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NOTES BRÈVES

60) On Three Lexical Fragments from Uruk, 1: ATU 7, W 20516 — The three fragments discussed here,¹⁾ which were published by Bob Englund and Hans Jörg Nissen in ATU 3 and 7, are manuscripts of lexical lists from the Uruk III period and can be briefly revisited. The following short notes are a modest tribute to the memory of Bob Englund and to his painstaking research on this topic.

ATU 7, W 20516, which was not originally identified as a lexical manuscript,²⁾ probably displays on its obverse the list “Archaic Officials”. Its reverse gives the number of lines recorded on the tablet’s obverse and a colophon, SANGA_a AMA_a GAR []. Accordingly, it dates back to the Uruk III period.

Transliteration

Several lines lost

O0101'. [1N₁] 'EN_a*1 [ŠU NUN_a']

O0102'. [1N₁] 'EN_a* AMAR¹

Several lines lost

O0201'. []

O0202'. '1N₁'1 []

O0203'. '1N₁*1 []

O0204'. '1N₁'1 []

O0205'. '1N₁*1 []

R0101. '1N₃₄ 3N₁ 'SANGA_a GAR 'AMA_a'1 []

Notes

O0101'-O0102'. The restoration of the sign EN_a, though tentative, relies on the photograph available on the CDLI website (P003847). Thus, O0102' concords with Archaic Officials 17, this fragment probably being a hitherto unidentified manuscript of the aforementioned list. EN_a AMAR occurs also in ATU 3, W 22119,5, which had to date been considered as “Vocabulary 8/1”, but, as shown below (see Note 2. *ATU 3 W 22119,5 and the reconstruction of Archaic Officials 16*), is in fact another manuscript of the Officials List.

O0201'-O0204'. All the numerals are 1N₁ and not 1N₁₄.

R0101. The colophon seems to have been correctly restored by Englund in an unpublished paper (2007).³⁾ SANGA_a AMA_a GAR also occurs as a colophon in several lexical texts of the Schøyen collection (cf. Steinkeller 2019: 120-121). Whether or not this is the same individual cannot be determined with certainty. This concordance raises the problem of the provenance of the archaic lexical tablets housed in the Schøyen collection, although it cannot be ascertained whether or not they originate from Uruk.⁴⁾ Steinkeller (2019: 121 fn. 21) interprets it as Ama-GAR sanga, “Ama-GAR, the accountant”. This is consistent with the occurrence of the term SANGA_a as a colophon of several lexical tablets from the Late Uruk period (notably SANGA_a 'PIRIG_a'1 [], in a manuscript of the Metal List, ATU 3: p. 141 and SANGA_a SUKKAL A, see below, Note 3) as well as with the usual presence of sangas (or umbisaḡ) in the

colophons of the lexical texts from the Fāra period (cf. Krebernik 1998: 325-333). Less probably, it might refer to the professional title sanga-ĜAR, which also occurs in the texts from Fāra (cf. Pomponio 1987: 309, Visicato 1997: 128), the sign AMA_a possibly being a part of it or referring to a personal name.

Notes

1. I would like to thank Hugo Naccaro who drew my attention to the fragments discussed here and gave me some valuable information as to their context which he has been studying for his PhD research. I also thank Cale Johnson for sharing his unpublished paper with me and Anne-Christine Parr for correcting my English.
2. Although the archaeological context is elusive, it is interesting to note, as Hugo Naccaro reminded me, that the same sector yielded several lexical tablets, unfortunately not in a primary context (Nc XVI, 5, where 36 lexical tablets were found, see in general the map of the sector in ATU 3: p. 11).
3. This is only mentioned in the recorded presentation which differs from the written papers bearing the same title. Bob did not, however, mention the excavation number of the relevant tablet published in ATU 7.
4. See Englund 2007.

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61) On Three Lexical Fragments from Uruk, 2: ATU 3 W 22119,5 and the Reconstruction of Archaic Officials 16 — ATU 3 W 22119,5 has to date been considered as the only witness to the existence of the list known as Vocabulary 8/1. However, on a closer examination of the photograph available on CDLI (000628), this text appears to contain the Officials List (Fig. 1):

O0101'. [1N₁ SANGA_a?] 'GAL_a?*1 O0201'. '1N₁ NUN_a EN_a ŠU[?]*1
O0102'. '1N₁ UB*1 O0202'. 1N₁ 'EN_a AMAR'



Fig 1. W 22119,5. New copy

O0101' = Officials 10? – O0102' = Officials 11 – O0201' = Officials 16 – O0202' = Officials 17.

The reconstruction of O0201', supposed to correspond to Officials 16,¹⁾ raises some difficulties: according to ATU 3: p. 87, this line might be EN_a I[?] NUN_a but none of the manuscripts support this. On the other hand, Johnson, in an unpublished paper (2018), also considers Officials 16 to be EN_a ŠU NUN_a following a line of reasoning based on the administrative evidence, mostly ATU 6, W 14777,c and MS 3172, which display the same entries in an order identical to that of the Officials List.

A closer look at all of the relevant archaic manuscripts confirms the reading presented here:²⁾

W 11985.g. O0101.	1N ₁ ŠU ² *1 NUN _a 1EN _a *1
W 19771.g. O0201.	[1N ₁] 1EN _a NUN _a 1
W 20516. O0101'.	[1N ₁] 1EN _a ² 1 [ŠU NUN _a ²]
W 22119.5. O0201'.	1N ₁ NUN _a EN _a ŠU ² *1
W 24008.16. O0203.	1N ₁ EN _a ŠU* NUN _a 1

Although Englund and Nissen had suggested reading the latter as EN_a I² NUN_a, and Cavigneaux as EN EŠ₅ NUN (BagM 22, p. 44), the broken sign seems to fit neither of these reconstructions. One vertical and curvy wedge appears, according to the photograph of the tablet, to be missing in the copy in BagM 22. The sign can be correctly identified with ŠU and the line, accordingly, read as EN_a ŠU NUN_a (Fig. 2). In W 11985.g, a similar sign, starting with four horizontal wedges, might be present, again ŠU, despite the copy in ATU 3 (Fig. 3).



Fig. 2. W 24008.16. O0203. Drawing in BagM 22. Photography from CDLI (P000661). New representation of the sign ŠU



Fig. 3. W 11985.g. O0101. Drawing in ATU 3. Photography from CDLI (P000010). New drawing

Note that EN_a ŠU NUN_a occurs notably in ATU 6 W 14777,c,³⁾ in which it follows 𒄩 E_{2a} NUN_a and precedes EN_a AMAR. Since, as proven by Johnson (2015: 190-102), this text is connected with the Officials List and follows its canonical order, it can be assumed that the position of EN_a ŠU NUN_a tallies with Officials 16. Johnson stated that each line of this text represented an office of the Officials List and, therefore, that the lines 3' to 8' were to be equated with Officials 13-19. This observation, which is fully correct, reinforces the present paleographic identification of the broken sign of Archaic Officials 16 with ŠU. In ATU 6, W 14777,c O0103-O0107, the order of the officials mentioned is as follows:

- O0103a. EN_a NUN_a = Officials 14
- O0104a. 𒄩 E_{2a} NUN_a = Officials 15 (𒄩 E_{2a} EN_a NUN_a)
- O0105a. EN_a ŠU NUN_a = Officials 16
- O0106a. EN_a AMAR = Officials 17
- O0107a. AN ŠU₂+EN_a = Officials 18

The same holds true for MS 3172, in which are found successively, among others: NUN_a EN_a = Officials 14, 𒄩 E_{2a} NUN_a = Officials 15 (𒄩 E_{2a} EN_a NUN_a), EN_a SAG = Officials 22, EN_a ŠU NUN_a = Officials 16, EN_a AMAR = Officials 17, AN ŠU₂+EN_a = Officials 18 and so on.⁴⁾

Taken together, the paleographic examination of the archaic manuscripts of the Officials List and Johnson's discussion of the relevant administrative documents therefore substantiate a reconstruction of Archaic Officials 16 as EN_a ŠU NUN_a.

Notes

1. It might also be Officials 15 (EN_a NUN_a E_{2a} 𒄩), but this is less likely.
2. The later parallels, which differ from the archaic version, can shed some light on the transmission of Officials 16 until the 2nd millennium:
 ED manuscripts (Pettinato MEE 3: p. 180 – DCCLT):
 SF 59. obv. i. 15 [1(aš) A]N EN 𒄩 EZEN
 MEE 3. 50. Obv. i. 15. EN.NAB.U_x.𒄩
 OB manuscript (OrNS 76.p. 172, see DCCLT and CDLI):
 CBS 2243. Obv. i. 3'. [] na-ab-du₇-a
 In CBS 2243 du₇ stands for du₁₀ = 𒄩. It was partially published by Cavigneaux in OrNS 76. See P231387 and DCCLT, oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/P231387/html.
3. For this text see Johnson 2015: 190-192 and Bartash ZA 105, p. 136.

4. Johnson 2018; Wagensooner *Die frühen lexikalischen Texte und ihr Aufbau*. Unpublished Diss, Vienna, 2016, p. 196. For EN_a ŠU NUN_a, see also ATU 6, W 14804,a+ O0604, ATU 6, pl. 071, W 15775,u O0203a, ATU 6, pl. 074, W 15860,a8 O0102, BagM 22, 139, W 24160 O0102a, BagM 22, 141, W 24181,d O0101, IM 045974 O0103, MS 3155 O0103 and O0302, MS 3172 O0106 and W 20423 O0105.

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62) On Three Lexical Fragments from Uruk, 3: ATU 7, W 20521,2. — On W 20521,2, recognized as a school text by Englund and Nissen in ATU 7,¹⁾ only the reverse, with the number of lines of an unknown list and a colophon, is preserved:

R0101. '1N₃₄ 1N₁₄ 1N₁' SANGA_a SU[KKAL_a A']

This colophon can be restored in accordance with ATU 3 W 15863,d.²⁾ R0201, a manuscript of the Officials List.

Notes

1. It was, however, identified as a “*Schülertafel mit bisexagesimaler Übung*”, which is probably not the case, since the tablet should have contained a lexical list.
2. As Hugo Naccaro, p.c., informed me, the two fragments were found far from each other, at circa 80 meters.

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63) À propos du terme *kir-na-nu* et des tissus pour les cérémonies funèbres dans les textes d'Ébla — Dans les textes administratifs éblaïtes on connaît un terme *kir-na-nu* grâce surtout aux passages concernant les apports (mu-DU) de certaines villes telles que *Du-gú-ra-su^{ki}*, *DU-lu^{ki}* et *Ra-'à-ag^{ki}* (Pasquali 1997 : 244 ; 2010 : 180-181), dont la localisation fait toujours l'objet de débats (voir Archi 2016, avec bibliographie). Dans un cas, en revanche, *kir-na-nu* est cité parmi les objets de valeur présents dans l'apport (mu-DU) du ministre *Ib-rí-um* (TM.75.G.1527 f. IV :5, translittéré sur la base de la photo publiée par Matthiae 1989 : tav. 62). Ce terme, qui présente de nombreuses variantes graphiques, certaines d'entre elles difficiles à expliquer, se réfère à un type de tissu en lin, comme nous l'assure le fait que le mot est parfois précédé ou suivi par le sumérien *gada-túg*. Même si on n'arrive pas à identifier de façon précise ce tissu précieux, on peut proposer une comparaison avec l'assyrien ^{túg}gú-è *ša kir-na-a-a* (Pettinato 1980 : 141), attesté en tant que hapax dans une liste lexicale et dont l'étymologie demeure à ce jour malheureusement inconnue. Malgré cela, il s'agit de l'unique explication sérieuse du terme *kir-na-nu* à ce jour avancée.

Très récemment, toutefois, Biga et Steinkeller (2021 : 32-33) ont cru pouvoir proposer que *kir-na-nu* signifie « linceul ». Selon ces auteurs, le matériel et ses dimensions « would make it perfect for that purpose ». Le *kir-na-nu*, en effet, est souvent qualifié comme *maḥ*, « grand », et *gíd*, « long », mais aussi – faut-il le remarquer – comme *lúgud-da*, « court », et *tur*, « petit ». En tout cas, cette interprétation repose surtout sur le rapprochement de ce terme éblaïte avec l'akkadien *girrānu*, « lamentation funèbre » (CAD, G, 89), qui dériverait, d'après les auteurs, d'une hypothétique forme *girnānu* à travers l'assimilation présumée de la séquence consonantique *rn*. Mais, au-delà des évidents problèmes d'ordre sémantique – le passage de « lamentation funèbre » à « linceul » est loin d'être évident – et philologique, cette proposition est à refuser à cause du fait qu'à Ébla le *kir-na-nu* n'est jamais mentionné dans les désormais nombreux contextes connus qui enregistrent les sorties de tissus et d'objets précieux pour les cérémonies funèbres (ÉxPAP) ainsi que pour l'habillement des membres décédés de la cour éblaïte ou de ceux d'autres règnes. Rien ne nous autorise, donc, à y voir un tissu lié aux cérémonies funèbres. En revanche, c'est la mère du roi qui de son vivant reçoit l'apport du *kir-na-nu* (voir, entre outre, TM.75.G.2341 f. VI : 4-7 : 1 *gada-túg*

kir-na-nu/mu-DU/DU-*lu*^{ki}/ama-gal en, cité par Biga et Steinkeller 2021 : 59) et il est difficile de penser que l'on puisse offrir un « linceul », même plusieurs fois, à une personne vivante. D'autre part, il est aussi impensable que ces linceuls n'aient jamais été distribués et utilisés aux fins pour lesquelles ils avaient été produits, voire des funérailles. De plus, les textes éblaites n'offrent aucun indice en faveur de l'emploi d'un quelconque linceul lors des enterrements. Au contraire, comme nous l'avons souligné ailleurs (Pasquali 2005 : 173 ; 2010 : 175-179), les dames de la cour décédées, par exemple, lors des funérailles étaient habillées avec l'*ornatus ceremonialis* de la femme mariée, qui inclut le *du-ru*₁₂-*rúm*, « étole », et le *ma-ga-da-ma-tum*/PAD-túg, « voile ». Même pas la comptabilisation de larges tissus de lin en provenance d'Ébla dans un texte de Lagaš remontant à l'époque de la dynastie de Gudea (ITT 5, 6748 : 1-4) peut être considérée comme une preuve en faveur de l'identification de *kir-na-nu* avec un « linceul », en plus de fabrication égyptienne, comme aimeraient Biga et Steinkeller. Ce texte sumérien ne nous apprend rien ni à propos de l'utilisation réelle de ces tissus en lin, ni à propos de leur hypothétique origine égyptienne. Les textes d'Ébla, quant à eux, nous montrent, en revanche, qu'il y avait une importante production locale de tissus en lin, à côtés des rares importations de cette étoffe de DU-*lu*^{ki} et Du-gú-ra-su^{ki}.

En examinant finalement les variantes graphiques du terme *kir-na-nu*, outre *kir-a-nu* qui demeure énigmatique (Pasquali 1997 : 243 et n. 128), on connaît maintenant la forme du duel : 2 *kir-na-na* maḥ (TM.75.G.2272 r. V : 14, cité par Biga et Steinkeller 2021 : 52). De plus, on signale que la graphie *gi-na-an*, citée deux fois dans le texte inédit TM.75.G.10026 et incluse parmi les termes obscurs par Biga et Steinkeller 2021 : 45¹⁾, n'est qu'une autre variante de *kir-na-nu*, qui présente cette fois l'omission graphique de /r/ préconsonantique. Cette graphie *gi-na-an* apparaît similaire dans sa partie finale à *kir-na-an* de ARET VIII 528 r. VIII : 12. Ces deux variantes nous rappellent certaines graphies de noms d'objets artisanaux qui expriment un état construit suivi du complément de matière, telles que *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar, *ḥa-za-an* kù:sig₁₇ et *ḥa-za-an* gin-gin (pour lesquelles, voir Pasquali 2019 : 157-158). Mais dans le cas de *gi-na-an* et *kir-na-an* apparemment il n'y a aucune annexion avec les termes qui suivent.

Notes

1. Biga et Steinkeller (2021 : 45) considèrent obscurs le sumérien an-dùl, dont la signification de « image ; statue » dans les textes d'Ébla est bien établie, ainsi que *ḥu-bí-a-an*, attesté aussi dans ARET XI 1 (22), où il indique des harnais (*ḥubíl-ayn*, akk. de Mari *ḥabālum*, « harnacher », voir Fronzaroli 1993 : 30).

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64) The lost, “regained” but slightly modified Sumerian conjugation prefixes (*Konjugationspräfixe*) ‘i’ and ‘mu’: a hint from a comparison of the Sumerian and Navaho (Navajo) languages* — In his “Sumerian Grammar”¹⁾ published in 2003, D. O. Edzard has simply “taken away”²⁾ elements cherished by many Sumerologists of the older school, such as the *Kettenbildung*, the conjugation prefixes [i/e] and [mu], the prefixes [na], [ba] and [bí/bé] or the (verbal) infixes. The question arises whether this step is justified in the proposed form³⁾ —in which often no reasons are given at all⁴⁾. It is

also noticeable that findings that had already been published in comparable –even if not yet completed– form, in some cases more than 30 years earlier, are not mentioned⁵⁾.

An agglutinative language comparable to Sumerian is Navaho (Navajo). The following explanations are based on Young & Morgan 1943, ~ 1958 and (mainly) ~ 1980; the sounds (such as *ł* [different from Polish *ł*]) are not explained.

The verbal stem (position no. X) is to be found at the end of a Navaho verbal form, before it (“to the left of it”) there are 18 other positions, which are divided into two groups. The CONJUNCT verb prefixes in positions IX, VIII, VII, VI_d-a, V and IV are considered to be closely bound to the stem, while the DISJUNCT verb prefixes in positions III, II, Ie-Ia, 00 and 0 are considered to be less firmly bound elements (Young & Morgan 1980, 107).

The verb stem is monosyllabic (CV or CVC; C and V can also take the form CC' and CC'C' [tsxaaz, to be big] and VV, VV' [k'ai, to fork] or VV'V', respectively). The stem is derived by “an inflectional process” from a verbal root (Young & Morgan 1980, 99). For example, from the root ‘mas’, which comprises the concept of “globularity”, the stem ‘máás’ (imperfective [mode]⁶⁾ and momentaneous [aspect]) can be formed. The different stems of a root can express six modes (imperfective, perfective, progressive, iterative, usitative, optative) and four aspects (momentaneous, repetitive, semelfactive, continuative). Examples for “to handle one round or bulky object”: ‘aah (imperfective momentaneous), ‘áh (~ continuative), ‘á (perfective), ‘ááł (progressive), ‘ááh (iterative), ‘ááh (usitative), ‘ááł (optative) [Young & Morgan 1958, p. 42; details: *idem* 1943, 1–10]. The meaning of the stem is further specified by one of the four “stem classifiers” Ø [means there is no classifier], *ł*, *d* or *l* in position IX (e.g. *ł* can assign causative meaning to verbs of class Ø). The stem, together with the stem classifier and (not necessarily required) further elements from the preceding positions, forms a “verb theme”, which is the “base” for the “outline of a meaningful lexical unit” (Young & Morgan 1980, 99). The elements in the positions preceding position X can be subdivided into derivational prefixes, which specify the meaning of the theme (e.g. [k'í] in position Ia: “straight”), thematic prefixes (among others, the stem classifiers; further, for example, [na]: used in verbs having to do with dreaming) and paradigmatic prefixes (subject pronouns [positions VIII and V], object pronouns [position IV: accusative, position Ic: reflexive pronoun, position Ib: indirect object pronoun], plural markers [position III] and modal and aspectual markers [positions VII, VI and II]) (Young & Morgan 1980, 100–102). Verbs with derivational & thematic prefixes can be compared to compound verbs in Sumerian, or to verbs which govern several cases.

A verb consists of a “theme” and at least one paradigmatic prefix; example: “nidiz” = *ni* (you, subject pronoun 2nd pers. sg., position VIII) + Ø (stem classifier, position IX) + *diz* (stem [imperfective continuative]); “Ø+diz” = “to twist repeatedly”; the meaning of the verb is then “you are spinning it (e.g. yarn)” (the accusative “it” does not need to be expressed in the 1st and 2nd person). Not all verbs are of such a simple structure: “ch'ínihizhdiyoof'teet” – “he will put us out one after another”. The necessary paradigmatic prefix may be [yi], “the latter a peg-element required in certain Imperfective Mode forms of the verb [in position VII (modal and aspectual prefixes) there is, among others, the element Ø for the so-called Ø-Imperfective, which is to be replaced, if necessary, by the peg element [yi]] where the construction would otherwise begin with the [Stem] Classifier [this is possible in the “Simple Passive”, as in this case position VIII remains vacant] or with a subject pronoun prefix [position VIII] other than 2nd person sgl *ni*” (Young & Morgan 1980, 99, 216 and 307). So, “I am spinning it” is “yi-s-Ø-diz” (yi- is the peg-element [position VII], -s- the subject pronoun 1st pers. sg. [position VIII]). In the case of “yi-Ø-Ø-cha” [positions VII (yi: peg element), VIII (Ø: subject pronoun 3rd pers. sg.), IX (Ø: stem classifier), X (cha: stem)] – “he, she, it is crying” the peg element indicates that a finite verbal form is actually meant.

In contrast to Sumerian, Navaho has many contractions, elisions and other changes in the verbal chain, even metatheses occur⁷⁾. As for stems, as in Sumerian, there are also stems that can only be used with a specific number of actants or objects (cf. Edzard 2003, 74): *ghoł* (to run; one person); *chéét* (to run; two persons); *jah* (to run; more than two persons) [Young & Morgan 1958, 44]. The Navaho verb, like the Sumerian verb, is rather mode- and aspect-oriented than tense-oriented⁸⁾.

If one applies the concept of the peg element to Sumerian, it can be argued as follows:

At the beginning of a Sumerian verb there can –but does not have to– stand a *Präformativ* [Thomsen 1984, 156: *modal prefix*, Edzard 2003, 112: *modal indicator*⁹⁾] (the *Präformative* are not referred to in the following; they may or may not be used, depending on the needs of the context). If there is no *Präformativ*, a verbal form commenced (“before” Edzard) with a conjugation prefix or a prefix (Falkenstein 1964, 45). This was followed by the “pronominal” elements in connection with the “dimensional” (case) elements (termed “infixes” by Falkenstein 1964, 47; Thomsen [~ 1984, 147] opposes this term). With Edzard, a verbal form no longer begins with anything defined: either with one of the in total 26 “dimensional indicators non-ventive” (p. 92f.), one of the 36 “dimensional indicators ventive” (p. 92f.), the “prefixed indicator [e, i]” (p. 109) or the “prefixed indicator [a(l)]” (p. 111). The “dimensional indicators”¹⁰⁾ are a mixture of former prefix or conjugation prefix, pronominal element [person] and dimensional element [case]¹¹⁾, whereby –without good reason– the conjugation prefix [i] (in contrast to [mu]) is excluded. The two “dimensional indicator” groups are assigned to the “indicative mood” (Edzard 2003, 113, examples ‘nu-zu’ and ‘nu-mu-zu’)¹²⁾. If this results in two consonants at the beginning of a word (in the case of a ventive or non-ventive), an [i-] is added¹³⁾. This [i] is embarrassingly reminiscent of the classical conjugation prefix [i]. However, according to conventional terminology (which differs from Edzard’s classification), it cannot be the conjugation prefix, since it also occurs before ventive elements.

A possible solution is outlined in the following¹⁴⁾:

A verb begins with one of the two “modal prefixes” (or “modal conjugation prefixes”) [Ø] (indicative [Edzard: “non-ventive”], former conjugation prefix [i]) or [m(u)] (ventive, former conjugation prefix [mu]; cf. Edzard 2003, 92f.)¹⁵⁾. A long time ago, Meißner & Oberhuber already put forward a similar idea (~ 1967, table after page 40)¹⁶⁾. If necessary, the (“former”, see above) pronominal elements follow in connection with the dimensional elements. Edzard’s tables have an obfuscating effect: *all* “infixes” are (contrary to Edzard 2003, 92) composed like this¹⁷⁾. The “old” grammars (Falkenstein 1964 and others) are more intelligible. In the case of two consonants at the beginning of a verb (with Edzard’s “indicators” in the tables on p. 93), the peg element [i] (Navaho [yi]) is prefixed¹⁸⁾. This is valid even if no reference back to a case is used (*‘n-sar’ “he wrote” > ‘i-n-sar’; cf. Edzard 2003, 110). With the dative element [na], the peg element [i] is presumably used to distinguish it from the prohibitive and affirmative elements [na]. The peg element [i] also appears with the directive (= locative-terminative) element [ni] (3rd pers. sg.) as well as with the “locative 2” element [ni] (Thomsen 1984, examples no. 634 and ~ 787), with the directive element [ne] (3rd pers. pl., Thomsen 1984, example no. 347) and probably also with the absolutive element [ne] (3rd pers. pl., Edzard 2003, 85). A second function of the peg element, as in Navaho (example ‘yicha’, see above, or yi-Ø-Ø-leeh “he is becoming”), is to indicate that, when in doubt, an expression is a finite verb (and not an adjective or the like): Edzard 2003, 109: i-til¹⁹⁾. Another task is fulfilled by the peg element in the spellings [i-ib], [i-in] and [i-im] (see in detail Wilcke 1988 [Wilcke, however, classifies the [i-] as a conjugation prefix; especially his examples c4 and c6 (p. 33) cause difficulties]). The [i-] in the said three spellings indicates that a shortening has taken place; [b], [n] and [m] are the reduced directive and “locative 2” elements [bi], [ni] and [mmi] (nos. 23, 26 and 58 in the tables Edzard 2003, p. 93; cf. pp. 100 and 108]). In the case of [b] and [n], [i] serves to avoid confusion with the past tense (‘ib/n-verbal root’). However, as can be seen from Wilcke’s article, it is not obligatory to use the peg element in these cases. In Navaho, too, elements can fulfil different functions, cf., for example, [di] (Young & Morgan 1980, 107, positions IVb, IVa and Ia: fourteen different [di] elements). The (according to Edzard) no longer present prefixes (see above; cf. especially Edzard 2003, § 12.8.1.3; likewise Meißner & Oberhuber 1967, table after p. 40) can probably be seen partly as “fossilised” elements²⁰⁾, which were no longer correctly understood (cf. modern “payable” – “it has to be paid” instead of (grammatically correct) “it can be paid”). In this sense, they would then be prefixes again...

Niṭ yá’át’ééh daats’í – do you like it?

Notes

* Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2019/56. C: consonant; pers.: person; pl.: plural; sg.: singular; V: vowel.

1. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Bd. 71. Following Edzard, Sumerian grammatical elements (‘i’ and ‘mu’) are enclosed in square brackets hereafter ([i] and [mu]).

2. Reference should be made to the reviews by F. Karahashi (JAOS 124 [2004] 602–606) and by B. Jagersma (ZA 97 [2007] 142–147). –The *Kettenbildung* (principle of the formation of the nominal chain) is a clear and almost mandatory concept in many agglutinative languages, which is convincingly presented for Sumerian by Falkenstein [~ 1964, 37]. Another criticism: the use of word formations like ‘cuneograms’ (p. 8) is –at least in my opinion– nonsensical; what did the scribes write with before the introduction of cuneiform script (in Englund’s terminology: in “proto-cuneiform times/days” [ATU 5, note 4]) –with ‘lineamentograms’?

3. Due to the current “corona pandemic”, it is not possible for me to comprehensively review the literature on this topic. If any of the arguments presented below have already been published elsewhere, please accept my apologies (and, if possible, provide me with a note to that effect).

4. Elements like [mmi] (table on p. 93, no. 58).

5. Postulation of the use of a “ventive” (Meißner & Oberhuber 1967, table after page 40) and plea for the abolition of prefixes (ibidem).

6. The terminology used differs from the one we are familiar with, but is retained. H. Vater points to comparable deviations in his *Einführung in die Sprachwissenschaft* (UTB 1799, 4. Auflage, München 2002, p. 176f.).

7. Something similar happens in Sumerian with “verbal reduplication” (Edzard 2003, 80f.).

8. Edzard avoids a clear distinction between tense and aspect (cf. §§ 12.2, 12.7, 12.7.1–3); significantly, neither expression appears in the index.

9. The expression “modal indicator” is chosen unhappily: a verb can only stand in one mode, but according to Edzard in two at the same time (cf. Edzard’s examples on the precative on p. 116).

10. In my opinion, the term “indicator” used by Edzard is a “misnomer”; it is not “indicated” that an XYZ (e.g. an ablative element) has to be placed in a given position, rather the XYZ (in this case the ablative element) itself is given. Litmus paper is an indicator (acid or base?), but it is neither an acid nor a base, just an indicator.

11. Terminology: Meißner & Oberhuber 1967, table after p. 40; similarly Falkenstein 1964, § 32f. Thomsen 1984, note 29: “case element” instead of “dimensional ~”.

12. Among others, cohortative, precative and vetitive are also called “mode” by Edzard 2003 (table p. 112f.); the imperative, on the other hand, counts as indicative (§ 12.13.1 in the table).

13. Edzard does not explicitly say so, but it amounts to this (cf. Edzard 2003, 110f.). Edzard labels this [i] by various terms: “verbal particle” (p. 23), “neutral motion particle [i]” (p. 27), “neutral, non-ventive indicator [i/e]” (p. 96), “prefixed indicator [e, i]” (p. 109), “indicator [i/e]” (p. 169).

14. At a glance: Edzard 2003 retains an “indicator” [e, i] (pp. 109–111), Wilcke 1988 a conjugation prefix [i] (p. 1), but excludes the question of its function in his study. Foxvog also holds to a conjugational prefix [i], but denies it any meaning (“prosthetic vowel”: Foxvog, D. A., *The Sumerian Ergative Construction*, Or. NS 44 [1975] 395–425, note 17). This idea, which largely coincides with the arguments presented here, seems to have been first expressed by W. Heimpel [see Wilcke 1988, note 4]. Heimpel’s remarks cannot be evaluated because his (unpublished) manuscript is not available to me.

15. In other words, Edzard’s “prefixed indicator [e, i]” (Edzard 2003, 109–111) does not exist. In the imperative, as is well known, the verbal root is in the first position. The “pronominal conjugation” (Edzard 2003, 137–142; Falkenstein 1964, 43f.) and the “prefixless finite verbal forms” (Edzard 2003, 90; Falkenstein 1964, 44) do not require a peg element.

16. The “prefix” [a(l)] remains as the only exception. In Navaho, there are comparable “loners”, cf. for example the CONJUNCT verb prefixes, position VIb: [di] “inceptive (element)” [Young & Morgan 1980, 107]. It might be more reasonable to classify [a(l)] as another “modal prefix” (roughly “stative-resultative indicative”).

17. If one uses the “elements” given by Falkenstein [~ 1964, 47–49], almost all dimensional infixes can be explained (partly with a few simple additional assumptions, all of which will not be listed here [example: *m(u)-b-a = mba > mma: no. 30 in the tables Edzard 2003, 93; in the ventive, [b] is omitted before a consonant: m(u)-b-da > mda (no. 37) (on this, cf. Edzard’s argumentation on [a(l)] on p. 111)). The two variants [mmara] (no. 44) and [mmeri] (no. 58) cause difficulties; for the [ra] contained therein, cf. Edzard 2003, § 12.8.3 (“extraneous”). The “locative 2” is out of the ordinary. Considerations such as whether [me] could have emerged from *[mu+me] through haplological ellipsis are idle (Edzard 2003, 104 bottom). Elements can also be omitted in Navaho: “si- [position VII] usually deletes in bases that contain a di-prefix of Position VIa, although it is retained by some speakers...” (Young & Morgan 1980, 257).

18. The same applies mutatis mutandis to the *Präformativ* element [i]nga (Edzard 2003, table on p. 112f.; after [nuš] the peg element then even appears inside the word). “Indicators” beginning with a vowel (e.g. no. 1 in Edzard 2003, table on p. 93) do not require a peg element.

19. This also applies if it only becomes clear through an ending after the verbal root that a finite verb is present: Edzard 2003, 83, “pattern 2a” (present tense).

20. According to Edzard, [mu], [ba] and [bi] are “the most frequent opener(s) of Sumerian verbal forms” (Edzard 2003, 99).

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65) Princess Ninlil-tukultī, daughter of Šulgi and a cylinder seal in Hamburg* — In 1968, Thomas Beran published several cylinder seals that had recently been acquired by the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg from the private collection of Johannes Jantzen. Among them there was one with the following inscription:¹⁾

^dnin-lil-tu-kul-ti / dumu-munus lugal / za-rí-iq arad-/zu
'Ninlil-tukultī, princess ("daughter of the king"): Zarriq(um) (is) your servant.'

The glyptic style allowed the seal to be dated to the Ur III period,²⁾ but no Ur III princess called Ninlil-tukultī was known at the time. Consequently, the first editor used the appearance of Zarriq(um)³⁾ as a clue and hypothesized that if Zarriq(um) was identical to a well-known official of the same name, the seal could be dated to the time of Šulgi or Amar-Suen⁴⁾ and thus Ninlil-tukultī could be the daughter of one of them. Today, we know of at least three important Ur III officials called Zarriq(um)⁵⁾ and none of them can be securely identified as the owner of this seal.

Since 1968, the situation has changed not only for Zarriq(um) but also for Ninlil-tukultī. This PN is a rare one and appears only twice in the known corpus of Ur III documents, leaving virtually no doubt about the bearers' identity.⁶⁾ Ninlil-tukultī is mentioned in CTMMA 1, 17 (CDLI P108701), published in 1988, in the company of several princesses. This document, from Puzriš-Dagān and dated to AS 04/07, lists disbursements of livestock to members of the royal family and court: to the throne of the deceased Šulgi, to princesses, royal nursemaids, Amorites, and several other individuals.⁷⁾ Ninlil-tukultī appears in the section that lists 'daughters of the king'. Although 'daughter of the king' does not necessarily mean that she was the daughter of the reigning king (which is why the translation 'princess' is preferred), Ninlil-tukultī has been considered in Assyriological literature to be a daughter of Amar-Suen.⁸⁾

The other attestation is in a similar context: in CST 138 (CDLI P107650), likewise from Puzriš-Dagān but dated to Š 46/09/15, Ninlil-tukultī appears in the company of Ur-Suen and Tešīn-Mama only. None of them bears any designation, but they are known as members of the royal family: Ur-Suen was a son and probably the crown prince of Šulgi;⁹⁾ Tešīn-Mama was a princess, another 'daughter of the king' in the aforementioned CTMMA 1, 17, but already known from Š 29 on and thus identifiable as Šulgi's daughter rather than Amar-Suen's.¹⁰⁾ Ninlil-tukultī's appearance side by side with a son and a daughter of Šulgi makes it likely that her father was Šulgi and not Amar-Suen.

Notes

* The author is grateful to Frank Hildebrandt, Curator of the Ancient Art and Antiquities Department of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg for providing photos of the cylinder seal 1967.85 and the permission to publish them, as well as to Sarah P. Schlüter for reading the manuscript and to Mary Frazer for improving the English style. Only the author is responsible for any remaining mistakes. The abbreviations follow the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (<https://rla.bawd.de/reallexikon/abkuerzungslisten.html>, accessed 30.06.2021). Relative dates follow the pattern RN YY/MM/DD. The author's research on seal inscriptions is conducted in the framework of his project *Die Götter der Siegelgebete. Gottheiten und ihre Epitheta in den spätaltbabylonischen und kassitenzeitlichen Siegelinschriften*, funded by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung (Az.

40.19.0.033AA) and benefits from cooperation with the MTA–ELTE Lendület *Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals and Divine World* Research Group (Eötvös Loránd Research Network) in Budapest.

1. Beran 1968, 114–115 no. 21 (1967.85).

2. This type of inscription is attested several times, with different names (with no claim of completeness): RIME 3/2.1.2.86 (Waqartum: Šulgi-ilī); RIME 3/2.1.2.90 (Šāt-Sîn: Aya-zīgu, the fuller); RIME 3/2.1.3.20 (Nin-bedu: Urĝu, the fattener); RIME 3/2.1.5.6 (Mammētum: Ātanah, the chief administrator); RIME 3/2.1.6.1042 (Mama-niša: Puzur-Ašgi, the scribe). Cf. also RIME 3/2.1.4.30 (more detailed) and RIME 3/2.1.4.31 ('(is) her female servant'). Note that most instances name the seal owner's office or profession; in the case of the Hamburg seal, its absence may be accounted for by the lack of space, which is indicated by the fact that the lines are too short for the existing inscription.

3. Read by Beran (1968, 114) as *sà-ri-iq* = Sāriq(um).

4. Beran 1968, 114; this insight is presumably to be attributed to D. O. Edzard, who was the previous owner's nephew and assisted Beran (1968, 103 n. 2) in reading the inscriptions.

5. For an overview see Rudik 2017 (with earlier literature).

6. As shown by BDTNS (accessed 30.06.2021). The name is also attested in an Old Babylonian collection of personal names: PBS 11/3, 60 (CDLI P230405): 8.

7. The text was edited by Sigrist (1988, 22–26 no. 17); for discussions see (with no claim of completeness): Sigrist 1986; Neumann 1994, 62; Sallaberger 2003–2004, 49 and 52–53; Michalowski 2006, 59; Wu – Wang 2012, 110; more recently Stol 2016, 486.

