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NOTES BRÈVES

1) Proto-Euphratic (PE) grammar without spelling of grammatical elements?* — This note may be understood essentially as a supplement to note *NABU* 2018/93 ("Notes on BA, GI and GU$_7$ in the Archaic Text Corpus"), illustrated by the example of 'BA' ("to bring in front of the eyes [of]"). Since in PE administrative texts, as far as we can judge, apart from numerals, only nouns (including determinatives), adjectives and verbs are written without further marking (e.g. inflectional endings or postpositions, depending on the language type), but not pronouns, adverbs (?), prepositions and conjunctions, one should more or less expect a "positional grammar" (comparable to that of isolating languages, such as Vietnamese), in which the order of the words/signs in a sentence is decisive for correct understanding (cf. Englund, OBO 160/1, 71). This can be observed – apart from the unambiguous case of the position of the adjective: *NABU* 2017/29, note 18 – to some extent in subscripts that are construed in the form of a sentence[1]: In the subscript of a7/20274,139 (n DUG BA GI.GI GU$_7$ z648) BA and GI.GI are in two lines above each other, so they have been placed "deliberately" (*NABU* 2018/93; similarly: "1N$_{22}$ [?!] KAŠ GÚG BAR" rotated by 90° in c1/149). If a commodity is specified, a subscript containing a verb normally has the commodity (including animals and persons; complex examples: W 20274,80+; a7/21671) at the beginning of the sentence; the numerical value of the commodity, n, which can also denote the commodity itself (m1/27), can be placed before the commodity (m4/3, rev. i1: n ŠE) or (more rarely) behind it (m4/3, rev. ii: ŠE n). The same holds true for LAGAB ("sum"; m1/104 and m1/1 respectively). A determination of location (time, ...) can be positioned at the beginning or end of the subsequent sign string (at the beginning: NI+RU 2N$_{57}$ SU GIBIL GU$_7$ [m1/93], z648 BA GI.GI GU$_7$ [a7/20274,123], NI+RU BA AB.APIN [m1/98]; at the end: a7/20274,139 [see above], BA GI.GI z648 [IM 134289])[2]. If there is no such determination, the verb usually takes this position as well in those cases in which it was not already at the beginning or end[3]. The determination of location may also stand in front of the commodity (W 20274,89: z648 n DUG). The sign BAR ("extra") can be placed at the end of a sentence (m1/164). Compound expressions are never separated: BA AB.APIN, never BA APIN AB (m1/97–99); in texts of the Uruk IV writing phase, however, the reverse order of the components is still sometimes encountered: APIN.NÁM instead of NÁM.APIN (a5/9579,co; Lú A, no. 8). Texts such as a5/9656,ac and a5/9656,ga also show that the order of the signs played a role (in both cases "n TÙR EN ÁB BA"). 3N$_{57}$ (MS 3035) and 3N$_{57}$.MÍ (m1/44) are male personal names, *MÍ 3N$_{57}$, on the other hand, is presumably a woman named "3N$_{57}$" (cf. MÍ BA.PIRIG in W 20274,33; BA.PIRIG is attested as a male personal name [c1/136]; if the context is clear, the determinative need not be written: m4/67).

With short entries, not so much attention is paid to the order of the signs: n SUḪUR BA (a6/14132), n BA SUḪUR (a6/14637) [BA qualifies the product SUḪUR], BA KI and KI BA (m3/67, rev.), n UDU BA (a7/20274,67), n BA UDU (a7/20274,107) [BA is a verb]. On a5/9579,cm, a tablet with two comparable entries, BA is at the beginning in one case and at the end in the other. Clarity is nevertheless always maintained, as in the short PE sentences signs that belong together (n/nN$_{57}$ SU GIBIL, EN.ME.GI ŠAGAN: m1/93–97) are immediately recognised as a unit. Moreover, the writers were aware of the background, but for us the lack of context often makes it difficult or even impossible to translate correctly[4].

All statements containing BA and a commodity must necessarily fit into the scheme "PN' has brought the commodity in front of the eyes of PN ("has allotted it to PN")"; the persons do not have to be named. As c1/178, a kind of ration list, clearly shows (obv.: EN.TE BA, rev.: n BA EN.TE; EN.TE is a personal name/title), the expressions "PN BA/GU$_7$" and "BA/GU$_7$ PN" are equivalent in meaning, but were presumably realised differently in terms of language (for example, with a verb and as a genitive compound ["GU$_7$ PN" – "PN's debit"]). Formally, the sentence "PN BA" is ambiguous: "PN has allotted <a commodity>" or "PN has been allotted <a commodity>". If there was no passive voice, the second possibility could be realised by an elliptical construction: "<PN' has> allotted <a commodity> to PN".

Clarity is achieved primarily through a different kind of positional grammar. The basic rule says that BA means "(it) is allotted (to)" in a term and "(someone) has allotted (to)" in a subscript (for definitions see below). This can be easily illustrated by means of m1/1 and a7/20274,40. In m1/1, obv. i3, the NÁM.DI has not allocated (BA) a field, but has been allocated one (term; all fields in m1/1 are allocations). In a7/20274,40 (Mr) GI.GI has allotted <the jars> (BA; subscript); c1/178 is a comparable text for EN.TE. Both possibilities are to be found in c1/113: BA appears in the first term on the obverse together with a quantity and a PN (the recipient) as well as in one of the two subtotals on the reverse (the supplier is not named here). The BA in the first term continues to affect all other terms (with the exception of the separately marked GI terms [one of which is not preserved]).

Statements in administrative texts can be divided into two categories – states and actions. A "state" is described without specifying a verb: "n <:> PN" – "n <with/has> PN" (for a further possibility, see note 6); an "action" requires a verb and is always related to a supplier. With regard to the supplier, BA and GU$_7$ are two separate administrative processes; with regard to the recipient, GU$_7$ ("debit") is meaningless (i.e. it is not used). The positions where entries with or without a verb can be found may be divided into four groups: "small tablets", terms, sum terms and subscripts (definitions in the paragraph after next)[5].

Texts without a verb, which will not be discussed further below, are in many cases inventories: m1/2 (field areas), a5/5233,a (barley consumption for cereal products), a7/21671 (oblations for festivals), a5/6375,e (stockpile?), a6/13946,d [cf. a6/13946,b and a6/13946,n1] (metal objects).

A "small tablet" will be understood as a text with only one piece of information per tablet side; these texts originate to a large extent from the Uruk IV writing phase (and therefore may not yet always follow a fixed scheme, cf. for example a5/9123,b and ~ c). A "term" is an entry (one piece of information) in a list with (c1/113, i1 and i4) or without a verb (usually "n", "n product", "n PN" or "n product PN")[6]. In addition, there are some subgroups of terms (see the diagrams in m1/p10): terms with subterms in texts with calculations (OBO 160/1, pp. 188–204), "footnote terms" (GU$_7$: a7/20274,132; c1/159; BA: a5/9656,at (?); possibly comparable: a6/14110,a+, i1) and "distribution terms" in which a given "quantity" is broken down into subterms[7] should be emphasised. A "sum term" is one of at least two terms with a verb, the sum of which forms a new term that is equivalent to an "ordinary" term (example: W 24160, obv. 3: 3N$_{40}$ BA | 1N$_3$ 2N$_{40}$ GI ‖ 2N$_3$ AMAR; "2N$_3$ AMAR" is the "new" term; without PN [the recipient] in the sum: a7/20327,7). This must be distinguished from subtotals, the sum of which forms the final total (m4/3, rev. i) or further subtotals (cf. m1/p11). "Explanatory subtotals" are a special case (c1/156, rev., c1/168, rev.). In terms of their formal structure, subtotals and sum terms with their respective sums can look the same, such as "n BA | m GI ‖ n+m PN" (m4/3, rev. and W 21460, obv. [see above]). By analogy to the subtotals, the direction of movement in the sum terms with BA is "out of the sum term" (reversed in terms). Subtotals (organised by products [m1/49, rev. i], persons/institutions [MS 3886, rev. i], verbs [m4/3, rev. i] and/or time data [cf. m1/p11]) need not be regarded as a separate group, as they are merely a summary (m4/3, rev. i) or regrouping (W 23948, rev. ii) of previously listed information. A term

(a6/16632,b) or a sum term (W 24160) may contain a verb, whereas the sum need not contain one. Conversely, a sum can be formed with a verb, while the terms (m4/3) or sum terms (no example known) do not contain one. Terms and sum terms are summands. The sum of all entries may – but does not have to be – given at the end of the text (cf. a7/20274,13). The "subscript" explains this sum (a7/20274,40: GI.GI BA). In many cases, the subscript includes the sum (a7/20274,39). As the (actual) subscript does not include any numbers, it can be combined with the sum to form the term "subscript". A subscript primarily describes an action, while the result of an action is recorded in a term.

The meaning of a verb (BA) results from its position in one of the groups (see the previous paragraph) together with the accompanying entries used as "operators" (i.e. to calculate or summarise [primarily Ø ("no entry"), product, PN, product plus PN]): "(it) has been brought in front of (someone's) eyes" vs. "(someone) has brought (it) in front of the eyes (of)". In total there are thus four (number of groups mentioned above) times four (number of accompanying entries) = 16 possibilities. Not all of them are realised or feasible.

The CDLI search engine returns for BA in the Uruk IV and ~ III writing phases a total of 566 "results" (meaning texts; a text can contain BA several times). BA is not a verb in all cases, it also occurs as an element of personal names (BA NI, c1/15) and products (BA ŠITA, c1/167), furthermore as a qualifying element (BA DARA$_4$, c1/67) as well as in expressions in lexical lists (KU BA DU$_6$, Lú A, no. 89).

The 16 options in detail: Ø as an accompanying sign (to BA) only makes sense in a subscript; there it stands for "<the (known) supplier has> allotted" (example: MS 2396; equivalent with GU$_7$: a7/20274,37)[8].

Disregarding sum terms (see above), BA with a commodity as the only accompanying sign can only mean "it is in front of the eyes" in all subgroups[9]. In a subscript such as that of m1/243 (n URU BA), this is to be understood as "<the writer has brought> n cities (which are named in the list before the subscript) in front of the eyes <of the reader>", whereby "brought in front of the eyes of" would be better translated as "brought to the attention of". Further examples: "n UDU BA" in the UDU texts dealt with by Green[10] ("<inspected and thus> handed over again"); "n M[Í] BA [Ø]$^?$" (a5/9827); "n DUG BA [Ø]$^?$" (W 20274,16). Examples of terms are provided by MS 2965 or MS 4496 (also refer to note 6). An example of a "small tablet" is W 19408,11 (BA, n DUG). In this case, it must be assumed that a "business" notes its expenses; cf. the "explanatory" subtotal "9 BA" in c1/168.

The case of "BA with a PN as the only accompanying entry" in the subscript has already been discussed above (c1/178 with note 9). A PN as the only accompanying entry of BA is neither to be expected in sum terms nor in terms (what role should it play?). The only possible example for a "small tablet" is c31/172 (UNUG BA), cf. note 8.

"BA with a commodity plus PN" case: An example of a subscript has already been given (c1/178: "n BA PN" – "PN has allotted n"). There is no known example for a sum term. In terms there are several attestations, apart from those already mentioned (m1/1 and others), for example IM 73473. As an example of a "small tablet" m4/47 ("n BA PAP") may be chosen. PAP should be the recipient here, as the statement "PN has n in front of his eyes" could otherwise not be written. In this sense, a "small tablet" corresponds to a term[11]. Summand and sum coincide here.

A note in an administrative text does not have to be unambiguous ("£7 Peter"); however, unambiguity can be enforced. It should be possible to indicate the reverse case without writing grammatical elements (i.e. to replace passive voice with active voice and vice versa). This can be achieved on "small tablets" and in terms (examples of sum terms are not known) in a simple way by adding the supplier. In a7/20274,68 the second term in col. ii reads "1 DUG, BA, MIR GA.z753" – "(Mr) GA.z753 has allotted one jug to (Mr) MIR". GA.z753 also occurs in the corresponding subscript (GU$_7$ GA.z7[53] KUR+[É]$^?$). It is therefore a debit (GU$_7$) by GA.z753. An example of a "small tablet" is a5/9579,a: "TAG, 1 z662×1N$_{14}$, BA APIN". If two personal names occur in a subscript (PN' PN (n) BA), three cases are possible: a) "PN' has allotted (n)"; PN is a "responsible person" (this is the normal case in texts with a list of the type "n (product) PN"; in c31/77 PN is additionally separated by a line); b) "PN' and PN have allotted (n)" (applies in *Sammeltafeln* with lists of the type "n (product) PN" [MS 3155]); c) "PN' has allotted (n) to PN" (only

applies in product lists without personal names [c31/60]). If a subscript were to express that the persons named in a list "have in front of their eyes", the name of the supplier would theoretically have to be deleted: PN (n) BA → (n) BA. However, since the positional grammar requires an "action" in a subscript, nothing would be gained by this.

Finally, one "limiting case" should be pointed out. By definition, a5/9655,s should be a normal ("large") tablet (two pieces of information on the obverse). However, the reverse has only one piece of information (cf. note 4). If one assumes that there is only one PN on the reverse, this PN should "have brought the product in front of the eyes (of)" in the case of a "large" tablet, whereas he should "have it in front of his eyes" in the case of a "small tablet". This discrepancy can be eliminated by qualifying the obverse and reverse independently of each other. The reverse, which only carries one piece of information, should therefore be considered a "small tablet".

Résumé: In a subscript with BA, one named person is the supplier; if two persons are named, the second one must be categorised as a "responsible person" or similar (except for *Sammeltafeln* and product lists without personal names [see above]). In a term and on a "small tablet", the named person is the recipient (the giving takes place "into the term"). If there is to be a deviation from this positional grammatical rule, a second personal name must be added[12]. The supplier is not named in sum terms. Here the giving takes place "out of the sum term". This also applies to the texts with "boxes" mentioned in note 5.

Notes

* Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2023/2. – Abbreviations relating to ATU, CUSAS and MSVO: a5/2352 = ATU 5, text W 2352; a5/p5 = ATU 5, p. 5, c1/13 = CUSAS 1, text no. 13; m1/216 = MSVO 1, text no. 216 and similar; z753: ATU 2 [= ZATU], sign no. 753.

1. In the second main type of subscripts, the product ("n jugs") is at the centre; before and after it, the most important data (verb, persons, determinations of time, ...) are listed organised by subject matter (examples: "BA, 9 SU, PAP | GAN" [subscript of MS 2396], c1/29, m4/1, m4/48). A subscript need not contain a verb: m4/19. The arrangement of the signs on many "small tablets" (Uruk IV writing phase) is also according to this scheme (a7/20044,18).

2. An exception could be the subscript "BA z648 GI.GI" of W 20367,3; however, BA and GI.GI are only very faintly indented and may have been added later. Another exception is the subscript of a7/20493,14+.

3. There are a few exceptions. In the intermediate subscript of IM 67407, the verb BA is in the middle of the sentence, but in the comparable subscript of W 20274,42 it is at the beginning. Further examples: a5/9655,o, MS 3155. An example of a "small tablet" (Uruk IV) with the verb in the centre is a5/9655,s.

4. Reverse of a5/9655,s: EN and URU are attested as personal names, but do not have to be names here. The translation depends on the number of persons. Texts such as a5/9579,al are as good as impossible to interpret; m4/52 remains difficult.

5. In addition, there is an exceptional group: it consists of a few texts in which a line (a "case") is divided into several "boxes" that can contain a verb. One representative is the (somewhat puzzling) text a6/14777,c. Each line could correspond to a family or clan. Deliveries appear to be made "out of the term" (contrary to the general rule). This shows (if interpreted correctly) that even a positional grammar is not able to suppress the natural use of a language/(script). Another representative is c31/52: the N_2 animals are not allotted, but ("newly") delivered (BA) [presumably in contrast to those already delivered earlier: N_2 without BA].

6. Terms containing a verb are often found in texts with the basic scheme "n BA | n' PN' | n'' PN'' | ... | n''' (product) ‖ n+n'+n''+...+n''' (+ person/institution/verb)". The interpretation is not always certain: assuming that the text a5/9579,y (8 BA | $2N_2$ GUM ‖ TE) is about animals, not jugs (number N_2), one could assume that eight animals were inspected and returned to (Mr) GUM (*"<PN> 8 BA" – "<PN> has allotted eight"); GUM would have delivered two dead animals (after their death, i.e. earlier) [or: they would have been collected by an official]. The reverse case would be pointless. (Mr) TE should be the person responsible. The entries "n KISIM" in the UDU texts (see Green [note 10]) are also to be understood in this sense ("delivered"). The group a5/9579,e (see ATU 5, catalogue entry) should also belong here. Since an "X TE" occurs in all texts, (Mr) X must be the person responsible (TE; three attestations in a3/Lú A precursor lists); the second PN could designate the shepherd.

7. Main types: a) n (units of) product 1 ‖ u (units of) product 2 | v ~ 3; [u+v = n] (MS 4490, i5); b) n (units of) product 1 ‖ u (units of) product 1, PN | v ~ 1, PN' | ...; [u+v+... = n] (c1/168, i1); c) n (units of) product 1, PN ‖ u (units of) product 2 | v ~ 3; [u+v = n] (c1/67, i1); d) n (units of) product 1, PN ‖ u (units of) product 1, PN' | v ~ 1, PN'' | ...; [u+v+... = n] (MS 2997, i2; the text requires closer examination); e) n BA | n' GI | n'' PN | ... | n'''N_2 ‖ [each given entry is followed by the specified number of n, n', ... personal names] (MS 2431, i). Two texts in particular are somewhat out of the ordinary: f) n BA ‖ PN | PN' (m1/227; corresponds to an abbreviated form of the BA entries in m4/3) and g) W 20274,33 (→ *NABU* 2022/2, note 10).

8. Text m1/154 has a "term" BA (ii2). BA can only be interpreted here as a PN or as part of an intermediate subscript. Text c31/172, a "small tablet" (only "UNUG BA"), is probably a tag. The translation depends on whether one regards UNUG as a PN or as an institution.

9. In a ration list like c1/178 (see above) it is clear that the subscript "n BA PN" can only mean "PN has brought n in front of the eyes (of)". If a PN is missing (IM 134881; list: n' PN' | n'' PN'' | ...), it is theoretically not clear whether <PN has brought> n', n'', ... in front of the eyes of PN', PN'', ... or whether those persons have brought (e.g. crop yields) in front of the eyes (of someone). The translation of BA in such a subscript ("<PN has> allotted to ...") is a conclusion by analogy.

10. Green, M. W., 1980, "Animal Husbandry at Uruk in the Archaic Period", *JNES* 39, pp. 1-35.

11. This is also suggested by plausibility considerations: the goods were only distributed by a few people (the "temple"). That is shown by texts such as the ration lists c1/178 or c1/168. BA is not written in the individual terms, only in the subscript. The UDU texts mentioned above (inspections) also speak in favour of such an organised society. If "n UDU PN BA" on a "small tablet" meant "PN has allotted n sheep", there would be too many distributors; the recipient could only be the unnamed "temple".

12. There are also many "small tablets" (such as a5/6738,b) and terms (in a7/20274,36) without a verb that list two personal names. The interpretation is not always certain; cf. note 4.

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2) Notes on CUSAS 23, 205: Ama'ušumgal's death and return, with an excursus on ug₅ "to kill someone (sg.)" and /u₃/- + imperfective in the 3ʳᵈ millennium BCE — V. Bartash (2013: 207) has published an Early or Middle Sargonic exercise tablet mentioning the god Ama'ušumgal (CUSAS 23, 205 = P323472) that merits further attention. It is one of exceedingly few tablets containing (excerpts from) a Sumerian 'literary' text from this period, proving that such texts were studied during scribal training. The reasons for classifying it as a school tablet have been summarized by Kraus (2020: 127), who considers it an "excerpt from an invocation of some kind, perhaps a lament" addressed to Ama'ušumgal, concerning the death of an individual. In the following, we offer a revised translation together with pertinent grammatical observations and propose that the excerpt relates to the cyclical death and return of Ama'ušumgal himself. This would be one of the earliest explicit references to Ama'ušumgal/Dumuzi's fate. In the later literary tradition, different reasons are given for Dumuzi's death (cf. the summary in ALSTER 2012: 437f. with lit.): it is either presented as punishment for not mourning the absence of his partner Innana (and, possibly, for cheating on her; cf. VOLK 1989: 48-54) or Dumuzi is portrayed as an innocent victim who is abducted to the netherworld by demons, whereupon Innana searches for him and laments his disappearance. CUSAS 23, 205 cannot help answering the question which of the two traditions is the older one, because the reason for Ama'ušumgal/Dumuzi's death is not stated. But it is worth noting that Zand (2020b) has published textual evidence from the Fara period that suggests a) the romantic nature of Innana's and Ama'ušumgal's relationship already in the mid-third millennium BCE (NTSŠ 82), b) possibly a monthly abduction and return of Ama'ušumgal or Innana from the netherworld (SF 31), and c) that there may have already been a tradition of Ama'ušumgal committing adultery (SF 78): Ama'ušumgal is said to be "looking at all the women," which results in Enlil deciding a fate for him that fell heavily down like a brick. Another Sargonic exercise tablet, probably from the Umma region, contains a reference to the capture of Dumuzi at the hand of Innana (MATUSZAK/ALESSAWE in press). It is hence likely that further evidence for early traditions around Innana and Ama'ušumgal/Dumuzi will be discovered in the future, allowing us to trace the development of mythological motifs with more certainty. For the time being, the song-like repetitions of CUSAS 23, 205 suggest that Ama'ušumgal's death and return were commemorated in recitations already around 2300 BCE, and that written versions thereof were used for scribal training.[1]

1. CUSAS 23, 205: Transliteration, translation, and commentary

Obv.	1	nam-gi	He returned.
	2	mu-ug₅(EZEN×ḪAL)	Someone had killed him. (Or: Had someone killed him?!)
	3	ᵈama-ʳušumgalˈ	Ama'ušumgal
	4	nam-gi	has returned.

	5	mu-⌈ug₅⌉	Someone had killed him. (Or: Had someone killed him?!)
	6	⌈edin-na edin⌉-na	In the steppe, in the steppe,
	7	u₃-mu-ni-ug₅-/ge-NE	after they (the demons) *wanted to* kill him,
	8	ᵈama-ušumgal	Ama'ušumgal,
Rev.	1	edin-na	in the steppe,
	2	u₃-mu-ni<-ug₅>/-ge-NE	after they *wanted to* kill him,

Obv. 1//4: Bartash (2013: 207) refrained from translating the text but interpreted nam-gi as a "defective writing" for nam-gi₄, which he (with reference to EWO 451: ša₃ gu₂-be₂ nam-gi₄) interpreted as "he rejoiced." According to Attinger (²2023: 518), ša₃ gu₂-be₂ gi₄/ge₄ literally means "to return to one's bank/shore, said of the 'heart' of a watercourse or the heart of a deity," hence "to overflow (said of watercourse or heart);" "to brim (with joy or love; said of heart)." It is never shortened to simply ge₄;[2] nam-gi therefore cannot mean "he rejoiced." Kraus (2020: 127) considered a positive meaning unlikely in the context of death and proposed to understand NAM-GI as a personal name. However, such a name is unattested to our knowledge, and an (amply attested) unorthographic spelling for nam-gi₄ in the meaning "he returned" is far more likely.[3]

Obv. 2//5: According to Bartash (2013: 207), EZEN×ḪAL (transliterated as u₉), is an unorthographic spelling for uš₂/ug₇ "to die; to kill." Kraus (2020: 127f.) read mu-ug₅(EZEN×BAD) but commented that the inscribed sign resembled ḪAL rather than BAD. He attributed the "poor execution" of the sign to the "immature hand which copied this tablet." However, both EZEN×AN and EZEN×ḪAL are archaic spellings of UG₅: for EZEN×AN, see Zand (2020a: 738-741) and for EZEN×ḪAL, see Bauer (1989/1990: 79). Kraus (loc. cit.) evidently interpreted ug₅ as the imperfective singular base and translated "he (NAM-GI) is dying." However, the singular base of uš₂/ug₅/₇ "to die" in the third millennium BCE is regularly spelled uš₂, irrespective of aspect, and not /ug/ (ATTINGER 2011 with lit.). Moreover, the use of mu- implies the presence of a morpheme before the base (ergative, absolutive, locative, directive). Since a locative anticipating edin-na in line 6 seems unlikely, it is more plausible to assume that the form is transitive and perfective (if it were imperfective, one would expect *mu-ug₅-ge). While understanding mu-ug₅ as "someone killed him" presupposes an early differentiation between uš₂ "to die" and ug₅ "to kill someone (sg.)" (see the discussion below), it is in line with the (equally not unproblematic) statement in obv. 7//rev. 2. What remains unclear is if obv. 2//5 contains a statement or a rhetorical question. In the first case, the cyclical nature of death and return (albeit in the opposite sequence) would be emphasized, while a rhetorical question would create suspense and directly involve the audience, who would be well familiar with Ama'ušumgal's fate. Note in this context the common suspense-creating technique of repetitions in which the subject or object is only identified in the second instance (cf., e.g., WILCKE 1975: 214), which gives the excerpt a literary, song-like quality.

Obv. 7//Rev. 2: Bartash (2013: 207) understood u₃-mu-ni-u₉-ge-de₃ as a prospective *marû* 3rd person singular form to be analysed as /u₃=mu=ni=ug₇=ed=e/. Kraus (2013: 228) pointed out the lack of a following main clause – which indeed highlights the tablet's nature as a rather abruptly ending excerpt from a longer composition – and tentatively translated "after/when he will have died there." However, since the locative is spelled with -/ni/- (rather than with its allomorph -/n/-), the form must be transitive ("to kill" rather than "to die"). Whether one reads u₃-mu-ni-ug₅-ge-ne or u₃-mu-ni-u₉-ge-de₃, the form should be imperfective. Since {ed} is only very rarely attested with transitive verbs, the first possibility – /ene/ as 3rd person plural agent – is more likely. Contextually, this choice is supported by the later tradition, according to which Dumuzi is captured and killed by a horde of demons. The combination of /u₃/- + imperfective construction, however, remains problematic. Either we are dealing with an (albeit atypical) error for u₃-mu-ni-ug₅-ge-eš₂, or with a rare formation that has gone unnoticed until now (cf. the discussion below).

In summary, the exercise tablet contains unusual verb forms which suggest the use of ug₅ as singular base for "to kill" and /u₃/- + imperfective in the Sargonic period. We will hence collect and discuss further evidence below:

2. ug₅ "to kill someone (sg.)" and /u₃/- + imperfective in the 3rd millennium BCE

a) /ug/ as singular base for "to kill"

According to Attinger (2011), attestations from the earlier 3rd millennium suggest an opposition between the singular base uš₂ (perfective and imperfective) and the plural base /ug/, originally written ug₇ (same sign as uš₂) and spelled ug₅(EZEN×BAD) from the time of Gudea onwards. Thus far, the earliest evidence for /ug/ in the meaning "to kill someone (sg.)" came from the Gudea and Ur III periods. Attinger (2011: 6 ex. 2) only listed the following example:

1. NG 41: 2-4 (Ĝirsu, no date): [gu₅-li dumu u]r-e₂-an-⌈na⌉-k[e₄] / [ba-ba-ĝ]u₁₀ nar in-ug-a-aš / [igi suga]l₇-maḫ-še₃ ba-gi-in "It was proven before the grand vizier that [Guli, son] of Ur-Eana, has killed Babaĝu the musician."

Two earlier attestations are probably Gudea Fragment 1+6 ii′ 6′ and iii′ 1-3′ (cf. GABRIEL 2022: 287; 289):

2. ii′ 6′: [u]šum ḫa-mu-[da]b$_5$? ḫa-mu-ug$_5$ "I have [captu]red and killed the dragon."

3. iii′ 1-3′: A ⌜x⌝[x]-saĝ-[x]$^{4)}$ / ur-saĝ-ĝa$_2$-am$_3$ / kur-ba ḫa-ma-ni-ug$_5$ "I have killed the hero … in its mountain range."

