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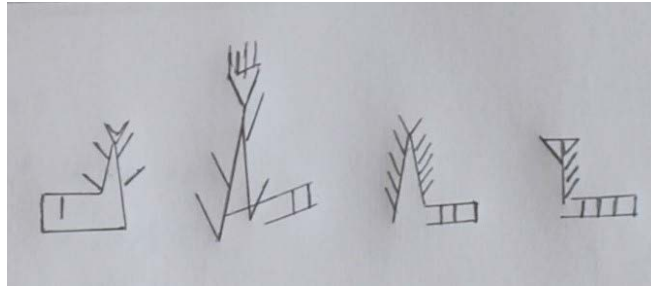
NOTES BRÈVES

53) Der Ursprung des Zeichens EN und sein Zusammenhang mit dem „Priesterfürsten“ — EN gehört zu den Zeichen, die aus zwei Elementen zusammengesetzt sind deren Lage eindeutig festgelegt ist, wie bei NIN (= MUNUS+NÁM). Das eine Element ist GÁNA (gána, aša₅(-g)) = *eqlû* „Feld“. Dazu kommt eine Pflanze und wegen ihr ist GÁNA gegenüber der normalen Lage gedreht. Die Pflanze steht nie auf dem Feld, sondern immer genau am Rand. Vergleichen kann man die Ähre (ŠE) in TU und den Zweig mit Beeren (NUN) in TUR₅, nämlich als Vereinigung zweier Elemente, die irgendwie auf den Begriff hinleiten ohne dass sie in der realen Welt in einer räumlichen oder nur funktionalen Verbindung stehen müssen.

Die Pflanze wird auf verschiedene Weise stilisiert, insbesondere wird eine Seite - meist die dem Feld zugewandte - weggelassen und diese Form setzt sich durch. Wenn beidseitig ausgeführt, endet sie in einen Winkel, der nach oben weist und durch eine weitere Linie häufig zu einem Dreieck wird, wie bei gu = *qû* „Hanf“. Bei gu zeigt das Dreieck offenbar eine Blüte an. Bei EN gibt es nur in Uruk IV eine Variante bei der aus dem Winkel oder Dreieck noch Linien kommen. Die Striche wurden bisher als Abwandlung des Zeichens EN, also „EN-*gunû*“ verstanden. Sieht man sich die wenigen Beispiele an, etwa W 9656ae ATU 5 Tf. 89 (P001447); W 6572d ATU 5 Tf. 9 (P000780); W 9579ap ATU 5 Tf. 67 (P001288); W 9656gm, ATU 5, 111 (P001607), so wird deutlich, dass die Striche zur Pflanze gehören, also kein anderes Zeichen darstellen wie bei SAĜ-*gunû* = ka, AB-*gunû* = unug etc.

In MSVO 4, 73 sieht es zweimal so aus, als stünde am anderen Ende des Feldes noch eine kleinere Pflanze, nur als Dreieck angedeutet. Es könnte sich aber auch um eine Ligatur MUNUS+EN handeln. Cf. MSVO 3, 61, wo MUNUS und EN in der gleichen Weise zusammengedrückt sind, MUNUS aber noch als eigenes Zeichen zu erkennen ist.

Ein weiteres Charakteristikum der Pflanze ist ein dicker Stamm, der sich nach oben verjüngt. Dieser kann zu einem durchgehenden Strich reduziert werden. Davon gehen schräg nach oben Linien ab. Diese sind in sehr seltenen Fällen zu Dreiecken stilisiert (EN_c, z. B. MSVO 3, 61; 64; 4, 73) und sind daher vielleicht als Blätter oder als Ansätze abgefallener Zweige zu interpretieren, wie sie für Palmen charakteristisch sind. Die Dreiecke gehen nicht auf beiden Seiten in gleicher Höhe ab, sondern wechselseitig. Das erinnert an die Darstellung einer der beiden Pflanzen auf der Uruk-Vase, die von Miller et al. 2016 als Sprössling einer Dattelpalme identifiziert wurde. Sie ist das Bild von dem das Zeichen gibil = *eššu* „neu“ abgeleitet ist.



Einige der Varianten des Zeichens EN in Uruk IV

Das Zeichen GIBIL und die Darstellung der Pflanze bei EN entsprechen sich nicht ganz. Doch von Anfang an ist die Pflanze in Kombination mit GÁNA einem starken Hang zur Vereinfachung ausgesetzt. Außerdem mag ein anderes Wachstumsstadium gemeint sein. Schließlich entsprechen sich auch GIBIL und ĞEŠNIMBAR = *gišimmaru* „Dattelpalme“ nicht ganz. Obwohl ĞEŠNIMBAR das Bild einer mehr ausgewachsenen Palme ist, wird in Uruk IV der sich verjüngende Stamm manchmal noch gezeigt (W 7227d; W 9578p; W 9656el = ATU 5, Tf. 27; 61; 13 = P000961; P001247; P001555).

Auf der frühdynastischen *Figure aux plumes* (AO 221, ELTS 18) wird sechsmal ein En als handelnde Person erwähnt und es ist daher sehr wahrscheinlich, dass damit die abgebildete Person gemeint ist, die noch eindeutig die Attribute des „Priesterfürsten“ trägt (Keetman 2021). Obwohl die späteren Lesungen *enkum/ninkum* für Archaic Lú A 67f.: EN.EZEN+ŠE.ABGAL.SIG₇ / NIN.EZEN+ŠE.ABGAL.SIG₇ für Uruk III nicht beweisbar sind, wird doch klar, dass das Zeichen EN mit NIN wechselt, in völligem Einklang mit den späteren Bedeutungen „Herr“, „Herrscher (von Uruk)“ und „Herrin“, „Königin“. Das Zeichen ist auch häufig Bestandteil von Namen, genauso wie später *lugal* „König“, „Herr“. Deshalb ist es aber auch schwer zu entscheiden, wann es als Titel und wann als Namensbestandteil verwendet wird.

In Ebla ist weder LUGAL noch ÉNSI Sumerogramm für den Herrscher, sondern EN (STIEGLITZ 2002). In Mari wechseln EN und LUGAL. Dies ist umso verwunderlicher als LUGAL im nördlichen Babylonien bereits früh belegt ist. Siehe Prisoner Plaque (STEINKELLER 2013); *me-bára-si lugal* [kiš] (RIME1.7.22.2; CDLI datiert ED IIIb, doch die Form von KIŠ ist sogar älter als ED IIIa). Unter den 28 sumerischen Namen aus FD IIIa Kiš (WESTENHOLZ 2020, 705f.) enthalten 11 *lugal*, keiner *en*. Dass EN für *malikum/malkum* „König“, nicht für *šarrum* „König“ stand, spielt dabei eine untergeordnete Rolle. In der Bedeutung „König“ wurde später *malku* mit verschiedenen sumerischen Worten geglichen u. a. mit LUGAL, doch die Beziehung zu EN ist auf die Zeit und den Raum von Ebla begrenzt.

MATTHIAE 1981, 217 und ASTOUR 1992, 18 vermuteten, dass dieser Gebrauch von EN auf die Zeit der Uruk-Expansion zurückgeht. Das setzt aber auch eine Schrifttradition voraus, die weit genug zurückreicht. Die Tradition der Herrscherdarstellung und damit eventuell auch die Bezeichnung riss aber auch nach Uruk III nicht sofort bzw. überall ab. Das nächste Bindeglied sind die Blauschen Steine (ELTS 10; 11), die wahrscheinlich aus Tell el-Uqair, etwa 20 km nördlich von Kiš stammen und paläographisch zwischen Uruk III und Prisoner Black einzuordnen sind. Auf ihnen ist der „Priesterfürst“ abgebildet, aber sein Titel wird nicht genannt. Die Textfunde aus Ebla sind erheblich jünger, aber es gibt eine Liste, die vergöttlichte Könige von Ebla enthält. Sie verzeichnet 33 Namen (STIEGLITZ 2018-22), darunter den Eponymen *ib-la* (27.). Man kann schon daher dem Anfang der Reihe misstrauen, aber wenn man nur 20 Namen als schriftlich überliefert akzeptiert und eine durchschnittliche Regierungszeit von 25 Jahren annimmt, so beginnt die Reihe um 2800 und das ist eine Moderate Annahme. Eventuell wurden logographisch geschriebene Namen später syllabisch geschrieben. Jedenfalls ist es möglich, dass der Gebrauch des Zeichens EN für den Herrscher in Ebla auf dem einen oder anderen Wege auf Uruk III zurückgeht. Das stärkste Argument für die Verbindung des Zeichens EN mit dem Priesterfürst bleibt jedoch die *Figure aux plumes*. Wenn man Federn mangels Parallelen ausschließt, so ist diese Figur auch mit einem Symbol für Pflanzen verbunden, wenn auch auf andere Weise als beim Zeichen EN.

Die als „Priesterfürst“ titulierte Figur tritt immer als einzelne, zentrale Gestalt auf, wenn man davon ausgeht, dass bei der einzigen Ausnahme, der „Löwenjagd-Stele“ die gleiche Person in zwei

separaten Szenen abgebildet ist. Der Priesterfürst erscheint u. a. bei der Aufrechterhaltung der öffentlichen Ordnung mit Gefangenen, bei der Jagd, bei offenbar kultischen Prozessionen zu Land und in einem Boot (cf. BRAUN-HOLZINGER 2007, 8-14). Er wird mit Menschen abgebildet, die weniger wichtig sind, aber nie erkennen lassen, dass sie ihn anbeten. Er ist also höchstens sekundär auch göttlicher Natur. Ein Gott, der auf die Jagd geht und bei Gefangenenszenen dabeisteht, wäre auch sehr ungewöhnlich.

Auf einigen Siegeln füttert der Priesterfürst auch Tiere. Aus dieser symbolisch, bzw. rituell zu verstehenden Fütterung, teilweise mit großen Blüten, kann man auf eine religiöse Verantwortung für das Wachsen der Pflanzen schließen. Wie bereits MILLER et al. 2016, 59 erkannt haben, wird dabei auch der Dattelpalmenschössling verwendet. Auf einigen Siegeln (BRAUN-HOLZINGER 2007 FS 11-13; 26) trägt der Priesterfürst einen großen Gegenstand vor sich, der der Pflanze des Zeichens EN in der Version mit Strichen am oberen Ende entsprechen könnte, wenn man davon ausgeht, dass seitliche Triebe oder Blätter entfernt wurden. Auf einem in Uruk gefundenem Siegel steht eine entsprechende Pflanze direkt vor dem Priesterfürsten und ein Schaf frisst davon, während der Priesterfürst eine symbolische Fütterung mit Palmschösslingen(?) vornimmt (W 14766f. BRAUN-HOLZINGER 2007, FS 16). Normales Geschehen und damit verbundene religiöse Handlung werden zusammen gezeigt. Zu erkennen ist das Schaf am Kopf, doch es ist kein Pelz zu erkennen, weshalb es sich um ein gerade geschorenes Schaf oder um ein sehr junges Tier handelt. Beides würde eine Szene im Frühjahr nahelegen.

Auf einem Siegel aus Tell Billa (20 km nordöstl. Mosul; BRAUN-HOLZINGER 2007 FS 24) sind drei Personen mit einem Boot abgebildet. Eine übergroße, nackte Person aus Platzgründen über dem Boot. Über dem vorderen und hinteren Ende des Bootes ist eine wie bei EN stilisierte Pflanze abgebildet: eine Linie mit Seitenzweigen endet oben in einem Dreieck. In der größeren Hauptszene schreiten drei Personen auf einen Tempel zu. Die vordere trägt einen Gürtel(?), die hintere hält einen zusammengerollten Netzrock(?) vor sich. Die Mittlere ist mit einem Netzrock bekleidet, der aber nicht übers Knie reicht. Kappe und Bart des Priesterfürsten fehlen. Vielleicht ist hinten am Kopf der typische Haarwulst zu erkennen oder der Kopf ist kahl. In der Hand hält sie einen Gegenstand, der eine kleinere Ausführung des Pflanzensymbols sein könnte welches der Priesterfürst gelegentlich hält. Der Gesamtzusammenhang, Pflanzen, Pflanzensymbol, Bootsfahrt, zentrale Rolle der Person, machen es möglich, in ihr den Priesterfürst zu sehen. Die Abweichungen könnten mit der Entfernung von Uruk bzw. mit dem besonderen Anlass zusammenhängen. In FS 15 (Uruk), wo der Priesterfürst eindeutig im Boot ist, sprießt aus dem Bug ebenfalls eine Pflanze.

Nehmen wir an, die Beziehung zur Fruchtbarkeit in der Landwirtschaft war ein wesentliches Merkmal des En, dann wäre ein Zeichen, das auf die wichtigsten Pflanzen der sumerischen Landwirtschaft, Getreide und Dattelpalmen anspielt, eine Möglichkeit zur Schreibung dieses Titels. Die Dattelpalme ist noch im allerersten Stadium. Dazu wird ein Feld mit Furchen abgebildet, keine Ähre. Möglicherweise eine Anspielung auf ein Fest am Jahresanfang. Dazu passt, dass die Schafe auf dem oben erwähnten Siegel keinen Pelz erkennen lassen.

Den postulierten Zusammenhang drückt auch ein frühdynastischer Text aus: en kul-aba₄ men il-gen₇ hé-gál kalam 'ki' dar-d[ar] „Wenn der En von Kulaba die Men-Krone aufsetzt, dann bricht der Überfluss des Landes Sumer aus dem Boden (hervor)“ IAS 329 vi 6-9 (FD IIIa). Der Text zählt Namen der Innana auf, neben deren Schilfbündel der „Priesterfürst“ oft zu sehen ist (BRAUN-HOLZINGER 2007, 10f.). Auch das Objekt, das der En bzw. die En-Priesterin auf dem Kopf trägt, geschrieben LAGABxEN (später ĜÁxEN, dann ĜÁx(ME.EN)) gibt es als Zeichen bereits seit Uruk IV. Das eingeschriebene EN ist eher ein semantischer als ein phonetischer Indikator. Als phonetischer Indikator würde EN in MEN, die Lesung en ab Uruk IV wahrscheinlich machen. Als semantischer Indikator verbindet er ein Zeichen, das später für die Krone des En stand, mit dem Zeichen EN schon ab Uruk IV und legt daher ebenfalls die Verbindung zum Priesterfürsten nahe. Das wulstige Diadem, das die En-Priesterin Enheduana auf ihrer berühmten Scheibe und eine mutmaßliche Vorgängerin auf einer frühdynastischen Weihplatte aus dem Bereich des Ĝepar in Ur (BOESE 1971, 79f. J. M. Evans in ARUZ & WALLENSFELS 2003, 74f.) tragen, erinnert an die Kopfbedeckung des Priesterfürsten.

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54) DUlu^{ki} was Byblos — Professor Giovanni Pettinato, with his brilliant mind, at once guessed that the placename written DU-lu in the Ebla archive did refer to the town of Byblos¹⁾. However, a number of scholars²⁾ refused his proposal arguing that the reading "gub" for DU (Gub-lu) could not be found in the Ebla syllabary, and such a dearth of evidence would compromise the identification. Actually they failed to realize that a reading DU = gub did not belong at all to the syllabary introduced to Ebla from Sumer, but should have a different origin. They overlooked the same intrusion in the Egyptian script, where an old logogram K3P was eventually used to write the placename of Byblos from the beginning of the second millennium BC (KP-n-y = Gub-la-a)³⁾. The identity of the older writing k-b-n (cf. Gu-ub-la in the Ur III period) for Byblos with the new entry Kp-n-y to write the same placename in the Egyptian sources lies beyond any doubt. Therefore the correspondence shown between the Egyptian and the Eblaite spellings definitely ensures the same identification for DU-lu.

In both scripts (hieroglyphic and Ebla cuneiform) the issue was clearly due to an external input. Since then, "gub" became a reading for DU in the cuneiform syllabary in the later Near Eastern scribal practice. This instance provides likewise an enlightening isograph (i.e. cuneiform and hieroglyphic) on the Mediterranean sea coast.

1. G. Pettinato, “Le città fenicie e Byblos in particolare nella documentazione epigrafica di Ebla”, *Studi Fenici* 16 (1983), 107-118: 108-112.

2. M. G. Biga, Eblaite, Egyptian, and Anatolian place names at the crossroads, *Or.* 91-1 (2022), 70-79: 71-72.

3. A. Roccati, Eblaite, Egyptian, and Anatolian place names at the crossroads, *Or.* 91-1 (2022), 79-93: 79-83.

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55) A fragmentary tablet from Ebla — Lower right part of a monthly document concerning a distribution of garments. Its provenance is the Central Archive (L. 2769) of Ebla. This tablet was seen about forty years ago in the antiques market of Beirut. A friend was so kind to send to me these photos.

The document mentions in rev. IV minister Ibrium and the city of Ḫalsum. This dates the text to the years Ibrium 13-16, when Ebla submitted Ḫalsum with a series of campaigns (see Archi, “The Wars of Ebla at the Time of Minister Ibrium”, *AoF* 189–220; see pp. 205–208).

obv.[?]

x+I 1':]-f'x¹ / [x] a₃-d[um]-TUG₂-II [1 aktum]-TUG₂ [1] ib₂+III-TUG₂ gún / []-f'x¹ / []-DU / [] / [] / []
 II' 1': []-D]U / (blank) / [] / []-x / [D]a-ra-[s]a₂-mu / A-šu-ur₂-ì / I-ti-N[E] / [] / []-f'x¹ / [] / []
 III' 1': in / Lu₅-a-tum^{ki} / in / [] / []-f'x¹ / [1] ib₂+III-TUG₂ [gun₂] / [Da-]dub / maškim / In-ma-lik / wa / En-na-[] / []
 IV' 2': a₃-[da]-um-TUG₂-II [2] [a]ktum-TUG₂ 1 i[b₂+III]-TUG₂ [gun₂] / ba-da-lum / Ḫa-ra-an^{ki} / wa / dumu-nita-su₃ / 1 gu-dul₃-TUG₂ 1 aktum-TUG₂ 1 ib+III]-TU₂ gun₂ / [] / []
 V 1': f'x¹-[] / f'Ḫa¹-ra¹-f'an^{ki}(?) / šu-du₈ / in / Ḫal-sum^{ki} / [1] gu-du[1]₂-TUG₂ 1 f'aktum¹-TUG₂ 1 f'ib₂+III]-TUG₂ [gún] / [] //

rev.²

- I 1: šu-du₈ / in / *Hal-s*[um^{ki}] / in / *Du-[d]u-l*[u^{ki}] / šu-ba₄-ti / in ud / *Ib-ri₂-um* / DU-DU / [...] / [1 a₃-da-um-TUG₂ 2 a[ktum-TUG₂ 2 ib+III-TUG₂ ...
- II' 1: *Ir-i-tum*^{ki} / 1 a₃-da-um-TUG₂-II 2 a[ktum-TUG₂ 2 ib₂+III-TUG₂ gun₂ / [Ib]-dur[-] / ba-d[u-lum] / *Sa-nap-
zu-gum*₂^{ki} / [1 aktum-]TUG₂ 1 ib₂+III-TUG₂ gun₂ / 'x¹-f¹x[-
- III' 1: [1] 'a₃¹-da-[u]m-TUG₂-II 1 a[ktum-TUG₂ 1 ib₂+III-TUG₂ gun₂ / i₃-giš-sag / [] 'x¹ [] / [] / 1 g[u]-zi-
[tum-TUG₂] 1 aktum-[TUG₂] / 1 ib₂+III-[TUG₂] sa₆ gun₂ / *Bu₂-sum* / šu-du₈-maš₂ / 1 gu-du₁₃-[TUG₂] / [
- IV 1: 'A/Za¹-zi-du^{ki} / ugula IGI.SAL / [] 'x¹ [] / [] / [] / [] 2] ib₂+III-TUG₂ [g]un₂ / [] -]ma-lik / wa / *Bu-
kam_x* / in / *Ha-lab₄*^{ki} / [



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56) An Ebla document concerning grain allotments — This tablet (84 × 80 mm) has been transliterated with the kind permission of Mr. Borowski in Toronto, in the year 1983, when it was in his collection. Its provenience is the Central Archive (L. 2769) of Ebla.

obv.	I.	1.	50 še gu ₂ -bar	rev.	I	1.	2 mi-at še gu ₂ -bar
			še-numun				še-ba
		3.	mu-ti			3.	é
			Gu ₂ ¹ -f ¹ sar ¹ /f ¹ ra ¹ -[x] ^{ki}				Il ₂ -u ₃ ^{ki}
		5.	Su-gur-a-nu ^{ki}			5.	1 mi-at gu ₂ -bar
			50 še gu ₂ -bar				še-ba
	II.	1.	še-numun			7.	é
			mu-ti				Du-u ₉ ^{ki}
		3.	Za-ra-mi-su ^{ki}			9.	60 še gu ₂ -bar
			40 še gu ₂ -bar				še-numun
		5.	še-numun			11.	wa
			a ₃ -bar-du ^{ki}		II.	1.	še-ku ₂
		7.	50 še gu ₂ -bar				Ib-su ^{ki}
			še-numun			3.	35 še gu ₂ -bar
		9.	NE-NE-du ^{ki}				še-numun

III.	1.	50 še <i>gu₂-bar</i> še-numun	5.	<i>A-wa-su^{ki}</i> 50 še <i>gu₂-bar</i>
	3.	<i>U₉-gu₂-na-mu^{ki}</i> 40 še <i>gu₂-bar</i>	7.	še-numun <i>wa</i>
	5.	še-numun 30 še <i>gu₂-bar</i>	9.	še-ba še-ku ₂
	8.	še-ku ₂ 2 IGI.NITA	11.	<i>Ħa-lab₄^{ki}</i> (<i>erased</i>)
IV.	1.	<i>Su-du-ur₂^{ki}</i> 50 še <i>gu₂-bar</i>	III.	1. AN.ŠE ₃ .GU ₂ 9 mi 30 še <i>gu₂-bar</i> še-numun-še-numun
	3.	še-numun <i>Da-ni-zi^{ki}</i>	3.	<i>wa</i> še-ba-še-ba
	5.	20 še <i>gu₂-bar</i> še-ku ₂	5.	mu-ti (<i>blank</i>)
	7.	2 IGI.NITA <i>Ba-zi-la-du^{ki}</i>	IV.	1. 3 mi še <i>gu₂-bar</i> še-ba
V.	9.	{KI} (<i>light written</i>)	3.	<i>Ib-du-lu</i> šu-mu-tak ₄
	1.	20 še <i>gu₂-bar</i> še-numun	5.	5 mi še <i>gu₂-bar</i> <i>Ma-ri₂^{ki}</i>
	3.	<i>Maš-bar-ra^{ki}</i> 15 še <i>gu₂-bar</i>	7.	7 mi še <i>gu₂-bar</i> še SAG×ĦA
	5.	še-numun <i>Du-la-du^{ki}</i>	V.	1. 7 li še <i>gu₂-bar</i>
	7.	70 še <i>gu₂-bar</i> še-ku ₂	3.	lú <i>Ib-dur-i-sar</i> <i>En-na-ì</i>
	9.	ugula sur _x -BAR.AN ĦU ^{ki}	5.	šu-ba-ti (<i>erased</i>)

The first section of the document (obv. I 1-rev. III 5) concerns the expenditure of 930 *gu₂-bar* measures of barley as “deliveries”, mu-ti, of “barley for seed”, še-numun, “rations”, še-ba, “feed” še-ku₂, for equids, BAR.AN and IGI(.NITA). The value of a *gu₂-bar* has been estimated at 120 or 144 sila (liters) by L. Milano (ARET IX, p. 349).

The term mu-DU at Ebla means “to deliver”, translated “delivered by / delivery from” when followed by an agent. The documents collected in ARET XIV register goods “delivered”, mu-DU, to the Central Administration during forty-one years, from the minister, the “lords”, lugal-lugal, the overseers”, ugula-ugula, of administrative sectors, the city-states which recognized Ebla’s hegemony, cities, villages, and rural communities of the kingdom organized in “gates”, ka₂-ka₂. The term which qualified the “expenditures” of goods (garments, objects, metals) from the Central Administration was Sumerian: e₃.

The proper noun for “delivery”, that is an expenditure inside the Administration of goods such as silver, gold, and barley own by the Administration for administrative sectors was: mu-ti; see e.g. the passages in H. Waetzoldt, *MEE* 12, 35 obv. VI 13–16; 36 rev. XXII 19’–22’: 3 gin₂ DILMUN ku₃:babbar sag ku₃:babbar ^d*Ku-ra* mu-ti-4 / mu-ti-2 “3 shekels (24 g) of silver for the silver head of Kura: fourth / second delivery”. The city-god Kura received 1 mina (470 g) of silver at the beginning of the new year for the renewing rite of the silver mask of his statue, and other 3 shekels (23 g) of silver for a subsequent rite in a later period of the year.

The seventeen geographical names listed in this document refer to minor centres of the kingdom, excepted Ħalab, the major cult place of the Storm-god Hadda already at the time of the Ebla period, as well as in the following millennia. The delivery of 50 *gu₂-bar* of barley (a small amount, which confirms that the settlement was small at that time, and wholly in function of the temple) had to be used as “seed”, “rations” for the servants, and “food” še-ku₂, for the cult personnel (rev. II 6–11).

This document (similarly to other unpublished ones) shows that towns and settlements of the kingdom were subject to a type of tax payment. The Central Administration, however, could decide that part of these revenues had to be employed on the sites for sowing the fields belonging to the Palace, for providing food to its personnel there, and for feeding working animals.

Some of the collected barley could also be given to certain officials (e.g., to Ibdulu) for rations allotments, or for other purposes (e.g., to Ibdur-išar and Enna-il), according to the needs of Central Administration. According to this document, a considerable amount of barley (500 *gu₂-bar*) was destined for trade with Mari, to obtain garments, wool, and other goods (r. IV 1–V 5). Seven hundreds *gu₂-bar* of barley were available for “loans”, SAG×HA.

These three functionaries cannot be identified because their names are too common.

All the seventeen settlements were rural in character with the exception of Ḫalab: *A₃-bar-du^{ki}* (0); *Da-ni-zu^{ki}* (0); *A-wa-su^{ki}* (0); *Ba-zi-la-du^{ki}* (0); *Du-la-du^{ki}* (2); *Du-u^{ki}* (1); *Gu¹-sar¹/ra¹-[x]^{ki}* (0); *Ḫa-lab^{ki}* (65); *ḪU^{ki}* (3); *Il₂-u^{ki}* (0); *Ib-su^{ki}* (21); *Maš-bar-rá^{ki}* (18); *NE-NE-du^{ki}* (3); *Su-du-ur^{ki}* (0); *Su-gur-a-nu^{ki}* (3); *U₉-gu₂-na-mu^{ki}* (0); *Za-ra-mi-su^{ki}* (6).

