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NOTES BRÈVES

1) Bibliographie de Pierre Villard (26 juillet 1958 – 25 janvier 2023) — Une nécrologie de notre collègue et ami Pierre Villard, professeur à l'Université de Clermont-Auvergne, sera publiée dans le prochain numéro de la *Revue d'Assyriologie. NABU*, dont il a été secrétaire de rédaction à partir de 1990, puis membre du comité de rédaction de 1998 à 2000, s'associe à cet hommage en publiant ici sa bibliographie.



Pierre Villard en 1998 (Photo: C. Michel)

Thèse (inédate) : *L'esprit de cour et le style des courtisans dans l'Assyrie des Sargonides*, 13/06/1986.
P. Garelli directeur.

HDR (inédate) : *Mari et Ninive*, 29/01/2000. D. Charpin garant.

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Pour un public élargi

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- « L'éducation littéraire des princesses mésopotamiennes », dans *Sociétés humaines du Proche-Orient ancien*, 16/05/2020, <https://ane.hypotheses.org/8641>.

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2) ‘Indirect’ Proto-Euphratic (PE) – Sumerian bilingual texts?* — In *NABU* 2014/58 I had raised the assumption that there were no Proto-Euphratic – Sumerian bilingual texts; one would have to be satisfied with ‘indirect’ bilingual texts. By an ‘indirect’ bilingual text I understand texts that come from different times or from different sources, but which document comparable processes. In 2021, the Uruk Vase and Nik 28 were cited as an example of a “pictorial” indirect bilingual text (Uruk III/ED; cf. also Nik 270, 7:1)¹. Meanwhile, I do believe that there are a few candidates for “real” indirect bilingual texts (Uruk III/ED). The term refers only to entire texts (or their form), not, however, to glosses or word equations, which might simply represent a form of expression appropriate to a new age². As already indicated, the form of the Sumerian administrative texts often differs so much from that of the PE that direct comparisons are hardly possible³. A good example of this is the flock texts discussed by GREEN⁴, and the ration lists is another. Other text forms do not find a direct continuation in the ED period either, such as the “texts with calculations” characteristic of the writing phase Uruk III (op. cit. [note 1], IV–6) or the texts classified as “offerings for Uruk?” (~ IV–8).

Somewhat unfavourable for an investigation is the fact that apart from the Ur texts published by BURROWS in UET 2, only a few other administrative texts from the ED I–II period are known (according to the CDLI’s search engine, the UET 2 texts account for about 80 % of all texts). In almost all cases, one has to rely on comparisons of the PE texts with texts from the ED III period. This does not mean, however, that the “spoken form” did not yet exist in the ED I–II period; it was obviously just not yet possible (or not seen as necessary) to “implement it graphically”. One was still oriented towards the form of the (PE) predecessor texts, but undoubtedly already wrote in another language, namely the Sumerian. The form is still reminiscent of the PE “stamp script” (cf. texts such as UET 2, 186 and ~ 226; on ~ 259 cf. m1/212 and Nik 15): the most important data (commodity, quantity, supplier/recipient, place, time, purpose) are – with very few exceptions (a7/20274,139) – generally placed asyndetically one after the other (“stamped in”)⁵; from the ED III writing phase onwards, complete sentences appear more frequently.

Some indirect bilingual texts will be listed below. Here, the focus is on the nuances of meaning of the verbs used in the two languages (more precisely: the verbs denoted by one and the same sign; example: ‘BA’) as well as the (more frequently occurring) verbs that are at a time not used in one language but are used in the other, respectively.

There are mainly three verbs in the PE administrative texts: BA, GI and GU₇ (see *NABU* 2018/93 and op. cit. [note 1], IV–11). The verb GI no longer exists from the ED I–II period onwards. If the “BA–GI–GU₇ system” had been Sumerian, there would probably have been no reason to abandon it – even if the economic system had changed. In the ED III period, one also encounters only a limited number of (frequently used) verbs in the subscripts of administrative texts⁶, especially ba (BA; to allot), gu₇ (GU₇; to eat), gar (GAR), šum (SUM); am₆ (AN, pl. me [ME]; enclitic copula), de₆ (DU), gid (BU; to survey; cf. op. cit. [note 1], V–1–d), gub (DU), šu...gi₄ (ŠU and GI₄ do not form a compound verb in PE texts; ŠU alone does not seem to be a verb in PE documents [a text like c31/43 could speak against this assumption], for GI₄ see below), šu...teg₄ (ti) (PE: ŠU and TI do not occur together; TI alone does not seem to be a verb). A selection of infrequent verbs (not all of them appear in subscripts): ág, ak, ba-al (to dig), bal(a) (to transfer), dab₅, dar (to split), dé (to pour), dù (to build), dug₄, è (to go out), gi₄ (to turn), gál (to be), gi/eš...tag, hal (written ha-la; to divide)⁷, il, kaš₄, kéš (kešed), kud (to cut; already has the same meaning in PE texts; here TAR corresponds to a share of 10 % [cf. CDLI, m4/27, translation of TAR as “the cut

(is)”)], lá (to weigh, ~ out), pad, ri (various meanings; cf. Nik 289, 3:4), sá (to be equal to), sa₁₀ (ŠÁM; cf. *NABU* 2022/2), sar (to write), si (to fill), si...sá, sur (cf. Nik 46, 10:5 with comment; to press [beer; see SELZ 1993, no. 47, 2:2; cf. (?) on this a7/21554, KAŠ SUR]), šid, šu...taka₄, tak₄ (taka₄), til (to live), tuku, tuš, úš (to die), zi (zi-ir). Apart from BA and GU₇, none of the signs/verbs can be proven with certainty to have been used as a verb in PE. For some of the signs (KA [dug₄], SAR, SI, ŠID [= SANGA], ŠU, TI) this evidence is not always unambiguous; others did not even exist in the Uruk III writing phase (ÁG [ág], U₄.DU [è], ÍL, KAŠ₄, RI). In detail:

1) PE ‘BA’ and its (most common) ED equivalents

In PE texts, BA generally means “in front of one’s eyes”⁸⁾; in Sumerian, the activities expressed by BA in PE texts are expressed by different verbs depending on the economic process: GAR, SUM, BA and some others.

a) GAR usually stands for regular deliveries (Nik 59: barley for harnessed teams, sheep, pigs; for brewing; for the statue) or necessary deliveries at longer intervals (fodder for cattle when ploughing up [Nik 69], seed grain [Nik 76]; ...). Rations for humans do not belong to this category⁹⁾. As the PE texts do not normally bear a date (but cf. *NABU* 2018/54), it is not so easy to find a parallel text. Text m4/1 records individual deliveries for eight years; however, the process has (necessarily) already been completed (verb GU₇; see below, point 2)). A good candidate is m1/97, no matter whether “[n] SU GIBIL” means the nth month, the nth year or the nth delivery (*NABU* 2018/54). The verb written here is ‘BA’¹⁰⁾. Since texts such as Nik 59 or ~ 60 (ED; verb: GAR) and m1/97 or m3/52 (Uruk III; verb: BA) describe the same economic process in different periods (ED and Uruk III), thus agreeing *mutatis mutandis* on the form, they may well be considered indirect bilingual texts¹¹⁾. They do not correspond on the point that decisively determines the economic process – the verb¹²⁾. There is no evidence for interpreting GAR in PE texts as “delivery”; in view of the large number of (“negative”) attestations (371), the subscript of MS 4561 (n LAGAB GAR) does not come into question for this either.

b) SUM occurs in “unscheduled” (non-regular) disbursements (Nik 85, ~ 92, ~267 and many others; PE: m1/104, m1/177, m4/48, m4/49; possibly also m1/44 because of the different quantities of emmer and barley; verb here in all cases: ‘BA’). Often the intended purpose is given: barley for buying wool (Nik 85), for milling (?) (Nik 92), for brewing (Nik 94; cf. m3/52 [see above]¹³⁾, verb: ‘BA’; intended purpose: KU.ŠIM [beer bread?]; cf. also c1/156 [malt (for brewing)]; verb: ‘BA’). The disbursements are of course not limited to barley; for an overview see SELZ 1989, p. 41, I–J. In none of the texts found via the CDLI search engine is there any indication that SUM could have been used as a verb in PE; in a3/PLANT the sign SUM, which is the graphic representation of a plant (onion??), appears as a kind of determinative. As texts such as Nik 92 and m4/48 (larger grain deliveries) describe a comparable situation, it is presumably justified to speak of indirect bilingual texts (ED and Uruk III) here as well.

c) The verb BA is adopted by the Sumerians (as a sign), but only occurs in what they regarded in the PE language (among several meanings) as the “standard meaning”, namely “to give as a ration” (Nik 1: še-ba [noun] ... e-ne-ba [verb])¹⁴⁾. Furthermore, it is used in the sense of “to give as a gift” (Nik 218). Compared to its use in the PE language, BA thus has a very limited lexical field of meaning in Sumerian. In PE, BA generally only appears in the (intermediate) subscript: m1/13, c1/168 and c1/178. The ration lists typical of the ED III period are practically non-existent in the Uruk III period and apparently just as rare in the ED I–II period (ATFU, no. 61 [a “messenger text”?] can serve as an example here).

It cannot be assumed that a language changes within a relatively short time span (writing phase Uruk III to ED I) in such a way that a basic verb like BA “splits” into (at least) 3 new verbs (BA, GAR and SUM). Once a Proto-Euphratian used signs such as BA and GI figuratively as verbs (they will not have been exactly homonyms to the respective nouns represented graphically), he could have used further signs for verbs if necessary. A Sumerian, on the other hand, will have used “always” GAR for “regular delivery” (he could also have written it). The moment he began to write his own language without being influenced by the handed-down form (as was still the case in the ED I–II period) – that is, in the ED III period – he wrote down his language as he spoke it. The texts from the writing phase Uruk III are written in another language in which the differentiation of BA was not necessary and common.

2) PE ‘GU₇’ and its equivalents

In contrast to BA, which describes (conducted) deliveries/disbursements/allocations for an activity to be carried out (“to eat” [rations], “to process” [barley/malt to beer], ...), GU₇ denotes in PE (in terms of book-keeping) a “completed” process (“it is [already] eaten, debited, ...”). In the ED period GU₇ denotes on the one hand the verb “to eat” (Nik 93, 3:1; obviously not attested in this sense in the PE texts [in c1/168 rev. to be understood as “debited <earlier>” rather than as “drunk (said of beer)”]). In this meaning it has

nothing to do with the BA–GI–GU₇ group. On the other hand, GU₇ (as in PE) denotes the consumption (Nik 148, 5:2; ~ 151, 3:1). GAR, SUM, BA ... describe an “active” handing over (a “redistribution of goods” by a person, independent of GU₇), whereas GU₇ is a “passive” handing over (i.e. goods are debited from an “account”). New expressions in the ED period are “to put on a debt account” (Nik 220, 4:2-3) and “to debit from a *Sammeltafel*” (Nik 163, 4:4-5).

Notes

* Abbreviations as in *NABU 2022/2* (please, pay special attention to the abbreviations “a, c, mM/NN” for “ATU, CUSAS, MSVO, vol. M/text no. NN”). – SELZ, G. J., 1989, *Altsumerische Verwaltungstexte aus Lagaš*, Teil 1, FAOS 15, 1; id., 1993, *Altsumerische Verwaltungstexte aus Lagaš*, Teil 2, FAOS 15,2 (two parts). – Other abbreviations: MS – Tablet signature of the Schøyen Collection, Oslo; Nik – ‘Nikol’skij texts’, quoted from SELZ 1989; (ED: Early Dynastic; PE: Proto-Euphratic [writing phases Uruk IV and III]).

1. GEHLKEN, E., 2021, *Considerations on the Proto-Euphratic Language (PE)*, p. 78.

2. Cf. “Frau” in today’s German in place of “Weib” in the German of a good 100 years ago, “Baby” (a foreign word in German) in place of “Säugling”. The terms for “child”, ŠÀ TUR and šà-ĪI, on the other hand, occur in only one language (PE and Sumerian respectively; cf. ENGLUND, OBO 160/1, note 406; Nik 18, 8:7 as well as SELZ 1993, p. 198, 9:13; dissenting ePSD s.v. šag₄ dūg). Ad GÁN EN vs. GÁN níg-en-na cf. op. cit. (note 1), V–1–d.

3. Op. cit. (note 1), p. 24 bottom; p. 29; pp. 43–66; the use of EN in field texts is comparable (chapter V–1–d), but that of EN in sacrificial texts is not (chapter V–1–e).

4. GREEN, M. W., 1980, “Animal Husbandry at Uruk in the Archaic Period”, *JNES* 39, pp. 1–35.

5. The subscripts may consist of many signs (c1/88); in part they therefore do not fit into one “line” (m1/13). In c1/53, sense units are separated by lines. Larger subscripts also occasionally occur in the ED I–II period (UET 2, 18 or ~ 166).

6. Evaluation of SELZ 1989 and ~ 1993; the choice of these publications is arbitrary, but the type of texts evaluated (approximately 440 documents) is presumably not completely unrepresentative.

7. A look at the distribution of evidence among the writing phases in the ePSD shows that the verb should not yet have existed in the Uruk III writing phase because of the exclusively syllabic spellings in early times, cf. op. cit. (note 1), “syllabic spellings” (index).

8. Regardless of whether it is taken as a nominal expression (“<being> in front of <someone>’s eyes”) or as a verbal expression (“is/are in front of <someone>’s eyes”); more obvious with GU₇: “consumption” or “(someone) has consumed”. Cf. “❤-lich willkommen!” and “Ich ❤ Paris!”.

9. As might be expected, there are also texts that do not fit into this simple scheme, such as Nik 200 and ~ 217 (incorporating animals into a flock) or Nik 304 (supply of metal utensils and fabrics).

10. Another example: m1/99.

11. Nik 59, ~ 60: among other things barley for malt, beer bread and mash; regular delivery; m1/97 (regular delivery) and m3/52: malt and groats <for brewing>.

12. This argument could not be made for the mere replacement of an older noun by a more contemporary one (see note 2). It is immaterial that the ED texts contain additional information compared to the PE texts.

13. In the case of m3/52, it is not possible to say with certainty whether it is a regular or an unscheduled delivery/disbursement.

14. More generally: “to allot” (Nik 131); cf. also Akkadian *nšr. One also encounters inadvertences by the Sumerians: ‘BA’ in place of expected ‘GAR’ in Nik 57, 9:6; ‘GAR’ in place of ‘BA’: SELZ 1993, no. 10, 13:6. When the quantities of BA allocations and GAR deliveries are added, the verb BA includes the GAR deliveries (SELZ 1993, no. 1). It is striking that the expressions “še-ba” and “še-gar” exist for rations in the broader sense, but not the expression “še-sum” for “unscheduled” disbursements. In contrast to Sumerian, BA in PE also stands for animal inspections (see GREEN [note 4], p. 7; the interpretation given there differs somewhat). The text GREEN, no. 40 makes clear that BA primarily has nothing to do with “allocate” (dead sheep [numeral N₀₂; cf. a5/p20] are, as the sum shows [39 = 33 + 2 + 4], on a par with ‘BA’ sheep; dead animals are delivered by the shepherds; “allocations” and “deliveries” are not added up [cf. NABU 2004/74, note 1; OBO 160/1, p. 175]). Also “n URU BA” (subscript of m1/243) is to be understood in this sense; it refers to a listing (“inspection”) of cities.

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3) TM.75.G.5278 = ARET XII 848 + TM.75.G.1985+TM.75.G.10188 = ARET XIV 82, an Ebla téléjoint — As suggested by its lexicon (*TI-GI-NA*) and personal names (*Iš-ma₂-da-mu*, *Ĥa-ra-NI*, *Ir₃-kab-ar*), the small fragment TM.75.G.5278 = ARET XII 848 (findspot not available) is certainly to be joined to

the large Ebla administrative tablet TM.75.G.1985 + TM.75.G.10188 = *ARET* XIV 82 (findspot L.2769 North B). The fragment completes parts of the obverse (columns IV-VII) and reverse (columns VI-X) of the tablet, in its upper edge.

Below I display the updated transliteration of the textual parts directly affected by this join (note that I have not personally seen either TM.75.G.5278 = *ARET* XII 848 or TM.75.G.1985 + TM.75.G.10188 = *ARET* XIV 82):

1985 ^{obv.} IV:10	10 la ₂ -1 ma-na TAR <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug:babbar
1985 ^{obv.} IV:11	mu-DU
1985 ^{obv.} IV:12	<i>Ig-na-da-mu</i>
10188 ^{obv.} IV:13	ʽugula ¹ ʽA-da ¹ -aš ² _{ki}
1985+5278 ^{obv.} V:1	ʽTAR ¹ <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug:babbar
1985 ^{obv.} V:2	al ₆ -SU ₃
1985 ^{obv.} V:14	5 ma-na la ₂ -5 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> ʽkug:babbar ¹
1985 ^{obv.} V:15	m[u-D]U
1985 ^{obv.} V:16	[En-na-NI]
10188 ^{obv.} V:17	[lu ₂] Zi-ba-da
1985+5278 ^{obv.} VI:1	2 ʽma ¹ -[na] 5 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug:babbar
1985 ^{obv.} VI:2	al ₆ -SU ₃
1985 ^{obv.} VI:17	1 li-im 4 mi-at 40 [G]U ₂ -BAR [še]
10188 ^{obv.} VI:18	a-de ₃
1985+5278 ^{obv.} VII:1	3 ma-na kug:babbar
1985 ^{obv.} VII:2	mu-DU
1985 ^{obv.} VII:3	Il ₂ -gu ₂ -uš-ti
1985 ^{obv.} VII:4	2 ma-na kug:babbar
1985 ^{obv.} VII:5	al ₆ -SU ₃
10188 ^{rev.} VI:18	1 ma-na la ₂ -1 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug:babbar
10188 ^{rev.} VI:19	1 TI-GI-NA
10188+5278 ^{rev.} VI:20	1 gu-dul ₃ ^{ʽug₂} 1 ib ₂ ^{ʽug₂} -2
5278 ^{rev.} VI:21	Ir ₃ -kab-ar
10188 ^{rev.} VII:12	2 ma-na <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug:babbar
10188 ^{rev.} VII:13	3 TI-GI-NA
10188 ^{rev.} VII:14	3 gu-dul ₃ ^{ʽug₂} 3 ib ₂ ^{ʽug₂} -2
10188 ^{rev.} VII:15	A-ru ₁₂ -gu ₂
10188 ^{rev.} VII:16	En-na-ba-al ₆
10188 ^{rev.} VII:17	En-na-NI
5278 ^{rev.} VII:18	3 maškim
5278 ^{rev.} VII:19	Ḫa-ra-NI
10188 ^{rev.} VIII:1	i ₃ -teg ₄
10188 ^{rev.} VIII:2	aš ₂ -ti
10188 ^{rev.} VIII:3	Mi-mi-a-du
10188 ^{rev.} VIII:4	Ar-mi ^{ki}
10188 ^{rev.} VIII:5	kaskal 4
10188 ^{rev.} VIII:16	1 ma-na [1]5 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> [kug-si]g ₁₇
5278 ^{rev.} VIII:17	1 TI-GI-NA
5278 ^{rev.} VIII:18	Iš-ma ₂ -da-mu
10188 ^{rev.} IX:15	1 ma-na ʽ15 ¹ <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug-sig ₁₇
rev. IX:16	[1 TI-GI-NA]
rev. IX:17	[...]

5278 ^{rev. IX:18}	[1 m]a-na 15 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug-sig ₁₇
5278 ^{rev. IX:19}	1 <i>TI-GI-NA</i>
10188 ^{rev. X:1}	<i>Du-bu₃-ḫu-ma-lik</i>
10188 ^{rev. X:6}	ṛgu ₂ :an-še ₃ ¹ 15 ma-na TAR-8 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug-sig ₁₇
10188 ^{rev. X:7}	12 <i>TI-GI-NA</i> ¹
10188 ^{rev. X:8}	1 ma-na 5 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug:babbar
10188 ^{rev. X:9}	13 <i>TI-GI-NA</i>
10188 ^{rev. X:10}	2 ma-na 55 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug:babbar ḫaš-ḫaš
10188 ^{rev. X:11}	17 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug-sig ₁₇
10188 ^{rev. X:12}	<i>Du-gu₂-ra-su</i> ^{ki}
10188 ^{rev. X:13}	nig ₂ -ki-za
10188 ^{rev. X:14}	en
10188 ^{rev. X:15}	in
10188 ^{rev. X:16}	<i>ma-wa-tim</i>
5278 ^{rev. X:17}	(([blan]k))

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4) TM.75.G.5294 = *ARET* XII 858 + TM.75.G.2072 = *ARET* XIV 89, an Ebla *téléjoint* — The very small fragment TM.75.G.5294 = *ARET* XII 858 (findspot not available) is certainly to be joined to the large Ebla administrative tablet TM.75.G.2072 = *ARET* XIV 89 (findspot L.2769 North D). The fragment completes parts of the obverse (columns VIII-X) and reverse (columns I-IV) of the tablet, in its lower edge.

Below I display the updated transliteration of the textual parts directly affected by this join (note that I have not personally seen either TM.75.G.2072 = *ARET* XIV 89 or TM.75.G.5294 = *ARET* XII 858):

5294 ^{obv. VIII:1}	5 [m]a-na la ₂ -3 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug-sig _[17]
2072 ^{obv. VIII:2}	<mu-DU> <i>Kab-lu₅-u</i> ^{ki}
2072 ^{obv. VIII:11}	1 ma-na 7 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug-sig ₁₇
2072 ^{obv. VIII:12}	1 LAGAB
2072 ^{obv. VIII:13}	1 tug ₂ gun ₃ 1 ib ₂ ^{tug₂-3}
2072 ^{obv. VIII:14}	nig ₂ -ba
2072 ^{obv. VIII:15}	en
2072 ^{obv. VIII:16}	<i>Iš-ṛma₂-da¹-mu</i>
5294 ^{obv. IX:1}	šu-mu-taka ₄
5294 ^{obv. IX:2}	ṛmi ¹ -nu
2072 ^{obv. IX:3}	<i>Ar-mi</i> ^{ki}
2072 ^{obv. IX:19}	1 [ma-na] šanabi _x (ŠA.PI)-8 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug:babbar
5294 ^{obv. X:1}	mu-DU
2072+5294 ^{obv. X:2}	ṛSa ¹ -[n]ab-ṛu-gum ₂ ^{ki}
2072 ^{rev. I:14}	12 gada ^{tug₂} mu ₄ ^{mu}
2072 ^{rev. I:15}	3 gada ^{tug₂} ṛkir ¹ -n[a-nu]
5294 ^{rev. I:16}	1 ib ₂ ^{tug₂-2}
2072 ^{rev. II:1}	1 šu-kešda gada ^{tug₂}
2072 ^{rev. II:2}	5 zu ₂ ^d Namma
2072 ^{rev. II:3}	mu-DU
2072 ^{rev. II:4}	en
2072 ^{rev. II:5}	<i>Gub-lu</i> ^{ki}
2072 ^{rev. II:6}	12 gada ^{tug₂} mu ₂ ^{mu} 2 gada ^{tug₂} 2-šu
2072 ^{rev. II:7}	1 ib ^{tug₂-4} 1 šu-kešda gada ^{tug₂}

²⁰⁷² rev. II:8	mu-DU
²⁰⁷² rev. II:9	maškim-SU ₃
²⁰⁷² rev. II:10	in
²⁰⁷² rev. II:11	'A ₃ -da-ni ^{ki}
²⁰⁷² rev. II:12	lu ₂ AN-AMA-ra
²⁰⁷² rev. II:13	30 ma-na la ₂ -3 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> gin ₃ -gin ₃
²⁰⁷² rev. II:14	70 ra-'a ₃ -tum
²⁰⁷² rev. II:15	15 ba
²⁰⁷² rev. II:16	2 nig ₂ -anše-aka
²⁰⁷² rev. II:17	mu-DU
⁵²⁹⁴ rev. II:18	Iš-ma ₂ -NI
⁵²⁹⁴ rev. II:19	Ma-ri ₂ ^{ki}
²⁰⁷² rev. III:1	u ₅ (MA ₂ .ĤU)
²⁰⁷² rev. III:2	Du-du-lu ^{ki}
²⁰⁷² rev. III:19	1 nig ₂ -la ₂ -gaba
²⁰⁷²⁺⁵²⁹⁴ rev. III:20	10 la ₂ -3 ma-na 50 <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> gin ₃ -gin ₃
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:1	mu-DU
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:2	Šu-ga-du
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:3	Ma-ri ₂ ^{ki}
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:11	1 'a ₃ -da-um ^{lug₂} 1 aktum ^{lug₂} 1 ib ₂ ^{lug₂} sa ₆ gun ₃
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:12	1 ib ₂ -la ₂ 1 si-ti-tum 1 giri ₂ kun TAR <GIN ₂ .DILMUN> kug-sig ₁₇
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:13	1 giri ₂ mar-tu kug-sig ₁₇
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:14	nig ₂ -ba
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:15	en
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:16	Ir-bi ₂
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:17	i ₃ -na-sum
²⁰⁷² rev. IV:18	in ud
⁵²⁹⁴ rev. IV:19	[nig ₂ -m]u-sa ₂
²⁰⁷² rev. V:1	1 bur-KAK

The new pieces of information provided by this join, that make it possible to improve or confirm some readings and translations in A. Archi, *Annual Documents of Deliveries (mu-DU) to the Central Administration (Archive L. 2769)*, *ARET XIV*, Wiesbaden, 2023, pp. 426-428, are:

obv. VIII:11 - IX:3: the Ebla man Yišma'-damu sent from Armi to his king Yiṭṭar-damu (who presumably was at Ebla) a rich gift coming from Armi's royal milieu; the construct šu-mu-taka₄ mi-nu GN (cf. the reconstruction šu-mu-taka₄ [in] GN in *ARET XIV*, p. 426) with the preposition mīnum, "from", written explicitly, confirms that, as argued by Miguel Civil and Lorenzo Viganò in their 1990 articles in *Aula Orientalis* 8, the Ebla occurrences of šu-mu-taka₄ imply that the delivery of goods involved persons located in different and distant places ("in Sumerian, šu-tak₄ carries the specific connotation of sending goods to a distance from the location in which the transaction had been originated", in Viganò's paraphrasis of a suggestion by Civil);

rev. II:13 - III:2: even if acting as u₅ in Tuttul, Yišma'-il came from Mari and not from Tuttul, as sometimes claimed (for instance, in *ARET XIV*, p. 431);

rev. IV:11 - V:1: the presence of the "bride-price" (nig₂-mu-sa₂) in the passage mentioning 'Erpi' confirms the reconstruction suggested in *ARET XIV*, pp. 302 and 428.

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5) L'image de culte de la déesse ^dTU dans le temple du dieu ^dKU-ra à Ébla — Dans les textes administratifs d'Ébla le nom de la déesse-mère ^dTU est souvent associé à l'offrande d'un tissu gu-dùl-TÚG noir ou blanc pour son image cultuelle (Pasquali 1996 ; 2005 : 165-168). Dans un cas cette cérémonie

d'habillage (mu₄^{mu}) du simulacre divin de ^dTU entraîne aussi la sortie d'étoffes pour les prêtres pa₄:šeš du dieu ^dKU-*ra* :

[1] *ARET* I 12 (4-6) : 1 gu-dùl-TÚG gi₆ / lú 10 na₄ siki / 2 bu-di 4 gín DILMUN kù: babbar / mu₄^{mu} / ^dTU / 1 túg-NI.NI / Sar-du-du / pa₄:šeš / ^dKU-*ra* / 1 sal-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG gùn / A-du-ul / pa₄:šeš / ^dKU-*ra* / in ud / mu₄^{mu} / ^dTU.

Bien évidemment ce détail ne peut que réaffirmer le lien étroit qui existe entre cette déesse et le dieu ^dKU-*ra* (voir aussi Sallaberger 2018 : 12). C'est, en effet, ^dTU qui dans les rituels royaux de *ARET* XI 1 et 2 annonce, à l'aube, le renouvellement de ^dKU-*ra*, de sa parèdre ^dBa-*ra-ma* et du couple des souverains (pour cet événement, voir Pasquali 2020 : 598 et sv).

En regardant attentivement parmi les documents administratifs, il y a des passages qui à ce jour n'ont pas reçu l'attention qu'ils méritent, mais qui peuvent nous offrir des informations supplémentaires à ce sujet. Il s'agit par exemple de l'extrait suivant qui provient d'un compte-rendu annuel de métaux :

[2] *MEE* 12 37 r. IV:39 – V:11 : 2 gín DILMUN kù: babbar / 1 ti₈-MUŠEN / x x [...] / [...] / [...] [D]U₈? / [...] MAŠ / ^rma¹-^rlik¹-tum / ^dTU / [l]ú ^ré¹ / ^dKU-*ra* / šè / mu₄^{mu}-mu₄^{mu}.

Le contexte, malheureusement lacuneux, cite des cérémonies d'habillage (mu₄^{mu}-mu₄^{mu}) en référence à ^dTU qui est définie ici comme [l]ú ^ré¹ / ^dKU-*ra*, c'est-à-dire « celle du temple de ^dKU-*ra* ». Cela semble indiquer que dans ce temple se trouvait abritée une statue de culte de la déesse. La lacune ne nous permet pas de connaître l'identité du destinataire de l'objet en argent en forme d'aigle mentionné au début du passage. En tout cas, rien ne nous autorise à penser qu'il devait s'agir de ^dKU-*ra*, comme en revanche le veut Sallaberger (2018 : 131 e n. 70).

Le passage [2] nous aide maintenant à mieux comprendre un autre extrait administratif :

[3] *ARET* XX 19 (63) : 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb+III-TÚG gùn / En-na-ì / pa₄:šeš / ^dKU-*ra* / šè / ma-lik-tum / mu₄^{mu} / ^d[TU*] / é / ^dKU-*ra*,

où des tissus sont assignés encore une fois à l'un des prêtres pa₄:šeš de ^dKU-*ra* par ordre de la reine lors de l'habillage du simulacre de ^dTU dans le temple de ^dKU-*ra*. Après le déterminatif dingir, le nom de la déesse a disparu sur la tablette, mais la restitution est certaine sur la base du passage parallèle [2].

On remarquera que dans ces contextes le terme sumérien an-dùl, qui régulièrement dans les documents éblaites sert à indiquer la statue de culte des divinités, n'apparaît jamais. Le nom de la divinité concernée suffit à évoquer sa représentation. On retrouve exactement le même phénomène dans les textes grecs, où le terme technique qui indique la statue se cache derrière la personne divine représentée (voir par exemple Bettinetti 2001 : 25-27). Pour ne citer qu'un exemple parmi les plus connus, dans le livre VI^e de l'*Iliade*, lors de l'offrande du péplum au simulacre d'Athéna dans son temple sis sur l'acropole de Troie, le poète ne cite jamais la statue de culte, mais il se réfère directement au nom de la déesse (sur l'identification entre la statue de culte d'Athéna et la déesse elle-même dans ce passage de l'*Iliade*, voir Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1969 : 17).

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6) More on the “Forest Wardens” of Ebla Sources — Writing two years ago, this author discussed the term ME.SIG ^{giš}taskarin/^{giš}, “warden of fir¹⁾/timber” (Steinkeller 2021: 181 and n. 28), which appears several times in Ebla documentation. At that time, I was aware of four attestations of this term:

(1) 5 garments for 2 maškim Mu-du-ri₂ ME.SIG kur^{ki} ^{giš}taskarin, “2 agents of Muduri, the warden of the mountains of fir” (ARET 15 9 Obv. iv 3-6);

(2) 2 garments for Ar-mi-um^{ki} ME.SIG ^{giš}taskarin, “a man of Armium, the warden of fir” (ARET 15 38 Obv. xii 12 – rev. i 2);

(3) 2 garments for Ar-mi-um^{ki} ME.SIG ^{giš}taskarin (ARET 15 51 Obv. x 10-15)²⁾;

(4) [x garments] for ME.^ʾSIG¹ ^{giš} kur^{ki} ^{giš}taskarin, “the ^ʾwarden¹ of the trees of the mountains of fir” (ARET 3 235 Obv. v 1’-2’).

This designation, which in (1) and (4) is further qualified by kur^{ki}, “mountain(s),”³⁾ appears to denote an official in charge of fir forests located to the northwest of Ebla, in the Amanus mountains and/or in Jebel an-Nusayriyah. In (2) and (3), the ME.SIG is identified as a native of Armi(um). The case of Muduri (1) is less clear; he could stem either from Armi(um) or Kakmium.⁴⁾

To these attestations, two mentions of a “forest warden” may now be added. These examples, which appear in the unpublished tablets TM.75.G.1936 and TM.75.G.2243, cited here thanks to the kindness of Giovanna Biga, concern a certain I_{lum}-BALA:

1 gu-mug^{tu}₂ I 1 SAL^{tu}₂

I₃-lum-BALA

l[u₂]

Ma₂-LUM

ME.SIG

^{giš}tir

(TM.75.G.1936 Obv. v 7-12)

1 gu-mug^{tu}₂ 1 SAL^{tu}₂ 1 ib₃-III^{tu}₂ gun₃

Mi-da-ri₂-šu

lu₂ I₃-lum-BALA

ME.SIG

^{giš}tir

(TM.75.G.2243 Obv. vi 1-5)

Importantly, in yet another Ebla source the same I_{lum}-Bala is alternatively identified as en-nun-ak ^{giš}tir:

1 gu-dul₃^{tu}₂

I₃-lum-BALA

lu₂ Ma₂-LUM

en-nun-ak

1 ^{giš}tir

(ARET 3 468 Obv. iv 13-17)

Since en-nun-ak undoubtedly means “guard, warden,” this example confirms that, as argued by Catagnoli 2019, ME.SIG denotes the same type of functionary.

The interchange of ME.SIG with en-nun-ak is documented in four other sources as well:

1 gu-mug^{tu}₂

I₃-lum-BALA

ME.SIG

ambar

^dUtu

(TM.75.G.2252 Rev. ii 1-5;

unpub. cited courtesy of G. Biga⁵⁾)

1 gu-mug^{tu}₂

I₃-lum-BALA

en-nu(sic)-ak

Ambar^{ki}

^dUtu

(ARET 4 15 Obv. vii 4-8)

[...]

I₃-lum-BALA

en-nun-ak

ambar

^dUtu

[...]

(ARET 12 282 Obv. ? i’ 1’-4’)

[...]

[x] gu-[m]ug^{tu}₂

[I₃]-lum-BALA

en-nun-ak

[amba]r

[^dUtu]

(ARET 12 1319 Obv. ? i’ 1’-5’)

Although these examples too concern an Ilum-BALA, it is unlikely that he should be the same person as the “forest warden” of that name. Since ambar^{ki} dUtu, “the marsh of Utu,” appears to denote a cultic place celebrating the rise of the Sungod,⁶⁾ it probably has no connection with forests.

As for the “forest warden,” the fact that the name Ilum-BALA is very common in Ebla documentation makes it impossible to identify at this time the place of his activities.⁷⁾

In conclusion, the data here discussed demonstrate that, at the time of the Ebla archives, forests located in Ebla’s neighboring mountains were supervised by designated local officials, who were responsible for the harvesting of timber as well as for the exportation of it to foreign locales, such as Ebla and other places. It appears that such forests were intentionally managed and protected. As I pointed out (Steinkeller 2021: 181), the existence of such “forest wardens” may shed light on the background—and even possible historicity—of Huwawa, the legendary guardian of the “Cedar Forest” in “Gilgameš Epic.”⁸⁾ Here it may not be irrelevant that Huwawa’s forest was situated in the vicinity of Ebla: *šu-nu iṭ-lu<-ú> a-na ma-ti-lb-la*¹ (with crasis), “they (i.e., Gilgameš and Enkidu) approached the land of Ebla” (George 2003: vol. 1, 234, Old Babylonian Schøyen₂ Obv. line 26). Note further that, in the same composition, Huwawa is described as *maššaru*, “guard” (George 2003, vol. 1, 236, Old Babylonian Schøyen₂ Rev. line 60; 264 Old Babylonian Ishchali line 34’), an Akkadian correspondent of lu₂-en-nun.

Notes

1. For the identification of ^{gi}taskarin as the Cilician fir (*Abies cilicica*), see Steinkeller 2021: 182-184.
2. Note that this passage is followed by the following entry: 4 garments / maškim-e-gi₄ / Ar-mi-um^{ki} / u₅ ’A₃-ma^{ki} / ^{gi}taskarin / šu mu-taka₄, “for the chief deputy of Armi(um), the conveyor of Ama, who delivered fir” (Obv. x 16-22). These two entries undoubtedly concern the same delivery of fir. For the role of the “conveyor of Ama,” see Steinkeller 2021: 180.
3. Another mention of the “mountains of fir” appears in TM.75.G.10041+10249 Obv. viii 3-6 (cited by Catagnoti 2016: 35), which talks of a man traveling to the “mountains of fir” (DU.DU kur^{ki} ^{gi}taskarin).
4. See Steinkeller 2021: 181.
5. Cited already by Pasquali 2018b.
6. See Pasquali 2018a; 2018b. For this interpretation, see especially the mention of en-nun-ak ud e₃ dUtu in ARET 11 2 Rev. iv 11-13.
7. Other attestations of I₃-lum-BALA lu₂ Ma₂-LUM are ARET 4 4 Obv. iv 4-6; ARET 12 99 Obv. ? i? 1’-6’; ARET 12 686 Obv. ? iii’ 1’-3’; TM.75.G.2434+10280 Rev. i 5-7; cited courtesy of G. Biga. However, these examples do not throw additional light on his background.
8. For similar speculations, see Bonechi and Winters 2021: 175-176.

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7) One Ur III Tablet from Irisaĝrig in a Japanese Private Collection — The following cuneiform tablet is from an anonymous Japanese Private Collection. The tablet dates to the twelfth month of the fifth regnal year of Šu-Suen, the fourth ruler in the Third Dynasty of Ur (Ur III, ca. 2112-2004 BC) from Irisaĝrig. The paper presented here is a whole edition including transliteration and translation. I would like to thank the Japanese owner of this tablet for permitting me to publish it here.

