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NOTES BRÈVES

55) Ergänzungen zu CUSAS 17, Nr. 104 — Auf dem „ancient kudurru“ CUSAS 17, Nr. 104 hat der Autor in NABU 2014 Nr. 38 den Namen PI.PI.EN als en-be₆-be₆ gelesen. Einer plausiblen Vermutung von Piotr Steinkeller (CUSAS 17, 217-18) zufolge handelt es sich bei dem Namensträger um einen König von Umma. Er wäre damit wahrscheinlich der erste Herrscher in Mesopotamien, der durch eine Inschrift aus seiner Regierungszeit belegt ist.

Mit diesem Namen lässt sich auch nin-be₆-be₆ Banca Adab 13 Vs. i 3 (ED IIIb) vergleichen. Der Wechsel en : nin stützt die sumerische Interpretation des Namens und die Lesung be₆ gegen die nur in semitischem Kontext gebrauchte Lesung *wu*. Gegen eine semitische Interpretation spricht auch be₆-be₆ UET II 171 B; 296, da die Wahrscheinlichkeit für einen semitischen Namen in diesen Texten unter einem Prozent liegt¹⁾ und der Name auch bei etwas anderer Lesung kein Merkmal hat, das ihn als typisch semitisch ausweisen würde. Eventuell zu vergleichen ist auch be₆-be₆-mud SF 63 iv 6 (P010654). Wenn so richtig gedeutet, handelt es sich um einen alten sumerischen Namen.²⁾ Es gibt allerdings später einen ähnlichen semitischen oder semitisierten Namen *bī-bī-um*, z. B. IAS 531 ii 6.

Der älteste Beleg für *wu* ist wohl à-wu-ur₄^{ki} IAS 104 (Mitte) = Ebla à-wu-ur^{ki}, cf. CUSAS 12, S. 197, 215. Diese Schreibung aus einer geographischen Liste in *Tell Abū Šalābīḥ* belegt die Lesung natürlich nicht für das Sumerische oder auch nur für den Süden, wo auch in semitischen Namen *wa* und *wu* nicht belegt sind, was im ersteren Fall nicht als Zufall gewertet werden kann (cf. gār(a) für *waqar(a)*).

In CUSAS 17, 104 ii' 2 ist ^dTIN.A.HA.IR.MUŠ.BALAG¹ zu lesen. Das von Steinkeller als KA[?] und vom jetzigen Autor DÜL[?] gelesene Zeichen entspricht in der normalen Schreibweise des Flussgottes *Irḫan* BALAG. Der Steinmetz hatte offenbar Schwierigkeiten mit der komplizierten Innenzeichnung auf engem Raum. In vii' 10 lies ^dnin-zadim, cf. CUSAS 23, 76 iii 1': [^dn]in-zadim^{za}.

Steinkeller versteht GABA ŠU in den letzten beiden Zeilen als „šu-du₈ „he received““ (CUSAS 17, 218) und verweist auf entsprechende „Geschenke“, die ganz am Ende von „ancient kudurru“ genannt werden (OIP 114, 219-26). Genannt werden Silber, Getreide, Öl, Kleidung, Bierbrote (?), Wolle, Kupfer, Gegenstände, eine Axt, Behälter, Fett von Schweinen und Schafen. Dagegen handelt es sich in CUSAS 17, Nr. 104 um Trinkkrüge (*dug*), bzw. wahrscheinlicher um Bier (*kaš*) und um Schafe. Es fehlen die üblichen Mengenangaben.

Auf Sumerisch heißt *šu ti* „empfangen“. In sargonischen Königsinschriften wird ŠU.DU₈.A als Logogramm für *kamū* „binden“, „gefangen nehmen“ gebraucht. Das passt hier nicht und trifft auch nicht

die normale Bedeutung in sumerischen Texten. Dort heißt *šu du₈* in etwa „in der Hand halten“ (z. B. Gudea Zyl. A iv 25; v 3; Innanas Gang zur Unterwelt 25; Enki und Ninhursagā 168; Keš-Hymne 109), was teilweise durch die Gleichung *kullu* „halten“ wiedergegeben wird. Es ist von *dab₅ šabātu, aḫazu* „packen“, „gepackt halten“ abzugrenzen. Belegt ist auch *šu-du₈-a* „Bürge“ (Falkenstein NG III 164; MSL 1, 40-41). Ein Bürge ist jemand der verspricht, einen Ersatz „bereitzuhalten“. Vielleicht steht hinter *šu-du₈-a* „Bürge“ eben diese Assoziation. Vergleiche die Zeichenkombination *SĪLA.ŠU.DU₈* = *sagi* „Mundschenk“, also derjenige, der das „Sila-Gefäß“ (bereit)hält (um nachzuschicken).

Es handelt sich dabei wohl um die Kanne mit langer Tülle, die meistens bei Libationen abgebildet wird, gelegentlich aber auch in der Hand von Dienenden auf Bankettszenen zu finden ist (siehe Bauer, OBO 160/1, 453-54; Selz, FAOS 11, 2 Tf. XIX 236; Siegel BM 122830 = P475539). Als Hohlmaß entspricht 1 *silā* etwa 1 Liter. Was die sumerischen Zecher bei Gelagen in der Hand halten, sind keine bayerischen Bierkrüge, sondern Becher ohne Griff, kaum höher als der Handrücken und bequem ohne Henkel zu halten. Wenn wir bei modernen Vergleichen bleiben, so dürfte das Volumen eher einer „Kölschstange“ entsprochen haben. Von diesen Trinkbechern konnten sicher mehrere aus einer Kanne mit einem Liter nachgefüllt werden.

Der älteste Beleg für diesen Beruf könnte *[ŠU.?]SILĀ.DU₈* in UET II 112 ii sein. Auch in Zusammenhang mit Bier steht *GÚ.SILĀ.DU₈* in Nisaba 25, 61 Rs. iii 1. Es kann sich aber auch um eine Berufsbezeichnung handeln, die nichts mit dem Inhalt des Textes zu tun hat. Beide Belege sind ED I/II.

Die abschließende Bemerkung könnte also vielleicht bedeuten, dass Bier und Schafe für ein Fest, das die Transaktion besiegelte, „bereitgestellt“ wurden. Vielleicht könnte man mit Hinblick auf die Zeichenkombination *SĪLA.ŠU.DU₈* auch sagen, dass sie „serviert“ wurden. Das ist natürlich auch etwas geraten, aber der Annahme *šu du₈* stünde für jüngeres *šu ti* vorzuziehen.

¹ Sommerfeld, Babel und Bibel 4/1 (2010) 83 zählt nur 5 unsichere Beispiele unter den rund 800 Namen auf. Krebernik, AOAT 296 (2002) 6-7 sieht wenigstens einen semitischen Namen *zú-lá-lum*, der vielleicht auch als *bu_x(KA)-lá-lum* zu interpretieren wäre. Cf. *bu-la-lum* FT 93 Vs. 5. Zu ergänzen ist *ze₅-na* ([G]E-na-ÁB+ŠĀ) als wahrscheinlich semitischer Name. Zur Lesung Krecher ASJ 9 (1987) 85 Anm. 4; Jagersma apud Selz, FAOS 15, 2 (1993) 533-34; Meyer-Laurin WO 41 (2011) 50-52; Verf. NABU 2012, 58; 2013, 20; BiOr 71, 459. Siehe nun auch *É-la-lum_x*([l]a-É-ZU+ZU+SAR) Nisaba 25, 62 iv 2’.

² Eine Wortliste, die auch andere sumerische Namen enthält. Zum Text Biggs, OIP 99, 38. Zu Namen mit *mud* Krebernik, AOA 296 (2002) 39-41, wo unser Name oder ein entsprechender nicht verzeichnet ist. Beachte, dass Krebernik für das gut belegte Onomastikon von ED IIIb Lagaš nur noch 4 mit *mud* gebildete Namen verzeichnet und diese Namen ab Ur III ganz fehlen.

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56) Towards an Understanding of *marû*-Antipassive Agreement in Sumerian — Like the passive voice the antipassive voice is derived from a transitive situation. There is an underlying situation with an agent and a patient or direct object which is affected. The passive brings the patient in the important position, while the agent is either dropped or marked like a local component: “The house was built (by the king)”. The antipassive makes the agent more important, while the patient is dropped or marked like a local component. The reason for this may be that the agent should be in the centre, but perhaps more often, the antipassive is used for downgrading the affectedness and sometimes the individuation of the patient.

By definition an antipassive voice requires like a passive voice a special marking of the verb. But a similar effect can be reached in other languages which are lacking an antipassive voice by a different marking of the patient only. It is not the same, there remains an ambiguity, but an understanding similar to the antipassive voice is possible. For example in English:

The hunter shot the bear.
The hunter shot at the bear.

While in the first sentence the bear is dead after the action, this isn’t clear at all in the second sentence. There may be as well some doubt, if the action is not completed:

The hunter is shooting the bear.

The hunter will shoot the bear.
I am willing to shoot the bear.
Please, shoot the bear!

Not for grammatical but practical reasons we can't be sure if the bear is really dead after the action. In sentence 2 to 6 it is as well less clear which bear it will be, if there is the possibility of hunting more than one bear.

It would be more appropriate saying "the hunter will shoot at the bear". In the same way a local marking could become the norm with an open verbal aspect, evolving from examples where the control of the result of the action is less predictable and then getting the norm for all sentences where the patient is mentioned at all.

This seems the case in Sumerian. For example: *ga-na-ab-du₁₁* "I will say **it** to him" (Gudea Zyl. A I 24), *du₁₁-mu-na-ab* "say **it** to him" (Ninmešara 75), *^den-líl-le dumu-né ^dsu'en-ra enim zi mu-na-ab-bé* "(then) Enlil says (**it**) the favourable word to his son Suen" (LSUr 460).

This *b* in front of the root corresponds to the locative-terminative, meaning "(arriving) into contact with" or "(being) in contact with" (*/b.e/ > bé/bí > bí*, dropping of the vowel in front of the root, not restored in the imperative). Less often it hints at a locative. It may be as well denote a none person class ergative. Since ergative and locative-terminative have the same marking *-e/* at the noun and the ergative may well be derived from the locative-terminative, this is no surprise. Thus in cohortative, imperative and *marû* the direct object is marked at the verb like a local component.

The same is not the case at the noun. Here the patient remains unmarked as absolutive and the agent is marked as ergative. In other known ergative languages with antipassive construction the direct object is marked as local (if not dropped) and there is a tendency for an unmarked agent since the antipassive is nearing an intransitive construction.

Sallaberger and Schulze (ZA 97, 163-214, particular 198-203) have argued that this probably happened as well in Sumerian but that the ergative/absolutive marking was restored at the noun. While the present author thinks that Sallaberger and Schulze are right in general, a more simple explanation of the noun marking seems preferable.

Unlike most other languages the Sumerian verb can mark local components with its dimensional prefixes. This prefixes have no one to one correspondence with the marking of the noun. So it may be possible that marking the patient local at the verb had the same effect as marking the patient local at the noun in other languages where the possibility to express a local component at the verb doesn't exist.

An element which expresses contact or drawing near like the locative-terminative (directive) is exactly what we would expect, if our comparison with modern languages is meaningful (to shoot at, *tirer sur*, *schießen auf*).

The use of *hamtu* and *marû* in Sumerian is not well investigated and subtle differences can easily escape us in a dead language. But it seems that the usage of *marû* is more guided by aspect than by voice. The antipassive agreement remained somehow secondary to aspect and did not affect the noun phrase.

But there seems at least one clear exception where the use of the *marû* basis is excluded for reasons of voice. As far as the author can see there are no passive sentences using *marû*. But that the cohortative and the imperative have the same antipassive agreement is a strong argument against a primary antipassive character of *marû*.

The antipassive agreement of *marû* is even more visible in the first and second person where the agent is marked like a first or second person absolutive-subject of the intransitive verb.

Marking voice and marking aspect or tense is often connected. Compare: "we have seen the bear" and "the bear was seen". In both cases a past participle of the main verb is used. The difference is made clear by using another auxiliary verb and by connecting this auxiliary verb with the agent or the direct object.

Mutatis mutandis a similar strategy of generating a passive marking was possible as well in Sumerian. There are no auxiliary verbs in Sumerian, but if we replace the *marû* basis by the *hamtu* basis and drop the agent from the full antipassive agreement retaining the mark of the patient/direct object we

come to a possibility for marking a passive: -b[=absolutive]-R(marû) > -b[=absolutive]-R(ḥamtu). The author will discuss the passive in a forthcoming article.

There is another construction which shares features with an antipassive construction, but is only a special case of the transitive construction. For adding a (downgraded) patient to an antipassive construction a local marking can be used. A similar construction is used in Sumerian if a compound verb is formed by a transitive verb (or the causative of an intransitive verb) and a direct object. This combination can't take an absolutive as the real patient of the sentence. Instead of this the logical patient is introduced with the locative-terminative /-e/ at the noun and bí/b at the verb (/e/ with ba- is the dative of the none person class). For example: níĝ-du₇ iri-na-ke₄ pa bí-è “he made splendid the things which are due in the cult of his city” (Gudea, Cyl. B xvii 12). In this case the real direct object is only downgraded to leave its place to another direct object. This construction is possible with *ḥamtu* and *marû*.

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57) The Total in Obverse I:1 of Some Ebla Administrative Texts — The aim of this note is to point out the existence of some small Ebla administrative texts only consisting in totals of various goods in which AN.ŠĒ.GÚ, “total”, occurs in obverse I:1. To my knowledge, in the Ebla texts this is so far limited to the following five cases:

(TM.)75(G).572 = *ARET* IX 71, from Archive L.2712;
75.1848 = *ARET* VII 83,
75.1941 = *ARET* VII 47,
75.1996 = *ARET* VII 69,
and 75.2283 = ARCHI 1987:122, from Archive L.2769.

[1] 75.572 = *ARET* IX 71 (Milano 1990:230, photograph of the obverse Tav. XLVI):

obv. I:1 - rev. III:1: AN.ŠĒ.GÚ 2 ¹li¹-i[m] 2 mi-at [š]e gú-bar / šu-ba₄-ti / 1 mi-at 60 še bar / lú // [...] / 1 mi-at 32 še bar / è / Ur-sá-um^{ki} / 1 mi-at 35 še bar / al₆-¹tuš¹ // š[u²-ba₄]-t[i²] // gaba-ru e[n] / 3 mi-a[t] 10 še bar / Iš₁₁-ga-bar-zú / Ip-¹tur-iš-lu // [...] 30[+x²] ¹x¹ / [...] // š[u²-níĝin²] 1 li 7 mi 40 ¹x¹ 6² ¹x¹, “Total: 2200 gú-bar of barley, received; 160 gú-bar of barley, which is [...], 132 gú-bar of barley, outflow for (the people from) 'Uršayum; 135 gú-bar of barley, ..., gaba-ru of the (Ebla) king; 310 gú-bar of barley, Iš₁₁-ga-bar-zú (and) Yiptur-yišru [...] [...] Gr[and total²]: 1740 ...”.

The reverse was inscribed when the clay was partially dry. The fragmentary condition of this text, lacking of chronological references, and the difficult identification of its sections hamper firm conclusions on its bureaucratic *raison d'être* and historical setting within the last years of the last king of Ebla, Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu. The stay at Ebla, where the Palace G feed them, of members of 'Uršayum's elite occurs in other texts from L.2712 (see MILANO 1990:376). The meaning of gaba-ru en requires a further study.

[2] 75.1848 = *ARET* VII 83 (ARCHI 1988:116, photograph Tav. XXXI; I thank Erica Scarpa who pointed out this text to me):

(1) obv. I:1 - rev. I:6: AN.ŠĒ.GÚ 40 lá-3 ma-na 52 kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 10 lá-1 ma-na ŠÚ+ŠA(=20)-8 3 NI kù-sig₁₇ 4 // 3 ma-na 55 kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 1 ma-na TAR(=30)-4 kù-sig₁₇ 2-1/2 / 1 ma<-na> ŠA.PI(=40)-8 kù:babbar <šu-bal-aka> // ŠÚ+ŠA(=20)-7 kù-sig₁₇ / 1 gú-li<-lum> / 15 kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 6 kù-sig₁₇ 2-1/2 / 1 zi-bar,

“Total: 37 minas and 52 (shekels) of silver to be exchanged with 9 minas, 28 (shekels) and 3 NI of gold, (its value is) 4 (in report to silver); 3 minas and 55 (shekels) of silver to be exchanged with 1 minas and 34 (shekels) of gold, (its value is) 2,5 (in report to silver); 1 mina and 48 (shekels) of silver <to be exchanged with> 27 (shekels) of gold, for 1 bracelet; 15 (shekels) of silver to be exchanged with 6 (shekels) of gold, (its value is) 2,5 (in report to silver), for 1 zi-bar-object”;

(2) rev. II:1-4: AN.ŠĒ.GÚ 43 ma-na 51 kù:babbar / al₆ / A-bu / 43 54,

“Total: 43 minas and 51 (shekels) of silver, on behalf of A-bu; (correct total:) 43 (minas and) 54 (shekels of silver)”.

Some parts of the reverse were written on dry clay (rev. I, II:4). The first AN.ŠÈ.GÚ is written on the upper edge of the tablet, as in [3] below. The photograph does not clarify whether or not it occurs in a different case. Cf. ARCHI 1988:116, where instead this AN.ŠÈ.GÚ is the last term of the text. To my knowledge, when in an Ebla administrative tablet AN.ŠÈ.GÚ occurs in the last part of the text it is always followed by some further textual element, and therefore it is never the last term of the text.

[3] 75.1941 = *ARET* VII 47 (ARCHI 1988:76, photograph Tav. XXIII):

obv. I:1-II:2: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 5 ma-na 50-3 kù-sig₁₇ '4' / 5 ma-na 2 kù-sig₁₇ 2-1/2 // *du-gu-um* / (blank) // (blank),

“Total: 5 minas and 53 (shekels) of gold, (its value is) 4 (in report to silver), (and) 5 minas and 2 (shekels) of gold, (its value is) 4 (in report to silver); (in) powder”.

AN.ŠÈ.GÚ is written on the upper edge of the tablet (ARCHI 1988:76), and cf. [2] above. The spelling *du-gu-um* has been interpreted as a PN in ARCHI 1988:76, followed by KREBERNIK 1988:168 and PAGAN 1998:302. However, in the Ebla texts a man of this name is to my knowledge unattested. I make reference to a noun *duqqum*, “powder”, known in administrative texts from L.2769 and L.2712, see BONECHI 1992:12 (L.2769), and MILANO 1990:383 and CONTI 1993:102 (L.2712).

[4] 75.1996 = *ARET* VII 69 (ARCHI 1988:98, photograph Tav. XXVI):

(1) obv.I:1 - rev. II:2: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ¹ 1 *mi-at* 30 lá-1 ma-na ŠA.PI(=40)-5 kù-sig₁₇ 4 / *wa* / 1 *li-im* // 1 *m[i-at]* 67 *m[a-na]* TAR(=30) kù-sig₁₇ ħul / 4 *mi-at* 30 ma-na ŠA.PI(=40) kù:babbar / lú ab-si-ga // kin₅-aka-kin₅-aka / *ba-lu-ma* / kù:babbar / lú túg-túg / *wa* / 'fb^{túg}-1² [(x x)] / lú *I-bí-zi-kir* / šu-ba₄-ti,

“Total: 129 minas and 45 (shekels) of gold (its value is) 4 (in report to silver), and 1167 minas and 30 (shekels) of gold of bad quality, (and) 430 minas and 40 (shekels) of silver, that is (to be) added to (the metal of) the productions – excluding the silver which is for the garments and the kilts – that *I-bí-zi-kir* has received”;

(2) rev. II:3-4: ⁱⁱⁱ*Ha-li-du* / (blank), “Fifth month”.

This text has been translated in ARCHI 1988:98 and 1999-2000:245, and in PETTINATO - D'AGOSTINO 1998:11. The term in rev. I:3 has been read è in ARCHI 1988:98 (followed by PETTINATO - D'AGOSTINO 1996:162 and 1998:11, and CATAGNOTI 2012:95), but see the correct reading kù:babbar in ARCHI 1999-2000:245 and 2002a:20. As for the Eblaic preposition *ba-lu-ma*, “without, apart from”, see ARCHI 1988:207, 1999:135 n. 34, 1999-2000:245, 2002a:20; PETTINATO - D'AGOSTINO 1998:11f.; LAHLOUH - CATAGNOTI 2006:519; MAIOCCHI 2010:17; CATAGNOTI 2012:95 (“/balumma/”); TONIETTI 2013:69.

[5] 75.2283 = ARCHI 1987:122 (photograph *ibid.*, p. 124):

(1a) obv. I:1-III:1: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 9 *mi-at* 72 gud maḥ / 9 *mi-at* 35 áb:peš maḥ // 7 *mi-at* 70 lá-2 gud niga / 3 *mi-at* 40 lá-2 gud GÍD / 2 *mi-at* 41 amar maḥ // 36 amar GÍD,

“Total: 972 mature oxen, 935 mature cows in calf, 768 fattened oxen, 338 draught-oxen, 241 mature calves, 36 draught-calves”;

(1b) obv. III:2 - rev. I:4: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 1 *li-im* 6 *mi-at* 80 udu / 1 *mi-at* 60 lá-1 kúnga // 1 IGI-nita / 5 šaḥ / 20 lá-1 alim / 14 az,

“Total: 1680 sheep, 159 mules, 1 male IGI-equid, 5 pigs, 19 bisons, 14 bears”;

(1c) rev. III:1: šu-nígin 3 *li-im* 2 *mi-at* 90 gud,

“Grand total: 3290 bovins”;

(2) rev. III:2-5: mu-túm / níg-mu-sá / *Kéš-du-ut* / dumu-mí en,

“Income (which is) the bride-price for princess *Kešdūt*”;

(3) rev. II:1-2: ⁱⁱⁱ*Ha-li-du* / (blank), “5th month”.

On this important text see a further study.

In general, the presence of AN.ŠÈ.GÚ in obv. I:1 does not hampers that these texts could include further AN.ŠÈ.GÚs ([2], [5]) or even a šu-nígin ([1]³, [5]), “grand total”. One can also note that in [1-5] the recorded amounts of goods are high and sometimes even very high:

[1] in the obverse 2937 and in the reverse 1740 *gú-bar* of barley (in all, 4677 *gú-bar*);

[2] 5,45 kg of gold, 20,59 kg of silver;

- [3] 5 kg and 128,65 gr of gold;
- [4] 609,62 kg of gold, 202,5 kg of silver;
- [5] 5168 animals.

The existence of these five small texts can be due to the need of intermediate steps in the accounting process managed by the Ebla bureaucrats. The data written in such class of texts, probably in turn derived from smaller accounts, were used by further scribes in their redaction of biggest and more complex accounts, as one can observe e.g. in the case of the unpublished text 75.1330 (parallel to 75.1860 = MEE 10 20). Following its analysis in ARCHI 2002b:167-169, 75.1330 presents two consecutive inner parts – obv. II:3-IV:3 and IV:4-V:6 – in which an AN.ŠÈ.GÚ, written twice before the records of objects in precious metals, does not mark the end of a section (in fact, the previous section records garments), but rather its beginning. Most probably, the scribe of 75.1330 here copied the content of one or two much smaller tablet(s) akin to [1-5] in which AN.ŠÈ.GÚ was written in obv. I:1.

Future systematic research can show if such accounting practice is more widespread than so far noted, at Ebla or elsewhere.

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58) Éblaïte *bí-da-'à-tum*, « (cérémonie de l')ouverture »* — Dans les textes administratifs d'Ébla on trouve la graphie sémitique NE-*da-'à-tum* connue à ce jour seulement grâce aux passages suivants :

[1] ARET I 17 (52): 1 aktum-túg 1 gír mar-tu zú-aka / níg-ba / ^dNI-da-bal / 'à-ma-du^{ki} / in u₄ / NE-da-'à-tum ;

[2] ARET III 735, III: [1 aktum-túg] 1 gír mar-tu zú-aka / níg-ba / ^dNI-da-bal / 'à-ma-du^{ki} / [in] u₄ / [NE]-da-['à]-<tum> ,

où le mot se réfère à un événement cultuel lié au dieu ^dNI-da-bal de la ville de 'à-ma-du^{ki}, voire une des hypostases les plus importantes de cette divinité avec celles des villes de (I)a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} et lu-ba-an^{ki}. La formule de datation in u₄ NE-da-'à-tum de ces deux extraits a été traduite comme « à l'occasion (de la cérémonie) des armes-n ».¹⁾ Cette interprétation repose sur la comparaison de la graphie NE-da-'à-tum

avec le rare terme *giš-ni-da-'à*, un nom d'instrument *li2a3-* du sém. occ. **ndh*, « pousser ; frapper » (CDG, 386 ; HAL, 636), attesté comme *hapax* dans

[3] *ARET VII 5*, r. I:3 - II:2: 1/2 *kù-sig₁₇ nu₁₁-za 3 giš-ni-da-'à / ^d'à-da / lu₅-bù^{ki}*,

où il semble indiquer de petits objets (vu la faible quantité d'or livrée pour leur décoration), peut-être des armes, offerts au dieu de l'orage ^d'à-da de la ville de *lu₅-bù^{ki}*. À mon avis, il n'y aucune raison de penser qu'une cérémonie rituelle en l'honneur du dieu ^dNI-da-bal tire son origine du nom d'une arme qui est donnée au dieu ^d'à-da lui-même une seule fois dans la documentation jusqu'à présent éditée.²⁾ En effet, dans les textes à notre disposition cette arme n'est jamais attribuée à aucune des hypostases du dieu ^dNI-da-bal. En revanche, le trousseau cérémoniel de ^dNI-da-bal de ^d'à-ma-du^{ki} inclut presque exclusivement le même type de tissu (*aktum-túg*) et de poignard (*gír mar-tu*),³⁾ comme on l'apprend aussi d'après les passages [1-2] ; cependant ce dieu reçoit plus rarement les armes *giš-šilig* (*ARET IV 17* [128]) et *ha-bù* (*MEE 7 27*, r. II: - III:2).

Il convient donc de considérer le dossier du dieu ^dNI-da-bal à Ébla afin d'expliquer la formule de datation présente dans les extraits [1-2]. L'un des événements les plus remarquables concernant le culte du dieu ^dNI-da-bal est celui qui est indiqué par le terme sumérien *giš-gál-taka₄*, « ouverture ». Même si, plus rarement, la cérémonie donne aussi son nom au mois pendant lequel elle se déroule (*iti giš-gál-taka₄* dans *ARET II 5* [6] et *TM.75.G.2516+ r. XII:1*).⁴⁾ Ce rite est lié surtout à l'hypostase du dieu ^dNI-da-bal de la ville de (*la*-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}), comme le montrent par exemple les passages suivants :

[4] *MEE 12 35*, f. XX:29 - XXI: 10 *gín DILMUN kù:babbar šu-bal-aka 2 gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ nu₁₁-za 1 gír mar-tu níg-ba en wa 6 gín DILMUN kù:babbar 'a₅-na-gu si 2 gu₄ nídba il-'à-ag-da-mu ^dNI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} in giš-gál-taka₄* ;

[5] *MEE 12 36*, f. XX:13-28: 2 *ma-na 4 gín DILMUN kù:babbar nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl 3 ma-na šušana_x gín DILMUN kù:babbar šu-bal-aka 50 gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ nu₁₁-za 1 igi-dub 2 šu 2 DU-SÛ níg-ba en wa ma-lik-tum ^dNI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} in giš-gál-taka₄* ;

[6] *TM.75.G.2516+*,⁵⁾ r. VII:3-11: 2 *udu ^dNI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik nídba-nídba a-mu-SÛ in giš-gál-taka₄* ;

[7] *TM.75.G.10088*, r. IV:17-32: 15 *gín DILMUN kù:babbar 1 du-rúm 50 gín DILMUN kù:babbar šu-bal-aka 10 gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ nu₁₁-za-SÛ níg-ba ^dBAD-mí ^dNI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} ma-lik-tum ì-na-sum šè du-du si-in giš-gál-taka₄ a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}*.