The number in bracket refers to the number of the occurrences of each toponym registered in the *Ebla Digital Archives* (EbDA) of Ca' Foscari University of Venice.

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57) Vocabula sumerica 5. gi₄ = *naparkû* — J’ai essayé de montrer (JCS 74 [2022] 39–43) que le verbe sumérien *gi₄* pouvait signifier « diminuer, faiblir, venir à manquer ». Je n’avais pas encore remarqué que les lettrés mésopotamiens admettaient déjà ce sens, puisqu’ils ont rendu au moins deux fois *gi₄* par *naparkû*, « cesser son activité, se retirer, rester à l’écart, faire défaut » :

nam-ba-ra-gi₄<-gi₄>-dè-en níĝ a-ra-ab-bé-en-na-ĝu₁₀ e-ne-er ù-ne-dè-daĝ // *lā tapparakkī* ([tap-p]a-rak-ki) *ša aqabbû ana šâši šunnišim-ma* « Ne manque pas de lui répéter mes paroles » Enlil et Sud 30, JAOS 103, p. 52.

din-nin ki ^{gi₄}tukul sâg-ga šu-nir gub-bu-dè ĝâl-zu lú na-me nu-mu-un-da-ab-gi₄-gi₄ // ^dMIN *ina tišbut kakki u šurinni ina petê idē-ki mamman aj ip-par-ku* (ip-par-ŠU) « Innin, dans la mêlée experte (gal-zu !) à lever l’étendard, que nul ne peut repousser » (sum) // « I., quand les armes s’entrechoquent et se déploient les étendards, que nul ne te fasse défection ! » (akk) Exaltation d’Ištar IV B 21–22.

Dans le cas de ce dernier passage le sumérien et l’akkadien divergent, comme souvent dans ce texte, tout en préservant l’idée générale. Les signes ŠU et KU sont très proches et la correction s’impose. AHw 735a et W. G. Lambert (Or 40 [1971] 95) lisaient déjà *ip-par-ku* ! Cependant si dans la forme *ipparku* le scribe a écrit ŠU pour KU, c’est peut-être aussi parce qu’il avait en tête *ipparšid*, qui aurait pu convenir au contexte (« que nul n’échappe »), mais ne correspondait pas à *gi₄*. Ce n’est pas une raison suffisante pour suivre CAD N/1, 283b s.v. *naparšudu*, qui n’a pas hésité à lire « *ip-par-šid* (text -šu) », une correction qui va trop loin. La leçon de Hruška (ArOr 37 [1969] 488) « šu-nir gub-bu *á ĝâl-zu » (lisant á pour dè = NE de la copie) est une émendation aussi radicale qu’injustifiée. W. G. Lambert, après collation, confirme implicitement l’exactitude de la copie : « NE !-gâl-zu no doubt in error for á-gal-zu » (Or 40 [1971] 95). Cette émendation aussi a été admise aveuglément par CAD mais ne s’impose pas non plus, si on rattache *idē-ki* non à *petû* mais à *naparkû* : les hommes ne doivent pas s’égailler mais serrer les rangs *aux côtés* (-da-//idu) de leur chef Inana !

Quoi qu’il en soit, l’équivalence *gi₄* // *naparkû* aurait pu — à mon sens — servir aussi à rendre la phrase qui clôt la litanie à la fin des *balag* sumériens šudu₃-bi ... ki na-an-gi₄-gi₄(-gi₄) « Que la bénédiction ... ne perde jamais sa force ! ».

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58) Comments to NABU 2023/36 and remarks concerning the so-called “conjugation prefixes” — There the author has shown that the ventive im- cannot be derived from *i + mu-.

Gonzalo Rubio reminded me of his analysis in RUBIO 2007. His argument is that two elements from the same slot cannot occur together. There may be the risk of a circular argument since we assume different slots if two morphemes occur together. If the hypothesis im <*i-mu-, refuted in NABU 2023/36 could be defended, this would force us to change the system of the assumed slots. As an empiric result from Sumerian and other languages, I would agree that languages try to avoid an unnecessary confused order of affixes. If the order A-B and B-C are given *C-A seems impossible. If the three prefixes are part of a chain with B before C or B and C in the same slot and if there is no special counterargument, the

existence of A-C seems likely. If *i-* would be possible before *mu-* we could ask, why **i-ba-* is not attested. RUBIO 2007 refutes an explanation with a nasale vowel ($\bar{i} + b > im$) and the only solution seems that *i-*, *mu-*, *ba-* and *im-ma-* belong to the same slot. We tend to a more radical critic of the traditional view on these prefixes.

Confronted with the system of a language with which modern scholars were totally unfamiliar and at an early stage of its investigation, Benno Landsberger coined the term “Konjugationspräfixe” (apud SCHOLTZ 1934), a term which the present author knows from no other language. The word brings the idea into mind that these prefixes change a root, an infinitive or participle into a finite, conjugated verb. But why different markers with the same root, tense and person? If we explain the existence of different markers with the assumption that verbalisation was not their only function, then any verbal prefix would have the same secondary function. It is not possible here to describe the very long discussion about these prefixes. MICHALOWSKI 2004, 44 stated a “minimalist position” with the prefixes *mu-*, *ba-*, *i-* and *imma-* which could be filled into one slot (he didn’t discuss *bí-*, *im-mi-*, *a/al-*). He explained *im-ma-* as a “form of reduplication of *mu-*, in which the initial consonant is copied and the cluster is reinforced by an initial vowel”. No parallel is quoted and nothing is said about the last vowel. According to the character of the book no justification by comparing sentences with *mu-* and *im-ma-* was given. We may speculate that the motivation was to reduce the number of “conjugation prefixes” since as one category they have many distinct prefixes. RUBIO 2007 uses the approach of Michalowski adding (after KARAHASHI 2000) *bí-* and *im-mi-* as *ba-* and *im-ma-* before locative-terminative (refuted in ATTINGER 2007).

The idea that the “conjugation prefixes” are to be seen as a special category of prefixes was challenged by Jagersma: “the so-called conjugation prefixes are mutually independent prefixes, each with its own unrelated function” (JAGERSMA 2010, 286).

What follows is a very short overview why and how prefixes and slots may be rearranged.

It can be shown by parallel texts that *im-ma-* is related to *im-* and *ba-* (ATTINGER 1993, 281f. KEETMAN 2015, 176-85 both with more lit.). Because of this the ventive *mu/(i)m-* and *ba-* have different slots. Among its functions the use as a dative of the non-person class (ATTINGER 1993, 281; BALKE 2006, 180-82) is notable and can be regarded as its basic function allowing the analysis *b.a* (SCHULZE 2010, 180; KEETMAN 2011, 294f.; 2017, 108). Compare dative plural *e-ne-a-*, 1st p. *ma-* but 2nd p. *ma-ra-*. The next slot is the dative of the person class (*i)nna < *n.ra* (JAGERSMA 2010, 401-403). The difference in the morphology is in accordance with the use of different suffixes at the noun: *-ra* person class, *-e* (sometimes with slightly different meaning *-a*) with *ba-*.

Since they represented the same function for different classes *ba-* and */nna/* must have been mutually exclusive like *-bda/nda-*. But as soon as *ba-* got more functions, especially *itiv* and *middle voice* (ZÓLYOMI 1993, 80-113; JAGERSMA 2010, 487-96; KEETMAN 2017, 108-112) *ba-(an-)na-* had to be created and the slot was divided into two. Compare the comitative, which can express a local reference (BALKE 2006, 98-104), but the slot is in front of the other dimensional *casus* since the comitative had other important functions and could therefor co-occur with the dimensional *casus*.

The rare but undeniable *ba-na-* together with the belief that the dative is */na/* and that therefore the vowel in front of it is the prefix */i/-*, which could not stand in front of *ba-*, was the reason for filling *ba-* as a “conjugation prefix” into a total different slot and that obscured its basic function. But with */nna/* the addition of */i/* can be a phonetic necessity and this explains why it is functional blank (see for example THOMSEN 1984, 163). It is also suspicious that */i/-* never appears in front of the prefixes from the type CV : *mu-*, *ba-*, *bí-*. Since *mu-* has no */i/-* an independent */i/-* is not part of *im-* and this makes an independent */i/-* even more doubtful in *in-na-*, *ib-ta* etc. The abundant use of */i/*, together with the lack of a writing for “not */i/*” (but as we suggest only in front of CCV-) was surely a main motivation for coining the expression “conjugation prefix”.

The */i/* before CCV- has no influence on *a-*, *ba-ra-*, *ga-*, *in-ga-* and *na-*. This speaks against *ḥé- < *ḥa + /i/* (THOMSEN 1984, 202; JAGERSMA 2010, 558). Compare as well the independent forms *ḥé*, *ḥé-a*, *ḥé-àm*, (*ḥé-*)*na-nam* and *ḥé-nun* “abundance”; *šu ḥé-a-da-peš-e* Gud. Cyl. A xi 9 etc. The rare examples where *ḥa-* cannot be a result of vowel harmony like *ḥa-bí-zi-zi* Ean. 63 iii 6 seem to be a combination of *ḥé-* and *a-* like in *ḥé-an-ši-dab₅* TCS 1, 112, 5; *ḥé-ab-šúm-mu* LEM 182, 9; *ḥé-àm-gaz-e* TMH 6, 10, 6 etc.

and *h  -a*. The independent form shows that *h  * and *a-* could have a special affinity and this explains why *h  -* is in some cases attested where *a-* is not, like *h  a-ni¹-ku₄-ku₄* Gud. Cyl. B ii 22 (this like most other examples violates assumed “*h   + /i/ > h   *”). If we follow the regular forms, *h  a-ba-* : *h   -na-* probably reflects C : CC, proving /nn/. Cf. *h  a-ma-* (1st dat.) : *h   -em-ma-*, *h   -em-ta-*, *h   -en-ga-* etc. The prefixes *nu-* and *  -* follow similar rules, but for them an alternative explanation that a possible confusion with other prefixes was avoided can’t be excluded. At least there is no example for *this* vowel harmony crossing CC. A prefix /i/- exists, but its investigation should start from cases in which its existence seems sure.

We see no reason for the assumption that a special category of “conjugation prefixes” existed and this assumption bears no fruits when it comes to the investigation of the shape, slots and functions of an everchanging group of prefixes.

In spite the different analysis of the prefixes Rubio and the present author are reaching the same result that **i-mu-* can’t be the source for *im-*.

Pascal Attinger informed me about more examples for *mu-ub(-)*, like *Edubba’a* A 13; 16; *Man and God* 102; 115 (also Attinger 2012, 384 to CKU 24 B 55). He convinced me that very probably in all cases the first person locative-terminative is involved (*mu-?i-b*). Therefor the rules are not broken.

In grammatical lists *mu-ub* appears in causative constructions: *  gar-mu-ub* = *  s  kinanni* OBGT VI 51 versus *  gar-mu-un* = *  uknanni* ibd. 46; *s   im-ma-ri-ib-du₁₁* = *u  tak  sidakka* “he caused (someone) to reach you” OBGT IX 123. Compare Huber 2007, 11-16. But *mu-ub* is not restricted to the causative: *  -ga-mu-ub-z  -en* = *mugr  ninni* “Agree with me!” UET 7, 102 ii 11. Grammatical texts deviate from the grammar we can reconstruct from Sumerian contexts. But regarding *mu-ub* OBGT VI 51; IX 58; X 20; UET 7, 102 ii 11 fit well in Attingers observation, if we bear in mind that the locative-terminative corresponds to the Akkadian accusative in the relevant translations.

Attinger argues that the imperatives with *-i* are probably to be read *-ni* (ATTINGER 1993, 299; 2004 n. 7 citing variants *  (-a)-NI* Lugalb. II 143, *  gar(-ra)-NI* FI 49, *  sub-NI/NE* FI 43).

VERB-/i/* beside *VERB-ni* could only be proven by writings **VERB-Ci* (C    n), **VERB-i-ni* or **VERB-i₁* and it is suspicious that up to now nobody came up with such a writing. *VERB-ni* is interesting since the first element of the imperative is /a/, /u/ (which cannot be discussed here) or a first element of a prefix chain and we would therefore expect *VERB-a-ni* (<a-i-ni*) and **VERB-i-ni* or the like but not *VERB-ni*. It looks as if /i/ was disclosed from the imperative and that may fit well with the hypothesis that this /i/- was in most cases added for phonetic reasons. Even if we explain *VERB-ni* – as far-fetched it might be – with the influence of writings like *lugal-ni* for /lugalani/ “his king”, the lack of other evidence for **VERB-/i/* is not explained.

A corollary can be derived from NABU 2023/36: Since the choice of *mu-* and *im-* is triggered by the following element, not by function and **i-mu-* doesn’t exist, the writing *i-im-* should be equivalent with *im-*, at least on the functional level. Therefor we expect that other such writings at the beginning of the prefix chain shouldn’t mark a difference of function and by analogy we expect this as well for *a-*, as in *a-ab-gub* TCS 1, 280, 4, where an interpretation as /a’ab/, /ajab/ or /  b/ would be even more difficult. For more such writings see WILCKE 1988; 2010, 21 n. 78. These observations concern V-VC- at the beginning of the prefix chain and shouldn’t be seen as a general rule.

Regarding the discussion of the name *in-ta-  *, which means probably “(Thanks God the child) came out of her!” We may add *tukum-b   a-zu na₄ mu-ta-de₆* “if a physician extracts a (kidney) stone” Codex Ur-Namma   D4, text X (Ur III), Civil 2011, 250. Here a person is meant with the ablative and that’s why *mu-* can be used with *ta*.

In NABU 2023/36 the author credited the idea that the dative prefix is /i)nna/ < **n.ra* to Edzard, but it is an overinterpretation of Edzard. It was Jagersma as mentioned above.

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59) U₃-ru-ha-lam^{ki} in an Ur III erin₂ garrison text — The cuneiform tablet published here was the property of the late Nancy McDougal Fry (1933-2018) of Winnetka, Illinois, whose permission to publish it is gratefully acknowledged. It was brought to my attention in 2004 by our mutual friend, Carlotta Maher. Mrs. Fry generously allowed me to borrow it so I could study it first-hand. In a telephone conversation in June 2004, I asked her how she acquired it. She told me that her mother had left it to her, and that her mother, Helen McDougal, had received it from John Wilson (who had been Director of the Oriental Institute during the years 1936-1946). The McDougal family lived on Kenwood Avenue, only a few blocks from the Oriental Institute. Nancy attended elementary school and high school at the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools on the university campus. It should be mentioned that for many years it was the practice of the Oriental Institute, as thanks for financial contributions, to give donors an object from the museum's collection (this had been the practice at some other museums as well). Such items would normally be duplicates or objects of slight scholarly interest, as Ur III tablets were then often considered to be.

Because the tablet is perfectly preserved and there are no ambiguous signs, I did not copy it.

Our text, dated Šulgi year 46 month VII, belongs to a group of mu-DU, "delivery," texts in what Markus Hilgert (HILGERT 1998, pp. 13-20) calls the Central Bureau at Puzriš-Dagan, specifically the group recording receipts that do not name a particular bureau chief as receiving official, i.e., anonymous deliveries (HILGERT 1998, pp. 129-163, Nos. 145-211). (The other mu-DU texts all have PN i₃-dab₅, "PN received.") Such texts are characterized by having the day of the month recorded on what is to us the left edge of the tablet. Unlike many Puzriš-Dagan texts, in these texts there is no summary listing the number of animals. DAHL 2020, p. 143, observes that most mu-DU deliveries were made by important members of the elite, in our case apparently the military elite. See SALLABERGER 2019 for an extensive discussion on defining elites in which Puzriš-Dagan texts provide major evidence for the Ur III period.

This text belongs to a subgroup of texts documenting deliveries of animals at Puzriš-Dagan by soldiers and officers stationed in non-urban areas under control of the Ur III administration. Such deliveries are attested from late in the reign of Šulgi and as late as the reign of Ibbi-Suen. Fundamental to the study of these documents is STEINKELLER 1987. On p. 28, n. 56, he provides a list of the place names known to him. Expanding on his views and sometimes differing in details are MAEDA 1992 and GARFINKLE 2015 (especially pp. 157-162). LIU 2017, pp. 120-121, lists place names in such documents during the reign of

Amar-Suen. Note that PDT 2 959 should probably be added to his list since r. iii? 3 has 1 sila₄ Šu-^dSuen dumu lugal, "one lamb, Šu-Suen, son of the king," implying that the text (whose date is not preserved) should be ascribed to Amar-Suen. The additional place names in this document with eren₂ are NI-da-ra-aš-pi₂^{ki} and Kara₂-HAR^{ki}. A recent dissertation (PATTERSON 2018, pp. 375-376, Table 48) updates the list.

Four individuals are named in the section of our text dealing with the place name U₃-ru-ha-lam^{ki}. All four names occur a number of times in Puzriš-Dagan texts, but one cannot be certain that they all refer to the same person, though in the case of Amur-Ea, Ikšudum, and Ea-ili it seems likely. The name Enlilla-isa is much more common and occurs frequently in both Puzriš-Dagan and Umma. Of these four, only Enlilla-isa is attested in another of the garrison documents (see below).

It is striking that of the personal names in our document, four, Ikšudum, Amur-Ea, Ea-ili, and Nir-idagal, occur in another text, TCL 5 6041 (Amar-Suen year 2), where they are listed as ugula, "overseer" or "commander." See the edition in GOETZE 1963, where the author identifies it as from Drehem, i.e., Puzriš-Dagan. Steinkeller, in a recent study (STEINKELLER 2013, p. 374, n. 110) considers that incorrect and that the text is most likely from Umma. Both texts concern eren₂, but in our text eren₂ refers to troops, whereas in TCL 5 6041 the term refers to laborers (21,799 men). See Steinkeller's comments pp. 374-377 and fig. 3. He identifies the ugulas as šagina, "general" (p. 375). It seems to me that it would be an extraordinary coincidence if these men in our text were not the same individuals as in TCL 5 6041 who were promoted to more responsible positions during the reign of Amar-Suen.

Transliteration

Obv. 1.	1 sila ₄ ^d En-lil ₂ -la ₂ -/i ₃ -sa ₆	Rev. 8.	2 gu ₄ niga 20 la ₂ -1 udu
2.	1 sila ₄ A-mur-E ₂ -a	9.	2 maš ₂
3.	1 sila ₄ Ik-šu-dum	10.	Za-la-a mu-DU a ₂ -ki-/ti šu-numun
4.	2 gu ₄ 26 udu	11.	ugula Nir-i ₃ -da-gal ₂
5.	4 maš ₂ -gal	12.	1 gu ₄ 5 maš ₂ -gal
6.	erin ₂ U ₃ -ru-ha-lam ^{ki}	13.	erin ₂ Tab-la-la ^{ki}
7.	ugula E ₂ -a-i ₃ -li ₂	14.	1 sila ₄ niga Lu ₂ - ^d Nanna
		15.	1 amar maš-da ₃ zabar-dab ₅
			blank line
		16.	mu-DU iti Ezem- ^d Šul-gi
		17.	mu Ki-maš ^{ki} u ₃ Hu-ur ₅ -/ti ^{ki} ba-hul
		L.E.	u ₄ 12-kam

Commentary

Line 1. Enlilla-isa also occurs in another erin₂ garrison text, OIP 115 No. 195:12, dated Šulgi year 46 month XII day 17, and is certainly the same man as in our text.

Line 6. The geographical name U₃-ru-ha-lam^{ki} is so far unique to this text. A similar name is U₂-ru-ha-lam^{ki} PDT 2 959 v 34'. The text seems to be a daily summary of animals received from military garrisons, officials, and even the king's son, covering the first 28 days (the rest of the month lost, month and year not preserved). See above for a suggestion that it dates from Amar-Suen. The line in question, cited from BDTNS, reads [Ep]-qu₂-ša ab-ba AN ^dIškur U₂-ru-ha-lam^{ki}. Epquša is a common name and Ab-ba-AN is a known name, but it is unclear if that is the interpretation intended, and it is not clear why the god Iškur is listed here. Perhaps line 35' should be restored as [ugula] Du-uk-ra, Dukra being a well-attested general. The only other geographical name in Ur III texts beginning with U₃-ru is MDP 22, p. 156, No. 144, where there are two occurrences of U₃-ru-az^{ki}. I have found nothing more about it except that it appears to be a place in Iran, as our U₃-ru-ha-lam^{ki} presumably is. U₂ and U₃ are not normally free variants in Ur III orthography, though there are exceptions. One such exception is the name Uta-mišaram where I have found a single occurrence of U₃ instead of U₂ in UDT 44:3.¹⁾ HILGERT 2002, p. 676, cites a number of occurrences of u₃, primarily in personal and geographical names. Most occurrences of u₃ he cites as a verbal prefix occur in royal inscriptions in Elam. In the case of U₃-ru-ha-lam^{ki} and U₂-ru-ha-lam^{ki}, we may have an example of an attempt to represent an unfamiliar sound, or possibly U₂ is a typographical error in PDT 2 959. The former explanation may be at play in the only other occurrence of ha-lam in Ur III documents, also in a toponym in an eren₂ garrison text, Trouville 54 r. i 4': eren₂ Ur-gu-ha-lam^{ki}, if indeed the same place name is represented in all three orthographies. As for ha-lam, one is reminded that in Ebla texts Aleppo (Halab) is written Ha-lam. See LAMBERT 1990. Whether the interchangeability of m and b in some situations (see most recently EDMONDS and CREAMER 2023, p. 39) is relevant here is uncertain. In any case, one does not know what language these toponyms belong to, and of course, there is no assurance that ha-lam in our toponyms has anything to do with the Sumerian term ha-lam with the general meaning of loss or destruction.

Lines 8-11. Za-la-a's name occurs a number of times in Puzriš-Dagan texts during the reigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suen. Here he is responsible for the delivery of two grain-fed oxen, nineteen sheep and two goats for the Akitu Festival of Sowing Seed. The overseer is Nir-idagal, cited above in TCL 5 6041. More significantly, he is also the ugula in another delivery of animals from Tablala, SET 10 r. 12 (Amar-Suen year 5 month IX), as in line 13 of our text. There is considerable discussion of him and his role in Ur III society. See references in LIU 2021, p. 125, n. 32.

Line 13. Our text adds to the place names already attested in the garrison texts, and adds to the seven previously known occurrences of Tablala, making a total of eight. In two Girsu texts (JRL 34 and MVN 19 55) Tablala is preceded by NIM, indicating the Iranian highlands. See MICHALOWSKI 2008, though he does not mention Tablala. There can be no doubt that Tablala is in the area conquered by Šulgi in the last several years of his reign. One can suggest that our U₃-ru-ha-lam^{ki} may also be in the Iranian highlands. Our text thus adds a bit to the accumulating evidence for Šulgi's exploits in Iran, highlighted recently by the firm evidence for the location of Kimaš and Hurti. See GHOBADIZADEH and SALLABERGER 2023.

Line 15. The zabar-dab official, often anonymous as here, is frequently attested delivering a gazelle, as in our text, as pointed out by LIU 2021, p. 125.

Notes

1. I should point out that the scribe of this document has used another somewhat unorthodox spelling in this name, writing ša instead of šar. Spellings with ša appears to be very rare. HILGERT 2002, pp. 461-462 and notes 68-75, cites the various writings of this name in the Belegstellenindex, pp. 614-616. In addition, the spelling with ša also occurs twice in Nisaba 8 81. One apparent writing with ša in SAT 2 912 (cited in HILGERT 2002, p. 614) is a typographical error for šar. In the case of Stoval Museum No. 15, the sign in question is mostly on the edge and is not clear on the photo. I might also mention that the name Uta-mišaram in dated Ur III documents (more than three hundred occurrences) is attested only in the reign of Amar-Suen and apparently all refer to the same individual.

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60) The adventures of a fugitive slave in the Old Babylonian period: new data — ARN 135 (= Ni 3038)¹⁾ is a Type III tablet (from Nippur) of which the first part—equal to about one-third of the entire tablet—has not been preserved. It represents the missing part of NATN 354 (= CBS 10171),²⁾ that the present writer had published as Text 3 in NABU 2022/89 (= SPADA 2022), together with two more tablets (EES 180 rev. i 16–rev. ii 2 = Text 1, and CUSAS 43, 59 obv. 9’–14’ = Text 2). All of them deal with the payment of compensation by the owner of a female slave for the damage she caused during her attempt to escape.

Transliteration and translation of Text 3 in its entirety are offered below, together with photographs of NATN 354 and Ni 3038.³⁾

Text 3

Publication: NATN 354; ARN 135

Museum n°: CBS 10171+Ni 3038

CDLI: P121052; P313251

Measurements: 4.8×2.1×1.9 cm; 4.8×5.5×2.5 cm

Obv. 1 BA.BUR₂ *a-li₂-a-lī*
 2 GEME₂ LUGAL.INIM.GI.NA
 3 MU KUR MAR.DU.ŠE₃
 4 A.RA₂ 3.KAM BA.ZAḤ₃.A
 5 U₃ E₂ *i-din-mi-šar* ¹NAR¹
 6 IN.DEG_x.DEG_x.GA
 7 ZIZ₂.DA.BI.ŠE₃
 8 ½ MA.NA KUG.BABBAR
 9 ¹LUGAL.INIM.GI.NA LUGAL.A.NI
 10 *i-din-mi-šar* NAR.RA
 11 IN.NA.AN.LA₂
 12 UD KUR₂.ŠE₃
 13 *i-din-mi-šar* NAR
 Rev. 14 ZIZ₂.DA.BI.ŠE₃
 15 ¹LUGAL.INIM.GI.NA.RA
 16 INIM NU.UM.ĜA₂.ĜA₂.A
 17 MU LUGAL.BI IN.PAD₃

... Ali-aḫī, the female slave of Lugal-inim-gina, because she had fled to the land of Amurru for the third time and had (illegally) picked up things in the house of Iddin-mīšar, the musician, Lugal-inim-gina, her owner, has paid to Iddin-mīšar, the musician, half a mina of silver as its (= of the pilferage) compensation. In the future, Iddin-mīšar, the musician, will not raise a claim against Lugal-inim-gina concerning this compensation; he has sworn it on the king's name.

Textual notes

1. In SPADA 2022 I extensively discussed the verbal form (BA.BUR₂/BA.BALA⁴⁾) that appears at the beginning of the three texts, without reaching an acceptable solution. While in Texts 2 and 3 it occurs in the same line as the slave's name, in Text 1 the verbal expression occupies the first line and the personal name the second one. Furthermore, a DIŠ sign appears in Text 1 (in front of both terms), and in Text 2 (in front of the verbal form only), while Text 3 does not have one.

Unfortunately, I have no further proposals to make, so the expression BA.BUR₂/BA.BALA that opens the text still remains unclear.