8. Sigrist 1986; Frayne 1997, 267; Dahl 2007, 31; Liu 2017, 39 and 414. Cf. Frayne 1997, 166 (quoting Jacobsen); Michalowski 2013, 294–296 and Stol 2016, 486 who call attention to this ambiguity.

9. See Wu – Wang 2012 who identify Ur-Suen as the original name of Amar-Suen; cf. Michalowski 2013.

10. See Neumann 1994, 62; more recently Michalowski 2013, 294.



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66) New evidence on the understanding of “gaba-aš” and “gaba-ta” in the Ur III messenger texts — In the corpus of messenger texts in Ur III period, two terms “gaba-aš” and “gaba-ta” appeared frequently in documents from Umma. Yoshikawa (1988) interpreted them as “(going) to the opposite countries, mostly Elam” and “(coming) from the opposite countries” or “(arrived) from the opposite countries (and staying in Umma)”. He has pointed out that these two words could be considered as the counterpart of “ša₃-iri” and “kaskal-še₃” in the Ġirsu messenger texts. Pomponio (2018, 16) followed this opinion and intended to establish the link between the archives concerns “gaba-aš/ta” and specific road stations (e₂-kas₄) in the province of Umma. Heimpel (1994, 27) supposed the existence of “the rest house of the front of Bashime (e₂-kas₄ gaba Ba-šim-e^{ki}), hence it makes sense to associate the “gaba-aš/ta” with this road station. But since the documents containing “gaba-aš/ta” recorded fish, which was the feature of texts from the road station in Apisal, Pomponio (2018) doesn’t recognize the relationship between “gaba-aš/ta” and “e₂-kas₄ gaba ba-šim-e^{ki}”. He identified e₂-kas₄ gaba ba-šim-e^{ki} with the alternate name for e₂-kas₄ an-za-gar₃ (Pomponio 2013, 2018).

However, there is no evident pattern in the guesthouse in Bašime that indicates its connection to the road station in Anzagar. On the contrary, it appears to be strongly linked to the Apisal guesthouse. On the one hand, the only three recordings of “guesthouse in Bašime” (BCT 2 050, SAT 2 0703, TCL 5 6038) were written concurrently with the Apisal guesthouse. On the other hand, all cases involving the payment of messengers for the “gaba mission” are included in one section of the archive from the Apisal guesthouse (Li 2021). Given that Apisal was located in the province’s eastern region and the name “gaba” literally means “the opposite side”, at the very least, the possibility of a connection between the Apisal guesthouse and the eastern Elamite site Bašime should not be overlooked. In this case, the two terms “gaba-aš” and “gaba-ta” in the Ur III messenger texts could more clearly refer to “(going) to the opposite of Bašime” and “(coming) from the opposite of Bašime”.

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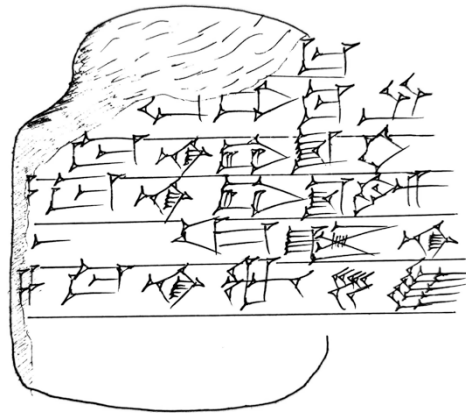
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67) KWU318 sign at an aromatic text from the Iraqi Museum — The tablet (IM 206362) is housed at Iraq Museum, unknown province, came to the museum from looting, its measurements are 5.5 x 4.2 x 2 cm. The tablet came into the museum within a confiscated collection of 200 tablets, registered in the museum's archives in May 2007. The undated text on the tablet record's a list of an aromatic quantities. This tablet was first studied in my MA thesis and subsequently published in "*Al-Qadisiya Journal for Humanities Sciences*" (Mohsin, 2019, 271-275). The purpose of this article is to present an overview of the studies and papers that have discussed the sign KWU318 since the 30s until present.

The tablet (IM 206362)

Obv.

1	[x- šim-gam-gam]-ma	[...] shriveled [aromatic plant]
	[x] šim-gu ₄ -ku-ru	[...] Melilotus
	[x] ma-na šim-du ₁₀ (DUG ₃ /HI)	[...] mana good quality aromatics
	[x] ma-na šim-im	[...] mana a resin
5	[x] sag- <u>hirin</u> _x (KWU318)-na	[...] aromatic herbs
	5 ma-na tam ₂ -še-lum	5 mana aromatic plants



The term "šim-gam-gam" is a type of aromatic plant or a resin. the sign "MA" which follows the term refers to the state of the plant which is "shriveled" (Snell, 1982, 233-234). Over the last century, many Assyriologists have published several journal articles regarding the sign (KWU318), transliterated as "Hirin_x (Owen, D. 2013, 412). The first paper that discussed the sign was published by Schneider in *Or* 8, 1939, Schneider assumed that the sign refers to an aromatic field-plant, because the term appears mentioned within a list of aromatics, as a term denoting some type of aromatic extract or expensive makeup (Schneider, 1939, 64-65). Rubio transliterated the sign as "Sanga₂" which means a purification priest, and it can be transliterated as "Hirin_x" only if it was preceded by the sign "Sag" (as it appears in the text above) to give the meaning root stalks used to make perfumes, and imported by traders or infesting weed (Rubio, 2013, 102). Rubio quoting from Civil's paper in *ASOR* 65, 2013. Civil declares that the sign refers to a noxious plant that infest a field, and prevents the barley from growing (Civil, 2013, 58). According to the text that he quoted from TUT 16 which mentions the sign in a transliterated line (a-ša₃ KWU318-na! še nu-tuku), translated: "field (overrun) with..., it does not have any barley" (Reisner, 1901, 97).

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68) An Old Babylonian Sumerian Literary Fragment from Nippur with a Poetic Description of Food Production and Storage Areas

— The Old Babylonian Sumerian literary fragment N 5784 (CDLI P279841) has the dimensions 6.5 × 3.5 × 2.8 cm. The preserved surface approaches but does not reach the left edge. From the curvature, the preserved side may be the obverse, although that is hardly certain. This manuscript appears to lack line rulings, a common practice in manuscripts from the so-called “liturgist’s archive” outlined by Tinney, although the hand is not overtly reminiscent of the more pervasive hand(s) within that corpus.

The preserved contents of this fragment reflect what is most likely a cultic song where either a deity or a king is addressed in the second person. The former may be more likely given the apparent generic reference to a temple (e₂) in line 13'. Wealth and productivity are described in conjunction with various institutions or buildings, continuing into what was likely a description of the productivity of the flock and the orchard before the break. Two of these entities, the e₂-muhaldim and e₂-ŠIM×NIG₂, are well attested. Their close connection with each other along with the e₂-kikken₂ is well evidenced at Ur III Garšana (Allred 2011: 11-12). A similar assortment of buildings is found in a few extant literary contexts. This includes the fragmentary composition Šulgi Y 23'-30' (Falkenstein 1960, ETCSL 2.4.2.25, see also Sallaberger 2012: 277), which is currently known from two fragmentary manuscripts (BM 16919 (CT 42 40), Ni 4043 (SLTN 52)), where Šulgi is described as erecting his statue and furnishing animals and crops for the preparation of food and beverage for an evening cultic meal for Ninlil at the dining hall (unu₂ gal). Such-Gutiérrez (2003: 134-135) understands these locations to be part of the Ki'ur. Another context with similar entities is to be found in Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 304-314 (Michalowski 1989: 54-55, Attinger 2013: 14), where the decimation of various production areas in the city of Ur including the e₂-ŠIM×NIG₂, ĝa₂-nun mah, and bur-saĝ are described at the violent end of the reign of Ibbi-Sîn, resulting in the starvation (ša₃-ka-tab) of the people, the diminution of the king's diet, and the cessation of divine meals in the unu₂ gal digir-re-e-ne.k.

The occurrence of the ĝa₂-nun mah in the current fragmentary passage probably indicates that the city of Ur is also featured here, and thus an Ur III king, most likely Šulgi, was probably featured in this passage. However, since a ĝa₂-nun mah is attested within the Ekur complex (George 1993: 87) it is also possible that Nippur is featured here, as it is in Šulgi Y.

N 5784

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1') [...] x x x [...] | |
| 2') [...] zi-bi he ₂ -m[e?-en...] | May you be its/their true... |
| 3') [x-b]i? he ₂ -me-en x x [...] | May you be its/their(?)...... |
| 4') [ĝi ^{is} g]u-za mah-bi h[e ₂ ?-...] | May its great throne... |
| 5') [barag? ma]h?-zu ni ₂ gal
hu-m[u-...-ri/gur ₃ ?] | May your supreme dais/tent enclosure
exude/bear a great aura |
| 6') [ĝi ^{is} g]ir ₃ -gub-ba- ^r zu ¹ h[e ₂ ?-...] | May your footstool... |
| 7') [e ₂ -ŠIM×NIG ₂ -zu UD.[KA.BAR?...] | Your brewery,... bronze (vessel(s))... |
| 8') [e ₂ -muhaldim-zu NINDA [...] | Your kitchen,... bread/food(?) |
| 9') [e ₂ -udun-zu gu ₄ ? š[ar ₂ ?...] | Your “oven house”... numerous/slaughtered(?) oxen |

10')	[e] ₂ -niĝ ₂ -ĝar-ra-zu NINDA [...]	Your treasury/storehouse(?),... food/mobilia(?)
11')	[ĝ] ₂ -nun mah-zu NINDA [...]	Your great storehouse,... food/mobilia(?)
12')	e ₂ muhaldim-zu u ₂ -a [...]	Your kitchen,... food and drink ¹⁾
13')	[e] ₂ -zu ki niĝ ₂ -gu ₇ -zu ⁷ [...]	Your temple/house, where your food...
14')	[x] x x(erasure?)-gin ₇ ab ₂ amar-bi [...]	Like..., cow and its calf...
15')	[udu-z]u? sila ₄ -b[i...]	Your [sheep?], its lamb...
16')	[uz ₃ -z]u? maš ₂ -[bi...]	Your [she-goat?], its kid...
17')	[pu ₂ ^ĝ] ^{is} kiri ₆ -zu saĝ [...]	Your watered orchard(?)...
18')	[...] x daĝal-zu [...]	Your broad...
19')	[...] x-ta a h[e ₂ -...]	May... water from...
20')	[...]s]ag ₉ -ga [...]	...good/beautiful...
21')	[...] he ₂ -kug-ge [...]	May... be pure,...

4'-6') The progression from throne (^{ĝis}gu-za) to dais/tent enclosure (barag) to footstool (^{ĝis}ĝiri₃-gub-ba) also occurs in the Ur III royal correspondence (Aradĝu to Šulgi 1 18-19 and Šulgi to Aradĝu 1: 18-19, see Michalowski 2011: 249, 265-266, 275, 287) in description of the opulent quarters of Apilaša, which from the context is presumably in emulation of royal depiction.

5') There may not be enough room for the restoration of these signs unless the scribe began the line farther to the left than the others. The restoration of the term ^{us}ĝ₂šutur, variously understood as a royal garment or a tent or awning (see Michalowski 2011: 255), which also occurs in the CKU passages cited above, is also possible.

7') For the reading of e₂-ŠIM×NIG₂, perhaps a *de facto* genitival construction, see Wilcke 1993: 55 n. 121 and Attinger 2021: 328 and n. 796, 694, who understand it to be derived from the title conventionally read as ^{lu}2lunga “brewer” (Attinger: ningi_{1/3}) rather than bappir/babir “mash, Sauerteig(brot).” Compare Šulgi Y 27'-29': e₂-ŠIM×NIG₂ zabar-re he₂-du₇-na kaš-kaš-bi-ta(var. da) NE ki ba-ni-us₂-us₂ kaš gig₂ kaš šu₄ a₂ sikil-ba sur-ra: “The brewery (where) the bronze (vessel(s)) that are her ornaments(!?) touch the ground (i.e., overflow?)... with its beer(?), the dark beer and reddish brown beer *brewed* with pure arms is placed for the evening meal of her banquet hall.” Compare also the disastrous context of Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 306: e₂-ŠIM×NIG₂-na kaš nu-un-ĝal₂ munu₃ nu-um-ĝal₂. “in the brewery there was no beer, there was no malt.”

9') The exact designation e₂-udun-(na) is rare to my knowledge. It is attested in the difficult context of Amar-Suen and Enki's Temple (Amar-Suen A) a25, see Michalowski 1977: 156 and n. 12, Attinger 2021: 1100. There it may involve part of a temple or temple complex, or possibly a temple name, as suggested by Michalowski and ETCSL 2.4.3.1. It also seems possible from the context that it denotes a structure utilized in conjunction with the temple's construction, such as for brick manufacture to furnish the construction material for the construction of the temple or for cooking food for the builders, rather than involving the completed temple itself. The entity e₂-udun-(na) is also attested in the lexical tradition in the MA Kagal exemplar MS 3030 (Civil 2010: 41-42), where it is attested together with the e₂-gir₄-mah (lines 107-108) as well as in conjunction with the oil presser in the e₂-udun i₃-sur = E₂ kan₂-ni of line 62.

In the current context, the e₂-udun may be roughly co-terminus to the e₂-gir₄-mah of Šulgi Y 26'. Compare as well the description of the gir₄ mah in LSUr 313 (Michalowski 1989: 54-55) and Enlil diriše 154 (Römer 1965: 47, ETCSL 2.5.4.01). For these and other contexts featuring the gir₄-mah and the possible connection to Woolley's “kitchen building” at Ur, see Middeke-Conlin 2014: 26 [and also D. Charpin, Archibab 4, 2020: 164-167].

10') For the e₂-niĝ₂-ĝar/ĝa₂-ra, which is attested in Ur III administrative texts and a handful of literary contexts, see Attinger 2021: 327 and n. 787, with further literature. Attinger defines it variously as “un type d'entrepôt pour un oiseleur et/ou un pêcheur, entrepôt, grenier, trésor.” It also occurs in Šulgi Y 23' (SLTNi 52 r7' e₂-niĝ₂-ĝar-ra-ka, CT 42 40 e₂-niĝ₂-ĝa₂-ra-ka, see also Such-Gutiérrez 2003: 135), where it is attributed with a courtyard where Šulgi's statue is placed along with gil-sa “treasure.” Compare also the dag-NIG₂-ĝar-ra ^dEn-lil₂-la₂-ka of Enlil diriše 150 (Römer 1965: 47, 71 n. 355, ETCSL 2.5.4.01) and Proverbs Collection (2+)6.49 (Alster 1997: 154, Proust and Cavigneaux 2007: 354). The first sign is preserved in the type II source Ni 5098 (ISET II 21) o8, and is definitely dag according to Kramer's copy: Alster reads the sign as pisan!. In both contexts, the entity is described as containing foodstuffs, and in the Enlil diriše passage it also appears to be described as the destination of *sattukku* offerings and describes beverages as well as the use of the gir₄-mah oven. It is possible that in this context the dag-NIG₂-ĝar-ra is functioning as *pars pro toto* for a complex of buildings such as those featured in the current context, Šulgi Y, and Lamentation over Sumer and Ur.

11') This line was probably added *post facto* by the scribe to judge from the tight spacing and partial overlap with the neighboring lines. This presumably reflects the well-known Ġanunmah, a storehouse, later a treasury, of the Nanna temple complex at Ur (see van de Mieroop 1992: 41, 78-81, van de Mieroop 2014: 361-362, Zettler and Hafford 2014: 372-373, and Schmitt 2019). In this context, the function of the complex is likely to have reflected the former configuration. The name also described a part of the Ekur (George 1993: 87). Compare Lamentation over Sumer and

Ur 308, where the Ġanunmah of Ur is unequivocally referenced and is described as containing grain [see also Archibab 4, 2020, *passim*, index p. 534].

17') The first sign looks more like [m]a, but there is not enough room for the restoration of an expanded phrase such as the pu₂ ^{giš}kiri₆ la₃ ^{giš}peš₃ mu₂-a “watered orchard growing syrup and figs” of Šulgi D(+X) 226/342. Perhaps a restoration [^{giš}kiri₆ ^{giš}pe]š₃ mu₂-a is possible from the available space.

Notes

1. Or, less likely, “the provisioner.”

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69) Witnesses of his conception? — BM 96998, published by Klaas Veenhof (2003) under the catchy title “Fatherhood is a Matter of Opinion,” records the outcome of a legal proceeding occasioned when officers in Sippar sought to enroll one Šurārum for duty and were thwarted by his aunt ʿLamassani. The officers, accompanied by *šībūt a-ri-šu*, declared before visiting Babylonian authorities that Šurārum and his (missing) brother Abisum were the progeny of Šumum-libši, one of the troops under their command, who had married the boys’ mother ʿŠimat-Ištar; but now ʿŠimat-Ištar’s sister ʿLamassani has taken his son Šurārum, and he lives with her. Upon being summoned, ʿLamassani and her brother declared that Šumum-libši had not married their sister ʿŠimat-Ištar, rather, she had become a streetwalker, so that Šumum-libši along with many other men used to visit her. There being no witnesses who could affirm that he married

her, the parties were directed to the Gate of Šamaš to make their statements in the presence of the god's emblems. This the officers and *šībūt a-ri-šu* refused to do, but ^fLamassani declared before the god, "Abisum and Šurārum were not born to Šumum-libši; it is I who have raised them" (ll. 50-51). Thereupon the officers and *šībūt a-ri-šu* were enjoined from laying claim to the two boys.

Veenhof refrained from interpreting *a-ri-šu*, observing that *šībūt*, "elders of," would suggest it is a place name, but for the absence of the determinative. Dominique Charpin (2005) detects in it the word *arrum*, known from the Mari texts, denoting a "reunion." Antoine Cavigneaux (2019) multiplies the word's possible appearances, identifying it under the spelling *ri-i-im* in one text, *a-ri* in another, in the plural *ì-rí-a-tum* (or *'a₅-rí-a-tum*) at Ebla, and as a cognate of Hebrew *'ār*, a variant of *'tr*, "town" – a Semitic word that would exist in a relationship of mutual influence with Sumerian *u r u / e r i*; this word would be distinct from *arrum*, "reunion," in the Mari texts. Quite aside from the problem of assimilating under the same lexeme sporadic attestations in diverse spellings, with or even without an initial syllable that could have begun with *'ayin* (Cavigneaux suggests that the formation of a nisbe, pushing the accent to the second syllable, could make the first one disappear), reaching so far afield to find the word encountered in a legal proceeding from Sippar seems unnecessary.

The document vindicating ^fLamassani's custody of Šurārum represents an unusual instance of establishing non-filiation. As such it is the inverse of PBS 5, 100, an unusually elaborate document establishing filiation. PBS 5, 100, which has been studied in detail by Martha Roth (2001), records the determination by the assembly of Nippur that Ninurta-rā'im-zērim (hereafter NRZ) was the son of Enlil-bāni by his wife ^fŠin-nada, based on the testimony of nine witnesses before the emblem of Ninurta. This proceeding was the final stage of a series of efforts initiated by NRZ's paternal grandmother ^fḪabannatum, starting at his birth, to ensure that he was legally recognized as the son of her son, who had died during ^fŠin-nada's pregnancy. For the present purpose it is unnecessary to rehearse the episodes that culminated in the joint petition of NRZ and his paternal uncles to the officials and judges of Nippur, as related in this document, or to speculate on what occasioned it. What is of interest is that several of the witnesses attesting to NRZ's filiation (*šībū ša mārūt NRZ idū*, ii 5-6) assert, based on their knowledge of his mother's pregnancy and its circumstances, that NRZ is the "issue," *riḫūtum*, of Enlil-bāni (ii 23, 25, 36, iii 17 and 33). As Roth points out (2001: 268-69), this word, from *reḫūm*, "to inseminate," refers to the child as the biological progeny of his father, whereas *mārūtum* refers to his legal filiation. The document does not refer to the witnesses testifying that NRZ is *riḫūt Enlil-bāni* as *šībū riḫūtīšu*, "witnesses of his insemination," but they could be called so, since that is their function in the context of this proceeding. And there lies a parallel to the *šībūt a-ri-šu* in Šurārum's case.

Before it is objected that the adjectival plural *šībūtum* is used when "elders" are meant, while *šībū* is used to denote "witnesses," be it noted that this rule admits of exceptions. Instances in the Old Babylonian period in which *šībūtum* means "witnesses" are mentioned by Andrea Seri (2005: 99), and more can be found by searching Archibab. For example, according to the interpretation given there, *šībūtīšu* are a man's multiplying witnesses (not his testimony) in AbB 9, 269; a correspondent reminds his addressee of his instruction to convict someone before *šībūti*, "witnesses," in AbB 14, 34; and Samsi-Addu directs his son Yasmah-Addu to send for *šībūtīšu ša Ḫammanim*, meaning his witnesses, to investigate Ḫammanum's claim that men of Ḫurbanum destroyed his monument and burnt his ram, in FM 8, 36. In Ḫammanum's own letter complaining of this deed (FM 8, 34), his description of the preceding engagement of the men of Suḫum uses the plural *šībū* to mean "elders" and *šībūtum* to mean "witnesses" (cf. note on l. 34, reproduced at www.archibab.fr/T6667, remarking on this alternation). There is then no philological obstacle to understanding *šībūt a-ri-šu* not as "elders of" somewhere or something but as "witnesses of" something.

That something should be relevant to the case at hand, concerning Šurārum's biological paternity. The attestation of *riḫūtum* in the case establishing NRZ's filiation suggests what the witnesses are attesting to in Šurārum's case: his conception, expressed with the verb *arūm* (var. *erūm*), "to be pregnant, conceive." A pronoun suffixed to an infinitive may be its subject or its object if the verb is transitive, as *arūm* is in its meaning "conceive." That Šurārum's mother ^fŠimat-Ištar had conceived and been pregnant with him is not in question (so the phrase is not *šībūt arīša*), rather, his conception through her intercourse with Šumum-libši is. Grammatically and contextually, the antecedent of the suffix *-šu* is Šurārum; the phrase first appears

in the document's opening clause, *aššum Šurārum mār Šimat-Ištar* (...) four officers and *šībūt arīšu*, when organizing the work in Sippar, declared as follows before the authorities (ll. 1-12, with no mention of Šumum-libši). Logically and biologically, the suffixed infinitive refers his conception to its author, his purported sire –analogous to *riḫūt Enlil-bāni* in PBS 5, 100. In each case the act and its result are the same: insemination (*reḫūm*) and consequent conception (*arūm*). The question to be decided is also the same: whether the resulting offspring is to be attributed to a particular male. Evidently the witnesses of Šurārum's conception could not be sure enough to swear to it.

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70) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 34 : "Averses du soir" — Une lettre de Buqaqum, ARM 26/2 496, qui mentionne le passage d'Atamrum, puis indique que celui-ci va bien de même que le district, s'achève par trois lignes ainsi transcrites par l'éditrice :

14 *ti₉-ik ri-ba-tīm*
ú šu-ri-pu-šu
 16 *it-tu-ra-am*

Le revers de la tablette est traduit : « ⁽¹¹⁾D'autre part, Atamrum ⁽¹²⁾vient de passer : ⁽¹³⁾il va bien et le district va bien. ⁽¹⁴⁾La (saison des) averses du soir(?) ⁽¹⁵⁾avec sa froidure est revenue. » Une note précise : « *rabūm*, "se coucher (en parlant du soleil)" et *ribum*, "coucher (de soleil)" existent à Mari ; on peut supposer que *tīk ribatim* désigne la pluie du soir. » On peut ajouter que le mot *tīkum* « averse » est attesté à Mari (ARM 13 133 : 7 [réf. à ajouter au CAD T, p. 404]). W. Heimpel a traduit le passage ainsi (MC 12, p. 391) : « Further: Atamrum passed by. He is well, and the district is well. The short days and its frosts have returned », en commentant (n. 365) : « The possessive suffix is masculine singular and refers to the district and not the short days ».

L'ensemble est étrange, notamment avec la valeur *-tīm* pour *-tum* à la fin de la l. 14 : à première vue, on est tenté de lire *te-eq-ri-ba-tum*, qui serait une variante (hapax) pour *taqribatum* « escorte », mot bien attesté à Mari (et la coloration en *e* ne surprend pas, puisque le mot dérive de *qerēbum*). Mais que faire de la l. 15 ? L'examen de la photo, disponible sur le site Archibab depuis avril 2017 (<https://www.archibab.fr/T7815>) montre que le deuxième signe de la l. 15 n'est pas ŠU mais KI. Je propose donc de lire :

14 *te-eq-ri-ba-tum*
ú-qé-ri-bu-šu
 16 *it-tu-ra-am*

Il reste un problème : *ta/eqribatum* est un singulier (cf. l. 16), comment donc comprendre la forme *ú-qé-ri-bu-šu* ? Et pourquoi n'y a-t-il pas de *-ma* entre les deux verbes ? Le mieux est de supposer un relatif qui manque (<ša> *ú-qé-ri-bu-šu*) et de traduire : « L'escorte <qui> l'a escorté vient de revenir ici ». On s'attendrait à ce que la lettre s'arrête à la fin de la l. 13, avec l'indication que le district va bien ; Buqaqum a ajouté une sorte de post-scriptum, sans doute hâtivement, ce qui peut expliquer l'omission du relatif.

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71) Samsu-iluna, les mercenaires kassites et la mesure de Marduk : la métrologie au service de l'Histoire politique

— La date de l'entrée des Kassites dans l'histoire mésopotamienne et celle de leur intégration au royaume de Babylone ont fait l'objet d'études récentes. En 2017, F. van Koppen a montré que des « maisons des Kassites » étaient souvent mentionnées, « particulièrement dans les textes de Sippar à l'époque paléo-babylonienne tardive » (2017, p. 49). Selon lui le terme renverrait à « une localité spécifique sur les rives de l'Euphrate, en amont de Sippar » et plus précisément des territoires occupés par « des chefs kassites et leur suite » (*“Kassite chiefs and their followers”*, van Koppen 2017, p. 49-50). Cette hypothèse complète et poursuit le travail de D. Charpin (2004, p. 339ss) qui avait établi que l'arrivée des Kassites en Mésopotamie avait certainement eu lieu vers l'année Si 8 ou Si 9, en se basant sur l'étude des noms d'années de Samsu-iluna. Pour F. van Koppen, si des « colons militaires » (*“military settlers”*) kassites s'installent en Babylonie à la toute fin du règne de Samsu-iluna, c'est cependant surtout à partir du règne d'Abi-ešuh que ces arrivants furent intégrés dans l'armée (van Koppen 2017, p. 53-54). C'est dans ce cadre général que nous nous plaçons avec pour objectif d'étayer l'hypothèse de F. van Koppen à partir d'un élément nouveau : l'analyse de mentions métrologiques dans certains textes. Le but de cette note est alors d'illustrer comment cet élément souvent négligé peut apporter de nouveaux arguments à la discussion et enrichir notre connaissance de l'Histoire politique paléo-babylonienne.

La plus ancienne mention, à notre connaissance, de troupes kassites dans la région de Sippar se trouve dans OLA 21, 20, un texte qui liste des jarres-*pihu* et des quantités de grain envoyées à des Kassites. Ce texte datant de l'année Si 30 fut décrit par son éditeur comme un inventaire de cadeaux diplomatiques destinés à un roi kassite. On voit en effet que du grain est dépensé par le palais pour payer des individus, notamment des Kassites, installés à Kâr-Shamash. On lit en effet aux l. 30-31 : « dépense <faite> au sein du grain qui ira à Kâr-Šamaš avec le grain des rations de la troupe des Kassites » (l'ZI.GA ŠÀ še-e ša it-ti ŠE ŠUKU¹ ERIN₂ ka-aš-ši ša a-na KAR(!).(d)UTU(ki) i-il-la-ku-nim). Les Kassites sont commandés là-bas par un « LUGAL » (l. 6-8) qui reçoit des « rations-*sattukku* » (l. 6) et il se trouve parmi eux un « *turgumannum* » (l. 14), c'est-à-dire un interprète. Ce terme, rare par ailleurs, se retrouve pour désigner un « interprète » de la « maison des Kassites » dans le texte AbB 7, 47 (= CT 52, 47). Il est donc tout à fait probable qu'on ait affaire à une de ces « maisons ». Le texte OLA 21, 20 n'est donc clairement pas un texte commémorant des cadeaux à un roi étranger. Ce n'est pas non plus, à notre avis l'approvisionnement de réfugiés kassites comme le propose F. van Koppen qui écrit : « il peut être pertinent pour dater la seconde vague de migration de relever l'apparition d'un *dumu.édub.ba.a ša mu-na-ab-ti*, un « scribe des réfugiés » (F. van Koppen écrit *“scribe of the refugees”*) qui supervise le déplacement de deux rois des troupes kassites et leurs suites (*“the march of two kings of Kassite troops and their followers”*), dans OLA 21, 20 » (van Koppen 2017, p. 53, n. 33). Nous allons voir qu'on y trouve plusieurs indices typiques des textes de rémunération des mercenaires.

Un premier indice du rôle de mercenaires tenu par ces Kassites se trouve dans les objets qui leur sont donnés : des jarres-*pihu* de bière. Or, c'est exactement le bien qu'on donne aux mercenaires kassites *bimatî* à Dur-Abi-ešuh, dans CUSAS 29. On pourra citer, par exemple, les documents 102 à 105 de ce recueil, parmi les nombreux textes de CUSAS 29 qui nous renseignent sur cette pratique. A Sippar, c'est exactement aussi la situation qu'on rencontre dans BE 6/2, 136 (Ae 2). Dans ce texte, le palais supervise l'approvisionnement en jarres de bières de Kassites *bimatî*, or cet approvisionnement correspond à la période d'un déplacement de Kar-Šamaš à Puš, puis Kar-Abul-Aya. Cela a amené F. van Koppen à postuler qu'il s'agissait bien dans ce texte de mercenaires kassites (van Koppen 2017, p. 50).

Un deuxième indice pour conclure au statut de mercenaire des Kassites d'OLA 21, 20 est la présence parmi les témoins d'individus comme Etel-pi-Marduk, Belanum et Subbutum, des administrateurs-*šatammum* souvent impliqués dans le paiement de dépendants du palais et par l'intermédiaire notamment de Warad-Nabium le « scribe de la troupe du palais » ainsi que d'un scribe « de la troupe » nommé Alitalimi. Le lien avec le pouvoir royal à Babylone est donc bien établi. Cependant, ce n'est pas là la preuve la plus criante que l'on a bien affaire à des mercenaires et non pas à des colons kassites militarisés ou à des tribus installées aux frontières et indépendantes du pouvoir babylonien. La meilleure preuve se trouve en fait aux l. 1 et 23 où il est indiqué que le grain a été mesuré « selon la mesure de Marduk ».

Or qu'est-ce que la mesure de Marduk ?

Dans un article récent (Nicolas 2021), nous avons montré que son développement était directement corrélé aux velléités expansionnistes et de contrôle politico-économique d'Hammurabi. Il s'agissait en fait d'une norme métrique indiquant l'implication de l'administration palatiale. Cette mesure était particulièrement employée lorsque le palais approvisionnait en grain des forteresses, des soldats ou des mercenaires.

Cette mesure était notamment utilisée pour payer les Kassites de Dur-Abi-ešuh, qui étaient clairement des mercenaires (Van Lerberghe et Voet 2010). C'est ce que révèlent notamment les textes CUSAS 29, 4, 6 et 10. Nous ne nous attarderons pas ici sur ces textes, car ils concernent le Sud mésopotamien et une forteresse où la présence de mercenaires kassites est bien connue. D'ailleurs, d'autres troupes dont l'origine ethnique est indiquée sont approvisionnées avec du grain mesuré ainsi dans les textes de Dur-Abi-ešuh : c'est le cas de la troupe venue de « sur la mer » (« *eli tâmtim* ») dans Sem. 1278, texte étudié par Z. Földi (2014). Il s'agit là encore très certainement de mercenaires.

Pour revenir dans les environs de Sippar, il apparaît que cette mesure était employée pour payer d'autres soldats dont on précisait « l'ethnie ». Outre les Kassites d'OLA 21, 20, on peut mentionner les Rababéens dans JCSSS 2, 17, un groupe ethnique décrit par B. Landsberger comme « une compagnie militarisée de pêcheurs de rivière » (« *a military-like company of river-fishermen* », Landsberger 1967, p. 57), mais malheureusement peu connus pas ailleurs, même si l'on peut tout de même se référer à D. Lacambre (1998) sur la question des canaux du Yahrurum inférieur.

On sait aussi que les Sutéens, dont le rôle comme mercenaires escortant les caravanes est connu à Mari (Ziegler 2004, p. 101), étaient rémunérés en mesure de Marduk lorsqu'ils travaillaient dans les environs de Sippar. On le voit dans AbB 7, 89 ou CT 8, 21d et dans ce dernier texte, il est spécifié que les Sutéens sont employés pour « protéger les champs » (l. 10-11, on lit en effet « 0, 1.0 ŠE a-na ŠUKU (lú)su-ti-i/ma-aš-ša-ar A.ŠÀ ŠE). On voit donc qu'on a ici, très clairement, un emploi en qualité de mercenaire.

Cela nous amène donc à réinterroger le terme de *munabtum* apparaissant dans OLA 21, 20 et que F. van Koppen traduisait par « réfugiés » (« *refugee* »). Nous avons vu qu'en fait on n'a pas affaire ici à des civils cherchant asile mais bien à une compagnie de mercenaires. La présence de militaires, le paiement en jarre sont des indices forts de cela, mais ce qui achève de nous convaincre, c'est l'usage de la mesure de Marduk. Pourquoi la couronne rémunérerait-elle des civils kassites, des réfugiés, avec un standard métrologique aussi normé et aussi lié à l'administration palatiale ? Pourquoi les « troupes » payées en mesure de Marduk seraient-elles, dans tous nos autres exemples, employées comme supplétifs de l'armée babylonienne alors qu'ici on aurait des réfugiés ? Nous pensons qu'il faut ici traduire « *munabtum* » non comme « réfugiés » mais comme « transfuges ».

Tous ces éléments indiquent donc selon nous que les soldats de la « troupe des Kassites » dans OLA 21, 20 sont des mercenaires comme on en rencontre ensuite au début du règne d'Abi-ešuh et non des soldats étrangers accompagnant des civils en migration, sous la supervision d'officiels babyloniens. Par suite, le terme « LUGAL » dans OLA 21, 20 est à comprendre plutôt dans le sens de « capitaine » d'une compagnie de mercenaires que comme « roi » kassite.

On peut donc conclure avec fermeté que des mercenaires kassites étaient employés par la royauté babylonienne dans la région de Sippar dès la fin du règne de Samsu-iluna et peut-être même plus tôt encore. Ceci permet d'étayer et d'approfondir la proposition de F. van Koppen qui écrit « plus tard, peut-être même dès la trentième année du règne de Samsu-iluna mais plus certainement avant le milieu du règne d'Abi-ešuh, des migrants d'une seconde vague furent admis dans le royaume » (van Koppen 2017, p. 53). En réalité, en Si 30, on n'avait déjà plus de simples migrants kassites, mais des compagnies de mercenaires, peut-être employées pour sécuriser la frontière septentrionale. L'installation de ces Kassites et leur organisation en groupes armés au service du palais a donc dû se faire avant l'année Si 30, probablement vers le milieu du règne de celui-ci et après les événements militaires de l'année Si 9.

On voit donc se dessiner, par l'étude de documents comptables et de mentions métrologiques en apparence anodines des mouvements de population, des éléments de doctrine militaire babylonienne et d'Histoire politique. C'est une nouvelle preuve s'il en fallait de la nécessité d'approfondir ces questions de normes administratives et métriques qui sont des sources historiques de premier plan.

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72) Ugarit and Mari again: 'rear' or 'spear'? — Since the extant corpus and therefore the vocabulary of the Ugaritic texts are both relatively small, scholars are understandably reluctant to accept homonyms or homographs. However, occasionally this is necessary. A case in point is Ug. *šbr*, as discussed here.¹⁾

The word *šbr* may occur in a Ugaritic *šizbu*-type birth omen (KTU 1.103 [RS 24.247 + 24.265 + 24.268 + 24.287 + 24.328]:45) as [w lbh bš]brh yšū, “[and if its entrails protrude [through] its [a]nus”. If correctly restored,²⁾ this is *šbr* I, “rump”, cognate with Akk. *šuburu(m)*, “rump, bottom” (CDA, 379-380); “buttocks, rectum, anus; rear, bottom” (CAD Š/3, 190-193).³⁾

The homograph *šbr* II seems to denote a weapon, as it is parallel to *mrh*, “spear” in the following mythological text (KTU 1.92 [RS 19.039+19.174]:12-14):

<i>mrhh. ti[h]d bydh]</i>	Her spear she gra[sped in her hand],
<i>šbrh bm ymn</i>	her ‘weapon’ in her right.
<i>tr[my] l₂tr</i>	She hu[rled] (it) at Bull
<i>tšpl b^cl. ‘bb.</i>	she felled Baal (with her) harpoon.