Obv.	1) 1 tun ₃ -la ₂ zabar	1 bronze container used for pouring dirt
	2) 1 ma-ša-lum zabar	1 bronze drinking vessel
	3) 3 tu-di-da zabar	3 bronze toggle pins
	4) 1 gir ₂ -zal gi-na	1 medium quality knife
	5) 1 gir ₂ -zal zabar	1 bronze knife
	6) 1 kam-kam-ma-tum zabar	1 bronze earring
	7) 1 har zabar	1 bronze ring
	8) 1 ^{uruda} gab ₂ -šu-nir	1 copper emblem
	9) 1 ^{na₄} kišib ₃ hi-a	1 various seal
	10) 1 ^{na₄} kišib ze ₂	1 cut seal
	11) 1 ^{na₄} kinkin ze ₂	1 small cut millstone
	12) 2 na ₄ hi-a	2 various stones
Rev.	1) 1 ^{na₄} an-za-am 'ZA ŠU HI'	1 stone drinking vessel
	2) gu ₂ -ne-sag-ga ₂ gal ₂ -la	were to the sacristy
	<i>blank</i>	
	3) nig ₂ -gur ₁₁ ^d Nin-ni-gar	possessions of Ninnigar
	4) A-bu-šu-ni gudu ₄	Abušuni the gudu-priest
	5) šu ba-ti	received.
	6) iti še-sag ₁₁ -ku ₅	Month: "Harvest."
	7) mu us ₂ -sa ^d Šu- ^d Suen / lugal Uri ₅ ^{ki} -ke ₄ /	Year following: "Šu-Suen, king of Ur, built the
	bad ₃ mar-tu Mu-ri-/iq-ti-id-ni-im / mu-du ₃ -a	Amorite wall Muriq-tidnim."

For the various treasure (metals and stones), see OWEN 2013; SIGRIST & OZAKI 2019. For the deity ^dNin-ni-gar, see FRAYNE & STUCKEY 2021, 82. For the location of Irisaĝrig, see MOLINA 2013; VIANO 2019; ZWAID & CRIPPS 2020. The three signs, 'ZA ŠU? HI?', in the first line of reverse are beyond my apprehension.

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8) The index letters of Assur 18764 — It is well known that Andrae's excavation of Assur was exceptionally careful for his time. Even now, its legacy is not yet fully exploited. The subarchive Assur 18764 of the Middle Assyrian *ginau* agency (M4A) was contained in an unbroken pot. Perhaps the excavators had not fully realized that the order of such a set of tablets contains essential information, but to a large extent they must have labeled them in the order they took them out of the pot. Now we can recognize that the resulting order of their index letters (18764a to 18764ag) is strongly correlated with that of their eponyms. One must disregard two major outliers (18764g and 18764af), but apart from them deviations are minor. The oldest tablets are from the time of the *ginau* supervisor Aba-la-ide and clearly

lay at the bottom of the pot. Without any further disorder, their index letters should have been *x, y, z, aa, ab, ac, ad, ae, ag*. Instead, they were labeled *s, x, z, aa, ab, ac, ad, ae, ag*. According to Freydank (2016, 23), the latest tablets among this group should be those from the eponymates of Ibašši-ili and Haburraru. Indeed, these come with the index letters *s, x, z*. Based on these observations, it should be possible to determine the order of the subsequent *ginau* supervisors Sin-nadin-apli and Sin-uballit. According to MARV 6, 2, the latter was in office immediately before the accession of Aššur-dan I. The index letters for Sin-nadin-apli are *a, b1, b2, d, e, t, t?*, those for Sin-uballit are *c1, f, m?, o?, p, r, w, y*. The label *t?* is very dubious, because Weidner lists the tablet as 18764 ^(?) (AfO 13, 314) and 18764 ^(a) (AfO 16, 215). Thus there is some disorder involving two or three of fifteen tablets, but it is clear that Sin-uballit came first. This is in agreement with Freydank's original order (1991, 69f. and 73). He later inverted it (Freydank 2016, 29), because MARV 7, 71 links the eponymate of Marduk-aha-ereš from the time of Sin-nadin-apli to the one of Pišqiya. Since Freydank himself discovered that there was a second eponym Pišqiya from the time of Aššur-dan I (2016, 40f.), this argument has become unreliable. Moreover, MARV 5, 12 links the eponymate of Marduk-aha-ereš to the one of Atamar-den-Aššur, whose placement under Aššur-dan I is uncontroversial. In conclusion, Sin-nadin-apli was a *ginau* supervisor under Aššur-dan I.

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9) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 38 : la destruction des murailles de Larsa — Dans son article sur « le mystère des remparts de Larsa », J.-L. Huot a expliqué la disparition de la muraille de la ville comme un phénomène dû à l'érosion¹⁾. Pourtant, une lettre de Mari nous apprend quel fut le premier coupable : il s'agit de Hammu-rabi, lorsqu'il s'empara de Larsa en 1763, après un long siège. Une lettre de Zimri-Addu et Menirum à leur seigneur, le roi de Mari Zimri-Lim, décrit les opérations postérieures à la prise de la ville et au transfert à Babylone de Rim-Sin, de son entourage ainsi que de ses biens²⁾. La l. 6 est certes un peu endommagée, mais la photo montre bien la fin du signe BÂD (il ne peut s'agir de [É.G]AL) et la l. 8 indique que la démolition dura longtemps³⁾. Cette lettre est jusqu'à présent notre unique source relative au démantèlement de la muraille de Larsa. Elle permet donc de comprendre pourquoi, dans le prologue de son Code, Hammu-rabi se décrit comme « celui qui a épargné Larsa ⁴⁾ » : le vainqueur babylonien s'est contenté de démolir la muraille, mais a laissé la ville intacte.

Que se passa-t-il sous Samsu-iluna ? À lire la traduction du nom de l'an 11 de ce roi par M. Horsnell, les murailles de Larsa auraient été à nouveau détruites⁵⁾ : « The year: Samsuiluna, the king, at the command of An and Enlil, destroyed the (great) walls of Ur, (Larsa) (and) Uruk and defeated the army of Akkad for the < second(?) > time. » Cette traduction a entraîné des malentendus⁶⁾. En fait, aucun texte ne donne la séquence Ur, Larsa et Uruk : on a simplement un texte d'Ur dans lequel le scribe a commis une erreur, écrivant Larsa au lieu d'Uruk, comme Horsnell lui-même l'a indiqué... en note (p. 195 n. 65)⁷⁾. Samsu-iluna aurait eu d'autant plus de mal à détruire la muraille de Larsa que son père s'en était déjà chargé vingt-trois ans auparavant. Heureusement, les techniques nouvelles de télédétection permettent à l'équipe dirigée par R. Vallet de reconstituer le détail de cette muraille, dont, en dehors de la « porte Parrot », pratiquement plus rien n'est visible à l'œil nu⁸⁾.

1. J.-L. Huot & J. Suire, « Le mystère des remparts de Larsa », dans G. Chambon, M. Guichard & A.-I. Langlois (éd.), avec la participation de Th. Römer et N. Ziegler, *De l'argile au numérique. Mélanges assyriologiques en l'honneur de Dominique Charpin*, PIPOAC 3, Louvain/Paris/Bristol, 2019, p. 455-468.

2. ARM 27 158. Voir déjà mon commentaire dans D. Charpin, « Histoire politique du Proche-Orient amorrite (2002-1595) », dans D. Charpin, D. O. Edzard & M. Stol, *Mesopotamien. Die altbabylonische Zeit*, OBO 160/4, Fribourg & Göttingen, 2004, p. 25-480 (p. 323 n. 1680).

3. La photo est accessible sur <http://www.archibab.fr/T7959>.

4. M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, WAW 6, Atlanta, 1995, p. 77 ii 32 : *gāmil Larsa*.

5. M. J. A. Horsnell, *The Year Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Volume 2. The Year-Names reconstructed and Critically Annotated in Light of their Exemplars*, Hamilton, 1999, p. 195.

6. Comme A. Seri, *The House of Prisoners...*, SANER 2, Berlin/New York, 2013, p. 33 : le tableau reprend explicitement Horsnell, en omettant les parenthèses (« he destroyed the walls of Ur, Larsa, (and) Uruk »).

7. Il s'agit de « KF 1992 » selon Horsnell : ARCHIBAB permet de retrouver ce texte, qui est UET 5 268 (photo sur https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?museum_number=131283). J'ai collationné ce texte au BM et l'ai réédité ; cf. D. Charpin, « Les tablettes retrouvées dans des caveaux funéraires d'époque paléo-babylonienne à Ur », dans D. Charpin *et al.*, *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babylonienne*, Mémoires de NABU 22, Paris, 2020, p. 87-118 (p. 96, avec commentaire à la l. 26 p. 97).

On trouve une erreur du même type à propos de l'année 14 de Sin-muballiṭ (Horsnell *Year Names Babylon* 2, Hamilton, 1999, p. 98). Horsnell indique « of Larsa (and Ur) », ce qui est inexact : la liste BM 92702 a (sûrement par erreur) ŠEŠ.UNU^{ki} au lieu de UD.UNU^{ki}, mais aucune source ne donne les deux toponymes.

8. Le travail a débuté en 2019 et s'est poursuivi en 2021 et 2022 : voir R. Vallet (dir.), *Larsa-‘Uwaili Annual Report 2021-2022. Preliminary Report on the Results of the XVIth & XVIIth Campaigns at Larsa and the Xth Campaign at Tell ‘Uwaili*, 2022 (bientôt disponible sur HAL).

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10) Notes on the Epic of Zimri-Lim — When preparing a Russian translation of the composition (with A. Uspensky, now in print at *Vestnik drevnei istorii*), I understood a few passages differently from the edition of Michaël Guichard (2014) and later studies. I have collected my suggestions in this note, in the hope that they will be of interest for the international audience.

i 16) LUGAL *ša-bé-e-em ú-ša-ar-bi-ma*¹⁾

He (Anum) exulted the vociferous king...

The editor identified the word *ša-bi-e-em* as a by-form of *šūpūm* ‘resplendent’ (“illustre”). However, *-ā-* in the first syllable remained unexplained²⁾; more importantly, the ending *-em* can only result from *-iam*, while the base of *šūpūm* is **šawpu-*. A better candidate is *šabūm* (**šabium*) ‘vociferous’, the adjective counterpart of *šabūm* ‘to be loud’³⁾. This word also appears in l. i 27 as an epithet of Adad (^dIŠKUR *ša-bu-ú*), this time correctly translated by the editor as ‘resounding’ (“tonnant”). The image of ‘vociferous king’ may seem extravagant, but one should keep in mind that Zimri-Lim is compared to Adad in these lines (Guichard 2014: 34).

i 34–37) *at-ta te-ep-te₉ pu-šu-uq ša-du-i*
ša sī-ik-k[u-ur-šu we-r]u-ú ^{giš}IG-*šú* NA₄
zi-im-r[i-li-im p]é-ti-wu ^{giš}IG^{bi.a} *dan-nim*
ša s[ī-ik-ku-ur-šī-na we-ru]-ú ^{giš}IG-*šī-na* NA₄

It was you who opened the mountain's narrow passage,
Which has the bolt of copper, the door of stone.
Zimri-Lim is the one who opens the doors of the stronghold,
Which have the bolt of copper, the door (leaf) of stone.

The editor interpreted ^{giš}IG ZU and ^{giš}IG ZI-NA as rare logograms for types of doors and translated them as “porte à panneaux” and “porte à treillage” respectively. A simpler solution is to read here pronominal suffixes referring to *pušūq šadū*’i in ll. 34–35 and to *dalāt dannim* in ll. 36–37. If this is true, the term *daltum* is used in ll. 36 and 37 in different meanings, ‘door’ (as a whole) and ‘door leaf’. Though unexpected at the first sight, exactly the same usage is found in the *Descent of Ištar* (Lapinkivi 2010), ll. 17–18: *amaḥḥaš daltu sikkūru ašabbir amaḥḥaš sippum-ma ušabalkat dalāti* ‘I will smash the door and break the bolt, I will smash the doorjamb and overturn the door leaves’.

In the middle of ll. 35 and 37, the editor restored [*ed-l*]u-ú “fermaient”. However, the plene writing of the plural morpheme is unusual in Mari (and would be unique in the Epic); the half-broken sign in l. 35 is not a doubtless LU either. My restoration, which remains hypothetical, is based on a possible parallel between ‘copper’ and ‘stone’ in both lines.

ii 24) *ša-ti ta-ḥa-zu* ¹x-x-e/ia¹ *pa-ni-iš-ni*

The battle is woven ... in front of us.

Guichard tentatively analysed the last four signs as *pa-ni iš-ni* “mon plan est changé”. Cf., however, *pa-ni-iš-ša* ‘in front of her’ in *Agušaya A* (Groneberg 1997), l. vii 22.

The photograph does not make possible a reliable reading of the preceding three signs. Guichard suggests 'e-lī-ia "contre moi", with reservations.

Finally, a chronological note: the editor suggested, based on a considerable amount of evidence, that the composition dated to the middle of ZL 1 (Guichard 2014: 70–71). Another confirmation of this dating may be found in the accounting document M.7224 (ARM 30, p. 220). It was drawn up in Terqa on 27/v/ZL 1, while the Epic ends with a description of Zimri-Lim's visit to Terqa. M.7224 does not mention the king, but we know that the accounting documents found in Mari and written in other places were usually composed during the king's journeys (Villard 1992).

Notes

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1. For the reading *ū-ša-ar-bi-ma* rather than ¹lu¹-ša-ar-bi-ma of the edition, see already Guichard's own commentary (2014: 33), followed by Miglio (2017: 231).

2. The Neo-Assyrian form *šá-pu-tú* quoted in CAD Š/3 329 is unique and probably irregular; one expects *šēpu'um* in Assyrian.

3. For this verb, see Lambert (2013: 470), who pointed out that it must be distinguished from *šapūm* 'to be thick, dense'. The two roots and their derivations are confused in both dictionaries (AHw. 1176-1177; CAD Š/1 487).

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11) Anthroponymic Evidence for the Divine Epithet *θūr- — Litholatry and theopetramorphy (the deification of rocks, stones, crags, mountains, stelae, etc.) are ubiquitous religious phenomena among ancient Southwest Asian cultures (Mettinger 1995). While a great variety of Semitic texts throughout the second and first millennia attest to such ideas, more still are attested in anthroponyms (e.g., Lipinski 2000, 600-604; Heimpel 1997). Of course, interpreting personal names is not without its problems, especially concerning religious history, but they do provide valuable information about concepts of deities and divine activity.

One theopetramorphic vocable within this specific theological lexicon is the common Central Semitic noun *θūr-, 'rock,' 'mountain'. Clear evidence for the use of *θūr- as a divine title is found throughout the Hebrew Bible (BH *šūr*, e.g., Deut 32:4, 15, 18, 30-31, 34). Hebrew epigraphic texts also attest to the practice (cf. Ketef Hinnom I, 14). Additionally, the pre-Islamic deity 'Amm bears similar titles (Prioretta 2018). In Yemen, hypostases of 'Amm are identified as "master of the rock of GN" (*b'l z'r + GN*). Herein I would like to catalogue a variety of Central Semitic personal names from the Old Babylonian period through the Neo-Assyrian period that show that *θūr- was used as an appellation for divine beings and deified ancestors.

It is possible to classify *θūr- as a divine epithet based on the onomastic record first because this nominal element regularly appears as the predicate in nominal-sentence names ("so-and-so is *θūr-). Secondly, *θūr- predicates a theophoric element. Either *θūr- qualifies a theonym, as in *šwryhdd* ("my rock/mountain is Hadad") (NTA 14:4') or a kinship term, as in *ha-am-mi-šú-ri* ("my ancestor is my rock/mountain") (OTBR 148 f10). On rare occasions, *θūr- functions as the theophoric element, as in some biblical names *pdhšwr* ("the rock has ransomed") (Num 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23) or in South Arabian names like *zwr'mr* ("the rock commands") (U.85 G/F 1:1) or *zwr'dn* ("the rock is eternal?") (CIH 514:4).

Also note the Amorite name *šú-ri-la-ri-im* (“may my rock/mountain be exalted”) (ARM 18 35 r14). The presence of **θūr-* in anthroponyms and the biblical evidence suggest that **θūr-* served as an epithet for divine beings.

The earliest personal names that contain **θūr-* appear during the 18th century and are mainly found in Syria (e.g., Mari, Qaṭṭara) (cf. Streck 2000; Gelb 1980; Huffmon 1965). Possibly dated to the same period (Rollston 2010, 13-14), but from much further south, a monomial name *šr* is found twice in Proto-Canaanite inscriptions from Serabit el-Khadim (Sinai 352; 364). At least one name (*šūra-šar*, “Assur is a rock/mountain[?]”) is attested in the Amarna period (14th c.) and belongs to a self-proclaimed ruler of a Levantine city-state (EA 319). The Emar tablets also attest to **θūr-* as a nominal element, as in *ši-ni-šú-ri* (“Sin is my rock/mountain”) (Pruzsinszky 2003, 198). In the Neo-Assyrian period, more examples of **θūr-* names appear beginning with the reign of Adad-nerari III (PAB-*tu-ri*, [PNAE, 68]) through Assur-uballit II (*a-ḫa-tu-ri* [SAA 14 434, 48]). Some names appear in the records of the Assyrian heart land, like in records from Nineveh (*a-a-tú-ri* [SAA 06 227, o3]) or Dur Katlimmu (^dA.10-*tu-ri-i* [BATSH 6 48, 3]). Others are found in western imperial contexts like Sam’al (Zincirli) (*bršr* [KAI 215]) or Beersheba (*’lšr* [Golub 2017, 39]).

The geographic distribution of the names is also evidence for the widespread use of **θūr-* as an epithet. Names that contain **θūr-* are attested throughout the Levant (e.g., Israel, Judah, Ammon), Syro-Mesopotamia (e.g., Mari, Emar, Qaṭṭara, Nineveh, Kalḫu), and Saba and Qataban (modern Yemen).

The extant names mention a variety of deities: Aya, Ea, Adad/Hadad, Apladad, Dagan, Ilu/El, Išḫara, Ištar, Aššur, Nahar. The hypocoristics “lord” and “lady” are also paired with **θūr-* (*a-du-ni-tu-ri* [SAA 06 41, o4], *tu-ri-ba-al-tú* [SAA 14 232, r1]). The names indicate that **θūr-* is not restricted to a single deity or divine archetype (e.g., storm god, warrior goddess). Moreover, both male and female deities are identified as **θūr-* in the names.

Consistent with Semitic naming practices, the **θūr-* names employ kinship terms as theophoric elements. Among them are terms like “ancestor” (e.g., *šú-ri-ḫa-am-mu*), “father” (e.g., *a-bi-šú-ri*), “maternal uncle” (*ka-šú-ri-ḫa-la* [M.2802]), “brother” (e.g., *a-ḫa-tu-ri* [SAA 14 434, 48]), and “son (of)” (*bršr* [KAI 215]). Interestingly, there are no feminine kinship terms. The kinship names imply that petramorphic language was unrestricted to “high” gods and goddesses. The kinship **θūr-* names also underscore the presence of ancestor veneration in ancient Southwest Asia.

Overall, the onomastic evidence regarding **θūr-* indicates its used throughout the second and first-half of the first millennium BCE. Its sustained role as a predicate in Central Semitic personal names suggests that **θūr-* functioned as a divine epithet for both deities and (perhaps) deified ancestors for at least a thousand years. So, while the Hebrew Bible gives the impression that Yahweh is the only god who is known as *šr* (Isa 44:8), the onomastic evidence demonstrates that many other divinities of ancient Southwest Asia were identified as such.

Catalogue of **θūr-*Names from the Old Babylonian Period through the Neo-Assyrian Period

Attested Form	Source
1. <i>a-be-šú-ra</i>	1. Gelb #52
2. <i>a-bi-šú-ri</i>	2. FM 9 71: 4’, 9’, 10’; 10 18: iv 32’
1. <i>a-du-ni-tu-ri</i>	1. SAAo 06 41: o4
1. PAB- <i>tu-ri</i>	1. PNAE, 68
2. <i>a-ḫa-tu-ri</i>	2. SAAo 14 434: 48
1. <i>’ḫšr</i>	1. CWSSS #763
1. <i>a-a-tú-ri</i>	1. SAAo 06 227: o3
1. ^d A.10- <i>tu-ri-i</i>	1. BATSH 6 48:3
1. <i>bršr</i>	1. KAI 215: 1, 3, 5
1. <i>ḫa-am-mi-šú-ri</i>	1. OBTR 21: 6; 27: 8; 96: 5; 148: 7, 10
1. ^d iš- <i>ha-ra-šú-ri</i>	1. FM 4 22: 14
1. <i>eš₄-tár-šú-ri-LUGAL</i>	1. FM 4 3: iii 33; 13: iv 63
1. <i>’lšr</i>	1. Golub, “Personal Names,” 39.
2. <i>’lšr</i>	2. CAI #241
3. <i>’lyšr</i>	3. HAE Seb (8) 2: 1

1. <i>ka-šú-ri-ḫa-la</i>	1. RIME 4.06.08.02, ex. 01: 96
1. <i>ka-šú-ri-DINGIR</i>	1. M.18475: 6
1. ^d ID ₂ -šú-ri	1. Gelb #3652
1. <i>se-e'-tu-ri</i>	1. SAAo 06 026: r5
1. <i>šr</i>	1. Sinai 352; 364
1. <i>šú-ri-a-bi</i>	1. ARM 22 14: 14
1. <i>šú-ra-ta-nu</i>	1. APN, 137
1. <i>šwry</i>	1. CWSSS #840
2. <i>šwr[...]</i>	2. NTA 1: v 19
3. <i>šry (?)</i>	3. KTU ² 4.69 II: 4; 4.338: 5; 4. 778.4; 4.782: 6
1-2. <i>šú-ri-ia</i>	1. ARM 14 98: 11; 26/2 303: 41'; 305: 5'; 315: 25, 27
3. <i>šú-ra-a</i>	2. OBTR 165: 5' 3. Gelb #6612
1. <i>šú-ra-šar</i>	1. EA 319: 4
1. <i>šú-ri-^dda-gan</i>	1. ARM 21 138: 2; 23 235: 1; FM 10 81: iv 28', 32'; M.15068: 4
1. <i>šú-ri-^dIŠKUR</i>	1. A.4280
2. <i>šú-ri-^dIŠKUR</i>	2. FM 2 67: 22
3. <i>šwryhdd</i>	3. NTA 14: 4'
1. <i>šú-ri-ḫa-am-mu</i>	1. ARM 6 73: 5; 21 339: 4; 23 12: 2; 23 18: 10; 23 236: 236
2. <i>šú-ri-ḫa-am-mu-ú</i>	2. FM 6 4: 21
3. <i>šú-ri-ha-mu</i>	3. M.10061: 3'
4. <i>šú-ra-ḫa-am-mu-ú</i>	4. A.3281: 3; ARM 2 53: 28; 3 58: 11; 14 83: 38; 28 25: 5; FM 8 42: 3; M.11634: 4
5. <i>šú-ra-ḫa-am-mu</i>	5. ARM 2 53: 15, 19; 2 104: 5, 10; 3 36: 5; 1 105: 7, 9; 3 36: 5; 14 83: 7, 10, 13, 14, 32, 38; 21 370: 3'; 26/1 74: 21; 190: 1'; 219: 25'; FM 11 74; M.6166+: 6'; M.12631: 9', 38'
1. <i>šú-ri-DINGIR</i>	1. Gelb #6221
1. <i>šú-ri-la-ri-im</i>	1. ARM 1 88: 19; 18 35: 14; 26/1 43: 5; 33 86: 20'; FM 16 33: 3
1. <i>šú-ri-e-ra-aḫ</i>	1. Gelb #6622
1. <i>ši-ni-šú-ri</i>	1. PTE, 198.
1. <i>tú-ri-i</i>	1. SAAo 07 189: r.e. 14; 191: r 9'; 192: r 2; 210: r 18
1. <i>tú-ri-^da-a</i>	1. Gezer 3: 5
1. <i>tú-ri-ba-al-tú</i>	1. SAAo 14 232: r 1
1. <i>tú-ri-ra-me</i>	1. Marqasi 6: 2
1. <i>ṣwrkrb</i>	1. YM 10598: 1
2. <i>ṣwrkrb</i>	2. Y.85.AQ/19:1
1. <i>ṣwr'ly</i>	1. Y. 85 GF/3: 1
1-2. <i>ṣwr'dn</i>	1. RES 2743: 7 2. CIH 514: 4
1. <i>ṣwr'mr</i>	1. U. 85 G/F 1: 1

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12) Hurrian *ugri* “leg” and *tiža* “heart” in HSS 14 105 — HSS 14 105 is a long administrative list, which was originally published in copy only, but is now available with transliteration and a photo on CDLI as P408708. The text enumerates and describes certain precious objects referred to as *ḫarnu ša ḫaigallatḫe* “the horn of a ...”. There can be little doubt that this object is typologically the same as *ḫarnu aigalluḫu*, found once in EA 25 iii 49. The list of gifts of Tušratta, EA 25, is in general similar to HSS 14 105, in that both texts give detailed descriptions of valuable objects, dwelling in particular on the amount of precious materials invested in them. Also, both texts contain a large number of words not used elsewhere in Akkadian, which most likely originate from Hurrian. Hence, EA 25 turns out to be a useful parallel that helps to solve some of the difficulties of the poorly understood tablet HSS 14 105.

The first difficulty is the term *ḫaigallatḫu*, which is insufficiently treated in the standard dictionaries (AHw 1542, CAD A1 231). The comparison with *aigalluḫu* suggests that both are normal Hurrian derivatives from the base (*ḫ*)*aigall-* with the nominal suffix *-atḫe* (WEGNER 2007, 59) or the adjectival suffix *(-o/u)-ḡe* (WEGNER 2007, 54) respectively. The lexeme *ḫaigalli* is attested in the Hurrian texts from Boğazköy, but its meaning there is uncertain (WILHELM 1992, 129-130), as the traditional translation as an animal name (LAROCHE 1980, 89) is in fact based on the evidence of EA 25. There the “aigallean horn” is enumerated together with horns of other animals, such as wild cows, bulls and aurochs, suggesting that (*ḫ*)*aigallu* indicates an animal as well. If this suggestion is accepted, then the object *ḫarnu ša ḫaigallatḫe* is to be interpreted either as a horn of the *ḫaigallu* animal or as a vessel in the shape of the animal. Though the former interpretation cannot be totally excluded, it is the latter possibility with the conventional translation “rhyton” that has won more popularity due to the way these objects are described in the text.

In HSS 14 105 each rhyton is described in terms of its parts, and the material of each part is specified in the following fashion:

<i>1 ḫarnu ša ḫaigallatḫe</i>	“One <i>ḫaigallu</i> -shaped rhyton —
<i>tešašu ša šinni u ša išī</i>	its <i>tešu</i> is of ivory and ebony
<i>u sakkašu ... ša ḫurāši</i>	and its <i>sakku</i> ... is of gold,
<i>ukurašu ša išī</i>	its <i>ukuru</i> is of ebony,
<i>u ḫakḫassu ša terikkunni</i>	and its head is of <i>terikkunnu</i> -material” (HSS 14 105:23-26)

The lexemes designating the various elements of the rhyton can be divided into three groups: (1) those with transparent meaning, (2) those with disputable meaning, and (3) those with unknown meaning. To (1) belong *sag.du* “head” (l. 10, 11, 16, 26), *ur’udu* “throat” (l. 3, 13, 17, 22, 29, 31), *murub₄* “waist, middle” (l. 25, 31), *giri₃^{meš}* “feet” (l. 27) and *uznā* “ears” (l. 27). Furthermore, here also belongs *rittu* “palm of the hand” used for the description of rhyta in EA 25. To group (2) I would attribute the word spelled as *pu-uz-za-šu* (l. 26). In CAD P 549 it is subsumed under *pūtu* “forehead”, but the correct form would in this case be **pūssu* “its forehead”, while *pūssašu* can only be a form with the enclitic pronoun attached twice. Since I am not aware of other such serious grammar mistakes in the Nuzi corpus, I am reluctant to follow the interpretation of CAD despite its semantic attractiveness. Finally, group (3) is comprised of *tešu* (l. 9, 14, 20, 23, 24, 30, 33), *ukuru* (l. 2, 6, 10, 12, 15, 21, 25) and *zakku* (l. 2, 20, 24). Admittedly, certain suggestions also exist for these words; von Soden tentatively subsumed the Nuzi attestation of *tešu* under *tišū* “one ninth” (AHw 1362), but this translation makes no sense in the context and was rightfully abandoned in CAD T 375, where *tešu* appears as a separate lexeme of unclear meaning. As for *ukuru*, the translation “body” in AHw 1406 is clearly only a contextual guess.

Now, it appears that *all* words in group (1), and possibly also those in group (2), are anatomical terms. This fact supports the identification of *ḫarnu ša ḫaigallatḫe* as a vessel in the shape of an animal (for argumentation see CAD A1 231) and it also serves as my starting point in offering a new interpretation for two words in group (3). As the other descriptive terms for parts of rhyta are terms for body parts, it stands to reason that *ukuru* and *tešu* are also terms for body parts. At the same time, I believe that the basis for the interpretation of these lexemes should be sought not in Akkadian, but in Hurrian. Indeed, both words can be identified with well-attested Hurrian anatomical terms: *ugri* “leg/foot” (LAROCHE 1980, 277, RICHTER 2012, 483) and *tiža* “heart” (LAROCHE 1980, 266, RICHTER 2012, 462). In the case of *uguru*, this

identification is confirmed by the use of giri₃ “foot” in the text (l. 27). Though it is not certain whether *u₂-ku-ra-šu* and giri₃^{meš}-*šu* are simply syllabic and logographic spellings for the same word or if they represent two different body parts, “leg” and “foot” respectively, the presence of giri₃ in the description of rhyta clearly indicates that these vessels could have legs/feet. As for *tešu*, I confess I cannot state with certainty, which element of the rhyton is designated as its “heart”, but “central part, main part” or “inner part” are the most likely candidates.

Admittedly, the shape of both words as they appear in HSS 14 105 does not fully correspond to their suggested Hurrian source lexemes. In the case of *uguru* the difference is easily elucidated by postulation of an anaptyctic vowel in the Nuzi form. Anaptyctic, or epenthetic, vowels are frequent in Hurrian, particularly for breaking up consonant clusters containing *liquidæ* (WEGNER 2007, 52, fn. 59), e.g. *eḡl-* ~ *eḡel-* “to save”, *torbi* ~ *torubi* “enemy”, *faḡri* ~ *faḡar(i)* “good” (KOGAN; KREBERNIK 2020, P0204), to which the new example of *ugri* ~ *uguri* “leg/foot” can now be added. The vowel *e* in the base of *tešu*, secured by unvarying spellings with the sign TE and by *plene* spellings of *te-e-ši* in l. 9, 20 and 24, is more difficult to explain. The unmotivated variation *e* ~ *i* is observable in the base of several Hurrian words (WEGNER 2007, 47), for example in *ežave* ~ *ižave* “the other side”, *ḡenz-* ~ *ḡinz-* “to (be) oppress(ed)”, *kešḡi* ~ *kišḡi* “throne”, *negri* ~ *nigri* “bolt, barrier”. However, no variant **teža* is so far attested for *tiža* “heart”. The word can be spelled with TE in Boğazköy (ChS I/2 1 i 59, iv 17, ChS I/6 3 iii 5’, ChS I/8 247:4, 9), but there this is a peculiarity of the spelling system (GIORGIERI; WILHELM 1995, 42, 46, 50, 54), not of the lexeme in question. Perhaps, if my identification of *tešu* in Hurro-Akkadian with the Hurrian *tiža* “heart” is accepted, the spelling in HSS 14 105 may serve as the first witness of the variant *teža* for *tiža*.

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13) Der Schluß der Götterliste in TELL AHMAR 6 — In der spätluwischen Inschrift der großen Wettergott-Stele von Ahmar/Qubbah (TELL AHMAR 6)¹⁾ folgt in § 2 auf eine ungewöhnlich lange Liste von Götternamen erstens | “CAELUM”-*ti-sa* | “TERRA”-*kwa/i+ra/i-ti-sa-ha* = [tibasantis taškwarantis-ha], also „Erde und Himmel“ mit dem personifizierenden Suffix *-ant-* (gemeinsames Prädikat ist ‚lieben‘). Dann folgt zweitens | (DEUS)AVIS-*ti-zi* (DEUS)*30-*tà-ti-zi*, nach Petra Goedegebuure ein analoges komplementäres Paar „Berge (und) Täler“²⁾, allerdings ohne die üblichen Determinative MONS und FLUMEN.REGIO, an deren Stelle DEUS tritt. Da schon die Anführung von Erde und Himmel nach Götternamen in der Tradition der Götterlisten hethitischer Verträge steht, wo daneben regelmäßig auch Berge und Flüsse erscheinen, ist das sehr plausibel. Im zweiten Fall liegt dann auch eine Personifikation vor, und so wird das auch im ersten der Fall sein: nicht [watinzi], sondern [watantinzi] wie [habadantinzi]. Wenn AVIS für hethitisch *wattai-* ‚Vogel‘ steht³⁾, ist eine Schreibung AVIS-*ti* für [watantinzi] analog zu “CAELUM”-*ti-sa* auch plausibel.

Drittens folgt als Abschluß nach Hawkins’ Lesung *a-tá* | *ta-sa²-mi-zi* DEUS-*ní-zi*, wobei er zu dem fraglichen Zeichen bemerkt: „the sign *-sa-* is not clear on any of the photographs, but A. R. George in his collation of the text has drawn a clear *-sa-*“ (S. 20). Da sollte man so etwas wie alle anderen Götter annehmen, vergleiche in KARATEPE 1 § LXXII „des Himmels Donnergott, des Himmels Sonnengott und Ijas und alle (anderen) Götter“, letzteres OMNIS-*MI-zi-ha* DEUS-*ní-zi* geschrieben⁴⁾ und in KARKAMIŠ A

6 § 20 „vor dem Wettergott, dem Sonnengott und der Kubaba und jedem (anderen) Gott“, letzteres *ta-ni-mi-i-ha-a-wa/i* DEUS-*ni-i* geschrieben⁵⁾. Daher dürfte Hawkins' Lesung in *ta-ni'-mi-zi* zu emendieren sein, zumal das fragliche Zeichen nach dem Faksimile einem um 90° gedrehten *ni* gleicht. Das vorausgehende *a-tá* = [anta] wird dem Anschluß dienen, siehe etwa die Inschriften des Uratamis⁶⁾, wo in HAMA 1, 2 und 7 im Gegensatz zu 3 und 6 weitere Baubeteiligte mit [anta-ha-wa] angeschlossen werden: „und dazu Halpa-Leute / das Land Nikimas / das Land Hamajaras“⁷⁾.

Wir haben also: „Himmel und Erde, Berge (und) Täler, dazu alle (anderen) Götter“.

Anmerkungen

1. Hawkins 2006, 12. Für Auskünfte danke ich Zsolt Simon, Craig Melchert und Anna Bauer.
2. Goedegebuure 2019, 300 und 307.
3. Goedegebuure 2019, 297.
4. So in der Fassung Hu., Hawkins 2000, 58.
5. Hawkins 2000, 125.
6. Hawkins 2000, 413.

7. „Also, in addition“ setzte Yakubovich 2002, 209 im Anschluß an Meriggi an. Auch hethitisch und palaisch *anta* wurden analog verwendet (siehe Sasseville – Yakubovich 2018, 54f.). Zu einem möglichen keilschrift-luwischen Beleg Melchert 1993, 18: in einer auch sonst belegten Folge von Adjektiven im Akk. Sg. c. geht da jedem *ānta-tta* voraus.

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14) Indo-Iranian Names of Gods in CTH 51* — In 1907 a very important treaty CTH 51 was discovered in the Hittite royal archive in the city of Hattuša (in Hittite language: KUB 21.18 (+) KUB 26.34; JANKOWSKI, WILHELM 2005: 113–121; MAYERHOFER 1974; DEVECCHI 2018; in Akkadian language: KBo 1.1, KBo 1.2, KUB 3.1 a-d+KBo 28.111+114 (+) 113). This was the treaty between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza, the ruler of Mittani, which is dated to the 14th century BC (LAHE, SAZONOV 2018: 22; ID 2005; WILHELM 2005; WITSCHER 2012: 201; OLDENBERG 1983: 24; VOLKKOMMER 1992: 583).

In 2018 Jaan Lahe and Vladimir Sazonov published a short note about CTH 51 and about the first mention of Mitra in the text (LAHE, SAZONOV 2018; LAHE, SAZONOV 2020). In this new paper we are going to reconstruct the main functions of all the deities mentioned in CTH 51 Rs. 54' – 58', based on names from these texts that are known from other sources.

The part of CTH 51 we are going to analyze is attributed to the Mittanian ruler Šattiwaza, *šat-ti-ū-a-za*, whose name is, most probably, a cognate with the Vedic word **sāti-vāj'a-*, “who achieved a reward”. It is worth noting that the rulers of Mittani, as well as their political elite in general, were clearly of Indo-Iranian origin (NISSEN 2012: 110–111, see also KUZ'MINA 2007). Therefore, their names have meaning in the Vedic and Avestan languages. Other examples of such names are represented by Artatama (Vedic: **rta-dhāman-*, “whose abode is Rta”) or Tušratta (Vedic: **tveṣa-ratha-*, “whose chariot is vehement”) (NISSEN 2012: 110–111; LAHE, SAZONOV 2018: 23).

The document CTH 51 is a peace treaty concluded between the Hittite Empire and the state of Mittani (see BECKMAN 1993; LAHE, SAZONOV 2020). Some kingdoms of the Late Bronze Age (1500–1150 BCE) were gigantic and very powerful—for example, not only the Hittite Empire and Mittani but also Egypt and Kassite Babylonia. They realized that wars were threatening to destroy the entire universe as they understood it, so they made peace treaties among themselves. In the text, at the conclusion of such a peace treaty, the king of the Hittites and the king of the Mittanians called their gods to witness the treaty. Of course, here in CTH 51, we can see that Šattiwaza (see ALTMAN 2005) no longer had the strong international status of the previous Mittanian kings (see VON DASSOW 2022). Therefore, under him Mittani was already weakened and had a kind of vassal status to the Hittites, dependent upon Šuppiluliuma. The Hittite king bound Šattiwaza to him by marrying one of his daughters and providing him with the military support of his son Šarri-Kušuh (Piyaššili), who ruled in Carchemish.