5. The personal name of the musician in whose house the slave arrived and committed pilferage is here clearly Iddin-mīšar, and not Iddin-Išum, as read in SPADA 2022. Checking photographs of Texts 1 and 2 again, it turns out that in Text 1 the name is definitely to be read Iddin-mīšar,⁵⁾ while in Text 2 it seems preferable to maintain the reading [Id]din-Išum.

8. Differently from Text 1, the amount of silver that Lugal-inim-gina paid to Iddin-mīšar as compensation for the damages suffered is half a mina and not one-third mina.⁶⁾

12–17. Here there is a no-contest clause to prevent any future claims by Iddin-mīšar regarding the compensation received from Lugal-inim-gina, while in Texts 1 and 2 it does not occur.⁷⁾



Fig. 1 NATN 354 (CBS 10171)

Discussion

Of the three tablets that record the episode starring Lugal-inim-gina, his slave and the musician Iddin-mīšar (or Iddin-Išum), only one is provenanced and certainly comes from Nippur (Text 3), while the other two are unprovenanced. That the same story is taught as an exercise in geographically distant scribal schools seems to confirm the idea that elementary education in Mesopotamia was relatively standardized, with minimal variation in the curricula and the texts from place to place.

To go into more detail, the model contracts housed in the Schøyen Collection (like our Text 2) seem more similar to those coming from Nippur⁸⁾ (Text 3) than the contracts housed in the Cotsen Collection (Text 1).

Notes

* I am grateful to Franco D'Agostino, to whom I submitted some of my doubts on the interpretation of these texts, for providing me with helpful comments. Needless to say, I bear full responsibility for any errors or omissions. I also wish to express my gratitude to Steve Tinney and Philip Jones (Associate Curators of the Babylonian Section of the Penn Museum, Philadelphia) for making the measures of NATN 354 available to me.



Fig. 2 ARN 135 (Ni 3038)

Abbreviations follow CDLI's list, available at <https://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/abbreviations> (accessed July 5, 2023).

1. This tablet had only been published as a copy by Çiğ in 1952. I thank the Arkeoloji Müzeleri of Istanbul for sending me the photographs published here and for making the measures of ARN 135 available to me.

2. In addition to the content, this is confirmed by the fact that both fragments present the same width. As regards the thickness, the measurements sent to me were clearly taken at two different points (respectively the upper part and the center of the tablet) and for this reason they differ by a few mm.

It is not unusual for fragments belonging to a single tablet to be found scattered in the cuneiform collections of Istanbul, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Jena. The archaeological finds of the Babylonian Expedition in Nippur, in fact, were divided among the Ottoman authorities and the American excavators.

3. The photograph of NATN 354 is available on CDLI at the following address: <https://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/dl/photo/P121052.jpg> (accessed July 5, 2023).

4. This variation is clearly explained by the extreme similarity of the signs BUR₂ and BALA, which are easily confused, especially in the Old Babylonian period.

5. Zsombor Földi, after reading my article in NABU, had already suggested to me to read Iddin-mīšar in Text 1 (personal communication, November 2022).

6. From a new check of the photograph, it seems that also in Text 2 it is half a mina, and not one-third as erroneously indicated in SPADA 2022: 199. This confirms the correct reading provided in SPADA 2019: 122.

7. In Text 1 some lines are missing before the last two lines of the text, but the presence of the verb IN.NA.LA₂.E immediately before the promissory oath does not seem to support the presence of the no-contest clause in the missing text.

8. This similarity is also evident from other model contracts found in both curricula, of course with some differences; see SPADA 2018 and SPADA 2019. See also what was noted by GADOTTI and KLEINERMAN 2021: 30–31.

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61) More about *lā watar** — The newly published volume of Old Babylonian letters from the Schøyen collection (ARKHIPOV–GEORGE 2023) contains five additional instances of *lā watar*, the expression I studied in a recent article (ARKHIPOV 2023). Three of them fall within the scope of the meanings I described in the paper. In one case, the expression refers to an action that is taken much later than it would be appropriate (cf. *ibid.*: 6–8):

aššum ina libbi mātīm wašbāti u nīnu-ma ina ḥarrānim wašbānu-ma lā qerbēnu šarram lā šināti tušālik-ma awlê ša ištu Nūr-Adad eqlam šabtū la 'wa¹-ta-ar tekkim

Since you stayed at home, while we were away travelling and not near at hand, did you mislead the king and are **now finally** taking away (land) from men who have occupied the land since (the reign of) Nūr-Adad? (no. 112: 4–14)

Two other instances, though in rather difficult contexts, must refer to events that have been long awaited (cf. *ibid.*: 8–10):

la wa-ta-ar-ma ḥarām 'apru u ḥarām ilqūnim-ma ina qātī Išar u Mišar ištaknū

Now at last they wore crowns(?) of palm fronds and even took a palm frond for me and placed it in the hands of the gods Išar and Mišar. (no. 128: 18–23)

la wa-(ta)-'ar¹ iškaram ušallamku

Now at last, I am making good to you the whole work-assignment (field). (no. 137: 14)

However, the two remaining instances, both from the same letter, shed a new light on the meaning of the expression.¹⁾ In particular, they confirm the traditionally posited predicative usage of the expression, which I was reluctant to accept in my paper (*ibid.*: 3–4):

mimma ša kīma niṭliki ana aḥṭki šūbīlī šumma lā niṭliki naṭū la ma-'ta-ar¹

Send your brother anything you like. If you don't like (to do so), it's alright, **no problem!** (no. 162: 22–24)

anāku ilam lumtaḥḥar-ma ilum gimillī litēr ālašum anāku ana manni ašassi šumma lā šalim naṭū la ma-ta-ar

I myself will approach the god and the god will reward my patronage! Who else can I call upon? If he isn't in favour, that's alright, **no problem.** (no. 162: 37–41)

This clarifies the Old Assyrian passage that uses the expression in a remarkably similar way:

šīm 1[+x] šiqil ḥurāšim annakam ana PN addan 8 gín.ta ašabbat-ma abī attā šīm ḥurāšim addan šumma lā kīam la wa-tār

'I can pay the price of 1+x shekels of gold here to PN. I will take it at 8:1, and – you are my father! – I will pay the price of the gold. If this is not so, **no problem!**' (Neşr. C 1: 33–37, published by VEENHOF 1989: 518–520)²⁾

This also confirms the traditional interpretation for one of the Old Babylonian instances of *lā watar*:

anniātim aštapparakkum la wa-ta-ar

I have kept writing this to you. **No more!**³⁾ (W 20473: iv 6-7, published by FALKENSTEIN 1963, 56–71)

Finally, this is a point in favour of the lexicalization path from “no further” referring to the previous situation to “finally, at last” (and similar) referring to the actual situation (cf. the overview in ARKHIPOV 2023: 15).

Notes

* The research has been supported by RFBR grant 20-512-22002.

1. They also represent the earliest examples of the form *lā matar* (*w > m), which was previously known only from lexical lists.

2. This remains the only instance of *lā watar* in the huge Old Assyrian corpus, which may point to a borrowing from Old Babylonian.

3. Already so in the edition (“Nicht mehr!”).

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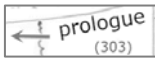
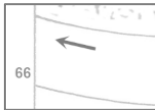
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62) Plan de repérage des paragraphes sur la stèle du Code de Hammu-rabi (SB 8, Louvre) — Suite à la publication d’une modélisation 3D de la stèle de Hammu-rabi sur internet (<https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/stele-du-code-de-lois-de-hammurabi-44584936406a4879b8e054420dac7e07>), il m’a paru utile de fournir un plan permettant de se repérer facilement sur le monument, son moulage ou son modèle 3D.

Légende	Mode d’emploi
 début du texte	Le texte sur la stèle se lit de droite à gauche (colonnes) et du haut vers le bas (lignes) à partir de la face, directement sous le relief. Les colonnes I à V contiennent le prologue. Le §1 des lois commence sur la colonne V, à la ligne 26. Il y a XVI colonnes lisibles sur la face, suivies par une lacune de VII colonnes. La lecture continue au revers de la stèle, toujours de droite à gauche. Les colonnes entourent ici tout l’espace en suivant les courbures entre côtés et dos de la stèle, ce qui les rend plus longues que celles de la face. La lecture du revers commence derrière le relief à la hauteur de la couronne de Hammu-rabi par la fin du §100. Le dernier paragraphe du code est le §282, à la fin de la colonne XXIII. Le Code se présente comme une longue phrase qui commence à la fin du prologue, contient tous les paragraphes des lois et finit à la ligne 8 de la colonne XXIV du revers. L’épilogue suit, sur les colonnes XXIV – XXVIII du revers. J’ai essayé de rendre aussi précisément que possible l’emplacement des paragraphes les uns par rapport aux autres verticalement et par rapport aux cassures sur la surface. Par exemple, la 1^{ère} ligne du §30 est exactement sous la 1^{ère} ligne du §25, comme cela est représenté sur le plan de repérage. Le début du §2 correspond plus ou moins au milieu du §6, et ainsi de suite.
 direction du texte	
 le petit nombre à la fin d’une colonne (à gauche) indique le nombre de lignes dans cette colonne	
 numéro de paragraphe du code de 1 à 282	
 le nombre de lignes dans ce paragraphe, dans le prologue / épilogue est indiqué entre parenthèses	
 un paragraphe ne commençant pas par <i>šum-ma</i> est indiqué entre crochets	
 cassure sur la surface de la stèle	
 numéro de colonne (voir en dernier lieu J. Oelsner, <i>Der Kodex Hammurabi. Textkritische Ausgabe und Übersetzung</i> , Münster, 2022)	
 début de la lacune de 7 colonnes	
 fin du texte	

I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI
XII
XIII
XIV
XV
XVI
XVII
XVIII
XIX
XX
XXI
XXII
XXIII

prologue (303)

lacune

epilogue (499)

fin

XXIV (Rs. I)
XXV (Rs. II)
XXVI (Rs. III)
XXVII (Rs. IV)
XXVIII (Rs. V)
XXIX (Rs. VI)
XXX (Rs. VII)
XXXI (Rs. VIII)
XXXII (Rs. IX)
XXXIII (Rs. X)
XXXIV (Rs. XI)
XXXV (Rs. XII)
XXXVI (Rs. XIII)
XXXVII (Rs. XIV)
XXXVIII (Rs. XV)
XXXIX (Rs. XVI)
XL (Rs. XVII)
XLI (Rs. XVIII)
XLII (Rs. XIX)
XLIII (Rs. XX)
XLIV (Rs. XXI)
XLV (Rs. XXII)
XLVI (Rs. XXIII)
XLVII (Rs. XXIV)
XLVIII (Rs. XXV)
XLIX (Rs. XXVI)
L (Rs. XXVII)
LI (Rs. XXVIII)

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63) Chronology for pupils: BM 17175+ and King List C — BM 17175+17284 is a well known Old Babylonian text, but its fundamental importance for Old Babylonian chronology has been overlooked. The EAE 63 observations under Ammisaduqa state a Venus phenomenon, its day in a lunar month and its month in the Babylonian year. The first two data have a direct astronomical significance. They repeat to the required accuracy after 56 or 64 years. If one can place the month in our calendar, this interval increases to 275 or 283 years. For this purpose, one needs the average beginning of the Babylonian year in the Gregorian one, or equivalently, the position of the spring equinox in the Babylonian calendar. This is exactly what is provided by BM 17175+. Apart from some basic information about water clocks, the tablet “shows that in

this period, at least for the author of this text if not for all persons interested in astronomy, the equinoxes and solstices were dated one month before their dates in the ideal calendar of MUL.APIN” (HUNGER & PINGREE 1989, 163). In particular, the tablet states explicitly that the spring equinox occurs on XII 15, the 15th day of the last month of the Babylonian year.

A century ago, Schiaparelli, Kugler, Fotheringham and many others were searching for just this date. Fotheringham got close by looking at the barley and date harvests (LANGDON & FOTHERINGHAM 1928, 69-75). Later, his argument fell out of favour, because climate change and genetic shifts might have changed the harvest times. With BM 17175+, this objection becomes irrelevant. Langdon and Fotheringham’s 1921 B.C. was indeed the only possibility if the first year of Ammisaduqa had lain in the 20th or 19th century B.C. With the discovery of the Mari texts, this date had to fall, but subtracting 275 or 283 years immediately yields the two Middle Chronologies with 1646 or 1638 B.C. as the first year.

It is instructive to check this conclusion with the help of tables for the Venus observations, placed in the four standard chronologies (DE JONG & FOERTMEYER 2010, 145-148). For precision, one must take care of a problem in the 17+ years of Ammisaduqa (NAHM 2013, 364). The intercalation year 17+a is year 17, not year 20. One either should make this correction or use only the first 16 years for averaging. The average position of the Babylonian year in the Gregorian one turns out to agree closely with the one in Ammisaduqa’s fifth year. The Julian date of II 1 in this year can be read off from the tables, for example June 4th for the Long Chronology. Subtracting 45 days yields the date of XII 15 in the Julian calendar, up to a fractional uncertainty. To obtain the corresponding Gregorian date one has to subtract another 14 days. The resulting equinox dates are April 6 for the Long chronology, March 18 for the Upper Middle chronology, March 20 for the Lower Middle chronology, March 1 for the Short Chronology. The Long and Short Chronologies are out, the Lower Middle Chronology is favoured over the Upper Middle one.

It would be hard work to check if this advantage of the Lower Middle Chronology persists when all uncertainties are taken into account. But with BM 17175+ Ungnad’s reasons for his dismissal of the Lower Middle Chronology (UNGNADE 1940, 14) would not have gone through unchecked. In real life, they did not survive the publication of King List C (POEBEL 1955), but Poebel had forgotten or never heard about the Lower Middle Chronology. This became a major handicap when he tried to understand the reverse of the school text he was publishing. For the obverse, the teacher had asked his pupil to memorize the names and reign lengths of the kings of the ruling Isin II dynasty. Apart from one mistake, the pupil did well. For the reverse, the teacher asked him to write down a distance number statement reaching 500 years back from the accession of the incumbent king Marduk-shapik-zeri. The pupil made a start, but had forgotten the name of the ancient king. Poebel calculated that the distance number should go back to 1584, 1583, 1574 or 1573 B.C. He found nothing plausible and concluded that “the chronological data just discussed cannot give us a clue for the safe identification of the king from whose reign the 500-year period was reckoned” (POEBEL 1955, 39 and 41). With the Lower Middle Chronology in mind, the closeness to the fall of Babylon in 1587 B.C. would have been hard to miss. Brinkman later noted that the dates of the Isin II dynasty may be raised by up to four years and brought the Bavarian distance number of Sennacherib into discussion, which links Sennacherib’s destruction of Babylon to a raid undertaken by Marduk-nadin-ahhe, the predecessor of Marduk-shapik-zeri. He concluded that its 418 years most likely were counted backwards from 688 or 687 B.C. (BRINKMAN 1968, 84). He also noted that they must go back to the earliest reign of Marduk-nadin-ahhe to be correct. When one subtracts the 18 years between the accessions of Marduk-nadin-ahhe and Marduk-shapik-zeri, the Bavarian and King List C distance numbers together yield 687 B.C. +418-18+500=1587 B.C., the last year of Samsuditana in the Lower Middle Chronology.

Poebel’s drawing raises the possibility that the pupil half-remembered the first sign of the missing name and tried to boost his memory by jotting down a tentative SA. After a new collation, for which I am very thankful, Brinkman wrote on May 28:

“Poebel’s written description of the Kinglist C tablet (AS 15, pp. 1-2, 29-31) and especially of the traces following *ul-tu* seems to be more accurate than his drawing of these traces (ibid., p. 3). His drawing of the traces indicates a few clear wedges located along the right edge of the tablet. While these wedges seem to be present, there are many other slightly less clear marks that could be wedges scattered among what he has drawn. I wouldn’t necessarily disagree with his sketch, but would have shaded his drawing more extensively to mark the unclarity of the mark situation on the right edge.

From Poebel's drawing, you have inferred the possibility of a SA sign in the edge traces. I wouldn't rule that out completely, but would be hesitant to support that interpretation because of the configuration of the individual wedges. And, even if one were to read a SA, there is not enough room here for the four or five more signs needed to complete the name you wish to see; not do the traces following a SA favor the desired continuation.

The signs in the main text on the tablet, as recorded in Poebel's transliteration (to which should be added the A-šú which he omitted at the end of line 5), are relatively deeply and clearly impressed. There is no doubt about their identity. The traces after *ul-tu* by contrast tend to be faint and unclear. The traces written down the right edge of the tablet are placed at almost a right angle to the direction followed by line 8 and do not proceed smoothly or in a curve (contrary to what Poebel's drawing seems to indicate), as is usual in cases of a continuation. Poebel observed that the tablet had been previously used and that remnants of the former inscription had not been completely erased; that would provide an adequate explanation for the marks that appear on the right edge of the tablet (as also on the upper edge)."

Thus, the uncertain SA yields a weak argument at best. Still, I feel that the assignment of the 500 years to the distance between Samsuditana and Marduk-shapik-zeri is plausible and might have resulted in a decision between the two Middle Chronologies, without the Aniakchak volcano, the debate about Thera, the bizarre interlude of the ultrashort chronology and even 14C dates and dendrochronology. That would have saved time, at the expense of making life more boring.

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64) The eponyms of the Middle Assyrian archive M14 (early part) — The reconstruction of the Middle Assyrian eponym sequence from Shalmaneser I to Tiglathpileser I appears to be well on its way. For the earlier reigns, the available data do not allow the recovery of a precise sequence and have to be reduced in another form. The standard placements use centuries, good but much too rough, and the reigns of Assyrian kings, which are too irregular. Instead, one would like for every eponym an approximate place in a uniform sequence and some idea of its uncertainty. A placement in a count of average generations should be achievable and has a precedent in Nuzology. Initially, the generation numbers will be integral, but for increasing precision fractional numbers must be used. When an eponym dates tablets of several well-aligned families, one can take the average of the corresponding generation numbers as his placement. The precision of this position will increase with the number of synchronisms. When it becomes known that one true generation was significantly longer or shorter than on average, one should adjust the numbers, as for the reign lengths.

The most suitable anchor in time is the fragmentary eponym list KUB 4, 93 from the reign of Assur-uballit. To achieve some agreement with the Nuzi generation count, the eight eponyms of this list will be assigned to generation 6. This is compatible with the destruction of Nuzi after generation 5 and with the tentative dating of an eponym of the time of Aššur-narari II, namely Aššur-mutakkil, son of Adad-erīš to Nuzi generation 3 (Wilhelm RIA 9, 636b). With this count, the reigns of Aššur-narari II and Aššur-bel-nišešu belong to generation 3, the reigns from Aššur-rim-nišešu to Arik-den-ili to generations 4-7, and the three reigns of Adad-narari I, Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I to generations 8-11. Altogether, nine generations of Assyrian kings are aligned with nine average generations, in spite of the irregular reign lengths.

Assur 14987 (Pedersén's M14) may serve as a test case. It consists of a later part (here denoted by M14L) from the time of Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I, and an earlier part M14E. The tablet Assur 14987 i (KAJ 86) from the eponymate of Šina cannot be aligned, but all other texts in M14E concern at least one of two families, on one hand Ahu-ṭab and his sons (family 1), on the other the descendents of Belija (family 2). Family 2 is well documented for five generations (see the discussions by Fine, HUCA

24, 200f., 208, by Saporetto in OMA and EMA 29f., 38, 40, by Pedersén in ALA I, 122, moreover Freydank's remarks in AoF 30, 250-252). Three of the four eponyms related to Ahu-ṭab's sons occur in KUB 4, 93. Thus the sons can be assigned to generation 6 and Ahu-ṭab himself to generation 5. The assignment of generation numbers to family 2 can rely on four bits of data. According to Assur 14987 d (KAJ 172), king Aššur-bel-nišešu received the share of the palace, when Tišpak-šar, son of Belija died. He gave it to a certain Eriš-Kube, who later left it to Ahu-ṭab. Because Eriš-Kube bridges the time between generations 3 and 5, he is assigned to generation 4. If Tišpak-šar died when generation 4 took over, he should be assigned to generation 3 and his father Belija to generation 2. With this count Assur 14987 c (KAJ 164) links generation 6 of family 1 to generation 6 of family 2, while Assur 14987 m (KAJ 175) links generation 6 of family 1 with generation 5 of family 2. Finally, in the eponymate of Ili-eriš one finds generation 5 of family 1 (KAJ 294) and generation 4 of family 2 (KAJ 134). One might consider the possibility that the generations of family 2 interlaced those of family 1. In this case the count for family 2 should be increased by 0.5, so that generation 6 of family 1 interacted with generations 5.5 and 6.5 of family 2. For KAJ 172 this would mean that Tišpak-šar died rather early. This seems unlikely, because a *dunnu* was named after him and retained its name for several generations. Thus we will stick with the integer count, at least for now.

According to KAJ 175, the eponym Marduk-nadin-ahhe has synchronisms with generation 6 of family 1 and two brothers from generation 5 of family 2, in the context of a land sale. Maši-Šamaš, son of one as the brothers is a witness. It is not obvious, how one should weigh the synchronisms, but in any case the date should lie between 5.5 and 6, shortly before the KUB list. Indeed, the placement of Marduk-nadin-ahhe before the KUB list eponym Aššur-šuma-ušur is quite certain, because in the latter year Maši-Šamaš sells land on his own, to the same buyer. Most likely, his father had died in between.

The eponym Mannu-bal-Aššur of KAJ 172 gets the position 4.5, as an average of generation count 5 for Ahu-ṭab and 4 for Eriš-Kube. This yields a provisional position in the first half of the reign of Eriba-Adad. For Ili-eriš, KAJ 294 and KAJ 134 yield 4.5, too. Since Ili-eriš also occurs in the archives M9 and M12, their analysis should lead to a more precise position. For Aššur-bel-apli the single occurrence in Assur 14987 g (KAJ 257) yields a placement at 4, but of course such a single synchronism is of restricted significance. If he was the father of the KUB-list eponym Ibašši-ili son of Adad-bel-apli, his placement should be 4.5. A potential alignment with a third family points in the same direction. Assur 14987 e (KAJ 142) has a KUB-list eponym and names two sons of a certain Sin-dajjan. Assur 14987 g (KAJ 257) documents the partial payment of a debt by a man with the same name. The name is not rare, but its other occurrences come from different periods. In view of the archival context the men may well be identical and from generation 5.

For Eriš-Kube, the occurrence in KAJ 74 also yields a placement at 4. Currently, the only other hint for the placement of this eponymate comes from the spatial arrangement of the tablets in M14E, as reflected by the order in which they were found and registered. This order is somewhat obscured by the interlacing of the index letters of M14L and M14E. Most probably, the two subarchives were discovered at slightly different locations, but their tablets were registered simultaneously, in the order they were found. When the index letters of each subarchive are considered separately, their sequence appears to be meaningful. The earliest eponym in M14L is Aššur-ketti-ide on Assur 14987 x (KAJ 59). This tablet was registered after the other dated ones from M14L (Assur 14987 a, b, h, l, n, o, v) and must have lain below. The complete set of known index letters for M14L is a, b, h, l, n, o, p, s, v, w, x, aa, ae. Seven of the tablets form a closely linked group dealing with sheep, namely those with index letters h, l, p, s, v, w, ae. Quite obviously, the intervening tablets Assur 14987 n, o were displaced in ancient or modern time, so that their index letters no longer reflect their temporal position. Indeed, Assur 14987 n is the youngest dated tablet of the archive.

The index letters for M14E are c, d, e, f, g, i, k, m, q, t. Thus its lowest lying tablets were Assur 14987 q and t (KAJ 294 and 134), both dated by the eponym Ili-eriš. The tablets dated by KUB-list eponyms are Assur 14987 c, e, f, whereas those from the time of Tišpak-našir, grandson of Beliya have the higher index letters g, k, q. They appear to have lain together, so that the placement of Eriš-Kube, the eponym of Assur 14987 k might not be very different from Aššur-bel-apli and Ili-eriš. In another direction, one might

try to argue that the index letter m of Assur 14987 m confirms the earlier time of Marduk-nadin-ahhe with respect to the KUB list, but the position among the Tišpak-našir tablets implies at least some displacement, so that this argument is weak. Assur 14987 d was displaced, too.

Altogether the only reasonably safe ordering derivable from M14E is Adad-bel-apli + Eriš-Kube + Ili-eriš + Mannu-bal-Aššur > Marduk-nadin-ahhe > KUB list, with Marduk-nadin-ahhe closer to the KUB list than to the first group. He may well be the influential Babylonian emigree of that name, whose monumental inscription is known from BM 96947. There he praises the love he got from Assur-uballit I and complains about his own treacherous family (WIGGERMAN 2004). Wiggerman conjectured that the treachery involved the murder of Assur-uballit's son-in-law on the Babylonian throne. Consequently, Marduk-nadin-ahhe's emigration should have happened in the later years of Assur-uballit's reign, another useful constraint for the time of the KUB list.

The eponym Šina from Assur 14987 i is well known to be close in time to the KUB list from other data. Finally, Pedersén also includes the eponym Adad-mušešib (Assur 15147) in M14. Any link between different find numbers requires an archaeological discussion, but in the present context this is unnecessary, because Adad-mušešib is a KUB-list eponym.

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65) The Middle Assyrian eponyms from Tell Rimah — Due to the Dur-Katlimmu texts, we now have a sequence of Middle Assyrian eponyms for a time span of 54 years, starting with the first year of Shalmaneser I (most recently: NAHM 2021). Consequently, a dozen eponyms previously assigned to Shalmaneser have to be shifted to earlier reigns. This concerns many Middle Assyrian tablets from Tell Rimah (TR). In EMA all of them were dated to Shalmaneser I or Tukulti-Ninurta I, apart from TR 3037 with eponym Abu-ṭab, brother of Assur-uballit I (SAPORETTI 1979, 4f.). Indeed, about 27 of the TR eponyms belong to the time between Shalmaneser year 3 and Tukulti-Ninurta year 21, with a small uncertainty due to epigraphic difficulties and to the homonymy between three different eponyms called Qibi-Aššur. On the other hand, about 16 TR eponyms are earlier, whereas for two or three a placement in the late years of Tukulti-Ninurta I is plausible.

