (GASTER 1947: 194, 290), but no specific translation was provided.
6. Translated in DURAND 1997: 605 (No. 412): “Ses gens ont fait des provisions”, with the comment (note d) that *nagābum* is well documented in Mari with the meaning “faire des provisions”; see also *ibid.* 538 note f. on *nagbatum*, “réserves” in A.2133 (No. 345, *ibid.* 537).
7. On Mari *nagābum*, “s’approvisionner” and a possible derived noun *nagibum* see LACKENBACHER in AEM I/2, 448-449 n. a. This would support the comment (KIM 2011: 216 n. 177) that Ug. *ngb* could refer to provisioning the army in some way, e.g. with weapons.
8. KOGAN & KREBERNIK 2012: 787 and n. 388, with further references.
9. Cognates include Aram. *gby*, “to collect” (DJPA, 119a); “to collect (money)” (DJBA, 256-257); Syr. *gby*, Pe^cal: “to collect, exact tribute; to choose; to select”; Pa^cel: “to collect; to choose; to gather”; Etp^cel: “to be chosen”; Etpa^cal: “to be collected, gathered, exacted, imposed” (SL, 199-200); Syr. *gby*, “to choose, approve, appoint” (CSD, 58b); Arab. *jabā*, “to collect, levy” (DMWA, 112a); ‘*intajaba*, “he selected him; chose him” (AEL, 2765b); Mehri *gby*, “to levy contributions or taxes; to go round asking for help” (ML, 113); Jibb. *gby*: *gūtbi*, “(people) to collect together” (JL, 70); Mandaic *gba* (*gb’*), “to choose out, select, gather” (MD, 79a); Ge’ez *gab’a*, “(to) return”; *tagab’a*, “(to) be collected, compile, gathered, assembled etc.” Note especially, Ge’ez *gabā’i*, “hireling, hired servant, mercenary” (CDG, 176-177). See also SANMARTÍN 2019: 174 (under *GBY*). In addition, see Aram. *gbb* D: “to gather” (DJPA, 118b).
10. As reflected in her subsequent translation (HERDNER TOu 1, 516): “Et que les troupes pourvues de vivres, sortent, l’armée, à savoir l’armée pourvue de vivres, et qu’elles sortent, les troupes, en masse...”; see the lengthy explanatory note (516 note z). As is conventional, her italics denote uncertain translations.
11. KIM (2011: 216 n. 177) is similarly equivocal (see n. 7, above). Ingeniously, NOEGEL (2014: 305-306) suggests that the poet intentionally played on both meanings here, which cannot be excluded.
12. All cited by CHARPIN AEM I/2: 145 n. 39.
13. “L’armée est toute entière formée de conscrits” (DURAND AEM I/2: 158, ARM 26 No. 27:10).
14. “La troupe des conscrits d’Hammu-rabi” (CHARPIN AEM I/2: 164/165, ARM 26 No. 363:6 and AEM I/2: 169/170, ARM 26 No. 366:7).
15. “L’armée des mobilisés” (CHARPIN AEM I/2: 175-176, ARM 26 No. 370:22’).
16. EIDEM 1994: 208 lines 43-44. He comments (*ibid.*, n. 1): “This passage helps to elucidate further the meaning of *ṣābum gibētum*... our example shows that the word denotes... an army ‘assembled and ready’”. On the Amorite loanword *gibētu* see now eSAD, *ad loc.*, with discussion of its correct spelling and etymology, and with further references. It was this entry that sparked off the present note.
17. Cf. DURAND AEMI/1, 160, who refers to Semitic *GB’/H*, “rassembler, réunir” (see n. 9 above).
18. DURAND 1996: 356 (although he transcribes it as *ṣābum gipētum*, but see n. 16 above). My thanks to Juan Pablo Vita for this particular reference and for his incisive comments on the present note.
19. Other such equivalences may be Ug. ‘*rm* – Mari (*h*)*arāmulermu*, “cloak”; Ug. *mlk* – Mari *namlaktu*, “kingdom” (usually as the plural *namlakātu*); Ug. *mqb* – Mari/Emar *naqqabu*, “hammer” and Ug. *pgr* – Mari *pagrā’um/pagrām*, “sacrifice”, as well as the TN Ug. *ddm* – Mari *dadmum*, denoting Aleppo (see BONECHI 1998). Note also Ug. *ql*, “light (courier)” (elliptical for **lsm ql*) and Mari DUMU^{mes} *lāsīmī qa[ll]ūtīm*, “courriers légers” (ARM 26, 373: 19; cited by CHARPIN 1989-90: 94b; reference courtesy of eSAD). See also note 23 below.
20. See already WATSON 1979: 113, n. 8.

21. On which see LORETZ 2008: 512-514 on Ug. *ʿdn* as equivalent to Mari Akk. *šid̄tu*, based on Heb. *ʿdn*. My thanks to Paolo Xella for help with this reference.

22. However, see n. 7 and the comments above on Eblaite.

23. Another parallel with Mari is Ug. *šbūk* (parallel *šbūh*) *ūl mād*, “your (his) army is a numerous force” (KTU 1.14 ii 35 || 1.14 iv 15 [partly restored]) and Mari *šabum māduṣma*, “a numerous army” (ARM 3, 18:10), first cited in WATSON 1979: 113 (as well as a similar phrase from EA 38:5).

24. Another verb meaning “to enlist” i.e. *škr*, occurs a few lines further on in the Ug. passages in question (i.e. in KTU 1.14 ii 45 and 1.14 iv 23), on which see now WATSON 2021: 567-568 (§2.10).

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40) A note on Zibbat-nārim and Parak-mār — In 2019, M. Béranger published three copies of letters addressed to the lord, i. e., Ammi-ditana by officials at Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal),¹⁾ which report the situation after the attack on Nippur by its enemies,²⁾ meaning they are important sources for the late Old Babylonian political history. Letter 1 is a request of barley for the ration to the soldiers. The official says there is no barley in the city, i. e., Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal), nor in Zibbat-nārim. Letter 2 is a request for workers for the field work at Zibbat-nārim. Thirty workers should have arrived at Zibbat-nārim, but only ten workers came. Letter 3 informs several tasks. The king asked an official to send several individuals to the shrine Parak-mār, and ordered his officials to manage the sheep and goats, etc. According to Béranger, these three documents are part of those found at Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal)³⁾ and are written by the same scribe.⁴⁾

Béranger discusses geographical names found in the three letters in some detail. Zibbat-nārim is often found in the documents of Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal).⁵⁾ According to her, it was located along the Euphrates, probably between Nippur and Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal).⁶⁾ She also mentions an example of Zibbat-nāri found in a Middle Babylonian document.⁷⁾ Another geographical name, Parak-mār is also often found at the documents of Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal).⁸⁾ According to her, Parak-mār was a shrine of Ninurta and may have been built when Nippur was abandoned and its cult was transferred to Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal).⁹⁾ Regarding its location, she says it should be along the canal between Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal) and Dūr-Sîn-muballit.¹⁰⁾ Thus, as we have seen above, Zibbat-nārim and Parak-mār were located in the vicinity of Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal).

Regarding these settlements, we can add another Middle Babylonian example, i.e., BE 15 no. 198, which is a list of barley disbursements to workers, and in which we can find the allocations for Parak-māri and Zibbat-nāri (*pi-iq-da-nu bára-dumu^{ki} ù kun-íd-da*).¹¹⁾ Their inclusion, together, may suggest that they were situated near each other, and may support Béranger's argument that they were located in the vicinity of Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal).

Notes

I am grateful to dr. Burke for reading the manuscripts and correcting English expressions.

1. For Dūr-abi-ešuh^(canal), see Boivin 2018, 97-99.

2. Béranger 2019, 99.

3. Ibid. 100 n. 9.

4. Ibid. 109.

5. Ibid. 111.

6. Ibid. 112.

7. Ibid. 112 (an unpublished document: Ni 2720). The author has not checked it yet. See Nashef 1982, 283; Van Lerberghe and Voet 2009, 104.

8. Ibid. 112.

9. Ibid. 113.

10. Ibid. 113.

11. Parak-māri and Zibbat-nāri are found col. IV 102-103. Regarding bára-dumu^{ki}, Clay missed the signs dumu^{ki}. We can see them in the CDLI photo (P259819).

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41) Miscellaneous notes on the Middle Babylonian documents — Previously, the Middle Babylonian *aklu* documents were treated in my dissertation (Murai 2018). My further considerations, remarks less relevant to the main theme of my dissertation, I am including herein.¹⁾

1. Etil-pû son of Dimah̄di-Uraš

Etil-pû, son of Dimah̄di-Uraš, is known from two documents excavated at Nippur²⁾ and from a document purportedly from Dūr-Enlilē.³⁾ In PBS 2/2 no. 55 (Kaštiliašu IV 1st year XII 7), Etil-pû entrusted a person to some individuals who were responsible for managing him. There is reference to a penalty for not doing their duties.⁴⁾ PBS 1/2 no. 20 (no date) is a letter from Etil-pû to his lord, in which he reports on the situation of agricultural matters. We should notice a reference to a geographical name, Āl-Irrē (obv. 5), which is well known as a settlement around Nippur, meaning he worked in the vicinity of Nippur.⁵⁾ Though Dimah̄di-Uraš is mentioned as his father (obv. 19-20), the context is not clear.⁶⁾ CUSAS 30 no. 79 (no date) is an administrative allocation of the barley to several beneficiaries, in which Etil-pû also appears. This document is either not dated, or its date is broken. But a reference to Anāku-ilumma suggests that the barley was allocated in the later period, i.e. in the reigns of Kudur-Enlil, Šagarakti-Šuriaš, or Kaštiliašu IV. Considering these situations (chronological and geographical parallels), Etil-pû, son of Dimah̄di-Uraš, in these three documents may refer to the same individual.⁷⁾

2. Links of CUSAS 30 no. 198 with CUSAS 30 nos. 64, 233 and MUN 10

In CUSAS 30 nos. 64, 233 and MUN 10, Kudurrānu, son of Sarriqu, and Sarriqu, son of Amīlūta appear.⁸⁾ It is likely that CUSAS 30 no. 198 has some connection with the three documents. For example, Ēz-u-pāšir can be seen in CUSAS 30 no. 64, rev. 4 as a recipient and also in no. 198, obv. 7. Another person too, Šamuḥ-rigimšu is found in both documents (no. 64, rev. 18 and no. 198 obv. 8). Also, Sarriqu appears in CUSAS 30 no. 198, obv. 4 as the father of Marduk-muballit, which is dated to the 16th year of Kadašman-Turgu (1266 BCE). According to the discussion by Boivin,⁹⁾ Sarriqu may be active during the reign of Kadašman-Turgu and Kadašman-Enlil, which seems to support the identification of Sarriqu at no. 198 with Sarriqu of the three documents.¹⁰⁾

3. Nanna-šar-dīni and Nanna-LÚ-SA₆

In CUSAS 30 no. 141, rev. 19, a certain individual, ^{md}nanna-lugal^l(LÚ)-^rdi²¹ sum, is mentioned as a beneficiary of barley. Van Soldt comments on the personal name as follows “The reading of the name is not certain. For Nanna-lugal-di, see the index s.v. Nanna-šar-dīni, and compare 52-10-102: 41 (NM), to be published by E. Devecchi.” It is now published as CUSAS 37 no. 139 (NM year unknown), in which ^{md}nanna-lugal-di appears as a brother of Enlil-mu-pà-da.¹¹⁾ Nanna-šar-dīni also appears at CUSAS 37 no. 149, obv. 7 (KT 2: 1280 BCE) as a son of Marduk-šūzibanni.¹²⁾ However, the personal name in CUSAS 30 no. 141 contains LÚ rather than lugal, and the reading ^rdi²¹ is not certain.

Here we may notice another similar personal name, Nanna-LÚ-SA₆, who is known from the four documents excavated at Nippur¹³⁾ and the three documents purportedly coming from Dūr-Enlilē.¹⁴⁾ Still, the exact reading of the name is not certain;¹⁵⁾ the personal name also contains LÚ, and the sign SA₆ may perhaps resemble di + sum.¹⁶⁾ Therefore, ^{md}nanna-lugal^l(LÚ)-^rdi²¹ sum may be, rather, Nanna-LÚ-SA₆.

4. Iqīša-Šamaš and Šamaš-iqīša

BE 14 no. 120 (KuE 5: 1250 BCE) and PBS 2/2 no. 48 (ŠŠ acc.: 1246 BCE) are lists of workers, such as court officials (lú sag), butcher (lú gír), cook (lú muḫaldim), etc.¹⁷⁾ As Tenney has already noted, several individuals appear in both documents.¹⁸⁾ Among them, we find two washermen (lú ázlag), Iqīša-Šamaš and Tarubtu (BE 14 no. 120 rev. 39-40), Tarubtu and Šamaš-iqīša (PBS 2/2 no. 48 lo. E. 11-12). Apparently Tarubtu is the same individual as can be inferred from the chronological situation and occupation. Is another washerman, Iqīša-Šamaš (BE 14 no. 120), the same individual as Šamaš-Iqīša (PBS 2/2 no. 48)? Although the elements of the personal name are interchanged, they likely refer to the same individual, because only two washermen are mentioned in both documents, meaning they are colleagues/partners. However, it is not certain.¹⁹⁾

5. Irēmšu-Ninurta and Aplī-idi-enši-iltu

According to Hölscher 1996, the meaning of the personal name Irēmšu-Ninurta is “Ninurta hat sich seiner erbarmt,”²⁰⁾ using the verb *rēmu*, “to show mercy” with the logogram arḫuš or syllabic writing. However, in BE 15 no. 47, rev. 12, it is written with the logogram ág, the verb *rāmu*, “to love.”²¹⁾ The scribe likely mistook *rēmu* for *rāmu*.

The meaning of Aplī-idi-enši-iltu is “Tritt für den Schwachen ein, Göttin!,”²²⁾ The verb *apālu* “to answer” is usually written in syllabic writing. But in PBS 2/2 no. 86, obv. 18, it is written with the logogram ibila “heir, son”.²³⁾ This may be also another case of the scribe’s misinterpretation.

6. Nāḫirānu and Bēlšunu

In Tenney 2011, 173, we can find Household 43, in which *qinnu* head, Nāḫirānu, and head Bēlšunu are mentioned. This household is recorded in CBS 7752, rev. ii’ 18-23, but no date is preserved. These names are reminiscent of the brewers Nāḫirānu and Bēlšunu, who often worked together in the reign of Kadašman-Enlil II and Kudurru-Enlil.²⁴⁾ Probably the family members got the same job and worked together.²⁵⁾

Notes

I am grateful to dr. Burke for reading the manuscripts and correcting English expressions.

1. Abbreviation. acc: accession year; KaE: Kadašman-Enlil II; KT: Kadašman-Turgu; KuE: Kudur-Enlil; MUN: tablets from Nippur published in Sassmannshausen 2001; NM: Nazi-Maruttaš; ŠŠ: Šagarakti-Šuriaš.

2. PBS 2/2 no. 55, obv. 4-5 and PBS 1/2 no. 20, obv. 1.

3. CUSAS 30 no. 79, obv. 24.

4. See Tenney 2011, 112 n. 114.

5. Van Soldt 2015, 29; Murai 2018, 26-29; Devecchi 2020, 19.

6. See Hölscher 1996, 61 (Dimahdi-Uraš).

7. Also, his father Dimahdi-Uraš may be comparable to the Dimahdi-Uraš, who was active in the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš and of Kadašman-Turgu. See van Soldt 2015, 79 (CUSAS 30 no. 35 obv. 8, 12-16); Murai 2018, 46 n. 145 (BE 14 no. 39, obv. 18, 21-22), 48-50 (MUN 156, obv. 2’); Devecchi 2020, 65 (CUSAS 37 no. 9, obv. 16, rev. 23-24, 29-30), 69 (no. 11, obv. 8-13), 70 (no. 12 rev. 17), 90 (no. 35 rev. 16), 109 (no. 54, obv. 8-13, 16), 209 (no. 162, obv. 7), 240 (no. 193, obv. 6), 242 (no. 198, obv. 4), 256 (no. 236 edge 11).

8. CUSAS 30 no. 64, rev. 1-2 (^msar-ri-qu dumu ^mlú-l[a]; ^mku-du-ra-nu dumu ^msar-r[ⁱ-qī]); no. 233, obv. 4 (^msar-ri-qu dumu ^mlú-ú-ta); MUN 10, obv. 8-9 (^mku-du-ra-ni dumu ^msar-ri-qī ša-bal-bal ^mlú-ú-ta).

Although CUSAS 30 nos. 64 and 233 may come from Dūr-Enlilē, MUN 10 is excavated at Nippur. For the provenance of MUN 10, see Pedersén 1998, 116; Sassmannshausen 2001, 186 n. 3135; Paulus 2014, 351 n. 10; Brinkman 2017, 19 n. 149; Murai 2018, 31 n. 104; Boivin 2018, 303 n. 9. For the identification of these individuals, see the comment at CUSAS 30 no. 233.

9. Boivin 2018, 303.

10. Kudurrānu son of Sarriqu is also found in CUSAS 37 no. 184 (Kadašman-Turgu year broken). See the comment on line 9 (Devecchi 2020, 234-235).

11. Nanna-šar-dīni is found rev. 32.

12. The photo of no. 149 can be seen at plate 42.

13. MUN 173, obv. 7 (KuE 2: 1253 BCE); 214, obv. 4 (KuE 2: 1253); 259, obv. 21 (KuE 3: 1252); 278, obv. 5 (KaE 1: 1263). However, at MUN 173, Sassmannshausen reads the name as ^{ld}nanna-lú-tuk, and suggests emending it to ^{ld}nanna-šeš^l-tuk.

14. CUSAS 37 no. 45, obv. 18 (KT 4: 1278 BCE); no. 55, obv. 9, 10, rev. 17 (KT 12: 1270); no. 302, obv. 3 (KT 10: 1272).

15. Cf. Sassmannshausen 2001, 323 note on obv. 7.

16. See Clay 1906a, list of signs nos. 255, 256 (p. 86, but not paginated), and Borger 2010, signs nos. 22 (ŠUBUR), 571 (SA₆) and 744 (ŠUL) with the comments found in the concordance with BE 14 (p. 710 below, nos. 255-256).

17. BM 82699 is known as a parallel text. See Sassmannshausen 2001, 430; Tenney 2011, 22-23, 62 n. 75, 118 nn. 143-144).

18. See Tenney 2011, 22 “At least fourteen individuals appear on both BM 82699 and BE 14 120. PBS 2/2 48 shares at least two persons with BM 82699 and six with BE 14 120, which means that all three of these documents are snapshots of the same work group at different times.”

19. Other scholars treat them as different individuals. See Clay 1912, 91 (Iqīša-Šamaš), 129 (Šamaš-Iqīša); Hölscher 1996, 106 (Iqīša-Šamaš), 203 (Šamaš-Iqīša); Tenney 2011, 22. He says “PBS 2/2 shares... six with BE 120,” but does not mention them by name. In fact, as Tenney says, six persons appears in both the documents: Ašūšunamir (cook), Tarubtu (washerman), Zākuru (animal driver), Nāšuru (court official), Rīmūtu (court official), Adadšamuḥ-nišī (court official), meaning he interprets them (Iqīša-Šamaš and Šamaš-Iqīša) as different individuals.

20. Hölscher 1996, 107.

21. See the CDLI photo (P259660).

22. Hölscher 1996, 34.

23. Von Soden (AHw, 56) has already noted this writing “mB *Ap-li(V. IBILA!)-id(i)-enši-iltu.*”; See also CAD A 2, 162 “WR. DUMU.UŠ-*i-di-en-ši-il-tu.*”

24. See Murai 2018, 99-100, 121-122 (4.8.4. Nāḫirānu; 4.8.6. Bēlšunu).

25. The family of the brewers belonging to the temple of the god Šin is well known in the documents excavated at Ur. See Gurney 1983, 1-3.

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42) Notice about prosopographical research on the Middle Babylonian documents excavated at Nippur — The main sources of the Middle Babylonian studies are the administrative documents excavated at Nippur. However, there are still some ambiguities about their provenance.¹⁾ To date, the research on their provenance has been done basically based on their prosopography.²⁾ However, there seems to be some concern about prosopographical approach to the Middle Babylonian documents excavated at Nippur. As we know, there are two main provenances: one is the archive(s) of the governor of Nippur (Nippur 1),³⁾ in

which the well-known governor Enlil-kidinnī and his descendants also appear.⁴⁾ The other is the documents excavated near the Gula temple, in which Innannu and Martukku are often mentioned (Nippur 2).⁵⁾

However, sometimes we find cases in which it is difficult to determine to which archives a document genuinely belongs. For example, PBS 2/2 no. 131, and an unpublished document, CBS 11593,⁶⁾ are sealed with Matthews no. 85.⁷⁾ Both of the documents are records of the loan (*hubullu*) of barley. PBS 2/2 no. 131 has an envelope, but CBS 11593 does not. Its envelope has probably been lost. Interestingly, both the documents refer to the geographical name, Dūr-Enlilē, in which, very likely, the barley had been loaned, and then from which the documents were sent to Nippur. Judging from the geographical name, Dūr-Enlilē, it seems likely that both the documents should belong to the provenance Nippur 1, because the documents probably come from Dūr-Enlilē have many links with the documents excavated at Nippur 1.⁸⁾ However, in PBS 2/2 no. 131, Usātūša, son of Rabi-(m)elammašu appears. Here we should note his father/family name, Rabi-(m)elammašu, which is often found in the documents which seem to belong to Nippur 2.⁹⁾ So, considering the father/family name, Rabi-(m)elammašu, both the documents may belong to Nippur 2. This is thus a case in which it is especially difficult to judge to which provenances the documents should belong.¹⁰⁾

Another example is BE 15 no. 154, which is a record of disbursement of some commodities such as barley, flour, beer, etc. Here we can find several individuals who are well known in the documents of Nippur 2. For example, Sin-issahra (rev. 29) is mentioned as a beneficiary.¹¹⁾ Also, Innannu appears at the end of the list (left edge 44).¹²⁾ Judging from such prosopographical evidence, BE 15 no. 154 should belong to Nippur 2. However, between reverse 33-34 we can find another line (34a)¹³⁾ in which barley was disbursed for the feed of donkeys of a son/sons of Enlil-kidinnī.¹⁴⁾ Enlil-kidinnī is a prominent Nippur governor, and Nippur 1 seems to be his and his descendants' archive, suggesting the possibility that BE 15 no. 154 is a document of Nippur 1.¹⁵⁾

As we have seen above, sometimes we encounter cases in which it is difficult to judge the provenance of a document, based solely on the prosopographical evidence. Therefore, we should consider further information for the identification of the document's belonging.¹⁶⁾

Notes

I am grateful to dr. Burke for reading the manuscripts and correcting English expressions.

1. For the provenances, see Clay 1906a, 1-2; Pedersén 1998, 112-116; Sassmannshausen 2001, 186-187; Tenney 2011, 1-2; Murai 2020, 97 n. 3.

2. See Sassmannshausen 2001, 187-194; Brinkman 2017, 18 n. 147.

3. Pedersén 1998, 115; Sassmannshausen 2001, 186-187.

4. Pedersén 1998, 115.

5. Ibid.; Sassmannshausen calls this archive "Das Archiv des Speichers." See Sassmannshausen 2001, 187-194.

6. Obverse. ¹1.1.0. ⁱⁱbār-zag-gar ²1.1.0. ⁱⁱⁱgu₄-si-sá ³pap 2.2.0. še ur₅-ra ^{giš}bán [] ^{id}utu-^ftu^l-kul-ti ⁵[du]mu ¹šeš-
dù lower edge. ⁶i-na bād-^d[en-]lil²-^{hi}2-[a] reverse. ⁷ma-^{hi}-ir the rest broken. See the CDLI photo: P266735.

7. Matthews 1992, 94-95.

8. See van Soldt 2015, 24, 29-30; Murai 2018, 30-31; Boivin 2018, 303-305; Devecchi 2020, 47 (4.6).

9. See Hölscher 1996, 175. For example, in BE 15 no. 45, a son/sons of Rabi-(m)elammašu received barley as a loan from Innannu, who is well known in the documents of Nippur 2.

10. However, as Hölscher (1996, 175) had already noted, a son/sons of Rabi-(m)elammašu in PBS 2/2 no. 131, is an atypical case. Usually a son/sons of Rabi-(m)elammašu appears with a son/sons of Pirri/Pirriya/Pirre'a, but in PBS 2/2 no. 131, a son/sons of Rabi-(m)elammašu is found without a son/sons of Pirri/Pirriya/Pirre'a.

11. As to Sîn-issahra, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 191 (10).

12. Innannu is a well-known individual in the documents from Nippur 2. See Sassmannshausen 2001, 188-189 (1-3).

13. It is missed by Clay. See the CDLI photo (P259690).

14. 0,0,1. šuk anše^{mes} dumu ^{id}en-lil-ki-di-ni.

15. However, BE 15 no. 154 probably belongs to Nippur 2, because Enlil-kidinnī was famous and it is not surprising he should be mentioned in a document coming from a context other than Nippur 1.

16. J. A. Brinkman (2017, 18) says the archival study of the documents excavated at Nippur is required.

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43) A note on *arād šarri*, *elē šarri*, and the Sealand — The phrases *arād šarri* “going down of the king” and *elē šarri* “coming up of the king” are found mostly in the *aklu* documents or in similar accounts excavated at Nippur.¹⁾ Regarding the phrases, Biggs (1965, 96 n. 11) suggested that the king would come to Nippur for the new year festival, because the documents cover the very end of one year (the month of Addaru: XII) and the very beginning of the next (the month of Nisannu: I). However, he was hesitant about whether the new year festival was held in Nippur, because it was usually held in Babylon. Brinkman (1976, 411-414) collected further examples of the expressions (*arād šarri* & *elē šarri*) and agreed with Biggs that the king came to Nippur, but was uncertain about whether the king was present at the celebration. Sassmannshausen (2001, 10) also said the king came to Nippur for the new year festival and mentioned the winter palace at Nippur as evidence. Among the documents published by van Soldt (2015) purportedly coming from Dūr-Enlilē, we find a reference to *arād šarri* (no. 53), however its date is not the new year, but the intercalary month of Ulūlu: VI-2. Tenney (2016, 153-180) edited two documents excavated at Nippur and demonstrated that the new year festival, the *akītu* festival of Marduk, was indeed held in Nippur and that the king was present at the festival. The present author (Murai 2018, 244-249) discussed the king’s journeys (*arād šarri* & *elē šarri*) in some detail and noted the significance of the Sealand (the southern area). Devecchi (2020) also refers to an example of *arād šarri* in an early Dūr-Enlilē document (no. 202).

Basically, these scholars contend that the king visited Nippur for the new year festival (i. e. the *akītu* festival of Marduk). However, two questions linger regarding these important events. The first is why the Sealand was involved in the king’s journey. According to a document excavated at Nippur (Brinkman 1976, 380 no. 4), a huge amount of beer was consumed for the king’s journey at the Sealand.²⁾ This may pose a problem, because if the king came to Nippur from the capital at Babylon or Dūr-Kurigalzu (both to the north of Nippur), the Sealand would not likely have been involved in the journey. We thus need ask why the Sealand was involved in the king’s journey (Question A). The second question asks why the *akītu* festival of Marduk would be held in Nippur in the Middle Babylonian period. Usually, it was celebrated at Babylon in later periods. So, we should consider why it was held at Nippur (Question B).

