

# N.A.B.U.

## Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

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### NOTES BRÈVES

**77) Quelques mots de la rédaction avant le numéro spécial d'anniversaire, NABU 2022 n°4** — Comme annoncé dans le fascicule précédent, *NABU* célébrera bientôt ses 35 années d'existence : cet événement montre à quel point l'intuition de Jean-Marie Durand était juste lorsqu'il lança cette nouvelle revue. Nous souhaitons marquer cet événement en consacrant le fascicule de décembre à un index de toutes les notes parues depuis les origines. 35 années d'existence ! Des milliers de pages et combien de notes, combien d'auteurs, combien de débats et des réponses ! Merci à vous tous qui avez contribué !

*NABU* a su prendre le virage du numérique et se veut résolument un acteur de la science ouverte. Tous les fascicules sont accessibles en ligne. Les auteurs peuvent disposer de leurs notes à leur guise, les publier sur leurs pages personnelles ou institutionnelles.

La diffusion sur le site [www.sepoa.fr](http://www.sepoa.fr) au moment de la parution rend *NABU* accessible à tous et partout gratuitement. Mais nos lecteurs le savent pertinemment – en réalité rien n'est gratuit : pour pouvoir assurer le service que nous rendons, nous puisons dans nos ressources personnelles en temps et énergie et bénéficions de notre cadre institutionnel comme nous le faisons depuis 35 ans. Nous sommes heureux de savoir que notre action permet aux idées et informations assyriologiques de circuler rapidement. Cet effort restera notre cadeau aux lecteurs et auteurs. Or, la revue a bien grossi ces dernières années !

*NABU* continue de paraître également sous forme papier, avec des frais postaux qui ne cessent d'augmenter, sans invoquer la crise du papier. Nous souhaitons continuer à imprimer la revue dans un souci de pérennisation qui vise le temps long au delà de la vie des sites web. De nombreuses bibliothèques et institutions restent abonnées, plus rarement des particuliers. À eux tous nous sommes malheureusement obligés d'annoncer une augmentation des frais d'abonnement papier. À partir de janvier 2023, l'abonnement annuel passera à 35 € pour un envoi en France et à 55 € pour nos abonnés à l'étranger.

*NABU* souhaite continuer dans la voie décidée par ses créateurs et restera une revue trimestrielle qui accueillera des notes brèves du monde entier en français, allemand ou anglais. Néanmoins, nous allons introduire plusieurs changements qui nous permettront d'alléger le travail de la mise en page. Nous allons donner à partir de janvier 2023 des indications qui permettront aux auteurs futurs de nous simplifier notre tâche d'édition et de formatage. Tout cela sera annoncé ultérieurement sur le site de la SEPOA (<https://sepoa.fr/nabu/>) et grâce à l'infatigable ami Jack Sasson et sa liste de diffusion Agade.

Merci d'attendre l'année prochaine avant d'envoyer vos textes que nous publierons avec plaisir dans le fascicule de mars 2023 !

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**78) Neue Überlegungen zur Familie des Urnanše** — Name, Geschlecht und Identität der Person, die auf der Weihplatte AO 2344<sup>1)</sup> Urnanše gegenübersteht, geben seit langem Rätsel auf. Der Name wird normalerweise *áb-da* gelesen, was singular ist. Erklärungen mit Hilfe nicht belegter Silbenzeichen *áb* oder *lid*, des arabischen Wortes für „Diener“ oder einer nicht belegten Wortbildung mit Komitativ können nicht überzeugen. Siehe zuletzt Balke 2017, 79 mit Anm. 84f. Dabei hat bereits Hallo 1973, 233 darauf hingewiesen, dass das zweite Zeichen eigentlich *šu* ist. Nur Glassner 2003 greift das auf und liest mit dem folgenden Zeichen *áb-šu-tur*. Es fehlt zu viel um aus *šu da* zu machen. Allenfalls könnte man noch an ein zittriges *gal* denken, aber der links abgeknickte „Daumen“ ergibt das typische Bild von *šu*. Doch TUR ist mit einem Trennstrich abgetrennt und kann daher nicht zum Namen gehören. Nun ist die Frage, wie man liest. Bei Urnanše wird der Name links vom Titel geschrieben, vermutlich um ihn nicht durch einen langen Titel vom Bild zu trennen. Dreht man eine Keilschrifttafel so wie die Zeichen auf der Weihplatte stehen, so müsste man die Vorderseite von rechts nach links lesen und so sind auch die Inschriften auf den Rücken zu lesen. Liest man trotzdem wie bei Urnanše von links nach rechts, so ergibt sich *áb-šu dumu* „Abšu, Tochter/Sohn“. In der anderen Richtung bleibt nur die Möglichkeit „Sohn/Söhne der Abšu“ zu lesen. Das würde sich entweder auf den Kronprinzen Akurgal beziehen oder auf alle vier Söhne in der oberen Reihe. Zwar ist für Urnanše auch *men-bára-abzu* als Ehefrau belegt, aber da Urnanše mindestens 8 Söhne und eine Tochter hatte, hat er lange gelebt und kann sehr wohl ein zweites Mal geheiratet haben.

Dass *áb-šu* ein weiterer Sohn ist, erklärt nicht warum er eine abweichende Haartracht und als einziger keinen freien Oberkörper hat.<sup>2)</sup> Die nicht häufigen Namen, die in FD IIIb Lagaš wie *áb-šu* mit einem Wort für ein weibliches Tier beginnen, beziehen sich durchweg auf Frauen.<sup>3)</sup> Im Falle einer Tochter wäre zu erklären, warum gerade eine seiner dann mindestens zwei Töchter hier abgebildet ist und auf keiner anderen Weihplatte. Nach Romano 2014 ist Akurgal durch seine Stellung und weil er als einziger der Söhne einen Reif um den Kopf trägt, auf dieser Weihplatte als Kronprinz gekennzeichnet. Es könnte sein, dass Abšu als Mutter des Kronprinzen abgebildet ist. Nur sie und Urnanše haben Zottenkleidung. Das spricht dafür, sie als eigene Kategorie und damit als Herrscherpaar zu sehen und nicht als Herrscher und weiteres Kind.

Es gibt eine Kuh *áb-šu*, die aber nur lexikalisch belegt ist (PSD A II 166). Dass eine so spezielle Bezeichnung als Name gebraucht wurde, ist unwahrscheinlich. Andererseits ist es der einzige Name in FD Lagaš, der mit *áb* „Kuh“ beginnt. Namen, die mit *áb* beginnen, sind auch sonst selten, wobei allerdings zu berücksichtigen ist, dass es FD IIIa/b kaum Namen aus Ur, Uruk und Kiš gibt. Ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit: *áb-kù* CUSAS 33, 117, 4 (FD IIIb Umma), *áb-máḫ* CUSAS 11, 317 i 7 (frühsarg. Adab); *áb-ba-né* CUSAS 20, 7, 4 (mittelsarg. Adab). Mit diesen bzw. *áb-šu* sind in Lagaš insbesondere *nin-kù-su*, *nin-al-maḫ*, *nin-šu-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>*, *nin-šu-sikil* (siehe Balke 2017 jeweils s. v.) vergleichbar. Hier steht *nin* entweder für eine Göttin oder für die Königin. Also ist *áb* wohl Beiname oder Kosewort für eine Göttin oder Königin. Frühdynastisch wäre zu vergleichen *áb kù* <sup>1</sup>*u<sub>6</sub>* e „man(?) bestaunt die reine Kuh“ OSP 1, 4 iii' 4', wahrscheinlich auf eine Göttin bezogen und <sup>4</sup>*nin-líl nin an ki-ra šilam<sub>x</sub>* (TÜR) *niga-na-né dam* <sup>4</sup>*en-líl-ra* „für Ninlil, die Herrin von Himmel und Erde, seine verwöhnte (wörtlich: gemästete) Hauskuh, die Gemahlin Enlils“, Urzag'e von Kiš 3-6, Steible 1982 II 220.

Dass der Name *áb-šu* sonst in Lagaš nicht mehr belegt ist, ist nicht auffällig. Auch der Name von Urnanšes anderer Gemahlin *men-bára-abzu* ist sonst in FD IIIb Lagaš nicht bezeugt und dies gilt auch für 6 der Namen seiner Kinder. Auch an anderen Texten lässt sich zeigen, dass sumerische Namen häufig neu gebildet werden und oft auch wieder verschwinden. Aber dass *áb* in Namen aus Lagaš insgesamt sonst nicht belegt ist, wirft die Frage auf, ob *áb-šu* aus Lagaš stammte.

Auf der Weihplatte AO 2345<sup>4)</sup> sind neben Urnanše und seinem Mundschenk *á-né-ta* noch *lugal-ezen*, *gu-la*, *a-kur-gal* und *bára-sa<sup>s</sup>sag<sub>7</sub>-nu-di* abgebildet. Nur *a-kur-gal* wird als Sohn bezeichnet, doch da *lugal-ezen* auf allen anderen Weihplatten des Urnanše als Sohn erscheint und *gu-la* auf EŞEM 1633 ebenfalls als Sohn, handelt es sich bei ihnen wohl um diese Söhne. Weil AO 2345 die Weihplatte mit den wenigsten Söhnen ist und auch nur der Bau des Ninġirsu-Tempels in Ğirsu erwähnt wird, ist AO 2345 ziemlich sicher die älteste der vier Weihplatten.

Da es so aussieht als sei das Wort *dumu* bei Abšu speziell auf Akurgal, bzw. auch auf die hinter ihm stehenden *lugal-ezen*, *á-né-kur-ra* und *mu-kur-šuba<sub>4</sub>* (MÜŠ)-*ta* bezogen, dürfte sie die erste Ehefrau des Urnanše gewesen sein. Der Sohn *gu-la*, der auf AO 2344 fehlt, ist vermutlich früh verstorben, während *á-né-*

kur-ra und mu-kur-šuba<sub>4</sub>-ta zur Zeit von AO 2345 wohl noch nicht geboren waren, ebenso wie die nicht mit Abšu assoziierten Söhne der unteren Reihe. Auf der beschädigten Weihplatte EŠEM 1633 sind 7 Söhne verzeichnet, gu-la ist noch dabei, aber einer der Brüder, wahrscheinlich ad-da-tur oder men-u<sub>4</sub>-su<sub>13</sub>(BU), muss noch fehlen. Der Mundschenk á-né-ta ist auf AO 2344 vermutlich posthum abgebildet, denn im unteren Teil hat bereits saĝ-an-tuku seinen Platz übernommen. Daher ist es gut vorstellbar, dass die obere Szene einen Rückgriff auf die Vergangenheit aus der Zeit des Beginns der Tempelbauten bedeutet.

### Anmerkungen

1. Ein gutes Foto ist <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010121762>. Inschrift: Steible 1982, 82-84; Frayne 2008, 83f.

2. Aufgrund der Haartracht identifiziert Asher-Greve 1985, 90 die Figur als weiblich, während Braun-Holzinger 2007, 60 Anm. 142 (cf. ebd. 71) aufgrund eines Vergleiches mit der Haartracht von Ehefrau und Tochter auf der Stele des Urnanše zum entgegengesetzten Ergebnis kommt. Braun-Holzinger nennt aber auch keine Darstellungen von Männern mit dieser Frisur und sie räumt ein, dass das Schultergewand der Männer in Lagaš nicht belegt ist. Insbesondere unterscheidet die Haartracht die Person von allen männlichen Personen auf den Weihplatten.

3. Siehe Balke 2017 s. v. MUNUS.U<sub>8</sub>-sig-ama-ĝu<sub>10</sub>, MUNUS.U<sub>8</sub>-tur, sila<sub>4</sub>-tur, sún-ama-ĝu<sub>10</sub>.

4. Braun-Holzinger 2007, 40f. 71; Tf. 17.

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**79) Nahm die Verdrängung des Sumerischen in Adab in sargonischer Zeit ihren Anfang?** — Such-Gutiérrez 2018 schreibt von Zweisprachigkeit im altakkadischen Adab, die ein „Verdrängen des Sumerischen“ scheinbar nach sich gezogen habe.<sup>1)</sup> Die sprachlichen Zeugnisse belegen aber eher einen angesichts der politischen Verhältnisse geringen Einfluss des Akkadischen.

Der älteste akkadische Text aus Adab ist der mittelsargonische (MS) Brief SCTRAH 304. Der Brief enthält die Anweisung, zwei Personen aus Adab zu bringen, ist also nicht in Adab geschrieben und setzt lediglich voraus, dass jemand in Adab, der mit polizeilichen Aufgaben zu tun hatte, Akkadisch verstand. Insgesamt gibt es 548 MS Texte aus Adab und klassisch sargonisch (KS) 683 Texte, davon 12 akkadische, also weniger als 2 %.<sup>2)</sup> Allerdings lässt sich nicht bei allen Texten die Sprache bestimmen.

KS akkadisch sind drei Briefe: Ad 3 (LEM 24): Offenbar Abschrift eines Briefes an die königliche Kanzlei über Verwaltungsangelegenheiten (zur Korrespondenz des Autors Mezi, Keetman 2014, 4). Ad 10: *Wuttur-bēlī*, der wohl mit einem Ortsfremden dieses Namens identisch ist, schreibt an den Ensi (cf. Kienast/Volk 1995, 51). Ad 12 (LEM 21): *Iškun-Dagan* schreibt unter Anrufung der Stadtgottheiten von Akkade an *Puzur-Eštar*, von dem angenommen wird, dass er im „Semitic Quarter“ in Adab wohnte. *Iškun-Dagan* ist wahrscheinlich ein hoher Würdenträger unter *Šar-kali-šarrē*<sup>3)</sup> (cf. Kienast/Volk 54f.). Die einzige Beziehung des Briefes zu Adab ist die vermutete Identität des *Puzur-Eštar*. Der in jovialen Ton geschriebene Brief zeigt vor allem, dass der Träger eines semitischen Namens mit semitischem theophorem Element ein Angehöriger der akkadischen Verwaltung in Adab von mittlerer Bedeutung war.

Von den übrigen 9 Texten stammen A717, A910, A967, A976, aus einem Gefäß mit Texten des Bizaza, das im „Semitic Quarter“ gefunden wurde (Wilson 2012, 55f.). A974 und A651 (*Šar-kali-šarrē*)

stammen ebenfalls aus dem „Semitic Quarter“ (Wilson 2012, 61). A1056 dürfte dem Archiv des Ensi unter *Šar-kali-šarrē* in Mound IV entstammen. Die Fundumstände der beiden anderen Texte sind unbekannt (Wilson 2012, 70 + Appendix F: A1065, A725, A736).

Unter den Personennamen, die als akkadisch oder sumerisch identifizierbar sind, steigt die Zahl der akkadischen ab MS: prä-sargonisch: 13,8 %, prä-s.-frühsarg.: 16,2 %, frühsarg.: 12,4 %, MS 22,1 %, KS: 25,5 %. Ein Anstieg in einer schwankenden Reihe, aber keine Umwälzung. Zu dem Anstieg beigetragen haben könnte auch eine häufigere Erwähnung von Ortsfremden. Zu bedenken ist, dass Adab vermutlich aufgrund seiner Randlage auch schon fröhndynastisch einen gegenüber Lagaš höheren Anteil an semitischen Namen hatte. Ich komme auf 4,4 % sem. Namen in FD IIIb Lagaš, 58 sem. und 1259 sum., andere unberücksichtigt (Quellen: Sommerfeld 2010, 99-102; Balke 2017). Aussagekräftiger wäre eine Aufgliederung nach Berufsgruppen.

Ferner stellt Such-Gutiérrez eine Zunahme akkadischer Lehnwörter ab der MS Periode fest: a-bul<sub>5</sub>-la „Stadtter“, ar-za-na „Gerstenschrot“, <sup>(ges)</sup>gu-za „Stuhl, Thron“, iš-gána „zusätzliche Zahlung“, na-gada „Hirte“, šabra „Šabra-Verwalter“ und tu-di-da zabar urudu. Letzteres in Such-Gutiérrez 2018, 142 als „Nagel aus ‚Bronze-Kupfer‘“ übersetzt. Warum bleibt unklar, da der Verweis auf AHw/CAD ebd. Anm. 58 zu „Brustschmuck“, „pectoral“ führt, was auch im Sumerischen zutrifft (cf. Innanas Gang zur Unterwelt 23). Bronze enthält Kupfer immer als Hauptbestandteil.

Von diesen Worten sind na-gada bereits in FD IIIa (Pomponio 1987, 305f.) und a-bul<sub>5</sub>-la bei Irikagena belegt (Behrens/Steible 1983, 5; Vukosavovic 2008). Worte auf /-um/ zählt Such-Gutiérrez zu den akkadischen Nomina in sumerischen Texten. Damit wird /-a/ stillschweigend zu einem sumerischen Bildungselement für Lehnwörter. Es gibt aber keine realistische Alternative zur Herkunft des /-a/ von einem semitischen Prädikativ. Nur sekundär, weil /-a/ auf ein älteres Präakkadisch verweist, sichert es tatsächlich den Status als Lehnwort im Sumerischen. Der Prädikativ lässt sich sargonisch nur in einer Wendung und nur noch selten in Namen nachweisen. Daher liegt auch bei den vier verbleibenden Worten die Vermutung nahe, dass es sich um ältere Entlehnungen handelt. Anzunehmen ist auch, dass manche Lehnwörter zunächst regional übernommen wurden und sich dann allmählich im Sumerischen ausbreiteten (zu den Lehnwörtern auf /-a/ Keetman 2013).

Was den Zustand des Sumerischen betrifft, so liegt es nahe, den Verlust der Präfixharmonie auf akkadischen Einfluss zurückzuführen. Doch bereits fröhndynastisch wird die Präfixharmonie in Nippur nicht geschrieben. Es könnte also auch ein innersumerischer Ausgleich stattgefunden haben, wie beim Präfix a-/al-, das in Nippur und Adab fröhndynastisch und noch sargonisch häufig ist, während es in Lagaš wohl nur noch in Nebensätzen vorkommt. In Ur III wird dann a-/al- nirgendwo mehr häufig gebraucht.<sup>4)</sup> Andere Vokalharmonien bei den Präformativen, den Verbalsuffixen und soweit aufklärbar innerhalb von Wortwurzeln bleiben erhalten. Wesentliche Merkmale, die das Sumerische vom Akkadischen unterscheiden, wie Ergativität, Unterscheidung von Personen und Sachen, Post- statt Präpositionen, die vielen Verbalpräfixe, Pluralverben und überhaupt der sehr heterogene Aufbau des Verbalsystems, bleiben unangetastet und zwar in allen Textgattungen der Ur III-Zeit. Zwar sind weder Einfluss einer anderen Sprache, noch grammatische „Unversehrtheit“ zwingende Argumente, für oder gegen ein beginnendes Aussterben, doch noch weniger sagen einzelne Lehnwörter aus. Der Verlust der normalen akkadischen Form wäre, wenn er erst in sargonischer Zeit erfolgt wäre, eher ein Argument für ein lebendiges Sumerisch.

Such-Gutiérrez weist darauf hin, dass die Betonung des „Sumerischseins“ erstmals in der klassisch-sargonischen Periode belegt ist. Das ist ohne Zweifel eine interessante Feststellung, aber man muss sie nicht notwendig mit einer Verdrängung der sumerischen Sprache verbinden. Nicht weniger plausibel ist eine Reaktion auf die Fremdherrschaft Akkades, wobei mit der sumerischen Herkunft ein Element betont wurde, das über den Partikularismus der alten Stadtstaaten hinausreichte und zugleich eine klare Abgrenzung zu Akkade beinhaltete. Ein Nachklang dieser Politisierung des „Sumerischseins“ ist wohl in Sulge Hymne B 209 zu hören: *dumu ki-en-ge<sup>ki</sup>-ra nuġun-ba ġá-me-en* „Ich bin ein Kind Sumers, von seinem Samen!“ Wenn eine solche Politisierung des „Sumerischseins“ stattgefunden hat, dann dürfte sie der Beibehaltung der Sprache eher förderlich gewesen sein.

Sargon beherrschte Adab nur indirekt. Der Stadtfürst Meskigala wechselte von Lugalzagesi zu Sargon und begleitete ihn auf seinen Feldzügen. Unter seinem Sohn *Rīmuš* schloss sich Meskigala einer



Rebellion an, wurde besiegt und gefangengenommen (Visicato/Westenholtz 2010, 6-8). Selbst wenn *Rīmuš* seine Zahlen etwas übertrieben haben sollte, so ist doch klar, dass er Wert darauf gelegt hat, als einer gesehen zu werden, der ein Blutbad angerichtet hat. Man darf ihm glauben, dass dabei ein erheblicher Teil der Einwohner getötet wurde. Außerdem schleifte er die Stadtmauer und deportierte tausende in ein Arbeitslager (Westenholtz 1999, 41). Nach dieser Schilderung ist es eher erstaunlich, dass sich auf sprachlicher Ebene danach doch relativ wenig tat. Zwar kann man von der Sprache des Namens einer einzelnen Person nicht auf die von ihr überwiegend gebrauchte Sprache schließen – Abweichungen in Richtung beider Sprachen sind anzunehmen – aber eine starke Einwanderung aus dem Norden sollte im Onomastikon von Adab deutlich sichtbar werden. Doch selbst wenn man den Anstieg der semitischen Namen komplett auf Neusiedler aus dem Norden bezieht, wären dies nur 10 % der überlieferten Namen, vergleicht man präs.-frühsarg. sogar nur knapp 6 %. Gleichzeitig ist trotz der akkadischen Ausrichtung des Reiches aus dieser Zeit kein einziger akkadischer Text überliefert, der in Adab geschrieben wurde.

Anzumerken ist auch, dass die alternativlose Methode der Namenszählung die jeweils kleinere Gruppe immer etwas größer erscheinen lässt als sie nach Personen ist, da die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass ein Name für mehrere Personen steht, in der größeren Gruppe zunimmt.

Es ist aber plausibel, dass Akkade nach der Gefangennahme des einstigen Vasallen auch direkten Einfluss auf Wirtschaft und Verwaltung in Adab nahm und dass dies auch zu mehr Kontakt mit der Zentrale und der Übersiedlung einer überschaubaren Anzahl von Personal aus dem Norden führte. Doch dauerhaften Rückhalt bekamen die Sargoniden dadurch nicht. Adab schloss sich auch der großen Rebellion gegen *Narām-Sujēn* an und wurde erneut besiegt. *Narām-Sujēn* oder sein Nachfolger *Šar-kali-šarrē* richtete nach der Revolte akkadische Verwaltungszentren in Sumer ein, inklusive des „Semitic Quarter“ auf Mound III in Adab (Milano/Westenholtz 2015, 23-25).

Zieht man die Texte des „Semitic Quarter“ und die überregionale Korrespondenz ab, bleibt nicht viel was auf eine Zunahme des Akkadischen in Adab deutet. Mit dem Ende des Reiches von Akkade trat nicht eine „Renaissance“ des Sumerischen ein, sondern es verschwanden lediglich die Verwaltungsstrukturen, die die akkadischen Texte im Süden hervorgebracht hatten. Das Phänomen der Zweisprachigkeit muss es in Sumer gegeben haben. Aber wie groß der zweisprachige Bevölkerungsanteil war und ob dieses Phänomen das Aussterben des Sumerischen langfristig vorbereitet hat, ist keineswegs sicher.

Auf der sprachlichen Ebene spricht gegen die Annahme des Einsetzens einer irgendwie gearteten Verdrängung des Sumerischen in MS bzw. KS, dass das Ur III-Akkadisch nicht an das Reichsakkadische, sondern an das Präakkadische des Südens anknüpft (Sommerfeld 2003, 582-86, Hilgert 2002, 168f.).

Wir sollten die Geschichte der Sprachen Sumerisch und Akkadisch im 3. Jahrtausend nicht einseitig mit Blick auf das Aussterben des Sumerischen untersuchen, es sei denn die Quellen würden diese Sicht nahelegen. Eine in Relation zum Sumerischen geringe Zunahme der akkadischen Sprachzeugnisse reicht dazu nicht aus. Wichtig ist ihre Kontextualisierung.

### **Anmerkungen**

1. Weder Such-Gutiérrez noch Selz in seinem Beitrag im gleichen Band erwähnen den Artikel des Verf. zum akkad.-sum. Bilingualismus, Keetman 2014, obwohl sie zum Teil die gleichen Texte behandeln. Bei Selz vermisst man auch einen Hinweis auf die methodische Kritik an der großzügigen Annahme semitischer Lehnworte im ältesten Sumerischen in Sommerfeld 2006. Zu erwähnen wäre noch der methodisch kritische Überblick zur sprachlichen Situation in Sallaberger 2004.

2. Von den 11 in Kamil/Lecompte 2021, veröffentlichten Texten sind 4 MS Adab hinzuzufügen und KS Adab 1 Text. Bei den anderen ist Adab oder MS/KS nicht sicher. Alle Texte sind sumerisch.

3. Zu -ē im maskulinen Gen./Akk. Plural Hasselbach 2005, 179 mit Anm. 100 und Literatur dort.

4. Zu a-, al- Jagersma 2010, 535-49; Edzard 2003; Keetman 2017, 106f.

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**80) *Minima Eblaitica* 27: Sumerian KA-ma, Eblaite *bù-gú-šú-um* “monkey”** — Piotr Steinkeller has recently joined Maria Giovanna Biga in supporting her identification (together with Alessandro Roccati; see lastly Biga – Roccati 2022) of the toponym *Du-gu-ra-su*<sup>ki</sup> (attested at Ebla) with Egypt (Biga – Steinkeller 2021), and not with Tukriš in western Iran, whose historical data of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC have been collected by Steinkeller (2014, p. 701–703). While I owe to say (also for my friendship to Piotr) that I am unable to accept their thesis, it is with pleasure that I present here a new data supporting Steinkeller’s suggestion that Sumerian KA-ma means “monkey”.

A KA-ma was delivered to Ebla (usually as a single item) both from Dugurasu and from DULu. The passages listed in Biga – Steinkeller 2021, p. 57–63 are: nos. 39c, 58a (one KA-ma from Dugurasu), and in nos. 40b, 47, 68, 71b. (one KA-ma from DULu), no. 59a (two KA-ma from DULu) According to some of these passages, KA-ma is associated with “dancers”, ne-di and “dwarfs”, ba-za.

As Steinkeller has remarked, KA-ma (with variant KA) occurs in the ED lexical source “List of Animals B” after az “bear” and before ur “dog” (MEE 3, 67 lines 67–69). He has therefore suggested to identify it with a “monkey”, an animal which could be related to jugglers (not kir<sub>4</sub>-ma “hyaena” at Ebla!).

Ancient Near Eastern plaques show musicians together with animals, and Regine Pruzsinsky (2016) has devoted a study on “Monkeys and Musicians”, considering the “special emphasis given to musicians and related professional groups represented as, or together with, monkeys, a topic with a long literary tradition in Mesopotamia” (p. 23).

KA-ma in fact means “monkeys”. This term occurs also in the Bilingual Lists, MEE 4, 219 no. 190 without Eblaite translation. Manuscript <s>, an excerpt of the main list, has in a section not preserved in MEE 4 (see Archi – Krebernik, *The Bilingual Lists from Ebla*, forthcoming) the following equivalence, obv. I 9: *kiri*(K[A])*-ma* = *bù-gú-šú-um*, cf. Akk. *pagû* “monkey”.

The mention of a monkey, exotic as it may be, cannot be used as a characteristic gift from Egypt. Šamši-Adad writes as following in a letter sent to his son Yašmah-Adad, king of Mari, in order to convince the Suteans to attack a Babylonian caravan coming back from Yamhad and Karkamiš, saying:

“[Et] pilliez [*leurs biens!* Mais] leur [cad]eau royal (*tāmartum*) qu’ils apportent depuis le Haut Pays, que ce soit un singe (*pa-gu-ú*) ou bien un ‘hurleur’” (*sā-ú-um*), envoyez-le moi comme étant un cadeau pour moi” (A.3297+A.3775; N. Ziegler 2004, 96–98).

Šamši-Adad knew the “Upper Land” personally. He states to have received gifts from this region, as well as from the eastern city of Tukriš (which the present writer has identified with the Eblaite Dugurasu; Archi 2016, 31–32): “At that time I received the tribute of the kings of Tukriš and of the king of the Upper Land, within my city, Aššur.” (RIMA I, Šamši-Adad I A.0.39.1 73–79). The relation of Šamši-Adad with the Zagros kingdoms are documented by the Shemshara tablets (Eidem – Læssøe 2001, p. 41–55).

The passages in *CAD, P, pagû*, 17–18, mention that the Assyrian kings received monkeys as a gift from Tyre, Sidon, the sea-shore, and in general from the Syrian coastal land (therefore, possibly from Egypt as their ultimate origin), and directly from Egypt, but also from Lubarna of Ḫatti, from Tur-adini (“which lies on the bank of the Euphrates”), and from Mount Kašiyari (south of the Tigris between Diyarbakır and Mardin: the “Upper Land” of Šamši-Adad’s letter quoted above). Sally Dunham has noted that “the monkey from the mountain (is) a concept that in Sumerian literature seemed to refer to enemies from the East (the Guti, the Elamites) who caused destruction and havoc in Sumer” (1985, p. 251; she quotes these literary passages at p. 242–243).

The toponym *DU-lu*<sup>kl</sup> cannot be read *Gub-lu*<sup>ki</sup>, and be identified with Byblos, or located in the same area (Archi 2016, p. 2–4), contrary to what Biga and Steinkeller believe (p. 25: “what is certain is that, even if DULU and Byblos were two different places, these two cities shared the same approximate location”). They further assert (p. 25–26) that “the city of Armi(um) in all likelihood was situated in Cilicia and thus at a considerable distance away from DULU”.

This localization is impossible: Armi(um) first defeated Abarsal (presumably Tell Chuēra; Archi 2019a, p. 3–7) at the time of king Irkab-damu, and attacked Harran (allied with Ebla) three years before the fall of Ebla (Archi 2019b, p.181–183). If Armi(um) had been situated in Cilicia, its army would have had to cross the Amanus, and then the Ebla territory in order to reach Ḫarran (around 280 km as the crow flies, east of the city of Ceyhan in Cilicia)! Dulu (cf. *dūrum* “[city-]walls”) is mentioned close to Iritum (Irrite) and Ḫarran in some administrative documents, see ARET XIV 105 §§ 5–16: Ḫarran, Iritum, Dulu, Armi, Ḫamada, Iritum, Ḫarran, Armi, Dulu, Guḫatilum. ARET III 767 mentions some amounts of gold given as a gift to Awa (of Dugurasu), Arra-tilu (of Dulu), and Mimiadu (of Armi), whose caravans had presumably joined before reaching Ebla (Archi 2020a, p. 29–31). Some personal names of Armi(um) and Dulu, moreover, share the suffix *-a(n)du*, which has been interpreted as an Early Anatolian (Indo-European) suffix (Archi 2020b, p. 4–8). A suitable identification of Armi(um) is the imposing tell of Samsat, where the Old Assyrian caravans forded the Euphrates (Archi 2011b, p. 31–34; 2020b, p. 1–8).

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**81) TM.75.G.3262 = ARET III 226 + TM.75.G.1920 = ARET XV 42, an Ebla téléjoint** — The fragment TM.75.G.3262 = ARET III 226 (findspot: L.2769 East B.a) is certainly to be joined to TM.75.G.1920 = ARET XV 42 (findspot: L.2769 East B). The fragment completes the first four columns of the obverse (in its lower left part), the last column of the reverse (in its upper left part), and the left edge (in its upper part) of an account of textiles datable to the reign of the penultimate Ebla king *Ìr-kab-da-mu*. It is a peculiar text. In fact, it uncommonly records transactions over a period of at least three consecutive months and, furthermore, it unusually ends with a long list of allocations of knives written in the last two columns of the reverse and in the left and upper edges, so that the final totals are then recorded in the lower edge. Moreover, it turns out that TM.75.G.1920 = ARET XV 42 + TM.75.G.3262 = ARET III 226 is one of the few Ebla texts where the rare preposition *mi-in*, *min*, "in", typical of the texts of *Ìr-kab-da-mu*'s reign, occurs in its shortened spelling *mi<-in>* (in obv. III:19; further attestations of *mi<-in>* in TM.75.G.1348 = ARET XV 8 obv. IV:6, TM.75.G.1434 = ARET XV 20 obv. X:3, TM.75.G.1453 = ARET XV 24 rev. XIV:18, and TM.75.G.1940 = ARET XV 43 obv. IV:4, *mi<-in>-ma*, and rev. VI:8; see the discussion in M.V. Tonietti, *Aspetti del sistema preposizionale dell'eblaita*, *Antichistica* 2, *Studi orientali* 1, Venezia 2013, pp. 83f.).

Below I display the updated transliteration of the textual parts directly affected by this join, i.e., obv. I:1 - V:1 and rev. XIV:2' - left edge 8 (note that I have not personally seen either TM.75.G.3262 = ARET III 226 or TM.75.G.1920 = ARET XV 42):

(1)	XV 42 obv. I:1	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn	XV 42 obv. II:10	lú Ru <sub>12</sub> -zú-li-im
	XV 42 obv. I:2	Du-ub <sup>ki</sup>	(9a)	
(2)	XV 42 obv. I:3	ʾ1 ʾ1 sal <sup>túg</sup> ʾ1 ʾ1 fb<túg>-3ʾ1 gùn	XV 42 obv. II:11	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn
	XV 42 obv. I:4	Ra-ʾà-aq <sup>ki</sup>	XV 42 obv. II:12	Ì-lum-aka
	XV 42 obv. I:5	ḫi-mu-DU	XV 42 obv. II:13	šu-du <sub>8</sub>
	XV 42 obv. I:6	kúnga	XV 42 obv. II:14	NI-ʾraʾ-arʾ1[ki]
(3)	XV 42 obv. I:7	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn	(9b)	
	XV 42 obv. I:8	Da-bí-na-at <sup>ki</sup>	III 226 obv. II:15	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn
	XV 42 obv. I:9	šu-du <sub>8</sub>	III 226 obv. II:16	Mi-sa-du
(4)	XV 42 obv. I:10	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn	III 226 obv. II:17	NI-ra-ar <sup>ki</sup>
	XV 42 obv. I:11	ʾÀ-za-an <sup>ki</sup>	(10)	
	XV 42 obv. I:12	nu du <sub>g4</sub>	III 226 obv. II:18	1 fb<túg>-3 gùn
	XV 42 obv. I:13	šu-du <sub>8</sub>	XV 42 obv. III:1	NI-bar-zú
	XV 42 obv. I:14	M[a-nu]-wa-a[ʾki]	(11)	
(5)	XV 42 + III 226 obv. I:15	1 s[al <sup>túg</sup> ] 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn	XV 42 obv. III:2	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn
	III 226 obv. I:16	maškim Ru <sub>12</sub> -pù-uš-li-im	XV 42 obv. III:3	maškim:e-gi <sub>4</sub>
	III 226 obv. I:17	níg-mul-an	XV 42 obv. III:4	Sag-da-mu
	XV 42 obv. II:1	Sag-da-mu	(12)	
	XV 42 obv. II:2	LÚxTIL:TUŠ	XV 42 obv. III:5	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn
(6)	XV 42 obv. II:3	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn	XV 42 obv. III:6	Mug-rí-it <sub>x</sub> (NI)
	XV 42 obv. II:4	Áš-bí-du <sup>ki</sup>	XV 42 obv. III:7	šu-du <sub>8</sub>
	XV 42 obv. II:5	šu-du <sub>8</sub>	(13)	
(7)	XV 42 obv. II:6	2 fb<túg>-3 gùn	XV 42 obv. III:8	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn
	XV 42 obv. II:7	Da-du <sup>ki</sup>	XV 42 obv. III:9	Mar-ḫu <sup>ki</sup>
(8)	XV 42 obv. II:8	1 fb<túg>-3 gùn	(14)	
	XV 42 obv. II:9	Ru <sub>12</sub> -zú-we-rum	XV 42 obv. III:10	1 TÚG-NI.NI 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn
			XV 42 obv. III:11	Gú-ma-su
			XV 42 obv. III:12	Ìr-pés <sup>ki</sup>
			(15)	
			XV 42 obv. III:13	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb<túg>-3 gùn
			XV 42 obv. III:14	Zú-ra-mu <sup>ki</sup>
			XV 42 obv. III:15	šu-du <sub>8</sub>
			(16)	
			III 226 obv. III:16	2 sal <sup>túg</sup> 2 fb<túg>-3 gùn

III 226 <sup>obv.</sup> III:17	<i>Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup></i>	(19)	
III 226 <sup>obv.</sup> III:18	šu-ra	XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:9	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb <sup>&lt;túg&gt;</sup> -3 gùn
III 226 <sup>obv.</sup> III:19	<i>mi-&lt;in&gt;</i>	XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:10	<i>Du-bí-šum</i>
III 226 <sup>obv.</sup> III:20	<i>Ma-r<sup>ki</sup></i>	XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:11	<i>Za-ra-mi-iš<sup>ki</sup></i>
(17)		XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:12	šu-du <sub>8</sub>
XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:1	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb <sup>&lt;túg&gt;</sup> -3 gùn	(20)	
XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:2	1 gíri mar-tu	XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:13	2 sal <sup>túg</sup> 2 fb <sup>&lt;túg&gt;</sup> -3 gùn
XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:3	<i>Ip-dur-i-šar</i>	XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:14	<i>Si-la-ḫa<sup>ki</sup></i>
XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:4	maškim <i>Iš-da-má</i>	(21)	
(18)		III 226 + XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:15	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb <sup>túg</sup> -3 sa <sub>6</sub> ḡgùn <sup>1</sup> 1 ḡgíri mar-tu]
XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:5	1 sal <sup>túg</sup> 1 fb <sup>&lt;túg&gt;</sup> -3 gùn	XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:16	<i>Gú-na-ga-<sup>&lt;d&gt;</sup>Aš-dar</i>
XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:6	<i>Bur-ma-an<sup>ki</sup></i>	XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> V:1	<i>Gàr-mi-um<sup>ki</sup></i>
XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:7	šu-mu-taka <sub>4</sub>		
XV 42 <sup>obv.</sup> IV:8	igi-du <sub>8</sub>		
		... ..	
(121')		(130'')	
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:2'	1 [m]i-at 63 gíri mar-tu	XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:6'	1 gíri mar-tu
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:3'	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-il</i>	XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:7'	<i>Gi-zú</i>
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:4'	šu-ba <sub>4</sub> -ti	XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:8'	<i>Gàr-mi-um<sup>ki</sup></i>
(122')		(131'')	
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:5'	1 gíri mar-tu	XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:9'	1 gíri mar-tu
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:6'	<i>Ip-dur-i-šar</i>	XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:10'	[...]-ḡx <sup>1</sup>
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:7'	maškim <i>Iš-da-má</i>	XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:11'	[...]
(123')		(132'')	
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:8'	1 gíri mar-tu	XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:12'	[1 gíri mar-tu]
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:9'	<i>I-ti-<sup>&lt;d&gt;</sup>A-gú</i>	XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:13'	[x]-i[š <sup>2</sup> -...]
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:10'	lú ḡr-am <sub>6</sub> -da-mu	(133'')	
(124')		XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:14'	[1 gíri mar-tu]
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:11'	1 [gíri mar-tu]	rev. XV:15'	[...]
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XIV:12'	[...]	(134'')	
XV 42 <sup>upper edge</sup> (!)	<i>Ga-ma-du</i>	rev. XV:16'	[1 gíri mar-tu]
(125')		rev. XV:17'	[...]
III 226 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:1	1 gíri mar-tu	(135'')	
III 226 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:2	<i>I-rí-ig-zé</i>	XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:18'	1 ḡ[ri] ḡmar-tu <sup>1</sup>
(126')		XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:19'	dumu-nita
III 226 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:3	1 gíri mar-tu	III 226 <sup>left edge</sup> 1	<i>Šu-ì-lum</i>
III 226 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:4	<i>Gú-na-ga-<sup>&lt;d&gt;</sup>Aš-dar</i>	(136'')	
[...]		III 226 <sup>left edge</sup> 2	1 gíri mar-tu
(127'')		III 226 <sup>left edge</sup> 3	dumu-nita <i>Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-a-bù</i>
rev. XV	[1 gíri mar-tu]	(137'')	
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:1'	[x-x]-ba <sup>2</sup> -an	III 226 <sup>left edge</sup> 4	1 gíri mar-tu
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:2'	lú <i>I-gi</i>	III 226 <sup>left edge</sup> 5	[x]-ḡx <sup>1</sup> -[...]
(128'')		(138'')	
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:3'	1 gíri mar-tu ḡr-a-mu	XV 42 <sup>left edge</sup> 6	[1 gíri mar-tu]
(129'')		XV 42 <sup>left edge</sup> 7	<sup>1</sup> <i>Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḫa-al<sub>6</sub></i>
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:4'	1 gíri mar-tu <i>I-bí-šum</i>	XV 42 <sup>left edge</sup> 8	simug
XV 42 <sup>rev.</sup> XV:5'	lú Gibil		

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**82) Sur le « cristal de roche » dans les textes d'Ébla. À propos d'un article récent** — Dans les textes éblaïtes on connaît la graphie *nab-ḫu* et ses variantes <sup>na</sup>*nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-ḫu* et *na-ba-ḫu*, se référant à un nom d'une pierre dure qui a été identifiée, il y a vingt ans, avec le « cristal de roche » (Pasquali 2002 ; 2005 : 67-71).

Très récemment, toutefois, cette interprétation a été remise en cause par Biga et Steinkeller (2021 : 41-42) pour la simple raison qu'elle ne semble pas trop convenir à leur hypothèse concernant la localisation de la ville de *Du-gú-ra-su<sup>ki</sup>*, grâce aux apports (mu-DU) de laquelle cette pierre parfois arrive à Ébla. Étant

donné que les auteurs envisagent de placer cette ville en Egypte, alors il devient évidemment bien plus attrayant de considérer *nab-ḫu* comme le nom d'une pierre « mystérieuse ».

Nous allons procéder par ordre. Les motivations avancées par Biga et Steinkeller afin d'exclure la possibilité que *nab-ḫu* indique le « cristal de roche » sont essentiellement deux :

- 1) la rareté de l'utilisation du « cristal de roche » en Egypte, d'où, d'après eux, arrive en grandes quantités et de façon exclusive à Ébla la pierre *nab-ḫu* ;
- 2) les importantes quantités de « cristal de roche » retrouvées dans les fouilles du Palais G, qui seraient incompatibles, d'après eux, avec la prétendue rareté sur place et la grande valeur de la pierre *nab-ḫu* telles qu'elles émergeraient de l'analyse des textes administratifs.

Ces deux arguments ne peuvent pas être retenus, parce qu'ils ne tiennent pas suffisamment compte des données réelles que les textes administratifs d'Ébla nous fournissent.

Tout d'abord, déjà l'évidente étymologie sémitique du terme *nab-ḫu* (de \**npl*, « briller, resplendir », voir Pasquali 2005 : 68-69) ne témoigne pas en faveur de l'hypothèse qu'il s'agisse d'une pierre dure égyptienne, inconnue et exotique. Dans ce cas-là, nous nous aurions plutôt attendu un terme emprunté à la langue égyptienne et non un terme local pour désigner ce bien. Biga et Steinkeller (2021 : 41, « possibly related to the Akkadian *naphu* »), quant à eux, semblent accepter cette étymologie, mais avec une certaine réticence. Et pourtant, la graphie éblaïte *nab-ḫu* ne permet pas beaucoup d'autres explications, pour autant que l'on veuille tenir compte des règles du syllabaire.

De plus, il faut observer qu'à deux reprises dans la documentation à ce jour connue, les textes éblaïtes nous indiquent pour la pierre *nab-ḫu* un lieu de provenance autre que *Du-gú-ra-su<sup>ki</sup>* ou *DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>*. Ce lieu est *Ga-ne-iš<sup>ki</sup>*, un toponyme qui se réfère à la ville anatolienne de Kanish (Pettinato 1978 : 51-52) ou, en tout cas, à une ville localisée à la frontière entre Turquie et Syrie (Archi 1989 : 14). Il s'agit des passages suivants :

[1] *ARET XV 36 v. VI :6-10 : 1 gu-dùl-TÚG / Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup> / du / Ga-ne-iš<sup>ki</sup> / níg-sa<sub>10</sub> <sup>na\*</sup>nab<sub>x</sub>\*-ḫu\** ;

[2] *TM.75.G.2410 v. I:6-12 : 20 gín DILMUN kù:babbar níg-sa<sub>10</sub> <sup>na\*</sup>nab<sub>x</sub>\*-ḫu\* Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup> šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub> NI-x[...] Ga-n[e]-iš<sup>ki</sup>* (cité par Archi 1989 : 12).

Dans [1], un tissu moyennement précieux est donné à une personne anonyme, indiquée seulement avec le toponyme de sa ville d'origine, *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup>*, qui s'est rendue (du) à *Ga-ne-iš<sup>ki</sup>* pour acheter (*níg-sa<sub>10</sub>*) une quantité inconnue de pierre <sup>na\*</sup>*nab<sub>x</sub>-ḫu*. L'interprétation de l'extrait [2] est plus compliquée à cause de la syntaxe ainsi que de la lacune, mais on peut en déduire que vingt sicles d'argent sont le prix d'une quantité encore une fois inconnue de pierre <sup>na\*</sup>*nab<sub>x</sub>-ḫu* que toujours un personnage anonyme de *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup>* doit remettre à un marchand (?) de *Ga-ne-iš<sup>ki</sup>* qui a fourni le bien en question. Or, il s'avère que cette provenance anatolienne éprouvée de la pierre s'accorde mal avec l'hypothèse de son arrivée exclusive d'Egypte soutenue par Biga et Steinkeller (2021 : 41-42). Au contraire, cela pourrait suggérer que les villes de *Du-gú-ra-su<sup>ki</sup>* et *DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, qui avec *Ga-ne-iš<sup>ki</sup>* étaient les centres majeurs d'approvisionnement de la pierre *nab-ḫu*, se trouvaient, elles aussi, au Nord d'Ébla, comme Archi (2016) le propose, vu que le seul lieu de provenance de cette pierre dont la localisation est certaine se situe en Anatolie. Ce qui s'accorde d'ailleurs avec les données en notre possession relatifs au cristal de roche (Rova 1987 : 109-143), qui indiquent que cette pierre était largement utilisée et commercialisée dans la région anatolienne à compter du III<sup>e</sup> mill. av. J.-C.

Le passage [2] nous offre aussi un indice important à propos du prix de marché de la pierre *nab-ḫu*. Même si ce texte encore une fois ne nous informe pas sur la quantité acquise de cette pierre, le montant payé, qui ne s'élève qu'à vingt sicles d'argent, apparaît en tout cas très modeste. Toutefois, existe une autre annotation dans un texte administratif encore inédit qui nous aide à ce sujet. Il s'agit du passage suivant :

[3] *TM.75.G.1464 v. I:3-4 : 10 gín DILMUN kù:babbar níg-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 ma-na 7 gín DILMUN nab-ḫu* (cité par Archi 2003 : 12).

Grâce à cet extrait, on apprend qu'une mine et sept sicles de pierre *nab-ḫu* ne coûtaient que la somme de dix sicles d'argent, plutôt insignifiante en rapport à la quantité de pierre vendue. Cela fait peser une lourde hypothèque sur l'affirmation de Biga et Steinkeller (2021 : 41-42) concernant l'extrême préciosité de la pierre *nab-ḫu*, qui a amené les deux auteurs à exclure toute identification avec le cristal de roche, une pierre trop commune et présente en grandes quantités dans les ateliers palatins d'Ébla. Au contraire, les seuls deux textes [2-3] à ce jour connus qui attribuent une valeur de référence à la pierre *nab-ḫu* ne collent pas du tout – nous pouvons le voir – avec cette hypothèse.

Mais au-delà du prix, la pierre *nab-ḫu* était-elle vraiment un matériau si rare dans l'artisanat éblaïte et qui arrivait exclusivement grâce aux apports étrangers, comme Biga et Steinkeller l'affirment ? La réponse est non. La pierre *nab-ḫu* est couramment employée dans l'artisanat éblaïte tout comme les autres pierres dures, telles que le « lapis-lazuli » (gìn-gìn), la « pierre verte » (*wa-ra-ga-tum*) et la « cornaline rouge » (*si*<sub>4</sub>). Comme ces dernières, la pierre *nab-ḫu* était bien présente dans les ateliers éblaïtes. Les passages suivants nous le laissent supposer :

[4] TM.75.G.1284 r. II:5 – III:4 : 20 lá-2 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu* / 2 NI kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / 2 *gú-wa-zi-tum* / 10 lá-4 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu* *si*<sub>4</sub> / 12 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu nab-ḫu* / 4 kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / nu<sub>11</sub>-za-SÛ ;

[5] TM.75.G.1284 r. VII:1-3 : 2 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu nab-ḫu* / wa / 1 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu wa-ra-ga-tum* ;

[6] TM.75.G.2071 r. VI:4-5 : 16 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu nab-ḫu* / 9 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu* *si*<sub>4</sub> ;

[7] TM.75.G.2071 v. II:3-5 : 3 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu* gìn-gìn / 6 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu nab-ḫu* / 4 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu* *si*<sub>4</sub> ;

[8] TM.75.G.2078 r. II:2-4 : 10 lá-2 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu* kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / 3 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu nab-ḫu* / 2 *al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu* *si*<sub>4</sub> (cités par Archi 2003 : 31) ;

[9] TM.75.G.2259 r. II:1 – III:8 : (perles et bijoux) 1 *a-la-nu* kù-sig<sub>17</sub> 1/2 3 *a-la-nu nab-ḫu* 4 *a-la-nu* *si*<sub>4</sub> gìn (perles et bijoux) *Tal-du-du* dam en (cité par Biga 2007/08 : 260, n. 49).

On remarquera simplement l'emploi spécifique de la pierre *nab-ḫu* dans la réalisation des perles en forme de gland (*al<sub>6</sub>-la-nu* et *a-la-nu* selon la graphie éblaïte). En particulier, le contexte [5] nous décrit un bijou composé par des perles en forme de gland réalisées en pierre *nab-ḫu* et en pierre verte (*wa-ra-ga-tum*, sém. \**wrq*, « être verte », voir récemment Pasquali 2014 : 271 et 273). Cet objet précieux nous rappelle le collier avec deux pendentifs en forme de gland remontant à la période amorréenne, qui a été découvert dans le Tombeau du Seigneur des Capridés à Ébla. Les deux pendentifs de ce collier sont réalisés l'un en cristal de roche et l'autre en une pierre verte translucide (Matthiae 1981 : 219). Comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le noter (Pasquali 2004 ; 2005 : 98-101 ; 2008), l'objet comptabilisé en [5] et celui retrouvé dans les fouilles d'Ébla sont identiques dans la morphologie et dans les matériaux aussi, quand on interprète *nab-ḫu* comme « cristal de roche ». Il s'agit d'un détail important, qui exclut définitivement, à mon avis, la possibilité que *nab-ḫu* et ses variantes indiquent une pierre égyptienne aussi mystérieuse qu'aléatoire, comme Biga et Steinkeller le voudraient.

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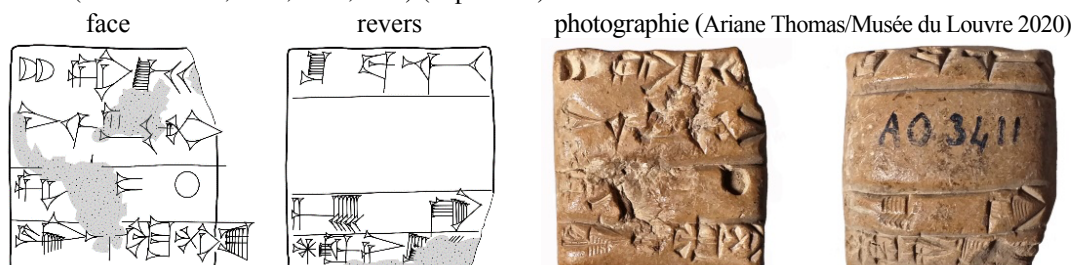
**83) 'dug gal', 'dug' et 'dug tur' durant la période de Lagaš II<sup>1</sup>** — Parmi les documents datant de la seconde dynastie de Lagaš (Lagaš II) découverts à Girsu et publiés à ce jour, seule la tablette RTC 216 (AO 3442) cite l'expression 'dug tur' (« petite jarre ») en association avec 'dug gal' (« grande jarre »).





Les deux premières lignes d'**AO 3411** sont analogues à celles de **RTC 216**. Après la mention de la quantité d'huile 2(AŠ) dug gal 2(u) [+n sila<sub>3</sub>] figure une séquence comparable à celle de la deuxième ligne de **RTC 216** : dug [tu]r 1(U) (bien que le document **AO 3411** présente quelques cassures, la lecture dug [tu]r sur la deuxième ligne semble bien assurée). En plus de ces similitudes, les deux bordereaux présentent les mêmes caractéristiques formelles.

**AO 3411** (dimensions 3,3 × 3,2 × 1,6 cm) (copie LCI)



**AO 3411** (CDLI P491932)

Translittération	Traduction	Valeur du 'dug tur'
f.1. 2(AŠ) dug gal 2(u)+n [sila <sub>3</sub> ] i <sub>3</sub> ši-iq-dim	2 grandes jarres (+) 20 + n sila <sub>3</sub> d'huile d'amande,	2 grandes jarres + 20 + n = 80+n sila <sub>3</sub>
2. dug [tu]r 1(U)	petites jarres au nombre de 10,	petites jarres au nombre de 10.
3. lu <sub>2</sub> - <sup>d</sup> nin-ġir <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>2</sub>	Lu-Ninġirsu	=> dans un 'dug tur'
r.4. ū ba-ti	a reçu.	= au minimum 8 sila <sub>3</sub> .
5. <i>vacat</i>	---	
6. zi-ga	Sortie (du service de)	
7. <sup>d</sup> šara <sub>2</sub> -i <sub>3</sub> -sa <sub>6</sub>	Šara-isa.	

