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NOTES BRÈVES

42) NABU aura 35 ans et souhaite faire un bilan sur sa vie — La revue *NABU*, ou comme on pourrait être tenté de l'écrire "*N.A.B.U.*", a été fondée par J.-M. Durand. Un premier fascicule de 12 pages est paru en mars 1987 – et à la fin de cette année, la toute jeune revue comptait 78 pages. *NABU* a été créé dans le but de diffuser rapidement et régulièrement des informations scientifiques ou touchant la vie assyriologique et elle est depuis cette date restée fidèle à son nom : *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*. Tous les trois mois les lecteurs fidèles découvrent un nouveau fascicule, produit par un formatage simple grâce à Word et reproduit par photocopie n/b dans la même boutique à quelques pas de la Sorbonne et du Collège de France. *NABU* a grandi, grossi surtout. La revue s'est modernisée aussi ! Désormais librement accessible en ligne, les lecteurs bénéficient des photos couleur d'assez bonne qualité. 35 ans fidèlement au service de l'Assyriologie!

Je souhaite, dans le fascicule *NABU* 2022 n°4, daté de décembre 2022, publier une *Table de matières* cumulée des *NABU* de 1987 à 2022. Nous pensons qu'un tel récapitulatif de 35 années d'existence peut être utile à tout le monde.

Pour cette raison nous n'allons accepter aucune note à partir du 1^{er} septembre 2022. Nous allons recommencer à accueillir des manuscrits en 2023, mais sous de nouvelles modalités que nous devons élaborer pour simplifier la production de ce trimestriel.

Après des très nombreuses années, où J.-M. Durand a été en charge de la rédaction et de la mise en page, j'ai pris les rênes en 2020. J'ai accepté cette tâche sous condition de ne pas être en charge du formatage. Ce travail incombait au secrétaire d'édition, J.-M. Roynard qui pour 9 fascicules m'avait aidée dans la production de la revue, avait fabriqué des épreuves pour les auteurs, des tirés-à-part, avait créé des fascicules web indexés. Malheureusement, J.-M. Roynard a changé de poste, et sa succession n'est pas assurée.

Cette situation n'est pas réjouissante et il me semble qu'il est nécessaire – afin d'assurer l'avenir de la revue – d'inventer un nouveau modèle de dépôt de notes qui facilitera le travail des personnes en charge du formatage. Je pense à la mise en place d'un document Word à utiliser par les auteurs ("*NABU Home Model*"), d'une "*style sheet*", et de l'instauration de quelques normes de présentation qui s'imposeront aux auteurs dans l'avenir.

Un bilan, une cure de jeunesse nécessaire, ... rien d'extraordinaire après 35 années de labeur !

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43) Fara Notes, 1: Administrative lists identified as dub bar and dub gibil — The assignments of donkeys for ploughing to various individuals represent one of the most prominent text groups from Fara, ancient Šuruppag. After their edition by Pomponio/Visicato (1994, 301–448 = EDATŠ) they have been re-edited by Steibe/Yıldız (2015 = WVDOG 143) including some new texts and collations. These two books carefully note parallel sequences of personal names between various texts of larger and smaller size (Lecompte 2017 added more cases). The repetition of names in a similar order is known from various administrative archives over the course of several years. The parallels indicate a historical “reality” behind the sequences that is not connected to the professions as it is the case in lists from other places; thus the parallel sequences may relate to other factors (such as, e.g., the location of the fields or the city-quarters?). The apparent differences between lists (with, at times, more entries in the smaller than in the larger list), however, actually do not support fully the conclusion by Pomponio/Visicato (1994) that the lists cover only one year or a very short period. The lists of men working in agriculture represent the important social group of the “farmers and soldiers” (thus Schrakamp 2014), and therefore a better understanding of the lists of fields, barley and plough animals is essential for an analysis of the society of Šuruppag.

The subscripts identify the estates (of the city-goddess Sud: WVDOG 143, nos. 32, 33, 39; also called *diġir* “deity” no. 44; *e₂ geme₂* “female servants’ estate”: *ibid.* nos. 31, 36, 68) or the person responsible for the account (WVDOG 143, nos. 4, 5, 24, 44: *saġ-an-tuku dub-sar*).

Another element is the designation of a list as *dub gibil* “new tablet” or *dub bar(-ra)* “additional(?) tablet” in the subscripts. The size of the tablets (large/medium/small) does not reflect the distribution of the terms exactly. In the following list the references with improved readings (compared to the edition of Steibe/Yıldız 2015) are marked by an asterisk (*):

- *dub gibil*: WVDOG 143, no. 1 (= WF 22 = EDATŠ no. 115; large tablet); no. 27* (medium); no. 66 (small); no. 77 (= WF 21 = EDATŠ no. 157, small); no. 78* (small)
- *dub bar*: WVDOG 143, no. 58* (medium); no. 61* (= TŠŠ 106 = EDATŠ no. 154, small/medium); no. 67* (small); no. 70* (= WF 14 = EDATŠ no. 155; small); no. 71* (small); no. 89* (medium?)
- note the variant form *dub bar-ra* in other contexts, with goats: WVDOG 143, 156* (= TŠŠ 156, small); with barley: WF 87 (= EDATŠ no. 22, medium)
- unclear: WVDOG 143, no. 53 (*dub-[bar?]*; medium)

On *dub gibil*: Reading of WVDOG 143, no. 27 v 3 as [*dub*] *gibil* with Lecompte (2017, 277). In WVDOG 143, no. 78 iii 1 the edition has “*dub*’(=MES)-*gibil*”, but the photo shows a clear DUB sign.

On *dub bar*: The term *dub bar(-ra)* was not identified by Steibe/Yıldız (2015), but they read mostly *dub-“dili”* instead, namely in WVDOG 143, no. 58 iv 3; 61 iv 2; 67 iv 3; 70 iv 3. However, the sign BAR often has the appearance of AŠ in Fara texts (Krebernik 1998, 280), and the -ra of the parallels indicates the correct reading. Furthermore, the term was emended incorrectly (as happens so often in Assyriology), reading “*mes*’(=DUB)-*bar*” WVDOG 143, no. 71 iv 3, and “*mes*’(=DUB)-*bar-ra*” no. 156: 2. For “*mes-bar*” in WVDOG 143, no. 89 r.ii’ 2’ the correct interpretation is instead [*d*]ub *bar* (the first small vertical, differentiating DUB from MES, is not preserved).

Although it is still unclear how the terms *dub gibil* “new tablet” or *dub bar(-ra)* “additional(?) tablet” relate exactly to the management of agricultural labour, these subscripts contribute to a better evaluation of the accounting practices at Šuruppag.

Acknowledgements

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44) Fara Notes, 2: ġiri₂ du₃ “to mark out (a field) with a dagger” — TŠ 881 is a most remarkable Fara text with more than fifty entries listing barley, barley flour, and beer for various recipients, summarized as “barley” given out during a period of one month (iti 1, r.x). The text can thus be described as an early representative of the important group of “bread and beer” texts known so well from many third-millennium archives (see also Fara Note 3). The photograph available for TŠ 881 on CDLI (P010929_d) shows many details that are not seen on Raymond Jestin’s copy from 1937, and the tablet might have already suffered in the decades after its discovery in 1902. Evidently, Cripps (2013, § 9) could not use the photo, and thus his edition is largely outdated now.

The cereals were not only given to guests at the political centre of the city of Šuruppak (see Fara Note 3), but also for festivals: the a₂-ki-ti of the e₂-kur temple (o. ii 2’–3’), the ab-e₃ festival (r.i 6), an unclear action related to a “large garment” (tu₉ gu₂-la₂) for a bride (e₂-g₄-a; o. v 6–15), an expenditure for carriers, “when ... (for?) the incense (burner) was filled”(?; u₄ ħuš na-izi si-ga, o. x 3–4) and some references to rites or occasions which are still unclear (e.g. NI-ba-DU o. ii 6’). Also, grain is used in the context of purchases, such as “buying a well house” (e₂ engur sa₁₀, o. iii 8’), or “buying a well house for water” (e₂ engur a sa₁₀, r.vi 10–11). The sale documents from the Fara period include long lists of gifts (namely barley and cereal products, fat, soup, and textiles) given to the sellers and persons involved in the transaction (see, e.g. Krecher 1980, 491–493; Gelb et al. 1991; Wilcke 1996). Our document most probably reflects the issuing of a segment of these donations, namely the barley products from the granary–milling house complex of the local palace of Šuruppak.

Seen in this light, the expenditure for a ritual act called aš₅ ġiri₂ du₃, literally “to drive in daggers (at) a field”, fits well into a larger context of ritual acts performed at sales. The two relevant passages read as follows (the transliteration of numbers follows Molina 2014, 39–40):

(1) TŠ 881 r.iv 7–13:

0.2.0c dabin / 0.2.0c dabin tur-tur / lac kaš sila₃ / aš₅ ġiri₂ du₃ / ‘u₄’ kaš kur-ra / baḥar^{bar} / maškim

“120 *sila* of barley flour, 120 *sila* of ‘small’ (breads made from?) barley flour, 1 *sila*-vessel of beer: marking out the field by a dagger, at the day of beer of the ... (lit. mountain); Baḥar was the commissary (responsible for the transaction)”

(2) TŠ 881 r.vii 15–18:

[x ka]š sila₃ / ½c še din sila₃ / aš₅ ġiri₂ du₃ / nam-maḥ / dub-sar

“[x] *sila*-vessel of beer, half a *sila*-vessel of barley beer: marking out the field by a dagger; Nammaḥ was the scribe (responsible for the transaction)”

The parallels and the context prove that ġiri₂ du₃ cannot be the name of a field. The meaning of the phrase “beer of the mountain (kur)” eludes me; it evidently refers to a drinking party, but I am not aware of any passages which provide information to define kur more precisely.

The act of “driving in” (du₃) a dagger reminds one of the symbolic act of “driving a nail” (gag du₃) into the wall (eḡar) of a house to mark the property and its sale (see Müller 1979; Malul 1987; id. 1988, 363–76; Gelb et al. 1991, 240–41). However, since this act is performed for fields as well, a simple

distribution of the phrase with a “nail” (gag) for houses and with a “dagger” (ġiri₂) for fields does not seem plausible.

A “dagger” (or “sword”, ġiri₂) is a highly symbolic weapon, as made clear by an oath sworn in the context of field sales. CT 5, 3 = OIP 104, no. 36 ii 4-11 (Sippar, ED IIIb): NAM.KUD / I₃.IR / LU₂.NA.ME / i-na-kir / ap-lu / GIR₂ / ^dLUGAL-^{giš}ASAL_x(RÉC-65.a) / HI.UŠ₂, translated by P. Steinkeller as follows (Gelb et al. 1991, 109): “the oath by oil nobody should change/violate; (if somebody does change it), then the heirs(?) of the sellers with the dagger of Lugal-asal will kill him”; or: “(the preceding persons) have sworn by oil that ...”. This oath most probably refers to the symbolic act of anointing often performed by the herald (niġir) in sales of houses, fields, and persons: a “nail” (gag) is driven into a wall, and its spot is anointed, as recorded by the formula gag-be₂ eġar-ra bi₂-du₃ i₃-be₂ za₃-ge be₂-a₅ (Gelb et al. 1991, 240–42; Krecher 1980, 494): “he drove its ‘nail’ (referring to the contract, i.e. serving as a writing medium for the text) into the wall, he applied the oil (necessary for the proper execution of this act) on it (i.e. the nail)” (i₃ ak “to apply oil” is construed with the directive case).

The act of announcing the sale by driving a nail into the wall, however, was different from “demarcating with a dagger”, an act performed in a field. Most probably, the latter act delimited the field to which the new property rights were then transferred. If this reconstruction is correct, the dagger used to mark the field for the new owner could have been a divine weapon upon which an oath was sworn at the completion of the procedure (see above).

Delimiting (sur) a field with a dagger (ġiri₂) for measuring it out (gid₂) is also referred to in TSS 881 in a different way:

(3) TSS 881 o. ix 7-15:

0.0.4c dabin / 0.0.4c dabin ^rtur-tur¹ / ^rx x x¹ / u₄ / aša₅ ġiri₂ sur / mu-gid₂-da / nam-maḥ / dub-sar / lugal [...]

“40 *sila* of barley flour, 40 *sila* of ‘small’ (breads made from?) barley flour, [for PERSON], when he measured the field, delimited with a dagger; Nammaḥ was the scribe (responsible for the transaction); ...”.

As scribe, Nammaḥ signs as being responsible for the transaction (2) as well; but this does not prove that (2) and (3) refer to one and the same field transfer, since Nammaḥ is more often listed as the scribe responsible for the expenditures that happened during the month covered by TSS 881.

The meaning for the phrase ġiri₂ du₃ derived from the Fara document TSS 881 explains the final passage in a statue inscription of Enmetena of Lagas. Here Enmetena identifies the fields handed over to Enlil’s newly built sanctuary e₂-ad-da (iii 6); the fields were obviously designated to provide the temple’s income, including a field already selected by his father and predecessor Enanatum (noted, e.g., by Cooper 1986, 63 fn.2).

(4) Ent. 1 (Steible/Behrens 1982/I, 211–214) = RIME 1.9.5.17 (Frayne 2008, 219–222), shoulder inscription, cols. v–vi:

(v) (1) 25.0.0^{GANA₂} en-an-na-tum₂ sur ^dnašše e-ta-e₁₁

(2) 11.0.0^{GANA₂} IM.KA.ZI:ZI.ŠE₃ (3) aša₅ abbar niġen^{ki}-ka (4) pa₅ ku₃-ge us₂-sa

(6) 1.00.0.0^{GANA₂} d^en-lil₂ (vi) (1) aša₅ gu₂-eden-na-ka

(2) en-mete(TE.ME)-na (3) en^{si}₂ (4) la^{gi}as^{ki}-ke₄ (5) d^en-lil₂ (6) e₂-ad-da-ka-ra (7) ġiri₂ e-na-du₃

“25 *bur* (162.5 hectares) of Enanatum, the border of Nanše, was drained (lit. risen [from the water]),

11 *bur* (71.5 hectares) in the I.-field, a field in the marshes of Niġen, bordering on the sacred canal,

60 *bur* (390 hectares) of Enlil in the Guedena field:

Enmetena, the ruler of Lagas, marked it (i. e., the described area) out with a dagger for Enlil of the Eadda.”

Steible/Behrens (1982/I, 214) translate: „... hat Enmetena ... dem Enlil ... abgetrennt“. In their commentary (Steible/Behrens 1982/II, 110) they write: „Die Verbindung gír—dù ist, soweit wir sehen, singulär. Die Übersetzung ist aufgrund des Kontextes geraten; E. Sollberger, IRSA 66f. mit Anm. c übersetzt ‚a découpé(?)‘ und M. Lambert, OrNS 44 (1975) 36 Anm. 79 ‚fit décréter‘.“

Frayne (2008, 220 ad vi 7) has chosen another solution: “In col. vi line 7 the tentative translation ‘cleared it (from stubble)?’ follows Selz’s ‘gerodet(?)’ (Untersuchungen p. 128 § 8)” (Selz 1995, 128 fn.

504 arrives at this translation by comparing the expression $ku_6 \hat{g}iri_2 du_3$ -a in DP 336 ii 3, „nach dem Kontext vielleicht ‚ausgenommene/entschuppte Fische‘.“. Cooper (1986, 63: La 5.17) left the phrase untranslated. The comparison with the Fara references from TŠŠ 881 hopefully solves this puzzle.

To the best of my knowledge, the phrase $\hat{g}iri_2 du_3$ “to mark (a field) out with a dagger” survives in the available written documentation only in the name of a field (a-ša₃ $\hat{g}iri_2$ -du₃-a, ITT 3 5268; cf. a-ša₃ $\hat{g}iri_2$ NATN 382 r.10).

Acknowledgements: See above Fara Note 1

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45) Fara Notes 3: Mariotes in Šuruppak — The photo for TŠŠ 881 on CDLI (P010929_d) allows a better interpretation of this document, and it provides the earliest reference to Mari in an archival text from Babylonia. As noted in Fara Note 2, the photo must have been taken before Jestin’s publication in 1937, and evidently the relevant passage of the tablet is not preserved any more, since Steible (2015) in his very careful study of the geographical names occurring in Fara texts did not mention the reference to “Mari” discussed here, although his article is based on his thorough knowledge of the Fara tablets housed in Istanbul.

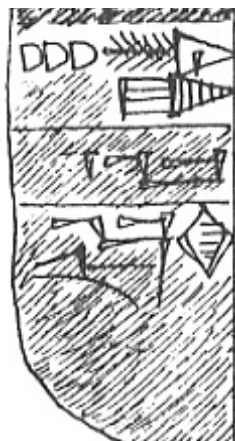
TŠŠ 881 lists not only expenditures of flour and beer to people, but also repeated charges of barley to feed donkeys (anše) of guests. The entries usually follow the pattern $n \text{ še } anše \text{ PERSON}$ “ n (amount of) barley for the donkeys of PERSON”. Although the same sign (LAK 240/53, Krebern timer 1998, 277) is used for both $\hat{g}iri_3$ and anše, an interpretation of the phrase $n \text{ še } anše \text{ PERSON}$ as $*\hat{g}iri_3 \text{ PN}$ “via PN”, “expedition of PN”, can be safely excluded: (1) in all instances the document lists še “barley”, and not flour, as in the other instances of expenditures for persons; (2) anše is usually written in the same box as še, but neither occurs in a separate box, nor combined with the personal name (še anše thus is graphically organised in the same way as the note that barley was used to buy beer, še kaš sa₁₀); (3) entries with the phrase $n \text{ še } anše \text{ PERSON}$ are usually concluded by a person acting as maškim “commissary” (or as “scribe”, dub-sar), thus another “conveyor” (if it were $*\hat{g}iri_3 \text{ PN}$) can be excluded; (4) the long entry o. vii 6–13 lists in hierarchical order first flour for the recipient, then “barley to buy beer” (še kaš sa₁₀) and finally “barley for donkeys” (še anše); (5) the frequent combination $n \text{ še } anše \text{ PN na } \hat{g}$ can be understood as “ n barley for donkeys of PN (who was at the) drinking (party)”; the photo does not permit an interpretation as gu₇ “to eat”.

The owners of the donkeys mentioned in TŠŠ 881 include an “envoy” (sugal₇, o. v 16), a “son of the king” (dumu lu[gal]) for one month (o. ii 11’–13’), and even the “king” (lugal, r. ii 5) himself. Another royal prince who received flour and beer during his stay was associated with the city of Sippar (o.

vi 11–12), another person came from Kiš (r. iv 15–16), one from Urua (URU_XA o. v 2–3), a shipper and a fisherman from Elam were there (lu₂ u₅ NIM, r. viii 12–13; šukud₂ NIM, r. iv 2–3), and Dilmun is mentioned in an unclear context (o. vii 2). These place-names (Sippir, Kiš, Urua, Elam, Dilmun) demarcate the borders of the geographical scope covered by the texts from Fara (Steible 2015, 160–61). The expenditures directly reflect the comings and goings of people at the local ruler's residence at Fara, and indeed the first entry notes flour and beer for the “big ruler (*ensi.g*) at a drinking party(?)” (NIĜ₂.PA.TE.SI gal / ʾnaĝ^ʾ o. i 4'–5'). Already the second entry is the one that interests us here:

3.0.0c še lid₂-ga anše / ma-ri₂^{ki} / [šu ba]-ti (TŠ 881 o. i 6'–8')

“3 *litka*-measures (= 720 *sila*) for the donkeys, the one(s) from Mari received it”



TŠ 881 o. i 6'–8'; left photo published in CDLI (P010929-d), right excerpt from the copy of Jestin (1937)

The restoration of o. i 8' is based on parallel entries in the same text, with groups of persons “having received” (šu ba-ti) flour (“persons punting boats”, lu₂ ma₂-gid₂, o. vi 13–14; “three carriers”, il₂, r. i 11–12; “persons cutting brushwood(?) from Kiš”, lu₂ u₂-ku₅ kiši^{ki}, r. iv 15–16; unclear r. vi 7–8).

Donkeys of high-ranking guests were thus fed from the granaries of a city, a practice known from the ED IIIb archive from Tell Beydar (ancient Nabada; early-mid 24th century BCE), with large expenditures of barley for the king (EN) of Nagar who regularly came to Nabada to stay there for several days (Sallaberger 1996, 103–6).

TŠ 881 offers the first reference to the city of Mari in an administrative document from the Fara period (ED IIIa, 26th century BCE). Previously, Mari was only known from two entries in scholarly texts from Tell Abū Šalābīḥ: Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary (EDPV) A line 208 ba la ĝ ma-ri₂^{ki} “the Mari harp” (Abū Šalābīḥ source OIP 99, 33 viii 21; edition Civil 2008); OIP 99, 328 v 7 ma-ri₂ in an unclear literary or lexical context.

The administrative context now attests to Mariotes arriving by donkey at Šuruppak. As is well known, Šuruppak served in this period as an important centre for the cities of Sumer (ki-en-ge), a region from Uruk in the south to Kiš in the north and including Lagaš, Umma, Adab and Nippur (Steible 2015, 161 with further literature). The Fara document TŠ 881 allows a glimpse of the political centre of Šuruppak, where travellers from the Gulf (Dilmun), from Elam, or from Mari and the inhabitants of Babylonia met. The administrative note on fodder for donkeys thus provides a historical anchorage for close links between Mari and Lower Mesopotamia, as well as the wide-reaching trade connections during the period of the rise of Mari's Ville II (Otto 2014), one and a half centuries before the contacts revealed by the documents from the Royal Palace G at Ebla (second third of the 24th century BCE).

Acknowledgements: See above Fara Note 1

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46) Minima Eblaitica 26: A Point of history: the Death of King Irkab-damu, and the Synchronism between the Death of two Kings of Mari and two Kings of Kakmium — ARET XV 10 § 70 mentions the gift of a mantel and two silver toggle-pins for the spouse of the minister Arrukum on the occasion of her “purification rite”: *ì-giš-sag dam Ar-ru₁₂-gúm*. This rite was celebrated in connection to the death of a relative, in this case certainly the death of Arrukum.

That this was the last monthly document of garments distribution to be attributed to this minister (in month *i-si*, I/IX) is confirmed by “the news of the defeat”, *níg-mul_x til*, of the city of Ḫazuwan brought to Ebla by a chief of the charioteers, registered in the following section of the same text, ARET XV 10 § 71. Ḫaz/suwan, (later Ḫaššum), must be located either at Tilbešar or Oylum (just north of the present Syrian–Turkish border). ARET XXI 3 § 17 mentions that “a son of the king of Ḫazuwan had to be killed in the city of Garaman”, *in ud dumu-nita en Ḫa-zu-wa-an^{ki} ḫi-úš in Ga-ra-ma-an^{ki}* (Archi 2021, pp. 199–200). This is the annual document concerning the metal expenditures of the first year of minister Ibrium, Arrukum’s successor. The killing of the king of Ḫazuwan’s son has to be connected with the city’s defeat. This city was at this point included in Ebla’s territory, as can be deduced from the fact that in later documents a king of Ḫazuwan is no longer mentioned. ARET XV 10 §§ 74–76 registers a third “death”, *úš*: that of the king of Kakmium, a city to be placed north of Ebla; ARET XIII 5 § 39, and 10 § 10 mentions the cluster: Kakmium, Ḫazuwan, and Nírar.

King Irkab-damu died several months after Arrukum, and ARET XIV 54 records the gifts for Dusigu (Irkab-damu’s spouse of second rank and mother of Iš’ar-damu, the new king) for her *ì-giš-sag* rite. This document is dated: “(when) Irkab-damu went to his destiny; eleventh <year>”, *si-mi úš-sù 10+1*. The recently appointed Ibrium (grateful for the honour he had received) presented a sumptuous gift: a mantel and two toggle-pins in gold weighing a hefty 1 mina (470 g), (§ 45).

The first annual document concerning the “deliveries”, *mu-DU*, to the Central Administration, to be ascribed to Ibrium, ARET XIV 55, is dated to the “second year (from) the king’s death”, (i.e. of Irkab-damu), (§ 32: 2 *mu úš en*). This is presumably because Ibrium had already been acting as minister already during several months of the previous administrative year, whose incomes were attributed to Arrukum (perhaps in document ARET XIV 52).

The death of Arrukum, together with that of the king of Kakmium, and the death of Irkab-damu must therefore all be placed within a time span of about eight months between two years.

The death of king Enna-Dagan of Mari also fell within this very short period. After having sent his menacing letter (ARET XIII 4), in which he reproached Ebla for having drastically reduced or even altogether stopped paying the tribute imposed by Iblul-il, Enna-Dagan moved with his army. A battle was fought in Eblaite territory, near *’À-ti-id_x(NI)/du^{ki}*, won by Ebla. This is reported in the monthly documents ARET XV 18 § 21, to be dated to the minister Arrukum: “Buda-malik, (son) of the judge Enna-il, brought the news that Mari was vanquished”, *níg-“mul” Ma-r^{ki} til* (month *’à-nun-na-at*, VIII/IV of the year preceding Arrukum’s death).

MEE 7, 23 (month *ga-sum*, VII/III), a monthly document of the distribution of garments, dates Irkab-damu’s death no earlier than eleven months after the battle of ’Atidu. It is reported that the king was “ill”, *tu-ra*, and the situation was dire: one entry exceptionally applied to five gods: “three minas of gold

for one belt with sheath and frog (by) the king (for) the purification (sikil) by Hadda; one dagger (decorated) with gold (by) the king (for) the purification (by) Alu of the city of Zigu; four belts with sheaths and frogs (decorated) with two minas of gold (for) the purification (by) Rašap of the city of 'Adadu, the Lord of Kananaum, 'Adabal of the city of Arugadu, 'Adabal of the city of Luban (one each), for the illness of the king (*al₆ tu-ra en*)", (r. V 1–VI 3).

It is uncertain if the amount of gold for Hadda, a war god (his yearly gift was a "battle-mace", *ḫa-bū*) was the one already registered in the lenticular tablet ARET VII 115, or if this had been a previous gift. This other text directly connects a magnificent gift in gold with the battle of 'Atidu: "one belt with sheath and frog of 1;45 minas of gold, and a pectoral of 1;19 minas of gold (for a total of 3;04 minas, 1.72 kg) (for the purification (by) the god Hadda of Irkab-damu. Purification in the year (in which) Mari was vanquished by 'Atid(u)", sikil *'Ā-da Īr-kab-da-mu sikil in mu Ma-rī^{ki} āga-'kār* (ŠÈ) *āš-ti 'Ā-ti-id^{ki}* (this battle, and its consequences, has previously been discussed in Archi 2019, pp. 146–150).

Irkab-damu must have died not much later than the date of MEE 7, 23. Enna-Dagan also died in that year, as is deduced from the fact that ARET XXI 3 (the annual document of expenditures of metals from the second half of the first year of minister Ibrium) registers the sending of a plaque of 30 shekels (350 g) to "Iku(n)-išar, king of Mari" through Dutum, a messenger from Mari (§ 48), choosing a modest gift to re-establish diplomatic relations. This was also the first year of king Iš'ar-damu, Irkab-damu's successor.

It is conceivable that Enna-Dagan also died as a consequence of the 'Atidu battle.

The chronological sequence of these events could be reconstructed in the following way (second column month sequence according to Archi 2017; third column according to Pettinato 1974/77):

(year Irkab-damu 10 / 11)	month	month
Battle of 'Atid(u)	VIII	IV
Arrukum's death; defeat of Ḫazuwan	I	IX
(year Irkab-damu 11 / 12)		
Irkab-damu ill; Enna-Dagan dead	VII	III
(year Iš'ar-damu 01)		
Ibrium 01; king Iš'ar-damu 01; killing of the son of the king of Ḫazuwan; Iku(n)-išar king of Mari		

Another synchronism is given in TM.75.G.1574; the death of a king of Mari and of a king of Kakmum: *in* DIŠ mu lugal *Ma-rī^{ki} úš ù en* [Ka]k-mi-um^{ki} [ú]š. This document registers the sheep "under the control", lú šu, of *Du-bi-šum* and *Dar-mi-a*: 65,300 and 18,950 respectively (Archi 1984, pp. 68–69). Darmia was (together with Tir) the most important "lord", lugal, until the appointment of Arrukum as minister, not later than the sixth year of Irkab-damu's reign (ARET XIV, pp. VII, 4–5, 15); Dubišum (also an important "lord") may have remained in office for a very few years.

This datum suggests that the document be dated to the first six years of Irkab-damu's period. Iblul-il of Mari died approximately in the third year of Irkab-damu, and three years of reign are attributed to Nizi his successor (Archi 2016, pp. 3–6, 10–11). It seems perhaps more probable that TM.75.G.1574 refers to Nizi's death, in the fifth or sixth year of Irkab-damu.

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47) Sieben verkaante Eulen — In der Beschwörung (Ur III) FSB 103 = TMH 6, 14 lesen Rudik ʾù⁷¹ tum₁₂ -tum₁₂^{mušen} umun₇ bzw. Geller ʾù¹ tu-tu^{mušen} imin, wonach es sich um Tauben handelt: „Und sieben Tauben“. ¹⁾ Der Text benutzt zwar auch an anderen Stellen ʾu „und“ aber zwischen Worten vor dem letzten Glied einer Aufzählung. Satzverbindend wird ʾu sonst in Rudiks gesamtem Korpus nicht gebraucht. Der Plural der Sachklasse, wozu auch Tiere gehören, ist äußerst selten. Z. B. zà-du₈-zà-du₈ „Türpfosten“ ELA 133; iri-iri „Städte“ CKU 23, 12 (cf. Edzard 2003, 31) und drückt meistens eine Totalität aus: kur-kur „alle Länder“, im-ḫulu-im-ḫulu „alle bösen Winde“ SF 36 vi 14-vii 1; Innana B 31; Flood Story 261. Vor einem Zahlwort ist ein Plural redundant und wird vermieden (Edzard 2003, 32). Dies gilt auch für die Personenklasse mit wenigen eher rhetorisch bedingten Ausnahmen. Cf. diġir gal-gal ninnu-ne-ne diġir nam tar-ra umun₅-na-ne-ne „große Götter – fünfzig von ihnen – (und) Götter die das Schicksal entscheiden – sieben von ihnen“ Enlil und Ninlil 56f.

Vergleiche auch im gleichen Text Z. 14: buru₅^{mušen} tu₆ zu umun₇ „7 (kleine?) Vögel, die man beschwören kann“. Cf. muš tu₆ nu-zu „eine Schlange, die keine Beschwörung kennt“, was dem Kontext nach nur heißen kann „eine Schlange, die man nicht beschwören kann“ Gilgameš, Enkidu und die Unterwelt 42; 85; 129; 140.

In der ganz ähnlichen Beschwörung FSB 104 kommen tum₁₂^{mušen} umun₇ „sieben Tauben“ vor, aber in ganz anderem Kontext. Beide Texte verraten eine Vorliebe für Bilder mit Siebenergruppen von Vögeln, die nicht notwendig die gleichen sind und letztlich spricht auch die korrekte Form in FSB 104 gegen tum₁₂-tum₁₂^{mušen} umun₇.

Alle Schwierigkeiten lassen sich mit der Lesung ʾù¹-ku₄-ku₄^{mušen} lösen. Altbabylonisch entspricht der ʾu/u₅-ku₄-ku₄^{mušen} = *šallālu* wörtlich „Schläfer“ (siehe Veldhuis 2004, 293f.). In der Ur III Orthographie ist ʾu ku₄ (-ku₄) für späteres ʾu ku(-ku) „schlafen“ gut belegt: ʾu du₁₀ ku₄-ku₄-da „dass er gut schlafen soll“ Gudea Zyl. B ix 9, siehe auch Zyl. A vi 11; xix 23; xvii 7-9; Statue F ii 5; Sulge R 6; Lugale 369. Der Autor hat den ʾu-ku₄-ku₄^{mušen} zusammen mit anderen Bezeichnungen für Eulen reklamiert (Keetman 2021a, b; 2022 Anm. 3). Der Name selbst dürfte den typischen Revierruf des Männchens, bzw. Balzruf des Weibchens nachahmen. Da der Ruf nachts zu hören war wurde er an das ähnlich klingende Verbum angepasst. Der Ruf des Vogels wurde mit Tod und Trauer assoziiert (Keetman 2021a, b). Genau das passt auch zu FSB 103, 5-7:

niġir gù ḫul-àm kur elam an-š[a] / ʾu ma-da-bé ba-si

niġir ka-ba gu tu₆-a bí-lá

ʾù¹-ku₄-ku₄^{mušen} umun₇ kur elam an-ša ʾu [ma-d]a<-bé> a-NE.RU-ma nar-kur-kúr-šè bí-ġar

“Der Herold – es ist ein zerstörerischer Klang, er erfüllt die Länder Elam (und) Anšan und ihre Lande –

Der Herold hat an seine (Instrument!) Öffnung den Faden der Beschwörung gebunden:

Sieben Uhus sind als Klagesänger in den feindlichen Ländern, Elam (und) Anšan und ihren Landen eingesetzt“.

Rudik versucht das Problem eines Verweises auf die Sachklasse in ka-ba zu umgehen, indem sie in der Übersetzung ein deiktisches Element ansetzt, was aber im Kontext kaum passt. Einfacher ist es in ka „Mund“ eine Öffnung in einem vorher erwähnten Instrument anzunehmen, was ja auch eher vorstellbar ist als dass jemand einen Faden an oder in seinen Mund bindet.

In nar-kur-kúr ist kur-kúr vermutlich lautmalend für klagende, schluchzende Laute. Ähnlich Geller 2003, 53. Vgl. den etymologischen Zusammenhang von „heulen“ und „Eule“ im Deutschen und englisch „owl“, „howl“. Der Wechsel spricht für einen unterschiedlichen Vokal in kur und kúr. Vgl. etwa Meyer-Laurin 2010, 11f. zur Unterscheidung túm/tùm, die ungleiche Verteilung von gu in ú-gu dé und gú in ru-gú, gú-mu- < ga-mu- etc. Die Statistik der Vokalharmonien spricht für mindestens 7 Vokale im Sumerischen, was verglichen mit anderen Sprachen nicht viel wäre (Keetman 2013).

Rudik sieht in beiden Texten eine Art Schadenszauber gegen die feindlichen Länder Elam und Anšan. Die Nennung gerade dieser Länder spricht dafür die Texte in der Zeit des Endkampfes um Ur anzusetzen oder besser kurz danach bis zur Vertreibung der Elamer aus Ur durch Išbi-Erra. Schließlich stammen die Texte aus Nippur.

Anmerkung

¹ Rudik 2015, 481-85; van Dijk / Geller 2003, siehe auch Bauer 2007, 177f. Krispijn 2008, 174-94.

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48) Die Getreidegöttin Sud — Den zweiten Teil des Namens der Göttin ^dkù-sù bzw. ^dkù-^{sù}PA.SIKIL deutete Josef Bauer wie folgt: „^{sù}PA.SIKIL = /sug/ bezeichnet vielleicht die reifen Halme, wenn sich die Bedeutung von isin für die grünen eingrenzen ließe, oder einen Teil des Halms“ (Bauer 1982, AoN 19). Später wies Bauer noch auf *šulpu* „Halm, Röhrchen“ geglichen mit ^(gi)SUD und [...] zug^{zu-ug}-še (Antagal) hin (Bauer 1992, AoN 48).

Trotz der Gleichung mit g kann man g als Auslaut bezweifeln. Entgegen steht ^dkù¹-sù-DU OECT 1, 37, 27, womit die Getreidegöttin, bzw. Nisaba gemeint ist (Krecher 1966, 133). Siehe auch Nisaba A 24: ^dkù-sù ar^{hu}š sù „Kusu, die Barmherzige“ (dazu Jaques 2006, 239), wo offenbar mit dem Wort sù(-DR) „langziehen, lang machen/sein“ gespielt wird. Ein Wort für „lang, länglich“ würde für einen Getreidehalm gut passen. Dies erfährt eine starke Unterstützung durch sù = *hanābu* <ša> še’im „sprießen (gesagt) vom Getreide“ CT 12, 30 BM 38179, 5’.