Regarding the *akītu* festival of Marduk in Nippur, it is thought to appear in the Middle Babylonian period after the turmoil of the religious situation before the Kassite unification.³⁾ As recent publications suggest, Nippur was attacked by its enemies and at least partly abandoned in the late Old Babylonian period.⁴⁾ Also the recent studies of the Sealand documents indicate that Nippur was then under the control of the king of the First Sealand dynasty, Ayadaragarama.⁵⁾ Further, a chronicle informs us that Agum III destroyed Enlil’s temple in Dūr-Enlil (d50),⁶⁾ which may be identical with Dūr-Enlilē in the vicinity of Nippur,⁷⁾ meaning that the area around Nippur may have been under the rule of the First Sealand dynasty at that time. These sources imply there had been struggles for Nippur, the First Babylonian

dynasty's loss of control of Nippur, the First Sealand dynasty's gain of its control, and the early Kassite kings' campaigns against the Nippur area, and further, the Sealand. In light of this, the two questions (A, B) may be answered as follows: the late Kassite kings maybe ceremonially reproduced the campaigns of the early Kassite kings against the Sealand by going down (*arād šarri*) to the Sealand and then coming up (*elē šarri*) to Nippur for the new year festival (the Marduk *akītu*).⁸⁾ If so, the involvement of the Sealand is understandable (an answer to Question A). Also, the celebration of the Marduk *akītu* at Nippur may be incentivized for the purpose of asserting the Kassite Babylonian's supremacy over the Sealand (an answer to Question B). Moreover, we should note that the theme of *Enūma eliš* (Marduk's victory over Tiamat) matches the situation of the early Kassite kings' campaigns against the Sealand, as Jacobsen has already noted (1975, 76), and that it was recited at the new year festival (Thureau-Dangin 1921, 136). If we are correct, it seems likely that the late Kassite kings celebrated the Babylonian victory over the Sealand maybe by chanting *Enūma eliš* at the *akītu* festival at Nippur in the Middle Babylonian period.⁹⁾

This is, of course, only a theory and several gaps remain to be bridged. Other explanations are also to be found.¹⁰⁾ However, it appears certain that the Sealand was involved in these important events, *arād šarri* and *elē šarri*, and that the *akītu* festival of Marduk was held at Nippur in the Middle Babylonian period.¹¹⁾

Notes

I am grateful to dr. Burke for reading the manuscripts and correcting English expressions.

1. El-Wailly (1954, 24-25) noted the phrase, *elē šarri* and translated it as "against the account of" the king.

2. Previously the present author understood it to mean the beers were sent from the Sealand to Nippur for the new year festival (Murai 2018, 249). However, here I propose another possibility.

3. George (2009), 137-138; Tenney (2016), 161 "this Marduk *akītu* appears to be a Kassite period introduction at Nippur."

4. Van Lerberghe & Voet (2009), 1-7; Abraham & van Lerberghe (2017), 1-8; Béranger (2019), 114-115.

5. Dalley (2009), 5; Boivin (2018a), 121-125; Gabbay & Boivin (2018), 39.

6. Grayson (1975), 156; Glassner (2004), 272; Boivin (2018a), 123-124; Dalley (2020), 21.

7. Van Soldt (2015), 24, 29-30; Murai (2018), 45-58, 65-69, 116-126; Boivin (2018b), 301-305; Devecchi (2020), 47-50.

8. These events are known at least in the reigns of Nazi-Maruttaš and Kudur-Enlil, meaning these are dynastic events. Probably the events in relation with the brewers and millers found in BE 15 no. 171 may be dated earlier than Nazi-Maruttaš (Murai 2018, 249). Additionally, we may note the prince's journeys (*arād mār šarri*) are also attested in two documents, MUN 178 = CBS 13364 (CDLI: P268443) and Ni. 2173 (Brinkman 1976, 413 n. 60).

MUN 178 treats flour and barley as expenditures (*aklu*) for *arād mār šarri*, which is sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē with the seal (Matthews 1992, 133 no. 189), whose date is the 28th of the month of Du'ūzu: IV in the 3rd year of Kudur-Enlil.

We should note MRWH 29 also treats flour and barley as expenditures (*aklu*) for several purposes, in which we can find provision for the prince (rev. 34: *ninda-kaskal dumu lugal-e*), sealed with the seal (Stiehler-Alegria 1996, 56 no. 233), which is the same as Matthews 1992 no. 189, though he does not list MRWH 29 (HS 131). Petschow (1974, 75) pointed out its faint seal impressions: "Auf Vs and Rs schwach erkennbare Siegelabdrücke. Zwischen den Zeilen 1 bis nach 36 im Original jeweils ein Querstrich." MRWH 29 is a summary of the expenditures from the month Nisannu: I until the month Ulūlu: VI of the 3rd year of Kudur-Enlil. Maybe MUN 178 and MRWH 29 are comparable, but the amount of the flour and barley is different.

9. For the Middle Babylonian date of its composition, see Sommerfeld (1982), 180 "Viele Anhaltspunkte sprechen dafür, daß die Kassitenzeit eine Epoche großer literarischer Produktivität war. Es ist möglich, daß wie *Enūma eliš* oder die Götterliste An = *Anum* auch weitere Texte, in denen Marduk eine exponierte Stellung einnimmt, in dieser Zeit entstanden sind." Lambert (2013), 442-444, who said the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I is the best candidate, but admitted the rising faith of Marduk in the later Kassite period "the idea arose during the latter part of the Kassite rule." Tenney (2016), 155 "The story of this conflict and Marduk's elevation were celebrated in a propagandistic epic poem, *Enūma eliš*, recited on the fourth day of the *akītu* festival and probably composed during a wave of textual production during the late second millennium BCE." Brinkman (2017, 20) notes some famous Babylonian scribal families, such as that of Arad-Ea and Sin-leqe-unninnī, have their origin in the Kassite period. Paulus (2018, 130, 135, 142) asserts the Agum-kakrime inscriptions was composed in the Kassite period, which has some parallels with *Enūma eliš*, although she said "the dates of composition may not be the same" (p. 131).

10. The two *arād šarri* references, UM 29-13-869 (P255743) and CBS 3713 (P260085), are dated in the month Nisannu: I (Brinkman 1976, 413-414), but there are possibilities they are summaries. Cf. Brinkman (1976), 380 no. 4, which is a summary dated 15th day of the month Nisannu: I. An *arād šarri* reference (CUSAS 30 no. 53) is dated to an intercalary month of Ulūlu: VI-2. But there seems to be the *akītu* festival at the month Tašritu: VII in Nippur.

See Tenney (2016), 165 (CBS 10616 rev. 8: P265818), 175, 177 (CBS 11536 rev. 9: P266678). The recitation of Enūma eliš is known only in later Babylonia. There isn't any clear evidence it was recited in the Middle Babylonian period.

11. See Brinkman (1976), 380 no. 4 and Tenney (2016), 162-177 (CBS 10616), 177-178 (CBS 11536). As future research, I believe there seem to be some hints for the late Kassite king's journey in the late Old Babylonian documents (Dūr-Abi-ešuh) and the Sealand documents. For example, as Dalley (2009) already noted, CUSAS 9 nos. 59, 64 ([1st] Nisannu), 76 are dated to a new year day. However, in no.76, a list of offerings, we find Marduk (rev. 28). It is surprising that offerings for Marduk were made in the First Sealand Dynasty. Also, CUSAS 9 nos. 97 and 101 are noteworthy. No. 97 is a record of the expenditure of flour, dates, ghee, beer for the one who goes up and down (*ša e-li-i(-)ù(-)a-ri-du*), which is reminiscent of the late Kassite king's journey (*arād šarri, elē šarri*). No. 101 is a record of allocation of flour, dates, ghee, oil, and crushed cedar for the king's journey (*a-na ge-er-ri lugal*) to Udāni. We learn Ayadaragalama visited Udāni, which is an indirect parallel to the late Kassite king's journey. Also, in a Dūr-Abi-ešuh document, we find an interesting phrase, érin *e-le* a-ab-ba "troops come up from the Sealand" (Földi 2014, 33 obv. 20; Boivin 2018a, 100 n. 55). The combination of the verb *elū* "going/coming up" with the Sealand appears here, suggesting a possible parallel with the late Kassite king's coming up, *elē šarri*.

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44) West Semitic *šadû* and the reading of a.šA₃/edin at Emar — A woman bearing the West-Semitic (WS) name of Na'mī-šadâ appears in two Syro-Hittite/Free Format testaments from Emar (TBR 41 and 42).¹⁾ In the first testament (TBR 41), a man named Ikmu-Dagān assigns his wife, Na'mi-šadâ (written six times as ^f*Na-a'-mi-ša-da*), as “father and mother” of his household and stipulates that his four sons care for her after his death. The second document (TBR 42) is the testament of one of Ikmu-Dagān’s sons, IŠKUR-gāmil, who again assigns Na'mī-šadâ as his mother, the mother of his brothers, and this time the mother of his own son. In this second testament, Na'mī-šadâ’s name is written two different ways: ^f*Na-a'-mi-ša-da* (l. 2) and ^fSIG₅-A.šA₃ (l. 6). The writing of Na'mī-šadâ’s name helps to confirm the reading of two Sumerograms at Emar:

1. SIG₅ represents WS *na'mul/nu'mu* (DNWSI:738; DULAT:614), as opposed to Akkadian *damqu/damiqtu* (AHw 157; CAD D:64, 73).
2. A.šA₃ stands for *šadû* (DNWSI:1110; DULAT:807), rather than Akkadian *eqlu* (AHw:231; CAD E:249).

This explains why both Akkadian terms almost never appear in syllabic transcription in the Emar archives. The only exceptions to this general observation are the Babylonian lexical lists S^a and Hh, which contain entries for both *damqu/damiqtu* and *eqlu*.²⁾ The syllabic spellings of *na'mu* and *šadû*, by contrast, are abundantly attested in the site’s onomastica (Pruzsinzky 2003:644–46, 714–18).³⁾

The reading A.šA₃ = *šadû* helps explain other geographic references in the Emar corpus, most notably, the use of the Sumerogram EDIN. The semantic range of WS *šadû* encompasses “agricultural field,” “countryside,” and like Akkadian, “mountain” (DULAT:807; DNWSI:1110). As with *eqlu*, the syllabic spelling of Akkadian *šēru* is almost completely absent from the documents from Emar. The only clear attestation appears in a bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian royal hymn (Emar 775:16a/b), which was probably a copy of a monumental inscription from Babylonia (Arnaud 1982:216; Rutz 2013:270). Given the absence of Akkadian *šēru* in the site’s documents and the semantic range of WS *šadû*, it seems that the Sumerogram EDIN was also read as *šadû* at Emar—just as it was at contemporary Ugarit (Huehnergard 2009:55, 180).⁴⁾

In one legal formula found in documents related to inheritance, EDIN and A.šA₃ were used interchangeably to classify property as distinct from that of the “town” (URU^{ki}):

<p>TBR 75:3–5 (SH/FF) ⁽³⁾ <i>mi-mu-me-e</i> ⁽⁴⁾ [<i>bu-ši ba-ši-ti ša</i>]¹⁾ <i>mu-ti-ia ša</i> URU^{ki} ⁽⁵⁾ [ù <i>ša</i> EDIN.NA]</p>	<p>The property and [goods of] my husband, which are of the town [and of the countryside.]</p>
<p>Emar 128:4–5 (SH/FF) ⁽⁴⁾ <i>E₂-ia ka'-ia-an'-zi-ia ša</i> URU^{ki} ⁽⁵⁾ [ù <i>ša</i> EDIN.NA [ù <i>gáb-ba mím-mu-ia</i></p>	<p>My house and my <i>kayanzu</i>-property⁵⁾ of the town and of the field and all of my possessions. . .</p>
<p>Emar 180:4–7 (S/C) ⁽⁴⁾ ^HLA^{hi}a-šú ⁽⁵⁾ <i>ša</i> URU^{ki} [ù <i>ša</i> A.SA₃^{hi}a ⁽⁶⁾ <i>ma-la it-ti</i> ⁽⁷⁾ ^{ki}SES^{mes}-<i>ia i-ka-aš-š[a-ad-šu]</i></p>	<p>His inheritance shares of the town and of the countryside will am[ount to him] (lit. “it will arrive to him”) as much as (the share) with my brothers.⁶⁾</p>
<p>Emar 225:9–10 (SH/FF) ⁽⁹⁾ ^H[AL]A <i>ša</i> URU^{ki} [ù A.SA₃^{mes} ⁽¹⁰⁾ [<i>ma-la ša</i>] ⁱ[t-t]i ^{ál}hi-a-šú <i>ik-šu-ud-šu</i></p>	<p>The inheritance share of the town and countryside amounted for him (reached the value) [as much as that wi]th his brothers.</p>
<p>Iraq 54 1:9–10 (SH/FF) ⁽⁹⁾ <i>ka-ia-an-zi-ia ša</i> URU^{ki} ⁽¹⁰⁾ [ù EDIN^{mes} <i>a-na Ku-ut-ri ir-ti-ih</i></p>	<p>He left the <i>kayanzu</i>-property of the town and of the countryside to Kutru.</p>
<p>RE 10:7–9 (SH/FF) ⁽⁷⁾ <i>E₂-ia gab-ba mím-mu-ia ka-ia-an-zi-ia ša</i> URU^{ki} ⁽⁸⁾ [ù <i>ša</i> EDIN ^HLA-<i>ia ma-la it-ti</i> SES^{mes}-<i>ia</i> ⁽⁹⁾ <i>i-kaš-ša-da-an-ni</i></p>	<p>My house, all my goods, my <i>kayanzu</i>-property of the town and of the countryside are my inheritance share; it will amount to me as much as (that) with my brothers.</p>
<p>RE 13:9–10 (SH/FF) ⁽⁹⁾ <i>E₂-ia</i> ^r<i>gáb-ba</i> ^l<i>mím-mu-ni ka-ia-an-zi-[i]a š[a]</i> URU^{ki} ⁽¹⁰⁾ [ù <i>ša</i> EDIN [^H]A^lA-<i>ia ma-la it-ti</i> [^{SES}mes]-<i>ia</i> ⁽¹¹⁾ <i>ik-šu-da-ni</i></p>	<p>My house, all my goods, and my <i>kayanzu</i>-property of the town and the countryside are my inheritance share; it amounted to me as much (as the share) with my brothers.</p>

These texts reveal that the “town” (URU^{ki}) and the “countryside” (EDIN/A.šA₃ = *šadû*) were two essential geographical reference points defining the location of property. It is true that the property of the

countryside referred to cultivated land, at least in part. However, an inheritance share “of the A.ŠA₃” did not necessarily designate an agricultural plot of land. If the Sumerograms EDIN/A.ŠA₃ were read as *šadû*—as a physical space—this property could include orchards, vineyards, and building plots (KI.er-še-tu).

Despite these caveats, Emarite scribes did use the graphemes A.ŠA₃ and EDIN to distinguish between agricultural land and the physical space where it was found. Whenever a plot of land was sold at Emar, the scribes would use the Sumerogram A.ŠA₃ and never EDIN. Whereas A.ŠA₃ could refer to either agricultural property and a physical space outside the city walls, the Sumerogram EDIN only denoted this latter meaning in scribal usage. Although the vernacular word *šadû* did not make any distinction between cultivated and uncultivated land, Emarite scribes used the graphemes A.ŠA₃ and EDIN, which they inherited from southern Mesopotamia, to make such differentiations. This is evident in the guarantee clause of a SH/FF land sale contract (TBR 53):

⁽²³⁾ *ù qa-ta-ti ša E₂ an-ni-i*

⁽²⁴⁾ A.ŠA₃.MEŠ-šū i-na EDIN.NA

⁽²⁵⁾ ^mKi-it-ta i-ša-bat

And Kittu will seize his (Ia'zanu's) fields that are in the countryside as a pledge for (lit. “of”) that house.

Describing a land sale made under the duress of indebtedness (Westbrook 2001:24–25), the author of this document, the scribe (DUB.SAR) Ba'lu-malik, used the Sumerogram A.ŠA₃ to designate property and EDIN to describe the geographical space where this property was located. Why Ba'lu-malik found it necessary to designate the location of this plot of land in the countryside is not obvious, as presumably most agricultural land owned by the inhabitants of Emar would be located in this space. The specification implies that an agricultural plot could be located in spaces *other than* the EDIN, which may not have always referred to an undifferentiated “steppe/backcountry,” but rather, a specific geographic space that most inhabitants of Emar would recognize. This may explain another enigmatic geographical reference in a S/C land sale contract (RE 14), where a building plot² (KI.er-še-tu) is located “in the territory of the new countryside/countryside of Eššu” (KI.er-še-tu₄ i-na me-eḫ-ti-li EDIN eš-ši [l. 1]). Whether or not the word *eššu* represented a proper name or a generic noun,⁷ this text suggests that Emarite scribes viewed the countryside as a differentiated space.

In conclusion, the underlying reading of both EDIN and A.ŠA₃ as *šadû* at Emar allowed its scribes to use the Sumerograms interchangeably in some contexts. However, Emarite scribes also relied on the differentiated meaning of the terms that they drew from the inherited scribal conventions of southern Mesopotamia. The lexical evidence should serve as a caution against assuming any essential meaning behind these specific graphemes at Emar, as vernacular language and scribal training exerted equal influence on writing and reading conventions.

Notes

1. On the Syrian/Syro-Hittite scribal streams at Emar, see Arnaud 1975. On the recent proposal for classifying the two document formats as Conventional/Free Format see Fleming and Démare-Lafont 2009, 2015.

2. In Hh 2 (Emar 542), we have KILAM.SIG₅.GA = *ma-ḫi-rù da-am-qu* (l. 113) and MU.SIG₅.GA = *ša-at-tu da-mi-iq-tu₄* (l. 159), and the word *da-am-qu* appears in an annex of the S^a Vocabulary with the corresponding Sumerogram lost in a lacuna (Emar 537:Annex 8, l. 3). For the syllabic writing of *eq₁lu*, Hh 5-7 lists NIG₂.GUL.A.ŠA₃.GA = MIN *eq-li* (Emar 545:351), and the S^a Vocabulary (Emar 537:236) includes GAN₂ = A.ŠA₃ = *eq-lu*.

3. All the names Pruzsinszky (2003) lists with the element *damiq* (i.e., Aḫu-damiq, Aya-damiq, Dagān-damiq, Ea-damiq, and Nabûm-damiq) are written with the Sumerogram SIG₅, and thus, should probably be read as *na'mu* as well.

4. It seems that both *eq₁lu* and *šēru* were equated with Ugarit *šd*, “field, steppe, mountain.” Unfortunately, the two values rendered as *šadû* in the Ugaritic polyglot S^a vocabulary (Huehnergard 2009:55, 180) are both fragmentary:

Ug. 5 130 iii 11 (S^a Voc. n° 35/36.3)

[MAL/GAN₂] = [e]q?-[lu?] = a-wa-ar-re = ša-d[u-ú]

Ug. 5 137 ii 35 (S^a Voc. n° 189.2)

[MAḪ] = [šēru] = [a-wa-a]r-re = ša-du-ú

In the Akkadian documents, the personal name *Šadû/ê/â-yānu* (alphabetic *šdyn*) was written as: A.SA₃-ia-nu/na (PRU 3 39:5; 143:4, 7); KUR-ia-na (PRU 3 172:4; 197, obv., l. 7); ša-de₄-ia-nu (PRU 3 138:4); ša-dû-ia-na (PRU 3 52:3); and, ša-da-ia-nu (Ug 5 88:12) (DULAT:811; Huehnergard 2009:213, 238; Van Soldt 1991:309). The interchangeable use of A.ŠA₃ and KUR may compare with the spelling ^fNa-aḫ-mi-KUR/^fNa-a'-mi-ša-dal/^fSIG₅-A.ŠA₃ for Na'mi-šadâ at Emar (Pruzsinszky 2003:645).

5. On the various proposals for the term *ka-ia-an-zu*, see Penttuc 2001:93–94. Outside of the legal formula presented above, *kayanzu*-was defined in relation to the town of Emar (TBR 83:18–19) and other settlements in its environs: Zaggattu (TBR 83:11, 15) and Rabbān (TBR 83:12, 16). A trial report (TBR 36:13–16) identifies fields (A.ŠA₃.H.A) in the vicinity of the “gate of the town of Izbu” (ka₂ ^{uru}Iz-bi) as the *kayanzu*-property of a man’s father.

6. On the reading of *mala... kašādu* as, “to reach and equal in value/amount to,” see CAD K:275a. The basic sense of the clause is that each heir receives an equal share of the divided patrimony, perhaps reflecting the same custom as described by the expression “let them divide (the estate) equally, according to the (custom) of the town” (*itti aḫāmeš kīma āli liḫūzū* [Yamada 1997]).

7. Beckman (1996:25) wonders if the scribe omitted the determinative URU, referring to the site of “Newtown” located near Emar. However, Charpin (2016:71) has recently challenged this reading, suggesting that the expression *ālu eššu* referred to a “district” (nouveau quartier) of the town of Emar based on OB parallels.

Abbreviations

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45) Further data on the Hittite myths of the disappearing deity (addenda to *AuOr* 38/2, 2020, pp. 373-391) — In Pisanelli 2020 I made some philological remarks on the passages concerning the alteration and the restoration of the natural order in the Hittite myths of the disappearing deity, particularly focusing on the sentence *É-er tuḫḫuiš wišuriyatati* in the first version of the Myth of Telipinu (KUB 17.10 + Kbo 55.8

i 5'/16'). In the Appendix at the end of the paper, I provided a number of parallel passages found in other Hittite myths: in this short note, I would like to add two further passages which I omitted, with a brief commentary.

(1) KBo 26.127 obv. (CTH 322.2.A, MS)

3' [dTe-li-pí-nu-u]š ša-a-an-za^{Giš} [u-ut-ta-a-uš kam-ma-ra-a-aš e-ep-ta]
 4' [É-er túh-ḫ]u-iš e-ep-t[a iš-ta-na-ni-iš-ša-an DINGIR^{MEŠ}]
 5' [ú-e-šu-ri-y]a-an-da-ti¹ [I-NA¹ [GUNNI kal-mi-i-še-ni-iš ú-e-šu-ri-ya-an-da-ti]
 6' [I-NA TÜR-k]án an-da UDU^{HIA} KI.MIN I-NA É.GU₄-kán an-da GU₄^{HIA} KI.MIN]
 7' [UDU^{HIA}-za SILA₄^{HIA} *ŠU-NU Ū-UL* kap-p]u-wa-an-zi GU₄^{HIA}-ma-za AMAR^{HIA}-ŠU-NU]
 8' [Ū-UL kap-p]u-u-wa-an-[zi]

'[Telipin]u is angry. [The mist took the windows, the sm]oke too[k the house. On the altars, the deities are opp]ressed; in [the hearth, the logs are oppressed]; in [the sheepfold], the shee[p ditto; in the cowshed, the oxen ditto. The sheep] do not take [care] of their [lamb]s, [the oxen do not tak]e car[e of their calves].'

This fragment is currently listed under CTH 322, i.e. the myth of Telipinu and the daughter of the Sea, although its belonging to this composition is far from assured (cf. Polvani 1992: 447-448). My transliteration slightly diverges from the one on the Hethitologie Portal Mainz.¹⁾ All restorations should be regarded as tentative.

Line 3': traces of the first broken sign are compatible with UŠ, thus [dTe-li-pí-nu-u]š seems to be the best restoration, because this deity also appears in rev. 2'. Such a restoration also provides indicative information on the distance of the left edge of the tablet.

Lines 4'-5': I restore first the sentence concerning the deities and after that the one concerning the logs. The opposite order is also possible and attested,²⁾ although, to my knowledge, the altar never occurs with the Akkadian preposition *INA* in parallel passages.

Line 6': based on the photo,³⁾ the first broken sign is clearly KÁN, not TÜR as in the online edition on the Hethitologie Portal Mainz. For the particle in this context, cf. e.g. KUB 33.36 ii 7 (CTH 333.B, MS = Pisaniello 2020, no. 22) and other parallel passages.

Line 7': the plurals UDU^{HIA} and GU₄^{HIA} are required by the clitic possessive pronoun -ŠUNU and the verbal form in line 8', which should be restored as kap-p]u-u-wa-an-[zi] (the last sign probably was at the end of the line). In parallel passages, the two nouns only occur in the plural form in KUB 33.12 iv 7'-8' (CTH 324.3.C, NS = Pisaniello 2020, no. 3), in the section about the restoration of the natural order.

(2) KUB 33.43 (CTH 370.I.11.A, NS)

4' [E]GIR-pa aš-^rnu¹-x[...]
 5' *eras.* É-e[r² túh-ḫu-iš tar-na-aš...]
 6' *ḫa-an-ta-an*-t[a-at...]
 7' e-te-er iš-pí-e¹[-er e-ku-er ḫa-aš-ši-ik-ke-er...]
 8' UDU-uš QA-DU KI.MIN G[U₄...]

The fragment is listed under CTH 370, containing diverse mythological fragments, but I suggest that it should be moved to CTH 335 (Fragments of myths of disappearing and returning deities), because the mention of the house in line 5', the verb *ḫantantat* in line 6', and the phrase *eter išpiēr* 'they ate (and) were satisfied' in line 7' strongly recall the paragraph on the restoration of the natural order in the myths of the disappearing deity.

Line 8': the edition on the Hethitologie Portal Mainz⁴⁾ transliterates UDU.NITA, but I prefer UDU-uš. As far as I know, the sentence UDU-uš QA-DU KI.MIN is without parallels in the other versions of the myth. As mere speculation, I wonder if SILA₄¹-ŠÚ^t 'its lamb' was intended instead of QA-DU, based on the homophony between SILA₄ and SĪLA (= QA), because the expected sentence in this context would be 'the sheep recognised its lamb, the ox recognised its calf' (KI.MIN replacing here *ganišta*).⁵⁾

Notes

1. E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 322.2 (TX 2009-08-26, TRde 2009-08-26). See also Hutter-Braunsar 2011: 133 fn. 16.
2. Cf. e.g. KUB 33.17+ i 14-16 (CTH 330.1.A, NS = Pisaniello 2020, no. 19); KUB 33.40 iv 5-8 (CTH 335.7.2.A, NS = Pisaniello 2020, no. 31).
3. hethiter.net/: fotarch B0751b.

4. E. Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 370.I.11 (TX 2009-08-31).

5. Cf. e.g. KUB 17.10+ iv 24: UDU-uš SILA₄-ŠÚ pé-en-ni-iš-ta (probably corrupted from original *ga-ni-iš-ta*, as suggested in Pisaniello 2020: 374 fn. 6), KUB 33.29+ iv 20': UDU-uš SILA₄-ŠÚ KI.MIN, etc. (see the Appendix in Pisaniello 2020 for other parallel passages). The exact origin of the mistake is difficult to envisage: as a tentative hypothesis, we may perhaps assume that the scribe wrote QA-ZU under dictation in the model from which KUB 33.43 was copied, “corrected” to QA-DU in the latter. As an alternative solution, although unlikely in my opinion, one could explain DU as a phonetic complement indicating the Akkadian reading *puḫādu* ‘lamb’.