Il faut noter toutefois que lors de la cérémonie du *giš-gál-taka₄* à *a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}* il y avait aussi des offrandes pour les autres hypostases du dieu ^dNI-da-bal :

[8] *TM.75.G.2516+*,⁶⁾ f. VI:2-15: 6 *udu ^dNI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} ma-lik-tum nídba in u₄ giš-gál-taka₄ 2 udu ^dNI-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} ma-lik-tum nídba in u₄ giš-gál-taka₄* ;

[9] *TM.75.G.10160*, r. VII:9 - VIII:5: 1 *zara₆-túg 1 du-ru₁₂-rúm 1 PAD-túg (anép.) 15 kù:babbar 10 ku-sig₁₇ 1 du-rúm níg-ba ^dBAD-mí ^dNI-da-bal ma-lik-tum ì-na-sum lú du-du si-in giš-gál-taka₄ a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} 1 aktum-túg 1 gír mar-tu níg-ba ^dNI-da-bal 'à-ma-du^{ki}*.

On remarquera que, comme le montre le passage [9], le trousseau offert à ^dNI-da-bal de ^d'à-ma-du^{ki} à l'occasion du *giš-gál-taka₄* de (*la*-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}), auquel la reine se rend en y portant aux divinités concernées ses cadeaux précieux, est exactement pareil à celui que l'on trouve dans [1-2], c'est-à-dire un tissu *aktum-túg* et un poignard *gír mar-tu*. Or, dans la liste lexicale bilingue éblaïte (*VE 1241*) le sumérien *giš-gál-taka₄* est traduit par la graphie sémitique *ba-da-um*, qui tire son origine de la racine **pṭh*, « ouvrir ».⁷⁾ On peut prendre en considération aussi *ARET XI 2*, r. VI:22, où on lit 1 *peš-áb nu giš-gál-taka₄*, « 1 génisse vierge », littéralement « non-ouverte », tandis que dans le passage correspondant de *ARET XI 1*, r. VII:11 (le texte du rituel royal le plus ancien qui, comme d'habitude à Ébla, emploie souvent des termes sémitiques à la place de sumérogrammes), on a 1 *[peš]-áb [la] <bí-[ti-tum]*, *[lā pitiḫtum]*, « pas ouverte », ou bien « vierge » (avec le passage du *a* à *i* dans la première syllabe atone ; voir paléoakk. *la ba-ti-tum* avec la même signification).⁸⁾

Donc, en lisant *bí-da-’à-tum* la graphie *NE-da-’à-tum* des extraits [1-2], il est possible d’expliquer, en accord avec les règles phonétiques du syllabaire d’Ébla, ce mot, lui-aussi, au moyen de la racine **pth*, lecture sémitique du sumérien *giš-gál-taka₄*, et de traduire la formule de datation de ces deux passages comme « à l’occasion de (la cérémonie de l’)ouverture ». Même si le but de cette cérémonie à Ébla demeure énigmatique, on peut envisager au moins comme hypothèse de travail une comparaison avec la fête du *pīt bābi* connue dans la documentation mésopotamienne où elle donne aussi le nom à un mois du calendrier de la ville de Suse.⁹⁾ On peut penser que cette fête avait lieu au moment du départ des statues cultuelles des divinités concernées depuis leurs temples jusqu’à un autre endroit de la ville ou bien vers une autre ville.¹⁰⁾ À ce propos, on notera qu’un cortège à l’occasion de la sortie du temple de la statue du dieu ^d*NI-da-bal* est en effet attesté dans les textes éblaïtes.¹¹⁾ Il faut également rappeler que, lors de cette cérémonie de l’« ouverture », un habillage solennel des statues cultuelles du dieu ^d*NI-da-bal* et de sa parèdre ^d*BAD-mí* avait sûrement lieu.¹²⁾

On notera, enfin, l’emploi de la graphie (abrégée ?) *gál-taka₄* à la place de *giš-gál-taka₄* dans des contextes tout à fait identiques à ceux que nous avons vus ci-dessus. Par exemple :

[10] TM.75.G.2516+, f. I:10-16: 16 udu ^d*NI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}* en nídba in u₄ *gál-taka₄* ;

[11] TM.75.G.2516+, f. IV:2-8: 2 udu ^d*NI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}* *ir-’à-ag-da-mu* nídba in u₄ *gál-taka₄* ;

[12] TM.75.G.2516+, r. V:21 - VI:4: 19 udu ^d*NI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}* *i-ti-^dNI-da-bal* nídba in u₄ *gál-taka₄*.¹³⁾

Dans la liste lexicale bilingue (VE 1240) *gál-taka₄* est attesté mais malheureusement sans traduction sémitique. Dans le texte d’offrandes TM.75.G.2403 daté au IX^e mois (*ir-mi*) et encore inédit *gál-taka₄* est parfois suivi de l’indication *níg-sakar*, « lune nouvelle » :¹⁴⁾

[13] TM.75.G.2403, f. I:8-15: 2 udu ^d*NI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}* en nídba in u₄ *gál-taka₄* *níg-sakar* ;

[14] TM.75.G.2403, f. II:15-22: 2 udu ^d*NI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}* *ir-’à-ag-da-mu* nídba in u₄ *gál-taka₄* *níg-sakar* ;

[15] TM.75.G.2403, r. III:11-18: 10 udu ^d*NI-da-bal a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}* *i-ti-^dNI-da-bal* nídba in u₄ *gál-taka₄* *níg-sakar*.¹⁵⁾

On remarquera que le même texte enregistre des offrandes livrées au dieu des Enfer ^d*ra-sa-ab* par le prince *ir-’à-ag-da-mu* lors d’une cérémonie de nature chthonienne (*gi-ba-lu*) en l’honneur d’un ancêtre royal (*a-mu-SÛ*) :

[16] TM.75.G.2403, r. I:16 - II:5: 2 udu ^d*ra-sa-ab in SA-ZA_x^{ki}* *ir-’à-ag-da-mu* nídba in u₄ *gi-ba-lu* nídba *a-mu-SÛ*.¹⁶⁾

Il faut noter à ce propos qu’il n’y a pour l’instant à Ébla qu’un seul autre passage où la « nouvelle lune » semble être citée. Il s’agit de :

[18] *ARET XV 43 (10)*: 1 *zi-rí siki* / ^d*ga-na-na* / in u₄ / *ù-sakar*,¹⁷⁾

où à l’occasion de la « nouvelle lune » (*ù-sakar*) une mesure de laine est donnée à la déesse ^d*ga-na-na*, dont les liens avec l’au-delà et le culte des ancêtres royaux sont désormais démontrés.¹⁸⁾

À mon avis, donc, il ne faut pas exclure, un lien entre les phases de la lune et le culte des ancêtres défunts à Ébla aussi. Comme, en effet, Durand (2004: 766) l’a bien vu, à Mari par exemple il y a un rapport étroit entre la cérémonie principale en l’honneur des ancêtres, c’est-à-dire le *kispum*, et la néoménie, c’est-à-dire le jour de la nouvelle lune. En général, tous les peuples de la Méditerranée ancienne, ont compris les phases de la lune, avec sa mort et sa renaissance, comme un symbole de la survivance de l’âme humaine après la mort.¹⁹⁾

* Je remercie beaucoup le prof. A. Archi qui m’a très aimablement fourni des passages inédits ainsi que G. Marchesi pour l’habituel échange de points de vue.

¹⁾ FRONZAROLI 1997: 288 et fn. 51. POMPONIO et XELLA 1997: 286, en revanche, traduisent « lamentation » mais sans étymologie.

²⁾ Selon FRONZAROLI 1997: 288-289, cela serait possible surtout parce que ^dNI-*da-bal* (dans son interprétation ^a*5-da-bal*, c'est-à-dire Hadda-ba'1, « Hadda le Seigneur ») s'identifie avec le dieu de l'orage ^d*ā-da* mais cette interprétation reste toujours à démontrer. Voir aussi, en dernier, TONIETTI 2016: 65, n. 2 : « a final identification of Nidabal as hypostasis of Hadda previously deserves, in our opinion, a specific comparative study of the respective attributes of the two gods ».

³⁾ Aux extraits déjà recueillis par POMPONIO et XELLA 1997: 267-269, il faut ajouter maintenant *ARET* XII 369, III': 6-9 ; 1253, VI':2-5 ; *ARET* XV 37, (63) ; 59, (30).

⁴⁾ ARCHI 2013: 226.

⁵⁾ Cité par ARCHI 2005: 100.

⁶⁾ Cité par ARCHI, 2005: 100.

⁷⁾ ALBERTI 1984: 68.

⁸⁾ ALBERTI 1984: 68.

⁹⁾ *CAD*, P, 446.

¹⁰⁾ Voir les remarques de COHEN 1993: 363.

¹¹⁾ À ce propos, BIGA 2006: 31-35 ; ARCHI 2013: 225-228 ; CATAGNOTI 2015: 140-141 ; TONIETTI 2016: 80-89.

¹²⁾ PASQUALI 2010: 177-178.

¹³⁾ Cités par ARCHI 2005: 100.

¹⁴⁾ Pour cette lecture, PASQUALI 2009-2010: 146, fn. 8 ; 2015. Très récemment TONIETTI (2016: 78, n. 74) a proposé une comparaison avec le nom divin ^dNÍG.SAR attesté dans une liste d'offrande provenant de Girsu et remontant à la période de Fara (RTC 8 II 6). Ce théonyme, en effet, avait été traduit de façon très incertaine comme « Gemüse » par CAVIGNEAUX et KREBERNIK (1998-2001a). En revanche, comme les mêmes Cavigneaux et Krebernik (1998-2001b) l'ont tout de suite bien remarqué, il s'agit plutôt d'une « unorthographischen bzw. syllabischen Schreibungen » du nom divin ^dnin-SAR, à lire ^dnin-sig_x selon MARCHESI 2011: 225 et n. 47. Il est donc difficile d'envisager un lien entre cette déesse et la graphie éblaïte níg-SAR.

¹⁵⁾ Passages cités par ARCHI 2005: 100, avec lecture níg-SAR et traduction « greenery ».

¹⁶⁾ Cité par ARCHI 1988: 107. On notera aussi le passage analogue [17] *ARET* III 451, I:1'-5': ...] [i]n u₄ / [g]i-ba-lu / 1 udu / x / [...], malheureusement très lacuneux. Pour le terme sémitique *gi-ba-lu*, voir PASQUALI 1998.

¹⁷⁾ POMPONIO (2013: 53) interprète ù-sakar comme une « scrittura ortografica di u₄-sakar ».

¹⁸⁾ Pasquali 2013.

¹⁹⁾ Au niveau anthropologique et ethnologique, voir les importantes remarques de SEPPILLI 1962. Je reviendrai sur le sujet dans un prochain article.

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59) *sekēru* – “to purify”, not “to gild” — CAD S, p. 210-214 separates *sekēru* A “to dam up, close, clog” from *sekēru* B “to heat” and “to treat gold in a certain way.” AHw p. 1035 is certainly right to treat both as one verb “abschließen, absperren, verschließen, einschließen” as ingredients for medicine or perfume are „enclosed“ in a pot or an oven, or immersed in water for cooking. The passages in which *sekēru* is used in the context of gold works are less clear. CAD S, p. 213-214 rendered the verb variably as “to be processed”, “to alloy (?)” or “to gild”, although the adjective *sakru* (CAD S, p. 81) was correctly given as “refined”. I want to suggest to translate *sekēru*, when it appears with gold, always as “to purify (by means of cementation)”, and not to assume a development into “to gild” in Neo-Assyrian.

An interpretation as “gilding” seems to make sense in SAA 13, no. 28:

⁴⁾ 23 MA.NA KÙ.SIG₁₇ ina ša BABBAR.DIL a-du še-lu-a-ti ⁵⁾ nu-ši-ii-di ú-ra-qu-qu a-du mi-i-nu ⁶⁾ ša LUGAL be-lí i-qab-bu-ni ha-ra-ma-ma ⁷⁾ i-sa-ki-ru-šu.

“We have melted down twenty-three minas of gold in the agate-standard, including the votive gifts. They will hammer it as thin as the king, my lord, commands. Later, they will ‘enclose it’ (*isakkirūšu*).”

Cole and Machinist translated “Later, they will use it for gilding.” Yet, the passage works perfectly fine as “thereafter, they will purify it” because the manufacture of gold foil is one of two possibilities to prepare gold for parting by cementation. Before we move on, a short technical explanation is required.

There are two purification methods, cupellation and parting by cementation. During cupellation the gold alloy is melted together with lead (at ca. 1100°C) under oxidizing conditions. This oxidizes the lead, the copper and any other present base metals, but not gold and silver. Because native gold always contains silver, on average between 10 and 25%, it cannot be purified to 100% by cupellation alone. Gold and silver need to be parted by salt cementation. For cementation, gold must be used in pulverized form or hammered into thin foils. The dust or the gold foils are then immersed in acidic reagents, either common salt and brick dust, or a mix of salt and other minerals (e.g. the *lurpiānu* “black alum” expended in ARM 25, 313). When heated to ca. 650-800°C the salt vapour binds the silver (and may also bind other metals), but the gold, which remains in a solid state during the reaction, comes out pure. The purpose of using gold foil or dust is to provide a large surface so that the gold becomes purified through and through. When thicker objects are immersed in the salt, only surface enhancement would take place.¹⁾ The fire assay described in ARM 13, 6 (newer translation by J.-M. Durand, LAPO 16, no. 108 and on Archibab) was such a cementation procedure. In this case they ground four ingots finely to prepare purification:

“The four minas of gold for the two sun-disks that my lord has sent me have been powdered (*im-ma-ri-iq-ma*). I have taken four shekels for each of the four ingots, and I purified it (*ās-ki-ir-šu-ma*) in order to determine the fineness ([*aš-šum sak-ku-ut-tim a-ma-ri-im*, lit.: to see the residue).”

The key is the verb *marāqu* “to crush fine, to grind” in OB. For cupellation it would not have been necessary to grind the raw material because it would be melted anyway.²⁾ Thus, in connection with gold, *sekēru* expresses the action of either “immersing” the gold in the mix of reagents, or merely “enclosing” it in a vessel or the furnace. Naturally, one can also justify “to heat” for ARM 13, 6 (Durand,

LAPO 16, p. 246-247) but the many attestations for *hurāṣu sakru* “purified gold” in Neo-Assyrian texts show that the more technical meaning “to purify” (by means of cementation) is intended.

CAD’s translation “to gild” was based on S. Parpola’s suggestion in LAS II, no. 283 (with note 502 on p. 278). The text was re-edited as SAA 10, no. 368. Lines rev. 4’-7’ read:

⁴⁾ ESIR.[HÁD.A]² [...] TA ŠĀ KUR [i]-[tú-’e] ⁵⁾ a-na URU [ak-kad] i-[zab-bi]-[lu] ⁶⁾ ù LÚ.URU ak-kad-u-a e-bir-[tú] ⁷⁾ i-šāh-hu-[tu] i-sa-ak-ki-[ru]

Parpola (SAA 10, no. 368) translated:

“They are transporting asphalt to A[kk]ad from the country of I[tu’u]; and the inhabitants of Akkad are glazing and gilding kiln-fired bricks.”

The context is asphalt work. The passage makes perfect sense if *sekēru* is rendered according to its basic meaning “to clog.” The townsmen of Akkad were using the asphalt to smear it (*išahhuṭu*) at a wall built of kiln-fired bricks, and thereby clogging (*isakkirū*) them, i.e. making them water-proof. I believe that in SAA 10, 368 *sekēru* has nothing to do with gold works.

1) The chemistry of the cementation process is described in A. Ramage and P. Craddock, *King Croesus’ gold: Excavation at Sardis and the history of gold refining* (Archaeological exploration of Sardis 11), Cambridge, Mass. 2000, p. 175-183; for gold refining in general see p. 10-13.

2) A full treatment of the evidence for gold purification by cementation (and not cupellation) in Mesopotamia by the author will appear in P. van Alfen and U. Wartenberg (eds.), *White Gold: Studies in Early Electrum Coinage* (American Numismatic Society).

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60) A new twist on Akk. mardatu — As yet, the derivation of Akk. *mardatu(m)*, MA/NA *mardutu*, “woven fabric, rug, tapestry etc.” remains unresolved¹⁾. So far, three etymologies have been proposed:

(1) Discussing the Ugaritic syllabic spelling [^{tu}g^m]ar-de₄-tu GADA (PRU 3, 206-207 [RS 15.135]:5), Huehnergard commented: “Although a connection with the Akk. word *mardatu* ... seems inescapable, the spelling here indicates a pronunciation /*mardētul*/, which in turn suggests a *maq²tal-t* form of a root II-y, viz. unattested *r-d-y*; cf. perhaps Arabic *r-d-y* Gt and tD “to put on a garment”, *riḏā* ‘cloak, robe’”²⁾. However, van Soldt³⁾ noted that other Akk. words in texts from Ugarit are also spelled with an -e- for expected -a-, e.g. *ḫūretu* for *ḫūratu*, “madder”. The form *mr²dt* is also found in Ugaritic, and the word has been translated “a piece of material or a garment (?), multihued textile or garment, fringed and embroidered, a carpet” (DUL, 566)⁴⁾.

(2) The texts from Mari show that the *mardatu* seems to be typical of west and north Mesopotamia⁵⁾. J.-M. Durand also notes that not a single text from Mari shows clearly that it refers to personal clothing and he suggests deriving the term from the root MRD/WRD, “to go down, descend”, so that it would mean “le tissu qui descend”⁶⁾. This would imply that the word is Semitic.

(3) However, the texts from Qatna could indicate that *mardatu* may not be Semitic but a Hurrian word. The word *mardade* occurs in TT 12:13, 20, TT 16:5 and TT 17:26, which are letters. In both occurrences in the first text it follows a Glossenkeil and so was considered a Hurrian term in Qatna⁷⁾. This seems confirmed by the Hurrian term *mardatuhlu*, “(textile) weaver”⁸⁾, which also occurs at Qatna in TT 14:22.

It has gone unnoticed, in this connection, that Syriac *marden* means “*fusus sine ansa*”⁹⁾, “spindle”¹⁰⁾, “a spindle”¹¹⁾, as does Aramaic *marḏēnā*, “spindle”¹²⁾, from which the verb *RDN*, “to spin” is derived. In Arabic, too, there is the verb *radana*, “she (a woman) spun thread with the *mirdan*” (Lane AEL, 1070); “to spin”¹³⁾. These cognates seem to indicate that Akk. *mardatum* could derive from the root *RDN, “to spin”, although so far this root, with this meaning, is unattested in Akkadian¹⁴⁾. If this is the case, Akk. *mardatum* would have been derived from **mardantum* or the like, with assimilation of the syllable-closing -n to the following -t- (cf. von Soden GAG, 34 §33d). However, this would have given the form **mardattu*, which does not occur¹⁵⁾.

Future finds may help to determine the derivation of Hurr. *mardade*, Akk. *mardatu* and Ug. *mrdt*, but as stated at the outset, it remains obscure.

1) “Ungeklärt bleibt die Herkunft des Wortes *mardatu*. Die Bezeugung in einem altassyrischen Text, in *Mari* ... und in Ugarit läßt auch hier leicht an einem syrisch-kanaanäischen Ursprung denken. Dazu würde das hurritische Wort *mardatuhlu* “Teppich-Hersteller” in Texten aus *Alalah* und Nuzi gut passen, da das hurritische Morphem *-uhlu* – in diesem Falle zur Bildung einer handwerklichen Berufsbezeichnung – häufig an nicht-hurritische Nominal-Komponenten antritt” – W. Mayer, “*mardatu* ‘Teppich’”, *UF* 9 (1977) 173-189 (189). See also T. Richter, “Kleine Beiträge zum hurritischen Wörterbuch”, *AoF* 32 (2005) 23-44 (39-40).

2) J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (Atlanta 1987) 177. See Arab. *radiya* (*radan*), “to perish”, VIII: “to put on (a garment or headgear); wear (a garment or headgear), be clothed” (H. Wehr – A. Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* [Wiesbaden 1971], 335-336; cf. Lane AEL, 1071); Arab. *rīdā*, “loose outer garment, cloak, robe etc.” (Wehr – Cowan, *Dictionary*, 336a; cf. AEL, 1072).

3) W. H. van Soldt, “Fabrics and Dyes at Ugarit”, *UF* 22 (1990) 321-357 (329 n. 59).

4) See also J.-P. Vita, “Textile Terminology in the Ugaritic Texts”, in C. Michel – M.-L. Nosch (eds), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC* (Oxford 2010) 323-337 (330-331).

5) J.-M. Durand, *La Nomenclature des habits et des textiles dans les textes de Mari* (ARMT XXX; Paris 2009) 63.

6) J.-M. Durand, *La Nomenclature des habits*, 64.

7) “Das Wort *mardade* ‘Teppich, Läufer (o. dgl.)’ folgt zwar jeweils einem Glossenkeil und galt daher in Qatna als hurritischer Terminus...; eine entsprechende Etymologie ist allerdings nicht aufzuzeigen” – T. Richter, “Die Texte des Idadda-Archivs”, in T. Richter – S. Lange (eds), *Das Archiv des Idadda. Die Keilschrifttexte aus den deutsch-syrischen Ausgrabungen 2001-2003 im Königspalast von Qatna. Mit einem Beitrag von Peter Pfälzner* (Qatna Studien 3; Wiesbaden 2012) 27-132 (85).

8) Cf. CAD M/1, 278; also T. Richter, “Kleine Beiträge zum hurritischen Wörterbuch”, *AoF* 32 (2005) 23-44 (39); *id.*, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen* (Wiesbaden 2012) 246.

9) C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Edinburgh/Berlin 1895) 715.

10) M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* (Ramat Gan/Baltimore 2002) 828.

11) J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford 1903) 300a

12) Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 704b

13) Wehr – Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 335b; F. Corriente. “On the Shaping of the Andalusi Arabic Lexicon: Semitic and Non-Semitic Borrowing, Phonetic Variation and Lexical Composition (NAHT)”, *Folia Orientalia* 52 (2015) 121-130 notes that “[A]rabic] *radana* ‘spin’ is no doubt borrowed from S[y]r. *rādan*” (p. 124).

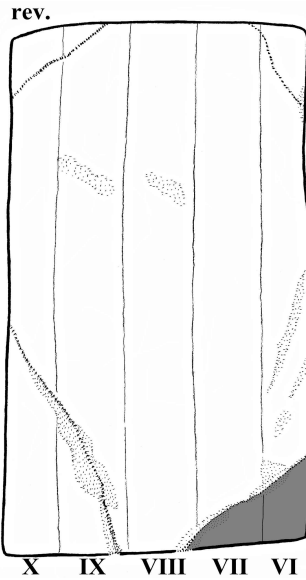
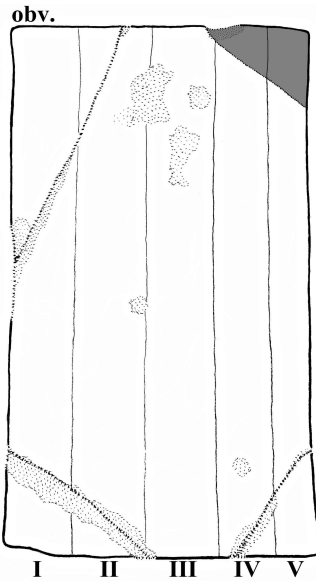
14) However, the root *RDN* is mentioned in AHW, 932 with a reference to *mardanu*; under *marda(n)u*, which is glossed “ein Brei?” (AHW, 610b), there is again a reference to **radānu*?; see also CDA, 197b (“(a porridge or pudding)?”, although the root *RDN* is not listed on p. xxii, and CAD M/1, 277a: “a variety of honey”).

15) In this connection it is significant that a spelling of Ug. *mrdtt* (with two *t*’s) occurs in KTU 2.72:28 (although it is usually emended, cf. DUL, 566) and may be a reflex of this duplication.

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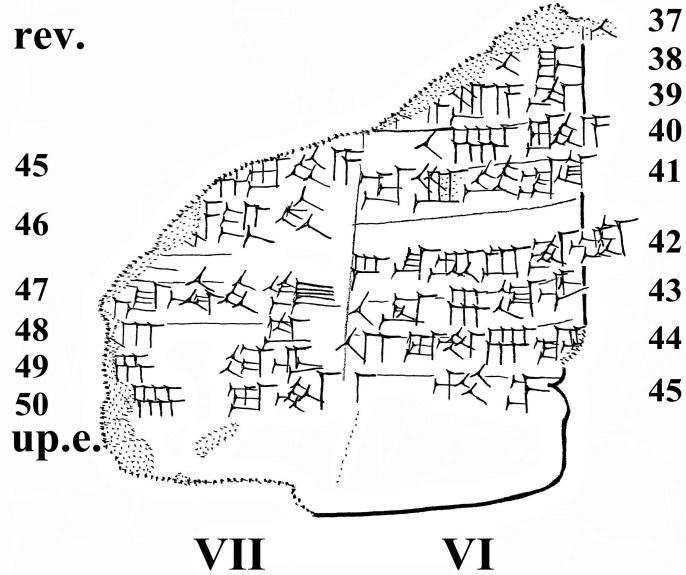
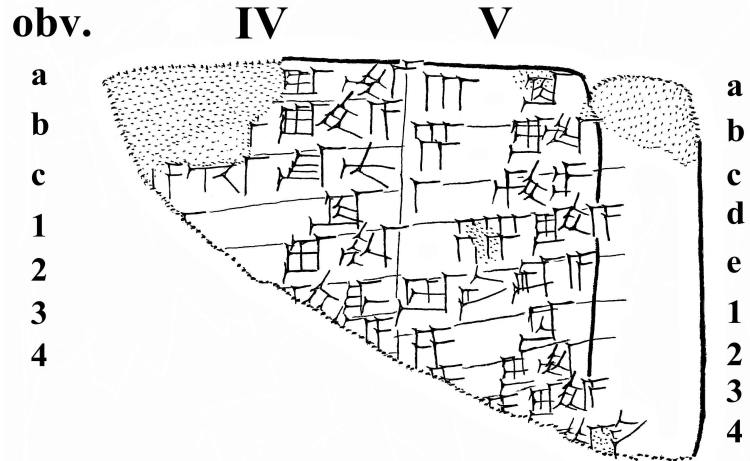
61) Sheep lost and found: a long-lost fragment of YOS 5, 4 — While studying unpublished tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection for his dissertation project¹⁾, the author came across an unnumbered fragment of an Old Babylonian administrative document. The piece under discussion was picked up from a tray with various fragments, and turned out to directly join to YBC 4747, which was published almost a century ago by E. M. Grice (YOS 5, 4). The text is a 10-column account of dead sheep and goats, belonging to the temple complex of Nanna and Ningal in Ur, and dated to the last month of Warad-Sîn’s 2nd year.²⁾ Since our fragment was already missing at the date of publication (1919), it is reasonable to assume that it broke off sometime around the time of acquisition, around the early 1910’s.³⁾

YOS 5, 4 was discussed by K. Butz in detail,⁴⁾ and it is not necessary to repeat his findings. For this reason, this edition is limited to the passages which the recently discovered fragment contributes to. In order to avoid confusion, the original numbering of the lines is kept, and the first lines of col. IV–V are marked with letters. The terminology, in general, follows VAN DE MIEROOP 1993.