Antagal A 157: [gi] sug^{su-ug}-še = *šulpu* (gi nach CAD ergänzt) passt nicht, denn sug (LAGABxA) „Sumpf“ ist schwerlich eine alternative Schreibung für sù mit g-Auslaut. CAD übersetzt *šulpu* mit „1. stalk, 2. area under cultivation, cultivated field, 3. (a flute or other reed instrument)“. Es ist plausibel anzunehmen, dass sug-še zu 2 gehört und in ^dkù-sù der „heilige Halm“ gemeint ist und einen Auslaut auf d besitzt bzw. phonetisch nicht abschließend geklärtes DR.

Krebernik 1998, 281 mit Anm. 518 macht auf eine graphische Besonderheit aufmerksam: Bei sù in PN ist der hintere Teil von BU gestrichelt, in Kombination mit PA.SIKIL sind die Striche in der Raute am Anfang (Krebernik: BUGunû hier BUG). Sodann weist Krebernik darauf hin, dass in einem jüngeren Text zu ED Lú A AN.PA.SIKIL.BUG ú-si₄-na gelesen wird, was er als usan „Abend“, „Westen“ deutet. Die Zeichenkombination lebe in ^dUSAN₍₃₎.PA.SIKIL fort und folgt in An *Anum* IV 174 auf ^dUSAN für ^dištar *kakkabî* (cf. TCL 15, 10, 257f. zweite Zeile fast ganz zerstört). Krebernik schließt daraus: „BUGunû ist also hier der Vorläufer von USAN₍₃₎.“

USAN hat auch die Lesung sùb in mu₆-sùb „Hirte“ (MSL 14, 491, 82) frühdynastisch gut belegt (SF 28 i 7; ii 5; IAS 510 ii 1; DP 31 v 31). Das Zeichen (LAK556; RSP357) ähnelt jüngerem USAN. In FD IIIb Lagaš gibt es nur BUG = RSP336 und es steht für sù mit d oder g im Auslaut.¹⁾ Auch Gudea schreibt durchgehend BUG für sù: Zyl. A iii 5; B xxiv 8, Statue E viii 10 etc. Dass ein Wort für „Abend“, „Westen“, „Dämmerung“ bzw. ein Beiname der Innana im Namen der Getreidegöttin ^dkù-SÙ.PA.SIKIL auftaucht, ist unwahrscheinlich. Eher knüpft ^dUSÁN.PA.SIKIL an die Himmelsregion an-pa = *elât šamê* an. Auch in SF 36 vi 2 (siehe unten) macht es keinen Sinn. ED Lú A 84f. BUG.AN.PA.SIKIL enku_x(ZAG) / BUG.PA.SIKIL enku_x wird in OIP 11, 24 ii‘ 5’f. als en-kù ú-si₄-na / en-kù ba-aš-ti erklärt. Was ein

Steuereinnahmer des Abends sein soll, ist nicht verständlich. Vielmehr dürfte ú-si₄-na zu isin(PA.ŠE) = *isinnu* „Halm“ gehören (oder < u₂₀(ŠE)-isin_x(PA) „Gerstenhalm“?). Mit *bāštu* „Scham; Lebenskraft“ etc. weiß ich in diesem Zusammenhang nichts anzufangen. „Steuereinnahmer der (Getreide-)Halme“, würde Sinn ergeben. Die etwas andere Graphik von sù in semitischen Namen ist vielleicht eine Differenzierung wie zwischen su und zu, um eine etwas andere Aussprache anzuzeigen.

Könnte es sein, dass das Wort auch im Namen der Göttin ^dsùd steckt? Geschrieben wird sùd = SU+KUR+RU wie ihre Stadt Šuruppak = SU+KUR+RU^{ki}. Der Bestandteil KUR+RU steckt auch in der Schreibung der Stadt Arata (oder Aratta): LAM+KUR+RU (Mittermaier 2009, 26-39). Die Funktion von KUR+RU in den beiden Namen ist ungeklärt, doch spricht der gemeinsame Anteil dafür, dass der Name der Stadt primär ist. Vgl. ÈŠxKU₆ (Heiligtum + Fische) als Schreibung der Göttin Nanše und ihres Kultortes. SU ist vermutlich ein phonetisches Hilfszeichen.

Jacobsen 1989, 269 Anm. 7 deutet den Namen ^dsùd oder an-sùd ohne Verweis auf Bauer als „luxuriously growing ear of grain“. Er benutzt dazu die Gleichung *hanābu ša še'im* und den Namen ^dsùd-anzú^{mušen}, den Jacobsen als Wortspiel Anzud-Ansud „The Thunderbird is (i.e. „means“) luxuriantly growing ears of grain“ versteht. Dazu zitiert er auch eine angebliche Namensform mit ak: „the thunderbird making luxuriously ears of grain“. Der genannte Text WF 27 (= Steible/Yildiz 2015 Nr. 31) enthält diese Namensform jedoch nicht und dreigliedrige Satznamen mit ak sind nicht belegt. Siehe Krebernik 1998-2001, 454f.; 2002, 12 mit Anm. 35. Der Name ist nach Parallelen ^dsùd-anzú(d)^{mušen} zu lesen und der Gleichklang mag seine Beliebtheit erhöht haben. Es gibt solche Namen aber auch mit anderen Göttern und auch ohne theophores Element. Also war ^dsùd ein austauschbares Element in „Sud (ist wie ein) Anzu (der beschützt)“. Cf. Selz 1995, 24f.

Der in großen Teilen kaum verständliche Text SF 36²⁾ bringt Sud in Verbindung mit Feldern und Pflanzen: zà-me ga-du₁₁ ^dsùd sùPA.SIKIL kib é ki saĝ AMBAR-tur „Ich will preisen! - Sud, den Weizenhalm und den Tempel, den Ort erster Güte in Ambartur“ v 15-vi 4. AMBAR-tur war ein Gebiet wo Felder lagen (Bartash 2017, 431). Mit AMBAR wurden an verschiedenen Orten landwirtschaftlich genutzte Gebiete bezeichnet (RGTC 1, 11-13; 2, 7f. BAD.AMBAR: ELTS 18 Rs. i 6). In v 1f. wird AMBAR genannt und darauf ist von großen Schiffen die Rede, vermutlich um Getreide zu transportieren und in SF 1 viii 2 wird ein ^dAMBAR-šuruppak/sùd genannt. MAR-buru^{mušen} in vi 7 ist ein weiterer Ortsbegriff der im Zusammenhang mit Feldern erwähnt wird (Cavigneaux 2020, 248). Vergleiche auch SF 36 ii 2f. ^dsùd / GÁNA kib „Sud / Weizenfeld“ und i 3: šà GÁNA zi <^d>sùd „im Innern des bestellten Feldes ist Sud“ oder „im Innern des Feldes erhebt sich Sud“. Unter den vielen Möglichkeiten SAR zu interpretieren ergibt ^dsùd nisi „Sud, grüne(nde) Pflanze“ in iii 11 am ehesten einen Sinn. Wegen ähnlicher Bilder von Getreidegottheiten (siehe unten) wäre noch möglich ^dsùd mú „Sud wächst (wie eine Pflanze)“. Der Kontext ist nicht sicher zu erschließen und es fehlt vermutlich mindestens ein Verbum. Hier trotzdem ein Versuch: dug ummu(A.EDIN<.LÁ>) edin ba-lá e-sír ġeš-ge ^dsùd nisi sul deli DU edin bar tab-ba é-kur „Trinkkrug und Wasserschlauch hat er sich in der Steppe umgebunden, am Wege, im Schilddickicht <steht?> Sud (wie?) eine grüne Pflanze, der Jüngling geht alleine in der Steppe, der Verbannte des Ekur“ iii 8-14.³ Die Szene, wenn richtig gedeutet, erinnert an die Verbannung Enlils in Enlil und Ninlil. Gegen Ende soll (durch die genannten Vögel?) ein Ort verraten werden: ki zu-na ħé-da-zu „den Ort, den du kennst, soll er/sie mit dir wissen“ vi 11f. Neben Feldern und Getreide werden auch Rinder und Schafe genannt, was für die Fruchtbarkeit der Tiere stehen dürfte, deren Unterhalt aber letztlich auch am pflanzlichen Ertrag hängt. Entsprechend heißt es im Schlussteil: máš da dab ^dsùd-kam₄ gúg-KAL gal-gal ^dsùd-kam₄ bansur gal-gal ^dsùd-kam₄ zà-me du₁₁-ga ^dsùd-kam₄ nun-zu₅-šè é ^den-líl-šè „die im Arm gehaltenen jungen Böcke gehören Sud, die großen ...-Kuchen gehören Sud, die großen Tische gehören Sud (und) der gesprochene Preis (dafür) gehört Sud – zu deinem Fürsten, zum Haus Enlils!“ vii 4-12.⁴ Die künftige Braut deckt Enlil den Tisch und wird eben dafür im Lied gepriesen. Es könnte der Auftakt für eine Götterreise sein.

Mag auch der Versuch, die zugrundeliegende Erzählung in Teilen zu erfassen aufgrund der vielen unverständlichen Passagen und mutmaßlich fehlender Verben unsicher bleiben, so sind doch zwei Dinge ziemlich sicher herauszulesen: Die Verbindung von Sud und Enlil (é-kur iii 14; é ^den-líl(É) vii 12) und dass Sud mit Feldern und Feldpflanzen, insbesondere auch mit dem Halm des Weizens in Verbindung gebracht, bzw. sogar identifiziert wird.

Ihre Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse weisen Sud klar als eine Getreidegöttin aus. Nach Enlil und Sud war sie die Tochter von Nisaba/Nunbaršegunu und Haja. Nisabas Name wurde als „Herrin der Getreidezuteilungen“ gedeutet (Selz 1989) und Haja ist wahrscheinlich etymologisch verwandt mit dem akkadischen Wort *e(jj)û* „Gerste“.⁵ Sud ist zugleich die Mutter der Nisaba, die gleichzeitig mit der Getreidegöttin Ezina gleichgesetzt wird (siehe unten). In Enlil und Sud wird Sud mit Ninlil gleichgesetzt. In Enlil und Ninlil ist Ninlil die Tochter der Nunbaršegunu „Fürstin, (deren) Leib scheckige Gerste ist“. SF 36 zeigt, dass Sud bereits in FD IIIa als Gemahlin des Enlil angesehen werden konnte. In einem Fluch heißt es, Enlil solle Salz in der Ackerfurche aufsteigen lassen (Ean. 63 iii' 4-6, RIME1.9.3.3). Das deutet auf eine Beziehung Enlils zum Feldbau, mit dem auch sein Sohn Ninurta zu tun hatte. Der Name seines nördlichen Pendants als oberster Gott Dagan, heißt auf Hebräisch „Getreide“, was die Annahme stützt, dass auch der oberste Gott im an Getreide besonders reichen Sumer wenigstens in die Landwirtschaft eingeheiratet hatte.

Eine Getreidegöttin als Getreidepflanze ist ein belegtes literarisches Bild: ^dezinā kù-^{su}PA.SIKIL-e àbsin-na saĝ an-šè ìl-šè „damit Ezina, die Reine, der Halm in der Furche das Haupt zum Himmel erhebe“ Gudea Zyl. B xi 19f. und Enlil und Sud 157-60 (Civil 1984, 57):

lú dam sì-ga-ĝu₁₀ mu-un-ù-dú kù ^dnisaba-ke₄
^dézina ^dézina mú zi ki-en-ge-ra ħé-em
 ab-sín-na ki-sikil sa₆-ga-gen₇ ní pa è aka-za
^diškur kù-ĝál ú-a-zu ħé-em a ki-ta mi-ri-in-dé
 „Meine eingesetzte Gemahlin hat geboren, die Reine, die Nisaba.
 Die Ezina, die wachsende Ezina soll das Leben Sumers sein!
 Wenn du dich selbst erscheinen lässt in der Furche wie ein schönes Mädchen,
 soll Iškur, der Wasserregulierer dein Ernährer sein! Wasser gießt er dir unten hin.“

Anmerkungen

¹ Die andere Form findet sich hingegen auf der wohl wesentlich älteren Figure aux plumes und zwar mit schrägen Strichen, wie sie auch in den archaischen Texten aus Ur vorkommen.

² Siehe cdli: P010618 (Foto und Kopie von Krebernik). Übersetzung einiger Zeilen Krebernik 1998, 325; Keetman 2021; Kolophon: Krebernik/Lisman 2020, 212. Mit seinen Wiederholungen wirkt der Anfang wie rhythmischer Gesang.

³ Zu nisi(-g) Volk 1995, 153; zu bar tab PSD B 130b. Cf. Verbannung in Enlil und Ninlil 54-62; Behrens 1978.

⁴ Vgl. Geierstele iv 18f.: ^dinnana-ke₄ da mu-ni-dab „Innana nahm (das Kind) auf den Arm“. Im unteren Register einer Weihplatte aus Ur (U. 6831, BM 118561) hält jemand einen Bock in den Armen, offensichtlich um ihn zum Tempel zu bringen. Auch auf der „Standarte von Ur“ gibt es eine nur in Umrissen erhaltene Figur, die einen jungen Bock trägt.

⁵ Weeden 2009, cf. Cavigneaux 2010. Der einzige Beleg aus FD IIIa, ^dha-jà SF 77 iv 15 sagt nichts über ein Verwandtschaftsverhältnis. Da der Text Zeichen häufig phonetisch assoziiert, ist wohl ein Anschluss an vorangehendes A = aja_x ausschlaggebend, vielleicht mit semantischer Beziehung zu „Wasser“ (a oder /aja/, daher später auch /e/). Wäre Haja bereits in FD IIIa der Vater von Sud gewesen, wäre es erstaunlich, dass er in keinem anderen FD IIIa-Text belegt ist.

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49) A tablet from Drehem — In January 2022 I was contacted by Douglas Seiler (UC Berkeley, Astronomy Department) with photographs of a Drehem tablet, dated AS 7 V 24. According to this source, the tablet has been in the family of a friend for about a hundred years – which approximately matches the appearance of Drehem tablets on the antiquities market. The images were taken by Douglas Seiler and prepared for publication by John Carnahan. The current owner prefers to remain anonymous.



The text reads:

1 udu a-lum	1 <i>aslum</i> sheep
2 sila ₄	2 lambs
1 kir ₁₁ gukkal	1 female fat-tailed lamb
ud 24-kam	the 24th day
ki ab-ba-sa ₆ -ga-ta	from Abbasaga
šu-ma-ma	Šumama
i ₃ -dab ₅	took.
(blank)	
iti ezem ^d nin-a-zu	Month of the Ninazu festival
mu hu-uh ₂ -nu-ri{ki} ba-hul	Year that Huhnuri was destroyed (AS 7)
left side 4 udu	(total) 4 sheep

The text joins dozens of similar texts in which Abbasaga transfers animals to Šumama in the years AS 6-8. A chronological listing of 61 such documents, starting AS 6 III 1 and ending AS 8 III 29 is provided by Changyu Liu, *Organization, Administrative Practices and Written Documentation in Mesopotamia during the Ur III Period* (Münster: Ugarit Verlag 2017) section 2.2.2.1.15 (p.92 with note 504 and summary in table 2.7 on pp.97-98). In the meantime, several additional such texts have appeared, for instance Nisaba 33, 188 (P517368); HSS 68, 174 (P407070); HSS 68, 187 (P407083); HSS 68, 325 (P407254); HSS 68, 360 (P407292); and three texts in the Hermitage Museum, to be published by Natalia Koslova (Erm 07866 = P211680; Erm 07849 = P211664; and Erm 14860 = P212161).

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50) Polishing some Sumerian Jewels* — In a recent reading of Miguel Civil's 1987 "Sumerian Riddles: A Corpus," I came across the fragmentary and cryptic riddle no. 15 (=CBS 9814+9815 rev iii' 3'-5'). Largely following Bendt Alster's 1976 edition, Civil rendered:

1-am ₃ pu ₂ al-b[a-al(?)]	'One has d[ug] (or o[pened]) a well,
2-am ₃ igi am ₃ -ba[r-re (...)]	'two look at it.
ki-bur ₂ -bi giš bir ₄ igi-b[ar(?)-ra(?)]	Answer: a flaccid penis in vi[ew(?)].'

The reading "flaccid" from bir₄ stands firm, explained by both Alster and Civil from OB Lu, where it is equated to *kalšum*, "shriveled." ¹⁾ The restoration igi-b[ar?-ra(?)], however, seems less likely. The logic of the riddle more probably demands something which makes better sense of the "one"/"two" construction. I therefore propose that we restore a reference to penis/testicles: i.e., that the penis "digs" the "well" while the two testicles "look at it." Thus, this proposed reconstruction:

1-am ₃ pu ₂ al-b[a-al(?)]	'One has o[pened up] the well,
2-am ₃ igi am ₃ -ba[r-re (...)]	'the (other) two looked on.
ki-bur ₂ -bi geš ₂ bir ₂ 'u ₃ ¹ [šir (x ³)] ²⁾	'Answer: a flaccid penis 'and ¹ [testicles].'

My understanding is that the action of the first two lines is set in the past; thus, the flaccidity of the penis has resulted from past action, with coitus having been completed by the time of the climactic punchline.

The reconstruction is supported in five ways. First, it fits the context and logic of the riddle, where if the penis is the "one," some entity needs to answer as the "two." Second, the paleography allows us to as easily read 'u₃¹ as igi+'bar¹. Third, the pairing of "penis" and "testicles" is already implied in the corpus of Sumerian proverbs, where both are of course vehicles for various humorous observations. ³⁾ Fourth, there is at least one other bawdy joke in this same corpus of riddles (indeed, from the same tablet): no. 8, where the answer is that "the vagina" is like a "(sweet?) mouth." ⁴⁾ Fifth, the majority of riddle answers are almost all composed of nouns without verbal constructions; that is, answers are typically nominal simplicita

(“a dog,” “a school,” “a deaf person,” etc.).⁵⁾ A reconstruction of “penis and testicles” would conceivably better conform to this pattern than “a penis in view,” which is a noun with a verbal adjective.

Civil opined that the “chronological and cultural distance” of esoteric riddles and proverbs often made comprehension problematic, a sentiment echoed by all who have worked on the seemingly insurmountable challenges they present. But in this instance we may face nothing more complicated than a four-thousand year old schoolboy “bofa deez” joke.

Notes

* I extend thanks to Piotr Michalowski, who made suggestions on a previous draft of this note. But I alone am responsible for any errors and all tasteless humor.

¹ E.g., MSL XII p. 205 Recension D l. 28, where lu_2 -geš₂ bir₂-ra = *kalšu*, listed together with the “lame person” (l. 30, lu_2 du₁₀-sa-dar), the “clubfoot” (l. 31, lu_2 -ma-an-zi-la₂), etc. Note also Gudea StB iv 2, where the geš₂ bir₂ is one of the “persons ritually unclean and unpleasant to look at.” Cf. CAD *kalāšu* v. “to shrivel,” including one use in reference to a penis. Note further Prov.Col 2.117, “The dog licks its shrivelled penis” (ur-gir₁₅ geš₃ bir₂-bi eme šub₆-be₂); and Prov.Col 5.44.6 (IIUET 6, 236), “Make the donkey sit like this! Make it lift its shrivelled penis!” (anše ne-ēš₂-am₃ tuš-ma-ab giš₃ pir₂-bi il₂-il₂-ni-ib). My thanks to Michalowski for some of these references.

² It may further be that šir is followed by an adjective in parallel to giš bir₄; “cramped” (gu₂-gid₂) is a possibility. Akkadian descriptions of testicles as having “stiffness” are more common than other alternatives: see *mungu* A, e.g., *išikšu munga*, “stiffness of the testicle,” from the root verb *magāgu*. Thus, I propose “cramped” (*mangu*). A reconstruction of sug₄ (“drained”) is also possible from Akkadian parallels (from *Šumma izbu* as šir(.meš) *rēqat/rēqa* [CAD I/J s.v. *išku* s. 1a-1’]), but contexts seem to indicate understanding missing rather than empty testicles.

³ Note especially the alternation SPC 16.b4 and 23.7 “A shepherd’s sex appeal is his penis/testicles,” as well as SPC 1.159, 2.78 and .117, 4.7, 5.44, and 8.b21.

⁴ Cf. SPC 1.159, “An unfaithful penis matches(?) an unfaithful vagina” (giš₃ lul-la gal₄-la lul-la-ke₄ ba-ni-in-sig₁₀).

⁵ Of the twenty riddles treated by Civil (1987) which preserve answers, only five (nos. 7, 17–19, 24) are more than bare nouns. Nos. 7 and 18 are nouns modified by adjectives; nos. 17, 19, and 24 include verbal constructions. The repetition of bar as the verb in the second and third lines seems unlikely.

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51) The porters list, unpublished text from University of Pennsylvania Museum — I have hand-copied this text at my last visit to Penn Museum on my birthday March/29/2022, after the end of AOS meeting in Boston. The museum was very kind to allow me to study and publish the text. The text records assigning four porters, to carry the gypsum to a house, in addition to two other men with unknown positions, probably one of them is the (Ugula: overseer). Then the scribe left a long space after the last personal name, and wrote the name of the city Uri₂.

The tablet (CBS 11008):

Obv.1	ug ₃ -IL ₂ \GA ₆	Porters
	Ur- ^d DUNŠUL	Urdun
	Ur- ^d DUNŠUL	Urdun
	Ur- ^d DUNŠUL	Urdun
5	Lugal-uš	Lugaluš
	Nig ₂ -ša ₃ ge	Nigšage
	Lugal-gaba	Lugalgaba
	e ₂ im-babbar	Gypsum (to) the house
	Ur-ad-[x]	Urad...?
Low.ed	Lu- ^d suen (EN.ZU)	Lusuen
Rev.	(Space)	
	Uri ₂ ^{ki}	Ur city



Most of the personal names in the list appears in Nippur assigned as farmers, supervisors and porters. As for Urdun who is strangely mentioned three times in three lines one after another in the text, he appears in Ur III texts receiving amount of silver. (Owen, D. 1982, pl. 159, t. 706), and in seal impressions as (nu-banda₃: overseer) son of A-ka-la. (Pohl, A. 1937, 15; Waetzoldt, H. 1976, 318). While lugal-gaba appears in texts from Nippur as (muhaldim lugal: king's cook) son of ku-li. (Owen, D. 1982, pl. 158, t. 698). There is a lot of mysterious going around this text, according to the personal name that was repeated three times, it might be a school text, the student kept repeating the name to exercise writing. Or it might be an administrative text, and there are three men with same name (Urdun) assigned in this text. After discussing the content of the text with Prof. Walther Sallaberger, he assumed the term “e₂ im-babbar” might be another personal name, the heading (ug₃-il₂: porters) however, made me think “e₂ im-babbar” is a term not a personal name, because the porters were assigned to carry the gypsum to a house. Prof. Sallaberger could add; it is also strange writing the name of the city Ur, using the sign Uri₂, instead of Uri₅. Anyhow, the mysterious about this text, is bringing it closer to define its genre as a school text, according to the repeated name, the Uri₂ sign and the hand typing.

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52) A note on possible initial and final consonantal clusters in Sumerian words* —

“SYLLABLE STRUCTURE. Here again we are dependent on Akkadian, because we are only able to reach Sumerian syllabograms through their Akkadian pronunciation. As a Semitic language has no initial consonantal clusters ... or word-final clusters ... we cannot identify Sumerian syllables with a structure differing from Akkadian. Therefore, while we may ask whether Sumerian syllables of the type *bra-*, *pli-*, ..., *-urps* actually existed, there is no way to prove them” (Edzard 2003, 22).

This statement cannot be agreed with unreservedly. Edzard refers *ibidem* to Postgate, who contradicts Falkenstein’s assumption that ‘*ba-ra-*’ could be a spelling for intended **b+ra* (Postgate 1974, 18 on the considerations of Falkenstein 1949, 190 and ~ 1950, 185)¹⁾.

Consonantal clusters of two consonants inside the word at a syllable boundary are common (*ašgar*, *áš-gàr*)²⁾. Consonantal clusters at the beginning and end of words are not unequivocally proven. Postgate deals with special cases; can it be ascertained, or at least made plausible, that no such consonantal clusters existed? In a mixed word/syllable script such as cuneiform, not all initial and final consonants of a syllable would necessarily have to be written³⁾. Vowels could be written individually, as corresponding words existed (*a* = water etc.); with the exception of the plosives (*b*, *p*; *d*, *t*; *g*, *k*), all phonemes can be pronounced with the same sustained length as the vowels. The possibility of assigning a cuneiform sign to those phonemes was not realised (this would have been a preliminary stage to an alphabetic script); at least there is no indication of it anywhere⁴⁾. Presumably there was no reason to do so either. One kept to what – in the opinion of the author (cf. *NABU* 2013/55) – had been adopted from the Proto-Euphratians, “one sign = one word/one syllable”.

If one assumes on a trial basis that “he wrote” (*in-sar*) was pronounced **n-sar*, the simplest spelling with syllables would be ‘*ni-sar*’ or ‘*in-sar*’. The latter is more likely, as it seems to come closer in pronunciation to **n-sar* (the vowel “*i*” is arbitrarily chosen; cf. Turkish *İzmir* for *Smyrna*). The “*i*” in ‘*in-sar*’ can be understood as a “peg element” (*NABU* 2021/64). The question is whether that peg element was pronounced or not. If it was pronounced, there were presumably no initial consonantal clusters. If it was not pronounced, but only written, because “*n*” alone could not be written, there were initial consonantal clusters. An article by Wilcke (~ 1988) proves helpful in making this decision. Although it only deals with Neo-Sumerian verbal forms, this does not detract from its argumentation. The spellings *ì-fb-*, *ì-im-* and *ì-in-* at the beginning of verbal forms examined by Wilcke are not the norm. As an example, ‘*ì-in-ĝál*’ is picked out (Wilcke 1988, 24, c2.01). This spelling shows that there were, or at least could be, vowels before **n-ĝál*:

a) The spelling could indicate that the “*i*” in “*in-ĝál*” is to be pronounced long – this is an unlikely assumption. A scribe knew whether the vowel was long or short: it could at most be an occasional instance of hypercorrectness (see Edzard 2003, 13, “Vowels”; cf. Falkenstein 1964, 29 *ad lú-ù*).

b) Spellings with “*i*” at the beginning could indicate that otherwise an **n/b/m*-verbal root (in the chosen example: **n-ĝál*) is to be read. However, this can also be ruled out: the spellings *ì-fb-*, *ì-in-*, *ì-im-* (Wilcke 1988, 1) display “regressive vowel take-up”, which shows that the “simple vowel” is to be spoken before *b*, *n* and *m*. The double spellings *a-ab-* etc. beginning with “*a*” and “*u*” (many examples in Wilcke 1988, note 36) are to be evaluated differently, since here the simple vowel must necessarily be pronounced. In the case of “*a*”, it is the formerly “independent” conjugation prefix “*a*” (Falkenstein 1964, § 32; Thomsen 1984, §§ 316-321), which is recorded in Edzard 2003, § 12.10 next to “*al*” as an allomorph of the morpheme “*a(l)*” (“prefixed indicator”). For “*u*”, prospective forms (*/u/-*) and negated forms (*nu-ù-ub-* etc., in this case with progressive vowel harmony) come into consideration.

One would suppose that the verbal forms with a twice written initial vowel fulfil certain selection criteria (in the example chosen above, ‘*ì-in-ĝál*’, “*i*” could indicate that the “*n*” is the shortened form of the locative 2 element “*ni*”: Wilcke 1988, 24 and 37f.; Edzard 2003, 100 bottom). However, this does not seem to be the case, as there are often parallels with only a single written vowel (Wilcke 1988, *passim* [cf. especially p. 9 top⁵⁾ as well as notes 80 and 82]). In “*ù-ul-*” (**ù-al-*) the prospective and the morpheme “*a(l)*” are linked together (Edzard 2003, § 12.10). Generalised, this means that there were probably no initial consonantal clusters.

For final consonantal clusters, peg elements of the form CV could have been introduced (following the resumption of the last consonant in the spelling of case endings: *É-an-na* **É-an-a(k)*)⁶⁾. There do not

seem to be any clear indications of this. Also, when adding case endings, final consonantal clusters should become noticeable. If one assumes that AMAR /amar/ (calf) was actually to be read as */amasr/ or similar, the genitive should have been written AMAR-ra(k) or syllabically *a-mas-ra(k) (analogously when swapping r and s in the hypothetical pronunciation). Likewise, final consonantal clusters should have been revealed in the adoption of words from Sumerian into Akkadian: If AN = /an/ (heaven, sky) was actually read as */aln/ or similar, it should have been adopted into Akkadian in the form *al-nu. Such spellings are not known (to me) for either Sumerian or Akkadian⁷).

The sounds ĝ and “ř” [:= phoneme “dr”], the only two “genuine” candidates for consonantal clusters, must have been perceived as *one* phoneme each by the Sumerians (otherwise one would have had consonantal clusters after all; compare ζ, ξ and ψ in Greek). The Akkadians could represent ĝ by “ng” (which often becomes n, g or gg; cf. ħé-ĝál > *hegallu*), thus splitting the phoneme (cf. in German *fangen* [ng ≈ ĝ], but in hyphenation *fan-gen*); this “ng” is to be separated from “genuine” Sumerian “n-g” (as in engar /en-gar/, cf. German *an-gehen*) (Falkenstein 1964, 24; Edzard 2003, 16f.). Ad “ř” cf. Edzard 2003, 18 (with references); more clearly: Thomsen 1984, 44 (cf. the examples ‘kud.r’ and ‘pad.r’ in Thomsen’s “Catalogue of Verbs”). The phoneme “ř” is not accepted by everyone; reference should be made to Thomsen 1984, example 779: kud-re-dè *kud.r-ed-e. If ř/“dr” were a consonantal cluster, it would be the only (proven) one in Sumerian – perhaps a little unusual, but of course not impossible.

Résumé: Postgate’s considerations, which have been slightly expanded in the present contribution, suggest that there were neither initial nor final consonantal clusters in Sumerian words.

Notes

* Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2019/56; /.../: (approximate) reading of the sign (combination) “...”; >: becomes; C: consonant; V: vowel.

¹ Postgate points out that his findings do not necessarily also have to apply to the periods before or after Gudea. On the page given by Edzard l. c. *b+ta is dealt with, among other things. Postgate deals with this in four points, the last two of which (3 and 4) are decisive: 3) it would be contrary to the nature of an infix (pronominal element [b] + dimensional element [ta]) to place it at the beginning of a verbal form; however, Postgate overlooks the fact that the term “infix” was coined by modern grammarians. 4) The form ‘la-ba-ta-è’ (Gudea, Cyl. A ix 26) would seem to prove that ‘ba-ta’ is not merely a spelling for *b+ta, since *labta-è could have been written as ‘la-ab-ta-è’. This sounds convincing; however, frequently occurring spellings were often retained (think of ŠU.NÍG.TUR.LAL-bi = tukumbi; cf. also Edzard 2003, § 12.8.1.20 ad “[(e)neši]”). It is therefore conceivable that the negation (la-) must not necessarily have had an influence on the usual spelling ‘ba-ta-è’ (cf. on this also G. Zólyomi, *Directive infix and oblique object in Sumerian*, (...), Or 68 [1999] 215–253, note 20). Just for the sake of completeness, it should be pointed out that, for example, for ‘adbar’ (ad-bar; basalt/basaltic lava) a spelling ‘á-da-bar’ is also documented (ePSD). Auxiliary vowels to facilitate pronunciation are found in many languages (cf. for example in Akkadian *labiru* instead of the expected *labru, *uruballu* “instead of” *urballu*, in German dialectally “jetzert” for “jetzt”).

² The “Ur III unorthodox spelling nam-bi-ri” for – according to Edzard – assumed /nambri/ is evaluated by Edzard as a “secondary phonetic phenomenon” (“b” being a gliding sound, “glide”) [Edzard 2003, 22; NB: here Edzard assesses CV (bi) as C (b)].

³ Compare “Linear B” on Crete: ta-to-mo = σταθμός, pa-te = πατήρ and πάντες (the examples are taken from W. Ekschmitt, *Das Gedächtnis der Völker*, Berlin 1968).

⁴ For Akkadian see W. von Soden, *Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik*, AnOr 33/47, Rome 1969, § 8e.

⁵ Wilcke comments on possible differences in meaning between the spellings with single and doubled vowels, for example, at the end of note 31, on page 40 top and on page 46 bottom (here with reference to Yoshikawa, JCS 29, 223ff.). Two different schools of scribes were contemplated by Krecher (cf. on this Wilcke 1988, 6f.).

⁶ The five (late) spellings “gù-ra” for “gud (= bull)” (Thomsen 1984, § 23: ‘gudr’; evidence in the ePSD s.v. gud) may hardly be understood in this sense. Moreover, this is the “phoneme” ř (see below). In this context, reference should also be made to the (albeit late) “unorthographic spellings” (brief summary: Thomsen 1984, 281–284).

⁷ In theory, all Sumerian and Akkadian texts should have been examined. This, of course, did not happen. Presumably there are further cases that should be assessed as in footnote 2 (or considered as errors). A spoken consonantal cluster could *possibly* have survived in the word for “date” (fruit) (borrowed into Sumerian?): zú-lum(b) > *suluppum* (Falkenstein 1964, § 8.a.2; B. Landsberger, *Die Anfänge der Zivilisation in Mesopotamien*, Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, 431–437 [1944], 436 [sulumb]).

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53) The diri-compound SIKI.PA.IB in the Old Babylonian period — To this date, the only discussion of the rare diri-compound SIKI.PA.IB is found in Falkenstein’s edition of syllabic Sumerian incantations from Hattuša, published in 1939. He identified the compound’s linguistic form as /hamanzer/, which he linked to *hamasīru* “mouse”, and translated it as “Haarknäuel” (a term probably best rendered as “wad of hair” in English). This note offers a re-evaluation of the lexeme.¹⁾

1. OB attestations. Most attestations of SIKI.PA.IB date to the Old Babylonian period. It is found in the lexical lists Ugu-ḡu₁₀ and Diri (both from Nippur), as well as in unprovenanced Diri “Oxford”:

- OB Diri Nippur Sect. 6 2: [SIKI.PA].IB : *mu-ša-[a-tum]*;
 OB Ugu-ḡu₁₀ Nippur (MSL IX 51 S20 = Ist Ni. 4617) rev. i 8’: SIKI.PA.IB-ḡu₁₀;
 OB Ugu-ḡu₁₀ Nippur (MSL IX 51 S1 = CBS 6559+) rev. i 26: SIKI.PA.IB-ḡu₁₀;
 OB Diri “Oxford” 421: [SIKI].PA.IB : *‘mu-ša’-a-tù*.

Outside of the lexical material the lexeme is also found in three mss. of an incantation against witchcraft.²⁾ All three texts are written in standard orthographic Sumerian.

- ms. A: JRL 1059 = AfO 24 pl. 2 obv. 3-5 (Wilcke 1973: 10-13)
 ms. B: CBS 11933 obv. i 1’-4’ (Geller 1989)
 ms. C: CBS 332 = PBS 1/2 122 obv. 5-9 (Lutz 1919: 56, Falkenstein 1931: 50)

KUB 30 1 is a later recension of the same incantation, probably dating to the Kassite period (Falkenstein 1939: 9). It is written in an unusual syllabic Sumerian, the investigation of which led Falkenstein to conclude that the text was produced by a non-Hittite scribe in Hattuša (*o.c.* 11).³⁾

- ms. D: KUB 30 1 obv. 5-8 (Falkenstein 1939)

The relevant lines describe how a witch creates figurines of her victims:

- A: ki-sikil ḡuruš šu-dù-a á-lá ‘x’ / ì-ḡen im-‘ZU’[AB]
 B: [] ‘á’-lá-e-‘dè’
 C: ki-sikil ḡuruš [] , ì-ḡen im-ZU.AB
 D: ki-si-ki-il ḡuruš šu-da a-la-al-le-‘ge’²⁾ , i-gi-in im-ma-ab-[zu]
 A: ‘habrud’-da SIKI.PA.IB-re [šu im-ma-an-ti]
 B: [habrud]-‘da’ SIKI.PA.IB , ‘šu im’-ma-ab-ti
 C: habrud-da SIKI.PA.IB []
 D: ha-ma-an-zé-er šu im-ma-[]
 A: alam mu-un-dím SIKI.PA.IB-re’ x [] x
 B: ‘alam’ mu-un-dím SIKI.PA.IB-a , šu ba-an-gur
 C: alam mu-un-dím SIKI.PA.IB šu ‘im’-[]
 D: a-la-am mu-un-gi-im ha-ma-‘an’-[zé-er] , šu ma-an-‘gu’-[ur]

“The young woman, the young man – to immobilise the hand(s), to bind the arm(s) she went.
 Abzu-clay from a hole (and) SIKI.PA.IB she took; she fashioned an effigy (and) wrapped it in SIKI.PA.IB.”