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46) Šuwašuna: Some Remarks on an Anatolian Theonym — The Hittite cuneiform tablets containing the name of the god Šuwašuna always show the determinative DINGIR and full phonetic writing (even though the rendering of the geminate consonants is not entirely consistent). The attested occurrences of Šuwašuna occur in rituals related to a Luwian religious context:¹⁾ ^dŠu-wa-šu-na, -an KBo 4.11 obv. 5, rev. 45 (CTH 772);²⁾ ^dŠu-wa-aš-šu-un-na-a[n KUB 55.65 iv 30 (CTH 772);³⁾ ^dŠu-wa-aš-šu-un-na-an KUB 32.123+ iv 34' (CTH 772);⁴⁾ ^dŠu-wa-^raš-šu¹-u[n-na-an KUB 60.30 iv 8 (CTH 670);⁵⁾ ^dŠu-wa-aš-š]u-un-na-an KUB 51.9 rev. 8 (CTH 771);⁶⁾ ^dŠu-wa-šu[- KBo 14.85 ii 4 (CTH 640)⁷⁾; and ^dZu-u[- KBo 34.246, 6 (CTH 771).⁸⁾

More specifically, Šuwašuna is one of the deities of the Festrival (KUB 55.65 rev. iv 1–37 // KUB 32.123+ rev. iv 22'–37') carried out in the city of Ištuwa, which generally provides information about the Luwian pantheon and, in particular, about the figure and cult of the local Sun-goddess.⁹⁾ According to Steitler (2017, 382-3): “The first sequence [of the ritual] follows offerings that are presented to the Storm-god and the Sungoddess of Ištuwa and consists of a combination of drinking rites and other ritual activities performed for Tarwalliya, Winiyanta, the ‘pure inner chamber’ (É.ŠÀ-^rda²¹-an ^ršu-up-p^r-i[n]), the temple(?) of the Stag-god (^dKAL É-ir), Šuwašunna, Yarri, Šiuri, Iyašallašši, Wandu, Wištašši, the Sun-god of the gatehouse and finally the Storm-god. The second sequence (in KUB 35.132+) is similar to the first, but varies in the order of deities: ŠA É [...], ^dKAL of the inner chamber, the Sun-god of the gatehouse, Šuwašunna, Yarri, [Šiuri], Iyašallašši, [Wandu] and the Storm-god of the steppe”.

Geographically speaking, the name of ^{URU}Ištuwa is derived from the theonym ^dIštu.¹⁰⁾ Notwithstanding the Hattian origin of these names, and according to the amount of Luwian evidence we have, Ištuwa could reasonably be a Luwian-speaking city of the Middle-Late Bronze Age. Indeed, Watkins referred to the bilingual passage of KBo 4.11 rev. 45-46 (Hitt.: EGIR-ŠU ^dŠu-wa-šu-na-an-an e-ku-zi / Luw.: aḫ-ḫa-ta-ta a-la-ti a-ú-i-en-ta ú-i-lu-ša-ti) to ascribe ^{URU}Ištuwa, ^dŠuwasuna, and ^{URU}Wiluša to the context of the North-West and to prove the relation between (the Sun-god) Apollo and (W)Ilion.¹¹⁾ However, at present, the city has not been identified on the basis of unequivocal evidence, so its geographical position, which would be crucial for a full contextual reconstruction of the cultural and sociolinguistic environment, remains unknown. Nevertheless, the lack of Hurrian influence in the local pantheon¹²⁾ might be a further clue for localization in the (north-)western part of Anatolia somewhere between Wiluša and Ḫattuša.¹³⁾ According to Mouton, even the possibility that those Luwian rituals were performed in Ištuwa or the capital Hattuša cannot be excluded.¹⁴⁾ In the light of the broader Luwian context surrounding the name of Šuwašuna and the textual evidence connected to it, and since the name does not match formally any Hattian lexical element, one may wonder whether the deity was originally

Anatolian. Since no additional information is available on this god from the textual evidence, it is interesting to turn to the linguistic analysis of its name to try and answer that question.

Laroche (1947, 88) firstly traced back the root *suwa-* to the Luwian language, but he did not provide a translation of the form. Instead, Watkins, when examining the very theonym under discussion, suggested reading Šuwašuna as a “form of the Indo-European word for ‘sun’ (cf. Gothic *sunno*) with intensive or expressive reduplication, or conceivably an ancient compound with Indo-European **syē-* ‘own’ (cf. Hittite ^DŠiu(š)-šummiš ‘(our) own (Sun-)God’, **d̥ieys=suwo/i-*.”¹⁵) However, Watkins’s comparison with ^dŠiušummi involved a reverse order which seems quite speculative: if indeed the clitic possessive were a Hittite innovation (Šiu-šummiš “god+our”), it should be demonstrated both that Luwian developed it (or borrowed it from Hittite), and that Luwian placed it before the noun (Šuwa-šun-a “own+Sun”). As for now, this theory appears unlikely.

The *communis opinio* in the literature suggests that *šūwa-ⁱ* was the Luwian verb “to fill, swell up” (Hittite *šuwa-^{(hi)ʔ}* or *šuyē/a-^{zi}* “to fill”),¹⁶ which can be traced back to Indo-European **sóyh₃-e₁* : **suh₃-é_{nti}¹⁷* and is also attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian.¹⁸ This interpretation proves to be rather interesting because the second term of the compound is, in all likelihood, the Luwian verb **šunna-i* (Palaic *šuna-*, Hittite *šunna-ⁱ*, from Indo-European **su-nó-h_{1/3}-e₁*/**su-n-h_{1/3}-é_{nti}*, “to make full, fill”),¹⁹ with causative *-n* suffix and attested both in cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian.

These verbs, *šuwa-* and *šunna-*, are partially overlapping in meaning and etymologically related,²⁰ and seem to be the best candidates to explain the theonym, especially since the semantic sphere is perfectly acceptable also in a context connected with divine offerings. As a combination of the two forms, the divine name would be analyzable as a sort of *figura etymologica*, at least from a broad, Indo-European perspective, if not in Anatolian or Luwian specifically.²¹ However, the linguistic reconstruction seems problematic in the synchronic panorama of Anatolian compounds. Although exocentric compounds formed by two verbal stems are typologically well-known and can be recognized in several languages, they are not currently attested in either Hittite or Luwian.²² Therefore, this reconstruction cannot be accepted as it is, and a more refined explanation is necessary.

For Šuwašuna to be convincingly analyzable as a compound name, it is necessary to propose a structural interpretation of the term as either a subordinate compound or as a coordinate compound contrary to the exocentric verb+verb form discussed above. The first step is, therefore, investigating whether one of the two elements of the name can be analyzed as something different from a verb.

According to the recent CHD Š/4, there is no attested occurrence for *šuwa* as a noun. However, a closer look at the available divine onomasticon points in a different direction. The element *šuwa-* evidently appears also in the following proper names: ^dŠuwa, ^dŠuwaliyat(ti), ^dŠuwala, ^dŠuwanzipa, and ^{URU}Šuwanzana²³. The first name²⁴ is, obviously, a primitive noun, which also occurs in the other forms, as outlined in the following list:

- Šuwaliyat(ti)²⁵ is a divinized form of an abstract noun with the suffix *-att-*, which Schwemer translates as “Fülle”;
- Šuwala²⁶ is a *nomen actoris* in *-ala-*. According to Schwemer, however, this may be a Hurrian deity whose name is not related to that of Šuwaliyat(ti), therefore it is uncertain whether it belongs in our equation;²⁷
- Šuwanzipa²⁸ displays a first element related to *šuwa* (maybe a noun inflected as an ancient *-n* genitive), which combined with the Luwian suffix *-šepa/zipa-* can be translated as “Spirit of the *šuwa*”;²⁹
- Šuwanzana is a morphologically obscure toponym that is likely to belong to this paradigmatic series, too.

In addition to these proper names, the Luwian common noun ^{DUG}*šuwattar*, referring to a storage jar, is also recorded, as well as the Palaic *šāwaya* “Becher”.³⁰ For this reason, and in view of the above, we can safely conclude that an Anatolian, possibly Luwian, substantive *šuwa* existed, even though it is not attested as such in the corpora. It was obviously related to the verb “to fill”, an explanation which is not only formally but also semantically convincing. From this observation, the following conclusions can be reached, on the theonomastic evidence listed above. ^dŠuwa was a divinized vessel. ^dŠuwala- was probably

a divinized profession related to the *realium*, while ^dŠuwaliatti- was formed from an abstract noun related to the semantic field of abundance. As for ^dŠuwanzipa, it can be interpreted as the genie of the *šuwa*. Finally, ^dŠuwašuna can be explained as a fully Anatolian compound theonym containing the substantive *šuwa* and the verbal element *šunmai-*, thus resulting in a subordinate exocentric structure such as “(s)he (who) fills the š.-vessel”.

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Notes

1. Particularly, the rituals of CTH 771, 772 refer to the cities of ^{URU}Lallupiya (RGTC 6, 242; 6/2, 92) and ^{URU}Ištanuwa (RGTC 6, 152; 6/2, 56), and since most of these texts involve Luwian singing, the corpus is often named as “the Songs” or “the Festivals” of Lallupiya-Ištanuwa. See Starke 1985, 294-353; Hutter 2003, 239-243; Mouton 2016, 119.
2. Starke 1985, 339-341; Yoshida 1996, 252.
3. Starke 1985, 314.
4. Starke 1985, 314 n. 93.
5. Groddek 2006, 30.
6. Starke 1985, 351; id. 1990, 605.
7. Mouton 2016, 122.
8. Yoshida 1996, 253-4.
9. See Starke 1985, 294-353; Haas 1994, 582-3; Yoshida 1996, 251-3; Hutter 2003, 239-243; Steitler 2017, 382.
10. Watkins 1987, 148; Haas 1994, 582.
11. Watkins 1987, 424-6; id. 1995, 149.
12. With the exception of the deity *hurlaš dInar* in KUB 35.135 IV 16’, see Starke 1985, 322 and Yakubovich 2008, 22.
13. See Haas 1994, 582; Yakubovich 2008, 22; Giusfredi 2020, 20.
14. Mouton 2016, 130.
15. Watkins 1995, 148-9. See also Watkins 1987, 426; Kloekhorst 2008, 782-3; HEG S/2, 1109-1113; CHD Š/4, 509-517a.
16. Carruba 1970, 71; Melchert 1993, 198; Starke 1990, 439, 465; Kloekhorst 2008, 797; Sasseville 2020, 434; HEG S/2, 1216-1220; CHD Š/4, 530a-539b.
17. Sasseville 2020, 434. See also Kloekhorst 2008, 797.
18. Starke 1990, 466 with nn. 1699-1701.
19. See HEG S/2, 1219; Carruba 1970, 70; Kloekhorst 2008, 785; and Starke 1990, 521-2 with n. 1927: “füllen”, where he also reported the similar *šunn(a)ji-* “umkehren, umstürzen”.
20. HEG S/2, 1217, 1219; CHD Š/4, 539.
21. For instance, KBo 42.6 obv. 9: *wepuš wepta*, see Kloekhorst 2008, 1001, and above all KUB 35.165 rev. 22’: *ša-a-wa-ya-ya šu-ú-na-at*, see Carruba 1970, 19.
22. Cotticelli 2020, 67-69 with literature.
23. RGTC 6, 371; RGTC 6/2, 150.
24. Van Gessel 1998, 417-419.
25. Van Gessel 1998, 421; Schwemer 2011, 251.
26. Van Gessel 1998, 419-421.
27. Schwemer 2011, 251, see also CHD Š/4, 542.
28. Van Gessel 1998, 421.
29. Laroche (1947, 88) interpreted ^dŠuwanzipa as “Spirit of (the city of) Šuwanzana”, a suggestion which now seems unlikely.
30. HEG S/2, 1220; CHD Š/4, 547; Carruba 1970, 69.

Abbreviations

CHD	The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 1980ff.
CTH	E. LAROCHE, Catalogue des textes hittites, Paris 1971.
CLL	H. MELCHERT, Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon, Chapel Hill 1993.
CollAn	Colloquium Anatolicum, Istanbul.
DBH	Dresden Beiträge zur Hethitologie, Dresden – Wiesbaden.
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden.
HEG	J. TISCHLER, Hethititsches Etymologisches Glossar, Innsbruck 1977ff.
Hethitica	Hethitica, Louvain-la-Neuve 1972ff.
IEED	Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, Leiden.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Leipzig 1916-1923, Berlin 1954ff.

- KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Berlin 1921ff.
 RGTC 6 G.F. DEL MONTE–J. TISCHLER, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, Wiesbaden 1978.
 RGTC 6/2 G.F. DEL MONTE, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement, Wiesbaden 1992.
 RHA Revue hittite et asianique, Paris 1930-1978.
 StBoT Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Wiesbaden.
 THeth Texte der Hethiter, Heidelberg.
 ZVS Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen.

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47) Der assyrische Raub des *Enūma eliš* und weitere Überlegungen zur Textdatierung — In der Forschung zum *Enūma eliš* hat sich die Datierung von Wilfred G. Lambert (1964; 1984; 2013, 439–444) durchgesetzt. Demnach wurde das Werk unter dem babylonischen König Nebukadnezar I. am Ende des 12. Jh. v. Chr. im Umfeld der Rückführung einer Marduk-Statue aus Elam komponiert. Andere Forscher*innen haben (teils deutlich) frühere Zeitpunkte für die Komposition in Erwägung gezogen (bspw. von Soden 1933, 128f.; Jacobsen 1968, 107; Sommerfeld 1982, 175; Dalley 1997, 168f.). Im Folgenden möchte ich vor allem Lamberts These in den Mittelpunkt stellen und ihr eigene Überlegungen an die Seite stellen, die sich aufgrund meiner Forschung zum *Enūma eliš* ergeben haben.

Hierbei geht es zum einen um das mögliche Verhältnis zwischen der Rückführung des Götterbildes, deren Huldigung und der Werkentstehung (a). Zum anderen erlauben Befunde zum Selbstverständnis des Werkes und der raumzeitlichen Verteilung seiner Manuskripte die Skizzierung eines weiteren konkreten historischen Ereignisses, das für die Datierung bedeutsam sein kann (b). Anhand dieser Beobachtungen versuche ich abschließend, mögliche Zeitfenster für die Komposition des *Enūma eliš* zu skizzieren (c).

In dieser Notiz gehe ich von der Grundthese aus, dass das *Enūma eliš* in einem Guss komponiert wurde. Dies legen m.E. der Aufbau und die interne Verflechtung des Werkes nahe (vgl. Gabriel 2014).

a) Statuenrückführung und literarische Produktion

Lambert verortet die Entstehung des *Enūma eliš* etwas vage in einer „direkten Beziehung“ (“direct relationship”; 1964, 10) zwischen der Rückführung der Marduk-Statue und der Komposition des Textes.

Wenn ich seine Argumentation an dieser Stelle und in seinen jüngeren Publikationen richtig verstehe, geht es ihm nicht um eine direkte kausale Relation, sondern um ein allgemeines religiöses Umfeld, in dem beide Ereignisse verankert sind (anders Dalley 1997, 167). In der Tat kann man ausschließen, dass das *Enūma eliš* als Reaktion auf die Statuenrückführung verfasst wurde, da jegliche Hinweise auf dieses Ereignis im Werk fehlen. Dies lässt sich an einer grundlegenden Beobachtung zum Inhalt des Epos aufzeigen: Nie kehrt Marduk nach Babylon zurück. Er zieht zwar aus, um Tiāmtu zu besiegen. Die Götter errichten die Stadt Babylon für ihren neuen König jedoch erst nach dessen Sieg und Inthronisation. Ein Epos, das anlässlich der Rückführung der Statue verfasst worden wäre, würde vermutlich einen anderen Plot wählen. Dies korreliert mit dem Befund, dass sich im *Enūma eliš* zwar keine Hinweise auf die Zeit Nebukadnezar I. finden lassen, dieser König sich aber in seinen Inschriften (und Epen) auf die im *Enūma eliš* dargelegten Vorstellungen zu beziehen scheint (bspw. Lambert 2013, 271–273).

In umgekehrter Richtung kann das Epos den Boden bereitet haben, warum die Statuenrückführung unter Nebukadnezar I. so gefeiert wurde. Die Existenz des *Enūma eliš* hätte dann eine Wiedergewinnung des Götterbildes besonders bedeutsam gemacht. Die von Marduk im Epos gestiftete Weltordnung – die *Pax Mardukiana* – läuft räumlich in Babylon zusammen und besitzt in Marduk ihr Fundament und ihren funktionalen Mittelpunkt (vgl. bspw. Gabriel 2014, 372–374). Insofern ist nach der Logik des *Enūma eliš* die Präsenz Marduks in Babylon von größter Bedeutsamkeit für die Stabilität des Kosmos.

Auch wenn die entführte Statue vermutlich bereits durch eine neue ersetzt worden war, so bedeutet die Rückführung der geraubten eine Vertiefung der Anwesenheit Marduks in Babylon. Vor diesem Hintergrund liegt es daher durchaus nahe, dass Nebukadnezar I. die aus dem Epos entspringende Dringlichkeit aufgegriffen hat. Er bringt die Statue aus Elam zurück, verstärkt damit Marduks Präsenz in Babylon und feiert dies dementsprechend als großes Ereignis.

Mit Dalley (1997) kann man an dieser Stelle einwerfen, dass der Raub und die Rückführung von Marduk-Statuen in der babylonischen Geschichte durchaus häufige Ereignisse darstellten. Dieses Argument kann man nun jedoch auch zur Stärkung der oben dargelegten Sichtweise verwenden. So würde die bereits vorhandene Existenz des *Enūma eliš* erklären, warum die Rückkehr der Marduk-Statue unter Nebukadnezar I. so anders als die früheren ist und daher eine bislang ungekannte zeitgenössische Aufmerksamkeit erfahren hat. Die Vielfalt der Quellen, die auf dieses Ereignis verweisen, wäre daher nicht auf reinen Fundzufall zurückzuführen (so *ibid.*, 166), sondern das Ergebnis der durch das Epos veränderten Wahrnehmung der Statuenrückführung.

b) Der Raub der Assyrer

Ausgangspunkt sind an dieser Stelle zwei zunächst scheinbar widerstreitende Befunde. Auf der einen Seite zeigt sich, dass die bislang ältesten bekannten Manuskripte des *Enūma eliš* aus der Stadt Assur stammen (ab ca. 1000 v. Chr., Angabe Maul in George 2005/2006, 87 Anm. 15). Von hier aus lässt sich eine Ausbreitung nachzeichnen, die zunächst in Assyrien zu beobachten ist und frühestens am Ende des 8. Jh. v. Chr. Babylonien erreicht (Gabriel 2014, 69). Der Fund- und Überlieferungszufall spielt hier sicherlich eine Rolle, jedoch spricht die Summe von 184 Tontafel(fragmente)n für eine gewisse Belastbarkeit dieser raumzeitlichen Distribution. Auf der anderen Seite stilisiert sich das Epos im Epilog als ein Geheimwissentext, der nur innerhalb der Marduk-Priesterschaft in Babylon tradiert werden darf (*ibid.*, 100f.). Dies führt zu der Frage, wie ein solcher dezidiert babylonischer und esoterischer Text nach Assur gelangen und sich von dort ausbreiten konnte. Für diese Frage gibt es zwei mögliche Antworten: die Eroberung von Babylon durch Tukulti-Ninurta I. (ca. 1200 v. Chr.) und die durch Tiglat-Pileser I. (ca. 1100 v. Chr.).

Tukulti-Ninurta I. beschreibt in seinem Epos ein Ereignis, das zu dem oben skizzierten Befund zu den Manuskripten des *Enūma eliš* passen würde. Demnach ließ er Kriegsgefangene (darunter vermutlich auch religiöse Experten) sowie explizit jegliche Tontafeln mythischen, rituellen und allgemein gelehrten Inhalts aus Babylonien wegbringen (vi B 2'–11'; Machinist 1978, 128). Letztere Behauptung lässt sich anhand von Tafeln alt- und mittelbabylonischer Paläographie, die in Assur gefunden wurden, als historisch wahrscheinlich charakterisieren (*ibid.* 367).

Der mittelassyrische Verwaltungstext MARV VIII 7 berichtet nicht davon, dass Tukulti-Ninurta I. in Babylon „Beute“ ([š]allutu) empfängt (so Freydank/Feller 2007, 28). Vielmehr wird hier die Versorgung von „Weggeführten“

(=Gefangenen) (*[š]allatu*) beschrieben (Jakob 2019, 109). Bei ihnen kann es sich um Unterstützer des abgesetzten Kadašman-Ḫarbe II. gehandelt haben (*ibid.*).

Eine Eroberung Babylons ist jedoch auch durch Tiglat-Pileser I. unmittelbar nach der Herrschaft von Nebukadnezar I. bezeugt (vgl. Inschriften A.0.87.4, 10 und 17 in RIMA 2). Auch wenn er nur allgemein von der Plünderung Babylons berichtet, besaß jedoch auch er ein gesteigertes Interesse an Keilschriftzeugnissen (RIMA 2, 5). Daher sind manche der babylonischen Tafeln in Assur möglicherweise auch auf diesen König zurückzuführen (Machinist 1978, 368).

Hieraus ergeben sich zwei Szenarien, die den assyrischen Raub des *Enūma eliš* leicht variiert darstellen. Entweder war Tukulti-Ninurta I. für die Überführung der babylonischen Tontafeln und/oder der entsprechend unterrichteten Priester verantwortlich, oder dies geschah unter Tiglat-Pileser I. Welcher Herrscher auch ursächlich gewesen sein mag, das Ergebnis ist dasselbe: Das Wissen über den ursprünglich esoterischen Text des *Enūma eliš* gelangte in assyrischen Besitz. Hier wurde das Werk nun von Personen kopiert und studiert, die keine Marduk-Priester waren und daher ganz anders mit dem Werk verfahren konnten. Während in Babylonien die Komposition vermutlich weiterhin nur innerhalb der Marduk-Priesterschaft zirkulierte, waren dem assyrischen Umgang keine derartigen Grenzen gesetzt. So konnte sich das *Enūma eliš* in Assyrien anders als in Babylonien ausbreiten. Vermutlich war es dann der gestiegene assyrische Einfluss um 700 v. Chr., der diese Öffnung des Zugangs zum Text auch in Babylonien etablierte.

Mit Blick auf die mögliche Datierung würde eine Zuschreibung der assyrischen Aneignung des *Enūma eliš* wichtige Konsequenzen haben. Geht man von Tukulti-Ninurta I. aus – und hier liegen bislang die besseren schriftlichen Hinweise vor –, so muss das Werk mindestens 100 Jahre vor Nebukadnezar I. verfasst worden sein. Im Falle von Tiglat-Pileser I. ließe sich eine unmittelbare Abfolge zwischen der Komposition unter Nebukadnezar I. und dem assyrischen Raub des Werkes herstellen. Hier hätte sich Lamberts These dann bewährt.

c) Versuch einer Synthese

Nimmt man die in a) und b) dargelegten Überlegungen zusammen, ergeben sich mögliche Zeitfenster für die Entstehung des *Enūma eliš*. Auf der einen Seite deutet die Huldigung der Wiedergewinnung der durch die Elamer entführten Marduk-Statue unter Nebukadnezar I. an, dass das *Enūma eliš* zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits existierte. Das Fehlen einer vergleichbaren Textproduktion bei früheren Statuenrückführungen kann man zum einen gut auf den Überlieferungszufall zurückführen, da für manche früheren Zeitabschnitte kaum Schriftzeugnisse bekannt sind. Zum anderen könnten frühere Momente, zu denen geraubte Marduk-Statuen nach Babylon zurückgelangten, auch als *terminus post quem* verstanden werden. Dass sie nicht in vergleichbarer Form gefeiert wurden, würde dann daran liegen, dass die vom *Enūma eliš* transportierte Weltsicht noch nicht vorlag. Das Ereignis hatte schlicht noch nicht die herausragende, kosmische Bedeutung wie nach der Verfassung des Werkes.

Die Kandidaten für einen solchen potentiellen *terminus post quem* kann man bspw. Dalley (1997, 165f.) oder Schaudig (2019, 61–69) entnehmen. Hierzu gehören die kurz vor Nebukadnezar I. erfolgte Rückgabe einer Statue durch die Assyrer (ca. 1143 v. Chr.) und die Wiedergewinnung des durch die Hethiter entwendeten Götterbildes (nach 1125 v. Chr.).

Der assyrische Raub des Textes durch die Tontafeln und/oder die Mitglieder der Marduk-Priesterschaft markiert einen möglichen *terminus ante quem*. Entweder existierte das Werk bereits zur Zeit von Tukulti-Ninurta I., oder seine Präsenz in Assur lässt sich auf Tiglat-Pileser I. zurückführen.

Meine Beobachtungen erlauben keine Entscheidung für eines der skizzierten Szenarien. Sie dienen vielmehr dazu, Pflöcke der Möglichkeit einzuschlagen und zugleich weitere Such- und Sichtachsen aufzuzeigen. Schlussendlich hoffe ich, mit dieser kleinen Notiz Anregungen für die weitergehende Erforschung der Datierung des *Enūma eliš* beisteuern zu können.

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48) KU.KU = *supantu*, *supandu* — The logogram KU.KU (Sumerian reading /heḫe/ vel sim.) occurs with various types of materials (plants, wood, stone, metal) and should probably be interpreted as “powder” or “shavings” (Borger 2010: 425, no. 808, with further references). Its Akkadian reading as ‘*subandu*’ has been noted in first-millennium bilingual texts (Geller 2016: 487, 492, Udug-ḫul 13–15, lines 214’ and 242’, reading *su-ban-du*, *su-ban-ta*) and in first-millennium commentaries (Frazer 2013–2021, obv. 20 with note 21, reading *su-ban-du*). The term appears most frequently in medical and ritual texts, which, however, consistently employ the logographic writing. It is therefore worth drawing attention to KUB 37.137, a small 13th-century fragment of a Babylonian therapeutic ritual to be performed before Šamaš. In lines 7’–9’, the fragmentary ritual instructions prescribe the use of various types of wood (photo coll.): (7’) [...] *sú-pa-an-ti ta-as-k[a-ri-in-ni...]* (8’) [...] *ú-ši-i e-la-am-ma-[ak-ki...]* (9’) [...] ‘*e-re-ni šu-ur-mé-ni*’ [...]. Even though no exact first-millennium duplicate of this passage is known, there can be no doubt that the phonetic spelling *sú-pa-an-ti* here corresponds to the logogram KU.KU in comparable contexts in other medical and ritual texts. The spelling in KUB 37.137, a text that shows, as far as preserved, no irregularities in the writing of voiced and voiceless consonants, may suggest that the noun *supantu*, *supandu* should be interpreted as a *purāst* formation of **spn* “to flatten, to level, to smooth”. In any case, the voicing of the stem-final *t* seems to be a secondary development. It is very likely that the rare NB and LB noun *supandu*, which is attested as a (by-)product in the context of metalworking (silver), represents the same word. CAD S 391b (cf. *AHW* 1053a) quotes two attestations (Nbn. 159: 7: *su-pan-du*; unpubl. BM 76711: 6: *su-pa-an-du*), to which contextually similar BM 64023 (unpubl., Bertin 1891: *su-pa-an-du*) should be added (comm. Michael Jursa, email 21.iii.2021).