- III.40.) [1²+][1] U₈
 IV.a.) [2² U]DU.NÍTA
 IV.b.) [2+][2] UDU.ĦI.A
 IV.c.) [a-ĥu]-šu-nu
 IV.1.) 1 U₈
 IV.2.) 2 UDU.NÍTA
 IV.3.) 1 MÁŠ.GAL
 IV.4.) 4 UDU.ĦI.A
 IV.5.) ^dEN.ZU-ba-la-ti
 IV.6.) NÍĜ.ŠU a-wi-il-DIĜIR

- V.a.) 3 U₈
 V.b.) 5 UDU.NÍTA
 V.c.) 1 MÁŠ.GAL
 V.d.) 9 UDU.ĦI.A
 V.e.) *ib-ni-é-a*
 V.f.) 4 U₈
 V.1.) 5 UDU.NÍTA
 V.2.) 9 UDU.ĦI.A



2(?) ewes, 2(?) rams:
 4 sheep-and-goats (of) Aĥūšunu.

1 ewe, 2 rams, 1 buck:
 4 sheep-and-goats (of) Sîn-balāṭī. Under the
 authority of Awīl-ilī.

3 ewes, 5 rams, 1 buck:
 9 sheep-and-goats (of) Ibni-Ea.

4 ewes, 5 rams:
 9 sheep-and-goats (of) his brother Ur-Bara.
 Under the authority of Ibni-Ea.

V.3.)	UR- ^d BÁRA ŠEŠ.A.NI	
V.4.)	NÍĜ.ŠU <i>ib-ni-é-a</i>	
VI.33.)	6 [U ₈] 7 UDU.NÍTA	6 ewes, 7 rams:
VI.34.)	13 UDU.ĦI.A	13 sheep-and-goats (of) Enlil-amaḥ.
VI.35.)	^d EN.LÍL-Á.MAḤ	
VI.36.)	[x] [U ₈] 3 KIR ₁₁ .[GA]	[x] ewes, 3 female suckling lambs, 6(?) rams,
VI.37.)	[6 ⁷ UDU.NÍTA] 2[+x SILA ₄].[GA]	2[+x] male suckling lambs, [x] bucks; from
VI.38.)	[x MÁ]Š.GAL	arua-donation(s):
VI.39.)	[ŠA A.RU] .A.TA	19 sheep-and-goats (of) Māru-Urim. Under the
VI.40.)	19 UDU.ĦI.A	authority of Enlil-amaḥ.
VI.41.)	<i>ma-ru-ÚRIM^{ki}</i>	
VI.42.)	NÍĜ.ŠU ^d EN.LÍL-Á.MAḤ	
VI.43.)	10 U ₈ 6 KIR ₁₁ .AŠ.UR ₄	10 ewes, 6 female shearlings, 12 rams, 7 male
VI.44.)	12 UDU.NÍTA 7 SILA ₄ .AŠ.U[R ₄]	shearlings, 1 buck:
VI.45.)	1 MÁŠ.GAL	36 sheep-and-goats (of) Sîn-iriš, the son of Adad-
VII.1.)	36 UDU.ĦI.A	nāšir.
VII.2.)	^d EN.ZU-URU ₄	
VII.3.)	DUMU ^d IŠKUR- <i>na-ši-ir</i>	
VII.43.)	6 U ₈ 8 UDU.NÍTA	6 ewes, 8 rams, 4 does, 6 bucks:
VII.44.)	4 ÛZ 6 MÁŠ.G[AL]	24 sheep-and-goats (of) Sumu-Araḥ. Under the
VII.45.)	[24 UDU] .ĦI.A	authority of Nāḥ-ilum.
VII.46.)	<i>s[u-m]u-[a] -ra-aḥ</i>	
VII.47.)	[NÍ]Ĝ.ŠU <i>na-ḫi-lum</i>	
VII.48.)	13 U ₈	13 ewes, 6 female shearlings, 18 rams, 6 male
VII.49.)	6 KIR ₁₁ .AŠ.UR ₄	shearlings, 2 does, 2 bucks:
VII.50.)	18 UDU.NÍTA	47 sheep-and-goats (of) Imgur-Sîn, the son of
VIII.1.)	6 SILA ₄ .AŠ.UR ₄	Puzur-Sîn.
VIII.2.)	2 ÛZ 2 MÁŠ.GAL	
VIII.3.)	47 UDU.ĦI.A	
VIII.4.)	<i>im-gur</i> - ^d EN.ZU	
VIII.5.)	DUMU <i>puzur</i> - ^d EN.ZU	

As a comparison with Butz's restoration shows, his expectations were in some cases confirmed by the new fragment, and in others not. Based on the calculations in our text and by using parallel documents, he was usually able to determine at least the shepherd's name, and the total number of dead animals from his flock (like in the case of Aḫūšunu, III.40–IV.c.). Sometimes these are, however, inaccurate: based on Grice's copy, Butz expects 8 animals from the flock of Ur-Bara and 10 in Ibni-Ea's one (V.a–4).

In the case of Māru-Urim⁵⁾ (VI.36–42), Butz expects 21 animals in total instead of 19, due to the ambiguity about the flocks of Sînnatum and Gimillum. He claims, furthermore, that the 3 female suckling lambs was actually a mistake for 3 female shearlings, for the former ones are attested almost exclusively in namena and arua flocks (BUTZ 1973-1974: 17 n. j; see also VAN DE MIEROOP 1993: 168). His emendation is to be discarded in view of VI.39, according to which it is indeed an arua flock. One must refer here to YOS 5, 31, which is dated to the same month of the same year (i.e., WS 02/12), and thus probably refers to the same Mār(u)-Urim. It is vertically scratched, which happened to tablets already entered in an – alleged – *Sammeltafel* (BUTZ 1973-1974: 10 n. 37). Due to the corresponding lines' fragmentary state of preservation (VI.36–38), however, it cannot be determined if that very text was used at the compilation of YOS 5, 4.

1) Provisional title: "Before the court of the gods and the people. The judicial process in Old Babylonian Larsa based on trial records and other sources" (Graduate School Distant Worlds, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich). The author is grateful to Ulla Kasten for her permission to publish this fragment, as well as to Agnete Wisti Lassen for her kind assistance during the present author's research stay at Yale.

2) See SIGRIST 1990: 31.

3) On the early days of the Yale Babylonian Collection, see FOSTER 2013.

4) BUTZ 1973-1974: 12-17 no. 2. On the economic role of flocks in Old Babylonian Ur, see VAN DE MIEROOP 1992: 85-89 for an overview and VAN DE MIEROOP 1993 in detail.

5) The same spelling appears in up. CUNES 49-02-269 as well (courtesy J. Miller).

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62) Le sceau AUWE 23 4 : un cas de double filiation ? — Dans le cadre de mes recherches sur les temples paléo-babyloniens, j'ai été amené à m'intéresser au sceau republié dans AUWE 23, p. 12 n° 4. La transcription de la légende de ce sceau-cylindre ne pose pas de problème. Les cinq lignes se lisent :

(1) LÚ.KAL.LA (2) DUMU INIM.^dINANNA (3) ù nu-úr-iš₈-tár (4) LÚ.MAH (5) ÌR^dIG.GAL.LA.

A. Cavigneaux a traduit : « Lu-kala, Sohn des Inim-inana, und Nūr-Eštar, lumah, Diener des Iggalla ». Selon cette traduction, Lu-kala et Nur-Ištar étaient les deux propriétaires du sceau. L'éditeur a donc cru nécessaire de commenter : « Wie lässt sich erklären, dass zwei Eigennamen erwähnt sind? Handelt es sich um Amtskollegen, die beide über ein einziges Siegel verfügten? Könnte es sich auch um Verwandte handeln? In diesem Fall hätte der eigentliche Inhaber für die eigene Nachfolge, etwa durch Übertragung seines Amts an einen Bruder oder einen Sohn, schon im voraus gesorgt. » Et d'ajouter (n. 63) : « Die Vorstellung, dass es zwei lú-mah gleichzeitig gegeben hätte, ist schwer anzunehmen, man kann sich aber leichter eine Situation vorstellen, in der ein Vorgesetzter einem niedrigeren Beamten die Verfügung über sein Siegel gewährt hätte. » Il a aussi précisé : « Die Abbildungen lassen keine Spuren einer Überarbeitung der Inschrift erkennen. » On doit avouer qu'il est difficile d'imaginer un sceau *personnel* possédé par deux individus, si proches soient-ils¹⁾. Par ailleurs, le singulier ÌR à la l. 5 serait étonnant, si le sceau appartenait à deux personnes.

Une autre solution doit dès lors être envisagée : la l. 3 ne serait que la suite de la l. 2. Cela permettrait de retrouver la tripartition habituelle : 1) nom du propriétaire 2) filiation 3) métier 4) dévotion. La traduction deviendrait : « Lu-kala, fils de Inim-Inanna et de Nur-Ištar, *lumahhum*, serviteur de Iggalla ». On aboutirait à un cas, certes étrange, mais pas unique, où un individu serait défini par rapport à deux pères, en l'occurrence Inim-Inanna et Nur-Ištar. On connaît d'autres exemples où un même homme est décrit selon les textes comme fils de deux pères différents. J'en ai signalé quelques-uns dans mon livre *Archives familiales...*, HEO 12, Genève/Paris, 1980, p. 343-344, que j'ai interprétés comme dénotant des cas d'adoption à l'âge adulte. Lu-kala serait donc le fils d'Inim-Inanna et aurait été adopté par Nur-Ištar à l'âge adulte. Une telle double indication *sur un sceau* me semble sans parallèle, mais cette interprétation me paraît à tout prendre la moins invraisemblable.

1) A. Cavigneaux avait, à juste titre, explicitement distingué (n. 62) le cas des sceaux personnels de celui des sceaux dits « bur.gul », où plusieurs individus sont régulièrement nommés.

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63) Les dates du séjour de Yasmah-Addu à Chagar Bazar (Ašnakkum) — La présence de Yasmah-Addu à Chagar Bazar (l'ancienne Ašnakkum) pour le recensement des Bédouins en *Maqrānum* (au mois xi*) de l'éponymie d'Addu-bāni est bien connue (cf. en dernier lieu CHARPIN et ZIEGLER 2003, p. 130,

§ 2.7.2.3). Cependant, une série de collations faites au British Museum permet de corriger la date de deux textes (**OBTCB 17** et **OBTCB 55**) qui enregistrent les denrées pour le repas de Yasmah-Addu à Ašnakum. Cela permet de préciser la date de l'arrivée de Yasmah-Addu et de sa suite à Chagar Bazar en l'état actuel du dossier. En effet, **OBTCB 17** (BM 131700) date du 7*/ix* (et non du 4) et **OBTCB 55** (BM 131717) date du 8* (et non du 5). La difficulté de lecture vient du fait qu'il s'agit de tablettes scellées par le haut fonctionnaire Māšum (pour cet individu, qualifié de « scribe », DUB.SAR, sur son sceau, cf. en dernier lieu LACAMBRE 2011 avec la bibliographie). Son sceau (pour une étude de celui-ci, cf. COLLON 1987, p. 145-146 ; LACAMBRE et PATRIER, à paraître) a été clairement apposé après l'écriture de la tablette et il écrase une partie des signes présents, notamment la rangée supérieure de clous composant le chiffre du jour. Des photos des chiffres concernés sont données ci-dessous. La photo de **OBTCB 14** (BM 131699), datée du 9/xi*/Addu-bāni et scellée aussi par Māšum, est donnée ici à titre de comparaison :



OBTCB 55, l. 7
(8*/xi*/Addu-bāni)
© Denis Lacambre



OBTCB 55, l. 7
(8*/xi*/Addu-bāni)
© Denis Lacambre



OBTCB 14, l. 8
(9/xi*/Addu-bāni)
© Denis Lacambre

La date du 7 pour le jour dans **OBTCB 17** avait déjà été proposée (LACAMBRE 2008, p. 182, n. 16). La date de **OBTCB 55** était encore incertaine pour moi, mais la nouvelle collation est claire : il s'agit bien du chiffre 8, dont les rangées supérieures et médianes sont en partie recouvertes par de l'argile. C.J. GADD (1940, p. 47, *sub* A.924 = **OBTCB 17** et p. 52, *sub* A.962 = **OBTCB 55**) avait d'ailleurs hésité sur la lecture des chiffres des jours pour ces deux textes (4 [?] et 5 [?] respectivement).

Il est intéressant de noter que nous avons deux textes pour le 7, **OBTCB 17** (repas pour Yasmah-Addu) et **OBTCB 65**. Ce dernier texte enregistre l'allocation de rations de grain pour les animaux des divers chariots et attelages qui ont conduit Yasmah-Addu et sa suite à Chagar Bazar (cf. KOPPEN 2002 et en particulier p. 22-23 ; CHARPIN et ZIEGLER 2003, p. 130).

En l'état actuel de la documentation, Yasmah-Addu résida avec certitude huit jours à Chagar Bazar (l'ancienne Ašnakum) entre le 7 et le 15 du mois de *Maqrānum* (mois ix*) en Addu-bāni (KEL G 82, cf. BARJAMOVIC *et al.* 2012 et p. 95 en particulier, pour une proposition de datation de cet éponyme en 1777 av. J.-C.). **OBTCB 99** ([...]/[ix*]/Addu-bāni) et **OBTCB 114** ([...]/[ix*]/[Addu-bāni]), deux tablettes scellées par Māšum qui appartiennent à ce dossier, ont leurs dates en partie ou complètement perdues. Mais F. van KOPPEN (1999-2000, p. 338a) a proposé de les placer avant le 11/xi*. Il a en effet remarqué que les tablettes sont scellées par Māšum jusqu'au 10/xi* (inclus), puis qu'elles ne le sont plus ensuite, Māšum ayant apparemment dû quitter Chagar Bazar le 11/xi*. Les fouilles de la mission conjointe de Chagar Bazar (Mission archéologique de l'université de Liège en Syrie [direction Ö. Tunca] et DGAMS) ont permis la découverte en 2008 d'un nouveau texte de repas de Yasmah-Addu, **CB 7672** (inédit ; tablette non scellée), daté du 12/xi*/Addu-bāni. Cette découverte est tout à fait en accord avec la proposition sur la répartition chronologique des textes de F. van Koppen exposée ci-dessus. Le séjour de Yasmah-Addu à Chagar Bazar s'acheva par un grand banquet avec les Bédouins pour fêter la fin des opérations de recensement (**OBTCB 50**) le 15/xi*/Addu-bāni.

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autorisé à collationner les textes de Chagar Bazar provenant des fouilles de M. Mallowan (en 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010 et 2016 ; séjours financés par l'équipe HALMA-UMR 8164 [CNRS, Lille 3, MCC] et par l'IUF) et à en publier les résultats.

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64) ARMT XXVI/1 275 — De bonnes photos me permettent de revoir (30 ans après!) un passage de ARMT XXVI 275 qui m'avait paru problématique au moment de la publication. Je lis désormais l. 11-15 :

um-ma-mi še-pí
ma-ar-ša-at°
a-di-ma še-pí m[ar-ša-at]*
um-ma-mi ri-b[i-(bi)-ti]*
ma-ar-ša-at

« On rapporte qu'il a dit : "J'ai mal au pied" et en même temps que "J'ai mal au pied", on rapporte qu'il a dit : "J'ai mal au ventre".

En fait, il n'y a pas de particule du discours direct "mi" dans ce texte et le ŠU de l'édition n'est qu'une mauvaise lecture de l'initiale du signe MAR (*meae culpae* !).

Le gouverneur de Saggâratum, qui avait l'air de bien se porter, a donc succombé à une attaque foudroyante, décrite comme un mal soudain au pied ainsi que dans le bas ventre, ce qu'exprime *ribibîtum*. Une proposition de lire *ri-b[i-(bi)-ti]* (W. Heimpel) est effectivement possible philologiquement et épigraphiquement.

Je laisse naturellement à des gens plus experts que moi en matière médicale le soin de savoir si Sumhu-rabi a succombé à une crise cardiaque ou à une thrombose, et je me contenterai de citer ce qu'en dit J. Sasson dans son édition des textes de Mari (p. 336, n. 124) :

« In Akkadian, *šēpum* is both the foot and the leg. The word for the other anatomical spot mentioned is broken. It could be *rittum*, "hand, palm," or *rebī(bi)tum*, "lower abdomen, groin area." The symptoms could also suggest thrombosis or blood clot [*caillot de sang*]. I thank my brother, Dr. Victor Sasson, for suggesting that it was likely a Deep Vein Thrombosis [*thrombose veineuse profonde*], a blood clot that forms in the leg. »

Juste fin, en tout cas, quoique les Dieux aient tardé à s'y décider, pour celui sur qui pèse le lourd soupçon d'avoir livré la citadelle de Tuttul aux Bédouins qui l'attaquaient.

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65) Cylinder seal rings in Mari, Ebla and Qatna — A few Mari texts mention objects named *kunuk(kum ša) ubānim*, literally ‘finger seals’, and finger rings containing seals (*unqum ... ina libbim kunuk ...*). The rings are of gold or iron, the seals are of lapis lazuli (*uqnūm*) or of *duhšūm*. Some rings are mounted with two or three seals (see the references in ARM 32, p. 85f.).

In ARM 32, these objects were considered stamp seals, but they more probably represent cylinder seals mounted in finger rings, in view of archaeological parallels. An object of this kind was found in Ebla, in the corridor of the Middle Bronze royal Tomb of the Princess (excavation number TM.79.Q.237). The gold finger ring, 22 mm in diameter, contains a tiny carnelian cylinder seal, uninscribed, with a geometric ornament (P. Matthiae, “Campagne de fouilles à Ébla en 1979: les tombes princières et le palais de la ville basse à l’époque amorrhéenne,” *CRAIBL*, 124/1, 1980, fig. 8 (photo only); S. Cluzan et al. (eds.), *Syrie. Mémoire et civilisation*, Paris, 1993, p. 208 (photo and a few details); we are grateful to Denis Lacambre and Davide Nadali for the references and further information).

Besides, a gold finger ring, 23 mm in diameter, which originally held two dark grey cylinder seals, was found in the Middle Bronze Age tomb VII in Qatna. One of the seals, uninscribed, is still attached to the ring. It shows two figures, one of them apparently offering a kid in front of a male deity (I. Puljiz, “Das Goldinventar der Gruft VII von Qatna,” PhD thesis in preparation).

The same tomb contained a gold bracelet, 55 mm in diameter, with a lapis lazuli cylinder seal, uninscribed, divided in columns with animal and ankh motifs (P. Pfälzner, H. Dohmann-Pfälzner, “Die Ausgrabungen 2009 und 2010 im Königspalast von Qatna,” *MDOG* 143, 2011, p. 130f.). A parallel is found in ARM 31 161: 4’-5’: the queen of Aleppo presented to Zimri-Lim a gold-plated iron bracelet containing a lapis lazuli seal (1 HAR BAR.ZIL *ba-bu-šu KÙ.GI ša fga-še-ra ŠĀ.BA 1^{naq} KIŠIB ZA.GÌN ša É.GAL-lim*). The exact meaning of *ša ekallim* ‘of the palace’ in this context is unknown.

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66) More on the Immediate Successors of Burna-Buriaš II — In a contribution published in *NABU* 2016/1 (mars), I re-examined some of the scholarship on the divergent accounts given in the Babylonian *Chronicle P* and the Assyrian *Synchronistic History* of the episode involving Aššur-uballiṭ I of Assyria and the immediate successors of Burna-Buriaš II of Kassite Babylonia. I concluded that the self-contradictory testimony of the *Synchronistic History* (which names Aššur-uballiṭ’s murdered Babylonian grandson once Karaḥardaš and once Karaindaš) does not inspire confidence, and that a simple emendation in the usual restoration of a *lacuna* in line i 14 of *Chronicle P* to state “[Kurigalzu, uncle of Ka]dašman-Ḥarbe,” would eliminate the perceived problem with the Babylonian source. I suggested that the sequence of events should be restored as follows: Burna-Buriaš II was succeeded either by his very ephemeral son Karaindaš II, or perhaps directly by his grandson Kadašman-Ḥarbe II, whose mother was Muballiṭat-Šerūa, a daughter of Aššur-uballiṭ I of Assyria. After a short reign, this apparently young and headstrong king provoked his subjects to rebel and murder him, replacing him with a non-royal, Šuzigaš/Nazi-Bugaš. The latter was eliminated by Aššur-uballiṭ, who, having avenged his murdered grandson, proceeded to help Burna-Buriaš II’s younger son Kurigalzu II to the Babylonian throne (MLADJOV 2016: 18-21).

The earlier contribution was not exhaustive of the scholarship, and prioritized early works that established the text and translation of the episode. Here I will make note of several additional studies that touch upon this topic.

The majority of recent scholarship has followed the analysis of Röllig and Brinkman on these matters, who had cast doubt on the testimony of *Chronicle P* and preferred the account of the *Synchronistic History* (RÖLLIG 1967: 175-178; BRINKMAN 1969: 322-327; *ID.* 1976: 419-423). Nevertheless, there are exceptions, like Sassmannshausen, who, while accepting some of Röllig and

Brinkman's analysis, doubted the veracity of the name Karaḫardaš and opted for a Kadašman-Ḫarbe II as the grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ (SASSMANNSHAUSEN 2004: 61, 67; *ID.* 2006: 167, 173).

In his survey of Mesopotamian historiography, Van Seters attempted to demonstrate that *Chronicle P* was largely derived from the *Synchronistic History*. Van Seters based his conclusion on the parallelism in selection and content between the two texts, the more discernible principle of inclusion in the *Synchronistic History* (matters dealing with Assyro-Babylonian foreign relations and frontiers), and the allegedly incorrect statements in *Chronicle P*, wherever its testimony diverged from the parallel items in the *Synchronistic History* (VAN SETERS 1983: 86-87). However, as Van Seters admits, the content really is not the same, *Chronicle P* including, for example, the "Kurigalzu Epic" and items related to the cult of Marduk, and thus deriving, at least in part, from sources other than the *Synchronistic History* or its source.

Apart from such additions, the supposedly parallel sections do exhibit significant divergences, which is all the more telling, considering the conservative and repetitive nature of this literary genre (cf. GLASSNER 2004: 83). For example, the incompletely preserved episode preceding that about Aššur-uballiṭ's intervention in Babylonia in *Chronicle P* included not only information about an Assyro-Babylonian treaty and fixing of a boundary (as in the *Synchronistic History*, i 5'-7', with slightly different wording), but also about the building and restoration of some structure(s) (i 4: GRAYSON 1975: 171; GLASSNER 2004: 275-276). Even in the episode about Aššur-uballiṭ's intervention in Babylonia, *Chronicle P* not only provided different royal names for the monarchs of Kassite Babylon, but also recorded policies of the Babylonian ruler in the Middle Euphrates region that the Assyrian source did not know or did not find necessary to include (i 7-9: GRAYSON 1975: 172; GLASSNER 2004: 278-279). In a subsequent episode describing the battle of Sugaga, the *Synchronistic History* and *Chronicle P* diverge, not only in the name of the Assyrian king and in the attribution of victory, but also, however slightly, in the narrative's wording (*Synchronistic History* i 19'-21': GRAYSON 1975: 160; GLASSNER 2004: 178-179; *Chronicle P* iii 20-22: GRAYSON 1975: 175; GLASSNER 2004: 280-281). For Van Seters, here the author of *Chronicle P* "simply switched victor and victim as well as changed the Assyrian king from Enlil-narari to Adad-narari (I)," indicating a doctored derivation from the *Synchronistic History* (VAN SETERS 1983: 87). But whereas changing the roles of victor and loser could be indicative of propaganda (yet *Chronicle P* does admit to several Babylonian defeats elsewhere: GRAYSON 1980-1983: 88), *Chronicle P*'s change of the probably correct Enlil-nārārī to Adad-nārārī seems to be an innocent mistake. Much the same could be said for *Chronicle P*'s slightly unusual spelling of the name of Aššur-uballiṭ's daughter Muballiṭat-Šērūa as Muballiṭat-Šērūa (cf. GRAYSON 1975: 171).

As indicated earlier (MLADJOV 2016: 18-19), the differences seem consistent with *Chronicle P* and the *Synchronistic History* recalling the same events on the basis of separate sources of information (despite the contrary suggestion in BRINKMAN 1976: 420), and both are likely to have been subject to some bias. If they do share a source in common, at least one of them is likely to have been dependent on that source indirectly, and possibly in a damaged state of preservation. Given the contradictory names assigned to Aššur-uballiṭ's Babylonian grandson in the *Synchronistic History*, it seems more likely that it, not *Chronicle P*, depended on a less direct and less accurate source tradition. Besides, while we have evidence that late Assyrian texts were often based on the collection and copying of earlier, Sumerian and Babylonian works (e.g., ROUX 1992: 355-357), that late Babylonian texts were based on Assyrian ones is less clear. Finally, even if Van Seters should turn out to be correct in seeing *Chronicle P* as a secondary construct based on *Synchronistic History* with some editing and insertion of additional information, that would not necessarily mean that this additional information was inaccurate.

In her survey of the issues pertaining to Mesopotamian chronology in the Second Millennium BC, Pruzsinszky devotes several pages to *Chronicle P* (PRUZSINSZKY 2009: 117-121). She seems to accept a relatively early date for the composition of the text, while also accepting Röllig and Brinkman's arguments for *Chronicle P*'s unreliability. The arguments, set out in some detail, include, among some others:

(1) Kurigalzu II being the son of Burna-Buriaš II, not Kadašman-Ḫarbe. Yet, as we have seen, *Chronicle P*'s lacuna does not need to be restored as "[Kurigalzu, son of Ka]dašman-Ḫarbe" (MLADJOV 2016: 19-20).

(2) Enlil-nārārī, not Adad-nārārī I, was (probably) the Assyrian king at the battle of Sugaga. For this minor and innocent mistake, see above.

(3) The episodes dealing with the reigns of the Babylonian kings Adad-šuma-iddina and Enlil-nādin-šumi in *Chronicle P* are presented in reverse chronological order. This does not bear upon the (un)reliability of *Chronicle P* compared to the *Synchronistic History* because, as Pruzsinszky admits elsewhere, the latter text also presents episodes (relating to the reigns of the Assyrian kings Puzur-Aššur III and Aššur-bēl-nišešu) in reverse chronological order (PRUZSINSZKY 2009: 116).