In all three passages, /ug/ with a singular object undoubtedly signifies "to kill;" the spelling with ug or ug$_5$ (rather than ug$_7$) permits a clear distinction between /uš/ "to die" and /ug/ "to kill" (ATTINGER 2011: 6; GABRIEL 2022: 290f.).$^{5)}$ Hence mu-ug$_5$ in CUSAS 23, 205 obv. 2//5 (also in the light of obv. 7// rev. 2) can now be considered the earliest example for ug$_5$ in the meaning "to kill someone (sg.)" attested to date.

b) /u$_3$/- + imperfectif

Combinations of /u$_3$/- and imperfective constructions are hitherto unknown. Somewhat comparable, however, are the hypotheticals introduced by tukum-bi and followed by an imperfective base (instead of the usual perfective base).$^{6)}$ They are sporadically attested from the Ur III period onwards (cf., for example, Laws of Ur-Namma ms. X §§ 9f., 13 and e5f.; Molina, BaBi. 8, 405 no. 2 i 4 and 6; Fish, MCS 8, 65: 8-10;$^{7)}$ Falkenstein, ZA 55, 68f. rev. 3) and become quite frequent in the Old Babylonian period. Depending on the context, they can be rendered as "in case (someone does)" and/or "(if) someone wants (to do)".$^{8)}$ Given the antiquity of these formations, it is not certain whether they are a calque of the Akkadian *šumma* + present (thus, for example, ATTINGER 1993: 310). Based on this model, it is conceivable that /u$_3$/- + imperfective in obv. 7//rev. 2 means something like "after they have/will have wanted/sought to (do)."

Notes

     1. Note also the song-like repetitions in SF 31 (ZAND 2020b: 464-470). For the cult of Innana and/or Dumuzi during the Sargonic period, see Kutscher (1990: 32.), Cohen (1996), Fritz (2003: 202f.; 227), Such-Gutierrez (2005-06: 12-13; 19-20), and Cohen (2011).

     2. Abbreviations of "compound verbs" (type ki aĝ$_2$ "to love" > aĝ$_2$) are rarely attested before the post-Old Babylonian period and mainly consigned to lexical texts.

     3. gi for gi$_4$ is attested since the Pre-Sargonic period; cf., e.g., Ean. 5 iii 6, Ent. 1 iv 18 ex. 2, Visicato/Westenholz, CUSAS 11, 120 iii 4′ (Early Sargonic?), etc.; see also ePSD2 s.v. gi "to turn" [3].

     4. Gabriel (2022: 287) proposes to reconstruct aja$_2$-ĝ[u$_{10}$? šeg$_9$?]-saĝ-[aš$_3$].

     5. For ug$_5$ in the 3rd millennium BCE, ePSD2 (s.v. ug "to kill") also cites BM 24779 (Ur III Ĝirsu, no date) rev. 1 (ba-an-ug$_5$, plural object). The other cited attestations require different readings or interpretations:
       — Abid/Dahab, TIMA 1, 28 rev. 4: read 1 udu [lugal]-bad$_3$.
       — "in-ug$_5$": read in-BAD$_3$ (PN).
       — UET 3, 1475 (personnel attendance register) l. 7: 1 UG$_5$ ses-kal-la. The meaning remains unclear, but ug$_5$ "dead" is unexpected in context. Sallaberger (1999: 280) read bad$_3$ and translated "1 (bei der) Mauer: Šeškalla" without commenting on the sign.
       — Laws of Ur-Namma N$_1$ 78: ⌜ug$_5$⌝ is epigraphically improbable; Wilcke (2014: 530 f. with n. 112) proposed to read ⌜ze$_2$⌝.

     6. For tukum-bi + imperfective, see ATTINGER 1993: 310; BLACK 1995: 35 with n. 69; STRECK 1998: 306; WILCKE 2014: 477-479; CECCARELLI 2018: 153 with n. 86; MATUSZAK 2021: 290; 362; GABRIEL 2022: 289f.

     7. Cf. ATTINGER 1993: 573 n. 1602 and CIVIL 1994: 155; 156f.

     8. According to Wilcke (2014: 478), these verbs in the Laws of Ur-Namma "implizieren stets ein zuvor genanntes oder zu ergänzendes (getilgtes), perfektiv formuliertes Geschehen." It is, of course, always possible to reconstruct a previous event, though often this seems rather artificial.

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3) Menschen und Götter, die zahlreich machen: zu lul/lu₅, lu, ᵈeš₂₃-peš, ᵈnin-min/nimin-tab-ba — Mit der Bedeutung von lul „falsch, lügnerisch" etc. (ATTINGER 2021, 699f.) ergeben die Personennamen ses-níĝ-lul-le, níĝ-lul-le, en-níĝ-lul-la/lá (BAUER 2020, 132) und ajá-níĝ-lul-le WF 66 ii 3; mes-níĝ-lul-le WF 76 ii 23; da-du-lul WF 77 viii 10 kaum einen Sinn. Es gibt ein Adverb LUL.AŠ, ATTINGER 2021, 700 mit Anm. 2060: „très, beaucoup; vraiment". Cf. LUL.AŠ = *mādiš* CAD M I 17b. Wenn sich daraus trotz der unsicheren Lesung eine Bedeutung „zahlreich machen" für lul ableiten lässt, könnte man die Namen als „Der Bruder wird die Dinge zahlreich machen", „von dem Herrn gilt, dass er die Dinge zahlreich gemacht hat" verstehen. Vermehrung bedeutet Überfluss, Wohlstand. Cf. ses-an-da-lu „ein Bruder, mit ihm wird Wohlstand sein!" CUSAS 35, 398 iii 1; lugal-lu-lu „der König macht reichlich" UET 2, 338 ii; lugal-lu SCTRAH 286, 6; lugal-níĝ-lu-lu „der König macht die Dinge reichlich" ELTS 23 Frg. C x 34; lugal-níĝ-lu-lu-a MAD 5, 91, 2; ᵈutu-níĝ-lu-lu-a STTI 106, 2; ajá-lu-lu TSŠ 486 Rs. ii 5; mes-lu-lu WF 77 xiv 20; é-na-lu-lu „in seinem Haus (wird alles) reichlich sein" WF 74 iii 2. Vergleiche lugal-ḫé-ĝál-sù „der König (lässt) den Überfluss lange (währen)" cf. BALKE 2017, 246 mit anderer Übersetzung; lugal-engar-zi „der König ist der rechte Bauer" TSŠ 794 iii 1.

Normalerweise wird „zahlreich sein/machen" mit lu ausgedrückt (ATTINGER 2021, 685). Die naheliegende Annahme, dass lul/lu₅ und lu lediglich Schreibvarianten sind, kann nicht zutreffen, denn lu hat vokalischen Auslaut. Es könnte aber sein, dass zu /lu/ eine verdoppelte Form mit gesteigerter Bedeutung gebildet wurde, aus der die Nebenform /lul/ hervorgegangen ist. Diese hatte auch die Bedeutung „übertreiben" und wurde später auf „lügen" eingeengt, während in den Namen (Belege FD IIIa bis Akkad-Zeit) die ursprüngliche Bedeutung noch vorhanden war und daneben anscheinend zunehmend Namen mit

lu-lu auftraten. Cf. ája-níĝ-lul-le WF 66 ii 3; a[l₆]-lu-lu ebd. vii 4'. Es könnten auch andere Unterscheidungen ursprünglich zugrunde gelegen haben, etwa lul transitiv, lu intransitiv.

Im Barton Zylinder[1] wird statt lu lú aber auch lu₅/lul geschrieben: meli gaba nunuz lu₅/lul še-a „Hals und Brust, (wo) ganz viele Perlen anliegen (še₂₃)" iii 10; kur-[ra am] al-ʿlúʾ am gég al-lú am babbar al-lú am si₄ al-lú am dara₄ [a]l-lú [pi]riĝ? ʿḫuš?ʾ su<-zi> ĝùru¹ an-ga-lú „im Bergland waren die Wildstiere zahlreich, die schwarzen Wildstiere waren zahlreich geworden, die weißen Wildstiere waren zahlreich, die roten Wildstiere waren zahlreich, die braunen Wildstiere waren zahlreich aber auch die zornigen Löwen, die Schrecken tragen waren zahlreich" xiv 3-9.

Es gibt zwar zahlreiche Beispiele für Reduplikationen mit anschließender Verkürzung im Sumerischen, ein weiteres Beispiel für KV-KV > KVK ist dem Autor aber nicht bekannt. Doch die Parallelen bei den Namen sprechen ziemlich deutlich für einen wie auch immer zu erklärenden Zusammenhang. Dass das für lul „lügen", „übertreiben" verwendete Zeichen auch die Lesung ka₅ „Fuchs" hatte, kann als Hinweis darauf gesehen werden, dass dieses Tier in Mesopotamien schon früh einen ähnlichen Ruf hatte wie in den Fabeln des Äsop. Dazu passt auch die Rolle des Fuchses in den sumerischen Sprichwörtern (ALSTER 1997, 366 zu SP 2.58). Dabei wird dem Fuchs auch ein Hang zur Übertreibung nachgesagt: ka₅ᵃ si-ĝar-bé ĝeš-ùr-àm „der Riegel des Fuchses ist ein Balken" SP 2.61B; ka₅ᵃ-a a-ab-ba-šè ĝìš-a-né ù-bí-in-sur a-ab-ba TÙN-bé kàš-ĝu₁₀-um-e-še „Hat ein Fuchs ins Meer uriniert, (sagt er:) ‚Das ganze Meer ist mein Urin!'" SP 2.67. Für lu „zahlreich sein/werden/machen" wird dagegen ein Zeichen gebraucht, das ursprünglich für „Schaf" stand, sumerisch udu.

In FD IIIa-Götterlisten wird ein Gott ᵈeš₂₃-peš[2] erwähnt SF 1 xii 9; IAS 83 iii' 5'; 84 i' 3', der in Adab einen Tempel besaß (cf. SUCH-GUTIERREZ 2005/6, 16). Der Name sieht aus wie eine Spielerei mit zwei unterschiedlichen Worten für die Zahl 3 im Sumerischen (cf. BALKE 2010, 49). Der Name lässt sich als „verdreifachen" oder „drei(mal) verdreifachen" deuten. Siehe ATTINGER 2021, 840: peš „faire une troisième fois" und ĝeš-peš = *šullušu* CAD Š III 243b. Ihm entspricht eine Göttin ᵈni[n]-ʿminʾ-[tab]-ba IAS 84 Rs. iii 5', ᵈnin-min-tab-ba TCL 15, 10, 310, was sich aufgrund von min-tab-ba = *šutašnû* „verdoppeln", eš₅-tab-ba = *šullušu* „verdreifacht, dreimal gemacht" als „die Herrin, die verdoppelt" deuten lässt. Sie ist identisch mit ᵈnimin-tab-ba, der Sulge einen Tempel in Ur baute (UET 1, 59; RICHTER 2004, 48f.) und deren Name sich als „die vervierzigfacht" deuten lässt.

In TCL 15, 10, 311 folgt auf ᵈnin-min-tab-ba, der Gott ᵈlugal-ki-sá-a, der in An *Anum* I 289 mit [ᵈ]ḫa-jà AGRIG ᵈenlil(IDIM)-lá „Ḫaja, Hausverwalter des Enlil" identifiziert wird. Die Beziehung bestand wohl bereits in altbabylonischer Zeit, denn in CT 42 Tf. 5 iv 46 werden ù-mu-un-ki-sá-a und ᵈḫa-jà zusammen genannt. Es folgt in TCL 15, 10, 312 ᵈig-kù entsprechend ᵈig-kù-ga in An *Anum* I 292 ebenfalls mit ᵈḫa-jà identifiziert. Es folgt eine Gruppe von 7 Göttern, angeführt von ᵈnin-immà, die ebenfalls zum Kreis des Enlil gehören (RICHTER 2004, 93-95). Dann folgen die Gottheiten ᵈezina, ᵈḫa-jà, ᵈnisaba, die alle Bezug zum Getreide haben und ebenfalls zum Kreis des Enlil gehören (KEETMAN 2022, 108). Daraus können wir schließen, dass ᵈnimin-tab-ba in TCL 15, 10 vor einer Reihe zusammengehörender Gottheiten stand, aus der vor allem die Getreidegottheiten hervorragen. Nach An *Anum* I 283 war ᵈniminᵐⁱⁿ-tab-ba die Gemahlin des Obertorwärters des Ekur ᵈkal-kal, was man mit „macht sehr kostbar" übersetzen kann.

Götter, die vervielfachen passen zu Getreidegottheiten, da diese für den Wohlstand des Landes wichtig sind und weil die ausgesäte Getreidemenge bei der Ernte vervielfacht wiederkehrt. Gottheiten die das Land mit reicher Ernte segnen könnten schon zur Ur III-Zeit bzw. früher an einem Tor des Ekur gestanden haben. Ihre Anwesenheit würde den Namen des Tores ká še nu-ku₅-da „Tor (in dem) man kein Getreide schneiden soll", Fluch über Akkade 123 erklären. Enlils Gemahlinnen Ninlil und Sud haben ebenfalls mit Getreide zu tun und sein Sohn Ninĝirsu/Ninurta mit der Landwirtschaft. Bezieht man die Vermehrung speziell auf Aussaat und Ernte, so ist ein Faktor 2 zu klein und das mag bei der Umbenennung von Ninmintaba in Nimintaba eine Rolle gespielt haben.

Wie Nimintaba hat auch Ešpeš mit Toren zu tun. Siehe Barton Zylinder xix 2-5: [...] ʿx¹ ᵈeš₂₃-peš gal ì-ga-mu-zu abula si-ĝar ba-ĝar ig ʿ7?¹ šu-a mu-[k]éše „... Ešpeš war dann auch sehr besonnen, an den Toren setzte er die Riegel, band die 7(?) Torflügel (auch) mit der Hand fest" xix 2-5.

Das Element lu-lu kommt noch im Namen weiterer Gottheiten vor: ᵈnin-bí-lu-lu „Herrin(?): sie lässt zahlreich machen", der jünger ᵈen-bí-lu-lu entspricht (KREBERNIK/LISMAN 2020, 106f.). Sie ist für die Kanäle zuständig und also sorgt sie dafür, dass Wohlstand generiert wird.

Erwähnt sei noch ᵈlu-lu TCL 15, 10, 281 (= ᵈlu₅-lu₅ IAS 83 x 13 ?), in CT 25, 11, 32 gleichgesetzt mit ᵈlugal-marad(AMAR)-da ᵈMAŠ(so, cf. Foto P365765) = Ninurta. Er kommt als theophores Element in akkadischen Personennamen vor. Wenn eine sumerische Etymologie zutrifft, ist wohl ebenfalls „zahlreich machen" gemeint, wozu die über Lugalmarada vermittelte späte Beziehung zum auch mit Landwirtschaft befassten Gott Ninurta passen würde. Es könnte sich um ein Epitheton von Lugalmarada handeln, der in TCL 15, 10, 282 unmittelbar auf ᵈlu-lu folgt und in Namen im Gegensatz zu lu-lu fehlt (Stol 1987-90). Vgl. ᵈkur-gal für Enlil TCL 15, 10, 40 und ähnliche Beispiele.

RICHTER 2004, Anm. 997 (S. 237) erwägt lu-lu in Namen mit ᵈlú-làl zu vergleichen, ohne sich festzulegen. Das beruht aber nur auf der möglichen Identität zweier PN, während die Hinweise auf eine Beziehung zu Lugalmarada stark sind. Dazu gehört auch die von Stol a. a. O. zitierte Siegelinschrift: lu-lu-ba-ni DUMU bu-qà-qum ÌR ᵈlugal-marad-da.

Anmerkungen

1. Bearbeitungen: ALSTER/WESTENHOLZ 1994; LISMAN 2017.

2. Geschrieben werden normalerweise drei etwas schräge Keile. Das Zeichen ist weder eš₅ (3xDIŠ) noch eš (3 Winkelhaken). Eindrücke mit dem stumpfen Ende des Griffels, die bei den Wirtschaftstexten und älteren literarischen Texten eher normal sind, werden wie bei aš in aš-tár und i in šu-i „Barbier" LAK135, RSP119 nicht gebraucht. Ungeklärt sind ᵈEŠ₂₃.IŠ[-?] SF 1 xiii 3 und ᵈEŠ₂₃.ADAB IAS 83 vi 3'.

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4) Gibt es UD.GAL.NUN auch außerhalb der üblichen Texte? — UD.GAL.NUN-Schreibungen (UGN) treten nicht gleichmäßig verteilt auf (KEETMAN 2022, 14). Wenn ein Text UGN aufweist, dann auch alle Duplikate. Die Zame-Hymne ist in 24 Texten überliefert, hat 232 kurze Zeilen (KREBERNIK/LISMAN 2020) aber meidet UGN gänzlich. UGN ist nicht belegt in Kolophonen, Rechts- und Wirtschaftstexten, Bau- und Weihinschriften, Personennamen außerhalb von Listen, Beschwörungen, Sprichwörtern und der semitischen Šamaš-Hymne IAS 326; 342. Gebraucht wird UGN in einem Teil der mythischen Texte, wesentlich seltener der Listen aus FD IIIa Tell Fāra und Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ, sowie in dem frühsarg. Übungstext TMH 5, 173 (Nippur) und der Liste HS 2248, wahrscheinlich aus Nippur und Ur III (ZAND 2014-16, 271f.). Dies zeigt, dass Kenntnis von UGN noch zum akademischen, wahrscheinlich nur historischen Wissen von Schreibern in Nippur gehörte.

Dass der Gebrauch von UGN von den Texten und nicht von der Laune der Schreiber abhing, sagt einerseits etwas über das Phänomen UGN aus, andererseits schränkt dies die Möglichkeit ein, UGN als Erklärung für schwierige Stellen zu gebrauchen. Vorschläge von UGN in Texten, die nach Inhalt, Herkunft oder Alter außerhalb des skizzierten Rahmens liegen und auf die der Autor zufällig gestoßen ist, werden im Folgenden kritisch hinterfragt.

CIVIL 2013, 16 schreibt zu AD-GI₄: „The text was originally written in an orthography that shows many features of the UD.GAL.NUN (UGN) system". Das würde die Anfänge von UGN nach Uruk III und

damit fast an den Anfang der Schrifterfindung verlegen. Zu 16/44 „3 KAD$_4$" verweist Civil (ebd. 31) auf UGN KAD$_4$ für DI und fügt hinzu, dass es sich bei allen Belegen um den verbalen Gebrauch, also wohl sá handelt. An der Stelle in AD-GI$_4$ ist ein Substantiv zu erwarten. In 32 verändern die frühdyn. Texte UB ŠÀ zu URI IŠ ŠÀ und N$_2$ (Ni. 1597, Civil a. a. O. Fig. 5; altbabyl.) interpretiert das als URI^{ri} IŠ^{zu} / ŠÀ NAM GÚ ŠÚM. Daher besteht die Möglichkeit, dass die Schreiber in FD IIIa UGN angewandt haben. Das hängt davon ab, ob N$_2$ den Text noch verstanden hat, ob es sich wirklich um eine Glosse handelt und das Zeichen ZU ist, denn es sieht einem BA ähnlicher. UGN in Uruk III lässt sich an dieser Stelle ohnehin nicht zeigen, da IŠ erst frühdyn. auftritt. In 73 ersetzen die frühdyn. Texte MUNUS IŠ durch DAM URUxIŠ. Civil 2013, 44 verweist auf URU IŠ in dem UGN-Text OIP 99, 114 ii 14'. Dort ist der Zusammenhang unklar, vielleicht é(URU)-zu(IŠ) „dein Haus" (für einen etwas sehr phantasievollen Übersetzungsversuch cf. Keetman 2022, 24). Civil selbst geht davon aus, dass in AD-GI$_4$ keine Verben geschrieben werden und von Suffixen ist das noch weniger zu erwarten. Eine UGN-Schreibung für zu „wissen, kennen" oder -zu$_5$/zu „dein(e)" fällt schon von daher aus. Dass IŠ später in URU eingeschrieben wird, widerspricht solchen Lösungen ebenfalls.

A.R. George liest Urnanše 49 i 5-ii 4: „úr-zu$_5$ ^{d}en-ki ki-bùru ĝál pa-zu$_5$ UD ŠÙD mu-DU 'Your roots are set deep in the Earth (with) Enki, your branches grow far into the Sky'" (George 2016, 59 n. 3), also UD UGN für an "Himmel". Sowohl ŠÙD als auch DU sind stark beschädigt und nach Steible 1982, 14 (4) war nach Kollation nicht sicher ob KAxŠÈ oder KAxŠU = šùd zu lesen ist. Urnanše schreibt in FD IIIa-Tradition keinen Ergativ nach k, wie bei ^{d}en-ki-k (zum Auslaut Selz 1995, 119 Anm. 444). Die Schreibung des Komitativs ist bereits in FD IIIa gut belegt und in den wenigen Texten aus Lagaš, die älter oder gleichzeitig mit Urnanše sind, wenigstens in Namen: lugal-iri-da RTC 2; a-en-da; munus-en-da RTC 3. Der letzte Name ist eine Kurzform zu munus-en-da-kúš (Or NS 42, 236 vi 9), so dass ein Komitativ unstrittig ist. Daher kann Enki nur Ergativ zum in jedem Fall defektiv geschriebenen Verbum ĝál sein. In etwa: „deine Wurzel hat Enki im Erdloch vorhanden sein lassen".

Gegen UGN spricht, dass es der einzige Fall von UGN bei Urnanše und in einer Herrscherinschrift überhaupt wäre. Zwar nimmt der hymnische Anfang Urnanše 49 i 1-iii 9 eine Sonderstellung ein, aber gi, ki, ĝál, ^{d}en-ki (3x), en-ki nun-ki, mu, zà-me (2x) werden nicht UGN geschrieben. Angemerkt sei, dass kein Text aus Lagaš UGN schreibt. Wobei der Anteil literarischer Texte allerdings nicht groß ist: *Figure aux plumes*; Urnanše 49 i 1-iii 9; Ukg. 15; BiMes 3, 26-31.

Spekulativ ist die Annahme der Schreibung šùd für das Adjektiv sù(d/r). Die Interpretation von DU als „grow" hat ebenfalls keine Stütze. Man würde mú „wachsen" erwarten oder lá „an den Himmel reichen" (GH A 28). Weiter ist nicht klar, warum gerade die Zweige zum Himmel reichen sollen und nicht die Spitze des Rohres.

Einem Vorschlag von Wilcke, apud Steible 1982, 14 (4), folgend kann man interpretieren: pa-zu$_5$ utu ⌜šùdu⌝ mu-⌜ša$_4$⌝ „deine Zweige beten zu Utu" (zur Lesung šùdu-d Attinger 2021 s. v.). Utu wird frühdynastisch häufig ohne Determinativ geschrieben. Bei Urnanše wird das -na- (=/nna/) für den Dativ noch nicht geschrieben (cf. a mu-ru Urn. 35, 8; 47, 6), bewirkt aber den Gebrauch von mu- statt im-. Cf. Gudea Zyl. A viii 13-15: lugal<-né>-er uĝ-ĝá mu-na-zi šùdu mu-na-ša$_4$ ub-šu-kin-na-ka mu-na-gub kìri šu mu-na-ĝál lugal-ĝu$_{10}$ „Für seinen Herrn erhob er sich im Volke, betete zu ihm, stand für ihn in der Ubšukina, erhob für ihn die Hand zur Nase (und sprach): ‚Mein Herr…'" Der Gestus mit der Hand kann mit einem nach oben gerichteten Blatt oder Zweig verglichen werden. Ähnlich übersetzt Frayne 2009, 118: „your branches greet the day (or the sun god)".

George vermutet in SANGA/ŠID vor Personennamen in Kolophonen UGN für ka „Mund" und vergleicht „*ša/ana pî* PN ‚from the mouth of So-and-So'" (George 2016, 27 n. 3). Inhaltlich eine plausible Deutung. ŠID wechselt jedoch im Sumerischen nie mit ka an dieser Stelle und das auch nicht, wenn der betreffende Text sonst UGN nirgends schreibt.

Ein weiterer möglicher Fall ist CUSAS 32, 1 (George 2016, 100f. pl. If.) vi 7f.: ^{d}asar mu nun ĝír mu ĝír (= mu-ĝír-ĝír) / mu gal uš mu-GÀR. George: „Asarre (was walking) a big snake was slithering along. The big snake produced venom". Hier ist die Lösung NUN als UGN für gal plausibel. Beachte die ungewöhnliche Schreibung mu für muš und gàr für ĝar, wofür George auf eine Beschwörung aus Ebla verweist. Dass die Phoneme g und ĝ vermischt werden, spricht gegen eine Herkunft aus Sumer. Nach dem

Foto endet NUN nicht wie in der Kopie mit einem senkrechten Keil, sondern mit zwei kleinen Keilen, die einen Winkel bilden wie bei MU. Eine Verbesserung in ušum ist zu erwägen. Belegt ist muš-ušumgal (GH A 39 K$_1$) und neben ušumgal auch ušum Gudea Zyl. A xxi 27; xxiv 19; xxvi 2; 29 (mit mehr Belegen ATTINGER 2021, 1136). Andere stark abweichende Zeichen sind gána für šè viii 1 (cf. ^{d}en-ki-šè vi 9) und igi für u$_5$ in v 12; vi 3, dazu GEORGE 2016, 26c.

CUSAS 32, 1 (GEORGE 2016, 120) vii 6-8: šà ge$_{17}$ mu-a$_5$ šà ge$_{17}$ libiš ge$_{17}$ mu-a$_5$ / šà ge$_{17}$-da ĝeš UD-dùl / ge-da UD-dùl, George: „Stomach-ache was active, stomach-ache and gut-ache were active. With stomach-ache it sheltered amid trees, sheltered amid reeds". Die Form mu-a$_5$ = mu-(n)-a$_5$ verweist auf eine Person als Ergativ und es heißt daher: „er (Dämon) machte Leibschmerzen". In viii 9-ix 1 wird dann die Vertreibung des Dämons geschildert: šu-si ĝìri-si-na ḫa-mu-ta-sar „aus seinen Fingern und Zehen, soll er (Dämon) aus ihm (Kranker) herausgetrieben werden!" George vermutet UD-dùl für an-dùl mit UGN UD für an, bezeichnet den Vorschlag aber selbst als spekulativ.

Das Substantiv an-dùl (bzw. an-díl) „Schutz, Schutzschirm" passt nicht in den Kontext, denn eine positive Wendung ist erst zu erwarten, nachdem Enlil seinen Rat gegeben hat. Angesichts anderer ungewöhnlicher Schreibungen denken wir an u$_4$:kúš für kúš-ù „ermüden, sich abgeben mit, kümmern um" etc. Das Verb wird mit dem Komitativ konstruiert: šà ge$_{17}$ ĝeš-da u$_4$:kúš ge-da u$_4$:kúš „der Leib schmerzt, mit Holz gibt er sich ab, mit Rohr gibt er sich ab". Holz und Rohr bilden ein Gegensatzpaar wie „durch dick und dünn", „Groß und Klein" d. h. „alles Mögliche".

Es folgt: šeg$_9$-bar nu-ma mul a da šà-šà. Das nicht sicher gedeutete šeg$_9$-bar „Damhirsch(?)" kommt auch in FSB 43; 44 (RUDIK 2011, 274-81) vor, doch helfen die Stellen nicht weiter. Bei mul kann man an si mul in etwa „Geweih sprießen lassen" denken (Heimpel 1968, 83-87). Für šà-šà bietet sich ein Vergleich mit sa$_6$-g (ša$_6$ MSL 3, 112) in Zusammenhang mit Beschwörungen „heilen; gesund werden; gut/gütig (sein/werden)" (RUDIK 2011, 575) an. Am Ende wird Enlil empfehlen, Wasser von Tigris und Euphrat zu trinken. A.ENGUR = i$_7$-d „Fluss, Kanal" ist erstmals bei Eannatum belegt, davor stehen die Namen von Kanälen einfach mit A = i$_x$. Damit lässt sich folgende Übersetzung vorschlagen: šeg$_9$-bar-mul i$_x$(A)-da nu-ma-šà-šà „bei Kanälen, (die sich verzweigen wie) das Geweih eines Damhirsches wird er nicht gesund!" Enlil würde dann den Rat geben, bei Leibschmerzen, das frischere Wasser der großen Flüsse zu trinken.