Ug. *šbr* here has been explained by de Moor (1979) as meaning “club”, corresponding to Akk. *šibirru*.⁴⁾ However, Akk. *šibirru* (also as *šebirru*, *šipirru*, *sibirru*) actually means “staff” (CAD Š/2, 377–379); “shepherd’s staff; sceptre” or “staff”, carried by shepherds as a weapon (CDA, 370b) and is a loan from Sumerian (AHw, 1227a). According to Salonen (1965: 161), it is only remotely a military term; Westenholz (1997: 65/67) translated it “scimitar”, but this does not seem to have been generally accepted or even mentioned. Ultimately, Akk. *šibirru* would seem to be an emblem of honour or rank.

Instead, I suggest that in the mythological text KTU 1.92, Ug. *šbr* II corresponds to Akk. *šuburu*, “weapon”. This is the meaning proposed by Guichard (2010: 24) for this very word in an incantation from Mari: *addika šuburriš*, “Je t’ai lancé mon arme *šuburu*”.⁵⁾ As he mentions (*ibid.* n. 8), the same word also occurs in a passage in the Annals of Adad-nīrārī II: *ki-ma šu-bu-ri da-pi-na-ku kīma (GIM) patri (GÍR) šal-ba-be ú-ra-ša-pa še-en-ni*,⁶⁾ which Guichard translates as “Je suis un massacreur comme... (?), j’écrase le méchant comme une épée en furie”.⁷⁾ In his opinion, this text indicates *šuburu* to be a weapon that is thrown (“une sorte d’arme de jet”). His description would certainly fit Ug. *šbr*, which in the text cited above is parallel to *mrh*, “spear”. It is also parallel to Ug. *‘bb*, which may mean “harpoon” (as proposed by Watson

2019), and if so, also a weapon that is a missile. Unfortunately, there seem to be no cognates for Akk. *šuburru* II or Ug. *šbr* II.

Notes

1. In DUL, 794 only the meaning “stick, staff” is recorded, but this clearly cannot fit both the texts cited there (KTU 1.92:13 and 1.10:45); the word *šbrm* [] in KTU 4.574:7 (also cited) seems to be a PN.
2. Cf. DIETRICH & LORETZ 1990: 139-140; they translate: “[sein Inneres] tritt [aus] seinem [A]fter heraus” and refer to an almost exact Babylonian equivalent –*šumma izbu irrūšu* (ŠA.MEŠ-šú) *ina qinnatišu* (GÚ.DU-šú) È.MEŠ, “if a malformed animal’s intestines protrude from its buttocks” (cf. CAD Q, 255, citing LEICHTY 1970: 165 XVI 105’) –although the word used there is *qinnatu* (written with ideograms).
3. As noted by DIETRICH & LORETZ 1990: 139, n. 334. For cognates in Arabic and Tigre see SED I, 233, No. 262.
4. Like Anat, the goddess Attart is “depicted with a lance in one hand and a kind of club in the other” (DE MOOR 1985: 645), as here. See also DE MOOR 1979: 227 (“shepherd’s club”).
5. Text in THUREAU-DANGIN 1939: 11.
6. RIMA 2, p. 148, A.0.99.2 line 19; GRAYSON does not translate *šu-bu-ri*.
7. Translated “I strike down the wicked like a raging sword” (CAD Š/1, 241b; cf. CAD D, 105a).

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Abbreviations

- CIPOA Cahiers de l’Institut du Proche-Orient ancien du Collège de France.
- DUL G. DEL OLMO LETE & J. SANMARTÍN, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition. Third Revised Edition* (Translated and edited by W. G. E. Watson), Vols 1-2 (HdO I/112; Leiden 2015).
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73) Mesopotamian chronology over the period 2340-539 BCE through astronomically dated synchronisms and comparison with carbon-14 dating — The 614 Assyrian eponyms between the first year of Šamšî-Adad I and the first year of Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1076) allow us to date the reign of Šamšî-Adad I (1728–1695) approximately. As the Assyrian years were lunar before the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1192–1179), this makes it possible to slightly correct the reign of Šamšî-Adad I (1712–1680), yet as this Amorite king died in the 17th year of King Hammurabi, so this synchronism fixes the dating of this Babylonian king (1697–1654). This dating does not correspond to the Middle Chronology but, on the other hand, exactly satisfies the astronomical dating of the Ammisaduqa tablet on Venus, according to the Ultra-Low Chronology. In addition, one tablet of astronomical omens (Enuma Anu Enlil 20) mentions a lunar eclipse dated 14 Simanu at the end of the reign of Šulgi (14/III/48, 27 June 1954 BCE), and another (Enuma Anu Enlil 21) mentions a lunar eclipse dated 14 Addaru at the end of the third dynasty Ur, which ended

with the reign of Ibbi-Sin (14/XII/24, 6 March 1911 BCE). These two total lunar eclipses are separated by 42 years of reign (= 9 years of Amar-Sin + 9 years of Šu-Sîn + 24 years of Ibbi-Sin) and 9 months (=XII - III). During the period 2200–1850 BCE, there was only one couple of lunar eclipses spaced 42 years and 9 months apart, and visible at Ur, corresponding to the description of the astronomical omens. These two total lunar eclipses confirm the absolute dating of the reign of Hammurabi (1697–1654) and allow to anchor the reign of Sargon of Akkad (2243–2187). Secondly, as there is a synchronism between Neferhotep I (1721-1710) and Ibni-Addu (1700-1680), the king of Hazor, and another synchronism between Ibni-Addu (1700-1680) and Hammurabi (1697-1654), the king of Babylon, this reign could be determined indirectly by carbon-14 and is again in perfect agreement with the “Ultra-Low chronology”. Finally, the best confirmation of the accuracy of this absolute chronology is the complete reconstitution from 2040 to 1050 BCE, year by year, of the main Mesopotamian chronologies: Uruk IV, Mari, Gutium, Assyria, Elam, Uruk V, Ur III, Larsa, Isin I, Babylon, Hana, Kassite and Sealand, with their synchronisms as well as their dates anchored on astronomical phenomena such as the total eclipses of the moon.

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74) A note on KUB 59.46+* — In 1988, Manfred Hutter provided a full transliteration of the Hittite fragment Bo 3193, published by Liane Jakob-Rost in 1989 as KUB 59.46.

Here follows a paragraph from this text according to Hutter (1988: 51), with some slight changes:

KUB 59.46+ iii (CTH 409.?, NS)
 10' ^{URU}L]a-an-da-za u-un-ni-eš
 11' pé-r]a-an hu-u-i-ya-an-te-eš
 12']ú-e-ri-ta-nu-er
 13']-er nu DÜ-iš-ke-ez-zi
 14']te-ez-zi

As already acknowledged by Ehelolf (1933: 6, fn. 3),¹⁾ the fragment is a duplicate of KUB 9.34, the second tablet of the ritual of Tunnawiya, and the passage quoted above matches the following paragraph:

KUB 9.34 iii (409.II.Tf02.A, NS; Hutter 1988: 38)
 28' šal-li-iš-wa-kán DINGIR^{LIM}-iš^{URU}L]a-an-da-za u-un-ni-eš
 29' la-i-iš-wa ták-ša-ni pé-ra-an hu-u-i-ya-an-te-eš
 30' i-na-na-aš la-a-la-aš ku-iš-ša-an ú-e-ri-te-nu-er
 31' ku-e-ša-an-kán la-aḫ-la-aḫ-ḫi-nu-e«-nu-e»-er
 32' nu hu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi ku-in na-an-kán ŠUM-ŠU te-ez-zi

“Great deity, you have driven from Landa (and) released those running forward to the centre. The tongues of illness, those who scared him, those who worried him.” The one she is conjuring, she says his name.’²⁾

Therefore, KUB 59.46+ iii 10'-14' can be roughly restored as follows:

KUB 59.46+ iii
 10' [šal-li-iš-wa-kán DINGIR^{LIM}-iš^{URU}L]a-an-da-za u-un-ni-eš
 11' [la-i-iš-wa ták-ša-ni pé-r]a-an hu-u-i-ya-an-te-eš
 12' [i-na-na-aš la-a-la-aš ku-iš-ša-a]n ú-e-ri-ta-nu-er
 13' [ku-e-ša-an-kán la-aḫ-la-aḫ-ḫi-nu-e]-er nu DÜ-iš-ke-ez-zi
 14' [ku-in na-an-kán ŠUM-ŠU] te-ez-zi

As far as can be read, the only relevant difference between the two texts is *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi* in KUB 9.34 iii 32' matching DÜ-*iš-ke-ez-zi* in KUB 59.46+ iii 13', and a non-trivial problem is which Hittite form one should read behind the half-heterographic spelling DÜ-*iš-ke-ez-zi*, which cannot stand for *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi*.

As is well-known, the Sumerogram DÜ corresponds in Hittite to both the active verb *iye-* 'do' and the middle verb *kiš-* 'become'.³⁾ In the *Glossar* of his volume, Hutter (1988: 154) regards DÜ-*iš-ke-ez-zi* as the *ške*-form of *iye-* 'do'. However, it is likely that neither *iye-* nor *kiš-* can hide behind the spelling DÜ-*iš-ke-ez-zi*, because: (1) the regular imperfective stem of *iye-* is *išša-/ešša-*; the imperfective *iške-/eške-*, although it actually exists, is extremely rare;⁴⁾ (2) the regular imperfective stem of *kiš-* is the reduplicated stem *kikkiš-*; no forms in *-ške-* are attested. Furthermore, *kiš-* can be easily excluded on syntactic and semantic grounds.

If one looks for parallels for the sentence *nu DÜ-iškezzi kuin n=an=kan ŠUM=ŠU tezzi*, one can easily find similar expressions involving two verbs, *ḫukkiške-* 'conjure' and *anniške-* 'treat'. For the former, besides KUB 9.34 iii 32' quoted above, see e.g. KUB 7.1+ (CTH 390.A, NS) i 7 *nu DUMU-an ku-in ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-mi na-an-kán ŠUM-ŠU te-e-mi*; for *anniške-* see e.g. KUB 9.34 iv 19' [*nu a*]n-ni-iš-k[e-ez-zi]i 'ku'-in UN-an na-an-kán [(ŠUM-Š)]U te-ez-zi⁵⁾ and KUB 9.4+ (CTH 409.IV.Tf02.A, NS) iii 23' *na-an an-ni-iš-ke-ez-zi ku-in*¹⁾(IŠ)^{MUNUS}ŠU.G[I] (24') [*na-an*]-kán ŠUM-an ḫal-za-i.⁶⁾

Thus, Klinger (1991: 205), though wondering whether DÜ-*iškezzi* in KUB 59.46+ iii 13' may represent *anniškezzi*, based on the parallel passage in KUB 9.34 iii 32' and on Jakob-Rost's handcopy in KUB 59, in which the sign is clearly not DÜ, but rather resembles HÜ, suggests the reading *ḫu<-ki>-iš-ki-iz-zi* as a more likely solution. Puhvel (HED H: 325) reads DÜ-*iškizzi* 'treats', without further comments, while Groddek (2004: 82) also opts for *ḫu<-uk-ki>-iš-ki-iz-zi*, adding in a footnote that "DÜ ließe sich nur mit Ausrufezeichen lesen".

Now, as mentioned, DÜ-*iškezzi* cannot stand for the imperfective of *iye-* and *kiš-*, nor is there evidence that DÜ may represent Hitt. *aniye-*. However, Klinger's and Groddek's solution, although in agreement with the parallel passage in KUB 9.34, implies the mistaken omission of one or two signs, which is of course possible, but is perhaps not the best explanation, especially because a different solution is actually available, far more straightforward and which does not involve any amendment to the text: based on the photo, the sign on the tablet is definitely neither DÜ nor HÜ, but perfectly corresponds to one of the possible shapes of the sign KIN (HZL n. 47), which regularly stands for Hitt. *aniye-* and its derivatives.⁷⁾ Therefore, despite the duplicate, one should read KIN-*iš-ke-ez-zi* = *anniškezzi*, exactly the verbal form that one would expect in this context.

Notes

* Abbreviations follow the conventions of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*.

1. See also Hoffner 1972: 184 and Taracha 1985: 278, fn. 6.

2. The translation of the passage is not straightforward. Here I am following Marcuson 2016: 215, with discussion in fn. 102, but other solutions are possible.

3. See Weeden 2011: 461 for a list of occurrences.

4. See Pisaniello 2020: 148.

5. Cf. also *ibid.* i 20', ii 12-13.

6. For further occurrences, see CHD L-N: 33-34.

7. Cf. e.g. KIN-*mi* = *aniyami* (KBo 4.14 iv 37'), KIN-*zi* = *aniyazzi* (KBo 13.109 ii 7'), KIN-*an-zi* = *aniyanzi* (KBo 11.32 obv. 25; KBo 12.114 rev. 3'; KUB 16.32+ ii 23, 28), KIN-*kán-zi* = *anniškanzi* (KUB 41.1 iv 10'), KIN-*eš-ke-tén* = *annešketen* (KUB 13.20 i 21). See also HW² A: 90.

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75) ^{URUDU}tekan- “(Spitz)hacke” oder “Erdscheibe”? Revisionsversuch einer Bedeutung — Seit LAROCHE (1949-50: 20f.) wird das Wort *tekan*, versehen mit dem Determinativ ^{URUDU}, als “(Spitz)hacke” gedeutet. LAROCHE’s Vorschlag basierte hauptsächlich darauf, dass ^{URUDU}tekan mit ^{URUDU}MAR “Spaten” in KUB 32.115 (= KBo 39.8) I 9 zusammen vorkommt. In diesem Zusammenhang wies er auf das Auftreten von ^{GIŠ/URUDU}MAR neben ^{GIŠ/URUDU}AL “Hacke” in einigen Texten (z. B. KUB 7.41 Vs. 5, 6; KUB 9.3 I 7’, KUB 34.65: 6’, 9’ usw.) hin und schlägt daher vor, dass ^{URUDU}tekan die phonetische Entsprechung von ^{URUDU}AL sei. Diese Idee hat in der Fachliteratur bislang eine weite Anerkennung gefunden (zuletzt TISCHLER 1993: 300ff. und KLOEKHORST 2008: 863). Erst eine lange Zeit nach LAROCHE wurden von PUHVEL (2007: 583ff.) einige Bemerkungen zu ^{URUDU}tekan geäußert, die Ausführungen dort waren aber nicht auf semantischer, sondern auf etymologischer Ebene, und LAROCHE’s Grundbedeutung wurde letztlich beibehalten.

Es ist auffällig, dass das *tekan* mit der Grundbedeutung “Erde, Boden”, das in den Texten auch als ein Gegenstand aus Metall erscheint, meistens von einem kupfernen oder eisernen *nepiš* begleitet wird. Das Zusammenkommen von *nepiš* und *tekan* beruht freilich nicht auf einem Zufall, da beide Begriffe als gegenseitiges Pendant in enger Verbindung stehen. Für das gemeinsame Vorkommen beider Gegenstände aus Metall kommt zunächst die folgende Textstelle in Betracht:

ne-pi-iš te-e-kán AN.BAR “*nepiš* (und) *tekan* aus Eisen” (KUB 17.20 II 24).

Nach einem Ergänzungsvorschlag käme an diese Stelle auch noch der folgende Beleg hinzu:

[^{URUDU}ne-p]i-iš¹⁾ ^{URUDU}te-e-kán ^{URUDU}MAR / [(^{URUDU}tu-u-ri)-...] “[ein kupfernes *nep*]iš, ein kupfernes *tekan*, ein Kupferspaten, ein Kupferspeer” (KBo 39.8 I 9-[10] // KBo 44.17 I 9).

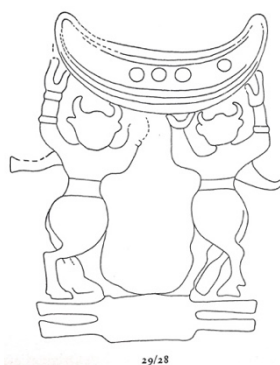
Die letztgenannte Liste der Gegenstände bietet keine homogene Aufzählung von Geräten ähnlicher Funktion, da auf ^{URUDU}MAR “Spaten” ein ^{URUDU}tūri- “Speer” folgt. Demnach wäre in der vorliegenden Textstelle eine Aufzählung landwirtschaftlicher Werkzeuge nicht zwingend, solange ^{URUDU}tūri- und seine Funktion nicht anders als Waffe gedeutet werden. Das Vorkommen dieser metallenen Objekte zusammen hat wahrscheinlich eher eine magische Bedeutung als eine funktionale. Dabei ist zu bedenken, dass es sich hier nicht nur um die Geräte selbst, sondern auch um kleine Replika dieser handeln könnte.

Schließlich kann noch der folgende Beleg von einem kupfernen *nepiš* und ^{GIŠ}MAR angeführt werden:

II₁ ^{GIŠ}MAR ^{URUDU} [(II *ne-pi-iš* ^{URUDU})] “Zwei Spaten aus Kupfer, zwei *nepiš* aus Kupfer” (KUB 7.14 Vs. 15 // IBoT 3.96 I’ 9’).

Gegenüber der allgemeinen Annahme lässt sich indes eine landwirtschaftliche Funktion von ^{URUDU}tekan immer noch nicht bestätigen. Abgesehen von der semantisch grundlegenden Bezeichnung “Erde, Boden” gibt es kein Indiz dafür, dass dieser Gegenstand für die Bodenverarbeitung geeignet ist und als Werkzeug zum Graben dient. Der einzige und verdächtige Textnachweis in KUB 24.9 II 18’, der von LAROCHE in diesem Sinne als Argument vorgebracht wurde, ist wegen eines Schreiberlapses um das Wort *tekan* nicht aussagekräftig. Der relevante Satz lautet einfach *n-aš araḫza paizzi manninkuwahhi <<GIŠ>>tekan paddai* “Sie (= die alte Frau) geht nach draußen. Sie gräbt in der Nähe den Boden”.²⁾ Im Duplikattext KBo 51.31:3’ fehlt ja überhaupt ein Determinativ vor *tekan*, was darauf schließen lässt, dass die Existenz eines hölzernen Gerätes *tekan* nach verfügbarer Beleglage noch nicht mit Sicherheit nachgewiesen werden kann.³⁾

Andererseits wird der Gegenstand *nepiš* aus Metall, der in den obengenannten Kontexten von KUB 17.20 II 24 und KBo 39.8 I 9-[10] in enger Verbindung mit *tekan* steht, in CHD L-N/4 (1989) 453 zutreffend als “*representation of the sky*” definiert, da es eindeutig in Verbindung kultischer Zwecke gebraucht wird (z. B. KBo 17.1 I 8' // KBo 17.3 I 3'). Ferner gibt es eine Gebäcksorte in Form eines Himmels, worauf auch die Sternfiguren zur Dekoration angebracht sind (KUB 60.121 Rs. 16-17). Daher kommt die Frage auf, ob das *tekan* aus Metall ein Objekt ähnlicher Funktion wie sein Pendant *nepiš* sein könnte, so dass beide Objekte als Metallscheiben in Form des “Himmels” und der “Erde” betrachtet werden können. Es wäre leicht vorstellbar, dass die hier auf schriftlicher Basis vermuteten Himmels- und Erdscheiben wichtige Kultobjekte neben der besser bezeugten *šittar(a/i)*- (logographisch AŠ.ME) “Sonnenscheibe” (CHD Š/3 [2013] 457ff.) darstellen. Für einen materiellen Nachweis zur Existenz von “Erd- und Himmelsscheiben” wird man zukünftig auf archäologische Funde angewiesen sein. Wie diese Objekte bildlich dargestellt wurden, könnten die Hieroglyphenzeichen L.182 “CAELUM” (zuletzt SIMON 2016: 159ff.) und L.201 “TERRA” ein Bild vermitteln, da beide in Yazılıkaya Nr. 28-29 (GÜTERBOCK 1975: 177) ober- und unterhalb zweier Stierfiguren erscheinen.



(Yazılıkaya Nr. 28-29 nach GÜTERBOCK 1975: 177)

Anmerkungen

1. Vgl. auch TISCHLER 1993: 300; PUHVEL 2007: 584. Der teilweise erhaltene (untere) Winkelhaken des Keilschriftzeichens spricht nicht für eine Lesung “*ri*”, sondern für “*pi*” (so bereits bei LAROCHE, 1949-50: 21), die Ergänzung [^{SG}*ki-iš-r*]*i-iš* (das Wort kommt im Duplikat KBo 44.17 I 8' vor) ist damit ausgeschlossen. Ebenfalls scheitert eine alternative Ergänzung mit ^{URUDU}*kullupi*- (Gerät zur Feldbearbeitung; vgl. KUB 7.41 Vs. 5 neben ^{URUDU}AL und ^{URUDU}MAR) wegen des neutralen Genus dieses Lexems.

2. Bereits TISCHLER 1993: 301, contra LAROCHE 1949-50: 21 und PUHVEL 2007: 583.

3. Zu den Belegen der Materialien, aus denen der *tekan*-Gegenstand hergestellt wird, kommen noch die Folgenden hinzu:

AN.BAR-*aš te-e-ká[n]* “eisernes *teka[n]*” (KBo 55.12:4').

^r*nu*²¹ (oder ^r^{GIS}²¹) *te-kán* KUBA[BBAR] / ^{GIS}AL KUBABBAR “und² [silb]ernes *tekan*, silberne Hacke” (KBo 56.19 Rs. 4'-5').

nu ne-pí-iš URUDU *t[e-e²-kán* URUDU²] / AL URUDU “und kupfernes *nepiš*, [kupfernes²] *t[ekan²]*, kupferne Hacke” (KBo 45.231 lk. Kol. 3'-4').

Das Zeugnis in KBo 56.19 Rs. 4'-5' ist insofern wichtig, da es *tekan* und AL in gleichem Kontext aufzählt. Diese Tatsache lässt sich freilich als ein ernsthafter Widerspruch gegen die Gleichsetzung (^{URUDU}AL = (^{URUDU})*tekan* anführen. Das letzte Zeichen in KBo 45.231 lk. Kol. 3' wird von PUHVEL 2007: 584 als K[I-(?) “*earth, ground*” gelesen. Eine nähere Überprüfung auf dem Foto bei der Konkordanz (hethiter.net/: fotarch B0176f) zeigt jedoch, dass das Wort nach URUDU mit zwei kleinen Winkelhaken beginnt, so dass es sich auch um das Zeichen “*te*” handeln könnte.

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76) הַתּוּלִי, *hṭl*, *huttulli*? — Quite surprisingly, Benjamin J. Noonan’s excellent *Non-Semitic Loanwords in the Hebrew Bible* (2019) includes a few words that are presented as “direct loans” from Hittite into Hebrew. The surprise is due to the obvious unlikelihood of any historical contacts between the kingdom of Hatti and the culture(s) that will eventually write Biblical Hebrew without the intermediation of Syrian, Levantine or Mesopotamian civilizations that would help the alleged connections survive the significant chronological gap (Hittite was most certainly dead already by the mid or late XII century, and any late local survivals of unattested varieties had very little chance to project long distance influences).

While linguists are often, and understandably, enthusiast about formal matches that allow the proposal of connections, it does not take much more than a very general glance over the history of the Ancient Near East to find the idea of Hittite words “directly” entering into Hebrew (or any other geographically distant Iron Age languages) extremely suspicious.

One of the words that, with Noonan’s abbreviations, is marked as: “[D] Hitt → Heb” is the substantive הַתּוּלִי, for which, on the Hebrew side, only one occurrence in Ezekiel 30.21 is available, where the word indicates a “splint” or “bandage”, in the context of an elaborate metaphor uttered by the Hebrew god. According to Noonan (p. 307), the source would be the Hittite word *huttulli*, “wool(flake)” (*Hethitisches Wörterbuch* 2, Bd. III/2, p. 792; Alwin Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Language*, Leiden, 2008, p. 351), a suggestion that, indeed, goes back to the seminal work by Chaim Rabin (“Hittite words in Hebrew”, *Or* 32, 1963, pp. 113-139).

Now, while the Hittite occurrences do seem to point to a larger set of meanings (“wool flake”, “wool strand”, simply “wool”), the slightly different semantics does not prevent a connection, as changes in meanings are by no means impossible even for technical terms; a bit less satisfactory is the fact that such a generic word was borrowed in a specific meaning (“medical bandage”) which is unknown for the alleged model word.

In any case, the (limited) panorama of the occurrences does not provide any serious reason to doubt that a borrowing took place. The issue that remains to be tackled is, therefore, the historical implausibility of the borrowing. The problem, of course, is easily solved by a more precise assessment of the sources in other languages of the Ancient Near East. In Ugaritic, the word *hṭl* is in fact attested, with the meaning “swaddle band” (Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, Leiden, 2015, p. 341; Wilfred G.E. Watson, “Terms for Textiles, Clothing, Hides, Wool and Accessories in Ugaritic: An Etymological Study”, *AuOr* 36/2, 2018, pp. 359-396). This Ugaritic word, apart from being a much better candidate for direct borrowing into Hebrew than a Hittite one could ever be, has also a meaning that appears semantically much closer to that of הַתּוּלִי. It is absolutely possible that the three words, הַתּוּלִי, *hṭl*, and *huttulli*, belong together, as it is also possible that the similarity of the Hittite form is accidental. In either case, the direct source of the Hebrew form should certainly be Ugaritic *hṭl*.

Note

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77) Nouveaux fragments de cunéiforme louvite III — Cette note brève présente cinq nouveaux fragments de cunéiforme louvite, incluant une nouvelle édition et un commentaire pour chacun.

1. Le premier fragment (Privat 40) provient de la collection privée de Atef Bayındır. Une autographie, produite par Hans Gustav Güterbock, décédé le 29 mars 2000 à Chicago, peut être consultée dans le Mainzer Archiv en Allemagne. Je remercie gracieusement Prof. Theo van den Hout de m'avoir donné la permission de publier le texte louvite en translittération. Étant donné qu'il n'y a pas de photo disponible du fragment, la lecture des signes endommagés ainsi que l'espace des lacunes doivent être considérés comme provisoires.

Ro. II

1' []x-x-x-pí-in-za-li-ia[
2' [] i-wa-ru pí-i-ia-at- [ta]
3' [zi²]-in-zi pí-da-a-an-ni-in-zi [
4' [(-)]zi-i-ia-ri i-ia-an-du-w[a-
5' []du-u-wa-an -du
fin de la colonne

Vo. III

1 [] tu-ra-a pa-¹la²-ra-a[n(-)
2 []x ú-i-wa-i-ta a-ta [
3 [(-)]ta-at-ta za-an-ta-an-t[a²
4 [zi²-i]n-zi pí-i-ta-an-ni-in-zi [
5 []x-i-na-an-za a-ka-ka-an-ta x[
6 []-ti-in za-ap-pí-ia-<al>-li [
7 []a[n-du-uḫ-ša-an ŠUM-ŠU te-[ez-zi]
8 [MUNUSŠU.G]I²-ma-aš-ša-an GU⁴ ŠA[
9 []-i]a² wa-az-zi-in-t[i²
10 []x a-an-ta [
11 []x [
12 []-p]a-li[

Ro. II: Le mot *iwaru-* n. est déjà connu du hittite et il signifie 'cadeau, dot'. Un dérivatif en *-i(ya)-* se trouve d'ailleurs dans le fragment KBo 29.54, 10'; *i-wa-ru-ú-i-eš=ti*. Considérant que *iwaru* dans ce passage est le complément d'objet direct du verbe *piyatta* 'il a donné', la même signification peut être adoptée sans aucun doute pour le mot louvite. Le substantif *pidānn(i)-*, que l'on retrouve aussi au verso du fragment, est un nouveau lexème louvite. Il rappelle librement le lycien *pidenezē*, un dérivé en *-eze/i-* (ou *-eze-* c.) d'un nom commun **pidene/i-*, un cognat exact du louvite *pidānn(i)-*. Malheureusement, leur signification nous échappe. Le mot précédent, qui s'accorde en cas, en genre et en nombre avec *pidānninzi*, est interprété ici comme le pronom démonstratif [z]inzi, étant donné que la lacune, selon l'autographie de Güterbock, semble ne pouvoir contenir qu'un seul signe (voir aussi Vo. 4). Cette restauration est cependant très hypothétique. Ensuite, les lignes 4' et 5' contiennent des verbes bien connus, c'est-à-dire louv. [ziyari 'il repose' (sauf si la lacune dissimulait [i-iz-], dans lequel des cas ce serait le verbe *izzī(ya)*^(di) '(méd.) devenir'; gracieuseté de Craig Melchert), *iyandu* 'qu'ils aillent' et *dūwandu* 'qu'ils placent'.

Vo. III: La première ligne révèle d'abord le mot *turā*, qui peut être interprété comme forme impérative du verbe *tūrā*⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ 'percer (avec une lance)' (Sasseville 2021: 42), quoiqu'un collectif du nom commun *tūr(i)-* 'lance' ne peut pas être entièrement exclu. Le mot suivant *palara[n(-)*, si correctement lu, rappelle *palara-* en Lycien B signifiant 'portrait (?)' selon l'analyse contextuelle de Meriggi (1937: 514). Cependant, cette signification ne peut pas être vérifiée pour le cognat louvite à cause du contexte fragmentaire. Ensuite, la seconde ligne comprend un verbe *wiwai(n)ta* au prétérite à la 3^e personne du pluriel (avec perte de la nasale devant l'alvéolaire). Celui-ci est sûrement relié au verbe hittite *wiwai* (*wiwiške/a-*) 'il hurle' (voir HEG W-Z: 579–581) et la même signification peut être adoptée provisoirement pour le mot louvite. Donc, *wiwai(n)ta* pourrait être du point de vue sémantique un itératif en *-(a)i*^(di) < **-ēje/o-*. La ligne 3 nous fournit une première fois en cunéiforme louvite l'adverbe *zantanta*, attesté en revanche en louvite hiéroglyphe INFRA *-tá-ta* (voir Bauer 2020).

À la ligne 5, le mot *akakanta* (3^e sg. prétérit. act.) est interprété ici comme un verbe à reduplication, c'est-à-dire *ak(k)a*⁽ⁱ⁾ → *ak-ak-a-nta*. La racine est comparable à celle du hittite *āk-/akk-*^(bi) 'mourir' (Étant donné que la vélaire voisée ne survit pas en louvite, il faut avoir recours à la pression analogique de la forme du pluriel. De plus, le louvite favorise la variante voisée (ou douce) chez les formations avec reduplication.). La traduction « ils sont morts » (ou au causatif « ils ont tué »), quoique tentante, ne peut être prouvée à cause du contexte incomplet. Dans la ligne suivante, on peut discerner le datif *zappiyalli* avec omission du signe <al> éméndée ici et traduit avec 'comme des gouttes de pluie'

(Sasseville 2021: 498f. n. 8). Les lignes 7 et 8 sont en hittite et la phrase *a[nduḫšan ŠUM-ŠU te[zi]* ‘il/elle dit le nom de la personne’ semble indiquer qu’il s’agit d’un rituel. La restauration à la ligne 8 de la ^{[MUNUSŠU.G]I}, qui serait supportée par le genre textuel, doit être considérée comme très hypothétique. Finalement, le dernier lexème louvite commenté ici est *wazzint[i]*, que l’on interprète comme forme verbale (3^e pl. prés. act.) appartenant à la même racine que le verbe *wazz(a)i*-(^{di}) ‘désirer, demander’. Donc, on peut établir l’existence d’une formation en *-i*-(^{ti}) (< **-ē/o-*) à côté d’une autre en *-(a)i*-(^{di}) (< **-ēje/o-*) (voir Sasseville 2021: 228).

En somme, le fragment nommé Privat 40 apporte un bon nombre de nouveaux lexèmes louvites. Malheureusement, il ne nous est pas possible d’attribuer ce rituel à l’un de ceux déjà connus des archives de Ḫattuša. De plus, même s’il est très probable que ce nouveau fragment provient des archives de Boğazköy, seulement un joint avec un autre fragment de cunéiforme trouvé en contexte archéologique pourra le confirmer.

2. Le prochain fragment appartient aux chants louvites de Iṣtanuwa. KBo 40.328 a été publié en autographie par Otten & Rüster (1997), mais sans classification (CTH 832). Cependant, le contexte est le même que celui de KBo 29.32 et KUB 35.139 iv (CTH 773), ce qui nous permet de restaurer en partie le passage du fragment, et donc, KBo 40.328 peut être attribué à CTH 773 (*Gesang von Iṣtanuwa*).

1'		]x[
2'		]x-i-m[a
3'	[pa-an-ku-ša-aš-ma]-aš	kat- ^f ta ¹ -[an QA-TAM-MA ar-ku-...]
4'		]-zi tu-u-wa-[al-la-na-ti-ma-an-ta-...
5'	[pa-an-ku-ša-aš]-ma-aš	kat-ta- ^f an ¹ [QA-TAM-MA ar-ku-...]
6'		]x-la-ma-ti-[

7'	[nam-ma 2 LÚ ^{MES} GAL-ŠU]- ^f NU ¹ ḫal-zi- ^f ia ¹ -[an-zi	
8'	[a-ap-pa-an-du ḫu-i-ḫu-u-i]- ^f ia ¹ -an-ta[	
9'		(-) ^f ma-aš-š]a ² -ti-im-ma-a[n(-)ta-... pa-an-ku-ša-aš-ma-aš]
10'	[kat-ta-an QA-TAM-MA-pát	]ar-ku-ia-a[n ² -zi

11'	[nam-ma 2 LÚ ^{MES} GAL-ŠU-NU ḫal]-zi-[ia-an-zi	
12'		]x-an[

Le début du chant à la ligne 4', c'est-à-dire *tu-u-wa-[...]*, peut être associé à la séquence *tu-u-wa-al-la-(na)-ti-ma-an-ta...*, que l'on trouve sur le fragment KUB 35.139 iv aux lignes 6 et 8, ce qui permet une restauration plausible. D'un autre côté, la séquence à la ligne 9' rappelle (-)^f*ma-aš-š]a²-ti-im-ma-an-t[*a² dans le fragment KBo 29.32 ii 1' et *-ma-aš-š]a²-ti-im-ma-an(-)ta-a-^fna¹-...* (id. 4'). Ces mots font difficulté au niveau de leurs analyses lexicales et morphologiques et le contexte fragmentaire nous empêche de vérifier toute hypothèse. Néanmoins, la base collective *tūwa* ‘récolte’ (< **d^houḡ^heh₂*) et l'adjectif *tāwalli(ya)*- sont attestés dans le même contexte du fragment KUB 35.139 et *tu-u-wa-al-la-(na)-ti-ma-an-ta...* pourrait donc être analysé comme un dérivatif de **tūwalla(/i)-*.

La restauration de la ligne 8' s'appuie sur la comparaison avec KUB 35.139 iv 2 et doit être considérée comme provisoire.

Le forme verbale *ar-ku-ia-a[n²-zi* (avec sujet *pankuš* ‘la foule’; *constructio ad sensum*?) du verbe hittite *arku*-(^{mi}) ‘réciter’ à la ligne 10' montre plus probablement une insertion sporadique de la semi-voyelle *i* (typiquement entre *u* et une autre voyelle) et non le réflexe d'un suffixe (cf. Melchert 1998: 50f.); pour un exemple additionnel chez ce verbe, voir HW² A: 311.

3. Le fragment KBo 46.275 a été publié en autographie par Otten, Rüster & Wilhelm (2004) sans classification. Cependant, il nous est possible selon les arguments présentés ci-dessous d'attribuer ce fragment à la catégorie des textes louvites (CTH 770).

Ro.?	
col. de gauche	
1'	E]N-i
2'	^{DUG} ḫa-aš-šu]-wa-wa-an-ni-iš
3'	]-za

col. de droite	
1'	ši-i-r[u ² -ut-ti-...
2'	ma-al-[
3'	a-an-ni- ^f i ¹ -[

4' ^Dša-a-l[a²-wa-ni...
 5' ^rši²-wa-a[r-

 6' nam-ma[
 7' kat-ta-a[n

 8' EGIR-Š[U
 9' da-a-^ri[
 10' ḥa-aš-ḥa[-aš-
 11' iš-ḥi-[-
 12' ^rši²-i²-[
 Vo.?
 1']x-ḥa-na-a-aš-p[a² (-)]
 2' -i[a²-an
 3'] wa-šu-ud-du[(-)]

 4']-i []

Concernant la restauration à la ligne 2' (col. de gauche), nous proposons d'y voir en ce contexte hittite une attestation du récipient ^{DUG}ḥaššu^wwawann(i)-; son nom étant formé avec le suffixe louvite -wann(i)- et signifiant morphologiquement 'le (récipient) de la ville de Ḥaššuwa' (voir HW² H: 470). La plupart des attestations de ce récipient, qui est principalement rempli de vin, se trouve dans le festival de la ville de (Ḥ)išuwa (CTH 628).

De la ligne 1' à 5' (col. de droite), nous avons un contexte louvite très fragmentaire. Les mots de la ligne 1' ainsi que de la 5' nous rappellent *širutti(ya)-* et *šīwar-* (si le premier signe de la ligne 5' est bien <ši> et non <wa>, contrairement à l'autographie), tous les deux sont employés dans une chanson louvite de nature inconnue (voir Sasseville 2020). La ligne 3' débute peut-être avec le mot louvite *ānni(ya)-* 'de la mère, maternel' ou bien avec une forme du verbe *ānni(ya)-*^(di) 'traiter', tandis que la ligne 4' semble contenir une attestation supplémentaire de la divinité Šalawani.