In EMA, Saporetti already discussed the possibility of assigning TR 3030 with eponym Ibašši-ili to Assur-uballit I, TR 3007 with eponym Šilli-Adad to Enlil-narari and TR 119, 3001 and 3002 with eponym Ištu-ili-ašamšu to Adad-narari I. A decisive argument for this longer time span comes from the sealings on the TR tablets, with images in 14th century Assyrian style on TR 2025, 2033, 2037, 2052, 3001, 3002, 3004 and 3017 and images in common Mittanian style on TR 2025, 2033, 2055+2090, 3021 and 3030 (PARKER 1977). One Old Syrian and two Old Babylonian seals occur, too, but the reuse of old seals cannot explain that TR 2025 carries one sealing in 14th century Assyrian plus one in Mittanian style, TR 3021 two different sealings in Mitannian style, TR 2033 two sealings in 14th century plus one in Mittanian style, and TR 2037 five different sealings in 14th century style. In addition, there are prosopographic links between the early tablets, e.g. the occurrence of Šamaš-mušešib, son of Abi-sade in both TR 2025 and TR 3021. He clearly was a man of the 14th century. The content of the early tablets is distinctive, too. Most were kept to document property rights, often acquired as pledges. This certainly appears to be the case for TR 2052, 2055+2090, 3001, 3002, 3021 and 3030.

A valuable partial order of the TR tablets (WILCKE 1976, 230-233) was based on generations II-VI of the descendants of Athi-nada. However, Wilcke's time frame was too short by half a century, mainly

because he was misled by two cases of homonymy. Before the discovery of Dur-Katlimmu, the eponyms Qibi-Aššur son of Šamaš-aha-iddina from the tenth year of Shalmaneser I and Qibi-Aššur son of Ibašši-ili from the second year of Tukulti-Ninurta I were hard to keep apart. Moreover, two different men with the name Erib-ilu were conflated, which led to the assignment of TR 2913 to generation III. It should be assigned to generation V, since its well-known protagonist Abu-ṭab, son of Šadana-bel-nišešu is chronologically indistinguishable from Abu-ṭab, son of Šadana-ašared. Third, generation V texts range over an unusually long time span of about 50 years. In TR 3012 Adad-bani, son of Šadana-ašared is attested in the eponymate of Ili-qarrad from the time of Adad-narari I, whereas in TR 3013 another man with the same father is attested in the eponymate of Aššur-zera-iddina from the middle year of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Because Šadana-ašared's individual sons do not have unusually long floruits, he may have had children from two marriages that were separated by half a generation.

When these issues are taken care of, a rather clean picture emerges. Generation IV is associated with Adad-narari I, generation III with the 22 years of Enlil-narari and Arik-den-ili. The two generation II texts belong to Aššur-uballit I. TR 3030 is dated by the steward Ibašši-ili (EMA 79) and the fragmentarily preserved name x-x-x-*u₂-šur*² (EMA 109) on TR 2037 can be identified with Aššur-šuma-ušur, known from three legal documents with orthography ^dA-šur-MU-*u₂-šur* and also from a fragmentary eponym list (EMA 53). A collation would be useful, but a comparison with the published copy (SAGGS 1968, pl. XLVII) is rather convincing by itself. Since TR 2037 involves both generation II and III, the preserved names in the fragmentary eponym list can now be dated to the later years of Aššur-uballit I. Two other texts carry Mittanian seals and cannot be much later. TR 2055+2090 has an eponym Abi-[], who cannot be identified with later colleagues with name Abi-ili, but might be a homonym. TR 2033 has an eponym x-x-Marduk, son of Aššur-kena-ide (EMA 5 and 108f., supported by a collation by Postgate). The name cannot be identified yet, but the tentative identification with the Shalmaneser eponym Usat-Marduk (EMA 91) is wrong.

Weidner's conjectural assignment of Šilli-Adad (EMA 84) to Enlil-narari is confirmed by his link to generation III. TR 2025 from generation III and the prosopographically related text TR 3021 still have some seals in Mittanian style, so that Šamaš-tukulti must be an eponym from the same period. The eponym of the generation IV text TR 115 with patronym Šamaš-tukulti may have been his son and can be dated to the time of Adad-narari I. His name has been rendered [] x AN x x (EMA 108) and appears to be new to Middle Assyrian onomastics. After AN one can read *-tiš-ma[r]*, with just the final wedge lacking (WISEMAN 1968, pl. LXXI). The tablets TR 100-122 were found in a single jar and form a closely knit family archive, with four surviving eponyms from the reign of Shalmaneser I. Its other eponyms can hardly be much earlier. Apart from TR 115 there is TR 109 with Aššur-mušešib (EMA 77), who also occurs in the archive Assur 14327 (M10) and TR 119 with Ištu-ili-ašamšu (EMA 103), who has been identified with the eponym Itti-ili-ašamšu from a royal inscription of Adad-narari I. He also occurs in the texts TR 3001 and 3002 from generation IV.

Four eponym names from TR also occur in the archive of the smith Šilli-Adad, mainly in Assur 14842 (M13). His floruit overlaps Arik-den-ili with eponym Ber'utu (FREYDANK 2017, 30) and much of the reign of Adad-narari I. TR 3029 is dated by Aššur-šad-nišešu, who also occurs at Tell Billa (EMA 95). TR 2034 has eponym Šamaš-mušešib (EMA 106), also known from A.288 (FREYDANK 2017, 33). The generation IV text TR 3016 is dated by Adad-šumu-lešir, son of Sin-ašared (EMA 100f.). He is known from the Šilli-Adad text A.290 (FREYDANK 2017, 32) and from Assur St. 122, which is similar in style to the Shalmaneser steles (NAHM 2012). The fourth of these eponyms is found on TR 3031 (WISEMAN 1968, 185 and pl. LXV). His name has been rendered x x AN NI³ x (EMA 108). On the copy, it looks like X-*'ba¹-an-¹kal-la¹*. The assignment of Adad-ban-kalla to Assur-uballit I or his predecessor (EMA 37) is wrong, as can be seen for KAJ 246 (FREYDANK 1991, 66), Assur 14842 I (FREYDANK 2017, 51) and also for Assur St. 126, similar in style to St. 122 (NAHM 2012).

The generation V text TR 3012 is dated by Ili-qarrad (EMA 79), who also is known from Assur 14327 ak from the time of Melisah, thus from the late years of Adad-narari I. Another generation V text, namely TR 3025 has created some confusion. One might assign it to generation IV, since the number of future sons of Šadana-ašared is not known yet ('be they few or many'). The reading *As²-qa²-di* for its

eponym (WISEMAN 1968, 185 and pl. LXIV) is good as it stands (cf. Babylonian Asqudu, *pace* FREYDANK 1991, 51).

Parker compared the sealing of TR 2058 to one from the 12th century (PARKER 1977, 262), so that its eponym is a candidate for the late years of Tukulti-Ninurta I. The name has been read Adad-šamši (EMA 100) or Adad-uballit (EMA 115). The latter reading is disfavoured (POSTGATE 1974, 68), but in MARV (I) 67 with eponym Adad-uballit there is a mention of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta. The eponyms of TR 2030 and TR 3023 are puzzling, too. Both appear to be later than Shalmaneser I and do not fit among the known eponyms of Tukulti-Ninurta I. TR 3023 with the otherwise unknown eponym Aššur-pirhi-eriš belongs to a group of tablets with military content and is related to TR 3010 from the eponymate of Adad-bel-gabbe (POSTGATE 2002, 302). TR 2030 belongs to generation VI, the sons of Abu-ṭab. As has been adumbrated (WILCKE 1976, 232), its eponym can hardly be identified with Ber-šumu-lešir from the reign of Shalmaneser. The latter was in office just six years after the first floruit of Abu-ṭab, but a homonym in the late years of Tukulti-Ninurta I is possible. When one takes TR 2058, 3010 and 3023 separately, one can make a case for those late years in each case. On the other hand, it is not plausible that the TR texts provide almost all of the missing eponyms for Tukulti-Ninurta's declining years after his war against Babylon, but do not contain a single one of the known eponyms of this time. The question remains open.

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66) Randnotizen zum hethitischen Lexikon 5: Exit šuwali- — CHD Š, 542b-543a bietet ein Lemma “šuwali- n.; (mng. unkn.); NS.†”. Wie zu zeigen ist, sind vier der fünf Angaben schlichtweg falsch. Als ausschließliche Belege werden die beiden bruchstückhaften Textstellen KBo 38.18 III 37-42 und KBo 31.175, 6-7 des *hišuwu*-Festes angeführt.

- KBo 38.18 ist ein Fragment der 2. Tafel, zu dem bislang insgesamt 8 Anschlußstücke vorliegen:

- 2.B₁ KBo 23.28 (565/c + 367/c + 340/d) [ChS I/4, Nr. 2] +
- 2.B₂ KUB 32.65 (638/b) [ChS I/4, Nr. 2] +
- 2.B₃ KUB 32.61 (753/b) [ChS I/4, Nr. 2] +
- 2.B₄ KBo 27.196 (2599/c + 2532/c + 2538/c) [ChS I/4, Nr. 5] +
- 2.B₅ KBo 38.18 (962/c) [ChS I/4, ø] +
- 2.B₆ KBo 33.191 (318/a) [ChS I/4, Nr. 9] +
- 2.B₇ KBo 33.183 (2684/c) [ChS I/4, Nr. 5] +
- 2.B₈ KBo 27.156 (41/n) [ChS I/4, Nr. 5] (+)
- 2.B₉ KBo 33.190 (55/m) [ChS I/4, Nr. 12]

Der so zu gewinnende Passus der 2. Tafel des *hišuwu*-Festes KBo 38.19 ++, Vs. III 37-39, lautet, ergänzt nach Duplikat 2.A₃ Vs. III 51-53 und 2.C₂ III x+1-2’:

(37) EGIR-ŠU-ma I[š-T(U GA)]L GE[(ŠTIN I-ŠU)] (38) ši-pa-an-ti [(nu me-ma-a-i)] (39) šu-wa-li-i[š (gi-lu-uš te-e-a)] “Danach aber libiert er einmal a[u]s einer Trinkschale Wein und spricht: šu-wa-li-iš gi-lu-uš te-e-a.”

[Die angeführten Duplikate konstituieren sich dabei wie folgt: 2.A₁ KBo 15.48 (1907/cA) [ChS I/4, Nr. 1] + 2.A₂ KBo 40.231 (1010/c) [ChS I/4, ø] (+) 2.A₃ KBo 33.185 (207/c) [ChS I/4, Nr. 1] + 2.A₄ KUB 32.64 (14/a) [ChS I/4, Nr. 1] + 2.A₅ KBo 33.79 (543/c) [ChS I/4, Nr. 36] + 2.A₆ KBo 33.170 (2492/c) [ChS I/4, Nr. 39] + 2.A₇ KBo 35.257 (201/b)

[ChS I/4, Nr. 40] + 2.A₈ KBo 33.160 (232/f) [ChS I/4, Nr. 11] + 2.A₉ KBo 31.178 (797/f) [ChS I/4, ø; ChS I/8, Nr. 258] +² 2.A₁₀ KBo 33.180 (1401/c) [ChS I/4, ø]; 2.C₁ KUB 25.42 (Bo 578) [ChS I/4, Nr. 7] + 2.C₂ KBo 15.47 (74/g) [ChS I/4, Nr. 7] (+) 2.C₃ KBo 27.194 (764/f) [ChS I/4, Nr. 7]]

• KBo 31.175 stellt ein Fragment der 3. Tafel dar, zu dem bislang 6 Anschlußstücke identifiziert sind:

- 3.B₁ Bo 10293 [ChS I/4, Nr. 30] (+)
- 3.B₂ KUB 32.54 (492/b) [ChS I/4, Nr. 24] (+)
- 3.B₃ KBo 33.189 (13/i) [ChS I/4, Nr. 28] (+)
- 3.B₄ KBo 7.64 (68/k) [ChS I/4, Nr. 27] +
- 3.B₅ KBo 35.258 (207/f) [ChS I/4, ø] (+)
- 3.B₆ KBo 43.74 (208/f) [ChS I/4, ø] (+)
- 3.B₇ KBo 31.175 (646/f) [ChS I/4, ø]

Der Passus KBo 31.175, 5'-7', der ans Ende Vs. I der 3. Tafel gehört, ist herzustellen, wobei die diversen Duplikate der 3. Tafel nichts zur Textherstellung beitragen: (5') L[UGAL-*uš* IŠ-TU] (6') [^{DUG}KU-K]U-UB GEŠTIN I-ŠU *ši-pa-an*[-ti] (7') [*nu me-*]*ma-i* šu-u-wa-li-iš ki-lu[-uš te-e-a]§ "Der K[önig] libier[t] einmal [aus einer *Ka*]nne Wein. [Er sp]richt: šu-u-wa-li-iš ki-lu[-uš te-e-a]."

In beiden behandelten Textstellen liegt eine Rezitation in hurritischer Sprache vor. Das zu Grunde liegende Wort ist schon seit langem überzeugend von E. Laroche [RHA 28 (1970), p. 71; vgl. noch M. Dijkstra, *StudMes* 2 (2015), p. 54. Anders D. Bawanypeck/S. Görke, FS Košak [2007], p. 65 m.Anm. 35] als "Wein" gedeutet, übersetzt werden kann etwa "Der Wein stelle sehr zufrieden!" (vgl. zur Verbalform D. Schwemer, *SCCNH* 7, p. 97 A. 77). Der Vollständigkeit halber, seien alle bislang bekannten Belege der Wortform kurz zusammengestellt [Durchstrichene Zeilenangaben markieren dabei Stellen, an denen die Wortform zwar komplett abgebrochen ist, aber auf Grund eines Duplikates mit Sicherheit hergestellt werden kann]:

šu-wa-li-iš	1.F ₂ [KBo 27.157] Rs. IV 15'; 1.I [KBo 35.255] Vs. III 2 ² ; 2.B ₂ [KUB 32.65 +] Vs. II 28 ² ; 2.B ₅ [KBo 38.18 +] Vs. I III 39[; 2.D ₂ [KBo 23.20 +] Vs. 4 ² ; 2.K* [KUB 47.74] , 3'[
šu-u-wa-li-iš	2.C ₁ [KUB 25.42 +] Vs. II 18'; 2.A ₃ [KBo 33.185 +] Vs. III 53; 2.C ₂ [KBo 15.47 +] Vs. III 2 ² ; 3.B ₇ [KBo 31.175 +], 7'; 3.F ₁ [KUB 47.75 +] Vs. 45 ² ; 3.K [Bo 5237], 6'[
šu-wa-le-e-eš	3.C [KUB 12.12] Rs. V 7.12
šu-u-wa-a-le-e-eš	3.F ₂ [KUB 45.59 +] Rs. 5'.7'[
šu-u-wa-le-eš	3.D _{2/4} [KBo 30.159 + KBo 33.194] Rs. V 4
šu-wa-lu-uš	F2 [KBo 31.173] Rs. IV 10'[
šu-u-wa-lu-uš	F4 [KBo 27.149] r. 15'; F6 ₁ * [IBoT 2.45 (+)], 7'[
šu-u-wa-a-lu-uš	F6 ₂ * [CHDS 4.206 (+)], x+1[

Dabei stellen die mit einem Asteriskos markierten Textstellen F6₁*, 7' und F6₂*, x+1, mittelhethitische Niederschriften dar, Zugehörigkeit o.A. zu einer Tafel liegt allein schon von daher nahe. Als Fazit ergibt sich, die Angabe **†**, die besagt, daß alle bekannten Textstellen gebucht seien, erweist sich als falsch, *dto* die Angabe NS, da šuwali- in zwei zeitgenössischen mh. Niederschriften belegt ist, abgesehen von der Tatsache, daß die auf Geheiß Puduḥepas zusammengestellte kanonische Version des *hišuw*-Festes insgesamt auf mh. Vorlagen zurückgeht, von denen bislang 1.P* [Bo 5670], 2.I₁* [KUB 25.43] (+) 2.I₂* [VS NF 12.22], 2.K* [KUB 47.74], 2.L₁* [KUB 45.56] + 2.L₂* [Bo 9388], 7.I* [DAAM 1.17], 8.U* [KBo 46.143], 8.V* [DAAM 1.16], 11.B₁* [KBo 24.64] + 11.B₂* [KBo 43.200], 13.R* [CHDS 5.109], 13.X* [VAT 6697a] [* als Sigel zur Markierung mh. Datierung] vorliegen. Dazu kommen mit 3.I° [KUB 27.10], 5.M° [Bo 5938], 5.P° [KBo 44.105], 9.D₁° [IBoT 2.85] + 9.D₂° [KUB 40.97] + 9.D₃° [KUB 27.48], [möglicherweise] 12.P° [KBo 22.187], 13.L° [KBo 31.179], 13.V° [Bo 7957] [° als Sigel nachmittelhethitischer aber vorpuduḥepazeitlicher Exemplare] zumindest noch Texte, die zwar jh., aber älter als die kanonische Puduḥepa-Version sind. Zudem ist die Angabe „mng. unkn.“ fehlerhaft, da die Bedeutung von šuwali- als Wein längst etabliert ist. Schließlich stimmt die zu Grunde liegende Sprache nicht, da es sich bei den beiden im CHD angeführten Stellen um hurritischsprachige Rezitationen, nicht um hethitischen Wortlaut, handelt. Immerhin der Angabe „n.“ (=noun) kann man vorbehaltlos zustimmen [Trotz der Bedenken bei D. Bawanypeck/S. Görke, FS Košak [2007], p. 65 m.Anm. 35].

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67) Vermeintliches *ka-ra-a-uš-me-ša* (CHDS 5.1 II 12') — Eine einzig nach alter Umschrift zitierte Form *ka-ra-a-uš-me-ša* Bo 2689 II 12' hat in der Literatur bislang viel Kopfzerbrechen bereitet. Ausführlich zitiert sei die Stellungnahme von E. Rieken, StBoT 44, p. 350 A. 1724: „Einen möglichen Reflex des alten Stammes auf *-ā-* (<*-eh₂-) könnte man in dem Akk. Pl. *ka-ra-a-uš-* (Bo 2689 II 12', ah. in Abschrift, ibid. 11' D.-L. *ka-ra-ú-ni-iš-mi*) vermuten. ... Andererseits ist die Überlieferung des Textes an dieser Stelle nicht korrekt, wie die Form des Possessivpronomens *-šmeš-a* (syntaktisch eindeutig Akk.) zeigt.“. Aus heutiger Sicht lägen in einer Form *ka-ra-a-uš-me-ša* indes nicht eine, sondern drei Härten vor. Zunächst paßt, wie von Rieken betont, der Nom. (Pl.) nicht in den Kontext, dann steht natürlich eine Form *generis neutrius* zu erwarten, und schließlich sollte, wie korrekt in II 11' bei *ka-ra-ú-ni-iš-mi* ein Nomen im Singular zu erwarten sein (vgl. D. Groddek, HS 130 (2017[2018]), p. 20ff., zusammenfassend p. 30). Nun lesen auch O. Soysal und İ. Aykut in ihrer Edition des Textes als CHDS 5.1 II 12' *ka-ra-a-uš-me-ša*. Es lohnt sich indes ein Blick in die Tafelphotos. Betont werden muß dabei vorab, daß die Tafel im Brande arg verzogen und an der Oberfläche berieben erscheint. Einer Lesung *ka-ra-a-uš-me-* ist unbedingt zuzustimmen. Anders verhält es sich indes mit dem letzten Zeichen. Grundsätzlich sind sich die Zeichen ŠA und TA sehr ähnlich, bei gleichem ‚Rahmen‘ weist ŠA (HZL 158) einen kleinen eingeschriebenen Senkrechten auf, TA (HZL 160) hingegen deren zwei. Bei der in Rede stehenden Zeichenform ist nun die Oberfläche unterhalb des unteren Wagerechten abgerieben, die Füße eines oder zweier kleiner Senkrechter sind verloren. Gleiches gilt auch für den Raum zwischen den beiden Wagerechten: Platz ist sowohl für den Kopf eines kleinen Senkrechten (ŠA) wie die Köpfe zweier kleiner Senkrechter (TA). Somit ist das beschädigte Zeichen nicht eindeutig ŠA, ebenso ist TA möglich. Mit einer Lesung TA ist sowohl der Kasus Nominativ als auch der Numerus Plural erledigt, zudem stellt *-šmet-a* eine Form *generis neutrius* dar, eine Form *generis communis* liegt nicht vor. Bevor auf die Form weiter einzugehen, verlohnt es sich, einen Blick auf den Paragraphen als ganzen zu werfen. Als Grundlage der Textherstellung dienen dabei neben den neuen Photos, die in CHDS 5.1 vorgelegt, die alten Photos des Hethitologie-Portals Mainz, insbesondere BoFN07028 der linken Hälfte der Vs. von Bo 2689. Wo Soysal/Aykut in CHDS 5.1 in Vs. II 9' *IŠ-TU É^{TI}-kán* aufweisen, ist *IŠ-TU É^{TI}-ŠU* zu lesen, zur Zeichenform (und Konstruktion) vgl. ganz parallel Vs. II 18' *IŠ-TU É^{TI}-ŠU-NU*, dann sind in Vs. II 8' die letzten Zeichen der ersten Wortform *-il-li-aš* klar, das Zeichen davor ist aber nicht beschädigtes ZI, sondern beschädigtes ZÉ. Die darauf folgende Wortform, für die Soysal/Aykut fragend ^{LÚ}*ha-ru-w[a-a]n-za* vorschlagen, muß in der ergänzenden Lesung, falls denn zutreffend, modifiziert werden, da das auf ^{LÚ}*ha-ru-* folgende Zeichen mit dem Kopfe eines Wagerechten auf mittlerer Zeilenhöhe beginnt, somit WA eindeutig als Lesung ausscheidet; der Beginn von AN hingegen wäre möglich, doch nicht zwingend. Ränge man sich zu einer Lesung ^{LÚ}*ha-ru-^{an}-za* durch, könnte man - ^{LÚ}(^{MUNUS})*harwant-* ist ja die Lesung von ^{LÚ}(^{MUNUS})*ÜMMEDA* [HW² III 382bff.] - [KUB 25.26 (+) KUB 42.86 (+) KUB 42.87 Rs. IV 17'f. *zé-e-ni* [] (18') ^{LÚ}ÜMMEDA *IŠ-TU É-Š[U e-eš-ša-i]* „Im Herbste [pflegt] der Aufseher (es) aus sein[em] Hause (=mit Mitteln seines Hauswesens) [zu feiern.]“, wobei sich die Ergänzung der Verbalform aus formelhaftem Charakter des Textes ergibt (M. Cammarosano, StBoT 68, p. 191 bzw. 195), als inhaltliche Parallele der Gestellung von im Kulte benötigten Mitteln aus dem Hause des Aufsehers beibringen.

Als Text ergibt sich für CHDS 5.1 Vs. II 8'-14' (vgl. auch F. Fuscagni, HPMM 6, p. 5, unvollständig und verbesserungsbedürftig):

- 8' ^mta-az-zé-él-li-aš ^{LÚ}ha-ru-^{an}-za
 9' *IŠ-TU* ^{É^{TI}}ŠU ^V ^(NINDA)mu¹-ri-^{ya}¹-a-^{lu}-uš¹
 10' XII NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{me}¹-e-ma-al ^{ŠA}ú-da-i
 11' ^{nu}mu-ú¹-ri-ya-lu-uš GU₄^{HI.A}-an ^{ka}¹-ra-ú-ni-iš-^{mi}¹
 12' kán-kán-zi ka-ra-a-uš-me-^{ta}¹ ša-kán-ta i-iš-kán-z[i]
 13' ^{NINDA}har-ša-uš x-x-x-x pár-ši-an-ta
 14' ^{me}¹-e-ma-al šu-ú-ni-an-zi

„Des tazzelli-Priesters Aufseher bringt aus seinem Hause fünf Rosinenbrote, zwölf Brotlaibe, Schrotmehl (und) Schweineschmalz her. Die Rosinenbrote hängt man an der Rinder Gehörn. Ihr Gehörn aber salb[t] man mit dem Fette. Die Brotlaibe bricht man Das Schrotmehl streut man aus (?).“

Abschließend verbleibt die Form *ka-ra-a-uš-me-^rta¹* einer Erklärung näher zu bringen. Zunächst ist festzuhalten, daß der Text eine althethitische Komposition in junger Abschrift darstellt. In dem behandelten Passus sind Merkmale ah. Sprachform gehäuft bestens bewahrt, so der Gen.Pl. GU^{HLA}-*an* (Vs. II 11'), das genetivische Syntagma mit vorangestelltem Genitive und Possessivpronomen am *nomen regens* GU^{HLA}-*an* ^r*ka¹-ra-ú-ni-iš-^rmi¹* (Vs. II 11'), wörtlich „an der Rinder ihr Gehörn“, der Instr. *ša-kán-ta*, einmal phonetisch geschriebenes ^{NINDA}*har-ša-uš*, schließlich ist das mediale Präsens *pár-ši-an-ta* nicht mit ^o*-ri* erweitert (und der Gleitlaut *y* nicht geschrieben), der Gebrauch der Kasusformen ist korrekt, korrekt sind *dto* die Possessiva *-šmi* und *-šmet(-a)*. Zudem wird ^m*tazelli-* statt ^{LÜ}*tazzelli-* gebraucht (vgl. E. Neu, StBoT 26, p. 353; auch J. Tischler, HED III, p. 289ff.), am Rande der Erwähnung wert ist vielleicht noch plene geschriebenes *me-e-ma-al*, dessen Pleneschreibung in althethitischen Texten (auch deren Abschriften) belegt, obschon von Anfang an nicht zwingend (vgl. Neu, StBoT 26, p. 120 zur Situation im Althethitischen; CHD L/N, 265a). Auch das Fehlen des Gleitlautes bei ^{LÜ}*ha-ru-^ran¹-za* statt ^{*LÜ}*ha-ru-^rwa-an¹-za*, ließe sich als Relikt einer ah. Vorlage verstehen, vgl. nur Graphien wie *ha-at-ta-lu-aš* neben *ha-at-ta-lu-wa-aš* (Neu, StBoT 26, p. 62) im Althethitischen, die in jüngeren Texten außer Gebrauch kommen. Hinzuweisen wäre in diesem Zusammenhange weiters auf die oben bereits angesprochene Eliminierung der Ortsbezugspartikel *-kán* in vermeintlichem **IŠ-TU É^{TI}-kán* (CHDS 5.1 Vs. II 9'). *-kán* nur im Satzinneren wäre immerhin (nachalthethitisch) möglich, doch angefügt an einen Dativ/Lokativ oder ein Adverb (Neu, FS Čop, p. 145-148), - angefügt an einen Ablativ begegnet u.W. einzig KUB 29.4 I 60(f.) (Neu, *ibid.*, p. 147f. [p. 148: „Irgendwie erscheint die Konstruktion holprig.“]; J.L. Miller, StBoT 46, p. 278f., mit Bewertung auf p. 408 [„and the scribe apparently felt that he needed to make it abundantly clear ... - whether he succeeded in doing so is another matter.“]).