La cassure dans l'angle supérieur droit de la tablette ne permet pas de déterminer le nombre exact de sila<sub>3</sub> d'huile (entre 20 et 30 sila<sub>3</sub>). Par conséquent, la quantité par 'dug tur', suivant la relation établie entre les deux premières lignes, comme dans **RTC 216**, ne peut être déterminée avec exactitude. En admettant qu'un 'dug gal' soit au moins égal à 30 sila<sub>3</sub> (Thureau-Dangin 1909, p. 102), la quantité d'huile par 'dug tur', dans **AO 3144**, serait au minimum 8 sila<sub>3</sub>.

Ce résultat est basé sur la valeur supposée du 'dug gal' qui serait, d'après Thureau-Dangin (1909, p. 102), de 30 sila<sub>3</sub>, comme le 'dug'. Cependant, il faudrait vraisemblablement différencier 'dug gal' de 'dug' puisque ces deux dernières expressions sont citées successivement dans le bordereau **MVN 6 19** qui enregistre une autre sortie d'huile du bureau de Šara-isa.

**MVN 6 19 = ITT 4 7019** (CDLI P217685)

Translittération	Traduction
f.1. 1(AŠ) dug gal la <sub>2</sub> 3(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -nun	1 « grande jarre » moins 3 sila <sub>3</sub> de beurre clarifié
2. 1(AŠ) dug gal	1 « jarre » de sirop
3. nibru <sup>ki</sup>	(pour) Nippur ;
r.4. ur-ab-ba	
5. maškim	(confiées à) Ur-abba, maškim (personnel administratif)
6. <i>vacat</i>	---
7. zi-ga	Sortie (du service de)
8. <sup>d</sup> šara <sub>2</sub> -i <sub>3</sub> -sa <sub>6</sub>	Šara-isa.

En conséquence, il faut bien différencier le 'dug gal' du 'dug'. La valeur du 'dug gal', plus grand qu'un 'dug', devrait donc être supérieure à celle d'un 'dug' correspondant à 30 sila<sub>3</sub> d'après **RTC 186** et plus récemment **KASKAL 15 20**. Dans ces deux derniers documents, les 'dug' contiennent des huiles animales.

À titre de comparaison : 1). Les 'dug gal' et 'dug' sont aussi distingués dans quelques documents d'Ur III provenant de la province d'Umma relatifs à la réalisation de jarres : n dug 3(ban<sub>2</sub>) / n dug gal / n dug 1(ban<sub>2</sub>) 5(diš) sila<sub>3</sub> / n dug nig<sub>2</sub> 5(diš) sila<sub>3</sub> (voir par exemple CST 874 ; Jursa & Weszeli, 1997-1998, p. 129 ; MVN 21 : 203 ; UTI 3 : 1700, 1733). 2). Concernant le 'dug' ayant la valeur de 30 sila<sub>3</sub>, on peut signaler MAD 1 323 datant de l'époque d'Akkad et provenant d'Ešnunna qui enregistre une réception de

beurre clarifié quantifié au moyen de l'expression 'dug' et de l'unité de mesure sila<sub>3</sub>. Le total permet de déterminer dans ce document qu'un 'dug' est rempli ou équivaut à 30 sila<sub>3</sub>.

Enfin, il s'avère qu'après vérification (sur la photographie disponible sur CDLI), le signe numérique précédant 'dug gal' sur **RTC 216** pourrait être 2(AŠ) au lieu de 1(AŠ). Dans ce cas, la quantité d'huile par 'dug tur', doit être réévaluée : 2 'dug gal' (« grandes jarres ») et 15 sila<sub>3</sub> d'huile d'olive sont réparties dans des 'dug tur' (« petite jarres ») au nombre de 9.

En conclusion, les deux bordereaux, **RTC 216** et **AO 3411**, enregistrent la sortie d'huile du bureau de Šara-isa. La quantité d'huile est exprimée en 'dug gal' et sila<sub>3</sub> alors que la sortie physique de cette huile s'est faite semble-t-il au moyen de récipients 'dug tur'. L'huile paraît ainsi avoir été conservée dans de grandes jarres (probablement au sein d'un entrepôt) et qu'à certaines occasions la sortie ait requis l'usage d'un contenant plus petit. Les données archéologiques ne permettant pas de démontrer l'existence de jarres standardisées, et **MVN 6 19** précisant « 1 'dug gal' moins 3 sila<sub>3</sub> », ce qui n'a de sens que si la quantité attribuée à un 'dug gal' est fixée, il apparaît donc plus opportun de parler de quantité fixe au sein de contenants dont la forme et la capacité maximale peuvent légèrement varier.

Par conséquent, les expressions 'dug gal', 'dug' et 'dug tur', présentes dans les documents **MVN 6 19**, **RTC 216** et **AO 3411**, issus d'un même service, renvoient probablement à des mesures/quantités standardisées de produit dans des jarres (même si ces dernières ne sont pas standardisées) pour des besoins de gestion interne. Dans ce cas, il est possible de rechercher la valeur/quantité des 'dug gal' et 'dug tur'.

En admettant :

- que les quantités/valeur respectives du 'dug gal' et du 'dug tur' cités dans les deux bordereaux, **RTC 216** et **AO 3411** provenant d'une même administration, soient semblables,
- qu'il faille différencier 'dug gal', 'dug' et 'dug tur',
- que la quantité/valeur d'un 'dug' soit 30 sila<sub>3</sub>, soit un sous-multiple du 'dug gal',
- que la quantité/valeur d'un 'dug tur', soit un sous-multiple du 'dug' et du 'dug gal',

les valeurs suivantes permettent d'établir la cohérence des contenus dans les deux bordereaux **RTC 216** et **AO 3411** : un 'dug tur' = 15 sila<sub>3</sub>, un 'dug' = 30 sila<sub>3</sub> et un 'dug gal' = 60 sila<sub>3</sub>.

En raison de peu de données, il ne faut pas exclure la possibilité que 'dug tur' suivi d'un entier naturel puisse indiquer seulement la quantité d'huile répartie dans des « petites jarres » pour le besoin de la sortie/dépense sans que ces dernières ne fassent référence à un standard de quantité/mesure. Dans ce cas, la quantité par 'dug tur' pourrait varier selon les deux bordereaux.

## Notes

1. Je remercie Ö. Tunca et G. Chambon pour leurs relectures et remarques.

2. Un autre document datant vraisemblablement de la fin de la période Lagaš II est absent de l'ouvrage de Maiocchi et Visicato (AGGT, 2020). La tablette AO 3393 dont une photographie est disponible sur CDLI (P491928) doit être rapprochée de AGGT 376 (= MNV 6 41 = ITT 4 7041). Les deux bordereaux enregistrent la dépense de paniers de dattes pour une même série de récipiendaires. Seule la date change.

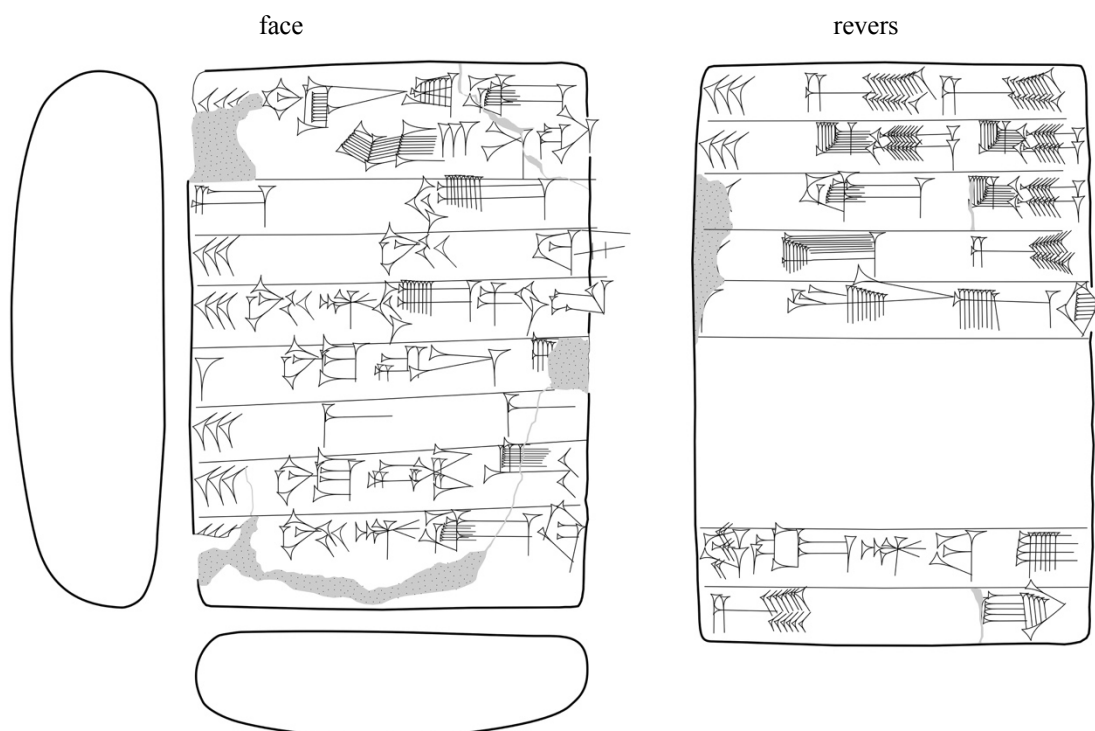
MVN 6, 41 = ITT 4 7041 (CDLI P217695)-(mois vi)

- f.1. ʾ3(u)<sup>ʾ1</sup> [ki]š-lam zu<sub>2</sub>-lum 3(diš) sila<sub>3</sub>-ta
2. ur-sul
3. 3(u) geme<sub>2</sub>-ba
4. 3(u) geme<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>sul-pa-e<sub>3</sub>
5. ʾ1(ġeš<sub>2</sub>)<sup>1</sup> nin<sub>9</sub>-al-la
6. 3(u) me-me
7. 3(u) [...]
8. [...]
- r. 9. [...]
10. [...]
11. [...]-sa<sub>6</sub>
12. 3(u) e<sub>2</sub>-zi sagi
13. ʾ1(ġeš<sub>2</sub>) lu<sub>2</sub>-eridu<sup>ki</sup>
14. **iti UR**
15. *vacat*
16. zi-ga

AO 3393 (P491928)-(mois vii)

- f.1. ʾ3(u)<sup>1</sup> kiš-lam [z]u<sub>2</sub>-lum 3(diš) ʾsila<sub>3</sub>-ta
2. ur-sul
3. 3(u) geme<sub>2</sub>-ba {x}
4. 3(u) geme<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>sul-pa-e<sub>3</sub>
5. ʾ1(ġeš<sub>2</sub>) nin<sub>9</sub>-al-ʾla<sup>1</sup>
6. 3(u) me-me
7. 3(u) nin-ġe<sub>2</sub>-ġal<sub>2</sub>
8. ʾ3(u)<sup>1</sup> geme<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>ištaran
- r. 9. 3(u) zi-zi
10. 3(u) sa<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>6</sub>
11. ʾ3(u)<sup>1</sup> ka-sa<sub>6</sub>
12. ʾ3(u)<sup>ʾ1</sup> e<sub>2</sub>-zi
13. ʾ1(ġeš<sub>2</sub>) lu<sub>2</sub>-eridu<sup>ki</sup>
14. *vacat*
15. **iti ezem** <sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub>
16. zi-ga

**AO 3393 (P491928) (copie LCD)**



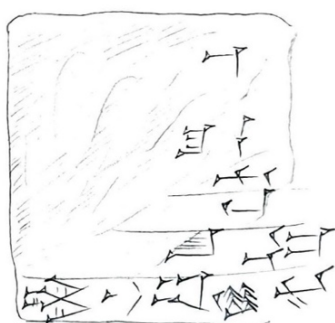
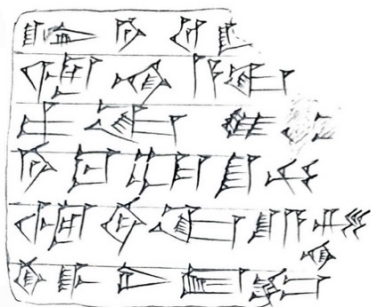
**Abréviations**

- AGGT = Maiocchi M. & Visicato G., 2020, *Administration at Girsu in Gudea's Time* (Antichistica 27, StOr 10), Ca'Foscari.
- CDLI = Cuneiform Digital Library, <https://cdli.ucla.edu/>
- CST = Fish T., 1932, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, Oxford.
- ITT 4 = Delaporte L., 1912, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée impérial Ottoman, Tome IV, Textes de l'époque d'Ur : fouilles d'Ernest de Sarzec en 1898 et 1900*, Paris.
- KASKAL 15 = Maiocchi M. & Molina M., 2018 (publié en 2020), « Pre-Ur III administrative cuneiform tablets in the British Museum. I. Texts from the archives of Gudea's Dynasty », *Kaskal*, 15 p. 1-46.
- MAD 1 = Gelb I. J., 1952, *Sargonic Texts from the Diyala Region*, Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary 1, Chicago.
- MVN 6 = Pettinato G., 1977, *Testi economici di Lagaš del Museo di Istanbul*, MVN 6, Roma.
- MVN 21 = Koslova N. V., 2000, *Neusumerische Verwaltungstexte aus Umma aus der Sammlung der Ermitage zu St. Petersburg – Rußland*, MVN 21, Roma.
- NISABA 18 = Anastasi A. & Pomponio F., 2009, *Neo-Sumerian Girsu Texts of various content kept in the British Museum*, Nisaba 18, Messina.
- PPAC 5 = Sigrist M. & Ozaki T., 2013, *Administrative Ur III Texts in the British Museum*, Periodic Publications on Ancient Civilizations 5 = SJAC 3, Changchun.
- RTC = Thureau-Dangin F., 1903, *Recueil des tablettes chaldéennes*, Paris.
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**84) Two Unpublished Sumerian Letters from the Iraq Museum** — The following two tablets are housed in the Iraqi Museum. They were confiscated.

The first tablet, with an illegible museum number, records an amount of 20 liters of dates as a daily offerings from the gardeners for the sowing festival.



Obv. 1.	lugal-nig <sub>2</sub> -lagar-e u <sub>3</sub> -na-a-du <sub>11</sub> 0.0.2 zu-lum [x] nig <sub>2</sub> -dab <sub>5</sub> ezem šu-numun	Lugalniglagare tell him: 20 li. dates offerings of sowing festival
5.	u <sub>3</sub> sa <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> šu-a gi-na ki šandana(GAL.NI)-ke <sub>4</sub> -ne [ta]	and daily offerings from the gardeners
Rev.	<i>Lost lines</i> he <sub>2</sub> -na-ab-sum-mu	let him give.

**Commentary:** The term (šu-a gi-na) is a type of offering that was delivered daily to a deceased king (Sallaberger, 1993, 83). While Sigrist does not consider it as a religious term, he prefers to give it an accounting meaning, “expected”, “corresponding to” (Sigrist. 1992, 209-210).

For more about the term *šandana*, *šantana* GAL.NI see: Sallaberger, 2003-2004, 57; Steinkeller, 1995, 706; Powell, 1973, 182-183 n.25. Based on the type and occasion of the offerings, it is likely that the tablet would have been written in the fourth month in Nippur and Girsu, but the sixth month in Umma. (Cohen, 1993, 174). According to the statistics on BDTNS, the sowing month appears primarily in Umma texts, and 97.6% of the of the 885 known occurrences of the PN “lugal-nig<sub>2</sub>lagar-e” appear in texts from Umma. Therefore, we may assume the tablet was most likely taken from Umma.

The second tablet under consideration (**IM 204419**) confirms the number of witnesses.

Obv. 1.	Nigar (U.UD.KID.GAR) u <sub>3</sub> -na-a-du <sub>11</sub> NIG <sub>2</sub> ? šeš-kal-[la] i <sub>3</sub> -na-du <sub>11</sub>	Nigar tell him: possession of Šeškalla said
5.	u <sub>3</sub> mu-sar u <sub>3</sub> [xx] bi	after I have written and, its....?
Rev. 1.	igi lugal-[x] ab-ba-ba [x] \ KA? [x] igi sukka <sub>1</sub> -ni [x] \ KA?	before Lugal-[....] Abbaba before his servant

	igi ku-li	before Kuli
5.	igi lu <sub>2</sub> - <sup>d</sup> Nan[na]\ KA <sup>3</sup> NI <sup>2</sup> [x]	before Lu-Nanna
Left.Eg	i <sub>3</sub> -ge-en <sub>6</sub>	they confirmed

**Commentary:** The term (i<sub>3</sub>-na-du<sub>11</sub>) appears rarely and only in old Akkadian texts (Foster, 1977, 42. Gelb, 1970, 13). The personal names occur mostly in Umma, Girsu and Nippur. Unfortunately, the text does not have a date formula or month name, so we could not decide to which Sumerian city the tablet most likely belongs.



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**85) Punishment for harbouring thieves in Ur III times** — In 2020, Tohru Ozaki published an impressive edition (Nisaba 33/1-2) of more than one thousand cuneiform documents, mostly Ur III, on the basis of hand copies prepared by Herbert Sauren several years earlier. The publication did not include information on the collections where the tablets are kept, so a review-article on this matter has been prepared by Zsombor Földi and myself ("Identification of the cuneiform tablets published in Nisaba 33 by Tohru Ozaki", forthcoming). While doing this research, Földi realized that one of the texts published in Nisaba 33 as Old Babylonian actually belonged to the Ur III period (Nisaba 33 733, <http://bdtms.filol.csic.es/204622>). The tablet proved to be of much interest, since it recorded, in the usual Ur III terse style, a legal case with a unique background, using a formulary recently discussed by Howard 2022. The text, of uncertain provenance, reads as follows:

1 1 x 'x'<sup>1</sup>  
 2 mu lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga  
 3 e<sub>2</sub>-a-na i<sub>3</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>-eš-a-še<sub>3</sub>  
 4 še<sub>r7</sub><sup>1</sup> (NUN)-da-aš  
 rev. 1 ba-ḥul  
 2 ḡiri<sub>3</sub> šeš-ka[l-la] / gu-za-la<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> SUM.PU<sub>2</sub>.PU<sub>2</sub>/<sup>ki</sup> [x x]-ta  
 3 iti šu-[eš<sub>5</sub>-ša]  
 4 mu [...] / 'x x'<sup>1</sup> [...]

«PN: because thieves were seized in his house, he was “destroyed” as punishment.

Via Šeškala, *guzala*-official, man of SUMPUPU, from ...

Month ix. Year ...»

According to this record, one person, whose name is lost (l. 1), was punished for having harboured thieves in his/her home. The word for “thief” in this text is lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga,<sup>1</sup> attested in Ur III texts for persons who stole cattle or sheep (AOAT 25, p. 447 no. 10 = SNAT 210; CT 5, pl. 29 BM 19024; HLC 2 8 (pl. 55); TCTI 2 2816), but also other commodities such as onions (BM 15340, unpubl., courtesy P. Notizia) or clothes (BM 106097, unpubl., excerpt in Molina 2021: 157). Officials specifically in charge of seizing them are recorded in messenger texts (DAS 110; HLC 1 345, pl. 30; MVN 7 98).

Ur III sources do not make it clear whether lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga committed thefts by force, but although they did trespass (BM 106097, unpubl.), at least in judicial and administrative documents they seem different from the lu<sub>2</sub>-sa-gaz. These are clearly connected with violent appropriation and appear as highway robbers, particularly in texts from Irisaḡrig (Wilcke 1992: 63; Civil 2011: 253; Owen 2013: 123-125). Later on, literary and lexical texts tended to consider lu<sub>2</sub>-sa-gaz and lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga as broadly synonymous. Thus, lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga and scorpions are characterized as “creatures of the steppe” in *The Debate between Grain and Sheep* 128 (muš-ḡiri<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> la-ga niḡ<sub>2</sub> eden-na-ke<sub>4</sub>), similar to the lu<sub>2</sub>-sa-gaz “who occupied/attacked the highways” in *The Cursing of Agade* 167 (ḡar-ra-an-na lu<sub>2</sub>-sa-gaz ba-e-tuš/ba-e-saḡ<sub>3</sub>); likewise, lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga and lu<sub>2</sub>-sa-gaz are said “to break up the earth (for cultivation) in the (wind)-swept wilderness” in the *Letter of Aradḡu to Šulgi* 2 B 2' (lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga lu<sub>2</sub>-sa-gaz-e eden si-si-ig-ga-bi ni niḡ<sub>2</sub>-gul-bi bi<sub>2</sub>-ak). In lexical lists, both lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga and lu<sub>2</sub>-sa-gaz are rendered as *ḡabbātum*, “robber”; lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga is also equated with *sarrum*, “criminal, thief, liar” (OB Lu A 282-283 = MSL 12, p. 166; ḡḡ 2 330 = MSL 5, p. 77). Another term for thief in Ur III texts is lu<sub>2</sub>-ni<sub>2</sub>-zuḡ/zu, which denotes the appropriation of other people’s movable property, but also acts of fraud and false testimony (Wilcke 1992: 53, 2014: 490); it is rendered as *šarrāqum* in OB Lu A 281 (= MSL 12, p. 166). Finally, a very unusual term for a robber is li-li-ib (Akk. *sarrum*), once attested in Ur III sources, apparently as a synonym of lu<sub>2</sub>-sa-gaz (Molina 2019: 703).

Punishments for robbery, burglary or theft are known in law codes and in judicial procedures, and are of varying degrees depending on circumstances. Despite what is written in LU §2, where capital punishment is established for robbery (sa-gaz), Sumerian judicial procedures show other means of compensation, such as multiple payment, fixed sums, or debt bondage if the thief failed to pay (Westbrook and Wilcke 1974-77: 114-116; Lafont and Westbrook 2003: 220). Also depending on circumstances, the purchaser of stolen goods could be considered a thief (lu<sub>2</sub>-ni<sub>2</sub>-zu/zuḡ ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub>-(re-eš) “turned into a thief”), or avoid liability (Westbrook and Wilcke 1974-77: 116-118; Molina 2019: 708). To the best of my knowledge, there are no other examples in Sumerian sources of punishment for harbouring thieves, but it might be the case, by analogy, that the person who helped them was considered as an accessory to the robbery and consequently also a thief.

Aggravated robbery carried a higher penalty (examples for the Old Babylonian period are given by Westbrook 2003: 419-422), and this seems to be the case in our text. In it, the word še<sub>r7</sub>-da refers to the punishment and the verb ḡul denotes its application. Both terms have been the subject of an in-depth study by Howard 2022: 162-168, who has concluded that še<sub>r7</sub>-da implied a heavy penalty for the offender, either death or some form of harsh corporal punishment, imposed by an authority. Concerning ḡul, Howard was inclined to understand it as the application of a heavy punishment that resulted in the total “ruin” or “destruction” of the offender, a punishment that in the end could involve death, although he stressed that the word by itself does not mean this. Actually, it is important to draw attention to the text



BPOA 6 1535 (Howard's Text 9), which records a punishment of this kind experienced by a man *during four months*: 1<sup>d</sup>Nin-ur<sub>4</sub>-ra-da, iti še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>-ta, iti še-kar-ra-ġal<sub>2</sub>-la-še<sub>3</sub>, en-nu-ġa<sub>2</sub> ti-la, iti e<sub>2</sub>-iti-6-ta, iti <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi-še<sub>3</sub> ba-ḫul “PN: from month i to month iii he was in jail; from month viii to month xii he was ‘destroyed’”. This clearly excludes the death-penalty and speaks in favour of ḫul meaning bodily harm, or perhaps some kind of especially severe imprisonment. Be that as it may, ḫul must refer to a specific sort of punishment that could not be ambiguous at all.

The only other example known to me of a thief (lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga) as the object of ḫul, which unfortunately does not help to clarify the issue, is ITT 2 03547 = NSGU 169: mu Nin-ḫi-li-su<sub>3</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> e<sub>2</sub> ab-ba-na-ka ab-da-tuš-a, Lu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-šubur nam-lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga ba-a-ḫul-a-še<sub>3</sub>, nam-dam-ni-ta Nin-ḫi-li-su<sub>3</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>, tug<sub>2</sub> ib<sub>2</sub>-da-an-ur<sub>3</sub> “Because Lu-Nišubur was ‘destroyed’ for being a thief while Ninḫilisu was living in the house of her father, Ninḫilisu renounced her status as his wife”.

The man responsible in the procedure recorded in Nisaba 33 733 was Šeškala, marked as ġiri<sub>3</sub>. As demonstrated by Howard (2022: 160-161), the ġiri<sub>3</sub> in this type of text represented a higher authority, which in this case most probably belonged to the royal administration. This is shown by the use of the *Reichskalender*, and particularly by the fact that Šeškala was a man of SUMPUPU, a settlement located close to the city of Ur (PPAC 5 1205), perhaps in the area of Bad-tibira (UET 3 995). This same Šeškala is attested in Rochester 233 (= YOS 15 103), performing the ġiri<sub>3</sub>-function together with Utuġu in a badly preserved legal procedure. The profession of Šeškala (and of Utuġu in Rochester 233) was gu-za-la<sub>2</sub>, an official in charge of police activities (Deubelbeiss 2020: 155 n. 62, 172; Attinger 2021: 421 +n. 1104), who in our case was perhaps responsible for the investigation and arrest of the defendant.

## Note

1. lu<sub>2</sub>-la-ga has been briefly discussed by Sollberger 1976: 447; Heimpel 1995: 106-107; Wilcke, 1992: 56, 63; Michalowski 2011: 297; Attinger 2021: 662; see also the references in ePSD2 s.v. laga <http://oracc.org/epsd2/o0019106>.

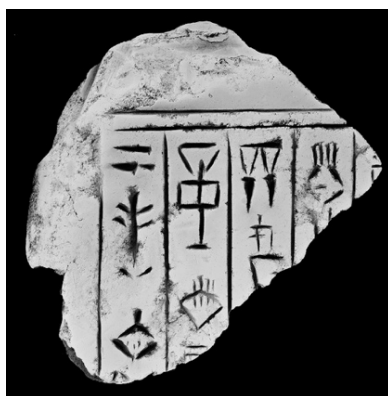
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**86) A merchant’s votive inscription from the Rosen Collection** — This short note publishes a private votive inscription of unknown provenance that was formerly on loan to the Jonathan and Jeanette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar and Tablet Conservation Laboratory at Cornell University until its closure in June 2019.<sup>1)</sup> The preserved dimensions of the stone fragment bearing the registration number CUNES 52-13-015 are 75\* (length) × 69\* (width) × 33\* (thickness) mm. The flatness of the inscribed surface and the considerable thickness of the fragment suggest that it may have belonged to a votive plaque. That the original artifact may indeed have been a square or rectangular stone plaque is also indicated by the incised line that runs parallel to the frame of the inscription, which can be identified with the outer border that delimited the internal panel of the plaque.<sup>2)</sup>



(beginning lost)

1’.	ṛx <sup>1</sup> [...]	[...],
2’.	N[E.NE]	N[E.NE],
3’.	dumu a[1-la]	son of Al[la]
4’.	dam-gar <sub>3</sub> -k[e <sub>4</sub> ]	the merchant,
5’.	a mu-na-r[u]	presented (this object).

The distance between the border of the plaque and the frame of the inscription is only 4 mm. The inscription, written in Sumerian, is arranged in one column and has five partially preserved lines, each one 12 mm wide and probably ca. 60 mm long (the closing line 5’ measures 48\* mm). The original size of the framed inscription is difficult to reconstruct. If the text had only five lines, the frame would measure approximately 60 × 60 mm. However, the traces in line 1’ are not compatible with diĝir, that is, the sign for the divine determinative that preceded the name of the god or goddess to whom the plaque was offered. This means that line 1’ was not the first line of the inscription. One may suppose that it contained the expression lugal/nin-a-ni, “his lord/mistress,” which often followed the deity’s name (and epithets, if present), but the preserved traces do not seem to match either lugal or nin. Alternatively, it may have recorded the closing line of the more elaborate dedicatory formula “for the life (of the local ruler or king),” which usually included his full titulary. If the broken sign is ma, then the line may be read as (nam-ti PN ...) [lugal urim<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>/]-ṛma<sup>1</sup>-[ka-š<sub>e</sub><sub>3</sub>] (cf., e.g., Sb 2745 [Braun-Holzinger 1991: 61, K 83; Frayne 1997: 221–222, E3/2.1.2.2036]), which hints at an Ur III date for the inscription.<sup>3)</sup> Such a dating would be also supported by the paleography of the signs TUR, DAM, and GAR<sub>3</sub>.<sup>4)</sup>

If my reconstruction is correct, the name of the donor of this votive object was NE.NE, the son of a merchant named Alla. Since early Mesopotamian merchants usually operated as family collectives, chances are that NE.NE shared the same occupation as his father.<sup>5)</sup> If this is the case, then the repetition of



the term *dam-gara<sub>3</sub>* was probably redundant.<sup>6)</sup> The fact that the professional designation is found only after Alla's name may also imply that the latter held a more senior position in the merchant organization than his son. Inscribed votive objects commissioned by third-millennium tradesmen – or by their sons – are numerous (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 20–21; Andersson 2016: 59–60). In total, nineteen objects dedicated by merchants (*dam-gara<sub>3</sub>*), chief merchants (*dam-gara<sub>3</sub>-gal*), overseers of merchants (*ugula dam-gara<sub>3</sub>*), and long-distance traders (<sup>ga</sup>*gaeš*), are known from places such as Adab, Ġirsu, Mari, Nippur, Sippar, Susa, Šuruppag, and Ur (see Table 1). The occasions on which votive offerings were made by merchants are unknown, but one may speculate that dedications to (personal) deities were in some cases connected with the safe return of these individuals from trade expeditions in distant lands.<sup>7)</sup> Nor can it be excluded that tradesmen played an important role in the procurement of raw materials used by craftsmen to manufacture the votive objects they had commissioned (Andersson 2016: 54).<sup>8)</sup>

**Table 1** – Third-millennium votive objects dedicated by tradesmen or sons of tradesmen.

<i>Museum no.</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Occupation/Filiation</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
MMA 62.70.10	Nippur	ED IIIa	Chief merchant ( <i>dam-gara<sub>3</sub>-gal</i> )	Stone (alabaster) bowl	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 133, G 103
VA 6731	Šuruppag	ED IIIa	Merchant ( <i>dam<sup>1</sup>-gara<sub>3</sub></i> )	Stone (alabaster) mace-head	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 74, F 987
VA 6789	Šuruppag	ED IIIa	Merchant? <sup>2</sup> ( <i>dam<sup>1</sup>-[gara<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup>]</i> )	Fragment of a stone statue	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 243, St 15
A 220	Adab	ED IIIb	Son of a merchant ( <i>dam-gara<sub>3</sub></i> )	Stone (alabaster) bowl fragment	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 122, G 38; Wilson 2012: pl. 25a
M 2241	Mari	ED IIIb	Steward ( <i>sagi</i> ), son of a long-distance trader ( <sup>ga</sup> <i>gaeš</i> )	Stone vessel fragment	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 127, G 69; Frayne 2008, 318, E1.20.22.2002
M 2248	Mari	ED IIIb	Long-distance trader ( <sup>ga</sup> <i>gaeš</i> )	Stone (slate) plaque fragment	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 311, W 11
CBS 9621+9617	Nippur	ED IIIb	Son of a merchant ( <i>dam-gara<sub>3</sub></i> )	Stone (limestone) bowl fragment	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 128, G 76; Frayne 2008: 353, E1.11.2
CBS 9652	Nippur	ED IIIb	Merchant ( <i>dam-gara<sub>3</sub></i> )	Stone (calcite) vessel fragment	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 129, G 82
EŠ 1944	Nippur	ED IIIb	Chief merchant ( <i>dam-gara<sub>3</sub>-gal</i> )	Stone (slate) plaque	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 311, W 12
BM 22451	Sippar	ED IIIb	Merchant ( <i>dam-gara<sub>3</sub></i> )	Stone (alabaster) vase fragment	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 139, G 149; CUSAS 26, 3
BM 38305	Sippar	ED IIIb	Merchant ( <i>dam-gara<sub>3</sub></i> ), son of a scribe ( <i>dub-sar</i> )	Clay tablet; Neo-Babylonian copy of an original Pre-Sargonic inscription engraved on a statue	Gelb/Kienast 1990: 26, MP C 1
BM 116439	Ur	ED IIIb	Merchant ( <i>dam-gara<sub>3</sub></i> )	Stone (calcite) vessel fragment	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 146, G 173; Frayne 2008: 418–419, E1.14.146; CUSAS 26, 218

AO 175	Ĝirsu	Lagaš II	Merchant (dam-gara <sub>3</sub> )	Stone vessel fragment	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 168, G 245; Edzard 1997: 173, E3/1.1.7.89
AO 2886p	Ĝirsu	Lagaš II	Long-distance trader (ḡa <sup>a</sup> gaeš)	Stone (alabaster) vessel fragment	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 180, G 313; Edzard 1997: 216, E3/1.1.0.1017
AO 4643	Ĝirsu	Lagaš II	Son of a merchant (dam-gara <sub>3</sub> )	Stone (steatite) bowl	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 181, G 318; Edzard 1997: 219, E3/1.1.0.1022
YBC 2158	Umma?	Ur III	Son of a merchant (dam-gara <sub>3</sub> )	Stone (marble) vase fragment	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 186, G 347; Frayne 1997: 227, E3/2.1.2.2044
Sb 2745	Susa	Ur III	Sea-faring traders (ḡa <sup>a</sup> gaeš-a-ab-ba)	Stone (marble) mace-head	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 61, K 83; Frayne 1997: 221–222, E3/2.1.2.2036
Unknown	Unknown (Ĝirsu?)	Late Ur III- Early OB	Son of an overseer of merchants (ugula dam-gara <sub>3</sub> )	Agata bead fragment	Klein/Brenner 2013: 616–617, no. 7, 623–624 (copy & photos), 630
L 29-219	Unknown (Umma?)	Late Ur III- Early OB	Son of a merchant (dam-gara <sub>3</sub> )	Stone (limestone) mace-head	Braun-Holzinger 1991: 66, K 108

## Notes

1. Rudi Mayr (personal communication, July 2022) kindly informs me that CUNES 52-13-015 was not among the objects that were returned to the Iraq Museum in August 2021. To the best of my knowledge, this is the only non-royal votive inscription among the epigraphic material previously kept in the Rosen Collection at Cornell University.

2. Cf., e.g., the Early Dynastic perforated plaque fragment YBC 2305 (Frayne 2008, 443–444, E1.15.4.1). A high-quality photograph of this object is available at <http://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-BC-016909>. Note that post-Early Dynastic plaques usually feature a double-band raised border (Pelzel 1974: 265). On Mesopotamian votive plaques, see also Boese 1971.

3. This reconstruction implies that line 1' was wider than the preserved ones.

4. TUR = LAK 528, RSP 381, KWU 801; DAM = LAK 523, RSP 191, KWU 799; GAR<sub>3</sub> = LAK 160, RSP 346, KWU 261. Cf. the shape of these signs in the inscriptions on: 1) MMA 62.70.10, an alabaster bowl from Nippur dating to the ED IIIa period (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 133, G 103; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/325416>); 2) AO 4643, a stone bowl dating to the Lagaš II period (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 181, G 318; Edzard 1997: 219, E3/1.1.0.1022; <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010165414>); and 3) YBC 2158, a vase fragment possibly from Ur III Umma (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 186, G 347; Frayne 1997: 227 E3/2.1.2.2044; CDLI no. P226899).

5. An Ur III merchant named NE.NE is attested in the following documents: AOS 32 P01 (IS.01.01.00; Nippur), seal inscription; and the unpublished text BDTNS 059331 (Š.48.00.00; Adab?), obv. 15. No merchant by the name of Alla is known in the extant Ur III sources.

6. Cf. the case of an Early Dynastic mace-head dedicated to the god Ningirsu by a stonecutter (zadim), whose father, mentioned in the inscription, bears the same title as his son (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 42, K 2, with previous literature). Note, however, that in the votive inscription M 2241 from ED IIIb Mari (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 127, G 69; Frayne 2008, 318, E1.20.22.2002), the title of the devotee, a steward (sagi), differs from that of his father, a long-distance trader (ḡa<sup>a</sup>gaeš). Similarly, in a Neo-Babylonian copy of a Pre-Sargonic inscription commissioned by a Mariote merchant – which bears a dedication to the god Šamaš of Sippar (Gelb/Kienast 1990: 26, MP C 1) – the father of the offerer is said to have been a scribe (dub-sar).

7. It is interesting to note that female deities outnumber male ones as divine beneficiaries of inscribed votive objects offered by tradesmen and sons of tradesmen. Eleven of fifteen objects preserving the names of the divine recipients feature a dedication to a female deity, for a total of seven different goddesses: Baššurat (2×), Bau (3×), Inana (2×), Niniriamudu, Ninlil, Ninmena, and Nintinuga. The male gods are Nanna, Šara (2×), and Utu. According to Nancy Highcock and Christina Tsouparopoulou (2020: 196), Inana and Bau are the most common deities mentioned in inscribed votive objects dedicated by male donors. In the inscription on the stone bowl AO 4643 (Braun-Holzinger

1991: 181, G 318; Edzard 1997: 219, E3/1.1.0.1022), the name of the divine beneficiary is unfortunately lost, but the text mentions the name given to the object, which alludes to the devotee's personal god (na<sub>4</sub> diĝir-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ti al ba-ni-du<sub>11</sub> mu-bi, “My god requested life’ is the name of (this) stone (bowl)”).

8. Aside from raw materials, Babylonian merchants of the third millennium were most likely also involved in the long-distance trade of “Jiroft-style” carved vessels produced in southeastern Iran, which were imported to Mesopotamia and engraved with Sumerian or Akkadian inscriptions with the aim of consecrating them as votive objects (Marchesi 2016).

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**87) A new Ur III list of Nippur month names** — While date lists containing shortened or full versions of year names are well attested from the Ur III period onwards, lists of month names are scarce. The present note seeks to publish a new list of Nippur month names. The small tablet NBC 9738 (measurements: 48 × 38 × 17 mm) contains the spellings of all month names that were used at Nippur in this period. This is not the earliest document listing all Nippur month names. The Old Akkadian administrative text *CUSAS 27, 53* (*CDLI P323480*) recording barley rations lists the amounts of barley for the individual months of the year (lines 2–13), starting with the twelfth month (Cohen 2015: 115–116). The new text is comparable to NBC 7439, another Ur III list of month names that were used at Girsu (Cohen 1993: 70; see Fig. 2, below). Both texts are presented side by side below.

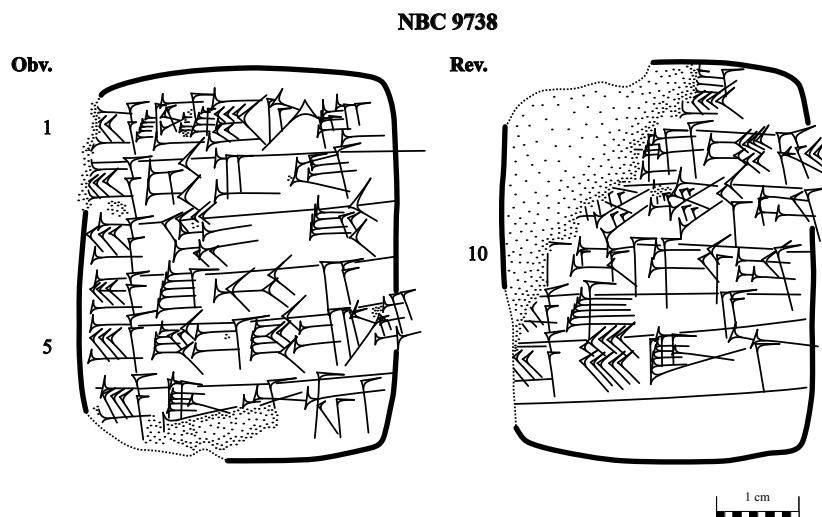


Fig. 1 Drawing of NBC 9738 (YPM BC 012705) (For a photograph see <https://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-BC-012705>)

In contrast to lists of year names or date lists dating to the Ur III period, the lists of month names appear not to serve as tools for the administration. They were probably school exercises, not unlike the lists of months included in legal phrasebooks or the first tablet of *Ura* in later periods. NBC 9738 is quite intriguing as it offers several unusual spellings:  $\hat{g}^{e\check{s}}$  a p i n - d u <sub>8</sub> - h a instead of  $\hat{g}^{e\check{s}}$  a p i n - d u <sub>8</sub> - a and a b - p a - e <sub>3</sub> instead of the more common a b - e <sub>3</sub>. The latter, at least, seems to support a somewhat later date of this text in the Ur III period, possibly the reign of Ibbi-Sîn.

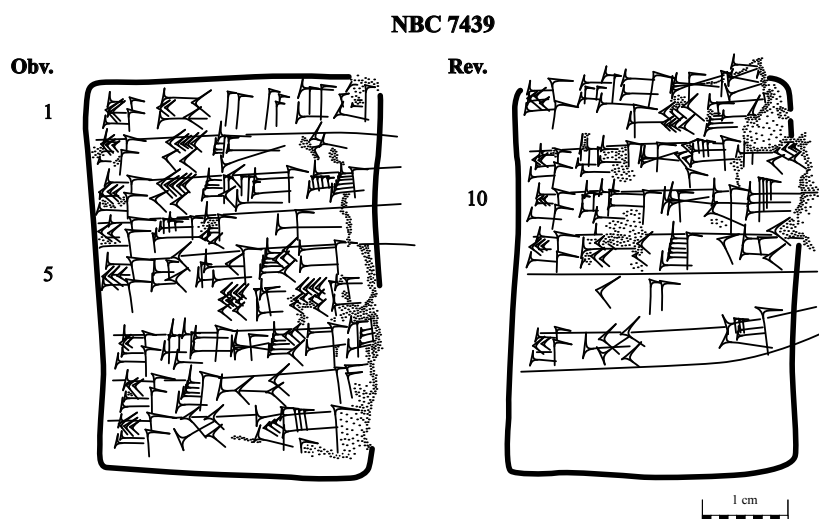


Fig. 2 Drawing of NBC 7439 (YPM BC 010425)

(For a photograph see <https://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-BC-010425>)

**NBC 9738**

Obv.	1	iti bara <sub>2</sub> -za <sub>3</sub> -ĝar-ra
	2	iti gu <sub>4</sub> -si-su
	3	iti sig <sub>4</sub> -ga
	4	iti šu-numun-a
	5	iti NE-NE-ĝar-ra
	6	iti kin- <sup>d</sup> inana
Rev.	7	[iti du <sub>6</sub> -k]u <sub>3</sub>
	8	[iti $\hat{g}^{e\check{s}}$ a]pin-du <sub>8</sub> -ha
	9	[iti g]an-gan-e <sub>3</sub>
	10	[it]i ab-pa-e <sub>3</sub>
	11	[i]ti ud <sub>2</sub> -duru <sub>5</sub>
	12	iti še-sag <sub>11</sub> -ku <sub>5</sub>

**NBC 7439**

	1	iti amar-a <sup>1</sup> -a-si- <sup>r</sup> ke <sup>11</sup> )
	2	iti še-sag <sub>11</sub> -ku <sub>5</sub>
	3	iti še-il <sub>2</sub> -la
	4	iti buru <sub>14</sub> -maš
	5	iti gu <sub>4</sub> -ra <sub>2</sub> -izi-/mu <sub>2</sub> -mu <sub>2</sub>
	6	iti ezen- <sup>d</sup> li <sub>9</sub> -s[i <sub>4</sub> ]
	7	iti šu-numun-a
Rev.	8	iti munu <sub>4</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub>
	9	iti ezen- <sup>d</sup> dumu-/zi-da
	10	iti ezen- <sup>d</sup> šul-g[i]
	11	iti ezen- <sup>d</sup> ba-ba <sub>6</sub>
	12	iti <sup>r</sup> mu <sup>1</sup> -šu-du <sub>7</sub>
	13	12
	14	iti ĝir <sub>2</sub> -su

**Comments to NBC 9738**

(1) The spelling with the final sign RA is attested in administrative accounts as early as Šulgi's reign.

(8) Unparalleled is the spelling  $\hat{g}^{e\check{s}}$  a p i n - d u <sub>8</sub> - h a for month VIII. The usual spelling has A instead of HA.

(10) The unusual spelling for month X, a b - p a - e <sub>3</sub>, also occurs in the date formula of the Nippur text *NRVN* 1, 90 (*CDLI* P122304) dating to Ibbi-Sîn 1.

**Note**

1. Cohen (1993: 70) reads the final sign sa<sub>2</sub>. The spelling a m a r - a - a - s i - k e may, however, be a phonetic variant to a m a r - a - a - s i - g a . For a discussion of this month name see Cohen 2015: 48–50.

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**88) A bunch of new Sumerian model contracts** — Writing contracts was part of the scribal curriculum in the Old Babylonian period. Thus, a great number of the known model contracts are attested on tablet formats that are characteristic for this period such as the so-called Type III tablets. Model contracts were also collected on multi-column tablets and four-sided prisms as well as cylinders. This subgenre of curricular texts received much attention in recent years. A substantial number of contracts was just recently published (see, e.g., Spada 2011; 2014; 2018; George and Spada 2019). The corpus, currently consisting of more than 355 individual manuscripts, is also presented in the Oracc-project “Old Babylonian Model Contracts” (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/obmc/>; last accessed September 2022).

I publish below three new model contracts in the Yale Babylonian Collection, which were overlooked before. Six model contracts including two compilations of contracts were published and discussed by Walter R. Bodine in his 2014 monograph *How Mesopotamian scribes learned to write legal documents*. An additional small Type III tablet, NBC 10368, was published recently by the author (Wagensonner 2022). The three new examples came to light within the framework of the NEH-funded project Digitization of the Yale Babylonian Collection.

*Text 1: YBC 5072 (YPM BC 019136)*

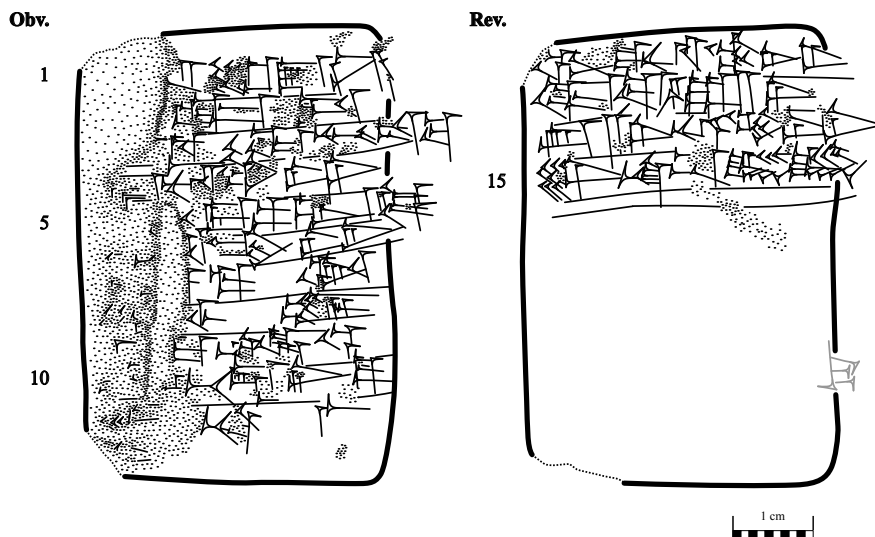


Fig. 3 Drawing of YBC 5072 (YPM BC 019136)

(For a photograph see <https://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-BC-019136>)

The first contract is inscribed on the tablet YBC 5072 (measurements: 58 × 39 × 22 mm) and is, so far, without any parallels. The lack of witnesses, a date, seal impressions, as well as the double ruling at the end of the text are certain indicators that this tablet belongs to the corpus of model contracts. The tablet is well preserved except for a damaged area along the left side on the tablet’s obverse, which appears to have been struck by a pickaxe during excavation and thus unfortunately obliterated parts of the inscription (Fig. 1). The content is the sale of a built-up house, which is characterized as having a wooden roof (line 2: [ḡeš<sup>5</sup>]KEŠ<sub>2</sub>.DA) as well as doors and bolts in place (line 3: ḡeš<sup>5</sup>IG SAĜ.KUL GUB.BA). The seller’s name is Nūham-ilī. This name is rather rare, but also occurs in another model contract: NBC 8623 (<http://oracc.iaas.upenn.edu/obmc/P289409>). The latter concerns the purchase of an orchard and dates certainly later based on its paleography.

Despite the simple structure of many model contracts, two signs in the new text defy interpretation. One occurs at the end of line 5, which may have contained either the name of Nūham-ilī’s father or his occupation. The second difficult sign can be found at the end of line 7, which contains the buyer’s name. Unfortunately, the beginning of this line is damaged. The sign somewhat resembled UH<sub>2</sub> (or ah<sub>6</sub>), but this is only rarely used in names (e.g., DN-ša-mu-uh<sub>2</sub>).

Obv.1 [1<sup>2</sup>] 2/3 SAR E<sub>2</sub> DU<sub>3</sub>.A  
 2 [ḡeš]KEŠ<sub>2</sub>.DA  
 3 ḡeš<sup>1</sup>IG SAĜ.KUL GUB.BA  
 4 E<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> nu-ha<sup>1</sup>-am-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>  
 5 [DUMU] ḡx<sup>1</sup>-ip-pa-al-x  
 6 KI nu-ha<sup>1</sup>-am-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>  
 7 x-x<sup>1</sup>-ma-x  
 8 IN<sup>1</sup>.ŠI.SA<sub>10</sub>  
 9 I<sup>1</sup> [M]A.NA KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR  
 10 SA<sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup>.TIL.LA.NI.ŠE<sub>3</sub>  
 11 IN<sup>1</sup>.NA.LA<sub>2</sub>  
 Rev.12 U<sub>4</sub> KUR<sub>2</sub>.ŠE<sub>3</sub> nu-ha-am-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>  
 13 INIM.BA ĜAR.RA.A.NI  
 14 E<sub>2</sub>.A.NI nu-ha-am-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>  
 15 IN.NA.AB.GI<sub>4</sub>.GI<sub>4</sub>  
 (double ruling)

<sup>1</sup> A built-up house plot of [1]<sup>2</sup> 2/3 sar <sup>2</sup> with wooden roof, <sup>3</sup> doors and bolts installed: <sup>4</sup> (it is) the house of Nūham-ilī, <sup>5</sup> [son<sup>2</sup> of] ..., - <sup>6</sup> [from Nūh]am-ilī, <sup>7</sup> ..., <sup>8</sup> bought. <sup>9</sup> 1 mina of silver, <sup>10</sup> as its full purchase prize, <sup>11</sup> he weighed out for him. <sup>12</sup> In the future, Nūham-ilī <sup>15</sup> will be responsible for <sup>13</sup> any of his claims (against) <sup>14</sup> his house, the one of<sup>2</sup> Nūham-ilī.

**Comments**

(3) The qualification ḡeš<sup>1</sup>IG SAĜ.KUL GUB.BA, “door (and) bolt are installed,” is also attested in a number of other model contracts as well as real contracts. For the latter see, for instance, *OECT* 8, 1 (*CDLI* P283640; line 2: ḡeš<sup>1</sup>IG u<sub>3</sub> ḡeš<sup>1</sup>SAĜ.KUL GUB.BA). Compare also *BE* 6/1, 8 (*CDLI* P258683; lines 2–3: [ḡeš<sup>1</sup>KEŠ<sub>2</sub>.DA] ḡeš<sup>1</sup>IG<sup>hi.a</sup> / u<sub>3</sub> [ḡeš<sup>1</sup>SA]Ĝ.KUL i<sub>z</sub>-za-zu). For a parallel in a model contract see *PBS* 12, 23 (*CDLI* P230721; line 3: ḡeš<sup>1</sup>IG ḡeš<sup>1</sup>SAĜ.KUL GUB.BA).

(5) This line probably identified Nūham-ilī’s father. As indicated above, the last sign defies interpretation. It is preceded by the two signs PA.AL, which may be interpreted as the occupation ŠABRA, but ŠABRA is rarely followed by qualifications. If we are dealing with a name, the sign sequence ip-pa-al points to a name ending in *ippalsa(m)* or *ippalsanni*, but none of these options fit the sign form on the tablet.

(10) Although the common expression SA<sub>10</sub>.TIL.LA.NI.ŠE<sub>3</sub>, “for his/her full price,” does not need much commentary, it should be noted that the animate possessive suffix could be erroneous here. Among the known model contracts there are six instances of the animate suffix in this expression all but one pertaining to slave sale contracts (one is too fragmentary). The only other model contracts, where the animate possessive suffix is used are the Type III tablet NBC 8623 mentioned above, which also concerns the sale of real estate belonging to Nūham-ilī, and Text 2, below. For the geographical and historical distribution of the suffixes -ani and -bi in this legal expression see Wilcke 1985 (I would like to thank Gabriella Spada for referring me to this).

(12–15) Grammatically, this section of the text is difficult and probably erroneous. Nūham-ilī is mentioned twice.