De l'autre côté du fragment se trouve un court passage en louvite. Le mot *wašuddu(-)* terminant non seulement la ligne 3' mais aussi le paragraphe pourrait être un verbe dénomiatif dérivé de l'adjectif *wāšu-* 'bien' (voir Sasseville 2021a:198). Si le mot est complet, il s'agirait d'un impératif à la 3^e personne du singulier. D'un autre côté, si celui-ci est incomplet, on pourrait y voir une forme médio-passive à la 2^e personne du pluriel, c'est-à-dire *-ddu[war(i)]*.

4. Le fragment suivant est KBo 48.146 publié par Otten, Rüster & Wilhelm (2007) et attribué aux fragments de festivals (CTH 670). Une première translittération se trouve chez Groddek (2012: 98f.). Cependant, la présence du mot louvite *āyattar/n-* 'acte' (voir KBo 30.167 iii 9', KBo 4.11 vo. 54 et KUB 35.135 iv 22') ainsi que la mention de chants (SİR^{RU}) nous permet d'assigner ce morceau aux textes du culte d'Ištanuwa (CTH 773).

1']x-^rat-ta¹-x-x[(-)]
 2' a]-a-ia-at-ra
 3']x-an-da-ri
 4' S]IR^{RU}

La forme médio-passive se terminant en *-an-da-ri* étant placé une ligne avant le SİR^{RU} rappelle le fragment KBo 13.268 ii 7, 8 (CTH 773) avec la forme (-)]^rḥa¹-an-da-ri.

5. Le dernier fragment présenté ici est KBo 55.99, publié en autographie par Otten, Rüster & Wilhelm (2011) et originalement classifié dans CTH 470 (*Ritualfragmente*), est attribué ici aux rituels de Kuwattalla et Šilalluḫi. Cependant, il nous est présentement impossible de préciser s'il s'agit du grand rituel ou du rituel du *dupaduparša*.

Ro.?
 1' na-^rat[...]

 2' nu EN.SISKUR-x[
 3' ar-ḥa túḫ-ša-a-an-x[
 4' pa-ra-a pī-i-iš-ke-e[z-zi
 5' ḥar-zi-ia-al-la-^ra¹[
 6' ^rḥu¹-u-uk-ki-iš-^rke¹-e[z-zi

7' [za]-ʾa¹-ú-i-ʾia¹-[...]

Vo.?

1' [wa-aš-ša-r]a-hi-i-ta-t[i

2' [...]MUNUSŠU.GI x[

3' [...]pé¹-e-da-i n[a-

4' [...]MUNUSŠU.GI

5' [...]x-x[

L'expression louvite *zāwi* 'voilà!' (Ro.? 7') est employée régulièrement dans les deux rituels en question. De plus, le mot [waššar]a¹hi¹ta¹[i] 'avec bénédiction' correspond exactement aux passages tels que celui de KUB 35.24++ ro. 35'–37', où on trouve une série de bénédictions.

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78) Zum Verhältnis der palaischen und hurritischen Wörter für ‚Dolch‘ — Die Herkunft des palaischen Wortes *hašīra-* ‚Dolch, Kurzschwert‘ in KBo 19.152 i 12' (dessen Bedeutung durch die logographische Schreibung mit GÍR in der späteren Abschrift des gleichen Textes [KBo 19.153 iii 7'.19'] gesichert ist [Carruba 1970: 55, 1972: 43; Watkins 1978:306; Sasseville 2019], vgl. auch Tischler 2008: 51, 2016: 81, daher nicht „blade“, *contra* Sasseville 2019¹⁾) ist bis heute umstritten. Die Indogermanisten vermuteten bereits seit der Identifizierung des Wortes, dass es sich dabei um ein Erbwort handelt, und versuchten *hašīra-* entweder als Weiterbildung mit **-ro-* mit lat. *ēnsis* ‚Schwert‘ und ai. *así-* ‚Schwert, Schlachtmesser‘ zu verbinden²⁾ oder als Ableitung **h₂es-fro-* „cutting, that which cuts“ aus einem idg. Verb „**h₂es-*“ ‚schneiden‘ zu erklären (Vine *apud* Melchert 2007: 257 Anm. 12), das sich bisher allerdings nur in der Form **h₂esp-* rekonstruieren lässt (Melchert 2007). Eine formal mögliche Verbindung mit den lat. und ai. Wörtern gelang allerdings erst Steer 2019 (mit Kritik zu der von Nikolaev 2009: 463 vorgeschlagenen griechischen Verknüpfung). Das Problem besteht darin, dass sich diese indogermanischen Etymologien wegen des spärlichen Textmaterials, das uns aus dem Palaischen überliefert ist, aus lautgesetzlicher Sicht nicht falsifizieren lassen (Oettinger 1986: 34 Anm. 108 und Melchert 1994: 214).

Dagegen wurde die ältere Bestimmung als Lehnwort aus dem hurritischen Wort „*hašeri*“ (genauer gesagt, *hāšeri*, für eine Auswahl der Belege s. Wilhelm 1995: 17), eine Waffe, deren Bedeutung als ‚Dolch‘ kontextuell und vermutlich auch durch die logographische Schreibung mit GÍR unterstützt wird (Haas &

Thiel 1979: 342 und Wegner 1981: 98)³⁾ von den Indogermanisten nicht berücksichtigt (bis auf Sasseville 2019 und Steer 2019 innerhalb des *eDiAna*-Projekts, die diese Möglichkeit offen ließen). Die gleiche Bedeutung beider Wörter und ihre fast identische Form, sowie die chronologische und geographische Nähe der beiden Sprachen macht diese Lehnworthypothese auf den ersten Blick wahrscheinlicher.⁴⁾ Allerdings ist sie in dieser Form nicht haltbar. Die Gründe dafür werden im Folgenden diskutiert und es wird schließlich eine alternative Lösung vorgeschlagen.

Das palaische Wort kann kein (unmittelbares) Lehnwort aus dem Hurritischen sein und zwar aus phonologischen, morphologischen und geographischen Gründen (das *plene* geschriebene [ā] des hurritischen Wortes stellt dabei kein Problem dar, weil das palaische Wort nur einmal belegt ist, weshalb sich die Länge des palaischen Vokals nicht genau bestimmen lässt). Das Palaische verfügte (zumindest auf der phonetischen Ebene) sowohl über kurzes [e] als auch über langes [ē], daher gibt es keinen Grund eine Laubsubstitution mit [ī] anzunehmen. Auch eine Überführung in die *a*-Stämme wäre unmotiviert gewesen, da das Palaische auch über *i*-Stämme verfügte. Das größte Problem besteht darin, dass das Palaische und das Hurritische keine benachbarten Sprachen waren, weil das Hurritische nicht im Gebiet des Palaischen gesprochen wurde (zur Ausdehnung des palaischen Sprachgebiets s. zuletzt Simon 2018: 264; ein Lehnwort aus dem „Hofhurritischen“, d.h. aus dem kleinen Kreis der Gelehrten am hethitischen Hof, die das Hurritische in Zentralanatolien als Sprache überhaupt benutzt haben [De Martino 2017], ist nicht besonders wahrscheinlich).

Man könnte auch eine umgekehrte Entlehnung annehmen, ein palaisches Wort im Hurritischen (da das hurritische Wort über keine gesicherte Etymologie verfügt,⁵⁾ lässt sich eine solche Lösung nicht ausschließen und der scheinbare Unterschied in der Länge des ersten Vokals könnte sich auch als gar nicht vorhanden erweisen, vgl. oben). Diese Hypothese wird allerdings durch die bereits oben genannten (und ähnlichen) Gründe unwahrscheinlich: das Hurritische verfügte über [i] und [ī], daher gibt es keinen Grund eine Lautsubstitution mit [ē] anzunehmen. Das Hurritische verfügte auch über *a*-Stämme, daher war eine Überführung in die *i*-Stämme zwar nicht unmöglich aber jedenfalls unmotiviert. Schließlich, wie gesagt, waren das Palaische und das Hurritische keine benachbarten Sprachen.

Die gleiche Bedeutung beider Wörter und die formale Ähnlichkeit (insbesondere die relativ lange sehr ähnliche und komplexe Phonemreihe) können kaum als Zufall wegeklärt werden. Unterschiede in der sehr ähnlichen Lautgestalt beider Wörter und verschiedene Stammklassen könnten auch auf eine Entlehnung aus einer Sprache hinweisen, die für beide als Kontaktsprache zur Verfügung stand. Sollte das Wort in dieser Quellsprache einen konsonantischen Stamm aufweisen, würde sich so erklären, warum es im Palaischen in die häufigste Stammklasse, die *a*-Stämme, und im Hurritischen in die *i*-Stämme, in die viele akkadische Lehnwörter (z.B. *šarri* ‚König‘) überführt wurden, integriert wurde. Sollte diese Quellsprache auch über ein Phonem etwa zwischen [e]/[ē] und [i]/[ī] verfügen, würde das auch erklären, warum es phonologisch auf zwei unterschiedliche Arten entlehnt wurde. Geographisch sollte diese Quellsprache zwischen dem Palaischen und dem Hurritischen lokalisiert werden, was den Verdacht zunächst auf das Hethitische oder das Luwische lenkt. Doch die Phonologie schließt beide Möglichkeiten aus. Es gibt allerdings eine dritte Möglichkeit, die perfekt passt: das Hattische. Es wurde genau im Gebiet zwischen diesen Sprachen gesprochen (zur Ausdehnung des Sprachgebiets des Hattischen s. zuletzt Simon 2018 mit Lit., bes. 264 mit möglichen hattischen Ortsnamen in der Umgebung von Paḫḫuwa). Zwar wurden bislang noch keine gesicherten hattischen Lehnwörter im Hurritischen identifiziert (einige früher vermutete hurritisch-hattische Übereinstimmungen erwiesen sich als nicht haltbar, vgl. Simon 2012: 255-256 mit Lit. und Richter 2012 bucht nur äußerst fragwürdige Versuche), doch die hattische Lehnwortschicht im Palaischen ist gut bekannt. Das Hattische verfügte nicht nur über [e] und [i] (die konsistent nur mit <e> bzw. mit <i> geschrieben wurden) sondern auch über einen dritten Laut, der teils mit <e> teils mit <i> geschrieben wurde (Simon 2012: 50-60; die Beschreibung des hattischen Vokalismus in Klinger 2021: 160 entspricht dem Forschungsstand nicht), d.h., ein idealer Kandidat für die unterschiedliche Lautsubstitution (die Länge dieses Vokals in den palaischen und hurritischen Entlehnungen kann regelmäßig in beiden Fällen sekundär durch die Betonung entstanden sein, vgl. Melchert 1994: 200, 2010: 58 bzw. Wilhelm 2004: 100; Wegner 2007: 42). Darüber hinaus zeigt das so rekonstruierte **ḥāšelir* eine beeindruckende Ähnlichkeit mit einer Klasse der hattischen Substantive, die mit dem Nominalpräfix *ḥa-* gebildet wurden

(Soysal 2004: 217 mit Lit.), welches eigentlich *hā-* lautete (Typ ^(d)*hānwa_ašūt* ‚Throngöttin, Thron‘ aus dem Verb *niwa_aš* ‚sitzen‘ und *hā=šāh* ‚das Böse‘, Soysal 2004: 217, 297, 452-453 und Simon 2012: 43-50).⁶⁾ Leider kann diese Hypothese anhand der spärlichen Beleglage des Hattischen nicht verifiziert werden. Dennoch lässt sich durch eine Entlehnung aus hatt. **hāše/ir* ‚Dolch‘ nicht nur das palaische sondern auch das hurritische Wort formal und geographisch einwandfrei erklären, was bei der Annahme des palaischen Wortes als indogermanisches Erbwort nicht möglich ist.

Anmerkungen

* Diese Notiz ist im Rahmen des durch die DFG geförderten Forschungsprojekts „*Digitales philologisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der altanatolischen Kleinkorpussprachen*“ zustande gekommen.

1. Ünäl 2016: 994 gab keine Bedeutung an, er buchte das Wort allerdings als „*haširampi*“, ohne die Partikel *=pi* abzutrennen.

2. Eichner 1980: 127 Anm. 30 (ihm folgen EWAia I: 145 und Melchert 1994: 196, 200; vorsichtig Nikolaev 2009: 463 mit Anm. 3); übernommen auch in die Handbücher von EIEC: 561 und Mallory & Adams 2006: 245.

3. Die Bedeutungsangabe ist seitdem allgemein übernommen worden, s. die Lit. in Richter 2012: 139. Schon Carruba 1970: 55, 1972: 43 sah im palaischen Wort ein Lehnwort, allerdings ohne Angabe der Herkunftssprache. Auch die Erklärung als hurritisches Lehnwort wurde seitdem oft angenommen, vgl. Richter 2012: 139, Tischler 2008: 51, 2016: 81; auch F. Giusfredi (pers. Mitt.) sieht darin ein altorientalisches Wanderwort.

4. Eine dritte Auffassung vertritt Schürr (demnächst), demzufolge das hurritische Wort aus einer indogermanischen Sprache entlehnt worden sein konnte, die den anlautenden Laryngal bewahrte, er verweist spezifisch auf die anatolischen Sprachen sowie auf iranische Beispiele (ich bedanke mich beim Autor herzlich für die Zusendung seines Manuskripts). Eine anatolische Sprache kommt hierfür nicht in Frage (vgl. unten) und die Quelle der indogermanischen Wörter des Hurritischen ist nicht das Iranische, sondern das Mitanni-Arische, das zum indoarischen Sprachzweig gehört, wo dieser Laryngal ausgefallen ist. Sollte *aika-* ‚eins‘ in *aikawartanna* aus dem Mitanni-Arischen tatsächlich eine idg. Form fortsetzen, die mit einem Laryngal anlautete, wie oft rekonstruiert wird, hätten wir einen klaren Beweis dafür, dass der anlautende urindoarische Laryngal (in dem alle drei urindogermanische Laryngale verschmolzen) in diesem Dialekt nicht mehr bewahrt bzw. im Hurritischen nicht wiedergegeben wurde.

5. Haas & Thiel 1979: 342 behaupten, dass das Wort aus hurr. *haš-* ‚stark sein‘ stammt (vgl. auch Richter 2012: 139 und Sasseville 2019), wobei aber die semantischen und morphologischen Unterschiede ungeklärt bleiben. F. Giusfredi (pers. Mitt.) sieht die Quelle in akk. *hasāru/hesēru* ‘to flake away, chip off’, was semantisch besser passt. Dies lässt sich allerdings phonologisch mit den palaischen und hurritischen Wörtern nicht vereinbaren.

6. Für Carruba 1972: 43 sah *haštra-* noch nicht wie ein hattisches Lehnwort aus, was allerdings dem damaligen Forschungsstand zuzuschreiben ist.

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79) An eponym with metronym — When Andrae published *Die Stelenreihen in Assur*, the only easily recognizable eponym on a Middle Assyrian stela was Ša-Adad-nenu. In 1913 Holma found a first new identification (*Zur Aššur-Stele Nr. 49*, OLZ 16, 249f.). Further progress has been slow but steady. More than 30 eponyms have been identified by their full names and about two thirds of them are firmly assigned to the reign of a particular king or even to a specific year. But much work has still to be done. In particular, some misreadings due to erosion must be corrected. One example is the recognition of the patronym on Stela 79 as ¹Ták¹-l[i]-ia (D. Arnaud, AuOr 25/1, 2007, 35, n. 145) instead of Andrae's Kal(?)¹-he-ia or Saporetti's ¹Nap²-l-še-x-ia (EMA 77). As explained by Saporetti (*Nota sulla lettura di tre stele di Assur*, AIUON 33, 1973, 277-282), Stela 116 also needs a correction. Andrae published a good ink copy of the inscription in his Abb. 168, whereas Abb. 170 only shows a small copy of the photograph of the entire stela. The VAM now has provided a good copy of the original negative (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Vorderasiatisches Museum, Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Foto Julius Jordan 1911, Ass.Ph. 5830). The relevant detail enlargement is published here as fig. 2.

The text contains five lines, with the eponym name in lines 2-3. Due to both palaeography and archaeological context Stela 116 is Middle Assyrian. The stela texts from this period always include a genealogy, apart from the very brief ones on St. 123, 126 and 127. Andrae read the corresponding lines of Stela 116 as ⁴...-nu-be ⁵...-ri. Based on the extant corpus of Middle Assyrian names Saporetti pointed out that -BE has to be read -bat and that the genealogy was given by a metronym, a unique case among the

Assur stelae. The predicate ending in *-bat* must accompany a female theonym, either at the beginning or at the end of the name. Saporetti only considered the first possibility and did not find a convincing reconstruction of the text. Indeed, line 4 must begin with '[DUM]U MU[NUS]', which does not leave enough space for a theonym. Nevertheless, Saporetti came close to a solution. He compared the metronym with ^f*Nu-nu-bat-dIštar* in KAJ 102:5, a name he emended to ^f*Hu'-nu-bat-dIštar*. It is still an open question whether the emendation is justified, but in any case the name appears to be the same name as on Stela 116, which can be read as *x-nu-bat-r^{d1}-MUŠ₃*. The dates of the two texts are compatible. KAJ 102 is a Melisah text from about the last decade of Adad-narari I and the format of Stela 116 points to roughly the same time (Nahm, *The Placement and Chronological Sequence of the Stelae from Assur*, AoF 39, 2021, 112). In particular, the stela is small, the frame of the inscription is a simple rectangle, the lines are separated by horizontal dividers and the text includes no title. The line dividers have a slight curvature, but are somewhat more regular than drawn in Abb. 168. Most importantly, among the many attestations of Middle Assyrian eponyms the two texts appear to be the only ones that use a metronym. There must have been very few unmarried mothers of sufficiently high status. Thus the coincidence of name and time makes it almost certain that the eponym mothers were the same person.

In KAJ 102:4 the name of the eponym himself is Bēr-šuma-iddina. On Stela 116 Andrae read ^{2d}MAŠ-^{2A(?)}-SUM^{na}. The reading of the first sign of line 3 is problematic, but without a better documentation no alternative can be proposed. In any case the names are different, and one has another example of two brothers as eponyms. So far, in the relevant period no other attestation of an eponym with name Ninurta-x-iddina has been found. Since there are many dated texts from the later reign of Adad-narari I, the existence of an otherwise unattested eponym is somewhat surprising.

One wonders about the significance of a metronym for a person of high status. A parallel seems to occur on MARV II 30:16', where one of 49 'great runners' has the metronym Ištar-asuat. Perhaps Nunubat/Hunnubat-Ištar and Ištar-asuat were *ištarītus*. In this case, Stela 116 would contribute to a better understanding of this profession. The mother commemorated on this stela had a high social position, and the use of old sign forms indicates that her son had a remarkably good education.

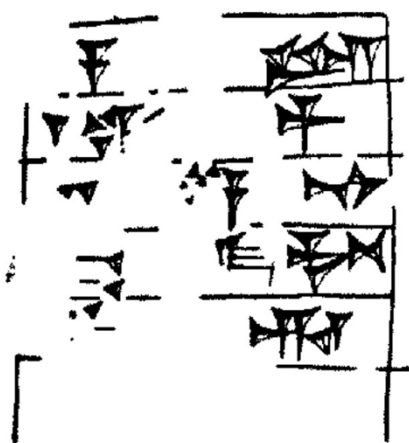


Fig. 1. Stela 116, text (Andrae, Abb. 168)



Fig. 2. Ass.Ph. 5830, detail, courtesy VAM

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80) La fin de Tukultī-Ninurta I^{er} et sa succession — La mort et la succession de Tukultī-Ninurta soulèvent une série de questions (en dernier lieu, F. Chen, *Study on the Synchronistic King List from Ashur*, 57-59 qui dresse un état de la question). Les divers manuscrits de la chronique sont en désaccord sur le nom du successeur. L'une des versions expose le point de vue suivant (E. Nassouhi, *AfO* 4, 1-11) :

« *Du vivant* de Tukultī-Ninurta, Aššur-nādin(SUM)-apli(IBILA), son fils, s'empara du trône. Il régna 4 ans.
Aššur-nērārī (III), fils d'Aššur-nādin(SUM)-apli(IBILA), régna 6 ans.
Enlil-kudurrī-ušur, fils de Tul[ultī]-Ninurta, régna 5 ans. »

Une autre en propose une version différente (Gelb, *JNES* 13, 209-230) :

« *Du vivant* de Tukultī-Ninurta, Aššur-našir(PAP)-apli(IBILA) son fils, s'empara du trône. Il régna 3 ans.
Aššur-nērārī (III), fils d'Aššur-našir(PAP)-apli(A), régna 6 ans.
Enlil-kudurrī-ušur, fils de Tul[ultī]-Ninurta, régna 5 ans. »

Curieusement, la seconde semble ignorer l'existence d'Aššur-nādin-apli, qui fut pourtant magistrat éponyme sous le règne de son père, et, plus tard, son successeur, comme l'établissent des inscriptions royales authentiques. Par ailleurs, une stèle d'Assur (Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur*, no 10) représentait un magistrat éponyme du nom d'Aššur-našir(PAP)-apli(A), qui se disait « fils de Tukultī-Ninurta, petit-fils de Salmanasar et arrière-petit-fils d'Adad-nārārī ». Force est d'admettre qu'il exista deux personnages, Aššur-nādin-apli et Aššur-našir-apli, et qu'ils furent frères. Pour sa part, la *Liste royale synchrone d'Assur* ignorait le nom du second, qu'elle ne reconnaissait pas comme roi (Chen, *op.cit.*) :

« Tukultī-[Ninurta [...]] Aššur-nādin(SUM)-apli(A) *dito* [Aššur-nērārī (III)] [Enlil-k]udurrī-ušur [Ninurta-apil]-É[kur]. »

Tel fut selon toute vraisemblance le cas de la chronique royale assyrienne, qui ne retint que celui d'Aššur-nādin-apli.

Il a été montré qu'en médio-assyrien, le signe PAP, qui notait la racine *nšr*, pouvait également servir à noter la racine *ndn*, « donner » et que, par voie de conséquence, derrière les deux signes SUM ou PAP, pouvait apparaître un seul et même nom, celui d'Aššur-nādin-apli (Pedersén, *AOAT* 267, 369-373). Les copistes néo-assyriens n'étant plus au fait de ces deux valeurs de PAP quelques siècles avant eux, se montrèrent hésitants pour transcrire le nom du monarque.

Bref, les manuscrits qui nous transmettent la chronique royale sont les reflets d'une tradition confuse. Deux explications sont possibles : soit les copistes disposaient d'originaux défectueux, soit, ne sachant à quelle autorité se vouer, ils nous livrent les résultats de leurs propres tergiversations.

Une chronique babylonienne (n° 45), assurait qu'Aššur-našir-apli destitua son père et le mit à mort :

« Aššur-našir-apli (AN.ŠAR₂-na-šir-A), son fils, et les grands d'Assyrie, se soulèverent contre Tukultī-Ninurta, (...), le déposèrent, l'enfermèrent dans une chambre à Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, et le mirent à mort. »

Le choix de la graphie du nom royal suffit à montrer que la chronique assyrienne n'était pas la source de la chronique babylonienne.

Seule, la tradition babylonienne se fait le reflet du meurtre. Or, on sait que les écrits officiels assyriens répugnent à mentionner de tels événements réputés impossibles (Sh. Zaia, *My Bother's Keeper* : Assurbanipal versus Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, *JANES* 17, 2018, 2-34). Dans les deux cas, la chronique royale mentionne le seul nom d'Aššur-nādin-apli.

Une lettre d'un certain Ubru à un gouverneur provincial, apporte quelque éclairage sur l'affaire. Il en ressort que deux partis étaient en présence, celui des partisans du monarque et celui de l'opposition. L'intronisation d'un fils du défunt, un frère du meurtrier, signifia la victoire du premier parti (Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die Assyrier*, 53-54). Or, ce roi ne pouvait être qu'Aššur-nādin-apli. Quant à son frère, il put subir le sort réservé, selon un texte astrologique, au meurtrier de Šulgi (F. Rochberg-Halton, *ABCD*, *EAE* 20 § II A : 1-2, 5-7) :

« Le roi d'Ur, son fils le maltraitera, et le fils qui aura maltraité son père, Šamaš s'en emparera. Il mourra sur le lieu de la lamentation pour son père. Un fils du roi, qui n'avait pas été désigné pour (exercer) la royauté montera sur le trône. »

L'oracle servit de précédent pour l'intelligence d'événements postérieurs, que le silence imposé des sources assyriennes rend obscur. Force est d'imaginer que, du vivant de Tukultī-Ninurta, ses deux fils s'affrontèrent pour la succession de leur père. L'un d'eux régna-t-il son père encore vivant (la traduction n'est pas assurée) ? On ne saurait l'affirmer. Mais la littérature officielle assyrienne ignore le nom de l'assassin !

Les noms de quatre magistrats éponymes étant connus pour le règne de Aššur-nādin-apli, la variante « quatre ans » est à retenir.

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81) Der Übergang von den Kassiten zur Isin II-Dynastie im Lichte der Distanzangabe des Assurbanipal — Bei der seit 1870 (3R 38 No. 1) bekannten Distanzangabe handelt es sich eigentlich um zwei unterschiedliche Angaben, denn das Narrativ ist nicht dasselbe. Es hat sich aber eingebürgert, beide Versionen als eine Angabe mit zwei Narrativen und drei Zahlen zu behandeln.

In den Prismen A, F und T (RINAP 5/1, Nr. 9-11) erfahren wir, dass die Göttin Nanaja beschlossen habe, sich nach einem Aufenthalt von 1635 Jahren (var. 1535 bzw. 1630) von Assurbanipal aus Elam heim nach Uruk führen zu lassen. In einer Tafelinschrift (K 2631: 12-18) dagegen heißt es, dass 1635 Jahre zuvor „Kudurnanḫundi, der Elamit“ das Land Akkade und seine Heiligtümer zugrunde gerichtet habe und die Götter nun Assurbanipal mit dem Gegenschlag beauftragt hätten (Smith 1871, 250f.; Streck 1916, 77-79).

Es gibt zwei Vorschläge, wer dieser Kutir-Naḫḫunte gewesen sein könnte: der altbabylonische *sukkalmah* oder der Sohn des Šutruk-Naḫḫunte, der die Herrschaft der Kassitendynastie beendete (Literatur bei Vallat 1993; Glassner 1993, van Koppen 2013, 381 mit Fn. 35).

Von den genannten Zahlen gelten die 1635 Jahre als Leitzahl, obwohl bislang noch keine einzige der drei Zeitspannen durchschaut worden ist. Zuletzt hat sich van Koppen (2013, 381 mit Fn. 35) mit dem Problem beschäftigt. In seinem Artikel macht er es wahrscheinlich, dass es zur Zeit des Abī-ešuh eine weiteren elamischen Angriff gegeben hat, der erfolgreicher war als der berühmte Konflikt mit Ḫammurapi zwei Generationen zuvor. Diese jüngere Invasion bringt van Koppen mit der Distanzangabe des Assurbanipal in Verbindung und versucht ihren Aufbau zu ergründen. In seinen Überlegungen findet sich viel Richtiges (Aufteilung der Angabe in vier Segmente, von denen die beiden mittleren die Summenzahlen von Meerland I und den Kassiten enthalten haben müssen), jedoch blieb die exakte Länge der beiden anderen Segmente ungelöst. Der Grund dafür ist, dass auch er die 1635 Jahre als maßgeblich ansah. Diese Zahl wie auch die Variante 1630 halte ich für schlicht nicht lösbar.

Demgegenüber glaube ich, nun den Aufbau der **1535** Jahre erschlossen zu haben:

Babylon I	089 Jahre
Die gesamte Meerland I-Dynastie	368 Jahre
Die gesamte Kassitendynastie	576 Jahre
Postkassitisch bis Assurbanipal	502 Jahre
Summe	1535 Jahre

Diese Berechnung wirkt vielleicht willkürlich, ist es aber nicht. Wenn van Koppen Recht hat, dass Assurbanipal sich hier auf ein Ereignis zur Zeit des Abī-ešuh bezieht, dann hat Assurbanipal ihn als oberen Anknüpfungspunkt der 1535 Jahre benutzt –und das bedeutet, dass Abī-ešuh und seine Vorgänger höchstwahrscheinlich nicht Teil der Distanzangabe waren. Man muss also nur die Regierungen seiner drei Nachfolger addieren (89 Jahre). Damit kennen wir die Länge der ältesten drei Segmente und die Länge des vierten Segments ergibt sich daraus (502 Jahre).

Somit ist bereits jetzt klar, dass Assurbanipal eindeutig den *sukkalmah* Kutir-Naḫḫunte des 17. Jahrhunderts gemeint hat. Doch damit hat unsere Umsetzung der Dominotheorie erst begonnen.

Lassen sich diese 502 Jahre genauer datieren? Nach Brinkman (1976) enden die Kassiten im Jahr 1155. Das Schlussjahr der Distanzangabe ist dann folglich das Jahr 653 (incl.) –und das ist die Schlacht am Ulai (Carter/Stolper 1984, 50). Offenbar läuft die gesamte Distanzangabe von Ende Abī-ešuh (excl.) bis zu dieser Schlacht (incl.), Assurbanipals größtem Erfolg gegen Elam. Das mag spekulativ klingen, da Assurbanipal die Statue der Nanaja erst sieben Jahre später zurückbrachte (in 646, vgl. van Koppen 2013, 380, basierend auf Frame 1992, 293-295). Doch die Ansetzung in oder um 646 lässt sich widerlegen.

Unsere Segmente der Distanzangabe machen unmissverständlich, dass Assurbanipals Schreiber die ganze Isin II-Dynastie im vierten Segment untergebracht hat. Er braucht also alle Jahre dieser Dynastie, um auf 502 Jahre zu kommen. Damit ist klar, dass es nie eine (chronologisch relevante) Überlappung mit den

Kassiten gegeben hat. Brinkmans (1977, 338) Ansetzung für Isin II (1157) ist also um drei Jahre abzusenken (nicht mehr, nicht weniger). Dies verträgt sich auch sehr gut mit dem Synchronismus Tiglath-pileser I./Marduk-šapik-zēri aus der Tiglath-pileser-Chronik (Glassner 2004, 188-191), der eine Absenkung des Isin-Königs um bis zu fünf Jahre gestattet. Folgerung: Hätte Assurbanipal seine Distanzangabe mit dem Jahr 646, der tatsächlichen Bergung der Statue, verknüpft, sinkt das Ende der Kassiten auf 1148 und der Beginn von Isin II auf 1147, i.e. 10 Jahre kürzer als Brinkmans Datierung. Diese 10 Jahre schlagen ungeschmälert auf die Ansetzung des Marduk-šapik-zēri durch, so dass der Synchronismus mit Tiglath-pileser I. verletzt wäre. Daraus folgt, dass Assurbanipal die Distanzangabe tatsächlich mit der Schlacht am Ulai enden lässt und daraus folgt wiederum, dass die Kassitenherrschaft, wie von Brinkman angenommen, 1155 endete.

Das hat zur Konsequenz, dass sich der Synchronismus Tiglath-pileser I./Marduk-šapik-zēri auf die letzten drei Regierungsjahre des Assyrsers bezieht. Folglich starb Marduk-nādin-aḥḫē im 36. Jahr Tiglath-pilesers I. Der Rückzug des Assyrsers nach Katmuḫu fand folglich im 37. Jahr statt. Die beiden letzten Jahre des Königs sind in der Tiglath-pileser-Chronik nicht erhalten geblieben. Die Vermutung von lunaren Herrschaftsjahren in Assyrien halte ich seit Janssen (2016) für widerlegt. Wir erhalten also folgende assyrisch-babylonische Synchronismen:

Aššur-dān I.	1180-1135		
		Enlil-nādin-aḫi (Kassite)	1157-1155
		Marduk-kabit-aḥḫēšu	1154-1137
Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur	1134 (<i>tuppišu</i>)	Itti-Marduk-balaṭu	1136-1129
Mutakkil-Nusku	1133 (<i>tuppišu</i>)		
Aššur-reša-iši	1132-1115	Ninurta-nādin-šumi	1128-1123
		Nebukadnezar I.	1122-1101
Tiglath-pileser I.	1114-1076		
		Enlil-nādin-apli	1100-1097
		Marduk-nādin-aḥḫē	1096-1079
		Marduk-šapik-zēri	1078-1066
Ašared-apil-Ekur	1075-1074		
Aššur-bēl-kala	1073-1056		
		Adad-apla-iddina	1065-1044
etc.		etc.	

Assurbanipals Rückholaktion und Investitur der Statue in E-anna bedeutete übrigens nicht das Ende der Reisen der Göttin. Das Tauziehen um die Statue ging jetzt erst richtig los (vgl. Scurlock 2006).

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82) Les deux Édoms de l'âge du bronze récent — Au cours de l'âge du bronze récent, l'utilisation du nom Édom était plus fréquente qu'on ne le pense ; en fait, deux endroits appelés Édom sont connus dans cette période, un situé dans le sud du Levant et autre dans le nord de Canaan.

La plus ancienne référence à l'Édom du sud du Levant dans un texte écrit apparaît dans le Papyrus Anastasi VI, un rapport du Nouvel Empire égyptien daté de « l'an 8 », très probablement du règne de Merneptah (n° 3 dans le tableau ci-dessous). Il enregistre le passage de quelques groupes pastoraux à la frontière orientale de l'Égypte pour abreuver leur bétail; ils sont identifiés comme les « tribus des Shasu d'Édom ('*idm*) », écrit avec les déterminatifs de « peuple étranger » pour Shasu et de « terre étrangère » pour Édom. Les Shasu d'Édom sont ici signalés comme étant entrés par un fort situé à Tjekou, avec une destination vers les « piscines » de Pi-Atum, également à Tjekou. Le nom Tjekou est généralement identifié au Wadi Tumilat, tandis que Pi-Atum est probablement le Tell er-Ratabi moderne, à l'extrémité orientale du wadi (HOFFMEIER 2005 : 58-68). Ce cadre géographique suggère que ces groupes de Shasu ont probablement erré dans le nord de la péninsule du Sinaï avant d'atteindre la frontière orientale de l'Égypte ; cependant, il est impossible de connaître à partir du texte l'étendue de leurs mouvements pastoraux ni de savoir s'ils venaient du Sinaï ou du sud de la Transjordanie. GOEDICKE (1987 : 89-91) a noté à juste titre l'improbabilité d'une migration nomade couvrant les 500 km de distance réelle entre l'Arabah et la frontière égyptienne, suggérant plutôt que les Égyptiens utilisaient ici le terme '*idm* comme équivalent sémitique de l'égyptien *dšrt*, « terre rouge ». Outre le fait qu'il n'y a aucune raison pour qu'un scribe égyptien choisisse d'écrire un mot sémitique pour « désert » (COOPER 2020 : 217-218), rien dans le Papyrus Anastasi VI ne permet de situer Édom dans le sud de la Transjordanie ; ces groupes Shasu édomites sont plutôt présentés comme vivant dans le nord du Sinaï, dans la sphère d'influence égyptienne.

Il est également difficile de localiser précisément le terme Seir, lié fortement à l'Édom par la Bible hébraïque. Dans deux sources égyptiennes du Nouvel Empire, le nom apparaît dans le terme « Montagne de Seir », qui aurait été pillée par Ramsès II (n° 9-10). Comme dans le cas de l'Édom, les Égyptiens ont lié Seir aux Shasu, comme on peut le voir dans le nom « pays Shasu de Seir », également mentionné par Ramsès II (n° 11). Les Shasu Seirites sont caractérisés comme des nomades par le récit du Papyrus Harris I, où Ramsès III se vante d'avoir détruit les Shasu Seirites, leurs tentes et leur bétail (n° 12). Mais, sauf pour un cadre aride levantin imprécis, aucune localisation précise n'est établie (voir KITCHEN 1992 : 26-27). Un indice important provient de la lettre amarnienne EA 288, où le roitelet Abdi-Heba de Jérusalem décrit l'extension du territoire avec lequel il est en guerre en utilisant la phrase « des montagnes de Seir à la ville de Gath-Carmel » (n° 8). Il voulait sans doute dire qu'il combattait du nord au sud, Seir signifiant probablement l'extension la plus méridionale de son royaume (COOPER 2020 : 248), ou moins littéralement, jusqu'à « la fin du pays » (KALLAI 2001 : 15-16). Si la localisation d'Abdi-Heba à Jérusalem est une indication claire, Seir fait ici référence au Néguev plutôt qu'au sud de la Transjordanie ; il est impossible d'établir une localisation plus exacte.

En résumé, le caractère des allusions à l'Édom et Seir pendant l'âge du bronze récent est délibérément général et répétitif, ce qui rend incertaine leur localisation. Une lecture stricte de ces références suggère que l'Édom et Seir que les Égyptiens connaissaient étaient probablement situés dans leur rayon d'action (péninsule du Sinaï, Néguev) plutôt que dans la lointaine Transjordanie méridionale.

