

# N.A.B.U.

## *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*

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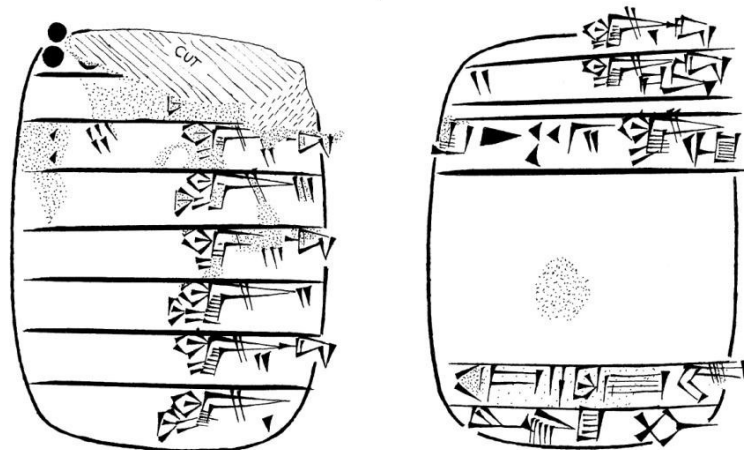
### NOTES BRÈVES

**87) Correction to ELTS, no. 30a** – The description of this limestone disk supplied by the authors (p. 93-94) is in some respects defective. The museum registration number is indeed CBS 9326 in the University Museum, and so it is easily possible to consult the original. Strictly speaking, it is not a “surface find” but was found during the week ending Jan. 19, 1895 close to the surface in a deep valley on Mound X in loose, washed-down soil. The paper squeeze was made by Haynes in the field and sent with his weekly report Jan. 19, 1895, while the photograph reproduced pl. 53 is an old University Museum photograph.

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**88) Correction (1) to CUSAS 26** – As several colleagues have pointed out to me, the text numbers 292 and 293 were inexplicably omitted in the final printing. I reproduce them here from the proofs.

292



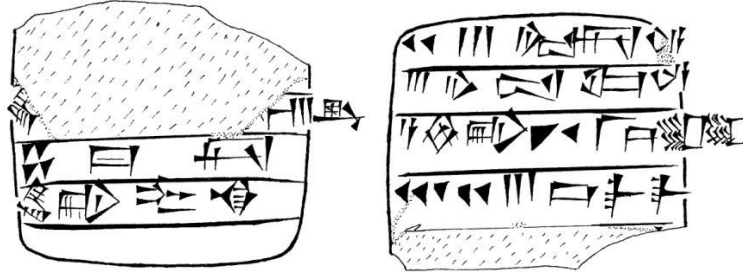
L 2000, 27, now BI-II 23. 66×43×19, blackish stains on the obverse, damaged by the excavator. Paleographic dating: CS. Donkeys.

Previous publication: TCABI 199, cf. SCHRAKAMP 2008, 695.

293

L 2000, 2, now BI-II 1. 35×41×22, half-baked, dark grey, archeology mark on the broken surface. The thickness of the tablet increases steeply on the preserved part of the reverse, and the tablet's original length is impossible to determine. Paleographic dating: CS–LS. Measurements of orchards, number of date palms.

Previous publication: TCABI 222.



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**89) Correction (2) to CUSAS 26** – Thanks to the invaluable services of the CDLI, at least 11 Early Dynastic and Sargonic tablets and fragments in the Ashmolean Museum, which ought to have been included in CUSAS 26, could be identified. And thanks to the ever ready help of Prof. Paul Collins, I could spend two days in the Ashmolean copying four of these tablets. With the probable exception of AN 1962.351, they are all from Kish. As will be seen, they are not devoid of interest.

AN 1924.1604. **No. 2**

AN 1930.174j. **No. 3**

AN 1930.389c + 400b. ED I-II fragment, 43×34×30, “C 7<sup>9</sup> (3)” incised. Not copied. CDLI P451550.

AN 1930.409i. EK IV, p. 60. 31×19×12, Ψ incised. The holes do not go through the tablet. Not copied. CDLI P451556.

AN 1930.409o. ED IIIa, four-col. tablet, mostly blank, 75×78×27, Ψ incised. Not copied. CDLI P451557.

AN 1930.409p. Blank tablet, 41×X×19, Ψ incised. Not copied. No image in CDLI.

AN 1930.409t. Blank tablet, 58×52×26, Ψ incised. Not copied. CDLI P451559.

AN 1930-409w. ED IIIa, obverse dissolved, 49×51×20, Ψ incised. Not copied. CDLI P451562.

AN 1930.409x. Entirely obliterated, 69×41×25. Not copied. CDLI P451563.

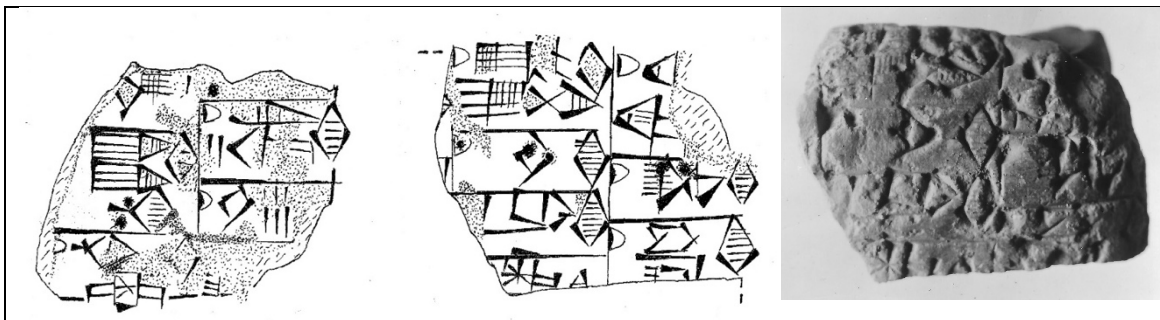
AN 1931.145. **No. 1**

AN 1962.351. **No. 4.** Probably not from Kish.

In addition, CDLI P496452 shows a group of fragments, apparently unnumbered. Most of these are from Jemdet Nasr; but one appears to be ED IIIa and may thus be from Kish. Not copied.

**No. 1**

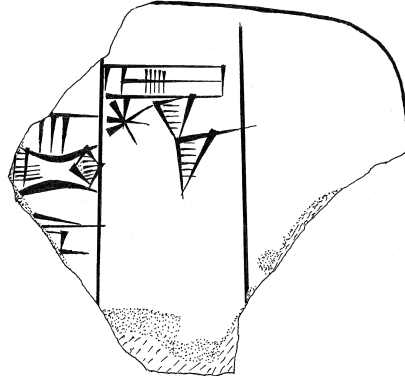
AN 1931.145. 37×55×23. Corner of a medium-sized tablet (four to five columns on each side). Paleographic dating: ED IIIa. “YWN 03” incised. The reverse is shown on Kish Exp. field ph. 1930-31, 87. CDLI P451600.



Lexical text, list of geographical names. It does not seem to belong to any of the known compositions. *ga-ga-na<sup>ki</sup>* (i' 2') and *ša-nu<sup>ki</sup>* (iii' 2) are apparently unknown otherwise. *māra-da<sup>ki</sup>* (iii' 3) is of course well known since Sargonic times, but is not mentioned in any third-millennium lexical text. Some of the names in this text sound rather fanciful, such as “city of the two-headed man” (ii' 2'), or “six-days-city” (ii' 3').

No. 2

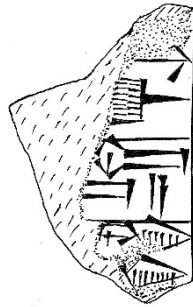
AN 1924.1604. 65×69×18. Obverse(?) completely broken away; what is left is full of worm holes. On the Kish origin of AN 1924.943 ff, see CUSAS 26, xv. CDLI P451131.



I cannot decide whether this fragment is written in the 'Kish writing' (on which, see CUSAS 26, p. 18) or not. The second column (whether from left or right) appears to say *ganun<sup>d</sup>inanna*, "storehouse of Inanna"; but why does the MÛŠ sign have the extra strokes?

No. 3

AN 1930.174j. 39×24×26. Fragment of a big tablet, very carefully made, edge quite sharp and at a right angle with the obverse. It clearly represents a high level of ambition. CDLI P451482.

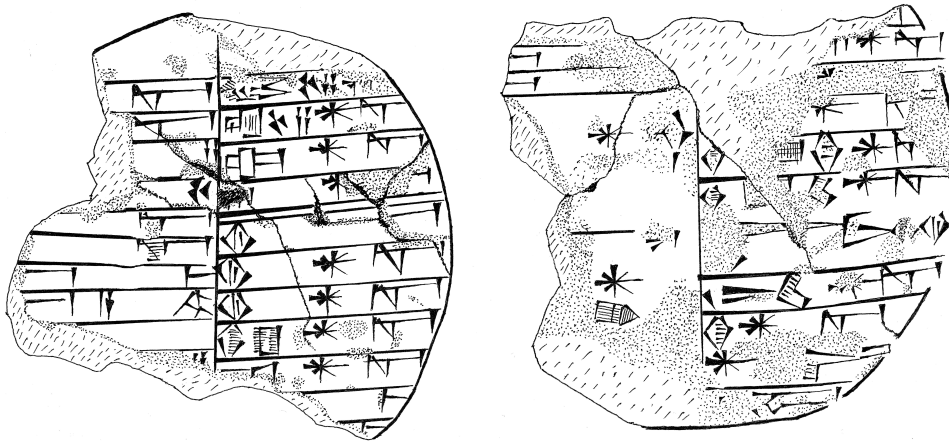


Nothing much can be said about this promising fragment until more of the tablet is found.

No. 4

AN 1962.351. 71×74×23. Round school tablet with phrases composed with Inanna. CDLI P452306.

The origins of this tablet are a bit mysterious. The register book contains the following statement, apparently written by Roger Moorey: "Found unregistered in Assistant Keeper's Room with a pencil note: "dd M. Kassirer". Probably dates from some-time between 1951-55" (P. Collins, pers. comm.). Prof. Collins adds: "It is possible that the tablet does come from Kish but we may only be able to tell from an analysis of the clay. Roger Matthews has been undertaking XRF of the Jemdet Nasr and some Kish tablets and so we may be able to add it to his list for future investigation."



Some of the entries list objects associated with Inanna (ii 1-2, *ná za-gìn<sup>d</sup>inanna, kišib za-gìn<sup>d</sup>inanna*, “Inanna’s lapis-lazuli bed, Inanna’s lapis-lazuli seal”), while others are literary stock phrases, such as *áb-kù<sup>d</sup>inanna* (iii 6). Most of them are opaque to me.

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**90) The Sumerian verb *kušur*, “to repair”** — A model contract recording a house rental, collected in an Old Babylonian *Sammeltafel* from Nippur (HS 2500a, r.ii. 30’-r.iii. 17’),<sup>1)</sup> ends with a clause describing the works which have to be done by the tenant.<sup>2)</sup>

r.iii. 13’.      ur<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-a  
                   14’.      bi<sub>2</sub>-ib-ku-šu-re  
                   15’.      ur<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-a im-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>

“(the tenant) will *repair* the foundations of the house (and) will build (lit. set, place) the roof of the house”.

The verbal form in l. 14’, *bi<sub>2</sub>-ib-ku-šu-re* contains the Sumerian verb \**kušur* (written syllabically *ku-šu.r*). To the best of my knowledge, this verb is attested in three more examples, all of them appearing in Old Babylonian Nippur documents and in the same morphological form (non finite verbal form consisting of verbal stem + ed + locative-terminative):<sup>3)</sup>

- 1) CBS 7580 (= ROBERTSON 1984: 169), o. 3-4: ur<sub>2</sub><sup>4)</sup> e<sub>2</sub>-a e<sub>2</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-en-na / ku-šu-re-de<sub>3</sub>;
- 2) UM 29-15-885 (= ROBERTSON 1984: 170), o. 6-7: ur<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-en-na / ku-šu-re-de<sub>3</sub>;
- 3) HS 2021 (= GODDEERIS 2016: 250f.), o.i. 11-12: e<sub>2</sub><sup>d</sup>nin-urta / ku-šu-re-de<sub>3</sub>.<sup>5)</sup>

This Sumerian verb can be interpreted as an Akkadian loanword and be related to the root \**kšr* (more precisely to its II form) attested in the verb *kašāru/kuššuru*, meaning “to repair (ruined or damaged walls, building, ...)” (cf. CAD K, s.v. *kašāru* A, p. 284f.<sup>6)</sup>). This meaning seems to fit well all the contexts where the Sumerian verb is attested. \**kušur* has all the features to be considered part of the list drawn up by M. CIVIL 2007, which collects many early loanwords of Semitic origin in Sumerian. Moreover, it should also be noted that CIVIL (*ibid.*: 28) has included in that list the Sumerian verb *gušur* (syll. *gu-šu.r*), attested only once in the Ur III documentation (TCS 1, 12 r. 3), which would be a loanword from the Akkadian *kašāru*, “to compensate” (cf. CAD K, s.v. *kašāru* C, p. 285). Since the two Sumerian verbs, *gušur* and *kušur*, seem to derive from the same Akkadian verb, I wonder whether they are the same verb, with a slight different meaning: “to repair” and “to replace, to compensate”, according to a different context.

In Sumerian, the idea of “repairing” a building (or part of it) is expressed in two more ways:

- 1) with the verb *kalag* (Akkadian *dunnunu*), “(to be) strong; to reinforce”;<sup>7)</sup>
- 2) with the compound form *kiĝ<sub>2</sub> ~ ak*, “to do a work”.

To the best of my knowledge, this last expression only appears in the lexical series *Ana ittišu* (IV iv 11), and is equated to the Akkadian verb *kašāru*:

ur<sub>2</sub>-re ki-in ab-ak-e = *a-sur-ra-a i-kaš-ši-ir*, “he will keep the foundation in good repair”.

CIVIL (*ibid.*: 16), while describing the characteristics of these loanwords in Sumerian, says that “a borrowing process often results in ‘doublets’: the new, foreign word does not eliminate a semantically close native one that is retained, but whose meaning may be readjusted, taking on a more specialized (or conversely more generic) sense”. In this case it is not easy to appreciate the semantic nuances hidden behind the three different Sumerian expressions.

1) This tablet belongs to a corpus of model contracts housed in the Hilprecht-Sammlung of Jena; see SPADA *forthcoming*.

2) See STOL 1993-1995: 165b-166a.

3) I thank Ricardo Dorado Puntch for having brought to my attention these attestations.

4) The author reads this sign as *suhuš*, but from the picture (cdli: P262581) the form lacks the typical gunation, imposing a reading *ur<sub>2</sub>* (the same is true for UM-29-15-885, cdli: P256562).

5) In the first two cases the verbal form was read *ba-šu-re-ne* by the author; in the last one, instead, *ba-šu-re-de<sub>3</sub>*.

6) There are more references to the verb *kašāru/kuššuru*, not reported in CAD, with the meaning “to repair”:

a house: SPADA 2007: 143-144. boats: DURAND 1990: 67, fn. 156; BIROT 1969, no. 51 r. 4; BM 97261 o. 6 (unpublished); the temple of Šamaš: ARNAUD 1983, p. 268 no. 2 o. 4 (cf. STOL 2012: 53, e); the palace: VILLARD 2001: 114 fn. 695 (A. 3926 r. 15). I thank Marten Stol for having brought to my attention these attestations.