In the list of the gods (see LAMBERT 1985; ESPAK 2011) of the ruler of Mittani there are the names of Akkadian gods, along with Hurrian, Syrian and Mittanian deities. We assume that the simultaneous mention of Akkadian, Hurrian and Syrian deities in addition to purely Mittanian gods is intended to show their equal functions. In other words, we claim that some parallels were assumed in the functions of Akkadian, Hurrian, Syrian and Mittanian deities, and this therefore allows us to reconstruct the Mittanian deities and their functions.

Here, we provide the text and translation (made by BECKMAN 1999: 47) of the part of CTH 51 that mentions the gods:

Rs. 54' – 58'

^dU EN *ša-me-e ù er-še-ti* ^d30 ù ^dUTU ^d30 URU KASKAL-na [A]N ù ^rKI¹-ti ^dU EN *ku-ri-in-ni* URU Ka-hat ^dGIR ša URU Kùr-dá
^dU EN URU U-lu-šu-ma-an ^dÉ-a-LUGAL EN *ha-sí-[s]í* ^dA-nu ^dA-^ran¹-tu₄ ^dEN.LÍL ù ^dNIN.LÍL DINGIR.MEŠ *Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il*
DINGIR.MEŠ *Ú-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-il* ^dIn-tar DINGIR.MEŠ *Na-ša-at-ti-ia-an-na* ^rd^hKASKAL.KUR ša ^dŠa-ma-a[n]-mí-nu-^hi ^dU EN
URU Wa-aš-šug-ga-an-ni

^dU EN *ga-ma-ri ša* URU Ir-ri-te ^dPa-ar-ta-^hi URU Šu-ú-ta ^rd^hNa-bar-wi ^dŠu-ru-u-^hi ^dA-šur MUL ^dŠa-la ^dNIN.É.GAL
^dDAM.KI.NA ^dIš-^ha-ra HUR.SAG^{meš} ù ^dÍD^{meš} DINGIR^{meš} AN DINGIR^{meš} KI-ti (Transliteration by HPM 2023)

A rev. 54–58) the Storm-god, Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Moon-god and the Sun-god, the Moon-god of Harran, heaven and earth, the Storm-god, Lord of the *kurinnu* of Kahat, the Deity of Herds of Kurta, the Storm-god, Lord of Uhušuman, Ea-šarri, Lord of Wisdom, Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ninlil, the Mitra-gods, the Varuna-gods, Indra, the Nasatya-gods, the underground watercourse(?), Šamanminuhi, the Storm-god, Lord of Waššukkanni, the Storm-god, Lord of the Temple Platform(?) of Irrite, Partahi of Šuta, Nabarbi, Šuruhi, Ištar, Evening Star, Šala, Belet-ekalli, Damkina, Išhara, the mountains and rivers, the deities of heaven, and the deities of earth.

Here, a mix of divine names from different languages is used. It starts with the Akkadian names: “The god of the storm [^dU], [and his main function:] the Lord of Heaven and Earth, the god of the moon [^d30] and the god of the sun [^dUTU].” Hence, the Storm-god is assumed to be the most important of the deities. His name in Akkadian/Sumerian is: ^dU. We then see two additional deities: the Moon-god and the Sun-god with their Akkadian/Sumerian names. After this, we see the first specification: “the Moon-god of Harran”. It most probably means that there was a temple of the Moon-god in the city of Harran (now in Turkey). Then, again, we read the function of the highest deity, that is, of ^dU: “heaven and earth”. This is not in Akkadian, but in Sumerian logograms: [A]N ù ^rKI¹-ti (see ESPAK 2018: 37–38). Then it continues as follows: “The Storm-god [^dU], Lord of *kurinnu* of [the temple of] Kahat, the Deity of the Herds of Kurta, the Storm-god [^dU], Lord of [the temple in] Uhušuman.” Most likely, there were temples devoted to a god who was associated with the Akkadian Storm-god ^dU in the places mentioned above.

Then some new names follow: “[The god of water in Akkadian] Ea [^dÉ-a], [and His main function:] Master of wisdom (see more on Ea/Enki in ESPAK 2015), [the god of the sky in Akkadian, Sumerian AN] Anu [^dA-nu], [the goddess of the earth in Akkadian (Sumerian KI)] Antu [^dA-^ran¹-tu₄ – she is the divine consort of Anu], [the god which was associated with the air, storm (“raging storm”) and wind in Akkadian/Sumerian, one of the most important gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon (patron of kingship)] Ellil/Enlil [^dEN.LÍL] (See more on Enlil in WANG 2011, BLACK; GREEN (2004: 76): “Although he is in one text referred to as East Wind and North Wind, there is no evidence to connect the name Ellil with the *lila/lilû* or desert wind demon”), [the goddess of the air and wind in Akkadian/Sumerian] Ninlil [^dNIN.LÍL – she is the divine consort of Enlil].”

Thus, we see the following hierarchy in the text at this step: (1) the Storm-god ^dU, who is the Lord of Heaven and Earth (this attribute is given both in Akkadian and Sumerian logograms), and the Water-god Ea [^dÉ-a], who is the Master of wisdom; (2) the Moon-god ^d30 and the Sun-god ^dUTU; (3) the divine couple of the Sky-god Anu [^dA-nu] and the his consort Antu [^dA-^ran¹-tu₄]; (4) the divine couple of the Air-god Enlil [^dEN.LÍL] and his consort Ninlil [^dNIN.LÍL]. Consequently, we have only four groups of deities which are very well known.

Then we read the Mittanian names, perhaps, of the same deities: “The Mitra-gods [*Mi-it-ra*, Avestan: *Miθra*, Vedic: *Mitrá* (see LAHE 2019: 191–214), the Sun-god, but here Mithra is in the plural: DINGIR.MEŠ *Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il*], the Varuna-gods [*Ú-ru-wa-na*, Avestan: *Varun*, Vedic: *Váruṇa*, the Water-god, but again in the plural: DINGIR.MEŠ *Ú-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-il*], Indra [*In-tar*, Avestan/Vedic: *Indra*, the Storm-god], the Nasatya-gods [*Na-ša-at-ti*, Avestan: *Nā^oṇhaiθya*, Vedic: *Nā^osatyā*, the twin Sky-gods].”

Again, we see the four groups of deities, the same number as for the gods and goddesses with their names in Sumerograms. We can guess the first parallel at once; this is Indra (EMELIANOV 2015), the god of the storm who can be considered an analogue of the Akkadian Storm-god ^dU, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and Ea, the god of water. The name of Indra means “who possesses water” (in Sanskrit, *indu* is ‘drop’ or ‘water/soma’ and *ra* is ‘possessing’). He is not only the Vedic god of rain, but also the Vedic god of rivers. Taking into account that Mitra/Mithra was later associated with the sun in the Avestan and Vedic religions, we can assume that the Mitra-gods mean the divine couple of the Moon-god and the Sun-god. The Varuna-gods are the divine couple of the Sky-deity Anu and his consort Antu. And the Nasatya-gods are parallels of the divine couple of the Air-deity Enlil and his consort Ninlil.

Then the Syrian-Hurrian storm-gods and goddesses of the sky are listed at the end. The goddesses are in the presence of their heavenly consorts:

Underground watercourse(?), Šamanminuḫi [the Hurrian deity, presumably, of the storm], the Storm-god [^dU], the Lord [of the temple in] Waššukkanni, the Storm-god [^dU], the Lord of the Temple Platform(?) of Irrite, Partaḫi [one of the Hurrian storm deities] of [the temple in] Šuta, Nabarbi [the Hurrian and Syrian storm-goddess], Šuruḫḫe [one of the Hurrian storm-gods], Inanna [^dA-šur MUL¹ – “star of Aššur” in Sumerian, that is Inanna, the Sky-goddess], Šaluš [the Syrian Water-goddess], Bēlet-ekalli [^dNIN.É.GAL – “lady of palace”,¹⁾ the Sky-goddess in Akkadian, associated with Inanna], Damkina [^dDAM.KI.NA – the heavenly consort of the god Enki, the Water-god], Išḫara [the Syrian goddess, associated with Inanna], the mountains and rivers, the deities of heaven, and the deities of earth [the Sumerian logograms: DINGIR^{meš}AN DINGIR^{meš} KI-ti].

In this fragment we see that some Syro-Hurrian gods are regarded in parallel with the Storm-god [^dU]: Šamanminuḫi (see KREBERNIK 2008), the Lord of the temple in Waššukkanni, the Lord of the Temple Platform of Irrite, Partaḫi of the temple in Šuta, Nabarbi, Šuruḫḫe. Then several Syro-Hurrian goddesses are regarded in parallel with Inanna: Šala (see OTTO 2008), Bēlet-ekalli, Damkina, Išḫara.

Summing up, the Akkadian names of the gods are complemented by the Avestan-Vedic names and the Syro-Hurrian names of the gods and goddesses in parallel. So, ^dU (Storm-god) and Ea is Indra, the Moon- and Sun-god are Mitra-gods (in plural) (LAHE, SAZONOV 2018: 23). The Sky-god and Sky-goddess are Varuna-gods (in plural). The Air-god and Air-goddess are Nasatya-gods.

Thus, we find a marked difference between the Mittanian pantheon and the Avestan and Vedic pantheons. First, Indra is considered the highest god (to some extent this is in the Vedic tradition but is completely absent in the Avesta). Second, Mithras denote two luminaries (the sun and the moon simultaneously). This is found neither in Avestism nor in Vedism. Third, Varunas designate the Sky-gods. In Avestism, Varuna later became the Sky-god named Ahura Mazdā, but in the Vedic religion he is the Water-god. Fourth, Nasatya-gods are considered one of the main deities of the Indo-Iranian pantheon of the Mittanians, which is not typical of either the Avesta or the Vedas. Furthermore, in the Vedic religion, Mitra, Varuna, and Nasatya-gods (Aśvin) are *āditya* (*asura*) and, among the Indo-Iranian deities mentioned in CTH 51, only Indra is *deva* (Sanskrit: “god”). This means that the Mittanian pantheon precedes the division of the gods of the Indo-Aryans into *asuras* and *devas*, as well as the Iranians into *ahuras* and *daevas*. It can therefore be assumed that this is the pantheon of the Indo-Iranians, and as such much earlier than the pantheon of the R̥gveda and Avesta. Meanwhile, the most ancient fragments of the R̥gveda are dated by the Indologists not earlier than ca.1200 BC (see WITZEL 2019).

Notes

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1. See BEHRENS 1998 on Ninegal.

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15) Late Bronze and Iron Age Gedor/Gadara in Northwest Jordan — Recent evaluations of the results of the excavations conducted at et-Tell, a site located east of the Sea of Galilee, opened a new outlook onto the history of this region in the late 10th–8th centuries BCE. Most scholars identify et-Tell as the centre of the Land of Geshur, a polity mentioned several times in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Deut 3:14; Josh 12:4-5;

13:11–13; 2 Sam 3:3; 13:37–38; 14:32; 15:8). The excavators of this large site (ca. 80 ha) dated Strata VI and V to the second half of the 10th–late 8th centuries BCE, a span of more than 200 years. The remains unearthed in these strata include (inter alia) a fortification system, a monumental four-chamber gate and a palatial compound (Arav and Bennett 2000; Arav 2009; 2013). The date of Stratum VI is difficult to establish because the amount of published pottery of this stratum is scant and a significant part of it is mixed. However, recent studies of Stratum V demonstrated that the city flourished in the late 9th–late 8th centuries BCE and was destroyed by Tiglath-pileser III in his 733/32 BCE campaign (Sergi and Kleiman 2018; Ilan 2019; Sergi 2019). Sergi and Kleiman further demonstrated that the site was poorly inhabited in the late 10th–mid 9th century BCE and could not have been the centre of a prosperous city at that time. Evidently, the archaeological and historical picture that the site’s excavators present should be revised significantly.

The recent conclusions undermine my earlier reconstruction of Geshur’s name in one of Shalmaneser III’s inscriptions (Na’aman 2002: 205–207; 2012: 92–94). The inscription, written on the king’s statue, relates in detail Shalmaneser III’s campaign of his 21st year of reign (838 BCE) (Laessøe 1959; Grayson 1996: 79 lines 159b–162a; Yamada 2000a: 206–209; 200b 80). According to its account, the king first led a campaign against Damascus, and then proceeded southward. In the city of Laruba, he received the tribute of Ba’il of [KU]R Z/G[*i-x-(x)-r*]a-a-a, and erected his statue in the city’s temple. As et-Tell, the Kingdom of Geshur’s capital, was an unimportant town in Shalmaneser’s time, my restoration of Geshur’s name in the inscription is unlikely. Another solution for the damaged toponym’s name must be sought.

In an effort to restore the toponym’s name, I will first examine a few Late Bronze hieroglyphic and cuneiform texts available for the study of the south of the Yarmuk River area, a region located in northwest Transjordan. I then combine the conclusions drawn from these texts with those drawn from the account of Shalmaneser III’s inscription. By examining this region in long-term historical perspectives (*la longue durée*), I seek to demonstrate that for hundreds of years it was an entity whose centre was located near the Decapolis city of Gadara and whose territory extended from south of Gadara up to the north of the Yarmuk River region.

My point of departure is a few Ramesside inscriptions that Pharaoh Seti I (ca. 1290–1279 BCE) erected in his kingdom. One battle scene is accompanied by an inscription stating, “Town of Qadōr in the land of Hinuma” (see Kitchen 1993a: 11; 1993b: 19). The toponym Qadōr (*qdr*) is also mentioned in two topographical lists of Seti I (Kitchen 1993a 23 No. 67; 26 No. 62). Wolfgang Helck (1971: 193) already identified Q/Gadōr at the ancient Decapolis city of Gadara (near modern Umm Qais). Later, the excavators of Tell Zīrā’a, a site located about 4.5 km. southwest of ancient Gadara, identified pre-Hellenistic Gadōr at this site. They further observed that in the Hellenistic time, the name was shifted to the city established on the nearby plateau, which since then and throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods was called by the name Gadara (Dijkstra, Dijkstra and Vriezen 2005: 182–187; Häser Soenneken and Vieweger 2016: 123).¹⁾

Support for the identification of Gadōr at Tell Zīrā’a comes from a second Seti I battle scene, which is accompanied by the inscription, “city of Yeno’am” (see Kitchen 1993a: 10–11; 1993b: 19). Yeno’am is identified at Tell esh-Shihab, a site located on the Yarmuk River, where a stele of Seti I was discovered (for the identification, see Na’aman 1977).²⁾ Thus, the two sites were probably conquered in the course of Seti’s first campaign to the Beth-shean Valley and the southern Bashan region.

These conclusions should be applied to the discussion of letter EA 256.³⁾ The letter was written by Mut-Ba’lu, King of Piḫilu, and sent to Yanhanu, the supreme Egyptian commissioner in the Land of Canaan. In this letter, Mut-Ba’lu defends himself against the accusation that he operated, in cooperation with Ayyab, King of Ashtaroth, against the interests of Egypt in southern Syria. To answer the accusations, he first swears that he did not meet Ayyab for two months, as at the time Ayyab had been leading a campaign (*ia-ar-bi-is*)⁴⁾ directed against towns located west and southwest of his kingdom (EA 256 lines 10b–14). He then admits that he cooperated with Ayyab in his struggle against the rebels. His account of the struggle (lines 15–23) might be translated thus: “Just ask Ben-Elima, just ask Takua, just ask Yišuya that ever since (the robbery⁵⁾) of the House of Šulum-Marduk (*a-di iš-tu É ša* ^mDI.^dAMAR.UTU)⁵⁾ I went

to the aid of Ashtaroth, when all the cities of KUR *Ga-ri* become hostile”. This statement is followed by the list of the seven rebel towns and the two cities (Ḥayyunu and Yabilima) that the rebels captured.

Evidently, KUR *Ga-ri* was located between the kingdoms of Ashtaroth and Piḥilu; that is, in the region south and possibly north of the Yarmuk River. Years ago, Benjamin Mazar (1961: 20) suggested to ‘correct’ the land’s name and render it *Ga-<šu>-ri*, “Geshur”. The Land of Geshur, however, is located west of the Jordan River and does not fit the assumed land’s location in Transjordan. In light of the above discussion, I posit that we should render the land’s name *Ga-<du>-ri*, “Gadōr”. The city of Gadōr (Tell Zirā’a), located between the two kingdoms of Piḥilu and Ashtaroth, in the Late Bronze Age was the urban centre of this land and must have given its name to the entire region that surrounds it. Hence, the long list of cities that follows the land of Gadōr’s name (lines 24–28) must be identified in this region.

Concerning the identification of the cities, since Clauss (1907: 5 and *passim*) correctly identified the location of the Land of Gari in northwest Transjordan, many site identifications have been proposed for these towns.⁶⁾ Some of these sites are located in the assumed territory of the Land of Gadōr (i.e., Yabilima [Abila], Hayanu [‘Ain-Anab], Zarqu [Tell el-Fuḥḥār, near Tell ez-Zeraqōn]). The identification of the rest is tentative and requires archaeological verification, which is not necessary for my discussion.

Shalmaneser III’s inscription, which relates the campaign in his 21st year of reign (838 BCE), was presented above and requires only a short discussion. According to its account, after the conquest of the four fortified cities of Damascus, Shalmaneser proceeded to [KU]R Z/G[i-x-(x)-r]a, whose king, Ba’il, submitted to him in the city of Laruba and paid him tribute. From this town, Shalmaneser must have proceeded westward, arrived to the Phoenician coast, and received the tribute of Tyre, Sidon and Byblos (Grayson 1996, 79 lines 159b–162a; Yamada 2000a: 206–209; 2000b: 80; Na’aman 2012: 92–94).

What was the name of Ba’il’s kingdom? With all due caution, I suggest to restore it G[i-du-(ú)-r]a; that is, Gedōr.⁷⁾ The city of Gedōr (Tell Zirā’a) was probably Ba’il’s capital, but Shalmaneser did not reach this southern place. Rather, he received the tribute at Laruba, a city possibly located near the Yarmuk River, and erected his statue in the city’s temple. He then crossed the Jordan River and proceeded westward toward the Phoenician coast.

In sum, I posit that the region south and possibly north of the Yarmuk River was called by the name Gadōr/Gedōr in the Late Bronze and Iron Age. The centre of this region was located at Tell Zirā’a, which gave its name to the surrounding region. In the 9th century BCE, Gedōr was probably an independent small polity governed by its own ruler. The extensive excavations held at Tell Zirā’a uncovered a well-fortified city that flourished in the Late Bronze and Iron II Age, which fits well its presentation as the capital of the surrounding region for hundreds of years.⁸⁾ In the Hellenistic period, the city moved to the neighbouring plateau and was called Gadara. It reached its height after Pompeius ‘liberated’ it and added Gadara to the ten autonomous cities (the Decapolis) that belonged to the Roman province of Syria.

Notes

1. For the replacement of the ancient name Gadara with the modern name Umm Qais, see Mershen and Knauf 1988.
2. For discussions of the Tell esh-Shihab stele, see Kitchen 1993a: 14; 1993b: 21–22; Wimmer 2008, with earlier literature.
3. For translations and discussions of letter EA 256, see Albright 1943: 7–15; Moran 1992: 309–310; Liverani 1998: 124–125, with earlier literature; Rainey 2015: 1036–1039, 1572; Yoder and Lauinger 2023.
4. My rendering of line 14 follows that of Moran (1992: 309 and n. 2) and of Yoder and Lauinger 2023.
5. My rendering of line 20 follows that of Yoder and Lauinger 2023.
6. For the proposed identifications of the towns, see Albright 1943: 14–15; Mazar 1961: 18–20; Weippert 1971: 12 n. 28; Epstein 1993; Galil 1998: 375–376; Liverani 1998: 125 n. 55; Pakkala 2010: 160–166.
7. For the king’s name Ba’il, possibly a hypocoristic, compare the name Mut-Ba’lu of the king of Piḥilu in the Amarna period.
8. For the results of the excavations, see Häser Soennecken and Vieweger 2016, with earlier literature.

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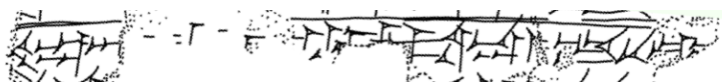
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16) The Ancient Name of The Great Star List — The so-called *Great Star List* is a composition known from several Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian sources. It explains the stars and constellations as well as other terms vital for understanding texts that describe the sky. A first edition of the first 312 lines of the reconstructed text of this list has been produced by Ulla Koch-Westenholz in 1995 (pp. 187–205 Appendix B), skipping the fragmentary word lists that can be seen towards the end of the sources. Wayne Horowitz

and I are currently preparing a new edition of this star list with a thorough discussion and the publication of newly identified Late Babylonian sources.

The ancient title of what we call *The Great Star List* has remained unknown, though. Wayne Horowitz (2020) suggested recently in his article entitled “A New Source for the Great Star List, Its Ancient Name, and Issues for Further Study”, reading $^{\text{mul}}\text{SAG.ME.GAR} = \text{d}^{\text{SUL.PA.È}}$ the title. This suggestion was based on the fact that four Neo-Assyrian texts quote $(\text{DIŠ})^{\text{mul}}\text{SAG.ME.GAR} \text{d}^{\text{SUL.PA.È}}.[\text{A}^?])^1$ as title of a composition. Furthermore, this corresponds to traces of a cuneiform sign in line 1 of the Neo-Assyrian tablet RC 0708, a new source for the Great Star List, published in photograph on CDLI (P388407; RC 0708 certainly joins the fragment published by Scheil 1927: 33, but the whereabouts of that fragment remain unknown). These traces comprise “the head of a vertical stroke at the end of col. i 1” (Horowitz 2020: 74), presumed to be the end of È. However, the evidence he presents for reading RC 0708 obv. 1 is not very convincing.

In January 2020, Enrique Jiménez kindly informed Wayne and myself about another Late Babylonian fragment (BM 35867) from the end of *The Great Star List* that he had identified in the British Museum’s cuneiform collection, and he provided us with a photograph of this fragment. BM 35867 duplicates the word list known from another source of this composition. In July 2022, I went to see this fragment at the British Museum, and have concluded that this new source gives clear evidence for the ancient title of *The Great Star List*. It also confirms, contrary to the usual idea, that the word lists belong to the composition. The first line of the colophon reads:



13' $[\text{nis-}h]i^{\text{mul}}[\text{I}]^{\text{SAG.ME.GAR}} \text{d}^{\text{SUL.PA.È}}.\text{A} \text{ZAG}^{\text{1}}.\text{TIL}^{\text{1}}.\text{LA}^{\text{1}}.\text{B}[\text{I.ŠÈ}]$
 “[Excer]pt from $^{\text{mul}}\text{SAG.ME.GAR} = \text{d}^{\text{Sulpaea}}$, (copied) unt[il] it[s] end.”

From this fragment we can now confirm the validity of the earlier suggestion of Wayne Horowitz, that the ancient title of *the Great Star List* was $^{\text{mul}}\text{SAG.ME.GAR} = \text{d}^{\text{SUL.PA.È}}.(A)^2$.

Notes

1. In VAT 9427 rev. 18 ($\text{DIŠ}^{\text{dSAG.ME.GAR}} \text{d}^{\text{SUL.PA.È}}$), now published by Härtinen 2020: 136–150, 164–169; in the catch line of BM 42277 (iv 12: $\text{DIŠ}^{\text{mul}}\text{SAG.ME.GAR} \text{d}^{\text{SUL.PA.È}}.[\text{A}^?])$, which is source D for the series MUL.APIN, for which see recently Hunger–Steele 2019: 111; and in two library records: K. 12000d l. 4' ($[\dots]2^{\text{dSAG.ME.GAR}} \text{d}^{\text{SUL.PA.È}}.[\text{A}^?])$, see Hunger–Steele 2019: 13, and Horowitz 2020: 77; 1880-07-19, 144 (+) 262 rev. iv 3' ($1^{\text{2}} \text{SAG.ME.GAR} \text{d}^{\text{SUL.PA.È}}.[\text{A.È.A}])$, for which see Parpola 1983: 15, SAA VII 49 and <http://oracc.org/saao>.

2. Perhaps the traces described by Wayne Horowitz for RC 0708 obv. 1 should rather be read $[\dots \text{d}^{\text{SUL.PA.È}}].\text{A}^{\text{1}}$.

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17) BM 40750, šumma tirānu IV 31-43 — Eight omen tablets concerning distinguished features of a colon (ŠA.NIGIN , *tirānu*) form the second chapter of the series *bārātu* (Koch 2015: 98–100). Tablet four of this chapter is preserved only in fragments of which “hardly any have been published so far” (Koch 2015: 99). According to Heeßel (2011: 176–177), the text of this fourth tablet can be reconstructed almost completely

from six sources, three each from Babylonia (A = BM 32305, B = BM 32607, F = BM 65447) and Nineveh (C = K. 8272+Sm. 1276, D = K. 6483+Sm. 791, E = K. 3827). Since Heeßel focused on the similarities of three Middle Babylonian omen tablets on the colon (X = MLC 2614 = BRM IV 15; Y = MLC 26155 = BRM IV 16; Z = Bab 36400 = Pedersén 2005: Fig. 34) with the text of the fourth tablet of the series *šumma tīrānu*, he provided an edition only of entries 34-68 of the canonical tablet including the colophons of the available sources, and omitting the first 33 entries. This is extremely unfortunate, since all sources remain unpublished; not even photographs are available on CDLI. When I identified another Late Babylonian source from Babylonia in January 2022, I learned that another visit at the British Museum was necessary to collate all sources concerned in order to restore the first three entries preserved on the new fragment.

BM 40750 (1881-04-28, 295) is a fragment from the lower right part of a tablet with text of entries 31-43 of *šumma tīrānu* tablet IV. The following score transliteration of these lines does not aim at completeness of the sources (for these see the edition of Heeßel), but at restoring the text. The new fragment will be labelled source G. I publish BM 40750 courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum.

- A BM 32305 (1876-11-17, 2034+2355); no provenance known; an almost complete tablet with the surface largely rubbed off; collated; measurements: 82⁺ × 122.3⁽⁺⁾ × 23.7 mm (width × height × thickness). The tablet is dated to Artaxerxes 2/[x]/32.
E K. 3827; Nineveh; a fragment from the left edge of a tablet written in Neo-Assyrian ductus; collated; measurements: 98.9⁺ × 43⁺ × 16.4⁺ mm.
F BM 65447 (1882-09-18, 5433); Sippar; the lower right part of a tablet written in Late Babylonian ductus; collated; measurements: 57.3⁺ × 72⁺ × 29⁽⁺⁾ mm.
G BM 40750 (1881-04-28, 295); measurements: 37.6⁺ × 34.6⁺ × 17.5⁽⁺⁾ mm (width × height × thickness); see figure 1; Jimjima (according to the BM register), i.e. from the southern part of Babylon; the lower right part of a tablet written in Late Babylonian ductus.

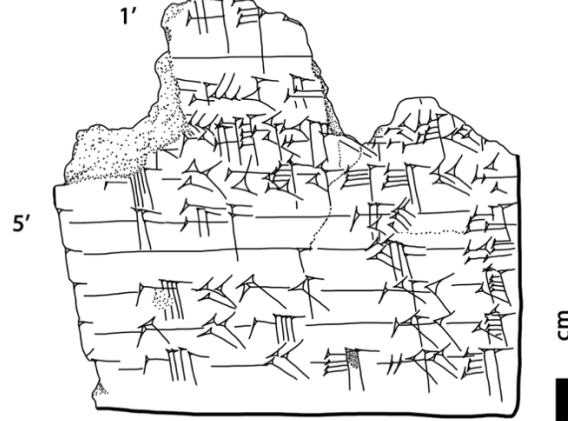
- 31 A obv. 32 [BE É.GA]L ŠÀ.NIGIN ʾ15 u 150 ʾGE₆ GÁL [LU]GAL [
F obv. 8'-9' [...] ina] ʾÉ¹.GAL-šú ʾH.GAR.MEŠ -šú (9') [...] -uš
G obv. 1' [...] ʾÉ.GAL -šú¹ [
[If the palac]e of the colon is right and left dark, they will rebel against the king [in] his palace, [...].
- G
- 32 A obv. 33 [BE É.]ʾGAL¹ ŠÀ.NIGIN ka-ar-šu-ma GE₆.MEŠ NUN x[
F obv. 10' [...] x u SAG.KAL.MEŠ-šú UR.BI ŠUB.MEŠ
G obv. 2' [...] SAG.KA]L.MEŠ-šú U[R.BI
[If the pa]llace of the colon is ... and black, the prince, [...], and his official will fall together.
- 33 A obv. 34 [BE] ʾÉ¹.GAL ŠÀ.NIGIN še-tum šub-át ʾÉ.GAL NUN UD.MEŠ ʾURU É.GAL È ʾ [...]]
F obv. 11' [...] ʾÉ¹.GAL NUN UD.MEŠ ʾURU É.GAL È
F obv. 12' [...]] šá-niš DUMU LUGAL AD-šú i-bar-ma AŠ.TE DIB-bat
G obv. 3' [...] ʾURU É.GAL È šá-ʾniš DUMU¹ LUGAL AD-ʾšú ʾH.GAR¹-á[r]
[If] the palace of the colon – a net is thrown (on it), they will stand guard (for) the palace of the prince (for several) days, (but then) leave the palace; another (prediction says), the son of the king will rebel against him.
- 34 A obv. 35 [BE SA]G É.GAL ŠÀ.NIGIN ZI -ma UGU ʾ ŠÀ.NIGIN U₅¹ N[UN
F obv. 13' [...] ŠÀ.NIGI]N U₅ NUN KUR NU UR₅-tú ŠU-su KUR-ád
G obv. 4' [...] U₅¹ NUN¹ KUR NU UR₅-tú ŠU-su KUR-ád
[If the to]p of the palace of the colon is lifted up and sits above the colon, the prince will lay his hand on a country that is not his.
- 35 A obv. 36 [BE SAG] É.GAL ŠÀ.NIGIN ZI-ma UGU 15 ŠÀ.NIGIN U₅
E obv. 1' BE SAG ʾ É.GAL¹ ŠÀ.N[IGIN
F obv. 14' [...] 1]5 ŠÀ.NIGIN U₅ a-kal NAM.RA
G obv. 5' [...] U₅ a-kal NAM.RA
If the top of the palace of the colon is lifted up and sits above the right colon, (it means) taking of booty.

- 36 A obv. 37 [BE SAG] É.GAL ŠÀ.NIGIN ZI]-*ma* UG[U 150 ŠÀ.NIGIN U]₅
 E obv. 2' BE SAG É.GAL ŠÀ.NI[GIN
 F obv. 15' [UGU] 150 ŠÀ.NIGIN U₅ KAR-*tu*₄
 G obv. 6' [U]₅ >*ana*< KAR-*tu*₄

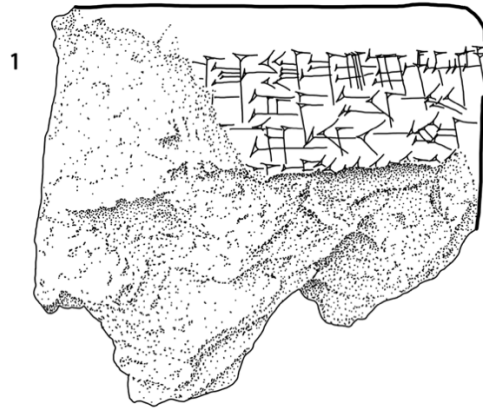
If the top of the palace of the colo[n is lifted up] and sits above the left colon, (it means) plundering.

BM 40750

obverse



reverse



- 37 A (rest of the obverse is missing)
 E obv. 3' BE SAG É.GAL ŠÀ.NIGIN ZI-*i*[*h*-*ma* UGU 15
 F obv. 16' [UG]U 15 ŠÀ.NIGIN U₅ NUN KUR KÚR-šú TI-*qé*
 G obv. 7' [U]₅ NUN KUR KÚR-šú TI-*qé*
 If the top of the palace of the colon is torn o[ut and] sits [abo]ve the right colon, the prince of the country will take the country of his enemy.
- 38 E rev. 1 BE SAG É.GAL ŠÀ.NIGIN ZI-*i**h*-*ma* UGU 150 ŠÀ.NIGIN U₅ KÚR KUR NUN TI-*qé*
 F obv. 17' [UG]U 150 ŠÀ.NIGIN U₅ KÚR KUR NUN TI-*qé*
 G obv. 8' [U]₅ KÚR KUR NUN TI-*qé*
 If the top of the palace of the colon is torn out and sits above the left colon, the enemy will take the country of the prince.
- 39 E rev. 2 BE SAG É.GAL ŠÀ.NIGIN ZI-*i**h*¹-*ma* *ana* EGIR ŠÀ.NIGIN ŠUB-*ut* NUN KUR-*su* BAL-*su*
 F rev. 1 [EGIR] ŠÀ.NIGIN ŠUB-*ut* NUN KUR-*su* BAL-*su*
 G obv. 9' [ŠUB-*u*]t NUN KUR-*su* BAL-*su*
 If the top of the palace of the colon is torn out and has fallen behind the colon, the country will rebel (against) the prince.

- 40 E rev. 3 BE *ina* É.GAL ŠĀ.NIGIN *dī-ḫu nu-ūr-ru-bu* ŠUB-*dī ir-bu ana* É.GAL KU₄-*ub ú-lu SUR-an AN-e*
 F rev. 2 [] ŠUB-*dī ir-bu ana* É.GAL KU₄-*ub ú-lu SUR-an AN -e*
 G rev. 1 [] *ir-bu ana*] ʿ É¹.GAL KU₄-*ba ú-lu SUR-an AN -e*
 If in the palace of the colon there is a very soft depression, income will enter the palace or it will rain.
- 41 E rev. 4 BE *ina* É.GAL ŠĀ.NIGIN *dī-ḫu BABBAR* ŠUB-*dī ILLU DU -kám*
 F rev. 3 [] ILLU DU-*kám*
 G rev. 2 [] ILLU DU-*kám*
 If in the palace of the colon there is a white depression, flood will come.
- 42 E rev. 5 BE *ina* É.GAL ŠĀ.NIGIN *dī-ḫu SA₅* ŠUB-*dī ŠĀ.ḪUL ŠUB-dī IZI*
 F rev. 4 [] ŠĀ.ḪUL ŠUB-*dī IZI*
 G rev. 3 [] ŠĀ.ḪU]L ŠUB-*dī IZI*
 If in the palace of the colon there is a red depression, (there will be) misery (and) lightning strike.
- 43 E rev. 6 [B]E *ina* É.GAL ŠĀ.NIGIN *dī-ḫu dan-nu* ŠUB-*dī ŠĒG-nu taḫ-du* ILLU *mat-qu DU-kam*
 F rev. 5 [] ŠĒG-*nu taḫ-du* ILLU *mat-qu DU-kam*
 G rev. 4 [] ʿ ILLU *mat-qu DU-kam*¹
 If in the palace of the colon there is a strong depression, luxuriant rain (will fall), a comfortable (lit. sweet) flood will come.
- 44 E rev. 7 [BE *ina* É.GAL] ʿ ŠĀ.NIGIN *dī-ḫu SIG₇* ŠUB-*dī ÉRIN-ni A.MEŠ i-kal-lu*¹-[ú]
 F rev. 6 [] ÉRIN-*ni A.MEŠ i-kal-lu-ú*
 G rev. (remainder is missing)
 If in the palace of the colon there is a yellow-green depression, my troops will be held back from water.

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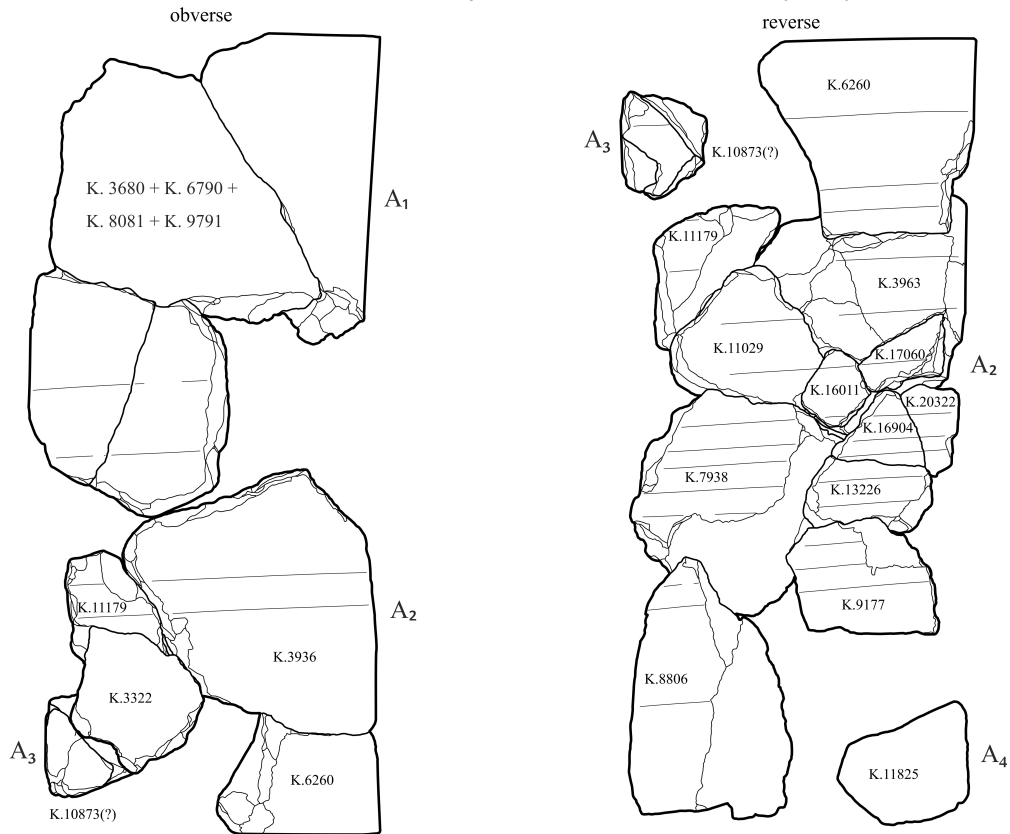
18) New Joins for the Reverse of *Šumma izbu* Tablet 4, Including a Reconstruction of *Iqqur ṭpuš* §64 — The here presented fragment joins of *Šumma izbu* tablet 4 (for the most recent edition, see DE ZORZI 2014, 439ff.), whose identification was made possible primarily through the use of the eBL, close a long-time gap in our knowledge of this tablet. Although not completing the restoration of the entire tablet, the new material shows that most of the reverse (viz. 107–118) was concerned with menological omens, which are likewise deemed to have been part of of *Iqqur ṭpuš* (see LABAT 1965, 132ff. §64). Even though such intertextual relations (or relations due to the implementation of similar forerunners to both series in MB time) are not uncommon—especially in the case of the terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu* and partly also the *Diagnostic Handbook* (*Sakikkû*)—it is the only instance in *Šumma izbu* so far that includes menological material within the teratological or birth related omen material. And one may wonder if exactly this absence of menological material might have led to the fact that some of the fragments under discussion have been formerly attributed to the menological series *Iqqur ṭpuš* (cf. ibid. 132f. fn. 5). Thus, the new fragments will contribute to the reconstruction of the only sparsely known §64 of *Iqqur ṭpuš* as well.