2. Linguistic form. Based on the Kassite text’s ha-ma-an-zé-er (KUB 30 1 7), Falkenstein 1939: 25 proposed the reading hamanzer for SIKI.PA.IB. This suggestion was strengthened by the use of SIKI.PA.IB-re in JRL 1059 obv. 4f. (see Wilcke 1973: 13). Falkenstein considered the linguistic form /hamanzer/ as inseparable from Akk. *hamas(š)īru* “mouse”⁴⁾ (Falkenstein 1939: 27), noting the use of zé for /ši/ (*o.c.* 11). This supposed link between the two lexemes led him to speculate that “mouse” might have

been a metaphor for the “Haarknäuel” (o.c. 27).⁵⁾ Although the phonological similarity between /hamanzer/ and *hamas(š)iru* is indeed striking, I propose another interpretation of the Sumerian.

The lexeme can be understood as a frozen verbal form⁶⁾ *ha+ma-n.zer; the most likely candidate for the verbal base is *zé(r) = zí(r)*⁷⁾ “to cut, remove”. The verb *zí(r)* is typically used to designate the removal of plants, but also of hair (Civil 1994: 70) and animal fleece (Waetzoldt 1972: 12-14). Molina and Such-Gutierrez (2004: 6f.) have shown that in the context of plant removal the verbal base designates the extralinguistic event of cutting off plants at the lower part of the stem, using a small sharp tool. It is possible that the extralinguistic event of cutting hair and fleece was conceptualised in a similar manner.⁸⁾

The modal proclitic {ha} is used to express assertions, wishes, or commands (Jagersma 2010: 561). Together with perfective forms it can express wishes/commands – /hamanzir/ as “may s/he cut for me” or “let him/her cut for me” –, but also “assert strongly a past action or state” (o.c. 562) – “s/he truly has cut for me”. In the OB incantation the witch creates a figurine of her victim using clay and hamanzir. It is safe to assume that this was conceptualised as an act of sympathetic magic, in which the victim’s hamanzir had to be collected. This context makes the assertive function of {ha} in the frozen verbal form more likely.⁹⁾

The lexeme hamanzir can therefore be added to the list of Sumerian substantivised and lemmatised finite verbal forms (cf. Selz 1993: 43).¹⁰⁾

3. Constituent graphemes. The constituent graphemes of the diri-compound SIKI.PA.IB also transport meaning on the graphemic level, independently of the linguistic form.

Falkenstein 1939: 27 understood the constituents siki and PA.IB(šab)¹¹⁾ as “plucked wool” (“ausgeraufte Wolle”), based on the later equation of šab with Akk. *baqāmu(m)* “to pluck” (see AHW I: 104, CAD B: 97ff.).

The Old Babylonian bilingual lists containing a section on PA.IB offer a number of Akkadian verbs associated with Sum. šab, but *baqāmu(m)* is not among them:

OB Diri “Oxford” 270-278: [s/ša-ap]-¹pu²⁾, [...], ¹ša¹-ra-¹mu¹, ¹qá¹-ra-mu, ¹ha¹-ra-¹šum¹, ¹qá-ab¹-li-a-tum, [e-še]-rum, ¹ši¹-pa-as-sú, e-sé-qú

OB Diri Sippar vii 1-7: [ša]-¹ra-mu¹(?), e-sé-qu, e-¹še¹-qu, na-aš-pa-ku, qá-ab-li-¹tum¹, ši-pa-¹as-su¹, ¹ša-ap¹-pu

OB Diri Nippur 349-353: ša-ra-mu-um, na-¹ka-sú¹-um, ha-¹ra¹-šú¹-um, ha-ra-[ru]-um, e-¹se¹-[qú-um]

MSL XII 29 D (OB Lú Nippur) obv. v 7-10: PA¹na-ka¹-su¹.IB, [PA]¹[ša]-ra-mu¹.IB¹, PA¹ha-ra¹-[rum].IB¹?, [PA]¹[ha]-ra¹-su¹.IB

OB Diri “Oxford”	OB Diri Sippar	OB Diri Nippur	OB Lú Nippur
¹ ša ¹ -ra- ¹ mu ¹	[ša]- ¹ ra-mu ¹ ?	ša-ra-mu-um	[ša]-ra-mu
¹ qá ¹ -ra-mu			
¹ ha ¹ -ra- ¹ šum ¹		ha- ¹ ra ¹ -šú ¹ -um	[ha]-ra- ¹ šum ¹
[e-še]-rum			
e-sé-qú	e-sé-qu	e- ¹ se ¹ -[qú-um]	
	e- ¹ še ¹ -qu		
		na- ¹ ka-sú ¹ -um	¹ na-ka ¹ -su
		ha-ra-[ru]-um	¹ ha ¹ -ra-[rum]

Tab. 1: Akkadian verbs associated with Sum. PA.IB(šab) in OB bilingual lists.

Table 1 shows the distribution of these verbs across the respective lists. Note that the OB Lú Nippur ms. MSL XII 29 D contains the same verbs as OB Diri Nippur.

The three Diri recensions agree on Akk. *šarāmu(m)* “to break off, to cut off” (AHw III: 1184, CAD Š/II: 48f.) and *esēqu(m)* “to incise, to cut in” (AHw I: 249, CAD E: 331f.). Additionally, the Diri recensions “Oxford” and Nippur agree on *harāšum* “to cut off, to cut in deeply; to make clear” (AHw I: 323f. s.v. I, CAD H: 92ff. s.v. A); see also the proverb N 3395 obv. 8, in which Sum. šab-šab-e corresponds to Akk. *i-ha-ra-šum* (Alster 1997: 289).

Compare the use of šab in literary compositions: *LB I* 311f. (II 323f.): ⁿⁱši-ri⁹-na-bi ^úA.GUG₄ gíd-da a-šag₄-ga-ke₄, kug ^dlugal-bànda^{da} ⁿⁱíri-ta ba-ra-an-šab “Its roots, which are like the tallest rushes in the

meadows, Holy Lugalbanda cut off with a knife” (Vanstiphout 2003: 120f.); *Sîn-iddinam to Utu* 15 (Borger 1991: 34): *ḡu-ruš⁷-zu še-ud-á-ba-gin₇ ab-gur₁₀ ba-an-šab-eš gurun-gibil-gin₇ im-ma-an-[dúb-uš]* “Your young men were harvested like grain in the right time, they were cut down – like fresh fruit they were made tremble”; *Šulgi B* 339: *piriḡ igi-^{uruda}šukur-ra ga-raš^{šar}-gin₇ šab-šab-e* “Lions – the front of the spear cut them down like leeks”; *Uruk Lament* 3.14: *sa-sa-bi ^{urudaf}šum¹-me šab-dam ḡiri-bi hu-ri_x(ERIXMIN)-in^{mušen}-na-^{am}1* “Its muscles shall be saws that slash; its feet shall be eagles’ (talons)” (Green 1984: 270). Particularly noteworthy is *CurAg* 205: *ki-sikil-bi siki šab-bé nu-ḡá-ḡá* “Its young women did not restrain from cutting off (their) hair” (trsl. adapted from Cooper 1983: 61).

Bilingual lists and literary compositions suggest that the constituent graphemes *siki* and *šab*(PA.IB) of the *diri*-compound *SIKI.PA.IB* can be understood as an etymographic writing for “cut(-off) hair” (“abgeschnittenes Haar”) rather than “plucked wool”. Note also that the currently available OB material associates *SIKI.PA.IB*(*hamanzir*) only with human beings, never with animals.

4. Semantic structure. Based on the considerations regarding both the linguistic form /*hamanzir*/ and the *diri*-compound *SIKI.PA.IB* we can aim to reflect the semantic structure of the lexeme with a translation of *hamanzir* as “hair cuttings”, i.e. the hair that has been cut off and is (presumably) left on the ground, to be thrown away later – if it wasn’t snatched by an evil witch or similarly reproachful character, that is. Both the *diri*-compound and its linguistic form use the semantic domain ‘CUT’ to express the extralinguistic referent (hair that has been removed and is no longer part of the body).

It is interesting to note that the Sumerian lexeme differs in this regard from the Akkadian *mušātu(m)* typically associated with it. The Akkadian lexeme was first discussed together with *SIKI.PA.IB* in Falkenstein 1939: 27, who convincingly connected it with Akk. *muštu(m)* “comb” (AHw II: 687 s.v., CAD M/II: 290f. s.v.). Falkenstein’s translation of *mušātu(m)* as “ausgekämmtes Haar” (taken up in AHw II: 682 s.v.) is based on *muštu(m)* and the etymographic understanding of Sumerian *SIKI.PA.IB* (Falkenstein l.c.). CAD M/II: 262 s.v. translates “hair combings”. Here, the extralinguistic referent is conceptualised with the semantic domain ‘COMB’.¹²

The same extralinguistic referent is conceptualised as part of different semantic domains in Sumerian *hamanzir*(*SIKI.PA.IB*) ‘CUT’ and Akkadian *mušātu(m)* ‘COMB’. This conceptual difference can be understood as an example for translation processes between the two languages that do not involve direct dictionary-type equations of the form “A = B”.¹³ A neutral translation like the fortuitous “loose hair” used in Geller 1989: 199 seems appropriate if a translator does not want to reflect the specific semantic structure transported in the Sumerian or the Akkadian lexeme.

Notes

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² Of these, CBS 332 = PBS 1/2 122 (Falkenstein 1939) and JRL 1059 = AfO 24 pl. 2 (Wilcke 1973) are unprovenanced. CBS 11933 (Geller 1989) is from Nippur.

³ For KUB 30 1 see also Viano 2016: 229-233.

⁴ For the lexeme see AHw I: 355 s.v. *humš/sīru(m)*, CAD H: 236 s.v. *humširu*.

⁵ Civil 1966: 123 fn. 14 has listed *hamanzer* as a word of unknown origin.

⁶ Frozen verbal forms are discussed in Civil 1968: 10, Selz 1993.

⁷ For the preferred reading *zī* see Molina – Such-Gutierrez 2004: 4-5.

⁸ The association between sharp cutting implements (dagger, sword) and the removal of hair in *Eridu Lament* 5.5-6 might suggest this as well: *šu-min-a-na ḡir ba¹-da-ra šu bí-in-du₈ ur-bi ì-ḡu¹-e*, *siki-ni ḡnumun-bur-gin₇ ì-zí-e i-lu-gig ḡá-ḡá* “She held dagger and sword in her two hands – they clash together. She cuts off her hair like rushes, uttering a bitter lament” (trsl. adapted from Green 1978: 137).

⁹ Neo-Assyrian *Diri V* 147 gives the linguistic form *hu-mu-zir*(MUŠ) for a cloth TÚG.*SIKI.PA.IB*, with a variant writing *hu-mu-¹un¹-zir* in VAT 10240 (MSL XV 166 C₁) obv. ii 11’. This /*humu(n)zir*/ can similarly be understood as **hu+mu-(n).zir* “s/he truly has cut”.

¹⁰ Compare also the lexeme *ganzer* “netherworld” < **ga+n.zí(r)*, cf. Selz 1993: 40 with fn. 84.

¹¹ For *PA.IB*(*šab*) “merchant” in texts from the late Uruk and Early Dynastic periods cf. Hallo 1979: 165 fn. 55 (with references).

¹² For Sumerian “to comb” see Attinger 1993: 179 ⁿⁱga-ríg—AK “peigner”; Averbek 1987: 718 with fn. 35 ad Gude’a Stat. B iv 18.

¹³ Horizontal associations other than standard dictionary-type equations of the form “A = B” are discussed extensively in my PhD dissertation.

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54) Was land in Babylonia during the reign of Hammu-rabi a good investment? — In marked contrast to the Ur III period, the early Old Babylonian (OB) period (ca. 2000 – 1800 BC) was characterized by an “explosion” of sales of fields and orchards by private parties. As part of my dissertation, which tracked changes in prices and wages over the course of the entire OB period (ca. 2000 – 1595 BC), I investigated land prices and found that the price of land declined over time in both northern and southern Babylonia. I attributed this decline to a drop in land productivity along with a possible increase in forced sales. This brings us to an interesting question: was land was a good investment?

Assuming an investor with surplus capital had decided to purchase land, it is reasonable to assume he based his decision in a large part on the payback period, the time it took to recoup the initial investment. Payback period for land is calculated by dividing the initial investment by the sum of the profit from each harvest, where profit = gross income – expenses. The longer the payback period, the less profitable the investment. Let’s establish the parameters for a calculation of the payback period. Sippar had the largest number of field sales (A.ŠA) of any site used in my study. Twenty-three field sales from Sippar were dated under Hammu-rabi, the most under any ruler. The mean price for those 23 sales was 6.20 shekels/iku. An investor purchasing a field could recoup the investment by leasing out the field and collecting rent.¹⁾ Under Hammu-rabi, a lessor (owner) received rent of about 1 gur barley per iku of field, which typically equaled 1/3d of the crop,²⁾ which implies a total yield of 3 gur/iku or 54 gur/bur. Expenses were borne by the tenant.³⁾ Using 1 shekel silver as the average price of 1 gur of barley under Hammu-rabi results in a payback period of about 7 years (or 7 harvests).⁴⁾ But as Marten Stol pointed out,⁵⁾ one must account for the fact that the field had to be left fallow every other year (to maintain its productivity), which doubles the payback

period to 14 years, excluding taxes.⁶⁾ Fourteen years is, however, overly optimistic, in that it assumes an “average” harvest each year. That was definitely not the case.⁷⁾

This leads to an obvious question. Given a minimum payback period of 14 years, why would anyone buy land? The answer is that the investor did not sell the barley he received, but rather loaned it out. Barley loans were extremely profitable. Van De Mierop has shown that the standard 33% interest on barley loans was not for one year, but for the term of the loan, which could be as little as one month.⁸⁾ Moreover, when harvests were poor, the tenant almost certainly ended up borrowing barley from the landowner (lessor) to feed his family. It's no wonder the archives of individuals such as Sin-iddinam, Šumšunu-watar and Šissu-nawrat from Kish show them purchasing land and making loans.⁹⁾ In the case of Šumšunu-watar, his archive also includes field leases.

Notes

¹⁾ The archive of Šumšunu-watar of Kish shows him purchasing fields and orchards and leasing fields and orchards. In OECT 13, 280, for example, Šumšunu-watar leases out a field of 6? iku and orchard in month 5 of Sumu-abum year 13. In RA 8, 1, dated the same month and year, he purchased a field of 11 ½ iku. See also YOS 14, 109 and 113, where Šumšunu-watar is owed barley for the lease of his field (and orchard in 109). There are eleven sales in the database where Šumšunu-watar purchases fields and/or orchards.

²⁾ See Leemans 1975: 141-142 for a discussion of rental rates. The Code of Hammu-rabi (CH) §46 indicates the rental rate could be 1/3 to 1/2 the yield. CH §58 and §255 indicate that 1 bur of field could yield 60 gur of barley, in line with a 1 gur per iku field rental rate (equal to a yield of 54 gur/bur).

³⁾ Stol 2004: 850 and see CAD M p. 204 (*mānahtum* mng. 2b).

⁴⁾ Van De Mierop 1992: 192, using slightly different price and yield parameters (and excluding expenses), calculated that it took three harvests to recover the price of a field, spread out over 6 years to account for leaving the land fallow. He assumed the purchaser did not lease out the field but farmed it himself, which would have shortened the payback period.

⁵⁾ Stol 2004: 840-841.

⁶⁾ Instead of payback period, Renger 1987: 59 looked at how much land was needed to support a family. He calculated a family of five (1 adult male and 4 dependents) consumed 7.2 gur barley/year, which required 14 iku of field to produce (assuming half cultivated, half fallow). His calculation was based on a yield of 20 gur/bur (333 sila/iku), which he considered to be the average barley yield during the OB period. Using 20 gur/bur instead of 54 gur/bur to calculate payback period would almost triple the fourteen-year estimate.

⁷⁾ Even in modern-day America, not unlike their ancient counterparts, farmers are at the mercy of the weather. A longtime friend of mine, who farms 80 acres in central Illinois, stated that “for every good year (harvest), there are 2-3 bad years and 5 okay years.” (Personal communication 7/30/2018.) The primitive farming techniques employed by the Babylonian farmer, the greater susceptibility of their crop to diseases and natural disasters, coupled with perennial warfare undoubtedly skewed that ratio towards the negative. For a study of the variability of rainfall and its effect on yields in the Middle Assyrian kingdom, see Reculeau 2011. This variability of yields (harvests) in Babylonia is reflected in OB barley prices, which fluctuate markedly even within a few years (e.g., TMH 10, 105).

⁸⁾ Van De Mierop 1995: 357-364.

⁹⁾ Goddeeris 2002: 265-270; 284-285.

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55) The redaction and interpretation of § 117-118 of the Laws of Hammurabi — According LH § 117, if a man has defaulted and cannot pay his debt he has two options: he can either sell (*ana kaspim iddin*) his wife and/or (*u*) children or (*ulu*) give them into debt service (*ana kiššatim ittandin*).¹⁾ § 118, dealing with the handing over of a slave or (*ulu*) slave-girl *ana kiššatim*, also has *ittandin*. The difference in § 117 between *iddin* and *ittandin*, which describe similar actions with the defaulting debtor as *agens*, is a problem.²⁾ In Ammi-šaduqa's Edict § 20 both options (together with a third one of "giving" himself or family members as pledge, *ana mazzazānim*), are governed by one single verbal form, which must be [*iddin*].³⁾ Why is in § 117 *ittandin* used alongside *iddin* and what does it mean?

A look at the various translations of LH yields a mixed picture (italics in the translations are mine). M. Roth, *LCMA*, "If.... he sells or *gives into* debt service", ignores the difference in § 117,⁴⁾ but her translation of § 118, "If he *should give...* into debt service", suggests that she took *ittandin* there as a (future) perfect. Th. Meek, in *ANET*, translates *ittandin* by "he has *put himself* into bondage", taking it as a reflexive Gt-form, but this interpretation is impossible in § 118, where the slaves are the object of the action. W. Eilers (*AO* 31, 1932) translates *ittandin* both in § 117 and § 118 simply by "*hingibt*", as if it was it a normal G-stem. But the re-edition, supervised by K. Hecker (*Codex Hammurabi*, Marix Verlag 2009), translates *ittandin* in § 117 by "*gegeben hat*", as a perfect of the G-stem, but writes in § 118 "*gegeben werden*", which suggests an N-stem. E. Cohen⁵⁾ (following Huehnergard and *GAG*) takes *ittandin* in § 118 as perfect of the N-stem, but he ignores § 117. The interpretation as passive might be supported by a comparison with Ammi-šaduqa's Edict, where after the active *iddin* of § 20, § 21, which focuses on the fate of the victims, uses passive verbal forms (*innadin*, *ikkašiš*, *innezib*). If LH § 117 and 118 were to exhibit the same distinction *ittandin* of § 118 might be a N-stem, with the slaves as logical object, although the perfect remains difficult, but a passive is impossible in § 117.⁶⁾

Kraus, in *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-šaduqa von Babylon* (Leiden 1958) 178f., rejects the interpretation of *ittandin* advocated by Meek and Poebel, and follows von Soden, who identified it as a preterite of the Gtn-stem,⁷⁾ a derivation followed by Borger, *TUAT* I/1 (1982), 56, "*jeweils in ein Gewaltverhältnis gibt*". A. Finet (*LAPO* 6, 1973) translates in § 117 both verbal forms in the same way, "*il a dû vendre / livrer*", but notes that he considers the second, *ittandin* (also in § 118) as a preterite of the Gtn-stem, with distributive meaning, although he maintains that the form could be a perfect of the N-stem, "*il a été livré*". Kraus rightly observes that is impossible that § 117 envisages that all family members are sold and suggests that "his wife, his son and his daughter" are objects of a "distributive predicate", which means "dass die Familienmitglieder einander in der *kiššatum* abwechselten", ⁸⁾ which implies that *u* here means "or". This fits § 118, where "slave or (*ulu*) slave-girl", both written with logograms, can be taken as objects, but it is strange that in § 117, after simple *iddin* in the first part of the protasis, the second part with the same objects and subject, would add the notion "abwechselnd/ *jeweils*".

That family members were given "abwechselnd" into *kiššatum* is not very likely and the iterative form here must express that they are alternative victims, from which the *pater familias* or his creditor could choose. "Alternative" fits the "distributive nuance" of the *tn*-infix, as pointed out by Kouwenberg (*The Akkadian Verb*, 416). One finds this use of the Gtn often with the verb *apālum*, "to meet an obligation" (see *CAD* A/II, s.v, many examples under 1, b)-f), including the ones quoted below), which has as object various obligations and responsibilities, not because they have to be met repeatedly or sequentially, but are alternatives chosen due to the circumstances. The Gtn then refers to obligations whatever they may turn out to be, e.g. in "he is responsible to the king in each case that may arise" (*pīhatam šāti šarram itanappal*, OB), "he will answer the man who vindicates, whatever his claim" (*bāqirānam itanappal*, OB), and "I myself will take care of every obstacle that may hinder me" (*ana awātīm ša iparrikanni anaku atanappal*, *AbB* 14, 88:15-16). The same use of the Gtn occurs with stipulations on a fine or penalty, e.g. in LH § 4, *aran dīnim šuāti ittanašši*, "he will bear the penalty imposed by the verdict in question", where the Gtn takes into account that the penalty may differ depending the decision of the judges.⁹⁾

According to the standard grammar *ittandin* is a perfect of the N-stem (see *GAG* § 33 f, with § 102c, on the preservation of the *n*, "um Verwechslungen von Formen auszuschliessen"). But a perfect is impossible in § 117, since there is no *consecutio temporum*; not *iddin-ma* but *iddin ulu*, followed by an alternative, for which one expects a second verb in the preterite, which makes the interpretation as a past

tense of the Gtn the best solution. This means that *ittandin* stands for *ittaddin*, which, if not a mistake,¹⁰⁾ could be an attempt to bring out the underlying *tn*-infix by non-assimilation of the *n*. One might be tempted to compare *CAD* N/I s.v. *nadānum*, p. 43, 1, 3', which mentions the co-occurrence of the I/2 forms *ittadin* and *ittandin* in OB, but Kouwenberg informs me that the Gt-stem of *nadānum* does not exist and that such forms are also not quoted in *CAD*.

The co-occurrence of *ittandin* and *ittaddin* has a parallel in Old Assyrian, where the normal distinction between the perfect and the preterit of the N-stem is also the (non-)assimilation of the *n*.¹¹⁾ The perfect *i-ta-an-dī-in* (*ittandin*), “it has been sold” (AKT 6, 411:44; AKT 11, 149:28), versus the preterite *i-ta-dī-nu* (*ittaddinū*), “they were sold” (AKT 1, 46:13). Kouwenberg, *GOA* 558f., accepted my idea¹²⁾ that this last form was a pret. of the Ntn, but admits that it might be a perfect N with assimilation, and this now proves indeed to be the case, since this form is also attested in TC 3, 216A:18, *šumma bētū ... i-ta-dī-nu*, “if the houses have been sold”, where a Ntn (*ittaddinū*) does not fit the context. OA has more cases of assimilated alongside non-assimilated forms of the N-stem. We find them with *našā'um*: the imperative *našši* or *nanši*, the infinitive *naššu'um* or *nanšu'um*, and the perfect *tatašši* or *tatanši* (see Kouwenberg, *GOA* 558). Also with *nadā'um*: *ana na-an-du-em* (*GOA* 558), alongside URUDU-*kà i-ta-an-dī* (kt 87/k 453:25, courtesy K. Hecker), “your copper has been stored”.

The appearance of *ittandin* in § 117, even when interpreted as a past tense of the Gtn, remains strange after the preceding *iddin*, because we would expect the same verbal form to govern both parts of the protasis. A possible explanation is that this reflects editorial activity of those who drafted the laws. In our case there might have been a “Vorlage” for § 117, perhaps a royal edict, which just like Edict Aš § 20 enumerated the various options regarding the victims and their fates by using only one single verbal form, *iddin*. The more sophisticated Gtn-stem, “he gave them alternatively” (*ittandin*), might then have been added by the learned scribe, who also replaced *u* by the explicit *ulu* “or”, both of which he then used also in § 118. One might also argue that an alternative was realistic with the handing over of a person for *kiššatim*, but that sale was final, without alternative victim. But, of course, this ‘solution’ is hypothetical and the result remains strange in such a carefully formulated text as LH.¹³⁾

Notes

¹⁾ I use M. Roth’s translation for *kiššatum*, without entering the discussion on its meaning.

²⁾ Driver-Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, vol. 1, 208: “the debtor escapes from personal liability by voluntarily delivering up some member (singular - K.R.V.) of his family”. They assume that in our paragraphs “the debtor raises money from a merchant by pledging or selling a dependent member of his household with the object of paying an antecedent debt due to another person”. This is doubtful, for it is not clear how a debtor can raise money in this way. I rather follow Koschaker, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgerrecht*, 129f., who assumes that the debtor delivers the dependent to his own creditor (which is what *tamkārum* in § 118 must mean).

³⁾ Not restored by Kraus in his transliteration (there is just enough room for it in the break), but presented his translation. One could compare the stative *ana kaspiṃ nadnāku*, used in a case of *kiššatum*, in *AbB* 8, 100:14.

⁴⁾ Taken over by R. Westbrook in R. Westbrook-R. Jasnow, *Security for Debt in Ancient Near Eastern Law* (Leiden-Boston, 2001) 75.

⁵⁾ *Conditional Structures in Mesopotamian Old Babylonian* (Winona Lake 2012) 139, note 22 (reference N.J.C. Kouwenberg).

⁶⁾ One might argue that the defaulting debtor himself could sell his wife (or hand her over as pledge), but that being subjected to *kiššatum* is not an action of his, but a high-handed measure of his creditor (Westbrook “a drastic act of self-help”), who seizes his victim (and according to a number of OB school letters puts her in a prison). To describe her fate a passive verbal form, “she was given”, therefore would be appropriate. But in § 117, which deals with the debtor’s “wife, son *u* daughter”, a plural verbal form then would be required, unless one interprets the conjunction *u* as “or”. However, § 118 uses *ulu* to indicate alternatives, which fits the singular *ittandin* there.

⁷⁾ It is not clear to me where von Soden stated this. In his *GAG* § 33f, *ittandin* is still identified as perfect of the N-stem and only later, in *AHw* 702, as Gtn (under b, “jeweils geben”).

⁸⁾ Another example could be the *ilteqqû* in § 5:18' of the “Edict of Ammi-šaduqa”, referring to the taking of interest on various kinds of debts.

⁹⁾ Repeated in his *Königliche Verfügungen in altbabylonischer Zeit* (Leiden 1984), 267.

¹⁰⁾ Unlikely, because it occurs twice. But mistakes occur even in official texts, e.g. in Edict Ammi-šaduqa § 15, IV:40, where *im-ma-ak-ku-su* should be *i-ma-ak-ku-su*, with the *mākisum* as subject. Kraus’s proposal (1984, 243) to

maintain it as an example of the reflexive use of the N-stem is not convincing, since the example he adduces (*tamkārūm šū ul immaggar*, “the creditor does not accept (his proposal)”) is syntactically different from § 15 (*mākisum ša bilat eqlim... i(m)makkusu*). The mistake is presumably due to the appearance of the passive *immakkus* in the next lines.

¹¹ Other examples are *i-ta-an-ki-iš* (VS 26, 20:25) and *i-ta-an-dī*, “it has been deposited” (Kt 87/k 453:25).

¹² In *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger* (AOAT 267), 602f., “this general sale is reflected in ... *i-ta-dī-nu = ittaddinū*”; Kouwenberg, *loc.cit.*, explains the *tn*-form from “its composite subject”. Note that *bētū* as used in TC 3, 216:15 is grammatically a plural, but in OAss. is used for one house (*in casu* a particular house in Durhumit); “houses” are *bētātum*.

¹³ One might suppose that the first verbal form in § 117, *iddin*, is a later insertion in a ruling with used only *ittandin*, also in § 118, but it is difficult to see why the writer would have added *iddin*.

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56) En marge d’ARCHIBAB, 36 : le prix des briques cuites à l’époque paléo-babylonienne — Dans son très utile ouvrage sur *La Brique et sa mise en œuvre en Mésopotamie des origines à l’époque achéménide*, M. Sauvage donne p. 84 un tableau du prix des briques à trois époques : la troisième dynastie d’Ur, la période paléo-babylonienne et la période néo-babylonienne. La troisième référence paléo-babylonienne, AO 1651a, porterait sur 2 160 briques cuites pour un prix total de 5 sicles d’argent, ce qui donnerait un équivalent de 432 briques cuites pour 1 sicle d’argent.

Le texte AO 1651, copié par Thureau-Dangin dans TCL 1 (1651a = 82 [tablette] et 1651b = 83 [enveloppe] ; édition dans <http://www.archibab.fr/T9443>) est rédigé comme un prêt. Sin-šadi-ili et ses trois frères, présentés comme débiteurs, s’engagent à livrer à deux femmes, dont une religieuse-*nadītum*, 3 sar, soit 2160 briques cuites (*agurru*). Le texte comporte une échéance (le 8 du mois viii) mais le contrat ne comporte pas l’indication du jour et du mois, seulement le nom de l’année (an 10 de Hammu-rabi). Les lignes qui suivent l’échéance constituent manifestement une amende au cas où la livraison ne serait pas honorée dans le délai prévu :

ITI APIN.DU₈.A U₄ 18.KAM
10 SIG₄.AL.ÜR.RA
T. *i-na pu-ut ú-tu-nim*
12 *i-na-ad-di-nu*
ú-ul id-di-nu-m
R.14 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Ì.LÁ.E.MEŠ

« ⁽⁹⁻¹²⁾ Ils devront livrer les briques cuites le 18 du mois viii devant le four (*utūnum*). ⁽¹³⁻¹⁴⁾ S’ils ne (les) ont pas livrées, ils devront verser 10 sicles d’argent. »

L’indication que la livraison doit se faire « devant le four » signifie que les quatre hommes n’ont pas à assurer le transport¹. Les 10 sicles ne représentent pas le prix des briques, mais une compensation au cas où la livraison ne serait pas effectuée dans les conditions convenues. Dans des clauses de ce genre, pour que l’amende ait un effet dissuasif, il faut bien entendu qu’elle soit supérieure à la valeur de l’objet à livrer². Les données de ce contrat ne peuvent donc telles quelles alimenter le dossier du prix des briques à l’époque paléo-babylonienne.

Notes

¹ Pour un cas où le transport par bateau est explicitement à la charge de celui qui commande des briques cuites, voir la lettre AbB 12 23 (<http://www.archibab.fr/T13741>).

² Cf. D. Charpin, « Amendes et châtements prévus dans les contrats paléo-babyloniens », dans J.-M. Durand, Th. Römer & J.-P. Mahé (éd.), *La Faute et sa punition dans les sociétés orientales*, PPOAC 1, Louvain/Paris/Walpole, 2012, p. 1-21, étude à laquelle le présent exemple est à ajouter.

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57) En marge d’EcritUr, 21 : à propos de UET 1 275 — Un récent numéro du *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* contient la publication par N. Alkhafaji et G. Marchesi d’une inscription découverte par une mission irakienne à Tulul al-Baqarat en 2009¹. Il s’agit d’un fragment de pierre inscrit comportant une partie du récit de la campagne contre Naram-Sin contre Armanum et Ebla (IM 221139). Jusqu’alors, cet événement

n'était connu que par un nom d'année de Naram-Sin et par le texte fameux d'une tablette découverte à Ur par L. Woolley. L'article de *JNES* 79 est consacré à l'édition commentée du fragment IM 221139 et s'achève par une réédition de UET 1 275 (p. 14-20), texte qui est présenté dans l'introduction de l'article en ces termes (p. 2b) : « it is now clear that the tablet in question tells us only part of the story, it being just an excerpt from a longer inscription, *presumably copied by an apprentice scribe as an exercise* » (les italiques sont de DC). À l'époque paléo-babylonienne, ce genre d'exercice ne comporte pas de colophon indiquant l'identité du copiste. Mais on est désolé de voir que les efforts pour remettre dans leur contexte les découvertes épigraphiques faites à Ur sont ignorés (p. 13 n. 41). En effet, cette tablette, pourvue de la cote U 7756, n'est pas isolée : elle appartient à un groupe d'exercices d'apprentis scribes de différentes natures retrouvé dans la maison n° 7 Quiet Street, que j'ai commenté dans mon livre sur *Le Clergé d'Ur*². Il est vrai que D. Frayne dans *RIME* 2, 1993, p. 132, n'avait pas renvoyé à cet ouvrage dans sa bibliographie ; il ne figure pas non plus dans la bibliographie supplémentaire de *JNES* 79, p. 14b. Je me permets d'indiquer pour finir que j'ai attiré l'attention plus récemment sur un autre de ces exercices de copie d'inscriptions paléo-akkadiennes découverts au n° 7 Quiet Street, le « disque » d'Enheduanna UET 1 289 (U 7737)³.

Notes

N.B. Le projet *EcritUr* est désormais achevé d'un point de vue administratif, mais je publie cette note dans la suite de celles déjà parues sous cette rubrique, car elle est un fruit tardif de ce programme qui a été financé par l'ANR d'octobre 2017 à mars 2021.

¹ N. Alkhafaji & G. Marchesi, « Naram-Sin's War against Armanum and Ebla in a Newly-Discovered Inscription from Tulul al-Baqarat », *JNES* 79, 2020, p. 1-20.

² D. Charpin, *Le Clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi (XIX^e-XVIII^e siècles av. J.-C.)*, HEO 22, Genève-Paris, 1986, p. 425-427. On y corrigera l'attribution des commentaires de UET I à Burrows. Celui-ci était bien l'épigraphiste de la 5^e campagne (1926-27) lors de laquelle ces tablettes furent découvertes (cf. *AJ* VII/4, 1927, p. 404), mais ce fut à S. Smith que revint le soin de les publier (cf. la préface de UET I, p. v : « The Supplement containing Nos. 267 to 309, which was added after the results of 1926-7 were available, is mainly the work of the Rev. E. R. Burrows, S.J.; Nos. 274-276 were copied and translated by Mr. Sidney Smith. »).

³ D. Charpin, « Enanedu et les prêtresses-*enum* du dieu Nanna à Ur à l'époque paléo-babylonienne », dans D. Charpin *et al.*, *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babylonienne*, Mémoires de NABU 22, Paris, 2020, p. 187-210, spéc. p. 201 et notes 87-89.

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58) A Late Old Babylonian list of rations from Dur-Abi-ešuh in the Cotsen collection (Los Angeles) — I have identified another text from Dur-Abi-ešuh in the Cotsen collection: Cots. Coll. 96222.¹⁾ Working on the photographs made available on the CDLI, I have been able to read a substantial part of the text. However, a collation is still necessary. As I won't be able to travel to Los Angeles in a near future, I am publishing here some preliminary remarks about that text.

Photographs of Cots. Coll. 96222 have been published by M. Wilson, *Education in the Earliest Schools: Cuneiform Manuscripts in the Cotsen Collection*, Los Angeles, 2008, text n. 37. The latter identified it as a school text and described the tablet in the following way:

“Wrong! This practice administrative list has many careless spelling mistakes, and the teacher has shown his disapproval by emphatically crossing out the entire text.” (p. 27)

“This practice administrative text is a list of men's names and the amounts they have been paid. The surfaces of both the obverse and the reverse have been deeply scored with an “X” reaching corner to corner, perhaps because the text has so many simple errors. The tablet is dated to year fourteen of king Samsu-ditana, c. 1612.” (p. 135)

Cots. Coll. 96222 enumerates rations (of grain, probably barley) given to fifty-three individuals. It is dated 23(+x)/viii/Samsu-ditana 14:

54 ITI APIN¹.DU₈.A U₄ 23(+x).KAM
T. MU *sa-am-su-di-ta-na* LUGAL.E
56 ^{d1}PAP.NU°.AN.KI

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Month viii, 23(+x)th day.

⁽⁵⁵⁻⁵⁶⁾ Year Samsu-ditana the king (for) Papnunanki (= Year 14).