7) Cf. e.g. PBS 13 53:9: ur<sub>3</sub>-bi i<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub> uš<sub>8</sub>(APIN)-bi i<sub>3</sub>-kalag; PBS 8/1 102 r. ii. 8: iz-zi in-na-ab-kal-la-ge-de<sub>3</sub>.

### Bibliography

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BIROT, M. 1969: *Tablettes économiques et administratives d’époque babylonienne ancienne conservées au musée d’Art et d’Histoire de Genève*, Paris.

CIVIL, M. 2007: “Early Semitic Loanwords in Sumerian”, in M.T. ROTH, W. FARBER, M.W. STOLPER and P. VON BECHTOLSHEIM (eds.), *Studies presented to Robert D. Biggs. June 4, 2004, Assyriological Studies 27*, Chicago, pp. 11-34.

DURAND, J.-M. 1990: “La cité-État d’Imâr à l’époque des rois de Mari”, *MARI* 6, Paris, pp. 39-92.

GODDEERIS, A. 2016: *The Old Babylonian Administrative Texts in the Hilprecht Collection Jena*, TMH 10, Wiesbaden.

ROBERTSON, J.F. 1984: “The internal political and economic structure of Old Babylonian Nippur: the *Guennakkum* and his ‘house’”, *JCS* 36, pp. 145-190.

SPADA, G. 2007: *Testi economici da Ur di periodo paleo-babilonese*, NISABA 12, Messina.

EAD. forthcoming: *The Old Babylonian Model Contracts in the Hilprecht Collection Jena*, TMH, Wiesbaden.

STOL, M. 1993-1995: “Miete B.I. Altbabylonisch”, *RIA* 8/3-4, pp. 162-174.

ID. 2012: “Bitumen in Ancient Mesopotamia. The textual evidence”, *BiOr* 69, pp. 48-60.

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**91) Šubur, Ensi von Umma/Gišša** – CUSAS 35, 394 (MS 3791/31 = P252825) endet mit šubur énsi / 30 lá 2 mu. BARTASH 2017, 374 schreibt dazu vorsichtig: „Šubur may be a previous unknown ruler. If so the historical reconstruction of MARCHESI 2015: 141-43 and MONACO 2015: 103, 165 should be revised. The present text looks older than the majority of texts edited here, which were composed during the latter part of the rule of the governor Me’annedu.“ NOTIZIA & VISICATO 2016, 10 halten es für möglich, dass es sich bei Šubur um einen anderen Namen des Meannedu handelt, der der einzige Ensi in ED IIIb Umma ist, für den eine Regierungszeit dieser Länge belegt ist. Diese Lösung ist gewissermaßen das letzte Mittel angesichts scheinbar unvereinbarer chronologischer Fakten.

Notizia und Visicato ebd. erwähnen noch eine weitere Möglichkeit. Indem sie die vorige Zeile lú(-)bára-si hinzunehmen, übersetzen sie: „Lubarasi, servant<sup>2</sup> of the ruler“. Ein Funktionär šubur énsi ist meines Wissens nicht belegt. Wenn der angenommene \*Lubarasi ein wichtiger Gehilfe des Ensis in der gut belegten Zeit des Meannedu gewesen wäre, würde man erwarten, dass er in ED IIIb Umma häufig erwähnt würde. Der Autor konnte jedoch in ED IIIb Umma keinen weiteren Beleg für den Namen finden.

In den letzten Jahren wurde die Chronologie Ummas zum großen Teil geklärt.<sup>1)</sup> Es erscheint ausgeschlossen nach En-á-kal-le, mit dem Eannatum Frieden geschlossen hat (Ent. 28 i 39-42 = 29 ii 8-11), einen weiteren Stadtfürsten mit einer Regierungszeit von mindestens 28 Jahren einzufügen. Zuvor kämpfte Eannatum gegen Nita von Umma (Ent. 28/29 i 13-31). Eannatums Großvater Ur-Nanše nahm den Stadtfürsten Pabilgaltuku von Umma gefangen (Urn. 51 iv 5-8). Die Inschrift erwähnt mehrere Bauten Ur-Nanšes und kann daher nicht in die Anfangszeit seiner Herrschaft fallen, was die Vermutung nahelegt, dass auch die in seinen anderen Inschriften nicht erwähnte Auseinandersetzung mit Pabilgaltuku nicht früh anzusetzen ist.

Allgemein wird vor allem aufgrund der wenigen von ihm erhaltenen Inschriften davon ausgegangen, dass Akurgal nur kurz regierte. Aufgrund der intensiven Bautätigkeit seines Vaters Ur-Nanše gab es aber unter Akurgal vielleicht einfach weniger Bedarf an Bauten und damit auch weniger Inschriften. Immerhin baute Akurgal in Lagaš und für Ningirsu in Antasura. Der Bau von Antasura wurde auf mindestens einem Löwenkopf-Protomen aus Girsu (AO 3295) vermerkt. Dieser und 5 analoge Löwen-Protome aus Girsu dürften zu einem oder mehreren großen Alabastergefäßen gehört haben. Dass in der Hauptstadt des Baus in besonderer Weise gedacht wurde, spricht für eine bedeutende und abgeschlossene Bautätigkeit. Vielleicht wertete Akurgal ein von seinem Vater nicht bedachtes Heiligtum des kriegerischen Stadt-/Staatsgottes an der Grenze bewusst auf. Akurgal hatte auch selbst einen Streit

mit Umma (Ean. 1 ii). Er ist außerdem der einzige frühe Lagaš-Herrscher, der auf einer Tontafel aus Adab erwähnt wird (CUSAS 26, 69).

Man kann diese Ereignisse in 5 Jahren unterbringen, aber man kann Akurgal auch ohne Probleme 20 Jahre zugestehen. Der nicht gut weg diskutierende Šubur spricht dafür, Akurgal ein paar Jahre mehr zuzugestehen. Aus der Regierungszeit von Enannatum II, Enentarzi und Lugalanda sind ebenfalls nur 2 Inschriften erhalten.<sup>2)</sup> Das Minimum ihrer gemeinsamen Regierungszeit liegt bei 16 Jahren, Monaco 2011, 9 schätzt mehr als 23 Jahre.

Šubur könnte seine Herrschaft zur Zeit des Ur-Nanše angetreten haben und Nita könnte auf ihn in den letzten Jahren Akurgals oder in den ersten Jahren Eannatums folgen. Die zweite Möglichkeit wäre, in Šubur den Vorgänger von Pabilgaltuku zu sehen.

Paläographisch würde nichts gegen einen Ansatz Šuburs in der Zeit Akurgals sprechen, wenn man Tontafeln ähnlichen Alters vergleicht (CUSAS 26, 69 (Akurgal); Eannatum 30 = P222430; CUSAS 33, 244 (Enakale), CUSAS 33, 55 (Ur-Luma 2)). Vergleicht man die auf II datierten Texte TCBI I 1 (P382014) und CUSAS 23, 31, die mindestens 32 bzw. 39 Jahre älter sein sollten als Meannedu 28, so wirkt CUSAS 35, 394 älter statt jünger. Dies würde der hier vermuteten Chronologie entsprechen, doch es erscheint fraglich, ob sich einzelne Texte, wenn sie keine besonders charakteristischen Zeichen enthalten, fröhdynastisch auf weniger als 100 Jahre genau datieren lassen. CUSAS 35, 394 hat noch Kästchen und erinnert damit an den auf Akurgal zu datierenden Text CUSAS 26, 69, sowie an RTC 1-8, die nicht jünger sein können als Ur-Nanše.<sup>3)</sup> Allerdings ist der Übergang von Kästchen zu Zeilen auch später noch keineswegs durchgehend vollzogen, wenn auch in Umma mehr als in Lagaš. RTC 42 (P221439; Lugalanda 5) hat auf der Vorderseite Zeilen, auf der Rückseite Kästchen. Viele Zeichen ändern sich über einen langen Zeitraum praktisch nicht. Was jünger aussieht ist manchmal nur flüchtiger geschrieben. Dass Bartash nach intensiver Beschäftigung mit Meannedu-Texten einen anderen Eindruck attestiert, ist immerhin ein Indiz.

Von den 23 verschiedenen Namen in dem Text sind 13 (me-an-si, ama-en-né, gan/hé-tilla<sub>x</sub>/nab, me-kalam-si, é-men-na-u<sub>4</sub>-sù, ur-<sup>d</sup>er<sub>x</sub>(KIŠ)-ra, a-an-da, nir-ġál, é-nun-né, AN.NE-si, lugal-saġ-ku<sub>5</sub>-sù, lugal-maġ-di, bára-si) für ED IIIb Umma nur in diesem Text belegt. In den übrigen Fällen ist zwar der Name belegt und oft sehr geläufig, doch es ergibt sich keine Übereinstimmung, wenn nähere Angaben gemacht werden, en-kalam-du<sub>10</sub> ugula-é, ur-<sup>d</sup>šára túg-du<sub>8</sub> und é-an-da gala sind nur hier belegt. Dies ist ein weiteres Indiz gegen eine Datierung in die Regierungszeit des Meannedu, von der insbesondere die späteren Jahre gut belegt sind, wie auch die Zeit seines Nachfolgers Ušurdu.

Šubur<sup>4)</sup> „Eber“ ist ein alter, auch in Umma ED IIIa (CUSAS 23, 2) und ED IIIb (CUSAS 33, 94 passim) belegter sumerischer Name, der wohl Wehrhaftigkeit ausdrücken sollte, wie auch Nita<sup>5)</sup> und En-á-kal-le.

<sup>1)</sup> Siehe die oben erwähnte Literatur und NOTIZIA & VISICATO 2016, 5-10 und Literatur dort.

<sup>2)</sup> Nicht gezählt ist RIME 1.9.7.1 da es sich lediglich um eine Inschrift einer Tochter des Lugalanda und auch nicht aus seiner Regierungszeit handelt.

<sup>3)</sup> Zur Datierung von RTC 1-8 HUH 2008, 278-79.

<sup>4)</sup> Die Lesung ist konventionell, aBZL Nr. 4 bietet nur noch subur. Das Problem ist zu komplex, um es hier zu behandeln.

<sup>5)</sup> Ältere Lesungen Uš und Ús ergeben als Namen keinen Sinn. Nita „Mann“ scheint sich daher durchzusetzen (oder Ninta, cf. MSL 5, 18, 130; fraglich, da man bei Assimilation auch Glossen für \*nitta erwarten würde). Vielleicht Kurzform von Nita-zi „rechter Mann“. Enannatum I lässt sich von Ningirsu als nita kal-ga-ġu<sub>10</sub> „mein starker Mann“ bezeichnen, gegen den der Ensi von Umma besser nicht die Hand erheben soll und der ihn prompt besiegt (En. I 29 ix 2-xi2). Dies belegt die mögliche Assoziation mit Wehrhaftigkeit.

BARTASH, V. 2017: Sumerian Administrative and Legal Documents ca. 2900-2200 BC in the Schøyen Collection, CUSAS 35, Bethesda.

HUH, S. K. 2008: Studien zur Region Lagaš, AOAT 345, Münster.

MARCHESI, G. 2015: Towards a Chronology of Early Dynastic Rulers in Mesopotamia, in: W. Sallaberger und I. Schrakamp (Hrsg.), ARCANE 3, 139-56.

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ID. 2015: More on Presargonic Umma, in: A. Archi (hrsg.): Tradition and Innovation in Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 57th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Rome, 4-8 July 2011, Winona Lake, 161-66.

NOTIZIA, P. & G. VISICATO 2016: Early Dynastic and Early Sargonic Administrative Texts Mainly from the Umma Region in the Cornell University Cuneiform Collection, CUSAS 33, Bethesda.

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**92) Une tablette d’Ur III au musée des Confluences de Lyon\*** – Actuellement conservée par le musée des Confluences de Lyon, la tablette provient de Girsu et date de la 47<sup>e</sup> année du règne de Šulgi (2048 av. J.-C.), deuxième roi de la 3<sup>e</sup> dynastie d’Ur. Le document, collecté à l’origine à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup>-début XX<sup>e</sup> siècle par les Carmes de Bagdad, fait partie de la collection des Œuvres pontificales missionnaires de Lyon, dont le dépôt a été effectué en 1979 au muséum de Lyon, devenu aujourd’hui le musée des Confluences<sup>1)</sup>. La tablette est conditionnée avec trois autres tablettes de la même période (GASSAN 1979) qui proviennent de Puzriš-Dagan et d’Umma. Un exemplaire de l’« Inscription standard » du roi Assurnasirpal II (LEY 1895, ABRAHAMI 2007) compte également parmi les quelques documents cunéiformes conservés par ce musée.

La tablette mesure 3,5 x 3 x 1 cm, et son enveloppe, dont une partie adhère encore à la tablette, 4 x 4 x 1,5 cm. Bien que brisée accidentellement, l’enveloppe est presque complète et les fragments peuvent en être rassemblés. Elle porte des impressions de sceaux sur chaque face et sur une tranche.

Musée des Confluences – dépôt des Œuvres pontificales missionnaires de Lyon Inv. D979-3-648

**Tablette**

[8].2.0 gíg gur-lugal	2520 litres de blé
ki lu <sub>2</sub> - <sup>d</sup> igi-ma-še <sub>3</sub> -ta	(du bureau) de Lu-Igimaše
’lugal’-ki-ag <sub>2</sub>	Lugal-Kiag
[šu] ba-ti	a reçu
[giri <sub>3</sub> ] ur-tur	Sous la supervision d’Ur-Tur
[iti še]-il <sub>2</sub> -la	12 <sup>e</sup> mois
[mu] us <sub>2</sub> -sa ki-	Année qui suit la destruction
[maš] <sup>ki</sup> ba-hul	de Kimaš

**Enveloppe**

8.2.0 gíg gur-lugal	2520 litres de blé
ki lu <sub>2</sub> - <sup>d</sup> igi-ma še <sub>3</sub> -<ta>	(du bureau de) de Lu-Igimaše
(sceau illisible)	
kišib <sub>3</sub> lugal-ki-ag <sub>2</sub>	Sceau de Lugal-Kiag
giri <sub>3</sub> ur-tur	Sous la supervision d’Ur-Tur
Rev. iti še-i[il <sub>2</sub> -la]	12 <sup>e</sup> mois
(sceau illisible)	
mu-us <sub>2</sub> -sa ki-maš <sup>ki</sup>	Année qui suit la destruction
ba-hul	de Kimaš

Sceau sur la tranche : lugal-[ki-ag<sub>2</sub>], dub-[sar], dumu ur-[...]

Ce reçu documente le transfert de 2520 litres de blé. Les fonctionnaires impliqués dans cette transaction apparaissent dans des documents comptables similaires de la même période.

En effet, Ur-Tur est mentionné comme « giri<sub>3</sub> » dans une quinzaine de textes de Girsu datés entre Š37 et AS3. Il était donc membre de l’administration d’Ur III, détenteur de l’autorité lors de la transaction. Il intervient dans les textes MVN 12 234, MVN 12 257, et MVN 12 256 (Gomi 1982) qui sont également des reçus de blé datés de la fin de l’année Š47. Quelques textes provenant du centre administratif de Puzriš-Dagan mentionnent également ce fonctionnaire. Lu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>igi-ma-še<sub>3</sub>, l’individu qui remet ici le blé à Lugal-ki-ag<sub>2</sub>, apparaît lui aussi dans différents textes de Girsu datés entre Š28 et IS1.