Plus problématique est une référence présumée à l'Édom dans le papyrus magique de Leyde I 343+345, un papyrus du Nouvel Empire contenant un recueil d'incantations contre les démons. Ici, Édom ('*Itwm*') apparaîtrait comme un nom de divinité, probablement la consort du dieu cananéen Resheph (n° 6) (AHITUV 1984 : 175 n. 515 ; KNAUF 1999 : 274). Cependant, cette interprétation doit être prise avec de grandes réserves, car l'*itwm* égyptien pourrait se rapporter au *yātōm* cananéen, « orphelin » (KNAUF 1999 :

274) ou à Adamma, une déesse inconnue (BECK 2018 : 45). Peu d'autres choses peuvent être dites sur cette source ; même si une référence à l'Édom est présente ici, elle est intégrée dans le contexte rituel du texte, ne disant rien sur l'Édom historique.

Le nom « Édom » n'était pas exclusivement utilisé pour le Levant méridional : au cours de l'âge du bronze récent, il existe quelques références à des noms de lieux appelés Édom ou noms similaires situés dans le nord du Canaan.

Un chapitre presque oublié de l'historiographie sur l'Édom est constitué par les références à un lieu appelé Udumu dans le texte ougaritique connu sous le nom de Légende ou Épopée de Kéret (n° 7). Selon ce texte, Kéret, roi de *Hbr*, s'est lancé dans la bataille contre la ville de *'udm* (Udumu) avec l'intention de convaincre *Pbl*, roi d'Udumu, de lui livrer sa fille *Hry* comme sa future épouse. Les premiers spécialistes d'ougaritique considéraient ce récit comme un texte historique, l'interprétant pleinement à la lumière du texte biblique ; au centre de ces interprétations se trouvaient les lectures des termes *'udm* et *ngb* comme les noms des régions d'Édom et Néguev respectivement. Ainsi, dans les années 1930, VIROLLEAUD (1936) voyait Kéret comme un roi phénicien faisant la guerre au peuple de Téraah, le père d'Abraham, jusqu'au sud du Néguev et Édom, tandis que DUSSAUD (1936) utilisait les lectures de VIROLLEAUD pour souligner les connexions commerciales entre la mer Méditerranée et la mer Rouge (pour une critique de ces premières interprétations, voir GINGSBERG 1946 : 6-7 ; GRAY 1965 : 13-14 ; MARGALIT 1999 : 204-205). Les progrès ultérieurs de la philologie ougaritique et de la géographie historique levantine, ainsi qu'une nouvelle compréhension de la Légende de Kéret en tant que récit mythologique, ont conduit à des lectures plus prosaïques du texte. Pour commencer, il est peu probable que le terme *ngb* signifie « Néguev » ou qu'il s'agisse d'un toponyme ; plus vraisemblablement, il doit être interprété comme un participe ou une conjugaison suffixe du verbe *gbb*, « ramasser » (SCHNIEDEWIND-HUNT 2007 : 131). Udumu est présentée comme une ville ou un village (*pdr*, *'r*, *qryt*) et non comme une région ; il était apparemment de grande dimension (*'udm rbt*, « grande Udum »), avec des murs et apparemment « bien arrosée » (*'udm trrt*), des caractéristiques qui sont très éloignées de ce que nous savons de la Transjordanie méridionale à l'âge du bronze récent. L'armée de Kéret met sept jours pour atteindre Udumu et, bien que l'utilisation de ce nombre puisse très bien être figurative, elle exclut toute distance lointaine pour l'itinéraire. La ville d'Udumu semble être trop familière à l'auteur et il est peu probable qu'il utilise le terme Udumu comme nom symbolique d'une terre légendaire à conquérir par le roi Kéret. De plus, le nom Udumu n'était pas étranger à la toponymie ougaritique et au moins trois textes économiques recensent l'existence d'un village du nom *udm* (RIBICHINI 1982 ; VIDAL PALOMINO 2003 : 245). Et, surtout, la toponymie de la Légende de Kéret s'inscrit parfaitement dans un contexte levantin central.

Comme l'a déjà noté DE VAUX (1937 : 366-367), une localisation levantine centrale de l'Udumu de Kéret est soutenue par un groupe divers de textes égyptiens et cananéens de l'âge du bronze récent qui se réfèrent à des sites ayant une toponymie similaire. Dans les sources de Thoutmôsis III et d'Aménophis II figure le nom *šmš itm*, communément traduit par « Shemesh-Édom » ; un nom de site similaire, *itmm*, apparaît également dans une liste de Thoutmôsis III (n° 1-2). Ces toponymes ont été identifiés avec deux lieux bibliques en Basse Galilée : l'Adamah de Nephtali (Jos 19:36), probablement le Khirbet Madin moderne près de Tell Qarnei Hittin, et Adami-Nekeb (Jos 19:35), probablement le Khirbet ed-Damieh moderne près de Khirbet et-Tell (AHARONI 1979 : 126-127 ; AHITUV 1984 : 53-54, 174-176 ; JUNKKAALA 2006 : 155-158). Le nom *itmm* peut être mis en relation avec l'*'idmm* qui apparaît dans la « lettre satirique » du Papyrus Anastasi I (n° 5), où il est mentionné juste après des sites situés dans le Levant central, tels que Hazor, Hamath (respectivement au nord et à l'ouest de la mer de Galilée), et Yan (Yenoam ?) (AHARONI 1979 : 183 ; AHITUV 1984 : 53-54).

Ce cadre levantin central est confirmé par un troisième nom, *Údumu*, mentionné dans la lettre amarnienne EA 256 (n° 4), une lettre de Mut-Ba'lu, roi de Piḫil (Pella, moderne Khirbet Fahl en Transjordanie nord-ouest) à Yanḫamu, un représentant égyptien en Canaan. Mut-Ba'lu y rapporte qu'il est allé au secours d'Ashtartu (Tell Ashtara, dans le Jaydūr au sud de la Syrie) lorsque « toutes les villes de Garu » sont devenues hostiles ; puis il énumère ces villes : Udumu, Aduru, Araru, Mishta, Magdal, Eni-anabi et Zarqu. L'emplacement de Garu (KUR *Ga-ri*) est incertain ; dans un article influent, MAZAR (1961 : 20) a suggéré que Garu est une forme abrégée de *ga<šū>ri*, l'identifiant avec la terre biblique de Geshur ;

cette région est considérée comme étant située au nord et à l'est de la mer de Galilée. Cependant, cette identification n'est plus considérée comme sûre (NA'AMAN 2012 : 91-92) et l'identification des sites de Garu est hautement conjecturale (PAKKALA 2010 : 168). ALBRIGHT (1924-1925 : 41) a d'abord identifié Udumu avec l'actuel Dûmah, dans le sud de la Syrie, mais a ensuite noté que « [t]he name is clearly identical with that of Edom ('*Udumu*) and the legendary land of '*Udm* ('*Udumu*?) in the Keret Epic » (ALBRIGHT 1943 : 14 n. 36). L'équation de l'Udumu d'EA 256 avec l'*'udm* de la Légende de Kéret a également été soutenue par d'autres spécialistes, bien qu'ils aient toujours accepté la connexion geshurite (DE MOOR 1995 : 216-217 ; MARGALIT 1999 : 222-223). MA'OZ (1992 : 995) l'a localisé à Ein Umm el-Adam, dans l'ouest du Golan, bien que PAKKALA (2010 : 168) note que le site n'a pas livré de vestiges de l'âge du bronze récent. Au contraire, ASTOUR (1973) a proposé pour la Légende de Kéret un contexte géographique en Mésopotamie septentrionale, basé sur son emplacement de *Hbr* dans le triangle de Habur. Son identification d'Udumu avec le site Admu(m), « a station on the road from Assur to Kaneš » (ASTOUR 1973 : 33) est cependant moins convaincante.

D'après cet examen des données, il semble clair que les toponymes égyptiens *šmš itm/ itmm/ 'idmm*, probablement situés à l'ouest de la mer de Galilée, sont les meilleures correspondances temporelles et géographiques pour l'Udumu de la Légende de Kéret et d'EA 256. Les termes utilisés pour Udumu en akkadien amarnien (*údumu*) et en ougaritique (*'udm*) sont similaires au terme employé en akkadien assyrien pour Édom (*údumu*) au cours du I^{er} mill. av. n.è. (TEBES 2016). Donc, pendant l'âge du bronze récent, nous pouvons parler de plusieurs et non d'un seul Édom : un situé dans le sud du Levant (Néguev) et Sināï et l'autre dans le nord de Canaan (ouest de la mer de Galilée). Le processus par lequel le nom Édom est arrivé à être utilisé pour désigner la région de la Transjordanie méridionale est un sujet de recherche à approfondir.

Tableau. Références aux noms Édom et Seir dans sources de l'âge du bronze récent

N.	Textes	Traductions proposées	Dates & Synchronismes	Sources	Publications
Édom					
1	<i>i-t-m-m</i> <i>š-m-š i-t-m</i>	Adamim Shemesh-Édom	Thoutmôsis III	Liste topographique, Kamak	SIMONS 1937: I: 36, 51; <i>ANET</i> 243; AHITUV 1984: 53
2	<i>š-m-š i-t-m</i>	Shemesh-Édom	Aménophis II	Stèles de Memphis, Kamak	<i>ANET</i> 245; AHITUV 1984: 174
3	<i>mhw.t š3s.w n(y)</i> <i>'i/dm</i>	les tribus des Shasu d'Édom	Merneptah	Papyrus Anastasi VI	GARDINER 1937: Anast. VI.54-55; <i>ANET</i> 259; COOPER 2020: 501
4	URU <i>Ú-du-mu</i>	la ville d'Udumu	mi-XIV ^e siècle av. n.è.	EA 256	RAINEY 2015: 256:24
5	<i>'i-d-m-m</i>	Adummim	fin XIII ^e siècle av. n.è.	Papyrus Anastasi I	GARDINER 1911: 22:1; <i>ANET</i> 477
6	<i>Ršpw hn'J-tw-m'</i>	Rešep et Adum/Édom, Adamma	Nouvel Empire	Papyrus de Leyde I 343+345	BECK 2018: Incantation 4: 13 R:V7/V:VIII5; AHITUV 1984: 175
7	<i>'udm rbt</i> <i>'udm trrt</i> <i>'udm ytnl/[t] il</i> <i>ktnlhm 'udm</i>	grande Udm bien arrosée Udm Udm le don d'El peuple d'Udm	XIII ^e -XII ^e siècles av. n.è.	Légende de Kéret	GIBSON 2004: 14:iii.108-109,134,135,iv.210,211,[v.257-258],vi.276-278; 15:i.7
Seir					
8	KUR.ḪI.A <i>Še-e-ri</i>	les montagnes de Seir	Abdi-Heba de Jérusalem	EA 288	RAINEY 2015: 288: Obv.26
9	<i>Dw-n(y)-S[r</i>	Le Montagne de S[eir]	Ramsès II	Stèle de Gebel Shaluf	<i>KRI</i> II, 303:6; COOPER 2020: 519
10	<i>Dw-n(y)-S'r</i>	Le Montagne de Seir	Ramsès II	Obélisque de Tanis	<i>KRI</i> II, 409:1; COOPER 2020: 519
11	<i>t3 š3šw-S'r</i>	Pays Shasu de Seir	Ramsès II	Liste topographique, Amara Ouest	<i>KRI</i> II, 217:10.92; COOPER 2020: 519
12	<i>S'r.w m mhw.t/š3s.w</i>	Seir(ites ?) dans les familles des Shasu	Ramsès III	Papyrus Harris I	<i>ANET</i> 262; COOPER 2020: 519

13	n3y S'r	Seir(ites), ceux de Seir	fin XX ^e -XXII ^e dynasties	Papyrus Pushkin 127	COOPER 2020: 519
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83) A wrong etymology of ^{mul}saĝ-me-ĝar “Jupiter” — In NABU 2021/52 Immanuel Freedman writes: “Noting Turk: saĝma = milking and Turk gar = station, I propose that SAG-ME-GAR is a loanword of Turkic origin with meaning similar to ‘milking station’.” But gar means “train station” and is without any doubt a loanword from French gare. See Türkçe Sözlük, Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1988, 522. Even if gar would be of best Turkic origin, a similar sound and that Jupiter is described as babbar “white” wouldn’t be enough for discussing a Turkic origin. Such similar words may be found everywhere simply since languages have many words. Freedman is not alone. Many other scholars have built etymologies of Sumerian words on the thin air of such similarities and if nothing helps the word is surely from a hypothetic substrate language. That among other designations Jupiter is called “white star” is to be seen in the row with “red star” = Mars, “black star” = Saturn. The Saturn, *kajamānu* has the Sumerian name saĝ-ús. Because of this we may isolate saĝ = *rēšu* and me ĝar = *qālu* “the silent head” as a designation of a majestic slow going planet which was at one time equalled with Marduk. It has the Turk name Erendiz, not known from cuneiform sources like other original Turk names of celestial bodies like yıldız “star”, gezegen “planet”, ay “moon”, güneş “sun”, Çulpan “Venus”.

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84) Omens as logic — Divinations played a very significant role in Mesopotamian cultic, religious and ideological practices (see, e.g., Abusch 1972; Snell 1974; Starr 1977; Biggs 1985; Jeyes 1989; Reiner 1998; Richardson 2006; Maul 2007; Archi 2009; Glassner 2012; Annus 2010; Annus 2015; Maul 2013; Koch-Westenholz 2015; Winitzer 2017), among other forms of witchcraft (see, e.g., Abusch 2002; Abusch 2008, Abusch 2010, Abusch 2020). One of the forms of Mesopotamian divination was presented by omens –a list of signs on the basis of which a prediction can be made about appropriate events in the future. At the same time, there was a strong correlation between an omen (sign) and a forecasted event such that the prediction was formulated as a conditional statement (implication): “if an omen, then an event”.

So, omens could be an important source for reconstructing the everyday lives, religious beliefs and ideological views of the Mesopotamians. U. Jeyes (1989: 1) argues that “divination played a major role in Ancient Mesopotamia and of the various types of divination in use, extispicy was perennially the most esteemed”. As Winitzer (2017: 456) correctly remarks: “Mesopotamian divination, as met in the early omen collections, reflects the realization of a new way to conceptualize knowledge, or, indeed, a new attitude toward what the very meaning of knowledge is or could be.” But omens can be also considered sources for reconstructing the logical thinking accepted by the people of Ancient Mesopotamia. The point is that logical thinking is now understood by logicians not only as rational thinking but also as mechanical thinking within an algebraic structure. Therefore we do not think logically in everyday life because it is not a natural way of thinking. So, logic is not innate knowledge and we can know it only after deep learning. Nevertheless, in the list of omens we can reconstruct an algebraic structure (see the truth tables below) which show that the Mesopotamians were the first to propose an algebraic way of drawing conclusions.

The earliest rule for composing omens is now denoted by scholars as “divinatory empiricism” (Manetti 1993, p. 7). It consists of recording events which actually occurred in the past one after the other (*vaticinium ex eventu*): “if a sign (omen) [was], then an event [was]”. Hence, we very often detect there the logical fallacy “after this, therefore because of this” (*post hoc ergo propter hoc*). This rule of composing omens is typical for “historical oracles” where the apodosis of the conditional rather occurs in the past tense.

The second rule of composing omens involves a “chain of association between elements of the protasis and elements of the apodosis” of conditionals (Manetti 1993: 7), i.e., a chain of association between the first part of implication (antecedent) and the second part of implication (consequent). Here we deal either with a phonetic association between the signifiers or with a tropic association between the signifieds.

The third rule of composing omens offers “codes which cover a finite series of completely identifiable cases” (Manetti 1993: 7). This type of structure of omen series started to appear from the second quarter of the second millennium BC in the Old Babylonian period. Here we find codes or systematic collections of very detailed divinatory signs presented in all possible combinations. For instance, let us take

the following four signs: ‘the threshold of the Door of the Palace’, ‘the middle of the Door of the Palace’, ‘on the right’, ‘on the left’ (Manetti 1993: 11). So, we have the four signs (omens) where there are the two possible locations ‘the threshold of the Door of the Palace’ and ‘the middle of the Door of the Palace’ along with the two possible additional details ‘on the right’ and ‘on the left’. As a consequence, we have 2^2 possible combinations: (i) ‘the threshold of the Door of the Palace’ & ‘on the right’; (ii) ‘the threshold of the Door of the Palace’ & ‘on the left’; (iii) ‘the middle of the Door of the Palace’ & ‘on the right’; (iv) ‘the middle of the Door of the Palace’ & ‘on the left’. Hence, the algorithm for composing omens of this type is as follows. Let us take $2k$ signs, where $k \geq 1$, since only binary oppositions are considered. Then we have 2^k of all possible combinations of the antecedents in conditionals. At the same time, each possible combination is presented as an item in long lists of divinations containing all the combinations.

As a result, we deal with a code of conditionals: (i) **if** ‘the threshold of the Door of the Palace’ & ‘on the right’, **then**...; (ii) **if** ‘the threshold of the Door of the Palace’ & ‘on the left’, **then**...; (iii) **if** ‘the middle of the Door of the Palace’ & ‘on the right’, **then**...; (iv) **if** ‘the middle of the Door of the Palace’ & ‘on the left’, **then**..., where for $2k$ signs, where $k \geq 1$, we always have 2^k conditionals for foreseeing. In this foreseeing any logical inconsistency or contradiction is thereby avoided. Each opposite sign is contained in another antecedent of another conditional. And for different oppositions at the place of consequent we observe different oppositions at the place of antecedent. As a consequence, we obtain a rule-based expert system, to name it within modern AI and symbolic logic terms. This system assumes a binary logic of always opposite signs. Therefore, by applying logical inference rules we cannot draw any contradiction here. In any case, this is the first example of a rule-based expert system in its explicit form in world history.

Let us consider some examples. In Zorzi (2009), it was detected that there is an asymmetry in implications with opposite signs:

1. *šumma-DIŠ amēlu-NA ana šibūtīšu-Á.ÁŠ^{su} itebbīma ZI^{ma} kakkabu-MUL ištu-TA imitti-15 amēli-NA ana šumēl-GÜB amēli-NA išarriḫ-SUR damqu-SIG₅*
2. *šumma-DIŠ ištu-TA šumēli-150 ana imitti-15 išarriḫ-SUR aḫītu-BAR*
3. *šumma-DIŠ kakkabu-MUL ina ku-tál amēli-NA ištu-TA imitti-15 ana šumēli-150 išarriḫ-SUR aḫītu-BAR*
4. *šumma-DIŠ kakkabu-MUL ina ku-tál amēli-NA ištu-TA šumēli-150 ana imitti-15 išarriḫ-SUR damqu-SIG₅*

If a man leaves (in order to achieve) his purpose and a star twinkles **from the right** of the man **to the left** of the man – favourable.

If (it) twinkles **from the left to the right** – unfavourable.

If a star twinkles **on the back** of the man **from the right to the left** – unfavourable.

If a star twinkles **on the back** of the man **from the left to the right** – favourable (Zorzi 2009: 97).

Symbolically:

- (i) (“a man leaves” & “a star twinkles **from the right** of the man **to the left** of the man”) $\Rightarrow$ “favourable”
- (ii) (“a man leaves” & “a star twinkles **from the left** of the man **to the right** of the man”) $\Rightarrow$ “unfavourable”
- (iii) (“a man leaves” & “a star twinkles **on the back** of the man **from the right to the left**”) $\Rightarrow$ “unfavourable”
- (iv) (“a man leaves” & “a star twinkles **on the back** of the man **from the left to the right**”) $\Rightarrow$ “favourable”

We have the four opposite combinations: (i) “a star twinkles **from the right** of the man **to the left** of the man”; (ii) “a star twinkles **from the left** of the man **to the right** of the man”; (iii) “a star twinkles **on the back** of the man **from the right to the left**”; (iv) “a star twinkles **on the back** of the man **from the left to the right**”.

Each combination from (i) to (iv) gives either the positive sign “favourable” or negative sign “unfavourable”. We know that ‘to be in front’ is a positive sign in the omens and ‘to be on the back’ is a negative sign. At the same time, ‘to move from right to left’ is a positive sign and ‘to move from left to right’ is a negative sign. Let us denote a positive sign by +1 and a negative sign by -1. Then we have:

- (i) $(+1 \ \& \ +1) \Rightarrow +1$;
- (ii) $(+1 \ \& \ -1) \Rightarrow -1$;
- (iii) $(-1 \ \& \ +1) \Rightarrow -1$;
- (iv) $(-1 \ \& \ -1) \Rightarrow +1$.

Logically, we can reconstruct the following truth tables for $\neg$ (negation or opposition), & (conjunction), and $\Rightarrow$ (implication), respectively:

Truth table for $\neg$, where $\neg$ “sign/event” means an opposition to “sign/event”,
e.g. “from the right” = $\neg$ “from the left”:

“sign/event”	$\neg$ “sign/event”
+1	-1
-1	+1

Truth table for $\&$

“sign/event 1”	“sign/event 2”	“sign/event 1” $\&$ “sign/event 2”
+1	+1	+1
+1	-1	-1
-1	+1	-1
-1	-1	-1

Truth table for $\Rightarrow$

“sign/event 1”	“sign/event 2”	“sign/event 1” $\Rightarrow$ “sign/event 2”
+1	+1	+1
+1	-1	-1
-1	+1	+1
-1	-1	+1

Indeed, according to these truth tables, we have:

- (i) $((+1 \& +1) \Rightarrow +1) = (+1 \Rightarrow +1) = +1$;
- (ii) $((+1 \& -1) \Rightarrow -1) = (-1 \Rightarrow -1) = +1$;
- (iii) $((-1 \& +1) \Rightarrow -1) = (-1 \Rightarrow -1) = +1$;
- (iv) $((-1 \& -1) \Rightarrow +1) = (-1 \Rightarrow +1) = +1$.

As we see, verses of divinations from (i) to (iv) give propositional tautologies (axioms) –expressions which always true (positive).

To sum up, in the divination list of (Zorzi 2009: 97) we see an intuition of Boolean algebra $\langle \{-1, +1\}, \neg, \&, \Rightarrow \rangle$, and all the implications from the analyzed divination list are considered axioms, i.e., they always have the truth value +1.

Let us look at another example to determine whether its implications are axioms according to reconstructed truth tables:

- 122. *šum₄-ma alpu-GUD is-su-us-ma it-bi kašād-KUR^{ad} šibûti-ÁŠ*
- 123. *šum₄-ma alpu-GUD is-su-us-ma ul-NU it-bi lā-NU kašād-KUR^{ad} šibûti-ÁŠ*
- 124. *šum₄-ma alpu-GUD itbīma-ZI^{ma} lēssu-TE^{su} ana imittīšu-15^{šú} iddi-ŠUB lā-NU kašād-KUR^{ad} šibûti-ÁŠ*
- 125. *šum₄-ma alpu-GUD itbīma-ZI^{ma} lēssu-TE^{su} ana šumēlīšu-150^{šú} iddi-ŠUB kašād-KUR^{ad} šibûti-ÁŠ*

- 122. If an ox **wailed** and (then) **got up** – attaining the desire.
- 123. If an ox **wailed** and (then) **didn’t get up** – not attaining the desire.
- 124. If an ox **got up** and **lowered his cheek to the right** – not attaining the desire.
- 125. If an ox **got up** and **lowered his cheek to the left** – attaining the desire (Zorzi 2009:103-104).

Symbolically:

- (i) (“an ox **wailed**” $\&$ “an ox **got up**”) $\Rightarrow$ “attaining the desire”
- (ii) (“an ox **wailed**” $\&$ “an ox **didn’t get up**”) $\Rightarrow$ “not attaining the desire”
- (iii) (“an ox **wailed**” $\&$ “an ox **got up**” $\&$ “an ox **lowered his cheek to the right**”) $\Rightarrow$ “not attaining the desire”
- (iv) (“an ox **wailed**” $\&$ “an ox **got up**” $\&$ “an ox **lowered his cheek to the left**”) $\Rightarrow$ “attaining the desire”

We see that “an ox **wailed**”, “an ox **got up**” and “an ox **lowered his cheek to the left**” are positive signs, and “an ox **didn’t get up**” and “an ox **lowered his cheek to the right**” are negative signs. Therefore, we can formalize these conditional statements in the following manner, according to truth tables:

- (v) $((+1 \& +1) \Rightarrow +1) = +1$;
- (vi) $((+1 \& -1) \Rightarrow -1) = +1$;
- (vii) $((+1 \& +1 \& -1) \Rightarrow -1) = +1$;
- (viii) $((+1 \& +1 \& +1) \Rightarrow +1) = +1$.

The expressions (i)–(viii) are axioms, too –they always have their true value +1.

Conclusion

Thus, the algebraic structure of omen codes reconstructed by the truth tables defined above is a kind of binary calculus applicable to all forms of Mesopotamian omens presented as a codex. This binary logic is a by-product of Akkadian *šumma*-clauses (conditional statements of the form “if..., then...”) which were simply treated by the Mesopotamians logically, in the same way as how conditional statements are understood nowadays in modern logic. Therefore, ideas of binary logic can also be reconstructed in two other genres using the *šumma*-clauses: (i) hermeneutic texts (“if there is a sign *A*, then it is treated as another sign *B*”; (ii) legal texts (“if an action *A* is performed, then its actor should be sentenced to a punishment *B*”).

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85) BM 77046 – A Duplicate to SpTU I, no. 76 (*Šumma ālu*-Omens on Spittle and Spitting) –

The Late Babylonian text BM 77046 (1883,0118,AH.2422), which supposedly originates from Sippar, represents an up to now unidentified duplicate to the passage on spitting and spittle observations, likewise preserved within the Late Babylonian text W. 22307/22 (SpTU I, no. 76) reverse 4'–49'. Mentioned therein along with omens concerning different phenomena while a man is leaving, entering or being on his way, the passages in the Uruk-Ms. have been more generally labelled as “Omina teils vom Typ *šumma ālu*, teils physiognomisch” within the first edition of W. 22307/22 by H. Hunger (SpTU I, 78). And indeed, newly identified excerpts from the Neo Assyrian period (see below) suggest a particular context within the last part of the extensive divinatory series *Šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin*. The respective parallels (and the duplicate as in the case of SpTU I, no. 76) are as follows:

W. 22307/22 rev. 21'–49' // BM 77046 obv. 1'–17', rev. 1–13

K. 2988 obv. 6'–9' // BM 77046 obv. 3'–6'

K. 8042+ ii 22'–29' // BM 77046 obv. 8'–13'

1879,0708.213+ i 7–14, 17 // BM 77046 obv. 8'–13', rev. 9

While the first two preserved sections in W. 22307/22 are provided with a rubric-like ruled-off line, which might have indicated the number of the excerpt (obv. 30 notes the numeral “33 [...]” and rev. 3' “34 [...]”), the last section on spittle shows no such but ends with supposedly a catchline referring to a tablet beginning with the lines “If a man [...] his garment in/during(?) [...]” (rev. 50': DIŠ NA *lu-bu-uš-ta-šu₂ ina² x¹ [...]*) – a catchline, which might be connectable with the similar sounding omens in texts like K.9812+ as well as a couple of other Neo Assyrian fragments concerned with garments. Unfortunately, the here presented text BM 77046 does not preserve any colophon or rubric and thus offers no further information of the status of the text itself or of what is following.

Despite this, it is noteworthy that both texts, BM 77046 as well as W. 22307/22, seem to duplicate each other, including the additional line concerning “(nose) mucus” (*upātu*, cf. entry rev. 9) and the following Namburbi-ritual (cf. also Maul (1994), 445–452). Even though it cannot be excluded that BM 77046 might have contained other sections preceding the preserved text portions, the distribution of the text on obverse and reverse suggests otherwise – in particular in contrast to the Uruk Ms., which displays the whole section on spittle at its reverse' second part. The status of both Mss. as excerpts is further questioned by the fact that the Neo Assyrian excerpts note much less entries and seem to exclude the ritual entirely, even though K. 8042+ and 1879,0708.213+ seem to have a similar focus on certain entries in particular. However, due to the most likely excerpted content within the preceding sections in W. 22307/22, a final statement concerning the scope of the section on spittle omens (i.e. if it represents the whole “tablet”-content or not) preserved within the Late Babylonian witnesses remains unclear for now.

The information about the identifications of Neo Assyrian excerpts (except for the small, already known fragment K. 2988) has been kindly communicated to me by C. Mittermayer and F. Huber Vulliet (Geneva *Šumma ālu* project). The relevant excerpt texts (K. 8042+ (+ K. 2238), 1879,0708.213 + Sm. 958, K. 2988) and their possible localisation in respect to the whole series will be discussed in Boddy, Huber Vulliet & Mittermayer (2021). The restorations within the following edition of BM 77046 base on the parallel instances of the Mss. mentioned above. A transliteration in partition of all relevant Mss. of this section will be accessible at the open-source repository “Archive ouverte” of the University of Geneva (<https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch>). The cuneiform hand copies presented at the end of the edition have been made by the present author.

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Edition

o 1' 'DIŠ NA KIMIN (UH₂-*su* ŠUB)-*ma* GIM SAG NIG₂¹.GUL [...]

If a man ditto (throws his spittle) and (it looks) like the head of a hatchet(?) [...]

- o 2' DIŠ NA KIMIN (UH₂-su ŠUB)-*ma* GIM BAR [...]

If a man ditto (throws his spittle) and (it looks) like a cross [...]
- o 3' DIŠ NA UH₂-su BABBAR-*at* [...]

If a man's spittle is white [...]
- o 4' DIŠ NA UH₂-su GE₆-*at* [...]

If a man's spittle is black [...]
- o 5' DIŠ NA UH₂-su SA₅-*at di-ik-^ršu₂/ša₂²¹* [...]

If a man's spittle is red, a bulge(?) [...]
- o 6' DIŠ NA UH₂-su SIG₇-*at* [an ta²...]

If a man's spittle is yellow: [...](?) [...]
- o 17' DIŠ NA UH₂-su ŠUB-*ma taq-na*-[at²...]

If a man throws his spittle and it is cle[ar(?)]...
- o 8' DIŠ NA UH₂-su *ana* KI ŠUB-*ma pur-ru-^rta¹*-[at E₂.BI BIR-*ah*]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and it is dispers[ed(?): his house(hold) will be scattered.]
- o 9' DIŠ NA UH₂-su *ana* KI ŠUB-*ma ab-lat* [HUL *i-sah-hur-šu₂*... IGI]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and it is dried: [misfortune will circle around him, he will experience...]
- o 10' DIŠ NA UH₂-su *ana* KI ŠUB-*ma kaš₃*-[*ra-at sa-lim-šu₂* KUR₂-*ir-šu₂*... GU₇]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and it is concen[trated(?): his peace will change,... will devour/use up...]
- o 11' DIŠ NA UH₂-su *ana* KI ŠUB-*ma a-^rna²¹* [(...) x-*šu₂* BAR-*at mim-mu-šu₂* ZAH₂ *ut-ta*]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and [it is divided] on/to [his...: he will find his lost property.]
- o 12' DIŠ NA UH₂-su *ana* KI ŠUB-*ma a-na* [(...) x-*šu₂* BAR-*at mim-mu-šu₂* ZAH₂ *ut-ta*]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and [it is divided] on/to [his...: he will find his lost property.]
- o 13' DIŠ NA UH₂-su *ana* KI ŠUB-*ma a-na* ^rx¹ [(...) -*šu₂* BAR-*at ina* KIN-*šu₂* ZI-*ah*]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and [it is divided] on/to [his...: he will be removed from his office.]
- o 14' DIŠ ^rNA UH₂¹-*su ana* KI ŠUB-*ma šab* [...]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and... (?) [...]
- o 15' DIŠ [NA] ^rUH₂¹-*su ana* KI ŠUB-*ma UR*.GI₇ [...]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and a dog [...]
- o 16' ^rDIŠ¹ [NA] ^rUH₂¹-*su ana* KI ŠUB-*ma ŠAH* ^rx¹ [...]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and a pig [...]
- o 17' ^rDIŠ¹ [NA] UH₂-*su ana* KI ŠUB-*ma* ^rx (x)¹ [...]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and...(?) [...]
- r 1 [DIŠ NA] ^rUH₂¹-*su ana* KI¹ [ŠUB-*ma*...]

If a man [throws] his spittle on the ground [and...]
- r 2 DIŠ NA UH₂-*su ana* KI ^rŠUB-*ma*¹ [...]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and [...]
- r 3 DIŠ NA UH₂-*su ana* KI ŠUB-^r*ma*¹ [...]

If a man throws his spittle on the ground and [...]
- r 4 DIŠ NA UH₂-*su ana* UGU LU₂ Š[UB[?]...]

If a man t[hrows] his spittle towards (another) man [...]
- r 5 DIŠ NA UH₂-*su mat-qat*² [x...]

If a man's spittle is sweet(?) [...](?)...
- r 6 DIŠ NA UH₂-*su* ^r*mar-rat*²¹ [...]

If a man's spittle is bitter(?) [...]
- r 7 DIŠ NA UH₂-^r*su*¹ [ti pad[?] [...]]

If a man's spittle [...](?)...

r 8 DIŠ NA UH₂-^rsu¹ [šar-ka ra/gan²...]
If a man's spittle [...(?)] pus [...]

r 9 DIŠ u₂-pa-^rti¹-[š_u₂ ŠUB-ma la (x...) i-sir²? ŠU⁴UTU KUR-su(?)]
If he throws [his] nose mucus [and (can)not (...?) hold (it) back(?): the hand of Šamaš will reach him(?).]

Ritual

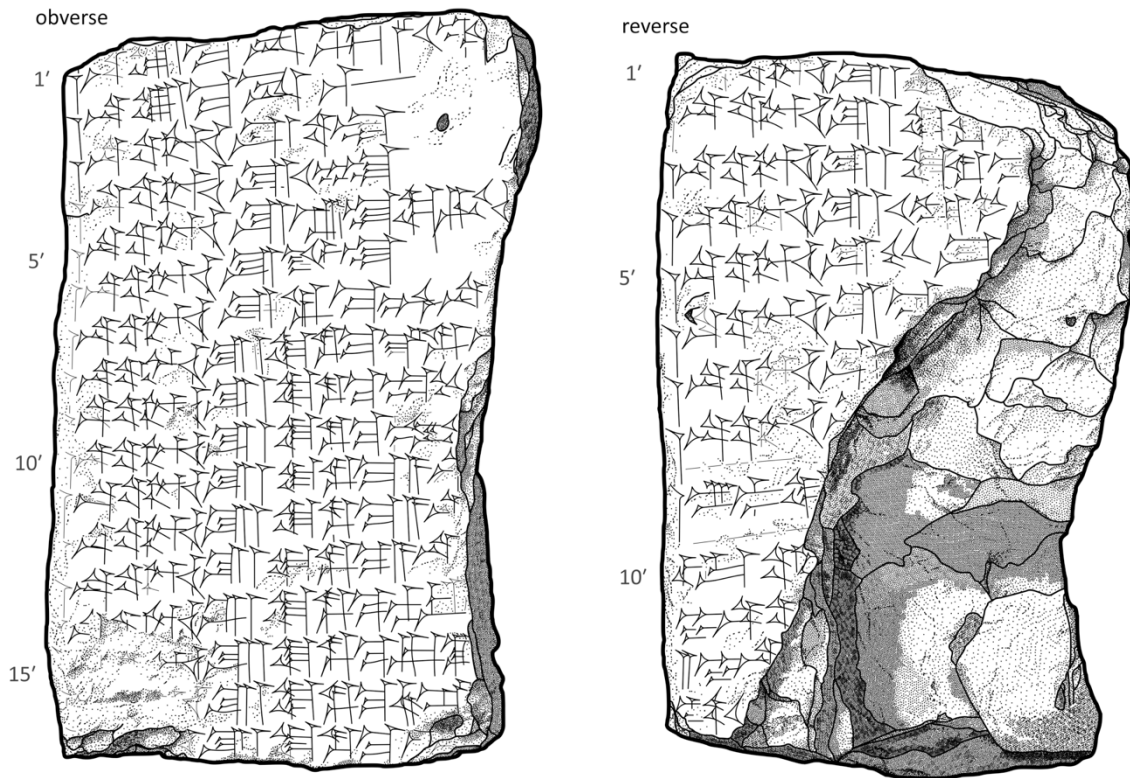
r 10 [(ana²)] HUL¹UH₂¹[ŠUB.BA ana LU₂ NU TE(-e) DU₃.DU₃.BI 7 NU.KAR₂.KAR₂ ša₂ IM]
[(So)] that the evil (originating) [from the throwing of spittle does not approach the man; its ritual procedure (is): you produce seven... figurines/pills(?)]

r 11 i-na¹UH₂¹[HL.HI-ma DU₃-uš 1 ina UGU EME-ka² GAR 1 ina KA-ka GAR-an 1 ina na-hi-ri-ka GAR-an]
[(for) which you mix clay] with saliva. [You place one on the surface of your tongue, you place one inside your mouth, you place one in your nostrils,

r 12 2 i-na [ŠU.MIN-ka DAB-bat-ma ta-na-hi-id-ma ša₂ UGU EME-ka ša₂ ŠA₃ KA-ka]
[you grasp] two with [your hands (each)], (then) you are *careful in discarding* what is on the surface of your tongue, what is inside your mouth,]

r 13 ša₂¹ŠA₃¹[na-hi-ri-ka u (ša₂) ŠU.MIN-ka ta-na-suk-ma HUL UH₂ ana NA NU TE(-he)]
what is inside [your nostrils and your hands and the evil of the saliva will not approach the man.]