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49) Astral Medicine: BM 42637 (1881-7-1, 298), Another Calendar Text with the Wood–Plant–Stone-Scheme from Sippar — The term calendar text (*Kalendertext*) was introduced by Weidner 1967: 41-52 for two Seleucid tablets from Uruk (VAT 7815 and 1716). These texts associate each day of a month (expressed with a four-digit system for month–day–zodiacal sign–micro-zodiacal sign) with one or two trees, or rather their woods, one to three plants, one or two stones, and the names of cultic places or cities followed by instructions for behaviour similar to the ones in hemerologies. It is obvious that originally 12 tablets, or 13 if an intercalary month was included, were composed in a series, since each tablet refers to the days of one month only. More Late Babylonian calendar texts from various Babylonian sites (Uruk, Babylon, Sippar) have since been published with various ways of expressing the exact time, some of them neglecting the micro-zodiac, others even the zodiac altogether (see also Wee 2016, Steele 2017). The calendar texts associate the dates with various entities, e.g., cultic sites, animal parts, body parts, spells against diseases, diseases and medical ingredients. The largest group associates the dates with the three medical ingredients “wood, plant and stone”, often completed with instructions for their use (see, e.g., Heeßel 2005, Steele 2017 and the publications cited below). These texts may begin with any of the three elements but always in such a way that plant follows wood, stone follows plant and wood follows stone:

- wood–plant–stone, e.g., Uruk: VAT 7815 (Weidner 1967: 41-52 esp. 45-48); VAT. 7816 (Weidner 1967: 41-52 esp. 41-45); VAT 7847+AO 6448 (Weidner 1967: 15-34); W. 20030/127 (van Dijk 1980 no. 79); Babylon: BM 33535 (Hunger 2007); Babylonia: LBAT 1580 (BM 34572, see Weidner 1967: 34-38),
- plant–stone–wood, e.g., Babylon: LBAT 1621 (BM 34913; see Reiner 1995: 131-32); BM 34035 II. 38 (Livingstone 1986: 73-74),
- stone–wood–plant, e.g., Sippar: BM 76483 (Heeßel 2005; Scurlock–Al-Rawi 2006) // Uruk: SpTU II 49 obverse (Heeßel 2005) // Sippar: BM 77971 (only partly, Heeßel 2005: 4-6); Sippar: BM 56605 rev. right col. (Heeßel 2000: 112-130).

While the designation “calendar text” refers to the first element of these texts, i.e. the dates, another designation focusses on the medical associations in most of these texts, and describes them as “medical astrology” or “medizinische Astrologie”, “astrological medicine”, “astral medicine”, “astral-medical text” or “astro-medicine”.

One more tablet using the wood–plant–stone scheme can be added to this list: BM 42637 (1881-7-1, 398), a small fragmentary Late Babylonian tablet that uses the zodiacal signs to denote the time and neglects the months and days. Instead of writing MAŠ.TAB.BA-GAL.GAL or MAŠ.MAŠ for Gemini, this text writes MUL.SIPA.AN.NA, the <True> Shephard of Anu, Orion. The earliest attestation for the zodiac dates back to 419 BCE (VAT 4924, see van der Waerden 1952: 220) and from then on zodiacal signs began to replace the months in astronomical texts. Thus, the late fifth century or around 400 BCE can be given as *terminus post quem* for the composition of this text. There is no overlap with any of the other wood–plant–stone texts. The Middle East Department registers of the British Museum give Abu Habbah as the place of origin (CBTBM 4-5: 506). The tablet has been written in landscape format. Judging from the curved shape of the fragment about two-thirds of the width of the tablet is preserved and most of its height. The first sign of each entry, the sign DIŠ, is written almost on the left edge. The measurements are 64⁺ × 49⁺ × 27⁽⁺⁾ cm. I publish the tablet BM 42637 by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Transliteration

obv.		corresponding months
1	[D]IŠ MUL.LU ² [...	I BĀR
2	DIŠ MUL.MUL ṚGIŠ ¹ .KÍ[N ² ...]	II GU ₄
3	ṚDIŠ MUL ¹ .SIPA.AN.NA GIŠ.MA.ṚNU ¹ Ú.x[...]	III SIG ₄
4	[DIŠ] ṚMUL ¹ .LUL GIŠ.ŠINIG Ú.SIKIL u N[A ₄ ...]	IV ŠU
5	[DIŠ M]UL.UR.GU.LA GIŠ.MA.N[U(.)]x.ṚA/ZA ¹ [x] ṚZU ¹ [...]	V NE
5a	Ṛu ¹ [N]A ₄ .ṚDUH ² .[ŠL.A]	
6	[DIŠ MUL].ṚAB.SÍN ¹ GIŠ.N[U ² .UR ² .MA ² ...]	VI KIN
7	[DIŠ MUL.GIŠ.RÍN].R[ÍN...]	VII DU ₆

lower edge is broken off

rev.		
1	[𒍪 MUL.GÍR.TAB...	VIII APIN
2	[𒍪] 𒍪MUL.PA ¹ .B[IL.SAG...	IX GAN
3	[𒍪 M]UL.SUḪUR.MÁŠ G[IS̄...	X AB
4	[] 𒍪 ¹ .A.RI.A N[A ₄ ...	
5	[𒍪 MUL.G]U.LA GIŠ.ER[EN ² Ú...	XI ZÍZ
6	[] N[A ₄ ² .𒍪IGI ² .Z[AG ₈ ²]	
7	[𒍪 MUL.KUN.MEŠ...	XII ŠE
	(remainder – about 1 or 2 lines – is missing)	

Translation

obv.		corresponding months
1	[𒍪] The Hireling (Aries): [...]	I BÁR
2	[𒍪] The Pleiades (Taurus): <i>kiška[nú²]</i> -wood, [...]	II GU ₄
3	[𒍪] The <True> Shepherd of Anu (Orion / Gemini): <i>ēru</i> -wood [...]	III SIG ₄
4	[𒍪] The Crab (Cancer): tamarisk, <i>sikillu</i> -plant and [...]-s[tone].	IV ŠU
5	[𒍪] The Lion (Leo): MA.N[U.]...-wood, ...[...]	V NE
5a	and qu[ar ² -st]one.	
6	[𒍪 The] Furrow (Virgo): po[megranate ² -wood, ...]	VI KIN
7	[𒍪 The] S[c]al[es ² (Libra):...]	VII DU ₆
	lower edge is broken off	

rev.		
1	[𒍪 The Scorpion (Scorpio):...]	VIII APIN
2	[𒍪] Pabi[ilsag (Sagittarius):...]	IX GAN
3	[𒍪 T]he Goat-fish (Capricorn): [...]-wo[od,]	X AB
4	[] <i>maštaka</i> l-[p]lant and [...]-sto[ne].	
5	[𒍪 The Gr]eat One (Aquarius): ced[ar ²]-wo[od, ...]-plant]	XI ZÍZ
6	[] <i>egiz</i> [aggú ² -st]one.	
7	[𒍪 The Tails (Pisces):...]	XII ŠE
	(remainder – about 1 or 2 lines – is missing)	

Comments

obv. 3: The <True>Shepherd-of-Anu (SIPA.ZI.AN.NA, SIPA.AN.NA), Orion, is not the typical constellation for Gemini, which would be the Great-Twins (MAŠ.TAB.BA-GAL.GAL) or the Twins (MAŠ.MAŠ). Orion is also used for Gemini in some of the *Kalendertexte*, e.g., in BM 47494 (Hunger 2004), a tablet written during the reign of one of the Achaemenid kings named Artaxerxes. This tablet associates the zodiacal signs with cities and with entities known from the protases and apodoses of omens and ends with a selection of celestial omens. Orion is also named in SpTU III 104 and 105 that both associate the date with animal parts for ointments (Steele 2017: 77). According to MUL.APIN I ii 40, both the constellation the Great-Twins and the True-Shepherd-of-Anu, become visible on day 10 of the month *simānu* (III) (Hunger-Pingree 1989: 41, Hunger–Steele 2019: 47).

obv. 4: GIŠ.ŠÚ.NAGA is the typical Late Babylonian writing of GIŠ.ŠINIG (GIŠ.GAD.NAGA).

obv. 5: GIŠ.MA.NU has already been named in obv. 2 for Taurus. The next signs seem to belong to this tree, since there is not enough room to write Ú in the small break. The plant name might, however, not have required a Ú determinative. The traces do not match any of the known logograms beginning with GIŠ.MA.NU, GIŠ.MA.NU.TUR.TUR, *martú*-tree, and GIŠ.MA.NU.SIG₇.SIG₇, *murrānu*-tree.

rev. 4: BRM IV 32 (MLC 1863) 5 explains: A.RI.A NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.LU: Ú.*maš-ta-kal*: áš-šú Ú.A.RI.A: Ú.*maš-ta-kal* šá-niš A.RI.A: *ri-ḫu-tú* “human semen (means) *maštakkal*-plant, because A.RI.A-plant (is) *maštakkal*-plant; alternatively A.RI.A (means) semen”, see Thompson 1924: 452-53.

BM 42637

obverse



BM 42637

reverse



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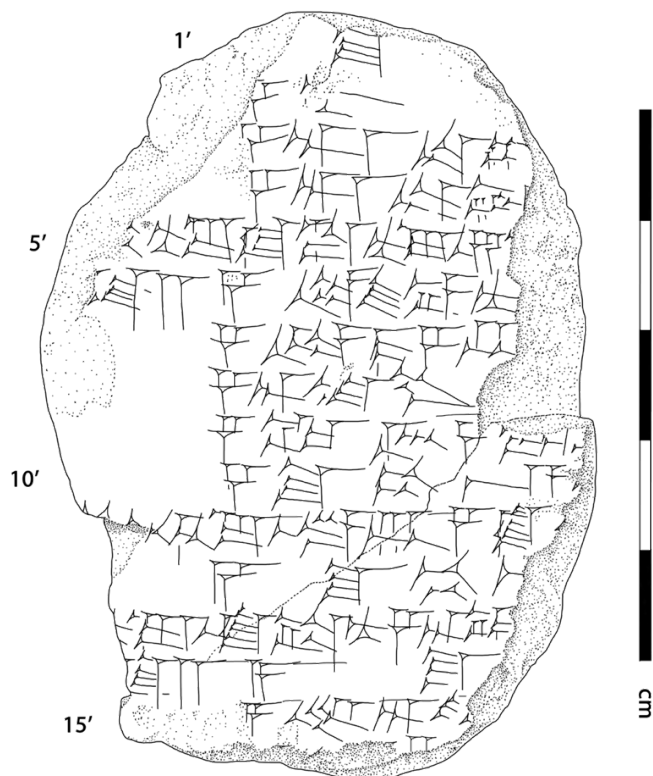
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50) BM 45917, physiognomic omens from the tablet DIŠ ŠE (*šumma kittabru*) ll. 13-28 — The physiognomic omen series *alamdimmû* devotes separate tablets to various marks on the skin, such as birthmarks, moles, warts or even dermal cancer, under a chapter entitled *šumma liptu*. The last two tablets of this chapter interpret the mark called ŠE, *kittabru*, on men and on women individually. In her edition of the physiognomic omen series, Barbara Böck, *Die Babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie* (AfO Beiheft 27, 2000) collected thirteen sources for DIŠ ŠE for a man (pp. 212-229) and two for a woman (pp. 230-233). More sources for DIŠ ŠE for a man were added by Eric Schmidtchen in S. V. Panayotov and L. Vacín (eds) *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic* (FS Geller, 2018, 469-99: BM 72564 (= ll. 123-131); K. 7189 (= ll. 79-92) joined to K. 12550; K.16870 (= ll. 8-14) joined to K. 4039+), and myself (*NABU* 2019/2, 82-83 no. 50: BM 48049 (= ll. 46-58)). One more Late Babylonian fragment from Babylon, with a ductus that clearly differs from the one on BM 48049, can now be added: BM 45917 (1881-07-06, 352). It contains ll. 13-28 and I publish it here by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

BM 45917



The text sources for the following transliteration are:

- A K. 8730+; TBP 44; siglum according to Böck, *Morphoskopie*, 212.
D K. 7178+; CT 28 pl. 12; siglum according to Böck, *Morphoskopie*, 212.
Y BM 45917, 1881-07-06, 352; for the hand copy see the figure.
- 13 A obv. 10 DIŠ ŠE *ina* SAG.KI^{II}-šú lu šá 15 lu šá 150 GAR ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM
Y 1' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* SAG.KI^{II}-šú GAR] ŠU.
If a *kittabru* is set at his temples, either right or left, ditto.
- 14 A obv. 11 DIŠ ŠE *ina* ku-tál GÚ-šú GAR NU KALAG
Y 2' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* ku-tál GÚ-šú G]AR ʾNUʾ [
If a *kittabru* is set at the back of his neck, he will not be strong.
- 15 A obv. 12 DIŠ ŠE *ina* SUR-šú 15 GAR DINGIR *ana* NA ARḪUŠ TUK-šī
Y 3' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* SUR-šú 15] GAR DINGIR *ana* NA ARḪU[Š
If a *kittabru* is set at his right *hairline* (?), the god will have mercy with the man.
- 16 A obv. 13 DIŠ ŠE *ina* SUR-šú 150 GAR DINGIR *ana* NA ARḪUŠ NU TU[K-š]i
Y 4' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* SUR-šú 150] GAR DINGIR *ana* NA ARḪU[Š
If a *kittabru* is set at his left *hairline* (?), the god will not ha[v]e mercy with the man.
- 17 A obv. 14 DIŠ ŠE *ina* GEŠTUG-šú šá 15 lu *qer-bi-nu* lu *ki-da-nu* šá 15 lu šá 150 GAR KA [x] DÙG.GA
Y 5' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* GEŠTUG-šú šá 15 lu *qer-b*]i-nu lu *ki-da-nu* lu 15 l[u
If a *kittabru* is set at his ear, the right one, either inside or outside, either right or left,... will be sweet.
- 18 A obv. 15 DIŠ ŠE *ina* KI.MIN šá 150 GAR GIG *dan-nu* DIB-su
D obv. 1' [G]IIG
Y 6' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* K]I.MIN GAR GIG *dan-nu* [
If a *kittabru* is set at ditto, the left one, a serious disease will seize him.
- 19 A obv. 16 DIŠ ŠE *ina* TE 15-šú GAR SIG₅ *pa-šá-ḫa* IGI-mar
D obv. 2' DIŠ ŠE *ina* T]E ʾ15-šú GARʾ SIG₅ p[a-
Y 7' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* TE 15-šú] GAR SIG₅ *pa-šá-ḫu* [
If a *kittabru* is set at his right cheek, it is positive, he will be at peace (lit. experience rest).
- 20 A obv. 17 DIŠ ŠE *ina* TE 150-šú GAR DINGIR TE NA ŠIG-aš
D obv. 3' [DIŠ] ʾŠE *ina* TEʾ 150-šú GAR DINGIR T]E
Y 8' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* TE 150-šú] GAR DINGIR TE LÚ [
If a *kittabru* is set at his left cheek, the god will slap the man's cheek.
- 21 A obv. 18 DIŠ ŠE *ina* SIG₇ IGI^{II} 15-šú GAR SAG.MEŠ-šú *i-šap-pi-la*
D obv. 4' [DIŠ] ŠE *ina* SIG₇ IGI^{II} 15-šú GAR SAG.M]EŠ-
Y 9' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* SIG₇ IGI^{II} 15-šú] GAR SAG.MEŠ-ʾšá iʾ-š[ap-
If a *kittabru* is set at his right eyebrow, he will be humbled (lit. his head will be lowered).
- 22 A obv. 19 DIŠ ŠE *ina* SIG₇ IGI^{II} 150-šú GAR Š[U.B]I.AŠ.ÀM
D obv. 5' [D]IŠ ŠE *ina* SIG₇ IGI ʾ150-šú GAR ŠU.
Y 10' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* SIG₇ IGI^{II} 150-šú] GAR ŠU.BI.AŠ.À[M]
If a *kittabru* is set at his left eyebrow, ditto.
- 23 A obv. 20 DIŠ ŠE *ina* UB IGI 15-šú lu *ina* qú-lip-ti lu *ina* kib-ri GAR KI.ḪUL IGI-mar
D obv. 6' [DIŠ] ŠE *ina* UB IGI^{sic!} 15-šú lu i[na š]ú-lip-ti lu *ina* kib-r[i
Y 11' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* UB IGI 15-šú lu *ina* qú-l]ip-ti lu *ina* kib-ri GAR KI.Ḫ[UL
If a *kittabru* is set at the corner of the eye, his right one, either at the *qulepti* or at the rim, he will see mourning rites.
- 24 A obv. 21 DIŠ ŠE *ina* KI.MIN-ma 150 GAR ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM
D obv. 7' [DIŠ] ŠE *ina* KI.MIN 150-šú GAR ŠU.B]I.AŠ.ÀM
Y 12' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* KI.MIN-ma 150-šú] GAR ŠU.BI.AŠ.À[M]
If a *kittabru* is set at ditto, his left one, ditto.
- 25 A obv. 22 DIŠ ŠE *ina* PA IGI 15 lu AN.TA lu KI.TA GAR AN.DUL₇ DINGIR UG[U N]A GÁL
D obv. 8' [DIŠ ŠE *ina*] PA IGI 15-šú lu AN.TA-[n]u lu KI.TA-nu GAR DIN[GIR] [
Y 13' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* PA IGI 15-šú lu AN.TA-n]u lu *ina* KI.TA-nu GAR AN.DUL₇ [
If a *kittabru* is set at the eyelid, his right one, either above or below, the protection of a god will be o[n the m]an.

26 A obv. 23	DIŠ ŠE <i>ina</i> KI.MIN- <i>ma</i> 150	GAR [Š]U.BI.AŠ.ÀM
D obv. 9'	[DIŠ ŠE <i>i</i>]na KI.MIN [1]50-šú	GAR Š[U.
Y 14'	[DIŠ ŠE <i>ina</i> K]I.MIN<- <i>ma</i> 150-šú>	GAR ŠU.[BI.AŠ.ÀM
If a <i>kittabru</i> is set at ditto, his left one, ditto.		
27 A obv. 24	DIŠ ŠE <i>ina</i> SAG.DU KIR ₄ -šú	GAR IM DINGIR DÙG.GA <i>ana</i> NA <i>i-za-aq</i>
D obv. 10'	[DIŠ ŠE <i>i</i>]na SAG.DU KI[R ₄]- [†] šú [†]	GAR [
Y 15'	[DIŠ ŠE <i>ina</i> SAG.DU KIR ₄ -šú]	GAR IM DINGIR DÙ[G.GA
If a <i>kittabru</i> is set at the tip of his nose, the breath of a favorable god will blow on the man.		
28 A obv. 25	DIŠ ŠE <i>ina</i> KIR ₄ -šú <i>lu</i> 15 <i>lu</i> 150	GAR UGU EN KA-šú GUB- <i>az</i>
D obv. 11'	[DIŠ ŠE]E <i>ina</i> KIR ₄ -šú <i>lu</i> 15 <i>lu</i> 150	[†] GAR [†] [
Y 16'	[DIŠ ŠE <i>ina</i> KIR ₄ -šú <i>lu</i> 15 <i>lu</i> 150]	[†] GAR UGU EN [†] [
If a <i>kittabru</i> is set at his nose, on the right or left, he will prevail over his adversary (in court).		
Y breaks off		

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51) A new excerpt tablet with *Šumma ālu* 83 and 84 — K.6458 (P396551), K.10457 (P398700), and K.9238 (P397987) are three fragments from an excerpt tablet of *Šumma ālu* (joins K. Boddy). The tablet gives only the protases of the omens, leaving out the apodoses. This is not very common, but there are a few other examples, such as Sm.1497 (see K. Boddy, *NABU* 2021/22). The omens on the obverse stem from the newly reconstructed Tablet 83, which contains an assortment of curious observations to be made in the country or city, such as the appearance of various foodstuffs, rare animals of different sorts, or “something that doesn’t exist in the land”. Several of the omens have parallels in Tablet 88. This explains why the two Tablet 83 manuscripts known so far, K.3969 + K.1720 (P395333) and K.13970 (P400555), were previously treated as belonging to (A.K. Guinan, *AMD II* (2002), 8) or connected with Tablet 88 (S.M. Freedman, https://www.academia.edu/42145831/TABLET_88 (accessed December 2020), 1). In addition to these manuscripts, three other excerpt tablets preserve parts of Tablet 83. A provisional score text by the Geneva *Šumma ālu* project can be found in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (publication early 2021).

The reverse of K.6458+ contains excerpts of Tablet 84, which lists omens that occur while someone is sleeping or in bed. These excerpts prompted the reconstruction of an as yet unknown passage of the sleep omens that concerns somnambulism and the movements of a blanket. For an edition and discussion of Tablet 84 see the forthcoming doctoral thesis by Rachel Lerculeur (University of Geneva). We have refrained from giving line numbers identifying the entries of Tablet 84, because the reconstruction of this Tablet is still in progress and the line numbering very provisional. Suffice it to say that all the entries on the reverse of K.6458+ can be securely connected to omens from Tablet 84, apart from line 2 and the fragmentary two last lines.

Transliteration

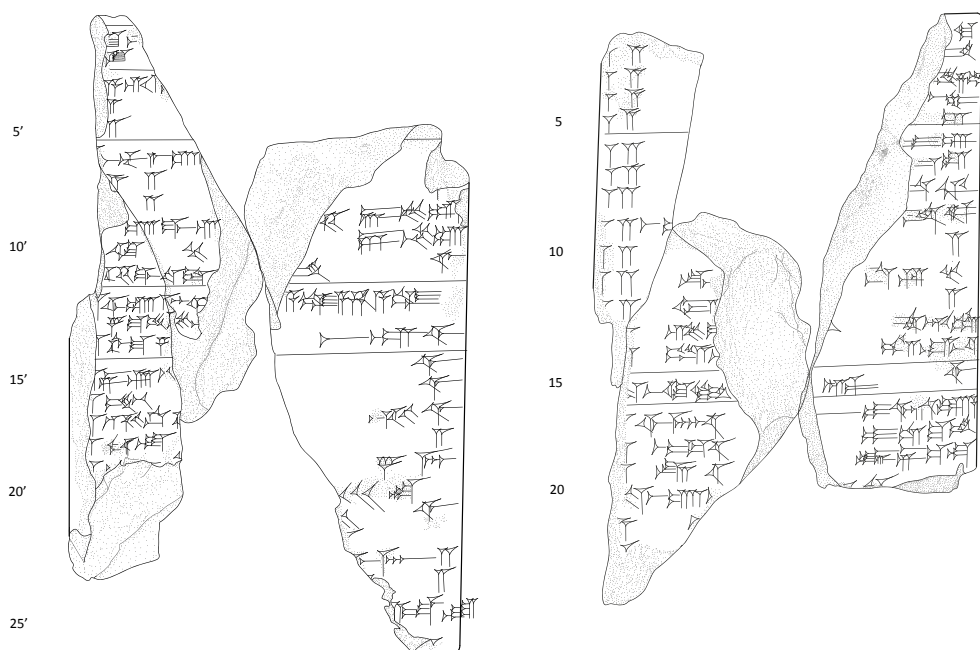
obv. 1'	[DIŠ <i>k</i>]i- [†] is [†] [...]	T.83 5'
obv. 2'	[DIŠ K]I.[GAL...]	T.83 6'
obv. 3'	[DIŠ] [†] e [†] -ri-i[š [†] ...]	T.83 7'
obv. 4'	[DIŠ] MIN [...]	T.83 8'
obv. 5'	[DIŠ] MIN [...]	T.83 9'
obv. 6'	[DIŠ <i>i</i>]na GADA.LAL É [...]	T.83 13' // T.88 51
obv. 7'	[DIŠ] MIN MIN [...]	T.83 14' // T.88 52
obv. 8'	[DIŠ MI]N MIN [...] [†] x [†]	T.83 15' or 16' // T.88 53 or 54
obv. 9'	[DIŠ] [†] É.GAL [†] NU[N GIM UR.MA]Ḫ <i>ir-mu-um</i>	T.83 17' // T.88 55
obv. 10'	[DIŠ] KI KUR <i>ir-mu-um</i>	T.83 19' // T.88 57
obv. 11'	[DIŠ] KIN.GAL.UD.DA [<i>ina</i> A.ŠÀ A.GÀ]R IGI [?]	T.83 20' // T.88 58

obv. 12'-13'	'DIŠ ¹ GIŠKIM.MEŠ ĤU[L.MEŠ ĥa-ta]- ¹ a ¹ -tu ₄ a-ĥa-a-tu ₄ / šá ma-am- ¹ mu x ¹ [...]	T.83 22'
obv. 14'	'DIŠ ¹ mim-ma šá [ina KUR NU GÁL-ú] ina URU IGI	T.83 23'
<hr/>		
obv. 15'	DIŠ Ĭ.NUN.NA [ina KUR] IGI	T.83 26'
obv. 16'	DIŠ UZU [ina KUR] IGI	T.83 29'
obv. 17'	DIŠ ik-kil-l[_{u4} ina KUR] GÁL-š ⁱ	T.83 33'
obv. 18'	DIŠ il-tu [ina KUR] MIN	T.83 34'
obv. 19'	'DIŠ x x x ¹ [GIŠKIM.MEŠ] GAR.MEŠ	T.83 38'
obv. 20'-21'	[DIŠ lu MUŠEN lu KU ₆ lu ú-ma-mu lu] ¹ zer-man-tu ²¹ / [šá ma-am-man NU ZU ina K]UR IGI	T.83 40'
obv. 22'	[DIŠ KI KUR ÚŠ nu-uq-q]ú	T.83 42'
obv. 23'	[DIŠ GI ² ina KUR É.MEŠ G]AL.MEŠ MIN	T.83 43'
obv. 24'	[DIŠ...] MIN	T.83 44' or 45'
obv. 25'	[DIŠ IZI TA AN-e ana É DINGIR ŠUB-ma mim-ma] ¹ ú ¹ -qal-li	T.83 46'
obv. 26'	[DIŠ SAG.DU-su KUD-su i-š ⁱ -i]ĥ ² (end of the obverse)	T.83 47'
<hr/>		
rev. 1	[DIŠ NA ina KI.NÁ-šú i-bak]-ki	
rev. 2	DIŠ MIN [...] ¹ x ¹ ĥi	
rev. 3	DIŠ MIN [ZÚ.MEŠ i]-gaš-ša-aš	
rev. 4	DIŠ MIN [i-dab-b]u-ub	
rev. 5	DIŠ MIN [iš-ta-na]- ¹ si ¹	
<hr/>		
rev. 6	DIŠ MIN [ana KI ru-'e-te-šú] i-lak	
rev. 7	DIŠ MIN [ŠE ₁₀ -šú] iz-zí	
rev. 8	DIŠ MIN [KÁŠ-šú i]š-tin	
rev. 9	DIŠ MIN ina GI[Š.NÁ-šú KI.NÁ-šú] ¹ id-di ¹	
rev. 10	DIŠ MIN [ana ZAG] MIN	
rev. 11	DIŠ MIN ŠU-s[u šá ZAG] ¹ bul-lu ¹ -lat	
rev. 12	DIŠ MIN ĜĪR-[šú šá ZAG] MIN	
rev. 13	[DIŠ MI]N ZI-m[a...] ¹ x ¹ it ti il	
rev. 14	[DIŠ MI]N il-l[a-tu-šú] il-la-ak ²	
<hr/>		
rev. 15	[DIŠ N]A ina KI.NÁ [mu-kil] SAG IGI	
<hr/>		
rev. 16	[DIŠ MI]N IGI.MEŠ-šú [ĬR] ¹ i-ar ¹ -ra-a	
rev. 17	[DIŠ MI]N KA-šú [(...)] i-lam-ma-am	
rev. 18	[DIŠ MI]N ŠU.MIN-šú [(...)] ¹ in ¹ -ni-iš-la	
rev. 19	[DIŠ N]A ina É x [...] ¹ x x ¹ [...]	
rev. 20	[DIŠ] ¹ MIN x ¹ [...]	
rev. 21	[DIŠ] ¹ MIN x ¹ [...] (rest of the reverse broken)	