Zu dem Namen des Tempels des Nanna in Ur, é-kiš-nu-ĝál (belegt seit Utuḫeĝal, UET 1, 30) gibt es eine erstmals bei Adad-apla-iddina (UET 1, 166f.) belegte Variante é-ĝeš-nu$_{11}$-gal, die in GEORGE 1992, 320 mit Hinweis auf UGN nu$_{11}$ für nu erklärt wird. Eine Umdeutung aufgrund des weißen Mondlichts und ähnlich klingendem ^{na_4}ĝeš-nu$_{11}$-gal „Alabaster" liegt aber nahe und kommt ohne Rückgriff auf UGN aus. Cf. $^{ĝeš-nu-gal}$ĝeš-nu$_{11}$-gal = ^{d}EN.ZU Proto-Diri 131. Es gab auch andere Neudeutungen des Namens, z. B. é-kéš-nun-gal (Sîn-balassu-iqbi, UET 1, 169), wohl auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Sinn (zur Deutung MARCHESI/MARCHETTI 2011, 101 Anm. 37).

Fazit: In allen Fällen ist die Deutung als UGN entweder sicher abzulehnen oder nur eine Möglichkeit und als vereinzeltes Beispiel daher unwahrscheinlich.

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5) Une autre attestation de l'image de culte de la déesse ᵈTU dans le temple du dieu ᵈKU-*ra* à Ébla — Récemment (Pᴀsǫᴜᴀʟɪ 2023), j'ai attiré l'attention sur certains extraits des textes administratifs éblaïtes qui apportent des preuves de la présence de la statue cultuelle de la déesse mère ᵈTU dans le temple du dieu dynastique ᵈKU-*ra*, où elle reçoit, notamment de la part de la reine, des offrandes de tissus et objets précieux à l'occasion de la cérémonie de son habillage (mu$_4$^{mu}).

Grâce à la publication des sorties des métaux de la période du mandat du ministre *Ib-rí-um* (*ARET* XXI), un nouveau passage s'ajoute maintenant à ceux déjà recueillis :

[1] *ARET* XXI 16 (5) : 20 ma-na kù:babbar / níg-sa$_{10}$ / ⌜1⌝ *li-im* 2 *mi-at* ma-na a-gar$_5$-gar$_5$ / 2 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / 1 ti$_8$-MUŠEN / 1 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bala-aka / 5 NI kù-sig$_{17}$ / sag-*sù* / níg-ba / ama-gal / en / ᵈTU / é / ᵈKU-*ra*.

Ce contexte, en plus de confirmer l'existence de l'image de ᵈTU à l'intérieur du temple de ᵈKU-*ra*, nous apporte d'autres informations intéressantes. Tout d'abord, il faut remarquer que **[1]** est en partie parallèle au passage suivant :

[2] *MEE* 12 37 r. IV:39 – V:11 : 2 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / 1 ti$_8$-MUŠEN / x x […] / […] / […] [D]U$_8$$^?$ / [níg*]-⌜ba*⌝ / ⌜*ma*⌝-⌜*lik*⌝-*tum* / ᵈTU / [l]ú ⌜é⌝ / ᵈKU-*ra* / *šè* / mu$_4$^{mu}-mu$_4$^{mu}.

Selon la chronologie proposée par les éditeurs (Aʀᴄʜɪ – Sᴘᴀᴅᴀ 2023 : 170-171), le compte-rendu annuel de métaux, d'où **[1]** provient, remonte à la XIIIe année du mandat du ministre *Ib-rí-um*, c'est-à-dire l'année qui précède le mariage du dernier roi d'Ébla. En revanche, l'extrait **[2]**, quant à lui, est plus tardif et appartient à un compte-rendu annuel de métaux de la période du mandat d'*Ib-bí-zi-kir*, le fils *Ib-rí-um*. Cette datation est confirmée par le fait que dans **[1]** l'offrande est réalisée par la mère du roi (ama-gal en), tandis qu'en **[2]** c'est désormais la reine (*ma-lik-tum*) qui, après son mariage et son entrée définitive dans la lignée royale éblaïte, est chargée de célébrer cet acte cultuel.

Or, l'extrait **[2]** est malheureusement lacuneux, et, à cause de ce mauvais état de la tablette, on ne pouvait pas connaitre avec certitude l'identité du destinataire de l'objet en argent en forme d'aigle (ti$_8$-MUŠEN), mentionné au début du passage. Étant donné que le temple de ᵈKU-*ra*, en réalité n'y est cité qu'en fonction de la cérémonie d'habillage (mu$_4$^{mu}) de la déesse ᵈTU, j'avais déjà exclu la possibilité que ce bien fût du ressort du dieu ᵈKU-*ra* (Pᴀsǫᴜᴀʟɪ 2023), contrairement aux dires de Sallaberger (2018 : 131 et n. 70), qui y voyait un lien avec le symbole de commande exhibé en Mésopotamie par le dieu guerrier Zababa, ce qui l'amenait à identifier ᵈKU-*ra* avec un jeune dieu martial, équivalent d'un des fils vaillants d'Enlil, en dépit du fait que ce dernier n'a aucune place dans le panthéon éblaïte. Comme Archi (2013 : 215) l'a bien vu grâce à une analyse attentive des passages où ᵈKU-*ra* est cité, nous pouvons à bon droit affirmer que ce dieu « was a local deity of prosperity, not a warrior god ». En effet, maintenant grâce à **[1]** nous savons que le ti$_8$-MUŠEN est offert par l'ama-gal en directement à la déesse ᵈTU. Ce passage nous informe aussi que l'objet en argent avait une tête (sag) décorée en or. D'après les éditeurs (Aʀᴄʜɪ – Sᴘᴀᴅᴀ 2023 : 160) il s'agirait d'un « casque », mais vu que la destinataire était la déesse mère, il apparait peu probable qu'elle reçoive ce type d'offrande. On peut penser plutôt à un bijou en forme d'aigle. Des études ultérieures expliqueront le lien qui devait exister entre cet animal et la déesse ᵈTU.

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6) On Sargonic wooden (musical) instruments and felled trees — CL 250 = Lippmann Coll. 273 (= CDLI P472573; hereafter CL 250) is a Sargonic tablet from Adab, which records an expenditure of wood. Its line obv. 1 refers to eight items, whose name is spelled with the signs ĜEŠ and TAG. Molina (2014: 53, 203, and 284; with previous literature) reads the two signs as ^{ĝeš}TAG, and understands that the word would

denote a wooden implement for building a house (e$_2$-du$_3$-še$_3$ in CL 250: obv. 2). This also appears to be the understanding of the lemmatized edition of this text available on ePSD2.

Nevertheless, this interpretation presents two problems. First, the ĝeš-tag tool (spelled as ĜEŠ×TAK$_4$ in ARES 4 TM.75.G.10011: xi 2; OIP 99, 33: obv. viii 25 and 54+: obv. v 21) appears to be exclusively a musical instrument, since it is always mentioned together with other instruments, namely the balaĝ, ge-di, GI×TAK$_4$, and bur$_2$-balaĝ (ARES 4 TM.75.G.10011: x 20-xi 2; OIP 99, 33: obv. viii 22-25 and 54+: obv. v 18-21; see KRISPIJN 2010: 146 for comments). Second, CL 250: obv. 2 reads ĝeš e$_2$-du$_3$-še$_3$ "wood to build a house," suggesting that the line obv. 1 describes the type of wood to build the house, not the tools used in that process. As a result, a new reading for TAG in CL 250: obv. 1 is needed.

An alternative reading of TAG in this context could be šuš$_4$ "to cut, to fell; to trim, to peel off." The line obv. i 7 of MSL SS 1 97-98 (= CDLI P492330) reads [ĝeš] šu$_4$ = ḫu-up-pu-um. DCCLT parses šu$_4$ as an alternative spelling of šuš$_4$, and its restoration ĝeš is assured because earlier and later preserved lines in the tablet refer to wooden objects as well. Thus, ĝeš šu$_4$ would denote a felled tree (or a broken tree, according to the Akkadian ḫu-up-pu-um, spelling of ḫuppûm "broken") in this manuscript of the Old Babylonian version of the Ur$_5$-ra lexical list.

If the proposed connection with MSL SS 1 97-98: obv. i 7 is accepted, CL 250: obv. 1-2 could be describing eight previously felled trees (8 ĝeš šuš$_4$) used as lumber to build a house (ĝeš e$_2$-du$_3$-še$_3$). The allusion to felled trees may explain the later mention of a "wood joiner" (ĝeš šu$^!$-RI.RI) in CL 250: obv. 4 (see MOLINA 2014: 37 for comments). This worker could have joined the trees together to build the house.

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7) On the meaning of Elamite anthroponym Itatu — Itatu is the name of two Šimaškian kings, Itatu I the seventh Šimaškian king, son of Kıntatu grandson of Eparti I (STEINKELLER 2007, 221-222), and father of Tan-Rŭḫŭrater the eighth king; and Itatu II the tenth Šimaškian king as stated in the so called 'Susa King List', an Old Babylonian tablet found at Susa containing two lists of "12 kings of Awan" and "12 Šimaškian kings" (SCHEIL 1931, 2; STEINKELLER 2007, 216 n. 5 and 221; SALLABERGER & SCHRAKAMP 2015, 24). For the depiction of Itatu I on a silver *kun*(-)*anki* vessel bearing two Linear Elamite (LE) inscriptions, see MAHBOUBIAN (2004, 52-53) and DESSET (2018, 113 Figure 8 and 119-123).

The anthroponym Itatu may be spelled *i-ta$_2$-tu$_3$* (Cuneiform 2: 1, see DESSET *et al*. 2024) in cuneiform, or with a geminated consonant spelling, *i-ta~ta$_2$-at-tu~tu$_3$* (in the 'Susa King List': SCHEIL 1931, 2; EKI no. 48a § 3 and 48b § 3; SALLABERGER & SCHRAKAMP 2015, 24) in cuneiform and *i-ta-t-tu* (inscriptions Y1; and Z: 1, DESSET *et al*. 2024) in LE script. According to DESSET *et al*. (2022, 40-41) "geminated consonants are usually recorded at the beginning of the second syllable of a word or word component, this may point to a segmentation /i-tatu/, with the element /tatu/ (/taTU/), possibly encountered in the anthroponyms *ta$_2$-at-tu-ri* (ZADOK 1984, 43 no. 243), *ta-at-tu-a*, *ta-at-tu-u$_3$*, and *ta-at-tu-u$_3$-a* (ElW 257f.)".

In Hinz's opinion Itatu = helper or the like (RLA 5, 30) however, ZADOK (1984, 18 no. 82) considered that suggestion "unfounded", and instead proposed "perhaps it could be Akkadian". In the foregoing we put forward an Elamite interpretation of this royal name.

It is well-known that in Elamite *ta/tiya* = to put/place/deposit/set/establish (GRILLOT-SUSINI 2008, 16; ZADOK 1984, 42), and *tŭ* = to take/receive (GRILLOT-SUSINI 2008, 16), cf. *tu$_3$-h* = I received (ElW 346) and *tu$_3$-uš* = he/she received/took away (ElW 387: "wer <u>es bekommt</u> und es als Eigentum in seine Gewalt bringt" = who <u>gets it</u> and takes possession of it as property). We propose *tatu* to be a composite verb (see

TAVERNIER 2011, 329; GRILLOT-SUSINI 2008, 27) where **tatu = ta + tu =* put/place/set/position/assign/appoint + receive/gain/acquire (?) = to achieve/gain a position/place (?) = to be appointed/chosen/designated/elected *vel sim*.

In Elamite *i* is the 3rd person singular nominative personal pronoun (STOLPER 2004, 75), hence *i* = he/him/his/this/it (ElW 737), and based on what was stated earlier, we may suggest that Itatu = *i* + *tatu* = he (is the) chosen/appointed (one), and in similar manner, the attested RNs Itatu-Inšušinak, Itatu-Napir, and Itatu-temt = he (is) the chosen/appointed (one) of Inšušinak/Napir/lord.

It is noteworthy that Itatu appears as an element, on occasion theophoric, in other Elamite PNs (ZADOK 1984, 18 no. 82). Examples include, Merah-Itatu (*me-ra-ah-i-ta$_2$-tu$_3$*; ZADOK 1984, 8 no. 82; ElW 915) = I follow(ed) the chosen/appointed (one), Itatu-Akon(e) (*i-ta$_2$-tu$_3$-a-ku$_8$-un*; ElW 741) = he (is) the chosen/appointed (one) of (god) Akon(e), and Itatu-Gula (ElW 741) = he (is) the chosen/appointed (one) of (goddess) Gula.

For parallels, cf. RN Kıntatu and PN Patatu, the latter "explicitly called Šimaškian (lú.su), who was involved in the conflict between the Ur III state and the Šimaškian lands in Šulgi 46" (STEINKELLER 2007, 217 n. 12). The Elamite verb *pa* = to protect/guard (QUINTANA CIFUENTES 2010, 157), cf. *pa-a-h* = I protected/guarded (ElW 105), suggesting Patatu (*pa$_2$-ta$_2$-tu$_3$;* /pa-tatu/?) = protect the chosen/designated one! Where *pa* as a bare verbal stem would represent an imperative (KHAČIKJAN 1998, 38; STOLPER 2004, 81; GRILLOT-SUSINI 2008, 78; TAVERNIER 2011, 332; BAVANT 2014, 275; KREBERNIK 2005, 176).

Kıntatu, spelled *ki-in-ta$_2$-tu, ki-in-ta$_2$-tu$_3$, ki-in-ta$_2$-at-tu,* and *ki-in-ta$_2$-at-tu$_3$* (ElW 467-468), is the sixth Šimaškian king (ca. 2015-1980 BCE), son of Eparti I, father of Itatu I and Imazu (for the latter, cf. AMIET 1972 [= MDP 43], no. 1679: *i-ma-zu* / DUMU *kı-in-ta$_2$-tu$_3$* / LUGAL *an-ša-an-na*^{ki}). ZADOK (1984, 23 no. 101) suggests that *kin* could be a hypocristicon of **kinta* but does not elaborate further or offer an interpretation. HALLOCK (1969, 713) states, '*ki-* ("to follow") see I. *kik, kikra, kipa.*' and '*kinnen* (*kin-ni-en* DPf 23) "to befriend" Conj. III inf. of *Kani-*.' Also, '*ki-* « suivre »' (GRILLOT-SUSINI 2008, 16) = to follow and '*ki-* « unir, (re)joindre, accompagner »' (GRILLOT-SUSINI 2008, 18) = to unify/(re)join/accompany.

Furthermore, '*-ki* « un » = one > *kir* (*ki-r* animé délocutif singulier) « unique, seul »' (GRILLOT-SUSINI 2008, 18) = unique/single/only. In Elamite *-n* = neutral inanimate third person suffix, cf. *siya-n* = temple, *muru-n* = earth (STOLPER 2004, 73), and *ayi-n* = house (TAVERNIER 2011, 322). Additionally, we note '*- men* « couronne » > *meni* (base nominale) : *menir* (*meni-r* animé délocutif singulier) « souverain, magnifique », *menin* (*meni-n* inanimé classe *-n*) « souveraineté, magnificence »' (GRILLOT-SUSINI 2008, 20) = *- men* "crown" > *meni* (nominal base): *menir* (*meni-r* singular delocutive animate) "sovereign, magnificent", *menin* (*meni-n* inanimate class *-n*) "sovereignty, magnificence".

By analogy then *ki-n* = one/unique/single + neutral inanimate third person suffix *–n* = oneness/uniqueness/singularity (?). Hence, *kın-tatu* = (literally) oneness/uniqueness/singularity + to be appointed/chosen/designated/elected (?) = to be appointed/elected to uniqueness (?) = (he is) the unique/only appointed/chosen one (?) = the (indisputable) chosen one.

For the notion of "being chosen" in Elamite inscriptions, cf. *tu$_2$-ki-ik* = chosen (ElW 352), 'probablement le "client" ou le "choisi" des dieux' (SCHEIL 1901[= MDP 3], 76 f.), and the royal title *melkǔ tǔkık* (*me-el-ku tu$_2$-ki-ik*; EKI 96, 44. a II; ElW 352 for *tu$_2$-ki-ik*, ElW 908 for *me-el-ku*). For *mel* (= *wes*) = command/leadership, cf. PN *me-li-ir* $^{d\cdot}$*nah-hu-un-te* = ein Befehlender ist der Sonnengott (ElW 912) = the sun god is a/the commander/leader, hence *mel* (= *wes*) *lire* = command giver = commander/leader/master. Consequently, *melkǔ tǔkık* (EKI 54) = chosen prince/commander/ruler/master.

Alternative interpretations of *tu$_2$-ki-ik* include GRILLOT-SUSINI's (2008, 15) who states "*tuk/tik* « forme, aspect, plan, projet, dessein, intention, volonté »" = form/plan/project/design/intention/volition. Hence *tǔkık* = he who plans/designs/leads (?). According to KÖNIG (1965 [= EKI], 223) „*tu$_2$-ki-ik* = Part. Pass. erhalten, empfangen" = (it) was received/maintained/given/awarded or has been given/awarded.

With respect to anthroponyms, Itatu, Kıntatu, and Patatu, we may note the lack of any verbal desinence after the proposed composite verb **tatu*. However, this is not unusual in Elamite onomastics, examples include *ši-mu-ut-ku-uk* (ZADOK 1984, 23) = Šimut is (my) protection or protection of Šimut, *te-ep-ku-uk* (ZADOK 1984, 23), *sunki* (= EŠŠANA) *-šil-ha* and *ši-mu-ut-ši-il-ha* (ZADOK 1984, 39 no. 220) =

king (= sunki)/Šimut is (my) strength, and *ha-li-*[d]*inšušinak* (Zadok 1984, 53) = adorned/established by god Inšušinak or adorn/establish god Inšušinak. Most interestingly, we observe the absence of desinence after the verb *pa* in *pa₂-ta₂-tu₃* = protect the chosen one!

The appearance of Itatu's near namesake Intasu (*in-ta₂-su~su₂*; ElW 756) the ruler (ENSI) of Zabšali in one of Šu-Sin's Akkadian inscriptions (Kutscher 1989, 79-101), hence before the destruction of Ur III dynasty and predating Itatu I or Itatu II could be highly significant. This assumes even more importance in view of the close association between Šimaški and Zabšali (Steinkeller 2007).

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to François Desset for his helpful suggestions.

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8) Šakkanakku de Mari — En reprenant *FM* XIII laissé de côté en 2014 pour mettre en ordre les documents épistolaires qui avaient trait au début du règne de Zimrî-Lîm, je constate que sur un tirage de photo amélioré j'avais alors lu la l. 1 de T.343, *i-de-de-e**, non plus *i-di-di-iš* comme lors de la publication. Cela m'apparaît encore la meilleure lecture (2024). Un rapprochement avec le « Ititi » d'époque sargonide est donc envisageable et il faut oublier un Ididiš difficile à expliquer. Le tirage amélioré permettait d'autres changements.

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9) Autographie de l'inscription de Yahdun-Lim AO 18236 (RIME 4.6.8.1) —
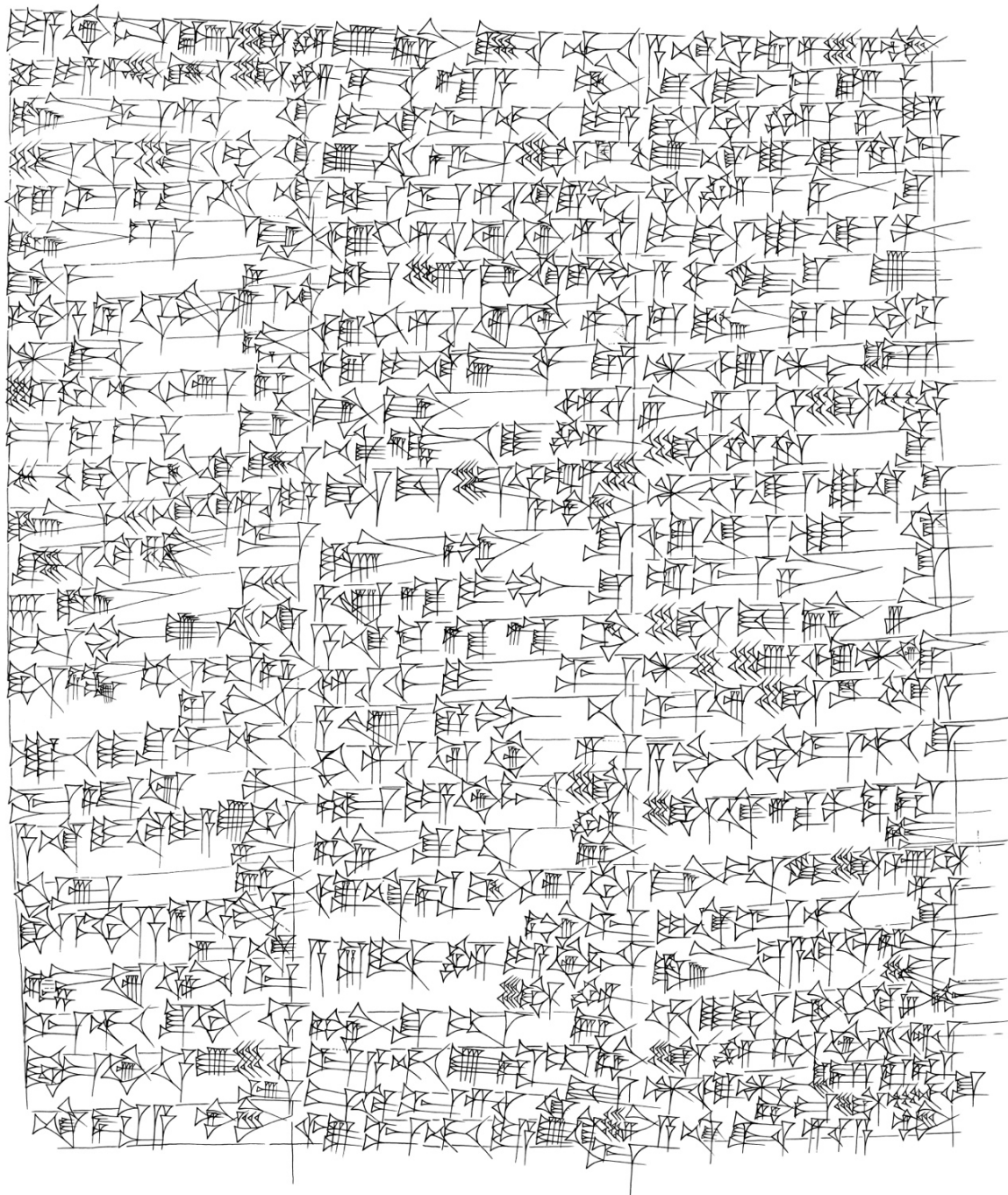
Cette copie fut réalisée dans le cadre des travaux menés pour l'exposition '*Mari en Syrie : renaissance d'une cité au 3ᵉ millénaire*' (Musée royal de Mariemont-Belgique/BNU de Strasbourg). Le travail achevé, une différence presque imperceptible entre les signes GI et ZI doit être signalée, contrairement à ce qui est suggéré dans RIME 4.6.8.1 (voir *ia-gi-id-li-im* vs *ṣi-a-tim*). Cette forme du GI est également documentée par les briques nos 1, 6, 8 et 9 de Yaḫdun-Lîm (RIME 4.6.8.2). Les autres exemplaires attestent d'un signe GI plus conventionnel.

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10) En marge d'EcritUr, 24 : les offrandes régulières d'ovins à Nanna et Ningal à Ur sous Lipit-Ištar d'Isin — C'est dans le courant de sa 7ᵉ année que le roi de Larsa Gungunum s'empara de la ville d'Ur au détriment d'Isin ; l'événement pourrait avoir eu lieu à la fin du règne de Lipit-Ištar ou au début de celui de son successeur, Ur-Ninurta[1]. Un texte découvert par Woolley dans le Ganunmah lors de sa troisième campagne en 1924-1925 pourrait témoigner des difficultés économiques du temple de Nanna peu avant la conquête d'Ur par Gungunum. Il s'agit de la tablette U.2548[2], qui a été copiée par D. Loding dans les *Mélanges Sjöberg*[3] et éditée en 2020 par M. Béranger (www.archibab.fr/T25014). Ce texte, daté de l'année A de Lipit-Ištar, enregistre en effet la dépense de plus de 2 mines d'argent « pour acheter des moutons pour les offrandes régulières (sá-du₁₁) de Nanna et Ningal » (l. 5-6). Or cet argent provient de la maison d'un certain Ur-Šarrukin, une fois celle-ci inventoriée à la suite de la mort de son bénéficiaire[4] ; une petite partie de cet argent provenait du placage d'une lance d'apparat (l. 2). L'argent fut ensuite affecté au magasin scellé (é-kišib-ba) des *šatammum* du Ganunmah (l. 4). Une telle manipulation semble montrer que les offrandes régulières ne pouvaient être alors assurées que grâce à des sommes d'argent que le roi d'Isin affectait au temple de Nanna au coup par coup. Cela témoigne sans doute plutôt d'une situation de crise que de la manière ordinaire de fonctionner.

Notes

1. Voir en dernier lieu K. Wagensonner, « The Middle East after the Fall of Ur: Isin and Larsa », dans K. Radner, N. Moeller & D. T. Potts (éd.), *From the End of the Third Millennium BC to the Fall of Babylon*, Oxford History of the Ancient Near East 2, New York, 2022, p. 190-309, p. 222 et 224 ; cet auteur opte pour le début du règne de Ur-Ninurta. Selon le synchronisme que j'avais adopté dans OBO 160/4 (p. 386), ce serait l'extrême fin du règne de Lipit-Ištar (j'ai été suivi sur ce point par N. Wasserman & Y. Bloch, *The Amorites: A Political History of Mesopotamia in the Early Second Millennium BCE*, CHANE 133, Leyde/Boston, 2023, p. 155-156).

2. Voir la fiche de chantier de la main de L. Legrain (http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/241968/). On corrigera dans Ur-online l'indication de la période comme « Ur III ».

3. D. Loding, « Two Old Babylonian Texts from Ur », dans H. Behrens, D. Loding & M. T. Roth (éd.), *DUMU-E₂-DUB-BA-A, Studies in Honor of Å. W. Sjöberg*, Philadelphie, 1989, p. 367-369 (copie p. 369). Ce texte a été enregistré par le CDLI sous le numéro P462157 (avec photo), mais la bibliographie se limite à UET 1 223 (où le nom d'année avait été copié et transcrit), sans que la copie et la translittération partielle de D. Loding soient mentionnées. On observera de même que la référence à l'étude de D. Loding manque à l'article de R. de Boer, « Studies on the Old Babylonian Kings of Isin and Their Dynasties with an Updated List of Isin Year Names », *ZA* 111, 2021, p. 5-27 (p. 14 Lipit-Ištar A, où on trouve seulement la réf. à UET 1 223).

4. Pour é-du₆-la, cf. H. Waetzold, *NABU* 1990/5 et W. W. Heimpel, « Disposition of Households of Officials in Ur III and Mari », *ASJ* 19, 1997, p. 63-82. Cet Ur-Šarrukin n'est pas autrement connu.

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11) En marge de PCEHM, 1 : « témoins », *mukinnû* **vs** *šîbûtum* **à Mari —** La consultation du CAD M/2 ne donne qu'un seul exemple du terme *mukinnum* « witness » pour l'époque paléo-babylonienne, dans la fameuse lettre du roi d'Uruk ANam[1]. La base de données ARCHIBAB en offre quatre de plus, dont trois dans le tout récent livre de J.-M. Durand, ARM 34[2]. Et les contextes permettent de comprendre que *mukinnum* ne signifie pas alors « témoin » d'une manière neutre, comme c'est le cas à l'époque néo-babylonienne. Il s'agit dans tous les cas de ce que les juristes modernes appelleraient des « témoins à charge ».

Ce sens était déjà clair dans ARM 26/2 434, devenu FM 6 3 (www.archibab.fr/T6739) : 23. Il s'agit là de personnes qui peuvent témoigner que le malheureux jeune homme retenu dans la maison du frère de Yahun-El est responsable de la mort soudaine de cet individu.