Dieses gehäufte Auftreten getreulich bewahrter Charakteristika einer anzunehmenden althethitischen Vorlage und Fehlen jüngerer Umbildungen im Zusammenhange mit dem Abschreibeprozesse lassen es geraten erscheinen, auch in *ka-ra-a-uš-me-^rta¹* eine sprachlich gute Form zu suchen. Vorab sei betont, daß an der Textstelle auch kein Fall vorliegt, in dem „ein Pronomen ... mehr als nur überflüssig“ als „nachträgliche“ „Zusatz“ wie im *šar-tamḫāri*-Texte, als wenig geglückter Versuch eines Schreibers in jh. Zeit, alte Sprachform zu generieren, zu klassifizieren wäre (überzeugend Rieken, StBoT 45, p. 581[f.]). Daß mit einer Lesung des Ausganges der Wortform als ^o*uš-me-^rta¹* an Stelle von ^o*uš-me-^rša¹* sich ein ganzes Bündel an Ungereimtheiten in Wohlgefallen auflöst, ward eingangs bereits thematisiert. Somit harrt noch *ka-ra-a-u(š)-* einer Erklärung. Der Sibilant ist einfach geschrieben, was zunächst an eine segmentierende Analyse *karau-šmet-a* denken läßt, wiewohl eine Analyse als *karau(š)-šmet-a* nicht völlig von der Hand zu weisen. Der Nom./Akk.Sg. lautet *ka-ra-a-wa-ar* KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 Vs. 15.19, daneben ^{SI}*ga-ra-a-w[a-ar* KBo 20.110, 8, wegen vorangehendem Zahlzeichen II vom HW² V 140a als Nom./Akk.Pl. angesetzt (entgegen Rieken, StBoT 44, p. 349). Ansonsten scheint eine entsprechende Kasusform u.W. nicht vorzukommen (vgl. auch J. Puhvel, HED 4, p. 77ff.; A. Kloekhorst, EDHIL, p. 446f.; *id.*, StBoT 56, p. 397). Zunächst möchte man an die strukturell ähnliche, besser zu belegende Gefäßbezeichnung *tarawar*, neben der eine Form *taraur* bestens bezeugt ist, denken, für das Nebeneinander vgl.

tarawar

ta-a-ra-u-wa-ar KUB 44.64 II 10;
KBo 46.277, 6'; KUB 59.71 I 10
ta-ra-a-u-wa-ar KBo 18.201 III 4;
KBo 40.155 III 1; KUB 44.64 I 5.10
ta-a-ra-a-u-wa-ar KUB 44.64 I 8

taraur

ta-ra-a-ur KBo 17.74+, Vs. I 54
ta-ra-a-u-ur KUB 56.46 I 2'
ta-ra-u-ur KUB 53.11 II 14
da-ra-a-u-ur KBo 22.196 V 2

An fragmentarischen Belegen vgl. noch *ta-ra-a-w[a-* KBo 43.97, 10' und *ta-ra-u[-* KBo 35.173, 4'. (Vgl. zum Worte Rieken, StBoT 44, p. 352f.; J. Tischler, HEG III, 153f.; Kloekhorst, EDHIL, p. 43; und zum Wechsel von *-wa-* : *-u-* [besonders vor *r*] Rieken, IBS 100, p. 374-377.)

Auf dem Hintergrunde des Wechsels *tarawar* - *taraur* ließe sich auch für das wesentlich schwächer bezeugte *karawar* ein analoger Wechsel *karawar* - **karaur* postulieren. Mit Antritt des Possessivums *-šmet* ergäbe sich daraus **karaur-šmet*. Was bei der Graphie *ka-ra-a-uš-me-^rta¹* demgegenüber fehlt, ist das wortauslautende *-r*. Wortauslautendes *-r* - absolut oder beim Antritt von

Enklitika - kann im Hethitischen zwar schwinden, insbesondere in älterer Sprache, aber dieser Schwund begegnet nur bei Wortausgängen auf *-ar*, siehe Neu, FS Neumann, p. 306 m.A. 206, sowie H.A. Hoffner Jr./H.C. Melchert, LANE 1, Bd. 1, p. 46 (1.133) und Kloekhorst, EDHIL, p. 83 m.A. 169, kann somit als Erklärung hier nicht herangezogen werden. *r* assimiliert auch nicht wie *n* an den folgenden Konsonanten. Ein postuliertes **karaur-šmet*, bzw. mit zusätzlichem Antritte von *-a* „aber“ **karaur-šmet-a*, kommt der Graphie *ka-ra-a-uš-me-¹ta¹* recht nahe, enthält aber weiterhin ein Problem, für das sich gegenwärtig keine zwingende Lösung anbietet.

ga-ra-uš KUB 36.89 Rs. 25 (V. Haas, KN, p. 152/153) in zerstörtem Kontexte entzieht sich jeder Deutung (vgl. HW² V 139a mit Lit.) und vermag bezüglich der Bewertung der Form *ka-ra-a-uš-me-¹ta¹* nichts beizutragen.

Man sollte es sich aber auch nicht zu einfach machen, dem Abschreiber in jh. Zeit ein Versagen bzw. eine Verschlimmbesserung des Textes zu unterstellen. U.W. fehlen einfach Parallelen, die Wortform sicher zu bewerten. Festzuhalten ist, daß *ka-ra-a-uš-me-¹ta¹* Singular, Neutrum und (Nominativ/)Akkusativ ist, zudem beim Possessivum im Nom./Akk. (*-šmet*) den für das Althethitische zu erwartenden *e*-Vokalismus aufweist, vgl. Hoffner/Melchert, LANE 1, Bd. 1, p. 140 (6.6); Kloekhorst, StBoT 56, p. 131f.

Das spricht zusammengenommen dafür, daß der Abschreiber im Verbunde mit den anderen guten Formen des engeren Kontextes die ah. Sprachform auch hier bewahrt hat. Zudem ist zu bedenken, daß es im Althethitischen bei Antritt von Enklitika durchaus zu problematischen, stringent nicht zu erklärenden Formen kommen kann, vgl. *ne-pí-iš-za-aš-ta* aus dem Anitta-Texte KBo 3.22 Vs. 2 (Neu, StBoT 18, p. 10, bzw. 47ff. mit ausführlicher Diskussion; anders O. Carruba, StMed 13, p. 89f.). Immerhin liegt bei **karaur-šmet-a* eine Dreifachkonsonanz *-ršm-* vor, deren Darstellung der Keilschrift generell Probleme bereitet. Ob man eine graphische Unterdrückung von *r* auf diesem Hintergrunde bereit wäre zu akzeptieren, hinge letzten Endes an (möglichen ?) Parallelen, die bislang u.W. nicht vorliegen. So verbleibt am Ende bei der Erklärung dieser Wortform unglücklicherweise weiterhin ein Problem.

Am Rande sei noch kurz auf eine andere singuläre Form des Textes CHDS 5.1 verwiesen. Rs. V 20'-22' bieten die Passage (^{MUNUS.MEŠ}SIKIL mit Auslassung von KI bei Soysal/Aykut ist *lapsus calami*)

V 20' *pa-ra-a-ma nam-ma KASKAL-ši* ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}SU.GI []
 21' ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}KI.SIKIL ^{URU}Zi-ip-la-an-ta a-ra[-an-ta]
 22' *ta* SİR^{RA}

„Entlang des Weges neh[m]en ferner die alten Frauen und Mädchen von Zi-planta Aufstellung. Dann singen sie.“

SİR^{RA} steht dabei an Stelle von üblichem SİR^{RU}. Die beteiligten Aktanten, Alte Frauen und Mädchen, beschränken sich auf Zugehörigkeit zum femininen Geschlechte. Das Akkadische unterscheidet in der 3. Pl. der Verbalcircumfixe zwischen m. (*i-...-ū*) und f. (*i-...-ā*) (vgl. e.g. W. von Soden, GAG², p. 9*). So dürfte SİR^{RA} hier *izammarā* (f.) an Stelle von üblichem *izammarū* (m.) unterliegen. Der Gebrauch von akkadischen Formen einer 3.Pl.Fem. im Hethitischen ist generell äußerst selten, für den Bereich der Possessivpronomina vgl. etwa A-ŠAR-ŠI-NA KBo 25.64 Rs. 9 (Hoffner/Melchert, LANE 1, B. 1, p. 437, „-ŠINA ,their' virtually nonexistent“). Ibid., p. 438f. A. 13 findet die Aussage „the corresponding feminine form *išpurā* is unused in Hittite logograms“ nun zumindest in SİR^{RA} aus CHDS 5.1 Rs. V 22' eine Ausnahme, „unused“ wäre auch hier durch „virtually nonexistent“ zu ersetzen.

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68) Lydian *wsta-*: Semantics and Etymology* — This substantive is attested in some inscriptions from Sardis: LW 3 (late 4th century BC) l. 2 as *wstas* and LW 13 (a “poetic” inscription, 5th – 4th century BC) l. 2 as *wstaas*.¹⁾ The third attestation *wsta*'s (original: *wstws*) in LW 108 (late 4th / early 3rd century BC) l. 3 (context unfortunately lost, text largely broken).²⁾

Its scientific profile is aptly provided by YAKUBOVICH 2022 (ad “4. Meaning”): “In order to approach the interpretation of *wsta-* systematically, one has to study the collocations featuring this lexeme and its derivative *wastvun-* [on which see below]. Of particular significance here is the coordinated phrase LW 13.2-3 *ištaminliš wstaas datrosiš=k šarys*^[3)], where *datros(i)-* apparently refers to some **sort of**

transaction [bold mine, MP]. On the paradigmatic level, LW 13.2 *ištaminliš wstaas* can be compared with LW 13.7 *ištaminlav qiraal* [Genit. Pl. and Dat. Sg.], where *qira-* means ‘property’. To this one can add that the derivative *wastvun-* likewise appears in the immediate proximity of nouns designating material possession^[4]. This vindicates the general interpretation of *wsta-* as an inanimate noun pertaining to economic terminology” — ‘**expense** (?)’ (bold mine) in the more specific heading of the lemma (ad “1”).

As to “the grammatical level” — the commentary goes on — “the interpretation of *datrosiš=k* as the accusative plural form in LW 13.3 implies the necessity of the same analysis in the case of *wstaas*. The accusative interpretation of *wsta-* also appears likely in LW [3.]2, but essentially on semantic grounds, since an economic term is unlikely to function as subject at the beginning of a burial inscription. Judging by typological parallels, one is rather likely to find there reference to a person who incurred **expenses** [bold mine] or provided financial means for the construction of the burial. Hence the proposed tentative translation ‘expenses’^[5], which does not exclude further modifications within the same broad semantic field”.

If this exegesis is correct — and its author seems to have been here decidedly on the right track —, an immediate etymon — in support of the above decoding — arises spontaneously, in defiance of the claim “No etymology possible” (ad “7. Origin”).

wsta- can suitably be traced back to IE **wes-* ‘(ver)kaufen’^[6] via virtual **us-tó-* (substantivation of the participle) / **us-téh₂-* — in principle also **we/os-tó-* (with syncope^[7]).

Finally, just a hint to Hier. Luw. (M 390 / L 419, 420) *washa-*. Worthy of consideration is MELCHERT 2015: 410 ff.^[8] (with refs.) who argued that this noun denotes likewise commercial transactions, to be analyzed as **was-ha-* and ascribed to IE **wes-* (to which also Hitt. *was-* is attributable) “referred to both buying and selling”^[9].

Notes

* For insightful interventions I am deeply indebted to Craig Melchert.

1. LW: 251 and 256 respectively. For the spelling variant *wstaas* GÉRARD 2005: 37 ad 3.1.1.1.5 formulated the hypothesis that “il pourrait s’agir d’une marque de longueur [cf. already MELCHERT 1994: 369 ad 14.1.5.16], qui ne serait toutefois pas pertinente au niveau phonologique”.

2. See GUSMANI 1985: 80 with Pl. II, 81, and 1986: 158-159.

3. In which the proposed interpretation of each element is (eDiAna Corpus): *istaminl(i)-* ‘family (member)’, here in Nom. Sg. (?); *wstaas* [see below], Acc. Pl.; *datros(i)-* “‘type of payment’”, here in Acc. Pl. (?); *šar(i)-* adj., “‘pertaining to patronage (?)’”. Note also YAKUBOVICH 2023: “The phrase *datrosiš=k šarys* can be literally understood as ‘payment for patronage’, or something similar”.

4. With the following remarks: “As long as one accepts that *datros(i)-* refers to a type of payment or transaction involving property, the hypothesis that *wastvun-* belongs to the same semantic field [“‘type of transfer’”]; YAKUBOVICH 2022a] imposes itself in view of the juxtaposition of *wastvun=k* and *datros=k* in LW 22.7. In LW 10.13, one finds the possessive construction *wastvunliš qašaas*, where *qaša-* refers to a type of property, or something similar” (so ad “4. Meaning”; ‘fee, rental price (?)’ in eDiAna Corpora), as well as “*wastvun-* appears to have been derived from *wsta-* with the help of the suffix *-vun-*, which does not seem to be attested elsewhere in Lydian. Nevertheless, the synchronic connection between *wastvun-* and its base is hardly to be doubted” (ad “5. Stem”).

5. The sentence reads: *ardēc alarms fadol wstas* which, if the translation “is any[where] close to ‘personally made expenses’”, then *ar-dēt-* can be analyzed as an etymological possessive compound ‘(having) property by right’ [unless the idiom more straightforwardly indicates ‘one’s own property’, MP], which would agree well with its likely contextual meaning ‘owner’ (Yakubovich, “Lydian *ardēt(i)-* ‘owner (?)’”, eDiAna-ID 1486). On *fadol* ‘?’ (3rd Sg. Pret. Act.) cf. SASSEVILLE 2020: 284 ad 8.4.1 (where Gusmani-Akkan’s suggested meaning ‘verkünden’ is mistranslated ‘appreciate’).

6. For which cf. e.g. MALLORY-ADAMS 1997: 185a (with refs.) and LIV²: 693 (where Lat. *vīlis* ‘cheap, of small price or value, purchased at a low rate’ — through **wes-li-* — should be added: see SZEMERÉNYI 1954: 36, endorsed by WATKINS 1973: 196-197 [pace HAMP 1968: 276 fn. 3]). To this Indo-European root Melchert ap. SASSEVILLE 2020: 285 proposed that the Lydian verb *os-* ‘to buy (?)’ (in *ētors*, 3rd Pl. Pret. [LW 2 l. 3]) might belong.

7. Cf. MELCHERT 1994: 371 ad 14.1.6.1.(3) (despite the superseded sense ‘alive’).

8. In the footsteps of HAWKINS-MORPURGO DAVIES 1982: 99-100 with fn. 9.

9. MELCHERT 2015: 412 — The picture presented by BAUER 2022, although by all means coherently structured, is void of a semantic conclusion, as is also SASSEVILLE’s submission 2023 (ad “7”) with respect to the putative Cun. Luwian cognate *washa-*.

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[ADDENDUM: Only today (July 17th 2023, after the submission of the present note to *NABU*) I received via e-mail from Romain Garnier his article entitled “Reassessing phonology as a heuristic approach: the case of Lydian”, *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 117 (2022) [2023]: 153–187, where one finds (pp. 174–175) his treatment of *Lyd. wsta-* with the same etymological results. I am glad of this convergence of confirmatory nature].

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69) On Akkadian Therapeutic Prescriptions Against Eye-Diseases in Ḫattuša (CTH 809) – part I —

This note opens a series of transliterations and editions of fourteen fragments belonging to CTH 809, i.e., Akkadian texts concerning therapeutic prescriptions against eye-diseases. So far, all the fragments belonging to this CTH number have been found in Büyükkale, Ḫattuša.¹⁾ It is not completely clear how many tablets these fragments originally belonged to. The present note provides the transliteration, English translation, and a very brief commentary of KUB 37.14 (+) KUB 37.12 (+) KUB 37.15.

According to the Hethitologie Portal Mainz, and also Biggs (*JNES* 55: 236), the three fragments belong to the same tablet; possibly, KUB 37.14 and KUB 37.15 are both from the right column, while the positioning of KUB 37.12 remains uncertain. The total number of columns of the tablet is, to this day, impossible to assess. Not much can be understood from the fragments, apart from a few ingredients: kernels/grains (ŠE.BAR) of some plant, *suādu*-plant, butter (Ī.NUN), and salt (MUN). The treatments seem to aim at curing at least five different diseases, since we have no repetition formulas (i.e., no KI.MIN), of which only two can be understood: *birratu*-disease (KUB 37.15 4’) and blood in the eyes (KUB 37.12 5’).

The palaeography of the fragments is recognised as Assyro-Mittanian (Schwemer 2013 *Diversity*; Zomer LAOS 9: 87 fn. 380). In fragments (a) and (c) a ‘rubricated’ layout can be recognised, and thus hypothesised in (b) as well. This particular layout can be observed also in KBo 8.2, another fragments with prescriptions against eye-diseases, as well as in KUB 4.50, also from CTH 809.

(a)	KUB 37.14		
r. col. 1’	BAD LÚ	l IG ^{mes} -r ^š ū ^l [	]
r. col. 2’		l 10-tu ŠE.BAR [ša	]
r. col. 3’		l te-te-néq-[qí (...)	inēš]

	r. col. 4'	BAD LÚ	I[IGI ^{meš} -šú	]
	(Text breaks)			
(b)	KUB 37.12			
	1'	[	] rta' [	]
	2'	[	] rúš- <i>a-d</i> [u (...)	]
	3'	[	] ana ŠÀ IGI ^{meš} x[	teqqima ²]
	4'	[	] *erasure*	[inēš]
	5'	[BAD LÚ IGI ^{meš} -šú	MUD D[IRI	]
	6'	[	] x [	]
	(Text breaks)			
(c)	KUB 37.15			
	r. col. 1'	BAD LÚ	IGI ^{meš} -šú [	]
	r. col. 2'		ina Ì.NUN [	]
	r. col. 3'		TI.[LA	]
	r. col. 4'	[BA]D LÚ	IGI ^{meš} -šú bi-i[r-ra-tum	(...) ašâ]
	r. col. 5'		MUN me-e x[	(...) taballal]
	r. col. 6'		ina ŠU.S[I-ka ²	]
	r. col. 7'		ina Ì.NU[N	]
	(Text breaks)			

(a) If a man's eyes [... ..] 10 kernels [of ...-plant] you repeatedly sme[ar ... and he will recover]. § If the e[yes of] a man (*Text breaks*)

(b) (*Traces*) *suād*[u-plant you rub²] into (his) eyes .[...] (*erasure*) [and he will recover]. § [If a man]'s [eyes are] fu[ll of] blood (*Traces; text breaks*)

(c) If the eyes of a man [... ..] in butter [... ..] he will rec[over]. § [I]f the eyes of a man [suffer from] *bi[rratu]*-disease (...): you mix together] salt, water (and) .[... ..] with [your²] fing[er] in butt[er ...] (*Text breaks*)

Commentary

- (a) r. col. 2' *ešertu uttāti* ...: what would be expected here would be the absolute masculine form of the number, *ešer*, and not the feminine free form. In later times this writing can appear interchangeably for the free and the absolute form of the feminine of the number.²⁾ Interestingly, there is no genus polarity with the feminine *uttātu*. Kernels of plants are commonly used as ingredients for medicaments, both in ritual and in 'rational' medicine; see, e.g., some attestations in CAD U-W *uttātu* 2a p. 355a, where the use of kernels of a plant (in that case, the *anḫullū*-plant) to prepare a salve is mentioned.
- (b) 2' *suādu*-plant: it is an aromatic plant of the sedge family, possibly, for etymological reasons, *Cyperus esculentus* (cf. CAD S *suādu* p. 338a; CDA *suādu* p. 326a). The plant is used for medical purposes to create ointments and lotions, for fumigations, and for potions as well.
- 3' *ana libbi tñšū*: the medicament prepared is to be rubbed in the eyes of the patient. Cf. for this expression in the same context also KUB 4.50 5' (Fincke, *NABU* 2010/1 nr. 12: 11-12).
- 5' [*šumma amēlu tñāš*]u *dāma m[alā]*: the condition of having blood in the eyes is well documented. See, e.g., BAM 10: 6-7, 19, and, especially, 72ff.
- r. col. 4' *birratu*-disease: it is a condition in which a blurred, clouded vision affects the eyes of the patient. Cf., e.g., Geller & Panayotov 2020: 206 and 214.
- r. col. 6' *ina ubānīka*: cf. Fincke's translation of KUB 4.50 9'. It is worth noting, however, that among the texts of this CTH number there appears to be an ingredient called (uzu) šu.si(.nīta), mentioned in KUB 37.2 Obv. 26' and in KUB 37.4 r. col. 9'. As much as Fincke's interpretation stands here as the most probable, also because in the two aforementioned cases there is no preposition before the ingredient name, nonetheless, it is worth pointing out the possibility that this ingredient be mentioned here, too.
- (c) 4' *šumma amēlu tñāš*u *bi[rratu]* (...) *ašâ*: the restoration follows CAD B *birratu* a), p. 260a.

Notes

1. Cf. HPM: https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php?c=809; last consulted on 12.08.2023.

2. Streck 1995 (*Zahl und Zeit*. CM 5): 23 §27.

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70) On Akkadian Therapeutic Prescriptions Against Eye-Diseases in Hattuša (CTH 809) – part II –

The next text in CTH 809 according to HPM is composed of three fragments, KUB 37.13, KUB 37.16, and KUB 37.17, all indirectly joined and extremely fragmentary. Biggs (*JNES* 55: 236) considers these fragments to be part of the same tablet as KUB 37.14(+); the incorporation of these fragments to CTH 809 on HPM is probably not due to their content, but solely on the basis of Biggs's hypothesis. From what can be read, in fact, it is impossible to confirm that the prescriptions in these fragments are aimed at curing ophthalmic diseases, unless we want to imagine a restoration similar to “you rub (it) into his eyes” in rev. 2'-3'. Schwemer (2013, *Diversity*: 156) puts these fragments under the general category of “Akkadian medical fragments”, and comments that the palaeography cannot be determined. Despite the very tentative restoration I give here in the aforementioned lines, I agree with Schwemer, and suggest that these fragments be relocated under CTH 813 (Akkadische [magische] Fragmente).

(a)	KUB 37.13		
	obv. 1'	[	] x []
	obv. 2'	[	] x TI- <i>qé</i>
	obv. 3'	[	PIŠ ₁₀ - ^d ÍD.L]Ú.RU.GÚ
	obv. 4'	[	K]I.SÌ.GA
	obv. 5'	[	ŠI]D- <i>nu</i>
	obv. 6'	[	ú]A ¹ .ZAL.LA NAG- <i>ma</i>
	obv. 7'	[	<i>inēš</i>] (uninscribed)
	obv. 8'	[	] 8 ^{kam}
	(Obverse breaks)		
	rev. 1'	[	k]i ² id x
	rev. 2'	[	]x ŠĀ- <i>bi</i>
	rev. 3'	[IGI ^{meš} -šū ^(?) <i>teqqima</i> ?	] ki a MUN
	rev. 4'	[	] x
	rev. 5'	[	i]- ^r ne ¹ -e- <i>eš</i>
	rev. 6'	[	] x ta
	(Text breaks)		
(b)	KUB 37.16		
	1'	[	] ^r ū ¹ x []
	2'	[	]ŠID- [<i>nu</i>]
	3'	[	] x ba za l[a]
	4'	[	úgrPAD ¹ []
(c)	5'	[	] x []
	(Text breaks)		
	KUB 37.17		
	1'	[	] x []
	2'	[	]- ^r šū-ū ¹ x []
	3'	[	] KI.ŠÚ zu []
	4'	[	] x aš šir x []
	5'	[	] x ba-lu []
	(Text breaks)		

(a) obv. 1' (lost) § 2'-7' [...] you take. [...] sul]phur [...] ritual offering [...] you] recite. [...] *azallû*-plant, you give (it) to him to drink and [he will recover]. § [...] 8th (*Obverse breaks*) rev. 1'-5' (*Traces*) [you rub?] into [his eyes?] [...] . . salt [...] (and) he] will recover. § (*Traces; text breaks*)

(b) and (c) too fragmentary for translation.

Commentary

- (a) In the obverse there seems to be a ritual offering (l. 4') together with a recitation (l. 5'), and a concoction is supposedly prepared for the patient to drink (l. 6'). As for the reverse, if we want to hypothesise that these treatments are against ophthalmic diseases, it is possible that something is to be rubbed into the eyes of the patient (l. 2').¹⁾ Afterwards (l. 3'), salt is used, and the patient is said to be recovering (l. 5').

obv. 6' *azallû*-plant: the plant appears to be used here as an ingredient for a concoction that the patient needs to drink. The plant is said to be used for undoing witchcraft and for the mental well-being of the patient (AMD-8/1: 7.10.1), further hinting at the possibility that these fragments are not aimed at treating ophthalmic diseases.

- (b) 2' *tama[nnu³]*: a recitation can possibly be recognised here; cf. (a) 5'.
 (c) 3' *kīlu* "imprisonment" can be read, but the context is completely unclear.

Notes

1. Cf. KUB 37.12 3' and KUB 4.50 5' and 7'.

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71) BM 49087, another tablet with physiognomic omens — BM 49087 (1881-11-3, 1798) is a fragment from the obverse of a Late Babylonian tablet from somewhere in Babylonia. It measures 21+ × 37+ × 8.9+ mm (width × height × thickness) and comprises two columns on each side. Traces of a so-called firing hole can be seen in the space between the columns at its lower break. Traces of the last signs of the left column and part of the right column with the protases of omens are preserved. The first eight omens concern a person whose face is similar to that of gods (the name of the goddess Ereškigal can be read) or of various animals, followed by omens referring to descriptions of various parts of the eye. Omens comparing the face of a person with gods, demons and animals are preserved in three other sources: i. the physiognomic omen series *alamdimmû* tablet VIII (DIŠ *pa-nu-šu* GÍD.DA, "If his face is long", see BÖCK 2000: 108–117; SCHMIDTCHEN 2018: 484–485); ii. in a commentary tablet to *alamdimmû* (BÖCK 2000: 250–253); iii. in the second tablet of the sub-series to *alamdimmû* called *šumma^dea liballitka* (VON SODEN 1981; SCHMIDTCHEN 2019: 95–111). Two omens on BM 49087 – the face of a lion (II 7') and the face of a pig (II 4') – duplicate omens from those three other sources but not in that sequence. Thus, BM 49087 could either be an excerpt tablet of the series *alamdimmû* or a tablet with extra-serial omens (*aḫû* omens).

The omens of the serial tablets of *alamdimmû* are introduced with DIŠ, but those of BM 49087 with BE. This is also the case with one Old Babylonian tablet (BÖCK 2000: 296–301), with two excerpt tablets from Nineveh written in Neo-Assyrian ductus (TBP 23 and 69: BÖCK 2000: 280–283), and with two commentary tablets, one from Nineveh written in Neo-Assyrian ductus (TBP 12a-e: BÖCK 2000: 238–247 sources A-E; source A = 246–249 source c; TBP 12b: BÖCK 2000: 238–248 source B) and one from Babylonia written in Late Babylonian ductus (BM 65706: BÖCK 2000: 238–247 source F).