Translation

obv. 1'	[If...]... [...]
obv. 2'	[If a s]o[cle...]
<hr/>	
obv. 3'	[If] the sme[l...]
obv. 4'	[If] ditto [...]
obv. 5'	[If] ditto [...]
<hr/>	
obv. 6'	[If (something) like a statue is seen o]n a linen curtain of the house [...]
obv. 7'	[If] ditto ditto [...]
obv. 8'	[If dit]to ditto [...]
obv. 9'	[If] the palace of the rul[er] roars [like a lio]n
obv. 10'	[If] the soil of the land rumbles
obv. 11'	[If] a <i>muttilu</i> -demon [is seen in a field of the arable la]nd

- obv. 12'–13' If evi[] portending, wro]ng, strange signs that someone [...]
 obv. 14' If something that [does not exist in the land] is seen in the city
-
- obv. 15' If ghee is seen [in the land]
 obv. 16' If flesh is seen [in the land]
 obv. 17' If an uproa[r] occurs [in the land]
 obv. 18' If a goddess ditto [in the land]
 obv. 19' If... [signs] are placed
 obv. 20'–21' [If either a bird or a fish or a wild animal or] vermin [that nobody knows] is seen [in the l]and
 obv. 22' [If the soil of the land is suffu]sed [with blood]
 obv. 23' [If reed] ditto (is seen) [in the land, houses (and) pala]ces
 obv. 24' [If reed] ditto [in the city] / [If fire] ditto [while falling upon the temple]
 obv. 25' [If fire falls from the sky upon the temple and] burns [everything]
 obv. 26' [If a cut off head laugh]s



Copies of the obverse and reverse of K.6458+ by Rachel Lerculeur

- rev. 1 [If a man in his bed cri]es
 rev. 2 If ditto [...].
 rev. 3 If ditto grind[s his teeth]
 rev. 4 If ditto [spe]aks
 rev. 5 If ditto [cries] out
-
- rev. 6 If ditto, [his saliva] trickles [to the floor]
 rev. 7 If ditto [defac]ates
 rev. 8 If ditto [unina]tes
 rev. 9 If ditto throws [his mattress?] on [his be]d(?)
 rev. 10 If ditto ditto [to the right]
 rev. 11 If ditto, his [right hand] is numb
 rev. 12 If ditto, [his right] foot ditto
 rev. 13 [If dit]to rises an[d...]...
 rev. 14 [If dit]to, [his sali]va trickles
-
- rev. 15 [If a m]an in (his) bed sees a [spi]rit
-
- rev. 16 [If dit]to, his eyes cry
 rev. 17 [If dit]to, his mouth chews [(...)]
 rev. 18 [If dit]to, his hands are paralyzed

rev. 19 [If a m]an in a house... [...]
 rev. 20 [If] ditto... [...]
 rev. 21 [If] ditto... [...]

Comments

obv. 8'. This entry could refer to either T.83 15' or T.83 16', both of which concern a shape seen on a curtain, the first resembling an animal, the second a bird.

obv. 12'-13'. Some traces are visible at the end of line 12', but, based on the parallels, we do not expect another sign after *a-ḫa-a-tu₄*.

obv. 22'. At the end of the line a sign seems to have been erased.

obv. 24'. The traces fit both T.83 44' and T.83 45', the two possibilities suggested by the position of the entry.

rev. 1. The beginning of this line is reconstructed according to its parallels (see R. Lerculeur's forthcoming thesis).

rev. 2. This entry does not correspond to any of the omens known from the segment of Tablet 84 excerpted here.

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52) On ^{mul}SAG.ME.GAR — Lorenzo Verderame pointed out to me that the meaning of ^{mul}SAG.ME.GAR, still unknown, is worthy of research (personal communication).

According to the Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus, ^{mul}SAG.ME.GAR is a name of the planet Jupiter. Jupiter has a white milky appearance to the naked eye and is associated with the name Sum: ^{mul}babbar = white star. Noting Turk: sağma = milking and Turk: gar = station, I propose that SAG-ME GAR is a loanword of Turkic origin with meaning similar to “milking station.”

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53) A sea or river? The Sargon II maritime scene — In Neo-Assyrian narrative scenes, the absence of a caption can sometimes lead to the question of location. Such a situation concerns one large stone-relief mural, dated to the reign of Sargon II (721-705), that illustrates the water transport of timber (Fig. 1). Its narrative originally extended across some seven stone panels from Court VIII at Khorsabad, five of which are in the Musée du Louvre. Its height 3 meters and original estimated length 14 meters. Past discussion on the above noted artwork, primarily on the pictorial evidence pertaining to watercraft, is reviewed in this communication.

In my paper on the above (Albenda: 1983), I identify the scene as a Mediterranean seascape. This identification was refuted by Elisha Linder (1986: 277-278), who stated that the so-called hippo boats depicted in the Khorsabad scene, as well as in other Neo-Assyrian artworks of earlier and later date, were employed as riverine watercraft. Linder adds that the horsehead protome seems to have been introduced by the Assyrians to represent their power, and he suggests, too, that “the Phoenicians borrowed the horse protome from the Assyrians” (p.278, n. 49). Linder cites a possible exception without further discussion; that is a scene on a decorated bronze band from the palace gate at Balawat, dated to the reign of Shalmaneser III (858-824). It illustrates oared boats on a body of water which connects a city-island and shore, and a procession of men bearing tribute (Fig. 2). The boats are distinctive for the horsehead on the upturned prow and stern. A caption above this scene states, “the tribute of the ships of the men of Tyre and Sidon I received” (King 1915: 23).

Three remarkably similar scenes occur on the earlier Ashurnasirpal II (883-859) bronze bands from the Mamu temple at Balawat. Each of these examples likewise depicts the same type of hippo boats on a body of water that connects a city-island and shore (Curtis 2008: 57-58, 65, figs. 55, 64-66, 79-80). It should be noted, however, that on these vessels a bird-head appears on the prow and stern, respectively. Although no caption is added to these scenes, the Shalmaneser III inscription confirms that those of earlier date represent Phoenician seacoast cities. Furthermore, Ashurnasirpal II cites in one of his texts that:

“I went up to the Great Sea... At that time, I received the tribute from the kings of the seacoast, from

the land of the men of Tyre, Sidon, Amurru, Byblos... and the city Arvad which is (on an island) in the sea” (Grayson: 1976, no. 597).

Together, the visual and textual evidence demonstrate that the ninth century Assyrian kings linked the hippo boats with the eastern Mediterranean littoral region.

Linder does mention the riverine watercrafts that were utilized in the period of Ashurnasirpal II. Two types are depicted on a series of bas-reliefs from the king’s Northwest palace at Nimrud, presently on view in the British Museum. One type is a flat open barge with slightly upturned prow and stern that carries the king in his chariot (Fig. 3). The other is a round boat made from animal hide (Fig. 4). In addition, inflated animal skins help keep several naked swimmers afloat. The Assyrian king alludes to these types of river transport when describing his campaigns through western territories. He states:

“I built my own boats in the city Suhu (and) made my way towards the Euphrates”; “I crossed the Euphrates... by means of the boats which I had made, rafts (made of inflated) goatskins.” (Grayson 1976: nos. 578, 579).

Thus, the visual and textual evidence together confirm the main types of rivercraft utilized by the Assyrians in the ninth century. Moreover, one may note the continued Assyrian use of rivercrafts - coracles, rafts of lumber and of tree trunks - for the transport of building material, which is illustrated among a series of reliefs dated to the reign of Sennacherib (704-689) (cf. Friedman 2015: 295-296, figs. 2-4). Within another contemporary scene showing a riverine landscape appear barges transporting horses (Russell 1991: 62, fig. 76).

Turning to the eighth century, a stone panel discovered in the area of the Central Palace of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727) at Nimrud, recorded in a line drawing and partially preserved (Fig. 4), depicts a large body of water (Barnett 1962: 29-30, pls. 42-43). Within it are sea creatures, a city-island with deciduous and palm trees rising above the city wall, and a large bird (sea gull?). Two different types of oared boats also appear, one with upturned prow and stern, and the other whose prow and stern terminate in the head of a bird and horse, respectively. The latter boat, displaying a tall mast and abbreviated sail, may be ascribed to the sea-going category of watercraft. Its image is perhaps an Assyrian rendering of a merchant ship. Tiglath-pileser III likewise campaigned against the coastal and inland cities of the eastern Mediterranean. He imposed tribute from these cities, numbers of which were subsequently added to the provinces of Assyria (RINAP/I: nos. 13 -14).

Illustrated on the bas-reliefs of Sargon II (Fig. I) are several examples of oared boats with a mast, and where the mast is omitted, it is replaced with rows of timber to specify a valued commodity that is transported. Elsewhere, it has been suggested that the men moving the timber on land may be identified by their distinctive cap as Lydians rather than Phoenicians (Barnett 1962: 40) or as Phrygians, indicated by a fibula attached to the garment of a tribute bearer wearing the same type of cap (Muscarella 1967: 82, fig. 1; Albenda 1983: 31-32). Contra Linder’s comments (pp. 277-278, n. 49), there is no pictorial evidence that boats with a horsehead prow was first developed in Assyria, nor is there any contemporary text that refers to Phoenicians actively employed in shipbuilding activities in the Assyrian heartland, during the reign of Sargon II. This king boasts that he “caught the Ionians who live in the sea” and “ruled all together from the land Yadanna (Cyprus) which is in the middle of the Western Sea, as far as Egypt... and the land Hatti (Syria)” (RINAP/2, 007: 16b-18b; 013: 31b-44b). Surely it is fitting that the huge mural in Court VIII depicts the eastern Mediterranean Sea to demonstrate Sargon II’s control of this vast region, including its commercial activities as exemplified by Phoenician merchant ships (cf. Yamada 2019: 226-228). Larger Mediterranean seafaring ships – galleys and round ships - are drawn on a stone panel, now lost, dated to the reign of Sennacherib (Fig 6). The galleys show a tall mast with furled sail and attest that ships with sails were sea-going vessels (cf. Nakas 2017: 67-73).

An added comment. Among the sea creatures depicted in the Sargon II mural, include three mythical ones: winged human-headed bull, winged bull, and man-fish (merman), the last one drawn twice. These creatures are described in my paper as “protective guardians.” Past studies have approached the subject of symbolic representations of royalty; that is Assyrian hieroglyphs (Finkel and Reade: 1996; Niederreiter: 2008). The mythical creatures in the Sea may also fit to the category of Assyrian hieroglyphs. As such, they deserve attention.

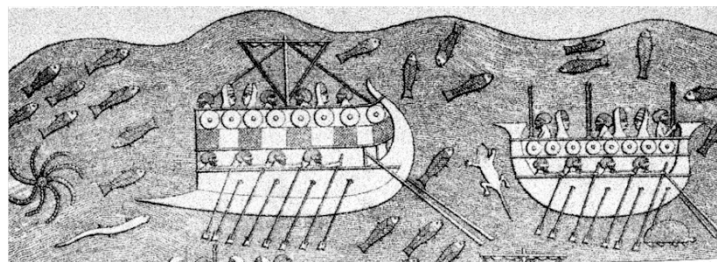
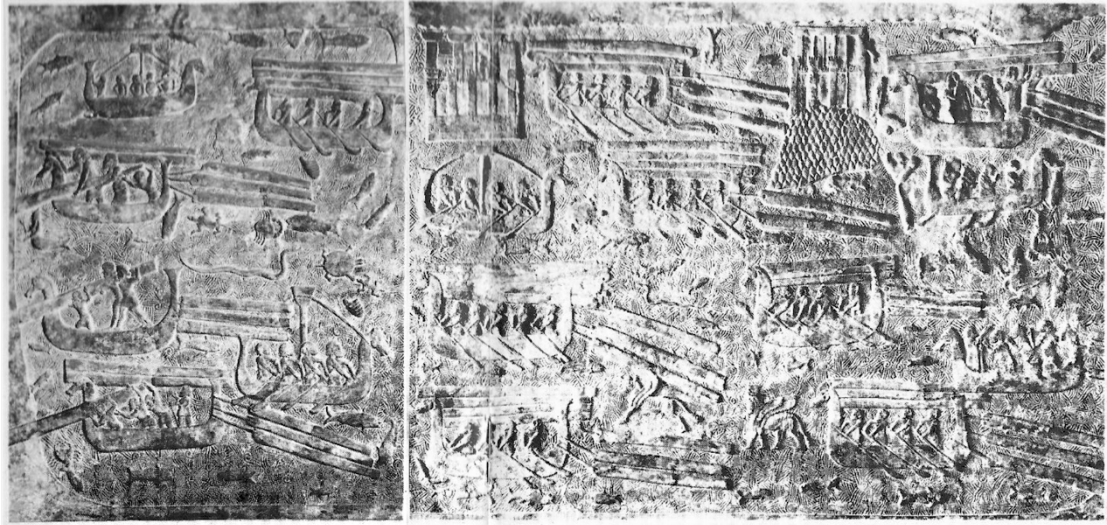


Fig. 1. Restored Sargon II wall relief. Louvre AO 19889, Louvre AO 19890. After Albenda 1983, pl. 7

Fig. 2. Bronze band of Shalmaneser III. After King 1915, pl. 13

Fig. 3. Left side: detail: wall relief. BM 124541 ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 4. Right side: detail: wall relief. BM 124543 ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 5. Bottom left side: fragment of wall relief. BM 102981 ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 6. Bottom right side: detail: line drawing of seascape. After Paterson 1913, pl. 10

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54) Gilûa: short for Gimil... — The recent publication of the neo- and late Babylonian documents in the Chester Beatty library, Dublin by Mary Frazer (RA 114, p. 159 ff.) sheds new light on the NB name Gilûa, spelled *m.gi-lu-û/u-a*. Previously, the name was tentatively associated with Hurrian (K. Åkerman, P. Lapinkivi, PNA p.423): **Gilû(a)**, (possibly a hypocor. based on a Hurr. name of the type Kel-DN); possibly Hurr.; Gelb *et al.* 1943, OIP 57, Nuzi, p.83, for Kel-Teia, Kel-Tešup, Kel-Tilla; Tallqvist 1918, APN, p.80, 111, 115, on *Gi-li-ia*, *Ka-li-DN*, *Ki-li-DN*; Wilhelm 1998 RIA 9/1-2, p.123, on the name type Kel-DN). Zadok linked the name to MB *Ki-li-ia*: "[Weidner, AfO 16, Anhang 1 = BM 130827, *Gi-lu-û*] the 15th witness, a non-Semitic ancestral name common in Babylonia from the early 1st millennium B.C. (with a hypothetical earlier cognate, cf. MB *Ki-li-ia*, M. Hölscher 1996 [IMGULA 1], p. 124a)", R. Zadok (NABU 2003: 34).

However, this assumption is not convincing: the Hurrian names come from the mid-second millennium, nearly a millennium before the name Gilûa appears in NB; furthermore, except for the name *ge-lu(-)u)m-Atal*, OIP 57 and APN always have the spelling *-li-* instead of *-lu-* for the name Kel-DN²; finally, the proven Hurrian hypocoristic spells *ki/ge-(e)-li-(i)-ia*, never *-lu-...* (APN, p.80a; OIP 57, p.81b).

We now have two cases that equate the (Early) NB name Gilûa with Gimil... ("==" means the same individual; DN = a deity):

1. The (non-existing) family name Gilûa of Nergal-ibni/Nabû-udammîq(-SIG₁₅) can be identified as Gimil-Nanaya: Hunger Bagh. Mitt. 5, 2:33 > *gi-lu-û-a* == ŠU-DN < *ibid.*, nos. 11, 13, 27, 31; all Early NB, Uruk). Note also the witness Iddin-Nabû/Tappûa in both nos. 2 and 11. Hunger did not recognize ŠU-DN as being Gimil-DN, but notice the following: (Dar 280:26 and Iraq 55 p.149 no.1:16) ŠU-DN == *gi-mil-DN* (NN Nbn passim, Camb 179:16, CM 20, 97:19 and Cyr 268:13) == *gi-mil-lu-DN* (Panayotov/Wunsch 2014, KT 1463 no.1:13); resp. (Baker 2004, AfO Beih. 30 Nappâhu 56:14 and 171:9) ŠU-DN == *gi-mil-DN* (*ibid.* 55:21).

2. Līšir/Gilûa//Mu²¹... in Frazer RA 114, no. 3:14-15 (Uruk, 27 Nbk) is almost certainly the namesake son of Gimillu//Mušēzib (UCP 9-1, 53:9, Uruk, 28 Nbk): both are witnesses and have fellow-witnesses who are found together in other tablets (Kleber, BaAr 7, no. 65; AnOr 8, no. 12; Frazer, RA 114, no. 2; all Uruk, Nbk), proving a common Urukean ‘bubble’ of witness acquaintances: Bēl-ahhē-iqīša/Mušēzib-Marduk//Egibi, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi/Nabû-ētir//Šangû-parakki, Nergal-nāšir/Aqarā//Bēl-aplu-ušur and Nādin/Uraš-šumu-ušur//Bēl-eṭēri. Furthermore, no other individual (DN-Obj-)Līšir/Gi... (i.e. Gimillu or Gilûa)//Mu... can be found in the Neo-Babylonian prosopography, nor in any other family from Uruk in the period around Nbk II: Nabû-zēru-līšir/Gimillu from the Kudurrānu family (YOS 7, 121:12) is from Larsa, Camb; his exact namesake from the Kurî family (AUWE 28, 146) is from Uruk, Dar (I thank Karlheinz Kessler for sharing this tablet that dates from the period around Darius I, considering the scribe Ea-kāšir in other AUWE 28 documents); the sign *Ku*- sowieso does not resemble the first sign of the family name in RA 114, 3:15). Finally, Mušēzib is the only family name starting with *Mu*- that comes from Uruk (Wunsch AOAT 369, Babylonische Familiennamen).

As for the reason why Gimil-DN became Gilûa, we can postulate as an intermediate hypocoristic the well-known Gimillu and consider other Neo-Babylonian names that have lost the inner-consonant *m*: Ša-DN-dumqušu (*šá-DN-du-qu-šú*, Zawadzki 2013, Garments II, 345), Itti-DN-dumqi-ilī (Itti-Amurru-*du-qu-ilī*, BaAr 8, forthc. –I thank Cornelia Wunsch for sharing this), Rēmu-šukun (*re-šu-kun-nu*, PIHANS 54 and 79), Šullumaya (VS 4, 188:13 > *šul-lu-ú-a* == *šul-lu-ma-a* < VS 6, 158:3 and VS 4, 181:7), and the family name Damqu, spelled with *m* and *da-a-i-qu*, *da-’-qu*, *da-’-a-qu*, *da-’-i-qa*, *da-’-iq*, *da-’-me-eg*.

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55) A judge with a Nubian name in Achaemenid Susa — LB *Il-tab/p-tu-ú-ku* from Susa, 22.XI.30 Darius I = 490 BC¹⁾ is listed as the 1st judge of a college of four judges after the operative section of a deed belonging to the Sipparean archive of the *Šāhit ginê* clan (Waezeggars 2014: 336-337:158, 15, 26, cf. Zawadzki 2000: 743-744:11, 12). The other three judges (arranged as the 2nd, 5th and 7th members of the list) bear Babylonian names. The 3rd judge, Zēriya, acted also as the scribe of the deed. Like the judges, also the three witnesses (arranged as the 3rd, 4th and 6th members of the list) have common Babylonian names, except for *Ur-ki-ki* whose name is perhaps Elamite. All the three witnesses bear neither a title nor have a filiation, which is exceptional in LB lists of witnesses. Does this lack of an additional identifier indicate that they were prominent? *Il-tab/p-tu-ú-ku*’s cylinder seal is in Achaemenid style.²⁾ The name of *Il-tab/p-tu-ú-ku* may render **Šab/ptV:k*, in which case it is the same name as NA *Šá-pa-ta-ku-’*¹⁾. The latter refers to a ruler of the Kushite dynasty of Egypt (708-696 BC, see Morkot 2019: 129-133 with previous lit., especially Kahn 2001, cf. K. Kessler, PNA 3/2: 1228b). His name is thought to be Nubian and apparently ends in the same element as that of his predecessor *Šá-ba-ku-u* (cf. H.D. Baker and R. Mattila, PNA 3/2: 1180b and Macadam 1955: 124). He is identified with OT *Sbtk’* which is depicted as an ethnos in the List of Nations of Genesis 10. This list might have been compiled in the middle of the 6th century BC. Astour (1965: 422-425) was of the opinion that the OT form with *s*- was copied from NA (BHeb. <*s*> = NA <*š*>). The grapheme <*lt*> of LB *Il-tab/p-tu-ú-ku* renders a lateral sibilant (*š*), but such rendering is also encountered in LB *Il-ta_s-li-ma-tu-’* (van der Spek, *Grondbesit*, VIII, 202-203:5, 5, 12, 14, 17, 18), which in all probability is based on Š-L-M (in Akkadian one finds the doublette with *s*- for this root, see Zadok 1988: 75, 85 and 2000: 657, n. 34). In view of *Il-tab/p-tu-ú-ku*, the rendering of the lateral sibilant by <*lt*> (see Fales 1978) is not confined to West Semitic material, but can also be applied to names originating in the wider Afroasiatic phylum. The difference in the vowels, viz. LB <*u*> vs NA <*a*>, and the elision of *-a-* after *-b/p-* may be explicable in view of the considerable chronological gap: *Il-tab/p-tu-ú-ku* is recorded 206 years after *Šá-pa-ta-ku-’*¹⁾. In view of the elision it stands to reason that the stress was on the penultimate syllable, and a shift of *à/ā* to *o/ō* (<*u*>) is not unheard of. Lateral consonants are recorded in the Afroasiatic phylum (including Cushitic).³⁾ By discussing the phonology of the single name presented here I do not claim that ancient Nubian belonged the forerunners of the modern Cushitic branch. This is merely a very partial exploratory attempt to present a phoneme of the areal phonological inventory.

The occurrence of an individual with a Nubian dynastic name in Susa is understandable in view of the presence of Egyptians in Achaemenid Susa (see Joannès 1984, 1990: 180 and Zadok 1992: 144-146;

2011: 131, e.g., *Hu-ri-ia*, and 253). *Il-tab/p-tu-ú-ku* was not necessarily an ethnic Nubian; like the bearers of Libyan dynastic names, basilophoric anthroponyms might have been borne as prestigious names by ethnic Egyptians.

Notes

1. Abbreviations (mostly of editions of cuneiform texts) are as in A.L. Oppenheim *et al.* (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago and Glückstadt 1956-2010), unless otherwise indicated. The months (in Roman figures) are the Babylonian ones.

2. See Altavilla and Walker 2009: 94, 140:C22, cf. 128:A57 for the cylinder seal of his colleague, the judge Iqīša-Marduk.

3. See Ehret 1995: 4, 9, 394:tab. 8, 418-429 and Appleyard 2011: 42. The latter draws attention to the existence of a lateral fricative/glottalised affricate pair in Iraaqw and adds that it is reconstructed for Proto-Semitic-Cushitic.

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56) Additamenta to Arameo-Akkadica¹⁾ — Below I add more documentation on Aramaic loanwords in Akkadian and Akkadian loans in Aramaic (A, B), as well as more morphological comparanda. A LB term in an Aramaic milieu is discussed in section C, while lexemes (mostly adjectives) ending in *-ān* (with or without *-r*) are analysed in D. Section E has an Akkadian compound occupational term, which is recorded

in an unpublished tablet, while F is devoted to a discussion of several Akkadian names in Aramaic texts from the Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid and early Hellenistic periods.

A. Aramaic loanwords in Akkadian

1. NB/LB *la-mu-ta-nu* (Zadok 2020c: 4) – The considerable number of the Aramaic adjectives which are spelled *QTWLTn* (see Nöldeke 1904: 78-79:129c) can be normalized as */qattūl-t-ān /*. Hence *la-mu-ta-nu* can originate from **lawwūy-t-ān* and normalized as **lawwūtān* with contraction of *-y-*. The Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic forms which are quoted by me are not homonymous with the NB/LB term, but resembling as they are based on the same root, but –as I pointed out – have a different meaning since they refer to a mythical monster.

In addition to the impressive number of adjectives of the type *qattūl-t-ān*, this compound suffix is attached to other nominal formations as well:²⁾

Mand. *q'rb'tn'*, OSyr. *qrbtn'* “warlike, bellicose” (> JBA *qrpdn'*), *hlytn'* “powerful, robust”; *b'yrt'n'* “wild, rough, brutal” (= *b'yrt'n'*); *zywt'n'* (“shining, bright, distinguished” (JBA *zywt'()*) is rendered as “proud” by Sokoloff 2002: 407b); *ryh'tn'* “fragrant” (JPA *ryh'tn'*,³⁾ to *ryh'*); MHeb. *krstn'* “with a thick belly” (cf. Akkad. *karšānū*, below, D); *zhtn'* “proud” (JArām. *zḥwh'*); OSyr. *hrt'n'* “quarrelsome”; *kmnytn'* “insidious”; *k'bt'n'* “unwell, suffering” (cf. Mand. *kaiba* “aching”, Macuch 1965: 180:123); JPA *ptln'* “perverter” (ll *ptln'*), JArām. *rbtn'* “enormous, huge”; *r'bt'n'* “greedy, gluttonous” (cf. JBA *r'bt'n'h'*); MHeb. *sytnyt'* “female listener”; BHeb. *qltwn* “crooked” (Ug. *qltn*, *l'aqal-at-ān'*, see Tropper 2012: 272:51.46, e). The suffix is attached to a non-Semitic noun in OSyr. *nhšyrt'n'* “hunter”, which is based on *nhšyr* < MPers. *naxčir* “game, chase”.