In response to my argument in *NABU* 2016/1, Professor Maidman kindly provided me with a copy of his study on the reign of Aššur-uballiṭ I of Assyria and invited me to comment on its arguments relating to the successors of Burna-Buriaš II. The first part of this extensive and important article deals with an otherwise obscure episode in the rise of Assyria to the status of a great power, which involved warfare with Arrapha and Mittani. Maidman provides a very plausible reconstruction of the events, and persuasively identifies the Assyrian and Mittanian protagonists, unnamed in the source evidence, with Aššur-uballiṭ and Tušratta (MAIDMAN 2011: 77-110).

In a second portion of his study, Maidman turns to Assyro-Babylonian relations, including, for the most part, the episode reported with divergent details in *Chronicle P* and the *Synchronistic History*. Here he takes as his point of departure the combined argumentation of Röllig, Brinkman, and Van Seters, that at least in relation to this episode, the *Synchronistic History* provides the more reliable tradition (*ID.*: 111). In support of this conclusion, Maidman (n. 198) cites also SINGER 2008, who had cast doubt on the veracity of a different episode from *Chronicle P*. Singer had interpreted the designation of the later Babylonian monarch Adad-šuma-ušur in the so-called "Elamite letter" VAT 17020 as the "son of Dunna-Šaḫ, from the riverbanks of the Euphrates" literally, thereby contradicting *Chronicle P*'s statement that Adad-šuma-ušur sat on the throne of his father (iv 9: GRAYSON 1975: 176; GLASSNER 2004: 280-281) and the inscription on a bronze dagger from Luristan, naming "Adad-šuma-ušur, king of the world, son of Kaštiliašu, king of Babylon" (BRINKMAN 1976: 90). He also drew attention to the absence of any other statements as to the filiation of Adad-šuma-ušur (SINGER 2008: 394; although reference to a father who ended badly might have been selectively avoided by monarchs in some contexts: cf. SEUX 1980-1983: 145) and concluded that Adad-šuma-ušur was indeed a usurper from Suḫi on the Middle Euphrates (SINGER 2008: 399-400). It seems more likely that the Elamite king was merely putting down Adad-šuma-ušur as the maternal descendant of Dunna-Šaḫ, a petty chieftain of Suḫi, as opposed to other sons of the Kassite king, born to mothers of more illustrious pedigree (and more particularly, a princess from Elam). This would satisfy the various oblique associations of (probably) Adad-šuma-ušur with Suḫi cited by Singer. But if so, Adad-šuma-ušur would remain a Kassite prince and a son of the unfortunate Kaštiliašu IV after all. Singer's interpretation of the "Elamite letter" is not sufficiently persuasive or decisive to serve as yet another reason to question the veracity of *Chronicle P*.

Apart from adopting Röllig, Brinkman, and Van Seters' preference for the account of the *Synchronistic History*, Maidman proceeds to offer a series of logical arguments to support this choice. Besides the other problems with the testimony of the *Synchronistic History* discussed previously, these positions can also be questioned.

(1) Aššur-uballiṭ I of Assyria and Burna-Buriaš II were bitter foes before the Babylonian was reduced to submission and agreed to the marriage alliance (MAIDMAN 2011: 108-111). But Burna-Buriaš II's vainglorious claims to overlordship over Assyria expressed in a letter to the distant ruler of Egypt (*EA* 9, for which see MORAN 1992: 18-19) are hardly enough to posit any active enmity. Certainly neither *Chronicle P* nor the *Synchronistic History*, preoccupied as they are with Assyro-Babylonian relations, mentions any conflict between the two or any specific treaty during the reign of Burna-Buriaš II. This is, at any rate, of marginal importance for the topic at hand.

(2) The *Synchronistic History*'s implication that Aššur-uballiṭ was active during the adulthood of his daughter and the youth of his grandsons is more plausible than *Chronicle P*'s implication that he was

active during the adulthood of his daughter and grandson and the youth of his great-grandson (MAIDMAN 2011: 111). While this reasoning is perfectly logical, the conclusion does not necessarily follow. First, as already discussed, *Chronicle P* does not actually state that Kurigalzu II was the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II and therefore the great-grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ, because the relationship is lost in a *lacuna* and can be restored in a different way. Second, the internal chronology allows much leeway in the genealogical considerations. According to the *Assyrian King List*, Aššur-uballiṭ I (1355–1319 BC) reigned for 36 years, having succeeded his father Erība-Adad I (1382–1355 BC), who reigned for 27 years, having ascended the Assyrian throne 18 years after the death of his own father, Aššur-bēl-nišešu (1409–1400 BC) (GRAYSON 1980-1983: 109). We can combine this information with the early age for marriage and procreation for Ancient Near Eastern royals to produce a test scenario. Because Erība-Adad did not succeed his father directly, he might have been young at the time of his father's death, but he was at least 18 (and probably not much more than 28) years old at his accession in 1382 BC. A general range of approximate birth-dates can be represented in the following tabulation, assuming a 20-year generation average (which, while relatively low, is not the absolute minimum in this case):

Erība-Adad I, king 1382 BC	*1410 BC	*1405 BC	*1400 BC
Aššur-uballiṭ I, king 1355 BC	*1390 BC	*1385 BC	*1380 BC
Muballiṭat-Šerūa	*1370 BC	*1365 BC	*1360 BC
Muballiṭat-Šerūa's son	*1350 BC	*1345 BC	*1340 BC

If, as likely, Aššur-uballiṭ was one of Erība-Adad's eldest sons, and if Muballiṭat-Šerūa was one of Aššur-uballiṭ's eldest daughters, Aššur-uballiṭ's Babylonian grandson could have been born as early as *c.* 1350-1340 BC. In fact, Aššur-uballiṭ could have become a great-grandfather well before he died probably in his 60s in 1319 BC. It is also worth noting that Aššur-uballiṭ's Assyrian son and grandson, Enlil-nārārī (1319–1309 BC) and Arik-dīn-ili (1309–1297 BC) had relatively short reigns of 10 and 12 years, respectively (GRAYSON 1980-1983: 109-110), which might indicate that they were of relatively mature age by the time they succeeded to the throne. Thus, genealogy does not really militate in favor of choosing the testimony of the *Synchronistic History* over that of *Chronicle P*.

(3) The appellation *šeḫru* attributed to Kurigalzu II in the *Synchronistic History* indicated that he was the youthful younger son of Muballiṭat-Šerūa and therefore the younger brother of the murdered Babylonian grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ; *šeḫru* did not indicate that Kurigalzu was the second king of his name (MAIDMAN 2011: 112-113). The term *šeḫru* (cf. CAD 16/Š s.v. *šihru*), means “small,” “young,” or “secondary.” Traditionally, its occurrences in lines i 16' and i 18' of the *Synchronistic History* have been interpreted as designating Kurigalzu “the Younger,” i.e., the second king to bear this name (e.g., GRAYSON 1975: 159; GLASSNER 2004: 178-179; although RÖLLIG 1967: 178 prefers “the Young”). Maidman's variant conclusion seems to be based on a number of interrelated assumptions. These include (a) the veracity of the account in the *Synchronistic History*, (b) the notion that Kurigalzu II was a second, younger son of Muballiṭat-Šerūa and that she was the wife of Burna-Buriaš II (as suggested by RÖLLIG 1967: 178; BRINKMAN 1976: 422 and n. 13 is more cautious on the mother of Kurigalzu), and (c) the very young age of both Muballiṭat-Šerūa's son and of Kurigalzu II at accession. None of these assumptions is fact, and each can be questioned. The absolute reliability of the *Synchronistic History* cannot be considered a foregone conclusion, and the notion that Aššur-uballiṭ's murdered grandson and Kurigalzu II ascended the throne as children is obviated by the chronological and genealogical analysis summarized above. The letter of Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti to Kadašman-Enlil III of Babylon seems to indicate that the Kassites were not inclined to respect the rights of minor heirs to the throne (BECKMAN 1996: 133-134). Moreover, the sources do not provide any explicit statement that Muballiṭat-Šerūa was the mother, and Aššur-uballiṭ the grandfather, of Kurigalzu. This would be a curious omission for the *Synchronistic History*, and this source's silence is probably significant. Despite Maidman's reasoning (n. 201), surely we cannot consider it surprising that Aššur-uballiṭ should have avenged his murdered grandson and eliminated the usurper Šuzigaš/Nazi-Bugaš, even if there was no surviving Babylonian grandson of the Assyrian king to place on the vacant throne. In the absence of any remaining Babylonian

grandson of his, Aššur-uballiṭ would have made do with a legitimate Kassite monarch in Kurigalzu II, who would have been indebted to the Assyrian king for his throne.

Returning to the appellation *šeḫru*, Maidman's contention that it is to be understood as indicating that Kurigalzu was the younger brother of Aššur-uballiṭ's murdered grandson, is weakened by the absence of a noun ("brother," "son," "grandson") that would clarify his relationship to the other persons named in the episode. Moreover, Kurigalzu is referred to as *šeḫru* once more, in a subsequent line of the *Synchronistic History* (i 18'), where that appellation cannot possibly designate the younger of two brothers any longer. That would be consistent with translating "Kurigalzu the Younger," indicating that this was the second king of that name.

In a related line of argumentation, although Maidman admits to one or two exceptions, he is certainly correct to point out that there was no consistent or ample tradition of ancient Mesopotamian monarchs adopting distinctive epithets to differentiate between rulers bearing the same name. He supports this point with the argument that if *šeḫru* were to be interpreted as "the Younger," then Kurigalzu II's father Burna-Buriaš II should also have been called *šeḫru* in the *Synchronistic History*. The force of this observation is undermined, however, by the admitted inconsistency of usage, and by the strong possibility that the author of the *Synchronistic History* was unaware that Kurigalzu II's father Burna-Buriaš II was the second Babylonian king of that name. Although the *Synchronistic History* relates an Assyro-Babylonian treaty from the reign of Burna-Buriaš I in the episode immediately preceding that under discussion (i 5'-7': GRAYSON 1975: 158; GLASSNER 2004: 176-177), the mention of Babylonian kings named Burna-Buriaš in the two adjacent episodes might well indicate that they were considered to be one and the same person by the author. In fact, this might have something to do with the placement of the episode involving Burna-Buriaš I out of chronological order, after one relating subsequent events and immediately before the one involving Burna-Buriaš II's son Kurigalzu II (cf. RÖLLIG 1967: 176, n. 6). Apart from suggesting an explanation for Burna-Buriaš II not being designated *šeḫru*, this reveals another possible example of error in the *Synchronistic History*.

There is, furthermore, some additional evidence for the use of epithets to distinguish homonymous kings from each other. Most notably, the Kassite king Agum I is referred to as *Agum maḫrû* in the *Babylonian King List A* and the *Synchronistic King List* (GRAYSON 1980-1983: 91, 118), and as *Agum rabû* in the *Agum-Kakrime Inscription* (i 19: OSHIMA 2012: 228, 234, 242). The term *maḫrû* (cf. CAD 10/M 1 s.v. *maḫru*) designates "former" or "earlier," while *rabû* (cf. CAD 14/R s.v. *rabû*) designates "great" or "elder," the opposite of *šeḫru*. Despite the variation in word choice, it is evident that the epithets were intended to distinguish Agum I from later kings of this name by designating him the earlier or elder bearer of the name. The apposition of *maḫrû/rabû* on the one hand and *šeḫru* on the other strongly supports the traditional interpretation of *šeḫru* in the relevant lines of the *Synchronistic History* as "the Younger." It is perhaps worthwhile to note the parallel with the traditional designation of (e.g.) homonymous Roman emperors in Latin and Greek as *magnus/megas* (to be understood as "elder" rather than "great") and *minor/mikros* ("younger" rather than "little").

(4) A further point, that Kurigalzu I lived over a century before Kurigalzu II, and therefore the *Synchronistic History* would not have needed to distinguish between the two (MAIDMAN 2011: 112), more than doubles the actual time-span of some 42 years separating them, and is an oversight (as admitted by the author in a personal communication, April 16, 2016). The shortness of the time-span might actually suggest the opposite conclusion, that it made good sense to designate Kurigalzu II as "the Younger." Because the *Synchronistic History* does not name Kurigalzu I, the motivation for making such a distinction is moot, unless it indicates that the source was derivative.

In the remainder of his study, Maidman attempts to reconstruct the chronology of the known events of Aššur-uballiṭ's reign. The result is a generally plausible sequence of events, subject to the usual limitations of incomplete source evidence (MAIDMAN 2011: 115-126). Given the considerations outlined above, however, it is not necessary to crowd the events surrounding Aššur-uballiṭ's intervention in Babylonia at the very end of his reign. Other logic had led Röllig to place the accession of Kurigalzu II about 15 years before the death of Aššur-uballiṭ (RÖLLIG 1967: 178-179; PRUZSINSZKY 2009: 118). While we are all forced to make recourse to circumstantial evidence in reconstructing aspects of ancient

Mesopotamian history, I suspect that this particular point would have to be determined on the basis of a combination of dead-reckoning Babylonian regnal years from an explicit synchronism to a more securely fixed point in Assyrian chronology. My disagreements with Professor Maidman's take on the immediate successors of Burna-Buriaš II notwithstanding, the other aspects of his study, and especially his elucidation of Assyria's route to becoming a great power, are likely to remain fundamental to our understanding of that process.

The conclusions reached above are consistent with the scenario proposed in my earlier contribution, including a (possibly non-reigning) Karaindaš II and a short-lived Kadašman-Ḫarbe II as the successors of Burna-Buriaš II, and with restoring the *lacuna* in *Chronicle P* as naming Kurigalzu II as (probably) the uncle of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II, thereby avoiding contradiction with the sources naming Kurigalzu the son of Burna-Buriaš. I would like to stress that I am not advocating blind faith in the testimony of *Chronicle P*. This source, as it comes to us, is certainly late and at times faulty. But the available evidence suggests that much the same is true of the *Synchronistic History*. The realization of problems in the testimony of *Chronicle P* resulted in an overcorrection that placed too much faith in the *Synchronistic History* instead. The probable confusion over the identities of the Babylonian king Burna-Buriaš II and his successors in the *Synchronistic History*, matched by a similar confusion over the identity of the Assyrian king Adad-nārārī I in *Chronicle P*, suggests that we need to adopt a more cautious approach in the way we trust (and restore) the testimony of our sources. In this case, it is evident that neither source is entirely reliable, and favoring one over the other is, in effect, an overly simplistic solution. At the risk of seeming to advocate another overly simplistic solution, perhaps we should consider giving some priority to the Babylonian sources for details pertaining to Babylonia, and to the Assyrian sources for details pertaining to Assyria. Although this is certainly no failsafe approach, it seems consistent with the results suggested by this study.

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67) Piyamaradu in den Annalen Hattusilis III.? — Die fragmentarischen Annalen Hattusilis III. erwähnen, wie weithin bekannt, das Vordringen eines Feindes in Richtung des hethitischen Kernlandes. Bei seinem Vorstoss bemächtigte sich dieser verschiedener Gebiete, die im späteren Vertrag Tuthaliyas IV. mit Kuruntiya von Tarhuntassa als Teile jenes Landes galten oder mit ihm in unmittelbarer

Verbindung standen.¹ Dieser gefährliche Feind aus dem Westen konnte bisher nicht definitiv identifiziert werden, allerdings haben schon Singer und Heinhold-Krahmer vorgeschlagen, das in KUB 21.6 III 4' genannte fragmentarische Anthroponym zu *P[í-ia-ma-ra-du]* zu ergänzen.² Die vorliegenden Zeilen haben zum Ziel, eine neue Lesung zweier diesbezüglich relevanter Passagen, nämlich KUB 21.6a II 11' und KUB 21.31 Z.14', zur Diskussion zu stellen und dadurch die Identifikation des Feindes mit Piyamaradu zu bestärken. Die erste Stelle, KUB 21.6a II 11', wurde von Gurney [...] *x-x-x-kán UN-a[n ...]* gelesen, während Forlanini die entsprechenden Zeichen [...] *ma-al²-kán UN-a[n ...]* deutete.³

M.E. ist eine hier aber Ergänzung möglich, die es erlaubt die Passage besser in die historischen Gegebenheiten einordnen zu können.



Abb. 1: KUB 21.6a (Bo 3093) II 11' nach der Edition von Goetze (KUB 21)



Abb. 2: KUB 21.6a (Bo 3093) II 11' nach dem Foto hethiter.net/: PhotArch BoFN00397b



Abb. 3: KUB 21.6a (Bo 3093) II 11' nach dem Foto hethiter.net/: PhotArch N08987

Zu Beginn der erhaltenen Zeile scheint Goetze in der Edition, wie Forlanini (a.a.O.) ein MA erkannt zu haben, was auch durch die Fotos nahegelegt wird. Beim zweiten Zeichen sah Goetze offenbar die Köpfe zweier Senkrechten und links davon einen Waagrechten. Auf den Fotos lässt sich möglicherweise der Kopf eines zweiten Waagrechten ausmachen. Dies könnte zu Forlaninis AL passen, ebenso gut oder gar noch besser würde es aber mit RA übereinstimmen.

Das von Gurney, Forlanini und wohl auch Goetze übereinstimmend als KÁN identifizierte Zeichen lässt sich m.E. leicht anders interpretieren. Gegen die Interpretation als KÁN spricht zunächst, dass keine Senkrechten zu eruieren sind, obwohl beide Waagrechten, wie auf dem Foto zu sehen, in ihrer ganzen Länge gut erkennbar sind. Noch wichtiger allerdings ist, dass auf beiden Fotos unterhalb der zwei in der Edition wiedergegebenen Waagrechten relativ gut der Rest eines weiteren Waagrechten zu erkennen ist, der den Senkrechten berührt. Aus diesen Gründen ist eine Interpretation als KÁN eher unwahrscheinlich. Die Spuren der drei Waagrechten, deren oberster etwas kürzer ist, legen eher eine Lesung DU nahe.

Zuletzt dürfte links des MA ganz schwach der Kopf eines Senkrechten auszumachen sein. Dieser wurde offenbar auch schon von Goetze gesehen und könnte den Rest eines A resp. IA darstellen. Es lässt sich daher eine tentative Lesung *[A-NA^mPí-í]a²-ma-^rra-du^r UN-an [u-i-ia-nu-un]* vorschlagen.

Die Nennung eines Mannes im Akkusativ (UN-an) erinnert natürlich einerseits an KUB 21.6 III 9' *nu-uš-ši UN-an u-i-ia-[nu-un ...]* ‚und ich schickte ihm einen Mann‘ und andererseits, wie Singer anhand dieser letzten Stelle schon herausgestellt hat,⁴ an eine entsprechende Passage des sog. Tawagalawa-Briefes, in welchem der Absender des Briefes dem Piyamaradu auf dessen Wunsch den *TARTENU* schickt.⁵ Ein Zusammenhang zwischen diesen Episoden ist möglich, kann aber nicht gesichert werden, da gerade für die Piyamaradu-Affäre mehrere Belege für die Aussendung von Personen vorhanden sind.⁶ Sollte sich irgendwie erweisen lassen, dass es sich um dieselbe Begebenheit handelt, wäre damit auch die Datierungskontroverse um den Tawagalawa-Brief abgeschlossen. Der Brief liesse sich dann, wie mittlerweile von der Mehrheit der Forscher angenommen, auf Hattusili III. datieren.

Ein zweites kleines Fragment, KUB 21.31, das nur einseitig erhalten ist und den linken Rand einer Tafel bildet, kann möglicherweise in denselben Kontext eingeordnet werden.⁷

- 1' [x x x] x [...]...
 2' [x x] KUR¹ URU[...]...
 3' [KUR.]KUR^{HIA} URU^{Lu}[-uq-qa-a ...]
 4' [k]u-u-ru-ri-ia-[aḫ-ḫe-er ...]
 5' ḫu-u-ma-an-x[...]...⁸
 6' ḫar-ga-nu-er[...]...
 7' KUR.KUR^{HIA} URU^{Lu}[-uq-qa-a(?)...]...
 §
 8' ú-uk-ma^{m?} [...]...
 9' ú¹-uk I-N[A[?] ...]
 10' ge-nu-wa-aš [...]...
 11' nu-kán am-m[e-(e)-el ...]
 12' nu A-NA^D10 [...]...
 13' [k]a-a-ša-x[...]...
 14' [x]ia-m[a[?] ...]

Sein Text ist mit demjenigen von KUB 21.6a in gewissen Stellen vergleichbar. So bietet KUB 21.31 Z.3' [kur.]kurḫi.a uruLu[-uq-qa-a ...] gegenüber KUB 21.6a II 6' [kur.kurmeš/ḫi.a uruLu-u]q-qa-ia ḫu-u-ma-an-ta und KUB 21.31 Z.4' ku-u-ru-ri-ia-[aḫ-ḫe-er] gegenüber KUB 21.6a II 7' [ku-u-ru-ri-ia-]aḫ-ḫe-er sowie KUB 21.6a II 8' e-ep-[pir] und KUB 21.31 Z.6' ḫar-ga-nu-er. Es kann daher nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass sich das Fragment ebenfalls auf das in KUB 21.6a beschriebene Ereignis bezieht.



Abb. 4: KUB 21.31 (Bo 6963) Z. 14' nach der Edition von Goetze (KUB 21)



Abb. 5: KUB 21.31 (Bo 6963) Z. 14' nach dem Foto hethiter.net/: PhotArch BoFN00405a

Aus diesem Grund ist es möglich, dass auch in KUB 21.31 Z.14' der Name des Piyamaradu zu ergänzen ist. IA und MA sind v.a. am Foto relativ deutlich zu erkennen. Links des IA erkannte Goetze in der Edition offenbar den Rest eines Winkelhakens, was zu Pí passen könnte. Da bis zum linken Rand höchstens zwei Zeichen fehlen und ia-ma nicht zusammen in einer Partikelkette auftreten können, ist eine Ergänzung [^mP]i²-ia-ma[-ra-du] zwar spekulativ, aber durchaus erwägenswert.

Es wäre in der Folge anzunehmen, dass KUB 21.31 also ebenfalls zu den Annalen Hattusilis III. gehört.

* Ich danke Dr. Adam Kryszewski für die Bereitschaft meine Keilschrift-Fantasien mit mir zu diskutieren, sowie ebenfalls ihm und Yvonne Gander-Kunz, Barbara Holler und Sabrina Kutscher für ihre Korrekturen.

1) S. dazu GURNEY 1997, 132-139.

2) S. HEINHOLD-KRAHMER 1983: 97, SINGER 1983: 209, GURNEY 1997: 134.

3) GURNEY 1997: 130, FORLANINI 1998: 243.

4) SINGER 1983: 209.

5) KUB 14.3 I 8-9, s. SOMMER 1932: 2-3, BECKMAN/ BRYCE/ CLINE 2011: 102-103. Die Zeilen I 11-12 LU^{TAR-TE-NU-ma} Ú-UL A-NA LUGAL a-ia-wa-la-aš wurden von MILLER 2006: 242 „Ist aber der Kronprinz (tartennu) dem König nicht ebenbürtig?“ und von BECKMAN/ BRYCE/ CLINE 2011: 103 „But isn't the Crown Prince the social equal of the king?“ übersetzt. Selbstverständlich ist der Kronprinz aber nicht dem regierenden Grosskönig gleichgestellt. Daher ist zu überlegen, ob die Passage nicht übersetzt werden sollte: „Ist aber der TARTENU nicht einem König gleichgestellt?“ d.h. er ist nicht dem König (d.h. dem Grosskönig), sondern einfach einem König ebenbürtig. Beziehen könnte sich LUGAL also z.B. auf den König von Tummana, von Isuwa oder eben einen Vasallenkönig wie Piyamaradu es sein wollte. Die beiden Personen, Piyamaradu und der TARTENU, würden sich also auf Augenhöhe begegnen.

6) Neben KUB 21.6a II 11', KUB 21.6 III 9' und KUB 14.3 I 8-9 auch unpubl. Bo 3208a Z.2' nach Forrer 1926: 92: [...A-NA^mA]t-wa-a-ma UN-an u-i-ia[...]. Fuscagni 2007: 15 korrigierte kommentarlos zu A-NA^mA]t-pa-a-ma UN-an u-i-ia[...]. Sollte sich allerdings Forrers Lesung bestätigen, ist zu fragen, ob Atpa hier überhaupt genannt

ist. Bis zur definitiven Publikation des Textes sollte man m.E. besser [...]x-wa-a-ma UN-an u-i-ia[...] lesen, auch wenn unklar bleibt, wie wa-a-ma zu deuten ist. Das sich aufdrängende [I-NA KUR^{URU} Ah-ḫi-ia] u^u-wa-a-ma dürfte kaum mit dem von Forrer AT gelesenen Zeichen in Übereinstimmung zu bringen sein. Die Einordnung des Fragments in den historischen Kontext ist aber durch Z.3' nu-wa-aš-ma-aš ŠA^mPf-i[a-ma-ra-du ...] gewährleistet.

7) Das Fragment hat in der Forschung bisher, abgesehen von seiner Nennung von Lu[kka] oder ḫarganu-, wenig Beachtung gefunden (s. die teilweise Trakription bei Steiner 1993: 129 und zur Nennung von Lukka und harganu- vgl. die in „Groddeks Liste“ zum Text angegebene Literatur: D. Groddek, hethiter.net/: grodlist s.v. KUB 21.31 [v. 0.7]). Bei den von Groddek ebenfalls aufgeführten Verweisen auf Klengel, Horst: Syria, 3000 to 300 B. C.: A Handbook of Political History, Berlin 1992, S.170 Anm. 468, und Ertem, Hayri: Boğazköy Metinlerinde Geçen Coğrafya Adları Dizini, Ankara 1973, S.170 handelt es sich um Fehlzitate der Autoren, im ersten Fall für KUB 21.33, im zweiten für KUB 21.38.

8) Steiner 1993: 129 liest ḫu-u-ma-an-t[e-eš ...]

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68) The “Servants of Love” in the Shaushka-muwa Treaty — It is well known that the historical preamble of the treaty between Tudḫaliya IV, king of Ḫatti, and Shaushka-muwa, his vassal, king of Amurru (CTH 105),¹⁾ includes an important account concerning the historical situation around the time of the Battle of Qadesh fought between the Hittite king Muwattalli II and the Egyptian king Ramses II (ca. 1175 B.C.). The relevant part (A i 28–39) reads as follows:

But when Muwattalli, uncle of My Majesty, became King, the men of Amurru committed an offense against him, informing him as follows: “We were voluntary subjects. Now we are no longer your subjects.” And they went over to the King of Egypt. Then My Majesty’s uncle Muwattalli and the King of Egypt fought over the men of Amurru. Muwattalli defeated him, destroyed the land of Amurru by force of arms, and subjugated it. And he made Shapili king in the land of Amurru.²⁾

This text reports that when Muwattalli was enthroned as king of Ḫatti, the Amorites changed their allegiance from Ḫatti to Egypt. In their notice to him, the first sentence is written a-aš-ši-ya-an-na-aš-wa-an-na-aš IR.MEŠ e-šu-en (Il. 31f.), which Kühne and Otten translated as “Aus freien Stücken sind wir Vassallen gewesen,”³⁾ as followed by Beckman and Altman. Although this makes good sense in the context, that sentence literally means, “We were servants/slaves of love,” and, to the best of my knowledge, the Hittite noun aššiyatar (as well as its cognate aššiyawar), meaning “love,” is never used in the sense of “one’s free will” or the like. So, how can we explain this discrepancy between the literal meaning and the meaning expected from the context?