*Text 2: YBC 6799 (YPM BC 020865)*

The second contract concerns the sale of a garden plot or orchard filled with date palms (ḡeš<sup>1</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub> ḡeš<sup>1</sup>GIŠIMMAR IB<sub>2</sub>.SI). The tablet (measurements: 60 × 40 × 21 mm) is well-preserved except for the lower left corner (Fig. 2).

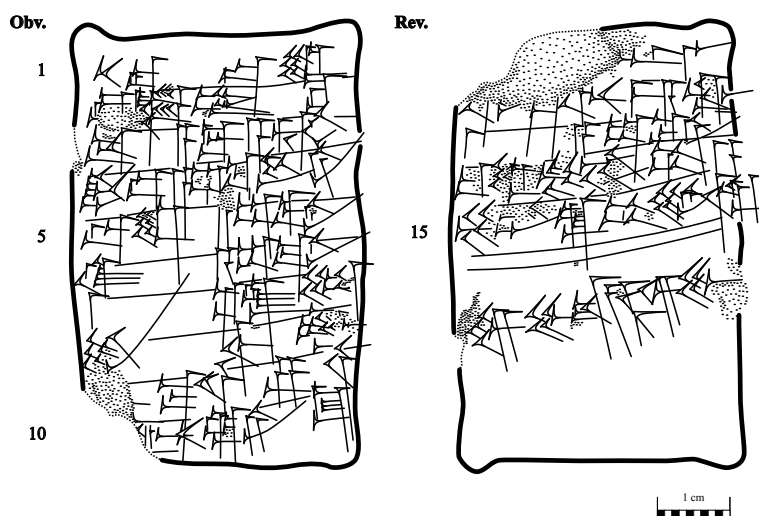


Fig. 4 Drawing of YBC 6799 (YPM BC 020865)  
 (For a photograph see <https://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-BC-020865>)

Obv.1	1(eše <sub>3</sub> ) GANA <sub>2</sub> ġeš <sup>s</sup> KIRI <sub>6</sub>	
2	ġeš <sup>s</sup> GIŠIMMAR IB <sub>2</sub> .SI	
3	DA I7 a-hu-DU <sub>10</sub>	<sup>1</sup> 1 eše of a garden plot, <sup>2</sup> planted with date palms, –
4	ZA <sub>3</sub> E <sub>2</sub> A.AB.BA.LU <sub>2</sub> .NI	<sup>3</sup> adjacent to the canal of Aĥu-ṭāb – <sup>4</sup> bordering the
5	ġeš <sup>s</sup> KIRI <sub>6</sub> A.AB.BA.NI	estate of A’abba-luni(?) –, <sup>5</sup> it is the garden plot of
6	KI A.AB.BA.NI	A’abbani, <sup>6</sup> from A’abbani, <sup>7</sup> Elali <sup>8</sup> bought. <sup>9</sup> [Ha]lf’
7	<sup>m</sup> e’(T: SI)-la-li	a mina of silver, <sup>10</sup> as its full purchase price, <sup>11</sup> he
8	IN.SI.SA <sub>10</sub>	weighed out for him. <sup>13</sup> A’abbani <sup>15</sup> has sworn by the
9	ʽx <sup>1</sup> MA.NA KU <sub>3</sub> .BABBAR	name of the king <sup>14</sup> (that) he will not say “(It is) my
10	[S]A <sub>10</sub> .TIL.LA.NI.ŠE <sub>3</sub>	garden plot” <sup>12</sup> in the future, ever.
Rev. 11	[IN.NA].ʽAN <sup>1</sup> .LA <sub>2</sub>	
2	ʽU <sub>4</sub> KUR <sub>2</sub> .ŠE <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> NU.ME.A.AK	
3	<sup>m</sup> A.AB.BA.NI	
4	ġeš <sup>s</sup> KIRI <sub>6</sub> .GU <sub>10</sub> NU.UB.BE <sub>2</sub> .A	
5	MU LUGAL.LA.BI IN.PA <sub>3</sub>	
	(double ruling)	
	(blank)	
6	IM.GID <sub>2</sub> .DA ha-zi-rum	<sup>16</sup> Extract tablet of Hāzirim.
	(blank)	

**Comments**

(4) The name of the individual mentioned here is close to the individual whose garden plot is sold. A’abba-luni appears otherwise unattested. Names ending in –lu<sub>2</sub>-ni, however, are known from ED IIIb and Ur III evidence, e.g., lugal-lu<sub>2</sub>-ni, nin-lu<sub>2</sub>-ni.

(5) The personal name A’abbani occurs in Ur III documents with some frequency.

*Text 3: YBC 6830 (YPM BC 020896)*

The third model contract published here is a completely preserved tablet (measurements: 90 × 53 × 27 mm). The text concerns a barley loan. The reverse remained blank except for a short colophon, which identifies this tablet as an *imgida* of a certain Awīl-Šamaš. The text is written in a rather crude hand.

Obv.1	30 GUR ŠE	
2	MAŠ <sub>2</sub> GI.NA BA.AB.DAH.E	
3	KI ŠEŠ.BA.AN.TUKU	<sup>1</sup> 30 gur barley – <sup>2</sup> (capital) to which normal interest
4	<sup>md</sup> IŠKUR-MA.AN.ŠUM <sub>2</sub>	will be added – <sup>3</sup> from Šeš-bantuku, <sup>4</sup> Iškur-
5	USAR E <sub>2</sub> .GAL.LA.ŠE <sub>3</sub>	manšum, <sup>6</sup> received <sup>5</sup> as arrears for the palace. <sup>7</sup> In
6	ŠU BA.AN.TI	month III <sup>8</sup> he will measure out the barley and its
7	<sup>iti</sup> ŠEG <sub>12</sub> .A	interest. <sup>9</sup> An interest rate of one hundred <i>сила</i> per
8	ŠE u <sub>3</sub> MAŠ <sub>2</sub> .BI I <sub>3</sub> .AG <sub>2</sub> .E	gur <sup>10</sup> will be added.
9	MAŠ <sub>2</sub> 1 GUR 1(barig) 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ŠE.TA.AM <sub>3</sub>	
10	BA.AB.DAH.E	
	(double ruling)	
	{ <sup>iti</sup> GAN}	
Rev.	(blank)	
11	IM <sup>1</sup> .GID <sub>2</sub> .DA a-wi-il- <sup>d</sup> UTU <sup>sup.ras.</sup>	<sup>11</sup> Extract tablet of Awīl-Šamaš.
12	<sup>iti</sup> GAN.GAN.E <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub> 7.KAM	<sup>12</sup> Month IX, Day 7.
	(blank)	

**Comments**

(5) The sign(s) at the beginning of the line resemble USAR (LAL<sub>2</sub>.SAR). An expression “as the neighbor of the palace” appears strange. The collection ZA 101, 204–245 contains a broken model contract, which mentions in this context LAL<sub>2</sub>.NI ŠE E<sub>2</sub>.GAL.LA.NI.ŠE<sub>3</sub>, “as arrears of barley for his palace” (Side A, col. ii,58’).

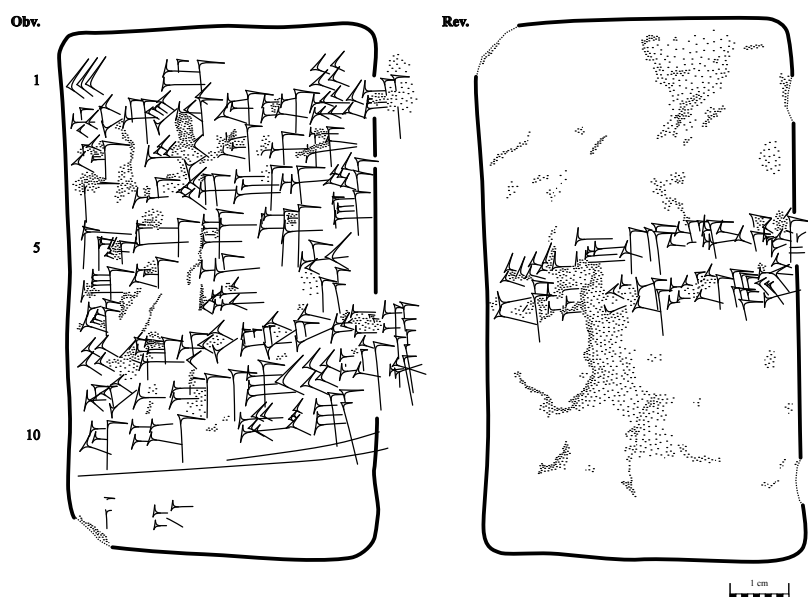


Fig. 5 Drawing of YBC 6830 (YPM BC 020896)  
(For a photograph see <https://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-BC-020896>)

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**89) The adventures of a fugitive slave in the Old Babylonian period\*** — CUSAS 43, 59 (= Spada 2019: 121–123) is a tablet of which about one-half of the original length is preserved. It contains three documents, each ending with a date but without any lists of witnesses.<sup>1)</sup>

The second document recorded on the tablet is about a female slave named Ali-aḫī and her third escape attempt towards the land of Amurru. The first two lines of this document are also recorded in a fragmentary text from Nippur, published by D. Owen in NATN 354, which he has dated to the Ur III period (cf. Owen 1982: 26, and Pl. 87).

Now, a new version of this same event has been identified in EES 180 (= Wilson 2008: 272–273), a Type I tablet collecting five model contracts—the first of which was published in Spada 2021—that ends with a colophon: <sup>1d</sup>EN.ZU-na-wi-ir / [du]b-sar / *sign traces*, “Sîn-nawir, the scribe<sup>2)</sup> ...” (rev. ii 18–20). While dealing with the same episode and the same characters, the version recorded in EES 180 presents some significant differences compared to the version appearing in CUSAS 43, 59, and probably in NATN 354. Since the text in NATN 354 has only been partially preserved, it is not possible to state with certainty that it definitely corresponds to that recorded in CUSAS 43, 59.

The transliterations and translations of these three texts, which are to be considered tentative, are provided below. It should be noted that the transliteration and interpretation of CUSAS 43, 59 §2, as given in Spada 2019: 122, has been partially modified on the basis of EES 180.



**Text 1** Publication: EES 180      Museum n°: PARS 12/01, 152      CDLI: P273879

r. i.	16	<b>1</b>	1 ba-bala	“One traded <sup>?</sup> (slave), named Ali-aḫī, the female slave of Lugal-inim-gina, because she had (illegally) picked up things in the house of Iddin-Išum, the singer, and then had fled away, [Lugal-inim-gina, her owner <sup>?</sup> ] has sworn on the king’s name that he will pay to Iddin-Išum one-third mina of silver as its compensation.”
	17	<b>2</b>	<sup>1</sup> a-li <sub>2</sub> -a-ḫi mu-ni	
	18	<b>3</b>	geme <sub>2</sub> lugal-inim-gi-na	
	19	<b>4</b>	mu e <sub>2</sub> i-din- <sup>d</sup> i-šum <sub>2</sub> <sup>?</sup> / nar	
	20	<b>5</b>	im-deg <sub>x</sub> -deg <sub>x</sub> -ga-a	
	21	<b>6</b>	u <sub>3</sub> ba-zaḫ <sub>x</sub> -a-še <sub>3</sub>	
	22	<b>7</b>	ziz <sub>2</sub> -da-bi-še <sub>3</sub>	
	23	<b>8</b>	½ ma-na kug-babbar	
	24	<b>9</b>	i-din- <sup>d</sup> i-šum <sub>2</sub> <sup>?</sup> -ra <sup>1</sup> <i>some lines missing</i>	
r. ii.	1	<b>x+10</b>	in-na-la <sub>2</sub> -e	
	2	<b>x+11</b>	mu lugal-bi in-pad <sub>3</sub>	

**Textual notes**

1. I consider that 1 ba-bala is in place of the expected 1 saḡ-munus, “one woman”, which usually precedes female slave names in Old Babylonian model contracts, therefore indicating the status of Ali-aḫī. I have tentatively interpreted ba-bala here as a noun from a passive verbal form of the Sumerian bala, equated to the Akkadian *šupēlu* (cf. CAD Š<sub>3</sub> s.v. *šupēlu*, p. 321, mng. 1, “to exchange (property)”, including slaves). However, as far as I know, this use of the expression ba-bala is not attested elsewhere. If this interpretation makes sense, Lugal-inim-gina would temporarily transfer his slave Ali-aḫī to the house of Iddin-Išum, the musician.

5. Molina (2021: 157–158) argues that the Sumerian verb deg<sub>x</sub>(RI) used with e<sub>2</sub>, “house”, clearly means “to plunder, strip (a house)”, being equated to the Akkadian *luqqutu*, which has this same meaning (cf. CAD L, s.v. *laqātu*, mng. 4, p. 101). However, as Marten Stol suggested to me, the verb *laqātu* primarily refers to chickens picking up grain from the ground.<sup>3)</sup> By transposing this meaning of “gathering little by little” to the actions of a dishonest slave, we can interpret this verb as “illegally picking up this or that in a house”, which a slave can easily do. Accordingly, deg<sub>x</sub>(RI) is here equated to the Akkadian *luqqutu*, with the meaning “to pick up, gather, to collect” (CAD L, s.v. *laqātu*, mng. 3, p. 101). Therefore, Ali-aḫī, after being transferred to Iddin-Išum’s house, would have committed pilferage and then run away.

7–x+11. Since the responsibility for the misdeeds of the slave lies with her owner, Lugal-inim-gina must swear in the king’s name that he will pay Iddin-Išum twenty shekels of silver as compensation. For the latest discussion on the Sumerian term ziz<sub>2</sub>-da, see Marchesi 2021: 151–152, with previous bibliography.

**Text 2** Publication: CUSAS 43, 59      Museum n°: MS 2295      CDLI: P251535

obv.	9'	<b>1</b>	1 ba-bala a-li <sub>2</sub> -a-ḫi mu-ni geme <sub>2</sub> [lu]gal-inim-gi-na
	10'	<b>2</b>	mu kur mar-du <sub>2</sub> -še <sub>3</sub> a-ra <sub>2</sub> 3-kam ba- <sup>r</sup> zaḫ <sub>x</sub> -a <sup>r</sup>
	11'	<b>3</b>	[u <sub>3</sub> e <sub>2</sub> i-d]in- <sup>d</sup> i-šum nar in-deg <sub>x</sub> -deg <sub>x</sub> -ga-še <sub>3</sub>
	12'	<b>4</b>	[...]ni-še <sub>3</sub> in- <sup>r</sup> dab <sub>5</sub> <sup>?</sup> ½ ma-na kug-babbar lugal-inim-gi-na
	13'	<b>5</b>	[i-din- <sup>d</sup> i-šum-ra in-na-la <sub>2</sub> it]i ne-ne-ḡar ud 5-kam ba-zal
	14'	<b>6</b>	[mu nu-ur <sub>2</sub> - <sup>d</sup> ]iškur lugal

“One traded<sup>?</sup> (slave), named Ali-aḫī, the female slave of [Lu]gal-inim-gina, because she had fled to the land of Amurru for the third time, [and] had (illegally) picked up things [in the house of Id]din-Išum, the musician, he captured<sup>?</sup> her as his<sup>?</sup> [...]. Lugal-inim-gina [paid Iddin-Išum] one-third mina of silver. [Month] V, day 5; [year: ‘Nūr]-Adad (became) king.”

**Textual notes**

1. In Spada 2019: 122, the term preceding the slave’s name was read as ba-buluḡ, and tentatively interpreted and translated as “a foster child”, from the Sumerian verb buluḡ<sub>3</sub>, equated to the Akkadian *tarbītu*, “child placed for rearing”. However, based on the new reading of the first line in Text 1, I checked the photographs of this tablet again and realized that the sign is bala and not buluḡ.

2–3. This is different from Text 1, as here the verbal actions are reversed. First the verb ba-zaḫ<sub>x</sub>-a appears, with additional information, i.e. the direction of escape towards the land of Amurru; then the verb in-deg<sub>x</sub>-deg<sub>x</sub>-ga. In this version, it seems that Ali-aḫī accidentally reached the musician’s house during her third escape attempt. Hence, she would not have been voluntarily transferred from her owner, as interpreted in text 1, on the basis of ba-bala in the first line. That being so, it is not possible to offer a valid interpretation of ba-bala here.

4. As I noted in Spada 2019: 122, the reading in-dab<sub>5</sub> is tentative since the sign looks more like LU than KU. At this time, I have no valid hypothesis to offer for the expression preceding this verb form.

**Text 3** Publication: NATN 354 Museum n°: CBS 10171 CDLI: P121052

obv.	1	1	ba-bur <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> a-li <sub>2</sub> -a-ḫi	“(One) ..., Ali-aḫī, the female slave of Lugal-
	2	2	geme <sub>2</sub> lugal-inim-gi-na	inim-gina, because she had fled to the land of
	3	3	mu kur mar-du <sub>2</sub> -še <sub>3</sub>	Amurru for the third time, ( <i>rest missing</i> ).”
	4	4	a-ra <sub>2</sub> 3-kam ba-zaḫ <sub>3</sub> -a-š[e <sub>3</sub> ]	
			<i>rest missing</i>	

**Textual notes:** D. Owen considered this text as dated to the Ur III period, and described it as follows: “fragmentary text recording an incident of a servant girl who fled to the land of Martu for a third time. From Luinimgina archive(?)” (Owen 1982: 26). However, the fact that it is apparently not dated—the lower part of the reverse, where the date is normally expected, is blank—might suggest that it is a school text from the Old Babylonian period instead.

1. Here the sign is clearly BUR<sub>2</sub>, and the expression ba-bur<sub>2</sub> is not preceded by DIŠ. Furthermore, the slave’s name is not followed by the expression mu-ni (Akkadian *šumšu*), which is a reference to the social status of the person, identifying him/her as a slave. I have no valid proposals for this verb form, assuming that the scribe really wanted to write BUR<sub>2</sub> and not BALA. Sumerian bur<sub>2</sub> could be equated here to the Akkadian *pašāru*, with the meaning of “to pay as compensation” (cf. Prang 1977: 229–230). Therefore it would not indicate the status of Ali-aḫī, but would refer to the payment of compensation, as explained in Text 1 l. 7. However, its initial position preceding the slave’s name does not seem to justify this interpretative hypothesis. For the same reasons, it seems to me that we can exclude its meaning of “to settle, resolve (a legal case)” (cf. CAD P s.v. *pašāru*, mng, 4 p. 239)—a sort of synonym of di til-la—since ba-bur<sub>2</sub> is not separate from the rest of the text, as is normally the case for the heading di til-la.

### Discussion

It is evident that we are faced with three texts which seem to deal with the same event, even if the individual actions have a different order in at least two of the three texts. In fact, since only the first four lines of Text 3 have been preserved, we cannot be sure that it continues in the same way as Text 2: the alleged presence of the terminative -še<sub>3</sub> at the end of line 3, seems to indicate that the causal subordination, started on the previous line, contains only the verb zaḫ<sub>3</sub>.

An open issue concerns the interpretation of the verb form occurring at the beginning of the texts—which is ba-bala in Texts 1 and 2, and ba-bur<sub>2</sub> in Text 3. This variation is clearly explained by the extreme similarity of the signs BALA and BUR<sub>2</sub>, which are easily confused, especially in the Old Babylonian period.

However, since the interpretation of the ba-bala form offered in Text 1 does not seem to fit the unfolding of the story as told in Text 2—and perhaps also in Text 3—it is not currently possible to hypothesize that the scribe of Text 3 has mistakenly written BUR<sub>2</sub> instead of BALA, also omitting the initial DIŠ.

Equally, it is not possible to hypothesize that the opposite occurred—ba-bur<sub>2</sub> mistakenly written as ba-bala, to which DIŠ has been added, in Texts 1 and 2—since at this time I have no valid proposal for the interpretation of ba-bur<sub>2</sub> in Text 3.

### Notes

\* I am grateful to Mark Cohen, Franco D’Agostino, Manuel Molina, and Marten Stol—to whom I have submitted some of my doubts on the interpretation of these texts—for providing me with helpful comments and suggestions. Needless to say, I bear full responsibility for any errors or omissions.

Abbreviations follow CDLI’s list, available at [https://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations\\_for\\_assyriology](https://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations_for_assyriology) (accessed July 25, 2022).

1. As written in Spada 2019: 121, it is not clear what the function of this tablet was. Since it seems to be written by an inexperienced hand, this would suggest a school context for this collection.

2. As de Boer (2017: 27, fn. 14) pointed out, a scribe named Sîn-nawir closes the list of witnesses in four tablets, all dated to Sumu-la-El 30–32. They are: YOS 14, 140 rev. 5 (Sumu-la-El 30/vii); BBVOT 1, 62 rev. 6 (Sumu-la-El 31/xi/-); BBVOT 1, 63 rev. 5 (Sumu-la-El 31/xi/-); YOS 14, 119 rev. 8 (Sumu-la-El 32/v/-).

3. Marten Stol (personal communication, July 2022) informed me that F. R. Kraus had learned this in class from B. Landsberger.

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**90) La Houe et l’Araire (Al-Apin). Un fragment perdu et retrouvé** — Aux nombreuses tablettes et fragments de Nippur conservés au musée de Philadelphia qui permettent de reconstituer cette diatribe, il faut ajouter au moins la tablette N 1550 (P276678). Ce fragment est un join au texte Bn N 3991 + N 1560 (P276688) qui comme lui saute la ligne 54 (homioarcton). La face est le haut de la colonne ii et le revers le bas de la colonne iii. C’est certainement celui qui était en possession de Civil et dont parle Mittermayer (2019) à la p. 285 de son édition.

**Col. ii (face ii)**

- ii 2=51 gud udu dša[gan<sub>2</sub>-na lu-a-bi] ṛa<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> mu-da-an-e<sub>3</sub>-ṛe<sup>2</sup>  
« Je permets d’élever le bétail de Šakkan qu’on y fait paître »
- ii 3=52 ḡšal ḥulu-[bi buru<sub>3</sub>-da z]u<sub>2</sub> ḥulu-bi sir<sub>2</sub>-ra  
« Houe mal percée, à la dent mal serrée »
- ii 4=53 ḡšal im-m[a Ø ki]ḡ<sub>2</sub>-ḡa<sub>2</sub> la<sub>2</sub>-a  
« Houe qui reste bloquée à travailler dans la glaise »
- ii 5=54 Ø
- ii 6=55 ḡšal ḡš[u<sub>3</sub>-šub-ba] im-ma u<sub>4</sub> zal-la lu<sub>2</sub>-lu<sub>7</sub> nu-luḥ-ḥa  
« Houe toujours dans l’argile du moule à briques, que nul ne rince »
- ii 7=56 pu<sub>2</sub> ba-ṛal sur<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> [ba-al l]u<sub>2</sub> en<sub>3</sub>-dur-ru ba-al  
« (tu veux) creuser des puits, mais (tu) ne creuses que des trous, (on dirait) quelqu’un qui se gratte le nombril, »
- ii 8=57 ḡiš.[LAGAB(gur<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>) uku<sub>2</sub>-ra-bi š]u nam-para<sub>10</sub>-ga-ka nu-tum<sub>2</sub>-ma  
« toi dont le misérable bout de bois ne sied pas à une main royale, »
- ii 9=58 [šu urdu lu<sub>2</sub>-ka s]aḡ me-te-aš bi<sub>2</sub>-ib-ḡal<sub>2</sub>  
« mais convient tout au plus à la main d’un esclave, »
- ii 10=59 [ze<sub>4</sub>-e ḡa<sub>2</sub>-ra in g]e<sub>17</sub> mu-e-tub<sub>2</sub>  
« C’est toi qui me lances une amère insulte! »
- ii 11=60 ...

**Col. iii (revers i)**

- 148 ni]ḡ<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ṛsa<sup>2</sup>- ḥa<sup>1</sup> a[m<sub>3</sub>-...]  
« Je fais pousser les pommiers, qui donnent des fruits. »
- 149 ]-gal-e-ne(-)[...]  
« Ces fruits sont le digne ornement de la maison des dieux »
- 150 [nu-ḡiškir<sub>6</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> dam du]mu-ni a<sub>2</sub> mu-d[a-an-e<sub>3</sub> (?)]-ṛen<sup>1</sup>  
« et je permets au jardinier d’élever sa famille. »
- 151 i[d<sub>2</sub>-da ḡ]ḡkeš<sub>2</sub>-da um-mi-ak ḡiri<sub>3</sub> s[i um-m]i-sa<sub>2</sub>  
« Je fais un barrage sur la rivière et trace le chemin, »
- 152 ki-ṛba<sup>1</sup> [an]-za-gara<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-ba um-mi-du<sub>3</sub>  
« Je construis à côté une ferme fortifiée, »

- 153 lu<sub>2</sub> a-[ša<sub>2</sub>-g]a ba-an-da-zal-la  
« et l’homme qui a passé la journée aux champs, »
- 154 ġuruš [a-ša<sub>2</sub>-ga ġi<sub>6</sub> ba-an]-da-sa<sub>2</sub>-a  
« ou le gars qui s’attarde aux champs le soir »
155. a[n-za-gara<sub>2</sub>-ba u<sub>3</sub>-mu-e-e<sub>3</sub>]  
« montent dans cette ferme fortifiée et (y trouvent un asile sûr) ... »  
(il manque tout au plus une ligne jusqu’à la fin de la colonne iii)

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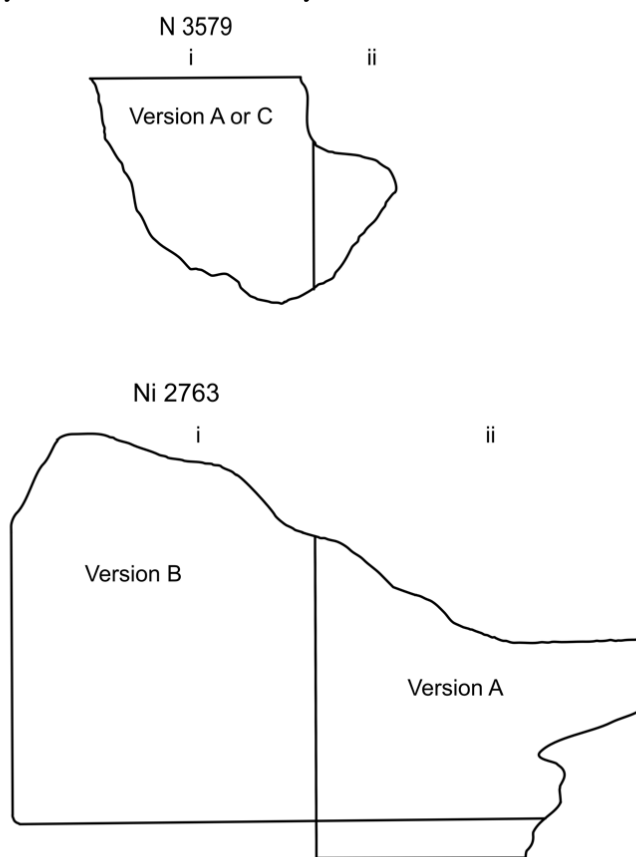
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**91) On “Nothing is of Value” I: N 3579 (+) Ni 2763 (SLTNi 128)<sup>1)</sup>** — “Nothing is of Value” is a short Sumerian wisdom composition published by Alster (2005) in four different versions. All manuscripts are in unilingual Sumerian and date to the Old Babylonian period. In Alster’s reconstruction Version A includes three manuscripts: N 3579 (+) Ni 2763 (SLTNi 128) is a two-column tablet; UM 29-16-616 is a fragment from the bottom end of the second column of the reverse of a tablet; Ni 3023 (SLTNi 131) is a *Sammeltablet* of four columns on each side. A revision of these manuscripts will show that they cannot be attributed to one single version and probably the idea to reconcile the high variation of sources by assigning them to versions should be abandoned as it leads to artificial results.

Alster’s reconstruction of N 3579+ has two (or three) versions of “Nothing is of Value” on the obverse of the tablet, which is very unlikely. Instead, we can read the fragments as a single version of the composition, which does not coincide with any of the versions identified by Alster. The reverse of the tablet contains some fragmentary lines from Old Man and Young Girl<sup>2)</sup> and a numerical list published by Cavigneaux (2009).<sup>3)</sup> Alster’s reconstruction can be represented in the figure to the right.

Alster includes N 3579 column i 1-5 in his edition of Version A (p. 270-271), but in the separate edition of the source (p. 284) he attributes these lines to Version C. Nevertheless, the edition of Version C does not include the beginning of N 3579+. Column i continues on N 2763 with six broken lines edited by Alster as Version B 5-8. The few broken lines of column ii on N 3579 remain unassigned to any version. Column ii continues on Ni 2763 with the end of Version A followed by a double ruling. It is clear that this reconstruction appears artificial and unlikely because the tablet would contain Version A or C, followed by Version B, followed (again) by Version A. It seems more likely that the tablet was inscribed with one single version that can be reconstructed as follows:



**N 3579 (= Alster's Version A or C)**

i 1	[niġ <sub>2</sub> -nam nu-kal z]i ku <sub>7</sub> -ku <sub>7</sub> -dam	Nothing is of value, but life should be sweet.
i 2	[me-na-am <sub>3</sub> niġ <sub>2</sub> ]-tuku lu <sub>2</sub> la-ba-an-tuku	When a man has no property,
i 3	[lu <sub>2</sub> niġ <sub>2</sub> -tuku b]a-an-tuku	(that) man owns something.
i 4	[nam-uš <sub>2</sub> -a ħa-la n]am-lu <sub>2</sub> -ulu <sub>3</sub> -ka	Death(?) is the share of mankind
i 5	[...] x da-ri <sub>2</sub>	
	[Some missing lines]	

**Ni 2763 (= Alster's Version B)**

i 6'	[x]-ta [...] x	From(?) ...
i 7'	x [...] lu <sub>2</sub> <sup>2</sup>	... a man(?)
i 8'	x [...] i]b <sub>2</sub> -ġa <sub>2</sub> -ġa <sub>2</sub> -a	... who will place(?)
i 9'	du <sub>6</sub> [x <sup>1</sup> ] [...] [x <sup>1</sup> x sur-ra ku <sub>4</sub> -[ku <sub>4</sub> -d]e <sub>3</sub> x x x mu-a	mound ... in order to enter ...
i 10'	umuš-bi [x <sup>2</sup> ] eġir-bi i[m] ba-e-tum <sub>3</sub>	That plan – its outcome was carried away by the wind.
i 11'	e <sub>2</sub> -bi du <sub>6</sub> -du <sub>6</sub> -da ba-šid-e a-ri-a-še <sub>3</sub> mu-un-ku <sub>4</sub>	That house became a ruined mound. It turned into the wasteland.
i 12'	ku <sub>3</sub> bala la-la-bi ak-da ku <sub>3</sub> ib <sub>2</sub> -ba-aš ba-an-ku <sub>4</sub>	The money made abundant from transactions, will turn into lost money.

**N 3579**

ii 3	KA
ii 4	zi-[...]
ii 5	lu <sub>2</sub> [...]
	[Some missing lines]

**Ni 2763 (= Alster's Version A)**

ii 6'	ša <sub>3</sub> -ta- <sup>f</sup> a <sup>1</sup> [...] lu <sub>2</sub> nam- <sup>f</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [...]	
ii 7'	sukud-du an-na-še <sub>3</sub> nu-um-[da-la <sub>2</sub> ]	Even the tallest one cannot reach the heavens.
ii 8'	daġal-la kur-ra la-ba-šu <sub>2</sub> -šu <sub>2</sub>	Even the broadest one cannot encompass the Netherworld.
ii 9'	kala-ga ki-a ne nu-mu-u[n-gid <sub>2</sub> -de <sub>3</sub> ]	Even the strongest one cannot stretch himself on Earth.
ii 10'	ti niġ <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>10</sub> ša <sub>3</sub> -ħul <sub>2</sub> -[la] šu ħe <sub>2</sub> -ni- ib-ka[r-kar-re]	Precious life should be ... in joy
ii 11'	hub <sub>2</sub> -sar ša <sub>3</sub> -ħul <sub>2</sub> -[la] u <sub>4</sub> ħe <sub>2</sub> -ni-ib <sub>2</sub> -za[l-zal-e]	Let the race be spent in joy!

This tablet contained an independent version that shared the end with Version D and likely included other parallel lines in the missing parts of manuscript. Nevertheless, N 3579+ did not contain the same version as the main manuscript of Version D, 3N-T 326 + 3N-T 360, because Ni 2763 i 6'-12' find no parallels, perhaps except for i 10', which reminds D 4, umuš nam l[u<sub>2</sub> ...] / na-me l[u<sub>2</sub> ...].

**Notes**

1. This research has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 795154. I thank Niek Veldhuis for his suggestions.
2. For this composition see Matuszak 2022.
3. The text exists in a more complete version on a tablet published as CUSAS 42, 604.

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**92) On “Nothing is of Value” II: UM 29-16-616<sup>1)</sup>** — The Nippur tablet UM 29-16-616 (UM) is included by Alster among the sources of “Nothing is of Value” Version A.<sup>2)</sup> However, the comparison with the other sources shows that this tablet cannot be securely attributed to any version. UM 29-16-616 contains the end of a version that is close to the versions inscribed on N 3579 (+) Ni 2763 (N) (see above) and 3N-T 326 + 3N-T 360 (D), which is the main manuscript of Version D. Given the fragmentary nature of UM 29-16-616, it is not possible to determine whether the recensional variants were limited to the omissions attested in these lines or extended to large portions of the text. Because UM 29-16-616 does not appear to be closer to either one of the two other manuscripts it is therefore not possible to attribute this source to a specific version.

Rev ii

UM r. ii 1'	[...] <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> EZEN <sup>2</sup> dur <sub>2</sub> -ra na <sup>2</sup> -[...]
UM r. ii 2'	[... ša <sub>3</sub> še-g]a-gin <sub>7</sub> ħe <sub>2</sub> -en-d[e <sub>2</sub> ]
N ii 6'a	ša <sub>3</sub> -ta- <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> [...]
D viii 37-38	ša <sub>3</sub> še-ga-gin <sub>7</sub> / ħe <sub>2</sub> -en-de <sub>2</sub>
UM	<i>omitted</i>
N ii 6'b	lu <sub>2</sub> nam- <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [...]
D viii 39	lu <sub>2</sub> nam-izi la <sub>2</sub> -e
UM r. ii 3'	[sukud-d]a an-n[a-še <sub>3</sub> nu-um-da-la <sub>2</sub> ]
N ii 7'	sukud-du an-na-še <sub>3</sub> nu-um-[da-la <sub>2</sub> ]
D viii 40-41	<sup>1</sup> lu <sub>2</sub> <sup>2</sup> -sukud-du / an-še <sub>3</sub> /
ix 1	<sup>1</sup> nu-mu <sup>1</sup> -da- <sup>1</sup> la <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>
UM r. ii 4'	[lu <sub>2</sub> daġa]l-e kur-r[e la-ba-šu <sub>2</sub> -šu <sub>2</sub> ]
N ii 8'	daġal-la kur-ra la-ba-šu <sub>2</sub> -šu <sub>2</sub>
D ix 2-3	<sup>1</sup> lu <sub>2</sub> daġal <sup>1</sup> -la / <sup>1</sup> kur <sup>1</sup> -re la-ba-šu <sub>2</sub> -šu <sub>2</sub>
UM	<i>omitted</i>
N ii 9'	kala-ga ki-a ne nu-mu-u[n-gid <sub>2</sub> -de <sub>3</sub> ]
D	<i>omitted</i>
UM r. ii 5'	[til <sub>3</sub> niġ <sub>2</sub> -d]u <sub>3</sub> ša <sub>3</sub> -ħul <sub>2</sub> -la šu ħ[e <sub>2</sub> -ni- ib-kar-kar-re]
N ii 10'	til <sub>3</sub> niġ <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>10</sub> ša <sub>3</sub> -ħul <sub>2</sub> -[la] / šu ħe <sub>2</sub> -ni- ib-ka[r-kar-re]
D ix 4-5	til <sub>3</sub> niġ <sub>2</sub> du <sub>10</sub> ! ša <sub>3</sub> -ħul <sub>2</sub> -la / šu <ħe <sub>2</sub> >-ni-ib-kar-kar-re
UM r. ii 6'	[hub <sub>2</sub> -sar] ša <sub>3</sub> -ħul <sub>2</sub> -la u <sub>4</sub> ħe <sub>2</sub> -n[i-ib <sub>2</sub> -zal-zal-e]
N ii 11'	hub <sub>2</sub> -sar ša <sub>3</sub> -ħul <sub>2</sub> -[la] u <sub>4</sub> ħe <sub>2</sub> -ni-ib <sub>2</sub> -za[l-zal-e]
D	<i>omitted</i>
UM r. ii 7'	[e <sub>2</sub> <sup>2</sup> l]u <sub>2</sub> -ulu <sub>3</sub> niġ <sub>2</sub> lu <sub>2</sub> til <sub>3</sub> -la e <sub>2</sub> -[a]-n[i ...]
cf. D ix 6-7	e <sub>2</sub> du <sub>10</sub> lu <sub>2</sub> -ulu <sub>3</sub> / e <sub>2</sub> -a-ni til <sub>3</sub> -le-de <sub>3</sub>

## Notes

1. This research has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 795154.

2. Alster 2005, 270-271.

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**93) On “Nothing is of Value” III: Ni 3023+ (SLTNi 131)<sup>1)</sup>** — Ni 3023+ (SLTNi 131) is a Sammeltafel of four columns on each side.<sup>2)</sup> Reverse iii contains a version of “Nothing is of Value”. Alster<sup>3)</sup> attributed lines 1'-6' to Version B and lines line 7'-11' to Version A. Once more, it is unlikely that a single source had two different versions of the same text especially because the two alleged versions are not separated by rulings. This suggests that we are confronted with one single version. The main problem in this interpretation is that lines 2'-6' correspond to the ending lines of the manuscripts N 3579 (+) Ni 2763, UM 29-16-616 and 3N-T 326 + 3N-T 360, while lines 7'-11' correspond to the beginning of “Nothing is of Value” as known from different sources. Given the high variation of the composition, we may suggest that the lines that appear at the end of the other sources were placed in a different section in Ni 3023+;

consequently, because the beginning of the composition is quite stable, we should assume that the opening lines were used as a refrain in this manuscript.

Rev. col iii = col vii

- 1'. [...] x la<sub>2</sub>-e  
 2'. [...] x [...] -še<sub>3</sub>' nu-mu-un-da-la<sub>2</sub>  
 3'. [...] l]u<sub>2</sub> daġal-la kur-ra la-ba-an<sup>1</sup>-šu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub>  
 4'. [ti]l<sub>3</sub> niġ<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> ša<sub>3</sub>-hul<sub>2</sub>-la šu hē<sub>2</sub>-ni-ib-kar-kar-re  
 5'. [hu]b-sar ša<sub>3</sub>-hul<sub>2</sub>-la u<sub>4</sub> hē<sub>2</sub>-ni-ib-zal-zal-e  
 6'. [...] t]il<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-a-ni šu ba-ab-te<sup>19</sup>-ġa<sub>2</sub>-a  
 7'. [...] n]u-kal zi ku<sub>7</sub>-ku<sub>7</sub>-da  
 8'. [...] x niġ<sub>2</sub>-tuku lu<sub>2</sub> la-ba-an-tuku  
 9'. [...] niġ<sub>2</sub>-tuku ba-an-tuku  
 10'. [...] k]u<sub>5</sub>-ru-de<sub>3</sub> saġ ib<sub>2</sub>-ġa<sub>2</sub>-ġa<sub>2</sub>  
 11'. [...] x ra ku<sub>4</sub>-k[u<sub>4</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>]  
 12'. [...] x [...]  
 13'. [...] x  
 14'. [...] x-e  
 15'. [...] -ġa<sub>2</sub>  
 16'. [...] -x-de<sub>3</sub>  
 17'. [...] ba-ku<sub>4</sub>  
 18'. [...] x  
 19'. [...] -de<sub>3</sub>

We may conclude that N 3579 (+) Ni 2763, UM 29-16-616 and 3N-T 326 + 3N-T 360 contained quite long versions that were somehow similar; moreover UM 29-16-616 possibly belonged to the one of the recensions inscribed on the other two manuscripts. On the contrary, Ni 3023+ appears to be inscribed with a version quite different from those attested on the other three manuscripts.

### Notes

1. This research has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 795154.
2. The tablet contains several joins reconstructed by Civil 1972, 89-90. "Nothing is of Value" is only preserved on Ni 3023 only; there are two joins for that portion of the tablet, Ni 4473, which contains a few fragmentary lines from column viii on the reverse, and Ni 4484, which is uninscribed on the reverse.
3. Alster 2005, 286.

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**94) On "Nothing is of Value" IV: Version B<sup>1</sup>** — Alster in *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer* (Bethesda, 2005) reconstructed "Nothing is of Value" Version B based on five sources: CBS 13777, Ni 3023+, BM 54699, N 3579 (+) Ni 2763 (col. ii) and YBC 7283. As discussed in "On "Nothing is of Value" I: N 3579 (+) Ni 2763," the tablet N 3579+ should be discarded from this group because it contains an independent version that shows some parallel lines with version B (see edition below). According to Alster Ni 3023+ 1'-6' should be ascribed to Version B but, as argued in "On "Nothing is of Value" III: Ni 3023+ (SLTNi 131)", it is unlikely that this manuscript contained two different versions one after the other. We are therefore left with only three possible sources. CBS 13777 (A) is a fragment from a *Sammeltablet* that contains a version of "Nothing is of Value" on the reverse (lines 6'-21'). This is a shortened version because the lines are inscribed between double rulings. The tablet seems to contain extracts from different compositions because twelve of the approximately twenty lines preserved on the obverse are parallel to "Proverbs from Ugarit"<sup>2</sup> and are inscribed between double rulings. BM 54699 = CT 42 36 (B)<sup>3</sup> is a four-sided prism that on Face

B, after a double ruling, preserves fourteen broken lines of “Nothing is of Value” that are very close to the version inscribed on CBS 13777. According to the reconstruction presented here BM 54699 did not contain a shortened version as CBS 13777 although it is not possible to determine the extension of the text because the tablet is broken. This indicates that BM 54699 and CBS 13777 did not belong to the same recension although the preserved lines contain a similar text. Once more, the attribution of sources to coherent versions appears to be artificial. YBC 7283 (C) is a lentil tablet containing one line of the composition. Another Old Babylonian lentil tablet inscribed with one line from this version of “Nothing is of Value” is Ontario 2 506 (D).<sup>4)</sup>

- 
- 
- |     |                           |   |
|-----|---------------------------|---|
| 1.  | A 6'.<br>B 6'.            | [.....k]u <sub>7</sub> -ku <sub>7</sub> -da<br>[niĝ <sub>2</sub> -nam nu-ka]l z[i k]u <sub>7</sub> -[ku <sub>7</sub> -[da] (there is no space for two ku <sub>7</sub> )<br>Nothing is of value, but life should be sweet.   |
| 2.  | A 7'.                     | [me-na-am <sub>3</sub> niĝ <sub>2</sub> -tuku lu <sub>2</sub> la-ba-a]n-tuku lu <sub>2</sub> niĝ <sub>2</sub> <sup>2</sup> -tuku ba-an-tuku<br>[When a man] has [no property], (that) man owns something.   |
| 3.  | A 8'.<br>B 7'.            | [.....] saĝ al-ĝa <sub>2</sub> -ĝa <sub>2</sub><br>[x x x] ku <sub>5</sub> -ru-de <sub>3</sub> saĝ [ib <sub>2</sub> -ĝa <sub>2</sub> -ĝa <sub>2</sub> ]<br>The head is raised in order to cut ...   |
| 4.  | A 9'.<br>B 8'.            | [...] -ga-še <sub>3</sub> <sup>2</sup> sur-ra ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> -de <sub>3</sub> nam-erim <sub>2</sub> -še <sub>3</sub> saĝ al-ĝa <sub>2</sub> -ĝa <sub>2</sub><br>[x x x x <sup>1</sup> sur-ra ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> -de <sub>3</sub> saĝ ba-an-[...]<br>In order to turn to ... separated (?), the head is raised for the oath.   |
| 5.  | A 10'.<br>B 9'.           | [.....] eĝir-bi im ba-an-de <sub>6</sub><br>[.....] x eĝir-bi im ba-na-[de <sub>6</sub> ]<br>cf. Ni 2763 i 10' umuš-bi [x <sup>2</sup> ] eĝir-bi / i[m] ba-e-tum <sub>3</sub><br>[That plan] – its outcome was carried away by the wind.  |
| 6.  | A 11'.<br>B 10'.<br>D     | [...] ĝal <sub>2</sub> -la <an <sup>2</sup> >-aš ba-an-ku <sub>4</sub> -re<br>[niĝ <sub>2</sub> <sup>2</sup> [x (x)]-bi-da i-bi <sub>2</sub> -gin <sub>7</sub> an-še <sub>3</sub> ba-e- <sup>1</sup> e <sub>11</sub> <sup>2</sup><br>niĝ <sub>2</sub> -šu ĝal <sub>2</sub> -la i-bi <sub>2</sub> -gin <sub>7</sub> an-še <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> ba-e <sub>3</sub> -de <sub>3</sub><br>All the existing goods will go up to the sky like smoke. |
| 7.  | A 12'.<br>B 11'.<br>C 1-2 | [.....] ku <sub>3</sub> im-ba-aš ba-an-ak- <sup>1</sup> e <sup>2</sup><br>ku <sub>3</sub> [bala]-bi ku <sub>3</sub> im-TU <sup>2</sup> ba-an-[...]<br>ku <sub>3</sub> la-la-bi keše <sub>2</sub> -da / ku <sub>3</sub> im-ba-aš ba-an-ku <sub>4</sub><br>The abundance of money (that has been put together), will turn into lost money.  |
| 8.  | A 13'.<br>B 12'.          | [..... e <sub>2</sub> -r]e-a-aš ba-an-ku <sub>4</sub> -r[e]<br>[e <sub>2</sub> -bi <sup>1</sup> du <sub>6</sub> <sup>1</sup> -da ba-an-ku <sub>4</sub> e <sub>2</sub> -re-a ba-an-[...]<br>cf. Ni 2763 i 11' e <sub>2</sub> -bi du <sub>6</sub> -du <sub>6</sub> -da ba-šid-e / a-ri-a-še <sub>3</sub> mu-un-ku <sub>4</sub><br>That house became a ruined mound. It turned into a wasteland.   |
| 9a. | A 14'.                    | [...] x KA <sup>2</sup> izi-la <sub>2</sub> x<br>... purification rites.  |
| 9b. | A 15'.                    | [... i]b <sup>2</sup> -ni-du <sub>3</sub> -x  |
| 10. | A16'.<br>B 13'.           | [.....]-[si <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> -ge<br>[ka <sup>2</sup> -x-[x]-ga-ni nu-um-si <sub>3</sub> -g[e]<br>He will not place his ...   |
| 11. | A17'.<br>B 14'.           | [.....]-a<br>na[m <sup>2</sup> -x-(x)]-ga diĝir-ra-ni i <sub>7</sub> -da nam-t[a-...]<br>... should not (?) ... his god in the river  |
| 12. | A 18'.<br>B 15'.          | [.....]-la<br>ba-a[n-(x)]-zi-ir u <sub>4</sub> mi-ni-ib-zal-z[al-le]<br>It has been broken, the day will pass.  |



- 13a. A 19'. [.....]-ga  
 13b. B 16'. g[i<sup>2</sup> x-g]a-gin<sup>7</sup> ʽnu-mu<sup>1</sup>-un-zu-a  
 Like ... reed(?) he does not know.
- 14a. A 20'. [.....] x x  
 14b. B 17'. GI [x] [P]I<sup>2</sup>-ni-ta<sup>2</sup> n[u-mu-u]n-na-kal-[kal-le]  
 ... is not precious.
- 15a. A 21'. [.....] x  
 15b. B 18'. [.....] ʽRI<sup>2</sup> [.....] ʽx x x<sup>1</sup> [...]
16. B 19'. [.....] ʽx<sup>1</sup> [.....]  
*tablet break*

### Notes

1. This research has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 795154.
2. Alster 2005, 323-326.
3. I thank Klaus Wagonsonner who kindly provided me with a photograph of the prism.
4. Alster 2005, 287.

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**95) A seal prayer to Ninšubur and the date of Nisaba 33, 734\*** — Among the ca. 1150, mostly 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium tablets in the recently published Nisaba 33 volumes,<sup>1)</sup> there are several dozen Old Babylonian documents and a handful of Neo-Babylonian ones.<sup>2)</sup>

One of the Old Babylonian tablets, the whereabouts of which remain unknown, deserves attention for its date and seal inscription. Nisaba 33, 734 was described by the editors as ‘Sheep Date: mu ʽRi-im-eš<sub>18</sub>-< >’ and tentatively dated to the year Šu-ilīšu 2<sup>2</sup>,<sup>3)</sup> implying that the year name should be understood as an abbreviation of ‘King Šu-ilīšu built the great wall of Isin (called) “Šu-ilīšu-rim-Ištar”’.<sup>4)</sup>

This identification and dating can be challenged for the following reasons:

1) Very few texts from the reign of Šu-ilīšu are known so far, and these come from particular Isin, Ur and Nippur archives.<sup>5)</sup> These archives are barely represented in the minor or private collections that Nisaba 33, 734 may belong to.

2) The language of the document is Akkadian, as the formulation ‘1 (animal) ša PN *ublam*’ (ll. 1–2, 3–4) reveals. Akkadian finds very limited use in the documents known so far from the reign of Šu-ilīšu.

3) Year names, and also the long and ceremonial names of the city walls of kings of Isin can be abbreviated.<sup>6)</sup> Nevertheless, an abbreviation of a ceremonial wall name by omitting the king’s name from its beginning but keeping its divine determinative is rather unexpected.

4) What the seal impression preserves is not an ordinary personal seal inscription,<sup>7)</sup> but a so-called ‘religious inscription’ or seal prayer. Such inscriptions, especially those with epithets and sometimes even a verbal form (with a wish towards the god on behalf of the seal owner) are barely attested in Early Old Babylonian times and it is rather in the Late Old Babylonian period that they become widespread.

For this particular seal prayer, the following reading can be suggested:

- |                                 |                               |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. ʽ[ <i>nin</i> ]-šubur        | [Nin]šubur,                   |
| 2. ʽsúkkal <sup>1</sup> gal [x] | chief minister [...],         |
| 3. ní-tuku-[zu]                 | may the one who reveres [you] |
| 4. ki-ti [tuku]                 | [have] a protective spirit!   |

### Philological notes

1–2. The restorations are based on a seal prayer that describes Ninšubur as *súkkal gal šár-gal* ‘chief minister of the universe’ and is preserved on BE 6/2, 30 (Nippur, Samsu-ilūna 11).<sup>8)</sup> While ‘chief minister of An’ and ‘righteous minister of An’ are frequently attested designations of Ninšubur, the genitive an=ak is written as an-na as a rule. Sauren’s hand copy, which makes one expect one lost sign each at the end of ll. 2–4 rather than two, discourages a restoration of [an-na].

3–4. For a comparable formulation in a Kassite seal inscription see WACS 4, 2K5. ki-ti as a logographic writing for *lamassu*<sup>9)</sup> appears in a handful of similar seal inscriptions, both in Old Babylonian and Kassite times.<sup>10)</sup>

Given this evidence, a date some 240 years later than Šu-ilīšu seems probable: mu <sup>d</sup>ri-im-3[0] ‘The year: “King Rīm-Sîn”’, i.e., the reign of the usurper king Rīm-Sîn II, possibly its first year.<sup>11)</sup>

## Notes

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1. Ozaki 2020.

2. Ozaki 2020, 54 with several improvements and identifications in Molina – Földi forthcoming. Most of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennium documents were left unedited by Ozaki; an edition of the Old Babylonian texts by Zs. J. Földi is in preparation.

3. Ozaki 2020, 22, 54.

4. This is the year name for Šu-ilīšu 6; for Šu-ilīšu’s year names see Sigrist 1988, 22–23 and more recently de Boer 2021, 11–12. One can only speculate about how this became Šu-ilīšu 2<sup>?</sup>: as the corresponding year name is assigned to Šu-ilīšu 7 in Sigrist’s online list of year names (<https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/HTML/T8K2.htm>, accessed 18.08.2022), a misreading or a typo cannot be excluded.

5. See Sigrist 1988, 22–23 and de Boer 2021, 11–12.

6. On the abbreviation of ceremonial wall names see Földi 2019 with further literature.

7. Sauren copied one seal inscription each for Nisaba 33, 341, 727, 734, 1128 and 1132. It is reasonable to assume, however, that several other Old Babylonian documents in Nisaba 33 were likewise sealed (especially where the document’s text alludes to the sealing, e.g., Nisaba 33, 339–340, also in 1132), but their seal impressions were left uncopied and await collation of the original artefact.

8. See Wiggermann 1988, 226 no. 3; that epithet was first read as dam gal (Schorr 1913, 453). On the reading of sal.ḫūb as lāgar or sūkkal, etc. see also Michalowski 1990 and 1999.

9. For the lexical evidence see CAD L (1973), 61a with Lambert 1983, 243; add CUSAS 12, 7.1: 170.

10. Examples (with no claim of completeness): WACS 3, 604 and 616 (both Old Babylonian) and Renger *apud* Porada 1981, 262 no. 1208 (Middle Babylonian), despite Lambert’s (1983, 242–243) attempt at an alternative rendering of ki-ti as *qaqqar balāti*; VS 29, 14 (Sippar, Ammī-šadūqa 8) seal g 3; CUSAS 8, 41 (Dūr-Abī-ešuḫ, Ammī-šadūqa 7) seal A 4; CUSAS 8, 53 (Dūr-Abī-ešuḫ, Samsu-ditāna 13) seal B 3; cf. also Colbow 2002, nos. 142.1, 373.1, 429.1 and 463.3 (all on Late Old Babylonian tablets from Sippar).