The following adjectives look as if they end in the same compound suffix, but in reality their adjectivising suffix is merely *-ān* which is attached to substantives ending in *-(V)t* (for the same adjectivising suffix attached to nouns without this ending, cf. below, D):

OSyr. *hmt'n'* “given to anger” (from *hmt'* “ardor”, cf. *hmtny'*), *'kt'n'* “angry” (from *'kt'* “boiling heat”, i.e. in a figurative sense) and *nqbt'n'* “womanly” (based on *nqbh*, det. *nqbt'*):⁴⁾ JPA and MHeb. *gywt'n'* “proud, haughty, arrogant” (from *g'wh* “pride, haughtiness”), JPA *nwt'n'* “meek, humble” (to Mand. *nwt'* “condescension”, cf. Heb. *nwh* “humility”) = JPA *nwwn'*; OSyr. *bhwtt'n'* “modest” (from *bhwt'* “modesty”), MHeb. *prstn'* “with a big claw” (*prsh*), OSyr. *srt'n'* “hairy” (from *srt'* “hair”, cf. JPA *srt'n'*, *srtyy'*, *srtny'* “hairy”), JPA *'ymtn'* “fearsome, terrifying” (cf. *'ymtny'* in Onkelos, from *'ymh*, “fear”, det. *'ymth'*); Mand. *rbwt'n'* “proud, haughty, arrogant” (from *rbwt'* “pride, arrogance”); *qnt'n'* (fem. *qntnyt'*) “jealous” (from *qn'()**h*, det. *qn'()**th* “jealousy”, cf. JPA *qn'n'* “jealous”), OSyr. *yd'wt'n'* “intellectual, learned” (cf. JBA *yd'wt'*, Mand. *y'dwt'* “knowledge”); *gbrtn'* (fem. *gbrtnyt'*) “heroic, strong” (to *gbr'* / *gibbārā'* “hero”, or rather based on the abstract noun **gbrt'*, extant in Mand. *gbarta* “strength, manhood”, cf. Macuch 1965: 181: 124, b in *fine*) = MHeb. *gbrtn'*; OSyr. *rgtn'* “lascivious, greedy” (from *rgt'* “desire, longing, eagerness”), Mand. *r'kt'n'* “voluptuous” (both derive from R-G-G “to desire greatly”, the latter with *g > k*); cf. Mand. *gdwlt'ny'* “ringlet-spirits”, from *gdwlt'* “lock”, see Macuch 1965: 195-196 with n. 120, substantivized), OSyr. *rhmt'n'* “clement” (apparently based on *rhmt'* “love, lust” which derives from R-H-M “to love, pity, have mercy”) and perhaps Mand. *'wt'n'* “powerful, violent” (cf. *'ywt'* “power”, Macuch 1965: 196: 143b). JBA *h'yrt'n'* “having a protrusion” is also based on a substantive ending in *-t*, cf. MHeb. *hwrt'* “hump” on the one hand and Mand. *h't'r't'* “mounds, humps” on the other. The same pattern, i.e. substantive + adjectivising *-ān*, is extant in Akkad. *tukultānu* “trustworthy” (from *tukultu*); *ṭābtānu* “doer of good” (from *ṭābtu* “good deed”); *urbatānu* “overgrown with rushes” (from *urbatu* “rush, reed”); *usātānu* “charitable, generous” (from *usātu* “help, assistance”); BHeb. *nhštn* “bronze serpent” (from *nhšt* “copper, bronze” as a votive venerated object in the temple). Perhaps late BHeb. *Ydwtwn* (var. *Ydytwn*), a clan name which originally refers to a guild (of musicians), is of the same type, if its base was originally a substantive *ydwt* (the suffix is *-t + -ūn < -ōn < -ān*). JBA has the substantive *syb'tn'* “shuttle” (Sokoloff 2002: 959a).

Some OB < Am. anthroponyms end with *-at-ān* (see Streck 2000: 315: 4.9, 342-343, 345-347, 351: 5.77). LB has *Har-ba-ta-nu* and *Ra-mat-ta-ni* (cf. Zadok 1978: 113, 169). OB < Am. toponyms with the same compound suffix are *Ba-ni-a-ta-an^{ki}*, *Ku-ba-ta-a-nu/Ku-ba-ta-ni^{ki}*, *Ma-nu-ha-ta-an^{ki}*, as well as *A-ri-ta-na-IA^{ki}* and *Si-ba-ta-ni-tum* (*Rép. géogr.* 3: 21, 38, 142, 144, 159, 307, s.vv.; the two last toponyms are apparently originally gentilics). Later toponyms with the same compound suffix are with Canaanite *ā > ō*: EA *Hi-in-na-tu-ni/Hi-na-tu-na^{ki}*, NA *Hi-na-tú-na* = OT *Hntwn*. OT has also *Gbtwn* (NA *Gab-bu-tú-nu*), *Pr'twn*, and without this Canaanite shift *Qrt'n* (var. *Qrth*, to *qrt* “town”) and *Šrt'n* (related to GN *Šrt*), cf. Talm. *Hmt'n* (to *Hmt*). Modern Palestinianian *Ja'tūn* originates from *G'twn* (with *ā > ō*, cf. with *-t-m* the OT clan name *G'tm*, Septuagint *Γωθαμ, Γοθομ*). For the suffix in ancient Levantine toponyms and their modern survivals see Wild 1973: 196.

An Akkadian substantive, which apparently ends in the same compound suffix, is *šalbatānu* “planet Mars” (MB, NB/LB, NA).⁵⁾ This combination plus *-û* (< *-ryu*) is extant in *hallutānû* “tuft of black hair from the hind legs of a donkey” (SB), which is related to *hallu* “hind legs of an animal” (notably donkey, OB, SB, NA, AHw.: 312b, s.v. *hallu* I, 313a; CAD H: 45, s.v. *hallu* A; 48a, s.v. *hallutānû*). Another example is *imtanû* “tuft of black hair from the rump of a donkey” which is related to *imû* “tuft of black hair from the forehead legs of a donkey” (both SB lex., AHw.: 379b; CAD I/J: 139a, 141b, cf. GAG: 86:56r). From the typological (but not functional) point of view, this compound suffix, viz. *-t-ān-û* < *-*t-ān-iy-*, is comparable to the above-mentioned *-t-ān-āy* of *r’btm’h*, as well as to *-ān-iy-* of *karšānû*, *-ān-āy* of *’ymtny*, *’hmtny*’ and *š’rmyy* (for parallels cf. below, D).

The feminine marker *-t* is omitted before *-ān* in JBA *twl’/n* “worm-coloured” (to *twl’t* “worm”, Sokoloff 2002: 1197b).

2. *gil(a)du* “leather” in the Ebabbar and Eanna archives is considered a plural by Bongenaar (see just below). He does not elaborate, but he was apparently inspired by the general phenomenon of broken plurals in certain West Semitic dialects. This is not supported by the context for one would expect that this form will exclusively refer to multiple units, which is not the case: [x] units (*Camb.* 71, 1, 7) are mentioned on 7.VIII.1 *Camb.* = 529 BC, while *kušgi-l[a-du]* occurs in a text where the number of units is not indicated (Bongenaar 1993: BM 63917, 2). Moreover, the form without *-a-*, viz. *kušgi-il-du*, refers to 2 and 27 units (Bongenaar, NB *Ebabbar*: 398, n. 347; BM 75181, 3 and YOS 6, 180 respectively). Bongenaar (NB *Ebabbar*: 550b, s.v. *gildu*) renders it as “cowskin”, but on 399 he has “cowskin?” and on 413-414 “hide(s)” (more references in van Driel 1993: 241 with n. 138).

3-4. NB/LB *gi-ra-A+A* and *ma-gal-la-a* (Zadok 2020a: 4) – There are more designations of occupations and professions in Aramaic which end in *-āy* or are contracted from it. They are attached to substantives in JBA *’bwl’h* (perhaps “gate watchman”), *’rb’h* “boatman”, *bwš’h* “maker of linen cloth” (to *bwš’*), *bz’h* “falconer” (to *bz’*, Sokoloff 2002: 74b, 163a, 191b, 194a), *gyld’h* “leather worker” (to *gyld’* “leather”),⁶⁾ *pšt’h* “one who explains”, *ptwr’h* “money changer”, *qyn’h* “metal worker”, *qyr’h* “dealer in bitumen” (to *qyr’*),⁷⁾ *šwq’h* “market vendor”, *tnwr’h* “corselet maker”, *trbš’h* “student”, *trmd’h* “gatherer of *trmd’*-plant”, and perhaps *twr’h* “cattle dealer(?)”. The suffix is also attached to *nomina agentis* of the *qātūl*-formation (generally occupational terms), e.g., *’mwd’h* “diver”, *gšwš’h* “sounder of a depth”, *knwš’h* “sweeper”, *mšwh’h* “surveyor”, *qbwr’h* “grave digger”, *qpwl’h* “one who uncovers”, *špwk’h* “pouurer (of wine)”, *trwp’h* “expert on animal defects”, *zlw’h* “sprinkler”, as well as *prwm’h* “burglar” (Sokoloff 2002: 139a, 306a, 414a, 515-516, 588a, 712a, 929b, 978a, 1031, 1124a, 1169b, 1199b, 1217b, 1231a, 1235a). Its merely adjectival denotation is preserved in the behavioral designation JBA *plg’h* “disputatious”; cf. *šlt’h* “empowered” (Sokoloff 2002: 911a, 1148b).

5. *ha-lil-a-nu* (pl. of *hālilu*) – In addition to the multiple occurrences from Sippar (see Zadok 2020b: 4), there is a single occurrence in the Uruk documentation, where it is recorded in a undated letter (Weisberg, NB *Texts*, 162, 21) together with *qāp-pa-a-ti* (baskets made of palm leaves, cf. CAD Q: 92, s.v. *qappatu*, especially b where they are listed together with tools used in agriculture and digging).

6. *ma-as-tar* (Zadok 2020b: 5) - the interpretation of von Soden (AHw.: 637b, s.v.) as *mazkātu* “Abdeckung von Verpflichtungen”, which is based on an alternative reading *ma-az-kut*, is not adopted by CAD (M/1: 438b).

B. Akkadian loanwords in Aramaic

1. *’klwš’* < *atkaluššu* (Zadok 2020a: 1) – Regarding the assimilation of *t* before *k* cf. *tC* > *tt* in verbal forms, e.g. JAram. *myktb’* < *mtktb’* (cf. Litke 2018: 113).

2. *bqt’* for for *bīt qātī* (É ŠU^{II}) – “building wing (used as workroom or storehouse)” (CAD Q: 198-200) is noticed by Streck (2017: 192 ad 180:XXIV = Joannès 2001: 251-252:2 from 309 BC). He suggests alternative explanations of *b-*, viz. an abbreviation or a mistake. Perhaps it is an early example of Aram. *b(y)-* for *byt* in compounds. Aram. *byt-* has become *by-* > *b-* from this period onwards, cf. Mand. *Biqata*⁸⁾ and JBA *byqt’* (also defective spelling **bqt’* in view of *bqty* “my *b.*”). The traditional explanation of the JBA compound which is followed by the modern lexicographers is < *by’qt’* “hut” (cf. just below), *lit.* “narrow place, house of distress” following a Geonic commentary (see Sokoloff 2002: 205b, 217a). This explanation is phonologically defensible (JBA has *’qt’*, but the Mandaean equivalent *’qt’* (Sokoloff 2002:

878b) with weakening of /ʿ/ is not exceptional in the late Aramaic dialect cluster of Babylonia). What is more relevant in my opinion is that the derivation of *byqt'* from *by 'qt'* is explicitly documented much earlier: A Babylonian sage (Amora) presents this explanation in the Babylonian Talmud Sabbath 77b, a passage where more popular etymologies of his are listed. The motivation of this reinterpretation (popular etymology) of *byqt'* as *by 'qt'* is clear: a building wing used as a workroom or a storehouse is generally smaller and narrower than the building which normally serves as dwelling. The rendering of JBA *byqt'* as “hut” can be modified: the context does not rule out a denotation “workroom” or “storehouse” which is not contradictory to the traditional (but rather secondary) rendering, but stresses the functional aspects of the edifice in question.

3. *hlš* < *halšu* can be added to the almost exhaustive list of Akkadian loanwords in Aramaic (Kaufman 1974, Sokoloff 1976, 2005 and von Soden 1977). It is extant in *hlš tmr* which would mean either “(fortified) district” > “fortress”, i.e. “the palm’s fortress” (see van der Toorn 2018: 21 *ad* xvi, 7 who renders it as “a fortress of palms”) or as a toponym “the fortress of Tmr”.

C. A putative Akkadian (LB) form in an Aramaic milieu –

še-ra-ag-gu- is recorded in the archive of the Rēš temple in Seleucid Uruk. It is perhaps plural of Akkad. *širaku* (a by-form of *širku/šerku*) as cautiously suggested by Beaulieu (1989: 76 *ad* 4, 1). It is with the rare shift of intervocalic *k* > *g* as in NB/LB *a-ga-a* “this, that” which originates from Aram. *hk* (cf. Fales 1980: 264 and below).⁹⁾ This Akkadian term refers to members of the temple community who did not belong to the cultic personnel and had to fulfill *ilku*-obligations according to the rich pertinent documentation from the long 6th century BC (see Ragen 2006, *passim*). A plural or a collective is suggested by the context. If the final vowel represents the plural, then it is an archaizing attempt to insert the Akkadian *-ū* (nominative masculine pl.), while NB/LB generally has the oblique case for masculine plural, viz. *širkī* (> *širkē*). The base of the plural is once spelled with *-kk-* in SAL *ši-rak-ki^{mes}*; the latter may render *širakātu* (see CAD Š/3: 110: *šir(a)kātu*). The form with *-kk-* is also extant in the related NB/LB anthroponyms *ši-rik-ka/ki* (CAD Š/3: 110a with refs.) and *še-ra-ak-ka* (Stolper 1985, 35, 13). The latter has the same formation as *še-ra-ag-gu-*, the last member of the trio *liša-bi*, *liški-niš-tu₄* and *š.*, all referring to different classes of temple personnel. The shift *k* > *g* may be due to the Aramaic milieu of this very late occurrence within LB. This shift is recorded in Eastern Aramaic, viz. Mandaic (see Macuch 1965: 76:44) and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. For the latter cf. *kwpr'* > *gwpr'*, *glwpqr'* and *gyndrwps*, whose Greek sources has *κ-* and perhaps *gmš* < Akkad. *kamāšu* (Sokoloff 2002: 271b, 281b, 285b, 293b, 565). The geminated *g* may reflect pretonic lengthening in an open penultimate syllable, a phenomenon which possibly took place in certain Aramaic dialects (cf. Blau 1978: 101–102: 7 and *passim*). The final vowel may alternatively render a collective, like the preceding members of the trio, viz. *liša-bi* and *liški-niš-tu₄* (the former has also a plural form which the scribe chose not to use here). The Aramaic feminine suffix *-ū* (<-w>, det. *-wt*, cf. Tal 2013: 97:6.1.7.3), can serve in this case as a collective, cf., e.g., JBA and OSyr. *hbrwt'* “companionship” as well as JBA *glwt'* “exiles”. On the whole, the term may have a low degree of absorption in Aramaic: it may be surmised that *še-ra-ag-gu-* did not survive as a loan in the Aramaic dialect of southern Mesopotamia, viz. Mandaic, due to the abolishment of the institution (the pagan temple) in the early Sasanian period.

D. Adjectivising suffixes

-ān is extant in e.g., Akkad. *tēmānu* “wise” and *tamkarānu* “mercantile” < “like a merchant” from *tēmu* and *tamkaru* respectively. This adjectival suffix, which is extant in JPA *rym('n)*, SA *r'mn* lit. “wild-ox-like”, is rendered simply as “wild ox”, in which case it would be synonymous with *r'm* (cf. Sokoloff 2017: 600b). One should ask why the suffix was inserted here. Perhaps it refers to a related but different species, compare the difference in meaning between the cognates Akkad. *rīmu* (< Proto-Sem. **ri'm*) “*Bos primigenius*” and CA *ri'm* “*Oryx leucoryx*” (Talshir 2012: 2). JBA *gld'n* (name of a fish) is apparently based on *gld* “skin”, cf. JBA G–L–D “to have a covering” and *gllnyt'* means “stone-shaped”: it is based on *gll* + *-ān* (cf. the NB/LB name *Ga-la-la-nu*, Zadok 1978: 118, 160) and a feminine suffix (cf. JBA *mrnyt'* “woolly” to *mr'* “wool”), as well as *kalbānu* “dog-like”, *patrānu* “sword-like”, *puglānu* “radish-like”, *šūqdānu* “almond-like”, *šizbānu* “milky plant” (= *hi-la-ba-nu*), i.e., “with milk-like juice” (also referring to milk-fed lamb) and HAR–*da-ta-nu* describing a date palm, perhaps “shaped like a cross-beam” (*hurdatu*, see AHw.: 358b; differently Cocquerillat 1973–1974: 100).

The compound suffix *-ān + -ī* is extant in Akkad. *amānū, bārānū, ālānū, ilānū, lumnānū* (see GAG: 86:56r), *karšānū* “with a thick belly” (CAD K: 223b, cf. above, A; *bārānū* is based on *bārtu* with omission of the feminine marker according to AHw.: 106a, in which case it would be analogous to JBA *twl’/n’*, above, A, 1 *in fine*), *šillānū* “providing shade” (CAD Š: 188b), *habšānū* (referring to a quality of wool, AHw.: 305b), and *tīnānū* “fig like”. The latter is a by-form of *tīnānu* (both MB, CAD T: 419–420), just as *qarnānū* “horned” and *rā’imānū* “affectionate” have almost the same denotation as *qarnānu* “with (large) horns” and *rā’imānu* “lover” respectively (CAD Q: 133-134; R: 81-82), and *kayamānu* is synonymous with *kayamānū* “normal, regular, usual” (CAD K: 36-38).¹⁰ This compound suffix is typologically comparable to Aram. *-ān-ī* and *ān-āy* (above, A, 1 *in fine*). *Kūšānū* seems to have the same denotation as *kūšāyu* “wintry” (cf. AHw.: 515b, CAD K: 593-594 and GAG: 85:56p), i.e. with interchange of *-ān-ī* and *-āy* and *šakrānū* is synonymous with *šakru* “drunk” (CAD Š/1: 192).

E. Akkad. *naggār lē’i* – Ahhēšā (ŠEŠ^{mes}-šá-a), carpenter of a writing board (^{lu}NAGAR ^{gis}DA), was perhaps from Borsippa in view of an anthroponym with Mār-bīti, viz. Mār-bīti-iddina (^dA.É- MU) son of Bēl-ahhē-bullit (^d+EN-ŠEŠ^{mes}-TIN (line 2), which occurs in the same source. He is recorded in a NB/LB administrative list from 14.XII (no year and RN, SC 68, 5, 6, unpublished tablet in Smith College, Northampton, MA).¹¹ For various categories of carpenters see CAD N/1: 113-114, s.v. *naggāru*, b and cf. Zadok 2012: xlv:1.2.2.1 *in fine*.

F. On Akkadian names in Aramaic texts and docketts – PN *br Np̄ly* denotes “PN descendant of the Nappāhu clan” (Streck 2017: 174:107); *-y* very probably renders here the gentilic */*-āy/* (status absolutus; the determinate status is rendered by *-y’*, see Streck 2017: 189 *ad* 192 with n. 118).- ARHUŠ-GAR- a restoration *R[w]škn* is more likely than *R[m]škn* (Streck 2017: 184:4) in view of the phonetic spellings LB *Re-e-mu-šu-kun* (Nippur, 5.V.35 Art. I = 430 BC, Donbaz and Stolper 1997, 97, 2) and *Re-šu-kun-nu* (Nippur, 21.II.38 Art. I = 427 BC, Stolper 1985, 103, 6, 9 <nu>, 10), very probably for one and the same individual. The shift *m > w* took place only when the original Akkadian (Babylonian) */m/* is intervocalic (cf., e.g., the related name ^d+AG-*re-man-ni* = Aram. *Nbwrwn*, Streck 2017: 183:1). In this case, a normalization *Rēm-šukun* for the ARHUŠ-GAR, which is understandable for late Babylonian, a dialect devoid of case endings, cannot be the point of departure. It may be envisaged that the shift of intervocalic *-m-* to *-w-* in this case took place when the name was still pronounced *RēmV-šukun* (presumably *Rēma-šukun*), or was the *-m-* heard like a sonant one?- The brick inscription retains the *-’-* of *Nbwn’d* (see Streck 2017: 185:6) presumably because it is an official (royal) document (Sass and Marzahn 2010: 170:30), where the scribe rendered accurately the Babylonian original.- *’dnbw < Iddin(a)-Nabû:*¹² for the segmentation cf. *Byt’llwny* (*Bayt-’il + G perf. 3rd sg. m. of L-W/Y-Y “to accompany” + acc. suff. 1st sg. -ny*, Sass and Marzahn 2010: 166:9). - The forms *Nuska* (Babylonian) and *Na/ušuh* (*/Na/usuh/*, Neo-Assyrian, cf. Streck 2017: 191) may indicate that the *u* after the initial consonant is short, in which case Aram. *Nwšklny* is a plene spelling. Therefore, *[’n]wbls?* = ^d60-TIN-*su /Anu-uballissu/* (Streck 2017: 176:144) can alternatively render *Anu-bullissu*. Regarding Streck 2017: 172:51, the deed BE 8, 51 (CBS 3539), 1 has [^dUT]U-ŠEŠ-MU (son of Nergal-iddina, collated by me in 2015).

Notes

1. Abbreviations (mostly of editions of cuneiform texts) are as in A.L. Oppenheim *et al.* (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago and Glückstadt 1956-2010), unless otherwise indicated. The months (in Roman figures) are the Babylonian ones. Non-bibliographical abbreviations: Am. = Amorite; Aram. = Aramaic; BHeb. = Biblical Hebrew; CA = Classical Arabic; det. = determinate state; JAram. = Jewish Aramaic; JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; Mand. = Mandaic; MHeb. = Middle Hebrew; MPers. = Middle Persian; OSyr. = Old Syriac; SA = Samaritan Aramaic; Sem. = Semitic.

2. NA *ma-qa-al-ta-a-nu* is apparently with a *m*-preformative, but its *-n* has been interpreted as fem. pl. by Fales 2007: 117.

3. Extant in *prds r.* (Sokoloff 2017: 600b), cf. JBA (and Targum of Esther) and OSyr. *bwstn’*, Mand. *bwst’n’ < Middle Iranian *bōstān* (MPers. *bōyestān*) “orchard” (of fruits), “grove” (notably of planted cedars, distinct from *prds* “vineyard”, cf. Sokoloff 2002: 191b) < Old Iranian **bouda-stāna* “the place of smell, fragrance”.

4. Cf. the antonym JBA *dwkrnyt’* (hapax, presumably for **dykrnyt’* due to the frequent graphic interchange *w/y* in texts with square Jewish scripts) which renders MHeb. *’ylwnyt* “man-like woman”. They are based on *dykr* (cf. JBA *dykr’*) and *’yl* “male” < “ram”.

5. This planet name has no cognates according to AHw.: 1077a. It is apparently based on a *qatl*-formation of Š-L-B “to impale, crucify”. For the latter root in Aramaic and Middle Hebrew as well as its Akkadian cognate *šalāpu* (SB, CAD Š: 71a) see Moreshet 1980: 305-306. The Akkadian cognate denotes “to cross out, cancel, to distort, pervert”. Is it used figuratively in the naming of the star? (cf. the derived nominal forms OB, SB *šalpu*, OB, MB, LB *šilipitu* “diagonal”, NA *šilbu* “crosswise arrangement”).

6. Sokoloff 2002: 280 where the status designation *gyl’h* “of the same age”, based on *gyl* and ending in the same suffix, is listed. Another status designation, Aram. *’hr’y* (*’hr* + adjectival suff.) “responsible” is modelled on NB/LB *uškû* (< *urk-* + adj. suff., cf. Greenfield 1982: 478 = 2001: 212) “holder of prior claim” (see Weszeli 2007 and cf. CAD U/W: 301). JBA *yrhyn’h* “of the (new) moon” (*yrh*) is a designation of the Talmudic sage Samuel, who was also an astronomer (cf. Sokoloff 2002: 542, for an interchange *-ān/-īn-* in Mandaic see Macuch 1965: 196).

7. Sokoloff 2002: 943b, 945b, 1013-1014, 1016a; *’yhy dqyr’* (cf. Zadok 2014) was understood as “it (= the place) of the bitumen”, i.e. a case of reinterpretation of the toponym **Hyt (dqyr’)*. Throughout history, the toponym ends in a dental consonant. The process of textual corruption can be reconstructed as **Hyt +dqyr’* with assimilation of the 1st (unvoiced) dental to the following unvoiced one, resulting in **Hy dqyr’* which was reinterpreted as *’yhy dqyr’*.

8. It is listed as variant of **byqyt’*, which is extant in pl. *byqyt’* by Drower and Macuch 1963: 62b with an incorrect rendering “region, plane” comparing Bibl. Aram. *bq’h* and OSyr. *pq’t* “plain”. The context strongly suggests “a narrow house” as a degradation of a normal, spacious dwelling, which matches the JBA term as will be demonstrated presently. The Mandaic cognate is aptly compared with the JBA form by Sokoloff 2002: 205b, s.v. *byqt’*.

9. The shift is more common in NA, but unlike NB *sa-ga-ni-ia*, which is a loan from NA (see Zadok 2020a: 3), *šir(a)ku* is an exclusively Babylonian term. The only NA occurrence, viz. *luše-er-ki*, is in a letter from central Babylonia concerning Babylonian oblates (ABL 1274 = Parpola, LAS 291, 13, see CAD Š/3: 108a, s.v. *širku* A, b, 2’).

10. *Bītānū* is not analogous as it is not homonymous with *bītānu* “inner part, interior”, but an adjective thereof (CAD B: 274-276).

11. Quoted with kind permission of Dr. M. Antonetti, curator of the Rare Books Room of Smith College.

12. See Streck 2017: 188; and cf. Zadok 2020a: 5, but note the unique spelling *Id-di-na-d+A[G]/E[N]* from Babylon, 22.VIII.28 Darius I = 494 BC (Wunsch, *Urkunden*, 18, 19).

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- 2020b. Arameo-Akkadica II. NABU 2020/128.
- 2020c. Four Loanwords in Neo-/Late-Babylonian. NABU 2020/129.

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57) Mūtaq ʿBagaruš: Persian element in the sacral space of Babylon* — The death of Cambyses, the short reign of Bardiya, and the rebellions of Nebuchadnezzar III and IV ended eventually with assuming power in the Persian Empire by Darius I, but also resulted in many changes in Babylonia. They affected the administrative structure of the state, limitation of state engagement in cult (including the cessation of *nīqē šarri*),¹⁾ increased tax burden and an obligation to send manpower from Babylonia to Persia.²⁾ Nevertheless, it was judged that the Persians did not attempt to use Babylonian cultic tradition for their own purpose and no element of their own religious belief appeared in public sphere of Babylonia. A breakthrough in this picture was brought about by Caroline Waerzeggers who demonstrated, on previously unpublished document BM 72747, that shortly after the death of Darius, in the first year of his son Xerxes daily sacrificial cult before the statue of Darius was established in Sippar. The cult was organised in the accordance with the Babylonian tradition on the basis the prebendary system, although probably relied on people who did not belong to the hereditary priesthood of Sippar.³⁾

In this short text I wish to draw attention to the possible presence of Persian religious beliefs in the public space of Babylon. This information, to a large extent parallel, is found in two texts. The significance of Dar 82 is that it comes from the very beginning of the reign of Darius I; the second, published here, is about 56 years later. Although Dar 82 is edited in print,⁴⁾ or in internet file,⁵⁾ it is published again here for the convenience of the readers.