Another intertextual connection is suggested in section 66–97, which is concerned with birth pains, the flow of amniotic fluid, and probably also the appearance of the new-born child. These topics are strongly connected with the assumed content of the not yet attested tablets 38 and 39 of the *Diagnostic Handbook* (cf. the overview of the expected topics in Schmidtchen 2021, 48–50 and LKU 126 (VAT

14587), which is considered to belong to tablet 38 in *ibid.* 640-643; these connections will be briefly addressed in a forthcoming article of the present author concerning addenda and corrigenda for BAM 13).

The new identifications and joins belong to Ms. A of the most recent edition in DE ZORZI 2014, 439 (note the additional join with K. 6260 published in DE ZORZI 2021, 220ff.) The attribution of K. 10873 (A₃) is not fully certain but, due to content and layout, very likely. However, the supposed position on the obverse may vary by one line above or (more likely) below.

Ms.	published sources	new joins
A ₁	K. 3680 + K. 6790 + K. 8081 + K. 9791	(+)
A ₂	K. 3963 + K. 6260 (+) K. 8806 (see de Zorzi 2014, 454)	K. 3322 + K. 7938 + K. 11029 + K. 11179 + K. 16011 + K. 17060 (+) K. 9177 + ² K. 13226 + K. 16904 (additional join: Zs. Földi, eBL) + K. 20322 (+ ²)
A ₃		K. 10873 (+ ²)
A ₄		K. 11825 (due to the form of the break at the lower right corner, a sandwich-join with the reverse of A ₁ is very likely)



The new text portions are marked in the following transliteration in **bold** letters. The previous entry numbering of DE ZORZI 2014, 441-454 has been added in brackets beginning with the new fragments in entry 82.

Entry Transliteration

obverse
59 A₂ obv. 9 [BAD MUNUS].LU[GAL Û.TU-*ma*] '61
U.MEŠ ĞIR-šú šá 15 KÚR *dan-nu ana* KUR ZI-
am KUR *i-da*-[aš]

Translation

[If the qu]een [gives birth and] (the child has) six
toes on his right foot: a strong enemy will arise
against the land and he will cru[sh] the land.

60	A ₂ obv. 10 [BAD MUNUS].LUGA[L Û.TU- <i>ma</i>] '6 ¹ U.MEŠ GÌR-šú šá 150 É AD-šú SUMUN-b[ar]	[If the qu]een [gives birth and] (the child has) six toes on his left foot: the house of his father will last l[ong.]
61	A ₂ obv. 11f. [BAD] 'MUNUS'.LUGA[L Û.TU- <i>ma</i>] '6 ¹ .TA.ÀM ŠU.SI.MEŠ ŠU ^{II} -šú u GÌR ^{II} -šú {MIN ² } šá 15 u 1[50] [x]-TA.ÀM [x x (x x)] LUGAL : NUN KUR KÚR-šú šá NU ZU ŠU- <i>su</i> KU[R]	[If the qu]een [gives birth and] there are six fingers (and toes) on his hands and feet of the right and left side, [x] ... [...: (...)] a king (var.) a prince of the land will bring his hand (viz.: exerts influence) against an unknown enemy.
62	A ₂ obv. 13 [BA]D 'TUR š[á ¹² x x (x)] MUNUS Û.TU HUL AD-šú <i>ma-mit</i> DAB- <i>bat</i>	[I]f an infant has been born ... [...] (as a) female: misfortune; his father will be seized by an oath.
63	A ₂ obv. 14 [BAD] 'TUR 'še ² -p[a-nu-šú ² NIT]A ² Û.TU AD-šú BAD ₄ DAB- <i>bat</i>	[If] an infant has been born fee[t first(?)] (as a) m[ale(?):] his father will be seized by hardship.
64	A ₂ obv 15 [BAD] 'TUR 'pa-nu-šú ² [(x) h]i ² (blank) <i>ana</i> EGIR <i>u₄-me ina-an-ziq</i>	[If] an infant (has been born?) head first [...] he will worry for the rest of (his) days.
65	A ₂ obv 16 [BAD] 'TUR 'pa-nu-šú ² [(x) MU]NUS (blank) <i>ana</i> EGIR <i>u₄-me i-šár-rù</i>	[If] an infant (has been born?) head first [(as a) fe]male(?): he will be rich for the rest of (his) days.
66	A ₂ obv 17 [BAD MUNUS]S ² 'ina ¹ ÍD 'hi-lu-šá T[UK/i]b ² -x]-'š ¹ MU šá 'i-it ŠÀ-šá NU SI.SÁ	[If a wom]an, her labour pains se[ize(?) h]er in the river: the name (viz.: the reputation) of (the child) coming out of her womb will not be successful.
67	A ₂ obv 18 [BAD MUNUS ina ²] 'ÍD' MÚD-šá 'BÍ.[IZ ² -š]i ² ta-di-ra-tu-šá NU KUR.MEŠ-š ¹ i	[If a woman,] her blood dri[pps (for) h]er(?) [in] the river: her distress will not overwhelm her.
68	A ₂ obv 19 [BAD MUNUS in]a ² ÍD 'hi-lu-šá ú ² [(x x (x))] si-'hi-il-ti UZU GIG-aš	[If a woman,] ... her lab[our pai]ns(?) [i]n the river: she will suffer (piercing) pain of the flesh.
69	A ₂ obv 20 [BAD MUNUS in]a ² ÍD A.MEŠ-šá x [(x (x))] x 'u-šap-šaq	[If a woman, ...] her amniotic fluid [i]n the river: she will struggle.
70	A ₂ obv 21 [BAD MUNUS in]a ² ÍD Û.TU [(x x x)] DUMU.MEŠ TUK-š ¹ i	[If a woman] gives birth [i]n the river [...] she will have (several) children.
71	A ₂ obv 22 [BAD MUNUS in]a ² ÍD URU(- ²)li is-sa x [(x)] 'ú/ag ² 'ís-sal-la-'	[If a woman] ...(?) [i]n the river of (or near) a city: she will fall ill.
72	A ₂ obv 23 [BAD MUNUS]S ² A.MEŠ-šá 3 [UD].ME ¹ DU-ku GE ₆ IGI-šá IGI	[If a wom]an, her amniotic fluid flows for three [day]s: she will experience anger (lit.: blackness of her face).
73	A ₂ obv 24 [BAD MUNUS]S ² A.MEŠ-šá 4 U[D.M]E DU-ku TIL <i>u₄-mi</i>	[If a wom]an, her amniotic fluid flows for four d[ay]s: end of (her) days.
74	A ₂ obv 25 [BAD MUNUS]S ² A.MEŠ-šá 5 U[D.ME] DU-ku NÍ-šá 'GU ₇ ¹	[If a wom]an, her amniotic fluid flows for five d[ays:] she will consume (viz. hurt?) herself.
75	A ₂ obv 26 [BAD MUNUS]S ² A.MEŠ-šá 6 UD.M[E D]U-ku uq-ta-at-tar	[If a wom]an, her amniotic fluid flows for six day[s:] she will become dejected.
76	A ₂ obv 27 [BAD MU]NUS ² A.MEŠ-šá 7 UD.ME ¹ [D]U-ku uq-ta-at-tar	[If a wom]an, her amniotic fluid flows for seven days: she will become dejected.
77	A ₂ obv 28 [BAD MU]NUS ² A.MEŠ-šá ina SILA [DU ²]-'ku ¹ GIG-aš	[If a woman,] her amniotic fluid [flow]s at the street: she will have worries/fall ill(?).
78	A ₂ obv 29 [BAD MUNUS] ina SILA 'hi-lu-šá iz/iš ² - ba-x [(x)-š]i ² ana DAGAL É	[If a woman,] her labour pains lea[ve/seize he]r(?) at the street: increase of the household.
79	A ₂ obv 30 [BAD MUNUS] 'ina ¹ SILA EN.NUN.AN.ÚSAN 'hi-lu-šá [x x x (x)] NINDA <i>sad-ra</i> GU ₇ A ₃ obv 1' BAD [MUNUS ...]	If [a woman,] her labour pains [...] at the street during the first night watch: she/he (viz. the child?) will regularly consume food.

80	A ₂ obv 31 [BAD MUNUS <i>ina</i>] SILA EN.NUN.MURUB ₄ .BA <i>hi-lu-šá</i> [x x x x (x x) NIN]DA ² <i>pa-šá²-hi</i> GU ₇ A ₃ obv 2' BAD MU[NUS ...]	If a woman, her labour pains [... at] the street during the second night watch: [(...)] she/he (viz. the child?) will consume [foo]d(?) of “resting”.
81	A ₂ obv 32 [BAD ² MUNUS ² <i>ina</i> SILA] 'EN'.NUN.UD.ZAL.LE <i>hi-lu-šá</i> [x x x x (x x)] x TUK-š _i A ₃ obv 3' BAD MUNUS 'x ¹ [...]	If a woman, [her] labour pains [... at] the street during the last night watch: he/she will have [...]
82 (-)	A ₂ obv 33 [BAD x x (x x)] 'ú ² -šab [...] (x) 'nu ² x [(x)] A ₃ obv 4' BAD MUNUS 'x ² [...]	If a woman [...] dwells/sits(?) [...] ... [...]
83	A ₂ obv 34 [x x x (x x)] 'ziq/tin ² ku/ki ² [...] DINGIR 'TUK ¹ -š _i A ₃ obv 5' BAD MUNUS 'x ¹ [...]	If a woman [...] ... [...] he/she will be lucky (lit.: have a god).
84	A ₂ obv 35 [...] TIL 'u ₄ ¹ -mi A ₃ obv 6' BAD MUNUS 'KI ¹ .[MIN ...]	If a woman <i>dit[to]</i> [...] end of days.
85	A ₂ obv 36 [...] iq ¹ -ta-na-a-a- ¹ al ¹ A ₃ obv 7' BAD MUNUS KI.MIN [...]	If a woman <i>ditto</i> [...] he/she will keep being (sorrowfully) silent.
86	A ₂ obv 37 [...] HUL-šá KUD A ₃ obv 8' 'BAD MUNUS' KI.MIN [...]	If a woman <i>ditto</i> [...] her misfortune (or: evil) has been decided.
87	A ₂ obv 38 [...] HUL-šá KUD A ₃ obv 9' [BAD] 'MUNUS' ÚŠ [...]	[If a] woman dies/blood(?) [...] her misfortune (or: evil) has been decided.
88	A ₂ obv 39 [...] ŠÀ ¹ .SÈ ¹ .SÈ ¹ .KE-šá KUR-ád A ₃ obv 10' [BAD MU]NUS 'x ¹ [...]	[If a wom]an [...] she will achieve her [undert]aking.
89	A ₂ obv 40 [...] b]ad/t]i ² GUN GAR-šú	[If ...] ...: a toll is established for him.
90	A ₂ obv 41 [...] EN É.BI GAR-šú	[If ...] of the household's lord is established for him.
91	A ₂ obv 42 [...] 'ÚŠ ² .MEŠ É NA	[If ...] (there will be) fatalities(?) (in?) the household of the man.
92	A ₂ obv 43 [...] HUL-šá KUD-si	[If ...] her misfortune (or: evil) has been decided for her.
reverse		
93	A ₂ rev 1 [BAD MUNUS Û.TU-ma UZU(.MEŠ)-šú ²] tar-ku uq-ta-at-tar	[If a woman gives birth and (the child,) his flesh] is dark: he/she(?) will become dejected.
94	A ₂ rev 2 [BAD MUNUS Û.TU-ma UZU(.MEŠ)-šú ²] SIG ₇ TIL u ₄ -mi	[If a woman gives birth and (the child,) his flesh] is yellow: end of days.
95	A ₂ rev 3 [BAD MUNUS Û.TU-ma UZU(.MEŠ)-šú ²] SA ₅ NÍ-šá GU ₇	[If a woman gives birth and (the child,) its flesh] is red: she will consume (viz. hurt?) herself.
96	A ₂ rev 4 [...] si-hi-il-ti UZU	[If ...] (piercing) pain of the flesh.
97	A ₂ rev 5f. [...] NÍG ² -ša TAG ₄ -š _i [...] i ² -zi-im-ta-šú KUR-ád A ₃ rev 1'f. [BAD] MUNUS [...] (blank) [...]	[If ...] her property(?) will leave her; [...] he will achieve his [w]ish.
98	A ₂ rev 7 [...] TUK ni-š _i /i-li ² A ₃ rev 3' BAD MUNUS n[i ...]	If a woman ... [...] obtaining of a (protective) deity/oath(?).
99	A ₂ rev 8 [...] {x x} <<ana ² >> {x} TIL u ₄ -mi A ₃ rev 4' BAD MUNUS ni [...]	If a woman ... [...] {erasure} end of days.
100	A ₂ rev 9 [...] ana qí-ta-a-a-ú-li GAR-šú A ₃ rev 5' [BA]D MUNUS ni 'x ¹ [...]	[I]f a woman ... [...] (sorrowful) silence (or: daze?) is established for him.
101	A ₂ rev 10 [...] ana HA.LA GAR-šú A ₃ rev 6' [BAD] MUNUS ni 'id/du ² [...]	[If] a woman ... [...] a share is established for him.
102	A ₂ rev 11 [...] 'ana ¹ HA.LA <GAR-šú ² >	

	A ₃ rev 7' [BAD MU]NUS ni 'x ¹ [...]	[If a wom]an ... [...] a share <is established for him(?)>.
103	A ₂ rev 12 [...] TUK DIN[GIR ²] A ₃ rev 8' [BAD MUN]US ni [...]	[If a wom]an ... [...] obtaining of a (protective) dei[ty.]
104	A ₂ rev 13 [...] šá ² ina-an-ziq ² A ₃ rev 9' [BAD MUN]US n[i ...]	[If a wom]an ... [...] ... he/she will wor[ry.]
105	A ₂ rev 14 [...] šá ² NÍG.BI ² ŠUB [x] A ₃ rev 10' [BAD MUN]US n[i ² ...]	If a wom]an ... [...] ... his/her property(?) will collapse/be rejected(?).
106	A ₂ rev 15f. [...] (A) ÍD ²] A TÚL A ħi-ri-[ti] [...] n ^a - mir-ma DU ₈ -[ár ²]	[If ... (the water of) a river(?),] the water of a well, the water of a can[al, ... sh]ines(?) and he will be relea[sed.]
107 (83'- 86')	A ₂ rev 17-21 [DIŠ ina ^{iu}]BÁRA ¹ TA UD 1.K[ÁM EN UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} TUR lu ina ka]l u ₄ -mi lu ina kal GE ₆ a-lid [(blank ²)] i-na ĠIR-šú É [AD- šú ² BIR-aĥ ² ... TU]K ² ana 'EGIR ¹ u ₄ -me [x] [(blank ²)] šum ₄ -ma IGI.MEŠ-šú [...] x x 'ina ħu ² - ub ² ŠÀ DU ² [(blank ²)] ana EGIR u ₄ -m[i ² ...] 'lu ¹ ina IZI [(blank ²)] 'lu ¹ ina ŠE lu ina S[ILA ² ... ana EGI]R ² 'u ₄ ¹ -mi É.BI BIR-aĥ	[If in the mon]th Nisannu [a child] is b[orn] between (lit.: from .. until) the first [and the thirtieth day either during the whol]e day or during the whole night: due to his influence (lit.: foot), the household [of his father(?) will be scattered(?) ... will ha]ve(?) [...]; for future days: [...] (...) if the ones seeing him(?) (or: his face?) [...] he will live in contentment; for future days: [...] if she delivers (the child?) ...] either at the fire(?) or at the grain(?) or at the st[reet](?) ... for futu]re days: his household will be scattered.
108 (86'- 91')	A ₂ rev 22-27 [DIŠ ina ^{iu}]GU ₄ ¹ TA [UD 1.KÁM EN UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} TUR lu ina ka]l 'u ₄ ¹ -mi lu ina kal GE ₆ a-lid [(blank ²)] (x) x GENN[A ² x x x] x [x x (x)] 'DU ¹ -ak É AD-šú ú-šal-lam [(blank ²)] x x [x x x (x)] x-šú x [x x] ana EGIR u ₄ -mi ŠÀ.BI DU ₁₀ .GA [(blank ²)] x x [x (x)] IGI.DU ₈ ² .MEŠ ² - šú 'ud ² -d[u ² -x x] ŠÀ.BI NU DU ₁₀ .GA [(blank ²)] x x x x] x 'ina ÍD ² lu ina IZ[I ² lu ina] ŠE ² lu ina 'SILA ² [(blank ²)] x x x x] 'iš-ší GENNA BI 'SI ² .SÁ AD-šú ina ŠÀ ĤUL DU.MEŠ	[If in the month] Ajjaru [a child] is born between [the first and the thirtieth day either during the whole] day or during the whole night: [...] that(?) infan[t ...] will go/live in(?) [...] the household of his father will be in good condition; [...] his [...] ... him(?):] for future days: he will be content (lit.: his heart will be good); [...] his ... [...] he will not be content; [if she delivers (the child?) either] at a river or at the fir[e(?) or at] the grain(?) or at the street(?) [...] that infant will be alright (but) his father will live with an unhappy(?) heart.
109 (92'- 96')	A ₂ rev 28-32 [DIŠ ina ^{iu}]SIG ₄ TA UD 1.KÁ[M 'EN ¹ UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} TUR lu [ina ²] 'kal u ₄ ¹ -mi lu ina kal GE ₆ a-lid ¹ [(blank ²)] x (x) x x 'ana EGIR ¹ u ₄ -me NINDA sad-ra GU ₇ 'x-ma ² IGI.DU ₈ .MEŠ-šú ĤÚL.MEŠ-šú ¹ LIBIR.'RA ² [(blank ²)] x (x) x 'IGI.DU ₈ .MEŠ-šú ud-du-'ru ² - šú ŠÀ.BI NU 'DU ₁₀ .GA ² [(blank ²)] x (x) x 'bi ² šum ₄ -ma ina KI lu ina ÍD lu 'ina IZI ¹ lu ina 'ŠE ¹ lu ina [x] [(blank ²)] x (x) x 'iš-ší GENNA BI ana EGIR u ₄ -me ši-ĥat UZU ina ŠÀ ĤUL DU.[MEŠ ²]	[If in the month Simānu] a child is born [between the first] and the thirtieth day either [during] the whole day or during the whole night: [...] for future days he will regularly consume food; [i]f(?) the ones seeing him rejoice (because) of him: the will become o[ld](?); ... if the ones seeing him are fearful/in dark mood (because) of him(?): he will not be content; [...] ...; if she delivers (the child?) either at the earth or at the river or at the fire(?) or at the grain(?) or at [...] that infant, for future days (he will suffer) wasting-away-of-flesh; he will live with an unhappy(?) heart.

110	A ₂ rev 33-37 [DIŠ ina ^{iti} ŠU UD 1.KÁM E]N UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} TUR lu ina kal u ₄ - ^{mi} lu ina kal GE ₆ [a-lid] [(blank ²) x x x x (x x)] x IGI.DU ₈ .MEŠ-šú [...] HÚL.MEŠ- ^{šú} x (x) [x x] [(blank ²) x x x (x)] x kur/DU ₈ .MEŠ x x x (x) ul 'SILIM'-im šum ₄ -ma 'ina ² x [lu] 'ina ÍD ² [(blank ²) (x) lu ina] IZI lu ina ŠE 'lu ina ² x (x) ¹ ina DU [(x)] iš-ši [(blank ²) (x) GENN]A BI ana EGIR u ₄ -me ina ŠU NAM.T[AG ² (x)] 'i ² -pa-šaḥ [ZI ²].GA sad-rat-su	[If in the month Du'ūzu] a child [is born between the first] and the thirtieth day either during the whole day or during the whole night: [...] ... the ones seeing him rejoice (because) of him [...] ... he will not be alright; if she delivers (the child?) either at ... [or] at the river [or at] the fire(?) or at the grain(?) or at ... or while walking(?), [th]at infant, for future days he will be released from the influence (lit.: hand) of an oath; losses are regular for him.
111	A ₂ rev 38f. [DIŠ ina ^{iti}]NE TA UD 1.KÁM EN UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} TU[R lu ina kal u ₄ -mi] lu ina kal GE ₆ a-lid [(blank ²) G]ENNA BI uq-ta-at-tar [...] 'me/igi ² É.BI DAGAL	[If in the month] Abu a child is born between the first and the thirtieth day [either during the whole day] or during the whole night: [th]at infant will become dejected; [...] ... his household will expand.
112	A ₂ rev 40 [DIŠ ina ⁱ]KIN TA UD 1.KÁM EN UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} TUR lu i[na kal u ₄ -mi lu ina k]al GE ₆ a-lid GENNA BI 'SIG ₅ ¹	[If in the mo]nth Elūlu a child is born between the first and the thirtieth day either dur[ing the whole day or during the wh]ole night: that infant will be well.
113	A ₂ rev 41f. [DIŠ ina ⁱ]DU ₆ TA UD 1.KÁM EN UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} TU[R lu ina kal] u ₄ -mi lu ina kal GE ₆ a-lid (blank) GENNA BI SISÁ ana EGIR u ₄ -me ŠÀ-šú ² x [x x x (x)] SILA ² DAGAL.LA iš-ši ina BAD ₅ 'È ²	[If in the mo]nth Tašrītu a child is born between the first and the thirtieth day [either during the wh]ole day or during the whole night: that infant will be alright; for future days, his heart [...] if(?) she delivers (the child?) [...] at] the main street: he will escape hardship.
114	A ₂ rev 43f. DIŠ ina ^{iti} APIN TA UD 1.KÁM EN UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} T[UR lu ina k]al u ₄ -mi lu ina kal GE ₆ [a-lid] (blank) GENNA BI [É ² AD ²]-šú ú-š[al-lam ²]	If in the month Araḥsamna a chil[d is born] between the first and the thirtieth day [either during the wh]ole day or during the whole night: that infant, [the house of] his [father(?)] will be in g[ood condition.]
115	A ₂ rev 45f. [DIŠ ina ⁱ]GA[N TA UD 1.KÁM] 'EN UD ¹ [30.KÁM ^{lu} TUR lu ina] kal u ₄ -mi lu ina kal G[E ₆ a-lid] [(blank)] G[ENNA ² BI ² ...] x (x) 'ú/kal ² x x (x)	[If in the mo]nth Kis[līmu a child is born between the first] an[d the thirtieth day either during] the whole day or during the whole n[ight: that infa]nt [...] ... [...]
116	A ₂ rev 47f. [DIŠ ina ^{iti}]AB TA UD 1.KÁM EN UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} TUR lu ina] 'kal ¹ 'u ₄ -mi ¹ [lu ina kal GE ₆ a-lid] [(blank) GENNA ² BI ² ...] qa : ² GENNA 'BI ¹ ana 'EGIR ¹ [u ₄ -me x x x x (x x)]	[If in the month Ṭebētu a child is born between the first and the thirtieth day either] during the whole day [or during the whole night: that infant(?) ...] ... (var.) that infant, for future [days ...]
117	A ₂ rev 49f. [DIŠ ina ^{iti}]ZÍZ] 'TA ¹ [UD 1.KÁM EN UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} TUR] 'lu ¹ ina kal u ₄ -mi [lu ina kal GE ₆ a-lid] [(blank)] GENNA B[I x x (x x)] še ² u GU[G ₄] x x x x (x x)	[If in the month Šabātu a child is born] between [the first and the thirtieth day] either during the whole day [or during the whole night:] that infant, [...] ... and h[unger(?) ...]
118	A ₂ rev 51f. [DIŠ ina] 'i ^{iti} ŠE TA UD 1.KÁM EN UD 30.KÁM ^{lu} TUR] lu ina kal u ₄ -mi lu 'ina kal	[If in the m]onth Addaru [a child is born] between the first [and the thirtieth day] either during the

	GE ₆ ¹ [<i>a-lid</i>] l (blank) GENNA BI <i>ana</i> E[GIR ² u ₄ - <i>mi/me</i> DU/ <i>a-la-ku</i> ²] x <i>sa-da-ru</i> GAR-šú É.BI <i>i-šal</i> -[<i>lim</i> ²]	whole day or during the whole night: that infant, for [future days(?)] continual [prosperity(?)] is established for him; his household will be in good cond[ition].
119	A ₂ rev 53 [D]IŠ l ¹ TUR ZÚ ² .[MEŠ ² -šú ² x (x) É ²].MEŠ- <i>ni</i> BIR- <i>aḥ</i> É A[D-šú ²]	[I]f a child, [his] tee[th(?) ... com]e out: scattering of the fa[ther's] household.
120	A ₂ rev 54 [D]IŠ (blank) <i>ina</i> 4 ITI É [x x x x (x)] x É NA (blank) ka [x]	[I]f <ditto(?)> in the fourth month: the house [...] the household of the man(?) ... [...]
121	A ₂ rev 55 [D]IŠ (blank) <i>ina</i> 5 ITI [x x x (x) na]- <i>zaq</i> (blank) É [AD-šú ²]	[I]f <ditto(?)> in the fifth mont[h: ... wo]rrying of the [father's(?)] household.
122	A ₂ rev 56 DIŠ (blank) <i>ina</i> 6 ITI [x x x x (x) SI]LIM ² - <i>im</i> (blank) im [x]	If <ditto(?)> in the sixth mont[h: ... w]ill be peaceful/in good condition(?), ... [...]
123	A ₂ rev 57 DIŠ (blank) <i>ina</i> 7 IZI [x x x x (x)] x 'BI ² <i>is-sal-la</i> -[']	If <ditto(?)> in the seventh month: [...] that [...] will fall i[ll].
124	A ₂ rev 58 DIŠ (blank) <i>ina</i> 8 ITI [...] x x x [x]	If <ditto(?)> in the eighth month: [...] ... [...]
125	A ₂ rev 59 DIŠ (blank) <i>ina</i> 9 ITI [...]	If <ditto(?)> in the ninth month: [...]
126	A ₂ rev 60 DIŠ (blank) <i>ina</i> 10 ITI [...]	If <ditto(?)> in the tenth month: [...]
127	A ₂ rev 61 DIŠ (blank) <i>ina</i> 11 ITI [...]	If <ditto(?)> in the eleventh month: [...]
128	A ₂ rev 62 DIŠ (blank) <i>ina</i> 2 MU.A[N.NA ...]	If <ditto(?)> in the second ye[ar ...]
catchline		
	A ₂ rev 63 BAD U ₈ UR.MAḤ Û.[TU g ^{is} TUKUL.MEŠ ŠUB.MEŠ ZI.MEŠ LUGAL GABA.RI NU TUK-š ⁱ]	If a sheep gives b[irth] to a lion: [laid down weapons will be raised; a king will have no rival.]
(blank space of ca. 3 lines)		
rubric		
	A ₂ rev 64 DUB 4.KAM BAD MUNUS [<i>a-rat</i> (or: PEŠ ₄)- <i>ma</i> ...]	Tablet IV “If a woman [gives birth and ...”
	A ₄ 1' [...] ṽšà ¹ ŠÀ-šà <i>i-bak-ki</i>	[... “...” her child (lit. that of her belly) cries”
(blank space of ca. 3 lines in both fragments)		
colophon		
	A ₂ rev 65 KUR ^m AN.Š[ÁR-DÙ-A ² MAN ŠÚ ...]	Palace of Ass[urbanipal, king of the world ...]
	A ₄ 2' [...] MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR ^{ki}	[...] king of the land of Assur
(blank space of ca. 3 lines)		

Notes

66: DE ZORZI 2014, 451 reads differently [š]*i-mu-šá* “i suoi b[eni]; la sua progenie non prospered”. However, due to the spatial distribution, the sign IGI/šⁱ might rather belong to the previous verbal form, probably being D[AB²-š]*i* or i[b-x-š]*i*.

71: It is yet unclear what verb stands behind the broken instance *is-sa-ṽx¹-(x)-ṽu²*. The preceding signs URU (-)*li* might specify the aforementioned ÍD (“a river by/of a city?”).

72: The entry has the same wording as the incipit of *Sakikkû* tablet 38; cf. SCHMIDTCHEN 2021, 45 and 48f.

93-95: The tentative reconstruction of the protases follows VAT 14587 25'-26' (LKU 126) 19'-21'; see SCHMIDTCHEN 2021, 641.

98-105: The section seems to be concerned with a particular phenomenon (*ni du*² [...]) in connection with giving or having given birth. A possible topic that comes to mind here is *nīd libbi* “foetus(?); throwing-off of womb (viz. abortion)”, e.g. certain signs concerning the birth of a child or even a miscarriage. However, due to the damaged state, the section remains uncertain for the time being.

106: This entry might actually refer to a NAM.BÚR.BI-ritual although it is not certain which exactly.

107: Cf. the abbreviated (and possibly partly corrupt) versions of this entry in STT I, 72 obv. 52-53 and STT II, 251 obv. 17'-18' according to which the broken section in the second line of the entry can be restored.

107 (84): The form IGI.MEŠ-šú might belong to the same formulation as the still partly uncertain IGI.DU₈.MEŠ-šú “his observers(?)” in the following entries.

108 (89): The damaged verbal form might be the same as in 109 (94') which resembles *ud-du-¹ru²-šú* (*adāru* D stative plural) “(if the ones observing him) are fearful/in dark mood(?)”. The apodosis ŠĀ.BI NU DU₁₀.GA might have been explained in the principal commentary on tablet 4 l. 39; see DE ZORZI 2014, 440.

119: Note the restoration by E. Leichty (1970, 72 referring to the OB entry YOS 10, 12). We may note, however, the different apodosis in our entry, which is why the restoration and the reading of KA as KIR₄ “nose” according to the OB sources mentioned above is rather uncertain. Furthermore, the end of the verbal form of the protasis as preserved in our text suggests a plural subject, as for instance ZŪ.MEŠ-šú, maybe connected with the common phenomenon of teething, which usually starts around six to eight months after having been born.

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19) The Šumma ālu Catalogue BM 35927 — So far, only five more or less reliably identifiable catalogue texts for the enormous 1st millennium (BC) terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin* are known:

- 1. VAT 9438 + 10324 (obv.) (+) VAT 9775 (rev.)** (the *Assur Catalogue* of *Enūma Anu Enlil* and *Šumma ālu*; = KAR 394 + KAR 407; WEIDNER 1936-1937, 360f. (translation of obv. and rev.); WEIDNER 1941-1944, 172f. (copy of the obv. between pp. 176 and 177); FREEDMAN 1998, 322f. (transliteration of col. ii and iii); ROCHBERG 2018, 124-131 (edition of col. i-iv))
- 2. K. 9094b** (the *Nineveh Catalogue*; FREEDMAN 1998, 324f.)
- 3. K. 6925** (BODDY, HUBER VULLIET and MITTERMAYER 2022, 80; the fragment has been likewise mentioned in BODDY 2021c, 2)
- 4. BM 68437** (the *Sippar Catalogue*; HEEBEL 2001-2002, 235f. (with a hand copy and an edition of its obv.))
- 5. W. 22706/2** (the *Uruk Catalogue*; see SpTU 3, no. 95; cf. also the new readings in BODDY, HUBER VULLIET and MITTERMAYER 2022, 77-79; the status as catalogue text is not fully certain since the small tablet shows incipits of only partly known incipits roughly covering content from the last half of *Šumma ālu* until tablet “120” as well as entries that might represent rather sections than incipits)

Two additional catalogue-like fragments are left aside since they do not represent catalogues *stricto sensu*. The first, K. 957 (FREEDMAN 1998, 326f.), represents rather an eclectic collection of the topics of *Šumma ālu* tablets 11-36 and excerpts of the cat omens in tablet 45. The second fragment, Rm. 429 (BODDY and MITTERMAYER 2021a, 352f.), lists excerpts of incipits from the section *Šumma ālu* T.80 to “T.120” (NZK) which are only partly related to each other in terms of structure and content. Note likewise the possible catalogue fragment K. 14273, whose layout is similar to K. 6925 mentioned in BODDY, HUBER VULLIET and MITTERMAYER 2022, 79 fn.19.

These catalogues as well as differences in the series' structure apparent in serial and excerpt tablets suggest several redactions of *Šumma ālu* within the 1st millennium BC. If not indicated otherwise, the term “standard redaction” refers here to the Nineveh redaction which is often, however, a reconstructed amalgam of the structure displayed in the *Assur Catalogue*, the serial tablet's structure from Nineveh and the Nabû-zuqup-kēnu redaction (abbreviated NZK in the following) found in Nineveh and Nimrud (see FREEDMAN 1998, 17).

The fragment BM 35927 (Sp-III.463; LEICHTY, FINKEL and WALKER 2019, 306; cf. also the notes on the registration numbers in *ibid.* 292 for the assumed origin in Babylon) represents yet another witness of a *Šumma ālu* catalogue displaying a Babylonian recension (or redaction) from either Neo Babylonian or even Late Babylonian time. Additionally, it offers the incipits of *Šumma ālu* sections that have been formerly not or just fragmentarily preserved in other catalogue texts—viz. the beginning of the section on bird omens (T.64-79 standard redaction) in column ii and a section of partly known tablets on behavioural

omens (T.80-“120” standard redaction) in column iii that may or may not represent the section directly following the bird omens. Column iv probably offers some overlaps with the so far poorly preserved sections known from the forth column of the *Assur Catalogue* as well as col. iv of BM 68437. This section might have represented additional material appended to the main series, similar to the *ahû* material appended at the end of the *Enūma Anu Enlil* catalogue in VAT 9438+ (HEEBEL 2001-2002, 235 incl. fn. 19-20).

According to the preserved layout and the distribution of the incipits, the tablet may have had four columns, viz. two each side. It is thus unlikely that another catalogue section, as for instance the catalogue on *Enūma Anu Enlil* in the *Assur Catalogue*, preceded the catalogue on *Šumma ālu* here. Although not preserved on each line, the tablet shows line rulings as well as possibly more pronounced dividing rulings in column iv. Similar to BM 68437, already the first column seems to list incipits of tablets attributable to *Šumma ālu*. The preserved traces (five times the end of IGI-ir (*innamir*) “is/has been seen” and two times possibly its plural *innamrā*, written IGI.MEŠ) suggest a slightly earlier position than the traces until the end of column i in BM 68437 which most likely listed the incipits of *Šumma ālu* tablets 37-44. This might situate our passage roughly around Tablets 25-30 although it is not clear if the sequence has been the same as in the *Assur Catalogue*.

Note further that there is at least one *hepi*-gloss in column ii l. 9' (and possibly in column ii l. 11' as well) which might indicate that the catalogue actually represents a copy of an older original. It is thus not to be excluded that the structure preserved therein likewise belongs to an older redaction.

fig. 1: BM 35927 obverse

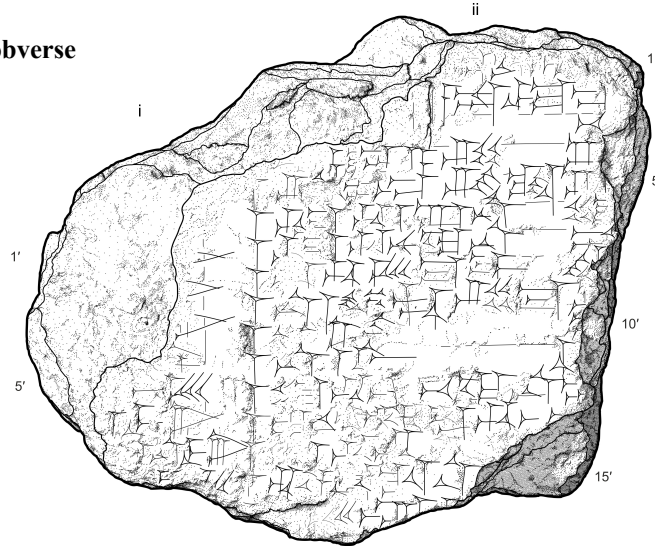
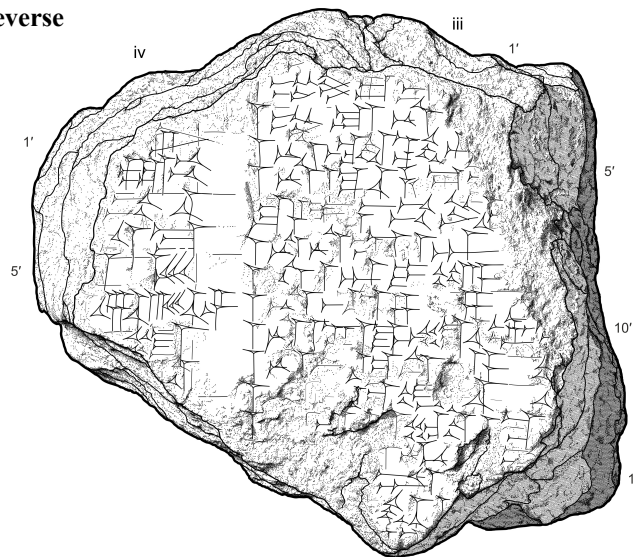


fig. 2: BM 35927 reverse



Transliteration and Translation BM 35927 (Sp-III.463; 4,5 × 5 × 2,4cm)

obverse col. i

1' [... IGI-*i*]*r*²

[If ...] is [se]en(?)

2' [... IGI-*i*]*r*²

[If ...] is [se]en(?)