11. The divine determinative before the king’s name is an argument for Rīm-Sîn II rather than Rīm-Sîn I (cf. Sigrist 1990, 37 and 61).

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**96) Cost of living** — As part of my dissertation, which tracked changes in prices and wages over the course of the entire Old Babylonian (OB) period (ca. 2000 – 1595 BC), I investigated cost of living. I found that calculating a family’s yearly income and expenses was a difficult endeavor. There are many unknowns, which result in too many assumptions, which increases uncertainty. However, by taking a data driven approach and avoiding far-fetched and/or unsubstantiated assumptions, I was able to come to some general conclusions.

First, it’s important to establish parameters around consumption and family size. Using these, I will then estimate a family’s income and expenses under two scenarios: a landless family, and a land-owning family. Lastly, for each scenario, income will be compared to expenses.

In his article “*Das Privateigentum an der Feldflur in der altbabylonischer Zeit*,” Johannes Renger calculated that an average family of five persons—adult male (father), adult female (mother), and three children—consumed 2,160 sila (=7.2 gur) of barley per year.<sup>1)</sup> He based his estimate on an earlier study of ancient Mesopotamian rations by I. J. Gelb.<sup>2)</sup>

It is apparent from OB adoption/support agreements that a person required oil and wool in addition to barley. In his study of elderly care during the OB period, Marten Stol compiled a list of these agreements.<sup>3)</sup> Although quantities of barley, oil, and wool provided to beneficiaries varied, Stol determined that the minimum annual per person requirement was 720 sila barley and 5-6 mina wool.<sup>4)</sup> Judging from the quantities of oil supplied in the adoption/support agreements he studied, 6 sila (sesame) oil seems a reasonable annual per person requirement. A few support agreements for *nadītum*-priestesses also provided an allotment of meat.<sup>5)</sup> Portions of meat were often specified in house rental contracts where *nadītum*-priestesses were lessors.<sup>6)</sup> It therefore seems fitting to include meat in calculating consumption costs.

Prices for meat are extremely rare. I know of only one instance where a thigh-cut of meat was valued at 20 ŠE of silver.<sup>7)</sup> One shekel silver seems a reasonable assumption for a minimum yearly expense for meat.

In the dissertation, I determined “baseline” prices for essential commodities like barley, oil, and wool, using “fair market” prices in the first law of the Ešnunna Law code (LE) in conjunction with prices found in economic and administrative texts and letters. For each source, I then calculated the percentage price deviation from its baseline price, which allowed me to identify periods of high and low prices.

The following summarizes the yearly subsistence cost for our family of five using these baseline prices (except for meat) to compute silver equivalent values:

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Subsistence</b>	<b>Baseline Price</b>	<b>Expense</b>
Barley	7.20 gur	1 shekel/gur	7.20 shekels silver
Oil	30 sila	0.83 shekels/sūtu	2.50 shekels silver
Clothing	30 minas wool	10 shekels/talent	5.00 shekels silver
Meat	9 thigh-cuts		1.00 shekel silver
Total			15.70 shekels silver

To estimate a family’s income, I looked at “fair market” wage rates specified in the LE and the Code of Hammurabi (CH) and wages specified in contracts of hire. The simplest scenario is one where the family neither owns nor rents land and derives income solely from the labor of its members.

Focusing on contracts and putting aside wage rates in the CH and LE, 4 contracts of hire for independent (adult male) labor and one receipt of wages specified a one year duration of hire. One contract of hire stipulated yearly wages of 8.00 shekels of silver (Richardson diss. II p. 413). One receipt recorded a partial payment of wages, out of the total yearly wage of 8.00 gur of barley (CT 4, 42b). In the other three contracts of hire, mixed wages were paid: silver and barley (YOS 8, 148 and VAS 9, 59 and 60), and barley and wool (Melanges Kupper 38-41 5). Using the aforementioned commodity baseline prices, these equated to yearly wages of 4.83-9.00 shekels of silver.

There are also 18 contracts of hire for children with a one year duration of hire. In 14 of these, wages were paid in silver at an average wage of 4.15 shekels.

If we use 8.00 shekels silver as the average yearly wage of an independent (adult male) worker and 4.15 shekels for a child, a family consisting of 1 working adult male, 1 non-working adult female,<sup>8)</sup> and 3 working age children could earn 20.45 shekels of silver in a year (8.00 + 12.45). This assumes that they were all employed for a full year, which is probably overly optimistic.

Was 20.45 shekels of silver sufficient to feed the family of five for a year? Let's answer that question by focusing first on the price of barley.

Barley was the staple of the ancient Mesopotamian diet. Without a doubt, it constituted a family's largest single non-discretionary expense. At the baseline price of one gur barley equals one shekel silver, 7.20 gur of barley was worth 7.20 shekels of silver. However, we know that barley prices fluctuated year to year, and even within a year, depending upon whether it was purchased pre- or post-harvest.<sup>9)</sup> Moreover, TMH 10, 105, which records the author's expenses for barley, oil, and wool over a nine-year period spanning Samsu-iluna years 15-24 to support an unnamed naditum-priestess, shows how significant the magnitude of the fluctuation could be.<sup>10)</sup> We can use the barley prices given in this text as a case study.

According to TMH 10, 105, Samsu-iluna years 21-23 was a time of bountiful harvests. The text refers to these years as "the abundance of Enlil." In those years, barley sold for 0.42 shekels per gur.<sup>11)</sup>

Therefore, the family would have spent 3 shekels of silver to procure the 7.20 gur of barley needed to feed them for one year. Adding the expenditures for sesame oil and wool using the prices quoted in TMH 10, 105, plus 1.00 shekel for meat, plus 1.70 shekels as the yearly cost to rent a house<sup>12)</sup> results in a total yearly expenditure of about 15.70 shekels silver. Therefore, 20.45 shekels would have been sufficient to cover the family's annual expenses in Samsu-iluna years 21-23.

On the other hand, judging from the high price of barley, Samsu-iluna years 15-16 must have been years of poor harvests. In those years, the text indicates that barley sold for 5 shekels per gur, which means that 7.20 gur of barley would have cost 36.00 shekels. In those years, 20.45 shekels would have been insufficient to cover the family's yearly barley consumption, let alone expenditures for the aforementioned necessities and housing. The text tells us that the price of barley dropped to 3 shekels/gur in Si 17-18. Even at that price, 7.20 gur barley cost 21.60 shekels, which still exceeded the family's total yearly income. The breakeven point is 1.70 shekels/gur. So long as the price of barley was less than or equal to 1.70 shekels/gur, the family could afford to purchase oil, clothing (wool), and meat, using the baseline prices given above.

The above scenario may not be as dire as it looks. The family's earnings deficit was offset in part because, in contracts of hire, especially from the late OB period, the hireling received an additional daily allotment of food (barley or bread) and beverage (beer) and a yearly allotment of silver or wool for clothing.<sup>13)</sup> The extra barley, beer, and wool allotments provided by employers were given to both adult male and child workers and served to defray a significant part of their food and clothing costs. However, households likely encompassed non-working family members such as infants, the elderly (parents/relatives), and possibly even handicapped persons,<sup>14)</sup> which meant additional support expenses.<sup>15)</sup> Now let's look at the same family of five under the scenario where they owned land on which they grew barley. How much land did the family need to support themselves?<sup>16)</sup>

In the same article referred to above, using 20 gur/bur as the yield of an average field during the OB period, Renger calculated that 7 iku of field was required to grow the 7.20 gur of barley needed to feed a family of five for one year.<sup>17)</sup> Assuming half the field was left fallow each year,<sup>18)</sup> that translated into total ownership of 14 iku of field. Renger did not consider expenditures for oil, clothing, and meat, which is why I believe that his ownership estimate can be improved upon. Using the above estimate of 15.70 shekels silver as the subsistence cost for a family of five for one year and assuming that one gur of barley cost one shekel of silver means that 8.50 gur of barley was needed to pay for 8.50 shekels worth of oil, wool, and meat, (no house rental costs), in addition to 7.20 gur barley to feed the family.

Following are 3 yield estimates for a 1 bur field, assuming half the field lay fallow on a yearly rotating basis, and before deductions for production costs and taxes:

10 gur at barley at 20 gur/bur (Renger's estimate)

27 gur barley at 54 gur/bur (based on field rentals at the time of Hammurabi)<sup>19)</sup>

30 gur barley at 60 gur/bur (Hammurabi code)<sup>20)</sup>

For the first estimate, a 1 bur field yielded sufficient barley to feed a family of five, but the 2.80 gur of barley remaining (10.00-7.20) fell short of the 8.50 gur of barley they needed to pay for oil, clothing (wool), and meat.

For the second and third estimates, a 1 bur field yielded sufficient barley to feed a family of five, and the 19.80 or 22.80 gur of barley remaining (27.00-7.20 or 30.00-7.20) covered the 8.50 gur of barley they needed to pay for oil, clothing (wool), and meat, leaving ample supplies for additional expenses and production costs for the following year.

Using the second estimate, a field of 11 iku (with half left fallow) would yield 16.50 gur barley, which was sufficient to provide yearly subsistence (barley, oil, clothing, and meat) for a family of five assuming 1 gur of barley was valued at 1 shekel of silver and before deductions for production costs and taxes.<sup>21</sup> This compares favorably with the average field size of 8.84 iku based on 158 field sales (A.ŠÀ) collected for this study.

To summarize: A family that owned no land and relied solely on hiring themselves out for wages led a precarious existence. The situation for a landowning family was somewhat better, provided they owned at least 11 iku of land that yielded 16.50 gur of barley, and 1 gur barley was worth 1 shekel of silver.

In years of bad harvests, both families suffered an income shortfall, which they made up by borrowing barley or borrowing silver to buy barley. It is therefore no wonder that loan contracts were so prevalent.

## Notes

1. Renger 1987: 59. He used 720 sila as yearly consumption for an adult male plus 1440 sila barley for one adult female and three children (360 sila each). Kalla 1996: 253 also concluded that an average family had three children based on his analysis of inheritance texts.

2. Renger 1987: 65 note 40, referring to Gelb's study in *JNES* 24 (Gelb 1965).

3. Stol 1998: 64-66.

4. Stol 1998: 64. One shekel silver for a clothing allotment was occasionally specified in lieu of wool.

5. E.g., CT 4, 45c:7; CT 45, 11:27; CT 47, 63:30.

6. These contracts called for the lessee to provide meat to the lessor on religious festivals (at least 3-6 times per year). E.g., BE 6/1, 30:12-13 and 34:10-12; TIM 4, 53:19; and TLOB, 84:19.

7. CT 4, 18b:4: 1 UZU.ÚR 20 ŠE KÙ.BI (cited CAD P p. 322).

8. My assumption that the adult female is "non-working" is based on the following: while I've identified 13 contracts of hire for female slaves, I've not found a contract of hire for an independent female. This in no way implies that the female was idle. She provided labor through household textile production, baking bread, making pottery, etc.

9. See Farber 1978: 17-21.

10. See Goddeeris 2016: 194-196 for transliteration, translation and commentary.

11. Line 21 reads: 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠÁM 1 (GUR) 1 (PI) ŠE.GUR 2 MA.NA [ŠÍG] 6 SILÀ Ì.[GIŠ] My assumption is that 1/2 shekel silver was expended to purchase each of the quantities of barley, wool, and oil enumerated, for a total expenditure of 1 1/2 shekels. A price of 1/2 shekel to purchase all three would be absurdly low compared to their fair market prices. If the price was really 1/2 shekel for all three, I would expect an "and" sign (ù) after ŠÍG, but there is no room on the tablet.

12. House rental: 1.70 shekels is the average cost of a whole house rental, based on rental rates in over 100 house rental contracts.

13. E.g., PBS 8/2, 196:9-10 (2 sila food and 3 sila beverage allowance); YOS 13, 487:9-10 (2 sila food and 3 sila beer); YOS 13, 381:9 (1 sila food, 2 1/2 sila beer for working age child); Riftin SVJAD 36:8 and OLA 21, 76:8 (1 garment worth 1 shekel for clothing). Also see CAD K p. 573-579 for more examples.

14. Stone 1996: 230; Charpin 1996.

15. Stol 1998: 70-82.

16. In the following discussion, I am not taking into account the income that such a family derived from having a small garden and possibly owning some animals.

17. Renger 1987: 59. 20 gur/bur = 333 sila per iku. 333 sila x 7 iku = 2331 sila barley / 300 = 7.77 gur. Thus, 7 iku would yield 7.77 gur before expenses and taxes.

18. Stol 2004: 840-841.

19. Leemans 1975: 141.

20. CH §58 and §255 and Stol 2004: 840-841.

21. Production costs are difficult to quantify. Suffice it to say that they would have included costs for seed; wages and food/beverage allotment for supplementary labor; rental and feed costs for oxen to prepare the field for cultivation and to plant and harvest the barley; and costs to transport, winnow, and thresh the barley harvested.

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**97) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 22 : un nouveau contrat de prêt des archives de Nanna-emah** — Dans ARCHIBAB 4, j'avais dressé voici deux ans une liste aussi complète que possible des textes paléo-babyloniens d'Ur issus de fouilles irrégulières<sup>1</sup>. Il faut manifestement y ajouter YOS 8 101, un contrat de prêt d'argent daté de l'an 31 de Rim-Sin. Faust avait lu le nom du créancier (d)Nannar-nun-mah<sup>2</sup>, mais je ne connais pas d'exemple d'un tel anthroponyme<sup>3</sup>. Il faut manifestement corriger cette lecture en <sup>d</sup>NANNA.É\*.MAH, variante connue pour <sup>d</sup>NANNA.Ì.MAH. Les archives de ce personnage et de ses fils ont en effet été découvertes avant les fouilles régulières du site d'Ur et se trouvent en partie à Yale et en partie au Louvre<sup>4</sup>. Qu'il s'agisse d'un texte d'Ur est confirmé par la liste des témoins : le nom du premier est précédé par IGI, mais les suivants seulement par un clou vertical. On notera également la présence d'un serment par le roi, caractéristique de bien des contrats de prêt à Ur<sup>5</sup>. Enfin, l'échéance est fixée à un mois, sous la forme ITI 30.ŠÈ, à comprendre « d'ici un mois de 30 (jours) », ce qu'on retrouve à Ur seulement, de manière exceptionnelle<sup>6</sup>, à côté du plus courant ITI 30.KAM<sup>7</sup>. Ce contrat de prêt offre une dernière particularité intéressante. Il est daté du 15 du mois ix, qualifié de « jour de Nanna » (tablette l. 13 U<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>NANNA)<sup>8</sup>. YOS 8 101 est donc le deuxième contrat de prêt issu des archives de Nanna-imah<sup>9</sup>.

## Notes

Le projet ÉcritUr est désormais achevé d'un point de vue administratif. Je publie cette nouvelle note à 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. D. Charpin, « Les documents d'archives paléo-babyloniens d'Ur issus de fouilles irrégulières : catalogue commenté », dans D. Charpin *et al.*, *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babylonienne*, Mémoires de NABU 22, Paris, 2020, p. 43-60.

2. YOS 8, p. 17a.

3. En outre, l'épithète de nun mah « prince sublime » s'applique plutôt à Enki qu'à Nanna (Débat entre l'oiseau et le poisson : 17 [ETCSL transliteration : c.5.3.5]).

4. Je les ai remembrées dans *Le Clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi (XIX<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.-C.)*, HEO 22, Genève-Paris, 1986, p. 176-185, à compléter par D. Charpin, « Le temple d'Enki-d'Eridu : nouvelle approche du clergé d'Ur », dans *ARCHIBAB 4*, p. 155-186, spéc. p. 156-165.

5. Voir A. Jacquet, « Contrats de prêts et créances dans les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babyloniennes », dans *ARCHIBAB 4*, p. 345-398. Il faut donc corriger G. Spada, qui avait considéré YOS 8 101 comme originaire de Larsa malgré son serment (« A Handbook from the Eduba'a: An Old Babylonian Collection of Model contracts », ZA 101, 2011, p. 204-245, spéc. p. 214). Il en va de même des autres contrats de prêt avec serment qu'elle tient pour originaires de Larsa : YOS 5 109, 136 (autre prêt par Nanna-imah) mais aussi YOS 8 171 proviennent en réalité d'Ur. YOS 8 171 est donc également un contrat de prêt d'Ur à ajouter à *ARCHIBAB 4* (cf. <https://www.archibab.fr/T11150>).

6. Voir le prêt par Dumuzi-gamil UET 5 349 : 8 ITI 30.ŠÈ (tablette et enveloppe ; voir l'édition par B. Fiette dans <http://www.archibab.fr/T12357>).

7. Cela me semble confirmer que les mois n'avaient pas systématiquement 30 jours. La clause n'a en effet de sens que si on comprend : « à rembourser dans un mois, c'est-à-dire dans trente jours même si le mois n'en comporte que 29 ». L'argument est à ajouter à D. Charpin, « "Nippur Calendars" and Other Calendars in the Old Babylonian Period », dans Sh. Yamada & D. Shibata (éd.), *Calendars and Festivals in Mesopotamia in the Third and Second Millennia BC*, Studia Chaburensia 9, Wiesbaden, 2021, p. 99-116, spéc. p. 99-101.

8. Ce passage n'a été commenté ni par Th. Richter, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit (2. verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage)*, AOAT 257, Münster, 2004, ni par M. E. Cohen, *Festivals and Calendars of the Ancient Near East*, Bethesda, 2015.

9. L'autre est YOS 5 136 (HEO 22, p. 176-177 = <https://www.archibab.fr/T6279>).

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**98) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 37 : ezzessu/a, la colère d'un dieu ou d'une déesse** — Le nom du destinataire de la lettre CUSAS 36 96 est écrit *e-ze-es-šú*<sup>1</sup>. Dans son édition, A. George l'a transcrit Ezēssu et a indiqué : « PN identified by Z. Földi as an abbreviation of Šamur-ezēssu, on which see Stol 1991: 201 » (CUSAS 36, p. 83 n. 139). M. Stol avait proposé d'interpréter le nom Šamur-ezēssa/u comme « Raging is her/his anger », considérant manifestement le deuxième élément comme l'infinitif du verbe *ezēzum*<sup>1</sup>. Toutefois, on retrouve le même nom que celui de CUSAS 36 96 en CUSAS 36 170 : 1, avec une graphie différente, qu'A. George a rendue matériellement par *e-zi-id-šú*. Il l'a également transcrit Ezēssu, mais l'a commenté en ces termes : « For Ezēssu see the note on the addressee of No. 96. The present spelling suggests an alternative interpretation as Ēšissu, i.e. *ēšid+šu* "I (parent) harvested him (child)." » (CUSAS 36, p. 138 n. 246). En fait, cette graphie semble devoir être lue comme *e-ze-et-šú* et interprétée comme une notation étymologisante Ezzetsu au lieu de Ezzessu : ce nom est donc formé sur le substantif *ezzetum* « fury » (cf. CAD E, p. 432, qui ne connaissait que des attestations SB). Ezzessu n'est donc pas exactement l'abréviation de Šamur-ezēssu. Dans ce dernier nom, on a bien affaire à l'infinitif *ezēzum*, car si le deuxième élément était le substantif *ezzetum*, le permansif aurait dû être au féminin<sup>2</sup>.

## Notes

1. M. Stol, « Old Babylonian Personal Names », *Studi epigraphici et linguistici* 8, 1991, p. 191-212 (cf. déjà CAD Š/1, 1989, p. 332a). Le possessif renvoie à une déesse ou à un dieu. Voir sur le même modèle les noms Dan-erēssa ou Eli-erēssa (Stamm, *Namengebung*, p. 125). Noter au passage que le nom Amur-erēssa n'existe pas. Au lieu de *A-mur-e-ri-is-sā*<sup>sic</sup> de l'index de YOS 13 (p. 47b), la copie de Finkelstein montre clairement en YOS 13 301 : 3 *šā\*1-mur-e-šē\*1-es-sā*. Cette lecture est confirmée par l'excellente photo de K. Wagensohnner tout récemment mise en ligne à l'adresse <https://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-BC-001364>.

2. Mes remerciements à J.-M. Durand, qui m'a fait cette observation cruciale pour trancher le débat. On connaît p.ex. le nom Aliat-šubassu (CT 8 8c : 17 *a-li-a-at-šu-ba-sū*), Kabtat-šeressu (CT 48 22 : 24 *kab-ta-at še-re-et-sū*), Marrat-šeressu (AbB 1 136 : 5, 8 *mar-ra-at-še-re-es-sū*) ou encore Rabiat-awassu (VS 13 14 : 32 *ra-bi-a-at-a-wa-sū*).

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**99) Ekallatum = Tell Ħuwaish** — Since W. Hallo's seminal article “The Road to Emar”, *JCS* 18, 1964, the question of the localisation of Šamši-Adad's capital city Ekallatum was supposed to be solved: Tell Ħaikal on the eastern side of the Tigris seemed an appropriate candidate. The main argument was the phonetic proximity between the ancient and the modern place names and the neighborhood to Aššur. Since the 1990ies several studies notably based on the documentation from Mari raised doubts about this eastern situation but no suitable candidate for the localisation was definitively chosen in published scientific works. During our study (A. Otto, N. Ziegler & C. Fink, “The Road to Emar Reconsidered”, in press) we also reexamined the question of Ekallatum's localisation. Finally, the combination of philological evidence with the results of remote sensing as well as newest research on the ground make the identification Ekallatum = Tell Ħuwaish most convincing. The former candidate for a localisation in Tell Ħuwaish, Ubase must be looked for in the neighborhood of Qayyara, as already suggested by W. Andrae and several scholars. We presented the arguments for this on the 66th *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* in Mainz (July 2022) in our common talk “Ekallatum lokalisiert! Neue Erkenntnisse zur Lage und Geschichte der Hauptstadt Samsi-Addu”. Unfortunately the publication is still in press: N. Ziegler & A. Otto, “Ekallatum, Samsi-Addu's Capital City, Localised” (with an appendix by Salim Abdallah Ali & N. Marchetti). Both quoted works will be published in A. Otto (ed.), *Entre les fleuves – III. On the Way in Upper Mesopotamia. Travels, routes and environment as a base for the reconstruction of Historical Geography*, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient, Gladbeck, 2023.

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**100) Chronology Again** — In the second volume of the *Oxford History of the Ancient Near East*, Felix Höflmayer (2022) took on the thankless task of trying to summarise the current understanding of the chronology of the relevant era (the first half of the second millennium BC). He inevitably arrives at the consensus offered by Sturt Manning et al. (2016, 2020) supporting the Middle Chronology, since this is where the evidence (historical, radiocarbon, dendrochronological, etc.) seems to point. There can be no doubt about this.

I just point out that there are some minor problems. First of all, the Middle Chronology is based on astronomical observations of Venus, but there is no solar eclipse for Šamši-Adad compatible with that astronomically based chronology. Second of all, the radiocarbon calibrations are based on dendrochronological measurements but there is no dendrochronological date compatible with the eruption of Thera/Santorini. One would expect the successful chronology to be based on compatible astronomical and dendrochronological dates.

One important item is that recent work indicates that (a) the 1613 +/- BC date for Thera is excluded and that it must have happened sometime after that and before ca. 1540 BC (Manning et al. 2020), with a date of ca. 1580 possible. Curiously, the Porsuk dendrochronological anomaly (possibly compatible with the Thera event) has been dated by Manning et al. (2016) to somewhere around 1681-1673 BC – and even with minor adjustments, that is impossible to relate to Thera as now dated. Obviously, lowering the dendrochronology for Porsuk roughly a century would make it compatible with the radiocarbon date for Thera of ca. 1580 BC. And that would require a reduction in the Middle Chronology of roughly a century as well – which would just happen to be roughly compatible with Gasche's ultra-low chronology, that is compatible with lunar and solar eclipses as well as the Venus cycles, kinglists, and the pottery. This is, of course, just an observation.

At the moment, the dendrochronology and the astronomy are not unified in favour of the Middle Chronology. Thus, basing claims that the Middle Chronology is chronologically valid (as opposed to convenient) on dendrochronology via radiocarbon is weak. In principle, Manning must simply find another dendrochronological anomaly compatible with the Middle Chronology and the Thera event. If the Middle Chronology is indeed chronologically correct, finding a dendrochronological fix should be no more difficult than finding a solar eclipse.



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**101) The eponymy of Adad-bālti-nišē** — One of the unclear eponyms from the Middle Assyrian period is Adad-ašarēd-nišē. He is only attested in MARV 7 8:23, with a reading already provided by Freydank (p. 8a ad 8) <sup>m</sup>10-SAG<sup>1</sup>-UN.MEŠ. This reading was repeated in Freydank (2016, 130–31), where the eponym is reconstructed to hold office around the reign of Aššur-nīrārī III. The sign reading SAG is problematic, but rather allows for UR or TĒŠ (*bāštu*) ‘pride’. PNs of the type DN-bālti-nišē are otherwise not known from the Middle Assyrian period, but nonetheless found in the Neo-Assyrian corpus (CAD B, 143b). The reading of the eponym’s name can be confirmed with Ass.2001.D-2036 (IM 183111) l. 19 [<sup>m</sup>10-*b*]al-ti-ni-še (Frahm 2002, 75).

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**102) On enû ‘to change’ in Middle Assyrian** — In a recent article (2021), Helmut Freydank and Doris Prechel addressed an important aspect of the Middle Assyrian corpus, i.e., the verbal form *ittannū*. Traditionally this finite form is analysed as a perfect from *nadānu* (Ass. *tadānu*) ‘to give’ with the change *\*ittadn- > \*ittann-* as follows the GAG § 1021 and is found in the main studies on this Middle Assyrian verb: Saporetti (1967); Mayer (1971, 93–94); de Ridder (2018, 422–23 §§ 604–6). Freydank and Prechel, carefully analysing the various forms, suggested that the available attestations are better regarded as deriving from *enû* ‘to change’, used in the Gt or Gtn-stem with meaning to ‘to exchange’ (henceforth referred to as *\*etnû*).

However, the thesis of *\*etnû* raises some questions, as I will demonstrate here.

First, is the thesis correct if we suddenly completely deprive ourselves of all perfect forms of *nadānu* in Middle Assyrian followed by a vowel. In other words, there are no counterexamples to the change *\*ittadn- > ittann-*. This is unexpected and not addressed by Freydank and Prechel. One possible exception remains in favour of their argument: *i-ta-du-nu* RBC 733:19. However, as is shown by similar *i-ta-ad<sup>1?</sup>-du<sup>1?</sup>-nu* AuOr Suppl. 1 104:16, we may expect gemination of /d/ in this form, and it seems better to analyse this form as a Gt-stem (possibly Gtn) in the present tense (which follows Freydank, private communication). At any rate, the vowel syncope rules do not allow the form in RBC 733 to be a normal perfect of *nadānu*.

The second issue is the lack of attestations of *enû* in the Gt in Akkadian in general (CAD E, 176b) as well as the rarity of Gt-stems in Middle Assyrian (de Ridder 2018, 369 73 §§ 541 46). It is best attested for *alāku* and *maḥāru*. A common Gt-stem for *enû* in Middle Assyrian would be possible but not likely.

Furthermore, there is no parallel from other Akkadian vernaculars (preferably Old or Neo-Assyrian), where *etnû* is common.

Thirdly, the assimilation of R<sub>1</sub> to the *-t-* infixes may be discussed, which would lead to spellings such as *it-ta-nu* MARV 10 3:3. Freydank and Prechel suggest that this progressive assimilation is acceptable because it happens for I/w verbs. This is correct; however, the *ittabal* type I/w perfect forms are problematic because such progressive assimilation is not expected and is atypical for weak verbs. Due to Arabic isogloss *wakalu* (I) > *ittakal* (VIII) forms, this type of assimilation may be ancient, going back to Proto-Semitic (Kouwenberg 2010, 452–53). Such assimilation cannot be applied to other types of verbal roots unless there is pressing evidence. Perfect forms such as *ittalak* for *alāku* (Sem. \*h-l-k) are equally exceptional. The root *enû* is connected to a Semitic root *ʿ-n-y*, cf. Ugaritic *ny* ‘to answer’ (Lete/Sanmartín 2015, 169). As an etymologic R<sub>1</sub>/ʿ-verb, progressive assimilation would be possible (but not necessary!), though expected to be realised in orthography as <TT> due to the realisation character of the emphatics in Assyrian, cf. *našû* ‘to carry’ with stative *naš-* > *našš-* (Parpola 1974; Kouwenberg 2003; de Ridder 2018, 103 § 162). More likely is a realization as preterite \**ēteni-* (cf. *ētapas̄* ‘he has made’), but certainly not \**etten(a)-* Freydank and Prechel continue with the suggestion that *-tt-* infix is caused by the perfect of *enû*, i.e., the perfect infix directly follows the infix of the Gt-stem. This is only possible assuming the verbal paradigm of *enû* is highly irregular in Middle Assyrian.

For the thesis of *enû* to be convincingly proven, one would need a form without a vocalic suffix. As *enû* has an /i/ theme vowel, we should also expect this vowel to be present in the Gt(n)-stem. As it stands, almost all given examples are followed by *-û*. Thus, we would have to assume vowel contraction is caused by the weak third radical, i.e., \**itannû-*. This is only strengthened by the spelling *i-ta-nu-û* AO 20.154:13. However, the reluctance of vowel contraction in Assyrian makes this unconvincing no enter.

There are some forms where alleged \**enû* ends in the vowel /a/ always followed by a pronominal suffix (*ta-at-ta-an-na-šu-û* MARV 4 8:19). The sequence is best explained as ventive with dative pronominal suffix, a view that Freydank and Prechel support for most proposed attestations. However, if this is agreed upon, then this sequence is difficult to explain for \**enû*. A form like *at-ta-na-šu-nu* (Faist 2001, 251ff l. 16) can be explained as ‘I have given/sold it to them’ from *nadānu* ‘to give’. However, ‘I have exchanged it for them (F/P habe ich ihnen ausgehandelt)’ from \**enû* is awkward. The semantic arguments for reading \**enû* are not made very clear.

Parallel passages are not in favour of \**enû*. Freydank and Prechel quote OIP 79 5:16: *šumma in adrāte lā i-ta-nu še ʿum ana šibte illak* ‘if they did not give it (F/P present tense: aushandeln) the barley will accumulate interest’. Compare this with similar MARV 3 14:13 *šumma adi 40 umāte lā it-ti-din še ʿum ana šibte illak* ‘if he did not give it within 40 days, the barley would accumulate interest’ (cf. MARV 3 50:16; Subartu 14 1:18; Subartu 14 8:16; YBC 12860:12). These parallel passages force us to accept a perfect form of *nadānu* in OIP 79 5.

In their article, Freydank and Prechel offer an overview of the various attestations of \**enû*. Some alleged forms are hard to reconcile with the established rules of Middle Assyrian grammar, so that some revisions may be desirable. Several Gtn preterite forms are given in letters. However, it is a well-known fact that in colloquial Middle Assyrian, the preterite is not allowed in main clauses unless negated or in questions (already Mayer 1971, 58; also de Ridder 2018, 239–43 §§ 624–28). An attempt is made to distinguish between perfect and present as the latter does not have /tt/. However, plene and defective writings are not reliable in Middle Assyrian. Therefore, the forms given as being present tense are best analysed differently. Alleged present form *i-ta-nu* OIP 79 5:16 was already demonstrated as a perfect analogy with similar passages. Both forms from BATSH 4 6 (*i-ta-nu* ll. 21’ 23’) describe past events in alteration with perfect forms. Therefore, there is no reason to assume a present. When in OIP 79 3, the alleged present forms are alternated with perfect forms, why assume a different tense? Some forms are difficult to accept, take, for instance, *ni-ta-na-šu-nu-û* MARV 1 71:28. As is found in the edition of Llop (2003), the form is a present used in a question: *ni-da<sup>1</sup>-na-šu-nu-û* which can be confirmed by line copy and photos (CDLI P281848).

In my opinion, the thesis presented here is interesting as it reinvents our understanding of some well-known Middle Assyrian texts. Moreover, it answers the irregularity of the Middle Assyrian paradigm of *nadānu*. But on the other hand, the thesis that many perfect forms of *nadānu* should be regarded as derived from \**enû* raises many questions which should be clarified.

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**103) A possible scribal error in an Amarna letter (EA 335)** — ‘Abdi-Ashtarti, Shuwardata’s heir to the throne of Gath (Tell eš-Šafi), sent four letters to the Pharaoh. The following discussion deals only with letter EA 335 (and not with the other three, EA 63–65). Notably, the name of the author is not preserved in this partly damaged tablet (see the facsimile in Schroeder 2015: pl. 186). Knudtzon (1915: 948–949) did not identify its author, but authorship was later attributed to ‘Abdi-Ashtarti, the author of letters EA 63–65 (Na’aman 1979: 677–678).

Considering the numerous published text editions and translations of this letter (Moran 1992: 357–358; Liverani 1998: 87–88; Rainey, 1624; Yoder and Lauinger 2022), it is not necessary to discuss it in detail. In what follows, I present a translation of lines 11–19 only and add a few comments where deemed necessary.

(11–13) May the king, my lord, be in[formed] that [the r]ebel ([LÚ]ar-ni) has ta[ken<sup>2</sup>] (e[l-qe<sup>2</sup>]) all my .... (14–19) May the king, my lord, be informed that Lachish is [h]ostile ([n]a-ki-ra-at), and Mu’rashti is captured (ša-ab-ta-at), and [the city of Jerusalem<sup>??</sup>] [is dese]rted (ù [paṭ/pa-aṭ]-ra-at [URU Ú-ru-sa]-lim<sup>ki??</sup>).

Line 19: Moran (1992: 358) tentatively restored “Jerusalem” in this line, and some scholars cautiously accepted his suggestion (Liverani 1998: 88; Rainey 2015: 1622–1623). However, Yoder and Lauinger (2022) posited that only three signs are missing at the beginning of the line, which would eliminate the above restoration. Schroeder’s copy, on the other hand, allows restoring four signs in this line. My restoration [paṭ/pa-aṭ]-ra-at in line 18 might support Moran’s restoration, as there was hostility between the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Gath in the second half of the Amarna period. This hostility emerged after ‘Abdi-Heba’s took over Qilti (Keilah), a border town that belonged to Gath (EA 280:9–23). In reaction, Shuwardata joined Jerusalem’s enemies, Milkilu of Gezer and Tagi of Ginti-kirmil (EA 289:25–29; 290:5–18), and the allies succeeded in drawing Jerusalem back to the hill country. Thus, the hostility between Gath and Jerusalem might have persisted at the time of ‘Abdi-Ashtarti, Shuwardata’s heir. Accusing Jerusalem of deserting (verb *paṭāru*) the Pharaoh and the mayors who support him corresponds well with the way a rival king would have presented the King of Jerusalem.

Yet, the main crux in the text is in lines 12–13. Rainey (2015: 1224, 1624) rendered them, (12) *ù i[l<sub>5</sub>-qe LÚ.]ar-ni* (13) *gáb-bi ŠEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub>-ia*, and translated, “the tr[a]itor ha[s taken] all my loyal colleagues (brothers).” However, the decipherment of the SIG<sub>5</sub> sign is dubious (Schroeder’s copy rendered here *ši za*), and the plural translation of *ahu* (“brother”) is arbitrary.

I suggest that the clue to the difficult text might be found in Shuwardata’s letter EA 366. Shuwardata relates that he fought an unknown enemy, whom he designated “‘Apiru” (LÚ.SA.GAZ) (lines 12, 21), in parallel to the unknown “rebel” ([LÚ.]ar-ni) that ‘Abdi-Ashtarti, his heir, mentions in EA 335.

Below, I compare lines 17–19 of EA 366 with lines 11–13 of EA 335:

[l]u-ú yi-il-ma-ad LUGAL-ru EN-ia i-nu-ma iz-zi-bu-ni gáb-bi ŠEŠ.HI.A-ia  
 li-i[l<sub>5</sub>-ma-ad LUG]AL-ri EN-ia *ù i[l<sub>5</sub>-qe LÚ.]ar-ni gáb-bi ŠEŠ ši za ia*

In light of this comparison, I cautiously suggest that ‘Abdi-Ashtarti’s scribe made a mistake in the rendering of the signs HI.A, replacing them by the not dissimilar signs *ši za*. Assuming that my hypothesis is correct, line 13 might be rendered *gáb-bi ŠEŠ.HI.A-ia*; and lines 11–13 translated, “May the king, my lord, be in[formed] that [the r]bel has ta[ken?] all my brothers.”

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**104) Warm greetings to the Egyptian royal scribe** — Four letters that ‘Abdi-Heba, King of Jerusalem, sent to the Pharaoh include unique appendices directed to the Egyptian royal scribe (EA 286:61–65; 287:64–70; 288:62–66; 289:47–51). In these appendices, the king exhorts the scribe to present his case in a favourable manner before the Pharaoh. Two of these appendices include the enigmatic statements *ma-at-ti a-na ka-ta<sub>5</sub>* (EA 287:70) and *ma-at-ti ma-gal a-na ka-ta<sub>5</sub>* (EA 289:50).

Knudtzon (1915: 867, 877), in his edition, did not translate this phrase. Finkelstein (1969: 33–34) suggested to interpret them in light of the Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian expression *ana dinān bēliya lullik*, “I would surely serve as the substitute for my lord”; that is, “I would gladly die for my lord.” In the MB and MA texts and in the two appendices, the *ma-at-ti* statement appears after the sender presented himself as the servant (*ardu*) of the addressee. In this light, Finkelstein posited that the words *ma-at-ti a-na ka-ta<sub>5</sub>* are a Canaanite form of subordination to a superior in the epistolary style of this period, and translated them, like their Akkadian equivalents, “I would surely die for you.”

Moran (1992: 330 n. 20) criticized Finkelstein’s rendering because “the modal force of the prefect is questionable,” and because dying ‘very much’ (*magal*, EA 289:50) is hardly possible. He hesitantly translated the *ma-at-ti* statement, “I am always (*md*, similar to Hebrew *tāmîd*) yours,” (EA 287:70) and “I am always, utterly yours” (EA 289: 50).

Other scholars rejected Moran’s criticism and adopted Finkelstein’s rendering of the text (Liverani 1998: 91 n. 99; CAD M/1 423a; Kochavi-Rainey 2005: 214, Rainey 2015: 1115, 1123, 1593; Yoder and Lauinger 2022). Rainey supported Finkelstein’s rendering by citing Rib-Hadda’s disparate declaration that he is willing to die for the Pharaoh (EA 136:42; 137:52; 137:27).

In my opinion, Moran’s criticism of Finkelstein’s rendering is justified. Not only is there no evidence that scribes in Canaan were aware of the expression *ana dinān bēliya lullik* and rendered it in their native language, but the willing-to-die-for-his-lord statement might be directed to the Pharaoh, but certainly not to the royal scribe.

It seems that the key to the correct rendering of the text is in lines 43–44 of letter EA 287. ‘Abdi-Heba appeals to the Pharaoh as follows: “May the King order (to give) them [i.e., the Egyptian garrison troops] much bread (*ma-ad* NÍG.HI.A), much oil (*ma-ad* Ì.HI.A), much clothing (*ma-ad* TÚG.HI.A-ti).”

The scribe combined three times the *ma-ad* (“much”) to a logogram that designates a kind of provision. In this light, I suggest rendering EA 287:70 *ma-ad* TI (*balāṭu*), and 289:50 *ma-ad* TI (*balāṭu*) *ma-gal*. In the Amarna letters, the noun *balāṭu* has two connotations – “life” and “provisions” – and it is unclear whether ‘Abdi-Heba wished the Egyptian scribe “richness” or “longevity.” The adjective *ma-gal* is probably used in EA 289:50 as an adverb of intensification (see EA 85:44; 86:10; 137:60), and might be rendered, “very long life for you” or “very much provision for you.”

About ten years ago, I put forward the suggestion that ‘Abdi-Heba spent his early years in Egypt, and when a struggle for the throne took place, the Pharaoh preferred him over other candidates and

appointed him to the throne of Jerusalem (Na'aman 2011: 35–36). The personal appeal to the royal Egyptian scribe might be explained by their former acquaintance; hence his plea to the scribe to commend him to the Pharaoh and his warm greetings to his old acquaintance in the Egyptian court.

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**105) Destructive sequences** — In a recent article, which included the problem of establishing the correct text for KTU 1.6 ii 30–35 and 1.6 v 11–19, Nicolas Wyatt reconstructed the lines in question as follows:

(Because of you, O Baal, I experienced downfall.)  
<Because of you I experienced harvesting with> a sickle;  
because of you I experienced winnowing with <a fan>;  
because of you I experienced burning with fire;  
because of you I experienced grinding with millstones;  
because of you I experienced sifting with a sieve;  
because of you I experienced abandonment on the steppe;  
because of you I experienced sowing in the sea.<sup>1)</sup>

It seems to have escaped attention that this is very similar to a passage in the Hurrian *Song of Ullikummi* (Hoffner 1998: 58, §12 A iii):

Let him go up to heaven to kingship.  
Let him suppress the fine city of Kummiya.  
Let him strike Teššub.  
Let him chop him up fine like chaff.  
Let him grind him under foot [like] an ant.  
Let him snap off Tašmišu like a brittle reed.  
Let him scatter all the gods from the sky like birds/fine meal.  
Let him smash them [like] empty pottery bowls.

In §72 of the same song, this reappears in abbreviated form as follows:

Let him go up to heaven;  
Let him take Kummiya, the fine city;  
Let him strike Teššub, heroic king of Kummiya;  
Let him scatter the gods [down from the sky like flour].<sup>3)</sup>

Obviously, the sequences of destructive actions in the Hurrian and Ugaritic texts are not identical but they are quite similar, enough perhaps to indicate borrowing in either direction, but most probably from Anatolia to Syria.<sup>4)</sup>

These passages from the Hurrian *Song of Ullikummi* can be added to those already cited by Wyatt as parallel in various ways to the Ugaritic texts under discussion: in Assyrian (Sennacherib's punishment of his father's assassins), in Egyptian (the daily ritual destruction of the underworld serpent Apepi in the temple of Amun at Thebes, a passage from the Pyramid Texts and a passage of ritual annihilation cited by Plutarch in his version of the myth of Isis and Osiris), in Hebrew (several OT passages) and even two in Greek.<sup>5)</sup>

## Notes

1. Wyatt 2007: 764.
2. Hoffner 1998: 58 i.e. §12 (A iii).
3. Perhaps the variant passages in Ugaritic may similarly be abbreviated forms.
4. In commenting on this note, Nick Wyatt suggested that Ilmilku's listing of seven actions, instead of the six catalogued in the Hurrian text (unless the suppression in line 2 is included), may have been his personal contribution to the trope.
5. Wyatt 2007: 768-771.

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**106) Ugaritic *hrb*, Old Babylonian *harbu*, Luwian *harpa-* and Greek ἄρπη?** — One of the words mentioned by Grimme (1925, 17) as loanwords from "Hittite" to "Greek" is ἄρπη, f., translated by him as "Sichelschwert". Simon (2018, 384) rejects the hypothesis, because of the lack of a comparable form in Anatolian, and suggests that the Greek word is probably inherited. While Greek contains a number of words that appear to be related, their etymologies are also problematic, so a few further observations are in order. The word ἄρπη in Greek cannot be simply translated as "sickle". It seems to be also the designation of a type of bird of prey, and this is the actual meaning that occurs in *Iliad* (XIX 350). The meaning "sickle" can be found, however, as early as Hesiod (*Works*, 573), while the meaning "sword" is employed in the late *Argonautica* (IV 987). Discussing whether we should consider *Iliad* to predate Hesiod linguistically would not be productive. In any case, regarding ἄρπη we may be dealing with two different homophonic words, or more likely with a single word that had different meanings developed by semantic extension. I will proceed assuming that the second hypothesis is correct.

The first problem with assuming inheritance of ἄρπη in Greek is that, as I mentioned, its etymology and those of the related words are quite problematic. Beekes (2009, 137) very cautiously mentions the root *\*serp* for the verb ἀρπάζω ("snatch away, seize"), which is very likely to be related, but of course *\*serp* regularly yields Greek ἔρπω ("creep, crawl"), and there is no available laryngeal that would explain the *a*-vowel in ἀρπάζω, ἄρπη and in all other related words. From a traditional perspective, a zero-grade would not work either, but recently Van Beek (2013) argued for the possibility that a sonorant /r/ would indeed yield /ar/ in Greek (I am thankful to Zs. Simon, *pers. comm.*, for passing me this reference). This would make inheritance from *\*srp-* possible, but while the examples for the change in word-medial position are quite a few, cases in which the /sr/ cluster is initial are not numerous enough.

Furthermore, in Greek, ἀρπάζω, ἄρπαξ ("rapacious") and the other derived words (which are quite obviously related for formal *and* semantic reasons), exhibit, with Beekes, a suffix *-ag-*, which is difficult to explain. Van Beek (2013, 276 with references) renounces to etymologize them, so ἄρπη remains quite isolated as the only form that does not contain the suffix.

Now, Grimme's choice to consider ἄρπη as an Eastern loanword mediated by Hittite is in part ill-advised. While the discussion is quite brief, his idea was to look for a Semitic comparandum, which he characterizes as containing a consonant /b/ in medial position (he quotes it as *brb*), and to explain the /p/ in Greek because of the involvement of Hittite, but there is no reason to assume that such devoicing would occur in non-initial position, either in Hittite or in any other Anatolian languages. Interestingly, however, the Eastern hypothesis is not entirely to discard, because the Akkadian word *harbu* (exhibiting, apparently, a Semitic *\*hrb*) has a semantic behavior that is similar to that of Greek ἄρπη. It generally means "plough", but it also indicates a bird in a couple of occurrences (cf. *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* H, 98), giving the impression that an areal word is not completely out of the picture.

Let us now move to the problem of whether *harbu* can be an inherited word in Akkadian. This may appear to be the case. In Ugaritic *hrb* means "knife" or "sword" (cf. del Olmo Lete & Sanmartín 2015, 363). In Canaanite, the same noun also exists in Hebrew, and in Northwest Semitic it also appears in Aramaic, where a verb (possibly denominal?) is also attested, with the apparent meaning "to slay". Ge'ez probably borrowed

the word from Aramaic (Leslau 1987, 241), and so did other Semitic languages from late antiquity onwards. However, all West Semitic languages exhibit a consonant *h*. This should not correspond to an *h* in Akkadian, which means that probably Akkadian borrowed the word from West Semitic and adapted it to its own synchronic phonology. It should be added that the earliest occurrences are Old Babylonian, so the loan must have happened during the Middle Bronze Age, making it impossible to identify the model language. In any case, this is an indication that we may be dealing with an areal word. This impression becomes even stronger when we consider that the word also emerges in Egyptian (Hoch 1994, no. 324).

In the Eastern world, other languages may appear to be involved in this highly complicated picture. Two cases require to be mentioned: the Median personal name that the Greeks rendered as Harpagos, and the Iron Age Luwian word *harpa-*.

The Median name is only superficially similar. Neo-Assyrian sources report it in the form <sup>m</sup>*ar-ba-ku* (with voiced consonant, but without rendering of the initial aspiration); furthermore, in Lycian the form is *Arppaxu* (Schmitt 1982, no. 2). All in all, the evidence indicates that the original form contained no initial aspiration, so the classical rendering Harpagos must indeed be the result of a folk-etymological connection to the very adjective ἄρπαξ. Hence, the name should simply be left out of the equation (cf. Schmitt 1982, no. 2, for a tentative analysis and etymology of it).

As for Anatolian, Hittite contains no synchronically comparable word (although it does contain a cognate to Greek ἔρπω, *sarpa-* “point, harrow”, going back to *\*serp-*). Luwian, however, does. In the hieroglyphic inscription TOPADA §26, the word (\*219)*harpanzi*, normally translated as “rebels”, is actually opposed to (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*sas*, meaning “cavalry”. If the meaning of *harpa-*, instead of “rebel”, was “blade”, this could be a metonymic way to indicate the “infantry” (which typically occurs as opposed to mounted troops both in the Anatolian sources and in the Greek ones). If a word *harpa-* in Luwian existed and, at some point, it meant “blade” or “sword”, it could also belong to the same group of words. Luwian could not, however, be the language that mediated an alleged borrowing from a Semitic language to Greek, because most of the evidence available indicates that the graphic adaptation of a Luwian initial */h/* was *not* a Greek aspiration, but a velar stop or a *χ* (see the several case studies presented by Simon 2018).

In conclusion, I have collected a number of similar words with similar (or even very similar) semantics in a group of languages that were areally contiguous. Of those languages, Greek *might* provide an etymology, but only a partial one, indicating that some obscure morphological developments took place. West Semitic would also admit an etymology, capable of explaining the occurrences in Ugaritic, Aramaic and Canaanite, but not the Akkadian *harbu*, which would have been borrowed. In Anatolian, it is possible, although by no means assured, that the Luwian word *harpa-* also belonged to the picture. While the language of origin and the ultimate etymology remain, for the moment, beyond our reach, I believe that the arguments presented here indicate that the possibility of a Wanderwort should not be dismissed too hastily.

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**107) Revisiting Boghazköy šaziga texts** — In a 2010 article, Jeanette Fincke<sup>1)</sup> identified KUB 37 201 as a šaziga text that I had not included in my 1967 edition.<sup>2)</sup> A recent volume by Gioele Zisa<sup>3)</sup> reediting and translating these and other published šaziga texts prompts me to revisit several of the Boghazköy šaziga texts briefly.

KUB 37 201 can be better understood when we recognize that there is no *šappu* vessel in the passage *ina maški* TAG *šap-pi*. Instead we must read *tà-šap-pi*, “you wrap,” that is, the verb *šapû*, in lines 3’ and 8’. That TAG has a reading *tà* in Boghazköy Akkadian texts has long been known from the ritual passage A.RI.A A.ZA.LU.LU *ina* KUŠ UDU RI.RI.GA TAG-*šap-pi ina kišādišu tašakkanma iballu*, “you wrap human semen in the skin of a dead sheep, you put it around his neck and he will recover,” ZA 45 210 vi 6, as was recognized by its first editor, Gerhard Meier.<sup>4)</sup> In another Boghazköy ritual the scribe has provided an explanatory gloss [*ina* K]UŠ TAG<sup>a</sup>-*šap-pi* KUB 37 28:11. The same corrected reading of *tà-šap-pi* should be applied to *Šaziga* 61 KUB 37 82:5’ and 9’ (all cited CAD s.v. *šapû* B, p. 490).

I suggest, tentatively of course, a different interpretation of line 1’. Instead of DIB.DIB as read by Fincke, I suggest a restoration [x x x A.ZA].LU.LU, “human [...]” See similar passages cited CAD s.v. *amīlātu*, p. 59-60. I am aware that terms for human body parts or products may well be *Decknamen*.<sup>5)</sup> Nevertheless, human semen (A.RI.A, *rihātu*)—whether it is real or a plant— may be appropriate in a procedure intended to increase sexual desire. Recall that the šaziga texts include “his semen has been buried with a corpse” as part of the etiology of being afflicted by sorcery (passages are *Šaziga* 66 i 12 and i 25 and 69:12).

While the mid-second millennium exemplars from Boghazköy write forms of *šapû* syllabically (albeit with a rare value for the first syllable), the logogram in first millennium rituals lay obscured for many years under the writing DÛ.DÛ.BI and was unrecognized until 1973 when Walter Farber solved the mystery by realizing that it is to be interpreted as DÛ.DÛ-*pí*, that is, *tašappi*, “you wrap.”<sup>6)</sup> The usual phrase is *ina maški tašappi ina kišādišu tašakkan*, “you wrap in leather (and) place around his neck.” The most common writing by far is DÛ.DÛ-*pí*, but there are also a few occurrences without phonetic complement in our texts (*Šaziga* p. 62 LKA 96 r. 9; p. 65 K.9451 + 4’; p. 66 i 20; p. 67 STT 280 ii 9).

There is another DÛ.DÛ.BI indicating that the appropriate ritual follows, frequent in medical and magical texts, including the šaziga texts.<sup>7)</sup> Note that Zisa in his edition has not always kept them distinct (for example, p. 232 and 236 lines 26 and 27 and p. 273 and 274 line 12).

I note that Zisa in KUB 4 48 i 6 and elsewhere interprets NAG-*šú* as *išattīšu* (p. 439 and 445) and understands it as “he drinks (it).” In my opinion, the suffix -*šú* refers to the patient and the verb is to be read as *tašaqqīšu*, “you give it (the potion) to him (the patient) to drink.” That is, NAG with pronominal suffix is to be interpreted as *šaḡû* and not *šatû*. I note a rare example when there are two recipients of a potion. The ritual begins [*ana*] ŠÀ NITA ù MUNUS *šu-up-šu-ri*, “to bring about relief for the *libbu* of a man and a woman,” followed by instructions to prepare a potion, then [NI]TA ù MUNUS NAG-*šú-nu-ti-ma*, “(as for) the man and the woman, you give it to them to drink “ *Šaziga* 51:15 (AMT 62,3). The end of the ritual (where a term for a successful outcome of the procedure is expected) is probably to be restored with an N-form of *pašāru*, as I suggest in the similar passage *Šaziga* 64:17-21.