Dar 82 = BM 77371 (84-2-11, 107)
16.6.3Dar (519 BC)

- Obv. 1. 2 *ma-na* kù.babbar *ša*^m*kur-ru-la-a-a* ^{lú}*qal-la*
 2. *ša uš-ta-an-ni* ^{lú}*nam e*^{ki} *u e-bir* íd
 3. *ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{md}*amar.utu-mu-dù a-šú* *ša*^m*šu-la-a*
 4. a ^{md}*dù*^{ex}-dingir *é-su* *ša* da *mu-ta-qu*
 5. ^d*ba-ga-ru-uš maš-kan* *ša*^m*kur-ru-la-a-a*
 6. ^{lú}*tuk*^{id} *ša-nam-ma* *ina muḫ-ḫi ul i-šal-laṭ*
 7. *i-dì* *é ia-a-nu u* ur₅.ra kù.babbar
 8. *ia-a-nu*
 Rev. 9. ^{lú}*mu-kin-nu* ^{md}*ag-dib-ud.da a-šú*
 10. *ša*^{md}*ag-numun-du a* ^{mda}*-šú*
 11. ^m*tab-ni-e-a a-šú* *ša*^m*li-šir a* ^{lú}*simug*
 12. ^m*si-lim*^d*en a-šú* *ša*^m*lu-è-ana-zálag a* ^{md}*30-ša-du-nu*
 1 ^m*gi*^d*amar.utu a-šú* *ša*^m*tab-ni-e-a a* ^{md}*30-ša-du-nu*
 14. ^{md}*utu-gi a-šú* *ša*^{md}*utu-mu a* ^{lú}*gal.dù*
 15. ^{lú}*šid* ^{md}*en-mu a-šú* *ša*^{md}*en-gi a* ^{md}*dù*^{ex}-dingir
 16. *e*^{ki} *iti.du*₆ *u*₄.16.kam <mu>.3.kam
 17. ^m*da-ri-ia-muš* *lugal e*^{ki} *u kur.kur*

Translation

- 1-4. 2 minas of silver belonging to Kurrulaya, the slave of Uštānu, the governor of Babylon and Across-the River, owed by Marduk-šum-ibni, son of Šulaya, descendant of <Ea>-eppeš-ilī family.
 4-5. His (debtor's) house adjacent to the passage of Bagaruš is security of Kurrulaya.
 6-8. No other creditor has a right to it (the pledge and) there is no rent of (the pledged) house and no interest on the silver.
 9-14. Witnesses:
 Nabû-mušētiq-uddē, son of Nabû-zēr-ukīn, descendant of Lē'i-Marduk family
 Tabnēa, son of Līšir, descendant of Nappāḫu family
 Silim-Bēl, son of Lūšī-ana-nūr, descendant of Sīn-šadūnu family
 Mušallim-Marduk, son of Tabnēa, descendant of Sīn-šadūnu family
 Šamaš-ušallim, son of Šamaš-iddin, descendant of Rab-banē family
 The scribe, Bēl-iddin, son of Bēl-ušallim, descendant of (Ea)-eppeš-ilī family.
 Babylon, month Tašritu, sixteenth day, third year of Darius, king of Babylon and Lands.

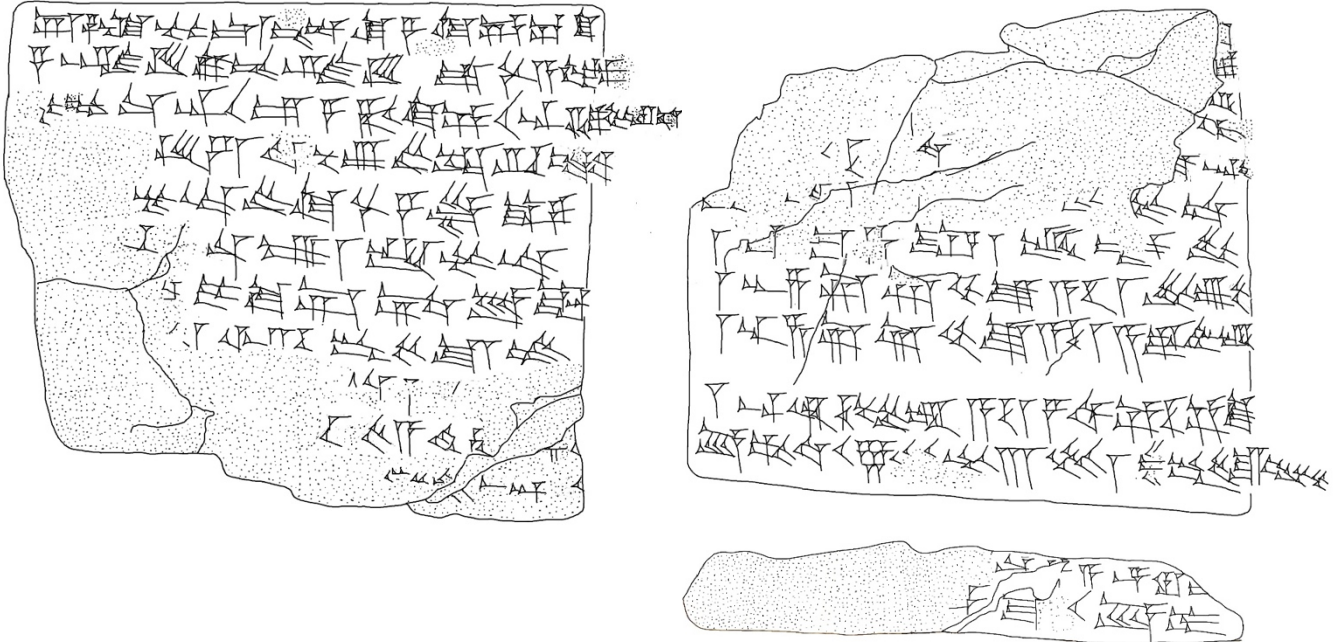
BM 33339 (Rm III, 12)

6.5 x 5.7 cm

18.2.3Art (462 BC)

- Obv. 1. *é* *ša* *ki*^{ti} ^{um}*gibil*^{ki} *ša* *qé-reb* *e*^{ki}
 2. *ša* *ina* *gi.meš lib-bi* *gi.meš* da *silá a-šu*^f*ú*¹
 3. ^f*mu-taq*¹-*qa* ^d*u+gur* *ša* *ḫa-dí-e u* ^d{*šig*}*ba-gu-ru*^f*uš*¹
 4. [...] *meš* *ša*^m *par*²*-nu-ú* ^{lú}*ka-ri*^f*x*¹*-tí*
 5. [^{md}x]-*mu*^{na} ^{lú}*di.kud* *ša* *ká dumu* *ša*
 6. [*x x*] ^f*x* ¹[(*x*)]-*qa-ú* ^{md}*en-mu*^{na}
 7. [*x (x) a-n*] *a i-dì* *é ta iti.bár*
 8. [*u*₄.*x kam mu.3*[?] *ka*] *m*^{ar-tak-šat-su} *lugal*
 9. [...] ^f*na x*¹ [...]
 10. [...] *d-dín a-ḫi* *k*[ù.babbar *ina ri-e*]š [mu]
 11. [*u a-ḫi* kù.babbar *ina*] ^f*mi-šil mu*¹ *ina-an-d*[in]
 Edge 12. [*ú-ru i-ša-an-na bat*]-*qa* ^f*ša*¹ *a-sur-ru*^f*ú*¹
 13. [*i-šab-bat* *iti.bár it*] *i.šu u iti.gan*
 Rev. 14. [*nu-up-tu*₄ *i-na-pu*...] ^f*x*¹
 15. [...] ^f*lu*¹
 16. [...] ^f*ri*¹
 17. [...] ^f*š*²¹
 18. [...] ^f*x*¹ [*x*] ^f*x*¹ [...] *ina-an-din*
 19. [^{lú}*mu-kin-nu*...] ^{md}*en*²*-mu-du*
 20. ^m*šu-la-a*¹ *dumu* *ša*^{md}*en*^f*ad*¹*-uru*
 21. ^{md}*za-ba*₄-*ba*₄-*tin-su a-šú* ^m*šeš-ú-nu*
 22. ^{md}*za-ba*₄-*ba*₄-*tin-su a-šú* ^m*a-da*[?]^d*en*
 One blank line
 23. ^{md}*en-šú-nu* ^{lú}*šid* *a-šú* <*ša*> ^m*ša-pi-e-šú* *e*^{ki}
 L.e. 24. *iti.gu*₄ *u*₄.18. ^f*kam*¹ *mu.3.kam* ^m*ar-tak-šat-su* *lugal kur.kur*

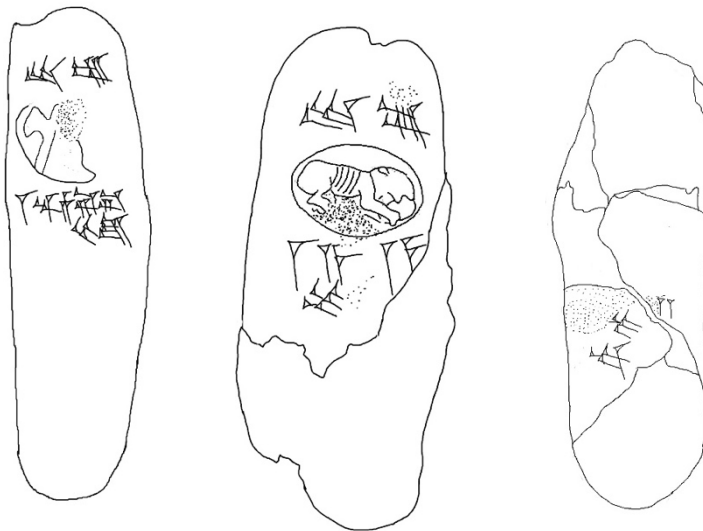
Up.ed	L.h.e	l.e.
na ₄ .kišib	na ₄ .kišib	[...]
Seal	Seal	[...]
^{md} za-ba ₄ -ba ₄ -	^m a-a-	[^m x]-mu-
tin-su	mu	[x]-na



upper edge

L. h. e.

l. e.



Notes

Cf. Nisaba 28, 54, no. 259 and 193, F. 226 and F. 227. The seals are kindly copied by R. Tarasewicz

L. 1. The *ša* is written over *ina*. For *Ālu-eššu ša qereb Bābili*, see texts cited in George 1992, 376.

L. 2. The expression concerning houses, field, reeds (i.e., measure of plot) occur in many documents, quoted among other in CAD L 173, entry b' where the meaning "a field (which was before) part of the (same) field" is suggested, but the entry quotes a few other texts where such meaning is rather difficult to use. For the meaning of the idiom, see Steinmetzer 1934, 205 according to him it concerns the field which was sold shortly before or at the same time.

L. 3. *ba-gu-ru-uš* is written on the right edge and the signs *ba* and *ru* signs are squeezed looking almost as one sign. I hesitated between reading of *ba-gan* or *ba-gu*, and eventually I decided to read and copy it as *gu* because the writing *bu-gu* is attested (Tavernier 2007, s.v. 4.2.296, no. 3, and Zadok 2009, 147, s.v. 221) while *ba-gan* is not. I wish to thank R. Tarasewicz for discussion on the writing of this sign.

Ll. 4-5. The poor condition of the tablet does not allow to ascertain what the role of [GN/PN]-iddin “the judge of the gate” and whether it can be identified with Bēl-iddin from l. 6.

L.5. Regarding the gates as a place of exercising court proceedings, see Jursa and Stolper 2007, 261 and n. 58. Note, however, that expression *dayyān ša bābi* – except of this example – occurs only in BM 54091: 18 (Stolper, RA 85, 55-56, written in Babylon, month Nisannu, fourth year of Artaxerxes I, 461 BC), where certain Aḥḥē-iqīša, son of Aplaya is first witness.

L. 9. In this line we can expect the time (years) for which the house was leased but maybe also the name of the tenant if we accept in Bēl-iddin from l. 6 the owner of the house.

The name Apla-iddin on the stamp on l.h.e. is probably a hypocoristic of [DN]-apla-iddin, however he is not present in the preserved lines of the tablet.

As two men of the same name Zababa-bullissu occur in the tablet, it is not known who of them impressed his stamp.

Translation

The house in the district of Newtown (*Ālu eššu*) which is inside of Babylon, in the inner part of the plot, of adjacent to the through street, passage of Nergal-ša-ḥadê and Bagaruš, [...]s of Parnū², the [...]GN]-iddin, the judge at the gate, son of [x]-qū, Bēl-iddin [...] rented it from the month Nisannu [day x, third² year] of Artaxerxes, the king [(to PN²)... for x shekels of silver].

He will pay half of sil[ver at the beginn]ing of the year [and half of silver in] the middle of the year.

[He will seal the roof and repair] the (cracks) of the wall footing.

[In the month Nisannu], Du’ūzu and Kislīmu [he will pay *nūptu* payment].

(Four lines are damaged)

[Witnesses]:

[PN, son of] Bēl-šum-ukīn

Šulaya, son of Bēl-aba-ušur

Zababa-bullissu, son of Aḥūnu

Zababa-bullissu, son of Ada’-Bēl

One blank line

Bēlšunu, the scribe, son of Šapēšu

Babylon, month Ayaru, eighteenth day, third year of Artaxerxes, king of Lands.

Up. Edge

Stamp of Zababa-bullissu

L.h.e

Stamp of Apla-iddin

L.e.

[Stamp of x]-šum-[x]^{na}

Commentary

The conditions of transaction in both documents are typical. In Dar 82 the creditor, Kurrulaya, the slave of Uštānu, the governor of Babylon and Across-the-River,⁶⁾ takes the house as a pledge until the debtor settles the debt of two minas of silver. Kurrulaya will not receive the interest from the silver but will pay neither rent nor interest to Marduk-šum-ibni, the debtor for the pledged house given at his disposal. Similarly, in BM 33339, the text concerning rental of a house, the conditions of transaction are typical: the tenant should pay house rent in two instalments (although the sum is not preserved), is responsible for repair of damages and for paying *nūptu* three times a year. Since lines 9, 15-18 are almost destroyed, the other terms of the contract remain unknown.⁷⁾

Most important is the location of the house in these documents.⁸⁾ In Dar 82 dated to 16.7.3Dar (519 BC), it is said that the house was located *mūtaq*^d*ba-ga-ru-uš*, and – because it was written in Babylon – it is rather sure that the passage should be in the capital city, although the quarter of the city is not given. This can be established based on BM 33339 as it is said there that the house was in a quarter of Babylon called Newtown,⁹⁾ and laid *itā* (da) *sāqu ašū mūtaq*^d*u+gur šā ha-di-e u*^d sig *ba-gu-ru-uš*. Importance of BM 33339 lays in that the text relates *mūtaq*^d*u+gur šā ha-di-e* with *ba-gu-ru-uš*.

The *mūtaq*^d*u+gur šā ha-di-e*, “passage of Nergal-of-Joy,” i.e., ceremonial road of Nergal in Babylon leading from his temple Lugalirra, located probably in Kullab,¹⁰⁾ to his principal temple at Kutha through the Gate of Marduk is well known.¹¹⁾ According to Unger the road went through three quarters of Babylon, i.e. Kullab, Te-e,¹²⁾ and Kāšir.¹³⁾ Similar is George’s view, but according to him it is probable that Te-e might be identified with Kāšir.¹⁴⁾ BM 33339 is important as in light of it ceremonial street of Nergal reached also the city quarter of Newtown (*Ālu eššu*).¹⁵⁾ All in all, it suggests that going to or back from Kutha the procession with Nergal went through all quarters of Babylon laying on the east bank of the Euphrates.

Some doubt concerns the width of the road. The section in Newtown is described in BM 33339 as through street (*sūqu ašū*), i.e., with a transition to another street;¹⁶⁾ in Kullab,¹⁷⁾ as well as in Te-e,¹⁸⁾ as broad street (*sūqu rapšū*), while in Kaširi as narrow street (*sūqu qatnu*).¹⁹⁾ In light of these data the width of its north distance is unknown, while its central part going through Kullab and Te-e was wider than that in Kaširi in the south.²⁰⁾

They are two differences in writing of the Iranian word in both tablets. In BM 33339 the determinative precedes sig. The comparison with Dar 82 suggests that it should be placed not before sig but after it, however, question arises whether sig is not completely redundant, and that we must read “adjacent to the through street, passage of Nergal-ša-ḥadê and Bagaruš.” If we accept sig, the only sense in this content has Akkadian *qatnu*, and the reading “adjacent to the through street, passage of Nergal-ša-ḥadê and narrow (passage) of Bagaruš.”

Tavernier and Zadok interpret ^dBagaruš as personal name,²¹⁾ what seems doubtful in this context because in Dar 82 and in BM 33339 ^dBagaruš it is related to *mūtaqu*, “passage, thoroughfare.” In Babylon, *mūtaq ilī u nīše*, *mūtaq bēl rabī* ^dMarduk, *mūtaq* ^dNabū u ^dNanaya, *mūtaq* ^dUraš are known.²²⁾ However, *mūtaqu* is never combined with personal names, even the king or member of highest royal administration,²³⁾ but with god(s). Presumably the relation of ^dBagaruš with *mūtaqu* in both texts prompted the scribes to precede Bagaruš with determinative before divine names instead of determinative before personal names.²⁴⁾ Additionally, the presence in Babylonia of many Persian names with *baga* element²⁵⁾ must have raised questions about the meaning of the term at least among educated people, to which scribes belonged. So, it seems likely that the scribes knew that the *baga* was Persian generic term for god,¹⁶⁾ and this might lead to treat wrongly the name Bagaruš as a name of Persian god.

The conjunctive *u* between *sūqu qatnu mūtaq Nergal ša ḥadê* and ^d{sig}ba-gu-ru-uš in BM 33339 suggests that both *sūqu* and *mūtaq* refer to the location of a house. This seems suggest that part of *mūtaq Nergal ša ḥadê* was named “Passage of Bagaruš” and that the house laid adjacent to the passage of Nergal. The minimal distance of 56 years between Dar 82 (519 BC) and BM 33339 (462 BC, the earliest possible date),²⁷⁾ shows clearly that the tradition of naming part of “Passage of Nergal of Joy” as “Passage of Bagaruš” was well established. It means that in the central city sector, recognised as sacral space with temples and streets that were witness of many cultic ceremonies, the Persian element has appeared, recognised at least by two scribes as honoring the Persian god. The new data – scanty as they are – show that from one side the Persians tried to take advantage of the Mesopotamian tradition (as demonstrated by Waerzeggers), but from the other some people were convinced that the term *mūtaq* ^dBagaruš expressed in some way the Persian belief, although there is no reason to think that this was the result of deliberate Persian policy.

Notes

* The draft of this text was kindly read and commented by Tytus Mikołajczak, Małgorzata Sandowicz and Radosław Tarasewicz, however, the responsibility for current version lies solely with the author. BM 33339 is published with kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

1. According to MacGinnis 1994, 214, the last mention of *nīqē šarri* is dated to seventh year of Darius I.

2. Jursa 2009, esp. 266 (“a cumulatively growing burden of tax and service obligation (...) imposed on the Babylonian elite during his [Darius] reign”); Jursa 2011; Jursa and Schmidl 2017; Kleber 2017, 708-709; Sandowicz 2018 (on changes in administration of justice) and Waerzeggers 2015, esp. 197-99.

3. Waerzeggers 2014, 323-29. I agree with her that interpretation of other documents that could indicate the existence of such a cult of Nabonidus is rather unacceptable, because Babylonia did not know the cult of the king during his lifetime.

4. Unger, KB 4, 304; Dandamaev 1985, 330 (translation) and 702-03, no. 76 (transliteration).

5. Joannès in *achemenet.com*.

6. The governor of the province in the period 521-516 BC, see Stolper 1989, 290.

7. The text is destroyed in crucial place and it is not clear who was the owner and who the tenant of the house.

8. Although the house in both texts was located probably in the same vicinity, there is small likely that both texts concern the same house, as time distance of 56 years – even if we identify third year of Artaxerxes with first king of this name – would be quite long. Probably two different houses located along the same street are meant, but it cannot be excluded that the old house was demolished and rebuild.

9. For location of Newtown, see George 1985, 16 and plan on p. 24, and George 1992, 375-377 (location and references).

10. George 1992, 223 and 362, where it is suggested that *mūtaq Nergal ša ḥadê* might be another name for the street Marduk-re’î-mātišu. For references, see George 1992, 362 and 377; add Wunsch 2003, no. 18: 3 (22.8.28Dar) and BM 33980 (Zawadzki 2018, no. 133).

11. See Unger, *Babylon*, 113 with new references in George 1992, 362 and probably also in Cyr 361: 7-8 (according to reading by Joannès in *Achemenet.com*).

12. George 1992, 377 and add Sandowicz 2019, no. 14 (BM 61432): 2.

13. Unger 1931, 71 and 113.

14. George 1992, 377.

15. For Newtown, see George 1992, 376, and add CTMMA 3, 36: 6 and 141: 14’.

16. However, if sig = *qatnu* is not written mistakenly this might be interpreted also that section of the street located at Newtown was narrow, i.e., that both ends of the street were narrower than that in Kullab and Te-e.

17. BR 8/7, no. 32: 9.

18. Cam 423: 3 and presumably in Liv 18: 4 (ʿsila rap^l-šú).

19. Dar 275: 2.

20. George 1992, 377 considered identification of Te-e quarter with Kaširi quarter, but the different width of the road in both quarters speaks rather against this idea. It is not excluded that only this part of the road which was close to the gate was narrower.

21. Tavernier 2007, 139: „light of Baga”; Zadok 2009, 143: “Possessivkompositum *baga-raučah-, der das Licht des Gottes hat”.

22. CAD M2, 297-298, where also *mūtaq nīšē* is mentioned. Add *mu-taq* un.[meš] in BM 46420 (2.10.2[KN]) and Weisberg, OIP 122, 9: 8; 10: 10. Although the place of writing of BM 46420 is missing, the mention of the gate of Uraš make rather certain that it was written in Babylon, where this passage should be located. The writing *mūtaq nīšē* is surprising because by their very nature the streets or passages are meant for people to walk. There are two possibilities, the first that *mūtaq nīšē* is an abbreviated form of *mūtaq ilī u nīšē*, but this is unlikely because in such a case we would rather expect an abbreviation to *mūtaq ilī*. The second possibility is that it is a part of a street, where usually crowds of people gathered to watch the processions of the gods, for example during the *akītu* festival.

23. This stand in contrast to the canals such as Nār-Nabû-kudurri-ušur (CTMMA 4, 4; Nbk 104 and VS 6, 230) later known as Nār-šarri (Jursa 2010, 86 and 326); Nār-Kuraš (Zawadzki 2010 and MacGinnis 1995, 163) and Nār-ša-Gubarri (RGTC 8, 92 and Joannès 1982, no. 89).

24. In NB texts the personal determinative is consciously abandoned merely before the king’s names.

25. For these names, see Tavernier 2007, and Zadok 2009.

26. Cf. Schmitt 2014, 149 *baga* is “das normale Wort für Gott”. For the meaning of *baga*, see also Zimmer 1984a, and Zimmer 1988b, 402-406.

27. Note, however, that Altavilla and Walker 2016, 54. s.v. no. 259, date the text to Artaxerxes II/III. With such dating the distance between Dar 82 and BM 33339 would be 117 years (third year of Artaxerxes II) or 162 years (third year of Artaxerxes III).

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58) The Baz(za) Chronicle (BM 46090 = 81-7-6, 538) — The British Museum houses a great number of chronicle fragments from Mesopotamia. Most of them are published and edited by A.K. Grayson (1975) and Jean-Jacques Glassner (2004). A study of the provenance of these chronicles is provided by Caroline Waerzeggers (2012). A new edition of the Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period (BCHP, in a preliminary version made available online at livius.org) is now in the final stage of preparation in a volume, to be published by Irving Finkel, Reinhard Pirngruber, Bert van der Spek and Kathryn Stevens (ed.), in the SBL Series *Writings from the Ancient World*, containing these chronicles, the historical sections of the astronomical diaries (including a number of unpublished undated diaries) and a few other documents of historical interest, such as the Antiochus Cylinder, the Babylonian King List and the Uruk King List.

One chronicle fragment, identified by Irving Finkel, cannot be included in this volume as it clearly does not report events of the Hellenistic period. It mentions a king of Babylon who leads a campaign against the land of Baz(za). Although the reported events concern the pre-Hellenistic period, it is quite well possible that the text was written in the Hellenistic period (cf. Waerzeggers 2015). The chronicles that arrived at the British Museum between 1876 and 1884, were accompanied by large numbers of astronomical texts from the Hellenistic and Parthian Esangila temple (Waerzeggers 2012: 291, quoting Clancier 2009: 190-1). This chronicle might then be part of a group of texts with reworked or newly composed content concerning Babylonian history with a message for the present time (see e.g. Goldstein 2010; Da Riva 2017). This idea may find support that Bazza still existed in the Parthian period; see below commentary to l. 4’.

We present here a first edition without much commentary, inviting specialists to interpret the document. The tablet is a small fragment of a larger document. The text is interrupted by rulings as is usual in chronicle texts. It is broken on all sides, the reverse is lost. It is not easy to calculate the length of the missing parts, especially at the right hand side. Two dots (..) means approximately one sign; three dots (...) indicate a break of indetermined length. Lines 2’ and 7’ give an indication of the loss at the left side.

Text

1’: [... ..] x x x x x GUR NU *iḫ*-[...]

2’: [MU x ITU x U₄ x.]KAM LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} u UN^{mes}-šú ana KUR b[a²-ri-ni GIN-ik (?)...]

3’: [... ..]x UN^{mes}-šú *iš-bat-ma* KUR *ba-ri-ni di-i*[k²-ta-šú *i-duk* (?)...]

4’: [... ..]ÍD² *mar-ra*-tú *i-ti-iq-ma* ana KUR *ba-az* GIN-ik URU *ba-a*[z²...]

5’: [... ..]J¹x¹-šú *ḫu-bu-ut* KUR *iḫ-tab-tú* LUGAL-šú [...]

6': [... ..] *bat²-t*u² šá ra-ma-ni-šú ana lib-bi uš-te-la ina IT[U...]
 7': [MU y ITU AP]IN² U₄ 10^dUTU u DINGIR^{meš} šá ZIMBIR^{ki} dINNIN ZIM[BIR^{ki}...]
 8': [... ..] IT]U GU₄ U₄ 2.KAM^dUTU ana É.[...]