Although the tablet had, indeed, been crossed out, this was not done because a teacher had been upset or displeased. Rather, this is a well known administrative practice: it means that, when the administration settled the accounts (*ina epēš nikkassī* in Akkadian²⁾), the data recorded on the tablet were transferred to the balanced account. This tablet, already dealt with, could therefore be discarded. Another possible explanation comes from the historical background: a famine seems to have occurred in Babylonia in the last months of the year Samsu-ditana 14, probably resulting in a *mīšarum* in Samsu-ditana 15 (D. Charpin, *RA* 99, 2005, p. 150-151): could it be that this text was cancelled because the distribution itself was cancelled for lack of grain?

Cots. Coll. 96222 is similar to the long lists CUSAS 8 59-62, which “record barley, sesame, and silver to be distributed to the temple’s personnel and deities, and they all date from the year Samsuditana 10,”³⁾ but it was written four years later. Many of the people mentioned in Cots. Coll. 96222 are attested in CUSAS 8 59-62, as well as in other accounting texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh from the time of Samsu-ditana:

- CUSAS 8 59: list of sesame rations given to about sixty individuals and gods (2/v/Samsu-ditana 10);
- CUSAS 8 60: list of barley rations given to about fifty individuals. The rations are received in the temple of the goddess Mišarum (13/v/Samsu-ditana 10);
- CUSAS 8 61: list of silver and grain rations given to sixteen individuals;
- CUSAS 8 62: list of barley rations given to about fifty individuals and gods; 4/vi/Samsu-ditana 10);
- CUSAS 8 64: receipt of barley for months ii and iii (30/iii/Samsu-ditana 11);
- CUSAS 8 67: small barley account (7/iv/Samsu-ditana 11);
- CUSAS 8 68: small barley account (23/iv/Samsu-ditana 11);
- CUSAS 8 71: small barley account (3/v/Samsu-ditana 11);
- CUSAS 8 75: expenditure of barley (11/v/Samsu-ditana 11).

The barley expenditure in CUSAS 8 87 is not dated, but the tablet mentions the same people as in CUSAS 8 59-62 and Cots. Coll. 96222. This document was therefore written under the reign of King Samsu-ditana. The same applies to the accounting texts CUSAS 8 86, 87, 88, and 89, as well as to CUSAS 29 170 and 171.

Below is an index of the people whom I have identified, with their attestations in texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh from the same period. Most of them are men, but there are a few children (“son of PN”) and at least a woman. When their title is given, these people are *nēšakkum*-priests, chief accountants (*šandabakkum*), and intendants (*šatammum*) —hence temple personnel. The children are probably their sons: Utu-mupada, whose son is mentioned on line 23, is known as the chief accountant of the god Enlil. Those without any title were probably also working in some way for the temples of Dur-Abi-ešuh.

Ali-talimi	0,5.0 <i>a-lī-ta-li-mi</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 12)	A man with the name Ali-talimi is mentioned in a loan of silver dated 25/xi/Samsu-ditana 13. He is a scribe: – CUSAS 8 53: 18 (<i>a-lī-ta-li-mi</i> DUB.SAR).
Awiliya	0,2 ² .0 <i>a-wi-il-ia</i> GÁ ² .DUB ² .BA ² (Cots. Coll. 96222: 1) (The title requires a collation, to see clearly the edge.)	– CUSAS 8 59: 3 (<i>a-wi-li-ia</i>). The same name appears line 54, and refers to someone receiving grain to be given to Inanna (^d INANNA GÌR <i>a-wi-li-ia</i>); probably the same man; – CUSAS 8 60: 42 (<i>a-wi-li-ia</i>); – CUSAS 8 61: 16 (<i>a-wi-li-ia</i>); – CUSAS 8 62: 28 (<i>a-wi-li-ia</i>); – CUSAS 8 88: 1 (<i>a-wi-li-ia</i>).
Etelpu(m)	0,3.0 <i>e-tel-pu</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 16)	Several men with the name Etelpu(m) are attested under Samsu-ditana: – CUSAS 8 60: 29 + 34 (<i>e-tel-pu-um</i>); – CUSAS 8 62: 6 (<i>e-tel-pu</i> DUMU SANGA) + 22 (<i>e-tel-pu</i> DUMU <i>be-lī-ia</i>); – CUSAS 8 87: 9 (<i>e-tel-pu-um</i> DUMU <i>be-lī-ia</i>); – CUSAS 29 171: 5 (<i>e-tel-pu</i>);

		– CUSAS 29 205: 6' (<i>e-tel-pu</i> ; letter written in Ammi-ditana 11).
Gimillum	0 <i>gi-mil-lum</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 7)	– CUSAS 8 60: 5 (<i>gi-mil-lum</i>); – CUSAS 8 62: 37 (<i>gi-mil-lum</i> DUMU ^d ŠKUR-na-ši-ir).
Ibnatum	0,2.0 <i>ib-na-tum</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 21)	
Iddatum	0,3.0 <i>id-da-tum</i> DUMU GİR.NI.Ī.SA ₆ (Cots. Coll. 96222: 20)	– CUSAS 8 59: 7 (<i>id-da-tum</i> DUMU GİR.NI.Ī.SA ₆). Maybe also in CUSAS 8 60: 25 (<i>id-da-tum</i>), CUSAS 8 83: 7 (<i>id-da-tum</i> ; undated) and 88: 5 (undated). Another Iddatum, son of Enlil-eribam, is attested in CUSAS 8 62: 38.
Ili-bani	0,2.0 <i>i-lí-ba-ni</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 41)	–
Iluni	0,2.0 <i>i-lu-ni</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 53)	Several men with the name Iluni are attested under Samsu-ditana: – CUSAS 8 59: 28 (<i>i-lu-ni</i>) and 39 (<i>i-lu-ni</i> ŠÀ.TAM); – CUSAS 8 60: 17 (<i>i-lu-ni</i> DUMU <i>hu-za-lum</i>); – CUSAS 8 62: 15 (<i>i-lu-ni</i> DUMU <i>hu-za-lum</i>) and 27 (<i>i-lu-ni</i> DUMU <i>el-le-tum</i>); – CUSAS 8 84: 9 (<i>i-lu-ni</i> ŠÀ.TAM); – CUSAS 8 89: 12 (<i>i-lu-ni</i>).
Lu-Asalluḫi, <i>šatammum</i>	0,3.0 LÚ.<<LÚ [?] >> ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI (Cots. Coll. 96222: 9)	– CUSAS 8 59: 22 (LÚ. ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI); – CUSAS 8 60: 18 (LÚ. ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI ŠÀ.TAM); – CUSAS 8 61: 20 (LÚ. ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI); – CUSAS 8 62: 40 (LÚ. ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI); – CUSAS 8 71: 3 (LÚ. ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI); – CUSAS 8 75: 1 (LÚ. ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI); – CUSAS 8 89: 6 (LÚ. ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI); – CUSAS 29 170: 2 (LÚ. ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI).
Lugal-šeš, <i>nêšakkum</i> -priest	0,4.0 LUGAL.ŠEŠ (Cots. Coll. 96222: 4)	– CUSAS 8 59: 9 (LUGAL.ŠEŠ); – CUSAS 8 60: 15 (LUGAL.ŠEŠ) and 44 (DUMU LUGAL.ŠEŠ); – CUSAS 8 62: 31 (LUGAL.ŠEŠ); – CUSAS 8 86: 9 (LUGAL.ŠEŠ); – CUSAS 8 88: 8 (LUGAL.ŠEŠ). The same man is probably mentioned in a silver loan dated 13/iii/Samsu-ditana 11. Here his title and patronym are given: CUSAS 8 52: 11 (IGI LUGAL.ŠEŠ NU.ÈŠ DUMU ^d NIN.URTA-ra-im-NUMUN).
<i>mār</i> Beliya “the son of Beliya”	[x] DUMU <i>be-lí-ia-a</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 27)	– CUSAS 8 59: 13 (DUMU <i>be-lí-ia-a</i>); – CUSAS 8 61: 2 (DUMU <i>be-lí-ia-a</i>); – CUSAS 8 87: 13 (DUMU <i>be-lí-ia-a</i>); – CUSAS 8 88: 12 (DUMU <i>be-lí-ia</i>). Maybe also in CUSAS 8 83: 4 (DUMU <i>be-lí-ia-a</i> , undated).
<i>mār</i> Ebatum “the son of Ebatum”	[x] DUMU <i>e-ba-tum</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 25)	

mār Ene “the son of Ene”	[x] DUMU <i>e-ne-e</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 30)	– CUSAS 8 59: 35 (DUMU <i>e-ne-e</i>); – CUSAS 8 60: 47 (DUMU <i>e-ne-e</i>); – CUSAS 8 62: 8 (DUMU <i>e-ne-e</i>); – CUSAS 8 89: 17 (DUMU <i>e-ne-e</i>).
mār Eterum “the son of Eterum”	0,5.0 DUMU <i>e¹-te-rum</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 19)	The father, Eterum, is mentioned in several lists: – CUSAS 8 59: 18 (<i>e-te-rum</i>). Line 61, he receives grain to be given to Ninsianna (^d NIN.SI ₄ .AN.NA GÌR <i>e-te-rum</i>); – CUSAS 8 60: 33 (<i>e-te-rum</i>); – CUSAS 8 87: 14 (<i>e-te-rum</i>); – CUSAS 8 89: 2 (<i>e-te-rum</i>).
(Taribum) mār Hulmatum “the son of Hulmatum”	0,4.0 DUMU <i>hu-ul-ma-tum</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 2)	His name, Taribum, is specified in two lists: – CUSAS 8 59: 29 (<i>ta-ri-bu-um</i> DUMU <i>hu-ul-ma-tum</i> ; this T. is not the <i>šatammum</i> , cf. CUSAS 8 62: 30 vs. 44); – CUSAS 8 62: 30 (<i>ta-ri-bu</i> DUMU <i>hu-ul-ma-tum</i>).
mār Ibi “the son of Ibi”	0,4.0 DUMU <i>i-bi-i</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 13)	– CUSAS 8 59: 12 (DUMU <i>i-bi-i</i>); – CUSAS 8 60: 30 (DUMU <i>i-bi-i</i>); – CUSAS 8 61: 22 (DUMU <i>i-bi-i</i>); – CUSAS 8 88: 11 (DUMU <i>i-bi-i</i>).
mār Sinatum “the son of Sinatum”	[x] ¹ DUMU <i>si-na-tum</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 29)	– CUSAS 8 59: 15 (DUMU <i>si-na-tum</i>).
mār Utu-mupada “the son of Utu- mupada”	0 DUMU ⁴ UTU.MU.PÀ<.DA> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 23)	His father, Utu-mupada, was <i>šandabakkum</i> of Enlil. He is mentioned in several texts: – CUSAS 8 20: 24 (IGI ⁴ UTU.MU.PÀ.DA GÁ.DUB.BA ^d EN.LÍL.LÁ; a loan dated 12/v/Samsu-ditana 2); – CUSAS 8 44: 11 (IGI ⁴ UTU.MU.PÀ.DA GÁ.DUB.BA; loan dated [...]/ii/Samsu-ditana 3); – CUSAS 8 59: 4 (⁴ UTU.MU.PÀ.DA); – CUSAS 8 60: 3 (⁴ UTU.MU.PÀ.DA); – CUSAS 8 62: 1 (⁴ UTU.MU.PÀ.DA GÁ.[DUB.BA]); – CUSAS 8 88: 2 (⁴ UTU.MU.PÀ.DA).
Nanna-medu	0,3.0 ^d ŠEŠ.KI.ME.DU (Cots. Coll. 96222: 8)	– CUSAS 8 59: 19 (^d ŠEŠ.KI.ME.DU); – CUSAS 8 60: 48 (^d ŠEŠ.KI.ME.DU); – CUSAS 8 62: 2 (^d ŠEŠ.KI.ME.DU); – CUSAS 8 75: 3 (^d ŠEŠ.KI.ME.DU); – CUSAS 8 89: 3 (^d ŠEŠ.KI.ME.DU).
Ninnutum	[x] <i>ni-in-nu-tum</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 35)	– CUSAS 8 59: 10 (<i>ni-in-nu-tum</i>); – CUSAS 8 60: 35 (<i>ni-in-nu-tum</i>); – CUSAS 8 62: 5 (<i>ni-in-nu-tum</i>); – CUSAS 8 84: 12 (<i>ni-in-nu-tum</i>); – CUSAS 8 88: 9 (<i>ni-in-nu-tum</i>).
Ninurta-muballit	0,4.0 ^d NIN.URTA-mu-ba-lí- ¹ it ¹ (Cots. Coll. 96222: 22)	At least two men with this name are attested: – CUSAS 8 59: 21 (^d NIN.URTA-mu-ba-lí-it) and 40 (^d NIN.URTA-mu-ba-lí-it). Line 58, one of them receives grain to be given to Pabilsag (^d PA.BIL.SAG GÌR ^d NIN.URTA-mu-ba-lí-it); – CUSAS 8 61: 21 (^d NIN.URTA-mu-ba-lí-it); – CUSAS 8 89: 5 (^d NIN.URTA-mu-ba-lí-it).
Rimtum, wife of Atta	0 ^{mumus¹} ri-im-tum (Cots. Coll. 96222: 17)	– CUSAS 8 67: 6-7 (<<MUNUS>> ^{mumus¹} ri-im-tum DAM a-at-ta-a);

		<p>– CUSAS 8 71: 5 (MUNUS <i>a-at-ta-a</i>). Her husband is attested in several texts: – CUSAS 8 59: 41 (<i>a-at-ta-a</i>); – CUSAS 8 60: 19 (<i>a-at-ta-a</i>); – CUSAS 8 62: 39 (<i>a-at-ta-a</i>); – CUSAS 29 171: 9 (¹<i>a¹-at-ta-a</i>).</p>
Sin-ituram	[x] 30- <i>i-tu-ra-am</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 34)	
Sunanu, <i>šandabakkum</i>	0,1.0 <i>sú-na-nu</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 18)	<p>– CUSAS 8 59: 17 (<i>sú-na-nu</i>); – CUSAS 8 60: 32 (<i>sú-na-nu</i> GÁ.DUB.BA); – CUSAS 8 61: 14 (<i>sú-na-nu</i>); – CUSAS 8 62: 20 (<i>sú-na-nu</i> GÁ.DUB.BA); – CUSAS 8 89: 1 (<i>sú-na-nu</i>).</p>
Šumum-libši	0,2.0 <i>šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 51)	A man named Šumum-libši is attested as barber (ŠU.I) in two receipts from the year Samsu-ditana 3 (CUSAS 8 33: 4 and 38: 4).
Taribum, <i>šatammum</i>	0,4.0 <i>ta-ri-bu ŠÀ.TAM</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 6)	– CUSAS 8 62: 44 (<i>ta-ri-bu-um ŠÀ.TAM</i>).
Taribum	¹ x ¹ <i>ta¹-ri-bu</i> (Cots. Coll. 96222: 40)	There are several men with that name, cf. CUSAS 8 61: 5+6.
Utu-luti, <i>šandabakkum</i>	0,3.0 ^d UTU.LÚ.TI GÁ.DUB.BA (Cots. Coll. 96222: 15)	<p>– CUSAS 8 59: 37 (^dUTU.LÚ.TI GÁ.DUB.BA); – CUSAS 8 60: 40 (^dUTU.LÚ.TI); – CUSAS 8 64: 6 (^dUTU.LÚ.TI); – CUSAS 8 68: 3 (^dUTU.LÚ.TI). And in two texts written under Ammi-šaduqa: – CUSAS 8 23: 25 (^dUTU.LÚ.TI GÁ.DUB.BA; Ammi-šaduqa 8; sacrificial sheep receipt); – CUSAS 8 54: 16 (^dUTU.LÚ.TI GÁ.DUB.BA; Ammi-šaduqa 2; barley receipt).</p>

Notes

¹. Museum number PARS 64. CDLI P273826.

². On this practice, see: G. Chambon and A.-I. Langlois, “*nikkassum napiš* « le compte est clos », *nipiš nikkassim* « reddition/apurement du compte »”, *NABU* 2017/13.

³. K. Van Lerberghe & G. Voet, *A Late Old Babylonian Temple Archive from Dūr-Abiešuḫ*, CUSAS 8, Bethesda, 2009, p. 2.

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59) ‘Open the Granary!’ Ur-Zababa’s Letter to Šilli-Šamaš: The Duplicate from the Cotsen Collection — Andrew George recently published sixty-six Akkadian letters from the Schøyen collection which he identified as school exercises.¹⁾ Several unpublished tablets from the Rosen and Cotsen collections are quoted as well, and one of them is edited (Cots. Coll. 40719).

Among the tablets from the Cotsen collection (Los Angeles) mentioned in his book is Cots. Coll. 52150, which he identified as a duplicate of three tablets from the Schøyen collection (MS 2748 = CUSAS 43 5A, MS 3688 = 5B, and MS 3747 = 5C) and two tablets from the Rosen collection (CUNES 48-09-288 and CUNES 48-11-074, unpublished). All six tablets have the same text. A. George gives it the title “‘Open the Granary!’ Ur-Zababa’s Letter to Šilli-Šamaš” in CUSAS 43. Having photographed Cots. Coll. 52150 while working in the Cotsen collection in 2017, I am offering here an edition of this tablet.

Cots. Coll. 52150, now in the Lloyd E. Cotsen Cuneiform Tablets Collection at UCLA, has the museum number SC-III-1i.²⁾ A photograph and a short description have been published by M. Wilson,

Education in the Earliest Schools: Cuneiform Manuscripts in the Cotsen Collection, Los Angeles, 2008, p. 26 and 173 (no. 72).



Cots. Coll. 52150, Lloyd E. Cotsen Cuneiform Tablets Collection (Collection 1883). Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA. Photographs by M. Béranger.

Cots. Coll. 52150 is a rectangular single-column tablet. As attested for other school texts, the tablet has been smashed shortly after being written, while the clay was still wet. The cuneiform signs are well formed and regular, and a piece of clay envelope still adheres to the reverse. Thus, this tablet adds to the number of school letters in envelopes. There are only six of them known to me to date.³⁾ In real-life, envelopes were used to protect the tablet during its transport, and to guarantee the confidentiality and integrity of the message. Once the letter was enclosed, senders wrote the name of the addressee on the

envelope (*ana* PN “To so-and-so”) and rolled their seal. As expected for a tablet written at school, no sealing is preserved on the fragment of the envelope attached to Cots. Coll. 52150. Besides, there is more text on the envelope than just the address, and although it is fragmentary, it is clear that the scribe wrote another text. This is consistent with what I have already observed: as opposed to real-life letters, letters from the school context contain additional text on the envelope. Thus, the students were using the clay of the envelope to practice writing.

1. Edition of Cots. Coll. 52150. Tablet

O.	<i>a-na</i> ¹ <i>ši</i> ¹ - <i>lī</i> ^d UTU	(1-3) Say to Šilli-Šamaš: thus (speaks) Ur-
2	<i>qí-bí-ma</i> <i>um-ma</i> UR. ^d ZA.BA ₄ .BA ₄ - <i>ma</i>	Zababa.
4	[<i>a</i>]- <i>nu-um-ma</i> [¹ <i>a</i>]- <i>pil</i> ^d <i>da-mu</i>	
6	[<i>a-na</i>] <i>še-ri</i> ¹ - <i>ka</i> ¹ [<i>aṭ-ṭá</i>]- <i>ar</i> ¹ - <i>dam</i>	(4-7) Herewith I’ve sent you Apil-Damu. (8) (It is) urgent! (9-10) When you see this sealed tablet of mine, (11-14) you and him open the 180 kor (= 54000 liters) outer granary and (20) give: (15-19)
8	[<i>ap</i>]- <i>pu</i> ¹ - <i>tum</i> [<i>ku</i>]- <i>nu</i> ¹ - <i>uk</i> ¹ - <i>ki</i> ¹ <i>an-ni-a-am</i>	- 8 kor (2400 liters) as barley ration: the plowman
10	[<i>i-n</i>] <i>a-ma-ri-ka</i> [<i>na-aš</i>]- <i>pa</i> ¹ - <i>ka-am a-hi-a-am</i>	- 18 kor (5400 liters) as barley ration: the 3 ox-drivers
12	[<i>ša 3 š</i>]- <i>u-ši</i> GUR [<i>a</i>]- <i>t-ta</i> <i>ù šu-ú</i>	- 32 kor (9600 liters) as barley ration: the 4 boatmen
14	[<i>p</i>]- <i>te-a-ma</i> 8,0.0 GUR ŠE.BA ENGAR	- 7 kor (2100 liters) as barley ration: the shepherd
16	10+8,0.0 GUR ŠE.BA 3 ERIN ₂ ŠÀ.GU ₄ 30+2,0.0 GUR ŠE.BA 4 ERIN ₂ LÚ.MÁ.TUR	- 7 kor as barley ration: the cowherd
18	7,0.0 GUR ŠE.BA SIPA U ₈ <.UDU>.HI.A 7,0.0 GUR ŠE.BA SIPA GU ₄ .HI.A	
R.20	<i>id-na-a-ma</i> <i>ša-pe</i> ¹ - <i>el</i> ¹ - <i>tam šu-un-ni-a</i> ¹ - <i>ma</i> ¹	and (21) measure again the reminder and (22-24) let it stay at your disposal as provision for the oxen and fodder for the small livestock. (25-27) Also, Apil-Damu must not stay overnight with you for another day. (28) Send him back to me.
22	<i>a-na</i> ŠÀ<.GAL> GU ₄ .HI.A <i>ù ki-is-sà-at</i> U ₈ .UDU.HI. ¹ A ¹	
24	<i>i-na qá-ti-ka li-ib-ši</i> <i>ù</i> ¹ <i>a-pil</i> ^d <i>da-mu</i>	
26	<i>ša-ni-a-am u₄-um-šu</i> <i>mah-ri-ka la i-bi-it-tam</i>	
28	<i>ṭù-ur-d</i> [<i>a-aš</i>]- <i>šu</i> <i>an-ni</i> -[<i>ki-a</i>]- <i>am</i>	(29) Here the work is interrupted. (30) Don’t keep him! (31) (It is) urgent!
30	<i>ši</i> ¹ - <i>ip</i> ¹ -[<i>ru-rum na</i>]- <i>di</i> <i>la</i> <i>t</i> [<i>a-ka-al-la-aš</i>]- <i>šu</i>	
32	<i>a</i> [<i>p-pu-tu</i>] <i>m</i>	

Envelope:

1’	[...] ¹ <i>x</i> ¹ [...]
2’	[...] ¹ <i>x</i> ¹ [...] [...] ¹ <i>x</i> ¹ <i>tam</i> ¹ <i>x</i> ¹ [...]
4’	[...] ¹ <i>i</i> ²¹ ¹ <i>x</i> ¹ [...] [...] ¹ <i>at</i> ²¹ U ₈ [...]

Notes to the text:

Line 21: it seems that the scribe hesitated between PI and PA since there are two horizontal strokes at the end of the sign. Perhaps, he wrote PA first and then wrote PI over it.

Line 5': the scribe may have repeated line 23. If so, we should read: [ù ki-is-sà]-¹ar¹ U₈. [UDU.HI.A]. The signs in line 4' do not match those on line 22.

2. Commentary

2.1 Comparison of the manuscripts

The letter on Cots. Coll. 52150 is identical to the three letters published by A. George. There are hardly any variation between the manuscripts:

(a) Layout:

- (i) grouping of two lines on the same line (52150: 29-30 = 5A: 29 = 5B: 28 = 5C: 28-29).

(b) Spelling variants:

- (i) *še-ri-i-ka* (5C). Instead of *še-ri-ka* (52150: 6, 5A: 6, and 5B: 6);
- (ii) *pi-te-a-am* (5A: 14) vs. *pi-te-e*-ma* (5C: 13);
- (iii) *ša-pa-el-tam* (5A: 21). Instead of *ša-pe-el-tam* (52150: 21, 5B: 20, and 5C: 20);
- (iv) *šu-ni-a-ma* (5C: 20). Instead of *šu-un-ni-a-ma* (52150: 21 and 5A: 21);
- (v) [k]i-is-sù^o-at (5A: 23). Instead of *ki-is-sà-at* (52150: 23, 5B: 22, and 5C: 22);
- (vi) *a-pil^d-da-mu* (5B: 24). Instead of *¹a-pil^d-da-mu* (52150: 25, 5A: 25, and 5C: 24);
- (vii) *la i-bi-tam* (5B: 26). Instead of *la i-bi-it-tam* (52150: 27, 5A: 27, and 5C: 26).

(c) Additional line:

- (i) *at-ta ù šu-ú* (52150: 13 and 5A: 13).

(d) Omissions (most of them due to carelessness and appearing on 5B):

- (i) 3 ŠÀ.GU₄ (5B: 15). Instead of 3 ERIN ŠÀ.GU₄;
- (ii) 4 LÚ.MÁ.TUR (5B: 16). Instead of 4 ERIN₂ LÚ.MÁ.TUR;
- (iii) U₈<.UDU>.HI.A (52150: 18);
- (iv) *id<-na>-a-ma* (5B: 19);
- (v) *šu<-ni>-a-ma* (5B: 20);
- (vi) ŠÀ<.GAL> GU₄.HI.A (52150: 22).

(e) Content variants:

- (i) *pi-te-a-ma* (52150: 14 and 5B: 13) (imperative plural) vs. *pi-te-a-am* (5A: 14) and *pi-te-e*-ma* (5C: 13) (imperative singular);
- (ii) 7,0,0 GUR (52150: 18 and 5C: 17) vs. 8,0,0 GUR (5A: 18 and 5B: 17);
- (iii) 7,0,0 GUR (52150: 19 and 5C: 18) vs. ¹6+×¹,1,0 GUR (5A: 19) vs. 8,0,0 GUR (5B: 18).

2.2 Mirroring actual administrative practices?

In the text the plowman and each boatman are to receive 8 gur (2400 liters) of barley ration; the shepherd is to receive 7 gur or 8 gur (2100 or 2400 liters); the cowherd 6+× gur 1 pi, 7 gur or 8 gur depending on the manuscript (1860+, 2100 or 2400 liters); and each ox-driver shall receive 6 gur (1800 liters). Basic workers received an average of 60 liters of barley per month (720 per year) during the Old Babylonian period: the amounts given here are, thus, tremendous and unrealistic. According to A. George, this could be explained, if the rations were to be given not to individuals but to their households (CUSAS 43, p. 20). This seems atypical to me. Here the numbers were probably not meant to mirror actual practices. Rather, they are here because the students practiced using the capacity measure system.

2.3 Provenance

The four tablets from the Cotsen and Schøyen collections show little variations and were perhaps produced in the same school. In his book, A. George assumes that the tablets in the Schøyen collection come from Larsa or a city under its control, such as Adab (CUSAS 43, p. 47).⁴⁾ My work on a few school letters from the Cotsen collection also led me to the conclusion that they were written in southern Mesopotamia (Mél. Charpin, p. 126). It is certain that there are tablets found in Larsa, or its vicinity, in the Los Angeles collection, as several tablets from that collection bear year names of Rim-Sin I or mention this king:

- Cots. Coll. 40720 (Wilson Education 170; CDLI P388373) is not a school letter but a real letter sent by Rim-Sin;
- Cots. Coll. 40834A (Wilson Education 57; P388290) is a personal name list dated Rim-Sin 33 according to Mark Wilson. I cannot verify the date on the CDLI photograph;
- Cots. Coll. 52149 (Wilson Education 73; P388302) is not a school letter but a letter sent by Rim-Sin;
- Cots. Coll. 52154 (Wilson Education 172; P388375) is not a school letter but a letter sent by Rim-Sin;
- Cots. Coll. 52177 (Wilson Education 177; P388377) is a model contract mentioning Rim-Sin in the final oath;⁵⁾

- Cots. Coll. 96279 (Wilson Education 174; P273801) is not a school text but a real administrative list dated xii/Rim-Sin 20.

Since the use of the sign PI for the sound [pi] is a characteristic of letters from southern Mesopotamia (Larsa, Uruk), it is likely that the manuscripts of *Ur-Zababa's Letter to Šilli-Šamaš* come from southern Mesopotamia.

With the publication of CUSAS 43, it becomes clear that it was more common to practice writing a letter in Akkadian at school than previously thought. The students who wrote the four manuscripts of *Ur-Zababa's Letter to Šilli-Šamaš* had already spent several months in school, as they knew how to write and were familiar with the capacity measure system. The tablet Cots. Coll. 52150, with its clay envelope preserved, reveals an additional skill in the making of an envelope.

Notes

* My thanks go to Ceren Mengi and Francesca Nebiolo for the photomontage, and to Lynn-Salammô Zimmermann for proofreading the English of an earlier draft.

¹ A. George, "Old Babylonian School Letters" in A. R. George and G. Spada (ed.), *Old Babylonian Texts in the Schøyen Collection. Part 2. School Letters, Model Contracts, and Related Texts*, CUSAS 43, University Park, 2019, p. 9-72 & pl. I-XXXII + LXV.

² CDLI P388301 and Archibab T25643. According to the website of the Cotsen collection (<<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt0t1nf169>>), the dimensions of the tablet are: 3 5/8" height x 1 15/16" width x 1 1/2" depth.

³ Cots. Coll. 52150, Cots. Coll. 52152, Cots. Coll. 52153, CUSAS 43 4C, CUSAS 43 8, and FM 6 68. On the making of envelopes at school, see M. Béranger, "Du signe à l'enveloppe. L'enseignement du genre épistolaire à l'époque amorrite d'après un nouveau modèle de lettre scolaire avec enveloppe" in G. Chambon, M. Guichard and A.-I. Langlois (ed.), *De l'argile au numérique. Mélanges assyriologiques en l'honneur de Dominique Charpin*, PPOAC 3, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, 2019, p. 125-168. I published Cots. Coll. 52152 and Cots. Coll. 52153 in the Mél. Charpin, 2019. See the website Archibab for updated editions, based on the new duplicates published by A. George in CUSAS 43: <http://www.archibab.fr/T23735>, T23736.

M. Wilson identified the tablet Cots. Coll. 52187, which has an envelope, as a school letter (*Education in the Earliest Schools*, Los Angeles, 2008, p. 85 no. 171; P388374). Because only a small portion of the tablet is visible, I am not sure that this is a school exercise.

⁴ "Since internal evidence suggests that many of the Old Babylonian tablets in the Schøyen Collection stem from Larsa, or a place controlled by Larsa—such as Adab—and date to the era of Rīm-Sîn I, it may be supposed that the school letters published here belong to the scribal curriculum of the Larsa state at the end of that city's domination." (CUSAS 43, p. 47).

⁵ Text edited by G. Spada, "I modelli di contratto nell'edubba paleo-babilonese. Un esempio di contratto di adozione," *AION* 72, 2012, p. 133-148.

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60) The Sealand I comprising two lines of 184 years each, with the conquest of Babylon 35 years before its end — According to the *Babylonian King List A* (BM 33332, CT 36 pls. 24-25; henceforth BKL.A), the Sealand I reigned 368 years (i.15), but several data (in particular the synchronisms with Babylon I) imply that the dynasty cannot have lasted that long (Poebel 1947: 120; Jaritz 1958: 189; Brinkman 1977: 346 n. 5; Gasche et al. 1998: 67; van Koppen 2010: 454; Boivin 2018: 77-78, 241-247). Recently it has been argued that both the late Akkadian period (Mahieu 2019) and the entire Kassite period (Mahieu 2021) comprise two lines of rulers. A similar hypothesis can be made for the Sealand I as well. The regnal years of its kings can be split into two exact parallels of $368 \div 2 = 184$ years each:¹⁾

	Subtotal		Subtotal
Ili-ma-ilu (BKL.A i.4, 60 years) ²⁾	60	Itti-ili-nibi (BKL.A i.5, '55 ¹ years) ³⁾	55
Dam(i)q-ilišu (BKL.A i.6, '39 ¹ years)	99	Iškibal (BKL.A i.7, '15 ¹ years) ⁴⁾	70
		Šušši (BKL.A i.8, '24 ¹ years) ⁵⁾	94
Pešgaldarameš (BKL.A i.10, 50 years)	149	Gulkišar (BKL.A i.9, 55 years)	149
Ayadaragalama (BKL.A i.11, 28 years) ⁶⁾	177	Akurduana (BKL.A i.12, 26 years)	175
Melamkura (BKL.A i.13, 7 years) ⁷⁾	184	Ea-gamil (BKL.A i.14, '9 ¹ years) ⁸⁾	184

The regnal years presented above are those commonly proposed for the Sealand I, except for Dam(i)q-ilišu, who is given '39' instead of 16, 26, 36, or 46 years.⁹⁾ Both the decade and the digit of Dam(i)q-ilišu's years in BKL.A i.6 are unclear (cf. Brinkman 1993: 7: '10(+)- +6²¹'). If one opts for the (generally preferred) decade of 30 and if one adds a row of three wedges to the digit of 6, one obtains 39. This number is probable because it results in a total of 368 years for the sum of the individual reigns, i.e. the number required according to BKL.A i.15. Moreover, if Dam(i)q-ilišu reigns 39 years, he reigns as many years as his two contemporaries, Iššikal and Šušši, together do (15+24 = 39 years).

The proposed parallel shows four pairs of rulers with similar reign lengths:

Ili-ma-ilu (60 years) // Itti-ili-nibi (55 years)
 Pešgaldarameš (50 years) // Gulkišar (55 years)
 Ayadaragalama (28 years) // Akurduana (26 years)
 Melamkura (7 years) // Ea-gamil (9 years)

To this list should be added Dam(i)q-ilišu (39 years), who parallels two kings: Iššikal (15 years) and Šušši (24 years). In order to indicate that Iššikal (i.7) and Šušši (i.8) belong together, BKL.A calls Šušši a "brother" (šeš = *aḫu*), the sole kinship for the Sealand I found in BKL.A. Moreover, BKL.A adds two intriguing horizontal wedges (aš) for them: a wedge between Itti-ili-nibi (i.5) and Dam(i)q-ilišu (i.6), and a wedge after Gulkišar (i.9). These two instances are the only cases of such wedges in the (preserved) BKL.A. The wedges have been supposed to represent omitted kings (Landsberger 1954: 69 n. 177; Boivin 2018: 37). They might, however, rather demarcate the exceptional lineage: between i.5 and i.9, three kings occur (Dam(i)q-ilišu, Iššikal, and Šušši, i.6-8), in contradistinction to the pairing of two kings in all other instances of the Sealand I.

Not only are the reign lengths of the contemporary kings similar (60~55, 39=15+24, 50~55, 28~26, and 7~9), there is also a common break: the reigns of Gulkišar and Pešgaldarameš end at the same time, after 149 years (60+39+50 = 149 = 55+15+24+55), with still 35 years following (28+7 = 35 = 26+9). The break plausibly marks the end of the Old Babylonian dynasty. That Babylon I ends 35 years before the Sealand I does, is suggested by the era of the resettlement of Babylon (found on tablets from Tell Muhammad: "Year x that Babylon was resettled," Gasche et al. 1998: 84; cf. van Koppen 2010: 462). This era likely begins at the conquest of Babylon¹⁰⁾ and is attested from year 36 until year 41 (Gasche et al. 1998: 86-87). The first attestation, in year 36, points to a time span of 35 years (from year 1 until year 36), i.e. a period which lasts as long as the 28+7 and 26+9 years of the late Sealand I. If these periods correspond, then the era was applied for the first time at the end of the Sealand I (when the 28+7 = 26+9 years end), and Babylon was conquered 35 years earlier (when the era begins), i.e. at the end of the reigns of Gulkišar and Pešgaldarameš.

Further arguments favour a setting of Babylon's capture in that context. The *Synchronistic King List* (A.117 = Ass 14616c, *AfO* 3: 70-71) adds a king (i.5) named gīš-en (Brinkman 1977: 337; Grayson 1980: 117, 120 [note to i.5]) or dīš+u-en (Brinkman 1993: 7; Dalley 2009: 2; Boivin 2018: 37) between Gulkišar (i.4) and Pešgaldarameš (i.6). In the present analysis, Babylon is captured at the end of the reigns of Gulkišar and Pešgaldarameš. The otherwise unknown person gīš-en/dīš+u-en, who is mentioned between these two kings, might well be a ruler who partook in the capture of Babylon. Similarly, a *kudurru* dated to year 4 of Enlil-nadin-apli of Isin II records 696 years for the period lasting from Gulkišar until Nebuchadnezzar I (CBM 13 ll. 6-8, Paulus 2014: 521). These 696 years are the sum of the 120 years running from Pešgaldarameš until Ea-gamil of the Sealand I (50+28+26+7+9) + the 576 years of the Kassite government (BKL.A ii.16).¹¹⁾ The count thus begins between Gulkišar and Pešgaldarameš, i.e. at the position of gīš-en/dīš+u-en, at the conquest of Babylon.