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

obverse

ii 1'	[BE IG]I 'x ¹ .x[GAR	[If he has the fac]e of a ...[...].
ii 2'	[BE IG]I ^d EREŠ.K[I.GAL	[If he has the fac]e of Erešk[igal, ...].
ii 3'	[BE IG]I TU.KUR ₄ .MUŠEN G[AR	[If] he h[as the fac]e of a dove, [...].
ii 4'	[BE I]GI ŠAḪ GAR [ÚKU- <i>in</i> UD.MEŠ-šú x.MEŠ]	[If] he has the [f]ace of a pig, [he will be poor, his days will ...].
ii 5'	[BE] IGI SU.DIN.MUŠEN GAR NÍG.[ŠU-šú ...]	[If] he has the face of a bat, [his] proper[ty will ...].
ii 6'	[B]E IGI <i>e-ri-bi</i> [GAR ...]	[If] he [has] the face of a raven, [...].
ii 7'	[B]E IGI <i>la-bi</i> GA[R <i>ga-mi-ru-ta</i> ₅ DÛ-uš]	[If] he ha[s] the face of a lion, [he will act powerfully].
ii 8'	BE IGI SA.A.RI [GAR ...]	If [he has] the face of a wildcat, [...].
ii 9'	BE IGI.II-šú <i>ana</i> IGI.GÁL- <i>l</i> [u ...]	If his eyes [<i>look constantly?</i>] at a wise man, [...].
ii 10'	BE <i>dig-lu</i> IGI.II AN.[TA	If the gaze of (his) eyes [...] ab[ove, ...].
ii 11'	BE PA IGI.II-šú <i>l</i> [u šá ² ZAG ² lu ² šá ² GÛB ² ...]	If his eye lid, ei[ther <i>right² or² left²</i> , ..., ...].
ii 12'	BE <i>ina</i> ŠÁ ¹ (LU) IGI.II-šú	If in the middle ¹ of [his] eye[s ..., ...].
ii 13'	BE <i>húp-ti</i> [IGI.II-šú	If the cavity [of his eyes ..., ...].
ii 14'	BE <i>ku-tal¹-l</i> [i IGI.II-šú	If the bac[k of his eyes ..., ...].
(remainder is missing)		

Comments

ii 4' This omen is excerpted from *šumma alamdimmu* tablet VIII entry 133, see 82-5-22, 196a (CT 28, 28-29; TBP 67) rev. 25: [DIŠ ŠAḤ GAR] Ú[K]U-*i*[n x x (x)] x-du, see Böck 2000: 116–117, and K. 2718+6473+7956 rev. 3': [DIŠ ŠAḤ GAR ÚKU]-*i*n¹ UD.MEŠ [x.MEŠ], see SCHMIDTCHEN 2018: 484. It is also quoted in two commentary tablets, in K. 8140 (TBP 21) obv. 3' ([DIŠ] IGI ŠAḤ GAR ÚKU-*i*n [...]) and in K. 6473+ (TBP 7) rev. 8 (DIŠ ŠAḤ GAR ÚKU-*i*n [...].MEŠ), see Böck 2000: 250–251.

ii 6' Compare two commentary tablets, K. 9222 (TBP 17) obv. 12 ([DIŠ SAG.DU] a-ri-bi GAR UD.MEŠ-šú GÍ[D.DA.MEŠ]), and K. 3082+ (TBP 2a) rev. 27': DIŠ SAG.DU U[G]A.MUŠEN GAR UD.MEŠ-šú GÍD.DA.[MEŠ]): “If he has the head of a raven, his days will be long”, see Böck 2000: 248–249 entry 7.

ii 7' This omen is excerpted from *šumma alamdimmu* VIII entry 129, see 82-5-22, 196a (CT 28, 28-29; TBP 67) rev. 22: DIŠ la-bi GAR ga-mi-ru-ta₅ DÛ-uš, see Böck 2000: 116–117. It is also included in the second tablet of *šumma^{dea} liballitka*, see K. 3679+3961+4119b (TBP 13) I 7 ([DIŠ IG]I la-bi GAR ga-mi-r[u-ta₅ ...]) and K. 6280 (TBP 16) I 7 (DIŠ IGI la-bi GAR ga-mi-ru-ta₅ DÛ-uš), see VON SODEN 1981: 110 and SCHMIDTCHEN 2019: 95, 101. Compare the omens about a lion is walking with the same apodosis in one of the *aḥû* tablets: K. 141+ (TBP 22) iv 14: DIŠ GIN la-bi GI ga-me-ru-ta DÛ, see Böck 2000: 276–278 entry 14.

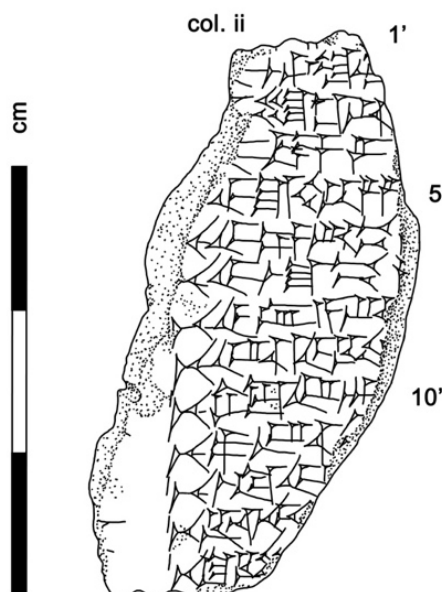
ii 8' Comparisons with a cat can be found in a commentary tablet referring to the lips (see Böck 2000: 244–245 entry 84: DIŠ NUNDUM SA.A GAR), and in two *aḥû* tablets referring to the manner of walking (DIŠ GIN SA.A GIN, see Böck 2000: 272–273 entry 114: DIŠ GIN SA.A GIN; 276–277 entry 15), although the other tablets have SA.A, *šurānu*, the “cat”, instead of SA.A.RI, *muraššû*, the “wildcat”. The fact that the omens referring to a lion’s face and a lion’s way of walking have the same apodosis (see the comment to ii 7'), it could be that the omens referring to a (wild)cat’s face and a cat’s way of walking also have the same apodosis. Both *aḥû* tablets let the manner of walking for both animals follow each other directly, as happens here with the face of those animals. If this is correct, one might restore the apodosis of this entry from K. 141+ (TBP 22) iv 16: DIŠ GIN SA.A GIN NA BI É NIR.GÁL DÛ-u[š], “If he walks like (lit.: the walk of) a cat, that man will build a preeminent house”, see Böck 2000: 276–277 entry 15.

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72) An Unnamed Principle of First-Millennium Cuneiform Scholarship: Heterophony — One of the most influential works ever written in cuneiform, the astrological omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil* begins with a deliberate juxtaposition of two different versions of a brief creation myth already found in variant forms within the series itself. Lambert argues that the first, Sumerian passage was extracted from Tablet 23 (the *Šin* series), in which Anu, Enlil and Ea establish the moon as the primary indicator of time and cosmic order (ù gizkim an-ki-a mu-un-gi-ne-eš; EAE I:5 in LAMBERT 2013: 176). It is immediately followed by a second, variant version of creation (marked as such with *šaniš* “secondly” and found in the *Šamaš* series) in which it is the sun together with the moon that serves as a primary sign (*u₄-mu ba-na-a arḫu ud-du-šú šá tāmarti*(igi-du₈.meš) a-me-lut-tum; EAE I: 13-14 in LAMBERT 2013: 176). Lambert suggests that this new narrative introduction is the result of extracting and combining the somewhat

contradictory introductions to the lunar and solar sections of the series by only excerpting the Sumerian version of the lunar introduction and the Akkadian version of the solar introduction to fit the bilingual format of the text. The result is a short double creation narrative that begins twice, with the same protagonists performing two different originary acts.

What is worthy of note is that the cuneiform scholarly practice of juxtaposing variants can rise to a compositional principle shaping texts, and was sometimes explicitly articulated as such by Mesopotamian writers. For example, within *Enūma Anu Enlil* the double creation that begins it is interesting but not unexpected, since the collection and juxtaposition of variant omens and readings in ancient cuneiform scholarship is widely documented and well studied (FRAHM 2011; on *šaniš* as marking deliberate inclusion of variants GABBAY 2016:74-83). But the same principle provides further structure to the work, also concluding its lunar series with a parallel phenomenon in tablet 14, in which two variant systems for calculating times of lunar visibility--of Nippur and Babylon--are juxtaposed (GEORGE and AL-RAWI 1991). They are presented without harmonization, but harmonized in an important commentary (OSSENDRIJVER 2014). And the juxtaposition of variants into a "new weave" (SUR.GIBIL) is explicitly stated as the driving compositional principle of the medical series Sa-Gig in the remarkable editorial statement that John Wee has termed "Esagil-kīn-apli's Manifesto" (WEE 2019:26ff).

To place this distinctive aspect of Mesopotamian thought in the big picture of intellectual history, it may help to name it. Sheldon Pollock has argued for the need to build comparative categories for the study of nonmodern literatures, contrasting Assyriology's "extraordinary rigor" and "astonishing labors" that have made such a rich range of Mesopotamian texts available with an "explanatory laxity" that has left us with a poorer vocabulary to conceptualize them (2007:288). What do we call this drive to juxtapose multiple variants of an event or omen within a single passage or text? It so happens that in musicology, there is a well-developed concept for a closely parallel phenomenon. To describe the practice of presenting multiple variants of a melody at once in a single composition, musicologists use the term "heterophony." Widely documented (indeed, already criticized by Plato as violating ideals of harmony; see WEST 1992:205-6), heterophony is a compositional value in musics across the world, from Arabic and Jewish liturgy (JABRI and AASE 2018, KOPYTMAN 2008, HACHOEN 2011) to Thailand (MORTON 1976) to 20th century European avant-garde works such as Pierre Boulez's "Rituel in Memoriam Bruno Maderna."

The Mesopotamian scholarly phenomenon of literary heterophony usefully parallels but contrasts with critic Mikhail Bakhtin's famous use of "polyphony" to describe modern novels such as Dostoevsky's which present "a plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses." Unlike Bakhtinian polyphony, the contrasting variants of Mesopotamian scholarship are not entirely independent and unmerged but presented as parallel and related, yet collected and juxtaposed precisely because of their difference. They therefore also contrast with the concept of harmony, in which multiple voices are regimented into precise and consistent tonal intervals and heard as one. And while there have been definitional disputes about the nature of heterophony, such issues can be shown to be shared with the concepts of polyphony and harmony themselves and arise from the limits of Western music theory (PÄRTLAS 2016). The concept of heterophony was introduced to literature by Edward Said (though he ultimately abandoned it, ironically in favor of the more familiar Western European principle of counterpoint--see CAPITAIN 2022, cf RAGUET 2013). The Mesopotamian highlighting of variation finds an analog in a value of premodern poetic performance defined by Paul Zumthor (1972) as "mouvance," but its function of juxtaposing different and even contradictory readings in a single fixed text rather than across multiple performances marks it as distinctively scribal, an important written value for Mesopotamian scholars for whom variation and even contradiction could serve as a source of authority and argumentative power. It will be fruitful to compare with other ancient scholarly presentations of parallel variant narratives and laws such as found in the Hebrew Pentateuch (SANDERS 2015), ancient Jewish commentaries (GABBAY 2012), and elsewhere. The concept of Heterophony may thus add precision and comparative depth to our vocabulary, helping cast light on an important aspect of ancient Mesopotamian thought.

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73) The Standing and Sitting Asterisms of Ekur¹⁾ — In their recent article, 'What do Deities Tell us about the Celestial Positioning System' in the publication of the 2018 Rencontre in Innsbruck,²⁾ S. Hoffmann and M. Krebernik proposed that the terms MUL.DINGIR.GUB.BA^{meš} šu-ut É.KUR and MUL.DINGIR.TUŠ.A^{meš} šu-ut É.KUR, 'The Standing Gods of Ekur' and 'The Sitting Gods of Ekur', in MUL.APIN I i 23 were not to be understood as star-names, but rather as a rubric marker summarizing the list of asterisms above in MUL.APIN I i 1–22.³⁾ There, Hoffmann and Krebernik touch upon a number of other important new understandings and hypotheses concerning the evolution of the MUL.APIN star-catalogue, including an observation that the Sitting Gods are placed in the circumpolar area of the northern sky (the ever-visible circle around the celestial north-pole), while the Standing Gods revolve around them. According to this proposal, the 'Standing and Sitting Gods' are not sets of stars that form a single constellation or any specific asterism in the sky,⁴⁾ nor to be understood as asterisms that might have been defined as standing or sitting on the basis of their observed configurations in the sky. The latter is demonstrated by the fact that a number of asterisms in the form of artifacts are listed among the 'Standing and Sitting Gods of Ekur': ^{mul}APIN, 'The Plough', ^{mul}GÀM, 'The Crook,' and ^{mul}MAR.GÍD.DA, 'The Wagon,' which unlike human or even animal figures cannot stand or sit.⁵⁾ Thus, a different type of imagery must stand behind the two terms. We propose that this image is that of the well-known Presentation Scene in Ancient Near Eastern Art.

The presentation scene, whereby a seated deity receives standing visitors is a common theme of Ancient Mesopotamian Art. Popularized in the late third and early second millennium, the most famous example being the image at the top of the Laws of Hammurabi Stele, where the seated Sun-god Shamash receives Hammurabi standing before his throne, and presents the king with the rod and ring, emblems of just rule. At the other end of the spectrum are the nearly countless smaller examples on cylinder seals where a seated main god receives a human being standing behind his personal god(s) who serves as an intermediary between the divine and human realms.⁶⁾ Although we always see the presentation scene as a

sort of still snapshot with the seated deity facing the standing figures who have come to visit, if we were to see the entire moving picture from before and after, we would see the standing figures arrive, approach the seated figure, perform some ritual acts, for example the standard homage act of *lapan appi*, raising ones hand to his/ her face (the pose of Hammurabi on the stele), followed by the eventual departure of the standing figures leaving time and space for the next set of visitors. Hence, in our ‘movie’, the standing deities would come and go, while the seated deity would always be present. We propose to extend the imagery of the presentation scene to MUL.APIN I i 1-23 – to the Standing and Sitting ‘Asterisms’ of Ekur: Thus, we imagine ‘The Sitting Gods of Ekur’ are the circumpolar asterisms who sit ‘ever-present’ in the area around the north celestial pole, while ‘The Standing Gods of Ekur’ are the nearby northern non-circumpolar asterisms who rise and set over the course of the year, and so were perceived to come and go. In this case the Path of Enlil would be divided into two main divisions: 1) the Ekur and 2) the area outside the Ekur with its asterisms listed in MUL.APIN I i 24-38. Further to the south would then be the stars in the Paths of Anu and Ea.

If so, one might guess that the central celestial part of Enlil’s realm was called Ekur (see Fig. 1), to match the name of Enlil’s most important terrestrial residence, namely the Ekur-temple in Nippur.⁷⁾ This hypothesis, and further implications of the findings of Hoffmann and Krebernik in their 2023 article, will be explored in a further to come longer study by the two authors now in progress.⁸⁾

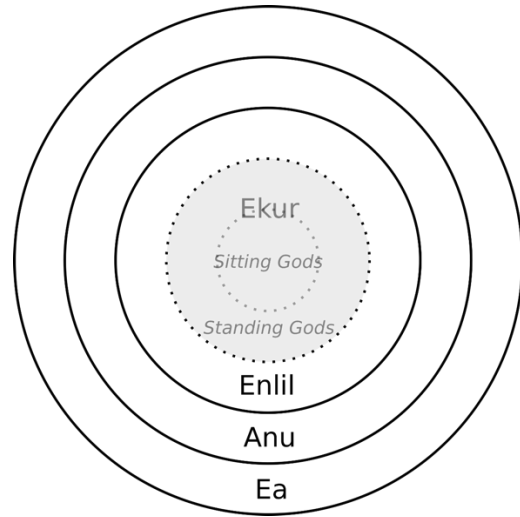


Figure 1: Visualization of the heavenly Ekur as part of Enlil’s Path of 33 northern asterism. The paths of the gods Anu and Ea are further south.

MUL.APIN I i 1-22	Standing Gods of the Ekur (Rising and Setting Asterisms)		
I i 1	^{mul} giš.APIN ‘The Plough’	Enlil	Cassiopeia
I i 2	^{mul} UR.BAR.RA ‘The Wolf’	the seeder of ‘The Plough’	Part of Cassiopeia
I i 3	^{mul} ŠU.GI ‘Old Man’	Enmešarra	Perseus
I i 4	^{mul} GĀM ‘The Crook’	^d Gamlum ‘The Throwing-stick’	Auriga
I i 5	^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL ‘The Great Twins’	Lugalirra and Meslamta’ea	Gemini
I i 6	^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.TUR.TUR ‘The Lesser Twins’	Alammuš and Ningublaga	Canis Minor
I i 7	^{mul} AL.LUL ‘The Crab’	The seat of Anu	Cancer
I i 8	^{mul} UR.GU.LA ‘The Lion’	Latarak	Leo
I i 9	The star opposite ^{mul} UR.GU.LA ‘The Lion’	The King	Part of Leo
I i 10-11	The twinkling stars in the tail of ^{mul} UR.GU.LA ‘The Lion’	‘date-palm spadix’ (jewellery?) (of) Erua, Zarpanitum	Coma Berenices
I i 12	^{mul} ŠU.PA ‘The Splendid One’ ⁹⁾	Enlil who determines the destinies of the land	Bootes

I i 13	The star in front of it, ^{mul} Hegalaju 'The Abundant'	The vizier of Ninlil	Part of Bootes or Canes Venatici
I i 14	The star behind it, ^{mul} BAL.TEŠ.A, 'Dignity'	The vizier of Tišpak	Corona Borealis
Sitting Gods of The Ekur (Circumpolar, Ever-Visible Asterisms)			
I i 15	^{mul} MAR.GÍD.DA, 'The Wagon'	Ninlil	The Big Dipper (part of Ursa Major)
I i 16-17	The star by the pole of ^{mul} MAR.GÍD.DA, ^{mul} KA ₅ .A, 'The Fox'	Erra, The strong one of the gods	(part of Ursa Major northeast of the Big Dipper)
I i 18	The star at the forehead of ^{mul} MAR.GÍD.DA ^{mul} U ₈ , 'The Ewe'	Aya	(part of Ursa Major northwest of The Big Dipper)
I i 19	^{mul} MU.BU.KÉŠ.DA, 'The Hitched Yoke'	Great Anu of Heaven	Asterism in the area of Ursa Minor/Draco (head of dragon)
I i 20	^{mu} MAR.GÍD.DA.AN.NA 'The Wagon of Heaven'	Damkianna	The Little Dipper
I i 21-22	The star in its knot, ^{mu} IBILA.É.MAH	Foremost son of Anu	Where The Little Dipper joins the Yoke ¹⁰⁾

Notes

1. Below we use the term 'asterism' to parallel the Sumerian-Akkadian term MUL = *kakkabu*. 'Asterism' is an umbrella term which can refer to any visible feature in the sky including, but not limited to a) single stars such as the star that today is called The North Star or Polaris, b) constellations such as today's constellation of Ursa Major, The Great Bear, c) parts of constellations, e.g. The Big Dipper in Ursa Major or the belt of Orion in the constellation of Orion, d) star clusters like the Pleiades, and e) even multiple constellations or super-constellations that can be understood to comprise a unified image in the sky (for example the image formed by 'The Dog,' 'The She-Goat' and 'Stellar Gula' in the Ancient Mesopotamian Uranology group (BEAULIEU et al. 2018: 32).

2. HOFFMANN and KREBERNIK 2023.

3. This rubric itself marking lines 1-23 as being a sub-list of the '33 Asterisms of Enlil' of MUL.APIN I i 1-38, so identified as such in summary line MUL.APIN I i 39: 33 MUL^{meš} šūt dEn-líl.

4. This is not the case of 'The Standing Gods' in the list of rising and setting asterisms MUL.APIN I iii 27, nor the *zipqu*-asterism 'The Standing Gods' in MUL.APIN I iv 4, 28 which have been identified with stars in the constellation Hercules (KURTIK 2007: 119-120, HUNGER and PINGREE 1999: 276).

5. For artifacts, 'standing' and 'sitting' also cannot be understood as horizontal or vertical. For example, 'The Big Dipper' can be perceived to be in either orientation depending on the season of the year, time of night, and the position of the observer on Earth.

6. Photographs of the Stele of Hammurabi are available in countless scholarly and popular publications relating to Ancient Mesopotamia. For some representative examples of presentation scenes on cylinder seals see COLLON 1995: 32-46 and/or almost any study of Ancient Near Eastern art and glyptic. For some remarks on the early history of presentation scenes on cylinder seals with further bibliography see KAJDOWSKI 2013.

7. For the Ekur temple in Nippur see e.g. GEORGE 1993: 116. This type of idea finds a parallel in the identification of the constellation ^{mul}IKU, 'The Field,' (Pegasus) with Marduk's temple Esagil (see GEORGE 1992: 244 and now DEBOURSE 2022: 244, with further examples of associations between asterisms and cities in Antagal G: 310-314 (MSL XVII: 229). Cf. Jewish notions of a heavenly Jerusalem that mirrored the holy city of Jerusalem on Earth.

8. The authors thank Eshbal Ratzon and the organizers of the Conference on Ancient Science, Tel-Aviv University, in July of 2023 which served as a place of inspiration for this study.

9. For discussion of the star-name see HOROWITZ 2014: 148 for ^{mul}šupû.

10. Probably alpha UMi.

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74) A brick in Sargon's wall in Babylon — In NABU 2023/46, Gary Beckman published a brick inscription of Sargon II held in the collection of the Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan with the museum number KM 89535 and treated it as a duplicate of FRAME 2021, RINAP 2, No. 123 (also FRAME 1995, RIMB 2, B.6.22.1). In fact, it is not a new duplicate but exemplar 13 in RINAP 2, excavated in 1905 by Robert Koldewey *in situ* in the embankment of Sargon in the Kasr palace area in Babylon, with findspot coordinates Kasr 20h. The excavation number is Bab 30705, not Bab 30700 as said in RINAP 2; Bab is the usual for BE.

WETZEL 1930, correctly placed and numbered the excavated Sargon bricks in the embankment on Pl. 12, however in his discussion of them on p. 79, there is a misprint multiplied in every later treatment. The brick discussed here, Bab 30705, is wrongly said to be Bab 30700; this is impossible as Bab 30700 is not an inscribed brick and all excavation inventories agree that Bab 30705 is correct.

The excavation photo Bab Ph 869 (2) shows the brick Bab 30705 in somewhat better condition without the later break in the middle of the inscription. The good recording procedures during the German excavations in Babylon allow the identification of all bricks shown on the excavation photos. The claim in RINAP 2, that excavation records give the excavation numbers but do not indicate which bricks shown have which excavation number, is not correct. It is rather a question about having the right excavation documentation available. The original bricks in the Vorderasiatisches Museum were not available for RINAP 2 as they had not yet got – and still lack – museum numbers, instead the excavation photos were used for the edition. Since several years all excavation information has been computerized and it was planned to make the digitized information in the excavation inventories public on line, but that has unfortunately not yet happened.

As Frame was not able to consult all excavation documentation, here a short concordance for Sargon II 123 from Babylon. The placement of bricks on photos are given from left to right and from up to down with numbers within parenthesis; the provisional RINAP 2 system with photo numbers and letters is added for comparison.

Ex.	Excavation number	Excavation photo	Museum number	Provenance	Publication
7	Bab 30680	Bab Ph 869 (1) (=869D)	VA	Kasr 20h, Sargon's wall in situ	
8	Bab 30681	Bab Ph 868 (5) (=868E)	VA	As ex.7	
9	Bab 30682	Bab Ph –	–	As ex.7	
10	Bab 30683	Bab Ph 867 (2) (=867B)	VA Bab 7611	As ex.7	Marzahn 2008, No. 53, Fig. 78
11	Bab 30684	Bab Ph 868 (4) (=868D)	VA	As ex.7	
12	Bab 39698	Bab Ph 868 (3) (=868C)	VA	As ex.7	

13	Bab 30705	Bab Ph 869 (2) (=869C)	KM 89535	As ex.7	Beckman 2023
14	Bab 30706	Bab Ph 868 (1) (=868A)	VA	As ex.7	
15	Bab 30707	Bab Ph 869 (4) (=869A)	–	As ex.7	
16	Bab 30708	Bab Ph 867 (1) (=867A)	YBC 13510	As ex.7	Beckman 1987
17	Bab 30709	Bab Ph 869 (3) (=869B)	VA Bab 4385 permanent exhibition	As ex.7	
18	Bab 30710	Bab Ph 868 (2) (=868B)	–	As ex.7	
19	Bab 31080	Bab Ph –	VA	Kasr 21f	
20	Bab 32062	Bab Ph –	VA	Kasr 22g	

All bricks refer to the construction of the *kāru* embankment of baked bricks and bitumen and the two unbaked mudbrick *dūru* city walls in Babylon, Imgur-Enlil and Nēmet-Enlil. The *dūru* walls are said to be *šēruššu*. This may mean either above or beside. We may compare the later Neo-Babylonian constructions with a deep founded *kāru* embankment and inside much higher laid foundations for the mudbrick *dūru* city walls. All bricks were according to the inscription produced for the embankment in Babylon.

As far as I have been able to read the bricks (not certain about two Babylon bricks), there is a difference between RINAP 2 Sargon II 123 from Babylon and from Kish. All bricks mentioning *ina i-te-e KÁ.GAL* ^d15, “in the area of the Ishtar Gate” have been found in Babylon. None of the bricks from Kish has as far as known this addition. Almost all Babylon bricks were found built into the later abandoned embankment about 235 m west of the Ishtar Gate and 20 m north of the South Palace, where the wall’s east-west direction with a round tower turned north-south under Nebuchadnezzar’s South Palace. The Ishtar Gate would by far be the nearest city gate.

The Kelsey Museum of Archaeology has at least 8 objects from the German excavations in Babylon, but it has not been systematically examined if there could be more. They consist of seven clay tablets and now also this brick. For the clay tablets, see PEDERSÉN 2005, 330, with further references.

It may be interesting to make an observation about the best preserved and best-looking bricks as shown on the excavation photos; the best exemplars in this group of bricks are now at Yale and Kelsey. People who took these and other objects in the excavation house in Babylon during WWI and transferred them to the antiquity market, of course, as is to be expected, took the best looking objects.