La lettre de Zimri-Lim à Yassi-Dagan ARM 34 10 (www.archibab.fr/T26617) est encore plus nette. Le roi y indique (l. 5-8) : « Tu m'as écrit que la fille de Sumu-dabi a été (sur)prise avec Yatarum et que ses *mukinnû* l'en ont convaincu en présence des dieux ». Les deux pronoms (au masculin : *-šu* l. 7 et l. 8) renvoient à Yatarum : il s'agit donc bien des témoins qui l'accablent.

On retrouve également cette notion de « témoin(s) à charge » dans ARM 34 137 (www.archibab.fr/T26693) : il s'agit de gens qui peuvent témoigner qu'un individu (non nommé) est bien la personne qui a accompli un vol au détriment de Yantinum.

Dans ARM 34 140 (www.archibab.fr/T12442), les *mukinnû* vont témoigner contre un certain Yatarum, chez qui se rendent fréquemment des messagers de Sumu-dabi, le roi de Mišlan rebelle à Zimri-Lim, et dans la maison duquel est allaité un enfant du même Sumu-dabi.

On voit donc que les emplois de *mukinnum* diffèrent de ceux de *šîbum*, des témoins-*šîbum* pouvant être convoqués par la personne mise en cause pour conforter sa position. Dans le cas d'un adultère, une situation exactement symétrique à celle de ARM 34 10 est décrite dans M.5001 (www.archibab.fr/T4326) : « Waraya, le marchand, est venu me trouver, disant : "J'ai surpris un serviteur du palais, un garde, avec ma femme. Je les ai liés avec une corde et je les ai fait sortir pour venir (te) trouver. De plus, les gens qui les ont saisis avec moi sont mes témoins (l. 14 : *ši-bu-ia*)". »

Notes

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1. CAD M/2, 1977, p. 186. A. Falkenstein n'avait fait aucune remarque à ce sujet dans *BaM* 2, 1963 : il considéra manifestement *mu-ki-in-nam* en iv : 32 et 34 (p. 59) comme une forme verbale, puisqu'il traduisit « durch jemanden / niemanden bestätigt werden ». La dernière traduction de la lettre d'ANam est celle de N. Wasserman & Y. Bloch, *The Amorites: A Political History of Mesopotamia in the Early Second Millennium BCE*, CHANE 133, Leyde/Boston, 2023. Ces auteurs rendent le passage par « if there is a witness / no witness » (p. 209).

2. J.-M. Durand, *Les premières années du roi Zimrî-Lîm de Mari. Deuxième partie*, Archives royales de Mari 34, Louvain/Paris/Bristol, 2023. Les lettres de ce volume, avec leurs photos, sont disponibles sur www.archibab.fr.

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12) *Iddiam-ma ittalkam***, and variants —** In CAD N/1 (1980) 78a, sub *nadû* v., 5', the translation "to stop working" can be misleading; this fits only the first three references. More references are studied here, attested in Old Babylonian letters, in AbB and elsewhere:

1. AbB 3 3:20-22, *ištu ana ṭuppim tu-<uš>-te-ri-bu-šu i-na-ad-di-ma i-ḫa-al-li-iq*, "after you have entered him [if futurum exactum, GAG § 80 d-e?] on the tablet, he will abandon (?) and disappear". W. von Soden, BiOr 26 (1969) 361a, added the *<uš>*, without translation.

2. AbB 4 144:12-13, *anumma i-di-a-am-ma it-ta-al-kam*, "jetzt hat er mich sitzen lassen und ist auf- und davongegangen" (Kraus), "er" refers to a *ṣuḫarum* (6). Later on again, there with –*mi* after the verbal form: *id-di-a-am-ma it-ta-al-kam-mi*, "hat er mich sitzen lassen und es heißt (-*mi*): 'er ist auf- und davongegangen'", in lines 22-23. To me, –*mi* also refers to *iddiam-ma* which precedes. This passage was overlooked by N. Wasserman, *Most Probably* (2012) 197 ff. – Kraus, "der Bursche", is wrong: *ṣuḫarum* often is a grown man, the servant (CAD Ṣ 232 ff.) of a merchant, see Leemans, *The OB merchant* (1950) 34 f.; more: UET 5 43:5; Goetze, Sumer 14 p. 60 no. 33:7 (1 *ṣuḫarka* dumu dam.gàr); AbB 7 23:5 f., the son of the merchant Erib-Sîn, see for the latter R. Harris, RA 70 (1976) 149f., and A. Goddeeris, Economy and society in Northern Babylonia (2002) 137-140; again in AbB 2 46:15-18; AbB 11 117:2, 169:8; al-Zeebari, ABIM (= TIM 1) no. 20:4, 6,13, 64; and perhaps more.

3. AbB 4 150:19, *ad-da-am-ma at-ta-al-ka*, "ich habe es aufgegeben und bin weggegangen" (Kraus).

4. AbB 5 86 rev. 17-18, [*id*]-*di-a-am-ma* [*i*]*t-ta-al-kam*, "hat niedergelegt und ist dorthin fortgegangen" (Kraus), with note h (archive: W. Sallaberger, CM 16 (1999) 59 note 72).

5. AbB 7 23:10-15, *ṣuḫarum id-di-a-am-ma it-ta-al-kam ṣuḫaram ṭurdam* "der Bursch hat es aufgegeben und ist dorthin abgereist. Schicke mir einen Burschen!" (Kraus). He is not aware of the fact that the *ṣuḫarum* often is the assistant of a merchant; see above § 2.

6. AbB 8 2 rev. 1, […] *i-na-di-i-ma it-ta-la-ak la tu-*BA*-ra-am* "[…] wird er 'niederlegen' und davongehen. Zögere mir [probably = *tuḫḫaram*] nicht!" (Cagni). Sent by a merchant to his *ṣuḫarum*?

7. AbB 8 100:4-6, *ištu ūmim ša ta-di-a-an-ni-ma ta-al-li-ku* "seit dem Tag an dem du mich preisgegeben hast und weggegangen bist" (Cagni), "ever since you rejected me and left" (CAD N/1 79a). This is a school letter, see Stol, BiOr 77 (2020) 558, translated "since you abandoned me and went away [this was skipped in BiOr], (I worked in the house of the creditor)".

8. AbB 9 62:12-17, *ḫaliq-ma* PN (…) *īmuršu-ma id-du-šu-ma it-ta-la-ak* "he had disappeared and PN saw him, but they were negligent about him and he got away" (Stol).

9. AbB 9 206:4-9 (cited as BIN 7 19:7 in CAD N/1 78a), *mār* PN *awātija u tērtī id-di-a-a*[*m*] *it-ta-al-ka-am ula išâlanni* "the son of PN neglected my words and my order and went away, he did not ask for me. Cut him down like a reed!" (Stol; more on the PN in a forthcoming Festschrift). "To reject an order" in Sumerian and here: Å.W. Sjöberg, *Studies E.V. Leichty*, 411 note 19.

10. AbB 10 37:31, *id-du-nim-ma it-ta-al-ku-nim* "(den Garten) haben liegen lassen und sind dorthin abgereist" (Kraus), with note j.

11. AbB 10 41:25-26, ka BA ú *i-na-du-ni-in-ni-ma it-ta-la-*[*k*]*u-ú* "… werden mich 'legen' und weggehen" (Kraus). To me: a query, note the lengthened end (-*ku-ú*), "will the … neglect me and depart (just like that)?" Reviewed by von Soden, BiOr 43 (1986) 734, who reads *kabbā'û* as the first word, "die Näher", as subject of the verbs. This does not fit the context.

12. AbB 10 81 rev. 3, *šû i-na-ad-di-ma ana Kiš it-t*[*a-al-la-ak*] "der Bewußte im Stiche läßt und nach Kiš abreist" (Kraus).

13. AbB 12 196 rev. 8-11, *ištu inanna* ud.5.kam *ul ta-al-la-kam-ma* (edge) *a-na-ad-di-a-am-ma* [*a*]*t-ta-a*[*l-l*]*a-kam* "If you do not come within 5 days, I will drop (it) and leave" (van Soldt), with note b, referring to the "to stop working" in CAD N/2 78b, 5'. But the letter does not refer to any work.

14. AbB 14 49:17-18, copy TCL 1 49, *panānum mīnam … id-di-ma it-ta-la-ak*, "previously, what … has she … to you that she gave up and that she could say (= *umma šî-ma* in line 20)" (Veenhof, who skipped lines 18b-19!). Perhaps: *mīnam tu-ub-li-kum* [copy of U[B] on p. 221b] *id-di-ma it-ta-la-ak inanna mīnam tudammiqakkum*; so: "Previously, what [something bad] did she bring to you"? Veenhof: one expects the opposite of *dummuqum*, in note f. The opposite of lines 17-18 in lines 18-19: "He/She abandoned (?) and went away. Now, what did she do good to you?". The (con)text remains obscure.

More:

15. ARM 1 5:30, *ālšu id-di-i-ma it-bé-e-ma it-ta-al-la-ak* "il a évacué sa ville, s'est levé et est parti", Durand, LAPO 17 115 no. 517. His "évacuer" is an *ad hoc* translation. It is remarkable that we see no ventives here; because the usual "Koppelung" with ventives (see below) was interrupted by *it-bé-e-ma*? Or: Mari syntax? For *it-bé-e – ittallak*, see CAD A/1 323a, b; T 310a, b'; Kraus, *Koppelungen*, 387; A.4621, cited in LAPO 16 p. 439, note f.

16. ARM 1 22:18-19, *assurrê alāk bēlija nakrum išemme-ma i-na-ad-di-ma it-ta-a*[*l-la-ak*] "il ne faudrait pas que l'ennemi, apprenant la venue de mon Seigneur, évacue, s'en aille", Durand, LAPO 17 55 no. 476, with note b, "abandonner une ville", as in ARM 4 49:10, *ālum* [(*in*)*-na-d*]*i-ma*, "évacuer".

17. George, CUSAS 36 no. 10:8-10, *ālam* GN *i-di-ma it-ta-la-ak* "he left GN and went away"; GN *i-di-ma ana* GN₂ *it-ta-la-ak*, ibidem, 14-16 (GN = geographical name).

18. CUSAS 36 no. 11:20-25, *u* PN *ana mīnim i-di-a-am-ma it-ta-al-kam ina ālim* GN *la wašib* "but why did H. leave (there) and go away? Can he not stay in GN?" (George).

19. CUSAS 36 no. 12:16-18, [*šû* G]N [*i-di*]*-i-ma i-ta-la-ak*, "he has left GN and gone away" (George).

20. CUSAS 36 no. 20:20-22, *assurrêma i-na-du-ú-ma i-ta-la-ku* "I am afraid they will drop (everything) and go away" (George). "To drop": inspired by van Soldt in AbB 13, above?

21. CUSAS 36 no. 218:18, *lēmūma kà-a-ri id-du-ni-im-ma it-ta-al-ku-ni-im* "they were unwilling and vacated my trading station, and went away" (George). "Vacated" is an *ad hoc* translation.

Nadûm with *ḫalāqum* [also in AbB: see above, § 1], *'abātum* B, and other verbs:

22. Van Lerberghe, AOF 24 p. 152 Di 1851:12, *id-di-ma iḫ-ta-li-iq ul innamer*, "(the adopted son) has deserted and has disappeared, he hasn't been seen anymore". "Deserted" seems to follow CḪ § 136 in CAD A/1 45a, see below sub 24.

23. AbB 13 60:39, *ālšunu id-du-ú-ma ana māt Mari ittabitū* "they abandoned their town and fled to the land of Mari". Cf. ARM 1 22, above, 17.

24. CḪ § 136, quoted in CAD A/1 45b, 2, *na'butu* (*nābutu*), *šumma awīlum ālšu iddima ittabit* "if a man deserts his city and runs away".

25. CUSAS 36 no. 207:8, *bītam u še'am ša maḫrīka i-di-a-am-ma ana ṣerija ḫumṭam* (…) "leave the house and the barley and hurry here to me" (George). School letter? The set-up of this letter, *iddi – ḫumṭam*, is similar to that of Sumer 14 76 no. 49:6, translated in CAD N/1 78a (with a remarkable interpretation of this passage: *ṣibêtum = ṣibûtum*; repeated but somewhat obscurily phrased in CAD Ṣ 170a,3, a).

26. ARM 1 91+ = Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 179:16', *qāt nīšēkunu ṣabtānim qiḫlānim-ma ana libbi mātim at-la-ka-nim* "prenez vos gens par la main et, tous ensemble, venez à l'intérieur du pays", with Mayer, Or NS 58 (1989) 267, verb *qa'ālu* "sammelt euch" (Amorite?).

General remarks.

The basic meaning for *nadûm* in the letters is "to abandon, to give up; to neglect". As in two other contexts: AbB 8 100:10, *ṣuḫaram ta-ad-di-ma ūla tapallas*, "you neglected the servant and do not care (about him)", and AbB 4 144:11-13, *anumma i-di-a-am-ma ittalkam* "jetzt hat er mich sitzen lassen und ist auf- und davon gegangen" (Kraus). General: Kraus did not understand *iddiam* in view of his "translations" which are too literal or diverging.

The ventives in both verbal forms are striking:

(1) Does the second ventive "attract" the first ? Yes, "Modusattraktion" in GAG § 82 c, "ventive anticipation", Kouwenberg in his article on the "ventive, dative and allative" in ZA 92 (2002) 200-240, p. 218-222. Also in Old Assyrian *tibi'amma atalkam* "to rise and get into motion", Kouwenberg, *A grammar of Old Assyrian* (2017) 648, "ventive assimilation".

(2) Sounds like a "Koppelung" (Kraus, *Sonderformen akkadischer Parataxe: die Koppelungen*, 1987) and indeed fits his p. 38 f., "als spezifische Realisierung gewisser allgemeinster Handlungen, bzw. nach physischer oder psychischer Vorbereitung vorgenommene Handlungen", a), "Eingeleitet von Verben der Bewegung". Neither Kraus nor Wasserman, in *Style and Form* (2003) 17-27, "Verbal Hendiadys", mention our example. "Koppelung": M.P. Streck, *Altbabylonisches Lehrbuch*, 3. Auflage, p. 138-139, 146 sub l.

(3) The ventive *–am /-nim* clearly refers to any movement, see GAG § 82a.

(4) Verbal forms where the ventive is lacking, often refer to the future; see CAD N/1 p. 78b, 5, in "to stop working". More refs. for this formula: Stol, "Miete" B.I § 3.11, sub "Verstösse", in RlA VIII/3-4, p. 173a. Also in Thureau-Dangin, Syria 5 (1924) 270 AO 9050:16-17 (Ḫana), A.H. Podany, *The land of Hana* (2002) 104, Text 6.

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13) An inscribed cylinder seal from Tell Muhammed — In 2023, an inscribed cylinder seal was discovered during the second season of the Baghdad Urban Archaeological Project (BUAP) at Tell Muhammed.[1] The site of Tell Muhammed is located in the southern suburbs of Baghdad, about 2 km East of the Tigris River, near Tell Harmal, ancient Šaduppûm, in the Diyala area.[2]

The inscribed seal (inventory no. 370) was found in the southernmost room of Building 2 in the area D, Level III, along with two other seals with only figurative scenes (inventory nos. 369 and 373). The seal no. 370 was found in a pit together with no. 369, while seal no. 373 was on top of the floor.[3] All the seals are in very poor condition.[4] The inscription on the seal reads:

> *a-wi-il-*⌈d⌉*iškur*
> dumu *la-*[   ]-⌈x-*a*?⌉-*ku*?
> ìr ᵈEN.⌈ZU *ù*⌉ AN[   ]

> Awīl-Adad, son of La-[   ]-aku?, servant of Sîn and AN[   ].
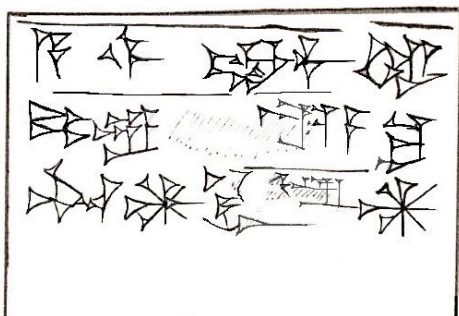
The personal name Awīl-Adad is well attested in Old Babylonian texts. We find it, for example, in the texts from Sippar dated to the reign of Samsu-iluna.[5] According to Viaggio, the god Adad appears as a theophoric element in 11% of the Old Babylonian texts from the Diyala,[6] percentage that rises to 27% in the texts from Tell Muhammed at the moment studied, in which the god occurs as a theophoric element in 29 personal names.[7]

In many towns of the Diyala area, more or less near Tell Muhammed, there were shrines dedicated to the cult of the god Adad, among which Nerebtum (modern Ishchali), Ešnunna (modern Tell Asmar), Mê-Turan, Simmurrum and the nearest Šaduppûm (modern Tell Harmal).[8]

Moreover, the text from Tell Muhammed IM 90609, in which marriage gifts are listed, at line 3 has a reference to a "temple of Adad", é ^dIŠKUR.[9] The temple location is unknown, but it might plausibly be located in the same Tell Muhammed.

As here, also in numerous seals of the Old Babylonian period the owner of the seal defines himself as a devotee of two deities linked by the conjunction ù, for example, the gods Sîn and Nabium,[10] or Sîn and AN.AN.mar.tu.[11]

The cult of god Sîn is well attested in the Diyala area during the Old Babylonian period as shown by the important temples dedicated to Sîn at Khafajah and at Ishchali.

It is interesting to note here the similarity between our seal and the seal 5 of the text VAN LERBERGHE / VOET 1991, no. 2, dates to the 15th day, X month, Samsu-iluna 30 (mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal.e / mu gibil.2.kam.ma):[12]

a-wi-il-^d[iškur] ⌜dumu⌝ ^dnin.kar.ra.ak-[   ] ⌜ìr⌝ ^d⌜EN⌝.[ZU] ⌜ù⌝ ^dna-bi-[um]

Awīl-Adad, son of Ninkarrak-[   ], servant of Sîn and Nabium.

According to VAN LERBERGHE / VOET 1991, p. 150, this Awīl-Adad is the scribe of the *nadītū*. I wonder if it could be the same seal that occurs in DEKIERE 1995, p. 151, no. 355, dated to the 3rd day, VI month, Samsu-iluna 00 (mu ud.kib.nun^{ki} uru du₇):

[*a*]-*wi-il*-^diškur dumu nin[?]kar ra la su ìr ^dEN.[ZU] ù ^d*na-bi*-[*um*]

Awīl-Adad, son of Nin-[   ]-*lassu*, servant of Sîn and Nabium

The same name occurs as witness in the Case of the text at l. 17: igi *a-wi-il*-^diškur dumu ^d ⌜nin⌝ .[   ]-*la-sú*.[13]

In conclusion, all the elements analysed above in relation to the inscription of the seal found in Tell Muhammed as well as its figurative scene fit perfectly with the date of Level III, which, thanks to ceramics and other archaeological finds, has been dated to the Old Babylonian Period, more specifically to the periods of Hammurabi (1792-1750 BC) and Samsu-iluna (1749-1712 BC) reigns (according to the Middle Chronology).

Notes

1. The Baghdad Urban Archaeological Project (BUAP) is an Italian archaeological mission carried out by prof. Nicola Laneri of the University of Catania under the auspices of the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage at the site of Tell Muhammad. For a preliminary result of the first two seasons of Archaeological, see LANERI / ROSITANI *et al*. 2024. I take this opportunity to warmly thank Nicola Laneri and his Archaeological staff for permitting me to study the photos of the seal presented here. I would like also to thank the Director and staff of the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage in Baghdad and the Iraqi Ministry of Culture.

2. See LANERI / ROSITANI *et al*. 2024 with reference to the previous bibliography.

3. See LANERI / ROSITANI *et al*. 2024.

4. Each seal represents a different scene. In the one presented here a standing figure faces a deity dressed in a flounced robe, see LANERI / ROSITANI *et al*. 2024, fig. 11.

5. See DEKIERE 1995, p. 164.

6. See VIAGGIO 2008, p. 2, fn. 8 where the scholar's analysis takes into account the towns of Ishchali, Khafajah, Tell al-Dhiba'i, Tell Haddad/Tell as-Sib, Tell Harmal and Tulul Khatab.

7. See AL-UBAID / CLAYDEN 2024. I want to profoundly thank Tim Clayden for sharing their precious work with me.

8. See SCHWEMER 2007, p. 139 and fn. 40.

9. See AL-UBAID / CLAYDEN 2024, text no. 44:3 = IM 90609 (TM₂ 200). See also AL-UBAID 1983, p. 95, no. 20, pp. 216-220 (transliteration and translation) and pp. 244-245 (copy).

10. See e.g. DEKIERE 1995, p. 151 seals nos. 355, 356, while in some texts the name of the second god is lost, such as in DEKIERE 1995, p. 154 seal no. 418.

11. See e.g. VAN LERBERGHE / VOET 2009, p. 192, no. 18, seal A, with copy at p. 267.

12. See VAN LERBERGHE / VOET 1991, pp. 10-12, 148-150, pl. 75.

13. See DEKIERE 1995, p. 23, no. 355, Case.

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14) A Middle Babylonian record of expenditures from Babylon — Fragment VAT 22107 belonged to a Middle Babylonian record in table format pertaining to expenditures of beer-related products. Now housed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, it was unearthed over a century ago, during Robert Koldewey's excavations in Babylon. Our knowledge of administrative practices in the second half of the second millennium BCE suffers from a severe geographical bias (CLAYDEN 2020, 91), the publication of this archival text from Babylon is thus a modest contribution towards a better understanding of these administrative practices outside Nippur and Dūr-Enlilē.

The fragment was found alongside other tablets in the narrow alley east of the Ištar temple, the é.máš.da.ri, in the Merkes area (near the northeast corner leading onto the Obere Tempelstrasse; Merkes 23k1, REUTHER 1926, pl.17). Based on the find spot of the tablet, Pedersén (2005, 191, no. 36) included it in the group of texts N8—that is, Neo- (or Late) Babylonian textual finds associated with the é.máš.da.ri.[1] The temple itself is a late seventh or early sixth century foundation, its oldest level probably dating to Nabopolassar (REUTHER 1926, 140; see also HEINSCH *et al*. 2011, 487); and indeed the texts found in or just outside of it appear to date largely to that period (Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid).

The other tablets found in the same findspot (Merkes 23k1) are library texts, probably generally of later date (PEDERSÉN 2005, 191–192), thus in jarring contrast with the Middle Babylonian administrative record VAT 22107. The temple was built above older houses that were not excavated but whose presence was revealed in trenches reaching down to the Old Babylonian level.[2] It appears thus probable that the Middle Babylonian tablet fragment came up from a private house into a later level when the area was disturbed by an intrusion into older levels.[3]

Text edition:
Museum number: VAT 22107 (= PEDERSÉN 2005, no. N8: 36, p. 191)
Excavation number: Bab 45742; Excavators' photograph number: PhBab 2646 (2)
Text type: Record of expenditures (in table format)
Date of issue: broken

Obv.
(Several lines broken)

1') [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o D]UMU$^?$.M[I$_2^?$] ⸢x⸣ [o o o o o o]		
[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]	ŠE ^{giš}BAN$_2$ ⸢5(+x)⸣ [o o o o o]	
[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]	MUNU$_4$ *a-n*[*a* o o o o o o o o]	
[o o o o o o o o o o o o o]	MUNU$_4$ *a-na* [o o o o o o o o]	
5') [o o o o o o o o o o]	NIG$_3$.AR$_2$.RA Š[E$^?$ o o o o o o o]	
(1 line uninscribed)		
[o o o (x+)]⸢20⸣	25½	DUG GAL 2-BAN$_2$ BAPPIR$_2$ Z[AR$^?$ o o]
[o o o o o]		1(PI) 5-BAN$_2$ ŠE.BAR 1(GUR) ŠE.B[AR$^?$ o o]
[o o o o o o o o o o]		ZI.GA *ša* ^{m}*di-pa-*[*ru*$^?$ o o o o]

      [o o o o o o o o o o   š]U ᵐ*i-ri-man-ni*-DI[NGIR o o o]

10')   [o o o o o o o o o o o] ⌜x x x⌝ [o o o o o o o o o o]

(Remainder broken)

Translation

(Beginning lost)

[. . . . . .da]ughter? . .[. . . . .]

[. . . . .]barley, (measured by the) ⌜(x+)5 *qā*⌝-*sūtu* [. . . . .]

[. . . . .] malt fo[r . . . .]

[. . . . .] malt for [. . . . .]

[. . . . .] *mundu-groats* of ba[rley? . . . .]

[. . . . . . (x+)]⌜20⌝   25½ *large pots of beer*, 2 *sūtu* of beer-bread . .[. . . . .]

[. . . . .]   0;1,5,0 barley, 1;0,0,0? bar[ley? . . . .]

[. . . . .]   expenditure of Dipā[ru? . . . .]

[. . . . . .re]sponsibility? of? Irēmanni-i[lī . . . .]

[. . . . .] . . . [. . . . .]

(Remainder lost)

Commentary

Line 1') One of the possible readings is DUMU.MÍ É, i.e. *mārat bīti*. This title, whose exact meaning is uncertain, is attested in a number of Middle Babylonian expenditures of foodstuffs, including beer and malt, e.g., Sᴀꜱꜱᴍᴀɴɴꜱʜᴀᴜꜱᴇɴ 2001, no. 242: 3; no. 245:3; see also p. 126 for a discussion of its occurrences.

Line 2') The size of the *sūtu* varied in that period between 4 and 12 *qû* ≈ 4 to 12 litres (Powell 1987–1990, 498).

Line 6') DUG could mean a type of beer (Deheselle 1993, 36–38, who reads it KÙRUN) but, as in the present case, it is sometimes qualified as small (TUR) or large (GAL), which makes this reading difficult (Deheselle suggests a reference to the size of grain). However, when DUG occurs in a text in which we also find KAŠ, it is unclear why they should be listed separately if we are dealing with the same type of beer (e.g., Sᴀꜱꜱᴍᴀɴɴꜱʜᴀᴜꜱᴇɴ 2001, no. 193). Following Sassmannshausen (2001, 257), it is taken here as referring to a quantity of beer measured using a standardized container, which agrees well with the fact that quantities are either discrete numerals or fractions (see also CAD K, s.v. *karpatu* 1d). The exact type of beer remains uncertain.

Line 8') The name Dipāru "Torch/beacon" is attested in the Middle Babylonian text CUSAS 30, 256: 24. Another possibility is a shortened form of DN-dipārī "DN-is-my-torch/beacon" or the like (CAD D, *dipāru* b and e).

Line 9') The name Irēmanni-ilī occurs elsewhere in that period, e.g., BE 14, 22: 16.

The text is a table ruled horizontally and vertically. It comported at least three columns, probably more.

Fragment VAT 22107 was almost certainly near the right edge of the tablet. Indeed, the width and contents of the column to the right—in which we do not find only quantities— suggest that it is the last column of tablet. The fragment was also probably near the end of a section or possibly the bottom of the entire table, as revealed by the mention of the type of transaction (ZI.GA) and of the person responsible (ŠU) in lines 8' and 9'.

The text records quantities of barley and beer-related products, at least some of which are expenditures. Barley, *mundu-groats* (NÍG.ÀR.RA), malt, beer-bread, and beer (sometimes also flour)—or a subset of these—co-occur in numerous Middle Babylonian records from Nippur and Dūr-Enlilē, e.g., Sᴀꜱꜱᴍᴀɴɴꜱʜᴀᴜꜱᴇɴ 2001, nos.72, 189–270; ᴠᴀɴ Sᴏʟᴅᴛ 2015, nos.280, 282–288; Dᴇᴠᴇᴄᴄʜɪ 2020, nos.63, 115; Dᴇʜᴇꜱᴇʟʟᴇ 1993.