Although there are numerous rituals preserved in the Boghazköy šaziga texts, there is only one poorly preserved incantation (*Šaziga* 56 KUB 4 48 iv 27-31, Zisa, p. 418 and 421), apparently represented in the Assur catalogue of šaziga incipits (*Šaziga* 12 i 30, transliterated there tentatively as [ÉN šà.zi.g]a te.en.te). It is duplicated by Hunger *Uruk* No. 10:2-4, followed in the Uruk text by a ritual using a body part (probably the heart) of a black raven (UGA<sup>mušen</sup>). Note that in KUB 4 48 the incantation ends at the bottom of column iv. The text on the lower edge is a ritual beginning with [*lib*]-*bi* UGA(!)<sup>mušen</sup>, suggesting that the lower edge should follow column iv, thus providing the ritual to accompany the incantation, even though the ritual differs in other details from the one in the Uruk text. Another small Uruk fragment (Hunger *Uruk* No. 20, Zisa p. 491) has several lines with the repeated signs *zi* and *en*, as in KUB 4 48 and Hunger *Uruk* No. 10, suggesting to me that it may be another copy of the same incantation. Note that the obverse of No. 20 has six lines ending with the sign SU. I believe it is likely that we should understand that the lines end in [... *ina*] KUŠ, “[in] a leather pouch,” as in STT 280 i 39-55 (*Šaziga* 66) and LKA 95:12-24 (*Šaziga* 61). The ingredients in these prescriptions are mostly plants, but also include some stones and animal products. Note that there are lists of stones specifically designated for use in šaziga rituals.<sup>8)</sup>



It should be pointed out that despite the paucity of evidence from Babylonia itself, many of the logograms (for example, ŠUB for *nadû*, ŠÉŠ for *pašāšu*, TĒŠ.BI for *ištēniš*) and syllabic values (such as *šú* as a pronominal suffix, *šá* as a relative pronoun but also as a pronominal suffix,<sup>9)</sup> AŠ read as *ina*, *ta-sàk*, “you crush,” and *tuš-bat*, “you have it sit out overnight”) that are familiar from first millennium Standard Babylonian texts are already well established in Akkadian texts from Boghazköy and were surely in use in Babylonia as well. Sometimes, however, the Boghazköy texts provide evidence for the Akkadian readings of terms normally written logographically in first millennium texts. An example is a term occurring a number of times in medical texts that was read for many years as TUR-ár and interpreted as *tušahhar*, “you reduce.” A passage in a similar context in KUB 37 55 iv 25 written *tu-ur-ra-ar* showed that the verb is to be read syllabically as *tur-ár*, “you dry out” or “you desiccate,” in first millennium texts.<sup>10)</sup> Köcher describes this writing as “eine verkürzt syllabischer (stenographischer) Schreibung.”<sup>11)</sup> A further example of *urruru* may be in the šaziga text KUB 37 83:10’ (*Šaziga* 61): [PÉ]Š.ÛR.RA *tu-u[r-ra-ar]*, “you dry out a dormouse(?)” Another such case, I believe, is the logogram HI.HI, Akkadian *balālu*, “to mix.” HI.HI is the most common writing in Boghazköy Akkadian texts as well. However, in one instance in KUB 4 48 (iii 9) it is written syllabically as *tu-bal-lal*. Zisa (p. 442 and discussion p. 454) refrained from emending to *ta-bal-lal*—correctly in my opinion. The correctness of *tu-bal-lal* is confirmed, to my mind, by another occurrence in a similar context: *it-ti IM šu-a-tum tu-bal-lal ALAM te-ep-púš* “you mix with that clay, you make a figurine” ZA 45 200 i 13. These syllabic writings suggest to me that occurrences of HI.HI in similar contexts in these two texts and other Boghazköy ritual texts should normally be read as *tuballal*, that is, a D-form of *balālu*. It has to be pointed out, however, that there are occurrences of *taballal* in two Boghazköy texts. In KUB 37 45 rev.(!) i 4 we read *ana libbi šamni ha[lši] u šaman šurmēni ta-ba-al-[a-al]*. In KUB 37 1 i 16, 21, and 26, we have TĒŠ.BI *ta-bal-lal*.<sup>12)</sup> Unless syllabic writings of *taballal* in first millennium texts in such contexts can be adduced (I am not aware of any), I believe the most likely reading in first millennium texts is *tuballal* as well.

In KUB 4 48 left edge 4, Zisa (p. 443) adopts my suggested restoration as *lu-ú 2 ITI lu-ú [3 ITI ...]*. In support, I would cite KUB 37 1 rev. 9’: [*šum-m*]a 2 ITI *šum-ma* 3 ITI [...], “[you ... it/them] for either two months or three months.”<sup>13)</sup>

KUB 37 81 (*Šaziga*, p. 60. Zisa, p. 496 and 500) is a small fragment. The ritual in lines 4’-7’ can perhaps be understood better along the lines of the following suggestions. The ritual may involve using some body part or product of an animal. I suggest restorations such as [...]-šu *te-leq-qì* TĒŠ.[BI *tu-bal ta-sàk* KI KAŠ HI.HI-*m*]a NAG-šú, “you take its [...], [you dry, crush, you mix with beer, and then] you give it to him to drink.”<sup>14)</sup>

In my 1967 edition of these texts, I included KUB 37 89, suggesting that it may be a šaziga text. Since then additional texts of this genre have been published or identified, and I now realize that KUB 37 89 has none of the distinctive characteristics of šaziga texts. In my opinion, Zisa has correctly omitted it from his corpus. On the other hand, he has included KBo 36 27,<sup>15)</sup> despite the fact that previous editors of the text, Daniel Schwemer<sup>16)</sup> and Nathan Wasserman,<sup>17)</sup> have not suggested that it is a šaziga text nor has Zisa offered any convincing justification for its inclusion. It is referred to by Yoram Cohen as a love lyric.<sup>18)</sup> I believe it should probably also have been excluded from the corpus.

## Notes

1. Fincke 2010.

2. Biggs 1967, cited here as Šaziga (with a capital letter). Otherwise CAD abbreviations are used.

3. Zisa 2021.

4. Meier 1939, 210. Note that the CAD reference s.v. *rihûtu*, p. 342, should cite p. 210 instead of 206.

5. Biggs 2006, p. 47. Rumor 2020 has addressed the question of the extent of the validity of *Dreckapotheke*, *Decknamen*, and *Geheimnisnamen* in Babylonian texts. I would point out that if *rihûtu amilûti* is indeed a *Deckname* in this Boghazköy text, we have evidence that the practice is not only a phenomenon of first millennium texts, but of the 2nd millennium as well. Note that our occurrence is in a ritual, not a therapeutic medical prescription, a distinction emphasized by Rumor (p. 49). In Biggs 1978, p. 108, I made a similar distinction between materials used in rituals and in therapeutic prescriptions.

6. Farber 1973.

7. Maul 2009. Maul suggests that both terms should be read as Sumerian loan words.

8. Schuster-Brandis 2008, 365 v 17-41'. In fact the Assur catalogue of šaziga texts includes three entries for stones (Šaziga 12 i 23-25). It appears that these specific stones are connected to the two following incantation incipits in the catalogue, su-zi MIN and ki-in-da-rab MIN. See the passages cited by Schuster-Brandis.

9. For example, [i]-na GÚ-šá GAR-an, "you place around her neck," KUB 37 8:3'.
10. Köcher 1965.
11. Ibid., 323. See similar passages in CAD s.v. ururu, p. 247-248.
12. See Köcher 1952-1953. Note that he calls it a Schülertext.
13. See Köcher's edition, ibid., 49.
14. Restorations based on parallels, including Šaziga 52 AMT 66,1:4 and Šaziga 62 rev. 3.
15. Zisa 2021, 458-464.
16. Schwemer 2004, 59-79.
17. Wasserman 2016, 239-241.
18. Cohen 2022, 145-146.

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**108) The Akkadian term <sup>LÚ</sup>ETENU in Pecchioli Daddi's Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita<sup>1)</sup>** — In her outstanding work *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita*, F. Pecchioli Daddi included in the section for processing activities "<sup>LÚ</sup>ETENU" as an Akkadian term used in Hittite texts for denoting the profession "muratore," that is, "construction worker, mason, bricklayer."<sup>2)</sup>

However, this entry is a mistake. The correct Akkadian form of the term she mentions is *ĒDĒNU*, *ĒDĀNU*, "only, solitary, single,"<sup>3)</sup> whose Hittite equivalent is *šielā-*, "by oneself, single, (a)lone, apiece."<sup>4)</sup>

This equivalence is attested in KBo 13.1 i 54 (CTH 301.a.1.A), the lexical list Erimḫuš.<sup>5)</sup>

The author indicates two texts in which this Akkadian term is attested: KBo 5.7 (CTH 222.91) obv. 24 and KUB 26.60 (CTH 585.K) ii 3, citing the latter as evidence that the <sup>LÚ</sup>ETENU belonged to the temple personnel. She also provides a further attestation of this term linked to the proper name Palluwa, KUB 31.53+ i 23, which continues the line of KUB 26.60 ii 3 and thus also pertains to CTH 585. In KBo 5.7 obv. 24, a land donation, the reading is VI 'E-DE-NU-TIM',<sup>6)</sup> as Pecchioli Daddi herself indicates, which can be translated as "6 single (persons)." Ch. Rüster and G. Wilhelm provide a further attestation of the term in another land donation, Bo 90/732 (CTH 222.22) obv. 49: XXVIII E-DE-NU-TIM, "28 einzelne (Personen),"<sup>7)</sup> although they omit to include in their Glossary KBo 5.7 obv. 24. For its part, in KUB 26.60 ii 3, <sup>LÚ</sup>E-TE-NU seems to be a scribal error for E-TE-NU, as is indicated by other copies of this text,<sup>8)</sup> and its meaning is the same as the aforementioned occurrence, which H. Otten and V. Souček translated "alleinstehenden."<sup>9)</sup> The whole phrase to which KUB 26.60 ii 3 and KUB 31.53+ i 23 belong reads: I

DUMU.NITA *E-TE-NU*<sup>m</sup> *Pal-lu-wa ŠUM-ŠÚ*, “one single boy, his name (is) Palluwa.”<sup>10</sup> In addition, this Akkadian term can be found in KUB 56.1 (CTH 585) i 13: I MUNUS-*TUM-ma-aš-ši E-TE-NU EGIR-an-da pí-ya-an*[(*za*)], “one single woman to him [was] subsequently given.”<sup>11</sup>

Pecchioli Daddi might have mistaken *ĒDĒNU* with *ITINNU(M)*, *ETENNU(M)*, which means “construction worker, mason, bricklayer,”<sup>12</sup> which, to my knowledge, is not attested in Hittite texts outside the aforementioned lexical list. Therefore, the entry <sup>LÚ</sup>*ETENU* can be removed from Pecchioli Daddi’s remarkable list of professions.

## Notes

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2. Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 57.

3. CAD, E, 27–28, s.v. See also AHw, 186, s.v.

4. HED, SE-SI-SU, 61, s.v: *si(e)-*. See also CHD, Š, 333, s.v: *šia-* A; ib., 352, s.v: *šielā-*.

5. See HED, SE-SI-SU, 61, s.v: *si(e)-*; CHD, Š, 333, s.v: *ši(a)-*. The equivalence mentioned in AHw, 186, s.v: *ēdēnu*, KBo 1.42 (CTH 303.1) iv 27 also belongs to a lexical list, Izi, but the corresponding Hittite term is *šia-šī(e)-*, see CHD, Š, 333, s.v.

6. Rüster / Wilhelm 2012: 232 *sub* Nr. 91. See also HED, SE-SI-SU, 61, s.v: *si(e)-*; CHD, Š, 352, s.v: *šielā-*.

7. Rüster / Wilhelm 2012: 144–145 *sub* Nr. 22.

8. Otten / Souček 1965: 22, and n. 45.

9. See Otten / Souček 1965: 22–23.

10. See Otten / Souček 1965: 22–23.

11. Otten / Souček 1965: 30; Tischler 2016 :2 ; HED, SE-SI-SU, 61, s.v: *si(e)-*. See also CHD, Š, 352, s.v: *šielā-*.

12. AHw, 404, s.v.; CAD, I–J, 296–297, s.v.

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CHD The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, 1980ss.

HED Puhvel, J., 1984ss: Hittite Etymological Dictionary, Berlin-New York.

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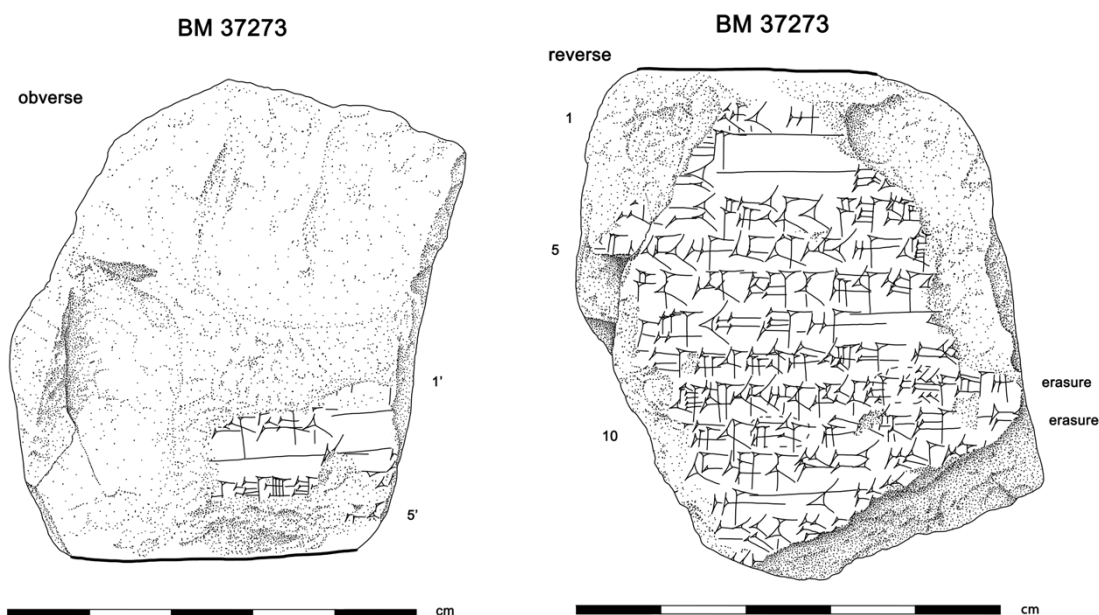
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**109) BM 37273 (1880-06-17, 1029) - *šumma ālu* 22, the first snake tablet** — Tablet 22 of the omen series *šumma ālu* is the first of probably five tablets referring to snakes. In her edition of this tablet Sally Freedman (2006: 6–32) presented six sources of this omen tablet from Assyria – four from Nineveh (sources A–D), one from Ғuzirīna (source F) and one from Assur (source X) – and one tablet from Babylonia (source e) next to eight excerpt tablets from Nineveh. One more Late Babylonian source from Babylonia can be added, BM 37273 (1880-06-17, 1029), the lower part of a tablet with parts of entries 38b–50b. The new fragment helps to fill the “gap” established by Freedman (2006: 14–15, 26–27) between entries 44 and 45. BM 37273 does not join the other source for this tablet from Babylon (BM 36389+36866 and BM 36949: source e), which seems to be a Late Babylonian excerpt tablet rather than a tablet from the series. Following the system of Freedman to give sigla with lower case letters to sources written in Babylonian script and with upper case letters to the Assyrian sources, and to give only one set of sigla for all of the snake tablets (*šumma ālu* 22–26; see Freedman 2006: 6–97), the new fragment will here be given siglum “j”.

I publish this fragment by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Sources used for the following edition:

- B K. 2128+2136+4098+7154+8288; CT 38, 33–36 (without K. 8288); CDL: P366091; collated; measurements: 92 × 229 × 30.8 mm (width × height × thickness); Nineveh; Freedman 2006: 6–32; entries 1–2, 4–36, 42–92, colophon.
- e<sub>1</sub> BM 36389+36866 (1880-06-17, 115+606); collated, measurements: 47<sup>+</sup> × 110<sup>+</sup> × 38 mm; Babylon; Freedman 2006: 6–32; entries 21–36; 47–53, 55, 57–59. 65–68. (e<sub>2</sub> = BM 36949, now re-joined with BM 37028 (1880-06-17, 690+772)).
- i BM 37273 (1880-06-17, 1029); measurements: 52.7<sup>+</sup> × 54<sup>+</sup> × 21<sup>(+)</sup> mm; Babylon; for the copy see figures 1–2; entries 38b–50b.
- sX VAT 10481+10905a+b+12918; KAR 389 (without VAT 12918); KAL 1 no. 9; Assur; Freedmann 2006: 6–32 (sources X1-3) and Heeßel 2007: 33–41; entries 33–34.

- 38b** [ ... ] KL.MIN NINDA *nap-ša* GU<sub>7</sub>  
 X i 15' [ ... ] KI.MIN NINDA *nap-ša* 'GU<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 i obv. 1' [ ... na]p-'ša<sup>1</sup> [  
 [...]; ditto, he will have plenty of bread to eat.
- 39a** [DIŠ ... *ina a-šar KAŠ-šú i]š-tin-nu MUŠ ina ŠÀ ĤABRUD KA-šu [...]*  
 X i 16'-17' [DIŠ ... *ina a-šar KAŠ-šú i]š-tin-nu MUŠ ina ŠÀ ĤABRUD KA-[š]u / [  
 i obv. 2' [DIŠ... ĤAB]RUD 'KA<sup>1</sup>-šú [  
 [If ... at the place where h]e urinated [his urine], a snake [...] its/his mouth inside a hole [...], ...].*
- 39b** [ ... NA.B]I MU NU TUK-š<sub>i</sub>  
 X i 17' [ ... NA.B]I MU NU TUK-'š<sub>i</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 i obv. 2'-3' [ ... / ] 'NU<sup>1</sup> T[UK-š<sub>i</sub>]  
 [...; tha]t [man] will not acquire fame.
- 40** [DIŠ MUŠ ...]x(-)AD *ú-gal-lit Z[I-b]u kaš-du*  
 X i 18' [DIŠ ... ZI-b]u kaš-du  
 i obv. 4' [DIŠ ... ]x(-)AD *ú-gal-[lid Z]I-b[u kaš-du]*  
 [If a snake] frightens [...], (there will be) a successful uprising.
- 41** [DIŠ MUŠ ...] DINGIR-'šú<sup>1</sup> [ARĤUŠ TU]K-š<sub>i</sub>-šú  
 X i 19' [DIŠ ... ARĤUŠ TU]K-š<sub>i</sub>-šú  
 i obv. 5' [... ] 'DINGIR-šú<sup>1</sup> [  
 [If a snake ...], his god will [hav]e [mercy] on him.
- 42** [DIŠ ... M]UŠ 'AN<sup>1</sup>.[TA? GUB-iz ŠU LU]GAL  
 X i 20' [DIŠ ... LU]GAL  
 i rev 1 [DIŠ ... M]UŠ 'AN<sup>1</sup>.[TA?  
 [If ... a sn]ake [sits] abo[ve?], the hand of the ki]ng (will be upon him).

<b>43</b>	<b>[DIŠ MUŠ ... -s]u [x x x-b]u</b>
X i 22'	[DIŠ ... -b]u
i rev 2	[DIŠ ... -s]u [
	[If a snake ... hi]s/m [...].
<b>44a</b>	<b>[DIŠ MUŠ ... B]I i[t-... ]x</b>
X i 23'	[DIŠ ... ]x
i rev 3	[DIŠ ... B]I i[t-
	[If a snake ... h]is [...], it/he [...].
<b>44b</b>	<b>[DIŠ MUŠ ... ]<sup>1</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> BI NÍG.GA-šú u NÍG.ŠU GU<sub>7</sub> ]x</b>
X i 24'	[DIŠ ... ]x
i rev 4	[DIŠ ... ] <sup>1</sup> NA <sup>1</sup> BI NÍG.GA-šú u NÍG.ŠU GU <sub>7</sub>
	[If a snake ...], that man will be able to consume his property and his goods, [...].
<b>(gap)</b>	<b>[DIŠ MUŠ ... ki-m]il-ti DINGIR ši-pir-ti DINGIR KI-[šú GÁL-ši]</b>
X i	(the rest of column i is missing)
B i 50'	[DIŠ ... ]x DINGIR <sup>1</sup> ši-pir <sup>1</sup> -t[i
i rev 5	[DIŠ ... ki-m]il-ti DINGIR ši-pir-ti DINGIR KI-[šú
	[If a snake ..., the wr]ath of a god, a message of the god [will be] wi[th him].
<b>45</b>	<b>[DIŠ MUŠ x x x x ]<sup>1</sup>x x x x GAR-šú EN INIM-šú uš-te-m[i-ig-šú]</b>
B obv. 51'	[DIŠ MUŠ x x x x ] <sup>1</sup> x x x x GAR <sup>1</sup> -šú EN INIM- <sup>1</sup> šú <sup>1</sup> [
i rev 6	[DIŠ ... ] GAR-šú EN INIM-šú uš-te-m[i-ig-šú]
	[If a snake ...], ... is set for him, his opponent in court will pray dev[outly to him].
<b>46</b>	<b>[DIŠ MUŠ ]<sub>u</sub> ŠU NA lu ĞİR NA NIGIN-mi ŠU DINGIR K[UR-šú]</b>
B obv. 52'	[DIŠ MUŠ ] <sub>u</sub> ŠU NA lu ĞİR NA NIGIN-mi ŠU <sup>1</sup> DINGIR? <sup>1</sup> [
i rev 7	[DIŠ MUŠ lu ŠU NA lu ĞİR N]A NIGIN-mi ŠU DINGIR K[UR-šú
	[If a snake] encircles [eit]her a man's hand of a man's foot, the hand of the god will re[ach him].
<b>47a</b>	<b>DIŠ MUŠ ĞİR NA NIGIN-ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma DU<sub>8</sub>-[ma]</b>
B obv. 53'	[DIŠ MU]Š ĞİR NA NIGIN-ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-i[ḫ-ma
e <sub>1</sub> rev. 1'	DIŠ MUŠ <sup>1</sup> ĞİR NA <sup>1</sup> [
i rev 8	[DIŠ MUŠ ĞİR NA NIGIN-ma ik-nu]n-ma uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma DU <sub>8</sub> -[
	If a snake encircles a man's foot and coils, <i>constricts</i> (lit.: causes weakening) and releases, [but]
<b>47b</b>	<b>MUŠ UR<sub>5</sub>-ta GAZ-šú NA BI ki-mil-ti DINGIR-šú GÁL-šú-ma ina KÁ É DINGIR [x (x)]</b>
B obv. 54'	MUŠ UR <sub>5</sub> -ta GAZ-šú NA BI ki-mil-ti DINGIR-šú GÁL- <sup>1</sup> šú <sup>1</sup> -[
i rev 9	[ GAZ-šú NA BI] ki-mil-ti DINGIR-šú GÁL-šú- <sup>*</sup> ma ina KÁ* É <sup>1</sup> DINGIR <sup>1</sup> [x (x)]
	he does not kill that snake, (for) that man the wrath of his god will be with him and in the door of the temple [...].
<b>48a</b>	<b>[DIŠ M]UŠ ĞİR NA NIGIN-ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma DU<sub>8</sub>-ma MUŠ UR<sub>5</sub>-ta NU GAZ-šú [x x x]-ši ŠUB-šú</b>
B obv. 55'	[DIŠ M]UŠ ĞİR NA NIGIN-ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma DU <sub>8</sub> -ma MUŠ [
e <sub>1</sub> rev. 2'	DIŠ MUŠ UR <sub>5</sub> -ta NU GAZ-šú [
i rev 10-11	[DIŠ MUŠ ĞİR NA NIGIN-ma ik-nun-m]a uš- <sup>*</sup> ta <sup>*</sup> -ni- <sup>1</sup> iḫ <sup>1</sup> -ma D[U <sub>8</sub> -x] / [...]-ši ŠUB-šú
	[If a sn]ake encircles a man's foot and coils, <i>constricts</i> (lit.: causes weakening) and releases, [but] he does not kill the that snake, [...]. will fall (on / from) him;
<b>48b</b>	<b>NA/LÚ BI ina ki<sup>1</sup>(TE)-na-aš-tú DINGIR u INNIN<sup>1</sup>/i[l-ti] ŠU-su NU ub-l[u ...]</b>
B obv. 56'	NA BI ina ki <sup>1</sup> (TE)-na-aš-tú DINGIR u INNIN <sup>1</sup> (DINGIR) ŠU-su NU ub-l[u-
e <sub>1</sub> rev. 3'	LÚ BI ina ki-[
i rev. 11-12	LÚ BI ina ki <sup>1</sup> (TE)- <sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup> -a[š-tú] / [0] DINGIR u i[l-ti
	that man will (lit.: did) not la[y] his hands on the priesthood of the god and the goddess, [...].
<b>49</b>	<b>DIŠ MUŠ GÚ NA NIGIN-ma ina KI.KAL DU<sub>8</sub>-šú NA/LÚ B[I ...]</b>
B i obv. 57'	[DIŠ MUŠ] GÚ NA NIGIN-ma ina KI.KAL DU <sub>8</sub> -šú NA B[I
e <sub>1</sub> rev. 4'	DIŠ MUŠ GÚ NA NIGIN-ma ina K[I.KAL
i rev 13	[DIŠ MUŠ GÚ NA NIGIN-ma ina KI.KAL D]U <sub>8</sub> -šú <sup>1</sup> LÚ <sup>1</sup> B[I
	If a snake encircles a man's neck and he detaches it (only) with difficulty, th[at] man [...].
<b>50a</b>	<b>DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU NA GAR-ma NU ZU iq-bu TAG-m[a ...]</b>
B obv. 58''	[DIŠ MUŠ] ina UGU NA GAR-ma NU ZU iq-bu TAG-m[a
e <sub>1</sub> rev. 5'	DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU NA GAR-ma NU [

i rev 14 [DIŠ MUŠ *ina* UGU NA GAR-*ma* NU ZU-*iq*]-*b*[*u*  
If a snake is present (lit. set) above a man, and he says that he did not know, he touches (it) an[d ...],  
**50b** *ana* ḪABRUD ŠUB.BA/-*ma* GAZ-šú NA/LÚ BI *ina* KA [...]  
B obv. 59' [ *a*]na ḪABRUD ŠUB.BA GAZ-šú NA BI *ina* KA [  
e<sub>1</sub> rev. 6' *ana* ḪABRUD ŠUB-*ma* GAZ-šú LÚ BI [  
i rev. (remainder is missing)  
throws it into a hole and kills it, that man [will ...] on the command of [...].

#### Comments

41) For the apodosis see *šumma ālu* 10 entry 177: ... DINGIR-šú A[RH]UŠ TUK-š<sub>i</sub>-šú, see Freedman 1998: 178.

42) Freedman 2006: 14 (...LÚ) and Heeßel 2007: 34 (...L]Ú) understand the last sign in source X as LÚ, but the traces could as well be read LU]GAL, see the copy in Heeßel 2007: 156. For ŠU LUGAL as apodosis, see *šumma ālu* 22 entry 57, see Freedman 2006: 16–17.

(gap) Freedman 2006: 26 refers to a gap between the end of source X1 (here X) and the beginning of line 51 of source B (B ll. 47-50 correspond to entry 36). BM 37273 proves, that this “gap” consists of just one entry. The trace in source B is the end of a horizontal wedge at the height of a second horizontal wedge of the following sign DINGIR.

45) For the apodosis see the tablet with snake omens from Assur, VAT 10523 (+) A 10 (KAL I 14) ii 3, see Heeßel 2007: 59.

47b, 48a) \*...\* in source i: written over erasure.

48b) Freedman 2006: 14, 26 reads the second part of the apodosis: NA BI *ina* te? di? iš? ti DINGIR ŠU-*su* NU ub-*k*[*u*], without offering a translation. The first six signs of this apodosis are the same in sources i rev. 11 and B obv. 56 (both *ina te-na-aš-*), although B writes NA instead of LÚ. While source B does not add space between the signs written before ŠU-*su*, “his hand”, BM 37273 has a clear gap before -*na-*. Source e<sub>1</sub> writes clearly LÚ.BI *ina ki-* [ , which can then be restored after B to *ina ki-na-aš-tú*, “among the priesthood”. This means that both sources B and i go back to the same corrupt manuscript that write TE instead of KI. Source i writes DINGIR *u i*[*l-ti* ...], “the god and the go[ddess ...]”, suggesting a reading DINGIR *u* INNIN! instead of DINGIR *u* DINGIR in source B (Freedman read -*ti* DINGIR).

#### Bibliography

- FREEDMAN, Sally M. 1998. *If a City is Set on a Height, The Akkadian Omen Series Šumma Alu ina Mēlê Šakin, Volume 1: Tablets 1–21*. OPSNKF 17. Philadelphia.  
— 2006. *If a City is Set on a Height, The Akkadian Omen Series Šumma Alu ina Mēlê Šakin, Volume 2: Tablets 22–40*. OPSNKF 19. Philadelphia.  
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**110) *šumma ālu* tablet 1: BM 35935 joins BM 35582+ —** The copy of *šumma ālu* tablet 1 published as CT 38, 2–6 is based on several sources, one of which is BM 35582. This is a fragmentary Late Babylonian tablet with two columns on each side. The tablet actually consists of BM 35582(Sp III 91)+Sp III 180+188+338 (see CBTBM 4–5, 2019: 296) and comes from Babylon according to the department’s register (see CBTBM 4–5, 2019: 292). Sally M. Freedman (1998: 25–61) utilised this tablet as source “e” in her edition of tablet 1 of the series *šumma ālu*. The scribe writes the possessive suffix -*šu* instead of -*šú*.

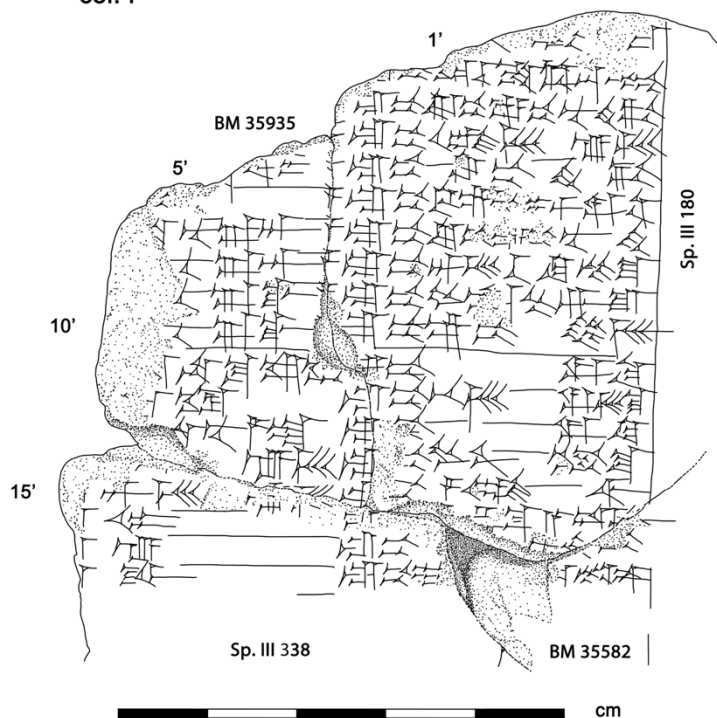
BM 35935 (Sp. III 471) is a small fragment with text only on one side that fills the gap in the upper left part of BM 35582+, as can be seen in the copy provided here, although the left edge with the beginning of the entries is still missing. It joins lines 5’-15’ of BM 35582+ column i that contain entries 29-39 of this *šumma ālu* tablet, see the edition below. The apodosis of entry 25 reads after BM 35582+ i 1’: [... URU BI LÚ.KÚ]R [GAZ-š<sub>u</sub>], “[...]x[...], the ene]my will destroy [this city].”

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- a<sub>3</sub> K. 6097+6693 (CT 38, 2-5)+K. 12724(CT 38, 1), see CDLI P238581; Nineveh; Babylonian ductus; collated.  
e BM 35582 (Sp. III 91)+ Sp III 180+188+338 (CT 38, 2-5)+BM 35935 (Sp. III 471); see figure 1; Babylon; measurements 109.4<sup>(+)</sup>× 107.5<sup>+</sup> × 32.9 mm (width × height × thickness).  
f BM 55550 (CT 38, 2-3); Sippar; collated.

BM 35582+35935+Sp. III 180+188+338

col. i



- 29 a<sub>3</sub> i 5' [DIŠ URU (x) ]x-*hi na-di-i* GAR URU BI ŠÀ.BI DÙG.'GA'  
 e i 5' [DIŠ URU (x) x-*hi n*]a-*di-i* GAR<sup>1</sup> URU BI 'ŠÀ<sup>1</sup>.BI DÙG.GA
- 30 a<sub>3</sub> i 6' [DIŠ URU A.G]ÀR 'GAR<sup>1</sup> URU BI ŠÀ UN.MEŠ *i-pár-ru-ud*  
 e i 6' [DIŠ URU A.G]ÀR 'GAR<sup>1</sup> URU BI ŠÀ 'UN.MEŠ *i<sup>1</sup>-pár-ru-ud*
- 31 a<sub>3</sub> i 7' [DIŠ URU A]N.TA-*nu* É DINGIR GAR URU BI ŠÀ UN.BI NU [DÙG.G]A  
 e i 7' [DIŠ URU AN.T]A-*nu* É DINGIR 'GAR<sup>1</sup> URU 'BI ŠÀ-*bi* UN.BI<sup>1</sup> NU DÙG<.GA>
- 32 a<sub>3</sub> i 8' [DIŠ URU KI.T]A-*nu* É DINGIR GAR URU BI DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú* SILIM-*m[u]-šú*  
 e i 8' [DIŠ URU KI.TA]-*nu* É DINGIR 'GAR<sup>1</sup> URU BI DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú* SILIM-*mu-šú*
- 33 a<sub>3</sub> i 9' [DIŠ URU AN.T]A-*nu* É.GAL GAR URU BI DU<sub>14</sub> *sad-r[at]-su*  
 e i 9' [DIŠ URU AN.TA-*n*]u É.GAL 'GAR<sup>1</sup> URU BI 'DU<sub>14</sub><sup>1</sup> *sad-rat-su*  
 f i 1' [DIŠ U]RU AN.TA-*n*[*u*
- 34 a<sub>3</sub> i 10' [DIŠ URU KI.T]A-*nu* É.GAL GAR URU BI UN.BI B[IR.M]E  
 e i 10' [DIŠ URU KI.TA-*n*]u É.GAL G[AR U]RU BI UN.BI BIR.MEŠ  
 f i 2' DIŠ URU KI.TA-*nu* É.'GAL GAR URU<sup>1</sup> [
- 
- 35 a<sub>3</sub> i 11' [DIŠ URU *túb-ki-n*]a-*šú* *iš-qu* URU BI ŠU[B-*d*]i  
 e i 11' [DIŠ URU *túb-ki-na-šú* *iš-ru* URU<sup>1</sup> BI ŠUB-*di*  
 f i 3' DIŠ URU *túb-ki-na-šú* *iš-qu* URU BI 'ŠUB<sup>1</sup>-*di*
- 36 a<sub>3</sub> i 12' [DIŠ MIN BÍ.NAG] URU BI ÚŠ.MEŠ ŠUB.MEŠ-[*šú*]  
 e i 12' [DIŠ MIN B]Í.NAG U[R]U BI ÚŠ.MEŠ ŠUB.MEŠ-*šu*  
 f i 4' DIŠ URU MIN BÍ.NAG URU BI ÚŠ.MEŠ 'ŠUB<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-*šú*
- 37 a<sub>3</sub> i 13' [DIŠ MIN AN.TA-*nu*] GAR-*at* URU BI ŠUB  
 e i 13' [DIŠ MIN AN.T]A-*nu* GAR-*at* 'URU<sup>1</sup> BI ŠUB-*di*  
 f i 5' DIŠ URU MIN AN.TA-*nu* GAR-*at* URU BI ŠUB-*di*
- 38 a<sub>3</sub> i 14' [DIŠ MIN MUL.MEŠ D]IRI.MEŠ URU BI LÚ.KÚR GAZ-[*šú*]  
 e i 14' [DIŠ MIN MU[L.M]E[Š]] DIRI.MEŠ URU [B]I LÚ.KÚR GAZ-*šu*  
 f i 6' DIŠ URU MIN MUL.MEŠ DIRI-*at* URU BI 'LÚ<sup>1</sup>.KÚR GAZ-*šú*

- 39 a<sub>3</sub> i 15' [DIŠ MIN DINGIR.MEŠ DIR]I.MEŠ URU BI NÍG.GIG IGI  
 e i 15' [DIŠ MI]N DINGIR.MEŠ 'DIRI.MEŠ' UR[U B]I NÍG.GIG IGI  
 f i 7' DIŠ URU MIN DINGIR.MEŠ 'DIRI-*at* URU BI NÍG. 'GIG' IGI
- 40 a<sub>3</sub> i 16' [DIŠ MIN GE<sub>6</sub> URU *a-ši-bu-š*]u ÚKU.MEŠ'  
 e i 16' [DIŠ MI]N GE<sub>6</sub> 'URU' [a-š]i-[i]b-šu ÚKU.MEŠ  
 f i 8' DIŠ URU MIN GE<sub>6</sub> URU BI *a-ši-bu-š*ú ÚKU.MEŠ
- 41 (for the continuation see the edition in Freedman 1998: 49–61)
- 29 [If] there is deserted (or fallow) [...] [in a city], the heart of that city will be happy.  
 30 [If] there is [mea]dow [in a city], the heart of the people of that city will be frightened.  
 31 [If] there is a temple in the upper [city], the heart of the people of that city will not be happy.  
 32 [If] there is a temple in the [low]er [city], the gods of that city will be friendly to it.  
 33 [If] there is a palace in the upper [c]ity, quarrel will occur regularly in that city.  
 34 If there is a palace in the lower city, the people of that city will be dispersed.
- 
- 35 If the garbage heap of a city is high, that city will be abandoned.  
 36 If ditto is flooded, plague will befall that city  
 37 If ditto is placed in the upper city, that city will be abandoned.  
 38 If ditto is full of stars (or star-shaped features), an enemy will destroy that city.  
 39 If ditto is full of gods (or DINGIR-shaped features), that city will experience misfortune.  
 40 If ditto is black, the inhabitants of that city will become poor.  
 41 (for the continuation see the edition in Freedman 1998: 28–45)

## Bibliography

FREEDMAN, Sally M. 1998: *If a City is Set on a Height. The Akkadian Omen Series Šumma Alu ina Mēlê Šakin Volume I: Tablets 1-21*. OPSNKF 17. Philadelphia.

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**111) Another join to a commentary to *enūma anu enlil* (EAE) 14** — In early October 2017, Mathieu Ossendrijver and I met in the library of the *Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten* (Leiden) to work through some of my photographs of unidentified astronomical tablets in the British Museum. He drew my attention to my photograph of the fragment BM 43081 (1881-7-1, 845) as a possible fragment of MUL.APIN or EAE 14, since it included actual distances. Soon afterwards I was able to identify the fragment as belonging to the Late Babylonian *šātu u šūt pî*-commentary on EAE 14, BM 42961+42964+45821+46215 (1881-7-1, 725+728+1881-7-6, 242+399+565+676+677)<sup>1</sup>, and with help of the edition of EAE 14 and my photographs make a physical join. Subsequently, Jon Taylor at the British Museum has confirmed this join. The new fragment joins the reverse of the tablet and complies with its measurements (8.7 × 9.6<sup>+</sup> × 3.0<sup>+</sup> mm). The joined piece belongs to the upper part of the tablet, of which almost half is missing.

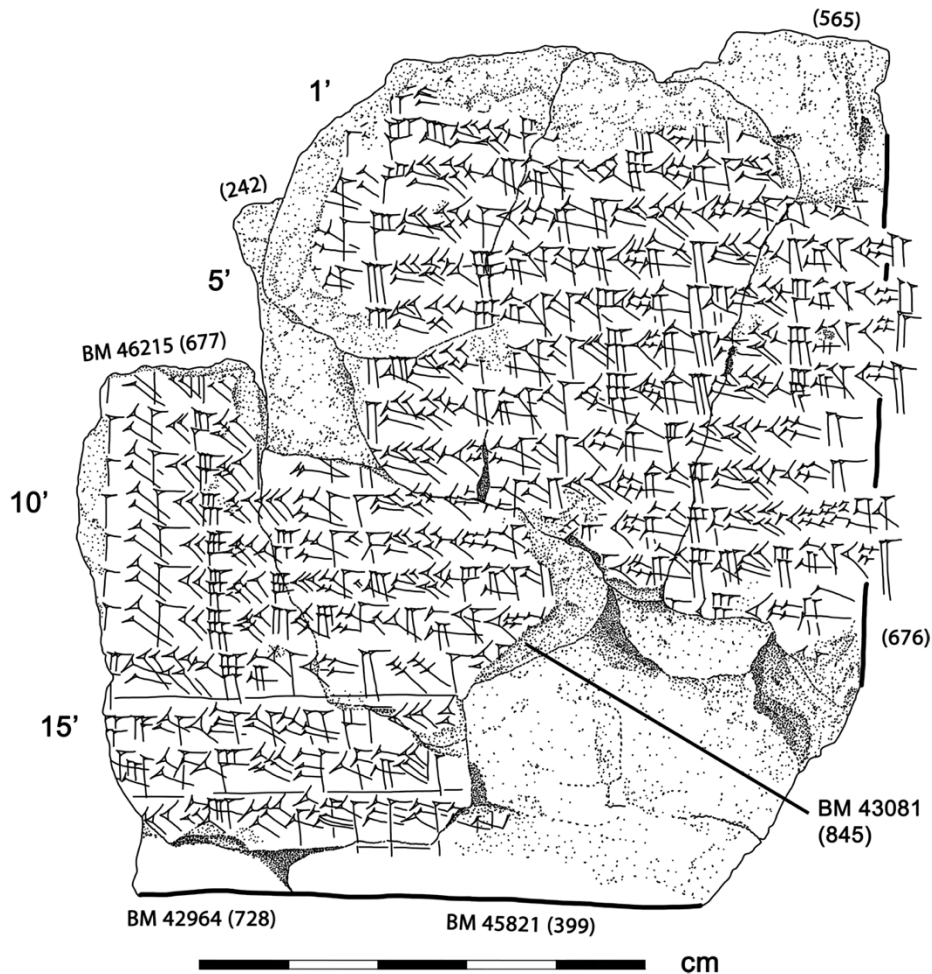
The fragment BM 45821+46215 was earlier published by Al-Rawi – George 1991–92: 63–66 (edition) and 73 (autograph).<sup>1)</sup> In 2014, Ossendrijver published the results of his study of the algorithms presented on the obverse of that tablet, after having joined the two fragments BM 42961 (1881-7-1, 725) and 42964 (1881-7-1, 728) with the obverse of the tablet. In 2008, Steele and Brack-Bernsen published a small fragment (BM 45900 [1881-7-6, 332]) which came from a duplicate of this commentary on EAE. Our new join to BM 42961<sup>++</sup> helps to restore the badly preserved first line of the reverse of BM 45900 and gives correct numbers for the last two days of the month.

BM 42961<sup>++</sup> was most probably written by a scholar associated to the Esagila in Babylon, since it includes an invocation to Bēl and Bēltija on the upper edge (Ossendrijver 2014: 158). BM 45900 has no invocation. On its obverse, the commentary basically gives advice for mathematically converting the duration of the visibility of the moon (*manzazu* [NA]) from sunset to moonset for every day of an ideal equinoctial month from “time degrees” (UŠ) of the tradition of Nippur into the water clock units of the tradition of Babylon: 1 MA.NA of water = 60 UŠ. This part of the commentary mainly deals with EAE 14 Tables A and B (see for both Al-Rawi – George 1991–92: 55 and 56). For the conversion the tablet offers several algorithms.



**BM 42961+42964+43081+45821+46215**

reverse



On its reverse, the commentary gives the values of the duration of visibility of the moon for every day of an ideal equinoctial month in “time degrees” (UŠ, without naming the unit itself, here using the normal sexagesimal system by which 60 UŠ would be the next higher unit) and in the alternative style using double hours (DANNA, *bēru*) and UŠ (with the conversion of 1 DANNA = 30 UŠ), followed by the time of invisibility of the moon at night (GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL, Akkadian *mūšu* [GE<sub>6</sub>] *nasih*, “the night is passed”, and *mūša* [GE<sub>6</sub>] *ikâšu*, “the [moon] lingers by night”) first in UŠ and then in DANNA and UŠ, again with the conversion of 1 DANNA = 30 UŠ. When the specified duration of lunar visibility is added to the specified duration of lunar invisibility the result is written sexagesimally as 3,0 UŠ, i.e. 180 UŠ, or 12 hours, the ideal duration of one night.

*EAE* 14 Table A also gives data for both the visibility and invisibility in UŠ by decreasing the time for visibility of the moon and increasing the time of its invisibility according to each day. In contrast to the commentary, the data for the invisibility in *EAE* 14 Table A are included only from day 16 onwards, when the moon entered its last quarter of waning. The numbers of both *EAE* 14 Table A and its commentary are generally identical, but deviate for days 28 and 29. The new fragment shows that the deviation is even stronger than thought.

Since the new fragment joins the reverse of BM 42961<sup>++</sup>, a transliteration of the obverse is omitted here, for which see Ossendrijver 2014. The new join to BM 42961<sup>++</sup> is published here courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

A = BM 42961+42964+43081+ 45821+46215; measurements: 8.7 × 9.6<sup>+</sup> × 3.0<sup>+</sup> mm; see figure 1.

B = BM 45900; Steele and Brack-Bernsen 2008: 255–60.

Reverse

- A 1' [DIŠ UD.17.KAM 2,36 GUB] ʿ5<sup>1</sup> DA[NNA 6 UŠ : 24 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL 2/3 DANNA 4 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> MIN]  
 A 2' [DIŠ UD.18.KAM 2,24 GU]B 4 2/3 DANNA 4 U[Š : 3]6 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL 1 D[ANNA 6 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> MIN]  
 A 3' [DIŠ UD.19.KAM 2,12 G]UB : 4 DANNA 12 UŠ : 48 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL 1 DANN[A 18 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> MIN]  
 A 4' [DIŠ UD.20.KAM 2,0] GUB 4 DANNA 1,0 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL 2 DANNA GE<sub>6</sub> *na-si-ʿiḫ*<sup>1</sup>  
 A 5' [DIŠ UD.21.KAM 1,48] ʿGUB<sup>1</sup> 3 DANNA 18 UŠ : 1,12 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL 2 DANNA 12 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> MIN  
 A 6' [DIŠ UD.22.KAM 1,36 GUB] 3 DANNA 6 UŠ : 1,24 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL 2 2/3 DANNA 4 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> MIN  
 A 7' ʿDIŠ UD.23.KAM<sup>1</sup> [1,24 GUB] 2 2/3 DANNA ʿ4<sup>1</sup> UŠ : 1,36 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL 3 DANNA 6 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> MIN  
 A 8' DIŠ UD.24.KAM [1,12 GUB] 2 DANNA 12 UŠ : 1,48 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL 3 DANNA 18 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> MIN  
 A 9' DIŠ UD.25.KAM ʿ1,0 GUB 2<sup>1</sup> DANNA GE<sub>6</sub> GUB : 2,0 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL 3 DANNA 18 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> MIN  
 A 10' DIŠ UD.26.KAM 0,30 GUB 1 ʿDANNA GE<sub>6</sub> GUB<sup>1</sup> : 2,30 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL : 5 DANNA GE<sub>6</sub> MIN  
 A 11' DIŠ UD.27.KAM 0,15 GUB : 1/2 DANNA GE<sub>6</sub> GUB : ʿ2,4<sup>15</sup> GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL : 5 1/2 DANNA GE<sub>6</sub> *i-ka-šú*  
 A 12' DIŠ UD.28.KAM 0,7,30 GUB : 2/3 DANNA 4 UŠ : ʿ2<sup>1</sup>,[5]5 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL : 5 2/3 DAN<NA> 5 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> MIN  
 A 13' DIŠ UD.29.KAM 0,3,45 GUB : 1/3 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> GU[B : 2,5]6,15 GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL  
 B 1' [DIŠ UD.29.KAM 0,3,]ʿ45 GUB<sup>1</sup> 1/3 DANNA  
 A 14' ʿ5<sup>1</sup> DANNA 18 UŠ GE<sub>6</sub> MIN : : DIŠ ʿUD<sup>1</sup>,[30.KAM DINGIR *ina* UD GU]B  
 B 1'-2' 18 ʿUŠ(over erasure)<sup>1</sup> GE<sub>6</sub> MIN (2') [DIŠ UD.30.KAM DINGIR] *i-na* AN-*e*  
 A  
 A 15' *ša-a-tú u šu-ut* KA *šá* DIŠ 30 U[D.I.KAM 3,45 GUB(-zu)]  
 B 3' [ ] ʿ3<sup>1</sup>,45 GUB :  
 A 16' [ʿ]up-pi 14.KAM.MA IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.[ME *šá* 30]  
 B 3' IM 14.KAM.MA IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.ʿA 30<sup>1</sup>  
 A 17' [DIS] 30 *iḫ-mu-ṭam-ma ba-ra-r*[i it-ta-'-dar]  
 B 4' [LIBIR.RA.G]IM *ša-tír-ma : ba-ri* : AG<sup>1</sup>(LA).A  
 B 5' [...]x <sup>md</sup>EN-AD-ŠEŠ A *šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-TIN-su-E

Comments

**Day 28:** The first correlation: 0,7,30 (7 1/2 UŠ) GUB : 2/3 DANNA 4 UŠ (24 UŠ) does not represent a correct mathematical conversion. *EAE* 14 Table A gives the value 0,7,30 for this day, which is half of the value given for the previous day and thus following the scheme used for days 25 and 26. So, the correct correlation would be 0,7,30 = 1/6 DANNA 2 1/2 UŠ. Still, the value 2/3 DANNA 4 UŠ matches the computation with 0,7,30 as the basis presented on the obverse of the commentary for day 2 according to *Algorithms i* and *ii* (obv. 11-17), see Ossendrijver 2014.

The data given for the invisibility of the moon, ʿ2<sup>1</sup>,[5]5 (175 UŠ) GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL : 5 2/3 DAN<NA> 5 UŠ (175 UŠ) does not correspond to the correct data given in *EAE* 14 Table A: 2,52,30 UŠ (172 1/2 UŠ).

**Day 29:** The scribe of source B omits half of the line by mistake.

As was the case with day 28, here also the first correlation, 0,3,45 (3 3/4 UŠ) GUB : 1/3 UŠ (or according to source B: 1/3 DANNA [10 UŠ]), is not a correct conversion according to the scheme used before. The computations presented on the obverse of the commentary for day 1 are all based on 0,3,45, but the result according to *Algorithms i* and *ii* is 12, see Ossendrijver 2014. Thus, in the commentary the number needed would be 1/3 DANNA 2 UŠ. It is very likely that the scribe of source A also made a mistake in this line and simply omitted the two signs DANNA 2.

The data given for the invisibility of the moon at night, [2,5]6,15 (176 1/4 UŠ) GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL : ʿ5<sup>1</sup> DANNA 18 UŠ (168 UŠ) are also not correct according to the conversion scheme used before in the table. The first number, at least, corresponds to the data given in *EAE* 14 Table A (2,56,15 [(176 1/4 UŠ) GI<sub>6</sub>.ZAL]. The second number should have been 5 2/3 DANNA 6 1/4 UŠ.

**Days 28 and 29:** The data given for days 28 and 29 present a problem, inasmuch as only the values of UŠ for the visibility of the moon of both days and for the invisibility of day 29 correspond with *EAE* 14 Table A. Judging from the data given for the visibility of the moon on day 28, the conversion values seem to go back to a tradition based

on a different system. The kinds of deviations, however, rather seem to point at scribal mistakes that were later copied strictly following the canon of not changing the text of the exemplar without recalculating the numbers.

**Day 30:** After reading the last traces of that line [... GU]B, source A is restored from the corresponding entry in *EAE* Table A, saying “[Day 30], the god stands at day(time)”. Source B has a different wording: “[Day 30, the god] is at the (day) sky”. Both are expressions for the invisibility of the moon at new moon.

**Catchline (source A 17’):** “If the moon is early and is eclipsed in the evening watch” is the incipit of *EAE* 15, the first lunar eclipse omen tablet of the *EAE*, as is given in the Uruk catalogue of the series (see Weidner 1941–44: 186–89, Tafel I–II). For the lunar eclipse omen section of *EAE* see Rochberg-Halton 1988.

**Colophon of B (4’-5’):** “[Acco]rding [to its exemplar] written and collated: made(!). [...] Bēl-aba-ušur, son of Nabû-balāt-su-iqbī.” Steele and Brack-Bersens 2008: 257 read the first element of the father’s name <sup>d</sup>EN, and Frahm 2011: 143 corrected this to <sup>d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>, suggesting that the father might be identical with Nabû-balāssu-iqbī descendent of Egibi who lived towards the end of the second century BCE. Collations of the tablet show a very shallow <sup>d</sup>AG, and an emendation is not necessary.

For the writing LA.A as a mistake for AG.A (*uppuš*) see already Eleanor Robson in Steele and Brack-Bersens 2008: 259. For the sequence *šaṭir-ma bari uppuš*, see Hunger 1968: 3b.

**Additional Note.** In BM 45900 (Steele and Brack-Bersens 2008: 256, 257) obv. 1 read: [DIŠ 30 UD.1.KAM 3,45 GUB]: *ša DUG<sup>d</sup>-šú IGI 3,4<sup>5</sup> 16*, which duplicates BM 42961<sup>++</sup> obv. 1. For the meaning see Ossendrijver 2014.