3' [... IGI-*i*]*r*²

[If ...] is [se]en(?)

4' [...]¹ub/gir₃/az²¹

[If ...] ... (?)

5' [... IG]¹.MEŠ

[If ...] are [se]en(?)

6' [...] x ¹IGI¹-*ir*

[If ...] is seen

7' [...] x ¹NA¹ IGI²-*ir*

[If ... of] a man is seen(?)

8' [...] ¹IGI².MEŠ¹

[If ...] are [se]en(?)

obverse col. ii

1'[DIŠ *ina* ^{giš}KIRI₆ ŠA₃ URU] ^{giš}GIŠIMMAR *ina*²¹

[If in a garden amidst a city] a date palm [is split (beginning)] with [its he]ad [and (...)]

S[AG.DU-š_{a2}² BAR-*ma* (...)]

[If vegetables are pl]entiful and the [hurātu-madder prospers much (...)]

2'[DIŠ SAR.MEŠ *m*]a-a-du *u*₃ ^{giš}[HAB *ma-gal* SI.SA₂ (...)]

[If the soil of the land exu]des [blood]

3'[DIŠ KI KUR²] (blank) UŠ₂ ¹i²-[*hi-il*²]

[If] the flood [comes] in Nisannu [and the river is red-dyed like blood]

4'[DIŠ] ¹ina ^{iū}BARA₂¹ A.ZI.(blank)G[A² DU-*ma* (...)]

If black reed is se[en] in the cane brake [time and again]

5'¹DIŠ GI GE₆¹ *ina* ^{giš}GI *it-t*[a-an²-*mar*]

If a francolin en[ters] a man's house [(...)]

6'DIŠ DAR^{mušen} *ana* E₂ NA K[U₄ ...]

If a francolin si[ts] above a man [(...)]

7'DIŠ DAR^{mušen} *ina* UGU NA GU[B² ...]

If eagles mu[l]tiply (...)

8'DIŠ ¹TI₈²^{mušen}.MEŠ *ma-gal*¹ *i*[m-te-du (...)]

If a man sets out for his ^{break}[endea]vour and a f[alcon](?) ...]

9'DIŠ NA *ana* ^{he-pi₂}(A₂).AŠ₂¹(pa)-š_{u2} ZI-*ma* S[UR₂².DU₃^{mušen} ...]

If his ^{break}[army] g[oes](?) on campaign [and (...)]

10'DIŠ ¹he-pi₂²(ERIM)¹.NI ¹KASKAL¹ D[U-*ma*² (...)]

If a man(?) [...] to a woman [...]

11'DIŠ ¹NA²¹ *ana* MUNUS (blank) x [...]

If a pigeon at the street s[its](?) above a man [...]

12'DIŠ ¹TU^{mušen} ¹ina SILA²¹ *ina* UGU NA G[UB² ...]

If a falcon(?) [...] a tadorna (or partridge) in ... [...]

13'DIŠ ¹SUR₂².DU₃^{mušen} BURU₅.HABRUD¹.DA¹^{mušen} *ina* m[u² ...]

If a pigeon(?) ... [...]

14'DIŠ ¹TU^{mušen} en/kab²¹ x (blank) [...]

If a white tadorna [is seen in a city]

15'¹DIŠ BURU₅.HABRUD¹.DA BABBAR [*ina* URU IGI.DU₈²]

[If ...] ... [are ...] in a [man's(?)] house [...]

16'¹DIŠ¹ x (x) ¹MEŠ¹ *ina* ¹E₂²¹ x [...]

[If ...] ... [...]

17'[DIŠ x (x)] x (x) [...]

reverse col. iii

1'[DIŠ] ¹LU₂/LUGAL²¹ [...]

[If] a ma[n/k]ing(?) ...]

2'¹DIŠ¹ LUGAL KASKAL ¹DAB-*ma*¹²¹ [...]

If the king goes² on campaign (lit.: took a road) an[d ...]

3'DIŠ LUGAL SU NA [...]

If the king [sees²] the body of a man [...]

4'DIŠ NA *ina* A₂.GU₂.Z[L.GA *ina* E₃-š_{u2} NITA IGI (...)]

If a man, while [going out the door] in the morn[ing, sees a man]

5'DIŠ NA TUG₂¹²(diš *ma*²) <NI₂>-š_{u2} KUD-*is*¹² x [...]

If a man cuts off(?) his <own(?)> garment(!?) [...]

6'{DIŠ²}tukum-be₂ lu₂ ¹u₃²¹-[sa₂ i₃-du/gen (...)]

If a ma[n lives](?) in depression/stupor (...)]

7'DIŠ NA *ina*+u₄-um *ana* DINGIR [*ut-nen-nu* (...)]

If a man [prays] to a god during² the day [(...)]

8'DIŠ NA *ana* DINGIR *i-kar-r*[ab-*ma* (...)]

If a man is pra[y]ing to a god [and (...)]

9'DIŠ NA *ina* KI.ZA.ZA-[š_{u2} (...)]

If a man, while [he] is prostrating [...]

10'DIŠ NA *ana* E₂.GAL *ina* KU₄-š_{u2} as-k[up/ku²-pa-tu₄²

If a man [bumps his foot at the thr]eshold(?) while (his) entering the palace

GIR₃-š_{u2} ik-*kip*²]

11'DIŠ NA *ina* KISLAH/KI.ŠUB¹² (x) a x [...]

If a man [...] in the threshing floor/undeveloped site(?) [...]

12'DIŠ ¹NA²¹ (x) KI.NA₂-š_{u2} 1[5 ša-*lil*² (...)]

If a man(?), at his sleeping place [lies] on the rig[ht side (...)]

13'DIŠ 'NA ¹ ina 'ša ² -la ² -li-šu ² 'ma/ba ² [...]	If a man, while he i[s slee]ping(?) ... [...]
14'[DIŠ x x (x)] 'ti ² [(x)] d[u ² ...]	[If ...] ... [...]
15'[DIŠ x (x)] 'ina ² DU [(x)] x [...]	[If ...] while going/walking ² [...]
16'[DIŠ x x (x) N] A ₂ /hi ² -šu ² x [...]	[If ...] his ... [...]
17'[DIŠ ...] x [...]	[If ...] ... [...]
reverse col. iv	
1' [... IGI ²] -ir ²	[... is s]een(?)
2' [... u ₂] -šap-pi	[... he(?) s]ilences [...]
3' [... ina ² a ² -ša ²] -bi-šu ²	[... while(?) he sits/dwells(?)
4' [... 'E ₃ -ma	[...] come(s) out(?) and
5' [... ŠU]B ² .MEŠ	[... f]all (pl.)
6' [... T]A ² 15-šu ² ana 150-šu ² SUR	[...] flares up [fr]om his right to his left
7' [... x KU ₄	[...] enters(?)
8' [... 'ta/x ud ²	[...] ...
9' [... x	[...] ...

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Notes

The references in the following notes are not meant to be exhaustive or as a reconstruction of the *Šumma alu* tablets mentioned therein. They are rather intended to indicate already published material and established positions of tablets within certain redactions as well as possible related or not yet positioned fragments of not or just fragmentarily discernible parts of the series.

ii 1': T.58 standard redaction; FREEDMAN 2017, 111-123. The restoration of the incipit follows the wording of the excerpt text K. 2851+ joined with the fragments K. 14196 (join: C. Mittermayer) + K. 16975 + K. 17240 (both joins: E. Schmidtchen) which have been identified in the framework of the SNFS funded project “Edition of the Omen Series *Šumma Alu*” (100011_175970; University of Geneva).

ii 2': T.59 standard redaction; FREEDMAN 2017, 124-132.

ii 3': T.60 standard redaction; FREEDMAN 2017, 133-140.

ii 4': T.61 standard redaction; FREEDMAN 2017, 141-155.

ii 5': T.62 standard redaction; FREEDMAN 2017, 156 (due to missing witnesses only the incipit is known so far).

ii 6': T.64² standard redaction; see the catchline in K. 8023+ (T.63²; cf. FREEDMAN 2017, 160 reading [DIŠ A₂.MUŠ]EN instead) as well as incipit and catchline of K. 3240 and the variation in K. 19274. See also the possible excerpt text Sm. 245 obv./rev.(?) 1 ([DIŠ DAR^{mušen} ana E₂ NA K]U₄ E₂ BI ŠA₃.BI NU DUG₃.GA : DAGA[L-iš]).

ii 7': T.65² standard redaction; cf. the note on ii 6'. See also the possible excerpt Sm. 245 obv./rev.(?) 8 ([DIŠ DAR^{mušen} ina UGU NA²] GUB-i_z mim-mu-šu ZAḪ₂ UK[U₂]). Cf. further the rubric of the commentary W. 22659 (SpTU 3, no. 99) l. 48 (ša-a-tu₂ šu-ut KA ša₂ DIŠ DAR^{mušen} ina UGU NA GUB-i_z ša₂ KA um-man-nu) which is followed by the same tablet as in our catalogue (cf. the note on the following entry).

ii 8': T.74² (NZK²); cf. the incipit in Sm. 1244 (DIŠ TI₈^{mušen}.MEŠ ma-gal im-te-du URU BI LUGAL.MEŠ uš-tab-¹ba-ku¹-šu² 'E₂¹ [BI DAB-bat]). See also the excerpt K. 9127: 2' and the catchline in BM 65538 rev. 8' (Babylonian redaction), the catchline in the commentary W. 22659 (SpTU 3, no. 99) l. 47 (DIŠ TI₈^{mušen}.MEŠ ma-gal im-te-du) and the similar text YBC 16934 (var. beginning; iv 1': DUB.<60²> 15.KAM.MA). Elements of this tablet can also be found in the excerpt Sm. 1376 rev. (the obv. mentions omens from T.63² or an addition to T.62 concerning aquatic animals) which might represent excerpts of its second half. Cf. also the similar incipit preserved in ND. 5427 (and thus the redaction of NZK²; CTN 4, no. 45 l. 1: DIŠ URU.ḪUL¹.A^{mušen}.MEŠ ina ŠA₃ URU im-te²-du² URU 'BI¹ x [(x)]; cf. for the reading of the broken verb also the excerpt fragment K. 9818: 1); see the note on ii 13'.

ii 9': Cf. the catchline in K. 22253: 4' [DIŠ NA ana A₂.AŠ₂-šu² ZI-ma ŠU]R₂.DU₃^{mušen} 'TA 15¹ [NA ana 150 NA i-ti-iq/DIB² A₂.AŠ₂-su KUR-ad]; see also the beginning of the MB forerunner BM 108874, cf. DE ZORZI 2009, 92 obv. 1 (DIŠ NA ana A₂.AŠ₂-šu² ZI-ma SUR₂.DU₃^{mušen} TA 15 NA ana 150 NA i-ti-iq A₂.AŠ₂-su KUR-ad).

ii 10’: T.67² standard redaction; cf. the incipit in K. 3892+ which represents, according to the catchline in Rm. 2, 138 (tablet 66) rev. 8’ (DIŠ ERIM.NI KASKAL DU-*ma* UGA^{mušen} IGI ERIM.NI GU₃.DE₂.DE₂ ERIM.NI KASKAL DU-*ku* NU GUR-*ra*), the catchline of tablet 67 of the Nineveh-redaction. See further the same incipit attested in the excerpt tablet K. 2898+. Due to the partly abraded surface, it is uncertain if the traces are to be read as either ¹he-*pi*₂¹ (cf. for instance the similar form in the line above) or ¹ERIM¹.

ii 11’: The wording is similar to the beginning of the incipit of T.103 (DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS GUB-*za-at*/u₂-*zu-u*-*za-ta* DU-*ik*; see Boddy 2021c, 2). Due to the position of the tablet and the different context, the here preserved line is most likely a corrupt or abbreviated version of another incipit.

ii 12’: Cf. the catchline in the excerpt Rm. II, 33: 4’ (DIŠ TU^{mušen} *ina* SILA *ina* UGU N[A ...]) to a tablet titled DIŠ SIM^{mušen} [...].

ii 13’: The reading follows a suggestion of Nicla de Zorzi (private communication) for which I am thankful. Surprisingly, the Old Babylonian bird omen in Weisberg 1970, 92 (BM 113915 iv 1-7, here 1-4: *šum-ma k[a-su-su | i-na mu-ub-šu-ur a-wi-lim] | i-š-SU-ur hu-ri-im | i-š-ba-at-ma i-ku-[ul] ...*) resembles our instance the most although similar omens are also attested in sources of the 1st millennium BC—see for example K. 3626+ rev. 4 and K. 4110 rev. 7 (both T.79 of the standard redaction; DIŠ SUR₂.DU₃^{mušen} BURU₅.HABRUD.DA^{mušen} IL₂-*ma* (...)) as well as K. 7061: 13’ (an excerpt on tablets 65² and 66; [DIŠ SUR₂.DU₃^{mušen} BURU₅.HABRUD.DA] TI₈^{mušen}.MEŠ DIŠ-*niš im-me-[lil-lu ...]*) and Rm. 2, 138 obv. 3 (T.66 standard redaction). According to the traces, the reading BURU₅.HABRUD seems very likely. The following DA, however, is less certain and might have been either squeezed in later or belongs to traces of another sign.

ii 14’: Cf. the similar entry K. 6801: 1 (DIŠ TU^{mušen} *ina um-mat* ^{na4}UR₅.UR₅ *iq-nun ...*), here maybe DIŠ TU^{mušen} *ina* UR₅(*ummat*) [^{na4}UR₅.UR₅ (...)].

ii 15’: Cf. the attestations in K. 12900: 1’, 10’; K. 6734 (exc.?) obv. 14’; Sm. 230 obv.(?) 1’—so far, the entry seems not to be attested as incipit except for the excerpt fragment K. 13195: 1.

iii 2’: Cf. the assumed beginning of T.79 standard redaction ([DIŠ LUGAL] ERIM-*su u*₂-*paḫ-ḫi-ram-ma ana* KUR KUR₂-*šu*₂ *har-ra-na* DAB-*ma* DU-*ak*) in LEICHTY and KIENAST 2003, 260. The spatial distribution in Rm. 2, 135 (Ms. b) suggests space for considerably more signs before [... ERI]M-*su* than just DIŠ LUGAL—maybe around three to four additional signs, which would, together with the shared context of going on a campaign, certainly fit the beginning of the catalogue entry (viz. DIŠ LUGAL KASKAL DAB²-*ma* [ERIM-*su u*₂-*paḫ-ḫi-ram-ma ...*). Cf. also the similar sequence in the *Uruk Catalogue* obv. 14-15 (see BODDY, HUBER VULLIET and MITTERMAYER 2022, 77).

iii 3’: Cf. the *Uruk Catalogue* obv. 15 (DIŠ LUGAL SU NA IGI (blank)). See also the similar entry in Rm. 136 (cf. also the duplicate Sm. 1423) 17’ (DIŠ NA SU.BI BARA₂ IGI.DU₈ BA[RA₂ ...] “If a man, the king sees his body: The ki[ng ...]”) which, according to FREEDMAN 1998, 186f., represents T.11: 33’ but which might possibly have been actually part of T.52.

iii 4’: T.85 standard redaction; see Boddy 2021a.

iii 5’: This line might perhaps be an abbreviated or corrupted variant of T.93 standard redaction (for the identification cf. BODDY, HUBER VULLIET and MITTERMAYER 2022, 99); cf. the *Uruk Catalogue* rev. 4 (DIŠ NA TUG₂ NI₂-*šu*₂ *ik-kis* (blank); coll.) as well as the catalogue K. 6925: 3’ ([DIŠ] NA TUG₂ NI₂.¹TE¹ [...]).

iii 6’: Cf. CTN 4, 51 (ND. 5436) which represents the NZK redaction in Nimrud that is followed by chariot omens. The incipit reads as follows: *tukum-be*₂ *lu*₂ *u*₃-¹sa₂¹-¹še₃ *i*₃-*du/gen* *igi* *lu*₂ x [...] (The bilingual omens are currently in preparation by L. Saenz). See also the catchline of the same wording in Sm. 876. The relatively low number of entries mentioned in the tally above the catchline suggests that the tablet does not belong to the garment tablet in Nineveh. The chariot omens concerning the king (following ND. 5436) seem to have been partly integrated into tablet 43 in some traditions; cf. CT 40, pl. 35-37 as well as Freedman 2017, 17, 26-31 but they are not mentioned or preserved in this section of the catalogue.

iii 7’: T.96 (according to FREEDMAN 1998, 22) or T.91 standard redaction (according to the new reconstruction of the tablet sequence in BODDY, HUBER VULLIET and MITTERMAYER 2022, 98f.); cf. the incipit in K. 12310: 1. It is also known to represent T.97 of the NZK redaction (cf. the catchline in the colophon of T.96 NZK in K. 9697, see HUBERT VUILLET and MITTERMAYER 2021b, 18).

iii 8’: T.95 standard redaction and T. 96 NZK; see HUBERT VUILLET and MITTERMAYER 2021a and HUBERT VUILLET and MITTERMAYER 2021b.

iii 9’: For the possible position within the standard redaction as either T.92 (or even T.93) cf. HUBERT VUILLET and MITTERMAYER 2021c, 2 and BODDY, HUBER VULLIET and MITTERMAYER 2022, 99.

iii 10’: The entry is attested in varying form (i.e. only having E₂ “house(hold)” and not E₂.GAL “palace” as in our case) in several excerpt texts (always as the first of the respective section or tablet); cf. 1879,0708.147 + K. 20251: 1 (join: F. Hubert Villet); W. 22307/22 obv. 1 (SpTU 1, no. 76); Sm. 1085 obv. 2’ ([...] x GIR₃-*šu*₂ *ik-kip*) maybe followed by the end of the apodosis in 3’ ([...] x *ul i-še*₂₀-*em-ma*) and K. 19865 rev. 1-2 in close proximity with material deemed belonging to T.91-T.93 of the standard redaction.

iii 11’: If read correctly, the incipit might belong to T.87 standard redaction (DIŠ NA *ina* KISLAḪ ŠUB-*ut u*₂-*sur-tu*₂ IGI-*mar*); see BODDY and MITTERMAYER 2021b, 3. However, the clear A after either KISLAḪ(KI-UD) is conspicuous and the second sign after KI might likewise indicate the reading KI ŠUB¹⁷ (*ašar/eršet¹⁷ niditti¹⁷*). KI(.)ŠUB

reminds on the first entry of the passage T.61: 168-184 (DIŠ *ina* KI(-ti) ŠUB-ti ša₂ ID₂ ...), which is attested once as a tablet separate from T.61 in Nineveh (cf. K. 47+ and K. 116; see also FREEDMAN 2017, 151 colophon text A). It is thus, although unusual, not entirely out of hand to assume an abbreviated version of that incipit as well.

iii 12': T.84 standard redaction. An edition of *Šumma ālu* T.84 is in preparation by R. Lerculeur within the framework of the project "Edition of the Omen Series *Šumma Alu*" (University of Geneva). Cf. beneath others the partly published Mss. and passages of the tablet for example in KÖCHER and OPPENHEIM 1957-1958, 73-75, 78 and pl. 5-9; CT 28, pl. 41; CT 37, pl. 45, 49; HEEBEL 2007, no. 31-32; GUINAN 1996, 9-10.

iii 13': The reading is not entirely certain. Cf. the similar wording in T.84: 26ff. (cf. parts of this passage published from the excerpt K. 7075+ in KÖCHER and OPPENHEIM 1957-1958, 74 section 2 ll. 21-24). However, the sign after -li-¹š_u² in our text looks hardly like SAG or KA but resembles MA. A further possible identification of this incipit might be the *alû*-section in T.94: 71ff. (cf. BODDY 2021b, 19) likewise beginning DIŠ NA *ina* KI.NA₂-š_u₂ U₁₈.LU *is-ḥup-ma* (...), which would then be considered being a separate tablet in the Babylonian redaction. Note that the section 71-81 has been separately added in the T.84 Ms. K. 7075+. The traces after -¹š_u² would certainly fit the reading 'U₁₈' but the verb *šalālu* "to lie down" (which is syllabically written in our catalogue and usually logographically written NA₂) for KI.NA₂ is unusual. However, cf. the syllabic spelling *i-na ša-la-li-šu* in the possibly (late) Old Babylonian text VAT 7525 (KÖCHER and OPPENHEIM 1957-1958, 64 col. i 39f., 41f., 43f. and col. ii 1) for what later will become the introductory phrase *ina* KI.NA₂-š_u₂ in *Šumma ālu* T.84: 9, 11, 12, 15 (cf. again KÖCHER and OPPENHEIM 1957-1958, 74).

iii 15': Cf. maybe the incipit of T.85 NZK (DIŠ LU₂ SILA *ina* DU-š_u₂ LU₂ DINGIR IL₂-ma ...); see BODDY 2021a, 12 (catchline).

iv 2': See similar T.84 NZK: 44 (DIŠ NA *ana* UR₃ AZU E₁₁-ma AZU *u₂-šap-pi₂* S[A₅ DU₃-š_u₂ NU SILIM]); cf. MITTERMAYER 2021, 9f. See likewise K. 57 obv. 21 [...] x DU/GUB-ma AZU *u₂-šap-pi* SA₅ DU₃-š_u₂ NU SI<SA₂>; cf. copy and transliteration of the obv. (leaving out l. 21) in NOUGAYROL 1967, 35f. (with the different reading *u₂-šab pi-tir-us₂*).

iv 3': Cf. perhaps the *Assur Catalogue* iv 7' ([...] *ina*? DUR₂-š_u₂). Note the similarities with *Šumma ālu* T. "120" NZK (and the Ninevite and Babylonian procession omens): 1 (DIŠ ^dAMAR.UTU *ina* E₂.SAG.IL₂ *i-na a-ša₂-bi-šu zi-ir* ^dEN.LIL₂ KUR.KUR *ana* HUL-tu₄ uš-ta-di); cf. HUBER VUILLET 2021a, 5; HUBER VUILLET 2021b, 2; HUBER VUILLET 2021c, 2.

iv 4': Cf. the *Assur Catalogue* iv 8' ([...] E₃-ma). Note the similarities in some beginning of sections in *Šumma ālu* T. "120" NZK (and the Ninevite and Babylonian procession omens): 14 (DIŠ ^dAMAR.UTU *ina* E₂.SAG.IL₂ *ina* SAG MU *ina* E₃-š_u₂ KA-š_u₂ pe-ti ^dEN.LIL₂ e₂-zi-iš UGU KUR GU₃-si) and 50/80 (83-84) (DIŠ LUGAL ŠU DINGIR DAB-ma lu *ina* E₃-š_u₂ lu *ina* KU₄-š_u₂ is-kil EME ḪUL-ti KI LUGAL šit-pat LUGAL a-a-bi-š_u₂ KUR-ad₂); cf. HUBER VUILLET 2021a, 8, 18 (entry 50); HUBER VUILLET 2021b, 5, 19 (entry 80); HUBER VUILLET 2021c, 4 (entry 14)

iv 5'-6': These lines might refer to some celestial phenomenon, maybe similar to *Šumma ālu* T.106-107(?); for l. 5' cf. the catchline in K. 1455 (T.105) rev. 8 ([DIŠ MUL.MEŠ? i-t}a-at URU ŠUB.MEŠ-ni EN.NUN URU BAL-it) and maybe the *Assur Catalogue* iv 23' ([...] URU ŠUB.MEŠ)). For l. 6' cf. K. 139 (the identification of T.106 and possibly the likewise included T.107 is owed to Kaira Boddy, who is planning an edition of T.106-108 to be published online via the *Archive Ouverte* of the University of Geneva; despite the broken beginning cf. ibid. rev. 19' (T.107?: DIŠ NA *ana* A₂.AŠ₂-š_u₂ ZI-ma UL TA 15 NA *ana* GUB₃ NA SUR SIG₅), which is likewise similar to our instance iv 6'; see for the obverse of K. 139 also FINCKE 2013). However, since the wording is just similar and the beginnings broken, the restorations remain uncertain for time being.

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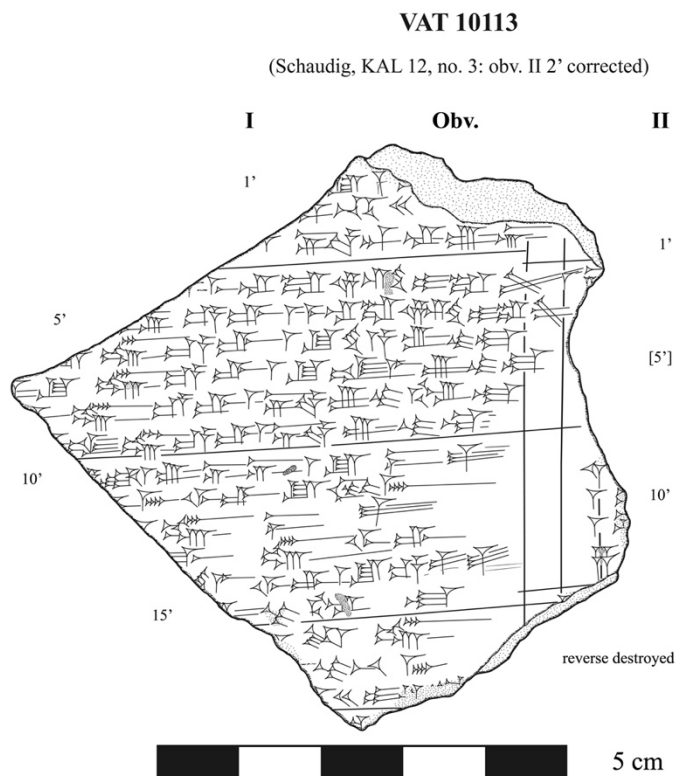
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20) Correction of the Copy of VAT 10113 (Schaudig, KAL 12, no. 3) — Annoyingly, I made a mistake in the hand-copy of the ritual VAT 10113 in my edition from 2020 (KAL 12, p. 141, no. 3), which I am about to correct here. I overlooked

the small vertical wedge at the beginning of obv. II 2', nestled into the line rulings and into the long strokes of (*i-ra*)-kas (I 4'), which it slightly cuts. This wedge is clearly visible in the photograph (KAL 12, p. 189). It had already been correctly copied in 1923 by Ebeling (KAR II, no. 217). This single wedge might seem to make only a minor difference. It is, however, proof that we are dealing with a fragment of the obverse of the tablet, with column I written prior to column II. I had already argued for this in KAL 12 (p. 27) for other reasons which are now partly outdated. The new reconstruction means that the beginning of obv. II 2' does not read: N[A₄.MEŠ ...] “st[ones ...]” but: 1 N[A₄ dXY ...] “1 st[one (for) Deity XY ...]”.



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21) Die Besonderheiten der Distanzangabe Sargons II. — Laut den bibliographischen Angaben zu RINAP 2 92 wurde die dort präsentierte Bauinschrift bereits 1870 als 3R 12 veröffentlicht und 1874 erstmals von Ménant in seinen *Annales des rois d'Assyrie* (Paris) übersetzt. Dennoch gehört die in diesem Text befindliche chronologische Angabe, die Sargon II. anlässlich seines Neubaus des Nabu-Tempels zu Ninive berechnen ließ, mit zu den am besten gehüteten Geheimnissen in der Welt der altorientalischen Distanzangaben. Der Grund dafür liegt mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit darin, dass diese Angabe keine Auswirkung auf die Chronologie der neuassyrischen Zeit oder gar auf die Chronologie Mesopotamiens hat. Ihre bislang verborgen gebliebene Bedeutung liegt vielmehr in dem Grund, aus welchem diese Distanzangabe überhaupt geschrieben wurde sowie in der Funktion, die ihr innerhalb der Entwicklung der assyrischen Distanzangaben zukommt. Bevor ich meine diesbezüglichen Gedanken entwickle ist allerdings ein *caveat* angebracht. Nach heutigem Stand ist die Distanzangabe Sargons II. die erste in Assyrien seit dem Ende der mittelassyrischen Zeit. Diese Situation kann sich natürlich durch neue Textfunde ändern. Da jedoch die relativ umfangreichen Textkorpora von Aššur-našir-pal II., Salmanassar III. und Tiglath-pileser III. bislang keine Distanzangaben erbracht haben, gehe ich davon aus, dass tatsächlich erst Sargon II. die Tradition dieser Datengruppe wieder aufgenommen hat.

Siehe RINAP 2, 35 für einen kurzen Überblick über Sargons II. auf Ninive bezogene Bauinschriften. Die hier interessierende findet sich auf einer Reihe von Tonknauffragmenten (RINAP 2 92, pp.390-92). Dort lesen wir (p. 392, Z. 4-7; Übersetzung G. Frame):

„The temple of the gods Nabû (and) Marduk that had previously been built opposite the new gate facing north, became dilapidated and Adad-nārārī (III), son of Šamšī-Adad (V), king of Assyria [...], a prince who preceded me, (re)built (it). The foundations of this temple were not made strong and its foundation wall was not fixed like bedrock. Seventy-five years elapsed and it became old and dilapidated (lit.: “dilapidated and old”). In order not to change its location (and) to build (it) beside the temple of the goddess Ištar of Nineveh, I requested the *command* of the god Na[bû (...)], my lord, and by means of the diviner’s bowl he answered me with (his) firm approval not to change its location.”

Bezogen auf assyrische Tempel hat Sargon damit die einzige genuin assyrische Distanzangabe außerhalb der Stadt Aššur verfassen lassen. Sargon scheint selbst eine Begründung anzudeuten. Der Nabu-Tempel liegt tatsächlich direkt nordwestlich des Ištar-Tempels. Für eine Bauphase dieses Tempels hatte lange zuvor Šamšī-Adad I. eine Distanzangabe schreiben lassen. Somit befinden sich alle mit Distanzangaben versehenen Tempel Assyriens in der Stadt Aššur sowie im Zentrum von Kujundschik.

In Šamšī-Adads Inschrift ist der Bezug auf Akkade ganz deutlich. Ihm zufolge wurde der Vorgängerbau von Maništusu ausgeführt und seit dem Fall von Akkade seien 7 *dāru* (i.e. 420 Jahre) bis zur Eroberung des Landes Nurrūgu durch Šamšī-Adad vergangen, in denen der Tempel nicht erneuert wurde (vgl. Janssen 2015, 107; Janssen 2017, 45). Zudem ist Ištar natürlich als Hauptgöttin von Akkade bekannt. Sie dankt laut der Inschrift Šamšī-Adad I. für den Wiederaufbau des Tempels mit einer Verlängerung seiner Lebenszeit (RIMA 1, pp. 51-54).

Im Falle des Nabu-Tempels ist der Akkade-Bezug nicht ganz so deutlich. Er besteht zu einem darin, dass Sargon den Ištar-Tempel ostentativ erwähnt, sowie im Namen Sargons II. Zudem hängt sich dieser König bereits durch die Existenz seiner Distanzangabe an das Vorbild Šamšī-Adad I. an, und zwar stärker, als man auf den ersten Blick glauben möchte.

Sargon II. (721-705) gibt die Zeitspanne von Adad-nārārī III. (810-783) bis zu irgendeinem seiner eigenen Jahre mit 75 Jahren an. Das ist überraschend und aufschlussreich zugleich. In mittelassyrischer Zeit hätte man die Regierungen beider Könige außen vor gelassen und nur die Zeit dazwischen (782-722) berechnet (61 Jahre). Bei diesem Ergebnis hätte man für eine Abrundung sicherlich auch modernerseits

Verständnis gehabt. Doch Sargons Schreiber verzichtet darauf und scheint auf etwas anderes aus gewesen zu sein.

Die von ihm angesetzten 75 Jahre hat er jedenfalls nicht mit dem Regierungsbeginn Adad-nārārīs III. im Jahr 810 verknüpft, denn dann hätte Sargon seine eigene Regierung nicht erreicht. Wenn er, wie es in Mesopotamien vor Nabonid üblich war, den älteren König aus der Distanzangabe ausgeschlossen hat, dann endet die Angabe im Jahr 708 (incl.) und enthält die ersten 14 Regierungsjahre Sargons. Mathematisch möglich, aber unwahrscheinlich ist, dass Sargon sich am tatsächlichen Datum der Erbauung des älteren Tempels orientiert hätte. Die Eponymenliste verzeichnet für das 23. Jahr Adad-nārārīs III. (788) die Gründung des Tempels und für das Folgejahr den Einzug des Gottes (Menzel 1981, 119). Menzel setzt hier an und schlägt eine tentative Datierung des Tempels in die Jahre 716 oder 715 vor, da sie die Länge der Distanzangabe mit nur 72 statt 75 Jahren beziffert. Bei Verwendung der von RINAP 2 angegebenen 75 Jahren endet Sargons Distanzangabe um 713. Ein solcher Einschnitt in die Regierungszeit des ältesten Monarchen einer Distanzangabe ist für Assyrien jedoch nicht belegt und findet sich in *babylonischen* Inschriften m.W. erst in der Zeit Nabonids (z.B. bei Adad-guppi, geboren in Assurbanipal 20, [vgl. RINBE 2, p. 225, i 29]). Somit dürfte bei Sargon II. eher die klassische Ansetzungsweise vorliegen und die Angabe läuft vermutlich von Ende Adad-nārārīs III. (excl.) bis Sargon 14 (incl.).

Nun zurück zu Šamšī-Adads Distanzangabe. Sie könnte der Grund gewesen sein, weshalb Sargon auf die oben beschriebene mittellassyrische Ansetzungsform verzichtet. Sowohl Šamšī-Adad als auch Sargon ziehen den Endpunkt der Angabe in ihre eigene Regierung hinein. So etwas gab es in mittellassyrischer Zeit nicht, sollte für die Sargoniden aber schulbildend werden (s. Janssen 2017 [Sanherib in Bavian]; Janssen 2016, 82f. [Asarhaddon]; Janssen 2021 [Assurbanipal]). Da Šamšī-Adad seinen oberen Fixpunkt (den Fall Akkades) aus der Distanzangabe ausschließt, hätte Sargon mit der wahrscheinlichen Ausschließung Adad-nārārīs III. nicht nur der mesopotamischen Tradition Folge geleistet, sondern gleichzeitig die Berechnungsweise von Šamšī-Adads Distanzangabe vollständig emuliert. Damit haben wir ein weiteres Argument dafür gefunden, dass Sargons Angabe mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit von 782-708 (jeweils incl.) läuft.

Betrachtet man alles zusammen, so sehen wir im Zentrum von Kujundschik zwei Tempel, die als einzige außerhalb Aššurs mit Distanzangaben versehen wurden und die nicht nur räumlich sondern auch verbal zueinander in Beziehung gesetzt wurden. Die Idee, das Ende der Distanzangabe in die eigene Regierungszeit zu verlegen, scheint Sargon direkt von Šamšī-Adad I. übernommen zu haben. Wir haben also wohl im Zentrum von Kujundschik die Stein und Schrift gewordenen Zeugen einer kleinen *translatio imperii* vorliegen: vom akkadischen Reich zum Königreich von Obermesopotamien und von dort zu Assyrien, insbesondere zum neuassyrischen Staat.

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22) Eine Neuinterpretation von SAA 10 179 (neubabylonischer Brief eines *bārû*) — 30 Jahre nach Erscheinen von SAA X wird mit diesem Beitrag eine Neuinterpretation von SAA 10 179 (= ABL 755 + 1393 = 83-1-18,122 + Ki.1904-10-9,169 = CDLI P237270) vorgelegt, unter Einbezug der neuen Erkenntnisse zum Neubabylonischen Tempussystem (HACKL 2007; STRECK 1995) und zum Tempelpersonal in neuassyrischer Zeit (BADERSCHNEIDER 2020). Die Neuinterpretation umfasst vier Punkte des Briefes eines Manns mit Namen Kudurru an den neuassyrischen König:

1. Der *rab šāqê* (LU₂.GAL—ŠU.DU₈.A-MEŠ, Z. 6 und Z. 16) ist nicht gleichzusetzen mit dem Mann mit Namen Nabukillanni (^{md+}AG—[k]il-la-an-ni, Z. 11).
2. Für den Titel *rab kāšir* (LU₂.GAL—ka-šir, Z. 13, Z. 15, Z. 8') ist die Übersetzung Grossschneider/Oberster Schneider/Chefschneider anzusetzen.
3. Übersetzung und Interpretation der in SAA X unübersetzt gebliebenen Passage *ši ul-tu UGU-hi-šu₂ aq-ba-aš₂-ši um-ma* LU₂.GAL—SAG LUGAL-u-tu₂ i-na-aš₂-ši (Z. 10'–11') zeigen (allenfalls), welchen Spielraum ein Opferschauer (*bārû*) hat, der taktisch agiert und dennoch rituell korrekt handelt.
4. Die bisherige Interpretation, wonach *al-la ša₂-a-ru me-hu-u* (Z. 20') sich auf das ausgeführte Ritual bezieht und der Briefschreiber Kudurru dieses somit selbst für nichtig erklärt, trifft nicht zu.

Die Argumentation stützt sich auf die fast vollständig erhaltenen Passagen von SAA 10 179, nicht auf die umfangreichen Rekonstruktionen.¹⁾ Auf der Vorderseite sind dies Z. 11–21, auf der Rückseite Z. 4'–11'. In einem ersten Schritt wird eine möglichst an der Ausgangssprache orientierte Neuübersetzung und Anmerkungen, darunter die Besprechung zweier neuer Lesungen (Z. 18 und Z. 10'), geboten (A). In einem zweiten Schritt erfolgt die Interpretation im Kontext (B). Abschliessend wird der religionsgeschichtliche und linguistische Ertrag der Neuinterpretation dargelegt (C).