The key to this problem seems to be in a recently revised text, the ‘First’ Plague Prayer of Mursili II (CTH 378.1), with the new joins of KBo 50.184 and KBo 58.8. Now § 3 (Il. 16–22, omitting Il. 19b–20a)⁴⁾ reads:

But thereupon m[y] father wronged Tudḫaliya. The land of Ḫattusa, the princes, the noblemen, the commanders of the thousands and the officers, all of them went ov[er] to my father. They transgressed their oath to

Tudḫaliya, their¹ lord, and they killed him. ... And since Tudḫaliya was their lord, they were⁽²⁾ his servants in (lit. of) oath. And they broke yo[u]r oath, my lords, [and] they [kil]led Tudḫaliya.⁵⁾

This part depicts the *coup d'état* instigated by Suppiluliuma I and the murder of Tudḫaliya ‘the Younger,’ the legitimate nominee as successor to the throne of Ḫatti. The rebels who transgressed their loyalty oath to him (l. 18) are designated *l[i-in-ki-i]a-aš* İR.MEŠ-ŠU, “his servants of oath” (l. 21), i.e., those *by* the oath.⁶⁾ The Hittite *lingai-* (“oath”), as well as *išḫiul-* (“binding, bond”), is known as a term used not only for a ‘loyalty oath’ in a domestic setting as here, but also for ‘treaty’ in an international setting.⁷⁾ So, the Hittites would also have called their vassals such as the men of Amurru “servants of oath.”

In this respect, it is noteworthy that ‘love’ is known, along with ‘goodness’ and ‘peace,’ as belonging to treaty terminology,⁸⁾ and that the noun *aššiyyatar* seems to be used here to denote a treaty or amicable relationship based on a treaty.⁹⁾ So I think, the above “servants of love” is to be understood in this meaning, i.e., those bound *by* the treaty.

Thus, if we regard the “love” in the Shaushka-muwa treaty as referring to the vassal treaty between Ḫatti and Amurru,¹⁰⁾ the discrepancy between the literal and the contextually expected meanings can be well explained. That is, from the viewpoint of the vassals, obedience to the Hittite king was most probably conditional, binding only as long as the king adhered to the conditions of the treaty agreed upon by both parties. In their minds, if, for example, the overlord ill-treated the vassals, they could abandon it.¹¹⁾ This attitude toward the treaty seems to be the reason why the Amorites could declare to Muwattalli: “We were servants of love. Now we are no longer your servants.”

1) For this text see C. Kühne and H. Otten, *Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag* (StBoT 16), Wiesbaden, 1971; G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (WAW 7), Atlanta, 1999², 103–107.

2) Beckman, WAW 7, 104f. See also A. Altman, *The Historical Prologue of the Hittite Vassal Treaties: An Inquiry into the Concepts of Hittite Interstate Law*, Ramat-Gan, 2004, 440f.

3) StBoT 16, 6f.

4) See D. Groddek, “Anfang und Ende des Ersten Pestgebotes Muršilis II.,” *Res Antiquae* 6, 2009, 99; also B. Stavi, “The Genealogy of Suppiluliuma I,” *AoF* 38, 2011, 230f. Cf. I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (WAW 11), Atlanta, 2002, 61f.

5) Stavi, *AoF* 38, 231.

6) Or “in oath” as Stavi translated. Cf. also “seine Diener des E[*id*]*es* (= auf ihn vereidigte Diener)” (Groddek, *Res Antiquae* 6, 99); “person under oath, sworn ally, sworn vassal,” for *linkiyaš* (alone), *linkiyaš antuḫša-*, *linkiyaš* İR (CHD L, 66 [s.v. *lingai-*, mng. 1c-5’]).

7) Beckman, WAW 7, 2; idem, “International Law in the Second Millennium: Late Bronze Age,” in: R. Westbrook (ed.), *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law* 1 (HdO I/72-1), Leiden/Boston, 2003, 759f.; J. L. Miller, “Diverse Remarks on the Hittite Instructions,” *Colloquium Anatolicum* 10 (2011), 1–8. For the occurrences of *lingai-* see CHD L, 64–67 (mng. 1).

8) W. L. Moran, “The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 25 (1963), 77–83, esp. 79; M. Weinfeld, “Covenant Terminology in the Ancient Near East and Its Influence on the West,” *JAOS* 93 (1973), 191; M. L. Barré, “Treaties in the ANE.,” in: D. N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* VI, New York, 1992, 655a; M. S. Moore, “Big Dreams and Broken Promises: Solomon’s Treaty with Hiram in Its International Context,” *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 14 (2004), 211, 213–215. Cf. also W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore/London, 1992, xxiv n. 59.

9) *HW*² takes this occurrence as “‘Liebe’ in diplomatischen Verkehr” and, besides the literal translation, gives the following one: “Als die der Liebe (als solche, die liebten) waren wir Vassallen” (I, 404a [s.v. *aššiya-*, mng. IV.2]; cf. also p. 402a [mng. II.2a]).

10) This probably points to the treaty between Mursili II, father of Muwattalli, and Tuppi-Teshup, grandfather of Shaushka-muwa (CTH 62), if not the (unknown) renewed version between Mursili II and Benteshina, father of Shaushka-muwa.

11) Pace Altman, *The Historical Prologue*, 446. On the contrary, from the viewpoint of the Hittite king, their obedience to the overlord was expected to be unconditional (see Altman, *op. cit.*, 227–229). The same can be said of the domestic oath of loyalty to the king by his subjects, as is clearly discernible in the above account of the *coup d’état* against Tudḫaliya ‘the Younger’ by Suppiluliuma I: although written by Mursili II, Suppiluliuma’s own son, its tone is that of regret, even criticism.

69) Zu “CAPERE”(-)sa-ru-sa in der hieroglyphen-luwischen Inschrift İSTANBUL 2* – Das hieroglyphen-luwische Wort “CAPERE”(-)sa-ru-sa ist bisher nur in der Inschrift İSTANBUL 2 Seite C 1’ belegt: „[x]-[p]a-wa/i² “CAPERE”(-)sa-ru-sa | COR-ni x(-)tu-wa/i-si“, d.h. ‚plunder he/I x-ed for him/myself personally‘ (TAŞ – WEEDEN 2011: 56, 57; ihnen zufolge datiert die Inschrift ins 8. Jh. und stammt aus Tabal). Aufgrund des hieroglyphen-luwischen Zeichens CAPERE, das als Logogramm bzw. Determinativ für Verben wie ‚nehmen‘ und ‚bringen‘ verwendet wird, und der formalen Ähnlichkeit der syllabischen Sequenz sa-ru-sa zu heth. *šaru-* ‚Beute‘ (vgl. CHD Š2: 296) schlagen die Herausgeber vorsichtig vor, dass das Wort ‚plunder‘ bedeutet. Sie bestimmen die Form als Nom.-Akk. Sg. n. eines *u-* oder *t-* Stammes mit der zu diesem Kasus gehörenden Partikel *-sa* (TAŞ – WEEDEN 2011: 58).

Die Herausgeber betonen zu Recht, dass eine etymologische Verknüpfung der schwächste Typ der Argumentation bei der Bedeutungsbestimmung ist. David Sasseville (pers. Mitt.) hat uns allerdings darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass es auch ein möglicherweise dazugehöriges Glossenkeilwort gibt. Dabei handelt es sich um ein Hapax, das in der Form :ša-ru-uš-ša in einem Vogelarakeltext aus jh. Zeit (KUB 18.1 Vs./Rs. ii² 12’, CTH 557)¹⁾ mit einfachem Glossenkeil bezeugt ist. Ein Großteil der in den hethitischen Texten mit Glossenkeil markierten Wörter (darunter zahlreiche Hapax legomena) sind luwischen Ursprungs (vgl. bereits FORRER 1922: 215).²⁾ Sollte dies auch auf das vorliegende Wort zutreffen und besteht zudem eine Verbindung zwischen den beiden genannten Lexemen, würde die keilschriftliche Form die fehlende synchrone Evidenz zur formalen und semantischen Bestimmung von “CAPERE”(-)sa-ru-sa liefern und umgekehrt.

Starke 1990: 118 analysierte :ša-ru-uš-ša als Nom.-Akk. Pl. n. mit „Sekundärendung“ eines luwischen Wortes *šaruš-*, für das er aufgrund des Kontexts und der semantischen und formalen Ähnlichkeit zu heth. *šaru-* ebenfalls die Bedeutung ‚Beute‘ annimmt. Seiner Auffassung schlossen sich auch die anderen Forscher an (MELCHERT 1993: 192; ÜNAL 2007: 620; TISCHLER 2008: 165; CHD Š2: 300, dementsprechend erscheint das Wort auch in der Liste der Luwismen der hethitischen Texte von van den Hout 2007: 248 [nicht aber in der ähnlichen Liste von MELCHERT 2005], vgl. schon LAROCHE 1959: 87), mit der Ausnahme, dass die Form als Nom.-Akk. Sg. n. mit der in diesem Kasus im 2. Jt. oft vorkommenden Partikel *-ša/-za* zu bestimmen ist (s. schon MELCHERT 1993: 192; zu dieser Partikel s. jetzt JASANOFF 2010).

Damit steht uns eine keilschriftlich überlieferte Entsprechung von (“CAPERE”)sa-ru-sa zur Verfügung. Obwohl die begrenzte Beleglage und der in den beiden Fällen fragmentarische Kontext keine völlig gesicherte Identifizierung erlauben, ist die formale Übereinstimmung und die angenommene semantische Übereinstimmung bzw. Nähe zumindest bemerkenswert. Da die Bedeutungsangabe ‚Beute‘ in beiden Fällen voneinander unabhängig auch durch den militärischen Kontext (vgl. STARKE 1990: 118, CHD Š2: 300 bzw. TAŞ – WEEDEN 2011) unterstützt wird, untermauern die beiden Belege die jeweilige Bedeutungsangabe gegenseitig. Des Weiteren zeigt die Geminatio in *ša-ru-uš-ša*, dass (“CAPERE”)sa-ru-sa nicht als *u-* oder *t-* sondern als *s-* Stamm aufzufassen ist. Obwohl es rein theoretisch möglich wäre, dass es im Luwischen zwei Stämme, einen *s-* Stamm und einen *u-* oder *t-* Stamm, für das gleiche Wort gibt, erfordert Ockhams Rasiermesser eine einheitliche Kategorisierung der vorhandenen Belege, sofern keine zwingenden Argumente die Annahme zweier unterschiedlicher Formen erwarten lassen.

Somit bestätigen die beiden Belege formal jeweils gegenseitig die Existenz eines luwischen Lexems *sarus-*, dessen Semantik durch die ebenfalls ähnlichen Kontexte als ‚Beute‘ bestimmbar wird (was zusätzlich durch das heth. Wort untermauert wird). Die graphematisch etwas genauere keilschriftliche Wiedergabe zeigt zudem, dass es sich dabei um einen *s-* Stamm handelt, was aus der hieroglyphen-luwischen Schreibung allein nicht hervorgeht.

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

¹⁾ Textbearbeitungen des Fragments finden sich bei Archi 1975: 126 und auszugsweise bei SAKUMA 2009: 136, 248–249, 456–457, sowie in CHD Š2: 300.

²⁾ Dabei handelt es sich allerdings einerseits nicht um ein eindeutiges Identifizierungsmerkmal für Luwismen und andererseits gibt es in den hethitischen Texten auch zahlreiche unmarkierte Wörter luwischen Ursprungs (vgl. MELCHERT 2005: 446, YAKUBOVICH 2010: 372, 374). Zudem kann der Glossenkeil noch andere graphematische Funktionen haben, die sich nicht auf die verwendeten Ausdrücke (Einzellexeme oder Wortgruppen)

sondern auf die Textstruktur (Trennung oder Einrückung von syntagmatischen Einheiten oder Überschreibung von Formularabschnitten, vgl. dazu u.a. GÜTERBOCK 1956: 91, SOUČEK 1957-1971: 440, NEU 1996: 75, MILLER 2012: 98, KITAZUMI 2013: 89-93, GRODDEK 2015: 135 und speziell zu diesem Gebrauch den Vortrag von KITAZUMI 2016) beziehen. Die Glossenkeilwörter, der Gebrauch und das Funktionsspektrum der Glossenkeilmarkierung (auf graphischer, sprachlicher und stilistisch-pragmatischer Ebene) sowie deren chronologischen Entwicklung werden ebenfalls im Rahmen des Projekts „*Digitales philologisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der altanatolischen Kleinkorpussprachen*“ erforscht.

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70) Zum hieroglyphen-luwischen Zeichen *501 — Das hieroglyphen-luwische Zeichen *501 ist bisher nur in einem einzigen Verb (*ARHA* *501+*RA/I-ha-*) und zwar in insgesamt drei Stellen belegt (*KARATEPE* 1 § 13 [*ARHA* *501-*ha-há* (Ho.), *ARHA* l’*501’-[...]-*há* (Hu.)]; *TELL TAYINAT* 2 Frag. 6 [*ARHA* (PES₂)*501+*RA/I-ha-*]; *JISR EL HADID* Frag. 3. Z. 3 [*ARHA* l’*501-*ha-*]; vgl. HAWKINS 2000: 24, 60, 372, 380). Nichtsdestotrotz konnte seine Bedeutung dank des eindeutigen Kontexts von *KARATEPE* 1 § 13 (vgl. auch das Präverb *ARHA* ‚weg‘) ohne Probleme als ‚vertreiben‘ bestimmt werden (s. schon MERIGGI 1951: 72, 1962: 235, vgl. jetzt HAWKINS 2000: 50, 370, 379; PAYNE 2012: 39; MELCHERT 2016: 205; ACLT s.v. *parha-*).

Aufgrund der identischen Bedeutung und des identischen Stammauslauts (°rh-) hat jetzt Melchert 2016: 205-206 zu Recht dieses luwische Verb mit dem hethitischen Verb *arha* 'parh-, 'vertreiben' in Verbindung gebracht und seine Lautung als /parh-/ bestimmt (auch ACLT bucht dieses Verb s.v. *parha-* 'to drive').

Hier kann man allerdings noch einen Schritt weitergehen und auch die Lesung des Zeichens *501 bestimmen. *501 kann theoretisch sowohl ein Logogramm als auch ein Silbenzeichen (ggf. beide) darstellen. Entscheidend für die Identifizierung ist in unserem Falle die Form des Zeichens: im Gegensatz zu den oben zitierten gängigen Umschriften handelt es sich nämlich bei dem Zeichen vor <ha> in allen drei Fällen um das gleiche Zeichen. Aus seinem „Rücken“ ragt jeweils ein Dorn (d.h. das Zeichen <ra/i>) hervor. Deshalb muss das erste Zeichen in allen drei Belegstellen entweder als *501- oder als *501+ra/i- transliteriert werden. Diese Ligatur lässt sich mit einer gut bekannten Zeichengruppe des hieroglyphenluwischen Schriftsystems in Verbindung bringen, in der der Dorn einen Teil des Zeichens bildet und deren Lesung dementsprechend die allgemeine Struktur <KVra/i> aufweist (K= Konsonant, V= Vokal, ausführlich zu dieser Zeichengruppe s. jetzt Payne 2015: 35-36). Somit kann *501 als <para/i> umgeschrieben werden, genauer gesagt als <para/i₂>, da dieser Lautwert schon beim Zeichen *14 belegt ist.

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

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71) On the *sasinnu* in Nuzi — Recently, I. Peled, *Masculinities and Third Gender. The Origins and Nature of an Institutionalized Gender Otherness in the Ancient Near East*, AOAT 435, Münster 2016, 167, drew attention to the original reading of JEN 260: 13, a copy (1931) which clearly shows IGI *te-ḫi-ia* DUMU *a-ku-še-en-ni* LÚ *a-sí-en-nu*, “Witness: Teḫiya son of Akušenni, the *assinnu*”. Peled prefers to amend the reading, following, for example, CAD S (1984) 191b (but cf. CAD A/2 341b) and S.J. Andrews, *The šupe’ultu “Exchange” Transaction at Nuzi*, Unpublished Ph.Diss., Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion 1994, vol. 2, 141. In that way, he reads LÚ *sà¹-sí-en-nu*, “The bowmaker”. That correction had already been proposed by W. von Soden in AHW 1032a (1981) (*contra* AHW [1965] 76a), against I.J. Gelb, P.M. Purves, & A.A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, OIP 57, Chicago 1943, 151a. According to Peled (p. 167), the argument for the change is as follows:

“Since we have no other evidence of an *assinnu* having children, a mild scribal error such as writing erroneously *a* instead of *sà* could definitely be allowed for”.

Surprisingly, on p. 170, Peled suggests that

“The sole attestation of a *kurgarrû* [*sic.*] who had a son in the Nuzi contract can be explained as the result of adoption”.

The change to *sasinnu* instead of *assinnu* in JEN 260 is completely reasonable, with other arguments coming to support it. In the first place, as indicated by Peled himself (AOAT 435, 2016, 167),

the term *assinu* appears not to be attested in Nuzi. On the contrary (and in spite of what had been indicated by E.R. Lacheman, “Tablets from Arraphe and Nuzi in the Iraq Museum”, *Sumer* 32, 1976, 127), the term *sasinnu* is known in about twenty texts from the kingdom of Arraphe (see e.g. CAD S 191; AHw 1032a; W. Mayer, *Nuzi-Studien I. Die Archive des Palastes und die Prosopographie der Berufe*, AOAT 205/1, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978, 187–188; M.P. Maidman, “JEN 800-833: The Text Editions”, *KASKAL* 12, 2015, 45; none of those lists includes all the occurrences set out below). To the best of my knowledge, it seems to be a matter of the following cases, presented in alphabetical order:

- EN 9/3 51: 7–8, *i-na e-le-nu* / É.ĤI.A.MEŠ *ša* ¹*ar-na-wa-ar* LÚ ZADI[M]. This Ar-nawar would surely be the Ar-nawar s. Apaya attested in HSS 5 65: 16 below.
- EN 9/1 312: 2, 6 ANŠE ŠE.MEŠ ¹*ša-ar-te-ia* [LÚ] ZADIM *ša* GIŠ.BAN¹. For this Šarteya, see below HSS 13 274: 4.
- Genava 15 p. 9 no. 2: 8, *i-na e-li-it* É.ĤI.A *ša* ¹*e-te-ia* LÚ ZADIM.
- HSS 5 65: 16, IGI *ar-na-ma-ar* DUMU *a-pá-a sà-sf-ni*. See EN 9/1 51: 8 above.
- HSS 13 230: 29, ¹*ta-i-še-en-ni* LÚ ZADIM 3 ANŠE ŠE.MEŠ-*sú*.
- HSS 13 245 (= RA 36 p. 214): 8, 3 *ku-duk-tù* SÍG ¹*ši-im-tù* LÚ.MEŠ ZADIM KI.MIN. The only further Šimtu attested so far bears neither a patronymic nor a title (HSS 16 234: 7).
- HSS 13 274: 7, 4 MA.NA SÍG *a-na* ¹*ša-ar-te-a* ZADIM; 8, 4 MA.NA SÍG *a-na* ¹*ḥu-ti-ia* ZADIM. The *sasinnu* Šarteya is known in EN 9/1 312: 2 above. The *sasinnu* Ḥutiya in HSS 16 82: 13 below; E.R. Lacheman, *Personal Names from the Kingdom of Arraphe* [= PNKA], unpublished manuscript, H 484/192 indicates that it does appear also in SMN 1422B: 11, but I am not able to find the specific text.
- HSS 13 445+SMN 2822: 32, IGI ¹DUMU-^d30 LÚ *sà-sf-in-nu* *ša* GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ (see the CDLI photograph, no. P408605).
- HSS 14 221 (= HSS 13 586): 1–6, 5 *li-mi* G[I].MEŠ / *šu-ku-te iš-tu iš-ka₄-ri* / *ša a-na* ¹*ú-ná[p]-ta-e aš-bu* / *a-šar* ¹*ú-[náp]-ta-e* / LÚ ZADIM. Note that Lacheman, PNKA, U 119/57 reads the term as *aškapu*, that is, AŠGAB, but see a clear sign ZADIM in the CDLI photograph (no. P408764).
- HSS 15 71: 11, ¹*ú-na-[ap-te-šup]* ¹*še-en-ni* 2-mu-nu LÚ ZADIM; 12, ¹*a-u[r-xx]* [*e*]-*te-nu* LÚ ZADIM; 13, [¹xxx *e*]-*te-nu* LÚ ZADIM; 14, [¹xxx *e*]-*te-nu* LÚ ZADIM. Is it possible that ¹*ú-na-[ap-te-šup]* (E. Cassin & J.-J. Glassner, *Anthroponymie et anthropologie de Nuzi*, Malibu 1977, 158a) can be read as ¹*ú-na-[ap-ta-e]*, as with HSS 14 221?
- HSS 16 82: 13, 1 ANŠE ŠE ¹*ḥu-ti-ia* ZADIM GI. For this Ḥutiya, see HSS 13 274: 8 above.
- HSS 16 456: 8, 4 ANŠE ŠE.MEŠ *ša* ¹*tup-ki-ia* ZADIM.
- JEN 69: 13, IGI *a-lu-uš-ta-e* LÚ ZADIM DUMU *ar-nu-ur-[ḥe]*. A man named Aluš-Tae s. Arnu-urḥe is attested in other documents (JEN 99: 17, JEN 285: 22, JEN 922: 5), and in one case he is described as LÚ.GIŠ.BAN (JEN 921: 9 according to Lacheman, PNKA, A 292/2, and cf. HSS 15 22 in M.P. Maidman, *Nuzi Texts and Their Uses as Historical Evidence*, WAW 18, Atlanta 2010, 33–34; however, note that M.P. Maidman, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi VIII. The Remaining Major Texts in the Oriental Institute of the university of Chicago*, SCCNH 14, 2003, 78, did not recognize the traces).
- JEN 174: 9–10, IGI [*x*]-*ri-ku-un-ta* / DUMU [*ta*]-*r-mi-ia* LÚ *sà*(copy: *ḥa*)-*sí-in-ni*. Note that C.H. Gordon, “Fifteen Nuzi Tablets Relating to Women”, *Le Muséon* 48, 1935, 127 reads *ḥa-zi-in-ni* (“the mayor”).
- JEN 260: 13, IGI *te-ḥi-ia* DUMU *a-ku-še-en-ni* LÚ *sà*(copy: *a*)-*sí-en-nu*. Other attestations of Teḥiya s. Aku-šenni are HSS 5 63: 16, JEN 265: 9 and JEN 689: 21 (the *sasinnu*, see below).
- JEN 451: 17, IGI *ké-[x]* LÚ *sà-sí-nu*.
- JEN 689: 21–22, [IGI] *te-ḥi-ia* DUMU *a-ku-še-[e]*[*n-ni*] / LÚ *sà-sí-in-nu*. See comments to JEN 260 above.
- JEN 804: 15, [IGI xxx] LÚ *sà-[s]*¹*i-in-nu*. Is perhaps the PN to be read [*še-en-ni-ia*]?
- JEN 810: 36, IGI *ḥa-ši-ip-til-la* LÚ ZADIM. See below, comments to HSS 16 229 and JEN 858.
- *Sumer* 32 p. 142 no. 7: 2, ¹*a-ri-ḥa-ma-an-na* LÚ ZADIM *ša* GI.MEŠ.

Two other cases contain a reference to a *sasinnu* that has a certain degree of probability:

- HSS 16 229: 12–13, 1 ANŠE ŠE 1 ANŠE ZÍZ.MEŠ / *a-na* ¹*ḥa-ši-ip-til-la* ZADIM¹(transcription: AŠGAB). For that amendment, see the arguments of A. Fadhil, *Studien zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Provinzstädte des Königreichs Arraphe: fünfzig ausgewählte URU-Toponyme*, BaF 6, Mainz am Rhein 1983, 328a.
- JEN 858: 23, [IGI *ḥa*]-*ši-ip-til-[la]* LÚ ZADIM. The restitution, which is very probable, had already been proposed by Fadhil, BaF 6, 1983, 249b, and is based on the similarity between this document and JEN 810, which was recently highlighted afresh by Maidman, *KASKAL* 12, 2015, 70. See *contra* Andrews, Ph.Diss., 1994, vol. 2, 266.

I have excluded the occurrences of the Hurrian term *kelduḫlu*, probably meaning “bowmaker” too (see Th. Richter, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen*, Wiesbaden 2012, 206, with further bibliography). Note also that L. Oppenheim (“Métiers et professions à Nuzi”, *Revue des Études Sémitiques* 1939, 60) translated the term *sasinnū* as “tailleurs de pierre fines ou joailliers”.

According to the above mentioned data, there are various *sasinnū* that appear to be attested on more than one occasion: Ar-nawar s. Apaya (*EN* 9/3 51, *HSS* 5 65), Ḫutiya (*HSS* 13 274, *HSS* 16 82), Šarteya (*EN* 9/1 312, *HSS* 13 274), probably Ḫašip-Tilla (*JEN* 810, perhaps *HSS* 16 229, *JEN* 858), and Teḫiya s. Aku-šenni (*JEN* 260, *JEN* 689). That last case is the one that is of interest here. Although paleographically the copy of *JEN* 260 may seem ambiguous, that is not the case with *JEN* 689, where the copy clearly shows *sà-sī-in-nu*. Peled (*AOAT* 435, 2016, 167) correctly identified the latter reading, but did not realize that it was the same person who appears in *JEN* 260. It is possible that in *CAD* A/2 341b, which reads *JENu* 880 = *JEN* 689: 14 (?) LÚ *a-zi-in-nu*, it was observed that the person was the same, and taking account of *JEN* 260, it was decided to amend the reading of *JEN* 689 – which would have been done incorrectly and with the correction not being properly indicated.

Similarly, it will be observed that there is another case in which the term appears to be wrongly written, *JEN* 174 (scribe: Iškur-andul), where the copy clearly shows *ḫa*, not *sà*. The same thing may have happened in *JEN* 260 (scribe: Baḫu-kašid s. Apil-Sîn), given that ZA is a sign that can easily be confused with A and ḪA. It is also possible that a collation of *JEN* 260 may show that, in reality, the copy is wrong and that the reading should be *sà-sī-en-nu*, meaning that the problem would disappear of its own accord: in the Nuzi texts, i.e. the kingdom of Arrapḫe, *assinnū* would not be attested.

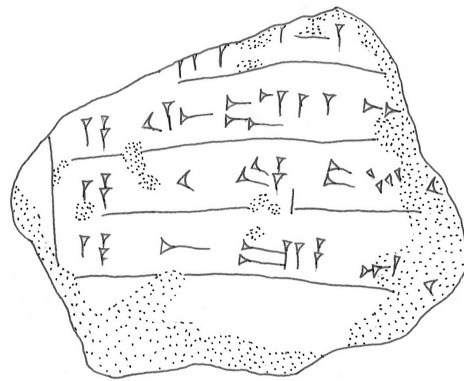
* I thank Prof. Brigitte Lion (Université Lille 3) for her helpful remarks and comments.