## Note

1. John Steele kindly drew my attention to the wrong museum and registration numbers BM 45821(Sh. 81-7-6, 242+399+676)+46093(565)+46215(672) given by Al Rawi–George 1991–92: 54. For BM 46215 the correct registration number is 81-7-6, 677, not 81-7-6, 672. For 81-7-6, 565 they give BM 46093, but according to the British Museum notes this fragment has no BM number at all; BM 46093 has the registration number 1881-7-6, 542. I cannot find any hint on the joined fragment itself for BM 46093. The mistake could have arisen when misreading 242 on the registration number as 542 which led to identifying BM 46093 as part of this joined piece. The wrong numbers have subsequently perpetuated, but the correct numbers given here were confirmed to me by C. B. F. Walker in March 2018.

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**112) A Proposal for a Restoration in Standard Babylonian *Anzû* (III:150)** — The third tablet of *Anzû*’s Standard Babylonian version ends with a syncretic list enumerating the various cities and temples in which Ninurta receives praise as well as the names of the patron deities in those respective locations. The 30-line section of the text (III 127–156) is quite fragmentary, with few lines that can be fully restored and fewer still remaining entirely intact.<sup>1)</sup> Previous studies by MORAN (1988) and STRECK (1998) have highlighted affinities between this list and the OB godlist tradition. Proceeding under the assumption that the list in *Anzû*’s third tablet is, like the similar exposition on Marduk’s fifty names in *Enūma eliš* (SERI 2006; 2014), heavily influenced by these godlists, the following offers a new potential reconstruction of one of the lost identities of Ninurta in *Anzû*.

Several of the names from *Anzû* are also found among the embodiments of Ninurta in the OB *Nippur God List* (*NGL*): Ninurta, Ningirsu, Zababa, and Pabilsag (Figure 1). The *NGL* contains additional names also present in *Anzû* — Ištarān, Ninazu, Papsukkal, and Pisangunuk — though these occur outside of the section commonly believed to be equations to Ninurta.<sup>2)</sup> *NGL* also lists Uta-ulu and Uraš as embodiments of Ninurta, though these names are not extant in the fragmentary final list in *Anzû*. However, the frequency with which they are associated with Ninurta elsewhere lends support to their inclusion in the original, unbroken version of the text.

	SB <i>Anzû</i> III	<i>NGL</i> <sup>3)</sup>
Ninurta	-	34
Ningirsu	128	35
Uta-ulu	-	36
Uraš	-	37
Zababa	142	38
Pabilsag	137	40
Ištarān	141	74
Ninazu	139	93
Papsuskal	156	112
Pisangunuk	151	21'

Figure 1 – SB *Anzû* III and *NGL*

Despite these affinities, the *NGL* lacks instances where the ordering of Ninurta’s identities corresponds to those in *Anzû*. However, such parallels are present elsewhere.

A NA manuscript of *An = Anum* (CT 25 9-14), by far the largest and most systematically organized of the known godlists, contains just such an example (Figure 2).<sup>4)</sup> In an offering of notes on the initial publication of a large fragment of *Anzû* by (GM 1; SAGGS 1986), MORAN (1988: 18) drew attention to the parallel sequence present in his text and CT 25 9-14. He noted that SB *Anzû* III 130-131 describes Ninurta as “Guardian of the throne” (*rābiš* <sup>giš</sup>GU.ZA) and then equates him with the Elamite god Ḫurabtil in consecutive lines. This matches exactly the sequence found in CT 25 11 ii 36-37, in which Ninurta is called “Guardian of the throne” (*rābiš* <sup>giš</sup>GU.ZA) and then equated with Laḫuratil, an alternative form of the name Ḫurabtil (HENKELMAN 2006–2008: 449; FRAYNE and STUCKEY 2021: 304). Of particular interest here is that it is not simply the names of two gods commonly associated with Ninurta in parallel sequence. Rather, this sequence includes an otherwise unattested epithet for Ninurta followed by a syncretism with a relatively obscure Elamite deity who appears only sparingly in the Sumerian literary record. Both the remarkable nature of these equations and the mimicking of sequence further confirms the possibility that *Anzû* is dependent in part on OB god-lists.<sup>5)</sup>

	SB <i>Anzû</i> III	CT 25 11
“Guardian of the throne” ( <i>rābiš</i> <sup>giš</sup> GU.ZA)	130	ii 36
Ḫurabtil/Laḫuratil	131	ii 37

Figure 2 – SB *Anzû* III and CT 25 11

As previously noted by STRECK (1998: 518–9), a similar example of parallel sequence is present in the *Weidner God List* (*WGL*), known from several exemplars dating as early as the Ur III period.<sup>6)</sup> In SB *Anzû* III 147-148, Ninurta is equated with the god-hero Lugalbanda and Lugal-marada in consecutive lines. This matches the sequence of *WGL* i 49-51, where Lugalbanda and Lugal-marada are situated among Ninurta’s manifestations with only Ninsun/Gula — spouse of Lugalbanda — separating them.

	SB <i>Anzû</i> III	<i>WGL</i>
Lugalbanda	147	i 49
Lugalmarada	148	i 51

Figure 3 – SB *Anzû* III and *WGL* i 49-51

In CT 25 11, we encountered Ninurta described with an uncommon epithet and then equated to an Elamite god. Here the sequence is not only made up of two individual gods but appears to have originated from a section of a list arranged lexically rather than hierarchically or theologically.<sup>7)</sup> This would serve as the second example of *Anzû*’s syncretic list mimicking the ordering of deities in prominent OB god-lists. And based on our two examples, it would seem that the person responsible for creating the list of Ninurta’s various identities in *Anzû* either made use of multiple different god-lists or utilized a list with several different organization paradigms, *à la WGL*.

With these analogues, there is evidence for a third example of parallel sequencing between the list in *Anzû* and OB god-lists — once again in the *WGL*. This would serve as the second point of contact

between *Anzû* III 127–156 and *WGL*, seemingly demonstrating a strong connection between the enumeration of Ninurta’s identities and the OB godlist tradition.

Owing to the fragmentary state of *Anzû*’s third tablet, there is little in the way of the context necessary to restore the lost names of the gods equated with Ninurta. An exception may be *Anzû* III 150, which provides the location in which the god was worshipped but lacks the name of Ninurta’s manifestation: “[...] in the city of Bubê, in the Enimmanku temple” ([*x x*] *x ina iriBubê ina Enimmanku*). Neither Bubê nor the Enimmanku appear frequently in the OB literary record. This serves as the sole reference to the Enimmanku (“High House of Pure Heaven”) in Sumerian or Akkadian literature (GEORGE 1993: 134 [no. 889]). The town of Bubê, a border settlement near the Elamite city of Dêr, is likewise absent from second-millennium texts.

However, Bubê does appear frequently among the lists of various towns surrounding Dêr plundered by Neo-Assyrian kings in their Elamite campaigns.<sup>8)</sup> In one instance (RIME 3 A.0.103.2 ll. 46’-47’), an inscription of Šamši-Adad V states that during a campaign to Dêr, he carried off the statue of “Sakkud of Bubê” (*Sakkud ſa Bubê*) back to Assyria. In a later inscription of Esarhaddon (RINAP 4:048 r 94), that king claims to return a statue of “Sakkud of Bubê” to Dêr. The plundering and subsequent repatriation of this statue would suggest that Sakkud was an important figure in Bubê or possibly even the tutelary deity for the area. And as these are the lone instances in which a specific god is associated with Bubê, Sakkud serves as the mostly likely candidate for the now-lost name of the god described in *Anzû* III 150.

	SB <i>Anzû</i> III	<i>WGL</i>
Sakkud*	150	i 46
Pisangunuk	151	i 47

Figure 4 — Proposed Reconstruction of SB *Anzû* III and *WGL*

If one accepts a reconstruction of Sakkud, Ninurta would therefore be equated with Sakkud and Pisangunuk (MES.SAG.UNUG<sup>ki</sup>) in consecutive lines (*Anzû* III 150-151). This sequence is identical to that of *WGL* 46-47, where Pisangunuk likewise follows Sakkud as an embodiment of Ninurta.

This ordering within the *WGL* appears to be relatively stable, as evidenced by multiple exemplars coming from a wide chronological and geographic range (cf. VS 24, 020 + SE 55 ii 1’-2’; *Ugaritica* 5 137 r iii 8’-9’).<sup>9)</sup> Though it is present in several manuscripts of *WGL*, this ordering does not align with that of CT 25 9-14 — the manuscript of *An = Anum* containing the extended enumeration of Ninurta’s identities.

However, this can be explained vis-à-vis the text’s organizational mechanisms. In the Neo-Assyrian exemplar of *An = Anum*, Sakkud appears earlier place in the text (CT 25 11 ii 34), coming at the beginning of a series of Ninurta’s manifestations who are all connected to Elam in one way or another — once again implicitly aligning it with the city of Bubê. Likewise, Pisangunuk appears in a section at the end of the text organized lexically among a long series of gods described as “divine mayors” (<sup>d</sup>EN.IRI-MU).

So, while *Anzû*’s syncretic list is almost certainly rooted in OB god-lists, it appears that the person responsible for compiling it utilized either multiple lists or a list that is no longer extant. Or, a third option — it represents the author’s personal speculation on these things.

In conclusion, the affinities between *Anzû* III 127-156 and extant godlists are as follows:

	SB <i>Anzû</i> III	Parallel
“Guardian of the throne” ( <i>rābiš</i> <sup>giš</sup> GU.ZA)	130	CT 25 11 ii 36
Ḫurabtil/Laḫuratil	131	CT 25 11 ii 37
Lugalbanda	147	<i>WGL</i> i 49
Lugalmarada	148	<i>WGL</i> i 51
Sakkud*	150	<i>WGL</i> i 46
Pisangunuk	151	<i>WGL</i> i 47

## Notes

1. Akkadian text and line numbers follow those of ANNUS (2001).
2. On the difficulties in interpreting the organizational structure of *NGL*, PETERSON (2009: 5–7).

3. Line numbers follow those of PETERSON (2009).

4. Despite being a late copy, CT 25 9-14 appears to represent a rel. stable textual tradition closely related to *An = Anum* extending back to the OB period. So much so that LITKE ([1958] 1998) utilized the text in his preparation of his composite edition.

5. We should note that, like the *NGL*, CT 25 9-14 also equates many of the same gods with Ninurta as does *Anzû*. Of the 18 surviving examples of names and titles from *Anzû*, 13 are present in CT 25 9-14. Further, by rendering the name <sup>4</sup>IGI.DU (CT 25 12 iii 17) into its Akkadian equivalent, we are left with *alāk mahri* (“the one who goes before”). This aligns with the only remaining bit of text from *Anzû* III 136. Accepting this reconstruction would bring the total number of paralleled names to 14 of a possible 18.

6. Line numbers follow those of ZAIA (2013–2022).

7. With SELZ (1990: 113–4), there are three potential organizational systems utilized in the compilation of god-lists: 1) lexical organization; 2) hierarchical or “theological” lists; and 3) lists in which the goal is the equation or mutual identification of gods. As SELZ notes, the second and third organizational paradigms for these lists represent a sort of theological speculation occurring as a “sophisticated, almost ‘scholarly’ level.” See also LAMBERT (1971: 473–4).

8. See RINAP 2:116 33; RINAP 3:018 iv 17’; RINAP 5:007 ix 16’; RINAP 5:194 vi 9.

9. Note than in *Ugaritica* 5 137 r iii 8’, Sakkud is described as *gašru* (“mighty”), a common epithet of Ninurta.

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**113) Tiglath-Pileser’s River-Man** — Among the animals publicly displayed by Tiglath-Pileser I were a crocodile and a “river-man”, both presents by the king of Egypt, presumably Ramses XI. Parts of them can be seen on two obelisk fragments from Assur, drawn by J. Orlamünde (2011: pls. 9 and 49, here fig. 1). Head and front legs of the crocodile can be seen on BM 135844 (Russell 2017: 476), whereas Frahm (2011: 61) pointed out that the fin-like structure on Assur 3493 might represent the hind part of the “river-man”. In an otherwise excellent paper, Shibata regarded the hind part as a “caudal fin or foot ... that has split in two” and considered the possibility that it belongs to the same creature as the crocodile-like front (2022:125). His monster should be undone before it starts to grow. The “river-man” has the hind flippers of a pinniped and was certainly a Mediterranean monk seal (Fig. 2). This confirms an argument by Gadd (1948), who guessed the correct identification even without iconographic evidence. In his paper he also discusses the fragment A. 7850, which may be related in some way, but does not represent a seal. He weighs the possible identification as a moray, but would prefer a more impressive creature. A crocodile might be a candidate. The eyes would fit and the snout is broken off, but the sculpture shows no scales. Might they have been painted?



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**114) A fourth eponym on the Broken Obelisk** — Line III, 31 has long been a crux in the interpretation of the Broken Obelisk. The preceding text III,1-30 presents a bland and repetitive account of military campaigns, mainly against the Arameans. The accounts are temporally ordered and all of them start with a date that states the month of the campaign (Brinkman 1968: 383-386). When the Arameans are concerned, the accounts consist of a single sentence. The end of line III, 30 repeats KASKAL ša KUR a-ri-me for the twelfth time. On all previous occasions this phrase is followed by a passage between half a line and a line in length, with some geographic details and the final verb *imtaḥas*. Of line III, 31 only its final part is conserved. It reads ]x bu-na-a-ni. This has been difficult to understand. The suggestions of the erection of a statue or the mutilation of the face of an enemy discussed in RIMA 2, p. 103 require that KASKAL ša KUR a-ri-me was followed by a passage more than a line in length and with an atypical content. Instead one can reconstruct a passage of standard length followed by a standard date statement, since right here one expects a month in a new eponymate. Indeed, Brinkman observed that the previous eponym Ilī-iddina was installed in month IX of the Babylonian calendar and must have finished his tenure at the end of the following month VIII, where the events of III, 28-30 took place (1968: 386). An eponym *Bu-na-nu* in the period under consideration has long been known (Saporetti 1979: 134). The final vertical wedge of sign x in ]x bu-na-a-ni agrees with the expected determinative. The two preceding wedges at the break in Smith's drawing are a poor fit for *li]-me*, but in view of the damaged surface this hardly is significant. The content of lines III, 2-3 and III, 30-31 may be fully parallel, with KASKAL ša KUR a-ri-me at the end of one line and the name of a new eponym at the end of the next one. It might be significant that all preserved eponym names in this text stand at line ends. Thus the eponym sequence Aššur-[..]→ ? → Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu → Ilī-iddina long recognized on the Broken Obelisk should be prolonged by the direct sequence Ilī-iddina → Bunānu.

The conclusion nearly agrees with Shibata's independent recent arguments for the placement of the eponym Bunānu two to five years after Ilī-iddina (2022: 119). In particular, he noted that the eponym of Giricano no. 14 (Radner 2004) should be read *Bu-n[a-...]* and identified with Bunānu (Shibata 2022: 117f.). This is an important insight, but the chronology of the Giricano documents rather suggests that this eponym came directly after Ilī-iddina (Radner 2004: 52f.).



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**115) The later eponyms of Tiglath-Pileser I** — Three texts assigned to Aššur-bēl-kala in RIMA 2 have striking parallel passages with the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I. Borger made a careful analysis (1961: 135-142) and noted many detailed agreements between activities of the latter ruler and events recorded in VAT 9539 (A.0.89.6) and the Broken Obelisk (A.0.89.7). The later analysis of A.0.89.9 and of T22.E.3866 from Tell Barri (Salvini 2014) yielded the same feature. Those parallels have specific geographical and historical content. Borger remarked on one occasion that one gets the impression to read a text of Tiglath-Pileser I (1961: 140). In contrast, he also noted the verbal agreement of one long sentence on the Broken Obelisk with one in the annals of Aššur-bēl-kala, about major unrecorded achievements in hunting. The borrowing of such a general phrase from the preceding ruler is much more likely than fictitious detailed parallels.

Nevertheless, Borger opted for an assignment of A.0.89.6 and the Broken Obelisk to Aššur-bēl-kala and not to Tiglath-Pileser I. He gave two arguments (1961: 142), one strong and one weaker. Most importantly, two texts of Aššur-bēl-kala are dated by the eponym Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu. This eponym name also appears on the Broken Obelisk. Borger states that homonymy would be an extreme accident. The argument was strong, but now we know that just such a homonymous eponym did exist (Prechel/Freydank 2014: 19f.). In consequence, Mahieu (2018) for the Broken Obelisk and Shibata (2022) for the three texts A.0.89.6,7,9 concluded that an assignment to Tiglath-Pileser I is justified. In his second counterargument, Borger stated that the inclusion of Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu and Ilī-iddina yields too many eponyms for the latter ruler. He knew full well that this argument was dubious, since too many eponyms had been assigned to him anyhow, but the question was and is worth an investigation.

As pointed out by Shibata (2022: 112-117), the eponyms from the Broken Obelisk can be dated rather closely due to the difference between the length of the tropical year and the strictly 12 lunar months of the eponymates, attested since the beginning reign of Tiglath-Pileser I. In the sequence Aššur-[..] → ? → Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu → Ilī-iddina → Bunānu the last two men were installed in Babylonian month IX, Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu in month IX or X and his predecessor in month X. The identification Assyrian Šippu and Babylonian month X agrees with the parallel identification of the preceding months in KAH II 73. Thus the eponym Taklāk-ana-Aššur of the latter text must have been the predecessor of Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu or perhaps of Aššur-[..]. When one compares with the identification of Šippu and month VI in the first three years of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I, the difference amounts to about 25 tropical years or 26 eponymates. Thus the 27<sup>th</sup> eponym should have been Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu or Ilī-iddina. The result need not be exact, because Babylonian intercalations might not have been very regular, but it should be close.

When one compares with the eleven final eponyms of the reign preserved in KAV 21 III 1'-11', Bunānu should be close to KAV 21 III 1'. Accordingly, Shibata identified |x-nu in KAV 21 III 2' with Bunānu (2022: 118). This was very promising, but can no longer be maintained, because KAV 21 III 1' cannot be identified with Ilī-iddina. Instead, Freydank's reconstruction of KAV 21 III 2' as Ba'issunu remains plausible (2016: 129).

For KAV 21 III 1' Schroeder felt unable to propose any reading. Ungnad's reading of the final sign was not based on autopsy but just on Schroeder's copy. According to Jeffers, nothing can be seen any more at this position (2013: 152). Thus the reading |x-PAP<sup>9</sup> of KAV 21 III 1' is at least uncertain. It even is unlikely, because the diagonal wedge of PAP in all the preserved examples on KAV 21 is too broad and too steeply inclined to fit Schroeder's copy of the line. In any case, the name consisted of three, less likely four signs. For x, Schroeder just copied a final vertical, but on the tablet one further wedge can be seen.

According to Jeffers, there is a *winkelhaken* abutting the upper left portion of the vertical. On photos taken by Nathan Morello this wedge is clear, but the interpretation as a *winkelhaken* seems to be



wrong. Comparison with the NA sign in KAV 21 VI 53 [*Bēl*]-*bu-na-a-a* yields perfect agreement. Thus an identification of KAV 21 III 1' with Bunānu seems quite promising. Morello plans a full photographic publication of KAV 21. For many reasons it is eagerly awaited.

It remains to check the number of eponyms before Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu. For the first seven years of Tiglath-Pileser I, the eponyms and their sequence appear to be settled (Jeffers 2013). There follow a few uncertain years, due to the lack of a reliable way to distinguish the appurtenant eponyms from late eponyms under Aššur-rēša-iši. Still, the frequently occurring eponyms Ibrī-šarri and Aššur-dammeq rather belong here than to the less well documented reign of the father. Aššur-abuk-aḥa might belong here, too, but his association with M4, the archive of the *ginā'u* offering bureau is dubious (Freydank 2016: 98). In later years, this bureau employed new servants. In roughly approximate order they worked under the following eponyms: Ippitte, Mudammeq-Bēl, Aššur-apla-iqīša, Bēlu-libūr, Nusku-ālik- pāni, Aplīya, Ninurta-aḥa-iddina, Adad-apla-iddina, Sakipšunu, Aššur-šuma-ēriš and Ninu'āyu (Jeffers 2013, Freydank 2016). In any case, Ninu'āyu can hardly be earlier than the 21<sup>st</sup> year of Tiglath-Pileser and might be a year or two later.

With him, archive M4 appears to end. In contrast, the palace workshop with archive M7 continued to function, though in the last years of Tiglath-Pileser I this archive appears to have closed, too (Mahieu 2018: 80-82). Nine further eponym years are documented for M7 but not for M4, namely: Adad-rēša-iši, Adad-uballiṭ, Aššur-ba'issunu, Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu, Bunānu, Gadī'u, Ilī-iddina, Kidin-Aššur, Sīn-apla-iddina. This clearly is the time of the sequence Aššur-[..]→? → Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu → Ilī-iddina → Bunānu.

Thus the eponym Aššur-[..] on the Broken Obelisk can be identified with Aššur-ba'issunu. Indeed, a photo (Salvini 2014: 207) allows a clear identification of BA, IS and in particular SU, though the final NU is indistinct. Aššur-abuk-aḥa might have been an alternative, but can be excluded by the photo. Taklāk-ana-Aššur of KAH II 73 belonged to the same period, as discussed above. The mention of Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē in line I 15 of the Broken Obelisk certainly refers to the two battles with him recorded on KAH II 73 and is part of a continuous historical record.

Even when one identifies Bunānu with the eponym of KAV 21 III 1', there are two eponyms too many, three if one includes Marduk-uballissu. An additional overlap between the M7 eponyms and KAV 21 III is possible, but rather problematic. For KAV 21 III 7'-11' there are no candidates. Anyhow, KAV 21 III 8' has been identified with Aššur-ša'issunu, an eponym securely attested in a contemporary document (Jeffers 2013: 156). For KAV 21 III 6', Prechel and Freydank have suggested an identification with Adad-uballiṭ (2014: 9). Perhaps one may read *Da*<sup>1</sup>-*da-u*<sup>1</sup>-TI, with a phonetic writing of the theonym. There are two objections, however. First, Schroeder's reading TA for the second preserved sign is still the most plausible one. Second, Borger linked KAV 21 III 4' with the eponym Ipparšidu attested on an unpublished tablet he had seen (1957: 299). The tablet mentions cypress beams and might come from M7. It is dated by a Babylonian month, so that later M7 tablets dated by Assyrian months would be surprising. The same objection applies to the dubious identification of KAV 21 III 5' with Kidin-Aššur.

The identification of *lx-di-i* in KAV 21 III 3' with Gadī'u is impossible, because x ends with a vertical. One rather may compare the name *Da*<sup>1</sup>-*di-i* in MARV 10 65, 10. Thus it seems that supernumerary eponyms should be moved to the reign of Aššur-rēša-iši. For Gadī'u, the ample documentation might make such a move unlikely, but Adad-rēša-iši, Adad-uballiṭ and Kidin-Aššur are all candidates. They were dated to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I, because the M7 tablets dated by them mention Aplīja AGRIG GAL. The count of eponyms now implies that this functionary must have worked in the previous reign for quite a few years, too. This does not lead to an excessively long tenure if he no longer occurs in the last decade of Tiglath-Pileser I.

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**116) The God in a Nimbus: Addendum to OSHIMA/ACKER GRUSEKE 2021** — A number of cylinder and stamp seals dated primarily to the eighth and seventh centuries BCE shows a goddess surrounded by or standing against a ring with globe- or star-tipped triangles or poles emanating from it. Modern scholars habitually call the ring a nimbus or, often erroneously, a *melammu*.<sup>1)</sup> While we are aware of some, very isolated, examples of a male deity shown similarly encircled,<sup>2)</sup> the nimbus appears almost exclusively with a female figure. OSHIMA/ACKER GRUSEKE 2021 is a typological study of the iconography of the goddess in question. Despite our best efforts to present all the types of this unique iconography, one idiosyncratic example, BM 102663, a cylinder seal in the British Museum seal collections, remains undiscussed by us. We did not treat this seal in our article simply because the deity encircled by the nimbus is a male deity.<sup>3)</sup> Nonetheless, its uniqueness warrants a brief discussion.

Dominique Collon published BM 102663 as no. 269 in the British Museum cylinder seal catalogue from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, c. 1000–539 BCE (= COLLON 2001). Figure 1 is a drawing of its impression.<sup>4)</sup> According to Collon (2001, 138), this quartz, probably chalcedony, seal was acquired by Woolley at Membij, about 80 km northeast of Aleppo, Syria. The seal is not intact. The damage on the seal which is attributed to fire somewhat hinders exact analysis of some key details of the image, in particular the headdress of the central figure who holds the nimbus. Although it is catalogued under the title “The Goddess in a Nimbus,” as Collon (2001, 138) herself states, the central figure in the nimbus is bearded, i.e. most likely a male deity. He has bull ears. As stated above, a male deity in a nimbus is very rare in ancient Mesopotamian iconography. The outstanding element of this seal in question is not only the sex of the deity holding the nimbus but also the nimbus itself: a circlet made of triangular shaped beads. Each bead resembles the cuneiform sign *U* (𐎗). As far as I am aware, this is unprecedented.

A nimbus generally consists of two elements: a larger ring and multiple outward projections.<sup>5)</sup> To render each element, different techniques were applied. The main ring is, roughly speaking, rendered in three distinguishing ways: a circle (see fig. 2), a beaded circlet made from drill holes (see fig. 3), and a lozenge (see fig. 4). The larger rings could be single (figs 2–3), double (fig. 4), or in a rare case triple. The deity either holds the larger ring directly (figs 2–3) or grips a smaller ring attached to its inside edge (figs 5) with one hand. The goddess almost always raises her second hand in a gesture of acceptance or blessing. The larger ring is surrounded by multiple projections that probably represent rays. The rays are rendered in three distinct patterns: triangular projections (fig. 3), poles (fig. 2), or notches (fig. 6). These projections are normally star- (fig. 3) or glob-topped (fig. 2). In certain cases the larger ring is surrounded only by stars or globs without projections (e.g. fig. 5). The significance of the triangular-shaped beads of BM 102663, an otherwise unattested rendering of a nimbus, remains unexplained.

Despite the difference of the sex, the iconography of the male deity in a nimbus typically follows the same rules as those of the female: He holds the ring with one hand while the second hand is raised in front of his face for blessing. On the other hand, on the seal in question, the central male deity supports the larger ring with both arms which are held to the side in a “V-pose.” I am not aware of other examples of a deity, male or female, gripping a nimbus with both hands in the first-millennium Mesopotamian iconography.<sup>6)</sup>

The central deity is flanked by two anthropomorphic figures: The one to the viewer’s left is bearded, while the one to the right is probably not. The flanking figures wear long robes and don very long, segmented headdresses hanging down their backs. Because this worm-like headdress has a back fin as well as a tail fin, one may surmise that these humanoids are *Apkallus*, although a fish-cloak typically covers not only the head but also the body.<sup>7)</sup> In fact, like many other iconographic examples of fish-*Apkallus* in the

first millennium, they carry a bucket in one hand while the second hand raised in front of the face holds a conifer cone.<sup>8)</sup>

It is possible that we may be able to attribute the uniqueness of its iconography—the shape of the nimbus, the way the male figure holds the nimbus, and his bull ears; as well as the fish *Apkallus*—to its Syrian provenance, as Collon (2001, 138) does. Nonetheless, without the knowledge of the seal's exact archaeological context, it remains as conjecture.

**Figures**



Figure 1: Drawing of a seal impression of BM 102663. © Paul C. Butler.



Figure 2: Seal impression of BLMJ 2691 (cylinder seal made of chalcedony: Diameter: 1.0 cm, Hight: 2.0 cm, Neo-Assyrian period. Thus far unpublished). Photo T. Oshima © The Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.



Figure 3: Seal impression of BLMJ 2690 (cylinder seal made of agate mixture with carnelian rock crystal: Diameter: 1.3 cm, Hight: 2.9 cm, Neo-Assyrian period. Thus far unpublished). Photo T. Oshima © The Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.



Figure 4: Seal impression of BLMJ 2855 (cylinder seal made of chalcedony: Diameter: 1.4 cm, Hight: 3.1 cm, Neo-Assyrian period. Study: Muscarella 1981, 134, no. 92). Photo T. Oshima © The Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.



Figure 5: Seal impression of BLMJ 2510 (cylinder seal made of pink chalcedony: Diameter: 1.0 cm, Hight: 3.4 cm, Neo-Assyrian period. Study: Merhav 1987, no. 46). Photo T. Oshima © The Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.



Figure 6: Cylinder seal, IAA I.744. Source: KEEL / UEHLINGER 1992: 333, no. 287.



Figure 7: Seal impression from Kültepe (Kültepe Excavation no. g/k 14). Source: Winter 1983, Abb. 268.



Figure 8: Seal impression of BM 89590 (= COLLON 2001, no.148). © Paul C. Butler.



Figure 8a: A close-up image of a naked male figure donning a fish-headress hanging down on his back on BM 89590 (= Collon 2001, no. 148). © Paul C. Butler.

## Notes

1. For the latter, see, e.g., SEIDL, 1976–1980: 88; DEZSÖ / CURTIS, 1991: 107, n. 80. However, *melammu* were applied much more broadly—to the appearance of gods, kings, buildings, and sacred objects—whereas, to our knowledge, the “nimbus” accompanied only divine, specifically anthropomorphic, images. See CAD M/2, 9–12. Cf. also EMELIANOV 2010, 1119. Instead of *melammu*, we suggest *ziqnu*, literally “beard,” as a possible ancient term for a nimbus. See OSHIMA/ACKER GRUSEKE 2021, 59–62. The seal impressions of figs 2–4 are published here with a permission of the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem. BLMJ 2691 (fig. 2) and BLMJ 2690 (fig. 3) are previously unpublished. I would like to thank the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem for its kind permission to study the seals and publish their photos here. A detailed study of these seals is in preparation by the author.

2. See OSHIMA/ACKER GRUSEKE 2021, 55–56 and figs 35–36.

3. COLLON 2001, 138, no. 269.

4. I would like to thank Paul C. Butler for the drawing of the seal impression.

5. For ancient Mesopotamian nimbi, see OSHIMA / ACKER GRUSEKE 2021, 47–51; 59–62.

6. A humanoid holding a large ring with two hands is attested on a seal impression from Kültepe. See WINTER 1983, Abb. 268 (fig. 7). However, this image most likely depicts the so-called “Skirt-Lifting” goddess (in German “sich entschleierte Göttin”)—the goddess exposing her pubic area by lifting her skirt or shawl. For the so-called “Skirt-Lifting” goddess, see, e.g., BUDIN 2015, 10; WINTER 1983, 272–83.

7. Having said so, there are some exceptional examples of fish *Apkallus* whose headdress does not cover their body. See, e.g. COLLON 2001, nos 148 (see figs. 8 and 8a in this article), 153 and 203 *contra* *ibid.* nos 154 and 157

8. See, e.g., COLLON 2001, 6, I.5.1.2.

9. I would like to thank Stephanie Budin for correcting my English.

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**117) Cheval de halage** — La célèbre lettre SAA 10 24 (= ABL 32 = LAS 29)<sup>1)</sup> a fait l'objet de nombreux commentaires; en 2002 elle a été contextualisée par Michael Streck<sup>2)</sup> dans le cadre du premier retour de la statue de Marduk depuis Aššur vers Babylone en mai 569. Partie d'Aššur en bateau le 5 mai, la statue du dieu accompagnée de sa cour divine, a descendu le Tigre puis est arrivée à la ville de Labbanat<sup>3)</sup>, à la frontière entre Assyrie et Babylonie, le 15 mai, dix jours plus tard.

La statue de Marduk y était attendue, entre autres par deux serviteurs de Šamaš-šum-ukīn, nommés Bêl-erība et Nergal-šālim ; ils étaient accompagnés d'un cheval dont le texte précise qu'il était « pourvu d'un harnachement kushite ». Ces deux individus étaient chargés d'accompagner le dieu jusqu'à Babylone pour y faire une entrée solennelle. Mais au moment de la rencontre avec le convoi de Marduk, Bêl-erība a eu un comportement anormal: après avoir escaladé le cheval avec l'aide de Nergal-šālim il a fait une

déclaration inquiétante à propos de Marduk, rapportant un message envoyé disait-il par le dieu lui-même. L'incident fut alors jugé suffisamment grave pour que le processus de transfert soit stoppé: la statue de Marduk fut ramenée à Aššur où elle resta encore un an.

Si le sens de l'incident et ses conséquences ont été analysés à plusieurs reprises<sup>4)</sup>, on a moins commenté la précision donnée, aux lignes 13-15 de la face, à propos du cheval, qui est décrit comme : « un cheval puissant harnaché d'un harnais du pays de Kuš »: *anše.kur.ra dan-ni, tal-lul-tú ša kur ku-u-si tal-lul\*-u-ni*. Ce cheval n'était manifestement pas un cheval de monte, car il a fallu que Nergal-šalim fasse « la courte échelle » à son compagnon pour que celui-ci puisse grimper sur l'animal<sup>5)</sup>.

La désignation de cheval « kushite » peut à la fois faire référence à une race de chevaux originaire du pays de Kush<sup>6)</sup> (Nubie) et à un type de cheval d'attelage. Le terme « kushite » ou *kūsaya* (<sup>(kur)</sup>*ku-sa-a*) n'est employé pour désigner des chevaux que dans les « Horse Reports<sup>7)</sup> » de Ninive, datés du règne d'Assarhaddon. À l'intérieur de ce corpus, où sont listés les effectifs de cavalerie et de charrerie, les chevaux kushites sont systématiquement distingués des chevaux de cavalerie désignés comme *anše.kur.ra.meš ša pēthalli*. S'ils ne sont pas comptés dans cette catégorie c'est qu'ils ne sont pas destinés à un usage de monte. Le cheval *kūsaya* est utilisé dans la charrerie d'Assarhaddon, aux côtés du cheval méséen qui était probablement moins répandu que le kushite<sup>8)</sup>. Dans plusieurs lettres des « Horse Reports<sup>9)</sup> », les chevaux kushites sont qualifiés de *ša nīri*, c'est-à-dire « entraînés à l'attelage », cette distinction désignant un type de cheval privilégié pour l'attelage<sup>10)</sup>. Le terme *kūsaya* renverrait à une origine nubienne<sup>11)</sup> des chevaux désignés comme tels et possiblement à un type de harnachement ou à un entraînement à l'attelage pratiqué par les Kushites. Cependant, tous les chevaux portant le qualificatif de *kūsaya* ne sont pas importés de Nubie ou même d'Égypte<sup>12)</sup>, certains viennent par exemple des provinces orientales de l'empire néo-assyrien<sup>13)</sup>. Selon Stephanie Dalley, des Kushites auraient été employés en Assyrie à partir du règne de Tiglath-phalazar III comme personnel en lien avec l'entretien des chevaux, probablement en charge des soins donnés à ces animaux ainsi que de leur dressage<sup>14)</sup>. À partir de cette hypothèse, on peut déduire qu'il existait un savoir-faire kushite dans le domaine de l'entraînement des chevaux attelés et peut-être un harnachement spécifique de l'attelage « à la kushite ».

Dans les inscriptions royales, le terme *kūsaya* n'est pas utilisé pour décrire des chevaux, il n'y a donc pas de cheval « kushite » à proprement parler. On peut néanmoins remarquer que des chevaux provenant d'Égypte<sup>15)</sup> portent le qualificatif de « grands chevaux » (*anše.kur.ra.meš gal.meš*) ou de « chevaux puissants » (*anše.kur.ra.meš dannūti*). Sargon II fait notamment référence à un tribut livré par le roi d'Égypte, Šilkanni (Osorkon IV), composé de douze « grands chevaux d'Égypte qui n'existent pas dans mon pays »<sup>16)</sup>. Au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Assarhaddon dit avoir ramené de puissants chevaux entraînés à l'attelage de sa campagne en Égypte contre le roi kushite Taharqa<sup>17)</sup>. Aššurbanipal, quant à lui, a emporté comme butin des chevaux de grande taille lors de la prise de Thèbes<sup>18)</sup>. Les découvertes de squelettes de chevaux dans le cimetière royal kushite d'el-Kurru<sup>19)</sup> au Soudan ont montré que ces équidés étaient de grande taille<sup>20)</sup> et dotés de larges sabots<sup>21)</sup>, ce qui correspondrait aux descriptions des inscriptions royales assyriennes. Des chevaux appelés « kushites » ou présentés comme venant d'Égypte<sup>22)</sup>, et de grande taille auraient donc été présents en Mésopotamie et étaient utilisés comme animaux de trait, à partir du règne de Tiglath-phalazar III.

Il s'agit donc bien dans la lettre SAA 10 24, du fait de sa grande taille et de son harnachement, d'un animal de trait. Mais que tire ce cheval kushite ? On pourrait penser, de prime abord, à un char<sup>23)</sup>, comme celui sur lequel la statue de Marduk se déplace dans les grandes cérémonies. Mais d'une part, il n'est fait nulle mention d'un tel véhicule dans la lettre, où l'animal est cité seul, et, d'autre part, il semble que les chars divins aient été tirés par au moins deux chevaux, sinon même plus, comme les chars des souverains connus par l'iconographie néo-assyrienne<sup>24)</sup>. Enfin, on peut noter le fait qu'à cette date (mai 659) le char sacré de Marduk est encore en réparation à Aššur, et ne rejoindra Babylone qu'en 653, bien après l'avènement d'Aššurbanipal<sup>25)</sup>.

Il existe une autre possibilité pour expliquer ce harnachement inhabituel, qui s'accorde sans doute mieux avec les détails de la lettre et avec le contexte géographique : la statue de Marduk devait faire l'ensemble du voyage par voie fluviale entre Aššur et Babylone<sup>26)</sup> et l'on aurait affaire au cheval destiné à haler la barque sur laquelle voyage le dieu. Nous aurions donc ici une rare attestation de ce mode de traction hippomobile. En effet, dans les textes du I<sup>er</sup> millénaire on évoque plutôt des équipes de haleurs humains.

Or, pour passer du Tigre, emprunté à partir d'Aššur, sur l'Euphrate, qui dessert Babylone, il fallait emprunter un canal de jonction, sur lequel il n'y a *a priori* pas de courant, et où le bateau devait être halé. Plutôt que de procéder à un transbordement compliqué une fois arrivé à la frontière de la Babylonie, on avait prévu de faire tirer la même barque par un cheval, suffisamment puissant et équipé comme il convenait, pour emprunter le canal amenant la statue de Bêl jusqu'à l'Euphrate. C'est au moment où il devait être attaché à la corde de halage que l'incident a eu lieu. Le texte précise que les deux fauteurs de trouble ont été arrêtés mais ne dit pas comment l'embarcation a ensuite été ramenée à Aššur. On en retiendra le fait que l'une des conséquences des contacts établis par les Assyriens avec l'Égypte a pu être l'utilisation de chevaux de halage sur les canaux de Mésopotamie.

## Notes

1. Les lignes 7-17 de la face et 1-11 du revers du texte n° 24 sont traduites de la manière suivante dans l'édition de SAA 10 : « On the 18th day the god Bel, together with his divine escort, was in the city of Labbanat. Everything was just fine. Bel-eriba and Nergal-šallim, servants of the household of the crown prince, under the jurisdiction of the governor of the city of Šamaš-našir, were attending, in Labbanat, to a strong horse harnessed in trappings of the land of Kush for the (ceremonial) entrance into the city (of Babylon). Nergal-šallim took hold of the feet of Bel-eriba and helped him to mount the horse. They saw (this), seized and questioned him. He said: "The gods Bel and Zar[panitu] have sent word to me: 'Babylon — straight — the loot of Kurigalzu.'" » M. Nissinen, *Ancient Prophecy, Near Eastern, Biblical and Greek Perspectives*, OUP, Oxford, 2017, p. 91 comprend le même passage (face 10-17, revers 1-11) un peu différemment: « Bel-eriba and Nergal-šallim, servants of the palace of the crown prince under the jurisdiction of the governor of (the city of) Šamaš-našir, were in Labbanat attending to a strong horse harnessed in Kushite trappings for the entrance of the city. Nergal-šallim grasped the feet of Bel-eriba and helped him to mount the horse. They saw (this) and seized and questioned him. He said: "Bel and Zar[panitu] have sent a word to me: 'Babylon (becomes) straightaway the loot of Kurigalzu'" ».

2. M. P. Streck, « Der Wiederaufbau Babylons unter Asarhaddon und Assurbanipal in Briefen aus Ninive », *AOF* 29, 2002, p. 205-233, spécialement p. 222, avec la littérature antérieure.

3. Labbanat est située par LAS 2 p. 32 dans les environs de l'actuelle Bagdad sur le Tigre. Cf. G. W. Vera Chamaza, *Die Omnipotenz Aššurs: Entwicklungen in der Aššur-Theologie unter den Sargoniden Sargon II., Sanherib und Asarhaddon*, AOAT 295, 2002, Münster, p. 220 note 1826.

4. En particulier, W. G. Lambert, in G. Mauer & U. Magen, *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum*, PS Deller, 1988, p. 157-174 ; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina šulmi trub*, 1994, p. 4 note 32 ; G. W. Vera Chamaza, op. cit., p. 218-220 ; M. Nissinen op. cit. (note 1).

5. Revers ll. 1-4 <sup>mu</sup>u-gur-šal-lim gir.2, ša <sup>men</sup>eri-ba iṣ-ša-bat, ina ugu anše.kur.ra, us-sa-ar-kib-šú.

6. J. N. Postgate, 1974, *Taxation*, p. 11 ; S. Dalley, 1985, « Foreign chariotry and cavalry in the armies of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II », *Iraq* 47, p. 43 ; M. Weszeli, 2005, « Pferd A. In Mesopotamien », *RIA* 10, p. 469-481, spécialement p. 471.

7. J. N. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 7-18.

8. J. N. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 12.

9. Voir S. Parpola, & J. Reade, SAA 13 86 (= ABL 372), p. 74 ; SAA 13 97 (= ABL 373), p. 80 ; SAA 13 109 (= ABL 394), p. 86- 87 ; SAA 13 113 (= ABL 973), p. 88 ; SAA 13 116 (= ABL 601), p. 89- 90.

10. J. N. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 13.

11. J. N. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 11.

12. L. A. Heidorn, 1997, « The horses of Kush », *JNES* 56, 1997, p. 109.

13. F. Malbran-Labat, *L'armée et l'organisation militaire de l'Assyrie*, Paris, 1982, p. 64.

14. S. Dalley, op. cit., p. 44- 46 ; pour les premières mentions de personnels kushites dans l'administration néo-assyrienne voir J. V. Kinnier Wilson, 1972, *The Nimrud wine lists*, CTN I, p. 91, 93.

15. Ou bien en provenance du Levant où Tiglath-phalazar III reçoit en tribut des chevaux égyptiens (anše.kur.ra.meš kur <sup>mu</sup>1-[uṣ-ri]) H. Tadmor & S. Yamada, RINAP 1, 2011, p. 126. Stephanie Dalley (Dalley, op. cit., p. 44) propose que la plupart des chevaux de charrierie utilisés au Levant aux IXe et VIIIe siècles aient été importés de Nubie.

16. G. Frame, RINAP 2, 2021, p. 267 (12 anše.kur.ra.meš gal.meš ša kur.mu-uṣ-ri ša i-na [ma]-a-ti la ib-šú-ú tam-šil-šú-un iṣ-šá-a ta-mar-tuš).

17. E. Leichty, RINAP 4, 2011, p. 305, (50 lim anše.[kur].ra.meš dan-nu-ti ṣi-mit-[ti] [ni-ri ...]).

18. J. Novotny & J. Jeffers, RINAP 5/1, 2018, p. 61 ([anše].kur.ra.meš gal.meš).

19. Des éléments de harnachement ont également été retrouvés dans les tombes de chevaux (allant du règne de Piye à celui de Tanwetamani), ces harnachements sont décoratifs et avaient vraisemblablement une fonction rituelle,



voir D. Doxey, « Napatan Horses and the Horse Cemetery at El-Kurru, Sudan », in P. Raulwing, K. M. Linduff, J. H. Crouwel (éds.), *Equids and Wheeled Vehicules in the Ancient World*, Oxford, 2019, p. 139-146.

20. S. Bökönyi, 1993, « Two horse skeletons from the cemetery of Kurru, Northern Sudan », *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45, p. 305, 307, 309; C. Näser et G. Mazzetti, 2020, « Of Kings and Horses: Two New Horse Skeletons from the Royal Cemetery at el-Kurru, Sudan », *Archaeology International*, 23 (1), p. 128-129.

21. M. A. Littauer, J. H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East*, Leiden, 1979, p. 111. Pour la possible représentation de chevaux de race nubienne sur les bas-reliefs assyriens, voir P. Albenda, 2004, « Horses of different Breeds : Observations in Assyrian Art », Nicollet C., (ed.), *CRRAI XLVI* (Amurru, 3), Paris, 2006, p. 326-327.

22. L'origine de ces chevaux était certainement nubienne mais les Assyriens se procuraient ces animaux depuis l'Égypte et le Levant. Pour le commerce de chevaux nubiens, voir S. Dalley, *op. cit.* p. 45-46.

23. C'est l'interprétation de S. Parpola dans LAS 2.

24. M. A. Littauer & J. H. Crouwel, *op. cit.* p. 113, 114. Voir également, pour Sippar, M. Weszeli, *RIA* 15, 2018, p. 225-227; id. « Die Stallungen des Ebabbar von Sippar in der neubabylonischen Zeit », in Arnold, W., Jursa, M., Müller, W. W. & Procházka, S. (eds.) *Analecta Semitica In Memoriam Alexander Sima*, 2009, Wiesbaden, p. 411-445 et S. Alaura et M. Bonechi « Il carro del dio del sole nei testi cuneiformi delletà del bronzo », *SMEA* 54 (2012) p. 5-115, ainsi que J. MacGinnis, « The Chariot of Samas Goes to Babylon », in S. Graziani ed., *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, 2000, Napoli, p. 621-630.

25. Sur le retour du char de Marduk à Babylone, cf. G. Frame, *Babylonia*, 2007 (rééd.) p. 112. Sur le char de Marduk, cf. également B. Pongratz-Leisten, *op. cit.*, p. 193-195.

26. Lors du retour définitif de la statue de Marduk, en 658, deux questions oraculaires furent posées concernant le voyage en barque d'Aššur à Babylone (SAA 4 264 et 265). Aššurbanipal évoque lui-même un trajet par voie d'eau jusqu'à Babylone: cf. G. Frame, *op. cit.* p. 104 et note 8.

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**118) Notes on the Neo-Assyrian throne-chariot depicted on cylinder seals** — Representations of an object constituting a unique combination of a type of furniture and a means of transport have been the focus of two papers (Renate M. van Dijk-Coombes in 2018 and Eva Braun-Holzinger in 2019) published in recent years.<sup>1)</sup> The hybrid vehicle in question is the so-called throne-chariot or wheeled throne,<sup>2)</sup> a high-backed chair with wheels, pulled by two attendants instead of horses and used by a king or ruler.<sup>3)</sup> It appears on palace reliefs and wall paintings, a bronze vessel and bronze gate bands, and cylinder seals.<sup>4)</sup> The Neo-Assyrian king would use this throne on special occasions such as processions, rituals, and official events not far from or within the palace sphere. Interestingly, this type of mobile throne often appears on linear-style cylinder seals with two registers, usually above another scene that shows either a ritual, a hunt, healing, or a combination of these scenes. The following eight cylinder seals depicting the throne-chariot are known to us:

- 1: two registers: procession scene above, healing and hunting (or animal sacrifice) scenes below (von der Osten 1934, 61 no. 407 and pl. 27);
- 2: one register: procession scene (van Buren 1959, 25–26 no. 110 and pl. 8);
- 3: two registers: procession scene above, hunting scene below (Ravn 1960, 112–113 no. 143);
- 4: one register: procession scene (Bleibtreu 1981, 77–78 no. 93);
- 5: two registers: procession scene above, healing scene below (Williams-Forte 1981, 129–130 no. 86);
- 6: two registers: procession scene above, healing scene below (Hussein – Abdul-Razak 1997–1998, 171, 178, and 182 no. 23);
- 7: one register: procession scene (Elsen-Novák 2011, 378–379 and fig. 296);
- 8: two registers (Bibliothèque nationale de France, see below).

Five of the above-listed eight cylinder seals were cited in the aforementioned papers; one seal (7) by van Dijk-Coombes, and five (1, 3, 5, 6, 7) by Braun-Holzinger. During our work in the MTA-ELTE Lendület Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals and Divine World research project, in the framework of which we collect cylinder seals in a database, we have encountered three further cylinder seals (2, 4, 8) showing the throne-chariot that were omitted from the two studies mentioned above.





Fig. 1: Linear-style seal (2) showing a throne-chariot in a procession (based on van Buren 1959, pl. 8: 110).

2: At the time of its publication, the first seal (fig. 1) was kept in the Ugo Sissa Collection, and E. Douglas van Buren described it along with the rest of the collection in 1959.<sup>5)</sup> The linear-style scene depicts a Neo-Assyrian king holding a long staff and sitting on a high-backed throne with a small wheel. Behind him stands a beardless attendant waving a fan, while in front of him, two further beardless attendants standing next to each other are depicted pulling the chair. The object between the pulling attendants is probably the horse-head-shaped finial of the drawbar belonging to the throne-chariot,<sup>6)</sup> often attested in larger depictions.<sup>7)</sup> The fourth attendant is at the end of the procession wearing similar clothing to that of the pulling figures.<sup>8)</sup> A towel is thrown over his shoulder, hanging down in front of and behind him, and his hands are shown in a greeting gesture. From left to right, at head level: a crescent moon, a single vertical wedge, and a pair of vertical wedges appear between the figures, while the whole scene is delimited by chevron borders running in opposite directions at the top and bottom.



Fig. 2: Modelled-style seal (4) showing the throne-chariot in a procession (based on Bleibtreu 1981, 77 no. 93)

4: This cylinder seal (fig. 2), part of a private collection, was described by Erika Bleibtreu in 1981.<sup>9)</sup> Although the scene is heavily worn, the figure of a king sitting on a wheeled throne is still discernible. He appears to be wearing a conical headdress and a long robe with a fringed lower edge. He raises his right hand, however; whether he is holding anything or is merely shown in a greeting gesture cannot be determined. The throne is pulled by two beardless attendants wearing richly-decorated short-sleeved dresses fastened by belts. Between them, a tasselled ornament in the shape of a horse's head forms the end of the draught pole. The beardless figure facing the procession wears an angular headdress and a long robe decorated by three rows of vertical notches and a similar fringed lower edge. He appears to be holding a tambourine, a motif encountered in Neo-Assyrian<sup>10)</sup> and Neo-Hittite art.<sup>11)</sup> The seal legend is engraved in negative on the object. The original reading of the inscription was provided by Hermann Hunger: “[...] <sup>md</sup>*Šulmānu-ašarēd* / [...] <sup>d</sup>*Išg-tar<sub>2</sub> šuma damqa / iz-kur*” (Bleibtreu 1981, 77–78 no. 93).<sup>12)</sup> Although the reading is not certain due to the worn surface, it appears to mention the name *Salmānu-ašarēd*.

Finally, the third cylinder seal that we have come across is again a two-registered example donated by Henri Arnold Seyrig to the Bibliothèque nationale de France and perfectly fits the linear-style group. This object and the throne-chariot representations will be further discussed in the forthcoming catalogue by Zoltán Niederreiter and myself, presenting those Middle Assyrian and first-millennium BC cylinder seals and stamp seals that L. Delaporte did not publish in his catalogue in 1910.<sup>13)</sup>

## Notes

1. Besides these studies, there is a Bachelor of Arts thesis on the subject written by N. Weidel at the Universität Mainz in 2010 (*Der neuassyrische Thronwagen*) referenced by E. Braun-Holzinger.
2. For other terms used in scientific literature to describe the object in question, see van Dijk-Coombes 2018, 165.
3. The cylinder seal found in Tell Halaf is likely a local ruler instead of the Assyrian king (Elsen-Novák 2012, 133 and fig. 132: 1; van Dijk-Coombes 2018, footnote 72 on page 174).
4. The dateable representations are attested from Ashurnasirpal II to Ashurbanipal.
5. Serpentine, h: 41 mm, d: 17 mm (van Buren 1959, 25–26 no. 110 and pl. 8).
6. The decorative element on this seal was misunderstood by van Buren who described it as a “chaplet of beads” held by one of the figures.
7. Palace relief from the reign of Sennacherib, Nineveh, Southwest Palace: Barnett – Bleibtreu – Turner 1998, pl. 109; bronze band dated to the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, from Imgur-Enlil (Balāwāt): Curtis – Tallis 2008, 168–169 and figs. 67–68.
8. Our opinion is that the fourth attendant is walking at the end of the procession instead of ahead of it as it appears on the modern seal impression (fig. 1).
9. Brown-orange (exact colour: 7 C 5) carnelian, h: 28.6 mm, d: 17.2 mm, weight: 7.61 g (Bleibtreu 1981, 77–78 no. 93).
10. For Assyrian tambourine players shown on palace reliefs, see Barnett – Bleibtreu – Turner 1998, 136 no. 673a and pl. 494 (Southwest Palace of Sennacherib, Nineveh); Barnett 1976, 59 Slab E (AO 19908) and pl. 68 (North Palace of Ashurbanipal, Nineveh).
11. For Neo-Hittite orthostats from Zincirli showing tambourine players with similar hairstyles, see Gilibert 2001, 214 no. Zincirli 72 and 215 no. Zincirli 73.
12. For the written versions of Shalmaneser’s name, see Radner 1998, 37–38; Baker – Yamada 2002, 1071; Niederreiter 2018, 69.
13. The catalogue will be published within the framework of MTA-ELTE Lendület Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals and Divine World research project.