The setting of Babylon's capture at the end of Gulkišar's reign is also indicated by BM 120960, a glass recipe written by an administrator of the Marduk temple in Babylon. It is dated to mu uš.sa *gul-ki-šár* lugal.e "year after Gulkišar the king" (l. 43, trans. Gadd & Thompson 1936: 91-92). The use of a year formula mentioning a king of the Sealand I by a Babylonian scribe suggests that one brought the recipe to safety in the South at the time of Babylon's capture.¹²⁾ Though the setting is likely fictitious (Oppenheim 1970: 60-62; Wiggermann 2008: 225, 227 [no. 4]; Boivin 2018: 119), the date formula might still testify

that Babylon was taken at the end of Gulkišar's reign: the preservation of the recipe was set in the year that followed Gulkišar's kingship,¹³⁾ when people were fleeing from Babylon.

The *Epic of Gulkišar* seems to confirm that setting. Gulkišar is said to have campaigned against Samsuditana (HS 1885+ obv. 7', Zomer 2019: 28, 31), the last king of Babylon I. This campaign might have brought both Gulkišar's and Samsuditana's reigns to an end: in the present reconstruction, Babylon I ends at the same time as Gulkišar's reign.

In addition to this synchronism between Gulkišar and Samsuditana, three more synchronisms exist between the Sealand I and Babylon I:

- 1) Ili-ma-ilu is contemporary with Samsuiluna and Abi-ešuh (*Chronicle of Early Kings* B rev. 6'-10').¹⁴⁾
- 2) In his regnal year 37, Ammiditana "destroyed the wall of Udimim which (the people/troops of) Damqi-ilishu had built" (trans. Horsnell 1999: 2:320).
- 3) Ea-gamil comes after Samsuditana (*Chronicle of Early Kings* B rev. 11'-12').

The chronological relationship between the two dynasties can be reconstructed as follows:

Sealand I	Subtotal	Babylon I	Subtotal
Ili-ma-ilu	60	Samsuiluna (38 year-names; 35 years BKL.B 7) ¹⁵⁾	38/35
		Abi-ešuh (28 year-names; 25 years BKL.B 8)	66/60
Dam(i)q-ilišu	99	Ammiditana (37 year-names; 25 years BKL.B 9)	103/85
Pešgaldarameš	149	Ammišaduqa (17+x year-names; 21 years BKL.B 10)	120+x/106
// Gulkišar		Samsuditana (31 year-names; ¹⁶⁾ 31 years BKL.B 11)	151+x/137
Ayadaragalama	177		
Melamkura	184		
// Ea-gamil			

The reduction of the duration of the Sealand I from 368 to 184 years accords with the synchronisms: Ili-ma-ilu is contemporary with Samsuiluna and Abi-ešuh; Dam(i)q-ilišu reigns before year 37 of Ammiditana; Gulkišar's reign (at the subtotal of 149 years) can have ended at the same time as Samsuditana's (at the subtotal of 151+x/137 years); and Ea-gamil reigned after Samsuditana. The hypothesis of a double line thus offers a convenient explanation for the available data.

Notes

¹⁾ The spelling used for the royal names is not the one found in BKL.A but the conventional one (see Boivin 2018: 33-37). Contemporary sources attest 2 year-names for Ili-ma-ilu, year 29 for Pešgaldarameš, 11 year-names and year 8 for Ayadaragalama, and year 4 for Ea-gamil (ibid. 248-250).

²⁾ Poebel 1947: 120-121; Brinkman 1977: 337; Glassner 2004: 132-133 (a reconstruction in the *Dynastic Chronicle* iv.14'). Grayson (1980: 91: [x]+1¹⁷) and Brinkman (1993: 7: 'x+1¹⁷) interpret the sign as the number 1 instead of 60; cf. Boivin 2018: 74: "There appears to be only the sign diš on the tablet."

³⁾ Pinches 1883-1884: 195; Knudtzon 1893: 1:pl. 60; Rost 1897: pl. ii; Schrader 1890: 286 (50²+5); Winckler 1909: 68; Gressmann 1926: 1:332; Brinkman 1993: 7 ('40(+10)+5¹). Some scholars propose 56 years: Lehmann-Haupt 1898: 17 (55 or 56); Gadd 1921: pl. 24; Schmidtke 1952: 77; Oppenheim 1969. Grayson (1980: 93 [note to i.5]) proposes 45, 46, 55, or 56 years.

⁴⁾ Grayson 1980: 91: 15; Brinkman 1993: 7: '15¹.

⁵⁾ Lehmann-Haupt 1898: 17; Gadd 1921: pl. 24; Schmidtke 1952: 78; Grayson 1980: 91; Brinkman 1993: 7: '24¹. The number 27 has been proposed by Pinches 1883-1884: 195; Schrader 1890: 286; Rost 1897: pl. ii; Winckler 1909: 68; Gressmann 1926: 1:332. Knudtzon (1893: 1:pl. 60) mentions 34 as a possibility.

⁶⁾ An archive of uncertain provenance contains tablets dated according to the reigns of Pešgaldarameš and Ayadaragalama (Dalley 2009: 1-3, 10-12). This suggests that the two kings are successive.

⁷⁾ Gadd 1921: pl. 24; Schmidtke 1952: 78; Oppenheim 1969; Grayson 1980: 91; Brinkman 1993: 7. The number 6 (Pinches 1883-1884: 195; Schrader 1890: 286; Winckler 1909: 68; Gressmann 1926: 1:332) and the number 8 (Knudtzon 1893: 1:pl. 60; Rost 1897: pl. ii; Lehmann-Haupt 1898: 18) had been proposed before.

⁸⁾ Grayson 1980: 91: 9; Brinkman 1993: 7: '9¹.

⁹⁾ Knudtzon (1893: 1:pl. 60) reads the number 16. Lehmann-Haupt (1898: 17) and Grayson (1980: 91) propose 26. Rost (1897: pl. ii), Schrader (1890: 286 [30²+6]), Winckler (1909: 68), Gressmann (1926: 1:332), Schmidtke (1952: 78), and Oppenheim (1969) read 36. Pinches (1883-1884: 195) proposes 46.

¹⁰ Gasche et al. 1998: 85; Boivin 2018: 82-83. Van Koppen (2017: 62), on the contrary, begins the era in the late reign of Ammiditana.

¹¹ The three kings preceding Nebuchadnezzar I in Isin II (Marduk-kabit-ahhešu, Itti-Marduk-balaštu, and Ninurta-nadin-šumi) are excluded from the 696 years: Brinkman 1968: 83-84; cf. Boivin 2018: 45.

¹² Cf. Landsberger 1954: 68 n. 174 (d): “Die Fiktion dieser Tafel ist, dass der Hohepriester des Marduk vor den nach Babylon eingedrungenen Barbaren in das Reich des Gulkišar geflohen sei und dieses kostbare Geheimrezept in Sicherheit gebracht habe.”

¹³ The present analysis sets the relevant year after Gulkišar’s reign, whereas Landsberger (1954: 68 n. 174 [d]) translates as “des Jahres, das auf das Jahr des Regierungsantrittes des Gulkišar folgte”; similarly Oppenheim 1970: 60, 64 (§iv), and Wiggermann 2008: 225: “year (after that in which) Gulkišar (became) king”; cf. Boivin 2018: 119: “apparently very early in Gulkišar’s reign.” However, in addition to its basic meaning of regnal year 1, the expression *mu RN lugal.e* can also denote any year of a kingship (Charpin 2001: 91 [comment to pp. 43-44]). By extension, *mu uš.sa RN lugal.e* might indicate the year after a kingship.

¹⁴ For a transliteration and translation of the *Chronicle of Early Kings*, see Grayson 1975: 152-156 (Chronicle 20); Glassner 2004: 268-273 (nos. 39-40). The contemporaneity of Ili-ma-ilu and Samsuiluna is confirmed by prosopographic evidence: Ubar-Ba’u is mentioned in year 54 of Rim-Sin I of Larsa (SAOC 44 11), and Ubar-Ba’u’s sons appear in year 1 of Ili-ma-ilu (SAOC 44 12; see Boivin 2018: 243). Year 54 of Rim-Sin I parallels year 24 of Hammurabi (Charpin & Ziegler 2003: 262). Given that Ubar-Ba’u belongs to the mid-reign of Hammurabi, Ubar-Ba’u’s sons and Ili-ma-ilu belong to the generation following Hammurabi, i.e. to Samsuiluna’s.

¹⁵ For a transliteration of the *Babylonian King List B* (BKL.B), see Grayson 1980: 100 (§3.7).

¹⁶ Horsnell 1999: 1:93-95 and n. 1. Van Koppen (2017: 70 n. 92), on the other hand, argues that the date list A 7754 favours 26 years for Samsuditana.

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61) Elamite *hutli/hutliš* — The Elamite lexeme *hutli/hutliš* (and not *hudli* as read by the CAD H, 223, and Malbran-Labat 2021, 1337) occurs three times in seal inscriptions, dated to the end of the *sukkalmah*-period (2nd half of the 16th century BCE; Amiet 1972, 240 and 258). Two times it is spelled *hu-ut-li*, more precisely on two inscriptions belonging to two seal impressions. Both impressions are applied to what Amiet calls “un grand contrat de la fin de l’époque des Sukkalmahhu” (Amiet 1966, 330). Unfortunately, no further information on this text exists.

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- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) [x] | |
| (2) <i>hu-ut-li</i> | [PN], <i>hutli</i> of Tep[tiyu], son of Nūr- |
| (3) <i>Te-ep-^rti-ù^l-ú</i> | Šamaš, the servant of [x]-Šamaš”. |
| (4) <i>dumu nu-úr-^dUtu</i> | |
| (5) <i>ir x-^dUtu</i> | |

Comments:

(3) *Te-ep-^rti-ù^l-ú*: the restoration by Hinz & Koch (1987, 314) seems not to be contradicted by the photograph of the inscription in MDP 43, Pl. 176. If the proposed restoration is correct, Teptiyu is a hypocoristic in *-iyu-* of a name with Tepti. Hypocoristic names with this suffix, a cluster of the suffixes *-i* and *-u*, are not uncommon in Elamite (Zadok 1983, 114), other examples being A-at-ti-i-ù (MDP 28 413 rev. 3; from *atta-* “father”); I-gi-u (MDP 9 299 rev. 2,8) and I-ki-ù-ú (MDP 22 161:15; from *iki-* “brother”); Ka-i-ù-[ù] (MDP 24 334:17); Kur-ri-ù-ù (MDP 43 1823), Zi-i-ù (MDP 28 486:2), Zi-u-u (MDP 22 71:24) and Zi-ù-ù (MDP 22 73:25; from *ziya-* “to look”); Zi-ni-i-ù (MDP 24 334:2; from *zin-* [meaning unknown], according to Zadok 1983, 114). The Elamo-Akkadian equivalent of this name is Bēliyu, spelled Be-li-i-ù (MDP 28 539:1) and Be-li-ù-ù (MDP 28 537:1), from *bēlu* “lord”, although Zadok prefers a link with El. *pil* “to maintain, restore” (cf. also Zadok 1984, 34). In any case, we have here an Elamite name with an Akkadian patronymic.

MDP 43 2022b

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) ^d UTU-GAL | |
| (2) DUMU ^d Si-mu-ut-pi [?] | Šamaš-rabi, son of Simut-ahpi [?] , |
| (3) <i>hu-ut-li</i> | <i>hutli</i> of Taya |
| (4) <i>Da-a-a</i> ^r x ¹ | |

Comments:

(2) Simut-pi?: although Amiet (1972, 261; accepted by Zadok 1984, 40 and Hinz & Koch 1987, 1167) reads dŠIMUT-PI, his copy of the inscription has ^dSi-mu-ut-UD. The logogram to indicate Simut is MAN, which is absolutely not visible on the tablet. The last sign has the shape of UT, but this does not yield a plausible name, except, maybe, for Simut-UD “Simut is the day”. A reading PI is possible, but in that case the last horizontal of PI is missing. Hinz & Koch consider Simut-pi to be an abbreviated form of Simut-ahpi “(belonging) to Simut’s family”.

(4) *Da-a-a*: there are traces of a sign after Da-a-a, but the distance between the signs suggests that these traces do not belong to the name itself. Perhaps the lost signs mention his title. A person named Taya is attested in MDP 43 1657 and 1673, both seal inscriptions dated to the Ur III period. In these inscriptions Taya is a *nu-banda* “intendant, inspector, overseer”, a high-ranked official.

One time the lexeme appears as hu-ut-li-iš, in the seal inscription of MDP 43 2023, also dated to the end of the 16th century BCE (Amiet 1972, 258). The impression was applied to a tablet bearing the settlement of a legal dispute (MDP 22 164).

MDP 43 2023

(1) <i>Li-mu-u-lu</i> ²	Limulu,
(2) <i>hu-ut-li-iš</i>	<i>hutliš</i> ,
(3) DUMU <i>Iš-ma-an-[n]</i> i	son of Išmanni, the servant of Ea
(4) <i>ir</i> ^d E-a	

Comments

(2) *Limulu*: only attested in this text (Hinz & Koch 1987, 831), but most likely an Elamite name. Limulu may consist of two elements: *lim(u)* “fire” and *ulu*, whose meaning is not known, but which is connected by Zadok to the divinity Uli (Zadok 1984, 45 and 46). If Zadok’s connection would turn out to be correct, the name could very well be read Lim-Uli “the fire of Uli”. As in the first inscription, son and father have ethnically different names: the son has an Elamite one, while his father bears an Akkadian name.

Not much information on *hutliš* can be deduced from both inscriptions. It is a professional indication and people can be *hutli* of someone. The first scholar to mention *hutli* was Vincent Scheil (1930, 176), who in his edition of MDP 22 164 did not venture a translation, but who did recognize that it was a professional title, a statement accepted by the CAD (H, 223), and Malbran-Labat (2021, 1337). Later on, Pierre Amiet (1972, 261) proposed a meaning “messenger”, seemingly because of the similarity with *hutla-* “to send” and *hutlak* “herald” (cf. Gorris 2018, 318-319 and 2020, 182-183 on the specific meaning of *hutlak*). This meaning was soon generally accepted (Hinz & Koch 1987, 727; Roach 2008, 478), although Hinz & Koch (1987, 727) translate *hutliš* with “commissioner”. It is clear, however, that *hutli* and *hutliš* denote the same word.

Nevertheless, this proposal is not without problems. If *hutli/hutliš* were connected with *hut-la-*, why is the final result a form ending in *-i*? One would rather expect *hutla-*. Nonetheless, if a connection with *hutla-* turns out to be correct, the meaning of this word would be “materials, requirements – send” > “messenger”.

An alternative etymology is, however, also possible and corresponds well with the shape of the lexeme: *hutli*. In this sense, *hut-li-* is a compound of *hut-* “materials; requirements” and *li-* “to give, deliver”. The meaning “messenger” must, if the word is originally *hutli-*, be abandoned, as the new meaning would be “materials, products, requirements – give, deliver” > “deliverer of requirements, agent, attendant”, perhaps “manager”. An admittedly rather weak objection against this assumption might be that *li-* is only two times attested as second element of an Elamite compound lexeme, more precisely in *lan-lirir* “giver of offerings, officiant” and *zanša-lir* “giver of *zanša*”, an object made of silver.

Historically seen, both meanings are possible. Many agents in the service of other persons are attested in the Mesopotamian records, e.g. in the Murašû Archive (Stolper 1985, 20-22). Messengers of private individuals are not that frequently attested, but still appear sufficiently enough in the historical sources. Some examples are:

- 1) The messenger of Nūr-Sîn (AbB 9 227:16-18; Old Babylonian);
- 2) A messenger of Aya-nûri, who is an official or the king of Ṭab’el (Iraq 17, 131 no. 14:4-5; Neo-Assyrian; cf. Meier 1988, 115);
- 3) Bēl-udu’a, the messenger of Eṭeri the *šatammu* (CT 53 68:9-10; Neo-Assyrian);

- 4) Bēl-upahḫir, the messenger of Umman-šibir, a high-ranked Elamite official (ABL 792:5-7; Neo-Assyrian; cf. de Vaan 1995, 284-285).

Two remarks remain to be dealt with. Since *hutli* is clearly a professional indication, one could argue that a final *-r* is missing, *-r-* being the suffix indicating agent nouns in Elamite. Nevertheless, Old Elamite agent nouns could be constructed without this suffix, e.g. *puhu-teppi* ‘‘apprentice scribe’’, an Elamite notion attested in the Babylonian administrative texts from Susa (Hinz & Koch 1987, 230-231). Note that *hutli* too occurs in a Mesopotamian context. In conclusion, Akkadian-speaking scribes did not add the expected suffixes to Elamite lexemes, contrary to Elamite-speaking scribes, for instance in the Narâm-Sîn Treaty.

The second remark concerns the different form *hutli* and *hutliš*. The reason for the existence of the two variants is not easy to find. It could be due to a scribal error, in that sense that the scribe of MDP 43 2023 thought that *hutli-* was a verbal root, that had to be conjugated in the third person singular, hence *hutliš*. This idea, however, remains hypothetical.

To summarize, it remains difficult to establish the exact meaning of *hutli*, but one should not too hastily accept a meaning “messenger” (*hutli* as derived noun from *hutla-*), as a meaning “agent, attendant” or “manager” cannot be excluded (*hutli* as compound of *hut-* and *li-*). Even when a form *hutli* is more credible than a form *hutla*, the available source material is far too flimsy to offer absolute certainty in this discussion.

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62) Middle Hittite Period Tablets: Some Opinions on the KBo 32.114(+)KBo 32.106 — KBo 32.114 and KBo 32.106 are two texts written in the Middle Hittite ductus, which belong to the Festival of the Goddess *Tetešhapi*. As a result of our investigation, it has been determined that these two texts are direct joins. It is seen that there are common aspects of both texts dating, ductus, and findspots. Also, there are the same expressions such as GÍR.ZABAR, ^{LÚ}GÍR, ^{DUG}zalha- in the text too.

*KBo 32.114(+)**KBo 32.106 (Duplicate Text KBo 64.174)*¹⁾

obv.	x+1 []x[x+1 []x[(2') The Sun Goddess?
2'	[DUTU? URU]A-ri-in-na x[of the] city of Arinna) ... [...
3'	<u>nu VI GİR.ZABAR [</u>	<u>(3') dagger of six bronze [</u>

4'	<i>iš-tar-ni-iš-ši x[</i>	(4') in the middle of it ... [
5'	<i>da-an-zi ma-ah-ha-a[n(-ma-aš-ša)] x-x-x-x</i>	(5') they receive. [(When)]
6'	<i>pa-a-aš-šu-an-zi a-x[</i>	(6') to swallow ... [
7'	<i>nu A-NA LUGIR LUGIR ZABAR.DAB DUG za-al-ha-a-i [(pa-a-i)]</i>	(7') wine supplier [(gives)] the <i>zalha</i> - vessel to the man who swallows the dagger.
8'	<i>an-da-ma-kán I GAL GEŠTIN la-a[-hu-wa-i']</i>	(8') [(pours)] a glass of wine into it.
9'	<i>na-aš-ta VI GIR.ZABAR al-pu-ú-e-mar pí-ra-an [</i>	(9') then the six blades of bronze forward which sharpness are [
10'	<i>an-da GEŠTIN-aš ki-it-ta[-ri]</i>	(10') pu[ts] it in the wine.
11'	<i>nu-uš-ši I LUGIR ALAM.ZU₉ pí-ra-an [</i>	(11') a jester to him/her in front of [
12'	<i>DUG za-a-al-ha-ya-aš-ši pí-ra-an x-x[</i>	(12') the <i>zalha</i> - vessel in front of him ... [
13'	<i>EGIR-ŠU-ma III MUNUS.MEŠ zi-in-tu-u-hi-e[-eš</i>	(13') followed by three <i>zintuhi</i> (ya)- women [
14'	<i>nu III TA-PAL GIŠ hu-hu-ba-a-al[-li wa-al-ha-an-zi']</i>	(14') they [strike three pairs of <i>huhupal</i> -
15'	<i>iš-ha-mi-iš-kán-zi-ma x[</i>	(15') they sing the song all the time ... [
16'	<i>]x-li[</i>	(16')] ... [
rev. ²	<i>]x-x[</i>	(1')] ... [
2'	<i>-ša]a-ya-a[n -š]a-a-ya-a[n</i>	(2')] ... [] ... [
3'	<i>]x-kán VI GIR[R²] DUG za-a-al-ha-ya-aš [</i>	(3')]... six kni[fes ²] from the <i>zalha</i> - vessel [
4'	<i>LUGIR pa-ra-q [pé-e-da-]i na-at LUGIR ša²[-ra-a da-a-i']</i>	(4') the man who swallow[s] the dagger [car]ries the (knife). And the man who swallowed the dagger puts it up ² .
5'	<i>]e-ep-zi [na-a]t LUGAL-i pa-ra-a [pa-a-i']</i>	(5')] holds. He [gives ²] [it] to the king.
6'	<i>]x LUGIR ALAM.ZU₉ páť har-zi</i>	(6')] ... keeps the jester.
7'	<i>GIR pa-a]š-zi nam-ma-at ki-nu-hu-uš EGIR-[pa</i>	(7')] ... then the pieces of the sword aga[in
8'	<i>iš-]gq-a-ri nam-ma-at-za-kán hu-uh-hu[-ur-ti']</i>	(8') stick into. Then it throat[-
	<i>/ hu-uh-hu[-ur-tal-la</i>	
9'	<i>] ti-e-zi na-at ar-ha ša-a-a[r-ri</i>	(9')] says. He pa[rts it.
10'	<i>] A-NA LUGIR ALAM.ZU₉ pa-a-i III GIR-ma LUGIR pa-a-i']</i>	(10')] he gives to the jester. He gives also three knives the dag[ger-man ²].
11'	<i>LUGIR-ma-za] III GIR.ZABAR da-a-i na-at-za-k[án</i>	(11') the dagger-man takes also] three bronze knives. It ... [
12'	<i>LUGIR-ma-at nam-ma pa-a-aš-zi [</i>	(12') the dag[ger- man swallows it again. [
13'	<i>hi²]-in-kán-ta-ri nam-ma-za-kán [</i>	(13') they curt[sy. Then ... [
14'	<i>] A-NA LUGIR ALAM.ZU₉ [</i>	(14')] to the jester [
15'	<i>-] zi</i>	(15')] ...

In the 6. line of this text, *pa-a-aš-šu-an-zi* passes as *-a]š-šu-u-wa-an-zi* in the third line of KBo 64.174 (duplicate text). A. Ünal completes this line as “*pa-a-aš-šu-an-zi [zi-in-na-i]*”²⁾, but in the duplicate text, this line passes as *pa-a-aš-šu-an-zi a-x[*.

The word *hu-uh-hu[-* in the rev.² 8'. line of the text was completed in A. Ünal's same work with a question mark as *hu-uh-hu[-pa-al'*. However, the word ^{GIŠ}*huhupal*/^{GIŠ}*huhup/walli*-(²) does not have a *hu-uh-hu[-* conjugation.³⁾ When we look at the noun conjugations of the word *hu-uh-hu[-*, we see that the closest form to this spelling is “^{UZU}*huhhurta-*, ^{UZU}*huhhurti*, ^{UZU}*huhhurta/ṭ*, *huwahhurti-*, *huwahhuwarti-*”. Meaning “windpipe, throat, trachea” ^{UZU}*huhhurta-*, ^{UZU}*huhhurti*, ^{UZU}*huhhurta/ṭ*, *huwahhurti-*, *huwahhuwarti-* sometimes appears without determinate spellings.⁴⁾ The indefinite form of this word *hu-uh-hu-ur-t[*i- appears in the *Tunnawiya* ritual without determinative: *EME-aš a-pé-el hu-uh-hu-ur-ti []* (KBo 21.6 ay.9'.⁷⁾ It is seen that in the Hittite-Hurrian mythological fragment (KUB 43.36 26') the word takes place as *hu-uh-hu[-*. On the other way, this word is written as ^{UZU}*hu-uh-hu-wa- [...]* together with determinative.⁵⁾

The Pl.N.A.n. form of *huh(h)urtalla-*, *huh(h)urtalla-*⁶⁾ meaning “necklace or water pipe?”, “*hu-uh-hu-ur-tal-la*” also exemplifies this writing, and the inventory fragment text appears in KUB 58.59 I 8 as [^I^{NU-TUM} *hu-uh-hu-ur-tal-la* GUŠKIN NA₄¹ without determinative.

In the light of all this information, the word *hu-uh-hu[-* in the rev.⁷ 8'. line of our text can be completed as *hu-uh-hu[-ur-ti*, which means “windpipe, throat, trachea” or as *hu-uh-hu[-ur-tal-la* meaning “necklace, water pipe”.

We can complete the rev.⁷ 8'. line of the text according to both KUB 60.56 7' (LÚ^{URU} *Ha* | *r-har-na* *GÍR pa-aš-zi*)⁸ and the rev. 12' line of our text as “*GÍR pa-aš-zi*”. The word “*kinuhi-*”¹⁰, which is used as a part of sword and dagger and is in the rev.⁷ 7. line of the our text, appears as a Pl.Nom.c. in this text, which we have only examined, while it is in the Sg.Nom.c. form in other cuneiform texts. Although we do not know the reason why the word *kinuhi-* is used in the Pl.Nom.c. form in this text, the fact that the stick (crossguard/quillon) placed at right angles between the hilt and the barrel has bilateral protrusions to better grasp or swallow the sword may have pointed to the plural form of this word. As a result, it is seen that more written sources are needed to reach a definite conclusion about the word *kinuhi-*.

Notes

¹ See for transkription Ünal 1994: 214.

² See Ünal 1994: 214.

³ See Friedrich, J. – Kammenhuber, A. – Hoffmann, I 2010: (HW III/2), 640 vd.

⁴ See Alp 1957: 15; Friedrich, J. – Kammenhuber, A. – Hoffmann, I 2010: (HW III/2), 643.

⁵ Friedrich, J. – Kammenhuber, A. – Hoffmann, I 2010: (HW III/2), 643.

⁶ See Friedrich, J. – Kammenhuber, A. – Hoffmann, I 2010: (HW III/2), 644 vd.

⁷ See Hutter 1988: 46; Friedrich, J. – Kammenhuber, A. – Hoffmann, I 2010: (HW III/2), 644.

⁸ See Groddek 2006: 56.

⁹ See Güterbock H.G. – Hoffner H. A., 1997: (CHD P/3), 203.

¹⁰ KUB 42.58 obv.5 1 *GÍR kinuhiš* KÜ[BABBAR; KBo 18.178 obv.5 1 *GÍR kinuhiš*; KUB 42.11 II 10 I SAG.DU *kinuhiš*. See Puhvel 1997: (HED/K), 83.

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Abbreviations

CHD *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.*

DBH *Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie.*

HED PUHVEL J., *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Berlin, New York 1984 ff.

HW III/2 FRIEDRICH, J. – KAMMENHUBER, A. – HOFFMANN, I. 2010: *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, 2. Aufl. Bd. III/2: H/he-bis hu-, Lieferung 18, (HW² III/18), Heidelberg.

OLBA Olba (Mersin Üniversitesi Kilikia arkeolojisi araştırmaları yayınları/Mersin University publications of the research center of Cilician archaeology), Mersin, 1998 ff.

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63) For an explanation of a peculiar Hittite list of body parts* — The Hittite “Incantation of the binding” (*ŠIPAT ḥaminkuwaš*), included in the *Sammeltablel* KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 (CTH 390.A, NS) together with four other ritual texts, is composed of two parallel sections: in the first one, a number of natural elements are bound (*ḥamenk-*) by the “large river” and, after the conjuring (*ḥuek-*) of the goddess Kamrušepa, they are untied (*lā-*); in the second one, the body parts of a child are bound, the goddess Ḥannaḥanna instructs the old woman to conjure them, and they are finally untied. In each of the two sections, all the elements bound, conjured, and untied are listed thrice, so that, in the second section, we

have three mostly-parallel lists of body parts roughly running from head to toe, which I have summarised in the following table:

iii 32-42 (bound)	iii 45-53 (conjured)	iii 54-60 (untied)
<i>šuppiš tētanuš</i> ‘pure hairs’	^{UZU} <i>hupallaš</i> ‘skull’	^{UZU} <i>hupallaš</i> ‘skull’
<i>hupallaš</i> ‘skull’	<i>šuppauš tētanuš</i> ‘pure hairs’	<i>šuppauš tētanuš</i> ‘pure hair’
^{UZU} <i>ttitan</i> ‘nose’	^{UZU} GEŠTU ^{HL.A.} -ŠU ‘his ears’	^{UZU} GEŠTU ^{HL.A.} -ŠU ‘his ears’
^{UZU} GEŠTU ^{HL.A.} -ŠU ‘his ears’	^{UZU} <i>ttitan</i> ‘nose’	^{UZU} <i>ttitan</i> ‘nose’
^{UZU} KAxU- <i>iš</i> ‘mouth’	KAxU-ŠU ‘his mouth’	^{UZU} KAxU-ŠU ‘his mouth’
^{UZU} EME-ŠU ‘his tongue’	EME-ŠU ‘his tongue’	^{UZU} EME-ŠU ‘his tongue’
^{UZU} <i>huhhurtin</i> ‘windpipe’	^{UZU} <i>huhhurtin</i> ‘windpipe’	^{UZU} <i>pappaššalan</i> ‘oesophagus’
^{UZU} <i>pappaššalan</i> ‘oesophagus’	^{UZU} <i>pappaššalin</i> ‘oesophagus’	
^{UZU} GABA ‘chest’	^{UZU} GABA ‘chest’	^{UZU} GABA ‘chest’
^{UZU} <i>hahhri</i> ‘lungs’	^{UZU} <i>hahhri</i> ‘lungs’	^{UZU} <i>hahhri</i> ‘lungs’
^{UZU} NÍG.GIG ‘liver’	^{UZU} NÍG.GIG ‘liver’	
	^{UZU} ŠÀ ‘heart’	
<i>genzu</i> ‘abdomen’	^{UZU} <i>genzu</i> ‘abdomen’	^{UZU} <i>genzu</i> ‘abdomen’
^{UZU} <i>pantūhaš=šan</i> ‘his bladder’	^{UZU} <i>panduhān</i> ‘bladder’	^{UZU} <i>ulan</i> ‘thigh’
^{UZU} <i>arraš=šan</i> ‘his anus’	^{UZU} <i>arraš=šan</i> ‘his anus’	^{UZU} <i>arran</i> ‘anus’
^{UZU} <i>ginu=ššit</i> ‘his knees’	^{UZU} <i>gēnu</i> ‘knees’	^{UZU} <i>gēnu</i> ‘knees’
^{ŠU} ^{HL.A.} -ŠU ‘his hands’	^{ŠU} ^{HL.A.} -ŠU ‘his hands’	^{ŠU} ^{HL.A.} -ŠU ‘his hands’

As can be seen, the three lists are not perfectly parallel to each other: the order of the pure hairs and the skull is inverted in the second and third list, as well as the order of the nose and the ears; the windpipe and the liver are missing in the third list, while the heart only appears in the second one, and the bladder is replaced by the thigh in the third one. The element on which I would like to focus here is consistent in the three lists: the occurrence of ŠU^{HL.A.}-ŠU ‘his hands’ at the very end, after the knees, which is quite unexpected in an enumeration running from head to toe and requires an explanation.

First of all, one should note that the reading ŠU^{HL.A.}-ŠU is not unanimously accepted: since the partial edition by Alp (1957: 42-45) and the complete edition of the text by Kronasser (1961), the sequence is often read as TÚG^{HL.A.}-ŠU ‘his cloths’,¹⁾ although it could seem less pertinent in a list of body parts, while the reading ŠU^{HL.A.}-ŠU, later also taken into account by Kronasser (1962: 112) following a suggestion by Goetze and Meriggi, is found in Laroche’s (1965: 171-172) edition.²⁾ Based on the photos available on the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*, the sign on the tablet is clearly ŠU in the first two occurrences (the third one is partly broken), and it is correctly read as such in the online edition by Fuscagni (2017).³⁾

That the occurrence of the hands at the end of the list is unexpected can be shown by comparing it with the lists of body parts found in two manuscripts of the Ritual of Tunnawiya, KUB 9.4+ (CTH 409.IV.Tf02.A, NS) and KUB 9.34+ (409.II.Tf02.A, NS), each of which includes two mostly-parallel lists, in which the body parts of the patient are arranged together with those of a ram:⁴⁾

KUB 9.4+ i 3-18	KUB 9.34 ii 22-34	KUB 9.4+ i 23-39	KUB 9.34 ii 38-47
SAG.DU ‘head’	[SAG.DU ‘head’ (?)]	SAG.DU ‘head’	SAG.DU ‘head’
<i>taršna-</i> ‘throat’	<i>taršna-</i> ‘throat’	<i>taršna-</i> ‘throat’	<i>taršna-</i> ‘throat’
<i>ištamana-</i> ‘ear’	^{UZU} GEŠTU ‘ear’	<i>ḪASISU</i> ‘ear’	[^{UZU} GEŠTU ‘ear’ (?)]
^{UZU} ZAG.UDU ‘shoulder’	[^{UZU} ZAG.UDU ‘shoulder’ (?)]	<i>išhunau-</i> ‘upper arm’	^{UZU} ZAG.UDU ‘shoulder’
^{UZU} <i>išhunau-</i> ‘upper arm’	^{UZU} <i>išhunau-</i> ‘upper arm’		[<i>išhunau-</i> ‘upper arm’ (?)]
^{UZU} <i>kalulupa-</i> ‘finger’	ŠU ‘hand’	<i>šankuwaya-</i> ‘nail’	^{UZU} <i>kalulupa-</i> ‘finger’
<i>šankuwaya-</i> ‘nail’	UMBIN ‘nail’		[UMBIN ‘nail’ (?)]
<i>tāpuwašša-</i> ‘rib’	[^{UZU} TI ‘rib’ (?)]	<i>tāpuwašša-</i> ‘rib’	^{UZU} TI ‘rib’
^{UZU} ÚR ‘penis’	^{UZU} ÚR ‘penis’	<i>tašku-</i> ‘thigh-bone’	[^{UZU} ÚR ‘penis’ (?)]

<i>ḥupparattiyati</i> - ‘pelvis’	<i>ḥupparattiyati</i> - ‘pelvis’	<i>ḥupparattiyati</i> - ‘pelvis’	<i>ḥupparattiyati</i> - ‘pelvis’
<i>tašku</i> - ‘thigh-bone’	<i>tašku</i> - ‘thigh-bone’		
<i>ḥāpūša</i> - ‘shin-bone’	<i>ḥāpūša</i> - ‘shin-bone’	<i>ḥāpūša</i> - ‘shin-bone’	<i>ḥarganau</i> - ‘sole’
GĪR ‘foot’	GĪR ‘foot’	<i>ḥarganau</i> - ‘sole’	
	<i>ḥarganau</i> - ‘sole’	GĪR ‘foot’	[GĪR ‘foot’ (?)]
<i>ḥarganau</i> - ‘sole’	UMBIN ‘nail’	<i>kalulupa</i> - ‘toe’	<i>kalulupa</i> - ‘toe’
		<i>šankuwaya</i> - ‘nail’	[UMBIN ‘nail’ (?)]
<i>ḥaštai</i> - ‘bone’	<i>ḥaštai</i> - ‘bone’	^{UZU} SA ‘sinew’	^{UZU} SA ‘sinew’
^{UZU} SA ‘sinew’	[^{UZU} SA ‘sinew’ (?)]	<i>ḥaštai</i> - ‘bone’	<i>ḥaštai</i> - ‘bone’
<i>ēšḥar</i> ‘blood’	<i>ēšḥar</i> ‘blood’	<i>ēšḥar</i> ‘blood’	<i>ēšḥar</i> ‘blood’

As can be seen, although the lists are not perfectly matched with each other, the hands are always included, as expected, among the upper parts of the body and represented by ^{UZU}*kalulupa*- ‘finger’ and *šankuwaya*-/UMBIN ‘nail’ (KUB 9.4+ i 8-9 and KUB 9.34+ ii 40-41); by ŠU ‘hand’ and UMBIN ‘nail’ (KUB 9.34 ii 26-27); or just by *šankuwaya*- ‘nail’ (KUB 9.4+ i 27). Of course, these lists significantly diverge from the ones in CTH 390.A – they share almost nothing – and the texts belong to different traditions; nevertheless, I think that the comparison holds, and the issue of the hands consistently found at the end of the lists in CTH 390.A is worthy of discussion, in search of a possible explanation.⁵⁾

The first possibility is that there is nothing to be explained: the text is correct as it is, and the sequence does not need to be strictly ordered from head to toe; it is just a matter of variation. Also note that hands are a peripheral body part, with a wide range of movement outside the vertical axis of the body, which could justify their placement at the margins of a list. Otherwise, one may perhaps think that the scribe made a mistake, forgetting to include the hands in the expected place and adding them at the end of the list. However, the same mistake repeated thrice seems to me to be an unlikely explanation. The possibility of a later addition of something not belonging to the original text also seems to be unlikely for a relevant body part like the hands, and one should note that the duplicate KBo 22.128+ (CTH 390.C, NS) probably had the same text.⁶⁾

In my view, it is possible that the text is correct, and I suggest that the explanation for the unexpected collocation of the hands at the end of the list can be that the child for whom the incantation was intended was an infant who still did not walk, but crawled. This solution would both restore the expected head-to-toe sequence and explain why the feet are never mentioned in the three lists: his “feet” – so to say – are the knees and the hands.