(A) Neuübersetzung von Z. 11–21 und Z. 4'–11' mit Anmerkungen (Transliteration nach SAA X)

<i>Bis Z. 11 sind die Zeilenanfänge nicht erhalten.</i>		
(...) i[na Š]A ₃ -bi ITI.APIN ^{md+} AG—[k]il-la-an-ni	11	[...] <Es war> im <Monat> Araḫsamni, als
ki i-bu-kan-ni ina E ₂ — ^d EN—KASKAL ul-te-ez-zi-an-ni	12	Nabukillanni mich in das Haus des Herrn von Harran brachte/holte.
LU ₂ .GAL—ka-šir ki-i u ₂ -ša-a a-na pa-ni-šu ₂	13	Als der Rab Kāšir zu ihm hineinging,
a-na ŠA ₃ -bi E ₂ e ² -li-ti ul-te-la-an-ni	14	liess er mich in einen oberen Raum hinaufgehen.
mam-ma ia-a-nu ina pa-ni-šu ₂ al-la LU ₂ .GAL—ka-šir	15	Niemand war bei ihm ausser der Rab Kāšir,
LU ₂ .GAL—E ₂ LU ₂ .ša ₂ —UGU—E ₂ -a-nu	16	der Rab Bīti, der Ša-Muḫḫi-Bītānu
u LU ₂ .GAL—ŠU.DU ₈ .A-MEŠ		und der Rab Šāqê.
u ₃ LU ₂ .ša ₂ —UGU—URU a-na pa-ni-šu ₂ ir-ru-ub u uš-ši	17	Zudem kam und ging der Ša-Muḫḫi-Āli bei ihm ein und aus.
GIŠ.ku-su-u ₂ ki-i is-su-ku-nu ki-i u ₂ -ši-bu	18	Als ein Stuhl hingestellt worden war <und> ich
GEŠTIN a-ša ₂ -at-ti a-di ^d UTU ir-bu-u ₂	19	mich gesetzt hatte, trank ich Wein bis die Sonne unterging.
GIŠ.GU.ZA-u ₂ -a ki-i u ₂ -qar-ri-bu it-ti	20	Als er sich meinem Stuhl näherte mit
GIŠ.iš-QAR-šu ₂ ša E ₂ —[^d]PA.TUG ₂ i-qab-ba-a	21	dem Iškar des Hauses des Nusku, sagte er:
um-ma LU ₂ .HAL- ^r u ₂ -[...]	22	<i>Der Text ist ab Z. 22 bis Z. 3' nur bruchstückhaft erhalten.</i>
[...]		
um-ma a-lik-ma LU ₂ .HAL-u ₂ -ti a-na tar-ši ^d UTU	4'	„Geh doch, Mann der Bārûtu, vor Šamaš! Sieh!
bi-ri GAL—LU ₂ .SAG LUGAL-u ₂ -tu ₂ i-na-aš ₂ -ši-i	5'	Wird der Rab Ša Rēši das Königtum tragen?“
a-na ŠA ₃ -bi E ₂ e-li-ti ša ₂ -ni-ti	6'	In einem anderen oberen Raum
A.MEŠ ar-ta-mu-uk ^r eb ¹ -bu-ti at-ta-ši	7'	wusch ich mich <und> hob Reines.
LU ₂ .GAL—ka-šir 2 KUŠ I ₃ .GIŠ ki-i u ₂ -še-la-a	8'	Nachdem der Rab Kāšir zwei Schläuche Öl hinaufkommen liess,
e-te-pu-uš aq-ta-ba-aš ₂ -šu ₂ um-ma LUGAL-u-tu ₂	9'	machte ich <die Opferschau> <und> sagte zu ihm:
i-na-aš ₂ -ši ul-tu UGU-hi-šu ₂ aq-ba-aš ₂ -ši	10'	„Wird er die Königsherrschaft tragen?“ Seither sagte ich [es]:
um-ma LU ₂ .GAL—SAG LUGAL-u-tu ₂ i-na-aš ₂ -ši	11'	„Der Rab Ša Rēši wird das Königtum tragen.“

[ina UD]-mu [...]

12' Ab Z. 12' sind die Zeilenanfänge nicht erhalten.

Z. 12 Die Schreibung *ki*, ansonsten *ki-i* (Z. 13, Z. 18 [2x], Z. 20, Z. 8', Z. 19'), ist als Haplographie des *i* angesichts der Zeichenfolge Folge *ki i-bu-kan-ni* zu erklären. Weil der Ventiv bei Subjunktivformen nicht orthographisch markiert ist, kann *brachte* oder *holte* verstanden werden.

Z. 14: Nabukillani ist Initiator (primäres Agens). Kausativa erlauben es (auch in anderen semitischen Sprachen), ein Geschehen gleichzeitig auf ein veranlassendes Hauptsubjekt und ein untergeordnetes (nicht zwingend explizit erwähntes) Untersubjekt zu verteilen. Geradezu typisch (vgl. JENNI 1992: 84) erfahren wir hier, wer das Geschehen initiiert, nicht aber, wie dieses konkret abläuft und wer die Ausführung übernimmt. Deutsch ist diese Stelle daher besser mit *hinaufgehen lassen* wiederzugeben als mit *hinaufbringen*.

Z. 15: Hier ist eine Leerstelle im Text. Das Ich (Kudurru) ist hinaufgegangen (Z. 14), dennoch berichtet es, wer bei ihm (Nabukillanni) ist, respektive zu ihm hinein- und hinausgeht. Der weitere Erzählverlauf legt nahe, dass Kudurru aus dem oberen Zimmer Einblick in die unteren Räumlichkeiten (z.B. Innenhof) hat, und schildert, was er beobachten konnte. Alternativ muss angenommen werden, dass ein Zeitsprung vorliegt und Kudurru nach unten geholt wurde. Dies erscheint weniger wahrscheinlich, weil er im Brief stets klar berichtet, wenn sich *sein* Aufenthaltsort verändert (Zeilen 12, 14, 18, 6', 10') und was er tut (Zeilen 18–19, 7', 9'–11'). Die Erzählung ist um ihn herum aufgebaut, Bewegungen und Handlungen der anderen Personen berichtet er nur selektiv (13, 17, 20, 8').

Z. 17: Die *iparras*-Formen („Präsens“) *ir-ru-ub u uš-ši* drücken als Ganzes pluralische resp. iterierte punktuelle Sachverhalte aus, die gleichzeitig zum Gegenwartspunkt des Sprechers ablaufen, siehe STRECK 1995: 90 (§ 5f).

Z. 18: Statt bisher *is-su-ku-nu* (eigentlich *i[s]-su-ku-nu*) ist hier die Lesung *i[š]-ša-ku-nu* (N-Stamm, *iprus-*Form („Präteritum“) im Subjunktiv zu erwägen, mit *ša* für einmal nach neuassyrischem, nicht nach neubabylonischem Duktus wie Z. 21 und Z. 10' (siehe MesLZ² 566 in Kapitel VII). Für diese Form des N-Stamms von *šakānu* sind u.a. in neuassyrischem und neubabylonischem Kontext verschiedentlich Formen ohne Elision des Vokals zwischen zweitem und dritten Wurzelkonsonant vor vokalischer Auslautung auf *-u* belegt. Die Schreibungen variieren von *i* über *u* bis zu *a* (für Belege siehe s.v. *šakānu(m)* in: AHW III: 1134b–1139a, insbesondere Abschnitt N; für die morphophonemische Diskussion BUCCELLATI 1996: 316). Diese Annahme eines „neuassyrischen Verschreibers“ kann die Nominativschreibung *GIŠ.ku-su-u₂* (Z. 18) im Gegensatz zur Akkusativschreibung *GIŠ.GU.ZA-u₂-a* (Z. 20) erklären. Die Formulierung ist dann Bestandteil einer Beschreibung eines nicht weiter gewerteten Geschehens. Demgegenüber impliziert die bisherige Lesung *is-su-ku-nu*, übersetzt mit *they tossed me a seat*, dass für *GIŠ.ku-su-u₂* (ungeachtet *GIŠ.GU.ZA-u₂-a* in Z. 20) ein Akkusativ gelesen werden sollte und für das Dativsuffix *-ni* hier *-nu* vorliegt (siehe GAG³ §42 j, Anm.3): Man warf mir einen Stuhl <zu> (da bereits in Z. 14 das Untersubjekt nicht benannt wird, wäre auch hier eine Interpretation von *ki-i is-su-ku-nu* als Form der 3.m.pl. zum Ausdruck eines unpersönlichen Subjekts angezeigt). Diese Lesung wäre aber als Schilderung einer sehr unhöflichen Handlung innerhalb eines ansonsten nicht weiter gewerteten Geschehens anzusehen (vgl. mit weiteren Belegen des Verbums zusammen mit geworfenen Gegenständen s.v. *nasāku* A in CAD N₂/11: 15b–23a, insbesondere Abschnitt 1.b). Der Umstand, dass man Kudurru mit Wein – nicht gerade dem billigsten Getränk in der Gegend – versorgte, während er wartete, spricht aber dafür, dass man ihn höflich behandelte. Daher wird hier aufgrund der Nominativschreibung *GIŠ.ku-su-u₂* und unter Rücksicht auf den unmittelbaren Kontext *i[š]-ša-ku-nu* gelesen und übersetzt. Zu *kī ... kī* siehe WOODINGTON 1982: 273–274; HACKL 2007: 144 [gleichgeordnete Temporalsätze].

Z. 20: *u₂-qar-ri-bu* wird in Einklang mit der Verbform der nächsten Zeile (*i-qab-ba-a*) als Form 3.m.sg. im Subjunktiv aufgefasst und nicht als 3.m.pl. Die Konstruktion *qerēbu* (D-Stamm) + *itti* bedingt nur in der deutschen Übersetzung eine reflexive Wendung, akkadisch ist das „Sich selbst in die Nähe bringen“ im resultatitiven/faktitiven Aspekt des D-Stamms enthalten, was indirekt darin ersichtlich ist, dass das nicht mit dem Subjekt identische Objekt, das der Herantretende mitbringt, mit *itti* konstruiert wird und nicht mit direktem Objekt (siehe s.v. *qerēbu* in CAD Q/13: 228a–240a, dort insbesondere zum D Stamm: 10d) und 13 – dabei fällt auf: Das Englische kann mittels *to approach* eine dem Akkadischen ähnlichere Struktur abbilden als das Deutsche). Hier ist zudem eine weitere Leerstelle im Text festzustellen. Sie steht in Beziehung mit Z. 15: Entweder kommt er (Nabukillanni) zum Ich (Kudurru), nachdem dieser lange Zeit alleine getrunken hat (und warten musste), oder er (Nabukillanni) wendet sich im selben Raum (nach langer Zeit endlich) dem Ich (Kudurru) zu. Im Einklang mit den Schlussfolgerungen zu Z. 15 ist hier von erstem auszugehen. Als weiteres Argument ist anzuführen: Wäre Kudurru die ganze Zeit im selben Raum gewesen wie die anderen, hätte er wohl erwähnt, was diese taten und sagten, während er trank, und nicht nur zu berichten gewusst, wer da war (Z. 15).

Z. 21: Auf den Ausdruck *iškaršu* [*GIŠ.iš-QAR-šu₂*] wird unter (C) eingegangen, deutsch wird die die Konstruktusform *iškar* transkribiert. Das Verbum *qabû* stellt innerhalb des neu- und spätbabylonischen Tempussytems eine Ausnahme dar, siehe STRECK 1995: 106–111 (§12). Wo man aufgrund des Analogieschlusses zu anderen Verben *iptaras*-Formen („Perfekt“) erwarten würde, stehen für *qabû* in Hauptsätzen narrativer Passagen häufig *iparras*-Formen („Präsens“). So auch im vorliegenden Brief: Z. 21 [*i-qab-ba-a*] und in den fragmentarisch erhaltenen Zeilen Z. 8 [*i-qab-ba-a*], Z. 10 [*i-qab¹-ba-a*], Z. 2' [*a-qab-bak¹-ka¹*]. Alle Verbalformen von *qabû* sind formal im Ventiv. Dabei handelt es sich wohl um einen lexikalisierten, nicht um einen produktiven Gebrauch.

Z. 7': Wegen der semantischen Bandbreite ist unklar, ob das Hochheben reiner Gegenstände oder das Tragen reiner Kleidung gemeint ist, auch wird *'eb¹-bu-ti* nicht mittels eines Determinativs spezifiziert. Aufgrund der

Ritualangaben für Opferschauer (siehe BBR) aus neuassyrischer Zeit, ist letzteres anzunehmen, auch wenn die hier verwendete Formulierung in den dortigen Texten nicht belegt ist.

Z. 8': Zur deutschen Übersetzung von *u₂-še-la-a* vgl. die Anm. zu Z. 14.

Z. 9': Mit *e-te-pu-uš* liegt eine elliptische Ausdrucksweise vor, die im Kontext klar ist. Für verschiedene Wendungen von *epēšu* + Substantiv mit der Bedeutung *eine Opferschau machen* siehe HEEBEL 2006: 55–57 und PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 1999: 135. Für die Interpretation von *aq-ta-ba-aš₂-šu₂* als Ventiv + Suffix des indirekten Objekts (3.m.sg.) vor direkter Rede vgl. z.B. [...] *a-qab-ba-aš₂-šū umma* [...] in der Passage YOS 6,235:12–19 (Nab 12), geboten in STRECK 1995: 109 (§12f) zusammen mit der Übersetzung *Ich fragte ihn* [...]; des weiteren s.v. *qabû* in CAD Q/13: 22a–42b, insbesondere Abschnitt 1.d) 4' in *letters and leg.* Dass es sich beim maskulinen Suffix nicht um ein anaphorisches Pronomen handelt, das sich auf den Wortlaut der direkten Rede bezieht, zeigt die Form *aq-ba-aš₂-ši* in Z. 10', bei der das feminine Suffix diese Funktion erfüllt. Gegenüber den sonstigen *iparras*-Formen („Präsens“) von *qabû* (vgl. die Anm. zu Z.21) liegt hier mit *aq-ta-ba-aš₂-šu₂* eine *iptaras*-Form („Perfekt“), in Z. 10' mit *aq-ba-aš₂-ši* eine *iprus*-Form („Präteritum“) vor. Somit bezeugt auch SAA 10 179 9'–10' die Vertauschbarkeit beim Verb *qabû* von *iparras*-Formen („Präsens“) mit *iptaras*-Formen („Perfekt“) in Aussagehauptsätzen bzw. mit *iprus*-Formen („Präteritum“) in subordinierten Sätzen; für weitere Beispiele siehe STRECK 1995: 109 (§12g) [und wohl eigentlich auch die meisten seiner Belege S. 152–153 (§33d)].

Z. 10': Hier ist *ul-tu UGU-hi [š]a* statt wie bisher *ul-tu UGU-hi-šu₂* zu lesen, vgl. <https://cdli.ucla.edu/P237270> (letzter Zugriff 11/04/23): Die Bruchstelle verläuft zwar ungünstig, doch erkennt man noch den oberen, zusätzlichen Winkelhaken, der das *ša* im neubabylonischen Duktus im zweiten Teil des Zeichens hat, der aber für *šu₂* zuviel ist (siehe MesLZ² 566 und 869 in Kapitel VII; der zusätzliche Winkelhaken ist schon abgebildet in ABL 755). Mit *ul-tu UGU-hi [š]a aq-ba-aš₂-ši* liegt ein temporaler Nebensatz mit *iprus*-Form („Präteritum“) vor, wobei bei *ul-tu UGU-hi ša* im Gegensatz zu *kī* „der im subordinierten Satz beschriebene Sachverhalt auch punktuell festgelegt sein kann („seit“)“, siehe HACKL 2007: 32. Die Konstruktion hier dient der temporalen Einordnung der mit *um-ma* eingeleiteten Rede, siehe HACKL 2007: 76. Die dortige Bezeichnung solcher Konstruktionen als anakolutisch ist als implizit zielsprachlich orientiert zu hinterfragen, bedingt doch lediglich die deutsche Übersetzung die Umformung in einen adverbial eingeleiteten Hauptsatz (*seither*), d.h. einen Satz ohne verbales Prädikat in Endstellung.

(B) Interpretation im Kontext

1) Der *rab šāqê* (LU₂.GAL—ŠU.DU₈.A-MEŠ, Z. 6 und Z. 16) ist nicht gleichzusetzen mit dem Mann mit Namen Nabukillanni (^{md+}AG—[k]il-la-an-ni, Z. 11).

Dies ergibt sich aus den Zeilen 15–17: *Niemand war bei ihm (ina pa-ni-šu₂) ausser der Rab Kāšir, der Rab Bīti, der Ša-Muḫḫi-Bītānu und der Rab Šāqê. Zudem kam und ging der Ša-Muḫḫi-Āli bei ihm (a-na pa-ni-šu₂) ein und aus.* Die Person, die durch *ina pa-ni-šu₂* und *a-na pa-ni-šu₂* referenziert wird, kann mit keiner der Personen identisch sein, die danach aufgezählt werden. Zuvor, in den Zeilen 11–13, heisst es: *<Es war> im <Monat> Araḫsamni, als Nabukillanni mich in das Haus des Herrn von Harran brachte/holte. Während der Rab Kāšir zu ihm hineinging (a-na pa-ni-šu₂), liess er mich in einen oberen Raum hinaufgehen.* Die bisherige Deutung, wonach *-šu₂* sich auf den *Rab Kāšir* beziehe (und dieser in Z. 13 seine eigenen Räumlichkeiten betritt), entfällt, weil der *Rab Kāšir* unter denen bei ihm (*ina pa-ni-šu₂*) in Z. 15–16 erscheint. Der Herr von Harran, also der Mondgott, kann aufgrund des weiteren Erzählverlaufs auch nicht gemeint sein. Das Suffix *-šu₂* kann demnach in den Zeilen 11–17 nur auf Nabukillanni hinweisen, der in Z. 11 Subjekt ist. Dann kann Nabukillanni aber nicht mit dem *Rab Šāqê* gleichgesetzt werden, weil der *Rab Šāqê* ebenfalls unter denen bei ihm (*ina pa-ni-šu₂*) in Z. 15–16 erscheint. Somit ist sicherlich die bisherige Übersetzung „(until) [Nabû-kill]anni the chief cupbearer sent ...“ zu verwerfen, womöglich auch die Rekonstruktion in Z. 6 ([^{md}AG—kil-la]-an-ni LU₂.GAL—LU₂.ŠU.DU₈.A-MEŠ)²⁾, und es stellt sich die Frage nach der Funktion und der Stellung von Nabukillanni. Da er über eigene Räumlichkeiten am Sin-Tempel von Harran verfügt, gehört er zum Tempel. Angesichts der bedeutenden Politgrössen, die sich bei ihm versammeln, liegt der Schluss nahe, dass er eine zentrale Persönlichkeit des Sin-Tempels ist.

2) Für *rab kāšir* (LU₂.GAL—ka-šir, Z. 13, Z. 15, Z. 8') ist die Übersetzung Grossschneider/Oberster Schneider/Chefschneider anzusetzen

Der *Rab Kāšir* erscheint in SAA 10 179 als rechte Hand von Nabukillanni: Er war dabei, als dieser Kudurru zum Tempel brachte/holte, und ging darauf zu Nabukillanni hinein (Z. 11–13). Danach ist er es, der zwei Schläuche Öl zu Kudurru hinaufkommen lässt (Z. 8'). An Tempeln arbeiteten verschiedene Textilhandwerker, so auch *kāširu*, Schneider (siehe BADERSCHNEIDER 2020: 200–205, 215).³⁾ In Verbindung mit *rab* werden in neuassyrischer Zeit Vorsteher verschiedener Berufsgruppen benannt. Wer eine solche Position innehatte, stand auf einer höheren Stufe der Tempelhierarchie, und es ist nicht klar, inwiefern die Tätigkeit dann noch mit dem angestammten Beruf zusammenhing – dies entsprechend zu den *rab* der Staats-, Provinz- und Stadtverwaltung (vgl. in SAA 10 179 der *Rab Šāqê* und der *Rab Ša Rēši*). Wenn auch bislang kein *rab kāšir* urkundlich belegt ist, so ist es doch plausibel, einen solchen am Tempel von Harran zu vermuten. Der bisherige Konjunkturvorschlag *ki-šir* für *ka-šir* und die Wiedergabe des Terminus mit *chief commander* in der englischen Übersetzung ist wohl lediglich der falschen Rekonstruktion geschuldet

(Gleichsetzung von Nabukillanni mit dem *Rab Šāqê*): Dass einer der ranghöchsten Militär des neuassyrischen Reiches einen Oberschneider dabei gehabt haben soll, war dann doch unverständlich.

3) Übersetzung und Interpretation der in SAA X unübersetzt gebliebenen Passage *ši ul-tu UGU-hi-šu₂ aq-ba-aš₂-ši um-ma* LU₂.GAL—SAG LUGAL-*u-tu₂ i-na-aš₂-ši* (Z. 10'–11') zeigen (allenfalls), welchen Spielraum ein Opferschauer (*bārû*) hat, der taktisch agiert und dennoch rituell korrekt handelt.

In den Z. 5', 9'–10' und 11' steht dreimal fast derselbe Wortlaut, der aber im Kontext jeweils eine unterschiedliche Funktion hat:

Z. 4'–5' Der Auftrag, den Kudurru erhält: „Geh doch, Mann der Bārûtu, vor Šamaš! Sieh! *Wird der Rab Ša Rēši das Königtum tragen* (= GAL—LU₂.SAG LUGAL-*u-tu₂ i-na-aš₂-ši-i*)?“

Z. 9'–10' Die Frage, die Kudurru während der Opferschau stellt: „*Wird er die Königsherrschaft tragen* (= LUGAL-*u-tu₂ i-na-aš₂-ši-i*)?“

Z. 11' Die Deutung der Opferschau, die Kudurru danach verkündet: „*Der Rab Ša Rēši wird das Königtum tragen* (= LU₂.GAL—SAG LUGAL-*u-tu₂ i-na-aš₂-ši*).“

Inbesondere die Zeilen 9'–10' ergeben nur Sinn, wenn man sie in das rituelle Gerüst einer Opferschau einordnet: Der Opferschauer muss sich reinigen und saubere Kleidung tragen (vgl. Z. 7'), die Opferschau muss an einem abgesonderten Ort stattfinden (vgl. die explizite Erwähnung des anderen oberen Raumes in Z. 6', denkbar ist gar eine Dachterrasse). Der *Rab Kāsir* lässt Öl hinaufschicken (Z. 8'), von seinem Eintreten oder Dabeisein ist keine Rede. Nachdem das Öl hinaufgeschickt wurde – die *iprus*-Form („Präteritum“) ist hier als Vorvergangenheit zum Hauptsatz zu verstehen –, vollzieht Kudurru die Öl-Opferschau (Z. 9'–10') und fragt in diesem Rahmen: „*Wird er die Königsherrschaft tragen* (= LUGAL-*u-tu₂ i-na-aš₂-ši-i*)?“ Die Person, an die er die Frage richtet, *aq-ta-ba-aš₂-šu₂*, ist Šamaš (vgl. Z. 4'). Nach der mesopotamischen Konzeption sind Götter im Rahmen der Opferschau reale Agenten, wir haben es mit *divine agency* zu tun. Nach der Opferschau (Z. 10'–11') verkündet Kudurru „*Der Rab Ša Rēši wird das Königtum tragen* (= LU₂.GAL—SAG LUGAL-*u-tu₂ i-na-aš₂-ši*).“

Kudurru lässt bei seiner Schilderung zwar viele Details weg (z.B. erfahren wir nicht, welches Gefäß er benutzt hat oder welche Gebete er gesprochen hat), aber er schreibt dem neuassyrischen König, was er gefragt und was er danach verkündet hat. Mit anderen Worten: Hat die Differenz zwischen dem Wortlaut in Z. 4'–5' und Z. 11' und dem Wortlaut in Z. 9'–10' einen Sinn und ist nicht lediglich eine redundante Erzählung mit zufälliger Auslassung in Z. 9'–10', so bleibt nur eine Deutungsmöglichkeit. Kudurrus Brief offenbart, worin sein einziger Handlungsspielraum bestand: darin, unpräzise zu fragen und danach eine einseitige Deutung zu unterbreiten.⁴⁾ Indem Kudurru bei der Anfrage das Subjekt (*Rab Ša Rēši*) nicht explizit benennt, überlässt er Šamaš, was dieser verstehen will.

4) Die bisherige Interpretation, wonach *al-la ša₂-a-ru me-hu-u* (Z. 20') sich auf das ausgeführte Ritual bezieht und also der Briefschreiber Kudurru dieses selbst für ungültig erklärt, ist abzulehnen.

Nicht nur Kudurru, seine ganze Tradition bemühte sich darum, den Audienzrahmen der Opferschau nicht zu gefährden, damit die Gottheit(en) sich in der Opfermaterie offenbarte(n). Dies bezeugen nicht nur die Ritualanweisungen für den Opferschauer (vgl. BBR), sondern die zahlreichen *ezib*-Formeln, die in den Opferschauanfragen für Asarhaddon und Assurbanipal festgehalten sind (vgl. SAA IV). Die unter Punkt 3 aufgeführten Schilderungen belegen, dass Kudurru daran liegt, von einem korrekt durchgeführten Ritual zu berichten. Die Rekonstruktion in SAA 10 179, wonach Kudurru in Z. 19'–20' geschrieben hätte: „[...] my [lord]: The extispicy [which I performed was] but a colossal fraud“ leidet nicht nur wie der Rest des Briefrahmens daran, dass die erste Hälfte der Zeilen gänzlich fehlen, sondern darüberhinaus auch noch am kleinen Schönheitsfehler, dass im erhaltenen Text nicht von der durchgeführten Schau, sondern vom Opferschauer selbst (LU₂.HAL-*u-tu₂*, Z. 19') die Rede ist.

(C) Religionsgeschichtlicher und linguistischer Ertrag

SAA 10 179 wird gemeinhin zu den Dokumenten rund um die Verschwörung gegen Asarhaddon 671/670 v.u.Z. gerechnet, die ihren Ausgang bei einem Prophetenspruch im Namen des Gottes Nusku genommen hatte, dann aber rechtzeitig vereitelt wurde (siehe u.a. RADNER 2003; NISSINEN 1998: 108–153). Vor diesem Hintergrund ist die hier vorgelegte Neuinterpretation von Z. 11–21 und Z. 4'–11' in zweierlei Hinblick *religionsgeschichtlich* interessant:

1) Sie zeigt, dass Nabukillanni vom Tempel von Harran federführend die Opferschau in Auftrag gab und sich bei ihm hohe Würdenträger einfanden, allen voran der *Rab Šāqê*. Allerdings wird aufgrund des fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustands des Briefrahmens weder klar, in wessen Auftrag der Tempel handelte, noch aus welcher Veranlassung heraus und zu welchem Zeitpunkt Kudurru den Brief schrieb (ohne Kontext helfen selbst die erhaltenen

Phrasen *ṣab-ta-ak u aš₂-ba-ak*, Z. 4, [...] *-dab-bu-ub um-ma la du-kan-ni*, Z. 21', und *la¹ i-šem-me-ma la du-kan-ni*, Z. 23', diesbezüglich nicht weiter).

2) Angesichts der Schreibung *GIŠ.iš-QAR-šu₂ ša E₂* — [^d]PA.TUG₂ (Z. 21; drittes Zeichen nach MesZL² *kar₃* zu lesen) kann die Interpretation gewagt werden, dass mit dem *Iškar* des Hauses des Nusku eine auf Wachstäfelchen festgehaltene Sammlung von Prophetenworten des Nuskutempels gemeint ist.

Aus **linguistischer Sicht** ist bemerkenswert, dass sich die von STRECK 1995 und HACKL 2007 erarbeiteten Erkenntnisse zum spätbabylonischen Tempussystem problemlos, ja sogar mit grossem Gewinn auf SAA 10 179, Z. 11–21 und Z. 4'–11', anwenden lassen, also auf einen Brief, der gemeinhin der neubabylonischen Sprachstufe respektive der in Niniveh gefundenen Königskorrespondenz zugerechnet wird (zu diesen Einteilungen siehe STRECK 1995: xxvi). In Strecks Analysekategorien ausgedrückt, heisst dies für den vorliegenden Bericht über ein Geschehen in der Vergangenheit: Gleichzeitigkeit oder Vorzeitigkeit der temporalen Nebensätze zu den darauffolgenden Hauptsätzen wird ausgedrückt mit *iprus*-Formen in temporalen Nebensätzen (nach *kī*: 12 *i-bu-kan-ni*, 13 *u₂-ša-a*, 18 *is-su-ku-nu* / *i[š]-ša-ku-nu*, *u₂-ši-bu*, 20 *u₂-qar-ri-bu*, 8' *u₂-še-la-a*; nach *adi*: 19 *ir-bu-u₂*; nach *ultu muḥḥi ša*: 10' *aq-ba-aš₂-ši*), während in den Hauptsätzen *iptaras*-Formen stehen (14 *ul-te-la-an-ni*, 19 *a-ša₂-at-ti*, 7' *ar-ta-mu-uk*, *at-ta-ši*, 9' *e-te-pu-uš*, *aq-ta-ba-aš₂-šu₂*), wenn nicht individuelle Gegenwart oder Zukunft nach *iparras*-Formen verlangen (17 *ir-ru-ub*, *uš-ši*, 21 *i-qab-ba-a*, 5' *i-na-aš₂-ši-i*, 10' *i-na-aš₂-ši-i*, 11' *i-na-aš₂-ši-i*) bzw. ein zeitstufenloser Nominalsatz mit Existenzpartikel (15 *mam-ma ia-a-nu ina pa-ni-šu₂ al-la* [...]) zum Einsatz kommt.

Anmerkungen

1. SAA X bietet eine annähernd durchgehende Rekonstruktion des Textes von Z. 1–22 und Z. 1'–23', inklusive Übersetzung. Rekonstruierte Passagen sind zwar mittels eckiger Klammern ausgewiesen, machen aber schnell vergessen, dass die Z. 1–10 und Z. 15'–23' plus minus bis zur Zeilenmitte *frei* rekonstruiert sind: Das Keilschrifttäfelchen ist in mehrere Teile zersprungen, seine rechte Seite ist fast gänzlich in einem grösseren Stück erhalten (ABL 755 = 83-1-18,122), von der linken Seite ist bislang nur der untere Teil bekannt (ABL 1393 = Ki. 1904-10-9,169), siehe: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/P237270> (letzter Zugriff 11/04/23).

2. So in SAA 10 (Nr. 179, S. 142–143). Will man bei der Rekonstruktion [^{md}AG—*kil-la*]-*an-ni* LU₂.GAL—LU₂.ŠU.DU₈.A-MEŠ bleiben, darf LU₂.GAL—LU₂.ŠU.DU₈.A-MEŠ nicht als Apposition verstanden werden. Dennoch ist diese Rekonstruktion keinesfalls zwingend: Alleine im vorliegenden Brief ist die Zeichenkombination *an-ni* in den Zeilen 4, 6, 7, 11, 12 (2x), 14, 24', 25' belegt, meist als Bestandteil eines konjugierten und suffigierten Verbums. Unverbundene Parataxe von Verbalformen ist in den Zeilen 7' und 9' belegt, verbundene in Z. 17. Man könnte also – genauso hypothetisch – in Z. 6 eine weitere Verbform im Anschluss an *u₂-šal-la* (Z. 5) ansetzen (zur Briefeinleitung gehörend) und den im engeren Sinne berichtenden Teil mit LU₂.GAL—LU₂.ŠU.DU₈.A-MEŠ beginnen lassen.

3. Nebenbei: Die deutsche Übersetzung Schneider, die sich in der Fachliteratur eingebürgert hat, ist insofern unglücklich, als dass die Herstellung von Kleidungsstücken damals sehr wenig mit Schneiden, und vielmehr mit Wickeln, Knüpfen und Nähen zu tun gehabt haben dürfte; siehe auch s.v. *kašāru(m)* in: AHW I: 456a–457b. Mit einer breiteren Etymologie (u.a. *knoten*, *knüpfen*, *zusammenbringen*, *organisieren*) liesse sich auch besser erklären, was GROSS 2014:88 für die neubabylonische Zeit feststellt, nämlich dass *kāširū* über die Textilarbeit hinausgehende, möglicherweise administrative, Aufgaben hatten (so der Hinweis in BADERSCHNEIDER 2020: 202, Anm. 1525).

4. Kudurru werden zwei Schläuche Öl zur Verfügung gestellt. Die Annahme, er habe die Opferschau zweimal vollzogen, und einmal die unpräzise und einmal die präzise Frage gestellt, ergibt keinen Sinn. Vielmehr ist anzunehmen, dass der zweite Schlauch zum Einsatz gekommen wäre, wenn die Antwort unklar gewesen wäre (siehe die Rekonstruktionen der Ölopferschau bei PETTINATO 1966: 49–50). Zudem widerspricht der Erzählaufbau (ich sagte ihm – danach sagte ich [es]) dieser Deutung.

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23) Little-known Editions of an Epigraph of Ashurbanipal — Among the translations of Assyrian and Babylonian texts, which Edward Hincks prepared for the Trustees of the British Museum in 1853-1854, there is a selection of the epigraphs of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal.¹⁾ These translations, often accompanied by transcriptions (not transliterations), have rarely been given any attention. However, J. M. Russell's use of them in his study of the epigraphs of Sennacherib has been rewarding (Russell 1999: 289-291), and Grayson and Novotny follow Russell in acknowledging the importance of Hincks's transcriptions, which “aided in the identification” of the epigraphs in texts no. 75 and no. 76, RINAP 3/2, 2014, pp. 119 and 120. Hincks gives transcriptions and translations of six Sennacherib epigraphs. The corresponding texts in RINAP 3/2 are, following Hincks's order, nos. 67, 59, 66, 76, 75, and 73.

Little or no attention has been paid to Hincks's translations of four epigraphs of Ashurbanipal. Three of these, to which the corresponding texts in RINAP 5/1, 2018, are nos. 27:1-3; 35:1-6; and 36, will not be discussed in this article. The focus will be on (a) Hincks's transcription and translation of the six-line epigraph from the battle of Tīl-Tūba relief (BL Add MS 22097, fol. 24r; see RINAP 5/1 no. 26),²⁾ (b) his cuneiform copy, transliteration and slightly different transcription of the same epigraph near the end of the manuscript (fol. 54r-54v);³⁾ and (c) Hincks's 1863 publication of the cuneiform text with a transliteration, a generally more accurate transcription, and an improved translation, which are accompanied by textual and philological notes (Hincks 1863: 88-96 + plate 1).⁴⁾

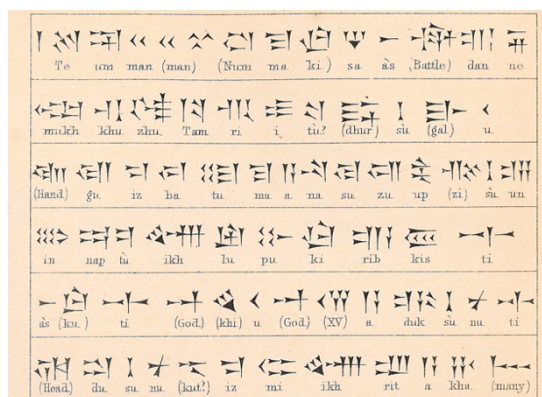


Fig. 1 “Epigraph on a Battle Scene”. Hincks 1863: plate 1 (facing p. 88)

The cuneiform copy and the transliteration on fol. 54r are presented by Hincks as “a specimen of the way in which I think an inscription ought to be edited” (fol. 53v). He further writes: “I first give a representation of the inscription as it appears on the stone...it is the legend on one of the bas-reliefs in the far gallery in the museum” (54r). For some reason he does not place the six lines of the inscription one under the other, but writes a continuous text, using vertical lines to mark the ends of the lines. In other respects the cuneiform text has been copied carefully and neatly. However, there is one surprise. At the

end of line 3, where the signs are partly damaged on the stone slab bearing the epigraph, Hincks has the signs for ZI-šú-un. See also Hincks 1863: plate 1 (facing p. 88); Smith 1871: 143-144, *napišti-šu-un* (= ZI-šú-un). This reading matches what is on the BM tablet K 4527+. Smith's copy in 3 R pl. 37 no. 3 (1870), however, has the signs for ZI.MEŠ-šú which is followed by Gerardi (1988: 31). But, as Borger noted (1996: 297), ZI-ti-šú best fits the traces in the epigraph on the original relief.⁵⁾

In his notes on the text, Hincks (1863: 92) writes:

The character ZI represents the Chaldean [= Sumerian] word for "life", for which I substitute the Assyrian plural noun, having the same signification, which appears in parallel passages. It is followed by the possessive affix of the 3 m. p. This would be *šunu*; but as the accent on the noun was on the penultimate syllable, and as three short vowels after the accented one were considered too many, the final *u* was dropped – an omission which could cause no confusion.

Hincks was familiar with the words *ana šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu because they occur in the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II (Grayson 1991, RIMA 2, A.O.101.1 i 80, ii 99, ii 113), which he had translated for inclusion in his manuscript for the trustees of the British Museum. But this does not account for his reading ZI-šú-un, because these texts have ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu. The assumption must be that he has seen BM tablet K 4527+ (RINAP 5/2 no. 164 obv. 10').

Hincks's transcription and translation of the epigraph (1863: 88-89 + plate 1)⁶⁾

1	<i>Tiyumman šar 'Ilami ša aš taḥaḫzi dannī</i>	Tiyumman king of Elam, who in a great battle
2	<i>muḥḥušu tamritu abilšu rabu</i>	had been beaten, Tamritu his eldest son
3	<i>qatsu iṣbatuma ana šu'zup napšatišun</i>	his hand had taken and for the being saved of their lives
4	<i>innaptu iḥlupu qirib qišti</i>	they fled; they hid among the thorns.
5	<i>aš tukulti Aššuri u Ištarī adukšumuti</i>	In reliance on Assur and Ishtar I killed them;
6	<i>qaqqadušunu 'unakkis miḥrit aḫani</i>	Their heads I cut off over against one another.

Line 1: i) Hincks has arrived at the incorrect view that the consonant ' of proto-Semitic or proto-Akkadian roots should be represented in transcription: hence 'Ilami (Heb. 'ēlām) and in line 3, šu'zup (Heb. 'zb); he has not thought of Aram. šēzīb. ii) He has replaced his correct 1854 reading *ina* by *aš*. See also the beginning of line 5.

Line 4: i) In 1854 Hincks correctly wrote *innabtu*. ii) The reading *qišti* and translation "thorns" are based on an incorrect association of Akk. *qištu* with Heb. *qôš*, "thorn, thorn-bush". Hincks thinks this is "a signification which will suit the context, and accord with the sculptures, in which the unfortunate princes are represented surrounded by prickly shrubs" (1863: 93).

Line 5: The 1854 transliteration of the first three signs, *ina* TKL.ti, with TKL written in Hebrew letters, and the transcription *ina tukulti* are better than the 1863 readings *aš* KU-ti and *aš tukulti*. Compare Gerardi 1988: 31, KU-ti, and RINAP 5/1 no. 26: 5, *ina* TUKUL-ti.