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**119) Remarks on the Neo-Assyrian Royal Emblem** — The Assyrian royal emblem was carved in high-relief and extended across three stone orthostats. It consisted of a winged human-headed bull standing back-to-back with a guardian figure between them. This huge representation originally flanked select entrances within Assyrian palaces at the sites of Nimrud, Nineveh, Khorsabad, and Nebi Yunus. The excavated finds were mostly fragmentary at the time of their discovery, and three of these colossal works have been reconstructed through drawings. Noticeable among the royal emblems is their occasional modification, which is the focus below.

**Nimrud.** The earliest known version of the emblem comes from Nimrud, and it was located on the outer façade of the throne room in the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE). Only stone fragments of the colossi were recovered. From these fragments Paley and Sobolewski (1992: 17-19, pls. 3, 4) have made a hypothetical reconstruction of its design flanking the central portal (DE) of the façade. In this instance, the winged back-to-back animals are a human-headed lion and a human-headed bull, respectively. A detail that deserves attention is the representation of the four-winged “bearer-type” genie (*apkallu*) carrying a hornless animal in his bent arm (Paley and Sobolewski 1992: 18). However, among the numerous surviving palace orthostats only two-winged genies wearing a headband hold an animal, either a goat (Curtis and Reade 2000: pl. 8) or stag (British Museum 124560). The reliefs show that four-winged genies belong to a separate category, as indicated by their respective horned cap and held object (cf. Budge 1914: pls. 10, 41). Although hypothetical, one wonders whether the presence of an offering animal is a suitable component to the royal emblem.

**Khorsabad.** In two locations within the palace complex of Sargon II (721-705 BCE) at Khorsabad, (ancient Dur-Sharrukin) were exposed fragments of orthostats which, when restored in drawings, showed colossal royal emblems. As illustrated in the 1844 drawings of Eugene Flandin, one emblem flanked a portal of the outer palace wall (cf. Place 1867: vol. 1, pl. 10); the other flanked the central portal leading into the throne room (Albenda 1986: pl. 16). Clearly, their respective depictions differ from the Nimrud version of earlier date. Instead, each example consists of a pair of winged, human-headed bulls standing back-to-back, and between them stands a heroic male figure clutching a small roaring, struggling lion to his chest. Each hero is distinguished by his costume and hair style. Evidently the Assyrian costumed hero relates to the current reign of Sargon II; the other, recognized by his six hair curls, is an Assyrian version of the legendary *lahmu* (Wiggermann 1992: 164-166; Garrison 2010: 153-155). Striking are the frontal faces of all four subjects forming the royal emblem. Here, the use of frontality is a means to establish visual contact with the onlooker and, further, to direct the messaging that is intended by the figural imagery.

**Nineveh.** During his 1847 exploration in the palace of Sennacherib (704-681 BCE) at Nineveh, Austen H. Layard exposed an Assyrian royal emblem *in situ* on the right side of the outer façade of the grand entrance to the throne room (Layard 1853: 136-138; Curtis et al 1998: 47-48, pl. 24). Unfortunately, the entire upper part of the three orthostats had been destroyed, as well as the second royal emblem that was originally situated to the left of the same entrance (Curtis et al 1998: pl. 25 d). Although Sennacherib adopted his father’s emblematic design for the façade decoration, one important difference is the visible three legs shown on the profile view of the winged bull; the fourth leg appears in the frontal view. The rationale for this significant change seems to have been reality rather than viewpoint.

**Nebi Yunus.** Building inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE) describe the Assyrian structure that once stood on the site of Nebi Yunus, an “arsenal” or “armory” (Turner 1970: 68-69). Layard, in his publication of 1853 (p. 596-98), mentions the discovery of an Assyria royal emblem in the village as follows:

“Since my return to England an inhabitant of the village...uncovered a pair of colossal human-headed bulls, and two figures of the Assyrian Hercules slaying the lion, similar to the one in the Louvre... These remains will probably prove to be of the time of Esarhaddon (687-669 BCE).”

This comment indicates that carved royal emblems originally flanked an entrance of a palace wall at Nebi Yunus. Furthermore, uncovered at the site during 1986 and re-excavated in 1989 was a winged bull, as well as fragments of a second bull and the exposed foot of a human figure (Scott and MacGinnis (1990: pl. XII a; Internet: open access photo). The absence of an inscription on the bull makes it difficult to assign the specific Assyrian reign in which the fragmentary sculptures were created.

There is no evidence of the huge iconic emblem among the stone wall reliefs in the North Palace of Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE). But it has not disappeared entirely. Rather its components are hidden cleverly in the bas-relief scene showing the royal couple in a garden (Albenda 2014: no. 98; Curtis and Reade 2000: p. 122). The reclining king replaces the hero-type figure, and the back-to-back winged bulls, as well as lions, are reduced to decorative forms. Accepting this interpretation, one may surmise that the traditional rendering of the royal emblem went into decline.

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**120) Une nouvelle attestation de Ma(n)dānu dans les inscriptions royales assyriennes** — Les fragments d’inscriptions royales à l’identification incertaine peuvent receler de belles surprises. C’est le cas du fragment K 20241, édité en tant que RINAP 4 1020. Il pourrait s’agir d’une copie de l’inscription Aššur-Babylone E (pour la réédition complète de ce fragment, voir L. Marti, à paraître), datant de la toute fin de règne d’Assarhaddon (Porter, 1993, p. 174). L’étude de ce texte dans le cadre du séminaire de L. Marti à l’EPHE m’a permis de lire un passage clef grâce à une collation réalisée d’après la photo du British Museum présente sur le CDLI (P418695).

3'. [...<sup>d</sup>be-let-KÁ.DINGIR].<sup>r</sup>RA<sup>1</sup>.KI <sup>d</sup>man\*-da\*-nu\* <sup>d</sup>[é-a' ...]

Ce passage nécessite plusieurs commentaires.

Il atteste pour la première fois la graphie syllabique <sup>d</sup>man-da-nu du dieu Mandānu dans le corpus des inscriptions royales assyriennes qui ne comprenait jusqu’à présent que la graphie <sup>d</sup>di.ku<sub>5</sub>. Plusieurs graphies sont attestées pour cette divinité en fonction des corpus. La documentation de la pratique religieuse néo-assyrienne atteste majoritairement les graphies <sup>d</sup>di.ku<sub>5</sub> et <sup>d</sup>man-da-nu, qui alternent parfois dans un même texte (voir SAA 20 52 : o v 4', 16', r ii 38' et r iv 40'). L’écriture <sup>d</sup>ma-da-nu n’est connue qu’une seule fois (SAA 20 1 : r 1 23). Elle apparaît également dans la série *An* = *Anum* (II 253a : « <sup>d</sup>ma-da-nu »). Là où la « liste de Weidner » atteste pour sa part <sup>d</sup>man-da-nu dans le manuscrit KAV 63 avec une graphie idéogrammatique abrégée (ii 27'-29' : « <sup>r</sup>[<sup>d</sup>ku<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>] <sup>d</sup>man-da-nu »).

Un autre fragment de cette liste, KAV 47, conserve uniquement les graphies idéogrammatiques (i 15' : « <sup>d</sup>di.ku<sub>5</sub> » et i 16', i 17' : « <sup>d</sup>ku<sub>5</sub> »). Son état de conservation permet seulement de lire la fin de

l'écriture syllabique « [ᵈx-(x)]-a-an ». M. Krebernik (*RIA* 11, p. 356) propose d'y voir la fin du nom de Mandānu. Néanmoins, il ne semble pas y avoir suffisamment de place pour y inscrire son nom et il s'agirait de l'unique attestation de Mandānu sous la forme Ma(n)dān. Ainsi, il est préférable de restituer [ᵈda]-a-an, comme l'a proposé O. Schroeder (*ZA* 33, p. 130, n. 40). Ce dieu est par ailleurs mentionné dans le cylindre de l'Ebabbar de Nabonide (*RINBE* 2, Nabonidus 24 : ii 29 « da-a-a-nu »). Cela montre que ᵈdi-ku<sub>5</sub>, ᵈku<sub>5</sub>, Mandānu et Dayyānu sont une seule et même divinité.

Ce passage de K 20241 témoigne également d'une modification de la séquence attendue des noms de ces divinités dans l'inscription d'Assarhaddon Aššur-Babylone E (*RINAP* 4 60 : r 37') qui est habituellement « Bēlet-Bābili, Ea, Mandānu ». Cette même séquence est également attestée dans d'autres inscriptions (cf. *RINAP* 4 : 48 r 87) ainsi que dans celles d'Aššurbanipal (*RINAP* 5/1 : 10 i 24 par exemple). Si le dernier nom divin est ici perdu en fin de ligne, il est probable qu'il s'agisse d'Ea dont le nom aurait été inversée avec Mandānu.

Il existe un autre fragment sur tablette d'argile d'Aššur-Babylone E (K 18096) qui ne forme pas de joint avec K 20241. La nature de ce dernier reste ainsi à déterminer. Compte tenu de la qualité de la tablette, il n'est pas certain qu'il s'agisse d'un exemplaire de bibliothèque. Il pourrait alors s'agir soit d'une version préparatoire d'Aššur-Babylone E, soit d'un autre texte produit à une autre étape de la reconstruction de Babylone. Le fait que ce fragment ait été découvert à Ninive, comme K 18096, montre que cette inscription fut rédigée dans cette ville avant d'être acheminée à Aššur dans sa forme définitive. K 20241 serait dans ce cas un nouvel aperçu du processus de création des inscriptions royales assyriennes.

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**121) Deux rébus comportant le nom de Sargon II** — Deux rébus comportant le nom de Sargon II, roi d'Assyrie (r. 721-705 av. n. è.), semblent être passés inaperçus jusqu'à présent.<sup>1)</sup> Le premier se trouve dans plusieurs inscriptions de Khorsabad/*Dūr-Šarru-ukīn*, récemment rééditées dans *RINAP* II (= G. Frame, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria (721-705 B.C.)*, Philadelphia (PA), 2021) et disponibles en ligne à l'adresse <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/corpus/> :

*RINAP* II, 41, l. 21-22 (inscription sur l'arrière de pierres de parement mural et de taureaux ailés, respectivement 46 et 3 exemplaires connus)

*RINAP* II, 43, l. 64 (« cylindre de Khorsabad », 58 exemplaires connus)

*RINAP* II, 44, l. 38-39 (tablette de fondation en bronze)

*RINAP* II, 46, l. 30-32 (tablette de fondation en or)

Il s'agit à chaque fois de la même phrase, qui survient peu avant la fin de la section décrivant la construction de *Dūr-Šarru-ukīn* :

GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ GIŠ.ere-IGI<sup>2)</sup> GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN ú-kin še-e-ru-šin

J'établis par-dessus (sc. le complexe palatial) des toits de cèdre et de cyprès.

On sait que MÌN est une lecture du signe appelé conventionnellement MAN (n° 708 dans R. Borger, *MesZL*). Ainsi, la séquence MAN Ú KIN, si on l'abstrait de son contexte premier (GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN ú-kin), peut également se lire *Šarru(MAN)-ú-kin* !

Est-ce un hasard ? Le caractère de ces quatre types d'inscriptions est un premier indice en faveur d'un rébus intentionnel. Les inscriptions n° 41, 44 et 46 se signalent en effet par un contexte d'origine dérobé à la vue, caché ; c'était également le cas, selon toute vraisemblance, de l'inscription n° 43, de laquelle la plupart des exemplaires dont le contexte archéologique est documenté semblent provenir de l'intérieur des murs du palais de Khorsabad (cf. G. Frame, *RINAP* II, p. 223), et qui a été remarquée par ailleurs pour le caractère recherché de son style (cf. en part. V. Hurowitz, *I have built you an exalted house*, Sheffield : Sheffield Academic, 1991, p. 72).

Plus encore, un second rébus, analogue au premier, confirme qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une coïncidence. On le trouve dans *RINAP* II, 45, l. 30-31 (tablette de fondation en argent) :

GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ GIŠ.ere-IGI GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN UGU-ši-na u-šal-lil<sup>1)</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>

Je couvris (sc. le complexe palatial) d'un toit de cèdre et de cyprès.



Comme l'on sait, UGU est composé des signes U + KA. On peut donc également lire la séquence MAN UGU ŠI NA comme *šarru-u-ka-īna(IGI-na)*. *uka''in* est la forme assyrienne de D *kunnu* à l'accompli (GAG §104 p) ; la voyelle finale -a peut s'interpréter comme une marque de ventif. C'est donc à nouveau le nom de Sargon qui apparaît, mais sous la forme assyrienne *Šarru-uka''in(a)*.

Dans chacune de ces inscriptions, le rébus intervient à un moment où le nom de Sargon est d'une grande pertinence. C'est particulièrement évident aux n° 43 et 55, où la phrase avec le jeu de signes est immédiatement suivie par la célèbre et énigmatique référence à la longueur des murailles de *Dūr-Šarru-ukīn* en rapport avec le nom de Sargon (n° 43, l. 65 : « J'ai donné à son mur la longueur de 16 280 coudées, qui correspond à l'énonciation de mon nom »). Aux n° 41 et 45 également, cette phrase précède de peu une référence au mur de *Dūr-Šarru-ukīn* (n°41, l. 24-25 : « j'ai rendu ses murailles aussi sûres qu'un massif de montagnes » ; n° 43, l. 34-36 : « j'ai fait élever (*ú-zaq-qir6*) ses murailles comme un massif de falaises » – la graphie peu commune du verbe permettant d'ailleurs de le lire également *ú-zak-kir*<sub>17</sub>, c'est-à-dire de faire résonner le verbe *zakāru*, « nommer »). Au n° 46, où la construction de la ville est décrite plus sommairement et n'inclut pas l'évocation de ses murailles, c'est une référence à l'inscription du nom de Sargon qui suit immédiatement le rébus (l. 32-35 : « j'ai écrit mon nom sur des tablettes d'or, d'argent, de cuivre, d'étain, de plomb, de lapis-lazuli et d'albâtre et les ai placées dans ses fondations »).

Partant, ces contextes suggèrent d'interpréter les signes GIŠ ŠUR qui précèdent MAN Ú KIN comme faisant également partie du jeu de signes, en les lisant *iš-šur<sub>x</sub>* (de *našāru*). Cela signifierait : « Sargon protégea » (*iš-šur<sub>x</sub>* *Šarru(MAN)-ú-kin* ou *Šarru(MAN)-u-ka-in-na*). Nous ne connaissons pas d'attestations de la valeur *šur<sub>x</sub>* pour ŠUR, mais le dialecte assyrien confondait parfois *s* et *š* à proximité de *n* (W. von Soden, GAG §30c), ce qui aurait pu favoriser l'admission d'une lecture syllabique exceptionnelle dans le cadre d'un rébus. Au demeurant, la lecture *iš-šur<sub>x</sub>* s'intègre parfaitement dans l'idéologie impériale : le roi d'Assyrie, en tant que protecteur des peuples, était à la fois leur soleil et le toit qui les ombrageait<sup>3</sup>).

Nous avons désormais un témoignage supplémentaire de l'importance accordée, dans la propagande de Sargon, à son propre nom – lequel figurait ainsi non seulement dans les murs de la ville, mais également dans le toit, les murs et les fondations du palais. Ces rébus nous apportent, d'autre part, une confirmation additionnelle de la forme *Šarru-ukīn* (cf. G. Frame, RINAP II, p. 19 pour la liste des occurrences connues à ce jour). Ils mettent également en lumière la virtuosité des scribes qui étaient à son service.

Enfin, un lecteur moderne s'étonnera peut-être qu'un tel message, fruit d'une véritable réflexion tant littéraire qu'idéologique, ait pu être soustrait à la vue du public, et notamment des courtisans ou des émissaires à la cour : c'est sans doute parce qu'ils étaient adressés tant à la postérité qu'aux dieux, auxquels le roi était comptable de sa gloire.

## Notes

1. Jean-Marie Durand et Lionel Marti ont bien voulu lire et commenter une première version de cet article. Qu'ils en soient chaleureusement remerciés !

2. Orthographié GIŠ.EREN au n° 43.

3. Des formules contenant les noms *andullu* ainsi que *šalūlu/šulūlu* et *šillu* et le verbe D *šullulu* ont été relevées par M. Karlsson, *Relations of Power in Early Neo-Assyrian State Ideology*, Berlin : W. De Gruyter, 2016, p. 183.

Note posée à NABU le 27 décembre 2021. La rédaction est désolée du retard engendré.

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**122) Remarks on the Impact and Date of *The Gula Hymn of Bullussa-rabi* — *The Gula Hymn of Bullussa-rabi* is an erudite and much-copied work of cuneiform theological literature. An ancient commentary quotes it, underscoring its significance (Lambert 1967, 114). W.G. Lambert's 1967 treatment of the text, which is based on ten text pieces, remains the hymn's critical edition, notwithstanding the subsequent discovery of several fragments of the work. These additional pieces are listed in Földi 2019b.**

Since the earliest known fragments of and explicit reference to the hymn come from Assurbanipal's Nineveh library, Lambert concluded that the *terminus ante quem* for its composition is 700 BC. Its treatment of divine syncretism persuaded him that it was written after 1400 BC (1967, 108-109).

He summarized his conclusion: “A most careful scrutiny of the text reveals nothing that will permit a more precise dating than that already given on the basis of the general content” (ibid., 113).

Despite its imprecision, Lambert’s 700-year margin of error for the composition date has, for the most part, been adopted in the literature (for example, Westenholz 2010, 393; Böck 2014, 9; Böck 2015, 329). There is, however, a competing position. In his anthology of Akkadian literature, Benjamin R. Foster judged it a work of the so-called “Mature Period,” viz. 1500-1000 BC (Foster 2005, 583). While Foster did not give his reasons, one infers that this dating derives from the hymn’s stylistic features, which he associated with late-second-millennium Akkadian literature (ibid., 291-297). Eleanor Robson (2008, 465) likewise subscribed to a late-second-millennium date for the work, albeit without providing a rationale. Recently, Zsombor Földi (2019a) proposed that the hymn was a product of the Babylonian “literary renaissance” of the late thirteenth century. He advanced this thesis on the grounds that sources of that time refer to a person/persons bearing the name Bullussa-rabi. He added that, in the Kassite era, it was a female name (ibid., 83) and conjectured that the hymnwright was a woman. In the first millennium, Bullussa-rabi was unquestionably regarded as male. The name of the hymn’s composer in the “Catalogue of Texts and Authors” and in the hymn itself carries the masculine determinative: <sup>m</sup>*bul-luṣ-sa-ra-bi* <sup>lu</sup>*maš.maš* <sup>lu</sup>*u[m.me.a] din.tir<sup>ki</sup>* “Bullussa-rabi, exorcist, scholar of Babylon” (Lambert 1967, 107-108; Lambert 1962, 66-67; Földi 2019a, 83).

Attempts to date the hymn have, therefore, largely relied on appraising it against Akkadian theological and literary conventions of different periods. As Lambert’s and Foster’s expositions show, this can only yield a broad-brush result. We can achieve further definition by identifying datable works that quote, allude to, and/or adapt material from the hymn. Assurnasirpal II’s inscriptions offer such a corpus. This Neo-Assyrian king (883-859 BC) was devoted to Ninurta (Annus 2004, 42; Albenda 1972, 176), the hymn’s divine male protagonist. Akkadian scholars often preferred to recast motifs and expressions from source texts over verbatim quotation in their compositions (Weissert 1997, 192-197; Frahm 2011, 27, 86-110, 272-73). With this caveat, the following correspondences between the hymn’s encomium to Ninurta and the descriptors that Assurnasirpal applied to that god and to himself in his longest inscription (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1) demonstrate that Assyrian court scholars of the early ninth century were familiar with Bullussa-rabi’s masterpiece.

<i>Gula Hymn of Bullussa-rabi</i> (entries refer to Ninurta)	line	<i>Assurnasirpal II Inscription</i> (entries qualifying Ninurta marked *, those qualifying Assurnasirpal marked **)	A.0.101.1
<i>nu-ur AN-e</i>	27	<i>nu-ur AN-e*</i>	i.8
EN EN.ME <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-urta</i>	53	EN EN- <i>e*</i>	i.5
<i>qar-rad</i> (UR.SAG) <i>ra -a-mi a-šá-red</i> (SAG.KAL)	110	SAG.KAL DINGIR.MEŠ UR.SAG*	i.1
LUGAL LUGAL.MEŠ	110	EN EN.MEŠ- <i>e</i> ... LUGAL LUGAL.MEŠ- <i>ni**</i>	i.21
<i>ez-zu ... mu-za-'-ir a-bu-bu</i>	111-112	<i>ez-zu ... šá ti-bu-šú a-bu-bu*</i>	i.7
EN <i>šá</i> DINGIR.MEŠ <i>a-šá-re-du</i> (SAG.KAL)	123	SAG.KAL DINGIR.MEŠ*	i.1
<i>ka-šid ḫur-sa-a-nu ka-li-šú-nu</i>	174	<i>ka-šid URU.URU ḫur-šá-ni paṭ gim-ri-šú-nu**</i>	i.19
<i>mu-kan-niš la kan-šu-ti<sup>d</sup> en-líl</i>	176	<i>mu-šak-niš la-a kan-šú-te-šú**</i>	i.14
“he burns up like reeds the roots of all disobedient”	116	“he cuts down like marsh reeds ... princes hostile to him”**	i.22
“flood of battle who sets strife in motion, lets loose warfare, who brings rebels to submission, lord of the foe ... savage, merciless ( <i>la pad-u-ú</i> ).”	150-154	“the king who brings rebels to submission,” “the merciless ( <i>la pad-u-ú</i> ) hero who stirs up strife.”**	i.14, 20

Moreover, the immediately striking feature the hymn shares with the king’s text is the rhetorical device of extended lists of first person singular stative forms to self-describe their respective narrators – Gula and Assurnasirpal. The introductory stative-form descriptors of the goddess total seven; Assurnasirpal enumerates eleven statives with his list culminating in a twelfth identifier – his name (cf. Contenau 1940-41, 162; Bottéro 1974, 171).

*Gula Hymn*: 2. e-tel-le-ku be-le-ku/be-la-ku šu-pa-ku u ši-ra-ku 3. ši-ḥa-ku sin-ni-ša-ku 4. šu-tu-ra-ku

*Assurnasirpal II inscription* (i.32-33): MAN-ku (šar-ra-ku; cf. hymn 1.54) be-la-ku na-a-da-ku MAḤ-ku (ši-ra-ku) DUGUD-ku šur-ru-ḥa-ku SAG.KAL-ku ur-ša-na-ku qar-ra-da-ku lab-ba-ku u zi-ka-ra-ku maš-šur-PAB-A.

*Be-la-ku* and *ši-ra-ku* occur in second and fourth positions respectively in both lists. Assurnasirpal's *zi-ka-ra-ku* "I am masculine" directly parallels Gula's *sin-ni-ša-ku* "I am feminine."

Although it is theoretically possible that the hymn draws on the Assurnasirpal material or that both are indebted to an unknown source, these possibilities are far less likely than Assyrian scribal borrowing from the Babylonian hymn, particularly since Assurnasirpal's inscriptions contain other quotations from and allusions to Sumerian-Akkadian literature. Consequently, we can adjust the hymn's *terminus ante quem* to 900 BC and note this evidence of its impact on Neo-Assyrian royal ideology.

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**123) K. 2673 and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty Seal C: A Disambiguation** — The cuneiform clay tablet K. 2673 (RIMA I A.0.78.28), excavated in Nineveh, measures 7.6 × 3.5 × 1.6 cm, and is inscribed on the obverse, lower edge and reverse with 13 lines of script (Fig. 1).<sup>1)</sup> The last line of the inscription at the bottom of the reverse (l. 13), written in a Neo-Assyrian script and set off from the lines above by a horizontal ruling, identifies the text as *ša AŠ UGU NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB ša ZA.GÌN*, "that which is (written) on a lapis-lazuli (cylinder) seal". A second horizontal ruling is placed above the first line of the reverse.

The main text consists of three different epigraphs, two written twice each. The first, comprising the first three lines (ll. 1–3) on both the obverse and reverse (ll. 9–11), is written in a Middle Assyrian-like script and identifies the Middle Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1242–c. 1206 BCE) son of Šalmaneser I (c. 1272–c. 1243 BCE), and the seal as "booty of the land of Karduniaš (Babylonia)" (KUR-ti KUR kár-du-ni-ši); this is followed by a typical brief curse formula against anyone who might remove the king's inscription, and especially, his name. The second epigraph occupies the remainder of the obverse (ll. 4–7) and is written in a Neo-Assyrian script but once and comprises a *res gestae* of the Neo-Assyrian king Sennacherib (704–681 BCE), for which, see further, below. The third epigraph, written twice in a Middle Babylonian-like script, once on the lower edge (l. 8) and again on the penultimate line of the reverse (l. 12), tersely identifies the seal as



the property of the Kassite Babylonian king Šagarakti-Šuriaš (c. 1245–c. 1233 BCE) (NĪG.GA *ša-ga-ra-ak-ti-šur!-ia-aš* LUGAL KIŠ).<sup>2</sup> Whereas WEIDNER (1959, 38) believed that all five epigraphs were in fact written on the original seal, BRINKMAN (1976, 315, n. 11) suggested rather that the two repeated older epigraphs (ll. 9–12), set between the two horizontal rulings on the tablet reverse, might have been the result of “some scribal misunderstanding in copying from a continuous roll” of the presumably vertical inscription panel which often dominates the surface of typical First, Second, and Pseudo-Kassite-style cylinder seals (occasionally even to the exclusion of any iconography).<sup>3</sup> Contrast WATANABE (1985, 386–87) who suggested that the tablet represents the instructions to the seal-cutter for the addition of Sennacherib’s epigraph. The tablet inscription as a whole is marred by several scribal peculiarities including omissions and odd sign forms (WEIDNER 1959, 38; GRAYSON 1987, 280–81, 342). The repetitiousness of the text in combination with the number of scribal errors, perhaps due in part to the archaic Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian signs being copied, suggest here the work of a student or otherwise inexperienced Neo-Assyrian scribe.

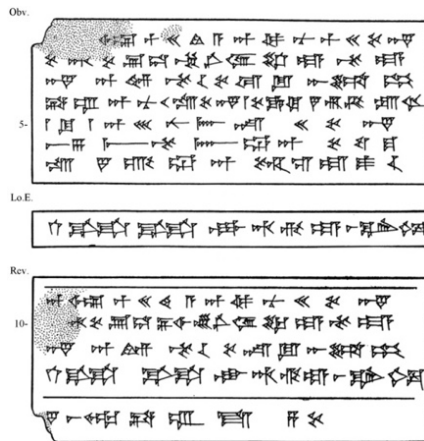


Fig. 1. K. 2673 (after KING 1904, 163, 165)

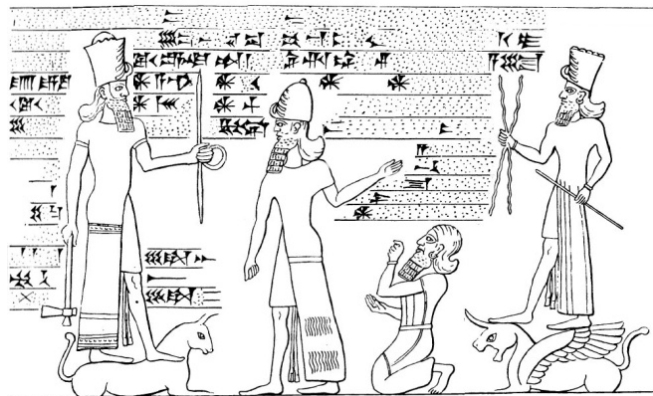


Fig. 2. Seal C (after WISEMAN 1958, figs. 5+6)

Several rather complex object biographies have been proposed, beginning in antiquity, for the assumed original seal. Sennacherib first declared, (l. 4) “This seal from the land of Aššur to the land of Akkad (Babylonia) *ša-ri-IG ta-din*”, which has been rendered, “This seal was stolen from Aššur and given (*ša-ri-ig ta-din*) to Akkad” or “This seal from Aššur was given as a gift (*ša-ri-ik ta-din*) to Akkad”.<sup>4</sup> Sennacherib then added (ll. 6–7) that “after 600 years”, presumably since Tukulti-Ninurta I’s own conquest of Babylonia and its capital Babylon, he now conquered Babylon and brought the seal out from the (temple) treasury. It is certain that Tukulti-Ninurta I captured Babylon after defeating one Kaštiliašu “IV” (RIMA I A.0.78.5), the latter taken to be the son of Šagarakti-Šuriaš following Babylonian King List A (GRAYSON 1983, 91, ii: 6–7).<sup>5</sup> Thus, most modern commentators have the seal as first belonging to Šagarakti-Šuriaš. BRINKMAN (1976, 289 and n. 10, 315, followed by, e.g., WATANABE 1985, CASERO CHAMORRO 2014; cf. WEIDNER 1959, no. 29) would then have the seal stolen by Tukulti-Ninurta I from Babylon and removed to Assyria (*šariq tadin*), only to be returned to Babylon at some unknown point. On the other hand, GRAYSON (1972, 128; *idem* 1987, 280; WATANABE 1985, 386, n. 41; GRAYSON & NOVOTNY 2014, no. 156; CAD Š/2, 43b, s.v. *šarāku* A 2 c) described the seal as “given as a gift” by some unknown later donor (*šarik tadin*)<sup>6</sup> for it finally to be found in Babylon by Sennacherib who then removed it to Nineveh.

Several scholars have considered whether the seal described in K. 2673 might not be the same as one of the three cylinder seals, all heirlooms, impressed on the Esarhaddon Succession Treaty (WISEMAN 1958, 19–22, followed by PORADA, 1979, 7–8; *idem* 1981, 69). This treaty is known from eight separate manuscripts from the Nabû Temple in Nimrud, and one each from Aššur (PARPOLA & WATANABE 1988, xxix–xxx, xlvi, 28–58, Text 6; COLLON 1987, 132) and Tell Tayinat (LAUINGER 2012). Of interest here is the impression of “Seal C” (COLLON 1987, 134, no. 560), which stands some 8 cm tall, including the 0.9 cm end caps (Fig. 2). The scatter of Middle Assyrian cuneiform signs and traces of rulings in the thin impressions

suggest there was a 14-line inscription arrayed horizontally above and between four anthropomorphic figures, a kneeling king among three standing male deities, two atop their respective emblematic monsters.

However, this proposed identification is not without significant difficulties:

1) The fact that K. 2673 has its three inscriptions (ignoring the duplicates) arrayed across eight lines on the tablet need not reflect the line count on the original seal; however, and more significantly, although we cannot be certain that the Neo-Assyrian scribe copied everything on the original seal, none of the preserved strings of cuneiform signs in the impression of Seal C can be located in K. 2673.

2) Although most commentators assume that the seal described in K. 2673 belonged originally to Šagarakti-Šuriaš, the iconography and style of the figures in Seal C are self-evidently not Kassite, but rather Middle Assyrian. This point was not missed by WISEMAN (1958, 20–21 and n. 182) who initially attributed the “general freedom of style and especially details of head-gear, hair style, (and) dress...” of the figures in Seal C to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (c. 1114–c. 1076 BCE), even suggesting that the seal might have been that of the king himself. However, in light of K. 2673, and disregarding his own cogent stylistic analysis, Wiseman went on to conclude that in fact Šagarakti-Šuriaš “must therefore have been the second owner” of Seal C after Tukulti-Ninurta I, a position rejected by WEIDNER (1959, 38; followed by COLLON 1987, 134) as difficult in the conventional chronology. On the other hand, PORADA (1979, 8) was of the opinion that Tukulti-Ninurta I’s artisans abraded and recut Šagarakti-Šuriaš’s seal, retaining only the one-line Kassite epigraph (but cf. n. 3).

3) Since Sennacherib found the seal described in K. 2673 in Babylon, and Tukulti-Ninurta I claimed he found the original stone in Babylon(ia) — where he was nominally king for 7 years — and Šagarakti-Šuriaš presumably ruled at Babylon, then, invoking Occam’s Razor, it ought to be considered that **this seal never left Babylon at all until Sennacherib himself took it to Nineveh!** Perhaps as confounded as are modern interpreters by the find spot of the seal and its archaic Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions (and iconography, if any, at which we can only guess), Sennacherib created a back-story for it out of whole cloth.

In this light, it may now be proposed instead that Tukulti-Ninurta I, in Babylon (per K. 2673: 2, 10), seized a nice piece of lapis lazuli (compare any number of such unfinished pieces of semiprecious stone, some bearing dedicatory inscriptions<sup>7)</sup> and had it carved and inscribed in Assyrian, presumably, but not necessarily, by an Assyrian artisan. But then, as king of Babylon, he deposited this seal in a temple in Babylon, where, in an ultra-low *Centuries of Darkness*-like chronology (JAMES *et al.* 1991, 257–59, 303; see further, WALLENFELS 2019b; *idem* forthcoming), perhaps a century or so later, Šagarakti-Šuriaš found it, and out of respect for the curse formula, merely had his own name and title added to it. Then, some four centuries after that, Sennacherib found it, either when he emptied Merodoch-baladan II’s treasure house in 702 BCE or at the time of his sack of the city in 689 BCE, and brought it back to Nineveh where his own epigraph was added; finally, sometime prior to the destruction of Nineveh in 612 BCE, a scribe copied the inscriptions out onto a tablet as an exercise. If Sennacherib’s scribe had available a version of the Assyrian King List (AKL) similar to the survivors we possess (GRAYSON 1983, 101–15), his stated *Distanzangabe* of 600 years (l. 6) between Sennacherib’s and Tukulti-Ninurta I’s conquests of Babylon, the latter c. 1225 BCE in the conventional chronology, is an obvious rounding up of the 564 years or so we can sum directly from a literal reading of AKL.

Given the range of opinions and reservations expressed above — especially Wiseman’s initial stylistic dating of Seal C to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I — the identification of the seal described in K. 2673 as Esarhaddon Succession Treaty Seal C is far from proven and should be rejected (similarly, WEIDNER 1959, 38; WATANABE 1985, 385–87; MATTHEWS 1990, 96, n. 99). Seal C on the other hand is a thoroughly late Middle Assyrian seal per the cuneiform, but especially the iconography, displaying the same distinctively long slender figures of similar proportion seen throughout late Middle Assyrian art until replaced by the stockier figures of the Kalah Court-style introduced by Aššur-naširpal II (Paley 1976, 12–13). Seal C, perhaps slightly touched up in the Neo-Assyrian period,<sup>8)</sup> is very likely to have originally been Tiglath-pileser I’s,<sup>9)</sup> whether his personal seal per Wiseman, or a contemporary god’s seal (WATANABE 1985, 387). Either way, its appearance alongside the Seal of Destinies (Seal A) originally owned by Esarhaddon’s father, Sennacherib (GEORGE 1986, 141–42; COLLON 1987, 134, no. 561), together with the early second millennium seal of the god Aššur (Seal B) (COLLON 1987, 134, no. 559), would have been fitting choices for Esarhaddon to have

used at the sealing of the Succession Treaty intended to promote a harmonious transfer of power in Assyria and Babylonia under the watchful eyes of Assyria's national gods and two of its greatest kings.

## Notes

1. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W\\_K-2673](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_K-2673) (photo); <https://cdli.ucla.edu> [P394594] (hand copy; transliteration); <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/corpus> [Sennacherib 156] (transliteration; translation); CASERO CHAMORRO 2014, 325–26 (translation); GRAYSON 1987, 280–81 (transliteration; translation; bibliography); WATANABE 1985, 386 (transliteration; translation); WEIDNER 1959 [1970], no. 29 (transliteration; translation); WISEMAN 1958, 21 (translation).

2. The signs compare well with the writing of the RN on a contemporary inscribed carnelian bead (WISEMAN Iraq 15 154 ND 3498). Found at Nimrud, it is thought to have been brought from Nippur to Nimrud, but whether in antiquity by perhaps Tukulti-Ninurta I or more recently by a modern workman is uncertain (see BRINKMAN 1976, 288, V.2.5, and n. 5). On the topic of Kassite palaeography, see BRINKMAN 2017, 32.

3. See MATTHEWS 1990, 79; STIEHLER-ALEGRIA 1996, 40–42. In contrast to the typically boxed vertical cuneiform inscription panel on Kassite cylinder seals, Middle Assyrian seals dated to the reigns of Adad-nirari I and following tend rather to have “free-floating” horizontal inscriptions, e.g., MATTHEWS 1990, nos. 290, 308, 312 (see further, WALLENFELS 2019a), 320, 333, 349, 356, 359–60.

4. Cf. the older readings ... *ša-ri ik-ta-din*, “found hidden away” (LUCKENBILL 1924, 93); ... *gar-ri ik-ta-din*, “carried away” (BUDGE & KING 1902, 15).

5. Although from the archival tablets from Nippur it is clear that a Kaštiliašu immediately succeeded Šagarakti-Šuriaš (BRINKMAN 1976, 311 and n. 18), BRINKMAN (1976, 190) also noted that the parentage of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (and of his predecessor Kudur-Enlil) in the Late Babylonian copy of Babylonian King List A (ii 5–6) “is unattested in contemporary documents”. RICHARDSON’S (2005, 285, n. 60) comment on POEBEL’S (1947, 110–21) observation that the Late Babylonian scribe of Babylonian King List B (GRAYSON 1983, 100) made systematic mathematical textual restorations, and may likewise have made similar (unwarranted) restorations to the paternities in the previous columns, may well be applicable to BKL A, too.

6. Cf. the return by an unnamed Assyrian to Simbar-Šipak (c. 1025–c. 1008 BCE), founder of the Second Dynasty of the Sealand, of property of Enlil to Bal(a)til from where it had been previously removed (GOETZE JCS 19 122 18–19).

7. E.g., CBS 8599 (BE 1, no. 36); Sb 6868 (FRAME 1987, 6, no. 3).

8. For evidence suggesting Neo-Assyrian recutting of the seal, see BOEHMER 1975, 353, and MATTHEWS 1990, 96 and n. 99; 99, n. 131.

9. Although MATTHEWS 1990 never specifically offers a date for Seal C, it is placed at the end of his “Later Assyrian Ritual Seals” (nos. 521–36), virtually all datable of the period of Tiglath-pileser I, and among which it appears entirely comfortable.

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#### **124) Another instance of literarily constructed similarity between Urartu and Assyria in “Sargon’s Eight Campaign”**

— In a recently published article, I had the opportunity to discuss the literary image of Rusâ of Urartu as conveyed in Sargon’s royal report to the god Aššur,<sup>1)</sup> also known as “Sargon’s Eighth Campaign” (= Sargon II no. 65).<sup>2)</sup> The main argument of the study was that in “Sargon’s Eighth Campaign” Rusâ and the kingdom of Urartu are portrayed in such similarity to the Assyrian king and Assyria in order to highlight the very real threat emanating from there, as well as to validate Sargon’s destructive actions, especially in Mušašir. I thank Ben Dewar for directing my attention (19<sup>th</sup> of July 2022) to the inscription Tiglath-pileser III no. 47,<sup>3)</sup> which yields a further item used for the literary construction of similarity between Assyria and Urartu in “Sargon’s Eighth Campaign”. Before discussing the latter, one should note, as pointed out to me by Ben, that this inscription very explicitly shares the theme of similarity with the younger text, as it is the only attestation of an outright accusation of an enemy claiming equality:

TIGLATH-PILESER III no. 47 rev. 14' (also TIGLATH-PILESER III no. 49: rev. 27)

[<sup>m</sup>ú]-as-sur-me KUR.ta-bal-a-a-na ep-šet KUR aš-šur.KI ú-maš-šil-ma a-di maḥ-ri-ia la il-li-ka (...)

[U]assurme of the land Tabal acted as if he were the equal of Assyria and he did not come before me (...)

A few days later (22<sup>nd</sup> of July 2022), the same text came up during a meeting with an interdisciplinary group of scholars from Berkeley (Jason Moser and Niek Veldhuis), Munich (Frauke Weiershäuser), and Helsinki (Aleksi Sahala) researching intertextuality with digital methods. The script that this group is developing detects lexical links (two texts using the same words) as well as semantic similarities (using synonyms or semantically closely related words) between two passages. One of the results delivered by this computational tool (still under development) indicated an intertextual connection (both lexical and semantic) between Tiglath-pileser III no. 47 and Sargon II no. 65, the latter better known as “Sargon’s Eighth Campaign”. This was striking, since “Sargon’s Eighth Campaign” also constructs a theme of similarity between Assyria and her enemies, in this case Urartu. In “Sargon’s Eighth Campaign”, one of

three episodes that construct similarity between Assyria and Urartu offers a description of the city of Ulḫu and the district of Sangibutu surrounding it. In that context, the pleasant smell of the roofbeams of the palaces of Sangibutu is explicitly noted.

“Sargon’s Eighth Campaign” (= Sargon II no. 65), 246

GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ ŠIM.LI *e-ri-šu DÙG.GA TA* [...] (x) <sup>1</sup>ha<sup>2</sup>·x-ma ša e<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>2</sup>-bi<sup>2</sup>-ši<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>-ma ha-šur-ri i-za-qa lib-bu-uš

Beams of juniper, the sweet fragrance [...] ... and wafts towards the one who enters them (the palaces) like (the fragrance of) hašurru-cedar.

As mentioned, the results discussed in the research group meeting indicated that one hypotext to this passage is exactly the inscription of Tiglath-pileser III quoted above. Line 246 of “Sargon’s Eighth Campaign” combines elements apparently lifted from two lines of Tiglath-pileser III’s building report concerning the construction of a “cedar palace” and a *bīt ḫilāni*:

Tiglath-pileser III no. 47 rev. 26'-28'

<sup>26</sup>GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN *še-ḫu-ú-ti ša ki-i e-ri-iš* GIŠ *ha-šur-ri a-na us-su-ni ta-a<sup>1</sup> bu tar<sup>1</sup>-bit* KUR<sup>1</sup> *ha<sup>1</sup>-[ma]-na* KUR *lab-na-na* ù KUR *am-ma-na-na* <sup>27</sup>*ú-ša-lil-ši-na-ma* (...) <sup>28</sup>GIŠ.IG<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MĪN *tu-'a-ma-te mu-na-aḫ-ḫi-šá e-ri-bi-ši-na<sup>1</sup> e<sup>1</sup>-re<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup>-na i-ziq-qu lib-bu*

<sup>27</sup>I roofed them <sup>26</sup>with long beams of cedar, which are as sweet to smell as the scent of hašurru-cedar, a product of Mount Am[anus], Mount Lebanon, (and) Mount Ammanāna (...) <sup>28</sup>Double doors of cedar (and) *šurmenu*-wood, which bestow (great) pleasure on those who enter them (and) whose fragrance wafts into the heart (...)

In the light of this, Frame’s tentative reading *e<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>2</sup>-bi<sup>2</sup>-ši<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>2</sup>* likely is correct over the CAD’s reading *e-ri-iš-ši-na*.<sup>4)</sup> Note the chiasm between hypo- and hypertext, as “Sargon’s Eighth Campaign” has the “enterer” precede the simile “like (the scent of) a *hašurru-cedar*”, while in Tiglath-pileser 47, rev. 26'-28' the simile precedes the mention of “enterers”. What makes this intertext so striking, especially in context of the literary construction of similarity between Urartu and Assur, is that a probably newly created conglomerate of images whose separate elements had hitherto been used to describe Assyrian building efforts now describes architectural feats of Urartu. This intertext strengthens the argument of a deliberate stylization of similarity to the effects described above, that is as a warning of danger, and subsequently as validation of destruction.

In a related matter, I should have drawn more attention to “Sargon’s Eight Campaign”, line 234, which notes seemingly in passing that Urartian kings followed the same ideology of border expansion as Assyrian kings, expressed by the significant phrase *ana ruppuš matī-šunu* “in order to extend their territory/land” (cf. Bach 2022, 124 fn. 67). Clearly, such an important equation pushes the construction of similarity even further. But as “Sargon’s Eight Campaign” does not dwell on the issue and puts more narrative weight, interspersed with some historical information, on the marvels of Ulḫu and Sangibutu, so did I. Hopefully this aspect can be explored on another occasion.

## Notes

1. Bach, J.: “Revisiting the Representation of the ‘Other’ in ‘Sargon’s Eighth Campaign’”, in: L. Portuese / M. Pallavidini: *Rethinking Ideology and Propaganda in the Ancient Near East* (2022), 115-142.

2. Quoted following the edition of Frame, G. 2021. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria (721–705 BC)*, 217-307. University Park: Eisenbrauns. RINAP 2.

3. With a minor modification quoted following the edition of Tadmor, H. and Sh. Yamada, Sh. 2011. *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, 115-125. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns. RINAP 1.

4. Cf. Frame 2021, 294.

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**125) Water in Mesopotamian warfare** — In studies on warfare in ancient Mesopotamia, the role that forces of nature play is not often focused on.<sup>1)</sup> This note centres on the role that bodies of water played in Mesopotamian warfare, using a narration of Sargon II's campaign against Marduk-apla-iddina II in 710 BCE as an example. This narration is given below.<sup>2)</sup>

“[Marduk-ap]la-iddina (II) (Merodach-Baladan), the k[in]g of Chaldea, [who ag]ainst the will of the gods had come down t[o] the territory of the land of Sumer and Akkad and had appropriated for himself the kingship of Babylon, turned to Ḫumbanigaš (Ḫumban-nikaš I), the Elamite, for aid. He put his trust in the sea (and its) surging waves and withheld his audience gift. I mustered the numerous troops of (the god) Aššur and crossed the Tigris (and) Euphrates Rivers, as well as innumerable small streams. Like the Deluge, I overwhelmed the Chaldeans to their (lit.: its) full extent. In the face of my advance (lit.: “before me”), Marduk-apla-iddina gathered together the inhabitants of his cities (lit.: “his inhabited cities”) and the gods dwelling in them, and brought (them) into the city Dūr-Yakīn. He strengthened its enclosure walls (and), moving back a distance of ten *nindanu* from in front of its main wall, he made a moat two hundred cubits wide; he made (the moat) one and a half *nindanu* deep and reached ground water. He cut a channel from the Euphrates River, (thereby) making (its water) flow (in)to its meadowland. He flooded its fields, where battles (are fought), and made crossing difficult. Together with his allies (and) his battle troops, he pitched his royal tent in a bend of the river (lit.: “between rivers”) like a crane and assembled his (military) camp. At the command of the gods Aššur, Nabû, and Marduk, I had a causeway constructed (lit.: “trodden down”) across his canals and I caught him, together with his fighting men, like a flying eagle in a net. I spread out like malt (spread for drying) the corpses of his vanguard and of the Aḫlamû, the people of the steppe who go at his side, and I filled the surroundings of his city (with them)...”

Turning to the analysis, a distinction between natural and artificial bodies of water in the context of warfare is called for. Natural bodies of water are portrayed either as obstructions or buffer zones, depending on the role of the warring party (attacker or defender). With regard to artificial bodies of water, there are two ways in which such bodies of water are used in the war between Sargon II and Marduk-apla-iddina II, as narrated above. Water is obstructed and water is released. These ways are either defensive or offensive in character. The obstruction of water is described solely as an offensive measure. The release of water is portrayed mostly as a defensive measure but secondarily (and in a metaphorical context) also as an offensive measure. A final point to make is that bodies of water constitute focal points in Sargon II's narration.

Going through the narration, from start to finish, “the sea (and its) surging waves (*marratu*, *gupuš edû*)” and “the Tigris (and) Euphrates Rivers, as well as innumerable small streams (*nārāti*)” are pictured as obstructions for Sargon II and as buffer zones for Marduk-apla-iddina II. The sea, waves, rivers, and streams in question point to the ideological theme “difficult path”, according to which the Assyrian king overcomes all obstacles put in his way,<sup>3)</sup> in his being a hero and the ultimate warrior.<sup>4)</sup> In Sargon II's function as “the Deluge” (*abūbu*), he drowns out a number of his Chaldean opponents.<sup>5)</sup> Marduk-apla-iddina II responds by taking to his tribal capital Dur-Yakin, where he “made a moat (*ḫarīšu*) two hundred cubits wide; he made (the moat) one and a half *nindanu* deep and reached ground water. He cut a channel (*butuqtu*) from the Euphrates River, (thereby) making (its water) flow (in)to its meadowland. He flooded its fields, where battles (are fought), and made crossing difficult”. The response by Marduk-apla-iddina II is obviously defensive in nature, with the said body of water functioning as an obstacle with regard to the onmarch of the Assyrian army. Sargon II counters his enemy's manouvre by having “a causeway (*arammu*) constructed across his (Marduk-apla-iddina II's) canals”, in this way removing the liquid, man-made barrier of Marduk-apla-iddina II. By blocking this body of water, Sargon II manages to get in direct contact with his Babylonian foe, leading to his resounding victory (according to his own version of events).

In line with the overarching observation that water management, naturally rooted in the existence of the twin rivers of the Euphrates and the Tigris, played a fundamental role for the ancient Mesopotamian civilization, it comes as no surprise to find (as this case study shows) that bodies of water functioned as an integral part of Assyrian-Babylonian warfare.

## Notes

1. See e.g. POSTGATE 2000, centred on manpower and military equipment.

2. RINAP 2 74 vi 14–49, as translated by G. FRAME (2021: 332–333). There are duplicates in texts RINAP 2 111 (1'–9') and RINAP 2 113 (6'–17'). For a historical overview, see FRAME 2021: 24–29.

3. For the ideological theme of “difficult path” (in the sense of landscape obstacles) in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, see e.g. TADMOR 2000, VAN BUYLAERE 2009, and KARLSSON 2016: 125–133.

4. For the theme of the Assyrian king as hero in Assyrian royal inscriptions, see e.g. GASPA 2007.

5. For the relatively frequent and widespread use of the metaphor Deluge (as denoting the Assyrian king) in Assyrian royal inscriptions, see SEUX 1967: 34 and CAD A/I, pp. 77–81.

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**126) More documents about the Rē’i-sisê family** — The minor archive of the Rē’i-sisê family newly published by Y. Levavi,<sup>1)</sup> can be supplemented by four additional documents. The earliest and to some degree most important is the small tablet BM 66343, as there Niqūdu appears for the first time, identified as the father of two sons: Šamaš-aplu-ušur and Šamaš-iddin and one daughter Aḥāssunu (see family tree on p. 187 in Levavi article). Although the signs “a” and “sipa” in the second line are omitted, there is no doubt that here appears the father of the sons and daughter mentioned above. The delivery of barley as *ešrū*-tithes to the Ebabbar temple suggests that he acted in the name of the temple as its *ša muḥḫi ešrī*, and that this post was later “inherited” by his son Šamaš-aplu-ušur, the *ša muḥḫi ešrī* in the period 5Nbn-12Dar (Bongenaar 1997, 432; Jursa 1998, 55-57).<sup>2)</sup> Although the king’s name is omitted, for chronological reasons only the thirty-first year of Nebuchadnezzar can be taken into account, and that the family’s relation to the temple lasted for two generations. BM 99806 is additional text in which Šamaš-iddin, son of Niqūdu is the creditor of the small sum of 2 ½ shekels of silver, but the name of debtor cannot be identified, although it seems that the loan was interest-free. BM 79650, from an unknown year of Nabonidus, concerns the issue of 1 mina 24 ¼ shekels of silver by Marduka and Šamaš-aplu-ušur as tithes from (sold) dates, including 10 shekels for wool and 4 shekels for two dead cows. Because two lines are entirely eroded, we cannot be certain, but it seems that part of the money was used for buying 30 sheep from Arad-Gula and Guzānu, transferred to the fattening house for future sacrifices. Although in the text neither Marduka nor Šamaš-aplu-ušur are described by the title *ša muḥḫi ešrī*, but the issue of silver as *ešrū* indicates their function.

The first can be identified as the well-known Marduka, son of Bēl-ēpuš, descendant of Mušēzibu, the *ša muḥḫi ešrī* in the period 0AmM - 17Nbn (Bongenaar 1997, 431-32; Jursa 1998, 49-52),<sup>2)</sup> the second seems to be a son of Niqūdu, descendant of the Rē’i-sisê family, a *ša muḥḫi ešrī* for a long time, from 5Nbn-12Dar (Bongenaar 1997, 432; Jursa 1998, 55-57), but maybe much longer, from 34Nbk.<sup>3)</sup>

Two hitherto unpublished documents concern persons not related to Niqūdu and his offspring. In BM 77883, composed in the 41<sup>st</sup> year of Nebuchadnezzar, Ša-Marduk-ul-ini,<sup>4)</sup> the builder, lent 2 ¼ shekels of silver to Šamaš-zer-ibni, but the omission of the debtor father’s name makes his more precise identification impossible. The last text is BM 46650 from 13Nbn. Nabû-ēṭir, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Šangû-Ninurta rented his palm garden for 16 *kurru 2 pān 3 sūtu* of dates to Bēl-uballit, son of Nādin, descendant of the Rē’i-sisê family to be paid in Araḥsamna, i.e. during the harvesting season, in one instalment with typical additions (one basket made of palm leaves, fibres and pressed dates). The additional note, according to which 4 *kurru 2 pān 3 sūtu* of dates to be paid by the tenant is shared by Nabû-ēṭir with Nabû-šum-ušur and Rēmūt is surprising. One may suppose that part of the garden belonged to all three people as co-owners, maybe brothers or cousins of Nabû-ēṭir. The presence of such information could be

requested by the tenant, who might fear that the two remaining co-owners could demand additional rent from him comprising a little over one-third of the total sum (l. 1).