However, there is a text that, at a first glance, may seem to provide a counterexample, because it features a list of body parts ending with knees, feet, and hands. The passage runs as follows:⁷⁾

KUB 43.53 i (CTH 412.3.1.B, OH/LNS)

- x+1 [...] *eras.* [...] *^re¹-eš-ša*-ri [da-a-ak-k]i *SAG.DU-ŠU*
- 2' [A-NA SA]G.DU-ŠU da-[a-a]k-ki KIR₁₄[-ŠU A-NA KI]R₁₄-ši da-a-ak-ki
- 3' [IGI^{H1A}.Š]U A-NA IGI^{H1A}.^rša¹-aš da-a-ak-ki GEŠT[U^{H1A}]-ŠU A-NA GEŠTU^{H1A}.ŠU
- 4' [da-a-ak-k]i a-i-iš-ši-ta-pa KA^xU-i da-a-a[k]-ki
- 5' [EME-Š]U ^rA¹-NA EME da-ak-ki kap-ru-še-ta-pa kap-ru-i da-a-ak¹-ki
- 6' m[i-li-y]a-aš-ši-iš mi-e-li-aš <da-a-ak-ki> *iš-ki-še-ta iš-ki-ši da-a-ak-ki
- 7' ^rpal¹-t[a-n]a-aš-ša-pa pal-ta-ni-i da-a-ak-ki GABA-ŠU A-NA GABA-ŠU da-a-ak-ki
- 8' ŠÀ-ŠU ^rA-NA¹ ŠÀ-ŠU ^rda-a¹-ak-ki ^{UZU}NÍG.^rGIG¹ A-NA ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG
- 9' da-a-ak-ki ḥa-aḥ-ri-iš-še-ta ḥa-aḥ-ri-iš-ni da-a-ak-ki
- 10' ^{UZU}rÉLLAG¹.GÜN.A-ŠU A-NA ^{UZU}rÉLLAG.GÜN.A-ŠU da-a-ak-ki
- 11' ge-en-ṣu-uš-še-ta ge-<en->ṣu-wa-aš d[a-a]-ak-ki KAR-ŠA-ŠU
- 12' A-NA KAR-ŠI-ŠU da-a-ak-ki ^{UZU}Ú[R-Š]U ^rA¹-NA ^{UZU}<ÚR>-ŠU da-a-ak-ki x⁸⁾
- 13' [KA]R-^rŠA-ŠU¹ A-NA KAR-ŠI-ŠU da-a-ak-k[i] ^{UZU}rÚR-ŠU¹ <A-NA ^{UZU}rÚR-ŠU> da-a-ak-ki
- 14' *m[i]-u-ra-aš-ši-iš mi-u-ra*-aš <da-a-ak-ki> gi-nu-še-t[a] gi-nu-aš da-^ra¹-[a]k-ki

15' GÌR^{MEŠ} A-NA GÌR^{MEŠ} ták-[k]án-zi ŠU^{HI.A}-ša-pa ŠU^{HI.A}-aš ták-[†]kán¹-zi

‘[... correspond]s to the appearance: his head cor[re]sponds to his [he]ad, [his] nose corresponds to his [nos]e, [h]is [eyes] correspond to his eyes, his ear[s] correspon[d] to his ears, his mouth corres[p]onds to the mouth, [h]is [tongue] corresponds to the tongue, his *kapru-* corresponds to the *kapru-*, his *m[ie]li-* <corresponds to> the *me*li-s, his back corresponds to the back, his shou[ld]er corresponds to the shoulder, his chest corresponds to his chest, his heart corresponds to his heart, the liver corresponds to the liver, his lung corresponds to the lung, his loins correspond to his loins, his abdomen c[orr]esponds to the abdomen, his stomach corresponds to his stomach, [h]is pen[is] corresponds to his <penis>, «his [sto]mach correspond[s] to his stomach, his penis corresponds to <his penis>», his *miura-* <corresponds to> the *miura-*s, his knees correspond to the knees, the feet correspond to the feet, the hand[s] correspond to the hands.’

Again, the hands unexpectedly close the list, and in this case no child is involved, because the ritual is for Labarna-Ḫattušili.⁹⁾ Haas (1971: 417) translates ŠU^{HI.A} as ‘toes’ here, a solution that could also work for the lists in CTH 390.A.¹⁰⁾ However, if the word for ‘finger/toe’, *kalulupa-*, seems to metonymically represent the hands in some of the manuscripts of the Ritual of Tunnawiya mentioned above (either with or without the nails), the possibility that the Sumerogram for hand could be used to mean the toes is less obvious, so that I would avoid such an explanation and rather literally take ŠU^{HI.A} as ‘hands’.

The solution, in my opinion, is actually quite similar to the one suggested for CTH 390.A: in KUB 43.53, the body parts of Labarna are matched with the body parts of an animal, so that the order knees-feet-hands at the end of the list may depend on the quadrupedal gait of the animal. Unlike the lists in CTH 390.A, the feet are also included in KUB 43.53 because both the animal and Labarna actually use them to walk.¹¹⁾ Of course, such order was possible, but not mandatory, because the lists in the Ritual of Tunnawiya mentioned above also match the body parts of a human with those of an animal, but follow the human order.¹²⁾ Therefore, the list in KUB 43.53 is probably not an obstacle to my interpretation of CTH 390.A, but its unusual order may rather find an analogous explanation.

However, two problems exist with my solution. The first one is represented by the short list of body parts included in the Middle-Hittite ritual against Ziplantawiya’s witchcraft:¹³⁾

KBo 15.10+ (CTH 443.1, MS)

i 24 še-er SAG.DU-ŠÚ ḫar-kán-du ŠÀ-ŠU ge-en-zi-še-et

i 25 [ke][†]e¹-nu-uš-še-et QA-TI-ŠU GÌR^{HI.A}-ŠU ḫar-kán-du

‘They (*scil.* the evil tongues) shall hold her head, they shall hold her heart, her abdomen, her [k]nees, her hands, her feet.’

I see no obvious explanation why the hands could be after the knees in this context. One could say that, in such a short list, included in a text with several inconsistencies and peculiarities (which, in my opinion, may point to a non-definitive text),¹⁴⁾ a switch between knees and hands might not be particularly meaningful, also because it might have been triggered by the common pairing of hands and feet that is found in other texts,¹⁵⁾ an explanation that cannot work for CTH 390.A, in which the feet are lacking. However, I admit that this is not a very strong argument.

The other problem is represented by the presence of the local adverb *šer* ‘up, above’ in the three passages of CTH 390.A including the hands:

KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8

iii 41 ... na-aš ^{UZU}gi-nu-uš-ši-it

iii 42 ḫa-mi-ik-ta-at še-er-ma-aš ŠU^{HI.A}-ŠU ḫa-mi-ik-ta

‘he (*scil.* the child) is bound with respect to his knees; above, he is bound with respect to his hands.’

iii 53 na-an ^{UZU}ge-e-nu KI.MIN še-er-ma-an ŠU^{HI.A}-ŠU KI.MIN

‘ditto (*scil.* she shall conjure) him with respect to the knees; above, ditto him with respect to his hands.’

iii 60 na-an ^{UZU}ge-e-nu la-a-ú-un še-er-ma-an [†]ŠU^{HI.A}-ŠU [†]KI.MIN[†]

‘I have untied him with respect to the knee; above, ditto (*scil.* I have untied) him with respect to his hands.’

A local interpretation of *šer* seems to be unavoidable here, and it would be consistent with the other local indications found in the three lists.¹⁶⁾ Thus, the consistent presence of *šer* in the three passages seems to actually point to the hands belonging to the upper part of the body.¹⁷⁾ Although, in my opinion, such an indication does not necessarily imply the standing position of the child, I concede that this could be a potential problem for my interpretation, for which I have no convincing solution.

Notes

* Abbreviations follow the conventions of the *RIA*. I would like to thank Paola Cotticelli for her valuable suggestions.

¹ This reading is accepted by Wegner (1981: 112), Puhvel (HED H: 65), Haas (2003: 539 fn. 9), Oettinger (2004: 351-352), and Francia (2012: 60-62).

² [(ŠU^{HL})]^A-ŠU is also given by Otten and Rüster (1977: 58) in the edition of the duplicate KBo 22.128+ (CTH 390.C, iii 6'). See also HW² H: 120 and CHD Š: 423.

³ Thus also Puértolas Rubio 2020: 142 fn. 42, 143 fn. 43.

⁴ For an analysis of these lists, see Kloekhorst 2005 (which includes a similar table), with references. In order to make the comparison straightforward, transcriptions have been normalised and do not reflect the higher degree of spelling variation in the original texts. Body parts that are entirely lost due to a break of the tablet have been included between square brackets and marked by a question mark.

⁵ Cf. also KBo 46.62 ii 5'-14' (CTH 475.Tf02.I, NS), in which offerings are assigned to the body parts of the Storm-god, listed in the following order: shoulder, breast and nipples, upper arms, fists, hands, fingers, buttocks, penis, knees and thighs, feet (see Grodek 2015: 46).

⁶ In the first and second list (the third one is only partially preserved), the knees are followed by a last body part: although the tablet is broken and the noun cannot be read, ŠU^{HLA}-ŠU is the most likely restoration.

⁷ Edited by Giorgieri 1992.

⁸ There is a PAB-like sign in the intercolumnium next to line 12', which may be related to the fact that the line is repeated immediately after.

⁹ Incidentally, this parallel structure could also definitively dismiss the reading TÚG^{HLA}-ŠU in CTH 390.A.

¹⁰ Thus also Vanséveren 2020: 154.

¹¹ While GÌR^{MEŠ} 'feet' is generally found for the paws of an animal (e.g. in the descriptions of representations of animals, see CHD P: 233), the 'hand' of an animal is occasionally found in ritual texts (see Mouton 2004: 71). Here, the front paws are probably referred to as 'hands' because of the parallelism with the human body.

¹² An analogous list, in which the body parts of a new-born child are matched with those of a goat can be found in KBo 17.61 (CTH 430.2, MS), but the tablet is partly broken, and the hands are not found in the preserved text. However, knees and feet seem to be the last elements of the list (see the online edition by Fuscagni 2013).

¹³ Online edition by Görke 2013.

¹⁴ See e.g. Christiansen 2007, with references.

¹⁵ See e.g. the list in KUB 41.21 i 8'-13'.

¹⁶ Cf. iii 32 ... *na-aš šu-up-pi-iš te-e-ta-nu-uš* (33) [*h*]a-mi-ik-ta-at ***kat-ta-an***-ma-aš *hu-pal-la-aš ha-mi-ik-ta-at*, 'he is [b]ound with respect to the pure hairs; below, he is bound with respect to the skull' (note that *kattan* does not occur in the second and third list, in which the skull precedes the pure hairs); iii 37 *na-aš* ^{U2U}*pa-ap-pa-aš-ša-la-an ha-mi-ik-ta kat-ta-ma-aš* (38) ^{U2U}GABA *ha-mi-ik-ta*, 'he is bound with respect to the oesophagus; below, he is bound with respect to the chest'; iii 45 ... *nu-wa-aš-ši-iš-ša-an še-er* ^{U2U}*hu-pal-la-aš *hu-ik-du*^{1*}, 'on top of him, she shall conjure the skull'; iii 54 ***še-e-ra-an*** ^{U2U}*hu-pal-la-aš la-a-ú-un*, 'above, I have untied him with respect to the skull'.

¹⁷ See also KBo 6.34+ i 23 ... *nu-uš kat-ta-an GÌR^{MEŠ}-ŠU-NU* ¹*pa¹-ta[(l-li-it)]* (24) *pa-tal-li-ya-an-du še-er-ra-aš ŠU^{MEŠ}-ŠU-NU iš-ji-an-du*, 'they shall fetter their feet below with fetters, they shall bind their hands above' (CTH 427.A, NS). According to Wegner (1981: 112 fn. 4), *še-er-ma-aš* may favour the reading TÚG^{HLA}-ŠU rather than ŠU^{HLA}-ŠU, "wenn man nicht annehmen will, daß die Hände über das Knie gebunden werden sollen".

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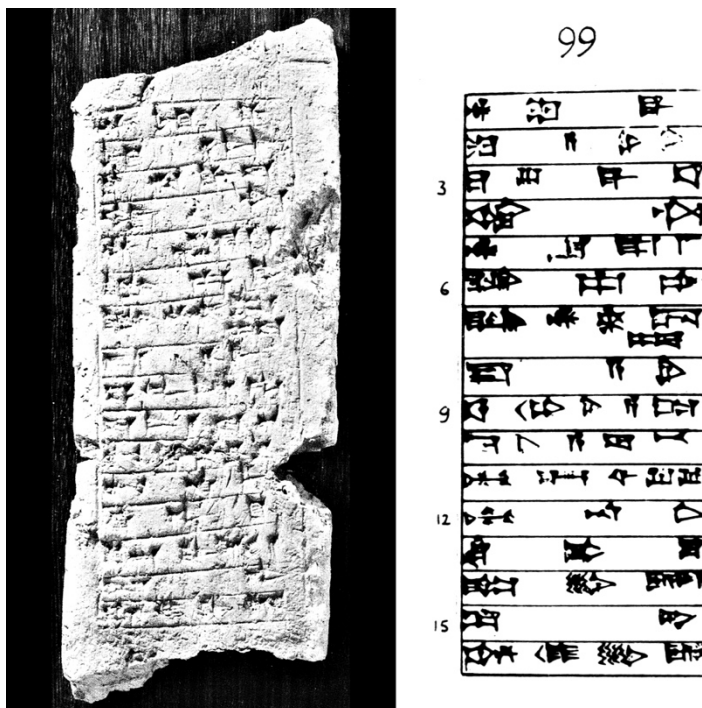
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64) A Kurigalzu Brick Inscription¹⁾ — A fragment of a brick with complete inscription preserved appeared on the British market in 2009. It was believed to originate from the Kenneth Rendell Collection (USA). Unfortunately, after these 13 years no further information than those details given here is available today. The fragment’s size is 21.5 x 8.7 cm today.

The complete inscription consists of the following 16 lines of text in Sumerian:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ^d nin-gal | (For the) goddess Ningal |
| 2. nin-a-ni-ir | his lady |
| 3. Ku-ri-gal-zu | Kurigalzu |
| 4. GIR ₃ .NITA ₂ | governor |
| 5. ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂ | of Enlil |
| 6. lugal-kal-ga | (the) mighty king |
| 7. lugal-an-ub-da ₅ -/limmu ₂ -ba | king of the four regions |
| 8. e ₂ -a-ni | her temple |
| 9. u ₄ -ul-li ₂ -a-ta | (which) from long ago |
| 10. ba-du ₃ -a ba-til | had been built (and) has come to an end/has finished |
| 11. mu-un-gibil | he has renovated |
| 12. mu-na-du ₃ | he built |
| 13. ki-bi-še ₃ | to its place/to its (former) state |

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| 14. bi ₂ -in-gi ₄ -a | (he) restored |
| 15. suhuš-bi | its foundation |
| 16. im-mi-in-gi ₄ | he restored/made firm |



Left: Original inscription on the brick, right: drawing of an analogous text on a brick published by Sollberger 1965, Pl. 24, Nr. 99.

The 16 lines of text dedicate a temple to the goddess “Ningal”. The text starts on the first line by mentioning her name. According to line 3 the construction activities on this Ningal temple were ordered by Kurigalzu. Today two kings with the name Kurigalzu (I. & II.) are known. Clayden made clear that Kurigalzu I. (x-1375 BC) was responsible for one of the most extensive and widespread building construction programs with his structures still evident today in Babylonia²⁾. In lines 12-16 in the text, Kurigalzu writes that he restored the Ningal temple. According to Clayden, Veldhuis, and Bartelmus³⁾ the restorations of the Ningal temple at Ur were ordered by Kurigalzu I. in the first half of the 14th century BC. Therefore, it is highly probable that our inscription was ordered by Kurigalzu I., an assumption also made by Bartelmus and Miglus for the brick published by Sollberger⁴⁾.

A comparison of our brick inscription (Fig. 1, left) with the drawing of the inscription published by Sollberger as his number 99 (Fig. 1, right⁵⁾) strongly suggests that the two texts are the same. Thus, the brick considered here is likely another specimen of the bricks of a Ningal temple at Ur. Bartelmus notes that the building’s name is not given in the text she quoted⁶⁾. Known are two intact bricks and a fragment of a brick⁷⁾, all three of them containing the identical 16-line text shown above (Fig. 1, right). Brinkman classified⁸⁾ this text as Q.2.36.1-2 and Sollberger was the first to publish a drawing of the inscription⁹⁾. The text is several times quoted¹⁰⁾. But it seems that nobody so far transliterated or translated this inscription. Veldhuis considered the Kassite Sumerian peculiarities in orthography – especially prevalent during the period of Kurigalzu I. – to be attempts to archaize text¹¹⁾. Such orthographic peculiarities are readily found in our present inscription as well, particularly for the cuneiform signs containing higher suffix numbers in the transliteration.

Considering the irregular frame and lines separating one line of text from the next one, it is obvious that the inscription was not impressed with a stamp but written by hand making careless written cuneiform signs possible. In this context it is interesting to have a closer look at line 14. The identification of the first two signs is not straightforward. The first one could most probably be a somewhat altered “bi₂” or a “KU” sign similar to that found in line 3. The second sign looks rather like a “RE” or a rare form of a “BA”

sign but could just as well be understood as a poorly crafted or intentionally altered “in” sign compared with the “in” sign in line 16. However, taking into account that line 14 of the drawing published by Sollberger (Fig. 1, right) can clearly be transliterated to *bi₂-in-gi₄-a* and considering the close similarity between the appearance of both entire texts in Fig. 1 overall, it is not a stretch to conclude that the transliteration of the text investigated here is also *bi₂-in-gi₄-a*. As a whole our text fits well to other inscriptions of Kurigalzu for other buildings¹²⁾ suggesting a unique orthographic style for his inscriptions. Especially brick inscriptions by Kurigalzu for the temple *e₂-kiš-nu-gal₂* of the god Nanna at Ur are in some lines identical¹³⁾.

Clearly our brick belongs to one of Ningal’s temples (line 1). Her main city of worship was Ur although she was venerated throughout Mesopotamia¹⁴⁾. Places of worship published in the literature include the known temples of Ningal listed by Zgoll¹⁵⁾ and a shrine with the name “Sacred Bedroom” mentioned by Frayne and Stuckey¹⁶⁾. Gadd published a text of a partly preserved inscription on a brick of an assumed Ningal temple from Ur built by Kurigalzu which is related to our text. In it the temple’s name is also not given¹⁷⁾. But that inscription has only nine lines and the name of the deity is not fully present because the artifact is fragmented at the right edge. (In Gadd’s transliteration his line 9 is our line 11.) On his plate 37 the upper and lower frame of the inscription indicates that there were no further lines. Therefore, Gadd’s brick belongs probably to another temple of Ningal than ours.

Because temples had normally a name, this name could be written at line 8 on our brick where the temple is addressed. Due to the rough surface of the brick line 8 is not very clearly readable but it is tempting to search for the temple’s name here. Under great magnification the cuneiform signs *e₂-a-ni* (= her temple) can be made out in the photo of Fig. 1 (left) in agreement with Sollberger’s drawing (Fig. 1, right) where the temple is also addressed in a general form of “her temple” without a name.

In chapter IV of his volume VIII of *Ur Excavations* Woolley described the construction activities of Kurigalzu at the GI-PAR-KU complex with the temple of Ningal at Ur¹⁸⁾. He mentioned that Kurigalzu erected a second temple for Ningal at the opposite side of the *Via Sacra*, at the SE limits of the Ziggurat platform¹⁹⁾. Recently Miglus revisited the information of the construction activities of Kurigalzu at Ur²⁰⁾. He proposes two possibilities for the second Ningal temple: Either there was a second temple for Ningal in the court of the Ziggurat in earlier time; or Kurigalzu established a new temple that he wanted to be considered as of an old tradition. If the name of the deity in the nine-line inscription Q.2.37²¹⁾ on that fragmentary brick is correctly reconstructed the brick belongs to a Ningal temple at Ur. At least on the picture published by Gadd on the first line DINGIR NIN is to be read²²⁾. So, two distinctly different types of Ningal temple bricks exist at Ur with inscriptions of different length (16 and 9 lines: Q.2.36 and Q.2.37²³⁾). In this case it is very well possible that two temples for Ningal existed at Ur in the time of Kurigalzu. As is evident from the brick’s inscription this temple is designated as already very old at the time Kurigalzu restored it although no direct evidence of the existence of an earlier building such as walls, foundations or artifacts thereof survived so far²⁴⁾. Taking our text literally such remains are not to be expected as Kurigalzu had renewed the temple down to the foundations.

In conclusion, it is highly probable that the brick discussed here belongs to a second Ningal temple at Ur. The brick discussed here is a new addition to the very short list of bricks from a Ningal temple at Ur that were restored or created by Kurigalzu I. and that survived into our time.

Notes

¹⁾ Linguistic proofreading by T. Wyttenbach (Santa Barbara, CA), is greatly appreciated.

²⁾ Clayden 1996, 109, 118-119.

³⁾ Clayden 1995, 61; Clayden 1996; Veldhuis 2008, 25, 27; Bartelmus 2017, 281, Tab. 11.3.

⁴⁾ Bartelmus 2017, 295, Tab. 14a; Miglus 2017, 340, Abb. 13.05.

⁵⁾ Sollberger 1965, 21, Pl. 24, Nr. 99.

⁶⁾ Bartelmus 2017, 281, Tab. 11.3. One inscription of 16 lines and one of nine lines.

⁷⁾ The two bricks were found in situ SW of great court, the fragment on the surface of Dub-lal-mah; Sollberger 1965, 21.

⁸⁾ Brinkman 1976, 218.

- ⁹ Sollberger 1965, 21, Pl. 24, Nr. 99.
- ¹⁰ Sollberger 1965, 21; Brinkman 1976, 218; Clayden 1995, 61; Clayden 1996, 119, Fn 57; Bartelmus 2017, 281, Tab. 11.3; Miglus 2017, 341.
- ¹¹ Veldhuis 2008, 31-32.
- ¹² BM 90733; BM 137496; BM 090715 (CDLI Nr. P428301); Gadd 1928, Nr. 152-163; Walker & Wilcke 1981, 96-98.
- ¹³ E.g., CDLI Nr. P428483 (BM 123337); CDLI Nr. P373953 = Gadd 1928, 49, Nr. 162.
- ¹⁴ Leick 1991, s.v. “Ningal”; Frayne & Stuckey 2021, s.v. “Nin-gal”.
- ¹⁵ Zgoll 1998, § 4.2, 355.
- ¹⁶ Frayne & Stuckey 2021, 247.
- ¹⁷ Gadd 1928, 48, Nr. 156, Pl. 37.
- ¹⁸ Woolley 1965, 33-35.
- ¹⁹ Woolley 1965, 33.
- ²⁰ Miglus 2017, 339-342.
- ²¹ Brinkman 1976, 218.
- ²² Gadd 1928, Nr. 156, Pl. 37.
- ²³ Brinkman 1976, 218.
- ²⁴ Miglus 2017, 339-342.

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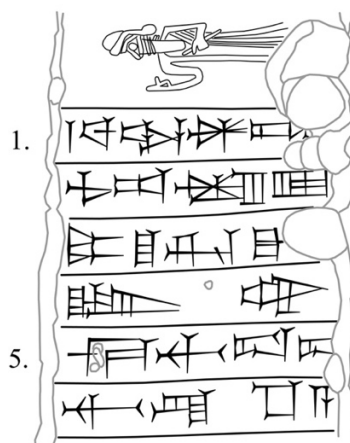
65) The Son of King Kurigalzu on a Kassite Prayer Seal¹⁾ — The cylinder seal NCBS 276 belongs to the group of seals known as “Kassite prayer seals,” studied in Limet 1971. A modern impression of the seal and an edition of its inscription were first published in 1934 (von der Osten 1934: #276, pp. 44 and 164, plate xx), and the text was re-edited in Limet's work (seal #7.7, p. 95). It has since been mentioned in other collections of Kassite material (Jaritz 1958: 247, #144; Brinkman 1976: 230, Q.2.106) and in more recent treatments of Kassite glyptic art (Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996: 180, #46).

Beginning with von der Osten 1934, and continuing in the re-edition of the inscription in Limet 1971, the name of the seal's owner in line 1 has been read as *Nūr-Enlil*, interpreting the signs as ^mZALAG-ur₃--^den-lil₂. Subsequent treatments of this seal and its text have accepted the original reading, although not without hesitation.²⁾

This reading, however, has three problems: **1)** The third sign of the first line is clearly not UR₃ (or even UR₂). **2)** The nominal element *nūru* is not spelled this way elsewhere in personal names of the Middle Babylonian period; it is typically written ZALAG(-um)--DN³⁾ or *nu-ur₂--DN* (Limet 1971: 125, Hölscher

1996: 161-162). **3)** The end of the line is broken, and the damaged sign remaining after the divine determinative does not at all look like the ligature of ^dEN, which appears clearly on the line beneath it. This indicates that the divine name cannot be Enlil⁴ (see drawing below).

NCBS 276



Inscription on Cylinder Seal NCBS 276 (YPM BC 037173)

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. ^m ba-il-- ^d ama[r]-u[tu] | 1. Ba'il-Mar[duk] |
| 2. nu-eš ₃ ^d en-lil ₂ | 2. The nu'eš-priest of Enlil |
| 3. dumu ku-ri-ga[l-zu] | 3. Son of Kuriga[lzu] |
| 4. lugal kiš | 4. King of the Universe |
| 5. ina e ₂ -ti du-d[u] | 5. May he frequent the temple! |
| 6. ti-la diri | 6. May (his) life be long! |

Text Comments

1) The name of the owner of this seal should be read as *Bā'il-Marduk*. The first element of the name is spelled ^mba-il--. The third sign is a clear IL sign. As for the sign before it, ZALAG (=UD) and BA can look quite similar in their lapidary forms found on seals. For an example, note the similar shapes of these two signs on the Kassite seal BM 89128, lines 1 and 3 (Limet 1971: 8.6, a photo of a modern impression is found in Collon 1987: #238). But given the horizontal crossing the right side vertical wedge,⁵ the sign is better read as BA.

In addition to paleographical considerations, this reading of the first element is a better fit with the onomastics of the Middle Babylonian period. The entry in CAD B: 30 for the noun *bā'ilu* defines it as “ruler” and states that it occurs only in Middle Babylonian personal names. Several different names of the type *Bā'il-DN* appear in Kassite Babylonia: *ba-il--^dAMAR.UTU*, *ba-il--^dAG*, *ba-il--^dNUSKU*, *ba-il--^dte-šub*, and *ba-il--^dNIN.URTA* (Hölscher 1996: 44, for the last name, see van Soldt 2015: #358, line 20). The reading presented here of the name on the seal NCBS 276 is consistent with the spellings of these other Middle Babylonian names.

The second element of the name, the theophoric element, is more difficult because it is broken. The divine determinative is clearly present, and the next sign is partially preserved, along with a trace of the final sign. This partial sign matches quite well with the shape of the lapidary form of the sign AMAR, and the remaining traces and space in the line match those of an UTU sign. For drawings of similarly shaped AMAR signs on Kassite seals, see seal 1, line 1 in Nougayrol 1966, and line 1 of the seal in Limet and Trokay 1969 (Limet 1971: 5.9 and 11.2, respectively). Because of this similarity, the divine name is a good match for ^dAMAR.UTU.

2) There is a little chipping at the end of this line, but not enough to fit the LA₂ sign suggested by Limet as a restoration (1971: 95).

5-6) I have rendered the verbs in these lines as volitional forms, despite only the roots being present. This reading is supported on the basis of other Kassite prayer seals (both Akkadian and Sumerian) containing volitional forms. See for example the line **ti-la he₂-diri**, which appears in seals 6.5 and 7.20 in Limet 1971.

5) The earlier editions by von der Osten and Limet read this line as **nam-ti du-d[u]**. The first sign in the line cannot be NAM, but there are many parallel examples of the line **ina e₂-gal du-du** “May he go about in the palace” (seals 7.13, 7.14, 7.15, 7.18, 7.23, 7.25, 7.26, 7.27 and 7.28 in Limet 1971). The initial **ina e₂** is a much better paleographic fit for the beginning of the line.

Only the TI sign seems out of place. I think it is most likely read **e₂-ti**, unusual as that may be, but **e₂ ti** “house of life” is also possible. “Life” is more commonly written **ti-la** or **nam-ti-la** in the Kassite prayer seals, though **ti** does occasionally occur.⁶ Since the more common version of this formula reads **e₂-gal** “palace” instead of **e₂-ti** “house, temple”, one might suppose that the difference is due to the fact that the seal’s owner was a member of the royal family who had become a priest: perhaps he no longer required a blessing for the palace, but one instead for his new profession in a temple.

One remaining issue is the question of which of the two Kassite kings named Kurigalzu was the father of *Bā’il-Marduk*. Kurigalzu I (son of Kadashman-Harbe I) and Kurigalzu II (son of Burna-Buriash II) both reigned about 50 years apart, and are often difficult to distinguish when they appear in royal inscriptions, unless they appear with their patronyms (Brinkman 1976: 205-207, Brinkman 1980-1983: 369, Beaulieu 2018: 137).⁷ Previous treatments of the seal NCBS 276 are not in agreement on which Kurigalzu is meant: Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996: 180) assigned it to Kurigalzu I, while Jaritz (1958: 247) placed it under Kurigalzu II. Brinkman (1976: 207, 230) placed all materials relating to both kings named Kurigalzu together. One criterion that may prove useful for distinguishing them is the epithet “king of the universe” **lugal kiš** (= Akkadian *šar kiššati*) given to the Kurigalzu on NCBS 276, line 4. According to Beaulieu (2018: 144), this title first appeared among the Kassite kings in the reign of Kadashman-Enlil I, and became more popular under his successor Burna-buriash II, continuing in common use through the end of the Kassite dynasty. If this assertion is true, it would be significant because Kadashman-Enlil I reigned after Kurigalzu I, but before Kurigalzu II.

This new reading may also add a new piece (albeit a small one) to the puzzle regarding the interactions between Marduk and Enlil in the Kassite period. Syncretism between Marduk and Enlil in the late Kassite period laid the groundwork for the supremacy of Marduk that would eclipse older Mesopotamian religious conceptions in the late second millennium.⁸ It may be significant, then, that a priest of Enlil (and one coming from the royal family, no less) had a Marduk name in the late fourteenth century.

Notes

¹ I would like to thank Prof. Eckart Frahm, Prof. Benjamin Foster, and Klaus Wagonsonner for their advice and feedback on this note.

² Limet (1971: 95) recognized that the name was possible within Middle Babylonian onomastics, though he doubted the reading of UR₃ for the third sign, suggesting UR₂. Brinkman (1976: 203) read *Nūr-DN*, following the original interpretation of the first element, but noting the damaged divine name.

³ ZALAG = UD, and in Old Babylonian was sometimes not differentiated from ZALAG₂ (= ERIM), which was also used for Akkadian *nūru*. See Borger 2004: 379 and 385.

⁴ Von der Osten did not indicate the breakage in the seal in his edition, nor the fact that his reading of the name was restored. The plate image of the seal rollout indicates that the line was in fact broken at that time, so it is not the case that the damage to the seal occurred after von der Osten examined it.

⁵ The reading of the second sign as either ZALAG (UD) or BA depends on whether the horizontal stroke on the right side of the sign is interpreted as a horizontal wedge or as the head of the lower vertical wedge. Because most of the vertical wedges on this seal have heads that angle, I interpret this stroke as a horizontal wedge and have drawn it accordingly.

⁶ See Limet 1971: 134, 138-139. A temple by the name of **e₂-ti-la** is attested in Borsippa, rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar II. It cannot be the same temple, however, since it was dedicated to Gula. See George 1993: 150.

⁷ In the case of seals, note Limet’s seal 12.2, lines 3-4: ... *ku-ri-gal-zu / dumu bur-na-bu-ri-ia-aš* “Kurigalzu, son of Burna-buriash.” This must be Kurigalzu II (1971: 114).

⁸ For a summary of this process and the scholarship on it, see Lambert 2013: 265-271, and for recent contributions to this narrative, see Tenney 2016.

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66) An Unpublished Urartian Inscription from Aznavurtepe Temple — Aznavurtepe Fortress was built on a natural hill which is 2 kilometers northwest of Patnos District of Ağrı Province. This fortress is in the north of Van Lake, at the heart of the Urartian geography, in a strategically significant place on the expedition route from the capital of the kingdom (Van Fortress-Urartian *Tušpa*) to the west and northwest¹. The first archaeological investigation in the fortress was conducted by Burney² which was followed by a brief treasure digging that harmed the temple located at the top of the hill, then by excavations in 1961-63 under the direction of Balkan.



Fig. 1. Van Loon 1966, Pl.IV

Those excavations revealed a temple with square plan/ in Urartian *susi* (5 x 5 m) at the top of the citadel and its related spaces, as well as western and southern fortifications. Unfortunately, today, we do not have much information other than given in two articles published by Balkan with limited data and visuals, based on these three excavation seasons realized thanks to big investment³. On the façade and inner walls of the *susi* temple excavated by Balkan were gabra⁴ blocks with Urartian cunieform inscriptions. Although it was the Urartian King Išpuini⁵ (830-820 BC) who constructed the first architectural buildings in Aznavurtepe, the inscriptions on the temple walls refer to his son Minua (810-780 BC). The two duplicate cuneiform inscriptions on four blocks of the inner walls of the temple building give an account of *Ḫaldinili KÁ* constructed by Minua for the city of Aludiri, succession of Minua to the throne of kingdom, and his expeditions to *Šatiru*, *Buštu* and *Malmali* lands in the east, and *Alzi*, *Šašnu* lands in the west (CTU I. A 5-

11 A-B). On both short walls of the entrance façade of the temple building facing south, two blocks with inscriptions were placed on the same row of stones. From observations of Balkan and few visuals of the temple façade we have today, we understand that the two blocks with inscriptions have been significantly destroyed (Fig.1).

During the excavation seasons, Balkan had first revealed the inscribed block on the short wall on the right to the temple building entrance (Fig.1-2). According to his notes, the block with inscriptions was 30 cm. in height and 145 cm. in width. There are six lines of inscriptions in cuniform, with 3.5 cm of line spacings⁶ (Fig.2).