Lugal-ki-ag<sub>2</sub> est également cité dans différentes transactions de céréales de Š28 à IS1, notamment sur le fragment d'enveloppe CDLI P235286 datée du 2<sup>e</sup> mois de Š47, où son sceau est également apposé. Il est probable que la tablette CTPSM 1 042 (PERLOV & SAVELIEV 2014), qui récapitule des transactions du mois, reprenne les informations de CDLI P235286, qui ne sont pas visibles sur le fragment. L'impression du sceau de Lugal-ki-ag<sub>2</sub> sur l'une des tranches de l'enveloppe laisse apparaître une silhouette, et semble figurer une scène de présentation à une divinité, comme il est commun à cette période (ALTAVILLA 2005 : 15).

\*) Je remercie Marie-Paule Imberti, chargée de collections au musée des Confluences, qui m'a confié la traduction de cette tablette et m'a accueillie à plusieurs reprises, et qui a très généreusement partagé avec moi l'état de ses recherches sur les Carmes de Bagdad.

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**93) Ants in the Kesh Temple: An Improved Reading of Kesh Temple Hymn line 89<sup>\*)</sup>** – A re-examination of the sources for line line 89<sup>1)</sup> of the Kesh Temple Hymn, which is only available from Old Babylonian exemplars of the text, demonstrates that the noun /kisi<sup>2)</sup> or /kišil/ “ant” is present, approximating the spellings across the (less numerous) sources for *Lugalbanda* 83 (Wilcke *Das Lugalbanda Epos*, 100) and *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* 335 (Mittermayer OBO 239, 196), where the presence of the insect term is unequivocal. These are all the sources for the second phrase of the line currently known to me which I could collate: <sup>3)</sup>

CBS 7903 rii'6':	GEŠ <sup>4)</sup>	kiš <sub>8</sub> ?-/[...]	[g]ul-e
CBS 10196 ri5':	e <sub>2</sub>	DAG.KIŠIM <sub>5</sub> ×PA.U?-DAG.KIŠIM <sub>5</sub> ×PA.U?	[...]
CBS 15037+ ri18'':	GEŠ	DAG.KIŠIM <sub>5</sub> ×...-[...]	[...]
UM 29-16-16 o3:	e <sub>2</sub>	kiš <sub>8</sub> -e?	hur-[...]
N 3677 o3:		<sup>u2</sup> kiš <sub>8</sub> ?-[...]	[...]
3N-T 832 o4':	e <sub>2</sub>	DAG.KIŠIM <sub>5</sub> ×PA?.MAŠ <sup>5)</sup> -DA[G.KIŠIM <sub>5</sub> ×PA.MAŠ]	[...]
MS 3288 ri22:	GEŠ	DAG.KIŠIM <sub>5</sub> -DAG.KIŠIM <sub>5</sub> -da?	[...]
MS 3411 o3:		DAG.KIŠIM <sub>5</sub> ×KAK?-*DAG.KIŠIM <sub>5</sub> ×KAK?-da?	hur <sub>2</sub> -la?
BM 115798 ri20:	GEŠ	kiš <sub>6</sub> -kiš <sub>6</sub> -da	hur-ra
Cotsen 40740 siii19:	e <sub>2</sub>	kiš <sub>6</sub> -kiš <sub>6</sub>	hur?-re-en
WAM 48.1802 siii24:		kiš <sub>x</sub> (BAR.ŠE.NAGA) <sup>6)</sup> -da	hur-ra

The DAG.KIŠIM<sub>5</sub> complex is inscribed with what is clearly GIR<sub>2</sub> in UM 29-16-16, thus furnishing the known spelling kiš<sub>8</sub>. In the other instances, here transliterated with due reservation, the intended inscription is less clear and in some instances may be understood as an abbreviation of either GIR<sub>2</sub> or U<sub>2</sub>-GIR<sub>2</sub>,<sup>7)</sup> with the latter thus potentially furnishing another known spelling, kiš<sub>9</sub>,<sup>8)</sup> as constrained by space. The scribe of N 3677 seems to have inserted the U<sub>2</sub> sign before the sign, perhaps in an attempt to fully render the combination U<sub>2</sub>-GIR<sub>2</sub> in a legible manner. MS 3288 seems to have no sign inscribed in the DAG.KIŠIM<sub>5</sub> complex, most likely because the scribe chose to forego the struggle to render the inscribed signs entirely.<sup>9)</sup>



The meaning of this phrase is not entirely straightforward, owing to the verbal variance between the non-finite verbs *hur*, *gul* and apparently *hul<sub>2</sub>* in one of the Schøyen sources (the latter of which I assume here to be an error based on partial homophony with *hur*) and an apparent morphemic variance (-*da*, -*e*?) in conjunction with the noun, not to mention the potential degree of abstraction anticipated by the general context. With due hesitation, perhaps it involves the ability of the ant to leave marks on wood by chewing, possibly generalized in the context to include all the building materials involving the temple, to be translated as along the lines of “temple set down (in the Walters prism “founded”) by the ruler, temple (whose foundations are?) incised *by ants*”: the Nippur source UM 29-16-16 seems to have the ergative -*e*, while the variant -*da* observed in several non-Nippur sources represents the comitative or possibly an allograph of the instrumental morpheme -*ta*. The Cotsen prism seems to contain an otherwise novel first person passive construction, “temple, you are incised(?) *by ants*.” Thus, this passage constitutes a relatively rare instance of the ant in Sumerian literature to complement the recurrent literary image /*kisi*/ *ki-in-dar-ra* (*Lugalbanda* 83, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* 335, *Nanshe and the Birds* D4: see the discussion of Mittermayer OBO 239, 266). Another overlooked occurrence of ants in a literary context is the proverb UET 6/2/282/UET 6/2 332, which seems to describe ants moving in a line up a poplar tree in simile: *kiš<sub>6</sub><sup>nes</sup>asal<sub>2</sub>gin<sub>7</sub>al-ed<sub>3</sub>al-ed<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>* “Like ants (up) a poplar tree, (the line) went up and (kept) going up.”

To the best of my current knowledge, this image is otherwise obscure. One might compare, despite the considerable temporal and contextual distance between the two contexts, the presence of ants in buildings as an ominous circumstance in the *Šumma Alu* tradition (*Šumma Alu* 5 28-31 (see Freedman OPSNKF 17, 90-91), *Šumma Alu* 37 (Heeßel KAL 1, 80-89)).

\*) I would like to thank Enrique Jiménez for his most helpful observations in conjunction with this communication. The responsibility for its contents is mine alone.

1) Following the line numeration of Wilcke FS Vanstiphout.

2) Thus Proto-Ea 835 (MSL 14, 62): DAG.KIŠIM<sub>5</sub>×GIR<sub>2</sub> = *ki-si<sub>2</sub>*.

3) I did not have recourse to NBC 7799, which needs to be collated in light of the new reading. Perhaps it contains a DAG.KIŠIM<sub>5</sub> container sign, reflected by what Delnero *Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions*, 2219 reads as *bi? X<sub>b</sub>*. The Isin source IB 1511 may have skipped this line, and the abbreviated version of the text reflected in the collective tablet MS 3176/3 does not give the second half of the line.

4) Effectively *e<sub>x</sub>*: here and in the other attestations the scribe renders the *E<sub>2</sub>* minimally elsewhere, although it should be noted that *neš* “wood” is a prevalent semantic object of *hur*.

5) Very similar to the DAG.KIŠIM<sub>5</sub> inscription featured in the ELA exemplar CBS 10436+ ri18’ (copied by Mittermayer ABZ, sign no. 172). This sign is in turn reminiscent of some versions of the AMAŠ sign, by far the most frequently used of the DAG.KIŠIM<sub>5</sub> container signs in Sumerian literature (note also the value *kisim<sub>3</sub>* attributed to it in Ea 4:54 (MSL 14, 357)).

6) This sign was read as ŠINIG by Wilcke FS Vanstiphout, 232 n. 49, which he cites as confirmation of the reading *šeg<sub>9</sub>* (without referencing the DAG.KIŠIM<sub>5</sub> variants). The ŠINIG sign, however, typically begins with a GADA sign. The reading BAR.ŠE.GAR.NI by Delnero *Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions*, 2219 is more accurate in this regard. The sign is better understood as a novel rendering of the ŠEG<sub>9</sub> sign, perhaps under the influence of the occurrence of the divine name Nisaba and the *plene* spelling <sup>d</sup>ŠE.NAGA elsewhere in the manuscript, including side i10 and at the top of the prism before the first line of the manuscript.

7) PA is a known graphic abbreviation of *U<sub>2</sub>* in some paleographic environments. It is well-known that inscribed signs, especially those rendered in a container sign consisting of diagonals such as HI and DAG.KIŠIM<sub>5</sub>, are notoriously illegible due to the spatial constraints imposed by typical literary manuscripts.

8) The use of the container signs GIR<sub>2</sub> and *U<sub>2</sub>-GIR<sub>2</sub>* is in all likelihood prompted by the similarity of the floral term /*kiše(g)*/, perhaps “acacia,” to the lexeme in question.

9) It is also possible that the scribe elected to render DAG.KIŠIM<sub>5</sub> = Akkadian *š<sup>h</sup>hu*, an insect term that may be evidenced by OB *Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra* division 3 398 (DCCLT edition: most sources give this entry, which is glossed with the Akkadian equivalent in one source (CBS 2178+), as the unscripted DAG.KIŠIM<sub>5</sub>). This Akkadian word is associated with *kiš<sub>8</sub>* and *kiš<sub>9</sub>* in the later *Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra* and *Ea* traditions and thus may have involved a similar insect.

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**94) Dater une paire d'inverses (BM 132289)<sup>\*</sup>** — Outre l'élucidation et l'interprétation du contenu de la tablette, le but de cette note est de rassembler des indices permettant de discuter de la datation, notamment par comparaison avec des textes parallèles.



Fig. 1 BM 132289. Photos prises par J. C. Fincke, courtoisie des Trustees du British Museum.

La tablette est de forme rectangulaire et de format paysage, de dimensions largeur × hauteur × épaisseur = 75 × 65 × 23,5 mm. Elle montre des traces de recyclage telles que pétrissage et signes effacés.

1:12:49:4            15  
49:26:18:30:56:15    4  
(Espace vide avec traces de signes effacés)  
r3:17:45:14:3:45

La face contient deux inscriptions numériques, l'une de deux lignes dans la partie supérieure, l'autre d'une ligne dans la partie inférieure. La partie de la surface entre ces deux inscriptions présente des traînées d'effacement et des restes de chiffres mal effacés. La tranche inférieure et le revers sont anépigraphes, mais présentent aussi des traces d'effacement.

Les nombres qui composent les deux premières lignes sont 1:12:49:4, une puissance de 2 (c'est  $2^{18}$ ), et le nombre 49:26:18:30:56:15, son inverse. En vis-à-vis de 1:12:49:4, le nombre 15, qui est l'inverse de 4, le dernier chiffre de 1:12:49:4, indique que l'inverse a été calculé par factorisation. En face de 49:26:18:30:56:15, le nombre 4, qui est l'inverse de 15, le dernier chiffre de 49:26:18:30:56:15, semble indiquer que l'inverse de l'inverse était à son tour à calculer par factorisation.<sup>1)</sup> Le nombre 3:17:45:14:3:45 inscrit dans la partie inférieure est l'inverse d'une autre puissance de 2 (celui de  $2^{16}$ ).

#### **Les parallèles**

La paire d'inverses inscrite dans la partie supérieure est attestée dans plusieurs textes d'époque tardive. On peut citer par exemple AO 6456 (THUREAU-DANGIN 1922 : n°31), une grande table d'inverses de nombres commençant par 1 ou par 2, provenant d'Uruk et datée de l'époque hellénistique de façon sûre (informations données par le colophon). On peut citer aussi la tablette formée de deux fragments W 23283+W 22905 (VON WEIHER 1993 : n°174 ; FRIBERG & AL-RAWI 2017 : 26 ss), contenant une table d'inverses de nombres commençant par 1, par 2 ou par 3, qui a été trouvée dans les niveaux achéménides de la « Maison des ašīpus » d'Uruk. Cette tablette donne aussi l'entrée « igi 3:17:45:14:3:45 8:12:16 », qui apparaît partiellement dans la partie inférieure de la face de notre tablette. Il y a également BM 33447 (OSSENDRIJVER 2014 : 159, texte E) et BM 32681 (ibid : 160, texte F), des tables d'inverses de nombres commençant par 1 provenant probablement de Babylone, utilisant la

graphie du 9 spécifique des textes d'époque séleucide. Ces parallèles sont tous les tables d'inverses de nombres commençant par 1, 2 ou 3.

Cependant, les nombres inscrits sur notre tablette ne semblent pas être extraits d'une table d'inverses, mais reflètent plutôt l'application de l'algorithme d'inversion par factorisation à une puissance de 2.

Des listes de puissances et de leurs inverses sont attestées à l'époque paléo-babylonienne dans des sources de Larsa, par exemple dans IM 73355 (ARNAUD 1994 : n°55, pl. 25), qui est une liste de puissances de 3.45 suivie d'une liste des inverses correspondants, donc de puissances de 16.

Une troisième série de parallèles se trouve dans la Collection Schøyen. Il s'agit de six tablettes, contenant chacune une ou deux paires d'inverses, publiées par FRIBERG 2007: 28-31<sup>2)</sup>. La structure des entrées est décrite dans le Tableau 1.

Numéro	Numéro CDLI	Entrée	Structure	Remarque
MS 2730	P251754	4:51:16:16 3:45	$16^5$	Trace de factorisation
MS 2732	P251756	1:9:7:12 5	$12^5$	Trace de factorization
MS 2793	P251839	41:25:30:48:32	$2^{29}$	
MS 2894	P252001	13 <sup>sic</sup> :24 <sup>sic</sup> :45 <sup>sic</sup> :11:6:40	$2:5 \times 2^{29}$	Nombre fautif
MS 2699	P251712	2:41:49:2:13:20	$2:5 \times 2^{24}$	
MS 3264	P252204	1:1:30:43 <sup>sic</sup> :45 1:30:48:6:2:15:20:15	$25 \times 3^{12}$ $5 \times 3^{25}$	Lire 1:1:30:33:45

Tableau 1. Tablettes de la Collection Schøyen de type et de contenu analogue à ceux de BM 132289 (d'après FRIBERG 2007 : 28-31).

Ces six tablettes sont carrées ou rectangulaires de format paysage, contiennent une paire d'inverses inscrites sur deux lignes dans la partie supérieure de la face (ainsi que, dans un cas, deux paires, et dans un autre cas, un nombre inscrit dans la partie inférieure), présentent un revers anépigraphé et de nombreuses traces d'effacement. Le tableau 1 montre que les entrées des paires qu'on trouve sur ces tablettes sont de même nature que celles de notre tablette BM 132289 : ce sont des nombres engendrés par des multiplications répétées par le même facteur d'un nombre initial, ce qui produit une puissance ou le produit d'un nombre par une puissance. Les deux premiers textes cités dans le tableau 1, MS 2730 et MS 2732, présentent de plus des traces de factorisation analogues à celles de BM 132289.

BM 132289 et les tablettes de la Collection Schøyen présentent une parenté frappante avec une tablette conservée à Berlin, VAT 5457 (Friberg signale cette parenté, ainsi que Christopher Walker). VAT 5457 a été publiée par NEUGEBAUER & SACHS (1945 : 16), qui la considèrent comme paléo-babylonienne. Il s'agit d'une tablette rectangulaire de même type que BM 132289, portant deux lignes l'inscription dans la partie supérieure :

9:6:8 7:30  
6:35:58:7:30 2

Comme dans BM 132289, les nombres qui composent les deux premières lignes sont une puissance de 2 (ici 9:6:8, qui est la puissance  $2^{15}$ ), et son inverse, ici le nombre 6:35:30:28:7:30 (écrit fautivement 6:35:58:7:30)<sup>3)</sup>. En vis-à-vis de 9:6:8, le nombre 7:30, qui est l'inverse de 8, le dernier chiffre de 9:6:8, indique que l'inverse a été calculé par factorisation. En face de 6:35:58:7:30, le nombre 2, qui est l'inverse de 30, le dernier chiffre de 6:35:58:7:30, semble indiquer que l'inverse de l'inverse était à son tour à calculer par factorisation.