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72) Ein Fragment eines Tonnagels aus Assur¹⁾ — Im Rahmen einer Lehrveranstaltung wurde ich auf ein Tonobjekt aufmerksam gemacht, das nach Angaben des Besitzers aus Assur stammt und sich seit den 1970er Jahren in einer Wiener Privatsammlung befindet. Es handelt sich um ein Fragment (ca. 6 x 5 cm) vermutlich vom Kopf eines Tonnagels²⁾. Es ist leicht gewölbt, vollständig an der Rückseite und leicht an der Vorderseite abgeschlagen und abgerieben. Erhalten sind vier Zeilen. In der ersten Zeile sind nur einzelne Zeichenreste erkennbar³⁾, in den drei Folgezeilen ist der Beginn erhalten. Die linke Seite wird durch eine Senkrechte begrenzt.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | [E ₂ .GAL ^d aš-šur-PAB-A MAN KIŠ
MAN KUR AŠ] ⁴⁾ | [(Eigentum des) Palasts des Aššur-nāšir-apli (II.), König der Gesamtheit, König von Assyrien] |
| 2. | A GIŠKIM- ^d [MAŠ MAN KIŠ MAN
KUR AŠ] | Sohn von Tukultī-[Ninurta (II.), (dieser ebenfalls) König der Gesamtheit, König von Assyrien] |
| 3. | A 10-ERIN ₂ .TAH ₂ M[AN ŠU ₂ MAN
KUR AŠ] | Sohn von Adad-nārārī (II.), Kö[nig des Universums, König von Assyrien] |
| 4. | A AŠ-KAL ^a [ⁿ MAN ŠU ₂ MAN KUR
AŠ-ma] | Sohn von Aššur-dān (II.), [(dieser ebenfalls) König des Universums, König von Assyrien ...] |

Dieses Fragment ist einer Gruppe Tonnägeln mit fast völlig identischer Inschrift (inklusive der für Inschriften von Aššur-nāšir-apli II. unüblichen Nennung von drei Generationen seiner Vorgänger⁵⁾) aus Assur (von GRAYSON 1991 unter Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.114 zusammengefasst) zuzurechnen.



1) Ich danke dem Besitzer herzlich für die Erlaubnis, das Fragment zu studieren und zu publizieren, sowie Nicla de Zorzi für die Kamera.

2) Vgl. das Foto von Ass. 10297 in ANDRAE 1974: 168 (Abb. 287). Zur Inschrift s.a. GRAYSON 1976: 202-203, JAKOB-ROST 1982: 159 (Nr. 46) sowie DONBAZ – GRAYSON 1984: 25.

3) Möglicherweise der Teil eines PAB sowie ein halbes A, oder einige Keile der Variantenschreibung des Königsnamen aš-šur-PAB-DUMU-UŠ (zu den Schreibvarianten s. RADNER 1998: 203-207, v.a. 206-207 zur Schreibung in königlichen Inschriften).

4) Ergänzung des fehlenden Textes nach GRAYSON 1991: 366.

5) Aššur-dān wird in wenigen Texten Aššur-nāšir-aplis erwähnt (Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.1, Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.17, Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.20 sowie Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.20), allerdings lediglich im erstgenannten Text mit A für „Sohn“.

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73) Marduks Reisen - eine neue chronologische Betrachtung — Die Entführung der Kultstatue von Marduk durch Tukultī-Ninurta I., angegeben von der Chronik P (iv 12) mit [80]+6 Jahren, und ihre erneute Abführung einige Zeit darauf nach Elam zu einem Zeitpunkt, zu dem nach herkömmlicher Meinung sie noch gar nicht aus Assur zurückgekehrt sein konnte, stellt eines der merkwürdigsten Synchronisierungsprobleme dieser Periode dar. Aus Sicht des Autors ist dieses Problem in erster Linie eher ein Wahrnehmungsproblem der Forschung und hat nicht das Geringste mit einer tatsächlichen Widersprüchlichkeit der historischen Quellen zu tun.

Eine gute Zusammenfassung des derzeit vorhandenen Konsenses zum Thema erhält man in dem Artikel von Johnson¹⁾. Demnach sollte die von den Elamern entführte Statue nicht identisch mit der von Tukultī-Ninurta I. aus der Esagila nach Assyrien abgeführten gewesen sein. Stattdessen wäre sie eine der bekanntlich in den anderen Tempeln Babylons existierenden Marduk-Statuen²⁾, die als Ersatz hergehalten habe. Diese rettende Annahme ist allerdings ebenso unbewiesen, wie auch in erwiesenem Widerspruch mit den Inschriften Nebukadnezars I., die in neo-assyrischer Kopie vorliegen.

Betrachtet man kurz die konsensuelle Reihenfolge der Ereignisse rund um die Marduk-Statue, dann ist die Schlussfolgerung unvermeidlich, dass die nach Assyrien entführte Statue Marduks, nach der Entführung ihres vermeintlichen Doppelgängers nach Elam, nach Babylon zurückkehrte. Angesichts dessen, dass keine Tradition bezüglich einer weiteren Entführung der Statue besteht, dürfte seine Statue

zur Zeit Nebukadnezars I., noch vor dessen berühmten elamitischen Feldzug sich in der Esagila befunden haben. Dies wird von allen Texten, die auf Nebukadnezar I. zurückgeführt werden können, widerlegt. Eine Zusammenfassung der Situation unmittelbar nach dem Überfall von Kutir-Nahhunte III., der zur Abschleppung der Marduk-Statue aus Babylon führte, bietet der Text B.2.4.8. Zeilen 15-24 dessen für die Diskussion relevanten Stellen ich hier auszugsweise wiedergebe.

„Zu jener Zeit, während der Regierung eines früheren Königs... der Herr (Marduk) wurde erbost und (voller) Zorn. Er befahl und das Land wurde von seinen Göttern verlassen... Die Hüter des Friedens wurden erbost und gingen hinauf auf das Gewölbe des Himmels... (Das Volk) wurde wie jene, die keinen Gott haben... Der niederträchtige Elamer... trug die Götter weg und verwandelte die Heiligtümer in Ruinen.“

Wie man dies bereits aus der Marduk-Prophezeiung (K. 2158+) kennt, werden die Reisen Marduks als von diesem selbst befohlen dargestellt. Kutir-Nahhunte ist bloß das Werkzeug dafür. Insofern ist der Rückzug der Götter auf das Gewölbe des Himmels das Ergebnis der Abschleppung ihrer Götterbilder nach Elam. Ohne Vermittlung ihrer Götterbilder sind die Götter für die Gläubigen bestenfalls am Himmel noch als Sterne sichtbar.

Glaubt man, dass infolge der anschließenden Rückgabe der von Tukultī-Ninurta I. abgeschleppten Statue mittlerweile in der Esagila erneut eine Statue Marduks stand, wird man durch die Inschrift B.2.4.5 Zeilen 5-12 eines Besseren belehrt.

„Hab Mitleid mit mir, einer der niedergeschlagen ist und nieder[geworfen]! Hab Mitleid mit meinem Land, welches weint und trauert! Hab Mitleid mit meinem Volk, welches klagt und weint! O Herr von Babylon, wie lange wirst Du noch im Land deines Feindes wohnen? Mögest Du dich an das schöne Babylon erinnern! Wende Dein Gesicht zurück auf die Esagila, welche Du liebst!

Der Herr von Babylon [hörte den Gebeten von] Nebukadnezar und seine [Antwort] kommt zu diesem herunter aus dem Himmel: „[...mi]t (meinem eigenen) Mund sprach ich zu Dir. [Anweisungen] die Glück (verheißten), habe ich Dir geschickt...“.

Wäre zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits eine Götterstatue in der Esagila vorhanden, würden bei Rückkehr der zweiten Statue sich zwei Statuen des Gottes dasselbe Heiligtum teilen müssen – eine Situation die sich in keiner historischen Quelle widerspiegelt und eine unakzeptable Vorstellung sein dürfte. Dies ergibt sich jedoch aufgrund der bisher geltenden geschichtlichen Rekonstruktionen. Laut B.2.4.9, Zeile 19-20, wurde die aus Elam rückkehrende Statue ebenfalls in der Esagila untergebracht:

„Kasulim, sein herrschaftlicher Schrein, wurde hell, gefüllt mit Freude.“

Dasselbe ist für die aus Aššur zurückkehrenden Statue auch anzunehmen, da zum Zeitpunkt ihrer Rückführung die Esagila keine andere Kultstatue besaß und sie die ursprüngliche aus der Esagila entführte Statue gewesen war. Ironischerweise befasst sich keine einzige historische Diskussion des Themas mit diesem Problem.

Zu allem Überflus scheint zwischen König und Gott zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch kein visueller Kontakt zu bestehen. Die Wiederentdeckung Szene der Statue in Elam, B.2.4.7, Zeilen 23-26, betont ganz im Gegensatz dazu Nebukadnezars „Sehen“ und „Berühren“ des Gottes:

„Ich eilte fort und [...] sah den Gott Marduk, den erhabenen Helden der Götter. Ferner, die Götter des Landes [denen er das Land zu verlassen] befahl [...] wurden mit ihm gesehen. ... [Ich ergriff] die Hand des großen Herren, [des Gottes Marduk und] ließ ihn den Weg in sein (eigenes) Land nehmen.“.

B.2.4.9, Zeile 7-8 bestätigt diese Beobachtung:

„So lang bis ich seine erhabene Figur (in Elam) sah, verließ mich der Trübsinn, täglich ohne Ende, nicht.“.

Vielmehr hat es den Anschein, dass der Kontakt zwischen Nebukadnezar und Marduk in B.2.4.5 vor der Entdeckung seiner Statue in Elam sich ausschließlich auf ein astrologisches Omen beschränkt, wofür ja die Antwort des Gottes, wie in B.2.4.5 ausdrücklich erwähnt, aus dem Himmel kommen muss. Ein astrologischer Bericht von Nabû-mušiṣi an Aššurbanipal³⁾ zitiert aus einer astrologischen Omensammlung namens „als Nebukadnezar Elam zerstörte“. Möglicherweise besteht zwischen dieser Omensammlung und dem aus dem Himmel kommenden Befehl Marduks („seine [Antwort] kommt zu diesem

herunter aus dem Himmel“) eine unmittelbare Beziehung. Auch die etwas verkürzte Wiedergabe desselben Kontakts in B.2.4.7, Zeilen 5-10, bietet keinen Grund diese Deutung in Frage zu stellen:

„[Was den großen Herren, den Gott Marduk angeht, der] mit allen Heiligtümern zürnte, [...] solltet ihr wissen (dass) er [eingelenkt hat und] Mitleid mit Babylon hat. [Er befahl mich in die Esagila ein], dem ehrfurchtgebietenden Heiligtum, (und) er gab mir einen großartigen Auftrag, usw.“

Ein weiterer, wenn nicht gar zur gleichen Kollektion zugehöriger astrologischer Text, der sich mit dem Aufenthalt der Marduk-Statue in Elam beschäftigt, wird von Brinkmann mit Berufung auf Virolleaud⁴⁾ erwähnt. Dieser Text beziffert die zeitliche Länge des Aufenthalts von Marduk in Elam mit nur 30 Jahren. Diese Distanzangabe ist mit der Vorstellung der gleichzeitigen Abschleppung der Statue und des Enlil-nādin-aḫe vollkommen inkompatibel. Allein schon die Summe der Regierungsjahre der Herrscher zwischen Enlil-nādin-aḫe und Nebukadnezar I. beläuft sich auf 33 Jahre. Zudem fand der erfolgreiche Feldzug, der die Rückführung der Statue ermöglichte mit absoluter Sicherheit nicht gleich am Anfang der Regierungsperiode Nebukadnezars I statt.

Man kann diese Distanzangabe selbstverständlich entweder ernstnehmen und benutzen um die vielen Widersprüche, die sich um die Rekonstruktion dieses Ereignisses angehäuft haben, zu beseitigen, oder stattdessen sie zu den vielen historischen Angaben, die man gar nicht so genau nehmen sollte, dazutun. Brinkmann⁵⁾: „but such traditions were not designed to be chronological in a strict sense“.

In Wirklichkeit ist die Annahme, dass es keine erneute Eroberung Babylons durch Kutir-Nahḫunte III. nach der Abschleppung des Enlil-nādin-aḫe gab, und dass sowohl die Abführung der Statue wie auch des Enlil-nādin-aḫe zeitlich zusammenfielen, durch die Quellenangaben nicht abgedeckt.

1. Die Walker Chronik 12-18 verzeichnet eine spätere elamitische Eroberung Babylons:

„[Itti-Marduk-balātu?] griff an und beseitigte den König von Mari während eines Aufstands. [Itti-Marduk-balātu?] dominierte Mari. [...] Ang[ist] vor Elam befahl ihn und [...] an dem Ufer des Euphrats baute er eine Stadt und [...] von Sumer und Akkad brachte er darin unter. [Itti-Marduk-balātu?] war abgeschnitten und das mangelnde und hungernde Volk wurde ärmer [...] Sie ermordeten ihn in einem Aufstand.“⁶⁾

Die hier beschriebenen Szenen erinnern durchaus an die kanibalistischen Vorfälle in der sogenannten Marduk-Prophezeiung, welche die Umstände der Entführung der Marduk-Statue schildert.

Der Name des elamitischen Königs, der diese erneute Notsituation in Babylon hervorrief ist unbekannt. Ebenso wenig teilen uns die Inschriften des Nachfolgers von Kutir-Nahḫunte III., Šilḫak-Inšušinak I., die Namen des babylonischen Königs mit dem der gekämpft habe mit. Es ist durchaus denkbar, dass diese vielleicht mehrjährige Belagerung noch durch Kutir-Nahḫunte III. angefangen und durch dessen Bruder fortgesetzt wurde.

2. Die Aufzählung der Verbrechen von Kutir-Nahḫunte III. in B.2.4.6 kann (mit den bekannten Folgen) ebenso gut als eine nach strikten chronologischen Kriterien organisierte Schilderung, wie auch als eine nur der Bedeutungsperspektive verschuldete Reihenfolge betrachtet werden. Zeilen 9-13:

„Er verwandelte sämtliche ihrer erhabenen [Heilig]tümer [zu Ruinen]. Er ließ [den Gott Marduk], den großen [Her]ren, von [seinem] Sitz aufstehen. Er nahm [nach Elam] als Beute [alle Götter] von Sumer und Akkad. [...] er führte Enlil-nādin-aḫe [nach Elam ab ih]n (und) beseitigte seine Regierung.“

Es gibt nicht die geringsten Anzeichen, dass zumindest im Thronbesteigungsjahr des Itti-Marduk-balātu oder unter dessen Vorgängern, wie von Nebukadnezar I. in seinen Inschriften beschworen, irgendwelche Götterstatuen außer diejenige von Marduk selbst Babylon verlassen hatten. Die einzige von Itti-Marduk-balātu erhaltene königliche Inschrift, B.2.2.1, bezeichnet ihn als Auserwählten der Götter Anu und Dagan, ebenso auch als Vizekönig für die Götter Enlil und für die Göttin Ninlil. Bemerkenswerter Weise fehlt da aus naheliegenden Gründen ausgerechnet der Name Marduks.

Dies kann jedoch nicht auf die mangelnde Bedeutung Marduks unter Itti-Marduk-balātu zurückgeführt werden, zumal sowohl Itti-Marduk-balātu, wie auch sein Vorgänger, sich auf Marduk in ihren Namen berufen. Man kann das lediglich auf die Tatsache zurückführen, dass die Statue Marduks als diese Inschrift von Itti-Marduk-balātu gestiftet wurde sich noch in Aššur befand.

Akzeptiert man die Wahrhaftigkeit der Schilderung der Inschriften B.2.4.5 – 9, dann ist es unumgänglich anzunehmen, dass alsbald nach der Rückführung der Statue Marduks durch Ninurta-Tukulti-Aššur im Thronbesteigungsjahr des Itti-Marduk-balātu⁷⁾ ein erneuter Überfall von Kutir-Nahḫunte III. gefolgt sei, als jener tatsächlich sämtliche Götter von Sumer und Akkad nach Elam abgeführt habe. Damit wären sowohl die 30-jährige Zeitspanne des Aufenthalts Marduks in Elam, wie auch die anderen bisher suboptimal eingehaltenen Rahmenbedingungen bestens erfüllt.

Der Hinke kudurru, aus dem 16^{ten} Regierungsjahr Nebukadnezars I. könnte auch nach Ansicht von Brinkmann⁸⁾ durchaus auf den gerade noch frischen Sieg des Königs über die Elamer anspielen:

„(Enlil) zerschmetterte die Waffe in der Hand des Feindes und legte die Zügel seines Feindes in seine Hand.“

Da der Hinke kudurru noch nicht die geringste Aussage zu Marduk enthält, ist es nicht auszuschließen, dass Marduks Rückführung zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch ausstand. Zugleich zwingt uns der Hinke kudurru dadurch, die Rückkehr der Statue Marduks nicht vor das 16te Regierungsjahr Nebukadnezars I. anzusetzen.

Nähme man daher ein Datum spät während des 16ten Regierungsjahrs als etwaigen Ansatz für die Rückkehr Marduks aus Elam an, erhielte man (bei einer wortwörtlichen Übernahme der 30-jährigen Zeitspanne) ein Datum des elamitischen Überfalls im ersten oder im zweiten Regierungsjahr von Itti-Marduk-balātu, also fast gleich nach der Rückkehr der Statue aus Assyrien. Möglicherweise gerade die Rückführung der Statue und das dadurch übertrieben gestärkte babylonische Selbstbewusstsein haben eine erneute Antwort des sich immer noch als Herrscher Babyloniens gerierenden Kutir-Nahḫunte III. herausgefordert.

Damit zeigt es sich wieder, wie zu erwarten, dass keine geschichtliche Rekonstruktion ohne Berücksichtigung des gesamten verfügbaren historischen Materials möglich ist.

1) JOHNSON, 2013, 113-117. Sämtliche Zitatstellen FRAME, 1995.

2) GEORGE, 1997, 65-70.

3) THOMPSON, 1900, Nr. 200.

4) BRINKMANN, 1976, 9, N. 5 und 29, N.85. VIROLLEAUD, Sin IV 21-22.

5) BRINKMANN, 1976, 29, N.85.

6) Für die Identifikation des besagten Königs, dessen Name in der Walker Chronik verlorengegangen ist, BANYAI 2015. Es ist anhand des Schicksals dieses Königs, erschlagen von seinen eigenen Untertanen, zwischen ihm und Enlil-nādin-aḫe zu unterscheiden.

7) Die Details der Synchronisierung zwischen Itti-Marduk-balātu und Ninurta-Tukulti-Aššur in BANYAI, 2015 und in der dazugehörigen Addenda und Corrigenda.

8) BRINKMANN, 1968, 105.

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74) On the *Sitz im Leben* of Esarhaddon's "Apology" — In a recent paper Andrew Knapp claims that the failure of Esarhaddon's first campaign against Egypt in the seventh year of his reign (673 BCE) was the *Sitz im Leben* of Esarhaddon's "Apology" and caused its composition (KNAPP 2016). This conclusion is correct but represents only a part of the picture, and as such blurs the wider historical context. Beside the "Apology", composed fourth months after the defeat, Esarhaddon undertook other activities in order to strengthen his legitimacy, such as his campaign against Shubria that culminated with the composition of the "Letter to the god Ashur", as well as ceremonies in Assyria proper and beyond its borders involving the loyalty oath sworn to his two successors. Within eleven months three works – the "Apology", the "Letter to the god Ashur" and the Esarhaddon Succession Treaty – were composed. Each of them is a masterpiece and a model for comparison with other works of its kind. All of them reflect the political and propagandistic efforts needed after the Egyptian debacle. This grave event threatened the stability of the rule (both Esarhaddon's in Assyria, and Assyria's over the entire empire) and demanded a **combined** military (the campaign against Shubria and its conquest), political and administrative (the Succession Treaty), and propagandistic (the "Apology") activity. Hence, the "Apology" is only **one part** of this **combined** effort (see TADMOR 2004 and EPHA'L 2014).

The political pressure on Esarhaddon's kingship was relieved to a great extent only with the conquest of Egypt in his tenth year. The main expressions of this great victory are Prism S and the Zincirli and Til Barsip reliefs (see EPHA'L 2005). However, evidence from chronicles (and perhaps also from letters) regarding the killing of many officials by Esarhaddon's order in year 11 indicate that even the tremendous achievement of the conquest of Egypt was insufficient for removing the danger of overthrowing Esarhaddon's rule (on the fragility of the institution of kingship in the ancient Near East, see EPHA'L and EPHA'L-JARUZELSKA, forthcoming).

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75) Esarhaddon Ashur-Babylon A: K 18057 joined to K 2801+K 3053+DT 25 — The inscription Esarhaddon Ashur-Babylon A reports the refurbishing of Marduk's image, and also includes the ominous signs that urged the Assyrian king to do so. The process began with the prayer of Esarhaddon, followed by an extispicy to determine the selection of the craftsmen and temple-workshop where it was to be undertaken, and, finally, the realization of this project, as well as several other religious ones, in both Babylonia and Assyria. The inscription was published by MEISSNER and ROST 1898 (228–241, 287–309) based on two manuscripts, each of which appeared on a large one-column tablet (K 2801+K 3053+DT 252 [21x14.4cm]; K 221 + K 2669 [20.5x14cm], which were cataloged in this way earlier by BEZOLD 1891: 477; 1889: 58). More than half a century later, these two manuscripts were republished by BORGER 1956: 78-85, who considered it the main example of the Ashur-Babylon group, and tagged it AsBbA. Toward the end of the last century, LAMBERT 1992: 7 identified a tiny fragment (K 18057 [2.1x0.9cm]) bearing part of this inscription, and some twenty years later it was numbered by LEICHTY 2011: 103 #48) as exemplar no. 3 of this inscription (cf. recently NOVOTNY 2014: 94 n. 24).

Studying the text of the royal prayer reported in the inscription, I consulted the images provided by the website of CDLI (P394681 [K 2801+][<http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P394681.jpg>] and P403324 [K 18057][<http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P403324.jpg>]) and realized that these are parts of one and the same tablet. K 18057 has two lines: the first has two and a half signs: *uz-nu šir*¹ and the second has three and a half signs: *li-šam-si-ku*₁, being the missing beginnings of lines 19 and 20 of the reverse of K 2801+ (Il. 70-71 of LEICHTY 2011: 107 #48):



(An edited image based on two CDLI images)

The content of the missing beginnings of the lines has previously been restored by the second manuscript, K 221+ obv. 53'-54', which also made Lambert's identification possible. The join is confirmed by the fact that two broken signs have their missing pieces on the other side of the contact line: *ši/r* and *k/u* and possibly also *ši* that follows. That this is indeed a new join was kindly confirmed by Dr. Jon Taylor of the British Museum at my request (August 19, 2016).

The new join not only reduces the number of extant manuscripts of Aššur-Babylon A from three to two, it also allows a better reading of the second line. The earlier editions of the inscription are ambiguous concerning the existence of an AŠ sign (*ina*) before the sign *ši* (of *ši-pir*) at the old beginning of K 2801+ line 20 (K 221+ is broken in this point). While MEISSNER and ROST 1898: 234 reported its existence, BORGER 1956: 82 put it in square brackets, and then LEICHTY 2011: 107 deleted the brackets altogether, confirming the existence of the *ina*. It is now clear that there is no room for any sign between the word *li-šam-si-ku* and *ši-pir*. Thus the last sentence of the prayer should now be read as follows:

ina qí-bi-ti-ku-nu šir-ti mim-ma lip-ta-at ŠU.II-šú-un²⁰ li-šam-si-ku ši-pir^d nin-ši-kù

(Then,) by your exalted command, may they - the messengers of the god Niššiku - remove whatever being their handiwork!

This translation of Esarhaddon's request and the theology reflected in it will be discussed in detail elsewhere.

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76) Bīt-Jakin in der Sargonidenzeit — Sargon II. annektierte Bīt-Jakin ins assyrische Reich, indem er dessen ganzes weites Land zu gleichen Teilen aufteilte und dem Statthalter von Babylonien und dem Statthalter von Gambulu unterstellte (FUCHS 1993, 77, 309 XIV 19-20; 263-264, 360 S4 49-54). Später, als Sanherib die Rebellion von Bīt-Jakin unterdrückt hatte, setzte er vermutlich kurz nach 689 v.Chr. Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir über Bīt-Jakin ein (FRAHM 1997, 146). Offensichtlich war Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir der Vasallenkönig von Sanherib, denn in der Inschrift des Asarhaddon wird berichtet, dass dieser nach dem Tod Sanheribs den Vasallenvertrag mit Assyrien brach (LEICHTY 2011, 15 Nr. 1 [Nin. A] ii 40-42). Merkwürdig daran ist, dass er in dieser Inschrift "Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir, der Sohn des Marduk-aplu-iddina, der Statthalter des Meerlandes" – in den Königsinschriften von Asarhaddon und Aššurbanipal wird Bīt-

Jakin als Meerland bezeichnet – genannt wird (LEICHTY 2011, 15 Nr. 1 [Nin. A] ii 40). Zur Frage, warum er trotz des Status eines Vasallenkönigs als “Statthalter” bezeichnet wird, ist bis jetzt in der Forschung noch keine überzeugende Interpretation vorgelegt worden (BRINCKMAN 1984, 72; FRAME 2007², 66; FRAME 2013, 116). Doch wird dieser Sachverhalt klarer, wenn man davon ausgeht, dass Nabû-zêr-kitti-lîšir von Sanherib der Titel des assyrischen Statthalters gegeben wurde und dass er nominell als assyrischer Statthalter behandelt wurde, um so das Meerland nicht realiter, aber „ideell“ zu annektieren. Die durch Sanherib von der Provinz zum Vasallenstaat transformierte Herrschaftsform in Meerland wurde von seinen Nachfolgern Asarhaddon und Aššurbanipal übernommen. Asarhaddon berichtet, dass er statt Nabû-zêr-kitti-lîšir den Na'id-Marduk im Meerland einsetzte und ihm den jährlichen Tribut auferlegte (LEICHTY 2011, 16 Nr. 1 [Nin. A] ii 62-64). Auch berichtet Aššurbanipal im Zusammenhang mit der Unterdrückung der von Šamaš-šumu-ukīn angeführten Rebellion gegen Assyrien, dass er die auf der Seite von Šamaš-šumu-ukīn stehenden Bewohner von Akkad, Chaldäa, Aramu und Meerland niederschlug und neue Statthalter und *qêpu*-Funktionäre über sie einsetzte, indem er ihnen regelmäßige Opfer für die assyrischen Götter und jährlichen Tribut und Abgaben auferlegte (BORGER 1996, 45, 235 Prisma A iv 97-109).

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77) Quelques suggestions sur les toponymes “édomites” du Cylindre Rassam (Prisme A) d’Assurbanipal — Le Cylindre Rassam (Prisme A), en racontant la campagne transjordanienne d’Assurbanipal contre les Arabes, mentionne deux noms de lieux localisés dans Édom: 108) *ina gi-ra-a* ^{uru}*a-z/ša-ar-DINGIR* 109) ^{uru}*hi-ra-ta-a-qa-z/ša-a-a* *ina* ^{uru}*ú-du-me*, “dans le *girâ* d’Azšarilu, Hīratāqaz/šaya dans Édom” (texte: BORGER 1996: 61-2; traductions: WEIPPERT 1973-4: 40-2; ARAB II: 313-4; BORGER 1996: 245). L’emplacement de ces deux toponymes n’est pas encore élucidé.