Hence, VAT 22107 belongs to a text type that is well attested in this period. A purpose for the malt may have been recorded in lines 3' and 4', *ana*/for: an institution/brewers/brewing/a type of beer? The few quantities that are preserved are unremarkable.
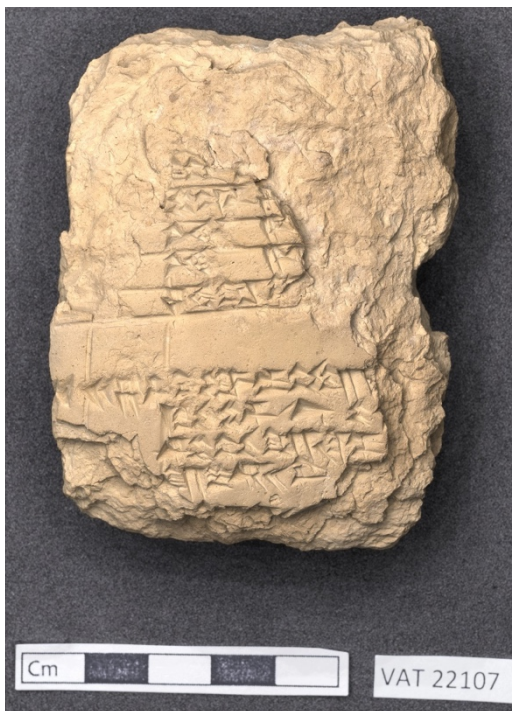

Photo: GoviB project. Screenshot: O. Boivin

The amount of bear-bread (2 *sūtu*, line 6') is relatively modest, which is in keeping with what one encounters generally in similar records (Deheselle 1993, 30, with references). The number of *large pots of beer* (25½, line 6') is relatively high but not unheard of, at least when considering DUG-pots in general (e.g., possibly 46 in SASSMANNSHAUSEN 2001, no. 190: 36).

Therefore, what is preserved of the text does not allow for a reconstruction of its purpose and of the environment in which it was written, especially since it was found in secondary context and isolated from other texts connected with it. The fact that it was probably kept in a private house, as discussed above, raises questions since it does not belong to a genre that one typically expects in a private archive: it must have been written in the context of institutional administration. The archive of a Middle Babylonian *šangû* who lived in the same general area (a little further southeast; archive M7, found in Merkes 28o1) may offer a useful parallel. A few administrative tablets apparently belonged to it, including tables associating staples with individuals (Pedersén 2005, 92), thus possibly of a type similar to VAT 22107.[4] This member of the clergy seems thus to have kept texts pertaining to institutional administration at home alongside his private documents.[5] This could be the type of setting in which VAT 22107 was originally kept, under the later Ištar temple.

Notes

1. This text came to my attention during my work on later tablets for the 2021–2026 project *Governance in Babylon: Negotiating the Rule of Three Empires* (*GoviB*; grant agreement either no. 101001619) funded by the ERC programme Horizon 2020. I would like to thank Susanne Paulus for her helpful comments on the text. Editions of the Neo- and Late Babylonian archival tablets found in the Ištar temple area can be found in a forthcoming publication of the GoviB project.

2. This shows plainly in the section drawings in REUTHER 1926, pl.33.

3. The section drawing "durch Adyton, Hof and Osttor" shows for instance a number of pits and disturbances.

4. I have not examined these tablets but the excavators' photograph of M7: 10 (PEDERSÉN 2005, 93) shows a large table containing several items recorded over a least a few months.

5. At present, a direct connection between VAT 22107 and other Middle Babylonian archival texts from Babylon is not apparent.

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15) Rendez-Vous at the Grove. A Note on the *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival (CTH 626) — The first of several cultic journeys the Hittite king made in the course of the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival started in Katapa, lead through Taḫurpa and Arinna, and ended at Ḫattuša. Each city was reached on a subsequent day and the last stage of the trip took place on the 6th or 7th day of the festival (depending on the version). On that day the king came to Ḫattuša from Arinna, while the queen returned to the capital from Taḫurpa, where she had stayed for two previous days. Somewhere on the way to Ḫattuša, either coming from Arinna or Taḫurpa,

lay the town Tatišga. There, some actions were taken, after which the royal couple, already apparently joined, ate and drank before finally reaching the capital. Despite the fact that this day is attested on four outline tablets, not one manuscript has the relevant passage specifiying what exactly happened in Tatišga, fully preserved.

In his edition of the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival, M. Nakamura, *Das hethitische nuntarriyašḫa-Fest*, PIHANS 94, Leiden, 2002, pp. 17f. restores the relevant passage as follows (A: KUB 9.16+ i 24-26; B: KBo 39.63+ i 22-24; C: IBoT 4.72+ obv. 11'-13'; D: KBo 39.67+ 6'-8'):

lu-uk-kat-ta-ma LUGAL-uš U[RUḪa-at-tu-š(i pa-a-iz-zi nu MUNUS.LUGAL) … …]
URUTa-ti-iš-ga wa-a[r-pu-wa-a(r na-aš Étar-nu-u-i)   ]
ᵍúᴵ-e-mi-ya-az-zi

"Am nächsten Tag aber geht der König nach [Ḫattu]ša. Und die Königin[…..] In Tatišga (findet die) Waschung (statt). Und er findet(?) [   ] im *tarnu*-Gebäude."

This interpretation is problematic, however. First, the proposed interpretation of the last sentence is impossible in Hittite. The pronoun =*aš* added to the initial *nu* particle in the last clause could be PPRO.3SG.C.NOM, thus the subject, only if the sentence was intransitive. In this case, however, with the verb *wemiyazzi* "(s)he finds" as the verb, =*aš* can only be PPRO.3PL.C.ACC., thus the direct object "them". The translation would then have to mean "(S)he finds them." Yet this is hardly helpful, as there is nothing plural in this paragraph prior to that sentence, apart from perhaps the king and the queen. But if it is the royal couple who are to be found, who would be the one finding "them"?

This short note presents an alternative reading of these lines, one which dismisses the problems posed by Nakamura's proposition. A closer look at the photos of the tablets (available at the *Konkordanz* website at hethiter.net) allows for an entirely different division of words, which results in only two sentences, instead of Nakamura's four.

The word *warpuwar*, which is in the center of this re-reading, is never fully preserved in the passage in question and I suggest it was never there in the first place. Of its beginning two signs are preserved in Ex. A which are surely *wa-a*[*r-*. Ex. C, however, has at the respective spot a partially preserved sign, that can hardly be WA, since it has two horizontals and not *Winkelhaken*s. Ex. B has the back end of the sign read by Nakamura as -a]r. One can clearly see only a *Winkelhaken* and a vertical, however, which could also be the end of other signs, e.g. UZ. Further, the following signs NA and AŠ do not have to mark a new sentence (Nakamura's *na-aš*), but might still form the last part of the previous word. Taking all of this into account, the missing part betwen the toponym Tatišga and the É*tarnui* can be restored as (GIŠ)wa-a[r-ḫu-u]z-na-aš "grove" (GEN.SG), with the optional determinative GIŠ preserved partially only in Ex. C. As a result, we can reconstruct the passage in the following way:

lu-uk-kat-ta-ma LUGAL-uš U[RUḪa-at-tu-š(i pa-a-iz-zi nu MUNUS.LUGAL)]
URUTa-ti-iš-ga wa-a[r-ḫu-u](z-na-aš Étar-nu-u-i)]
ᵍúᴵ-e-mi-ya-az-zi

"On the next day, the king goes to Ḫattuša. He meets the queen in the wash house in the grove in Tatišga."

With this reading, we arrive at only two sentences and no problematic pronoun to deal with. The king joins his consort in Tatišga and together, after having eaten, come back to the capital to take part in a great assembly in the temple of the Storm god.

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16) Ein indirekter Join: KBo 30.161(+)KBo 25.46 und CTH Nummer Veränderung — Das kleine Fragment KBo 30.161[1] aus mittelhethitischer Zeit wurde zuvor unter CTH 738 – Texte der Göttin *Tetešḫapi* katalogisiert[2]. Wie KBo 30.161 ist auch der KI.LAM-Festtext KBo 25.46 ein mittelhethitischer Text. Das Duplikat von KBo 25.46 und KBo 30.161 ist KBo 38.12+ Rs.III 25'ff., das zum Fest von KI.LAM gehört. Die zum Fest von KI.LAM gehörenden hattischen Ausrufe "*aḫa, impū*" (KBo 38.12+

Rs.III 27', 34') erscheinen sowohl in den Zeilen 2', 9' und 12' von KBo 25.46 als auch in Zeile 4' von KBo 30.161. Weil der Fluss von KBo 25.46 und KBo 30.161 gleich wie im KI.LAM-Festtext KBo 38.12+ (Rs.III 25'-30' und Rs.III 34'-43') ist, müssen KBo 25.46 und KBo 30.161 indirekte Joins sein. Ausgehend von diesem Gedanken sollte das in CTH 738 katalogisierte Fragment KBo 30.161 zu CTH 627 hinzugefügt werden.

Die syntaktische Entsprechung von KBo 30.161 ist der KI.LAM-Festtext KBo 38.12+, der in die althethitische Zeit datiert wird. Dadurch ist auch klar, dass KBo 25.46 und KBo 30.161 mittelhethitische Kopien von KBo 38.12+ sind.

KBo 30.161(+)KBo 25.46

x+1 [   ]ᵣLÚ¹.MEŠḫa-a-ᵣpí¹-[eš ka-ru-ú-ma-aš]
2' [tar-ku-an-z]i ma-a-an GA[L-ŠU-NU LUGAL-i ḫa-an-da-a-it-ta]
3' [LÚ.MEŠḫa-a-pí-eš] pé-e-di-iš-mi[-pát ZAG-ni I-ŠU wa-ḫa-an-zi]
4' [LÚ.MEŠA]LAM.ZU₉ a-ḫa-ᵣa¹ [ḫal-zi-an-zi ta-aš-ta nam-ma]
5' [GÙB-l]i-ya I-ŠU wa-ᵣḫa¹-[an-zi LÚ.MEŠALAM.ZU₉ a-ḫa-a]
6' [ḫal-z]i-an-zi [GAL-ŠU-NU pé-e-ra-an ḫu-u-wa-a-i]
7' [(?)]ᵣḫa¹-aš-ša-an-kán [I-ŠU ḫu-ya-an-zi]
8' [ma-a-an GAL-ŠU]-ᵣNU¹ LUGAL-ᵣi¹ [ḫa-an-da-a-it-ta LÚ GIŠGIDRU-ša]
9' [a-ap-pa-i ta-az] ᵣA¹-ŠAR-ᵣŠ¹U [e-ep-zi]
10' [LÚ.MEŠḫa-a-pí-eš] ᵣpé¹-e-d[i-iš-mi-pát tu-wa-an I-ŠU wa-ḫa-an-zi
11' [   ] x [

Ungefähr vier leere Zeilen

15' (= x+1)
16' (=2')] LÚ GIŠGIDRU-aš i-im-pu-u ḫ[al-za-a-i]
17' (=3') [ḫ]al-zi-an-zi pa-a-tu-u[š]
18' (=4')] LÚ GIŠGIDRU-aš-ša kát-ti-iš-mi l[am-
19' (=5') [ḫ]u-wa-a-i ḫa-aš-ša-aš-kán I-ŠU [ḫ]u-ᵣi¹-an-zi A-ŠAR-ŠU-NU¹ [
20' (=6')]x-ŠU ti-i-en-zi DUMUMEŠ.É.GAL NIN.DINGIR ap-pa-an-zi ta[-an
21' (=7') [GIŠZA.LAM.GAR-aš p]é-e-ḫu-da-an-zi ta-aš LÚ.MEŠḫa-a-pí-aš pí-ra-an ḫu[-wa-a-i
22' (=8') MUNUS.MEŠzi-in-tu-ḫi-eš SÌRRU L[Ú] GIŠGIDRU-aš NIN.DINGIR-ri pí-ra-a[n ḫu-wa-a-i
23' (=9') LÚ.MEŠḫa-a-pí-eš ḫu-u-u i-im-p[u-u] ḫal-zi-iš-ša-an   -z[i
24' (=10') ták-kán ḫa-aš-ša-an I-ŠU [ḫ]u-i-an   -z[i
25' (=11') [maˀ-aˀ-naˀ-ašˀ-taˀ] NIN.DINGIR-aš LUGAL-i ḫa-an-da-a-it-ta tu[-wa-a-an
26' (=12')   ] x-zi LÚ.MEŠALAM.ZU₉ a-ḫa-a ḫal-z[i-an-zi
27' (=13')   w]a-ḫa-an-zi ta-aš-ta nam-ma [
28' (=14')   ] a-ḫa-a ḫal-zi[-an-z]i LÚ.MEŠ[

Textliche und philologische Anmerkungen:

2', 8': Die Konjunktion *ma-a-an* in dieser Zeile kommt in dem KI.LAM-Festtext KBo 38.12+ Rs.III 25' und Zeile 28' in der Form *ma-a-na-aš-ta* vor. Die Kombination der bedingten Konjunktion *mān* mit der Partikel *-ašta* kommt in den Festtexten vor[3].

4', 6', 26' (=12'): Das Verb *ḫal-zi-an-zi*, KI.LAM-Festtext KBo 38.12+ Rs.III in den Zeilen 26' und 27' kommt die Konjunktion Prs.Pl.Akt. 3 *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-ša-an-zi* in iterativer Form vor.

6': Anstelle von GAL-ŠU-NU in dieser Zeile steht in Zeile 28' von KBo 38.12+ Rs.III. LÚ GIŠGIDRU-*aš*. Das Verb *ḫuwai-* kommt in unserem Text als *ḫu-u-wa-a-i* vor, während es in Zeile 28' von KBo 38.12+ Rs.III als *ḫu-wa-a-i* auftritt. Beide Schreibweisen (*ḫu-u-wa-a-i* und *ḫu-wa-a-i*) kommen in junghethitischen Texten häufiger vor[4].

16' (=2'): In dieser Zeile LÚ GIŠGIDRU schreit den hattischen Ausruf "*impū*"[5], während in KBo 38.12+ Rs.III Zeile 34' die *ḫapiya*-Leute schreien.

21' (=7'): Wie wir bereits gesagt haben, wird die Schreibweise *ḫu-wa-a-i* in junghethitischen Texten häufiger verwendet. Während in dieser Zeile das Subjekt im Plural (LÚ.MEŠḫa-a-pí-aš) steht, ist das Verb jedoch in der Form Prs.Sg.3 (*ḫu-wa-a-i*).

25' (=11'): Der erste Teil der Zeile kann als "*ma-a-na-aš-ta*" und der letzte Teil als "*tu-wa-a-an*" gemäß KBo 38.12+ Rs.III Zeile 41' ergänzt werden.

Anmerkungen

1. Siehe für die Transkription Groddek 2002: 255.

2. Groddek katalogisierte KBo 30.161 in Groddek 2002: 225, in CTH 627.

3. KBo 20.37 I 5; KBo 22.172+ 3; KUB 28.89+ IV 21; KUB 34.94 9; KUB 41.7+ rs.5. Friedrich - Kammenhuber 1975-1984 (HW² I): 436.

4. Friedrich - Kammenhuber - Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2012 (HW² III/2 21): 797.

5. Zum hattischen Ausruf *i-im-pu-u* siehe Soysal 2004: 490.

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17) Mittelassyrische Eponymen Teil II: *Abī-ilī mār Katiri*, *Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur*, *Bēr-išmânni* **und** *Bēr-nādin-aplī* **—** Jüngst rekonstruierte Werner Nahm die Eponymensequenz der Salmanassar- und Tukulti-Ninurta-Zeit.[1] Seine Rekonstruktion basiert v.a. auf den Daten der Personen- und Herdentexte aus Dūr-Katlimmu (DKL) sowie einiger weiterer ausgewählter Texte. Dabei schlägt er für das Ende der Laufzeit des Archivs von DKL folgende Sequenz vor: *Bēr-išmânni* (**Bi**) → *Abī-ilī m. Katiri* (**Ai₂**) → *Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur* (**Ššu**) → *Bēr-nādin-aplī* (**Bna**).

1. Nahms Argumente – **(a)** Nahm 2021, 312 verweist auf die Altersdaten der *šiluḫlū Šamaš-šumu-lēšir* und „Nubār-eli's son", womit er wohl *Maṣi-ilī* meint. In BATSH 18, 67 vom 20.vi.*Ššu* wird *Maṣi-ilī* in Z. 10 als *talmittu* (!) „w. Lehrling" [2] und *Šamaš-šumu-lēšir* in Z. 19 als *pirsu* „Kleinkind" bezeichnet. In BATSH 18, 69 vom 11.viii.*Ššu* werden beide eine Stufe älter als *ikkaru* „Feldarbeiter" (Z. 19) bzw. als *tāri'u* „Halbwüchsiger" (Z. 5) bezeichnet. In BATSH 18, 70 (**Bi**) wird *Maṣi-ilī* in Z. 20' als *talmīdu* „m. Lehrling" und *Šamaš-šumu-lēšir* in Z. 15' als *pirsu* notiert. Das spricht, so Nahm, für eine Eponymensequenz *Bi* → *Ai₂* → *Ššu*.

(b) Nahm 2021, 312 weist darauf hin, dass die *šiluḫlū Ellil-šuma-iddina*, *Kapra'ttu*, *Ištar-nārārī*, *Tašme-Digla* und *Zabibâ*, die in BATSH 18, 67 (*Ššu*) nicht mehr genannt werden, in dem Jahreszensus BATSH 18, 70 (*Bi*) notiert werden. Das spräche dafür, BATSH 18, 70 (*Bi*) vor *Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur* zu setzen. Wegen der sicher direkten Sequenz *Ai₂* → *Ššu* laute die Sequenz daher *Bi* → *Ai₂* → *Ššu* (s. sub 2.).

(c) Außerdem betont Nahm, dass in BATSH 18, 70 direkt nach Z. 1'–26' zu den *šiluḫlū* aus DKL in Z. 31'ff. (sic!) weitere *šiluḫlū* notiert werden, bei denen es sich gemäß des zu erwartenden Formulars um Tote gehandelt habe.

2. Die direkte Abfolge *Ai₂* → *Ššu* – Die Urkunde MARV 2, 17+ dokumentiert, dass bspw. der Zeitraum vom 27.x.*Ai₂* bis zum 16.iii.*Ššu* vier Monate und 20 Tage lang war (Hülle Z. 86'f.). Zwischen diesen beiden Eponymaten kann also kein weiteres liegen.

3. Lebensdaten, die für die Sequenz *Ai₂*, *Ššu* → *Bi* sprechen – Bereits Salah 2014, 286 verweist auf die Altersdaten von *šiluḫlū* aus DKL, die für die Sequenz *Ai₂*, *Ššu* → *Bi* sprechen:

(a) *Bēl-lū-dari* ist in 18, 64: 10 (*Ai₂*) als *talmīdu* „Lehrling" und in BATSH 18, 70: 10' (*Bi*) als erwachsener *ikkaru* „Feldarbeiter" belegt.

(b) *Bādūja* ist bis *Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur* als *ša šipri* „Arbeiterin" und in BATSH 18, 70: 25' (*Bi*) als *šēbat* „sie ist eine Greisin" belegt.

(c) Dem ist hinzuzufügen: *Kapra'ītu* wird von *Aššur-da"ān* (BATSH 18, 55: 15) bis *Abī-ilī m. Katiri* (BATSH 18, 64: 7) als *pirsu* „Kleinkind" und in BATSH 18, 70: 5' (*Bi*) als *tārītu* „Halbwüchsige" bezeichnet.

4. Notiert BATSH 18,70: 27'–34' Tote? Nach Nahm handelt es sich bei den in „BATSH 18, 70: 31'ff." direkt nach dem Abschnitt zu den *šiluḫlū* aus DKL aufgeführten *šiluḫlū* um Tote. Allerdings müsste es sich dann nicht nur bei den *šiluḫlū* in Z.31ff., sondern bei allen in BATSH 18, 70: 27'–34' aufgeführten *šiluḫlū* um Tote handeln. Mehrere der dort aufgeführten *šiluḫlū* waren in *Abī-ilī m. Katiri* und *Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur*

aber noch am Leben. Bspw. *Zabibâ*, die in BATSH 18, 70: 29' (*Bi*) und in BATSH 18, 64: 3' (*Ai₂*) aufgeführt wird. Das gilt auch für die unten sub 5a–d aufgeführten *šiluḫlū*.

Nahms Beobachtung dass die *šiluḫlū Nubar-elli*, *Ša-Ištar-damqā* und deren Tochter *Tašme-Digla* in BATSH 18, 70 (*Bi*) zuletzt im Jahr *Aššur-zēra-iddina* belegt sind und teilweise wie im Fall der *Ša-Ištar-damqā* zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits sehr alt waren, trifft durchaus zu. Das muss aber nicht zwingend bedeuten, dass sie bereits tot waren, zumal nach Salah 2014, 2 einzelne weibliche *šiluḫlū* ein sehr hohes Alter von bis zu 70 Jahren erreichen konnten. Außerdem verschwinden manche *šiluḫlu* länger aus dem Befund: *Šīt-ēnāja* wird in BATSH 18, 8: 18' aufgeführt und dann erst etwa 35 Jahre später in BATSH 18, 66: 31 (*Ai₂*)[3)]; 67: 44; 68: 13; 69: 35 (*Ššu*) wieder verbucht. *Ištar-rēmat*, die Tochter von *Tāgi*, ist seit dem 2. Jahr Tukulti-Ninurtas belegt, verschwindet nach *Aššur-da'ān* für etwa elf Jahre aus dem Befund und wird in BATSH 18, 68; 69 (*Ššu*) wieder notiert. Manchmal tauchen vorher unbekannte *šiluḫlū* auf, z.B. *Sanūtu* und ihre Kinder *Ḫambabiši* und *Aḫātu-ṭābat*[4)] (je *Ai₂*, *Ššu*, *Bi*), *Ištar-kīmūja* (*Enlil-nādin-aplī*, *Ai₂*, *Ššu*) und ihre Tochter *Ištar-tubla* (*Ai₂*, *Ššu*) oder *Šīt-ēnāja* (*Ai₂*, *Ššu*, *Bi*). Andere *šiluḫlū* wie z.B. *Iddin-Marduk* in BATSH 18, 64: 28 (*Ai₂*) und *Asīru* in BATSH 18, 70: 27' (*Bi*) sind nur ein einziges Mal belegt. Das *šiluḫlu*-Personal unterlag also einer gewissen Fluktuation. Das Verschwinden von *šiluḫlū* aus dem Befund muss also nicht unbedingt ihren Tod oder ihre dauerhafte Abwesenheit von DKL belegen.

5. Notiert BATSH 18,70: 27'–34' *Ersatztruppen*? Bis etwa in das 11. Jahr Tukulti-Ninurtas verzeichneten die Personen- und Rationenlisten aus DKL zuerst die *šiluḫlū* aus DKL und dann die aus Duāra. Seitdem wurden keine *šiluḫlū* aus Duāra mehr notiert. In den hier relevanten Eponymaten *Abī-ilī m. Katiri* und *Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur* werden in BATSH 18, 66: 24–30 (*Ai₂*); 67: 30–43; 69: 25–34 (*Ššu*) direkt nach den *šiluḫlū* aus DKL weitere aufgeführt, die als *mulā'u* „Ergänzung" oder *muttelli'u* „regelmäßige Ergänzung" qualifiziert werden. Erst nach diesen werden tote und geflohene *šiluḫlū* notiert (s. BATSH 18, 66: 45–51). Auffälligerweise werden auch von den *šiluḫlū* in BATSH 18,70: 27'–34' (*Bi*) mehrere in BATSH 18, 66; 67; 69 als *Ergänzungspersonal* bezeichnet:

(a) *Aḫātu-ṭābat* (BATSH 18, 70: 28') wird in BATSH 18, 67: 29; 69: 33 (*Ššu*) im *Ergänzungspersonal* des *Eṭir-Marduk* aufgeführt.

(b) *Amat-ili/Amtu*, die Tochter der *Zabibâ* (BATSH 18, 70: 30'), (zur Personenidentität s. Salah 2014, 227 zu BATSH 18, 53: 36) wird in BATSH 18, 66: 24 (*Ai₂*); 67: 34 (*Ššu*) im *Ergänzungspersonal* des *Sîn-apla-iddina* verbucht.

(c) *Ḫambabiši* (BATSH 18, 70: 33') wird in BATSH 18, 66: 28 (*Ai₂*); 67: 41 (*Ššu*) im *Ergänzungspersonal* des *Eṭir-Marduk*.

(d) Die *tārītu Aḫātu-ṭābat* (BATSH 18, 70: 34'), die Schwester des *Ḫambabiši*, wird in BATSH 18, 66: 29 (*Ai₂*); 67: 42 (*Ššu*) als *pirsu* dem *Ergänzungspersonal* des *Eṭir-Marduk* zugerechnet (s. auch Anm. 4).

6. Externe Daten: Der Textbefund zum Bau von Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta (KTN) zeigt, sowohl was die quantitative Verteilung als auch was den Inhalt der Urkunden betrifft, dass im Eponymat des *Abī-ilī m. Katiri* und spätestens im Eponymat des *Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur* die Arbeiten am Innenausbau des unteren Palastes zum Abschluss kamen.[5)] Seitdem sind keine größeren Baumaßnahmen in KTN mehr belegt. Stadt und Palast wurden nun bezogen, so dass nach dem Eponymat des *Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur* Texttypen wie die Edikte-Sammlung MARV 4, 115 (*Bi*) oder die Getreideobligation MARV 9, 88 (*Bna*) (s. sub 7c) den nun einkehrenden Alltag in KTN dokumentieren. Dafür spricht auch, dass KTN seit *Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur* nicht mehr von Assur aus, sondern ausweislich MARV 8, 21 (*Ššu*) vom *šakin māti Uṣur-namkur-šarre* mit Sitz in KTN verwaltet wurde.

7. Zum Eponym *Bēr-nādin-aplī*: *Bēr-nādin-aplī* (s. auch Anm. 3) wird von Nahm an die letzte Position der bekannten Eponymen aus DKL gestellt (so ähnlich auch SALAH 2014, 61). Dafür spricht:

(a) Der in BATSH 9, 92 (*Bna*) aufgeführte *rab ikkarāte Sîn-šuma-uṣur* folgt *Sîn-le'i*, der bis in das Jahr *Aššur-bēl-ilāni* für das Palastfeld 3 verantwortlich war: *Abi* → … → *Bna*.

(b) Die in BATSH 18, 75 (*Bna*) notierten Kleinbauern werden größtenteils auch im ‚parallelen‘ Text BATSH 18, 74 (Binneneponym *Ai₂*) jeweils in der gleichen Kohorte aufgeführt: *Ai₂* // *Bna*.

(c) Texte wie die Schuldurkunde MARV 9, 88 (*Bna*) aus KTN datierten wohl nach den Bauarbeiten in KTN, also nach *Abī-ilī m. Katiri* (s. sub 6). Da direkt danach das Eponymat *Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur* folgt, gilt: *Ššu* → (…) → *Bna*.

Zusammenfassung: Die sich teils widersprechenden Belege machen die Schwierigkeiten der Argumentation bei der Entschlüsselung der mittelassyrischen Eponymensequenz deutlich (s. dazu auch Cancik-Kirschbaum; Dornauer 2023, 174). Trotz der von Nahm festgestellten Probleme der Altersdaten der *šiluḫlū Šamaš-šumu-lēšir* und *Maṣi-ilī* (s. sub 1) spricht in der Gesamtschau die Mehrzahl der Belege zu den Altersdaten von vier *šiluḫlū* gegen die von ihm präsentierte Eponymenfolge (s. sub 3a-c; 5d). Bei den vermeintlichen Toten in BATSH 18, 70: 27'–34' handelt es sich plausibel um *Ergänzungstruppen* und sicherlich um keine Toten (s. sub 5). Letzteres gilt auch für *Kapra'ītu* (s. sub. 3a). Und auch die zeitstellenfixierten Abläufe des Baus von KTN sowie die Karriere des *Uṣur-namkur-šarre* (s. sub 6) sprechen eher für eine Sequenz *Ai₂* → *Ššu* → *Bi, Bna*.

Anmerkungen

1. S. Nahm 2021; s. dazu auch die Reaktion Cancik-Kirschbaum; Dornauer 2023.

2. Der Schreiber von BATSH 18, 67 scheint teilweise ungenau gearbeitet zu haben: In BATSH 18, 67: 10 wird *Maṣi-ilī* fälschlicherweise als *talmittu* „weiblicher Lehrling" bezeichnet und ihm wird eine viel zu kleine Gerstenration zugerechnet (s. bereits Salah 2014, 278). In BATSH 18, 66: 14 (20.xi.*Ai₂*) wird *Rabât-Nisaba* als *tārītu* „Halbwüchsige" in BATSH 18, 67: 18 vom 20.vi.*Ššu* als *talmittu* „w. Lehrling" und in BATSH 18, 69: 4 (22.vii.*Ššu*) sowie BATSH 18, 70: 14' (*Bi*) wieder als *tārītu* bezeichnet.