Friberg date les tablettes citées dans le tableau 1 de la période paléo-babylonienne. Il ne détaille pas les raisons qui le conduisent à cette datation, mais il faut noter en sa faveur au moins deux arguments : d'une part la parenté des tablettes de la Collection Schoyen avec la tablette de Berlin VAT 5457, d'autre part le fait que les traces de factorisation dans MS 2730 et 2732, ainsi que la structure des entrées de MS 2894 et de MS 2699 (2:5 doublé un certain nombre de fois) rappellent les exercices d'inversion paléo-babyloniens.

De ces trois groupes ayant de possibles connexions historiques avec notre texte, celui de la Collection Schøyen (augmentée de la tablette de Berlin VAT 5457) est le plus convaincant. En effet, non seulement les contenus de BM 132289 et des tablettes de la Collection Schøyen et de Berlin sont analogues, mais surtout le type de tablette et la mise en page sont identiques. Si on retient l'hypothèse que notre tablette proviendrait d'un contexte historiquement proche de celui des tablettes de la Collection Schøyen citées dans la table 1, il apparaît un conflit entre la datation de BM 132289 par le British Museum (périodes tardives) et la datation des tablettes de la Collection Schøyen par Friberg (paléo-babylonienne).

Il convient donc d'examiner de plus près les raisons de la datation par le British Museum. Les archives du British Museum nous en apprennent un peu plus sur l'histoire matérielle récente de notre tablette.

#### **Le lot du British Museum auquel appartient BM 132289**

D'après les données en ligne mises à la disposition du public par le British Museum<sup>4)</sup>, la tablette a été achetée à Mrs E. C. B. Chappelow le 4 décembre 1958 en même temps que 28 autres tablettes. E. C. B. Chappelow avait hérité de ces tablettes de son mari, qui les avait lui-même acquises de Theophilus Goldridge Pinches. Les 29 tablettes portent des numéros de Musée et des numéros d'enregistrement consécutifs. Toutes sont datées « LB », sauf une qui est datée de la période néo-assyrienne. Seules trois tablettes sur les 29 ont des provenances identifiées : Babylone, Sippar et Al-Hillah pour la tablette néo-assyrienne. Le contenu des tablettes est principalement astrologique ou astronomique, quelques-unes sont administratives, économiques ou littéraires. Seule BM 132289 est mathématique.

40 pièces ayant appartenu à T. G. Pinches ont été acquises par le British Museum. Le site du British Museum décrit ainsi la collection de T. G. Pinches: "T. G. Pinches's personal collection of Mesopotamian cuneiform tablets was bequeathed to his student A. C. Chappelow (q.v.) and in part sold to the British Museum by Chappelow's widow (Mrs. E. C. B. Chappelow, q.v.), the remainder being sold at Sotheby's."<sup>5)</sup>

Les 40 pièces de la collection personnelle de T. G. Pinches se partagent ainsi en deux lots:

— les 29 tablettes datées « LB » ou « Neo-Assyrian » acquises par A. C. Chappelow et vendues au British Museum par sa veuve en 1958 (voir ci-dessus),

— 11 pièces vendues au British Museum en 2004 par Marianne Hillier-Brook. T. G. Pinches avait donné ces pièces à son neveu Leonard Richard Pinches, qui lui-même les avait données à sa fille Marianne Hillier-Brook (Christopher Walker, communication personnelle 5/11/2017). Ce lot se partage en quatre objets, un moulage, quatre tablettes datées d'Ur III, une tablette paléo-babylonienne provenant de Sippar, et une tablette administrative achéménide.

On le voit, ces deux lots sont de nature différente. Le lot d'A. C. Chappelow est un ensemble de tablettes majoritairement récentes (époques néo-babylonienne à séleucide). Le lot de Marianne Hillier-Brook est un ensemble hétérogène comprenant des objets et des tablettes de diverses datations.

Ces informations relatives à l'histoire des collections sont fragmentaires, mais montrent que la trajectoire de notre tablette BM 132289 est liée, dans ses derniers épisodes avant l'achat par le British Museum, à celle d'un lot de tablettes datant des époques néo-babylonienne à séleucide. Ces éléments expliquent la datation de BM 132289 donnée par le British Museum.

Si on accepte la datation de BM 132289 par le British Museum, alors on doit envisager la possibilité que les tablettes similaires de la Collection Schøyen publiées par Friberg et la tablette de Berlin soient de datation tardive et non paléo-babylonienne. La forme du 9 dans BM 132289 et dans les tablettes similaires de la Collection Schøyen et de Berlin exclurait la période séleucide et donc pointerait plutôt vers les périodes néo-babylonienne ou achéménide. La datation tardive de BM 132289 et des tablettes similaires témoignerait de la transmission jusqu'à la fin du premier millénaire de l'algorithme de factorisation paléo-babylonien, qui était déjà bien documentée (OSSENDRIJVER 2014, FRIBERG & AL-RAWI 2017 : Sect. 2). Plus inattendu, elle témoignerait de la transmission concomitante de la disposition des nombres adoptée par les praticiens paléo-babyloniens pour réaliser cet algorithme.

Cependant, si l'hypothèse d'une datation tardive ne peut être exclue complètement à ce stade, la datation paléo-babylonienne de l'ensemble formé de BM 132289, VAT 5457 et des six tablettes de la Collection Schøyen reste la plus probable.

<sup>\*)</sup> Je remercie chaleureusement Jeanette Fincke, qui me communique les photos d'une tablette inédite du British Museum contenant des inscriptions numériques. Christopher Walker avait identifié cette tablette comme mathématique et l'avait datée de l'époque néo-babylonienne. Récemment, il est revenu sur ce texte et ses parallèles, notamment VAT 5457, et penche maintenant plutôt en faveur d'une datation paléo-babylonienne. Je lui dois toute ma reconnaissance pour les précieuses données qu'il m'a transmises et pour ses remarques sur les problèmes de datation. Je remercie également Mathieu Ossendrijver pour ses remarques, qui convergent avec celles de Christopher Walker en ce qui concerne la datation paléo-babylonienne.

1) Pour plus de détails sur l'algorithme d'inversion par factorisation et sa réciproque (calcul de l'inverse de l'inverse), voir PROUST 2012 et la bibliographie donnée dans cet article.

2) Voir images sur le site du CDLI aux adresses <https://cdli.ucla.edu/Pxxxxxx>, le numéro xxxxxx étant donné dans le tableau 1.

3) Les deux positions centrales 30 et 28 ont été superposées et ajoutés par erreur. J'ai interprété ce type d'erreur comme reflétant l'utilisation d'un instrument de calcul dans PROUST 2000.

4) [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx) (consulté en octobre 2017).

5) [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/term\\_details.aspx?bioId=18653](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=18653) (consulté en octobre 2017).

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**95) A collection of manuscripts in miniature script: some additions<sup>\*)</sup>** – In an overview of the Old Babylonian corpus of literary and scholarly texts S. TINNEY (2011: 586) called attention to a group of five single-column tablets housed in the British Museum, containing hymnic liturgies. He described these manuscripts as “tiny unruled tablets in micrographic script”. Old Babylonian literary manuscripts written with a micrographic script are fairly uncommon, thus the conclusion of Tinney that these five tablets represent the work of the same scribe is indeed very likely. However, Tinney's list needs a minor correction, furthermore, there are some additional manuscripts which might belong to the same collection, both based on formal and content-related criteria.

First comes the correction. In his list, Tinney did not refer to museum numbers, but to compositions accompanied with ETCSL numbers. The last entry of his list is given as „a tigi of Enki for Ur- Ninurta (ETCSL 2.5.6.1)“ (TINNEY 2011: 586). In this case, the description fits Ur-Ninurta B [ETCSL 2.5.6.2], which is a tigi for Enki, while the corpus number refers to Ur-Ninurta A [ETCSL 2.5.6.1]. The attempt to clear which manuscript, BM 96697 (Ur-Ninurta A) or BM 96738 (Ur- Ninurta B) was meant to be included in his list both tablets turned out to exhibit a similar micrographic script. Thus

the number of manuscripts which potentially belonged to the collection discussed here increased to six.

Five of the six tablets mentioned by Tinney, although they are unprovenanced, have been purchased together from I. Sabunje in 1902 (BM 96697, BM 96705, BM 96706, BM 96738, BM 96739) and are part of the collection 1902-04-15. Among the tablets acquired from the dealer in that year, a further manuscript is known written in micrographic script (BM 96740, published by LUDWIG 2012). This tablet contains no hymnic liturgy, but a list of incipits of hitherto unidentified compositions which might be of liturgical content. Beyond the common origin of the six manuscripts, according to Ludwig (2012: 204) this incipit list exhibits similarities in its form to the group of tablets listed above. Moreover, Ludwig concludes based on the annotations preserved on the tablet that the incipit list was most probably an interim balance of the work allotted to a scribe (LUDWIG 2012: 201), being most probably an advanced student or an ummia (LUDWIG 2012: 207). This conclusion perfectly fits the one drawn by Tinney concerning another hymnic archive, the Hymnic Archive of Nippur. He proposed that similar collections of hymnic liturgies might be written as part of internship training of advanced students (TINNEY 2011: 585).

As a further candidate to this group I would like to propose ANE.87.1904, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge. This tablet contains a literary, perhaps hymnic composition to king Šulgi (Šulgi K, see KLEIN 1981: 40 with fn. 73a). The tablet has been acquired by the museum in 1904 from a yet unknown source.

This group of seven manuscripts contains unruled single-column tablets characterized by an archaizing micrographic script written by an experienced hand without much care as it is apparent from the irregularity of the script and the inhomogeneity of its distribution on the tablet (see also LUDWIG 2012: 204).

In his article, Tinney also assigned the fragmentary manuscript BM 88492 (published by MICHALOWSKI 2005) to the same group. In this case, the assignment of the manuscript to the aforementioned group was presumably based on its micrographic script and hymnic content. However, this likewise unprovenanced tablet was purchased from the French antiquities dealer É. Géjou in 1901 (see also MICHALOWSKI 2005: 206). Nevertheless, this tablet was written with more care and with more elaborate signs neatly proportioned on the tablet, resembling rather to another manuscript in miniature script, BM 23820+BM 23831, recently published by LUDWIG & METCALF (2017). The latter manuscript belongs to the collection of the British Museum since 1898 when it was acquired from William T. Burbush.

In her article LUDWIG (2012: 204 fn. 18, see also LUDWIG & METCALF 2017: 3) proposed the relatedness of BM 23820+ to the recently published manuscript MS 2624 (published by GEORGE 2009: 78-112). However, there are several reasons pointing to the unrelatedness of these two tablets. BM 23820+, similarly to BM 88492 and the above mentioned six tablets, is unruled and every tenth line is marked on the left edge. In contrast, MS 2624 is line-ruled and uncounted on the edge, however, the line count is given at the end of the text. Such a compact colophon is unattested in any other manuscripts discussed here. In this case, scribal habits are probably more convincing than the potential resemblance of scribal hands. Furthermore, MS 2624 contains a bilingual diatribe (The Scholars of Uruk) which does not fit well the group thematically and also stands out considering its interlinear bilingual format. GEORGE (2009: 78) even proposed the composition's original language might have been Akkadian, while the Sumerian version appears to be artificial. Thus, in my opinion, MS 2624 should be regarded as a further, unrelated instance for a tablet in micrographic script.

The relatedness of the first and second group, however, is a more problematic question. First of all, I intend to give an overview of the nine relevant manuscripts focusing on their content and material features.

<b>Siglum</b>	<b>Publication</b>	<b>Composition</b>	<b>ETCSL Nr.</b>	<b>Measures W x L (mm) H: 10-15</b>	<b>Inventar Nr.</b>	<b>CDLI Nr.</b>
<b>BM 23820 + BM 23831</b>	Ludwig and Metcalf 2017	Išme-Dagan AB	2.5.4.28	43.5 x 130	1898-02-15	P357170

<b>BM 88492</b>	Michalowski 2005	Išbi-Erra G	2.5.1.7	43 x 53	1901-02-09	P357192
<b>BM 96697</b>	CT 36, 28-30	Ur-Ninurta A	2.5.6.1	44.5 x 105	1902-04-15	P345501
<b>BM 96705</b>	CT 36, 39-40	Luma A	2.3.1	44.5 x 67	1902-04-15	P345505
<b>BM 96706</b>	CT 36, 26-27	Šulgi G	2.4.2.07	44.5 x 70	1902-04-15	P345500
<b>BM 96738</b>	CT 36, 31-32	Ur-Ninurta B	2.5.6.2	44.5 x 60	1902-04-15	P345502
<b>BM 96739</b>	CT 36, 33-34	Inana E	4.07.05	47.5 x 57	1902-04-15	P345503
<b>BM 96740</b>	Ludwig 2012	List of incipits	[0.2.22]	42 x 52	1902-04-15	P432383
<b>ANE.87.19 04</b>	–	Šulgi K	2.4.2.11	43 x 90	1904-87	P448621

Beyond formal similarities and the liturgical content of these imgidas, there are further criteria pointing to a close relationship between the two groups of micrographic tablets. First of all, the eight hymnic liturgies attested in the collection have a low number of duplicates. Four compositions do not have any duplicates so far, the other four, namely Šulgi K, Ur-Ninurta A, Ur-Ninurta B and Inana E are attested on one further manuscript each. Secondly, and here I also would like to point out the importance of scribal habits: five of the eight literary manuscripts contain glosses (BM 96706, BM 96738, BM 96739, BM 23820+, ANE.87.1904). The form and function of these glosses is variable though, Sumerian glosses, presumably pointing to more than one master tablets or to corrections of the scribe are present in all the manuscripts listed above. Akkadian glosses only appear in BM 96706 together with phonetic glosses or text variants.

All in all, this small text collection is comparable with the Hymnic Archive of Nippur (TINNEY 2011: 585) consisting of ca. 50 manuscripts. Not only the unruled tablet with a cursive writing, the thematic coherence of the individual pieces, but also the sporadic glosses in the manuscripts could be mentioned here as a shared feature. The two tablets in the collection written with more care should be attributed tentatively to the same scribe, although they might be composed for a different purpose. A hypothetical suggestion is that they were intended for master copies of a school, or, alternatively, for retention in general, while the other pieces were meant for personal use or, alternatively, for a shorter life-cycle.

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**96) Old Babylonian Chronology and synchronisms with Eshnunna** — The debate concerning the dates of the first dynasty of Babylon seems to converge towards the Low Middle Chronology, eight years lower than the standard Middle Chronology. In an article in JAEI 13 (March 2017) S. Manning, G. Barjamovic and B. Lorentzen state that 'the dendro-14 C-derived dates are more in agreement with the

Low Middle Chronology'. Moreover, the authors accept the link between the poor visibility of Venus in the eleventh year of Ammisaduqa and a volcanic event in 1628/1627 B.C., citing the papers by de Jong and Foertmeyer in JEOL 42 (2010) and by myself in AoF 40 (2013). Note, however, that this is not quite accurate. De Jong and Foertmeyer link the poor visibility with the Santorini eruption and its dating to the interval 1627-1600 B.C., whereas I regard this link as problematic and refer to dendrochronological data that show an eruption in 1628/1627 B.C. somewhere in the northern hemisphere, not necessarily at Santorini.