Line 6: Hincks interpreted the sign for *meš* in *aḫāmeš* as the plural marker and read a tentative ending *ni* or *mi* which he underlined to indicate that the readings were doubtful.

Notes

1. In April 1853 Hincks entered into an agreement with the trustees of the British Museum to prepare transcriptions ("into English character") and translations of certain cuneiform inscriptions. The contract with the trustees was for one year from 1 May 1853. In May 1854 Hincks sent Henry Ellis, the Principal Librarian, his transcriptions and translations, which he wrote in two hardcover books. See the correspondence and details in Cathcart 2008: 197-203, 241-245. In the British Library the books are catalogued as one manuscript, *Readings of Inscriptions on the Nineveh Marbles*, 1854, Add MS 22097, which has 56 folios. The title is not Hincks's and was added by a member of the staff in the British Museum. The epigraphs of Sennacherib are on fols. 11v-12r and those of Ashurbanipal are on fols. 23v-25r. The manuscript is cited with the permission of the British Library.

2. The relief is from Nineveh, Southwest Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 3 (BM 124801). See the photo in Russell 1999: 170, fig. 53.

3. It is remarkable that on fol. 54v Hincks does not have a cross-reference to his transcription and translation on fol. 24r, because there are some differences between the transcriptions. On fol. 54v, Hincks has *Nimmaki* for *Nummaki*, *innaptu* for *innabtu*, and *unappis* for *unappiṣ*.

4. The title of Hincks's article, "On the Polyphony of the Assyrio-Babylonian Cuneiform Writing: A Letter to Professor Renouf from Rev. Dr. Hincks", requires some comment. Peter le Page Renouf (1822-97), an Egyptologist, was professor of ancient history and oriental languages at the Catholic University of Ireland (now University College Dublin) from 1854 to 1864. He was one of the editors of *The Atlantis*, a journal of the university. In 1862 Hincks asked

him for the opportunity to write an article for *The Atlantis*, “setting forth the grounds on which the use of polyphonous signs by the Assyrian cuneiform writers must be admitted as a *fact* – tho’ a disagreeable one and one that *adds to the difficulty* of deciphering this kind of writing, but by no means *renders it impossible*” (Cathcart 2003: 113). Hincks included in his article detailed editions of several cuneiform texts. In 1886 Renouf was appointed Keeper of Oriental (later Egyptian and Assyrian) Antiquities at the British Museum and he did Assyriology a great service by bringing Carl Bezold to the museum to catalogue the cuneiform tablets. In the offprints of his article Hincks writes: “It seems proper to state that this paper was written in the early part of 1862, and was printed off in August of that year, but was retained in the printer’s hands till the volume [IV] of the *Atlantis*, of which it forms a part, was published, in May, 1863”. *The Atlantis*, vol. 4, is available in the digital collections of the library at Trinity College Dublin. See <https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie>

5. According to Jamie Novotny (personal communication), the *šú* is not well executed, but the sign *tì* fits the preserved traces on the slab. The reading *-šú-un* is impossible on the relief, as is MEŠ-*šú*.

6. I have lightly modernised Hincks’s method of transcription. For example, Hincks uses *ç* for *s* (in previous years he used *ç* for *š*) and *zh* for *š*. This led to some errors in the printing of the article and a note in the offprints mentions that in line 3 of plate 1 *ç* should be read for *gu*. There are two more errors in the plate: in line 3 read *içh* (*iš*) for *iç*, and in line 6 read *ç* (*s*) for *z*. In his transliteration Hincks has proposed the following logographic values: MAN (*šar*); NUM.MA.KI (1854 fol. 54r, NIM.MA.KI) (*‘Ilami*); GAL-*u* (*rabu*); ZI-*šu-un* (*napšatišun*); KU-*ti* (*tukulti*; see Gerardi 1988: 31); (god) XV (*Ištar*); SAK-*du-šu-nu* (*qaqqadušunu*); KUT-*is* (RINAP 5/2 no. 26: 6, KUD-*is* = *akkis*). He admits defeat in identifying the signs for Aššur (AN.ŠÁR): “Two signs are used for the god Assur; but I confess myself unable to say why they should be so. This mode of expressing the name appears, so far as I am aware, to have come into use about the middle of the seventh century before Christ” (Hincks 1863: 94). In desperation he writes: (god) HĪ.

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24) Merodach-baladan II’s Escape to Turtle Island — After being defeated by Sennacherib’s forces at Cutha and Kish during Sennacherib’s first campaign from 704-703 BC, Merodach-baladan II fled into the swamps of Guzummanu, where Sennacherib’s forces searched for him for five days without success (RINAP 3/1 1:23-26, 34). Merodach-baladan did not leave Babylonia, however, and likely managed to free the territory of his native Bīt-Yakīn tribe from Assyrian control for a third time by 700 BC (Elayi, 2018, 90-91). As a result, Sennacherib directed his fourth campaign against Bīt-Yakīn in 700 BC.

According to the early versions of Sennacherib’s annals compiled between 697 and 694, Merodach-baladan loaded his gods into boats as Sennacherib’s army approached and “flew away like a bird to Nagīte-raqqi, which is in the middle of the sea” (*ana nagīti-raqqi ša qabal tâmtim iššūriš ippariš*; RINAP 3/1 15: col. iv ln. 31’-34’; cf. 16: col. iv. ln. 56-57; 17: col. iv ln. 4-5). He allegedly fled so quickly that he left his brothers and the people of his own Bīt-Yakīn tribe stranded on the seashore to be captured by the advancing Assyrian army (RINAP 3/1 15: col. iv ln. 35’-col. v ln. 2).

Sennacherib’s annalistic inscriptions compiled after his sixth campaign against Elam in 694 BC usually reproduce the earlier account of the fourth campaign in which Merodach-baladan fled to Nagīte-raqqi (RINAP 3/1 18: col. iii ln. 19’-20’; 21: col. ii’ ln. 5’-6’; 22: col. iii ln. 64-65; 23: col. iii ln. 64-65). However, a fragmentary annalistic account which must date after 693 BC instead mentions that Merodach-

baladan fled to the city of [^{URU}*na*]*gīti*, and disappeared from there after Sennacherib attacked it (RINAP 3/1 26: col. i ln. 4'-5'). This is echoed in several non-annalistic accounts, including an inscribed stone slab from Nebi Yunus (now lost) which adds the details that Merodach-baladan carried the bones of his ancestors with him and that he “fled to the city of Nagītu on the far side of the Bitter Sea” (*ana* ^{URU}*Nagīti ša ebertān* ^{ID}*marrat ēbir-ma*; RINAP 3/1 34:10), and from there disappeared. An inscription on a pair of *lamassus* positioned outside the throne room of the Southwest Palace which describes events down to Sennacherib’s sixth campaign reconciles the old and new accounts by saying that Merodach-baladan “fled to the city of Nagītu which is in the middle of the sea” (*ana* ^{URU}*Nagīti ša qabal tâmtim innabit*; RINAP 3/2 46:35).

These later inscriptions appear to be attempting to harmonize the earlier account of Merodach-baladan’s flight from the Sealand with the events of Sennacherib’s sixth campaign against the cities of Nagītu and Nagītu-di’bīna along the coast of Elam. Accounts of sixth campaign emphasize that refugees from Bīt-Yakīn opposed to Assyrian rule had fled and settled there (RINAP 3/1 22: col. iv ln. 32-39; 23: col. iv ln. 26-31; 34:19-23; cf. RINAP 3/2 44:26-27; 230:17-18). By harmonizing Merodach-baladan’s destination with the target of the sixth campaign, the non-annalistic inscriptions emphasize the latter campaign’s neutralization of a potential threat to Assyrian rule.

However, the conflation of two separate locations in the later royal inscriptions has caused scholars to equate Nagīte-raqqi with Nagītu and therefore mis-locate Nagīte-raqqi in the swamps of southern Mesopotamia. Brinkman (1962, 27 n. 152); Dietrich (1970, 10, 233) and Levine (1982, 41) all placed Nagītu somewhere on the north shore of the Persian Gulf, east of the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates. Brinkman (1984, 60) later suggested that Nagīte-raqqi was to be found on the far side of the Hor al-Hammar, a large lake in the marshes of southern Iraq, which was later followed by Frame (1998-2001, 80) and Bagg (2020a, 421-22 & 2020b, 65-66). Accounts of the sixth campaign all agree that Nagītu and Nagītu-di’bīna (possibly “sheep-fold,” see Lidzbarski, 1915, 45 n. 1) were located near the regions of Hilmū, Hupapanu, and Pillatu (RINAP 3/1 22: col. iv ln. 38-39; RINAP 3/2 46: 82-84). Hilmū and Pillatu can be placed somewhere along the western Elamite border near where the Tigris and Euphrates flow into the Persian Gulf (Bagg 2020a, 273-74, 460-61), which is why Sennacherib launched an attack on these locations by sea during his sixth campaign.

Yet, the early annals all agree that Nagīte-raqqi was located “in the midst of the sea” rather than on the shore. The phrase *qabal tâmtim* is only used in Assyrian royal inscriptions to describe distant islands or other faraway regions only reachable by water such as Cyprus, Dilmun, the islands of Greece, or Taršiš (Bagg, 2007, 121-24; Bagg, 2017, 602-03; RINAP 4 60:10'). Aside from Merodach-baladan, the only other foes of Assyria to flee to “the midst of the sea” were the Sidonian rulers Luī (RINAP 3/1 4: 32) and Abdi-Milkuti (RINAP 4 1: col. ii ln 71-72), who both fled westwards across the Mediterranean to places unknown.

Here etymology can provide a clue as to the identity of Nagīte-raqqi. Nagītu appears to be a feminine form of *nagû*, which is generally translated “district” or “region” in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, but can take on a more specific meaning of “island” in Neo-Babylonian (CAD N1, 119, 121-23). Contra Ungnad (1929, 197) the word *raqqu* is not likely to represent a shortened form of *raqqatu*, “swamp, marsh” as this word is only rarely attested without the feminine ending -atu, and then only from the late Neo-Babylonian period onwards (CAD R, 170). A more likely translation is *raqqu*, “turtle,” as is attested in a wide variety of texts from the Old Akkadian period onwards (CAD R, 172-73; Grayson and Novotny in RINAP 3/1 p. 98 n. iv 33'). Sennacherib’s annalistic inscriptions are inconsistent in their application of determinatives to Nagīte-raqqi: the earliest version from 697 BC does not use any determinatives at all (RINAP 3/1 15: col. iv ln. 33'). Some later versions use KUR (RINAP 3/1 17: col. iv ln. 4), while copies of the annals dating after Sennacherib’s sixth campaign of 694 use URU (RINAP 3/1 22: col. iii ln. 64), likely to harmonize with the accounts of the sixth campaign against Nagītu. It should not therefore be assumed that Nagīte-raqqi was an inhabited place.

While *raqqu* and its Sumerian equivalent BA.AL.GI were used to describe a wide variety of turtles (Farber, 1974), a location in the midst of the sea called “turtle island” most likely refers to any of the remote coral islands in the northern Persian Gulf which are regularly used as nesting sites by the Green Sea Turtle

(*Chelonia mydas*) and Hawksbill Turtle (*Eretmochelys imbricata*). Sea turtles in the Persian Gulf rarely nest on the mainland, preferring to lay their eggs on remote coral islands (Miller, 2020, 208). The highest density of turtle nests can be found on the Saudi islands of Karan, Jana, and Jurayd, each of which hosts hundreds of turtles every year (Pilcher, 2000; al-Merghani et al, 2000). Nests have also been recorded on the Saudi islands of Kurayn, Jurayd, and Harqus, the Kuwaiti islands of Qaruh and Umm al-Maradim, and the Iranian island of Khark (al-Mohanna et al, 2014; Hesni et al, 2019; Mobaraki, 2020; Miller, 2020). It is possible that other islands such as Kubbar, Farsi and al-Arabiyyah also hosted nesting populations in the past (Figure 1). No nests are recorded on Failaka, even though the waters around the island are an important turtle feeding area (Rees et al, 2013).

The exploitation of sea turtles and their eggs for food as well as the Hawksbill for decorative tortoiseshell is attested in archaeological and textual sources from both Mesopotamia and Arabia from the Neolithic period onwards (Frazier, 2003, 3-6, 19-22; Moorey, 1999, 128-29; Owen, 1981, 40-43). Zooarchaeological assemblages from the late third millennium site of Qal'at al-Bahrain indicate that an increase in turtle consumption was correlated with increased exploitation of open water fisheries, suggesting that turtles always primarily nested on remote islands in the Gulf (Olijdam, 2001, 196). The migration of turtles to their nesting sites would have provided prime opportunities for fishermen to hunt and collect their eggs.

No strong evidence exists to suggest any of these islands over the others as the identity of Nagīte-raqqi. Khark is the only island with nesting turtles which contains fresh water, and would have been the most likely destination if Merodach-baladan sought to continue onwards to Elam. But given that the Assyrian royal inscriptions are our only source, and Sennacherib had no idea what became of Merodach-baladan after 700 BC, this must remain speculative. It is also possible that he sought to flee further afield to remain outside of Assyria's grasp. Our last attestation of Merodach-baladan, therefore, is of the exiled king carrying his gods to a sandy island likely visited only by fishermen, a waystation on the way to permanent exile.



Figure 1. Map of offshore islands in the northern Persian Gulf.

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25) Assyrian wall-panel fragments from Bangor, Maine — Seven fragments of Assyrian wall-panels reportedly once belonging to Bangor Theological Seminary, Maine, U.S.A., which had presumably acquired them through a nineteenth-century missionary source, were sold in 1982-3 to Norman Hurst, a dealer of Cambridge, Mass. He sold them in 1983 to another dealer, Carole Davenport, who sold them in the same year to Dr Vallo Benjamin. They remained in the possession of Dr Benjamin until his death in 2021 and passed to his family. They were auctioned by Christie's, New York, in a sale of antiquities on 26 January 2023. The auction catalogue which is available on-line through the Christie's website provides excellent photographs, in addition to the above details of provenance. I am grateful to John Russell for further information.

The following list includes details of the fragments taken from the catalogue together with additional deductions. The fragments were all clearly cut down from larger pieces and their thickness will have been reduced to lessen the weight. I have assigned Bangor numbers to the fragments; some of these diverge from the catalogue lot numbers because Christie's inserted two other Assyrian wall-panel fragments that Dr Benjamin acquired from elsewhere into the sequence. The colours of the faces of the fragments in the images published on-line are a range of pale browns. An image of the flat reverse of Bangor 6 is also published. It is pale grey, as expected for the alabaster ("Mosul marble") used for most Assyrian wall-panels of this kind, and the Bangor fragments were almost certainly all made of this same material.

The abbreviations NP, SWP and PAN used below refer respectively to the catalogue by R. D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh*, London, 1976, to the

catalogue by R. D. Barnett et al., *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh*, London, 1998, and to J. E. Reade, *Design and Destruction: The Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh* (Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 34), Wien, 2022.

Bangor 1 (Lot 1). Height 19.6 cm. Price realised: \$50,400.

This fragment contains part of six lines of royal inscription of Ashurnasirpal II. As indicated in Christie's catalogue, it must have been cut from the middle of the reverse of a wall-panel from the North-West Palace, Nimrud.

Bangor 2 (Lot 2). Height 44.5 cm. Price realised: \$21,420.

This fragment was apparently cut from the top right-hand corner of a wall-panel. It shows the top of a palm-tree, with many vine tendrils; the worn area underneath may possibly show part of something worn or carried by an otherwise missing figure. The fragment is rightly identified by Christie's catalogue as associated with BM 118914 in the British Museum, i.e. deriving from Room E in the North Palace of Ashurbanipal, Nineveh (NP: pp. 38-39, pls XIV-XV; PAN: p. 32). Room E contained large single-register scenes of female musicians, lions in a garden and huntsmen leading dogs, with a background of alternating palms and pines. The exact nature and significance of these scenes remain open to debate.

Bangor 3 (Lot 3). Width 44.4 cm. Price realised: \$30,240.

This fragment was apparently cut from the top right-hand corner of a panel. It shows the top of a palm-tree, with vine-leaves, bunches of grapes, and the ears and crest of a horse facing right. The fragment is rightly identified by Christie's catalogue, like Bangor 2, as deriving from Room E in the North Palace, Nineveh, and as suggesting, in view of the elaborate nature of the crest, that the king (and/or the queen?) was represented in this room.

Bangor 4 (Lot 4). Width 40.6 cm. Price realised: \$69,300.

This fragment was apparently cut from the middle of a panel, at the bottom. It shows part of a shrub and all or part of eight mostly naked dead bodies, including one decapitated. The heads, with short hair and beards, resemble those of Elamites. The fragment is rightly identified by Christie's catalogue as associated with BM 124941 (NP: pl. XXIV) and therefore deriving from Room I in the North Palace, Nineveh. It must have belonged to one of panels I-1 to I-4, the lower register of which showed part of the Battle of Til-Tuba (PAN: pp. 27-29, fig. 33).

Bangor 5 (Lot 5). Length (i.e. width) given as 43.8 cm. Price realised: \$69,300.

This fragment was cut from the middle of a panel, with a straight line at the top which is slanting rather than horizontal; it has also been mounted at a slight angle. It shows a group facing left: part of a horse with a fine tasselled ornament pulling a chariot with a 12-spoked wheel; a man on the far side of the horse, with short beard and headband knotted at the back, holding a bow and wearing a quiver behind his shoulder; the chariot driver, probably unbearded, with headband knotted at the back and holding bow and rein; and, on the right edge of the fragment, the forepart of a man with a bow. The figures are not Assyrian as stated in Christie's catalogue. Instead, their dress and the wheel of the chariot are typically Elamite. At the bottom there are a few lines suggesting water in a stream.

As noted in Christie's catalogue, there is some resemblance between this scene and another, in Room 33 of the South-West Palace at Nineveh, which shows the installation of a new Elamite ruler at Madaktu after the Battle of Til-Tuba (SWP: II, pl. 303). It is not a parallel but the theme may be similar. It has been suggested that the installation of a new Elamite ruler at Hidalu was represented on or near panel I-12 in Room I of the North Palace (PAN: p. 29, figs 33, 36). Bangor 5 could be part of this scene, with the chariot belonging to the new Elamite ruler who would have been represented further left. It is an attractive hypothesis because Bangor 4 does come from Room I while Bangor 2, 3, and 6 come from other rooms in the North Palace.

Bangor 6 (Lot 8). Width 27.9 cm. Height calculated as c. 24 cm. Price realised: \$11,340.

This fragment was cut roughly straight on both sides and underneath but the top slopes down from right to left. It shows a row of four men moving left. Their feet and the tops of their heads are missing but they must have been about 27 cm high. The man on the right has a short pointed beard, wears a short robe and is carrying a sack over his shoulder. The others may be similar, but the details are worn.

Panel M-18 in the North Palace is largely lost but a nineteenth-century engraving of the lower part was published in *The Illustrated London News*, 15 November 1856, p. 502; it is reproduced here as Fig. 1. It includes in the middle a row of prisoners moving left with, just above them, a crack sloping down from right to left. This engraving was made from a photograph, taken by William Boutcher for the Assyrian Excavation Fund, which survives as a faded print. This has been published (ABP: pl. 36) but the detail there is far from clear and an accompanying drawing is unsatisfactory. Four figures in the middle of the

panel, as confirmed by the original print and the engraving, combined here in Fig. 2, are the same as those surviving in Bangor 6.

The scene shows prisoners from a campaign in Egypt, also represented on the surviving panel M-17 which is BM 124928 in the British Museum. The prisoners on M-17 are either Egyptian civilians carrying goods or Nubian soldiers with curly hair. The Bangor figures seem to be more Egyptians.

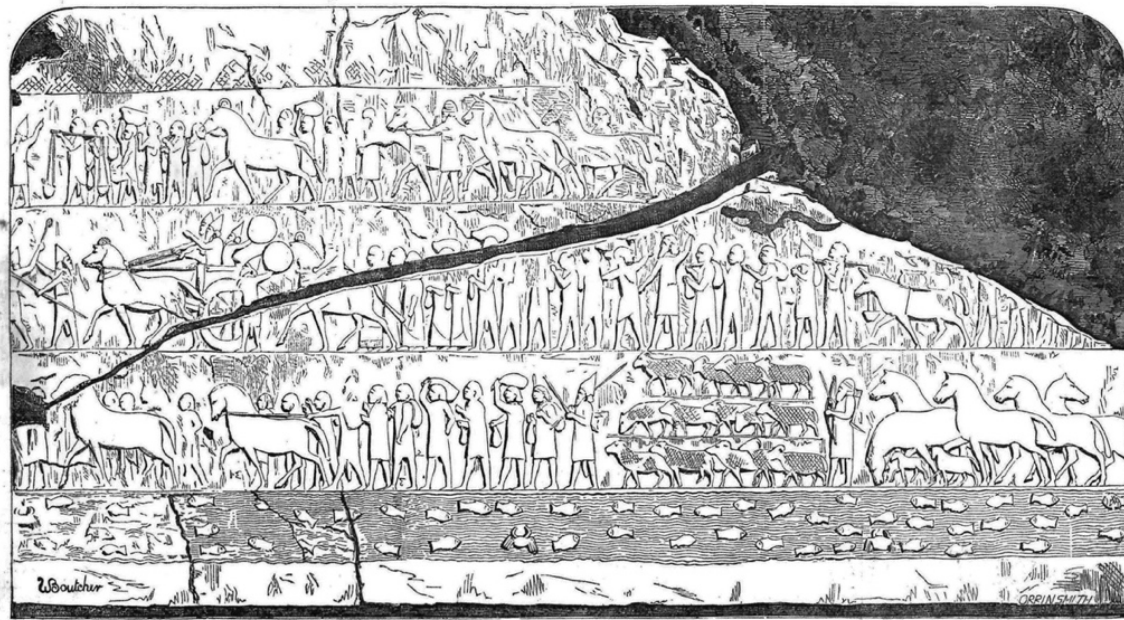


Fig. 1. M-18. Engraving from fresh print.

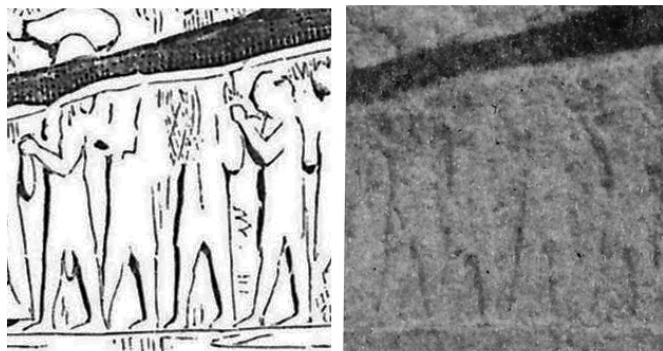


Fig 2. M-18 detail (= Bognor 6). Left: engraving. Right: scan of faded print.

The M-18 panel was destined for the Louvre according to Boutcher's plan of the palace (NP: text-plate 7). Much of the Louvre shipment was lost in the Tigris. A fragment from the upper left survives in Marseilles, however, and here is another from the middle. It therefore seems not unlikely that more of the middle of M-18 was also sawn off and may survive somewhere and that only the lower row of figures, which was then the best-preserved, was taken for the Louvre.

Bangor 7 (Lot 9). Width 28.8 cm. Price realised: \$3,780.

This fragment, showing the lower part of three figures facing left, is probably from the bottom of a panel. It appears to have a fresh break on the left, which suggests that it was once larger and included the entire body of the left-hand figure. Maybe that part was lost during shipment to the U.S. or has yet to surface from the Bangor area or another collection. The two figures on the right seem to be a pair. The dress of the nearer one slopes down from front to back, indicating that he is probably an Elamite. Perhaps they were two archers shooting to the left in the Battle of Til-Tuba scene and derived, like Bangor 4, from one of panels I-1 to I-4 in Room I of the North Palace.

Post-excavation history. As described by A. Cohen and S. E. Kangas, *Assyrian Reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II*, Hanover, 2010, pp. 1-45, American missionaries stationed at Mosul were given many Assyrian wall-panels and fragments in the early 1850s by the British excavators of Nimrud and Nineveh, for dispatch to their colleges. Much contextual and historical information was lost during the process of dispersal, and the fragments, like those at Bangor, were liable to be neglected over time. Although the general nature of this group was never forgotten and it was appreciated by Dr Benjamin who invited people to view his collection, it somehow evaded academic attention until the Christie's sale. It is the largest group of such material to reemerge for many years.

Missionaries to the Ottoman Empire from Bangor are named by C. M. Clark, *History of Bangor Theological Seminary*, Boston, 1916, pp. 354-356. None of them are specifically said to have been stationed at Mosul, but they will have known colleagues there. This is presumably how a collection was sent to Bangor. Letters referring to the acquisition may still survive.

Bangor 1 could have been acquired at almost any time after the excavation of the North-West Palace at Nimrud by Henry Layard in 1845. A more precise date can be suggested for the items from the North Palace at Nineveh. Bangor 2, 3, 4, 6 and probably 5 derived from Rooms E, I and M of this palace. These rooms were excavated by Hormuzd Rassam for the British Museum between December 1853 and April 1854. The M-18 panel to which Bangor 6 belonged was still in position when it was photographed; this was probably done a little before September 1854 when the set of drawings and photographs to which it belonged was sent to London (PAN: p. 10). On 21 February 1855 William Loftus, Rassam's successor as excavator, received instructions on how to dispose of the remaining panels from the palace before he himself left the site in the spring of 1855 (PAN: pp. 60-61). He was authorised to give surplus pieces to "private parties". It seems likely that all the pieces which eventually reached Bangor were given away together at this time to one of the missionaries then in Mosul.

The Christie's sale included two other fragments of Assyrian sculpture belonging to Dr Benjamin that are already known, as follows:

Lot 6. Fragment with Assyrian soldier facing left. Previously sold as "property of a lady" at Sotheby's, Lot 85, 10 July 1972. Sotheby's New York, Lot 222, 12 July 1993. Published: SWP: I, p. 141, no. 735; II, pl. 513. Price realised: \$119,700.

Lot 7. Fragment with Assyrian horseman riding left. Previously sold at Sotheby's, Lot 20, 13 July 1970. Fragment from Room 70 of the South-West Palace, Nineveh. Published: SWP: I, p. 132, no. 650c; II, pls 468-469. Price realised: \$340,200.

Sixteen published cylinder seals that had also belonged to Dr Benjamin were in the same sale (Lots 10, 11, 147-151). Items from other owners included part of a stone bowl with an Early Dynastic inscription (Lot 143) and parts of two Late Uruk cups carved with animals in high relief (Lot 145).

Addendum. Another fragment showing a royal bodyguard, probably from the FVB series in the North Palace, which once belonged to Boutcher, recently surfaced in Devon and was kindly presented to the British Museum (PAN: pp. 50, 63). It is now numbered BM 2020.6006.1 and has been published by Gareth Brereton, "Gift of an artist: an Assyrian relief fragment from Ashurbanipal's palace at Nineveh", *The British Museum Newsletter Middle East* 6 (2021): pp. 42-46.

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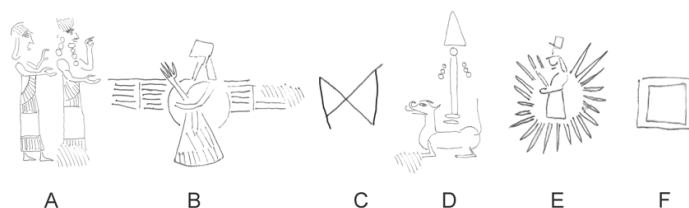
26) Neo-Assyrian Gula cylinder seal from the collection of Ashmolean Museum¹⁾ — In the CDLI database, an inscribed Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal can be found from the collection of Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Museum number of the object: *AN1922.61*.²⁾ (Imprint: Pic. 1.) The seal's physical characteristics, inscriptions, iconographical depictions, and the imprint of the cylinder were first published by Buchanan in the catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum.³⁾ The inscription of the seal was studied by van Driel, Watanabe, Collon, and Niederreiter.⁴⁾ The text can be found in the 3rd volume of RIMA by Grayson. As it can be found in the Neo-Assyrian prosopographic collection, based on its inscription, Baker identifies the owner of the cylinder seal as Nabu-šar-ušur, a court clerk who worked under the reign of Assyrian ruler Adad-nirari III. (811-783 BCE).⁵⁾

Previous research of the cylinder seal's iconography. From the object's inscription, we do not get information about the identity of the depicted sitting deity who was first identified by Dominique Collon as the healing goddess Gula. Niederreiter examined the seal in question from an epigraphic and iconographic point of view, with further ten cylinder seals grouped in the category of Neo-Assyrian eunuch seals, but did not examine the iconographical aspects of the aforementioned goddess. The previous research of *AN1922.61* primarily covers the inscription of the object, but the iconographical analogues of the depicted symbols and the individual deity have not yet been analyzed. The aim of the present study is to understand the depiction of the deity in view of the first millenium iconographic tradition of Gula representations.



Pic. 1.

Examination of the cylinder seal's symbols. Pic. 2. lines up the elements of the composition in the order they can be seen on the imprint of the seal. The first element 'A' represents worshippers, one of whom might be the owner of the seal in the usual manner. According to Niederreiter, the identification of the first figure in front of the goddess (right) is problematic since his headdress cannot be recognized as a typical Assyrian royal headdress.⁶⁾ The winged solar disk 'B' can be understood as a symbol of the sun god Šamaš or the Assyrian chief deity Aššur. The solar disk marked 'E' can also be attributed to Šamaš. The symbol marked 'C' is identified by Buchanan as "hourglass shape, solid rectangle," which – in a different position – also appears on other first millenium Gula cylinder seals (see below). The tasseled spade on the back of the couchant dragon 'D' is a symbol of the Babylonian chief deity Marduk.⁷⁾ Finally, according to Collon, the symbol 'F' might be the clay tablet of Gula.⁸⁾

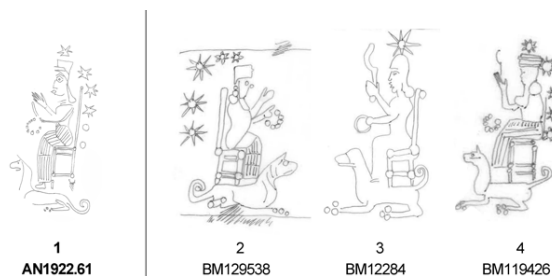


Pic. 2.

Compositional analogues. We do not know of any similar cylinder seals that match in every detail with the composition of *AN1922.61*. Among the first millenium anthropomorphic Gula cylinder seals, we do not know of any compositions that depict two worshippers with two anthropomorphic solar disks, tasseled spade on a lying dragon, and of a similar representation of Gula's clay tablet. In addition to the depiction of the goddess, cylinder seals either with simple non-anthropomorphic or winged solar disks (E; B) and with tasseled spade without dragon can be found on *BM129538*⁹⁾, *MS694*¹⁰⁾, *O.3530*¹¹⁾, and *BM89630*¹²⁾. Cylinder seals with both double non-anthropomorphic solar disks and tasseled spades can be found on *BM12284*¹³⁾, *VA02923*¹⁴⁾, and *O.1499*¹⁵⁾. The symbol 'C' can also be found on the *BM89523*¹⁶⁾ cylinder seal, which in the catalogue was identified as "crudely-cut crossed-leg table" by Collon.

The shape of the goddess – Pic. 3. shows the possible analogues in the depictions of the healing goddess Gula.¹⁷⁾

Throne, stars. – The joints of the thrones are similarly formed by traces of drillings which could be connected afterwards with straight lines. In its number of stars, AN1922.61 has an extra asterisk behind the throne. The arrangement of the stars is similar to Fig. 2. and 4. On AN1922.61, the rays of the bottom two stars are missing.



Pic. 3.

Headdress, hair, clothing, divine insignias.

– Gula's headgear is identical to Fig. 2. and 4, which is referred to in the literature as 'star-topped mingle'. The long hair behind Gula's neck is present in every depiction and ends in a bore shape. On the seal in question, the fringed robe of the goddess shows a match with Fig. 2. and 4. The scalpel and ring, main attributes of Gula, can also be observed on Fig. 3. and 4. Collon drew attention to the unique nature of the depiction

in the insignias, according to which the goddess held the ring and the scalpel in the same hand.¹⁸⁾ Collon does not explain this arrangement which is unlike other depictions. It is possible that the reason for this unique composition might be rooted in the lack of space caused by the "E" disk above the goddess.

Animal. – The dog should be defined as the principal symbol of Gula. In this case, according to Collon, to separate it from the lion, the animal's appearance must include pointed ears, an upwardly curved tail, and a closed mouth.¹⁹⁾ On the seal in question, the animal's forelegs are missing due to damage incurred on the object. The ears and tail are similar to Fig. 2 – 4, and the position of the animal's jaw cannot be determined. The animal under the throne was initially identified by Buchanan as a lion and later, by Collon, as a dog. In the study, we agree with Collon since both the composition and the individual divine attributes refer to the persona of Gula.

Conclusions. Based on the analysis above the study proved that in its composition AN1922.61 shows partial resemblance with the first millenium Gula cylinder seals'. The unusual appearance of the dual anthropomorphic solar disks and the geometrical shapes widen the Gula cylinders' compositional typology, which need further research in the future to find analogues with similar depictions. The individual depiction of the goddess shows agreement with the goddess's first millenium miniature anthropomorphic iconography, based on the shape of Gula and her insignias, however, the number of the stars (including the unfinished bottom two stars) and the unusual representation of the scalpel and the ring in the same hand makes the depiction outstanding, which can be also a subject of the future Gula iconography researches.

Notes

1. I would like to express my gratitude for Dr. Paul Collins, curator of the Ancient Near East Collection of Ashmolean Museum.

2. Buchanan 1966. pp 114.

3. Provenance: From the collection of Rev. T. R. Hodgson, bought from Sulaymānīyah. Material: banded light to dark brown chipped agate. Height = 35.6 mm; Diam. = 16 mm

4. Grayson 1996. (RIMA) pp 237. A0.104.2015; van Driel 1981 pp 271; Watanabe 1993 pp 116. Nr. 6.6; Collon 2005 pp 129. no. 554; Niederreiter 2015 pp 139. Nr. 4

5. Baker 2001 pp 874.

6. Niederreiter 2015. pp 130.

7. Black, Green 1992; Marduk: pp 128-129; Solar disc: pp 168; Winged disc: pp 185-186.

8. Collon 1994. pp 44.

9. British Museum, Collon 2001, pp 123; Nr. 234.

10. The Morgan Library and Museum, Morgan 1909, Nr. 170.

11. Royal Museum of History and Art, Niederreiter 2020, pp 161; Nr. 64.

12. British Museum, Collon 2001, pp 124; Nr. 235; Gula standig
13. British Museum, Collon 2001, pp 123; Nr. 233.
14. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Moortgat 1940; pp 144; Nr. 656; On the depiction besides Gula, another antropomorphic deity can be found.
15. Royal Museum of History and Art, Niederreiter 2020, pp 163. Nr. 65
16. British Museum, Collon 2001. pp 124; Nr. 236; Gula standing
17. Fig. 2; 3; 4. = Collon 2001. pp 123-124.
18. Collon 1994. pp 44.
19. For Gula's dog symbols see: FUHR 1977; BLACK, GREEN 1992. pp 70; ORNAN 2004; BÖCK 2014. For mesopotamian deities's animal symbols see: GRONEBERG 2000; WATANABE 2002.

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27) Who is the Lord-of-Šaṭir? — In the following note we would like to propose an identification for the main deity of the city of Šaṭir, on the basis of a new understanding of the Nippur Compendium (GEORGE 1992: 143-162). We will argue that the main deity of Šaṭir, also known as Lord-of-Šaṭir (^dbēl ša šaṭir^{ki}), is Erimabinutuku, a deified weapon of Ninurta.

The Lord-of-Šaṭir appears in several 5th century BCE texts from the city of Šaṭir, which was situated to the north of Uruk, in the region of Bīt-Amukānu (TÉBR 32; TÉBR 34; TÉBR 35). Pertinent textual information from the second half of the 5th century BCE suggests that he was worshipped in a temple called Edubba ('the house of tablets', see TÉBR 35). The wording Lord-of-Šaṭir, is not unusual, for we know of a group of divinities, whose names or titles are formulated in the very same way, i.e. 'lord of (my) city + of place name' (BEAULIEU 2003: 334).¹⁾ Several divine designations of this type, the so-called 'dieu topique', are known from the Chaldean regions of Babylonia (ZADOK 2021: 37¹⁵), but the phenomenon is not limited to these regions. Moreover, Lord-of-Šaṭir, which is alternately spelled as ^den šá šá-ṭir^{ki} (TÉBR 35), ^den šá šá-ṭir⁴^{ki} (TÉBR 34) and ^den šá ša.di.erim^{ki} (TÉBR 32) in three 5th century Šaṭir

texts, seems to be more of an epithet than a divine name; the god's actual name does not appear in these texts, nor in any other legal or administrative text from the late Achaemenid period. However, a compilation of esoterica, commonly referred to as the Nippur Compendium (GEORGE 1992: 143-162), will shed some light on the matter.

The Nippur Compendium (nibru^{ki} ní.bi.ta dù.a) is known primarily from two late Babylonian manuscripts (IM 44150; IM 76975) with the same structure and content, and three additional, smaller tablets, two of which come from Nineveh (K 2892+ K 8397; K 10062) and the third one is a late Babylonian excerpt tablet (BM 38413, GEORGE 1992: 145-146).²⁾ The text begins with a listing of the names and titles for the city of Nippur and its main temple, Ekur, followed by a list of deities. This list, in which each deity is represented as 'lord of (my) city + of place name', occurs only in the two late Babylonian manuscripts, and is of particular interest to our case as it contains a series of 'dieux topiques' and their localities. Among the legible place names in the list, we find the lords of Borsippa and Dēr, but also deities of smaller settlements in the region between Uruk and Nippur, such as the lords of Šalammu and Kār-Ninurta (GEORGE 1992: 150: 19'; 21'; 24').³⁾ Interestingly, the list happens to mention a deity by the name of Erimabinutuku, who is designated as the 'dieu topique' (*bēl-āliya*) of a place named ^{urru}sá.sá.érim (GEORGE 1992: §7, 22'). We suggest to slightly emend the reading of the toponym to *sá.di.érim* (*sá=di*), because this spelling (*sá.di.érim*) stands for the city of Šāṭir, as demonstrated by the late 5th century BCE text TÉBR 32 (ll. 11 and 14).