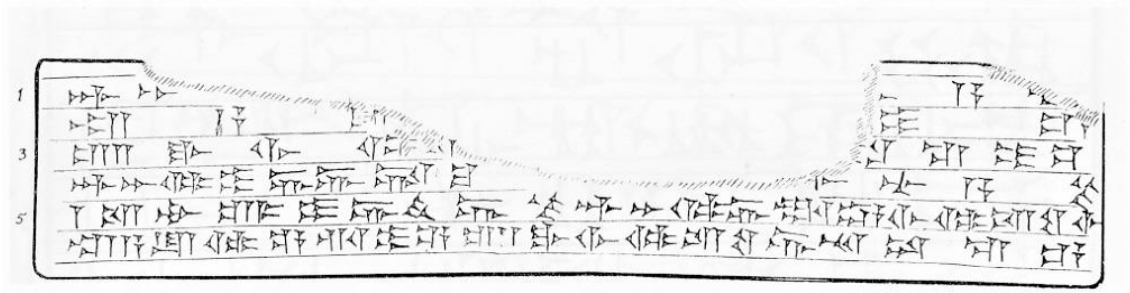


Fig. 2. Balkan 1960, 128/No.3.

- 1 Ḫa[l-di-i-ni-ni uš-ma-a-ši-i-ni ṁmi-n]u-a-še
- 2 URUa-l[u-di-e-r]i-i-e ṁiš-pu-ú-i-ni-ḫi-ni-še
- 3 É.GAL ši-di-[iš-tú-ni ba-d]u-si-i-e
- 4 Ḫal-di-i-ni-ni uš-ma-š[i-i-ni ṁm]i-nu-a-še
- 5 ṁiš-pu-ú-i-ni-ḫi-ni-še Ḫal-di-ni-li KÁ ši-di-iš-tú-ú-li
- 6 URUa-lu-di-e-ri-i-e É.GAL ši-di-iš-tú-ni ba-du-si-e

Translation: (1) Through the protection of the god Ḫaldi, Minua (2-3) son of Išpuini has built perfectly a fortress in the city of Aludiri (4) Through the protection of the god Ḫaldi, Minua (5) (son) of Išpuini has built the Gates of the god Ḫaldi (6) in the city of Aludiri perfectly (CTU I. A 5-37).

In his short report, Balkan refers to the idea that there must have been another inscribed block on the short wall on the left hand side, corresponding to the one on the right (Fig.1). He also states that the treasure hunters who dug the temple before him saw this highly damaged inscribed block⁷. This inscription has been revealed at later stages of the excavations, however its interpretation and publication is not made by Balkan. Having been partially restored during those excavations the Aznavurtepe *susi* temple has been smashed by treasure hunters from the end of the excavations (1963) to today. During the researches or surveys we made in the fortress twice in 2015 and 2020, we immediately noticed an inscribed one among the irregularly scattered, half-buried blocks of temple walls (Fig.3-4). Very few signs were survived at the beginning of the inscription lines on the gabro block whose surface was mainly broken, which indicated that the inscription consists of six lines. Measured height of the inscribed block is 30 cm, whereas the line spacings are 3 cm. This inscription must be the duplicate of the inscription on the right wall of the temple building not published by Balkan. As a matter of fact, the dimensions of the blocks and the completed inscription text confirm this observation. The only discrepancy is that the inscription should actually consist of eight lines, given the height of the block and the flow of the text. Based on the dimensions of the inscription and the order of existing line beginnings, the newly found duplicate inscription can be completed as follows:

- 1 Ḫal-d[i-i-ni-ni uš-ma-a-ši-i-ni]
- 2 ṁmi-nu-[a-še ṁiš-pu-ú-i-ni-ḫi-ni-še]
- 3 Ḫal-[di-ni-li KÁ ši-di-iš-tú-ú-a-li]
- 4 URUa-[lu-di-ri-e É.GAL ši-di-iš-tú-ni ba-du-si]
- 5 Ḫal-di-i-ni-ni uš-ma-a-ši-i-ni]
- 6 ṁ[mi-nu-a-še ṁiš-pu-ú-i-ni-ḫi-ni-še]

- 7 [D^hal-di-ni-li KÁ ši-di-iš-tú-ú-a-li]
8 [URU^ua-lu-di-ri-e É.GAL ši-di-iš-tú-ni ba-du-si]

Translation: (1)Through the protection of the god Haldi (2) Minua son of Išpuini (3) built the Gates of the god Haldi (4) (and) a fortress in the city of Aludiri perfectly (The 5-8. lines are repeated 1-4. lines)



Fig. 3-4. Inscription on the left wall of the Aznavurtepe *susi* temple (2015)

The temple room of Aznavurtepe Fortress is a typical example of the standard Urartian *susi* type temples. However, there is no mention of *susi* in the inscriptions found at the fortress. Instead, there is the expression “^DHaldinili KÁ”⁸ in the inscriptions on the temple walls. The temple must have been constructed right after the succession of Minua to the throne of Urartu. On the inner walls of the temple building, there are annals of King Minua’s enthronement and his first military campaigns. Therefore it can be stated that this temple building, in a way, is the first one whose façade is inscribed among the *susi* type temples identified so far. In fact, duplicated inscriptions of Urartian temples, the latter of which we have introduced here, are perhaps an indication that this tradition began with Minua.

Notes

- ¹. K. Işık & B. Genç, 2012, p. 99-104.
- ². C. A. Burney & G. R. J. Lawson 1960, 192-194.
- ³. K. Balkan 1960, p.131-158; K. Balkan, 1964, p. 235-243; also for Aznavurtepe excavations see M. J. Mellink, 1962, p. 80; 1963, p. 182-183; 1964, p. 158; 1965, p. 142.
- ⁴. B. Genç, 2015, p. 72-79; Kuvanç, 2017, p. 279, no: 36.
- ⁵. It was the King Išpuini who constructed the first architectural buildings at the Aznavurtepe Fortress. For inscriptions found here see: (CTU I. A 2-10).
- ⁶. K. Balkan, 1960, 136, p. 156-57.
- ⁷. K. Balkan, 1960, p. 136-37.
- ⁸. “^DHaldinili KÁ” in Urartu inscriptions, which can be translated as “Gates of God Haldi” was probably an expression designating the *susi* type temples dedicated to God Haldi. For more details see: B.Genç, 2016, p. 67-76; R. Kuvanç et.al., 2022, p. 55-88.

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67) Remarques sur la détermination du nom entre lycien et grec d’Asie Mineure — Melchert (2014 : 69), reprenant une idée exprimée de façon moins contraignante par Rutherford (2002 : 208s.), énumère parmi les évidences de contact linguistique entre le lycien et le grec l’absence de l’article défini dans les inscriptions grecques de Lycie en raison de l’interférence avec le lycien qui est une langue sans article (comme le reste des langues anatoliennes).

Toutefois, l’analyse des formules de filiation dans les inscriptions a montré que l’article défini est bien souvent absent dans cette typologie de texte provenant non seulement de l’Asie Mineure mais de toute la Grèce, excluant ainsi l’hypothèse de contact linguistique avec les langues anatoliennes comme explication primaire. Dans une précédente recherche (Merlin/Pisaniello 2019 : 101ss.), nous avons constaté que l’article défini dans les formules de filiation, qui est omis devant les anthroponymes dans les inscriptions bilingues lycien-grec, est en fait également absent dans les inscriptions monolingues éloignées de la Lycie, mais il est présent lorsqu’il s’agit d’exprimer le nom du père du père, en Lycie et ailleurs, afin de séparer deux génitifs ayant un référent différent, dans la formule ‘x fils de y ARTICLE fils de z’.

Voici deux exemples, entre beaucoup d’autres, attestés à des époques assez anciennes.

IG IX 1.869, VI siècle av. J.-C. (Corcyre)

στάλα Ξενάρου τοῦ Μηξίου εἰμ’ ἐπὶ τύμῳ.

Je suis la stèle de Xenares, fils de Meixis, sur (sa) tombe.

Didyma 209, VII/VI siècle av. J.-C. (Didymes, Ionie)

οἱ Ἀναξιμάνδρου παῖδες τῷ Μανδρομάχῳ¹ ἀνέθεσαν· ἐποίησε δὲ Τερψικλῆς.

Les fils d’Anaximandros, fils de Mandromachos, dédièrent, Terpsikles construisit.

Ceci était le premier point de révision. Le deuxième point concerne l’expression de la détermination. L’analyse des articles comme marques de détermination doit être élargie à l’ensemble du syntagme nominal et à la possibilité qu’il ait d’autres marques comme les démonstratifs ou même les possessifs. Sans entrer dans les détails théoriques, un syntagme nominal déterminé est soit marqué par un article défini ou par un pronom démonstratif, soit par les deux, soit par aucun des deux.

La langue lycienne ne possède pas d’articles, mais elle possède des démonstratifs. Les formules d’ouverture montrent que la grande majorité des syntagmes nominaux déterminés sont formés par démonstratif + nom dans cet ordre : *ebēñnē xupā* (attesté 60 fois) vs. *xupā ebēñnē* (6) ; *ebēñnē prīnawā* (25) vs. *prīnawā ebēñne* (2) ; *ebēñnē ñtatā* (3) ; *ebēñnē tezi* (2) ; *ebeija erawazija/arawazija* (2) vs. *arawazija ebeija* (1) ; *ebeija erublija* (1) ; *ebeija xruwata* (1) ; *ebeis tukedris* (1) ; *ebēñni sttalā* (1). Dans environ 90% des occurrences, le modèle est démonstratif + nom contre une dizaine de cas (dont certains contiennent plutôt un adverbe démonstratif) dans lesquels le démonstratif suit le nom. En termes de variation linguistique, il semble sûr de dire que l’ordre démonstratif + nom est la règle, alors que l’inverse est la variation².

Le grec au contraire, fait notoire, a développé au cours de son histoire un article défini qui vient du démonstratif indo-européen **so*, **seh₂*, **tod* au moyen d’un processus de grammaticalisation, typologiquement commun dans les langues du monde. Pour cette étude, l’attention a été portée sur les syntagmes grecs contenant des mots liés à la sphère funéraire, en particulier *μνήμα*, *σῆμα* (*σᾶμα* dans le vocalisme dorique), *τύμβος*, en comptant les occurrences du nom accompagné d’un démonstratif et/ou de

l'article défini dans les différentes constructions possibles. Les occurrences ont été collectées à partir du *corpus* informatisé des inscriptions grecques (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/>, dernier accès le 30 avril 2022), en considérant aussi les formes fléchies et celles avec apocope de la dernière voyelle, par ex. τὸ μνήμ' ou τύμβος ὅδ'. La recherche a produit les résultats suivants, ordonnés par ordre de fréquence pour chacun des mots choisis : τὸ μνήμα (244 occurrences) ; τοῦτο τὸ μνήμα (40) ; μνήμα τόδε (38) ; τὸ μνήμα τοῦτο (24) ; τόδε μνήμα (12) ; τοῦτο μνήμα (5) ; τόδε τὸ μνήμα (5) ; τὸ μνήμα τόδε (2). Puis, ὁ τύμβος (187) ; τύμβος ὅδε (33) ; οὗτος ὁ τύμβος (15) ; ὅδε τύμβος (9) ; ὁ τύμβος οὗτος (7) ; οὗτος τύμβος (2) ; ὅδε ὁ τύμβος (1) ; ὁ τύμβος ὅδε (1). Enfin, τόδε σῆμα/σάμα (173) ; τὸ σῆμα/σάμα (99) ; σῆμα/σάμα τόδε (68) ; τοῦτο τὸ σῆμα (10) ; τὸ σῆμα τοῦτο (2) ; τόδε τὸ σῆμα (2) ; τὸ σῆμα τόδε (1) ; τοῦτο σῆμα (1).

Par rapport à ces données quelques remarques peuvent être faites. Tout d'abord et de manière très générale, la langue épigraphique grecque admet une certaine variété d'expressions, mais présente un taux différent de fréquence relative des constructions syntaxiques : certaines sont très courantes, d'autres moins, mais toujours attestées. On observe aussi que le démonstratif ὅδε est plus fréquemment postposé que préposé et que les formes avec démonstratif mais sans article tels que τοῦτο μνήμα, ainsi que τούτον τύμβον et τοῦτο σῆμα, sont très rares.

Les occurrences en Asie Mineure ont été séparées du reste des occurrences afin de vérifier les éventuelles tendances aréales dans lesquelles le contact linguistique avec les langues anatoliennes pourrait entrer en jeu. À cet égard le résultat le plus intéressant vient de τοῦτο τὸ μνήμα, attesté 38 fois au total, dont 33 en Asie Mineure. Comme l'observait Brixhe (2007 : 930) la mise en avant en grec de l'objet (τοῦτο τὸ μνήμα 'ce mémorial' à l'accusatif) crée une correspondance avec la structure Objet-Verbe-Sujet du texte lycien. Nous observons aussi que les formes contenant les autres lexèmes en particulier à l'accusatif, à savoir τύμβον ou σῆμα accompagnés de τούτον, avec ou sans article, sont peu fréquentes et attestées presque exclusivement en Asie Mineure. En outre, si l'on supprime les mots indiquant la tombe ou le monument, pour ne retenir que la construction démonstratif + article + nom l'on constate que plus de la moitié des inscriptions portant démonstratif + article proviennent d'Asie Mineure (par ex. τοῦτο τό, 404 sur 725)³. Malgré le fait qu'une analyse minutieuse de tous les textes serait nécessaire pour une correcte évaluation linguistique et chronologique des inscriptions, les données proposées semblent conduire vers l'hypothèse du contact : la préférence pour la construction démonstratif + article pourrait représenter en effet un trait aréal, c'est-à-dire propre du grec d'Asie Mineure sous l'influence des langues anatoliennes, bien qu'on ne puisse complètement écarter l'hypothèse d'une caractéristique due au type de texte, à savoir les inscriptions funéraires.

En considérant les inscriptions bilingues lycien-grec, nous avons affaire à plusieurs stratégies de correspondance textuelle entre les deux langues :

- Absence du syntagme correspondant en grec : TL 23, 25a, 143, 139 ;
- Correspondance avec la mise en avant du démonstratif et l'insertion de l'article défini : TL 6 τοῦτο τὸ μνήμα qui correspond à *ebēññē ñtatā* ;
- Correspondance avec ὅδε postposé (TL 44a) bien que le texte soit assez complexe, le grec étant une courte épigramme ;
- Correspondance avec article + nom + ὅδε : TL 117.

L'inscription bilingue TL 117 mérite quelques remarques supplémentaires. Tout d'abord, la formule article + nom + ὅδε est très inhabituelle, car elle ne se trouve attestée que 4 fois sur l'ensemble des inscriptions grecques.

Pour ce qui concerne l'article défini, il est absent devant *νίος* mais pas devant *γυναικί*. Cette incertitude pourrait montrer une difficulté à rendre une langue sans article. Toutefois, si le lycien n'a pas d'article, il a d'autres dispositifs pour marquer la définition. L'un d'entre eux est le démonstratif (1, *ebeija erawazija* 'cette construction'), l'autre est le possessif (4, *ladi ehbi* litt. 'femme/épouse à lui'). Le possessif est rendu en grec par un simple article défini ayant la fonction, entre autres, de marquer la détermination en termes de possession unique (la femme = sa femme, son épouse). La syntaxe du texte grec apparaît moins « naturelle » car elle sonne comme une traduction mot à mot du lycien. D'un point de vue

sociolinguistique, cela pourrait être un indice du fait que le document a été écrit par un locuteur grec non natif.

En résumé, l'absence de l'article défini dans des positions attendues des syntagmes nominaux grecs ne peut pas simplement être attribuée au contact avec une langue sans article, et ceci pour plusieurs raisons : 1) l'article n'est pas toujours absent, il apparaît dans des formules standardisées mais aussi dans d'autres positions dans lesquelles il est requis (entre deux noms au génitifs se référant à deux personnes différentes) ; 2) la présence d'autres déterminants tels que les démonstratifs et les possessifs doit être prise en compte, car dans les langues sans article ces formes remplissent la fonction de la détermination.

↑ B ↑ E I P : ↑ P A F P I E I P : M A T E :
P R E N P F P T Ψ : S E Δ A P E I P A P T M
A : T E Δ A E M E P P R E A T A E A + B E S A
A P Δ E A + B E S A T E Δ A E M E P P R E A
A M A . T O M A N H M A T O Δ E I
O I H E A T O S I A P I O S Γ A P M E N O
N T O S Y I O S E A Y T O I K A I T H I G Y N
I K I K A I Y I O I P Y B I A A N

modulus 1 : 8

ebeija erawazija me ti
prñnawatē siderija p[ar]m[ēn-
ah] tideimi [h]rppi etli e[h]bi se
ladi ehbi se tideimi pubie-
leje Tò μνημα τόδ' ἐπ-
οῖσαςτο Σιδάριος Παρμένο-
ντος υἱὸς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῇ γυναι-
κὶ καὶ υἱῶν Πυβιάλῃ.

Image de Kalinka (1901 : 81)⁴

Notes

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1. Cette inscription ne montre pas encore la notation postérieure du long /ō/ sous l'orthographe <ou>.
2. Nous ne disposons pas d'inscriptions bilingues montrant l'éventuel correspondant grec de ce dernier type de structure.
3. Par démonstratif je considère ici le démonstratif « fort » représenté par οὗτος, τοῦτον, τοῦτο, et non par les formes de ὅδε.
4. Traduction : 'Ce monument Sidarios fils de Parmenos construisit pour soi-même, son épouse et son fils Pubiale'. Nous observons en particulier la formule dédicatoire dans les deux langues : [h]rppi: etli ehbi se ladi: ehbi: se tideimi: pubieleje. Litt. pour lui-même et femme à lui et fils Pubiele; ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ υἱῶν Πυβιάλῃ. Litt. pour soi-même et la femme et fils Pubiale.

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68) On the unit UŠ = *šuššān* — The unit known by the logogram UŠ is attested countless times from the third millennium BCE until the end of cuneiform. Three distinct metrological functions of UŠ can be distinguished (Powell 1987, 465–468). Throughout all periods UŠ denotes a unit of length with the equivalences 1 UŠ = 60 *nindanu*(NINDA) and 1 *bēru*(DANNA) = 30 UŠ. From the late second millennium onward these are also units of time, such that 1 day (24 h) = 12 *bēru* = 360 UŠ. After the zodiac was introduced in the fifth century BCE, the UŠ also became a unit of celestial distance along or perpendicular to the ecliptic (the circle at the center of the zodiac), such that 1 zodiacal sign = 30 UŠ and 12 zodiacal signs = 360 UŠ. In this function the UŠ corresponds more or less to the modern degree of arc. In spite of the ubiquity of the UŠ in diverse sources from all periods, its Akkadian reading has remained elusive. No conclusive evidence for a phonetic writing appears to have been pointed out and the relevant sections of the lexical lists which are assumed to contain this information, in particular Ea Tablet VI and Aa Tablets 30–34, are not preserved (*MSL* 14, 431). However, evidence for the Akkadian reading of UŠ has been hiding in plain sight in W 23281 (SpTU 4 173), a metrological compendium from Achaemenid Uruk (Robson 2007; Friberg and al-Rawi 2016: 87–105; Proust 2019). Its first section (obv. i 1–34 = §1 in Friberg and al-Rawi 2016) contains a list of relations between different length units based on the template “absolute number (a) of smaller unit (b) = larger unit (c)”. The following quotations summarize the evidence for the reading of UŠ:

obv. i	a	b	c	a	b	c
8)	7 me 20	<i>i-na am-ma-ti</i>	<i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i>	720	cubits	<i>šuššān</i>
9)	[7] <i>lim</i> 2 me	<i>i-na am-ma-ti</i>	10 <i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i>	[7]200	cubits	10 <i>šuššān</i>
15)	[1 me 20]	GI.MEŠ	[<i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i>]	[120]	reeds	[<i>šuššān</i>]
16)	[1 <i>lim</i> 2 me	GI].MEŠ	10 <i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i> ¹	[1200]	reeds	10 <i>šuššān</i>
20)	‘6	<i>aš₂-lu</i>	<i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i>	6	<i>ašlu</i>	<i>šuššān</i>
21)	[1- <i>šu</i>]	<i>aš₂-lu</i>	10 <i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i>	[60]	<i>ašlu</i>	10 <i>šuššān</i>
25)	15	<i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i>	<i>zu-u₂-zu</i>	15	<i>šuššān</i>	half (<i>bēru</i>)
26)	20	<i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i>	<i>ši-ni-pa</i>	20	<i>šuššān</i>	2/3 (<i>bēru</i>)
27)	30	<i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i>	<i>be₂-e-ri</i>	30	<i>šuššān</i>	<i>bēru</i>
30)	‘2 ¹ me 40	<i>pu-ri-du</i>	<i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i>	240	<i>purīdu</i>	<i>šuššān</i>
31)	‘2 ¹ <i>lim</i> 4 me	<i>pu-ri-du</i>	10 <i>šu-uš-ša₂-an</i>	2400	<i>purīdu</i>	10 <i>šuššān</i>

The underlying length metrology combines Old Babylonian with Late Babylonian elements (Friberg and al-Rawi 2016, 93–95). An unusual aspect of the list is that most length units are written phonetically and that the unit UŠ is lacking. But the quoted entries mention the previously unknown unit *šu-uš-ša₂-an* = *šuššān* in slots where one expects UŠ. This becomes clear if we compare them with equivalences of the UŠ known from other sources (Powell 1987, 460: Table III). For example, line 8 corresponds to the equivalence 720 cubits = 1 UŠ, line 20 to 6 *ašlu* = 1 UŠ, line 27 to 30 UŠ = 1 *bēru*, and line 30 to 240 *purīdu* (= 240 *nikkassu*) = 1 UŠ. Further confirmation is offered by BM 33458+33577+33585, an unpublished fragment probably from Seleucid or Parthian Babylon (Ossendrijver, forthcoming) with a partial duplicate of W 23281 §1 in which UŠ replaces *šu-uš-ša₂-an* in the entries corresponding to lines 8–9:

side X 15’)	[7] ‘me 20 ¹	<i>i-na am-‘ma¹-[ti]</i>	‘1 ¹	‘UŠ ¹
side X 16’)	[7 <i>lim</i> 2 me]	<i>i-na am-‘ma¹-[ti]</i>	10]	10 ‘UŠ ¹

(The tablet includes an extra column for the floating sexagesimal numbers which are assigned to the units, i.e. 1 for 1 UŠ and 10 for 10 UŠ). The evidence proves beyond doubt that *šuššān* is the Akkadian reading of the unit UŠ – at least for the scribe of W 23281. This conclusion was not drawn by Friberg and al-Rawi (2016), 95, because in dictionaries and lexical texts *šuššān* is attested only as the Akkadian reading of ŠUŠANA = 1/3 (CAD Vol. Š III, 384). The evidence from W 23281 suggests the existence of a homophonous word *šuššān*(UŠ) which has thus far escaped attention.

It is plausible that this word derives from *šuššu* (*šūšu*, *šūši*) = 60, considering that UŠ is also a common logogram for 60 in all periods of cuneiform. This is now confirmed by a Neo Assyrian star list from Assur (Hätinen and Schaudig, forthcoming) in which the time between successive stellar culminations (*ziqpu*) is expressed in *bēru*(DANNA) and *šu-ši* = *šūši* instead of the expected UŠ. This indicates that in some regions and periods the Akkadian reading of the unit UŠ is *šūši*, the word for 60. The origin and meaning of the ending *-ān* are less clear, but a possible parallel is the Late Babylonian spelling of the length unit *šuppān* (see e.g. W 23281 §1b, c, f in Friberg and al-Rawi 2016, 92). This might suggest that the ending *-ān* was appended to the word for 60 in the Neo or Late Babylonian period. The reason why the unit UŠ is named after the number 60 could be that it consists of 60 smaller units, i.e. the *nindanu*(NINDA). The etymology of *šuššān*(ŠUŠANA) = 1/3 is probably different. According to the AHW (Vol. III *šuššu*) and Kraus (1970), 142 it could be a dualis of *šuššu* < **šudšu* = 1/6, resulting in 2/6 = 1/3. On that account each distinct word *šuššān* derives from a distinct word *šuššu*, one meaning 60 and one meaning 1/6.

Although the evidence for *šuššān* presented above concerns UŠ as a unit of length, there is no reason to suppose that it does not carry over to the reading of UŠ as a unit of time and celestial distance in Late Babylonian astral science. This could support a suggestion by Ossendrijver and Winkler (2018), 392–393, that the Demotic word for degree, *swsw*, which has no convincing Egyptian or Greek etymology, is a loanword from Akkadian *šuššān*, and analogously for Syriac *ss'*, attested with the meaning degree in the Syriac *Treatise on the cause of lunar eclipses* (Villey 2011/2012, 418; examples: 165, 167, 168). However, the precise manner in which *šuššān* could have become Demotic *swsw* and Syriac *ss'* remains to be established.

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69) Die Flut und das Vieh im Akkadischen und Ägyptischen — In diesem Beitrag wird eine akkadisch-ägyptische Parallele in Bezug auf die Wohltaten der Flut für das Vieh publik gemacht. Der diesbezügliche Sachverhalt wurde von den jeweiligen Dichtern u. a. an einem ausreichend zur Verfügung stehenden Nahrungsangebot illustriert. Die Literaturen beider Völker stimmen in diesem Punkt deutlich überein.

Für das akkadische Material ziehen wir das Streitgespräch „Der Stier und das Pferd“ heran. In der Einleitung wird folgende Beschreibung von den positiven Seiten der Flut gegeben:

„Of the Euphrates [.....] abundance.
 Its flood [.....] Tigris.[..]
 [They removed] the riverside meadows [and flooded] the fields,
 [They carried off] the elevations and watered the low-lying land,
 [They swept] away (the soil) of the plain into the depressions and [down the slopes,]
 [They prevailed] over the low-lying land and watered the ground,
 The unworked [land] became a bog.
 In reed-bed [and thicket] the plants grew,
 The bosom of the bare earth was split,
 It made pasture flourish for cattle, and produced luxuriant growth“⁽¹⁾

Die Wohltaten der Flut scheinen einen Schwerpunkt der Zeilen zu bilden. Die besondere Note des Textes besteht darin, dass sich gerade auch das Vieh an deren Gaben erfreut. Die gleiche Vorstellung lässt sich im Ägyptischen belegen

Der Gedanke spiegelt sich dort in dem Nilhymnus auf oDeM 1675 wider, der zur Nebenüberlieferung gehört und durch noch kunstvollere Naturschilderungen als der berühmtere Haupttyp zu begeistern vermag. Die Datierung kann mit dem Neuen Reich angegeben werden. In jenem Rahmen sind folgende Worte zu finden:

„w ³ d w ³ d w ³ d hr ih ³ .w=šn	„Die Papyruspflanzen sind grün mit ihren Knospen,
rmš.w ³ tp m mnḥ.wt	rmš-Schiffe beladen mit Papyrusstengeln.
k ³ .w hmhm š ³ i=šn š ³ r	Stiere brüllen und sättigen sich am š ³ r.
wndw.w hr mn ³ .wt=šn“ ⁽²⁾	Kurzhornrinder sind unter ihren Milchkühen.“ ⁽³⁾

Die Stiere laben sich auch hier am frischen Grün (š³r), das dank des genügend hohen Pegelstandes empor gesprossen ist. Im Grunde liegt dabei eine reziproke Situation vor. Der Nil sorgt mit dem Pflanzenwachstum für die Nahrung der Stiere und wird durch deren freudige Reaktion auf dieses alljährlich wiederkehrende Geschenk selbst verherrlicht.

Die Gemeinsamkeit kristallisiert sich deutlich heraus. Die fressenden Stiere werden in beiden Fällen als Katalysator für den Preis der Flut herangezogen. Die Annahme einer gegenseitigen Beeinflussung der beiden Texte hieße wohl trotz der ungefähr gleichzeitigen Entstehung das Material zu überfordern. Das Ziel lässt sich wohl einfacher über die Idee eines im gesamten Ostmittelmeerraum kursierenden Reservoirs an Symbolen und Metaphern erreichen, für dessen Existenz u. a. Nissinen⁽⁴⁾ votiert hat. Die Laufzeit dieses multikulturellen Werkzeugkastens wird von Nissinen auf mehrere tausend Jahre geschätzt. Die einzelnen Sprachen brauchten diesen Wissensspeicher nur noch wie einen Steinbruch auszubeuten. Das Konzept wurde zuletzt auch von Fox⁽⁵⁾ akzeptiert.

Anmerkungen

¹ W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960), 177; zu dieser Stelle vgl. auch M. E. Vogelzang, *Some Questions about the Akkadian Disputes*, in: G. J. Reinink/H. L. J. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the ancient and mediaeval Near East, Forms and Types of Literary Debates in Semitic and Related Literatures*, OLA 42 (Leuven, 1991), 50.

² G. Posener, *Catalogue de ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, III, DFIFAO 18 (Le Caire, 1951), pl. 84.

³ H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Literarische Ostraka der Ramessidenzeit in Übersetzung*, KÄT 9 (Wiesbaden, 1986), 53.

⁴ M. Nissinen, *Love Lyrics of Nabu and Tašmetu: An Assyrian Song of Songs?*, in: M. Dietrich/I. Kottsieper (eds.), „Und Moses schrieb dieses Lied auf“, *Studien zum Alten Testament und zum alten Orient*, FS O. Loretz, AOAT 250 (Münster, 1998), 624.

⁵ M. V. Fox, *Rereading The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs Thirty Years Later*, in: B. U. Schipper (ed.), *The Song of Songs and Ancient Egyptian Love Poetry*, WdO 46/1 (2016), 12.

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70) Nabû-zuqup-kēnu and Indication of Place of Writing in Neo-Assyrian Colophons — It would be more appropriate to call this note “the Absence of Indication of Place of Writing in Neo-Assyrian Colophons” since there is only one group of texts in which place of writing is indicated in Assyria. These are tablets from the library of the illustrious Neo-Assyrian scholar, Nabû-zuqup-kēnu (active 716-684 BCE), which were found at Nineveh. His library was apparently brought to Nineveh by his sons, who both hold highest scholarly positions at the court. One of them, Nabu-zēru-lēšir was the *ummānu* of Esarhaddon, the other—Adad-šumu-ušur—the king’s chief exorcist. But all the colophons of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, which have dating formulas, include also, if preserved, the place of writing of the tablet.¹⁾ Due to his precision we know that all his tablets were written at Kalḫu and not at Nineveh. All the tablets of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, but one, are written in NA script.²⁾

In my recent study of the colophons of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, I investigated a significant novelty, which he tried to introduce to the Assyrian milieu. This is the use of the Babylonian dating system by regnal year.³⁾ Nabû-zuqup-kēnu’s double and triple dates differ from those of his colleagues, who followed this fashion. Nabû-zuqup-kēnu counted the first regnal year in Babylonian style, i.e., the first full year of a king in his office was considered as his first regnal year. Other Assyrian scribes started their counting from the year of the king’s ascension to the throne, even if it happened in the middle of the year.⁴⁾ This Nabû-zuqup-kēnu’s innovation was rather popular among the top echelons of Assyrian scribes⁵⁾ and in Sargon’s and Sennacherib’s times double⁶⁾ or Babylonian-style dating⁷⁾ was used even in royal grants. Nonetheless, this Nabû-zuqup-kēnu’s novelty lasted only until the mid-reign of Esarhaddon.⁸⁾ Later this practice was completely abandoned and only the *limmu* dates appear in Assyrian colophons and documents after 676 BCE.

In my research on Nabû-zuqup-kēnu I had, however, overlooked the other important innovation of this most learned Assyrian scholar—the indication of place of writing in the colophons that he appended to his tablets. In Babylonia this feature is common in all LB colophons. This habit apparently continued from the earlier periods. Place of writing in Babylonia, as well as in the colophons of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, is a part of dating formulas. But Nabû-zuqup-kēnu had totally failed to plant the indication of such an important and informative aspect as the place of writing into Assyrian soil. In Assyria place of writing is found only in the colophons of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu.⁹⁾ The place of its writing (NINA^{ki}) is indicated on Sargon’s grant dealing with the lands around the village of Maganuba,¹⁰⁾ where Dur-Šarrukīn, his new capital, was built. But this is apparently the direct influence of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, who was deeply involved in the matters concerning the construction Dur-Šarrukīn.¹¹⁾ “Palace of Assurbanipal,” characteristic for Assurbanipal library colophons, is the “owner” of the tablet and not the place of writing. It is not a part of dating formula and typically none of the Assurbanipal’s library colophons have dating formulas at all.

Besides the tablets of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu’s collection, place is indicated in the colophons of the extispicy queries and reports. Most of these texts were written in Babylonian ductus. But the majority of these group of extispicy tablets, although written in Babylonian script, have colophons in NA ductus, sometimes in smaller signs.¹²⁾ The locations found in these colophons also are a part of their dating formulas, but they are written at the end of the formula and not at its beginning, while places of writing in Babylonian colophons and in the colophons of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu appear before the date. Typically, all the of dating formulas of the extispicy queries and reports are in accordance with the Assyrian tradition, i.e., the dating is by *limmu*.¹³⁾ These colophons were most probably inserted by the Assyrian supervisors of teams of Assyrian and Babylonian haruspices that worked for the king at Nineveh, Kalḫu and Arbela. Location is indicated in eight colophons of the extispicy reports and queries in Babylonian script,¹⁴⁾ and in six in Assyrian script.¹⁵⁾ But the colophon of SAA 4 324 (651) written in NB script clearly explains what these locations are. It states that extispicy was performed at Arbela (*ina* LIMMÚ.DINGIR^{ki} DÙ).¹⁶⁾ The location in the extispicy queries and reports colophons points to the place of performance of extispicy and not to the place of writing. For this reason, such details as the exact place—a certain palace, not just a city,—often is named. But the incorporation of the location into a date formula, makes it look like as if a place of writing is indicated. It is worth noticing that extispicy reports are much more often dated than astrological reports.¹⁷⁾ Given that all Assurbanipal’s extispicy reports with the place of performance marked, stem from 652-650—the time of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn’s revolt, and the two of Esarhaddon’s to 672—the year of the

death of his queen and of his of succession treaty,¹⁸⁾ it is clear that such details as place of performance and date were indicated only on the most important divinatory documents.¹⁹⁾

Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's Assyrian colleagues obviously did not accept his Babylonian trend and even his sons and grandsons did not follow the example of their brilliant teacher.²⁰⁾ Assyrians did not mark place of writing on their scholarly tablets. They apparently knew, in which of their centers of scholarship the tablets were written just due to the name of the scholar. But for modern scholars the absence of a place of writing in NA colophons is regretful and can lead to mistakes in establishing the affiliation of a scribe or owner of tablets that were moved from one place to another.²¹⁾ But most plausibly, this innovation of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, did not took a root in Assyria, because it was not in a habit of Assyrians to mark the locations in any kind of documents—neither in scholarly, nor in administrative and legal texts. Thus, the extispicy queries and reports with their place of performance and Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's colophons with the marked place of writing are extremely exceptional. Assyrians stuck to their tradition and did not indicated places of writing in their texts, although some of them followed Nabû-zuqup-kēnu and used Babylonian regnal-year dating system.

Notes

^{1.} I have edited all the dated colophons of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu in May 2018: 125-134 and 140-151. All the dates in this note are naturally BCE. Abbreviations in this note are in accordance with RIA.

^{2.} The only Babylonian tablet in his collection is K. 75 + K. 237 (see Frazer 2016 and May 2018: 131 for the colophon). It has been suggested that Rm 2,127, written in Babylonian script could also belong to Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's collection (Jiménez 2015).

^{3.} May 2018: 112-116. Nabû-zuqup-kēnu actually tried to introduce the double dating—this is the dating by the eponym year and by the year of the king in Assyria. In case of Sargon II, it could be triple dating—also by the year of Sargon, king of Babylon. Some top Assyrian scholars followed his example (ibid.: 134-140) and used double dating, but triple dating was applied only by Nabû-zuqup-kēnu.

^{4.} May 2018: 120. For instance, SAA 6 48 is dated to the last (681), 24th year of Sennacherib, which means that the scribe started his count of the regnal years of this king with 705 BCE—the year of death of Sargon, the last regnal year of Sennacherib's father. This is according to the SAA 6 text editors—I could not find the date on CDLI photograph of the tablet.

^{5.} Ibid.: 134-140.

^{6.} SAA 12 19 (713; May 2018: 12 20, date lost in both eponym and regnal-year formulas.

^{7.} SAA 12 86, year 22 of Sennacherib, apparently 683 BCE.

^{8.} Last double-dated text is SAA 6 212 (676 BCE; May 2018: 140).