In contrast to the Babylonian dates, the placement of the early Assyrian eponyms is not yet converging. The crucial question is the date of the solar eclipse in KEL 127, which Barjamovic *et al.* link to the partial eclipse at sunrise on March 24, 1838 B.C.. I argue for the total eclipse on June 24, 1833 B.C., based on the identification of the eponym X-NI-m[a-...] in KEL G with the eponym Ha-NI-ma-lik documented in Mari. For the identification of the damaged first sign it would be very helpful if a 3d recording of the KEL G name and of the *ha* signs in KEL G were made available.

The different interpretations are due to a small gap in KEL G, where it may be possible to squeeze in five more names. A way to decide the issue may come from MEC synchronisms between Assur and Eshnunna, combined with the probable synchronisms between Eshnunna and Babylon worked out by van Koppen and Lacambre (JEOL 41, 2008). They discussed a connection between the text BDHP 38 dated to the conquest of Rapiqum by Ipiq-Adad (III) of Eshnunna and the text CT 8 42b dated to the eighth year of Sin-muballit. Based on their assumptions they obtained an interval of no less than 9 years between the dates (a mistake for 7 years) and wondered whether this would be too long. They also noted that the interval would increase by an extra year for every additional name in the break of KEL G. They would have liked to shorten the interval, but noted that this requires to reduce the length of the reign of Naram-Sin of Eshnunna to under nine years, which they considered impossible. In another note I will argue that a shortening by two years is suggested by the data, however. The resulting interval of five years between BDHP 38 and CT 8 42b seems quite feasible. Choosing the eclipse date of 1838 B.C. instead of 1833 B.C. would increase the interval to ten years, which appears unlikely.

Another potential synchronism between MEC and the history of Eshnunna comes from the culmination of Šamši-Adad's power in the eponym year of E/Atanum as documented in S.24-3. Apparently Šamši-Adad could operate in the west without worrying about the situation on the Tigris. This must have been a time of marked weakness of Eshnunna. In the original KEL G count of Günbattu and Kryszat the date is KEL G 59, which according to van Koppen and Lacambre is the first or second of the crisis years at Eshnunna immediately after the death of Naram-Sin.

This fits very well. In the revised count of Barjamovic and coworkers the date was KEL G 70, a year or two before the accession of Daduša. This might work if one places the crisis years at Eshnunna between Dannum-tahaz and Daduša. This is possible, but not in agreement with the analysis of van Koppen and Lacambre. In any case a closer analysis of the reigns of Ipiq-Adad III and his sons is required.

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**97) Statistics and Ešnunna year names** — The frequency distribution of Mesopotamian year names and of Assyrian eponyms is far from random. To extract the corresponding information one first has to revise some probabilistic statements in the literature. They often are hard or impossible to quantify and thus not reliable.

When the Gidanum archive from Ešnunna was first discussed, eight of its year names were known, among them three (in Yuhong Wu's list, years b,c,h) naming Naram-Sin. In half a sentence, Kraus conjectured that the five remaining dates come from Naram-Sin's reign, too, "dem auch wahrscheinlich die fünf übrigen Daten zuzuschreiben sind". The implied probability could have been quantified by comparing average lifetimes of personal archives with average reign lengths, but Kraus certainly did not intend more than a first guess. Meanwhile, four of the five unassigned year names have been shown to belong to rulers before and after Naram-Sin. Concerning the fifth name (the capture of the land of Ašnakkum and Tarnip), Edzard wrote nevertheless "das Datum ist mit F.R. Kraus JCS III 46 mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit Naramsin zuzuschreiben" (ZZZ, p. 163). Later authors agreed with Edzard



with different degrees of conviction. The argument would have given wrong results for at least four of the unassigned year names and needs evaluation. In detail, it proceeds in three steps:

1) Circumstances strongly favoured the preservation of tablets with three year names of Naram-Sin in the Gidanum archive.

2) It is likely that the same was true for other year names of this ruler.

3) Thus an unassigned year name in the archive is likely to belong to Naram-Sin. Step one is correct, step two is manifestly wrong. Indeed year b occurs nine times, year c seven times, year h four times, but several well-known years of Naram-Sin not at all. Statistically this is incompatible with a general favouring of Naram-Sin's years. There must have been circumstances that made a big difference between the years b,c,h and all others.

To make progress it is necessary to infer the cause of the difference. This indeed is possible. Year name h refers to a mišarum edict, which only is known from the four Gidanum tablets. In the main text of NBC 5373 it is stated that the tablet was written in the month Kiskisum, after Naram-Sin broke the tables (the year name refers a second time to the breaking). NBC 5403 has the standard year name format on the envelope, but *warki* instead of MU on the tablet. NBC 6751 states the day and the month Mamitum before the year name and has EGIR instead of MU on the case. NBC 9152 has a broken year name followed by *warki tuppāt*. All four texts take extra precaution to avoid the claim that the contract might have been invalidated by the edict. This would be unnecessary if the year name referred to the year after the edict. In particular, twice the month is given, which otherwise is not the case in the Gidanum tablets. It certainly reinforced the statement that the contract came after the edict. This means that edict and contract happened in the same year. In both cases the month is late, so that the edict may have been passed in the middle of the year. Perhaps the official year name was changed at that time, more likely year name h is an *ad hoc* choice for business purposes. In any case, it may be necessary to omit h from the year count of Naram-Sin. It would help to figure out the original year name on NBC 9152.

The edict explains the preference for just three Naram-Sin year names in the archive. Apart from special cases there was no motivation to preserve invalidated (broken) tablets, so most probably year h was the third-to-last year of Naram-Sin, followed by years b and c, in unknown order. Other year names of Naram-Sin should have been present in the archive with similar frequency, but were thrown out. Thus there is no strong reason to assign the conquest of the land of Ašnakkum and Tarnip to Naram-Sin instead of Ipiq-Adad III. Altogether, it is quite possible that the duration of the reign of Naram-Sin should be reduced by two years.

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**98) A date list for Ipiq-Adad III?** — For many years, the tension between MEC and the accepted succession of Eshnunna rulers remained unresolved. The four rulers Warassa, Šarriya, Belakum and Ibal-pi-El I had to be compressed into an interval of 30 years, with two thirds of the year names attested. In contrast, only one third of the year names of the apparent 43+ year rule of Ipiq-Adad II seemed to be attested contemporaneously. Now we know that the reign of Ibal-pi-El I has to be transferred from the former interval to the latter (Guichard, *Semitica* 56, 2014). The apparent Ipiq-Adad period in MEC comprises the three reigns of Ipiq-Adad II, Ibal-pi-El I and Ipiq-Adad III. This means that in both intervals about one half of the year names are attested, which makes much better sense. For the year names of the last part of the reign of Ipiq-Adad III several sources are available. VAN KOPPEN and LACAMBRE (*JEOL* 41, 2008) argued that the capture of Rapiqum came very late, but still was followed by two years referring to the ditch of Yabliya. The year referring to the gold throne for Sin of Tutub occurs in the archive of Gidanum and must be rather late, too, as must the year naming the land of Ašnakkum and Tarnip, if it belongs to Ipiq-Adad III instead of Naram-Sin.

The fragmentary date list IM 51795 from the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Ibal-pi-El II is a school tablet from Šaduppum, with one copy of the list written on the obverse and one on the reverse. The preserved fragments A,B both cover the last years of the unknown king. The only significant disagreement between them is the presence of two additional lines reading MU [...] in fragment B. Either the scribe of fragment A was out of its memory close to the end of the list, or the scribe of fragment B had written a somewhat incorrect number of MU signs before starting to fill in the year names. Saporetti ascribed the dates to

Hammidušur, based on A:4' MU Am-mi-[...] and on B:2' MU M[I?...] that he compared with the year name MU URU MI-NI-<sup>d</sup>Adad Am-mi-du-šu-ur in-dab<sub>5</sub>. The argument is not quite convincing. Why should a school teach the year names of a much earlier king who was either in competition with or a vassal of Eshnunna? Moreover, it is very rare that lists of abbreviated year names mention the name of the ruler after the year of his accession. For example, the date list IM 52962 names Ibal-pi-El II in his first year only. The only personal name that appears later is Šamši-Adad.

IM 51795 rather should list the year names of a ruler of Eshnunna itself. The most likely candidate is Ipiq-Adad III, since later rulers are easily excluded. Indeed the final lines A:5'/B:7'-9' MU Ra?-[...], MU [...], MU [...] of the two fragments fit with the conquest of Rapiqum followed by two more years, as argued by van Koppen and Lacambre. The throne event in line A:1'/B:3' should correspond to the one concerning Sin of Tutub. The decisive year is the one named in line A:2'/B:4'. Baqir saw a mention of Aššur, but in his thesis about Tell Harmal (Marburg 2009, available on the net) Laith M. Hussein reads MU Aš-na-k[u-um<sup>ki</sup>]. If this important reading can be confirmed, a placement of the dates in the late years of Ipiq-Adad III is certain. Then most of the last year names of Ipiq-Adad III can be reconstructed from a comparison of MEC, economic texts and IM 51795.

The interval of three years between the conquests of the land of Ašnakkum and of Rapiqum (from line A:2' to line A:5') can be identified with the one between KEL 155 (Atanah) and KEL 158 (Inib-Ištar), the last two times that Ipiq-Adad III is mentioned in MEC. Indeed, the Atanah entry in S.24-1+ refers to the conquest of a land, and no other such conquest by Ipiq-Adad III is known. For reasons of military logistics the attack of distant Ašnakkum and Tarnip required a base closer to Eshnunna. Two years before the attack, the MEC entry for KEL 153 (Assur-tukulti) must concern Ipiq-Adad III, like the equally anonymous entry for the previous year, which mentions his conquest of Nerebtum. The only preserved place name in this entry is Uninum. This is too far away from Ašnakkum (unless Uninum in the region of Karanâ is meant instead of the better known city on the Euphrates). The year name on IM 43675a comes closer. Its conjectured reference to Halabit far upstream on the Euphrates makes no military sense. Instead, I propose to read MU ha-la-ba!<sup>ki1</sup> [...] ru-bu-um iṣ-ba-tu. Securing Halaba in Apum as a base would have provided the necessary support for the campaign in KEL 155. The same event might be referred to in the year name of YBC 12141. In the cdi year name website Sigrist transcribes it as BĀD ú-ne-nim<sup>ki</sup> ha-la-ba-ni-ma ba-dù. The name seems to refer both to Halaba and to Uninum, a perfect fit for KEL 153. Fitting in IM 51795 is more problematic, but not impossible. The MEC entry for KEL 153 had several parts. The first one has just been discussed and cannot be linked with IM 51795 B:2' MU M[I?...]. The second lines of the KEL 153 entries in S. 24-1+ and A.1288 start with a winkelhaken, however. Perhaps this was just ù, but it would be of interest to take a closer look.

Line A:4' MU Am-mi-[...] cannot be interpreted at present and remains a problem for the identification of IM 51795 as a date list for Ipiq-Adad III. No ruler with a fitting name is known from his time. References to funerals of other persons are common in earlier times, but no longer in the reign of Ipiq-Adad III, with the possible exception of the funeral of Hadum (IM 54202). In any case, Laith M. Hussein's reading of line A:2'/B:4' will remain decisive.

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**99) A synchronism with Larsa in the MEC?** — A good candidate for an entry in the MEC is provided by the sixth year name of Sin-iddinam of Larsa: *mu á-dam / ma-da èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> ba-an-hul*. In view of slight uncertainties in the chronology of Larsa the name should refer to events in either 1838 or 1837 B.C. (Low Middle Chronology), four or five years before the total eclipse on June 24, 1833 B.C. Five years before the eclipse entry, in the eponymy of Idiabum (KEL 122), the MEC entry is <sup>d</sup>EN.Z[U... Nothing more is preserved, but the coincidence is striking. Another mention of the obscure <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-a-bu-um of KEL 112 remains a possible alternative, but an identification with Sin-abušu is no longer possible, since the latter succeeded the well-dated Ikun-pi-Sin.

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**100) On <sup>d</sup>šerri, <sup>d</sup>hurri, and petari at Šapinuwa** — In the recently published Hurrian Text Or.90/175 from modern Ortaköy (ancient Šapinuwa) [see M. Giorgieri-L. Murat-A. Süel, “The *kaluti*-List of the Storm-God of Šapinuwa (Or.90/175) and its Parallels from Boğazköy”, *KASKAL* 10 (2013) 171ss.], we find on line 10 the interesting sequence: <sup>d</sup>še-er-ri <sup>d</sup>hu-ur-ri GUD.ḪI.A-ri following a preceding gods’ list (ll. 1-9). The authors do not supply additional comments, but it would deserve at least a short one from a lexicographical approach concerning these three close interrelated concepts. All three but especially <sup>d</sup>šerri and <sup>d</sup>hurri are commonly invoked in Hittite sources, mainly international treaties and rituals. <sup>d</sup>šerri is known as a Hurrian god name being “un des taureaux de Tešub” (see E. Laroche, *GHL*, 227f.), although earlier studies had shown that <sup>d</sup>Šeri could be also understood as meaning “day” (Laroche, *ibid.*, 228; N. Nozadze, *Vocabulary of the Hurrian Language*, Tbilisi 2007, 317; see Th. Richter, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, 393). Since the second component <sup>d</sup>Ḫurri was also identified as “un des taureaux de Tešub” (Laroche, *GLH*, 115), a problem arose with respect to its companion <sup>d</sup>Šeri, since also <sup>d</sup>Ḫurri, like <sup>d</sup>Šeri, had been ambiguously interpreted as meaning “day”, but also possibly “night” among other likely meanings (see Nozadze, *op. cit.*, 172; Richter, *BGH*, 171). Out of this evidence, it would now appear that we can surely overcome our present lexicographical uncertainty with respect to both nearly parallel Hurrian terms. The line of the text under discussion would seem to introduce the divine binomial: <sup>d</sup>Šerri “Night” preceding <sup>d</sup>Ḫurri “Day”, followed by ped/tari (GUD.ḪI.A)-ri in apposition, hence to be translated as: “The Night, the Day, the Bulls”. If this were correct, maybe this line invokes: “*The Night, the Day, the (sacred) bulls (of Tēššup)*”. An interesting question would be if we were then to presume that Night was possibly identified with “Left” and Day with “Right” both by Hurrians and Hittites. In close connection to this, it is nice to recall here that this religious topos of the storm god accompanied by his two sacred bulls survived quite a long tradition after the Bronze Age throughout cults practised in later northern Syria and, at least, southern Anatolia. Interesting iconographic examples are some well-known (and well-studied) images of a Hittite Tēššup from Gaziantep (left) lying over two badly preserved bulls, a pattern followed by the cult-stele of Jupiter Dolichenus (dated to the I century AC, also from Zeytintepe, in the nearby Commagene area (central image) among other parallel stelae from the region (here on the right side):



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**101) Some Remarks on the Imperial Hittite Sealings from the 2017 Excavations at Karkemish –** During the May-July 2017 season of excavations at Karkemish,<sup>1)</sup> c. 250 clay sealings from the Hittite Empire Period (possibly from the period of Ini-Tešub of Karkemish, see Fig. 1) were retrieved in a LB II stratum of Area C East in the Lower Palace area. Half of these sealings bore seal impressions, while the other half were blank or broken sealings without evident impressions. So far, c. 126 sealings were sealed 191 times by 46 different seals belonging to c. 32 officers. Some preliminary remarks on them are offered below<sup>2)</sup>.