C’est la seule occurrence du toponyme Hīratāqaz/šaya dans les sources néo-assyriennes. Il est probable que ce soit un nom composé, Hīratā-qaz/šaya. Gottheil suggérait que le premier élément fût rattaché au syriaque *hīrtā*², “camp” (1898: 202), sans s’interroger sur la difficulté que présente cette formulation. Shahīd a montré de façon convaincante que *hīrtā*² n’est pas un mot commun en syriaque et en fait n’a pas d’antécédents dans l’araméen ancien ou targumique, ni, faut-il ajouter, dans d’autres langues sémitiques du II^e-I^{er} mill. av. n.è. Ce mot n’est donc attesté que dans le palmyrénien *hyrt*², “camp, citadelle”, et — ce qui est moins probable — l’hismaïque *hirz*, “place forte” (KING 1990: 387; MARAQTEN 1995: 102; HOFTIJZER/JONGELING 1995: 370; HEALEY 2009: 213). Shahīd suggère que ce mot est d’origine arabe, comme l’attestent les termes sabéens *hyr*, “monter le camp”, et *hyrt/hrt*, “campement” (BEESTON *et al.* 1982: 74), et a été emprunté ensuite par le vocabulaire syriaque (2006: 491-8). Cette conclusion permet de dater sa transmission d’une période relativement tardive (hellénistico-romaine).

Un terme similaire est l’ouest-sémitique *hrt/t*, “terre cultivée”. Pour restituer la genèse de ce mot, il faut tout d’abord rappeler certains changements phonétiques que les langues sémitiques ont connu tout au long des II^e-I^{er} mill. av. n.è. Certaines langues, comme le cananéen, le phénicien et l’hébreu, ont fusionné les phonèmes **t* et **š* (LIPÍŃSKI 1997: 119; GARR 2004: 28-30, 215, 226), donc pour le protosémitique **hrt* on a des cognats *ah-ri-šu* en cananéen d’Amarna et חרש en hébreu

(HOFTIJZER/JONGELING 1995: 407; ZAMMIT 2002: 136-7; TAWIL 2009: 121; DEL OLMO LETE/SANMARTÍN 2015: 367). Cette fusion avait eu lieu aussi en akkadien, semble-t-il indépendamment, langue qui également avait perdu plusieurs consonnes, y compris le **h*, dans ce cas en changeant les voyelles *a* voisines en *e*: donc akkadien *erēšu* < **harātu* (LIPÍŃSKI 1997: 144; HUEHNERGARD 2005: 587; 2014). Au contraire, d'autres langues, comme l'ougaritique et l'araméen, ont conservé le phonème **t* (LIPÍŃSKI 1997: 120-1; GARR 2004: 28-30, 215, 226). Par conséquent, on a l'ougaritique *hrt*, l'araméen ancien et palmyrénien *hrt'*, et le syriaque *herat*, "labourer" (HOFTIJZER/JONGELING 1995: 407; DEL OLMO LETE/SANMARTÍN 2015: 367). L'arabe coranique a la racine *harṭa*, "labourer, semer des graines", et le substantif *hart*, "champ, terrain planté" (ZAMMIT 2002: 136-7; BADAWI/HALEEM 2008: 197); de la même manière, le sabéen *mḥrtt*, "terrain labouré", et l'hismaïque *harata*, "perforer" (BEESTON et al. 1982: 71; KING 1990: 393).

En somme, certaines données semblent indiquer que pendant la période néo-assyrienne le mot ouest-sémitique *hrt/t* était un terme commun dans le Levant et l'Arabie, alors que ne fut que plus tard, probablement à l'époque hellénistico-romaine, que le sabéen *hyrt/hrt* passa dans les langues de Syrie. Cela suggère que le toponyme *Ḥiratāqaz/ṣaya* présente comme première composante l'ouest-sémitique *hrt/t*: la conviction de Gottheil est manifestement infondée, mais il a montré la voie pour saisir l'étymologie correcte du nom. Il est difficile de savoir avec certitude quelle langue est présente dans ce terme, mais ce n'est certainement pas l'akkadien ni l'hébreu; il ne paraît pas être autre qu'un terme araméen ou nord-arabe. L'akkadien *h* ne présente pas de difficulté pour cette identification, car il est équivalent à l'ouest-sémitique *h* (e.g. akk. *ḥabābu* = ou.sem. **hbb*) (GAG §8i; HUEHNERGARD 2003; 2005: 590). C'est confirmé par les nombreux emprunts araméens en akkadien, comme *ḥallatu* < aram. *hlt* (STRECK 2011: 419-21). La dentale *t* ne pose aucun problème; quand le cunéiforme transcrit des toponymes nord-arabes comportant un *t*, il le fait en utilisant *t*, comme *la-at-ri-bu* pour *Yatrib* (Médine) (LIPÍŃSKI 1997: 121).

Il semble que l'ouest-sémitique *hrt/t* soit un terme fréquemment employé pour désigner des territoires ou des parcelles de terres cultivées dans les steppes et les déserts de Transjordanie et du Néguev à l'Âge du Fer. Plusieurs toponymes locaux s'accorderaient bien avec ce terme, comme l'hébreu biblique חרדה (Nom 33:24), l'araméen targumique חרתא/ה (l'interprétation d'Exode 14:2,9; Nom 33:7,8), et les noms grecs Ἀρσῶδα (Néguev ou Moab; Flavius Josèphe: *Ant.* 14.18) et Ἀρσιδδῆλα (Transjordanie du sud, Édits de Beersheba: frag. V, 1.5).

Gottheil proposait de voir en -qaz/ṣaya une mauvaise graphie de קצי, version nabatéenne du nom du dieu édomite Qaus (קוס) (1898: 202). Sa suggestion n'a pas été prise en considération, mais il vaut la peine d'explorer l'association de ce toponyme avec Édom. Le קוס édomite a été rendu en akkadien néo-assyrien comme *qauš*: ainsi le nom du roi édomite *qws-ḡbry* fut rendu en néo-assyrien par ^m*qa-uš-gab-ri*, montrant le changement des sifflantes *s* > *š* qui avait déjà eu lieu à l'époque moyen-akkadien (LIPÍŃSKI 1997: 130; HÄMEEN-ANTILLA 2000: 9-10; HUEHNERGARD 2005: 587). Cependant, quand le nom Qaus apparaît dans le CR, il le fait avec la sifflante originale *z/š*. Cela ne résout cependant pas toutes les difficultés, parce qu'il reste à expliquer la terminaison -aya. On peut se demander, suivant Gottheil, si cette particule ne désigne pas la version akkadienne du nom קצי, mais il est vrai qu'il s'agit d'une forme nabatéenne tardive. Toutefois, la forme longue est connue par au moins deux exemples: un ostrakon d'époque perse de Tel Beersheba, où on lit la forme hypocoristique *qwsy*; et le nom biblique du lévite mérarite Qouchaya (קושיהו) (1 Chr 15:17), habituellement identifié comme le Kischi (קיש) de 1 Chr 6:29 et le Kis (קיש) de 2 Chr 29:12. Une autre possibilité est qu'il s'agisse du gentilice akkadien -āya (LIPÍŃSKI 1997: 223-4), mais dans ce cas la probabilité est beaucoup moins certaine, parce que les gentilices n'étaient pas ajoutés aux noms des villes ou villages.

En conclusion, il est possible d'interpréter le terme *Ḥiratāqaz/ṣaya* comme le nom d'un lieu situé dans Édom et portant une étymologie sémitique d'origine probablement araméenne ou nord-arabe. Il est difficile de saisir sa signification, mais on peut provisoirement le traduire comme "terre cultivée de Qaus", l'interprétant comme une parcelle de terrain consacrée au maintien du culte du dieu édomite Qaus, probablement jouxtant un petit sanctuaire de cette divinité.

La signification et l'emplacement du “*girâ* d’Az/šarilu” sont aussi énigmatiques, et les lexiques ne donnent ni localisation ni étymologie (e.g. *RIA* 1:166 [Asar-ilu]). Le mot représente un hapax. Pour *AHw* (I:291 [*girû*]) c’est un “Schreibfehler”; *CAD* (V:97 [*girû* B]) associe ce terme au nominatif *girû*, mais son sens dans ce contexte est “uncertain” (cf. WEIPPERT 1973-4: 41 n. 12; EPH’AL 1982: 149 n. 514). Il peut en principe être lu comme l’accusatif de *girru* (“route, chemin”; *CAD* V:90 [*girru* A]), mais on ne peut rien dire de plus.

Il est probable, également, que ce terme est composé de deux parties, Az/šar-ilu. Le premier élément, az/šar, est presque certainement dérivé de l’akkadien *esēru*, avec des variantes de lecture *ešēru* et *ežēru*, “entourer, canaliser l’eau, faire captif” (*AHw* I:249 [*esēru(m)* II]; *CAD* IV:334-5 [*esēru* B]). Un terme akkadien proche est *ḫa/išāru* /*ḫaširu*, “enceinte pour les moutons” (*AHw* I:331 [*ḫašāru(m)*]); *CAD* VI:130 [*ḫašāru*]; DEL OLMO LETE/SANMARTÍN 2015: 382-3). Les cognats ouest-sémitiques incluent l’hébreu *חצר*, l’ougartique *ḫsr*, le phénicien *ḫsr*, l’araméen *ḫṣr*, l’arabe *ḫṣr*, et le sabéen *mḫṣr*, “enclos, cour, bergerie” (*BDB* 2691 [חצר I, II]; *HALOT* I:345 [III *חצר]; *TDOT* V:131-9; BEESTON et al. 1982: 75; HOFTIJZER/JONGELING 1995: 400-1; ZAMMIT 2002: 142; LIPÍŃSKI 2006: 105; TAWIL 2009: 111-8). Il est probable que dans l’environnement aride et semi-pastoral d’Édom la distinction entre les deux significations était négligeable; en fait, le même phénomène semble se produire avec plusieurs noms de lieux bibliques du Néguev et du Sinaï comportant les mots חצר et חצרים (voir LEVIN 2010: 198-202). La liste de Karnak du roi Sheshonq I présente aussi huit noms de lieux du Néguev portant le composant apparenté *ḫ-q-r/ḫ-g-r* (LIPÍŃSKI 2006: 105-6).

Il reste enfin à examiner la deuxième partie, *ilu* (DINGIR). C’est bien sûr le terme akkadien habituel pour faire référence à une divinité (*AHw* I:373-4 [*ilu(m)*]; *CAD* VII:91-103 [*ilu*]). Le terme ouest-sémitique proche était *’l*, “dieu”, largement connu dans l’onomastique ammonite et les inscriptions phéniciennes (HERRMANN, *DDD*, 274-80) et dans les noms de places et clans de Canaan et de l’Israël biblique (par exemple, Beth-El) (AHARONI 1979: 108). Plusieurs lieux avec cette composante localisés dans le Néguev sont mentionnés par l’inscription triomphale de Sheshonq I à Karnak, comme *Jehalle-’el*, *Bt(u)’l*, *Yrḥm-’l*, et *El-ra[m]/El-ro’ī* (LIPÍŃSKI 2006: 114, 122-3, 128). Ce mot est aussi connu dans les dialectes nord-arabes, comme on peut le voir dans le nom de tribu/chef arabe Iḏiba’ilu (*I-di-ba-’a-il-a-a/[I]-di-bi-’i-lu*) mentionné par Téglath-Phalazar III dans le Néguev, et Abirilu (*A-bi-ri-il-lu*), le nom du dieu de Duma capturé par Sennachérib (*ARAB* I:279-80, 83; II:208; EPH’AL 1982: 24ff).

Après examen, le mot Az/šarilu signifie bien “enclos/bergeries (du) dieu”, désignant une parcelle de terrain consacrée au maintien du culte d’une divinité locale, dont l’identité est inconnue.

En résumé, l’analyse effectuée ci-dessus sert à trouver l’étymologie probable de “*girâ* d’Az/šarilu” et “*Ḥiratâqaz/šaya*” dans le monde des langues ouest-sémitiques du I^{er} mill. av.n.è. Ces toponymes sont les échos du monde aride et rural des steppes transjordanienues de l’Âge du Fer, habitées par de petites communautés agricoles et par des groupes nomades semi-pastoraux. De parfaits exemples de ce type de sites semblent être les sanctuaires de plein air d’Horvat Qitmit et d’En Hazeva dans le Néguev et le Wadi at-Thamad 13 dans Moab. Ces sites se trouvaient à côté des routes du désert et steppes et étaient visités par les marchands caravaniers et les bergers locaux. La provision des rations alimentaires pour le culte des divinités constituait une partie importante de l’économie des sanctuaires du désert, lesquels pouvaient être approvisionnés par les parcelles agricoles contiguës. Ces noms, probablement originaires des dialectes araméens ou nord-arabes, montrent l’importance des contacts interrégionaux et le rôle important joué par les sociétés tribales arabes dans ces régions.

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78) *Tamītu* “oath” and *u²iltu ša tamīti* “oath summons” in Uruk* — In her recent treatment of oaths and curses in Babylonia, M. Sandowicz provides among many other things a useful overview of keywords concerning oath formulae (Sandowicz, AOAT 398, 10ff.). Among these she also lists *tamītu* as the word for oath *per se*, describing it as “rare in the Neo-Babylonian period also outside oath formulary” (Sandowicz, AOAT 398, 13). Therefore it may be useful to draw attention to an otherwise overlooked Neo-Babylonian attestation of this word: there seems to be no reference to the text YOS 17 361 (YBC 4123) in the sources dealt with by M. Sandowicz or in the dictionaries (CAD, AHw) to which she directs further enquiry.

YOS 17 361 (YBC 4123) is part of the Nūr-Sîn-archive from Uruk (cf. Jursa, GMTR 1, 144f.) dating to NbkIII6.08.05 (589 BC):

Obverse

1. 5 ma.na kù.babbar šá^{Pd+} ag-šeš^{meš}-mu a-šú šá^{Pd} u.gur-gi
2. a^P zálag-^d30 ina ugu^{Pd} in.nin-numun-ba-šá
3. a-šú šá^{Pd+} ag-ba-šá u^{Pd+} ag-ba-šá a-šú
4. šá^{Pd} na-na-a-mu re-he-et 12 2/3 ma.na kù.babbar
5. šá kaskal.II šá^{Pd+} ag-šeš^{meš}-mu šá ina pa-ni-šú-nu
6. ul-tu ud.5.kam šá^{iti} apin šá iti ina ugu
7. 1 ma-né-e 1 gín kù.babbar ina ugu-šú-nu i-rab-bi
8. mim-mu-šú-nu ma-la ba-šú-ú maš-ka-nu
9. šá^{Pd+} ag-šeš^{meš}-mu 1+en pu-tú 2 i-na-šú-u
10. ina 3 gu^{meš} šá ina igi^P re-mu-tú

Lower edge

11. a-šú šá^{Pd} amar.utu-numun-dù a-hi ina lib-bi ha.la
12. šá^{Pd+} ag-šeš^{meš}-mu

Reverse

- 13.-18. 6 witnesses
19. u^{lí} umbisag^{Pd+} ag-tin-su-iq-bi a-šú šá^{Pd+} ag-sur
20. a^{Pd} 30-ti-ér unug^{ki} iti apin ud.5.kam
21. mu.16.kam^{Pd+} ag-níg.du-urù lugal tin.tir^{ki}
22. ina ú-íl-tú šá ta-mi-tú šá ina ugu kaskal.II-šú-nu

Upper edge

23. i-i²-i-lu ina lib-bi ul za-ku-ú i-tem-mu-niš-šú

¹5 minas of silver belonging to Nabû-ahhē-iddin, son of Nergal-ušallim, ²descendant of Nūr-Sîn are owed by Innin-zēru-iqīša, ³son of Nabû-iqīša and Nabû-iqīša son ⁴of Nanāya-iddin. It is the remainder of 12 2/3 minas of silver ⁵of the business venture (*harrānu*) of Nabû-ahhē-iddin that is at their disposal. ⁶From the 5th Arahsamnu (VIII), ⁷1 shekel of silver ⁸per ⁹mina will accrue against them ¹⁰each month. ¹¹Whatever they may possess is the security ¹²of Nabû-ahhē-iddin. They bear responsibility for one another. ¹³Half (of the proceeds) ¹⁴of the 3 oxen that are at the disposal of Rēmūtu, ¹⁵son of Marduk-zēru-ibni, is the share ¹⁶of Nabû-ahhē-iddin.

¹⁷(6 witnesses are listed) ¹⁸and the scribe Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son of Nabû-ētir, ¹⁹descendant of Sîn-leqe-uninnī. Uruk, Arahsamnu (VIII), 5th day, 16th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

²⁰Concerning the ‘oath document’ (*u²¹iltu ša tamīti*) which ²²they drew up ²³regarding their business venture (*harrānu*), ²⁴they are not exempt from it. They are to swear to him (= Nabû-ahhē-iddin).

The document describes a debt apparently resulting from the dissolution of a business venture undertaken by two men (Innin-zēru-iqīša and Nabû-iqīša) on behalf of a third (Nabû-ahhē-iddin), the investor: a *harrānu*-business venture of “Typ A” according to LANZ 1976, 7ff.. As we can see from the note at the end of the document, it seemed necessary during the settlement of accounts to arrange for the two agents to swear an oath to the investor, perhaps because of the high amount of silver involved or for the purpose of clarifying the status of certain investments. The tablet establishing this obligation, referred to as *u²¹iltu ša tamīti*, might have been similar, for example, to text O.6 (BM 61352) in Sandowicz, AOAT 398. There, a party undertakes to swear on the following day to the second party an oath by Šamaš concerning a financial settlement involving, i.a., a business venture. The point made in the present text is that the *u²¹iltu ša tamīti* obliging Innin-zēru-iqīša and Nabû-iqīša to swear to Nabû-ahhē-iddin at a given date is not invalidated by the present settlement. Therefore, *u²¹iltu ša tamīti* is the first attestation of the Babylonian term for the document type defined as “oath summons” by Sandowicz (AOAT 398, 13 and passim). *šaṭāru ša tamīti* in JOANNÈS 1989, 233 (L 1622), cited by Sandowicz, AOAT 398, 13 as “possibly an Akkadian term for an oath summons”, appears to us to refer to a document recording the fact that an oath had actually been taken (“acte de l’accord juré”, in Joannès’ translation, *id.* 1989, 45), since the document includes a clause establishing the end of the conflict between the two disputing parties (L 1622, 6f.). Hence *šaṭāru ša tamīti* is a “record of an oath taking”, while *u²¹iltu ša tamīti* should be understood as a “tablet establishing the obligation to take an oath”.

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79) Of Pigs and Workers: A Note on Lugal-e and a Late Babylonian Commentary on Šumma ālu 49 — The Late Babylonian commentary BM 92683¹⁾ (DT 37; CT 41 30-31; LABAT 1933, 66-69²⁾) on Šumma ālu Tablet 49 provides a quotation from the Ninurta epic Lugal-e.³⁾ The entry in question reads (obv. 3b-4):

diš šaḥ.meš ina sila.dagal.la il-ta-na-su-ú zi-ut [im] / šum₄-ma zi-ut giš.mar u gi.íl : ša-la-lu ki šaḥ : at-tú ana e-pe-ši-ka k[i-ma šaḥ lu-u s]al-lat

“‘if pigs run around lively⁴⁾ in the main street, rising of [wind], or: calling up⁵⁾ of (corvée labourers wielding) spade and basket (for carrying bricks and earth)’ – (it means) to sleep where⁶⁾ the pig (sleeps) (as in:) ‘For doing your work, you shall sleep li[ke a pig]’”.

The omen cited and commented on represents the fourth omen of Šumma ālu Tablet 49.⁷⁾ A parallel omen appears in Šumma izbu Tablet 22 (omen 159 in DE ZORZI 2014, 881, 898):

šumma šaḥū ina sūqi irtanaqqudū (variant: *iltanassumū*) *tīb šāri šumma tibūt marri u tupšikki*

“if pigs persistently gambol about (variant: run around lively) in the street, rising of wind, or: calling up of (corvée labourers wielding) spade and basket (for carrying bricks and earth).”

Another parallel is found in *Šumma ālu* Tablet 46, but in this case, the omen concerns dogs:

šumma kalbānu ina sūqi iltanassumū tibūt marri u tupšikki

“if dogs run around lively in the street, calling up of (corvée labourers wielding) spade and basket (for carrying bricks and earth).”⁸⁾

The final broken section of the commentary is taken from Lugal-e 484:

at-ta ina e-pe-ši-ka ki-ma šá-ḥe-e lu-u šal-lat

“you shall sleep like a pig when you do your work.”⁹⁾

The quotation is not explicitly introduced as such.¹⁰⁾ The commentary has the variant *ana epēšika* instead of *ina epēšika*, which is not known from the extant manuscripts of Lugal-e (VAN DIJK 1983, vol. 1, 132), but it is closer to the Sumerian version of this line, *za-e dím-me/e-dè šaḥ-gin₇ nú-ba*.¹¹⁾ The subject is the stone ^{na}na (Lugal-e 480), which Ninurta curses for not having sided with him in his battle against Asag: according to Lugal-e 485-486, it is not used for noble purposes and it is destined to radical structural alterations (reduction to pieces [pulverization?] and dissolution in water). The stone ^{na}na still eludes sure identification.¹²⁾ According to Mittermayer 2009, 276-278, the association of ^{na}na with millstones in lexical texts and the comparison with a pig in Lugal-e 484 – in her translation “Liege da wie ein Schwein (= untätig), um zu arbeiten!” – suggest an original passive function of the stone, which was used “als ‘Unterlage’ zur Bearbeitung eines anderen Materials (in einer reibenden, waagrechten Bewegung).” Heimpel 1968, 256, on the other hand, took the simile in Lugal-e 484 as evidence of an active function:

“der Stein soll sich in der Substanz, die er zerkleinert, drehen wie ein Schwein sich im Schlamm suhlt.”

In both cases, the image is that of the pig in the mud, lying motionless or rolling about. According to Schuster-Brandis 2008, 435, the description of the stone in Lugal-e 484-486 indicates a “soft stone”, maybe a “Baustoff aus ungebranntem Lehm.”

Why does the Hellenistic commentator use this quote from Lugal-e to explain the omen he is interested in? The protasis and the apodosis of the omen are clearly linked by an association between the confused activity of pigs (or dogs, in the parallel) and the bustle of corvée labourers of low status.¹³⁾ However, we need to clarify whether the commentator effectively based himself on the metonymy underlying the omen (spade and basket standing for those who wield these instruments), or whether he understood the apodosis literally (“raising of spade and basket”). Taken independently of what follows, the first part of the explanation, *ša-la-lu ki šaḥ* “sleep where the pig sleeps” implies an animated referent, which can only be the workers: in this light, the commentator referred explicitly to the metonymy underlying the omen, basing himself on “mud” as the *tertium comparationis* between the pig and the wielders of spade and basket. The association between the pig and mud is frequent in Mesopotamian literature,¹⁴⁾ and the Hellenistic commentator would have been familiar with the expression *ēpiš dulli fīdi* “mud labourer/workman of the clay” designating a category of dependent labourers in the late period.¹⁵⁾ These associations could well be connected also to the ambiguity of the sign IM in the first section of the apodosis, which, in the phrase *tibūt IM*, means *šāru* “wind” but could also be read *fīdu* “mud,” as in “raising of mud.” The quotation from Lugal-e underscores the point made by the commentator by taking up the theme of lying in the mud like a pig and adding a reference to “work.”¹⁶⁾ *Argumenti causa*, one might suggest as an alternative that *ša-la-lu ki šaḥ* “to sleep where the pig sleeps” is entirely conditioned by the following Lugal-e quote, so that “to sleep” refers to spade and hoe, i.e., to tools that are as it were referred to as animate, just as is the case in Lugal-e. However, some arguments can be advanced against this reading: first, if *ša-la-lu ki šaḥ* “to sleep where the pig sleeps” were entirely dependent on the Lugal-e quote and had no independent explanatory force in the commentator’s mind, why then did he add this note in the first place and did not just quote the Lugal-e line, and why did he introduce a variant – *ki šaḥ*

(*šalālu ašar* or *itti šaḥê*) instead of Lugal-e's *kīma šaḥê*? Second, the stone of Lugal-e is a poor associative match for spade and basket; third, why should the instruments be said explicitly to “sleep” if the idea is to express their being employed in their normal ‘habitat,’ i.e., mud,¹⁷⁾ and fourth and finally, it is more in line with the general structure of commentaries to assume that a quote from a literary text adds to an explanation that precedes it rather than to read a commentary from ‘right to left,’ assuming that an explanation adduced is in need of an independent elucidation. On balance, therefore, I would maintain the argument that the commentator’s explanation is consonant with the metonymic reading of the omen, referring to the workers’ living conditions.

1) According to its colophon, the tablet belonged to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son of Marduk-zēru-ibni, and was copied by Nabû-balāssu-iqbi’s, son Nabû-šumu-lišir, from an im-gíd-da tablet from Borsippa. They are all members of the Egibatila family (ca. 100 BC): see Frahm 2011, 308.

2) Two online editions of this tablet are now available, one by S. Freedman (https://www.academia.edu/15481888/Shumma_Alu_Tablet_49_pig_omens) and one by E. Jiménez (Cuneiform Commentaries Project (= CCP) 3.5.49). I have discussed parts of this commentary in DE ZORZI 2014, 888-898.

3) The gist of the present note was presented in the context of a paper read in Paris at the Sorbonne on June 7th, 2016, at the meeting “Magicon Zoon / The Animal in Magic” (Labex Resmed). When preparing the final version of this article, I saw that the identification of the Lugal-e quote had also been made independently by H. Jiménez (CCP 3.5.49, June 2016). Given the difficulty of the passage and the differences in interpretation and explanation between my reading of the evidence and that presented in the current version on the CCP site, a discussion seems warranted nevertheless.

4) I derive *il-ta-na-su-ú* from *lasāmu* as *iltanassuwū*, a Late Babylonian rendering of *iltanassumū* (where intervocalic <m> stands for /w/), which appears in the canonical version of the *Šumma ālu* omen commented on (*kaš₄.kaš₄*, see below). It cannot be excluded, however, that the spelling given here reflects a version of the omen influenced by *iltanassū* (< *šasū*, written *gū.gū.meš* and said of “pigs in the streets”) which appears in the protasis of an omen following shortly after ours in *Šumma ālu* (omen 8 in Freedman’s reconstruction) and predicting, similar to ours, the rising of wind (in this case *tīb meḥê* “rising of a storm”).

5) In the online editions (see above: Freedman and CCP 3.5.49) the apodosis is translated “uprising of spade and hod (laborers).” However, I think that CAD is right in attributing the meaning “levy” to *tibātu* here (CAD T, 391a; see also *ibid.*, 479a 5’c’). Note for instance the specification “for piling up of earth for building a wall” in the apodosis of an extispicy omen with the same introduction (see CAD T, 479a 5’c’). In *Šumma ālu* our omen is followed by two omens in which the same protasis is given the further specifications “and their tails are turned upwards” and “and their tails are held between their haunches” (note the intrusion of canine body language into the imagery of the omens here); the apodoses refer to *tibāt ummāni* and, respectively, a victory and a defeat of the army. Clearly, a normal levy must be meant.