Translation

1': [... ..] x x x x returned. He did not [... ..]
 2': [Year x, Month x, Day x]th, the king of Babylon and his people (soldiers) [went] to the land of B[arini (?)...]
 3': [... ..]x his people he captured and the land of Barini he de[feated...]
 4': [... the Bitter Se]a² he crossed and to the land of Baz he went. The city of Ba[z he captured...]
 5': [... ..] x x, the booty of the land he plundered, its king [...]
 6': [... ..] fea]r² he heaped² upon him. In the Mon[th x...]
 7': [Year y, Month Arah]amna (=VIII)², day 10, Shamash and the gods of Sippar, Ishtar of Si[ppar...]
 8': [... ..] In the mo[n]th Ayaru (II), day 2, Shamash [returned/went] to the temple [X...]

Commentary

1' Signs are visible, but reading remains difficult.

2' This is the first line after a ruling, which might indicate that a new year of reign was reported here. Unfortunately the 'King of Babylon' is not named and we could not find a suitable candidate. One is inclined to think of a Neo-Babylonian king, such as Nabonidus, who campaigned in Arabia (see comments to line 4'), but earlier Babylonian kings may also come to mind, as well as the Assyrian kings, who were also king of Babylon, like Esarhaddon. The geographical name of the land at the end of the line is not preserved. Traces of one sign are visible, i.e. two horizontal wedges. They may be the traces of *ba* (cf. line 3')

3' The land of Barini is unknown to us. It is not present in Zadok 1985. One might speculate that Barini renders the Arabic name of Eastern Arabia that was historically *Al-Bahrain* until the 18th century. The island of Bahrain was called Dilmun in cuneiform texts and Tylos in Greek.

4' The land of Baz has been the subject of many studies (see e.g. Brinkman 1968: 160, n. 970; Grayson 1975: Leichty 2011: 20, note at text 1: iv 53). Brinkman identifies at least two and perhaps three separate regions named *Bazu/Bāzu* (*Bazzu*) in the Neo-Assyrian sources, i.e. in eastern or north-eastern Arabia, NW and NE of Assyria. One option is a region in Northern Arabia at the coast of the Gulf near Bahrain. The Babylonian chronicles mention *Bazza* (*ba-a-z-za*) twice. In Babylonian Chronicle ABC 1: iv 5 it is reported that the army of Assyria captured *Bazza* (*Ba-a-z-za*; no determinative for city or land; cf. Zadok 1985: 73) in the fifth year of Esarhaddon, month Tashritu (VII) and in the Esarhaddon Chronicle ABC 14: 13 the same event is recorded, here with the determinative URU, 'city'. *Bazza* might be the accusative tense of *Bazzu*. We have some hesitation how to read the name in this chronicle. The four upright wedges (2+2 on top of each other) may render the sign *za*, but they may also be part of the sign *az*, where it can be inscribed at the right end of the sign or in the middle. If we look at the way *Ba-a-z-za* was written in Chronicle ABC 1: IV 5 (Grayson 1975: Plate XIII) it closely resembles the way the name it is written here.

The restoration 'Bitter Sea' (= Persian Gulf or Mediterranean) is indicated by the information that the king might have crossed the sea to reach Baz. Baz (written *Ba-a-zu*) is also mentioned in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon himself, where it is stated that it was located in a far and dry country. Significantly the verb *etēqu*, 'to cross over' (*e-ti-iq*) is mentioned there as well (Leichty 2011: 20, text 1: iv 58). *Bazza* may thus be located in the river area on the Persian Gulf or on the island of Bahrain.

One very late reference to *Bazza* may be found in an astronomical diary from the Parthian period (AD -125A), where mention is made of *Bazzanitans* in Mesene on the Persian Gulf. The text runs as follows:

15: [ITU BI] rU₄ 1 2^{kám} lú mu-<ma->'-ir KUR URI^{ki} TA E^{ki} È U₄ 5.KAM *al-te-e šá* l[^u?UN²]^{meš} *ba-a-z-za-ni-ta-a šá ina* ÍD A^{meš}-šá-an ZI r x x x x x¹ [... ..] r x x TA² x¹ [... ..]
 16: [... ..] r di¹-ik-tú ina ŠA-šú-nu DÜ-' BAD₅.BAD₅-šú-nu ina ^{giš}TUKUL GAR-' URU BI *ih-pu-ú u rš-lu¹-lu-ú*

15: [That month] day 2 (= March 30, 126 BC), the satrap of Babylonia went out from Babylon. Day 5 (2 April), I heard that the *Bazzanitan* [people] who [made²] a revolt in the river(area)² of Mesene x x x x x [... ..] .. from .. [... ..]

16: [... ..] massacred them and brought about their defeat in battle. This city (*Bazza*)² they destroyed and plundered. (Quoted from Van der Spek *et al.*, forthcoming)

The island of Bahrain was part of the kingdom of Mesene as we learn from a Greek inscription found in Bahrain: 'In the name of King Hyspaosines and of Queen Thalassia, Kephisodoros, strategos of Tylos and of the Islands (has dedicated) the temple, to the Dioscuri Saviours, in ex voto' (Gatier, Lomdard, Al-Sindi 2002). The death of king Hyspaosines is reported in AD -123A: 19', where it is reported that 'Thalassia, his sister and wife' (*ta-la-si'-a* NIN¹ u DAM-šú) put her young son on the throne.

Another option is the city of Baz (or Baš) mentioned in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, who built a temple there (See Zadok 1985: 70-2 for the references). Four times the temple is mentioned after the Ebabbar temple of Sippar.

6' *ḥattu ramanišu*. (Leichty 2011: 21, text 1: iv 74) cf. inscription of Esarhaddon concerning a king of Bāzu: *ḥa-at-tu ra-ma-ni-šú im-quit-su-ma*, 'fear fell on him'.

7' - 8' This seems to mention a removal of statues of gods from and to a temple. We know that Nabonidus removed statues from several Babylonian cities to Babylon, but exactly the gods of Sippar stayed in their temples (ABC 7: iii 11-12). If mention is made of a return, line 8' can be restored as É.[BABBAR]; if it refers to abduction to Babylon, one might think of É.[SAG.ĪL]. Note that the month name of line 8' is earlier in the calendar than that in line 7'. So Month II of line 8' either refers to the next year or is a reference to a removal of statues earlier that year.

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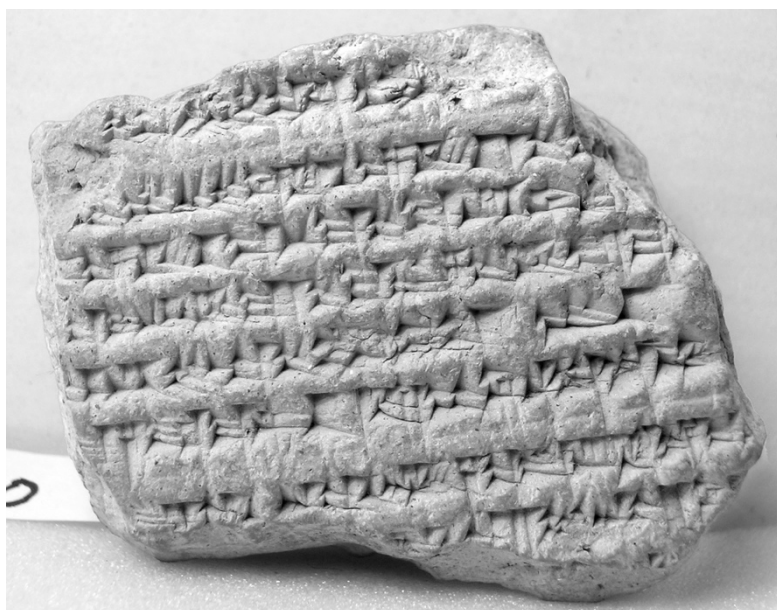


Photo: Bert van der Spek

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59) Addenda et corrigenda à P. Attinger, *Glossaire sumérien-français, principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens* (2021) — Le lecteur trouvera ci-dessous des additions et corrections au *Glossaire sumérien-français* (désormais GSF) fraîchement paru.

Passim : dans dubsar 18 (2020, paru en 2021), S. Sövegjártó propose pour bon nombre de gloses de nouvelles lectures. Les recenser toutes dépasserait largement le cadre de cette note. Je ne mentionne ici que les plus importantes d'entre elles. — Les graphies non-standard rassemblées par P. Delnero dans SANER 26 (2020) n'ont pu être prises en considération que de manière ponctuelle. Pour un index de ces graphies, v. P. Attinger, Index des graphies non-standard et gloses mentionnées dans P. Delnero, SANER 26 (2020) (choix) (<http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4757389> ou https://www.academia.edu/48970627/SANER_26_index_des_graphies_non_standard_et_gloses_choix_).

P. 18 : ajouter gl. = glose.

P. 20, 24^e l. : étape.

P. 22 : ajouter Adapa : Cavigneaux 2014 (éd.).

Pp. 30 sq., EnlSud, Cavigneaux 2020b:69-74 : lire éd. de S₁ et S₂.

Pp. 57-62 (système de translittération) : dans un article dont je n'ai malheureusement pris connaissance qu'à une date trop tardive pour le mentionner dans le Glossaire, P. Delnero a discuté le système de translittération proposé dans aBZL (Writing speech and performing language: The role of phonetic writing in the Sumerian liturgical tradition, BBVO 29 [2019] 99-122). Après avoir exposé les opinions diamétralement opposées de P. Michalowski et de moi-même, il rappelle le caractère essentiellement logographique de l'écriture cunéiforme et souligne l'importance de la pragmatique ; cf. surtout pp. 120 sq. : "And more importantly, since the phonetic writings in the copies of cultic laments are orthographic representations of how the words were perceived to be pronounced when recited or sung by scribes who compiled the sources centuries after Sumerian had died out as a spoken language, to what extent do they really reflect the precise phonological structures of the words and forms in the texts? / I would argue that once the emphasis is shifted from the formal study of phonology to examining its pragmatic functions, the question of what the formal norms for pronouncing Sumerian were at any given period and place becomes largely irrelevant. In fact, if anything, the extreme variability in the extent to which the same words and forms are written phonetically would suggest that at the level of pragmatics and metapragmatics, the scribes who compiled the phonetic sources for liturgical compositions were much less concerned with finding an orthographic means of rendering Sumerian phonology precisely and accurately than they were with creating a convenient and effective means of making it easier to pronounce the texts during performance so that they sounded like they were written in Sumerian". Sans le dire explicitement, il remet ainsi en cause le bien-fondé de mon entreprise. Dans son argumentation, il commet toutefois quelques inexactitudes qui amoindrissent considérablement la portée de ses conclusions :

- Comme je l'ai souvent souligné (en dernier lieu dans le GSF 58), je ne cherche pas à reconstruire la "prononciation réelle" des lexèmes sumériens, mais à mettre sur pied un système de translittération cohérent.
- Je n'ai jamais remis en doute le caractère essentiellement logographique de l'écriture cunéiforme, et si nous ne disposions que de textes écrits de manière standard, il ne me serait pas venu à l'idée de proposer de "nouvelles lectures".
- L'époque prises en considération est l'époque paléobabylonienne. Cela vaut tant pour les textes "littéraires" (dans un sens large) que pour les textes lexicographiques. Le "bon sumérien" d'un Gudea n'est pas mon objet d'étude.
- Ces lectures sont basées (dans l'ordre décroissant d'importance) sur les données fournies par PrEa, PrAa et PrDiri, les textes "syllabiques" de Nippur, les branches secondaires de PrEa/PrAa et enfin les graphies non-standard de textes de provenance non nippurite (cf. aBZL p. x). Si les facteurs pragmatiques ont certainement joué un rôle notable dans les textes liturgiques, en ce qui concerne les textes lexicaux, leur importance a dû être moindre pour ne pas dire nulle.
- A la p. 120, Delnero écrit "It is conceivable, for instance, that "b" really was pronounced "p" at the beginning of the words *bara*₂ and *banšur*, but what about the variation between "b" and "p", "g" and "k", and "d" and "t" at morpheme boundaries?" C'est juste, et c'est pour cette raison que, préférant une sous-différentiation systématique à une exactitude ponctuelle, je n'ai pas pris en considération les règles phonosyntaxiques (pour plus de détails, cf. Attinger1998:166 et en dernier lieu GSF 61).

Pour finir par un exemple tiré de la pratique illustrant la nécessité d'un système de translittération adapté à l'ép. pB : si dans son ouvrage récent (SANER 26, 2020), Delnero avait translittéré "à la Attinger" an-dil₂⁽⁻⁾ au lieu de an-dul₂/dul₇, il aurait certainement reconnu derrière an-DI.AN (ainsi pp. 529 et 647) an-di-il₃ et préféré à dingir sağ-e lugal-la // dingir sa₂ lu₂-ga-la // dingir sa₂-el-lu₂-ga-[...] "[h]ead god of the king" (ainsi p. 242:22' ; v. aussi pp. 542 et 612 s.v. sa₂-el-lu₂-ga(-al)) an-dil₂^(-e) lugal-la // an-de-el lu-ga-[...] // an-di(-)lu₂-ga-la (sandhi) "*protection des rois*" (une épithète d'Innana ; v. GSF 171 avec n. 297)¹⁾.

P. 127, a₂-suku₅ : lire NJN 205 // (pas EJA 205 //).

P. 160, ^(a)akkil : dans Elégie 2:12, ^aakkil^{ki} signifie plus probabl. "cris, clameurs" que "(cri de) lamentation, car il est suivi de gu₃-ê^{es}kir₆-k "cri (de bataille)" ; les deux substantifs sont rendus dans une glose akkadienne par *ri-ig²-mu u₃ ta-nu¹qa¹-[tu]* (v. Sövegjártó 2020:227).

P. 162, ^dalad₂ : les renvois à Innana C 192 et Man God 132 sont mal placés. Ils devraient figurer parmi les attestations du lexème, pas parmi celles de la graphie ^dalad.

- P. 171, 17^e l.** : lire “*protection des rois*” (pas “*protections des rois*”).
- P. 197, 18^e l., p. 1170, 2^e l. depuis le bas** : lire “discernement”.
- P. 199 avec n. 377** s.v. *igi-du₈-a* bar et **pp. 276 sq. avec n. 629** s.v. (*igi*) *du₈*, ŠE 7 YOS 22, 13 : Sövegjártó (2020:321) voit *igi du₈-a*, glosé *i-bi du*, mais tant la copie (YOS 22, 13) que la photo (Lassen et al. [ed.] 2019:64) ont clairement *igi^rda¹-a*, glosé dans la marge *i-gi x* ; pour *x*, on peut hésiter entre *da²* et *du²*.
- P. 221, n. 454** : lire D.R. Frayne.
- P. 228**, *ḥaš₄ dab₅* : lire comp. *zib₂ (...) dab₅*.
- Pp. 239 sq.**, *ḡešdašgari-n* : sur R, v. récemment Gadotti, 2014:125 sq. ; Heimpel 2011:133 ; Focke 2015:406 sq. ; Catagnoti 2016:29-53 ; Winters 2019:125 sq. et 127-129 ; Benati/Bonechi 2020:58 ; Steinkeller 2021:182-184 et 192 sq. La traduction aujourd’hui usuelle par “buis” a été remise en question par Focke (peut-être “Walnuß(baum)”), Winters (pas d’identification proposée) et Steinkeller (“Cilician or Taurus fir” ; accepté par Benati/Bonechi).
- P. 248**, *ar₂* (adv.?) *ka* (dir.) *deb* : Išme-Dagan Wb 31 devrait être enregistré s.v. *ar₂* (adv.?) *deb*.
- P. 274**, *du₆* (adv./term.) *du₈* : lire Krebernik, dubsar 17, 135:21 (pas 20).
- P. 304**, *dub-saḡ* “*première tablette*” : aussi Lugalb. I, 6N-T 638 iv 15.
- P. 337**, *IG = eg₂* : lire “Fields of Ninurta” (pas Lipit-Eštar F) ; sur ce passage, v. maintenant Sövegjártó 2020: 274 ii 23’.
- P. 359**, *erin₂-ḥuš*, n. 889 : lire (...) *gu erin₂-ḥuš* DUN.DUN “qui ourdit les fils (du) combat”.
- P. 392**, (*umda*)*ge₂-dim* : supprimer le renvoi à EDEN^{umda} (dans CA 128 S₃, lire avec Wilcke 2015:40 a-ru₆-da₅ [sic ; -da₆ est une coquille]).
- P. 428**, *gu₂-si-a* : Ibbi-Sîn B A 26 et TplHy. 180 ne peuvent être dissociés l’un de l’autre ; dans les deux cas, “totalité de l’humanité (nam-lu₂-lu₇) prend le sens de “lieu de rassemblement de l’humanité entière/de tous les gens”²⁾.
- P. 450**, *gur-ra* “nouveux” : lire *gur(-ra)*.
- P. 491**, *ḡeš-gana^(na)* : lire Lugalb. I 444.
- P. 489**, *ḡeš* : la graphie non-standard *ḡeš* est aussi attestée dans MDP 18, 54 dans *ḡe-eš-a-ba = ḡeš-ab-ba*.
- P. 494 avec n. 1339**, *ḡeš-gana₂* : la forme ancienne reconstruite /*ḡešganu/* est étayée pas la glose *ḡe₆-eš-ka-nu* à *ḡeš-KIN₂* dans le texte non publié Ni 9628 i 7’ datant d’Ur III (Sövegjártó 2020:274 citant la translittération de Rubio). Comme le contexte est gravement cassé, il n’est toutefois pas entièrement assuré que l’on ait affaire à notre lexème.
- P. 501**, *ḡe₆-eš-ge-en = ḡešgem* : lire “Fields of Ninurta” (pas Lipit-Eštar F) ; sur ce passage, v. maintenant Sövegjártó 2020:275 ii 27’.
- P. 541**, *ḥutpa* : lire Lugalb. 580 Y₃ + E₅ ; Sövegjártó voit ^{zabar}*ḥu^r-tut¹-[pa...]* (2020:169).
- P. 545, n. 1508** : lire Mél. Denz (2001) 68.
- P. 554** : ajouter *IG = eg₂*.
- P. 574**, *inda₃* : lire dans Innana G 53 en-da (pas en-du).
- P. 580**, *isib* : supprimer la graphie non-standard *i-si-ib₂* ; Dans LU 351 K₂, il faut lire *i-si-ip²-^rpu¹* (Sövegjártó 2020:159 sq. et 371).
- P. 588** : lire KA-ku₅ = kab₂-ku₅-d/r.
- P. 513**, *ḡešḡušur*, gr. non-st. *ḡu₁₀-su-ur* : comme le texte est en ES, il faut lire *mu-su-ur*.
- P. 602, n. 1688 sq. et p. 749 avec n. 2240** (su-ba ou su-ku) : sur la photo mise à ma disposition par Mme J. Tudeau, je vois un KU identique à celui de la l. 57 (sans vertical à gauche). La copie de CT 58, 42 est exacte. D’après Sövegjártó (2020:118 et 187), su-ku serait une “phonetische Wiedergabe” de *suḡ-gir₁₁*, mais la chose est invraisemblable.
- Pp. 633 sq.**, *kišeb*, *kišeb-la₂* “poignet” : supprimer la graphie non-standard *ki¹-še¹²-eb* dans DI D₁ 34. D’après Sövegjártó (2020 :160 sq.), il faudrait lire *ki-is¹-ib*, mais cette hypothèse est à peine vraisemblable. Sur sa copie (p. 372), seul -ib est sûr.
- P. 649**, *kum₂* : dans SP 5.66, lire plutôt *tu₆ šeḡ₆* “cuire une soupe” ; la lecture *šeḡ₆* (pas *kum₂* ou *bil₂*) est assurée par la glose *ši-in* dans YBC 4604 (cf. Sövegjártó 2020:316).
- P. 678**, li-b vb. : CLAM 542:35 (= Delnero, SANER 26, 327:35) est de date pB.

P. 686, n. 2014 : lire ^hlulim⁻.

P. 702, (^{ĝeš})ma-al-tum : une autre attestation intéressante est Lugalb. I 87 (cf. Sövegjártó 2020:277 et comm. p. 278). Comme il est précédé de a-ra-aḫ “coupe” (sur ce terme, cf. Veldhuis 2002:48 ; notre passage prouve que l'équation a-ra-aḫ = *nēleptu*, une sorte de coupe, est correcte [Veldhuis la jugeait “most likely wrong”]), on a certainement affaire à /maltum/, /mallatum/ “coupe, bol”, et non à /majāltum/, un véhicule, peut-être un type de litière (ainsi Sövegjártó 2020:277, qui glose ma-al-tum /mayyaltum/ “Bett”). Il est possible que la glose a-la dans E serve à distinguer ces deux termes (explication différente dans Sövegjártó 2020:278).

P. 727, mir “tempête” : dans DI D₁ 43, lire im²-mi-ra (Sövegjártó 2020:161 et 372).

P. 749, MUŠ₂ un élément architectural appartenant aux parties hautes d'un temple : aussi EJM 9.

P. 749, MUŠ₂ (graphie non-standard muš) : supprimer Innana FLP 2627 ii 12, GiM M 260 et ŠD 29.

Pp. 774 s.v. ne-en, 1107 s.v. ul-li₂-a : au lieu de Mort de Gilgameš, lire Gilgameš et la mort.

P. 811, ĝeš + suff. poss. nir : EnlSud 149 S₂ est de lecture difficile. Cavigneaux (2020:72) a copié ĝeš₃-a⁻ni ḫaš₄²-a⁻(-)(x) i]m-mi-in-⁻DU¹ et translittère (p. 73) ĝiš-a⁻ni ḫaš₄-a⁻[na i]m-mi-in-gub. Sur la photo non publiée aimablement mise à ma disposition par Mme B. Cuperly, les signes entre ĝeš₃-a⁻ni¹ et -mi- ne sont pas très clairs, mais [ḫaš₄-a⁻[na] est une conjecture raisonnable. En ce qui concerne la base verbale en revanche, -nir (Civil) semble plus vraisemblable que DU. L'existence d'un composé ĝeš₃ + suff. poss. (...) nir est donc tout sauf certaine ; si ĝeš₃-a⁻ni ḫaš₄-a⁻[na i]m-mi-in-nir est correct, traduire peut-être “il *éjacule* entre ses cuisses”.

P. 836, para₁₀-g : dans Westenholz, Mél. Klein 355 iv 86 est attesté para₁₀ be-er-ke (écrit sur la ligne) (cf. Westenholz 2005:367 et Sövegjártó 2020:215 sq.). be-er-ke a toutes les apparences d'être une glose pour para₁₀ ou, plus probabl., bara₁₀-ka-ni (pour -ka-ni > /ke/, comp. Attinger 1993:44 sq.) ; dans le contexte, on n'attend en effet non pas para₁₀, mais para₁₀-ga-na ou, avec confusion entre le locatif et le directif, para₁₀-ga-ne₂. — a-me ba-ra-na dans NGT 207 iv 4' n'est pas une graphie non-standard de am-e bara₂ an-na (ainsi Delnero 2020:554 et 614), mais de a-ĝe₆¹⁷buranuna (Poebel 1927:162 sq. et comm. 269 sq. et en dernier lieu Volk 1989:225 sq.).

P. 857, sa vb. : še sa-a dans Old Man n'est pas un emploi métaphorique pour la peau brûlée par le soleil, car ce n'est pas le vieillard, mais la jeune femme qui parle (J. Matuszak, nouvelle édition en préparation).

P. 917, sibir : dans DI D₁ 17, lire non pas si-bi-i[r], mais *si-bi-rum* (traduction ou nom du signe) (cf. Sövegjártó 2020:160 sq. et 371).

P. 969, n. 3034 : en faveur de la lecture šanga_x plutôt que sanga₂, cf. encore ša-ĝa₂-gal/ma-ḫ dans Cavigneaux/al-Rawi, ZA 92, 24 i 13 sq. A et B (Tell Haddad).

P. 970 : šar₂-gaz et ^dšar₂-gaz devraient suivre šar₂(-ra), šar₂-ra-g vient après šar₂-ra.

Pp. 988 sq., šī₅/še₁₀ : Kogan/Krebernik lisent šed₆ et admettent que l'akkadien *šittu* est un emprunt à R ; ^re¹-še-ka (pour e₂-šī₅-ka) = a-na E₂ šī-ti-im dans Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi, Iraq 55, 102:16 sq. plaident contre cette hypothèse (attendu serait alors e₂-šī₅-da-ka).

P. 992 (après šiten₂) : ajouter šiten_y → KI.EN.DU.

P. 1034, *ḫi-li kar : ce renvoi devrait figurer à la p. 596 s.v. kar.

Pp. 1049 sq., tu₉-saga₁₁ : lire (^{ĝeš})tu₉-saga₁₁.

Pp. 1065 sq., tumu “vent” : pour les gloses de DI D₁ 43, cf. Sövegjártó 2020:161 et 272. Elle lit du¹-mu-ul-lu¹(ŠU)-ta du-mu-im²-mi-ra. Le signe lu du¹ diffère toutefois considérablement du du qui suit (v. sa copie p. 372) ; je continue de penser que dam²-mu est plus vraisemblable.

P. 1092, n. 3463 : lire OSP 1, 4 iii 4' (pas 5').

P. 1100, (^{ĝeš})udug₂ : une autre graphie non-standard notable est u₄-du₁₀/dug₃ dans UET 6, 140:13 sq. (cf. Cavigneaux 1993:256) ; la lecture tu₂-kul (Cohen, CLAM 548 et Delnero, SANER 26, 325:27 sq. Ur₁) est épigraphiquement exclue. Le deuxième signe est clairement ḪI, pas NUMUN.

P. 1101, u²uga₃(^{ga})muš^{en} : il est tout sauf sûr que u₆-ga soit une graphie non-standard de R (comp. p. 1092 n. 3463).

P. 1110, (^{kuš})ummu₃-d : dans CT 58, 21:27, la glose n'est ni um-mi(-šu) (ainsi CT 58), ni um-ma-tu₉ (ainsi Sövegjártó 2020:165 ; elle a toutefois copié p. 372 um-ma-šu), mais um-x-šu² ou um-x⁻x¹. Sur la photo (P274216), je ne vois ni MI ni MA (à moins que la tête de clou(?) qui précède ne soit qu'une cassure).

P. 1155, (^{ĝeš})zarax : d'après Sövegjártó (2020:204 sq.), la glose za-ra dans UN I 31 serait non pas une glose de lecture, mais une traduction akkadienne. Le fait que les autres gloses de ce texte sont probabl. toutes des traductions plaide en faveur de son hypothèse, mais un akkadien *za-ra* (au lieu de *za-ru-u₂(-ka)*) ne s'expliquerait pas dans ce contexte.

P. 1165, n. 3757 : lire *sekretum*.

Pp. 1169 sq., n. 3776 : pour la lecture $zi\check{s}_x$ plutôt que ziz_2 , v. maintenant Marchesi 2021:151 sq.

Notes

1. Pour un autre exemple, v. infra à propos de la p. 836.

2. Pour une interprétation différente, cf. Artemov 2012:18 avec n. 54 et 20 avec n. 61 et en dernier lieu id. 2020:337 sq. : $gu_2-diri-nam-lu_2-lu_7(-k)$ signifie peut-être “‘das Ufer, zu dem die (ganze) Menschheit dahintreibt’ (bzw. ‘das prädestinierte Ufer der Menschheit’)”.

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