HATTI	KARKAMIŠ
Šuppiluliuma I (1355-1322)	Piyašili <i>Šarri-Kušuh</i> c. 1330
Arnuwanda II (1322-1321)	
Muršili II (1321-1295)	
Muwatalli II (1295-1272)	Šahurunuwa c. 1310
Muršili III <i>Urhi-Tešub</i> (1272-1267)	
Hattušili III (1267-1237)	
Tuthaliya IV (1237-1212)	Ini-Tešub c. 1260
Kurunta <i>Ulmi-Tešub</i> 1212-1207	Talmi-Tešub c. 1210
Arnuwanda III (1207-1202)	
Šuppiluliuma II (1202-)	Kuzi-Tešub c. 1200

Fig. 1 – Hittite Great Kings and Kings of Karkemish during the Empire Period (based on PEKER 2009).

The most active officer of the archive is Paya (Pa'e), whose name is written as *pa-i(a)* in 80 seal impressions on 53 sealings. His profession is written by a convex form of the L216 FINES (the right section of the sign is thorny but not wavy, see Fig. 2), combined with VIR<sub>2</sub>. We can interpret his profession (VIR<sub>2</sub>.FINES<sub>2</sub>) as “man of the border area.” A closer interpretation might be that he was a kind of controller/registrar of goods received from *abroad* (as gift or tribute) through his office.

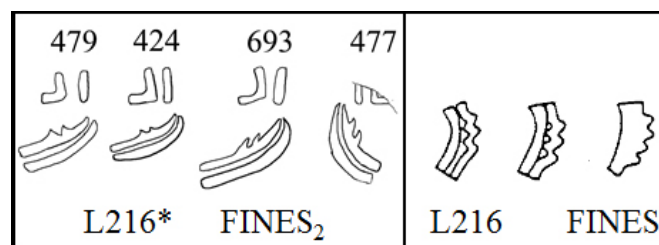


Fig. 2 – Drawing of VIR<sub>2</sub>.FINES<sub>2</sub> from different sealings on the left and FINES on the right.

Another new profession is attested on 47 seal impressions on 34 sealings sealed by 8 different seals of Taya (Ta'e)<sup>3)</sup>, a previously unattested prince from Karkemish. His profession – Charioteer of Kubaba – is written with Anatolian Hieroglyphs AURIGA<sub>2</sub> (DEUS)Ku+AVIS and in cuneiform LUŠ

[ŠA/ŠÁ] <sup>d</sup>*Ku-ba-ba* on C(ylinder Seal Type)1. On all C1-3, he bears the title of REX.FILIUS and AURIGA<sub>2</sub> as profession. The cuneiform equivalent of AURIGA<sub>2</sub> is written as <sup>LÚ</sup>İŠ ŠÁ LUGAL, “Charioteer of the King” on C3, while REX.FILIUS is rendered as *apil(AŠ) šarri(LUGAL)* on C2, a writing not otherwise attested in Hittite archives. In fact, the <sup>LÚ</sup>İŠ ŠÁ LUGAL profession may be written in Anatolian Hieroglyphs as REX.AURIGA on BOĞAZKÖY 4 (see PEKER 2014: fig. a with references; in that case one might also equate AURIGA<sub>2</sub> with AURIGA and <sup>LÚ</sup>İŠ with <sup>LÚ</sup>KARTAPPU).

A cylinder seal (KH.17.O.448, the impression of which is also attested on sealing KH.17.O.671<sup>4</sup>) belonging to a Sunaili provides a further convincing proof about the reading of the strokes 5-9 (see Fig. 3; DINÇOL & PEKER *forth.*). Sunaili’s name is written *su-L392-li* in Anatolian Hieroglyphs and <sup>m</sup>Šu-na-DINGIR-LÌ in cuneiform. Some of the attestations of the strokes 5-9 are: *su-L392-li*, Sunawili (DINÇOL & DINÇOL 2011); side A, L393-BOS and side B, L395\*-BOS, Na/u(wa/i)(m)uwa, (DINÇOL & ERDOĞAN 2010; similar names are Nawiniya, NH 874 and Nuwanuwa, NH 900); *ni<sub>x</sub>-L395\*-wa/i-VIR.ZI*, Ninuwaziti (SINGER 1995); *ni<sub>x</sub>-L393-wa/i-i(a)*, Ninuwiya (DINÇOL & DINÇOL 1981: 8 B; DINÇOL & PEKER *forth.*).

5	L392	<i>na/u(wa/i)</i>
6	L395*	<i>na/u(wa/i)</i>
7	L395**	<i>na/u(wa/i)</i>
8	L393	<i>na/u(wa/i)</i>
9	L395	<i>nu(wa/i)</i>

Fig. 3

The possibility of reading the number 5 as *nawa/i-* in Luwian or Hittite may also be taken in consideration, although it is less likely.

Results of this discarded archive will be published soon by Nicòlo Marchetti (who studied the iconographies), Giacomo Benati (who made the functional identifications of the reverse of the sealings) and myself (for the legends).

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**102) Some Notes on Text of King Anitta** — At the beginning of Hittite historiography (DEVICCHI 2013) and old Hittite literature (GÜTERBOCK 1964) stands the *Text of King Anitta* (CTH 1) (NEU 1974; WILHELMI 2016; HOFFNER 1997; CARRUBA 2001; CARRUBA 2003), which does not belong to the annals genre, however, I think that in some cases this text is similar to Hittite annals in its content and structure.

*The Text of King Anitta* is a record of the conquests of Anitta (18<sup>th</sup> c. BC). It is an important historical document, however, there are some serious problems with the dating of the document – e.g., in

Anitta's era the Hittites probably did not use the same kind of script that was used in *The Text of King Anitta* (NEU 1974; BADALI 1987). This script is probably from a later period – the era of Ḫattušili I or later. The *Text of King Anitta* was preserved in a copy which was written during the Old Kingdom period, and in later copies. The text has a number of archaic grammar and writing features. Maybe it was composed at the time of Ḫattušili I (KIMBALL, SLOCUM 2017). With the *Text of Anitta* many things are unclear and as L. WILHELM (2016: 232) correctly pointed out:

“A compilation of CTH 1 from more than one source adds a certain complication to the question of the original language used, as it is theoretically possible that not all sources were written in the same language. In any case, it is necessary to allow for a process of evaluation and possible editing of the original sources. This invalidates the argument that the typical Boğazköy ductus, exhibited already in Old Hittite manuscript, could only be accounted for if the composition was translated from a different language, as a mere copying process could not explain the loss and original Old Assyrian ductus, which would have been the only type of ductus available to the local Kaneš/Neša scribes at the time.”

*The Text of Anitta* consists of different literary subcategories (e.g., royal inscriptions, building inscriptions etc.) (Haas 2006: 28). It could be divided in several parts or small subchapters. The beginning of CTH 1 with its Akkadian imperative *qibima* “speak!” follows the pattern of early Akkadian letters in which the document itself is commanded to reveal its contents, something not found in later Hittite historical texts:

<sup>M</sup>*A-ni-it-ta* DUMU <sup>M</sup>*Pi-it-ḫa-a-na* LUGAL <sup>URU</sup>*Ku-uš-ša-ra* *QÍ-BÍ-MA* – Anitta, Son of Piṭḫana, King of Kuššara, speak! (KIMBALL, SLOCUM 2017).

This *qibi* –“speak” – is common in letters (Akkadian verb; imperative of *qabū* “speak” (CAD, vol. 13: 28) + Akkadian enclitic participle *-MA*; “thus speak” – KIMBALL, SLOCUM 2017), but as H. G. GÜTERBOCK (1997: 172) says, it “*makes little sense without saying “to whom” the reader should speak*”. But we can find similar formulas in Hittite diplomatic texts from 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC – e.g., by Hittite king Ḫattušili III in his letter to the Babylonian king Kadašman-Ellil:

1-2. [*um-ma*] <sup>M</sup>*Ḫa-at-tu-š[i-l]i* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR [*Ḫa-a*]t-ti [*a-na*] <sup>M</sup>*Ka-daš-man*-D.EN.L[ÍL] LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR [*Kar*]an-du-ni-ia-aš ŠEŠ(*aḫi*)-ia *qí-b[í-ma]* (HAGENBUCHNER 1989, 2. Teil: S. 281, Nr. 204 (KBo I 10+ KUB III 72) – [Thus] (speak) Ḫattušili, Great King, King of the Land of [Ḫat]ti. [To] Kadašman-Ell[il], Great King, King of the land of [Kar]duniaš, spe[ak]!

The overall structure of *Text of King Anitta* can be analysed as follows (HAAS 2006: 29):

**First Part:** is an introduction (HAAS 2006: 29):

“Anitta, son of Piṭḫana, became king of the city of Kuššara. He behaved in a manner pleasing to the storm-god in heaven. And when he was in turn favoured by the storm-god, the king of (the city of) Neša was [hostile (?)] to the king of Kuššara” (Here and later transl. by BECKMAN 2006: 217, § 1 A 1-4).

In this part Anitta emphasized his close relations to the storm-god of heaven (<sup>d</sup>IM ŠAMÉ) like many later Hittite kings (e.g., Ḫattušili I) in their annals. For example, in his annals Ḫattušili I emphasized his close relation not only to the sun-goddess of Arinna (<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>ARINNA) (see more on sun deities of the Hittites in YOSHIDA 1996), calling himself “*beloved of the sun-goddess of Arinna*” (BECKMAN 2006: 220, § 5 A. i.), but also to the sun-god of Heaven (<sup>d</sup>UTU ŠAMÉ) and the storm-god (Ibid.: § 20, A iii 37-42).

**Second Part:** describes the deeds of Piṭḫana, who was the father of Anitta, mentioned as king of Kuššara:

“The King of Kuššara (Piṭḫana) came down from the city with massed forces [and took] Neša by storm at night. He captured the king of Neša but in no way mistreated the inhabitants of Neša. He treated [them] as if they were (his) parents” (BECKMAN 2006: 217, § 2 A 5-9).

**Third Part:** describes the deeds of King Anitta:

“After (the death of) my father Piṭḫana, in the same year, I defeated a revolt: Whatever land under the sun arose up – I defeated every last one of them” (BECKMAN 2006: 217, § 3 A 10-12).

This is the longest part of the text, describing Anitta's war with different enemies. Anitta was victorious and he was compared to a lion (*Ibid.*: 217, § 6, A 20-26).

King as lion is a well-known motif from Mesopotamia (e.g., Akkadian legend “*Sargon, the Lion*” – WESTENHOLZ 1997: 94, 99; ULANOWSKI 2015), but we can find it in the fifth year of *Annals of Hattušili*, where Hattušili I compared himself with a lion (BECKMAN 2006: 221, A ii 54 – iii 5).

**Fourth Part:** describes building activity in Neša. Anitta built some fortifications in Neša and the temple of the storm god:

“And I built fortifications in Neša. Behind the fortifications I built the temple of the storm-god of Heaven and the temple of our deity. § 15 (A 57-8) I furnished the temple of Ḫalmašuit, the temple of the storm-god, my lord, and the temple of our deity with the goods I brought back from campaign” (*Ibid.*: 218, §14 A 55-56).

**Fifth Part:** describes Anitta's hunting activity. A royal hunt was described by Anitta in the following way:

“I made a [vow], and I went hunting. In a single day I brought to my city Neša 2 lions, 70 swine, 60 wild boars, and 120 (other) beasts – leopards, lions, deer, gazelle, and [wild goats]” (*Ibid.*: 218, § 16 A 59-63)

This description of royal hunt is unique in Hittite historical records (on royal hunts see SAZONOV 2017: 153-154).

**Sixth Part** is again a description of Anitta's military campaigns – his successful campaign against Purušhanda and its ruler:

“When I went on campaign [against (the city of) Purušhanda] the ruler of Purušhanda [brought] me gifts: He brought me a throne of iron and scepter(?) of iron as presents. When I [came] back to Neša, I brought the ruler of Purušhanda with me. When he goes into the throne room, he will sit before me on the right” (BECKMAN 2006: 218 § 19 A 73-79).

### The role of divine forces and theological justification

Although a god is mentioned in the text several times – the storm god – we cannot find any real theological justification for Anitta's actions (conquest of Ḫattuša, Ullama, Ḫarkiuna, Wašhaniya, Šalampa, Zalpuwa, Šalatiwara, Purušhanda). The only theological reference is that Anitta “*behaved in a manner pleasing to the storm god in heaven!*” (BECKMAN 2006: 217), which must include the building of a temple for the storm-god of Heaven (*ne-pi-is-za-as-ta* <sup>D</sup>IŠKUR-un-ni) by Anitta (*Ibid.*: 218, §14 A 55-56). This is similar to the texts of several Assyrian kings who integrated their building activity into the descriptions of their military campaigns (HAAS 2006: 31; RIMA 2: Tiglath-pileser I A.0.87.1, p. 29, col. viii 1–10:

“The *ḫamru*-temple of the god Adad, my lord – which Šamši-Adad (III), vice-regent of Aššur, son of Išme-Dagan (II) (who was) also vice-regent of the god Aššur, had built – was dilapidated and in ruins. I delineated its site (and) rebuilt it from top to bottom with baked brick. I adorned it and made it stronger than before. Inside I offered pure sacrifices to the god Adad, my lord”).

### Some notes on composition and style of the text

The *Text of King Anitta* is an historical text in a form a chronicle written in quite a dry and laconic style. The introduction is very short – only a few lines. In the text there is no imprecatory formula in the inscription like what we can find in, for example, many Mesopotamian royal inscriptions (RIME 3/2: Ur-Nammu E3/2.1.1.47, ll 12-15). At the end of the inscription no gods are mentioned like later in Hittite annals (e.g., *Annals of Hattušili I* – BECKMAN 2006: 221, § 18-20; *The Ten Years Annals of Muršili II*, Year 10 – MINECK 2006: 258).

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**103) Zum Gefäßfragment mit hieroglyphen-luwischen Zeichen aus Yassihöyük** – WEEDEN 2017 hat ein eisenzeitliches Gefäßfragment mit hieroglyphen-luwischen Zeichen aus Yassihöyük veröffentlicht, dessen Inschrift nach seiner Edition wie folgt lautet (WEEDEN 2017: 14):

FRONS-lu/a/i-sa mara/i+ra/i(-)[...]  
*hantilis(a) mar(r)i*[...]  
„first *mar(r)i*“ oder „*mar(r)i* of Hantili“

Zur Umschrift ist nur die Kleinigkeit hinzuzufügen, dass das von Weeden als <mar*a*/i> transkribierte Zeichen \*462 eigentlich nur <ma<sub>x</sub>> ist (HAWKINS 2004: 363-365, vgl. schon MELCHERT 1988: 36-38), das auch mit <ra/i> erscheinen kann. Dies ist vermutlich auch hier der Fall, obwohl anhand des Photos nicht genau erkennbar ist, ob es sich nur um ein Kratzen oder tatsächlich um die schräge Linie des <ra/i>-Zeichens handelt (die lange, betonte Linie in der Umzeichnung erscheint übertrieben), das letztere ist allerdings wahrscheinlicher.