6) *ki* must stand for *ašar* or *itti*; the preposition *kī* (CCP 3.5.49) is written *ki* only extremely rarely in Late Babylonian.

7) *diš šaḥ.meš ina min* (= *silā.dagal.la*) *kaš₄.kaš₄-mu zi-ib im šum₄-ma zi-ut giš.mar u gi.íl* (K 3725+ (CT 38 46) i 4 and K 3055 (CT 38 45) + K 12089: 4).

8) Omen 10 in S. Freedman’s online edition of the Tablet: https://www.academia.edu/24738753/Shumma_Alu_Tablets_46-48_dog_omens.

9) VAN DIJK 1983, vol. 2, 113 translates this line “couche-toi-là comme un cochon afin qu’on te travaille.” SEMINARA 2001, 169 translates “tu, mentre ti si lavora, possa giacere come un maiale.” CAD N/1, 204a reads *nī-lat* instead of *šal-lat* and translates “you (stone) should lie there like a pig when you are worked on” (see also CAD Š/1, 102a “may you (diorite) lie there like a pig when they work you”). ETCSL (= Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature) 1.6.2: “lie down there, you, to be worked on like a pig;” CCP 3.5.49: “You, (O Stone,) while (they) work on you, lie like a pig!” With MITTERMAYER (2009) and HEIMPEL (1968), I believe that a *genitivus subjectivus* after *ina* + infinitive is more probable; also the Sumerian –ed-e syntagma is more easily explained in an analogous way, by assuming an active construction.

10) On the citation style of the commentaries see FRAHM 2011, 107-110.

11) Note that in fact the Akkadian version of this line comes from the bilingual ms. K 2682+ (j₁ in VAN DIJK 1983, vol. 1, 132), which for the Sumerian offers the variant *za-e dīm šaḥ-gin₇ ḥé-m[i-(0?)-n]ú*: *dīm as* “doing” (active participle) is a somewhat better match for *ina epēšika* than *dīm-me/e-dè*.

12) See SCHUSTER-BRANDIS 2008, 435 and MITTERMAYER 2009, 276.

13) I have discussed these issues in the paper read in Paris (see above) and I will return to it elsewhere.

14) E.g., STRECK 2012, 789-790; CAD R 432-433 s.v. *rušumtu*.

15) Most recently, MONERIE 2015.

16) It could even be suggested that we have here an implicit value judgement referring to a presumed idleness of forced labourers. Lazyness of forced labour is a theme that crops up in the administrative record, e.g., in

PTS 3043 (a Late Babylonian letter from Uruk, publication by Yuval Levavi forthcoming), where workers are chided for “laziness and incompetence” (*riqūtu u muškēnūtu*); in UCP 9/2, 24 from the same archive, administrators are compensated for workers who have absconded, are lazy (*riqu*: not simply “idle” – lack of work is not the issue), or dead (references courtesy M. Jursa).

17) This would seem to be the idea expressed by the saying “a hoe put in the ground (*allum ša ina řīdim na[dū]*) is (like) a mongoose in its city” (LAMBERT 1960, 272: 11-12).

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80) Appeasing the Ghost of W. G. Lambert — W. G. Lambert did not approve of errors, either in his own work or in that of his students and colleagues. For this reason, taking on the responsibility of publishing any works from the WGL Nachlass is a daunting task, risking hearing the disapproving voice of his formidable *ēṭimmu* in one’s ear.¹⁾ The present author has offered a *Partitur* of Marduk’s Address to the Demons, based upon Lambert’s copies of the tablets, together with Lambert’s transliteration, apparatus criticus, and hand-written translation of the text (see GELLER 2016: 340-398). Marduk’s Address was a remarkably popular text with many witnesses, and once Lambert’s copies are also made available for study, this important text will no doubt generate much further interest.

One of the main misreadings from the Lambert Nachlass copies was from the colophon of a commentary on *Marduk’s Address to the Demons* (now Udug-hul Tablet XI), an Assur tablet now found in the John Rylands Library (No. 1053).²⁾ The scribal name at the end of the tablet, correctly noted by Lambert but missed by the present author, is that of Kišir-Nabû, one of the important Assur scribes whose career through the ranks was recorded by Stefan Maul.³⁾ The presence of this scribe’s name on the tablet is greatly significant, since Kišir-Nabû is one of the more prolific scribes in Assur, whose name is well-attested on colophons of tablets dealing with magic and medicine, as well as commentaries on such texts (see MAUL 2010: 206). Perhaps Kišir-Nabû’s most noteworthy (and beautifully executed) work is a copy of the Exorcist’s Manual attributed to him (VAT 8275 = KAR 44, see GELLER 2000: 245-246),⁴⁾ since this copy of the curriculum for exorcists contains numerous glosses, giving the incipits of many incantations which are formally listed according to their rubrics.⁵⁾ Since duplicate copies of the Exorcist’s Manual do *not* share this singular characteristic, it is likely that Kišir-Nabû himself was responsible for these glosses, which coincides with his interest in writing commentaries; the connection between glosses and commentaries has already been noted in FRAHM 2011: 16-17.

The following list of corrections to Marduk’s Address is not complete, and the errors reported here are not Lambert’s. The page numbers refer to the edition of Marduk’s Address in GELLER 2016:

Section I 9 (p. 343) Mss. b and n both include rulings after this line, setting the introductory lines off as a separate section.

Section I 10 (p. 343) Ms. b reads *m]aš-maš DINGIR.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ el-lu*

Section I 65 (p. 355) Lambert's copy of Ms. b actually shows *pap-hal-la* (a loanword from Sum. *pap-hal*, 'share') rather than *hal-hal-la*

Section I 78 (p. 357): read in Ms. b: *giš-hur-re eš-ret*

Section II 36 (p. 373) read the final sign in Ms. b as *-á[š-*

Section II 43 (p. 375) Lambert translates 'massive like a wild pig', although the verb *tu-ut-tah-ha-ri* might be from *na'āru* (CAD N/1 7-8, 'roar'), which would have to be translated as 'grunts' in this context.

Section II 54 and 56 (p. 377) read 'dark like a billygoat' and 'bleat like a kid'

Finally, Christopher Walker has alerted me to an error in reporting the sources from Ms. t, which should be listed as BM 46421 + 46485 + 46492 + 46510 + 2 unnum. fragments (+) 46421a (+) 46429. The fragment 46421a has in very small script on the upper edge the scribal prayer: *ina a-mat* ^dEN u ^d[GAŠAN-*iá liš-lim*].

1) Thanks are due for corrections of errors to colleagues in the ERC Project BabMed, as well as comments offered in a Würzburg Seminar organised by Daniel Schwemer and Nils Heeßel.

2) A new edition of the tablet has now been put onto the Yale Cuneiform Commentaries Project website (<http://ccp.yale.edu/P430865>), edited by E. Frahm, E. Jiménez, and M. Frazer.

3) MAUL 2010: 209. The colophon of JRL 1053 is correctly read by the Yale Cuneiform Commentaries Project as *maš-al-ti* ^mki-šir-^dPA, 'questions (and answers) of Kišir-Nabû', although one might expect to find *ú-il-ti* ^mki-šir-^dPA, as in other examples of Kišir-Nabû's colophons on single-column tablets (see Hunger, BAK 209, and VAT 8275 = KAR 44: 43). The traces in Lambert's copy are ambiguous.

4) The colophon of VAT 8275 (KAR 44) reads, GIM SUMUN-šú šà-ṭir ba-ri ú-il-ti ^mKA.K[EŠ]DA-^dHÉ.DU₇ LÚ.[MAŠ.MAŠ] DUMU ^{md}šamaš-ib-ni LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ É.ŠÁR.RA, 'copied, checked according to its original, a tablet of the exorcist Kišir-Nabû son of Šamaš-ibni, exorcist of the Ešarra-temple.

5) For a good example of glosses recording incipits of incantation otherwise known by their rubrics, see KAR 44 (Geller 2000: 244, 8): ZÌ.SUR.RA.ME[š^{sag}-ba sag-ba], for which see SCHRAMM 2001: 20 and 26 (ka-inim-ma zì-sur-ra giš-hur-a-kam, with the incipit én sag-ba sag-ba giš-hur nu-bal-e).

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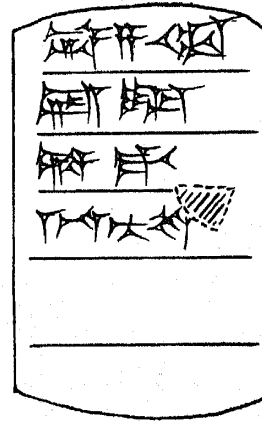
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81) The inscription on the magical gem MS 2880 (CUSAS 32, No. 68) — In the impressive monument which A. George has recently erected with his new volume in the CUSAS series the inscribed gemstone edited as No. 68 forms but a tiny building block, yet one worth highlighting here in a special note for the good of scholarly progress.¹⁾ As it happened to turn out on closer investigation the inscription engraved on the carnelian bead had been published in an editio princeps by M. Geller a decade and a half previously, albeit without any identifier and lapidarily labeled "Amulet; private collection."²⁾ Not surprisingly, the handcopies of the four lines of text produced by these two skilled cuneiformists resemble each other closely, although they were created independently. This holds especially true for the third line, which is the point of issue here because it posed a problem that both editors failed to solve without emending the cuneiform. For the sake of clarity their copies are hereby reproduced.



Copy A. George



Copy M. Geller

The crucial third line is read as ^{na4}*su!-u* “*Sû-stone*” by George and *na4.šu.u* “*šû-stone*” by Geller, whose reading of the signs has been followed by A. Schuster in her comprehensive study of stones in Mesopotamian magic and medicine.³⁾ Neither reading is satisfactory, though, for the following reasons:

(1) Although the *sû-* and *šû-*stones are well attested in the corpus of texts studied by Schuster, and even though in a single case the former is possibly equated with the stone-name that occupies the first two lines of our inscription, it would appear odd that one and the same gemstone should bear two different names.⁴⁾

(2) A more serious objection throws itself up in that the subject of the verb TE = *teḥû* “to approach” is left unnamed, an utter anomaly to occur in the formula’s well-established phraseology, not to mention the awkward syntax which this entails.⁵⁾ For an apotropaic charm to be successful in warding off an evil, it would appear essential to have the name of the evil specified to begin with.⁶⁾

(3) Not only do the conjectures as proposed involve the insertion of one horizontal wedge and an additional vertical one so as to produce the target signs ŠU and SU respectively, but also the horizontal stroke before the final ‘U’ is ignored in either case.

The aporia can be elegantly made to vanish if we take the orthography of the engraving for what it is and instead of altering anything assume that the last two signs of l. 3 represent a ligature of MA and BAD, to be read *ma-mit*, a well-attested spelling of *māmītu* “oath, curse.” As a result, the inscription should be rendered as follows:

^{na4}GUG / GAZI^{sar} / NA₄ *ma-mit* / ana NA NU TE
= *sāmti kasê aban māmīt(u) ana amēli lā teḥê*

“*kasû*-(coloured) carnelian, a gemstone to prevent a curse from approaching a man.”

Revised this way the inscription is strongly suggestive of being a quote from a stone list of the type that details the names and applications of the items it enumerates; the closest parallel known is recorded in Schuster as ‘Kette 49’ (p. 100) according to text witness ‘Text 6’, iv, 31 (p. 255):

(3 stone names) 3 NA₄.MEŠ *ma-mit* ana LÚ NU TE-*e*.

If the inscription does indeed reflect a citation of the sort, it was apparently engraved on the gemstone for the purpose of marking its identity and what it is effective against.

The exact meaning of the modifier GAZI^{sar}, which supposedly makes the ^{na4}GUG GAZI^{sar} a distinct variety of carnelian (^{na4}GUG) is still not clear; even the Akkadianization of the logographic phrase as *sāmti kasê* is not beyond dispute. What we do know for certain, however, is that the attribute pertains to a specific shade of colour.⁷⁾ The reddish appearance of our gemstone combined with the inscription labeling it *sāmti kasê* has strengthened Geller in his contention that the *kasû*-plant must have been a vegetable parts of which would have been processed to obtain a red dye. Yet, the unique specimen of the *kasû*-carnelian that we evidently possess in our charm does not tally smoothly with its description

as given in the treatise on stones *Abnu šikinšu*, on which the inference that the *kasû* part of the stone name relates to its colour is based. For, whereas the gemstone is uniformly red, its description in *Abnu šikinšu* suggests a mottled coloration, as it states:

sāmtu kasê tukkupat (v.l.: *takpat*) *sāmti kasê šumšu*

“the carnelian which is speckled with *kasû*, its name is *kasû*-carnelian.”⁸⁾

Finally, it should not go unmentioned that nowhere else in the extant texts on healing and prophylactic stones the *kasû*-carnelian has so far been found to be advised as a charm for defence against a curse; the simple carnelian incidentally is, though, along with some forty other stones and minerals.⁹⁾ The absence of any such parallel does not carry much weight, though; it is in all likelihood simply due to the lacunous survival of the relevant texts or, less likely, to the engraver having drawn from paracanonical lore oral or written.

¹⁾ A. George, *Mesopotamian Incantations and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 32, Bethesda 2016; hereinafter: George. Description and edition of MS 2880 on p. 53b as No. 68; photos and handcopy on Pl. CXLI.

The present author would not have publicized his musings over a detail so minute, had it not been for the encouragement he received from Prof. George personally to do so.

²⁾ M. Geller, *Review of A. Slotsky, The Bourse of Babylon*, OLZ 95 (2000), 409-412; hereinafter: Geller. Edition and handcopy on p. 411.

³⁾ A. Schuster-Brandis, *Steine als Schutz- und Heilmittel*, AOAT 46, Münster 2008; hereinafter: Schuster. The inscription as edited by Geller is briefly discussed on p. 414 with n. 740.

⁴⁾ On the pair of stones and the problem of their disambiguation see Schuster, p. 442f., nr. 95: *sû* and p. 448, nr. 102: ŠU.U. The comparison between the *sāmti kasê* (^{na4}GUG GAZI^{sar}) and *sû* stones is made in *Abnu šikinšu*, l. 98 (Schuster, p. 31): *abnu šikinšu kīma sāmti kasê sū marḥušum šumšu* “the stone whose appearance is like that of the *kasû*-carnelian - Marḥušan⁽¹⁾ *sû*-stone is its name;” the writing ^{na4}*mar-ḥu-šum* is here assumed to either be a corruption of *mar-ḥa/u-ši* “of (the land) Marḥaši, like we have in ll. 4 and 9 of the treatise, or represent adjectival *Marḥa/ušû(m)* “Marḥa/ušian.”

⁵⁾ As becomes obvious from the way the two scholars render their text and comment upon it; George: “^{na4}*gug* / *gazi*^{sar} / ^{na4}*su*!-u / *ana amēli*(na) *lā teṭeḥḥe* (te) - Carnelian! Dodder! *Sû*-stone! Do not approach the man!,” with comment “The message, to malevolent beings (sic, plural; HS), is that the individual wearing the bead is protected by the substances named and they should not interfere with him;” Geller: “(1) *na4.gug* (2) *gazi*^{sar} (3) *na4.šu.u* (4) *ana na nu te* - Carnelian, *kasû*, *šû*-stone, so that (disease) should not approach a man,” with comment “The rather cryptic statement is that red carnelian and *šû*-stone will be effective in protecting the patient against a disease.”

⁶⁾ This was keenly observed by Schuster, p. 414: while maintaining Geller’s conjectural reading of the signs as *šu-u*, her interpretation improves on his by taking these for the disease name *šû*, putting NA₄ in the function of logogram instead of determinative. Her resulting translation reads as follows: “‘Senf-Karneol’. Stein, damit sich die *šû*-Krankheit dem Menschen nicht nähert.” In that case one would have expected the verb *šabātu* “to seize” rather than *teḥû* “to approach.”

⁷⁾ Pace CAD, K, p. 241, s.v. *kasânîtu* [which is how the dictionary wants ^{na4}GUG GAZI^{sar} to be read], a), first quote from *Abnu šikinšu*, l. 7, for which see below and next footnote.

⁸⁾ Schuster, p. 24, ‘Haupttext’, l. 7. CAD (see previous footnote), in apparent denial of *kasû* having reference to colour, translates this line as follows: “the red stone, spotted with *kasû* (-size spots) is called *kasânîtu*.” Be that considered an ingenious, or indeed a tortuous way to save the phenomena, it would appear to sit ill with the immediate context, which is about stones speckled white (6), black (8), and green-yellow (9); obviously then, *kasû* has taken the place of the missing colour, red-brown; see the enlightening comments by Schuster, p. 40, ad 7, esp. the last section.

Compare George, No. 63 (MS 2779) on Pl. CXXXVIII for how a spotted red stone may actually look like.

⁹⁾ Schuster, pp. 98-102, Ketten 44-51; carnelian: Kette 46-47, 13; Kette 50, 2.

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82) Neo-Babylonian texts in CUSAS 15* — In NABU 2014/55, Victor Gysembergh offered significant improvements to the editions of several of the Neo- and Late Babylonian tablets published in CUSAS 15: nos. 14, 43, 48, 67 and 184. He observed that in two of these texts, 67 and 184, a certain Tattannu, son of

Talimu, appears as protagonist, and added that the same man is mentioned as addressee in the letter no. 69 (attributing this observation to J.-M. Durand). The purpose of the present note is to offer a new edition of the letter on the basis of the photo on CDLI (where the text has the number P270698) and of photographs kindly provided by David Owen and Elena Devecchi, to whom I am profoundly grateful. (Note that in the following edition, exclamation marks designate unorthodox sign forms; departures from the original edition are not indicated as such.)

CUSAS 15, 69

- 1 im^{ld} ag-mu-mu
a-na¹ ta-at-tan-nu
šeš-ia^{en^{sic} u^d ag} šu-lum
u tin šá šeš-ia liq-bu-ú
- 5 5 mu.an.na^{mes} a-ga-a
ul-tu muh-hi šá a-na-ku
ù¹ gu-za-na a-na pa-ni-ku
ni-il-lik¹ 10-ta buru₁₄
garim-ia ul tar^{ta}-re¹-e¹ šī¹ (partly overwritten by rev. 21)
- 10 *ul šu-gar-ru-ú-a*
ú-gam¹-me-<er>-ka iš-te-en-n[a]
en-na a-mur^{ld} ag-numun-pab
[u]¹ mu-^d ag¹ dumu-¹ šú¹
- l.e. *al-tap-rak-¹ ka¹*
- rev. *buru₄ ina šu^{II} šú-nu*
- 16 *šu-¹ bi-la¹ en u^d ag*
lu-¹ ú i-du¹-u
le-¹ e-pu-šú¹ a-na
^{lu} di.kud^{mes} a-na¹ muh-hi
- 20 *lu-ud¹-bi-bu*
ši-pir-ta-a šá áš-pur-rak-ku
lu-ú
^{lu} mu-kin-ni-ia
ia-a-a-nu-ú a-na¹
- 25 *bar-sip^{ki} it-ti-šú-nu*
al-¹ ka¹

Letter of Nabû-šumu-iddin to Tattannu, my brother. May Bēl and Nabû ordain my brother's health and well-being.

These five years, ever since I and Guzānu came to you, have you not taken (lit.: grown) ten harvests from my land, and have I not given you in full every single remuneration payment I owed? Now look, I have sent you Nabû-zēru-ušur and Iddin-Nabû, his son; send me the harvest through them. Bēl and Nabû know for certain: I shall take action and talk to the judges about this. Let my letter I sent to you be my witness. If you choose to do otherwise, come to Borsippa with them.

On the basis of the other texts belonging to the dossier, the letter should be dated to the reign of Cambyses. The issue here is an arrangement by which some land belonging to the sender was ceded to Tattannu who undertook to cultivate it against a fixed remuneration (*šugarrû*) but failed to deliver the proceeds (two harvests per year: barley and dates, presumably) to the land owner. The tone of the letter is emphatic: this is shown by the rhetorical questions, by the invocation of the gods (followed by a precativ rather than by an oath), the threat of going to court and the statement that the present letter should bear witness to the fact that the addressee had been warned – a phrase that is used in the context of strong reproach.

Note some unusual or plainly incorrect sign forms:

UR (*lik*; line 8)



RU (line 10)



UD (line 20)



With its unevenly distributed lines and occasional aberrant sign forms the letter displays a clear ‘provincial hand’ – the type of handwriting one does not normally find in the large temple archives or in the private archives from the capital but which occurs not infrequently in Nippur archives and, for instance, quite regularly in the tablets of the (usually Nippurean) scribes who worked in the countryside with the deported Judeans (CUSAS 28). This fits the setting of the other known texts of the dossier in the town or village of GaDibat, known to be in the hinterland of Nippur.¹⁾

I take the occasion to add brief observations to other late texts in CUSAS 15 (and to Gysembergh’s corrections to the editions).

No. 37: (1) 11 gur *a-na* é (2) 5 bán *a-na* ^{lu}hun.gá (3) 4 bán ^{ša}*a-na* ^{lu}en-mu (4) 5 bán ^{lu}ki²-*na-a* *a-na* ^{giš}ban³(?) (5) 2 bán *a-na* anše (6) 2 pi *a-na* ^{lu}hun.gá^{meš} (7) *ša* é im iš-ku-nu (8) 2 bán *a-na* nu-ú-ni (9) pab 11 gur 4 (pi) 4 bán (10) *te-lit a-na* é

This is a private account of household expenses. While there is no definite proof, it might also belong to the Tattannu dossier. A rural background is in any case likely given the fact that the expenses listed here – payment for hired workers (some of whom had renewed the mud coating of a house), for a donkey, for a tax, for fish – are made entirely in kind rather than in silver.

No. 43, re-edited by Gysembergh, is another of the tablets belonging to Nebuchadnezzar’s ‘Palace Archive’ that ‘went missing’ during or after the first World War. It is Bab 28361, listed as no. 271 in Pedersén’s *Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon* (2005), p. 126.

No. 48: the date is the second year of *kur-ra-šu* lugal kur.kur – Cyrus, not Artaxerxes.

No. 82 is neither Neo-Assyrian (CUSAS 15, p. vii) nor does it refer to cultic topography (p. 79), it is a fragment of a sale contract from Hellenistic Uruk.

* This note was written under the auspices of the Austrian Science Fund’s Project P 26104, “Diplomatics and Palaeography of Neo- and Late Babylonian Archival Documents.”

¹⁾ The place name is normally spelled ^{unu}ga-..., hence it is advisable to read ^{unu}gaD-Di-bat in CUSAS 15, 184 rather than ^{unu}qa-..., as proposed by Gysembergh. W. Farber will publish another promissory note belonging to this dossier.

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83) KI.LAM = *nadānu*, “exchange rate”: more evidence from the price lists — In NABU 2016/1, no. 28 I argued that the term KI.LAM in the meaning of “exchange rate” was read *nadānu* rather than *mahīru* in Late Babylonian texts. In that contribution I overlooked two important references from the Babylonian price lists (Slotzky and Wallenfels 2009). Price lists are lists of the exchange rates (KI.LAM) between various products (in particular barley and dates) and silver (usually one shekel, but occasionally two shekels or even one mina). The lists thus record the purchasing power of silver, from the time of

Alexander the Great actually in the form of Greek coins, whereby one shekel conforms to two drachmas and two shekels to one tetradrachm. Text 2 reveals the Babylonian name of these price lists: EN.NUN *ša* KI.LAM (read *našāru ša nadāni* – or rather *našār ša nadān* – in Late Babylonian), “observation of the exchange rates”, comparable to the name of the astronomical diaries, EN.NUN *ša gi-né-e* (most often) or *na-šar ša gi-né-e* (e.g. AD 1 -277A Right Edge 1; cf. Pirngruber 2016 for more references).

The first price list where KI.LAM is written syllabically is Slotsky & Wallenfels 2009, Text 9, a price list of barley, dates and sesame for the years 126 and 127 of the Seleucid era = 126/5 – 125/4 BC. At the end of the list (r. 31') we read: [... n]a-dan *ša a-na* 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina* KUR SU[M ...], which should be translated as “[... ex]change rate that was giv[en] in the land for two shekels of silver [...]”. Slotsky and Wallenfels left *na-dan* untranslated. The same expression we read in a price list concerning the period 11/XII/208 – II/209 Seleucid Era (24¹ March – 10 June 103 BC), Slotsky & Wallenfels 2009, text 11: 6; MU 2.ME.9.KAM *na-da[n]* *ša* ITU BAR, “Year 209. Exchange rate of month I” (Slotsky and Wallenfels erroneously translate “Year 209. Delive[ry] for month I.”); follow the exchange rates for months I and II completed with a parallel sentence that we had in the previous price list (lines 12-13): *ša a-na* 1 GÍN [KÙ].BABBAR {*ša*} *ina* KUR SUM, (the exchange rate), “that was given in the land for one shekel of silver.” The second *ša* must be an error in view of the grammar and the previous quotation from text 9.

Finally I found a parallel of the promissary note CT 49, 111:7, discussed in my previous NABU contribution to the subject, viz. CT 49, 116: 4'-5' [*lib-bu*]-*ú na-dan ša ina* ITI KIN MU 49.KAM *ina* E.KI [SUM][*ina-a*]-*n-din-nu*, “(PN) will give (the silver price of the said vats of prime beer) according to the rate [that is given] in Babylon in month VI of year 49 (i.e., 7 September – 5 October 263 BC).” Edition of this text by Michael Jursa (2006: 185-6); I propose one emendation of this edition, however, at the end of line 4' where I add [SUM] in parallel with *in-na-an-din-nu* in CT 49, 111: 7 (Stolper 1993: 42-44, text 13). The construction KI.LAM ... *ša ina* KUR SUM or similar is a standard expression in the astronomical diaries (cf. Slotsky 1997: 12 for the references). We now also learn that *ina* E.KI (“in Babylon” – or Babylonia?) and *ina* KUR (“in the land”) are used in these expressions indiscriminately, which is strange as prices differed from place to place. We also learn that the clause “that was given in the land” refers to the exchange rate rather than to the silver or currency, as I suggested in Van der Spek - *et al.* 2015: 13, n. 7.

Matthew Stolper (1993: 44) was the first to observe the “[u]se of the infinitive *nadānu* with a meaning “rate, price,” hence as a synonym of *mahīru*”, but he thought by then that it was “without parallel elsewhere.” We have found now more parallels. I consider the word a noun rather than an infinitive (with CAD N s.v. *nadānu*, “gift”, p. 42, quoting CT 49, 111: 7, misunderstanding the meaning). We conclude that it is an example of language change and perhaps an argument that Babylonian was still a spoken language, at least in learned circles. There are other examples as well: UKKIN = *puhru*, “assembly”, became *kiništu*; EN.NUN = *maššartu*, “watch, observation”, became *našāru*; ^{lú}EN.NUN = ^{lú}*maššaru*, “guardian”, became ^{lú}*našīru* (suggestion M. Jursa); URU.MEŠ = *alāni*, “cities”, received a new reading, the Aramaic loanword *madīnatu*, “province, satrapy, land”, which word seemingly came to replace *pīhatu* (VAN DER SPEK 2016).

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