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75) The Well of the Ekur —The Ekur, the grand temple complex of Enlil in Nippur, had a long history that spanned millennia. After a long decline (CLAYDEN and SCHNEIDER 2015: 353), but before its final demotion to a secular fort by the Parthians, its last moments of architectural glory were instigated under the administrations of the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal in the seventh century BCE. Esarhaddon claimed to have rebuilt the sacred complex, which he found dilapidated and in disrepair late in

his reign, but no trace of any of this work has been identified during archaeological excavations (ARMSTRONG 2021: 42). Among the texts memorializing the Assyrian king's work on Enlil's shrine, two (perhaps three) inscribed bricks have survived that commemorated the widening of a well (or cistern) in the courtyard located at the foot of the ziggurat but as noted by Armstrong (1989: 203), all his bricks concerning the Ekur were found out of context. For some time, including the latest editions of Esarhaddon's inscriptions, the Sumerian name of the well has been rendered as *pu₂-ku₃-dadag-ga* (FRAME 1995: 181 [B.6.31.14], LEICHTY 2011: 269–70 [no. 132]). In the past, the name had been read in different ways, see e.g., *PÚ.KÙ.BABBAR.ZALAG.GA* (BORGER 1967: 71, with earlier renditions in n. 4). While anything is possible when it comes to such late Sumerian, at first sight this seems redundant: either *ku₃* or *dadag*, but not both. The two accessible inscribed bricks are (A) CBS 8645 (PBS 15, 75, photograph on CDLI under P263443, found in secondary context in the residential quarter southeast of the Ekur) and (B) UM 84-26-7, used in composite reconstructions but to my knowledge never officially published. A photograph is likewise now available on CDLI (P257443).

In (A), according to Legrain's (1926) hand copy (no. 75) and transliteration (p. 35), the relevant signs are *pu₂-ku₃-dadag-ga*, with some damage to the second one, and this has become the accepted name (an unpublished drawing by J. P. Peters also shows the sign as marred). Landsberger (1929: 114), however, in his review of PBS 15 read 'a' rather than 'ku₃', which would make better sense. I am grateful to Grant Frame who was kind enough to collate it and to provide me with additional photos that reveal that the sign is clearly *ku₃* (fig. 1). In (B) the name of the well is written *pu₂-dadag-ga*, with no additional *ku₃* sign, as one can clearly see on the photograph of the brick as well as on close-up photos once again courtesy of Grant Frame (fig. 2).



Fig. 1. (A) CBS 8645 closeup (from photo by Grant Frame)

The question then arises as to which text has the better version. Since this was Nippur, one assumes that the name of a well in the Ekur would be Sumerian. If it was Clear Well, perhaps the writer of (A) wrote the sequence of the quasi-synonymous *ku₃* and *dadag* in some confusion, so that one essentially glossed the other, both being interpreted as equivalents of Akkadian *ellu*, but then it is also possible that (B) is simply deficient.



Fig. 2. (B) UM 84-26-7 closeup (from photo by Grant Frame)

Whatever the name of the Ekur well was in Esarhaddon's time, it is likely that this was the very same one that was designated as Nippur's *pu₂ lal₃ pu₂ a du₁₀-ga-bi*, "Syrup Well, its sweet water well," in l. 7 of the poem *Enlil and Ninlil* that is preserved on monolingual Sumerian Old Babylonian student exercises and bilingual first millennium library copies (BEHRENS 1978: 16, 68–69, Cooper 1974: 84 with earlier literature, COOPER 1978: 135–36, MICHALOWSKI, in press). As Cooper observed, the phrase *pu₂ a du₁₀-ga* also occurs in l. 173 of *Ninurta's Return to Nippur* (a metaphor for the whole city) and *pu₂ lal₃ a du₁₀-ga* was the designation of one of the adornments with which Inana decorates her hips in what is now titled *Inana-Dumuzi T* (l. 21, SEFATI 1998: 248). It is not immediately clear if the first of these references was a poetic nod to the Ekur well; the second one suggests that it may have been a generic phrase that could refer to the sweetness of water but could also have strong erotic connotations so that the proper name may have had expressive resonance grounded in emotive salience that lies beyond our grasp.

More to the point, however, Cooper also noted that this *pu₂-lal₃* is mentioned as having been ruined and restored in a post-Kassite brick inscription from Nippur authored by an otherwise undocumented individual named Ninurta-šuma-iddina (PBS 15, 69 [CBS 8646], photo CDLI P263444). According to the on-line catalog of the Penn Museum, the object measures: height: 8 cm; length: 14cm; width: 11 cm

(<https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/97743>). The photograph provided there is the same one as on CDLI.

As far as I know, there is no modern edition of this text since Jacobsen (1990: 45*) dealt with it in passing and therefore one is provided here:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. pu₂ la₃ bur-ti e₂.kur
 ša₂ ina a_{hi}(da) e₂.saĝ.dili
 ina qe₂-reb kisal.mah e₂.kur
 ḫi-ru-u₂ na-du-u₂</p> <p>5. uš-ši-šu₂ arka(egir)-nu
 ina e-gi-ti ^den.lil₂
 bēl(en) mātātī(kur.kur) e₂.saĝ.dili
 u₂-tab-bit-ma bur-ti
 šu-a-ti us-saḫ-ḫi-ma</p> <p>10. iš-nu-u₂ kan-ni-šu₂
 ^{ld}maš.mu.šum₂-na
 [mār(dumu)[?] (x)] x x x ^den.lil₂
 Rest of inscription broken</p> | <p>“¹Syrup Well, Ekur’s well, which had been dug adjacent to the ziggurat (Esaĝdili), amidst the great courtyard of Ekur, its substructures were destroyed. ⁵Subsequently, in negligence towards Enlil, king of all lands, the ziggurat was destroyed, that well was <i>undone</i> ¹⁰and (parts of) its <i>wellhead</i> had changed. Ninurta-šuma-iddina, [son of (x)]-x-x-Enlil ...”</p> |
|--|--|

I. 9. This form of the verb *seḫû* has been rendered in various ways. The CAD S, 209 listed it under the entry for II/2, “to become disturbed, disarranged,” but in vol. K, 155 interpreted it as “had become unrecognizable.” Most recently, Frazer and Adalı (2021: 240) argued that should be translated as “desecrated.” It is possible that the choice of verb refers to the dispersion of its bricks. Several ancient wells were discovered in Nippur, and these were either made of clay rings or fired bricks. For a well-preserved example, see the Parthian one in the Ekur illustrated by Hilprecht (1903: pl. after p. 362, also reproduced elsewhere).

I. 10. The CAD K, 155 lists *kannu* as a “structure over a well” but the use of this noun in conjunction with a well is otherwise only attested in lexical texts (see the lexical section in the entry). Sumerian had two such words, *gan-nu* and the like and *halba* etc.; for references see Cohen (2023: 431 [“pot stand”] and 622 [“well bucket,” so also EpSD]). The former must have been a loan from Akkadian. The connotation of these is difficult to establish as there are no meaningful narrative attestations, just the occasional lexical explanation *kannu ša būrti*, “a well *kannu*.” In Akkadian the word seems to have referred to the paraphernalia of various craftsmen as a stand or even a type of vessel. By context it may be suggested that it was adapted here as a term for the various parts of the wellhead that served for drawing water: the braces, pulleys, ropes, and perhaps even the buckets, all made of perishable wood and rope, hence the plural form of the verb.

II. 11–12. The restoration of l. 12 remains uncertain. Legrain’s hand copy suggests [^{lu}₂]nu.eš₃¹ (as read by e.g., JACOBSEN 1990: 45* [with question marks] or CAD K, 155), but he did not do so in his transliteration, and Landsberger (1928: 115) implied that he was thinking along these lines in arguing that Ninurta-šuma-iddina was not a royal, but most likely a priest of Enlil. Poebel (1928: 698), however, suggested that one might consider [mār ...]-Enlil, “son of ...-Enlil,” (perhaps better [dumu (x)] x-x-x-^den.lil₂) as a possibility, hence it would have contained a patronymic. The traces of the top of the line visible on photographs kindly provided by Philip Jones and Anna Glenn are somewhat different from the drawing and do not favor the professional designation restoration. The initial break could accommodate [dumu] and perhaps one more sign and the first visible one that looks somewhat like nu in Legrain’s copy is likely a more complex one, followed by traces of the tops of two other signs or one long one rather than ‘eš₃¹ (fig. 3).



Fig. 3. CBS 8646 closeup (from photo by Anna Glenn)

The date of Ninurta-šuma-iddina’s activities cannot be easily established. Brinkman (1968: 98 n. 529) opinioned that this person, referred to by him as an official, was roughly contemporary with Ninurta-nadin-šumi (ca. 1127–1122 BCE), the third king of the Second Dynasty of Isin (“possibly dating around this time”) but did not elaborate further. The matter is made difficult by the fact that this may have been created later or be a later copy of an earlier inscription, a matter that will require inspection of the original and further epigraphic and grammatical investigation. The shape of the object, however, suggests that the last possibility is unlikely. It is inscribed on the 14 cm long front of a brick, damaged on top and in the back,

whose preserved parts are 11 cm deep and 8 wide, according to photographs and data from the Penn Museum online collections database (<https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/97743>).

If one were to accept the restoration of l. 12 as a professional designation, then the spacing of the initial signs would require the restoration of lu_2 before $nu-e\check{s}_3$ for Akkadian *nēšakku*, a most high temple dignitary that in Nippur was linked to the Ekur and Enlil's cult, held in the hands of high elite families, including the famed Ur-Meme clan in Ur III and early Old Babylonian times, in a different during the Middle Babylonian period (SOLLBERGER 1968: 191, YALÇIN 2022: 105 n. 248), when people designated thus also sometimes functioned as governors of Nippur. The title was associated with textual production and was invoked down to Late Babylonian times in Nippur and even in Uruk (FRAHM 2011: 299–300, GABBAY and JIMÉNEZ 2019: 71 n. 73). The Sumerian word $nu-e\check{s}_3$ was originally not marked with the classifier lu_2 because it already contained the related early formant *nu-* used to create professional names. To my knowledge, the writing with lu_2 in logographic usage for the Akkadian “loan” *nēšakku* is first attested in a land grant stone monument from the time of Nebuchadnezzar I (PAULUS 2014: 494 iii 11), Ninurta-nadin-šumi's successor on the throne of Babylon, which would support Brinkman's general chronological estimate. It is much more likely, however, that l. 12 revealed the name of Ninurta-šumaidina's father, one ending with the name of the master of the Ekur, obviating these chronological arguments.

If all of this concerns the same well, then by Assyrian times the name had been reinterpreted or replaced by pu_2 (ku_3) *dadag-ga*, “Clear (Sacred) Well.” This would extend the history of this feature over a millennium, providing it with profound sanctifying antiquity.

In the second volume of his book on the Nippur excavations, John P. Peters (1897, pl.1 after p. 374) included a photograph with several objects that had been found in the city and one of them is a brick with the text concerning the expansion of the Ekur well. The photograph as reproduced is not legible, but the layout of the lines resembles (A). As noted by Frame (1995: 15), however, its general shape is different and therefore there may have been a third exemplar found during the 1890 excavation season in Nippur. Note that Peters (1897: 375–76) wrote “other bricks of this king, of ordinary size, bear an inscription in a different script. The inscriptions on these bricks indicate that both kings restored the temple of Bel,” the other king being Ur-Namma of Ur. There are bricks with Assurbanipal inscriptions that look as if they might have been part of a wellhead or its support and the workers of that king did create or rebuild a well and water conduit on the north-east side of the ziggurat (GERARDI 1986, CLAYDEN and SCHNEIDER 2015: 355, 357, 368, 375) but it is impossible to know if this had anything to do with the ancient well under discussion here. All of this complicates matters even further.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Grant Frame, Anna Glenn, Enrique Jiménez, and Phillip Jones for assistance and advice.

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76) A unique example of an Egyptian-Semitic hybrid name — Egyptian-Semitic hybrid names, that is, personal names which combine Egyptian and Semitic (Akkadian or West Semitic) linguistic elements, are attested in texts from Mesopotamia of the first millennium BCE.¹⁾ Generally, the Egyptian linguistic element in question consists of the name of an Egyptian deity, most often of the goddess Isis but sometimes of the gods Amun and Horus. Only one attestation of an Egyptian-Semitic hybrid name has the roles reversed, with the "word-element" being Egyptian and the "name-element" being Semitic. In a document (CM 31, pp. 456–457) from Neo-Babylonian Sippar, a man named *Bēl-pa[t]ēsu* (^{md}EN-*pa-[t]e-e-su*) is referred to as receiving a flour ration from the Ebabbar temple, in his function as an "oblate" (*širku*) of Ebabbar and its lord Shamash.²⁾ The element *paṭēsu* is understood as conveying the Egyptian phrase *p³-di-sw*, which means "who has/have given him/it", and the name-element has been interpreted as expressing the name of the West Semitic god Baal.³⁾ It seems to me, though, that it would be more natural to identify the Babylonian god Marduk here, not least because of the Babylonian context, the circumstance that this god is often referred to by the epithet *bēl* ("the lord"), the writing of the name of this god with EN (the standard way of writing Marduk as Bel), and the fact that the name Baal is written phonetically (not logographically) where it functions as the component of Egyptian names.⁴⁾ Following this new interpretation, the name of the Egyptian oblate in question would mean "(it is) Bel/Marduk (who) gave him". In any case, a unique example of an Egyptian-Semitic hybrid name is at hand.

Notes

1. ZADOK 1977, 27; MAHLICH 2020; KARLSSON 2023. In my forthcoming article, I identify around 20 Egyptian-Semitic hybrid names and nearly 30 individuals with such names. Male/female equivalents of names are counted as new names in this summation. Mahlich, who counts to nine Egyptian-Semitic hybrid names, does not apply this principle and omits several Egyptian-Semitic hybrid names (e.g. *Šumma-Eši* in StAT 2 37).

2. Notably, this Egyptian-Semitic hybrid name is not brought up in the works by Mahlich (2020; 2022), who after all seeks to map all Egyptian names in non-Egyptian languages. For Egyptian individuals and groups in Neo-Babylonian Sippar, see e.g. BONGENAAR and HARING 1994.

3. For these identifications, see the publishers of the document in question, SPAR, LOGAN, and ALLEN (2006, 457). For the phrase *p³-di(-sw)* in the Egyptian onomasticon, see e.g. *ÄPN* 1, 126:6. Spar, Logan, and Allen point to attestations of the name Baal in the Egyptian onomasticon (*ÄPN* 1, 93:24–28).

4. For Marduk as Bel, see BLACK and GREEN 1992, 128. The reference by Spar, Logan, and Allen to Egyptian names which incorporate the name Baal fails to mention that Baal is written phonetically. It is possible that the authors in question were unaware of the equation Bel = Marduk.

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77) Necho, Psammetichus, and Apries in Babylonia — In his article on foreigners allotted rations of sesame oil by the administration of Nebuchadnezzar II's palace in Babylon, Ernst Weidner (1939, 931-932) notes the presence of individuals with Egyptian names as ration receivers, among them people bearing the royal names Necho, Psammetichus, and Apries. Weidner here remarks that: "Die Namen der drei älteren Zeitgenossen Nebukadnezars II. auf dem Throne der Pharaonen waren Necho, Psammetich II und Apries. Ein seltsames Spiel des Zufalls will es, dass alle drei Namen (natürlich sind nicht die Könige selbst gemeint) in unseren Texten als Nikû, Pusamiski und Uḫpara vorkommen". Weidner here regards the name *Uḫparasâ* (^mUḫ-pa-ra-sa-a / ^mÚ-uh-pa-ra-sa-a) in text A / Babylon 28122 as harbouring the Babylonian rendering of the Egyptian name Apries (*Wḥ-ib-Rʿ*),¹⁾ despite his inability to conclusively explain the presence of -sâ at the end of the name. Strictly speaking (and as recognized by Weidner), *Uḫparasâ* is not expressing the name Apries proper but rather seems to convey the name "Apries is healthy" (*Wḥ-ib-Rʿ-snb*).²⁾ Weidner seems to have been unaware of that the name Apries proper, rendered as *Umaḫparê* (^mÚ-ma-aḫ-pa-ri-e, etc.) in cuneiform, is attested in other documents from Babylonia, albeit from the Achaemenid period. Individuals with this name appear as a witness (TCL 13 187) or as patronyms in relation to sons (having non-Egyptian names), who act as witnesses, guarantors, and officials (BM 30790/41444; *EE* 35; VS 3 190; BE 10 81; 84).³⁾ In conclusion then, people with the names Necho, Psammetichus, and Apries all feature as Babylonian subjects, being under the authority of Nebuchadnezzar II or his Persian successors on the Babylonian throne.

Notes

1. For this name in the Egyptian onomasticon, see *ÄPN* 1, 72:28.
2. For this name in the Egyptian onomasticon, see *ÄPN* 1, 73:13. For seeing *Uḫparasâ* as Egyptian *Wḥ-ib-Rʿ-snb*, see WEIDNER 1939, 931-932; EDEL 1980, 22-23; MAHLICH 2022, 42.
3. For seeing *Umaḫparê* as Egyptian *Wḥ-ib-Rʿ*, see ZADOK 1989/90, 274; TAVERNIER 2007, 535; HACKL and JURSA 2015, 179; MAHLICH 2022, 41; SEIRE and WAERZEGGERS, <https://prosobab.leidenuniv.nl/individual/22165> (accessed 2023-05-07).

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78) La date de Ni 361 — Ce texte conservé dans la collection des tablettes de Nippur de l'Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi d'Istanbul se présente avec son seul revers, la face ayant disparu. On y trouve la mention de serments par les dieux et le roi, la liste des témoins et la date. Il est daté du 16^e d'un mois inconnu de l'an 41 de Nabuchodonosor II (564/563), et a été rédigé dans la ville de Şurru. Ce texte ayant été plusieurs fois mentionné dans le débat sur la localisation de la ville de Şurru, il est présenté ici dans la transcription réalisée en 1980, complétée par une collation en 1982.

Ni 361 (revers)

- (...)
- 2' *[niš^den-líl u^dnin-líl] dingir-meš uru-šú-nu¹ [zak-ru]*
[niš^dnin-urta u^den]šada maškim šul-me-šú-nu z[ak-ru]
[niš^{ld}] nà-níg-du¹-uri₃ lugal e^{ki} lugal lugal-lugal en-šú-nu z[ak-ru]
-
- 4' *i-na¹ ka-nak im-dub mu-me*
i^{gi}¹ en-líl-ki-din lú nar-gal^d50 a-šú šá^{ld}maš-[x x]
- 6' *maš-mu-mu a-šú šá^{ld}tuk-numun lú lunga^dm[aš]*
re-mut a-šú šá^{ld}šú-la-a lú lunga^dun-gal ni[bru^{ki}]
- 8' *en-líl-mu-gin a-šú šá^{ld}50-mu*
lú né-du₈ é-bára-dúr-gar-r[a]
- 10' *maš-šeš-meš-ba-šá a-šú šá^{ld}si-lim-dingir a lú [.....]*
utu-numun-dù a-šú šá^{ld}pir-'i
- 12' *re-e-mu-tu a-šú šá^{ld}maš-šeš-[x]*
e-tel-lu a-šú šá^{ld}tab-né-e-[a]
- 14' *lú umbisag šá-ṭir im-dub šī-rik-ti a-šú šá^{ld}.....]*
lú gala^den-líl uru šur-ri i[ti NM]
- 16' *u₄ 16+x-kam mu 41¹-kam nà-[níg-du-uri₃ lugal tin-tir^{ki}]*

Traces d'ongle sur la tranche gauche

ll. 1'-3. La restitution du formulaire des serments s'appuie sur le parallèle de trois autres documents de Nippur : BE 8 4 (20-iv-Aššur-etel-ilāni 2), Biggs 1978 n°24 (23-viii-Nbk 01) et Biggs 1978 n°25 (Cambyse [o]):

BE 8 n°4

- 8' *niš-šú^den-líl u^dnin-lil dingir-meš uru-šú-nu za-kar*
niš-šú^dmaš u^denšada ra-bi-iš šu-lum-šú-nu za-kar
niš-šú^{ld}an-šár-e-tel-lu-dingir lugal en-šú-nu za-kar

Biggs 1978 n°24

- 24 *niš^den-lil u^dnin-líl dingir-meš-ba-ni-šú-nu it-mu-ú*
niš^dnin-urta u^denšada maškim šu-lum-šú-nu it-mu-ú
niš^{ld}nà-níg-du-uri₃ lugal-šú-nu it-mu-ú

Biggs 1978 n°25

- 4 *[niš^den-líl] u^dnin-líl dingir-meš <i>-la-nu-šú-nu za-kir₈*
[niš^dmaš u^denša]da ra-bi-iš šu-lum-šú-nu za-kir₈

6 *[niš^{ld}kám-bu-]zi-iá lugal e^{ki} u kur-kur lugal en-šú-nu za-kir₈*

l. 5'-9'. Les témoins comptent plusieurs membres du clergé de Nippur : Enlil-kidin (l. 5') est grand chantre d'Enlil ; Ninurta-šum-iddin (l. 6') est brasseur prébendé de Ninurta ; il est déjà attesté par TuM 2/3 240:18 en l'an 37 de Nabuchodonosor II comme desservant de la déesse Ninkarnunna ; Rêmut (l. 7') est brasseur prébendé de la déesse Ungal-Nibru ; Enlil-šum-ukín (l. 8') est portier de l'Ebardurgarra, temple dans lequel était rendu un culte à Ungal-Nibru. Dans ces deux cas, il s'agit de la déesse Šarrat Nippur, forme locale d'Ištar : cf. Niederreiter 2021.

l. 14'. Le scribe Širiktu est un lamentateur d'Enlil.

Un certain nombre de ressemblances formelles avec le texte Biggs 1978 n°24, amènent à penser qu'il pourrait s'agir d'une vente de prébende entre membres du clergé de Nippur. Mais le contrat a été conclu et mis par écrit non pas à Nippur mais à Šurru (l. 15'), que le consensus actuel identifie désormais avec la ville de Tyr en Phénicie. Il documente donc la présence sur la côte méditerranéenne de membres importants du clergé d'Enlil et d'Ištar de Nippur à la fin du règne de Nabuchodonosor II.

La date à laquelle ce contrat a été rédigé mérite d'être réexaminée. Lors du déchiffrement de la tablette en 1980, j'avais noté à la l. 16' dans la date, la présence de trois clous obliques et d'un clou vertical que j'avais lus: «mu 31-kam». Le bas de la ligne est cependant cassé, ce qui laisse ouverte la possibilité qu'un quatrième signe oblique ait été disposé sous les trois autres, ce qui est la manière normale d'écrire le chiffre 40. De même, au début de la même ligne 16', où on lit le chiffre « 16 » pour le jour, il n'est pas exclu qu'une troisième rangée de clous aient été placée sous les deux conservées et que la date varie donc entre 16 et 19.

Deux éléments complémentaires sont désormais à prendre en compte : d'une part, la publication par N. Czechowicz (CZECHOWICZ 2002) de la tablette du Musée de l'Ermitage Erm. 15474 issue des

archives de l'Eanna d'Uruk, mais rédigée à Šurru, qu'elle datait de l'an 32 de Nabuchodonosor II, mais pour laquelle K. Kleber a proposé (KLEBER 2008 p. 147) de lire « mu 42-kam ». La disposition formelle de la date de Erm. 15474 est la même que celle de Ni 361 : seuls les trois clous obliques du haut sont conservés, mais la présence d'un quatrième en dessous est possible.

Le second élément tient à la cohérence du dossier des textes babyloniens rédigés à Šurru. Il existe actuellement trois dossiers de textes qui sont mis en rapport avec la ville de Šurru/Tyr (cf. pour cette classification KLEBER 2018 p. 121-153) :

Le premier, constitué de 4 textes d'Uruk, date des mois ii à vi de l'an 14 de Nabuchodonosor II (mai à septembre 691 ; KLEBER 2008 p. 144) il documente l'envoi d'outils et d'argent au *qīpu* de l'Eanna qui se trouverait à Šurru.

Le second, (non inclus dans la classification de K. Kleber) est constitué de 8 textes de Sippar présentés par S. Zawadzki en 2008 et documente des attributions d'équipement et des transferts d'animaux entre l'Ebabbar et le camp (*madaktu*) royal entre le 7-v-Nbk 26 (28 juillet 579; *Nbk* 165) et le 29-ix-(Nbk) 31 (19 janvier 573; BM 74919). S. Zawadzki a proposé qu'il s'agisse d'un camp militaire en rapport avec le siège de Tyr. Mais il précise qu'aucune mention n'est faite de la ville de Šurru dans ce dossier. Une localisation de ce camp militaire à Tyr reste donc encore hypothétique.

Le troisième dossier, le plus fourni (14 textes), compte des textes issus des archives de l'Eanna d'Uruk, de l'Ekur de Nippur et de l'Ebabbar de Sippar. Il s'étend chronologiquement du 22-vi-Nbk 38 (28 septembre 567 ; AO 19926 = TEBR 44) jusqu'au 15-vii-Nbk 42 (7 octobre 563 ; BM 70342; ZAWADZKI 2003 Fig. 2), et peut-être même jusqu'au 2-vi-AmM 0 (14 septembre 562 ; BM 73237, cf. ZAWADZKI 2015 p. 284-285). J'exclus de ce corpus les textes VS 20 90, rédigé à Uruk en l'an 34 de Nabuchodonosor II (570) et *Nbk* 287, rédigé à Sippar, le 20^x-xii-Nbk 35 (mars-avril 569) qui mentionnent pour l'un de la laine pourpre (*sīg-sag*) de la ville de Šurru (*šá uru šur-ri*) donnée à l'Eanna et pour le second de l'argent fourni par un homme de Šurru (*šá uru šu-ú-ru*) qui est mis à disposition d'un chef des charrues et qui sert à acheter du sésame pour le compte de l'Ebabbar de Sippar. Rien n'indique en effet qu'il s'agisse d'opérations en rapport avec une présence babylonienne effective dans la ville de Tyr.

Bon nombre des textes de ce troisième dossier documentent des emprunts ou des transferts d'argent faits à Tyr mais à rendre en Babylonie. Les opérations évoqués par le texte d'Uruk Erm. 15474 édité par N. Czechowicz et par le texte de Nippur Ni 361 s'insèrent beaucoup mieux dans ce corpus des années 567-563/2 que dans celui des années 579-573. Il paraît donc logique de corriger le chiffre de l'année qui y figure, de 31 à 41 pour Ni 361 et de 32 à 42 pour Erm. 15474.

Il reste à mettre en rapport ces données textuelles avec la question du siège de Tyr par Nabuchodonosor II et de sa date, qui font toujours débat. On trouvera un bon exposé des thèses actuellement en présence dans ZAWADZKI 2015, VAN DER BRUGGE et KLEBER 2016, GOMBERT 2018 (spécialement p. 258-271), LEVAVI 2020 et, tout récemment, DIXON 2022. La publication de Ni 361 devrait donc permettre de clarifier plusieurs éléments de cette discussion.