^{9.} It is possible that Inūrta-uballissu, Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's relative from Aššur, indicated that his tablet was written there in his colophon with the double date (May 2018: 134), but now this part of his colophon is broken off. Otherwise, the only scholarly tablet with the place of writing in the colophon, which stems from Assyria, is K. 10129 (EAE III; Verderame 2002: 80 text a). Although this tablet was written at Nineveh (NINA^{ki}), its scribe Nabû-šāpik-zēri was Babylonian and wrote in Babylonian ductus. H. Hunger (1968) does not discuss places of writing in colophons at all.

^{10.} SAA 12 19; see also May 2018: 136.

^{11.} May 2018: 116-120.

^{12.} There are more colophons with the dating formulas on these extispicy texts, which do not contain the location (with the date and ductus of the colophon indicated (I could check and indicate the ductus of their colophons only for those of the tablets, whose photographs can be found on CDLI): SAA 4 3, 5 (both have day and month only; NB cols.); SAA 4 331 (year broken; NB col.); SAA 4 212 (year broken; NA col.); SAA 4 272 (657); SAA 4 303 (651; NA col.); SAA 4 329 (651; NA col.); SAA 4 282 (651; NA col.); SAA 4 330 (651; NA col.); SAA 4 286 (651; NA col.); SAA 4 281 (651; NA col.); SAA 4 333 (650; NA col.); SAA 4 341 (year broken; NA col.); SAA 4 304 (year broken; NA col.); SAA 4 332 (year broken; NA col.); SAA 4 323 (652; NA col.); SAA 4 285 (651; NB col.); SAA 4 293 (651; NA col.); SAA 4 316 (652; NA col.); SAA 4 332 (year broken; NA col.); SAA 4 335 (year broken; NB⁷ col.); SAA 4 336 (year broken; NB col.); SAA 4 341 (most of the colophon broken away); SAA 4 35 (most of the colophon broken away); SAA 4 57 (most of the colophon broken away); SAA 4 65 (year broken; NB col.); SAA 4 228 (date and place broken). Six more extispicy texts colophons written in Assyrian ductus had date formulas: SAA 4 270 (658); SAA 4 212 (date broken); SAA 4 90 (date broken); SAA 4 317 (652); SAA 4 296 (date broken); SAA 4 273 (657), SAA 4 287 (651) and SAA 4 23 (date broken).

^{13.} See discussion in SAA 4 LVI-LII.

^{14.} In seven of them as a part of a dating formula: SAA 4 13 (unknown year; ^{un}Kal-ḫa); 1880-7-19, 72 + 1880-7-19, 76 (^{un}Kal-ḫa; 672); SAA 4 262 Succession Palace (*ina É [re-du-ti⁷]*; 668; NB col.). SAA 4 279 (É.GAL GIBIL;

652) and SAA 4 280 (É.GAL GIBIL; 651); SAA 4 283 (É UŠ; 651); SAA 4 327 (É UŠ; 651); SAA 4 340 (place is broken; 652). All these tablets are written in NB ductus with the colophons in NA script except for SAA 4 262. In SAA 4 122 ^{uru}Kal-[*ha*?] appears after the names of the reporters, but there is no date formula.

¹⁵ Confirmed also by SAA 4 156 and SAA 4 329 (651).

¹⁶ SAA 4 183 (*ina* É.GAL *ma-šar-te* ^{uru}Kal-*ha*; 672); SAA 4 156 (DÜ-eš *ina* É.GAL *eš-še-te* *ina* ^{uru}[NINA^{ki}]; date broken); SAA 4 89 (*ina* É UŠ.SÁ; date broken); SAA 4 300 (^{uru}LIMMÚ.DINGIR; year broken); SAA 4 319 (*ina* ŠA] É.GAL gibil *e-tap-šu*; 651); SAA 4 296 (*ina* ŠA] É.GAL GIBIL¹; year broken).

¹⁷ For three Babylonian style dates on astrological reports, see May 2018: 151-152. Only one of them, SAA 8 501, has the day, others only give the year. One—UET 6 413, was written in Babylonia in 657 for Šamaš-šumu-ukīn. J. Fincke considers it to be a report (Fincke 2010: 43, n. 49; 46), but F. Rochberg describes this tablet as just *EAE* excerpt (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 222, 223). Besides these three, there are only two more dated astrological reports, SAA 8 8 and SAA 8 186. Their dates are both in Assyrian style and both by the eponymate of Lābāši, i.e., again 657. SAA 8 186 is unassigned, but SAA 8 8 is written by Issār-šumu-ēreš, the grandson of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu and by that point already the *ummānu* of Assurbanipal. He dates his report related to terrestrial and not celestial omens, only by year. Anonymous SAA 8 186 has the day too. Place was never indicated in astrological reports. Why the astrological reports were less accurate than that of extispicy in their date formulas remains unclear, as well as why three reports are dated to 657, if indeed the date had any significance and was not occasional. One of the extispicy queries is dated to 657 as well (SAA 4 272). It asks if Assurbanipal should attack Gambulu.

¹⁸ See ns. 14, 16. As for the divinatory reports with dates in colophons (ns. 12, 14, 16, 18) in general, while 668 is the first full year of Assurbanipal as a king, the reason of appearance of the date in 658-657 in the reports of Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukīn is not clear to me.

¹⁹ On the other hand, many queries and reports from the same year could be written without date and place indicated. This matter needs a further investigation.

²⁰ The city of origin of the tablet from which the copy was made can be marked in Assyrian colophons as well, e.g., K 4191; KAR 177; 1881-2-4, 306; KAR 150; LKA 145; KAR 376 + 377, and the Khorsabad King List. The latter two state that the tablet is a copy of the originals from Nineveh and Assur respectively. K. 7660, K. 9235, K. 11560 declare that they were excerpted from the originals from Assyria and Babylonia (*māt Aššur ū Akkad*), without indicating a particular city.

²¹ Like AO 5372 +, the tablet of Sargon's Eight Campaign, whose composer, Nabû-šallimšunu, was affiliated in Kalḫu, while the tablet was found in Assur in N4 or ND 1120, whose author was Zaia, the hereditary scribe of the city Assur, whose tablet, in turn, was found at Kalḫu. See May 2016: 742-744, May 2017, and May 2018: 113-114 *contra* PNA: 1439, s.v. Zāzā 1.

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71) Sennacherib's choice of circular/elliptical military camps — Why did the Assyrian king Sennacherib choose to give his military camps a uniquely circular/elliptical shape? Documentation on the camps is limited for the Neo-Assyrian period: they are very rarely mentioned in the inscriptions (SAA 1: 13, 14-19; 47, r., 1-16) and sometimes represented on the reliefs of the royal palaces (King 1915, pls. LIII, XIX, LXXII; Barnett 1998, pls. 412, 504; Barnett 1976, pl. LXVIa)¹, with possible captions (Russell 1999, 138)². These are temporary camps of the army on the field built in enemy territory.

If we compare the representations of the camps on the reliefs of Shalmaneser III and those of Sennacherib, we note an important evolution. Of the 20 camps of Shalmaneser identified, 14 have a quadrangular shape, 4 are circular and two appear elliptical (Micale-Nadali 2004, 170). Sennacherib's camps are all circular or elliptical. The exclusive choice of this form by Sennacherib was probably voluntary because he was a technology-loving king who made all kinds of inventions and innovations (Elayi 2019, 190-202). He understood that circular/elliptical camps had real advantages over quadrangular camps in the contexts where they were built. A strategic advantage has rightly been underlined: the angles of the quadrangular camps are dangerous because the defenders must defend themselves on two fronts; the continuous rounding of the camp makes it possible to eliminate the four weak points of the angles (Micale-Nadali 2004, 164-165).

There is another important advantage of circular/elliptical camps that has not been mentioned. This advantage corresponds to the specific needs of the context where they were built. Sennacherib's reliefs depict them in mountainous regions, in the usual stylized fashion. In fact, the majority of his campaigns took place in mountainous regions. The question of the area was therefore essential because it was difficult to find a sufficient flat surface to build the camp. It was also necessary to settle the camp near a water point for men and animals, which further reduced the possibilities. The choice of the site was made in advance and with caution as indicated in Sargon II's texts (SAA 1: 13, 14-19; 47, r., 1-16).

For the same perimeter, a circular camp contains more surface area than a square camp: about 27% more³. For example, for a perimeter of 800 m, the area increases from 400 hectares to 510 hectares. Conversely, for the same area, the circular camp has a smaller perimeter of about 13% compared to a square camp⁴. For example, for an area of 400 hectares, the perimeter is reduced from 800 m to approximately 710 m. These results hold if the camp is quadrangular instead of square, but the increase of area or decrease of perimeter must be calculated for each case. With regard to the elliptical-shaped camps, the gain in area compared to the quadrangular camps cannot be calculated for lack of precise dimensions.

The gain in surface area makes it possible to accommodate more people and equipment. Thus, in a camp of Sennacherib are represented the king in the center, the tents of the soldiers along the wall, two priests performing a ceremony in front of an incense-burner, an altar and a chariot (Micale-Nadali 2004, 163-164). Reducing the perimeter reduces the number of guards needed to protect the camp and therefore increases the proportion of soldiers who can rest during this time. Sennacherib's choice to favor circular/elliptical camps was therefore fully justified.

Notes

¹ The depiction of camps should not be confused with that of fortified towns.

² Room I, slab 14; Room V, slab 43; Room X, slab 7; Room XXXVI, slab 12.

³ Let us consider a square camp with side a and a circular camp with diameter D , having the same area ($a^2 = \pi D^2/4$). The ratio of the perimeters of the square camp and the circular camp is equal to $2/\sqrt{\pi} = 1.13$. Therefore the perimeter of the square camp is about 13% larger than that of the circular camp.

⁴ Let us now compare the two square and circular camps having the same perimeter ($4a = \pi D$). The ratio between the area of the circular camp and that of the square camp is equal to $4/\pi$, or 1.27. Therefore the area of the circular camp is about 27% larger than that of the square camp.

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72) Not one of us (any more): from *Nabû-šēzibanni* to *Pišamelki* — The Egyptian ruler Psammetichus I (664–610 BCE), son of Necho I (672–664 BCE), was a key person with regard to the Assyrian period of Egyptian history.¹⁾ In an inscription of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BCE), Psammetichus I is described as the Assyrian vassal of the delta city Athribis. Later in the same inscription, Psammetichus I is presented as the sole ruler of an independent Egypt. This shift of political status is accompanied by a variation in the name of this Egyptian ruler. He carries an Akkadian name in his position as vassal and an African name in his position as sovereign.

The relevant passages in the inscription of Ashurbanipal are given below.

"Moreover, I [Ashurbanipal] appointed *Nabû-šēzibanni*, his [Necho I's] son, in the city Athribis. I performed more kind (and) good deed(s) for him than the father [Esarhaddon] who had engendered me (RINAP 5/1 11 ii 17–19)".²⁾

"He [=Gyges] allowed an interruption (in the sending of) his mounted messenger(s), whom he used to constantly send to inquire about my well-being. Because he did not honor the word(s) of (the god) Aššur, the god who created me, he trusted in his own strength and (his) heart became proud. He sent his forces to aid *Psammetichus (I)*, the king of Egypt who had cast off the yoke of my lordly majesty, and (then) I myself heard about (this) and made an appeal to (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, saying: 'Let his corpse be cast down before his enemy and let them carry away his bones.' Just as I had appealed to (the god) Aššur, it was fulfilled and his corpse was cast down before his enemy and they carried away his bones (RINAP 5/1 11 ii 111–118)".³⁾

The first passage states that Psammetichus I (referred to as *Nabû-šēzibanni*, the Akkadian name) is installed by Ashurbanipal as the vassal in Athribis. The second passage claims that Psammetichus I (referred to as "the king of Egypt" and as *Pišamelki*, the African name) had received military aid from Gyges of Lydia, an arch-enemy of Assyria, and that Psammetichus I "had cast off the yoke of my [Ashurbanipal's] lordly majesty" (*ša iṣlû nīr bēlūṛya*).

How can this name change be understood? I suggest that it can be explained as telling of the subtlety of Assyrian royal inscriptions, according to which changes and variations in this genre need to be taken seriously (1), and as reflecting an ideological shift, according to which Psammetichus I was transferred from an Assyrian to a non-Assyrian ideological sphere (2). Thus, the name change is meaningful and indicative of a change in the Assyrian worldview.

Beginning with the relevancy of changes and variations in Assyrian royal inscriptions, I suggest that the name change is far from random and coincidental, but that it is meaningful and tells of the subtlety of Assyrian royal inscriptions.⁴⁾ It would be too much of a coincidence that Ashurbanipal carelessly would have given Psammetichus I two different names in the same inscription and that the latter's African name only would have happened to describe Psammetichus I when he ruled an Egypt independent from Assyria. Thus, the transferral in question puts the spotlight on the circumstance that changes and variations in Assyrian royal inscriptions can not automatically be dismissed as hyperbole or scribal errors, but that these need to be taken seriously, both in the light of historical and ideological developments.

Concluding with the ideological shift, I suggest that Psammetichus I was transferred from an Assyrian to a non-Assyrian ideological sphere, in the sense that he was "honoured" with an Akkadian name when he served as an Assyrian vassal, but that this "honour" was withdrawn from him when he governed Egypt independent from Assyria. Thus, Ashurbanipal seems to say that Psammetichus I was "not one of us" any more. Regarding the nature of this exclusion, it is certainly ideological but surprisingly factual, at least if judging by the standards on how Marduk-apla-iddina II (for example) is slandered in Assyrian royal inscriptions.⁵⁾ Moreover, Psammetichus I was the ruler of Egypt when Egyptian forces supported the Neo-Assyrian empire in the latter's fight for survival decades later.⁶⁾ This all points to the finding that Neo-Assyrian imperial ideology centred on political, rather than on ethnical, identity.⁷⁾

Notes

- ¹ For the Assyrian conquest of Egypt, see Onasch 1994.
- ² As translated in Novotny and Jeffers 2018, 235. Note also the slightly varying version of this passage in Ashurbanipal 207 o. 68'–69' (<http://oracc.org/rinap/Q007615/>; accessed 2022-01-24).
- ³ As translated in Novotny and Jeffers 2018, 237–238.
- ⁴ For the great significance of variations in Assyrian royal inscriptions, see Liverani 1981.
- ⁵ For the representations of this ruler in Assyrian (and Babylonian) sources, see Karlsson 2021.
- ⁶ For an overview of Egyptian-Mesopotamian relations around this time, see Spalinger 1977.
- ⁷ For this recognition of the political identity as crucial in the Neo-Assyrian empire, meaning that ethnicity was of minor importance in the creation and maintenance of the empire, see Machinist 1993.

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73) *Pabaku*: A New Egyptian Name in Cuneiform? — The personal name *Pabaku* appears in a business document (WVDOG 152, V.2., II.1) from the city of Assur and the reign of Ashurbanipal.¹⁾ The name in question is not included in the PNA-volumes or in the lists of the PNAo (which provide updates to the PNA-volumes). Question is, how can this evidently new name be classified in an etymological sense?

Before turning to the actual analysis, the document in question needs to be described. The text states that a certain [l¹x x]-*mu*-[x], son of [l¹x x]-^dAMAR.UTU, has borrowed 4 1/3 shekels of silver from someone whose name has not been preserved, and stipulates when the loan should be paid and that a rate of interest comes into effect if the payment should be delayed. The text concludes by listing three witnesses (¹*Pa-ba-ku* ¹*Pu-tu-bi-ki-šû* ¹*DI-mu-û*) and by giving the date (the eponymat of *Ša-Nabû-šû*).

As indicated by the title of this note, *Pabaku* may be an Egyptian name. Both contexts and the name itself speak in favour of such an interpretation. Beginning with contexts, the temporal context, that is, the date of the document (658 BCE), is unproblematic, considering the fact that Egypt was conquered by Assyria in 671 BCE. As for the spatial context, the document comes from Assur, long known to have housed a sizeable Egyptian population in the seventh century BCE. The extensive N31-archive is generally referred to as an archive of Egyptians (PEDERSÉN 1986, 125-129; DONBAZ and PARPOLA 2001, xvi; FAIST 2007, 125-129), and so is the nearby archive Assur 52b (to which this document belongs) (RADNER 2016, 121). As for the textual context, although the name of the debtor's father ([...] *Marduk*) as well as that of the third witness (*Šulmû*) seem to be Akkadian, the name of the second witness (*Puṭubikišu*) is clearly Egyptian, containing the Egyptian form *p³-di*, which means “given by (DN)”.²⁾

Turning to the name itself and consulting the reference work on Egyptian names in Mesopotamian cuneiform (RANKE 1910, 47, 60), *pa* and *ku* are meaningful with regard to cuneiform and Egyptian words. These syllables can refer to the definitive article *p³* and to a manifestation of the soul in Egyptian thought, the *k³*. The name of another manifestation of the soul in Egyptian thought, the *b³*, may be suggested as the second element of *Pabaku*. This interpretation is not without its problems, though. The meaning of the name “the *b³* (and) the *k³*” is obscure, such a name does not appear in the Egyptian onomasticon (RANKE 1935), and the word *b³* (meaning “soul”) is not attested in cuneiform elsewhere (RANKE 1910).³⁾

Still proceeding from the idea that *Pabaku* points to an Egyptian name, there is another possibility with regard to the meaning of the name *Pabaku*. The name *p³-b³k*, meaning “the servant”, is (by contrast) attested in the Egyptian onomasticon (RANKE 1935, 104:20). Of course, this interpretation rests on the presumptions that an alternative cuneiform form of *b³k* (RANKE 1910, 47) is at hand (*bak(k)u* rather than *buk(k)u*). Strengthening the interpretation that *Pabaku* is a cuneiform version of *p³-b³k*, the latter name is masculine and frequent (RANKE 1935, 104:20). In light of the fact that *p³-b³k* is a name actually attested in the Egyptian onomasticon, the interpretation (*p³-b³-k³*) of *Pabaku* as expressing *p³-b³k* may be preferable to the former interpretation.

Notes

1. The text is inscribed on both sides of a clay tablet (IM 124740 = Ass.1990-126) that measures 4,1 x 2,6 x 2,0 cm and forms a part of the 15 documents that make up archive Assur 52b.

2. For personal names introduced by *p³-di*, see PNA 3/I, pp. 1001-1003; RANKE 1910, 48-49; RANKE 1935, 121:17-126:15). Like *Pabaku*, *Puṭubikišu* is not found in any other text.

3. Note, however, the word for “ram”, also giving *b³*, which appears as *bi* in cuneiform (RANKE 1910, 46). This indicates that the word for “(*b³*)-soul” would have appeared the same.

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74) Nabopolassar auditing Eanna’s practice of disbursing barley to prebendary bakers. — YBC 3457 was published a long time ago by Weisberg 1967 (no. 8), but to my knowledge this unique text has never been explained in its entirety, and its wider implications have been overlooked. It regards a royal intervention in Eanna’s measurement practices with respect to the cult: weight and capacity measures are used to establish a standard quantity of barley to be used for producing a given quantity of *takkasû* offering (bread). The weighing of barley is unusual, the closest parallel is found in Borsippa (Waerzeggers 2010: 64-65, where our text is mentioned in note 334). However, the ‘sacrificial *manû*’ of Borsippa seems to be different from the normal weight measure, which arguably is used here. I suggest that this text is about calibrating capacity measures against weight measures.

YBC 3457 = YNER 1, 8 (collated)

- 1 2 gišbán^{meš} ana ma-nu-ú ina igi lugal
 ina ʾká qát¹-nu ki-i iḫ-ḫi-iṭ
 35 ½ ma.na re-e-ši 1 bán tak-ka-su-ú
 ki-i iš-šú-ú 8 ma.na ḫa-a-tu
 5 a-na lú^{mu}me i-qab-bi
 ʾum¹-ma al-la a-ga-a la tu-ban-ʾna¹-a₄
 l.e. lib-bu-ú šá^den ba-nu
 rev. 7 ½ ma.na še.bar a-tar^{as}-ti
 ina igi-ni-ku-nu ter-ra-a-ma
 10 in-na-aʾ ù ina lib-bi a-ga-a
 lu-ú ú-šu-uz-za-tu-nu

iti.še ud.8.kam mu.19.kam ^dag-a-ùru
lugal tin.tir^{ki}

“When 2 wooden *sūtu* measures were weighed against the mina in the king’s presence in the Narrow Gate, (the result was) 35 ½ minas. When (the king) made a check for one *sūtu* of *takkasû* (bread), 8 minas (of barley) turned out to be the necessary raw material. So (the king) said to the bakers: ‘you should not use more than this for the preparation of the offerings; the preparation is to be made as it is for Bēl (i.e., in Esangila). You have an excess of 7 ½ minas of barley at your disposal (viz., for every *sūtu* of *takkasû* expected from you). Give it back. You should now keep to this (rule).’ 8.12.19 Nabopolassar, king of Babylon.”

1) Reading 2 ^{giš}bán^{meš} 1 *manû* ... does not allow explaining how the result of the measurement could be 35.5 minas. Taking DIŠ as *ana* yields a phrase that expresses well what this text is interested in: capacity measures are converted into weight measures (lit. are being measured (*naḫūtu*) “for” (or “against,” *ana*, “the mina”).

2) The reading *bābu qatnu* for the first signs is certain.

3) The first temporal clause in this text ends in a nominal sentence, as does the second (lines 3b-4). However, in contrast to the main clause of the second sentence (8 ma.na ḫa-a-tu), I suggest ending the first sentence after the quantity, taking *re-e-ši* with what follows. Otherwise, one would have to take *rēšu* as something like “capital amount,” as in “35 ½ minas were the ...”. This is not normal LB usage for this word. Also, the following sentence would not yield any convincing sense in this reading (neither metrologically nor regarding the literal interpretation of *našû* “take away”), whereas the phrase *rēš x našû* “to check, examine, investigate x” works well.

7) This sentence could mean: “as it is done for Bēl it is fine,” or “it is (to be) presented as it is done for Bēl.” As the second alternative takes up the specific meaning of *bunnû* in line 6, it is preferable.

8) The phonetic complement refers to the frequent rendering of /rt/ as [št].

The language in this text is highly technical and terse, and much information is implicit rather than explicit. The interpretation of the difficult first part of the text follows from the second part (l. 6ff.). There, it is clear that the bakers of Eanna have been issued with barley for the preparation of the offerings (*bunnû*) in excess of expected standards; they are required to give back the excess and are enjoined to keep to the standards forthwith, following the Esangila temple’s best practice. From this, it follows that this quantity of barley is under discussion in the text’s first part. Understanding this part is not straightforward, though.

First, it should be noted that all the quantities referred to explicitly in this text are small and certainly would not merit royal involvement if they were all that is at issue here. The point that is being made is one of principle, of establishing a standard. The actual amounts of grain to be redistributed as a consequence of the royal decision would have been a multiple of what is discussed here, the calculation being based on the standard figures sanctioned by the king. Lines 3-4 say that the king established that one *sūtu* of *takkasû* bread (6 litres) required the input of 8 minas (4 kgs) of barley. These lines are the metrological anchor for understanding the text, in that they show that notwithstanding the oddity of weight measures being used for grain, the common mina and the common *sūtu* are used. This is borne out by the following rough calculation: one kilogram of barley or wheat today is said to produce some 0.8 kgs of flour; therefore 8 minas = (4 x 0.8=) 3.2 kgs of flour. These, at 0.6 kg per litre, equal 5.33 litres. Thus, if *takkasû* bread made of 8 minas = 3.2 kgs of flour gained about 12 percent in volume through baking, we would arrive at the required 6 litres. The text states that this ratio of 8 minas of barley for 6 liters of *takkasû* is the standard used in Esangila, which also the Eanna’s bakers should follow. According to lines 8-10, the bakers are required to return 7.5 minas of barley as a consequence of that decision, so one can deduce that they were issued with 15.5 minas originally. (As stated above, the text is concerned with standards, so we should understand these quantities as relative, in the sense that the temple had originally issued 15.5 minas of barley for every *sūtu* of *takkasû* expected from a baker, and subsequently, according to the king’s decision, for each expected *sūtu* of *takkasû*, 7.5 minas of barley of the original 15.5 minas were to be returned.) Consequently, the first part of the text must contain the information about the excess quantity the bakers were issued with.

I understand lines 1-3 to say that two wooden *sūtu* measures were found to weigh 35.5 minas. This result, combined with the information that one *sūtu* of *takkasû* requires 8 minas of barley, yields the conclusion that 7.5 minas of barley should be returned. 8+7.5 = 15.5; this number, indicating the net quantity of barley issued to the bakers, is clearly connected with, or rather, contained in, the 35.5 minas. The solution must be to take as written the explicit statement that 2 ^{giš}bán^{meš}, two *sūtu* measures, and not two *sūtu* (barley), were weighed: two wooden containers are meant, and they were *full* when they were

weighed. Together these containers would have held 15.5 minas = 12 litres of barley, and consequently each would have had the net weight of 10 minas. Indeed, 7.75 minas of barley, 3.875 kgs, equal (at 1 l = 0.62 kg, Jursa 2010: 448²⁴⁹⁶) 6.25 ≈ 6 l. As for the weight of the containers, this was clearly standardized at 10 minas. We know that they were made out of wood, and, as they were used in the cult and were considered to be calibrated models – as such they were inspected by the king, after all – it is certain they were well-made, massive objects, and quite possibly made out of precious materials. We cannot be sure of their shape and exact make-up, so we will assume, *argumenti causa*, that they were simple cylinder-shaped containers carved from solid date palm wood that could hold 6 litres exactly. Date palm wood has an average density of 0.46 g/cm³ (Elkhal et al. 2022). Hypothesizing for instance a plausible opening of 20 cm diameter and an outer diameter of 27 (wall thickness throughout: 3.5 cms), we get an inner height of 19.1 cm and an outer height of 22.6 cm. The resulting (12940-6000=)6940 cm³ of date palm wood would weigh 3.2 kgs. The same container made out of cedar of Lebanon (*erennu*, 0.58 g/cm³, https://www.engineeringtoolbox.com/wood-density-d_40.html) would weigh 4 kg, if sissoo wood (*musukkannu*, *Dalbergia sissoo*, 0.77 g/cm³, <https://www.wood-database.com/sissoo/>) had been used, we would arrive at 5.3 kgs, and of course the wooden container might have had additional (metal?) fittings. It is therefore quite plausible that the empty *sūtu* container weighed 5 kgs, and the full, 8.875 kgs (17.75 minas; x2 = 35.5).

In short then, the king's inspection found a) that the bakers of Eanna customarily received two *sūtu* of barley for making one *sūtu* of *takkasū* (implicit), b) that these two *sūtu* of barley, weighed together with the standardized wooden *sūtu* measures used in the temple, amounted to 35.5 minas (explicit), the weight of a *sūtu* measure being 10 minas (implicit), c) that therefore the bakers had received 15.5 minas for making one *sūtu* of *takkasū* (implicit), d) that for making one *sūtu* of *takkasū*, only 8 minas of barley were actually necessary, as by the standard followed in Esangila (explicit), and e) that as a consequence, 7.5 minas of barley were to be given back (explicit) for every *sūtu* of *takkasū* for which the bakers had been issued materials (implicit). This royal ruling cannot have been particularly popular among the community of temple bakers in that it amounted to a massive curtailing of their incomes while the share of the gods remained untouched: in essence, the king eliminated a priestly privilege.

The wider implications of this text in the light of other pertinent documents (NBDMich. 52, BM 114552 // BM 114555) will be discussed elsewhere. Regarding metrology and the king's role as a guarantor for the precision of weights and measures in a cultic context, the calibration of capacity measures against weight measures is particularly striking. As for the historical background, suffice it to state the text belongs into the wider context of the gradual affirmation of royal authority over temple institutions in the first decades of the Neo-Babylonian empire. As in other cases, the standards promoted by the Neo-Babylonian kings for this purpose are those of the Esangila temple (most recently, Jursa and Gordin 2019: 44-50), but this is the first time in which such a reference to Esangila practice can be attributed to Nabopolassar.

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75) Une pique de Scheil contre « certain “terrassier” » — E. Jimenez a récemment attiré l'attention sur les poèmes latins de Scheil¹⁾ ; il a traduit en anglais certains d'entre eux, offrant des clés permettant d'identifier certaines des personnalités qui s'y trouvent évoquées. Les deux premiers livres des *Epigrammata* furent traduits en vers français par Ph. Jolivald en 1922²⁾. À l'occasion du centième anniversaire de la parution de ce livre, je souhaiterais élucider une de ces épigrammes.

On trouve en effet dans le Livre I des *Epigrammata* sous le n° XI un poème qui n'est guère amical à l'égard d'un collègue :

XI

A certain fouilleur.

« Ecbatanis citius venare quod olfacis arvis,
Plaudemus tibi, dummodò abhinc fugias,
Sicque latres Kurdis ibi qui caput osque probrosa
Obliniant : scabiem his tangere non vetitum ! »

La traduction française de Ph. Jolivald, comme toujours très large, donne ceci :

« Cours vite déterrer dans les champs d'Ecbatane
Ce que ton flair y cherche ; et nous t'applaudirons,
Te sentant loin de nous. Mais ce que nous rirons
Si, pour te revaloir quelque basse chicane,
Des Kurdes, un beau jour, postés aux environs,
Viennent te barbouiller la tête et la figure !
Ils ne craignent pas, eux, de manier l'ordure. »

Comme l'a indiqué E. Jiménez, « Although Scheil's friends and enemies often appear in his poems, neither of them is explicitly identified ». Quel est donc ce « fouilleur » que Scheil détestait manifestement ? Le savoir au loin lui plaisait, et il se réjouissait à l'idée qu'il soit attaqué par des bandits kurdes. Pour les besoins de la versification française, Jolivald s'est beaucoup éloigné du texte latin de Scheil : dans l'original, il ne s'agit pas « de manier l'ordure », mais il est question de « gale » (*scabies*) — Jolivald avait besoin de trouver une rime avec « figure », d'où son « ordure ». Quel est donc ce savant « galeux » ainsi visé par Scheil ? La solution n'est pas très difficile à trouver : il s'agit de Charles Fossey. En effet, celui-ci mena en 1913 une mission archéologique à Hamadan, l'antique Ecbatane, qui ne fut guère fructueuse³. La raison de l'hostilité de Scheil pourrait paraître évidente : Fossey occupait en effet depuis 1906 la chaire d'assyriologie du Collège de France à laquelle Scheil avait pourtant été élu⁴⁾. Je ne pense pas cependant qu'il s'agisse là du seul motif de la hargne du dominicain. La question était aussi celle des fouilles françaises en Perse. En 1912, suite à l'éviction de J. de Morgan, le P. Scheil s'était retrouvé co-directeur des fouilles de Suse avec R. de Mecquenem ; mais le ministère de l'Instruction Publique souhaitait diversifier les activités archéologiques de la France en Perse et Fossey obtint dans ce cadre une subvention pour sa mission — qui se solda par un échec complet.

La charité du P. Scheil avait manifestement des limites... Mais comme il l'a écrit ailleurs⁵⁾ : « Adieu ! Retiens que ma devise / Tient en deux mots : Vie et franchise ! » Et j'observe que la moquerie de Scheil à l'égard de Fossey s'accroît avec le temps : dans la seconde édition des *Epigrammata*, parue en 1934, le titre du poème devint en effet : « A certain “terrassier” »...⁶⁾

Notes

- ¹ E. Jiménez, « *Non chartas perituras dat Babylonica tellus*. The Latin Poems of Jean-Vincent Scheil (1858–1940) », dans U. Gabbay & J.-J. Pérennès (éd.), *Des polythéismes aux monothéismes. Mélanges d'Assyriologie offerts à Marcel Sigrist*, Études Bibliques. Nouvelle Série 82, Louvain/Paris/Bristol, 2020, p. 251–305.
- ² J. V. Scheil, *Épigrammes latines, traduites en vers français par Ph. Jolivald*, Paris, Société générale d'imprimerie et d'édition, 1922. Pour l'identification de Ph. Jolivald, voir D. Charpin, « Philippe Jolivald, traducteur des *Epigrammata* du P. Scheil », *Mél. Sigrist*, Louvain/Paris/Bristol, 2020, p. 306–307.
- ³ N. Chevalier, « Hamadan 1913 : une mission oubliée », *Iranica Antica* 24/2, 1989, p. 245–251.
- ⁴ D. Charpin, « L'élection du P. Scheil au Collège de France en 1905 », dans A. Azzoni, A. Kleinerman, D. A. Knight & D. I. Owen (éd.), *From Mari to Jerusalem and Back: Assyriological and Biblical Studies in Honor of Jack Murad Sasson*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 2020, p. 26–68 ([hal-03627001](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781614710001.002)).
- ⁵ Épigramme LVIII (Trad. Jolivald, *op. cit.*, p. 27).
- ⁶ E. Jiménez me rappelle ma suggestion que le poème XVII de la *nova editio* des *Epigrammata* (1934), intitulé « *Prétentions scientifiques* », ait pu être dirigé contre Fossey (Mél. Sigrist, p. 283 n. 63). Celui-ci faisait alors l'acquisition de nombreux ouvrages pour le « Cabinet d'assyriologie » du Collège de France, dont la bibliothèque fut inaugurée en 1937.

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76) Zu Joachim Oelsner, Der Kodex Ḥammu-rāpi. Textkritische Ausgabe und Übersetzung, Münster 2022 (dubsar 4) — Während der Druckphase des Buches stieß ich bei der Beschäftigung mit Keilschrifttexten anderen Inhalts und anderer Perioden auf die Webseite „Louvre site des collections“ (zuletzt aufgerufen 04.05.2022), die bei der Erarbeitung des Buches übersehen und deshalb nicht berücksichtigt worden war. Die dort zu findenden Angaben zu den Steinfragmenten des Kodex Ḥammu-rāpi (= KH) und den im Louvre befindlichen Tontafelabschriften erlauben einige Ergänzungen: Fotos sind zu finden zu S. 41–44 **A.2.2: Stfr 3** (Sb 14699), **Stfr 4** (Sb 14698) Seite A und B, **Stfr 7** (Sb 14697) sowie **Stfr 8** (Sb 14688), ebenso zu S. 46 **aB 1** (AO 10237), S. 48 **aB 5** (außerdem Nennung der Fundstelle [= Apadana] und der Museumsummer [= AS 15375 200; letztere auch CDLI sub P370229]; auf dem Foto der Rückseite ist trotz Korrosion zu erkennen, dass diese unbeschriftet ist; das Stück könnte auch sub **A.2.3.3 [Sch]** eingeordnet werden) und S. 57f. **nANin 2** (AO 7757 = lk. ob. Ecke der Tafel).

Einige Steinfragmente, die auf der genannten Webseite als „Code de Hammurabi“ bestimmt werden (Sb 14686, 14687, 14689–14695) sowie zwei weitere Steinfragmente (AOD 738: Fragment d'une inscription babylonienne, sowie eines ohne Nummer, auf der Webseite nicht gefunden) konnten 1997 Dank dem Entgegenkommen von Béatrice André-Salvini (†) eingesehen werden. Dabei ergab sich, dass es nicht möglich ist, diese in den Text des KH einzufügen. Auf ihre Erwähnung in der KH-Ausgabe wurde deshalb verzichtet. Sie seien hier jedoch nachgetragen, da die größeren der genannten Stücke (Sb 14686+14693, 14687+14691 sowie 14692; die übrigen sind winzige Fragmente) in die Ausstellung „L'histoire commence en Mésopotamie“ (Paris-Lens 2016) bzw. „Mesopotamia. Civilization Begins“ (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2020) aufgenommen waren und im dazu veröffentlichten Katalog als Fragmente des KH bezeichnet werden, s. die englische Übersetzung desselben (A. Thomas / T. Potts [Hg.], Mesopotamia. Civilization Begins, Los Angeles 2020), S. 177 Nr. 117: „Stele Fragments from the Law Code of Hammurabi“. Diese Inhaltsbestimmung ist nicht haltbar. Dies war offenbar auch Jean Nougayrol bewusst, denn bei der Edition der Steinfragmente des KH (JA 245 [1957], 339–366; 246 [1958], 143–155) wurden sie ausgelassen. Der Charakter dieser einsprachig akkadischen Stücke ähnelt anderen Inschriften Ḥammu-rāpis, z.B. denen, die M. van de Mieroop, Hammurabi's self presentation, Or 80 (2011), 305–338, bearbeitet hat (mit weiterer Literatur).

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