3. Nahm 2021, 313 argumentiert nachvollziehbar, dass BATSH 18, 66 gegen die obskure Datumsangabe in Z.37f., die über Rasur und auf dem Kopf stehend geschrieben ist, vielleicht erst im Jahr *Bēr-nadin-apli* produziert wurde. Dies hat keinen Einfluss auf die hier geäußerten Argumente. Wir datieren 18, 66 daher wie Salah 2014, aber mit *caveat*, in das Jahr *Abī-ilī* (*m. Katiri*).

4. Laut Salah 2014, 285, 287 ist BATSH 18, 70: 34': [*Aḫātu-ṭābat t*]*ārītu* zu lesen. Nahm 2021, 372 bezweifelt die Lesung der Zeichenreste. Die Fotografie erlaubt keine seriösen Aussagen gegen oder für Salahs Ergänzung. Der Verfasser folgt daher dem Kopisten, zumal in der Zeile zuvor *Aḫātu-ṭābat*s Bruder *Ḫambabiši* notiert wird.

5. S. dazu bereits Freydank 2015, 118 zu MARV 2,17+ und s. auch MARV 4, 114+ (*Ai₂*). Für Hinweise zum historisch-chronologischen Kontext des Neubaus von KTN danke ich Frau Kristina Cassar (geb. Petrow; FU Berlin).

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18) Wem war der Hethiterkönig gemäß Fragment VAT 10339 + VAT 10343 des Tukulti-Ninurta-Epos zu „freundlicher Vergeltung" verpflichtet? — Der gerade erschienenen Band WVDOG 163 von Stefan Jakob („Historisch-epische Texte") enthält unter anderem eine Neubearbeitung des Tukulti-Ninurta-Epos. Die Zeilen 11´ bis 14´ des Fragments VAT 10339 + VAT 10343 übersetzt Jakob auf Seite 29 wie folgt:

„Um seinen Anspruch auf freundliche Vergeltung willen schickte der hethitische König immer wieder eine Botschaft. Doch (dann) hielt er ein und [entsandte (?)] seinen Untertan zum Land Assur. Er stellte (das Senden einer) Botschaft ein. Die klare Anweisung, seine Grenze nicht zu überschreiten, beachtete er nicht. Er bestätigte eine Regelung. [Folgendermaße]n (sprach) er: Zu mir brachte man deine Botschaft. Halte den Boten zurück!"

Im Kommentar vermutet Jakob eine „freundliche Vergeltung" gegenüber dem Assyrerkönig, „indem er zunächst mehrere, wohl unbeatwortet gebliebene, schriftliche Botschaften und endlich auch einen persönlichen Unterhändler schickte."

Nun wird die Entsendung zusammen mit der Einstellung von Botschaften erwähnt. Dadurch ergibt sich bei der Interpretation Jakobs ein Widerspruch. Der löst sich auf, wenn stattdessen die Einstellung des Briefverkehrs mit Kaštiliaš IV. gemeint ist, eine assyrische Forderung, welche das anschließende Zitat des Hethiterkönigs ausdrücklich bestätigt.

Zusammenfassend stelle ich folgende Textinterpretation entgegen:

– Bisher kam der Hethiterkönig seiner Verpflichtung als „Bruder" nach, auf die Botschaften des Königs von Babylon zu antworten.

– Nach Ausbruch des im Tukulti-Ninurta-Epos beschriebenen assyrisch-babylonischen Konflikts, forderte der Assyrerkönig seinen Kollegen in Ḫatti auf, die diplomatischen Beziehungen zu Babylonien abzubrechen.

– Der Hethiterkönig kam der Forderung nach und schickte stattdessen einen Gesandten nach Assyrien.

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19) Otro ejemplar de un texto conocido de Silhak-Insusinak I — El Museo Arqueológico Nacional de España posee desde hace más de cien años un ladrillo de Silhak-Insusinak I, que si bien resulta conocido por su texto, es completamente desconocido de la investigación, ya que, que nosotros sepamos, no hemos encontrado referencia alguna en la literatura especializada. Por ello deseamos ponerlo en conocimiento universal para todo aquel a quien interese.

La siguiente información es pública a través de la web del museo www.man.es:

Inventario 18737. Ladrillo rectangular con inscripción cuneiforme del que solo se conserva la cara anterior, que está rota en tres fragmentos y restaurada. Es de color anaranjado claro. La inscripción cuneiforme presenta siete líneas horizontales en las que se lee el nombre del rey Silhak-Insusinak.
Dimensiones: Altura = 9,20 cm; Longitud = 33,50 cm; Anchura = 8 cm.
Lugar de Procedencia: Susiana.
Este ejemplar fue una donación realizada por Pedro de la Madre de Dios, carmelita descalzo y misionero apostólico en Bagdad (Iraq). Fecha de Ingreso: 04/04/1898.

Foto: Alberto Rivas Rodríguez

El texto del ladrillo parece corresponder a IRS 39 = EKI 59 = ShI I n° 3d en nuestra web um.es/cepoat/elamita.

IRS: F. Malbran-Labat, *Les Inscriptions Royales de Suse*, Paris 1995.
EKI: F.W. König, *Die Elamischen Königsinschriften*, Graz 1965-Osnabrück 1977.

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20) New arrivals in the Iranian onomastic zoo: some new Iranian anthroponyms in non-Iranian texts — In the 2007 catalogue of Old Iranian names published by myself (Tavernier 2007), no less than 2142 Old Iranian anthroponyms are discussed. This number keeps on growing, due to the publication of new texts mentioning Old Iranian names or to the re-analysis of some names, formerly unexplained or not considered to be Iranian. In this short note I would like to add some new Old Iranian anthroponyms to the existing corpus (nos. 1-8, 10-16, 18 and 20-22). Three names are not new ones, but are included here due to a re-analysis (no. 8) or to new attestations (nos. 16 and 18). The common aspect of all 22 anthroponyms is that they have as one of their elements an animal and as such enrich the Iranian onomastic zoo.

In addition to the 22 anthroponyms there are also 4 toponyms having an animal as first or second element. The first one of these is a real geographical indication, whereas the other three are anthroponyms used as toponyms, a rather frequent practice in the Iranian world (cf. Tavernier 2006, 383-396).

Anthroponyms
1)   *Abigauka-: *Abi-gau-ka-, a derivation of a name containing *gau- "cattle".
        – Aramaic: ʾBgwk: PFAT 0103:1.
2)   *Aspaçava-: *Aspa-çava- "having a beautiful horse".
        – Elamite: Áš-ba-šu-ma: Fort. 1838-102:12.
3)   *Aspajīvāta-: *Aspa-jīva-āta-, hypocoristic of *Aspajīva- "(making) the horses alive".
        – Elamite: Áš-ban-zí-man-da: Fort. 1356-101:37.
4)   *Asparga-: *Aspa-rga- "whose horse is valuable". Tavernier (2007, 475-476 no. 5.3.2.23) does not provide an analysis of this name. Hinz & Koch (1987, 88) only state that the name is probably Iranian.
        – Elamite: Áš-pír-ka₄: PFNN 1107:2, 1516:2.
5)   *Asparšā: nom. sg. of *Aspa-ršan- "horse-hero".
        – Elamite: Áš-ba-ir-šá: Fort. 2323-101:3.
6)   *Aspāvanta-: *Aspā-vanta- "rich in horses". Median equivalent of *Asāvanta- (Tavernier 2007, 118 no. 4.2.146) and masculine equivalent of *Aspāvatīs (Tavernier 2007, 121 no. 4.2.166).
        – Elamite: Áš-pu-man-da: Fort. 1536-103:2-3.
7)   *Cakāra-: *Cakā-ra-, -ra-hypocoristic of a name containing *cakā- "lark".
        – Aramaic: Škr: PFAT 0155:1, 0444:1.
8)   *Cakāta-: *Cakā-āta-, -āta-hypocoristic of a name containing *cakā- "lark".
        – Aramaic: Škt: PFAT 0365:1.
9)   *Gauka-: a meaning "frog" (Hinz 1975, p. 104; see the Parthian anthroponym Gwk) is preferable to the analysis as a hypocoristic name containing gau- "cattle" (Gershevitch 1969, 188; Hinz 1975, 104; Zadok 1977, 106; Dandamayev 1992, 80; Tavernier 2007, 187 no. 4.2.633).
        – Babylonian: Gu-uk-ka-ʾ: EE 34:6,10,rev.
        – Elamite:
        1) Kam-ka₄: Fort. 1638-102:5'.
        2) Ka₄-u-ik-ka₄: PFNN 541:5.
        3) Ka₄-u-ka₄: PF 1483:2.
10)   *Gōdavr̥ka-: < *Gauda-vr̥ka- « hiding for the wolf ».
        – Elamite :
        1) Ku-da-mar-ka₄ : PFNN 726:36.
        2) Ku-ti-mar-ka₄: PF 1942:11,15; PFNN 726:39.
11)   *Hucakā-: *Hu-cakā- « Having a good lark ». Tavernier doubts between an Elamite or Old Iranian name (Tavernier 2007, 515 no. 5.4.2.27), but more likely the second option is the right one. Whereas Hinz & Koch (1987, 735) mention *Hužyaka-, a name *Hu-cakā- seems more acceptable.
        – Elamite: Hu-za-ik-ka₄: PFNN 1552:5.
12)   *(H)uvasa- (Old Persian): *(H)uv-asa- "with a good horse".
        – Elamite: Ú-ma-áš-šá: Fort. 2015-101:13,20,25,29,31,34,37.
13)   *Kaiki-/*Kēki-: i-patronymic of *Kaika- "flea". The Babylonian spellings listed under *Kaika- (Tavernier 2007, 223 no. 4.2.911) rather denote a name *Kaiki-.
        – Babylonian:
        1) Ke-e-ki: VS 6 226:edge.
        2) Ke-ki-i: EE 11:7.
14)   *Kapadara-: *Kapa-dara- "holding a fish".
        – Elamite: Ka₄-ba-da-ra: Fort. 2355-101:4'.
15)   *Kaparīš: contracted form of *Kapa-ra-iya-, a double-suffixed hypocoristic of a *Kapa-name.
        – Elamite: Ka₄-bar-ri-iš: Fort. 2003-101:9.
16)   *Kr̥gaca-: *Kr̥ga-ca-, -ca-hypocoristic of *Kr̥ga- "cock".

– Aramaic: Krgš: PFAT 0327:3, 0360:1.

17)   *Kṛkica-: -*ica*-hypocoristic of *Kṛka- "cock". This is not a real new name, as it is already discussed by Tavernier (2007, 232 no. 4.2.984). It is mentioned here because of the new Demotic spelling Grgše (P. BM EA 76274.1, Ft, col. II. 7,8; cf. MARTIN 2019, 189).

18)   *Paθva-: variant of *Paθu- "sheep and/or goat". Not *Pati-tavah-, as Zadok (2009, 285 no. 446) believes.
         – Babylonian: Pat-tu-ú: VS 6 188:1.

19)   *Paθvaka-: -*ka*-hypocoristic of a name with *Paθva- (TAVERNIER 2007, 273 no. 4.2.1292).
         – Aramaic: ʾbʾdwʾk˙: PFAO 18 (cited with kind permission of Annalisa Azzoni and Mitchka Shahryari). The Aramaic spelling is a nice example of how a scribe writing Aramaic could be influenced by the Elamite writing practices (in this case, by the El. spelling Bad-du-ma-ak-ak₄). This is shown here by the mistakes against the Aramaic distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, distinction which is non-existing in Elamite (cf. TAVERNIER & AZZONI 2023).

20)   *Rādāsiš (OP): *Rāda-as-i-š, -*i*-patronymic of *Rād-asa- "readying the horse".
         – Elamite: Ra-da-ši-iš: Fort. 1993-103:9.

21)   *Ṛdasāna- (OP): *Ṛd-asa-āna-, -*āna*-patronymic of *Ṛd-asa- "he who takes care of horses".
         – Aramaic: ʾRdsn: PFAT 0308:3.

22)   *Vṛkazāta- (Med.): *Vṛka-zāta- "born of a wolf".
         – Aramaic: Wrkzt: PFAT 0142:1.

Toponyms

23)   *Asparāsta-: *Aspa-rāsta- "(a way) laid out for horses, hippodrome" (NAVEH & SHAKED 2012, 184).
         – Aramaic: ʾSprst: ADAB C1:33.

24)   *Maišātiš: *Maiša-āt-i-š, -*i*-patronymic of an -*āta*-hypocoristic of a name with *maiša- "sheep". Personal name used as place name.
         – Elamite: Ma-a-šá-ti-iš: Fort. 1348-101:2.

25)   *Varāda- (Old Persian): "boar". Also attested as personal name (TAVERNIER 2007, 338 no. 4.2.1800).
         – Elamite: Mar-ra-taš: Fort. 1901-101:10',17'.

26)   *Zaryāspi- (Median): -*i*-patronymic of *Zarya-aspa-, "having gold-coloured horses". Especially known as anthroponym (TAVERNIER 2007, 370 no. 4.2.2054), but also the name of the fortress in Bactra (NAVEH & SHAKED 2012, 121).
         – Aramaic: Zrympy (error for Zryspy): ADAB A8:3.

Glossary (cf. Tavernier 2007, 547-573)

1. Animals

Asa- (Old Persian) "horse": Old Indian *áśva-*, Old Persian *asa-*.

Aspa- (Median) "horse": Avestan *aspa-*, Sogdian *ʾsp*.

Cakā- "lark": Middle Persian *čakōk*, New Persian *čakā*, *čagūk* and *čakok*.

Gauka- "frog": Sogdian *γwk*, New Persian *gūk*.

Kaika- "flea": New Persian *kaik*.

Kapa- "fish": Sogdian *kp*.

Kṛga- "cock": Pašto *čirg*, Ormuri *kirži*. Cf. also New Persian *kurg* "hen which has done laying and is inclined for the cock".

Maiša- "sheep": Old Indian *meṣá-*, Avestan *maēša-*, Middle and New Persian *mēš*.

Paθva- "sheep and/or goat" : variant of *paθu-, the Old Persian equivalent of *pasu- (Old Indian *paśú-*, Avestan *pasu-*, Middle Persian *pah*, Khotanese *pasa-*, Pašto *psə*, Ossetic *fys/fus*).

Vṛka- "wolf": Old Indian *vṛ́ka-*, Avestan *vəhrka-*, Sogdian. *wyrk*, Khotanese *birgga-*, New Persian *gurg*, Kurdish *varg*, Baluči *gvark*, Šuγni *wurj*.

2. Others

Abi-: prepositional prefix (Old Indian *abhí-*, Avestan *aibī-*, Old Persian *abi-*).

-āna-: suffix indicating a patronymic.

-āta-: hypocoristic suffix reinforcing the meaning of the word it determines.

-ca-: hypocoristic suffix.

Çava- (Old Persian): "beautiful": Avestan *srauua-*.

Dar- "to hold": Old Indian *dhar-*, Avestan *dar-*, Old and Middle Persian *dar-*, Parthian *dʾr*, Sogdian *δʾr*, Khotanese *dār-*, Choresmian *dʾrȳ*, New Persian *dāštan*, Ossetic *daryn* and *darun*.

Gaud- "to conceal": Avestan *gaoz-*, Old Persian *gaud-*.

(H)u- "good": Old Indian *su-*, Avestan *hu-*, Old Persian *u-*, Middle Persian *hu-*, Khotanese *hu-*, New Persian *xu-*.

-i-: suffix indicating a patronymic.

-(i)ya-: hypocoristic suffix.

Jīva- "alive, living": Avestan *juua-*, Old Persian *jīva-*.

-ka-: hypocoristic suffix.

Rāda- "readying": present stem of *rād- "to lay out; prepare" (Avestan *rād-*).

Rāsta- "laid out": pass. part. of *rād- "to lay out; prepare" (Avestan *rād-*).

Ṛd- "to make prosper, take care of": Old Indian *ṛdha-*, "to prosper", Avestan *arəd-* "to make thrive".

Ṛg- "to be valuable, worthy": Old Indian *árh-*, Avestan *arəg-*, New Persian *arzīdan*.

Ṛšan- "hero": Avestan *aršan-*.

-ra-: hypocoristic suffix.

-vant-, -vatī- (fem.) "provided with, rich in": Old Indian, Avestan and Old Persian *-vant-*.

Zarya- "gold-coloured, yellow": Old Indian. *hari-*, Avestan *zairi-,* Middle and New Persian *zard*, Khotanese *ysarūna*.

Zāta- "born" (Median): Avestan *zāta-*. Median equivalent of Old Persian *dāta-*.

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Specific abbreviations

ADAB = Naveh & Shaked 2012.

Fort. = Persepolis Fortification tablets, mostly unpublished, cited from draft editions by M.W. Stolper, some available via the Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (https://ochre.uchicago.edu/); images of some available via InscriptiFact (http://www.inscriptifact.com/).

PF = Persepolis Fortification texts, published in Hallock 1969.

PFAO = Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Ostraca (to be published by Analisa Azzoni and Mitchka Shahryari).

PFAT = Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Texts, some available via the Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (https://ochre.uchicago.edu/); images of some available via InscriptiFact (http://www.inscriptifact.com/).

PFNN = Persepolis Fortification texts in draft editions by R.T. Hallock, cited from collated and corrected editions by W.F.M. Henkelman, some available via the Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (https://ochre.uchicago.edu/); images of some available via InscriptiFact (http://www.inscriptifact.com/).

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21) L'*ummān-manda* dans la stèle de Cutha — Les auteurs de la *Stèle de Cutha*, désignaient l'ennemi par l'expression *ummān-manda*, « la grande armée » (version standard, vers 54). Elle était le correspondant akkadien de l'ugnim sumérien, qui qualifiait les Gutéens dans la tradition historiographique. Elle figurait également dans la traduction hittite.

ugnim était écrit ki-^kušlu-ub₂-gar, « le lieu où sont disposés les sacs en cuir », une métaphore pour désigner un campement militaire ou une métonymie pour dire une armée.

Le mot sumérien est communément traduit par « horde », et rien n'interdit de traduire de même son correspondant akkadien. Pour mémoire, un fait comparatif. Les successeurs de Jochi, le fils aîné de Gengis Khan, appelaient leur empire Orda, la « horde », un régime flexible capable de bien des adaptations. Là où se trouvait un chef, se trouvait la horde. Le mot, nous enseigne Marie Favereau, pouvait désigner une armée, un emplacement, un peuple ou un campement (*La Horde. Comment les Mongols ont changé le monde*, Perrin, Paris, 2021).

Après avoir indiqué que cet ennemi avait été créé par les dieux (vers 32), la version standard présente leurs sept rois comme les enfants d'Anubanini et de Melili (vers 37 à 46). La version paléo-babylonienne semble s'accorder sur ce point, même si seul le nom de Melili survit au sein d'une cassure du support (ii 5').

La source médio-babylonienne offre, côte à côte, deux versions différentes de leur création. Les deux s'entendent pour dire qu'elle avait six rois à sa tête (face (b) 7'-25'). Pour la première, le dieu Éa l'aurait créée (face (b) 8'-9') :

ᵈÉ-a be-lum [erin₂-ma-a]ᵣn¹-[da]
[a-n]a uru* mi* iš*-pu*-ur* qa-ti-šu ib-ni-šu-nu-[ti]

« Éa, le Seigneur, dépêcha la [hor]d[e (?)] vers ... Il les créa de sa main. »

Quant à la seconde (face (b) 26's), elle paraît avoir été similaire à la version standard.

L'expression *ummān-manda* figure, enfin, dans la version standard, dans la série des villes anatoliennes qu'elle met à sac (vers 53-55 ; on suit les copie et transcription de T. Mitto, *Kaskal* 18, 2021, p. 176), l'unique référence où la mention est intacte :

Lu-Ṣ/Za-a(-)muh(-)ha(-)áš-hu-hu : Ah-ha-hu : Ah-šá-[…]-x
Lub-bu-du Lulu-bu erin₂-man-da ka-ra-[na-a] Šu-bat-ᵈE[n-lil₂]
u qé-reb Su-bar-ti du₃-šú-nu it-tas-[pa-hu]

« Puhlu fut saccagée. Puranšu fut saccagée. LuZamuh(?), Ašhuhu, Ahhahu, Ahša[…], Lubbudu, la horde des Lullubéens, Karanâ, Šubat-Enlil, toutes situées dans le Subartu, furent saccagées ».

Au sein de cette énumération de villes de Subartu, « la horde des Lullubéens » n'est pas à sa place, elle ne désigne pas une victime supplémentaire de la horde (Mitto, p. 176), mais, au contraire, l'ennemi destructeur en personne !

L'anthroponyme Anubanini et l'expression *ummān-manda* ne peuvent donc être dissociés. Dans la tradition mésopotamienne, l'expression désignait communément, selon les époques, les Gutéens, les Simaškéens ou les Mèdes, autant de populations iraniennes (S.F. Adali, *The Scourge of God*, SAAS 20). Dans le présent texte, on découvre qu'elle s'appliquait aussi aux Lullubéens. Et c'est ce même ennemi qu'affrontèrent successivement Enmerkar et Narām-Sîn.

Le témoignage des sources unanimes, depuis l'époque paléo-babylonienne jusqu'à la période néo-babylonienne, concordent pour identifier dans l'*ummān-manda* anonyme les Lullubéens.

Il convient de restituer l'expression dans la version médio-babylonienne, face (b) 8', et la version standard, vers 10.

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22) Parallel Stanza Structuring in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and the *Babylonian Theodicy* — The poetic structuring of the *Babylonian Theodicy* into twenty-seven eleven-line stanzas is visible in the acrostic and in the use of single rulings to divide the stanzas in certain manuscripts, such as K 9290+9297 (LAMBERT 1960, Pl. 21). This structuring aligns with the dialogue format of this composition as the so-called sufferer and his friend alternate as speakers between the stanzas. Therefore, the first twenty-six stanzas of the *Theodicy* represent a debate between the two characters, and the division into stanzas highlights not only the start and end of each character's speech but also the opposition between their arguments and ideas.

The *Babylonian Theodicy* and *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* have traditionally been placed in the so-called "Wisdom Literature" genre and are seen as addressing similar themes of suffering and divine justice (OSHIMA 2023; 2014; COHEN and WASSERMAN 2021, 129-131). However, their overall structure is different as *Ludlul* is not a dialogue but a hymn to Marduk (I 1-40) followed by an extended first-person narrative that ends in another hymnic praise (V 71-120). Despite this difference, *Ludlul* II 12-33 can be understood to have the same eleven-line structuring as the *Theodicy*:[1]

(*Ludlul* II 12-22)

12	*kī ša taqqīta ana ili lā uktinnu*	Like one who had not set up an offering for (his) god,
13	*u ina mākālê ištara lā izzakru*	And had not invoked (his) goddess in the food offering,
14	*appa lā enû šukenna lā amru*	Had not prostrated, had not been seen bowing down,

15	*ina pîšu ipparkû supû teslītu*[2]	From whose mouth, prayer (and) supplication had ceased,
16	*ibṭilu ūm ili išēṭu eššēša*	Had abandoned the day of the god, had neglected the festival,
17	*iddû aḫšūma mêšunu imēšu*	Had become neglectful, had disregarded their rites,
18	*palāḫa u itʾuda lā ušalmidu nišīšu*	Had not taught his people to fear and observe,
19	*ilšu lā izkuru īkulu akalšu*	Had not invoked his god, had eaten his food,
20	*īzibu ištartašu masḫata lā ubla*	Had abandoned his goddess, had not brought a flour-offering,
21	*ana ša imḫû bēlašu imšû*	Like one who had gone mad, had forgotten his lord,
22	*nīš ilīšu kabta qalliš izkuru anāku amšal*	Had sworn lightly an important oath by his god, I myself became equal (to such a one).

In contrast the following eleven lines read (*Ludlul* II 23-33):

23	*aḫsusma ramānī supê teslīta*[3]	Myself, I was indeed conscious of prayer (and) supplication,
24	*teslītu tašīmatī niqû sakkûʾa*[4]	Supplication was my discernment, sacrifice my rite.
25	*ūm palāḫ ili ṭūb libbīya*	The day of revering the god was my heart's delight,
26	*ūm rēdûti ištari nēmelu tattūru*	The day of the ceremony of the goddess was benefit (and) profit.
27	*ikrib šarri šī ḫidûtī*	Prayer for the king, it was my joy,
28	*u nigûtašu ana damiqti šumma*[5]	And his celebration was truly for (my) goodness.
29	*ušāri ana mātīya mê ili naṣāra*	I instructed my land to observe the rites of the god,
30	*šumi ištari šūqura nišīya uštāḫiz*	The name of the goddess I incited my people to esteem.
31	*tanadāt šarri iliš umaššil*	The praises of the king I made equal to (those of) a god,
32	*u puluḫti ēkalli ummāna ušalmid*	And reverence for the palace I taught the crowd.
33	*lū īde kī itti ili itamgurā annâti*	I indeed knew that these things were always agreeable to the god!

Oshima (2014, 232) has pointed out that the theme of neglect of divine rules and obligations in *Ludlul* II 12-22 is similar to the theology in the *Theodicy*. Moreover, *Ludlul* II 12-33 concern respect for the gods and the king, a common theme in the *Theodicy* (OSHIMA 2014, 242).

In fact, these two groups of eleven lines are striking as they stand in antithesis. On the one hand, II 12-22 express the actions, or the lack of them, of someone who is not god fearing and how Šubši-mešrê-šakkan is being treated like such a person (II 22b). On the other hand, in II 23-33, Šubši-mešrê-šakkan stresses how he was indeed a god-fearing individual by listing his good actions for the gods, king, and populace. Therefore, these two eleven-line stanzas stand in opposition, just like the stanzas in the *Theodicy* where the sufferer and his friend oppose one another in their arguments regarding divine justice. These lines in *Ludlul* also address this theme as Šubši-mešrê-šakkan claims that he is being treated like someone who did not respect the gods even though he had respected both the gods and the king. Thus, *Ludlul* II 12-33 share both structural and thematic similarities with the *Theodicy*.

Different editors of *Ludlul* have grouped these lines in different ways. Lenzi (2023, 72) takes line 33 as an independent monostich. Hätinen (2022) organizes these lines into quatrains and triplets but overall in a similar structure to my proposal: lines 10-11 are not grouped with the following lines, and line 33 is grouped with the preceding lines. Abusch (2017) also highlights the opposition between the two stanzas, but does not include line 33 in the second one. Oshima (2014, 86) includes lines 10-11 in the first stanza and places line 33 with lines 34-38. I would argue that line 12 is separated from lines 10-11 by the introduction of a set of subordinate clauses with *kī ša*. Line 33 is linked to the preceding lines by the use of the demonstrative *annâti* to refer to the actions listed in those lines. Moreover, the use of the particle *lū* as an emphatic, or "asseverative particle" as designated in CAD L (225, 2), aligns with the understanding of II 23-33 as an eleven-line stanza. This particle links back to the emphatic enclitic particle *-ma* of *aḫsusma*, "I was indeed conscious", in II 23, thus, framing the stanza. Understanding *lū* as an emphatic particle also agrees with the content of the previous lines, as they list Šubši-mešrê-šakkan's good actions and in II 33, he states that "these things", *annâti*, that he has just mentioned "were always agreeable to the god", *itti ili itamgurā*, and *lū* emphasizes this statement.

To sum up, I propose that *Ludlul* II 12-33, besides sharing theological themes with the *Theodicy*, also parallel its eleven-line stanza structure. This structure enhances the antithesis between II 12-22 and II 23-33 and helps determine the correct translation of the final line.

Notes

1. The transcription of these lines follows the composite edition offered by Hätinen (2022); the translation is my own.

2. Manuscript BM 32208+ (LAMBERT 1960, Pl. 4, ii 19') includes the conjunction *u* between the terms *supû* and *teslītu*.