WEEDEN 2017: 14-15 listet ausführlich, welche Bedeutungen bzw. Wörter hinter „mar*a*/i+ra/i(-) [...]“ stehen können: es könnte sich auf die ersten „Früchte“, auf erstklassige „Produkte“ oder auf die



erste „Lese“ / vorhergehende „Ernte“ (letzten Jahres) beziehen. Diese Bedeutungen wären auch im Falle einer Besitzerinschrift „so-und-so des Hantilis“ zutreffend. Als alternative Bedeutung schlägt er „a blessing of some kind for the recipient of a gift“ vor.

Obwohl Weeden zu Recht bemerkt, dass es ohne den vollständigen Text bzw. einen anderen Beleg des Ausdrucks „somewhat idle to speculate“ ist, kann man m.E. mithilfe des Kontexts und der belegten Wörter zumindest eine plausible Hypothese aufstellen.<sup>1)</sup> Wie Weeden selbst ausführt, tragen Gefäße nämlich allgemein oft Besitzerinschriften und/oder beziehen sich auf den Inhalt (man beachte, dass sich die Inschrift auf der Außenseite des Fragments bzw. des Gefäßes befindet). Zwar ist die Bemerkung Weedens berechtigt, dass dies nicht notwendigerweise der Fall ist, doch man könnte diese These weiter verstärken, wenn ein semantisch passendes Wort zur Verfügung stünde. Das ist in der Tat der Fall: Weeden selbst zitiert nämlich heth. *mariyana(i)-* ‚eine Art Feld, Kornfeld?‘ (s. jüngst die kritische Diskussion in VAN DEN HOUT 2010: 238-239 mit Lit.) unter den formal passenden Wörtern.

Des Weiteren scheint dieses Wort auch im Luwischen selbst belegt zu sein, was von Weeden nicht erwähnt wurde, und zwar als (\*255)ma<sub>x</sub>+ra/i-ia-ní-zi (Akk. Pl. c.), d.h. *mariyana/i-* ‚eine Art Feld‘ oder *mariyaniyali-* ‚Getreide des *mariyana/i*-Feldes‘ in der KARATEPE-Inschrift §XI.<sup>2)</sup> Alle sich dadurch ergebenden Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten („Hantilis *mariyana/i*-Feld“ / „Hantilis *mariyana/i*-Getreide“ bzw. „das erste *mariyana/i*-Feld“ / „das erste *mariyana/i*-Getreide“) bieten eine passende Bedeutung. Die erkennbaren Zeichen ma<sub>x</sub>+ra/i-[...] des Gefäßfragments würden daher diesem Wort entsprechen, wobei der abgebrochene Ausgang unklar bleiben muss (Nominativ, Genitiv oder eventuell auch Dativ sind die Möglichkeiten aus semantischer Sicht).

\*) Diese Notiz ist im Rahmen des durch die DFG finanzierten Forschungsprojekts „Digitales philologisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der altanatolischen Kleinkorpusssprachen“ entstanden.

1) Das Fragment ist unmittelbar unter dem letzten Zeichen abgebrochen, daher ist es theoretisch möglich, dass die bewahrten Zeichen die ganze Inschrift darstellen. Dann (und auch wenn ma<sub>x</sub>+ra/i ein eigenständiges Wort ist) ist die einzige Möglichkeit ein Dat. Sg. Der dadurch gewonnene Stamm *mara-* / *mari-* / *marali-* kann aus formaler Sicht bei heutiger Beleglage nur mit (\*ANNUS)ma<sub>x</sub>+ra/i(-i) (KARATEPE §XLVIII) verbunden werden, dessen Bedeutung allerdings völlig unklar ist (verwandt mit heth. *meyan(i)-* ‚Zeit(raum), Verlauf‘ [MELCHERT 1988: 38 Anm. 14] oder ‚sacrifice/festival‘ [WEEDEN 2017: 10] oder ‚during‘ [ACLT]).

2) Diese Bedeutungsbestimmung stammt von van den Hout 2010: 234-239, die überzeugender als die Alternativen („Rebellen“ [SCHWEMER 1996: 31-35]; ‚mariannu‘ [HAWKINS 2000: 60, 2004: 364, dagegen van den Hout 2010: 236]) ist, weil sie erklärt, warum das hier.-luwische Wort über ein mit dem Wort für ‚Getreidespeicher‘ und mit einem Hohlmaß gemeinsames Determinativ, \*255/\*256 = HORREUM verfügt (das nach der geistreichen Idee von van den Houts [2010: 237] einen Silo von oben zeigen soll). Yakubovich bucht dieses Wort in seinem ACLT als ‚grain-pit‘.

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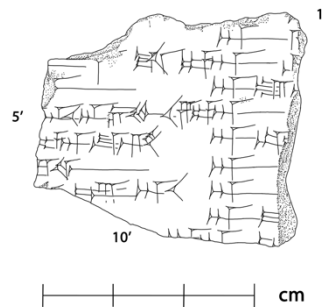
**104) Another Neo-Assyrian *ziqpu* -Star List from Nineveh (81-2-4, 413)\*** – The *ziqpu*-star lists give intervals for time and distance between stars that culminate one after the other over the course of the night above the head of an observer in the northern part of the sky (the Path of Enlil). These lists are well

known from the Late Babylonian period. To date, only one fragmentary exemplar from Nineveh dating to the Neo-Assyrian period is known (K. 9794 [CT 26 pl. 50], parallel AO 6478 [TCL 6 21] from Late Babylonian Uruk). Nevertheless the series MUL.APIN and other Neo-Assyrian period sources show that the *ziqpu*-stars were used in this period to tell time at night (see Steele 2015: 127–28). While searching for material for our project on *The Great Star List and Related Texts*, we identified yet another Neo-Assyrian fragment from Nineveh with the text of a *ziqpu*-star list (81-2-4, 413). This can now be added to the sources studied in STEELE 2015.

The two Neo-Assyrian *ziqpu*-star fragments are organized differently. K. 9794 gives its entries in two lines each, while 81-2-4, 413 uses just one line for each entry. K. 9794 has the extended structure: distance – from ([TA]) star 1 – to (EN) star 2. The fragment 81-2-4, 413 names both stars, one immediately after the other, in an imperfect attempt to give this information in two columns. Since 81-2-4, 413 is from the middle of the tablet it is unknown whether the scribe wrote the distances before naming the stars or after. Examples are available for both formats in the Late Babylonian period. The broken nature of the tablet also precludes an identification of the text with any of the three types of *ziqpu*-star lists established by Steele 2015: 129.

In our transliteration of the text we will add Roman numbers to each line that refer to the numbering system for the *ziqpu*-stars of HUNGER – PINGREE 1999: 85 based on the extended version attested in AO 6478, the nearly complete parallel to K. 9794 (see WEIDNER 1915: 131–40). Note that the Roman number refers solely to the first star mentioned, not to the pairs of stars.

81-2-4, 413



81-2-4, 413, a fragment from Nineveh written in Neo-Assyrian ductus; measurements: 36.5<sup>+</sup> × 32<sup>+</sup> × 7<sup>+</sup> mm

Transliteration

IX	1'	[... <sup>d</sup> ni-bu-u šá GABA-šú]	[ <sup>d</sup> k[in-su (...)]
X	2'	[... <sup>d</sup> kin.šu]	<sup>d</sup> a[-si-di (...)]
XI	3'	[... <sup>d</sup> a-si-di]i ʳ4' ša MUL.L[U.LIM (...)]	
XII	4'	[... 4 ša MUL.LU.L]IM	<sup>d</sup> um-m[u-lu-ti (...)]
XIII	5'	[... <sup>d</sup> um-mu-l]u-[t]i <sup>d</sup> ni-bu-u šá MUL.[ŠU.GI (...)]	
XIV	6'	[... <sup>d</sup> ni-bu-u šá M]UL.ŠU.GI	<sup>d</sup> na-a[š-ra-pi (...)]
XV	7'	[... <sup>d</sup> na-aš-r]a-pi	<sup>d</sup> [gam-lu (...)]
XVI	8'	[... <sup>d</sup> gam-l]u rit-ti	<sup>d</sup> [gam-lu (...)]
XVII	9'	[... rit-ti <sup>d</sup> gam-lu]	<sup>d</sup> m[a-šu-ú (...)]
XIX	10'	[... <sup>d</sup> ma-šu-ú]	ʳMUL <sup>1</sup> .A[L.LUL (...)]

(remainder is missing)

IX	1'	[... (from) The Bright (Star) of its Breast] (to) [The] K[nee (...)]
X	2'	[... (from) The Knee] (to) The H[eel (...)]
XI	3'	[... (from) The Hee]l (to) The 4 of The S[tag (...)]
XII	4'	[... (from) The 4 of The S[tag] (to) The Dus[ky (Stars) (...)]
XIII	5'	[... (from) The Dusk]y (Stars) (to) The Bright (Star) of The [Old Man (...)]
XIV	6'	[... (from) The Bright (Star) of T]he Old Man (to) Na[ rapu (...)]
XV	7'	[... (from) Na r]apu (to) The [Crook (...)]
XVI	8'	[... (from) the Croo]k (to) The Hand of The [Crook (...)]

XVII 9' [... (from) The Hand of The Crook] (to) The Tw[ins (...)]  
 XIX 10' [... (from) The Twins] (to) The C[rab (...)]  
 (remainder is missing)

**Commentary**

10' The extended version in AO 6478 gives the distance between The Twins and The Rear Twins, with the distance between The Rear Twins and The Crab in the subsequent line. Our list from Nineveh skips the Rear Twins and measures the distance between The Twins and The Crab instead, which is a feature of what Steele 2015: 130–31 calls set A of the *ziqpu*-stars that contains altogether 25 stars. A list that is extended by one *ziqpu*-star to sum up to 26 stars is called set A'. This 26<sup>th</sup> star is usually the The Rear Twins as in AO 6478//K. 9794.

\*) This article is a by-product of our research on *The Great Star List and Related Texts: Astronomy, Mysticism, and Learned Knowledge in the Ancient Near East* that is funded by the Israeli Science Foundation. We publish the fragment 81-2-4, 413 by courtesy of The Trustees of The British Museum, and would like to thank the staff of The Middle East Department for their support of our studies in their study room. J.C. Fincke made the autograph of the fragment.

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**105) Sm 1402: a new manuscript of the “Kette Hammurapis”?** – While preparing the tablets that Thompson had copied in his *Assyrian Medical Texts*, for BabMed’s online edition of the therapeutic and diagnostic text corpora,<sup>(1)</sup> I came across the small fragment Sm 1402. To my knowledge, this fragment has only been treated a couple of times before. Bezold considered it to be “part of a text containing prescriptions and directions for ceremonies to be used for the benefit of sick people” (*Catalogue* IV p. 1485). Then, two separate hand copies of Sm 1402 appeared shortly after one another. Ebeling published the first copy in his *Keilschrifttexte Medizinischen Inhalts (KMI 77)*, which was followed by Thompson’s above-mentioned text edition (*AMT 77/3*). In addition to copying the fragment, Thompson also looked for its probable place within the therapeutic corpus and came to the conclusion that it should have treated stomach diseases, particularly *kisir libbi*, which is the medical term Thompson identified in line 14' (*RA* 26 p. 86 no. 122). Thereafter, there is no mentioning of Sm 1402 until Borger’s *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* where it was described provisionally as a list of magical stones (*HKL* 2 p. 282 and *HKL* 3 p. 111 §99); the same identification appeared a couple of years later in the *Afo-Register (Afo* 25 p. 417 §99).

Due to the frequent occurrence of the sign NA<sub>4</sub>, it can be said with certainty that the fragment Sm 1402 is mainly concerned with stones. In fact, it might represent a manuscript of the so-called “Kette Hammurapis” (henceforth “K.H.”); this fragment was not recognised by Schuster-Brandis in her monograph dealing with the corpus of amulet stone lists (see *AOAT* 46 pp. 167-169 and 346-353).<sup>(2)</sup> The string of magical stones named after the Old Babylonian ruler Hammurapi has been known from seven manuscripts so far, out of which four can be dated to the Neo-Assyrian era, and the remaining three to the Late Babylonian period.<sup>(3)</sup> Of the four Neo-Assyrian tablets, which seem to represent the earliest known attestation of the amulet, two<sup>(4)</sup> belonged to the archive of the Aššur exorcist Kišir-Aššur and one<sup>(5)</sup> to Ashurbanipal’s library at Nineveh; the archival background of the fourth exemplar<sup>(6)</sup> is unknown. On the other hand, three Late Babylonian manuscripts were found in Babylon<sup>(7)</sup>, Ur<sup>(8)</sup> and Uruk<sup>(9)</sup>. Moreover, these



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sources can be assigned to two separate groups on the basis of whether they present a longer or a shorter version of the amulet stone list attributed to Hammurapi. As for the shorter version, it comprises the usual enumeration of necessary stones, followed by a summary where the name of the string has also been indicated.<sup>(10)</sup> The manuscripts containing the longer version are much more unique in that they make detailed remarks on each and every stone from which the amulet should be put together.<sup>(11)</sup> In this respect, these manuscripts reminds us of the series *Abnu šikinšu* since, like this series, they are concerned mainly with the physical properties and magico-medical importance of stones.

Turning now back to the fragment Sm 1402, it comes from the left hand side of a Neo-Assyrian tablet that probably belonged to Ashurbanipal's library. In addition, it seems to present the longer version, on the basis of which almost the whole text can be reconstructed. What follows is the edition<sup>(12)</sup> of Sm 1402 together with the composite transliteration of the corresponding part of the amulet stone list (see *AOAT* 46 pp. 346-350).