BM 77046
(6,03 × 3,81 cm)



Notes

obv. 5: The meaning of *dikšu* as “bulge, swelling” is assumed in AHw I, 169 as well as CDA, 59 (both dictionaries note as the basic meaning of *dakāšu* “to press in; (math.) press out; enlarge” (CDA, 54) or “ausbeulen, aufreiben” (AHw I, 151) –the last meaning refers mostly to the stative forms in mathematical and divinatory contexts). The possibility of describing a geometrical figure (cf. CAD D, 138 sub *dikšu* 4.) would also speak against a basic meaning of *dakāšu* as “to pierce, sting” as suggested in CAD D, 34f.

obv. 11–13: Besides the relative position of the entries identified with obv. 11’–13’ within the respective excerpt texts, the alignment with and restorations according to the apodoses of the Nineveh Mss. with the protases preserved in the excerpts from Sippar and Uruk bases mainly on two observations: First, the beginnings of the protases (W. 22307/22, BM 77046) represent a formal unit regarding their formulation in using the same spelling *a-na* “on, (on)to” after the

introducing prerequisite of a man spitting on the soil. Second, the three apodoses –as preserved in the Nineveh Mss. (K. 8042+, 1879,0708.213+)– represent likewise a unit due to their similar use of BAR-at “it is divided” as the presumed end of the protases, and in using formally identical phrases in at least two apodoses (o 11’ and 12’). Contextually, it is plausible to assume the observation of a divided puddle of spittle after it has been spat on some particular location or object, which has unfortunately not been preserved.

rev. 9: Although the restoration according to the apodosis of 1879,0708.213+ i 17’ is not totally certain, it is assumed here due to the unusual case of a single ruled off entry, which is shared by rev. 9 in BM 77046 and rev. 46’ in W. 22307/22.

Cf. the similar content within K. 6226 (ominous phenomena while sleeping) l. 7’ ([...] ¹u₂¹-pa-ti-šu₂ la i-sir₂² (empty) ³ŠU⁴ [...]), which might give a hint on the direct continuation of the entry (DIŠ u₂-pa-¹ti¹-šu₂ ŠUB-ma la i-sir₂ ŠU ⁴UTU KUR-su). See also the similar context within the following entry K.6226 l. 8’ ([...]H₂-su ana UGU-šu i-šal-lu ⁵x¹ [...]).

Ritual: For the restoration of the ritual cf. Maul (1994), 445ff./449 ll. 45–51.

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86) Fragments of the Sennacherib’s royal inscriptions at the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts — In the collection of the Department of Ancient Orient of the Pushkin State Museum in Moscow are kept two fragments of Sennacherib’s royal inscriptions (ca 704–681 BC) –the upper edge of one side of an octahedral prism (I 2 b 1502) and a cylinder’s fragment (I 2 b 837)¹⁾. They contain excerpts of the annals of different editions, created in different years of the king’s reign.

Both fragments were taken into account by E. Frahm when creating the catalogue of Sennacherib’s inscriptions as texts from Nineveh [Frahm 1997: 64; 88]. Cylinder from the Pushkin Museum was marked by the author as undefined (although close to the texts of the Rassam and Bellino cylinders), but the prism could be a duplicate of BM 103000; Rm 26; IM 56578 and BM 102996 with some reservations. E. Frahm based his reasoning on handcopies, kindly placed at his disposal by S. Khodhash, at that time head of the Department of Ancient Orient of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts. These handcopies were made not by V. Shileiko, as E. Frahm suggested, but by Yu. Saveliev, Assyriologist, who for many years was a research associate of the Department of Ancient Orient²⁾. He made handcopies of a huge number of cuneiform documents from the collection of the Pushkin Museum, including fragments of the prism and the cylinder of Sennacherib. One of his papers was devoted to the Assyrian royal inscriptions from the museum’s collection [Saveliev 1984].

Subsequently, the Moscow fragments were also included in the large collection of Sennacherib’s royal inscriptions from the series “The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period” [RINAP 3/1 9; 17.1*]³⁾. The cylinder was singled out as a separate version, originating from Nineveh (or Assur?), due to the rather strong textual differences from the other editions of cylinders. According to the authors, it could be a copy of either one of the more well-preserved cylinders [RINAP 3/1 2-3], or of a hitherto unknown version.

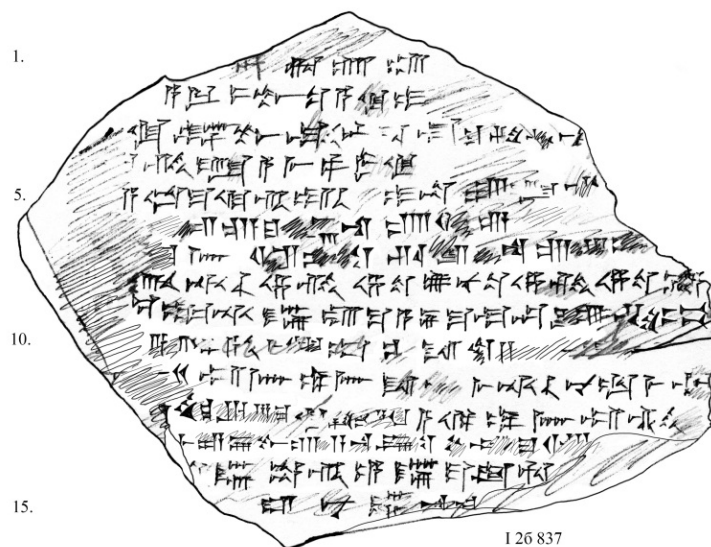
Differences between fragments of texts from the Pushkin Museum and their possible counterparts appear to be rather technical errors of copyist (omissions of lines, etc.), so we decided to collate the texts and revise their belonging to one or another edition.



I 2 b 837: fragment of a cylinder; came into the museum on 25.03.1924 from the Museum-Institute of Classical Near East (the former collection of N. Likhachev).

Previous publications: Frahm 1997: 64; RINAP 3/1 9. Nineveh? The inscription is practically erased and can be read with great difficulty only when working directly with the document. Dimensions: 7,25x9,25x1,32 cm

The text contains a part of the prologue and report on the Sennacherib's first campaign against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his allies Chaldeans and Elamites. On the fragment there are 15 partially preserved lines of cuneiform text:



The handcopy was made by Yu. Saveliev and edited by A. Iasenovskaia.

Transliteration⁴⁾:

1. [1^{ld}EN.ZU.ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba LUGAL GAL LUGAL dan-nu LUGAL KUR aš-šur^{KI} LUGAL la ša-na]-¹an¹ RE.É.UM [mut-nen-nu-ú pa-liḫ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]
2. [na-šir kit-ti ra-'i-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti] a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i [sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti]
3. [eṭ-lu gīt-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du a-šá-red kal ma-al]-ki rap-pu la-'i-¹it¹ la ¹ma-gi-ri mu¹-[šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni]
4. [^daš-šur KUR-ú GAL-ú LUGAL-ut la šá-na-an ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma] ¹UGU¹ gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki [ú-šar-ba-a ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.MEŠ-ia]
5. [i-na SAG LUGAL-ti-ia ša ^{ld}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA LUGAL ^{KUR}kár-dun-ía-áš a-di ERIM.ḪI].A ELAM.MA^{KI} re-ši-šú i-na ¹ta-mir-ti¹ [kiš^{KI} áš-ta-kan BAD₅.BAD₅-šú]
6. [i-na MURUB₄ tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-tu e-ziḫ KARAŠ-su e-diš ip-par-šid-ma a-na ^{KUR}gu-z]u-um-ma-[ni i]n-na-bit q[é]-reb [^{ld}a-gam-me ú ap-pa-ra-a-te e-ru-um-ma na-piš-tuš e-ṭi-ir]
7. [^{GIŠ}GIGIR.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}su-um-bi ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MA]L.MEŠ ù ¹ANŠE¹ud-ri ¹ša¹ [i]-na qit-¹ru-ub¹ [ta-ḫa-zi ú-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da ŠU.II-a-a]
8. [a-na É.GAL-šú ša qé-reb KÁ.DINGIR.RA.^{KI} ḫa-diš e-ru-um-ma ap-te-e-ma É ni]-¹šir¹-ti-šú KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR ú-nu-ut KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA₄ [a-qar-tu mim-ma šum-šu NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA ni-šir-tu ka-bit-tu]
9. [DAM-su ^{MUNUS}UN.MEŠ É.GAL-šú ^{LÚ}TIRUM.MEŠ ^{LÚ}man-za-az pa-ni] si-ḫir-ti ^{LÚ}um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-¹šu-ú mut-tab-bi¹-[lu-tu É.GAL ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu]
10. [aš-bat-ma EGIR-šú a-na ^{KUR}gu-zu-um-ma-ni ^{LÚ}mun-daḫ-ši-ia a-na qé]-¹reb ^{ld}a-gam-me ¹ú¹ ap-pa-ra-te⁵⁾ [ú-ma-'e-er-ma 5 u₄-me i-pa-ru-nim-ma ul in-na-mir a-šar-šu]
11. [i-na e-muq ^aaš-šur EN-ia 89 URU.MEŠ-ni dan-nu-ti É BÀD.MEŠ-ni ša ^{KUR}kal-di ù 8] ¹ME¹ 20 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ ša ¹li¹-me-ti-šú-nu al-me ¹ak¹-[šudnd áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un]
12. [^{LÚ}úr-bi ^{LÚ}a-ra-mu ù ^{LÚ}kal-du ša qé-reb UNUG^{KI} NIBRU^{KI} kiš^{KI}]¹ ḫur-¹sag-kalam-ma^{KI} GÚ.DU₈.A^{KI}¹ a-di DUMU.MEŠ URU EN ḫi-[iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu]
13. [¹EN-DÙ DUMU ^{LÚ}GAL-DÙ pe-er-'i šu-an-na^{KI} ša GIM mi-ra-a-ni ša-aḫ-ri qé-reb É.GA]L-¹ia ir¹-bu-¹ú¹ a-¹na LUGAL¹-ut ¹KUR EME.GI₇ ù¹ [¹URI^{KI} áš-ta-kan UGU-šú-un]
14. [i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia ^{LÚ}tu-'u-mu-na ^{LÚ}ri-ḫi-ḫu ^{LÚ}ia-da-q-qu ^{LÚ}ú-bu-d]u ^{LÚ}gib-re-e ^{LÚ}ma-li-ḫu [^{LÚ}gu-ru-mu ^{LÚ}ú-bu-lum ^{LÚ}da-mu-nu]
15. [^{LÚ}gam-bu-lu ^{LÚ}ḫi-in-da-ru ^{LÚ}ru-'u-u-a ^{LÚ}pu-qu-du ^{LÚ}ḫa-am-ra-a-nu ^{LÚ}ḫa-ga]-¹ra-nu ^{LÚ}na-ba¹-[tu ^{LÚ}li-i'-ta-a-ú ^{LÚ}a-ra-mu la kan-šú mit-ḫa-riš ak-šudnd]

Lacuna

Translation

1. [Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of Assyria, unrival]led [king], pious shepherd [who reveres the great gods],
2. [guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance], goes to the aid of the weak, [strives after good deeds],
3. [perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rul]ers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, the one who str[i]kes enemies with lightning].
4. [The god Assur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater] than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises.
5. [At the beginning of my kingship, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II), king of Karduniash, together with the troops] of Elam in the plain of [Kish].
6. [In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp. He fled alone and] escaped [to the land Guz]ummanu, (where) [he entered the swamps and marshes and (thereby) saved his life].
7. [I seized the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, donkeys, cam]els and Bactrian camels that [he had abandoned] in the thick of [battle].
8. [I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened] his treasury [and brought out] gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, [precious] stones, [all kinds of possessions (and) property, a substantial treasure],
9. [his wife, his palace women, courtiers, attendants], all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) [his palace] attendants, [and I counted (them) as booty].
10. [I pursued him to the land Guzummanu and ordered my warriors into the midst of] swamps and marshes [For five days they searched (for him), but his (hiding) place could not be found].
11. [With the strength of the god Assur, my lord], I surrounded, con[quered, (and) plundered

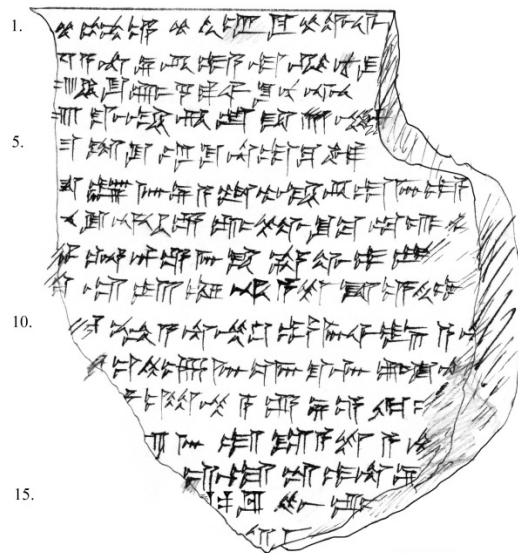
- 89 fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 8]20 small(er) settlements in their environs.
12. [I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans and Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish], Hursagkalama, (and) Cutha, together with the guilty citizens, [and I counted (them) as booty].
13. [I appointed over them Bel-ibni, a son of a *rab banî* (and) a scion of Shuanna (Babylon) who had grown up like a young puppy in my palace], as king of the land of Sumer and [Akkad].
14. [On my return march, I defeated all together the Tu'umuna, Rihihu, Yadakku, Ubudu], Gibre, Malihu, [Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu],
15. [Gambulu, Hindaru, Ru'u'a, Puqudu, Hamranu, Haga]ranu, Naba[tu, (and) Li'ta'u, insubmissive Arameans...].

Due to the fact that earlier epigraphist had missed lines 6 and 13, describing the escape of Marduk-apla-iddina into the swamps and appointing of Bel-ibni over Babylon, there was no certainty that the Moscow fragment was a copy of other editions of cylinders. After the present collation had been made, it became clear that the fragment repeats exactly the Bellino cylinder's text [RINAP 3/1 3]⁶⁾, or the text of its predecessor [RINAP 3/1 2]⁷⁾, created in 702 BC (third year of the Sennacherib's reign; the month of *Sibuti* (= *Arahsamna* VIII), eponymy of Nabu-lei, ruler of Arbela)⁸⁾. Since texts of the Bellino's cylinder and the cylinder RINAP 3/1, No. 2 differ only from the 57th line on, and the Moscow fragment contains lines 1-15, it is difficult to say which of the two editions it belongs to⁹⁾.



I 2 b 1502: fragment of a prism;
came into the museum in 1911
from the collection of V. Golenishchev
(Golenishchev inventory number: G. 5316).

Nineveh? Dimensions: 7,5x5,82x2,22 cm



126 1502

The handcopy was made by Yu. Saveliev
and edited by A. Iasenovskaia

This is a fragment of a rather large text describing seven military campaigns of Sennacherib, creation of troops from deported people and building work in Nineveh (Southwest Palace, walls of Nineveh, digging canals). On the fragment there are 16 partially preserved lines of cuneiform text:

Transliteration:

1. ^{KUR}qu-e ^{KUR}hi-lak-ku ^{KUR}pi-liš-ti ^ù ^{KUR}šur-ri]
2. [š]a a-na ni-ri-ia la ik-nu-š[u as-su-ḫa-am-ma]
3. [t]up-šik-ku ú-šá-áš-ši-šu-nu-ti-[ma il-bi-nu SIG₄]
4. É.GAL maḫ-ri-tu ša 3 ME 6[0] 'ina² 1²¹. [KÙŠ UŠ 95 ina 1.KÙŠ SAG.KI]
5. ma-ra-ku šit-ku-na-at-ma šu-[uḫ-ḫu-rat šu-bat-sa]
6. ša LUGAL.MEŠ-ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri AD.MEŠ-ia [ana ri-mit]

7. [b]e-lu-ti-šú-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma la ú-¹nak¹ [ki-lu ši-pir-šá]
8. ^dALAD.^dLAMMA.MEŠ ša ^{NA}pi-i-l[i pe-se-e]
9. [i-n]a^{URU}ta-as-ti-a-te ša e-ber-[tan^{ID}IDIGNA]
10. [ib]-¹tu¹-qu a-na mu-kil KÁ.MEŠ-ši-in a-¹na¹ [šu-pu-uš^{GIŠ}MÁ.MEŠ]
11. [qé-re]b^{GIŠ}TIR.MEŠ GIŠ.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ú-qé-¹ru¹ [i-na nap-¹har KUR-šú-un]
12. [i-na^{IT}]¹ GU₄ u₄-mu a-dan-ni e-de-¹e¹ [pa-an šat-ti]
13. [i-na^{GIŠ}M]Á.MEŠ ši-ra-a-te a-n[a a-¹ha-an-na-a]
14. [ú-šeb-bi-ru-ni] mar-ši-iš i-na né-[ber ka-a-ri]
15. [^{GIŠ}MÁ.GU.LA.MEŠ ú-¹f]e-eb-bu-ú [ba-¹hu-la-te-šú-un]
16. [ú-šá-ni-¹hu ú] ¹lam-me¹ [nu ka-ras-si-in]

Lacuna

Translation:

1. [I forcibly removed the people of¹⁰)...] the lands of Que, Hilakku and Philist[ia, and the land (of the city) Tyre,
2. w]ho had not submitted to my yoke, [then]
3. I made them carry baskets (of earth) and [they made bricks].
4. The former palace, whose extent was 36[0 cubits on (its) longer side (and) 95 cubits on (its) shorter side, and]
5. [whose site was too sma]ll;
6. which earlier kings, my ancestors,
7. had had constructed [for their lordly dwelling¹¹], but whose construction they had carried out [inexpertly];
8. [they quarried¹²] bull colossi of [white li]mestone
9. in the city of Tastiate, which is across [the Tigris River],
10. be their (the palatial halls') gatekeepers.
11. They depleted forests of large trees [throughout their entire land to have boats built¹³].
12. [In the month] Ayyaru, the time of [spring] floods,
13. [they brought (the colossi)¹⁴] in] magnificent boats [across] to [this side (of the river)]
14. with difficulty.
15. [they] sank large boats at the [quay dock]¹⁵ (and then) made [their crews]
16. [struggle (and)] str[ain].

Two lines are actually missing in the handcopy, which S. Khodhash sent to E. Frahm (5 and 14; also line 16 was not taken into account). This led to strong discrepancies with versions of other prisms, in particular, King/Heidel prism¹⁶). A.K. Grayson and J. Novotny attributed the Moscow fragment to possible copies of the King/Heidel prism, but marked it out in the "catalogue of uncertain exemplars". After this collation, it became clear that there are no significant differences between these texts. A fragment of the Moscow prism is one of copies of the King/Heidel prism [RINAP 3/1 17], along with BM 103000 (King Prism), IM 56578 (Heidel Prism), BM 102996, Rm 26. Its text corresponds to lines v 53-75 of the main version. The document was created in 694 BC (11th year of Sennacherib's reign; the month of *Abu* (V), eponymy of Ilu-Issiya, ruler of Damascus).

Thus, in Moscow there are two inscriptions belonging to different periods of the Sennacherib's reign¹⁷): a fragment of a cylinder of 702 BC (702-700?) and a fragment of a prism edited in 694 BC.

Notes

1. The article was previously published in Russian in the Festschrift in honor of A. Nemirovskiy [Iasenovskaia 2018].
2. The same mistake subsequently penetrated into RINAP 3/1.
3. The texts were also added to the database of cuneiform documents CDLI.
4. Text's fragments that are absent in publications Frahm 1997, RINAP 3/1, CDLI are highlighted in gray.
5. All versions of cylinders RINAP 3/1 Nos. 2, 3 contain the spelling *ap-pa-ra-a-te*. However, the variant *ap-pa-ra-te* is also found in text of the so-called Taylor prism [BM 91032].
6. Known copies of this edition of text are BM 22502 (K 1680); BM 134469; 79-7-8,288.
7. Known copies of this edition of text are Rm 2,95 + BM 134458 (+?) BM 123412 + BM 134482; A 16937; A 16940.

8. Not all preserved copies contain date formula, so it is impossible to say with certainty for how long period these editions had been copied. Perhaps the cylinders with them had been created also during the eponymy of Hananu, ruler of Til-Barsip (701 BC). All copies of the inscription of the next edition [RINAP 3/1 4] appear only in the first half of the Mitunu's eponymy (700 BC) [RINAP 3/1 49].

9. That is, it belongs to undefined fragments along with K 1649; NBC 6057; Rm 2,185; 81-2-4,478; BM 123428; BM 134457; VA 15467; BM 98560; 81-7-27,7; 81-2-4,175; VA 15470; VA Ass 4367; K 1646.

10. Line 2.

11. Line 6.

12. Line 9.

13. Line 10.

14. Line 14.

15. Line 14.

16. In the Yu. Saveliev's archives there was also another handcopy, with no omission of lines 5 and 14, but an incorrect copy came to E. Frahm.

17. Early foundation inscriptions of Sennacherib were made in the form of a cylinder, and later – in the form of a prism.

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RINAP 3/1 – GRAYSON A.K., NOVOTNY J. The royal inscriptions of Sennacherib, king of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 1. Winona Lake, Indiana, 2012.

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87) Fragment du prisme A d'Assurbanipal au Musée du Louvre — Un fragment du prisme de couleur brique, légèrement rougeâtre, est conservé au Musée du Louvre et porte le numéro SH085498. Il mesure H 6,3 cm × L 5,1 cm × P 2,0 cm et faisait partie du bord, à l'intersection des faces du prisme. Le reliquat du texte en deux colonnes peut être identifié comme appartenant aux 6^e et 7^e campagnes dans la version A des Annales d'Assurbanipal.



La translittération et la reconstruction des lignes manquantes ci-dessous suivent le texte publié dans RINAP 5/1.11, les variantes sont marquées par un astérisque.

col. i'

- 1' [ú-šab-bi-ta mu-uš-ša]-šú-un
- 2' [qé-reb URU u EDIN ina la mî-ni áš-tak-ka]-na BAD₅.BAD₅-šú
- 3' [si-it-tu-u-ti ina TAG-it] ^der-ra
- 4' [su-un-qu bu-bu-ti iš-ku-nu] na-piš-tu
- 5' [^mum-man-i-gaš MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šî]-kin ŠU.II-ia
- 6' [ⁱⁱⁱ 137ša ſa-á-a-tu im-ḫu-ru-šú-ma ⁱⁱⁱ 138it-ba]-a a-na kit-ri-šú
- 7' [^mtam-ma-ri-tú EDIN-uš-šú ib]-bal-kit-ma
- 8' [šá-a-šú ga-du kim-ti-šú ú-ras]-sib-šú* ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ
- 9' [EGIR ^mtam-ma-ri-tú šá EGIR ^m]um-man-i-gaš
- 10' [ú-ši-bu ina GIŠ.GU.ZA] KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 11' [la iš-a-lu šu-lum LUGAL]-ti-ia
- 12' [a-na re-šu-ut ^{md}GIŠ.NU₁₁-MU-GI.NA] ŠEŠ nak-ri
- 13' [il-lik-am-ma a-na mîṭ-ḫu-ši] ERIM.ḪI.A-ia
- 14' [ur-ri-ḫa GIŠ].TUKUL.MEŠ-šú
- 15' [ina su-up-pe-e šá AN.ŠÁR u ^d15 ú]-sap-pu-u*

col. ii'

- 1' 'URU'.[su-la-a-a URU.la-ḫi-ra-di-bi-ri-i-na]
- 2' ^{ti}b* MĒ-[ia dan-ni iš-mu-u šá al-la-ku a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 3' nam-ri-[ri AN.ŠÁR u ^d15 EN.MEŠ-ia]
- 4' pu-luḫ-ti [LUGAL-ti-ia is-ḫu-up-šú-nu-ti]
- 5' šu-nu UN.MEŠ-[šú-nu GU₄.MEŠ-šú-nu še-e-ni-šú-nu]
- 6' a-na e-peš ARAD-[ti-ia a-na KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI]
- 7' im-quⁱ*-ut*-nim-ma [^{iv} 122iš-ba-tú ĜIR.II LUGAL-ti-ia]
- 8' URU.É.^mim-b[i-i maḫ-ru-u ^{iv} 124URU LUGAL-u-ti]
- 9' É tuk-la-a-[te šá KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 10' ša ki-ma BÂD G[AL-e pa-an KUR.ELAM.MA.KI par-ku]
- 11' ša ^{md}30-PAP.[MEŠ-SU MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI AD AD DÛ-ia]
- 12' el*-la-m[u-u-a ik-šu-du]
- 13' ú šu-[u e-la-mu-ú ^{iv} 128URU mé-eḫ-ret]
- 14' URU.É.^mim-bi-i maḫ-re-e ^{iv} 129šá-nam-ma e-pu-šú-ma]
- 15' BÂD-šú ú¹-[dan-nin-u-ma]
- 16' ú-zaq₁-[qí-ru x x x]

La correspondance avec RINAP 5/1.11 et BIWA se présente comme suit :

SH085498	RINAP 5/1	BIWA	BIWA	SH085498	RINAP 5/1	BIWA	BIWA
	.11	A	F		.11	A	F
i' 1'	iii 132	III 132		ii' 1'	iv 117	IV 117	
i' 2'	iii 133	III 133		ii' 2'	iv 118	IV 118	III 40
i' 3'	iii 134	III 134		ii' 3'	iv 119	IV 119	III 41
i' 4'	iii 135	III 135		ii' 4'	iv 120	IV 120	III 42
i' 5'	iii 136	III 136		ii' 5'	iv 121	IV 121	III 43
i' 6'	iii 138	III 138		ii' 6'	iv 122	IV 122	III 44
i' 7'	iv 1	IV 1	III 10	ii' 7'	iv 122/123	IV 122	III 45
i' 8'	iv 2	IV 2	III 11	ii' 8'	iv 123/124	IV 123	III 46
i' 9'	iv 3	IV 3	III 12	ii' 9'	iv 124	IV 124	III 47
i' 10'	iv 4	IV 4	III 13	ii' 10'	iv 125	IV 125	III 48
i' 11'	iv 5	IV 5		ii' 11'	iv 126	IV 126	
i' 12'	iv 6	IV 6	III 14-15	ii' 12'	iv 127	IV 127	
i' 13'	iv 7	IV 7	III 15-16	ii' 13'	iv 127	IV 127	
i' 14'	iv 8	IV 8		ii' 14'	iv 128	IV 128	
i' 15'	iv 9	IV 9	III 17	ii' 15'	iv 129	IV 129	
				ii' 16	iv 130	IV 130	

col.I' (sixième campagne)

...^(i' 1) [J'ai coupé] ses [sorties. Je] lui [ai infligé] [d'innombrables] défaites [en ville et dans la steppe. (Quant aux) autres, ils ont perdu la] vie [à cause de] la peste, [de la famine, (et) de la privation.]

^(i' 5) [(En ce qui concerne) Ummanigaš (Humban-nikaš II), roi d'Elam sur lequel j'avais apposé mes mains (que j'avais installé), [(mais) qui avait accepté des cadeaux de sa part (Šamaš-šuma-ukīn) et qui s'était soulevé pour l'aider, [Tammarītu se ré]volta contre lui et (le) passa par les armes [lui et sa famille].

^(i' 9) [Ensuite, Tammarītu, qui après] Ummanigaš [s'empara du trône] d'Elam [(et) qui ne s'enquit pas du bien-être de] ma [royale maj]esté, [vint en aide à Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (mon)] frère hostile, [et pour combattre] mes troupes [envoya à la hâte] ses forces.

^(i' 15) [À la suite des supplications que j'avais a]dressées [au dieu Aššur et à la déesse Ištar],...

col.II' (septième campagne)

...^(ii' 1) la ville [Sulāya (et) Laḫīra-Dibirīna ont entendu parler] des attaques de mes bataillons [quand je marchais vers l'Elam]. Le rayonnem[ent divin d'Aššur et d'Ištar, mes seigneurs], (et) la peur [de ma royale majesté les ont submergés]. Eux-mêmes, [leur] peuple [(avec) leurs bœufs (et) leur petit bétail], pour [me] rendre hommage, sont arrivés [en Assyrie et ils ont embrassé les pieds de ma royale majesté].

^(ii' 8) La ville Bīt-Imb[ī, précédemment la ville royale] (et) place for[te d'Elam] bloque comme une grande barrière (le passage) vers la terre d'Elam. Sennachérib, roi d'Assyrie, le père du père qui m'avait engendré, l'avait prise] auparavant. Lui, [l'Élamite (Ummanaldašu), une autre ville en face de l'ancienne ville] Bīt-[Imbī, avait édifié] et sa muraille [avait renforcé] (et) élevé...

Les quinze lignes de la première colonne du texte correspondent au texte composite RINAP 5/1.11 col.iii 132-col.iv 9 avec un manque notable de la ligne iii 137. Il faudrait donc postuler que les lignes iii 137 et 138 ont été inscrites ensemble dans ligne 6' du fragment.

Les seize lignes de la deuxième colonne correspondent aux lignes RINAP 5/1.11 col.iv 117-130. Néanmoins, la distribution du texte est perturbée : les lignes 7'-9' et 13'-15' commencent au milieu des lignes du texte standard présenté dans le RINAP 5/1. De cette façon, les lignes ii'.6'-9' ressemblent plutôt à la version F des Annales (RINAP 5/1.11 col.iv 122-124 = BIWA A IV 122-124 = F III 44-47). Cependant, le début de la ligne F III 46 dans la ligne ii'.8' manque et il n'est pas possible de le reconstituer. D'autre part, les lignes ii'.11'-16' correspondent à la seule version A des Annales. Toutefois, il est à noter que la ligne RINAP 5/1.11 iv.127 (A IV 127) est scindée en deux et forme les lignes ii'.12'-13'.

Le fragment apporte certaines variantes par rapport au texte du RINAP 5/1 :

- dans col.i'.8' –šū ajouté après *ū-ras*]-*sib* (même version notée dans BIWA p. 41).
- dans col.i'.15' –u dans *ū*]-*sap-pu-u* au lieu de –ū final (ainsi BIWA p.42)
- dans col.ii'.2' le signe DIB pour noter *tib* au lieu de *tī-ib*
- dans col.ii'.7' les signes GU₄ et UD pour noter la syllabe *qut* dans *im-qut-nim-ma*. BIWA indique une version avec –tū dans les Annales pour A IV 122 (BIWA p. 46). Cependant, l'utilisation du GU₄ comme *qu*, est attestée seulement pour la période d'Ur III (voir dans AOAT 305 p. 337 d'après IMGULA 5 p. 101-102, et dans CDLJ 2003:4 §4.6.1 p. 10).
- dans col.ii'.12' signe EL remplace *il*- habituel (attesté dans BIWA p. 46 en forme : e[l])

Note : Je remercie Ariane Thomas, directrice du Département des Antiquités Orientales et Vincent Blanchard, conservateur responsable de la collection des tablettes cunéiformes, de m'offrir l'opportunité de travailler sur les fragments des prismes conservés au Musée du Louvre.

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88) The Legal Case in StAT 2 173-174: Ethnic Conflict or Property Dispute? — Texts StAT 2 173-174 from Assur and 636/625 BCE convey a court decision regarding Egyptian merchants.¹⁾ The text on the inner tablet (StAT 2 173) is well-preserved and begins with the declaration that “the Egyptian merchants (*tamkāru*) have entered (*erēbu*) the house of Hakubaya as foreign guests (*ubāru*)”, and that some people have “attacked (*ši-a-x ir-qa-pu-u-ni*) the Egyptian merchants in the house of Hakubaya”. The attackers are identified as “Šamaš-reši-išši, priest (*šangū*), Aya-našir, Mar-nuri, Il-saqa’, Umubadi, Nabute –in all five criminals (*sarru*)”. After these statements, the text proceeds by saying that “Hakubaya shall testify (*kānu D*) before the magnates (*rabiū*)”. The date formula of the text is then given, followed by a concluding list of (twelve) witnesses.²⁾ The text on the envelope (StAT 2 174) is partly broken but differs only by having three seal impressions, by having the date formula as the final text element, and by having a slightly different order and composition of the list of witnesses.

The question is: How can this legal case be understood? Was it an ethnic conflict or a property dispute, or both? It is, of course, difficult to make a judgment on this issue based on these isolated and non-contextualized pieces of evidence, but I will nevertheless make an attempt in trying to understand what this legal case was all about in the following paragraphs.

An argument for seeing the legal case as an example of ethnic conflict in Assyria is the Egyptian origins of the merchants contrasted with the six (the text says five) attackers who all have non-African names. The name of Šamaš-reši-išši is Akkadian,³⁾ the name of Aya-našir is Akkadian,⁴⁾ the name of Mar-nuri is Aramaic,⁵⁾ the name of Il-saqa’ is West Semitic,⁶⁾ the name of Umubadi is West Semitic,⁷⁾ and the name of Nabute is Akkadian.⁸⁾ Also, the profession (priest) of Šamaš-reši-išši may indicate that some kind of cultural dynamic was a factor. Moreover, there are other Neo-Assyrians texts that suggest hostility towards Africans.⁹⁾

An argument for seeing the legal case as an example of a property dispute in Assyria is the fact that the Egyptians are defined as merchants. It is then close at hand to propose that the conflict between the two groups revolved around economic matters. Furthermore, Hakubaya, the man in whose house the attack took place, does not conform to the ethnic divide. His name is Akkadian or West Semitic, and he invited some Egyptians into his house. It does not seem to be far-fetched to regard Hakubaya as someone who conducted business with the Egyptian merchants.¹⁰⁾ Moreover, it is interesting to note that the term *sarru* (applied to the six men) can besides “criminal” mean “liar” and (more importantly) “thief”, suggesting that the six men were after the goods that the Egyptian merchants may have had in their possession.¹¹⁾

Probably, the conflict contained both cultural and economic dimensions. It seems to me too much of a coincidence that the two groups are separated by an ethnic divide for ethnicity not to matter, and it also seems to me too much of a coincidence that the Egyptians are defined as merchants for money not to matter. It is unclear how this legal case ended, although the fact that the court decision discussed here labels the six attackers as “criminals” (*sarru*) gives a clear indication. Apparently, there was justice for Egyptians also in their Assyrian exile.¹²⁾

Notes

1. Ass 14671r; A 1894+1896. The texts belong to N31, an archive of Egyptians (PEDERSÉN 1986, 128), and are published by V. DONBAZ and S. PARPOLA in StAT 2, pp. 123-124.

2. After having checked the respective PNA-entries, it is clear that several of the witnesses bear certain (Puṭu-Bašti, Huru, Mušurayu) or likely/possibly (Qišišim, Paši) Egyptian names.

3. See the PNA-entry by A.M. BAGG (PNA 3/II, p. 1209). This person is not mentioned elsewhere.

4. Apparently, this person is not brought up in PNA, at least not under Aia- or Aya-.

5. See the PNA-entry by K. KESSLER (PNA 2/II, p. 741). This person is not mentioned elsewhere.

6. See the PNA-entry by M. JURSA (PNA 2/I, p. 1209). This person is not mentioned elsewhere.

7. See the PNA-entry by E. LIPÍŃSKI (PNA 3/II, p. 1386). This person is not mentioned elsewhere.

8. See the PNA-entry by K. RADNER (PNA 2/II, p. 897). This person (Nabūtu 2.) is not mentioned elsewhere, although RADNER suggests that he may be identical with the palace slave from Assur, Nabūtu 3., or with the goldsmith from Assur, Nabūtu 4., or with a man from Assur (Nabūtu 5.) whose biographic details are unclear.

9. See e.g. the letters SAA 13 13, SAA 13 144, and SAA 19 22. In SAA 13 13, a scribe of the Ashur temple seems to have been accused by the king of having withheld grain from some anonymous Kushites (and Egyptians?). In SAA 13 144, a priest(?) of the Ishtar temple in Arbela seems to report to the king of a prophecy in which the act of giving wood, a grove, and some other thing (lost due to a lacuna) to some anonymous Egyptians is improper. In SAA 19 22,

an Assyrian governor in Phoenicia informs the king that he has instructed the local merchants not to sell any timber to the Egyptians or to the Philistines.

10. See the PNA-entry by C. AMBOS (PNA 2/I, p. 440). This person is not mentioned elsewhere. The word *ubāru* can here be translated as “stranger, foreign guest, resident alien, guest-friend” (CAD U-W, pp. 10-12).

11. For these three translations of the epithet in question, see CAD S, pp. 180-184. Of course, this theory is rather speculative. The word *šihū*, which may be identified in the writing *ši-a-x* presented above, simply means “strike, attack, raid, razzia” (CAD Š II, pp. 416-417). V. DONBAZ and S. PARPOLA (StAT 2, p. 124, n. 173) propose that the following phrase *ir-qa-pu-u-ni* should be read *iṣ-qa-pu-u-ni*, thus identifying the verb *zaqāpu*, which means “to attack (someone)” (AEAD, p. 133).

12. The marked dichotomies in Assyrian royal inscriptions between Assyrians and foreigners and between heroes and villains identified by C. ZACCAGNINI (1982) and F.M. FALES (1982) are not particularly well-represented in mundaner sources, which rather suggest a multicultural milieu and a comparatively relaxed view on ethnicity, at least in Neo-Assyrian times (SAGGS 1982, POSTGATE 1989, KARLSSON 2019).