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79) Uprising of the towns *pāt Akkadī* — After my book *The Fall of Assyria* was published in 1988, I focused my study on the Neo- and Late-Babylonian period, and from that time I did not systematically observe research on Assyria. One such publication, which escaped my attention at the time, was the article written by the German scholar Andreas Fuchs, concerning the fight of Nabopolassar, the founder of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, with Assyria, and its later collapse. I later read this highly interesting and stimulating article with great interest, although my interpretation of some events differs from his, and because no-one has discussed his opinion, I have decided to comment on such question, which concerns location of the towns *pāt Akkadī*.¹⁾

Andreas Fuchs, probably to spare me the embarrassment, kindly omitted my name, describing my interpretation of the events of 613 BC as “vollends absurd” (FUCHS 2014, 47). I argued in 1988 that the description of the events of the year 613 (uprising in Suḫu) has a parallel in the so-called Hillah Stele (the intervention of the king of Umman-manda on the territory the towns *pāt Akkadī*). This text, known to come from the time of Nabonidus, tells, in the part of the stela that interests us, about an uprising of the towns *pāt Akkadī*, “that had become hostile towards the king of the land of Akkad and that had not come to his aid, he (king of Umman-manda) destroyed their cultic rites, spared no one, (and) laid waste to their cult centers even more severely than the Deluge.”²⁾ In Fuchs' opinion this text should be dated to the end of the 6th century BC, when an attempt was made to relieve Nabopolassar of responsibility for the destruction of temples not only in Assyria (Subartu) but also in Babylonia itself. In Fuchs' opinion the destruction of the cult centres in Babylonia, described in this passage (quoted at length by him on p. 46f.) “spielt hier auf das Strafgericht an, das zwischen 620 und 617 über Nippur und wohl auch andere mit Šîn-šar-iškun verbündeten Städte hereinbrach, die nach der Vertreibung der Assyrier der Rache des Nabopolassar schutzlos ausgeliefert waren” (p. 47), i.e. it concerns towns in Akkad, or Babylonia.

This is, however, a cause for doubt. The earlier part of the Nabopolassar Chronicle stresses the brutality of the Assyrians, who set fire to the temple at Šaznakku, and for that reason, in order to save the gods from destruction, in the following year the deities of Sippar and Šapazzu were sent to Babylon.³⁾ As we can see, one of the purposes of Nabopolassar's chronicler was to show the difference in the behaviour of the brutal Assyrians and Nabopolassar as the protector of the gods. However, even if Nabopolassar was eager to take revenge against the Babylonian towns which had refused to help him, the years 620–617 BC, when the outcome of the war was by no means settled, was not a good time for such actions. Both then and later, the founder of the new dynasty needed the support of representatives of the notables of the towns and cities, both related to the temples and secular, rather than enter into conflict with them. The idea of revenge on cities that did not support Nabopolassar only in the initial phase of the war seems to me highly doubtful.⁴⁾

Could the discussed account relate to events in Babylonia 620–617 BC, and might it be written only in the time of Nabonidus? Already in 1988, I attributed – and maintain the core of my view – the composition of this or a similar account to the time of the breakdown of friendly relations between Babylonia and the Medes, and the edition of a new version of Nabopolassar's chronicle to diminish the contribution of the Medes in the defeat of Assyria.⁵⁾ It was then that the entire account of the Medes' help in the fight against Suḫu was deleted from the *Chronicle*. Defeat in this clash, after Nabopolassar's army had to leave Assyria for fear of a clash not only with the Assyrian army, but also with the Egyptians supporting the Assyrians, could have undermined Nabopolassar's authority and threatened to collapse the entire project of destroying Assyria and building a strong Babylonian empire. Helping Nabopolassar in this situation was also in the vital interest of the Medes, bound to Nabopolassar by the alliance concluded the

previous year on the ruins of Ashur. Since this or a similar version of the account of the fights of the Medes with the towns located *pāt Akkadi* was presumably composed at the time of the deterioration of Medo-Babylonian relations, there must have been fresh memory of these events and the knowledge that the Medes had never entered and fought the towns located in Babylonia. It is to this time that the composition of the text showing in a distorted mirror the Medes' participation in the fight against Suḫu, and the Assyrian army that entered Suḫu, must be dated.⁶⁾ Therefore, there is no basis for linking this account with the events of 620-617 BC in Babylonia, especially in the light of the specific translation of the expression *alāni pāt Akkadi*. Fuchs translation of this expression as "Städten im Gebiet von Akkad" seems highly doubtful.⁷⁾ The word *pātu* means "border (area, district)" and is used to delineate one territory from the other, or to demonstrate the outer limits of the empire. We should note that when the composers of historical texts had in mind the border territory of different country, they used the expression *pāt māt* + COUNTRY.⁸⁾ The use of such an expression suggests that the composer of discussed passage used it consciously to stress the difference between the territory bordering with Akkad and Akkad itself. In light of this, it seems that there is no basis for the interpretation proposed by Andreas Fuchs. What is more, an attempt to falsify the course of events by ascribing hostile activities to the Medes in the territory of Babylonia even in the time of Nabonidus would be unbelievable to any Babylonian chronicler familiar with the facts of that time, but redaction of this or a similar account several decades earlier, limited to the territory "on the border of Akkad" is more likely, especially, as it seems to me, that it reflects real events. The use of the expression *alāni pāt Akkadi* seems to be intentional and refers to the events of 613 BC. Since the methods of historical research cannot be compared to mathematical methods, let us define Andreas Fuchs's proposal not as "completely absurd", but unconvincing.

Notes

1. I commented this passage and the events of year 613 BC in *The Fall of Assyria*, 105-113 and in a review of Adali's book in SAAB 19, 273-274. Because few new arguments are given here, I decided to return to this question once more.

2. Translation according to F. WEIERSHÄUSER and J. NOVOTNY, ribo 2, Babylon 7: Nabonidus 3 (<http://oracc.org/ribo/Q005400/>).

3. On the interpretation of the events of 625 BC, see ZAWADZKI 1989, 58-60.

4. If the composer of the discussed text had in mind the Babylonian cities, by attributing their punishment to king Umman-manda, he would put Nabopolassar's authority at risk. Note that Nabopolassar never stresses that he plundered or destroyed any Babylonian city.

5. *The Fall of Assyria*, especially pp. 115-121.

6. On the time of re-editing of the *Nabopolassar Chronicle*, see *The Fall of Assyria*, chapter VI, pp. 132-143.

7. Cf. the translation of discussed expression in CAD P 305 ff. (with many examples from different periods); CDA 271, AHw 851; Langdon 1912, 273 ("die Städte an der Grenze von Akkad") CAD P 308 ("the towns on the border of Akkad"), SCHAUDIG 2001, 523 ("die Städte an der Grenze zum Lande Akkad"); F. WEIERSHÄUSER and J. NOVOTNY (<http://oracc.org/ribo/Q005400/>): "the cities on the border of the land of Akkad."

8. Cf. SCHAUDIG 2001, 2.12.11 I 34 *kur.ḫa-az-za-ti pa-aṭ kur.mi-šir*, "Gazza an der Grenze zum Lande Ägypten" (translation on p. 437) ; 2.12.11. ii 22 *uru.ḫar-ra-nu a-na pa-aṭ gi-mi-ri-šu*. "Harra ... bis zum ihren äussersten Enden" (=limits, borders") (translation on p. 438); 3.1 iii 28 [*ul-tu pa-aṭ*] *kur.mi-šir* "[von der Gren]ze zum Lande Ägypten" (translation on p. 499). In Fuchs' comment to Schaudig's translation of the expression in 3.3^a ii 20', he states that translation "an der Grenze" "ist möglich, weil das Wort *pātu* sowohl 'Grenze' wie auch 'Gebiet' bedeuten kann (siehe AHw 851), doch macht diese Übersetzung wenig Sinn, da es eindeutig nicht um die Grenznähe, sondern um die Gebietszugehörigkeit und die damit verbundenen Erwartungen an die Loyalität der besagten Städte geht." Such an understanding is not supported by any serious arguments.

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80) On Several Neo/Late-Babylonian Lexemes: Their Wider Distribution and Survivals¹⁾ — I discuss below the evidence for the first two lexemes in Aramaic. The third lexeme is recorded in modern Persian dialects from Southeastern Iran, and the fourth one is an Iranian loanword.

1. Another Survival of *atkallušu* > **klwš*. This word (extant in JBA pl. *'klwšy* „porters“, see ZADOK 2020) is in all probability the base of the Nabatean anthroponym *'klwšw*, which is recorded in Sinai. This anthroponym ends with wawation which is typical of Nabatean, but attempts at its interpretation were highly tentative. Cantineau (1932, p. 61b) cautiously suggested that it is based on Arabic *'aklas* „greyish“ („grisâtre?“). He aptly pointed that this doubtful rendering leaves the long vowel of the base (<w>) unexplained. He is followed by Negev (1991, p. 12:82, see 182). The filiations of the name bearers display papyponymy: (1) *'klw[šw]* s. of *'šlhw* (CIS 2/2, 1889), *'klw[šw]* s. of *'šlhw* (CIS 2/2, 2941), and presumably *'kl[wš]w* s. of [...] (CIS 2/2, 2970), and (2) *'šlhw* s. of *'klwšw* (CIS 2/2, 714, 744), *'šlhw* s. of *'[klw[š]w* (CIS 2/2, 854). Unacceptable is the proposal of al-Khaysheh (1986, p. 32), who did not mention Cantineau's attempt; he analysed the name as an adjective, perhaps *'akkāl* „glutton“ ending with the diminutive suffix *-ās* (extant in Old Syriac), whose sibilant does not match that of the common Nabatean name (6x).²⁾ In my opinion, Nab. *'klwšw* which denotes „porter“, has onomastic-semantic comparanda. Anthroponyms originating from occupational and professional designations are extant in Nabatean, cf., e.g., *Nš(y)gw* „weaver“, *Wkylw* „manager, representative, quartermaster, steward“ and *Kmr'* „priest“ (CANTINEAU 1932, pp. 90a, 107a, 122b; *Wkylw* is homonymous with Nab. *Wkyl'*, NEGEV 1991, p. 346). For an expanded list of such anthroponyms (e.g. *Khnw*) see NEGEV 1991, p. 160, where they are mixed with status designations and their degrees of plausibility are not adequately indicated, e.g., *šqy'* „cup-bearer“ (Aram., rendering the Arabic etymology which is presented s.v. 1186 unnecessary). *Kmr'* and other such designations are also recorded in Palmyrene anthroponymy, cf. *Dyn'* „judge“, *Qš'* „archer“ (both *qattāl*-formations), *Zgwg* „glazier“, *Spr* „scribe“, and *Rbn* „teacher“ (all Aram.), as well as *Hbz'y* „baker“, *M'yr'* „raider“ and *M'ytw* „helper“ (all < Arab., STARK 1971, pp. 83b, 86b, 92b, 102a, 111 and 87a, 96 respectively).

2. *gīdu* – Five minas of *ki-ṭin-né-e* were given to A-zi-ia for (preparing) *gi-i-di* (gen. sg. after *ana*). The term ^(sig)*ki-ṭin-né-e* (without determinative, e.g., *ki-ṭi-né-e*, Oberhuber, *Florenz*, 165, 21', 24'), nom. *kiṭinnû*, presumably denotes “cotton” (see ZAWADZKI 2006, pp. 25-29, 2013, p. 538 and the extensive treatment by KLEBER 2011, pp. 88-90). In view of the Arabic cognate *quṭn* which is of a different nominal formation, one may suspect that the initial consonant of the source of the Akkadian loanword was *q-* which shifted to *k-* due to Geers' law as expected in Akkadian and Eastern Aramaic. A cognate is not recorded in Aramaic, which has only the derivative JPA *qṭn* “worker in cotton”.³⁾ *Gi-i-di* is homophonous with *gīdu* “sinew”, but the context rules out that it is identical with it (see ZAWADZKI 2013, p. 482 ad 572, 3, cf. STRECK, WENDE *et al.* 2022, pp. 15-16, s.v. *gīdu*, 4). Since *gīdu* here certainly denotes a vegetal product, it is the same term as JBA *gyd'* “fibre, cord” (SOKOLOFF 2020, p. 220b, s.v. *gyd'* 2).

3. *raṭbu* – lit. “moist, fresh” refers in most cases to the live part of the date palm (CAD R, pp. 218-219, s.v. *raṭbu*, b, see Landsberger, *Date Palm*, pp. 10:D; 35, 43, 49) and just once to the fresh fruits (CT 57, 28, rev. 10, quoted in CAD R, p. 218b, s.v. *raṭbu*, a). The second usage survives (as a loanword) in the modern Persian dialect of Mināb (Minābī) on the coast of the Persian Gulf which has *ratab* (*rotab*) “fresh ripe date”

as well as in the Southern Persian dialects Rudānī (*ratab*), Daštēstānī and Xeštī (*retav*) according to Barbera (2011, p. 323:45 with lit.). To the list of the Semitic (mostly Arabic) loanwords in these Persian dialects enumerated by BARBERA 2011, p. 309 one may add *sīs* (with variants) “date palm fibre” (BARBERA 2011, p. 323:49) in view of JBA *sys*’ “tuft or coil of thread” (with an Old Syriac cognate, SOKOLOFF 2020, p. 774a).

4. *kandaku* refers to a container (*ka-an-da-ki-šū*, “his *k*.”). This hapax legoumenon occurs in the undated LB letter CT 22, 44 (12, cf. CAD K, p. 148). As was recognized by Martin (1909, pp. 39-40), it resembles an Old Syriac name of a container, which is an Iranian loanword in Aramaic (see CIANCAGLINI 2008, pp. 196-197). Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian have *kandūg* “pot, storage jar”. Pers. *konduk* (*kandūk*) means “a capacious jar made of clay, in which grain is laid up for future use”, Banbarabbāsī, Minābī *konduk*, Rudānī *kondūk* denote “large and shallow basket made of palm leaflets, used for bread or flour” according to Barbera (2011, pp. 316-317:21) who states “These [terms] all belong to a widespread lexical series (**ku/and-ū-ka*, *ku/and-ū-la*) referring to various receptacles, usually ‘large vessels’ or ‘capacious jars’ in different linguistic families” (see also ROSSI 2002).

Notes

1. Abbreviations follow CAD, unless otherwise indicated. JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; OSyr. = Old Syriac.
2. I should like to thank Prof. Dr. S. Weninger (Marburg) who kindly emailed me an excerpt of this dissertation which I had consulted in the past but it was not available to me at the time of writing this note.
3. Aramaic has *mr gwpn*’ (lit. “wool of the vine”, JBA, OSyr., cf. Middle Heb. *šmr gpn*) which semantically resembles SB *iššū nāš šipāti* “wool-bearing trees” in an inscription of Sennacherib (CAD Š/3, p. 64b, s.v. *šipātu*, 1, cf. Zawadzki 2006, pp. 26-29). For *karpasu* “cotton” in LB from the Hellenistic period see BEAULIEU 1989, pp. 71-72 ad 69, 11, 23 (cf. STRECK, WENDE *et al.* 2022, p. 128a, s.v.).

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81) Three LB Microtoponyms — The first two microtoponyms are Aramaic, while the first component of the third one is Old Iranian. All of them are early Achaemenid. The second and the third microtoponyms refer to irrigated areas.

1. *Rahû*. According to a deed from 521 BCE, which was issued in Ālu-ša-Našar (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 69, 5), a bow-fief extended from the royal road up to the *ra-hu-û*. The latter may render Aramaic *r'w* “pasture”. This form is recorded in Palestinian Targumic Aramaic (KLEIN 1980, 1, p. 50 and 2, p. 11 *ad* Gen. 13, 7). It has the same meaning as Old Syriac *r'ywt'* (see SOKOLOFF 2002, p. 527a, s.v., the entry is omitted in the 3rd ed. from 2017). In my opinion, this Aramaic denotation suits the topographical context more than the Akkadian interpretation which is presented with all due reservation by the editors of the deed (see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, p. 209 *ad loc.*).

2. *Zahalāta* (^{garim}*Za-la^{la}hal^{ha}-a-ta*, WUNSCH 2019, pp. 422-429, 10) may be based on *zhl* “a type of locust” (Old Syriac, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic) which is derived from Z-H-L “to creep”. It ends with the fem. pl. suffix *-āt*, thereby meaning “the locusts”. The fem. pl. is used for collectives, cf. the analogous Arab. *ḥašarāt* “insects”. An alternative reading of the microtoponym is ^{garim}*Ša-la<<hal>>-ha-a-ta*, in which case it would refer to the irrigated area of the settlement of *Ša-la-ha-tu* of Bīt-Sa'alli (BAGG 2020, p. 534, s.v. *Šalahātu*). The latter was a Chaldean territory in central Babylonia like its neighbour Bīt-Dakkūri which is mentioned in the same source (WUNSCH 2019, pp. 422-429, 3, 26).

3. *Zimba-Marad* (^{garim}*Zi-im-ba* MARAD^{ki}, WUNSCH 2019, pp. 422-429, 12: *Zi-im-ma-M.*) is a genitive compound referring to an irrigated area near the city of Marad in Bīt-Dakkūri. The 1st component is a loanword from Old Iran. **zamba-* “silt, loam”, a material which is found in irrigated and inundated areas (see ZADOK 2002, p. 887 and TAVERNIER 2007, p. 413:4.4.5.13).

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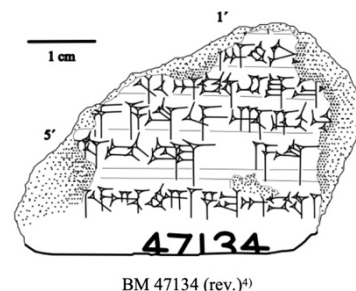
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82) Qīšti-Marduk, son of Šūzubu, descendant of Kānik-bābi: a possible identification of the scribe who made a duplicate of the Cyrus Cylinder — The author of the so-called “Cyrus Cylinder” (BM 90920+NBC 2504) remains unknown to this day because of its fragmentary state. In 2009-2010 two fragments (BM 47134 and 47179) were identified by W.G. Lambert and I. Finkel as pieces of a tablet that contains a copy of the Cylinder’s text (FINKEL 2013: 18-21). Thanks to this discovery it was possible to restore hitherto unknown lines (1-2, 43-45); of bigger importance for this note is the fact that at the end a colophon is partially preserved:

[...b]a-ar im ¹nīg.¹ba-^damar.utu ‘a¹ [...]
 “[...chek]ed. Tablet of Qīšti-Marduk, son of [...]¹”
 (BM 47134 rev. 6’)

According to the colophon, the copy was made by a certain *nīg.ba-^damar.utu* / Qīšti-Marduk (“Gift of Marduk”)². His father’s name is completely lost, leaving no visible traces of wedges. A search on the name *nīg.ba-^damar.utu* in the Late Babylonian texts published so



far—with the help of the database Prosobab³⁾—gave as a result 31 attestations (see Table 1) which correspond to the following 8 namesakes:

1. Son of Zēria, descendant of Šangû-Zāriqu, from Babylon: he acted as a witness in a contract about silver for partnership (date: 572 BC).
2. Son of Nabû-(mu)kīn-zēri, descendant of Si'ātu, from Borsippa: in a dowry document he is mentioned as the groom of Ilat, daughter of Ezida-šumu-ukīn/Bēl-uballit/Ilšu-abūšu (549). 10 years later, in the year of the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus II, he acted as a witness in a receipt of silver (539).
3. Son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Ētīru, from Nār-eššu: he is mentioned as a witness in a promissory note of palm dates (547).
4. Son of Nabû-mukīn-apli, descendant of Mandidi, from Borsippa: he acted as a witness in an exchange of a prebend with a palm garden (547).
5. Son of Nabû-kēšir, descendant of Šangû-parakki, from Babylon: he received 9 shekels of silver from Itti-Marduk-balātu/Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin/Egibi as a payment for the rent of a house (542).
6. Son of Šūzubu, descendant of Kānik-bābi, scribe, brother of Iddin-Nabû, from Babylon: he is mentioned in 18 documents from the archive of Nappāḥu dated to a period of 40 years (540-500); in 9 of them he is identified as a scribe (dub.sar), in the other half he is mentioned as a witness (see DANDAMAYEV 1983: 139 under the name Iqīša-Marduk and below, note 5; for the archive of Nappāḥu see BAKER 2004).
7. Son of (Nabû)-Šumu-ukīn, descendant of (Ea)-Ilūtu-bāni, from Borsippa: he acted as a witness in 4 documents (523-514) and is also mentioned as a recipient of silver (523).
8. Son of Rēmūtu, descendant of Dābibi, from Babylon: he acted as a witness in a debt note about palm dates and barley (509).

From the persons listed above the most potential candidate for the scribe of BM 47134 is Qīšti-Marduk/Šūzubu/Kānik-bābi (no. 6). First of all, he is mentioned far more times than any other of his namesakes from Babylon, where the Cyrus Cylinder was found. Secondly, he is the only Qīšti-Marduk known to us as a scribe. Finally, the time-span of his attestations (540-500) fairly corresponds to the presumed time of writing of the Cylinder ($x < 539$). Although this hypothesis is far from being irrefutable—having in mind the colossal population of Babylon at the time⁵⁾—, this is the most reasonable suggestion that can be made upon the available material. Hopefully new sources will be found in the future that could reaffirm or refute this hypothesis.

Table 1. Attestations of the name Qīšti-Marduk in Late Babylonian texts⁶⁾

ID	Patronym	Family name	Legal role	Museum no.	Date	Place of writing
Qīšti-Marduk 1	Zēria	Šangû-Zāriqu	witness	BM 30634	22.VIII.33 Nbk II / 572	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 2	Nabû-kīn-zēri	Si'ātu	groom	BM 28865	14.[.].7 Nbn / 549	Borsippa
Qīšti-Marduk 2	Nabû-mukīn-zēri	Si'ātu	witness	BM 31078	16.IX.0 Cyr / 539	Borsippa
Qīšti-Marduk 3	Bēl-iddin	Ētīru	witness	BM 31723	10.VI.9 Nbn / 547	Nār-eššu
Qīšti-Marduk 4	Nabû-mukīn-apli	Mandidi	witness	BM 26571	20.VIII.9 Nbn / 547	Borsippa
Qīšti-Marduk 5	Nabû-kēšir	Šangû-parakki	recipient	MMA 79.7.9	14.I.14 Nbn / 542	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	witness	BM 92794	13.VIII.16 Nbn / 540	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	witness	VAT 1945+	19.II.02 Cyr / 537	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	witness	VAT 94	28.IV.02 Cyr / 537	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	witness	VAT 96	13.XI.05 Cyr / 533	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	scribe	VAT 103	19.I.07 Cyr / 532	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	scribe	LB 1326	20.XII.00 Cam / 529	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	scribe	BM 77354	23.IV.01 Cam / 528	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	witness	VAT 116	11.III.03 Cam / 527	Babylon

Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	scribe	VAT 122	06.III.00 Bar / 522	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	scribe	VAT 123	20.V.01 Bar / 522	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	witness	MMA 86.11.147	10.VI.06 Dar I / 516	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	scribe	VAT 352	07.XII.12 Dar I / 510	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	witness	BM 31573	29.I.19 Dar I / 503	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	witness	VAT 180	02.V.19 Dar I / 503	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	witness	BM 77399+	10.XI.21 Dar I / 500	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	scribe	VAT 121	10.XI.[-] Cam / ?	Unclear
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	scribe	VAT 120	28.IV.[-] Cam / ?	Unclear
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	scribe	BM 77600	26.[I].[-] / ?	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 6	Šūzubu	Kānik-bābi	witness	VAT 385	-	Babylon
Qīšti-Marduk 7	Nabû-šumu- ukīn	Ilūtu-bāni	witness	AO 10297	23.XII.6 Cam / 524	Borsippa
Qīšti-Marduk 7	Šumu-ukīn	Ilūtu-bāni	recipient	NBC 8366	28.III.7 Cam / 523	Borsippa
Qīšti-Marduk 7	Šumu-ukīn	Ilūtu-bāni	witness	HS 450	7.IX.0 Nbk III / 522	Borsippa
Qīšti-Marduk 7	Šumu-ukīn	Ilūtu-bāni	witness	HS 610	2.II.7 Dar I / 515	Borsippa
Qīšti-Marduk 7	Šumu-ukīn	Ea-ilūtu-bāni	witness	NBC 8376	18.X.7 Dar I / 515	Borsippa
Qīšti-Marduk 8	Rēmūtu	Dābibī	witness	BM 33100	25.V.13 Dar I / 509	Babylon

Notes

1. Reconstructed by H. Schaudig (2019: 21) as [ki ka mu-sa-re-e šá¹ku-ra-áš lugal ká-diğir-ra^{ki} šá-tir-ma b]a-ar im¹níg-ba-damar-utu 'a' [...] "[Written and checked] according to an inscription of Cyrus king of Babylon]. The tablet (belongs) to Qīšti-Marduk son of [PN₂ . . .]".

2. I. Finkel (2013: 22) suggested Iqīš-Marduk "Marduk has gifted" as an alternative reading of the name.

3. The database, available at <https://prosobab.leidenuniv.nl>, was based on 5,217 texts at the moment of writing of this note.

4. Digital autography made by the author of the note on the basis of photographs from the website of the British Museum and (FINKEL 2013: 19).

5. According to the calculations of M.A. Dandamayev, about 200.000 people lived in Babylon at the time (1985: 37), of which 1289 were identified as scribes (1983: 124). Among them a scribe with a similar name to níg.ba-damar.utu is known to us: ba^{šá}.damar.utu / Iqīša-Marduk, son of Aplāya, descendant of Bēl-eṭēri (mentioned in 8 documents mainly from the Egibi-archive, dated to 532-522). It was once thought that níg.ba-damar.utu and ba^{šá}.damar.utu are variations of writing of the same name, both to be read as Iqīša-Marduk (cf. DANDAMAYEV 1983: 139, where the name níg.ba-damar.utu is transcribed as Iqīša-Marduk). However, the consistency in the different writings of the two forms—the presence of níg and the absence of šá in the first form and *vice versa*—in correspondence with the name-bearer (see, for example, the Index of Personal names in BAKER 2004: 335, 362) allows us to separate them as two different names: níg.ba-damar.utu for Qīšti-Marduk (or Iqīš-Marduk) and ba^{šá}.damar.utu for Iqīša-Marduk. Hence, Iqīša-Marduk/Aplāya/Bēl-eṭēri is to be distinguished from the copyist of the Cyrus Cylinder.

6. This table was compiled on the basis of the Excel table exported from Prosobab. For reasons of size-rendering the columns Publication and Archive were omitted; instead the column Legal role was added because of its importance for the identification of the scribe.

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