3. Manuscript BM 32208+ (ii 27') includes the conjunction *u* between the terms *supê* and *teslīta*.

4. Manuscript BM 32208+ (ii 28') includes the conjunction *u* between the terms *niqû* and *sakkû'a*.

5. In II 28, I take the term *šumma* as an adverb meaning "truly", as discussed in CAD Š/3 (274-275, 2) and attested in l. 13 of the letter NB 5561 (STOL 1981, p. 155, 253c).

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23) Ninurta is Ninurta, but Ninurta is Nabû! A proposed emendation in Syncretic An = *Anum* — One of the god lists that W.G. Lambert identified as part of the tradition of An = *Anum* is what he called "Shorter An = *Anum*." Ryan Winters (in LAMBERT and WINTERS 2023, 30) proposed "Syncretic" An = *Anum* as a more apt title, as it eschews the relationships between its constituent deities and instead groups them according to proposed syncretistic identities. Though the text is mostly known from first-millennium fragments, a Middle Babylonian exemplar (VAT 17129) suggests an earlier date of composition. This note is concerned with a peculiarity of one passage of the text, which I understand to be product of scribal activity postdating its initial composition. The lines in question are in Section F 12–14, known from Neo-Assyrian manuscripts K 4339: ii 11'–13' and Bu 1889-04-26, 115 r iii 1–4. The texts are edited in composite in LAMBERT and WINTERS 2023, 280. It is the beginning of a lengthy sequence (Section F 12–68) that identifies divine names as aspects of the heroic Ninurta:

12: ^{d}NIN.URTA = ^{d}NIN.URTA *šá pi-riš-ti*
13: ^{d}NIN.URTA = ^{d}AG
14: ^{d}*ma-da-nu-nu* = ^{d}NIN.URTA *na-a-bu-ú tíz-qa-ru e-lu-ú*

12: Ninurta = Ninurta of the secret
13: Ninurta = Nabû
14: Madānu-nu (sic!) = Ninurta *"na-a-bu-ú"*: exalted, high

There are a number of irregularities within these first three lines. First, I regard the unusual divine name Madānu-nu as a frozen scribal error that originally spelled the name of the god Madānu, with proper orthography ^{d}*ma-da-nu* in An = *Anum* 2: 243. Note that several ritual commentaries understand Madānu and Nabû as two of the "seven Ninurtas" (GEORGE 2006, 178, 182–83). The other Ninurtas are Ninurta himself, Uraš, Zabāba, and Pabilsag (who also appear as epithets of Ninurta in Shorter An = *Anum* Section F) and Nergal (whose name is either broken or absent).

More to the point, line 13 breaks the established patterns of the lexical tradition by placing the name of Ninurta in the left-hand column (terms needing explanation) and not the right (the explanation). In contrast, the rest of the sequence leaves Ninurta in the right-hand column. Line 14 presents another oddity. One is the sign sequence *na-a-bu-ú*, which has previously been interpreted as an altered form of *nebû*, "bright" or "flaring" (CAD N/2 148b, s.v. *nebû* usage b), though Winters (LAMBERT and WINTERS

2023: 280) translates "the one who calls." Either way, the orthography of this word is unusual. It seems to spell out a phonetic pronunciation of the divine name Nabû, which could be dismissed as coincidence if Nabû was not discussed in the previous line. For this reason, I understand the sign sequence *na-a-bu-ú* as having originated as a gloss, informing the reader that the signs ᵈNIN.URTA from this line onward must be read with the pronunciation "Nabû."

  I would like to propose that this passage had been subject to scribal emendation over the course of its transmission, in such a way that elevated Nabû to the detriment of Ninurta. An earlier version of this passage may have not included the line equating Ninurta and Nabû or had the names of Nabû and Ninurta swapped—that is, Nabû was once presented as one of the many alter manifestations of Ninurta. By inserting or rearranging a single line, a scribe has dramatically reinterpreted the meaning of this sequence: all the gods previously identified as aspects of Ninurta, including Ninurta himself, have been reidentified as aspects of Nabû. This new reading was supported by the addition of a gloss *na-a-bu-ú* for the next iteration of Ninurta's name, which was later coded into the text itself.

  The emendation of Syncretic An = *Anum* has surprising implications for the history of the Nabû and Ninurta cults. From around the end of the second millennium onward, Nabû began to absorb aspects of the god Ninurta into his character (Pomponio 1978, 194–95). He became identified as the son and champion of Marduk—before he was only Marduk's vizier and scribe—in a reflection of Ninurta as son and champion of Enlil. Moreover, hymnic texts and cultic commentaries from the first millennium assign Nabû the heroic exploits previously attributed to Ninurta, such as the killing of Asakku (e.g. Agnethler *et al.* 2022, 215). Nabû's gradual encroachment into Ninurta's domain was reflected in their overall status over the course of the first millennium. The cult of Ninurta precipitously dropped in prominence in Assyria and Babylonia over the course of the first millennium, while Nabû's cult became exceptionally popular in both regions.

  As such, this emendation seems to bridge two conceptions of the divine champion within the pantheon. The body of the text acknowledges Ninurta in this position, as in the tradition of Nabû as one of the "seven Ninurta", while the emendation changes the main identity of the god to Nabû—without significantly altering the rest of the god list. It suggests that Syncretic An = *Anum* was composed before the exaltation of Nabû became widespread knowledge and edited after the shift had been completed. The close relationship between Ninurta and Nabû in this text is also suggested by the arrangement of divine mayors in Section G 13–14, which opens with the divine mayor Lisin of Nippur and KUanna of Borsippa—i.e., the cities of Ninurta and Nabû.

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24) Lying Down Like a Bull in *Erra and Išum* and Sumerian Lamentations — This note outlines a previously unidentified allusion in *Erra and Išum* to poetic images found in Sumerian lamentations and reassesses the nature of the poem's engagement with this genre of text.

  Towards the start of the poem, Erra tries to persuade Marduk to abandon his dwelling, which Marduk refuses to do. Erra replies that he will keep the universe in order in Marduk's absence, saying:

imna u šumēla ša bābīka Anum (u) Enlil ušarbaṣ(a) kīma alpī

'To the right and left of your gate, I shall make An and Enlil lie down like bulls.'

Erra and Išum, I, 190 (Text: Cagni 1969, 1970, 1977; Taylor 2017. Translations are my own)

This line has previously been interpreted as referring to the placing of Lamassu statues on either side of palace gates (CAGNI 1977: 35), and so conceivably Marduk is meant to understand that An and Enlil would be taking on a similar apotropaic role as these statues serve in palace architecture. However, such statues are not usually depicted lying down and so, though a possibility, this explanation of the imagery being used here is not fully satisfactory. Alternatively, the suggestion could be that the two deities are allowed to rest from their protective duties. The meaning becomes much clearer when this line is compared to Sumerian lamentations, with which this line is engaging on two levels. Firstly, the references to animals on either side of the palace door being laid low seems to be an allusion to the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (*LSUr*):

maš$_2$-anše zi-da gab$_2$-bu-ba gu$_2$-da la$_2$-a-bi
ur-sag ur-sag-e gaz-a-gen$_7$ igi-bi-ta ba-šu$_2$

'The wild animals embracing it (the house) on its right and left
Like a hero killed by a hero were cast down in front of it.'

LSUr, 421-422 (MICHALOWSKI 1989)

This line presumably refers to the ornamental decorations on the façade of the building (MICHALOWSKI 1989, 102), and *Erra and Išum* clearly alludes to this line by echoing the animals being on the left and right and being brought to the ground. Thus, the seemingly positive image of the gods lying down on either side of the gate is given a subtle negative connotation by the allusion to *LSUr*, where this image is also used to describe widespread destruction.

This line of *Erra and Išum* also alludes to an image frequently used in many other lamentation texts, wherein a deity, often An or Enlil, who has died or stopped caring for their city is described as a bull lying down. In one such passage referring to the disappearance of Enlil, we even have an Akkadian translation which uses the same verb – *rabāṣu* – as used in the line of *Erra and Išum*:

gu$_4$ tur$_3$-ba ti-la lul-<la-bi-še$_3$ al-nu$_2$>
ga-mi-ir al-pi tar-ba-ṣi

'The ox in its pen lies down deceptively.'

Inimani Ilu Ilu, 32 (COHEN 1988)

Compare also one passage from *Uruamairabi*:

šeš-gu$_{10}$ mu-lu am-gen$_7$ nu$_2$-a-ra mu-tin-men$_3$ u$_3$ nu-mu-un-da-ku-[ku]
ana a-ḫi-ia ša$_2$ ki-ma ri-mi ir-bi-ṣu : ir-re-du-u$_2$ ar-da-tu$_4$ ana-ku ul a-ṣal-lal
^{d}dumu-zi mu-lu am-gen$_7$ nu$_2$-a-ra mu-tin-men$_3$ u$_3$

'For my brother, who lay down like a bull, I am the young man, I cannot fall asleep there.
(Akk.) For my brother, who lay down like a bull: the young girl is led away, and I cannot fall asleep.
For my Dumuzi, who lay down like a bull, I am the young man, I cannot fall asleep there.'

Uruamairabi b+205-206 (COHEN 1988)

Other cases of this image in lamentations edited by Cohen (1988) include *E Turgin Ginam* c+72-73, e+142-143; *Ame Baranara* c+71-73; *Zibum Zibum* of Enlil 6; *Aabba Huluha* of Enlil, First-millennium recension a+60-62, Old Babylonian recension a+58, c+170-172; *Ašer Gita* b+129-130. See also: 4R 27, 2, 19 (= OECT 6, 17, 12-15) *Utugin Eta* 8-9 (LÖHNERT 2009); The *Eršemma* edited by COHEN 1981: 89-92, lines 16-17, as well as the opening if one follows the translation by JACOBSEN 1976: 53; TCL 15, 1 Obv. 11; TCL 15, 8, iii 130; from the *Eršemmas* edited in GABBAY 2015: 1, 7; no. 14, a+4; 15, 8; 22 I, a+23-24; 64, 7-8; 71, 6-7. Cf. also the Ur III personal name ur-^{d}am-nu$_2$-a in SNAT 400, rev. i, 1, or the frequently occurring name ur-^{d}gu$_4$-nu$_2$(-a) from Ur-III Umma, see for example CUSAS 40, part 1, 221.

The verbal echoes between this common image in lamentation texts and *Erra and Išum* are close: in all instances we have a god (often Enlil) said to be lying down (with Sumerian nu$_2$ or its Akkadian equivalent *rabāṣu* – CAD, R, 10) like a bull (Sumerian am/gu$_4$, Akkadian *alpu/rīmu*). This occurs within the context of a god dying or abandoning their dwelling. As is made clear in lamentation texts, with which the audience of *Erra and Išum* were likely at least somewhat familiar, such absence or negligence by important deities always lead to disaster. Thus, when Erra says that he will make An and Enlil lie down like bulls, he is invoking images from lamentations to foreshadow the destruction of Babylonia which is depicted in much of the remainder of the poem. In lamentations, this simile is also used to describe the

grief of goddesses at the death of a god or destruction of the city, and so this allusion adds further emotional depth to *Erra and Išum*. In this way, the poet of *Erra and Išum* skilfully intertwines two allusions, not only enriching the storyline but also offering listeners a suggestion of how the narrative will take a turn for the worse.

By observing these allusions, we not only better understand this particular line of *Erra and Išum*, but also start to gain a more comprehensive insight into how the poem in its entirety engages with lamentation texts more broadly to create additional layers of meaning for its intended audience. So far, studies have mostly focused on parallels between *Erra and Išum* and *LSUr* (WISNOM 2020: 216-44, TAYLOR 2017: 325-29). However, this examination shows that the poem actively engages with tropes that are common features of the *genre* of lamentation, rather than only one particular text. It is important to recognise in this respect that the image of a god lying down like a bull does not occur in *LSUr*, but despite this, references to common tropes of the genre are still overlooked in recent literature (WISNOM 2020, 216, 224). While the structural parallels to *LSUr* outlined by Wisnom and Taylor are certainly a clear case of direct allusion to a particular poem, many of the other resemblances are likely to be generic and are intended to evoke the pathos associated with lamentation in general. Other examples of allusions to common tropes from lamentations occur throughout the text, such as when Marduk warns Erra that, if he leaves his seat, among other consequences, the Galla demons will come and seize somebody (I, 76) – a common motif in Sumerian lamentations, where dying gods such as Dumuzi or victims of destruction are seized in this way (e.g. *Ašer Gita*, b+248). Even broader and more conceptual parallels to lamentations in general lie behind *Erra and Išum*. The fact that Erra's destruction is only stopped when Išum appeases him by recounting his acts of violence, thereby praising his power, reflects a key aspect of the function of Sumerian laments: they too seek to avert disaster by pre-emptively praising a deity's strength (WISNOM 2020, 238-42). Furthermore, a common theme shared by both lamentations and *Erra and Išum* is that of one god's anger causing the disappearance of another god or gods. The fact that the destruction of Babylonia occurs during the restoration of Marduk's statue is also significant in this respect, as it possibly reflects the fact that cultic laments were frequently performed during the restoration of a divine statue in order to avert just such a calamity (LÖHNERT 2011: 412; SAMET 2014: 12).

Thus, while previous treatments of the poem's engagement with Sumerian lamentations have focused on parallels with *LSUr* in particular, we can clearly see that *Erra and Išum* alludes to common poetic images and broader themes from lamentations in general. The poet includes these references both in order to evoke the pathos associated with destruction as depicted in lamentations, adding greater emotional depth to the narrative, and to create dramatic irony by signalling to the audience the impending destruction of Babylonia which Marduk is tricked into allowing.

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25) New material — A recent book by Aino Hätinen, i.e. *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts. Mit Beiträgen von Hanspeter Schaudig* (WVDOG 164; KAL 17; Wiesbaden 2023), in which Assyrian texts now housed in the *Vorderasiatisches Museum*, Berlin have been published or re-published, includes mention (p. 99) of ᵗᵘᵍ*šu-ga-ba* in Text 71 (= VAT 10999 + VAT 1208) obv. 7, a word previously unknown and left untranslated (neutrally: "ein Textil", pp. 108 and 118a). Clearly, it is a type of cloth or clothing, and possible cognates are Arab. *sağaf*, "voile, rideau" (BK II, 1053b); *sağf, siğf*, "a curtain; a veil; a thing that veils, conceals, hides, covers, protects" (AEL, 1310); *sağf, siğf*, "curtain, veil" (DMWA, 398a) and Aram. *šgb*, "veil" (DSA II, 871a). The underlying but as yet undocumented Assyrian verb is probably "to cover, protect"; cf. Aram. *šgb*, "to protect, to save" (DSA II, 871a), used twice in KAI 222B:32 (cf. DNWSI, 1109). Examples of Akk. /b/ = Arab. /f/ are Akk. *balāṭu* = Arab. *flt* (AHw, 99a) and Akk. *batāqu* = Arab. *ftq* (AHw, 114a). In view of the above, then, *šugābu*, mentioned in connection with an en-priestess, may perhaps mean either "curtain" or more probably "veil", but the context is not clear.
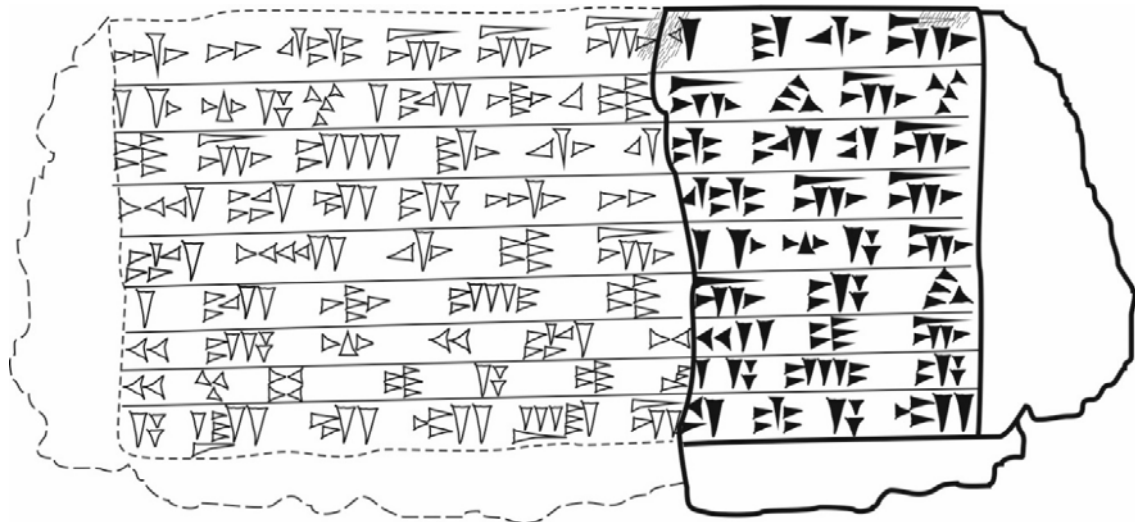
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26) Eine fragmentarische Inschrift des urartäischen Königs Minua aus der Festung Pértak — Wohl wegen des in unmittelbarer Nähe gelegenen Dorfes Korsot (offiziell Uluşar) wird die Festung Pértak in der Urartologie auch als 'Körzüt' bezeichnet[1]. Sie befindet sich in der Bérgri/Muradiye-Ebene im nordöstlichen Winkel des Vanseebeckens. Die Festung wurde auf einem Hügel aus Basaltgestein errichtet. Dieser Hügel ist eine Verlängerung des Berges Korsewél im Südosten der Bérgri/Muradiye-Ebene. Die Festung Pértak liegt auf der strategisch günstigen Route von der urartäischen Hauptstadt Tušpa (Burg Van) in Richtung Norden und Nordwesten. Somit befand sich früher die gesamte Bérgri-Ebene, an einer strategischen Kreuzung gelegen, im Einflussbereich der Festung Pértak. Inschriften, die in den naheliegenden Dörfern rund um die Festung verstreut sind, weisen darauf hin, dass die Festung vom urartäischen König Minua (810–780 v. Chr.), einem der früheren Könige des urartäischen Reiches, errichtet wurde. Im Jahr 2016 führte unser Team eine Rettungsgrabung durch. Bei dieser kurzen Ausgrabung wurde ein aus unbeschrifteten Steinblöcken errichteter Raum freigelegt, den wir aufgrund seiner architektonischen Merkmale für einen Tempel halten (KUVANÇ, IŞIK & GENÇ 2020, 112–38). Nichtsdestotrotz bleibt diese bedeutende Festung weitgehend ein Rätsel. Die Inschriften, die aus der Zitadelle stammen und heute über die Dörfer der Bérgri-Ebene verstreut sind, geben uns eine erste Vorstellung von diesem großen urartäischen Zentrum, das nur ansatzweise ausgegraben werden konnte. Die größte Gruppe der verstreuten Inschriften bilden 20 beschriftete Blöcke des *susi*-Tempels von Pértak. In der richtigen Anordnung ergeben die Blöcke eine lange zusammenhängende Inschrift über Minuas Feldzug gegen den Stamm der *Erkua*, der auf der rechten Seite der heutigen Araxes-Ebene (Surmeli-Tsolakert-Ebene) ansässig war. Minuas Inschrift war ursprünglich an einem bei Raubgrabungen geplünderten *susi*-Tempel angebracht (DİNÇOL 1976, 19-30; SALVINI 1980, 137-167). Die beschrifteten Blöcke verwendete man bei der Errichtung des dem Gott Ḫaldi geweihten Tempels als Bausteine für die Fassade[2]. Andere Inschriften, die nachweislich aus der Pértak-Festung stammen, datieren ebenfalls in die Zeit des Minua. Dazu zählt die im Dorf Korsot gefundene Inschrift, die sich auf den Bau einer É.GAL=Festung, oder Verteidigungsmauer bezieht (CTU I. A 5-35). Außerdem gehören zwei im Dorf Anguzek (offiziell Topuzarpa) gefundene Inschriften zu derselben Fundgruppe. Es handelt sich um eine Inschrift über den Bau eines É=Gebäudes (CTU I. A 5-56) und um eine Steleninschrift über die Errichtung des *Ḫaldinili* KÁ = Tempels[3], eines ᴳᴵˢ*uldi* = Weinbergs, des ᴳᴵˢ*zari* = Obstgartens (CTU I. A 5-33). Darüber hinaus wurden wir während der Ausgrabungen der Pértak-Festung 2016 durch die Dorfbewohner über ein weiteres Inschriftenfragment in Kenntnis gesetzt, das sich im Dorf Korsot befand. Wie alle anderen Inschriften, die aus der Festung Pértak stammen, ist auch dieser Basaltblock mit einer auf einer Seite eingearbeiteten neunzeiligen Inschrift versehen.

Der ehemals beinahe rechteckige Block scheint fast mittig durchgebrochen zu sein. Das lässt sich anhand der fehlenden Zeichen in der Zeile abschätzen. Glücklicherweise kann man die Zeilenanfänge durch eine andere Inschrift des Minua (CTU I. A 5-35) ergänzen, die ebenfalls aus Pértak stammt und im Dorf Korsot aufgefunden wurde. Daher ist es wahrscheinlich, dass diese Inschrift wie CTU I. A 5-35 den Bau der Festung Pértak durch Minua behandelt. Dementsprechend kann die Inschrift wie folgt vervollständigt werden.

1	[ᴰḫal-di-ni-ni u]š-ma-ši-ni	"Durch den Schu[tz des Gottes Ḫaldi b]aute [Minua], Sohn des [Išpui]ni, [diese Festung zur Vollkommenheit. Durch die Größe des Gottes Ḫal]di (bin ich) Minua, Sohn des [Išpui]ni, [starker König, gr]oßer [König, König der Biai]nili-Länder, [Herr der Stadt Ṭ]ušpa"
2	[ᵐmi-nu-a-še ᵐiš-pu-u-i]-ni-ḫi-ni-še	
3	[i-ni É.GAL ši-d]i-iš-tú-ni	
4	[ba-du-si-e ᴰḫal-d]i-ni-ni	
5	[al-su-iꜝ-ši-(i)-ni] ᵐmi-nu-a-ni	
6	[ᵐiš-pu-ú-i]-ni-e-ḫi	
7	[MAN *DAN-NU* MAN al-s]u-i-ni	
8	[MAN ᴷᵁᴿbi-i-a-i-n]a-a-ú-e	
9	[a-lu-si ᵁᴿᵁṭu-u]š-pa-a URU	

Es sind Duplikate über königliche Bautätigkeiten derselben Inschriften aus der Zeit des Minua bekannt. Blöcke mit Inschriften, die als Bausteine für Mauern dienten, wurden auch in Aznavurtepe (CTU

I.A 5-37; Işık, Genç & Kuvanç 2022, 150–53) und Pirabat (CTU I.A 5-40 A-B) gefunden. Beide sind Zentren, die in der Regierungszeit des Minua gegründet wurden.

Der Block mit der unvollständigen Inschrift, der in Korsot gefunden wurde, muss ebenfalls als Baustein verwendet worden sein. Auf die Verwendung weist die Form des Blocks hin. Lediglich die Ansichtsseite des Blocks wurde begradigt und ragte hervor. Die Inschrift wurde auf der geglätteten Seite des Werksteins innerhalb eines rechteckig vorgemeißelten Rahmens angebracht. Die Kanten des Steinblocks blieben unbearbeitet. Das bedeutet, dass der Stein nicht auf eine symmetrisch rechteckige Quaderform zugeschnitten wurde. Der Grund hierfür muss gewesen sein, dass er als ein Teil der Festungsmauer verwendet wurde. Zusammen mit anderen ebenfalls halbbearbeiteten und auf einer Seite beschriebenen Steinblöcken gleichmäßig aneinandergereiht, wurde dieser Steinblock in der Festungsmauer fest verbaut. Die glatte Seite des Blocks, d.h. die beschriebene Seite, stand hervor und war somit sichtbar. Die Inschrift von Aznavurtepe CTU I.A 5-40 A-B findet sich auf einem ebenso gestalteten und ebenfalls beschriebenen Block. Sie befasst sich mit dem Bau eines É.GAL, so wie die Inschrift des von uns in diesem Artikel vorgelegten Blocks. Duplikate der Inschrift, die den Bau eines É.GAL thematisieren, wurden – passend zur Thematik – in verschiedenen Abschnitten der Festungsmauer verbaut. Die Formulierung ʿ*ini* É.GAL *šidištúni* = (er) baute diese Festung' dient als Aushängeschild und weist bereits auf die von der Verteidigungsmauer umschlossene Festung.

Anmerkungen

* Wir danken Prof. Mirjo Salvini und Sören Krömer für ihre wertvollen Beiträge.

1. Burney 1957, S. 47–48, Fig. 6. In der Region ist sie als Pértak-Festung bekannt, siehe Işık-Genç 2021, S. 4, Fn. 8.

2. Während der von Sabahattin Erdoğan geleiteten Grabungskampagne 2023 wurden drei Inschriften der Mauerreste dieses *susi*-Tempels gefunden, die im Mittelalter verstreut worden waren.

3. Entgegen der üblichen Lesung als ʿTor, Tür' bezeichnet das Sumerogram KÁ in diesem Zusammenhang den Tempel an sich. Deswegen bezieht sich *Ḫaldinili* KÁ auf den *susi*-Tempel. Siehe Kroll *et al.* 2012: 29, 32; Kuvanç *et al.* 2022, 62-64.

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27) 600 years not 70 years — When Marduk, who had abandoned his city Babylon 11 years earlier, commanded Esarhaddon to rebuild the city, he mercifully 'changed above to below' and thereby converted the number of years that he had decreed Babylon should remain deserted to 11 (RINAP 4 104, 105, 114 and 116). In the inscription 11 was written with a diagonal wedge or Winkelhaken for 10 followed by a vertical wedge for 1 (Fig. 1a). In 1925 David Luckenbill recognised that the number of years that had originally been decreed was written with a vertical wedge followed by a diagonal wedge and realised that when Marduk changed the number, he transposed the vertical and diagonal wedges: since in the sexagesimal numerical system the vertical wedge preceding the diagonal wedge for 10 could have the value

60, the sum of the two wedges could make a period of 70 years (Fig. 1b). This transformation of 70 into 11 has appeared in almost every book or article discussing counting in cuneiform or the history of Babylon in the first millennium BC in the almost 100 years since it was first suggested (e.g. ROAF 1976/1977; 69-70).

70, however, is not the only number which consists of a vertical wedge followed by a diagonal: the number 600 is written with the same wedges but closer together with the diagonal often being raised up so that its left hand corner overlaps the top of the vertical (Fig. 1c and 1d).

Luckenbill was aware of this possibility: indeed two curators in the British Museum at the time, Sidney Smith and Cyril Gadd, had recommended reading the number as 600; but Luckenbill was convinced that, because in the Bible Jehovah had fixed the period of captivity of the Jews and of the abandonment of Jerusalem at 70 years (Jeremiah 25: 11-12, 29: 10; II Chron. 36: 21; Daniel 9: 2), 'seventy years was a perfectly proper period for an ancient oriental city to lie desolate' and therefore rejected Smith and Gadd's suggestion.[1] Three score years and ten had a particular significance in the Bible (Psalm 90: 10), but there is no evidence that 70 had a similar importance in the culture of Assyria and Babylonia and it is worth considering whether the number might be 600 and not 70.

Pinches' copy of BM 78223 (Babylon A, RINAP 4 104 ex. 1 col. ii line 2) made in the years 1895-1897 but only published in 1963 shows the sign with a raised Winkelhaken whose left corner almost touches the top right corner of the vertical wedge to the left (Fig. 1e), This is more similar to the sign for 600 than the sign for 70 since there is no gap between the two wedges and the Winkelhaken is placed near the top of the line.[2] The number 11 in this text also has a raised Winkelhaken (Fig. 1f). This would suggest that the scribe looked at the 600 he had already written and then transposed the wedges keeping the Winkelhaken at the same height.
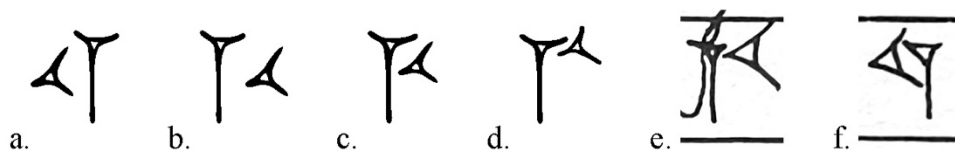

Fig.1. Various cuneiform numbers: a. and b. the numbers 11 and 70 and c. and d. two forms of the number 600 in Assurbanipal font designed by Sylvie Vanseveren and e. and f. the numbers 600 and 11 in Theophilus Pinches' copy of BM 78223 col. ii lines 2 and 8 (after PINCHES 1963: Pl. II with the assistance of Albert Dietz).