### Editions<sup>5)</sup>

BM 66343 (82-9-18, 6336)	29. ʿx <sup>1</sup> .31<Nbk>	
1.	6 kùr 2 bán še.bar eš-ru-ú	6 kurru 2 sūtu of barley, the tithe
2.	[šáʿ] <sup>m</sup> ni-qu-du <a> <sup>lú</sup> <sipa> anše.kur.ra	[which] Niqūdu, <descendant of Rēʿi>-sisê,
3.	[a]-na é-babbar-ra it-ta-din	has delivered to the Ebabbar temple.
4.	iti.ʿx u <sub>4</sub> .29.kam <sup>1</sup>	Month ʿx, twenty-ninth day <sup>1</sup> ,
5.	mu.31.kam	thirty-first year.

**Notes:** In E. Leichty and A.K. Grayson 1987, 175, the month is read Addaru, however, there is a place for a long sign beginning from an upper horizontal wedge followed by the “head” of a vertical wedge, which might be recognised as a partial remnant of the month of Abu.

BM 99806 (83-1-21, 2168)	6.1.1Camb (529BC)	
Obv.1.	2 ½ gín kù.babbar šá <sup>md</sup> utu-mu	[DN-ahh]ē-iddin, son of [PN owes] 2 ½ shekels of silver
2.	a-šú šá <sup>m</sup> ni-qu-du	to Šamaš-iddin, son of Niqūdu, [descendant] of Rēʿi-
3.	[a] <sup>lú</sup> sipa anše.kur.ra	sisê.
4.	[ina ugu DN-šeš].meš-mu a-šú šá	
5.	[PN ina u] <sub>4</sub> .10.kam šá	He will pay back (silver) on tenth day [of the month....].
6.	[iti.x] i-nam-din	
Rev.1ʿ.	[...] ʿx <sup>1</sup> [...]	[Witnesses,
2ʿ.	[...] ʿx <sup>d</sup> ag <sup>1</sup>	... descendant of x]-Nabû
3ʿ.	[ <sup>m</sup> DNʿ] ʿx <sup>1</sup> -mu a-šú šá	[DN] ʿx <sup>1</sup> -iddin, son of [PN]
4ʿ.	[ <sup>lú</sup> šid <sup>m</sup> x] <sup>d</sup> ag a-šú šá <sup>ma</sup> na-din	[the scribe, x]-Nabû, son of Nādin.
5ʿ.	[sip-pa] <sup>r</sup> ki iti.bár u <sub>4</sub> .6.kam	[Sippa]r, month Nisannu, sixth day, first year of
6ʿ.	mu.1.kam <sup>m</sup> kam-bu-zi-ia	Cambyses, king of Babylon!, king of Lands.
7ʿ.	lugal kur.kur(sic!) lugal kur.kur	

**Note:** In the last line the scribe twice wrote *šar matāte*, instead of *šar Bābili šar matāte*. The second title makes it certain that the document was written after the death of Cyrus, in 529 BC.

BM 79650 (82-10-14, 200)	11.12.Nbn [x]	
Obv. 1.	1 ma-na 1/3 4 gín 4-tú kù.babbar ul-tu	1 mina 24 ¼ shekels of silver, from the silver
2.	kù.babbar ša zú.lum.ma šá ina ʿšū <sup>ii</sup>	which was brought for dates as tithes by
3.	<sup>m</sup> mar-duk u <sup>md</sup> utu-a-pap šá 10-ú	Marduka and Šamaš-apal-ušur, including 10
4.	na-šá-a a-di 10 gín kù.babbar ri-ḫi	shekels of silver, the rest of it from the (selling)
5.	kù.babbar šá sīg.ḫi.a ina šū <sup>ii</sup> <sup>m</sup> be-ía na-šá-a e-lat	of wool from Kabtiya; apart from the silver for
	kù.babbar šá ʿx x <sup>1</sup>	which [...] and 4 shekels, the price of two f two
6.	ù 4 gín kù.babbar šám 2 gu <sub>4</sub> .meš	dead oxen from the fattening house [...] for 30
7.	[m]i-tu-tu šá ta é ú-ʿru-ú <sup>1</sup>	sheep was given to Arad-Gula and Guzānu.
8.	damaged	Sheep which are in the fattening house are at
9.	damaged	disposal of Nūr-Šamaš.
Rev. 10.	ʿa <sup>1</sup> -na 30 udu.níta a-ʿna <sup>1</sup>	
11.	<sup>m</sup> ir- <sup>d</sup> me.me u <sup>m</sup> gu-za-nu s[um <sup>na</sup> ]	
12.	udu.níta ina é ú-ru-ú ina igi <sup>m</sup> zálag- <sup>d</sup> utu	One line erased followed by free place for one line
13.	iti.še u <sub>4</sub> .11.kam m[u.x].kam	Month Addaru, eleventh day, [nth year] of
14.	<sup>md</sup> ag-i lugal tin.tir <sup>ki</sup>	Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

**Note:** L. 3. u<sup>m</sup> is written over an erasure.



BM 77893 (85-4-30, 86) 1.2.41<Nbk>

Obv. 1.	1 gín kù.babbar <i>a-na</i>	1 shekel of silver for wax was given to Bēl-
2.	duḥ.làl <i>a-na</i>	kāšir.
3.	<sup>md</sup> en-kád sum <sup>na</sup>	
4.	2 gín 4-tú kù.babbar	2 ¼ shekels of silver for good quality beer
5.	<i>a-na</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘which?’ Ša-Marduk-ul-ini, the builder <has
Rev. 6.	kaš.sag dùg.ga ṛa x <sup>1</sup>	given> to Šamaš-zēr-ibni, <descendant> of the
7.	<sup>m</sup> šá- <sup>d</sup> amar.utu-ul-i-ni	Rē’i-sisê. <sup>6</sup>
8.	<sup>lú</sup> šitim <i>a-na</i>	
9.	<sup>md</sup> utu-numun-dù	
10.	<a> <sup>lú</sup> sipa anše.kur.{kur}.ra	
11.	iti.gu <sub>4</sub> u <sub>4</sub> .l.kam	Month Aiaru, first day forty-first year.
12.	mu.41.kam	

**Note:** L. 5 the *na* is followed by one vertical wedge.

BM 46650 (81-8-30, 116) 12.[x].Nbn 13

Obv. 1.	16 kùr 2 (pi) 3 bán zú.lum.ma zag.lu	16 kurru 2 pān 3 sūtu of dates, estimated rent
2.	šá <sup>md</sup> ag-kar <sup>ir</sup> dumu-šú šá	owed by Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Nādin, descendant of
3.	<sup>m</sup> ba <sup>šá</sup> -a a <sup>lú</sup> kid+bar <sup>d</sup> nin-urta	the Rē’i-sisê family to Nabû-ētir, son Iqīšaya,
4.	ina muḥ-ḥi <sup>md</sup> en-tin <sup>it</sup> a-šú šá	descendant of the Šangû-Ninurta family. He will
5.	<sup>m</sup> na-dī-nu a <sup>lú</sup> sipa anše.kur.ra	deliver (these) dates in the month of Araḥsamna at
6.	ina iti.apin zú.lum.ma	the ḥašāru-place in one instalment in the measure
7.	ina ḥa-ša-ri ina muḥ-ḥi 1 <sup>it</sup> rit-tu <sub>4</sub>	of Nabû-ētir, along with a basket of 1 kurru (made
8.	ina ma-ši-ḥu šá <sup>md</sup> ag-kar <sup>ir</sup>	of) palm fronds, palm fiber, a load of (fire) palm
9.	i-nam-din it-ti	wood he will deliver, including 4 kurru 2 pān 3
10.	1 kùr tu-ḥal-lu <sub>4</sub>	sūtu of dates, the share of Nabû-ētir with Nabû-
11.	gi-pu-ú ù man-ga-ga	šum-ušur and Remut.
12.	1 <sup>en</sup> da-ri-ka i-nam-din	
13.	ina lib-bi 4 kùr 2 (pi) 3 bán zú.lum.ma	Witnesses:
14.	ḥa.la šá <sup>md</sup> ag-kar <sup>ir</sup> šá it-ti	Bēl-kāšir, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of the
15.1	<sup>md</sup> ag-mu-ùru u <sup>m</sup> re-mut	Arad-Nergal family
16.	<sup>lú</sup> mu-kin-nu <sup>md</sup> en-ka-šir a-šú šá	Marduk-aplu-ušur, son of Erība-Marduk,
17.	<sup>m</sup> ir- <sup>d</sup> en a <sup>m</sup> ir- <sup>d</sup> gir.kù	descendant of the Miširaya family
18.	<sup>md</sup> amar.utu-a-ùru a-šú šá <sup>m</sup> su- <sup>d</sup> šu	and the scribe Nabû-šum-ibni, son of Apkallu,
19.	a <sup>m</sup> mi-šir-a-a u <sup>lú</sup> šid <sup>md</sup> ag-mu-dù	descendant of the the Ašlaku family.
20.	[a]-šú šá <sup>m</sup> nun.me a <sup>lú</sup> túg.babbar uru šá	
L.h.e.21	[ <sup>m</sup> ]dutu-sūḥ-sur iti.[x]	City of Šamaš-tēši-ētir. month [x], twelfth day,
22.	u <sub>4</sub> .12.kam mu.13.kam	thirteenth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
23.	<sup>md</sup> ag-im.tuku lugal e <sup>ki</sup>	

**Notes**

1. Levavi 2022.

2. Note, however, BM 101380 (38[Nbk]; (king’s name is based on the prosopographic data in the text), ll. 5<sup>1</sup>-6<sup>1</sup>: pap 15 <sup>lú</sup>erín.meš x x x x (probably erased)/šá eš-ru ina šu<sup>ii</sup> <sup>m</sup>mar-duk u <sup>md</sup>ag-sur, that suggest that he held the position already in the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

3. He is also present as the fourth, last witness in BM 64626: 19 (edited by Sandowicz 2019, no. 20, 6Cyr).

4. The person with the name Ša-Marduk-ul-enû (“that Marduk did not change/revoke (his word)”), son of Nabû-udammīq, descendant of Rab-{-1}-banê appears in Cam 16: 15 (24.11.0Camb, 529 BC, Babylon) as the second witness, maybe the same person.

5. Because the contributors of “Minor archives” announced the publication of a separate volume with copies of all the texts belonging to these archives, I shall abandon publishing my own copies of the tablets presented here.

6. However, it cannot be excluded that here is the profession, not the family name.

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**127) *ellat puratti*. A Rare Syntactic Construction in Akkadian** — Some ten years ago, in 2013, I published an article titled “*kəpurta d Atalia – ellat puratti – A Rare Syntactic Construction in Modern Syriac and Akkadian*” (*Le Muséon* 126 (2013) p. 21-28). This construction, which I call *ellat puratti*, is a genitive construction of an adjective as *nomen regens* and a substantive as *nomen rectum – ellat puratti*. This construction is used when in a nominal collocation of a substantive qualified by an adjective, the adjective and not the substantive carries the main information of the collocation. The qualified substantive is limited to human beings: proper names or nouns signifying human beings – father, king, shepherd – or gods (including rivers etc.). It should be emphasized, that in such a situation this construction is not absolutely necessary – and, really, it is rare – but it is *terme marqué*. The limiting of the substantive to human beings and gods has very few exceptions; it seems that it depends on different dialects/languages. In any case, these exceptions are few.

As this construction is so rare, in the article of 2013, the paragraph dealing with Akkadian, I adduced only three examples, which were all I had then; In this article I want to add four more, which I found during these past ten years. I will start with repeating the older ones, and after them will bring the four new ones.

*lib-ki-ka el-lat pu-ra-ti* – ‘May the holy (of) Euphrates mourn you’ (*Gilgamesh* VIII 19 – according to George, *Gilgamesh* p.650).

*el-lit* <sup>d</sup>*ištar mu-nam-me-rat šim-ti* – ‘Pure (of) Ištar, the brightening of the fate’ (*Maqlû* III 180 according to Meier, *Maqlû* p.180).

*la-ma ik-šu-da-ki ap-kal-lam ši-pí-ir É-a qar-du* – ‘Before he has reached you, the wise-of-work (of) Ea, the hero’ (BIN 2, 72, according to von Soden, Lamastu).

*ši-pí-ir*: *nomen regens*; the whole subordinator (of Ea) is “*apkallam šipr(\*im)* in the construction *damqam inim* (Reiner, *Damqam-Inim Revisited*) – wise-of-work (of) Ea, the hero.

Possibly also:

*ilu*(DINGIR.RA) *qá-áš-du-tum šu-nu li-il<sub>5</sub>-li-lu-ka, el-le-et* <sup>d</sup>*En-líl-lá li-il<sub>5</sub>-li-lu-ka* – The holy gods, may they purify you, Pure (of) Enlil may he purify you (CT 42,32, according to Geller-Wiggemann, Duplicating Akkadian Magic, and Streck-Wasserman, *SEAL*. This example is discussed in the article of 2013, p.23.

The additional examples:

*tu-um-ma-a-ti DUMU.MUNUS AN-ni a-ša-re-da* <sup>d</sup>*asal-lú-lí* – You are conjured, Daughter-of-Anu, by most noble (of) Asalluhi (Farber, *Lamaštu*, p.124, line 6). [The *status constructus* of *ašaridu*, being a *nomen regens*, is conveyed by the *a* (see my article, Gai, Semitic and Akkadian, §5. *a(m)* as a Marker of Construct State in Akkadian, p.5)].

*eppeš(u) Adapa, apkal Eridu* – Clever (of) Adapa, the sage of Eridu. (Farber, *Lamaštu*, II/22, p.164 (p.99. p.228).

*EN re-mi-nu-ú, qar-rad* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU – Merciful Bel, the warrior (of) Marduk. (82-5-22,63 = RMA 170 = SAA VIII 333 [p.189] 5’).

The CAD defines *qarrādu* as a substantive, but 1) standing alone without a qualified substantive does not make a noun substantive; and 2) plurals with the suffix *-ūtu* cited in the CAD – p.143/2 2.a, last three lines – alongside plurals with *-ū* – show that it is on the way to becoming a substantive, but it is also an adjective yet, (A.Gai, Adjective).

<sup>d</sup>30 *u* <sup>d</sup>UTU *la ú-qí-ma ir-bi ll na-an-dur* UR.MAH *u* UR.BAR.RA – If the moon does not wait for the sun but sets: raging (of) lions and wolfs. (Rm 195 = RMA 157D = SAA VIII, 24 [p.15] lines 6-7 (and several others).

In this example the *nomen rectum*, lions and wolves, does not obey the wide limitation of being a human being or a god. I know about only two more such exceptions, both of them in Biblical Hebrew, book of Ezekiel – with its Akkadian influence – both in the same chapter, 24, in a distance of four verses from each other – 8 and 12: ‘For the blood she shed is still in her; She set it upon על־בַּרְבַּר *a bare rock*; She did not pour it on the ground to cover it with earth. She set her blood upon על־בַּרְבַּר *a bare rock*, so that it was not covered, so that it may stir up [my] fury, to take vengeance (verses 7-8; this collocation repeats in Ez. 26: 4, 14), and: בַּרְבַּר־לֶחֶם־הַאֵשׁ *Its thick scum* will not leave it into the fire with its scum. (verse 12). It seems that it is a matter of dialectology.

### Bibliographical abbreviations

- Farber, *Lamaštu* = W. FARBER, *Lamaštu*, 2014.  
 Gai, adjective = A. GAI, “The Category ‘Adjective’ in Semitic Languages”, *JSS* 40 (1995) p.1-9.  
 Gai, *Semitic and Akkadian* = A. GAI, “Several Points of Semitic and Akkadian Grammar”, *Le Muséon* 114 (2001) p.1-13.  
 Geller-Wiggermann, Duplicating Akkadian Magic = M.J. GELLER – F.M. WIGGERMANN, “Duplicating Akkadian Magic”, in R.J. VAN DER SPEK (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World, View and Society: Presented to Marten Stol...*, 2008, p.149-160.  
 George, *Gilgamesh* = A.R. GEORGE, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 2003.  
 Meier, *Maqlû* = G. MEIER, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû (AfOBeih. 2)*, 1937.  
 Reiner, *Damqam-Īnim Revisited* = E. REINER, “Damqam-Īnim Revisited”, in *StOr* 55 (1984), p.177-182.  
 SAA VIII = *State Archiv of Assyria* vol. viii – Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings, ed. by H. HUNGER, 1992.  
 SEAL = M.P. STRECK – N. WASSERMAN, *Sources of Early Akkadian Literature (SEAL)*, at <http://www.seal.huji.ac.il>.  
 von Soden, *Lamašum* = “Eine altbabylonische Beschwörung gegen die Dämonin Lamašum”, *Or.* 23 (1954) p. 337-344

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**128) Die Wolke als Symbol der Vergänglichkeit oder Flüchtigkeit im Akkadischen und Hebräischen** — In diesem Beitrag wird eine Parallele zwischen der akkadischen und hebräischen Literatur herausgestrichen. Das Thema ist in der Wolke als Symbol der Vergänglichkeit oder Flüchtigkeit zu sehen. Die Vorstellung liegt im Schrifttum beider Völker voll ausgereift vor.

Die Untersuchung setzt zunächst beim akkadischen Material an und zieht eine jüngstens publizierte altbabylonische Beschwörung (=YOS 11, 8) heran, bei der die Krankheit mit folgenden Worten angeredet wird:

„ti-bi gi-ir-gi-iš-šum la ta-ra-ab-bí-iš	„Rise <i>girgiššum</i> -disease, do not lie down!
ki-ma qū-ut-ri-ī[m] e-l[i] š[a]-ma-n[i]ʔ	Ascend to heaven like smoke,
ki-ma ib-b[a-ri-im xxx] <sup>(1)</sup>	like a cloud [...].”

Die rasch davonziehende Wolke wird demnach als Vergleich für die Entfernung der *girgiššum*-Krankheit herangezogen. Der Sachverhalt wird außerdem am Bild des sich in Sekundenschnelle auflösenden Rauches veranschaulicht. Das Suffix „-āni“ bei „š[a]-ma-n[i]ʔ“ übt hier wie auch sonst eine terminative Funktion aus<sup>2)</sup>. Die Ergänzung der dritten Zeile beruht auf den Vorgaben von CAD i/J 107. Das betreffende Motiv der Wolke ist auch in die hebräische Literatur eingedrungen. Die beiden folgenden Beispiele geben darüber Auskunft.

Das erste Beispiel stammt aus Hosea 13, 3, wo folgender Spruch gegen die Götzendiener ergeht:

„Darum sollen sie werden wie die Wolken am Morgen und wie der Tau, der bald vergeht, wie die Spreu, die aus der Tenne stiebt, und wie Rauch, der aus der Luke zieht.“

Die Flüchtigkeit der Wolke bildet auch hier die Kernaussage. Die Existenz der Widersacher soll nach dem gleichen Muster ausgelöscht werden. Der Aspekt wird an drei weiteren Bildern variiert. Die Erwähnung des Rauches ist in Hinblick auf das akkadische Beispiel besonders hervorzuheben.

Die zweite Parallele findet sich in Weisheit 2, 4, wo mit den folgenden Worten auf die Vergänglichkeit des irdischen Daseins Bezug genommen wird:

„Unser Name wird bald vergessen, niemand denkt mehr an unsere Taten. Unser Leben geht vorüber wie die Spur einer Wolke und löst sich auf wie Nebel, der von den Strahlen der Sonne verscheucht und von ihrer Wärme zu Boden gedrückt wird.“

Die Wolke, die bei steigenden Temperaturen in Gefahr gerät zu verdampfen, wird auch hier als Inbegriff der Vergänglichkeit gewählt. Die Worte leiden an einem gewissen Pessimismus.

In der Auswertung ist folgendes Ergebnis zu konstatieren: Die Parallele tritt in aller Klarheit entgegen. Die Annahme einer direkten oder indirekten Abhängigkeit ist unnötig. Die Erklärung mit einem den gesamten Ostmittelmeerraum umspannenden Reservoir an Metaphern und Symbolen liegt wesentlich näher, das u. a. von Nissinen<sup>3)</sup> diskutiert wurde. Das Alter des Phänomens rekonstruiert er auf mehrere tausend Jahre. Der Fundus besteht laut Nissinen aus mesopotamischem, ägyptischem, ugaritischem, hebräischem und griechischem Material. Die Idee des Konzeptes wurde jüngst auch von Fox<sup>4)</sup> positiv aufgenommen.

### Anmerkungen

1. N. Wasserman/E. Zomer, *Akkadian Magic Literature, Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian Incantations: Corpus – Context – Praxis*, LAOS 12 (Wiesbaden, 2022), 180.

2. Zum “-āni”-Suffix vgl. N. Wasserman, *Style and Form in Old Babylonian Literary Texts (=CM 27)* (Leiden, 2003), 116 fn. 105.

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

4. 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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**129) Eine weitere akkadisch-ägyptische Parallele: die Flut als Stier** — In diesem Beitrag wird eine weitere akkadisch-ägyptische Parallele präsentiert. Der Vergleich der Flut mit einem Stier dient dabei als Thema. Die Diskussion fängt mit dem altbabylonischen Beispiel aus dem Atrachasis-Epos an. In den folgenden Worten wird das Losbrechen der Sintflut geschildert:

„[The Flood] bellowed like a bull,  
[like] a screeching eagle the winds [howled]”<sup>1)</sup>

Das Tosen der Wassermassen wird hier mit einem Stier in Verbindung gebracht. Das tertium comparationis des Vergleiches liegt wohl in der archaischen Urgewalt von Tier und Naturerscheinung. Das Tosen der Flut wurde in akkadischen Texten auch sonst erwähnt<sup>2)</sup>. Die gleiche oder zumindest ähnliche Übertragung kehrt in der ägyptischen Sprache wieder.

Das Interesse richtet sich zunächst auf eine Stelle aus dem Edfutempel, die in die griechisch-römische Zeit datiert werden kann. Der hier interessierende Sachverhalt wird dort deutlich zum Ausdruck gebracht.

„kḫb(=i) n=k k<sup>3</sup> ḫr k<sup>3</sup>ii.t.”<sup>3)</sup>                      “ich lasse für dich den Stier auf das Hochland toben”

Die Flut wird auch hier metaphorisch mit einem Stier in Zusammenhang gebracht. Das aggressive Wesen des Tieres scheint dabei im Vordergrund zu stehen. Der Ausdruck „kḫb“ „toben“ lässt das Bild eines schnaubenden, mit den Füßen scharrenden und zum Angriff übergehenden Stieres entstehen. Die Wassermassen wälzen sich mit der gleichen Energie über das Land. Das Wort „k<sup>3</sup>“ „Stier“ hat mit dem Wort „k<sup>3</sup>ii.t.“ „Hochland“ ein Wortspiel gebildet.

Die Vorstellung wurde auch etwas nüchterner formuliert. Die Bezeichnung „iti k<sup>3</sup>“<sup>4)</sup> „Stier ergreift“ für die Überschwemmung bietet sich dafür als Hinweis an. Die Parallele tritt damit markant hervor. Die Flut wird in beiden Sprachen mit einem Stier assoziiert. Die Annahme einer direkten oder indirekten Abhängigkeit stellt sich als unnötig heraus. Die sehr viel stringendere Lösung ergibt sich mit der Idee eines im ganzen östlichen Mittelmeerraum kursierenden Reservoirs an Symbolen und Metaphern, als deren geistiger Vater Nissinen<sup>5)</sup> gelten kann. Der Inhalt dieser Sammlung besteht nach dessen Meinung aus mesopotamischen, hebräischen, ägyptischen, ugaritischen und griechischen Schriftdokumenten. Das Konzept wurde jüngst auch von Fox<sup>6)</sup> akzeptiert.

### Anmerkungen

1. N. WASSERMAN, *The Flood: The Akkadian Sources, A New Edition, Commentary, and a Literary Discussion*, OBO 290 (Leuven-Paris-Bristol/CT, 2020), 34; zur Flut im Atrachasis vgl. M. OSSENDRIJVER, *Weather*

Predictions in Babylonia, in: M: Ossendrijver (ed.), *Scholars, Priests, and Temples: Babylonian and Egyptian Science in Context*, JANEH 8/1-2 (2021), 223.

2. J. GOODNICK WESTENHOLZ, *Symbolic Language in Akkadian Narrative Poetry: The Metaphorical Relationship between Poetical Images and the real World*, in: M. E. Vogelzang/H. L. J. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian*, Proceedings of the Groningen Group for the Study of Mesopotamian Literature, Vol. 2, CM 6 (Groningen, 1996), 197.

3. St. BAUMANN, *Die Beschreibung der Nilflut in der Nilkammer von Edfu*, ZÄS 139 (2012), 6.

4. PH. DERCHAIN/D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, *La création – Die Schöpfung, Poème Pariétal, Ein Wandgedicht, La facade ptolémaïque du temple d’Esna, Pour une poétique ptolémaïque, Rites Égyptiens X* (Turnhout, 2004), 25; H. Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Der Propylon des Month-Tempels in Karnak-Nord, Zum Dekorationsprinzip des Tores, Übersetzung und Kommentierung der Urkunden VIII, Texte Nr. 1-Nr. 50, GOF IV. Reihe, Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1993), 120.

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

6. 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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**130) Davonfliegende Vögel als Sinnbild für Vergänglichkeit im Sumerischen und Ägyptischen** – In diesem Beitrag wird eine weitere motivgeschichtliche Gemeinsamkeit zwischen dem Sumerischen und Ägyptischen zur Diskussion gestellt – die Rolle von davonfliegenden Vögeln als Symbol für Vergänglichkeit. Die sumerisch-ägyptischen Bezüge wurden auch sonst schon als solche erkannt<sup>1)</sup>. Der Ansatz erweist sich so aus methodischer Sicht als durchaus statthaft.

Das relevante Beispiel stammt aus der sumerischsprachigen „Klage über die Zerstörung von Ur“, wo der Untergang von Ur III beschrieben wird und in der die Göttin Ningal folgende Worte spricht:

„mu-un-ga-gu<sub>10</sub> buru<sub>4</sub><sup>(mušen)</sup>-dugud zi-ga-gim RI-RI (dal-dal ?)-da ħaba-ni-zi“<sup>2)</sup>

„Meine Besitztümer sind verschwunden, fliegend wie aufsteigende buru<sub>4</sub>-dugud-Vögel“

Die Passage steht am Beginn eines Abschnittes, in dem Klage über den Raub des Besitzes der Göttin erhoben wird. Die Vorstellung der Vergänglichkeit wird durch die davonfliegenden Vögel metaphorisch unterstützt. Die „buru<sub>4</sub>-dugud“-Vögel sind nach Black<sup>3)</sup> mit Saatkrähen zu identifizieren.

Die ägyptische Parallele zeigt sich in einer Stelle aus der Weisheitslehre des Amenemope, die ins Neue Reich datiert und bisher meist auf ihre Nähe zum alttestamentlichen Buch der Sprichwörter hin untersucht wurde<sup>4)</sup>. Im folgenden Textzitat wird das Verhältnis zum unrechtmäßig erworbenen Reichtum thematisiert:

ir ini.tw n=k wśr.w m ħwr<sup>c</sup>  
 nn śqr=w m-di=k (...)  
 iri=w n=w bšw ʿ3 m đ3r.w  
 st hrp m pš šn<sup>c</sup>  
 iri=w n=w dnĥ mi rš.w  
 st pwi r ʔ p.t<sup>45)</sup>

„Wenn dir Reichtum durch Raub gebracht wird,  
 so verbringt er nicht die Nacht bei dir. (...)  
 Er hat sich ein großes Loch gemacht, das zu ihm passt,  
 er ist in der Unterwelt versunken.  
 Er hat sich Flügel gemacht wie Gänse,  
 er ist zum Himmel geflogen“

Der illegitime Reichtum löst sich ebenso schnell in Luft auf wie Gänse, die ihre Schlaf- oder Futterplätze am Boden verlassen haben. Die Nähe zum sumerischen Beispiel fällt damit sofort auf.

Die Auswertung lässt sich auf folgenden Nenner bringen: Die davonfliegenden Vögel, egal ob Krähen oder Gänse, dienen in beiden Sprachen als Sinnbild, um dichterisch das Verschwinden materieller Güter zu umschreiben. Die Annahme einer direkten oder indirekten Abhängigkeit der Texte liegt dem Autor völlig fern. Die Vorstellung eines im gesamten Ostmittelmeerraum beheimateten Reservoirs an Symbolen und Metaphern trifft den Kern der Sache wesentlich besser, dazu Nissinen<sup>6)</sup>. Das Reservoir kann nach Nissinen durchaus ein Alter von mehreren tausend Jahren gehabt haben. Der Inhalt des Ganzen wurde in seinen Augen von mesopotamischen, ägyptischen, ugaritischen, hebräischen und griechischen Schriftdokumenten getragen.

### Anmerkungen

1. Fr. NAETHER, *Magical Practices in Egyptian Literary Texts: in Quest of Cultural Plurality*, in: L. M. Bortolani/W. D. Furley/Sv. Nagel/J. Fr. Quack (eds.), *Cultural Plurality in Ancient Magical Texts and Practices, Graeco-Egyptian Handbooks and Related Traditions*, ORA 32 (Tübingen, 2019), 39.

2. Klage über Zerstörung von Ur 275, etwas anders übersetzt bei W. H. Ph. RÖMER, *Die Klage über die Zerstörung von Ur*, AOAT 309 (Münster, 2004), 62.

3. J. BLACK, *The Imagery of Birds in Sumerian Poetry*, in: M. E. Vogelzang/H. L. J. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian, Cuneiform Monographs 6, Proceedings of the Groningen Group for the Study of Mesopotamian Literature Vol. 2* (Groningen, 1996), 41.

4. B. U. SCHIPPER, *Die Lehre des Amenemope und Prov. 22, 17-24, 22. Eine Neubestimmung des literarischen Verhältnisses*, ZAW 117 (2005), 53-72; 232-48.

5. I. GRUMACH, *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenope*, MÄS 23 (München-Berlin, 1972), 64.

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

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**131) Die Schwalbe als Symbol für Flüchtigkeit im Sumerischen und Ägyptischen** — Das Thema der Schwalbe als Sinnbild der Flüchtigkeit ist aus sumerischer und ägyptischer Perspektive gleichermaßen stabil. Die Parallelen zwischen den beiden Literaturen haben auch sonst schon Beachtung gefunden<sup>1)</sup>.

Ein sumerischsprachiges Beispiel wurde wegen seiner besonderen Klarheit ausgewählt<sup>2)</sup>.

„un ní ba-da-te sim<sup>mušen</sup>-gim ba-da-le<sup>43)</sup> „die Leute sind in Angst. Sie werden wegfliegen wie Schwalben“

Die Zeile stammt aus der altbabylonischen Version von é-an-na a gi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>4</sub> kù, welches als ér-šëm-ma zur balag-Komposition áb-gin<sub>7</sub> gù dé-dé gehört. Die Worte drücken die Klage über die Zerstörung von E-ana aus. Das Bild der Schwalbe lässt sich nach Black<sup>4)</sup> in zwei Richtungen erklären. Die erste Möglichkeit besteht darin, dass junge Schwalben ihre Brutplätze nach ihrer ersten Saison verlassen und nicht zurückkehren. Die zweite Möglichkeit läuft darauf hinaus, dass alte Schwalben jedes Jahr als Zugvögel fortziehen. Der gleiche Aspekt lässt sich im Ägyptischen beobachten.

Die einschlägigste Stelle wird dort von der Zeile „iw b<sup>5)</sup>=f n mn.t<sup>6)</sup>“ gebildet, die sich durch „Seine b<sup>6)</sup>-Krankheit fällt an die Schwalbe“ wiedergeben lässt. Die „b<sup>6)</sup>-Krankheit wird üblicherweise mit einem Kinderleiden identifiziert<sup>6)</sup>. Die Krankheit wird der Schwalbe buchstäblich aufgeladen, die sie wegfliegend davonträgt. Der Charakter der Schwalbe als Zugvogel dürfte auch hier prägend sein. Die medizinisch-magische Aktion selbst ist nach Westendorf<sup>7)</sup> als Sündenbockmotiv zu deuten. Die Stelle lässt sich daher gut mit den Eliminationsriten im AT vergleichen.

### Anmerkungen

1. Fr. NAETHER, *Magical Practices in Egyptian Literary Texts: in Quest of Cultural Plurality*, in: L. M. Bortolani/W. D. Furley/Sv. Nagel/J. Fr. Quack (eds.), *Cultural Plurality in Ancient Magical Texts and Practices, Graeco-Egyptian Handbooks and Related Traditions*, ORA 32 (Tübingen, 2019), 39

2. Weitere sumerische Beispiele mit dem Bild der flüchtigen Schwalbe dürften existieren, können jedoch auch anders gelesen werden. P. MICHALOWSKI, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (Winona Lake, 1989), 38, Z. 37; W. W. HALLO/J. J. A. van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna* (Yale, 1968), 105

3. ISET 1 222 L. 1492: 53

4. J. BLACK, *The Imagery of Birds in Sumerian Poetry*, in: M. E. Vogelzang/H. L. J. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian, Cuneiform Monographs 6, Proceedings of the Groningen Group for the Study of Mesopotamian Literature Vol. 2* (Groningen, 1996), 37

5. J. W. BARNS, *Five Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford, 1956), 23 n. 2

6. H. VON DEINES/W. WESTENDORF, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte, Erste Hälfte (3-r)*, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter VIII* (Berlin, 1961), 244-245

7. W. WESTENDORF, *Erwachen der Heilkunst, Die Medizin im Alten Ägypten* (Zürich, 1992), 215

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**132) A Cuneiform Collection in Havana, Cuba** — A modest but significant cuneiform collection is to be found among the vast heritage of Ancient Near Eastern artefacts preserved in the Cuban archipelago. This collection, currently kept in the “Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Cuba” in Havana (henceforth: MNBAC), constitutes a unique case in the Caribbean due to the number and diversity of the pieces contained within it. The aim of the present note is to offer general information about the pieces, their origin, and conservation based upon a bibliographic review and the available public museum information.

The collection is exhibited in the MNBAC in Havana and is kept in the “Salas de Arte de la Antigüedad” of the “Arte Universal” building. The cuneiform objects are part of the section “Asia Anterior” together with other pieces (mostly ceramics) belonging to the Ubaid, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Phoenician, and Parthian cultures.

The collection consists of 28 cuneiform objects, among which can be identified six Sumerian clay foundation cones from the time of Gudea of Lagash and a group of 22 tablets, apparently of administrative character, that may date to the Neo-Sumerian, Old Babylonian, and Neo-Babylonian periods.

The provenance of the pieces must be sought from the cuneiform collection once held by the religious order “Hermanos La Salle” (Castellanos 2006: 15). These objects were kept in “Quinta de Toca”, a building acquired in Havana by the order in 1923 for use as an educational institution (Alonso 2016: 31; Castellanos 2006: 15) and were probably used for didactic purposes in a Lasallian school. This can be inferred from E. Caravia who, in an unpublished document dating to 1958, referred to two museums associated with the Lasallian order, one of them which had an Archeology exhibit (García 2017: 284, 289).

The collection was later moved to the repositories of the “Academia de Ciencias de Cuba”. This was probably due to the closing of the Lasallian schools caused by the nationalization of education in Cuba during the 1960s and the assumption by the state of responsibility over archeological heritage.

In 1994, the collection was transferred from the “Academia de Ciencias” to the MNBAC as a permanent loan (Castellanos 2006: 15) and later organized into a permanent exhibition. The cuneiform pieces were added to the “Conde de Lagunillas” collection, where they remain to date. This contains more than 600 objects representative of five different cultures of classical Mediterranean and Ancient Near Eastern antiquities. Some of the most notable pieces of this collection are a black basalt head of Amun, which complements a broken statue in the Louvre (Álvarez, Chicuri, and Morfini 2015), the Book of the Dead of Bakenwerel (pHood B) (Rodríguez 2021), the only Palmyrene funerary relief preserved in Hispanic America (Caveda 2022), and a splendid collection of 132 Greek vases (Olmos 1993).

Photos and data relative to a few objects of this cuneiform collection have already appeared in publications of the MNBAC (VV. AA. 2001 and 2006), but the collection remains to date largely unpublished. All the cuneiform objects are currently in very good condition and perfectly legible. The high quality of lighting, arrangement, climate control, protection, and the information provided by the permanent exhibit are also worth mentioning.

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**133) Rawlinson’s “Curious” Discoveries: The List of Eighteen Tribute-Bearers and Zabibe, Queen of the Arabs** — One exemplar of the Kalḫu Annals of Tiglath-Pileser III (Text No. 32 in Tadmor and Yamada 2011, RINAP 1), which contains a list of eighteen tribute-bearers subdued by Tiglath-Pileser III, is known only from a copy made by Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (*Notebook 2*, fols 5v-6r = BL Add MS 47654; see Tadmor 1994: 35, 89, pl. XXVI).<sup>1)</sup> Tadmor refers to a letter from Rawlinson to Edwin Norris, announcing the discovery of this “complete” list of tribute-bearers. Parts of the letter were read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on 4 February 1854 (see *The Athenaeum*, no. 1373 [18 February 1854]: 216; Tadmor 1994: 35 n. “a”). Ten months earlier, in the *Morning Chronicle* (5 April 1853): 5, there was a report of a letter from Rawlinson to Norris, dated Baghdad, 15 February 1853, which was read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on 2 April 1853. In this letter Rawlinson announced that he has found “Šabibim, Queen of the Arabs” at the end of a list of tribute-bearers, which he had reconstructed from texts in Layard, *ICC* (1851). Fortunately, these two letters are in the Rawlinson Collections of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and relevant parts of them are referred to in this article.<sup>2)</sup>

*1. The List of Tribute-Bearers*<sup>3)</sup>

In his letter to Norris, dated Baghdad, 16 December 1853,<sup>4)</sup> parts of which were published in *The Athenaeum* (18 February 1854), Rawlinson wrote:

“I have also got several new inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser II from the centre of the Nimrud mound, but they are terribly mutilated and disfigured. The only valuable thing I have got out of them at present is a complete list of the Syrian kings and princes subdued by Tiglath Pileser in his 8th year and this list I will copy out for you. Strange that Ahab is not found amongst them”.

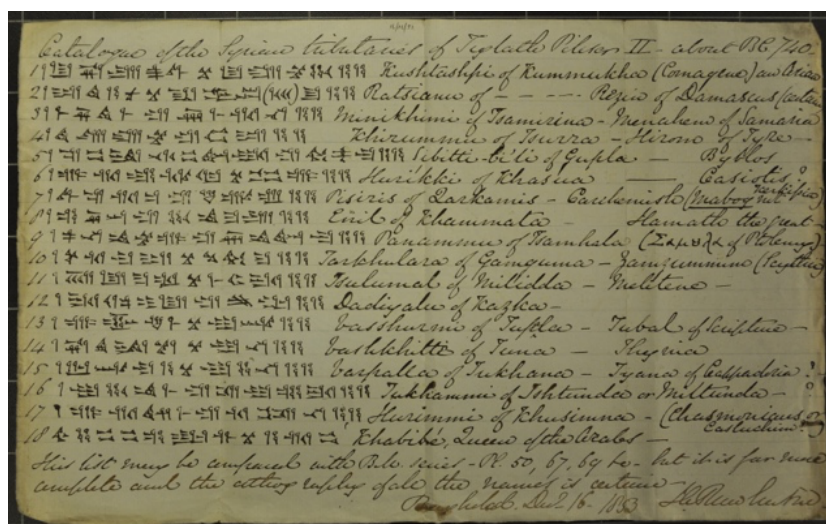


Fig. 1. List of Eighteen Tribute-Bearers RAS, Rawlinson Collection, Box III/09: 18. Photo credit: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Rawlinson must have copied the cuneiform text from his notebook (*Notebook 2*, fols 5v-6r; see Tadmor 1994: pl. XXVI). In the list we see how he read the names of the tribute-bearers. The comment in his preliminary remarks that it is strange that Ahab is not found amongst the names of the kings does not make sense. Did he mean Ahaz? In any case, Ahaz (Jehoahaz) only appears in a list of rulers who brought tribute



in a later inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III. See Tadmor and Yamada 2011, RINAP 1, 47 rev. 11': <sup>m</sup>ia-ú-*ha*-zi KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a*, "Jehoahaz of Judah".<sup>5)</sup> In biblical literature, Ahaz is also described as paying tribute to Assyria (2 Kgs 16:5-18). Rawlinson presents the list of names as follows:

1. Kushtashpi of Kummukha (Comagene; and Arian)
2. Ratsianu of ---- – Rezin of Damascus (certain)
3. Minikhimi of Tsamirina – Menahem of Samaria
4. Khirummu of Tsurra – Hirom of Tyre
5. Sibitti-bi'li of Gupla – Byblos
6. Hurikki of Khasua – Casiotis ?
7. Pisisis of Qarkamis – Carchemish (Mabog not Kerkissia)
8. Enil of Khammata – Hamath the great
9. Panammu of Tsamhala
10. Tarkhulara of Gamguma – Zamzumim (Scythic)
11. Tsulumal of Milidda – Melitene
12. Dadiyalu of Kazka
13. Uasshurmi of Tupala – Tubal of Scripture
14. Uashkhitti of Tuna – Thynia
15. Uarpalla of Tukhana – Tyana of Cappadocia?
16. Tukhammi of Ishtunda or Miltunda
17. Hurimmi of Khusimna
18. Khabibé, Queen of the Arabs

Rawlinson adds: "This list may be compared with the B.M. series Pl. 50, 67, 69 &c., but it is far more complete and the orthography of all the names is certain". He is referring to the list of tribute-bearers which he reconstructed from the texts in Layard, ICC (1851), a copy of which he sent to Norris on 15 February 1853 with the comment: "The whole list of Pul's tributaries is curious – here they are as far as I can make them out, joining Layard's heterogeneous fragments".<sup>6)</sup> The following readings and comments from this earlier list may be noted: 1. Kustaspa; 2. Radian; 4. Name of the king of Tyre lost; 5. Sibit-bel of Gubal; 7. Gargamis; 8. The place-name lost; 15. Tusa... (Place-name incomplete); 16. Names lost; 17. Hurim of Khubiruna (Hebron); 18. Šabibim. Rawlinson provides no explanation for changing his reading of the first syllable of the name known today as Zabibe (<sup>z</sup>za-bi-bé-e) from *ša* to *kha* (*ha*): Šabibim to Khabibé. We shall have more to say on this in the next section.

## 2. *Zabibe, Queen of the Arabs*

In the letter dated Baghdad, 15 February 1853, Rawlinson tells Norris:

"I have now to announce a discovery which is I think curious. The northern Arabs there about the head of the Red Sea were really governed by *queens*, and Solomon's Queen of Sheba was no doubt from this quarter and not from the southern extremity of the Peninsula. Here is the proof. In the list of the Syrian tributaries of *Pul* or Tiglath Pileser the last name after *Hurim* of Hebron is *Šabibim*, Queen of the Arabs: <sup>s</sup>šabibim sarrat <sup>a</sup>Arībī".<sup>7)</sup>

He then refers to a passage in the inscriptions of Sargon in which "Samsi, queen of the Arabs" is mentioned. Unfortunately, his reading of the queen's name is unclear. In translation the Sargon passage reads: "I received tribute from Pir'û (Pharaoh), king of Egypt, Samsi, Queen of the Arabs (<sup>s</sup>sa-am-si šar-rat KUR.a-ri-bi) (and) It'amar, the Sabaean" (see Frame 2021, RINAP 2, 1:123; 7:27). Rawlinson mentions the importance of identifying the determinative used before women's names, and of discovering the Assyrian word *šarratu*, "queen". It is unlikely that he had worked out that *šarratu* was used for foreign queens, just as Heb. *malkah* was the designation for the unnamed Queen of Sheba and Vashti, the Queen of Persia.<sup>8)</sup> In a flight of fancy, Rawlinson goes on to argue that,

"as Arabs are joined in one list with Hebron and in the other with Egypt and Saba (or Heb. *šēbā'*), it gives us the exact locality where the Bible places Cushan & Midian and the Arabs too and where Moses found his Arab wife. This must be about the Gulf of Akaba and from here depend upon it the Queen of Sheba came up to visit Solomon of Jerusalem".

A week after the publication of some of the contents of Rawlinson's letter in the *Morning Chronicle* (5 April 1853): 5, Edward Hincks arrived at the British Museum to work on the cuneiform inscriptions. In his diary for 13 April 1853 he wrote:

“At inscriptions of Esarhaddon’s cylinder. Compared my copy with the original, and found a vast number of mistakes. Found notice of an Arab queen. Wrote a paper for Royal Society of Literature on Arabian queens, refuting Rawlinson’s views respecting the site of Sheba”.<sup>9)</sup>

The hexagonal cylinder/prism which Hincks was examining has the museum number BM 91028. Tabū’a (col. iii line 13, <sup>f</sup>*ta-bu-a*) was ruler in Adumutu/Adummatu, but she is not given the designation *šarratu*, “queen”.<sup>10)</sup> Hincks’s paper, “On Certain Arab Queens”, which he read at a meeting of the Royal Society of Literature, was not published in the society’s *Transactions* until 1856 (Hincks 1856).<sup>11)</sup> He seems to put words in Rawlinson’s mouth and appears to suggest that Rawlinson had claimed to have actually identified the Queen of Sheba in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser. But Rawlinson’s argument is more subtle. He merely notes the existence of a tradition of female rulers among northern Arabs and suggests this may help to locate the Queen of Sheba. Rawlinson and Hincks therefore both agree that there was a tradition of queens who rule, but they disagree about the location of Sheba. Rawlinson’s attempt to relocate Sheba in the northern part of Arabia around the Gulf of Aqaba is speculative and lacks real evidence, while Hincks’s argument that there was conclusive evidence in the Bible (see 1 Kgs 10:1-10; 2 Chr 9:1-9, 12; Matt 12:42; Luke 11:31) that Sheba was in the south of the Arabian Peninsula is really a theological one.<sup>12)</sup>

In the published version of Hincks’s paper, the name Zabibe appears as *Khabiba*, “the affectionate” (Hincks 1856: 163). We previously thought that Hincks might have erroneously connected his version of the name with Ar. *ḥabba*, “to love”; *ḥubb*, “affection” (see Wehr 1971: 151), and Aram.-Syr. *ḥbb*, “to love”; or that he had confused the *ḥa* and *za* signs. However, we have recently noticed that in the summary of his paper in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society Literature*, 1/23 (1853): 361, and also in newspaper reports of his paper, the name is written *Chabiba*. We know from various sources, including a letter Hincks wrote to the Trustees of the British Museum, that he represented *ša* by *cha* (Cathcart 2008: 200-202).<sup>13)</sup> This was still his practice in the articles he published in 1856. Perhaps the editor of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* altered Hincks’s *ch* to *kh* (unwittingly *š* to *ḥ*). In Tadmor and Yamada 2011, RINAP 1, p. 77 n. 7, the reference to Rawlinson’s reading *za* for *ḥa* has inadvertently been attached to <sup>m</sup>*tu-ḥa-am-e* instead of KUR.*tu-ḥa-na-a-a*. However, it is clear from Rawlinson’s “Tukhana” in his list above (fig. 1, no. 15) that he sometimes gave the *za/ša* sign the value *ḥa*.<sup>14)</sup> This is confirmed by his reading *Khabibé* for his earlier *Šabibim* (Zabibe). We have no explanation for this state of affairs. It is possible that Rawlinson had read the reports of Hincks’s paper on ancient Arab queens to the Royal Society of Literature, presented six months earlier, in which the name was written *Chabiba*. Rawlinson’s Ts (for S) in *Tsamirina* (no. 3) and *Tsulumal* (no. 11) is peculiar but such a practice is found in Hincks’s publications.

The name Zabibe probably derives from Ar. *zabīb*, “raisin” (Eph’al 1982: 82; see Wehr 1971: 372).<sup>15)</sup> The basis upon which Hincks reached the meaning “the affectionate” for his *Šabiba* is not known. Perhaps he associated the name with Ar. *šabba*, “to love ardently”; *šabābah*, “ardent longing” (Wehr 499-500).

## Notes

1. No. 32 in Tadmor and Yamada 2011, RINAP 1 = Ann. 27 in Tadmor 1994. Lines 1-12 of no. 32 are used to restore no. 14 line 10 – no. 15 line 4.

2. See the “List of the RAS Collections of Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson Bart. (1810-1895)”, Box III/09: 1, 18 (available on the Royal Asiatic Society website, under Archives). We take this opportunity to thank Dr Edward Weech, the Librarian, and Nancy Charley, the Archivist, at the Royal Asiatic Society for their help in providing access to the Rawlinson Collection. We are also grateful to Roger Parsons for writing the invaluable descriptive list of the Rawlinson papers. See Parsons 2015.

3. For a study of the lists of tribute-bearers, in which “Zabibe, Queen of the Arabs” is always at the end, see Tadmor 1994: 265-268.

4. RAS, Rawlinson Collection, Box III/09: 18. In Tadmor and Yamada 2011, RINAP 1, p. 77, it is incorrectly stated that Rawlinson’s letter is dated 18 February 1854.

5. See Tadmor 1994: 265, 268.

6. Letter to Norris dated 15 February 1853 (RAS Rawlinson Collections, Box III/09: 1).

7. RAS Rawlinson Collections, Box III/09: 1. As we saw above, some months later Rawlinson abandoned the name Hebron and read *Khusimna*. Today, the name of the city is known as *Ḥubišna*. See Tadmor and Yamada 2011,

RINAP 1, 15:2; 27:6-7: <sup>m</sup>ú-ri-im-mi-i URU.ġu-bi-iš-na-a-a <sup>f</sup>za-bi-bé-e šar-rat KUR.a-ri-bi, “Urimmi of the city Ĥubišna, (and) Zabibe, queen of the Arabs”.

8. On the title *šarratu*, see CAD Š/2: 72; Svärd 2015: 39; Bennett 2021: 30-32, 40-41. Svärd notes that the title *šarratu* was reserved for foreign female tribal leaders as well as goddesses, whereas the royal women of the Neo-Assyrian court were designated *sēgallu/sēkallu* (Mf.É.GAL). A similar terminological distinction may be observed in the Hebrew: as well as the unnamed Queen of Sheba and Vashti, Queen of Persia, Esther as a Persian Queen (Esth 2:22, etc.) and the unnamed consort of Belshazzar (Dan 5:10) are given the appellation *malkāh*; the royal women of Judah and Israel are never described by this term. Instead, these royal women tend to be described by the alternative designation *gēbīrāh* (1 Kgs 15:13; 2 Kgs 10:13). The titles *šarratu* and *malkāh* are therefore functionally equivalent as descriptors for non-autochthonous female rulers.

9. Cathcart 2008: 198 n. 1.

10. On the reading URU.A-du-mu-u, a scribal error for URU.A-du-mu-tu, in BM 91028 col. ii 56, which is followed in early publications, see Eph'al 1982: 119-120.

11. Hincks's short article was the first in which attention was drawn to the Arab female rulers Tabū'a, Zabibe and Samsi in Assyrian texts. Aside from the important work by Eph'al (1982), the only article of note dealing with Arab queens is an early article by Abbott (1941). However, the Arab queens in Neo-Assyrian texts have received new attention in the Helsinki doctoral thesis by Bennett (2021).

12. The Queen of Sheba is also the subject of a long narrative in the Qur'ān; see Sūrah 27:15-44. We intend to consider ancient Arab queens and the biblical Queen of Sheba in a separate publication. In the meantime, see the brief discussion in Bennett (2021: 281-287) and note her mention of “cultural memory of prominent female rulers of the ‘Arabs’” (285).

13. Hincks's letter, dated 4 May 1853, is addressed to Henry Ellis who was Principal Librarian at the British Museum from 1827 to 1856. One of his duties was to report the contents of any relevant correspondence at meetings of the Board of Trustees. In his letter Hincks provides two specimens of transcriptions and translations of Bellino's cylinder, lines 31-33. In line 31 he has *michir* for *mišir*, which he correctly translates “territory”. See Grayson and Novotny 2012, RINAP 3/1, 3:31-33. Hincks's transliterations are frequently infuriating and confusing. They led to a lot of misunderstandings.

14. In the earlier, February 1853 list Rawlinson wrote the incomplete Tusa...

15. Compare Heb. *qēšī'āh*, “Keziah”, the name of one of Job's daughters (Job 42:14), which means “cassia”. According to the Hebrew Bible, raisin cakes were used as deity offerings, esp. associated with fertility rites (Hos 3:1).

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## VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

**134) Publication de Matériaux pour l'étude de la toponymie et de la topographie II consacrés aux régions à l'est du Tigre** — Ce deuxième volet de la série *Matériaux pour l'étude de la toponymie et de la topographie* (MTT II) représente un résultat supplémentaire de la coopération franco-allemande (ANR/DFG) TEXTELSSEM concernant la géographie historique de la Haute-Mésopotamie au II<sup>e</sup> millénaire avant J.-C. Les trois volumes complètent les résultats réunis dans *Matériaux pour l'étude de la toponymie et de la topographie* (MTT I) en s'intéressant cette fois-ci à l'espace à l'est du Tigre.

Nele Ziegler (en coopération avec Anne-Isabelle Langlois), *Les Toponymes paléo-babyloniens des régions à l'est du Tigre, Matériaux pour l'étude de la toponymie et de la topographie II/1. La Transtigrine au II<sup>e</sup> millénaire*, Paris, 2022 (xii+218 p.)

Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum & Christian Hess (unter Mitarbeit von Jaume Llop, Kristina Cassar; mit Beiträgen von Rafał Koliński & Cinzia Pappi), *Toponyme der mittelassyrischen Texte : Osten und Peripherie des mittelassyrischen Reiches* (xxiv+221 p.)

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