Sm 1402 l. 1'.	[x (x)] 'x x' [.....]
Sm 1402 l. 2'.	[NA <sub>4</sub> ] 'HUL.GIG' [.....]
Sm 1402 l. 3'.	[ <sup>na4</sup> HĪ].LI.BA *S[A <sub>5</sub> -š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> .....]
"K.H." l. 25.	<sup>na4</sup> HĪ.LI.BA SA <sub>5</sub> -š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> GE <sub>6</sub> -ma ni-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> -š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> GIM DUB I <sub>3</sub> .GIŠ
Sm 1402 l. 4'.	[NA <sub>4</sub> g]i-lit-ti *N[A <sub>4</sub> .....]
"K.H." ll. 26-27.	NA <sub>4</sub> gi-lit-ti NA <sub>4</sub> KU <sub>4</sub> E <sub>2</sub> .GAL / NA <sub>4</sub> kiš-pi
Sm 1402 l. 5'.	[ana NA] NU TE-e [.....]
"K.H." ll. 27-28.	ana NA NU TE-e / NA <sub>4</sub> ZAĤ <sub>2</sub> LU <sub>2</sub> NU ZAĤ <sub>2</sub>
Sm 1402 l. 6'.	[ <sup>na4</sup> GI].RIM.HĪ.LI.B[A .....]
"K.H." l. 29.	<sup>na4</sup> GI.RIM.HĪ.LI.BA SA <sub>5</sub> ni-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> -š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> SIG <sub>7</sub> ma-ĥi-iš
Sm 1402 l. 7'.	[x x (x)] GIM IM.KAL.[GUG .....]
"K.H." ll. 30-31.	[.....] IM.KAL.GUG NA <sub>4</sub> te <sub>3</sub> -e-me [.....] / N[A <sub>4</sub> .....]
Sm 1402 l. 8'.	[.....]
"K.H." ll. 31-32.	[.....] / ga [.....] nu ĥi di [.....] kur ŠE.GA NA <sub>4</sub> di-ĥu [.....]
Sm 1402 l. 9'.	[ana LU <sub>2</sub> N]U <sup>7</sup> [TE-e]
"K.H." l. 33.	ana LU <sub>2</sub> NU TE-e
Sm 1402 l. 10'.	[NA <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> LAMMA]A SA <sub>5</sub> -š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> p[e-li-ma .....]
"K.H." l. 34.	NA <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> LAMMA SA <sub>5</sub> -š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> pe-li-ma ni-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> -š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> ZU.KAM u <sub>2</sub> -kal-lam
Sm 1402 l. 11'.	[NA <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> LAM]MA NA <sub>4</sub> ŠA <sub>3</sub> [.....]
"K.H." l. 35.	NA <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> LAMMA NA <sub>4</sub> ŠA <sub>3</sub> DU <sub>10</sub> .GA NA <sub>4</sub> KU <sub>4</sub> E <sub>2</sub> .GAL
Sm 1402 l. 12'.	[NA <sub>4</sub> MU]Š GIM *GAZI <sup>sar</sup> [.....]
"K.H." l. 36.	NA <sub>4</sub> MUŠ GIM GAZI <sup>sar</sup> kas <sub>3</sub> -si-bi SA <sub>5</sub>
Sm 1402 l. 13'.	[NA <sub>4</sub> a]l-lu-ĥap-p[u .....]
"K.H." l. 37.	NA <sub>4</sub> al-lu-ĥap-pu ana LU <sub>2</sub> NU TE-e
Sm 1402 l. 14'.	[NA <sub>4</sub> k]i-šir ŠA <sub>3</sub> DI[NGIR .....]
"K.H." l. 38.	NA <sub>4</sub> ki-šir ŠA <sub>3</sub> DINGIR DU <sub>8</sub> -ri HUL ana LU <sub>2</sub> NU TE-e
Sm 1402 l. 15'.	[ <sup>na4</sup> lu-lu- <sup>*</sup> da]-[ni-tu <sub>2</sub> .....]
"K.H." l. 39.	<sup>na4</sup> lu-lu-da-ni-tu <sub>2</sub> GAR-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> [.....]
Sm 1402 l. 16'.	[BABBAR-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> G]IM <sup>na4</sup> BA[BBAR.DILI .....]
"K.H." ll. 40-41.	BABBAR-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> GIM <sup>na4</sup> BABBAR.DILI u GE <sub>6</sub> -[š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> .....] / NA <sub>4</sub> TEŠ <sub>2</sub>
Sm 1402 l. 17'.	[NA <sub>4</sub> ] 'gi <sup>r</sup> -lit-tum [.....]
"K.H." l. 41.	NA <sub>4</sub> gi-lit-tum NA <sub>4</sub> na ra [x x (x)]
Sm 1402 l. 18'.	[ <sup>na4</sup> A]MAŠ. 'MU <sub>2</sub> . [A .....]
"K.H." l. 42.	<sup>na4</sup> AMAŠ.PA.E <sub>3</sub> GAR-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> GIM DUNGU DIR-tu <sub>2</sub>
Sm 1402 l. 19'.	[(u <sub>3</sub> ni-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> )- <sup>r</sup> š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> ] SA <sub>5</sub> [.....]
"K.H." l. 43.	u <sub>3</sub> ni-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> -š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> TE-ma BABBAR GAR-in [ina] 'ŠA <sub>3</sub> -š <sub>u</sub> <sub>2</sub> 'lu' U <sub>4</sub> .SAKAR
Sm 1402 l. 20'.	[lu MUL]. 'BABBAR' GAR-'in' [.....]
"K.H." ll. 44-45.	lu 'MUL'. [BABBAR GAR-in] NA <sub>4</sub> ŠU IL <sub>2</sub> .LA <sub>2</sub> / NA <sub>4</sub> ni-šir-ti
Sm 1402 l. 21'.	[NA <sub>4</sub> DIB]-tim DINGIR u [.....]

“K.H.” ll. 45-46. Sm 1402 l. 22’.	NA <sub>4</sub> DIB- <i>tim</i> DINGIR u LUGAL DU <sub>8-ri</sub> / NA <sub>4</sub> NAM.LUGAL.LA [NA <sub>4</sub> <i>be</i> ]- <i>en-nu</i> [.....]
“K.H.” l. 46.	NA <sub>4</sub> <i>be-en-nu ana</i> LU <sub>2</sub> NU [TE- <i>e</i> ]
Sm 1402 l. 23’.	[14 <sup>2</sup> NA <sub>4</sub> ].MEŠ <i>ne</i> <sub>2</sub> -[ <i>me-du</i> .....]
“K.H.” l. 47.	14 NA <sub>4</sub> .MEŠ <i>ne</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>me-du</i> KUG.MEŠ <i>ša</i> <sub>2</sub> GU <sub>2</sub>
Sm 1402 l. 24’.	[ <i>ha</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>am</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>m</i> ]u <sup>2</sup> -r[ <i>a</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>pi</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>2</sup> .....]
“K.H.” l. 48.	<i>ha-am-mu-ra-pi</i> <sub>2</sub> GAR- <i>šu</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>nu ina e-reb bu-lim</i>

### A manuscript of the “Kette Hammurapis”?

From the transliteration it follows that the fragment Sm 1402 could safely be connected to the amulet stone list bearing the name of Hammurapi. However, its beginning poses some difficulties in that it is not consistent with the corresponding part of that particular list. The horizontal rulings suggest, in fact, that the passage preceding the discussion of the stone *hilibû* consists of a single line only where a certain *aban zîri* (“stone of hatred”) appears to be mentioned. This reference is not in accordance with the list, which, before *hilibû*, deals with the stone *sâsu* in a four-line long passage. Due to this discrepancy, the question should be raised whether Sm 1402 is a true manuscript of the “Kette Hammurapis” or presents a somewhat different recension. The possibility should not be excluded that this fragment represents a hitherto unknown list of amulet stones that shares passages with Hammurapi’s string.

### Apparatus criticus

- “K.H.” l. 27. NA<sub>4</sub> *kiš-pi* : UET 7 121 ii 16’; *kiš-pu* Ass. 13955 (LKA 9) “1. S.” i 24’.  
 “K.H.” l. 29. SA<sub>5</sub> : UET 7 121 iii 1; SA<sub>5</sub>-*ma* Ass. 13955 (LKA 9) “1. S.” i 26’, K 5176 + Sm 1107 + Sm 149 i’ 2’.  
 “K.H.” l. 30. IM.KAL.GUG : Ass. 13955 (LKA 9) “1. S.” i 27’; [IM.G]A<sub>2</sub>.LI.GUG K 5176 + Sm 1107 + Sm 149 i’ 3’.  
 “K.H.” l. 39. <sup>na</sup>4*lu-lu-da-ni-tu*<sub>2</sub> : UET 7 121 iii 12; <sup>na</sup>4*lu-lu-da-ni-tum* W 23279 (SpTU 4 129) iv<sup>1</sup> 8.  
 “K.H.” l. 42. DIR-*tu*<sub>2</sub> : W 23279 (SpTU 4 129) iv<sup>1</sup> 11; UD<sup>2</sup>-*tim*<sup>2</sup> BM 34211 (CT 51 89) i 1’.  
 “K.H.” ll. 43-44. [*ina*] <sup>ša</sup>3-*šu*<sub>2</sub> <sup>lu</sup> U<sub>4</sub>.SAKAR *lu* <sup>MUL</sup>.[BABBAR GAR-*in*] : BM 34211 (CT 51 89) i 2’-3’; *ina* <sup>ša</sup>3-*šu*<sub>2</sub> *lu-u*<sub>2</sub> MUL.BABBAR *lu-u*<sub>2</sub> *gam-lum* GAR-*in* W 23279 (SpTU 4 129) iv<sup>1</sup> 12-13.  
 “K.H.” l. 45. NA<sub>4</sub> DIB-*tim* DINGIR u LUGAL DU<sub>8-ri</sub> : BM 34211 (CT 51 89) i 4’; NA<sub>4</sub> DIB-*ti* DINGIR LUGAL IDIM u NUN DU<sub>8-ri</sub> W 23279 (SpTU 4 129) iv<sup>1</sup> 14-15.  
 “K.H.” l. 46. *be-en-nu* : BM 34211 (CT 51 89) i 5’; *be-en-ni* W 23279 (SpTU 4 129) iv<sup>1</sup> 15.  
 “K.H.” l. 47. 14 NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ : W 23279 (SpTU 4 129) iv<sup>1</sup> 16; 15 NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ BM 34211 (CT 51 89) i 6’ / *ša*<sub>2</sub> : W 23279 (SpTU 4 129) iv<sup>1</sup> 16; *ša* BM 34211 (CT 51 89) i 6’.  
 “K.H.” l. 48. *ha-am-mu-ra-pi*<sub>2</sub> : W 23279 (SpTU 4 129) 129 iv<sup>1</sup> 17; <sup>m</sup>*ha-am-mu-ra-pi*<sub>2</sub> BM 34211 (CT 51 89) i 7’.

<sup>(1)</sup>BabMed publication; ERC-Project at the Freie Universität Berlin (<http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/babmed/index.html>). Many thanks are due to M.J. Geller for his corrections and suggestions. The abbreviations follow the list in the *Reallexikon der Assyrologie*.

<sup>(2)</sup>The book has been reviewed by Abrahami (*JMC* 16 pp. 39-41), Böck (*OLZ* 109 pp. 173-178) and Couto Ferreira (*Historiae* 7 pp. 97-105), without reference to Sm 1402.

<sup>(3)</sup>Neo-Assyrian: Ass. 13955 (LKA 9) “1. S.” i 1’-28’; VAT 8992 (*BAM* 367) 26-30; VAT 11160 (*BAM* 362) i’ 1’-8’; K 5176 + Sm 1107 + Sm 149 i’ 1’-10’. Late Babylonian: BM 34760 (CT 51 88) obv. 1-8 (+) BM 34211 (CT 51 89) i 1’-9’; W 23279 (SpTU 4 129) iii<sup>1</sup> 28’-iv<sup>1</sup> 19; UET 7 121 ii 1’-iii 12.

<sup>(4)</sup>Ass. 13955 (LKA 9); VAT 8992 (*BAM* 367). For Ass. 13955 (LKA 9) see Pedersén *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur* vol. II p. 63 no. 167, *BAM* 4 p. xiii n. 32 and Farber *MC* 2 pp. 22-23; for VAT 8992 (*BAM* 367) see Pedersén *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur* vol. II p. 62 no. 121 and Schuster-Brandis *AOAT* 46 pp. 270-275.

<sup>(5)</sup>K 5176 + Sm 1107 + Sm 149. The fragment K 5176 was copied in Schuster-Brandis *AOAT* 46 pl. 31. For the joins see Fincke *AfO* 50 p. 143, Fincke: *The Nineveh Tablet Collection* (online database: <http://www.fincke-cuneiform.com/nineveh/joins/index.htm> [accessed: 05.11.2017]) and *CDLI* (no. P238375).

<sup>(6)</sup>VAT 11160 (*BAM* 362).

<sup>(7)</sup>BM 34211 (CT 51 89) (+) BM 34760 (CT 51 88). According to its colophon, the tablet belonged to “Gula-tabni-ušur, son of [...] descendant of Egibi” (DUB <sup>m</sup>*gu-la-tab-ni-u-šur* [A-*šu*<sub>2</sub> *ša*<sub>2</sub>] / <sup>m</sup>mu-[x x]-x A <sup>m</sup>*e*<sub>4</sub>-*gi*<sub>7</sub>-*ba-ti-[la]*). See Schuster-Brandis *AOAT* 46 pp. 333-340.

<sup>(8)</sup>UET 7 121.

<sup>(9)</sup>W 23279 (SpTU 4 129). For the edition of the text see von Weiher *SpTU* 4 pp. 29-40 and Schuster-Brandis *AOAT* 46 pp. 322-332.

<sup>(10)</sup>VAT 8992 (*BAM* 367) 26-30; VAT 11160 (*BAM* 362) i’ 1’-8’.

<sup>(11)</sup>Ass. 13955 (LKA 9) “1. S.” i 1’-28’; K 5176 + Sm 1107 + Sm 149 i’ 1’-10’; BM 34760 (CT 51 88) obv. 1-8 (+) BM 34211 (CT 51 89) i 1’-9’; W 23279 (SpTU 4 129) iii’ 28’-iv’ 19; UET 7 121 ii 1’-iii 12.

<sup>(12)</sup>Collation is based on the photo provided by CDLI (no. P425896). The new readings are indicated with an asterisk.

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**106) Le dieu Maškim-silimma dans la liste An = Anum ?** — Le rituel hellénistique d’Uruk UVB XV, 40, publié par Adam Falkenstein, décrit ainsi l’habillement des prêtres autorisés à entrer dans le temple :

« mu<sup>meš</sup> dingir<sup>meš</sup> 7 nu<sup>meš</sup> šá ina ugu húl-la-nu<sup>lu</sup>ku<sup>4</sup>-é<sup>meš</sup> šá-pu-ú [I]I<sup>d</sup> maš-tab-ba-tur-tur<sup>d</sup> en-nun-silim-ma<sup>d</sup> maškim-silim-ma<sup>d</sup> udug-á-zi-da<sup>d</sup> udug-á-gáb-bu u<sup>d</sup> nin-ki-šár-ra » UVB XV, 40 : 13’-15’<sup>1)</sup> ; « Les noms des dieux, les sept images qui sont brodées sur l’habit *hullānu* des prêtres *ērib bīti* (sont) : les deux petits Gémeaux, Ennun-silimma, Maškim-silimma, Udug-azida, Udug-Agabbu et Nin-ki-šarra ».

Deux de ces divinités se retrouvent dans la liste An = Anum. Nin-ki-šarra est mentionné à l’entrée n° 87 de la tablette 1. Le dieu Ennun-silimma apparaît à l’entrée n° 93. Or, l’entrée suivante, n° 94, est lue <sup>d</sup>giš-[x-x]-silim-ma par Richard L. Litke.<sup>2)</sup> Pouvons nous reconstituer dans la cassure « <sup>dr</sup>maškim<sup>1</sup>-silim-ma », c’est-à-dire précisément la divinité associée à Ennun-silim-ma dans le rituel d’Uruk UVB XV, 40 ?

Le signe maškim se compose des signes pa et kaš<sub>4</sub>. Selon Eckart Frahm, que nous remercions pour sa collation de la tablette YBC 2401, ligne 86 (texte A, entrée n° 94), le premier élément du signe noté par le scribe ressemble à giš, justifiant la transcription de Richard L. Litke, bien que de faibles traces des clous horizontaux soient visibles après le clou vertical. Le deuxième élément du signe, formé de deux clous horizontaux, pourrait être le début d’un kaš<sub>4</sub>.

Nous proposons donc l’hypothèse de reconstitution « <sup>dr</sup>maškim<sup>1</sup>-silim-ma », en raison de l’association des divinités Ennun-silimma et Maškim-silimma dans le rituel d’Uruk, et en supposant que le scribe a fait une petite erreur dans la graphie du premier élément du signe maškim en écrivant giš au lieu de pa. Ennun-silimma, la Sentinelle-du-Salut, et Maškim-silimma, le Guetteur-du-Salut, sont tous deux qualifiés de *mušēdû*, conseillers du dieu Anu dans la liste An = Anum.

1) A. FALKENSTEIN, « Zwei Rituale aus seleukidischer Zeit », UVB XV, 1959, p. 40-41 et planche 34 (texte W 18728).

2) R. L. LITKE, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists, An: <sup>d</sup>A-nu-um and An: Anu šá amēli*, Texts from the Babylonian Collection 3, Yale Babylonian Collection, CDL Press-Bethesda, 1988, p. 30 (tablette YBC 2401 : 86).

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