Jamie Novotny has kindly supplied me with photographs of most of the relevant signs and these confirm that the sign in Babylon A is as Pinches drew it except that the Winkelhaken actually overlaps the top of the vertical wedge. A raised Winkelhaken like that on BM 78223 can be seen in the 11 on the Black Stone of Lord Aberdeen (BM 91027, RINAP 4 114 col. ii line 17) and the number of the years of abandonment in line 12 also had a raised Winkelhaken but the preceding vertical is damaged.[3] On BM 78224+132294 (Babylon C, RINAP 4 105 ex. 2 col. ii line 16) the Winkelhaken and the vertical wedge in the 11 are impressed between the guidelines that separate the lines of text. In the larger numeral, however, the Winkelhaken is almost central between the guidelines whereas the tail of the vertical cuts through the lower guideline and its top is in the middle of the guidelines overlapped by the left hand corner of the Winkelhaken. On K 4513 (Babylon B, RINAP 4 116 line o 20') the top of the vertical reaches the middle of the line and the left hand corner of the Winkelhaken touches the top right hand edge of the vertical. In all these cases the sign in question is more typical of the sign for 600 than the sign for 60 followed by the sign for 10.

Jon Taylor of the British Museum has kindly provided me with a photograph of column ii of BM 78221+78222 (Babylon C, RINAP 4 105 ex. 1). The copy by Pinches (1963: pl. V) shows a typical 70 and a typical 11, but Pinches' copy does not reflect the forms of the signs in this text accurately. The score of RINAP 4 105 ex. 1 encloses the 70 in half-brackets and an examination of the photograph confirms that this uncertainty is justified. The photograph shows that the tops of the signs in col ii line 16 are not clear, that the vertical crosses the lower guide line and extends to the middle of the following line, and that the

left hand corner of the Winkelhaken cuts the right edge of the vertical (these details are not recorded in Pinches' copy): the traces are thus more similar to 600 than to 70.

The sign for 600 (called GEŠ₂+U, combining a vertical wedge which, when it stands for 60, is called GEŠ₂ and a Winkelhaken which, when it stands for 10, is called U) is uncommon in Assyrian royal inscriptions: it occurs as a numeral in the cryptographic measurement of Sargon's name, in the weights of the lion column bases recorded in the inscriptions of Sargon and Sennacherib, and in a record of 1,635 years that Nanaya was absent from Uruk before her return in the reign of Ashurbanipal. Apart from these numeric uses, the Anunnaki gods are written with the divine determinative and the sign GEŠ₂+U in inscriptions of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and Sin-shar-ishkun.

600 is a more suitable and more impressive number of years for Marduk to have decreed for the abandonment of his city than a paltry 70 years, since the number 600 has great significance in Mesopotamia being the number of both the Igigi and the Annunaki gods. Its transformation into 11 reducing the abandonment of Babylon by 589 years and not by a mere 59 years demonstrates the exceptional mercy shown by Marduk.

Notes

I am grateful to Jamie Novotny of Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität not only for the photographs of the inscriptions but also for additional information, helpful discussions, and numerous useful suggestions.

1. Luckenbill (1925: 167) wrote that he rejected their suggestion 'at the risk of having the epithet "Pan-Babylonist" hurled' at him. If the epithet had been thrown, it would have hit the mark.

2. Luckenbill (1925: 166-7), noting that this number had previously been read as 10, wrote rather overconfidently, 'the numeral in question in this text is "70," without the shadow of a doubt.'

3. Luckenbill (1925: 166) claimed that 'there seemed to be clear traces of the lower part of a vertical wedge in front of the oblique one.'

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28) On the alleged objectivity of the Babylonian chronicles — The genre of Babylonian chronicles has often been seen as relatively impartial and down-to-earth, particularly when compared to the obviously biased and high-flown genre of Assyrian royal inscriptions (see e.g. GRAYSON 1975, 10–11). In recent years, voices have been raised to modify this characterisation of the Babylonian chronicles (see e.g. GLASSNER 2004, 48–51). The present note makes a contribution to the debate by offering an example (drawn from the chronicles) of why there is a need for such a modification.

The textual passage in question comes from chronicle *ABC* 5 / WAW 19, no. 24, which summarizes the early years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II. It consists of a description of the battle (and its aftermath) between Egyptian and Babylonian troops at Syrian Carchemish in 605 BCE.

He [Nebuchadnezzar II] crossed the river [to encounter the army of Egypt] which was encamped at Carchemish. […] They did battle together. The army of Egypt retreated before him. He inflicted a [defeat] upon them (and) finished them off completely. In the district of Hamath the army of Akkad overtook the remainder of the army of [Egypt which] managed to escape [from] the defeat and which was not overcome. They (the army of Akkad) inflicted a defeat upon them (so that) a single (Egyptian) man [did not return] home. At that time Nebuchadnezzar (II) conquered all of Ha[ma]th.[1]

The idea that the battle at Carchemish resulted in a decisive victory for the Babylonian side is not doubted,[2] but the chronicle's narration of the event still appears partial and high-flown, at least in two ways. First, the Egyptians who participated in the primary clash are described as having been annihilated (*adi* [*la*] *ba-še-e i*[*g-mu*]*r-šu-nu-tú*),[3] but there are Egyptian soldiers alive and being targeted in the area

around Hamath later on. It is of course possible to make sense of this by arguing that it was (only) those Egyptians who were attacked at Carchemish (and not those who fled at first sight) who were killed.[4] All the same, it is striking that *all* Egyptian soldiers who fought at Carchemish would have been killed. Second, the Egyptian soldiers who fled from Carchemish before the battle had begun also seem to be pictured as annihilated, now at Hamath, by the words that "a single (Egyptian) man [did not return] home" (*e-du amīlu ana māti-[šú] [ul itūr]*).[5] As is well known, there is plenty of evidence for (male) Egyptians being present in the Ebabbar temple at Sippar in the first half of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (Bongenaar and Haring 1994; Spar, Logan, and Allen 2006) – Egyptian men who more than likely were brought as prisoners of war following a clash (or clashes) between Egyptian and Babylonian troops to function as "oblates" (*širku*) in the said temple and city (Wiseman 1966, 154–157; Bongenaar and Haring 1994, 64; Zadok 1992, 139). Although several military encounters between Egypt and Babylonia took place at the end of the seventh century BCE, the battle of Carchemish arguably stands out in terms of scope and decisive outcome. Consequently, it is likely that the male Egyptians of Ebabbar arrived to Sippar partly or fully due to the events at Carchemish and Hamath. Still, the textual context indicates that the words on the Egyptians not being able to return home were intended to suggest annihilation rather than deportation. Also, and yet again, it is striking that not a single Egyptian soldier would have managed to escape. In conclusion, the above narration is biased and hyperbolic.

Having said that, Babylonian chronicles are still considerably less partial and high-flown than Assyrian royal inscriptions. It is a matter of degree, not of either/or. Consider, for example, the note in chronicle *ABC* 5 / WAW 19, no. 24 that the attempt by Babylonia to conquer Egypt in 601 BCE failed,[6] with Nebuchadnezzar II and his men returning to Babylon, without having subjugated their foes.

Notes

1. Translation by A.K. Grayson (1975, 99).

2. Regarding the battle at Carchemish and other clashes between Egyptian and Babylonian troops at the end of the seventh century BCE, see (for example) Wiseman 1956 and Vogt 1957.

3. While A.K. Grayson translates "(and) finished them off completely", J.-J. Glassner (2004, 227) offers the translation "until it [the Egyptian army] was completely annihilated". The idea about annihilation is conveyed by a negation of *bašû*, "to exist", and by *gamāru*, "to complete".

4. The chronicle at this point narrates that "In the district of Hamath the army of Akkad overtook the remainder of the army of [Egypt which] managed to escape [from] the defeat and which was not overcome" (*šit-ta-a-tú ummāni* ᵏᵘʳ[*Mi-ṣir*] [*šá ina*] *dabdê iš-ḫi-ṭu-ma* ᵍⁱˢ*kakku la ik-[š]u-du-šú-nu-tú ina pi-ḫat* ᵏᵘʳ*Ḫa-ma-a-t[ú] ummāni*ᵐᵉ ᵏᵘʳ*Akkadî*ᵏⁱ *ik-šu-du-šú-nu-ti-m[a]*) (translation and transliteration by A.K. Grayson).

5. Translation and transliteration by A.K. Grayson. J.-J. Glassner (2004, 229) here translates "not one man [returned] to his country". In other words, both Grayson and Glassner reconstruct a negation of the finite form of the verb *târu*, "to return".

6. Although we can only speculate as to why the Babylonian king attacked Egypt on the latter's soil, it is reasonable to assume that an invasion and a blow to the political centre of Egypt were the main goals.

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29) Modelling the growth of a bird flock in Eanna[1] — YOS 6 141 has been known for a long time and was the subject of a note in NABU by Tarasewicz (2003) in which he presented an edition to which, philologically speaking, little can be added.[2] However, the text's arithmetic logic has hitherto not yet been

explained correctly. This balanced account follows the basic principles set out beautifully by Englund in his classic study of the Ur III balanced account (ENGLUND 1990: 25-55). The text's purpose is to establish the development goal for a bird herder's flock based on a simple rule of thumb and measure it against actual performance. Texts that establish models for herd growth for large and small cattle and also use them in administrative practice are known from the third millennium onwards, and our text is particularly closely connected to contemporary balanced accounts known from the Eanna's sheep and goat file.[3] The basic rationale underlying such texts requires starting with the number of animals, in our case birds, a herder owed an institution, usually a temple, at the beginning of the accounting period of year n. To this number, the expected growth of the herd was added by multiplying the number of extant (sometimes only female) animals by a certain round factor (and a prediction for admissible losses could also be included). This resulted in the goal for the end of the accounting period of year n – the herder's debit. His credit – animals actually delivered in the accounting period – was subsequently deducted. At the end of the accounting period, the herd was inspected, and the difference to what was expected (normally a shortfall – *rēḫu*) was noted, to be carried over (in the same text or in another account) into the debit of year n+1.

YOS 6, 141 (YBC 4033)

1	[^{m.}*pu-ḫal* ^{m.}]*a-lit-tu*₄ ^{m.}*li-da-nu* ^{m.}*par-rat* pab uz.tur^{m.} níg.ka₉ *ép-[šu-t]u**					
2	[*šá* ^Inumun-*i*]*a** ^{lú}šà.tam é.an.na *ù* ^{lú}umbisag^{meš} *šá* é.an.na *i-pu-šu* iti.du₆ ud.10.kam mu.12.kam					
3	^dag-*i* lugal tin.tir^{ki}					
4	[40]	1 me			pab 1 me 40	^Iki-^dutu-tin a ^Idùg.ga-im-^dinanna mu.11.kam
5	[0]	50			pab 50	*ina qa-bu-tu*₄ *šá* ^{Iú}è-*ana*-zálag a ^Idùg.ga-im-^dinanna
6						25 uz.tur^{m.} iti.gan ud.6.kam igi-*ir*
7	15	1 *me* 50	3 *me* 30		pab 4 *me* 95	mu.12.kam ^dag-ní.tuk lugal tin.tir^{ki}
8						*ina lìb-bi* 1 *me* nunuz *ku-um* 50 *li-da-nu* igi-*ir*
9						2 uz.tur^{m.} iti.bára ud.3.kam
10						3 uz.tur^{m.} iti.gu₄ ud.24.kam
11						12 *li-da-nu* iti.sig₄ ud.6.kam
12						20 *li-da-nu ina* ugu *mi-nu-tu* igi-*ir*
13						50 *li-da-nu ina* šu^{II} ^I*tab-né-e-a*
14						a ^{Id}šár-numun-dù *a-na* é.sag.íl *šap-ru*
15						72 *li-da-nu* iti.kin ud.15.kam
16	⌈*ina* šà⌉ 30	1 *me*		20	pab 1 *me* 50	mu.12.kam *am-ra*
17	*re-ḫi*	30	1 *me* 6		pab 1 *me* 36	*ina pa-ni* ^Iki-^dutu-tin a ^Idùg.ga-im-^dinanna
18	35	1 *me*			pab 1 *me* 35	^{Id}*na-na-a-mu* a ^Idùg.ga-im-^dinanna
19		50				*ina qa-bu-tu*₄ *šá* ^{Iú}è-*ana*-zálag a ^Idùg.ga-im-^dinanna *ina* šà*-šú*
20						20 uz.tur^{m.} iti.gan ud.6.kam
21	15	1 *me* 50	3 *me* 30		pab 4 *me* 95	mu.12.kam ^dag-ní.tuk lugal tin.tir^{ki}
22						92 nunuz *ku-um* 46 *li-da-nu* igi-*ir*
23						5 uz.tur^{m.me} iti.bára ud.3.kam
24						12 *li-da-nu* iti.sig₄ ud.6.kam
25						20 *li-da-nu ina* ugu *mi-nu-tu* igi-*ir*
26						50 *li-da-nu ina* šu^{II} ^I*tab-né-e-a* a ^{Id}šár-numun-dù
27						*a-na* é.sag.íl *šap-ru*
28						1 *me* 8 *li-da-nu* iti.kin ud.15.kam
29	[*ina* šà 30]	1 *me*	22		pab 1 *me* 52	mu.12.kam *am-ra*
30	[*re-ḫi*]	30	72		pab 1 *me* 2	*ina* igi ^{Id}*na-na-a-mu* a ^Idùg.ga-im-^dinanna

The heading reads:

"[drakes], female ducks, ducklings, young female ducks, total of ducks: a definitive settlement of accounts [which Zēr]ia, the *šatammu* of Eanna, and the scribes of Eanna undertook. 10.7.12 Nabonidus."

The section for the flock of the bird herder Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu (lines 4-17) works as follows. The first part, lines 4-7, establishes Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu's debit for 12 Nbn. From the preceding accounting period (11 Nbn) he owes (and may or may not have physically under his control) [40] drakes and 100 female ducks; to these 140 ducks 50 female ducks held by his brother Lūṣi-ana-nūri are added, but 25 adult birds

– from line 7 we understand them to be drakes – are then deducted. This results in 15 drakes and 150 female ducks (line 7a). In the following step, these birds are added up to 165 and multiplied by 2 to establish the expected growth number of 330 ducklings (not differentiated by sex at this point). The resulting debit of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu is 495 birds (line 7b).

Lines 8-16 are the credit section (*ina libbi* …): In lines 8-15, birds delivered by Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu throughout the year are listed (*maḫir* having to be understood as "(grammatical object: birds) were received (by the temple) from (grammatical subject: IŠB)"): (100 eggs reckoned as) 50 ducklings + 2+3 adult birds +12+20+50+72 ducklings = 209 birds (204 chicks and 5 adults). Line 16 gives the result of the actual inspection of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu's flock at the end of the accounting period: 30 drakes, 100 adult females and 20 young females, making a total of 150. In line 17, this credit, a total of 359 birds, is deducted from the debit (495), resulting in the shortfall or remainder of 136 birds, which is itemized as 30 females and 106 ducklings. In other words:

	Debit		**Credit**		*Rēḫu*	
	Adult	Ducklings	Adult	Ducklings	Adult	Ducklings
	15+150	330	5+30+100	204+20	30 (fem.)	106
Totals (adults)	165		135		30	
Totals (ducklings)		330		224		106
Grand totals	495		359		136	

The following section for Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu's brother Nanāya-iddin is structured identically, the numbers differ only slightly: these were standardized flocks and rather standardized deliveries. Credit deductions (in lines 22-28) are: (92 eggs reckoned as) 46 ducklings + 5 adult birds +12+20+50+108 ducklings = 241 birds (236 ducklings and 5 adult birds).

	Debit		**Credit**		*Rēḫu*	
	Adult	Ducklings	Adult	Ducklings	Adult	Ducklings
	15+150	330	5+30+100	236+22	30 (fem.)	72
Totals (adults)	165		135		30	
Totals (ducklings)		330		258		72
Grand totals	495		393		102	

The conclusion is that Eanna's standard flock model predicted (or decreed) that with a male : female ratio of 1:10 the total number of birds should triple in a year. This is different from the slightly more ambitious model documented several times in *iškaru* texts for bird herders from the contemporary Ebabbar temple, which employed a male : female ratio of 1:5 and expected that one female duck would produce 3 chicks.[4]

Notes

1. Research for this paper was conducted under the auspices of the project "The Material Culture of Babylonia during the First Millennium BC" funded by the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR) and the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), I 3927-G25.

2. The transliteration here differs mostly for the heading, at the beginnings of 16 and 29 and at the end of 19. Note also that igi-*ir* (*maḫir*) indicates a delivery *to* the temple by the grammatical subject of the verb in the accounting language of Eanna. In the table "m." in superscript stands for the determinative mušen.

3. See Kozuh 2014: 75-91 and Aarslev 2023: 445-60 for the Eanna sheep and goats texts. In general, the principles underlying such texts are discussed i.a. in Liverani and Heimpel 1995.

4. Janković 2004: 74-5, Tarasewicz 2009: 162-5.

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30) GIŠ.GIŠ.ḪI, a Ghost Word for GIŠ.AM instead of GIŠ.ÀM — In mathematical astronomy, the logogram GIŠ (GIŠ-*ú*, GIŠ-*ma* or GIŠ.A) stands for Akkadian *našû* in the special meaning of "to compute" (AHw 763b sub 7 "math. multiplizieren"; CAD N 8a sub 1 "to multiply (math. term)", 86b–87a sub. 1h; Ossendrijver 2012: 597 "to compute"). In accordance with the Akkadian grammar this verb always stands at the end of a sentence with all numbers preceding, such as in ½-*šú-nu* GIŠ-*ma* "compute their half, and …" (see, e.g., NEUGEBAUER 1955: 205 no. 200 rev. 8 {= OSSENDRIJVER 2012: 358–378 no. 53 rev. ii 10}; ibid. 225 no. 200i {= OSSENDRIJVER 2012: 392–394 no. 60} rev. 5, 7, 10) or without the suffixed connective as in ½-*šú-nu* GIŠ.A (e.g., NEUGEBAUER 1955: 198 no. 200 {= OSSENDRIJVER 2012: 358–378 no. 53} section 10 obv. ii 17, 18).

Instead of writing the logogram GIŠ for *tanašši*, "you compute", in the instruction, a few texts from Uruk chose a writing that Neugebauer transliterated GIŠ-AM, adding GIŠ-GIŠ-ḪI as another possible reading (1955: 243 comment on no. 202 ll. 12, 13), since the Late Babylonian sign form of AM is often similar to the sequence GIŠ-ḪI, if the sign is written somewhat spread out. That this writing means "to compute" is obvious from a parallel to one of these attestations writing GIŠ instead (see OSSENDRIJVER 2012: 600). Ossendrijver (2012: 62, 314 comment on no. 42 l. 8, 493 comment on no. 42 obv. 12', 600) understood these signs as a logogram with the same meaning as *našû* (GIŠ), "to compute", the Akkadian reading of which remains unknown (p. 600) and transliterated this GIŠ.GIŠ.ḪI. This sequence of signs is attested in the following texts from Uruk:

> A 3413 = ACT 202 (OSSENDRIJVER 2012: 492–494 no. 93) obv. 12' (GIŠ.GIŠ.ḪI), 13' (GIŠ.GIŠ.ḪI).

> AO 6477 (OSSENDRIJVER 2012: 312–315 no. 42) obv. 8 (GIŠ.GIŠ.HI-*ma*).

The same sequence of signs appears in a Seleucid compendium of geometrical and metrological problems from Uruk, probably from the Rēš temple, in the same meaning:

> VAT 7848 (NEUGEBAUER–SACHS 1945: 141–145 text Y; OSSENDRIJVER 2019: 201–211, esp. 205 comment on l. 1) obv. 1 (GIŠ.GIŠ.⌜ḪI⌝).

There is increasing evidence that the Late Babylonian scholars in their discussions often did not translate logograms into Akkadian but rather viewed them as words in their own right. This is evident from hearing mistakes (*Hörfehler*), which occur when the scribes wrongly identified what they had heard and used a different cuneiform sign with the same reading. See, e.g. the writing of the sign AB instead of the logogram ÁB for Akkadian *arḫu*, "month", in a Late Babylonian Almanac from Babylon dating to 7/6 BC (see SACHS-WALKER 1984 esp. p. 50 comment on A obv. 1; HUNGER–SACHS 2014: 424–431 no. 211); the writing of GU.ZI instead of GU.ZÍ for Akkadian *kāsu*, "cup" (BM 40737 obv. 7'), and ZI instead of SI, Akkadian *qarnu*, "horn" (rev. 2), in a Late Babylonian medical text that does not seem to be a school tablet (see FINCKE 2009: 93–97); the writing of BÀD instead of DUR when DUR is misinterpreted in an astronomical diary (SACHS–HUNGER 1989: 40–41 no. -251 rev. 6') as a syllabic writing for *dūr(u)*, "wall" (see FINCKE in press chapter 1.2.1.).

The same phenomenon can be found at other times, when scribes who are native speakers of another language wrote the tablets in Akkadian, or the script itself was simplified to allow more people to write. In the Old Assyrian text corpus one finds the peculiarity that logograms are replaced by signs with the same phonetic value, such as IR for ÌR, "slave", or KÙ.KI for KU.SIG₁₇, "gold" (see DERCKSEN 2021: 210–211).

Given the increasing evidence that logograms were understood as words in their own right in the Late Babylonian period, an interpretation of this sequence of signs (GIŠ.GIŠ.ḪI or GIŠ-AM) as GIŠ.AM for GIŠ.ÀM is very likely. In several Late Babylonian astronomical and astrological texts one finds ÀM

appended to logograms, such as IGI.DU₈.ÀM (AO 6449 {= TCL VI 19} obv. 7, see HUNGER 1976: 247) or SÈ.ÀM (BM 34757 side Y 8', see OSSENDRIJVER 2018: 185).

To date, the alternative writing GIŠ.AM is only documented in astronomical and mathematical texts from Uruk. Future evidence will show whether this writing is a peculiarity of the scholars from Uruk, perhaps only of those of the Rēš temple, or whether this writing is just another sign for the increasing neglect of the Akkadian language among the astronomers (and other scholars) of the Late Babylonian period. In any case, GIŠ.AM can be added to the list of Late Babylonian writings that were occasionally used instead of GIŠ.ÀM.

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31) A Short Note Concerning the Article 'Two Previously Unedited Early Dynastic Incantations from CUSAS 32 1, Presumably against Scorpions' (2023, *AuOr* 41/2, pp. 269–277) — In the article 'Two Previously Unedited Early Dynastic Incantations from CUSAS 32 1, Presumably against Scorpions', published in *Aula Orientalis* 41/2 (2023, pp. 269–277), I have provided full translation and detailed philological commentary of the incantations CUSAS 32 1 d (iv: 7–v: 3) and CUSAS 32 1 i (x: 5–11). I have termed both texts as "unedited" given the fact that I was not aware that CUSAS 32 1 d had already been considerably philologically studied by Nadezda Rudik in 'Herumtreibende Kinder, bewaffnete Kälber und Götter in Aufruhr: Die frühdynastischen Beschwörungen aus CUSAS 32' (2021, in A. Bramanti, N. L. Kraus & P. Notizia (eds.), *Current Research in Early Mesopotamian Studies*, dubsar 21, pp. 99–157, see esp. pp. 131–137 for the discussion of CUSAS 32 1 d). Thereby I want to correct my misinformation

concerning the (lack of) scholarly research on the spell and state that any resemblances between mine and Rudik's analysis of CUSAS 32 1 d are solely due to our independent philological and interpretative skills, as the attentive reader will deduct from the differences between the translations and their elucidations in both studies. To end on a more hopeful note, since we both came to the conclusion that the enigmatic CUSAS 32 1 d deals with scorpion attack independently of each other, the same meaning of the incantation to ancient Sumerians might be even more probable.

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

32) Parution de *ARCHIBAB 5 : « Écoute ma tablette ! » L'essor de la correspondance en Mésopotamie (2004–1595 av. n. è.)* — La SEPOA est heureuse d'annoncer la publication du nouveau volume de la série Mémoires de N.A.B.U. :

> Marine BÉRANGER, *ARCHIBAB 5 : « Écoute ma tablette ! » L'essor de la correspondance en Mésopotamie (2004–1595 av. n. è.)*, Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 23, Paris, 2024 (ISBN 979-10-97449-07-0).

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En Mésopotamie, l'écriture fut inventée et longtemps maîtrisée par un groupe restreint d'individus au service du palais et des temples. Les données archéologiques et épigraphiques témoignent d'une intensification et d'une généralisation du recours à l'écrit dans la première moitié du deuxième millénaire avant notre ère, pendant la période dite paléo-babylonienne ou amorrite (2004–1595). Il était alors devenu si courant d'envoyer des lettres que les scribes de cette époque considéraient que l'écriture avait été inventée pour communiquer à distance. Ce livre étudie l'essor de la correspondance pendant cette période. Le premier chapitre replace les lettres, qui sont en langue akkadienne, dans leur contexte social en dressant le portrait des individus qui correspondaient par écrit. Le second chapitre présente, parmi les exercices étudiés pendant le cursus scribal, ceux qui permettaient d'apprendre à lire et à écrire des lettres en akkadien. Celles copiées à l'école, en particulier, sont étudiées en détail pour la première fois. Le troisième chapitre est dédié au contenu des lettres à travers les siècles tandis que le quatrième chapitre s'inspire de la pragmatique et de la linguistique textuelle pour comparer le degré d'implicite et la complexité d'environ trois cents lettres rédigées entre le XXe et le XVIIe siècles. Cette recherche offre pour la première fois une synthèse des connaissances accumulées au cours des 130 dernières années autour d'un corpus constitué de plus de 7000 lettres paléo-babyloniennes et explore de manière innovante le contexte, le contenu et la langue de ces textes.

In Mesopotamia, writing was invented and long mastered by a small group of individuals in service to the palace and temples. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence attests to an intensification and broadening use of writing in the first half of the second millennium BC, during the so-called Old Babylonian or Amorite period (2004–1595). The exchange of letters became so commonplace that scribes of that era considered writing to have been invented for remote communication. This book explores the rise of correspondence during this period. The first chapter contextualizes the letters, written in Akkadian at the time, within their social framework by profiling the individuals who corresponded in writing. The second chapter highlights, among the scribal exercises studied during the curriculum, those that taught reading and writing letters in Akkadian. The practice letters copied in school, in particular, are examined in detail for the first time. The third chapter focuses on the content of letters throughout the centuries, while the fourth chapter draws inspiration from pragmatics and textual linguistics to compare the degree of implicitness and complexity in around three hundred letters written between the 20th and 17th centuries. This research not only offers a pioneering synthesis of knowledge gathered over the past 130 years on a corpus of over 7,000 Old Babylonian letters but also provides a fresh and innovative exploration into the context, content, and language of these letters.

33) Exposition *Mari en Syrie* à la Bnu de Strasbourg – Du 7 février au 26 mai 2024, la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg présente l'exposition *Mari en Syrie : renaissance d'une cité au 3ᵉ millénaire,* un événement exceptionnel conçu en partenariat avec le Domaine et Musée royal de Mariemont (Belgique) et le musée du Louvre. Pour plus d'informations, voir le lien ci-dessous :

https://www.bnu.fr/fr/evenements-culturels/nos-expositions/mari-en-syrie-renaissance-dune-cite-au-troisieme-millenaire

34) Parution de *Entre les fleuves III* — Chez l'éditeur PeWe-Verlag est paru le livre collectif édité par

Adelheid OTTO & Nele ZIEGLER (éd.), *Entre les fleuves – III. On the Way in Upper Mesopotamia. Travels, Routes and Environment as a Basis for the Reconstruction of Historical Geography*, BBVO 30, Gladbeck 2023 (ISBN 978-3-935012-64-5).

Le volume peut être commandé chez l'éditeur au prix d'achat de 59 € + frais d'expédition ; voir la page web: https://www.pewe-verlag.de/?page_id=2879. Un pdf du livre est accessible à l'adresse suivante: https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/109051.

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