As noted earlier, the 'dieux topiques' section in the Nippur Compendium, refers not only to Šāṭir, but also to several other sites in the region between Nippur and Uruk, such as Šalammu and Kār-Ninurta, which, like Šāṭir, were still inhabited in the 5th century BCE. Thus, our suggestion matches the evidence in the section on 'dieux topiques' in the Nippur Compendium in more than one way: they share the same spelling for Šāṭir (*sá.di.érim*), the same geographical horizon, and the same chronological framework.

If we come back to the question of the identity of Lord-of-Šāṭir, it is now clear that according to the Nippur Compendium the deity Erimabinutuku is the Lord-of-Šāṭir. Despite the scarcity in textual sources regarding Erimabinutuku, the Sumerian composition *Angim*, allows us a better understanding of his nature. According to *Angim*, Erimabinutuku, the worshipped entity of Šāṭir, is named after one of Ninurta's divine weapons known 'to have established the people in heaven and earth' (COOPER 1978: 82, 146; GEORGE 1992: 447).

Notes

1. See, for example, the case of '*Bēl-āliya-ša-Šarrabānu*' ('lord-of-my-city-of-Šarrabānu', Baker 2004: 127:128). The city was also located in Bīt-Amukānu.

2. It should be mentioned that the texts from Nineveh do not record the main sections of the texts which deal with Nippur and its cultic landscape, but only the sections dealing with the days of the month and the Babylonian months and festivals. After these sections the texts from Nineveh diverge from the Babylonian recension and record a section on Asakku demons and the Sons of Enlil, while the Babylonian texts detail the divine directory of Nippur and the offerings at the Ekur temple (George 1992: 143-145). Most importantly, the texts from Nineveh do not record the section on deities connected with specific cities, which only occurs in late Babylonian sources.

3. For Kār-Ninurta and Šalammu see the following texts, from the Murašû archive: IMT 112; IMT 68, dated in the late 5th century BCE.

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28) Traces of Administrative Reform in the Hebrew and Aramaic Epigraphs of the Al-Yahudu and Related Tablets¹⁾ — The dossiers of al-Yahudu and related tablets continue to be a point of historical curiosity. After the publication of eleven tablets (Joannès and Lemaire 1996; Joannès and Lemaire 1999;

Abraham 2006) followed by the large collection in 2014 in the volume CUSAS 28 (C), the long-awaited group of texts from the Schøyen collection is now published, BaAr 6 (B). I was asked to edit the remaining unpublished Northwest Semitic epigraphs on the tablets in that collection (Moore in Wunsch 2023), and the opportunity afforded me a chance to collate from photographs all the previously published epigraphs as well. This short note is a reflection on that data. I argue here that the epigraphs on these tablets show, that among Northwest Semitic administrators working in Mesopotamia, particularly the environs of Nippur, the rise of Cyrus brought about a traceable administrative reform.

Aramaic epigraphs on cuneiform tablets are a long known but sometimes poorly understood genre of administrative activity in ancient Mesopotamia. To my knowledge, they appear (so far) only on documentary textual evidence and on tablets pertaining to legal transactions. The epigraphs have been under-appreciated for the simple fact that they represent the last traceable layer of a tablet's administrative history, particularly for dossiers of tablets that are not found *in situ* or have a poorly documented archaeological history.

The al-Yahudu and related tablets afford us a unique opportunity to study the administrative practice and historical circumstances of epigraphic writing because, in addition to the expected Aramaic epigraphs one finds Hebrew epigraphs on a few tablets. The presence of Hebrew epigraphs indicates, as André Lemaire has rightly observed, the “Judaean exiles in and around al-Yahudu kept their Hebrew culture, at least for several tens of years after the Exile, even though they might use more and more Aramaic for their daily life, as well as cuneiform Neo-Babylonian for their juridical documents and official contracts with the Babylonian administration” (2015: 45). So far only three Hebrew epigraphs survive on the known tablets C1, C10, and B1. The epigraph on C10 was first identified by its editors Laurie Pearce and Cornelia Wunsch as Hebrew due to the form of the Northwest Semitic script used on the tablet. In 2015, Lemaire published the Hebrew epigraph of B1, but not its cuneiform. This tablet clearly indicates that not only the script but the language was Hebrew because it uses the Hebrew lexeme *BN* rather than the Aramaic lexeme *BR* for “son.” I identified the epigraph on C1 as written in the Hebrew script during my collation of the tablet. The original editors struggled to read C1's difficult epigraph, but I propose *ŠMD'N* “Šumiddi'n”. All three Hebrew epigraphs were incised on the tablets while their clay was still plastic, and this indicates that the Hebrew administrator was not only archiving each tablet, but present at the tablet's composition.²⁾ In each case, the Babylonian scribe produced a legally binding document, while working alongside a Hebrew administrator who facilitated the practicalities of the document's transaction.

Alongside these three meager tablets are sixteen more which contain Aramaic epigraphs. Two of those sixteen (C40 and C71B) are written in ink. Such an administrative act must have taken place after the tablet had reasonably dried, but this could have occurred quickly in the Mesopotamian sun, even during the fall months in which these two tablets were written (Kislīmu). It is possible that many more tablets contained epigraphs written in ink that are now lost. The remaining fourteen Aramaic epigraphs were incised on the tablets and indicate, like the Hebrew incised epigraphs, that Aramaic administrators complemented and completed the efforts of the Babylonian scribe.

These nineteen epigraphs represent less than 10% of the known number of al-Yahudu and related tablets and while the dataset is not large, a remarkable feature of the epigraphs stand out. The three Hebrew tablets date to the Neo-Babylonian period while the sixteen Aramaic epigraphs date to the Persian period starting with C102, which dates to 5.i.1 Cyr (538 BCE). Although the data are few, these epigraphs currently suggests that a reform occurred among the administrators at al-Yahudu during the very beginning of Cyrus's first year in power. This continued until the end of the dossiers, for which the latest tablet also bears an Aramaic epigraph, C53, 25.v.9 Xer (477 BCE). The three Hebrew epigraphs are dated to C1, 20.i.33 Neb (572 BCE); B1, 7.ix.38 Neb (567 BCE); and C10, 23.x.6 Nab (550 BCE). It is possible that during the twelve year gap between the latest Hebrew epigraph (550 BCE) and Cyrus's first year a gradual shift from a Hebrew administration to an Aramaic administration occurred in the al-Yahudu community, and the evidence for this is simply missing. But as it stands, it seems as though the shift was more sudden. This brings up many research questions most of which one can merely speculate about given the current evidence. Nonetheless, for historical purposes it is worth asking, even if we fully cannot answer: what were

the factors that led to this shift? Was this a response to a reform across the imperial administration? Was this an imperial imposition in rural communities of state dependents like al-Yahudu?

While two decades ago scholarship focused largely on the reform of Xerxes in Mesopotamia in the Persian period (Waerzeggers 2003), some have begun to look for distinctions in the closely related Neo-Babylonian and Persian period evidence (e.g., Jursa 2011; Kleber 2022). Of particular interest is a recent study by Bernhard Schneider, who argues the imperial transition produced “some upheavals among the high-ranking officials in the course of the transition” at Nippur in particular (2022: 116). Like the findings of Schneider’s archaeological assessment, it seems that these humble epigraphs also suggest that imperial transfer from the Neo-Babylonians to the Persians either encouraged, incentivized, or forced administrators working with state dependents to conduct their activity in Aramaic. One could reasonably hypothesize that this is owed to administrative overhaul that replaced local Hebrew administrators in al-Yahudu with Aramaic administrators. One wonders if the replacement was part of a relocation of outside Aramaic administrators into al-Yahudu, and if so, was this a replacement of native administrators with imperially selected administrators? A similar phenomenon of the empire supplanting a high-level local administrator within a lucrative economic system has already been observed by scholars of both Mesopotamian (MacGinnis 2008: 87-99) and Egyptian³ large temple economies, particularly during the reign of Darius I, though the practice may have dated earlier. Alternatively, the Hebrew speaking community may have become culturalized into the Aramaic speaking setting of Babylonia, and the state dependents sought a closer connection to their imperial providers by working in Aramaic. Along these lines one wonders if it is coincidence that the *dekû* of al-Yahudu first appears on a tablet from the end of Cyrus’s first year (C83, 27.ix.1 Cyr). His Judean name *Yāma-izrī*, identifies him as a community native (C: p. 229) with the role of the community tax collector (compare Stolper 1985: 83). So whether the evidence from the epigraphs suggests imposed reform, such as that which occurred at Nippur and in large temple economies, or a local cultural response, it seems that the shift in imperial power was felt in the rural administration of at least one community of state dependents in Mesopotamia at the dawn of the Persian period.

Notes

1. This study was made possible by the DFG grant “Judeans/Arameans at Elephantine: Their Social and Economic Status in Light of New Persian Period Texts from Egypt and Babylonia” (Project Number 432563380).

2. Currently, I assume, as do others, that the Babylonian scribes named on the tablets were not the same administrators who wrote the Hebrew and Aramaic epigraphs. That said, those with Babylonian names can bear the title of *sēpiru* “alphabetic scribe,” as for instance, Šum-iddin (^{mu}MU-MU) known from a Murašû tablet (CBS 12922). See Bloch 2018: 59-66 and Stolper 1985: no. 41: 5 (pp. 191, 251).

3. See the often cited Pherendates Correspondences (493-492 BCE), particularly Pap. Ber. P. 13540. For an accessible translation see Martin in Porten et al, no. C2.

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29) Une mention de Dura-Europos sous le règne de Darius I^{er} ?* — Dans une note brève publiée en 2020¹⁾, E. Frahm a proposé – avec les réserves méthodologiques d'usage – un rapprochement entre les toponymes d'époque paléo-babylonienne tardive et médio-assyrienne *Duara* – *Damara* et le nom de Doura-(Europos)²⁾. Il semble qu'on puisse ajouter un élément supplémentaire à cette hypothèse séduisante, que nous fournit le texte de Berlin VS 3 159 (= VAT 11)³⁾. Celui-ci a été rédigé en juin 487 (mois de *simānu* de l'an 35 de Darius I^{er}) dans la ville appelée uru *da-mar*⁴⁾ à lire « Damar/Dawar ».

Ce texte a déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs études à cause de la mention de deux personnages portant des noms iraniens, Nubagazu (**nava-gaza*) et Šatam/baksu (*š(y)*āti-baxša/vaxša*)⁵⁾ et en raison de sa référence à la « loi du roi » (*dāti šarri*)⁶⁾. La ville de Damar elle-même est considérée comme non localisable et n'a pas fait l'objet de commentaire particulier.

Le document émane d'une autorité administrative qui enregistre une plainte déposée⁷⁾ par un dénommé Nabû-ittannu/Bêl-id[din](?) à propos d'un droit de péage fluvial (*miksu*) qu'il a acquitté sur une cargaison de céréales (orge, épeautre) et de cresson-*sahlu*.

VS 3 159, ll. 1-5

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>mi-ik-su šá</i> 17 gur še-bar 3 gur,3.0.0 zíz-àm | (Concernant) la taxe- <i>miksu</i> de 17 <i>kurru</i> d'orge, 3,3.0.0 <i>kurru</i> d'épeautre, |
| 2. 0,2.2.0 <i>sah-le-e šá</i> ^{1d} nà-it-tan-nu a-šú <i>šá</i> ^{1d} en-[mu ina igi(?)] | 0,2.2.0 <i>kurru</i> de cresson, que Nabû-ittannu, fils de Bêl-[iddin (?), devant] |
| 3. ¹ šá-ta-ba-ak-su u ¹ nu-ba-ga-zu lú gal-é <i>šá</i> ¹ lú ⁷⁾ [.....] | Šatabaksu et Nubagazu, l'intendant du [.....] |
| 4. <i>ina é ka-a-ri šá</i> ¹⁷ {i ₇ } ¹⁷ ^{1x} ú-še-ti-qu | dans le bâtiment du péage du fleuve/canal [.....], a fait passer |
| 5. <i>mi-ik-su a-na é-lugal it-tan-nu</i> | (et) (pour lesquels) il a versé la taxe au Palais, |

Mais son paiement aurait été enregistré par erreur au nom d'un quasi homonyme, un certain Bêl-ittannu/Nergal-êtir//Saggilaia. S'il ne peut apporter les preuves de cette erreur, Nabû-ittannu devra payer le péage conformément à la loi royale (l. 10-11: *akī dāti šarri miksu ana bīt šarri inamdin*).

Le rapprochement *Damar/Dawar* avec les graphies *Damara* et *Duara* (> *Dūra*) qu'a enregistrées E. Frahm ne paraît pas illégitime. On pourrait donc considérer que VS 3 159 a été rédigé à Doura-(Europos), à la fin du règne de Darius I^{er}, et les données que fournit ce texte apportent alors plusieurs renseignements intéressants:

– il y a aurait eu, sur l'Euphrate, à la hauteur du site de Doura un «bureau fluvial» (*bīt kārī*) où les bateliers devaient acquitter un péage-*miksu* sur leur cargaison. Ce péage était perçu au profit du Palais (*bīt šarri*) et le paiement faisait l'objet d'un enregistrement⁸⁾. C'est donc l'administration royale qui gérait ce poste de péage, et il n'est pas étonnant que les deux personnes citées à la l. 4 portent des noms iraniens. De même, c'est la « loi du roi » qui s'applique ici, et non la coutume locale ou le règlement d'une institution religieuse.

– la documentation de Mari du 18^{ème} siècle atteste de la perception sur l'Euphrate, à Terqa, en amont de Mari, de droits de péage sur les cargaisons venant de l'ouest (huile d'olive et vin) et sur du commerce local (pierre, bitume, grain)⁹⁾. Ici aussi, ce sont des céréales qui sont taxées et la question se pose de savoir d'où elles proviennent et à qui elles étaient destinées. Or, dans leur article consacré aux domaines agricoles de l'Ebabbar de Sippar localisés dans la

vallée du Habur, M. Jursa et K. Wagensonner montrent que ceux-ci fournissaient au temple de Šamaš des produits agricoles et du vin¹⁰). Le dossier date surtout du règne de Nabonide, mais compte aussi un texte daté de Darius I^{er}¹¹), ce qui indique que l'exploitation agricole de la vallée du Habur a continué sous les premiers Achéménides, et peut avoir concerné des terres de l'Ebabbar et d'autres temples de Babylonie, ainsi que, probablement, des terres royales. Mais le transport des produits agricoles issus de ces domaines ne présentait d'intérêt que s'il s'effectuait par bateau en réduisant au maximum les frais de transport, et le cas évoqué dans VS 3 159 pourrait entrer dans ce cadre.

– VS 3 159 (= VAT 11) appartient à la « Sammlung Maimon » de Berlin, dont la plus grande partie est composée de textes issus des archives de l'Ebabbar de Sippar¹²). Mais cette collection compte aussi des textes de Dilbat et quelques textes de Babylone. Il est donc difficile d'attribuer le texte à une archive précise, même si l'Ebabbar paraît être un bon candidat¹³). La cargaison de Bêl-ittanu pourrait donc avoir été destinée au temple de Šamaš. Cependant l'affaire peut aussi s'inscrire dans un cadre purement privé, car il n'est fait mention que de l'administration royale dans ce texte, et pas de celle du temple. De plus, les cargaisons appartenant aux temples de Babylonie n'étaient en général pas taxées par l'administration royale.

– la localisation d'un péage fluvial à Damar, s'il s'agit bien de Doura-Europos, n'est pas sans rappeler celle du péage fluvial d'Opis, attesté par les archives des Murašû (PBS 2/1, 140) sous le règne de Darius II, mais où l'on trouvait, dès le règne de Nabuchodonosor II, un « chef du port »¹⁴). Le péage d'Opis/Upiya était situé sur le Tigre juste en aval du confluent entre la Diyala et le fleuve et collectait les produits venus du plateau iranien par la vallée de la Diyala et la production agricole propre de celle-ci. De même, le poste de péage installé à Damar/Doura était en mesure de contrôler le flux venu de l'Euphrate et de son affluent le Habur.

Un dernier élément peut être souligné: comme le note P. Clancier¹⁵), la conquête achéménide a profondément redessiné la carte géopolitique du Proche-Orient, en particulier dans la vallée de l'Euphrate. De nombreux sites ont cessé d'être habités, cependant que d'autres émergeaient. Même si la partie « syrienne » du cours de l'Euphrate nous reste très mal connue au 6^{ème} siècle, on constate, avec cette mention possible de Damar/Doura-(Europos) et celle, déjà assurée de *Tapsuhu* = Thapsaque¹⁶), que la géographie de l'époque achéménide tardive et de l'époque hellénistique s'y met progressivement en place dès le règne de Darius I^{er}.

Notes

*Mes vifs remerciements vont à E. Frahm et M. Jursa, qui ont relu une première version de cette note, pour leurs commentaires et suggestions.

1. FRAHM 2020. Comme me le signale E. Frahm, la question de l'étymologie du toponyme Duara a été reprise en détail par C. Hess (Hess 2021) p. 313-317 qui le met en rapport avec une racine d-w-r désignant un site enclos.

2. Pour la proposition d'interprétation du toponyme *da-[m]a-ra-ki*, sur une tablette du «royaume de Hana», comme pouvant être le nom ancien de Doura-Europos, cf. CHARPIN 2002 p. 92.

3. Cf. l'édition de VS 3 159 sur le site achemenet.com.

4. VS 3 159:17. C'est la seule mention connue de ce toponyme dans la documentation néo-babylonienne, enregistrée sous la forme «Damar» dans RGTC 8 p. 116.

5. TAVERNIER 1999, avec la bibliographie antérieure.

6. DÉMARE-LAFONT 2006, note 37.

7. L. 6: *i-di-nu ina ma-har lú di-ku₅-meš. i-di-nu* est compris comme une apocope de *ina dīnu*.

8. L. 7: *ú-ša-a₂-zi-zi-u₂'*; l. 9: *[ki-i]a ul¹-<ta>¹-a₂'(ZA)-zi-zi-u₂'*. Sur cet emploi du verbe *izuzzu* cf. WESZELI 2005.

9. DURAND 2000, p. 25-39 («Le service des douanes de Mari») et p. 40-60 («Les transports par eau»).

10. JURSA et WAGENSONNER 2014.

11. CT 55 436: cf. JURSA et WAGENSONNER 2014, *op. cit.* p. 116.

12. JURSA 1999, p. 6-7.

13. Notons que le premier témoin Erībaia, fils de Padaia, descend de la famille du Prêtre de Šamaš, bien attestée à Sippar. Mais les noms des autres personnes mentionnées dans le texte ne permettent pas d'en savoir plus.

14. *rab kār(i) ša Upiya* (Nbk 365:14)

15. CLANCIER 2020, p. 505.

16. GRASLIN et LEMAIRE 2004.

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30) *Bagazuštu*, an Egyptian in Achaemenid Babylonia — A document (RA 90, 48-50)¹⁾ from Babylon and the 26th regnal year of Darius I (= 496 BCE) refers to *Bagazuštu* (*ba-ga-'a-zu-uš-tu-u'*), “the Egyptian” (*lú mi-sir-a-a*), “royal chamberlain” (*lú sag lugal lú ú-ma-as-ta-ar-ba-ra-'a*), and son of *Marḫarpu* (*ma-ar-ḫa-ár-pu*), as renting out 45 kur (= 60 ha) arable land and fields of the “bow domain” (*bīt qašti*) to *Zababa-šar-ušur*, son of *Nabû-zēr-iddin*, for a duration of four years in return for a yearly payment (to be delivered at the quay of Babylon) of 60 kur (= 10 800 litres) grain. The text also stipulates when the land rental begins, states that both parties have received a copy of the agreement, and that anyone who later contest the agreement will have to pay a fine of five mina of silver. Nine witnesses and the scribe are then mentioned, followed by a date and the seal of *Bagazuštu*.

The document is interesting, for various reasons. The information gained from the text about land rental procedures in Achaemenid Babylonia aside, the phenomenon of an Egyptian with an Iranian name in a Mesopotamian document, an Egyptian who also was a high official within the Persian imperial administrative structure, is highly noteworthy. As mentioned, *Bagazuštu* is an Iranian name. According to M.A. DANDAMAYEV (1992, 62-63) and J. TAVERNIER (2007, 144), it is Iranian-Median and means “loved by God”. The name of his father, *Marḫarpu*, is probably Egyptian, although a precise identification with a specific Egyptian name remains to be made (HACKL and JURSA 2015, 167-168). The title of *Bagazuštu*, namely *ša rēš šarri ustarbara*, indicates that he was a powerful figure in Babylonia of Achaemenid times.²⁾ Furthermore, he evidently was in the possession of substantial areas of lands and fields.

It is a matter of speculation concerning why *Bagazuštu* adopted an Iranian name (1) and how he ended up in Babylonia, supposedly as an already trained professional (2).

Trying to answer the first question, *Bagazuštu*'s adoption of an Iranian name may be seen as him signalling that he was intent on a career within the bureaucratic structure of the Achaemenid empire. As concluded by J. HACKL and M. JURSA (2015, 168), “the choice of an Iranian name for a royal functionary of Egyptian origin is a very clear sign of an aspiration towards a more specific form of integration, viz. into the ranks of the Iranian administrative élite of the Achaemenid empire”. Here it should be noted that *Bagazuštu* was not the only Egyptian who adopted an Iranian name in Achaemenid Babylonia.³⁾ The case of *Bagazuštu* and his colleagues tells of pragmatism and opportunism besides integration and assimilation.

Trying to answer the second question, *Bagazuštu*'s presence in Persia-dominated Babylonia may be regarded as an indication that he was an Egyptian official (hence his position as courtier in Achaemenid Babylonia) who had been deported to Babylonia following the Persian conquest of Egypt in 525 BCE. HACKL and JURSA (2015, 171) here conclude that the presence of Egyptian officials in the Persian administration can be seen in the light of “traces of a system of administration that for its middle ranks relied heavily on the service of professional bureaucrats who were perhaps palace-trained (this is probably the case for the *ustarbarus* who correspond to the Babylonian *ša rēšis*) and/or who had a cultural or intellectual background that made them seem suitable for administrative tasks, but who did not necessarily

originate in the local population”. Such a phenomenon was not new, since parallels to the situation in the Neo-Assyrian empire regarding Egyptian/Libyan/Kushite specialists can be made.⁴⁾

In any case, the document makes it clear that not all Egyptians were pharaonic loyalists and that the ethnic composition of the Achaemenid empire was complex (perhaps more so than in the Neo-Assyrian empire), signalling aims of inclusion and multiculturalism.⁵⁾ The famous Egyptian official Udjahorresne was not alone in “collaborating” with Persia.⁶⁾

Notes

1. The tablet belongs to the archive of *Zababa-šar-ušur*, overseer of the Babylonian domains of the Persian crown prince (RA 90 / JOANNÈS and LEMAIRE 1996, 41).

2. Regarding *ustarbara*, see EILERS 1966, 81-106; HINZ 1975, 258; and DANDAMAYEV 1992, 52.

3. Note, e.g., the man with an Iranian name (*Bagadātu*) and an Egyptian name (*Paṭ-Ḳsi*), who rents out land to the *Murašû* firm in a text (IMT 43) from Nippur and the 40th year of the reign of Artaxerxes I (= 425 BCE).

4. Note, e.g., the list of palace personnel which includes Egyptian scribes and scholars (SAA 7 1), and the list of deported, Egyptian skilled labour in a royal inscription of Esarhaddon (RINAP 4 9).

5. For the dichotomy Egyptians vs. foreigners in the ideological sphere, see e.g. LOPRIENO 1988. For the integrative approach of Achaemenid state ideology, see e.g. EHRENBURG 2008.

6. For articles on Udjahorresne and his world, see e.g. WASMUTH and CREASMAN 2020.

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- SAA 7 = FALES, F.M. and POSTGATE, J.N., 1992, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration*, Helsinki.
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31) Aššur in Esther — The ruling Persian monarch in the Book of Esther is called Ahasuerus (Hebrew *ʾhšwrwš*), who is normally identified with Xerxes or less frequently with Artaxerxes. The similarity of the names of the other principal protagonists in this book, Esther, Mordecai, and Haman, to those of the Mesopotamian gods Ištar and Marduk and the Elamite god Humban was noted by Peter Jensen in 1892.¹⁾ He also suggested that possible correlates for Zeresh, the wife of Haman, and Vashti, the wife of Ahasuerus, were the Elamite goddesses Kiri(ri)ša and Mašti. Although none of these associations can be established with certainty and most commentators have either denied or ignored them, it is interesting to note that the genders of the deities match the genders of the individuals in the Book of Esther and that the Elamite deities are associated with the evil characters and the Mesopotamian deities with the virtuous actors. Since five of the six main characters in the Book of Esther have been linked with ancient Near Eastern deities, it is tempting to wonder whether the sixth, Ahasuerus himself, might also be connected with a Near Eastern god. Since the name of the Persian king in the Greek Alpha Text, which may have derived from a different, possibly earlier, Hebrew version of the story, is *Ἀσουηρος*, the obvious candidate is Aššur, who occupied a similar preeminent position in the Assyrian pantheon to that of Ahasuerus in the Persian Empire.²⁾ It is

as easy to relate Ahasuerus (Hebrew *ʾhšwrwš*) to Aššur as to Xerxes (Old Persian *xšayaṛšā*, Akkadian *ḫišiʾarša*, Aramaic *ḫšyʾrš*) and much easier than relating it to Artaxerxes (Old Persian *Artaxšaça*, Akkadian *artakšassu*, Aramaic *ʾrthššš*).

The inclusion of Aššur would suggest an Assyrian rather than a Babylonian inspiration for the names and, in an Assyrian context, the omission of Aššur, the most important of the gods of Assyria, would be surprising. This would support the suggestion by Stephanie Dalley (2007) that the original story behind the Book of Esther involved a struggle between Assyrian and Elamite gods, which echoed the actual wars between the Assyrians and the Elamites in the seventh century BC. In the reworking of the story, the name of the god, along with the introduction of numerous Persian names, loanwords, and customs, may have been modified to be similar to that of the Achaemenid king Xerxes but nevertheless significantly preserved the otherwise inexplicable /w/.

The possibility that gods known in Assyria may lie behind some of the names of the principal actors does not lessen the significance of the numerous Jewish, Persian, and Hellenistic features that are evident in the Book of Esther.

Notes

1. I am grateful to Adam Silverstein for information and advice.

2. The first part of the title of an article by Stephen Holloway (2009) about illustrations of the Book of Esther states that Aššur was the King of Persia, but he did not suggest a connection between the name of the Assyrian god and the name of the Persian king.

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32) Some Egyptians(?) in Hellenistic Babylonia — With regard to the Hellenistic period (330-30 BCE), Egypt is naturally tied to the Ptolemies and not to the Seleucids. However, some documents from Babylonia of Seleucid (and Parthian) times include personal names that seemingly point to Egyptian individuals. These names are all composed of a Semitic word followed by the name of the Egyptian goddess Isis (ZADOK 1977, 27). Question is, are they examples of the influence of Egyptian religion outside Egypt or do they tell of the partial integration of Egyptians in western Asia? How valid is the claim by R. ZADOK (1992, 142) that “Semitic names containing the theophorous element Esi are linguistically hybrid, but their bearers cannot be regarded as Egyptians. Such names, which are not recorded in Babylonia before the last third of the 5th century B.C. merely indicate the popularity of the Isis cult in Western Asia during the late Achaemenian and Hellenistic periods”?

A man named *Abdi-Ēsi* is mentioned in an unprovenanced and fragmentary contract (VS 6 227) from the reign of the Seleucid king Antiochus III (222-187 BCE). The reference to Egypt which the name conveys stands in isolation, meaning primarily that there are no fully Egyptian names or ethnonyms expressed in (the preserved parts of) the document.¹⁾ The same can be said regarding a document (VS 15 3) from Uruk and Seleucid times (the 14th regnal year of a king with the name Seleucus),²⁾ in which the man *Hanin-Ēsi* features. The document deals with the sale of three slaves (male and female), and *Hanin-Ēsi* appears as a patronym. Finally, a man named *Rahīmi-Ēsi* is mentioned in four documents (ZA 3, 131-134 [nos. 4-7]) from Babylon dated to 94-93 BCE and the reign of the Parthian king Mithridates II (124-91 BCE). Again, the references to Isis are the only elements of the texts that bring to mind Egypt. ZA 3, 131-134 (nos. 4-7) seem to deal with economic issues of a Babylonian temple (*Rahīmi-Ēsi* appears as some kind of treasurer), and the remaining names expressed in these are all native, Babylonian.³⁾

Returning to the question whether these names are examples of the influence of Egyptian religion outside Egypt or tell of the partial integration of Egyptians in western Asia, and ZADOK's claim that the former is the case, the absence of Egyptian socio-onomastic contexts in the relevant documents makes it

likely that the names are reflections of the diffusion of the Isis cult outside Egypt.⁴⁾ The goddess Isis had sanctuaries around the Mediterranean in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (QUIRKE 1992, 175-176),⁵⁾ including in the eastern, Seleucid empire (MA 2014). Having said that, it is certainly too rash to argue, as ZADOK seems to do,⁶⁾ that all attestations of “Egyptian” hybrid names in Mesopotamian documents speak of religion and not of ethnicity, not least since there are several examples of such hybrid names as early as in Neo-Assyrian times and texts,⁷⁾ that is, long before the heyday of the diffused Isis cult between the third century BCE and the third century AD (QUIRKE 1992, 177).

Notes

1. Archival context and the subject matter of the text are other aspects to take notice of when evaluating whether an “Egyptian context” is present or not.
2. Only two kings can come into question, namely Seleucus I (312-281 BCE) and II (246-225 BCE).
3. The names in question are *Marduk-šumu-iddina*, *Nabû-nâsir*, and *Bêl-zêru-ibni*. The deities Zababa(?), Belit, and Shamash, as well as the temples Esabad(?) and Esagila, are mentioned.
4. Of course, the individuals in question may be viewed as having had a construed Egyptian ethnicity, in their adopting parts of Egyptian culture (as interpreted by the western Asian Isis community).
5. By 200 BCE, Egyptian sanctuaries existed as such sites as Salamis, Eretria, Priene, and Delos, and the cults of Egyptian deities spread to Sicily, southern Italy, and Iberia in the following two centuries, with a temple dedicated to Isis built at Pompeii in the mid-second century BCE (QUIRKE 1992, 175).
6. At least if picking up on the first part of the quote, which seems to convey the idea that the hybrid names in question cannot be regarded as Egyptian, regardless of time period.
7. Note, for example, *Abi-Hûru* (Semitic+Egyptian DN Horus) in a text (ND 2306) from Kalhu and 687 BCE, and *Šumma-Êši* (Akkadian+Egyptian DN Isis) in a text (STAT 2 37) from Assur and 666 BCE. For a study on African individuals and groups in Neo-Assyrian texts, see KARLSSON 2022, notably pp. 14 and 90.

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VIE DE L’ASSYRIOLOGIE

33) Parution d’un *Que Sais-je ?* sur l’assyriologie — Dans cette collection de livres synthétiques sur des sujets très variés (en 128 pages), vient de paraître : D. Charpin, *L’assyriologie*, collection « Que sais-je ? » n°4239, Paris, 2023 (<http://www.quesaisje.com/content/LAssyriologie>). Il s’agit d’une présentation de l’histoire des recherches et de l’état actuel de cette spécialité, destinée avant tout aux étudiants et au public intéressé, parsemée de réflexions suscitées par un demi-siècle de travail ; à ce titre, il peut également retenir l’attention des assyriologues professionnels.

34) Fourth meeting of the *Giovani Ricercatori Italiani di Storia e Filologia del Vicino Oriente Antico* (GRISef-VOA) – *Ricerche in corso* — On December 2nd, 2022, took place online the 4th meeting of the *Giovani Ricercatori Italiani di Storia e Filologia del Vicino Oriente Antico* (GRISef-VOA). The event

was co-organized by the present authors Beatrice Baragli (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) and Armando Bramanti (at that time CCHS – CSIC, Madrid) and aimed at offering a platform for early career Italian scholars in Ancient Near Eastern History and Philology to present their ongoing research and endeavors.

The initiative was established in 2017 from the joined effort of Silvia Salin and Francesca Minen, co-founders of the GRISef-VOA (at that time GRIA, *Giovani Ricercatori Italiani di Assiriologia*) and rapidly caught the interest of a great number of early career—i.e. pre-tenure track—scholars, mostly PhD candidates and postdoctoral researchers, but occasionally also advanced MA students. A first meeting took place in March 2018 at Università di Verona (see Ponchia, S., Salin, S., Minen, F. 2018. *First meeting of Giovani Ricercatori Italiani di Assiriologia* (GRIA), NABU 2018/36), followed by a second meeting in February 2019 at Sapienza – Università di Roma (see the report of L. Bertolini, one of the organizers, on the IAA magazine *Mar Shiprim* of 1/10/2019 at <https://tinyurl.com/mr3ud9ur>). A third meeting was scheduled for March 2020 at Università di Verona but was unfortunately cancelled a few days before the date due to the pandemic of COVID-19. More information on the history of the initiative and the programs of past conferences can be found at <https://griassiriologia.wordpress.com>.

After a sensible almost three-year hiatus the present authors revived the initiative and opted for an online format, which allowed for a remarkably well-attended meeting, in terms of both speakers and audience. The conference consisted of 18 presentations, two keynote lectures, and a workshop including talks on postdoc opportunities in Italy, Germany, Spain, Czech Republic, and Israel aimed at promoting international exchange and mobility among young scholars. A grand total of 21 speakers affiliated to twelve research centers in seven different countries participated in this fourth meeting. The program encompassed five sessions on Sumer, Babylon and Assyria, Literature and Society, Anatolia, Language and Grammar; thus, covering the entire chronological and geographical range of Cuneiform Studies. The aforementioned workshop and a rich round table concluded the event. Below the reader will find a list of the participants and their presentations – more information, including the full program of the conference, is available at <https://griassiriologia.wordpress.com/286-2>.

– **Keynote lectures** – Gabriella Spada (Sapienza – Università di Roma): L'importanza del tempio nell'economia dell'antica Mesopotamia: il caso dei *temple loans* di periodo paleo-babilonese; Elena Devecchi (Università di Torino): Riflessioni sull'uso dei sigilli nella Babilonia di epoca cassita: questioni di proprietà, identità e riconoscibilità.

– **Sumer** – Angela Greco (Sapienza – Università di Roma): Mercanti di pesce nel terzo millennio a.C.; Edoardo Zanetti: Dalle parole ai fatti: descrivere e vivere il paesaggio idraulico nel terzo millennio a.C. in Sumer; Armando Bramanti (CCHS – CSIC, Madrid): *Hidden in plain sight*: evidenza di un rituale divinatorio nel terzo millennio?; Andrea Rebecca Marrocchi Savoi (Sapienza – Università di Roma): Legami d'argilla. Uno sguardo alla società di Ur III attraverso i ditilla.

– **Babylon and Assyria** – Silvia Gabrieli: Cilicia, frontiera Assira; Letizia Savino (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz): Medicina e medici 'all'estero'; Lucrezia Menicatti (Universität Wien): Ripetizione e pensiero analogico nella letteratura divinatoria mesopotamica del primo millennio a.C.; Alessia Pilloni (Freie Universität Berlin): Babilonia e Uruk: città gemelle delle scienze celesti. Un caso studio sulla trasmissione del sapere astronomico nel periodo Tardo-babilonese.

– **Literature and Society** – Ludovica Bertolini (Charles University, Prague): Alcune considerazioni sull'uso della letteratura tradizionale sumerica nelle scuole scribali di Ugarit; Marinella Ceravolo (Sapienza – Università di Roma): Semantica, materialità e musealizzazione della pace del Vicino Oriente antico.

– **Anatolia** – Marta Pallavidini (Freie Universität Berlin): Definire una crisi: spunti di riflessione e approccio teorico al concetto di crisi nel mondo ittita; Mariateresa Albanese (Sapienza – Università di Roma): KUB 27.42: rituale o invocazione del principe sacerdote per i sovrani?; Sasha Alessandro Volpi: Storia dei rapporti ittito-babilonesi nel Tardo Bronzo; Marco De Pietri (Università degli Studi di Pavia): Indagini sui proprietari di sigilli ittiti a iscrizione geroglifica (II millennio a.C.): raccolta di dati onomastici per un indice dei nomi e indagini prosopografiche.

– **Language and Grammar** – Beatrice Baragli (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem): Verbi composti sumerici nel I millennio; Michela Piccin (North-West University, South Africa): Aspetti linguistici della persuasività in accadico: selezione di testi; Virna Fagiolo (Sapienza – Università di Roma / Università Roma Tre); *Nomina actionis* e *nomina rei actae* in ittito: il caso della derivazione nominale eteroclita; Fabio Bastici (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz): Filologia e grammatica hurrita: ricerche in corso e prospettive.

– **Workshop: postdoc opportunities** – Gabriella Spada (Sapienza – Università di Roma): Italy; Marta Pallavidini (Freie Universität Berlin): Germany; Armando Bramanti (CCHS – CSIC, Madrid): Spain; Sergio Alivernini (Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague): Czech Republic; Beatrice Baragli (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem): Israel.

Such meetings not only provide an opportunity to present ongoing scholarship but also promote the development of an active network of young, untenured Italian researchers working both in national and in international institutions, thus fostering the long tradition of Italian Ancient Near Eastern Studies. The present authors express their gratitude to each and every participant and attendee of the conference and pass the witness to the next generation of Italian young scholars, wishing a long and successful continuation of the GRISef-VOA.

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NOUVELLES PARA-ASSYRIOLOGIQUES

Cette nouvelle rubrique permet la publication de notes très brèves (max. quelques lignes) concernant la parution d'ouvrages ou œuvres visuelles culturelles ayant un lien avec l'Assyriologie. La rédaction doit le terme « para-assyriologie » à une collègue parisienne. On attendra avec impatience son entrée dans les dictionnaires francophones.

35) Parution d'un roman sur Sennachérîb — Josette Elayi vient de publier un roman intitulé *Le roi qui noya Babylone* aux Éditions Douro (ISBN 9782384062256).

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