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89) BM 36320 + BM 37695: *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* tablet 1 — BM 36320 (1880-06-17, 46) is a Late Babylonian fragment from Babylon with text from the first tablet of the poem *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*. It joins BM 37695 (1880-06-17, 1452). That fragment was published as source “I.B” in Takayoshi Oshima, *Babylonian Poems of Pious Sufferers: Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi and the Babylonian Theodicy*, 2014 (copy on plate III) and used as manuscript “rr” in Amar Annus and Alan Lenzi, *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi: The Standard Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer*, SAACT VII, 2010. The obverse of the joined fragment gives lines 12-36, and the reverse lines 96-114. The join proves that this source is a single column tablet, leaving 11 lines missing at the top, and 15 lines missing at the bottom. The joined source covers only the text of the poem’s first tablet. The other Late Babylonian source from Babylon for the first tablet is a tablet with three columns on each side (BM 32208++; source I.A/jk; published by A. Lenzi and A. Annus, *JNES* 70: 181–205 with photographs on pp. 182-83). That tablet originally covered the entire text of the poem, whereas other manuscripts spread the text over five tablets. Other Late Babylonian single column tablets from Babylon cover the text of tablets II (BM 38067; 1880-06-17, 1896; source II.B/qq) and tablet V (BM 34650; Sp. II 133; source V.B/uu) of the poem.

BM 36320 + 37695 measures 73 × 77.5 × 28 mm (width × height × thickness). Contrary to the usual custom the obverse of the tablet is more curved than the reverse. I publish this join by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, with restorations based on the edition of Oshima.

obverse

- | | | |
|----|----|---|
| 12 | 1' | ¹ rab ¹ -b[a-a-ti rit-ta-šú ú-kaš-šu mi-i-ta] |
| 13 | 2' | ¹ ša ina ¹ lib ¹ -ba-a ¹ -t[i-šú up-ta-at-ta-a qab-ra-tu ₄] |
| 14 | 3' | i-nu-šú ina ka-r[a-še-e ú-šat-bi ma-aq-ta ₅] |
| 15 | 4' | ik-kil-mu-ú i-n[é-es-su-ú ^d LÁMA u ^d ÀLAD] |
| 16 | 5' | ip-pal-la-as-m[a a-na šá is-ki-pu-uš DINGIR-šú i-saḫ-ḫur-šú] |
| 17 | 6' | ak-ša-at a-na su[r]- ¹ ra en-net-ta-šú ka ¹ -bit-tú |
| 18 | 7' | ik-kar-riṭ-ma za ¹ -am ¹ -ru i-ta-a-ri a-lit-tuš-šú |

19 8' ¹i¹-du-ud-ma ri-¹ma¹-a-MU ú-gan-na
 20 9' [k]i-i ÁB AMAR it-¹ta¹-na-as-¹har ár-ki-šú
 21 10' [za]q-ta ni-¹ta-tu-¹šú¹-sa¹-¹ha-lu zu-um-ri
 22 11' [pa-áš-¹hu š]i-¹in-du¹-šú¹ ú-bal-la¹ nam-tar-ri
 23 12' [i-qab-bi-ma gíl-la-ti] uš-raš-šú
 24 13' [ina UD i-šir-ti-š]ú¹ ú-ta¹(KÍD)-ta-ri il-t[i] ¹<u> an¹-ni
 25 14' [šu-ú-ma ú-tuk-ku] ¹ra-¹i¹-bu ú-šar-ši
 26 15' [ina te-e-šu uš]-¹tap-pa-ru šu¹-ru-up-pu-ú u hur-ba-šú
 27 16' [muš-mid¹-di RA-ti ^dI]ŠKUR mi-¹hi-¹iš¹-tu⁴ ^dER.RA
 28 17' [mu-sal-lim DINGIR u ^dI]15 šab-ba-su-ú-tu⁴
 29 18' [be-lu⁴ mim-ma] lib-bi DINGIR i-bar-ri
 30 19' [ma-na-ma ina DINGIR.ME]Š a-lak-ta-¹šú ul¹ i!(IL)-di!(KUR)
 31 20' [^dAMAR.UTU mi-ma ina li]b-bi DINGIR i-bar-¹ri¹
 32 21' [DINGIR a-a-um-ma ul] ¹i¹-lam-mad ¹è-en-¹šú¹
 33 22' [a-na ki-i kab-ta-at Š]U-su lib-¹ba¹-šú re-m[é-ni]
 34 23' [a-na ki-i gaš-šu GIŠ.TUKUL-šú ka-b]at-¹ta¹-šú muš-neš-š[at]
 35 24' [šá la lib-bi-šú man-nu mi-¹hi-iš-t]a-¹šú li¹-šap-š[i-i]b
 36 25' [e-la kab-ta-ti-i-šú ia-a-ú li-šá-l]il qá[t-su]
 (remainder of the obverse is missing)

reverse

96 1' [a-na šá iq-bu-ú a-h]u-l[ap ha-mu¹-su mu-ú-tu]
 97 2' [šá la ka-šim-ma i-t]e-mi DIN š[e-du-uš]
 98 3' [u lar-ši a-lik i-d]i ga-mé-lu ul ¹a¹-[mur]
 99 4' [a-na ši-in-di u bir]-tu⁴ ú-za-¹i-¹zu mim-mu-¹ú-a¹
 100 5' [ina pi-i na-ri-ia ú-ma]n-¹di-lu¹ sa-ki-¹ki¹?¹
 101 6' [ina qer-bé-ti-ia] ¹ú¹-šá-as-su-ú a-la-la
 102 7' [ki-ma URU na-ki-r]i uš-qa-mé-em URU
 103 8' [par-ši-ia ú-šá]l-qu-ú šá-nam-ma
 104 9' [ù] ¹ina pel¹-lu-di-¹i¹ a-ha-a ¹uš¹-zi-iz-¹zu
 105 10' [u⁴-m]u šu-ta-nu-¹hu¹ mu-ši ger-ra-an-ni
 106 11' [I]TU qí-ta-a-a-¹ú¹-lu i-dir-tú MU.AN.NA
 107 12' ki-ma sim-mu a-dam-mu-um g[i-m]ir u⁴-mi-ia
 108 13' za-am-ma-ru ¹qu¹-bi-e ú-šá-a[š]-rap
 109 14' i-na bit-tak-ki-i ¹>RI< šub¹-ra-a IGI¹-[a]-a
 110 15' ha-šiš i-na di-¹ma¹-[t]i ¹šur¹-ru-pa <ú>suk-¹ka¹-a-[a]
 111 16' uš-šal-lim pa-[ni-ia] a-di-ra-ti lib-bi-i[a]
 112 17' UZU.MEŠ-ia [ú-tar-ri-q]u pi-rit-¹tu⁴ u ha¹-t[¹u⁴]
 113 18' ¹ú¹-¹x x¹-[x lib-bi-ia] ¹gi¹-tal-lu¹-[ti ir]-tu-b[i]
 114 19' [dan-na ki-ma ša-rap i-šá]-¹a-tú¹
 (remainder of the reverse is missing)

Comments

The scribe of BM 36320+ is generally less careful in writing the grammatically correct vowels at the end of words than the other scribes, probably because he was influenced by contemporary spoken Akkadian. This would also explain why he misunderstood words (ll. 18, 24, 30, 100 and 109) and replaced an expression of the original poem (l. 113). He also missed a sign (l. 24, 110).

When giving variant writings in the following comments I shall quote the sigla from Oshima's edition and add the general ductus (early NA, NA and LB) and origin (Assur, Ҳузиріна, Kalḫu, Nineveh, Sippar) of the manuscripts in question.

- 13 lib-¹ba-a¹-t[i]: The scribe of BM 35320+ is the only one who writes *libbāti*, “anger, wrath”, plene.
 15 ik-kil-mu-ú: A manuscript from Sippar has [ik-ki]-lem-mu-ú (source I.F: LB Sippar) and one from Kalḫu has ik-ki-lem-mu-ma (source I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
 17 en-net-ta-šú: Two other manuscripts have *en-net-ta-šú* (I.C: LB Sippar; I.Q: NA Kalḫu), one other scribe has *en-né-ta-šú* (source I.F: LB Sippar).
¹ka¹-bit-tú: A source from Sippar has *ka-bit-ti* (source I.F: LB) as the last word of the line.
 18 za-¹am¹-ru: Other scribes write *za-mar* (I.C: LB Sippar; I.F: LB Sippar) or *za-mar-ma* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
i-ta-a-ri a-lit-tuš-šú: The scribe of BM 36320+ is the only one who writes *itāri*, “he turns (into)”, plene.
 The scribe of BM 36320+ seems to have misunderstood *alittuš*, the late form of a locative-terminative *alittiš*, “like a mother” (see George and Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 60: 198), written *a-lit-tuš* in the other manuscripts (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q:

- early NA Kalḫu), when he concludes the word with the possessive suffix –šú. Or perhaps he simply preferred the word to end in a vowel.
- 19 *ri-ma¹-a*-MU: Only one other Late Babylonian manuscript writes the Sumerian possessive suffix MU (I.F: LB Sippar), while a Neo-Assyrian scribe has the Akkadian *ri-ma-a-šu* (I.Q: early NA).
- 20 ÁB AMAR: The other scribes write this syllabically as *a-r[a]-a[h] bu-ri* (I.F: LB Sippar) and *a-ra-aḫ bu-ú-ri* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
it-ta¹-na-as-ḫar: Other manuscripts have *it-ta-na-as-ḫa-ra* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu) and *it-ta-na-as-ḫa-ru* (I.F: LB Sippar) respectively.
ár-ki-šú: The scribe of BM 36320+ writes *arki*, “after”, syllabically, while the other scribes choose the logographic writing, EGIR-ia (I.F: LB Sippar) and EGIR-šú (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
- 21 [za]q-ta: The scribe from Sippar (I.F: LB) also writes *zaqta* with the sign *zaq*, while the scribe from Kalḫu writes *za-aq* (I.Q: early NA).
ú-saḫ-ḫa-lu: The other manuscripts have *ú-saḫ-ḫa-la* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
- 22 *ú-bal-laṭ*: The scribe of BM 36320+ skips the end vowel, while the other scribes have *ú-bal-la-ṭu* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
nam-tar-ri: Other manuscripts have *nam-ta-ra* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu) and ^d*nam-tar* (I.F: LB Sippar).
- 23 *uš-raš-šú*: Source I.Q (early NA Kalḫu) has *uš-raš-ši*.
- 24 *ú-taṭ(KÍD)-ṭa-ri il-[ti]* ^r<u> *an¹-ni*: Two other sources use the phrase *e²il-ta u anna paṭāru*, “to absolve an obligation and sin”, *up-ta-aṭ-ṭa-ru e²-il-ti ù an-nu* (I.F: LB Sippar) and *up-ta-aṭ-ṭa-ru e²-il-tu₄ u an-nu* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu), while the scribe of BM 36320+ omits the copula, *u*, “and”.
 Writing *utaṭṭari* instead of *ubtaṭṭaru* to the verb seems to have arisen from mishearing.
- 27 *mī-ḫi-¹iš¹-tu₄*: Other sources write *mī-ḫi-iš-ti* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.L: NA Nineveh) and *me-ḫi-iš-ti* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
- 28 [^d15]: The scribe from Nineveh (I.L: NA) also writes Ištar with the logogram ^d15; other sources record the name syllabically *iš₈-ta-ri* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu) and *i[š₈-ta]r* (I.F: LB Sippar, reading after George and Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 60: 192).
šab-ba-su-ú-tu₄: The other scribes write *šab-ba-su-ú-ti* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
- 29 DINGIR: The other manuscripts have the plural DINGIR.MEŠ (I.F: LB Sippar; I.L: NA Nineveh; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
- 30 ^r*i*!(IL)¹-*di*!(KUR): The scribe of BM 36320+ seems to have written *il-lat* instead of *i-di*, “he knows”.
- 31 DINGIR: The other manuscripts have the plural DINGIR.MEŠ (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
- reverse
- 97 [*i-t*]*e-mi*: The other sources have *i-te-me* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.O: NA Assur; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu; I.R: NA Ḫuzirīna).
 DIN: Instead of the logogram DIN, other scribes have *ba-la-ṭu* (I.F: LB Sippar) and the logographic TI.LA (I.R: NA Ḫuzirīna).
- 98 *ga-mé-lu*: Other scribes write *ga-ma-lu* (I.F: LB Sippar), *ga-me-la* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu) and *ga-me-lu* (I.R: NA Ḫuzirīna).
- 99 [*bir*]-*tu₄*: The other Late Babylonian scribe from Sippar also writes *bir-tu₄* (I.F), while the earlier scribes write *bi-ir-ti* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu) and *bir-ti* (I.R: NA Ḫuzirīna) respectively.
mim-mu-¹ú-a¹: This is written *mim-ma-a-a* by two scribes (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu; I.R: NA Ḫuzirīna).
- 100 [*ma*]*n¹-di-lu¹*: The scribe of BM 36320+ writes this instead of *man-di-du*, which may have arisen from mishearing, *sa-ki-ki¹?*: One other source has *sa-ki-ki* (I.F: LB Sippar), while the other scribes write *sa-ki-ka* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu; I.R: NA Ḫuzirīna).
- 101 *a-la-la*: Two Neo-Assyrian scribes add the determinative to the god Alālu, ^d*a-la-la* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu; I.R: NA Ḫuzirīna).
- 102 URU: One other scribe writes URU (I.R: NA Ḫuzirīna), which another writes syllabically *a-l[i]* (I.F: LB Sippar); two scribes add the possessive suffix URU.MU (I.O: NA Assur; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
- 104 ^r*pel¹-lu-di¹i¹*: The other scribes write *pel-lu-di-ia* (I.O: NA Assur) and *pel-lu-de-e-a* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
^r*uš¹-zi-iš-zu*: Two other sources have *uš-ziš-zu* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
- 105 *ger-ra-an-ni*: Other scribes write *ger-ra-nu* (I.F: LB Sippar) and *ger-ra-¹ni¹* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
- 106 MU.AN.NA: The early Neo-Assyrian scribe from Kalḫu uses the same logogram (I.Q); other scribes write this syllabically *šat-ti* (I.F: LB Sippar) and *šat-t[ú]* (I.O: NA Assur).
- 107 *sim-mu*: The other Late Babylonian scribe from Sippar writes the same (I.F), while the other scribes have *su-um-me* (I.O: NA Assur) and *su-um-mi* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
- 108 *za-am-ma-ru*: Other scribes write [*za-am*]-*ma-a-ru* (I.O: NA Assur) and *za-ma-riš* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).
^r*qu¹-bi-e*: Other manuscripts have *qu-bi-ia* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu) and *qu-ub-bi-ia* (I.O: NA Assur).
- 109 *bit-tak-ki-i*: The other scribes write *bi-tak-ke-e* (I.O: NA Assur) and *bi-tak-ki-i* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu). The scribe of BM 36320+ adds RI, obviously misunderstanding the plene writing in *bit-tak-ki-i* and the

following stative *šubrâ*, “to cause to see”, that is written by other scribes *šub-ra-a* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu) and *šu-ub-ra-a* (I.O: NA Assur).

IGI^{III}-[a]-a: Only one other scribe writes this syllabically *i-na-a-a* (I.F: LB Sippar).

110 *šur^L-ru-pa*: Only one other manuscript has *šur-ru-pa* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu), the others have *šur-ru-pu* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.O: NA Assur). The scribe of BM 36320+ forgot to write the prefix *ú-* of the following verb.

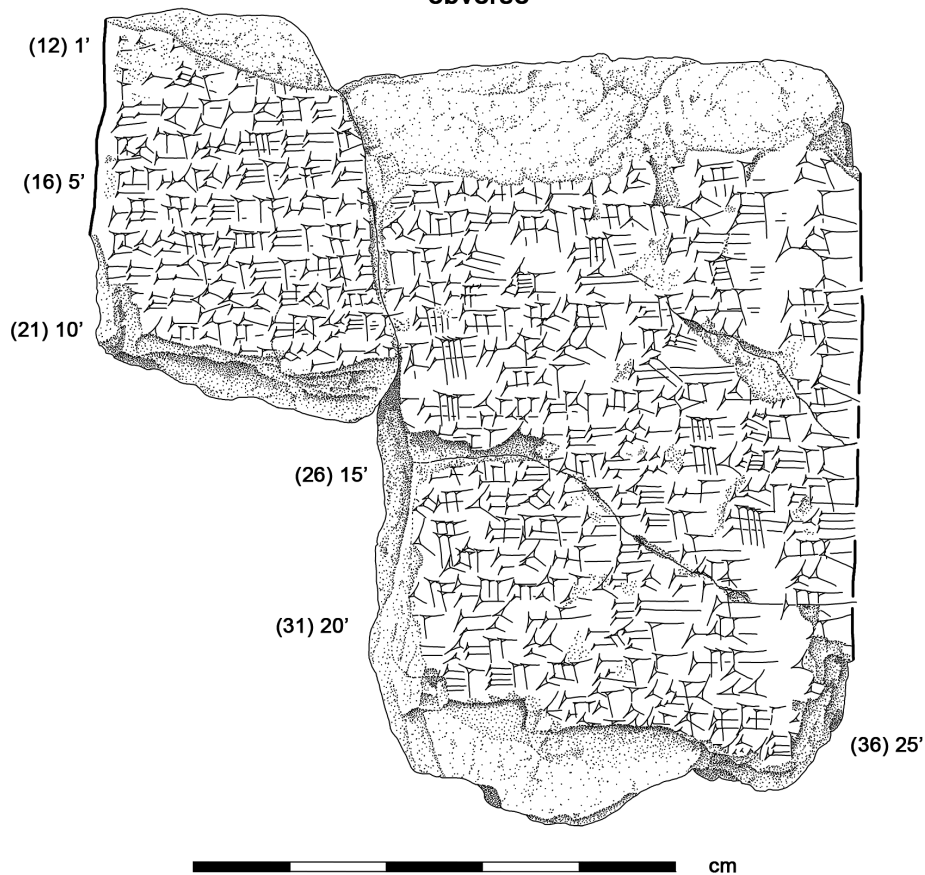
111 *a-di-ra-ti*: The other manuscripts have *a-di-rat* (I.F: LB Sippar; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).

113 *ú^L-x x^L-[x]*: I cannot interpret the traces at the beginning of the line that replace the expression *i-na-a-ti lib-bi-ia* of the other manuscripts.

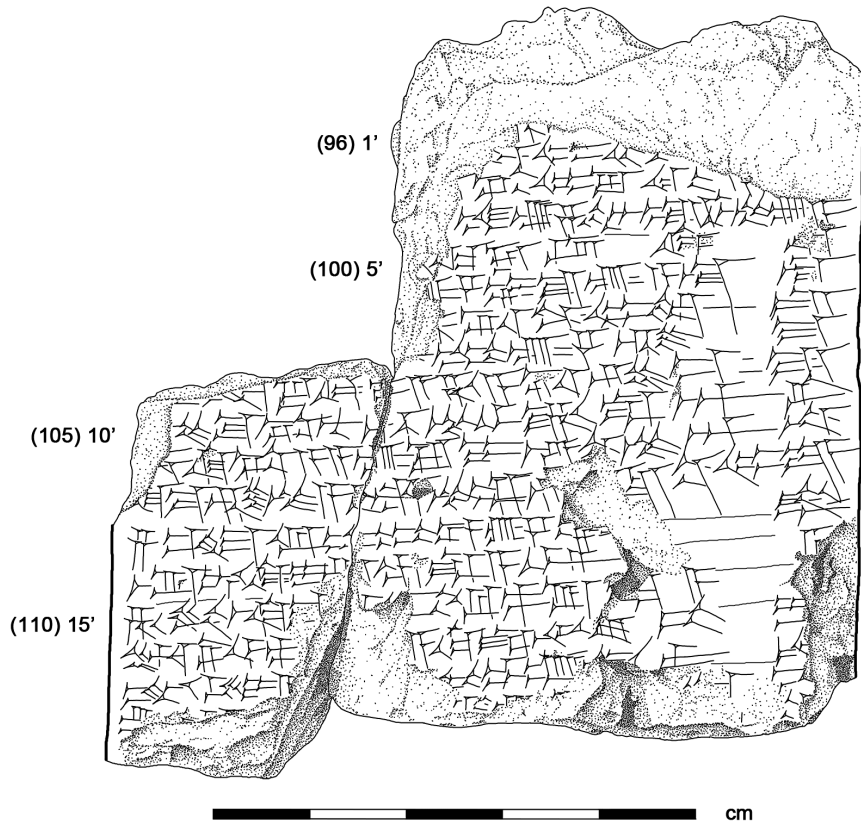
[ir]-tu-b[i]: Other scribes have *ir-tu-bu-ú* (I.F: LB Sippar) and *ir-tu-ba* (I.G: LB unknown origin; I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).

114 *[i-šá]-a-tu^L*: Other scribes write *i-šá-tu₄* (I.F: LB Sippar), *i-šá-a-ta* (I.G: LB unknown origin) and *i-šá-ti* (I.Q: early NA Kalḫu).

BM 36320 + 37695
obverse



BM 36320 + 37695
obverse



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90) A Neo-Babylonian Real Estate Sale from Nippur (20 N 3139)¹⁾ — This fragment of a baked tablet was found by Dr. Abbas Alizadeh, Director of the Nippur expedition, while surveying the northern slopes of Tablet Hill in 2019 during the first season of excavations at Nippur after a 29-year hiatus. The fragment measures 3x3 cm. The tablet can be dated to the Neo-Babylonian period²⁾ and its inscription concerns a real estate sale. The beginning of the text is not preserved, and only the first half (or less) of nine lines on the obverse are imperfectly preserved.

The first preserved lines (1'-5') provide part of the usual description of the location of the real estate; the complete description would have contained the total area, the type of property, its location, and a list and measurements of the neighboring properties along with the names of their owners. The preserved text begins with a description of the shorter sides of the property. Both short sides of the property are 32 cubits (or about 16 m), making the plot at least 256 m² (2755 sq ft).³⁾ The house is located adjacent to a “broad street” described as the “walkway of the gods and the king,” possibly referring to the not-yet-revealed procession street leading to the Ekur or another major street of the city.⁴⁾

The operative clause (6'ff.) appears after a dividing line. The buyer, Nabû-šumu-līšer, buys the real estate for 2½ minas⁵⁾ from a certain Enlil-ēriba. Because all names in this text lack preserved patronyms and ancestor names, it is difficult to establish archival connections or an approximate date for this text. Still, three-tier genealogies, as suggested by A-šur₂ ša₂ in this text (6'), do not appear in Nippur before 634 BCE.⁶⁾

At the beginning of the text, five or more lines are missing. The length of the original lines cannot be reconstructed with certainty. In line 6' and 7', the father's name and the family name are missing, so likely more than half of the width of the surviving lines is lost.

obv.

1' [...] ^{[i]m} x [...] [...]
 2' [3]2' *ina* 1 KUŠ₃ 'SAG¹.[KI AN.TA ^{im}...]
 3' [D]A E₂ ^{md}MAŠ-^rša¹-^rbit¹-^rŠU¹ [...]
 4' 32 *ina* 1 KUŠ₃ SAG.KI 'KI¹.[TA ^{im}...]
 5' DA SILA DAGAL *mu-taq* DING[IR.MEŠ ^u LUGAL...]

6' ^{md}AG-MU-SI.SA₂ A-š^u₂ 'ša²¹ [...]
 7' *it-ti* ^{md}en-lil₂-SU[^{ba}...]
 8' *ki-ma* 2½ MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR 'x¹ [...*maḥīra*]
 9' 'im¹-^rbe²¹-^re¹-^rma¹ 'i²¹-^rša²¹-[*am*²...]
 10' [...]

(2'-3') 32 by the cubit measure the [upper] short side [on the (east/west/north/south)], next to the house of Ninurta-šābit-^rqāṭī¹ [...], (4'-5') 32 by the cubit measure the lo[wer] short side [on the east/west/north/south)], next to the broad street, walkway of the go[d] [and the king...]

(6'-9') (The buyer) Nabû-šumu-līšer, son of [...], [descendant of...], together with (the seller) Enlil-erība, [son of..., descendant of...], determined/declared [a price] and paid 2½ minas of silver.

Commentary

(3') The name is also attested in BE 8/1: 78 r. 16, but this is likely not the same person.

(4') The name Nabû-šumu-līšer is attested in BE 8/1: 10 (/Rāši-ili) and 109 (/Marduk-zēra-ibni //Kidin-[...]).

(6'-9') The operative clause is only partially preserved. The *maḥīra imbēma*-clause is introduced by *kīma* instead of the typical *kī*. The reconstruction of the following *išām* is uncertain.

Notes

1. I thank the Oriental Institute, Christopher Woods and Abbas Alizadeh for the permission to publish this tablet; Heather Baker and Martha Roth for reading and commenting on an advanced draft of this article, and Matthew Stolper and John Nielsen for checking the prosopography.

2. The form of this sale contract is typical for the Neo-Babylonian period (see M. Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents: Typology, Contents and Archives*, GMTR 1, Münster, 2005, 27-29, and Heather D. Baker, "A Waste of Space? Unbuilt Land in the Babylonian Cities of the First Millennium BC," *Iraq* 71 (2009): 90 fig. 1. The present communication uses the terminology introduced by Baker for the description of houses in fig. 1. The paleography is Neo-Babylonian. It is notable that the signs are elongated and the micro-tubes of the reed stylus well visible. The personal names and the use of the expression A-š^u₂ 'ša² (obv. 6') to indicate filiation support a Neo-Babylonian dating.

3. The minimum area here is calculated as a square via the equation 16 x 16 m. As the long sides are usually longer than the front sides, we can be certain that the house actually exceeded 256 m². For the Neo-Babylonian surface measures, see Heather D. Baker "Babylonian Land Survey in Socio-Political Context," in *The Empirical Dimension of Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, edited by Gebhard J. Selz: 293-323, Wiener Offene Orientalistik 6. Wien, Münster 2011, 309-311. The units are given in the "length-cubit convention," see pp. 314-315.

4. On *mūtaq ilī u šarri*, see CAD M₂: 298 s.v. *mūtaqu*, mng. c. The street name is so far attested for Uruk, Kiš, Babylon, and Borsippa. See also Andrew R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Text*, OLA 40, Leuven, 1992, 363. This street is not indicated on the Nippur topographical map. Heather D. Baker "From Street Altar to Palace: Reading the Built Environment of Urban Babylonia," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, edited by Radner, Karen and Robson, Eleanor, 533-52, Oxford, 2011, 542-43 states that the urban elite preferred proximity to the centers of power and integration into the "network of public space."

5. In tablets with the "length-cubit convention," the unit price is usually not specified, see Baker, "Babylonian Land Survey," 315.

6. John P. Nielsen, *Sons and Descendants: A Social History of Kin Groups and Family Names in the Early Neo-Babylonian Period*, 747-626 BC, CHANE 43, Leiden, 2010, 225.



Nippur 2019
20 N 3139

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91) Philological Notes on Akkadian *barāmu*, *šapû*, and *šarāpu* — The motivation to write down these reflections arose from my work on the investigations by the first decipherers of Akkadian and the cuneiform writing system in which it was written, and from engagement with recent publications on colours, dyeing, and textile terminologies in the ancient Near East.

1. *barāmu*, *birmu*, *mubarrimu*

Akk. *barāmu*, “to be multicoloured, variegated”; *burrumu*, “to colour, twine in several colours” (CAD B 103); “to make multicoloured; to weave” (CDA 38); *barmu*, “multicoloured”; *birmu*, “trim woven of several colours” (CAD B 257), “multicoloured cloth” (CDA 45); *burrumu*, f. *burrum/ntu*, “multicoloured, speckled” (CDA 49);¹⁾ *mubarrimu*, “worker of coloured textiles; weaver”.

When Edward Hincks prepared a revised translation of the inscriptions on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III for the Trustees of the British Museum in 1854 (MS BL Add.22097, fols 12-20; see Cathcart 2021: 62 n. 1), he had little success in grasping the meaning of the words in Epigraph 4, TÚG *lu-bul-ti bir-me u* GADA.MEŠ, which today can be translated “garments with multicoloured trim, and linen (garments)” (Grayson 1996: RIMA 3, A.0.102.90). He had previously suggested that the words meant “cloth dyed *crimson* and *yellow*” (Hincks 1853: 426), but in the translation which he presented to the Trustees of the British Museum, he rendered the text “cloth dyed with *birmi* and *kum*” and gave the following comment in the notes:

The word “dyed” has its meaning determined from the Hebrew, the root being obviously *ṭbl*. That the substance dyed was cloth appears from the sculptures below this epigraph. It is represented on the second side of the obelisk as borne by two men on a pole. Of the two words which follow, and which seem to be dyestuffs, the first *birmi* may be *vermi*, “worm”, corresponding to the Hebrew *tôla’* and to kermes. Or else it may be connected with the Arabic *barama*, which signifies parti-coloured. This, however, seems to be a secondary signification, the root implying primarily twisting together. I am inclined to think that the meaning is crimson, but prefer retaining the Assyrian word (MS BL Add.22097, fol. 20r).

This note is interesting for revealing how Hincks was sometimes led astray. In an earlier publication, he had suggested the reading *ṭibbulti* (for *lubulti*, a word which he had not yet identified), assigning the

value *ṭib* to the first sign, and associating the word with Heb. and Aram. *ṭbl*, “to dip, immerse” (Hincks 1852: 361). His assumption that *ṭbl* could mean “to dye” is not supported by evidence. He also failed to recognise that the TÚG sign was a determinative. In the same publication Hincks proposed that *birmu* was the Indo-European equivalent of Heb. *twl*, and it was for this reason that he thought *birmu* meant “crimson”. It is surprising that he did not think of the Bib. Heb. hapax legomenon *brmym*, pl. only, “multicoloured trim (or cloth)”, in Ezek 27:24. When Jules Oppert, Hincks’s correspondent and rival decipherer, came across *lu-bul-ti bir-me* in an inscription of Sargon II, he accepted Hincks’s incorrect reading *tibbulti*, but correctly associated Akk. *birmu* with Heb. *brmym*, “ordinairement interprété comme signifiant une étoffe tissée de deux matières différentes” (Oppert & Ménant 1863: 213).² He pointed out that the Akkadian and Hebrew words could be explained by reference to Ar. *barama* and related nouns. It is remarkable that neither Hincks nor Oppert noted that even before the decipherment of Akkadian Gesenius rendered Heb. *brmym*, “vestes polymitae” (Gesenius 1835: I, 244). The information on the Arabic verb *barama* and related nouns which is given in Gesenius’s *Thesaurus philologus* and in the multiple editions of his *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch* is more or less the same as that found in Arabic dictionaries today. See Ar. *barama*, “to twist, twine (a rope)”, and form IV with the same meanings; *barīm*, “rope; string, cord, twine” (Wehr 1971: 55); *mubram*, “a garment, or piece of cloth, of which the thread is twisted of two yarns, or distinct twists” (Lane 195).³

Thavapalan’s study of Akk. *birmu*, “multicoloured trim”, and *barmu*, “multicoloured”, has a lot of interesting detail (Thavapalan 2020: 79-89). On *birmu* she writes (88): “it denotes a fringe or trim that was made by weaving together several dyed wools and was subsequently attached to textiles”; and “naturally pigmented fleece of different hues could be woven together”. She also quotes words from an Old Assyrian letter to support her view that “multicoloured” and “dyed” were not the same thing: TÚG *burrumam u šinītam la taša’amanim*, “do not buy multicoloured or dyed cloth for me” (TCL 19 69:21-22; CAD Š/3 47). She thinks *birmu* may designate a more expensive piece of textile, which was manufactured by a specialist known as *išpar birmi*, “the ‘weaver of multicoloured cloth’” (Thavapalan 2020: 88; see CAD I-J 253). For a pertinent example of usage, see the text *išpar birmi išpar kitē ina panīya yānu*, “there is no weaver of multi-coloured cloth with me nor weaver of linen” (CT 22 57:6). (On weaving in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, see Gaspa 2018: 67-92; and on the production of linen, Quillien 2014.) It is remarkable that Thavapalan does not refer to Ar. *barama*, *barīm*, and *mubram*, or Heb. *brmym*, but mentions Ar. *ḥābaru*, “variegated cloth”, and other Arabic (and Ethiopic) words, noting that they are not etymologically related to Akk. *barmu* and *birmu*. Finally, Gaspa has some interesting remarks on the role of the *mubarrimu*:

Various specialized weavers operated in the Assyrian workshops, one of whom was probably the *mubarrimu*. This profession has been connected in some dictionaries [CAD M/2 158; AEAD 66] with the operation of dyeing, but the derivation of the title from the verb *burrumu*, “twine in several colours” makes clear that this craftsman probably fabricated woven textiles from threads or cloth parts of different colours (Gaspa 2018: 77).

In a Neo-Assyrian list of professions, *mubarrimu*, “a weaver, or worker of coloured textiles”, is followed by *mušappiu*, “a dyer” (MSL XII 240) and it is to *šapû* and related terms that we now turn.

2. *šab/pû, šāpiu, mušappiu*

Akk. *šab/pû*, “to soak, drench” (CDA 333); “to bathe, soak (an object)” (CAD Š 45-46); *šāpiu*, “dyer”; *šubītu*, fem. noun, NB, “dyed wool”; “dyeing” (AHw 1108; CAD Š 228); *mušappiu*, “dyer” (AHw 678; CAD M/2 241); *šīpu*, “soaking”; “dyeing” of brick, textile (AHw 1104; CAD Š 205). The primary meaning of *šab/pû* is “to soak”, but it is used in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods with the meaning “to dye” (Thavapalan 2020: 44, 55).

The *mušappiu* is well attested in Neo-Assyrian texts: for example, *ṁta-bal-a-a LÚ.mu-šap-pi-ú*, “Tabalayū, dyer” (SAA 12, 65:4); *ina UGU ši-pi [0] [iq-ṭ]ar-bu LÚ.ša-pu-u*, “The dyers have [beg]un to dye” (SAA 5/2, 296:2-3). A rare instance of *mušappītu*, “female dyer” has only surfaced in recent decades after a re-examination of the British Museum tablet K 992. The first copy of this tablet was published in 1912 (Waterman 1912: 16-17), but it received little attention until Jas made a new copy of the text, following a suggestion by Karlheinz Deller (Jas 1990). The tablet is a letter about the amount of silver which is required to pay wages to four merchants and their spouses, and to one female dyer. In the most recent edition of the letter, line 10 reads: 1 MÍ.mu.šap-pi-tú 1/2 MA.NA [], “One female dyer: half a mina”

(SAA 16, 54:10). Gaspa regards this rare example of *mušappītu* as evidence that women were also involved in dyeing (Gaspa 2018: 62). The importance of the economic role of women in textile production during the first millennium BC is now better understood (Quillien 2016).

Obvious Semitic cognates of Akk. *šab/pū* are (a) Aram. and Syr. *šb'*, “to moisten, dip, dye”; *šb'*, *šb'* (šēba', šeb'ā), “colour”; *šb'*, *šb'* (šabbā', šabbā'ā), “dye”; Aram. *šb'nyn* (pl.), “coloured material, garments”;⁴⁾ (b) Ar. *šabağa*, “to dye, stain (e.g. a fabric), colour, tint”; “to dip (something in water)”; *šibğ*, pl. *ašbāğ*, “colour, dye, dyestuff; pigment”, and *šibğah* and *šibāğ*, pl. *'ašbiğah*, with similar meanings (Wehr 1971: 502; Lane 1648; Dozy I, 816). A noteworthy example of the usage of *šb'* in Official Aramaic occurs in TAD B2.6 R.7, *lbš 1 zy 'mr ḥdt ḥṭb šb' ydyn*, “One new woolen garment striped with hand-dyed colour”.⁵⁾

A separate root *šb'* is attested in the Ugaritic topographical name *ḥr-šb'*, which is also found with the syllabic writing URU *ḥu-ur-šu-<bu>-i* (DUL 402). The name probably means “lair of a hyena” (Astour 1975: 289 no. 45). Heb. *gy ḥšb'ym* in 1 Sam 13:18 may mean “Valley of the Hyenas”. If the Hebrew hapax legomenon *šbw'* in Jer 12:9 means “hyena”, it must be cognate with Ar. *ḏab'*, *ḏabu'*, pl. *dibā'*, *'aḏbu'*, “hyena” (Wehr 1971: 535). It may also be related to Eth. *š'b*, “wild animal, especially hyena” (Dilman 1865: 1305, “*bestia rapax*, in specie *hyaena*”). Gradwohl (1963: 61) relates it to *šb'*, “to dye, colour”: “eig. die Farbige, farbig Gestreifte”. However, the comparative evidence shows that two different roots, I *šb'* and II *šb'* must be distinguished.

3. *šarāpu*

Akk. *šarāpu*, “to burn, fire”; “dye (red)”; G “to smelt and refine” metal; “to fire, bake” clay tablet, brick; “to dye” textiles, ivory, leather, mountain with red (colour), blood etc. D “to burn (up)” drug, person in fire; of stomach “give burning pain”; of cheeks “to burn” with tears; “to dye (red)”; N “to be fired, reddened” (CDA 334; cf. AHW 1083-1084). There is an extensive discussion of *šarāpu* in Thavapalan 2020: 55-63.

The unsatisfactory nature of having two entries, *šarāpu* A, “to refine” metals by fire; “to fire” bricks; “to burn” (intrans), and *šarāpu* B, “to dye red, dye”, in CAD Š 102-104, is illustrated further by the note at the end of the entry for *širiptu*, “burn (a disease)”: “While the Sum. equivalents connect *širiptu* with *šarāpu* A, to burn, in the med. ref., *širiptu* may refer to a red spot and be connected with *šarāpu* B, [to dye red, dye]” (CAD Š 207). For *širiptu*, “reddening, discolouration of the skin”? see AHW 1105; CDA 339.

In a fragment of an unpublished paper on “Hebrew Roots Compared with Assyrian” (MS: GIO/H 558; Cathcart 1999: 2-4), probably written about 1854, Hincks observed that the verb *šarābu/šarāpu* occurred frequently in Assyrian royal inscriptions. He wrote: “The contexts admit no other meaning than ‘reddden’. It occurs with *mountains*, *villages* and *waters* as its object. The instrument being always expressed by the same ideograph, referred to slaughtered enemies, which can only signify ‘blood’”. He gave two examples from the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II: ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu KUR-ú *aš-ru-up*, which he rendered “with their blood the mountain I reddened (*ašrub*)”; and *pag-ri*.MEŠ-šú-nu SILA URU-šú-nu *ú-mal-li* ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu É.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu *aš-ru-up*, for which he gave the translation, “With their corpses the streets of their city I filled; with their blood their clusters of houses I reddened”. Compare the translations by Grayson 1991: RIMA 2, A.O.101.1 ii 114; ii 55-56.⁶⁾ To illustrate the dyeing of water Hincks selected a passage from an inscription of Sargon II: A.MEŠ ÍD.MEŠ-šú *i-na* ÚŠ.MEŠ LÚ.*qu-ra-di-šú iš-ru-pu na-ba-si-iš*, which he rendered “The waters of his rivers with the blood of his soldiers they made red (*išrubu*) as a slaughter house”. The translation “as a slaughter house” for *nabāsiš*, “like red wool”, is a guess. Today *mê nārātišu* (A.MEŠ ÍD.MEŠ-šú) is translated “the water of his canals” (see Frame 2021: RINAP 2, 7:129).⁷⁾

Hincks compares *šarāpu* (his *šarābu*) with the Bib. Heb. *šrb*, which occurs in the niphal form *nšrbw*, “they shall be scorched” (Ezek 21:3); the related adjective found in Pr 16:27, *k'š šrbt*, “as a scorching fire”; and the noun *šrbt*, “scar”, or, as Hincks suggests, “inflammation (or redness)” (Lev 13:23, 28), which can be compared with Akk. *širiptu* (see above). In Thavapalan’s view, *šarāpu* is the common term for “to dye”: “It alludes to the heat necessary for dying, as the basic meaning of this verb is ‘to heat/scorch’... The association between the verb *šarāpu* and the colour red (e.g. red-dyed wool and leather) derives from the colour of fire” (Thavapalan 2020: 55, and ref. there to AHW 1083 and Landsberger 1967: 146-148). Finally,

recent scholarship suggests that it is unnecessary (*contra* CDA 334) to have separate entries (I and II) for *šāripu*, “dyer”, as in NA, NB *šārip dušê*, “leather dyer”; and *šāripu*, pl. *šāripūtu*, “dyers” (Ugarit).

Notes

1. CAD B 332 adds the comment “The qualification *burrumu* seems to refer to a mixture of two colours”. This interpretation is too narrow.
2. See Frame 2021: RINAP 2, 7:142 (Sargon II). Cohen is unaware of Oppert’s 1863 publication and states that Heb. *brmym* was first compared to Akk. *birnu*, “mult-coloured (trim)” by him in 1869 (Cohen 1975: 49, 93 n. 258; Oppert 1869: 601, 609). Oppert’s observation was noted by Edwin Norris in the first Assyrian dictionary to be compiled (Norris 1868: I, 122). Among the marginal annotations in his personal copy of Norris’s dictionary, Rawlinson compared *birnu*, *birme* with Heb. *brmym*, “variegated stuffs” and added: “*birme* is certainly a colour”. Ezek 27:24, *gnzy brmym* probably means “multicoloured carpets”. The technical character of some vocabulary in certain contexts in Ezekiel should not be a cause for surprise (Liverani 1991: 66).
3. All the main Hebrew dictionaries have references to Akk. *birnu* and Ar. *barama* in their entries for *brmym* (BDB 140; HALOT 161-162), but Akk. *birnu* and *burrumu* are more important for elucidating the Hebrew. It is remarkable that Zimmerli in his commentary on Ezek 27:24 says that *brmym* “is to be understood on the basis of Arabic” (Zimmerli 1969: 632 [ET 1983, 51]). His translation “zweifarbige” (“of two colours”), as noted by Cohen (1975: 94 n. 260), reflects a reliance on Ar. *barama* and *barīm*. This has filtered down into HALOT, 162 where *brwmym* is rendered “two-coloured fabric”. Zimmerli seems to have been unaware of Akk. *birnu*, or he chose to ignore it. Zorell, on the other hand, explains *brmym* as probably “panni variegati”, and mentions Akk. *burrumu*, “variegatus”, and Ar. *barama*, “plura fila in unum contorsit” (Zorell 1948: 131).
4. In his lament over Saul, David tells the women of Israel to weep over Saul “who clothed you in crimson” (*hmlbškn šny*) (2 Sam 1:24). The Aram. Tg. has, “who was putting on you coloured garments” (*lbwšy šb’nyn*). In Tg Ezek 16:10, *lbwšy šb’nyn*, “in colourful garments”, is a translation of Heb. *mšy*, “in rich fabric”, a word of uncertain meaning, but probably an Egyptian loanword. See Eg. *mšy*, a type of (fine?) dress.
5. Rare examples of Bib. Heb. *šb’*, “dyed cloth”, occur in a passage in the Song of Deborah, where *šb’* is found with *rqmh*, “embroidered cloth”, in a context of soldiers’ spoil: Judg 5:30, “spoil of dyed cloths (*šb’ym*) for Sisera, a dyed cloth or two (*šb’ šb’ym*) as spoil, an embroidered cloth or two (*rqmh rqmtym*) for my neck as spoil?” See Gradwohl 1963: 1, 61.
6. For similar texts, see Grayson 1991: RIMA 2, A.O.101.1 i 53, ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu GIM *na-pa-si* KUR-ú lu *aš-ru-up*, “With their blood I dyed the mountain red like red wool”, and ii 17-18 (Ashurnasirpal II). For the dyeing of steppe and plains “red like the *illūru*-plant”, see Frame 2021: RINAP 2, 65: 135 (Sargon II).
7. For another example of the dyeing of water with the blood of warriors, see Novotny & Jeffers 2018: RINAP 5/1, 9 ii 65-66, ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu ÍD *ú-la-a-a ú-šar-di* A.MEŠ-šá *aš-ru-up* GIM *na-ba-as-si*, “I made the Ulāya River flow with their blood; I dyed its water red like red-dyed wool”, and 11 iii 42-43 (with *ki-ma* for GIM) (Ashurbanipal).

Abbreviations

MS BL Add. British Library, Additional Manuscripts.
MS GIO/H Griffith Institute, Oxford: Hincks Correspondence and Papers.

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92) A Nineteenth Century Observation on Akkadian Poetic Diction — In the translation of the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II, which Edward Hincks presented to the Trustees of the British Museum in 1854 (BL Add MS 22097, fols 28r-56v), there is a note attached to one passage which merits closer attention. The passage and the note are found in fol. 35, §26. The text of the passage in question is given in two places in Grayson, RIMA 2: A.0.101.1, ii 55-56; and A.0.101.17, iii 42-45:¹⁾

*pag-rí.MEŠ-šú-nu SILA URU-šú-nu ú-mal-li ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu É-ĦI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu aš-ru-up LÚ.ÉRIN.MEŠ
ĦI.A.MEŠ TI.LA.MEŠ ina ŠU-te ú-šab-bi-ta ša-la-su-nu ĦI.A.MEŠ áš-lu-la*

*LÚ.ĀD.MEŠ-šú-nu su-ú-qi URU-šú-nu ú-mal-li ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu É-ĦI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu aš-ru-up LÚ.ÉRIN.MEŠ
TI.LA.MEŠ. ĦI.A.MEŠ ina ŠU-te ú-šab-bi-ta šal-la-su-nu ĦI.A.MEŠ áš-lu-la*

Hincks gives the following translation: "With their corpses I filled the streets of their city, with their blood I reddened their clusters of houses. Many of the men I took captive alive, many of the women I carried away"; to which he has attached the following note: "We have here four lines of poetry. The parallelism is perfect, and the diction elevated above what is usual; so that no doubt can exist that it was designed to be poetic". In another unpublished manuscript (Griffith Institute, Oxford: Hincks papers, no.

558), which is really a fragment of a paper containing the beginning of an article on “Hebrew Roots Compared with Assyrian No. 1”,²⁾ Hincks sets out the same passage in a form where “the parallelism of oriental poetry is clearly to be discerned”:

With their corpses the streets of their city I filled,
With their blood their clusters of houses I reddened.
Numbers of men alive I took hold of,
Numbers of women I carried away.

In this case he is following the word order of the Akkadian text.

pagrīšunu sūqi ālišunu umalli
dāmīšunu bītātīšunu ašrup
šābī mādāte balūtī ina qātē ušabbita
šallassunu mādāte ašlula

In line 2 *ašrup* means “I dyed red”. A better translation of line 3 is “Many of their soldiers I captured alive”. In line 4 “the women” for *šallassunu*, “captives from them”, is an over-interpretation; and it is not clear why Hincks ignored the suffix here.³⁾ These flaws do not take away from the savant’s important observation that in these lines the language is poetic. In the first two lines, the parallel pairs *pagrīšunu*, “their corpses” // *dāmīšunu*, “their blood”; and *sūqi (ālišunu)* “streets (of their city)” // *bītātīšunu*, “their houses” are good examples of the general parallel with the specific.⁴⁾ In lines 3-4 there is a play on the sounds of *šābī* and *ušabbita*, and *šallassunu* and *ašlula*.⁵⁾

Notes

1. Hincks observed that in those parts which are “of a historical character, the inscriptions are nearly identical, except that equivalent words, or equivalent modes of writing the same word, are often met with. These I have found to be of great assistance in determining both the reading and the pronunciation” (BL Add MS 22097, fol. 28r).

2. See Cathcart 1999: 3.

3. As early as 1852 Hincks rendered *šallatu*, “booty, plunder” and *šallatiš*, “as plunder”. He translated *šallassunu ašlula* in the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (RIMA 2, A.0.102.14, line 90) “and carried away their spoil” (Hincks 1852: 358; also 1853: 423; 1854: BL Add MS 22097, fol. 13v). The interpretation “I carried away their women” is found in other parts of Hincks’s translation of the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II: e.g. BL Add MS 22097, fols 28v, 29v §§1, 4 (RIMA 2: A.0.101.1, i 48, 61 = A.0.101.17, i 70, 83). However, in *šal-la-su-nu DUGUD-ta GIM mar-šit UDU še-ni āš-lul-la*, “I carried off a multitude of captives like a flock of sheep” (RIMA 2: A.0.101.1, i 52 = A.0.101.17, i 76), he reverts to the meaning “spoil” for *šallassunu*: “I carried away a spoil of theirs, as numerous as a flock of sheep” (BL Add MS 22097, fol. 29r §2).

4. Compare the rare examples of Ug. *bt* // *tlh*n in KTU 1.3 ii 29-30, ‘*d tšb’ tmtš bbt tštšb bn tlhnm*, “Until she is satisfied, she smites (her adversaries) in the house, attacks (them) between the tables” and Heb. *byt* // *šlh*n, “house” // “table”, in Ps 128:3, ‘*štk kgpn pryh byrky bytk / bnyk kštyl zytym sbyb lšlhk*, “Your wife will be like a fruitful vine within your house, / your children will be like olive shoots around your table”.

5. A passage Hincks found very difficult to translate is that which can be found in RIMA 2 Ashurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1 i 50-53 = A.0.101.17 i 74-77. In laying out a normalised text with a modern translation in the following manner, one might ask whether or not Hincks would have regarded the language as elevated or poetic diction.

ina 3 ūmē qurādu šadū iḫiṭṭa
gapšu libbašu tuqumti ubla
ēli ina šēpīšu šadū usaḫḫip
iḫpī qinmašunu puḫrišunu uparrir
2 mē ummānāti tidūkišunu ina kakkī ušamqit
šallassunu kabitta kīma maršīt šēni ašlula
dāmīšunu kīma napasi šadū lū ašrup
sītātešunu ḫurru natbāku ša šadī ēkul

For three days the hero searched the mountain,
His proud heart was resolved to do battle.
Ascending on foot, he overwhelmed the mountain,
He smashed their nest, he scattered their flock.
Two hundred of their fighting men I felled with the sword,
A mass of prisoners I led off into captivity like a flock of sheep.
With their blood I dyed the mountain red like red wool,
The rest of them the ravines and torrents of the mountain swallowed.

The deliberate switch from third to first person (enallage) is noteworthy. On enallage, see Foster, 1983: 125 n. 16; 1993: 101. Wasserman (2003: 93 n. 138) finds an example of “a deliberate incongruence in number or in gender” in the much-debated opening lines of Atra-ḫasīs, but his suggestion is not convincing. For a detailed and lucid discussion of the meaning and interpretation of *inūma ilū awīlum*, see Ziegler (2016).

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93) Eine akkadisch-hebräische Parallele zum Gurren der Taube als Zeichen der Fürsorge — In diesem Beitrag wird das Gurren der Taube als Zeichen der Fürsorge das Thema sein. Die bildliche Vorstellung wird zunächst an einem akkadischen Textbeispiel demonstriert. Der Aspekt wird dann an einem hebräischen Gedicht aus dem maurischen Spanien aufgezeigt. Das Motiv kann so von zwei Seiten literarisch abgesichert werden.

In einem Orakel an den assyrischen König Asarhadon sind die Worte:

„Wie ein geflügelter Vogel gurre ich über dir, ich drehe und wende mich über dir“⁽¹⁾

nachzulesen, welche der Göttin Ishtar in den Mund gelegt sind. Der Adressat der Worte ist in eben jenem König zu erkennen, der hier die volle Obhut der Göttin zugesichert bekommt. Das Gurren lässt sich durchaus als Zeichen der Fürsorge auffassen. Die Interpretation geht in dieser Form bereits auf Reiner zurück. Die Erklärung scheint in der Tat am meisten Sinn zu ergeben. Die Verbindung mit der weiblichen Stimme fällt deutlich auf. Die Anschaulichkeit des Vorgangs wird mit Hilfe des Vogelvergleichs erhöht. Die Taube wird zwar nicht explizit erwähnt, lässt sich aber aufgrund des Verbs vermuten. Der antike Hörer/Leser verfügte sicher über die nötigen Informationen, die für das richtige Verständnis der Passage maßgeblich sind. Die babylonische Liebesgöttin Ishtar tritt darüber hinaus gerne in Taubengestalt auf, was eine zusätzliche Rolle gespielt haben könnte²⁾. Das Begleittier sollte sie bekanntlich später an die griechische Aphrodite weiterreichen. Im Folgenden soll die Gelegenheit zum Anlass genommen werden, um eine hebräische Parallele mitzuteilen.

Das ausschlaggebende Gedicht stammt von dem Poeten Yehuda ha-Lewi, der sein Leben von der Mitte des 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jhdts. verbrachte³⁾. Der Dichter ging als der große Klassiker der hebräischen Literatur in die Geschichte ein. Das schriftstellerische Schaffen zeichnet sich durch eine große Produktivität aus. Die heute bekannten Gedichte können auf etwa 800 beziffert werden, das philosophische Werk kommt dabei noch hinzu. In den in altspanischem Dialekt verfassten Schlussversen der Muwaschschah-Gedichte haben sich die frühesten Zeugnisse romanischer Lyrik erhalten. Die moderne Rezeption seiner Werke fing bereits im 19. Jhd. an. Das eingangs genannte Gedicht wird nachfolgend ausschnittsweise wiedergegeben:

„Die Taube baut ihr Nest und schaut auch mich vom Myrtenzweig, wie ich in meinem Leid zur Schicksalsklage hebe an. Mit sanfter Stimme singt sie Trost mir zu wie eine Frau: „Komm, mein Gebieter, komm! Wie gut ist die Erinnerung an jene Freudenzeit! Komm, Sohn des Ibn al-Dayyan!“⁽⁴⁾

Das ganze Gedicht schildert die Vergänglichkeit des Glücks, welcher der Mensch nur mit der liebenden Freundschaft und Erinnerung begegnen kann. Das Thema braucht hier nicht weiter verfolgt zu werden. Die einzige Rolle spielt in diesem Zusammenhang das Gurren der Taube, das mit einem sanftmütigen und trostspendenden Tonfall assoziiert wird. Die Verbindung mit der Frauenstimme wurde wohl auch hier nicht ohne Grund gewählt. Die hohen Oktaven scheinen dabei im Mittelpunkt zu stehen.

In der Auswertung lässt sich zu folgendem Fazit gelangen: Die hebräische Stelle atmet den gleichen Geist, der auch in der akkadischen Stelle weht. Die Gemeinsamkeit wurde offenbar bisher noch nicht als solche identifiziert. In keiner Weise muss für eine direkte oder indirekte Abhängigkeit plädiert werden. Der große zeitliche Abstand würde hier wohl ein Problem bilden. Die autonom voneinander entstandenen Vorstellungen sind vielmehr im gesamtorientalischen Nährboden verankert. Das gleiche Modell wurde bereits von Waltke⁵⁾ in anderem Kontext vertreten. In diesem Rahmen wird es daher guten Gewissens übernommen.

Notes

1. E. REINER, Die akkadische Literatur, in: W. Röllig (Hrsg.), *Altorientalische Literaturen*, Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft 1, Marburg 1978, 200.
2. Zur Taube der Ishtar vgl. J. de MORGAN, *Trouvaille de masque d'argent*, MDP 7 (1905), 47; U. WINTER, Die Taube der fernen Goetter in Ps 56, 1 und die Göttin der Taube in der vorderasiatischen Ikonographie, in: O. KEEL, *Vögel als Boten*, Studien zu Ps 68, 12-14, Gen 8, 6-12, Koh 10, 20 und dem Aussenden von Botenvögeln in Ägypten, OBO 14, Freiburg-Göttingen 1977, 37-78; zu dieser Göttin zusammenfassend vgl. I. WEGNER, *Gestalt und Kult der Ishtar-Sawuschka in Kleinasien*, Hurritologische Studien III, AOAT 36, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981, 1-9.
3. Zu dieser historischen Persönlichkeit vgl. D. KAUFMANN, *Jehuda Halevi: Versuch einer Charakteristik*, New York, passim; J. LEIBOWITZ, *Supplications et poèmes liturgiques de Yehudah Halévi*, in: D. BANON (ed.), *Inquisition et pérennité*, Paris 1992, 171-182; R. P. SCHEINDLIN, *The song of the distant dove. Judah Halevi's pilgrimage*, Oxford/New York 2008, passim; J. YAHALOM, *Yehudah Halevi, Poetry and Pilgrimage*, Jerusalem 2009, passim.
4. G. BOSSONG, *Das Wunder von al-Andalus, Die schönsten Gedichte aus dem Maurischen Spanien*, Mit einem Nachwort von SAID, München 2005, 241.
5. B. WALTKE, *The Book of Proverbs and Ancient Wisdom Literature*, Bibliotheca Sacra 136 (1979), 211.

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94) Addenda et Corrigenda to N. Wasserman, *The Flood: The Akkadian Sources. A New Edition, Commentary, and a Literary Discussion*, Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2020 — In what follows we present corrections and additions to N. Wasserman, *The Flood...* 2020. Most of these are of typographical in nature, but some are more crucial, esp. the new readings in Gilg. XI gained thanks to the joins of E. Jiménez *et al.* ("From the Electronic Babylonian Literature Lab", *KASKAL* 2020, pp. 243–245).

P. 1, n. 1, read: *ušappakūma tupšikkam ušaddi*; n. 2, add: George 2016a.

P. 2, read: suggesting that the Flood was known as a stand-alone myth (add "as"). **P. 2**, n. 11, see now also: Beckman, G. (2019). *The Hittite Gilgamesh*. Atlanta, GA, USA (index of names in p. 92).

P. 6, correct: ii 43"-44"; ii 46"; ii 48"; ii 49"-50"; ii 51"; ii 53"; ii 54"-55".

P. 13, upper-right square, read: *Ūta-napišti* (Atra-ḫasis in ll. 49, 197).

P. 14, n. 20, replace link by: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1889-0426-235.

P. 16, n. 22, photo of rev. is available at the British Museum site:
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1904-1009-6.

P. 16, n. 23, replace link by: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_SM-365.

P. 17, line C₀ iv 4', read: *pi* (instead of *pî*); parallel C₀ iv 12', correct: C₂ i 15'-16'.

P. 19, in the introduction to C₁(+)C₂, read: (four-columns on each side).

P. 19, n. 26, replace link by: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1889-0426-235.

P. 20, parallel C₂ i 16', read: *wa-ar-di-šū*; parallel C₂ i 22', spare: *m[a-a]k-ku-ra-am ze-e[r-ma]* (cf. parallel to C₂ i 23'); *ibid.* read: J r. 6'; parallel C₂ i 24', read: Gilg. XI 25–27.

P. 21, parallel C₁ i 35', read: *pu-zu-ur*; C₁ i 40', correct: ^{1m}*At-ra-am-ḫa-si-is*.

P. 22, W 9', correct: *[bu-ul ṣ]ēri* ([E]DIN).

P. 23, parallel C₁ ii 42", correct: [la?-ak?-šu?-nu?-ti? i?]-na²¹; parallel C₁ ii 42", correct: W 6', 8'; parallel C₁ ii 51", correct: [ú]-pa-bi šu-...; ibid., correct: ^{gi}[^šMÁ]; ibid., read: *eleppim*(^{gi}MÁ)-ma.

P. 24, parallel C₁ iii 8', read: [An-z]u (not [x] 'x'); C₁ iii 12', correct: i-ba-a'/ka-šu-šu; parallel C₁ iii 12', correct: [ki-ma qab-li el]i([UG]U) ni-še i-ba-a ka-šu-¹šu¹; parallel C₁ iii 14', read: a-*ha-šú*; C₁ iii 23', correct: ¹ri¹-gi-im a-[bu-b]i; parallel C₁ iii 27', read: [^dNin-t]u (not [...]'x').

P. 25, C₁ iii 30', read: [^d]A-nun-na.

P. 26, parallel C₁ iv 25', read: si-qu-šú siq-si-qu.

P. 27, parallel C₁ iv 31", add: ni-qá-a (between at-ta-qí and áš-kun); C₁ v 39", read: il-li-ka-am.

P. 28, parallel C₁ vi 6, correct: Gilg. XI 172–174; parallel C₁ vi 12, correct: ^dEn-l[íl]; C₁ vi 11, correct: i-¹pu-ša¹-am-ma.

P. 29, between C₁ vi 19 and 20, after ¹iš¹-[tam] add: \ [...]'x x x¹ [...]; C₁ vi 22, correct: [(...)] ¹ta-áš¹-ku-¹un¹.

P. 30, C₁ vii 13, read: [šu-uz-b]i-¹li¹-ši-in; C₁ vii 15–17, read instead: {15} [...]-tum \ [...]'x¹ {16} ¹x¹ [...]'x¹ {17} et- [...] \ [...].

P. 37, correct: C₁ viii 20'; C₁ viii 21'–22'; C₂ viii 23'; C₂ viii 24'–25'; C₂ viii 26'; C₂ viii 27'; C₂ viii 28'–31'.

P. 38, 2nd line, read: *išakkana*; 10th line, correct: C₂ i 17'.

P. 39, comm. on C₂ i 21', for "Wasserman, forthcoming a", see now: "Talking to Doors": *Paraklausithyron* in Akkadian Literature, in A. Azzoni, A. Kleinerman, D. A. Knight, and D. I. Owen (eds.), *From Mari to Jerusalem and Back: Assyriological and Biblical Studies in Honor of Jack Murad Sasson*. University Park, Pennsylvania, 2020, pp. 305–318. **P. 39**, n. 39, read: (see the parallel line in the Ark Tablet); ibid., correct: GAG³.

P. 40, comm. on C₂ i 23', correct: C₁ i 34'.

P. 42, comm. on C₁ i 34', correct: C₁ v 32"; comm. on C₁ i 37', correct: C₁ ii 47".

P. 43, comm. on C₁ i 42'–44', correct: C₁ ii 42"; comm. on C₁ i 50', correct: C₁ i 50'; comm. on C₁ ii 30"–38", (C₁ ii 32"–33").

P. 44, 1st line, correct: (C₁ ii 34"–35"); 2nd line, correct: (C₁ ii 36"–37"); 3rd line, correct: C₁ ii 30"–31" and ii 32"–33"; commentary on C₁ ii 36", correct: C₁ ii 34" and C₁ ii 38"; comm. on C₁ ii 39", read: [ib-ba-b]i-il; n. 61, correct: *ša*[b](ER[ÍN]) *um-ma-ni*].

P. 45, comm. on C₁ ii 46"–47", read: ta^o-na-ti ¹a^o?

P. 46, comm. on C₁ ii 47", correct: C₁ i 37'; comm. on C₁ ii 50"–51", correct: C₁ ii 50"–51"; ibid., correct: C₁ iii 5'-6'; comm. on C₁ ii 54"–55", correct: C₁ ii 53".

P. 47, comm. on C₁ iii 7'-8', correct: C₁ iii 16'-17'; n. 74: read: There are two wedges after the break in U r. 16', which could fit to the /zu/ sign.

P. 48, comm. on C₁ iii 19', correct: C₁ iii 45'; comm. on C₁ iii 19', correct: C₁ iii 44'; v 46"; comm. on C₁ iii 28', correct: (C₁ iii 33').

P. 49, comm. on C₁ iii 38', read: C₁ v 42") is found in Ark 49 ^dEN.LÍL°.

P. 52, comm. on C₁ iii 53'-54', correct: C₁ v 42"; comm. on C₁ iii 54', correct: C₁ v 43"; comm. on C₁ iv 6'-7', correct: C₁ iv 5' and C₁ iv 6'-7'; comm. on C₁ iv 5', after: "Had only my friend risen at my cry!", add period (.) and reference: Gilgameš, OB VA+BM, line ii 7' (George 2003, p. 278).

P. 53, comm. on C₁ iv 14', correct: C₁ iv 12'; comm. on C₁ iv 16', correct: C₁ v 44"; v 46"; comm. on C₁ iv 18'–23', correct: C₁ iii 48'.

P. 54, comm. on C₁ iv 21', correct: C₁ iii 29'; comm. on C₁ iv 26'ff., correct: C₁ v 30".

P. 55, comm. on C₁ v 30"–35", correct: C₁ v 30"; comm. on C₁ v 30"–35", correct: C₁ v 31"; v 46"; comm. on C₁ v 32", correct: C₁ i 34'; comm. on C₁ v 37"–47", correct: C₁ v 38"; comm. on C₁ v 41"–43", correct: C₁ iii 53'; v 46"; comm. on C₁ v 44", correct: C₁ iv 16'.

P. 56, comm. on C₁ v 44", correct: C₁ iii 38'; comm. on C₁ v 46"–47", read: Lambert/Millard (1969, 98); ibid., read: i-pa-an-qá-l[u]/a[l]; ibid., correct: C₁ iii 19'; ibid., correct: C₁ iii 19', 44' and iv 7'; comm. on C₁ vi 4, correct: lu-ul¹-šú-ús-sú.

P. 58, comm. on C₁ vi 15, correct: C₂ i 21'.

P. 59, comm. on C₁ viii 13', read: qá-a[b-la].

P. 60, comm. on C₁ viii 14', correct: C₁ viii 15'; comm. on C₁ viii 19', correct: C₁ viii 11'–13'; last paragraph, spare: two-tablet, and correct: one tablet with two columns on each side; n. 104, correct: C₁ viii 13'.

P. 66, Ark 3, read: *ta-ba-al-lu-ut*; parallel Ark 5, spare: *ú-pu-ud bi-ta bi-ni e-le-ep-pa*.

P. 67, Ark 33, read: *ú-pa-až-zi¹-<ru^o>*; Ark 34, correct: *[la?-ak?-šu?-nu?-ti? i?]-¹na²*; parallel Ark 35, correct: W 6', 8'.

P. 68, Ark 49, read: ^dEN.LÍL.

P. 70, comm. on Ark 4-5, correct: C₂ i 22'–24'; comm. on Ark 4, correct: C₂ i 22'.

P. 72, n. 116, correct: Cf. *šēru pal-ku-ú* (Lambert/Millard 1969, 110: 58 and 108: 48) and their commentary on III, ii 34, p. 160.

P. 74, comm. on Ark 27, correct: Finkel 2014, 362; n. 128, read: K 203+ i 23f.; link: <http://oracc.org/glass/P393786/html>.

P. 75, comm. on Ark 34-35, correct: *[la?-ak?-šu?-nu?-ti? i?]-¹na²*.

P. 76, comm. on Ark 45, read: *pace* Finkel (2014, 364-365), Ark 49 has ^dEN.LÍL.

P. 78, parallel J r. 11', correct: *[bu-ul š]ēri*([E]DIN); parallel J r. 13', correct: W 6', 8'.

P. 79, parallel J r. 4', read: *it¹-ta-ša-a*; n. 138, read: Finkel 2014, 121.

P. 80, n. 139, read: Finkel 2014, 121 [...] So also Wilcke; introduction to Ms, J₁, correct: C₁ i 46', 48', 50'; *ibid.*, correct: C₁ i 44'; J₁ 5', read: [...-n]u bi-lam.

P. 81, parallel J₁ r. 7', read: *ki¹-<ra>-ti-ia*.

P. 83, parallel I r. 2', read: *mā[r(du[mu-ka]) ašš]at(DA)M-ka u mārat(DUMU.SAL)-ka ta-dir!(KAL)-ti lib-bi¹ la² [i?-šu?/du?]*.

P. 85, comm. on I 15, read: [x] ki? ma i-...

P. 86, parallel I₁ B 6', read: [x x x mā]ta([K]UR).

P. 88, I₂ 9, read: *al-qè-ma*; I₂ 10, read: *muḥḥi*(UGU)^{bi-i-e}; I₂ 11, read: *su-ma-ta^{mušen!}*; I₂ 14, read: *ku-ma-a^{mušen!}(RI)* [or: *ku-ma-a-re²*]; parallel I₂ 14, read: *i-mur-ma ik-kal*.

P. 90, comm. on I₂ 3-4, correct: C₁ i 31'.

P. 91, parallel W 2', read: *mi-na-tu-šá¹*; parallel W 4', read: C₁ ii 51" *[k]u-up-ru ba-bi-il i-pé-eḥ-ḥi*; *ibid.*, read: *eleppim*(^{gis}MÁ)-ma; W 9', read: *[bu-ul š]ēri*([E]DIN); parallel W 9', read: *ka-li-šú-nu ú-še-li*.

P. 92, comm. on W 3', correct: C₁ i 33'; *ibid.*, correct: C₁ i 31'.

P. 93, parallel U 4, correct: C₂ i 11'-12'; Photo: photo of rev. is available at the British Museum site: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1904-1009-6.

P. 94, U 10, read: *ú-šé-mi*.

P. 95, parallel U r. 21', read: *ú-ba-'-ú*.

P. 96, parallel U r. 25', read: *šu-ut*.

P. 97, comm. on U 10, read: Lambert/Millard (1969, 122-123) read [...] *x¹-ma-ka ú-šé-mi ḥaš-ḥa-šá* “...your... has made the feeble thirsty”.

P. 100, 1st line, correct: z v 16'–21'.

P. 102, comm. on z v 14', read: *da-riš¹*.

P. 104, line 2, read: *a-na-aṭ-ṭa-la-kúm-ma*.

P. 106, line 46, read: *ina še¹-e[r]*; parallel Gilg. XI 51, read: *a-ba-an-šu*. Following Jiménez *et al.* 2020, 243f., read:

Gilg. XI 60 *ad-di la-an-š¹i šá-a-ši e-šir-ši*

Gilg. XI 62 *ap-ta-ra-as-¹su¹ a-na 7-šú*

Gilg. XI 67 3 *šár iṭṭâ*(ESIR) *at¹-ta-¹di¹ a-na lib-bi*

P. 107, parallel Gilg. XI 70, read: *ú-pa-až-zi¹-<ru^o>*; *ibid.*, read: *ú-pa!²-až-zi-ru^o lú!(BI²).meš*. Following Jiménez *et al.* 2020, 243f., read:

Gilg. XI 73 *si-ri-š¹u¹ ku-¹ru¹-un-nu šamna*(Ī.GIŠ) *ù karāna*(GEŠTIN)

Gilg. XI 74 *um-ma-¹ni¹-ma aṭ-ḥu-d[a?] ki-ma mē*(A^{meš}) *nārim*(ĪD)-ma

Gilg. XI 76 ^dŠamšu(UT[U]) *i]na na-pa-ḥi ana piš-šá-ti qa-ti ad-di*

P. 108, line 100, read: ^dŠúllat.

P. 109, parallel Gilg. XI 111, read: U r. 19' [ki-ma qab-li el]i([UG]U) ni-še i-ba-a ka-šu-šū¹; line 112, read: a-ḥa-šú; n. 171, read: ^dIš-tar ma-li-ti. Following Jiménez *et al.* 2020, 243f., read:

Gilg. XI 109 '1¹-en u₄-ma me-ḥ[u-ú] 'a-bu-bu x¹ [...]

P. 110, line 132, read: ḥa-a-a-al-ti; n. 173 and 174 to be interchanged; n. 176, read: 6 ur-ra ù mu-šá-a-ti.

P. 111, line 157, add after at-ta-qí: ni-qa-a.

P. 112, line 175, read: [a-a-n]u-um-ma ú-ši na-pi-š-ti; n. 186, read: Mss. C, J₁: a-a-um-ma; c₂: ú-šu; parallel Gilg. XI 173, read: li-ib-ba-ti.

P. 113, n. 187, read: Ms. c₂: [la tam]-^rtal-lik¹-ma.

P. 114, line 204, correct: e-mu-ú ki-ma ilī(DINGIR^{meš}) na-ši-ma (in one line); line 206, read: pī(KA).

P. 116, 67, correct: 10,800 (qū) of crude bitumen I poured within,

73-74, correct: With beer, ale, oil, and wine –like the waters of a river– I *gladdened* my workers.

76-77, correct: At sunrise I carried out the lubrication (of the boat) [(and) before] sunset the boat was finished.

n. 91 and 92, correct: (ms. W₁).

P. 117, n. 195, correct: Var.:

P. 117, 109, correct: For one day the storm, the flood [...].

P. 119, between ll. 179-180 and 181-182, add ruling.

P. 121, comm. on line 24, correct: The troublesome.

P. 127, comm. on line 150, read: i/u-^rḥad¹-[da]-^ráš-šum-ma¹.

P. 126, comm. on 134–139, read: immediately after the Flood is over.

P. 140, in iii 34'-35', read: līk[il].

P. 141, in iv 12'–14', correct: ibkīma; in iii 51'–52', correct: (Whose) sons.

P. 142, second paragraph, read: “like a raft they leaned against a drenched land” (C₁ iv 8'); penultimate paragraph, correct: like flies!” (C₁ iii 42'–45').

P. 144, n. 233, read: lišēdīšuma aššu lā muššī.

P. 146, second paragraph, second line, read: It serves to reinforce the fact that.

P. 147, K. 1520 line 6, read: (ANŠE.A.AB.BA); n. 241, link to K. 1520 in dcclt: <http://oracc.org/dcclt/P349825/html>.

P. 149, 3rd paragraph, read: is filled with remorse for not acting against the Flood (add “the”); n. 245, for “Wasserman forthcoming b”, see now: “Lists and Chains: Enumeration in Akkadian Literary Texts”, in R. Lämmle, C. Scheidegger Lämmle and K. Wesselmann (eds.), *Lists and Catalogues in Ancient Literature and Beyond. Towards a Poetics of Enumeration* (Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes 107), 2021, pp. 57–79.

P. 151, first paragraph, read: and to starve the gods in order to drive them back;

n. 249, for “Wasserman forthcoming a”, see now: “‘Talking to Doors’: Paraklausithyron in Akkadian Literature”, in A. Azzoni, A. Kleinerman, D. A. Knight, and D. I. Owen (eds.), *From Mari to Jerusalem and Back: Assyriological and Biblical Studies in Honor of Jack Murad Sasson*. University Park, Pennsylvania, 2020, pp. 305–318.

P. 153, n. 247, read: It is, however, possible.

P. 159, s.v. bītum, correct: C₁(+)C₂ i 22'; sub. durum, read: dūrum.

P. 162, s.v. kamāsum, correct: C₁(+)C₂ ii 46".

P. 166, s.v. nīqum, correct: C₁(+)C₂ v 31", 35", 36".

P. 171, s.v. ṭapārum, dapārum, correct: C₁(+)C₂ iii 39'.

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